Jews living in various parts of the Arab world sometimes spoke distinctive Arabic dialects, differing in a number of respects from the Arabic spoken by their Muslim and Christian neighbors. As Haim Blanc has pointed out, however, until recently the Arabic spoken by the Jews of Egypt in the twentieth century has been thought to differ very little from that spoken by non-Jews. In a preliminary study of the Arabic of the Jews of Cairo, Blanc was careful not to label the linguistic variety he was describing as “Jewish Cairene.”\(^1\) Notwithstanding this guarded formulation, he laid the foundations for a description of modern spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic. Beyond his pioneering articles,\(^4\) however, the spoken dialect of the Jews of Egypt has received scant attention, and extremely little has been written on the basis of data collected from Jewish speakers of Egyptian Arabic.\(^5\) The purpose of my study is to continue Blanc’s work and fill a gap in this area.

In Egypt, Muslims and Coptic Christians speak what is essentially the same dialect; local variants are geographically rather than ethnically conditioned. However, the language of the Jews of Cairo and Alexandria, while influenced by the respective local dialects, contains many common elements – in the areas of phonology, morphology, and particularly vocabulary – which are not to be found in the dialects spoken by non-Jews. From the point of view of phonology and morphology, the unique features of this Jewish Arabic speech are constant, irrespective of the circumstances of communication. The distinctive lexical features, on the other hand, usually appear only in communications among Jews.

In the twentieth century, about 98% of the Jews of Egypt lived in the two large cities of Cairo and Alexandria.\(^6\) Today almost no Jews remain in Egypt, and the number of those outside Egypt who still use Egyptian Judeo-Arabic is constantly diminishing, so that this language will probably disappear in the not far-distant future. The following survey, based primarily on data elicited from informants and constrained by limitations of space, gives but a sampling of the relevant grammatical phenomena and vocabulary items.\(^7\)
DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF EGYPTIAN SPOKEN JEWISH ARABIC: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

Consonants and Vowels

The phonetic realization of the Egyptian dialect (henceforth: Egyptian Arabic) by Jews is nearly identical to that of non-Jews. However, some differences do exist, mostly as a consequence of the introduction of non-Arabic elements into the spoken language, mainly from Hebrew but also some from a number of European languages.

Certain consonants have entered Jewish Arabic in borrowings from Hebrew and other languages. These are sometimes pronounced as in the source language and sometimes adapted to the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic. For example, most speakers of Jewish Arabic pronounce the consonant \( p \), which does not exist in Arabic, as \( p \) (\( p = p \)), but some pronounce it as \( b \) (\( p > b \)); the former would say purim (Purim, “the Feast of Lots”), the latter burim. On the other hand, the consonant \( q \) (\( q = \text{hamza} \)), realized as a uvular stop in Standard Arabic, is universally pronounced as a glottal stop (like \( \text{hamza} \)) in Cairo and the cities of Lower Egypt, and this is true of the Jews as well (\( q > ' \)) – even when uttering words of Hebrew origin, such as šatta’ (“be quiet, don’t talk about this now”), derived from the Hebrew root ŠTQ. Occasionally, this consonant may also be realized as a velar stop (\( q > k \)), yielding, for example, kaddish (Kaddish, a liturgical prayer also used in commemoration of a death) instead of the more common form ‘addiš. The phoneme /b/, which in Hebrew is pronounced either as a stop [b] or as a fricative [v], is always pronounced b by Egyptian Jews in words of Hebrew origin, as in kabéd (see below), versus kavéd in Hebrew.

Vowels in words of Hebrew origin are usually preserved in Jewish Arabic. Shewa mobile at the beginning of a word or syllable is almost always pronounced e, as in refillâ (prayer). The doubling of consonants in Hebrew words is also retained, as in kippâr ([Yom] Kippur, the Day of Atonement). The stress in such words is usually where it would be according to the rules of accentuation in Hebrew, even where these contradict the rules of Egyptian Arabic.

The Definite Article, the Feminine, and the Plural

The Arabic definite article \( el \) is also used before words of non-Arabic origin. Only in collocations of Hebrew origin is the Hebrew definite article \( ha \) retained, as in the oath be‘emèt hatorâ (by the Torah!). In rare cases, the prefixed \( ha \) is perceived as part of the succeeding word, and the Arabic definite article may then be attached as well: el-harambâm (Maimonides, called in Hebrew by his acronym, Ram-bam, for Rabbenu Moshe ben Maimon).

Feminine forms of words of Hebrew origin are usually consistent with Arabic nominal patterns but retain the stress they would have had in Hebrew. For example, kabadà is the feminine form of kabéd (pest, nuisance, lit.: heavy), while kohenà (daughter/wife of a priest) is the feminine form of kohen (priest). 8

In the plural, the Hebrew form is usually retained, as in mamzerim (bastards) or mitsvôt (religious commandments), but the Arabic plural suffix \( in \) is occasionally attested, as in mamzerin.
Non-Standard Verbal Patterns

Whereas Cairene Arabic uses the prefixes ą and ń, respectively, for the imperfect first person singular and plural, Alexandrians use the prefix ń for the first person singular and the prefix ń together with the suffix ę for the plural. This is the usage of the Jews in both Alexandria and Cairo. For example, a Cairo-born Jewish woman said: ‘ana ba’a benkeb-e ’awi bava wumama, ma ’ederte nefarehum (I love Dad and Mom very much; I couldn’t leave them).

Non-standard verbal patterns in the past tense of a verb derived from the root GY will be discussed below, in the section on “Participles and Typical Words.”

Preference for the Vowel ę in Verbs and Nouns

A typical feature of Egyptian Jewish Arabic is the preferential use of the vowel ę in some verbs and nouns, as against the use of another vowel in the standard dialect.

In Egyptian Arabic, some first-form verbs have two possible patterns, ńe'el and ńu’ul, both of which are in use. Today there is a tendency to prefer the ńe'el pattern, but Jewish speakers more commonly use the ńu’ul pattern. For example, Jewish speakers will prefer the form ńulūs (come to an end, be finished) to ńelēs. The same is true of nouns with two alternative pronunciation patterns. Jewish speakers prefer forms with the vowel ę, while the preferred forms in the standard dialect are usually those with the vowel e (or i). Thus, for example, the Jews prefer the form ęubbāk (“window”) to śebbāk, which is the more common form in the standard dialect.

A unique feature of Jewish Arabic is the use of the vowel ę even in cases where the standard dialect has no such form, but uses e (or i) exclusively. Examples include muš (comb), versus standard meš; tuš (tub or washtub), versus standard teš; and muḥadda (pillow), versus standard meḥadda. Even some words of Hebrew origin have Jewish Arabic versions substituting ę for the original vowel: kutubbā (marriage contract), as opposed to ketubbā; or kuppūr ([Yom] Kippur), as opposed to kippūr.
PARTICLES AND TYPICAL WORDS

Jewish Arabic uses the demonstrative pronouns de and dön in addition to the standard forms da and döl.\textsuperscript{10} I also found the form dön, as a variant of dön.

Jewish speakers often use the personal pronoun humman (they) instead of the standard humma, and, less often, kamān (also, too), instead of standard kamān. Furthermore, Jewish Arabic has retained the interrogative particles 'ēš (what?), lēš (why), and kēf or kif (how?), which have fallen out of use in the Cairene dialect. The Cairene dialect would also have put these particles at the end of the sentence, while Jewish Arabic places them at the beginning: 'ēš 'āyez? (what do you want?), as opposed to 'āyez 'ēh? in the standard dialect.

Jews often pronounce the number 400 as 'urbu'meyya, instead of standard rub'umeyya, and a few informants pronounced the number 600 as settumeyya, versus standard suttumeyya.\textsuperscript{11}

On the basis of descriptions of Egyptian Arabic from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Blanc demonstrated that some of the morphological features unique to the Jews of Cairo were once used by non-Jewish speakers as well. They fell into disuse over time, to be retained only by the Jews.\textsuperscript{12} For example, the non-standard form ega (he came), which can be conjugated in all persons in the past tense, appears in non-Cairene and non-Egyptian dialects, but in twentieth-century Cairo it was used only by Jews. I found further instances of forms now used only by Jews in other descriptions from the same period, such as gu (they came), versus standard gum, and de (this),\textsuperscript{13} used in addition to the standard form da.\textsuperscript{14} Another non-standard form used by many Jewish informants is the third person feminine singular form gātet (she came), versus gāt in Egyptian Arabic. It should be pointed out that several forms that are no longer used in Cairo are still used in non-Cairene Egyptian dialects.\textsuperscript{15}

THE VOCABULARY OF SPOKEN EGYPTIAN JEWISH ARABIC

Vocabulary items used exclusively by Jews consist mainly of Hebrew words and expressions, which often undergo changes in meaning and sometimes changes in form as well. Another major component is Arabic words that are used by Jews in a different way than by non-Jews. Other, quantitatively more limited sources are Aramaic and various European languages, mainly French and Italian, as well as Ladino (Judeo-Spanish). The syntactic patterns into which all the Hebrew and other non-Arabic components of the vocabulary are implanted are those of Egyptian Arabic.

As in the vocabularies of other Jewish languages, many uniquely Jewish words and expressions are connected with religious and communal aspects of Jewish life. Others are used as a secret language for communicating information in the presence of those who are not members of the community.\textsuperscript{16} The vocabulary items described below are typical examples, constituting only a small part of the corpus I collected.

Words Originating in European Languages

The word el-kumminūṭ or el-komminutā (the first derived from French communauté, the second probably from Italian comunità, with the addition of the definite article) is commonly used to designate the central organ of the Jewish community. The Chancellor of the Alexandria Jewish community in his office.

The Chancellor of the Alexandria Jewish community in his office.
community, which was responsible for managing its religious and secular affairs. Bêt es-sinyôr, synonymous with el-kumminut, is also very commonly used among all Jews. Es-sinyôr (the lord, the master) was a term used especially among speakers of Italian and Ladino to designate the Chief Rabbi. Bêt es-sinyôr thus refers to the Chief Rabbi’s house, or the seat of the Rabbinate.

Several more words stemming from Ladino are used by all Egyptian Jews. Two common examples are robbîsa (or rabbîsâ and ribbîsa), denoting a rabbi’s wife and often used more generally to denote a pious woman, and kurrâsî, denoting a pouch for carrying one’s phylacteries and prayer shawl.

Words and Expressions Whose Components Are All Arabic

Some of the words and expressions used by Jews consist exclusively of components of purely Arabic origin. For example, the word ‘erâya, which in Egyptian Arabic means “reading” as well as declaiming verses of the Koran, is used by Jews to denote a memorial service. Gabal means “mountain,” but Cairene Jews use it, with the prefixed definite article (el-gabal), to denote a cemetery, so that te’le’ el-gabal (went up the mountain) means “went to visit the cemetery.”

The Jews of Egypt use two words to denote the Sabbath, Hebrew šabbât and Arabic sâbt. A second-form verb, sâbbet, derived from the Arabic term, means “spent the Sabbath with,” as in ta’âla sabbet ‘andena (come and spend the Sabbath with us). No verb with this meaning exists in Egyptian Arabic.

Some of these expressions have no meaning outside Jewish Arabic. For example, it was the custom of the Jews of Egypt to eat goose at the festive meal on the holiday of Shavuot (Pentecost), giving rise to the expression ‘id el-wezza (“feast of the goose”), a popular name for the holiday. According to folk belief, a wife who does not serve her husband goose on Pentecost risks divorce.

Hebrew Components

The creation of new words and expressions based on Hebrew roots

Some words and expressions in Jewish Arabic are neologisms created from Hebrew words or roots. For example, the second-form verb makket (hit, beat) is formed from the root MKT, otherwise non-existent in Arabic and derived from the Hebrew word makkot (blows, in the plural), whose Hebrew root is NKY. The verb is commonly used in the imperative: Makketo! (Hit him! Beat him up!).

The verb ‘etdardem or ‘eddardem (fell asleep) is also commonly used in the imperative by impatient or angry parents to their children at bedtime: “Go to sleep! Fall asleep!” Many speakers consider it a profanity. The verb dardem exists in Egyptian Arabic, where, as a secondary form of radam, it means “cover, fill [mainly with earth].” ‘Etardem is its passive form, but neither form is widespread. In Jewish Arabic, ‘etardem, apparently influenced by the Hebrew root RDM and the verb nirdam (fell asleep), is used only with the meaning of “fall asleep.” The verb, which looks as if it were derived from the quadriliteral root DRDM (expanded from the triliteral root RDM), exists only in the seventh form and also appears in the expression ‘etardem durdêma Hanôh (fell asleep like Enoch, i.e., fell into a deep sleep). The word durdêma, which is used exclusively in this expression and only in the construct form, is reminiscent of the Hebrew word tardema and also has the appearance of being derived from the root DRDM. The name of Enoch and the expression’s metaphorical meaning appear to be based on Gen. 5:24: “Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him.”

The eighth-form verb ‘ettabal or ‘ettabul, meaning “immersed oneself in a ritual bath” (usually said of a woman), does not exist in Arabic and derives from the Hebrew root TBL, as does the word setBackground:rgb(255,255,255);
referring to the (female) supervisor of the ritual bath and formed according to a nominal pattern often used for indicating professions. Egyptian Arabic has an identical word meaning “woman drummer,” derived from the Arabic root TBL and its second-form verbal derivative, ṭabbel, which means “beat a drum” (see also maṭbal and ṭebilā in the next section).

Words and expressions whose Hebrew components retain their original form and meaning

Many Hebrew words retain their form and meaning in Jewish Arabic. Examples are še’er (lie); gannāb (thief); rā’, pl. ra’im (bad, an evil person/persons); le’olām va’ed (forever); nēs (miracle); and yerē šāmāyim (God-fearing).

Words and Expressions Originating in Aspects of Jewish Life

A considerable portion of the unique vocabulary of Egyptian Jewish Arabic refers to aspects of Jewish religious and communal life. Below are some typical examples.

The synagogue and prayer

Tefillā (prayer); gelyān (raising the Torah scroll in the synagogue); taglēyya (carrying the Torah scroll around the synagogue); šammāš (caretaker, beadle of a synagogue; also, the ninth candle from which the Hanukkah lamp is lit); hazzān (cantor); gabbāy (administrator of a synagogue); tebbā (prayer rostrum); séfer, pl. sefarim (Torah scroll).

Jewish holidays and the Jewish calendar

‘urubbā, ‘erubbā, ‘arubbā, and also yōm el-‘urubbā (the eve of a holiday); roššanā, roš hašanā (Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year); sukkōt (Sukkot, the Feast of Tabernacles); purim or hurim (Purim); and ḍēḥa, the Hebrew title of the Book of Lamentations, used to designate the Ninth of Ab, the fast day on which Lamentations is read in the synagogue (see also below).

Religious duties and ceremonies

The word tefillim or tefilin, i.e., phylacteries, is also used to refer to the Bar Mitzva ceremony celebrating a boy’s coming of age at thirteen. Often prefixed by an Arabic definite article, it is also used in mixed expressions having to do with the Bar Mitzva ceremony: ḳayelbes et-tefilim (lit.: he will put on phylacteries, that is, he is about to celebrate his Bar-Mitzvah); labbesūt et-tefilim (they celebrated his Bar Mitzva). Other examples in this category include: mezuā (a parchment scroll affixed to the doorpost); habdalā (the ritual concluding the Sabbath or a holiday); maṭbal (ritual bath); tebilā (immersion in a ritual bath); and ḍaddās or ḍaddūs (kiddush, a prayer recited before a festive Sabbath or holiday meal). Kapparāt ṣównō, or kapparā alone, refers to the ritual of atonement practiced before Yom Kippur or in times of illness or trouble, in which a rooster (for men) or a hen (for women) is slaughtered and its meat, usually, given to the poor. The expression is also used as an exclamation when something breaks or some other bad thing happens: “let it atone for your sins!”, i.e., “Never mind!”
Words and Expressions Whose Hebrew Components Have Undergone Change in Form or Meaning

As in other eastern Jewish dialects, the word haḥam, which means “wise,” “wise man,” or “scholar” in Hebrew, is the usual designation in Egyptian Jewish Arabic for a rabbi. Arabic suffixes of Turkish origin yield ḥahāmbās (Chief Rabbi) and ḥahāmhāna (the Rabbinate, the central institution of the Jewish community).

‘Eha, designating the fast of the Ninth of Ab (see above), is used in a number of expressions with negative connotations, as in yōm ‘eḥa (figuratively, a bad, unlucky, or disastrous day); ḫāṣ-e ‘eḥa (a grieved-looking person); ‘āmel zayy-e ‘amūd ‘eḥa (lit.: acts like a pillar of the Ninth of Ab, i.e., stands still).

‘Eṣet-hayīl, or ‘eṣet-hayīm (“woman of valor,” Prov. 31:10) is used by Egyptian Jews quite frequently to refer to a righteous, pious woman, loyal to her husband and family; this expression refers more to a woman’s moral qualities than to the skills enumerated in Proverbs.

The expression ‘adonay ‘emēt wumuṣē ‘emēt (lit.: God is true and Moses is true), as well as the shortened version ‘adonay ‘emēt, does not exist in modern Hebrew. In Jewish Arabic it is an exclamation, made in response to hearing something incredible: “Really?! That’s amazing! You don’t say!”

‘Odeš (lit.: something sacred or consecrated) refers to a Jewish charity fund providing free lodging and economic assistance to indigent Jews.

Expressions Consisting of Mixed Components

The linguistic creativity of the speakers of Egyptian Jewish Arabic is especially noticeable in their creation of mixed expressions combining Hebrew and non-Hebrew (usually Arabic) components. The structure and syntax of such expressions are those of standard Egyptian Arabic.

Yā wāy yā barāḥ ‘adonay: This expression, used in response to extreme fluctuations, for good or ill, in a person’s or the world’s situation (such as a drought followed by floods, or a very poor person suddenly coming into a lot of money), is based on the common Egyptian Arabic pattern yā ... yā ... (either ... or ... ), into which two contradictory possibilities are inserted. In this case, the initial insertion consists of the onomatopoeic words wāy wāy, which denote sorrow, while the second is a Hebrew expression meaning “blessed is God,” yielding the meaning “either things are terrible or they are wonderful; feast or famine.”

Hazzān bistanna ‘addīš, “(like) a cantor waiting for a Kaddish,” is an expression used of someone looking for an opportunity to earn something for his livelihood, even at the expense of others. The two nouns are of Hebrew origin, while the verb is Arabic.

Rama el-‘avonēt, “cast his sins away” (in the Tashlikh ceremony on the Jewish New Year). The verb and definite article are Arabic; the noun is Hebrew.

ELEMENTS OF JEWISH SECRET LANGUAGES AND THEIR REFLECTION OF RELATIONS WITH NON-JEWS

In many Jewish communities, in the East as well as in the West, elements of the unique Jewish vocabulary served as a secret language, making it possible to communicate in the presence of non-Jews without the latter understanding what

Entrance to the Jewish Quarter of Cairo. The old Jewish Quarter is part of the Mousky quarter, a commercial neighborhood that was populated mostly by Jews.
was being said. Artisans and merchants often developed secret languages for their own particular professions, enabling them to speak about commercial as well as private matters in the presence of customers – including Jews who were not of the profession.

The word göy (see below) is used by Jews in both the East and the West to denote a non-Jew. In Egypt and other areas in the east, the Jews make a terminological distinction between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in order to be able to report on a person’s affiliation during the process of communication.21 The Jews of Egypt refer to a Jew as ben 'ammenu, pl. ben∂ 'ammenu (lit.: a member of our people); to a Muslim as göy, f. goy∂, pl. goy¬m; and to a Christian as 'ar∂r, f. 'ar∂r∂r, pl. 'ar∂r¬m. The latter term, 'ar∂r, is derived from the Hebrew word 'ar∂l (uncircumcised),22 which is used in various Jewish dialects in the east and even appears in written texts. Another common word used as a secret language element is šatta' (from the Hebrew root ŠTQ), “be quiet,” i.e., don’t speak about this now, so that the non-Jew won’t hear.23

The most developed secret language is that of the goldsmiths, which was used for centuries by the Jewish (mostly Karaite) goldsmiths in Egypt and was later adopted by their Muslim and Christian colleagues, who use it to this day. There are some local variations of this language in different areas of Egypt. For example, “one” in all versions of the goldsmiths’ language is 'ahād, derived from Hebrew 'ehād (or the construct form 'ahād); “two,” on the other hand, is šanāyen (derived from Hebrew šenāyim) in the Cairene version, while in Alexandria it is 'ahāden, a dual form of Hebrew 'ehād (one), though this word has no such form in Hebrew. In all versions, yafet refers to high quality goods or a good customer; phonetically, this word is similar to Hebrew yafet (beautiful, nice). It is also the colloquial Arabic form of yafit, Standard Arabic for the biblical name Japheth (yefet or yafet in Hebrew), which, according to rabbinic interpretations, means “beautiful.”24 Most of the numbers, such as šelāša (three), hemeša (five), šamānya (eight), and šlušin (thirty), are of Hebrew origin, but some are not: ‘ennetra (ten), mešt (twenty, in Cairo), ‘enmetreten (twenty, in Alexandria), kwatrin (forty, derived from the word denoting “four” in the Romance languages, with the Arabic plural suffix -in). The goldsmiths’ language has dozens more words for communicating information about customers and goods or giving instructions about how to treat customers. Most of them are derived either from Hebrew or from the names of goldsmiths’ tools, some of which are archaic terms whose original meaning is no longer known to the speakers of the language. For example, a piece of jewelry that was returned by a customer and is now again on display is called 'admūn or 'admūn, from Hebrew qadmon, (ancient). Hāt el-gaft (lit.: “hand me the tweezers”) means “be quiet, don’t talk about this now,” similarly to the word šatta’ (see above).25

OATHS

Many informants insisted that swearing was a reprehensible habit and that they themselves refrained from pronouncing oaths. However, oaths are very common in the language of the Jews. Most consist of Hebrew components combined with Arabic oath formulas. The most commonly used oath formula is we (also wu, wa: by ..., by the life of ..., I swear by ...). Other formulas include welyāt ... (by the life of ..., I swear by ...), and be, similar to we.
The most common and forceful oaths contain words denoting the Torah. A very frequent one is be’emet hatora (by the truth of the Torah). The word sêfer, which denotes a Torah scroll, appears in a number of oaths, in both the singular form, wes-sêfer (I swear by the Torah scroll) and the plural, wes-sefarim (I swear by [all] the Torah scrolls). The strongest and most binding oath is wes-sêfer kannidrê (I swear by the Torah scroll of kannidrê). Kannidrê refers to the Kol Nidrei prayer, recited on the evening of Yom Kippur. Most of my informants, though not all, knew that the reference was to the Torah scrolls that are taken out of the Holy Ark for that prayer. All of them agreed that this was a very strong oath, which bound its user to telling the truth. Another common oath is wehyât el-harambâm (by the life of Maimonides).

A number of oaths mention cult articles or objects in the vicinity of the person making the oath. Examples include wet-tefilm (I swear by the phylacteries); wel-mushâf (I swear by the [printed holy] book); and wehyât eš-sêhakol (I swear by the drink). This last oath has its origin in the Hebrew blessing šehakol nihya bidvaro, “Blessed art Thou, Lord, king of the universe) by whose word everything was created,” recited before imbibing a drink.

CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

As with any distinct social group, the language of the Jews of Egypt contains expressions and idioms related to the group’s way of life. Some of these are connected with events in the life of the community and are said only in the context of these events.Ș

At the Passover seder, which in Jewish Arabic is called lêlt el-haggadâ (lit.: “The night of the Haggadah”), it is customary to give each small child in turn a folded napkin with a piece of matza inside, which he then carries on his shoulder in commemoration of the parcels which the Children of Israel carried as they left Egypt. The leader of the ceremony conducts the following dialogue with each child in turn:

– gayy-e mnên? (Where are you coming from?)
– min mistrayim. (From Egypt.)
– weraqe fên? (And where are you going?)
– ’ala yerushalayim. (To Jerusalem.)

Several informants reported that in families with many children, when the ceremony became repetitive, the more mischievous children would answer the first question by saying things like me-l-madrasa (from school) or min masr el-gedida (from Heliopolis).

When Jewish parents want to quiet their tots and children or put them down to sleep, they sing: ḥud el-bezza wes kut / ḥud el-bezza wenâm / ummak es-robbisa / wa-bûk el-hayâm, “Take the nipple and be quiet / take the nipple and sleep / your mother is a Rabbi’s wife / and your father is the Rabbi.” This is a Jewish version of a song that non-Jews sing to their small children. It has a number of versions; for example: ḥud el-bezza wes kut / ḥud el-bezza wenâm / ummak essayyeda / wa-bûk el-imâm, “Take the nipple and be quiet / take the nipple and sleep / your mother is a lady / and your father is the Imam (prayer leader).”

At the end of the Sabbath, Jews greet each other by saying gum’etak ḥadra (or gum’etkum ḥadra in the plural), “Have a good (lit: green) week,” a greeting used exclusively by Jews. The usual responses are
wugum’etak ḥadra (or just wugum’e-tak), “May you also have a green week,” or wugum’etak zayy es-sal’, “May your week be as green as beet leaves.” Other such greetings draw upon similes used by Egyptians generally to greet each other in the morning, such as full (jasmine) or ‘eṣṭa (cream made from the foam accumulating at the top of the milk); for example, wugum’e-tak zayy el-full, “May you have a week (white and clean) like jasmine.”

Jews who go to the synagogue at the end of the Sabbath receive myrtle branches. They rub the leaves in their hands and recite the blessing bore ’aṣey besammîm (lit.: [Blessed art Thou Lord, king of the universe], who created sweet-smelling trees). Myrtle in Arabic is marsîn, which some Jews pronounce marsîm, but many pronounce it barsîm, which in Egyptian Arabic denotes a species of clover used as animal feed. Some of my informants told me that they wondered how the same word could refer both to animal feed and to a plant rubbed for its sweet smell at the end of the Sabbath.

CONCLUDING NOTE

On the basis of the linguistic usages and vocabulary items described here, which represent only a small part of the repertoire of the Jewish Arabic spoken by the Jews of Egypt, it may be said that they had a dialect of their own. The Jews of Cairo and Alexandria, where nearly all the Jews lived, shared a common dialect which was distinct in quite a number of features from the dialects spoken...
by non-Jews – a difference that was
greater when the Jews were com-
municating with each other than
when they communicated with
non-Jews. Hundreds of words and
expressions were unique to the
Jews; many of these were of
Hebrew origin, while others com-
prised a mixture of Hebrew, Ara-
bic, and occasionally other
languages as well. This vocabulary
attests to ties with other Jewish
dialects in the region, but it also
has some distinctive features of its
own, amounting, together with the
phonological and morphological
features described at the begin-
ing of this article, to a dialect that we
may call “Spoken Egyptian Jewish
Arabic.” This dialect occasionally
came to written expression as well.
Certain words and expressions,
particularly some of those having
to do with religious and commu-
ity life, may be found in the Arabic-
language Jewish newspapers
published in Egypt during the first
half of the twentieth century. A
few words even appear in earlier
written texts, such as those found
in the Cairo Geniza.

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d’Égypte: Images et textes (second edi-
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Dr. Jacques Hasson.

1. This paper is based on parts of a
forthcoming study of the Arabic
dialect of the Jews of Egypt. I have
described some of its results in two
Hebrew articles: “Spoken Jewish
Arabic in Modern Egypt: Hebrew
and Non-standard Components,”
and “Hebrew Words and Karaite
Goldsmiths’ Secret Language Used
by Jews and Non-Jews in Modern
115–153.

2. Such as the dialect of the Jews of
Baghdad, which differs from that of
both Muslim and Christian inhabi-
tants of that city; see Haim Rabin et
al., “Jewish Languages: Common,
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4. Idem, “Egyptian Judeo-Arabic:
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(Venice, 1697),” in Shelomo Morag
et al. (eds.), Studies in Judaism and
Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov
185–202. Both articles describe col-
loquial Arabic texts written down by
Jews in the seventeenth century.

5. For details, see Rosenbaum, “Spo-
ken Jewish Arabic” (above, note 1),
in the Introduction.

6. See Gudron Krämer, “The Rise and
Decline of the Jewish Community of
(Hebrew).

7. For additional details, see my arti-
cles cited in note 1 above.

8. In Egyptian Arabic, words with
long vowels have their stress on
the syllable with the last long vow-
el; therefore, one would have
expected the feminine forms of
kabéd and kohén to be kabédá and
kohéná.

9. On this issue see Blanc, “The Nekte-
beb-Nektebu Imperfect” (above,
note 3), p. 206; and idem, “Egypt-
ian Judeo-Arabic” (above, note 4),
p. 303.

10. See Blanc, “The Nekteb-Nektebu
Imperfect” (above, note 3), p. 216.

11. Ibid., p. 217

12. Ibid., p. 207.

13. Cf. An Egyptian Alphabet for the
Egyptian People, n.a., Florence,
1904; p. 84, where gu is the only
form.

14. Cf. Gabriel Sacroug. The Egyptian
Travelling Interpreter, or Arabic
Without a Teacher for English Trav-
ellers Visiting Egypt, Cairo 1874,
p. 239.

15. For such forms see Peter Behnstedt
and Manfred Woidich, Die ägyp-
tisch-arabischen Dialekte, (IV:
Glossar Arabisch-Deutsch), Wiesbaden 1994;
on this matter see also Blanc,
“The Nekteb-Nektebu Imperfect”
(above, note 3), p. 216.

16. See, e.g., Abraham Ben-Yaacob,
‘Irit ve’aramit bilsan yehudey bevel
(Hebrew and Aramaic in the Lan-
guage of the Jews of Iraq),
Jerusalem 1985, pp. 10–12; Moshé
Bar-Asher, “Eléments hébreux
dans le judéo-arabes Marocain,” in
idem, Massorot uleshonot shel
yehudey tzefon afiraq (Traditions
linguistiques des Juifs d’Afrique du
Nord) Jerusalem-Ashkelon 1999,
p. 158.
17. The forms rabí, rebí, ribí and rubí exist in Ladino as versions of the Hebrew rav or rabbi; see David M. Bunis, *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo*. Jerusalem 1993, p. 406. The feminine Egyptian Judeo-Arabic forms are derived from these.


20. A homonym in the standard dialect, used by Jews as well, means “dishwashing” or “dishes to wash.”


24. BT *Megilla* 9b, commenting on Gen. 9:27.

25. For a detailed description of the goldsmiths’ secret language see Rosenbaum, “Hebrew Words” (above, note 1).

26. On the definite article in this word see above, in the section on “The Definite Article, the Feminine, and the Plural.”


28. For a description of this ceremony and a French version of the dialogue see Hassoun, *Chroniques* (above note 27), pp. 174–175.