Adab sākhir (Satirical Literature) and the Use of Egyptian Vernacular

Eva Marie Håland

There were few, if any, bookstores in Cairo that did not, in 2013, have a section designated to a category of books labelled *adab sākhir*. Their titles play on humor and familiar Egyptian references; they are often in the vernacular – ‘*āmmiyya*’ – and sometimes repeated in ‘Franco-Arabic’. In 2014, I was told that *adab sākhir* was a popular genre in the years leading up to the 2011 revolution, and right after it, but that there seemed to be a growing interest for different types of novels.¹ The new wave of *adab sākhir* in Egypt did perhaps reach a ‘peak’ a few years ago, as Jacquemond (2016:356) reports that it meets competition from other “genres of ‘popular’ literature” such as romance and horror.

Nonetheless, the (re)emergence of this genre and the tendency for it being written entirely or partly in the vernacular is worth some focus. In this chapter, I will present some ways in which the Egyptian vernacular (‘*āmmiyya*’) and Standard Arabic (*fushā*) are used in *adab sākhir*, based on 21 books published between 2011 and 2014, as well as some motivations for using ‘*āmmiyya*’, as presented by writers. First, we will take a look at what lies in the label which these books have been given.

Al-adab al-sākhir

The notion *adab sākhir* appears to have come in use relatively recently, although Jacquemond argues that this type of literature has “ancient roots” (2008:155). He translates *adab sākhir* with ‘satirical’ (2008) or ‘satiric’ literature (2016), whereas Woidich (2010:81) uses the translation “satirische” or “sarkastische Literatur”. In his article about medieval satire in Arabic literature, van Gelder (1998:693), says that “[t]here is no exact equivalent in Arabic for ‘satire’” and “[t]o some extent, therefore, speaking of satire in Arabic literature is to

1 Muṣṭafā al-Faramāwī, Purchasing Manager of Shorouk Bookstores, personal interview, April 2014, Cairo.

impose a Western concept on a tradition that has its own system of modes and genres". Van Gelder speaks of *sukhrīyya* as "derision", and that *sukhrīyya* and *tahakkum* "may be found as the nearest term for 'irony'", although he points out that there is no equivalent for irony in Arabic literature either. This being said, van Gelder (1998:693) does say that "there is a considerable body of classical Arabic texts that may be called satirical."

Until recently, *adab sākhir* has not received much attention from scholars or critics. According to Jacquemond (2008:155), this is because it is "too hybridized to interest the folklorists and too 'low' to retain the interest of the legitimate criticism". He describes it as a kind of literature that "has an uncertain status somewhere between fiction and nonfiction, journalism and literature, and writing and orality" (Jacquemond 2008:155).

The Egyptian scholar Nābil Rāghib (2000) explains *sukhrīyya* as follows (2000: 13):

Sukhrīyya in literature is the element that contains a dramatic mixture of criticism (نقد), derision (الهجاء), allusion (التلميح), insinuation (اللماحية), mockery (التهمك) and funmaking (الدعابة), for the purpose of exposing a person, concept, idea or whatever, and laying it bare by throwing light on its cracks (ثغرات) and its negative and deficit aspects. Thus, the primary goal of *adab sākhir* is correctional (تصحيحي), either on the moral (أخلاقي) or aesthetic (جمالي) level, and it differs in tone and manner from all other ways of expression that aim to reject, condemn or belittle the subject targeted by the writer or speaker.

The definition of 'Satire' provided by Britannica Online Encyclopædia (Elliott 2007) does not differ substantially from the one provided by Rāghib:

Satire, artistic form, chiefly literary and dramatic, in which human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or shortcomings are held up to censure by means of ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony, parody, caricature, or other methods, sometimes with an intent to inspire social reform.

Rāghib (2000) explains that there is a difference concerning the notion *adab sākhir* as a comprehensive notion (كمنهوم شامل), and *sukhrīyya* as a literary device. He claims that "when *sukhrīyya* becomes the fundamental element in the content, the spine for the events and scenes, then the work joins under

the banner of *adab sākhir*” (Rāghib 2000:9). He goes through the centuries and dynasties in which satirical poets have used *sukhrīyya* in poetry, and the blooming of the ‘satirical press’ that started in the end of the 19th century, with Ya‘qūb Ṣannū‘ (1839–1912) and ‘Abdallāh al-Nadīm (1845–1898) playing important roles. After the 1952 revolution, however, satirical writing almost disappeared in Egypt, due to a climate where criticism of the leader was much less tolerated (Rāghib 2000:37):

sukhrīyya disappeared, or almost, from the pages of the newspapers and magazines. It became limited and directed at those people whom the leader (الزعيم) attacked in his speeches, or in his guidelines (توجيهات) to the media leadership. The satire no longer came from the thoughts and conscience of the writer, but rather became state-directed (موجهة), as any other political or commercial activity, so it lost its brilliance, sharpness and cheerfulness. The writers knew very well that whoever makes his satire cross fixed and drawn borders, in front of him is nothing but prison, expulsion or at the best prohibition from writing. The space for satire faded out (تضاءلت) from the pages of the newspapers and magazines until only scattered fragments from Maḥmūd al-Sa‘danī, Aḥmad Bahgat and Aḥmad Ragab was left.

Referring to the ‘big’ writers within *adab sākhir* in Egypt, the names that generally come up are precisely Aḥmad Ragab (1928–2014), Maḥmūd al-Sa‘danī (1928–2010) and Aḥmad Bahgat (1932–2011), as well as Galāl ‘Āmir (1952–2012), Muḥammad ‘Afifi (1922–1981) and ‘Abbās al-Aswānī (1925–1977). The term *adab sākhir* was perhaps coined during their period of writing: the earliest use of the term that I have come across, is by Luwīs ‘Awaḍ in his foreword to Aḥmad Bahgat’s (2009) *مذكرات زوج* (Memoirs of a husband), which was probably published in its first edition in the beginning of the 1980s.² Here, ‘Awaḍ claims that *al-adab al-sākhir* is the ‘legitimate son’ of *adab al-hijā*,³ and the ‘cousin’ of *al-adab al-fukāhī* (humorous literature) (Bahgat 2009:6). The first direct labelling (on the cover) of a publication as *adab sākhir* that I have found is a 1997 edition of the book *تحت مسم ٤٠٠ بشرطة* (Thutmose 400 with a hyphen)⁴, also by Aḥmad Bahgat.

2 The 2009 edition informs that the third edition was published in 1986.

3 Invective or satirical poetry.

4 From the bus-system in Egypt where a stroke (*sharṭa*) through the bus number indicates a variation in the route (see Badawi and Hinds 1986, ش ر ط).

Adab sākhir and the Vernacular

Some of the early works that Rāghib mentions have been written at least partly in the vernacular, such as *نزهة النفوس ومضحك العيوس* (The Pastime of Souls, Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face) by Ibn Sūdūn and Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī's *هز القحوف في شرح قصيد أبي شادوف* (Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded).⁵ Big parts of the satirical newspapers were also written in the vernacular,⁶ although not without controversy. According to Fahmy (2011:34), “[a]lmost all the colloquial content of these newspapers was satirical or humorous, primarily because the everyday vernacular was more suited to comedy and satire than Fusha”. *Fuṣḥā* was “considered too serious for effective satire” (Fahmy 2011:81). However, ‘Abdallāh al-Nadīm was not an advocate of introducing ‘*āmmīyya* for written purposes, but was rather concerned with education and political agitation (Woidich 2010).

From a look at a small sample of 6 *adab sākhir* publications from 1980s and 90s, two by Aḥmad Bahgat, two by Aḥmad Ragab and two by Maḥmūd al-Sa’danī, I have not found any noteworthy use of ‘*āmmīyya* in the narrative parts, only in dialogues and proverbs. (However, in Rosenbaum’s (2000) article about the *Fuṣḥāmmīyya* style, he gives an example from the writings by al-Sa’danī). A closer look at these satirical writers’ language is necessary to understand better the relationship between satirical writing and use of ‘*āmmīyya*.

Adab sākhir Today – Satire or Pure Humour?

The *adab sākhir* books in my study focus on different aspects of Egyptian society: as several were published not long after the 25th of January revolution, it is an important subject, or at least receives some attention, in several of the publications. Another popular issue is the relationship between man and woman, and challenges with regard to finding a suitable match, and after finding it, spending everyday life with him or her, and perhaps adding another wife to the family.

In one way or another, all these books address challenges or peculiarities of the Egyptian society in a humorous way. Some of the issues raised are sensitive, and perhaps even taboo, and referred to as difficult or unsuitable to discuss in

5 See Davies (1981, 2000, 2005) and (Doss and Davies 2013).

6 See Zack (2014) for a description of use of the vernacular in Abu Naḍḍara Zar’a.

‘serious writing’ (*kitāba gādda*). Authors then choose to take to *adab sākhir*, where they can, as the ‘satirical writer’ ʾĪhāb Muʾawwaḍ puts it, “wrap the serious subject in some nice paper and humour (*damm khafīf*)” (Muʾawwaḍ 02.09.2014).

Although *adab sākhir* has become the established label, some prefer *kitāba sākhira*, (satirical writing), rejecting it having the status of *adab* (literature). As Woidich (2010:83) mentions, there appears to be a common point of view among critics and publishers that much of what is published now is not ‘real’ *adab sākhir*. In an article in the magazine *Rūz al-Yūsuf* (Luʾay 18.10.2009), several persons from the literary field comment on the blooming of *adab sākhir* literature, making statements such as the following by Muḥammad ʾIliwa:

The books that are published now, and on whose covers they write ‘*adab sākhir*’, most of them do not belong to the *adab sākhir* at all, but are rather an insult to it (إساءة له)

The critic Aḥmad Darwīsh says that “real satirical writing is a kind of good literature that people need in certain periods in history, as a kind of safe opposition”. He also calls *adab sākhir* “a refined and legitimate literary genre”. At the same time, Darwīsh says that “what we see now, is false (زائفة) satirical writing”. Authors and publishers are accused of taking advantage of the renewed popularity of the genre, and for using the label for texts that do not qualify for it. Darwīsh’s perception of *adab sākhir* being a type of literature that is needed in certain periods seems to be shared by several in the literary sphere of Cairo;⁷ it is claimed that the recent social and political situation in Egypt has created a need for light and humorous literature where criticism can be expressed in a somewhat disguised manner.

The publisher and novelist Makkāwī Saʿīd, on the other hand, although not in favour of publishing *adab sākhir*, sees one bright spot with the new trend. He thinks that as long as it is popular and encourages people to start reading, it can serve the role as the first step on a reading ladder.

On the website *بص وطل* (See and look) (14.11.2010), four contemporary writers referred to as ‘satirical writers’ are interviewed: Bilāl Faḍl, ʾUmar Ṭāhir, Muṣṭafā Shuhayb, and Tāmir Aḥmad. Faḍl and Ṭāhir say that they are not in favour of labelling literature as *sākhir* or not *sākhir*. According to Ṭāhir, the

⁷ As was discussed in a seminar entitled موجات الانحسار و صعود الأدب الساخر .. (Satirical literature ... waves of decline and rise) at Cairo International Book Fair 2015.

readers have constructed a 'trap' (غ), by expressing that *sākhir* is what they want, making writers twist their arms to produce what the readers ask for. Shuhayb and Aḥmad see that there are two types or schools within satirical writing: "laugh(ter) (ضحك) for the purpose of laughter, and laughter in order to achieve a goal (الضحك لتحقيق هدف), and that is the difference, whether laughter is the goal or the means". Muṣṭafā Shuhayb's comment is in line with Tāmir Aḥmad's: "[...] one school that deals with societal issues and uses satire (سخرية) as a tool to discuss phenomena and problems, and another school that uses satire just for the satire. I think it depends on the humor (الإنه) more than subject, and that its goal is entertainment".

It appears that the notion *adab sākhir* today is used to describe humorous texts, whether satirizing and moralizing with a correctional goal, or simply 'lighter' humour, where the goal is solely entertainment, unlike earlier, when negative aspects of society were always the target of satire. Guth (forthcoming 2017) suggests that "the most adequate rendering of the emerging generic term '*adab sākhir* is perhaps 'carnavalesque literature' or 'subversive literature'". Jacquemond suggests a "more nuanced reading", as "oscillating between reformism and subversion" (2016:359).

The Material

Through a larger research in progress where I analyse language pattern choices in a comprehensive, but random sample of books published between the years 2011 and 2014 by Egyptian authors, it is clear that the books classified as *adab sākhir* distinguish themselves from novels and short story collections in containing larger amounts of *ʿammīyya*.

The classification of the books as *adab sākhir* in this study is based on 'direct' and 'indirect' labelling of the books: The books that are 'directly' labelled have the label *sākhir*, *maqālāt sākhira* (satirical articles) or (*min*) (*al-*)*adab sākhir* on the cover, colophon or title page.⁸ The books that are 'indirectly' labelled may be described as *kitāb sākhir* on the back cover text.⁹ They can also be indirectly labelled in the text itself, such as in *إشتري مني* (Buy from me), where a hypothetical person asks Duʿā Fārūq (2012:10):

8 al-ʿIsīlī (2011), Ḥasan (2011), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (2013), Aḥmad (2012b), al-Inkishārī (2012), Maʿāṭī (2013).

9 Shuhayb (2013), Galāl (2013).

حاشرة نفسك ليه بقى في الكتب والأدب الساخر والجو ده؟

Why do you get yourself into books and *adab sākhir* and those things?

Or such as by Shādī Aḥmad (2013:27) in *مصر لا مؤاخذه*, in his list of advice on what to do when bored or sad:

جيب كتب ساخرة .. للكاتب شادي أحمد، وبالذات الحاجة دي هتفرحك قوي، وتفرح الكاتب، وهيدعيك وهبخلي والدته تدعيك (ومن قدم شيء بيداه التقاه).

Get hold of satirical books ... by the writer Shādī Aḥmad, and that in particular will make you very happy, and make the writer happy, and he will pray for you and let his mother pray for you (give, and you will receive).

Some books are not labelled *adab sākhir* neither in the text or paratext; they may, however, be featured or referred to as such, e.g. on the book-site Goodreads, in author interviews, on Facebook or other arenas where the book is promoted.¹⁰ It should also be noted that some of the authors of these books try to avoid categorization, as *adab sākhir* or as anything else, and that they may not agree to the label their book is given.¹¹

When it comes to text types, the *adab sākhir* books of this decade do not represent one specific text type. They are hybrid and diffuse, reminiscent of Elsadda's (2010:328) description of literary blogs: they

defy generic classification: they are invariably a *mélange* of diaries, memoirs, autobiographical stories, to-do shopping lists, political manifestos, reflections, epistolary narratives, short stories and novels.

The *adab sākhir* publications in the corpus also contain articles (*maqālāt*), and poetry, as well as graphic elements such as caricatures and photographs. For an analysis of the forewords (*muqaddimāt*) of some of these books, see Guth (2017 Forthcoming).

10 al-Barbarī (2012) is directly labelled *كتاب كوميدي ناثر* (Comical rebellious book).

11 See interview from *بص وطل* (See and look) referred to above.

TABLE 6.1 *List of corpus books*

Author and year	Title	Translation of title
Du‘ā’ Fārūq (2012)	إشتري مني	Buy from me
Muḥammad Nāgī (2013)	أشيك واد في شبرا	The chickest guy in Shubra
Aḥmad al-‘Isīlī (2011)	الكتاب الثاني	The second book
Muḥammad Galāl (2013)	الكتاب الأصفر	The yellow book
Jihād al-Tābi‘ī (2012)	الحب في زمن البوتكس	Love in the time of Botox
‘Abīr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (2012)	الحب في زمن الكارينا	Love in the time of Carina ¹²
Īhāb Mu‘awwaḍ (2012)	الرجال من بولاق والنساء من اول فيصل	Men are from Būlāq and women from the beginning of Fayṣal street
Shādī Aḥmad (2012b)	العريس: في رحلة البحث عن عروسة	The groom: on the journey to find a bride
‘Amr al-Inkishārī (2012)	أنا حقا أعترض ¹³	I certainly object
Maḥmūd Ḥasīb (2012)	باط مان	Bat Man ¹⁴
Muḥammad Ḥasan (2011)	تبييت	Bleep
Muṣṭafā Shuhayb (2013)	خيمة ٨	Tent no. 8
Tāmir Aḥmad (2012c)	دراع مرسي	Mursī’s arm ¹⁵
Muṣṭafā al-Barbarī (2012)	سكر بره	Sugar on the side

12 Carina (كارينا) is an Egyptian bodywear brand for women, and has become a proprietary eponym referring to any type of bodywear for women (especially long sleeves and tights covering the skin).

13 The abbreviation of this title makes the swear-word أcha, which is used frequently in the text with reference to the title, but as أcha.

14 The title is also a play on the word باط (armpit) instead of بات, which is the common way of transcribing “Batman”. The expression تحت الباط (under the armpit) is often used in the meaning “to control”.

15 From the play مدرسة المشاغبين (The School of Troublemakers).

TABLE 6.1 *List of corpus books (cont.)*

Author and year	Title	Translation of title
‘Abīr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (2013)	سواقة بنات: أبو اللي علمكوا السواقة	Girls’ driving: damn (father of) the one who taught you how to drive
Rihām Magdī (2013)	شعب آخر 25 حاجة كان وكان	A very 25th people, again and again ¹⁶
Lubnā Imbārik (2013)	طاجن تورلي باللحمة	Stew with meat
Yūsuf Ma‘āṭī (2013)	لقد وقعنا في الفخ	We fell into the trap ¹⁷
Shādī Aḥmad (2013)	مصر لا مؤاخذاة	Pardon me, Egypt ¹⁸
Shaymā’ Ḥabīb (2013)	المعجم الوجيز في تلخيص البهاريز ¹⁹	The concise dictionary of excerpting the essence
Dīnā ‘Ādil (2012)	ولاد البطة السودا	Children of the black duck

Language Choices

العامية والفصحى هنا إيد واحدة، حبة عامية عشان دي اللغة اللي بنحس بيها، وحبة فصحي
عشان أنت بتفهم، ولا إيه؟

‘āmmiyya and *fuṣṣhā* are here one hand, a bit of *‘āmmiyya* because that is the language that we feel in, and a bit of *fuṣṣhā* because you understand, right?

AL-TĀBĪ‘Ī 2012:6

16 *ākhir ḥāga*, lit. transl. “last thing” is used as an intensifier carrying a strong meaning of “very”. 25 refers to the January 25th revolution, whereas “again and again” refers to that this is the second volume.

17 From the film *السفارة في العمارة* (The embassy is in the building).

18 *la mu‘ākhza* translates “excuse me” or “pardon me”, but has numerous usages, amongst them is in combination with, or instead of, a curse or something inappropriate.

19 The title plays on the dictionary published by the Language Academy, and perhaps *تلخيص* *الإبريز في تلخيص باريز* (A Paris Profile) by Rifā‘a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī.

The play on the slogan from the 2011 uprisings signals that the reader should expect to find both varieties in the book. Except for three books that contain very little *fuṣḥā*,²⁰ this is the case for most of the books. However, use of both varieties is done in different ways and with different amounts of the two varieties. Some are written predominately in one of the varieties, the other variety being inserted only a few places as lexical items, clauses or paragraphs.

'Base' Varieties

In some of these publications, the 'base' variety is *ʿammiyya*, and *fuṣḥā* occurs only occasionally.²¹ Al-ʿIsīlī (2011:23) explains that maybe one third of his words are *fuṣḥā*, when he writes and perhaps also when he speaks:

When I use “فقط” (only) instead of “بس” (only), this does not mean that I have saved (أنقذت) the Arabic language, nor that I am more cultured (أكثر ثقافة), or anything else but that “فقط” is, for me, a better word on that occasion (موضع), in that context ... or I use “بس” because, for me, it is a richer (أغنى) word, it has wider usage, and its sound is dearer to me (صوتها نفسه أحب إلى نفسي). There is no quarrel (خناقة) between the two words, they are both mine, and it is my right to use them both.

Al-Inkishārī (2012) also writes mainly in *ʿammiyya*, but he uses *fuṣḥā* when presenting different types of lists, such as lists of hypothetical newspaper headlines and list of 'advice and wisdom'.

The opposite distribution is also found: basically writing in *fuṣḥā*, but switching to *ʿammiyya* at some occasions.²² In Maʿāṭī (2013), one finds *ʿammiyya* in dialogues, but also occasionally in form of lexical items (or longer paragraphs of *ʿammiyya* in an otherwise *fuṣḥā* based text). Two recurring *ʿammiyya* discourse markers in this book are *بأه* (so, then, however) and *برضه* (also, too).

In several parts of his book, Ḥasan (2011) uses *fuṣḥā* as the base variety, as well as some 'unflagged' use of *ʿammiyya*. There is, however, frequent use of 'flagged' (in parentheses) *ʿammiyya*, for example in an explanatory comment, such as the code-switching in the following example (Ḥasan 2011:40):

20 Nāgī (2013), Aḥmad (2012b) and Ḥabīb (2013).

21 al-ʿIsīlī (2011), al-Inkishārī (2012) and al-Barbarī (2012).

22 Aḥmad (2012c), Maʿāṭī (2013).

يعطيك المزيد من الهيبة والوقار والضخامة (محدث هيجاول يتخانت معاك)

It gives you more awe, dignity and volume (*no one will try to fight with you*)

Most of Shuhayb's (2013) book consists of narrations about the happenings on January 25th 2011 and the following days. These narratives are mostly in *fuṣḥā*, but there is occasional occurrence of an unambiguous EA item, e.g.:

فكرت في فتاة أحلامي اللي لم أقابلها بعد

I thought about the girl of my dreams, *whom* I have not met yet

SHUHAYB 2013:43

Code-Switching

'Inter-sentential' or 'alternational code-switching' i.e. "switching between stretches of speech belonging to one and the other code/language/variety" (Mejdell 2006:414) occurs in several of the analyzed books. Rosenbaum (2012:299) describes a literary device where switching between the varieties "reflect the characters' speech or thoughts in their own language and style". He refers to this device as "changing the point of view through the use of CEA". In the examples Rosenbaum gives, *ʿāmmiyya* represents the speech and thoughts of characters or protagonist narrators. This type of switching is found frequently in my corpus. However, in the following examples of code-switching, *ʿāmmiyya* does not represent a specific character's thoughts, but switching between the varieties appear to be a stylistic device emphasizing a sarcastic comment. In the first example, *fuṣḥā* (bold) mirrors a 'common saying' or advice, whereas *ʿāmmiyya* (red) represents the author's sarcastic comment:

لا تترك والدتك تشاهد قنوات الطبخ.. لأنها كده كده هتطبخ اللي بتعرف تعمله بس ..

Don't let your mother watch cooking channels ... *because she will only cook what she knows anyways*

GALĀL 2013:90

In the following example, *fuṣḥā* mirrors a 'common wisdom', which is interrupted and completed by the author's sarcastic comment in *ʿāmmiyya*:

هناك ثلاثة أشياء لا حدود لهما .. الكون، وغباء الإنسان، والناس اللي بتنشر الجملة دي ..

There are three things that have no limits ... the universe, human stupidity, and people who post that sentence ...

GALĀL 2013:94

The following example is from another book, and comes in a short chapter called “a call for understanding Egyptian *‘āmmiyya*”, where some words and expressions in *‘āmmiyya* are explained. The following is an example of a situation that can describe the word *حمارة* (diversion) where the passage in *fuṣḥā* evokes the style of a lexical entry explanation, followed by a switch to *‘āmmiyya* which again represents a sarcastic comment:

هي أيضاً ما يفعله الرجل ليلة كل يوم خميس عشان يداري خبيته، وينام بعد ما يتلكك على أي سبب مش منطقي وخلاص!!

It is also what the man does every Thursday to hide his failure, and go to sleep after picking a fight about anything without logic!!

AL-TĀBĪ‘Ī 2012:16

Fuṣḥāmmiyya

Rosenbaum (2000) proposes the name *Fuṣḥāmmiyya* for an “alternating style” found in Egyptian prose texts where the *fuṣḥā* and *‘āmmiyya* varieties are used in an alternating manner. *Fuṣḥāmmiyya*, is, according to Rosenbaum (2000:71) “the result of the intention of a certain writer to create a style whose constituents are taken from the two stocks, that of *Fuṣḥā* and that of *‘Āmmiyya*, but is neither; rather, it is something else.” According to Rosenbaum (2000:83), the *fuṣḥā* and *‘āmmiyya* elements enjoy equal status, and the use of *‘āmmiyya* is not “restricted to single words, mainly for naming *realia*”. He claims that one of the aims of writing in such a style is to create humour (Rosenbaum 2000:81). The *Fuṣḥāmmiyya* style as described by Rosenbaum can be found in some of the books in my study. The two varieties appear to be of equal importance in the text, as opposed to a base variety with insertions or borrowings from the other variety. It is also the clear intention of the writer, e.g.:²³

23 Bold represents unambiguous *fuṣḥā*, whereas red represents unambiguous *‘āmmiyya*.

أما المراية فهي المنتج الأكثر إهدارا في عالم الماكياج، لأن مع كل علبة ماكياج **تبقى فيه** مراية سواء كانت علبة بودرة أو آي شادو أو أحمر خدود، بالإضافة للمراية **اللي تبقى** متعلقة في شنطة الماكياج، رغم إن البنات نادرا ما **يبصوا** في هذه المرايات، لأن غالبا **تبقى معاهم** مراية أصلا في الشنطة، صحيح **تبقى** قديمة وبقي لها ١٠٠ سنة ومكسرة وحالتها بالبالا، لكنهم أبدا لا يتخلين عنها وتظل في شنطة **إيدهم** لحد ما **تندغدغ** تماما!

The mirror is the most wasted product in the make-up world, because in every make-up container, there is a mirror, no matter if it is powder, eye shadow or rouge, in addition to the mirror that comes with the make-up bag, even though girls rarely look in these mirrors. Because they usually have a mirror in their purse, right, it would be old, stayed in there for a hundred years, broken and messed up, but they never let go of it and it stays in their purses until it is totally crunched!

‘ABD AL-WAHHĀB 2012:60

The style in this example is not a rarity in this book, but rather an example of the style in big parts of it, and it certainly contributes to leaving the boundaries between the varieties ‘blurred’ or ‘fuzzy’ (see Mejdell 2014, Mejdell Forthcoming-a, Mejdell Forthcoming-b).

Word-Lists

A phenomenon that is found in more than one of the *adab sākhir* books is a section where the author provides the readers with a list of words and expressions that are frequently used at the time the book is written. They are often neologisms and slang, sometimes belonging to the so-called ‘youth language’ (see Rizk 2007) or ‘youth speech’ (see Hassanein 2011).

‘Abd al-Wahhāb (2012) says that her book is meant for the future generations. She explains present day phenomena that she thinks are likely to have changed or be outdated in 2050, such as electronic devices and social network sites that were frequently used in 2012. The book also contains a section entitled “the dictionary”. The author explains that “this dictionary is not only in order to log the most current words of our time, but in order for the new

I do not mark what can be read as either *fuṣḥā* or *‘ammiyya* (bivalent), or what is identical in both varieties (shared).

generations to be able to read the book written in the language of our time” (‘Abd al-Wahhāb 2012:34). The ‘dictionary’ is in alphabetical order and contains altogether 83 entries. They are stereotype descriptions of ‘personalities’, expression and lexical items with ‘new meanings’. She provides examples of contexts in which they can occur, and it also contains explanations of short forms of prepositions and abbreviations typically used in computer mediated communication.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s second book (2013) has a “dictionary of insults” (قاموس الشتائم), or more accurately, expressions that are frequent in the Cairo traffic. She divides the ‘insults’ into two groups; those girls hear while driving, most often from men, and those they might say themselves. Some examples from the first group are:

If you don't know how to drive, why do you ride a car?	متعرفوش تسوقوا بتركيا عرييات ليه؟
I don't want to insult you because you are a woman	أنا مش عايز أشتمك عشان انتي واحدة ست

And from the second group:

You are the one making a mistake, by the way Are you crazy?	إنت اللي غلطان على فكرة إنت مجنون؟
--	---------------------------------------

Aḥmad (2013) has a chapter called humorously (كلمنا مصري فرنساوي) قاموس مصري فرنساوي (Egyptian-French dictionary (brag to us)). The explanations of the words are not actually in French, but mostly in *‘āmmīyya* as well as some *fushā*. He lists 18 words used by the Egyptian youth and gives a humorous explanation to each of them, some examples are: افتكاسة (silly innovation); الأنتخة (lazy sitting); ابرز (give what you have); انجز (accomplish, complete); حور (talking empty talk); تيت (bleep);²⁴ قلشة (quick funny comment); قلاش (someone who uses a lot of the previous).

In a book whose title is on the list of explained words above, namely تيبيت (Bleep), Ḥasan (2011:107–124) explains different ‘personalities’ that have been named in the Egyptian *‘āmmīyya*. He provides the ‘etymology’ of the words,

24 Replaces a swearword or insult.

and their current meaning. Some examples are: بلطجي (“Thug”, from Turkish); لَاط (“Lazy”, from Coptic); ابن الإيه (“Impressing”, from Coptic); باراشوت (“Pushy, intrusive”, from French); تمروود (“Arrogant”, from Coptic); مُرَّة (“Girl or attractive girl”, from *mezze*).

Although the explanations of lexical items and expressions in the above mentioned books are interesting, the etymological explanations are not necessarily explanations that linguists would confirm. For example, Woidich (2006:95) notes that the word *muzza* derives from *mazmazēl*.

Motivations for Use of ‘*āmmiyya* or Mixing

أنا بس كان لي رأي لو أذنتولي أقوله – أيها الرجال الأفاضل – من غير ما حد من حضراتكم يتعصب بس ولا يتهور، وبالنسبة للرجالة الكتيبييييييير اللي بيتعصبوا من كتّاباتي بالعامة وأسلوبي الذي يخدش حياءهم ويحرج لغتهم العربية الراقية، حنكم على دماغي من فوق [...] [...]

I just had a point of view if you would allow me to express it – you greatest among men – without any one of you getting angry or collapsing, and concerning the maaaany men who get angry with my writing in ‘*āmmiyya* and my style that offends their morals and wounds their sophisticated Arabic language, I deeply apologize [...]

FĀRŪQ 2012:76

For texts written completely or partly in ‘*āmmiyya*, the linguistic choice is often mentioned and explained, or even apologized for in the introduction or elsewhere in the text (see Woidich 2010). These metalinguistic comments, together with statements made in interviews on television or other, provide some insight as to what motivates the authors’ linguistic choices. In the following I present some of the motivations expressed by authors of *adab sākhir* books.

Shaymā’ Ḥabīb’s book (2013) is written completely in ‘*āmmiyya*, and she brings up her language choice in the very beginning of it. She sincerely admits that *fushā* is not her strongest side, and that she chose what appears to be an easier means for her to express herself (Ḥabīb 2013:17):

This book is the first real experience for me, and to be honest, I was confused (محتارة) about which language to write in, so I decided that I will write the way I speak, or feel. In order to convey (أوصل) what I want to

in an easy and uncomplicated manner without lies ... I am not that good in *fushā*

In a television interview, Ḥabīb (13.12.2013) expresses that she writes in *‘āmmiyya* because she thinks in *‘āmmiyya*, and she wants the readers to feel that she is talking directly to them, to delete the distance between reader and writer, so that the reader gets the sense of a conversation with a friend. As for the target group, the book was meant for university students as herself at the time the book was written. The fact that the book is written in *‘āmmiyya* was, according to Ḥabīb, criticized by literary advisors (*mustashirīn fi l-adab*), but they would let it pass since this was her first writing experience. However, it would be preferable for her to write in *fushā* in her next publication. From readers however, the feedback on her linguistic choice was very positive. Asked whether she had the impression that *‘āmmiyya* makes the book easier to understand, she replies that in general, not only with regard to language, the simpler (*absaṭ*) the easier (*ashal*).

Aḥmad al-‘Isīlī is perhaps one of the stronger contemporary defenders of writing in *‘āmmiyya*. In all three books he has published so far, he introduces the text by commenting on his choice of writing in *‘āmmiyya*. The following excerpt is from الكتاب الثاني, (al-‘Isīlī 2011:22):

Firstly, I am more than fond of Egyptian *‘āmmiyya* because it is my mother language/tongue (لغتي الأم) (not my dialect, no, my language, I really do consider it that), and secondly for its amazing richness, and thirdly, my emotional connection and complete control (تحكّمي الكامل) of it. And maybe more important than all of that: because I feel that it is mine ... and after all of that as well, because I feel it is more related than *fushā*, to this era of Egyptian writing and the type of writing (النوع من الكتابة) that I write, and to those who read me. And I want to be close to those who read me and listen to me, I want to reach them (عايز أوصّله) ...

Al-‘Isīlī’s texts stand out from the others in that they have more vocalized words. He does not provide his readers with possible bivalent readings of the words, but signals clearly that e.g. صغير (small) should be read *ṣughayyar* and not *ṣaghīr*. He thinks that his writing style, using both *‘āmmiyya* and *fushā*, although easier to write, may be challenging to read (al-‘Isīlī 2009:13). He encourages his readers to read according to the vocalization, “to read it like it is written, or in reality as it is ‘said’” (al-‘Isīlī 2011:9). In his latest book, he takes it a step further, saying that the book is an “audiobook”, (كتاب “مسموع”), and advises

his readers to read it out loud, and it will be like hearing his voice (al-ʿIsīlī 2015). This unusual request for the readers may be explained by al-ʿIsīlī profession as a television and radio presenter, and a wish to approach his reading ‘audience’ in the same language style that he approaches his tv and radio audience: his natural way of speaking.

Both Ḥabīb and al-ʿIsīlī express that the use of *ʿāmmiyya* lets them reach their readers more easily; it is a more direct means of communication, and it removes a distance between the writer and the readers. The same point is brought up by Muḥammad Nāgī, author of the all-*ʿāmmiyya* أشيك واد في شبرا (The chicest guy in Shubra), a book that is explicitly directed at readers in the age ranging from 17 to 30. He says in a television interview that for him, it was more important for the message to reach out than to write the book in “*al-lughā al-ʿarabiyya al-muʿaqqada*” (the complex Arabic language) (Nāgī 07.02.2014). There is in other words a perception among the writers that the *fushḥā* variety does not reach the readers the same way as *ʿāmmiyya* does, due to its complexity.

The ‘complexity’ of *fushḥā* may also be indexical of authority, something with which these writers do not want to be associated. They wish to speak to their peers in a familiar style indicating that they are on the same level, not in a style indexing them taking on an authoritarian role. Al-Tābiʿī is interviewed concerning another of her books, also from the *adab sākhir* genre, and explains that she writes in *ʿāmmiyya* (mixed with English expressions) because she wants to write in the language that is used, not to raise herself to the status of someone giving a lecture, debating or giving advice (al-Tābiʿī 16.06.2014).

Shādī Aḥmad also discusses his writing in *ʿāmmiyya* in a television interview, and points to the same motivations for writing in *ʿāmmiyya* as seen above: it reaches the young readers, for whom the book is meant, in a simpler manner. The hosts put Aḥmad on the spot, claiming that he is against *fushḥā*, to which Aḥmad responds that it is not a matter of being against, but a matter of a community that the youth has created to distinguish themselves from the parent-generation, and to which they have their own manner of speaking (*lahga*) and expressions (Aḥmad 16.10.2013).

The perception among authors that when using *ʿāmmiyya*, the message conveyed reaches the readers more easily is not unjustified; The survey “Language Change in Egypt: Social and Cultural Indicators Survey” (Kebede, Kindt and Høigilt 2013) reports that 76% of the respondents replied that they find it easier to understand things written in *ʿāmmiyya*. Lubnā Imbārik (2013) is obvi-

ously of the same impression, and raises the issue of people's lack of interest in reading in general. To increase people's interest in reading, she encourages the use of simple language (though not explicitly *ʿāmmiyya*). She addresses those who set up school curriculums, requesting them to make it easier so that reading will be easier for the pupils, and not a matter of torment (تعذيب). Imbārik stresses the importance of reading and encourages parents to let their children be accustomed to reading from early age, and she asks the 'great' authors (الكاتب العظيم) to write books that are simple and easy (سهلة وبسيطة) (2013:24).

To sum up, by their own admission authors choose to write their *adab sākhir* in *ʿāmmiyya* or a mix between *ʿāmmiyya* and *fuṣḥā* because they conceive of it as more familiar, easier to understand and better suited to reach the readers, who are predominately from the younger generation, in a more direct manner. They do not want to give the impression of being all-knowing and giving advice, and wish to avoid the authoritative index of *fuṣḥā*.

The 1st Person Narrative Mode

Another common feature of the *adab sākhir* texts is that they are written from a first-person narrative perspective. This is the case for 20 out of the 21 *adab sākhir* books in my study: they are written either completely in the first-person narrative mode, or what appears to be switching between the first and third person. (It is however difficult to establish whether each instance of switching should in fact be regarded as switching or not, since first-person narration "almost invariably includes third-person narration" (Abbott 2008:71)). The one book that is written from a third-person narrative perspective, *باط مان* (Bat Man) (Ḥasīb 2012), follows the same language pattern as many of the novels and short stories, namely narratives in *fuṣḥā* and dialogues both in *ʿāmmiyya* and in *fuṣḥā*. The genre of this book is also otherwise closer to that of the novel, in that it consists of one long fictional story.

As is claimed by Zack (2001) and (Woidich 2010), the first-person narrative, or the direct speech function, is found in most cases where the vernacular variety has been used in writing in Egypt. This goes for the vernacular in the early satirical newspapers that appeared in the forms of dialogues, the *mudhakkirāt* (Memoirs) literature that were written as monologues, and most novels that have been written in *ʿāmmiyya*.

The phenomenon is, not surprisingly, not unique to the diglossic Arabic situation, but appears to be common in standard-with-dialects situations as well. Pointing to examples of use of Black English dialect in literature, Traugott

(1981) shows that the dialect is only used in first person narrative. She claims that “[f]irst person narrative allows for a more subtle distinction between the narrative and the dialog because of the traditional connection between first person and colloquial style” (1981:312).

If a dialect or variety moves from being only used in direct speech in literature to be used in narratives from a third person narratives as well as non-literary writing, it may become a new standard (Traugott 1981:313). Egyptian *‘āmmiyya* certainly has the potential of becoming a new standard juxtaposed to *fuṣḥā* (see Woidich 2010), although there are strong forces to prevent that from happening. Rosenbaum argues that the Egyptian *‘āmmiyya* has come a long way on its path to becoming a literary language, and states (Rosenbaum 2011:338):

The rise and expansion of Egyptian Arabic as a literary language is a first case of its kind and a revolutionary change in the history of Arabic literature and culture in general, and in Egyptian culture in particular, a change which is still taking place right now.

Genre Divide

In my comparison of language pattern choices, the majority of the novels and short story collections are, as according to the norm, written in *fuṣḥā* in the narrative parts. The books classified as *adab sākhir* stand out, in that all except one contain *‘āmmiyya* in narrative sections. Interestingly, several of the authors who have written *adab sākhir* completely or partially in *‘āmmiyya*, have subsequently written novels (*riwāyāt*) where the narratives are in *fuṣḥā* only. For instance, Shādī Aḥmad has written two other *sākhir* books in addition to the two already mentioned.²⁵ They all contain great amounts of *‘āmmiyya*, and have similar language style. However, in his novel *كالتشيو* (Calcio) (2015), Aḥmad sticks to the dichotomy of *fuṣḥā* for the narrative sections and *‘āmmiyya* only in dialogues. According to Aḥmad,²⁶ “a novel has a different way of being written than satirical articles, something every writer has to respect”. This attitude is reflected in Kebede, Kindt and Høigilt (2013), where 55 % of the respondents considered *‘āmmiyya* ‘not suitable’ for novels.

²⁵ Aḥmad (2012a, 2014).

²⁶ Personal communication with the author on Facebook.

The same change from writing in *‘āmmīyya* or a mix between *‘āmmīyya* and *fuṣḥā* in narratives in *adab sākhir* to narratives in *fuṣḥā* in a novel is seen with Muḥammad Nāgī ‘Abdallāh²⁷ (2016), and Jihād al-Tābī‘ī (2016). Given that these writers first published *adab sākhir* and then turned to writing novels, one might read that the language reflects a development for them as creative writers. It may also be linked to the narrative mode and direct speech aspect: when writing *adab sākhir* in the first narrative mode, they address the readers directly, and they wish to do that in their ‘personal’ language which is closer to everyday language which is not associated with pedantry. Furthermore, the humour that is expected to be found in *adab sākhir* appears to be more easily expressed when the writer can use both varieties. However, the norm for language variety in the novel genre, and the writer’s wish to become an ‘acknowledged’ writer is likely to play a role.

Concluding Remarks

Although *adab sākhir* has become a popular genre during the last ten years or more, and has received its own sections in bookstores, the genre is not new. The term *adab sākhir* was perhaps not coined until the 1980s, but although not labelled *adab sākhir*, satirical elements have a long history in Egyptian literature. Some of the *adab sākhir* of today does however receive criticism for not representing ‘real’ satire, with a ‘correctional goal’, solely focusing on humour for the purpose of entertaining, and there should perhaps be a different label for these.

Leading up to the 2011 revolution, *adab sākhir* was an arena where writers could direct criticism in a safe manner. Humour has always been characteristic of the Egyptian character, and jokes about former president Mubarak were composed and circulated during his thirty years in power. During the uprisings against his rule, however, humour in Egypt moved from the private to the public sphere, and from being “covert or indirect” to “direct and confrontational” (Anagondahalli and Khamis 2014:12). It took new forms and was seen everywhere: in slogans, songs, poetry, caricatures, picture manipulations, memes, graffiti etc., and was shared online in no time.

Use of *‘āmmīyya* is not a precondition for *adab sākhir*, but the genre does, however, seem to carry higher acceptance for use of *‘āmmīyya* or a mixed variety, as it is a genre that has extensive use of humorous elements such as irony, sarcasm and parody.

27 The writer only uses Muḥammad Nāgī in his first publication.

العامية مش مجرد لهجة، لأ، دي عصير تراث وتاريخ مخلوط بظروف صعبة ومشاكل المصريين وفقرهم ومرضهم مع إضافة حبة عرق على شوية زحمة، واشرب يا معلم!!

ʿAmmiyya is not only a dialect, no, it is the juice of heritage and history blended with hard circumstances and the Egyptians' problems, poverty and illness, along with some sweat and crowdedness. Drink up,²⁸ boss!!

AL-TĀBĪʿĪ 2012:17

References

Primary Sources

- ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, ʿAbīr. 2012. الحب في زمن الكارثينا. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maṣrī.
- ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, ʿAbīr. 2013. سواقة بنات!: أبو اللي علمكوا السواقة. Al-Qāhira: Dār Dawwin.
- ʿAbdallāh, Muḥammad Nāgī. 2016. قاب قيسين من الياسمين. Al-Jīza: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr.
- ʿĀdil, Dīnā. 2012. ولاد البطة السودا. Al-Qāhira: Šabāb Books.
- Aḥmad, Shādī. 2012a. بابا سويمان. Al-Qāhira: Dār ʾUktub.
- Aḥmad, Shādī. 2013. مصر لا مؤاخذه. Al-Qāhira: Dār Nūn.
- Aḥmad, Shādī. 2014. المدام. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maṣrī.
- Aḥmad, Shādī. 2015. كالتشيو. Al-Qāhira: Dār Nūn.
- Aḥmad, Shādī 2012b. العريس في رحلة البحث عن عروسة. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maṣrī.
- Aḥmad, Tāmīr. 2012c. دراع مرسي. Spark Books.
- al-Barbarī, Muṣṭafā. 2012. سكر بره. Self publication, distributed by Al-Riwāq.
- al-Inkishārī, ʿAmr. 2012. أنا حقاً أعترض. Al-Qāhira: Šabāb Books.
- al-ʿIsīlī, Aḥmad. 2009. كتاب مالوش اسم. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Šurūq.
- al-ʿIsīlī, Aḥmad. 2011. الكتاب الثاني. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Šurūq.
- al-ʿIsīlī, Aḥmad. 2015. نص كتاب. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Šurūq.
- al-Tābīʿī, Jihād. 2012. الحب في زمن البوتكس. Al-Jīza: Dār ʾAṭlas.
- al-Tābīʿī, Jihād. 2016. أحلام كلب لولو. Al-Qāhira: Samā.
- Bahgat, Aḥmad. 1997. تحتمس ٤٠٠ بشرطة. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Shurūq.
- Bahgat, Aḥmad. 2009. مذكرات زوج. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Šurūq.
- Fārūq, Duʿā. 2012. إشتري مني. Al-Qāhira: Dār Dawwin.
- Galāl, Muḥammad. 2013. الكتاب الأصفر: محاولة للفرار الصغرى في ورقة بفرة. Al-Jīza: Dār ʾAṭlas.
- Habīb, Shaymā. 2013. المعجم الوجيز في تلخيص البهاريز. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maṣrī.
- Ḥasan, Muḥammad. 2011. تبييت. Al-Jīza: Al-Riwāq.

28 This expression also means "handle it".

- Ḥasīb, Maḥmūd. 2012. باط مان. Al-Jīza: Al-Riwāq.
- Imbārik, Lubnā. 2013. طاجن تورلي بالحممة. Al-Jīza: Dār 'Aṭlas.
- Ma'āṭī, Yūsuf. 2013. لقد وقعنا في الفخ. Al-Qāhira: Al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya.
- Magdī, Rihām. 2013. شعب آخر 25 حاجة كمان وكمان. Al-Qāhira: Book House.
- Mu'awwad, Īhāb. 2012. الرجال من بولاق والنساء من أول فيصل. Al-Jīza: Al-Riwāq.
- Nāgī, Muḥammad. 2013. أشيك واد في شبرا. Al-Qāhira: Dār 'Ibdā'.
- Shuhayb, Muṣṭafā. 2013. خيمة ٨. Al-Jīza: Al-Riwāq.

Secondary Sources

- Abbott, H. Porter. 2008. *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- al-Shirbīnī, Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad and Humphrey Davies. 2005. *Yūsuf Al-Shirbīnī's Kitāb Hazz Al-Quḥūf Bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf: Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded, Volume 1: Arabic Text*, Vol. 141. Leuven: Peeters.
- Anagondahalli, Deepa and Sahar Khamis. 2014. "Mubarak Framed! Humor and Political Activism before and During the Egyptian Revolution." *Arab Media and Society* (19):1–16.
- Badawi, El-Said and Martin Hinds. 1986. "A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic". Beirut: Librarie du Liban.
- Davies, Humphrey. 1981. "Seventeenth-Century Egyptian Arabic. A Profile of the Colloquial Material in Yūsuf Al-Shirbīnī's Kitāb Hazz Al-Quḥūf Bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf" PhD, University of California, Berkeley.
- Davies, Humphrey. 2000. "Yusuf Al-Shirbini's 'Hazz Al-Quhuf': Issues Relevant to Its Assessment as a Source for 17th Century Egyptian Colloquial." *Al-Logha* (2):57–78.
- Doss, Madiha and Humphrey Davies. 2013. العامية المصرية المكتوبة. Al-Qāhira: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma lil-Kitāb.
- Elliott, Robert C. 2007. "Satire." (<https://global.britannica.com/art/satire>).
- Elsadda, Hoda. 2010. "Arab Women Bloggers: The Emergence of Literary Counter-publics." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* (3):312–332.
- Fahmy, Ziad. 2011. *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Guth, Stephan. 2017 Forthcoming. "Programs of Renewal – Towards an 'adab Al-Bawḥ Wa'l-Sidq Wa'l Karāmah? An Analytical and Comparative Glance at the Forewords of Some Recent (Literary?) Publications." in *Scheduled for the Proceedings of the 11th Euramal Conference on New Geographies and Genres: The Function of Literature, Held May 7–10, 2014 in Madrid*, edited by G. F. Parilla.
- Hassanein, Ahmad Taher. 2011. "Youth Speech." in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by L. Edzard and R. De Jong. Brill Online: Brill.
- Jacquemond, Richard. 2008. *Conscience of the Nation: Writers, State, and Society in Modern Egypt*. Translated by D. Tresilian. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

- Jacquemond, Richard. 2016. "Satiric Literature and Other "Popular" Literary Genres in Egypt Today." *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 16:349–367.
- Kebede, Tewodros Aragie, Kristian Takvam Kindt and Jacob Høigilt. 2013. "Language Change in Egypt: Social and Cultural Indicators Survey – a Tabulation Report." Vol. 39. Fafo.
- Mejdell, Gunvor. 2006. "Code-Switching." Pp. 414–421 in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 1, edited by K. Versteegh. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Mejdell, Gunvor. 2014. "Strategic Bivalency in Written 'Mixed Style'? A Reading of Ibrāhīm ʿĪsā in *Al-Dustūr*." Pp. 273–278 in *Alf Lahga Wa Lahga: Proceedings of the 9th Aida Conference*, edited by O. Durand, A. D. Langone and G. Mion. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Mejdell, Gunvor. Forthcoming-a. "Entangled Pyramids and Rainbows – on Challenging the Divide in a Written Mixed Text."
- Mejdell, Gunvor. Forthcoming-b. "Erasing Boundaries in Contemporary Written Mixed Arabic (Egypt)."
- Rāghib, Nabīl. 2000. الأدب الساخر. Al-Qāhira: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb.
- Rizk, Sherin. 2007. "The Language of Cairo's Young University Students." Pp. 291–308 in *Arabic in the city: Issues in dialect contact and language variation*, edited by C. Miller, E. Al-Wer, D. Caubet and J. C. E. Watson. London: Routledge.
- Rosenbaum, Gabriel M. 2000. "Fuṣḥammiyya: Alternating Style in Egyptian Prose." *Journal of Arabic Linguistics* (38):68–87.
- Rosenbaum, Gabriel M. 2011. "The Rise and Expansion of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic as a Literary Language." Pp. 323–343 in *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures. Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar* edited by R. Sela-Sheffy and G. Toury. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University: Unit of Culture Research.
- Rosenbaum, Gabriel M. 2012. "Mixed Arabic and Stylistic Choices in Contemporary Egyptian Writing." Pp. 291–306 in *Au-Delà De L'arabe Standard: Moyen Arabe Et Arabe Mixte Dans Les Sources Médiévales, Modernes Et Contemporaines*, Vol. 28, Quaderni Di Semitistica, edited by L. Bettini and P. La Spisa. Firenze: Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità, Medioevo e Rinascimento e linguistica, Università di Firenze.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1981. "The Sociostylistics of Minority Dialect in Literary Prose." Pp. 308–316 in *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Vol. 7.
- van Gelder, G. J. H. 1998. "Satire, Medieval." Pp. 693–695 in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 2, edited by J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey. London: Routledge.
- Woidich, Manfred. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische: Eine Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Woidich, Manfred. 2010. "Von Der Wörtlichen Rede Zur Sachprosa: Zur Entwicklung Der Ägyptisch-Arabischen Dialektliteratur." in *Forschungskolloquium am Interdisziplinären Zentrum für Dialektforschung an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlan-*

gen-Nürnberg, 19.11.2009–20.11.2009, edited by H. H. Munske. Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

Zack, Elisabeth. 2001. "The Use of Colloquial Arabic in Prose Literature: "Laban Il'aşfür" by Yūsuf Al-Qa'īd". *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19:193–219.

Zack, Liesbeth. 2014. "The Use of the Egyptian Dialect in the Satirical Newspaper *Abu Naḍḍāra Zar'a*." Pp. 465–478 in *Alf Lahga Wa Lahga Proceedings of the 9th Aida Conference*, edited by O. Durand, A. D. Langone and G. Mion. Münster: Lit Verlag.

Television Interviews

Aḥmad, Shādī. 16.10.2013. in *Bukra līnā*. Honest TV: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ij2aOWCX7As> Last accessed 30.01.2017.

al-Tābi'ī, Jihād. 16.06.2014. in *Izz al-shabāb*. Rotana Masriya: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6SvHWcq_Ys Last accessed 30.01.2017.

Ḥabīb, Shaymā'. 13.12.2013. in *Shabāb 'alā al-hawā*. Nile Family: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ReHD8YwomY> Last accessed 30.01.2017.

Mu'awwaḍ, Īhāb. 02.09.2014. in *Sitt al-ḥusn*. ONTV: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iA6MMStGwTk> Last accessed 30.01.2017.

Nāgī, Muḥammad. 07.02.2014. in *Nahāarak sa'īd*. Nile Life: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KH3TpxAHTIc> Last accessed 30.01.2017.

Online Articles

14.11.2010. "مُكْتَاب الأدب الساخر في مصر .. بين مؤيد ومعارض" in *Buşş wi tull*. <http://boswtol.com/culture/culture-followup/10/November/14/145476> Retrieved 04.09.2014.

Lu'ay, Riḥāb. 18.10.2009, "الكتابة الساخرة في مصر سماجة واستطراف", *masress.com*: Rūz al-Yūsuf. <http://www.masress.com/rosadaily/24137> Retrieved 04.09.2014.