AN ANECDOTE ABOUT A SKINFLINT: A 14TH-CENTURY (?) ARABIC MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN IN HEBREW CHARACTERS

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The text published here is part of the manuscript Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852, a fairly well preserved booklet which is dated to the 14th century by Victor Lebedev.¹ The manuscript containing this anecdote, Hikāya li-³ahad min albuxalā² אלבכלא (fol. 12–15), consists of 18 folios, 15 x 11.5 cm in size, all written in Hebrew characters and by the same hand, in polycursive style. In the same booklet there are three other texts: Hikāyat al-harb bayn altuyūr wa-l-wuḥūš (fol. 1–12), Hikāya fī damm al-nisā² (fol. 15–17),² and Hikāya an ba²d al-naḥwīya (fol. 17–18).³ This manuscript probably comes from the Old Karaite Synagogue in Cairo. It belongs to the collection of manuscripts acquired by Abraham Firkovich (1787–1874) in three parts in 1862–76, not only from the Karaite synagogue but also from the Geniza par excellence, i.e., the Rabbanite Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustāt. The collection is preserved in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, previously known as the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library.⁴

V. V. Lebedev, Arabskie sočinenija v evrejskoj grafike. Katalog rukopisej. Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina. Leningrad 1987; no. 453, p. 95.

This is a zajal comprising 12 stanzas each of which is divided into five distichs. It is tentatively published in my paper "Hikāya fi damm al-nisā", A Story in Dispraise of Women. A 14th-century(?) Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Manuscript" in The Middle East—Unity and Diversity. Papers from the Second Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies. Ed. by Heikki Palva and Knut S. Vikør. NIAS: Copenhagen 1993. (Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies, No. 5); pp. 176-188.

Heikki Palva, "An Anecdote about a Grammarian: A 14th -century (?) Arabic manuscript written in Hebrew characters." "Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!". 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden 2002; pp. 521-529.

For general descriptions of the collection, see C. Starkova, "Les manuscrits de la Collection Firkovič conservés a la Bibliothèque Publique d'État Saltykov-Šcedrin." Revue des Etudes

MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 is a typical example of a number of folkloric texts included in Firkovich's second collection in that it, apart from orthography, displays no specifically Judaeo-Arabic features. If a criterion for Judaeo-Arabic literature is, as defined by L. V. Berman, "that it not only be written in Hebrew letters but also that it contain Hebrew words and phrases which could not be normally intelligible to an educated contemporary reader of Arabic," the texts of this manuscript cannot properly be called pieces of Judaeo-Arabic literature. Instead, they are concrete evidence of the active interest shown by Cairene Jews in the popular culture of the majority population.

In broad outlines, in this manuscript the spelling of Arabic follows the Classical Judaeo-Arabic spelling, which is for the most part based upon the orthography of Classical Arabic and very largely an imitation of it. Although there are three Hebrew letters each of which is used as a counterpart of two Arabic letters, in the text published here diacritical marks appear nine times only: four times to distinguish \dot{c} from \dot{c} (אַנּאַר \dot{c} אַנּאַר 12a10, אַבּאַר 12a10, בעל 13b01, מצֹאצׁ \dot{c} 12a10); three times to distinguish \dot{c} from \dot{c} (אַבּאַר 13b05, אַבּלא) אַר 13b05, אַבּא אַר 13a05, אַר 13a05, אַר 13a05, אַבּא אַר 13a05, אַר 13a05, אַר 13a05, אַבּא אַר 13a05, אַבּא אַר 13a05, א

The combination '' is as a rule written with the ligature ', not only in the definite article but in all positions. It is difficult to point out any consistent use for the symbol ", which in the present text occurs eight times. Most frequently it is

Juives 132 (1975), pp. 101-117; Paul B. Fenton, Tentative Handlist of the Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the New Series of the Second Firkovich Collection. Jerusalem 1990. My involvement with the study of manuscripts belonging to this collection was from the very beginning due to the initiative of my friend and colleague Tapani Harviainen, who before the mid-80s already started investigating the possibility of studying manuscripts in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library. Since the successful start of the work in 1989, he led the project with admirable energy and enthusiasm. With his social disposition sharply differing from that of the skinflint of the present anecdote, he essentially contributed to the congenial atmosphere in which it was a pleasure to work, readily served by the friendly and competent staff of the Department of Oriental manuscripts of the library in St. Petersburg. It is a pleasure to thank all the members of the staff. I wish also to thank Mr. Saad Samuel Elfeshawy, M.A., for the discussions we had on several problematic details in the texts.

⁵ L. V. Berman, "Judaeo-Arabic thought in Spain and North Africa: problems and prospects." Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Ed. by Norman Golb. Amsterdam 1997; pp. 33-43; p. 33.

For the two basic spelling systems, see Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography." Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik 12 (1984), pp. 9-27.

probably used in order to mark rhyme, as in 12a12 קוית עליה שהותה" וזאדת עליה בלייתה" awyt 'lyh šhwth" wz'dt 'lyh blyyth". In the passage 12b07 נאס יתחתדון או נאס גאסון פי אגאמע יתפצלון" n's ythtdwn 'w n's plswn fy 'lpm' ytfdlwn" the symbol obviously marks the end of a rhymed passage. Similarly, in או כאפר "א גאחד" w k²fr j²hd" 14a01 it clearly marks the end of a rhymed passage beginning on line 13b12. On line 12b09, the symbol has been written as if the words מא "אכלא מן אמאם m² יxl² mn m²m" were supposed to be followed by rhythmical sequences rhyming in $-\bar{a}m$, but what follows is nothing but a long unrhymed list. In 12a11 "וכאן לה מרה" wk'n lh mrh" the symbol apparently marks a rhetorical pause before the important mention of the seven years' time that the skinflint had tried to keep his desire in check. When used in the passages "מרכלה פי כמה wdxlh fy kmh" 13a05 and איז עליהם אחד" ולא קאצד עליהם או wl' q'sd 'lyhm 'hd" 13a08, the symbol probably marks a special emphasis. When considering the function of these kinds of punctuation marks or reading directions, one has to keep in mind that these texts belong to "loud literary culture," which implies that they were read aloud, irrespective of whether they were read in public or privately, and even the copyist of a written text probably read it aloud, i.e., dictated the text for himself.

THE TEXT OF MS. FIRKOVICH EVR.-ARAB. II 852, FOL. 12A08-15A04

12b01 rgyf msqy bzyt ṭyyb flm² z²d bh ²l²mr רגיף מסקי בזית טײב פלמא זאד בה אמר רגיף מסקי בזית טײב פלמא זאד בה אמר 2b02 3 try lh dlk ²lrgyf ²lsxn wsq²h bzyt ṭyyb אשתרי לה דלך ארגיף אסכן וסקאה בזית טײב 2b03 wdr 4 lyh mlḥ wbqy ḥ 3 yr fy 3 yn 3 klh fq²l fy ודר עליה מלח ובקי חאיר פי אין יאכלה פקא פי

⁷ בעץ b'd added in the margin.

12b04 nfsh 'n 'klth fy 'lhm'm 'idh' ml'nh נפסה אן אכלתה פי אחמאם אגדהא מלאנה 12b05 xlg wolm won oklth fy olipme mooxlo כלק ועלם ואן אכלתה פי לגאמע מא אכלא mn msly 'w gryb 'w n's ythtdwn8 'w n's ilswn מן מצלי או גריב או נאס יתחתדון8 או נאס גאסון 12b07 fy 'lj'm' ytfdlwn" w'n 'klth fy 'lz'wyyh פי אגאמע יתפצלון" ואן אכלתה פי אזאוייה 12b08 flšyx wlx²dm ytlb mny šy w²n ²klt fy פלשיד ולכאדם יטלב מני שי ואן אכלת פי 12b09 'lmsjd m' 'xl' mn 'm'm" w'n 'klth fy אמסגד מא אכלא מן אמאם" ואן אכלתה פי 12b10 Pswq 'ly dk'kyn 'ltb'xyn lm 'slm אסואק עלי דכאכין אטבאכין לם אסלם mn 'lšh'tyn w'lhr'fyš w'n 'klth fy 'l'za' מן לשחאתין ולחראפיש ואן אכלתה פי לאזקא fy 'lh'r't lm 'slm mn tfyly d'yr tht 'lbyywt פי אחאראת לם אסלם מן טפילי דאיר תחת אבייות

13a01 tm q²l fy nfsh w²llh lm [²kl fy nfsh]⁹

[מכן קא' פי נפסה ואלה לם [אכל פי נפסה מכן אילה לם [אכל פי נפסה מכן אילה לם איל פי נפסה מולה לם [אכל פי נפסה מכן אילוים אי

Probably a slip instead of יתחדתון ythdtwn, if not Form V (not attested?) of hatada 'to remain'.

⁹ Crossed out.

Having crossed out the words אכל פי נפטח kl fy nfsh, the scribe has inadvertently changed the direct speech to indirect speech.

ורבטה wrbth added in the margin.

¹² בכיט bxyt added in the margin.

13a08 lhm wl² q²ṣḍ 'lyhm 'ḥd" ṭryq whm
להם ולא קאצד עליהם אחד" טריק והם
13a09 d'trh fjls wqʻd w²xd lnfsh r²ḥh
דאתרה פגלס וקעד ואכד לנפסה ראחה
13a10 w²str²ḥ tm 'xrj 'lxrqh mn kmh
ואסתראח תם אכרג לכרקה מן כמה
13a11 wḥl 'lxyṭ wfrš 'lxrqh w²xd 'lrġyf bydh
וחל אלכיט ופרש לכרקה ואכד לרגיף בידה
13a12 wšmr kmh wrf' r²sh 'ly 'lsm² wq²l
ושמר כמה ורפע ראסה לי ליםמא וקאל

13b01 'llh l' tqdy 'ly b'hd yrmqny wy'd 'lyy' אלה לא תקצי עלי באחד ירמקני ויעד עלייא 13b02 lgmy tm šmr 'km'mh whd 'sn'nh לקמי תם שמר אכמאמה וחד אסנאנה 13b03 will ytb 'ly nfsh mn hw 'lywm mtly wqd'my וגעל יתעב עלי נפסה מן הו איום מתלי וקדאמי rgyf 'l'mh sxn 'byd sf'f smyd n'dj 'lk 13b04 רגיף עלאמה סכן אביץ שפאף שמיד נאצג עלד mlj msqy zyt w'n' whdy x'l mn 'ldywf w'lxt'r 13b05 מלג מסקי זית ואנא וחדי כא מן אציוף ואכטאר w'lgs'd w'ljyy'b 'n gd 'dmt 'lywm mn hdh 13b06 ואקצאד ואגייאב אן קד עדמת איום מן הדה 'lrgyf 'l'dw 'lrgyb w'lnm's w'lgm'z w'llk'z 13b07 ארגיף אעדו ארקיב ואנמאס ואגמאז ואלכאז w'lhm'z w'l'w'ny w'lms'ky w'lmond 13b08 ואהמאז ואעואני ואמשאכי ואמעאנד w'ls'yl w'lfgr' w'lšh'tyn w'lms'kyn f'n' 13b09 ואסאיל ואפקרא ואשחאתין ואמסאכין פאנא 'lywm slt'n bl' šk fm' hw mtly wmn hw 'ldy 13b10 איום סלטאן בלא שך פמא הו מתלי ומן הו אדי h'z bm' hzt wmn 'ldy f'z bm' fzt 'w 'ty bm' 'tyt13 13b11 חאז במא חזת ומן אדי פאז במא פזת או עטי במא עטית 13 rb slmny fyh mn q'sd mond 'w rswl 13b12 רב סלמני פיה מן קאצד מעאנד או רסול mr'rd 'w rg's mt'mr 13b13 מרארד או רקאץ מתאמר

14a01 'w 'lq 'w'ny mḍ'ḍḍ 'w k'fr j'ḥd" rb או עלק עואני מצאצׂץ או כאפר גאחד" רב

עטית 'tyt added in the margin.

14a02 slm rb slm tm 'n 'lbxyl md ydh 'ly 'lrgyf סלם רב סלם תם אן אבכיל מד ידה אי ארגיף 14a03 wksr mnh lqmh whth' fy fmh wmdgh' w'r'd וכסר מנה לקמה וחטהא פי פמה ומדגהא ואראד 'n ybl'h' w'd' bb'd 'lbxl' i yz 'lyh fy אן יבלעהא ואדא בבעץ אבכלא¹⁴ גאיז עליה פי 14a05 dlk 'lmk'n 'lmngt' wr'y hdh 'lbxyl fy dlk דלך אמכאן אמנקטע וראי הדה אבכיל פי דלך 14a06 'lmk'n 'lmhjwr wad'mh rgyf msay bzyt tyyb אמכאן אמהגור וקדאמה רגיף מסקי בזית טייב 14a07 fq'l 'ltfyly fy nfsh whq rby hdh mn 'ltj'r פקץ לטפילי פי נפסה וחק רבי הדה מן לתגאר 'lbxl' 'lfj'r wm' j' 'ly hnh 'l' 'nh 14a08 אבכלא אפגאר ומא גא אי הנה אא אנה 14a09 k'nt nfsh tt'lbh brgyf 'l'mh msgy כאנת נפסח תטאבה ברגיף עלאמה מסקי bzyt tyyb fj² 'ly hdh 'lmk'n 'lmngt' 14a10 בזית טייב פגא אי הדה אמכאן אמנקטע 'lx'l hty y'kl 'lrgyf wyhrb mn 'ln's 14a11 אכל חתי יאכל ארגיף ויהרב מן אנאס 14a12 wl ytm mnh šy wnh tqys lyh wtb ולא יטעם מנה שי ואנה אתקאיס עליה ואתעב

bh s×h w'n' ×rf 'n' 15 m' ydwgny mnh 14b01 בה סאעה ואנא אערף אנא 15 מא ידוקני מנה 14b02 lb'bh fi 'ltfyly hty waf ad'mh km' ht לבאבה פגא לטפילי חתי וקף קדאמה כמא חט 14b03 lqmh fy fmh wmdgh' w'r'd ybl'h' לקמה פי פמה ומדגהא ואראד יבלעהא 14b04 'ltfyly d'rkh wg'l lh y' 'xy sl'm 'lyk אטפילי דארכה וקא לה יא אכי סלאם עליד 14b05 wqd 'sfr lwnh lm' r'h w'ntrb w'rd't וקד אצפר לונה למא ראה ואנטרב וארדעת 14b06 mf slh wmtrqt binh wmigst fwdh מפאצלה ומתרקת בטנה ומתגצת פואדה w'zwrt 'ynyh wwqft 'llqmh fy fmh wm' 14b07 ואזורת עיניה ווקפת אלקמה פי פמה ומא qdr yrd 'ly 'ltfyly 'lsl'm flm' r'h mnh קדר ירד עלי אטפילי אסלאם פלמא ראה מנה

¹⁴ This looks like a slip instead of אטפילייה lyfylyyh.

Probably a scribal error instead of אנה 'nh.

(12a08) There is another story, it is about a skinflint. It is told that a skinflint craved for bread dipped into good oil. Once he had been craving for it for seven years, and when his desire grew too strong to bear and his affliction increased too much, he started dreaming of bread and oil. He dreamt that he was eating (12b01) a loaf of bread dipped into finest oil, and when the matter grew too strong to bear, he bought that loaf of warm bread, dipped it into finest oil, sprinkled salt on it and started wondering where he would eat it.

He thought, "If I eat it in the bathhouse, I'll find the place full of people, and if I eat it in the Friday mosque, I'll not be left alone by someone who is praying, or a stranger, or people who are chatting, or people who remain sitting in the mosque, and if I eat it in the *zawiya*, the shaykh and the attendant will ask me to give some of it, and if I eat it in the quarter mosque, I'll not be left alone, but there is an imam there, and if I eat it in the bazaar close to the shops of the cooks, I'll not escape the beggars and riff-raff, and if I eat it in the alleys, in the living quarters, I'll not escape some sponger loitering in the shadow of the houses."

(13a01) Then he thought, "By God, I'll not eat this bread and oil anywhere else but at the graveyard amidst the graves, among the most remote tombs which are visited by no one." So he took the bread, wrapped it in a cloth, tied it with a string, put it in his sleeve, went out through the city gate and kept walking until he came to the Qarafa. He entered the graveyard and kept walking until he came to

The second x has been added above the line.

the remotest grave, in the midst of graves which were not visited by anybody, nor did anybody take a course to that direction. It was a foreboding, obliterated path.

So he sat down and took his rest. Then he took the bundle from his sleeve. untied the string, unwrapped the cloth and took the bread in his hand. Then he rolled up his sleeve, raised his head towards heaven and said, (13b01) "O God, don't decree to let anyone notice me and claim a share of my titbit." Then he rolled up his sleeves, sharpened his teeth and started praising himself, "Who is today like me! In front of me I have a warm, white loaf of bread of best quality, bread of purest wheat, 17 dipped into oil, and I'm alone, without guests, passers-by, pesterers, and tramps. Today I have repelled from this loaf of bread the spying enemy, the slanderer, the backbiter, the avaricious, the gossipmonger, the henchman, the tattler, the harasser, the beggar, the poor people, the mendicants. and the wretched. So today I certainly am the Sultan, and even he is not like me. Who is the man who has achieved what I have achieved? Who is the man who has won what I have won, or been given what I have been given? O Lord, grant it to me, don't let a harassing pesterer, or a messenger of devils, or a bossy civil servant, (14a01) or usurers' hirelings hanging around, or an ungrateful infidel have it! O Lord, grant it to me! O Lord, grant it to me!"

Then the skinflint stretched his hand towards the bread, broke from it a morsel, put it in his mouth, bit it, and was about to swallow it, but as it was, a skinflint happened to pass by him in this remote place. He saw the skinflint in this lonely place, and in front of him a loaf of bread dipped into finest oil. The sponger thought, "By the truth of the Lord, this is one of the greedy, shameless shopkeepers, and he has come here because he has started craving for choicest bread dipped in finest oil, and he has come to this desolate, deserted place in order to eat the bread and to avoid people, not to let anyone eat from it. I'll challenge and provoke (14b01) him for a while; I know that he'll not let me taste a bit of it. So the sponger came and stopped in front of him just as he put a morsel into his mouth, bit it and was about to swallow it. The sponger came up and said to him, "Peace upon you, brother!"

When the skinflint saw him, he turned pale. He was frightened, his joints got flabby, his stomach got upset, his heart cramped, his eyes squinted, the morsel stopped in his mouth, and he could not return the sponger's greeting. When the sponger saw what had happened to him, he said, "My brother, return the greeting, for God's sake, my brother. Peace be upon you!" The skinflint said, "Clear off!" The sponger said, "Give me of what you have in front of you, bread and oil which

¹⁷ The word שמיד šmyd is here used in its medieval meaning.

Probably a slip instead of 'a sponger'.

you bought in the bazaar." So they quarreled half a day, he and the skinflint, and (15a01) the skinflint died without tasting the bread. The sponger ate the bread.

This is what happened to him and what we have seen from their stories, and peace be upon you.

[There is another story, a story about the dispraise of women.]

COMMENTS

Orthographic and phonetic features

One of the characteristic features of Arabic texts written in Hebrew characters is that they often display certain specifically Judaeo-Arabic counterparts of the Old Arabic sibilants. In the text published above there is a single instance of this peculiarity, viz. א š instead of v s in the item אמיר šmyd 13b04 'whitened (flour)'.

The historical interdentals have as a rule been written with letters representing their postdental counterparts into which they were merged. No cases of their sibilant substitutes seem to appear, at least not for and i. As to the reflex of the etymological 1/2, it does not occur in the present text. However, in other texts included in this manuscript it is found, usually written with y s, and in a few cases with v t. The latter clearly mirrors the Arabic orthography and may be explained just as a casual deviation from the more common way to write /d/, the equivalent of both the etymological $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ and $\stackrel{\smile}{\sim}$ which in spoken Cairo Arabic—as in almost all dialects of Arabic-were merged. Another explanation cannot, however, be definitely excluded. In the texts included in this manuscript v t occurs three times as the equivalent of 15, whereas no instances of it as the equivalent of are found. Thus, in the latter function the two Hebrew characters do not seem to be interchangeable. 19 One of the three instances occurs in Hikāyat al-ḥarb bayn al-tuyūr wa-l-wuhūš, where both לחפט אליאלי lhft 'lly'lly (sic) 'for the night watch' 02b04 and חאפץ לדולתה h'fs ldwlth 'custodian of his master's affairs' 03b07 are found. The second occurrence of v t as the reflex of is מטאמה is מישמה ntpmh 'his (formal) speech' 06a12, and the third in Hikāya fī damm al-nisā', where both אלנטר 'Intr' 'the appearance' 15b01 and נצרת nsrt 'I noticed' 16a04 are found. Naturally, on the basis of these few occurrences no conclusions can be drawn as

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to an underlying phonemic system. Yet it may be interesting to notice that in modern Cairo Arabic the three items concerned actually display the sibilant substitute z (hafaz, $niz\bar{a}m$, nazar). 20

The prepositions אלי (here written א') ly and עלי consistently follow the conventional orthography of Arabic. When followed by the pronominal suffix of the 1st p. sing. (calayya), it is written in two different ways, both עלי עלי שלי עלי עלי אין עלי עליא עליא יועט, in which the vowel of the pronominal suffix has been indicated in the consonant text. Characteristic of the lack of consistency, the two orthographic solutions even appear on the same line (13b01).

See, e.g., Martin Hinds & El-Said Badawi, A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Beirut 1986; s.v. hfz. nzm. nzr.

²¹ See also Blau & Hopkins 1984, p. 22.

w'ls'yl w'lfqr' w'lsh'tyn w'lms'kyn 13b09. Parallel cases are א'str'h 13a10, ואנטרב w'ntrb 14b05, which do not reflect the actual pronunciation, but follow the conventional orthography.

The use of the ligature is not restricted to the article only, but it is used for אל in any position: אל 13a06, 13a07, 14a02, 14a08, 14a10; אל 13a02; אל 13a03, 13b10, 13b11, 14b11; אל 12b03, 13a01, 14a07, 14b04, 14b09, 14b10, 14b11; אל אלוון אלווון אלוון אלווון אלוון אלווון אלוון אלוון אלוון אלוון אלוון אלוון אלוון אלוון

There is one case of develarization ($tarq\bar{\imath}q$) of d, appearing twice: $wmd\dot{g}h^2$ 14a03, 14b03. This is a well-known variant of the root $md\dot{g}$ in modern Egyptian Arabic, too. In addition, it displays a very frequent third variant, $nd\dot{g}$, 22 in which m has been partially assimilated to the following dental d. Instances of develarization are very common in Arabic texts written in Hebrew characters. However, it does not necessarily imply that the feature was a distinctive phenomenon of Jewish Arabic, because the texts written in Arabic characters can be supposed more often to cling to the orthographic standards of Arabic. 23

Grammatical, lexical and stylistic features

As is common in Middle Arabic texts, the relative pronoun is the invariable אדי 13a03, 13b10, 13b11, 14b11, which in this context can be regarded as an established semiliterary device rather than a hypocorrection.

By far the most conspicuous dialectal feature in the text published here is the b-imperfect: אנה [...] אנה [...] אנה [...] יחלם פי אנום [...] that he was eating' 12a13. Here it unambiguously denotes continuative action. Contrary to Spitta and Nöldeke, who saw the origin of the b-morpheme in the locative preposition bi-, 24 I prefer tracing it back to the verb $ba\dot{g}a$ 'to want' ($yab\dot{g}a$) yabi > bi-). In my opinion, this is the most natural way to explain the different phases in the development of the volitive verb to a preverb in different Northern and Eastern Arabian dialects as well as in Syrian (including Cypriot Arabic²⁵) and

²² Hinds & Badawi 1986; s.v. ndg.

²³ Blau 1965, p. 77.

Wilhelm Spitta Bey, Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten. Leipzig 1880; p. 203; Theodor Nöldeke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg 1904; p. 64.

The established use of the *b*-imperfect (*p*-) in Cypriot Arabic is conclusive evidence of its occurrence in sedentary dialects of Arabic spoken on the Syrian coast at least as early as the 12th century, see, e.g., Alexander Borg, *Cypriot Arabic*. Stuttgart 1985. (=Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 47,4); pp. 76-80.

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Egyptian Arabic. The continuative action has therefore scarcely been the primary function of the *b*-imperfect, as supposed by Davies, according to whom its use would have spread gradually from this primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In my view, it is actually more probable that the development followed another direction, viz. towards a relative tense system. In another text of the present manuscript, Hikāya fī damm an-nisā, there is a nice example of the *b*-imperfect used in volitive and future function: ללכתאב צפחת ורק plt q'ym b'štry llkt'b sfht wrq 'I said, "I must go and buy a sheet of paper for the marriage contract" (16b14). In the primary function is a supposed by Davies, according to whom its use would have spread gradually from this primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function is according to whom its use would have spread gradually from this primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function is according to whom its use would have spread gradually from this primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. In the primary function to secondary functions are common present. In the primary function to secondary functions are common present. In the primary function to secondary function to secondary function to secondary functions are common present. In the primary function to secondary functi

Another well-known dialectal feature in verbal morphology is the use of Form I instead of the Classical Arabic Form IV, as well as the frequent hypercorrect or phonetically conditioned use of Form IV instead of Form I. In the present text, one occurrence of the dialectal Form I instead of Form IV is מנה מי אידיקני mo ydwqny mnh 'he'll not let me taste of it' 14b01. A further case is the verb 'to give', which here appears in the passive: עטי במא עטית [...] 'ty bm' 'tyt 'Who is the man who has [...] been given what I have been given?' 13b11. The passives in this passage are most appropriately interpreted as hypocorrect forms, i.e., dialectal basic forms transformed into passives according to the apophonic pattern. The only additional occurrence of the "internal" finite passive voice in the present text is 'pyl' it is told' 12a10, a stereotyped form frequently occurring at the beginning of a narrative.

²⁶ H. Davies, Seventeenth Century Egyptian Arabic: A Profile of the Colloquial Material in [...] al-Širbīnī's Hazz al-Quḥūf. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981; pp. 226, 229, 234, 236.

In more detail: Heikki Palva, "Linguistic Notes on a Dialectal 17th–18th -century Egyptian Arabic Narrative." *Oriente Moderno* XIX (LXXX), n.s., 1/2000. Studi di dialettologia araba, a cura di Lidia Bettini; pp. 83-97; the b-imperfect, pp. 86-89.

²⁸ Palva 1993, pp. 176-188.

Joshua Blau, "On Some Auxiliary Verbs in Judaeo-Arabic." Studies in Judaica, Karaitica and Islamica, ed. by S.R. Brunswick. Ramat-Gan 1982; pp. 25-29. Reprinted in Joshua Blau, Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety. Jerusalem 1988; pp. 280-284.

The generalized unshortened imperative אוז jwz 14b10, as well as the unshortened jussive לא תקצי l^2 tqdy 13b01, are commonplace features in Middle Arabic texts.

The use of lam plus imperfect referring to present action, as in לכו אסלם lm 2slm 'I'll not escape' 12b10 and 12b12, is a hypercorrection, here used side by side with $m\bar{a}$ plus imperfect, cf. מא אכלא 12b05 and 12b09, only a few lines before. The hypercorrect construction appears immediately after the two similar cases: [אכלה לם [אכל...] 'By God, I'll not eat' 13a01. Instead of being interpreted as a pseudocorrect use of the Classical nominative case, the form אַלאַרוּע 12b06 may also be attributed to attraction to the imperfect forms אַלאַרוּע יתחתדון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12b06 and יתפעלון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12b06 and יתפעלון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12b06 and אַל יתחתדון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12b06 and איל יתחתדון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12b03 is an obvious pseudocorrection of the underlying dialectal form fayn.

In the lexicon a salient feature of Egyptian Arabic is found: 'idda 'to give', which occurs alongside אדי 'ty: אדי 'dy 'give!' אדי 'dy 'give!' אטית במא עטית 'ty: אדי "dy 'give!' איז אטית במא עטית 'tyt l 13b11. 32

From the lexical point of view it is interesting to note that the meaning 'to dispute; to quarrel' does not seem to be common in modern Cairo Arabic, while it is well attested for Syria and Palestine. Hinds & Badawi 1986: 'irālig 1. 'to be treated medically.' 2. 'to be tackled, be dealt with, be treated.' 3. 'to be processed.' Cf. A. Barthélemy, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. Paris 1935-54: 'ālaj 1. 'disputer avec, se quereller avec (qqn)', 2 'discuter, débattre le prix de, marchander' D[amas], L[iban], B[eyrout]; rālaj 'discuter' J[érusalem].

The monophthongization of the diphthongs aw and ay in Lower Egypt seems to be a relatively recent development. Blanc dates its incipient phase to the 17th–18th century, see Haim Blanc, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century. Notes on the Judeo-Arabic passages of Darxe No'am (Venice, 1697)." Studies in Judaism and Islam, Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Ed. by Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami and Norman A. Stillman. Jerusalem 1981. Pp. 185-202; pp. 194-196, 200.

For the geographical distribution of the two items at the present, see Peter Behnstedt & Manfred Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Band 2. Dialektatlas von Ägypten.

Wiesbaden 1985 (=Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 50/2); Map 385. According to the map, both *idda* and 'ata are used in the Western part of the Delta as well as in the Nile Valley, whereas in Central and Eastern Delta only *idda/adda* is used.

Cf., e.g., the syntax of the Egyptian Arabic narratives in Contes arabes modernes, recueillis et traduits par Guillaume Spitta-Bey. Leide & Paris 1883.

بعدد الله له שים ורכלה שו כמה וברומו באב למו ל אנוצ אכרהם ותופט קבור אלא זאיר לחם ולא קמיבר עלהם אחר" לרייב דמתרה בנלם וקער ואפר לנם ואפתר אה תם אכרגל

ב נספר פנין הו לום פנתל ופראמני

Plate 5. MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 14a

טשל חתי וקף קראטיה כפניחול ה ומרגהח ואראד יבלעתא ארכה וקל להיאאכי משסעביך ר לונה למיח ראהואנו ז ושתר קת בטנה ושתוצת פוא לה והדה ססטח גרי לה וסטח רחינות מנואב אנססר חחל לזסטאן ואנשעלי

Plate 7. MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 15a

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