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Miscellanea Hispano-Judaica II

(The first part of this study appeared in *VRom. 16,* 224–245)

I hope this further selection of Judaeo-Spanish words will serve to show yet more clearly the mixed character of this language which is without a literary norm. I know of nobody writing in Judaeo-Spanish, before the twentieth century, who did so because he was proud of it. It was used, though worthy only of contempt in comparison with Hebrew, because everyone, women and children included, could understand it. Writers have no hesitation in inventing words on the Spanish model, or in making large numbers of calques on Hebrew. The result is a crude language from which all stylistic elegance is conspicuously absent, but which is a delight to the philologist.

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*

abatimiento v. *abatisiǫ́n*.

abatir 'humble; conquer, subdue'; 'whisper': *i ansi veréš de akavidarvos de no gritarlo ni abatirlo porke su esklamasiión se siente en los sielos* (*Meam Loez*).

abatisiǫ́n (Salon.) 'degradation; humiliation': *saliió entre sus ermanos ke son los ǧudiós i vido sus abatisiión . . . i liioró de verlos* (*Meam Loez*); 'mansuetude, meekness': *las olas . . . se akedan kon abatisiión grande, se akodran el komando del šy't* (Heb.'God'). Chérézli lists only *abatimiento* 'abattement'.

abolontado 'flighty, wilful, of unpredictable behaviour': *el bĕkôr* (Heb. 'first born') *suliio era mui loko i abolontado* (*Meam Loez*). This is presumably a hybrid of J.Span. *(a)bolar* 'fly' and of *beluntad* 'will'.

adormecimiento, adormidura, adormimiento v. *adormisiión*.

adormisiión 'sleep; heaviness of eyelids': *tú A. muestro diió, rei del mundo, él pasán sueniio de mis ožos i adormisiión de mis párparos* (*Meam Loez*). Cf. *q*[*ue*] *adormecimiento de A. cayo sobre ellos,* I Sam. 26, 12 (Ferrara); *y echo A. dio adormidura sobre el hombre,* Gen. 2, 21 (*ib.*); *i ečo A. diio adormimiento sovre el ombre* (Smyrna 1838); Morocco *atormesimiento* 'adormecimiento' (Benoliel, *BRAE 14*, 574). The *DAut.* describes *adormimiento* as "voz antiquada".

adrir (Salon.) '*kemar,* burn'. Cf. Const. *adrir* (Yahuda, *RFE 2*, 357), but *y ardera ala vacca,* Num. 19, 5 (Ferrara); *para arderla,* Judg. 9, 52 (*ib.*); *i su perkantadura perkantadura de adređor* (Mishnah) 'their hiss the hiss of a serpent'.

aguado, -da 'wet, liquid': *en la porfundina dela mar ke es mui aguada* (*Meam Loez*).

agužas, azerse las karnes 'get gooseflesh': *i su grito era ke se aziliian las karnes algužas de sentirla, ma* (Ital. 'but') *ninguno le tuvo piiadad* (*Meam Loez*); *en meldando . . . lo ke le akontesiió . . . el puerpo me se fizo agužas* (Salon. written source) 'as I read what happened to him my flesh crept'.

ağustamiento, ağustar v. *ğusto, -ta*.

aḥažar 'aplatir' (Chérézli); *ahajar* [*aḥažar*] 'aplastar' (Estrugo, *Sefardies,* p. 94). Corominas (*DCEC* I, 67, s. *ajar*) lists Old Span. *afajar* and *ahajar* (Nebrija 1492) 'desmenuzar, triturar'.

Aḥažar is unknown in Salonica where, however, *esḥačar* 'squash, flatten out' is used, cf. *esḥačar* 'écraser' (Chérézli), Bulg. ~ 'estropear', which Wagner (*RFE 34*, 53) suggested might represent Ital. *schiacciare* 'crush, squash, bruise'. Somewhat similar in form and meaning to *aḥažar* and *esḥačar* is Bitolj *isḥašar* 'pulverize', which Luria (*RHisp. 79*, 553) related to Turk. *ḥaṣara* 'to make small' [I find no corresponding form in Redhouse], presumably from Arab. *ḥašara* 'amincir, rendre fin',

from which one would expect J.Span. **fazer ḥašara* or, perhaps, **ḥašarear*.

It seems probable that *aḥažar, esḥačar* and *isḥašar* are all connected one with another.

akarar-se kon alguno 'meet face to face': *por esto tengan kargo deno akararsen kon turka o kristiiana* (*Meam Loez*); *es menester tener kargo de no akararse kon eliias kara kon kara* (*ib.*); *akarar* 'confronter' (Chérézli).

akasiia v. *syvyrno*.

akomidar 'make ready, prepare; place ready to hand': *pero Nōaḥ, siendo era mui inǧeniozo, les akomidó todos los aparežos ke son menesterozos para la ovra de la tiera* (*Meam Loez*); *después ke akavó Nōaḥ de salir de la têbâ* (Heb. 'ark') *i akomidó kada koza en su lugar* (*ib.*); Salon. *akomiđar 'aǧuntar'*; *akomidar-se* 'to be made (ready)': *el treser dia se akomidó este mundo* (*Meam Loez*); *akomidado, -da* 'in good order, well-arranged; well-built': *le izo guesos bien akomidados komo una fragua bien ordenada* (*Meam Loez*); *viendo a ditos mansevos bien akomidados i mui ermozos i altos komo pinos* (*ib.*). This dissimilated form of *acomodar* does not occur in Bosnia: *yamó a loz mosus k'akomodin el fiákir* (Baruch, *RFE 17*, 145).

akontinar, akontinuar v. *dekontinar*.

akorriđo, -đa 'korriđo đe prisa, in a hurry, running': Salon. *tođos akorriđoz i asegeiđos detráz de la pará* 'all of them in hot pursuit of money'; *estavan akoridos munčo detrás de sensiia del yāwān* (Heb. 'Greece') [*Trezoro de Israel*, p. 121]; *todo ken va akorido detrás de la moneda* (*Meam Loez*).

akostar 'pitch (a tent)': *i a Yaεăqōb le diše: "la tiera ke tú liiazién sovre eliia a ti la enprezentaré", i buškó lugar para akostar su tienda i no topó* (*Meam Loez*).

alaud (אלאאוד) 'a musical instrument' translates Heb. *nebel 'id.'* in the Smyrna 1838 Bible: *i delantre de eliios alaud i adufle i kantavlyna i viguela*, I Sam. 10, 5, *i sera viguela i alaud i adufle i kantavlyna*, Isa. 5, 12, etc. The spelling with reduplicated *alef* suggests the pronunciation **alaúd*, corresponding to Arab. *al-εūd* > Span. *laúd*, Old Port. *alaúde* (Steiger, *Hispano-*

árabe, p. 282), Old Span. *alaúd, alaút* (*DCEC* III, 53, s. *laúd*). The Ferrara Bible translates Heb. *nebel* by *gayta* and the Const. 1873 version by *navla*, Span. *nabla*. Corominas (*DCEC* III, 487) derives *nabla* from Gk. νάβλα and points out that the Academy Dictionary of 1914 refers to Span. *nebel* as a variant—this *nebel* would appear to be our Hebrew word.

aldarve. Cf. *cayen los aldarves, se alevantan los muladares*, quoted by Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 78), who correctly recognizes this as *adarve* < Arab. *ad-darb* (> Old Span. *adarue*, Port. *adarve*, Cat. *adarb*, Neuvonen, *Studia Orientalia 10*, 141/42). By confusion with *(f)aldar*, the proverb becomes unintelligible in Bitolj: *Cayin luz faldaris, s'alivanten luz muladaris* (Luria, *RHisp. 81*, 259), Const. *Callen los aldares* (pour *adarves*), *se alevantan los muladares* (Foulché-Delbosc, *RHisp. 2*, 317). Molho (*Lit. Sef.*, p. 28) has *caeron los altares, se alevantaron los muladares*.

aleprado, -da 'leprous': *i la sakó i ek su mano aleprada de una sarna blanka komo la nieve* (*Meam Loez*), but su *mano leprosa como la nieue*, Exod. 4, 6 (Ferrara), *uaron leproso*, Lev. 13, 44 (*ib.*) and *leprozo* in subsequent Bibles.

alḥamoreado. Molho (*Lit. Sef.*, p. 124) quotes *alḥamoreado por el vino*, which he explains by 'acalorado' (p. 377). Can this be a hybrid of Arab. *al-* + Heb. *ḥămôr* 'donkey' + Span. *eado*, i.e. 'befuddled, behaving in an asinine fashion'? Or should we perhaps see in it also something of Arab. *ḥamrā* 'red'?

alkándi, alkánde, alkándi̯o v. *asúk'alkándi*.

alma, por 'gratis, free': *tanto por moneda, tanto por alma* (*Meam Loez*).

alsafrán, asafrán, safrán m. and f. 'saffron'. Cf. *¿Quién te fizo cuzinera?—La* [sic] *alsafrán y la pimienta* (Molho, *Lit. Sef.*, p. 53), Salon. *el asafrã́* (used by two old women), Morocco *asafrán* (Benoliel, *BRAE 14*, 573), Bitolj *Quen ti̯eni muchu safrán eche a las senes* (Luria, *RHisp. 81*, 269). Yahuda (*RFE 2*, 353)—a native of Istanbul—was in error when he stated that the Salonica form was *safrá*, identical with Cat. *safrà*. Cf. Old Span. *(a)çafrán*, Port. *açafrão*, Cat. *safrà, çafrà* < Arab. *zaε-*

farān (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 118, 145), Old Arag. *çafran* (Pottier, *VRom. 10*, 218).

altramús v. *tramús*.

albeyota (quoted by aged native of Salonica): *sera i triaka i albeyota*. Cf. *sus gameliios lievantes espesiia i triaka i alveliiota*, Gen. 37, 25 (Smyrna 1838), Morocco *albeyota* 'bellota' (Benoliel, *BRAE 14*, 569). Grünbaum, p. 11, note 5, quotes *arbellotas, bellotas* (Amsterdam 1682), *albelota* (Belgrade 1865), and Hauptmann (*RPhil. 5*, 164) observes that Alba Bible *vellotas* and Escorial I. j. 3 *bellota* are popular selections for Heb. *lōṭ* 'laudanum, cistus'.

ambar 'hold of a ship': *veréš en los ke van por mar ke algunos les agrada estar dientro del anbar de la nave por ser lugar siguro de luviia* (*Meam Loez*); *ambar* 'cale' (Chérézli) < Turk. (< Persian) *ambar, anbar* '*id.*' (Redhouse, p. 207a).

ambára (Salon.) 'bead': *un yađrán* (Turk. *gerdan*) *de ambáras* 'a bead necklace; oriental rosary made of yellow amber'; *la ambára* ['grain du chapelet'] (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 14). Our word is presumably a hybrid of Old Span. *ambra* (v. *DCEC*, s. *ámbar*) + mod. Gk. ἄμβρα 'amber' + ἀμβάρις 'ambergris'. (I assume that 'amber' and 'ambergris' are confused.)

aplikar 'specify, state, enumerate in detail': *i enel šěṭār* (Heb. 'document') *eskriviió ʾăđār* (Heb. 'month of Adar') *sólo, ino aplikó en kual ʾăđār* (*Meam Loez*); *es ovligo de aplikar el pekado ke izo* (*ib.*) 'it is an obligation to specify what sin he committed'; *podia akurtar la avla diziendo "vernáš tú kon tu familiia" i no tenia heḵrēaḥ* (Heb. 'need') *de aplikar los ižos i las mužeres* (*ib.*); *ke sierto le aría konbite grande de munčas komidas i no konviene aplikar pan i uino* (*ib.*).

aprestar 'be of advantage, value': *todo ken afirma šabbāṯ le apresta esta espesiia, ma ken no guadra šabbāṯ no le aze ningún provečo* (*Meam Loez*) 'this herb is of use to anyone who keeps the Sabbath but not to anyone who does not'; *siendo* [*la tiera*] *aguada no apresta para nada* (*ib.*); *aun ke mos paresen ke no aprestan para nada, komo las moškas* (*ib.*); *ke el tĕnaʾy del ečizero para ke apreste su ečizo es heḵrēaḥ ke él esté aparado i afirmado sus pies sovre la tiera* (*ib.*) 'for the wizard's stipulation is, so

that his spell may work, that he must be standing up and have both feet firmly on the ground'.

aprontar 'place, put': *después las aprontó delantre de ʾādām hāriʾšôn* (Heb. 'Adam, the first [man]') *ile fue preguntando "esto kómo konviene liiamarse?"* (*Meam Loez*); *i se izo nēs* (Heb. 'miracle') *grande aprontarle alii un pozo de agua ke no uvo nunka en akel lugar* (*ib.*); *aprontar-se* 'cause to appear, be made ready': *i kon los peškados izo tĕnaʾy* (Heb. 'pact, bargain') *kela ora kelo ečaran a Yônâ han-nābîʾ* (Heb. 'Jonah the prophet') *en la mar, kese apronte un peškado grande ilo engluta i después ke io ieve en tiera bivo i sano* (*ib.*); *se fuliió un kavretiko i koriió Mōšeh* (Heb. 'Moses') *detrás de él asta ke se aliegó en un lugar . . . i ai se le aprontó una alberka de agua i biviió asta ke se artó* (*ib.*). Cf. Bosnia *aprontar l'ašugar* (Baruch, *RFE 17*, 146) 'get the trousseau ready'; ~ (*aparežar*) 'préparer' (Chérézli).

arder v. *aḏrir*.

as 'as' (coin) v. *azo*.

asafrán v. *alsafrán*.

asarozo, -za 'shivering with fright': Const. ~ 'tremblant de peur' (Subak, *ZRPh. 30*, 150), Salon. '*id.*' (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 7), Salon. "*tú, di ar rey ke te merke un bistiḏo entero ḏe azero i unaz maneraz de azero i tom' al kulebro i enfášalo i no l'espantez de naḏa.*" *la niña s'alebantó asaroza, asaroza, i se ḥwe end'el rey.* Corominas (*DCEC* I, 351, s. *azor*) quotes Nebrija *açorarse* 'efferor'; he states that the modern Spanish sense of 'conturbar, sobresaltar' was not fixed until *ca.* 1600 and that *azorarse* becomes *azararse* by analogy with *azar* 'riesgo'. See *azardo*.

asúk'alkándi, asúk'alkánde, asúka alkándi̯o 'sugar candy'. These forms were used by three aged natives of Salonica. The last of them would doubtless in normal rapid speech be pronounced as *asúk'alkándi̯o;* it was used by a man and recalls Old Span. *candio* (Juan Manuel), quoted by Corominas (*DCEC* I, 629/30, s. *candi*). Chérézli lists only *asukar kandy* 'sucre candi'. Wagner (*RFE 34*, 30) quotes Salon. *la asúka*, Const., Kastoria, Smyrna *la asúkar*.

atarmúz v. *tramús*.

atormesimiento v. *adormisiión*.

al(l)ramús, alramuz(es) v. *tramús.*

abi̯erto, -a 'sighted, able to see': *o abierto o ciego,* Exod. 4, 11 (Ferrara); *kén es ke pone mudo o sodro o avierto o siego?* (*Meam Loez*); *aken kero lo ago mudo o sodro o siego o avierto de ožos* (*ib.*). This is a calque on Heb. *piqqēaḥ* 'open-eyed, seeing'. In Salonica we find *tener mano abi̯erta* 'be generous, open-handed' = Turk. *eli açık* '*id.*'; *tener laz manoz abi̯ertas* 'have chapped hands'. Wagner (*RFE,* Anejo XII, p. 41) quotes *mučača abi̯erta* 'prostitute', calqued on Turk. *açık* 'open; impudent, obscene (of book)'.

azár '*la flor del arvol de portukal,* fleur d'oranger', *agua de* ~ 'eau de fleur d'oranger' (Chérézli); Salon. *agu̯a đe azar i ruđa* 'orange-flower water and rue' (used as a carminative, i.e. 'fait sortir les gaz'), but Morocco *azzahar* (Benoliel, *BRAE 14,* 575). Steiger (*Hispano-árabe,* p. 272) derives Span. *azahar* from Arab. *zahr* > *zahár.* Corominas (*DCEC* I, 346, s. *azahar*) states that to avoid the homonymy with *azar* 'hazard', the spelling *azar* is usually avoided in Spanish. See *azardo.*

azardo (Salon.) 'hazard, chance': *por azardo enkontri a um bu̯en amigo* 'quite by chance I met a great friend'; *un ǧugo đe azardo* 'a game of chance'. I believe that *azardo* is a derivative of a dialectal form of Ital. *azzardo* (and not from Fr. *hasard,* as Luria, *RHisp. 79,* 547, states); cf. Salon. *mezo* 'means' < dial. Ital. *mezzo, mezo ǧorno* 'midday', Bitolj *mezu ǧornu* '*id.*'.

aze(i̯)tunal, azeitunar v. *zetunal.*

azmo, -ma 'unleavened': Salon. *ku̯ando no se faze la leđađura sale azmo el pan;* ~ 'azyme' (Chérézli); Morocco ~ (Benoliel, *BRAE 14,* 575). Cf. Old Span. *asmo* (example dated 1513, quoted by Corominas, *DCEC* I, 349, s. *ázimo*); Galic., Port. *asmo* (Rodríguez González, Figueiredo).

azo (Salon., Const.) 'ace in cards, one in dice' (Subak, *Salon.,* p. 7, *ZRPh. 30,* 151). Molho (*Lit. Sef.,* p. 51) cites *Quien no mira al azo, no mira al aspro,* in which *azo* appears to be the coin 'as'. The form *azo* is unexpected and represents neither Turk. أصو *aso* (< Ital. *asso*) 'ace' (Redhouse, *English-Turkish Dictionary,* Constantinople 1911) nor, presumably, Ital. *asso.* Is it possible, because the playing of cards and dice is hazardous, that a

presumably now lost **azar* 'hazard' gave its *-z-* to earlier Turk. *aso* to form J. Span. *azo*? Turk. *zar* 'die', plur. *zarlar* 'dice' may also have influenced the Judaeo-Spanish form, in spite of the fact that *đađo(s)* 'die, dice' is fully alive. For the coin 'as', we find also J. Span. *as*, e.g. *un cavritico que lo mercó mi padre por dos as* (Molho, *Lit. Sef.*, p. 166); *de esta moneda ke te di, ke le des a fulano unos kuantos as, ke es prove* (*Meam Loez*). This *as* probably represents Turk. *as*, rather than Span. *as*.

azo 'running knot; trap' v. *lazo*.

ažađa v. *taratő*.

bañađero, bañarse, bañero, baño v. *embañar(se)*.

baš, dar 'be superior, surpass': Salon. (written sources) *iia le diio baš a Nat Pinkerton; Paris i toda la frankia iia le dieron baš a Tesaloniki; kreo ke la ovra ke les da baš a todas dos es el ešpital ḥirš* (Hirsch). This expression, very similar in meaning to *salir a baš*, is perhaps based on Turk. *baş olmak* 'be or become chief' (Redhouse, p. 324b).

baš, salir a. Const. ~ 'succeed, be able', a translation of Turk. *basa çıkmak*, as Wagner (*Konst.*, p. 29 and Glossar) showed. Cf. Turk. *başa çıkmak* 'cope with, master, succeed' (Hony), *başa çıkarmak* 'bring to a successful issue' (Redhouse, p. 324b). In all my Salonica records, I find only *salir a baš kon alguno* or *kon alguna koza*, in which the sense is 'be superior to a person; cope with a thing', e.g. *no salia a baš kon él el mižor okulista; no lo pueden sorswvyr* (q.v.) *ke un puniiado de ǧidiios puedamos salir a baš kon miliiones de otras lees* 'they cannot stomach the fact that we Jews, who are but a handful, are superior to the millions holding other faiths'; *en viendo ke no se ia salir a baš kon el gasterio* 'when he saw that he was not going to be able to meet the expense'. In the proverb *ni el rei non sale abaš kon las kriaturas* (Uziel, *Rešummoth 5*, 329) the sense is doubtless 'not even the king can have the upper hand of children'.

batir 'passion, uncontrollable emotion': Salon. *le tomó el batir al bezir i le đišo a la niña: "sí, pueđe ser, ke yo te kiero a ti"* 'the Vizir was filled with sexual desire and said to the girl: "Yes, it is possible, for I want you"'; Salon. *le tomó il batir i 'l estremeser*

'he went crazy with excitement'; Salon. (written source) *lo ke me toma en vezes batires es kuando veo los ke gastan más ariva de sus boii* 'what sometimes enrages me is when I see some spending beyond their means'; (written source) *mi siniiora vavá dezia: siete batires batan al trazero les salga l'alma* 'my grandmother used to say: "let seven passions assail them in the end and may they give up the ghost."' Cf. '*Amalequin* (= amalecitas) *que ven esto, el batir les toma presto* (Molho, *Lit. Sef.*, p. 164); Sarajevo *le tomó um batir* 'he flew into a rage', *ké batir tę̣eni?* 'why such a fuss?' In Salonica occurs also *k'érremo batir* [*ké rremo batir?*]? which has been translated for me by 'quelle sale manie?', e.g. *ké rremo batir ke se fizę̣eron los ke benian kada dia a tefilá?* 'what was the insane passion that brought them every day to prayers [in the synagogue]?' Can this *rremo* be connected with Span. *remo* 'trabajo grande y continuado'?

[**beata*] adj. invar. 'blessed, happy': *biiata la ǧente ke moran enla tiera santa* (*Meam Loez*); *i biiata akel ombre ke tiene kargo de los proves* (*ib.*); *biiata nozotros ke tuvimos zĕkûṯ* (Heb. 'merit, privilege') *en este viiaže de venir aki* (*ib.*).

bistuerto, tuerto 'hopelessly distorted; doubled-up with crippling disease; twisting and turning': *i ansi eran todos sus dînîm* (Heb. 'laws') *tuertos bistuertos komo el ganĕo* (*Meam Loez*); Salon. *entraban tuertoz i bistuertos i salian derečos* 'they went in crippled and came out straight'; Salon. *un kamino tuerto i bistuerto.*

bišigānte (*de mostadra*) *a alguno, ečar um* (Salon.) 'apply a (mustard) plaster to someone'. This is an entirely popular form of learned Span. *vesicante*. Chérézli quotes only the strange פישיגאנטי [*pyšyganty*] 'vésicatoire'. Are we to see in his form the influence of *pišar* 'urinate' in reference to bursting blisters?

bočornar, bočorro v. *bučorno.*

boka del alma. This vague anatomical term has been translated for me by 'breast-bone', but Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 58) renders it by 'parte del torso delante de los pechos' and Estrugo (*Sefardies*, p. 85) by 'estómago'.

bonifikar-se 'be verified, prove to be true; discover a fact': "*ke valiia* [= *vaya*] *kada uno de nozotros kon sus ovežas i se apare en la boka del pozo i todo ken le suve el agua de suliio asta*

ariva para abevrar su ganado es siniial ke el pozo es suliio.'' i aziendo esto se bonifikó ke el pozo era de ʾAbrāhām (Meam Loez); se akožeron . . . todas las kriansas para entrarse dientro de la têbâ (Heb. 'ark') *i estonses se bonifikó . . . ke no resivia la têbâ a todo ken keria entrar* (*ib.*); *onze dias es el anio del sol más ke él de la luna: esto se bonifika enel mes de tammûz* (*ib.*); *i bonifikándose ke era verdad le pezó más i más de tener tal ižo* (*ib.*).

These meanings are different from those quoted for derivatives of L. **bonificare* in Judaeo-Romance by Blondheim, p. 30/31, and by Raphael Levy, *Lexicographie*, p. 153, s. *bonigier*.

bučorno, abrir um (Salon.) '*no fablar komo benadá*, to abuse, blow someone up (in round terms)'. One informant stated that it meant 'une grosse voix', whereas another, a woman, who used the form *bočorro*, associated it with '*una boka grānde*' and gave as an example *me abriǵó um bočorro i gritó* 'il m'a engueulée!' In popular writings I find only בוגורנו, e.g. *si era una gazeta potente, ke su boz puedia ser sentida . . ., avriria un buǧurnu para gritar*. It clearly represents Span. *bochorno* 'close hot weather', *buchorno* ''es el tiempo de mucha calor. . . , y dixose buchorno, quasi boca de horno'', Covarrubias 1611 (S. Gili Gaya, *Tesoro lexicográfico* (*1492–1726*), Madrid 1947). This has then acquired the sense of 'blast, searing with scorching words', and the use of *abrir* makes it certain that there is a strong association with J. Span. *bos* and *boka*. Cf. *y bochornada delante miesse*, II Kings 19, 26 (Ferrara) 'blasted before it be grown up', Span. *abochornar*, Old Span. *bochornar*, *bochornado* (*Tesoro lexicográfico*).

cedro v. *syvyrnw*.

ceguidumbre 'blindness': *hirieron con çeguidumbres*, Gen. 19, 11 (Ferrara), *ceguidumbre*, Lev. 22, 22 (*ib.*). Cf. *te irira A. kon lokura i kon siegidumbre*, Deut. 28, 28 (Smyrna 1838). Wagner (*RFE 34*, 94) quotes *siegés*.

čaramela 'pipe, reed-pipe' translates Heb. *ḥālîl* 'flute, pipe' in the Ferrara Bible *adufle y charamela*, I Sam. 10, 5, *charamelas*, I Kings 1, 40. The word survives in *está como una tcharamela seca* 'está como una flor marchita, es decir, falto de vigor y lozanía' (Saporta, *Refranero*, p. 126/27), where the meaning is

doubtless 'dry reed'. Cf. Span., Port., Franco-Prov. *charamela* (*DCEC* II, 59, s. *chirimía*).

The Smyrna 1838 Bible renders *ḥālīl* by קאנטאבלינה [*kantavlyna*] in I Sam. 10, 5, I Kings 1, 40, Isa. 5, 12, etc. Cf. Span. *cantilena* and v. *DCEC* I, 638/39, s.v.

dale ke dale. Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 101) translates *dale ke dale* by 'a la larga, con perseverencia'. Cf. Salon. *dale por aki, dale por ai, i pare un fižo kon una fleča đ'oro en la mano i una streya đ'oro en la fronte*, in which the sense appears to be 'writhe (se débattre) in the pains of child-birth'; Morocco *dale* 'expresión lacónica con que se ordena de batir, de pegar...' (Benoliel, *BRAE 15*, 53).

dekontinar 'continue': *ke asigún krió la koza, de akel modo vaiia kaminando de kontino, ino se demude nunka, lo kual en las aves ke las primeras se kriaron de la agua, ma no dekontinaron a konkriarsen de el agua* (*Meam Loez*) 'just as He created the thing, so may it continue forever, and never change, just as birds which at first were created from water, but did not continue to be engendered from water'; *los ḥarvavan ... para ke tuvieran kargo de akavidar asu ǧente ke dekontinen en sus travažos sin baldarsen un punto* (*ib.*) 'they beat them so that they should take care to warn their compatriots to go on with their labours without relaxing for a moment'. A formation from *de kontino*, Old Span. *de contino* 'continually'. Similarly, we find in the *Meam Loez*, *akontinar* 'continue': *i para eskapar de el yeṣer hā-raʿ akontina de aǧuntarse kon su mužer* 'and to avoid evil inclinations he goes on having intercourse with his own wife'; *ke sierto ken akontina en esto nunka dize tĕfillâ* (Heb. 'prayer') *sigún su ovligo* (*ib.*). The hybrid *akontinuar* appears in the *Trezoro de Israel*, p. 7, and *kontinyar* occurs in Salonica and Constantinople, though in Salonica and Skoplje *kontunear* (Simon, *ZRPh. 40*, 666) is more usual. Cf. *kontinamente* 'continually' (*Obligación*), *kontinavle* 'continual' (*Meam Loez*).

demudado, -da v. *desferensiiado*.

desceruigar v. *servis*.

desferensiiado, -da 'extraordinary, unreasonable, unnatural; violent'. In a recent article (*Proc. Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc. 9*,

62) I referred to these curious meanings of *desferensiiado* and suggested that the word was **deferensiiado* [= Span. *diferenciado*] by a change of prefix. That theory appears to have been correct because it has been pointed out to me by Mr. Raphael Loewe of London that this adjective is calqued on Heb. *mĕšûnneh* (passive participle of Piel *šînnah* 'change, vary, modify', from √*š-n-y*, Jastrow, p. 1605b), which means 'different; strange (unnatural, sudden) [referring to death]'. I now suggest that J. Span. *demudado, -da* with the senses, *inter alia*, of 'unnatural, supernatural; unusual, extravagant, eccentric' (*loc. cit.* in my above-mentioned article) is another calque on the Hebrew.

desḥalalado, desḥančalarse, desḥašalado v. *esḥašalađo.*

dolorear(se) 'be in labour, suffer pangs of childbirth': *todas las mužeres preniiadas ke avian dientro de su palasiio, ke iia estavan doloreando, se kedaron de parir i ivan penando kon sus dolores* (*Meam Loez*). Cf. *Quien no parió, no se dolorió* (Foulché-Delbosc, *RHisp. 2*, 343).

embañar 'wash a corpse'. In describing this meaning, my Salonica informant added "*es komo maldisiṇ́ón*". Cf. Salon. *embañađores, embañađeras*, the equivalent of Heb. *rôḥaṣîm, rôḥaṣôṯ* (Molho, *Usos y costumbres*, p. 176/77) 'washers of the dead'; Salon. (written source) *los rôḥaṣîm van a ǧurar ke él ke embañaron era ǧidiio.* Furthermore, we have Salon. *embañađo en la(s) suđor(es)* 'bathed in sweat'; Bitolj *imbañar* 'bañar' (Luria, *RHisp. 79*, 452); Salon. *embañarse* 'bathe in a river, the sea', for which Chérézli has *baniiarse* 'se baigner'. From *baño* 'bath (indoors); spa, watering-place', we find *bañero, -ra* 'bath-attendant, bathing-attendant' and *bañađero, -ra* 'person who bathes or swims in a public place'. Cf. *tomar (um) baño* 'have a bath' and *dar (um) baño a alguno* 'bath someone else'.

enkašar: 'thrust into, insert; practise coitus'; ~ 'fourrer, insérer' (Chérézli); Const. *inkašár* = *iskondér* 'enfouir' (Subak, *ZRPh. 30*, 137), Salon. *enkašár 'travažar* [= practise coitus]' (Subak, *Salon.*, p. 16, note 2). Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 119) quotes the proverb *Encacha Hasday, que la notchada es grande* 'cuenta Hasday que la noche es larga', a patently euphemistic translation.

enkaškar-se 'be deceived, duped': *ma los ǧidiiós patrones de*

alma ke kreen ke el diió es uno i su nombre uno no se enkaškan de su avla (*Meam Loez*) 'but conscientious Jews who believe that God is One and His Name One are not deceived by the words [of the Devil]'; *aii ke demandar kómo se enkaškó en las palavras del kulevro* (*ib.*).

enlasar, enlazar v. *lazo.*

ensaḃanađo 'un faux savant; personne qui s'enveloppe dans un drap de sainteté, a hypocrite': Salon. (written source) *estos ensavanados ke se umflan de dar puniiadikas en la boka del alma* 'these hypocrites who make lumps on themselves by beating their breasts'; *era un ensavanado ke savia enganiiar ala rana* [= ?]. Cf. *ensavanado* 'muy beato' (Estrugo, *Sefardies,* p. 89), 'hypocrita' (Attías, *Romancero,* p. 166). Doubtless a development of *ensavanado* 'el que se disfraça con sávana' (Covarrubias).

entikeser-se 'develop tuberculosis': *si les muere alguna kriatura no dizen ke será por algún pekado, sola mente dizen ke era mui adolensiiado i entikesido* (*Meam Loez*); *se van apurando i entikesiendo* (*ib.*). The usual verb for this is *entikiarse* 'coger la tuberculosis', a formation from *tikía* 'tuberculosis' (Wagner, *RFE 34,* 97).

enuvlado 'overcast, cloudy': *por estar el dia enuvlado* (*Meam Loez*); *el sielo está enuḃlađo* (Salon.); Bitolj *innuvlado* 'nublado' (Luria, *RHisp. 79,* 452). Cf. *enuvlarse* 'become cloudy': *kuando se enuvla el sielo i siente truenos* (*Meam Loez*).

esḥačar v. *aḥažar.*

esḥašalađo, -đa (Salon.) 'débraillé(e)'. Cf. Bosnian *desḥašaladu* 'débraillé' (Subak, *ZRPh. 30,* 159), Const., Adrianople ~ 'poco diestro, desmañado', *esḥašalađa* 'mujer mal vestida y desordenada' (Wagner, *RFE 34,* 42). Wagner doubted whether Heb. *ḥāšal* 'ser débil' (also 'scrape off, polish; reduce', Piel *ḥîššēl* 'crush, batter' [Jastrow, p. 511a]) could be invoked, but felt sure that Turk. *ṣapsal* 'sciatto, trascurato' could be—this, I believe, is unlikely.

I now cite Morocco *desḥančalarse* 'traer el cuerpo como descoyuntado y la ropa mal vestida, mal abotonada o cogida' (Benoliel, *BRAE 15,* 55) and compare *desḥalalado* 'clumsy' in the

proverb *Al deshalalado le cae el bocado, dize que es de ojo malo* (Subirá/Hemsi, p. 327) for the more usual *Al desmañado le caye el bocado, dize que es de ojo malo* (Foulché-Delbosc, *RHisp. 2*, 313; Saporta, *Refranero*, p. 105).

It would appear that *(d)esḥašalado, desḥalalado* and Morocco *desḥančalarse* are connected; it is to be presumed that the Jews used some common verb in Spain whence these modern forms spring. Might one look to Arab. *ḥašal* 'faire peu de cas de . . . ; regarder comme vil', *ḥašl* 'vil, de peu de valeur' to throw further light on this matter? The cognate Heb. *ḥāšal* 'shatter' is probably also involved. Brown/Driver/Briggs (*Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1929) explain *kolhannĕḥešālîm*, Deut. 25, 18 as 'all the shattered ones', i.e. 'those broken down, worn out'.

eskupirse las uñas, es de. Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 124/25) translates this expression by 'es vergonzoso, da asco'. I have seen the action of spitting on the nails of the right hand performed somewhere in the Balkans as a sign of fear, to avert the evil eye. Cf. Rum. *a-şi scuipa în sîn* 'to spit on one's breast against fear, evil spirits and the evil eye'.

espiga 'ear of grain; cob of maize (Indian corn); maize'. In the Bibles *espiga* denotes 'ear of various cereals', but in Salonica, as also in Bitolj (Luria, *RHisp. 79*, 534), the term has been extended to include 'cob of maize' and the crop itself. Wagner (*RFE 34*, 85) has already shown that the Jews of Pazardjik, Bulgaria, similarly had recourse to the resources of their own language to name this new food by using *piña* for 'mazorca del maiz' and *piñón* for 'maiz'. Not all dialects did this: in Constantinople we have *el misir* < Turk. *mısır* 'Egypt; Indian corn, *zea mais*' (Redhouse, p. 1877a), whereas Bosnia uses *la kukurúza* 'cob of maize'. Cf. Austrian German *Kukurutz*, Serb *kukùruz*, Bulg. *kukuruz*, Rum. *cucuruz*, Turk. *kokoroz*.

espinǧas (Salon.) plur. 'dartre; indeterminate skin eruption'. Cf. Port. *espinha* (+ *carnal* or *brava*) 'certas borbulhas do rostro'; Span. *espinilla* 'barro, tumorcillo en la cara' (Wagner, *Festschrift Jud*, p. 554); Galic. *espiña* 'barro que sale en el rostro' (Rodríguez González).

estažar(se) 'stop, come to a halt': *el galgal va arodeando dia i noče sin estažar* (*Meam Loez*) 'the globe goes on turning day and night without pause'; *por esto son 40 dias ǧustos ke no uvo estažar el mabbûl* (Heb. 'flood') *un punto* (*ib.*); *de el dia ke nasiió no se estažó su nĕbû'â nunka asta el dia de su pĕṭîrâ* (*ib.*) 'from the day he was born till the day of his death his divine inspiration never failed'; *estažar* 'stand between, separate': *i aun ke la tiera estaža entre el sol a la luna* (*Meam Loez*).

estažo 'interruption, halt, stop': *ke estuviera ensendiendo el dia kon su noče sin estažo de un punto* (*Meam Loez*) 'that it should not cease to burn night and day for a single moment'; 'separation, division, space': *kalia ke se esteiaran más ariva de dito estažo i las sangres . . . kalia ke se esteliiaran más abašo de dito estažo* (*ib.*) 'they were required to be sprinkled above that space and the blood had to be sprinkled below the space'. Cf. Old Span. *destajar* 'cortar; determinar; omitir', Old Arag. *estallar* 'acabar, cortar' (*DCEC* IV, 347, s. *tajar*).

feḍionda v.s. *šarba*.

fiđalgo, -ga. Wagner (*RFE*, Anejo XII, p. 23) referred to Bosnian *fidalgu* 'delgado, esbelto' and mentioned similar meanings in Galician and Salmantino. Cf. Salon. *fiđalgo* 'sobre, mince; délicat; délicat de santé'; *Meam Loez: si alguno de los ǧudiós dišera ke no puedia travažar ke era onbre fidalgo i delikado i no estava enbezado de azer mĕlā'kâ* (Heb. 'work').

gante, gante v. *manera*.

gayla v. *alaud*.

gizar-se 'become ripe': *komo un fruto ke akavándose de gizarse se kae de el árvol de suliio* (*Meam Loez*); 'function (of gastric juices)': *siendo su puerpo está buiendo la sangre para gizar loke kumiió* (*ib.*)

grupo (Salon.) 'croup, indeterminate throat affection in children'. The presence of *g*, usually indicative of the popular nature of a word, is here curious. Span. *crup*, Fr. *croup*, mod. Gk. κρούπ provide no explanation.

gyante v. *manera*.

ǧusto, -ta 'attained (years of age)': *no lenia sien anios ǧustos kuando uino el mabbûl* 'he had not attained his hundredth year

when the flood occurred'. In the same way I find *ağustar* 'attain (years of age), Span. cumplir': *los mučacos ke no ağustaron 20 anios* (*Meam Loez*); 'complete, finish, bring to a successful conclusion': *i kada estreia no ağusta de arodear el galgal sola mente en vente i kuatro mil anios* (*ib.*) 'and each star completes its revolution round the globe only in 24,000 years'; *i ağustando de azer la têbâ* (Heb. 'ark') *fue enpezando kon pez a todas las tavlas* (*ib.*); *i kon esto ağuntimos la pārāšâ de Nōaḥ* (*ib.*) 'and thus we have completed the section concerning Noah'; *i tanbién ken no ağustava de azer los adoves ke le ataksavan a oras de tadre lo enklavavan entre la fragua i lo tapavan de modo ke lo enteravan bivo* (*ib.*). The noun *ağustamiento* 'completion' also appears in the *Meam Loez*. Heb. *ṭûm* 'to fill up' and *ṭāmam* '*id.*' have doubtless provided the foregoing pattern.

ḥaraganear-se 'be slothful': *i no se ḥaraganee de azerlo* (*Meam Loez*); *i si es ... perezozo i se ḥaraganea de travažar en la lei* (*ib.*); *ḥaraganearse* 'fainéanter' (Chérézli), but Span. *haraganear*.

importar 'be equivalent to, be worth': *ke siendo ṣaddîqîm ... uno de eliios inportava kuanto una ʾummâ entera* (*Meam Loez*) 'since they were pious men any one of them was worth a whole nation'; 'add up to, equal': *i tuvo Mōšeh ... de bivir 120 anios ke ansi el biervo de has-sĕneh inporta siento i vente* (*ib.*) 'and Moses was destined to live for 120 years because [the letters of] "the thorn-bush" have the value of 120'; 'amount to in number': *i inportaron dozientos i setenta kriiaturikas ke se puzieron dientro de la pared* (*ib.*).

isḥašar v. *aḥažar*.

kađra, kađrađor, kađrađura, kađrar v. *perčar-se*.

kalamita 'aimant' (Chérézli). Whatever the immediate origin of this word may be in Judaeo-Spanish (v. *DCEC*, s. *caramida*), it is interesting to note that in Salonica it has developed the secondary meaning of 'lightning-conductor', e.g. *kalamitas kontra los truenos*.

kambúra (Salon.) 'hunch on the back of a man'; *kambúr* 'hunch-backed person': *košos, tuiđoz i kambúres* 'the lame, the crippled and the hunch-backed'; *kambureađo, -đa* 'being hunch-backed'. Molho (*Lit. Sef.*, p. 378) describes *cambura* 'corcova, joroba' as

being of Turkish origin; it is more likely to be Gk. καμπύρα < Turk. *kambur*, whereas the above-cited *kambur* (+ *-es*) is obviously a direct borrowing from Turkish.

kantavlyna v. *čaramela*.

karmador, -dera, karmar. Molho (*Usos y costumbres*, p. 298) quotes Salon. *carmar* 'exorcise the evil eye in cases of illness by having a Rabbi or a sorceress recite psalms in the presence of the patient'; in the same work, p. 8, he translates *carmadera* by 'encantadora'. Cf. Salon. *dos karmaḏorez i un fičizero* 'two workers of spells and a wizard'. Raphael Levy (*Lexicographie*, p. 195) lists Judaeo-Fr. *charmer* 'ensorceler', *charme* 'charme, moyen de charmer', *charmant* 'charmeur'.

kaškañetas kon loz deḏos, ečar (Salon.) 'snap the thumb and middle finger'. Cf. Nav. *cascañetazo* 'castañetazo' (Iribarren); Chérézli lists only *kastanieta* '*sonido ke se aze kon el dedo pulgar i el de enmediio*', like Cast. *castañeta*. See *DCEC* I, 724, for parallels in Spanish and French.

katarata 'cataract (of the eye)': *los irieron bien kon mal de ožos, ke se liiama kataratas, a tanto ke ivan apalpando a buškar la puerta i no topavan* (*Meam Loez*). In the Ferrara Bible we find *o tela o mancha en el ojo*, Lev. 21, 20, in which *tela* translates Heb. *daq* 'cataract', and *mancha* represents Heb. *tĕballul* 'bleared or spotted in the eye; blending of the colour of the eyes'. The Const. 1873 version renders *tĕballul* by *nuwe*, which is the usual word for 'cataract' in Salonica. The *reboltura en el ožo* of the Smyrna 1838 Bible is presumably another word for some disease or peculiarity in the colour of the eyes.

kontinamente, kontinavle, kontinyar, kontunear v. *dekontinar*.

korača (in general use) 'little bag in which the praying shawl, phylacteries and prayer books are carried'. See Wagner (*RFE 34*, 71), who first listed the word, and Corominas (*DCEC* I, 970, s. *cuero*), who states that it is likely to be of Andalusian Mozarabic origin from L. *coriacea*. Its diminutive in Kastoria is *koračina* (Molho, *Lit. Sef.*, p. 87), but *koračika* in Salonica. Malkiel (*NRFH 2*, 187/88) shows that diminutive *-ino* was used in Galician-Portuguese and Asturo-Leonese.

kukuruza v. *espiga*.

lazo. Chérézli lists *lazo* (*laso, niiudo*) 'nœud coulant', *lazo* (*red*) 'piège, lacet' and *laso* 'embûche, lacet, piège'. The form *laso* is equivalent to Port. *laço*, whereas *lazo* = Old Span. *laso*, with voiced *-s-* (v. *DCEC* II, 59, s. *lazo*). Wagner (*Konst.*, § 130, p. 144) quotes Const. *el azo*, arising from *el* (*l*)*azo;* I believe this is also the Salonica form, but have heard only the expression *tomar alazo*. In the Ferrara Bible one finds *seran a vos por lazo y por estro*[*n*]*pieço*, Josh. 23, 13, and *y sera*[*n*] *enlazados*, Isa. 8, 15, whereas the *Mahzor* reads *palomba enlasada ke alforia rekere*, the Portuguese form.

Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 132) quotes *ya me etchó un lagio al garón* 'he put a noose about my neck'; he translated *lagio* by 'lazo, ñudo'. In Saporta's method of writing, *gi* normally represents *ǧ*, but I suspect that he has taken this expression from a text in Hebrew characters in which gimel + diacritic = *ǧ* and *č* (and, sometimes, *ž*), and that for his *lagio*, we should read **lačo* = Ital. *laccio*, cognate with Span. *lazo*, Old Span. *laso* and Port. *laço*.

leprozo v. *aleprado*.

levdar 'cause to ferment, leaven'; *levdar miṣwà* (Heb. 'religious act') 'procrastinate', a calque on the Hebrew usage (v. Jastrow, p. 479a, s. Hiphil of *ḥāmēṣ* 'ferment') and cf. *siendo ansi devia de azer la miṣwà ino asperar asta ir a miṣrayim* (Heb. 'Egypt') *ke no konviene a la presona ke deše levdar la miṣwà* (*Meam Loez*).

manera 'glove'. Wagner (*RFE 34*, 74) states that in Salonica, Karaferia and Bulgaria, *manera* is usually 'woollen glove', whereas 'leather glove' is called *gante*. I believe this is an oversimplification of the situation in Salonica, where (in a *konseža*) I have *unaz maneraz de azero* 'mailed gauntlets', and (in a newspaper) *maneras de kuero*. I think it possible that *manera* is a long glove or gauntlet in which the wrist is covered. Salon. *gu̯ante*, in which the fricative *g* shows that it is of Spanish origin, exists beside *gante*, that is clearly a borrowing from French.

Luria (*RHisp. 79*, 446) quotes Bitolj *ganti* [*ganti*] 'guante' and believes it is of Spanish origin, though the form could spring from **gu̯anti* + Fr. *gant*.

Molho (*Lit. Sef.*, p. 381), in an extract from the *Meam Loez*, has *manguera* [*mangera?*].

manǧar: i az a mi manǧares komo amo, Gen. 27, 4 (Smyrna 1838) 'savoury meat'; *manjares* (Ferrara); Salon. *manǧar* 'food'. Salon. *um manǧa ombres* 'cannibal' is perhaps inspired by Ital. *mangiare*.

maškar(e)ar 'obliterate, erase, scratch out': *si kaliió una gota de agua o resto de bevražes sovre el livro no puede lanberlo kon la luenga, ni alimpiiarlo kon la mano o kon tovaža ke será kavza de maškarar la letra* (*Meam Loez*); *los ke azen bogačas i eskriven letras sovre eliias komo derek māšāl en pesaḥ . . . es ʾāsûr de partirlo* [sic] *en šabbāṯ, ke se liiama maškarar las letras* 'they who make cakes and decorate them with letters as for example at the Passover, it is forbidden to cut them on the Sabbath, for that is called erasing the letters'. The later *maškarear* survives in Salon. *una navažika para maškarear los ieros; palavras enteras maškareadas* 'words that are made completely unrecognizable [by typographers]'.

Corominas (*DCEC* III, 283, s. *máscara*) states that "el área de mascarar 'tiznar' es extensa, aunque su ciudadela principal está en la zona catalano-occitana". Saporta (*Refranero*, p. 135) quotes *el mal favlar si no entizna, mascarea* and translates the last word by 'afea, influye mal'; *maškarea* [which would have appeared as **machcarea* in Saporta's method of writing] would here be expected, because J. Span. *maskarearse* (*burlarse*) 'se moquer' (Chérézli) exists. This is a formation from *maskará* < Turk. *maskara* 'buffoon, laughing-stock' (Redhouse, p. 1852b).

menzana 'demijohn'. Wagner (*Konst.*, § 29, p. 104, and *RFE 34*, 76) quotes this form for Constantinople; it is also known in Salonica *afilú si se beḃe una menzana ḋe azeite ḋe ričina* 'even if he drinks a demijohn of castor-oil'. Steiger (*VRom. 18*, 165, reviewing Kahane and Tietze, *Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958) points out that Egyptian-Arab. *damangāna* and Turk. *mancána, mincine*, with epenthetic *-n-*, require further investigation.

misír v. *espiga*.

miskola, miškola, mišpola, mišpula v. [*zaarora*].

mištrabá v. [*šarba*].

muela del séḥel (Salon.) 'wisdom tooth'. Heb. *śēḵel* 'wisdom, understanding'.

múškula, múšmula, múšpula v. [*zaarora*].

navla, neḇel v. *alaud*.

nuḇe 'cataract (in the eye)' v. *katarata*.

ostaría 'inn, lodging-house': *en la ostariliia ke apozó ʾAbrāhām ala venida, alii pozó ala tornada* (*Meam Loez*); *i ditos 3 saviios apozaron en la ostaria* (*ib.*). Perhaps a modification of Ital. *osteria*.

perčarse (Salon.) 'tear out one's hair or that of another': *ke karál se pelearon ke se perčaron enteras* 'to such an extent did they quarrel that they tore all their hair out'; *doz mužeres se pelearon i se perčaron enteras* 'se sont arraché les cheveux'. Cf. Span. *perchar* 'colgar el paño y sacarle el pelo con la carda'; *cardar* '. . . pull by the haires, to disheuell, to teare ones haires . . .' (*Tesoro lexicográfico*). In Salonica, and doubtless everywhere, *kaḏra* 'wool-card', *kaḏraḏor, -era, kaḏraḏura* and *kaḏrar* survive in their original sense.

piña, piñón v. *espiga*.

pulgar (*polgar*) 'thumb; big toe'. In the Bibles, Ladino and in songs, this term survives, but is replaced in the spoken language by *deḏo goḏro* (Wagner, *RFE 34*, 40) or by *deḏo grande*. It may be that *pulgar* has lost ground because, in Salonica, and elsewhere, *l, r* + consonant are often confused—in a sound which I hear as *l* rather than *r*—, hence Salon. *pulgar* [= Span. *purgar*] 'defaecate, *salir del puerpo*' (cf. Salon. *pulgaḏero* 'diaorrhoea') is identical with *pulgar* 'make meat kosher in the usual Jewish fashion' (cf. *pulgar* 'mondar las patatas y las frutas; descortezar los árboles; caerse el cutis', *DCEC* I, 916). The situation has presumably not been helped by the fact that Salon. *espulgar* 'delouse; inspect carefully; make judicious selection' and (*ar*)*repulgar* '*tešer*, repriser' (cf. Salon. *loz mušoz repulgados* 'pursed lips') from *repulgo* 'ourlet, pince' (Chérézli) are still in use. The confusion of *l, r* + consonant is not, however, absolute, since Salon. *purga* 'purge' and *purgar-se* 'se purger' are so heard by me. It may be that these are learned

forms kept alive by doctors who, even in the darkest days, were probably more educated than their patients.

It may be noteworthy that Ferrara *y purgare como xabon tus escorias,* Isa. 1, 25, is rendered by *i ezmerare komo šavon tus eskoriias* in the Vienna 1813, Smyrna 1838 and Const. 1873 Bibles.

Cf. Const. *sarpikar* 'salpicar' (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 43, p. 117), *sarpikar* (*salpikar*) 'éclabousser' (Chérézli), Const. *sarčiča* (Wagner, *loc. cit.*), but *salčiča* 'saucisse' (Chérézli), Salon. *arcuña* (Molho, *Usos y costumbres*, p. 70), beside *alkuña* (so heard by me), Salon. *alkuza* 'oil-jar; stye in the eye' (Crews, *Orbis 2*, 356), Bitolj *alcuze* 'oil-jar' (Luria, *RHisp. 79*, 432), *arcuzique* (Luria, *op. cit.*, 561), etc.

purgamino (Salon.) 'parchment, manuscript'. The presence of plosive *-g-* proves that this is not a native word. I find only the spelling פורגאמינו [*pwrgamino*] in the *Meam Loez*. The influence of *pu̯erko*, Ital. *porco*, does not seem likely since a pious Jew would doubtless have been unwilling to handle pig-skin.

pyšygante v. *bišigānte*.

reboltura v. *katarata*.

safrán v. *alsafrán*.

sangrefisiio 'sacrifice': *komo si komieran de sangrefisiio de muertos* (Salonica 1897, pointed edition of *Pirqe Aboth*) 'as if they had eaten of sacrifices to dead idols'. Cf. Jud.-Fr. *sang(u)erfise, sangrfise* (Blondheim, p. 102).

sekiozo, -za 'thirsty', used in Salonica, Constantinople (Subak, *ZRPh. 30*, 150) and in the Bibles. Cf. Port. *sequioso 'id.'*.

servis m.: *tu çeruiz el duro*, Deut. 31, 27 (Ferrara) 'thy stiff neck'; *cervis* 'nuca' (Molho, *Lit. Sef.*, p. 201). Cf. *desceruigarloas*, Exod. 13, 13 (Ferrara) 'thou shalt break his neck'.

siegés, siegidumbre v. *ceguidumbre*.

soğefto, -ta 'subject, submissive': *por sierto lo ternéš por demanda grande a saver ké kulparon la ğente de akel dôr* (Heb. 'generation') *de estar soğeftos a los miṣriyyîm* (Heb. 'Egyptians') (*Meam Loez*); *kon ser buenos i soğeftos a mi komando* (*ib.*); *soğeftos* 'sujets' (Subak, *ZRPh. 30*, 157).

soğeftar-se: 'submit, abase (oneself)': *viendo ke mos estamos*

soǧeftando tanto por ser guestros esklavos (*Meam Loez*); *oliió* [= oyó] *tanbién kese soǧeftaron i se izieron sus esklavos* (*ib.*); *fue a peča soǧeftado*, Gen. 49, 15 (Const. 1873). Cf. *hinchid à la tierra, y sogetadla*, Gen. 1, 28 (Dos Columnas, Amsterdam). *Sucheftar* (Gaspar Remiro, *BRAE 5*, 363) is erroneous.

Corominas (*DCEC* IV, 782, s. *yugo*) quotes J.Span. *sochiguar*, adduced by Gaspar Remiro (*BRAE 5*, 360)—I believe that the latter wrongly transliterated ç by *č* and that **soǧiguar* must be read just as we certainly have *soǧeftar*. The Ferrara Bible has *hinchid a la tierra y sojuzgalda*, Gen. 1, 28; *sera sojuzgada la tierra*, Num. 32, 22.

[*sorswvyr*] (Salon.) 'endure, bear'. (Written sources only:) *no lo pudo más* סורסוביר 'he could no longer stomach (bear) it'; *este kiepazelik no lo esto pudiendo sorswvyr* 'I just cannot bear this scandalous state of affairs'. Whether a connection is to be sought with *sorber* 'sip; sniff; swallow', through **sorsorber*, I do not know.

syvyrno (סיבירנו) 'variety of tree'. This term is used to translate Heb. *šiṭṭá*, pl. *šiṭṭîm* (described by Jastrow, p. 1560a, as 'acacia') in Smyrna 1838: *alarze i syvyrno i murta*, Isa. 41, 19 'the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle', for which the Ferrara Bible reads *alerze cedro y murtha*.

[*šarba*] (שארבה) 'alcazaras' (Chérézli). Regrettably Chérézli never marks the stress. Is this a loanword from Turkish [the word is not listed in Redhouse] or must we proceed directly from Arab. *šarba* (شَرْبَة) 'pot de terre avec goulot étroit et allongé'? We should, perhaps, compare Nav. *jarba* 'turno de tres dias que . . . rige en el uso de las aguas de riego procedentes de la presa de Milagro', *jarbar* 'distribuir el agua de riego entre las heredades' (Iribarren); Arag. *jarbar* 'distribuir el agua por horas para el riego' (Pardo Asso, *Nuevo dicc. etim. aragonés*, Zaragoza 1938).

Other formations from Arab. √*š-r-b* in Judaeo-Spanish are:

1. *mištrabá* (Salon., Skoplje) 'jar, jug; goblet', a form that is very close to Arab. *mišraba* 'cruchon en terre'. The Jews must have borrowed the word from the Turks before it was converted

into obsolete Turk. *meşrebe* = mod. Turk. *maşrapa* 'pot, large mug' (Redhouse, p. 1867a). Lokotsch (No. 1439, s. *mašraba* [< *mišraba*] 'Trinkgefäß') cites Turk. *maşrapa* > Rum. *năstrăpa*, Bulg. *maštrapa*, Serb. *maštrafa*. The presence of *t* in these forms does not invalidate the fact that it is also in accordance with Judaeo-Spanish speech habits for *t* to develop in such circumstances, e.g. *s-r* > *-str-*, *z-r* > *-zdr-* (v. Crews, *VRom. 16*, 237/38), so I postulate Old Turk. **mišraba* > J. Span. *mištrabá*. On one occasion I have met מישראבא in a text.

2. *šarope* 'syrup made of boiled fruit juice with sugar' (v. Wagner, *RFE 34*, 95; Wagner, *Konst.*, § 36, p. 109). Corominas (*DCEC* II, 1036, s. *jarabe*) quotes Gaspar Remiro (*BRAE 2*, 300) who listed Salon. *xarofe*; Gaspar Remiro was either using a vicious text or he misread that which he had—the editions I possess of the same text do indeed read *šarope* (i.e. פ and not ׳פ). A similar error of Gaspar Remiro is his *gota pediunda* 'semen humanum' (*BRAE 5*, 299) which reads in my editions *ghota fedhiionda* 'stinking drop' (based on *feđer* 'stink'; cf. *yo mezquino fediondo que fiede mas que can*, Berceo, *Milagro de Teofilo*, 762a, in the text of Marden, *RFE*, Anejo IX, p. 58).

3. *šurúp* (Const.) 'syrup' < Turk. *şurub*, *şurup* (Wagner, *RFE 34*, 95, s. *šarope*).

4. Morocco *xarábe* (Benoliel, *BRAE 13*, 223).

šiṭṭâ v. *syvyrno*.

šurúp v. *šarba*.

taliga (Salon.). I have been told that this word has the same meaning as *korača* (q.v.). Chérézli lists טאליגא (*sako*) 'sac'. Cf. Port. *taliga* 'saco o bolsa de lienzo basto' < Arab. *taslîqa* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 215; Neuvonen, *Studia Orientalia 10*, 101), but Span. *talega*.

tarató, *taratór* (Salon.). The form *tarató* is used by women and *taratór* by men. They derive from Turk. *tarator* 'a kind of sauce in which garlic is always an ingredient'. In oxytons final *-n* (with nasalization of preceding vowel) and *-r* tend to disappear in Salonica, so *taratór* > **tarató* > *tarató* by false regression. The sauce is said to be identical with Salon. *ažađa*, of which Estrugo (*Retorno*, p. 80) says "la 'ajada' de Esmirna es el 'aioli'

de Barcelona". Cf. Morocco *ajada* 'ensalada compuesta de naranja dulce, pimientos majados con aceite, ajos y sal' (Benoliel, *BRAE 14*, 568).

tela 'cataract' v. *katarata*.

tramús (Salon.) 'lupin'. Cf. Cat. *tramús* (*DCEC* I, 174). Other Judaeo-Spanish forms of this word are Smyrna *atramuzis* (Kurt Levy, *VKR 2*, 367), *altramuz, tramuz* (Chérézli), Const. *attramús* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 44, p. 118), Bulg. *altramús*, Kastoria *tramúza* (Wagner, *RFE 34*, 31), Bitolj *tramúsu* (Luria, *RHisp. 79*, § 170, p. 544), with which cf. Murciano *tramuso* (García Soriano, *Vocab. del dialecto murciano*, Madrid 1932, p. LIII). In the *Meam Loez* I find *asigún vemos en los atramuzes aun ke son más amargos ke la fiel se pueden adulsar*. Benoliel (*BRAE 14*, 574) lists Morocco *atarmúz*.

travado de luenga (*elguenga*) 'person who stammers': *mitiió la braza en la boka i se izo travado de elguenga* (*Meam Loez*) '[Moses] put the glowing cinder in his mouth and became a stammerer'. Cf. S. Amer. *trabarse* 'tartamudear'. On other occasions in the *Meam Loez*, in reference to Moses, I find *aun ke sos tartamudo* and *se kemó la luenga i de estonses se kedó pelték* (Turk. *peltek* 'stammerer') *ke penava asta kitar la palavra de la boka*. According to the *Meam Loez*, Moses, a stammerer, was obliged to use Aaron as his mouthpiece, because no person who is physically unsound may have dealings with the Deity, whether in conversation or as a sacrifice.

vakon '*toro, el mačo de la vaka*, taureau' (Chérézli).

vistozo, -za (*siego, -ga*) 'aveugle' (Chérézli). It would seem that this meaning is a tabu inversion of the real sense. My aged Salonica informants do not know such a meaning, but quote *bistozo* 'très joli, très beau'. See *abierto*.

[*zaarora*]. Chérézli lists זאארורא (*mušmula*) 'nèfle'. Cf. Arab. زعرورة > Andal. *zaróra* (junto a *zaaróra*), (cf. P. Alcalá 239b$_{29}$; 304a$_{36}$; 396$_{19}$; 396$_{22}$ [< L. *acerulus*] 'maiueta, fruta de cierta yerua' . . .), (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 284/85).

The form *múšmula* 'medlar' < Turk. (< Greek) *muṣmula* is commented on by Wagner (*RFE 34*, 79), who quotes also J. Span. *múškula, múšpula*, Bulg. *miškola*. Jud (*VRom. 13*, 212/

13) refers to Const. *miskola* (listed by Kurt Levy, *VKR 2*, 374), and compares High Arag. *miézpola, mizcola*. In Salonica, Subak (*Salon.*, p. 12) heard *múšpula*, but my informants know only *míšpula, mišpola*, with which I compare Nav. *mizpola* (Iribarren).

[*zaatar*]. Chérézli lists זאאטאר (*oregano*) 'thym', but under *oregano* he has '*planta goloriioza, zaatar*, origan'. Cf. *el oregano*, I Kings 4, 33 (Ferrara) 'hyssop'. J. Span. *zaatar* presumably represents dialectal Arab. زَعْتَر, for Class. Arab. سَعْتَر, صَعْتَر (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, 285), rather than Turk. (Arab.) *saeter*, vulg. *zater, zatır, satır* 'savory' (Redhouse, p. 1059a–b).

zetunal 'olive-tree': *la palomba uino kon una oža de árvol de zetunal* (*Meam Loez*). Cf. Bulg. *aze(i)tunal* 'aceituno' (Wagner, *RFE 34*, 32), *azeitunar* (olivo) 'arvol de azeituna, olivier' (Chérézli).

Leeds, March 1961 *Cynthia Crews*