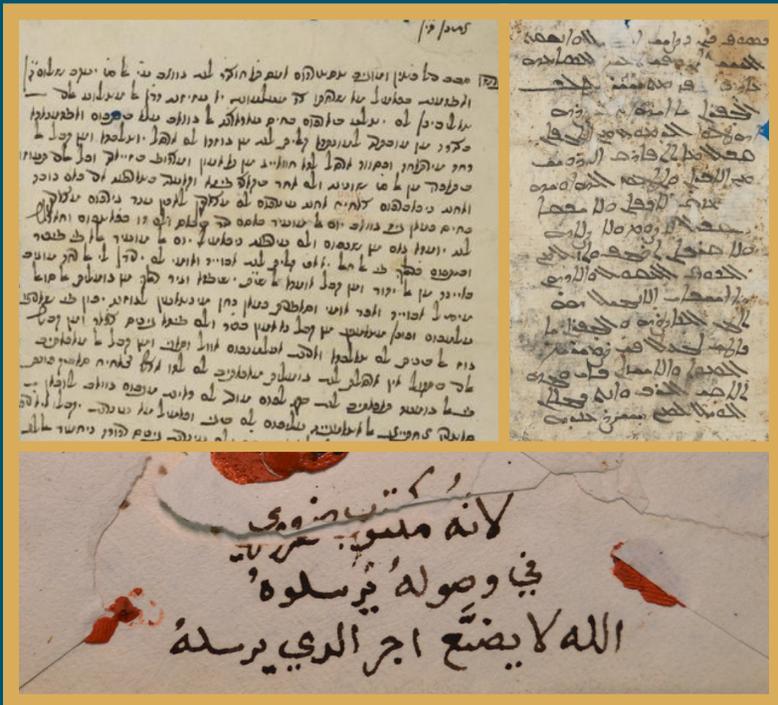


A Handbook and Reader of Ottoman Arabic

EDITED BY ESTHER-MIRIAM WAGNER





<https://www.openbookpublishers.com>

© 2021 Esther-Miriam Wagner. Copyright of individual chapters is maintained by the chapters' authors.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0). This license allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the text; to adapt the text and to make commercial use of the text providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Esther-Miriam Wagner (ed.), *A Handbook and Reader of Ottoman Arabic*. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 9. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0208>

Copyright and permissions for the reuse of many of the images included in this publication differ from the above. Copyright and permissions information for images is provided separately in the List of Illustrations.

In order to access detailed and updated information on the license, please visit, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0208#copyright>

Further details about CC BY licenses are available at, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

All external links were active at the time of publication unless otherwise stated and have been archived via the Internet Archive Wayback Machine at <https://archive.org/web>

Updated digital material and resources associated with this volume are available at <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0208#resources>

Every effort has been made to identify and contact copyright holders and any omission or error will be corrected if notification is made to the publisher.

Semitic Languages and Cultures 9.

ISSN (print): 2632-6906

ISSN (digital): 2632-6914

ISBN Paperback: 9781783749416

ISBN Hardback: 9781783749423

ISBN Digital (PDF): 9781783749430

DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0208

Cover images: Upper left, T-S 10J16.26 (Hebrew script); upper right, CUL Or.1081.2.75.2 (Syriac script), both reproduced with kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Image below, from box HCA 32/212 from the The National Archives.

Cover design: Anna Gatti

31. EXCERPTS FROM YA‘QŪB ṢANŪ‘S ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA ZAR’A AND ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-NADĪM’S AL-USTĀD

Liesbeth Zack

This chapter presents excerpts from two of the most famous 19th-century Egyptian newspapers: *Abu naḏḏāra zar’a* ‘The man with the blue eyeglasses’, founded by Ya‘qūb Ṣanū‘ in 1878, and *al-Ustād* ‘The professor’, founded in 1892 by ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm. Both were satirical newspapers, critical of Egyptian society and of the regime, and both were (partially) written in Egyptian Arabic, which could be read aloud in order to make them accessible to the uneducated masses. This makes them interesting subjects for a comparative linguistic study.

Ya‘qūb Ṣanū‘¹

The Jewish Egyptian journalist and playwright Ya‘qūb Ṣanū‘, also known as James Sanua, was born in Cairo in 1839. His father Rafā‘il was a Jewish merchant who moved from Livorno in Italy to Cairo at some point in the 19th century, while his mother,

¹ This is an abridged version of section 2 in Zack (2014). See also <http://kjc-sv036.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/biography.html> for a short introduction to Ṣanū‘’s life and works.

Sara, was a Cairene by birth. Rafāʿil Ṣanūʿ worked as an adviser to Aḥmad Pasha Yagan, the nephew of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha.² Aḥmad Pasha Yagan sponsored Yaʿqūb during the course of a three-year period of academic formation in Livorno, where he studied political economy, international law, the natural sciences, and the fine arts. Upon his return to Cairo, Ṣanūʿ began work as a teacher.³ He became a follower of the great thinker Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afġānī, who encouraged him to apply his literary skills to the cause of reform and suggested using the theatre as an instrument of public education. The Khedive Ismāʿīl had opened two theatres in Cairo and Alexandria in 1869, on the occasion of celebrations in honour of the completion of the Suez Canal. Ṣanūʿ translated some European plays into Arabic, but also wrote others in both colloquial and Classical Arabic, setting them in Egyptian society. He was an important figure in the birth of Egyptian drama, and became known as the ‘Molière of Egypt’. However, since his plays contained satirical portrayals of Egyptian society and criticism of government officials, Ismāʿīl withdrew his support and banned his plays in 1872, ending his career as a dramatist.⁴

² See Gendzier (1966, 17).

³ Gendzier (1966, 6–17, 19).

⁴ Gendzier (1966, 29–38).

In 1878, Ṣanūʿ published the first issue of his satirical newspaper *Abu naḍḍāra zarʿa* ‘The man with the blue eyeglasses’,⁵ which was his own nickname. The publication was written in large part in colloquial Egyptian Arabic and contained imaginary dialogues and letters, sketches, fictitious minutes from meetings and dreams. In 1878, Ṣanūʿ was banned from Egypt because of his criticism of the regime. He consequently settled in Paris, but continued to publish the newspaper.⁶ The final issue appeared in December 1910. Ṣanūʿ remained in France for the rest of his life, even when changed political circumstances would have allowed him to return to Egypt. He died in Paris in 1912.⁷

The excerpt presented here is from the fifth issue of *Abu Naḍḍāra* and discusses how Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ collected the materials for his newspaper. It is a fictional dialogue between Abu Naḍḍāra and Abu Khalīl. The dialogue is a stylistic device often used by Ṣanūʿ, as well as by the journalist ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm (1843–

⁵ The first issue can be found here: http://kjc-sv036.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/journals.html?collection=/db/data/commons/Abou+Naddara/Journals/1878/1_Garidat-Abi-Naddara-Zarka_issues-001-015. It was published on 21 Rabīʿ al-awwal [12]95 AH, which corresponds to 25 March 1878.

⁶ Due to censorship, he had to change the name of the newspaper regularly. There are issues entitled *Al-naḍḍārāt al-miṣriyya* ‘the Egyptian spectacles’, *Abu ṣuffāra* ‘the man with the whistle’, and *Abu zummāra* ‘the man with the oboe’, among others.

⁷ See also this webpage published by Heidelberg University for more information on *Abu naḍḍāra* and the other journals that Ṣanūʿ published in Paris: http://kjc-sv036.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/intro_journals.html. Scans of all the journals are available on this website as well.

1896) fifteen years later in his magazine *al-Ustād*, as the next section demonstrates.

‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm

The Egyptian reformist ‘Abd Allāh b. Miṣbāḥ al-Ḥasanī, known as al-Nadīm ‘the boon companion’, was born in 1843 in Alexandria, where he studied at the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pasha. After completing his education, he worked for some time as a telegraph officer in the Delta and as an *udabātī*, an itinerant versifier.⁸ Later he owned a lingerie shop, in order to earn a living beside his work as a journalist. The shop doubled as a literary salon, where poets and writers met.⁹ In 1879, al-Nadīm joined the secret society *Jam‘iyyat Miṣr al-Fatāt/Union de la Jeunesse Egyptienne*, but soon left it to establish *al-Jam‘iyya al-Khayriyya al-Islāmiyya* ‘the Islamic Charitable Society’. In 1881, he first founded the satirical magazine *al-Tankīt wa-l-Tabkīt* ‘Joking and reproaching’ and then *al-Ṭā’if* ‘The wanderer’. The latter became the organ of the followers of ‘Urābī Pasha, an Egyptian army colonel who aimed at ending the British occupation of Egypt. After the failure of the ‘Urābī revolt in 1882, al-Nadīm spent years in hiding and was finally arrested in 1891, exiled, and subsequently pardoned in 1892. Upon his return to Egypt, he founded the satirical newspaper *al-Ustād* ‘The professor’, which ran from August 1892 until

⁸ See Sadgrove (2012).

⁹ It was not uncommon in that era for shops to double as literary salons; see Doss (1998, 144).

June 1893. He was then once again exiled and spent the rest of his life in Istanbul, where he died in 1896.¹⁰

Al-Ustād is a weekly satirical newspaper in which criticism of the Egyptian regime, the British occupation of Egypt, and various social issues are addressed, often in the form of dialogues. The first excerpt from *al-Ustād* that is presented here is part of a series of dialogues entitled *Madrāsāt al-banāt* 'the girls' school'. The dialogue is between Zakiyya and Nafisa. Nafisa attends the girl's school and Zakiyya asks her about the subjects she is learning, questioning the usefulness of subjects such as French and English. The second excerpt is also a dialogue between two women, Laṭīfa and Dimyāna. The text shows the problems caused by drinking alcohol. This fragment is interesting from a linguistic point of view, because *q is consistently written with a *hamza*, imitating the way it is pronounced in Cairene Arabic.

Transcription: *Abu naḍḍāra zarʿa*

Excerpt from *Abu naḍḍāra zarʿa*, issue 5, year 1, 21 Rabīʿ Tānī 1295,¹¹ 1

(أبو خليل) أنت عبارتك ايه يا ابو نظاره – بقى ما عندكش لا شغله ولا مشغله الا كتابة بسلامتها الجريده – الظاهر كدا لأن من اول نمرة لتانى نمرة مضت تقريبا جمعيتين ومن تانى نمرة للتالته جمعه وحده فقط ومن التالته للرابعه نصف جمعه ومن الرابعه للخامسه يا دوب يومين – دا احنا ما لحقناش نهضمها والله – لا بد ان مسكتك صخونة كتابة الجرائيل – طيب بس ويتجيب الكلام ده كله من أين – دول أولاد البلد بيقولوا انك فى الليل بتقلع برنيطتك دى ام طرحه وسترتك ونظارتك الزرقا وبتلبس لك عمه تخليها عشرة أرتال فى الميزان

¹⁰ See Sadgrove (2012).

¹¹ = 24 April 1878.

وجبه فروزى وافطان شاهى وحزام طرابلسى وصرمه حمرا وخزرانة أولاد الفن فى يدك وبتلرق
دقنك دى العريضه بحيتين صمغ حتى انها تبقى سكسوكه وتدخل فى قهوة اللبائى مش على
شان تشرب حشيش الله لا يقدر انما على شان ما تسمع كلام بنى شداد اللطيف وتلتذ بنكاة
ونوادر ظريفه تدرجها فى صحيفتك الشهيره التى صبحت فى افمام العالم كالشهد والسكر
وبوظت عن قراءة الجرائيل العظيمة المفيده الكلام ده صحيح ولا كذب

(أبو نظاره) اهو من ده على ده

(أبو خليل) قال وبتروح فى دكاكين اخواننا التجار وتجتمع هناك على الشبان الفصحاء
وتستنشأ منهم الاخبار الظريفه ثم انك تسببها فى محاورات ولعب تياترو كلعبة القريداتى¹²
التى حصلت فى أيام الغر وما أشبه
(أبو نظاره) أى نعم

(أبو خليل) والقصد من جريدتك الهذلية دى ايه

(أبو نظاره) تفكيه العالم واتطلاعهم على الجد بصورة الهدل
(أبو خليل) عفارم عليك يا أبو نظاره – واحنا يا أولاد البلد فاهمين الأمر ده محبتك بتزيد يومى
فى قلوبنا وبتطلب لك التوفيق – انما يا اسفاه رايح ينوبك ايه من التعب ده كله اديك ألفت
لك كتب بالافرنجى مدح فى مصر وترجمت أفخر قصايد العرب لاشهار علم الاداب الشرقى
فى الغرب وحسن اخلاقهم وحرية ديانتهم وما أشبه وأسست لنا تياترو عربى وصنفت لك
مقدار ثلاثين كوميديه من قريحتك نثر واشعار وصرفت فيها دم قلبك وعلمت ابناء الوطن
التشخيص بكل مهاره فى التياترو وشرعت فى كتابة جرائيل بجميع اللغات الاوروباويه
واخترعت ادوار غنا عربيه وطبقتها على موسيقه فرنساويه – يا ترى كسبت ايه من كل ده –
بس ريبت لك أعداء وضديات [...]]

Translation

(Abu Khalīl) What's the matter with you, Abu Naḍḍāra? You haven't got anything to do now other than writing this fine¹³ news-

¹² This is a typo. It was actually called *القرداتي* *al-quradāti*. It was published in *Abu Naḍḍāra* issue 4, 14 Rabī' Tānī 1295 = 17 April 1878, 2–4.

¹³ Literally 'with her well-being'. See Spiro (1895, 288): "بسلامته الخواجه": "this fine gentleman, this good fellow."

paper, or so it seems, because between the first issue and the second approximately two weeks passed, and only one week between the second and the third, and half a week between the third and the fourth, and hardly two days between the fourth and the fifth. By God, we haven't had time to digest it, surely newspaper writing fever has taken hold of you. All right, so where do you get all this talk from? The guys in town say that in the evening you take off this hat of yours with its veil and your coat and your blue eyeglasses, and put on a turban that weighs ten pounds on the scale, and a turquoise robe, a striped caftan, a belt from Tripoli,¹⁴ and red shoes, with an artist's bamboo cane in your hand, and you glue that wide beard of yours with two bits of gum so it becomes a goatee. Then you go into the *Layyāti*¹⁵ coffee shop, not to smoke hash, may God forbid, but to listen to the amusing words of the hashish-smokers¹⁶ and to enjoy the jokes and the funny anecdotes that you put in your famous newspaper, which has become like honey and sugar in everyone's mouths and has detracted people from reading the great, useful newspapers. Is that right or is it a lie?

(Abu Naḍḍāra) A bit of this and a bit of that.

¹⁴ “طرابلس *ṭarablus* silk sash of Syrian make” (Spiro 1895, 362).

¹⁵ This is probably the name of the coffee shop or its owner. The *lavy*, pl. *lavyāt*, is the flexible tube of the water pipe (*šiša*), and *lavyāti* is the *nisba*-adjective referring to this: ‘the one with the water pipe tubes’.

¹⁶ See Badawi and Hinds (1986, 456b). The *faʿāl*-form is an intensive noun, so بني شدّاد means ‘those who take pulls [from the water pipe] often’.

(Abu Khalil) It is said that you go to the shops of our colleagues the traders and meet up there with the eloquent young men looking for funny news stories, which you then transform into dialogues and theatre plays like the play about the monkey keeper, which took place in the days of the Mameluks,¹⁷ and the like.

(Abu Naḍḍāra) That's correct.

(Abu Khalil) And what is the purpose of this humorous newspaper of yours?

(Abu Naḍḍāra) Amusing people, and presenting serious information in the form of humour.

(Abu Khalil) Well done, Abu Naḍḍāra! We, the people of this country, understand this matter. Our love for you is growing daily in our hearts, and we wish you all the best of luck. But oh grief, what is all this trouble going to get you? You've¹⁸ written books in European languages praising Egypt, you have translated the most wonderful poems of the Arabs in order to spread the word in the West about Oriental literature, their good manners, their freedom of religion, and the like, and you've founded an Arab theatre for us and have written around thirty comedies using your great talent, prose and poems, and have paid a very high price for it,¹⁹ and you have taught the people of our country to perform skilfully in the theatre, and you have started writing

¹⁷ The full title: 1204 سنة الغز حصلت في أيام الغز سنة 1204 'The monkey keeper—A historical theatre play taking place in the days of the Mameluks in the year 1204'. The year corresponds to 1789–1790 CE.

¹⁸ Lit. 'there you are'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'you have spent the blood of your heart'.

newspapers in all European languages and have created Arabic songs and set them to French music—so I wonder what you have gained from all of this? You have only made²⁰ enemies and hostilities. [...]

Transcription: *Al-Ustād*

Excerpt 1: *al-Ustād* year 1, no. 11, 1 November 1892, 246

مدرسة البنات

زاكيه ونفيسه

ز. انت رحت للمعلمه النهار ده .ن. انا في المدرسة .ز. تتعلمي ايه في المدرسة يا اختي .ن. اتعلم الكتابة والقراءة والفرنساوي والخياطة والبيانو وعندنا ناس يتعلمو الانكليزي وناس يتعلمو الرقص الافرنجى .ز. طيب الكتابه والقراءة قلنا آهي تنفع تقعدى يوم تقرأ في المصحف الشريف والا في كتاب تعرفي منه امور دينك والفرنساوي والانكليزي تعلمي به ايه هوانت رايحه تجوزي فرنساوي والا انكليزي .ن. لا دلوقت كل اولاد الناس الكبار يتعلمو الفرنسية والا الانكليزي بلكي الواحده تتجوز واحد من اللي يعرفو اللغة تبقى تتكلم وياه .ز. هوا يختي اللي رايحه تتجوزيه موش ابن عرب والا ابن ترك .ن. ايوه .ز. طيب اتعلمي انت العربي والا التركي اللي يكلمونا به اهل بلادنا واما الراجل اللي رايح يفوت لغته ويكلم حريمه بالفرنساوي والا بالانكليزي وهو ابن عرب والا ابن ترك دا يبقي قليل الذوق هوا عارف ان احنا يا بنات الشرق فرنساويه والا انكليز لما يكلمنا بلغتهم .ن. بقى على كذا انت ما تعرفيش جرى ايه في الدنيا دلوقت بعض بنات الشام بيتعلموا في المدارس اللغات البرانية وازواجهم رخرين²¹ .ز. طيب دول لبسوا آلا افرنكه وطلعوا في السكه بهدوم البيت زي ستات الافرنج واحنا يللي ما نطلع من بيوتنا الا متغطيين ولا نجتمع بالرجاله الغرب ولا نروح تياترو ولا بالوا احنا واخواتنا المحجوبين في الشام نتعلم اللغات دي ليه [...].

Translation

The Girls' School

Zakiyya and Nafisa

²⁰ Lit. 'raised'.

²¹ From الآخرين, with $l > r$.

Z: Did you go to the teacher today? N: I attend school. Z: What are you learning in school, dear?²² N: I'm learning writing, reading, French, sewing and piano, and we have people who are learning English, and people who are learning European dancing. Z: Well, writing and reading, we'd say that, yes, they are useful so one day you can sit and read the Holy Qu'rān, or a book from which you learn things about your religion, but French and English, what are you going to do with those, are you going to marry a Frenchman or an Englishman? N: No, all the upper-class children learn French or English now. A woman may marry one of those men who know the language, so she can talk with him. Z: My dear, isn't the man whom you're going to marry a descendant of an Arab or a Turk? N: Yes. Z: Well, then learn the Arabic or Turkish language used by the people of our country when they talk to us. As for the descendant of an Arab or a Turk who puts his language aside and addresses his wife in French or English, he has no manners. He knows that we, girls from the East, are neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen, when he talks to us in their language. N: That means you're not aware of what's going in the world these days. Some girls from the Levant learn foreign languages at school and so do their husbands. Z: All right, those girls are dressed 'à la European' and have taken to the streets in house clothes like European ladies, but we, who only leave the house covered up, don't get together with strange men and don't go to the theatre or the ball, why should we and our veiled sisters in the Levant learn these languages [...].

²² Lit. 'my sister'.

Transcription: *Al-Ustād*

Excerpt 2: *al-Ustād* year 1, no. 7, 4 October 1892, 149–50

لطيفه ودميانه
 د. د. نهارك سعيد. ل. نهارك سعيد مبارك دا إيه آل على رأي اللي آل غيبوا عام وطلّوا يوم د. د.
 انا كنت عُتْبال عندك في فرح ام جرجس وانت تعرفي انها حبيبتي ووحدانبه والواحد له لَمَّا يَبْأى
 عندها زحمه زي دي متعرفشي اللي يجي م اللي يروح . ل. فيك البركه والنبي انك تعرفي
 الواجب يا أم حنين. إحنا افتكرناك ديك الليله واحنا عند ستي حنيفه وألنا ياريت ام حنين هنا
 وتنفرج . د. د. هيا كان عندها حاجه يختي . ل. بالك يعني حاجه زي فرح ولا عزومه . د. د. أيوه
 بئول . ل. لا دا أحنا كنا أعدين بنتكلم في السكارى وغلبيهم وهيا بتحككي لنا على ست نجيبه
 وأنا باحكي لها على همي وغلبي شويه وجوزها داخل واترمى في وسطنا وأعدنا نضحك عليه
 وألنا ياريت ام حنين هنا . د. د. الكلام دا كان ليلة إيه . ل. ليلة التلات اللي فات . د. د. كنتو
 تعالوا انتم شوفوا همي وغلبي ولا انتو عندكم لفندي بتاعكم بيسكر كل جمعه ليله ولا كل
 شهر ليلتين أدور علي انا اللي لفندي بتاعنا يطلع من ديوانه على الخماره يفضل يشرب من
 المخسوف الزيب لَمَّا يَبْأى ما هو شايف يمشي ويجيني مدهول²³ وساعات يتع في السكه
 ويچي مَظْروط هدمومه والإرشين اللي في جيبو ياعم. والعذره يختي بثيت مستلفه من حنونه
 حآ الطحين مرتين وتلائيني خايفه تكثر علي الديون وتخليني ابيع الحنتين السيغه اللي فاضلين
 عندي [...].

Translation

Latīfa and Dimyāna

D: Good day. L: Good day to you. What is this? Like the famous saying, you disappear for a year and then you show up for one day. D: I was at the wedding of Umm Girgis,²⁴ may your children follow, and you know that she's my dear friend and that she's lonely, so when someone has a crowd like that, you don't know

²³ Read *midahwil*, not *madhūl*.

²⁴ Lit. 'the mother of Girgis', the *kunya*: calling a man or woman by the name of their eldest son.

who's doing what.²⁵ L: God bless you, by the Prophet, you are always ready to help,²⁶ Umm Ḥinēn. We remembered you the other night when we were at Mrs. Ḥanīfa's and we said, we wish Umm Ḥinēn were here to watch this. D: Did she have something going on, sister? L: Do you have something specific in mind like a wedding or an invitation? D: Yes, that's what I'm saying. L: No, we were sitting and talking about drunkards and the nuisance they cause, and she was telling us about Mrs. Nagība and I was telling her a bit about my worries and misery, when her husband came in and fell among us and we sat laughing at him and said, we wish Umm Ḥinēn were here. D: What night did that happen? L: Last Tuesday night. D: You should have come and seen my worries and misery, your man is getting drunk one night a week or two nights a month, now it's my turn, our man leaves his office and goes straight to the bar and he keeps on drinking that damned²⁷ arrack²⁸ until he can't see where he's walking and comes to me a wreck, and sometimes he falls in the street and comes home with his clothes soiled and the few piastres²⁹ that were in his pocket have fallen out. By the Virgin, my sister, I have borrowed the money for the flour from Ḥannūna³⁰ twice and I'm

²⁵ Lit. 'you don't know the one who's coming from the one who's going'.

²⁶ Lit. 'know your duty'.

²⁷ Lit. 'sunken into the ground', see Spiro (1895, 171a) ولد مخسوف 'a damned boy, a young rascal'.

²⁸ A liquor made from raisins, see Spiro (1895, 246a) "عرقى زيب" native whiskey made of raisins."

²⁹ Lit. 'the two piastres'.

³⁰ Diminutive of endearment of her son's name Ḥinēn.

afraid³¹ that I will get more into debt and will have to sell the few bits³² of jewellery I still have [...].

Commentary

Orthography³³

(Ṣ = Ṣanū^c, N1 = Nadīm, first excerpt, N2 = Nadīm, second excerpt)

*^ʔ has mostly disappeared in medial and final position, e.g., حمرا *hamra* (Ṣ), خايفه (N2), الزرقا (Ṣ). See also والعُدْرَه *wi-l'adra* (N2) from والعذراء, in which the *hamza* has disappeared and the *ā* has shortened to *a*. There are, however, some exceptions, such as القراءة (N1), الفصحاء (Ṣ) and رأي (N2).

**q*: Pronounced as a glottal stop in Cairene Arabic, except in loans from Classical Arabic. In Ṣ and N1, mostly written with *qāf*, e.g., قليل الذوق *'alil izzō'* (N1), بتلرزق دقنك *bitilza' da'nak* (Ṣ), except for افطان *'uftān* (Ṣ). In N2, **q* is consistently written with *hamza*, e.g., يباي *yib'a*, عُتْبَال *'u'bāl*, والإرشين *il'irsēn*, حَا *ḥa*, أعدنا *'a'adna*, أُلْنَا *'ulna* (compare قلنا in N1), بُئُول *ba'ūl*. The Classical Arabic rules for writing the *hamza* are not followed here. For instance, in عُتْبَال *'u'bāl* the *hamza* should have the *wāw* as its seat rather than the *yā'* because of the *u*-vowel. The same applies to بُئُول *ba'ūl*. When a word starts with a glottal stop (< **q*) followed by a long *ā*, this

³¹ Lit. 'you find me afraid'.

³² Lit. 'the two pieces'. The dual is often used to indicate 'some, a few', just like English 'a couple of'. See Woidich (2006, 114).

³³ See also Avallone (2016, 81–82), who analysed the orthography in a sample of 22 pages from *Abu naḍḍāra* and 21 pages from *al-Ustād*.

is written with \bar{a} , as in آل $\bar{a}l$, even if this long \bar{a} is shortened in the pronunciation, as in $\bar{a}d\bar{i}n$.

$y\bar{a}$ ' and $\bar{a}lif maq\bar{s}ura bi-\bar{s}akl al-y\bar{a}$ ' are interchangeable in N1, e.g., $yib'a$, $tu'udi$, $ti'ri$. In N2, final i ($*i$) is dotted and final a ($*\bar{a}$) undotted, e.g., $baḥki$, $yigini$, $is-sakāra$, $itrama$. In \mathfrak{S} , both final $y\bar{a}$ ' and $\bar{a}lif maq\bar{s}ura bi-\bar{s}akl al-y\bar{a}$ ' are consistently written without dots, e.g., $\bar{t}arabulsi$.

The 3ms possessive suffix $-u$ can be written with $w\bar{a}w$, e.g., $g\bar{e}bu$ (N2).

Plene writing of short vowels occurs in $mu\check{s}$ and $huwwa$ (N1) and in $hiyya$ (N2). In the verb, the final 2fs vowel $-i$ is written *plene*, e.g., $tit'allimi$ (N1) and $ti'rafi$ (N2). However, in N1 $inti$ is written without the final vowel $-i$, which is indicated with a *kasra* in N2: $وانتِ$. Also, the final vowel of $-ki$ is indicated with a *kasra*: $iftakarnāki$ (N2), rather than with the letter $y\bar{a}$ '.

Elision of letters: min is abbreviated to $mi-$ in N2: $من اللّي$ for $من اللّي$. In N2, $ya-xti$ is written as $يختي$, while N1 writes both $يا اختي$ and $يختي$.

In N1, both $walla$ 'or' and $wala$ 'nor' (the second part of the negation 'neither... nor') are written as $والا$. $walla$: $في المصحف الشريف$; $wala$: $موش ابن عرب والا ابن ترك$; $والا$ في كتاب $\bar{w}alla$ with a *šadda*.

$t\bar{a}$ ' $marbūta$ is randomly written with or without dots in N1 and N2: $ilmadrasa$ (N1), $rayḥa$ (N1), and consistently without dots in \mathfrak{S} (except in genitive constructions), e.g., $شغله$.

ṣuġla, سڪسوكه *saksūka*. In genitive construction, the dots are always written in the three texts: مدرسة البنات *madrast ilbanāt* (N1), ليلة التلات *lelt ittalāt* (N2), حرية دياتتهم *hurriyyit diyanithum* (§). In *bi-nikāt* (§), *tā' marbūṭa* is written instead of *tā'*.

ʿ*alif fāṣila* is sometimes written and sometimes left out: يتعلمو and بيتعلموا (N1), كنتو تعالوا (N2).

The *l* of the article is once assimilated to the next 'sun' letter: أدور *iddōr* (**ildōr*) (N2). In لفندي *lafandi*, the *i* of the article *il-* is elided, as is the ʿ*alif* of the word افندي (N2).

Interdentals: **ḍ* is written with ظ in ابو نظاره *Abu naḍḍāra* (§). However, it is written with ض in the very first issue of the newspaper. The *dāl* in الهذليه and الهذلي (§) is a hypercorrection; the root in Classical Arabic is HZL. Ṣanūʿ tends to write **ḍ* with ذ, e.g., كذب *kizb* ~ *kidb*.

Emphasis: صخونة is written with ص instead of س in §.

Shortened long vowels are generally written with long vowels, e.g., فاهمين *fahmīn* (§), الرابعه *irrabʿa* (§), رايحه *rayḥa* (N1), فاضلين *faḍlīn* (N2). An exception is وحده *waḥda* (§).

In §, historical spelling is used more often than in N1 and N2, for instance: من أين *minēn*, نصف *niṣf* ~ *nuṣṣ*. It is unclear in the second case if the Classical or dialectal pronunciation is intended, because Ṣanūʿ tends to use some Classical Arabic vocabulary.

اطلاعههم (Ṣ), the *maṣḍar* of form eight of the root ṬLḥ (اطلعههم) is an odd spelling and could be a typo, perhaps influenced by اططلع of form five.

Morphology

The demonstrative ده is not fixed to the noun in النهار ده *innaharda* (N1).

The feminine distal demonstrative ديك ‘that’ is used for something that has been mentioned before: ديك الليله ‘that night’ (N2). Nowadays, the distal demonstratives are ms *dukha*, fs *dikha*, and pl *dukham/dukhum/dukhumma*.³⁴ However, until the beginning of the twentieth century, forms without the suffix *h-* were still found: *dāk*, *dīk*, *dōk*,³⁵ especially in adverbs of time such as *dīk innahār* ‘that day’,³⁶ *dāk innōba* ‘that time’.³⁷

In N2, 2pl and 3pl forms with *-u* and *-um* are interchangeable: انتو and انتم are found in the same sentence; ياعم *yi’a‘um*.

ييع (N2) may reflect *yi’a‘*, which has been reported in 19th-century texts.³⁸ Nowadays, it is pronounced *yu’a‘*.³⁹ However, it may

³⁴ See Woidich (2006, 46).

³⁵ See for instance Hassan (1869, 88). These forms are very old; there are examples such as *dīk il’uyūn* from 14th-century Judaeo-Arabic texts, see Palva (1993, 181–83).

³⁶ Gairdner (1917, 209).

³⁷ El-Tantavy (1848, 126).

³⁸ See, e.g., Spitta (1880, 223), who, however, remarks that it was more common in the countryside than in Cairo.

³⁹ See Woidich (2006, 81).

also reflect *yuʿaʿ*, because al-Nadīm mostly wrote the *hamza* on the *yāʾ* when occurring in the middle of the word (see above, Orthography). The *kasra* in *يَأْعم* *yiʿaʿum* confirms that the prefix was in fact pronounced *yi-*.

The future marker is رايح (m), رايحه (f), رايحه تجوزي: رايحين (N1), الراجل اللي رايح يفوت لغته (N1). The shortened form *ḥa-* is used in modern Cairene Arabic.

Syntax

In الحتتين السيغه (N2) the first part of the genitive construction gets the article. This construction, which can also occur with *iššawayit* ‘the bit of...’ is found in modern Cairene Arabic as well, but is ‘substandard’.⁴⁰

احنا يا بنات الشرق فرنساويه والا انكليز: In this sentence, *la*, the first part of the negation *la...wala*, is missing.

Both على شان and على شان ما ‘in order to’, followed by a verb in the imperfect tense, are used in Ṣ. Nowadays, the form without *ma* is more common.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Woidich (2006, 207).

⁴¹ Woidich (2006, 386).

