

'The Tale of the Cairene and the Countryman': A Late Judaeo-Arabic Narrative Revisited*

MAGDALEN M. CONNOLLY (University of Cambridge)

Abstract

This short article offers a revised transcription and English translation of *Qiṣṣat al-maṣrī wa-l-rīfī* 'The Tale of the Cairene and the Countryman' as found in AIU VII.C.16, with grammatical notes. This new edition of the text demonstrates that Goitein's (1972) rendering of the manuscript concealed significant orthographic features, which indicate a later date of composition than Goitein proposed. Since its publication, Goitein's (1972) edition of AIU VII.C.16 has been widely used among students and scholars of Judaeo-Arabic as a guideline for dating other Judaeo-Arabic texts of the Ottoman era. The fragment's importance in contemporary scholarship continues, rendering a revised edition an indispensable resource for future generations of Judaeo-Arabic scholars.

Keywords: Judaeo-Arabic – Middle Arabic – orthography – folk tales – *Qiṣṣat al-maṣrī wa-l-rīfī*

1. Introduction

Among the many treasures of the renowned Cairo Genizah collections¹ are a number of Judaeo-Arabic (henceforth JA) and Arabic-script folk narratives. These range from renditions of *'Alf layla wa-layla* 'A Thousand and One Nights' to adaptations of *Qiṣaṣ al-'anbiyā'* 'The Tales of the Prophets'. In the following article, a new transcription and English translation of the JA text *Qiṣṣat al-maṣrī wa-l-rīfī* 'The Tale of the Cairene and the Countryman' as found in the fragment AIU VII.C.16 is offered, prefaced by a brief discussion of its treatment in recent scholarship, and followed by a summary of its most notable orthographic features.²

* This work was funded by the generous support of the Leverhulme Trust in the form of a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship. – I am indebted to Prof. Guth and the reviewers for their invaluable suggestions. That being said, any errors herein are mine alone.

¹ For accessible introductions to the Cairo Genizah and its contents, see REIF 2000; HOFFMAN & COLE 2011.

² I limit myself here to a discussion of the text's key orthographic features. However, the text contains

The tale comprises a dialogue between a Cairene (*maṣrī*) and a countryman (*rīfī*), in which each argues for the superiority of their respective abodes, while disparaging the other's. The narrative is almost exclusively reported as direct discourse, with only intermittent third-person narration, such as ... 'פִּי קָאָל אֶל רִיפִי' 'then the countryman replied...' (*passim*). It contains a high degree of Egyptian colloquial Arabic (henceforth ECA³) features (Goitein 1927: 258). Although the focus of this paper is linguistic, the text's contents also offers invaluable insight into the rural/urban divide in Egypt during the Ottoman era; modes of dress; and dietary habits of the *fallāḥīn* and Cairo's urban communities or, at the very least, the stereotypes associated with these communities at that time.

In 1972, Shelomo Dev Goitein, the doyen of Genizah studies, published an edition of AIU VII.C.16, alongside a translation into English. On the advice of Meir Benayahu, Goitein dated the text to the seventeenth century (1972: 275). Since its publication, Goitein's transcription of this text has informed many studies on Late JA⁴ folk tales, from its adaptation of the Hebrew script for the purposes of JA in the later period to its use as a guide for dating other JA folk tales.

However, as Benjamin H. Hary noted in both his PhD thesis (1987) and later work (1992), Goitein's transcription does not do full justice to the orthographic idiosyncrasies of the original text (Hary 1992: 87, n.51).⁵ In producing another transcription of the fragment, which more faithfully renders the original, I aim to remedy this oversight, and in doing so, give full voice to the text's late JA features. I also contend that these orthographic features point to a later (eighteenth century) date.⁶

many morphological (e.g., the use of the 1.c.sg. n-prefix in the speech of the countryman), syntactic (e.g., the placement of the ECA demonstrative pronoun), and lexical (e.g., the notable differences in the vocabulary attributed to the Cairene and the countryman, e.g., *farḥa* and *daḡāḡ* for 'chicken'; and *bayt* and *dār* for 'house') features worthy of note and discussion. These features are treated more extensively in CONNOLLY 2018b, and in a forthcoming publication.

- 3 In addition to ECA, I also refer to Modern Cairene Arabic (henceforth MCA) more specifically, and Classical Arabic (henceforth CA), where appropriate.
- 4 Judaeo-Arabic is generally categorised into three periods: early (ninth to tenth centuries CE); classical (tenth to fifteenth centuries); and late (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries) (KHAN 2007, 2018). For an alternative classification of Judaeo-Arabic, see HARY 1992, 2009. Late Judaeo-Arabic is known for its admixture of Hebrew loanwords, phonetic features, and continued classical Judaeo-Arabic features (HARY 1992: 86).
- 5 I am indebted to Prof. Hary for permitting me to publish this edition of AIU VII.C.16, and for his kindness and generosity in doing so.
- 6 I am grateful to Prof Geoffrey Khan and Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner who kindly discussed this text with me (Lent term, 2016), and who were receptive to my idea of a later date. I also thank Prof Geoffrey Khan, Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner and Dr Mohyi E. Maziad for reading this text with me in our JA reading group.

2. AIU VII.C.16: Text, transcription and translation

AIU VII.C.16 comprises one folio, with writing on both recto (22 lines) and verso (23 lines), and a catchword in the lower left-hand corner of the latter. In its extant form it is in good condition, with only a few lacunae, slight rubbing, and some staining. The opening phrases of the text are written in large, square script, while the remaining text is written in a smaller, more cursive script-style. This combination of script-styles is often encountered at the opening of eighteenth and nineteenth-century JA narratives (see for example, BnF Hébreu 583; NLI Cairo JC 104).

In what follows, a transcription of the original text, AIU VII.C.16, is placed beside a grapheme-for-grapheme transcription into Arabic script,⁷ and an English translation.

Where lacunae or rubbing obscure the reading, reconstructions in the transcription are indicated by square brackets []. Instances in which the scribe or author added a formerly omitted letter are marked with curly brackets {}. Additions to the English translation—intended to ensure readability—are indicated by parentheses ().

AIU VII.C.16, F.1 recto

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text
Let's begin with the writing of 'The Tale of the Cairene and the Countryman'	نبتدي بكتابت قصت ال مصري وال ريفي	1 نبتדי בכתבת קצת אל מצרי ואל ריפי
The Cairene said to the countryman, first(ly), the city is	قال ال مصري لل ريفي اوول ال مدينه هيا	2 קאל אל מצרי לל ריפי אוול אל מדינה היא
more desirable; there is marble of (all) shapes and colours,	ارجا فيها ال روخام اشكال والووان	3 ארגא פיהא אל רוכאם אשכאל ואלוואן
and every house has beauty. If you go to <i>Bayn al-Qaşrayn</i> , each	וכל בית فيها بهجا " وان كان تروح بين ال قصريين في كل	4 וכל ביית פיהא בהגה " ואן כאן תרוח ביין אל קצריין פי [כ]ל
time, you will see a (great) spectacle, but as for the countryside, you will see nothing there	حين تنصور فورجه " واما ال ريف لم تنصور فيها غير ال	5 חין תנצור פורגה " ואמא אל ריפ' למ תנצ[ו]ר פיהא גייר אל
but dogs, which run around, ruins, and heaps of rubbish, which pain the heart.'	كلاب الذي تجري وال خرايب وال كيماں منها قد داق صدر	6 כלאב אלדי תגרי ואל כראייב ואל כימאן מנהא קד דאק צדר
The countryman replied, 'I say—to my mind—that the city is no good—everything	فقال ال ريفي افوه علا خاطري ان ال مدينه ما تنفع وكل شي	7 פקאל אל ריפי אפوه עלא כאטרי אן אל מדינה מא תנפע וכל שי

⁷ In transcribing the JA text into Arabic graphemes, I aim to make the original text accessible to a wider audience interested in Middle Arabic. This practice was pioneered by DIEM (2014) and suggested to me by Dr Esther-Miriam WAGNER (in person).

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text
there is expensive, and no one there is satisfied; whoever lives there is always complaining	منها غالي ولا احدن فيها يشبع ومن سكن فيها دايماً يشكي	9 מנהא גאלי ולא אהדן פיהא ישבע ומן סכן פיהא דא[י]ם ישכי
about the narrowness of the place. Every house you ask to rent is already on a site	بدقت ال موضع وكل بيت قد ال بوقعا باجلا تمن تطلوب	10 בדיקת אל מוצע וכל בית קד אל בוקעא באגלא תמן תטלוב
that is more expensive than the last. And the loo! Its stench stays with you, blinding (your) sight! Then the Cairene	تكري وال مستراح يبقا عندك ريحتو تعمي ال نصري " في قال	11 תכרי ואל מוסתראה יבקא ענדך ריחתו תעמי אל נצרי " פי קאל
said, 'At <i>Bāb Zawīla</i> , I will show you something (that) will amaze you—fruit and	ال مصري اووريك في باب زووييله شي يدesh من ال فواكه وال	12 אל מצרי אוורידך פי באב זוויילה שי ידהש מן אל פואכה ואל
legumes, and whatever occurred to you—you could take it! Seize it! And if you go to the stationers,	ابقال وما خوطور لك خود واكبش " وان كان تروح لل وراقين	13 אבקאל ומא כוטור לך כוד ואכבש " ואן כאן תרוח לל וראקין
you will see something there that astonishes you! Whatever you wish for, O countryman, I	تنصور هناك شي ينعش " وايش ما تشتهي يا دل ريفي انا	14 תנצור הנאך שי ינעש " ואייש מא תשתהי יא דל ריפי אנא
can buy (it), and I can fill my pockets (with it)! If you gave me two hundred coins, I would not live	اشترى واملا حوجري " لو قطعتني ميتين قطعاً ما اسكون	15 אשתרי ואמלא חוגרי " לו קטעתי מייתין קטעא מא אסכון
in the countryside, all my life! The countryman replied, 'What lies you tell me about Cairo!	ال ريف طول عومري " في قال ال ريفي ايش لي في مصر كذبه	16 אל ריפ טול עומרי " פי קאל אל ריפי אייש לי פי מצר כדבה
I only love the countryside; I milk the cows and go	تكذبها وما احوب الا ال ريف وال بوقييره احلبها واروح	17 תכדבהא ומא אחוב אלא אל ריפ ואל בוקיירה אחלבהא וארוח
wandering about the estates. I fill my saddlebag early ⁸ with wheat, eggs	اضور في ال ضييعات واملا خورجي من بدري وال قمح وال بييض	18 אצור פי אל ציייעאת ואמלא כורגי מן בדרי ואל קמח ואל בייץ
and butter, and then I return home, O Cairene! The Cairene said,	وال زيدا واروح لبيتي يا مصري في قال ال مصري	19 ואל זבדא וארוח לבייתי יא מצרי פי קאל אל מצרי

8 *Min badrī*, or: 'with my seeds' (*min bidrī*)?

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text
'I swear, I would not live in the countryside! In Cairo, I enter the <i>ḥammām</i> , and (so) I stay	عومري ما اسكون ال ريف في مصر ادخول ال حمام وابقا	20 עומרי מא אסכון אל ריפ פי מצר אדכול אל חמאם ואבקה
clean. I wear a laundered and ironed shirt, and the turban [...]	في تنضيف والبس قميص مغسول مسقول وال عومامه	21 פי תנציפ ואלבס קמיץ מגסול מסק[ו]ל ואל עומאמה ⁹
	اس {...} منها	אס] נהא
and underneath it, I wear a cap (<i>qāwuq</i>), and a short strip of cloth around it. Then they say, 'that's a Cairene!'	وتحتها البس قاوق وشد كابولي مطووي فل حين يقولو دا مصري	22 ותחתהא אלבס קאוק ¹⁰ ושד ¹¹ כאבולי ¹² מטווי פל חין יקולו דא מצרי

F.1 verso

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text
The countryman replied, 'Get away from me! Stop these lies! I'll tell you what	فقال ال ريفي قوم عني وبطل دل كدبه اقولك ايش هوا	1 פקאל אל ריפי קום עני ובטל דל כדבה אקולך איש הוא
my <i>ḥammām</i> is—(it is) when I wade into the lake! And whoever wears a clean, laundered	حمامي لما اخوواض فل بركه والدي يلبس قميص مغسول	2 חמאמי למא אכוואץ פל ברכה ואלדי ילבס קמיץ מגסול
shirt, they only need two thousand coins! And the cloth cap falls down (?)	مسقول ما عاووزو الا الفيين سكه وال عومامه تنوطا	3 מסקול מא עאווזו אלא אלפיין סכה ואל עומאמה תנוטא
and on top of it is dandruff,	وفوقها ال قشري وقبطريا	4 ופוקהא אל קשרי ¹³ וקובטיא ¹⁴

⁹ 'the turban' (ECA: *imāma*, also *imma*). The term may designate the turban in its entirety; 'et aussi la piece d'etoffe seule.' It is usually white, and made from muslin (Dozy 1845: 305-311). *amāma* is also recorded by KAZIMIRSKI (1860: 359), but I can find no record of *umāma* as it is written here (see §3.4.1).

¹⁰ 'cap' (*qāwuq*, also *qāwūq*). 'Une bonnet des docteurs de la loi musulmans' (KAZIMIRSKI 1860: 836) (see also HAVA 1899: 626).

¹¹ 'a tie' (ECA: *šadd*). According to DOZY, this refers to a strip of fine cotton tulle, which is tied around the turban to secure it (1845: 213-215).

¹² 'short'. KAZIMIRSKI states that this is an adjective indicating shortness of length (1860: 856). Its absence from DOZY's (1845) work on clothes suggests that it does not refer to an item of clothing.

¹³ 'dandruff'. GOITEIN (1972: 261) interprets this word differently, transcribing אל קשה 'straw' (for CA: *qašša*). However, I think it reads אל קשרי (ECA: *il-qīšr*) 'dandruff', which perhaps is also more apt in the immediate context. HARY also reads this as 'dandruff' (see 1992: 87, n.51).

¹⁴ קובטיא is probably a mistake for *qubṭariyya* 'fine linen', in which the grapheme *reš* for Arabic *rā* has simply been omitted by mistake (see KAZIMIRSKI 1860: 663).

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text
(while I don) a fine linen (tunic), and on top of that (I wear) a hirsute smock.' The Cairene	وفوقها جبه شعري " فقال ال	ופוקהא גבה ¹⁵ שערי " פקאל אל
said, 'If they gave me all the wealth (in the world) I would not live in the countryside. I would	مصري ولو عطوني جميع ال اموال ما اسكون في ال ريف ولا	5 מצרי ולו עטוני גמיע אל אמואל מא אסכון פי אל ריפ ולא
not suffer those conditions! Cairo will always be my home; it is better than anything else!	اقاصي دل احوال ومصر دايماً سوكنتي هيا احسن علاكل حال	6 אקאצי דל אחוואל ומצר דאיים סוכנתי היא אחסן עלא כל חאל
(Even) the fortunate man walks in the countryside barefoot, and from dawn (to dusk) he runs in the coldness and the	وال سعيد يمشي فال ريف حافي ومن بوكرا يجري في ال برودا وال	7 ואל סעיד ימשי {פ} אל ריפ חאפי ומן בוכרא יגרי פי אל ברודא ואל
frost, and he runs with all his might.' Then the countryman replied, 'If you gave me Cairo	سقعا وبطول جوهدتو يجري " في قال ال ريفي لو تعطوني مصر	8 סקעא ובטול גוהדתו יגרי " פי קאל אל ריפי לו תעטיני מצר
(as) my estate, I would not live there, all my life! And its stairs—I would not climb them!	اقطاعي ما اسكون فيها طول عومري ولا سالملها اطلعهم	9 אקטאעי מא אסכון פיהא טול עומרי ולא סלאלמהא אטלעהום
Each seat in my house is under the heaven(s)—(this) is my estate. (Even) if I lived inside the (grandest)	وكل قعده في ضاري وال سما منها اقطاعي وان سكنت جوا ال	10 וכל קעדה פי צארי ואל סמא מנהא אקטאעי ואן סכנת גווא אל
hall, I would feel as if I were wedged inside my own grave. If I died alone, no one would	قاعه ونحشر جواو قברי وان موت وحدي ما احدن بحالي لم	11 קאעה ונחשר גווא קברי ואן מות וחדו מא אחדן בחאלי לם
know!' The Cairene said, 'what happiness can you see in the countryside?	يدري " فقال ال مصري ايش لك سعادته تنضورها فل ريف	12 ידרי " פקאל אל מצרי אייש לך סעאדה תנצורהא פל ריפ
(In) Cairo, your eyes see it in these people—how many there are! And every(one) who	مصر تنضورها عيينك في دل خلاق ما اكثرهم وكل من	13 מצר תנצורהא עיינד פי דל כלאיק מא אכתרהום וכל מן
comes and goes to and from Cairo is hurrying. And whatever you ask for, it is available,	يدخول في مصر ويخرج يجري وما طلبتو هوا موجود في ال	14 ידכול פי מצר ויכרוג יגרי ומא טלבתו הוא מווגוד פי אל

¹⁵ גבה 'a smock'. Both *gubba* and *gibba* occur in Arabic. The latter pronunciation was particularly common in ECA (DOZY 1845: 107–117).

Translation	Arabic Transcription	Text	
immediately! Ask someone else (i.e. ask anyone)! The countryman replied, 'If Cairo were my bribe, I would	حال اسال غيري " في قال ال ريفي لو كانت مصر بقشيشي ما	15 חאל אסאל גיירי " פי קאל אל ריפי לו כאנת מצר בקשישי מא	
not stay there a week! I would be imprisoned—I would not be given anything! And I would see a soldier with a club (in his hand)	نقيم فيها جومعه وانحبس ما اعطي شي وانصور جندي بدبوس	16 נקים פיהא גומעה ואנחבס מא אעטי שי ואנצור גנדי בדבוס	
on top of a <i>gdyš</i> ! Whatever was in my hand, they would take, and this—as if I were as rich as Croesus—	فوق غديش/جديش ايش في ايدي ياخذو وهادا لو كان معي مال قارون	17 פווק גדיש אייש פי אידי יאכדו והאדה לו כאן מעי מאל קארון	Page 97
it would be spent. And I don't know what else!' The Cairene said, 'In Cairo, I have	يخرج وانا ما لم ادري " فقال ال مصري عندي في مصر	18 יכרוג ואנא מא לם אדרי " פ[ק]אל אל מצרי ענדי פי מצר	
something (that you don't have), O my brothers! Goats are readily available with mutton.	شييان يا اخواني ال معز موجود كثير مع لحمت ال ضاني	19 שייאן יא אכוואתי אל מעז מווגוד כתיר מע לחמת אל צאני	
But this is a scarce thing for you in the countryside, but it is [...] the people and (even) the fortunate man	ودا شي قليل عندك فل ريف وهو حصييت ال انساني وال سعيد	20 ודא שי קליל ענדך פל ריפ והו[א] חציית אל אנסאני ואל סעיד	
in the countryside sacrifices two wild pigeons and two chickens or a goose, while he craves	فل ريف يدبح زجلولين بري وفرختيين اوو ووزه ويشتهي لحمت	21 פל ריפ ידבח זגלולין ברי ופרכתין אוו ווזה וישתהי לחמת	
beef.' The countryman replied, 'I have chicken—it is cheap in (my) village, and the	ال بقري فقال ال ريفي عندي ال دجاج رخيص في ال بلداني وال	22 אל בקרי " פקאל אל ריפי ענדי אל דגאג רכיס פי אל בלדאני ואל	
duck is plump (and) it retains much of the fat. And (as for) pigeons, they are better than	ووز يسمن يبقا كثير ال ادهاني وال زجاليل هوم يبقو اخير من لحميت	23 ווז יסמן יבקא כתיר אל אדהאני ואל זגאליל הום יבקו אכיר מן לחמית	
(beef)...'		24	

3. Notes on the Text's Orthography¹⁶

3.1. Continuation of Classical JA Orthography

3.1.1. *Ṣadeh + dot for dād*

As in classical JA spelling, the Arabic grapheme *dād* is represented in this late JA text with a *ṣadeh*, above which sits a diacritical dot (ض), e.g., פִּי אֶל צִייעֵאָת, 'in the estates' (recto, line 18); לַחֲמַת אֶל צֹאנִי 'mutton' (lit. 'the meat of the sheep') (verso, line 19).

3.1.2. *Tav for tā' marbūṭa in construct state*

In another continuation of classical JA orthography, when the first term of the construct state ends in a *tā' marbūṭa* (ט) it is denoted phonetically with *tav* rather than its orthographic equivalent *heh*, e.g., בְּכַתְּאֲבַת קֶצֶת אֶל מִצְרֵי '...with the tale of the Cairene...' (recto, line 1); לַחֲמַת אֶל בִּקְרֵי '...with the narrowness of the place' (recto, line 10); לַחֲמַת אֶל בִּקְרֵי 'beef' (lit. 'the meat of the cow') (verso, lines 21–22). Although this phonetic representation of *tā' marbūṭa* in construct state occurs in classical JA, it becomes notably more common in late JA folk narratives and letters (Connolly 2018b: 60).

3.1.3. *Tanwīn*

The preservation in classical JA writings of *tanwīn 'alif* on (i) adverbials, (ii) some commonly occurring 'short' nouns, such as *'ahad* 'someone' and *šay* 'something', and (iii) after an indefinite noun followed by an adjective, prepositional phrase or attributive clause is well-documented (Blau 1981: 167–202). In the first two instances, *tanwīn 'alif* is most commonly expressed with the Hebrew grapheme *'alef*, e.g., אַחַד 'someone', while in the latter, an independent morpheme, comprising *'alef + nun* (i.e. אַן) occurs (see Baneth 1945–1946; and Blau 1981). In AIU VII.C.16, we find three instances in which *tanwīn 'alif* is employed. In two of these, a solitary *nun* is attached to the indefinite noun *'ahad* when used in the negative construction 'there is no/there is not' (*lā li-nafy al-ḡins*): וְלֹא אַחַדָּן פִּיהָ 'and no one there is satisfied' (recto, line 9); וְאִן מוֹת וְחַדִּי מֵא אַחַדָּן בְּחַאֲלִי לִם אֲדָרִי 'and if I died alone, no one would know of my situation!' (verso, lines 11–12). So, rather than the accusative without *tanwīn* one would anticipate in CA (i.e. *lā 'ahada* 'there is no one...'), the *nun* used here indicates that the indefinite (accusative) marker *-(a)n* is intended; the phrase would have been pronounced *wa-lā 'ahadan* (see Blau 1981: 29). In the third example, the *'alef + nun* particle is attached to the indefinite noun *šay*: פִּקְאֵל אֶל מִצְרֵי עֲנָדִי פִּי מִצְרֵי שִׁיאָן 'Then the Cairene said, 'In Cairo, I have something...' (verso, lines 18–19). Unlike in the examples drawn on by Blau (1981) and Baneth (1945–1946), in this example, *'alef + nun* act as a bound morpheme rather than an independent entity, and are not followed by an adjective, prepositional phrase or attributive clause.

3.1.4. *Genitive case ending*

In the final few lines (20–23) of verso, the Hebrew grapheme *yod*, expressing the genitive case ending *-i*, is found on four definite nouns, which are either in a prepositional phrase or

¹⁶ The format of this paper follows that found in Khan's articles on late JA letters (see, for example KHAN 2006).

the second term of the construct state. The *plene* spelling of the genitive case ending grants us insight into the rhythm in which the tale would have been recited:

ודא שי קליל ענדך פל ריפ והו[א] חציית אל אנסאני ואל סעיד
 פל ריפ ידבח זגוליינ ברי ופרכתיין אוו ווזה וישתהי לחמת
 אל בקרי "פקאל אל ריפי ענדי אל דגאג רכיס פי אל בלדאני ואל
 ווו יסמן יבקה כתיר אל אדהאני

3.2. Deviations from Classical JA Orthography

3.2.1. The definite article

3.2.1.1. The definite article as an independent entity

As in classical JA and CA, the definite article is written in full (אל), irrespective of whether the following consonant is coronal or dorsal.¹⁷ However, in a deviation from classical JA spelling practice, the definite article is consistently written separate to the noun or adjective it modifies in AIU VII.C.16, e.g., ואל כראייב ואל כימאן 'and the ruins and heaps of rubbish' (recto, line 7); אל דגאג 'the chicken' (verso, line 22); , e.g., ואל קמח ואל בייץ 'and the wheat, eggs and butter' (recto, lines 18–19); ואל סעיד 'and the fortunate one' (verso, line 7).¹⁸ This is a common feature of post-seventeenth-century JA texts (Connolly 2018b: 95–97; Khan 1992: 231; 2006: 51; Hary 2009: 110; Wagner 2010: 6, §4.7.1; Khan 2010: 211; for an explanation of this phenomenon's emergence and evolution, see Connolly *forthcoming*).

3.2.1.2. Independent preposition *fi* (CA: *fī*) + definite article

Another feature often noted in analyses of late JA texts is the writing of the independent preposition *fi* 'in' (CA: *fī*) as a bound morpheme, when preceding the definite article. This phenomenon has various manifestations in late JA: the definite article and the independent preposition fuse, forming a separate entity, which retains either the *'alef* of the definite article (פאל), or the *yod* of the independent preposition (פיל), or neither (פל) (Connolly 2018b: 98–100). In AIU VII.C.16, we encounter the latter,¹⁹ e.g., פל חין 'when' (recto, line 22); פל ריפ 'in the countryside' (verso, lines 12, 20, 21); פל ברכה 'in the lake' (verso, line 2). This representation of the preposition *fī* and the definite article may indicate ECA/MCA pronunciation of the definite article as [ɪl] (CA: /al-/): [fi-l].

17 Referred to in Arabic grammars as the 'sun' and 'moon' letters (*al-ḥurūf al-šamsiyya wa-l-ḥurūf al-qamariyya*, respectively).

18 For a more detailed explanation of the possible origins of the separation of the definite article from the noun it modifies in late Judaeo-Arabic, see CONNOLLY 2018b: 101–102.

19 In one instance, the definite article and independent preposition are represented as פאל ריפ 'in the countryside' (verso, line 7). However, the *peh* appears to have been initially omitted, and then inserted at a later date.

However, it is also worth noting that the merging of these two entities is not always found here. The two are also regularly written as separate entities, e.g., פִּי אֵל הָאֵל ‘in the circumstance’ (verso, lines 14–15); פִּי אֵל צִייעֵאָת ‘in the estates’ (recto, line 18).

3.2.2. Representation of *ʿalif maqṣūra*

In addition to functioning as the long vowel /ī/ and the consonant /y/, the grapheme *yāʿ* is also used alongside *ʿalif ṭawīla* (i.e., ʾ) to represent the long vowel /a:/ in CA. This letter was referred to by the Arab grammarians as *ʿalif maqṣūra*—‘the *ʿalif* that can be shortened’ (Wehr 1994: 900). During the classical JA period, the equivalent Hebrew graphical form *yod* was generally employed to denote *ʿalif maqṣūra* (י for /a:/). This use of *yod* continues into the late JA period (see Connolly 2018b: 60–61), but it is frequently supplanted by *ʿalef* when representing *ʿalif maqṣūra* in many late JA folk tales and letters (ibid.), a trend that is encountered consistently in AIU VII.C.16, e.g., עֵלָא ‘on’ (recto, line 8; verso, line 6); באַגלָא ‘more expensive’ (recto, line 10); יִבְקָא ‘it remains’ (verso, line 23); אַרְגָּא ‘more desirable’ (recto, line 4). *Yod* is reserved exclusively for the long vowel /ī/, the consonant /y/, and the genitive case ending (see §3.1.4), e.g., יִגְרִי ‘he runs’ (verso, lines 7, 8, 14); יִמְשִׁי ‘he walks’ (verso, line 7).

3.2.3. Representation of *tāʿ marbūṭa* (non-construct state)

In classical JA, non-construct state *tāʿ marbūṭa* is generally represented with its orthographic cognate *heh*, with and without additional supralinear dots. While *heh* is used for this purpose in AIU VII.C.16 (without the diacritical dots), it appears interchangeably with *ʿalef*, e.g., מֵייתִין קִטְעָא ‘two hundred coins’ (recto, line 15); וּמִן בּוֹכְרָא יִגְרִי פִּי אֵל ‘...and from dawn (till dusk) he runs in the cold and the frost...’ (verso, lines 7–8).

3.2.4. *Peh* for *fāʿ* + diacritical dot

Another development in late JA orthography is the common inclusion of a diacritical dot or dash above *peh* for *fāʿ*, often accompanied by a shift in its graphical representation with a vertical tail, i.e., פ (as in Hebrew orthography) to a curved tail, which descends below the line and then curves back upwards, i.e., פ (perhaps in imitation of its Arabic equivalent (see Connolly 2018a; 2018b: 14–17 for more detailed discussions of this late JA orthographic development)). In AIU VII.C.16, these parallel burgeoning trends are apparent; *peh* for *fāʿ* is written with a supralinear diacritical dot in 26.8% of instances (ibid.: 14), and the grapheme’s tail curves upwards at the end in final form (ibid.: 16–17).

3.3. Evidence of ECA Pronunciation

3.3.1. *Ṣadeh* + dot for *ḍād* and *ẓāʿ*

The Arabic grapheme *ẓāʿ* is represented exclusively in AIU VII.C.16 with a *ṣadeh* + dot (ṣ) rather than a *ṭet* + dot, as is customary in classical JA, e.g., תַּנְצֹר ‘you will see’ (recto, lines 6, 14; verso, lines 12, 13); פִּי תַנְצִיפ ‘clean’ (recto, line 21). This is indicative of the merging of the pharyngealised interdental fricative /ðˤ/ with the pharyngealised dental-

alveolar stop /dʕ/, present in urban Maghribi Arabic dialects (Aguadé 2018: 44) and MCA (Watson 2002: 15).²⁰

3.3.2. *Tafhīm and tarqīq*

Tafhīm is a term employed by the Arab grammarians to describe the diffusion of 'emphasis' from a single 'emphatic' phoneme to adjacent vowel(s) and consonant(s). The direction of this emphatic diffusion may be either regressive or progressive, affecting the pronunciation of an adjacent syllable or of an entire word (Davis 1995: 466; Watson 1999: 289–290; Davis 2009: 637). *Tarqīq* refers to the opposing phenomenon in which 'emphasis' is lost.

As Goitein notes, there are several instances of these two phenomena in AIU VII.C.16 (1972: 258). In the following examples, the use of *šadeh* + dot (ض) to represent *dāl* suggests that the presence of the 'secondary' emphatic, the sonorant /r/ has caused the preceding /d/ to be realised as [dʕ] in both words, e.g., פִּי צָאֲרִי 'in my home' (verso, line 10) (CA: *fī dārī*); אֲצֻר 'I wander...' (recto, line 18) (CA: *'adūru*).

The representation of the initial letter of the following word with the Hebrew grapheme *sin* rather than *šadeh* (its orthographic cognate) may be indicative of the realisation of *qāf* as a glottal stop [ʔ], which is its general pronunciation in MCA, e.g., וְאֵל סִקְעָא 'and the frost' (verso, line 8) (ECA: *sa'a*; CA: *šaq'a*). The same may be said of the following word; בְּדִיקָה 'about the narrowness of...' (recto, line 10) (ECA: *dī'a*; CA: *ḍayqa, dīqa*).

3.3.3. *Evidence of 'imāla*

The raising of the long vowel /ā/ and short vowel /a/ towards /ī/ and /i/ (referred to as *'imāla*), respectively, is a well-documented phenomenon in a number of spoken Arabic dialects (see Levin 1971).

3.3.3.1. *The bound morpheme fa-*

The CA particle *fā-* 'so, thus' appears frequently in this text preceding the 3.m.sg. suffix conjugation verb *qāl(a)* 'he said'. In most instances, this bound morpheme is represented as an independent entity, comprising a *peh* and a *yod* (פִּי), e.g., פִּי קָאֵל 'then he replied...' (recto, lines 11, 16, 19; verso, line 15). As in the preceding example, the use of *yod* here indicates a shift in the pronunciation of *fā-* > [fē ~ fī]. This representation of CA *fā-* is found in other late JA folk narratives (see, for example BnF Hébreu 583; (Connolly 2018a)). Furthermore, in the vocalised JA text CUL T-S Ar.54.63, the bound morpheme *fā-* is vocalised with the Hebrew vowel *hireq* /i/: פִּצָּאֵר 'and he came...' *fī-šār* (CUL T-S Ar. 54.63, 4r.) (CA: *fā-šāra*) (example from (Khan 2010: 213) (Connolly 2018a)).

3.3.3.2. *'Imāla in tā' marbūṭa (construct state)*

In AIU VII.C.16, there is one instance in which the feminine ending /a/ of a construct state's first term is written with *yod* + *tav*: לֶחֶמִית '(the) meat of...(i.e. beef)' (verso, line 24). This indicates that the pronunciation would be akin to [laḥmet ~ laḥmīt] rather than

²⁰ MCA also has a voiced pharyngealised alveolar fricative reflex of *zā'* that is not uncommon (WATSON 2002: 15).

[lahmat], as one would expect in MCA. This is the sole instance of this representation of the *tā' marbūṭa* in construct state encountered in the extant text.²¹

3.3.4. 3.m.sg. pronominal suffix

Another common development in the orthography of late JA letters and folk narratives is the phonetic representation of the 3.m.sg. pronominal suffix. This graphemic substitution—in which the Hebrew orthographic cognate *heh* is supplanted by *vav*—suggests the invariable colloquial pronunciation of /u/ for 3.m.sg. CA *-hu/-hi*, e.g., גִּוְהֶדְתּוּ 'his effort' (verso, line 8) (CA: *ḡuhdatu-hu*); רִיחָתּוּ 'its smell' (recto, line 11) (CA: *rīḥatu-hu*).

3.4. Rabbinic Hebrew Spelling Influence

3.4.1. Plene spelling of short vowel /u/

Plene spelling of short vowel /u/, represented with the Hebrew grapheme *vav*, is very common in this text.²² This tendency, prevalent in late JA texts of all genres, is attributed to the influence of Rabbinic Hebrew. For the most part, it indicates an adherence to ECA/CA pronunciation standards, e.g., אֵל רוֹכָאם 'the marble' (recto, line 4); וְאֵל מוֹסְתָרָא 'and the toilet' (recto, line 11); מֵא אֶסְכּוֹן פִּיהָא 'I would not live there' (verso, line 9); תִּטְלוּב 'you ask' (recto, line 10); עוֹמְרִי 'my life' (recto, line 16); מֵא אֶכְתְּרֵהוּם 'how many of them there are!' (verso, line 13); תִּנְצוֹר פּוֹרְגָה 'you will see a sight...!' (recto, line 6).

In a few instances, the *plene* spelling of /u/ with *vav* reveals deviations from the common (and recorded) CA and ECA pronunciations of certain words, e.g., וְאֵל עוֹמְאָמָה 'and the turban' (verso, line 3) (CA/ECA: *ʿimāma*, *ʿamāma*); וְמֵא כּוֹטוֹר לֶךְ 'And whatever occurred to you...' (recto, line 13) (CA: *ḥaṭara*; ECA: *ḥaṭar*); וְמֵא אַחֻב אֵל רִיפ 'and I love only the countryside' (recto, line 17) (CA: *ʿaḥibbu*; ECA: *ʿaḥibb*, *b-aḥibb*).

3.4.2. 3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg. independent pronouns

The 3.m.sg. and 3.f.sg. independent pronouns are written with a final *ʾalef*, e.g., הוּא 'he' (verso, lines 1, 14); הִיא 'she' (recto, line 3; verso, line 6), rendering them graphically identical to their Hebrew cognates, *hū* 'he' and *hī* 'she'. This may be interpreted in one of two ways: either (i) as a Hebrew loanword; or (ii) as the *plene* spelling of the final short vowel /a/ in the Arabic independent pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya*.

²¹ It may or may not be significant that לחמית is found in the countryman's speech, while לחמת is used for the Cairene's speech (verso, lines 19, 21). It may have been the author's intention to draw distinctions between the Cairene and the countryman's pronunciations. By the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, the /a/ pronunciation of the feminine ending was prevalent and prestigious in Cairo, while the /i/ realisation was generally disparaged. There is evidence to suggest, however, that pausal *ʿimāla* was heard in Cairo until the late nineteenth century (see ZACK 2016: 562).

²² Plene spelling of the short vowel /u/—and /i/ and /a/ to a lesser extent—becomes very common in late JA texts.

4. Summary

The contents of AIU VII.C.16 adheres to the general principles of late JA orthography (in so far as they are currently understood) in its continued use of some classical JA spelling practices, its high degree of phonetic features, revealing the influence of colloquial Arabic, and the discernible Hebrew spelling influences.

Bibliography

- AGUADÉ, J. 2018. "The Maghrebi Dialects of Arabic." In: HOLES (ed.) 2018: 29–64.
- BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, A. de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français contenant toutes les racines de la langue arabe : leurs dérivés, tant dans l'idiome vulgaire que dans l'idiome littéral, ainsi que les dialectes d'Alger et de Maroc*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- BANETH, D.H. 1945–1946. "The Nunation (Tanwīn) in Judaeo-Arabic Texts and its Development into a Separate Participle." *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*: 141–153. (Hebrew)
- CONNOLLY, M.M. 2018a. "A Nineteenth-Century Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Folk Narrative: Text, translation and grammatical notes." In: VIDRO et al (eds.) 2018: 392–420.
- . 2018b. *Linguistic Variation in Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Folk Tales and Letters from the Ottoman Period*. PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge.
- . 2019. "Revisiting the Question of Ġīm from the Perspective of Judaeo-Arabic." *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 64.1: 155–183.
- . [Forthcoming]. "Splitting Definitives: The separation of the definite article in medieval and pre-modern written Judaeo-Arabic."
- DAVIS, S. 1995. "Emphasis Spread in Arabic and Grounded Phonology." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 26.3: 465–498.
- . 2009. "Velarization." In: K. VERSTEEGH et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill, IV: 636–638.
- DIEM, W. 2014. "Ägyptisch-Arabisch im 17. Jahrhundert: Die arabischen Zeugenaussagen in Mordechai ha-Levis Sefer Darke no'am (Venedig 1697)." *Mediterranean Language Review*, 21: 1–89.
- DOZY, R.P.A. 1845. *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes: ouvrage couronné et publié par la Troisième classe de l'Institut royal des Pays-Bas*. Amsterdam: J. Müller.
- GOITEIN, S.D. 1972. "Townsmen and Fellah: A Geniza text from the seventeenth century." *Asian and African Studies*, 8: 257–261.
- GRIGORE, G., and G. BIȚUNĂ (eds.). 2016. *Arabic Varieties: Far and wide* / Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of AIDA, Bucharest, 2015. Bucharest: University of Bucharest Press.
- HARY, B.H. 1987. *Judeo-Arabic, Written and Spoken in Egypt in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- . 1992. *Multiglossia in Judeo-Arabic: With an edition, translation and grammatical study of the Cairene Purim scroll*. Leiden; New York: Brill.
- . 2009. *Translating Religion: Linguistic analysis of Judeo-Arabic sacred texts from Egypt*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- HAVA, J. G. 1899. *Arabic-English Dictionary for the Use of Students*. Beirut: Catholic Press.

- HOFFMAN, A., and P. Cole. 2011. *Sacred Trash: The lost and found world of the Cairo Geniza*. New York: Nextbook; Schocken: Schocken Books.
- HOLES, C. (ed.). 2018. *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KAZIMIRSKI *see* BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI.
- KHAN, G. 1992. "Notes on the Grammar of a Late Judaeo-Arabic Text." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 15: 220–39.
- . 2006. "A Judaeo-Arabic Commercial Letter from Early Nineteenth Century Egypt." *Ginzei Qedem*, 2: 37–59.
- . 2007. "Judaeo-Arabic." In: K. VERSTEEGH et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill, II: 526–36.
- . 2010. "Vocalised Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in The Cairo Genizah." In: OUTHWAITE & BHAYRO (eds.) 2010: 201–218.
- . 2018. "Judaeo-Arabic." In: HOLES (ed.) 2018: 148–170.
- LEVIN, A. 1971. *The 'imāla in the Arabic Dialects*. PhD Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- OUTHWAITE, B., and S. BHAYRO (eds.). 2010. *'From a Sacred Source': Genizah studies in honour of Stefan C. Reif*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- REIF, S.C. 2000. *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The history of Cambridge University's Genizah collection*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- VIDRO, N. et al. (eds.). 2018. *Studies in Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A liber discipulorum in honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*. Uppsala: University of Uppsala Press.
- WAGNER, E.-M. 2010. *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah*. Leiden: Brill.
- WATSON, J.C.E. 1999. "The Directionality of Emphasis Spread in Arabic." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30.2: 289–300.
- . 2002. *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- WEHR, H. 1994. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: (Arabic- English)*. 4th ed. New York.
- ZACK, L. 2016. "Nineteenth-Century Cairo Arabic as Described by Qadrī and Naḥla." In: GRIGORE & BIṬUNĂ (eds.) 2016: 557–567.