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Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century: a study and edition of Yūsuf al-Maġribī's *Dafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*

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Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century: a study and edition of Yūsuf al-Maġribī's *Daf' al-iṣr ʿan 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
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in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
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Elisabeth Willemina Antoinette Zack

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Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

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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 ilʿaṣfūr*, a novel by Yūsuf al-Qaʿīd 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 *Dafʿ al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr* by Yūsuf al-Maġribī, 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 17th century word list of the Egyptian Arabic dialect, as I also was by the poems composed by al-Maġribī 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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A special word of gratitude goes to my husband, Rami Mardiros; without his encouragement, patience, and moral support I would not have been able to write this dissertation.

Introduction

The subject of this dissertation is a book entitled *Daf' al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr:*[1] "Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians", which was written in the year 1014-5/1606 by the Egyptian writer Yūsuf al-Maġribī (d. 1019/1611).[2] 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.[3] It has never before been edited, although a facsimile edition, with an introduction and indices, was published in 1968 by ʿAbd al-Salām ʾAḥmad ʿAwwād. 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-muḥīṭ*. 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 17th century.

---

[1] From now on, abbreviated to *Daf' al-iṣr*.

[2] 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*.

[3] No. MS OA 778.

Introduction

1 The contents of the present study of *Daf ʿal-iṣr*

The present study of *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī.* In this chapter, al-Maġribī'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 ʿal-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr.* In this chapter, the contents of *Daf ʿal-iṣr* are described, and al-Maġribī's reasons for writing it are explained. *Daf ʿal-iṣr* is placed in its historical context by consideration of the works which influenced al-Maġribī, and an overview of the earlier studies of the book is provided. The final part of this chapter is devoted to al-Maġribī'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 ʿal-iṣr.* This chapter deals with the poetry composed by al-Maġribī, with special focus on a frequently employed dialectal form of the art, the *mawwāl*, as well as some poems called *muṭallaṭāt* and riddles, which were also composed in the form of short poems. An overview of the metres used by al-Maġribī is presented, and the chapter concludes with a description of the non-Arabic (Turkish and Persian) poetry in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*.
5. *Aspects of daily life.* In this chapter, various aspects of daily life which are mentioned in *Daf ʿal-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 ʿal-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 17th centuries, because knowledge of this period is extremely scarce. The main source of comparison is *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-šarḥ qaṣīd ʾAbī Šādūf* by Yūsuf al-Širbīnī,

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,[4] which was an invaluable aid. An earlier source, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-muḍḥik al-ʿabūs* by ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbūġānī (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.[5]

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[6] is to present a text which is as close as possible to that written by al-Maġribī. 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.[7] 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.[8] 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[9] 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

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

[5] Blanc (1981), Jaritz (1993), Palva (1997), Palva (2000), Cohen (2000).

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

[7] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 112.

[8] In the introduction to the edition of *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿağība wa al-ʾaḫbār al-ġarība*, 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.

[9] One of them was Han den Heijer during his concluding remarks.

it, and added the spelling used in the manuscript to the footnotes,[10] preceded by م *m(aḫṭūṭ)* "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 فى has become في, to facilitate the reading of the text. Moreover, al-Maġribī'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 ئـ, whereas al-Maġribī always uses the variant ـيء. When the letter does not show any diacritics or only a *kasra*, I have rendered this as ئـ, whereas when it is clearly written with diacritic dots ـيـ, 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 هـ *h(āmiš)* "margin". Also included in the footnotes are comments al-Maġribī 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(aḫṭūṭa)* "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-Maġribī, 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.

---

[10] 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.

Because Yūsuf al-Maġribī 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: **يقولونْ**.[11] Al-Maġribī divided his work into chapters and paragraphs, introduced by headings such as *ḥarf al-bāʾ* 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-Maġribī 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 ـٖـ or the ـٗ, 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 *fatḥa*: 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".[12] 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".[13] Not only did this font provide me with all of the special

[11] Al-Maġribī sometimes uses similar divices, 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.
[12] See http://www.sil.org/sil/.
[13] http://scripts.sil.org/cms/scripts/page.php?site_id=nrsi&item_id=ArabicFonts.

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,[14] 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-Maġribī

{ } 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-Maġribī 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

هـ in a footnote precedes a comment written in the margin which does not belong in the main body of the text

[14] http://www.copticchurch.net/coptic_fonts/#Download

5 Transliteration

ا	ʾa, ʾi, ʾu, ā	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	ṯ	ع	ʿ
ج	ǧ	غ	ġ
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-Maġribī does not use the letter گ for *g* when writing Persian or Turkish; he instead writes ك, and once uses ڪ 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 *bəršəq* "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-Maġribī

1.1 Birth, family background and education

Yūsuf ʾAbū al-Maḥāsin Ǧamāl al-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Ḥarb al-Maġribī al-Miṣrī al-ʾAzharī[15] (±970/1562-1019/1611) was raised in Cairo. In two of his surviving manuscripts he refers to himself as Yūsuf al-Maġribī, and says the following in his book *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* ("The desire of the skillful and the wealth of the cultured"):[16]

قاله الفقير المغربي نسبا ❊ الأزهري موْطنا وطَلبا

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

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

[15] The name as given by ʿAwwād (1968) p. 6, based on the information provided by the various biographers.

[16] fol. 2a; more about *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* will be said in §1.4.

[17] See *GAL* II pp. 368-9, *GAL* S II p. 396 and *EI²* IV p. 912a ff. (F. Krenkow).

[18] Al-Ḫafāǧī (1967) II pp. 32-37.

[19] Ibid. p. 35-36.

[20] Ibid. p. 32.

[21] Al-Ḫafāǧī (1967) II p. 36.

age (he mentions that al-Maġribī was a bit older)[22] and shared an interest in poetry and Arabic linguistics, especially the origins of (colloquial) Arabic words. In al-Ḫafāǧī's case this is demonstrated in his book *Šifāʾ al-ġalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-daḫīl* ("The gratification of the desire concerning the loanwords in the Arabic language").[23] He also wrote a commentary on the *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī,[24] which is interesting because al-Maġribī produced an arrangement of the same work (see §1.4).

Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa (1017/1609-1067/1657),[25] historian, bibliographer and geographer, mentions al-Maġribī in his great bibliographical dictionary, *Kašf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn.* Although he only devotes two lines to al-Maġribī, he nevertheless provides some new information, i.e. the full title of his *dīwān*: *al-Ḏahab al-Yūsufī wa al-mawrid al-ʿaḏib al-ṣafī.*[26]

Al-Muḥibbī (1061/1651-1111/1699)[27] calls al-Maġribī *nazīl Miṣr* "a stranger residing in Egypt" in his biographical work *Ḫulāṣat al-ʾaṯar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿašar*.[28] He also tells us when al-Maġribī died, which neither al-Ḫafāǧī nor Ḫalīfa mention. We, therefore, know that al-Maġribī died on 18 *Ḏū al-Qaʿda* 1019 AH (around 1 February 1611 AD) in Cairo.[29] Furthermore, al-Muḥibbī mentions the names of a few of al-Maġribī's teachers,[30] and this will be dealt with in more detail in §1.1.1.

Al-Maġribī provides the following information about his childhood in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*:[31] At the age of seven, he went with his father, whose profession is not known,

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[22] It can be deduced from this information that al-Maġribī 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.

[23] *GAL* II p. 369 and *GAL* S II p. 396.

[24] *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ fī awhām al-ḫawāṣṣ* by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUṯmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (446/1054-516/1122), best known for his *Maqāmāt*, see *EI*[2] III p. 221a (D.S. Margoliouth), *GAL* I p. 325ff. and *GAL* S I pp. 486ff. *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ* is a specimen of the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*-literature, see §3.3.1.

[25] Also known as Kātib Čelebī, real name Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh, see *EI*[2] IV p. 760b (O. Ṣaik Gökyay), *GAL* II pp. 563-5 and *GAL* S II p. 635-6.

[26] See Ḥaǧǧī Ḫalīfa (1941/1943) I p. 829.

[27] Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimašqī; see *EI*[2] VII p. 469b (C. Brockelmann), *GAL* II pp. 377-9 and *GAL* S II p. 403.

[28] Al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

[29] Ibid. p. 503. *GAL* II p. 367 and *GAL* S II p. 394 mentions that al-Maġribī 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).

[30] Al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

[31] See fols. 70a-71a.

to al-Ḥiǧāz, where his father later died. He was buried in *al-Baqīʿ*, the cemetery of al-Madīna.[32] After his father's death, Yūsuf returned to Egypt, where he stayed with his maternal uncles who were famous for manufacturing sword belts (*ḥamāʾil al-suyūf*). He learned the craft from and worked for them. In *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, al-Maġribī refers to a funny anecdote about his uncles: he used to go to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque in the evenings to learn the Qurʾān, the language of which awoke his interest in grammar. From that moment on, he started to learn the *ʾAlfīya*, the famous work about grammar by Ibn Mālik,[33] 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.[34] His uncles never returned, and some reports reached al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī was, apparently, living in the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, since this is where he received his Qurʾān 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).[35] From there, they sold products such as burnouses, woolen *aḥrima*,[36] and fabrics, the latter being the trade in which al-Maġribī was set up by his uncles.[37] The name al-Maġribī "the North-African" does not, necessarily, imply that al-Maġribī himself was born in North Africa, but simply that his family originated from there. Indeed, as we have seen, al-Ḫafāǧī mentioned that al-Maġribī was born in Cairo, while Muḥibbī stated that he was originally from

[32] In his dictionary, al-Maġribī sometimes refers to colloquial words he heard in the Ḥiǧāz during his stay there.

[33] See *GAL* I pp. 359-63 and *GAL* S I pp. 521-7.

[34] He belonged to the Maġribī *riwāq* at al-Azhar, mentioned in a lecture by Ḥusām ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī, IFAO, 24 January 2002.

[35] See Raymond (1983) p. 87.

[36] See Raymond (1995) p. 38.

[37] See Raymond (1983) p. 36.

somewhere else. Al-Ḫafāǧī's information is more reliable, because he was a personal friend of al-Maġribī, while al-Muḥibbī was from a different generation. Moreover, as we can see from the anecdote from *Daf' al-iṣr*, al-Maġribī'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-Maġribī's teachers

Al-Maġribī 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 šayḫ Šuʿayb.[38] His first teacher at al-Azhar was called sheikh Sanǧar (*muʾaddib al-aṭfāl*, "the educator of children"), who taught in the office of a šayḫ Ǧaʿfar.[39] This šayḫ, Sanǧar, is mentioned by al-Maġribī 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.[40] Another teacher who taught him *ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* (metrics) at al-Azhar was Muḥammad Rakrūk al-Ǧazāʾirī; although all that al-Maġribī tells about him is that he died in Medina.[41] Two of al-Maġribī's teachers were brothers, namely Aḥmad al-ʿAlqamī, with whom he read part of al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān*, and Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlqamī, with whom he read the *Alfīya* of al-ʿIrāqī.[42] The following information is available about his other teachers:

- Ibn al-Ġayṭī:[43] full name Naǧm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ġayṭī al-Iskandarī al-Šāfiʿī (910/1504-981/1573).[44] He was head of the *ṣūfī*-monasteries al-Ṣalāḥīya and al-Siryāqūsīya in Cairo. One of his writings is *Qiṣṣat miʿrāǧ al-nabī*.[45] Al-Maġribī mentions that Ibn al-Ġayṭī pronounced the *qāf* as a *ṭāʾ*.[46]

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[38] See fol. 70b.
[39] See fol. 50b.
[40] Ibid.
[41] See fol. 59a. See also the endnote there for additional information about Rakrūk.
[42] See fol. 103a. Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī al-Kurdī (725/1325-806/1404) is the author of *al-Alfiyya fī uṣūl al-ḥadīṯ*, also known as *al-Tabṣira wa l-taḏkira*. See *GAL* II pp. 77-8.
[43] See fol. 16a.
[44] See al-Ziriklī (1955) VI p. 234.
[45] See *GAL* II pp. 445-6 and S II p. 467-8. Al-Ġayṭī 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-Naǧm Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Ġayṭī al-Iskandarī ṯumma al-Miṣrī and *al-Miʿrāǧ* is mentioned as well, see al-Muḥibbī (1975) II p. 204.
[46] See *Daf' al-iṣr* fol. 16a.

- Yaḥyā al-Aṣīlī:[47] 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 Dumyāṭ, but later moved to Cairo. Muḥibbī provides some samples of his poetry. Al-Aṣīlī died in 1010/1601-2 in Mecca.[48]
- Two šayḫs of the Bakrī-family: Abū al-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfiʿī (973/1565-1037/1627-8),[49] and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bakrī (d. 1013/1604).[50] Both were sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfiʿī, called *al-ustāḏ al-kabīr* by Muḥibbī.[51] Of the second šayḫ, al-Maġribī reveals in an anecdote that when he got excited while speaking, some foam resembling the faucial bag of a camel came from his mouth.[52]
- šayḫ ʿAlī al-Maqdisī,[53] full name Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ġānim al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanafī (920/1514-1004/1596),[54] head of the *Ḥanafī* order and one of the greatest imams of his time.[55] Al-Maġribī dedicated his work *Muḏahhabāt al-ḥuzn fī al-māʾ wa al-ḥuḍra wa al-waǧh al-ḥasan* to him, for which he received a reasonable some of money.[56] One of al-Maqdisī's works is called *Buġyat al-murtād fī taṣḥīḥ al-ṣād*,[57] which probably inspired the title of al-Maġribī's *Buġyat al-arīb.* It is also remarkable that al-Maqdisī has written a *Ḥawāšī ʿala al-qāmūs,*[58] so he was, perhaps, also the one who kindled al-Maġribī's interest in al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.[59]
- Yūsuf al-Kurdī, who gave al-Maġribī his name Yūsuf.[60] He was a *ṣūfī* of the Al-Ḫawāṭirīya-order.[61]

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[47] See fols. 29b, 89b, 104b, 122a. Also mentioned by al-Ḫafāǧī (1967) II p. 35.

[48] See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 480-5.

[49] Mentioned in *Daf' al-iṣr* on fols. 5b and 13a.

[50] See Kaḥḥāla (1961) IV p. 197.

[51] 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.

[52] See fol. 47a.

[53] Fols. 3a, 5b; he is the same person as šayḫ ʿAlī al-Qudsī, mentioned twice on fol. 19b.

[54] Such is his name in *GAL* S II p. 395; *EI²* III p. 772a (Eds.) mentions his name slightly differently: Nūr Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ġānim al-Maqdisī.

[55] See al-Muḥibbī (1975) pp. 180-5.

[56] See fol. 19b.

[57] *GAL* S II p. 395 has *ḍād* instead of *ṣād.*

[58] See *GAL* S II p. 395.

[59] *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa al-qābūs al-wasīṭ al-ǧāmiʿ li-mā ḏahab min al-ʿarab šamaṭīṭ* by Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Maǧd al-Dīn al-Šāfiʿī al-Širāzī al-Fīrūzābādī (729/1329-817/1415), see *EI²* II p. 926a ff. (H. Fleisch), *GAL* II p. 231ff. and *GAL* S II p. 234ff.

[60] See *Daf' al-iṣr* fol. 14b.

As well as the teachers mentioned by al-Maġribī in *Daf' al-iṣr*, Muḥibbī mentions al-Badr al-Qarāfī (Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, 939/1533-1008/1600).[62] The editor of al-Ḫafāǧī (1967) II p. 104 mentions in a footnote that al-Badr al-Qarāfī learned *ḥadīṯ* from al-Maġribī, 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 *ḥadīṯ* from al-Ǧamāl Yūsuf b. *al-qāḍī* Zakariyā. It is uncertain whether this is our Yūsuf al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī's teacher.[63] Al-Muḥibbī also mentions al-Sanhūrī[64] as al-Maġribī's teacher, who in his turn was a pupil of Muḥammad al-Bakrī.

Al-Maġribī 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.[65]

1.1.2 Knowledge of Persian and Turkish

Al-Maġribī 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.[66] 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, *ḫəška fəlāw* "dry rice"[67] which he ate at the home of his Persian friends, Muḥammad Riḍā and his brothers.[68] On fol. 10a, al-Maġribī 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-Faḍl 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

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[61] For more information about this order, see the endnote to fol. 14b.

[62] See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV pp. 258-262.

[63] See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

[64] ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Naǧā Sālim b. Muḥammad al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī (probably around 966/1558-9 - 1015/1606), a Mālikī jurisprudent and *ḥadīṯ*-expert, head of the Mālikī school of Cairo, see *EI*[3] IX p. 19b (S.A. Jackson). See also al-Muḥibbī (1975) II p. 204.

[65] See fol. 5a.

[66] This poem will be discussed in §4.3.

[67] From Persian خشکه *ḫushka,* "Boiled rice without butter" (see Steingass (1975) p. 463) and پلاو *palāv*, "a rice dish" (ibid. p. 254).

[68] 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 مسمّى وانه الفضل العامّ لا يخصّ العربي الا انني لا اكثر من ذلك لئلا يصعب على من لا يَعْرف 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-Maġribī's further career, although he mentions that he held a *waẓīfa*, or official post, but he does not give any more details. He refers to the fact that he was once afflicted by *fəhāqa*, 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-Maġribī held, claiming that he had already died, with a deed being drafted to that effect. This seems to indicate that al-Maġribī had some kind of job in the juridical system. So far as his health was concerned, al-Maġribī recoverd 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 wondered about the strange coincidence.[69]

1.3 Personal life

Al-Maġribī refers to himself as *al-faqīr* several times,[70] 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 *ʿālim* and a *ṣūfī* were two different things, but were not mutually exclusive. As discussed above, some of al-Maġribī's teachers were *ṣūfī*s, such as Ibn al-Ġayṭī. He also refers to a great number of books written by *ṣūfī*s, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī,[71] al-Šaʿrāwī,[72] and

[69] See fol. 51a.

[70] On fols. 2a, 16a, 70a, 105a, 133a.

[71] Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbdallah ibn al-ʿArabī (al-Šayḫ al-Akbar), 560/1165-638/1240, one of the greatest *ṣūfī*s of islam, often incorrectly referred to as Ibn ʿArabi. See *EI*[2] VII p. 707b-708b (A. Ateş). Mentioned on fols. 2a, 4b, 5a, 42b, 59a, 59b, 120b.

[72] "Al-Šaʿrānī, ʿAbd 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,[73] to mention just the three most well-known. Al-Maġribī does not reveal to which *ṣūfī*-order he belonged, mentioning a few, such as the *Ḫawāṭirīya* who abstained from eating meat and fruit and other delicacies.[74]

Al-Maġribī frequently visited *maǧālis*, which were widespread social gatherings in the seventeenth century. The *maǧālis* 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 *ḏikr* was practiced; others had a more literary character, the so-called *maǧlis adab.*[75] Al-Maġribī gives us the impression that these *maǧālis* could sometimes be rather merry events.

In *Daf' al-iṣr,* al-Maġribī 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 *maǧlis* 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-Maġribī tried to convince the Turk of his mistake, by quoting some verses in Turkish, but in the end despaired of such ignorance.[76] He also mentions other *maǧālis* in which literary topics,[77] as well as linguistic issues,[78] were discussed.

1.4 Literary works

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

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

1. *Muḏahhabāt al-ḥuzn fī al-mā' wa al-ḫuḍra wa al-waǧh al-ḥasan*[79]

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

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

[74] See fol. 14b.

[75] See Hanna (2003) p. 72-73.

[76] See fol. 6a and §4.3.

[77] Fols. 9a, 28b, 129a.

[78] Fols. 12a, 78a.

[79] Fols. 9b, 19b, 19b, 40a.

2. *al-Muṭallaṭāt*[80]
3. *Tarǧamat al-murabbaʿāt al-turkīya:*[81] a translation of Turkish *murabbaʿāt*, poems with the rhyme scheme *aaaa*, *bbba*, *ccca*, etc.
4. *al-Almaʿīya fī al-alġāz al-adabīya*[82]
5. *al-Badr al-munīr naẓm aḥādīṯ al-ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr:*[83] an arrangement of *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-ṣaġīr*, a collection of traditions by the famous Egyptian scholar, Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Ḫuḍayrī al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505); this collection in its turn was a summary of the great unfinished collection, *Ǧamʿ al-ǧawāmiʿ*[84]
6. *Azhār al-bustān tarǧamat al-Gulistān*, a translation from Persian of Saʿdī's[85] *Gulistān*;[86] al-Maġribī also mentions this translation as *al-Gulistān al-ʿarabī*[87]
7. *Tarǧamat dībāǧat al-būstān*,[88] a translation of the preface of Saʿdī's *Būstān*.
8. *Naẓm Durrat al-ġawāṣṣ:*[89] an 'arrangement' and appendix of al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī's (446/1054-516/1122)[90] *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ fī awhām al-ḫawāṣṣ*, which is a specimen of the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature, of which more will be said in §3.3.1.
9. *al-Aġānī al-ṣaġīr*,[91] a collection of songs.

While writing *Dafʿ al-iṣr*, al-Maġribī was also working on other projects, which he mentions on one of *Dafʿ al-iṣr*'s final pages.[92] 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*)

[80] Fols. 56b, 66b, 69a, 101a.
[81] Fol. 91b.
[82] Fols. 60b and 91b.
[83] Fol. 101b.
[84] See *EI*[2] IX p. 914b (E. Geoffroy), *GAL* II p. 180ff. and *GAL* S II p. 178ff.
[85] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mušarrif al-Dīn b. Muṣliḥ Saʿdī, poet and prose writer of the 7th/13th century, one of the most renowned authors of Persia, see *EI*[2] VIII p. 719a (R. Davis).
[86] Fols. 108a and 109b.
[87] Fols. 10a and 133b.
[88] Fol. 109b.
[89] Fols. 3a, 8b, and 9a.
[90] See *GAL* I p. 325ff., *GAL* S I p. 486ff., and *EI*[2] III p. 221a (D.S. Margoliouth).
[91] Fol. 16a.
[92] Fol. 133a.

- Some treatises and introductions.

In addition to the work referred to above, al-Maġribī also copied some books. His next project would be the translation of *Nafaḥāt al-ʾuns* by Mullā Ǧāmī.[93] He also states his intention to continue the history of al-Bāʿūnī,[94] which ends with the reign of Sultan Barqūq, until Sultan Aḥmad, who ruled in al-Maġribī's time.[95]

We can conclude that al-Maġribī'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-Maġribī 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 *Daf' al-iṣr*, and was also fond of verses containing puns and riddles.

1.4.1 A short note on *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* and *Taḫmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*

Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb and *Taḫmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*[96] are, to our knowledge, the only other of al-Maġribī's surviving works. Brockelmann describes *Buġyat al-arīb* as "Sammelwerk über die verschiedensten Dinge",[97] an accurate description indeed. It is a work in 39 chapters, although al-Maġribī 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 *Ḏū al-Qaʿda* 1102/August 1692.[98]

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[93] See fol. 133a. Mawlanā Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ǧāmī (817/1414-898/1492), great Persian poet with a passion for mysticism, born in the district of Ǧām. His *Nafaḥāt al-uns* ("The breath of divine intimacy") contains biographies of mystics, preceded by a comprehensive study of Ṣūfism. See *EI*² II p. 421b (Cl. Huart), *GAL* II p. 266-7 and *GAL* S II pp. 285-6.

[94] Šams al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Šihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās A. b. Nāṣir al-Bāʿūnī (776/1374-871/1465), *Tuḥfat al-šurafāʾ fī tārīḫ al-ḫulafāʾ*. About the rulers of Egypt until Barsbāy (ruled 825/1422-841/1438), see *GAL* II p. 50. Note that Al-Maġribī mentions that the work goes no further than the reign of Barqūq (d. 801/1399). According to *EI*² I p. 1109a (W.A.S. Khalidi) Muḥammad al-Bāʿūnī lived from 780/1378 to 871/1466.

[95] See fol. 36b.

[96] Mentioned on fol. 18a.

[97] *GAL* S II p. 395.

[98] See fol. 32a.

The *Taḫmīs* is an adaption of the *Lāmīyat* (or *Waṣīyat* or *Naṣīḥat*) *al-iḫwān wa muršidat al-ḫillān*, "a moral poem of 77 verses in the *ramal* metre, long a classic"[99] by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290–749/1349).[100] The manuscript is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[101] An example from this *taḫmīs* will be discussed in §4.2.2. The *taḫmīs* was written in Šawwāl 1010 / March-April 1602. Al-Maġribī mentions that this was a difficult time, because his son had died, there was a plague in Egypt[102] and he was suffering from disease and a lack of food and sleep.[103]

[99] *EI*[2] III p. 966b (M. Bencheneb).

[100] See *GAL* II pp. 175-176.

[101] Slane (1883-1895) p. 562-3, no. 3200, no. 1.

[102] Egypt was affected by the plague in the years 1601-1603. See *EI*[2] XI p. 4a (D. Panzac).

[103] See fol. 2a of *Taḫmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*.

CHAPTER 2

Description of the Manuscript

As far as we know, there is only one manuscript of *Daf ʿ al-Iṣr*.[104] 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.[105]

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

After the death of Yūsuf al-Maġribī in 1611, the autograph of *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* came into the possession of Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1653?).[106] Ibn Abī al-Surūr produced an abbreviated version of *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* in 1057/1647 and called it *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luġat ʾahl Miṣr min luġāt al-ʿarab*.[107] 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 *Ǧumādā* 1095 AH (1684 AD). Unfortunately, most of the name has been erased, making it partly illegible.[108] At a certain point, *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* passed into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī Ibn al-Wakīl.[109] 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 ʿAyyād 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 19th century. Accordingly, al-Ṭanṭāwī will be presented to the reader in the following paragraph.

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[104] See *GAL* S II p. 394. The "Abschrift in Halle (ZDMG 45, 480, no. 124)" mentioned there is the abbreviated copy made in the 19th century by the orientalist Thorbecke, see §3.5.

[105] I examined the manuscript in May 2001 in the library of the Univerity of St. Petersburg.

[106] See Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962) p. 2.

[107] The relation between *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* and a*l-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* will be discussed in §3.4.

[108] The only legible part of the name is: "*al-faqīr* Muḥammad (..) ibn al-marḥūm al-šayḫ Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-marḥūm al-šayḫ Šaraf al-Dīn ʿAlī 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.

[109] 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 18th 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, *Buġyat al-musāmir wa-ġunyat al-musāfir*, his name is written as al-Mallawī. See Rosenthal (1963) p. 452-4.

2.1.1 Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī

Al-Ṭanṭāwī was born in 1810, in the village of Nağrīd, which is located in the neighbourhood of Ṭanṭā, in the Egyptian Delta. He was the son of a travelling salesman, and his full name was Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Sulaymān ʿAyyād al-Marḥūmī al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Šāfiʿī. The *nisba* al-Marḥūmī refers to the birth place of his father, Maḥallat Marḥūm, a village close to Ṭanṭā.[110] He first went to the local *kuttāb*, and at the age of 13 moved to Cairo, where he joined al-Azhar University.[111] Ibrāhīm al-Bāğūrī (1783-1861) was his main teacher there.[112] 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.[113]

Upon completing his studies, al-Ṭanṭāwī held a position as a lecturer at al-Azhar for almost ten years.[114] He gave private lessons to foreigners, such as the orientalists Lane, Fresnel, Perron and Weil,[115] as well as two Russian diplomats, Mukhin and Frähn. Mukhin had read Oriental Studies at the University of St. Petersburg,[116] and in 1839, offered al-Ṭanṭāwī 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-Ṭanṭāwī arrived in St. Petersburg in 1840.[117] In 1847, he became the third Professor of the Arabic language at St. Petersburg University, and the first Arab to hold the post.[118] He kept this position until his death in Russia in 1861, and was buried in the Volkovo cemetery.[119] Al-Ṭanṭāwī left us one of the most interesting sources of Egyptian-Arabic from the 19th century, a work called *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* (or in Arabic, *Aḥsan al-naḫb fī maʿrifat lisān al-ʿarab*).[120] His manuscript collection, containing about 150 manuscripts among which was *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, was bequeathed to

[110] See Kratchkovsky (2000) pp. 21 and 23.
[111] Ibid. p. 25.
[112] Ibid. p. 26.
[113] Ibid. p. 27-8 and *EI²* II p. 167a (I. Goldziher).
[114] See Kratchkovsky (2000) p. 31.
[115] Ibid. pp. 34-39.
[116] Ibid. p. 41.
[117] Ibid. pp. 44-5.
[118] See Sharbatov (1984) p. 67.
[119] See Kratchkovsky (2000) p. 7 and 117.
[120] 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.

the St. Petersburg University library, where they remain. Unfortunately, where and how al-Ṭanṭāwī 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.[121] The binding was carried out by the University librarian, Zaleman.[122] On its title page is written, in a different handwriting to that of al-Maġribī's, *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa qāmūs al-ʿawāmm li-Yūsuf al-Maġribī.* 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.[123] 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 حِقف.[124] Another irregularity can be found in the 23rd 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-Maġribī 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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[121] Rosen himself refers to this in his letter to Thorbecke, published in Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 369.

[122] See Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 372.

[123] Here Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 373 erroneously mentions that 12 quires, i.e. 120 pages are missing.

[124] ʿAwwād (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 كالحِقف (line 3), but the word which is explained here is حِقف, not ردف. This becomes clear starting from line four of the same folio where the different plurals of the word حقف are given. Another indication is that the next explained word is حِلف (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*.

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-Maġribī wrote *Daf' al-iṣr* between *Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa* 1014[125] (April-May 1606) and half *Ǧumādā al-ʾŪlā* 1015 (half September 1606).[126] This is a brief period of time considering the size of the work, as he realized himself:

فإن هذا الكتاب حصل في مدة يسيرة، يسّره الله عسيره، فإن ما فيه من المنظوم نظم حال الكتابة مع جريان القلم، وكأنه نقل من نسخة ثم[127]

"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-Maġribī'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.[128]

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 titels 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[129] 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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[125] 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.

[126] See fol. 133a.

[127] Fol. 133a.

[128] In the margin of fol. 43a.

[129] ʿAwwād (1968) has 1371 entries in his index. This difference is due to the fact that ʿAwwād failed to mention some of the entries, such as the entries *ʾaflak, 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-ʿāmm wa qāmūs al-ʿawāmm*, "The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people", see folio 2a. It is written in its abbreviated form *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm* at the beginning of the quires on fols. 11a, 21a, 41a and 61a. On fol. 71a we find the abbreviated title, *Qāmūs al-ʿawāmm.* However, al-Maġribī erased this title on folio 2a, and wrote the new title in the margin: *Daf᾽ al-iṣr ʿan kalām*[130] *ahl Miṣr*. On the headings of the quires we find that the old title (*al-Faḍl* etc.) has been changed into the new one.[131] This happens for the last time on folio 111a. On folio 119a, al-Maġribī 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 فـي عـالـم الـرويـا ❊ ضيآءً منك يجلو الاصْرْ
فقلت وجآ في التاريخ ❊ عــلــي پاشا ينوّر مصر

"They saw in a vision / a light which removed the burden from you
I said, 'In the history / Ali Pasha [132] came to enlighten Egypt'."

One thing has to be noted: in most places in the manuscript where al-Maġribī has changed the title, it was changed to *Daf᾽ al-iṣr ʿan luġāt ahl Miṣr*,[133] while the variant with *kalām* instead of *luġāt* can be found in only one place, on folio 2a. Accordingly, it is not entirely clear which title al-Maġribī preferred. However, it seems likely that, at a certain stage, he decided to change the new title from *luġat / luġāt* 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 ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*. Some authors refer to it, erroneously, as *Raf᾽ al-iṣr ʿan 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.[134] The confusion is probably due to the existence of a famous work entitled *Raf᾽ al-iṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr* by Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī (773/1372-

[130] Was first *luġat*, then changed into *kalām*, or vice versa, this is unclear.
[131] Fols. 51a, 81a, 91a, 101a, 111a.
[132] ʿAlī IV, governor of Egypt from Ṣafar 1010/August 1601 to Rabīʿ II 1012/September 1603. See Holt (1973) p. 189. "Several pashas also held the rank of vizier", see Winter (1992) p. 32.
[133] Fols. 51a, 81a, 91a, 101a, 111a, 119a, 129a.
[134] Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962), p. 9. More on Ibn Abī al-Surūr and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* will be said in §3.4.

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

[135] See *GAL* II pp. 80-83.

CHAPTER 3

About *Daf' al-Iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*

3.1 The contents of *Daf' al-iṣr*

Daf' al-iṣr 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-Maġribī checked for consistency with Classical Arabic, referring mainly to al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. As the title of *Daf' al-iṣr* indicates, al-Maġribī'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-iṣr* 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-Maġribī did not have many precedents to follow, it is interesting to discover more about his motives for writing this work,[136] the books that influenced him,[137] and his methodology, namely what kind of words he discussed, how he examined them, and whether or not he was successful in doing so.[138] *Daf' al-iṣr* 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-iṣr*'s linguistic aspects will be considered. Another element of the book is its poetry, both by al-Maġribī and others, as well as its many (rhyming) riddles. Al-Maġribī 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-iṣr* 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-Maġribī's reasons for writing *Daf' al-iṣr*

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

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[136] See §3.2.

[137] See §3.3.

[138] See §3.6 and §3.7.

بيان الفاظ يحكم الظاهر بخطائها والحال انها صواب * وكلمات تظهر صحّتها 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".[139]

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 يرجّعه للصواب وهذا هو التّعريب * مغترفا من القاموس والعُباب * مبيّنا 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 *taʿrīb* ("Arabization"), scooping from *al-Qāmūs* and *al-ʿUbāb*, and clarifying that what is considered to be wrong, is correct."

To check the existence of dialectal words in Classical Arabic, al-Maġribī intended to use *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by al-Fīrūzʾābādī[140] and *al-ʿUbāb al-zāḫir wa l-lubāb al-fāḫir* by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaġānī (577/1181-650/1252).[141] Yet, contrary to this statement, al-Maġribī did not actually use *al-ʿUbāb* as a source for *Dafʿ al-iṣr* in the section of the manuscript that is left for us to read.

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

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

[139] Although the sentence *kalimāt...al-albāb* seems grammatically incorrect, the meaning is clear.

[140] See §1.1.1 for full biographical details.

[141] See *GAL* I pp. 443-4.

"To the best of my knowledge, neither of these i.e. the arrangement of joint words[142] 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-ġawwāṣ*,[143] 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 الصّنع ان بعض متشدقين سمع من بعض الاصحاب الفاظا فصار يهزو به ويسخر منه مع انها تحتمل الصواب مثل فلان خرج باقعه في الشي الفلاني وسمع عند لعبه الشطرنج رسيله يقول مرماد فضحك عليه وانما المرماد من الرمد 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 (*bāqiʿa*) in this or that case'; and he heard his messenger say *mərmād* during a chess-game so he laughed at him, but *mərmād* comes from *ramad* 'inflammation of the eye', as if he says to him: 'I did not see in this game,'[144] so I asked God for proper guidance."

When reading *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*, 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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[142] *muštarik*: 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 *ʾaʿrab* (see fol. 2a).

[143] For biographical details, see §1.1. *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ* is a specimen of the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*-literature, see §3.3.1.

[144] 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 وانما ما قبل الصحه 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-Maġribī gives a completely different reason for writing *Daf ʿ al-iṣr:*

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 ʿ al-iṣr*, therefore, served al-Maġribī'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 يزعقق أي سريع الغيظ والعجيب أنه قال في القاموس ‹الزعقوق كعُصْفور السيئ الخلق› انتهى ومحل التعجب موافقتهنّ للمعنى اللغوي وهذا ومثله حملني على وضع هذا الكتاب فإن غالب كلمات أهالي مصر يوافق اللغة[145]

"They say, and this is heard often from women, so-and-so *ʿalā l-ḥāl mā yizaʿqaq*, i.e. "he gets angry immediately", and the amazing thing is that he [= al-Fīrūzābādī] says in *al-Qāmūs* that "*al-zuʿqūq* with the pattern of *ʿuṣfūr* 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-Maġribī, not الزعقوق.[146] However, it demonstrates that al-Maġribī was genuinly pleased when he could relate an Egyptian-Arabic word to Classical Arabic.

[145] Fol. 42a.

[146] *See al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 801c.

3.3 Works that influenced al-Maġribī

3.3.1 *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*-literature

Criticizing the language of certain people, like al-Ḥarīrī did in *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*, was common. Works of this genre, generally known as *laḥn al-ʿāmma,*[147] or "errors of language made by the common people", already existed in the second century AH.[148] Their design was "to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists".[149]

Al-Maġribī borrows some of the terminology used in the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* 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-ṣawāb...* "whereas the norm is...".[150] This could be an indication that al-Maġribī got his inspiration for *Daf ʿal-iṣr* from the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature. We know that he was familiar with at least one specimen of the genre: al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ fī awhām al-ḫawāṣṣ*, of which al-Maġribī produced an arrangement and appendix.[151] Nevertheless, al-Maġribī's purpose was the opposite of that of *the laḥn al-ʿāmma* 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.

Maṭar (1966) p. 56 refers to some authors who have devoted part of their *laḥn al-ʿāmma* work to words that were considered to be incorrect, even though they were not,[152] 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 ʿal-iṣr*, *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā ʾaṣāb fīh al-ʿawāmm* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563),[153] and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luġat ʾahl Miṣr min luġāt al-ʿarab* by Ibn abī al-Surūr[154]

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[147] This expression, or the similar *laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, is often used in titles of works of this genre, although different titles can be found as well such as *Kitāb ġalaṭāt al-ʿawāmm* or *Kitāb mā taġlaṭ fīhi al-ʿawāmm*, see *EI²* V p. 606a (Ch. Pellat).

[148] According to *EI²* V p. 607a (Ch. Pellat) the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi al-ʿawāmm* or *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma,* attributed to al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), is probably the first work of the genre.

[149] *EI²* V p. 605 (Ch. Pellat).

[150] Compare *EI²* V p. 605 (Ch. Pellat).

[151] See *Daf ʿal-iṣr* fols. 3a, 8b, 9a and §1.4.

[152] E.g. Ibn Hišām al-Laḫmī, Ibn Makkī in *Taṯqīf al-lisān*, and Ibn al-Sayyid al-Baṭalyūsī in *al-Iqtiḍāb.*

[153] See *GAL* S II pp. 495-6.

[154] For the latter see §3.4.

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

Al-Maġribī does not include the word *ʿāmma* or *ʿawāmm* ("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-Maġribī changed the title during the writing process: The original title of the work was *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa qāmūs al-ʿawāmm,* "The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people". The word *ʿawāmm* was often used in the genre of the "language errors" literature, e.g. al-Zubaydī's *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi al-ʿawāmm*, which is attributed to al-Kisāʾī.[155] However, the *ʿawāmm* were not always the target, but rather the *ḫawāṣṣ*, whose feelings were spared by the reference in the title to the *ʿawāmm*. Al-Maġribī 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 *ḫawāṣṣ*", "this occurs from the *ʿawāmm*", "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-Maġribī decided to change the title of the book.

Moreover, *Daf ʿal-iṣr* differs from the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature in that al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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.[156] It is safe to say that at least half of *Daf ʿal-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 (*šawāhid*), and used a system of abbreviations of his own invention, for instance ع for *mawḍiʿ* "place" to indicate a place-name in general, د for *balad* "town", ة for *qarya* "village", ج for

[155] See *EI²* V p. 605b (Ch. Pellat).

[156] Sometimes, notably more towards the end, al-Maġribī also quotes from *Muḫtaṣar al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, an abbreviation of *Tāǧ al-luġa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabīya* by Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ǧawharī (d. ca. 398/1008). See *GAL* S I p. 196 and *EI²* II p. 495b ff. (L. Kopf).

ǧamʿ "plural", م for *maʿrūf* "known" for entries which need not be explained[157] (for instance the word *rağul*[158]). In this way, he succeeded in cramming 60,000 entries into two volumes.[159] In *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, al-Fīrūzābādī criticizes al-Ǧawharī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and states in his introduction that: "half the language or more escaped him [al-Ǧawharī]",[160] and adds that it contains "clear delusions and shameful mistakes".[161] Al-Maġribī 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[162]

"They say to a small boat *zwraq*, and this is correct. He said in *al-Qāmūs*: 'a *zawraq* is a small boat', which is clearer than the words of *al-Muḫtaṣar*:[163] 'a *zawraq* is a kind of boat'."

Nonetheless, al-Maġribī 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.[164] Knowing this language, al-Maġribī 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 للحآئك يضع فيه الغزل وينسج به واداة الاسكاف والبرسام›[165]

"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"."

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[157] See al-Fīrūzābādī's introduction to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* p. 32d.

[158] See *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 903b.

[159] 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.

[160] *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 32c.

[161] Ibid. p. 32h.

[162] Fol. 42a.

[163] Al-Maġribī used an abbreviated version of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.

[164] Steingass (1975) p. 1348: موم "*mom, mūm,* wax; a wax-candle".

[165] *Dafʿ al-iṣr* fol. 106a.

Al-Maġribī's friend and colleague, al-Ḫafāǧī, was more realistic when he wrote in *Šifāʾ al-ġalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-daḫīl* 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-Maġribī 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 *hāʾ*. 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 *ġāšim* "unjust, tyrant" can be found in *ḥarf al-mīm, faṣl al-ġayn.* This was the common order in the dictionaries of the time.[166] Although other dictionaries used this system, we can assume that had *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* used a different one, al-Maġribī would have followed suit.

Finally, we can detect the significant influence of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* in the choice of entries in *Daf' al-iṣr*. Sometimes, al-Maġribī mentions a word which he found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* but has a different meaning in the Egyptian dialect, i.e. the word *ġubūq* (fol. 50a) which meant "cloudy" in Egyptian Arabic while *ġabūq* means "evening draught" in Classical Arabic. One often gets the impression that al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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-iṣr* are of no interest, or are not even worth mentioning in a dictionary of the spoken Arabic of Cairo. Examples are expressions such as *šāʿir mufliq* "an outstanding poet"[167] or *al-ʾawwəl wa l-ʾāḫir* "the first and the last".[168]

[166] See Haywood (1965) p. 48. This order can be found also in *Lisān al-ʿarab.*
[167] fol. 53b.
[168] fol. 93b.

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

As explained in §2.2, the *Daf ʿ 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 luġat ʾahl Miṣr min luġāt al-ʿArab* ("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 ʿ 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-Šāfiʿī Sibṭ ʾĀl al-Ḥasan,[169] was a member of a famous Egyptian family, affiliated to the Bakrīya *ṣūfī* order. Ibn Abī al-Surūr was probably born in 998/1589-90.[170] 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 17th century.[171]

Fortunately, Ibn Abī al-Surūr's abbreviation of *Daf ʿ 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-Maġribī had a habit of elaborating and digressing from the main purpose of the book.[172] *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is, therefore, a better arranged and more structured document than *Daf ʿ 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 ʿ al-iṣr* against other dictionaries that were not consulted by al-Maġribī, such as Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Ibn al-ʾAnbārī's *al-Zāhir*[173] and Karāʿ al-Naml's *al-Muğarrad*.[174] After Ibn Abī al-Surūr, both manuscripts (*Daf ʿ al-iṣr* and *al-*

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[169] See Rafeq (1975) p. 25 for his full name.

[170] Ibid. p. 27.

[171] Detailed information can be found in Rafeq (1975). He does not, however, mention *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*.

[172] See Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962) p. 7 in his introduction to *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*.

[173] Full title *al-Zāhir fī maʿānī kalimāt al-nās* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (231/885-328/940), see *GAL* S I p. 182.

[174] Full title *al-Muğarrad fī ġarīb kalām al-ʿArab wa luġātihā* by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hunāʾī al-Ruʾāsī, known as Kurāʿ al-Naml (d. 922/1516), see *GAL* S I p. 201. See e.g. the entry دُرَّابَة which

Qawl al-muqtaḍab) fell into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī, known as Ibn al-Wakīl.[175] He copied Ibn Abī al-Surūr's *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, while keeping *Daf ʿal-iṣr* open next to it, and added some of the entries that Ibn Abī al-Surūr had left out.[176] The version of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* referred to hereafter is the version published in 1962 by al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm Sālim, 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,[177] *Daf ʿal-iṣr* must, originally, have contained around 2560 entries. This means that *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* includes only one third of the entries of *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, 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 ʿal-iṣr* fol. 26a: ويقولون فلان مشغوف وفي اللغة المشغوف المجنون "they say: so-and-so is *mašġūf* and in the [Classical Arabic] language *mašġūf* means 'crazy'". *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 111 rewords this as follows: يقولون: فلان (شَغَفَه) الحب: أى أزال عقله: وهو صحيح لغوى "they say: so-and-so, love *šaġafahu*, i.e. made him go out of his mind, and it is correct in the Classical Arabic language".
2. *Daf ʿal-iṣr* fol. 69a: ويطلق الجميل ايضا على الشتم "they use the word *ǧamīl* 'beautiful' also as an insult". *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 134: ويقولون: فلان (جميل) الصورة مثلا "they say: so-and-so is *ǧamīl* 'beautiful' of shape for instance".
3. *Daf ʿal-iṣr* fol. 107a: يقولون فلان كثير النيام أي النوم وهو صحيح ايضا مثل الصوم والصيام "they say: so-and-so sleeps much (*kaṯīr al-niyām*), and it is correct as well, just

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

[175] For more information about this person, see §2.1.

[176] See the introduction to the edition of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, p. 7, where the introduction which the copiist 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 ʿal-iṣr*. This is understandable, because he had not seen *Daf ʿal-iṣr* so could not compare the two, but he was incorrect.

[177] 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 (*kaṯīr al-nawm*), which is correct".

4. *Daf ʿal-iṣr* fol. 92a يقولون اتمقّل بعينك "they say *itmaqqal* 'look' with your eye". *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 141 يقولون (مَقَل) 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 *ǧamīl* 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 *maṣdar*s of the verb *nām* are used: *niyām* and *nawm.* He only mentioned the second, more common one, while al-Maġribī'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 ʿal-iṣr*.

3.5 Earlier studies of *Daf ʿal-Iṣr*

Undoubtedly, Ibn Abī al-Surūr and Ibn al-Wakīl were the first to study *Daf ʿal-iṣr*. After these two efforts, it remained unnoticed for almost two centuries, even when it came into the hands of Muḥammad ʿAyyād 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-Ṭanṭawī was interested in the Egyptian dialect, as can be seen in his *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*.

After *Daf ʿal-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.[178]

The next person to take an interest in the manuscript was Ignatij Julianovič Kratchkovsky (1883-1951), who wrote an excellent article about *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* and its author in 1926. Subsequently, it seems that the existence of *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* 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 ʿ al-iṣr* had been lost.[179] 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 ʿ al-iṣr* was published as a facsimile by the Publishing House Nauk ("Science"), in Moscow. The text was introduced by ʿAbd al-Salām Aḥmad ʿAwwād in Russian and Arabic. He also produced extensive indices of the entries, Qurʾān-verses, *ḥadīṯ*, proverbs, poetry by al-Maġribī and others, songs, riddles, famous people, sects and tribes, places, and books by al-Maġribī and other authors. ʿAwwād 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 ʿ al-iṣr*.[180] In his nine page Arabic introduction, ʿAwwād provides some information about al-Maġribī'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 ʿ al-iṣr* 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 ʿ al-iṣr*, such as placing the interrogatives at the end of the sentence, the frequent use of certain word patterns, such as *faʿʿāl*, changes in vowels, proverbs and expressions.

[178] 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 ʿ al-iṣr.*

[179] See §3.4.

[180] See Ḥiǧāzī (1968) p. 117.

- Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb published an article in 1969-1970 about *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, in which he discusses at length several of the linguistic phenomena that appear in it, such as emphasis, metathesis, loss of interdentals, change of vowels etc.
- A review of *Daf ʿal-iṣr* was published by Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥiǧāzī 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 interdentals and *hamza*, the words of foreign origin, and the words that are specific to certain classes, which al-Maġribī discusses.
- An interesting book by Nāṣir ʿAbd Allāh ʿUṯmān, about the sciences in Egypt in the 17th century, was published in 2006. In it, a chapter is devoted to the work of linguists. *Daf ʿal-iṣr* is mentioned as one of the most important linguistic documents of that time. Unfortunately, ʿUṯmān was unable to consult the manuscript or the ʿAwwād edition, and therefore only refers to the aforementioned article by Sharbatov.[181]

So far, the interest in *Daf ʿal-iṣr* had been purely linguistical. 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 ʿal-iṣr*.[182] The dialectal poetry in *Daf ʿal-iṣr* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. In 2003, Nelly Hanna used *Daf ʿal-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 *ʿulamāʾ* started to adapt their style and subject-matters to a non-academic readership.[183] At the same time, the culture of the middle classes also started to influence scholarly work.[184] It therefore seems that al-Maġribī's *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī 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 ʿal-iṣr*. Two of these concern the loanwords that had entered the Arabic language.

[181] See Uṯmān (2006) p. 275 footnote 81.
[182] See Frolova (1982), Frolova (1995) and Frolova (1997).
[183] Hanna (2003) p. 112-113.
[184] Ibid. p. 113-114.

One is from Egypt, the aforementioned *Šifāʾ al-ġalīl fīmā fī kalām al-ʿarab min al-daḫīl* by Šihāb al-Dīn al-Ḫafāǧī, and the second, from Syria, is by al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), *Qaṣd al-sabīl fīmā fi al-luġa al-ʿarabīya min al-daḫīl*. Hanna describes the last work as follows: "One of his (al-Muḥibbī's) aims was to pinpoint colloquial words that were used by the *ʿāmma*. He distinguished them from imported words (*daḫīl*) with the aim of showing them to be distortions (*taḥrīf*), or Arabic words that the *ʿāmma* 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".[185] Here we see the difference to the approach of al-Maġribī, who did not disapprove of the colloquial.

3.6 Al-Maġribī's methodology

As mentioned in §2.3, the first title al-Maġribī gave to his work was *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa qāmūs al-ʿawāmm.* The word *qāmūs* "dictionary" implies an attempt at an exhaustive word list, with an explanation of the meaning of every word. Al-Maġribī 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 *miʿlaqa* "spoon" and *maġrafa* "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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī, 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.

It certain cases, al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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

[185] Ibid. p. 131.

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

يقولون كتان بكسر الكاف وانما هو كتان بفتحها "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 اداوي كفتاوي والاداة الالة جمعه ادوات› فلعل قولهم اداوة ناس اصله ادوات فغيّرت

"They say: so-and-so has no *idāwət nās,* and this is unknown.[186] He says:[187] '*ʾidāwa* with an *i* is a washroom, pl. *ʾadāwā*, like *fatāwā*, and *ʾadāh* is a tool, pl. *ʾadawāt*'. So perhaps the origin of their expression *idāwət nās* is *ʾadawāt*, which was subject to a change".

Unfortunately, in most cases al-Maġribī 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*,[188] as well as the placement of diacritical points, which is sometimes inaccurate.

Al-Maġribī 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.[189] If a word does not have an Arabic root, al-Maġribī normally states that it is "unknown" to him, meaning that he did not find it in the Classical Arabic dictionaries. Al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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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[186] I.e., it cannot be found in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*

[187] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* p. 1133a.

[188] See §6.1.1.

[189] For instance *miṯl* → *mitl*, see *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* fol. 91.

Al-Maġribī's treatment of the interdentals will serve as an example of his attitude towards language changes. It is known that in al-Maġribī's time, the interdentals had disappeared from the dialect of Cairo.[190] Although he does not make a general statement about this matter, he gives evidence of the shift from interdentals to dentals in several entries. The only time he explicitly mentions this change is when, on fol. 11a, he wrote by mistake *faṣl al-bāʾ al-muṯannāh* ("Chapter of the *bāʾ* 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 المثناة فوق اعنى بهم العوام "The people who say the *tāʾ* with two diacritical points on top, with them I mean the *ʿawāmm.*"

He therefore acknowledges that the shift *ṯāʾ* → *tā* had indeed taken place. Some examples of the loss of interdentals from *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* are:
- يقولون على الشجر اتل بالمثناه وانما هو اثل بالمثلثة "they call the tree *atl* ("tamarisk") with two diacritical points, while it is *aṯl* with three points";[191]
- يقولون توم بالمثناة وانما هو ثوم بالمثلثة "they say *twm*[192] ("garlic") with two points while it is *ṯūm* with three points";[193]

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

ويقولون حنضل على الحنظل بالظاء المشالة وليس له وجه فان الحنضل الغدير الصغير والحنضلة الماء في الصخرة[194]

"They say *ḥanḍal* ("colocynth") to *hanẓal* with the *ẓāʾ* with a stroke, and this has no cognate [in the literary language], because *ḥanḍal* is a small brook, and *ḥanḍala* is water in a rock."

[190] Proofs of this can be found in earlier texts than *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, see Davies (1981) p. 66. For more details see §6.2.2.
[191] Fol. 63a.
[192] It is not clear whether al-Maġribī means *tōm* or *tūm*, since the Arabic script has no way to distinguish between the *ō* and *ū*-sounds.
[193] Fol. 96a.
[194] Fol. 71b.

Although al-Maġribī realised that the colloquial حنضل is derived from حنظل, 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-Maġribī *did* write interdentals, although this does not imply that they were actually pronounced as such, for instance:

- قِثا *qiṯṯa* "Armenian cucumber"[195] (note also the *kasra*, while Davies (1981:437) attests *ʾattāya* for the late 17th century), where one would have expected قتا (nowadays pronounced *ʾatta* in Cairo);[196]
- نظيف صليف *nəẓīf ṣəlīf* "spotless",[197] instead of present-day *niḍīf*;
- رذل ككتف *raḏil ka-katif*[198] "despicable".

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

Sometimes, al-Maġribī'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.[200] A good example is the word *milʿaqa* "spoon", which had become *maʿlaqa* in the Egyptian dialect of al-Maġribī's time (see fol. 49b), and is nowadays pronounced *maʿlaʾa*. Instead of immediately admitting that in the word *miʿlaqa* metathesis of the *ʿayn* and *lām* has taken place, he gives an explanation that the word has something to do with the verb *ʿaliqa* "to hang". He mentions only as an afterthought that it was said to be derived from *milʿaqa*:

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 مِعلقه بالكسر تعلق الطعام والشراب او يقال انها ملعقه بتقديم اللام اللعق

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[195] Fol. 9b.

[196] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 686a.

[197] Fol. 28a.

[198] Fol. 75b. Sometimes al-Maġribī used a well-known word with the same vowel pattern as the explained word, instead of vocalizing the word; see the next paragraph.

[199] See §6.2.2.

[200] See for instance the example زحلفة and its explanation as mentioned by Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 119.

"They say *maʿlaqa* to the tool with which they eat and drink. I did not find it in *al-Qāmūs*, but it says: 'a man endowed with *maʿlaqa*, like *marḥala*, hangs on to everything he achieves', end of the quotation. So perhaps in analogy to this the instrument *miʿlaqa* with *kasr* hangs on to the food and drink; or it is said that it is *milʿaqa* with preceding *lām* from 'licking' ".

Therefore, we may conclude that al-Maġribī knew the proper explanation of the word *maʿlaqa*, but in his eagerness to prove the correctness of the Egyptian language, he preferred to retrace the word to the root ʿLQ, and make-up a far-fetched explanation, rather than admit that the Egyptians had 'corrupted' the word *milʿaqa*. Later, he mentions the word again (fol. 54b):

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

"I learnt that the word *maʿlaqa* of the Egyptians is incorrect, contrary to the word *milʿaqa* with *kasr* of the *mīm* of the people of Mecca, as I heard them say in Mecca[201] and other places".

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

يقولون كنّ كذا من المعلوم أن مرادهم كأنّ كذا خفف لكثره الاستعمال ‹والكنة بالفتح امراة الابن أو الأخ (...)›

"They say *kənn kaḏā*. It is known that they mean *kaʾann 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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī had some understanding of the changes that had affected the language. Therefore, it is sometimes surprising that he did not

[201] When al-Maġribī was a child, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca with his father, see *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* 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 *tertiae hamza* had become *tertiae yāʾ*:

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 وخبيته (...)

"They say, I *ḫabbyt* the thing, i.e. I have hidden it and concealed it. *ḫabbyt* is not in the language with this meaning, but with another meaning. He said: '*ḫabāʾ* is the singular of *ʾaḫbiya* (...); '*istaḫbaynā* the tent, i.e. we pitched it and we entered it, and *ʾaḫbaytu* the tent and *ḫabbaytuhu* (...)'."

3.6.1 Entries and their context

Al-Maġribī 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 وَهُم العوام الصرف ما احنا من دي القَبَل بفتح القاف والباء ويريدون معنى القبيل أي من الجماعة الذين يفعلون مثل هذا[202]

"The pure common folk say, 'we are not of this type (*qabal*)', with an *a* after the *qāf* and the *bāʾ*. 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 iḥnā min dī-l-qabal*. This sentence provides us whith a great deal of information: it contains the words *iḥnā* "we" and *dī* "this, that", both of which al-Maġribī does not mention as separate entries in his word list.[203] This example highlights that al-Maġribī, sometimes, provides us with much more information than he intended to.

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

ويقولون ايش هذه الخُزَعْبَلات أي الأمور التي لا أصل لها

"They say: what are these *ḫuzuʿbalāt* ('superstitions'), which means these things which have no foundation".

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[202] Fol. 88b.

[203] For more details on *iḥnā*, see §6.3.2. For preposed *dī*, see §6.3.3.

The entry here is the word *ḫuzuʿbalāt*, and the Egyptian Arabic element is the interrogative *ʾayš / ʾēš* "what" (nowadays *ē* in Cairo, but in many parts of Egypt still pronounced as *ʾēš*).[204] Note the use of *hāḏihī* in this example, which is a classicism, unlike the word *dī* in the previous example.

3.7 Metalanguage

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

3.7.1 Describing the vocalization of a word

Al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī makes use, albeit infrequently, of the signs *fatḥa*, *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-Muḥīṭ*, who in turn relied heavily on the system devised by al-Ǧawharī in *Tāǧ al-luġa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabīya*.[205]

Al-Maġribī 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-fatḥ* "with an *a*", *bi-l-ḥarakāt* "with two *a*-s", *bi-l-sukūn* "without a following vowel" etc. The word *muṯallaṯ* is used to indicate that a word can have an *a*, *i* or *u* (note that *muṯallaṯ* can also mean that a letter has three diacritical dots, while al-Maġribī also uses it to describe a certain kind of poem, see §4.2.1). Some examples are:

[204] For more details on *ʿayš/ʾēš*, see §6.3.5.2.
[205] See Haywood (1965) pp. 86-87.

ويقولون عنّاب ولكن من كسر عينه لم يصح قال في القاموس عنّاب كرمّان ثمر معروف "They say *ʿinnāb* 'jujube', but those who pronounce an *i* after the *ʿayn* are wrong; he says in *al-Qāmūs:* '*ʿunnāb* like *rummān* is a well-known fruit'";[206]

ويقولون لما يسف سفوف بضم السين "They say to 'medicinal powder', *sufūf*, with a *u* after the letter *sīn*";[207]

ويقولون حصلت له نَصَفَه بالحركات "They say, to him happened *naṣafa* 'justice', with an *a* after the first and second radical";[208]

ويقولون دمشق الشام فيكسرون الدال والميم والفصيح فتح الميم "They say *Dimišq* of the Levant, pronouncing an *i* after the *dāl* and the *mīm*, while in Classical Arabic an *a* would be said after the *mīm*";[209]

ويقولون فلان زنديق فيفتحون الزاي وانما هو بكسرها "They say, so-and-so is a *zandīq* 'atheist', pronouncing an *a* after the *zāʾ*, but it is with an *i*";[210]

ويقولون لُعُوق بضم اللام وانما هو بفتحها (54b) "They say *luʿūq* 'electuary' with a *u* after the *lām* while it is with an *a*";

ويقولون فلان رِطِل بكسرهما (76b) "They say 'so-and-so is *riṭil* 'weak', pronouncing an *i* after both [the *rāʾ* and the *ṭāʾ*]";

ويقولون مصحف تارة بفتح الميم وتارة بضمّها ولكن هو مثلث الميم (27a) "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 (112b) "It is said that *ẖizāna* cannot have a *fatḥa* [i.e., be pronounced as *ẖazāna*], and that *maẖzan* cannot have a *kasra* [i.e., be pronounced as *miẖzan*]";

[206] Fol. 17b.
[207] Fol. 25a.
[208] Fol. 34a.
[209] Fol. 39b.
[210] Fol. 42b.

The last example is a pun on the words *kasr* and *fatḥ*, 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-Maġribī likes to make.[211]

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

> يقولون مرثيه بالتشديد والصواب التخفيف (8b) "They say *marṯiyya* 'elegy' with a *šadda* [of the *yāʾ*], and correct would be without a *šadda*";
>
> يقولون رثيته مرثيّة يشدون وانما هي مرثية مخففة (127b) "They say, I lamented him in a *marṯiyya* 'elegy', which they pronounce with a *šadda*, while it is *marṯiya* without a *šadda*".

3.7.1.2 Comparison with well-known words

The second method al-Maġribī 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 ʿal-Iṣr*:

> ويقولون رِضاب بالكسر للريق والصواب رضاب كغراب (14a) "They say *riḍāb* 'saliva' with an *i*, and correct would be *ruḍāb* like *ġurāb*";
>
> ويقولون ويقع من الشوام علي الرجل رجال كشدّاد (75a) "They say, and this occurs often from the people of the Levant, *raǧǧāl* 'man' like *šaddād*";
>
> ويقولون فلان رذل ككتف (75b) "They say, so-and-so is *raḏil* 'despicable' like *katif*".[212]

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[211] For more jokes of this type, see §6.5.3.

[212] Although for the word كتف 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-Maġribī 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 يكتم بضم التآ وهو كذلك من باب ينصر (105b) "They say, 'so-and-so *yiktum*, holds a secret, with a *u* after the *tāʾ*, 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: *muṯallaṯ* "having three diacritical dots", *muṯannā* "having two diacritical dots", *muʿǧam* "having one diacritical dot", and *muhmal* "having no diacritical dots". To specify the upward stroke of the *ẓāʾ* the word *mušāl* is used (although only once in the whole work). Some examples:

> يقولون توم بالمثناة وانما هو ثوم بالمثلثة (96a) "They say *twm* 'garlic' with two dots, but it is *ṯwm* with three dots";

> يقولون ما له متل بالمثناة فوق وانما هو مثل (91b) "They say 'it has no *mitl* 'equivalent' with two dots on top, but it is *miṯl*";

> ويقولون زرق الطائر وانما هو ذرق بالذال المعجمة (40a) "They say *zirq aṭ-ṭāʾir* 'bird droppings'; however, it is *ḏirq* with a *ḏāl* with a dot";

> ويقولون حنضل علي الحنظل بالظآ المشالة (71b) "They say *ḥanḍal* 'colocynth' for *ḥanẓal* with the *ẓāʾ* with a stroke".

3.7.3 Linguistic terms

Some linguistic terminology found in *Daf' al-ʾIṣr* includes words like متعد *mutaʿaddī* "transitive" and لازم *lāzim* "intransitive" (although only used in quotations from *al-*

Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ), إتباع *itbāʿ* "intensification by repeating a word with its initial consonant changed, such as *kaṯīr baṯīr*",[213] مشترك *muštarak* "homonym", and ضد *ḍidd*, pl. أضداد *ʾaḍdād*: "(a word) having two mutually exclusive meanings".[214] Al-Maġribī was very fond of using a توربة *tawriya* or "double-entendre" in his poems.

Al-Maġribī used the expression وحكم التثليث *wa ḥakam al-taṯlīṯ* "here rules triplication" to indicate that a word exists which can have a *kasr*, *fatḥ* 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-hāʾ* means that the regular feminine of a given word takes the *tāʾ marbūṭa*.[215]

The word لغة *luġa* originally meant "dialect", "dialectal word" in the Arabic grammatical tradition,[216] but al-Maġribī uses it with the meaning of the "Classical Arabic language". Therefore, a dialectal word that, according to him, is *luġa*, can be found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. He also uses the word *luġawī* with the same meaning. If a word is *ġayr luġawī* this means it is not in accordance with Classical Arabic.

Al-Maġribī uses the term الجيم الغير العربية *al-ǧīm al-ġayr al-ʿarabīya* "the un-Arabic *ǧīm*" to indicate the pronunciation /č/ or /g/ (see §6.2.1), and it can therefore be concluded that the Arabic *ǧīm* for al-Maġribī was /ǧ/.

3.7.4 Classification of colloquial words

Al-Maġribī 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 yusmaʿ min* "this is heard from", *wa hāḏā yaqaʿ 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 ʾaṣl* "it has an origin". The expression *wa fīh luġāt* is used to indicate that a word has several meanings. When explaining what the Egyptians meant to say with a certain word,

[213] Wehr (1994) p. 109b.
[214] *EALL* I p. 626 (L. Bettini).
[215] Another borrowed expression from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, see Haywood (1965) p. 87.
[216] See *EALL* III p. 88ff (T. Iványi) and *EI*[2] V p. 803a ff (A. Hadj-Salah).

he uses *wa yurīdūn* or *wa yaʿnūn* "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 yuʿlam* "it is not known" or *wa lam yuʿlam min al-luġa* "it is not known from the [Classical Arabic] language"; *wa lam ʾaʿlam lahu munāsaba / nisba* "I do not know anything that corresponds to it", *wa laysa ka-ḏālik* "it is not like this", *wa laysa lahu waǧh* "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 *ṣaḥḥafa* and its derivatives are used: *yuṣaḥḥifūn* "they mispronounce", *taṣḥīf ʿan* "[it is a] mispronunciation of", *muṣaḥḥaf ʿan* "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: والبيّ 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 aʿlam ʾanna* "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 ʿal-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 *ṣaḥḥ* (sometimes abbreviated to ص or صـ),[217] which is very common in manuscripts. The word فائدة *fāʾida* "nota-bene"[218] 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.

[217] "when used for an omission/insertion or evident correction", *EALL* I p. 2 (A. Gacek).
[218] See *EALL* I p. 2 (A. Gacek).

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

Verbs	Nouns
karuma, yakrumu "to be noble"	*ʾamīr* "prince"
manaʿa, yamnaʿu "to hinder"	*katif* "shoulder"
samiʿa, yasmaʿu "to hear"	*hamza* "the letter *hamza*"
ṭariba, yaṭrabu "to become affected with emotion"	*tannūr* "oven"
naṣara, yanṣuru "to render victorious"	*Zubayr* personal name
daḫala, yadḫulu "to enter"	*rummān* "pomegranate"
ḍaraba, yaḍribu "to hit"	*kisāʾ* "garment"
ǧalasa, yağlisu "to sit"	*ʿinab* "grapes"
radda, yaruddu "to bring back"	*Šaddād* personal name
wadda, yawaddu "to love"	*qirṭās* "scroll of paper"
bāʿa, yabīʿu "to sell"	*ṣabūr* "patient"
ʿadā, yaʿdū "to pass"	*ṣurad* "sparrow-hawk"
ramā, yarmī "to throw"	*ʿutull* "glutton"
ṣadiya, yaṣdā "to be very thirsty"	*nadus* "sharp-minded"

CHAPTER 4

The Poetry in *Daf ʿ al-iṣr*

4.1 Dialectal poetry

Al-Maġribī composed 26 *mawāwīl* for *Daf ʿ al-iṣr*.[219] A *mawwāl* is a non-Classical verse form which could be written in either Classical Arabic or the colloquial.[220] 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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī often deliberately wrote the meaning next to the poem.[221]

Most *mawāwīl* in *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* were composed when an entry inspired al-Maġribī, 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.[222]

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

Although al-Maġribī 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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[219] Al-Maġribī 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.

[220] See *EI*[2] VI p. 868a (P. Cachia).

[221] See the *mawāwīl* on fols. 51b, 52b, 57b, 69a, 74a and 94b.

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

[223] 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.

[224] These all are within the *basīṭ*-metre described by Stoetzer (1989) pp. 148-9.

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

Sometimes, a short vowel is needed to fit the metre, which is indicated in the transliteration by an *ə*. Most of the poems are love poems, and the usual vocabulary of this genre is employed: We frequently find words such as "rebuker" (*ʿāḏil* or *ʿaḏūl*), "passion" (*ʿišq*), "moonlight" (*nūr al-qamar*), "a promise" (*waʿd*), "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:*[226]

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

ʾaṣbaḥtə min ʿišqə ḥibbī ḥālə minnī l-bāl
wa-ṭībə ḏikruh wa-ʾawṣāfuh dawām fī-l-bāl
in ǧā li-ʿindī uḍīfuh bi-l-ḥamal wa-l-bāl
wa-ʾin riḍī bī bi-irḍa l-bāl yakūn ḏā-l-bāl
"my mind is busy since I fell for my darling
The scent of his[227] 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 حبوبتي الغزل قد حاكتْ
للصبّ اكفان لما ان مشت حاكت
الفاظها في فواد الحبّ قد حاكت
ونور ضياها لمع لو الشمس قد حاكت

ʿuyūnə maḥbūbatī bi-l-ġazlə qad ḥākat
li-l-ṣabbə akfānə lammā ʾin mašat ḥākat

[226] Fol. 66b.

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

alfāẓəhā fī fuʾād al-ḥibbə qad ḥākat
wa-nūr ḍiyāhā lamaʿ lū al-šamsə 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*:[228]

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

man yaʿḏul al-ṣabbə miṯl al-ʿyrə yākul tibn
wa-kullə man yaʿḏiruh fi-l-ḥubbə hāḏāk tibn
wa-ḥaqqə bārī-l-nasam insān yakunʾaw tibn
in zurtəʾasqī-l-ḥalāʾiq fī 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 differend ways: as the perfect verb *qall* "diminished", the imperative *qul* "say!", the noun *qull* "a small number" and the adjective *qull* "unique":[229]

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

[228] Fol. 110a.

[229] Fol. 90a.

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

yā munyət al-qalbə ṣilnī ʾinnə ṣabrī qall
wa ʿāḏilī fīka hāḏā l-qullə min al-qull
wa-ʾanta fī l-ḥusnə mufrad fī l-ḥabāyib qull
mahmā tašā min qaḍāyā yā ḥabībī qul
"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-Maġribī 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 نَمْنَمْ
ململ فوادي ومالي الكل قد لملم
مسمس حسودي بوصله لي ولو سمسم
مزمز بشربه من القهوة ولي زمزم

man manna bi-l-waṣlə lū ʿāraḍ kamā namnam
malmal fuʾādī wa-mā lī-l-kullə qad lamlam
masmas ḥasūdī bi-waṣluh lī wa-lū samsam
mazmaz bi-šurbuh 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 ʿAwwād's index (p. 314), two poems labeled *zaǧal* actually are *mawāwīl*: those on fols. 46b and 91a. The poem on fol. 11b is also not a *zaǧal*. 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-Maġribī which do not fit the Ḫalīlian metres and could therefore be classified as *zağal*. These are on fols. 103b and 86b.

Furthermore, we find a *dūbayt*[230] on fol. 27b, which according to al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī's poetry. As explained earlier, the classical poetry actually written by al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī had composed previously. For instance, there are two long poems on fols. 9b and 19b which were taken from his work *Muḏahhabāt al-ḥusn*.

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

راوا فـي عـالـم الـرويـا ❊ ضيآءً منك يجلو الاصْرْ
فقلت وجآ في التاريخ ❊ عــلــي پاشا ينوّر مصر

raʾaw fī ʿālam al-ruʾyā / ḍiyāʾan minka yaǧlū l-ʾiṣr
fa-qultu-w ǧāʾa fī l-tārīḫ / ʿalī pāšā yunawwir miṣr

"They saw in a vision / a light which removed the burden from you
I said, 'In the history / Ali Pasha[234] came to enlighten Egypt'".

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[230] "A quatrain of a particular metre (*faʿlun mutafāʿilun faʿūlun faʿilun*) and rhyme scheme *aaba* (called *aʿraǧ*) or *aaaa*." *EI*[2] VIII 582b (C.H. de Fouchecour et al.).

[231] See §2.3.

[232] There was always a pasha sent from Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, to rule Egypt.

[233] The metre is *hazağ*.

[234] ʿAlī IV, governor of Egypt from Ṣafar 1010/August 1601 to Rabīʿ 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.[235]

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

4.2.1 *taṯlīṯ*

There are also 18 small two-verse poems in *Daf' al-iṣr*, composed on the occasion of a *taṯlīṯ*, i.e. a word which can be read with *fatḥa*, *kasra* or *ḍamma*. Al-Maġribī 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 *raǧaz*-metre, and are all dimeters (*manhūk al-raǧaz*). 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":

لذي الجمال الرّفّ ⁎ وللعذول الرِّفّ
له يليق الرفّ ⁎ كالاتن او كالحمر

li-ḏī l-ǧamāli l-raffū / wa li-l-ʿaḏūli l-riffū
lahū yalīqu l-ruffū / ka-l-ʾutni ʾaw ka-l-ḥumurī
"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":

شَفرة ضدّي كله ⁎ والحبّ وسط كِلّه
انـــي اريـد كلّه ⁎ اعني جميع الامر

šafratu ḍiddī kallah / wa l-ḥibbu wasṭa killah
ʾinnī ʾurīdu kullah / ʾaʿnī ǧamīʿa l-ʾamrī
"the edge of my adversary's sword is blunt / and my beloved is behind a curtain

[235] 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-Maġribī, however, had a different opinion: "I composed وانما نظمت مثلثات لم ينظمها احد في علمي ذلك من فضل الله *muṯallaṯāt* which to the best of my knowledge no one else has composed. This is a gift from God".[236]

4.2.2 *taḫmīs*

As we have seen in §1.4.1, al-Maġribī made a *taḫmīs* of *Lāmīyat al-iḫwān wa muršidat al-ḫillān* by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290– 749/1349). The definition of *taḫmīs* is as follows:

> "*Taḫmīs* 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 *tašṭīr*. (The number of added hemistichs may in fact be more or less than three, in which case the term for the poem is variously *tarbīʿ* [2 added hemistichs], *tasbīʿ* [5 added hemistichs], etc.)".[237]

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

قلّل العشرة الا من حسَنْ
وارض في الاصحاب خلّ موتمن
واذا رمت ازديارا فاسمعن
غب وزرْ غبا تزد حبّا فمنْ * اكثر الترداد أصْماه المَلَلْ

qallil al-ʿišrata ʾillā man ḥasan
wa-rḍa fī l-ʾaṣḥābi ḫillun muʾtamin
wa-ʾiḏā rumta zdiyāran fa-smaʿan
ġib wa-zur ġibban tazid ḥubban fa-man / akṯara l-tardāda ʾaṣmāhu l-malal

[236] Fol. 101a.
[237] *EI*[2] X p. 123b-124a (P. F. Kennedy).

"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-Maġribī 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 *luġz* "riddle" or "enigma" is "generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form".[238] Inspired by the different meanings of words found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, al-Maġribī used the riddles to display his linguistic skills. On fol. 21b we find a riddle playing on the word *ḫarūf*, which has the well-known meaning of "sheep" but the less well-known meaning of "colt":[239]

يا من لهُمْ حسن فَهْم ⁎ فهم به في امان
فهل رايْتم خروفا ⁎ وليس ابنا لضان

yā man lahum ḥusnu fahmī / fahhim bihī fiʾamānī
fa-hal raʾaytum ḫarūfan / wa-laysaʾibnan li-ḍānī
"You who have good understanding / make us understand it safely
Did you see a *ḫarūf* / that is not the son of a sheep?"

The answer, also rhyming on *–nī*, follows on fol. 22a:[240]

نعم راينا خروفاً ⁎ وليس ابنا لضان
وذلك المهر حقاً ⁎ على اشتراك المعَاني

naʿam raʾaynā ḫarūfan / wa-laysaʾibnan li-ḍānī
wa-ḏālika l-muhru ḥaqqan / ʿalā štirāki l-maʿānī
"Yes, we saw a *ḫarūf* / that is not the son of a sheep

[238] *EI*[2] V p. 807a (M. Bencheneb).

[239] The metre is *muǧtatṯ*.

[240] Ibid.

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

Another *luġz* in which the writer plays with the double meaning of a word is found on fol. 129b:[241]

خبّروني عن صدوق صادق ❊ وصحيح قولنا فيه افترى

ḫabbirūnī ʿan 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:[242]

اجيبوا عن فتى امسى ❊ يصلي حاملا جروَهْ

ولـم تبطل وَوَافانا ❊ سريعا راكبٌ جِروه

ʾaǧībū ʿan fatan ʾamsā / yuṣallī ḥāmilan ǧarwah

wa-lam tubṭil wa-wāfānā / sarīʿan 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":[243]

هات قل لي ايّ لفظ ❊ حار فيه واصِفوه

يجمع الضدّين فاعجب ❊ فهو بالتقليب فوه

hāti qul lī ʾayya lafẓī / ḥāra fīhī wāṣifūhū

yaǧmaʿu l-ḍiddayni fa-ʾaʿǧib / fa-hwa bi-l-taqlībi fūhū

"Come, tell me any word / about which its describers were perplexed[244]

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[241] The metre is *ramal.*

[242] The metre is *hazaǧ.*

[243] The metre is *ramal.*

[244] This is a pun, since *ḥārr* also refers to the "hot wind".

It brings together two opposites, so admire it / because inverted it means 'his mouth'"

4.2.4 The metres of al-Maġribī's poems

The total number of poems by al-Maġribī with a Ḫalīlian metre (including the riddles) is 104. The division of the metres is as follows: *raǧaz* 38, *basīṭ* 27 (including 26 colloquial *mawāwīl*), *sarīʿ* 6, *ḫafīf* 5, *wāfir* 5, *hazaǧ* 5, *ramal* 5, *muǧtaṯṯ* 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 *raǧaz* is because of the large number of *muṭallaṭāt* in this metre. The *raǧaz*, with its short lines, and especially *manhūk al-raǧaz*, is a particularly suitable metre for improvised poems such as al-Maġribī's *muṭallaṭāt*. Another element which could have played a role is the fact that the *raǧaz* was a well-known metre amongst the reading public because of its use in the *urǧūza* or didactic poetry.[245]

4.3 Non-Arabic poetry

As mentioned previously (see §1.1.2), al-Maġribī knew Persian and Turkish and translated some literary works from these languages to Arabic. The Persian poetry in *Dafʿ al-iṣr* consists of three quotations from Saʿdī's[246] *Gulistān*,[247] and one verse[248] by al-Mullā Ḥāfiẓ.[249]

The only Turkish poetry in *Daf' al-iṣr* is two poems about coffee, both on fol. 6a. The first was composed by a Turk who recited it at a *mağlis* where al-Maġribī was present:[250]

قهوه حقنده حلال اولامي ديين احمق
اصلي بو ندره بيلور قلب ايله اولور هو حق

[245] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 117.

[246] See §1.4.

[247] On fols. 10a and 133b.

[248] On fol. 86a.

[249] "Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad Šīrāzī, Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, commonly considered the pre-eminent master of the *ġazal*. 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*." *EI*[2] III 55a-b (G.M. Wickens).

[250] I thank Dr. Erich Prokosch for his help with the transliteration and translation of these two poems.

Qahvä ḥaqqında ḥälāl ola mı (?) dėyenʾaḥmaq
ʾaṣli bu: nä dersä (?), bilür qalb-ilä: olur Hüvä / Hū Ḥaq(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 *qaḥwa*, the Turk was under the impression that the word *qhwh* when read backwards was *hw ḥq* "it is the Truth".[251] Of course, this caused great merriment amongst the others present at the *mağlis*. Al-Maġribī then composed a reply in Turkish on the spot (which demonstrates his knowledge of the Turkish language):

جهله بكزر جهانده فقر اولمز ❋ قتى يوخسل جهانده جاهل در
مال ايله ناقصي غني صانمه ❋ اول كشي در غني كه كامل در

Ğählä bäñzär ğihānda faqr olmaz / qatı yoḫsul ğihānda ğāhildir
Māl-ilä nāqıṣı ġanī ṣanma! / Ol kišidir ġanī 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-Maġribī also provides us with his own Arabic translation of the last poem:

ليس فقر شبيه فقر الجهل ❋ انّ ذا الجهل مملق سافل
لا نظنّ الغبي غنيَّ الذات ❋ ما غنيّ سِوَا الفتا الكامل

"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[252]"

[251] The word *ḥaqq* was in *ṣūfī* terminology a synonym of Allāh; the two terms were used interchangeably. See Chittich (1989) p. 132b and Ernst (1985) p. 29 and 141.
[252] In ṣūfism, the concept of *al-insān al-kāmil*, the "perfect man", comprises the idea that man occupies a leading position in the creation. See *EI²* III p. 1239a ff. (R. Arnaldez).

CHAPTER 5

Aspects of Daily life

Al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī's time seem to have had a sweet tooth. Al-Maġribī 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-ʿīd* "cookies served at the religious holidays" (62a), قطآئف *qaṭāʾif* "sweet pancakes" (32b), نقل *nuql* "a dessert of dried fruit or nuts" (93a), مفَتّقه *məfattaqa* (52a) "jam made of molasses and other ingredients", *mərabbā* (9a) مربّى "jam" and عسل نحل *ʿasal naḥl* "honey" (83b). We also find reference to some sweetmeats that are less familiar these days: مامونية *māmūniya* (109a), a kind of marzipan, apparently named after al-Maʾmūn;[253] a sweetmeat which al-Maġribī calles alternately خشكنان *ḫuškənān* (10a) and خشتنانك *ḫuštənānak* (58a), which is a pastry filled with almond paste (عجوة *ʿağwa* (128b)), a popular dish in the seventeenth century[254] which was still known at the time of Aḥmad Taymūr Bāšā[255] but is now, apparently, forgotten; هيطليّة *hyṭəliyya,* a sweet dish made of wheat

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[253] وكنت اسمع انها نسبة للمامون لانه الذي اظهرها "I heard that it is a *nisba* to al-Maʾmūn, because he introduced it" (109a). Lane I 103a confirms this: "مَأْمُونِيَّة a certain kind of food; so called in relation to el-Ma-moon". Al- Maʾmūn, Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Rašīd (170/786- 218/833) was the seventh ʿAbbāsid caliph, see *EI*[2] VI 331a ff.

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

[255] See Taymūr (2001-2) III p. 183.

starch and milk (94a)[256] and رخاميّة *ruḫāmiyya* "marble sweet" (97b), so called because its colour resembles that of marble. *ruḫāmiyya* 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-Maġribī mentions فستق *fustuq* "pistachios" (53a), nowadays called *fuzduʾ* in Egypt;[257] بندق *bunduq* "hazelnuts" (38a), which were called فندق *funduq* (53b) by the Turks, and chestnuts, which were called قسطل / قصطل *qəsṭəl* / *qəṣṭəl* (89a) or ابو فريوة *abū fərywa* "the one with the little fur" (89a), nowadays known as *abu farwa*.

5.1.2 Savory dishes

ادام *idām* "gravy" (95a) was eaten with bread, like today, and was perhaps wiped up with a قشفة *qišfa* "bread crust" (32b). There were different types of bread:[258] شريك *šəryk* (60b) and صامول *ṣāmūl* (81a) (both unspecified by al-Maġribī; *šurēk* is today used for a type of bun, and comes from the Turkish *çörek*,[259] while *ṣamūli* was used for "coarse bread, soldiers' bread" in the nineteenth century[260]), كُماجا *kumāǧā* "dry bread" (10a) (from Persian كوماج) and جراية *ǧirāya* (124b) (also not specified by al-Maġribī; nowadays the word is used for "bread ration, coarse bread";[261] which is the name of the bread eaten in the Egyptian army these days, which is a kind of old, dried *ʿēš baladī*). People ate فول *fūl* "broad beans" (88a; 110a) and rice,[262] and the latter could be seasoned with pepper and was then called مفلفل *mufalfil* (88a). Lane describes this as follows:

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[256] 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'".

[257] This is probably in analogy to *bunduʾ*, which has the same ending *-uʾ*.

[258] Al-Maġribī calls bread *ḫubz*, not *ʿēš*, in the context of the entries, but this is a classicism. The part of the book in which *ʿēš* was mentioned as an entry, is lost, but in *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 73 we find that the word عيش was indeed included in *Daf' al-iṣr*, so we know for certain that the Egyptians called their bread *ʿēš*.

[259] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 463b.

[260] See Spiro (1999) p. 331b.

[261] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 157b-158a.

[262] This is written as ارز *aruzz* on fol. 88a, but as رز *ruzz* on fol. 10a.

> "A dish of boiled rice (called "ruzz mufelfel", the "piláv" of the Turks), mixed with a little butter, and seasoned with salt and pepper."[263]

Al-Maġribī also mentions a rice dish, خشكه فلاو *ḫəška fəlāw* "dry rice" (10a) (from the Persian خشكه *ḫushka,* "boiled rice without butter"[264] and پلاو *palāv*, "a rice dish"[265]) 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 *salğam* "turnips" (101a). The clarified butter, nowadays called *samna*, which is used in large quantities in Egyptian kitchens, was called سلا *silā* (9a) in al-Maġribī's time.[266] Bouillon مرق *maraq* (55a) was used just as it is today. A type of cheese, حالوم *ḥālūm* (96b),[267] 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 *bəryk* (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,[268] and نقانق *naqāniq* "small sausages" (56a). The latter dish is still known in Syria,[269] but in Egypt is now called *sugu*ʾ, from the Turkish *sucuk*.[270] A dish which is no longer familiar in Egypt is ارنبية *arnabiyya* "hare ragout"[271] (11a).

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[263] Lane (2003) p. 146.
[264] See Steingass (1975) p. 463.
[265] Ibid. p. 254.
[266] We still find *masli* "clarified butter" in Egypt nowadays, although Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 428b mentions that it is not pure dialect.
[267] From Coptic, see Crum (1972) p. 670a.
[268] 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.
[269] Barthélemy (1935) p. 847.
[270] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) 400a.
[271] 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".[272]

A sweet drink called سوبيا *sūbyā* (9a), which is still popular today, is mentioned by al-Maġribī. 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 *ṣūfī*s in the Yemeni quarters of al-Azhar, sometime in the first decade of the tenth century AH / sixteenth century AD.[273] According to al-Maġribī, coffee sellers used to say جبا *ǧabā* "for free!" when pouring out the drink.[274] 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."[275]

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

Al-Maġribī quotes from a poem created by one of his teachers, ʿAlī al-Maqdisī, in praise of coffee, and there is another about the same topic which al-Maġribī produced.[276] 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*.[277] To him, this

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[272] See Hava (2001) p. 86b and al-Ḫafāǧī (1865) p. 67-68.

[273] See Hattox (1991) pp. 27-8.

[274] See fols. 5b and 124b; al-Maġribī by mistake mentions the entry *ǧabā* twice, first in the chapter *alif* and later in the chapter *wāw/yāʾ*. He actually has another explanation of the word, see the entry جبا in the Glossary.

[275] Hattox (1991) p. 84.

[276] Both on fol. 5b.

[277] Every letter of the alphabet has a certain numerical value. Q = 100, H = 5, W = 6, Y = 10, see *EI*² III p. 595 (T. Fahd).

قهوه QHWH: 100+5+6+5=116.

قوي QWY: 100+6+10=116.

is proof of its positive qualities.[278] It was the cause of some hilarity when, during a *mağlis*,[279] a Turk who had apparently not mastered the Arabic language pointed out that when the word قهوه is inverted it reads هو حق "it is the truth".[280] 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*,[281] and is mentioned in seven poems in total.[282] 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-Maġribī mentions the use of drugs on a few occasions. The people of Egypt said, for instance: ياكل من الكيف *yākul min al-kyf* "he eats of the hashish".[283] 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.[284] We can conclude from ياكل *yākul* that the hashish was eaten, not smoked, as still happens today. Sometimes people mixed it (قتل الحشيش *qatal al-ḥašīš*).[285] Although al-Maġribī does not mention with what, it could perhaps have been the innovation called tobacco (see below). Al-Maġribī mentions the word افيون *afyūn* "opium" (117a) as well, although he tells us no more than يقولون افيون *yaqūlūn afyūn*, using a quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.[286] He also comments that somebody can be مسطول *masṭūl* "high or stoned, intoxicated" or can be في سطلة *fī səṭla* (same meaning).[287] It is unclear, however,

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[278] See fol. 6a.

[279] A social gathering. For more information about this cultural phenomenon, see §1.3.

[280] Fol. 6a. See also §4.3.

[281] يقولون بنّ لاصل القهوة "they say *bunn* to the origin of coffee" (110a), يقولون عند اتيان القهوة جبا "they say, when the coffee is being served, *ǧabā*" (124b), يقولون قهوة سُخْنة "they say: hot coffee" (115a), يقولون فنجان قهوة "they say: a coffee cup" (117a), يقولون قهوة المستخرج من البن "they call the extract of coffee beans *qahwa*" (130b).

[282] On fols. 5b (twice), 6a, 11b, 76a, 99b, and 130b.

[283] Fol. 33b.

[284] See Dozy (1927) II p. 505b "…. Proprement l'état de gaïté, d'ivresse, causé par le hachïch, et ensuite le hachïch meme".

[285] Fol. 89a.

[286] 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.

[287] 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 Ḥiǧāz.

Tobacco was a completely new phenomenon in al-Maġribī'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.[288] This is correct, since we know that tobacco was introduced to Egypt in 1603-1604,[289] and it would be reasonable to assume that it would take some time to become popular with the general public. What al-Maġribī 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[290]) is sold for three gold coins (ثلاثة ذهب *ṯalāṯa ḏahab*). 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 17th century.[291] Its weight was 3,448 gram.[292] Therefore, 1 *raṭl* of tobacco was worth 10,344 grams of gold. The only thing al-Maġribī 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 duḫḫānahā* "they drink its smoke".[293] Moreover, he tells us that there was some question about whether it was permissible to smoke while fasting during Ramaḍān. According to a certain *šayḫ* called al-Zayyādī[294] it was actually allowed, which al-Maġribī believed to be reprehensible.[295]

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[288] Fol. 16b. Tobacco was first introduced in Europe by Columbus in 1493, although at that time it stirred mostly botanical interest, see *EI²* 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.

[289] See *EI²* X p. 753b (R. Matthee).

[290] 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'iyya* "ounce", in parallel with the metric system.

[291] See Raymond (1973) I p. 28.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Also in Turkish, the word for "to drink", *içmek*, is used for "to smoke".

[294] This is probably ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā Nūr al-Dīn al-Zayyādī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfiʿī, 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.

[295] 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.[296] 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-Maġribī, 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 *fiğl* "radishes" are almost a magical medicine, curing such various afflictions as وجع المفاصل واليرقان ولوجع الكبد والاستسقا ونهش الافاعي والعقارب "pain in the joints, jaundice, dropsy, and bites of snakes and scorpions" (86b).

Some of the complaints from which 17th century Egyptians suffered were: شقاق *šəqāq* "a disease which causes cracks in the skin" (47a),[297] شقيقة *šəqyqa* "a splitting headache" (47a), فَتْق *fatq* "hernia, rupture" (51b), قشف *qəšəf* "chapped skin" (32b),[298]

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[296] The dilemma of Muslim scholars on this point is described in *EI*² 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 Qurʾān, 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 Qurʾān, 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-Maġribī was an exception to the rule that *ṣūfī*s took to smoking. Kātib Čelebi describes the way smoking was received in Istanbul and discusses whether it is permitted under Islamic law, see Ḫalīfa (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.

[297] Still used nowadays in expressions like *kaʿbi mšaʾʾaʾ* "the skin of my heel is cracked".

[298] Both *fatʾ* and *ʾašaf* are still used in Egypt with the same meaning.

or فهاقه *fəhāqa* "death rattle" (51a), a condition which once afflicted al-Maġribī.[299] Anyone who became ill was normally dependent on the services of the مزين *muzayyin* or barber,[300] who could stitch up (قطب *qəṭəb*) a wound (20a), prescribe a مرهم *marham* "ointment" (106a) or لُعُوق *luʿūq* "electuary" (54b).[301] 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".[302]

An antidote called ترياق فاروق *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.[303]

5.4 Games

Al-Maġribī 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 فرزين *farzīn* "wise man, counsellor".[304] دست *dast* (3a), another Persian word, means "game".[305] Less common are three other chess-terms used by al-Maġribī. When somebody loses a game, he says مرماد *mərmād*, meaning literally "affected by ophthalmia", as if the loser wants to say ما رايت في هذا الدست *mā raʾayt fī hāḏā al-dast* "I did not see in this game".[306] 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",[307] while al-Maġribī

[299] See §1.2.

[300] 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*.

[301] These last three words are still in use in Egypt nowadays.

[302] Lane (2003) p. 218.

[303] see Prokosch (2000) p. 172ff.

[304] See Murray (1962) p. 159 and Wieber (1972) p. 186.

[305] See Wieber (1972) p. 291.

[306] *Dafʿ al-iṣr* fol. 3a.

[307] 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-Nuǧūm al-zāhira fī ʿulūm 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: ريِّع الوقف - وشدّد الياء - فقال عز الدين المذكور: اسكت يا مرماد، فضحك السلطان ومن حضر، وانتصف عليه الحنبلي. فلما نزلا من القلعة، سألت من عز الدين عن قوله مرماد، فقال: الأتراك كثيراً ما يلعبون الشطرنج، وقد صار بينهم أن الذي لا يعرف شيء يسمى مرماد، فقصدت الكلام بما اعتادوه وعرَّفتهم أنه لا يعرف شيء، وأنه جاهل بما يقول، وتم لي ما قصدته.[308]

"Between him[309] and the 'judge of judges' ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-ʿIzz al-Baġdādī al-Ḥanbalī, was a discussion in one of the Sultan's *maǧālis* about the meaning of a certain word. One of the things Ibn al-Saffāḥ said was the following: '*rayyiʿ al-waqf*' ('the income resulting from a dedicated land for a purpose'), with a *šadda* on the *yā*. So, the aforementioned ʿIzz al-Dīn said: 'Shut up you *mərmād*', leading to laughter from the Sultan and the other attendants, and al-Ḥanbalī demanded justice (?).[310] So when they went down from the citadel, I asked ʿIzz 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 مرماد قفة *mərmād quffa* (32b). The meaning of the word يديدب *yidaydib* (13a) is also not entirely clear, although it seems to be related to the noun *dadabān / didabān* "sentry" (see Hinds-

[308] Ibn Taġrī Birdī (1963) XV pp. 174-175.

[309] I.e., the judge Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar, known as Ibn al-Saffāḥ al-Ḥanbalī al-Šāfiʿī, whose demise Ibn al-Taġrī Birdī had just mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

[310] The meaning of انتصف here is unclear. Dozy II p. 680a "انتصف demander justice d'un tel (من) pour (ل) une personne; 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-Maġribī, 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-Maġribī 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 *ʿəmāma* "turban" (103a) to the *tarğīl* "slipper" (75), and from the *tabbān* "short under-pants" (110a) to the بخنق *buḫnuq* "veil" (36b). People used to wear a شروال *širwāl* "drawers" (80b), also called سروال (80a), which was kept up with a waistband, called دكة *dikka* (57a) or نيافق *nayāfiq* (56a). They wore a زبون *zəbūn* "inner vest", a قرطق (53b) *qərṭaq* "tunic" or قبا (130a) *qabā* "sleeved robe", and when it was cold, a woollen cloak which was called عَبَا *ʿabā* (9a) or عباية *ʿabāya* (128b).

Two types of garment are particularly worth mentioning here because they are generally not well-documented. The first one is the حنيني *ḥənynī* (112b), which is described in Dozy I 330b as "semble être le nom d'un vêtement", occurring once in 1001 Nights. Al-Maġribī 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 كامليّة *kāmiliyya* (91b): يقولون كامليّة لما يلبس لم تعلم *yaqūlūn kāmiliyya limā yulbas lam tuʿlam* "they say *kāmiliyya* to something that is worn, and it is not known [in Classical Arabic]". This word, like *ḥənynī*, 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 *ḫəzām* "nose ring" (97a), خلخال *ḫulḫāl* "anklet" (72a), دِبله *dibla* "ring" (72b), طوق *ṭwq* "neckband" (47b), غوش *ġūš* "glass bracelets" (101a) (nowadays the diminutive *ġiwēša* is used) and لبّه مشنشنة *libba məšanšina* "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 *Daf̔ al-iṣr*. Many of these are kitchen items, such as the عكة *ʿəkka* "receptacle for clarified butter" (61a), صلاية *ṣəlāya* "mortar and pestle" (128b), مغرفة *maġrafa* "ladle" (31b), لُحُوقي *luḥūqī* "small cooking pot" (54a), ابريق *əbrīq* "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) *bəkla* "vessel for water for washing one's backside",[311] قلة *qulla* "earthenware water jar" (89b), and also the pad put under the jug when carried on the head: حوّايه *ḥəwwāya* (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), لِيقة *līqa* "bit of wool which is inserted in an inkwell" (55a), مردن *mardan* "spindle" (114a), مَرْجونة *marğūna* "basket" (114a), مسلّه *misalla* "thick needle" (91b), مِسَن *misann* "whetstone" (115b), مصقلة *maṣqala* "burnisher" (81a), عِلْبه *ʿilba* "small container" (17a), حق *ḥuqq* "small box" (38b), قروة *qərwa* "basket of palm leaves" (130a), قفّة *qəffa* "basket made of palm stalks" (32b), قنديل *qandīl* "oil lamp" (90b), قنينية *qanīniyya* "glass drinking-bowl" (117b), and مكحِلة *mukḥila* "kohl-holder" (90b).[312] The most important thing to note about these items is that they show that Yūsuf al-Maġribī, 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-Maġribī was interested in the world of women and children becomes apparent from the presence in *Daf̔ al-iṣr* of several expressions used exclusively by them. For these, the reader is referred to §6.5.1.1.

[311] For this translation of the word *istinğāʾ* see Hinds-Badawi (1986) 851a and Hava (2001) 753b.

[312] Al-Maġribī also mentions that in the Maġrib, 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-Maġribī 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.[313] 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-Maġribī. 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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī 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

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

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

6.1.1 *hamza* and *madda*

In spelling the *hamza*, al-Maġribī does not follow the rules of Classical Arabic, and is inconsistent in the way in which he writes it, even within the same sentence.[314] The same word is written in different ways, as in the case with *nisāʾ* "women", which we find in the same sentence as نسا and نسآء (64a), and elsewhere as the variant نسآ (31a). These examples highlight three of the four ways of writing the final *āʾ* that al-Maġribī employs: ـآء , ـآ , ـاء and ـا.[315] 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-hāʾ* "with the letter *hāʾ*" (or actually "with *tāʾ marbūṭa*"), frequently used in the expression ووحدتها بها *wa wāḥidatuhā bi-hāʾ* "and its nomen unitatis is with a *tāʾ marbūṭa*".

The final *īʾ* is, in most cases, written without the *hamza*: مضي (50a) *muḍīʾ* "bright", as is final *iʾ*: الممتلي *mumtaliʾ* "full" (11a) and *ayʾ*: شي *šayʾ* "a thing" (to be found in numerous places).

āʾ in the middle of the word can be written with a *madda*: الدناآة والقماآة *al-danāʾa wa al-qamāʾa* "vileness and loweliness" (104b); بناآن *bināʾān* "two structures" (108a). Moreover, words of the patterns *fāʾil* and *fawāʾil* (mediae infirmae) are often written with a *madda* on the *alif*, followed by either a *hamza* under the *yāʾ* or without *hamza*, e.g. لطاآيف رايقه *laṭāʾif rāʾiqa* "delightful witticisms" (1a), بآعها *bāʾiʿhā* "her seller" (20a). The *madda* seems to be used for *ʾā* at the beginning of the word and for *āʾ* 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,[316] and there are many examples from *Daf al-Iṣr*: الاية *al-ʾāya* "the Qurʾān-verse" (50b); الة *ʾāla* "instrument" (78b, 104a), الالات *al-ʾālāt* "the instruments" (91a); اخر *ʾāxir* "the last",

[314] This had already been observed by Wehr (1956) p. xv in his edition of *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-ʿağība wa l-ʾaḫbār al-ġarība*: "Das Hamza-Zeichen wird völlig unkonsequent verwendet".

[315] Compare the orthography of the word *māʾ* in Jaritz (1993) p. 65.

[316] Compare for instance Jaritz (1993) p. 70: "In den meisten Hss. fehlt das Madda ganz".

ملان *malʾān* "filled" (101b), المت *ʾālamat* "it hurt" (114a). The word الان can be read as *al-ʾān* "now",[317] but also as *ʾalāna* "to soften" (58a). What is unusual is the *madda* written on the *wāw*: سوّ *sūʾ* "evil" (64a; 76a; 113b) instead of the final *hamza*, or in the middle of a word: وضوّه *wuḍūʾuhu* "his ritual ablution" (93a).

The omission of the *hamza* in the middle of a word is quite common in *Daf ʿal-Iṣr*. For instance: جزا *ǧuzʾan* "a part" (6b), القرااات (37a) *al-qirāʾāt* "the readings", مملوة *mamlūʾa* "filled" (80b), and باه *bāʾa* (57a; 88a) "sexual intercourse". In الخطية *al-ḫaṭīʾa* "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 *šayʾan* "a thing" (of which there are many instances, e.g. fol. 85a, 103a etc.),[318] روس *ruʾūs* "heads" (115a), الاسِله *al-asʾila* (93a) "the questions" and مسَلة *mas'ala* (62b; 121b) "question".[319] The correct pronunciation for these last words has been indicated by the placement of a *kasra* or *fatḥa* on the *sīn*. Also worth noting is a very interesting observation made by al-Maġribī on fol. 6b: واعلم ان هنا فرقا بين الجزء بالهمز والجزا بالالف اللّينه "I know there is a difference between *al-ǧuzʾ* with a *hamza* and *al-ǧazāʾ* 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-ǧazāʾ*, i.e. with *tashīl,* or is he referring to the root of the word, which is ǦZY? The second option is the most likely because al-Maġribī would have been aware that the word ends with a *hamza.*

In the words راس فاس *raʾs faʾs* "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: هيـة *hayʾa* "form" (79a), ريس *raʾīs* "leader" (113b), سوال *suʾāl* "question" (7b), فوادي (99b) *fuʾādī* "my heart", تفاولا *tafāʾulan* "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 *kaʾanna* "as if". The same goes for لان *liʾanna* "because"[320] or لان *lāna* "to be/become soft" (113a).

[317] Attested in several places, e.g. fol. 3b, 9a etc.

[318] See also Wehr (1956) p. xv.

[319] This spelling of *masʾala* is also mentioned in Blau (1966) I p. 100.

[320] This is the spelling which al-Maġribī uses for this word in most of the cases.

When the *yāʾ* is supposed to be the bearer of the *hamza*, it is more common to find it written with a dotted *yāʾ*, as in ليلا *li-ʾallā* (40a; 64a; 116a) "in order not to",[321] which should not to be confused with ليلا *laylan* "at night' (as in for instance fol. 17a). Other examples are بير *biʾr* "well" (124a), رية *riʾa* "lung" (47a), and ايذا ʾ*aʾiḏā* (أئذا) "if", preceded by the particle ʾ*a* introducing a question (82a, quotation from the Qur'ān). Often the *hamza* is written under the *yāʾ* instead of on top of it, e.g. مبِق *maʾiqa* "he sobbed'"(55a), الزبِير al-zaʾīr "the roaring" (108b).

In فئول *fuʾūl* "elephants" (88a) we find a hypercorrection: here al-Maġribī writes a *hamza* where it should be a *yāʾ: fuyūl*. Even if the plural *fuʾūl* had existed,[322] it should have been written فؤول according to the norms of Classical Arabic, although in Modern Standard Arabic the spelling with *yāʾ* is allowed (for instance مسئول is seen often in newspapers instead of مسؤول).

6.1.2 final *yāʾ* / *alif maqṣūra*

There are many inconsistencies in the writing of the *alif maqṣūra* and final *yā,* which both appear either with or without dots.[323] Instances of the final *yāʾ* where we would expect *alif maqṣūra* are: the writing of علي *ʿalā* is used often instead of على, as is حتي *ḥattā* instead of حتى. Some additional examples are: تخطّي (126b) *taḫaṭṭā* "to overstep", شبعي (46a) *šabʿā* "satisfied"; اعطي ʾ*aʿṭā* (78b) "he gave", انثي ʾ*unṯā* "female" (87b), الحبلي *al-ḥublā* "the pregnant woman" (107b), and الاعلي *al-aʿlā* "the Highest".

The final *yāʾ* written without dots can be found all over the text, and just one example is the word فى *fī* "in". This is still a very common phenomenon.

[321] Compare Blau (1966) I p. 96.

[322] It does not, according to Lane VI p. 2474c.

[323] 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 *yāʾ* where *alif* would be expected:[324] عصَي *ʿaṣā* "stick" (51b, 111a and 132b), and الثنايا العليي *al-ṯanāya al-ʿulyā* "the upper front teeth" (104b). Sometimes, *yāʾ* is used instead of the final *alif hamza*: بخاري (58a) *Bukhārāʾ* "city in Uzbekistan", and هوي *hawāʾ* (34b and 89a) "air". The final *yāʾ* instead of *alif hamza* can be seen in المتوضي *almutawaḍḍaʾ* (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 ى

The spelling with *alif* where *alif maqṣūra* would be expected[325] occurs, although not frequently. Two examples are: الاحلا (21a) instead of الاحلى *al-aḥlā* "the more beautiful", and الرحا instead of الرحى *al-raḥā* "the handmill" (95a).

6.1.4 *tāʾ marbūṭa*

In a few isolated cases ـه instead of ـة 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 Maǧnūn" (108a), ضعيفه الكون "weak of posture" (108a), and لكثره الاستعمال "because of its frequent use" (117b).

ـة instead of ـه occurs rarely: محروقة *maḥrūqihi* (97b). However, this was probably a mistake by al-Maġribī, because he changed the word from المحروق to محروقه when copying from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. There are no instances of ت instead of ـة.

6.1.5 Interdentals

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

[324] Compare Blau (1966) I p. 90.

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

المغاث "wild pomegranate" (90a), وكوثلها = وكوتلها "and its stern" (90b), كقنفذ = كقنفد "like *qunfuḏ* hedgehog" (96b), للطمث = للطمت "for the menstruation" (109b), and اللاذن = اللادن "laudanum" (118a). However, these cases are rare and are probably the result of inaccuracy rather than intent. It could even be that al-Maġribī had an inaccurate copy of *al-Qāmūs al-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-Maġribī sometimes breaks off words at the end of the line, which can be quite confusing. In the following examples the – denotes the end of the line: خا – لطته *ḫālaṭathu* "she mixed it" (8a), فا – نظر *fa-nẓur* "look up" (11b), الا – صابع *al-aṣābiʿ* "the fingers" (14a), با – لشكير "with downy feathers" (36b), با - لذال *bi-l-ḏāl* "with the *ḏāl*" (40a), كا – لفسطاط *ka-l-fusṭāṭ* "like a large tent" (40b), كاً – وْفقته *ka-awfaqtuh* "like I put it [the arrow] on the bowstring" (53b), الا – طعمة *al-aṭʿima* "the foodstuffs" (65b), فا – رسيته *fārisīyatuhu* "its Persian [translation]" (91b), and الا– سد *al-ʾasad* "the lion" (101b). The reason for this quirk seems to be an attempt to keep the margin neat and not leave a gap at the end, or to not have some lines longer than others.

6.1.7 Historical versus phonetic spelling of the colloquial material

In the spelling of dialect words, al-Maġribī alternates between historical and phonetic spelling. As an example, words will be taken which had originally contained interdentals, but had become stops in the dialect used at that time.[326] This development is often reflected in al-Maġribī's orthography: اتل *atl* (63a) < اثل *aṯl* "tamarisk", متل *mitl* (91b) < مثل *miṯl* "similar", ندل *nadl* (92b) < نذل *naḏl* "despicable", and شادليّة *Šādiliyya* (81a) < شاذليّة *Šāḏiliyya* "belonging to the *Šāḏiliyya ṣūfī* order". In other instances where a dialect word had originally contained an interdental, al-Maġribī uses historical orthography: هذا *haḏā* and هذيان *haḏayān* "to rave" and "raving" (132b), مرثيّة *marṯiyya* "elegy" (127b), and قِثا *qiṯṯā* "cucumis sativus" (9b).

[326] 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. بَكّْهْ *bakka* (56b) from بكّاء *bakkāʾ* "cry-baby".[327] The final glottal stop has disappeared and the preceding long *ā* has shortened. This pronunciation is reflected in the orthography with *hāʾ* 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 حافّة *ḥāffa* "edge".[328]

At a certain point, al-Maġribī writes the colloquial ايده *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 منّو *minnu* (twice on 51b); the metrics of the poem in which it occurs demand this form of colloquial pronunciation.

6.1.8 *taškīl*

Al-Maġribī 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): فان قلت ما الفرق بين القمل والقمل فالجواب ان القمل عرف والقمل كما في القاموس صغار الذر "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"![329] Unfortunately, whenever Al-Maġribī does use *taškīl* it is mostly in Classical Arabic and not in the colloquial passages where it is needed.

[327] For more details, see §6.2.10.2.

[328] See §6.2.10.1.

[329] See *al-Qāmūs al-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 /ʾ/ and /g/, while in other dialects they are pronounced as /g/ and /ǧ/.[330] There has been a discussion ongoing for some time about when the inhabitants of Cairo started to pronounce *qāf* as /ʾ/ and *ǧīm* as /g/. There are two conflicting theories:

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

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.[334] Palva (1997) supports this theory,[335] 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 6th/7th centuries to /ǧ/ in the 12th-17th centuries and back to /g/ in the 19th-20th

[330] See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) II maps 7, 11 and 15.
[331] See Behnstedt (1978) p. 65 and Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I p. 31-32.
[332] See Woidich (1996) pp. 346-7.
[333] See Davies (2005) p. xxxv.
[334] See Blanc (1981) pp. 189-193.
[335] See Palva (1997) p. 157.

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

Blanc (1981) pp. 192-3 quotes two passages from *Dafʿ al-iṣr* in support of his theory. The first is the word *ragl* "man", and al-Maġribī mentions the following about the pronunciation of the *ǧīm* in it:

ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف فلان ما دلاّ رَجْل بفتح الرا وسكون الجيم الغير العربية كجيم ابن جني المنصوص عليها في شرح جمع الجوامع الاصولي للعلامة المحلي.[339]

"They say, and this is heard from the people of the countryside, 'so-and-so *mā dillā ragl*', 'what kind of man is that', with an *a* after the *rāʾ* and no vowel after the un-Arabic *ǧīm*, which is like the *ǧīm* of Ibn Ginnī, about which is written in the traditional *Šarḥ ǧamʿ al-ǧawāmiʿ* by the famous al-Maḥallī."[340]

The passage from *Šarḥ ǧamʿ al-ǧawāmiʿ* which is referred to is the following:

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[336] See Hary (1996) p. 153.

[337] See Hary (1996) p. 155, Blanc (1981) p. 189 and Palva (1997) p. 157.

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

[339] *Dafʿ al-iṣr* fol. 75a.

[340] Abū ʿAlī Ǧalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Šāfiʿī al-Maḥallī, born and died in Cairo (791/1389-864/1459). He became famous as co-author of *Tafsīr al-Ǧalālayn* (together with Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī). See *EI* V p. 1223a (Ch. Pellat).

(وَلَيْسَ الْمَجَازُ غَالِبًا عَلَى اللُّغَاتِ خِلَافًا لِابْنِ جِنِّي) بِسُكُونِ الْيَاءِ مُعَرَّبُ كِنِّي بَيْنَ الْكَافِ وَالْجِيمِ[341]
"(And the metaphor is not predominant in the languages, contrary to Ibn Ginnī) with no vowel after the *yāʾ*, Arabized from Kinnī, between the *kāf* and the *ǧīm.*"

The description "between *kāf* and *ǧīm*" was the usual way of describing the pronunciation /g/.[342] According to Blanc (1981) p. 192, this is an indication that this was not the common way to pronounce the *ǧīm* in Cairo at that time. However, al-Maġribī was speaking of a rural dialect in which this might indeed have been an unusual feature, but this provides only indirect information about the dialect of Cairo. There is also the possibility that the *ǧīm* in this particular example was pronounced in a way that was unusual for the rural dialect al-Maġribī 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*,[343] while in Middle Egypt it is pronounced as a slightly palatalized *g*.[344] It is possible that al-Maġribī was speaking of this type of case because it is quite likely that he, with his interest in linguistics, would have noticed such a change.

The second example quoted by Blanc[345] concerns the following passage:
ومن العجيب ان اللّكن بالكاف العجميّة ظرف مخصوص باللغة التركية وكذلك في العربيّة قال ‹ولكن كجبل ظرف معروف› اي بالكاف العربيّة[346]
"And it is astonishing that *lagan* 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-Maġribī 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

[341] Downloaded in Word-format from the internet from the following website: http://www.aslein.net/showthread.php?t=2926 (no hard copy was available to me).
[342] See Blanc (1969) p. 21.
[343] See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I p. 70, note to map 11.
[344] Doss (1981) p. 27 speaks of a "[g] très faiblement mouillé".
[345] See Blanc (1981) p. 193.
[346] *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-Maġribī discusses the pronunciation of the *ǧīm* in a certain word:

جأجأ بالابل دعاها للشرب وقد سمعت بعضهم عند الحوض وهو سقّى الجمال يقول چوچو بالجيم الغير العربيّة القريبة للشين[٣٤٧]

"'*ǧaʾǧaʾ bi-l-ibil*'[348] means 'he called them [= the camels] to drink'. I heard one of them [= the Egyptians] say at the basin while he was giving his camels to drink, '*ǧūǧū*' with an un-Arabic *ǧīm* which is close to the *šīn*."

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

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

جبّيت مَوّال في المحبوب وهو جابّ بيت
الورى جبّيت قال ولي حسودي جبّيت
والحبّ في قهوته قال لي عليك جبّيت
هو جاد ببوسه ومصّه قمت انا جبّيت

gabbytə[350] *mawwālə fi-l-maḥbūb wa hū gāb byt*
gabbyt ḥasūdī wa lī qāl alwarā gabbyt
wa-l-ḥabbə fī qahwətuh qāl lī ʿalyk gabbyt
wa gād bi-bōsuh wa maṣṣuh qumt anā gabbyt

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

[347] *Dafʿ al-iṣr* fols. 6b-7a.
[348] Quoted from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 35a.
[349] *Dafʿ al-iṣr* fol. 11b.
[350] The metre is *basīṭ*; the schwa has to be added here to fit the metre. See also §4.1.

I threw out my envious (adversary) and all mankind said to me: you won (you gave the final answer);
So the coffee beans (nipples) inside his coffee (areola) said to me: we give ourselves to you for free;
He was generous with kissing and sucking, therefore I came.[351]

The point of this *mawwāl* is the pronunciation of the word *gabbyt*. The first word in the first line could be interpreteted as the 1st person sg. of the verb *gāb*. Although in modern Cairene Arabic this would be *gibt*, the form *gabbēt* is still found in the Ḫarga-oasis and the Sudan.[352] The last word of the first line, *gāb byt*,[353] sounds the same as *gabbyt*. In the fourth line, it should be read as *kabbyt* "I came, ejaculated".[354] This rhetorical device is called *ǧinās*, "paronomasia" or *tawriya*, "double entendre"[355] and is still encountered in *mawāwīl* in Egypt today. In fact, the fun of the *mawwāl* lies in the discovery of the hidden meanings of the verse. This is an indication that in al-Maġribī's time, the *ǧīm* was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (*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*[356] puns, "the most common type of feature change involves voicing or devoicing, and less often a change in emphasis". He also states that "there are cases INTERDIALECTALLY where the reflex of a word in one dialect might have a vowel with a different quality".[357] It is possible that al-Maġribī 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 /ʾ/.[358] Whether this was the case in Egypt in the 17th century cannot be known for certain. There is one

[351] I thank Ellie Kallas for his suggestions for the translation of this poem.
[352] See Behnsted-Woidich IV p. 55a "*ǧabbēt* ich brachte (zu *ǧāb, yiǧīb*)".
[353] The *šadda* on the *bāʾ* only indicates that the following letter is a *b*, i.e. no vowel should be read after *gāb*.
[354] For both translations see Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 729a-b.
[355] See Cachia (1977) p. 91-2. Al-Maġribī uses both terms in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*. Another term used by Cachia (1977) but not by al-Maġribī is *zahr*.
[356] A word play which involves phonetical modification. On *zahr* in Egyptian popular poetry, see Cachia (1989) p. 60ff. and Eisele (1997).
[357] Eisele (1997) p. 755.
[358] See BW II: Compare map 6 "Reflex von */q/" and map 10 "Reflex von */ǧ/".

instance from *Daf̔ al-iṣr* which could indicate that the *qāf* was pronounced as /ʾ/. Al-Maġribī mentions that the Egyptians say: فلان عآئق والديه *fulān ʿāʾiq wālidyh* "so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents" (49b). In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is *fāʿil*, e.g. *ḥāsis*,[359] therefore the active participle form I of the root ʿQQ would be عاقق *ʿāqiq* / *ʿāʾiʾ*, while in Classical Arabic, this would be عاقّ *ʿāqq*. The only explanation why al-Maġribī would have written عائق, is because it was pronounced *ʿāʾiʾ* 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 *Daf̔ al-iṣr* was written. Some instances thereof can be found in the 15th century texts by Ibn Sūdūn.[360] In the Judeo-Arabic *zaǧal* entitled *Ḥikāya fī ḍamm al-nisāʾ*, which is supposed to be from the 14th century, all interdentals are represented in the text by postdental plosives.[361] Satzinger (1972) p. 42 mentions the occurrence of *tāʾ* for *ṯāʾ* in the 13th century, and Blau (1982a) p. 101 notes that most early Middle Arabic texts show signs of the shift from interdentals to plosives. Yūsuf al-Maġribī even mentions explicitly that the *ṯ* was pronounced as *t* in the dialect of Cairo:

> المحدثين بالتا المثناة فوق اعني بهم العوام "those who speak with a *tāʾ* with two dots, I mean the common people."[362]

There are many examples of words in *Daf̔ 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 *ḏāl* in al-Maġribī's time was /d/ and examples are: ندل [*NḎL] *nadl* (92b) "despicable", شادليّة [*ŠḎL] *Šādiliyya* ((81a) "belonging to the *Šāḏiliyya* sufi order", حَدَا [*ḤḎY] *ḥadā* "close to" (125a), يهدرم [*HḎRM] *yihadrim* "to speak quickly" (108a), and دبل *dbl* [*ḎBL] "to wilt (flowers)" (72a). We have only one example of /ḏ/ > /z/, namely زرق [*ḎRQ] z*rq* "bird droppings" (fols. 40a and 42a). In general, al-Maġribī uses the

[359] See Woidich (2006) p. 83.
[360] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 141.
[361] See Palva (1993) p. 179.
[362] *Daf̔ al-iṣr* fol. 11a.

historical spelling for sibilants which were originally interdentals, i.e. ذ 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 *ṯāʾ* as for the *ḏāl*, and in *Daf al-iṣr* we find proof that it was pronounced as /t/. Some examples are: اتل [*ʾṮL] *atl* "tamarisk trees" (63a), تفل [*ṮFL] *tifl* "dregs (67a), يتمّن [*ṮMN] *yitammin* "to fix the price of" (110a), توم [*ṮWM] *twm* "garlic" (96a), and متل [*MṮL] *mitl* "like" (91b). The last one is interesting because in present-day Egyptian Arabic only the pronunciation *misl* is used,[363] which is a direct loan from MSA. However, in the dialects of the Levant, the pronunciation *mətʾl* is still in use.[364] The expression من حيتن *min ḥytən* "since, because" (111b) from حيث is also fascinating. It is unclear exactly what the *nūn* at the end indicates; it could be *inn*, as in *ḥēs inn*,[365] or it could be an old case ending, as can still be found in Egyptian Arabic these days in expressions such as *ġaṣbin ʿanni* "against my will"[366] and *nadrin ʿalayya* "I vow (to do so-and-so)".[367] It is all the more interesting because al-Maġribī mentions that this expression is used by the town dwellers, whereas the country folks say *ḥyšən* (111b), which would be a rare case of /ṯ/ > /š/.

It is likely that the pronunciation as /s/ in loanwords from Classical Arabic also existed, but this is not evident from the orthography because al-Maġribī never writes a *sīn* in such cases. However, in the proverb قطع بليق لا حرث ولا درس *qaṭaʿ Bəlyq lā ḥaraṯ wala daras* "he removed Bulayq because he neither ploughed nor threshed" (37b), the rhyme indicates that the pronunciation of *ḥaraṯ* must have been *ḥaras*. The trend of using the historical spelling of *s* < *ṯ* with *ṯāʾ* can still be observed today. It would, for instance, be unacceptable to write a word like *ṯawra*, which is pronounced *sawra* in Egypt, with a *sīn*: سورة; the word's image would change too much. In the case of *ḏāl* – *zāy*, this is less problematic (see زرق < *ذرق) but the historical orthography is often still preferred.[368]

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[363] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 823b.
[364] Barthélemy (1935) p. 777.
[365] Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 235b.
[366] Ibid. p. 624a.
[367] Ibid. p. 855b.
[368] 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 *ṯ* > *s*. See Zack (2001a) p. 200.

The shift from *ẓ* to *ḍ* is reflected in the word *ḥanḍal* < *ḥanẓal* "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 ودن *widn* "ear" (119b) < *ʾuḏn*, ورّيت *warryt* "I showed" (132a)[369] and وجنة *waǧna* "cheek" (119b) (originally *ʾaǧna*, but *waǧna* already attested by Lane VIII p. 3049c). This phenomenon can still be observed today in several dialects.[370] In the word *ḫuwwa* (127a) < *ʾuḫuwwa* "brotherhood" (also attested by al-Ḫafāǧī (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 *ḫad* < *ʾaḫad* "to take" and *ṭār* < *ʾiṭār* "frame".

6.2.3.2 Intervocalic *hamza*

كنّ *kann* (from *kaʾann - kaʾinn*) "as if" (117b) is still attested in Egypt: Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 422b "*kann* als ob: *kannak* als ob du". عَيلة *ʿayla* or *ʿēla* "dependents" (84b) reflects the disappearance of the *hamza* so *ʿāʾila* became *ʿāyila* and then *ʿyla*. For the issue of the diphthong see §6.2.8. The word عِدّنّ *ʿiddinn* "let's assume that..." (117a) is a contraction of *ʿidd ʾinn* in which the *hamza* has disappeared.

6.2.3.3 Final *hamza*

Unfortunately, Al-Maġribī's spelling of the *hamza* is so haphazard (see §6.1.1) that it is impossible to reach a conclusion about either its pronunciation or its disappearance. Instead, we have to rely on those instances where he explicitly mentions that it has vanished, or looks up a word under the *wāw* or *yāʾ* where in Classical Arabic it would have a *hamza*. Such is the case in the entry خبيت *ḫabbyt* "I hid" (126a), which al-Maġribī placed in the chapter *wāw* and *yāʾ*. He looked it up under ḪBY[371] but did not find it there. Other cases of the disappearance of the final

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[369] According to ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 359 the origin is رأيت, with disappearance of the *hamza*, so it became رويت, and after metathesis of *rāʾ* and *wāw* it became وريت. The same theory is supported by Davies (1981) p. 71.

[370] See Watson (2002) p. 18 and Davies (1981) p. 71.

[371] This is remarkable, because he had already mentioned the verb خبا in the chapter *hamza*.

hamza are: ردّيّ *radī* "bad" (127b), رفا *rafā* "to darn" (9a), ملو *malw* "a ... full" (111b), ملاية *milāya* "bedsheet" (10b), نيّ *nayy* "raw" (131b), هنّاك "may God grant you good health" (11a), دفيت *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:
سقيع *saqīʿ* "chilly" (44a) (< صقيع), سَكّ *sakk* "to hit" (61a) (< صَكّ), سندوق *sandūq* "box" (46a) (< صندوق), ناتق *nātiq* "endowing with speech (God)" (55b) (< ناطق), نتق *nataʾ* "to endow with speech" (55b) (< نطق), *yizdəq* "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 صرم *ṣurm* "arsehole" (102b) (< سرم). This is a case of secondary emphasis due to the vicinity of the *rāʾ*.[372]

6.2.5 Voicing of *s* and *ṣ*

The voicing of *s* and *ṣ* is attested in *Daf' al-iṣr*. For instance, in يزدق *yizdəq* "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 زحاق *ziḥāq* "lesbianism" (< سحاق) and زحّاقة *zaḥḥāqa* "lesbian" (< سحاقة (both 43a), in زعلوك *zaʿlūk* "pauper" (61a) (<صعلوك), and زحلفة *zəḥləfa* < *sulaḥfā* "tortoise" (23b) (with metathesis of the *ḥ* and *l*).[373] 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 š t ṭ d ḍ z ẓ g* or *k*.[374] The following

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[372] See ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 362 and Woidich (2006) p. 24.

[373] Al-Maġribī suggests a connection with the word *zaḥālif* "*Small* دَوَبٌّ [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 Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 119 and §6.2.7.

[374] See Woidich (2006) p. 69.

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

t > *s*: يسّكّع *yissakkaʿ* "to hang around" (44a), يِسَلَّع *yissallaʿ* "to try hard to sell his goods" (44b), يسّلّق *yissallaq* "to climb" (46a), and يسّوق *yissawwaq* "to go looking for" (46a).

t > *ṣ*: يصّنّط *yiṣṣannaṭ* "to eavesdrop" (46a).

t > *š*: يشّدق *yiššaddaq* "to be diffuse in speech" (46b).

t > *z*: ازّقّم *izzaqqam* "to be force-fed", and يزّاول *yizzāwil* "to imagine" (79a).

t > *d*: يدّشّى *yiddaššā* "to belch" (127a).

t > *g*: اجّهرم *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 < ZWĞ, e.g. *gōz* "husband". There are a few instances of it in *Daf' al-iṣr*: معلقة *maʿlaqa* < *milʿaqa* "spoon" (fols. 49b and 54b), موايمة *muwāyma* < *muyāwama* "day labour" (108b), صاقعه *ṣāqʿa* < *ṣāʿiqa* "lightning" (47a), زحلفة *zaḥləfa* < *sulaḥfā* "tortoise" (23b) (with voicing of the *s*[375]), and سقّف *saqqaf* < *ṣaffaq* "to applaud" (25b) (with de-emphatization of the *ṣ*, see §6.2.4.).

6.2.8 Diphthongs

When al-Maġribī vocalizes a word that originally contained a diphthong, he often places a *fatḥa* on top, e.g. يا دَوْبه (folio 13b) *ya dawbu / dōbu* 'just', nowadays *ya dōb* or *ya dōbak*, رَوك *rawk / rōk* "public property" (59b), زَيبق *zaybaq / zēbaq* "mercury" (41b), سَيف *sayf / sēf* "sword" (26a), عَيْلة *ʿayla / ʿēla* "family" (84b), هَوْن *hawn / hōn* "mortar" (120a), and هَيْف *hayf / hēf* "open air (36a). However, as Blanc pointed out, the use of the *fatḥa* "may or may not stand for diphthongs".[376] Writing the *fatḥa* before a *wāw* or *yāʾ* could simply be conventional for /ō/ and /ē/. This is certainly the case with the word بَوْسَه *bōsa* "kiss" (88b), which was never a diphthong originally because it derives from the Persian *bosa*.[377] Perhaps al-Maġribī vocalizes

[375] See also §6.2.5.

[376] See Blanc (1981) pp. 195-6.

[377] 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: *ʾawḍa* for *ʾōḍa* '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 17th and 18th centuries. An argument against this is the word *ʾayš - ʾēš*, which is written four times as اش in *Daf' al-iṣr*.[378] This suggests that the pronunciation is *ʾiš* or *ʾeš*, 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 17th century. Diem (1985) p. 77-8, however, mentions an example of monophthongisation of the *aw* dating from the first century AH.

6.2.9 Lengthening of short vowels

A few cases of the lengthening of short vowels are mentioned in *Daf' al-iṣr*. That of *kām* < *kam* (fols. 106a and 106b) is well documented[379] and can be attributed to the need "to give normal length to exceptionally short words".[380]

The explanation of why the word *naʿām* < *naʿam* (106b) would have a lengthened second *a* could be, that like in modern Cairene Arabic, it should be understood not as "yes" but as "excuse me?", with a rising intonation. However, *naʿām* with a long *a* is already attested in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.[381]

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: خاروف *ḫārūf* < *ḫarūf* "sheep" (21b) and قادوم *qādūm* < *qadūm* "adze" (104a).

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[378] On fols. 57a, 62a, 73b, and 125b.

[379] See Davies (1981) p. 86.

[380] Blau (1965) pp. 71-2.

[381] On p. 1049c: كلمةٌ كبَلَى: ونَعَمْ، بفتحتين، وقد تُكْسَةُ العينُ، ونَعامْ، عم المُعافَى بن زكريا.

These are probably hypercorrections following the same pattern as خازوق *ḫāzūq* (39a) and خاتون *ḫātūn* (112b). From these examples, it may be concluded that long vowels were shortened in open, pre-stressed syllables, because otherwise this confusion would not arise.

6.2.10 Shortening of long vowels

6.2.10.1 Word-internal

In modern Cairene Arabic, the rule that a long vowel followed by two consonants is shortened applies.[382] That this rule was already in existence in al-Maġribī's time is attested by the entry حفة *ḥaffa* "edge" (21b). The same principle is also confirmed in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, in the words *al-ḥagg* and *al-ḥagga*.[383]

Another rule is that an unstressed long vowel is shortened.[384] There is an example of this in *Daf' al-iṣr*: حشاك ظهرك *ḥašāk ẓahrak* "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: بَكَّهْ *bakka* < بكاء *bakkāʾ* "somebody who is always weeping" (56b), حلفه *ḥalfa* < حلفاء *ḥalfāʾ* "alfa" (21a), عزلة *ʿazla* < عزلاء *azlāʾ* "mouth of the water bag" (83b), وِكِه *wikih* < وكاء *wikāʾ* "walking stick?" (132a),[385] and وَطْفه *waṭfa* < وطفاء *waṭfāʾ* "having bushy eyebrows" (35a). There can be no doubt about the pronunciation because the *–a* is written with *hāʾ*. However, in cases where *alif* is written, nothing can be said about the pronunciation, because of the defective way of writing the *hamza* employed by al-Maġribī.[386]

6.2.11 Pausal *imāla*

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

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[382] See Woidich (2006) p. 31.

[383] See Davies (1981) p. 101.

[384] See Woidich (2006) p. 31.

[385] See the next paragraph for the pausal *imāla*.

[386] See §6.1.1.

[387] 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*.[388] Moreover, from Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī's[389] *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"[390] There are three more in *Daf' al-iṣr*: تركه *tərkih*[391] "inheritance" (57a), زرافه *zarāfih*[392] "giraffe" (24a), and وِكِهْ *wikih* "walking stick?" (132a). These are the only three words that were pronounced with the final *imāla*, which al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī rarely vocalizes the Egyptian-Arabic entries, he does often compare the vocalization of Egyptian-Arabic words with Classical Arabic.[393] This provides us with some information about the distribution of the vowels.

6.2.12.1 *i* > *u*

Words which have the pattern *fiʿāl* or *fiʿlāl* in Classical Arabic have *fuʿāl* or *fuʿlāl* in *Daf' al-iṣr*, which corresponds to normal usage today: طُحال *ṭuḥāl* "spleen" (82a), and غربال *ġurbāl* "sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)" (84b).

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[388] Blanc (1973-4) p. 378.

[389] See §2.1.1 for more information about al-Ṭanṭāwī.

[390] See Davies (1981) p. 81.

[391] فيكسرون الكاف "and they put an *i* after the *kāf*", see *Daf' al-iṣr* fol. 57a.

[392] فيكسرون الفا "and they put an *i* after the *fā*'", see *Daf' al-iṣr* fol. 24a.

[393] His system is explained in detail in §3.7.1.

6.2.12.2 *i > a*

Quadriliteral words which have the pattern *fiʿlīl* in Classical Arabic have *faʿlīl* in both *Daf al-iṣrʿ al-iṣr* and modern Cairene Arabic. Some examples are: برطيل *barṭīl* "bribe" (65b), قنديل *qandīl* "oil lamp" (90b), and زنديق *zandīq* "heretic" (42b).

Words with the pattern *mifʿal* and *mifʿala* in Classical Arabic have *mafʿal* and *mafʿala* in *Daf al-iṣrʿ al-iṣr*:

mafʿal:
محمل *maḥmal* "camel litter" (70a), مردن *mardan* "spindle" (114a), and مَعصم *maʿṣam* "wrist" (103a). This final example is interesting because under the influence of Modern Standard Arabic it has again become *miʿṣam* in modern Cairene Arabic.

mafʿala:
مدخنه *madḫana* "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,[394] while in Classical Arabic only the pattern with *u* is used. In *Daf al-iṣr* we find: رِضاب *riḍāb* "spittle" (14a), and مِشاق *mišāq* "residue that is left after the flax has been combed" (55b), as well as زبالة *zubāla* "garbage" (77a), قُمامه *qumāma* "sweepings" (105b), نُخاله *nuḫāla* "siftings of flour" (92a), and غساله *ġusāla* "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*: *balʿūm* "gullet" (96a), خرطوم *ḫarṭūm* "hose, elephant's trunk; Khartoum" (96b), صَندوق *ṣandūq* "box" (47b), and عربون *ʿarbūn* "down payment" (116b).

[394] See Woidich (2006) pp. 93 and 98.

6.2.12.5 *a* > *u*

Words with the pattern KaKūK in Classical Arabic, have in *Dafʿ al-iṣr* the pattern KuKūK like in modern Cairo Arabic: سفوف *sufūf* "medicinal powder" (25a); لُعُوق *luʿūq* "electuary" (54b); زُبون *zubūn* "customer" (114b).

6.2.12.6 Assimilation of vowels to vowels

In مَعَدِّل *maʿaddil* < *muʿaddil* "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 ʿ. Other examples observed in modern Cairene Arabic are *Muḥammad* - *Maḥammad* "Mohammed" and *miʾayyaḥ* - *maʾayyaḥ* "festering".[395]

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*.[396] It is twice written with *kasra* in *Dafʿ al-iṣr*: يِسَلَّع *yisallaʿ* "to be successfull in selling one's goods" (44b), and يِشوْلم *yišwləm* "to rage, scream" (102a). Širbīnī also explicitly mentions that the prefix is *yi*- in his comment on YʿF "it settles (of a fly)".[397] An ancient example of this feature has been discovered in a Judaeo-Arabic letter from the 12th/13th century: *yiğī* "it comes",[398] and many other instances can be found in the 15th century text *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.[399]

6.3.1.2 The prefix of form V, VI, quadriliterals

The prefix *it*- instead of *ta*- in forms V and VI and the quadriliteral verbs occurs frequently: يدّشّى *yiddaššā*[400] "to belch" (127a), اترسم *itrassim ʿala* "to guard someone" (97b), ازّقّم *izzaqqam* "to be force-fed" (98b), يسّكّع *yissakkaʿ* "to loiter" (44a), يسّلّق

[395] See Woidich (2006) p. 19.

[396] This phenomenon, called تلتلة *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, ʾAsad, Rabīʿa, and the '*ʿāmmat al-ʿarab*' had *i*".

[397] See Davies (1981) p. 105.

[398] See Blau-Hopkins (1985) p. 453. This letter is written in vocalized Hebrew script.

[399] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 145.

[400] The assimilation of the *t* to the following consonant is discussed in §5.3.6.

yissallaq "to climb" (46a), يسّوق *yissawwaq* "to go looking for" (46a), يشّدق *yiššaddaq* "to be diffuse in speech" (46b), يصّنّط *yiṣṣannaṭ* "to eavesdrop" (46a), اتمقّل *itmaqqal* "to look" (92a), يزّاول *yizzāwil* "to imagine" (79a), اتهته *ittahtih* "to stammer" (121a), اتفشكل *itfaškil* "to act incorrectly" (87a), اتمطرق *itmaṭraq* "to lay down" (36a), اتململ *itmalmil* "to be restless" (92a), and إتهركِنْ *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), انخزى *inḫazā* "to be embarrassed" (126b), انخطف لونه *inḫaṭaf lwnuh* "he became pale" (lit. "his colour was snatched away") (22a), اندكّ *indakk* "to be weakened (voice)" (58b), اندلق *indalaq* "to throw oneself on" (39b), انطرف *inṭaraf* "to be hurt (the eye)" (29b).

The form with *it-*, which occurs frequently in *Hazz al-quḥūf*,[401] is not attested in *Daf' al-iṣr*, where all form VII-verbs have the prefix *in-*, as in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.[402] The prefix of form VII is *it-* in Cairo these days, while *in-* can be found in a few verbs such as *inbasaṭ* "to enjoy oneself". In the Šarqīya, the prefix is *in-*.[403]

6.3.1.4 Vowels of form II, V, and quadriliterals

In modern Cairene Arabic, the same rule applies to the second vowel of forms II and V, and the quadriliteral 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*.[404] Therefore, it is *nazzil* "to bring down", *ṭalla'* to bring up, *bahdil* "to mess up", but *laḫbaṭ* "to confuse". There are a few indications from *Daf' al-iṣr* that in al-Maġribī's time the distribution of the vowels was the same as it is today: يتنحَّم *yitnaḥḥam* "to defecate" (106b), يِسَلَّع *yisalla'* "to be successfull in selling one's goods" (44b), إتهركِنْ *itharkin* "to be worn out" (120a), and خَرْبَق *ḫarbaq* "to tear apart" (39a). More evidence of this distribution of the vowels can be found in

[401] See Davies (1981) p. 118.
[402] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 148.
[403] See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I map 242.
[404] See Woidich (2006) pp. 64, 67.

Vrolijk (1998) p. 147, from the 15th century text *Nuzhat al-nufūs*. For example: *yiṣayyaḥ* "he shouts" and *aḥadditak* "I will tell you". The only instance in *Daf' al-iṣr* where this rule does not apply is تحسَّب *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.[405] An example from modern Cairene Arabic is the pair *tiʿib, yitʿab* "to become tired" and *taʿab, yitʿib* "to tire" (< *atʿab, yutʿib*), whereas two instances from *Daf' al-iṣr* are: راق *rāq* "to pour" (40b) < أراق *ʾarāq* and طلّ *ṭall* "to look down" (82b) < أطلّ *ʾaṭall*. Five examples of form IV can be found in al-Maġribī's glossary: ارهق *arhaq* "to delay" (41a), اسرع *asraʿ* "to hurry" (44a), اولم (107b) *awlam* "to give a banquet", اقرف (32a) *aqraf* "to disgust", أومى (3b) *ʾawmā* "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 *tiʿib* and *taʿab*: *ʾirif, yiʾraf* "to be disgusted", and *ʾaraf, yiʾrif* "to disgust" (< *aqraf, yuqrif*).[406]

A special case is the verb "to go", which is *rāḥ* (6b and 132a), but is mentioned once as *ʾarāḥ*: يقولون اراح بشحم كلاه *yaqūlūn arāḥ bi-šaḥm 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: *ʾaḫūk ʾarāḥ minnak ġaḍbān* "your brother has left you in anger" and *ʾarāḥ lak šī ḍāyiʿ* "have you lost something?".[407] In the twentieth century dialect of the Jews of Cairo, the same *arāḥ* is found for the 3rd sg. masc.[408] In Classical Arabic, we find both راح and اراح with the meaning "[he] returned in the evening, or afternoon, to rest", see Lane III 1179b.

[405] See also Brockelmann (1961) I p. 523.
[406] See Woidich (2006) pp. 62-3.
[407] Quoted in Blanc (1974) p. 215.
[408] Ibid.

6.3.1.6 The internal passive

The internal passive occurs in only two entries: عيل صبري *ʿīl 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 العدوّ مات ويقول بعض لم يمت انما قتل ولا فرق *yaqūlūn fulān al-ʿədəww māt 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 مُسِك بعملته *fulān musik bi-ʿamlatuh* "he was caught red-handed" (84b) (the entry here is بعملته), but this can be explained by al-Maġribī's habit of placing the entries in a classical context.[409]

6.3.2 The pronoun

The only two personal pronouns worth mentioning here are: *iḥnā* in ما احنا من دي القَبَل *mā iḥnā min dī lqabal* "we do not belong to this type of people" (88b), and *huwwā* in أدْ هُوَّا *ʾad huwwā* "there he is" (3b). Both can be found in the list of personal pronouns of Davies (1981) p. 177.

The use of the word إيّاه *ʾiyyāh* is interesting. It can be used as a demonstrative particle (see §6.3.3.), but al-Maġribī mentions its usage by the Bedouins with the meaning of "he": وهذه الكلمة يستعملها غير الحضر في معنى هو كانهم يقولون هو بعينه "this word (i.e. إيَّاه) 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*[410] and *dwləh* occur in *Daf al-iṣr*. The latter is used independently: ويقولون دوله كذا او اش في دوله طيّب *wa yaqūlūn dwləh kazā aw iš fī dwləh ṭayyib* "they say: 'those are so-and-so', or 'which of those is good?'". Davies (1981) p. 161 suggests that the *–h* of *dwləh*, which also occurs in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, "may

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[409] See §3.6.1.

[410] These are spelt ذا and ذي, but because interdentals had already disappeared at this time (see §6.2.2) it can be concluded that this is historical spelling and should be pronounced *dā* and *dī*. Furthermore, *dī* is written once as دي.

indicate pausal *ʾimāla*". Also *dā* appears only independently: ما ذا الا شكل *mā ḏā illā šikl* "that is nothing but coquetry", ذا هلال واكبر ذا مليح *ḏā hilāl wa-akbar ḏā malīḥ* "that is the crescent and even bigger, that is beautiful" (100b). The demonstrative *ḏī* occurs once in combination with *illā*, like the aforementioned *ḏā*: ما ذي الا زلة *mā ḏī illā zilla* "it is nothing but a mistake" (78b). In two other cases, *ḏī / dī* appears as a preposed[411] demonstrative, once in combination with a feminine noun: اش ذي اللّبكة *iš ḏī l-labka* "what is this confusion?" (62), and once with a masculine noun: ما احنا من دي القَبَل *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".[412] In *Hazz al-Quḥūf*, we find examples such as *dī l-ʿamal* "this act" and *dī l-qwl* "these words".[413]

In modern Cairene Arabic, the normal order is noun - demonstrative. However, Doss (1979) shows that the word order demonstrative - noun also occurs, and she refers to three constructions in which this can be found:[414]

1. noun phrases following the vocative *ya*, e.g. *ya di lḫēba* "what a nuisance!"
2. strongly worded commands, e.g. *ḫallaṣūna min di ššuġlāna* "rid us of this job!"
3. curses, e.g. *yilʿan abu di lʿīša* "damn this life!".

The function of this positioning, Doss argues, is "that of emphasis which is usually to express a negative feeling".[415] However, Woidich (1992) contradicts this with some examples with a positive meaning, e.g. *yādi ṣṣudfa ssaʿīda* "what a happy coincidence!".[416] He argues that rather than expressing a negative feeling, the combination of demonstrative - noun causes an "increased intensity of awareness" because of its contrast with the normal word order.[417] Davies (1981) proves that the same applies to the examples found in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, and that the function of the preposed demonstrative is "to mark a general intensity of feeling on the part of the speaker towards the object referred to".[418] This is probably also the case in

[411] No instances of postponed demonstratives are found in *Daf al-iṣr*.
[412] Davies (1981) p. 163.
[413] Ibid.
[414] See Doss (1979) pp. 350-351.
[415] Ibid. p. 353.
[416] See Woidich (1992) p. 199
[417] Ibid. p. 214.
[418] Davies (1981) p. 168.

Daf ʿal-iṣr, although there are not enough examples thereof to establish a general rule.

A very interesting feature is دلّا *dillā*. It only appears after *mā* in *Daf ʿal-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. دِلَّا الرجُل *dillā l-raǧul* "this man", but also independently.[419] It never occurs in combination with *mā* though. Therefore, in the examples in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, the expression *mā dillā* could be translated as "what kind of a ... is this": مَا دِلّا لكلوك *mā dillā laklūk* "what kind of careless person this is!" (62a), فلان ما دلّا رَجْل *fulān mā dillā ragl* "so-and-so, what kind of man is he!" (75a), and ما دِلّا قِسْمه *mā dillā qisma* "what kind of fated lot is this!".[420] Vrolijk was unaware of its usage in *Daf ʿal-iṣr* and, therefore, concluded that this feature had become obsolete before the 17th century.[421] Spiro (1999) p. 550a mentions the similar *ma illa*: "ما الا راجل *ma illa rāgil* "what a man!", which is also referred to by ʾAmīn (2002) p. 501: ملا, and El-Ṭanṭāvy (1981) p. xxiv: مَلّا.

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*.[422] we also find two such particles in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*. The first is *ādī*: ويقولون ادِيني جيت مثلا او ادِيني رايح *yaqūlūn adīnī gyt maṯalan aw ādīnī rāyiḥ* "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 *ʾā*, and the old relative pronomen *ḏī*. In modern Egyptian, *ādi* can stand alone or be followed by a suffix for the 1st or 2nd person.[423]

The second demonstrative particle found in *Daf ʿal-iṣr* is *ʾad* followed by the personal pronoun: جا أَدْ هُوَّا عمل كذا او أَدْ هُوَّا *ʾad huwwā ʿamal kaḏā aw ʾad huwwā ǧā* "'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

[419] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.
[420] In *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, no example of *dillā* + fem. noun can be found, see Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.
[421] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.
[422] See Woidich (2006) pp. 48-9.
[423] See Woidich (2006) p. 49 and Fischer (1959) p. 176.

modern Cairo Arabic, such as *adīk ~ ad-ínta*, *adīki ~ ad-ínti*, *adīna ~ ad-íḥna* etc.[424] In the Dakhla-oasis a form without *–i*, e.g. *ādni*, is still in use today.[425] As mentioned above, *ādi* can nowadays only be followed by suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person, but this was, perhaps, not the case in the 17th century.

The particle إِيَّاه was, according to al-Maġribī, used as a demonstrative referring to a person or thing and meaning "that one", "the aforementioned":

ويقولون إِيَّاه على صورة ضمير النصب المنفصل يريدون ما هو الا كذا هيئة المستفهم انسان يحكي لاخر ثم لا يفهم حكايته فيعيدها الى ان يفهم فيقول إِيَّاه كانه يقول الان فهمتُ "They say *ʾiyyāh* 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 التذكر لشي اياه بكسر الهمزه 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,[426] which does not appear to be the case from either al-Maġribī's explanation, or the examples he provides.

6.3.5 The interrogatives

6.3.5.1 *ʾizzāy*

إِزاي *ʾizzāy* "how?" was used in al-Maġribī's time (see 127b). He correctly retraced it to اي شي زِيّه *ayy šy ziyyuh* "how is his attire?"

[424] see Woidich (2006) p. 49.

[425] See Behnstedt-Woidich (1999) p. 359a.

[426] Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 47a mentions that it is often used "with a pejorative connotation", while Woidich (2006) p. 235 mentions its use when the speaker wants to avoid saying a certain thing, e.g. *iṣṣuwar iyyāha* "certain photos" for "pornographic photos".

6.3.5.2 *iš - ayš / ēš*

اش *iš* "what?" occurs four times in *Daf al-iṣr*, while ايش *ayš / ēš* occurs only once: اش تحوتك *iš təḥwtak* "why are you running around (?)" (57a), اش ذي اللّبكة *iš ḏī l-labka* "what is this confusion?" (62a), ايش هذه الخزعبلات *ayš /ēš hāḏihi l-ḫuzuʿbalāt* (72a) "what are these superstitions?", اش في دوله طيّب *iš fī dwləh ṭayyib* "which of those is good?" (73b), and اش حِلاته *iš ḥilātuh* "what does he look like?" (125b). *ēš* is a contraction of *ayy šayʾ* "which thing" and has become *ē* in modern Cairo Arabic. *ēš* was common in Cairo until the 19th century,[427] and can still be heard today in the Egyptian countryside. As mentioned before,[428] the writing of اش with a short vowel suggests the shortening of the vowel *ʾē. ayy šayʾ* instead of *mā* as an interrogative is an ancient feature which has already been attested to in texts from the first millennium.[429] This was, according to Blau, due to the "very heavy functional load of *mā* (which had become the standard negative particle)".[430]

6.3.5.3 *ʾymtā*

أيمتا *ʾymtā* "when" occurs once in *Daf al-iṣr*: أيمتا يكون *ʾymtā yikūn* "when will it be?" (3b). Al-Maġribī explains that this is either *matā* plus an extra *ʾay*, or that *ʾay* on its own is حرف جواب "a particle of reply" i.e. *ay* "yes". This would suggest that the pronunciation is *ʾaymtā*. Note that El-Ṭanṭāvy also uses the spelling with an initial *alif* plus *yāʾ*: اِيمْتَى.[431]

6.3.5.4 *anā*

انا *anā* "which" is an entry in *Daf al-iṣr*: هذا جا من انا داهيه من انا كروه من انا مقشره *hāḏā ǧā min anā dāhya min anā karwa min anā maqšara* "this came from which

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[427] See Spiro (1999) p. 26a.

[428] See §6.2.8.

[429] See Blau (2002) p. 36 and 130. Corriente (1975) p. 53 mentions many early examples of *ayši* and *ayš* from *Kitāb al-aġānī* by Abū al-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (4th century AH). Spitta-Bey (1880) p. 80 mentions he found *ēš* in a manuscript from the 3rd century: *Kitāb naṯr al-durr* by Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī.

[430] Blau (2002) p. 36.

[431] See El-Ṭanṭāvy (1981) p. 75.

disaster, from which ...[432]" (3b). Its meaning is explained: وامّا قولهم من انا محل مثلا يريدون من ايّ محل "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*,[433] which Woidich (2006) p. 51 mentions in a similar context to al-Maġribī: *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*

فين *fyn* "where" was used by the Egyptians, while the Arabs and North Africans said وَيْن *wayn* according to al-Maġribī: يقولون ويسمع من العرب والمغاربة وَيْن هو اي اين هو وهي تصحيف عن فين اي في 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-Maġribī 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 فِيَيْن *fiyayn*.[434]

6.3.6 The diminutive

In modern Cairene Arabic, the diminutive patterns are no longer productive, but survive as relics.[435] Most common is the pattern KvKayyvK, which is found in words such as *kuwayyis* "good", *ṣuġayyar* "small", *ʾulayyil* "few" etc. Davies (1981) p. 132 notes the high frequency of diminutive patterns in *Hazz al-quḥūf*. In *Dafʿ al-iṣr*, however, there are only a few:

KvKyKvK

This pattern is used for the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: بعيزق *bəʿyzəq* "squandering" (38a) and قريطم *qəryṭəm* "safflower" (104b). The latter is also mentioned in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, as the second element of a *kunya*.[436]

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[432] The meaning of the words مقشرة and كروه in this context is unclear. Al-Maġribī 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.

[433] See Spiro p. 22b *any*. Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 42a only mentions *anhu*, *anhi*.

[434] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 154.

[435] See Davies (1981) p. 131.

[436] Ibid. p. 136.

KvKvyy(a)
This pattern is used for roots with a final *yāʾ*: دُويّ *duwayy* "sound" (127a) and شويّه *šəwayya* "a little" (128a).

KvKKūK
For the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: بلبول *bəlbūl* "nightingale" (66b).[437]

KvKyK(a)
لويلات *ləwylāt* "nights" (91b), and ابو فريوة *abū fərywa* "chestnut" (89a). Following the same pattern are: شريك *šəryk* "type of bread" (60b) and بريك *bəryk* "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.[438]

KvKK
يا بيّي *yā bəyyī* "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.[439] However, it is also mentioned in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*,[440] and is still used today in the oases in Egypt.[441]

Al-Maġribī mentions that the *šawāmm* say هَيك *hayk* "like this" (63a), but fails to reveal what the Egyptians say. We find a few instances of its Egyptian equivalent, كدِه *kidih*, in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.[442]

The adverbs جُوّه *ǧuwwa* "inside" (4a; 123b; 124b) and برّا / بَرَّه *barra* "outside" (4a, 123b; 125a) occur frequently in both *Daf al-iṣr* and *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.[443]

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[437] See Woidich (2006) p. 96 KaKKūK and p. 100 KaKKūKa for more examples with this pattern.
[438] See Woidich (2006) p. 93.
[439] See e.g. Frayha (1995) p. 191a.
[440] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.
[441] Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 494b "*hawn* hier: *min hawn* hier lang".
[442] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.
[443] 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.[444] The negation with *mā* is the only kind we find in *Daf' al-iṣr*'s colloquial material. It is used to negate the perfect: ما قدر يزم *mā qədər yibzəm* "he could not speak" (95b); the imperfect: هذا ما يحوّق في الشي *hāḏā mā yiḥawwaq fī l-šy* "this has no effect on it (38b); prepositional sentences: ما عندي فيها زيان *mā ʿəndī fīhā ziyān* "I have no trick for it" (114b); and nominal sentences: ما انت خلا *mā ənt ḫalā* "you are not lacking in good qualities" (8b).[445] The lack of *mā...š(i)* can probably be attributed to al-Maġribī's tendency to use a somewhat classicized context for his entries.

6.4.2 Asyndetic clauses

Two examples of asyndetic clauses, i.e. clauses which are not introduced with أنْ *ʾan*, occur: يقولون يا جارية تعرفي تطبخي قالت يا سيدي تعرف تموّن *yaqūlūn yā ǧāriya tiʿrafī tiṭbuḫī qālat yā sayyidī tiʿraf timawwin* "they say: 'Girl, do you know how to cook?' She said: 'Sir, can you provide for your family?'" (119a) and ما قدر يزم *mā qədər yibzəm* "he could not speak" (95b).[446] In Classical Arabic, the conjunction *ʾan* should be used in both cases. On one occasion, the conjunction *ʾan* is also omitted from a Classical Arabic sentence in which the meaning of an entry is explained: مسك قلبه حتى لا يقدر يتنفس *masak qalbahu 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: تَسْتَطِيعُونَ تَسْهَرُونَ "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*:

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[444] 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.

[445] In nominal sentences like this, modern Egyptian Arabic uses the negation *miš*, but the personal pronomen can also be negated with *ma..š*: *ma-ntāš*, see Woidich (2006) p. 336.

[446] Some other examples can be found in Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.

- subject + imperfect: الله يرحم سلفك *allāh yirḥam salafak* "may God have mercy on your ancestors" (25b), and الله يتلتله *allāh yitaltiluh* "may God put him in hardship" (67a).
- perfect + subject: قاتله اللّه *qātalahu allāh* "may God fight him" (126b), and هَنّاك 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.[447] The use of the perfect in the expression of wishes is, however, still common today, and can be explained as loans from Standard Arabic.[448] An example which is frequently heard in Egypt is *kattaṛ ḫērak* "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-Maġribī places *imtā* and *iš* there, while nowadays they are placed at the end, is proof of the final struggle between Coptic and Arabic in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is, however, extremely unlikely. In modern Egyptian Arabic, there is no rule that the interrogative must be placed at the end of the sentence; its position is in situ, i.e. it takes its position according to the function it has in the sentence.[449] For example, if the interrogative is the subject it takes the position thereof at the beginning of the sentence: *mīn šāf ʿAli fi lmadrasa?* "who saw ʿAli 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?".[450] 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

[447] See Blau (2002) p. 45.

[448] See Woidich (2002) p. 272.

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

[450] More examples from older sources can be found in Singer (1958) pp. 135-6. Also Munzel (1950) p. 573 notes that *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.

ʾymtā, is mostly found where temporal adverbs are placed, i.e. at the end of the sentence. However, variety in word order is possible, and the interrogative can be placed at the beginning of the sentence in order to stress its meaning.[451]

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

6.4.5 *dann*

The particle *dann* (also *tann* in modern Cairo Arabic[453]) is used to describe the continuation of an action: دَنُّه يقول كذا *dannuh yiqūl kaḏā* "he says so-and-so all the time" (113b). The origin of *dann / tann*[454] is **taʾanna* "to stay",[455] not *dann* "to buzz" as al-Maġribī suggests. *dann* is used in the example in combination with an imperfect, while nowadays it is almost exclusively used with the active participle (and sometimes with the imperative).[456]

6.4.6 *šā*

In Yemeni Arabic, the word 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".[457] This grammaticalisation of *šā* had already taken place in al-Maġribī's time: يقولون شا افعل شا اروح وهم اهل اليمن وهي صحيحة اي اريد افعل او اراد في شا يفعل واردت في افعل لان شا ماض دائما "The people of Yemen say

[451] See Woidich (2006) p. 360.

[452] At least, this has been the case in Cairo since the 12th century according to MacCoull (1985) and Rubenson (1996), while *EALL* I p. 495 (T.S. Richter) names the 13th century. Relics of Coptic have been reported later than that in Upper Egypt, see *EI*² V p. 92b (A.S. Atiya). On the influence of Coptic on Egyptian Arabic, see also Diem (1979) pp. 50-52.

[453] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 139a and Woidich (2006) p. 324.

[454] In the Delta, we find *dann* east of the Damietta-branch of the Nile, and *tann* in the other areas. See BW II map 393.

[455] See Woidich (2006) p. 324.

[456] Ibid.

[457] Brinton-Traugott (2006) p. 99.

šā afʿal šā arūḥ which is correct, i.e. "I want to do", or "he wanted" in the case of *šā yifʿal* and "I wanted" in the case of *afʿal*, 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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī's translation of *šā afʿal* 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-Maġribī states, because as well as being used as a future marker in modern Yemeni dialects, the word *šāʾ* is also still used as a verb, with the meaning "to want".[458] The same situation could have existed in al-Maġribī'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.[459]

6.4.7 *qāʿid* as an auxiliary verb

In the following sentence, *qāʿid* is used as an auxiliary verb expressing continuity: فلان قاعد مُسَهِّم *fulān qāʿid musahhim* "so-and-so is frowning" (101a). *ʾāʿid*, with the function of an auxiliary verb, still has the meaning of "to keep doing something" in modern Cairene Arabic.[460] It can be followed by an imperfect, bi-imperfect or participium: *wi ʾaʿadtᵊ mistanniyya lbitt* "and I waited for the girl", *ʾaʿadtᵊ māši māši māši* "and I walked farther and farther,[461] and *innās ʾaʿadu ynādu ʿa-ttaksi* "the people kept calling for the taxi".[462] Interestingly, the same process has taken place in

[458] See Deboo (1989) p. 215.

[459] See Heine-Kuteva (2002) pp. 310-311.

[460] See Woidich (2006) p. 310 and Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 710a.

[461] Examples from Woidich (2006) p. 323.

[462] Example from Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 710a.

Dutch, where one can say, for example: *zit niet zo te zeuren!* "stop nagging!" (lit. "don't sit there nagging") even if the person doing the nagging is standing. This can also be seen in a number of other languages, for instance Danish and Korean.[463]

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-Maġribī also discusses a number of loan words, mainly from Persian and Turkish. An overview of these various categories can be found in this section, which will conclude with research into the question of to what extent words mentioned in *Daf' al-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-Maġribī: في لغة الاولاد عند ارادة مشيهم تَاتَا 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 *tāta* is still in use in Egypt in exactly the way al-Maġribī describes it: to encourage a little child who is just learning how to walk.[464] Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 120 suggests that al-Maġribī hesitated to mention this word because he did not know how to write it in Arabic. This seems unlikely, however, because al-Maġribī 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.[465]

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

[463] See Heine-Kuteva (2002) pp. 276-278.

[464] 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.

[465] For more information about the use of dialect in modern Egyptian literature, see Zack (2001a).

being naughty people call him معسّف *muʿassəf* "a nuisance" (30b). When they want to scare a child they say ياكلك البعو *yāk(u)lak al-baʿaww* "may the bogeyman eat you!".[466] Women say to one another: هَنْهني للطفل حتى ينام *hanhinī liṭ-ṭifl ḥattā yinām* "rock and sing to the baby until he sleeps" (120a). Al-Maġribī also writes about the سبوع *subūʿ*, 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 *məlīḥ hāyil* "terribly beautiful / beautiful, wonderful" (95a), in which al-Maġribī notes that the original meaning of *hāyil* was "terrifying". It is unclear what exactly the meaning of *hāyil* is in this context. The first possibility is that it is used as an intensifier or adverb, like *ʾawi* "very" is today, although this is unlikely because it no longer has the same meaning. Indeed, it would be improbable if the word first acquired this meaning in al-Maġribī's time and then lost it again. The second possibility is that it should be understood as "wonderful", i.e. that it had the function of an adjective. This reflects its present-day usage, in which one can, for instance, say: *ilfilmʾ 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.[467] The same development can be found in the Arabic word *faẓīʿ*, which nowadays can mean both "terrible" and "tremendous, terrific".[468]

The following is an overview of all the entries concerning women in *Daf al-iṣr*:

- غبّة *ġəbba* "menstruation" (18a). It is related to the verb *ġabba* "to return at regular intervals".[469] This is not used in Egypt nowadays: the term that is, is *ʿāda* as in *ʿalēha l-ʿāda* "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 ʿalyh* "my heart longs for him" (26b);
- وَحَم *waḥam* "craving (of pregnant women)" (107b);
- على الحال ما يزعقق *ʿalā l-ḥāl mā yizaʿqaq* "he gets angry quickly" (42a);

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[466] Still in use nowadays, as well as the variety *buʿbuʿ*.

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

[468] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 663b.

[469] See Lane VI 2221a.

- أُوِّه *ʾuwwih* "exclamation of anger" (120b; 123a);

- بقيت سمآئم من كذا *baqyt samāʾim 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);

- عيضه *ʿyḍa* "misery" (122a).

6.5.1.2 The working classes

The language of the working classes is by no means neglected by al-Maġribī, who includes the following expressions used by artisans, traders and construction workers (فعلة *faʿala* (87b)):

- سلفه *səlfa* "advance payment" (25b);

- يقوق *yiqawwaq* "to have no customers" (54a);

- ماطي *māṭī* "seller of blankets, mattresses etc." (131a);

- مدماك *mədmāk* "course of bricks" (58b);

- صرفان *ṣərfān* "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);

- تِنْك *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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī'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 ǧā* "he has just arrived" (124a);

- طلع فوق التلّ *ṭəlaʿ fwq al-tall* "he went up the hill" (presumably to defecate)[470] (67a);
- من حيشن *min ḥyšən* "since" (111b), which is the same as the modern *ḥēs* < *ḥayṭ*. It is very interesting that it was pronounced with a *šīn*.[471] Al-Maġribī also mentions that people in Cairo said *min ḥytin*;
- خُشْني *ḫušnī* "rough (person)" (113a);
- خُوّة *ḫuwwa* "brotherhood" (< *uḫuwwa*) (127a);
- رَجْل (75a) *raǧl* "man";[472]
- رفّ *raff* "shelf" (23a);
- ضاف، يضيف *ḍāf, yiḍīf* "to be a guest" (29a);
- غوش *ġūš* "bracelets" (101a);[473]
- قنِف *qinif* "disgusting?" (32b);
- وَطْفه *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 *zwrəq* (42a), سنبوق *sənbwq* (46a), سنبوك *sənbwk* (46a; 60b);
- different parts of a boat: خِنّ *ḫinn* "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 ربّان *rəbbān* "captain" (114a), the كرّاني *karrānī* "scribe" (117b) and the نواتيّة *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 وَيْ *way* "ai!" (132a), and when they believe somebody is hideous, they say he is فَسْل *fasl* (87a).

[470] This is described in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2.

[471] See also §6.2.2.

[472] See also §6.2.1.

[473] Nowadays, the diminutive *ġiwēša* is used in Cairo for the singular "bracelet".

6.5.1.3 Non-Egyptian Arabic speakers

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

- مكحلة *məkḥla* "rifle" (91a). Nowadays this word, pronounced *mkeḥla* or *mkoḥla*, is still used with the same meaning in Morocco.[474] It is so called, as al-Maġribī explains, because gunpowder looks like kohl;
- دربال *dərbāl* "garment" (72b);
- زعلوك *zaʿlūk* "pauper" (59b);
- وَيْن *wyn* "where" (120a)[475] (which is also used by the Arabs according to al-Maġribī);
- زاملة *zāmila* "she-camel" (78b), which was also used by the Sudanese traders.

Al-Maġribī also mentions the vocabulary of those from the Arab peninsula, whom he sometimes simply calls *al-ʿarab*, and sometimes specifies as the people from the Ḥiğāz or the people of Mecca:

- مسطول *masṭūl* "intoxicated" (80b);
- سُلْمة *sulma* "kiss" (100b);
- زل *zall* "to pass, to leave" (78a);
- ضالّ *ḍāll* "lost" (active part.) (81b);
- هنيّ *hənnī* "stuff, things" (120a);
- خصفة *ḫəṣfa* "mat of palm leaves, used in the Kaʿba" (22a);
- فصي *fəṣy* "date pit" (130a);
- مِلعقة *milʿaqa* "spoon" (54b).

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

- رجال *rağğāl* "man" (75a);
- هَيْك *hyk* "like this" (63a);
- شقفه *šəqfa* "piece"[476] (26b).

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[474] See Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 81.

[475] Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 204b "*wayn* (not common Moroccan) same as *fayn*".

[476] In Egyptian this means "potsherd", see Hinds-Badawi (1986) 471b.

It is remarkable that some words, which would nowadays be classified as typically Levantine, were used by Egyptians at that time:

- هون *hwn* "here" (120b);
- غبوق *ġubūq* "cloudy" (50a);
- نقانق *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.[477] 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.[478] 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 شا *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-Maġribī points out in a very funny anecdote, do not always master the language.[479] 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 البُقّ هو القذر

[477] See Lentin (1995) p. 134.

[478] Ibid. p. 137.

[479] See §5.1.3.

"Many people say in the presence of Turks: 'I drank as much as a *buqq*' for instance. So they make fun of them, because for them [= the Turks] *buqq* means 'filth'."

This is a pun: in the Egyptian dialect *buqq* means "mouth". However, the word بوق *boq*, which to the Egyptians sounds like *buqq*, means "shit" in Turkish.[480] Therefore, the meaning is ambiguous: "I drank a mouthful", or "I drank an amount of shit".

However, al-Maġribī does more than just laugh at the Turks and their language, instead mentioning many words of Turkish origin that had entered the Egyptian dialect. From the way in which he discusses this, it is clear that he does not disapprove of this development, but rather seems to consider it an enrichment of the language. Especially well represented in the category of Turkish loanwords are foodstuffs: بريك *bəryk* "small pastries" (56b) from the Turkish *börek*, سوبيا *subyā* "a sweet drink" (9a) from the Turkish *sübye*, and شريك *šəryk* "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 *ḫuškənān* (10a) or خشتنانك *ḫuštənānak* (58a) "a kind of sweet-meat" (58a) from خشك نان *ḫushk-nān*, (lit. "dry bread"[481]), كحك *kaḥk* "cookies" (62a) from كاك *kāk*, and كشك *kišk* "a dish made of wheat and milk" (62a) from كشك *kašk*.

Not all of the loanwords from Turkish and Persian involve food. There are also several references to musical terms: يكاه *yakāh* "the first note, C" (63a), دوكاه *dwkāh* "the second note, D" (63a), سكاه *sikāh* "the third note, E" (63a), چاركاه (63a) *čārkāh* "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).[482]

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);

[480] See Redhouse (1992) p. 405a.
[481] See Steingass (1975) p. 468a.
[482] See Steingass (1975) p. 1074a.

- براسم *bərāsəm* “silk” (95a);
- برشق *bəršəq* “belt?” (36b);
- برغل *burġul* “crushed wheat” (65b);
- بستان *bustān* “field” (109b);
- بَوْسَه *bwsa* “kiss” (88b);
- خان *ḫān* “large shop” (113a);
- خجا *ḫəǧā* (8b), خجی، خوجا (126a) *ḫəǧā*, *ḫwǧā* “scholar; important man”;
- خاتون *ḫātūn* “woman of noble origin” (112b);
- خوان *ḫəwān* “table” (113a);
- داية *dāya* “midwife” (88b);
- رَوْشن *rwšən* “air-hole, sky-light” (114a);
- زبون “customer” or “disease” (114b), the first from the Persian *zubūn*, the second from *zabūn*;
- زرباب *zarbāb* “cloth of gold” (15a);
- زردمة *zardama* “throat” (98b);
- زرفن *zarfən* “to curl” (114b);
- زلّية *zəlliyya* “carpet, blanket” (78b; 127b);
- زنبرة *zanbara* “whoremonger” (103b);
- زنبيل *zənbīl* “basket” (77a);
- زِنجبيل *ziněabīl* “ginger” (78a);
- سلجم *salǧam* “turnip” (101a);
- سيسبان *sysəbān* “sesban tree” (15a);
- شروال *širwāl*, سروال *sirwāl* “drawers, long trousers” (80b);
- شيله بَيْله *šyla byla* “heave-ho!” (128a);
- فِرا *firā* “para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster” (9a);
- فرزان *firzān* “the queen in the game of chess” (117a);
- فنجان *finǧān* “coffee cup” (117a);
- فندق *funduq* “hazelnut” (53b);
- قرطق *qərṭəq* “tunic” (53b);

- قزْمة *qazma* "pick-axe" (104b);
- قلنبرة *qulanbara* "sodomite" (103b);
- كركدن *karkaddan / karkadann* "rhinoceros" (117b);
- مِزراب *mizrāb* "spout for draining water from a roof or balcony" (15a);
- موم *mūm* "wax; candles" (106a);
- نمك *nəmək* "salt" (62a) in the expression *wala al-nəmək* "nothing at all";
- هِندام *hindām* "the way somebody looks, his shape" (108a).

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

يقولون اهيا شراهيا قال وهو خطا وانما هو ‹اهيا بكسر الهمزة اشر اهيا بفتح الهمزة والشين اي الازلي الذي لم يزل يونانية والناس يغلطون فيقولون اهيا شراهيا وهو خطا 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 *fatḥ* 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 אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה "I am who I am" (the name of God, Exodus 3:14[483]). ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 365 misunderstands al-Maġribī when he writes that he (al-Maġribī) was under the false impression that the expression is Greek. The whole entry is (almost) completely taken from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1124a. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb refers to the fact that the formula is used in magic, something both *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and al-Maġribī leave unmentioned. There are many examples of this formula in Islamic magical amulets, sometimes almost unrecognisably corrupted, such as شراشا شرا *šarāšā šarā*, هنشراهيا *hanšarāhyā*, هي شراهي *hī šarāhī* etc.[484]

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

[483] "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you". Translation: King James Bible.

[484] See Winkler (1930) p. 30ff.

əzmīl (78b) "chisel" from *σμίλη / ζμίλη*, افيون *afyūn* (117a) from *οπιον*, بطاقة *biṭāqa* "message sent by pigeon" (37b) < *πιττάκιον*, بطريق *baṭrīq* "leader of a Greek army" (37a) from *πατρίχιος*, بطرك *baṭrak* "Patriarch" (56b) from *πατριάρχης*, بلاّن *ballān* "bathhouse attendant" (110a) from *βαλανειον*, منجنيق *manğanīq* "catapult" (38b) from *μαγγανιχιον*, and نواتيّة *nawātiyya* "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 كوفيّة *kūfiyya* "square piece of fabric worn on the head" (33b) from *cofea*. Al-Maġribī does not recognise the first two as loan words, because they are mentioned in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* without further comment. He qualifies كوفيّة as "unknown".

A few words are mentioned in *Daf' al-iṣr* whose Coptic origin is confirmed by several authors:[485] حالوم *ḥālūm* "white cream cheese" (96b), شونة *šwna* "storage place for grain" (115b), طوب *ṭūb* "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-Maġribī. The only word not mentioned in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is بكله *bəkla* "vessel holding water for washing one's backside" (66a) which is therefore labelled "unknown".

6.5.2 Curses and insults

Striking is al-Maġribī's interest in slang, especially insults and abuses. Just to mention a few examples:
زبل مفرّك *zibl mufarrak* "crumpled dung" (61a), قحبة *qaḥba* "whore" (18b), قطيم *qəṭīm* "passive sodomite" (105a), وغل *wəġl* "parasite" (93b), نِغِف *niġif* "dry snot" (34b), ممحون *mamḥūn* "catamite" (119a), and عجينة *ʿağīna* "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), سبّ *sabb* "to insult" (15a), شتم *šatam* "to insult" (101b), يسحل *yisḥəl* "to slander" (80a), رغل، يرغل *rəġəl, yirġəl* "to insult s.o. in his face" (76b), شطف *šaṭaf* "to insult" (lit. "to wash")

[485] Such as Hinds-Badawi (1986), Behnstedt (1981), Vollers (1896), Bishai (1964), Crum (1972), Kamāl (1997), Youssef (2003).

(26a)[486], بهدل *bahdil* "to humiliate, scorn" (66b), يدرّي ل *yidarrī li* "to insult" (lit. "to inform someone of his bad qualities") (127a), and يلسّن *yilassin* "to slander" (118b).

Also numerous are curses: نمّلت استه *nammilət istu* "may his ass tingle" (92a), رغم انفه الله *rəġəm allāh anfu* "may God rub his nose in the sand" (98a), في رقبة العدوّ سلعة *fī raqabət al-ʿaduww səlʿa* "may the enemy have a cyst on his neck" (44b), قاتله الله *qātalahu allāh* "may God fight him!" (126b), على قلبهم دبلة *ʿalā qalbəhum dəbla* "may there be a lump on their heart!" (72a), للعدا الحكة *li-l-ʿadā al-ḥəkka* "may the enemy get the itch!" (57a), للعدو ازّقّم *li-l-ʿaduww izzaqqam* "may the enemy be force-fed!" (98b), سخام ولطام *suḫām wa luṭām* "filth and slaps!" (100a).[487]

The number of words describing stupidity or weakness of mind is also impressive: سخيف (25a) *saḫīf* "weak-minded", عُطرب (17a) *ʿuṭrəb* "stupid", فقفاق (52b; 53a) *fəqfāqa* "silly", هبيل (94a) *habīl* "stupid", مهبول (94a) *mahbūl* "simpleton", ابلم (95b) *ʾablam* "stupid", ترلّ (67a) *tirill* "oaf", بهلول (66b) *bəhlūl* "silly, foolish", دهل (73b) *duhull* "simpleton", دهلان *dəhlān* "simpleton" (73b), and عكفش *ʿəkfəš* "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-Maġribī does not condemn or judge this kind of (sometimes very crude) language. He simply states that these expressions are being used by the people of Cairo and clarifies whether or not they are correct according to *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-Maġribī was very fond of puns, and particularly liked to play with the various meanings of a word. The first example is a pun on the word دل *dall*, which means

[486] *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.

[487] 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 *suḫām*. *suḫām* is still used these days; both Taymūr (2001) IV p. 96 and Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 403b mention the variety *suḫām iṭṭīn* used as an adjective ("rotten"), while Taymūr also mentions the variety *suḫām wi-hibāb* "filth and soot".

"coquetry" and "to indicate": ويقولون في المحبوب دلال وعنده دل فانظر الدل على اي شي دل (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: والناس يقولون على التكة دكة بالدال وما عليه دالّ "the people say to the *tikka* 'waistband' *dikka* with a *dāl* and there is nothing that furnishes evidence for this": *dāl* – *dāll* "the letter *dāl*" – "furnishing evidence".

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

The word شين can be read as *šīn* "the letter *š*" and *šayn* "disgrace": ويقولون ما ذا الا شكل فيكسرون الشين وليس فيه شين (81a) "they say *mā ḏā illā šikl* so they put a *kasra* after the *šīn*, and this is no disgrace".

In the following, the word *barrāniyya* "outer" is used as a pun: حتى ان قولهم الاشرفيّة البرّانيّة مثلا كلمة برّانيّة عن اللغة (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 *ṣadaf* "to see": ويقولون فلان يصدف اي ينظر وصدفته اين الاول ما صدفته والثاني قال في المختصر صدفه وجده (27b) "they say: 'so-and-so sees', and 'I met him by chance'. The first one I did not see (*mā ṣadaftuh*), and the second: he [= al-Ǧawharī] said in *al-Muḫtaṣar*: *ṣadafahu* 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 بِل بالكسر لمن لا يفهم لم يفهم من اللغة بل في اللغة البِل بالكسر الرجل الداهية (66b) "they say: 'so-and-so is *bill*, stupid', with a *kasra*, about someone who does not understand. This is not understood from the language, but rather, in the language *bill* with a *kasra* means 'a smart fellow'."

6.5.4 *Daf ʿal-iṣr*'s word list and present day Egyptian Arabic

According to ʿAwwād[488] 80% of the words mentioned in *Daf ʿal-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

[488] See ʿAwwād (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 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries,[489] but have apparently disappeared since that time. Twenty-three entries, i.e. less than 2% are now only found in dialects outside Egypt, such as Syrian and Moroccan, although most of these words belonged to the dialect of Cairo in al-Maġribī's time. Forty-five entries, i.e. 3% can be found only in Dozy's dictionary, which is interesting because he included many Middle Arabic items of vocabulary which are not found in either dictionaries of Classical Arabic or modern dialects. Furthermore, 296 entries, i.e. 21% can only be found in dictionaries of Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, such as those by Lane, Hava, Wehr, and Kazimirski etc. Of course, it is not known for certain whether these items were already classicisms in al-Maġribī'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.[490]

The discrepancy between ʿAwwād'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, ʿAwwād 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 *šawām* – 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-Maġribī mentions a large number of words that are considered classicisms in our time.[491]

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[489] 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.

[490] 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".

[491] And some of these were classicisms in al-Maġribī's time as well.

However, this does not mean that these words are unfamiliar to (educated) Egyptians. Therefore, it is possible that ʿAwwād counted a number of these words as "in use", while strictly speaking they do not belong to the dialect.[492]

6.5.4.1 Semantic change

Some words and expressions found in *Daf' al-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 *niqaṭṭaʿ farwətak* "we speak well of you" (129b). When compared with its present-day usage: Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 654a "*ʾaṭṭaʿ 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-Maġribī'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 يدرّي *yidarrī* (127a) meant "to insult" in al-Maġribī's time, while in Classical Arabic it means "to praise" (see Lane III p. 964c) and in modern Egypt it has the neutral meaning of "to inform". The interjection أُخّيهْ *ʾuḫḫyh* (120b) was, in al-Maġribī's time, an exclamation of admiration, while today *iḫḫīh* is an exclamation of disgust.

Metaphor

In the expression ما حاك هذا في خاطري *mā ḥāk hāḏā fī ḫāṭirī* "this didn't come to my mind" (57b), حاك which originally meant "to weave", is used as a metaphor for "weaving a thought".

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[492] E.g. the word هاهنا *hāhunā* "here" (fol. 132b).

In the expression اوك حلقك *iwki ḥalaqak* "shut up!" (literally "tie up your neck!") (132a), the neck is likened to a waterskin which could be tied up (وكى *wakā* يكي *yakī*) with a string.

In فلان ما هو طهْي فلان *fulān mā huwwa ṭahy fulān* "he is not like him" (129a), the word طهْي *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".[493] Compare the abovementioned[494] هآيل *hāyil*, which originally meant "terrifying" but in al-Maġribī's time was weakening to "great, wonderful". This is also the case with the word دنف *danəf* which appears in the expression دنف في العشق *danəf fī l-ʿišq* "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";[495] in MSA it is "seriously ill",[496] while in modern Egyptian it means "oafish".[497] We see the same with the word جهجهون *ǧahǧahwn*, which in al-Maġribī's time meant "tyranny, oppression", but nowadays means "haphazardly, in any old way".[498] The word نقف *nəqəf* (34b) means "to break the skull" in Classical Arabic,[499] while in the 17th century it had the meaning of "to hurt with words".

Semantic expansion

When the meaning of a word is expanded over time, this is called semantic expansion. The word بطاقة *biṭāqa* (37b) meant "message sent by pigeon" in al-

[493] See Görlach (1997) p. 134.

[494] In §6.5.1.1.

[495] Lane (1955-6) III p. 919c.

[496] Wehr (1994) p. 339b.

[497] Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 305a.

[498] Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 176b.

[499] See Hava p. 794b.

Maġribī's time,[500] but nowadays means the more general "card".[501] The word هاف *hāf* (36a) "to become weak (crops)" is also used more generally today, with the meaning: "to be petty, be trivial".[502]

Transfer

With the invention of new concepts, the need for new names arises. In some cases, al-Maġribī presents the older meaning which has since changed. Existing words often get a new meaning, based on similarity in appearance (metaphor) or function (metonymy) with the new concept. For instance, the word حقن *ḥaqan* (111b) used to have the meaning "to administer a cyster": حقنه دوا المريض *dawā al-marīḍ ḥaqanuh* "he administered the medicine to the sick person with a cyster" (111b). With the arrival of the hypodermic syringe[503] it came to mean "to inject".

The word جيب *ǧyb* (12a) first meant "bosom" and "bosom of a garment", and the Arabs often carried things in the bosom of their shirts.[504] When the pocket was introduced, it took over this function and was, therefore, also called *ǧyb.* Al-Maġribī says the following about this word: يقولون الجيب على ذلك الذي يوضع فيه الدراهم بالجنب *yaqūlūn al-ǧyb ʿalā ḏālik allaḏī yūḍaʿ fīh al-darāhim bi-l-ǧanb* "they say *ǧyb* to (the place) where they put their money at the side". It is unclear about which part of the garment al-Maġribī is speaking here. The pocket as we know it today is, according to Kalfon Stillman (2003) p. 170, a European innovation which was introduced to Palestine during the late 1930s and early 1940s. However, this is contradicted by Lane (1955-6) III p. 492c, who mentions that the Arabs had pockets in the 19th century.

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

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[500] It is known that the word had this specific meaning at that time, because it is also the only meaning al-Ḫafāǧī p. 41 mentions.

[501] See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 81a.

[502] Ibid. p. 920a.

[503] 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.

[504] See Lane II p. 492c

Summary and Conclusions

1 Life and Works of Yūsuf al-Maġribī

The subject of this dissertation is a book entitled *Daf' al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, "Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians", a word list of the Egyptian Arabic dialect dating from the 17th century. Its author is Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ǧamāl al-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Ḥarb al-Maġribī al-Miṣrī al-ʾAzharī (±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-Maġribī 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 *ṣūfī*-monasteries al-Ṣalāḥiyya and al-Siryāqūsiyya in Cairo; Yaḥyā al-Aṣīlī (910/1504-1010/1601-2), a famous poet; and ʿAlī 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-Maġribī's personal life are scarce. In *Daf' al-iṣr*, al-Maġribī writes that he held a *waẓīfa* or official post (§1.2), and refers to himself as *al-faqīr* on several occasions (§1.3), implying that he was a *ṣūfī*. In fact, some of his teachers were also *ṣūfī*s, such as Ibn al-Ġayṭī. The influence of Sufism on al-Maġribī's work is obvious, because in *Daf' al-iṣr* he refers to a great number of books written by *ṣūfī*s, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Šaʿrāwī and al-Ġazālī. Another aspect about his personal life that is known is that he frequented *maǧālis*, 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-iṣr*.

Of the twelve titles that are known to have been written by al-Maġribī, other than *Daf' al-iṣr*, only two have survived (§1.4):

- *Taḫmīs Lāmīyat ibn al-Wardī*, an adaption of the *Lāmīyat al-iḫwān wa muršidat al-ḫillān*, a moral poem by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290–749/1349);
- *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat 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-Maġribī 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 ʿAyyād 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-ʿāmm wa qāmūs al-ʿawāmm*, "The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people", but al-Maġribī eventually settled on *Daf' al-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr* "Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians" (§2.3).

3 About *Daf' al-Iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*

Daf' al-iṣr ʿan 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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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

Classical Arabic, were those of the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* 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-Maġribī's goal. Nevertheless, al-Maġribī 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-ġawwāṣ fī awhām al-ḫawāṣṣ* 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 *laḥn al-ʿāmma* 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-ṣawāb...* "whereas the norm is..." (§3.3.1).

Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ also greatly influenced al-Maġribī, which is logical when considering that studying *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* was one of his reasons for writing *Dafʿ al-iṣr*. Al-Fīrūzābādī'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 *Dafʿ al-iṣr*. Indeed, there are many consecutive pages in which al-Maġribī does not introduce any word that cannot be found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (§3.3.2).

Dafʿ al-iṣr 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 luġat ʾahl Miṣr min luġāt al-ʿArab* ("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 *Dafʿ al-iṣr* 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 *Dafʿ al-iṣr*' lost entries.

After Ibn Abī al-Surūr, both manuscripts (*Dafʿ al-iṣr* and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*) came into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī, known as Ibn al-Wakīl (18th century). He copied Ibn Abī al-Surūr's *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* while keeping *Dafʿ al-iṣr* 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 ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī. The sources I have consulted do not indicate how and where this happened. The next person to take

an interest in *Daf ʿ 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 ʿ al-iṣr* and al-Maġribī, and in 1968, *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* was published in Moscow as a facsimile. The text was introduced by ʿAbd al-Salām Aḥmad ʿAwwād in Russian and Arabic, and he also produced extensive indices to it. After the publication of the facsimile edition, some articles about *Daf ʿ al-iṣr* were published, all highlighting the dialectal materials. Its dialectal poetry has been discussed in several articles by Olga Frolova,[505] and more recently, Nelly Hanna (1998) has considered some of the work's cultural aspects (§3.5).

Strictly speaking, *Daf ʿ 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-Maġribī's objective of proving the validity of colloquial words was achieved by comparing the entries with *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Al-Maġribī 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-Maġribī stated that it was "unknown" to him. This meant that he had not found it in the Classical Arabic dictionaries. Sometimes, al-Maġribī'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 *maʿlaqa* "spoon" to the root ʿLQ "to hang", instead of recognising (or admitting) that a metathesis of *ʿayn* 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 *sufūf* "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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī 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 يعلم *wa lam yuʿlam* "it is not known"; ولم اعلم له مناسبة

[505] In Frolova (1982, 1995 and 1997).

wa lam ʾaʿlam 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 *ṣaḥḥafa* and its derivatives are used: يصحفون *yuṣaḥḥifūn* "they mispronounce", تصحيف عن *taṣḥīf ʿan* "[it is a] mispronunciation of" etc. These comments also indicate that al-Maġribī was not always able to distance himself from the concept of the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*-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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī used some Classical Arabic vocabulary in these poems, the metre indicates that in most cases the words should be read without *iʿrāb* 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 *taṯlīṯ*, i.e. a word which can be read with *fatḥa*, *kasra* or *ḍamma* (§4.2.1). Al-Maġribī 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 *muṯallaṯāt*.

There is also an example from the aforementioned (see §1.4) *taḫmīs* of *Lāmīyat al-iḫwān wa muršidat al-ḫillān* by Ibn al-Wardī (§4.2.2). Mainly to demonstrate the use of a word, other instances of al-Maġribī'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-Maġribī played with the different meanings that a word could have.

The metres most frequently utilised by al-Maġribī are the *basīṭ* and the *rağaz*, because of their respective use in the frequently occurring *mawāwīl* and *muṯallaṯāt*. The division of the other metres is as follows: *sarīʿ* 6, *ḫafīf* 5, *wāfir* 5, *hazağ* 5, *ramal* 5, *muğtaṯṯ* 4, *kāmil* 3, *ṭawīl* 3, *mutadārik* 2, *munsariḥ* 1 (§4.2.4).

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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī 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 كنافة *kunāfa* "pastry made of thin vermicelli-shaped dough", كحك العيد *kaḥk al-ʿīd* "cookies served at the religious holidays" and قطآيف *qaṭāyif* "sweet pancakes". Some of the food stuffs which are no longer available are: خشكنان *ḫuškənān* / خشتنانك *ḫuštənānak* "pastry filled with almond paste", هيطليّة *hyṭəliyya* "a sweet dish made of wheat starch and milk", رخاميّة *ruḫāmiyya* "marble sweet" (so called because its colour resembles that of marble), كُماجا *kumāğā* "dry bread" (from Persian كوماج), خشكه فلاو *ḫəška fəlāw* "dry rice" (from Persian خشكه *ḫushka,* "boiled rice without butter" and پلاو *palāv*, "a rice dish") and ارنبية *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-Maġribī'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 قشر *qišr*, i.e. the husks (§5.1.3).

The entry about tobacco is particularly interesting (§5.2). Al-Maġribī mentions that in the year *Daf' al-iṣr* was written, i.e. 1014/1606, a new phenomenon called طابغه *ṭābġa* had come into fashion. Tobacco was indeed introduced in Egypt in 1603-1604.[506] Al-Maġribī 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 Ramaḍān. According to a certain *šayḫ* called al-Zayyādī it was, although al-Maġribī did not agree.

[506] See *EI*² X p. 753b (R. Matthee).

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 *šəqāq* "cracked skin", فَتْق *fatq* "hernia, rupture", or شقيقة *šəqyqa* "a splitting headache". Different treatments are described, such as مرهم *marham* "ointment" and لُعُوق *luʿūq* "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 مرماد *mərmād*, meaning literally "affected by ophthalmia", i.e. somebody who lost a game but does not realise it. Another popular game was the طاب *ṭāb*-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 *ḥənynī*, 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-Maġribī'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 ʿal-iṣr* are still in use today, showing us how little Egyptian society has changed in this respect over the centuries. Their inclusion in *Daf ʿal-iṣr* is also remarkable in the sense that al-Maġribī, 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 ʿal-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 *āʾ* can be written with ـآء , ـآ , ـاء and ـا . Very often, the *hamza* in any position is omitted altogether, and the final *yāʾ* and *alif maqṣūra* appear inconsistently, sometimes with and sometimes without dots (§6.1.2). We even find a final *yāʾ* where *alif* would be expected, e.g. عصَي instead of عصا *ʿaṣā* "stick" (§6.1.3). In a few cases, *tāʾ marbūṭa* is written without the dots in status constructus (§6.1.4). Sometimes, al-Maġribī writes dental plosives where we would expect to

find interdentals 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 /ʾ/ 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 /ʾ/ and *ǧīm* as /g/. Behnstedt and Woidich (1985) I p. 31-32 propose the theory that the pronunciation /ʾ/ - /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 6th/7th centuries to /ǧ/ in the 12th-17th centuries and back to /g/ in the 19th-20th 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-Maġribī describes that the *ǧīm* is pronounced "between *kāf* and *ǧīm*". From this, Blanc concluded that the pronunciation was *ragl* with /g/. Because al-Maġribī 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.[507] However, al-Maġribī 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.[508] This feature could indeed have attracted al-Maġribī's attention.

[507] See Blanc (1981) p. 192.

[508] 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.

The second example quoted by Blanc is the word لكن *lagan* "brass vessel". However, al-Maġribī mentions that it is used in Turkish and in *al-ʿarabiyya*, by which he means Classical, not Egyptian Arabic.

Unfortunately, al-Maġribī does not make any direct remarks about the pronunciation of the *ǧīm*. The only indirect evidence we have is a *mawwāl*[509] of which the rhyme word is جبيت *ǧabbyt / gabbyt*. The word has a different meaning in every line. This rhetorical device is called جناس *ǧināṣ*, "paronomasia" or توربة *tawriya*, "double entendre". In the fourth line, جبيت should be read as *kabbyt* "I came, ejaculated". This is an indication that in al-Maġribī's time, the *ǧīm* was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (*gabbyt* - *kabbyt*), is very plausible, while it is far less plausible that /ǧ/ could be associated with /k/.

Al-Maġribī does not make a direct statement about the pronunciation of the *qāf*. However, he does mention that the Egyptians say: فلان عآئق والديه *fūlān ʿāʾiq wālidyh* "so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents". In Classical Arabic, this would be عاقّ *ʿāqq*, the active participle of the root ʿQQ. In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is *fāʿil*. Therefore, the Egyptians would have said عاقق *ʿāqiq* instead of عاقّ *ʿāqq*. The only explanation of why al-Maġribī would have written عائق is because it was pronounced *ʿāʾiʾ*, 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-iṣr* has in common with modern Cairene Arabic. There are many examples of words in *Daf al-iṣr* in which the change from interdentals to plosives is visible. Al-Maġribī even explicitly mentions that the *ṯ* 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-iṣr* (§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. يصّنّط *yiṣṣannaṭ* "to eavesdrop" (46a) < *yitṣannaṭ* (§6.2.6). There are some examples of metathesis in *Daf al-iṣr*,

[509] On fol. 11b.

amongst which are a few that are still in existence today, such as معلقة *maʿlaqa* < *milʿaqa* "spoon" and سقّف *saqqaf* < *ṣaffaq* "to applaud" (with de-emphatization of the *ṣ*) (§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. كام *kām* "how much?" (106a,b) < كم (§6.2.9) and of the shortening of long vowels (e.g. بَكّهْ *bakka* "cry-baby" (56b) < بكّاء) (§6.2.10). There are also a few examples of pausal *imāla*, a feature which disappeared from Cairo during the 19th 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 quadriliterals 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).[510] The vowel distribution in forms II, V and the quadriliterals 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 *dwləh* (§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".[511] In modern Cairene Arabic, the normal word order is noun - demonstrative, e.g. *iṛṛāgil 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

[510] However, *in-* is still found in the *Šarqīya* today, see Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I map 242.
[511] Davies (1981) p. 163.

contrast with the normal word order",[512] e.g. *yādi ṣṣudfa ssaʿīda* "what a happy coincidence!".

The word *dillā* is a demonstrative which seems to have fallen out of use fairly soon after al-Maġribī wrote *Daf ʿal-iṣr*. In *Daf ʿal-iṣr*, it occurs only in combination with *mā*: *mā dillā* "what kind of ... is", whereas in *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (15th century) it still appears as a normal demonstrative, both in combination with a noun and independently, while in *Hazz al-quḥūf* (second half of the 17th century) it does not occur at all. The demonstrative particle *ʾādī* already existed in al-Maġribī's time; moreover, the particle *ʾad* + personal pronoun was also used, and can still be found in the Dakhla-oasis today[513] (§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*,[514] and is still used in Egypt's oases (§6.3.7).[515]

Syntax (§6.4)

Since the examples of sentences in *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī'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 *ʾan* is omitted (§6.4.2), one of which is in a Classical Arabic context.

Wishes in *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī 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 16th and 17th 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 ʿal-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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[512] See Woidich (1992) p. 214.

[513] See Behnstedt-Woidich (1999) p. 359a.

[514] See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.

[515] BW IV p. 494b "*hawn* hier: *min hawn* hier lang".

Furthermore, it has been proven that Coptic was already extinct in Cairo in the 17th century.[516]

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 *qāʿid* (§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 17th century (§6.4.6).

These three features are still in use in this way today.

Vocabulary (§6.5)

Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī 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 هآيل *hāyil*, which was just making its semantic shift from "terrifying" to "wonderful" at that time, which started in women's speech according to al-Maġribī (§6.5.1.1).

The loanwords found in *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī'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-Maġribī 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 ʿal-iṣr* are still in use in the Egyptian dialects today. ʿAwwād (1968), on the other hand, suggested that this figure was 80%. This discrepancy can be attributed to two factors: firstly, ʿAwwād wrote his thesis in the sixties, and some words have become obsolete in the past 40 years; secondly, ʿAwwād may well have included some words which are not, strictly speaking, dialect but MSA, but are well-known to educated Egyptians.

[516] See e.g. MacCoull (1985), Rubenson (1996), and *EALL* I p. 495 (T.S. Richter).

I did not count these as belonging to the dialect lexicon.[517] 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 19th and at the beginning of the 20th 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-Maġribī'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 *niqaṭṭaʿ farwətak*, 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 *nəqəf* "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-ʿabūs* by ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbūġānī (1407-1464), described by Arnoud Vrolijk, and *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-šarḥ qaṣīd ʾAbī Šādūf* (written in 1686) by Yūsuf al-Širbīnī (17th 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

[517] E.g. هاهنا *hāhunā* "here" (fol. 132b).

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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī, 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.

ʾ

ʾāh آهْ (120b) *ʾāh* يقولون آهْ من كذا "exclamation of pain or anger". See HB 2a "*ʾāh* yes; exclamation of pain". See also أُوِّه .

ʾbb ابّ (11a) *abb* ويقولون الابّ والابن مثلا فيشدّون الاب "father". Mentioned here by al-Maġribī because of the doubling of the *bāʾ*. See HB 2b.

ابّي (11a) *ubbī* وتعْلم ان الإب بالكسر قرية باليمن والنسبة له إبّي والناس يغلطون حتى الخواصّ فيقولون الابّي بضم الهمزه وهو الإبّي بالكسر شارح مسلم "nisba of ʾIbb (place in Yemen)". See *EI*[2] III p. 663b (A. Grohmann).

ʾbrq ابريق، اباريق (36b) *əbrīq*, pl. *abārīq*. واما الابريق فمشترك يطلق على السيف وواحد الاباريق معرّب آب ريغ ساكب المآ "ewer with a spout". See HB 4a.

ʾbn أُبنه (109a) *ʾubnah* يقولون فلان مابون او فيه أُبنه يريدون انه يوتي وليس لغويّا مع انه اشتهر بين الناس "passive pederasty". Lane I 10a "أُبْنَة 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".

مابون (109a) *mābūn* "passive sodomite". Lane I 10a "made an object of

imputation, or suspected, of evil. Hence, a catamite; one with whom enormous wickedness is committed". See also أُبنه.

ʾbh ابهة (120b) *ubbaha* يقولون فلان في ابهة "splendour". See HB 3a and Wehr 2a.

ʾbh أَبَهْ (121a) *ʾabah* يقولون أَبَهْ ويسمع من اهل الصعيد كلمة تعجب "exclamation of surprise, heard from *Ṣaʿīdī*s". Still used in this way in Upper Egypt today (personal communication R. Mardiros).

ʾtl اتل (63a) *atl* يقولون على الشجر اتل بالمثناه وانما هو اثل بالمثلثة "tamarisk trees". HB 6b "أثل *ʾatl* tamarisk tree(s)". For information about *ṯ* > *t*, see §6.2.2.

ʾtn اتانة (109a) *atāna* يقولون اتانة على الحمارة وانما هي الاتان "female donkey". Wehr 3a "*ʾatān* female donkey, she-ass". BW IV 1-2: "*ʾatān* Eselin" (OÄ 4), in Delta only in "der Beschimpfung" *ya-bn il-ʾatāna* etc. This word is an example of the trend of putting *–a* after words denoting females, such as *ʿagūz* > *ʿagūza.*

ʾḥḥ احّيه (120b) *aḥḥyh* يقولون أُخّيهْ بضم الهمزة وتشديد الخا المعجمة عند استحسان شي ينظر هل تصغير اخ وكذلك يقولون احّيه بفتح الهمزة والحا المهملة "exclamation of admiration". HB 8b "*ʾaḥḥēḥ* (women in trad. soc.) exclamation of surprise ≈ my (often used sarcastically in badinage)".

ʾḥm إحم (95a) *ʾiḥəm* يقولون إحم عند الدخول لقضآ الحاجة "ahum", sound of clearing the throat before going to the toilet, in order to warn the *ǧinn*. HB 9a "*ʾiḥim* onomatopoeic for the clearing of the throat". For the Egyptians' believe in *ǧinn*, see Lane (2003) p. 224-5.

ʾḫḫ أُخّيهْ (120b) *ʾuḫḫyh* يقولون أُخّيهْ بضم الهمزة وتشديد الحا المعجمة عند استحسان شي ينظر هل تصغير اخ "exclamation of admiration". HB 9b "*iḫḫīh* /interj/ exclamation of disgust ≈ ugh! shame!".

ʾd أدْ هُوَّا (3b) *ʾad huwwa* الناس في مصر يقولون حتى بعض الخواص بغير فكر فلان أدْ هُوّا عمل كذا او أدْ هُوَّا جا مثلا "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.

ʾdm ادام (95a) *idām* يقولون اكلنا الخبز بالادام وانما هو الأُدم "gravy". See HB 12b and BW IV 2b.

ʾdw

يقولون فلان ما عنده اداوة ناس ولم يعلم قال الإداوة (123a) *idāwat nās* اداوة بالكسر المطهرة جمع اداوي كفتاوي والاداة الالة جمعه ادوات فلعل قولهم اداوة ناس اصله ادوات فغيرت "social skills?". Dozy I 15a "أداوة gréement"; "أَدَوات connaissances". Lane I 37c إداوة = أداة "instrument, tool".

ʾdy

اديني (109a) *adīnī* ويقولون اديني جيت مثلا او اديني رايح "here I am". *ādī* + *nī*. HB 1a "*ʾādi* <Copt> /w pron suff *ʾadī-*/ demonstrative drawing attention to a following pronoun or noun. *ʾadīnī gēt* here I am!". See §6.3.4 for more details.

ʾzzāy

إزاي (127b) *ʾizzāy* ويقولون إزاي اصله اي شي زِيّه "how". Al-Maġribī correctly mentions its origin: اي شي زِيّه (incorrectly quoted by Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 120 as ازيو).

ʾsṭā

اساطوين (109a) *asāṭawīn* يقولون شغل الاساطوين اي الاستاذين ولعل الاصل الاساطين "craftsmen". It is a a plural of a plural: the plural of أسطى *ʾustā* is *asāṭā*, plus the suffix of the sound plural *-īn*, following the pattern *faʿālīl*. The plural is *ʾusṭawāt* nowadays, see HB 21b. Today, the plural of استاذ *ustāz* is *asatza*, see HB 19b, not استاذين.

ʾsw

اسى (123a) *asā* والاسا بالفتح والقصر الحزن وبهذا صح قولهم فلان حمّال اسى "grief". See HB 23b, Wehr 18a.

اسيّه (123a) *asiyya* يقولون فلان يآسي علينا او يعاملنا بالاسيّه "maltreatment". See HB 23b.

اسى، يآسي / يؤسى على (123a) *yiʾāsī / yuʾsī? ʿalā* يقولون فلان يآسي علينا او يعاملنا بالاسيّه والذي في اللغة اساه تاسية عزّاه والتاسية تحريض المصاب على الاسوة اي القدوة ما يتاسّى به الحزين وأسِي على مصيبته حزن وبابه صدي وتأسّوا اسي بعضهم بعضا والاسا بالفتح والقصر الحزن وبهذا صح قولهم فلان حمّال اسي واما قول الناس يؤسي علينا وعاملنا بالاسيّة فلم يعلم؛ انظر الاسيه واسى علينا لم يعلما "to treat badly". Al-Maġribī says the meaning in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, "to console", does not fit. Dozy I 24a "اسى I, aor. i, c. على p. infester, incommoder, tourmenter". This meaning could fit; it is also followed by على. Taymur II 43 أسَى: أسِيّة: أى إساءة، ولعلها محرفة عنها. وقد ذكرناها أيضا فى (قسى) انظرها هناك

ʾš اشي (123a) *ušī* يقولون معجون اشي نسبة الى بلد بالهند "*nisba* of ʾUš". According to al-Maġribī, this is the *nisba* of a town in al-Hind. He could mean Osh (Ūš), a large town in Kyrgyzstan. معجون اشي *maʿǧūn ušī*: no references found.

ʾšnn اشنان (109a) *əšnān* يقولون اغسل بالاشنان "potash". Wehr 22b "*ušnān* potash; saltwort". Ḫafāǧī p. 13 thinks it is Arabized. Steingass 67a "اشنان *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.

ʾṣṭbl اصطبل (63a) *iṣṭabl* ويقولون اصطبل على موقف الدواب "stable". See HB 25a. From the Latin *stabulum*, see Vollers (1897) p. 312.

ʾfywn افيون (117a) *afyūn* يقولون افيون "opium". See HB 28a. Lane I 70b "an arabicized word, from the Greek οπιον, either immediately or through the Persian أَبْيُونْ". Vollers (1897) p. 294 also mentions its Greek origin.

ʾqḥwn اقحوان (130a) *uqḥuwān* يقولون اقحوان "daisy". See HB 28a.

ʾlh الله (120b) *allāh* يقولون الله "God".

ʾll إلّي (63b) *illī* ويقولون هذا امر إلّي يريدون الاهي "divine". Lane I 75b "أَمْرٌ إِلِّيٌّ A thing, or an affair, relating, or attributable, to الإِلّ, meaning either God, or revelation or inspiration".

الّل (64a) *allə* "food". والناس الان في مصر يصحفون اكل بالّل *taṣḥīf* means "to misspell" here, since it is very unlikely that people would mispronounce the word *akl* in such a way. See also تال, بلابل الرمان, رعيق, اشتلف , فوي and نفيل for similar misspellings / mispronunciations.

ʾml أمّالا (3b) *ʾummālā* ويقولون أمّالا افعل كذا مثلا انسان له دين على اخر فيطالبه بالجميع فلا يجيبه لذلك فيقول له أُمّالا هات نصف القدر "so, in that case". See HB 37b-38a *ummāl*, Dozy I 36b "أُمَّال et امالا donc" (source: Bocthor). According to Brockelmann (1961) II p. 654, *ʾummāl* is derived from *ʾimmālā* "if not", which was followed by *fa* with the meaning of "if ... does not happen, then ...". This was then shortened to *ʾummāl*.

ʾmn مامونية (109a) *māmūniya* يقولون على حَلوى مامونية لم يعلم وكنت اسمع انها نسبة للمامون لانه الذي اظهرها "marzipan". Lane I 103a "مَأْمُونِيَّة a certain kind of food; so called in relation to el-Ma-moon". Dozy I 39a "*massepain*".

ʾnā انا (3b) *anā* ويقولون اذا كانوا مستغربين شيا هذا جا من انا داهيه من انا كروه من 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.

ʾnq انوق (36a) *anūq* اعز من بيض الانوق الانوق "Egyptian vulture", *aʿazz min byḍ al-anūq* "rarer than the eggs of a vulture". See Wehr 40a.

انيق (36b) *anīq* ويقولون بز انيق اما البز فقد تقدم في الزاي ‹والانيق كامير الحسن المعجب وانق كطرب وتانق فيه عمل بالاتقان› فكأنّ قولهم فلان بزّ انيق من باب التهكم "elegant", used in the expression فلان بز انيق. 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.

ʾny استَنّى (114b) *istannā* يقولون فلان استَنّاني حتى زهق او استنّيته "to wait" *istanna* < *istaʾanna* (ʾNY form X + II), but al-Maġribī tries to relate it to the root STN. HB 42b "to wait for".

ʾhy اهيا شراهيا (121b) *ahyā šərāhyā* يقولون اهيا شراهيا "I am who I am". This expression derives from the Hebrew אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה "I am who I am" (the name of God, Exodus 3:14[518]) and is frequently used in magic, see §6.5.1.4.

ʾwl اول (93b) *awwəl* يقولون الاول والاخر "first". Al-Maġribī 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.

ʾwh أُوّه (120b; 123a) *ʾuwwih* يقولون آهٌ من كذا والنسا يقلن أُوّه؛ يقولون في وقت الغيظ أُوّه بكسر الواو المشدده وسكون الها وضم الهمزة "exclamation of

[518] "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.

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.

* ʾyš اش؛ ايش (57a; 72a; 73b; 125b) *iš; ayš / ēš* ايش ويقولون اش تحوتك؛ ويقولون هذه الخزعبلات؛ ويقولون دوله كذا او اش في دوله طيّب؛ يقولون اش حِلاته "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 Ḫafāǧī 17. See §6.3.5.2.

ʾymtā أيمتا (3b) *ʾymtā* ويقولون اذا وعد احد بشي مثلا فيقول له أيمتا يكون "when". Earlier form of *ʾimta*. Al-Maġribī explains this is *matā* plus an extra *ʾay*, or that *ʾay* on its own is حرف جواب *ay/aywa* "yes". See §6.3.5.3.

ʾyyā إيّاه (3b; 123b) *ʾiyyāh* ويقولون إيَّاه على صورة ضمير النصب المنفصل يريدون ما هو الا كذا هيئة المستفهم انسان يحكي لاخر ثم لا يفهم حكايته فيعيدها الى ان يفهم فيقول إيَّاه كانه يقول الان فهمتُ وهذه الكلمة يستعملها غير الحضر في معنى هو كانهم يقولون هو بعينه؛ يقولون عند التذكر لشي اياه بكسر الهمزه وتشديد اليا "that one"; "the before-mentioned"; "he". It is used to refer to a person. The Bedouins apparently used *ʾiyyāh* 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 بابا (4a) *bābā* يقولون لقاصد الحكام في القلعة "form of address to a government official". *EI²* I p. 838b (F. Taeschner): "The epithet Baba also occurs with non-religious civil servants in the ancient Ottoman Empire".

bb ببّ (11a) *babb* يقولون الببّ كبير النصارى "pope". Probably a less common way of writing بابا *bābā* "pope, pontiff, patriarch" (HB 48b), or perhaps al-Maġribī had misunderstood the word *bābā*. Its origin is the Greek *πάππα[ς]*, which has been attested in Rome since the 4th century with the meaning of "pope", see LTK VIII p. 36 (H. Tüchle).

btl البتول (64a) *al-batūl* يقولون في فاطمة البتول “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 بجّل (64a) *baǧǧil* ويقولون عظمه وبجّله “to honour”. See HB 53b.

bğm بجم (95a) *bəğəm* يقولون فلان بجم اذا كان جلبا مثلا وله نسبة قال ‹بجم يبجم بجما وبجوما سكت “(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”.

bḥlq بحلق (37b) *baḥlaq* ويقولون بحلق عينيه “to stare”. See Wehr 54b, HB 55a, Spiro 33b.

* bḫt بخت (104b) *baḫt* يقولون هذا بختي هذا قِسْمِي اي هو نصيبي وحظّي “luck”. See HB 55a. It is of Persian origin, see Steingass 158 and Vollers (1896) p. 345.

bḫnq بخنق (36b) *buḫnuq* يقولون بخنق على مثال عصفر “veil”. Wehr 55b “*buḫnuq* kerchief, veil (to cover the head)”. Spiro 34b “*baḫnaq*, 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-Maġribī indicates that in Egyptian Arabic it had the same meaning as in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, namely “veil”.

bdl ابدال (64b) *abdāl* ويقولون النجبا والابدال “substitutes”, pl. of *badal*. *EI*² 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 (*riǧāl al-ġayb)* 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 بدن (109b) *badan* يقولون بدن صوف فيطلقون البدن على غير الجسم “garment which covers the upper part of the body”. Spiro 36b and HB 58b

"body". Lane I 169a "a small [garment of the kind called] جُبّة, as being likened to a coat of mail". *EI*[2] 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 بدوي (123b) *badawī* يقولون فلان بدوي "bedouin". See HB 59a.

brğm يبرجم (95a) *barğim* ويقولون فلان يبرجم اذا كثر كلامه ويستعملونه في صوت الحمام "to chatter; to coo (pigeons)". No longer used in modern Egyptian, but was still used with the meaning "to mutter" in the 19th century: Spiro 38b "*bargim*, or *barṭam* to mutter to one's self, talk unintelligently, talk incoherently". Taymur II 129 " برجم: بَرْجِم يبرجم: أى تكلم بما يشبه الرطانة، أو أرغى وأزبد". In Levantine, it still occurs with the meaning "to coo": Denizeau 24 "*barjam*, inacc. *ybarjem* "roucouler" (pigeon)".

brr برّا (4a) بَرَّه (123b; 125a) *barra* ويقولون برّا نقيض جُوّه؛ يقولون بَرَّه ضد جوّه؛ يقولون فلان جوّه اي ليس خارجا نقيض بَرّه "outside". HB 64a mentions both برّا and برّه. Al-Ḫafāğī 51 "برّا".

brsm براسم (95a) *bərāsəm* ويقولون في صنعة الحرير البراسم اشيا تعمل من الحرير "silk". ʿAwwād has براشم. Al-Maġribī first wrote براشم, but the dots of the *šīn* were erased with red ink. The same goes for the word الابريسم in line 20. Al-Maġribī's confusion concerning *šīn*/*sīn* is reflected in the dictionaries: in Turkish and Persian the word contains a *šīn*: 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 برشق (36b) *bəršəq* ويقولون برشق السيف والظاهر انه غير عربي "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.

brṭl ويقولون البرطيل شيخ كبير فيفتحون البا وانما هو البرطيل *al-barṭīl* (65b) البرطيل بكسرها "bribe", *al-barṭīl šyḫ kəbīr*: proverb: "the bribe is a powerful *šayḫ*", i.e. "a bribe is an effective tool". Taymūr, *Amṯāl* p. 129: البَرْطيل شِيخْ كِبِير: الصواب فى البرطيل كسر أوله وهو الرشوة، والمقصود بالشيخ الولى المتصرف، أى البرطيل يحل المشكلات. Al-Ḫafāǧī 50 "الرشوة". It is identified as Persian by Littmann (1920) p. 52: "برطل *barṭal* 'bestechen'. Pers. Lehnwort im Arabischen (*pärtälä* 'Geschenk'). - *bártal-ker* 'to bribe'." Steingass 240 confirms this: "پرتله *partala,* a gift, a present".

brṭm يقولون فلان يبرطم او العبد عليه براطم ولهما نسبة قال *yibarṭam* (95b) يبرطم ‹(..) والبرطمة الانتفاخ غَضَباً وتبرطم [تنفخ] تغضّب من كلامه وبرطمه غاظه لازم ومتعد› "to speak angrily". Taymūr II 152 "تكلم وهو غضبان"; he believes it is derived from برطن. HB 66b "*barṭam* (...) 2. to mutter crossly, grumble". BW V 361a "brṭm *yibirṭēm* schnell und undeutlich sprechen [DAX: Baš]". Abū Saʿd (1990) p. 71 " بَرْطَمَ برطمة: يقول العامة: برطم فلان فهو مبرطم إذا اغتاظ وانقبض وعَبَس وتجهّم وأرخى شفتيه من الغضب ولم يردّ على أحد".

براطم (95b) *bərāṭim* يقولون فلان يبرطم او العبد عليه براطم "big lips". Wehr 66a "*burṭūm*, *barṭūm* 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]".

brġl برغل (65b) *burġul* ويقولون طبخنا برغل للبرّ المعلوم "crushed wheat". From Persian, see Steingass 176 "*burghol, barghol*, wheat, barley, corn (especially bruised)" and Vollers (1896) p. 637.

brq برق عينه (36b) *barraq ʿynuh* ويقولون برق عينه "to open wide (the eyes)" See HB 67b. Al-Ḫafāǧī 52 "برّق عينه له أى خوّفه كذا تقول العامة".

brqq برقوق (36b) *barqūq* ويقولون خوخ وبرقوق "plums". HB 67b "*barʾūʾ* <Gr *praikokion*> plums".

brk بركه (56b) *baraka* يقولون البركه بالفتح "blessing". The reason why this word is included here is that بركة can be read as *baraka*, *birka* and *burka* (this phenomenon is called *taṯlīṯ*, see §4.2.1) and al-Maġribī

composed a few lines of poetry with these words.

brmk برامكه (56b) *barāmika* ويقولون البرامكه وهم منسوبون الى بَرْمك جدّ يحيى “dancing girls?” (no definition given in *Daf ʿal-iṣr*). 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: “ وفى الريف يقولون للغازية أى الراقصة: البرمكية”. *Al-Barāmika* or *Āl Barmak* was an Iranian family of secretaries and *wazīr*s of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. Barmak, the grandfather of Yaḥyā who is mentioned by al-Maġribī, was the ancestor of the Barmakids. He was high priest of the temple of Nawbahār in the 7th century. His grandson, Yaḥyā b. Ḫālid b. Barnak, was appointed *wazīr* by Hārūn al-Rašīd. He died in 190/805. See *EI*[2] I p. 1033a-1034b (W. Barthold; D. Sourdel).

brn برني (109b) *barnī* يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة وكل صحيح “type of date”. See Lane I 196a. Al-Ḫafāğī 49 “ برنى بالفارسية معناه حمل مبارك لانّ بر بمعنى حمل ونى بمعنى جيد”. Steingass 180a “a برنى *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- Ḫafāğī suggests, or the *nisba* to a village. Both etymologies are mentioned by Lane I 196a.

برنيّة (109b) *bərniyya* يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة “earthenware pot”. 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: “برنا *barnā*, *burnā*: a drinking-cup of earth or metal”.

brnq برناقة (36b) *bərnāqa* ويقولون برق عينه وفلان برناقة (..) واما البرناقة والمبرنق فلم يعلم {ويبعد ان يقال انه مركب من التركي والعربي بر ناقه اي واحد ناقه} “a youth?”. The meaning of *bərnāqa* is not explained by al-Maġribī. 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 “برناق *barnāq* (probably mis-spelling for the following), a young man, a youth” (“the following” being برناك *barnāk*, *burnāk*). Al-Ṣabbān describes

how this word is used for a kind of copper plate in Saudi Arabia: أما 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 صبت بطريقة بهلوانية بارعة". They are called this because they attract the eye. Therefore, a برناقة could be a youth who attracts the eye by his beauty.

ويقولون برق عينه وفلان برناقة (..) واما البرناقة والمبرنق (36b) *mubarnaq* مبرنق (بَرْنَقَ) الشيء: صبغه بالبرنيق "decorated, painted". *Muʿǧam* I 52 فلم يعلم فهو مُبَرْنَق. (البَرْنِيقيّ) مُهْل مصنوع من زيت الكتان تدهن به المصورات و غيرها وهو منسوب إلى برنيقا من بلاد إسبانيا (وهو الورنيش)

brh برهة (121a) *burha* يقولون برهة من الزمان يعتقدون ان البرهة القليل "moment". See Spiro 43b.

brw بروه (123b) *barwa* يقولون لقطعة الصابون بروه "piece of soap". See HB 72a and Lane I 197b.

bryk بُريك (56b) *buryk* ويقولون اكلنا بُريك والظاهر انه غير عربي "small pastries". HB 72b "*burēk* <T *börek*> small pastries with sweet or savory filling". İhsanoğlu 294: "بُورَك: نوع من الفطائر يصنع من الدقيق مثل الرقاق ويحشى يقلى في الزيت أو يوضع في الفرن الخضر، ثم المفروم أو اللحم أو بالجبن".

bzm ابزيم (95b) *əbzīm* والابزيم للحلقة المعروفة "buckle" HB 4a and Spiro 2a *abzīm*.

يبزم (95b) *yibzəm* يقولون فلان ما قدر يبزم اي ما تكلم "to speak". 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 بزاق (37a) *bəzāq* ويقولون البزاق لماء الريق "saliva". See HB 73a *buzāq*.

bstn بستان (109b) *bustān* يقولون على الغيط بستان "field". Most sources give the translation "garden": HB 73b, Al-Ḫafāǧī 40, Steingass 207a, and Vollers (1896) p. 637.

bsm مَبْسم (95b) *mabsam* ويقولون للمحبوب مَبْسم بفتح الميم يطلقونه على الثغر

"mouth". See Spiro 46a, Hava 34b. HB 76a and BW V 361a give the meaning of "mouth piece" (of a water pipe).

bsn حسن بسن (109b) *ḥasan basan* له معنى لا اتباع بسن بسن حسن يقولون "word that rhymes with *ḥasan* 'good'." *basan* has no meaning but just repeats the sound; compare e.g. *xāliṣ māliṣ bāliṣ*. This is called *ʾitbāʿ*. Haywood (1965) p. 74: "*Itbāʿ* 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 ḥēṣ bēṣ* "at a complete loss", *ʿayanān bayanān* "openly", *ḥatatak batatak* "frantically".

bšm انبشم (95b) *inbašam* يقولون فلان انبشم من كثرة الاكل "to feel nauseated". Wehr 74b "*bašima* to feel nauseated". HB 78b "*itbašam* to be surfeited".

bṣl بصل (65b) *baṣal* الصحّة معلوم وهو بصل يقولون "onions (coll.)". See HB 80a.

bṭrq بطريق (37a) *bəṭrīq* الروم بطارقة من بطريق يقولون "leader of a Greek army". Wehr 77b "*biṭrīq* patrician; Romaean 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 *πατρίχιος*. Al-Ḫafāǧī 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 بطرك (56b) *baṭrak* النصارى بطرك يقولون "Patriarch (Chr.)". See Wehr 77b, Spiro 49a, HB 82a. From the Greek *πατριάρχης*, see Vollers (1897) p. 295.

bṭq بطاقة (37b) *biṭāqa* ويقولون جات البطاقة للورقة التي ترسل في رجل الحمام "message sent by pigeon". HB 81a "card". Wehr 77b "slip (of paper), tag; card". Lane: "a piece of paper", "price ticket" etc. Al-Maġribī 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-Ḫafāǧī 41 " بطاقة مولدة بمعنى رقعة صغيرة وتطلق على حمام تعلق به قلت هى لغة صحيحة وقعت فى الحديث الشريف وقال فى فقه اللغة انها معربة من الرومية وفى المحكم البطاقة الرقعة الصغيرة تكون فى 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.

bṭy 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 بعزق (38a) *baʿzaq* ويقولون بعزق الشي اذا اضاعه ويسمون بعيزق "to squander". See Wehr 82a, HB 87b, and Spiro 52a. All mention that the *maṣdar* is *baʿzaqa*.

بعيزق (38a) *bəʿyzaq* "squandering", the *maṣdar* of *baʿzaq*. Wehr 82a, HB 87b, and Spiro 52a mention that the *maṣdar* 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 بعو (123b) *baʿaww* يقولون في تخويف الصبيان يأكلك البعو "bogeyman": *yaʾklak al-baʿaww* "the bogeyman will eat you!". HB 88b " بعوّ *baʿaww*

fabulous beast characterized by fatness and ugliness, bogeyman, troll". See also Davies (1981) p. 346. Also known today as *buʿbuʿ*.

bqbq يبقبق (37b) *yibaqbaq* ويقولون يبقبق اذا كثر كلامه "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, *buʾ* 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 *baʾbaʾ* "to blister". See Behnstedt-Woidich (2005) p. 145.

bqʿ باقعه (3a) *bāqiʿa* فلان خرج باقعه في الشي الفلاني "sly dog". See Wehr 84a, Lane I 235b-c. Dozy I 103b "باقِعة 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 بق (37b) *baqq* ويقولون البق والناموس مع ان البق يشمل الناموس "bugs". See HB 91a, Spiro 53b.

بق (37b) *buqq* ويقولون بق مآءٍ لما يملى به الفم "a mouthful". See HB 90b. Al-Maġribī mentions that *buqq* means ما قبيح "dirty water" in Turkish. Redhouse (1992) 405a "بوق boq 1. dung, faeces 2. dirt 3. scoride, slag".

bql بقال (65b) *baqqāl* \ ويقولون بقال لبائع البقل (..) فلا يقولون لبآئع الكامولات بقال بل لبآئع البقل "seller of legumes". Nowadays, more general "grocer", as in HB 91a and Spiro 53b. Al-Ḫafāğī 48 " بقال: بياع الأطعمة عامية والصحيح بدّال كما فى القاموس".

باقلاّني (66a) *bāqillānī* يقولون فلان الباقلاّني "seller of broad-beans". Hava 42a "باقِلا 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 *–āni* and *āwi* are frequently used interchangeably, for instance in the name Šaʿrāwi / Šaʿrāni.

bqm بقم (95b) *biqqim* يقولون صباغ البقم فيكسرون البآ والقاف "a wood which is

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 بَقَم or بَكَم. This is confirmed by Vollers (1896) p. 637: "بقم farbiges Holz= *bakam*". Al-Ḫafāǧī 42 " بقم صبغ معروف ولم يأت اسم بوزن فعل بالفتح والتشديد الا هذا". Steingass 194, on the other hand, mentions that it is Arabic: "A بقم *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 بَقْم - بَقَّم".

bqy بقّى (37b) *baqqā* ويقولون فلان بقّى عليّ ولعل الصواب بقّ بلا يا "to be talkative". Spiro 53a "*baqq (jubuqq)*, to spout out from the mouth", 53b "*jiḍrab buqq*, he chatters, he talks nonsense". Lane I 233a "بَقَّ he spoke, or talked, much". The word has become tert. inf. Something similar has happened in the dialect of al-Ḫarğa as well, e.g. *gabbēt* I got (*gibt*), see BW IV 55a.

bkbk بكبك (56b) *bakbik* ويقولون حمض الطعام وبكبك "to bubble (e.g. food turned sour)". HB 92b "*bakbik* to bubble, effervesce".

bkl بكله (66a) *bəkla* ويقولون بكله لوعآ يكون فيه الما لاجل الاستنجا "vessel holding water for washing one's backside" (for this translation of the word *istinǧāʾ*, 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 بُكْلَةْ: البكلة فى الصعيد هى: القُلة الفخار التى يشرب فيها لتبريد الماء".

bky بَكّهْ (56b) *bakka* ويقولون فلان بَكّهْ يريدون كثير البكا والصواب بكّا بالالف "somebody who is always weeping". HB 95b "*bakkāy* given to weeping, always snivelling". Shortening of the long *ā* at the end of the word: *bakkāʾ* > *bakka* (see §6.2.10.2). Compare *saʾʾa* < **saqqāʾ* and *banna* < *bannāʾ*, HB 418b and 108a.

blbl بُلبل (66b) *bulbul* ويقولون فصيح مثل البُلبل "nightingale". *faṣīḥ miṯl ilbulbul* "Eloquent as a nightingale".

بلبول (66b) *bəlbūl* ويقولون للطير المعروف بلبول "nightingale". In Wehr, HB, and Spiro only *bulbul*. *bəlbūl* could be a diminutive of *bulbul*. The patterns KaKKūK and KaKKūKa are used in modern Egyptian for the diminutive, as in e.g. *bint – bannūta*, see Woidich (2006) p. 96 and p. 100.

بلابل الرمان (67a) *balābil al-rummān* ومن تصاحيفهم في الدعا بلابل الرمان اي تلاتل الزمان "the nightingales of the pomegranate", a mispronunciation or misspelling of تلاتل الزمان "the hardships of time". For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also الّل.

blʿm بلعوم (96a) *balʿūm: ṣāḥib balʿūm* يقولون صاحب بلعوم اي كثير الاكل فيفتحون البا "gourmand, glutton" (lit. "owner of the gullet"). HB 99b "*balʿūm* gullet, oesophagus".

blq بلّوق (38a) *ballūq, balālīq* ويقولون في اصطلاح خيال الظل البلاليق مفرده البلّوق كتنّور "comic poem (used in shadowplays)". Dozy I 114a "بلّيق pl. بَلاليق espèce de poème populaire comique et licencieux".

بليق (37b) *Bəlyq* ويقولون قطع بليق لا حرث ولا درس (..) لا يريدون الفرس ولعله "name of a proverbial ox". *qaṭaʿ Bəlyq lā ḥaraṯ wala daras* "he removed Bulayq because he neither ploughed nor threshed". The rhyme suggests the pronunciation of *ṯ* as *s* in *ḥaraṯ*. Kazimirski I 163b "بُلَيْق (*dimin. de* ابْلَق) Bouleïk, *nom d'un cheval célèbre, excellent à la course, et qui cependant ne rencontrait que des critiques. De là le proverbe:* يَجرِى بُلَيْق ويُذَمّ بليق Bouleïk court, et cependant on critique Bouleïk, *s'applique à un home qui fait du bien, et qui n'échappe pas à la censure*". Al-Maġribī 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.

مبلّق (38a) *muballaq* ويقولون صدره مكشوف مبلّق "open". Hava 46a " بَلَق وأبلق to be opened wholly (door)". Kazimirski I 163a بَلَقَ I "ouvrir brusquement la porte, *ou* l'ouvrir tout entière". Lane I 253a mentions it, but only forms I and VII.

bll بلّ (66a) *bill* يقولون فلان بلّ قرفان لم يعلم البلّ بمعنى البليد (..) فالظاهر ان

المفرد بل بالفتح فقولهم فلان بِل بالكسر لمن لا يفهم لم يفهم من اللغة "foolish". Lane I 245b بَلٌّ "one who has no sense of shame".

blm ابلم (95b) *ʾablam* ويقولون فلان ابلم او عنده بلم اي قلّة عقل "stupid". Dozy I 115a "أبلم bête, stupide"; 114b "بلم bête, stupide, sans ة en parlant d'une femme, 1001 N." HB 101b *balam* /adj invar/ dim-witted. Širbīnī has a *mawwāl* on the word *ablam*, see Davies (2005) p. 6. In the Ḫarga-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) *balam* "stupidity". See *ablam*.

bln بلاّن (110a) *ballān* يقولون بلّان على الحمّامي "bathhouse 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: "بلّانة: ولا يقال بلّان للرجل، بل يقال: حمّامي". 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 أبله (121a) *ʾablah* يقولون فلان أبله اي غافل "imbecilic". See HB 102b, and Lane I 254c.

bndq بندق (38a) *bunduq* ويقولون البندق للماكول ولبندق الرصاص "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-Ḫafāǧī 42 بندق المأكول ليس بعربى محض قاله أبو منصور لكنهم استعملوه والذى يرمى به كأنه من هذا على طريق التشبيه

bnk بنك (56b) *bənk* يقال ... يقولون فلان دخل في بنكي اي جا على وفق طبقي البنك اسم لشي 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. *benûk* Laden, Niederlage, Geschäftshaus".

bnn بنّ (110a) *bunn* يقولون بنّ لاصل القهوة "coffee beans". See HB 107b. For more information about coffee in al-Maġribī's time, see §5.1.3.

bhdl بهدل (66b) *bahdil* ويقولون بهدل فلان فلانا اي حقّره "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) *bəhlūl* ويقولون فلان بهلول اي قليل العقل "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-ʿāqil al-mağnūn*). See *EI*[2] I 1288b-1289a and Bosworth (1976) II p. 214.

bws بَوْسَه (88b) *bwsa* يقولون قُبْله وبَوْسَه وتقدم ان البوس فارسي معرَّب "kiss". See HB 112a, who confirm its Persian origin. Steingass 207a "بوسه *bosa* a kiss"; Redhouse 400b "*būse*". See also Vollers (1896) p. 638. Ḫafāğī 46 "باس بمعنى قبل مولدة عامية تكلموا بها وصرّفوها".

bww بَو (124a) *baww* يقولون فلان مثل البَو "stuffed effigy of a calf/camel"; "stupid". فلان مثل البَو *fulān miṯl il-baww*. See HB 114a, Spiro 62a, BW IV 41a and Hava 50.

byl بال (66b) *bāl* ويقولون ما على بالي اي خاطري "mind". See HB 103a.

byy يا بيّي (124a) *yā bəyyī* يقولون يا بيّي كانهم يريدون يا ابي "o father!". BW IV 1a mentions "*yabāy, yabāya*" (Bʿēri). This is the diminutive of *abu*, like *ḫayy* "Brüderchen", BW IV 127b.

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tata تاَتاَ (4b) *tātā.* تَاتَا في لغة الاولاد عند ارادة مشيهم "said to encourage a little child to walk". In Egypt *tāta* "to walk" is still used, see HB 120a "exhortation to a child learning to walk". It could derive from *taṭā* تطا "to step". In baby talk, emphasis is often omitted. It is also suggested that its origin is Coptic. Youssef (2003) p. 35 "tāta تاتا from ⲧⲓⲧⲓ *(titi)*, "tread, pace," from ⲧⲓⲧⲓ *tiṫi*".

tbl يتبّل (67a) *yitabbil* من تصاحيفهم يتبّل بمعنى الجماع اي ينيك "to have sex". HB 121b "*tabbil* to season, spice". Ibid Spiro. The only thing (remotely) related in Lane I 333c is "تَبْلٌ (...) love-sickness".

tbn تبان (110a) *tabbān* يقولون على اللباس الصغير تبان (...) ولكن قال كرمان فهل هو بالضم فيكون فتحهم فيه غلطا "short under-pants". Al-Ḫafāğī 60 " تبان بالفتح سراويل تستر العورة والصواب فيه الضم". Kalfon Stillman (2003) p. 50 "Sailors, fishmongers, and bathhouse attendants worked only in *tubbān*, or briefs".

تبن (110a) *tibn* يقولون تبن وفول "chopped straw". See Spiro 68a, HB 121b.

tğyb تجيبي (11a) *taǧībī* يقولون فلان التجيبي "a member of the Taǧīb tribe". *nisba* of *taǧīb*, a *baṭn* (under-tribe) of the Kinda tribe, see Kaḥḥāla (1985) I p. 116.

tḫm تخمة (107b) *taḫma* يقولون فلان عنده تخمة بسكون الخا وانما هي تخمه كهمزة "indigestion". HB 123b "*taḫma* a case of overeating"; "*tuḫma* indigestion resulting from over-eating". Spiro 70b "*tuḫma* indigestion".

trğm ترجمان (96a) *turğumān* يقولون ترجمان بضم التا وهي لغة "dragoman". See HB 125b.

trh ترّهَه (121a) *turrəha, turrəhāt* يقولون ترّهَه تجمع على ترّهات ولها اصل "falsehood". See HB 128a.

trk تركه (57a) *tərkih* يقولون على الميراث تركه فيكسرون الكاف وانما هو بالفتح "inheritance". See Spiro 73b and HB 126b *tirka*. For the pausal *imāla*, see §6.2.11.

متّرك (56b) *mutarrak* ويقولون وجهه متّرك اذا كان مدوّرا وغيره يقولون فيه عربي

"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 تُرْكي". See also عربي.

trll ترلّ (67a) *tirill* يقولون ترلّ في ارادة عدم الفهم والبلادة (..) وهم يقولون ترل بل "oaf", *tirill bill* "stupid oaf". HB 126b "*tirill* oaf, dolt". *fuʿull* and *fiʿill* are patterns used for negative characteristics (see e.g. *duhull* below), see Woidich (2006) p. 102. See also *bill* "foolish".

ترلّ (67a) *tirill* يقولون ترلّ (..) ويستعملونه في الموسيقى والصواب ترن بالنون "onomatopoeia used to indicate the rhythm of music". Compare HB 127a "*taralam* onomatopoeia for the sound of music ≈ tra-la-la".

tryq ترياق (38a) *tiryāq* ويقولون ترياق وفيه لغات وهو نافع للسموم معرّب "antidote". See HB 128a, al-Ḫafāǧī 59. See also §5.3 about the details of ترياق.

tfl تفل (67a) *tifl* ويقولون اكلنا الشي وَرَمَينا تفله والصواب الثفل بالمثلثة والضم "dregs". HB 130b "*tifl* fibrous vegetable sediment, dregs". Since al-Maġribī mentions that in Classical Arabic it is *ṯufl* with *ṯāʾ* and *ḍamma*, it can be assumed that the Egyptians pronounced it *tifl*, like today.

tqtq يتقتق (38a) *yitaqtaq* ويقولون يتقتق او متقتق "to walk quickly", active participle متقتق *mutaqtaq*. *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 783c " قربٌ تَقْتاقٌ وتُقاتِقُ ومُتَقتِقٌ: سريعٌ". Kazimirski I 201b "تَقَاتِقٌ ,تَقْتَاقٌ et مُتَقْتِقٌ Rapide, accéléré (voyage).

tktk يتكتك (57a) *yitaktik* ويقولون ماشي يتكتك "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 "تَكْتَكَ 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"

tltl يتلتل (67a) *yitaltil* يتلتله الله "to put in hardship". *allāh yitaltiluh* "may God put him in hardship". Lane I 310c "تَلْتَله 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.

تلتلة (67a) *taltala* هو في تلتلة "hardship". HB 134a and Spiro 82a: *maṣdar* of *taltil* "to heap up". Wehr 116a "*talātil* hardships". Qāsim 95a "التلاتل الشدائد".

tll تلّ (67a) *tall* ويقولون وهم الفلاحون طلع فوق التلّ "hill". Širbīnī writes that the village garbage dump, which is called *kōm*, *tall* or *ʿilliyya*, is the place where the peasants go to defecate, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2. This could be what al-Maġribī is alluding to when he mentions that the peasants say "he went up the hill".[519]

tlw تِلْو (124a) *tilw* يقولون هذا تِلْو ذاك اي تابعه "belonging to". HB 136a "*tala* to follow. vn *tuluww*".

tmn يتَمّنّه (110a) *yitammin* يقولون يتَمّنّه يقول كذا وليس لها وجه في العربية "to fix the price of". See HB 137b. For *t* < *ṯ*, see §6.2.2. The second *šadda* seems to be an error.

tn تن and تن تن (110b) *tənn* and *tən tən* يقولون تن او تن تن في ايقاع الموسيقى "to hum to a tune". HB 138b "*tantin* to strum, hum". Taymūr II 355 "تَنْتِن: تنتن العود، وله تَنْتَنَة، والصواب بالطَّاء من الطَّنْطنة: صوت الطنبور".

tnbl تنبل (67a) *tənbəl* ولكن الطف من هذا التصحيف تنبل وهو شي يوكل في بلاد الهند مفرج مثل القاط في اليمن "betel". Dozy I 153a "تَنْبُول bétel", Hava 63a "تَانَبُول betel". The leaves of the betel plant are chewed in Southeast Asia and work as a stimulant. The *taṣḥīf* which al-Maġribī talks about, probably refers to the word *tanbal* "lazy", which he associates with the use of *qāṭ* and betel.

tnk تِنْك (57a) *tink* يقولون وهم طائفة السياس فلان تِنْك اي شديد ولعله مقلوب عن نتك بتقديم النون "strong". Used by stable men. Perhaps from the Persian تنگ *tang* "strong", see Steingass 330.

tny تني (124a) *tənī* يقولون البكري والتّني لم اعلم تصحيح التني مرادهم الثاني "second", *al-bəkrī wa-l-tənī* "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 *ǧabana* ("coffee jug"), see Qāsim 102. Al-Maġribī 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.

[519] I thank Humphrey Davies for this suggestion.

thth اتهته (121a) *ittahtih* فلان عنده تهتهة او اتهته "to stammer". See HB 140b.

تهتهة (121a) *tahtəha* "stammering". HB 140b mentions *tahtaha*, Spiro 86a *tahtiha*.

twm توم (96a) *twm* يقولون توم بالمثناة وانما هو ثوم بالمثلثة "garlic". See HB 142a "*tōm*". For information about *t* < *ṯ*, see §6.2.2.

twh تَوَه (54a; 121a) *tawah* ويقولون فلان يلحق بالشي من التّوه التوّه ياتي في محله ان شا الله؛ جآ به من التَّوَه وله نسبة فان المراد انه حصّله من غير مظنة التحصيل "accidentally, unintentionally". *tawh* is the *maṣdar* of *tāh* "to get lost", see Lane I 323b.

tww تَوّ (124a) *taww* يقولون ويسمع من اهل الارياف فلان تَوّه جا مثلا اي الساعة "just". HB 142b "*taww* particle indicating the immediate occurrence of an action". Spiro 86b "*taw* now, as soon as; *tawoh ga*, he has just come; *taw ma jigy*, as soon as he comes". Fischer (1959) p. 150 "soeben, sogleich, sofort"; p. 151 "vielfach wird *tauw(ā)* mit Personalsuffixen konstruiert, die sich in den meisten Fällen auf das Subjekt des Satzes beziehen". See also El-Ṭanṭāvy (1981) p. 79.

tyl تال (57a) *tāl* اعلم ان اهل مصر يصحفون النيك بالتيل فيقولون تال اي ناك "to fuck". It is a *taṣḥīf* of *nāk*. For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also الّل.

تيل (57a) *tīl* "to fuck" (*maṣdar*). See تال.

tyh تيه (121a) *tyh* يقولون فلان في تيه اي حيران كانه في تيه بني اسرآئيل "bewilderment". Wehr 121a "desert, trackless wilderness; maze, labyrinth; haughtiness, pride". It is also the *maṣdar* of تاه, see Lane I 326a "*his mind,* or *intellect, was, or became, disordered, confused,* or *unsound*".

ṯ

ṯry ثرى (124b) *ṯarā* يقولون اين الثريا من الثرى "earth". *ayn al-ṯurayyā min al-ṯarā?* Proverb: Wehr 123b "(proverbially of things of disproportionate value) what has the ground to do with the Pleiades?".

ثريا (124b) *ṯurayyā* “Pleiades”. See Wehr 124a.

ǧ

ǧba جَبَا (5b; 124b) *ǧabā* يقولون عند سقى القهوة جَبَا؛ يقولون عند اتيان القهوة جبا وسمعت ان اصل ذلك لما اظهر القهوة اي البن انسان فاعطى بلدا يقال لها جبا فصارت مستعملة بذلك “for free”. Spiro 93b “جبا *gaba* gratis”. Taymur III 11-12: جبا: أى خذه بلا عوض. (..) سلوة الغريب لابن معصوم ص ١٠٦: أصل قولهم جبا 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: «جَبا ويقال: أعطيته جَبا: أى من غير مقابل. Al-Maġribī has a few theories about the origins of this word: it could come from the Yemenite village *Ǧabā*, 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-Maġribī is *ǧaba*ʾ “reservoir, tank; watering-trough” (Hava 77a). Al-Maġribī favours the first explanation.

ǧbb جبّه (11b) *ǧəbba* قال المجدي الجبة بالضم ثوب معروف لبس الجبّه “robe”. HB 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.”

ǧbrl جبريل (67b) *ǧəbrīl* يقولون على سيدنا جبرآئيل جبريل بل ربما يقولون جبرين بالنون “the angel Gabriel”. HB 147b mentions both *gibrīl* and *gibrīn*.

ǧbrn جبرين (67b) *ǧəbrīn* قولون علي سيدنا جبرآئيل جبريل بل ربما يقولون جبرين بالنون “the angel Gabriel”. See جبريل

ǧbn جبانة (110b) *ǧabbāna* يقولون جبانة للمقبرة “cemetery”. See HB 148a.

جبن (110b) *ǧəbn* يقولون جبن “cheese”. Al-Maġribī does not mention whether the Egyptians said *ǧubn* or *ǧibn*. Spiro 93b “*gibn* or *gibna*

cheese". HB 148a only *gibna*. BW IV 56a *gubn* and *gubna* in al-Dāḫila.

مجبنة (111a) *mağbana* يقال الولد مجبنة مبخلة لانه يحبّ البقا والمال لاجله "coward". Hava "مَجْبَنة 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 "*magdaʿa* quality of being a *gadaʿ*"; in the same way, *magbana* could mean "cowardly behaviour".

ğbh انجبه (121b) *inğabah* فلان انجبه من الشي اذا استحيي وجبهة فلان "to be embarrassed". See HB 148b.

جبه (121b) *ğabah* "to embarrass". See HB 148b.

ğdy جديانه (124b) *ğidyāna*. يقولون جديانه وجديانه الخ رقصة لاهل المجون "jumping like a young goat" ("bokkesprongen" in Dutch). Only mentioned as the pl. of *ğidy* "kid" in Wehr, HB, Spiro, and Dozy.

ğrdq مجردق (38a) *muğardaq* يقولون فلان مجردق او عنده جردقة يعنون انه مهزول "emaciated". No references found. Hava 85a "جردق P cake of bread"; other sources such as Taymūr, Lane, Dozy and al-Ḫafāğī give the same meaning as Hava. Qāsim 120b mentions that جردقة means " نوع من الأملاح الترابية وهي كربونات الصودا. أو الأرض الملحة لا تصلح للزراعة".

جردقة (38a) *ğardaqa* "emaciation". See مجردق.

ğrm جرم (96a) *ğirm* يقولون كبير الجرم وهو صحيح الجرم بالكسر الجسم كالجرمان "body". Spiro 99b "*girim* enormous, large". HB 157a "*gurma* huge quantity, large number"; "*girim* sturdy, robust, large of stature". Steingass 360b confirms its Persian etymology: "*jirm* a body". In al-Maġribī's time, the word, apparently, contained only one *i*, like in Persian, as opposed to two today.

ğrn جرن (110b) *ğurn* يقولون القمح في الجرن "threshing floor". See HB 157a.

ğrw جرو (124b) *ğarw* يقولون لولد الكلب جرو "puppy". See Wehr 144b.

ğry جراية (124b) *ğirāya* يقولون خبز جراية "bread ration, coarse bread". See HB 157b-158a, Wehr 145b and Spiro 100b. Soldiers were paid in kind in Ottoman Egypt, with rations called *ğirāya*. One *ğirāya* equalled an *ardabb* of wheat or other grains. Payment was one *ğirāya* per day, plus one *ʿalīq*, an *ardabb* of barley for feeding the animals. See

Čezzār (1962) p. 26 fn. 1.

ğryl جريال (67b) *ğiryāl* يقولون على الخمر جريال "wine". See Hava 86b. Al-Ḫafāğī 67-68 جريال ويقال جريان صبغ أحمر وقيل ماء الذهب وتسمى به الخمر لحمرتها

ğzy جزا (6b) *ğizā* يقولون اذا عزّروا شخصا ينادون عليه جزاه واقل من جزاه ومعناه صحيح الا كسرهم لجيم جزا فهو خطا "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.

ğʿb جعبه (11b) *ğəʿba* يقولون جعبه لوعآ السهام "quiver". See Wehr 150b. Mentioned in Taymūr III 36 with a different meaning: " – والجِعْبة بالكسر: هى الجيب الذي يعمل من جهة الصدر قرب البطن في ثوب الطفل في الأرياف".

ğfl جفل، يجفل (67b) *ğəfəl, yiğfəl* ويقولون جفل فلان او الدابة فيها عيب وهي انها تجفل من الشي بمعنى انها تضطرب جدّا "to be startled (person), to shy (horse)". Spiro 104b "*gafal (jigfal)*, to shy (horse)". BW IV 66a "*ğifil, yiğfal* scheuen (Esel)".

ğfn جفن (111a) *ğifn* يقولون جفن العين فيكسرون الجفن وان الصواب فتح "eyelid". See Spiro 104b, and HB 163b.

ğlb جلب (12a) *ğalab* يقولون للعبد جلب "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" "جلاب العبيد slave trader". Dozy I 204a "جَلَب étranger, que l'on tire du dehors, Bc.". Lane II 440a "جَلَبٌ a thing, or things, driven, or brought, from one country or town to another, (...), as horses, camels, sheep or goats, captives or slaves".

ğll اجِلّة (68a) *agilla* فلان من الاجِلّة "honourable (pl.)". See HB 167a.

جلّة (67b) *ğəlla* يقولون لروث الدابة جلّة ولم يعلم من اللغة "dung". Al-Maġribī'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: البَعَر: والجلّة، مثلثة . HB 167a "*gilla* 1 dung (of animals)".

ğlw جالية (124b) *ğāliya* يقولون اخذ الجالية مع ان الجالية اهل الذمة (..) والناس الان

يطلقون الجالية والجوالي على نفس الدراهم الماخوذة وهو مجاز مرسل "tribute paid by non-Muslims". See Hava 97a. HB 168b "*galya* expatriate community". Al-Ḫafāǧī 77 الجوالى: قال فى الزاهر هم اهل الذمة وانما قيل لهم جوالى لانهم جلوا عن مواضعهم انتهى والناس الآن يتجوزون به عن الخراج وعن الوظائف المرتبة منه وهو ليس بعربى

ǧmz فكانوا يعيبون على من يصحف الحمار بالجمّاز معتقدين عدم دلالته على معنى فاطلعت في القاموس على وجود مَعْناه وعبارته وحمار جمّاز اي وثاب "bouncing (donkey)". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 455c وحمار جَمّازٌ: وثّابٌ Hava 98a "جمّاز swift-footed (ass)". جماز (7a) *ǧammāz*

ǧml ويقولون اكلنا لحم جملي فهل يمكن ان يقولوا شربنا لبن جملي نعم يمكن "camel- (adj.)". Al-Maġribī wondered whether it was correct to use the word *ǧamal* for a she-camel; that it is correct is confirmed by *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 881b. جمل (68b) *ǧamalī*

يقولون فلان له على جميل اي صنيع "favour". HB 172a "*gimīl* favour, service, good turn". Spiro 107a "*gimyl* favour". This is as opposed to *gamīl* "beautiful". جميل (69a) *ǧəmīl*

ويطلق الجميل ايضا على الشتم "beautiful (used derisively)". جميل (69a) *ǧamīl*

ǧnq ويقولون بركة جناق لم يذكر المقريزي معنى جناق "Birkat Ǧənāq, a lake in Cairo". According to al-Maqrīzī (1998) III p. 751, this lake was outside Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo, and was surrounded by gardens. بركة جناق (36b) *birkat ǧənāq*

ǧnn يقولون فلان تجانن اي يظهر من نفسه الجنون "to become crazy". Lane I 462a "تجانّ *he was*, or *became*, مجنون". تجانن (111a) *taǧānin*

ǧhǧh يقولون الدنيا الان جهجهون اي من شدة الجور والعسف؛ يقولون اذا اشتكوا من الظلم البلاد جهجهون "tyranny, oppression". HB 176b "*gahgahōn* /adv/ haphazardly, in any old way. /adjectivally/ *rāgil gahgahōn* a simple fellow". Taymūr III 57 gives the first meaning of HB. Hava 101b "جهجه to shout", Kazimirski I 341b "جَهْجَهَ Crier". Qāsim 140b mentions for Sudanese Arabic: "جَهْجَه تقول فلان جَهْجَهْني أي حيّرني". جهجهون (111a; 121a) *ǧahǧahūn*

ğhrm اجّهرم (96a) *iğğahrəm* فلان اجّهرم على الشي اي له اقدام "to brave, defy s.th.". Dozy I 227b "جهرم II se targuer, se prévaloir; c. على p. braver, narguer".

ğwq جوق (38b) *ğwq* يقولون قرآة الجوق اي الجماعة "group". Wehr 176a "*jauq* troop, group; theatrical troupe, operatic company; choir (mus.); orchestra, band". HB 183a "*gōʾ = gōʾa*"; "*gōʾa* 1. musical band, musical troupe 2. theatrical group 3. crowd, gathering, group". Spiro 114a "*gōʾ* theatrical company, group". Dozy I 235a-b " جُوَق المُقْرِئين والوُعّاظ". According to Bosworth (1976) p. 225 it is a Persian word. Confirmed by Vollers (1896) p. 639.

ğwn تجوّن (111a) *tağawwin* يقولون فلان تجوّن في الامر اي دخل فيه "to go deep or far". See HB 183b, Spiro 114a-b. BW IV 74a "*ğawīn* tief [SMÄ: 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. *wasṭan* "to place in the middle", see Woidich (2006) p. 64.

ğww جوّه (4a; 123b; 124b) *ğuwwa* ويقولون برّا نقيض جُوّه ولم اعلم لكل منهما اصلا يرجع اليه في اللغة وكان الصواب في بَرّا الشي خارجه وفي جواه داخله حتى ان الخواصّ يقولون الاشرفيّه البرانيّه والجّواني؛ يقولون بَرَّه ضد جوّه وتقدم انه لم يعلم من اللغة برّه وجوّه؛ يقولون فلان جوّه اي ليس خارجا نقيض بَرّه وله اصل "inside". See HB 184a.

ğy جا (6b) *ğā* ويقولون فلان جا وراح اما جا فهو صحيح وان كان اصله ممدوداً "to come". See HB 184a.

ğyb جاب (11b) *ğāb* ويقولون جاب الشيء يريدون جآ بِهِ وليس لنا جاب بمعنى اتى او أحضر "to bring". See HB 184b. Al-Maġribī looked it up under GʾB and did not find its meaning, although he had already, correctly, traced it back to its origin: *ğāʾ bi-*.

جيب (12a) *ğyb* يقولون الجيب على ذلك الذي يوضع فيه الدراهم بالجنب وهو 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 "جيب the طوق [or opening at the neck and bosom] of a shirt

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-Ḫafāǧī 70 جيب القميص طوقه وأما الجيب الذى توضع فيه الدراهم فمولد لم تستعمله العرب صرّح به ابن تيمية. According to Vollers p. 651, the word is of Indian origin. For more information about جيب, see §6.5.4.1.

ǧyl جيل (69a) *ǧīl* يقولون جيل هذه الايام مثلا اي ناس هذه الاوقات "generation". See HB 185b.

č

* čār-kāh چاركاه (63a) *čārkāh* واما يك...فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد...وهو المستعمل في اول الانغام يكاه اي الراست والثاني دوكاه والثالث سكاه چاركاه "the fourth note, F". چار or چهار is "four" in Persian (see Steingass 384a and 403b). گاه *gāh* means "time" and "place" (amongst other things), see Steingass 1074. *EI*[2] VI p. 101a (J.-C. Chabrier) speaks of *čahārgāh*.

čwčw چوچو (6b) *čūčū* وقد سمعت بعضهم عند الحوض وهو سقّى الجمال يقول چوچو بالجيم الغير العربيّة القريبة للشين "sound made to encourage the camels to drink". For the pronunciation of the چ, see §6.2.1.

ḥ

ḥā حَاحا (7a) *ḥāḥā* يقولون في سوق الحمار حَاحا "sound made to urge on a donkey". See HB 187a, *ḥā*. In the Sudan, *ḥāḥā* is nowadays used to chase away birds, see Qāsim 151b. See also حَه.

ḥbk حبك (57a) *ḥabak* يقولون حبك الشدّ "to cause to fit exactly". Spiro 122a "*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.

ḥbw حَبا (125a; 7b) *ḥabā* وَيَقُولُون يقولون على الصبي حبا اذا مشى على يديه وركبتيه؛ للصّبي اذا مشى على يديه وركبتيه حَبَا "to crawl (of a little child)". See Spiro 122b, and HB 190a.

ḥtk اش تحوتك (57a) *iš təḥwtək* يقولون اش تحوتك اذا ارادوا انه يعالج في غير فائده Its meaning is not clear. On his website, 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 17th century Egyptian had any knowledge of the gods of Ancient Egypt. Another explanation can be found in Frayha p. 39b " حوْتَك: فَوْعَل من حتك مشى وقارب الخطو مسرعا". On this website: http://www.alhasebat.com/vb/showthread.php?t=768, a topic called أسماء الاشارة 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-Maġribī's purpose. Denizeau p. 127 confirms this: "*ḥōtak, inacc. yḥōtek* tourner sans but, perdre son temps sans savoir que faire".

ḥdw حَدَا (125a) *ḥadā* تصحيف عن يقولون فلان جلس حَدَا فلان اي قريبا منه وهي حِذآئه بالذال المعجمة "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: ʿIdwa; NOD 1: ṭanāḥ], *ḥadāna* bei uns [OD 1:arRiyāḍ, ŠF 119,20]". Wehr 193b "حذاء *ḥiḏāʾa* (prep.) and بحذاء *bi-ḥiḏāʾi* opposite, face to face with".

ḥdy حِدّايه (7b) *ḥiddāya* يقولون للطير المعروف حِدّايه والصواب حدأه "kite (bird)". See Spiro 126a, and HB 196a.

ḥrṣ حُرُصُلّه (65b) *ḥuruṣulləh* يقولون انت حُرُصُلّه وغيرك فُرُطُلّهْ اي انت لا يفرط فيك بخلاف غيرك "you are being cared for?", *inta ḥuruṣulləh wa-ġyrak furuṭulləh* "you are being cared for, while another is being neglected?". HB 199a "*ḥirṣ* care, solicitude". HB 650a "*farraṭ fi-* to be negligent in keeping a hold on". Lane VI 2377c "فُرُطٌ 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

exceeded". It could be from *ḥirṣ-u llāh* "the compassion of God" and *farṭ-u llāh* "the neglect of God". See also فُرُطُلّهْ.

ḥrn يحارن (111a) *yiḥārin* يقولون فلان يحارن فلانا ويمكن ان يكون مشبها بالفرس الحرون 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 حزّق (38b) *ḥazzaq* ويقولون حزّق الخط اذا ضمه جدا وحزق وسطه شده "to tighten". See Spiro 133a, and HB 202b.

ḥzm حزام (96a) *ḥizām* يقولون حزام وحزمة "belt". See HB 202b.

حزمة (96b) *ḥəzma* يقولون حزام وحزمة "bundle". HB 202b and Spiro 133b *ḥizma*, Wehr 203b *ḥuzma*.

ḥsb تحسّب ب (12b) *taḥassab bi* ويقولون انا حَسَبَك اي استعنت بك وفلانا تحسَّب بفلان "to be entrusted to the protection of". See HB 204b.

حَسَب (12b) *ḥasab* ويقولون انا حَسَبَك اي استعنت بك وفلانا تحسَّب بفلان "entrusted to the protection of". It has the same meaning as *maḥsūb* "protégé" (HB 204a, Wehr 206b).

ḥsk حَسَكه (57a) *ḥasaka* ويقولون في الدعا لمن يسعل حَسَكه "(may it be only) 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 حسن (111a) *ḥusn* يقولون حسن هو الجمال "beauty". See HB 206a.

حَسَنه (111b) *ḥasana* يقولون على خال الخد حَسَنه وهي النقطة السودا "beauty spot". See HB 206a, and Spiro 136a.

حسينة (111b) *ḥəsyna* يقولون (..) على شهوة المراة 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).

محاسن (111b) *maḥāsin* يقولون فلان له محاسن وهو جمع محسن "charms, good qualities". See Spiro 136b, and Wehr 208b.

حسن (111b) *ḥsn* يقولون الشيخ حسن للمبادلة بين المردان لم تعلم له مناسبة Meaning unclear.

ḥšš حشيشة السلطان (71b) *ḥašīšət al-sulṭān* والخردل الفارسي نبات بمصر يعرف بحشيشة السلطان "plant from the mustard family". Dozy I 289a "حشيشة السلطان, 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 حشا (7b) *ḥašā* ويقولون حشاك ظهرك وليس في اللغة ما يناسب حشا بمعني التحذير "mind! (imperative)", *ḥašāk ẓahrak* "mind your back!". HB 208b "حاشا *ḥāša*: *ḥāša li-llāh* God forbid!'. Wehr 211a "حاشى، حاشا (with genit., acc. or ل) except, save. حاشا الله، حاشى الله God forbid! حاشا لك ان far be it from you that you... etc.'. ʿAwwād has حشى, but in line 16 al-Maġribī 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-ʿyb* "excuse the shame!" (used after referring to something indelicate).

ḥṣl حواصل، حواصل (69b) *ḥāṣil, ḥawāṣil* ويقولون الحواصل جمع الحاصل على المكان المخصوص والشوام يقولون مخزن "storehouse". See Spiro 139a. HB 209a mentions it is used in the countryside. Nowadays in Cairo *maḫzan* is used for "storehouse", which al-Maġribī states is used by the *Šawāmm*.

حوصلة (69b) *ḥwṣala* يقولون ضيّق الحوصلة "crop of a bird", *ḍayyaq al-ḥwṣala* "hot-tempered". HB 210a "حوصلة *ḥuṣála, ḥuṣla* craw, crop of a bird. *ḥuṣaltu dayyiʾa* he's hot-tempered".

ḥṣrm حصرم (96b) *ḥuṣrum* يقولون مآ الحصرم فيضمون الحا والرا "unripe grapes". See Spiro 138b, and HB 209a.

ḥṣw حصاة (8a) *ḥaṣā* ويقولون فلان طنّت حصاته في مصر مثلا ويقع من الخواص ايضا "pebble", *ṭannət ḥaṣātu* "he became famous". HB 210a "*ḥaṣwa* a pebble". Lane V 1883a "طَنَّ ذِكْرُهُ في البِلَادِ his fame resounded through the countries".

ḥḍn حضن (111b) *ḥuḍn* يقولُون أخذه بالحضن بضم الحا "bosom", *ʾaḫaḏuh bi-l-ḥuḍn* "he embraced him". See HB 211a.

ḥff حفة (21b) *ḥaffa* ويقولون حفة الليوان "edge". See HB 214a. Shortening of the *alif*, see §6.2.10.1.

ḥfl يحفّل (69b) *yiḥaffil* ويقولون لمن يرمي الفتن يحفّل "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".

الحَفَلى (69b) *al-ḥafalā* ومن الاتفاق في اللفظ والمعنى دعاهم الحَفَلى لغة في الجَفَلى بالجيم اي دعوة عامّة "general invitation". Lane II 603c " دَعَاهُمْ الحَفَلَى and الأَحْفَلَى dial. vars. of الجَفَلَى and الأَجْفَلَى (..) *He invited them with their company.*"

ḥfn حِفْنه (111b) *ḥifna* يقولون مَلو حِفْنه "handful". See HB 214b, and Spiro 144a.

ḥqf حِقف (21a) *ḥiqf* يقولون اي الشعرا ردف المحبوب كالحِقف "long and winding track of sand". See Hava 134b. According to al-Maġribī, it is a classicism only used in poetry. In Farafra, the word *ḥugayf* is nowadays used for "escarpment", see BW IV 89a, as is *ḥikf* in Middle Egypt, see BW IV 90a.

ḥqq حق (38b) *ḥəqq* ويقولون الشي في الحق "small box" See Spiro 145a, and HB 216b *ḥuʾ*.

ḥqn حقن (111b) *ḥaqan* يقولون دوا المريض حقنه "to administer a clyster". Spiro 145a "*ḥaqan* (*jiḥqin* 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* حُقْنَة, i.e. [*a clyster*,] *a medicine put into a* مِحْقَنَة." For more information about the word حقن, see §6.5.4.1.

ḥqw حقو (125a) *ḥəqw* يقولون الحقو وله اصل قال ‹الحقو الكشح والازار ويكسر "loin". See Wehr 227a and Hava 135a.

ḥkk احتك ب (57a) *iḥtakk bi-* ويقولون احتك بي فلان وللعدا الحكة اي الجرب "to clash with". See HB 217b.

حكة (57a) *ḥəkka* يقولون احتك بي فلان وللعدا الحكة اي الجرب "itch", *li-l-ʿadā-l-ḥəkka* "may the enemy get the itch". HB 217b "*ḥakka* (..) 2. [path] scabies". Spiro 145b "*ḥakka* a rub, a scratch, the itch".

ḥlḥl حَلاحِلي (69b) *ḥalāḥilī* ويقولون فلان حَلاحِلي اذا كان سريع الحركة وقضا

المصالح "quick". HB 220 "*ḥalḥil* to budge". Wehr 234b "*taḥalḥala* to stir from one's place; to move, stir, budge". Lane II "حُلَاحِلٌ grave, staid, sedate".

ḥlzn حلزون (112a) *ḥalazwn* يقولون مادنة الحلزون يطلقون الحلزون على البنآ الدآئر "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-Maġribī refers to is the minaret of the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque, famous for its spiral shape.

ḥlf حِلف (21a) *ḥilf* ويقولون كانوا في حِلف اي حزب يعينهم على الخصام "sworn alliance". See HB 220a, and Spiro 149a.

حلفه (21a) *ḥalfa* ويقولون حلفه يطلقونه على الجمع والحلفة مفرد "alfa". Spiro 149a "حلفا *ḥalfa* rushes, sg. حلفاية *ḥalfāja*". HB 220b "حلفة، حلفاء *ḥalfa [bot]* alfa esparto, halfa grass".

* ḥlq أوك حلقك (132a) *awki ḥalaqak* وقيل معناه انه يسكت فلا يتكلم كانه يوكي فمه من قولهم اوك حلقك اي اسكت "shut up!" (lit. "tie up your neck"). Wehr 1285a "وكى *wakā* يكي *yakī* to tie up (ه a waterskin, or the like)".

ḥlm حالوم (96b) *ḥālūm* يقولون جبن حالوم "white cream cheese". See HB 222b, and Spiro 150a. It is a Coptic word, see Crum (1972) p. 670a: **ϩⲁⲗⲱⲙ** "*cheese*, now جبنة حلوم". This is confirmed by Bishai (1964) p. 42 and Vollers (1896) p. 654.

ḥlw حِلو (125a) *ḥilw* يقولون طعمه حلو بكسر الحا "sweet, nice". See HB 223a. Here mentioned by al-Maġribī because it is *ḥulw* in Classical Arabic.

حلوي (125a) *ḥəlwī* يقولون المومن حلوي وكنت سمعت انه في القتال والمعركة يتميز بان يلقى على حلو قفاه بخلاف المشرك او انه يحب الحلوى "loving sweets". This is a rejected *ḥadīṯ* according to al-Ǧawzīya (1983) p. 64: "المؤمن حلو يحب الحلاوة"

ḥlw? اش حِلاته (125b) *iš ḥilātu* يقولون اش حِلاته بكسر الحا اي ما صفته "what does he look like?" There are two explanations:

1. its origin is حلى *ḥila* "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 ḥalāt-* like".

ḥmḥm حماحم (96b) *ḥamāḥim* يقولون حماحم الريحان “basilicum”. Wehr 238b “*ḥimḥim* oxtongue, bugloss (Anchuse officinalis; bot.)”. Täckholm (1974) p. 818: “*himhim* حِمحِم ‘Trichodesma africanum’.” Dozy I 320b “حماحم ocimum basilicum”. Boulos IV 536 “Himhim *Trichodesma ehrenbergii* حِمْحِم”; “Himmim *Trichodesma africanum* حِمِّيم”.

ḥml حاملة (70a) *ḥāmila* ويقولون المراة حاملة وهو صحيح مثل حامل “pregnant”. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 888b, it can be used both with and without *-a*. Spiro 153a and HB 226a only mention *ḥāmil*.

حمل (77b) *ḥiml* ويقولون حمل زجل لمنظوم معلوم عند اهل هذا الفن اي فن 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 ما المناسبة بين الحمل وهذا النظم الظاهر “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 qiṣṣat al-isrāʾ wa al-miʿrāğ*.

محمل (70a) *maḥmal* يقولون محمل بالفتح وانما هو محمل بالكسر “camel 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 حميم (96b) *ḥəmīm* ويقولون ضربه خلّى دمّه حميمه “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 حماة (8a) *ḥamā* ويقولون حماتي على ام الزوجة “mother-in-law”. See HB 224a.

حمو (125b) *ḥamw* يقولون على الحم حمو “father-in-law”. The *wāw* at the end could indicate the pronunciation *ḥamo*, like *giddo* “grandfather” and *ḫālo* “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 حمية (125b) *ḥəmiyya* يقولون المريض في حمية “fever”. HB 228a “*ḥamiyya* zeal, fervour, intensity”. Spiro 154a “حمى *ḥimma* or *ḥumma* fever, pl. حميات ḥimmyjāt”; 154b “حمية *ḥammyja*, zeal, diet”.

ḥnğl يحنجل (69b) *yiḥanğil* يقولون يحنجل اذا كان يرقص ويقفز "hopping and dancing". See HB 228b, and Spiro 154b. See also HB 193a "*ḥagal* to hop on one foot". Dozy I 331b "danser". BW IV 79b "*ḥiğila* ein Spiel, bei dem man mit der linken Hand das linke Fußgelenk packt und dann hüpfend versucht, den Gegner umzuwerfen [OÄ 3: Bʿēri]".

ḥnḍl حنضل (71b) *ḥanḍal* ويقولون حنضل على الحنظل بالظاء المشالة وليس له وجه فان الحنضل الغدير الصغير والحنضلة الماء في الصخرة "colocynth" (a plant with bitter fruits). Boulos IV p. 534 "Handal Citrullus colocynthis حَنْضَل".

ḥnf ابو حنيفة (21b) ويقولون ابو حنيفة والمقلد مذهبه يقولون فيه حنفي والقياس حنيفي فهو من تغيرات النسب "Abū Ḥanīfa". Personal name.

حنفي (21b) *ḥanafī* "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 فَعِيلَةٌ and فُعَيْلَةٌ, when not derived from verba mediae rad. geminatae or infirmae (و or ى), is rejected, the kesra of فَعِيلَةٌ being at the same time changed into fetḥa".

ḥnk حنك (57b) *ḥanak* ويقولون ويقع من اهل الارياف على الفم الحنك "mouth". Then, as now, it was used by the peasants. HB 229b "↓ (person's) mouth". BW IV 99b "*ḥanak* Mund".

ḥnn حنان (112a) *ḥannān* يقولون يا حنان يا منان "compassionate" (one of the attributes of God). Hava 146a "الحنان the All-merciful (God)".

حنّانة (112a) *ḥannāna* يقولون قيّالة حنّانة Hava 146a "حنّان tender-hearted". قيّالة = midday heat. "A pleasant siesta"?

حنيني (112b) *ḥənynī* والحنيني لشي يلبس ومنه طلعت يا بدر في حنيني "a type of garment". Dozy I 330b "حنينى semble être le nom d'un vêtement, 1001 N. Bresl. XII, 399, dern. L.: اخرجَت من البقجة التى كانت معها قميص وسراويل وحنينى فوقانية".

يا حُنِينُه (112b) *yā ḥunaynu* يقولون في مقام التحسين يا حُنَيْنُه (..) فلم يعلم قولهم يا حنينه "how lovely it is (?)". Could be a diminutive of *ḥanān*.

ḥny حَنّيت (125b) *ḥannyt* يقولون حَنّيت يدها اذا جعلتها بالحنا "I decorated with henna". HB 230a "*ḥanna* to dye with henna". Ibid Spiro 155a-b.

حنيّة (125b) *ḥəniyya* حنيّة السلالم "space under the staircase". HB 230a "*ḥaniyya* low recess". Spiro 155b "*ḥanyja*, space under row of fire-hearths or under a staircase, cave".

حِنّا (8a) *ḥinnā* ويقولون حِنّا وهي اليُرَنَّا "henna". HB 230a "*ḥinna* henna".

ḥh حَه (121b) *ḥah* يقولون لسوق الحمار حَه "sound made to urge on a donkey". HB 187a "*ḥā* sound made to urge on a donkey » gee-up!" See also حاحا.

ḥwb حَوبه (12b) *ḥwba* يقولون فلان حَوْبه او انت حوبه يريدون فشله وضعفه "a weak man". Wehr 246b "*ḥauba* sin, offence". Lane II 662c "ذو حوبة a weak man". This is a case of ellipsis: *ḏū ḥawba* > *ḥawba*, see Görlach (1994) p. 133.

ḥwq يحوّق (38b) *yiḥawwaq: mā yiḥawwaq* ويقولون هذا ما يحوّق في الشي اي ما يؤثر فيه لقلّته ولم يظهر "to have no effect (because of its insufficiency)". HB 233a "*ḥawwaʾ* to suffice, be satisfying".

ḥwl * على الحال ما (42a) *ʿalā l-ḥāl mā* ويقولون ويقع كثيرا من النسا فلان على الحال ما يزعقق اي سريع "immediately". Compare *fi-l-ḥāl* "immediately", HB 233b.

حواليه (71b) *ḥawālyh* ويقولون حواليه حواليه "around it". HB 234a "*ḥawalēn* /prep, w pron suff *ḥawalē-* (w 1st sing *ḥawalayya*)/ around, about". Spiro 119b "*ḥawalēn*, round, around".

ḥwy حوّايه (125b) *ḥəwwāya* يقولون حوّايه على شي يجمع ويوضع على الراس تحت الجرّه "pad placed under a jar carried on the head". See HB 235a, Spiro 156a, and BW IV 104a.

ḥyt من حيتن (111b) *min ḥytən* يقولون ويسمع من الفلاحين من حيشن كان كذا اي من وقت وحين كذا واهل البلد يقولون من حيتن كان كذا وكلاهما خطا اولئك زادوا شينا وهولآ تآءً "since". *ḥītən* was used by people from the towns, whereas the peasants used *ḥīšən*. Compare *–in* of the accusatives *ġaṣbin ʿanni* (see HB 624a) and *nadrin ʿalayya* (see HB 855b). HB 235b "*ḥēs* (also *ḥēs inn-*) since, as". Spiro 157 "*ḥēs*, or *min ḥēs*, because of, since, considering that, whereas". Al-Maġribī believes it is from *ḥīn*, with a *t* or *š* added in the middle. See also §6.2.2.

ḥyš من حيشن (111b) *min ḥyšin* "since". See حيتن.

ḥyf حيف (21b) *ḥyf* واما قولهم حيف على فلان يريدون التاسف الاولى ما اسفا "what a pity". Wehr 259b "*ḥaif* wrong, injustice; (...) حيف على what a pity! too bad!"

ḥyk حاك (57b) *ḥāk* يقولون ما حاك هذا في خاطري اي ما خطر؛ ما حاك في قلبي اي ما اثّر "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 "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 حايل (71b) *ḥāyil: dābba ḥāyil* يقولون في سبّهم يشبه الدابة الحايل "reptile in 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-Maġribī's time, it still had the form without *–a* for female adjectives (like *ḥāmil*); nowadays it is with *–a*.

ḥyy حيّ (126a) *ḥayy* ومن الامثال لا يعرف الحيّ من الليّ اي الحق من الباطل "modest", *lā yiʿraf 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 ما يعرف الحو من اللو.

حيا (126a) *ḥayā* يقولون فلان قليل الحيا "modesty", *qalīl al-ḥayā* "shameless". HB 237b "حياء *ḥaya* 1. diffidence, modesty, politeness". Spiro 158b "حيا *ḥaya*, shyness".

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ḫam خام (97a) *ḫām* ويقولون خام ومقصور "raw?". The meaning is not explained by al-Maġribī. HB 238a "*ḫām* <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 *ḫām* Baumwollenzeug".

ḫan خان (113a) *ḫān* يقولون على المحلّ الواسع خان وليس لغويا لانه قال الخان

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.

ḫby يقولون خبّا الشي اي ستره وهو صحيح (8a; 126a) *ḫabbā; ḫabbyt* خبّا؛ خبّيت قال المجدي خَبَأَ الشي ستره؛ يقولون خبّيت الشي اي سترته واخفيته وليس في اللغة خبّيته بهذا المعنى بل بمعنى اخر قال الخبا واحد الاخبية "to hide; I hid". The interesting thing here is that al-Maġribī classifies the word *ḫabbā* as *ṣaḥīḥ*, and *ḫabbyt* as *laysa fī-l-luġa*. This is because he correctly looks *ḫabbā* up under the root ḪBʾ, and *ḫabbyt* incorrectly under ḪBY.

ḫtn وفلانه خاتون للمراة الاصيلة (112b) *ḫātūn* خاتون "a woman of noble origin". See Wehr 260a. Its origin is Persian, according to İhsanoğlu 357: خاتون: [وخادون، قادون، قادين لغات فيها] ودخلت الفارسية ثم عربت منها "وجمعت على خواتين. وهي المرأة المعتبرة والسيدة الشريفة". Steingass 437a "خاتون *khātūn* a lady; matron".

مختون (112b) *maḫtūn* يقولون فلان مختون اذا كان قليل العقل "slow-witted". Lane II 703c "خَتَنَهُ is also *syn. with* خَتَلَهُ *[He deceived, deluded, beguiled, circumvented, or outwitted, him, unawares*".

ḫğā ويقولون خجا للرجل التركي الكبير وهي روميّة وليس في العربيّة ما (8b) *ḫəğā* يناسبُه لانه كثيرا ما يطلق عندهم للعالم "important/old man; scholar". Prokosch (1983) p. 82 "*xôga* Lehrer, Schulmeister, Professor; *xūga* Aristokrat". See Redhouse 868b "خواجه *kh'āje*" and Steingass 479a "خواجه *khwāja*". İhsanoğlu 362: "خواجه: كلمة فارسية تعني الكبير والسيد والعزيز والصاحب، وينطقها عامة الترك على شكل خوجه بمعنى المعلم والمدرس والشيخ المعمم".

يقولون ويسمع من الاروام خجى ويكتبونه خوجا (126a) *ḫəğā, ḫwğ* خجى، خوجا بالواو يطلقونه على العالم وعلى المتموّل وهو غير عربي "scholar; rich man". See previous entry.

ḫdl ويقولون فلان رِطِل بكسرهما يريدون انه عنده رخاوة كما يقولون (76b) *ḫidil* خِدل خِدل "to be exhausted?". Its meaning is not explained, and the dictionaries give several translations: Spiro 163b "*ḫidil* (*jiḫdal*), to be tired, exhausted". HB 242b "*ḫidil* (a) to become numb". Dozy I 353b

"خدل I *engourdir, s'engourdir, stupéfier*". Wehr 267a "*ḵadila* to stiffen; to become numb". Lane II 711a "خَدُلَ he was, or became, large, and full [or plump], in the shank and fore arm".

انخدل (71b) *inḫadal* يقولون في غيظهم لمن يريد النوم انخدل او هو مخدول اي نآئم "to sleep". See خِدل.

مخدول (71b) *maḫdūl* يقولون في غيظهم لمن يريد النوم انخدل او هو مخدول اي نآئم "sleeping". See خِدل.

ḫrb خرُّوب (12b) *ḫarrūb* يقولون خرُّوب وهو صحيح "carob". See HB 244a, Spiro 168b.

ḫrbq خَرْبَق (39a) *ḫarbaq* يقولون خَرْبَقَه اذا قطّعه وخرقه "to tear apart". HB 244a-b "*ḫarbaʾ* to ruin, wreck, destroy". Spiro 164b-165a "*ḫarbaq*, to pierce, perforate".

ḫrdl خردل (71b) *ḫardal* ويقولون لا يسقط الخردل من كفه لضرب المثل في البخل "mustard seeds", *la yisqəṭ al-ḫardal min kaffuh* "the mustard seeds do not fall from his hand" (proverb indicating stinginess). Wehr 272a "mustard seeds", HB 245b "mustard".

ḫrṭm الخرطوم (96b) *al-ḫarṭūm* يقولون الخرطوم بالفتح وانما هو الخرطوم بالضم "hose; elephant's trunk; Khartoum" (meaning not specified in *Daf' al-iṣr*). HB 247a "*ḫarṭūm* 1. hose, flexible tube. *ḫarṭūm fīl* elephant's trunk".

ḫrf خروف (21b) *ḫarūf* ويقولون خروف وبعضهم خاروف وليس بصحيح "a sheep". See HB 247b.

خاروف (21b) *ḫārūf* "a sheep". The long *ā* is incorrect. It is a hypercorrection following the same pattern as *ḫāzūq* and *ḫātūn* (see §6.2.9).

خرفان (22a) *ḫarfān* يقولون فلان خرفان اذا ذهل وكبر "senile". See Spiro 167b and Wehr 273b. HB 247b gives a slightly different meaning: "*ḫarfān* raving, incoherent (especially from hunger)".

ḫrk خِركه (47a; 58a) *ḫirka* حتى انهم يصحفون اشتلف على الحركه اشتلف على الخِركه وسياتي؛ ويقولون في صناعة الخشب خِركه حتى انهم يصحفون لمن ادرك الخفيّ اشتلق على الخركه اي اشتلف علي الحركة "tent?". Dozy I 366a-b "خَرْكاه (Freytag) est le pers. خَرْكاه . Cette espèce de tente, dit Ibn-Batouta (II, 299, cf. III, 30), qui écrit خَرقة, se compose de

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 "خرگاه *khar-gāh* a tent, pavilion, tabernacle"; "خرك *kharak* (...) a three-legged stool; a plank whereon culprits are made to lie to receive castigation; the rack; (...) a chopping or sawing-block".

ḫry خرا (8b) *ḫarā* ويقولون للعذرة خرا "shit". See HB 248b.

ḫzʿbl خزعبلات (72a) *ḫuzuʿbalāt* ويقولون ايش هذه الخزعبلات اي الامور التي لا اصل لها (..) والحاصل ان الناس يضمون الزاي في الخزعبلات وانما هي مكسورة "superstitions". HB 249a "*ḫuzaʿbalāt* superstitions". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 893c does not mention that the *zāy* should be followed by an *i*, as al-Maġribī claims: كقُذَعْمِل i.e. خُزَعبِل.

ḫzq خازوق (39a) *ḫāzūq* يقولون في دعآئهم خازوق "dirty trick?". HB 249a "خازوق *ḫazūʾ* 1. impaling spike 2. dirty trick, doublecross". Spiro 184b "*ḫazūq*, impaling machine, stake, peg, (...) *idda loh ḫazūq*, he fooled him". Prokosch (1983) p. 81 mentions that it is Mamluk, not Ottoman, which is قازق *qazıq*.

ḫzm خزام (97a) *ḫəzām* يقولون في انفها خزام "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 "*ḫuzām, ḫizām* nose ring".

ḫzn خزانة (112b) *ḫazāna* يقولون خزانة بالفتح ... والشوام يقولون مخزن كما قال فاصابوا بخلاف اهل مصر يقولون مخزن وليس كذلك فيقال لا تفتح الخزانة ولا تكسر المخزن "storage place". Spiro 169b and HB 249b "cupboard". Hava 166b "cupboard; magazine, warehouse".

مخزن (112b) *maḫzan* والشوام يقولون مخزن "storage place" (Levantine). See HB 249b, and Barthélemy 201.

ḫzy انخزى (126b) *inḫazā* يقولون للمستحيي او من الزم الحجّه صار خَزْيان او انخزى "to be embarrassed; to look for a pretext". See Spiro 170a *inḫaza*, and HB 249b-250a *ḫizi, yiḫza*.

خزيان (126b) *ḫazyān* "embarrassed". See Spiro 170a, and HB 249b-250a.

ḫstk مخستك (112b) *məḫastək* يقولون فلان مخشّن اذا كان صوته غير مخلص بل يقولون مخستك وسياتي في حرف الكاف "weak (voice)". HB 250a "*ḫastik*

<perh P *khastagi*> 1. to become weak, out of sorts, tired or exhausted (...) 2. to weaken, exhaust". Spiro 170b *ḫastik*, or *itḫastik*, to be indisposed; *muḫastik* indisposed". Dozy I 371a "مُخَسْتك incommodé, un peu malade". Steingass 460a confirms its Persian origin: "خستگی *khastagī* wound; sickness; fatigue".

ḫsf خسفت (22a) *ḫəsəfat* ويقولون في الشمس خسفت والقمر كسف والغالب في اللغة استعمالا ان يقال للشمس كسفت وللقمر خسف "to be eclipsed (sun). HB 251a "*ḫasaf* 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).

ḫšknān/ ḫštnānk خشتنانك (10a; 58a) *ḫuškənān / ḫuštənānk* ويقولون كتا على شي من الماكول 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 خشك نان اي الخبز اليابس وكانه من اسما الاضداد اذ لا يبس فيه "kind of sweet-meat". From the Persian: Steingass 468a "خشك نان *khushk-nān*, dry bread, biscuit; a kind of sweet-meat". Steingass 461b "خشت *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. *xušk nān* "dry bread" (plus diminutive *–ak*)." Vrolijk (1998) p. 30 mentions *ḫuškanānak* and *ḫuštanānak*, "a confection prepared with flour and almond paste, covered with white sugar". Taymūr III 183 " خُشْتِنان: قطعة من عجينة الكعك تحشى مثله بالعجمية". Al-Ḫafāǧī 87 " خشكنان معروف تكلمت به العرب قديما". Dozy I 373b "خُشْكُنانِك *biscuit*".

ḫšm خشم (97a) *ḫəšəm* يقولون خشمه اي قطع خشمه "to break s.o.'s nose". HB 252a "*ḫašam* (i) to keep under control". Spiro 172a "*ḫašm*, mouth". Wehr 278b "*ḫašm* nose; mouth; vent, outlet". Lane II 744a "خَشَمَهُ he broke his خَيْشُوم." خَيْشوم = "the extreme, or most remote, part of the

nose" (Lane II 744b).

ḫšn يقولون فلان مخشّن اذا كان صوته غير مخلص بل مخشّن (112b) *məḫaššən* يقولون مخستك وسياتي في حرف الكاف "having a rough voice". HB 252a "*ḫaššin* 1. to roughen, give a rough finish to".

ḫušnī اما قول عامة الفلاحين فلان خُشْني بضم الخا أي غير لطيف خُشْني (113a) فلم يعلم خشن بالضم مصدرا "rough (person)". See HB 252a. In the jargon used by the *Sāsānī*s it means "non-beggar", see Bosworth (1976) I p. 159.

ḫṣf ويقولون في المجون مع اهل مكة فيك والا في الخصفة خصفة (22a) *ḫəṣfa* "mat of palm leaves, used in the Kaʿba". Lane II 750b "a certain Tubba' [a king of El-Yemen] clothed the House [i.e. the Kaabeh] with خَصَف, meaning *very thick cloths; so* called as being likened to the خَصَف of woven palm-leaves". Probably the joke al-Maġribī mentions, is that خصفة also means "basket": Wehr 281b "*ḫaṣfa* basket of palm leaves".

ḫṣl خصلة (72a) *ḫəṣla* ويقولون خصله شعر او خصلة حرير "lock of hair; string". HB 254a "*ḫuṣla* tress, lock". Spiro 173b "*ḫiṣla*, lock of hair".

ḫṣy خُصَى (126b) *ḫuṣā* يقولون خُصَى وهو صحيح "testicles". HB 254b "*ḫaṣya, ḫiṣya* testicle (especially of a man)". Spiro 174a "*ḫiṣja*, testicle".

ḫṭa خطا (8b) *ḫaṭā: fī l-ḫaṭā* ويقولون فلان ما يفعل الشي الا في الخطا او خطا يريدون خَطا: أى نادر قليل، كأن يقال: أيوجد القلة "rarely". Taymūr III 189: بعوض عندكم؟ فيقال: فيه خطا واحده كده، أى قد يوجد بقلّة. Literal meaning: "by error/mistake".

ḫṭf انخطف لونه (22a) *inḫaṭaf lwnuh* يقولون فلان انخطف لونه اذا كان مصفرّا "he became pale", lit. "his colour was snatched away". Ḫafāğī 92 خطف: المولدون يقولونه لسرعة تغير البشرة والوجه منخطف ، قال: مالى " ارى جارحات اللحظ حائمة * ولا ارى لونك المحمر منخطفا".

ḫṭy تخطّى (126b) *taḫaṭṭā* فلان تخطّى الصفوف اذا جاوزها "to overstep; to cross". See HB 257.

ḫff خف (22b) *ḫuff* ويقولون ويقع من الخواص رجع بخفي حنين "slipper", *rəğəʿ bi-ḫuffyn Ḫunyn* "he returned with the slippers of Ḫunayn, i.e. he returned empty-handed" (proverb). See HB 258b. The origin of the

proverb is explained by al-Maydānī 9 (s.d.) I p. 296.

خفيف (22a) *ḫafīf* ويقولون بحر الخفيف وهو فاعلاتن مستفعلن فاعلاتن ست مرّات "poetic metre". Name of the poetic metre with the formula *fāʿilātun mustafʿilun fāʿilātun*, see Stoetzer (1989) p. 144.

ḫlḫl خلخال (72a) *ḫulḫāl* ويقولون خلخال للحليّ المعروف "anklet". See HB 259b.

ḫlf خلف (22b) *ḫalaf* ويقولون في الدعا الله يجعلك خلفا باقي بتحريك اللام "offspring". See HB 262a.

ḫlq خلِق (39a) *ḫəliq* ويقولون ثوب خلق فيكسرون اللام "rag/clothes". HB 263b "*ḫalaqa* 1 rag 2 (the only) garment one owns 3 [non-Cairene] clothes". BW IV 121a "*xalag* Lappen, Lumpen"; "Kleider".

ḫlw خلا (8b) *ḫəlā* ويقولون ما انت خلا او فلان ما هو خلا اذا مدحوه بشي والذي يناسبه ولو ببعد ان خلا بفلان سخر منه فكانهم يقولون ما هو رجل يقال فيه خلا به او يراد انه ليس خاليا عن الفضل "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 "خِلْوٌ suivi de من , manquant de, dépourvu de, p.e. de bonnes qualités".

خلا: بيت الخلا (40b; 126b) *byt al-ḫalā* ويقولون لبيت الخلا مرفق؛ يقولون بيت الخلا وله اصل "toilet". HB 114b and Spiro 27b mention only *bēt il-ʾadab* and *bēt il-rāḥa*. Wehr 102b "بيت الخلاء *b. al-ḫalāʾ* and بيت الأدب *b. al-adab* toilet, water closet". Lane II 805a "خَلَاء any open tract of country or desert, particularly, such as one takes for the purpose of satisfying a want of nature". *ḫalā* signifies the open space between the villages where people go to relieve themselves, and from this the word came to signify the deed itself.

ḫmḫm يخمخم (97a) *yiḫamḫam* ويقولون فلان يخمخم اي ياكل كثيرا ولم يعلم "to gulp down". HB 266b "*ḫamm* to gulp down, bolt (food)". This quadriliteral verb has been derived from *ḫamm* with reduplication, which often occurs with verbs med. gem, e.g. *šamm* > *šamšim* "to sniff", see Woidich (2006) p. 64.

ḫml مخمل (72a) *məḫməl* ويقولون قماش مخمل "nappy (fabric)". Hava 186a "مُخْمَل nappy silk or wool fabric; velvet".

ḫmm خمّ (97a) *ḫamm* يقولون خمّ الطعام اذا فسد "to become rotten". See Wehr 302a. HB 266b "*ḫamm* 1 to gulp down, bolt (food) (...) 2 to dupe, deceive"; "*ḫammim* to become soft (of unripe dates picked from under the tree)".

ḫmn خمّن (113a) *ḫammin* يقولون خمّن الشي "to guess". See HB 266b. Al-Ḫafāǧī 87 "خمن كذا تخمينا قال ابن دريد احسبه مولدا". It is unclear why Ibn Durayd (author of a dictionary called *al-Ǧamhara*, see GAL I p. 111 and S I p. 172) called it *muwallad*, i.e. "post-classical".

ḫmy يخمي (126b) *yiḫmī* يقولون فلان يخمي بفلان اذا لم ينصره "to be defeated". No references found.

ḫnq خناق (39a) *ḫināq* ويقولون فلان كثير الخناق اي الشر "quarrel". See Spiro 183b, and Blau (1982b) p. 120. HB 268a "*ḫināʾ* lower part of the throat or that part of a garment next to it"; "*ḫināʾa* quarrel".

ḫnn اخنّ (113a) *aḫann* يقولون فلان اخنّ اي في انفه شي "talking through the nose". See Wehr 263a. HB 267a "*ḫanḫin* to speak with a nasal tone". BW IV 125a "*xanna* Näseln".

خِنّ (113a) *ḫinn* يقولون خِنّ المركب لمحل وسطه "storage space in a boat". HB 268a "*ḫunn* (...) 2b storage space forward in a wooden boat". Spiro 183a "*ḫunn* poultry house". BW IV 125a "*ḫann*, *ḫunūn* ungedeckter mittlerer Raum der qṭr *gaṭīra* [Rotes Meer: WiVo 61]".

ḫwǧā خوجا (126a) *ḫwǧā* يقولون ويسمع من الاروام خجى ويكتبونه خوجا بالواو "scholar; rich man". See خجا

ḫwḫ خوخ (36b) *ḫwḫ* يقولون خوخ وبرقوق "peaches". See HB 268b. In the Levant خوخ and برقوق have the opposite meanings. See Barthélemy *ḫōḫ* "prune" (p. 221) and *berqūq* "prune de la petite espèce; abricot" (p. 39).

ḫwl اخول (72a) *aḫwal* اخول اي طلع مثل خاله "like his maternal uncle". Lane II 825a "أَخْوَل *he had maternal uncles*".

ḫwn خوان (113a) *ḫəwān* يقولون على المآئدة الخوان "table". Wehr 305b "*ḫuwān, ḫiwān* (...) table". Steingass 480b confirms its Persian origin: "خوان *khwān* a table, covered table, and the meat upon it"; 481a "A خوان *khiwān, khuwān* (from the preceding), a dinner-table". Dozy I 414b "خُنْجَا ou خُنْجَه (pers. خوان avec la termin. dimin. turque) petite

table sur laquelle on pose les plats, plateau de bois ou de métal, sur lequel on met ou présente les plats, les coupes, etc.”.

خوّان (113a) *ḫawwān* يقولون فلان خوّان او خاين العهد “traitor”. HB 270a “*ḫawwān* untrustworthy, fickle (of affairs, the world etc.)”, “*ḫāyin* betrayer, traitor”. Al-Ḫafāǧī 87-88 “ خوان معرب وقيل عربى مأخوذ من تخونه أى نقص حقه لانه يؤكل ما عليه فينقص قاله ابن هشام”.

خاين (113a) *ḫāyin* يقولون فلان خوّان او خاين العهد “traitor”. See HB 270a.

ḫww خُوّة (127a) *ḫuwwa* يقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف بالخُوّة يعنون الاخوّه “brotherhood”. HB 9b “*uḫuwwa* brotherhood, friendship”. Al-Ḫafāǧī 88 خوّة بضم الخاء وتشديد الواو مصدر بمعنى الاخوة مخفف منه ورد فى الحديث وصرّح به الكرمانى فليس لحنا. See §6.2.3.1 for the disappearance of the initial *hamza*.

ḫwy خوى (127a) *ḫawā* يقولون خوينا من الجوع وحصل لنا الخوا “to have an empty stomach”. HB 270a “*ḫiwi* (a) to become empty. *il-wāḥid baṭnu ḫawyāna* I am rather hungry” Wehr 307b “*ḫawā* (i) to be empty (من of); to be hungry”.

خوا (127a) *ḫawā* يقولون خوينا من الجوع وحصل لنا الخوا “emptiness (of the stomach)”. See Wehr 307b خواء and خوى. HB 270a mentions *ḫawa* as the *maṣdar* of *ḫiwi.*

ḫym خيم (97a) *ḫym* ويقولون انظر خيمه اذا ارادوا نظر حاله وعلمه للطف “disposition”. Spiro 185b-186a “*ḫēm*, secret, thought; خيمه اخد *aḫad ḫēmoh*, he sounded him”. Lane II 837b “خِيم natural, or innate, dispositions or tempers or the like”. Al-Ḫafāǧī 87 خيم طبيعة معرب خوى قاله أبو عبيدة

ḫyy خيه (127a) *ḫayya* يقولون في رقبته خيّه لم تعلم “noose”. See HB 272b, and Spiro 186b.

d

d’b دأب (12b) *da’b* ويقولون فلان دأْبه الشي الفلاني يريدون عادته وطريقته “habit”.

See HB 274a, and Spiro 186b.

dāy

داية (88b) *dāya* ويقولون على المراة التي تاخذ الولد عند الولادة وهي في العرف الان الداية وتاتي في محلها ان شا الله تعالى "midwife". See HB 274a, from the Persian دايه *dāya*, see Steingass 502. İhsanoğlu 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

دبابي (13b) *dəbābī* يقولون فلان دبابي اذا كان غير صالح "untrustworthy". فلان بِدبّ، ودَبَّاب، أي مبالغ في الكذب لا يبالي بذلك" Taymūr III 238". Lane III 841c "دَبُوبٌ "One *who creeps about with calumny,* or *slander*".

دبّب (13b) *dabbib* ويقولون فلان دببنا من سرقته ونحوه (..) ولعل دبّبنا اي المنا كالذباب المولم صح. او هو من دبيب الارض وكذلك الدبابي "to lie". See دبابي.

dbq

يدبق (39a) *yidbəq fī* يقولون فلان يدبق في الشي وهو صحيح على التشبيه بالدبق "to lay hold of". See HB 277b. Spiro 192a "*dabbaq* to be sticky, gluey, obtain, procure".

dbl

دبل (72a) *dəbəl* ويقولون في الزهر دبل او دبلان وهو مصحف عن ذبل "to wilt (flowers)". HB 277b "*dibil* (a) to wilt"; maṣdar *dubūl, dibūl, dabalān.* Spiro 192a-b "*dibil (jidbal)* to wither, fade, decay". For information about *d* < *ḏ*, see §6.2.2.

دبلان (72a) *dabalān* "wilting (flowers)". *maṣdar* of *dibil*.

دبلة (72a) *dəbla* يقولون في الدعا على الاعدا على قلبهم دبلة "lump". Lane III 850 "دُبلة a lump; دِبْل a severe, or heavy calamity or misfortune; دُبَيلة a certain malady in the belly; دَبْل plague, pestilence".

دِبله (72b) *dibla* ويقولون على الخاتم دِبْله "ring". HB 277b "*dibla* 1 ring or band of one width (in contrast with *ḫātim* (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

يدبي (127a) *yidbī* يقولون فلان يدبي وله اصل قال الدبا المشي الرويد واصغر الجراد والنمل وارض مدبية كمُحْسنة كثيرتها "to walk leisurely". See Lane III 850b and Dozy I 424b.

dğl

دجال (72b) *daǧǧāl* ويقولون مسيح الدجال "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*² II p. 75bff. (A. Abel) and *EQ* I p. 107bff. (N. Robinson). Al-Maġribī does not comment on the fact that since *daǧǧāl* is an adjective, it should be *al-masīḥ al-daǧǧāl* and not *masīḥ al-daǧǧāl*.

dḫn

دخن (113b) *dəḫn* يقولون دُرَه ودخن "millet". HB 282a "*duḫn* millet". Ibid. Spiro 194b. Boulos IV p. 527 "Dakhn (cultivated) *Pennisetum* spp. (دَخْن مزروع)".

مدخنه (113b) *madḫana* يقولون لما يوضع فيه القنديل مدخنه بفتح الميم وانما هي مِدخنة "smoke funnel". Spiro 194b and HB 282a "chimney, funnel".

* dr

دُرَه (113b) *dura* يقولون دُرَه ودخن "corn". HB 282b "*dura* maize, corn".

drb

دُرّابة (13b) *durrāba* ويقولون دُرّابة على احد الواح الدكان "one part of the door of a shop (the door is divided into an upper and lower part)". HB 282b "*durrāba: bāba xušš wi-ʾfil iddurrāba* (now it's the month of) Baaba, come in and close the gate (against the cold)". Dozy 429b "دَرَّابة 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".

درب (13b) *darb* يقولون على الباب الكبير درب "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-Ḫafāǧī 95 "درب جمعه دروب الباب والمدخل الضيق".

دُرْبة (13b) *durba* يقولون فلان عنده دُرْبة يريدون معرفة وافعل الشي بدربة اي بلطف "skill". See Wehr 318b.

drbl

دربال (72b) *dərbāl* يقولون ويقع من المغاربة دربال لشي يلبس "garment (Maġrib)". *EI*² 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

clothing".

drq درقه (39b) *daraqa* ويقولون درقه للشي الذي يلاقى به الضرب "shield". See HB 286b, and Spiro 197a.

drk درك (58a) *dərk* ويقولون مقدم الدرك "beat, area of a patrol". HB 286b "*darak* [obsol] area of watch or patrol, beat". Spiro 197a "*darak*, beat of a policeman or a watchman". Taymūr III 261 " الدَّرَك: بمعنى مسافة الخفر". 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) *dərka* في دهليز البيت دركه "step down?". Wehr 322 "*daraka* lowest level; descending steps". Hava 203b "دَرَكَة step downwards". Taymūr III 261 "الدركاه: التى بين البابين".

drm درم (97a) *diram* ويقولون على الدرهم درم "dirham". Phonetic orthography which reflects the original Persian pronunciation. Al-Ḫafāǧī 94 "درهم معرب درم". Steingass 514a "درم *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 يدرّي (127a) *yidarrī* يقولون فلان يدرّي لفلان اذا كان يسبّه ويدرّي القمح ولم يعلما "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 *ḏāl*: Lane III 964c ذرو and ذرى II " فلان يُذَرّي فلانا such a one exalts the state, or condition, of such a one; and praises him". 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 يدّشّى (127a) *yiddaššā* فلان يدّشّى اذا حصل له الجشا "to belch". Dozy I 443b دشو form V "roter, faire des rots". Hava 206a "تَدَشّى for تَجَشّأ to belch".

dʿbl دعبل (72b) *duʿbəl*. ويقولون دعبل اسم شاعر يضمون داله "Duʿbəl (personal name)". *EI*[2] II p. 248b (L. Zolondek) "DIʿBIL, poetic nickname of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Razīn al-Khuzāʿī, ʿAbbāsid poet, born 148/765 and died 246/860."

d῾k دَعّك (58a) *da῾ak* ويقولون دَعّك القماش مثلا “to rub”. See HB 291a. Spiro 199a-b only mentions form I.

d῾y دعيته (127a) *da῾ytu* يقولون دعيته للشرع مثلا فان الظاهر دعوته ولكن قال في القاموس «دعيت لغة في دعوت» “I invited him”. See HB 291a.

dġl دَغل (72b) *daġal* يقولون في قلبه دَغل اي حقد “rancour”. Dozy I 447a “دَغَل 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 دف (22b) *daff* ويقولون (..) يضرب الدف بالفتح “tambourine”. HB 294b “*daff, duff* tambourine, larger than the *riqq*”.

dfy دفّيت (127a) *daffyt* يقولون دفّيته من البرد “I warmed”. See HB 295a.

dqq دُقَاق (39b) *duqāq* ويقولون دُقَاق للشي الذي يغسل به وكذلك يقولون الدّق بالكسر “lupin flour, used as soap”. Spiro 202b “*duqāq* lupines in powder (used as soap by the poor)”. HB 296b “*duʾāʾ* powder. *duʾāʾ ittirmis* lupin flour”.

دق (39b) *diqq* “lupin flour, used as soap”. Taymūr III 272: “ الدِّق بكسر أوّله هو دقاق الكتان”. See also دقاق.

دَقّة (39b) *daqqa* فقول الناس على مثل النكتة دقة بالفتح لم يظهر “joke”. Lane III 895c “And you say, دَقَّ في كَلَامِهِ *[He was,* or *became, subtle, nice, abstruse, etc, in his speech,* or *language]*”. Therefore, a *daqqa* could be a subtle joke.

دقيق (39b) *dəqīq* ويقولون على الشي الخفي دقيق “obscure, abstruse”. See Lane III 896c.

المِدقّه (39b) *midaqqa* ويقولون دقه بالمِدقّه “trestle”. Spiro 202b “large trestle”, HB 297a “wooden pestle”.

dkdk دكدكة (58b) *dəkdəka* ويقولون حسّ دكدكة ولعلها من تدكدكت الجبال وصار لها حسّا “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 دك (58a) *dakk* يقولون لا تدك الواجب وهو لغوي قال الدك الدق والهدم فكان الذي يدك الواجب ولم يبينه هدمه “to neglect (one’s duty)”. Lane III 898c “to break, to demolish”. Dozy I 453a “glisser, couler adroitement;

charger, bourrer; altérer, falsifier; escamoter, excroquer". It is still used in the Sudan with this meaning: Qāsim 246b " دَكَّ: تجاهل وأهمل".

اندك (58a) *indakk* اندك فلان علينا اي دخل بسرعة "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)".

اندكّ (58b) *indakk* يقولون الرّيس اندكّ اذا خسّ حِسُّه ولعله يصح من دُكَّ مجهولا دكّه المرض "to be weakened (voice)". Hava 212a "دُكّ to be ill"; "دَكّ to weaken a.o. (illness), to exhaust (a beast).

دكة (57a) *dikka* والناس يقولون على التكة دكة بالدال وما عليه دالّ "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-Ḫafāğī 60 "تكة: ما تربط السراويل معرّب جمعه تكك".

دكة (58a) *dikka* ويقولون اقعد على دكة الخشب "wooden bench". See Spiro 203a, and HB 298b.

dldl

دلدول (73a) *daldūl* ويقولون للشي المدّلى مدلدل او دلدول حتى انهم ربما قالوا في الذكر دلدول "hanging; penis". Spiro 205a "*daldūl*, tail". HB 299b "*daldūl* minion, one who is submissive or ineffective". BW IV 140b "*daldūla* Fetzen".

مدلدل (73a) *mədaldil* "hanging down". HB 299b "*daldil* to dangle, hang down".

dlq

اندلق (39b) *indalaq* فلان اندلق على الشي اذا رمى نفسه عليه رغبة "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"; "*itdalaʾ ʿala* to tag after, latch onto".

دلق (39b) *dilq* ويقولون على المرقّعه دلق وليس في القاموس والظاهر انه عجمي مكسور الاول "ragged garment". HB 300b "*dilq* [obsol] woollen cloak". Spiro 204b "*dilq*, long ragged cloak worn by Persians". BW IV 141a "*dilq* Lappen, Fetzen". *EI*[2] V p. 740b (Y.K. Stillman): "*dilḳ*: the patched garment of *ṣūfīs*, also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)".

dll

دل (73a) *dəll* ويقولون في المحبوب دلال وعنده دل "coquetry". Wehr 334a "*dall* proper, dignified conduct; coquetry, flirtation".

دلال (73a) *dalāl* ويقولون في المحبوب دلال وعنده دل "coquetry". See HB 301a, Spiro 204a.

دلال (73a) *dallāl* ويقولون للواسطة في البيع دلال "mediator". HB 301a "*dallāl* broker, auctioneer". Spiro 204a "*dallāl*, auctioneer, crier".

dlā دِلاّ (62a; 75a; 105a) *dillā* ويقولون في التحقير مَا دِلاّ لكلوك؛ ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف فلان ما دلاّ رَجْل؛ يقولون ما دِلاّ قِسْمه اذا اتفق اهل المجلِس على احدٍ "this". See §6.3.3 for the demonstratives.

dmdm يدمدم على (97b) *yidamdim ʿalā* ويقولون فلان يدمدم على فلان وهو صحيح "to speak to s.o. in anger". HB 302a "*damdim* (...) 2. to mutter". Lane III 910b "دَمْدَمَ عَلَيْهِ he spoke to him in anger".

dmšq دمشق (39b) *dimišq* ويقولون دمشق الشام فيكسرون الدال والميم "Damascus". The pronunciation in Egypt today is *dimašʾ*.

dmk مدماك (58b) *mədmāk* واما قول اهل البنا مدماك فالذي في القاموس (..) المدماك الساف من البسا "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.

دموكي (58b) *dəmwkī* ويقولون قمح دموكي لم اعلم في اللغة دموكا يناسب النسبة اليه "type of wheat". There is a hamlet called al-Dəmwkī in Egypt in the neighbourhood of Suhāğ, see *al-Aḫbār* 25/7/2005 (online ed.), perhaps *qəmḥ dəmwkī* was a kind of wheat that came from that area.

dndn دنْدن (113b) *dandin* يقولون دنْدن عليْنا "to speak in a low voice". HB 304b, 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 دنف في العشق (22b) *danəf fī l-ʿišq* ويقولون فلان دنف في العشق "love-sick". HB 305a "*danaf* /adj invar/ oafish". Wehr 339b "*danif* seriously ill". Lane III 919c دَنِف and دَنَف "*having any disease: or emaciated by disease so as to be at the point of death*".

dnq دانق، داناق (40a) *dānaq, dānāq* يقولون حبّة ودانق الدانق سدس الدرهم وتفتح نونه وفيه لغة اخرى داناق "small copper coin". HB 274a "*dāniq* <P *dânak*> [obsol] (..) 2. type of copper coin". Al-Ḫafāğī 95 " دانق معرب دانه". Steingass 501 "دانه *dāna,* Grain; a berry; stone of fruit, seed of

grain or fruit" etc.

dnn دَنُّه يقولون دَنُّه يقول كذا اي جعله ديدنه قال «الديدن والديدان (113b) *dannu* والديدان العادة» فقولهم دنّه يفعل كذا ليس لغويا (...) ويمكن حمل قولهم دنّه يقول على دنّ الذباب وهو الى من الخطا "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 *taʾanna* "to stay", not *dann* "to buzz" as al-Maġribī proposes, see §6.4.5.

dhq دهقان (113b) *dəhqān* يقولون فلان دهقان اي عارف "man of importance". See Wehr 341b "*dihqān*". Lane III 924c "دِهْقان, also written دُهْقان (...) the headman, or chief, of a village or town (...) or, as used by the Arabs, a great man of the unbelievers of the ʾAjam; ... 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-Ḫafāğī 99 " دهقان بفتح الدال وكسرها فارسى معرب ده خان اى 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 دهل (73b) *duhull* يقولون فلان دهل او دهلان بالدال المهملة "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) *dəhlān* "simpleton". See دهل.

dhy دُهَا (127a) *duhā* يقولون فلان دُهَا اذا كان كثير الفهم "clever". HB 308b "*dahāʾ* cunning". Spiro 208a "دها *duha*, sagacity, shrewdness, fineness; *rāgil duha*, sagacious man, prudent man, clearheaded man".

dwb دَوبه: يا دَوْبه (13b) *yā dwbu* ويقولون يا دَوْبه يكفي اي انّه قليل "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".

This example comes from Farafra. Fischer (1959) p. 156 mentions *ja dūb* "kaum" for Cairo, but without the suffixes. He relates it to *ya duʾūb* "oh trouble, oh pain!"

* dwkā واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد ... وهو المستعمل في دوكاه (63a) *dwkāh* اول الانغام يكاه اي الراست والثاني دوكاه والثالث سكاه چاركاه "the second note, D". HB 313b "*dôka* <P *du-gāh*> [mus] the note D". Steingass 546 "دو گاه *du-gāh,* Name of a musical note". For more details on گاه, see چاركاه.

dwl دوله (73b) *dwləh* ويقولون دوله كذا او اش في دوله طيّب "those". HB 273a mentions *dōl* as well as the varieties *dōli, dōla, dōlat, dōlak*, and *dōlan.* Vrolijk (1998) p. 151 mentions the occurrence of دَوْلِهْ *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 دَوّامة (97b) *dawwāma* ويقولون في البحر دَوّامة "whirlpool". See HB 314a.

dwy دوي (127a) *dawy* يقولون دُويّ او دوي في اذني "sound". HB 315a "to resound, make a ringing sound", *maṣdar*: *day* and *dawy*; Spiro 210a "*dawy* buzz, noise, sound".

دُويّ (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 *šuwayya*. See also §6.3.6 for the diminutive.

دواية (127a) *dawāya* يقولون كتبنا من الدواية وانما هي دواة "inkwell". See HB 315a. The shift from *dawā* to *dawāya* is the same as in *ʿaṣā* > *ʿaṣāya* and *mirā* (<*mirʾā*) > *mirāya.*

dydb يدَيْدب (13a,20) *yidaydib* ويقولون عند لعب الشطرنج فلان يدَيْدب ما معنى الديدبة رايت في اللّغة ما يناسبه وهو الدّيدَب الرقيب والطليعَة كالديدبان وهو معرّب "to explore?" (used in the game of chess). Dozy I 480b "I دَيْدَبَ 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 ديوك (58b) *dəyūk* ويقولون صاحت الديوك "roosters". Pl. of *dīk*. See HB 316a.

dyn دَيّان (113b) *dayyān* يقولون دَيّان وهو لغوي قال الديّان القهّار والقاضي والحاكم

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 *mudājin*, creditor".

ḏ

ḏll ذل (74a) *ḏull* ويقولون فلان في ذل اي اهانة "humiliation". Spiro 254a and HB 377b ذل *zull* "humiliation".

ḏw ذو النون (119b) *ḏū al-nūn* يقولون ذو النون النون الحوت "the man of the whale, Jonah". See *EQ* III p. 52a (H. Busse).

* ḏī ذي (62a; 78b) *ḏī* يقولون اش ذي اللّبكة التي وقعنا فيها مثلا اي في امر صعب وله مناسبة؛ وعلم ان قول الناس ما ذي الازلة بالكسر خطا فان المراد بها الخطية والسقطة "this". See §6.3.3 for the demonstratives.

r

rbb ربّ (14a) *rubb* يقولون ربّ لعسل الخروب "thickened juice of the carob-fruit". HB 321b "*rubb* thickened fruit juice, fruit purée".

رباب (13b) *rəbāb* ويقولون رباب لالة يضرب بها "musical instrument". HB 321b "*rabāba*, *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 "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: الكثيرة والرَبّة: ... وبالكسر: نباتٌ، وشجرةٌ، أو هي الخروب، الجماعة *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 82b.

مربّى (9a) *mərabbā* ويقولون مربّى للزنجبيل وغيره وهو صحيح زنجبيل مربّى ومربب "jam". See HB 321b, and Hava 239b. Lane III 1024b "مُرَبًّى (...)

made [or preserved] with رُبّ [or inspissated juice, &c. (...)]: you say مُرَبًّى زَنْجَبِيلٌ [ginger so preserved]". This was originally an adjective, but has become a substantive.

rbk يقولون فلان ارتبك في الامر اذا لم يقدر على الخلاص منه (59a) *irtabak* ارتبك "to become muddled, confused". See HB 325a, and Spiro 216b.

rbn ربّان (114a) *rəbbān* يقولون ربّان السفينة "captain of a ship". HB 325a "*rubbān* captain, skipper". According to Vollers (1896) p. 641 it is a Persian loanword derived from *rahbar*. This is confirmed by Steingass 566: "راهبر *rāh-bar,* a road-guide". Al-Ḫafāǧī 107 also mentions its non-Arabic origin: "ربان: صاحب سكان السفينة".

rby رابي (127b) *rābī* يقولون خيار رابي اذا كان كبيرا "large". Unclear whether it means "large" in general or only applies to a certain type of cucumber. Lane III 1024a "رابٍ increasing, or augmenting".

rṯy رثا (8b; 127b) *raṯā* يقولون رثا الميّت؛ يقولون رثيته مرثيّة "to lament". See HB 337b "*rasa*".

مرثيّة (8b; 127b) *marṯiyya* يقولون مرثيه بالتشديد والصواب التخفيف؛ يقولون رثيته مرثيّة يشدون وانما هي مرثية مخففة "elegy". HB 337b only refers to the verb and "*risāʾ* elegy". Hava 241b "مَرْثِية dirge, elegy". Lane III 1032b only mentions it without *tašdīd.* A similar example from modern Cairene Arabic, in which a word from a tertiae infirmae root gets a *šadda* is *tarbiyya* < *tarbiya.*

rğb رجب (14a) *rəğəb* ويقولون رجب المرجّب اي المعظّم وهو صحيح "to fear, be impressed". Lane III 1033c "رَجِبَ *He was frightened,* or *afraid*".

المرجّب (14a) *murağğab* "venerated". See Lane III 1034c.

rğl راجل (74b) *rāğil* ويقولون على الرجل راجل ولا اعلم تصحيحه فان الراجل ضد الراكب "man". See HB 327b. Al-Maġribī believes its origin is رويجل, the diminutive of رجل (see 75a).

رَجْل (75a) *rağl* ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف فلان ما دلّا رَجْل بفتح الرا وسكون الجيم الغير العربية كجيم ابن جني المنصوص عليها في شرح جمع الجوامع الاصولي للعلامة المحلي "man" (rural). For the "un-Arabic *ǧīm*" see §6.2.1. Lane III 1045a mentions رَجُلٌ and ↓ رَجْلٌ.

رجال (75a) *raǧǧāl* ويقولون ويقع من الشوام على الرجل رجال كشدّاد "man". Al-Maġribī's conclusion that this is *Šāmī* is correct; see Frayha (1995) p. 63a: "رِجَّال، رُجَّال ج رجال: الرجُل" and Barthélemy 271: "*rəddjāl, riddjāl* homme".

رجلة (75a) *riğla* ويقولون طبخنا رجلة تقدم انها البقلة الحمقا "purslane". See HB 328b, and Spiro 219b.

ارتجال (75a) *irtiğāl* ويقولون قاله ارتجالا اي بلا مهلة قبل كانه قاله وهو على رجله "improvisation". HB 328b "*irtagal* to improvise".

ترجيل (75a) *tarğīl* "type of slipper". يقولون ويُسمع ذلك في الحمامات قدّم الترجيل للنّعل 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. مركوب *merkūb* oder etwas seltener ترجيل (ترجيلة) *tergīl*".

rḥb ارحب (11a) *irḥəb* ويقولون ارحب قادم عليهم وارحب قبيلة والصواب مرحبا كما ياتي بل العجب انهم يظنونه دعا هو زجر "welcome!". Spiro 219b-220a "*irḥib,* you are welcome! I am glad to see you!". This form I verb was originally form IV: Hava 244b "أَرْحِب make room, clear the way".

مرحبا (14a) *marḥaba(n)* ويقولون مرحبا وهو صحيح "welcome". HB 329b "*marḥaba* noun equivalent in usage to the English interjection 'welcome!'."

rḥl رحلة (75a) *riḥla* ويقولون فلان عالم رحلة يريدون بالرحلة انه يرحل اليه ولكن يكسرون الرا والصواب ضمها "a great man of learning to whom one journeys". See Lane III 1054b.

rḫm رخاميّة (97b) *ruḫāmiyya* ويقولون لنوع من الحلوى رخاميّة ولم تعلم ولعلها تشبه لون الرخام "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-ruḫām*.

rdb اردب (11a) *ardabb* يقولون اردب للمكيال المعروف "dry measure". HB 14a "ʾ*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, αρταβη اردب". Its ancient Egyptian origin is also mentioned by Vollers (1896) p. 653.

rdk ردك (59) *rədk* ويقولون في تعلقات المحمل الرّدك "the straps of the camel litter". Kazimirski I 848a "رَوْدَك - ردك enjoliver, embellir". It could it be some kind of decorative tassel.

rdm ردم (97b) *rədəm* ويقولون ردم التراب اذا وضع بعضه على بعض "to fill up with earth". See HB 333a "*radam* (i)", Spiro 222b "*radam (jirdim)*". BW IV 161b "*radam, yirdim ḥ* mit Erde bedecken, zuschütten".

rdn رديني (114a) *rədynī* يقولون مردن الغزل ورمح رديني "well-straightened spear". Lane III 1070b "رُمح رُدَيْني a well-straightened spear". It is supposed that it was given this name after a woman called Rudayna, who used to straighten spears.

الريدانيّة (118b) *al-rīdāniyya* يقولون الريدانيّة ولفظها صحيح نسبة الى ريدان 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 ʿAbbāsiyya; see Behrens-Abu Seif (1985) pp. 1 and 74.

مردن (114a) *mardan* يقولون مردن الغزل ورمح رديني والصواب في مردن كسر الميم لا فتحها "spindle". HB 333b "*mardin, mardan* spindle". Hava 248a "مِردَن spindle".

rğn مَرْجونة (114a) *marğūna* يقولون للقفة مَرْجونة وهو صحيح "basket". BW IV 158b "*margūna, maragīn* Vorratskorb". Hava 244a "مَرْجُونة basket".

rdy رديّ (127b) *radī* يقولون الشي الفلاني رديّ اي غير جيّد "bad". See Spiro 222a, HB 333b.

rḏl رذل (75b) *raḏil* ويقولون فلان رذل ككتف "despicable". HB 335a "*rizil* impertinent, insolent". Wehr 389a "رذيل *raḏīl* low, base". Lane III 1073c mentions the pronunciation رَذْل, as well as رَذيل and رَذِل with the symbol ↓.

rzq يقولون الرزق على اللّه معلوم ان (40a) al-*rizq ʿalā allāh* رزق: الرزق على الله الرزق لغوي ولكن قولهم على الله لا يتوهم منه الوجوب فانه واجب الوجود لا واجب عليه الرزق والجود "God provides for all" (proverb). See HB 335a and Spiro 223b for this proverb. Al-Maġribī does not approve of this saying, because according to him God is not obliged to provide.

rzk ويقولون على باني المشهد الحسيني طلائع بن رزيك (59a) *rəzyk* رزيك "the vizier Ruzzyk". Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. 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. ʿAlī". The al-Ḥusayn mosque is situated between al-Azhar mosque and Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī. *al-Ḫiṭaṭ al-tawfīqīya* IV p. 183 mentions that the mosque was built in 549, during the reign of al-Fāʾiz bi-Naṣr Allāh.

rzm يقولون رزمة حطب (97b) *ruzma* رزمة "bundle". See Spiro 223b-224a. HB 335a "1. ream (of paper) 2. skein". Al-Ḫafāğī 108 " رزمة بالكسر ما يجمع فيه الثياب والعامة تضمه وهو من قولهم رازم بين الطعامين اذا ضم أحدهما الى الآخر".

rstq ويقولون فلان مرستق او عنده رستاق يعنون به الترتيب للشي (40b) *rəstāq* رستاق واحكامه "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)".

مرستق (40b) *murastaq* "well-organized, precise (person)". See رستاق .

rsl فان قلت قول الناس على رسلك اي على مهلك هل هو بكسر الرا (76b) *risl* رسل وسكون السين قلت نعم "ease", على رسلك *ʿalā rislak* "take it easy!". Lane III 1082c "رِسْل gentleness, and a deliberate, or leisurely, manner of acting (...) اِفعل كذا وكذا على رسلك".

ويقولون فلان رسيل فلان اذا كان خصمه في صنعة الادب ويقع (76b) *rəsīl* رسيل كثيرا هذا بين الزجالة في مصر "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".

مِرْسال (76b) *mirsāl* ويقولون مِرْسال فلان اي رسوله "messenger". See HB 336b. Lane III 1084b "مِرْسَالٌ 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 اترسم (97b) *itrassim ʿala* فقد (...) يقولون اترسم على فلان اي لا تفارقه لم يعلم ظهر ان قولهم رسّم عليه لم يعلم له وجه في اللغة. "to guard someone". *itrassim ʿalā fulān* is an imperative, meaning لا تفارقه "do not abandon him". Wehr 339a form V "to follow (s.o.'s footsteps, an example, etc.)". Dozy I 526b "ترسَّم بالعلم (...) *Etre posté* quelque part, afin de garder un prisonnier".

رسّم (98a) *rassim ʿala* "to have a person guard someone". Dozy I 526b "رسَّم 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 رسن (114a) *rasan* يقولون رسن الدابة "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-Ḫafāǧī 107 "رسن م قيل هو فارسى عربوه قديما".

ršm رشم (98a) *rəšəm* يقولون رشمه الشي رشما اذا ظهرت عليه حرارة "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".

rṣf يرصف (22b) *yirṣəf* يقولون فلان يرصف اي يحكم الرصف والضرب او الخبط "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".

rḍb رِضاب (14a) *riḍāb* ويقولون رِضاب بالكسر للريق "spittle". Lane III 1096a "رُضَابٌ *Saliva*".

rṭl رِطِل (76b) *riṭil* ويقولون فلان رِطِل بكسرهما يريدون انه عنده رخاوة كما يقولون

خِدل "weak, soft". Lane III 1102a رَطْل a man soft, lax, or uncompact".

رطل (76b) *raṭl* ويقولون عى الِّرطل الذي يوزن به رطل بالفتح وهو صحيح "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 *EI*[2] VI (E. Ashtor, J. Burton-Page) pp. 118b-119a. Vollers (1897) p. 298 believes it is derived from the Greek *λίτρα*.

rṭn يراطن (114a) *yirāṭin* يقولون فلان يراطن او رطان "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: *rəṭān* "incomprehensible language". يقولون فلان يراطن او رطان HB 341b "*ruṭāna* incomprehensible language, double-Dutch (applied especially to Nubian)". Spiro 228b "*ruṭān*, act of speaking in a foreign language, a foreign language".

rʿb حمامة راعبيّة (14a) *ḥamāma rāʿibiyya* ويقولون ابيض مثل الحمامة الراعبيّه "a certain kind of pigeon". Lane III 1104b mentions that حمام راعبي or راعبية is "a certain kind of pigeon", or "*the pigeon that is loud,* or *strong, in its cry,* or *voice*".

rʿf رُعاف (23a) *ruʿāf* ويقولون احمر مثل دم الرُّعاف "nosebleed". See Wehr 400b.

رعف (22b) *rəʿəf* ويقولون فلان رعف اذا خرج من انفه دم "to have a nosebleed". Wehr 400b "رعف انفه *(anfuhū)* to have a nosebleed".

* rʿq رعيق (40b) *raʿīq* واطلعت هنا على تصحيف الرغيف بالرعيق وهو صوت يسمع من بطن الدابة وهو قريب من الزعيق بالزاي في اللفظ والمعنى "loaf of bread". Another example of putting the dots in the wrong place (*taṣḥīf*):

رغيف. For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also الّل.

r'n ارعن (114a) *ar'an* يقولون فلان ارعن او عنده رعونة وربما استعملوه في وصف 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 "أَرْعَنُ *simple, qui se laisse facilement tromper*".

رعونة (114a) *rə'ūna* "frivolity". Wehr 401a "levity, frivolity, flippancy; thoughtlessness".

rġf رغيف (23a) *rəġīf* يقولون رغيف خبز "loaf of bread". See HB 342b "*riġīf*".

rġl رغل، يرغل (76b) *rəġəl, yirġəl* ويقولون فلان رغل فلانا او يرغله اذا كان يسبّه في وجهه "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 رَغالِ Terme de dédain dont on appelle ou apostrophe une servante, esclave"; "أَرْغَلُ (..) 2. Qui a encore son prepuce, non circoncis. 3. Qui a les testicles trop longs." It could be that the verb means saying any of these last three phrases to a person, thereby insulting him.

rġm رغم انفه (98a) *rəġəm anfu* يقولون رغم الله انف العدا اي الصقه بالرغام "to rub s.o.'s nose in the sand to humiliate him". HB 342b "*raġam* to force". Lane III 1113b: "رَغِمَ الأَنْفُ his nose clave to the earth; he was, or became, abased, or humbled".

rff ترفّ (23b) *tiraff* يقولون عيني ترفّ وتقدم ان الرفّ اختلاج العين وغيرها "to twitch", *'ynī tiriff* "I have a premonition". HB 345a: "*raff* 1. to twitch, flutter. *'ēni bi-triff* I have a premonition".

رفّ (23a) *raff* ويقولون مثلا الفناجين على الرفّ {انظر قوله شبه الطاق وظهر انه مستعمل في الارياف بهذا المعنى(..)} "shelf; arched construction in which items can be placed (rural)". Lane III 1116c: "رَفٌّ a thing resembling a طَاق [i.e., a kind of arched construction, app. like the صُفّة described and figured in the Introduction to my work on the Modern Egyptians."

rfq مرفق (40b) *marfaq* ويقولون لبيت الخلا مرفق "toilet". HB 345b "*marfaʾ* convenience, facility, anything conducive to ease or comfort". Hava 263a "مَرافِق الدار appertenances of a house as kitchen, well, privy".

rfy رفا (9a) *rafā* يقولون رفا الثوب بالالف اللّينه والصواب انه بالهمز "to darn". See Spiro 232a, and HB 346a.

rqb رَقبان (14a) *raqbān* يقولون للثقيل رَقبان "heavy, fat". Lane III 1134b "*raqabān*, a man thick or large in the neck". HB 346a "*raʾabān: abu raʾabān* having no feathers on its neck (of a chicken)".

rqrq رقرق (40b) *raqraq* ويقولون فلان رقرق اي لان بعد شدة "to become soft, relax". HB 346b "*raʾraʾ* 1. to weaken, soften up".

rqq رقاق (40b) *ruqāq* يقولون اكلنا رقاقا بالضم "thin sheets of dough". HB 347b "*ruʾāʾ* paper-thin round sheets of dough, usually dried, used in the preparation of various dishes". Spiro 232b "*ruqāq*, wafer-like cakes".

rkk ركيك (59a) *rəkyk* ويقولون كلام ركيك اي ضعيف "weak, defective (language)". HB 350b "*rakīk* weak, poor, defective (of language)". Lane III 1141c "*feeble,* or *weak*, and *incorrect;* applied to a word or an expression".

rmd مرماد (3a; 32b) *mərmād* وسمع عند لعبه الشطرنج رسيله يقول مرماد فضحك عليه وانما المرماد من الرمد وكانه يقول له ما رايت في هذا الدست؛ واما قول لاعبي الشطرنج مرماد قفة فيمكن انه علي التشبيه بالظرف "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-Ḫafāǧī 218: مرمّد على وزن اسم فاعل من تفعيل الرماد هو الذي لا يحس والعامة تقول له مرماد ولا أعرف له أصلا لكنه فى الصادح والباغم وفى كتاب الاعجاز قال فيه ان اشتبه عليك متأدب او متشاعر أو ناشئ او مرمّد . HB 351b "*rammad* to develop ophthalmia, get sore eyes". Dozy I 557b "مرماد *salaud,* sale, impropre" (source: the dictionary of Bocthor). Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 85b "*meṛmad* pl. *-in* afflicted with trachoma". See §5.4 for more information about the game of chess. See also قفة.

rmk رمك (59b) *rəmək* ويقولون فلان رمك على الشي اي نوى على اخذه "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

meaning of "to conspire", see Qāsim 301b: " رمك مرَامكَة مُرابطة أو مؤامرة واتفاق على مؤامرة".

rmm ترميم (98a) *tarmīm* يقولون ترميم البنا وفي القاموس رمّه يرمه ويرمّه رَمّا ومرمّةً اصلحه انتهى ولم يقل رمّمه "restoration". See HB 353a.

رمة (98a) *rumma* يقولون هذا صاحب الرمة بتشديد الرا المضمومة اي صاحب القضيّة والامر "matter", صاحب الرمة *ṣāḥib al-rumma* "the person most concerned in the matter". Spiro 237b "*rumma*, totality; صاحب الرمة *ṣāḥib er rumma*, the person most concerned or interested in the matter". HB 353a "*rumma* all the appurtenances (of s.th.)".

rmn رمّان (114b) *rummān* يقولون الرمّان وهو معروف "pomegranates (coll.)". See HB 353a.

rnb ارنبية (11a) *arnabiyya* ويقولون طبخنا ارنبية لم اعرف لهذا الاسم مناسبة "hare ragout". Dozy I 19a "أرْنبي qui appartient au lièvre. - fricassée, ragoût de lièvre, civet".

rhdl يترهدل (77a) *yitrahdil* ويقولون فلان يترهدل علينا اي يهزو بنا ولم يعلم "to 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 "تَرَهْدَن وتَرَهْدَل على to scoff at, to bully". Dozy II 562b "رهدل II *etre arrogant*; c. على *morguer*"; "رهدن II c. على *se moquer de*".

rhf رهف (23b) *rəhəf* يقولون [مثلا] في العجين المآئع رهف "to become soft". HB 354b "*rahhaf* to make soft, make delicate"; does not mention form I. Lane III 1170a " رَهُفَ it was, or became, thin, and slender".

rhq مراهق (42a) *murāhiq* ويقولون غلام مراهق اي قارب الحلم "adolescent". See HB 355a.

ارهق (41a) *arhaq* ويقولون غلام مراهق اي قارب الحلم وارهق الصلاة اخرها حتى يدنو وقت الاخرى "to delay". HB 355 "*arhaq* to exhaust, wear out". Hava 274b "أرْهَق الصلاة to delay prayer to the last minute".

rhl مرهّل (77a) *murahhəl* ويقولون لحم مرهّل وهو مسترخي "flabby". Hava 275a "تَرَهَّل to be flabby".

rhm مرهم (106a) *marham* يقولون المرهم قال هو دوا مركّب للجراحات "ointment".

See HB 355a. Al-Ḫafāğī 206 “ مرهم: ما يوضع على الجراحات معرب عن الجوهرى”

rwḥ راح (6b) *rāḥ* يقولون فلان جا وراح “to go”. See HB 355.

* اراح (101b) *arāḥ* يقولون اراح بشحم كلاه “to go”. See §6.3.1.5 for form IV.

rwšn رَوْشن (114a) *rawšən* يقولون رَوْشن “air-hole, skylight”. HB 358b “*rôšan* <P *raushan*> [obsol] air vent, skylight”. Spiro 239a “*rôšan*, air-hole, skylight”. 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 “ رُوشن: كلمة فارسية الأصل بمعنى المضئ والمنير أو المَنْوَر” and Vollers (1896) p. 623.

rwq راق (40b) *rāq* راق الما وانما يقال اراق المآءَ اي صَبَّه “to pour”. Wehr 427b form IV “to pour out (a liquid)”.

رواق (40b) *rəwāq* ويقولون الطبقة والرواق “room; cloister; dormitories of the students at al-Azhar” (meaning not specified by al-Maġribī). 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 “رِواق *rideau, rideau de lit; dais, pavillon; salle, salon, chambre; cloître*”. Diem-Radenberg (1994) p. 87 “*riwāq* arcade”.

rwk رَوْك (59b) *rwk* يقولون المال رَوْك اي شي واحد “public property”. HB 359b “*rōk: māl ir-rōk* [obsol] public property”. Spiro 239a “*rōk*, general, common estate”.

rwb رآيب (13b) *rāyib* ويقولون لبن رآيب “curdled milk”. See HB 355b.

ryb راب (14b) *rāb* ويقولون رابني امره وهو صحيح رابني امره يريبني روبا وريبة وارابني الامر صار ذا ريب واوهمني الريبة “to make suspicious”. HB 360b “*irtāb* to become suspicious”. Wehr 429b “*rāba i* to disquiet”. Lane III 1175c “الرَّجُلُ رَابَ (...) 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 “ريب I *voir de quelqu'un ce qui inspire des soupcons et ce qu'on désapprouve*”.

ryf ريف (23b) *rīf* ويقولون فلان في الرّيف “countryside”. See HB 361b.

ryq ريق (41a) *rīq* ويقولون في الاشعار رشفت ريقه ورشفت ريقته "saliva". See HB 361b.

ريقة (41a) *rīqa* "saliva". HB 361b only mentions *rīʾ* "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 ريال (74b) *riyāl* يقولون ويسمع ذلك من المغاربه على نوع من المعاملات الفضة 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*[2] VIII p. 563b (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville). This is probably the reason why al-Maġribī mentioned that it was heard from the North-Africans. During the 17th century, the "piaster espagnole", *riyāl*, became a popular foreign currency in Egypt, see Raymond (1973) I p. 21.

ريال (74b) *riyāl* ويقولون للعاب الفم ريال "dribble". HB 361b "*riyāla* dribble". Spiro 242a "*rijāla*, salver, drivel".

rym ريم (97b) *rīm* يقولون اقشط ريم اللحم "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* 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) *zəbb* يقولون للاير زب "penis". HB 364a "*zibb*", Lane III 1208b "زُبٌّ".

zbrq مزبرق (41a) *muzabraq* ويقولون مزوّق مزبرق "adorned". See HB 364b, and Spiro 245a.

zbq انزبق (41b) *inzabaq* يقولون فلان انزبق دخل وهو صحيح "to dart in". HB 365a

"*zabaq* to dart (in or out), slip away, flee". Spiro 245b "*zabaq* to dart, escape".

zbl زبالة (77a) *zubāla* يقولون في الشتم فلان زبالة بالضم "garbage". HB 365a "*zibāla*". See §6.2.12.3 for the vowels of words meaning "waste".

إزبل (77b) *ʾizbil* ويقولون إزبل فلانا يريدون اتركه "leave ... alone! (imp.)". HB 365a *"zabal (i) [slang]* to avoid like dirt, treat with contemptuous indifference".

* زبل (61a) *zibl* ويقولون في سبّهم فلان زبل مفرّك "shit (abus.)". HB 365a "*zibl* dropping(s) (of birds, goats, sheep, rabbits, mice etc.)". See also مفرّك.

zbn زُبون (114b) *zubūn* يقولون للمشتري زُبون ولقطعة في الثوب زبون "customer". HB 365b: *zibūn, zubūn,* or *zabūn* (from P *zubûn*). Its Persian origin is confirmed by Steingass 610b "*zubūn* an eager purchaser" and Vollers (1897) p. 292.

زبون (114b) *zəbūn* يقولون للمشتري زُبون ولقطعة في الثوب زبون "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) *zəbūn* في لغة الترك فانهم يقولون زبون اي مرض "disease" (Turks). It is found both in Turkish: Redhouse (1968) p. 1276a "*zebun* (...) P infirmity, indisposition, weakness" and in Persian: Steingass 610b "زبون *zabūn,* weak, infirm, helpless".

zğl زجل (77b) *zağal* ويقولون حمل زجل لمنظوم معلوم عند اهل هذا الفن اي فن الزجل "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 "to crawl (little child)". HB 366a "*zaḥaf* (also *saḥaf*) to crawl, creep".

زحافة (23b) *zəḥāfa* ويقولون زحافة لما يجرّونها على البيوت لدفع الاتربة ونحوها "palm-branch with which the house is swept". HB 366a "*zaḥḥāfa* (..) *zaḥaf* palm leaves". Lane III 1219c " زَحّافة 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".

zḥq يقولون فلانه زحّاقة وتستعمل الزحاق ويصح على ابدال الزاي زحاق (43a) *ziḥāq* سينا "lesbianism". Wehr 466a *"musāḥaqa* and *siḥāq* tribady, Lesbianism". HB 402a *"sāḥiq* to engage in lesbianism". Lane IV 1319c "سَحّاقة [Fricatrix; quae confrictu libidinem alterius explet: (Golius, from Meyd:)]: an epithet of evil import, applied to a woman". See §6.2.5 for the voicing of the *s*.

زحّاقة (43a) *zaḥḥāqa* "lesbian". See زحاق

zḥl يقولون فلان في زحل اذا كان مغتاظا وزحل كزفر كوكب من زحل (78a) *zuḥal* الخنّس هكذا في القاموس ولم يصفه بشآمة ونحوها وفي ذكري ان الصفدي في شرح اللامية وسّع الكلام فيه فانظره. فلان في زحل *fulān fī zuḥal* "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 زحلفة (23b) *zəḥlifa* الزحالف كما في القاموس دواب صغار لها ارجل تمشي شبه النمل "tortoise". HB 366a "*ziḥlifa, zuḥlifa* tortoise. Also *zilḥifa, zulḥifa, siḥlifa*". Ḥiğāzī (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 تزحلق (41b) *tazaḥlaq* "to slip". See HB 366b and Spiro 246b.

zḫrf يقولون زخرف المكان اذا حسّنه زخرف (23b) *zaḫraf* "to adorn". See HB 367a.

zḫm يقولون فلان في زَخْم اذا كان في تعاظم والزخم في اللغة الدفع زَخْم (98b) *zaḫm* الشديد "pride, arrogance". HB 367a "*ziḫim* (..) 2. unbearable (of people)".

zdq ويقولون ولكن يقع من البعض فلان يزدق اي يصدق وهو يزدق (41b) *yizdəq* يصدق "to tell the truth". HB 499a "*sadaʾ, ṣadaʾ* (u) to tell the truth". In *yizdəq*, the *s* has partly been assimilated to the *d*, see §6.2.5.

zrb زرب (15a) *zərb* [زرب صح] يقولون للمعمول من القصب واللّيف "enclosure 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)".

zrbb زرباب (15a) *zarbāb* ويقولون للقماش المعلوم زرباب وله اصل (..) وهو معرّب زَرباف (..) المشتهر على الالسنة زرباب بالفتح والمناسب للمعنى ايضا الفتح لان زر بالفتح الذهب وباف بمعنى النسج اي نسج الذهب او منسوجه "cloth of gold". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and Ibn Abī al-Surūr have *ziryāb*. Al-Maġribī 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 "زرباف *zer-bāf*, 1. a weaver of cloth of gold. 2. cloth of gold".

zrdm زردمة (98b) *zərdəma* يقولون مسك زردمته اي خنقه "throat". Lane III 1225c "زَرْدَمة the place of swallowing"; "some say that the word is P. [in origin; app. holding it to be arabicized from the Pers. زَرْدَمَنْ, which signifies the "windpipe"]. Al-Ḫafāǧī 114 " زردمه وزدمه أذا عصر حلقه معرب زيردم أى تحت النفس". Steingass 614 "زردمن *zardaman,* wind-pipe".

zrf زرافه (24a) *zarāfih* يقولون زرافة فيكسرون الفا وليس من لغاتها "giraffe". HB 369a "*zarāfa* a giraffe". See §6.2.11 for the pausal *imāla*.

zrfn زرفن (114b) *zarfin* يقولون ووقع في شعر وقفل الصدغ قد زرفن "to curl". Lane III 1227a "زُرْفِين and زِرْفِين (..) *A ring of a door:* (Mgh, 1:) or *[a ring] in a general sense*". Steingass 618 "زفرين *zufrīn,* an iron ring for holding the bolt or chain of a door".

zrq ازرق (41b) *ʾazraq: al-ʿaduww al-ʾazraq* فان قلت ما معنى قولهم رثى لي العدوّ الازرق قلت ظهر فيه معنى عجيب "arch enemy". Kazimirski I 987a "العدوّ الازرق ennemi acharné". The colour blue has negative connotations: HB 369b "*ʿaḍma zarʾa* abusive epithet for a Copt. *nābu azraʾ* he is cunning. *ḥaṭṭallaʿ il-bala l-azraʾ ʿala gittitu* I'll destroy him!" etc.

زرق (40a; 42a) *zərq* ويقولون زرق الطائر وانما هو ذرق بالذال المعجمة؛ ويقولون زرق الطير وهو صحيح كما يقال فيه ذرق بالذال "droppings (of a bird)".

Wehr 357a "*ḏarq* droppings, excrement (of a bird)". Also زرق is correct, see Wehr 437a.

زرق (41b) *zərəq* يقولون زرقه بالمزراق "to pierce". Wehr 437a "زرق *zaraqa* to hit, pierce". HB 369a "*zaraʾ (u)* (..) 2. to give a piercing sidelong glance".

مزراق* (41b) *məzrāq* ويقولون زرقه بالمزراق وهو صحيح "javelin". HB 369b "*muzrāʾ* javelin". Spiro 249a "*mizrāq* lance, javelin".

zʿq زعق (42a) *zəʿəq* يقولون زعق عليه اي صاح "to shout". See HB 371a "*zaʿaʾ*"

zʿqq يزعقق (42a) *yizaʿqaq* ويقولون ويقع كثيرا من النسا فلان على الحال ما يزعقق اي سريع الغيظ "to shout". It is the four-radical equivalent of *zaʿʿaq* "to shout".

zʿl زعل (78a) *zəʿəl* ويقولون فلان زعل اي ملّ من الشي "to become bored, fed-up". HB 371a "*ziʿil* (a) 1. to become cross, become irritated (...). 2. to become distressed". Spiro 250a "to be angry, offended, irritated, annoyed, bored".

zʿlk زعلوك، زعاليك (59b; 59b; 61a) *zəʿlūk, zaʿālīk* يقولون فلان زعلوك يعنون انه فقير وكثيرا ما يقع هذا من المغاربة؛ يقولون على الفقرا الحجاج منهم زعاليك؛ الصعلوك كعصفور الفقير وتصعلك افتقر وهذا الذي تقول فيه زعلوك وقد تبدل الزاي صادا فلا يكون لحنا "pauper". HB 503b "*ṣaʿlūk, ṣuʿlūk* (also *zaʿlūk*) /pl *ṣaʿalīk*/ pauper, down-and-out, bum".

zʿm زعموم (98b) *zəʿmūm* يقولون فلان زعموم اسود اذا كان مغبّرا "covered with dust". According to Lane 1233c, a she-camel "of which one knows not whether there be in her fat or not". Kazimirski I 993a "زُعْمُومٌ Qui a la parole embarrassée". No reference found to dust.

zġl زغل (78a) *zəġl* ويقولون درهم زغل (..) فيمكن ان يكون درهم زغل من المعربات فانا نسمعه من غير العرب كثيرا "counterfeited". HB 372b "*zaġal* deceit, deception". See also Taymur IV 30. Al-Ḫafāǧī 113 " زغل بمعنى زيف وقع فى كلام الفقهاء او المولدين".

zff زفة (24a) *zaffa* يقولون عمل له الفرح بزفة "wedding procession". See HB 373b.

zqzq زقزق (42a) *zaqzaq* ويقولون زقزقه ليضحك (..) فان الزقزقة الان العبث باليد وتحريكها في خاصرة الصّبي ليضحكه "to tickle". HB 374a "*zaʾzaʾ* to

chirp, twitter". To tickle is *zaġzaġ* nowadays, see HB 372a. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 364 mentions the shift from *q* to *ġ* 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 زكزك "chatouiller".

zqq زق (42a) *zaqq* يقولون زق الحمام اي اطعامها الفرخ "to feed". HB 374a "*zaʾ (u)* to push". Lane III 1238a "زَقَّ فَرْخَهُ said of a bird, (..) *It fed its young one*". It is still used with this meaning in the Sudan, see Qāsim 322b.

زَق (42b) *zaqq* يقولون على الطريق زقاق وعلى الضرب باليد زَق (..) وان اخذ من زق الحمام كأنه يطعمه الضرب فهو وجه اخر "to slap". HB 374a "to push". Dozy I 596a "زق بِكوع Bourrer, porter des coups".

زقاق (42b) *zaqāq* ويقولون على الطريق زقاق وعلى الضرب باليد زَق "alley". HB 374b "*zuʾāʾ* dead-end alley or lane, cul-de-sac".

zqm ازّقّم (98b) *izzaqqam* يقولون للعدو ازّقّم او اكله الزقوم وهو صحيح لان الزقوم طعام اهل النار فهو دعآ عليه ان طعامه يكون كذلك "to be force-fed". See HB 375a.

زقوم (98b) *zəqūm* يقولون للعدو ازّقّم او اكله الزقوم "force-feeding". Hava 292a "زَقُّوم infernal tree; deadly food; food of cream and dates".

zkzk زكزك (59b) *zakzik* يقولون محل مزكزك او فلان له محل زكزكه يريدون زيّنه وحسّنه "to adorn". No references found.

مزكزك (59b) *muzakzək* يقولون محل مزكزك او فلان له محل زكزكه يريدون زيّنه وحسّنه "adorned". See زكزك

zkm زُكْمة (99a) *zukma* يقولون فلان زُكْمة اي ثقيل "heavy, coarse". See Lane III 1240a.

zlf زلف (24b) *zələf* ويقولون على العذار زلف وما علمت له نسبة الا انه قال في القاموس الزلفة الاجانة الخضرا فيمكن ان يوخذ من هذه بجامع الخضرة او ان الزلف غير عربي فلا يحتاج الي البحث فيه "sideburns". Taymur IV 42 الزُلْفَة: للشعر النازل على الخد بجانب الأذن عند الأتراك. وهى محرفة عن السالفة فيما يظهر". Nowadays, these are called *sawālif*, see HB 425a.

زلفة (24b) *zəlfa* يقولون في مجونهم على المغاربة الزلفة اي القصعة "large dish".

See Hava 294a زُلْفة. Lane 1245c "زَلَفة a full [reservoir of water such as is called] مَصْنعة ; ... also a [bowl such as is called] صَحْفة". Dakhla "*ze:lfa* Blechschluessel" (BW IV 190b). It is unclear why the Egyptians would call the North-Africans like this. It could relate to زلف "sideburns".

زلف (24b) *zələf* ويقولون زلفت يده اذا ذرع شيا وزاد "to exaggerate". Wehr 442a *zallaf* "to exaggerate". HB 376b "*zalaf* to slip, trip" *itzallaf* "to fawn (to s.o.)". Lane 1245a زَلَفَ "he added, or exaggerated, in his discourse".

zlq زلق (42b) *zələq* يقولون زلق او المحل فيه زلق "to slip". HB 377a "*zalaʾ (u)* to slip". Lane III 1246a "زَلِقَ he slipped".

زلق (42b) *zəlq* يقولون زلق او المحل فيه زلق "mud". Hava 294a "زَلْق وزَلَق وزَلِق slippery place". HB 377a "*zalaʾ* (street) mud". Lane III "مكان زَلَقٌ a slippery place".

zll زل (78a) *zall* يقولون ويسمع من اهل الحجاز ومكة فلان زل اي جاز ومشى حتى سمعته في حفيف اوله زل يخطر "to pass, to leave" (Ḥiğāz / Mecca). Kazimirski I 1002b زَلَّ "passer rapidement". 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) *zilla* وعلم ان قول الناس ما ذي الا زلة بالكسر خطا فان المراد بها الخطية والسقطة "mistake". See HB 377b.

زلّية (78b; 127b) *zəlliyya* ويقولون على شي يفرش زلّية؛ يقولون زليّه وله اصل قال الزليّة بالكسر كحنيّة واحد الزلالي معرب زيلو "carpet, blanket". See Hava 293a. Lane III 1242c "زِلّية, an arabicized word from the Pers. زِيلُو (...) a carpet". Confirmed by Steingass 635a: "زيلو *zīlū, zailū*, a kind of woollen blanket worn by the poor".

زلل (78a) *zəlal* يقولون ما في كلامه زلل اي نقص "slip, mistake (in speech)". HB 377b "*zalal* = *zalla*"; "*zalla* a slip, a mistake, an error, a sin". Lane 1242b "زَلة a slip in mud, or in speech".

فان قلت قولهم مزلة اقدام هل يتعين فتح الزاي فالجواب لا قال (78b) *mazəlla* مزلة مَزَلّة ومَزِلّة" والمزلة بفتح الزاي وكسرها "slippery ground". Hava 293a slippery ground". HB 377b mentions the verb "*zall* to slip".

zlm يقولون زلّوم ويمصّه من على زلاليم حبيبه (99a) *zəllūm, zalālīm* زلّوم، 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-Maġribī's time it could apparently also be used for instruments other than wind instruments.

zmzm قلت قول الناس الان زمزم الفنجان ما مناسبته فالجواب ان (99a) *zamzim* زمزم الزمزمة هي الصوت وبير زمزم معروفة فقولهم زمزم كانهم يشيرون اليها فكانه يصر فيه شي من زمزم "to wash". HB 379a "*zamzim* 1. to wash (s.th.) in water from the well *zamzam*". Dozy I 603a I "marmottes des prièrs, des passages du Coran; boire de l'eau de zamzam".

zmq يقولون زمقنا او حصل عندنا زمق (42b) *zəməq* زمق "to be bored". See HB 379b "*zimiʾ, zumuʾ (a)* to feel bored, fed up or weary. vn *zamaʾ*". Dozy I 603b "زمق 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."

(42b) *zəmq* "boredom". See زمق *zəməq*.

zmk ويقولون فلان زامك او عنده زمك اي عجب ونحوه (...) قال (59b) *zāmik* زامك في القاموس وزمكه عليه حرشه حتى اشتد عليه غضبه وزمك القربة ملاها وازماك غضب شديدا والزمك محركة الغضب ورجل زمكة محركة عجل غضوب او احمق قصير (...) وفلان يزمك يوخذ من قوله الزمك محركة الغضب لان زمك المحبوب هو غيظه وغضبه على العاشق غاية ما فيه انهم سكنوا المحرّك تخفيفا "angry". Hava 296a زَمَك "anger". Dozy I 603b "زمك II imprégner, incruster"; "زَمْك bien juste (habit)"; "زِمِكّ s'emploie pour désigner ce qui est très-court; on dit

proverbialement: زمك: الزَّمكة من “ فلان طولُ الزمك ”. Qāsim 326b الرجال السريع الغضب”. It could be related to Persian, see Steingass 621a زمج “*zamaj* (v.n.), being angry”.

زمك (59b) *zamk* “anger”. See زامك.

مزمّك (59b) *muzammək* قولهم مكتوب بالذهب المزمّك وقعت هذه من بعض العلما ولم يعلم لها وجها في اللغة ... قوله زمك القربة ملاها يوخذ منه صحة زمكه “ قوله بالذهب المزمّك اي الملآن اي الكثير لفظة عامية مولدة كزينه وزنا ومعنى”. “adorned”. Al-Ḥafāǧī 115

zml ازميل (78b) *əzmīl* ويقولون على الة الخرز ازميل “chisel”. Wehr 17b *izmīl*, HB 17b *azmīl*. According to Vollers (1897) p. 294, this derives from the Greek *σμίλη*, *ζμίλη*.

زاملة (78b) *zāmila* ويقولون على الناقة زاملة ونسمعه من المغاربة وتجار السّودان “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 زَمّ (99a) *zamm* يقولون ضربه زَمّه وله نسبة فانهم يريدون بزمّه انه مسك قلبه حتى لا يقدر يتنفس “to strangle”. HB 379b “*zamm* (i) to press, press together”. Spiro 225a “*zamm (juzumm)*, to tie together”. Taymūr IV 45 “زمّ: بمعنى ضَيَّق. زم فُمُّه أو بُقُّه” Lane 1248a “زَمَّهُ he tied, or bound, it”.

znbr زنبرة (103b) *zanbara* يقولون على محب الغلمان قلنبرة وعلى محب النسا زنبره واصله بالفارسي غلام بره وزن بره الغلام معلوم وزن الامراة “whoremonger”. Steingass 623a “زن *zan* a woman”; 143a “باره *bāra*” o.a. “covetous, avaricious; addicted, given to”; 623b “زنباره *zam-bāra* a whoremonger, wencher”.

znbq زنبق (43a) *zanbaq* يقولون زنبق وسوسان “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”.

znbl زنبيل (77a) *zənbīl* يقولون على القفّة زنبيل "basket". See HB 381b. It was originally Persian, see Steingass 624a.

znğbl زِنجبيل (78a) *zinğabīl* يقولون زنجبيل بكسر الزاي وهو بالفتح كما في القران كان مزاجها زنجبيلا "ginger". HB 381b mentions *zangabīl, ganzabīl, zanzabīl.* Al-Ḫafāğī 114 " زنجبيل معرب وهو عروق فى الارض وليس شجرا ولا نبتا كما هو عربى منحوت من زناً فى الجبل اذا صعده وهو بعيد ظنه الدينورى وقيل".

zndq زنديق (42b) *zandīq* يقولون فلان زنديق فيفتحون الزاي وانما هو بكسرها "atheist". HB 382a *zindī*, Wehr 445a *zindīq*. Al-Ḫafāğī 112 " زنديق ليس من كلام العرب انما تقول العرب رجل زندق وزندقى أى شديد البخل".

znq زنق (43a) *zənəq* يقولون زنق فلان فلانا وهو مزنوق اي ضيق عليه "to squeeze, corner". See HB 382b, Dozy I 607a.

مزنوق (43a) *maznūq* "cornered, squeezed into a confined space". See زنق.

zhq زهق (43a) *zahhaq* يقولون زهقت رجل فلان مثل عثرت "to make stumble". Dozy I 609b II "faire glisser". HB 384b only mentions "to cause to be fed up".

zhm زهومة (99b) *bāb al-zuhūma* يقولون في مدينة مصر باب الزهومة ولها مناسبة قال الزهومة والزهمة بضمهما ريح لحم سمين منتن انتهي وباب الزهومة كان عنده الطباخون للّحم كثيرا "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 زورق (42a) *zwrəq* يقولون على المركب الصغير زورق "small boat". See HB 386a *zōraʾ*, Hava 288a زَوْرَق.

zwf زوفه (25a) *zwfəh* يقولون شراب زوفه "hyssop". Hava 301a "زُوفَى وزُوفَاء hyssop". HB 386b "*zôfᵉ* [bot] hyssop".

zwq زوّق (43a) *zawwaq* يقولون مزوّق او زوّقه "to ornament". See HB 386b. Dozy I 614b "زوق II farder, aussi au fig., flatter, peindre en beau, chamarrer, orner de broderies".

مزوّق (43a) *muzawwaq* "decorated". See زوّق .

zwk ازوك (60a) *azwak* ويقولون في الشتم فلان ازوك او يا ازوك يريدون ان في مشيته

اعوجاجا وهو مستقيم "walking in a crooked way (insult)". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 848a "الزَّوْك: مَشْيُ الغُرابِ، وتَحْريكُ المَنْكِبَيْنِ في المَشْيِ، والتَّبَخْتُرُ". HB 387a "*zūk* stifle (horse)".

zwl زَوْل (79a) *zwl* يقولون فلان زَوْل اذا كان له هيئه عظيمة "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: زوُل بمعنى شخص. ويقال: زُوله كويّس: 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. شَخْص." BW IV 194b "*zôl* Person" (South-Middle Egypt), "Mann, jemand" (Kharga).

zwl يزّاول (79a) *yizzāwil* ويقولون فلان يزّاول من خياله مثلا اي يتخيّل منه "to imagine". HB 387a only mentions form II: "*zāwil* to practise (a profession), pursue (an interest)"; "*mazwala* sundial". Lane III 1271c "تزاولوا 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, étudier assidûment". Qāsim 331b "زاوَل تهيّأ له أنه رأى شيئاً غير موجود أو شيطاناً أو خيالاً".

zwm يزوم (98a) *yizūm ʿalā* يقولون يزوم عليه اذا هم به ان يغلبه وفي القاموس زأم كمنع اكل شديدا وَزَأَمه ذعره وزيم مبنى للجهول ذعر وهذا قد يناسب قولهم فلان زام علي اي ذعرني الا ان القياس غير يزوم بل يزءم بالهمز فسهّلوه "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 to frighten a.o.".

zwy زاوية (127b) *zāwiya* يقولون زاوية للمسجد "mosque". HB 387b "*zawya* (...) 2. a small mosque (without a minaret)". Ḥiǧāzī (1969) p. 120 says this is the first mention of this word with this meaning.

zwyl زويلة: باب زويلة (79a) *bāb zuwyla* ويقولون باب زويلة قال في القاموس وباب زويلة بالقاهرة "Bāb Zuwēla, one of the gates of Cairo". See al-Maqrīzī (1998) II pp. 98-100. Al-Ḫafāǧī 117 " زويلة أرض بالمغرب أو سكانها وباب زويله بمصر يسمى بهم". Al-Ḫafāǧī's explanation is correct, since the gate was named after the population of Sudanic origin in the town

of Zawīla/Zuwayla (nowadays in South-Western Libya), from whom the Fāṭimids recruited a corps of *zawīla* soldiers. See *EI*² XI p. 466a-b (K.S. Vikør).

zybq زَيبق (41b) *zaybaq* ويقولون مثل الزَّيبق فيفتحون الزاي "quicksilver, mercury". Wehr 451a زيبق *zaibaq* (= زئبق *zi'baq*). HB 387b *zeeba'*. Dozy I 616b "زَيْبَق pour زِئْبَق vif-argent".

zyf زآيف (25a) *zāyif* ويقولون درهم زآيف ودراهم زياف "forged". Lane III 1278a "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*".

زياف (25a) *ziyāf* ويقولون درهم زآيف ودراهم زياف "forged". Lane III 1278a mentions زِياف as the pl. as well as زيوف . See also زآيف .

zyq زيق (43a) *zyq* ويقولون للقميص زيق "collar". See Hava 303a, Wehr 453b, and Lane III 1278a. Spiro 261b "*zyq*, long narrow slip", HB 389b "*zīq* 1. edge, border 2. strip".

zyn زيان (114b) *ziyān* يقولون ما عندي فيها زيان بالكسر اي حيلة "trick". Its etymology is unknown. Most dictionaries (Hava, Wehr, Lane, HB, Spiro) only mention "embellishment". Dozy I 620b "avarie".

S

sbb سبّ (15a) *sabb* يقولون سبّه اذا شتمه "to insult". See HB 393a.

sbsb سبسب (15a) *sabsib* ويقولون للشعر السّبط سبسب وكثيرا ما يكون من النسا "to be lank (hair)". Wehr 458b "*tasabsaba* "to be lank (hair)". In HB 395a, it is divided between 2 entries: "*sabsib*[1] to take great pains with (one's hair)". "*sabsib*[2] to flow, stream". Dozy 625b "سبسب I الشعر taper, t. de perruquier, faire fenfler les cheveux".

sbʿ سبع، سبعة (43b) *sabʿ, sabʿa* ويقولون على الاسد سبع واللّبوة سبعة "lion, lioness". See HB 395b.

سبوع (43b) *subūʿ* ويقولون لمن ولد له مولود اي يوم سبوعه "ceremony marking the seventh day after the birth of a child". See HB 395b.

سبّع (43b) *sabbaʿ* ويقولون سبّع الانا اي اغسلها سبعا "to do something seven

times". HB 395b "*sabbaʿ* 1. to make seven 2. to complete seven days".

sbq سابقة (45b) *sābiqa* ويقولون فلان له سابقة بالشي اي سبق الناسَ اليه "precedence". See HB 396b, Wehr 460b, and Lane IV 1300b. Dozy 628a "prompte soumission"; "anciennes relations ou anciens services".

sbk سبك (60a) *səbək* يقولون سبكه اذا باعه ولعله على طريق التشبيه فان الاصل في السبك الاذابة مثل سبّكه ومنه سبيكة الذهب والفضة "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 سبيل (79a) *sabīl* يقولون في سبيل الله اذا تعجبوا من شخص اخطا في شي "path", *fī sabīl allāh* "for the sake of God". See HB 397a. Al-Maġribī mentions its use as an exclamation of amazement when somebody makes a mistake.

sbhll سبهلل (79a) *səbəhlәl* ويقولون فلان سبهلل هكذا اي انه بطال "lazy". Wehr 461b "*sabāhila* people without work, idlers, loafers". HB 397b "*sabahlala* haphazardly, any old how"; "*sabahlali* aimless, careless, vague".

sby سوبيا (9a) *sūbya* ويقولون سوبيا للمشروب المعلوم في العيد لم نعرفه "a sweet drink". See HB 398a. From Turkish, see Redhouse 1086b: "سوبيه *sūbiye.* A sweet drink prepared from pounded almonds, melon or cucumber seeds, etc." İhsanoğlu 397 " سوبيه: مشروب أبيض اللون يصنع من أشياء مثل اللوز وبذور الشمام".

sǧʿ سجع (43b) *saǧʿ* ويقولون في النثر ضد النظم سجع "rhymed prose". See HB 400a.

sǧf سِجاف (25a) *siǧāf* يقولون سِجاف وهو صحيح قال السجف ويكسر وكتاب الستر جمعه سجوف واسجاف "curtain". Hava 310a "*curtain*; fringe of a garment". HB 400a "*sigāf* trimming ribbon, facing". Spiro 270a "*sigāf*, edging, border". Lane 1310b "سِجْف a curtain; a veil"; 1310c سجاف borders of a garment, or piece of cloth". It seems al-Maġribī means "curtain", since he says its use is in accordance with *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, which says it is a *satr*.

sğl سجل (79b) *siğill* ويقولون اكتب سجلك "register". This is the document upon which somebody's sins are recorded, see *EI*[2] X p. 538b (F.C. de Blois): "There is also a *ḥadīṯ* 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".

sḥl سُحاله (80a) *suḥāla* ويقولون في العود سُحاله بالضم وهو صحيح قال والسحالة بالضم ما سقط من الذهب والفضة "filings of gold and silver". See Hava 312b, and Wehr 466b.

سَوْحَل (80a) *swḥal* قولهم سَوْحَلْ اي بيّن السّاحل لينزل فيه "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 *itʿōlaʾ* "to behave promiscuously"; see also Woidich (2006) pp. 68-9. Another example is بِشوْلم.

ينزل في الساحل (80a) *yinzil fī-ssāḥil* ويقولون ينزل في السّاحل ينكتون على من يريدون بالصفع في قفاه...فان قلت ما المناسبة بين قفاه والساحل فالجواب ان كلاهما محلّ النّزول "he is slapped on the back of his neck".

يسحل (80a) *yisḥəl* فقول العامة لما يخاصم ويشتم صار يسحل ويعطى له يصح بتاويل "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".

sḥn سحنة (115a) *siḥna* يقولون انظر سحنته بكسر السين "physiognomy". See HB 402b, Spiro 272a.

sḫf سخيف (25a) *saḫīf* ويقولون فلان سخيف العقل اي ضعيفه "weak-minded". See Hava 313b, and Lane 1325b. HB 403a "*saḫīf* 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*".

sḫm سخام (100a) *suḫām* يقولون في السب سخام ولطام "soot". 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 *suḫām*. *suḫām* is still in use today; both Taymūr IV 96 and HB 403b mention the variant *suḫām iṭ-ṭīn* used as an adjective ("rotten"), while Taymūr also

mentions the variant *suḫām wi-hbāb* "filth and soot". Lane IV 1326a: "crock, or black matter, [that collects upon the outside] of a cooking-pot".

sḫn ساخن (115a) *sāḫin* يقولون قهوة سُخْنة بالضم ومآ ساخن "hot". See HB 404a.

سُخْن (115a) *suḫn* يقولون قهوة سُخْنة بالضم ومآ ساخن "hot". See HB 404a.

sdm سادم (100a) *sādim* يقولون سادم نادم او سدمان ندمان السدم الندم فيكون الثاني تاكيدا "repenting". Hava 315b "سادم وسَدْمَان grieved, repenting".

سدمان (100a) *sadmān* "repenting". See سادم.

sdy سدى (127b) *sədā* يقولون ما هذا سدى "of no avail". Hava 315b " سُدًى وسَدًى forsaken, of no avail, useless". Lane 1336c "left, left alone, or neglected".

srdq سرادق (45b) *sərādiq* ويقولون السرادق وهو للذي يمدّ فوق صحن البيت "canopy covering the courtyard of a house". Hava 318a "سُرادِق cloth-tent". HB 406a "*surādiʾ* temporary pavilion of appliquéd or patterned cloth set up in a public place for funeral receptions or other large gatherings". Al-Ḫafāǧī " 121 سرادق معرب سراپرده وقيل معرب سراطاق وأخطأ من فسره بآلة القناديل وهو ما يمد فوق صحن الدار والبيت".

srʿ اسرع (44a) *asraʿ* ويقولون اسرع في سيره "to hurry". HB 409b "*asraʿ* to speed up, accelerate".

srwl سروال (80a) *sirwāl* ويقولون في اللباس سروال "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 *šalvār*.

sry تسرّى (127b) *tasarrā* يقولون فلان تسرّي بفلانة "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.

sṭʿ يسطع (44a) *yisaṭṭaʿ* ويقولون يسطع علينا اي يهزو بنا ونحو ذلك ولم ار له نسبة الا قوله في القاموس المسطع كمِنبر الفصيح فكانه يريد بقوله فلان يسطّع عليّ اي يظهر الفصاحة والتنكيت "to be witty, use one's eloquence to make

fun of s.o.". HB 412a "*saṭaʿ* 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 سطلة (80b) *səṭla* سطلة ونحوها "intoxication" (Ḥiğāz). 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".

مسطول (80b) *masṭūl* "drunk, high" (Ḥiğāz). Al-Ḫafāğī 119 " سطل ويقال سيطل قال الزبيدى صوابه سيطل وقيل هو دخيل معرب وأما قول العوام لآكل البنج مسطول وصرفوه فعامية مبتذلة ولا أدرى أصلها". See سطلة

ويقولون وقع سطل فلان اذا عشق سطل: (80b) *wəqaʿ səṭl fulān* احدا "to be madly in love with s.o.". Literally "to fall intoxicated". Dozy I 653a "سطل VII (...) être ravi en extase, s'extasier" (BC) and 832a "صطل 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* "medicinal powder". See HB 417b, Hava 323a, and Wehr 480.

sfq ويقولون سفق لفلان بان يخبط كفا على اخر (45b) *səfəq* "to strike hands in a bargain; to applaud". Hava 324b سَفَق "to strike hands in a bargain". Hava 399b "صَفَق "to strike hands in (a bargain); صَفَّق to clap the hands; to applaud". HB 506a "*ṣafʿa* deal, bargain", "*ṣaffaʾ* to applaud".

sfy يقولون شكته في رجله سفاية والصواب سفاة (128a) *səfāya* سفاية "a thorn". Nom. un. of سفا (see HB 416b). Dozy 660b "سَفَايَة barbe d'un épi (comme سَفاً)". BW IV 208b "*safāya* Granne".

sqʿ ويقولون فلان سقيع الذقن وهو تصحيف عن صقيع اي الساقط (44a) *saqīʿ* من السما بالليل كانه الثلج الا ان يقال تبدل السين صادا كثيرا "chilly", *saqīʿ al-ḏaqn* "insensitive". Wehr 607b "*ṣaqīʿ* frost; ice". It has an extended meaning of "insensitivity". Davies (1981) p. 389 "SQʿ: SQʿ DQNH "he became thick-skinned, became insensitive" (lit. "his beard turned chilly")". Dozy I 662b سقيع "fou, sot". يا سقيع اللحية بارد

الوجه ; يا ساقع الوجه يا بارد اللحية sont synonymes et signifient fou, sot. De même Macn. II, 408,12: يا ساقع الذقن ما اسقع ذقنك . Lane 1707b "صقعان stupid, dull, or wanting in intelligence". For the de-emphatization of the *ṣād*, see §6.2.4.

sqf سقف (25b) *saqf* ويقولون سقف البيت "ceiling". See HB 418a.

سقّف (25b) *saqqaf* ويقولون سقّف على يديه او بيديه "to applaud". Metathesis (see §6.2.7) and de-emphatization (see §6.2.4): *ṣaffaq* > *saqqaf* (see also سفق). HB 418a "to clap, applaud".

سقيفه (25b) *səqīfa* ويقولون سقّف على يديه او بيديه وسقيفه "roofed passage". See Hava 326b, Wehr 484b, and Dozy I 663a. HB 418a "arbour".

sqm سِقم (100a) *siqam* يقولون فلان كثير السِّقم مثلا يريدون المرض وليس صحيحا انما المرض السَّقَم بفتح القاف والسين... واما السِّقم 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 ساقية (128a) *sāqiya* وفسّر الساقية بالقاف بالنهر الصغير والمشاهد في الساقية الان خلاف ذلك "water-wheel". See HB 418b.

* skāh سكاه (63a) *sikāh* واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد ... وهو المستعمل في اول الانغام يكاه اي الراست والثاني دوكاه والثالث سكاه چاركاه سه "the third note, E". *sih* is "three" in Persian (Steingass 710b) and گاه *gāh* means "time" and "place" (amongst other things), see Steingass 1074a. Steingass 711: "سه گاه *sih-gāh,* a musical note."

skʿ سكع (44a) *səkaʿ* يقولون فلان سكع لفلان اي طاطا له كالراكع "to bow one's head". Dozy I 668b "saluer quelqu'un en baissant la tête".

يسّكّع (44a) *yissakkaʿ* ويقولون ما زال يسّكّع حتى قبل اي يتدخل ويتملق "to loiter, hang around". See HB 420b.

skk سك (61a) *sakk* وكذلك استعمالهم السك وانما هو الصَك قال صكّه ضربه شديدا "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*".

سكة (60a) *sikka* ويقولون لا سكة ولا هندام هو على طريق التشبيه ايضا بالدرهم المسكوك بخلاف الذي ما عليه سكة فانه عدم واصل السكة حديدة منقوشة

تضرب عليها الدراهم وحديدة الفدّان والطريق المستوي والسكّى 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 "سِكّة ... stamped coin". Dozy 666a "سِكّة (...) monnaie, argent monnayé".

skn مسكن (115a) *maskan* يقولون مسكن شرعي وهو صحيح ويجوز مسكن بكسر الفآ "house". See HB 421b. بكسر الفآ is an error and should be read as بكسر الكاف.

slğm سلجم (101a) *salğam* يقولون سلجم وهو صحيح قال سلجم كجعفر نبت معروف "turnip". See Wehr 490b. Dozy I 671b "سِلْجَم لفت navet long et grand". Steingass 757b شلغم *shalgham,* a turnip, rape". Al-Ḫafāğī 121 "سلجم بالسين نوع من الخضراوات".

slʿ يِسَلَّع (44b) *yisallaʿ* ويقولون فلان يِسَلَّع الشي يريدون انه يسعى في نفاق متاعه وروّاجه وان الناس يجيبونه الى ما يريد فيه "to be successfull in selling one's goods". HB 424b mentions the noun *silʿa* "commodity". Dozy I 674b "سلع II سلّع حصاناً maquignonner, user d'artifice pour couvrir les vices d'un cheval".

سلعة (44b) *səlʿa* ويقولون في رقبة العدوّ سلعة وهي زِيادة تحدث في البدن كالغدّة تتحرك اذا حركت وتكون من حمصة الى بطيخة وهو مسلوع "cyst". See Wehr 493a, and Hava 331b. Dozy 675a "سَلْعة goître, tumeur grosse de nature spongieuse à la gorge".

slf سلف (25b) *salaf* يقولون الله يرحم سلفك وفلان يسلف اي يقرض وكلاهما لغوي "ancestors". See HB 425a.

سلفه (25b) *səlfa* ويقولون وهم اهل الحرف اعطاه سلفه لشي يعطى للصانع حتى لا يشتغل عند الغير ولعله ماخوذ من السلف لانه قدمه له واسلفه "advance payment". Wehr 493b "سَلَف advance payment"; "سلفة *sulfa* loan; (cash) advance".

يسلف (25b) *yisallif* يقولون الله يرحم سلفك وفلان يسلف اي يقرض وكلاهما لغوي "to lend". See HB 425a.

slq سلق (45b) *səlaq* ويقولون سلق اللحم مثلا اذا غلاه "to boil". See HB 425a *salaʾ*.

سَلق (45b) *salq* ويقولون كزبره وسلق بفتح السين وانما هو بكسرها "chard". See HB 425b. Dozy I 675b "سِلْق (...) bette blanche". Boulos "Salq *Beta vulgaris* subsp. *Maritima* سَلْق".

يسّلّق (46a) *yissallaq* ويقولون يسّلّق على الحيط واصله يتسلق كما قالوا يصّنّط والاصل يتصَنّط "to climb". In HB 425b only as *maṣdar*: "*tasallu*ʾ ↑ climb, ascent".

slk سلك (60b) *silk* ويقولون على الخيط سِلك "thread". HB 425b "wire".

sll المسلّه (91b) *misalla* يقولون خيّطه بالمسلّه لم تعلم "thick needle". See HB 426b. Al-Maġribī overlooked it in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, because it says on p. 914b: "المِسَلَّةُ، بكسر الميم: مِخْيَطٌ ضَخْمٌ".

slm سُلْمة (100b) *sulma* يقولون وهم اهل مكة على البوسه سُلْمة بضم الاولى مثل قبله "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.[520]

سلالم (100b) *salālim* يقولون السّلالم اي جمع سُلّم "stairs". See HB 427b.

سِلام (10b) *silām* ومن اقبح ما ياتون به اعني عوام اهل مصر في اوقات انشراحهم ان السّوقة منه يجتمعون ويصيحون قولهم ذا هلال واكبر ذا مليح واكبر واحده والسِلام عليك الخ "peace", al-*silām ʿalyk* "peace be upon you". In Egypt, it is unusual to say al-*salāmu ʿalēk*; it is more common to say *ʿalēkum*, 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 سِلا (9a) *silā* ويقولون الشي المسْلى سِلا "clarified butter". See Wehr 489b *silāʾ*. HB 428b only mentions the verb *sala* "to melt (butter)". Clarified butter is now called *samn(a)* in Egypt.

سلى (128a) *salla* يقولون فلان سلى فلانا "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".

smdʿ سميدع (44b) *sumydaʿ* / *ṣumydaʿ* ويقولون ما يقدر على هذا الاكل سميدع فيضمون السين بل ربما نطقوا به بالصّاد "lord". Lane IV 1424b سَمَيْدَعٌ "lord, master, chief, prince, or man of rank or quality". According to Lane, the vocalization is *samaydaʿ*; *sumaydaʿ* is vulgar.

[520] I thank Ms. Mahasen Abu Mansour for this information.

sm^{ʿ} سُمْعه (45a) *sum^{ʿ}a* ويقولون ريا وسُمْعه وهي فُعله من الاسماع "reputation". See HB 431a. The word ريا should be read as رأياً "by opinion and reputation".

smm سم ساعة (101a) *səmm sā^{ʿ}a* يقولون سم ساعة بضم السين "poison that kills on the spot". Hava 334b "سَمّ ساعة poison killing on the spot". The vocalization can be *simm*, *summ*, or *samm*, see HB 432a.

سمآئم (101a) *samā^{ʾ}im* يقلن اي الواحدة منهن بقيت سمآئم من كذا وهو صحيح السموم الريح الحارة مونثة جمعها سمآئم "suffering from the heat?". Hava 334b "سَمُم ج سَمَائِم simoom, pestilential hot wind". Dozy 680a "سَمُوم 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 سنبوسك (60b) *sanbūsak* ويقولون سنبوسك للماكول المخصوص ذي ثلاث زوايا "triangular pastry". Dozy I 690a-b mentions the varieties سَنْبُوسَج , سَنْبُوسَك , سَنْبُسَق , سَنْبُوسة "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 "سنبوسك *sambūsak*, a pie; سنبوسه *sambūsa*, a kind of triangular pastry, a pie."

snbq سنبوق (46a) *sənbwq* يقولون سنبوق للمركب الصغير "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 سنبوك (46a; 60b) *sənbwk* ويقولون سندوق بالسين كما يقولون سنبوق للمركب الصغير وكلاهما صحيح قال السندوق الصندوق والسنبوق كعصفور زورق صغير والعامة لا تنطق به الا سنبوك بالكاف وسياتي حرف الكاف؛ ويقولون على المركب الصغير سنبوك "small boat". See Wehr 506a *sunbuk, sunbūk*. BW IV 218a "*sumbuk*: kleine Feluke [Port Said]; Rettungsboot [NOD2]; kleines Floss [Damietta]". Al-Ḫafāǧī 118 " سنبوك سفينة صغيرة تستعمله أهل الحجاز وعبر به فى الكشاف وقيل من سنبك للدابة على التشبيه ولم نره فى كلامهم قديما". See also سنبوق.

sndq سندوق (46a) *səndūq* ويقولون سندوق بالسين "box". Lane 1445a "سُنْدوق a

dial. var. of صُنْدوق". HB 435a "*sandūʾ, sundūʾ* 1. box, container".

sndl واعلم ان سِنْداب هو الصُّلب والظاهر ان الذي يقولون عليْه (15a) *sindāl* سِنْدال "anvil". See HB 435a. Hava 339b "سَنْدَان anvil". *sindān* is Persian; see Steingass 701 and Vollers (1896) p. 643.

snn يقولون مِسَن وهو صحيح قال وكل ما يسنّ به او عليه مسن (115b) *misann* مِسَن "whetstone". See HB 436a.

shm يقولون فلان قاعد مُسَهِّم اذا كان في فكرة وحسبان كانه (101a) *musahhim* مُسَهِّم مغتاظ ربما يناسبه ان السّهوم العبوس "looking preoccupied, frowning". See HB 438a.

shy السهى (50a) al-*suhā* يقال فلان في السهى اي انه عالي القدر "the *Suhā*-star, a star in Ursa Major", *fulān fī-s-suhā* "so-and-so is of high rank". Hava 342a "وسُهًى سُهاً dim star in ursa major". Lane IV 1456a "السُّهَا [often written السُّهَى].

swsn سوسن (115a) *sawsan* يقولون سوسن وهو صحيح كجوهر بري وبستاني "lily of the valley". See HB 441b. Boulos 551 "Sawsan *Pancratium arabicum, P. maritimum* سَوسَى". Al-Ḥafāǧī 123 سوسن زهر معروف

swq ساقه (46a) *sāqa* ويقولون على الموخر الساقه "rear guard". See Wehr 517a.

يسّوق (46a) *yissawwaq* ويقولون فلان يسّوق الشر لعل اصله يتسوق وتسوّقوا باعوا واشتروا وطالب الشر كذلك "to go looking for". HB 442b "*itsawwaʾ* or *issawwaʾ* (..) 2. to go shopping, go buying". Spiro 295b "*issawwaq* to purchase, buy". Al-Maġribī means "he goes looking for trouble / mischief."

swk سواك (60b) *siwāk* ويقولون المسواك والسواك والكل صحيح "stick used for cleaning the teeth". See HB 442b; "*miswāk* = *siwāk*".

مسواك (60b) *miswāk* "stick used for cleaning the teeth". See سواك.

swy سوآان (128a) *sawāʾān* يقولون هما سوآان والذي في النحو انه لا يقال سوآان لانه استغنى عنه بسيّان "equals". Dualis of سواء. According to al-Maġribī this should be سيّان. See Wehr 519b: "هما سيان they are alike, are the same". Nowadays *sawa* in Egypt, see HB 443a.

sybwyh ويقولون فلان سيبويه زمانه كثير من الخواص لا يعلمون (15a) *sībawayh.* سيبويه اصل تركية واصله سيب وويه سيب بالفارسي التفاح اى رائحه التفاح

"Sībawayh, personal name". *huwwa Sībawayh zamānu* "he is the Sībawayhi of his time". The etymology proffered by al-Maġribī 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". *EI*^{2} 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, Sēbôe "Little Apple" (Nöldeke, apud Brockelmann, I, 100)".

sysbn سيسبان (15a) *sysəbān* ويقولون سيسبان للشجر المعروف "sesban tree". HB 411a "*sasabān, sisibān, saysabān* <P *sîsabân*> sesban, Danchi plant". Wehr 523a "Sesbania aegyptiaca Pers." Steingass 716b "سيسبان *sīsabān*, seed of cinquefoil". Boulos IV 550 "Saisaban *Pycnocycla tomentosa, Sesbania sesban* سَيْسَبَانْ".

syf سَيف (26a) *syf* ويقولون سَيف وهو معروف "sword". See HB 446a. It is unclear why it is mentioned by al-Maġribī 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 سيقان (46a) *syqān* ويقولون سيقان يريدون 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 سيمة (101a) *syma* يقولون انقلبت سيمته اذا تغيّرت صورته "appearance". Wehr 524a "سيمة سيماء سيما mark, sign, characteristic; mien, expression". BW IV 225b "*bisīmit kalb* in Gestalt eines Hundes" (Baḥariyya).

š

šām شامي (101b) *šāmī* يقولون فلان شامي وهو صحيح مهموزا وغير مهموز "Levantine". In Egypt, the variant without *hamza* is used: HB 448a "*šāmi* 1. pertaining to the Levant, especially Syria and Lebanon".

šbb شباب (15b) *šabāb* يقولون للشبّان شباب مع ان الشباب مصدر لا جمع على حسب الظاهر "young men". Initially, al-Maġribī believed that *šabāb*

was an incorrect plural of *šābb*, but he corrects himself in the margin: ثم ظهر ان الشباب جمع شاب قال في القاموس الشباب الفتا كالشبيبة وجمع شاب كالشبان. HB 449a classifies it as a collective noun, not a plural. Lane IV 1494b "or the last [= شَبابٌ] is an inf. n. used as an epithet applied to a pl. number".

šbrq يشبرق (46b) *yišabraq* ويقولون فلان يشبرق اولاده اذا كان يشتري لهم ما يطلبون "to give (children) a treat". See HB 449b, and Spiro 301b.

šbʿ شبعان (45a) *šabʿān* يقولون فلان شبعان ضد جوعان وكذلك يقولون حرير شبعان اي ثخين "satiated, full; thick (material)". HB 450a "*šabʿān* 1. satiated, full (with food). (..) 3. full (of pleats)". Lane IV 1497a "شَبِيعٌ (..) *a garment,* or *piece of cloth, [of full texture,* or] *of many threads*".

شبعه (45a) *šabʿa* يقولون شبعه من طعام كذا فيفتحون الشين "satisfaction (of food)". HB 450a "*šabʿa* a repletion, one's fill". Lane 1497a "شُبْعَةٌ من الطعام the quantity with which one is satiated, sated, or satisfied, once, of food".

štl اشتله (79b) *ištalah* واعلم ان قول العامة فلان شتله اذا ذهب او اشتله اي اذهب مصحف عن استل "to make go away". Lane IV 1396a "اسْتَلَّ بِكَذَا meaning *He went away with such a thing covertly, secretly, or clandestinely*". Wehr 489a *tasallala* "to steal away, slink away".

شتله (79b) *šətlah* (?) واعلم ان قول العامة فلان شتله اذا ذهب او اشتله اي ذهب عن استل مصحف. See اشتله.

مشتل (79b) *maštal* فيكون ايضا قول العامة لعب معه مشتل مصحفا عن مستل وهو الطريق الضيّق اي ادخلته في امر صعب واما شتل ومشتل بالمعجمة فلم تاتي كما ياتي "narrow road", *ləʿəb maʿah maštal* "he put him in a difficult position". Hava 309a "مَسْتَلٌ narrow road". The word *mastal* was probably no longer understood in al-Maġribī's time, so it was confused with the more familiar *maštal* ("plant nursery").

štm شتم (101b) *šatam* يقولون شتمه اي سبّه "to insult". See HB 452b.

štw شتوي (128a) *šitwī* يقولون هذا المحل شتوي ضد صيفي "winter- (adj.)". HB 452b "*šitwi* winter, wintery". Al-Ḫafāğī 135-136 "شتوى: فى همع الهوامع قولهم فى النسبة الى الشتاء شتوى القياس شتائى وفى النسبة الى سوق

الليل سقلى".

šḥm شحم (101b) *šəḥm* يقولون اراح بشحم كلاه "grease, fat", *bi-šaḥm kilāh* "brisk, energetic". Lane IV 1513b "كُلاَهُ لَقِيتُهُ بِشَحْمٍ [lit. *I met him,* or *found him, with the fat of his kidneys,*] meaning, *in his state of briskness, liveliness,* or *sprightliness*.

šḥn شحنة (115b) *šəḥna* يقولون فلان شحنة اذا كان مشدا على شي "hatred". Lane IV 1514b " شَحْنَآءُ *rancour, malevolence, malice,* or *spite,* or *vehement hatred,* and *enmity*; as also شِحْنَة." HB 454b "*šāḥin* ↑ to quarrel with, dispute with".

šdq يشّدق (46b) *yiššaddaq* ويقولون لكثير الكلام يشّدق والظاهر ان الاصل يتشدق "to be diffuse in speech". See HB 456b, Spiro 307a, and Lane IV 1520b.

šdl شادلي (81a) *šādilī* ويقولون الطآئفه الشاذليّة والشيخ ابو الحسن شادلي شادل بالدال المهملة "belonging to the *Šāḏiliyya ṣūfī* order". Nowadays pronounced as *šazli* and *šadli*.

شاذليّة (81a) *šādiliyya* "the Šāḏiliyya sufi order". See شاذلي

šdn شادن (115b) *šādin* يقولون في الاشعار شادن وهو بالدال المهملة "gazelle fawn". See Wehr 538b. Classicism used in poetry.

šrʿ مشرّع (45a) *mušarraʿ* ويقولون الباب مفتوح مشرّع او فلان مهتوك مشرّع وله نسبة قال اشرع بابا الى الطريق فتحه والطريق بيّنه كشرّعه تشريعا "open to the street (door); disgraced". HB 461a "*širrāʿa* or *šurrāʿa* 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 البابُ إلى الطَرِيق the door, or entrance, communicated with the road". Dozy I 747b form II "ouvrir une porte, une fenêtre, une tente, à sous-entendre الى الطَّرِيق".

šrf شارف (26a) *šārif* يقولون كبيرة شارف "old (fem)". Wehr 546a "*šārif* old (camel mare)"; idem Lane IV 1538b. Dozy 749b "شارف vieux et décrépit".

šrk شريك (60b) *šuryk* ويقولون شريك للخبز المخصوص ولعله غير عربي مثل بريك "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

loaf, commonly sweetened". İhsanoğlu p. 352: " چُورَك: نوع من الكعك اللين على شكل حلقات صغيرة مدورة، ومنه عدة أنواع".

šrwl وقوله شروال بالشين لغة ثانية لم يقل فيها معربا وهي مستعملة (80b) *širwāl* شروال الان بين الاروام "drawers, trousers". Steingass 679b only mentions سروال and that it is Arabic. Redhouse (1968) p. 1022b سروال. *EI²* IX p. 676a (W. Björkman) mentions both *širwāl* and *šarwāl*.

štf (26a) *šaṭaf* شطف اما شطف الثوب غسله "to rinse". See HB 465b, and Dozy I 759b.

(26a) *šaṭaf* شطف وقد علم ان قولهم فلان شطف فلانا شطفه اذا سبّه ولم يبق ممكنا فكانهم قالوا غسله غسلا "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.

štf (26a) *šəṭfa* شطفة اصل في اللغة وليس لها شطفة الشريف ويقولون لعلامة "a sign of distinction of the nobles". Dozy I 759b "شَطْفة 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'll (81a) *tiššaʾlil* تشّعلل يقولون النار تشّعلل "to flare up". See HB 468a.

šġf (26a) *mašġūf* مشغوف المجنون وفي اللغة المشغوف ويقولون فلان مشغوف "passionate, crazy (about something)". See HB 468b. Hava 369a "شَغَف to wound in the heart"; "شُغِف حُبّاً to feel a passionate love for". Lane IV 1567a "مشغوف insane, or mad; مشغوفُ بمالٍ one to whom property is embellished (or rendered pleasing) so that he loves it".

šfšf (26b) *yišafšif ʿalā* يشفشف على النسا من كثيرا يقع عليه يشفشف قلبي ويقولون "to yearn for". See HB 469b.

šff (26b; 121b) *šiffa* شِفّة في الشّفَةِ شِفّة فيكسرون الاول ويشددون وانما هي الشَّفة بالفتح والتخفيف؛ يقولون شِفّة وانما هي شفه مخفف "lip". See HB 470b.

šqdf (26b) *šəqdəf* شقدف على الهودج ويقولون "camel litter, sedan chair". Hava 371b "شَقْدَف camel-litter". Wehr 561b "*šuqduf* a kind of sedan".

šqf شقفه (26b) *šəqfa* ويقولون شقفه والشوام يستعملونها بمعنى القطعه "pot sherd; piece" (Levant). HB 471b "*šaqfa* a (pot)sherd". Dozy I 774b "شَقَف , vulg. شَقْف , ... pot de terre...; débris de pot cassé, tesson, têt". Barthélemy 399 *šəqfe* "morceau, pièce". See also Almkvist (1893) p. 293.

šqq شقاق (47a) *šəqāq* ويقولون على بعض الامراض شقاق وعلى اخر شقيقة "disease which causes cracks in the skin". See Lane IV 1578b. BW IV 242a "*šagg, šugūg* Schrunde" (Kharga); 242b "*mišiggig* schrundig, mit Schrunden bedeckt" (Kharga).

شقة (46b) *šəqqa* ويقولون شقة قماش "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 *"šaʾʾa* 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 "شِقّة (...) proprement pièce d'étoffe".

شقيقة (47a) *šəqyqa* ويقولون على بعض الامراض شقاق وعلى اخر شقيقة "splitting headache". Lane IV 1578c "headache". Wehr 561a "hemicrania, migraine".

šqlb شقلب (15a; 15b) *šaqlib* قال في القاموس السقلبة مصدر سقلبه صرعه فالظاهر ان هذا الذي تقول عليه العامة شقلبه بالمعجمة؛ ويقولون شقلبه اي غيّره من حال الى اخر انظر اصْله "to turn upside down; to change". HB 472a "*šaʾlib* 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 *ʾa*, of which *ša* > *sa* and *ʾa* still exist in Arabic. See also Kamil (1963) p. 29 for the causative with *ša-*.

škrm شُكَيْرم (101b) *šukayrəm* يقولون للقصير شُكَيْرم وليس لغويا فلعلّه تحريف من شُبَيْرم "short". No references found.

škk شكَّ (60b) *šakka* يقولون شكَّ هذا في الخيط مثلا اي انظمه فيه "to do neatly (sewing)". Lane 1582c "شك 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 شكل (81a) *šikl* ويقولون ما ذا الا شكل فيكسرون الشين وليس فيه شين قال

الشكل الشبه والمثل ويكسر "coquetry". Wehr 564a "*šikl* coquetry, coquettishness". HB 474a "appearance". Kazimirski I 1260a "1. ressemblance (quant à la forme) 2. image, figure 3. coquetterie".

škm شكم (102a) *šakam* يقولون شكم الفرس وهو صحيح من الشكيم والشكيمة في اللجام الحديدة المعترضة في فم الفرس "to bridle". See Wehr 565a. HB 474b "*šakam* to curb, restrain".

šlf شلاّفه (26b) *šəllāfa* ويقولون شلاّفَه مثلا للمراة التي تاخذ دراهم من الطالب لها كثيرا "prostitute". Dozy I 782b "شلافة prostituée".

اشتلف (47a; 58a) *ištalaf* انهم يصحفون اشتلق على الحركه اشتلف على الخِركه وسياتي؛ ويقولون في صناعة الخشب خِركه حتى انهم يصحفون لمن ادرك الخفيّ اشتلف على الخركه اي اشتلق على الحركة ولم يعلم شى من ذلك "to have suspicion of". Hava 375a "اشتَلَقَ على to perceive stealthily, to have suspicion of". *ištalaf* seems to be a nonsense-word, a corruption of *ištalaq* by changing the diacritical dots. For more information about this kind of misspellings, see also الّل.

šlq اشلق (47a) *ašlaq* ويقولون اشلقه على الشي اي اخبره به او اظهره له "to inform on". Hava 375a "اشتلق على to perceive stealthily, to have suspicion of".

شلق (47a) *šələq* ويقولون اشلقه على الشي اي اخبره به او اظهره له وشلق الشي رماه "to throw". Wehr 566a "to split lengthwise". Hava 375a "to strike; to crumble down (wall)". Dozy I 782b "I tomber en partie II fouetter, flageller."

شلقه (47a) *šalqa* وفي سبهم فلانه شلقه حتى انهم يقولون خذ من الفجل الورق ومن النسا الشلق ويفسّرونها بالطوال والشَلَق الآن عند العامة الطويل والطويلة، وربما قالوا: شَلَقة. ومن حكم العجائز: كُلْ من الفجل الورق، واشرب من اللحم المَرَق، والبس من الثياب الخَلق، وخُذ من النسوان الشلق. HB 476a "*šalaʾ* /adj invar/ ill-bred, insolent, abusive. *in-niswān iššalaʾ dōl* those foul-mouthed broads". Dozy I 782b "امرأة شلقة mégère, pecque, femme sotte et impertinente".

šmrdl شمردل (81a) *šəmərdəl* ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الصعيد الشيخ شمردل اسم شيخ

مدفون في الصعيد “*Šəmərdəl* (personal name)”. There is a neighbourhood called حي الشيخ شمردل in al-Fašn, a town in the governorate of Banī Suwayf, see www.marefa.org الفشن. Lane 1596c “شَمَرْدَل a youth, strong and hardy, and in the like sense applied to a camel”.

šml مَشْمل (81a) *mašmal* ويقولون في الدعا على الاعدا مَشْمل بفتح الميمين وليس كذلك قال مِشمل كمنبر سيف قصير يتغطى بالثوب وكمحراب ملحفة “having the qualities of a bad omen?”. Hava 378a “مِشمَل small dagger worn under the clothes”. More probably, it has nothing to do with a dagger (al-Maġribī’s suggestion), but is a contraction of *mā ašmal* (from *šimāl* “bad omen”) like *mā agdaʿ* > *magdaʿ* (having the qualities of a *gadaʿ*, HB 151a), which is the admiration formula *mā* + elative, see Brockelmann (1965) p. 175.

šmm مشموم (102a) *mašmūm* يقولون على الطيب مشموم وهو صحيح “smelling 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 شنب (15b) *šanab* ويقولون فاتك الشنب “moustache”, *fātək aš-šanab* “you are a weakling”. Al-Ḫafāğī 172 “ فاتك الشنب: مثل يضرب لمن لا يصل الى شيء”. The moustache is a sign of masculinity, see HB 480b.

šnšn يشنشن (115b) *yišanšin* ويقولون يشنشن اي يصوّت ومنه قولهم لبّه مشنشنة لحلي يوضع في عنق المراة والذي فى 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 .

مشنشن (115b) *mušanšin* ويقولون يشنشن اي يصوّت ومنه قولهم لبّه مشنشنة لحلي يوضع في عنق المراة 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

coral) in the centre. This and the following are seldom worn by any but females of the middle and lower orders".

šnf شنف (26b) *šannif* [احد] ويقولون عند السماع شنفتم المَسَامع فلو مشى معهم في تشنيف المسامع لما شنفوا المَسَامع "to please the ears". Hava 379a "to adorn a.o. with earrings; to adorn (speech)". HB 481b "to embellish (the nose) with a *šināf*" (= nose-ring). Lane IV 1606b " شنّف كلامه وقرّطه he adorned and embellished his language".

شنف (27a) *šannif* فصح قولهم شنفتم المسامع بخلاف قولهم شنف الفنجان مثلا اي املاه اذ لا مناسبة بين الامتلا والتشنيف "to fill". No references found.

šnn شن الغارة (115b) *šann al-ġāra* يقولون شن عليهم الغارة "to launch an attack". See Wehr 569b.

شنين (115b) *šənīn* يقولون في حكاياتهم بالشنين والبنين وليس لهما اصل اصلا "nonsense word rhyming with *banīn*, 'and they lived happily ever after'". Taymūr IV 250-1 mentions شُنُون *šunūn*, which is always referred to in combination with *šēʾ*: *da sēʾ wi šunūn* "that is something good, beautiful". Al-Maġribī's statement that neither بنين nor شنين have an equivalent in Classical Arabic is incorrect, since بنين is the gen./acc. of بنون "boys, sons".

šhm شِهِم (102a) *šihim* يقولون فلان شِهِم فيكسرون الشين والها "clever". HB 484a "*šahm* /adj invar/ gallant, decent, gentlemanly". Hava 380b "شَهْم sharp-minded, clever; energetic". Lane IV 1613c "شَهْم hardy, strong, sturdy etc.; clever etc."

šwf شاف (27a) *šāf* يقولون شاف الشي اي نظره "to see". Originally meant "to polish", see Lane 1619b.

اشتاف (27a) *ištāf* فلان اشتاف من فلان او مشتاف منه اذا كان خآئفا "to be afraid of". Lane IV 1619b "اشاف he feared".

مشتاف (27a) *məštāf* "afraid". See اشتاف.

شيافة (27a) *šəyāfa* ويقولون لدوآ العين شيافة "medicine for the eye". Kazimirski I 1289a "شياف tout remède pour une maladie d'yeux". Hava 382b "eye-wash, eye-powder".

šwk شوّك (60b) *šawwik* ويقولون شوّكته الشوكة وهو صحيح "to prick". See HB

487a.

شوكة (60b) *šwka* ويقولون شوّكته الشوكة وهو صحيح "a thorn". HB 487a "*šōka* 1. a thorn, a splinter, a spine, a fish bone".

شوكه (60b) *šwka* ويقولون صاحب شوكه "might, strength". Wehr 577b "(...) furor of fighting, bravura, bravery, valor, verve, dash, élan". Hava 383a "power, might". Lane IV 1621b "vehemence of might or strength".

šwlm يِشوْلم (102a) *yišwlam* يقولون فلان يِشوْلم اذا كثر صياحه وصخبه "to rage, scream". Lane IV 1592b "شَلِّم sparks of anger". Dozy I 783a "شلم I rendre quelqu'un perplexe". Another verb with the pattern KwKak that is mentioned by al-Maġribī is سَوْحَل.

šwn شونة (115b) *šwna* يقولون شونة قمح مثلا وهو صحيح "storage place for grain". Kamāl (1997) p. 62 mentions that its origin is Coptic: (..) كلمة (شونة) ليست عربية وانما هى لفظة قبطية تنطق (شونى) وهيروغليفية تنطق (شنوت) ومعناها مخزن غلال. HB 487b and Vollers (1896) p. 654 confirm its Coptic origin.

šwh مشوّه (122a) *mušawwah* يقولون فلان مشوّه الخلقه اي اذا كان قبيحها "deformed". HB 487b "*šawwih, šawwah* ... 2. to be defaced, be disfigured, be deformed".

تشويه (122a) *tašwīh* ولكن الاروام والعجم يقولون التشويه على النقش فعندهم كليله ودمنة مشوهة اي منقوش فيها الاشكال المذكوره وكذلك ديوان حافظ ومقامات الحريري "illustration". No references found with this meaning. Steingass 304 "تشويه *tashwīh* making deformed, ugly".

شاه (122a) *šāh* يقولون عندي شاه اصلها شاهة لان تصغيرها شويهة والجمع شياهٌ بالها "sheep". Wehr 574b "شاء *šāʾ* sheep", n. un. is شاة *šāh* and pl. *šiyāh.*

šwy شُوا (128a) *šuwā* يقولون لحم شوا بضم الشين وهو صحيح ويجوز الكسر "grilled meat". Wehr 578b "*šiwāʾ*, *šuwāʾ* broiled, or grilled, meat, and the like".

شويّه (128a) *šəwayya* يقولون هذا شويّه اي قليل انظر هل هو تصغير شي لم يظهر فيه الان شي "a little". See HB 488a. *šuwayya* is indeed the diminutive of *šayʾ*.

šyʾ يقولون شا افعل شا اروح وهم اهل اليمن وهي صحيحة اي اريد افعل او *šā* (9a) شا اراد في شا يفعل واردت في افعل لان شا ماض دائما "to want" (Yemeni). 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 تشيطن اي فعل فعل الشياطين *tašayṭan* (115b) تشيطن "to be naughty". See HB 490a. Spiro 328b has *iššēṭan.*

šyl ويقولون شيله بَيْله والاصل تركي شويله بويله باشباع *šyla byla* (128a) شيله بَيْله الشين والبا والضم اي هكذا والثاني تاكيد للاول "heave-ho!". 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 وَدّته الشيميه لكذا *šymya* (102a) الشيميه "whirlpool". Dozy I 812a "شِيمة tourbillon". His source is *Dictionnaire français-arabe* of Ellious Bocthor. HB 491a "*šīma* eddy, whirlpool. - also *šimya*."

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ṣbb يقولون فلان عاشق صبابة كانهم قصدوا المبالغة فوصفوا *ṣabāba* (15b) صبابة بالمصدر "ardent love". Lane IV 1639b "excessive love". HB 493a "*ṣabāba* passionately (in love). *muġram ṣabāba* head over heels in love".

ṣbn يقولون صابون وهو بهذه اللفظة في كل اللغات قال (...) *ṣābūn* (116a) صابون والصابون معروف فائدة هو حار يابس مفرّح للجسد "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*".

صيبان (116a) *ṣybān* يقولون قمل وصيبان "nits (coll.)". HB 397b "سبان، صئبان *sibān* /coll n/ eggs of hair-lice, nits". In Classical Arabic, the sg. is صؤاب and the pl. is صئبان , i.e. the root is Ṣ'B. However, in Egyptian

Arabic this plural now has the function of collectivum, and therefore has a nomen unitatis *sibāna*; it is, thus, placed under the root ṢBN here, as in HB; al-Maġribī also places it under the N, not under the B.

ṣbw صَبْوة (128a) *ṣabwa* يقولون فلان صَبْوة اطلقوا المصدر على الشخص مبالغة "young and strong". Lane IV 1649b: صبوة is the *maṣdar* of صبا "*He was a youth,* or *boy,* or *child*". HB 495a "having spine or backbone, stout, solid".

ṣḥf صحايف (27a) *ṣaḥāyif* يقولون مثلا الفاتحة في صحايف فلان وهي جمع صحيفة بمعنى الكتاب (...) فمعنى الفاتحة في صحايفه اي تثبت في كتب حسناته "books". Synonym of كتاب, see Lane IV 1655b.

مصحف (27a) *maṣḥaf, muṣḥaf* ويقولون مصحف تارة بفتح الميم وتارة بضمّها ولكن هو مثلث الميم "copy of the Qurʾān". HB 497a only gives the pronunciation *muṣḥaf*. Hava 390a gives the three pronunciations.

ṣḥn صحن (116a) *ṣəḥn* يقولون صحن صيني مثلا "plate". HB 497b "*ṣaḥn* 1. plate, dish". *ṣaḥn ṣīnī* is related to *ṣīniyya* "tray" as a result of ellipsis.

ṣdf صدف، يصدف (27b) *ṣədəf, yiṣdəf* ويقولون فلان يصدف اي ينظر وصدفته اين الاول ما صدفته والثاني قال في المختصر صدفه وجده "to see; to come across". HB 499a "*ṣadaf* (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".

صدفه (27b) *ṣudfa* وقول الناس كانت صدفه يريدون انها نادرة "rare". HB 499a "*ṣudfa* chance, chance circumstance, coincidence". A coincidence does not happen often, it is, therefore, rare.

ṣdq مصداق (47a) *miṣdāq* يقولون مصداق هذا كذا اي الذي يصدّقه "touchstone". Hava 393a "مِصداق touchstone; test, criterion". HB 499b "*miṣdāq* (also *miṣdāqan*) *li-kalāmak*... confirming your (truthful) words..."

صدقات (47b) *ṣədəqāt* ويقولون نعرض كذا على صدقات مولانا مثلا "charitable deeds". See HB 499b.

ṣrf صرّاف (27b) *ṣarrāf* ويقولون صرّاف وصيرفي "money changer". See HB 502a. The *faʿʿāl*-form according to Fleisch (1961) I p. 358 "donne du vocabulaire expressif: adjectives (augmentatifs ou diminutives) qui

peuvent être substantivés".

صيرفي (27b) *ṣyrafī* ويقولون صرّاف وصيرفي "money changer". Lane IV 1683a "صَيْرَفِيٌّ *i.q.* ↓ صَرَّافٌ (..) *A money-changer*".

صرفان (27b) *ṣərfān* ويقولون على حجارة تخرج من الجير صرفان "block of limestone". Lane IV 1682b "الصَرَفان death; lead; copper; a sort of dates". No source has been found which gives the meaning of "limestone".

ṣrm صرم (102b) *ṣərm* يقولون على الاست صرم ولم يعلم "arsehole". HB 502b "*ṣurm [coarse]* arsehole". Hava 319a "سُرْم anus, end of the rectum". Al-Maġribī 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 *rāʾ*; see §6.2.4.

ṣṭb مصطبة (15b) *maṣṭaba* وَيَقولون مصطبة للذي يجلس عليها وتقدم ان الصواب كسر الميم وهم يفتحونها "stone bench". See HB 826b, and Hava 319b. Vollers (1897) p. 293 suggests that its origin is Aramaic.

ṣʿlk صعلوك (61a) *ṣaʿlūk* الصعلوك كعصفور الفقير وتصعلك افتقر وهذا الذي تقول فيه زعلوك وقد تبدل الزاي صادا "poor". See زعلوك.

ṣfṣf صفصاف (28a) *ṣəfṣāf* ويقولون صفصاف قال وهو شجر الخلاف "willow". See HB *ṣafṣāf, ṣufṣāf*. Boulos IV p. 550 "Safsaaf *Salix mucronata* صَفْصَافْ".

ṣff صَفّ (28a) *ṣaff* ويقولون فلان من صَفّي مثلا اي من حزبي "group". HB 506a "*ṣaff* 1. row, line, rank". Dozy I 834a "bande, essaim; troisième partrie d'une compagnie; ligue entre des tribus". Lane IV 1693c "a company of men standing in a rank".

ṣqʿ صاقعه (47a) *ṣāqiʿa* ويقال للصاعقه صاقعه بتقديم القاف "lightning". Lane IV 1690c mentions صاقعة as a dialectal variant of صاعقة. His source is the تاج العروس. HB 503b only mentions *ṣaʾʿa / ṣaʿqa*. See §6.2.7 for information about metathesis.

مِصْقع (47a) *miṣqaʿ* ويقولون خطيب مِصْقع كانه اذا تكلم لا يستطيع احد يتكلم وكانما انزل على من عاداه صاعقه "loud-voiced". See Hava 401b, and Wehr 607b.

ṣql مصقلة (81a) *maṣqala* يقولون مصقلة فيفتحون الميم وليس كذلك قال والمِصْقلة كمكنسة خرزة يصقل بها "burnisher". See HB 507a *maṣʾala*. Hava 401b

"مِصْقَل ومِصْقَلَة polisher".

ṣlf صليف (28a) *ṣəlīf* يقولون نظيف صليف "meaningless rhymeword to *nəẓīf*", *nəẓīf ṣəlīf* "spotless".

ṣly صلاية (128b) *ṣalāya* يقولون صلاية لما يدق بها "mortar and pestle". See Lane IV 1722a-b. HB 510a "*ṣalāya [rur]* wooden mortar and pestle". BW IV 268a "*ṣalāya* (...) Palmstumpf, Palmwurzel (ausgehöhlt als Mörser verwendet, daher vielfach *ṣalāya* = hölzener Mörser".

ṣml اصمل (81a) *iṣmul* وظهر ايضا معنى قولهم اصْمل يا فلان اذا امره بالتجلد والضّرب "endure! (imperative)". See HB 510b, and Spiro 343b.

صامول (81a) *ṣāmūl* 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 *ṣamūly*, coarse bread, soldiers' bread". In HB 510b only as a verb "*ṣammal [rur]* to reheat, re-bake (bread)". İhsanoğlu p. 413-414: صومون: تعني الخبز المستدير، والقطعة المعدنية الصغيرة المربعة أو المسدسة الشكل ذات الثقب الملولب تدخل في المسمار الملولب (..) ويبدو أن الصمولة في مصر تحريف لها. Dozy I 845a "صُمَيلة des pois chiches qui sont rouges et mauvais". Bosworth (1976) II p. 281 mentions *mašmūl* and *šumūl*, used in the Sāsānī jargon for "bread".

ṣndq صَندوق (47b) *ṣandūq* ويقولون صندوق بفتح الصاد قال في القاموس الصندوق بالضم وقد تفتح "box". See HB 435a *sandūʾ, sundūʾ*. According to Vollers (1896) p. 651, the word was originally Indian.

ṣnṭ يصّنّط (46a) *yiṣṣannaṭ* ويقولون يسّلّق على الحيط واصله يتسلق كما قالوا يصّنّط والاصل يتصَنّط "to eavesdrop". See HB 511a. Dozy I 845b "صنت V être aux écoutes; c'est pour تنصّت que Bc a dans le même sens; on écrit aussi تصنَّط".

ṣnf صنف (28a) *ṣanf* ويقولون عنده من صنف كذا فيفتحون الصاد ولكن هي لغة فيه "type". See HB 512a. Lane IV 1735b "صِنْف and ↓ صَنْف a sort, or species".

ṣnn صنان (116a) *ṣunān* يقولون رائحته صنة او صنان "stench". Lane IV 1730b "صُنان a stink, or stench; (..) as also صِنّة". HB 512b "*ṣann* strong

odour, reek (particularly of urine or onions)"; ibid. "*ṣunān* = *ṣann*". صنة (116a) *ṣann* "stench". See صنان.

ṣhl صَاهل (81b) *ṣāhil* ويقولون كغيرهم في الفرس حَيَوَان صَاهل وفي الحمار حيوان ناهق "whinnying". See HB 513a.

ṣww الصُوّة (128b) *al-ṣuwwa* يقولون على محل عند القلعة في مصر الصُوّة "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-Qalqašandī (1987) III p. 423, al-Ṣuwwa is the elevation on the side of al-Qāhira, upon which the Citadel is built: " (...) الصوة وهي بقية النشز الذي بنيت عليه القلعة من جهة القاهرة".

ṣyḥ صيحاني (109b) *ṣyḥānī* يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة "kind of date". Lane IV 1752b "a sort of dates of El-Medeeneh, black, and hard to chew". *Ṣayḥān* is a river in eastern Turkey, see *EI*[2] IX p. 112a (C.P. Haase), but it is unclear if there is any link between this river and the *tamar ṣyḥānī*.

ṣyr كاني صاري (128b) *kāni ṣāri* يقولون كاني صاري لعلهما منسوبين الى صاري: كان وصار "excuses?". HB 729a "*kāni w-māni* <Copt> one thing or another; (..) *ḥatʾulli 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 صيف (28b) *ṣyf* ويقولون شتا وصيف "summer". See HB 517a.

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ḍʾn ضاني (116a) *ḍānī* يقولون لحم ضاني "mutton". See HB 518a. Dozy II 3a "ضأني viande de mouton".

ḍrb ضرب (15b) *ḍarb* يقولون في وصف الزيت ضرب الما وهو صحيح اي مثل الما "similar, like". Lane IV 1781b "...a like (of a thing and of a person)." Wehr 630b "kind, sort (...); similar, like". Dozy II 6b "espèce".

ضريبة (16a) *ḍarība* ويقولون ضريبة رز مثلا "tax". See HB 520b.

ḍʿf ضعف (28b) *ḍaʿf* يقولون الضعف فيفتحون العين وهي لغه ويضم مع سكون العين والثالثة فتح الضاد وسكون العين واضعفه جعله ضعيفا "weakness". See HB 522a.

ḍff ضفه (29a) *ḍaffa* ويقولون في غناهم بكيت حتى مليت الحوض للشفه واسقيت جمال العرب ضفه ورا ضفه الضفه الجماعة "group". HB 523a "*ḍaffa* group (usually as part of a profession)". Lane IV 1795a "ضَفة a single act of pushing, pressing, crowding, or thronging, together upon water."

ḍll ضالّ (81b) *ḍāll* يقولون فلان في الصحرا ضالّ أي انه تاه وتحيّر ويقع هذا كثيرا من العرب "lost (active part.)" (Arabs). In Egypt, the verb is still used in this sense, but the active participle is *ḍālil*, see HB 523b.

ḍwʾ ضآ (9a) *ḍāʾ* ويقولون ضآ وهو صحيح قال المجدي ضآ ضوا واضآ "to shine". HB 526b only mentions "*ḍawa* to gleam, shine, give off light" and "*ʾaḍāʾ* to light, illuminate". Spiro 354b only gives *ḍawa.* Dozy II 15a "ضوى I s'emploie dans la langue vulgaire pour ضاءَ, *briller*". It could be a classicism.

ḍyf ضيف (29a) *ḍyf* ويقولون عندنا ضيف ولو كانت امراة "guest (m. and f.)". Lane IV 1814b confirms that it is used for the masculine and feminine, as well as the plural.

ضاف،يضيف (29a) *ḍāf, yiḍīf* وقد وافقت العامة من الفلاحين الصواب في هذه حيث يقولون في دعوتهم يا فلان ضِيف وضفت فلانا اي كنت ضيفا عنده "to be a guest". Lane IV 1813c "ضِفتُهُ I alighted at his abode". Spiro 348a "*ḍāf (jiḍyf)*, to add, entertain, give hospitality".

ṭ

ṭāb طاب (16b) *ṭāb* ويقولون طاب للّذي يلعبون به وطابة للكرة ايضا "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

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.

ṭʾṭʾ طأطا (9a) *ṭaʾṭaʾ* يقولون طأطا راسه طامنه "to bow one's head". See HB 540a.

ṭbṭb طبطب (16a) *ṭabṭab* يقولون طبطب على الشي "to pat". See HB 530b, and Dozy II 21b.

ويقولون جا فلان على طبطابي طبطاب: على طبطابي (19a) *ṭəbṭāb: ʿala ṭəbṭābi* اي موافق لمزاجي "just when I wanted it". HB 530b "*ga ʿala ṭṭubṭāb* it came just as (and when) wanted". The word طبطابة 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 طبطابة in exactly the right place.

ṭbġ طابغه (16b) *ṭābġa* ببلاد مصر العشبة التي اشتهرت باسم طابغه يشربون دخانها "tobacco". Nowadays تِبْغ (see Wehr 110a). See §5.2 for more information about the use of tobacco.

ṭbq تطبق (47b) *taṭabbaq* وقولهم لو تطبقت السما على الارض ما فعلته "to crush down". *law taṭabbaqət al-samā ʿal-a al-arḍ mā faʿaltuh* "(even) if the heaven would crush on the earth, I would not do it". HB 532a "*itṭabbaʾ* pass of *ṭabbaʾ*" "*ṭabbaʾ* 1b to crush, bend". For the prefix *ta-* of form V, see §6.3.1.2.

ويقولون فلان طبّق الارض علما لعله ماخوذ من طبّق (47b) *ṭabbaq al-arḍ* طبّق الغيم تطبيقا اصاب بمطره جميع الارض "to travel the world". Dozy II 23b "طبّق الأرض بالدوران il parcourut toute la terre". HB 532a *ṭabbaʾ* "to fold; to crush; to fit together; to apply; to compare; to syncopote; to work shifts; to extend (a drawn game) by doubling the score".

ويقولون جنونه مطبق قال في القاموس اطبقه غطّاه ومنه مطبق (47b) *muṭbaq* الجنون المطبق "complete". Wehr 647a "مطبق *muṭbiq* entire, complete" Hava 426b "covering, overwhelming". Spiro 361a "*ġafla muṭbaq*, a stupid piece of ignorance". Lane V 1827c-1828a "And مَطْبَقٌ is used

by the vulgar for مُطْبَقٌ عَلَيْهِ [which is for مُطْبَقٌ عَلَيْهِ الجُنُونُ] meaning *upon whom insanity is made to be continual*".

يقولون ويسمع كثيرا من النسا اذا قيل لهنّ فلان نام (47b) *umm ṭabaq* ام طبق نامت عليه ام طبق المناسب نامت عليه بنت طبق "calamity; serpent". Lane V 1827a "and أُمُّ طَبَقٍ [in like manner] means calamity"; "and أُمُّ طَبَقٍ and بِنْتُ طَبَقٍ are said to signify the serpent".

ṭbl يقولون طبل وزمر الطبل كما في القاموس معروف الذي يضرب به (82a) *ṭabl* طبل "drum". See HB 532b. See also the entry زمر.

طبل (83a) *ṭabal* يقولون طبل "to drum". See HB 532b.

ṭbn طابونة (116a) *ṭābūna* يقولون على الفرن طابونة "oven". Lane IV 1829b "طابون place in which fire is covered in a hollow in the earth, in order that it may not become extinguished". HB 533a "*ṭabūna* [obsol] bakery". Spiro 355a p. "bakery". Littmann (1920) p. 80 "Ofen".

ṭḥl طُحال (82a) *ṭuḥāl* ويقولون طحال بضم الطا وهو بكسرها ككتاب "spleen". Lane IV 1830c طِحال, HB 533b *ṭuḥāl*. See §6.2.12.1 for the shift from *i* to *u*.

ṭrb طرب (16a) *ṭarab* ويقولون حصل لفلان الطرب يخصّونه بحركة الفرح "movement of joy". Lane IV 1836a "طَرَب emotion,... excitement, agitation, ... by reason of joy or grief...; it signifies also motion". HB 534a "*ṭarab* delight or pleasure derived from singing".

ṭrf انطرف (29b) *inṭaraf* ويقولون انطرفت عينه اصابها طرفة بالفتح "to be hurt (the eye)". See HB 537b and Spiro 364b.

طرف (29b) *ṭarəf* ويقولون فلان طرف يعنون انه قليل الحيا "shameless". Lane IV 1843b "طِرف (...) one desirous of possessing everything he sees". Dozy II 37b "طَرِف le mauvais oeil". Kazimirski II 73b "طَرِف 1. Qui change souvent de relations d'amitié, d'amour; qui ne reste pas toujours fidèle à un ami *ou* à une femme".

ṭrm طارمة (102b) *ṭārma* يقولون طارمة للمحل الذي في المركب "cabin in a boat". HB 538b "*ṭarma* quarters for crew aft in a Nile sailing boat". Spiro 356a "*ṭārma*, cabin at the stern of a boat". According to Vollers (1896) p. 645, the word was originally Persian. This is confirmed by Steingass 805: "طارمة *ṭāramat*, a wooden building of a circular form

with an arched roof".

ṭff طف (30a) *ṭaff* وقولهم ايضا طف على وجه الما صحيح من قولهم خذ ما طفّ لك واستطف اي ما ارتفع لك وامكن "to present itself (opportunity)"; 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: خُذْ 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".

طفيف (30a) *ṭafīf* ويقولون يرضى بدون الطفيف وهو صحيح اي يرضى باقل من القليل "trivial". See HB 541b. Lane V 1858b "little in quantity".

ṭfl طفل (82a) *ṭifl* ويقولون على الولد الطفل "boy". See HB 541b.

طفل (82b) *ṭafl* ويقولون طفل للذي يغسل به ولم يعلم "fuller's earth: clay used for washing". HB 541b "*ṭafl* clay, especially potter's clay". Lane V 1860c "طُفال and طَفال dry clay (K:) of the dial. of El-Yemen". Dozy II 48b-49a "طَفل terre à foulon, (...) on en fait usage dans les bains pour nettoyer la peau et surtout les cheveux".

ṭfl يتطفل (82b) *yitṭaffil* فان قلت قول الناس فلان يتطفل عليكم مثلا او متطفّل ويقع هذا من العلما فالجواب انه صحيح "to sponge, be a parasite". See HB 541b, and Hava 434a.

متطفّل (82b) *muṭṭaffil* "spongeing". See يتطفل.

ṭqq طق (47b) *ṭaqq* ويقولون اذا وقع شي قال طق وهو حكاية صوت الحجارة "bang!", *qāl ṭaqq* "he fell with a bang". Onomatopoeia imitating the sound of something that falls. HB 542a "*ṭa*ʾ (...) 2. to crack, make a cracking noise". *ʾāl* is often followed by an onomatopoeia, imitating the sound of something falling. A few examples are found in BW IV 400a-b: "*maṛra wiḥda gāl dáradib* aufeinmal machte es "knack", *gāl dibb* er fiel um, *gāl, igūl dibb* mit einem Plumps hinunterfallen".

ṭlq طلق (47b) *ṭalq* ويقولون فلان له لسان طلق يريدون انه فصيح "eloquent". Lane V 1872c "طَلْق اللسان eloquent".

ṭll طل (82b) *ṭall* ويقولون طل عليه او طل من الطاق "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.

طل (82b) *ṭall* ويقولون الطل من الحبيب وابل “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.

ṭmṭm يقولون عبد طمطماني: عبد طمطماني (102b) *ṭəmṭəmāni: ʿabd ṭəmṭəmāni* طمطماني “somebody who stammers”. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 1022c, it means someone who speaks Arabic incorrectly. Dozy II 61a “طمطم anonner, parler, lire en hésitant”.

ṭmm يقولون جا بالطم والرم؛ يقولون الطم الطم والرم (98a; 102b) *al-ṭimm wa l-rimm* والرم “tremendous riches”. Lane III 1151a “جآء فلان بالطِّمّ والرِّمّ such a one brought everything of what is on the land and in the sea”. HB 547a “*ṭamm* to be overwhelming (of a disaster)”. HB 353a “*rumma* all the appurtenances (of s.th.). *xadu b-rummitu* he took it lock, stock and barrel”. Kazimirski II 105b “grand nombre, masse, foule. الطِمّ والرِمّ richesses immenses.” Wehr 664b “الطم والرم (*rimm*) tremendous riches”.

ṭmn طامن (116a) *ṭāmin* يقولون طامن اخذ الشي اي طأطا راسه “to bow one’s head”. Lane IV 1882a p. “طأمن ظهره he bent down his back”.

ṭnf يطنف (30a) *yiṭnəf* ويقولون يطنف نفسه على الشي الحقير وهو لغويّ “to covet”. Hava 440a “طَنِف to be suspicious; طنّف نفسه الى to covet a. th.” Lane V 1885c “طنّفه he suspected him; طنّف نفسَه إلى كَذا he made his mind to approach a coveting of such a thing”. Dozy II 63b V “être très-avide”.

ṭnn طن (116a) *ṭann* ويقولون طنين وهو يصغر طنّ وانظر ما اشتهر اذا طنت الاذن يقولون يسمع خبر جديد “to ring”. HB 548a “*ṭann* to ring, resound. *widni bi-ṭṭinn* my ears are ringing.

طنين (116a) *ṭanīn* ويقولون طنين وهو يصغر طنّ “ringing, buzzing”. See Lane IV 1883b.

طن (116a) *ṭinn* يقولون طن قصب بكسر الطا “bundle of cane”. Lane V 1883b “طُنّ a bundle of reeds or cane”. Al-Ḫafāǧī 151 “ طن بالضم حزمة القصب ونحوها والعامة تكسره وهو عربى صحيح لا دخيل”.

ṭhy طهْي (129a) *ṭəhy* انظر قولهم ما دخل طهيي او فلان ما هو طهْي فلان اي ما هو

نظيره وشبهه "similar, like". HB 548b "*ṭahy* cooking". It could be metaphorical: "he is not my type of cooking".

ṭwb طاوب (16b) *ṭāwib* عليه السلام في انه طاطا اي لفلان طاوب ويقولون "to bow 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 "طوبة *ṭūba* ⲧⲱⲃⲉ *dbt*, 'mud brick'," Vollers (1896) p. 654, and *EALL* I p. 504 (P. Behnstedt). It is also the origin of the English *adobe.*

ṭwf الطائف (30a) *aṭ-Ṭā'if* ويقولون بلاد الطائف في الحجاز ولم يعلموا لم سمي بالطائف قيل لانها طافت على الما في الطوفان او لان جبريل طاف بها على البيت او لان كذا الخ "Ṭā'if (town in the Hiğāz)".

ṭwq طاق (48b) *ṭāq* ويقولون طل من الطاق "window". See Lane IV 1894b. HB 550b "*ṭā'* aperture(s), opening(s) (especially in the wall of a mud-brick house". Al-Ḫafāğī 147 mentions that it is Persian: "طاق: فارسى معرب جمعه طاقات وطيقان". However, Steingass 806 maintains that its origin is Arabic.

طوق (47b) *ṭwq* ويقولون طوق فضة مثلا والطوق حليّ للعنق "necklace, collar". HB 550b "*ṭō'* (...) 2. neckband".

ṭyb مطايبة (16b) *muṭāyaba* ويقولون (..) على المزح المطايبة وهو صحيح "joke". See Wehr 676b.

ṭyf طيف الخيال (30a) *ṭyf al-ḫyāl* ويقولون طيف الخيال اضافة بيانية لان الخيال نفسه هو الطائف في المنام "apparition, spectre". HB 554b "*ṭēf* 1. spectre, apparition. 2. image, shadow". HB 272a "*ḫayāl* 1. shadow". Lane V 1905c "طَيْف, an apparition, a phantom, a spectre, or an imaginary form, (خَيالٌ,) coming in sleep".

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ẓrf مستظرف (29b) *mustaẓraf* ويقولون كتاب المستظرف فى كل فن مستظرف

"elegant". This is a book; its official title is *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf* by Šihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abī al-Fatḥ al-Ibšīhī (ca 1388-ca 1446).

ظرف (30a) *ẓurf* يقولون فلان عنده ظرف بضم الظا (...) وقول العامة وبعض الخاصة الظرف بالضم ينبغي ان يجوز وان لم يكن لغويا ويكون من استعمال الخطا المشهور للتمييز "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-Ḫafāǧī 152 "ظرف بفتح فسكون والعامة تضمه وهو خطأ وقالوا من الظرف جود المهدى بالظرف".

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ʿbʾ يُعْبأُ (121a) *yuʿbaʾu: lā yuʿbaʾu bih* يقولون فلان لا يُعْبأُ به اي انه حقير والصحيح لا يؤبه به اي لا ينظر "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-Maġribī confuses the two verbs, because both لا يُؤْبَهُ لَهُ and لا يَعْبأ به mean "he does not care about it". Therefore, contrary to what al-Maġribī states here, the expression used by the Egyptians is the correct Classical Arabic.

ʿbb عبّ (16b) *ʿabb* يقولون العبّ على ما يلي الصدر "space between garment and chest". See HB 558b. Lane V 1931c عُبّ "the base of the sleeve". Dozy II 89a with *kasra* or *fatha*: "poche de sein".

ʿbdl العبادلة (82b) *ʿabādila* يقولون وهم الخواص العبادلة اشارة لجمع عبد الله "the ʿAbdallahs". Plural of the name ʿAbdallah. *faʿālila* is the plural used for groups of people, see Fischer (1987) p. 56.

ʿby عَبَا (9a) *ʿabā* يقولون عَبَا على شي كالكسا "woollen cloak". Lane V 1933b "sort of woollen garment of the kind called كِساء". Lane (2003) p. 30:

"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 *ʾabáäh* (sic) and *ʾabà*. HB 561a "*ʿabāya* sleeveless woollen robe (usually black) worn by men over a galabiyya".

عباية (128b) *ʿabāya* يقولون عباية وله اصل قال العباية ضرب من الاكسية كالعباة "woollen cloak". See عَبَا.

ʿtb عتبة (16b) *ʿataba* ويقولون عتبة الباب يريدون ما يلي سفل الباب "threshold". See HB 561b.

ʿtrs عَتْرسه (30b) *ʿatrasa* يقولون بلا عَتْرسه اى بلا شدة ولعله مصحف عن عترفة "resistance". See Spiro 384a. HB 562a "*ʿatras* to resist, balk". Al-Maġribī relates it to *ʿatrafa*, although *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 500c has an entry *ʿatrasa*: "والعَتْرَسَة: الأَخْذُ بالشِّدَّة وبالجَفاءِ والعُنْفِ والغِلْظَة". Dozy II 93b "roideur, impétuosité de mouvement".

ʿtršq عَترشقي (30b) *ʿatrəšqī* ولعل قول العامة فلان عَترشقي اكتفا عن عتريف "wicked". There could be a relationship to Hava 452a "عَثرَس to lay violent hands on", 452b "عِثرِيس hot-tempered", with the Turkish ending *–gī*.

ʿtq عتيق (48b) *ʿatīq* ويقولون في الصّديق انه العتيق من العتاقة الحسن وسمي به لجماله "beautiful", surname of al-Ṣiddīq (Abū Bakr). Lane V 1947c "العَتِيقُ 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".

عاتق (49a) *ʿātiq* ويقولون حمله على عاتقه هو موضع الردا من المنكب او ما بين المنكب والعنق "shoulder". See HB 562a.

ʿtl يعتل (83a) *yiʿtəl* ويقولون العتّالين ويعتلون الاحمال وهو صحيح "to carry". See HB 562b.

عتّال (83a) *ʿattāl* ويقولون العتّالين ويعتلون الاحمال "porter". See HB 562b, and Lane V 1949a.

عتلة (83a) *ʿatala* ويقولون نقبوا المحل بالعتلة "crowbar". See HB 562b, and Spiro 384b.

ʿtm عتيم (102b) *ʿatīm* يقولون عتيم الحمام "fluttering of the wings". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1023c "عَتَّمَ الطائرُ تَعْتِيماً: رَفْرَفَ على رأسِ الإنسانِ ولم يُبْعِدْ.

ʿğrf عجرفه (30b) *ʿağrafa* يقولون بلا عجرفه "roughness in speech". See Lane V 1959b.

ʿğl عجل (83a) *ʿiğl* يقولون عجل بقر "calf". See HB 564b.

ʿğn عجينة (116b) *ʿağīna* يقولون في سبهم فلان عجينة اذا وصفوه بالرخاوة "weak (like dough)". HB 565a "*huwwa lissa ʿagīna* he is still young and impressionable". Lane V 1968b-c عجين: "soft, or yielding"; "weak in his body and in his intellect"; "stupid, foolish".

ʿğw عجوة (128b) *ʿağwa* يقولون عجوة قال العجوة بالحجاز التمر المحسى والعجوة بالضم لبن يعاني به الصبي اليتيم اي يعدي "pressed dates". See HB 565a. Lane V 1969a "a sort of dates (...) and, in El-Ḥijāz, the dates that are stuffed (مَحْشِيٌّ) [or *pressed into a compact mass, while moist, in the receptacle of palm-leaves* or *skin,* as are the dates called عَجْوَة in the present day]".

ʿdd عِدّنّ (117a) *ʿiddinn* يقولون عِدّنّ الشي كان كذا وهو ظاهر الصحّة اي عدّ ان ذلك كذا اي افرض انه غايته "let's assume that...". This is a contraction of عِدّ انّ, see §6.2.3.2. HB 565b "*ʿadd* (..) 2. to consider (..) *ʿiddini ʾult kida* (even) supposing that I said so".

ʿdl مَعَدِّل (83a) *maʿaddil* ويقولون فلان يعمل مَعَدِّل فلان والمعدِّل هذا مستعمل في صنعة 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 "*ʿaddil* 1. to put right, set straight 2. to amend, modify 3. to point out and correct faults". Spiro 388a "*muʿaddil* average, rate". (HB gives *muʿaddal* for "average"). *muʿaddil* > *maʿaddil* as in Muḥammad > Maḥammad, see §6.2.12.6.

ʿdn معدَن (116b) *maʿdan* يقولون معدن بفتح الدال وانما هو معدن بكسرها "metal". See HB 568a.

ʿdw عدو (128b) *ʿədəww* يقولون فلان عدو وله اصل قال العدو ضد الصديق "enemy". HB 568a "*ʿadiww* enemy".

عدوي: سرّ العدوي (128b) *ʿadawī: wa sirr al-ʿadawī* يقولون وسرّ العدوي قال ‹عدي كغني قبيلة وهو عدوي وعدييي› "by the secret of the ʿAdawī". It seems to refers to someone from the *ʿAdīy*-tribe, whose members were apparently known for keeping secrets. The expression is

found only four times by Google, in such contexts as كان نفسي اعرف سر العدوي "I was longing to know the secret" and ما هو سر العدوي "what is the secret?" It should not be confused with the similar-looking expression سرت العدوى *sarat al-ʿadwā* "the contagious disease spread", because al-Maġribī indicates that the pronunciation is *ʿadawī* and that it is an oath, introduced with *wa-*.

ʿrb عربون (116b) *ʿarbūn* يقولون اعطاه العربون بفتح العين مع انه بضمها "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".

ʿrb عربي (56b) *ʿarabī* ويقولون وجهه مترّك اذا كان مدوّر او غيره يقولون فيه عربي الوجه عربي" Lane IV 1994a "long-faced". ولعل مترك اي تركي بدليل عربي often occurs in post-classical works as meaning *having an Arab face*; i.e. *long-faced*; opposed to تُرْكي الوجه". See also مترّك.

* ʿrḍ عارض (89a) *ʿāriḍ* يقولون للإعادة او العرض مقابلة وهو صحيح بمعنى واجهه والمغاربة تكتب محل قابله عارضه وهما بمعنى واقْبَلْتُهُ الشي جعلته على مقابلته او قُبالَتِه كل صحيح "to oppose" (North-African). Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 253b confirms its use in Morocco: "*ʿaṛeḍ* to oppose, to be in opposition to, to object to".

ʿrf عريف (30b) *ʿarīf* ويقولون عريف الكتاب لمن هو دون الفقيه "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*".

ʿrq عرق (49a) *ʿaraq* ويقولون فلان عمل بالعرق اي انه تعب حتى 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.

معرّق (49a) *muʿarraq* ويقولون نون معرّق او معلق لم اعلم شيا في ذلك والظاهر انها معلق "ending in a hook/curl which passes under the line (letter)". Dozy II 121a "تَعْرِيقَة Beaussier donne pour عرَّق *faire la boucle d'une lettre*, p.e. عرّق النون ن;" sous معرَّق il a: (lettre) *qui se termine en crochet recourbé à droite* [lisez *à gauche*],

passant au-dessous de la ligne sur laquelle on écrit; ce sont les caractères ف ل م ن ی س ص". Note also the *r* – *l* shift.

ʿrqb عرقب (17a) *ʿarqab* ويقولون عرقب الدابة اذا قطع عرقوبها "to hamstring an animal". See Lane V 2022b.

ʿrql عراقيل (83b) *ʿarāqīl* ويقولون نقطع عراقيلنا ونسافر مثلا قال في القاموس العراقيل صعاب الامور وعرقل حاد عن القصد والعرقيل بالكسر صغرة البيض "obstacles". See Wehr 711a. HB 574a only mentions the verb: "*ʿarʾil* 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 نقطع عراقيلنا would literally mean "let's cut our hamstrings" and therefore "let's remove the obstacles".

ʿrm عُرْمة (102b) *ʿurma* يقولون عُرْمة على الشي الكثير المجتمع "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).

ʿrnd عرنده (128b) *ʿərənda* ويقولون لمن يكثر الشرّ والصياح والاذيّة للناس فلان صار عرنده او انت عرنده "nuisance, pest, troublemaker". According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, it is derived from عربدة which means "ill nature, or evil disposition" (see Lane V 1995b). It seems unlikely, however, that the *b* has shifted to *n*.

ʿzb عزب (17a) *ʿazab* ويقولون على بعض الحرس ليلا العزب وله مناسبة لان العزب لغةً من لا اهل له ولا يحرس هذه الحراسة من له اهل غالبا "night guard". Dozy II 124a "milice bourgeoise". The original meaning is "single" (see e.g. Wehr 713b). This is a metonymy: the word *ʿazab* "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 *ʿazab*s 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.

عازبة (17a) *ʿāziba* وقد علم ان الرجل عزب وهي عزبه لا عازبة كما يقولون "spinster". See HB 575a. According to Lane V 2033c both عازب and

عزب mean “having no spouse”.

ʿzl يقولون على احد الانغام عزّل والاروام عزال والظاهر انه غير عربي *ʿəzāl* (83b) عزال “musical mode”. Dozy II 125b “عَزَل mode de musique, Descr. de l’Egypte XIV, 29”.

عزّل (83b) *ʿəzzəl* “musical mode”. See عزال

ويقولون فلان عزّل عن الناس اطلقوا الجمع على المفرد مبالغة *ʿuzzal* (83b) عزّل والاصل منعزل فاطلقوا العزّل على الاعزل وتقدم انه الذي لا سلاح معه فهو منفرد “cut off from other people”. According to Lane V 2037a, the sg. is أعزل or عُزُل; one of the pls. is عُزَّل. It means “not having with him any weapon”; or, of sand, “cut off from other sands”. It is possible that عُزَّل is not a plural (as al-Maġribī believes), but an intensive adjective, as e.g. HB 764b “*kummal* /adj inv/ well-bred, genteel”.

عزلة (83b) *ʿazla* ويقولون على فم الراوية عزلة وانما هي العزْلا “mouth of the water bag”. Lane p. 2036c عَزْلاء “the lower mouth of the leathern water-bag called مَزادة”. Also note the disappearance of the *hamza* and the shortening of the *a*, see §6.2.10.2.

ʿzw يقولون فلان كثير العِزْوة بكسر العين اي الجماعة *ʿizwa* (128b) عِزْوة “group of supporters”. Kazimirski II 248a “عِزة troupe d’hommes”. HB 577b “*ʿizwa* support, backing”.

ʿzy يقولون فلان في العزا اذا مات له احد *ʿazā* (129a) عزا “state of mourning”. Lane V 2039c “عَزَاءٌ is also a quasi inf. n.; (..) or a subst. [signifying *Enjoinment,* 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*”.

ʿsf ويقولون في الدعا على الاولاد معسّف والذي يناسب ولو *muʿassəf* (30b) معسّف بادنى مناسبه ان العسف الميل عن الطريق وعسّفه تعسيفا اتعبه وتعسّفه ظلمه فكانه يقول له يا متعب “nuisance”. Reprimand said to a child, literally meaning “tiresome”. Wehr 716b form II “to overburden, overtask, overtax”. Lane V 2044c “عسّفه he fatigued, or jaded, him, namely, his camel, by journeying”. Dozy II 127b “II contraindre”.

ʿsl ويقولون عسل نحل ولا يحتاج الى نحل لان العَسَل *ʿasal naḥl* (83b) عسل نحل

اذا اطلق ينصرف الى النحل "honey". The Egyptians add *naḥl* because there are two types of ʿ*asal*: ʿ*asal abyaḍ* or ʿ*asal naḥl* "honey" and ʿ*asal iswid* "molasses" (see HB 578b).

ʿšm عشمان (102b) ʿ*ašmān* يقولون للقبيح ابن عشمان كابي "ugly and old, withered". HB 580a ʿ*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: عَشِم "to be dried up" and عَشَم "to give hope to, to hope for" (both Hava 475a). Kazimirski II 264 confirms the meaning given by al-Maġribī: "عُشَمَة avidite, convoitise. 2. maigreur 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 vieilesse, decrepitude".

ʿšy عشا (129a) ʿ*ašā* يقولون اكلنا العشا "supper". See HB 580b.

ʿṣb عُصْبة (17a) ʿ*uṣba* ويقولون فلان له عُصْبة مثلا للجماعة المتعصّبين له "league". See HB 581a. Lane V 2059b "a party, or company, of men who league together to defend one another".

ʿṣm مَعصم (103a) *maʿṣam* يقولون معصم بفتح الميم وهو معصم بكسرها مثل منبر "wrist". In Classical Arabic it is pronounced *miʿṣam*, as it also is in modern Egyptian Arabic: HB 582b "*miʿṣam* wrist". The pronunciation with *i* probably returned in modern Egyptian Arabic under the influence of MSA.

ʿḍl عضل (84a) ʿ*iḍl* يقولون فلان عضل اي فظ غليظ "coarse, rude". Kazimirski II 281 "عِضْلٌ (..) 2. Homme dur et grossier". Lane V 2074c " عِضْل very cunning; very bad, evil".

ʿṭrb عُطرب (17a) ʿ*uṭrəb* يقولون في السبّ فلان عُطرب يريدون عدم الكيس والفطانة كما يقولون عكفش "stupid". No references found.

ʿṭl عطل (84a) ʿ*uṭl* يقولون فلان عطل اذا وصفوه بعدم المعرفة والتجرّد من الكمال "devoid of good qualities, such as knowledge and good manners". Lane 2083a "عُطُل and عُطْل destitute of property and of discipline, or good qualities and attributes, of the mind". Kazimirski p. 288a "عُطُلٌ, عُطْلٌ 1. Dépourvu de biens, qui n'a rien. 2. Ignorant, illettré".

ʿṭn عطن (116b) *ʿəṭən* يقولون ماّ عطن اي كدر متغيّر "putrid". Lane IV 2084b عَطِن stinking".

ʿff عفّ (31a) *ʿaff* ويقولون عفّ عليه الذبان مثلا مع ان عفّ بمعنى تباعد فهو يقتضي ضد ما ارادوه من جمع الذباب على الشي "to gather (of flies etc.)". See HB 587a.

ʿfq عفق (49a) *ʿəfəq* ويقولون عفقه اي مسكه بشدة وكذلك عفق العود للضرب على اوتاره "to grab violently". See HB 587a, and Dozy II 144b.

ʿflq عفلق (49a) *ʿaflaq* ويقولون عفلق لمن كان طويلا مسترخيا "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 "العفلق (...) الفرج الواسع الرخو" and Kazimirski II 302b "عَفَلَّقٌ, عَفْلَقٌ 1. Vagin large et lâche. 2. Femme sotte 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 *Daf' al-iṣr*, i.e. "a short fat man": "والعفلق من الرجال القصير السمين المكتنز".

ʿfn عفن (116b) *ʿəfən* يقولون عفن اي نتن "to rot". HB 587a "*ʿaffin* 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 19th century it was used in Egypt in form II, as it is today (see Spiro 403b).

ʿqq عآئق (49b) *ʿāʾiq* ويقولون فلان عآئق والديه والصواب عاق والديه ... فيكون اسم فاعله عاقا ويلتبس العاق عن ولده بالعاق لوالده "disobedient, disrespectful". The active participle of verbs med. gem. is KāKiK in modern Egyptian Arabic, e.g. *šāmim* "smelling". Therefore, Egyptians would say عاقق *ʿāqiq* / *ʿāʾiʾ* and not *ʿāqq* 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 "عَاقٌّ *undutiful, disobedient, refractory,* or *ill-mannered, to his parent, or father*".

ʿqy عِقيان (116b) *ʿiqyān* يقولون عِقيان وهو الذهب "gold". See Lane IV 2118b.

ʿkfš عكفش (17a) *ʿəkfəš* يقولون في السبّ فلان عطرب يريدون عدم الكيس والفطانة كما يقولون عكفش "stupid". There could be a relationship to عَكِش "awkward, clumsy", see Hava 491b.

ʿkk

عَكّ (61a) *ʿakk* يقولون عَكّ المجلس اي غيّره وكدّره "to mess up". See HB 592a.

عكة (61a) *ʿəkka* سمن ويقولون عكة "receptacle for clarified butter". See Lane IV 2119a عُكَّةٌ.

ʿkm

عكام (103a) *ʿəkām* يقولون عكام وهو صحيح "rope or string to bind goods". See Lane IV 2122c. Kazimirski II 332b "عِكام 1. Drap ou pièce d'étoffe, ou couverture dans laquelle on envelope ses effets. 2. Corde avec laquelle on raffermit les paquets sur le dos de la bête de somme".

ʿlb

عِلْبه (17a) *ʿilba* ويقولون عِلْبه على الظرف المعلوم عند العطارين وغيرهم "small container". See HB 592b.

ʿlf

علوفة (31a) *ʿəlūfa* ويقولون فلان علوفته كذا وهذا يقع كثيرا من الترك وهو عربيّ "a soldier's food/pay". Lane V 2131c "عَلَفة the food, or victuals, of soldiers; as also عُلُوفة". Dozy II 160a "la nourriture qu'un roi fournissait aux ambassadeurs et à d'autres personnes; appointements, paye, pension, solde, tratement, gages."

عَلاّف (31a) *ʿallāf* ويقولون عَلاّف لبآئع العلف "fodder seller". See HB 593a.

ʿlq

معلق (49a) *muʿallaq* "ending in a hook / curl which passes under the line (letter)". See معرق.

معلقة (49b; 54b) *maʿlaqa* ويقولون معلقه لالة يوكل بها ويشرب؛ وقد علمت ان قول اهل مصر معلقة لا يصح بخلاف قول اهل مكة مِلعقة بكسر الميم كما سمعته منهم فى مكة وغيرها "spoon". HB 593b "*maʿlaʾa* 1. spoon". From مِلعَقة with metathesis of *lām* and *ʿayn* (see §6.2.7).

ʿlqm

علقم (103a) *ʿəlqəm* يقولون مرّ مثل العلقم العلقم هو الحنظل وكل شي مرّ "colocynth". See Lane V 2138a عَلْقَم, HB 594a *ʿalʾam*. Boulos IV p. 522 "`Algam *Ephedra aphylla* عَلْجَم".

ʿlk

يعلك (61a) *yiʿlək* ويقولون يعلك الكلام اذا ردّده وهو صحيح "to talk confusedly". HB 594a "*ʿalak (i)* to chatter, prattle, babble on". Spiro 408b-409a "*ʿalak (jiʿlik)* to chatter, talk too much, talk confusedly". Hava 495b form II: "to talk nonsense". Lane V 2138a "عَلَكَه he chewed it". Dozy II 163a form I "ruminer; علك فى كلامه mâcher ses

paroles, parler d'une manière confuse"; form II "baliverner, bavarder, rabâcher".

ʿll ويقولون بنو العَلّات اولاد الرجل من العَلّات: بنو العَلّات (84a) *banū al-ʿallāt* نسوة متعددة "sons of a man by different mothers". See Wehr 741b.

معلول (84a) *maʿlūl* ويقولون فلان معلول والقياس معل "sick, ailing". HB 594a "*ʿall* 1. to make sick and weary". Spiro 407b "*maʿlūl* sick, patient, poorly".

ʿlwn علوان (129a) *ʿəlwān* يقولون علوان الكتاب باللام "book title". Mentioned in Lane V 2146c. HB 606a "*ʿinwān* (also *ʿilwān* ↓) (..) 2. title (of a book)."

ʿly يقولون السلام عليكم بكسر الكاف يسمع من بعض الاتراك (107b) *ʿalykim* عليكِم "upon you". This pronunciation can be attributed to vowel harmony in Turkish. The pronunciation *ʿalēkim* is possible if the suffix *-kum* follows the rules of the fourfold suffixes. However, the *kasra* could also be a way of writing *ʿalēküm*, 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.

ويقولون قاعد في عِلّيّه وايضا من غناهم يا قاعده عِلّيّه، علالي (84a) *ʿilliyya, ʿalālī* في العلالي انظري "upper room". See Wehr 749a. HB 598a "*ʿalāli: fil-ʿalāli* very high up".

ʿml عملة (84b) *bi-ʿamlət-* ويقولون فلان مُسِك بعملته اي بسرقته "in the act, redhanded". HB 601b "*ʿamla* deed, act (usually bad) ... *miskūh f-ʿamlitu* they caught him in the act, they caught him redhanded". Lane V 2159b عَمْلة "theft".

ʿmlq عملاق (50a) *ʿəmlāq* ويقولون لمن يكون طويلا جدّا عملاق "giant". See HB 602b *ʿimlāq*.

ʿmm عمامه (103a) *ʿəmāma* يقولون عمامه وهو صحيح "turban". See HB 603a *ʿimāma*.

ʿmn بحر عمّان (116b) *baḥr ʿumān* يقولون بحر عمّان "Gulf of Oman". Nowadays, it is also known as خليج عمان *ḫalīğ ʿUmān*.

ʿnb عنّاب (17b) *ʿinnāb* ويقولون عنّاب ولكن من كسر عينه لم يصح "jujube fruit". See HB 604a. Lane V 2167c and Hava 503a have عُنَّاب.

ʿnfq عنفقه (49b) *ʿanfaqa* ويقولون في مداعباتهم ذقنه والعنفقه في است كلبة مطلقه

العنفقة شعيرات بين الشفة السفلى والذقن "a few hairs between the lower lip and the chin". See Lane V 2175a.

ʿnq عنق (50a) *ibn ʿunuq* ويقولون عوج بن عنق بضم النون وليس كذلك وانما هو عوج ابن عوق "ʿŪǧ b. ʿUnuq (personal name)". He was the king of the giants and was killed by Musa. See al-Alūsī (s.d.) VI p. 86.

عنّق (49b) *ʿannaq* ويقولون عَنّقه 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".

ʿnn عِنّين (117a) *ʿinnīn* يقولون فلان عِنّين اي لا يقدر على اتيان النسا عجزا ولا يريدهن "impotent". See Lane V 2167a.

ʿwr عارية (8b) *ʿāriya* يقولون مرثيه بالتشديد والصواب التخفيف لما عكسوا في العارية فانهم يخففونها وهي شديدة عارِية "loan". Lane 2195a "عاريّة and sometimes what is taken by persons by turns (generally meaning a loan)." This is from the root ʿWR. This is a pun; *ʿāriyya* "loan" is pronounced *ʿāriya* "naked (f.)".

ʿwq عَوَّق (50a) *ʿawwaq* ويقولون فلان عَوَّقنا عن مصلحتنا مثلا "to impede". HB 610a "*ʿawwaq* to delay". It is also used in Upper Egypt with the meaning "to delay" (see BW IV 329b). HB 610a "*ʿāʾ* to hamper, impede".

ʿwl عيل صبري (84b) *ʿīl ṣabrī* وعاله الشي غلبه وثقل عليه ومنه قولهم عيل صبري اي غلبه "I lost my patience". Wehr 770b-771a "عال صبره (*ṣabruhū*) and عيل صبره (*ʿīla*) to lose patience". See §6.3.1.6 for more information about the internal passive.

عويل (84b) *ʿawīl* ويقولون فلان عويل يريدون وصفه بالفقر والطلب كالطفيلي وليس العويل في اللغة بهذا المعنى وانما هو رفع الصوت بالبكا "poor and miserable". HB 610b "*ʿawīl* lazy and incompetent". Dozy II 191a "vil, méprisable". It is untrue that *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* does not refer to this meaning as al-Maġribī claims, because on 934b "عال (...) : افْتَقَرَ، فهو عائِل" is mentioned. This is under the root ʿYL, while al- Maġribī looked under ʿWL.

عَيْلة (84b) *ʿyla* يقولون عند فلان عَيْلة بكثرة والعيلة ليست العيال وانما العيلة الفقر

"family". HB 610a "عايلة، عائلة *ʿēla, ʿāʾila* ↑ family".

ʿwn عواني (117a) *ʿawānī* يقولون فلان عواني اذا كان فتّان ولم يعلم "telltale, betrayer". Dozy II 192a "mouchard, denonciateur".

ʿwh عاهة (122a) *ʿāha* يقولون في الدعا عاهة "disease". See Wehr 772b.

ʿyb معيوب (17b) *maʿyūb* ويقولون هذا الشي معيوب وهو صحيح "defective". See HB 612a.

ʿyḍ عيضه (122a) *ʿyḍa* يقولون ويسمع من النسا بقي عيضه اي حصل له التلف "misery". HB 613b "*ʿēḍa, ʿīḍa* a mess, a bad condition. *ḥalithum baʾit ʿēḍa* their life turned to misery".

ʿyf عاف (31b) *ʿāf* ويقولون عاف الشي فلم يقبله "to turn down (food or water)". Lane V 2211c عاف (root ʿyf) "he disliked it, or loathed it, namely food, or water, (...) and would not drink it".

ʿyq عيّوق (50a) *ʿayyūq* ويقولون فلان الان في العيّوق وهو نجم احمر مضي في طرف المجرّة الايمن يتلو الثريا لا يتقدّمها "the star Capella". See Lane 2199c. *fulān fī al-ʿayyūq* "so-and-so is of high rank". Compare فلان في السهى.

ġ

ġbb غبّ (17b) *ġibb* يقولون غبّ سلام الخ وهو صحيح لان الغبّ بالكسر معناه عاقبة الشي اي عقب السلام كانه قال بعد السلام "after". See Lane VI 2222a. Classicism.

غبية (18a) *ġəbəba* ويقولون فلانه سمينة لها غبية "double chin". Lane VI 2222b "غَبَب the flesh that hangs down under the part beneath the chin and lower jaw".

غبّة (18a) *ġəbba* وسمعنا النسا تستعمل هذه المادة في الحيض فلانة غبتها "menstruation". The meaning of the verb غبّ is "to return at regular intervals", see Lane VI 2221a. Kazimirski I 429a غِبّ "action de mettre l'intervalle (au moins d'un jour)".

مغبّبه (18a) *muġabbaba* المغبّبه كمعظّمه الشاة تحلب يوماً وتترك يوما "ewe that is milked every other day". Hava 515a "أغَبّ to visit a.o. every two

days; to water (cattle) every two days; to yield (milk) every two days (she-camels)".

ġbq غبوق (50a) *ġubūq* يقولون اليوم غبوق فيضمّون الغين ويريدون به الغيم المنتشر في الجوّ "cloudy". It is not used in Egypt nowadays, but it is in Syria; see Barthélemy p. 569 *ġabaq yəġboq* "devenir étouffante, manquer d'air, etre nuageuse (journée)", *ġəbeq* "manquant d'air et de lumière".

ġtm انغتم (103a) *inġatam* فلان انغتم اذا كان يراطن 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*".

ġrb غارب (18a) *ġārib* ويقولون نزل على غاربه اذا اذاه بالكلام "withers"; *nizil ʿalā ġāribu* "he hurt him (lit. hit him in the withers)". Lane VI 2224a "The كاهل [or withers], of the camel".

ġrbl غربال (84b) *ġurbāl* يقولون الغربال والمنخل وبينهما فرق ذلك للحبوب والمنخل للدقيق ... فالصواب الغِربال لا الغربال بالضم كما ينطقون به "sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)". See HB 619a, and al-Ḫafāğī 164.

مغربل (84b) *muġarbal* ومن العجيب ان المغربل بفتح البا يقال للشي الجيّد حتى يقولوا للكلام المنَقّى المنفخ كلام مغربل "something good (as if the chaff was sifted from it in the *ġurbāl*)". HB 619a "*ġarbal* 1. to sieve or sift with a *ġurbāl*". Lane VI 2245a "مُغَرْبَل sifted, dispersed, or scattered; the low, base, vile, or mean of men; as though he had come forth from the غِرْبال".

ġrf غِرف (31b) *ġirif* ويقولون غِرف اي ثخين "fat". HB 620b "*ġaraf* to eat in large mouthfuls". The connection could be that somebody who *biyiġruf*, eats in large mouthfuls, becomes *ġirif*, fat.

غرفة (31b) *ġurfa* ويقولون على البيت الصغير غرفة "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.

مغرفة (31b) *maġrafa* يقولون مغرفة قال مغرفه كمكنسه ما يغرف به "ladle". See HB 620b.

ġrq مغرق (50a) *muġarraq* ويقولون سرج مغرق وهو صحيح قال في القاموس لجام مغرّق بالفضّة "ornamented with silver or gold". See Hava 522b, and

غرق: المغرق بزنة اسم المفعول الفضة " Lane VI 2251c. Al-Ḥafāğī 165 المطلاة بالذهب فى السروج ونحوها عامية".

ġzl غزل (85a) *ġazl* يقولون غزل رفيع مثلا بسكون الزاي "spun thread". See HB 622a.

ġsl غساله (85a) *ġusāla* يقولون على الما الذي يغسل به غساله وهو صحيح قال ‹الغساله كثمامة (..)› "washing water". Lane VI 2259c "الغُسالة 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.

مغتسل (85a) *muġtasil* ويقولون المغسل والمغتسل وكل صحيح قال مغتسل الموتى بفتح السين وكسرها جمعه مغاسيل "somebody who has performed the ritual ablutions". See HB 623a, and Lane VI 2258c.

مغسل (85a) *muġassil* ويقولون المغسل والمغتسل وكل صحيح "corpse-washer". See HB 623a, and Spiro 430a.

ġšm غاشم (103a) *ġāšim* يقولون فلان ظالم غاشم وفلان غشيم في الصنعة "unjust, tyrant". See Lane p. VI 2261a, and Wehr 790a. HB 623b "*ġāšim* brutal, oppressive".

غشيم (103a) *ġašīm* يقولون فلان ظالم غاشم وفلان غشيم في الصنعة "naive". Lane VI 2261a "not knowing anything". HB 623b "1. naive, inexperienced 2. crude, raw".

ġfw غفوة (129a) *ġafwa* يقولون بعد غفوة اي رقدة "nap". See HB 626a.

ġlb مغلوب (18a) *maġlūb* ويقولون فلان مغلوب اي مقهور وهو صحيح من الغلب "defeated". See HB 626a.

ġlf اغلف (31b) *aġlaf* ويقولون لسانه اغلف "rude". Wehr 798a "*aġlaf* uncircumcised; rude, uncivilized".

ġlq غلق (50b) *ġəlaq* ويقولون فلان غلق ما عليه اي وفاه "to pay a debt". Lane VI 2284b "غَلِقَ الرَهْن 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-Ḥafāğī

غلق: الغلق ضد الفتح معروف ويقال غلق الرهن اذا استحقه من رهن " 166 عنده وهو عربى فصيح".

غلق (50b) *ġələq* ويقولون للقُفّه "basket". See HB 628b *ġalaʾ*. See also BW 339a.

ġlm غلام (103b) *ġulām* يقولون للصبي "boy, young man". Wehr 798b "boy, youth, lad".

ġmq غميق (51a) *ġamīq* ويقولون في الصباغ غميق ضدّ الصافي "dark (colour)". Nowadays *ġāmiʾ*, see HB 631a and Spiro 435b.

ġmy غمّى (129a) *ġammā* يقولون غمّاه "to blindfold". See HB 631b. Lane VI 2298b "to cover". Compare also *istuġummiyya* "hide and seek".

ġny غنية (129b) *ġənya* يقولون ما لنا عنه غنية "freedom from need", *mā lanā ʿannu ġənya* "we cannot do without him". Lane VI 2303b " ما له عنه غنى ... he has not freedom from need of it, or him"; غنية *ġunya* or *ġinya* has the same meaning as غنى. HB 632b-633a "غنى *(da) ġina ʿan* (it) allows one to dispense with (...). *lā ġina ʿan* there is no dispensing with, as in *ma-lūš ġina ʿanha* he can't do without her".

ġwš غوش (101a) *ġūš* انظر الغوش بلغة الفلاحين هو الاساور من القزاز ونحوها "glass bracelets". Nowadays in Cairo *ġiwēša*, see HB 634a. *ġiwēša* is a diminutive, see Woidich (2006) p. 98.

ġwġ يغاغي (129b) *yiġāġī* وقولهم البيت يغاغي من كثرة الناس "to buzz (crowd)". HB 616a only mentions the noun: "*ġāġa* noise, uproar, tumult"; ibid Spiro 424b. Dozy II 198a "غاغا I الذئب على huer, faire des huées après le loup". Lane VI 2309c "تغاغى عليه الغوغاءُ the mixed multitude, or the low, base, vile, &c., of men, bore, or pressed, or crowded, (as though mounting,) upon him".

غوغا (129b) *ġwġā* يقولون فلان او الجماعة في غوغا ويسمع من الاروام "crowd". HB 616a "*ġāġa* noise, uproar, tumult". Wehr 805b "*ġawġāʾ* mob, rabble riffraff; noise, clamor, din, tumult". Steingass 898b "غوغاء (..) a noise, cry, tumult, uproar".

ġyb غاب (18b) *ġāb* ويقولون غاب للقصب "reed". See HB 616a.

مَغْيِبْ (18b) *maġyib* ويقولون مَغْيِبْ فلانا اي غيّب عنه ولم اره في اللغة "to absent oneself (from)". HB 634b "*ġayyib ʿan* to absent oneself for a

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 *mazlaʾ* "to become slimy".

ġyl غآئلة (85b) *ġāʾila* يقولون أَمِنّا غآئلة فلان اي نامن من حقده الباطن الخفي "rancour". See Lane VI 2319c.

غيلان (85b) *umm ġylān* ام غيلان شجر السمر "a kind of tree (lotus tree?)". Lane 2319b "أُمُّ غَيْلانَ the trees called عِضاه" or "the lote-trees سِدْر". HB 634a "*umm ilġilān* mother *ġūla* (in children's stories)". The سمر-tree which is, according to al-Maġribī, another name of the same tree is, according to Hava 335b, the "gum-acacia-tree; mimosa, Egyptian thorn".

ġym غيم (103b) *ġym* يقولون للقوّاد غيم وله نسبة من وجهين تصحيف غنم وهم 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 فال (85b) *fāl* يقولون الفال وهو ضد الطيره كأن يسمع مريض سالم او طالب يا واجد "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, faʾl* omen".

ftq فَتْق (51b) *fatq* ويقولون فلان ضعيف بفَتْقٍ حصل له "hernia". See HB 640a.

فتيق (51b) *fatīq* ويقولون المسك الفتيق "rendered fragrant by mixing in

some other substance". Lane VI 2331c "فَتَقَ المِسْكَ (...) he drew forth the odour of the musk [or increased its fragrance] بِغَيْرِهِ by the admixture of some other thing".

ويقولون حلاوة المفَتّقه لم انظر لها مناسبا ولعلها من (52a) *məfattaqa* مفَتّقه المسك الفتيق المختلط باشيا "jam made of molasses and other ingredients". HB 640a "*mifattaʾa* 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 relationsip to "أَفْتق to have fat (cattle)" and "تفتّق وانفتق to be swollen in the flanks (cattle)" (Hava 545a).

ftl

ويقولون ولا فَتْلَة اذا طلب من احدهم شي مثلا اي لا نعطي شيا (86b) *fatla* فَتْلَة "thread"; *walā fatla* "not a thread (absolutely nothing)". Lane VI 2334b "ما أُغنِي عنه فتيلا (..) I do not avail, or profit, him, (..) and in like manner (..) فتَلة". HB 640b "thread".

ويقولون فتيلة السراج (86b) *fətīla* فتيلة "wick of a lamp". HB 640b "*fitīla* = *fitīl*"; "lamp wick". Lane VI 2334b "فَتِيلَةٌ A wick of a lamp".

fğl

يقولون وهم الحجاج فلان فجّل اي لم يزر النبي صلى الله عليه (86b) *faǧǧil* فجّل وسلم ولم يعلم من القاموس له نسبة؛ ويقولون لمن حج ولم يزر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فلان فجّل بالفا والجيم ولعل المناسبة انه استرخى فى مشيته حيث لم يزر القبر الشريف "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 وبضمتين (86b) *fiǧl* فِجل هذه الارومة "radishes (coll.)". See HB 642b.

fḥl

يقولون فلان فَحْل يعنون انه شجاع او متميّز على غيره في شي (87a) *faḥl* فَحْل "manly, courageous". Lane VI 2346a "a male of animals, (...) stallion", "masculine". HB 643b "stud bull". Hava 549a "stallion, male. Energetic man".

fḥm

مئق الصبي كفرح وأمأق وهذا الذي تقول العامة فيه (55a; 103b) *infaḥam* انفحم انفحم وحصلت له الفحمة؛ انفحم الصبي من البكا "to sob". HB 643b "*itfaḥam* to be overcome (by weeping)". Lane VI 2346c "فَحِم and فُحِم

he (...) wept until his voice became stopped, or until his breath became stopped".

فحمة (55a) *fəḥma* اعلم ان المأقة بفتح الهمزة وهي شبه الفواق ياخذ الانسان عند البكا والنشج كانه نفس يقلعه من صدره مثق الصبي كفرح وأمأق وهذا الذي تقول العامة فيه انفحم وحصلت له الفحمة "a sob". The *maṣdar* of فحم is فَحْم, see Hava 549a. See also انفحم.

fḏlk فذلكة (61a) *faḏlaka* الامر فذلكة الخواص من ويقع يقولون "short, ironic 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 فذلك *fa-ḏālika* "and so".

frā فِرا (9a) *firā* والفرا بمعنى الفضة لغة تركيّة بين الفرا والپا لكن تكتب بالبا وتنقط بثلاث من تحت برا وبياله ونحوهما "para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster". The meaning of فِضّة is: "argent (métal) 2. fedda, pièce de monnaie de billon qui a cours en Égypte; 1/40 d'une piaster" (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: " پارة: كلمة فارسية استخدمها الترك علماً على قدعة نقدية تساوي ١/٤٠ من القرش". Its Turkish/Persian origin is mentioned by Vollers (1896) p. 636. According to Shaw, the para weighed sixteen grains in the 17th century, see Čezzār (1962) p. 25 fn. 1.

frtk فرتك (61a) *fartik* ويقولون فرتكه اذا غلبه "to defeat". HB 645a "*fartik* 1. to rip apart, tear (to pieces)". Spiro 447a "*fartik*, to tear to pieces, destroy, dissipate, disperse".

frtn فرتينة (117a) *fərtīna* يقولون قامت فرتينة والظاهر انه غير عربي "rough sea; trouble". Lane VI 2358b "فُرْتُنة 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 *fırtına* from It> trouble, discord". Vollers (1897) p. 320 believes its origin is the Italian *fortuna*.

frzdq

الفرزدق (52a) *al-farazdaq* ويقولون شعر الفرزدق قال الفرزدق كسفرجل الرغيف يسقط من التنّور الواحدة بها وفتات الخبز ولقب همام بن غالب ابن صَعْصَعة او الفرزدقة القطعة من العجين فارسيّته برازده "al-Farazdaq (personal name)". Steingass 917b "A فرزدق *farazdaq*, a cake baked in the oven; (...) surname of the celebrated poet Humām bin Ġālib".

frzn

فرزان (117a) *firzān* يقولون فرزن اي انظر وفرزان الشطرنج "the queen in the game of chess". Lane VI 2366b "فِرزان 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".

فرزن (117a) *farzin* يقولون فرزن اي انظر وفرزان الشطرنج "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 "فَرْزن في to observe, to look at".

frṭ

فُرُطُلّهْ (65b) *furuṭulləh* يقولون انت حُرُصُلّه وغيرك فُرُطُلّهْ اي انت لا يفرط فيك بخلاف غيرك "neglected?". See حُرُصُلّه.

frʿn

فرعون (117a; 117a) *fərʿwn* وكنت سمعت ان فرعون اصل اسمه عون وكان سارقا فاخذ شيا وهرب فقالوا فرّعون ثم خفف لفرعون لم اجد هذا في القاموس؛ يقولون فرعون قال الفرعون هو التمساح "pharaoh". The explanation offered by al-Maġribī is a folk etymology: فرّ عون "ʿAwn fled". The origin of the word "pharaoh" is "Pr-ʿ3 Great House, palace: later Pharaoh", see Faulkner (1962) p. 89.

frq

افرق (52b) *afraq byn* ويقولون افرق بينه وبينه "I make a distinction between". HB 652a "*faraʾ (i)* (...) to separate", 652b *farraʾ* "to make a distinction, differentiate".

افرق (52a) *afraq* يقولون ديك افرق "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".

فاروق (52a) *fārūq* ويقولون ترياق فاروق "distinguishing (theriac)". Lane VI

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 فِريك (61a) *firīk* ويقولون فِريك فيكسرون الفا وانما الفريك كامير المفروك من الحب "cooked wheat". HB 653a "*firīk* green wheat which has been cut and roasted". Hava 559b "فَريك wheat cooked with butter".

مفرّك (61a) *məfarrak: zibl mufarrak* ويقولون في سبّهم فلان زبل مفرّك "crumbled dung". Wehr 831b " فرك to rub; II = I". HB 653a "*farak* 1. to rub 2. to rub to bits, crumble". See also زبل.

frm فرمة (103b) *fərma* يقولون فرمة لحم او لحم مفروم اعني مقطعا "small piece of minced meat". Dozy II 261b "فَرْمة petit morceau".

مفروم (103b) *mafrūm* يقولون فرمة لحم او لحم مفروم اعني مقطعا "minced (meat)". HB 653a "*laḥma mafrūma* minced meat".

frh فِرّه (122a) *firrih* يقولون حمار فِرّه بكسر الفا وتشديد "lively (donkey)". Wehr 832b "*fārih* lively, agile, nimble, swift (animal)". Lane VI 2390a "فاره ... it is applied as an epiteth to a hackney and a mule and an ass, (...) meaning brisk, lively".

frw فروة (129b) *farwa* يقولون كنا نقطع فروتك اي كنا نذكرك بالمحاسن "fur"; *niqaṭṭaʿ farwatak* "we speak well of you". HB 654a "*ʾaṭṭaʿ 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.

* ابو فريوة (89a) *abū fərywa* يقولون اكلنا قسطل او قصطل لم يعلم وهو الذي يقال له ابو فريوة وهو بالفارسي كسته فلعل قسطل معرب منه "chestnut". HB 654b "*ʾabu farwa* chestnut(s)". *abū fərywa* is the diminutive of *abu farwa*, see §6.3.6.

fstq فستق (53a) *fustuq* ويقولون بندق وفستق "pistachio nuts". Nowadays also pronounced *fuzduʾ* (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".

fsq

فسقية (52a) *fəsqiyya* ويقولون فسقية للحوض الذي يتوضى منه وللمحل الذي يدفن به الميت "wash basin; grave". HB 657a "*fasʾiyya* fountain", idem Spiro 456a; neither of them gives the 2nd 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: *fizgīje* pl. *fesāgi*".

فاسق (53a) *fāsiq* ويقولون فلان فاسق "adulterer". See HB 657a.

fsl

فَسْل (87a) *fasl* يقولون ويسمع من العبيد فلان فَسْل اي قبيح "ugly". Wehr 835b "low; despicable". HB 657a "asinine, silly".

fškl

اتفشكل (87a) *itfaškil* فلان اتفشكل اي لم يصح في الامر "to act incorrectly". HB 658a "*itfaškil* passive of *faškil*"; "*faškil* to make (s.th.) go wrong".

fšl

فيشلة (87a) *fyšala* يقولون على الذكر فيشلة "head of the penis". Lane VI 2402a "الفَيْشَلة the head (or glans) of the penis".

fṣl

افتصل (87b) *aftəṣəl* يقولون افتصل منّك له اي لا ادخل بينكما "I do not interfere". Lane VI 2406a "he weaned [the suckling from his mother, or the young infant from suckling the breast]".

fṣy

يفصي (129b) *yifṣī* يقولون فاصي او يفصي اذا انحنى "to be bent". Lane VI 2408a FṢY 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 FSʾ, with emphasis of the *s*: Lane VI 2394c "فَسِئَ 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".

فاصي (129b) *fāṣī* "bent". See يفصي.

فصي (130a) *fəṣy* ولكن سمعت من اهل مكة يقولون على نوى التمر فصي مع كونه خاصا بالزبيب "date pit" (Mecca). Taymūr V p. 63 "في فَصَاية:

الصعيد: أي نواة التمر". Hava 566a "raisin-seed, date-stone".

fḍl فضلة: الفضلة للفضيل (87b) *al-faḍla li-l-faḍīl* يقولون الفضلة للفضيل "what is left is for the distinguished / outstanding". See HB 661a.

fṭm فطم (103b) *faṭm* يقولون فطم الصبي اي فصله عن الرضاع "to wean (*maṣdar*)". This expression is mentioned in HB 663a.

fʿl فعله (87b) *faʿala* يقولون للصناع مع البنّا فعله الواحد فاعل "labourers". HB 664a mentions *faʿala* and *fuʿala* as the pls. of *fāʿil*. Al-Ḫafāǧī 171 " فاعل عند أهل مصر أجير البناء وهو استعمال عربى".

fġy فاغية (130a) *fāġiya* يقولون فاغية وهو صحيح "flower of *Lawsonia inermis*, or *Egyptian privet* (henna)". See Lane VI 2423a.

fqfq فقفاق (52b; 53a) *fəqfāqa* ويقولون في مجونهم فقي فقفاقه "silly, stupid". Ibn Abī al-Surūr p. 126 " والفقفاقة: قال في المجرد: الفقفاقة هو الأحمق الهذرة". Kazimirski II 622a "فَقْفَاقَة *masc.* Sot, stupide".

fqm أَفْقم (104a) *afqam* قولون في السبّ أَفْقم "having buck teeth". Lane VI 2429a "فَقِمَ *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 أَفْقَمُ".

fqy فقي (53a; 130a) *fiqī* ويقولون في مجونهم فقي فقفاقه؛ يقولون علي معلم الاولاد فقي "Koran-teacher". HB 666a "*fiʾi*". The final *h* of *faqīh* has disappeared.

fkh يتفكّه (122a) *yitfakkih* يقولون فلان يتفكّه في حال فلان وله اصل تفكّه بالشي تنقم "to make fun of, mock". HB 667a "*itfakkih* to engage in light-hearted conversation, kid around". Hava 572b "يتفكه ب 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 "ب jouir de quelqu'un, jouir de la vue de quelqu'un; se moquer de".

flfl فِلْفِل (88a) *filfil* يقولون فِلْفل بكسر الفآئين وهو صحيح وتجوز ضمهما فلفل

فلفل بكسر الفاءين تقوله " كهدهد "pepper". See HB 669b. Al-Ḥafāǧī 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 *məfalfil* (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 šuwayjet ruzz*, we cooked some rice. *mufalfil*, seasoned with pepper; *ruzz mufalfil,* boiled rice, pilaw". See also §5.1.2.

flq

فلق (53a) *fələq* ويقولون فلان فلقني "to annoy". See HB 670a *falaʾ*.

يقولون فلان فِلِق اذا ما استبعدوا عنه الامر وله اصل قال في فِلِق (53a) *filiq* القاموس الفلق الداهية (..) ولكن كسرهم للفا لا يصح فهو تحريف فقط "unfortunate/annoying?". Hava 575a "فِلْق wood split in two, splint; wonderful thing; misfortune". HB 670a "*falaʾ* 1. to split 2. to annoy, irritate, incense".

فلقة (53a) *falaqa* ويقولون ضربه في الفلقة او علقه في الفلقة "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 *qammāṭa:* "الفَلَقة: تقال في الكتاتيب، وأما في الريف فيقال لها العِدة. وكانوا قديما يقولون عنها في الحكومة التركية بمصر القَمّاطة". Spiro 501b "*qammāṭa*, board to which women were tied to be flogged". Kazimirski II 632b "فَلَقَة supplice de la *falaka*, qui consiste en ce que les pieds sont attachés à une chaine 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 *mufliq* (53b) مفلق "a poet who has composed a masterpiece". Hava 575a "أفلق وافتلق to produce a.th. wonderful, a masterpiece". وكذلك شاعر مفيق

flk

فيه عبرة على اللغة التركية فانهم يقولون فلان افلك او مفلوك او *fəlāka* (61b) فلاكة في الفلاكة اذا تعثّر وافتقر جدّا. "ill-luck". See مفلوك.

افلك (61b) *aflak* "ill-starred, unfortunate". See مفلوك.

مفلوك (61b) *maflūk* "ill-starred, unfortunate". Wehr 851b "*maflūk* ill-starred, unlucky, unfortunate".

فلك (61a) *falak* ويقولون الفلك قال هو بالتحريك مدار النجوم "universe". See HB 670b. Sharbatov (1969) p. 314 claims that al-Maġribī mentions a saying "من دار حول الفلك أفلك", but this is not a saying; it is a quote from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*: " قال في القاموس الفلك قطع من الارض تستدير وترتفع عما حولها الواحدة فلكة ساكنة اللام جمعه كرجال والافلك من يدور حولها".

فلكه (61b) *falaka* ويقولون على الردف فلكه وقد علمت صحته لان كل شي مستدير هو فلك "buttock". See HB 670a, and Spiro 465b.

flw فلو (130a) *falw* يقولون لابن الفرس "colt". See HB 671b. BW V p. 94b "Eselsfohlen *filw* [BEDU:Gar]".

fnğn فنجان (117a) *finğān* يقولون فنجان قهوة للظرف المعلوم ولم يعلم من القاموس "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 فندق (53b) *funduq* ويقولون وهم الاروام على البندق فندق وهو صحيح "hazelnut". Steingass 939b "فندق *funduq* a fibert-nut". Taymūr V p. 80 also mentions that the Turks say *funduq* instead of *bunduq*.

فندق (54a) *fandaq* يقولون فندق الباب اذا فتحه فتحا بيّنا والباب مفندق وما علمت له مناسبة لغوية الا فندق على وزن بندق مثل الوكالة والخان فكانه شبه الباب المفتوح لذلك الباب "to open wide (door, window)". See HB 672b, Spiro 466b, and Taymūr V p. 80.

مفندق (54a) *məfandaq* "wide open (door)". See فندق.

fhq فهاقه (51a) *fəhāqa* يقولون فلان جاته الفهاقه وليس كذلك وانما هي الفواق كغراب اما بالهمز او غيره وهي الريح التي تخرج من المعدة "gasp, death-rattle". HB 674b "*fahaq* to gasp, catch one's breath (in surprise or awe)". Hava 580b "فُواقٌ gasp, death-rattle". Dozy II 286a "فهق render le dernier soupir, 1001 N".

fwq فوّق (53b) *fawwaq* ويقولون فوّق السّهم ما يريدون به يريدون انّه وضع الفُوق وهو محل الوتر في السهم "to place the notch of an arrow on the

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 فول (88a; 110a) *fūl* يقولون الفول قال هو بالضم حب كالحمص والباقلا؛ يقولون تبن وفول "broad beans". See HB 678a.

fwy فوي (130a) *fawī* يقولون فلان ملبخ فوي اي مليح قوي بالتصحيف "very". *taṣḥīf* of *qawī*. *məlabbaḥ* "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 الّل.

fyl فيّل (88a) *fayyil* يقولون فلان فيّل اذا صار سمينا وكانهم يشبهونه بالفيل "to become big and fat". See HB 680a.

fywm الفيّوم (104a) *al-fayyūm* يقولون الفيّوم على البلد المعروف "Fayyoum". See HB 681a-b.

q

qāqā قاقا / قاقه (9b; 54a) *qāqā / qāqa* يقولون قاقا اذا داعبوا شخصا؛ ويقولون قاقه لمن يسخرون منه "clucking". *qāqā* is the imitation of the clucking of chickens, therefore this sound is used to make someone seem ridiculous. Kazimirski II 836a "قاقَ glousser (se dit des poules)", "قاقٌ sot, stupide".

qbb قبّ (18b) *qabb* يقولون قبّ جلدي مثل قشعر بدني ولم ار مناسبا له "to stand on end (hair)". See Wehr 864a. HB 682a "to rise, swell". Spiro 473b-474a "*šaʿr rāsy qabb*, my hair stood on end".

قبّة (18b) *qubba* ويقولون قبّة وهو صحيح "dome". See HB 682a. Vollers (1896) p. 617 believes its origin is the Persian *gunbed*. Steingass 1098 "گنبد *guṃbad,* an arch, vault, cupola, dome".

qbqb قبقاب (18b) *qubqāb* ويقولون لما يلبس بالرجل قبقاب "wooden pattens". See HB 683b .

مقبقب (18b) *məqabqab* ويقولون لما يلبس بالرجل قبقاب ولوصف الفرج بالمقبقب وكل صحيح وان كان القبقاب يطلق على الكذاب والجمل الهدّار والفرج الواسع الكثير الما "making a sound (vagina)". Hava 583b "قَبْقَب (...) to emit a sound". Lane VII 2478a "قَبْقَب (..) said of the فَرْج of a woman by reason of the act of إيلاج, *it made a sound*". إيلاج = "penetration".

qbl

قابل (89a) *qābil* يقولون عنده قابليّة وهو قابل للشي كانه يكون على وجود المطلوب دليلا الذي في القاموس "capable of, susceptible to". See HB 684a.

قابليّة (89a) *qābiliyya* "capability, susceptibility". See HB 684a.

قبيل (88b) *qabīl* ويقولون نحن من هذا القبيل او ما نحن من هذا القبيل "class of men". Hava 586a "قبيل 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 ما ارادوا ومعناه عجيب "class of men". In HB 684a only "*ʾabīla* tribe". Hava 586a "قبيل class of man". Dozy II 305b "القبيل les chefs des tribus; genus, species".

قُبْله (88b) *qubla* يقولون قُبْله وبَوْسَه "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* يقولون للإعادة او العرض مقابلة وهو صحيح بمعنى واجهه والمغاربة تكتب محل قابله عارضه وهما بمعنى واقْبَلْتُهُ الشي جعلته على مقابلته "opposition". HB 684b "*muʾabla* 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 عرض له".

قبالة (88b) *qubāla* يقولون قبالة الشي بضم القاف اي تجاهُهُ وهو صحيح قُبالته "opposite". HB 684b "*ʾubāl* 1. facing, opposite". Hava 586a " وقباله opposite, in front of him".

qbw قبا (130a) *qabā* يقولون لبست القبا "sleeved robe". Hava 586b "قَباء man's gown with full sleeves". Dozy II 307b "قَبايَة chemise en laine".

qtl قاتل: قاتله الله (126b) *qātalahu allāh* اللّه قاتله يقال يا كلب ما اشطره وربما يقال "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.

قتل (89a) *qutil* يقولون فلان العدوّ مات ويقول بعض لم يمت انما قتل ولا فرق "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.

قتل (89a) *qatal* ويستعملون قتل الحشيش وليس الا بان شبّه بالمزْج "to mix (drugs)". *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 942c "قَتَلَ الشَّرابَ: مَزَجَهُ بالماءِ".

qtm قتم (104a) *qattim* يقولون للوجه المغبّر قتم او مقتم وهو صحيح "to become dark (face)". HB 686a "*ʾattim* 1. to darken, blacken. *iššams ʾattimit wiššu* the sun tanned his face 2. to become dark. *wiššu ʾattim miz-zaʿal*".

مقتم (104a) *məqattim* "dark (face)". See قتم.

qṯy قِثا (9b) *qiṯṯā* ويقولون قِثا وهو صحيح "cucumis sativus". HB 686a "قثّة، قثاء *ʾatta* variety of long cucumber (Cucumis sativus)".

qḥb قحبة (18b) *qaḥba* ويقولون في السب للمرأة قحبة "whore". See HB 686a.

qḥf قحف (31b) *qəḥf* يقولون فلان قحف للغليظ الطبع "coarse, fat". HB 686b "*ʾaḥf* 1. broad part of a palm branch (where it joins the trunk) 2. (strong) brute". Spiro 477a "*qaḥf* lower part of a date-palm branch, rude, unpolished".

qdf قديفة (72a) *qədīfa* وتقدم في قطف ان القطايف تشبه القطيفة فسميت لذلك والاروام يترّكونها فيقولون قديفة بالدال وقد علمت انها عربية كموم للشمع "sweet pancake". So called by the Turks, while the Egyptians say *qaṭīfa* (see قطايف).

qdm قادوم (104a) *qādūm* يقولون على قدّوم قادوم وليس في اللغة الا قدوم بالتخفيف "adze". See HB 690a, and Spiro 470a. The normal spelling is without *alif*. It is probably a hyper-correction, see §6.2.9.

قدام (10b) *quddām* يقولون ورا وقدام "in front of". See HB 689b.

qrb مقارب (19a) *məqārib* ويقولون طيّب ومقارب وله اصل قال في القاموس وشي مقارب بالكسر بين الجيّد والرّدي "average". HB 691a "*ʾārib* to become close to one another". Hava 596b "مقارِب 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 قرطق (53b) *qərṭəq* ويقولون لبس القرطق وهو معرّب كرته "tunic". Hava 599b "قُرْطَق G tunic". The word was originally Persian, see Steingass 964 "A قرطق *qurṭaq* (P. كرته) a kind of garment"; 1021 "كرته *kurta* a tunic, waistcoat, jacket; a long loose-skirted undergown or shirt; a shirt". Al-Ḫafāğī 177 "قرطق لباس شبيه بالقباء ج قراطق وأصله بالفارسية كرته".

qrṭm قريطم (104b) *qəryṭm* يقولون قريطم وهو تصغير قُرطم بضم القاف "safflower". Wehr 887a "*qirṭim, qurṭum* safflower (Carthamus tinctorius)". HB 694b "*ʾurṭum* 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. *ġubbēra* "Glinus lotoides L.", see Woidich (2006) p. 100, *duḥrēg* "common vetch", see Woidich (2006) p. 103. See also §6.3.6 for the diminutive.

qrf اقرف (32a) *aqraf* ويقولون اقرفني او حصل لي منه القرف "to disgust". See HB 695b: *ʾirif* "to become disgusted", *ʾaraf* "to disgust (s.o.)". *ʾaraf* in modern Egyptian is originally a form IV, like the pair *tiʿib* "to become tired" and *taʿab* "to tire". See §6.3.1.5 for form IV.

قرف (32a) *qaraf* ويقولون اقرفني او حصل لي منه القرف "disgust". HB 695b "*ʾaraf* filth, something disgusting".

قرفة (32a) *qirfa* وَيَقُولُون فلان قرفته خفيفة او ثقيلة هذا يمكن له التناسب بان توخذ القرفة من الاقتراف اي الاكتساب ثم ظهر لي ان قرفته خفيفة او ثقيلة اي طلبته قال في القاموس وهم قرفتي اي عندهم طِلبتي "spirit", *qirfituh ḫafīfa* / *qirfituh ṯaqīla*.

ṯaqīla “he is charming/he is boring”. HB 695b “*ʾirfa* luck (of a deal), way things turn out (on a deal)”. Taymūr V 114 “ وفلان قرفته خفيفة: أى روحه خفيفة، لعله لأن القرفة – أى الدار صينى – أجودها ما كان خفيف الوزن”. It is the equivalent of the modern *dammu ḫafīf / dammu tʾīl* “he is funny / he is boring”.

qrq يقرّق (53b) *yiqarraq* ويقولون فلان يقرّق عَلينا اذا ضحك عليهم وصاح مثلا “to cackle, laugh”. HB 696a “*ʾarraʾ* to chortle, cackle”. Spiro 484a-b “*qarraq*, to say witty vulgar things with play on the words”. Wehr 888b “*qaraqa* to cluck (hen)”. Ibid “*qarqara* to make a rumbling noise, (...) to guffaw, laugh continuously and loudly”.

qrl قِرِلّي (89a) *qirillā* قِرِلّى نافعه والقِرلّى كزمكّى طآئر ذو حزم لا يري الا فرقا علي وجه المآ “kind of water bird”. Hava 601a “قِرِلَّى kind of plungeon, diver”.

qrm قِرْم (104a) *qirm* يقولون فلان قِرْم اذا وصفوه بالقوّة والهمّة ونحوهما وانما هو قرم بفتحها “tough (person)”. HB 696a “*ʾirim* tough, hard-bitten”. Hava 601b “قَرْم stallion kept in the stable; chief of a tribe; incision on a camel’s nose”.

qrn قرنان (117a) *qarnān* يقولون فلان قرنان قال هو الديوث والمشارك في قرينته كزوجته “cuckold”. HB 697a “*ʾarran* 1. to cuckold... 3. to become cuckolded (of a man)”. Al-Ḫafāǧī 181 “ قرنان بوزن سكران عامية مولدة وأصله انهم يكنون عن صاحبها بذى القرون كأنهم جعلوه حيوانا لا يغار على منكحه”.

qrw قروة (130a) *qərwa* يقولون قروة لاينة اي ظرف من خوص “basket of palm leaves”. BW IV 376b “*girwiyya* großer Vorratskorb; Korb, Tasche; Transportkorb; eine runde aus Palmblätter geflochtene Tasche” (used in Upper Egypt).

qzm قِزْمة (104b) *qazma* يقولون على الةٍ قِزْمة وليس عربيا والقَزْم معانيه كلها قبيحة “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 قزّون (130b) *qazzwn* يقولون فلان قزّون اي بخيل ولم يعلم قال القُزَة كثبة حيّة بترا “greedy”. The quotation is from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1191c, entry

QZW. Al-Maġribī 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 " قَزّون: للقصير جدا. هو القزم، وقلبوا الميم نونا. ومن أمثالهم: رَبَّى قَزّون المال ... الخ انظره فى كراس الأمثال". Taymūr *Amṭāl* (1986) p. 224 no. 1302: " رَبِّى قَزُّون الْمَالْ ينفعَكْ ورَبِّى إِسْود الرَّاسْ يقْلَعَكْ" . Hava 604a "قَزِم to be mean, paltry".

qsṭl يقولون اكلنا قسطل او قصطل لم يعلم وهو قسطل (89a) *qəsṭəl / qəṣṭəl* / قصطل الذي يقال له ابو فريوة وهو بالفارسي كسته فلعل قسطل معرب منه "chestnut". Wehr 892 "*qasṭal* (eg.) chestnut". HB 654b "*ʾabu farwa* chestnut(s)", but does not mention *qasṭal*. Steingass 970 "قسطل *qusṭul,* a chestnut". See also ابو فريوة.

qsm قسَامة (104b) *qasāma* يقولون كتبوا عليهم قسَامة "truce?". Hava 605b "قَسَامة oath; truce; swearers"; "قُسَامة alms; portion of the allotter". Dozy II 346a-b "قَسامة 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 "*ʾasīma* 1. receipt, stub. 2. certificate".

قِسْم (104b) *qism* يقولون هذا بختي هذا قِسْمِي اي هو نصيبي وحظّي "fate, lot". HB 699b "*ʾisma* 1. a division, a (fated) lot". HB gives a translation of *qism* only as "section" and "police station". Ibid Spiro 486b.

قِسْمه (105a) *qisma* يقولون ما دِلاّ قِسْمه اذا اتفق اهل المجلِس على احدٍ يقول ذلك وانظر هل يكون بينه وبين المعنى اللغوي نسبة قال قَسَمه وقَسَّمه حَزَّأه وهي القِسْمة بالكسْر اي فكان الغلب عليه حصل من كل واحد فتجمّعت الاجزا وتركبت حتى صارت صورة وهيئة فهي القِسْمَه "lot, division". HB 699b "*ʾisma* 1. a division, a (fated) lot". Hava 605 "قِسْمة repartition, allotment. (arith.) division"; "share, portion".

qšf قشف (32b) *qəšəf* ويقولون في رجلي قشف وليس في اللغة بمعنى المرض وانما هو قذر الجلد "chapped skin". HB 701b "*qašaf* chapping, roughening". Spiro 488a "*qašaf*, chilblain".

قشفة (32b) *qəšfa* ويقولون قشفة الرغيف لم تعلم "bread crust". HB 701b "*qišfa* crust (of bread), rind (of hard cheese)".

qṣb قصّاب (19a) *qaṣṣāb* وتقول الخواص للجزّار القصّاب "butcher". Spiro 489a

"land-surveyor". Hava 608b "butcher; flute-player; land-surveyor". Dozy II 354a "القَصَّاب , 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 قصطل (89a) *qəṣṭəl* "chestnut". See قسطل.

qṣf قَصْف (32b) *qaṣf* ويقولون فلان في قَصْف اي في لهو ولعب وليس عربيا "playfulness". Hava 610a "قَصَف to revel, to make good cheer".

qṣl قَصَل (89b) *qaṣal* ويقولون قَصَل على اليابس من النباتات "stalks". HB 705a "*ʾaṣal* = *ʾaṣala*"; "*ʾaṣala* knotty part of stalks of wheat and barley separated out during winnowing and used for fuel". Spiro 491a "*qaṣal*, stalks".

قيصلة (89b) *qyṣəla* يقولون فلان يتمقصل او عنده قيصلة اي خفَة وتبختر في المشي "a walk with a swagger". No references found.

qṭb قطب (20a) *qəṭəb* ويقولون في الجرح قطب له المزيّن "to stitch up (a wound)". Hava 613b "وقطّب قَطَبَ to stitch (clothes)". HB 706a "to make a tuck in, sew a fold in (a garment etc.)".

qṭrb يتقطرب (20b) *yitqaṭrab* ويقولون للمنعزل عنهم قاعد مثل القطرب او يتقطرب "to shun company". Hava 614b "to stir about". Lane VII 2543b-c "قطرب he hastened, sped, or went quickly"; "تقطرب 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 سِعْلَاة; a young, or little, jinnee; a young, or little, dog; (...) a species of melancholia").

قطرب (20b) *qəṭrəb* ويقولون للمنعزل عنهم قاعد مثل القطرب او يتقطرب "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 قطآيف (32b) *qaṭāyif* ويقولون كنافة وقطآيف "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

in butter (eaten with sugar or honey)". Al-Ḫafāǧī 176 " قطايف لنوع مما يؤكل صحيح على التشبيه لانّ القطيفة دثار مخمل".

قطوف (32b) *qəṭūf* ويقولون قطوف في المشي مثلا اذا كان بطي السير "walking slowly". Hava 616b "قَطوف walking at a slow pace". In HB, Spiro, and Dozy, only with the meaning "to pluck".

qṭm قطم (105a) *qəṭīm* يقولون في سبهم الفاحش فلان قطيم او عنده قطم "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-ʾubna) and, in another usage (bi-luġa ʾuxrā) one who is unmarried.'" Dozy II 377a "قَطِيم sodomita, bardache, mignon".

قطم (105a) *qəṭm* "sodomy". See قطيم.

qṭn قيطون (117a) *qyṭūn* يقولون قيطون للذي على الخليج "Basement of a house, overlooking water" (al-Ḫalīǧ was a canal in Cairo which has since been filled in). Hava 617a "قَيْطُون cellar; closet". Al-Ḫafāǧī 178 " قيطون بيت فى جوف بيت تسميه العرب المخدع". 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 قفّة (32b) *qəffa* ويقولون قفّة للوعا المتخذة من الخوص "basket made of palm stalks". See HB 711b *quffa*.

قفّه (32b) *qəffa* واما قول لاعبي الشطرنج مرماد قفة فيمكن انه على التشبيه بالظرف Meaning unclear. There could be a relation to HB 711b "*wāqiʿ min qaʿr il-quffa* overlooked as trivial, unjustifiably disregarded", or with Hava 619b "قُفّ من الناس rabble". See also مرماد.

qfqf قفقف (32b) *qafqaf* ويقولون قفقف من البرد "to shiver with cold". See Hava 619b, and HB 711b.

qfl قافلة (89b) *qāfila* يقولون القافلة للرفقة الذاهبين للسفر مع ان قفل رجع والقافلة

الراجعة سميت بذلك تفاولا بان ترجع كما قالوا في الصحرا المهلكة مفازة بشارة بالفوز "caravan". HB 712a "قافلة *ʾafla, ʾāfila* caravan".

قفله (89b) *qafla* يقولون وزن قفله بفتح القاف قال القفلة الدرهم الوازن "a coin with the correct weight". Kazimirski II 791b "قَفْلَة qui a le poids voulu (piece de monnaie)".

قفال (89b) *qaffāl* يقولون في السبّ فلان قفال "ignorant?". Hava 621a "locksmith", it is, however, unclear why this would be an insult. Dozy II 384b "قَفَّال serrurier"; "مقفول ignorant". Compare HB 711b "*ʿifl* (...) 2b [abus] inexperienced, naive. *walad ʿifl* a green kid".

qql قاقُلّى (89b) *qāqullā* يقولون عود قاقُلّى وهو صحيح "saltwort". See Hava 621b.

qlql قلقل (90a) *qəlqəl* يقولون في رقبته قلقل على الجلجل الكبير ولم يعلم "large bell". Taymūr V p. 155 " خطط المقريزي ١٠٢/١ المقلقلات: هي محاريث كبار". Dozy II 399b mentions only the pl.: "قَلاقِل sonnettes, grelots"; the source is 1001 Nights.

qll قلة (89b) *qulla* يقولون املا القلة "earthenware water jar". See HB 716a, and Hava 622a.

qlm قلم (105a) *qələm* يقولون فلان قلم اذا كان عزبا او كان مفلساً حتى قالوا فقلت ابريني لاني قلم اذا كان على التشبيه بالقلم الذي هو اليَراعة او بعد البري فواضح والطف منه ان القالم العزب جمعه قلمة محركة فيمكن انه حرّف حتى صار قلم "bachelor; broke". HB 716a "pen; stalk; department; slap"; and Spiro 499b-500a "pen, office, stripe, slap". Hava 625b "قالم bachelor". ابريني لاني قلم is a pun: HB 72a "*ibrīli ʾalam* sharpen me a pencil!".

qlnbr قلنبرة (103b) *qələnbəra* واعلم ان الترك يقولون على محب الغلمان قلنبرة وعلى محب النسا زنبره واصله بالفارسي غلام بره وزن بره الغلام معلوم وزن الامراة "sodomite". From Persian, see Steingass 891b: "باره غلام *ghulām-bāra* a sodomite". Redhouse 1348a "غلامباره (vulg. qulampara) a pederast". See also زنبره.

qml قمل (90a) *qəml* يقولون القمل والصيبان "lice". See HB 718a *ʾaml.*

qmm قُمامه (105b) *qumāma* يقولون اكنس القُمامه اي الكناسة "sweepings". See

Hava 626a.

qmn قمين (117b) *qamīn* يقولون قمين جير "kiln". HB 718b "*ʾamīna* <prob Gr kaminos> kiln". Spiro 502a "*qamyna*, kiln". Dozy II 407a "قَمِين fournaise". Its origin is the Greek *καμινος*, see Vollers (1897) p. 302.

qndl قنديل (90b) *qandīl* يقولون قنديل بفتح القاف وانما هو بكسرها "oil lamp". See HB 719a.

qnṣl قنصل (90b) *qunṣul* على كبير من النصارى قنصل ولعله بلغتهم فان القنصل بالعربي كقنفد القصير "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 8th century AH.

qnf قنِف (32b) *qinif* ويقولون قنف يقع من اهل الارياف في السب "disgusting?". HB 720a "*ʾinif, ʾunuf* to become revolted or disgusted"; "*ʾinif* 1. given to being revolted or disgusted. 2. finicky". Hava 630b "قَنِف to be covered with dry slime"; "to loathe a.o. or a. th."

qnm قِنِم (105a) *qinim* يقولون فلان قِنِم او عنده قنامة اذا تكبّر واظهر الكراهة حتى انه يشم ريحة كريهة بانفه "arrogant, walking with a disgusted look on his face (as if smelling a rancid smell)". Hava 631a "قَنِم to be rancid (nut); to stink (greasy hands); to be dusty". Dozy II 414a "قنم II émonder la vigne". Kazimirski II 825b "قَنِم qui sent mauvais pour avoir été Sali avec de l'huile gatee (main, etc.)".

قنامة (105a) *qənāma* "arrogance". See قِنِم .

qnn قنينية (117b) *qanīniyya* يقولون قنينية ولها اصل "glass drinking-bowl". HB 720b "قنيّة *ʾananiyya, ʾaniniyya* 1. bottle. 2. [obsol] glass drinking-bowl". Hava 628b "قِنّينة glass-bottle, flask". Barthélemy 686 *qannīne* "flacon, petite bouteille de verre blanc, fiole".

qhw قهوة (130b) *qahwa* يقولون قهوة المستخرج من البن "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 conduced 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

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

قوف (33a) *qwf* ويقولون فلان قوفي او عنده قوف يريدون به الزور والنصب على الناس "swindling". Kazimirski II 835b form V "Refuser à quelqu'un son dû".

قوفي (33a) *qwfī* "swindler". See قوف.

qwq

ام قويق (54a) *umm qwyq* ويقولون ام قويق للطآئر المشهور ولم انظره "owl". See HB 722a. Dozy II 420a "قويقة chouette".

يقوّق (54a) *yiqawwaq* واما قولهم صار المحل يقوّق اي خال من الناس لم يعلم "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

القال والقيل (90b) *al-qāl wa-l-qīl* يقولون القال والقيل هما مصدران كالقول والمقال وقولة ومقاله "gossip". Spiro 471b "*el qāl wil qyl* rumour, gossip, trouble". Wehr 933a "long palaver; idle talk, prattle, gossip". HB 723a "*ʾāla* (unpleasant) rumour"; "*ʾal(-lu) l-ʾill* response indicating one's annoyance at being told 'I told you so'".

qwm

قوام (105a) *qawām* يقولون مليح في قوامه "stature". See HB 724a, Spiro 472a.

قيمان (117a) *qīmān* يقولون في سبّهم للغائب مثلا تعريض قيمانه بكسر القاف لم تظهر الان له مناسبة وظهر شي قد خطر الان هو ان في سيرة ساسان يقولون على النيك قيم قمتها نكتها فهو يسبّ من فعلوا به Meaning unclear. No references found.

qyq

قيقي (53b; 54) *qīqī* ويقولون قل لها قيقي اذا كان يسخر باحد؛ وقد نظرت الان انّ معنى قولهم قل لها قيقي اي قل للدجاجة صحي فان القيق صوت الدجاجة اذا دعت الديك للسفاد "cackle", *qul lahā qīqī* "tell her (the hen) to

cackle", said to somebody to make him look ridiculous. Taymūr V 186 "قيقى: يقولون: قِيقى مِيقى: حكاية صوت. ومن قِيقى شمر: أي من أدنى شئ".

* qyl قيّالة (112a) *qəyyāla* "midday heat, siesta". يقولون قيّالة حنّانة HB 726b "*ʾayyāla* midday heat, hottest part of the day". Spiro 506b "*qayjāla*, mid-day heat". Hava "قائلة mid-day; siesta". See also حنّانة.

k

kaka تكاكا (10a) *itkākā* "يقولون لا تتكاكا شي اي لا تتاخّر عن الشي وافعله to hesitate, be cowardly". Hava 639a "كأكأ وتكأكأ to draw back; to run away (thief); to be weak, cowardly". Lane VII p. 2581a "كأكأ he drew back, or retired, and was cowardly"; "تكأكأ he was prevented, or hindered"; "تكأكأ في كلامه he hesitated in his speech".

kbl كبالي (90b) *kabālī* يقولون على المواشط الكبالي حتى رايتها في قصة الجليلة وتبع ولما كانت تجلي قيل فيها وهاهي تجلي بين الكبالي "lady's maids". They are also mentioned in *Hazz al-quḥūf* in a scene where a bride is being prepared for her wedding: ويأتي اليها الكبالي, see Davies (2005) p. 17.

kby كابي (130b) *kābī* يقولون فلان كابي "ashen (complexion)". See HB 733b, and Hava 642b.

ktā كتا (10a) *kətā* ويقولون كتا على شي من الماكول قرين الخشكنان والظاهر انه غير عربي لان الثاني غير عربي بل فارسي "a sweetmeat?". Lane VII 2589c "كَتْأَة a plant resembling the جِرْجير, which is cooked and eaten", 2592a "كَثْأَة a kind of أَقِط; what rises (from the milk) above the water, the latter becoming clear beneath it". However, خشكنان is a kind of sweetmeat, and al-Maġribī calls it *kətā* "the companion of خشكنان" so it probably does not resemble a plant or cottage cheese. In Persian, كته *kate* means "rice boiled in water", see Junker-Alavi

(1968) p. 595a. It could be a dessert made with rice.

ktf كتاف (33a) *kitāf* يقولون حل كتافه للحبل والكتيف للضبّه "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".

ktl كتله (90b) *kutla* يقولون كتله بضم الكاف اي ثقيل ولها نسبة "heavy weight". HB 736b "3. [phys] mass". Spiro 512a "*kutla*, beam, bulk, lump, mass".

كوتل (90b) *kwtal* يقولون كوتل واعطاه وليس لغويا فان الذي في القاموس الكوثل بالمثلثة موخر السفينة "stern of a ship". See Wehr 990b كوثل *kauṯal*.

ktm يكتم (105b) *yiktum* يقولون فلان يكتم بضم التآ وهو كذلك من باب ينصر "to keep a secret". See Spiro 512a *katam (jiktim).* Lane VIII 2998c (Suppl.) "he concealed, or suppressed, a secret".

ktn كتان (117b) *kittān* يقولون كتان بكسر الكاف وانما هو كتان بفتحها "linen". See HB 737a. Hava 644b كَتَّان.

kḥk كحك (62a) *kaḥk* ويقولون كحك العيد وانما هو الكعك خبز معروف فارسيّ معرّب "cookies baked for religious feasts". See HB 737b. It was originally Persian, see Steingass 1007b كاك *kāk* biscuit; dry bread" and Vollers (1896) p. 654. Al-Ḫafāǧī 192 " كعك معروف فارسى معرب عن الجوهرى ورد فى الشعر القديم".

kḥl مكحلة (91a) *məkḥla* وسمعت من المغاربة مكحلة اي البندقيّه ولم تعلم وكانها شبهت بالمكحلة لما وضع فيها من البارود الذي هو كالكحل "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 Maġribīs] are a gun-shooting people similar to Albanians", see Čezzār (1962) p. 26.

مكحِلة (90b) *mukḥila* يقولون مكحلة بكسر الحا وانما هي مُكْحُلة بضمها والميم "kohl-holder". HB 738a "*mukḥila* vessel (usually of brass) for kohl". Lane (2003) p. 36 mentions the pronunciation *mukḥulah.*

kdm كدم (105b) *kədəm* يقولون على العضّ بادنى الفم كدم "to bite with the edges of the teeth". HB 740a only mentions the noun: "*kadma* bruise,

contusion". Hava 647b "كَدَم to bite with the edge of the teeth".

kdy كادي (131a) *kādī* يقولون كادي لشي ريحه طيب في مكة لم يعلم "pandanus odoratissimus". Redhouse 1514 "كاذي *kyāzī*, the East-Indian screw-pine, pandanus odoratissimus". Steingass 1001a "كاذى *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 دهن الكادي". According to Vollers (1896) p. 634, it is the *celastrus edulis*. This is the plant from which *qāt* is made.

krbl كربل (91a) *karbil* يقولون كربل القمح اذا غربله "to sieve wheat". HB 741a only mentions the instrument: "*kurbāl* coarse-meshed riddle (used in threshing)", ibid. Spiro 515a. Hava 649b "كَرْبَل to cleanse (wheat)". BW IV 411a "*karbal, yikarbil ḥ* mit dem großen Sieb *kurbāl ~ kirbāl* sieben".

krswn ابو كرسون (118a) *ʾabū kərswn* ويقولون ابو كرسون للرجل الكبير بل للباشا وكرسون الذي رايته في سيرة الحاكم انه اسم ملك من ملوك النصارى كان سلطان النصارى في دمياط حتى جآ الحاكم ثم خلصها منه واتسلم وحسن السلامة "an important person". Unknown. See endnote on fol. 118a.

krf كرف (33b) *karaf* ويقولون كرف الرآئحه وهو صحيح الا ان اصله مستعمل في 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 كرّك (61b) *karrak* يقولون فلان كرّك على فلان وضحك عليه "to laugh at s.o.". HB 744b "*karkar* (...) 3. to laugh at length".

krkdn كركدن (117b) *karkaddan / karkadann* يقولون كركدن مشدد الدال والعامّة تشدد النون دابة تحمل الفيل على قرنها "rhinoceros". Hava 651b "كَرْكَدَّن وكَرْكَدَنْ P rhinoceros." Its Persian origin is confirmed by Steingass 1024 "كرگدن kargadan (S. *khadga-dhenu*), the rhinoceros".

krkr كركر (91a) *karkar* اخذه في كركر اي في لعب وضحك قال كركر ضحك "laughter and playing". See HB 744b.

krkm كركم (106a) *kurkum* يقولون في غنا الموال عجنت كركم بما كركم بقا كركم كنت عجنت لهذه الثلاثة كركم معرب. “turmeric”. See HB 745a. Al-Ḫafāǧī p. 193. Vollers (1897) p. 650 believes that the word’s origin is Indian.

krm إكرم (105b) *ikrəm* يقولون اذا راى احدهم في لحية صاحبة شيا تعلق من قشة ونحوها إكرم “show some respect!” (said to someone whose looks are somehow embarrassing, e.g. food in the beard). Compare HB 745b “*ʾakramak allāh* no offence taken! (said in the event of unseemly words or behaviour)”.

كريمة (105b) *karīma* يقولون على اخت الانسان كريمته وكذلك على العين وهو صحيح “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”.

krn كرّاني (117b) *karrānī* يقولون فلان كرّاني في المركب “scribe on a boat”. Dozy II 460b “كراني 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.

ksf كسف (22a; 33b) *kasaf* ويقولون في الشمس خسفت والقمر كسف والغالب في اللغة استعمالا ان يقال للشمس كسفت وللقمر خسف؛ ويقولون كسفت الشمس وتقدم ما فيه “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 “*ḫasaf* 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 كشك (62a) *kišk* ويقولون طعام كشك ويقولون ان اصله البرّ واللبن “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

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 مكفن (117b) *məkaffən* يقولون سمك مكفن وله نسبة "unsalted". Hava 660b "كَفْن without salt (food)". Taymūr V p. 356 "طعام كَفْن: لا ملح فيه".

klb يا كلب ما اشطره (126b) *yā kalb mā ašṭaru* والان يستعملون غير هذا كان يقال يا كلب ما اشطره "clever dog!". This is an example of a negative expression which can be used to express something positive.

kll الكل: الكل والبعض (91a) *al-kull wa-l-baʿḍ* يقولون الكل والبعض "everything / body and anything / body".

klm مكلتم (106a) *məkaltəm* يقولون فلانة جميلة مكلتمه بالتآ المثناة وانما هي كلثمه بالثا المثلثة "plump". Dozy II 490b "مُكَلْثَم charnu, 1001 N; mais مكلثم semble signifier *qui a la barbe touffue*". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1042b "امرأة مكلثمة".

kly يكتلي (131a) *yiktəlī* يقولون فلان ما تكتليه او ما يكتلي به الشخص لحقارته (..) ولم يعلم قولهم هذا "to fix his eye on?". Hava 662a "كَلأ to fix (the eyes) on; إكْتَلأ to be sleepless (eye)". Lane VII 2624a "اكتلأ مِنْهُ he preserved, or guarded, himself from him or it; had a care of, or was cautious of, him or it".

km كام (106a; 106b) *kām* يقولون كام وهي اشباع في كم الاستفهاميه؛ يقولون نعام اي نعم وهو مثل قولهم كام اي كم يشبعون الحرف غفلة "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 كما (10a) *kamā* ويقولون كما جا او كما راح ولم اعلم له وجهاً ولا مناسبة للمراد (..) سمعت ان الكاف للمفاجأة وبهذا يصح قولهم كما جا "like", "he came like he went". It is unclear why al-Maġribī labeled this as "unknown", unless he had another meaning in mind.

kmğ كُماجا (10a) *kumāğā* الخبز اليابس لم يعلم (...) كماجا بضم الكاف "dry bread". Taymur V 249 " كِمَاج: ويقال كِماجَة: تطلق فى بعض بلاد القطر كدمياط وجهاتها على النوع النظيف من الخبز، وعلى الخبز الذى على وجهه

السمسم". It was originally Persian; Steingass 1064 "كوماج *kūmāj*, كوماچ *kūmāch*, unleavened bread".

kml كامليّة (91b) *kāmiliyya* يقولون كامليّة لما يلبس لم تعلم "type of garment". Dozy II 489b "espèce de robe"; he mentions Ibn Iyās as his source.

knf كنافة (33b; 32b) *kunāfa* يقولون كنافة لم اعلم لها اصلا؛ ويقولون كنافة وقطآئف الكنافة ستاتي "sweet vermicelli pastry". See HB 765b-766a.

knn كانون (117b) *kānūn* يقولون النار في الكانون "hearth". HB 768a "*kanūn* clay or mud-brick hearth for cooking". Spiro 507b "stove, hearth, fire-place".

كنّ (117b) *kann* يقولون كنّ كذا من المعلوم ان مرادهم كانّ كذا خفف لكثره الاتسعمال "as if". This is a contraction of *kaʾann*, see §6.2.3.2. BW IV 422b "*kann* als ob: *kannak* als ob du".

كنّ، يكن (118a) *kann, yikənn* يقولون فلان يكن في الامر او كنّ اي جبن وتاخر 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 كوفيّة (33b) *kūfiyya* ويقولون كوفيّة لما يلبس لم يعلم "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 كوكا (62a) *kūkā* ويقولون كوكا لمن يجي من الهند حتى قالوا عزيز كوكي والظاهر انه غير عربي "somebody from India". It could refer to the historical town, Kūk, in Iran. See Kennedy (2002) map 32.

كوكي (62a) *kūkī* "somebody from India". See كوكا.

kwn كاني (128b) *kānī* يقولون كاني صاري "excuses". See صاري.

kyf الكيف (33b) *kyf* ويقولون ياكل من الكيف وليس الكيف بهذا المعنى في كتب طب او غيره "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 hachïch, et ensuite le hachïch même". See §5.2 for more information about the use of drugs.

kyl اكتال (91b) *iktāl* شيا خلّى ما اكتاله اخر انسان شتم عن اخبروا اذا يقولون "to heap insults on s.o.". Spiro 531a "*kayjil loh bil qalam*, he slapped him". Wehr 997a "كال له الشتائم to heap abuse on s.o.".

l

lbb لبا / لبه (122a) *ləbba* ويقولون لو عملناها بلبه ما جات كده ورايت في بعض القصص لو عملت بلبا ما جات كذا انظر معنى لبا "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 لَبَدِهْ (122a) *labadih* ومن اللام قولهم شي لَبَدِهْ اي كثير قد يناسبه وانظر قوله تعالى مَالٌ لُبَد ولُبَّد ولَابِد "numerous". Hava 675b "يقول اهلكت ما لا لبَداً Numerous flocks, extensive property".

lbq لبق (54a) *labiq* يقولون فلان لبق ككتف اي عارف حاذق وهو صحيح "skilful". See Hava 676a. HB 779a "*labiq* ↑ well-spoken, polished in manners and speech".

lbk لبكة (62a) *labka* يقولون اش ذي اللّبكة التي وقعنا فيها مثلا اي في امر صعب "confusion, trouble". See Spiro 535b. HB 779a mentions *labka* as one of the *maṣdars* of the verb *labak* "to confuse, muddle".

lbn لبان (118a) *lubān* يقولون مضغنا لبانا بالضم وهو صحيح "resin". Spiro 534a "*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 *EI*[2] V p. 786b (A. Dietrich).

ltm لتّم (106a) *lattim* يقولون لتّمه بالشي حتى اخذه اي اوقعه فيه وهذا ظاهر انه محرّف من اللثم بالمثلثة اي كانه لثامه "to land s.o. in a situation". HB 780b "لتّم، لثّم 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 "لِثام a kind of muffler for the mouth".

lḥf لحاف (33b) *liḥāf* يقولون اللحاف وهو لغوي "bed cover". HB 782a "quilt", Hava 680b "sheet, ... blanket". Al-Ḫafāǧī 200 " لحاف غطاء ودثار معروف".

lḥq يلحق (54a) *yilḥəq* "to overtake". (..) ويقولون فلان يلحق بالشي من التّوه ويلحق صحيح HB 782b "*liḥiʾ* or *laḥaʾ* 1. to reach, catch up with". Hava 680b "لَحِقَ to overtake, to reach a. o. or a. th.".

لُحُوقي (54a) *luḥūqī* ويقولون على القدر الصغير لحوقي بضم اللام والحا "small cooking pot". HB 784a "*luḥūqi* type of shallow cooking pan". Spiro 537b "*luḥūqy* saucepan with handles". Dozy II 520b "لحوقي poêle, ustensile de cuisine pour frire".

lḥn الحان (118a) *alḥān* يقولون يسمع الالحان "melodies". Plural of *laḥn*, see HB 784a.

lḫy لاخى (131a) *lāḫā* يقولون فلان لاخى علينا اي لم يساعدنا وفي اللغة بضد ذلك "to befriend somebody against somebody else". Hava 682b "لاَخى to befriend, to court a.o."; " ب to backbite a.o.".

ldn لادن (118a) *lādan* يقولون لادن ولامي "laudanum". Hava 683b "لاذَن ولاذَنة laudanum". The words لادن ولامي *lādan wəlāmī* can be found on the internet in lists of ingredients of ميرون *mayrūn* "chrism". According to http://www.stgeorgecz.org/Forum/viewtopic.php?t=307, it is the resin of the *Gum elemi* tree.

لدن (118a) *ḫaṣam ladin* يقولون فلان خصم لدن كفرح اي كثير الخصام مثل الدّ مع ان اللدن لغة اللين "to dispute much/violently". Lane VIII (Suppl.) 3009b "مِن لَدُن from the time of". It is more likely related to لدّ "to dispute violently" (Wehr 1012a) with *-in* for the accusative (like modern *ġaṣbin ʿan*, see HB 624a).

lzq لزق (54a) *ləzəq* ويقولون لزق على فلان اي لصق به وهو صحيح الا انه لزق على وزن سمع "to stick to". In Classical Arabic it follows the pattern of *samiʿa*: *laziqa*. Not so in the Egyptian dialect: HB 786a *liziʾ* "to stick" (intransitive), *lazaʾ* (transitive, originally form IV). Al-Maġribī does not mention the vowel pattern. Al-Ḫafāǧī 200 " لزق اذا قال كلاما ملفقا سخيفا".

lsn يقولون فلان يلسّن فلانا علينا يريدون انه جعل له لسانا *yilassin* (118b) يلسّن "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 *lisān* (118b) لسان "language". HB 788a "(...) (foreign) language, (foreign) tongue".

lṭm يقولون في السب سخام ولطام الثاني ياتي في بابه والاول هو *laṭām* (100a) لطام السواد أي سواد القدر "slaps". HB 790a-b "*laṭam* to slap"; "*laṭma* a slap". Similarly Spiro 541a. See also سخام.

lʿq وقد علمت ان قول اهل مصر معلقة لا يصح بخلاف قول *milʿaqa* (54b) مِلعقة "spoon" اهل مكة مِلعقة بكسر الميم كما سمعته منهم فى مكة وغيرها (Mecca). See also معلقة.

ويقولون لُعُوق بضم اللام وانما هو بفتحها *luʿūq* (54b) لُعُوق "electuary". HB 791b "*luʿūʾ, liʿūʾ* electuary". Hava 689a "لَعوق linctus, electuary".

lfq ويقولون في السبّ ملفّق او لفق الشي من هنا وهنا (..) وقال *laffaq* (54b) لفق "to fabricate, patch up". See والاحاديث الملفّقة كمعظمة اكاذيب مزخرفة HB 794b, Hava 691b, and Lane VIII 3011c (Suppl.). Kazimirski II 1011b "مُلَفَّق alteré par des addictions, par des interpolations (récit, tradition)".

ملفّق (54b) *mulaffaq* "somebody who fabricates stories". See لفق.

lqf ويقولون لقف الشي اذا تناوله بسرعة ولقف عند الموت *ləqəf* (33b; 54a) لقف 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 "*laʾaf* 1. to catch 2. to be laboured (of breathing, heartbeats). Spiro 544a "*ʿayjān bijulquf*, he is at death's door".

lqq ويقولون لمن اخذ الشي بلا حق لقّه وكذلك لمن ضرب اخر والثاني *laqq* (54b) لقّ لغوي "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 "لَقّاق: هو بمعنى لَصّاص، أى يغتاب الناس".

lqlq ويقولون لقلق الضبّة اي حرّكها وهو صحيح *laqlaq* (54b) لقلق "to move (a

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)".

lklk لكلوك، لكاليك (62a) *ləklūk, lakālīk* ويقولون في التحقير مَا دِلاّ لكلوك او هولاّ لكاليك ولم يعلم "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 "لُكَلُك 1. court, petit 2. gras. لكالك qui a les chairs compactes et dures".

lkn الكن (118b) *alkan* يقولون فلان الكن "speaking Arabic incorrectly". See Wehr 1029a. HB 798b *lakna, lukna* "foreign and defective accent".

lmq ملمّق (54b) *mulammәq* ويقولون فلان ملمّق اي ليس فقيرا من الدنيا ولا مناسبة له في اللغة "well-off". Lane V 2135b mentions it under the root ʿLQ: " ما فى الأرضِ عَلاقٌ وَلا لَماقٌ there is not in the land a sufficiency of the means of subsistence: or pasturage".

lwq الوق (54b) *alwaq* حصلت له لوْقة وهو الوق اذا حصل له اعوجاج "crooked". HB 805a-b: "*lawaq* pronouncing of r as y (a speech defect). *alwaq* having the speech defect called *lawaq*". Hava 701b "لَوَق to twist, to crook a.th." "أَلْوَق foolish; contorted, twisted".

لوْقة (54b) *lwqa* "crookedness". See الوق.

lyq لِيقة (55a) *līqa* ويقولون في صوفة الدواة لِيقة "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 لويلات (91b) *ləwylāt* يقولون لويلات وانما هي ليليلات والليلة ايضا تصغرها لييلة لا لويلة "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 ليّ (126a) *layy*: *lā yiʿraf al-ḥayy min al-layy* ومن الامثال لا يعرف الحيّ من الليّ اي الحق من الباطل "he doesn't know good from bad". HB 806b mentions *layy* as one of the maṣdars of the verb *lawa* "1. to bend 2. to twist 3. to writhe"; "*ṭayy ʿala layy* on an empty stomach". Wehr

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 متل (91b) *mitl* يقولون ما له متل بالمثناة فوق وانما هو مثل "like thing, 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 *mətʾl*. *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 20th century.

mṯl تمثل (91b) *tamaṯṯil* يقولون تمثل بقول فلان قال في القاموس تمثل انشد بيتا ثم اخر ثم اخر انتهى فظاهره انه لا يقال تمثل الا بهذا التكرير "to quote". See Wehr 1047a.

mğš الماجشون (119a) *ibn al-Māğišūn* يقولون اعني فقهآ المالكية ابن الماجشون "Ibn al-Māğišūn (personal name)". ʿAbd 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 *EI*[2] IV 87a (H. Monés).

mğn يتماجن (118b) *yitmāğin* يقولون فلان يتماجن او عنده مجون وهو صحيح "to joke with each other". Wehr 1049b, MǦN form VI: "to mock at each other".

مجون (118b) *məğūn* "joking". Wehr 1049b "*muğūn* buffoonery, clowning; shamelesness, impudence". See also يتماجن.

mḥn ممحون (119a) *mamḥūn* يقولون في السبّ فلان ممحون اي مابون وله نسبة "catamite". HB 812b "*mamḥūn* sexually experienced (especially of women)". Taymūr V p. 321 " مُحْن ومَمْحُون: للغلام الفاسد الرقيع، ولعله من المحنة". In Syria: Denizeau p. 489 "*mamḥūn*, fém. *mamḥūne* "blâmable, suspect dans ses mœrs"."

mrtk مرتك (62a) *martək* ويقولون مَرْتك ذهبي لعقار لم انظره "residue of gold". Al-

Ḫafāǧī 208 "مرتك معرب". Its origin is Persian, see Steingass 1210a "A مرتك *martak*, in P *murtak*, litharge or dross of silver".

mrq مَرَق (55a) *maraq* ويقولون فلان مَرَق اي اغتاظ جدا وكانه من مرق السهم من الرمية مُرُوقا خرج من الجانب الاخر فكان المغتاظ خرج عن سمته "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 "*maraʾ* vorbeigehen, mārig: *ana mārig* ich gehe weg (Assuan)". The meaning given by al-Maġribī is still found in modern Sudan: Qāsim 738a " مرق من اليد جاوز الحدود وخرج عن الأدب والحشمة".

واما مرق الطعام فقال فيه المَرْق الطعن بالعجلة واكثار مرقة القدر مرق (55a) *maraq* كالإمراق "bouillon". See HB 818a.

mrn مِرِن (119a) *mirin* يقولون فلان مِرِن في الحاجة وله اصل قال مرن وجهه على الامر صلب وانه كممرّن الوجه كمعظّم صلبه والمارن الانف او طرفه او ما لان منه "hard (person)". HB 819a "*marin, mirin* pliant, flexible". Hava 717b "مَرِن soft and hard; trained, accustomed". Al-Maġribī probably meant "hard", since the quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* has this meaning and al-Maġribī mentions that the Egyptian meaning is in accordance with it.

mzrb مِزراب (15a) *mizrāb* ويقولون مِزراب لمجرى المآءِ قال في القاموس والمزراب المرزاب "spout for draining water from a roof or balcony". See HB 367b. According to al-Maġribī, 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. مرزاب *mirzāb* A canal, conduit, waterpipe"; p. 1a "آب *āb*, Water". Redhouse 1809b "مرزاب *mirzāb* 1.a a spout from a roof".

mzn مازن (119a) *māzin* يقولون مازن اسم شخص "Māzin" (personal name). The name of several Arab tribes, see *EI*[2] VI p. 953b (G. Levi Della Vida).

msyq موسيقى (52b) *mūsīqā* ويقولون علم الموسيقى بفتح القاف لنفس العلم وبالكسر للشخص هذا على ما سمعته ولم انظره فى كتاب من كتب اللغة فلعله يوناني "music". See HB 824b. From the Greek μουσική.

موسيقي (52b) *mūsīqī* "musician". See HB 824b.

mšq ويقولون مِشاق قال والمشاقة كثمامة ما سقط من الشعر *mišāq* (55b) مِشاق والكتان عند المشط "residue that is left after the flax has been combed". Hava 722a "مُشَاقة rubbish of carded wool, floss-silk; tow, oakum". BW IV 451a "*mišāʾ* Palmbast aus dem jungen Ableger; *mišāq* Werg (Boot)". Taymūr V p. 362 " مِشاق ومشاقة: مشاق الكتان، يظهر أنه قشره لأنهم يعبرون عن الكتان الخالص بالقلب".

ويقولون فلان ممشوق وهو صحيح قال ومشيق وممشوق *mamšūq* (55b) ممشوق ضامر وجارية ممشوقة اي حسنة القوام "slender, well-built". See Wehr 1068a, Hava 722b, and Lane VIII p. 3020c.

ويقولون ويقع من الاروام في الكتابة وكثرتها مَشق *mašq* (55b) مَشق "much writing?". Spiro 568b "*mašq* model for writing". Wehr 1068a "model, pattern (esp., one to be copied in writing)". Hava 722a "مَشَق في الكتابة to write in large letters". Taymūr V p. 366 " مَشْق أي كتاب مَشْقٍ" Lane VIII p. 3020c (Suppl.) "المثال الذي يكتب مثله الصبيان writing with spaces, or gaps, and with elongated letters; or quick, or hasty, writing". Redhouse 1869a "*meshq* 1. a pupil's model of writing or drawing".

* mṣr ينظر مصر هل يجوز فتح الميم كما ينطقون بذلك اهلها *maṣr* (101a) مَصْر "Egypt, Cairo". In Egypt, people say *maṣr* (see HB 826a); in Classical Arabic it is *miṣr*, see Lane VII 2719b.

mṭrq ويقولون فلان اتمطرق ونام "to lie down". Taymūr V p. 374 "اتمطرق: أي تمدد للنوم: نايم ممطرق". *itmaṭraq* (36a) اتمطرق

mṭy يقولون فلان صنعته ماطي للذي يبيع اللحاف والطراحة *māṭī* (131a) ماطي والمراتب ولم انظر نسبته "seller of blankets, mattresses etc." It could be related to ناطية "female weaver", see Lane VIII (Suppl.) 3034b.

mʿk معكه اي دلكه وهو لغوى *maʿak* (62a) معك "to rub". See Hava 727a, Dozy II 610b. In modern Egyptian *daʿak*, see HB 290b.

mʿlbk ويقولون قماش معلبكي والصواب بعلبكي بالبا من هذا الباب نسبة الى بعلبك اسم بلدة *maʿlabakkī* (56b) معلبكي "from Baʿlabakk". Village in East Lebanon. It was famous for its cotton industry, see *EI*[2] V p. 556a (E. Ashtor). Dozy (1845) p. 82 describes the *baʿlabakkī* fabric as white cotton.

m$^{\text{ʿ}}$n ماعون (119a) *mā$^{\text{ʿ}}$ūn* يقولون على الانية ماعون وله اصل “kitchen pot”. See HB 828b. Spiro 552a “bowl, dish, receptacle”.

mqṣl يتمقصل (89b) *yitmaqṣal* قولون فلان يتمقصل او عنده قيصلة اي خفَة وتبختر في المشي “to strut”. See قيصلة.

mql اتمقّل (92a) *itmaqqal* يقولون اتمقّل بعينك “to look”. Wehr 916b “مَقَلَ 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 مُكنة (119a) *mukna* يقولون فلان عنده مُكنة اي متمكّن ولم اعلم مُكْنة بضم الميم “power, ability”. HB 830a “*mukn* solid (of quality), sound”. Similarly, Spiro 578a; also doesn’t mention a noun. Hava 730b “مَكِنة vigour; power, ability”.

* mlḥ مليح (95a; 105a) *məlīḥ* يقولون ويسمع من النسا مليح هآيل وليس الهايل الا من هاله كذا؛ يقولون مليح في قوامه “nice”. HB 831a “*milīḥ, 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 ملقة (55b) *malaqa* ويقولون الملقة واصل الملقة لغة الصفاة الملسا وملاق كغراب نهر والملق ايضا الارض المستوية كما في القاموس فيمكن ان تكون الملقة من هذا “open space?”. HB 832a “*mala$^{\text{ʾ}}$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$^{\text{ʿ}}$ēri, Ismanṭ]”. Wehr 1081a “*malaqa* Egyptian mile, league, the distance of approximately one hour’s walk”. Hava 734a “مَلَقة flat and smooth stone; league of distance; open space”.

mlk ملك (62a) *mələk* يقولون ملكت العجين وهو صحيح “to knead (dough)”. See Hava 734b.

mlml اتململ (92a) *itmalmil* فلان اتململ في الشي اي اتقلب وهو صحيح “to be restless”. See HB 833b.

mlw مَلو (111b) *malw* يقولون مَلو حِفْنه امّا ملو فلا يصح لانه مهموز اي ملءِ والحفنة ملءُ الكف “a ... -ful (e.g. a handful)”. HB 834a “*malw* quantity sufficient for one filling. *malw kubbāya* a glassful”. HB 214b “*ḥifna*

handful".

mly وَيَقُولون المِلاَ وتارة الملاية للملحفة المعلومة والصحيح مُلاءة (10b) *milā* مِلاَ "bedsheet". HB 834a "*milāya* bedsheet", ibid. Spiro 578b.

mly ملاية (10b) *milāya* "bedsheet". The same applies here as for *dawā* - *dawāya* (see دواية).

mnǧnq منجنيق (38b) *manǧanīq* ويقولون رماه بالمنجنيق "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-Ḫafāǧī 207 " منجنيق معرب من چه نيك أى ما أجودنى أو اناشئ جيد لانه لا يجتمع الجيم والقاف فى كلمة عربية غير اسم صوت بكسر الميم كما فى القاموس".

mndl مندل (92b) *mandal* ويقولون منديل وللطيب مندل وكلاهما صحيح "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 "مندل root; odoriferous wood; witchcraft". Al-Ḫafāǧī 217 " قال فى المعجم بلد بالهند يجلب منه العود المندلى ذكى الشذا والمندلىّ المطير قلت وهم يغلطون فيه وينطقون المندل نفسه بخورا آخر".

مندیل (92b) *mandīl* ويقولون منديل وللطيب مندل وكلاهما صحيح "handkerchief". See HB 836a.

mnn من (119a) *mann* يقولون لحلاوة الشجر من وهو ما قطع على شجر البلّوط "sticky substance produced by oak tree-lice". HB 837a "*mann* honeydew-producing species of aphis that attacks plants". BW IV 459b "*mann* ein Baumwollschädling, eine Art Mehltau". Hava 736a "مَنّ Manna, viscous substance collected from the ash-tree".

* منان (112a) *mannān* يقولون يا حنان يا منان وهو صحيح "benevolent". HB 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 منا (131a) *munā* يقولون نزلنا من عرفة الى منا "Munā, town close to Mecca". See *EI*[2] VII 65a (Fr. Buhl).

mwm موم (106a) *mūm* يقولون ويسمع كثيرا من الترك على الشمع موم ويتوهم انه غير عربي وهو عربي "wax; candles". This is a Persian word: Steingass 1348b "موم *mom, mūm* wax; a wax-candle". Al-Ḫafāǧī 202 " موم بمعنى الشمع فارسي (. . .) وكلام القاموس يوهم خلافه وهو وهم". See also §3.3.2.

mwn موّن (119a) *mawwin* يقولون يا جارية تعرفي تطبخي قالت يا سيدي تعرف تموّن والتموّن كثرة النفقة على العيال ومانه "to provide (for the family)". See HB 840b.

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nāna نانا، نانه (10b) *nāna* يقولون نانا او نانه سمعت ان بعض العلما اللطفا سئل عن نانه فقال كلمة او لفظة مهملة يراد بها الاستعجال "stop!". Taymūr I p. 165 mentions that it means اسكت. Ṣabbāġ (1981) p. 68 " نانى هذه اللفظة إفرنجيّة يستعملوها أهل مصر الأكثر من النساء والبعض من الرجال بمعنى بَسّ". Blanc (1973-4) p. 385 "*nānā* 'assez!'".

ntf نتفه (33b) *nitfa* يقولون فلان نتيف واعطاني نتفه وكلاهما صحيح الا انهم يحرّفونهما فيكسرون النون وانما نتيف كامير الجمل الذي نتف حتى يعمل فيه الهِنَا فنتيف بمعنى منتوف واما النتفه فهي بالضم ما تنتفه باصبعك من النبت وغيره جمعه كصُرَد "small piece". See HB 848a, and Spiro 592b. Dozy II 647b "نُتْفة morceau, petite portion de quoi que ce soit".

نتيف (33b) *nitīf* "depilated". Hava 748b "نَتيف depilated (camel)". HB 848a "*nataf* to pluck (hair, feathers etc.)".

ntq ناتق (55b) *nātiq* ويقولون ويقع من مرّبي الطيور سبحان الناتق ومن الحاوي الذي نتق الاول يريد الناطق اي المنطق له والثاني يريد نطق والظاهر ان عنده الضبّ فيريد انه نطق للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ومن العجيب انهم وافقوا الصواب في هذا اطيار ناطقة "endowing with speech". Lane VIII (Suppl.) 3034b "singing birds". For the de-emphatization of the *ṭ*, see §6.2.4.

nğl نجل (92a) *naǧl* يقولون النجل السعيد على الولد وهو صحيح وتطلق النجل ايضا على الوالد ضد "son". See HB 850a, and Spiro 593b.

nḥl نحل (92a) *nəḥl* يقولون النحل وهو يطلق على العطا بلا عوض "gift, donation". Hava 755b "نَحَل to give a.th. freely to a.o.". Kazimirski II 1216b mentions both *naḥl* and *nuḥl* "donation".

nḥm يتنحَّم (106) *yitnaḥḥam* يقولون يتنحَّم بالحا المهملة اي يتنحنح في بيت الخلا "to defecate". HB 852a "*naḥnaḥ* to take (a child) to defecate or urinate".

nḫl نخل (92a) *nəḫəl* ويستعملون النخل في الصفع ولم يعلم من اللغة "to slap". HB 854a "*naḫal* to sift, sieve". Ibid Spiro 595b and BW IV 466b. Al-Ḫafāǧī 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".

نُخاله (92a) *nuḫāla* يقولون نخاله بضم النون وهو صحيح "siftings of flour". HB 854a "*nuḫāla* siftings of flour, bran".

منخل (84b) *mənḫəl* يقولون الغربال والمنخل وبينهما فرق ذلك للحبوب والمنخل للدقيق "sieve for flour, fine-meshed sieve". HB 854a "*manḫul* flour-sifter, flour-sieve". Hava 758a "مُنْخُل sieve".

nḫm تنخّم (106b) *tanaḫḫam* يقولون تنخّم بالخا المعجمة وهو صحيح "to clear one's throat noisily". See HB 854b.

ndl ندل (92b) *nadl* يقولون في السب فلان ندل بالاهمال وانما هو نذل بالمعجمة "despicable". See HB 855b. From نذل.

ndm نادم* (100a) *nādim* يقولون سادم نادم او سدمان ندمان السدم الندم فيكون الثاني تاكيدا "repentant". HB 856a "*nidim* to feel regret, feel remorse. (...) ava *nadmān*, *nādim*".

ندمان (106b) *nadmān* "repentant". See نادم.

ndh انده عليه (122b) *indah ʿalyh* انده عليه اي صحْ عليه "call him!" (imperative). HB 856a "*nadah* to call (to), call out (to). (...) *rūḥ indah-u* (or *indah-lu* or *indah ʿalē*) go and call him".

ندهه: نده (122b) *nadahuh kaff* يقولون ندهه كف اي ضربه وله اصل قال نده البعير زجره وطرده بالصياح "to slap". Hava 760b "نَدَه to urge (a beast), to repel a.o., to call out a.o.". HB 856a "*nadah* to call (to), call out (to)".

nzq نَزِق (56a) *naziq* ويقولون فلان نَزِق اذا كان ضيق الصدر "unsteady". See Hava

763a, and Lane VIII p. 3031b.

nsm نسيم (106b) *nəsīm* يقولون فلان ارق من النسيم وهو نفس الريح "breeze", *araqq min al-nəsīm* "more gentle than a breeze", HB 861b "*nisīm, nasīm* breeze".

nšf نشف (34a) *nəšəf* وقد علم صحة قولهم نشف من الخوف وللبخيل انه ناشف على طريق التشبيه "to stiffen (with fear)". HB 863b "*nišif* 1. to become dry (..) *dammi nišif* my blood curdled (with fear)".

ناشف (34a) *nāšif* وقد علم صحة قولهم نشف من الخوف وللبخيل انه ناشف على طريق التشبيه "stingy". Spiro 601a "*rāgil nāšif* miser, stingy".

منشفة (33b) *mənšəfa* ويقولون منشفة لخرقة يتنشف بها "towel". Spiro 601a "*manšafa* bath towel".

nšq استنشق (56a) *istanšaq* ويقولون استنشق الهوا "to sniff up". See HB 864a.

nšl نشل (92b) *nəšəl* ولهم حكايات عجيبة في النشل يطول شرحها وكذلك النشل المستعمل في اصطلاح التقاف "to pick s.o.'s pocket". See HB 864a.

نشال (92b) *naššāl* ويقولون فلان نشال للمختلس وهو اي النشال في اللغة غير هذا "pickpocket". See HB 864a, and Spiro 601b.

nšy نشا (119b; 131a) *nišā* يقولون نشا وهو صحيح معرّب بحذف نصفه؛ يقولون النّشا لشي يتخذ من القمح ولم اعلمه "starch". HB 864b "*niša* starch" from *našā"* (NŠY). Al-Ḫafāǧī 226 " نشا معرب نشاسته وقال الجوهرى هو النشا ستج فارسى معرب حذف شطره تخفيفا كما قالوا للمنازل منا". Steingass 1402a "a نشا (for nashāstaj) starch"; p. 1402b "نشاسته *nishāsta* starch".

نشا (10b) *nəšā* ويقولون لذلك العلوم النشا وليس في اللغة والذي فيها نشا كمنع وكرم نشا ونشّوا ربى وشبّ "composition?". It is unclear what ذلك العلوم refers to. It could be *inšāʾ* "composition", see HB 862a.

nṣṣ نصّ: نصّ فضه (34a) *nəṣṣ faḍḍa* ويقولون نصّ فضه وانما هو نصف "silver coin". Davies (1981) p. 475 "NṢ: (also NṢF) or NṢ: FLWS or NṢ: FLWS JDD, pl ANṢAṢ of ANṢAṢ FLWS JDD name of a silver coin, viz., the Egyptian para, also known as *muʾayyidī* or *mayyidī*". It was still in use in the 19th century. Its name *nuṣṣ* "half", referred to the silver half-dirham, the *muʾayyidī*, first minted by the Sultan al-Muʾayyid. It was called *para* by the Turks, see Lane (2003) p. 572. Raymond

(1973) I p. 34, mentions that the *para* / *niṣf fiḍḍa* was used throughout the entire Ottoman period. See also فِرا.

nṣf مَنصف (34a) *manṣəf* ويقولون لعب مَنصف ولم يعلم من اللغة بهذا المعنى "just, fair; a trick?". HB 866b-867a "*naṣaf* 1. to relieve of injustice 2. to treat nicely"; form IV = form I. Hava 775a form IV: "to be fair, impartial" etc. Hava 775a "مُنْصَف trick". So, it could be either "playing fair" or "playing unfair (with a trick)". Lane VIII 3033b (Suppl.) "أَنْصَفَهُ he did justice to him".

نَصَفَه (34a) *naṣafa* ويقولون حصلت له نَصَفَه بالحركات اي انصاف وهو صحيح قال الانصاف العدل "justice". HB 866b "*naṣaf* 1. to relieve of injustice"; 867a "*naṣafa: yaʿni huwwa (hiyya, humma) lli naṣafa* is he (she, they) any better?" Wehr 1139b "*naṣaf* and *naṣafa* justice".

nṭf نطفة (34a) *nuṭfa* ويقولون نطفة الرجل فيعتقدون ان النطفة خاصة بمآ الرجل وانما النطفة بالضم المآ الصافي "sperm". See HB 869a.

nṭl نطل (92b) *nəṭl* يقولون فلان نطل في الهزء عليه ولم يعلم؛ فلان نطل اهله "disaster?" (used as a negative description of somebody). Hava 779b "نَيْطَل calamity, distress". Lane IV 1359b "سَيْطَل نَيْطَل a man tall, or long, in body". Spiro 604b "*niṭil* good, useful".

nṭy يناطي (131b) *yināṭī* يقولون فلان يناطي الاخر اذا تسابّا وله اصل "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".

nʿq نعق (56a) *nəʿəq* ويقولون نعق غراب البين "to croak (crow)". Hava 782b "نَعَق to croak (raven)". HB 871b "*naʿʿaʾ* 1. to caw (of a crow)".

nʿl نعل (92b) *naʿl* يقولون جعلت للسرموجة نعلا جديدا وليس لغويا "sole of a shoe". See HB 872a.

nʿm انعم (106b; 106b) *ʾanʿam* يقولون انعم صباحا وانما هو عم صباحا؛ يقولون اذا ذكر احد ونعم او وانعم به "to make pleasant; to be gracious to". Wehr 1150a "انعم الله صباحك good morning!". HB 873a "*ʾanʿam : ʾanʿam ʿala* to be gracious to, bless". Spiro 606b "*anʿam* to confer upon, bestow".

ونعم (106b) *wi-niʿm* "praise be upon him". يقولون اذا ذكر احد ونعم او وانعم

به HB 872a-b "*wa niʿm* or *wi-niʿm bi-* extremely polite response to the mentioning of a name".

نعام (106b) *naʿām* يقولون نعام اي نعم وهو مثل قولهم كام اي كم يشبعون الحرف غفلة "excuse me?". See §6.2.9 for the lengthening of short vowels.

nʿy نَعْي (131b) *naʿy* يقولون نَعْي فلان وله اصل قال نعاه له نعيا ونعيا ونُعيايا بالضم اخبره بموته "obituary notice". See HB 873b.

nġf نِغِف (34b) *niġif* يقولون في الشتم يا نِغِف "dry snot". Dozy II 701a "نَغَف *siccae narium sordes*, Payne Smith 1368" (Thesaurus Syriacus). Lane VIII p. 3036a (Suppl.) "نَغَفات portions of dry mucus". Hava 784b "worm found in date-stones, in the nostrils of sheep".

nġl ينغل (93a) *yinġəl* يقولون ينغل من القمل مثلا ولم تعلم "to teem with (e.g., lice); to be itching". Incorrectly mentioned as ينفل by ʿAwwād. Dozy II 693a-b "نغل دوداً dans Abou'l-Walīd 680, n. 5, comme traduction de וירם 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 repebant vermes." Le sens que donne Beaussier, fourmiller, grouiller, pourrait donc convenir. - Démanger, avoir la démangeaison, Bc."

nġm نغمة (107) *naġma* يقولون فلان حسن النغمة اي حسن الصوت "melodious voice". HB 874a "*naġama, naġma* 1. tune 2. note of the musical scale". Hava 785a "نَغْمة ونَغَمة melody, melodious voice".

nġy ناغى (131b) *nāġā* يقولون ناغى الولد "to speak tenderly to". See HB 874b.

nfq نيافق (56a) *nayāfiq* ويقولون في خياطة الثياب نيافق والذي في القاموس نيفق السراويل بالفتح الموضع المتسع منه "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 "نيقق (for P. *nefa), open or loose part of breeches*"; "نيفه *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.

nfl

يقولون فلان طلع نافلة في اهله مثلا اي فاق عليهم وله نسبة نافلة (93a) *nāfila* لانها من النفل وهو الزياده والنافلة العطية والغنيمة وولد الولد "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 "نَافِلة 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 نفيل (88a) *nəfīl* لغة الثقيل "fat" It is a *taṣḥīf* of *ṯaqīl* "heavy", with a pun on *nāfil* "what exceeds the original" (the difference is only in the diacritical dots) and *fīl* "elephant". HB 878a "*nafl* supererogatory acts of devotion". Lane VIII 3036c (Suppl.) "نافلة what accedes to, or exceeds, the original". Dozy II 714a "نَفيل bâtard". For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also الّل.

nfnf

ينفنف (34b) *yinafnif* ويقولون ينفنف حواليه اذا تملّق عنده ودار "to be sniffing 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

نقف (34b) *nəqəf* ويقولون نقفه بالكلام او ينقفه اذا كان يوذيه بكلماته "to hurt s.o. (with words)". Hava 794b "نَقَف to break (the skull)". Dozy II 724a "نقف 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 نقل (93a) *nuql* الشراب وقد يضم او ضمه خطا "a dessert of dried fruits or nuts". HB 883a "*nuʾl* mixed nut(s)". Spiro 613a "*nuql* dessert, dried fruit".

nqnq

ويقولون فلان ينقنق في الاكل مثلا وياكل نقانق ينقنق (56a) *yinaqnaq* "to nibble". HB 883b "*naʾnaʾ* to eat sparingly, pick or nibble at one's food". Spiro 610a "*naqnaq*, to eat slowly, delicately or sparingly".

ويقولون فلان ينقنق في الاكل مثلا وياكل نقانق نقانق (56a) *naqāniq* "small sausages". Wehr 1168b "*naqāniq* small mutton sausages (syr.)". Barthélemy p. 847 "saucisson de viande de mouton faiblement

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 فى اللغة اللفائفى، فحرفت الفاء بالقاف ... باللام بدل الهمزة ثم حرفت بالنقانق". Al-Ḫafāǧī 201 "لقانق: اسم لأحد الامعاء وبه سمى معى الغنم المحشو المقلى". It is still used in Syria today, with a *mīm*: مقانق, see ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (2003) IV p. 1506. He suggests it is derived from the Greek *loukanikon*, or the Latin *lucanica*.

nqw نقاوَه، نقاية (131b) *naqāwa / naqāya* يقولون نقاوَه الشي ونقايته اي خياره وكل صحيح "choice, the best". HB 883b "*naʾāwa* (..) selection, choice, pick". He does not mention the variant with *yā*. Neither does Spiro 613b: "*naqāwa* choice, excellent".

nqy نقاية (131b) *nəqāya* يقولون اكلنا التمرة ورمينا نقايتها اي نواتها "pit, kernel". HB 884a "*naʾāya* 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]; *niʾāya, naʾa* Kern: *niʾāyit mišmiš* Aprikosenkern [NMÄ 1: Fay, izZirbi]".

nkf يناكف (35a) *yinākif* ويقولون فلان يناكف اي يكابر ويجادل ولم يعلم في اللغة بهذا المعنى "to argue". HB 885b "*nākif* to tease, needle, pester". Hava 799b "تناكف to discuss, to dispute together".

nkh نكهة (122b) *nakha* يقولون شممنا منه النكهة وله اصل "flavour". See HB 885b.

nmk نمك (62a) *nəmək: wala al-nəmək* ويقولون ولا النّمك مبالغة في عدم اعطآ شي ولم تعلم له مناسبة عربيّة ولكن فارسية فان النمك بالفارسي الملح فكان القائل قال ما اعطيك ولا الملح "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 "نمك *namak*, *nimak*, salt".

nml نمّلت استه (92a) *nammilət istu* يقولون في سبّهم الفظيع نمّلت استه او نمّل "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 نمام (107a) *nammām* ويقولون فلان نمام على الريحان وهو صحيح وكثير النمّ

تزيين الكلام بالكذب "scandal-monger; basil". HB 887a "*nammām* scandal-monger". BW IV 482b "*nimīma* Klatsch, Verleumdung [BAḥ: Ma, Gab]". Al-Ḫafāǧī 232 " نمام معروف وأهل مصر تسمى الريحان الدقيق الاوراق نماما". Dozy II 732b "نمّام menthe, serpolet"; "نمّ n. d'act. نمّام 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 *ʿan* instead of elative + *min*, see Woidich (2006) p. 150.

nny نِنّي (119b) *ninnī* يقولون علي انسان العين نِنّي ولم يعلم "pupil of the eye". See HB 887b. Dozy II 735b "ننى (esp. niḫa), العين prunelle".

nhq ناهق (81b) *nāhiq* ويقولون كغيرهم في الفرس حَيَوَان صَاهل وفي الحمار حيوان ناهق "braying (donkey)". HB 888b "*nahhaʾ* to bray (of a donkey)".

nhm نهمة (107a) *nahma* يقولون ما لي نهمة للشي وهو صحيح قال النهمة بلوغ الهمة في الشي "energy, strength". See Spiro 616a.

nwt نواتيّة (131a) *nawātiyya* يقولون النواتيّة وانما قال النواتي الملاّحون "sailors". Spiro 616b "*nūty* sailor, pl. *nutyja*". Dozy II 741b "نُوتِيّ dans le Voc. نَوْتى, pl. نوتية, M, نواتية, Freytag sous نوتى. سوط نتو 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 تنوّم (107a) *tanawwim* يقولون فلان تنوّم اذا احتلم وبنى له منامة "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 "تَنَوَّم to attain puberty".

منامة (107a) *manāma* يقولون فلان تنوّم اذا احتلم وبنى له منامة وكل صحيح "sleeping place". HB 893a "*manāma* grave". BW IV 485a "unterer Teil des Dreschschlittensitzes [OÄ 4: Silwa]; gemauerter Schlafplatz auf dem Vorratsturm [Bʿēri]". Hava 810a "مَنَام ومَنَامَة dormitory, sleeping-place".

نيام (107a) *niyām* يقولون فلان كثير النيام اي النوم وهو صحيح ايضا مثل الصوم

والصيام "to sleep (*maṣdar*)". Mentioned in Hava 809b as one of the *masdar*s of *nām.* It is the same pair as صوم – صيام "to fast".

nyf نيّف (35a) *nayyif* ويقولون نيّف وعشرين قال النيّف ككيّس وقد يخفف الزيادة "more than". Hava 808b "نَيِّف ونَيِّف excess, redundance"; "عشرة ونَيِّف ten and more".

nyk نيك (62b) *nyk* ويقولون النّيك للجماع وهو عربي ورد في الفصيح "to fuck (*maṣdar*)". HB 894b "*nāk [coarse]* to fuck".

nyy ني (131b) *nayy* يقولون الطعام ني غير مستو "raw". See HB 895a. Its origin is نيئ, see *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 52c.

h

hāhā هاها (10b) *hāhā* يقولون في الاستعجال هاها "hurry up!". Lane VIII 2873a "هأهأ بالإبل he called the camels to food, or provender, by the cry هِئ هِئ , or he chid them".

hbl هبيل (94a) *habīl* يقولون فلان مهبول او هبيل يريدون انه خفيف العقل وليس في اللغة ما يناسبه "stupid". See HB 898a.

مهبول (94a) *mahbūl* "simpleton". HB 898a "*mahbūl* crazy". Spiro 621b "*mahbūl* silly, foolish".

hbw هَبْو (132a) *habw* يقولون هَبْو النار وله اصل "blasts (of fire)". See HB 898b.

htf هاتف (35b) *hātif* يقولون سمع الهاتف يقول يطلقونه على من يسمع ولا يرى "the voice of an unseen man". See Hava 814b, and HB 899b.

hğl مهجّل (91b; 95a) *muhaggəl* يقولون فلان مهجّل اذا كان لا يقوم لنفسه تنظيفا وكسوة؛ ويقولون فلان مهجّل اذا كان لا يعتني بلبس نظيف ونحوه "dirty, shabby person". Hava 817a "هَجَّل to impair (the reputation of)"; 817b "هَجول shameless woman"; "هَوْجَل slow; sluggish; stupid". Lane VIII 3041c (Suppl.) "هَجُول a fornicatress, or an adulteress".

hğm يهاجم (108a) *yihāğim* يقولون فلان يهاجم اي يغالط "to deceive with false arguments". HB 901a "*hāgim* to attack, assault". Spiro 623a

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".

hğn يقولون على الجمل هجين مع ان الهجين انما هو في الخيل (120a) *haǧīn* هجين والناس قال الهجين اللئيم ومن ابوه خير من امّه "hybrid (camel), with a father of good stock and a mother of bad stock". HB 901a "*hagīn* 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 الهذرمة سرعة (108a) *yihadrim* يهدرم الكلام "to speak quickly". Hava 822b "هَذْرَم to speak, to read quickly".

hdl ويقولون ضربه بالسيف هدل كتفه مثلا ويمكن ان تكون له (94a) *hədəl* هدل مناسبة من هدلة بهدله هدلا ارسله الي اسفل وارخاه "to cut down". HB 902a *hadal* "to cut or chop down".

hḏy يقولون فلان هذا من الهذيان وله اصل قال هذي يهذي هذيا (132b) *haḏā* هذا وهذيانا تكلم بغير معقول لمرض او غيره "to talk deliriously". HB 907a "هذى *haza* to rave, talk deliriously. vn *hazayān*".

هذيان (132b) *haḏayān* "to talk deliriously (*maṣdar*)". See هذا.

hrʾ ويقولون هرآ وهو في شعر المتنبيّ (10b) *hərāʾ* هرآ "foul speech". HB 905b "هرى *hara* (..) to feel agitated, fume". Hava 823a "هُرَاء indecent, foul speech". Lane VIII 2889a "هَرَاَ الكلام he was very foul in his speech: or was very incorrect, or faulty, therein".

hrkn يقولون إتهَركِن على الشي الذي فني ولم تبق له قوة (120a) *itharkin* إتهركِنْ "to be worn out". See Spiro 625a. Dozy II p. 755b "هِركِيل faible, caduc, debile".

hrr يقولون هرّيْت الثوب اي اذبته (132b) *harryt* هرّيْت "I have worn out (clothes)". HB 905b "هرى *hara* 1. to cause to disintegrate". Spiro 625a "*hara* to wear out, use up".

hrm يقولون شيخ هرم والهرم اقصى الكبر (108a) *hərəm* هرم "very old, decrepit". HB 905a "*hirma* /fem adj/ old and seedy (of a woman)". Hava 825b

"هَرَم advanced age, decrepitude".

hrwl يهرول (94a) *yiharwil* ويقولون فلان يهرول في مشيته "to walk fast". See HB 905b.

hff هفّ (35b) *haff* ويقولون هفّ على قلبي كذا او هف على خاطري يريدون بهف معنى خطر "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".

هُفّ (35b) *huff* ويقولون هُفّ طلع النهار يريدون سرعة الشي وكنت افهم ان هُف حكاية صوت من يطفى السراج ولم انظر فيها شيا "sound expressing briefness". See HB 908a-b.

hfhf مهفهف (35b) *muhafhəf* ويقولون مهفهف وهو صحيح قال جارية مهفهفة ومهففه ضامرة البطن رقيقة الخصر "slender". HB 908b "*hifhāf* thin and fine".

hfy هفيّة (35a; 132b) *hafiyya* ويقولون فلان هفيّه اي عاجز؛ يقولون فلان هفيّة اي جبان وليس بهذا اللفظ في اللغة "weak, coward". HB 908b "*hafiyya* /masc and fem adj/ insignificant, light-weight (of people)". Spiro 626b "*hafyja*, weak, feeble".

hky هِكّي (63a) *hikkī: bi-l-hikkī* يقولون عمله كذا بالهِكّي يريدون بالهكّي عدم الاحكام للشي وانه قريب الى الفساد "without precision/with corruption?". ʿAwwād incorrectly mentions هلّى. HB 909a "*hakk* to stagger from weakness".

hlf هِلف (35b) *hilf* ويقولون فلان هِلف اي جبان ويقع من اهل الارياف "coward" (rural). HB 909b "*halfūt* worthless". Hava 833b "هلف 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 *šaʿbī*, 'vulgar'.

hll هل (94b) *hall* يقولون الشهر استهل والشهر هل "to start (the new month)". HB 910a "*hall* to appear, reach its season, start. *iš-šahr illi yhill* the coming month".

استهل (94b) *istahall* يقولون الشهر استهل والشهر هل "to begin (new month)". See Wehr 1208a; HB 910a "to begin, start".

يهلّل (94b) *yihallil* يقولون فلان يهلّل يريدون انه له حظ فاذا نفوا ذلك قالوا قط ما

تهلّل ولم يعلم "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 هلم (108a) *halumma* يقولون ويقع من الخاصّة الى هلم يعتقدون ان الى هلم معناه الى الان ولا يعرفون انه اسم فعل بمعنى احضر وهلم" "now". Dozy II 770b jusqu'à ce jour". HB 910b "*halumma* very abundant, very numerous". Hava 834a "هَلُمَّ come on, come to me"; "هَلُمّ الشئ bring it here". Lane VIII p. 3044c (Suppl.) "هَلُمَّ come".

هَيْلم، يهيلم (108b) *hylim, yihylim* ويقولون هَيْلم او يهيلم اذا كان كثير التردد والحركات ولم يعلم "to be hesitant/restless". Wehr 1210a "هلم *hillam* languid, listless, slack, limp".

hlhl مُهَلْهَل (95a) *muhalhal* يقولون مُهَلْهَل للثوب الغير المحكم وهو صحيح قال الهَلْهَل بالفتح الثوب السخيف النسج "thinly (badly?) woven". HB 910b "*halhil* to make tattered, wear out". Hava 832b "هَلْهَل to weave (a stuff) thin".

hml همآئل (95a) *hamāyil* يقولون همايلي اي كبير والهمآئل اشارة الى سواقي وابيار ولم يعلم كل منهما "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 "هَمّالة flowing abundantly with tears".

همايلي (95a) *hamāyilī* "big (as water wheels)". See همايل

hmm همام (108b) *humām* يقولون الليث الهمام بضم الهآ وهو صحيح قال الهمام كغراب ما اذيب من السنام "Humām" (personal name).

hmhm همهم (108b) *hamhim* يقولون همهم بشفتيه وهو صحيح "to mumble". See HB 913a.

hmy همیان (120a) *himyān* يقولون على كيس همیان وله اصل "purse, money-belt". Hava 837b "هِمْيان P purse of a girdle, waist-band, sash". Al-Ḫafāǧī 234 "همیان: 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".

hnā هنا وهاهنا (132b) *hənā; hāhənā* مفتوحات مشددات اذا اردت البعد "here". يقولون هنا وهاهنا هذا في القرب وهنا وهاهنا وهناك وهاهناك Nowadays *hina* in Eg. Ar (see HB 913a); *hāhənā* is a classicism. Al-Maġribī does not mention whether they said *huna* or *hina*.

hndm هِندام (108a; 108a) *hindām* يقولون فلان له هندام وهو معرّب اندام؛ ويقولون هِندام فلان وشكله وله اصل وهو اندام بالهمز فارسي فعرّب "the way somebody looks, his shape". Steingass 108a "اندام *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).

* هندام (60a) *hindām* ويقولون لا سكة ولا هندام هو على طريق التشبيه ايضا بالدرهم المسكوك بخلاف الذي ما عليه سكة فانه عدم "picture". See سكة.

hnn هنيّ (120a) *hənnī* يقولون ويسمع من العرب اليسار خذ هنيّك اي متاعك وله اصل هَنٌ" لان الهن الشي "stuff, things" (Arabs). Lane VIII p. 3045c (Suppl.) and هَنٌ a thing: and a penis: and the vulva of a woman". Dozy II 775a puts it under the root HNW: "هَنٌ et هَنَةٌ 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 هَنْهن (120a) *hanhin* يقولون ويسمع من النسا هَنْهني للطفل حتى ينام ولم يعلم "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 هَنّاك (11a) *hannāk* ويقولون هَنّاك الله وتقدم انه مهموز وان الصواب هنّاك الله يهْنَأُك الا انه يجوز التّسهيل في الهمز "may (God) grant you good health". HB 915a "*hanna* 1. to make happy 1b. to grant good health to (of God)".

hh هَهْ (122b) *hah* يقولون هَهْ اذا كان احدهم تعبا واستراح من حمل شي اذا وضعه "expression of relief".

hwl هآئل (95a) *hāyil* يقولون ويسمع من النسا مليح هآيل "wonderful". HB 916b "*hāyil* wonderful, marvellous". Dozy II 770b "étonnant, étrange, extraordinare; beau, magnifique". Originally it meant "dreadful", but acquired a positive meaning (like *faẓīʿ* "terrible"; "terrific" in modern Egyptian).

hwn هَوْن (120a) *hwn* يقولون دُقّه في الهَوْن "mortar". HB 917b "*hōn* mortar".

* هون (120b) *hwn* فقولهم هَوْن محذوف الالف تخفيفا بكثرة الاستعمال وهو اقرب من اجلس هون فان اصله هنا "here". Still in use in the dialects of the Levant. Frayha p. 191a "هُنا: هَوْنِي، هَوْن". Is still used in Egypt in the oases. BW IV 494b "*hawn* hier: *min hawn* hier lang".

hwy مهوِي (131a) *mahwī* يقولون فلان مهوِي اي قليل العقل "feeble-minded". Spiro 630b "*mahwy* insane".

hyṭl هيطليّة (94a) *hyṭaliyya* ويقولون طعام الهيطليّة ولم تعلم ... فلم تعلم للهيطليّة مناسبة لغوية وقد ظهر لي شي في المناسبة وذلك ان الهَيْطلة قدر معروف من صفر معربة پاتيلة فيمكن انها نسبت الى الهيْطلة بان كانوا يطبخونها فيها "dish 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]) * ماجاهد الا يا بطل في الهيطلية والعسل "I will not fight a jihad, you hero, except against هيطلية and honey!"; al-Maġribī (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 هاف (36a) *hāf* ويقولون هاف الزرع اذا ضعف "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 ẓẓarf* 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 اقعدوا في الهَيْف ما الهيف الهيف يريدون به الهوا والسعة *hyf* (36a) هَيْف "open air". Hava 844b "thirst; hot south-westerly wind".

hyk هَيْك (63a) *hyk* ويقولون وهم الشوام هَيْك يريدون كذلك "like this". Frayha 191b "هكذا (..) هَيْكي، هَيك". Barthélemy (1935) p. 879 mentions *hayk, hēk* and *hayke, hēke* "de cette manière, ainsi".

hykl هيكل (94b) *hykal* ويقولون هيكل للحرز وليس في اللغة الهيكل بمعنى الحرز "sanctuary". HB 920b "*hēkal* sanctuary (of a church)". Al-Ḫafāğī 236 " هيكل فى لغة العرب الفرس الطويل والبناء المشرف وبيت الاصنام ومعبد

النصارى".

hym هآئم (108b) *hāʾim* يقولون فلان هآئم في المحبة وهو صحيح "distracted (by love)". HB 920b "*hām* to be distracted (especially by thoughts of one's beloved)".

hyn هَيّن (120b) *hayyən* يقولون على هِينتك وهذا هَيّن وكل صحيح "easy". See HB 917a and Spiro 620b.

هِينة (120b) *hīna* "ease". See Hava 841b.

hyh هِيْهِ (51a; 122b) *hīhi* يقولون هِيهِ اذا تسمّعوا لمن يحكي وهو صحيح ورد في الحديث الشريف والظاهر ان الها الاخيرة للسكت؛ يقولون في استماع الحديث هِيْهِ وهي لغوية "exclamation of encouragement when somebody is telling a story". Hava 845b "هِيهِ هِيهِ get off! be gone! again, once more!" HB 920b "*hēh* /interj/ hurrah!".

w

wāh واه واه (122b) *wāh wāh* يقولون واه واه وهي لغوية قال واهاً له ويترك تنوينه كلمة تعجّب من طيب الشي وكلمة تلهّف "expression of pain". HB 958b "*wahwah* to moan or groan with pain"; HB 921b "*wāwa* [children] hurt place".

wğn وجنة (119b) *waǧna* يقولون وجنة المحبوب او وجناته وفيها لغات "cheek". See HB 925a, and Dozy II 792a. Lane I 26b "أُجْنة 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 وحلان (93a) *waḥlān* يقولون فلان وحلان في الشي "stuck (figuratively)". See HB 928a.

wḥm وَحَم (107b) *waḥam* يقولون فلانة عندها وَحَم وهو صحيح "craving (pregnant women)". See HB 928b.

wdk ودّك (62b) *waddik* يقولون ودّك هذا يريدون استعمله فيصير مودّك اي مستعمل ولم يعلم من اللغة "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

2. to fire (pottery) in a kiln (of pottery)". Hava "to season (food) with grease". Dozy II 801a "ودك II styler, former, dresser, habituer".

wdn وِدْن (119b) *widn* يقولون على الاذن وِدْن تحريفا "ear". See HB 930a.

wdn وَدَن (119b) *wadan* يقولون فلان وَدَن ونعرف عمر وَدَن لم اعلم لم تصف بودن هل لكبر ودنه فانهم يقولون على الاذن وِدْن تحريفا Meaning unclear.

wrq ورق (56a) *wərəq* يقولون قم زن الورق ان اردت وصالا "coined silver". In HB and Spiro only with the meaning of "paper" and "document" etc. Lane VIII p. 3051c-3052a (Suppl.) "وَرِق silver, whether coined or not, or coined dirhems". Dozy II 805a "وُرْق، وَرَق وَرْق، 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 تورّك (62b) *tawarrak* يقولون تورّك فلان عليه في المسَلة اذا اعترض عليه ونحوه "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".

وِرْك (62b) *wirk* ويقولون الوِرْك بكسر الواو "thigh". HB 934a "*wirk* 1. thigh (of a rabbit or fowl) 2. [coarse] human thigh".

wrl ورلّ (93a) *wərəll* يقولون فلان مثل الورلّ قال الورل محركة دابة كالضب "lizard". Hava 865a "وَرَل skink, species of lizards"; "وَرَل نيلي crocodile". Dozy II 805b "الورل المائي le scinque"; p. 806a "وَرَن pour وَرَل lézard". Lane VIII 3052a "وَرَل: see ضَبّ : there are two species: وَرَل البحر the ورل of the river; the monitor of the Nile; lacerta Nilotica; and وَرَل الأرض the ورل 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 ورا (10b) *warā* يقولون ورا وقدام وهو صواب الا انه هنا اي يذكر في الهمز لا في الالف الليّنه كما توهمه الجوهري "behind". See HB 934b.

wry وَرّيت (132a) *warryt* يقولون وَرّيت فلانا كذا يريدون اطلعته عليه اي اريته له "I showed". See HB 934b.

wzn وازن (119b) *wāzin* يقولون دِرْهم وازن وهو صحيح قال انه قال انّه لحسن الوِزْنة

بالكسر اي الوزن "a coin with the right weight". Hava 867b "having full weight (money)". Spiro 640a "*wāzin* or *mawzūn* drunk".

وزن (120a) *wazn: lā yuqām luh wazn* يقولون فلان لا يقام له وزن وما اقام له وزن وهو صحيح وارد فلا نقيم لهم يوم القيمه وزنا "worthless". HB 936a "*rāgil ma-lū-š wazn* a man of no consequence".

wšl وشل (93a) *wašal* يقولون الوشل وعليه: وانت يكفيك منه مصّة الوشل "water trickling from a mountain". See Hava 872a, and Lane VIII 3054a (Suppl.). Classicism.

wšm وشام (107b) *wašām* يقولون وشام قال الوشم كالوعد ضرب الابرة في البدن "tattoos". HB 941a "*wašm* tattoo(s)". Hava 872a "وَشْم ج وَشام ووُشوم tattooing".

wṣf وصيفة / وصيف (35a) *waṣīf(-a)* يقولون للخادم وصيف وللانثى وصيفة "servant". HB 941b "*waṣīfa [obsol]* lady-in-waiting".

wṭf وَطْفه (35a) *waṭfa* ويقولون وتقع من الفلاحين يا وَطْفه فيجعلون وطفه اسما وقد يظهر له معنى لان الوطف محركة كثرة شعر الحاجبين والعينين وانهمار المطر والمذكر منه اوطف والمونث وطفا فغايته انهم انثوه بالتا وعيش اوطف رخي "having bushy eyebrows (used as insult to a woman)" (rural). Hava 878b "وَطفاء أوْطَف having thick eyebrows".

wʿk توعّك (63a) *tawaʿʿak* فلان توعّك اي مرض "to fall ill". HB 948a "*itwaʿʿak* = *itwaʿak*"; "*itwaʿak* to become slightly ill, become indisposed".

wġl وغل (93b) *waġl* يقولون ويسمع من الخواص في شتمهم يا وغل "parasite". See Hava 882b.

wqy وقيّه (132a) *wəqiyya* يقولون وزن وقيّه وانما هي اوقية بالضم وهي سبعة مثاقيل كالوقية بالضم وفتح المثناة التحتية مشددة جمعها اواقى واواق "unit of weight". HB 953b "*wiʾiyya* ounce, unit of weight equal to 37 grams".

wky وكه (132a) *wikih: rāḥ al-wikih* يقولون فلان راح الوكه اي الوكا وهو ككسا رباط القربة وغيرها وقد وكاها واوكاها وكانهم يشيرون الى فراغ قوته "he became weak (lit. started using a walking stick?)". Hava 892a "وِكاء leather-strap of a skin". Lane VIII 3059c (Suppl.) "وِكاء a tie". Dozy II 844a "وَكَا bâton".

اوك حلقك (132a) *iwki halqak* وقيل معناه انه يسكت فلا يتكلم كانه يوكي فمه

من قولهم اوك حلقك اي اسكت "shut up" (lit. "tie up your mouth"). Hava 892a أوكَى حَلْقَه "he became silent".

wlm اولم (107b) *awlam* يقولون وليمة واولم فعل الوليمة "to give a banquet". See Hava 894a.

وليمة (107b) *walīma* "banquet". See Hava 894a.

wlwl تولول (93b) *tiwalwil* يقولون المراة تولول وهو صحيح "to lament". See HB 956b.

wmy أومى (3b) *ʾawmā* ويقولون فلان أومى لفلان "to make a sign". HB 1290b "ومأ IV to motion, sign" etc. Spiro 652a "*wama*, supposition, conjecture, sign, hint, wink." The fact that al-Maġribī wrote it with a *yāʾ* indicates that it was pronounced without the final *hamza*, otherwise he would have written it with an *alif*.

whl من اول وهلة (93b) *min awwil wahla* يقولون من اول وهلة "from the first moment". See HB 958b and Hava 898a.

whm موهوم (107b) *mawhūm* يقولون فلان موهوم وهو صحيح "deceived". See HB 958b.

wy وَيْ (132a) *way* يقولون ويسمع من العبيد وَيْ كلمة توجع عندهم وهي في العربية كلمة تعجّب "ai! Exclamation of pain" (slaves). Hava 899a "وَيْ interj. Expressive 1. of admiration with ب or ل 2. of sorrow with على".

wyl ويل (93b) *wyl* + *li* or suffix يقولون ويل لفلان وهو تفجيع يقال ويله وويلك وويلي وفي الندية ويلاه وويل كلمة عذاب "woe is..". HB 959a "*wēl* agony (..) *ya-wēl*... woe is...".

wym موايمة (108b) *muwāyma* يقولون موايمة اي الشغل باليوم والصحيح ميامة "day labour". HB 959b "*miwayma* approximation"; p. 966b "*miyawma* work on a daily basis". In *muwāyma* there is metathesis of the *wāw* and *yāʾ*, see §6.2.7.

wyn وَيْن (120a) *wyn* يقولون ويسمع من العرب والمغاربة وَيْن هو اي اين هو وهي تصحيف عن فين اي في اين "where" (Arabs; North-Africans). According to BW IV 510b, this is used in Egypt by the Awlād ʿAli 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 يا ما (10b) *yāmā* ويقولون يا ما عمل فينا مثلا ولعل الاصل يا ما اكثر ما عمل تعجّبا "how often". See HB 960b.

yāh يَاهْ ياهْ (123a) *yāh yāh* يقولون يَاهْ ياهْ والذي في القاموس يهْيَهَ بالابل قال لها ياه ياه "exclamation made to encourage the camels?". HB 960a "*yāh* /interj/ exclamation of surprise". Al-Maġribī does not specify its use.

ysmn ياسمين (108b) *yāsmīn* يقولون ياسمين "jasmine". See HB 963a. Al-Ḫafāğī 244 " ياسمين وياسمون وان شئت أعربته على نون قال الاصمعى فارسى معرب".

ykāh يكاه (63a) *yakāh* واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد ... وهو المستعمل في اول الانغام يكاه اي الراست والثاني دوكاه والثالث سكاه چاركاه وهو المستعمل فى اول الانغام يكاه اي الراست "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), *Dafʿ 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-Maġribī only rearranged the word order are omitted, e.g. *Dafʿ al-Iṣr* 83b العراقيل صعاب الامور is a rearrangement of the wording of *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*: العراقيل: الدواهي، و~ من الأُمور: صعابها which does not change the essence of the text. When there is a substantial difference, for instance different wording is used by al-Maġribī, this is specifically indicated in the following way: QM (page number), ... > ...., for instance QM 796a,[521] داقه > ذاقه, means that *Dafʿ 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*.

[521] The page number refers to the edition of Dār al-Fikr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa al-Našr wa al-Tawzīʿ (al-Qāhira), 1420/1999.

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57a تُزوَّج < تتزوج QM 841a تركة..تتزوج

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59a < فاجهدها QM 846c-847a ركيك.. العجز ,خاصم < حاصم ,والمرتك < والمريك ,فَجَهَدَها المطر ,الضعف في <الضعف من ,ارتك < اريك رككت < ركركت ,المطر القليل < الضعيف

59b رَمَك < رُمُك QM 847a الرمكة..رموكا

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62a دماغ الكركي ,QM 856b دماغ..طلآ مخلوطان < مخلوطين ,الكركي دماغه<

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< المتانه ,ثفله < تفله QM 857a لكّه..الضعيفة يُنْحَتُ < ينحتّ ,المثانة

62b كحريرة ,اي سمينه- QM 860c الودك..كحريرة كخزيرة <

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63a الوعكة < الوعيكة QM 861b الوعك..المعركة

,سحقه < اسحقه QM 861c-862a هكّ..الجماع وذرق الحبارى < ودرق الجادي

63b الالّة < الإلّة QM 866a العهد..النصل

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66a بقلة..الرجلة based loosely on QM 870c

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المرّ< المرء QM 872b البال..العيش

الجرو < الخرو QM 872b البهدل..المشي

67a التامول < التابول QM 874a التنبل..الهندي

من الرمل < من التراب الرمل QM 873b والتلّ..تلال

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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^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960-2002
EI^3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd edition.* www.brillonline.nl
EQ	*Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān.* 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	*Jounral 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.
Muʿǧam	Muṣṭafā, Ibrahīm (ed.) et al., *Al-Muʿǧam al-wasīṭ*. Al-Qāhira: Maǧmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿarabīya, 1380-1/1960-1 (2 vols.)
QM	Maǧd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fayrūzʾābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. ṭabʿa ǧadīda wa-muwa<u>tt</u>aqa wa-muṣaḥḥaḥa. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Fikr li-ṭṭibāʿa wa-l-našr wa-ttawzīʿ, 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 ʿal-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, "het verwijderen van de last van de spraak der Egyptenaren", van de Egyptische auteur Yūsuf al-Maġribī. Dit boek werd geschreven in 1606. In hoofdstuk 1 worden al-Maġribī'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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī bewaard gebleven:

- *Taḫmīs Lāmīyat ibn al-Wardī*, een bewerking van de *Lāmīyat al-iḫwān wa muršidat al-ḫillān*, een religieus gedicht van Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (1290–1349);
- *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb*, een werk over uiteenlopende onderwerpen, bedoeld als hulp bij het componeren van poezie;
- *Daf ʿal-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*, een woordenboek van Egyptisch-Arabische woorden en uitdrukkingen.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt een beschrijving gegeven van het enige bewaard gebleven manuscript van *Daf ʿal-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 19e eeuw naar Rusland meegenomen door de Egyptische geleerde Muḥammad ʿAyyād 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-ʿāmm wa-qāmūs al-ʿawāmm*, "Het algemeen nut en het woordenboek van het volk", maar deze werd in de loop van het schrijfproces veranderd in *Daf ʿal-iṣr ʿan kalām ahl Miṣr*.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft al-Maġribī's redenen voor het schrijven van *Daf ʿal-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-Maġribī beïnvloed door het *Laḥn al-ʿawāmm* ("taalfouten van het volk") genre. *Daf ʿal-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-ʿarab* "De verkorte spraak betreffende dat wat overeenkomt in de taal

van de Egyptenaren met de taal van de Arabieren". Ibn Abī al-Surūr liet alle lemmata weg die geen Klassiek-Arabische 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 ʿAbd al-Salām Aḥmad ʿAwwād, maar een editie van het manuscript was nog niet eerder verschenen.

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de poezie in *Daf᾽ al-iṣr*. Er zijn een groot aantal *mawāwīl* van de hand van Yūsuf al-Maġribī. 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 *taṯlīṯ*, 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-Maġribī 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-Maġribī de volkstaal van het Cairo van toen weergeeft. Het eerste aspect dat besproken wordt, is de orthografie die gehanteerd wordt door al-Maġribī. 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 *ǧ* hoogst waarschijnlijk uitgesproken werden als /ʾ/ 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

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 *ʾāʿid* (letterlijk "zittend"). Al-Maġribī 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 19e/begin 20e 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-Bašbūġānī (1407-1464), beschreven door Arnoud Vrolijk, en *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-šarḥ qaṣīd ʾAbī Šādūf* (geschreven in 1686) van Yūsuf al-Širbīnī (17e 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 bekritiseren.

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.