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Author(s): Wilson B. Bishai

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COPTIC LEXICAL INFLUENCE ON EGYPTIAN ARABIC

WILSON B. BISHAI, *School of Advanced International Studies,
The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.*

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 سُنْوٰ، *awwal senno*, which means "the first (movement) of the second (round)." سُنْوٰ *senno*, which refers to the second round of the game, is taken from Coptic **ΣΝΑΤ**, "two." While the boys are playing, they get into an argument and one says to the other بَلَاشْ تَهْجِيْشْ *balāsh tahyīṣ*, "quit bluffing." تَهْجِيْشْ is a noun derived from هَجَاصْ, which in turn is a borrowing from Coptic **ϣѧࡻօ࡚**, meaning "talkative." When the boys go home for supper they may eat cheese, and their mother may say دِي جِبَنَه حَلُومٌ *di gibna halūm*, "This is cream cheese." حَلُومٌ, which means "cheese," is Coptic **ϣѧࡻࡻ**.

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 كُورَا شَرَابْ *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

† *ā*, "yes," SB **አዲ**, "yea." Coptic **እ** 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.

أجبي ajbiya, "a prayer book for the Copts," S **አቸጪ** (pl.), "hours." أجيي follows أفعله, which is a broken plural in Arabic whose singular is فعل, such as رغيف, *ragħif-argħifa*, "loaf of bread." The Coptic apparently was borrowed into the nearest Arabic broken plural pattern.

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

أمندي *‘amandi*, "hell," *dahya twadik(i)* *Pamandi* (Sobhy), "May a tragedy take you to hell"; BF **አወንተ**, SA **አለንተ**, "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 **አለንተ**. The voicing of *t* in أمندي is quite normal after a voiced obstruent such as *n*.

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

أبا *anba*, "title for Coptic priests," B **አበባ**. S **አባ** (from Aramaic). The phonetic change is most likely caused by partial dissimilation which developed this way: *‘abba* > *‘amba* > *‘anba*. However, *‘amba* is also used. It is possible to attribute أبا 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 **አውጥ**, **አክፋ**, **አክፋ**, "fragment." The change in meaning involves specialization, but the sound changes are normal.

بلوله *baglūla*, "bubble," SB **በኩረለው** 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 بقلولة refers to one of the kind, such as شجر *shajar*, "trees," and شجرة *shajara*, "one tree."

بقرور *bagrūr*, "frog (Upper Egyptian)," S **ፋይሮጥ** with the definite article, "the frog." The Arabic followed the quadrilateral pattern فلور *tarfūr*, "tassel." It was first borrowed into Upper Egyptian Arabic, then taken over by Cairene Arabic as بارور *ba'rūr*.

بقطري *bagħuti*, "small basket," used mainly in Middle Egypt, S **ፋኮት** with the definite article **ፋ(እ)**. The unaspirated value of Coptic *t* at the close of a syllable apparently sounded to the Arabic ear as *ti*.

بلح *balħam*, "to bluff," S **ቤልጋዢዎች**, "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 *balħħum*, "heron," S **ፋይልጽውክ** with the definite article, "the heron." The change of **ብ** to **ፋ** is normal since both are voiced bilabials.

برس *barsim*, "clover or alfalfa," SB **ቤርሱም**, "clover." The Arabic vocalization followed the pattern with a quadrilateral root, such as عفريت *‘afrit*, "devil."

بشروش *basharōsh*, "flamingo" (Spiro), S **የጥ-ዕዋዕዋሽ**, "the thing which is red," made up of **የጥ**, "that which (is)," and **ጥዋዕዋሽ**, "red." Worrell suggests that *basharōsh* developed from **bashasharōsh* < **badsharōsh* < **badrashrōsh* < **badtrashrōsh* < **የጥ-ዕዋዕዋሽ**.³

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

بيربا *birba*, "site of a ruined temple," S **የጥጥኤ**, "the temple," which is **ጥጥኤ** with the definite article **ጥ(እ)**.

بساره *bisāra*, "cooked beans," possibly from ***የጠርሞ** a compound of **የጠር** (construct form of **የጠር**), "to cook," and **አሞ**, "beans." The Arabic followed a regular pattern such as روایه, *riwāya*, "story."

³ Worrell, *op. cit.*, p. 333

بَسْخَة *biskha*, “part of a plough” (Vycichl), “edge of a plough” (Sobhy), بِرْصَهُ with the definite article, “plough handle.” Coptic final **o** was assimilated to the feminine termination *-a* with the shift of stress to the first syllable. The pattern is فعله, such as فکره *fikra*, “idea.”

بَشْوِش *bshōbesh*, “a call of welcome during country weddings,” SB πώπος (with the definite article π(ε), “reception, entertainment.”) This example indicates the progressive assimilation of Coptic **c** to Arabic ش which rendered the word *bshōbesh*. A parallel example of this is شَمْس *shams*, “sun,” which in Upper Egypt is pronounced شَمْش *shamsh*.

بُورى *būri*, “a kind of fish,” S ፩ወ፻, “fish, *nurgil cephalus*” (Crum). The sound changes are normal; and the Arabic equated well with the pattern نُفْل (نُفْل) plus the nisbe (ي) of a hollow root such as رُومى, *rūmī*, “a turkey.”

بَرْش *bursh*, “mat made of palm leaves,” πωρψ, “to spread” or “something which is spread,” such as a mat. Possibly πωρψ is related to Semitic *prsh*, or Arabic فرش with the same meaning. However, بَرْش cannot come from فرش, and therefore a Coptic origin for it is clearly indicated.

بُوش *bush*, “porridge” (Vycichl), S ποօτψ, B πωօτψ with the definite article “gruel.” The Arabic followed the pattern of a media-weak noun such as فُول *ful*, “beans.”

دَمِيره *damira*, “time of inundation,” S τεμήρε with the feminine article τε, “high water, inundation.” The Arabic followed the pattern such as طَرِيقَةٌ *tariqa*, “way.” The voicing of *t* is normal (cf. ḡamdi).

ضَبَّه *dabbah*, “a wooden door lock,” S τεπιω with the definite article. Egyptian Arabic follows the لَمْ pattern after doubling the Coptic second consonant in order to form a trilateral root. Coptic Τ is expected to yield Arabic ط, ئ: the voicing of ئ to ئ is anomalous.

فَلت *falt*, “buttocks” (Sobhy), SB ፩ልታ, “thigh, hip.” The Arabic followed the نَمْ pattern such as درس *dars*, “lesson.” Coptic ፩ልታ is uncertain; it occurs once.⁴

فَزْر *farfar* “to flap the wings, especially when the bird is falling down,” B զօրչը, “to fall, rush down.” However, it might be a metathesized form of Arabic رُفْر *rafraf* (see below).

فَطَ *fatt*, “to jump or run,” SAF πωτ, “to flee.” The velarization of Τ is normal owing to its unaspirated nature; and the Arabic followed the pattern of a double ‘ain verb such as مر *marr*, “to pass.” From the root *ftt*, فَطَاط *fattat* is derived meaning “spring-like.”

فَرْطَه *fūṭa*, “towel,” S պատէ, “to wipe.” The changes are normal (see under طَرْبَه *tūba*).

قَشْوَه *gashwa*, “a fish” (Crum), S ካሬሱም, “among fish.” ክሬሱም was apparently borrowed first as قَشْو *gashw*, which is a collective noun form, such as نَمْل *naml*, “ants.” The feminine of such a form is usually a singular noun such as نَمْلَه *namla*, “an ant.” Accordingly, *gashwa* can be derived from *gashw* to mean “a fish.”

قَيلَ *gil*, “a kind of fish,” B ፩ክላ, “a fish.” The borrowing is quite normal. شَال *shāl* with the same meaning developed from the Sahidic form ፩ክላ.

هَجَاجِس *hajjās*, “garrulous” or “talkative” as in ՚inta wād hajjās, “You are a talkative boy,” զազոօծ, “the one who talks.” The Coptic expression is made up of զ, “prefix for first perfective,”⁵ զոօ “to say (bound form),” and ፩, “it.” The Arabic followed the pattern of the intensive participle I Conjugation قَاتِل such as كَازَاب *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.

مَبْعَص, “to bluff by talking,” and **مَهْبِص**, “bluffing.”

مُلُوس *hallūs*, “cobweb,” SB **ϙαλορε**, “spider’s web.” Coptic **ϙ** may be borrowed in Arabic as either *ḥ* or *h*. The Arabic followed the فَتَّل pattern such as تَوْس, “the holy one.”

حَمَسْ *hammas* or *hemmis*, “to sit (Vycichl),” S **χαοος**, “to sit, dwell, remain” *Hammas* is a regular II Conjugation form such as **شَرَبَ** *sharrab*, “to give to drink”; *hemmis* is a dialectal variant of *hammas*.

هوجل *hawjal*, “anchor” (Sobhy), B
غاتزال or **غاتزال**. The Arabic fol-
 lowed a quadriliteral pattern such as
بكراج *bakraj*, “tea pot.”

هُوش *hawwash*, “to bluff, mostly by talking roughly,” سُوْرَى *sowry*, “to abuse or insult.” The Arabic followed the II Conjugation pattern of the root *hwsh*, from which other words were derived such as هُوشِش, “bluffing,” and هُوشَن, “bluffer.”

هَبَّة hēba, "a bird" (Sobhy), SF የከብር, "the ibis bird."

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

حَلْمٌ *halūm*, "cream cheese," SAB
 ፩ልዎን, "cheese." The change of Coptic
 ḥ to Egyptian Arabic ū is normal.

حَنْدُوس *handūs*, “lizard” (Sobhy), B
QANTORC with the same meaning. The voicing of T is normal.

اَيْدِي *idda*, “he gave,” يَدِي *yiddi*, “he gives,” اَيْدِي *'iddi*, “give (imp.),” SB †, “to give.” The form اَيْدِي 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

أعطى ^o*a^ctā* with the same meaning, ^o*at̄a* or ^o*an̄ta* is expected; the latter form is used in Iraq. Moreover, Egyptian Arabic vocabulary includes على ^o*at̄a*, “to give.” If إِذَى ^o*iḍā* is considered original in Arabic stemming from roots such as دَدَى ^o*ad̄i* or the form of the imperfective does not seem to fit any of them. On the other hand, a Coptic origin from ^o*†* is feasible after certain normal changes that might have taken place. S ^o*† ti* (unaspirated) may have become *di* and possibly was first borrowed in Arabic as an imperative ^o*iddi* with ^o*i* as a prefix (which is a normal feature of Arabic) and with doubling the *d* to equate it with a triliteral tertia weak root such as اِرمَ ^o*irmi*, “throw” (imp.). The imperfect *yiddi* was also formed such as يُرمِي ^o*yirmi*, “he throws.” The perfect form, however, is problematic; دَدَى ^o*dadā* like رَمَى ^o*ramā* is the form which is expected, but such a form (with a double root) is very uncommon in Arabic. Therefore, a IV Conjugation form إِذْيَ ^o*iḍā* was used for the perfect form.

جَلَبِيَّة *jallābiyya*, "garment, the main dress of the Egyptian fellahin," S ሽልበ, "garment of wool." Here is a case where Coptic **ብ** was borrowed as Arabic ب; Coptic **ሮ** may be borrowed as Upper Egyptian ح. The Coptic word supplied a root ب ح in Arabic from which a noun was formed after the pattern قَاعَة such as قَاعَةٌ - "blanket."

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

جَى *jay*, "a call for help" such as *jay ya wlad jay*, "help, boys, help!" **وَزَّاعِي**, "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 او.

جڪس *juks*, “crepitus ventris.” “This utterance is used in Upper Egypt; جيس *gis* is its equivalent in Lower Egypt. The Coptic origin is B ροκςι, “crepitus ventris” (Crum). The last *i* vowel was eliminated in Egyptian Arabic, perhaps it was considered a case ending; the velarization is anomalous.

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

ڪاڪله *kākūla*, “outer garment,” S روكله, “hood, cowl of monks.” The Arabic followed the pattern فاعله such as ساموله *samūla*, “screw nut.”

كـلـج *kalaj* (present tense يـكـلـج *byukluj*), “to limp,” SB رـلـخ, “to be bent.” The Arabic followed a regular I Conjugation pattern from the root *k l j*.

كـلـوح *kalūh*, “the corn cob after it is beaten to gather the kernels,” S رـلـخ, “to strike.” The Arabic followed a pattern such as رـحـوم *rahūm*, “merciful.”

كـاس *kās*, “misfortune” or “pain,” usually used by women during a funeral such as يا، ويل يا كـاسى, “O my distress, O my misfortune,” SB رـهـه, qualitative of “burial or corpse” (Sobhy mentions رـهـه, “pain” with no reference).

كـخـه *kek̄h*, “dirty,” S رـهـه, “soil, earth.” The borrowing of Coptic ح as Arabic خ is very unusual, a fact which casts some

doubt on this otherwise satisfactory etymology.

لـبـس *labis*, “a kind of fish,” S لـبـس, “fish *cyprinus niloticus*” (Crum). The borrowed form is normal.

لـجـج *lajj*, “to be persistent,” S لـجـج, “be impudent, persistent.” The Arabic followed a double ‘ain pattern such as مـرـجـج *marr*, “to pass.”

لـبـان *libān*, “ship’s cable,” SB لـبـان. The Arabic followed a pattern such as كتاب *kitāb*, “book.” The Coptic word itself, however, is of obscure origin.

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

ماـجـور *majūr*, “a pot for kneading,” perhaps S ماـخـور which is made up of ما, “place,” and خـور, “scatter.” Although ماـخـور does not appear in Coptic dictionaries as one word, it is possible that ماـجـور 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 *majūr*.

مـرـيـسـى *marīsi*, “southerly,” used for wind, SBF لـارـسـه, “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.

مـبـعـدـه *mbū*, “water to drink,” usually said to children, S بـلـهـوـر with the masculine definite article بـ(هـ), “water.” Here there is a clear case of metathesis between بـ and لـ after the voicing of بـ.

مـهـيـاـصـه *mihyāṣ*, “fanfaron, boaster, blusterer,” perhaps *مـهـيـنـيـهـه, “full of hurry,” which is made up of مـهـيـهـه, “full,” and مـيـهـه, “speed” or “hurry.” It is possible that مـهـيـهـه dropped, thus leaving مـهـيـنـيـهـه, which may have become Arabic مـهـيـاـصـه. The Arabic followed the pattern بـنـهـالـهـه,

such as مکیال *mikyāl*, “measure.” Other related forms were derived such as هیصہ *hayyaṣ* (II Conjugation), “to make noise,” and هیصہ *hēṣa*, “a noise.”

منار *mnāw*, “thither” (Sobhy), B **ΜΝΗ**, “there.” The diphthong *āw* was possibly caused by the influence of ΚΝΑΣΤ, “there.”

منای *mnāy*, “hither” (Sobhy), B **ΜΝΑΙ**, “here.”

باری *nabāri*, “the winter crop of maize,” S **ΜΑΠΡΕ**, “grain.” Arabic *nabāri* is the broken plural of بُن *nabr*, such as أرض – اراضی *‘ard-‘arādī*, “territory.” Possibly the Coptic was borrowed first as singular from which the plural was derived and became more common.

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

نفره *nagra* (Upper Egyptian), “heat of the day,” perhaps from *ΝΑΚΡΗ, “strong sun,” from S **ΜΑΚ**, “strong” and ρη, “sun.”

نوس *nannūs*, “delicate, nice, mignonne,” SAF **ΜΑΝΟΣ**, “it is nice,” made up of **ΜΑΝΟΣ**, “nice or fair” and the suffix **σ**, third person feminine used impersonally.

نوش *nūsh*, “big” (Sobhy), S **ΜΟΣ**, “great” or “big.” The Arabic followed a فعله pattern of a hollow verb such as سور *sūr*, “fence.”

نوش *nūsha*, “fever, especially typhoid,” S **ΜΟΩΨΕ** with unknown meaning but parallel with “stinking of disease.” The Arabic pattern is نفع of a hollow root such as كوره *kūra* “ball.”

قطار *raftāw*, “a measure of grain which is one-fourth of a *kēla*, used only in distant Upper Egypt,” S **ΡΑΨΤΟΟΣ**, “fraction of four or quarter.” The velarization of τ is normal as well as the vocalic change from οοσ to *āw*.

صروف *ramrūm*, “small fish” (Sobhy), possibly related to S **ΡΑΨΕ**, “fish, tilapia” (Crum). The borrowed Coptic stem was duplicated in Arabic and followed the

فعلول pattern such as ططور *tartūr*, “tassel.”

دای *rāy*, “a kind of fish,” SB **ΡΗΙ**, “a fish, alestes dentes” (Crum).

ریتا *rita* (also pronounced *riṭa*), “a plant, sapindus,” B **ΡΙΤΑ**, “a plant, flower of *laurus nobilis*.”

سيط *samīṭ*, “special bread made of fine flour,” SB **ΣΑΜΙΤ**, “fine flour.” The more common Arabic form (also Persian) سید *samid*, “white bread,” appears to be a borrowing from Syriac *s'mīdā* (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 t, be from the Coptic, which in turn is a loan from some Semitic source.

ساس *sās*, “oakum,” S **ΣΑΑΣΕ**, “tow.” The Arabic form is the colloquial of the classical قل pattern of a media-hamza root; the hamza is lost and the preceding vowel lengthens, cf. فال *fāl*, “omen,” which becomes in colloquial فال *fāl*.

سن *sennō*, “the second round of the Egyptian peasants’ ball game,” SAB **ΣΑΤ**, “two.” Perhaps the doubling of n was caused by the contraction of the diphthong. شوره *shabbūra*, “fog,” perhaps from *ψθρή, “the change of the sun,” from ψιθε, “change” and ρη, “sun.” This is a case where Α was borrowed in Arabic as ب; the Arabic apparently borrowed a root شبر **shbr* from which شبوره *shabbūra* was derived according to the pattern فـل such as بلوره *ballūra*, “crystal.”

شال *shāl*, “fish”; see under قيل *gil*. شلوت *shallūt*, “a kick,” B **ΣΑΛΟΣ**, “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 شلت *shallat*, “to kick,”

from which the secondary noun شلوت shallūt was later derived.

شمر shamar or شمار shamār, “the fennel plant,” S **ѠѠѠѠ**, “fennel.” The change of Coptic *s* to Arabic *sh* is uncommon, but sometimes distant Upper Egyptians pronounce the regular *s* as *sh*, such as شمس shams, “sun,” which becomes شمش shamsh, and سأال sa'al, “to ask,” which becomes شأال sha'al. **ѠѠѠѠ** was possibly borrowed first as شاهير shamāhir, which is a broken plural form, the singular of which is شمار shamhār, such as قطرين qatrān, “tar,” and its plural قطارين qatārin. The *h* in shamhār, being weak, was dropped leaving shamār; shamar is possibly a shortened form of shamhār. Although the original of **ѠѠѠѠ** is as yet unknown, it is quite distinct from later Coptic **ѠѠѠ**, a reborrowing from Arabic.

شاشا shāshā, “to rise,” usually applied to the moon, stars and dawn, S **Ѡ**, “to rise.” The Coptic origin was duplicated in Arabic. Apparently shāshā was first borrowed as sha sha (which is still used) of the quadriliteral by duplication pattern.

شوشو shawshaw, “beat with a whip,” SB **ѠѠѠѠ**, “strike, thresh.” The word has undergone a metathesis of the reduplicated root element *wsh* to *shw*. The Arabic form is that of a quadriliteral by duplication pattern.

شار shbār, “wonder” used in saying شبار shbār shbār شبار على alayya, “I have become a freak or a wonder” (Sobhy), S **ѠѠѠ**, “wonder.”

شقليل shgilgil, “bell” (Vycichl), S **ѠѠѠѠ**, “bell.”

ثليه shilba, “a kind of fish,” S **ѠѠѠѠ**, “fish, *silurus mystus*” (Crum). Sometimes Coptic **Ѡ** is borrowed as **Ѡ** such as **ѠѠ**, which appears in Arabic as شبرا shubra, “a place name.”

شفف shinf, “sack for straw,” S **ѠѠѠ** or **ѠѠѠ**, “basket or crate.” The Arabic

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

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

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

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

شوربة shūriya, “censor” (Sobhy), SBF **ѠѠѠ** 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.

شوشة shūsha, “small window,” SAB **ѠѠѠ**, “window.” Possibly the final **Ѡ** was considered a feminine ending in Arabic and was levelled to *a*, rendering shūsha after the pattern **Ѡ** of a hollow verb such as كورة kūra, “ball.”

شوشة shūsha, “tuft of hair, crest,” S **ѠѠѠ**, “single lock or plait of hair.” Sahidic **Ѡ** may be borrowed in Arabic as ش such as **ѠѠ**, which becomes شبرا shbra “a place name.” The Arabic followed the pattern **Ѡ** of a hollow root, such as صوره sūra, “picture.”

سكة sikka, “plough” or “plowshare,” **ѠѠ**, “to plough or ploughing.” The Coptic utterance developed to fit the Arabic pattern **Ѡ** of a double ‘ain verb such as لب libba, “seed or kernel.”

صير sir, “salty,” **Ѡ**, “brine.” The change of **Ѡ** to **Ѡ** is common, such as **ѠѠ**, which becomes صان shān, “a place name.”

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

جَذَّ *takhh*, “to become drunk,” A **TAGE**, “be drunken.” The Arabic followed a regular double ‘ain verb.

مساح *timsāh*, “crocodile,” SB τεμσαρ, “the crocodile.” Arabic borrowed the Coptic word with the feminine definite article τε; thus the word fell into the pattern تفمال *timħal*, “image.”⁶

تُوت *tüt*, “gather,” used only in the expression تُوت يا حاوی *tüt ya hāwi*, “gather (for) the magic player,” S **تُوْتَةٌ**, “be gathered or collected.”

طَبْحَة *tabha*, “prayer” (Sobhy), SABF
τωβη, “pray.” The final *a* in Arabic is
 perhaps a sign of a feminine noun.

طاش *tāsh*, “border” or “boundary,” especially of a field, SAF **تاش** (Sobhy), “limit, boundary.” There is no problem with this word because Coptic *t* is un-aspirated and its representation in Arabic as *t* is normal.

طیاب *tayāb*, “east wind,” S τορειέτη from τήτη, “wind,” and ειςέτη, “east.” It followed the Arabic pattern such as سحاب *sahāb*, “clouds.”

tahma, “invitation” (Sobhy), S **τωρεμ**, “to invite.” The Arabic pattern is **هـ**; and Coptic **ω** became Arabic **ō** instead of **ū** because of the guttural **h**.

طوبیة *tūba*, “a brick,” S τωβε. 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” < *at-tūba*.

tūrya, "axe," SA **τῶρις**, "spade" or "pick." The word is normal except that it

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

^٣ أونى *‘ūnī*, “mill sound,” B *ε̄nī*, “mill.” The leveling of the Coptic diphthong *ω* to Arabic *ū* is normal.

وَاحِدَةٌ *wāḥa*, “oasis,” S **oṛage** with the same meaning. Regardless of the origin of this Coptic word Egyptian Arabic واحده, *wāḥa* 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., فَرْدُوسٌ *firdaws*, “paradise,” from Persian, and سِجْنٌ *sijnun*, “prison,” from Latin.

وحَّ wahwah, "to cry with pain, to bark," SB oragbęg, "bark, growl." The phonetic changes are normal.

وَارْشُور *wārshūr*, “wood saw” (Sobhy),
 وَارْشُور *bašwərp*, “saw.” Although
wārshūr is related to *minshār* in meaning
 it is difficult to trace it back to the root
 نَشَر *nshr*. Possibly *bašwərp* itself is a
 loanword in Coptic from Semitic (Hebrew
 מִשְׁרָה), nevertheless it may be con-
 sidered 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.

وَبِهِ *wēba*, “a grain measure (two *kēlas* or one-sixth of an *'ardab*),” S **וִזְבֵּחַ**, B **וִזְבֵּחַ**, “measure of grain, less than an *'ardab*.” It is apparent that the two words are related; the Arabic apparently was vocalized by analogy with *كِيلَةٌ kēla*, “a grain measure one-twelfth of an *'ardab*, considered the unit of grain measuring in Egypt.” It may be noted here that a measure of grain **אִיפָה z̄efah** 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 وَبَه *wēba* simply because the latter Arabic form does not exist anywhere outside Egypt. Moreover, Hebrew *ṣefah* is expected to become Arabic إِفَّه *ifah* and not وَبَه *wēba*.

ورور *wirwir*, “fresh,” used especially with fresh radishes such as فَجْل *ya fjl*; SA **ሐප્પે** or **ሐર્પે**, “young or fresh.” The two consonants of Coptic were duplicated in Arabic to follow a quadrilateral pattern such as شબશ *shibshib*, “slippers.”

زَرْ *zir*, “large water pitcher,” بَقِيَّ *cip*, “jar.” The change is normal.

ظرطه *zarṭa*, “*flatus ventris*,” S **capسات** with the same meaning. The last sound of the Coptic word was left out in borrowing, and possibly the word became **capسات** *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 τε which preceded *s* causing the combination *t + sar-* to sound like an affricate *ts* which may be rendered as Arabic ط. A root زَرَّ *zarrat* was formed from which other words were derived such as طَرَّ *zarrat* (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 triliteral roots from which other Arabic words were derived.

Coptic loanwords included items peculiar to Coptic worship such as أبا *anba*, “bishop,” and أجيي *ajbiya*, “book of prayer.” They also include items that are used in remote villages not common to the main Egyptian population such as هنعيه *hnayye*, “a thing,” and رفطاو *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,” *Westöstliche 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.