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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 *rashi* 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 haketí*, *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.

Chéréliz – S.-I. Chéréliz, *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 Moñastir, Yugoslavia*, RHisp. 79 (1930), 323–583.
- Redhouse – Sir James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople, 1890.
- Steiger, Hispano-árabe – Arnald 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 Anhange: 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 Juden-spanischen 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. *zerdālı* < Pers. زردالو ‘wild apricot, *prunus armeniaca*’ (Redhouse, p. 1007 a), and Turk. *zerdālı* ‘wild apricot’ (Hony). In vulg. Greek we have ζέρδιλον ‘petit abricot à l’amande amère’, beside ζερδάλη, jερδάλη ‘abricotier’, all quoted by L. Ronzevalle, *Les emprunts turcs dans le grec vulgaire de Roumérie* (Extrait du Journal Asiatique 1911), Paris 1912, p. 96. Wagner (Konst., p. 77) quotes Const.

kaisí which corresponds to Turk. *qaysı* ‘garden apricot, prunus armeniaca hortensis’ (Redhouse, p. 1428 a), *kayısı* ‘apricot’ (Hony). Cf. mod. Greek καϊσι ‘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 אֲדָלֶת (*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) *favlán todos en frances a filu ke padre i madre les favlan 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. עַפְלָג (*‘āfillā*) ‘even if, although, even’ (Jastrow, p. 103). Cf. Morocco *aillú* ‘mismo, hasta, inclusivamente’ (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 568); J. Arab. *âfəllu* ‘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. *haftóná*.

aħaroħa v. *ħaħroħa*.

(a)ħarħbar ‘beat’ v. *haftóná*.

alāmbit n.m. ‘still, alembic.’ Because Salon. Judæo-Spanish frequently loses, or whispers, some final consonants, particularly -r, -l, -t (θ), -d (-d), it sometimes happens that, by false regression, paragogic consonants are appended to new vocalic oxytons, so *alāmbit* may represent a development of Cat. *alambi* < Arab. *anbīq* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 339). It is more likely that Cat. *alambi*, 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*, *alʃenik*).

albricia, albriciador, albriciar, albrisjas v. albisia.

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. *fānid*, 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. *fanid* 'bonbons, sucerie, dragées' (Brunot et Malka, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

alḥasáras, bježa že laz 'witch'. See *alḥasarear*.

alḥasarear 'bewitch', e.g. (written source) *kuantas mužeres ġudias hueron alḥasareadas* 'what a number of Jewish women were bewitched'; fig. *loke manka es ke los tipografes las alḥasareen mas mučo* 'it only remains for the type-setters to confuse them [the letters] still further'. Cf. Monastir *alhašarijar* 'to turn things topsy-turvy' (Luria, § 176), which Luria, in his list of words derived from Turkish, connected with Monastir *išašar* 'to pulverize', which verb he derived from Turk. *خُشْر* (< Arab. *hašara* 'to make small'). But Turk. *haşr(etmek)* (v. Redhouse, p. 786 b, s.v.) has no meanings which fit Luria's verbs. Salon. *alḥasarear* and Monastir *alhašarijar* are doubtless not borrowings from Turkish, but were created in Spain by metathesis from Arab. *sahar* > *ḥasar*. For examples of such metathesis in J. Arab., see M. Cohen (*Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris, 1912, p. 100): Clas. Arab. *naṣṣaṭa* > J. Arab. *ṣónnót* 'écouter'; *✓sxr: tməsxər* > *tməxsər* 'se moquer de'; in Lebanese: Clas. Arab. *ḥaṣaba* > *báḥṣa* 'caillou', etc. (v. M. Féghali, *Le parler de Kfar'abida (Liban-Syrie)*, Paris, 1919, p. 46). The root *✓s-h-r* is widely attested in Span. Arab. (v. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 636a سحر IV. 'ensorceler'; ساحر *sāhir* 'magicien'); Vocabulista ساحر *sahar*, *sāhir*, s. maleficiare; Pedro de Alcalá: *azhīr* 'enhechizar', 218₃₁; 'hechizar'; 268₈; *ançahár* 'hechizarse', 268₉; *maçhór* 'enhechizado', 234₃₂; *azhīr* '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 *sāhir* 'magician, sorcerer'; Berggren, s. sorcier ساحر *sahhár*, ساحر *sāhir*; Landberg, *Glossaire daſīnois*: ساحر *sīhṛ*

'sorcellerie', ساحر *sêhor* 'Zauberer' (cf. *sêhor* 'Menschenfresser', Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omân und Zanzi-bar*, Berlin, 1894, p. 347); Sudan: *sihr* 'sorcery', *sahhâr* '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. *šahhâr* 'suie', *šahhâr* 'noircir' («C'est l'hébreu שָׁחַר 'devenir ou être noir', d'où ساحر *sihr* 'magie noire, Schwarzkunst', ce qui est sans doute une traduction du sémitique», cf. C. Landberg, *op.cit.*, 722, n. 1).

alhašú 'type of cake', e.g. *tažikoz de alhašú i olraz dulsuras* 'slices of a. and other sweetmeats'. In Sarajevo there exist *alhašú* and *alhašúf* 'round pastry made with oil'. Arab. حشوة *hašw*, O.Span. *aljaxú*, Span. *alajú* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 22).

alkanfor, *alkánfora*, *kánfora*. Cf. אלקאנפורה (*alkanfor*) 'camphre' (Chérélzli), and Salon. (*al)kánfora* 'mothball, camphor', e.g. *topez* (Turk. *top*) *de ropaz embweltoz en la kánfora* 'bales of merchandise packed in camphor'. The Salon. forms no doubt represent O.Port. *alcánfora*, Port. *cánfora* < Arab. *kājûr* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 117). To-day Salon. *alkanfor* is used figuratively in an emphatic or superlative sense, e.g. *la kolada saljó alkanfor blanca* 'the washing (laundry) came out white as snow'; *kon... almadrakes* (q.v. infra) *de lana alkanfor* 'with... mattresses of the purest wool'; *masá* (Heb. מסה *maṣṣah*), *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 aģuntava 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 אלמיסקלה (*almiskle*) 'musc' (Chérélzli),

and Const. *almiskle* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 30). Wagner (*Zum Juden-spanischen von Marokko, VKR 4*, 236) stated in error that Oriental J.Span. used the same form as Morocco *almisque* (Beno-liel, *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 bistjó 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.).

almođrása (Const.) 'instrument chirurgical dont on se sert à la circoncision' (Subak, *ZRPh. 30*, 161). This pseudo-Arabic word corresponds to Salon. *mođrasa* '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-* > *dr*, e.g. *bedre* < *verde*, so (*al)mođrasa* < *mordaza*. The J.Span. word is semantically close to the use of Span. *mordaza* as a veterinary term: 'instrumento con el que se sujetan . . . 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 **mōrdācia* 'Zange', *REW*, No. 5678.

almušama 'brine, pickle', e.g. (in a ballad) *kortar þos kjere la kabesa / metérþola a l'almušama*. O.Span. *almoxama*, Span. *mojama* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 289).

alþisja 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 albriciā* (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 *bēšōrah*, which *albricia* translates, is responsible for the singular. (*besorá* is still used in the same way as *albisja*, e.g. *te daré una besorá* ‘a piece of news’; *te dare b'sora tova* ‘I shall give you a piece of good news’. Cf. Morocco *besorá* ‘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 *-l̥br-* 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'.

aporéj v. *bedahéj*.

ašídře 'chess', e.g. (in a ballad) *el su padre l'aj wadrado par' al konde alegorné* [probably = aragonés] / *el su padre no la daba ni por oro ni por aþer / sinó al ke la ȝugaba al ȝugo ðel ašídře /*. My informant did not know what the game was, though she did know the players sat down to play it. Arab. *šafranž* (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 אַזְדָּרִים (*ažedres*) 'sandrač, modo de ȝugo, 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 *santráč*, e.g. (from a written source) *les traian . . . karlas para ke pasaran la ora, santráč 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. 1187a); *shatrenj*, vulg. *santranch* (Redhouse, p. 1126a). Since however the Jews played chess in Spain, the mod. *santráč* (and possibly also Chérézli's *sandrač*) may owe nothing to Turkish; I compare therefore Morocco Arab. *sñtrž*, Tremecén *sentráz* (cited by Steiger, *loc. cit.*), Tunisian *sñtrúnž* (Stumme, *Tunis. Märchen*, XXI) and Maimonides' form *sñtrangž* (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-

וְמִרְוֹת עַשְׁן 'columns of smoke'. It is however a translation of Heb. *wē-thimrōth eāšān* (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. *הַכְּרָה* and *הַכְּרָה*) are associated, Ladino *atamarales de umo* has the form of J.Span. (*a)tamara*l 'date-palm' < Arab. ^{تمرا} (tamra) 'dátيل' (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 staña ai asentado batál* 'the proprietor of the café was sitting there doing nothing'; *mučoz andares keđaron 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. בָּטָל (bāṭal) 'idle, unemployed' (Jastrow, p. 158). Wagner (*RFE* 34, 34 s. *batál*) quotes Bulg.J. Span. «*Batlaním* (con plural hebráico) 'los individuos que leen los yártsaít'. But this is Heb. בָּטָלִים (baṭlānîm), plur. of בָּטָל (baṭlān) 'unemployed' (Jastrow, p. 158), cf. J.Span. proverb *azno bṭln provečo para la malah* (Turk. *mahalle* 'quarter of a town'), quoted by Uziel (*Résummoth*, 5 (1927), No. 83, p. 330), a variant of *azno batal*, *pročečo para l'olám* and of *asno batal*, *provecho para el vezinado* (Wagner, loc.cit.).

beđahéj, *beđahé* n.m., *beđahés* pl. 'cemetery.' Subak (*Salon.*, p. 12) quoted Salon. *beđaxayé*, pl. *beđaxayím*, Baruch (*RFE* 17, 127) gave Bosnia *bidahayím* and Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo XII, p. 36) cited *beđaxaim*. All these forms agree closely with Heb. בֵּית הַחַיִם (beth ha-ḥayyîm) 'house of the living', a euphemism for 'cemetery'. Cf. Morocco *bet-haḥayyîm* 'cementerio' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 578), J.Arab. *betahayim* 'cimetière' (M. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 399). Salon. *beđahéj* and *beđahé*, forms used by women and other persons ignorant of Hebrew, are examples of the assimilation of a Hebrew word to Spanish speech habits. נ (h) is lost in Oriental J.Span. and the consequent intervocalic נ (?θ) be-

comes *d*. 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 *-éi. A parallel to this development is provided by Salon. *ečar alguna koza aporéj* (= *al istjérko*) ‘throw something out on the rubbish-heap’; Saraj. *lu ičar apuréj* ‘id.’; Monastir *la ‘chamus apuréj*, 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 **bedahéi* was no doubt lost when the plurality of the word was no longer felt. The new plural *beđahés* ‘cemeteries’ has even lost *i* and the singular *bedahé* is presumably a new formation from that plural.

besorá v. *albísja*.

gān éder [usually with long *a*] ‘Garden of Eden, Paradise’, e.g. *la una ez de gān éder, la otra ez de giiná* ‘the one is of Paradise, the other of Gehenna’. Heb. גַן עֵדֶן (*gan eedhen*). Our Salonica form arises perhaps, by false regression, from an earlier **gan édē*. Cf. Morocco *gan-éeden* ‘Edén, paraiso’ (Benoliel, BRAE 15, 91). Const. *ganédém* (Wagner, Konst., § 173) is quite irregular in stress, the treatment of Heb. *ן* and its final *-m*.

giiná, geinán ‘Gehenna’. جَنَّةٌ (*gēhinnām*), cf. O. Judeo-Span. *guehynam* ‘lugar de los condenados, infierno’ (Schmid, *Der Wortschatz des Cancionero de Baena*, s.v.), but Biblical Hebrew גַּהְנֹם (*gēhinnom*).

ğepja ‘pond, pool’. It is very likely that this word was known to the Jews in Spain and is probably a direct derivative from Arab. جَابِيَةٌ (*žabiya*) > 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. جَبْبَةٌ (*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. *albísja*.

haftoná ‘beating, thrashing’, e.g. *deben de tener una espalda rezja*

para 'reyebar haftónás 'they must have sturdy backs to stand beatings'; *ievavan haftóná i no saviian ken los aharva* 'they were being beaten but they did not know who was beating them'; *ba ūsībir una haftóná*. Cf. חַפְתּוֹנָה (*haftona*) 'bastonnade' (Chérézli); Const. *xaftoná* 'coups' (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 132); Salon. «los golpes... en las manos llamábase *haftóná*» (Molho, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The first element of this word, which is occasionally written as Heb. הַבְּשִׁנָּה (*habh̄t̄ona*), must be a formation from Heb. תַּבְּשֵׁת (*hābh̄at*) 'to lay down for receiving lashes, in general to punish, bind over' (Jastrow, p. 417). The passage of *t* + *t* to *ft* is not uncommon, cf. Salon. and Monastir *aftahá* 'confidence' (Luria, § 175) < Heb. הַבְּשִׁתָּה (*habh̄t̄ah*); Salon., Monastir *moflo* 'abortion' = Const. *móbito* (v. Luria, § 170; Wagner, *RFE* 34, 77–78).

Benoliel (*BRAE*, 15, 202) quotes Morocco Judæo-Spanish *harboná* [*harbondá*] 'Paliza: dar una *harboná*', which is therefore identical in meaning with Oriental *haftóná*. Benoliel explains that the eunuch Harbonah (v. Esther 7, 9: חַרְבּוֹנָה) 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 *harboná* was already so used by the Jews in Spain, because Oriental *haftóná* doubtless owes its *-oná* to that of the proper name.

The exact relationship of the Oriental verb (*a)harbar* 'beat, thrash' to Morocco *harboná* '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)harbar* has been related to Turk. *harb-* (< 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 *aharbar* might be connected with O.Span. *harbar*, but this suggestion was rejected by G. Farhi (*VRom.* 3, 305), who quoted Const. *estó harbado* '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 ómbashi* (Turk. *onbaşılı*) *hys libjanamente ḥarbadu* 'a corporal was slightly wounded'; *ke ḥarva mas de una palmatoriia* 'that bruises more than a schoolmaster's ferule'; *estaba ḥarbando a la puerta* 'he was knocking at the door'. Cf. Const. Bible 1873: *aḥarvava a un varon evreo*, Exod. 2,11 'smiting an Hebrew', for which the earlier Bible translations read (*f*)*irir, ferir.*

Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *harbar*) derives Clas. and Old Span. *harbar* 'hacer algo de prisa y atropelladamente' from Arab. *ḥárab* '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 'hacer 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*)*ḥarbar* as more archaic than those of Span. *harbar*. I believe that Corominas is here at fault and that the sense of (*a*)*ḥarbar* '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 *ḥarbandá* 'beating' to *harbar*, and this because the consonants of *ḥarbandá* are identical with those of Heb. $\sqrt{ḥ-r-bh}$ 'ruined, dry', cognate with Arab. $\sqrt{kh-r-b}$ 'ruined, devastated'. J.Span. *ḥarbar* therefore became a synonym of *ferir* '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*)*ḥarbar* – and doubtless for the same reasons.

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

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

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

harbar v. *haftoná*.

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

kaisí v. *abrikók*.

kalhamirá (Salon., Sarajevo) 'passover eve', e.g. *dia ðe kalhamirá*. 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. כל (kōl) 'all of' + Aramaic חמירא (*hāmīrā*) '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).

kánfora 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 שְׁוֹן הַקּוֹדֵשׁ (*lěšôn 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. *lašqonaqodeš* (M. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

mojto v. *haftoná*.

namosía 'mosquito-net', e.g. (in a ballad) *bide kama franka konřika kortina, / entri maz adjentro por ber lo k' abia: / bide a la nobja debašo la namosía. /* Arab. نَامُوسِيَّة (*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 *namusía* which, oddly enough, he translates by 'cama'.

notisja, noħidá(d) v. *albísja*.

sandrač, santräč v. *ašiđré*.

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

trefán, trifá adj.inv. 'unclean' (applied particularly to food). Heb. טרייה (*térēfah*), with paragogic *-n*. Wagner (*RFE* 34, 97, s. *tespi*) 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. *trefá* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 173).

zerdeli(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].