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COPTIC LEXICAL INFLUENCE ON EGYPTIAN ARABIC

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EGYPTIAN Arabic has acquired numerous lexical items from practically all the languages with which it has come in contact. Coptic was among the more important of those languages to influence the Egyptian Arabic vocabulary, especially that of Upper Egyptian. In everyday life the Egyptians use a number of expressions without the slightest notion that they are repeating words which can be traced back to Coptic and ancient Egyptian. The following wintertime scene, typical of modern rural Egypt, provides a good illustration of this. As some peasant boys play their popular "Egyptian ball game"¹ they may repeat such common terms as أول سنو, *awwal senno*, which means "the first (movement) of the second (round)." سنو *senno*, which refers to the second round of the game, is taken from Coptic **ϣⲏⲁⲧ**, "two." While the boys are playing, they get into an argument and one says to the other بلاش تهجيص *balāsh tahgiṣ*, "quit bluffing." تهجيص is a noun derived from هجاص, which in turn is a borrowing from Coptic **ϣⲁϣⲟⲟϥ**, meaning "talkative." When the boys go home for supper they may eat cheese, and their mother may say دى جنبه حلوم, *di gibna ḥalūm*, "This is cream cheese." حلوم, which means "cheese," is Coptic **ϣⲁⲗⲱⲙ**.

The Coptic loanwords in Egyptian Arabic have been partially investigated by several writers among whom are G. Sobhy, W. Vycichl, and W. Worrell;² but

¹ Egyptian peasant boys use balls made usually of socks stuffed with rags; they are frequently seen in streets and open fields playing this native ball game often referred to as كوره شراب *kūra sharāb*.

² G. Sobhy, *Common Words in the Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, pp. 4-15; W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Texts*, pp.

the validity of these words has never been determined. Many lexical items which have been listed by these writers as Coptic loanwords in Egyptian Arabic are plainly pure Arabic, while others can be attributed to Turkish, Persian, or one of the languages which came in contact with Egyptian Arabic after the Coptic period. The writer has collected two hundred and five lexical items, all of which were suggested by various scholars to be Coptic loanwords in Egyptian Arabic. Of these only the one hundred and nine items treated in this article are considered as valid loanwords. Fifty-eight are best explained as being of Arabic origin; eight as originating from sources other than Coptic or Arabic; fourteen are of uncertain origins; and sixteen have no reference to source in the standard Coptic dictionary by Crum.

The following one hundred and nineteen do not include proper nouns or words borrowed from Greek origins, since such items are not directly related to the study at hand. The items treated are arranged alphabetically according to the transliteration of the Egyptian Arabic words into the English alphabet. When a certain writer is the only source of any citation, his name is quoted between parentheses.

VALID COPTIC LOANWORDS

Ȫ ā, "yes," SB **ⲁⲅⲁ**, "yea." Coptic **ϣ** was dropped causing the lengthening of the vowel.

329-42. Worrell included material collected by W. Vycichl. See also W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 339; and A. Erman, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, VI, 222-42.

أجيبه *ajbiya*, "a prayer book for the Copts," S ⲁⲗⲧⲰ (pl.), "hours." أجيبه follows أفند, which is a broken plural in Arabic whose singular is فنديل, such as رغيف, *raghīf-arghīfa*, "loaf of bread." The Coptic apparently was borrowed into the nearest Arabic broken plural pattern.

آل, *āl*, "a game of pebbles (Sobhy)," B ⲁⲗ, "pebble."

أمندى *amandi*, "hell," *dahya twadik(i) Pamandi* (Sobhy), "May a tragedy take you to hell"; BF ⲁⲙⲎⲦ, SA ⲁⲙⲎⲦⲈ, "hades" or literally "the western place." Egyptian Arabic *amandi* is not frequent in Egypt; جهنم الغرب *gahannam(i) lgharb*, "the hell of the West," is very common and possibly a literal translation of the original meaning of ⲁⲙⲎⲦⲈ. The voicing of *t* in أمندى is quite normal after a voiced obstruent such as *n*.

أمونت *amnūt*, "sexton (Vycichl)," SBAF ⲙⲎⲐⲦⲧ, "porter, doorkeeper." The hamza in Arabic is prosthetic.

أبا *aba*, "title for Coptic priests," B ⲁⲃⲃⲁ. S ⲁⲡⲁ (from Aramaic). The phonetic change is most likely caused by partial dissimilation which developed this way: *ʾabba* > *ʾamba* > *ʾanba*. However, *ʾamba* is also used. It is possible to attribute أبأ to Aramaic *abba*, "father," or any other Semitic language cognate, but since it is used only with Coptic priests, it is most probable that it was borrowed from Coptic.

باق *bāg*, "the portion of the field left for cultivating clover or beans," possibly from S ⲡⲐⲤⲈ, ⲡⲐⲕⲈ, ⲡⲁⲕⲈ, "fragment." The change in meaning involves specialization, but the sound changes are normal.

بقلوله *baqlūla*, "bubble," SB ⲡⲕⲈⲗⲱⲗ with the article "pitcher" or "jar." Possibly the relationship in meaning is due to the air bubbles caused when a pitcher is filled with water. The Coptic was borrowed as a collective noun whose singular بقلوله refers to one of the kind, such as شجر *shajar*, "trees," and شجرة *shajara*, "one tree."

بقرور *bagrūr*, "frog (Upper Egyptian)," S ⲡⲕⲣⲟⲩⲡ with the definite article, "the frog." The Arabic followed the quadrilateral pattern فقلول such as فقلول *tarṭūr*, "tassel." It was first borrowed into Upper Egyptian Arabic, then taken over by Cairene Arabic as بأور *baʿrūr*.

بقوطي *bagūṭi*, "small basket," used mainly in Middle Egypt, S ⲡⲕⲟⲩ with the definite article ⲡ(ⲉ). The unaspirated value of Coptic *t* at the close of a syllable apparently sounded to the Arabic ear as *ṭi*.

بلهم *balham*, "to bluff," S ⲃⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩⲟⲩ, "Blemmye, name of some barbarian people dwelling in the Christian period on the East of the Nile south of Philae." The Blemmye people were known for their bluffing.

بلشوم *balshūm*, "heron," S ⲡⲈⲗⲤⲱⲃ with the definite article, "the heron." The change of *ḥ* to *ʃ* is normal since both are voiced bilabials.

برسيم *barsim*, "clover or alfalfa," SB ⲃⲈⲣⲥⲓⲙ, "clover." The Arabic vocalization followed the pattern with a quadrilateral root, such as عفریت *afrit*, "devil."

بشروش *basharōsh*, "flamingo" (Spiro), S ⲡⲈⲧ-ⲐⲣⲈⲩⲣⲱⲩ, "the thing which is red," made up of ⲡⲈⲧ, "that which (is)," and ⲧⲣⲈⲩⲣⲱⲩ, "red." Worrell suggests that *basharōsh* developed from **bашarōsh* < **badsharōsh* < **badrashrōsh* < **badtrashrōsh* < ⲡⲈⲧ-ⲐⲣⲈⲩⲣⲱⲩ.³

بخ *bikh*, "a word used by children when they try to frighten each other," B ⲡⲓⲤ, "the demon."

بربه *birba*, "site of a ruined temple," S ⲡⲣⲡⲈ, "the temple," which is ⲡⲣⲡⲈ with the definite article ⲡ(ⲉ).

بساره *bisāra*, "cooked beans," possibly from **πεσαρω* a compound of ⲡⲈⲤ (construct form of ⲡⲓⲤⲈ), "to cook," and ⲁⲣⲱ, "beans." The Arabic followed a regular pattern such as رواية *riwāya*, "story."

³ Worrell, *op. cit.*, p. 333

بسكه *biskha*, "part of a plough" (Vycichl), "edge of a plough" (Sobhy), B $\pi\iota\kappa\varsigma\omicron$ with the definite article, "plough handle." Coptic final \omicron was assimilated to the feminine termination *-a* with the shift of stress to the first syllable. The pattern is *فعله*, such as *فكره fikra*, "idea."

بشوش *bshōbesh*, "a call of welcome during country weddings," SB $\pi\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\kappa$ (with the definite article $\pi(\epsilon)$, "reception, entertainment." This example indicates the progressive assimilation of Coptic ϵ to Arabic ش which rendered the word *bshōbesh*. A parallel example of this is شمس *shams*, "sun," which in Upper Egypt is pronounced شش *shamsh*.

بوري *būrī*, "a kind of fish," S $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon$, "fish, *nurgil cephalus*" (Crum). The sound changes are normal; and the Arabic equated well with the pattern *فُعْلِي* (فُعْل) plus the nisbe *ي* of a hollow root such as رومي *rūmī*, "a turkey."

برش *bursh*, "mat made of palm leaves," $\pi\omega\rho\psi$, "to spread" or "something which is spread," such as a mat. Possibly $\pi\omega\rho\psi$ is related to Semitic *prsh*, or Arabic فرش with the same meaning. However, برش cannot come from فرش, and therefore a Coptic origin for it is clearly indicated.

بوش *būsh*, "porridge" (Vycichl), S $\pi\pi\omicron\omicron\psi$, B $\pi\omega\omicron\psi$ with the definite article "gruel." The Arabic followed the pattern of a media-weak noun such as فول *fūl*, "beans." دميره *damīra*, "time of inundation," S $\tau\epsilon\mu\eta\pi\epsilon$ with the feminine article $\tau\epsilon$, "high water, inundation." The Arabic followed the *فَعِيلَة* pattern such as طريقه *ṭarīqa*, "way." The voicing of *t* is normal (cf. *ʿamandi*).

ضبه *dabbah*, "a wooden door lock," S $\tau\epsilon\pi\omega$ with the definite article. Egyptian Arabic follows the *فَعْلَة* pattern after doubling the Coptic second consonant in order to form a trilateral root. Coptic τ is expected to yield Arabic ط, *ṭ*: the voicing of *t* to *ḍ* is anomalous.

فلت *falt*, "buttocks" (Sobhy), SB $\delta\iota\lambda\tau\iota$, "thigh, hip." The Arabic followed the *فَعْل* pattern such as درس *dars*, "lesson." Coptic $\delta\iota\lambda\tau\iota$ is uncertain; it occurs once.⁴

فرف *farfar* "to flap the wings, especially when the bird is falling down," B $\psi\omicron\rho\psi\epsilon\rho$, "to fall, rush down." However, it might be a metathesized form of Arabic رفر *rafrāf* (see below).

فط *fatt*, "to jump or run," SAF $\pi\omega\tau$, "to flee." The velarization of τ is normal owing to its unaspirated nature; and the Arabic followed the pattern of a double *ʿain* verb such as مر *marr*, "to pass." From the root *ftt*, فطاط *fattat* is derived meaning "spring-like."

فوط *fūṭa*, "towel," S $\psi\omega\tau\epsilon$, "to wipe." The changes are normal (see under طوبه *ṭūba*).

قشوه *qashwa*, "a fish" (Crum), S $\kappa\alpha\psi\omicron\sigma$, "among fish." $\kappa\alpha\psi\omicron\sigma$ was apparently borrowed first as قشو *qashw*, which is a collective noun form, such as نَمَل *naml*, "ants." The feminine of such a form is usually a singular noun such as نَمَلَة *namlā*, "an ant." Accordingly, *qashwa* can be derived from *qashw* to mean "a fish."

قيل *gīl*, "a kind of fish," B $\kappa\eta\lambda$, "a fish." The borrowing is quite normal. شال *shāl* with the same meaning developed from the Sahidic form $\chi\eta\lambda$.

حجاص *hajjāṣ*, "garrulous" or "talkative" as in *ʿinta wād hajjāṣ*, "You are a talkative boy," $\rho\alpha\zeta\omicron\omicron\sigma$, "the one who talks." The Coptic expression is made up of $\rho\alpha$, "prefix for first perfective,"⁵ $\zeta\omicron\omicron$ "to say (bound form)," and ϵ , "it." The Arabic followed the pattern of the intensive participle I Conjugation فَعَالٌ such as كذاب *kazzāb*, "liar." A root *hjs* was formed and other words were derived such as

⁴ W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 635; and also W. E. Crum, "Some Further Meletian Documents," *JEA*, XIII (1927), p. 21.

هَجَبَس, "to bluff by talking," and هَجَبِص, "bluffing."

ملوس *hallūs*, "cobweb," SB ϩⲁⲗⲟⲥ, "spider's web." Coptic ϩ may be borrowed in Arabic as either *ḥ* or *h*. The Arabic followed the قَدْرَل pattern such as قَدْرَس, "the holy one."

مَس *hammas* or *hemmis*, "to sit (Vy-cichl)," S ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ, "to sit, dwell, remain" *Hammas* is a regular II Conjugation form such as شَرَرَب *sharrab*, "to give to drink"; *hemmis* is a dialectal variant of *hammas*.

مِرْجَل *hawjal*, "anchor" (Sobhy), B ϩⲁⲮⲥⲁⲗ or ϩⲁⲮⲥⲁⲗ. The Arabic followed a quadriliteral pattern such as بَكَرَج *bakraj*, "tea pot."

مِرْش *hawwash*, "to bluff, mostly by talking roughly," S ϩⲟⲟⲮⲮ, "to abuse or insult." The Arabic followed the II Conjugation pattern of the root *hwsh*, from which other words were derived such as مَهْرِش, "bluffing," and مَهْرِش, "bluffer."

هَبِه *hēba*, "a bird" (Sobhy), SF ϩⲏⲃⲁ, "the ibis bird."

مِنِه *hnayye*, "matter, affair," ϩⲟⲏⲏⲉ, "some(thing)." Metathesis of Coptic *y* and *n* renders *honye* which became *hnayye* following a diminutive Arabic pattern such as مَبْنِيه *bnayye*, "small girl."

مِلْم *ḥalūm*, "cream cheese," SAB ϩⲁⲗⲁⲙ, "cheese." The change of Coptic *ō* to Egyptian Arabic *ū* is normal.

مِرْدُوس *handūs*, "lizard" (Sobhy), B ϩⲁⲕⲟⲮⲟⲥ with the same meaning. The voicing of *ṭ* is normal.

مِرْدُور *hantūr*, "carriage drawn by horses," SF ϩⲧⲮⲱⲮ, "horses." Possibly Coptic unaspirated *t* sounded to the Arabic ear as a doubled sound which later developed to *nt*.

إِدِي *idda*, "he gave," يِدِي *yiddi*, "he gives," إِدِي *'iddi*, "give (imp.)," SB 𐤏𐤃, "to give." The form إِدِي is rather problematic in Arabic because it does not fit any of the known verbal patterns. If it is considered a corrupted form of classical Arabic

أَعطَى *'aṭā* with the same meaning, *'aṭṭa* or *'anta* is expected; the latter form is used in Iraq. Moreover, Egyptian Arabic vocabulary includes عَطَى *'aṭa*, "to give." If إِدِي is considered original in Arabic stemming from roots such as أَدِي or دَدِي the form of the imperfective does not seem to fit any of them. On the other hand, a Coptic origin from 𐤏 is feasible after certain normal changes that might have taken place. S 𐤏 *ti* (unaspirated) may have become *di* and possibly was first borrowed in Arabic as an imperative *'iddi* with *'i* as a prefix (which is a normal feature of Arabic) and with doubling the *d* to equate it with a trilateral weak root such as اِرْم *'irmi*, "throw" (imp.). The imperfect *yiddi* was also formed such as يِرْمِي *yirmi*, "he throws." The perfect form, however, is problematic; دَدِي *dadā* like رَمِي *ramā* is the form which is expected, but such a form (with a double *f* root) is very uncommon in Arabic. Therefore, a IV Conjugation form إِدِي *'idda* was used for the perfect form.

جَلَابِيه *jallābiyya*, "garment, the main dress of the Egyptian fellahin," S ⲥⲟⲗⲃⲉ, "garment of wool." Here is a case where Coptic 𐤊 was borrowed as Arabic ب; Coptic ⲥ may be borrowed as Upper Egyptian ج. The Coptic word supplied a root ج ل ب in Arabic from which a noun was formed after the pattern تَمَائِيه such as تَمَائِيه, "blanket."

It might be noted here that classical Arabic has جَلَاب *julbāb*, "garment." However, there is no need for Egyptian Arabic to change it to جَلَابِيه since its pattern occurs frequently such as قَبَاب, "slippers," and عُلَّخَال, "ankle bracelets." It is possible that جَلَاب might have been derived from جَلَابِيه.

جِي *jay*, "a call for help" such as جِي يَا *'wlad jay*, "help, boys, help!" ⲟⲮⲥⲁⲏ, "safety, health." The Arabic did not borrow the first syllable in Coptic perhaps

because it was considered the Arabic conjunction **و**, or the Coptic indefinite article **ⲟⲩ**.

جكص *jukṣ*, "crepitus ventris." "This utterance is used in Upper Egypt; **جيس** *giš* is its equivalent in Lower Egypt. The Coptic origin is **B ⲫⲟⲣϢ**, "crepitus ventris" (Crum). The last *i* vowel was eliminated in Egyptian Arabic, perhaps it was considered a case ending; the velarization is anomalous.

ككك *ka'ka*, "cake" **S ⲕⲁⲕⲉ**. This word is problematic owing to the existence of the *ʿ* sound. It may be attributed to Coptic as well as to Persian **ككك**, "biscuit or dry bread," which may be related to the Indo-European origin of English "cake." Classical Arabic dictionaries list **ككك** but indicate that it is foreign. The writer is inclined to attribute **ككك** to Coptic and consider the existence of *ʿ* a kind of hypercorrection in Arabic perhaps encouraged by other Coptic pronunciations such as **ⲫⲁⲁⲥⲉ** (Crum), with a double vowel.

كككولا *kākūla*, "outer garment," **S ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲁⲉ**, "hood, cowl of monks." The Arabic followed the pattern **كككولا** such as **صامولة** *šamūla*, "screw nut."

كلج *kalaj* (present tense **بيكلج** *byukluj*), "to limp," **SB ⲕⲱⲗⲁ**, "to be bent." The Arabic followed a regular I Conjugation pattern from the root *k l j*.

كلوح *kalūh*, "the corn cob after it is beaten to gather the kernels," **S ⲕⲱⲗⲟ**, "to strike." The Arabic followed a **فعلول** pattern such as **رحوم** *rahūm*, "merciful."

كاس *kās*, "misfortune" or "pain," usually used by women during a funeral such as **يا ويلي يا كاسي**, "O my distress, O my misfortune," **SB ⲕⲁⲥ**, qualitative of "burial or corpse" (Sobhy mentions **ⲕⲁⲥ**, "pain" with no reference).

كخ *kekḥ*, "dirty," **S ⲕⲁⲁ**, "soil, earth." The borrowing of Coptic **ⲕ** as Arabic **خ** is very unusual, a fact which casts some

doubt on this otherwise satisfactory etymology.

لبيس *labis*, "a kind of fish," **S ⲗⲁⲃⲏⲥ**, "fish *cyprinus niloticus*" (Crum). The borrowed form is normal.

لج *lajj*, "to be persistent," **S ⲗⲟⲥ**, "be impudent, persistent." The Arabic followed a double *ʿain* pattern such as **مر** *marr*, "to pass."

لبان *libān*, "ship's cable," **SB ⲗⲉⲃⲁⲛ**. The Arabic followed a **نمال** pattern such as **كتاب** *kitāb*, "book." The Coptic word itself, however, is of obscure origin.

لبش *lubsh*, "a kind of prayer" (Vycichl), **SB ⲗⲱⲃⲩ**, "a crown," used to refer to a final stanza in certain hymns. The vocalic change is regular.

ماجور *majūr*, "a pot for kneading," perhaps **S ⲙⲁⲫⲱⲣ** which is made up of **ⲙⲁ**, "place," and **ⲫⲱⲣ**, "scatter." Although **ⲙⲁⲫⲱⲣ** does not appear in Coptic dictionaries as one word, it is possible that **ماجور** might have developed from a colloquial Coptic term which was not stated in any literary record. The phonetic transition is regular and it must have been borrowed in Upper Egyptian Arabic and then taken over to Cairene as *maqūr*.

مريسي *marīsī*, "southerly," used for wind, **SBF ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ**, "southern country." This is a clear case in which the Coptic noun was borrowed with the addition of the Arabic relational suffix *i* to form an adjective.

مبو *mbū*, "water to drink," usually said to children, **S ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ** with the masculine definite article **ⲡ(ⲉ)**, "water." Here there is a clear case of metathesis between **ⲡ** and **ⲙ** after the voicing of **ⲡ**.

مهباص *mihyāṣ*, "fanfaron, boaster, blusterer," perhaps ***ⲙⲉⲃⲏⲱⲥ**, "full of hurry," which is made up of **ⲙⲉⲃ**, "full," and **ⲏⲱⲥ**, "speed" or "hurry." It is possible that **ⲏ** dropped, thus leaving **ⲙⲉⲃⲏⲱⲥ**, which may have become Arabic **مهباص**. The Arabic followed the pattern **مفعال**,

such as مكيال *mikyāl*, "measure." Other related forms were derived such as قيصر *hayyaṣ* (II Conjugation), "to make noise," and هيصه *hēṣa*, "a noise."

منأو *mnāw*, "thither" (Sobhy), B **ⲙⲏⲏ**, "there." The diphthong *āw* was possibly caused by the influence of **ⲙⲏⲏⲟ**, "there."

منأي *mnāy*, "hither" (Sobhy), B **ⲙⲏⲏⲓ**, "here."

نباري *nabāri*, "the winter crop of maize," S **ⲛⲁⲡⲣⲉ**, "grain." Arabic *nabāri* is the broken plural of نبر *nabr*, such as أرض - اراضي *arḍ-arāḍī*, "territory." Possibly the Coptic was borrowed first as singular from which the plural was derived and became more common.

ناف *nāf*, "yoke" (Sobhy) SAB **ⲛⲁⲓⲃ**, "yoke." The *h*-sound dropped and the preceding vowel was lengthened.

نقرا *nagra* (Upper Egyptian), "heat of the day," perhaps from ***ⲛⲁⲣⲣⲏ**, "strong sun," from S **ⲛⲁⲣ**, "strong" and **ⲣⲏ**, "sun."

ننوس *nannūs*, "delicate, nice, mignonne," SAF **ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲥ**, "it is nice," made up of **ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ**, "nice or fair" and the suffix **ⲥ**, third person feminine used impersonally.

نوش *nūsh*, "big" (Sobhy), S **ⲛⲟⲥ**, "great" or "big." The Arabic followed a قتل pattern of a hollow verb such as سور *sūr*, "fence."

نوشه *nūsha*, "fever, especially typhoid," S **ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ** with unknown meaning but parallel to "stinking of disease." The Arabic pattern is قتل of a hollow root such as كورة *kūra* "ball."

نقارو *raftāw*, "a measure of grain which is one-fourth of a *kēla*, used only in distant Upper Egypt," S **ⲣⲁⲩⲧⲟⲟⲥ**, "fraction of four or quarter." The velarization of **ⲧ** is normal as well as the vocalic change from **ⲟⲟⲥ** to *āw*.

نمرؤم *ramrūm*, "small fish" (Sobhy), possibly related to S **ⲣⲁⲙⲉ**, "fish, tilapia" (Crum). The borrowed Coptic stem was duplicated in Arabic and followed the

نملول pattern such as طرطور *ṭartūr*, "tassel."

رای *rāy*, "a kind of fish," SB **ⲣⲏⲏ**, "a fish, *alestes dentés*" (Crum).

رینه *rīta* (also pronounced *rīṭa*), "a plant, *sapindus*," B **ⲣⲏⲧⲁ**, "a plant, flower of *laurus nobilis*."

سميط *samīṭ*, "special bread made of fine flour," SB **ⲥⲁⲙⲓⲧ**, "fine flour." The more common Arabic form (also Persian) سميد *samīd*, "white bread," appears to be a borrowing from Syriac *s̄mīdā* (itself from Akkadian *samīdu*). Since the word is Semitic, Greek *σεμιδαλις* is a borrowing, as is perhaps Latin *simila*. The Egyptian Arabic form *samīṭ* must, because of the *ṭ*, be from the Coptic, which in turn is a loan from some Semitic source.

ساس *sās*, "oakum," S **ⲥⲁⲁⲥⲉ**, "tow." The Arabic form is the colloquial of the classical قتل pattern of a media-hamza root; the hamza is lost and the preceding vowel lengthens, cf. فأل *fāʾl*, "omen," which becomes in colloquial فال *fāl*.

سنو *sennō*, "the second round of the Egyptian peasants' ball game," SAB **ⲥⲏⲁⲩ**, "two." Perhaps the doubling of *n* was caused by the contraction of the diphthong.

شبور *shabbūra*, "fog," perhaps from ***ⲩⲃⲣⲏ**, "the change of the sun," from **ⲩⲃⲉ**, "change" and **ⲣⲏ**, "sun." This is a case where **ḥ** was borrowed in Arabic as ب; the Arabic apparently borrowed a root شبر **shbr* from which شبور *shabbūra* was derived according to the pattern قتل such as بلوره *ballūra*, "crystal."

شال *shāl*, "fish"; see under قیل *gīl*.

شالوت *shallūt*, "a kick," B **ⲥⲁⲗⲟⲥ**, "foot." Possibly, *shallūt* is a later pronunciation derived from *shallūj* (in Kena) and *shallūd* (in Farshūt); the former is the closest to the Coptic origin, which was borrowed first perhaps as a noun شلوج *shalūj*, and then the Arabic used the denominative form of the II Conjugation to serve as a verb شللت *shallat*, "to kick,"

from which the secondary noun شلوت *shallūt* was later derived.

شمر *shamar* or شمار *shamār*, "the fennel plant," S Ⲭⲏⲙⲁⲣⲉⲣ, "fennel." The change of Coptic *s* to Arabic *sh* is uncommon, but sometimes distant Upper Egyptians pronounce the regular *s* as *sh*, such as الشمس *shams*, "sun," which becomes شمش *shamsh*, and sa'al, "to ask," which becomes شأل *sha'al*. Ⲭⲏⲙⲁⲣⲉⲣ was possibly borrowed first as شاهير *shamāhīr*, which is a broken plural form, the singular of which is شهار *shamhār*, such as قطران *qaṭrān*, "tar," and its plural قطارين *qaṭārīn*. The *h* in *shamhār*, being weak, was dropped leaving *shamār*; *shamar* is possibly a shortened form of *shamār*. Although the original of Ⲭⲏⲙⲁⲣⲉⲣ is as yet unknown, it is quite distinct from later Coptic ⲭⲏⲙⲁⲣ, a reborrowing from Arabic.

شاشا *shāshā*, "to rise," usually applied to the moon, stars and dawn, S ⲭⲏⲁ, "to rise." The Coptic origin was duplicated in Arabic. Apparently *shāshā* was first borrowed as *sha'sha* (which is still used) of the quadrilateral by duplication pattern. شوشو *shawshaw*, "beat with a whip," SB ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲩⲩ, "strike, thresh." The word has undergone a metathesis of the reduplicated root element *wsh* to *shw*. The Arabic form is that of a quadrilateral by duplication pattern.

شبار *shbār*, "wonder" used in saying على شبار شبار *shbār shbār 'alayya*, "I have become a freak or a wonder" (Sobhy), S ⲭⲏⲡⲉⲣⲉ, "wonder."

شقليل *shqilqil*, "bell" (Vycichl), S ⲭⲏⲕⲏⲗⲕⲏⲗ, "bell."

شله *shilba*, "a kind of fish," S Ⲭⲏⲗⲃⲟⲟⲩ, "fish, *silurus mystus*" (Crum). Sometimes Coptic *h* is borrowed as *b* such as ⲭⲉⲃⲣⲟ, which appears in Arabic as شبرا *shubra*, "a place name."

شنف *shinf*, "sack for straw," S ⲭⲏⲛⲟⲩ, or ⲭⲉⲛⲟⲩ, "basket or crate." The Arabic

followed the فعل pattern such as شبر *shibr*, "a measure of length." Otherwise the changes are regular.

شتيان *shintyān*, "large drawers out of mode" (Sobhy), B ⲭⲉⲛⲧⲟ, "robe of linen" (cf. Greek *σινδων*). The Egyptian *shndyt* appears more original.

شوب *shōb*, "heat of the day," B ⲭⲟⲛⲓⲓ or ⲭⲟⲛⲓ, "fire or to scorch." Usually Coptic *ω* becomes *ū* in Egyptian Arabic and not *ō*, but in this case *ō* was pronounced on account of the guttural ⲭ, which requires a back lower vowel. Otherwise the form is normal.

شونه *shūna*, "store house for grains," B ⲭⲉⲩⲟⲛⲉ pronounced approximately *shewne*. The change of *ew* to *ū* seems regular, and the final *a* in Egyptian Arabic is the sign of feminine gender.

شوريه *shūriya*, "censor" (Sobhy), SBF ⲭⲟⲩⲣⲏ with the same meaning. The final *ya* might be for the purpose of giving a feminine ending to the Arabic word since the original Coptic is feminine.

شوشه *shūsha*, "small window," SAB ⲭⲟⲩⲩⲧ, "window." Possibly the final *τ* was considered a feminine ending in Arabic and was levelled to *a*, rendering *shūsha* after the pattern فَعْلَة of a hollow verb such as كوره *kūra*, "ball."

شوشه *shūsha*, "tuft of hair, crest," S ⲭⲏⲕⲟⲩ, "single lock or plait of hair." Sahidic ⲭ may be borrowed in Arabic as شُبرا such as ⲭⲉⲃⲣⲟ, which becomes شُبرا "a place name." The Arabic followed the pattern فَعْلَة of a hollow root, such as صورة *ṣūra*, "picture."

سكه *sikka*, "plough" or "plowshare," Ⲭⲏⲕⲏⲗ, "to plough or ploughing." The Coptic utterance developed to fit the Arabic pattern فعله of a double *ain* verb such as لبه *libba*, "seed or kernel."

صير *ṣir*, "salty," ⲭⲏⲣ, "brine." The change of *ϣ* to *ص* is common, such as ⲭⲁⲁⲛⲧ, which becomes صان, "a place name."

تف *taff*, "to spit," S ⲧⲁϥ. The second Coptic consonant was doubled in Arabic to make a trilateral double *ʿain* root from which other parts of speech are derived such as *tefāf*, "spitting," and *matfūf* *ʿalēh*, "spat upon."

تخ *takhkh*, "to become drunk," A ⲧⲁϩϥ, "be drunken." The Arabic followed a regular double *ʿain* verb.

تمساح *timsāh*, "crocodile," SB ⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϩ, "the crocodile." Arabic borrowed the Coptic word with the feminine definite article ⲧⲉ; thus the word fell into the pattern تَمَسَّال such as تَمَثَّال *timthāl*, "image."⁶

توت *tūt*, "gather," used only in the expression توت يا حاوي *tūt ya hāwi*, "gather (for) the magic player," S ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ, "be gathered or collected."

طبحه *ṭabha*, "prayer" (Sobhy), SABF ⲧⲁⲃϩ, "pray." The final *a* in Arabic is perhaps a sign of a feminine noun.

طاش *ṭāsh*, "border" or "boundary," especially of a field, SAF ⲧⲁϣ (Sobhy), "limit, boundary." There is no problem with this word because Coptic *t* is unaspirated and its representation in Arabic as *ṭ* is normal.

طياب *ṭayāb*, "east wind," S ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲃⲧ from ⲧⲏⲩ, "wind," and ⲉⲓⲃⲧ, "east." It followed the Arabic فَمَال pattern such as سحاب *saḥāb*, "clouds."

طهمه *ṭohma*, "invitation" (Sobhy), S ⲧⲁϩⲉⲙ, "to invite." The Arabic pattern is فله; and Coptic ω became Arabic *ō* instead of *ū* because of the guttural *h*.

طوبه *ṭūba*, "a brick," S ⲧⲁⲃⲉ. This is a normal change, since Coptic *ō* is usually borrowed in Arabic as *ū*. The Arabic form with the article is the source of English (from Spanish) "adobe" < *aṭ-ṭūba*.

طوريه *ṭūrya*, "axe," SA ⲧⲟⲩⲓ, "spade" or "pick." The word is normal except that it

received an added feminine ending in Arabic, possibly because it is feminine in Coptic.

أوني *ʿunī*, "mill sound," B ⲉⲩⲏⲓ, "mill." The leveling of the Coptic diphthong ω to Arabic *ʿū* is normal.

واحه *wāha*, "oasis," S ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ with the same meaning. Regardless of the origin of this Coptic word Egyptian Arabic واحه *wāha* is most probably derived from it. It became so common in Egypt that classical Arabic included it in its vocabulary, as it did with lexical items of other languages with which it came in contact, e.g., فردوس *firdaws*, "paradise," from Persian, and سجن *siġnun*, "prison," from Latin.

واح وحوح *wahwah*, "to cry with pain, to bark," SB ⲟⲩⲁϩⲃⲉϩ, "bark, growl." The phonetic changes are normal.

وارشور *wārshūr*, "wood saw" (Sobhy), B ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩⲩ, "saw." Although وارشور *wārshūr* is related to *minshār* in meaning it is difficult to trace it back to the root نشر *nshr*. Possibly ⲃⲁϣⲟⲩⲩ itself is a loanword in Coptic from Semitic (Hebrew מְשֹׁר), nevertheless it may be considered as the origin of Egyptian Arabic *wārshūr*. However, the extra *r* in the latter is problematic, but it can be paralleled by other examples where internal doubled consonants are resolved into *r*, *l*, or *n* + a single consonant.

ويه *wēba*, "a grain measure (two *kēlas* or one-sixth of an *ʿardab*)," S ⲟⲓⲏⲉ, B ⲟⲩⲏⲉ, "measure of grain, less than an *ʿardab*." It is apparent that the two words are related; the Arabic apparently was vocalized by analogy with كيله *kēla*, "a grain measure one-twelfth of an *ʿardab*, considered the unit of grain measuring in Egypt." It may be noted here that a measure of grain אֵפָה *ʿēfah* exists in Hebrew,⁷ and possibly in other Semitic

⁶ See W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 151, and T. O. Lambdin, "Another Cuneiform Transcription of Egyptian *msh*," *JNES*, XII (1953), pp. 284-85.

⁷ See T. O. Lambdin, *Egyptian Loanwords and Transcriptions in the Ancient Semitic Languages*, pp. 13, 14.

languages, but these cannot be considered an origin for Egyptian Arabic **ويبه** *wēba* simply because the latter Arabic form does not exist anywhere outside Egypt. Moreover, Hebrew **ׁefah** is expected to become Arabic **إيفه** *ʿifah* and not **ويبه** *wēba*.

ورور *wirwir*, "fresh," used especially with fresh radishes such as **يا فجل** *wirwir ya fjl*; SA **ϣρε** or **ϣρεϣ**, "young or fresh." The two consonants of Coptic were duplicated in Arabic to follow a quadrilateral pattern such as **شيشب** *shīshīb*, "slippers."

زير *zīr*, "large water pitcher," B **ϣρ**, "jar." The change is normal.

ظرطه *zarṭa*, "flatus ventris," S **ϣρϣατϣε** with the same meaning. The last sound of the Coptic word was left out in borrowing, and possibly the word became **ϣρϣατ** *sarchat*. The final **τ** was considered in Arabic as **ة** (*ta marbūṭa*) which is a sign of feminine in classical Arabic and which is usually left out in Egyptian Arabic, and the word became *sarcha*. The *ch* sound being a palatal stop, was changed to an alveolar stop *t*, thus rendering *sarta*. The *s* was voiced possibly owing to the Coptic feminine article **τϣ** which preceded *s* causing the combination *t + sar-* to sound like an affricate *ts* which may be rendered as Arabic **ظ**. A root *zrṭ* was formed from which other words were derived such as **ظراط** *zarraṭ* (II Conjugation), "to blow wind."

The above one hundred and nine valid loanwords were mostly taken into Egyptian Arabic according to standard Arabic patterns. In many cases Coptic supplied only the trilateral roots from which other Arabic words were derived.

Coptic loanwords included items peculiar to Coptic worship such as **انبا** *ʿanba*, "bishop," and **أجييه** *ʿajbiya*, "book of prayer." They also include items that are used in remote villages not common to the main Egyptian population such as **هنيه** *hmayye*, "a thing," and **رطاو** *raftāw*, "a measure of grain." This leaves the number of Coptic loanwords used commonly in Egyptian Arabic smaller still; they mainly include names of various kinds of fish, vulgarisms, and names of cooking utensils and foods not used in Arabia.

It might be mentioned here that Turkish, which was never a vernacular of Egypt, left more lexical items in Egyptian Arabic than Coptic did. This is indicated by a partial survey of Turkish loanwords in Egyptian Arabic by E. Littmann,⁸ which includes two hundred and sixty-four words.

The limited influence of Coptic on Egyptian Arabic can only be explained as lack of widespread bilingualism in Egypt during the transition from Coptic to Arabic. This leads to the conclusion that the Copts who were converted to Islam at any one time must have been a minor segment of the population. Again⁹ it may be said that Egyptian Muslims today are right in claiming a predominant Arab ancestry.

⁸ See E. Littmann, "Turkisches Sprachgut in Aegyptischen," *Westoestliche Abhandlungen*, 1954, pp. 107-27.

⁹ See Wilson B. Bishai, "Notes on the Coptic Substratum in Egyptian Arabic," *JAOS*, LXXX (1960), pp. 225-29; "Nature and Extent of Coptic Phonological Influence on Egyptian Arabic," *JSS*, VI (1961), 175-82; and "Coptic Grammatical Influence on Egyptian Arabic," *JAOS*, LXXXIII (1963), 285-89.