Islam and Judaism: 1400 Years of Shared Values

LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN ISLAMIC AND JUDAIC SOCIETIES

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

It is not particularly surprising to observe that traditional Islamic and Judaic societies exhibit some striking parallels in their sociolinguistic patterns. After all, both Islam and Judaism share a number of distinguishing common features: Both are religious civilizations based upon a divinely revealed scripture in a language itself held to be sacred. Some knowledge of the holy tongue is necessary in order for an individual to have any share in the religious life of the community. Both Islam and Judaism are governed by an all-encompassing religious law which governs (in addition to civil, criminal and the most obvious ritual and cultic matters) every aspect of human conduct, including what one eats, what one wears, and in certain respects how one speaks (for example, how one greets a fellow believer and, conversely, how one salutes a non-believer). Both Judaism and Islam place great emphasis upon the study of holy writ, which includes not only the scripture itself, but a concomitant oral tradition. Indeed, both give high priority and accord considerable prestige to learning sacred texts, which in both the Jewish and Muslim traditional education systems involves significant verbatim memorization.

These introductory generalizations ought not to obscure the fact that despite the striking parallels in Islamic and Jewish sociolinguistic patterns, there are important historical differences in the evolution of these patterns and in the attitudes of Jews and Muslims toward their respective holy tongues.

Unlike the early Muslim Arabs, the ancient Israelites were not exactly what we might call linguistic chauvinists. The Israelites' ancestor had been, as they were reminded by the scriptural verse, "a

wandering Aramean." Hebrew was originally *sefat Kena'an* (the language of Canaan), an adopted tongue.[2] By Second Temple times, many Jews had adopted Aramaic, a closely related Northwest Semitic language, as their primary idiom. Most of Daniel and a significant portion of Ezra—both late biblical books—are in Aramaic. By that period, the Aramaic square script had been adopted for the writing of Hebrew and had developed a sanctity as the visual medium that conveyed the Divine text. As the language of the Targum, much of Midrash and the Gemara, and even some of the liturgy, Aramaic came to have a place in Jewish culture only a little below that of Hebrew. In fact, for most of the last two millennia, the two languages have for all practical purposes almost been considered as one.[3] The later Diaspora Jewish languages such as Judeo-Arabic, Yiddish, and Ladino (Judezmo) draw upon Hebrew and Aramaic as a single source for vocabulary and idiomatic phrases.[4]

For the rabbis of the talmudic period, biblical Hebrew was *leshōn ha-qōdesh* (the holy language, or more precisely, the language of holiness) because it was the *leshōn Tōra* (the language of the Torah). But holy books were holy even in translation, and one was permitted if unable to do otherwise to recite prayers and swear oaths in languages other than Hebrew.[5]

The attitude in Islamic society toward Arabic was from the very beginning qualitatively different. Even before the advent of Islam, the Arabs had come to regard their poetic language as their supreme cultural heritage. In fact, it was the development during the fifth and sixth centuries of the rich supratribal *Hochsprache*, which we call classical Arabic with its arts of poetry and rhetoric, that gave the Arabs their first sense of nationhood.[6]

This national/linguistic awareness is a point that is emphasized in the qur'ānanic revelations, where it stated that this is *qur'ānan 'arabiyyan* (an Arabic Qur'ān)[7], *bi-lisānin ' 'arabiyyin mubīn* (in clear Arabic language).[8]

The Arabs dispersed throughout the world, not as exiles, but as conquerors. They not only imposed their language upon an empire that spread from Spain and Morocco in the west to the borders of India and China in the east, but they succeeded in conveying their own sentiments of devotion to their language and pride in it to most of the conquered peoples as well. It is only in the light of this that we can understand the remarkable and oft-quoted statement of Moses b. Ezra (d. after 1035), the medieval Hebrew poet and literary critic, in which he states:

> Because the Arab tribes excelled in their eloquence and rhetoric, they were able to extend their dominion over many languages and to overcome many nations, forcing them to accept their suzerainty.[9]

This veneration of the Arabic language which the Muslim conquerors instilled in their subjects is also reflected in the well-known complaint of Paulus Alvaro that young Christian men in ninth-century Spain, "intoxicated with Arab eloquence, greedily handle, eagerly devour, and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans (i.e., Muslims)."[10] The passion of linguistic nationalism in the society created by the Muslim conquests is perhaps best summed up by the literary scholar al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1038), who wrote:

> Whoever loves the Prophet loves the Arabs, and whoever loves the Arabs loves the Arabic language in which the best of books was revealed . . . whomsoever God has guided to Islam . . . believes that Muḥammad is the best of Prophets . . . that the Arabs are the best of peoples . . . and that Arabic is the best of languages.[11]

The Jews were, as I have already noted, among the subject peoples who absorbed some of the linguistic ideals of their conquerors. Not only did they, along with most of the Middle Eastern and North African

peoples, adopt Arabic as their daily language, but they were inspired to a new academic interest in their own holy tongue that reflected the grammatical, philological, and lexicographical sciences of their Muslim neighbors.[12] In Islamic Spain in particular the Jews cultivated Hebrew poetry and belles lettres as nothing less than their own national response to the Arabic linguistic nationalism of Islamic society, an assertion of their own culture's equality. Judah al-Ḥarīzī (d. 1235) wrote his *Tahkemōnī* in obvious imitation of the Arabic tour de force, the *Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī*, in order, as he says, "to show the power of the Holy Language to the Holy People."[13]

There is a certain historical irony in the fact that by the time the Jews had assimilated to some degree the Muslim's cult of language, Islamic society was beginning to experience a process that already had taken place among the Jews, namely the growth and development of other Islamic languages—Neo-Persian, Turkish, and later still, Urdu. The process, of course, was different from the Jewish case, for these were not diaspora tongues, but the languages of national peoples who had been themselves islamicized. What made these into Islamic languages, however, was a precise parallel to what made Jewish languages Jewish. The common bond which linked various Jewish languages belonging to very different linguistic families and which distinguished them from their non-Jewish cognates was the use of Hebrew script for writing them, and the inclusion, and indeed ready assimilation, of an element of Hebrew/Aramaic vocabulary.[14] Likewise, in the case of Islamic languages, the bond was (and for the most part remains) Arabic script and the Arabic vocabulary.[15]

The element of script cannot be dismissed as merely a minor mechanical difference. In many cultures, including Judaic and Islamic cultures, script is strongly linked to communal identity, all the more so when the script has a religious sanctity. The parallel cases of Serbian and Croatian times, Jews and Muslims have written material for their own consumption in their own scripts, whether it was Muslims writing their Romance Aljamia or Jews writing Shuadit (Judeo-Provençal).[16]

Most of the attempts in modern times to do away with the traditional confessional scripts have been associated with attempts at secularizing or converting the society. Thus Atatürk's language reforms, which included the Latinization of Turkish and the purging of Arabic and Persian vocabulary (in which he was considerably less successful than in reforming the script), were part and parcel of his program to de-Islamize Turkish society. So too the Soviet replacement of Arabic script, first with Latin from 1928-1940 and thereafter with Cyrillic in Tadjikistan, which effectively cut off the population from the Islamic influence of Iranian printed materials. The introduction of the Latin alphabet for Swahili in the nineteenth century was closely associated with Christian missionary activities in East Africa. Ithamar Ben-Avi's futile efforts at publishing Hebrew in Latin characters must also be viewed as a radical attempt to help de-Judaize the New Yishuv in Mandatory Palestine.[17]

As already noted, the concomitant to the sacred script in Jewish and Islamic languages is the extensive assimilation of vocabulary and formulas from the respective holy languages. In fact, one can scarcely get through more than the simplest sentence in either Persian or Turkish without encountering an Arabic word or phrase, so profoundly are they permeated by the Arabic language and the Islamic fath. The same is true of Yiddish.[18] In Judeo-Arabic and Ladino, on the other hand, the Hebrew element in them is significant, but is not nearly as ubiquitous. My late mentor S. D. Goitein explained that insofar as Judeo-Arabic is concerned this was due to the fact that the Jews of the Arab world had a "knowledge of living Hebrew . . . far more developed than was the case in eastern Europe" and so "they refrained from mixing up the languages."[19] (I must confess that I have never found the argument terribly convincing.)

But whether the elements from the sacred language are all-pervasive as in Persian Turkish and Yiddish, or more limited as in Judeo-Arabic, or even more so, as in Ladino, there are certain areas or linguistic domains where the parallels are striking. Naturally, these

parallels are apparent first and foremost in those areas that are most specifically Jewish or Islamic. Religious, ethical, and social concepts are normally expressed with terms from the holy tongue. Hebrew *Tōra*, Aramaic *Gemāra*, Arabic *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* passed into Jewish and Islamic languages unchanged except for their pronunciation. So too notions like *kāshēr* and *tārēf* or their Islamic equivalents, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*. In this same category we may include functionaries like the Jewish *dayyān* and the Muslim *qāḍī*; appurtenances in the synagogue or mosque, like *bīma/tēva* or *arōn/hēkhāl* and the *minbar* and *miḥrab*; as well as designations for the community like *qahal* and *qehilla* or *umma* and *jama'a*. No less significantly, unbelievers are also specified by terms from the holy language such as *gōyyīm* and *'ārēlīm* in Jewish usage and *kuffār* in Islamic.

Time markers in the sacred cycle are normally designated in Jewish and Islamic languages by their names in the sacred tongue: *Pesaḥ* for Passover, and *Mawlid* or *Mawlūd* for the Prophet's Birthday. There are, however, a few instances in which the names of the holidays also appear in a translated form, as for example, with Judeo-Arabic *rās sana* for Rosh ha-Shana, and Turkish *Büyük Bairam* for *al-'Īd al-Kabīr* and *Küçük* for *al-'Īd al-Saghīr*. The ordinary days of the week are expressed by names in the root language in Jewish and Islamic societies, but Saturday for Jews is *Shabbāt*, while Friday for Muslims is *Jum'a*. (It is interesting to note that Sunday in Ladino is *Alxad*, an Arabic loanword, rather than *Domingo* with its Christological association as "the Lord's day.") Those parts of the day associated with diurnal prayers are normally designated in Jewish and Islamic languages with terminology from the sacred tongues. Thus, for example, evening is *'arvit* or *ma'arīv* in Jewish usage, and noon is *ẓuhr* in Muslim speech.

In the intimate realm of personal names, we find a similarity of linguistic pattern throughout Jewish and Islamic societies. Hebrew and Arabic given names predominate, although there have always been other onomastic options. The names most favored are those associated with scripture or religious history. Among Jews, during those periods

and in those societies in which non-Hebraic names were commonly used, an alternative Hebrew name was also given for use in ritual contexts such as being called upon in the synagogue or having one's name on a legal document. The predominant pattern of Hebrew and Arabic given names seems to be adhered to more strictly in the case of males than in the case of females. In general, this is probably explained by the greater prestige accorded to males in traditional Islamic and Jewish societies and to the more active role accorded to males in the religious life of both communities.[20] The rise in the use of pre-Islamic names like Attila, Cengiz, or Turgut, in Turkey; Hushang, Jamshid, or Sepehr, in Iran; and such new creations as Gai, Tal and Li-Or (not to mention such Canaanisms as Anath and Talli) in Israel, are all manifestations of secular, nationalist tendencies.

Until now we have been looking at the use of script, words and names drawn from the respective holy languages of Judaism and Islam by Jews and Muslims in various languages that might be termed Jewish or Islamic—Judeo-Arabic, Ladino, and Yiddish, on the one hand, Persian, Turkish and Swahili, on the other. The symmetry with which these are used form what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called "collectively created patterns of meaning which the individual uses to give form to experience and point to action with conceptions embodied in symbols and clusters of symbols."[21]

But perhaps nowhere do we see these symbols and clusters of symbols arranged in coherent and strikingly parallel patterns throughout Jewish and Islamic societies than in the innumerable formulas, phrases, and basic ejaculatory words that pervade daily speech. Islam and Judaism are continually manifested in the living language of everyday experience, not merely in learned piety or bookish speech. The salutation *al-salām 'alaykum* (peace be upon you) and its response *wa-'alaykum al-salām* (and upon you, peace), or the Hebrew equivalents *shālōm 'alēkhem* and *va-'alēkhem shālōm*, have traditionally established the fact that two individuals are fellow members in a single *civitas Dei* at the very outset of a verbal exchange,

whether between intimate acquaintances or total stranger. This does not preclude the existence of other greetings as well (such as the equivalents of "Good morning," "Good evening," and the like), but no others have the same universality as *salām* and *shālōm* respectively.[22]

Traditional Jews and Muslims constantly manifest their awareness of the Divine omnipresence in speech. God is constantly being evoked in accordance with the clear injunction of the Divine Word in each of the two religious cultures:

> And you shall speak of them when you are sitting in your house, when you are walking on the way, when you lie down, and when you get up (Deut. 6:6 and 11:19).

and

> O you who believe, make mention of God frequently (Sura 33:41).

Leaving aside the formal mentions of the Divine in the all-encompassing Jewish blessing system which prescribes an appropriate benediction for partaking in the widest possible range of acts—from eating and drinking, to smelling a flower, or seeing a rainbow; and leaving aside too the formal invocations in Islam for all sorts of occasions, there are the countless times when in various situations and emotional states, the ordinary Jew and Muslim invoke the Divine. For example, one commonly hears in Jewish languages *ribbōnō shel ʿōlām* (Lord of the universe) as an exclamation. Arabic is far richer in the forms of *duʿā'* (invocation) using many of God's ninety-nine *asmā' al-ḥusnā* (most beautiful names), as for example: *yā laṭīf* (o Kind One), *yā sattār* (o Protector), *yā ghafūr* (o Forgiving One), *yā raḥīm* (o Merciful One).

Expressions of praise and gratitude are automatic and idiomatic responses in traditional Islamic and Jewish speech patterns. *Al-ḥamdu lillāh* and *subḥān allāh*, both of which indicate "praise be to God" in Arabic, and *barūkh ha-shēm*, *ha-yitbarakh*, or *ha-shevah lā-ēl*, which are their parallels in Hebrew, are phrases which range in meaning from their literal sense of "praise be to God" to a simple "fine, thank you," given in reply to an inquiry after one's own health. Indeed, they are an appropriate reply even when one is not fine, since in traditional Islamic and Jewish societies, one praises God in any case—*al-ḥamdu lillāh ʿalā kull ḥāl* (praise be to God in every event), or in the Jewish case of hearing bad news, *barūkh dayyān hā-emet* (praised be the True Judge).

There are prescribed formulas of congratulations that can be heard throughout Jewish and Islamic societies, the most common being the generalized *mazzāl ṭōv* among Jews, and *mabrūk* among Muslims. In addition to these all-purpose good wishes, there are ones for specific occasions. At a circumcision, for example, Jews wish: *kēn yikkānēs la-tōra, la huppa, ūle-ma ʿasīm ṭōvīm* (so may he enter upon Torah, marriage, and good deeds). Among Muslims, there are variants, one of which, used in Levantine countries is *mabrūk iṭ-ṭhūr, in shā-Ḷḷa bi-dkhūl-il-madrase* (blessed be the circumcision! God willing we shall celebrate on the occasion of his entering school).[23]

Just as congratulations have formulaic expression in both Jewish and Islamic societies, so too do condolences. Jews normally say to a mourner: *ha-māqōm yenaḥēm etkhem be-tōkh she'ār avēlē ḥiyyōn vīrūshālayim* (may the Omnipresent comfort you together with the other mourners for Zion and Jerusalem). Muslims normally say: *raḥimahu 'llāh, wa-innā lillāh wa-innā ilayhi rāji ʿūn* (may God have mercy upon him, for indeed we are God's and unto him we return).

Ordinary speech is studded in Jewish and Islamic societies with formulas that express dependence upon Providence. Traditional Jews

and Muslims never refer to futurity without adding a phrase that acknowledges that whatever is mentioned in regard to the future is contingent upon Divine Will. Thus, the phrases *im yirṣe ha-shem* and *in shā'a 'llāh* (both meaning "if God wills") are constantly used in Jewish and Islamic languages respectively. Prophylactic formulas, which are inserted into speech when discussing misfortune and in which the speaker asks for God's protection from such things, are also in this category.

All of the formulaic expressions cited above are entirely in Hebrew or Arabic and pass intact into the various Jewish and Islamic languages. There are also formulas that combine a key word from the holy tongue with one or more words in a Jewish or Islamic language, as for example in the Persian polite phrase *qurbān-i shōmā* (I am your sacrifice) or the Judeo-Arabic expression of affection *anā kappartek* (I am your atonement offering) and its variant *nemsī kappara 'alīk* (I will be your vicarious atonement).[24] The Yiddish prophylactic formula *keynehore*, a contraction of *keyn 'ēn ha-ra'* (no evil eye), belongs to this same category of combined linguistic elements.

The foregoing has been but a brief introductory sketch of some of the salient parallel patterns obtaining within the broad sociolinguistic domains of the Jewish and Islamic languages. The relatively few selected examples cited here are representative of the myriad ways in which these languages are thoroughly permeated with religio-cultural elements from the holy tongues that make them indeed Jewish or Islamic.

FOOTNOTES

1) Deut. 26:5. These words were part of the confessional recited by pilgrims at the Shavu'ot festival (see Mishna Bikkurim 3:6) and are still recited as part of the Passover Haggada.

2) For this expression, see Is. 19:18.

3) This is not to imply that there was not an awareness that Hebrew and Aramaic were two different languages (cf. for example, BT Sota 49b, or Shabbat 12b).

4) However, the actual Hebrew component was always larger than the Aramaic. See Norman A. Stillman, "The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou, Morocco: An Enthnolinguistic Study," *Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph*, No. 11 (Manchester, 1988), 53 and the sources cited there.

5) BT Shabbat 115a, Mishna Sota 7:1—"The following may be said in any language: the adjuration of the suspected adulteress, the acknowledgment of the tithe, the recital of the Shema', the prescribed prayers, grace after meals, the oath of witness, and the oath regarding deposits."

6) This point is made implicitly or explicitly by most students of Islamic history. For a succinct summation, see S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 5-7.

7) Suras 12:2; 20:113; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3.

8) Suras 16:103; 26:190.

9) Moses b. Ezra, *Sēfer Shīrat Yisrā'ēl (Kitāb al-Muhādara wa'l-Mudḥākara)* Hebrew trans. B. Halper (reprint ed., Jerusalem, 1966-67), 62. See also Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia, 1979), 58.

10) Paulus Alvaro, *Indiculus Luminosus*, Para. 35. Cited in Montgomery Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*. Islamic Surveys 4 (Edinburgh, 1965), 56.

11) al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-Lugha* (Cairo, 1284), 3. Cited by Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East and the West* (New York, 1964), 86.

12) For a short synopsis of this phenomenon, see S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages*, rev. ed. (New York, 1974), 136-40. For more detail, see Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* VII, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, Philadelphia and London, 1958), 3-61.

13) al-Ḥarīzī, *Taḥkemōnī*, ed. Y. Toporovosky (Tel Aviv, 1952), 12.

14) There is now a considerable literature on the concept of Jewish languages. Among the major introductions to the area, see S. A. Birnbaum, "Jewish Languages," *Essays in Honour of the Very Reverend Dr. J. H. Hertz* (London, 1943), 51-67; Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language* (Chicago, 1980), 45-174; Herbert H. Paper (ed.), *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Paul Wexler, "Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework," *Language* 57:1 (1981), 9-149; and Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages* (Leiden, 1985).

15) Although Islamic languages belonging to different linguistic families (primarily Semitic, Indo-European, and Turkic) have been treated by Orientalists for centuries as parts of a *Kulturbund*, there has not developed a discipline of Islamic Interlinguistics comparable to Jewish Interlinguistics. Today more than ever, much of the work on Islamic languages deals with genetically related groups within a single language family. For a good mise au point on the approaches to the study of the major Islamic languages see Gernot L. Windfuhr, "Linguistics," *The Study of the Middle East: Research and Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, ed. Leonard Binder (New York, 1976), 347-97.

16) For introductions to each of these languages and bibliography for further information, see E. Levi-Provencal and L. P. Harvey, "Aljamía," *Encyclopedia of Islam* I, new ed. (Leiden and London, 1960), 404-405; L. P. Harvey, "Aljamiado Literature," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* I (New York, 1982), 176; Henri Guttel, "Judeo-Provençal," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* X (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 439-41; George Jochnowitz, "Judeo-Provençal," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* VII (New York, 1986), 178-79.

17) The historical and sociolinguistic literature on attempts—both successful and unsuccessful—to do away with the sacred script or to purge Arabic and Hebrew loanwords from Islamic and Jewish languages is very uneven. One of the best studies is Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*. Oriental Notes and Studies, No. 5 (Jerusalem, 1954). For the case of Tadjik, see I.M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, Series Critica, 12 (Paris and the Hague, 1975) I; E. E. Bertels, "K Voprosu o Latinizacii Persidskoj pis'mennosti" (On the Latinization of Persian Orthography), *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija AN SSR* 3 (1935), 183-90; and also briefly in V. S. Rastorgueva, *A Short Sketch of Tajik Grammar*, trans. and ed. by Herbert H. Paper, Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, No. 28 (Bloomington and the Hague, 1963), 10-13. Concerning the Christian missionaries and Swahili, see Adnan Haddad, *L'arabe et le Swahili dans la République du Zaïre: Etudes islamiques (histoire et linguistique)* (Paris, 1983), 44-45 and 113-134. On Ben-Avi's campaign to Latinize the Hebrew writing system, see Hemda Ben-Yehuda, *Nōsē ha-Degel* (1944). Abandoning a traditional writing system can run into strong resistance even when the script does not have the religious sanctity of Arabic and Hebrew in Islamic and Jewish cultures. Cf. for example, John DeFrancis, "Language and Script Reform (in China)," *Advances in the Sociology of Language* II (the Hague and Paris, 1972), 450-475.

18) According to Lazard, some fifty percent of the vocabulary of literary Persian was Arabic by the twelfth century. See Gilbert Lazard, "Les emprunt arabes dans la prose persane du Xe au XIIe siècle: Aperçu statistique," *Revue de l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales* 2 (1965), 53-67; also Gernot L. Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study*. Trends in Linguistics, State-of-the-Art Reports, 12 (the Hague, Paris, New York, 1979), 155-58. As Ann Lambton points out, the Arabic element "is an indispensable part of the spoken and written word" in Persian, although the proportion of Arabic depends upon the register of speech. See Ann K. S. Lambton, *Persian Grammar* (Cambridge, 1963), 181; William O. Beeman, *Language, Status, and Power in Iran* (Bloomington, 1986), 112-31. For the significant

Arabic/Persian element in modern Turkish, see Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, 97-107. On the Hebrew element in Yiddish, see Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*, trans. by Shlomo Noble (Chicago and London, 180), *passim*. Ze'ev Chomsky, *ha-Lāshōn ha-'Ivrīt be-Darkhē Hitpathūtāh* (Jerusalem, 1967), 17, estimates that there are some 4,000 Hebrew lexical items in Yiddish. However, the noted linguist Herbert H. Paper cautions against the accuracy and value of such word counts (oral communication).

19) Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 133. For assessments of the Hebrew element in medieval and modern varieties of Judeo-Arabic, see *inter alia*, Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, Scripta Judaica, 5 (Oxford, 1965), App. II, 133-66; Moshe Bar-Asher, "'Al ha-Yesōdōt ha-'Ivriyyīm ba-'Aravit ha-Medubberet shel Yehude Maroqo," *Leshonenu* 42:3-4 (1978), 163-89; S. D. Goitein, "ha-Yesōdōt ha-'Ivriyyīm bi-Sfat ha-Dibbūr shel Yehūdē Tēmān," *Leshonenu* 3 (1930), 356-80; and Stillman, *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou*, 53-58.

20) My colleague Akbar Muhammad explains the greater frequency of non-Arabic names among girls in Swahili-speaking Muslim families in some parts of Central Africa as due to the fact that frequently their mothers are themselves of non-Muslim origin since Muslim men have to go outside the community for wives because of a shortage of Muslim women (oral communication, March 9, 1988).

21) Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven and London, 1968), 95-96.

22) Islamic custom reserved the full *salām* salutation for Muslims. See C. van Arendonk, "Salām," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 490. In 1912, the Egyptian Jewish poet and essayist Murād Faraj called upon his Muslim compatriots to stop making distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims in greeting in order to foster national solidarity. See Murād Faraj, *Maqālāt Murād* (Cairo, 1912), 201-208. The problem of addressing non-Jews with *shālōm* does not—as far as I am aware—arise in Jewish law since throughout much of diaspora history, non-Jews did not speak Hebrew as Jews did Arabic.

23) For the Arabic circumcision blessing, see M. Piamenta, *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech* (Leiden, 1979), 162.

24) See Norman A. Stillman, *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou*, 205-6, n. 2.