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NOTES

As it may be noted from *axrajūf*, it is sometimes maintained, e.g. in *Ayjasūf* 'Yūsif', obviously for **Aysajūf*. *Afnajjīlāt* are coffee cups (arabic *fanājīl*, sg. *fanājā*). I heard these forms in 1935 in the 'Abbādī huts near Manshi El 'Ammāri E. of Karnak.

What about Von Kremer's secret language? It seems to be of Persian origin. As a matter of fact, a great many Egyptian slang expressions, mainly of the Nawari (a thief-language) are Persian, e.g. the plural ending *-hān* (new Persian *-hā* and *-ān*), *saḡ* dog (*saḡ*), *fulhān* money (*ḡul* plus *-hān* pl.), *āw* water (*āb*), *surx* red (*surx*) etc. So I think that also the insertion of *-erk* may go back to a Persian model. In Teheran, there is a kind of slang formed with *-erq* or *-rq* called *morgi*, e.g. *birḡyargā* = come! (*biyā*!), *mirḡgerqan* = *mīgam*, i.e. *mīgam* 'I say' (V. Monteil, *Le Persan Contemporain*, Paris 1955, p. 111).

THE SLANG OF THE HALAB IS-SŪDĀN

WHO ARE THE HALAB?

The *Ḥalab* are well known all over Egypt as beggars, musicians, blacksmiths and tinkers, snake-charmers, etc. Their women are dancers and fortune-tellers, they puncture and sell tissues. They are generally considered as gypsies (Galtier: *Les Tsiganes en Egypte*. MIFAO, xxvii, 1912, pp. 1-9), but this is hardly true from the evidence we possess. Nubian *Ḥalab* are first mentioned by Schäfer (1917) who states however that there were no *Ḥalab* in Nubia after the building of the Aswan Dam.

The following notes were taken from a wandering group of 30-40 *Ḥalab* near the Sheikh *Abu j-Yūd*, north of the market of Luxor, in 1936. Though their language was Upper Egyptian Arabic, they claimed to be Sudanese *Ḥalab* (*Ḥalab is-Sūdān*) and to come from *Wādī Ḥalfā*. This assertion was supported by a good knowledge of Nubian things and habits as well as a certain number of Nubian expressions in their slang. These latter belonged to a Central Nubian dialect (Fiyadičča or Mahās and not to the Northern Kunūzi dialect, e.g. *amanga* 'water' is acc. *aman-ga* (Fiyadičča), not *essi-gi* (Kunūzi) and *fenti* 'dates, *balah*' as in Fiyadičča) while the Kunūzi word is *beti*.

There was also a Ḥalabi man, Gāsīm with the nick-name *Zarrāi*, and a woman *Yāme* in the *Matla n-Nagādi* street in Luxor, behind the Coptic church, who knew the same Nubian expressions.

PHONOLOGY

The language of the *Ḥalab is-Sūdān* can be defined as a 'common Upper Egyptian dialect' probably as a result of dialect mixture in markets and large centres of population. The letter *gin* is pronounced as in Sudan Arabic as 'voiced front palatal plosive' *jim*, e.g. *jamal* 'camel', *ku ni* 'farmer, fellah' while *qāf* is pronounced as the ordinary English *g* in 'good', e.g. *gārūb* 'man', *gāsīm* 'demon'.

Only stressed vowels can be long, e.g. *gayyāf* 'beggard', *milāniš* 'tongue'. In some cases I have indicated the etymological length as in *gārūb* (pl. *gawārūb*),

KUSH = *ḡuḡuḡuḡ* OF THE SUDAN
between the burials are the corridors with burial
ick walls at Kerma that do not exist in El-Bekri's
also smaller graves at Kerma with a single chamber
nial to the above type. A technical detail is the use
od (El-Bekri).
WERNER VYICHL.

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No. 69, 1914 and xiii, No. 80, 1915.
t über die Ausgrabungen auf den Friedhöfen von El-
hyffen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse
persons buried in the tumuli at Kerma were Sudanese and
erma-Kunst', Griffith Studies, London, 1932, pp. 297-303

r die Ausgrabungen in Kerma'. *Orientalistische Litera-*
y, vol. xxix, pp. 88-98 (follows Junker against Reisner,
settlement at Kerma. The bodies buried in the tumuli
Egyptians).

chiche der Steinzeit (World History of the Stone Age),
ecularly pp. 49, 439-41 and 461 (Kerma civilization as a
on with Egyptian influence, but not as a result of Egyptian

LANGUAGE OF THE 'ABBADI SHEIKHS

entions a secret language of the 'Abbadi Sheikhs
ol. I, pp. 131-2). It is rather a secret language for
erion of *-erk* in every syllable. In Vienna (Austria)
bich gebehe ibin dibe Schubebe=ich gehe in die
Von Kremer gives thirty examples of this 'secret

irkis sun (arabic *schams*)
wadi (arabic *wadi*)
ram (arabic *charaf*)
dog (arabic *kelb*)

e have to read *arkašarhamarhi*, *warakarhi*, *xarka-*
ist and the last forms do not go back to *šams* and *kalb*
bādi forms *šams* and *kālib*. This 'secret language'
Winkler who studied the 'Abbadi language from 1932
t (*Ägyptische Volkskunde*, Stuttgart, 1936, p. 393) nor
ave another secret language, e.g.:

sun (arabic *šams*)
wadi (arabic *wādi*)
ram (arabic *xarūf*)
dog (arabic *kālib*)

Werner Vyichl
1954

KUSH

gāim 'demon' (pl. *gawāim*), *gānāh* 'dog' (pl. *gawānāh*), but the actual pronunciation is rather *garāh*, *gāim*, *gānāh*. *Alwadānī* 'car' is pronounced *mudānī*, from Arabic *wadān* f. and this *w* is never dropped (but *muraxxi* 'mouth', *fi mawxi* 'in his mouth').

NOMINAL FORMS

(a) The vocabulary of the *Ḥalabi* is rather poor and so any Arabic word can be transformed into a *Ḥalabi* one by using particular nominal forms, mainly *mukādhif* or *mikādhif* (for *kitāb* 'book'): m. *mukādhif* 'speck' (*kabir* 'great') f. *mukādhif* 'earthen pot' (*burra*) *mukādhif* 'door' (*bab*, from *b-w-b*) *mukādhif* 'belly' (*baḥn* f.) *mukādhif* 'key' (*muḥḥāh*) *mukādhif* 'car' (*wadān* f.). This ending -*if* seems to correspond to -*ayī* (f. -*ayī*) in other *Ḥalab* dialects of Upper Egypt. Von Kremer has *dhāyī* 'jackal' (*dhā*) *gharāyī* 'west' (*garā*), *ḥarāyī* 'hair' (*ḥar*), *ḥadāyī* 'iron' (*ḥadā*) and Winkler cites *xad-dāyī* 'check' (*xad*), *nunāyī* 'pupil of the eye' (*nun*), etc. This -*f* is certainly of foreign origin (an Indo-European nominative ending).

(b) In some cases a form *qutāl*, f. *qutālī* is used: *dumāxa* 'head' (from *damax*, *yudmāx* 'to sleep'), Aramaic origin. *humāla* 'hand' (Arabic *kamla* 'a handful'). *muḥḥāx* 'buffalo' (Arabic *naḥas* 'to blow'). *noḥāx* 'sheep' (Arabic *n-ḥ-y* 'to weep, to mourn'). *roḡḡāle* 'foot' (Aramaic *roḡlā*, not Arabic *roḡl* or *riḡl*). *luḡḡāx* 'dry bread, piece of dry bread' (Arabic *ḥirḡ*). *ḥarḡāx* 'way, road' (Arabic *ḥarḡ*). *ḥabāx* 'cooked vegetables' (Arabic *ḥabīx*). *ummar* ('*ummar*') 'thing' used like *amr* with possessive pronouns: (c) An infix *k* is found in the following cases: *mukabwar* 'fish' (from *bār*, name of a Nile fish). *mukabwad* 'eggs' coll. and 'milk' (from Arabic *abwad* 'white'). *mukabwāx* 'durra straw, hut made of durra straw' (Arabic *bāḡ*). *mukawada* 'coffee' (from Arabic *ḥwad* 'black'). *mukabwad* 'one rial' (literally the white one, from *abyad*). *mukabwar* 'one pound' (literally the red one, from *ahmar*, 'gold pound'). *mukabwāx* 'dates, *balāḥ*' (from Arabic *ḥawā* 'sweet') also *mukabwāx*. (d) In one case the infix is *g*: *muḡawara* 'lamp, match, fire, light, heater' etc. (*nār* 'light', *nār* 'fire'). (e) Nomina actors are formed with a suffix -*ī* in three cases: *ḡamarī* 'pick-pocket' (Arabic *naḥāl*). *ḡamarī* 'thief' (from the *Ḥalab* verb *ḡamar* *yḡmar* 'to steal'). *ḡadāyī* 'dancer' (f.). (f) Numerals are used in the form *ḡālī* (except for *mukādhif* 'one') *lānī* 2, *ḡālī* 3, *ḡālī* 4, *ḡālī* 5, *ḡālī* 6, *ḡālī* 7, *ḡālī* 8, *ḡālī* 9, *ḡālī* 10, already given by Von Kremer.

NOTES

ARAMAIC WORDS

A few words are of Aramaic origin, *ḡarāb* 'man' has been compared by E. Littmann with Hebrew *ḡarāb* 'relative' (*Talmudic literature*). *Damāx*, *yudmāx* 'to sleep' cannot be separated from Aramaic *dēmēkh*, *nēḡmākh* 'to fall asleep'. *Dumāxa* is, in my opinion, the 'sleeping one', i.e. the 'head' and not derived from Arabic *dīmāḡ* 'brains' (E. Littmann). *Roḡḡāle* 'foot' is derived from Aramaic *roḡlā* (not from Arabic *riḡl*). *Muḡādhim* 'blind' comes from Aramaic *ḡ-l-m* 'to be dark'. In Upper Egyptian Arabic we have the forms *ḡalma* 'darkness' and *ḡulmā* 'injustice'. The ending -*ūn* in *ḡamk-ūn* 'baby' (from *ḡamk* 'boy') is Aramaic.

A GYPSY WORD

There is at least one Gypsy word in *Ḥalabi*: *ḡānāh* 'dog'. I connect it with *ḡonā-ah* 'a dog' in Bahawānī (a Gypsy language in Egypt), Sanskrit *ḡana*, Latin *canis*.

NUBIAN WORDS

Some Nubian words are taken over in the nominative case as *ḡād* 'boy', *ḡarū* 'girl', *ḡār* 'scorpion', *ḡāḡāḡ* 'snake', *ḡāḡḡ* 'cooked vegetables'. Others take the accusative ending -*ḡā* e.g. *ḡāḡḡ* 'donkey' (for **ḡāḡḡ-ḡā*), *ḡāḡḡḡ* 'bread' (**ḡāḡḡḡ-ḡā* instead of *-ḡā*), *ḡāḡḡḡ* 'water' (*ḡāḡḡḡ-ḡā*). *ḡāḡḡḡ* as *nomen unīatis* is 'one onion'. The collective form is *ḡāḡḡḡ*.

ARABIC WORDS

Some rare Arabic words are found in *Ḥalabi*. Littmann connects *ḡāḡḡ* 'horse' with *ḡāḡḡ* 'to neigh' and *ḡāḡḡḡ* 'donkey' with *ḡāḡḡ* 'femelle du mulet' (Dozy, *Supplément* I, p. 615). *Nabāḡā* 'hen' is the 'searching, scraping' bird. *Fād*, *yafād* is Arabic and means 'to escape, to run away'.

Note.—eg. *Ḥalabi* has two collective plurals, *Ḥalab* and *Ḥalaba*.

GRAMMAR

There is no special *Ḥalabi* grammar. The slang words are inserted into the normal Arabic word structure:

<i>if ḡarāb fall</i>	'the man went away'	(<i>ir-rāḡil maḡa</i>).
<i>if ḡāḡḡ behla</i>	'the woman is beautiful'	(<i>il-maraḡ jamīla</i>).
<i>uḡb ḡāḡḡ</i>	'come here!'	(<i>ḡāḡḡ ḡāḡḡ</i>).
<i>ḡāḡḡ ḡāḡḡḡ</i>	'give me the water!'	(<i>ḡāḡḡ ḡāḡḡḡ</i>).
<i>ḡāḡḡḡ ḡāḡḡḡḡ</i>	'he has bread'	(<i>ḡāḡḡ ḡāḡḡḡ</i>).

There is but one point to be noted concerning the possessive suffixes as these take in most cases *amr* 'thing' (or *ummar*) e.g. *mukādhif-i* 'my house', *ḡāḡḡḡḡ-i* 'my wife', *ḡāḡḡḡḡ-i* or *ḡāḡḡḡḡ-i* 'with me', Captain Newbold mentions *amr-amr-i* 'my mother' and Von Kremer has *ab-amr-u* 'his father' and *uḡl-amr-u* 'his sister'. Also *amr-i* is found.

KUSH

This construction is not to be confounded with *il-bet biṭā-i* (Cairo), *ed-dār dya-i* (Morocco) where *both* nouns bear the definite article. *Mahn-dm-i* is certainly of non-Arabic origin.

SOME SENTENCES

*Kiret il-gawānib=*many men have come. *E-tamhe behile, ana 'āg-ummar-ha=*the girl is beautiful. I love her. *Nfa f-i-raxxa māt-dm-ah=*have you nothing to eat? *Xaṣṣila, eh karz-it-na iāni?* Let us go (*idāla nfilā*), why shall we stay (here) any longer? *Rahna 'almukhina u jibna šaṣṣayit lagga=*we went to the houses and we brought some dried bread. *Fill'al-mukh-i-dāni=*go to the other house! *U'a la ykmi tāy-ah=*take care, let him not rob your house! *Waliḥ il-kanig* (or: *iz-zawil*)=*bring the donkey!* *Fih mukha kārzin 'andi-na=*there are some boys sitting near us. *Kif il-beṭike=*give me the money!

WORD-LIST

(a) Persons

gimāxi Christian, pl. *gimāxiya*
gāyāf beggar pl. *gāyāfin*
gamari pick-pocket, pl. *gamariye*
kanati thief, pl. *kanatiye*
iḡalīye dancing girl, pl. *-at*
kupri farmer, fellah, pl. *kūṣān*
kadāyā Don Juan (from *hadda*)
gāṣim demon, 'āfrit, pl. *gawāṣim*
'urubhi Arab, f. *urubhiye*
būiari robber, gangster (no plural)
awlad il-kār dancers, musicians
kūf or *kūf* negro, pl. *karwāt*
kūf soldier, pl. *karaki*

(b) The Body

hummat hand, or *tammale*, pl. *hamā*
mī, tamāmī or *tammālāt*,
fallale finger pl. *fellālāt*
miklāḡi shoulder (Arab. *kūf*)
rogḡāle foot
mubḡāne belly (Arab. *baṣn* f.)
kāxa seat

(c) Animals

jānāh dog, pl. *janānāh*
muffāze buffalo (Arab. *jamāze*)
mukāḡwar fish (probably Arab. *būr*)
itti scorpion (Nubian *itte*)
waṣṣlangi snake (Nubian)
rabbāte hen, pl. *rabbātāt*
no'āye sheep

226

NOTES

(d) The Land

mūṣuḡi market (Arab. *ṣūḡ*), also *mog-*
mūc (gathering)
mūṣūḡi river Nile (Arab. *bahr*)
mūṣūḡi field (Arab. *axḡar green*)
mukāḡwar durra-straw, hut made of
durra straw (Arab. *būi*)
furḡ road, way (Arab. *farḡ*)

(e) Money

dagga, betike money
siḡin min il-beṭike without money,
'broke'
mukāḡyād one rial, 15 piasters
mukāḡmar one guinea

(f) Food

raxxa food
kabbāka or *ḡimb* bread, pl. *ṣunba*
kanṣamī (coll.) betaw-bread
'odān (coll.) meat
biḡḡ (coll.) onion, also *mugannin*, nom.
unit. *biḡḡe*, *mugannina*
mukāḡwāḡ eggs (coll.), milk
jakkōi, jabir (cooked vegetables)

(g) Different Objects

māz, f. māza stick, thing (anything may
be called so if there is no special
word)
hubbāḡ thing, basket, *kabbāḡe* stick,
knife, gun, etc.
mugannara lamp, match, fire, light,
heater (Arab. *nār* light, *nār* fire)
kabbāra drum
iḡḡōr big drum
kūṣṣira rag, old cloth
kade cloth
rufṣā or *furṣar* *gufṣān*, cloth, banner
kerḡ twisted plate

(h) Qualities

saḡin f. saḡine good, beautiful, pl.
saḡān, also *bahī*, pl. *buhāi*
ṣalḡ (invariable) bad, ugly
mufallim blind
bi-jāle very, much

227

KUSH

(i) Verbs

<i>bagbat</i> to look	<i>karaz</i> to sit (down), to be present
<i>gagam</i> to speak, to tell	(<i>yikriz</i>)
<i>fall</i> to go away (<i>yifill</i>)	<i>raxxa</i> to eat (<i>yiraxxi</i>)
<i>garrag</i> to laugh	<i>imhazaz</i> to dance, or <i>itahazaz</i>
<i>kaf</i> to give (<i>yikif</i>)	<i>xafjan</i> to couple
<i>dannax</i> to sleep (<i>yindannax</i>)	<i>foyyax</i> to fart
<i>balaz</i> to sell	<i>kand</i> to steal (<i>yikand</i>)
<i>etjana</i> to slay, beat	<i>harha</i> to pray (<i>yikharhi</i>)
<i>garxal</i> to fart	<i>keyyaf</i> to do, to speak
<i>fallal</i> to take away, to do, to steal	<i>tarraf</i> to weep
<i>maxxaxi</i> to drink	<i>temman</i> to beat
<i>rabban</i> to ease oneself	<i>wadab</i> to come (<i>yikwad</i>)
<i>ihaddad</i> to marry (said of a man)	<i>wadab</i> to bring (<i>yikwadib</i>)

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W. VEICHEL.

228

NOTES

INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE PRONOUNS (1ST PERS. PLUR.) IN OLD NUBIAN

We have long been accustomed to finding in Old Nubian texts, two forms of the pronoun 'we', i.e. *ep* (*er*) meaning 'we (specially)' and *ow* (*o*) meaning 'we (all)'. Such a distinction suggests that formerly there was discrimination between 'Inclusive' and 'Exclusive' similar to the analogous distinction made by several other African tribes in their morphology. (Cf. Zylinder, *Grundzüge* etc. s. 94, p. 166, 1.80, n. 1).

In KUSH VI, pp. 172-3, Dr W. Veichel tried to demonstrate that the above-mentioned author of the *Old Nubian Grammar* must have been mistaken and that in his opinion the 'inclusive' pronoun should properly have been the 'exclusive' one and vice-versa, and this was illustrated by seven passages of Old Nubian ('Old Nubian Studies').

This point of view was clearly drawn from analogy with the (Hamb) pre-nominal discrimination made in the Somali language.

At the time when the above-mentioned grammar was published (1928) and even later, the matter in question would perhaps have been disputable to some extent, for no living Old Nubian was available to help us further.

But later (1942) when that passage of the *Grundzüge*, Text III, 11. 79-81, the diction of which had formerly not been clear, came to be restored, the position had changed. That passage gives us the same (included) speaker addressing the same audience by both pronouns of the 1st per. plur. in relation to two different periods of time.

So we read:

Ontahygue-he : *er djimmi-gai Tar-to-djōa anyi-de-nu anti-anka-de-mu*
iki-k' id-d-to-sin, anti-kon ena-mi it-to itatrosi nok.
Mo-le-djōa tunia el-dja-de-ru nae-l-de tiiti-de-ke-ka.

Synactical translation:

'Beloved:

Since we jointly shall receive by Him a mediator of life and peace-admonition thus may peace be in us too, who all together shall get by the powerful cross mercy and grace.'

Two differently united groups appear here addressed by the included speaker:

(1) The Christian Nubians of their own days, who believe in the Saviour, (Intimate community).

(2) All Christians of the last days, when the powerful cross will manifest its mysterious efficacies to the whole of mankind. (Universal community.)

Proof is given for this view by the contrast between *djimmi* [Semitic stem *djml* 'to join; réunir'] and the formerly unknown Nubian Inclusive Verb *tul-un* 'O.N. *tul-un* > 'to become universal', or similar. [Kord. *ful* 'all, total'; *fun* 'everything'].

229