

Zeitschrift: Vox Romanica
Herausgeber: Collegium Romanicum Helvetiorum
Band: 16 (1957)

Artikel: Miscellanea Hispano-Judaica
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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-16301>

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Miscellanea Hispano-Judaica

Among the following words are a number of Hebrew or Aramaic origin, not all of which I was myself able completely to explain. I therefore have pleasure in acknowledging the assistance given me so ungrudgingly by my present or former colleagues: Harold Fisch, Ben Isserlin, Raphael Loewe and Reuben Sivan. To Professor Arnald Steiger I am deeply indebted for bibliographical data.

*

abašada, abašamiento, abašamentado. Wagner (*RFE* 34, 21, s. *abašar*) cited *abašada* 'cold in the head', and (quoting Kurt Levy, *VKR* 2, 365) Bulg., Smyrna *abašamentado* 'having a cold in the head', with which he compared Alava and Biscay *bajera* 'flujo de vientre' (García Lomas, p. 79). In a text I have found *dos burakos en la nariz . . . para ke dezbafe los balgamos [q. v.] i las flemas ke se inventan por kavza del abašamiento* 'two holes in the nose so that mucus and phlegm secreted as the result of a cold in the head may be expelled'; *i si le dišeron los dotores ke no se lave la kavesa kon agua porke le kavze abašamiento . . .* 'and if the doctors have told her not to wash her hair with water because it gives her a cold . . .'

The existence of such terms, all based on (a) *bašar* 'descend' and denoting bodily discharges, in Oriental Judæo-Spanish and in a conservative Spanish dialect suggests that they may be inspired by Arab. نَزَلَ $\sqrt{n-z-l}$. Lane, 8, p. 3031 c, quotes نَزِيلَةٌ *nāzila* 'A defluxion; . . . a severe calamity or affliction' and, from the same root, Dozy includes نَزَلَ *nazala* 'évacuer de l'urine; des matières fécales' (II, p. 659 b), نَزْلٌ *nizl* pl. نَزْلٌ *nuzul* 'catarrhe, fluxion' (II, p. 661 a), نَزْلَةٌ *nazla* 'rhume de cerveau'. D'après le Gl. Manç. c'est cela chez les Bédouins et aussi *rhume de poitrine, enrrouement,*

mais les médecins ne le prennent que dans la dernière acception . . . *Congestion*, amas d'humeurs; نوزل دم *nuzūl dam* 'empyème, amas de pus ou de sang épanché'; ~ 'pissement de sang' (II, p. 661 *b*). It is true, but by no means certain, that the Jews could have calqued their terms on Turk. *nezle* (< Arab.) 'a cold in the head, catarrh'; *nūzul* 'apoplectic stroke; fluxion' (Redhouse, p. 2079 *a*). The Arabic terms appear also in Persian *nazal* v. n. 'being troubled with a catarrh . . .'; *nazlat*, *nazla* 'descent or defluxion of humours, rheum, catarrh' (Steingass, p. 1397 *b*). It is noteworthy that Clas. Heb. נזל *nāzal* has no such meanings, but later Hebrew shows נזל *nēzel* 'fluid, liquid; rain; catarrh (medieval word)'; נזלת *nazzelet* 'cold in the head; catarrh (modern word)' (R. Grossman, *Compendious Hebrew-English Dictionary*, Tel-Aviv, 1938).

[**afeuzar-se*] 'take heed'. In the Const. 1739 Bible (copied by the Vienna 1813 version) occurs *i diras a el* נצטונו [almost certainly a misprint for which read **afeuzate*] *i akedate non temas i tu korason non se enterneska de dos kolas de los tizonos los aumantes los estos k(y)on eresimiento de folor rşyn*, Isa. 7, 4 'say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin'. Here the Ferrara Bible reads *guardate* and that of Smyrna 1838 *aguardate*. The form of **afeuzar-se* is archaic: it recalls O. Span. *afeyuzar* 'afiuciar' (*Dicc. Hist.*); cf. also Port. *afiuzar*.

Other derivatives of and formations from FIDŪCIA are well represented in Judæo-Spanish. For Morocco, Benoliel (*BRAE* 13, 220) gives *fiuzza*, which corresponds to O. Span. *fiusa*, Port. *fiuza*, though in his vocabulary only *fiuzia* 'fe, confianza en Dios' (*BRAE* 15, 190) is listed. The Oriental dialects seem to know only *fiúzĩa* and *feúzĩa* or, in Constantinople, *figuzĩa* (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 159; Wagner, *Konst.*, §§ 18 and 29). In the Ferrara Bible *a fiuzia*, Gen. 34, 25 (cf. Const. 1739 [pointed] *afeuziia*) has the sense of 'unawares or boldly', in I Kings 4, 25 (Const. 1739 *afeuziia*) that of 'safely', and in Lev. 25, 18 (Const. 1739 *afeghuziia*) that of 'in safety'. Compounded with *des-*, we have *desfiuzar* in the Ferrara Bible: *y desfiuzarsea de mi Saul*, I Sam. 27, 1 'shall despair of me', but Const. 1739: *i sera desfeguziido de mi ş'wl*; Ferrara: *fuy des-*

fiuzado, Isa. 57, 10 'there is no hope', Const. 1739: *desfeguziido*; Ferrara: *dolor desafiuzado*, Isa. 17, 11 'desperate sorrow', but Const. 1739: *dolor doloriiozo*. Cf. Salon. (pointed text) *non te desfeuzies de los males* 'do not despair by reason of these ills'. Compounded with *en-*, we find the archaic form in Ferrara: *y ěfiuzaronse en el*, Judg. 9, 26 'put their trust in them', but Const. 1739: *i enfeuziaronse en el*; Ferrara: *tu enfiuzante en ellas*, Deut. 28, 52 'thou trustedst', as also Morocco *enfiuzzar* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 220), but Oriental Const. 1739 (pointed): *tu enfeghuziante enelias*, Salon. *enfeuziarse* (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 10), Const. *enfiguziarse* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 134), Bitolj *infiguziarse* 'to trust' (Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 539, § 169). Uziel (*Rešummoth* 6, 374) provides us with *malaniiio a tal ombre ke en mužer se enfiziguaria* 'a curse upon such a man who would put his trust in a woman'. This [**enfiziguar*] is probably a misprint and not formed by analogy with the many Judæo-Spanish verbs in *-iguar*.

alamimas 'turbans'. This word is used in the Const. 1739, Vienna 1813 and Smyrna 1838 Bibles, viz. *los espežos i las sauanas i las alamimas i los mantos*, Isa. 3, 23 'the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils'. It translates Heb. שְׂנִיפוֹת *šēnīfōt* 'head-dresses, turbans', for which the Ferrara Bible reads *los tocados*, and the Vulgate *vittas*. It is probably a derivative of Clas. Arab. عمامة *eimāma* (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 305s.) and corresponds exactly to Granada Arabic in Pedro de Alcalá's transcription 415a_c: *aāmīma* 'toca de ombre', which means that it is a Hispano-Arabic form showing the *Imela: a > i*.

alhorza (Salon.), e. g. *ečar una alhorza*. Mr Sam Levy of Paris translated this by 'faire une rallonge, un prolongement', and his wife by *ečar um pligo* 'put a pleat [in a dress]'. These meanings agree substantially with those given by Steiger for O. Span. *alfoza*, *alforza* and mod. dial. *lorza* (*BRAE* 9, 516–517). Morocco J. Span. *alhozza* 'alforza' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 570) is closer to Arab. حَزْزَة *ħuzza* (v. Steiger, *RFE*, Anejo 17, p. 149) than is the Oriental form, whereas Morocco *alforsa* 'alforza' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 569) is presumably a re-borrowing from Andalusian Span. *alforza*. In

the Song of Songs 1, 10–11 we find *aformoziguaronse tus kišadas kon las alhorzas . . . alhorzas de oro aremos ati kon pinturrias de plata* (Vienna 1813), *se aformoziguaron tus kišadas kon las alhorzas . . . alhorzas de oro aremos a ti kon tačones de la plata* (Smyrna 1838) 'thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels, . . . we will make thee borders of gold with studs of silver'. Both the Ferrara and Const. 1873 Bibles use *joyas* (*šoiias*) for *alhorza*, which translates Heb. תור *tôr* 'Reihen (von Zierat), Gehänge, turns (of ornament) plaits' (Ludwig Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden 1953).

alhuzema 'lavender'. For the form, v. Wagner (*Konst.*, § 27), and cf. Morocco *alhuzzéma* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 221), Bitolj *alhuzeme* (Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 432, § 17h). Of folk-lore interest is Salon. *a una ke no pare faze parir el wezmo de la alhuzema* 'the smell of lavender causes a woman who does not bear to give birth'; Const. *la alhuzema ez byena para melezinar la sešada del ožo* 'lavender is good for curing a sty in the eye'. For this use of *sešada* 'barley; sty', v. Wagner (*RFE* 34, 93), Crews (*Orbis* 2, 356).

amán (Salon.) 'Haman'. Heb. חָמָן *hāmān*. Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 34) referred to the use of this proper name to describe a wicked man. Haman personifies an anti-Semite, so we have Salon. *este antisemita ke era komo amán*. Cf. J. Ital. *Amānne* 'uomo malvagio, persecutore di ebrei' (A. Milano, «Glossario dei vocaboli e delle espressioni di origine ebraica in uso nel dialetto giudaico-romanesco», Roma 1955, p. 236 – offprint from Crescenzo Del Monte, *Sonetti Postumi Giudaico-Romaneschi e Romaneschi*). In Salonica the expression *abollar-se de modreháy* [q. v.] *a amán* lit. 'change from Mordecai to Haman' means 'change sides, desert to the enemy', and an *ožo de amán* is a 'spy-hole in a door', e. g. *ašia un ožo de amán a la puerta: s'aparó por ai i lo šido a 'liyáv* 'there was a Judas-hole in the door: he went up to it [looked through] and saw Elijah'; whereas Const. *ožo de amán* means 'a cruel person', for which Salonica uses *una kabesa de amán*. In fact, Haman occupies in the Jewish mind much the same position as Judas does in that of Christians.

ambierto (Adrianople, Bulg.) 'hambriento', quoted by Wagner (*RFE* 34, 26) and Subak (*Vorläufiger Bericht*, p. 2). Wagner explained the form as a hybrid of *abierto* + *ambriento*, inspired by Turk. *açık* 'open' beside Turk. *aç* 'hungry'. Since, however, we have Morocco *deshambierto* 'hambriento, deshambrido' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 55), it is probable that *(*desh*)*ambierto* was known to some Jews in Spain. Most other Oriental dialects use (*f*)*ambriento*, as in Castilian, but in Salonica we find only *fambrento* 'famished'. With this *-ento*, of western origin, I compare Salon. *sehorento* 'afflicted, worried', Bitolj *sihurentu* (Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 397, line 14, a formation from J. Span. *sehóra* < Heb. (*mará*) *šehóra*, Luria, *op. cit.*, § 175, Yahuda, *RFE* 2, 369); Salon., Saraj. *hazinento* 'sickly, ailing', formed from J. Span. *hazino* 'ill' (but Const. *hazimientu*, Wagner, *Konst.*, p. 79; ~ 'enfermadizo', Yahuda, *op. cit.*, 348; Chérézli: *hazimientu* 'maladif'), Salon. *granento* 'spotty' from *grano* 'spot, skin eruption', e. g. *komo kieres ke kriaturas semežantes no salgan hazinentas, granentaz i embezando todaz laz negreguras?* 'How can you expect such children not to turn out sickly and spotty, and not to become familiar with every sort of mischief?'

añamére (Salon.) 'ravaging beast (leopard, tiger)'. This form is known to Sam Levy of Paris, an 85-year old native of Salonica, and in a fully pointed Salonica text of 1868 occurs *se fuerte komo el aniamere i ližero komo la aghila* 'be strong as the leopard and swift as the eagle'. In the Const. 1739 Bible appear *anyyamyry* [*añamer* (?)], Isa. 11, 6, *anyyamary* [*añamare* (?)], Jer. 13, 23, Hosea 13, 7, *anyyamyry* [*añamere*], Daniel 7, 6. The unpointed Vienna 1813 version consistently uses *anyyamyry* [*añamere*] in Isa. 11, 6, Jer. 13, 23 Daniel 7, 6, Hosea 13, 7, S. of S. 4, 8, whereas the Smyrna 1838 edition offers only once *anyyamyry* [*añamere*], but several times the assimilated *anyyamary* [*añamare*], just as the Athens 1844 N. T. has *i la alimaniia ke vido era asemežante a el anyyamary* [*añamare*] *i sus pies komo pies de lonso*, Revel. 13, 2, and the same text in Const. 1877 reads *i la bestiia ke vido era semežante a un leopardo*. The O. T. Const. 1873 version always uses *leopardo*, and that of Ferrara *tigre*. In such instances

[*añamer*], *añamere*, [*añamare*], *leopardo* and *tigre* translate Heb. נָמֵר *nāmēr* 'tiger, leopard'. Indeed, occasionally in Ladino texts unpointed Heb. *nmr* is used, e. g. *el leon i lovo i fil ila maiimona i el nmr i el lonso su zmn [de konkriliiarsen] es 3 [sic] aniios* 'the gestation period of lions, wolves, elephants, monkeys (or apes), leopards and bears is three years'. Chérézli's unpointed *anyyamyry* [*añamere*] is explained by *leopardo* and translated by 'léopard'.

The forms *añamér(e)* represent Arab. النَّمِير *an-namir* 'leopard, panther, tiger'. The *añ-* is paralleled by that of O. Span. *añazme* < Arab. *an-naẓm* (v. Steiger, *RFE*, Anejo 17, p. 172), J. Span. ~ 'nose-ring, bracelet, earring' (v. Wagner, *ZRPh.* 40, 544; Leo Wiener, *MLN* 11, 36), e. g. Salon. *añazme de oro en nariz de puerko*.

Smyrna J. Span. *aleñari*, translated 'gangster' by Kahane and Saporta ('The Verbal Categories of Judeo-Spanish', *HR* 21, 202 and 203) is probably a mutilated by-form of *añamér(e)*, *añamare*.

arġawán (Salon.) 'purple'. This is the form used by an aged native of Salonica, who knew no more than that it designated a colour. Blondheim (*Judéo-Roman*, p. 147, N 6) quotes, from the Const. Pentateuch of 1547, *alġaguán* < Arab. *arġawān*. Cf. Const. 1739: *i panios de el alġaguan*, Judg. 8, 26 'purple raiment'; as late as 1813 the Vienna Bible has *kaveliiadura de alġaguan*, S. of S. 3, 10 'the covering of it of purple'; *i vediža de tu kavesa komo el alġaguan*, *rei enkarselado en las faropeas*, S. of S. 7,5 'And the hair of thine head like purple; The king is held in the galleries'. In these instances the Ferrara version has *su silla de purpura* and *y cabelladura de tu cabeça como purpura: rey atado en corredores*, just as in the Smyrna 1838 and Const. 1873 Bibles only *purpura* appears. Arab. اَرْجَوَان *'arġawān* 'purple' is a borrowing from Pers. *arġawān*, *urġuwān* 'purple, deep red; a purple dye; a purple robe or carpet; redness; starch' (Steingass).

atakanar, *atakanear*. Salon. *atakanar* 'mettre en ordre en parlant de l'habillement, des meubles, etc.', Saraj. ~ 'fix, put in order', Rustchuk ~ (Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 72), Const. *atakanó a su mužer* (Wagner, *Konst.*, p. 43, N 46). Wagner (*loc. cit.*) suggested

that the verb was perhaps connected with Turk. *takım* 'tout ce qu'on porte', but Yahuda (*RFE* 2, 368) brusquely dismissed this theory and said it was formed from Heb. תָּקַן *tāqan* 'make straight, firm; right; straighten, mend, repair' (Jastrow, p. 1691). In the popular speech of Salonica we find also *atakanear(-se)*, e.g. *ba atakanéate um poko* 'va t'arranger (le costume, les cheveux) un peu'. It is likely that *atakanear* arises from a confusion of *atakanar* (< Hebrew) with Turk. *takınmak* 'attach to oneself; put on, wear' (Redhouse, p. 1225*b*), though there is some tendency for *-ear* to be preferred to *-ar* as a verbal formative, e.g. Salon. *amižorear(-se)* 'mejorar(se)', cf. *amižorear* 'améliorer, amender' (Chérézli), but Bitolj *amijurar* (Luria, *RHispan.* 79, 451, § 48*c*); and cf. *tu vientre monton de trigos avaliiadada kon rozas*, S. of S. 7, 3 (Vienna 1813) 'set about', but *tu vientre monton de trigos avaliiadeado kon liriiis* (Smyrna 1838).

badkar(-se) (Ladino) 'inspect (one's person, clothes, or things) to ensure ritual cleanliness', e.g. (written source) *por esto deve la presona de badkar bien su vestido i de alimpiarse bien antes de dezir tefilla* 'one should therefore carefully inspect one's clothes and thoroughly cleanse oneself before saying one's prayers', *es derečo ke se vaiia badkando kada dia i kada noče i kuantas mas vezes se badka es alavada i temeroza del diio* 'it is right that she should inspect her person every day and every night, and the oftener she inspects herself the more praiseworthy and God-fearing she is', *deves ir badkando kada dia tadre i maniana en todos tus eços no sea ke izistes alguna koza fuera de orden* 'every day, night and morning, you should go over all your actions lest you have done something wrong'. Heb. בָּדַק *bādaq* 'search, examine, investigate, try' (Jastrow, p. 141*a*).

balgamos [*balgámos* (?)] 'mucus, phlegm'. This plural, i. e. in *-os*, makes it likely that the etymon is Arab. بَلْغَمٌ *balgam* 'phlegm' and not Turk. *balgam* (< Arab.) 'id.', from which only a plural in *-es* could be expected. In an early, probably sixteenth century, J. Span. MS I have found the sing. *balgam* on several occasions.

basár bādām (-n) lit. flesh and blood, hence 'human being, mortal man'. Heb. בָּשָׂר וָדָם *bāsār wādām* 'id.' Examples: Salon. *dizen ke el basár bādán benimoz del soy* [Turk. *soy*] *de la gata maĩmóna* 'they say that we creature [s] of flesh and blood come from the ape-family', (written source) *porke eskuentra del šem yithbarakh* [v. s. *šem*] *todos los rees de bśr wdm son komo nada i komo tiesto roto* 'because in the sight of God (blessed be He!) all earthly (i. e. of flesh and blood) kings are as nothing, as broken pots'. In the vulgar spoken language of Salonica the expression may be used in the plural, e. g. (written source) *vemos basar vadames blankos: todos estos bivimos en evropa ande no mos empaniia* [q. v.] *el sol* 'we see white people, and we all live in Europe where the sun does not darken [our skins]'. Cf. Morocco *basar vadam* 'carne y sangre, humanidad, especie humana' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 577). Its translation occurs in *siendo la presona de karne i sangre no puede entender . . .* 'since mortal man is unable to understand . . .', where Spanish would use 'de carne y hueso'.

bokais (Salon.) 'bridle', e. g. *el kabayo ke un turko estaba deteniendo por el bokais*. Though probably connected with Span. *bocado*, it is possible that Turk. *bukađı* 'rope or chain and log fastened to the leg as a fetter, a fetter' (Redhouse, p. 405 a), which, if recently borrowed by the Jews would be pronounced **bukai*, is involved. The plurality of the form could arise from the idea of reins being attached to the bridle. In the Const. 1739, Vienna 1813 and Smyrna 1838 Bibles we find *freno* used in the sense of 'bit' and *kavestro*, *kavresto* in that of 'bridle', viz. Const. 1739: *non seadeš komo kaualiio komo mulo sin entender kon freno i kavestro por serar su boka*, Ps. 32,9 'Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding: whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle', *i kavresto trasieran sovre kišadas de puevlos*, Isa. 30,28 'and there shall be a bridle in the jaws of the people, causing them to err', *i kavresto delante de mi soltaron*, Job 30, 11 'they have also let loose the bridle before me', *i porne mi ašguelo entu nariz i mi freno entus lavios*, Isa. 37,29 'therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips'. The term *kavestro*, *kavresto* 'bridle' appears now to be unknown, but *freno* 'bit' is still used.

empañar 'darken, blacken; soil, blemish', e. g. (written source) *las nuves las mas pretas estan empaniando el aver* 'the blackest clouds are darkening the atmosphere (lit. air)'; Salon. ballad: *ya s'esparte la linda dina – se ba par' ande su siñor / a solombra de teñado – ke no la 'mpañara el sol* 'Now departs lovely Dinah for her father's house in the shadow of the roofs so that the sun shall not blemish [her skin]'; *enpaniir* 'ternir' (Chérézli). The Judæo-Spanish meanings are therefore somewhat wider than those of Span. *empañar*.

eznóga (Salon.), *znugiṭa* dim. (Saraj.) 'the balcony in synagogues reserved for women', e. g. *en la eznoga estaban sienez de mužeres* 'hundreds of women were in the balcony'. Before this balcony is a fine-meshed grille that hides the women from the sight of the men below, though it does not impede the view of the women; in it the week's gossip is exchanged. This derivative of SYNAGOGA (v. Blondheim, *Judéo-Roman*, pp. 115–119) has in Morocco, according to Benoliel (*BRAE 15*, 61), the meanings of 'sinagoga, escuela', which are therefore different from that in Salonica and Sarajevo. However, Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 86) quotes Adrianople *zará ašlahá* 'el reparto reservado a las mujeres en la sinagoga'. Since, in Salonica and Sarajevo, if not also elsewhere in the old Turkish Empire, *eznoga* (*znugiṭa*), in origin the name of the place of worship itself, has developed this new sense, a 'synagogue' is called either *el kal* < Heb. קהל *qāhāl* 'gathering, congregation', cf. Const. *kal*, *kāl* (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 160; Wagner, *Konst.*, § 173) – this term is semantically distinguished by its gender from *la kal* 'lime' –, or *la keilá* (*kiilá*) < Heb. קהילה *qēhillāh* 'gathering, congregation', cf. Bitolj *queyilá* 'synagogue' (Luria, *RHis.* 79, 549, § 175). These same terms have retained their original sense in Morocco J. Span. *kahál* 'el público, la feligresía; el conjunto de fieles que frecuentan una sinagoga' (Benoliel, *BRAE 15*, 212), *kehillá* 'comunidad hebrea, todos los hebreos residentes en una población' (Benoliel, *BRAE 15*, 213). To denote the 'community', Salonica uses *komunidađ* or *komunitá* (< Ital.). Finally, I quote Benoliel (*BRAE 13*, 510): "una inglesia / un jamaà / una esnoga", i. e. 'a church, a mosque, a synagogue', and

compare Salon. *faziamos selihós* [Heb. סליחות *sēlīhōt*] *en las kiilós, en laz ġamis* [Turk. *cami*] *i en las klisas* [Turk. *kilisa*] 'we were reciting penitential prayers in synagogues, mosques and churches'.

figera (Salon.) 1. 'fig-tree'; 2. 'cancerous, malignant tumor', e. g. (written source) *todo modo de hazinura, empesando de safaniiones, almoranas, figera, tikia, ombligo abollado, fista ramatizmos* [q. v., s. *romatizmos*] 'every variety of malady, from chilblains, piles, cancer, tuberculosis, twisted navel (!), to rheumatism'. When I asked a woman to explain the word to me, she blanched with dismay, told me it was 'un cancer', and added in hushed tones that a fig-tree must not be cut down because such an action would cause the development of cancer. A not dissimilar superstition connected with fig-trees exists in Empordà (Catalonia) "Diuen que no convé cremar llenya de figuera per a fer brou a les parteres o per cuinar per a les dones que crien, perquè la figuera treu llet i fa perdre la llet a les dones" (*DCVB*, s. *figuera*). Concerning *L. fīcus*, already used by M. Valerius Martialis [ob. A. D. 102] in the sense of 'piles', to designate tumors of many varieties, v. *DCEC*, s. *higo*; *FEW*, s. *figue*; *DCVB*, s. *fic* and *figa* II.

ganābear (Salon.) 'to steal', e. g. (written source) *una endivina ke supo ganavear . . . mas de un miliion de frankos a una lonsa rika* 'a fortune-teller who succeeded in stealing more than a million francs from a rich foolish woman (lit. she-bear)'. A formation either from Heb. גָּנַב *gānāb* 'to steal' or from Heb. גַּנָּב *gannāb* 'thief'. Cf. Morocco *gannav* 'ladrón' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 191).

ħarięnta adj. (Salon.) 'bitter, evil-tasting (in reference to nuts)'. Cf. Bulg. *una mués axareada* [= *aħareada*] 'una nuez podrida que irrita la garganta' (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 32). Wagner derived his word, clearly of common origin with that in Salonica, from Heb. אָרִיז *'agrioz'* – this must be a misprint since there is no such Hebrew word. Some connexion might perhaps be sought with Heb. חָרַר *ħāwar* 'to perforate' (Jastrow, p. 438b), חָרַר *ħārar* 'to break

through, to cave' (Jastrow, p. 506*b*), though the theory is not very convincing.

ħazbešalón 'God forbid, Heaven forfend', e. g. Salon. *si ħazbešalón un forastero kjería entrar . . .* 'If, God forbid, a stranger wanted to come in . . .'; (written source) *i si, ħas vešalom, soš malos deveš de tener munčas penas* 'and if, God forbid, ye are wicked ye must endure many punishments'; *i kuando la luna o las estrelías se eskuresen es mala siniial, ħas vešalom, a los ħidíios* 'and when the moon or the stars are eclipsed it is a bad sign, Heaven forfend, for the Jews'. Cf. Skoplje *ħaz be šalon* (Simon, *ZRPh.* 40, 658). Heb. *ħas we-šālóm* 'forbearance and peace!, God forfend!' (Jastrow, p. 485*b*).

The Aramaic *bar minān* בַּר מִיָּנָן is used in similar circumstances in Judæo-Spanish; cf. Morocco *¡bar-minnan!* '¡Dios guarde o preserve de tal!' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 576), Adrianople *bármenam* (Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 85, N 6); Const. (written source) *kuando le akontese ala presona munčas angustías una sovre otra br mynn . . .* 'when someone suffers many afflictions one after the other, God forbid . . .' This expression has the literal meaning of 'apart from us', and in mod. Hebrew and in Rabbinic literature that of 'corpse'. It is translated into Judæo-Spanish, hence we find Salon. *lonġe de mozotros* 'far from us', as well as *lonġe d'aki* 'far from here', used as expletives to ward off evil, e. g. *kġen se kazó i kġen, lonġe de mozotros, murió* 'some married and others, God preserve us, died'; *en súpito be benir, lonġe d'aki, al werko en forma de presona* 'suddenly he sees appear, God preserve us, the Devil in human shape'.

iskġenġé f. 'torture; thumbscrew (?)', e. g. Salon. *le metia iskġenġés, lo unflaba de kanġikadas* [Turk. *kamcı*] 'he put the screws on him and raised weals (?) on him with blows of a whip'; Const. (written sources) *i kuantos modos de iskenġes i dezastres les izieron* 'and how many different kinds of torture and disasters they subjected them to'; *aziendo munčas iskenġes* 'inflicting many tortures'. A derivative of Turk. (< Persian) *işkence* (Redhouse, p. 123*a*), and *iskence* 'torture, torment; joiner's vice' (Redhouse,

p. 112a). Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 78, N 5) quotes Adrianople *eskinġi* < Turk. *eskici* 'old clothes' dealer'. Although the epenthesis of *-n-* in such a loanword is not entirely unexpected, it is possible that a pun on *isk(i)enġé* was intended, in mockery of the extortionary habits of such persons.

katires n. pl. (Adrianople). In a text published by Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 76) occurs *un par de katires* for which no meaning could be given. It should undoubtedly be 'a pair of shoes'. M. J. Deny, through Mme Melikoff, has kindly given me much data on this matter of which I reproduce but a fraction. He states that Turk. قاطر يمني *katır yemenî* lit. 'mule shoe', is first quoted in the dictionary of Ahmed Vefik paşa, *Lehçe-i osmanî*, 1st ed., 1293 (1876), 2nd ed. 1306 (1890), where it is explained by 'ökçesi tahta ve büyük nalçalı ayak kabı', i. e. 'chaussures à talons en bois et à grand bout'; Ch. Samy-Bey Fraschery, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, 1883, translated the same term by 'souliers lourds à fond de bois, sabot', and the same author, in *Kamusu türkî*, 1318 (1902), explains it by 'ekserya çocuklara giydirilir altı kalın ve tabanları ağaç kabuğuyla doldurulmuş ayak kabı', i. e. 'chaussures grossières, à dessus et à semelles épaisses, garnies d'écorce d'arbre sous le cuir de la semelle, portées généralement par les enfants'. Although *katır yemenî* continues to be listed, with similar explanations, in dictionaries of Turkish until as late as 1945, M. Deny supposes that it is no longer used, because it does not appear in the *Türkçe sözlük*, 1st ed. 1944 (1945), 2nd ed. 1955, produced by the Türk Dil Kurumu. He tells me that Bedros Kerestedjian (who was frequently guilty of the wildest etymological theories) in his *Dict. étym. de la langue turque* (Londres 1912), derived *catyr* (قاطر *katır*) 'chaussure grossière et forte' from Gk. κόθουρον, L. COTHURNUS. Since Meyer-Lübke (*REW*³, No. 2282, s. COTHURNUS, * COTTURNUS) quotes Ital. tarent. *kuturnu*, abruz. *kuturnę*, dial. Port. *katúran* 'Halbstiefel', dial. Port. *katurno* 'Socken', the French Turcologist wonders whether Kerestedjian's etymology might not, in this instance, be correct; if that were so it would be from Jews of Portuguese origin that the Turks learned *katır* (*yemenî*). He adds: "Il est à remar-

quer que les cothurnes servaient à grandir l'acteur, ce qui cadre-rait bien avec les 'semelles épaisses' de Samy-Bey". Naturally M. Deny has not overlooked the fact that the, perhaps only apparent, identity of Turk. *katır* 'mule' and *katır (yemenî)* 'variety of shoes' is paralleled by the use of Fr. (and Engl.) *mule* to designate the animal and varieties of footgear.

Subsequently I learned from Professor Faik Reşit Unat of Ankara that *katır* is still used to describe a heel-less shoe with upturned toe-piece, of similar form to that worn by the Greek Royal Guards, but without the pompon of the Greek shoe. The latter is called *merkup* in Turkish; Redhouse (p. 1815*a*) quotes *merkyūb* 'sandal, shoe, boot'. Professor Unat pointed out that *yemenî* (used together with *katır* in the above quotations from dictionaries) means 'a man's shoe' and 'inner headdress of women worn under a turban'; cf. *yamani* [*yemenî*] 'colored cotton pocket-handkerchief, originally from Arabia; shoe of red, yellow, or black morocco leather' (Redhouse, p. 2210*b*). Subak (*Vorläufiger Bericht*, p. 3) quotes Varna J. Span. *yimini* 'Kopfschleier'.

leorá, kitar (salir) a (Salon.). These expressions are translations of, and are used in the same way as, *kitar (salir) a lus*, e. g. *para kitar a lus laz berdades* 'to make known the truth', *lo ke la polisía kiló a lus* 'what the police discovered', *laz gazetaz eran sãnsuradaz antes ke salĭeran a lus* 'the newspapers were censored before publication', which correspond to Span. *dar (sacar) a luz*. Heb. לְאוֹרָה *lě'ôrāh* 'to the light, sun' is rendered by *leorá* and the idea of 'to' is expressed twice over, by Span. *a* and Heb. *lě-*. Examples: *las penaz i fatigas ke se yeĭba para kitar a leorá una gazeta* 'the trials and tribulations endured to bring out a newspaper', *el melón ke asebrimoz arregimoz i lo kitimoz a leorá* 'the melon we sowed, watered and ripened', *para ke el tabán mos kite a leorá de este peligró* 'so that God may bring us through this danger', *en todoz los feĭchos saĭemos salir a leorá* 'we know how to succeed in every commercial operation'.

mágnā 'manna from Heaven', e. g. *esta mĭeĭba ley ez una magna miĭzor de la ke moz mandaron de los sĭelos kuando estuĭbimoz en el*

dizjerto 'this new law is better than the manna sent down to us from Heaven when we were in the desert'; 'pharmaceutical manna', e. g. Salon. *magna kon de las tres asúkas* lit. 'manna with the three sugars', described as 'une sorte de pâte comme un fruit confit défait en petits morceaux'. Cf. מאַגנא *magna* 'manne' (Chérézli). Not only is this form used in the spoken language, but also in texts, published in Constantinople, Belgrade, Vienna and Salonica, have I met it almost exclusively and only very rarely *mn* = Heb. מַן *mān* 'manna'. It is scarcely likely that L. *magma*, Gk. μάγμα > Span., Ital., Engl. *magma*, a pharmaceutical term, could be invoked to explain *magna*. Possibly, however, it results from confusion with Aramaic מַגְגָּאן *maggān*, מַגְגָּאנָא *maggānā* 'grace, undeserved gift' (Jastrow, p. 729b), though I would stress the fact that we have fricative *g* in *magna*.

melhá, milhá (Salon.). These are vulgar forms used by some women for educated *minhá* < Heb. מִנְחָה *minhāh* 'afternoon prayer'. They are inspired by *meldar* 'read, read prayers and religious books'. Examples: *yo yiré a ber onde ez la kiilá* [v. s. *eznoga*] *para dezir milhá* 'I shall go and see where the synagogue is and say my afternoon prayer', *dišo melhá i arbí* [Heb. עֶרְבִית *earbít*] *i se bino en kaza* 'he said his afternoon and evening prayers and returned home'. Cf. *m'nhá* 'prière surérogatoire de l'après-midi' (Brunot et Malka, *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, p. 129).

mistráin, mistráñ (Salon.), *mistrayim* (Const. text) 'Egypt'. These forms are popular beside educated *misrá(y)im* < Heb. מִצְרַיִם *mišrayim*, and show that, in conformity with Spanish speech habits, the Sephardim sometimes introduce glides between a consonant and an *r* belonging to the following syllable. We find also Salon. *arbábestrín*, but educated *arbābesrim* (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 13), e. g. *tenia a la punta de la elyenga todo el arbábestrín* 'he had the whole of the Bible off pat', Heb. אַרְבַּע וְעֶשְׂרִים *'arbāe wěeśrím* 'twenty-four', i. e. the 24 books into which the Hebrew Bible is canonically divided by the Jews; Salon. *istraél*, as well as educated *israél* < Heb. יִשְׂרָאֵל *yisrā'ēl*. The Hebrew nexus

-*sr-* may be resolved as *-str-* or as *-zdr-*, hence *istraelit* or *izdraelit* 'Israelite' (cf. O. Span., J. Span. *laz(d)rar* 'toil', and O. Span. *alvis(t)ra* 'albricias', cited by Malkiel, *Thesaurus* 9 (1955), 38, N 100). Heb. מִזְרָח *mizrāḥ* 'East' is usually pronounced *mizrāḥ*, but I have heard a woman say *mizdrāḥ*. Both *enriḃa* 'on, on top of' and *endriḃa* are used in Salonica, so also Bitolj *in(d)riḃe*. Ladino *onra*, *onrar* are preserved in the modern dialects in proverbs and ballads, but *onor* and *onorar* are preferred in everyday speech. The development of a glide is still an active principle and may be applied to loanwords from Turkish, so Salon. *nastradi* < *Nasreddin*, Salon. *kistrāka* 'mare' < *kısrak* 'id.', though Danon *RHisp.* 29, 8) quotes J. Span. *qisraqa*. The same author (*loc. cit.*) has *ijdra* [*iğdra*] 'exécution' < Turk. *icra* 'id.' and *mastraf* < Turk. *masraf* 'expense'.

modreḥáy (Salon.) 'Mordecai'. This popular form of Heb. מֹרְדֵכַי *mordēkay* results from the passage of *-rd-* to *-dr-* as is the usual Salonica practice. The proper name is used in the expressions *todo se trokó de amán* [q. v.] *a modreḥáy* 'everything underwent a complete change (for the better)'; *fazer-se del modreḥáy* 'turn a deaf ear', with which cf. Adrianople *azerse del Morduxáı̇* 'hacer orejas de mercader' (Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 78, N 10), *Hazerse del Mordochay* 'faire le sourd' (Foulché-Delbosc, *RHisp.* 2, 327). In the Judæo-Arabic of Fēs the regular *mordēḥáy* 'Mardochee' survives (Brunot et Malka, *op. cit.*, p. 124).

pasión 'physical pain, suffering of man; great emotion'. In Ladino this word is commonly found used alone in the first sense, but in the modern spoken language there is a notable tendency for it to be accompanied by some other word denoting physical pain. Examples: (written sources) *i el grito del kulevro es mui grande ke su pasiion es munča* 'and the clamour of the serpent is great for his pain is severe'; *los dolientes . . . esklaresiendose el dia arepozan i les aliviiana la pasiion* 'those who are ill find rest when day breaks and their pain is alleviated'; *las preniadas . . . ivan penando kon sus dolores i su grito era grande de la pasiion ke sentilian* 'pregnant women were suffering the pangs of labour and

their cries were loud from the pain they felt'; *i mos eskapes de las pasiiones de ghyntm* 'and mayest thou save us from the torments of hell'; Salon. *todoz loz benadanes ke ya pasaron la sinkyentena estaban yenez de dolerez i pasiiones* 'everyone who was over fifty was full of aches and pains'; *kom penaz i pasiiones lo fizieron* 'they accomplished it with toil and travail'.

péa 'side-lock, the hair on the temples (which an orthodox Jew is supposed not to shave)', e. g. Salon. *ay ġidiós ke se dešan unas péaz de medió piko* 'there are Jews who let their side-locks grow half a yard long'; (written source) *un ġidiio ma šemeħa* [v. s. *šem*] *kon las peas elguengas* 'an orthodox (?) Jew with long side-locks'. A derivative of Heb. פֶּאֶה *pē'āh* 'corner; hair on the temples'. The expression *no pasar ni por la pea a alguno* is used idiomatically in the sense of 'to be a matter of indifference to someone, not to care', e. g. Salon. (written sources) *aii de elios ke me estan lavando kon šavon de tarabuluz* [Turk. *Trabluz* 'Tripoli'], *aii tambien ke estan kešandosén . . . , ami no me pasa ni por la pea: lo ke tengo de dezir no me lo eskondo* 'There are those who praise me to the skies, as well as those who complain . . . , it matters nothing to me: what I have to say I shall not hide up'; *de mi parte en tanto non me pasa ni por la pea* 'as far as I am concerned, however, I do not care in the least'; *kuando la tomas en la mano la pendola, no miras ni atras ni adelante ke le va venir 'ħwrtynṭy* [Perhaps Heb. 'āhōr 'buttock' + Span. *ten te*] *a siniior fulano, ke se va emepinar siniior sistrano, ke este es un amigo, el otro un suvrino, no te pasa ni por la pea* 'when you take your pen in hand you look neither behind you nor before you, that Mr So-and-So will have his backside kicked (?), that Mr Such-and-Such-a-Person will swallow a bitter pill, that the one is a friend, the other a nephew (or distant cousin) – it is just a matter of indifference to you!'

According to Benoliel (*BRAE* 15, 221) *melenas* is used in Morocco in the sense of Oriental *peas*. Other terms in the Balkans and Turkey for 'side-locks' are Bosn. *čuluġias* (v. Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 141; Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 95), *ulufias* (Wagner, *loc. cit.*), Const. (*u*)*rufias* (Wagner, *Konst.*, Glossar), all ultimately from Turk. *zülüf* 'side-lock of hair'.

peal, pl. *peales* (Salon.) 'gros chaussons de laine, heavy woollen over-socks'. These are usually hand-knitted and are worn by men and boys. Salon. *kalsas*, on the other hand, are 'stockings' and may be made of cotton, silk or wool. The statement by Subak (*Vorläufiger Bericht*, p. 5) that Bitolj *čuráp* 'Strumpf' has the same meaning as Salon. *peát* is not therefore accurate. Turk. *çorap* 'sock, stocking' is used in the sense of 'stocking' in Constantinople (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 164) and in Salonica (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 11). The meaning of Salon. *peal*, *peales* is different from those of Spanish and dial. Span. *peal* (v. Y. Malkiel, *UCPL*, Vol. II, N I: 250).

peše (Salon.) 'fish', *peše* (*de la pačá* [Turk. *paça*]) 'calf (of the leg)'. I abstain from speculating upon the immediate origin of the Salonica term, but compare Cat. (Manresa [near Barcelona]) *peix* 'Un dels talls de la part anterior de la cuixa' (A. Grieria y Gajal, *Tresor de la Llengua*, Vol. II). Adolf Zauner (*Rom. Forsch.* 14, 468) states that in Italy, especially in Sicily, the 'calf of the leg' is often compared to a 'fish', and, indeed, the *AIS*, Map 159, shows that the same term is used for both at many points in South Italy, in Sicily and in Sardinia. At point 637 (Central Italy) it designates the thigh muscle. Similarly, from the *ALEIC*, Map 313, we learn that in Corsica, especially in the North and Centre, derivatives of *PISCE* are used for both 'fish' and 'calf' in many places. Meyer-Lübke (*REW*³, No. 6532) quotes Ital. *pesce* 'Oberarmmuskel', Venet. *peseto* 'id.' Finally, I compare Rum. *pește* 'fish; biceps' (Candrea și Adamescu *Dicționarul*... "Cartea Românească", București [1931]).

Since the essential feature of a fish is that it consists of almost nothing but muscles and a number of relatively small bones, it provides, when handled alive, a sensation of elusive elasticity, similar to that produced by the large muscles of the human body when flexed or released; it may therefore be that the use of derivatives of *PISCE* to designate various large muscles in a Catalan dialect, in parts of Italy, in Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, as well as in Rumania, means that already in Vulgar Latin the word was so used. Turk. *balık eti* (lit. 'fish-flesh') 'muscle, fleshy muscle of

the body' (Redhouse, p. 17*a*) was presumably a spontaneous creation.

reïne n. f. (Salon.) 'human kidney'; *reïnes* n. f. pl. 'kidneys, loins, lumbar region', e. g. *asta ke te dadanean* [Turk. *dayanmak*] *laz reïnes tienez la ħida asigurada* 'as long as your kidneys hold out your life is assured'; *kale tener laz reïnes ħuertes para dadanear la furluna* 'one must have strong loins to weather the storm'; *dolorez de reïnes* 'after-pains'. Subak (*Salon.*, p. 9) quotes *réines de loz ombres*, and Chérézli lists רייני *reine* 'rein'.

I believe that Salon. *reïne(s)* provides the only Judæo-Spanish example of the passage of L. \bar{e} + nasal to $e\bar{i}$ + nasal. It is presumably a dialectal Portuguese form: Leite de Vasconcellos (*Esquisse d'une dialectologie portugaise*, Paris 1901, § 44*k*) states that "e + m, n devient facilement une diphtongue en Tras-os-Montes, près du cours du Douro, à Alvações, Mesão-Frio, Barqueiros: *méinos* = *menos*, *piquéino* = *pequeno*, *réimo* = *remo*. Il est probable que ce phénomène a dans le Nord une étendue plus grande." The development of \bar{e} into $e\bar{i}$ must be ascribed to the closing effect of the following nasal (For theories concerning the reasons of the phenomenon in French and other languages, see G. Straka, *RLiR* 19, 249–251, and M. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, Paris 1933, pp. 214–222). A further stage in the closure causes $\bar{e}\bar{n}em$ to develop into Port. *rim* m. and Gall. *rin* m. 'riñón', *rines* s. m. pl. 'región lumbar' (Carré Alvarellos³). García de Diego (*DEEH*, Madrid [1954]) lists Gall. *rin* 'riñón' under * $\bar{R}\bar{E}\bar{N}\bar{I}\bar{L}E$, No. 5601, but it properly belongs with the derivatives of $\bar{R}\bar{E}\bar{N}$, $\bar{R}\bar{E}\bar{N}IS$, No. 5593.

Joseph M. Piel (*Miscelânea de etimologia portuguesa e galega*, Coimbra 1953) refers on several occasions to the diphthongization of *a* to *ai* in certain words, and on p. 82 states: "Basta, porém, colocar o par *cambrá/cáimbra* ao lado das formas divergentes *açame/açaima*, *cambo/cáimbo*, *campas/cáimbas* (açor.) e *andame/andaima* . . ., para nos convencer que as formas com *ai* são de facto as secundárias, e que estamos em presença de uma ditongação esporádica do *a*, condicionada, ao que parece, pelo *m* seguinte." Later (*op. cit.*, p. 274) he ascribes the passage of *a* to *ai/ãi* in such

words to the presence of a bilabial and therefore adduces mod. Port. *saibro* 'sand' < O. Port. *sabro* < L. *SABULU* as a parallel to *camba/câimba*, etc., but if we exclude *saibro*, for which some other explanation would have to be sought, the existence of *ai/âi* is attributable to the effect of the following nasal, and such examples are therefore comparable to L. *PLANA* > Port. *plaina* 'carpenter's plane' (> Salon. *plajna* 'id.'), Ital. *sottana* > Port. *sotaina* (*REW*³, No. 8402). An example of a word containing *ai* + nasal, corresponding to an original *a* + nasal, in Judæo-Spanish is provided by Salon. *šaiimarada* 'llamarada' (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 6, quotes Salon. *šamaráda*, repeated by Wagner, *RFE* 34, 95, but my informants use only the form I quote), e. g. *la kamareta se fizo una šaiimarada* 'the room became a blaze of light'. I have occasionally met the spelling שאיימאראדא *šaiimarada* in Salonica texts. I have been unable to discover whether the form is old or not. That the tendency for *a* + nasal to become *ai* + nasal in that town was still operative in relatively recent times is, however, proved by the existence of *šaijniši* < Turk. (< Persian) *šahnišin* 'a bay-window or an enclosed balcony' (Redhouse, p. 1112*b*), e. g. *saljó una boz por el šaijniši* 'a voice came from the balcony'. In my *Recherches sur le judéo-espagnol* (Paris 1935), N 384, p. 208, appeared Salon. *šaniši*, a form which should probably be attributed to dialect mixture in the speech of my very young informant.

romatizmos, ramatizmos (Salon.) 'rheumatism'. Cf. Const. *romatizmo* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 29). The form *ramatizmos* is more usual in Salonica than *romatizmos*; the use of the plural is doubtless due to French influence. Since rheumatism is a chronic condition it may be that *ram-* results from contamination with J. Span. *ramo* 'bodily weakness, sequelae (of a disease)' (Crews, *Proc. Leeds Phil. Soc. [Lit. and Hist. Section]* 7, 227, s. v.).

šarta. Chérézli (p. 232) quotes שארטה *šarta (kolliar)* 'collier', with which cf. Const. 1739 (Smyrna 1838, Const. 1873): *las šartas ke en siruizes de sus gamelios*, Judg. 8, 26 'chains'; Vienna 1813: *una šarta de tus sirvizes*, S. of S., 4, 9 'one chain of thy neck', cf. Smyrna 1838, Const. 1873: *una šarta de tu sirviz*. The Ferrara

version reads however *las sartas q[ue] e[n] ceruiz de sus camellos*, and *si oluida . . . nouia sus sartas*, Jer. 2, 32 'attire', for which Const. 1739 has *si oluida eskosa su afeite novia sus trensas*. Neither *šarta* nor *sarta* is known to my present informants, though in 1935, in Salonica, I heard *ensartar* 'thread beads', cf. Morocco *ensaltar* 'ensartar' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 60).

The *koliar*, i. e. *koyar*, by which Chérézli explained *šarta* is used in the Bibles in the sense of 'chain, necklace', viz. Gen. 41,42: *collar del oro* (Ferrara), *puzo koliar de el oro sobhre su sirbhiz* (Const. 1739 [pointed], Vienna 1813), *un koliar de oro* (Const. 1873); Ezek. 16, 11: *i koliar sobre tu garganta* (Const. 1739, Vienna 1813, Smyrna 1838). By metonymy this *koyar* 'necklace, string of beads' has the meaning in Saraj. *kūiyár*, dim. *kūiyarītu*, of 'bead', e. g. *infilar kūiyares* 'thread beads', of which the form shows the contamination of Saraj. *kūeyu* 'neck'. Span. *collar*, now obsolete in the sense of 'collar of a garment', is preserved in a Salonica ballad: *tres kučiyadas l'an dado al koyar de su ŷaketa*, with which cf. Morocco *koyar* 'collar, especie de cuello alto de randa de seda blanca que forma parte del traje nacional de hombre' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 51).

The modern Oriental dialects appear now to have rejected *koyar* 1. 'necklace', 2. 'collar of a garment', so, in the sense of 'necklace', we find derivatives of Turk. (<Persian) *gerdan*, *gerden* 'neck, throat; necklace' (Redhouse, p. 1536*b*), viz. Salon. *yadrán*, e. g. *ke tome este yadrán de la mužer em prenda* 'let him take this necklace of the wife as a pledge'; Varna *gyrdán* 'Halsband' (Subak, *Vorläufiger Bericht*, p. 3); (Belgrade text) *i yrdan* [sic] *de oro le va a meter en su garganta*. Turk. *yaka* 'the collar of a garment, the collarless edge of a garment, at the neck' (Redhouse, p. 2189*b*) is used as *yaká*, in the same sense, in Salonica, in Adrianople (Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 12, p. 77), and in Constantinople (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 132); cf. יִיאָקָה *iiaka* 'collet' (Chérézli).

šem, *šen* lit. 'name', hence 'Divine Name, God'. Heb. שֵׁם *šem* 'id.' This term is used frequently either alone, e. g. Salon. *el mansebo dišo un šen i el komer se fizo todo brazas* 'the youth uttered

the Name of God and the food turned to live coals', or with the Hebrew definite article (*h*)*a*-, e. g. Salon. *ašēm yasilēnu, abriendo loz ožos, subrinos!* 'God preserve us, open your eyes, my nephews!', as also Morocco *hassēm yassilēnu* 'Dios nos escape o salve de eso' (Benoiel, *BRAE* 15, 197) < Heb. *הַשֵּׁם יַצִּילֵנוּ haš-šēm yaššilēnū*. Cf. J. Ital. *ascèmmè* 'il signore Iddio' (Milano, *op. cit.*, p. 237). In texts *šm ytbrk* (usually abbreviated as *šy't*) = Heb. *שֵׁם יְתַבְּרַךְ šēm yiṭbārak* 'God (May He be blessed!)' is of very frequent occurrence, e. g. *kierre dezir ke la lengua de kontino pronosteke, por la boka la membrasion de el šēm yithbārakh ke tienen en el korason, i no este el korason un punto sin alembrarse* [Port. *lembrar-se*] *de el šēm yithbārakh (Obligasion de los Korasones, Venice 1712 [2nd ed.], p. 12b)* 'that is to say that the tongue shall continually speak forth through the mouth the memorial of God (May He be blessed!) that is engraved on their hearts, and not for one moment fail to mention God (May He be blessed!)'; cf. further *aššēm* 'le Nom' *itbārāḥ* 'loué soit-il' (M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912, p. 394). The Hebrew plural *שְׁמוֹת šēmôt*, used in cabbalistic encantations invoking various names of God to avert evil, is popularly provided with the Spanish plural, e. g. Saraj. (text in the Croatian alphabet) *avagaritu kon šimotis si foeron los dos a kaza* 'very slowly, calling on the Divinity, they both made their way home'.

Salon. *bešēm* lit. 'in the name of, in behalf of' < Heb. *בְּשֵׁם bēšēm* (Jastrow, p. 1590b) is used in the strange adjectival sense of 'every, any at all', e. g. (written source) *una maniiiana itler ečo pregon, i lo puwliko en las gazetas, ke por endelantre, bešem mego* [v. Wagner, *RFE* 34, 76, s. v.] *o estreero, falǵi* [Turk. *falcı*] *o falǵia, maniatizadores, ipnotizadores i šarlatanes devian de abandonar sus ofisiios; el ke no se sometera a este orden matar sera matado* 'one morning Hitler issued a proclamation, and published it in the newspapers, that henceforward every wizard or astrologer, fortune-teller or clairvoyante, [all] mesmerists, hypnotists and charlatans must abandon their occupations: "anyone failing to submit to this order will surely be done to death"'; *bešēm ġidǵó* 'tout, n'importe lequel Juif'.

ma šemēḥa < Heb. מַה שְׁמֶךָ *mah šmekā*, the pausal form, with the literal meaning of 'what is thy name?', appears to be used to designate an orthodox Jew, e. g. Salon. (written sources) *un ġidiio ma šemēḥa kon las peas [q. v.] elguengas* 'an orthodox Jew with long side-locks'; *kuando va kierer entrar a ganeder trefan* [Heb. *gan eden tērēfāh*] *el diavlo le va serar la puerta en diziendole 'arremata de aki' tu sos ma šemēḥa* 'when he wants to enter the Christian (lit. ritually unclean) Paradise the devil will shut the door and say: "Take yourself off from here. You're an orthodox Jew!"'.

tomadura (Salon.) 'epilepsy', e. g. *estar kon tomadura* or *tener ~* 'suffer from epilepsy'; (written source) *en "lurd" avia una čobanika* [Turk. *çoban*] *ke la fizieron santa por lo ke tenia tomadura* 'In Lourdes there was a little shepherdess whom they beatified because she had epilepsy'.

zahúṭ, *zahú* < Heb. זְכוּת *zēkūt* 'doing good, blessing; the protecting influence of good conduct, merit' (Jastrow, p. 398a). M. Molho (*Usos y costumbres de los sefardies de Sálonica*, Madrid 1950, p. 158, N) refers to Salon. *los zakús* [*zahús*] as a deformation of the Heb. plural *zākiyyōt*. Of my singular forms *zahú(ṭ)*, which result from the analogy of the plural *za-*, there is also the plural *zahutiós*, e. g. *fizimoz el bilanso de myestros pekadoz i zahutiós* 'we drew up the balance-sheet of our sins and of our good actions'. This is not unlike the popular plural *zahudiótes* used in Sarajevo. The following examples of the use of *zahú(ṭ)* are all drawn from stories told me in Salonica by one old woman: *kon el zahúṭ ke b'a fazer el dió me l'aparezará a mi mužer* 'for the good action that I am about to perform God will provide me with a wife'; *el zahú d'esta alma k'arrezgati, el dió me b'a dar todo byeno* 'for my good action in saving this soul [from damnation], God will give me everything worthwhile'; *šamos a tener zahú de lo ber atornar?* 'shall we be accorded the merit of seeing him return?'

Leeds

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