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Some Arabic and Hebrew words in Oriental Judæo-Spanish

The following list of words consists almost exclusively of Arabic and Hebrew terms used in the Judæo-Spanish of the former Turkish Empire. Unless otherwise stated, the forms quoted are, or were, current in Salonica; most of them have been heard pronounced by natives of that town, though occasionally it has been possible to quote only from material written in *raši* characters.

My latest Salonica informant is Madame Streya Aelión (*née* Matalón), who is probably more than 70. She now lives in London and has been of inestimable help to me.

The words I discuss below have been chosen mainly because some of them are, I believe, direct borrowings from Arabic, and so provide further evidence that the Jews in Spain often knew Arabic, as well as Spanish (v. M. L. Wagner, *Judenspanisch-Arabisches*, *ZRPh.* 40, 534), or because a few show how popular Judæo-Spanish has adapted Hebrew words to Spanish speech habits. I have also included certain words which are already well known, but for which I have tried to find more satisfactory explanations than those previously given.

The following abbreviations have been used:

Benoliel – J. Benoliel, *Dialecto judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakilia*, *BRAE* 13, 209–233; 342–363; 507–538; 14, 137–168; 196–234; 357–373; 566–580; 15, 47–61; 188–223; 32, 255–289.

Blondheim, *Judéo-Roman* – D. S. Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*, Paris, 1925.

Chérézli – S.-I. Chérézli, *Nouveau petit dictionnaire judéo-espagnol-français*, Jérusalem, 1898–1899.

- DCEC – J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, A–K, Madrid [1954–55].
- DMA – *Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española*, 2a ed., Madrid, 1950.
- Jastrow – M. Jastrow, *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi* . . ., New York/Berlin, 1926.
- Luria – M. A. Luria, *A study of the Monastir dialect of Judeo-Spanish based on oral material collected in Monastir, Yugoslavia*, *RHispan.* 79 (1930), 323–583.
- Redhouse – Sir James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople, 1890.
- Steiger, *Hispano-árabe* – Arnauld Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*, *RFE*, Anejo XVII, Madrid, 1932.
- Subak, *Salon.* – J. Subak, *Judenspanisches aus Saloniki, mit einem Anhang: Judenspanisches aus Ragusa*, Trieste, 1906.
- Subak – *Zum Judenspanischen*, *ZRPh.* 30 (1906), 129–185.
- Tesoro Lexic.* – S. Gili Gaya, *Tesoro lexicográfico (1492–1726)*, Madrid, 1947.
- Wagner, *Konst.* – M. L. Wagner, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judenspanischen von Konstantinopel*, Wien, 1914.

abrikók n.m., *abrikókes* pl. 'apricot'. This form is used by all my Salonica informants. Subak (*Salon.*, p. 9) gave the same forms, though, earlier (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 156) he had listed *abrikotos*, which is perhaps a mistake. Cf. Cat. *abricoch*, quoted by Hasselrot («L'abricot», *Stud. Neophilolog.*, 13, 67). I do not know whether other J. Span. dialects have preserved a Spanish derivative of this word. Luria (§ 172) derives Monastir *albicoque* from Ital. *albicocca* and, according to Subak (*ZRPh.* 30, 136), Istanbul uses *zerdeli* and Bosnian *zerdelia*; with these forms cf. Turk. *zerdāli* < Pers. زردآلو 'wild apricot, *prunus armeniaca*' (Redhouse, p. 1007 a), and Turk. *zerdāli* 'wild apricot' (Hony). In vulg. Greek we have ζέρδιλος 'petit abricot à l'amande amère', beside ζερδαλ'ά, jερ-διλ'ά 'abricotier', all quoted by L. Ronzevalle, *Les emprunts turcs dans le grec vulgaire de Roumélie* (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique* 1911), Paris 1912, p. 96. Wagner (*Konst.*, p. 77) quotes Const.

kaṣi which corresponds to Turk. *qaysı* 'garden apricot, *prunus armeniaca hortensis*' (Redhouse, p. 1428 a), *kayısı* 'apricot' (Hony). Cf. mod. Greek *καῖσι* 'albicocca' (E. Brighenti, *Diz. greco-moderno-italiano*, Milano 1927).

adalé 'batterie (de cuisine), set of similar articles'. This is the form used by my present Salonica informant. The word seems not to be known in Istanbul. In Salonica texts I have found only *אדאלת* (*adaleth*), e.g. *todo el adaleth de kuzina, empesando de la basina de kolada asta el raliio de kezo* 'all the kitchen gear from the washtub down to the cheese-grater.' This suggests that the earlier pronunciation was **adaléθ* or **adalét*, and our word is probably connected with Ladino J. Span. *adalú* 'seau' < Arab. *dalw* (v. Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 292, § 362).

afilú 'although; even.' *afilú ke* is used indifferently with the subjunctive or indicative, viz. *afilú ke sea mi ermano* 'even though he is my brother'; (written source) *javlan todos en franses afilu ke padre i madre les javlan en espaniol* 'they all speak French even though their father and mother speak to them in [Judæo-]Spanish'; *afilú el más probe* 'even the poorest person.' Heb. *אפילו* (*'ăfillú*) 'even if, although, even' (Jastrow, p. 103). Cf. Morocco *ajillú* 'mismo, hasta, inclusivamente' (Benoliel, *BRAE 14*, 568); J. Arab. *áfəllu* 'même si', which M. Cohen (*Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912, p. 401) describes as a «terme de discussion talmudique», *afillo* 'id.' (L. Brunot et E. Malka, *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, Rabat 1940, p. 3).

aftahá v. *ḥaṣtoná*.

aḥaroba v. *ḥaroba*.

(a)*ḥarbar* 'beat' v. *ḥaṣtoná*.

alāmbit n.m. 'still, alembic.' Because Salon. Judæo-Spanish frequently loses, or whispers, some final consonants, particularly *-r*, *-l*, *-t* (*θ*), *-d* (*-ḏ*), it sometimes happens that, by false regression, paragogic consonants are appended to new vocalic oxytons, so *alāmbit* may represent a development of Cat. *alambí* < Arab. *anbīq* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 339). It is more likely that Cat. *alambí*, rather than O. Arag. *alambich* (Pottier, *VRom. 10*, 94), is the basis of the Salon. form, because final *-k* is apparently stable in this dialect (v. *almadrák*, *aljeník*).

albricia, albriciador, albriciar, albrisjas v. *albisja*.

alfenik 'very fine, slender', e.g. *suz djentez marfil blanko, suz manoz de alfenik*. My Salonica informants know no concrete meaning for this word. Of the peninsular derivatives of Arab. *fānīd*, quoted by Steiger (*Hispano-árabe*, p. 135), O. Cat. *alfenich* is nearest to the Salon. form. For the figurative meaning of the word, cf. Covarrubias 'Al que es muy delicado dezimos comúnmente ser hecho de alfeñique'. Cf. Fez J. Arab. *fanīd* 'bonbons, sucrerie, dragées' (Brunot et Malka, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

alhasáras, bježa de laz 'witch'. See *alhasarear*.

alhasarear 'bewitch', e.g. (written source) *kuanas mužeres ĵudias ħueron alhasareadas* 'what a number of Jewish women were bewitched'; fig. *loke manka es ke los tipografes las alhasareen mas mučo* 'it only remains for the type-setters to confuse them [the letters] still further'. Cf. Monastir *alħašariar* 'to turn things topsy-turvy' (Luria, § 176), which Luria, in his list of words derived from Turkish, connected with Monastir *iħašar* 'to pulverize', which verb he derived from Turk. *ħašar* (< Arab. *ħašara* 'to make small'). But Turk. *ħašr(eltmek)* (v. Redhouse, p. 786 b, s.v.) has no meanings which fit Luria's verbs. Salon. *alhasarear* and Monastir *alħašariar* are doubtless not borrowings from Turkish, but were created in Spain by metathesis from Arab. *saħar* > *ħasar*. For examples of such metathesis in J. Arab., see M. Cohen (*Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris, 1912, p. 100): Clas. Arab. *naššata* > J. Arab. *šōnnōt* 'écouter'; \sqrt{sxr} : *tməsxər* > *tməxsər* 'se moquer de'; in Lebanese: Clas. Arab. *ħašaba* > *bāħša* 'caillou', etc. (v. M. Féghali, *Le parler de Kfar'abīda (Liban-Syrie)*, Paris, 1919, p. 46). The root $\sqrt{s-ħ-r}$ is widely attested in Span. Arab. (v. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 636 a سحر IV. 'ensorceler'; سحیر *sāħir* 'magicien'); Vocabulista سحر, ساحر *saħar, sāħir*, s. maleficiare; Pedro de Alcalá: *azħir* 'enhechizar', 218₃₁; 'hechizar'; 268₈; *añçahār* 'hechizarse', 268₉; *maçhór* 'enhechizado', 234₃₂; *azħir* 'ligar con hechizos', 287₂₂. For the forms in maghrebi Arabic, see W. Marçais, *Tanger*, 329; for its diffusion in Oriental Arab., see Spiro Bey: ساحر *sāħir* 'magician, sorcerer'; Berggren, s. sorcier سحار *saħhār*, ساحر *sāħir*; Landberg, *Glossaire dañinois*: سحر *siħr*

'sorcellerie', سباحر *sēhor* 'Zauberer' (cf. *sēhor* 'Menschenfresser', Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omān und Zanzibar*, Berlin, 1894, p. 347); Sudan: *sihr* 'sorcery', *šahhār* 'sorcerer' (Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic*; Lethem, *Shuwa Dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and of the Region of Lake Chad*, s.v.). It would appear that the Arab. verb *sah(h)ar* originally meant 'to be black' and was in semantic relationship with Lebanese Arab. *šahhār* 'suie', *šahhar* 'noircir' («C'est l'hébreu שָׁחַר 'devenir ou être noir', d'où سحر *sihr* 'magie noire, Schwarzkunst', ce qui est sans doute une traduction du sémitique», cf. C. Landberg, *op.cit.*, 722, n. 1).

alḥašú 'type of cake', e.g. *tažikoz de alḥašú i otraz dulsuras* 'slices of a. and other sweetmeats'. In Sarajevo there exist *alḥašú* and *alḥašúf* 'round pastry made with oil'. Arab. حشو *ḥašw*, O.Span. *alfaxú*, Span. *alajú* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 22).

alkanfor, *alkánfora*, *kánfora*. Cf. אלקאנפור (*alkanfor*) 'camphre' (Chérézli), and Salon. (*al*)*kánfora* 'mothball, camphor', e.g. *lopez* (Turk. *top*) *de řopaz embweltoz en la kánfora* 'bales of merchandise packed in camphor'. The Salon. forms no doubt represent O.Port. *alcánfora*, Port. *cánfora* < Arab. *kāfūr* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 117). To-day Salon. *alkanfor* is used figuratively in an emphatic or superlative sense, e.g. *la kolađa saljó alkanfor blanka* 'the washing (laundry) came out white as snow'; *kon...almadrakes* (q.v. infra) *de lana alkanfor* 'with...mattresses of the purest wool'; *masá* (Heb. מצה *maššah*), *bendičo padre ke tal krio, delgada alkanfor i no mučo kara* 'unleavened bread, blessed be the Father that created it, thin as a wafer and not over-expensive'.

almadrák 'mattress'. The same apocopated form is used in Sarajevo. Examples (written sources): *kon savanas limpiias, almadrakes de lana alkanfor* 'with clean sheets, mattresses of the purest wool'; *si ađuntava todas las kartas ke me vinieron no abastaria un almadrak para kontenerlas* 'if I collected all the letters that came for me a mattress would not suffice to hold them'. The Salon. and Saraj. form is the same as O.Arag. *almadrach* 'coussin, matelas' (v. Pottier, *VRom. 10*, 96), cf. O.Span. *almadraq* (Brocense 1580, quoted in *Tesoro Lexic.*).

almiskle 'musk', so also אלביסקלי (*almiskle*) 'musc' (Chérézli),

and Const. *almiskle* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 30). Wagner (*Zum Judenspanischen von Marokko*, VKR 4, 236) stated in error that Oriental J.Span. used the same form as Morocco *almisque* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 517). We do indeed find this form in the Ferrara Bible *almisque fino* (Ex. 30, 23), and it is repeated in the Const. Bible 1873, whereas *almiskle fino* appears in the Smyrna Bible 1838. In the Bibles it means 'myrrh' (Blondheim, *Judéo-Roman*, p.150).

Gal. *almiscrar* 'perfumar con almizcle, aderezar con almizcle' (*Dicc. gallego-castellano por la Real Academia Gallega*, Coruña 1925-26 is reflected in the Salon.verb *almiskrear* 'to perfume', e.g. *la yebó al baño, la labó, l'almiskreó, la bístjó i se la yebó*).

In the Ferrara Bible we find *las almizcreras* (Judg. 8, 26), but *las almizcleras* (Is. 3, 19), translated in the English Bible by 'pendants'. This meaning is quite different from those cited for *almizclera* in DCEC (s. *almizcle*) or by Gili Gaya (*Tesoro lexic.*, s.v.).

almodrása (Const.) 'instrument chirurgical dont on se sert à la circoncision' (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 161). This pseudo-Arabic word corresponds to Salon. *modrasa* 'un instrumento en forma de lira . . . que sirve para coger, a guisa de pinzas, la parte de la piel que hay que cortar' (v. M. Molho, *Usos y costumbres de los sefardies de Salónica*, Madrid, 1950, p. 66). In both Const. and Saraj.J.Span. dialects *-rd-* > *đr*, e.g. *bedre* < *verde*, so (al)*modrasa* < *mordaza*. The J.Span. word is semantically close to the use of Span. *mordaza* as a veterinary term: 'instrumento con el que se sujeta . . . la parte alta del escroto, para evitar derrames en la castración' (*DMA*), with which, cf. Andal. *mordaza* 'cisura circular que se hace en un palo' (Alcalá Venceslada, *Vocab.andaluz*, 1951, s.v.); Covarrubias *mordaça* 'cierto instrumento con que aprietan la lengua e impide el poder hablar'. See **mördācia* 'Zange', *REW*, No. 5678.

almušama 'brine, pickle', e.g. (in a ballad) *kortar bos kjere la kašesa / metérbola a l'almušama*. O.Span. *almořama*, Span. *mořama* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 289).

albísja n.f. sing. 'item of news'. I have occasionally met this form in the literary language, e.g. *vo a meldar la buena alvisiia ke . . .* 'I shall read the good news that . . .', and it has been confirmed by native speakers. It also occurs in a ballad quoted by Molho (*op.cit.*, p. 21): «Alvisia a la novia que se apareje a la al-

vorada.» The Ferrara Bible uses the sing. *albricia*, viz. *por mi dar a el albricia* (II Sam. 4, 10) 'good tidings', *con albricia buena viene* (II Sam. 18, 27) 'good tidings'; cf. too *este albriciador* (II Sam. 18, 26) 'he also bringeth tidings' and *respondio el albriciã* (I Sam. 4, 17) 'that brought the tidings', *para albriciar* (I Sam. 31, 9) 'to carry the tidings'. Subak (*ZRPh.* 30, 144) quotes Const. *albrisias* 'Neuigkeit', and Benoliel (*BRAE* 14, 574) mentions Morocco *albricias* without translation.

There are certain points to consider about Salon. *albisja*. These are, in particular, its use in the singular, its meaning and its form. A comprehensive article by Malkiel («Castilian 'albricias' and its Ibero-Roman congeners», *Stud. in Philology*, 43, 498-521) on our word is most illuminating on these matters. He shows (p. 505), with abundant examples, that Spanish uses the plural *albricias* after ca. 1400, whereas its Port. counterpart is used in the singular until ca. 1600. Salon. J. Span. shows many western features and the use of the singular there might be ascribed to this fact, but, because the Ferrara Bible also has *albricia*, it is more likely that the singular cognate Heb. בְּשׂוֹרָה *běšôrah*, which *albricia* translates, is responsible for the singular. (*besorã* is still used in the same way as *albisja*, e.g. *te ðaré una besorã* 'a piece of news'; *te dare bšora tova* 'I shall give you a piece of good news'. Cf. Morocco *besorã* 'noticia, generalmente buena', quoted by Benoliel, *BRAE*, 14, 578).

Malkiel (*op.cit.*, 504) states that Basque *albista*, *albiste* has the sense of 'news', not necessarily that of 'favourable news'. As will be seen from the examples quoted above, this is true also of Salon. and Const. J. Span. and of the use of the word in the Ferrara Bible.

Finally, the form of Salon. *albisja* is striking in that it agrees exactly with the mysterious *albicia*, quoted by Diez as being used by Berceo, and which Malkiel (*op.cit.*, p. 502, n. 27) states has not been located. In his edition of *Berceo: Veintitrés Milagros*, *RFE*, Anejo X, Madrid 1929, C. Carroll Marden quotes the variant *aluizia* from *El nuevo obispo*, 311, in a footnote on p. 52. I can but speculate whether the Jews of Salonica, that melting pot into which refugees from many parts of the Iberian Peninsula were poured, brought the form with them from

their native land; whether it represents a mixture of various dialect forms; or, whether the heavy nexus *-lbr-* was simply reduced by the loss of *r*.

In spoken Oriental J.Span. *habér* < Turk. *haber* (< Arab.) is now the most usual word for 'item of news', e.g. Salon. *tjenes haberez bwenos?*; *algún kará* (Turk. *kara* 'black' = J.Span. *negro* 'bad') *habér* 'some piece of bad news'; Monastir *pur no dar haber negru a tu padri* (Luria, Text X, line 61). *nobidá(d)* and *notisja* are also used, though less frequently, in the same sense of 'item of news'.

aporéi v. *beđahéi*.

ašidré 'chess', e.g. (in a ballad) *el su padre l'ai wadrado par' al konde alegorné* [probably = aragonés] / *el su padre no la daba ni por oro ni por ađer* / *sinó al ke la ĵugaba al ĵugo del ašidré* /. My informant did not know what the game was, though she did know the players sat down to play it. Arab. *šatranġ* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 194). In the Salon. ballad the form is probably that of a new singular created from an apparent plural, because *-s* is not lost in this dialect. Chérézli quotes אִזְדְּרֵי (*ažedres*) 'sandrač, modo de ĵugo, jeu d'échecs', but this is presumably a misprint, or betrays the fact that Chérézli probably had some acquaintance with modern Castilian. In the spoken language, to-day, Salon.J.Span. uses *santrač*, e.g. (from a written source) *les traian . . . kartas para ke pasaran la ora, santrač para ke no se siklearan* (Turk. *sikilmak*) 'they brought them playing-cards to pass the time, chess [-sets] so that they should not be bored'. With these forms, cf. mod.Turk. *satranç*; earlier *santranj* (Redhouse, p. 1187 a); *shatrenj*, vulg. *santranch* (Redhouse, p. 1126 a). Since however the Jews played chess in Spain, the mod. *santrač* (and possibly also Chérézli's *sandrač*) may owe nothing to Turkish; I compare therefore Morocco Arab. *sutřž*, Tremecén *sentřáž* (cited by Steiger, *loc. cit.*), Tunisian *sitrúnž* (Stumme, *Tunis. Märchen*, XXI) and Maimonides' form *sitránġ* (v. I. Friedländer, *Sprachgebrauch d. Maimonides* [Frankfurt 1902], 55 b).

atamarales de umo (Ladino) 'columns, pillars of smoke'. Subak (*ZRPh.* 30, 149) erroneously translated this expression by 'tourbillons de fumée' and tried to connect it with Turk. *atım* 'dis-

charge of a gun'. It is however a translation of Heb. וְתִמְרוֹת עָשָׁן *wě-thimróth eāsān* (Joel, 3, 3) 'and columns of smoke', which is rendered by 'y pilares de humo' in the Ferrara Bible. Because in Hebrew the words for 'date-palm' and 'column (of smoke)' (v. Jastrow, p. 1679 s. תְּמָרָה and תִּמְרוֹת) are associated, Ladino *atamarales de umo* has the form of J.Span. (*a*)*tamaral* 'date-palm' < Arab. تَمْرَة (*tamra*) 'dátil' (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 127). Cf. Morocco *atamarales* 'columnas de humo en forma de palmeras' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 574).

batál 'idle; unoccupied, empty; out of work', e.g. *el patrón del kafé staĉa ai asentado batál* 'the proprietor of the kafé was sitting there doing nothing'; *muĉoz andares keĉaron batál* 'many flats fell vacant.' The lack of agreement in the latter example makes it certain the word is Turk. *batal* (< Arab.) 'void; worthless; unemployed; idle' (Redhouse, p. 369a), and is not a direct derivative of the Arab. word, still less of Heb. בָּטֵל (*bāṭēl*) 'idle, unemployed' (Jastrow, p. 158). Wagner (*RFE* 34, 34 s. *batál*) quotes Bulg.J. Span. «*Ballanim* (con plural hebráico) 'los individuos que leen los yártsait'». But this is Heb. בַּטְלָנִים (*baṭlānīm*), plur. of בַּטְלָן (*baṭlān*) 'unemployed' (Jastrow, p. 158), cf. J.Span. proverb *azno bĭln proveĉo para la malah* (Turk. *mahalle* 'quarter of a town'), quoted by Uziel (*Rěšummoth*, 5 (1927), No. 83, p. 330), a variant of *azno batal, proĉeĉo para l'olám* and of *asno batal, proveĉo para el vezinado* (Wagner, *loc.cit.*).

beĉahéĭ, *beĉahé* n.m., *beĉahés* pl. 'cemetery.' Subak (*Salon.*, p. 12) quoted Salon. *beĉaxayé*, pl. *beĉaxayim*, Baruch (*RFE* 17, 127) gave Bosnia *bidahayim* and Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo XII, p. 36) cited *beĉaxaim*. All these forms agree closely with Heb. בֵּית הַחַיִּים (*beth ha-hayyim*) 'house of the living', a euphemism for 'cemetery'. Cf. Morocco *bet-haĉayyim* 'cementerio' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 578), J.Arab. *beĉahayim* 'cimetière' (M. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 399). Salon. *beĉahéĭ* and *beĉahé*, forms used by women and other persons ignorant of Hebrew, are examples of the assimilation of a Hebrew word to Spanish speech habits. ה (*h*) is lost in Oriental J.Span. and the consequent intervocalic ה (?θ) be-

comes *d̄*. In Salonica *-ayim* presumably gave **-ain*, cf. *gallina* > **gayina* > Salon. *gaina* and, by a shift of stress and partial assimilation of *a* to *i*, we may assume an earlier **-ēi*. A parallel to this development is provided by Salon. *ečar alguna koza aporéi* (= *al istjérko*) 'throw something out on the rubbish-heap'; Saraj. *lu ičar apuréi* 'id.'; Monastir *la 'chamus apuréi*, of which Luria (§ 180) said: «Is there a possible combination of *a + pur + ai?*» Luria's supposition was doubtless correct, but I believe we should start rather from *a + por + alli*.

The nasalization of the final unstressed vowel of **bedahēi* was no doubt lost when the plurality of the word was no longer felt. The new plural *bedahés* 'cemeteries' has even lost *i* and the singular *bedahé* is presumably a new formation from that plural.

besorá v. *albisja*.

gān ēder [usually with long *a*] 'Garden of Eden, Paradise', e.g. *la una ez de gān ēder, la otra ez de giinā* 'the one is of Paradise, the other of Gehenna'. Heb. גַּן עֶדֶן (*gan edhen*). Our Salonica form arises perhaps, by false regression, from an earlier **gan edē*. Cf. Morocco *gan-ēden* 'Edén, paraiso' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 91). Const. *ganedém* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 173) is quite irregular in stress, the treatment of Heb. ג and its final *-m*.

giinā, geinán 'Gehenna'. גֵּיְהִנָּם (*gēhinnām*), cf. O. Judaeo-Span. *guehynam* 'lugar de los condenados, infierno' (Schmid, *Der Wortschatz des Cancionero de Baena*, s.v.), but Biblical Hebrew גֵּיְהִנּוֹם (*gēhinnom*).

žépja 'pond, pool'. It is very likely that this word was known to the Jews in Spain and is probably a direct derivative from Arab. جَابِيَّة (*žābiya*) > Sicilian *gebbia*, Calabrian *gibbia* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 189), rather than from Turk. *cabiye* 'a watering-pond, a tank' (Redhouse, p. 633 *b*). The absence of the Arab. article *al-*, as against Span., Port. *aljibe, algibe* < Arab. جُبّ (*žubb*) (v. Steiger, *loc.cit.*), is evidence that the word is popular, as pointed out by Steiger (*Aufmarschstraßen des morgenländischen Sprachgutes*, *VRom.* 10, 12).

habér v. *albisja*.

ħaftoná 'beating, thrashing', e.g. *deben de tener una espalda řezja*

para 'reyeb̄ar haḥṭonás 'they must have sturdy backs to stand beatings'; *ievavan haḥṭoná i no saviiian ken los aḥarva* 'they were being beaten but they did not know who was beating them'; *ba řesi bir una haḥṭoná*. Cf. האפ'טונה (*haḥṭona*) 'bastonnade' (Chérézli); Const. *xaḥṭoná* 'coups' (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 132); Salon. «los golpes . . . en las manos llamábase haḥṭoná» (Molho, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The first element of this word, which is occasionally written as האב'טונה (*habḥṭona*), must be a formation from Heb. הַבַּחַט (*hābḥaṭ*) 'to lay down for receiving lashes, in general to punish, bind over' (Jastrow, p. 417). The passage of *b* + *t* to *ft* is not uncommon, cf. Salon. and Monastir *aḥṭahá* 'confidence' (Luria, § 175) < Heb. הַבְּחָה (*habḥāḥah*); Salon., Monastir *moḥto* 'abortion' = Const. *móbito* (v. Luria, § 170; Wagner, *RFE* 34, 77-78).

Benoliel (*BRAE*, 15, 202) quotes Morocco Judæo-Spanish *ḥarboná* [*ḥarḥoná*] '*Paliza: dar una ḥarboná*', which is therefore identical in meaning with Oriental *haḥṭoná*. Benoliel explains that the eunuch Harbonah (v. Esther 7, 9: הַרְבוּנָה) was responsible for telling King Ahasuerus that Haman «acababa de construir una horca de cincuenta codos de altura para en ella ahorcar a Mardoqueo. De aquí, Harboná quedó siendo el causador de un tremendo castigo, y su nombre vino a designar el mismo castigo, o una buena paliza.»

It seems likely that the name *ḥarḥoná* was already so used by the Jews in Spain, because Oriental *haḥṭoná* doubtless owes its *-oná* to that of the proper name.

The exact relationship of the Oriental verb (*a*)*ḥarbar* 'beat, thrash' to Morocco *ḥarḥoná* 'beating' and to Morocco *jarbear* 'horadar; estragar; buscar, revolver, desarreglar, registrar' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 207) is not entirely clear. Benoliel derived his verb from an unspecified Arab. root. Oriental (*a*)*ḥarbar* has been related to Turk. *ḥarb-* (< Arab.) 'war' (v. Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 144; Wagner, *Konst.*, p. 5, note 65; Luria, § 176). In my *Recherches sur le jud. esp.*, Paris 1935, p. 221, I suggested that *aḥarḥar* might be connected with O.Span. *harbar*, but this suggestion was rejected by G. Farhi (*VRom.* 3, 305), who quoted Const. *estó ḥarḥado* 'je suis abattu, défait'. In Salon. J. Span.

the word has the further meanings of 'wound, strike with injurious effect, bruise; knock at a door', e.g. *un ómbaši* (Turk. *onbaşı*) *h̄ye libjanamente h̄ar̄bado* 'a corporal was slightly wounded'; *ke h̄arva mas de una palmatoria* 'that bruises more than a schoolmaster's ferule'; *estaba h̄ar̄bando a la puerta* 'he was knocking at the door'. Cf. Const.Bible 1873: *a h̄arvava a un varon evreo*, Exod. 2,11 'smiting an Hebrew', for which the earlier Bible translations read (*f*)*irir*, *jerir*.

Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *harbar*) derives Clas. and Old Span. *harbar* 'hacer algo de prisa y atropelladamente' from Arab. *h̄arab* 'devastar'; 'destruir, echar a perder'. He quotes also the meanings of 'comer de prisa' from Juan del Encina, of 'trabajar precipitada y malamente' from Cervantes, of 'hazer la cosa muy de priessa, como *harbar* la plana el muchacho quando escribe de priessa y mal' from Covarrubias, and of 'arrebatar' from Quevedo. He describes the senses of Morocco *jarbear* and of Oriental J.Span. (*a*)*h̄ar̄bar* as more archaic than those of Span. *harbar*. I believe that Corominas is here at fault and that the sense of (*a*)*h̄ar̄bar* 'beat, wound, bruise' is different from those of Span. *harbar*, not because it is more archaic, but because the Jews, while already in Spain, carried over the meaning of *h̄ar̄boná* 'beating' to *harbar*, and this because the consonants of *h̄ar̄boná* are identical with those of Heb. $\sqrt{h-r-bh}$ 'ruined, dry', cognate with Arab. $\sqrt{kh-r-b}$ 'ruined, devastated'. J.Span. *h̄ar̄bar* therefore became a synonym of *jerir* 'strike, wound' (for the history of FERIRE in Ibero-Romance, see Badia Margarit, *RLingRom.* 19, 39-58). The *-ear* of Morocco *jarbear* gives the verb the appearance of being a re-formation from Arab. $\sqrt{kh-r-b}$, though its meanings suggest that the N.African Jews earlier knew a *harbar* with senses similar to those of Oriental (*a*)*h̄ar̄bar* – and doubtless for the same reasons.

From Heb. $\sqrt{h-r-bh}$ we have Morocco *harebá* 'desierto, solitud, yermo' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 202), with which we may compare Algiers J.Arab. *h̄arbān* 'la peste! (juron)' < Heb. הַרְבָּן 'destruction', quoted by M. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

h̄ar̄óba 'carob-bean'. This Salon. form which is well known to me, also quoted by Subak (*Salon.*, p. 5), and listed by Chérézli

as הארוב ה (*harova*) 'caroube', corresponds even more closely with Arab. *xarrûb(a)* (v. Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, pp. 109, 229, 357; DCEC, s. *algarroba*) than does Const. *aḥaróḇa* (Wagner, *ZRPh.* 40, 547).

harḇar v. *ḥaḥtoná*.

káḥen conj., interr. adv. of manner 'how, in what manner', e.g. *i káḥen ke se mantenga este gato?* 'And how can this cat find food?'; *no sabén káḥen fazer de suz almas* 'they do not know what to do with themselves'. Probably J.Span. *ke* + Heb. אַכְּהֵן ('*ākḥên*) 'thus, in this manner' (Jastrow, p. 63).

kaiṣi v. *abrikók*.

kalḥamirá (Salon., Sarajevo) 'passover eve', e.g. *día de kal-ḥamirá*. These are the first words (and title) of the declaration made on the eve of passover, when all bread and other leavened food has been collected, and which are repeated the following day when the remains of food are burned. Heb. כֹּל (kōl) 'all of' + Aramaic חֲמִירָא (*ḥāmîrâ*) 'strong leaven, unleavened bread'. The *a* of *kal-* is irregular. (I am informed by Dr. S. Birnbaum, of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, who assisted me with this note, that such irregularities occur in Yiddish).

kánjora v. *alkanfor*.

lašón d'a kódeš 'Hebrew language', e.g. *non konosez el lašón d'a kódeš?* 'Don't you know Hebrew?' This popular form, for **lašón de a kódeš*, lit. 'tongue of the holiness', shows that the Hebrew construct in לשון הקודש (*lašón haq-qôdheš*) 'the language of holiness' has been replaced by a Spanish genitive construction. Speakers familiar with Hebrew do however use *lešón a kódeš*. Cf. J.Arab. *lašōnaqodeš* (M. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

mojto v. *ḥaḥtoná*.

namosía 'mosquito-net', e.g. (in a ballad) *biḍe kama franka kon řika kortina, / entri maz adjentro por ðer lo k' abia: / biḍe a la noḃja debašo la namosía.* / Arab. ناموسية (*nāmūsiyya*). The use of the word in Salonica is not restricted to the literary language. It is probable the Jews already knew it in Spain, because it seems not to be used in Turkish, perhaps because of the existence of Turk. *namus* (*nāmús*) (<Persian) 'honour; honesty; good name'

(Redhouse, p. 205 *b*). Benoliel (*BRAE* 32, 256) quotes Morocco *namusia* which, oddly enough, he translates by 'cama'.

notisja, nobidá(đ) v. albisja.

sandrač, santráč v. ašidré.

tareħa 'task; commission', e.g. *me paresjó mui libjana la tareħa ke me đates* 'the task you entrusted me with seemed very simple to me'; *no puđe inčir la tareħa ke m'enkomendó* 'I could not fulfil the charge he laid upon me'. Arab. *طريحة*, but Span. *tarea*, Port. *tarefa, tareia* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 149).

tréfán, trifá adj.inv. 'unclean' (applied particularly to food). Heb. *טריפה* (*těřěřah*), with paragogic *-n*. Wagner (*RFE* 34, 97, s. *tespí*) quotes many similar examples in Judæo-Spanish and vulgar Spanish and Portuguese of this tendency to eliminate vocalic oxytons. Cf. Morocco *terefá* 'impuro, lo que no es lícito comer, beber o tocar' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 32, 275); Const. *tréfá* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 173).

zerdelí(a) v. abrikók.

Leeds.

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[Professor Steiger was kind enough to write the note on *al-hasarear* for me. I am indebted to him also for supplying me with references in this article to many books which I have been unable to consult].