

Notes on a basic work for the study of Middle Arabic:

J. Blau's *Millon lēteqsīm 'arbiyyim yēhudim miyyēmē ha-bbēnayim* (A Dictionary of Medieval Judæo-Arabic Texts)

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Truly basic reference books on a certain subject are issued only seldom by a few outstanding scholars; however, it is only accurate and fair to acknowledge that Joshua Blau has accomplished that feat several times during his long and fruitful career, since he first published his *Emergency and linguistic background of Judæo-Arabic* back in 1965, again in 1980 with his *Diqduq ha-ʿarbit ha-yəhudit šel yāmē ha-bēnayim* (A grammar of Mediaeval Judæo-Arabic), anew in 2002 with his *A handbook of Early Middle Arabic* and, finally for the time being, we hope, with his latest work recently appeared, which we are respectfully annotating in this paper. We cannot think of anybody else who would be better positioned to carry out such a complicated and tricky task as detecting and interpreting non-standard words in the ocean of variegated topics dealt with in Judæo-Arabic Medieval literature and it is our pleasure to congratulate the author for the result of the efforts of a whole life of dedication to this and related subjects, as we joyfully congratulate ourselves for having seen the day in which they took their present printed shape. Professor Blau knows well how sincere these congratulations are, as part of our boundless admiration for his production, and perhaps even remembers that, already in 1997, we expressed our hope of soon seeing this work of his in print, while yielding the field of Judæo-Arabic lexicography to his endeavours in the prologue of our *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic* (henceforth abridged as DAA).

Needless to say, since the very hour when we held in our hands the precious volume presented to us by our colleague's generous kindness, we have eagerly plunged into its pages looking for and often finding new information on unknown or insufficiently known lexical items, as well as spotting places where we think that we can contribute new insights as a result of our somehow parallel endeavours in Andalusī lexicology and related subjects. It being an undeniable fact that a sizable part of Judæo-Arabic texts were the work of people who lived in the Iberian Peninsula, or at least emigrated therefrom, and were closely connected with the Sephardic Jewry, it cannot surprise that Andalusī items be often extant in the entries of this

dictionary, in which Blau has often used our aforementioned work, as well as our *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*. Herewith, and as a tribute of admiration to Blau's immense wit and wisdom, we offer the harvest of notes taken in the course of this reading, in the hope that they will add something to future research on this field:

p. 1 (and 760): while it is true that *abzan* "basin" is a cognate of Syriac *waznā* and *ʿwuznā* (Payne Smith, 1061, henceforth abridged as PS), there can be no doubt about its derivation from Neo-Persian (Steingass 8a) = Pahlavi *ābzan* (MacKenzie 4) "bath".

p. 3: it might have been useful to remind that *ajūrah* "brick" is a Sumerian loanword in Semitic (see DAA 5a,7). As for *mājūr* "basin; pot; kneading trough", apparently still used in Egypt (cf. Hinds & Badawi 812, "large earthenware bowl for kneading"), we suspect a Coptic etymon *makro* "trough; mortar" (see Crum 162b, although Steingass 1137b reports its presence in Neo-Persian as an Arabic loanword in the meanings of "vessel" and "flower-pot").

p. 9: the entry *arjīšī* "kind of clothing" might contain a gentilic adjective, as PS 369 reports *argīš* "a fortress in Armenia". As for the hapax *maʿraq* "trouble, difficulty", it may well have originated as a mere misreading in Arabic script of *maʿzaq*, by simply dropping one dot.

p. 10: *armāhān* "untempered iron" is an obvious corruption of Neo-Persian = Pahlavi *narm āhan* "soft iron" (Steingass 1395b, Mackenzie 58 and 6)¹.

p. 12: *asmānjūn* as an allomorph of *asmānjūnī* "light blue, azure" is an interesting case of elimination of the *nisbah*-ending when the stress hits the previous syllable; so far, we had only detected this phenomenon in some Arabic loanwords of the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g., Castilian **albur** "striped mullet" < *būrī*, **gomer** "soldier from the Berber tribe of Ġumārah" < *ġumārī*, **zahén** "a certain coin attributed to king Abū Zayyān of Tlemcen" < *zayyānī*, and pt. **algoz** "executioner" < *ġuzzī*, in Corriente 1999a, henceforth abridged as DAI, p. 52, fn. 74). As for >ʿskbrny< "adze, axe, hatchet", it seems to be a cognate of Castilian **escarpelo** and Catalan **escarpell** (< Latin *scalprum* with a diminutive suffix), a kind of small axe used by carpenters in rough-hewing. Being apparently a hapax, it might easily reflect a corruption of >ʿskrbny< or even >ʿrbly<, closer to its Romance origin; it cannot be ascertained whether there is or not any relation with AA *iskalfāč* "scraper; rake", about which, see DAA 16a,17.

p. 17: Blau's felicitous interpretation of the interjection *allāh allāh* as "fear God" might force a significant correction in our translation of Azzajjālī's

¹ See a detailed account of this produce in Alkindī's *Risālah* about swords (HOYLAND & GILMOUR 2006, pp. 47, 56, 82, etc.).

proverbs N°s 760 and 856 in DAA 25, *allāh allāh falḥasab* (now: “fear God when talking about noble birth”) and *allāh allāh falxayr* (now: “fear God when talking about goodness”), instead of our former rendering “what a nice thing is noble birth / goodness”. This idiom would therefore convey a pious injunction against taking certain things too lightly, and not their praise.

p. 20: it might make sense to recall that *amāj* “target” is an unaltered Neo-Persian loanword (Steingass 97a). As for *amadī* or *amādī* “a kind of clay”, we may again be in front of a gentilic adjective, “from Amid”, presently Diyār Bakr, in Southern Turkey.

p. 22: it might be useful to remember that *anbūl* “elevated platform in synagogues” reflects Lt. *ambo* (whence English **ambon** and Castilian **ambón** also), rather than its etymon Greek *ómphalos*. In the same p. also, and in the case of *antilar* “attorney”, conversely, the known etymon is Greek *entoleús*, with the likely addition of the Latin suffix {-arius}, so frequently adopted by Aramaic, according to Brockelmann 1908 I:403.

p. 23: *antah* “cabinet, room” is an etymological enigma, perhaps an abridgment of Low Latin or Proto-Romance **alta (sala)* “upstairs hall”, or main room, a characteristic feature of medieval civil buildings. Next, in >ʾntlyā< “pump for bilging out bilge-water”, the alluded Aramaic and Greek etyma are *anṭalayyā* and *antleía*, respectively, according to Jastrow 84.

p. 24: in *ankilyā* “ship’s well-room”, i.e., its bilge, the Greek etymon is *agkulē*, a common item in AA under the shape *inkil(iy)yah* (cf. DAA 31a,24).

p. 29: the Neo-Persian etymon of *bādān* “sumptuous headgear”, like that of some judges, appears to be that same word, originally meaning “reward” (Steingass 138a). As for *bad/dahanj* “ventilation pipe”, its Neo-Persian etymon is *bādhanj* “drawing air” (Steingass 140b).

p. 30: the item *bāz* “at all”, with a question mark, indeed exhibits both semantic and etymological difficulties. Granted its Neo-Persian origin, it would simply mean “again” (Steingass 143b), and its only witness in Blau’s dictionary, the Neo-Arabic sentence *lis yaqnī lak min nafsuh bāz* could be interpreted as “he will not legally purchase from you again”, not very far from the author’s suggestion, while a reflex of Neo-Persian *qawd*, which of course exists as a loanword from Arabic (Steingass 872b), is graphically, etymologically and semantically unlikely in this case, in spite of Prof. Shaked’s² suggestion. In the same p., *butrūh* “cast copper” should be attributed to its Neo-Persian etymon *buteh ru*, literally, “crucible brass” (Steingass 295b & 589b).

² The abbreviation of whose name, by the way, is missing in p. xxi.

p. 38: the Neo-Persian etymon of >brtdār< “gate-keeper” must be emended into *parde dār* “chamberlain” (Steingass 242a), thus also providing the correct vocalization of the first constituent of that item, which found an early way into Neo-Arabic and Turkish in the meaning of “curtain”.

p. 39: >bāršm̄n< and its variants in p. 494 (*f/birjār, bīrkār, bīkar, barjāl*, etc.) “pair of compasses” appear to be all corruptions of Greek *perígra*, through Aramaic (see Jastrow 1214a; cf. also Neo-Persian *pargār/l*, which PS 868 mistakenly accepts as the true etymon). However, that first shape is so different from the other that one might be tempted to consider it at least contaminated by a reflex of Latin *vertigo*, -*nis* “rotation”, with a diminutive suffix, something like Andalusí Romance **VER(TI)J+ÉL*. In this same page, the hapax *abraṭ* “fat, stout, coarse” has defied all our attempts at finding an etymological solution: could it just be a scribal mistake for **abwaṣ*, back-formed on *bawṣāḍ* “big-bottomed woman”, although the *Lisān alʿarab* expressly prohibits the masculine of this adjective?

p. 40: the optional gemination of /r/ in *bur(r)ayq* “safflower”, as well as in its more conservative variant *murrayq*, is somewhat striking, considering that its ultimate etymon is Aramaic *mōrīqā* (see Jastrow 750a, while Sokoloff 2002:650 has *mūrīqā*), from the Semitic root {w/yrq} “to be green or yellow”. However, this phenomenon was frequent in AA, as said in fn. 50 of Corriente 1977:42. In the same p., *barqalu* “bale smaller than *ʿidl*” looks like a Romance diminutive (**PARK+ÉLO*) of Latin *parcus* “scarce”³.

p. 41: *bazmāward* “article of food prepared from eggs and meat which does not require cooking” is an obvious Neo-Persian loanword, *bazm āvarde*, literally meaning “brought for a banquet” (cf. Steingass 184a & 1119a). In the same p., *buzyūn* “a type of cloth” also reflects Neo-Persian *bozyun* or *bezyawn* “brocade” (cf. Steingass 184b); see also our note on *fuzyūn*.

p. 42: the entry *basqāt* “abacuses” poses an etymological problem, the solution of which might lie in the metathesis and apheresis of Latin *abacus*, already endowed with the Arabic plural suffix, i.e. **abaqus+āt* > *(a)*basqāt*. Next in the same p., *bušt* “overall, coat” derives, according to Dozy 1881 (henceforth abridged as DS) I 88a, from Neo-Persian *pošt*, to be more exact abridged for *pošt bast* “wrapper of the back” (Steingass 251b & 185b).

p. 44: *batārix* would be more exactly rendered as “cured salted roe”, a well-known and much appreciated product obtained from some species of fish in the Mediterranean seashores, than as “spawn”, which is only the raw stuff from which it is made. The matter is sufficiently explained in DS I 94a, it being curious that the Italian name of this product, **bottarga**, from a common

³ But cf. also Castilian **barquino** “wineskin”, of a different origin.

Greek etymon, though used in Spain⁴, appears in our dictionaries only as that of a certain kind of sausage.

p. 46: Blau's translation of *alʿabʿad* as "Heaven forbids" casts some light on Ibn Quzmān 137/5/4⁵ *law kán búʿdan lilbaʿid niṣrāni*, where we had emended the ms. >*baʿad ʿlbaʿid*< and translated "aunque sea, Dios no quiera lo peor, cristiano", i.e., "even if he is a Christian, may God not allow that". Without much alteration in meaning, a lesser correction, emending only one letter, would be *abʿād albaʿid* "May God forbid what should always stay away from us", as a causative verb, or more simply "even if the worst of all things should happen", as a comparative. In the same p., it might be better to render *miʿbar*, or better *maʿbar*, according to the well-known Neo-Arabic trend, as the whole caecum, and not just the anus, since it was used in the preparation of some dishes (see DAA 58a,17).

p. 48: *ba/uqyār* "large-sized turban", worn by judges, according to Dozy 1845:84-87, who did not specify what kind of apparel it was, but referred us to a Neo-Persian *baqyār/z*, reportedly a synonym of *barrakān*, a kind of coat, not of headgear. It being clear that the Persian item was not securely transmitted, we would suggest as its etymon **pāk yār* "friend of cleanliness", obvious to any speaker of this language; this would explain why the judge in Dozy's anecdote refused to indulge in drinking wine before taking off that robe.

p. 49: Latin *pōc* **lum* is a good candidate to be the etymon of *buklah* "vessel", while "buckle" is less likely in the contexts quoted. In the same p., >*blwr*< = >*brwl*< "ring in the yoke made of ropes" is an obvious cognate of Rabbinic *bəlurit(ā)* "chain, rope, wreath; woman's plait" (Jastrow 171-172), Syriac *bellurāye* "juga vel vincula jugi" (PS 532) and >*blwr*< "opus tornatile, de crinibus artificiosa crispatis"; while such a sequence of sonorants is not allowed in Semitic roots, we have not been able to find an appropriate etymon in the non-Semitic languages of the area, unless we are in front of a peculiar extension of Latin *lora*, pl. of *lorum* "yoke strap", preceded by the Coptic article, as in the case of Neo-Arabic *baṭlmus* < Greek *tellínê* ("clou / morpions de mer", according to DS I:96).

p. 50: *ballāṣī* "jar", still used in Egypt according to Hinds & Badawi 101a, appears to be just the gentilic adjective of Kafr Alballāṣ in Upper Egypt. As for the hapax >*blwṭ*< "fertile soil", it might be just a scribal error, quite understandable in Hebrew script, for the well-known Egyptian Arabic *a/iblṣ* "alluvial deposit of the Nile". Finally, for this page, it is highly questionable that the entry *bāʿaliziyyah* "jar" may be connected with *bulayzah* "ivory" in

⁴ As well as in English **botargo**, according to Hinds & Badawi 1986, p. 82, ignored, however, by the Webster.

⁵ Quoted after our Cairene edition, CORRIENTE 1995.

DS, still accepted in DAA 63b,1 as we now consider that this hapax, taken over from Simonet 1888:467, is likelier to be a mere graphic corruption of a Romance adjectival derivate, **ELEFÁNTO*, of Greek *eléphas* or Latin *elephantus*.

p. 51: the entry *bulūjī* (better than *bulūgī*) “top quality borax”, where the English translation is missing by oversight, might reflect a gentilic adjective, as Blau suggests, perhaps that of the Baluchi country and people (in Southwest Pakistan, cf. Neo-Persian *baluč*), but could also be a *nisbah*-adjective of the Arabic verbal noun *bulūj* “shining forth”, a characteristic feature of all pure salts. As for the entry *bannan*, its English translation “to slap” is likely to mislead monolingual users of this dictionary, by suggesting a meaning in fact very different from what is purported by the Judæo-Arabic quote and its Hebrew rendering, namely, “to tap gently on the baby’s shoulders in order to make him sleep or stop crying”; on the other hand, this text helps us to understand the sentence which puzzled DS I 116a, *allatī tabinnu* (probably to be emended into **tubanninu*) *walada ġayrika Ġindak*, i.e., “the woman tending to somebody else’s son (= bastard) in your own home”.

p. 52: *banījah* “basket” might derive from Latin *pān* ✕ *ta* “made out of bread” with a semantic evolution towards the meaning of, e.g., Castilian **panera** “bread basket”, with a different suffix, it being conspicuous that suffix substitution was a common feature of Low Latin and Early Romance⁶. As for *ba/ānyān* “Hindi merchant”, its etymon is Hindi *baniyā* “merchant” (McGregor 706) < Sanskrit *va* ✕ *ig(ana)*.

p. 53: the etymon of *buhār* “a certain weight of Indian origin” is Neo-Persian *bohār* (Steingass 209b) < Hindi *bhar* “load” (McGregor 759b). In this same page, *abhal* is not accurately rendered as “cypress”, as it is actually “savin” (*Juniperus sabina*).

p. 57: the Egyptian etymon of *baysār* “a dish of cooked beans”, Coptic *pise aro* “coction of beans” was first suggested in DAA 72b,38. Incidentally, this dish, still used and much appreciated from Egypt to Morocco, is and was a delicacy, often mentioned in kindred Andalusī sources.

p. 61: the etymon of *tāsūmah* “a sort of sandal” is Neo-Persian *tāsmeh* “strap” (Steingass 275b, whence Syriac >*tsmā*< “corrigia” in PS 4474), with a semantic evolution which went a step further in the AA broken plural *tawīsim* “hose” (cf. DAA 81b,21).

p. 63: it is quite true that *taxtaj* “board” continues Pahlavi *taxtag* (Mackenzie 83), but it is no less certain than its final portion was metanalysed in Al-Andalus as the Romance suffix {-*AČ*}, which allowed its replacement by {-*ÉL*}, e.g., in the broken plural *taxātīl* “planks of a ship” (cf. DAA 76a,20). In

⁶ About this feature, see CORRIENTE 1992, p. 127.

this same page, Blau is puzzled by the entry *tarāḥ* “to turn away” (also in the measures IV and V in the same meaning), and very hesitantly suggests an etymon based on the root {*dḥw*}, through graphical alterations which are not altogether conclusive; instead, we propose loss of velarization in AA *aṭṭarāḥ* “to throw oneself”⁷, wrongly parsed as a reflexive equivalent of *rāḥ* “to go away” (cf. Castilian **irse**, Portuguese **ir-se** and Catalan **anar-se’n**, all of them pointing to the reflexive nuance of this verb in Romance): both phenomena can be easily understood in the early stages of arabicization of the Iberian Peninsula, while back-formation is sufficient to generate the diversely attested verbal measures.

p. 64: *tirsāwī* “Christian” is a curious denomination which calls for an etymological explanation, which might lie in Andalusī Romance *T(E)RĒ* “three”, as Christianity was often nicknamed by Muslims as *taḥlī* “trinitarianism”. In this same page, *tusaftaj* “made of stiff material” would reflect the Pahlavi forerunner of Neo-Persian *sefte* “stiff kind of cloth” (Steingass 684b), probably preceded by *du* “two” in order to express twice that quality.

p. 65: the etymon of *tiġār* “wine-vat” appears to be Neo-Persian *taġār* “earthen dish or bowl” (Steingass 311a).

p. 66: the idioms containing the phrase *tamm(a) l(ah)u an yafʿal* “he succeeded in doing sth.” are suspiciously close, from both the viewpoints of phonetics and semantics, to *atamm allāhu* “God accomplished”, with several examples in AA (see DAA 80b,21ff.) and a curious survival in Moorish Aljamiado **tamala** and even Modern Portuguese **tomara** “would that” (see Corriente 1990:334 and DAI 459b).

p. 67: *tannūrah* “fringe, tassel on piece of cloth remaining from the weaving process” is probably metaphorically taken from *tannūrat albīr* “curbstone of a well”, on account of a supposed likeness in their shapes.

p. 71: *ṭawābij* “unknown material” looks like a broken plural of the agentive participle of a cognate verb back-formed on *ṭabajah*, explained by Lane as “a thing of the middling sort, between good and bad”, an epithet particularly applicable to the quality required in things offered as alms. In that case, it would mean “goods of standard quality”.

p. 72: *ṭafar* is not accurately rendered as “packsaddle”, it actually being the “crupper” in the rear of a beast’s harness, so pervasively borrowed by the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula (see DAI 235-236, s.v. **atafal**), and also in total agreement with its definition in the matching quote, Arabic *allaḍī taḥṭa ḍanabi lbahīmah*, Hebrew *ha-mardaʿat še-taḥat zānāv ha-bəḥēmāh*.

⁷ About this, see CORRIENTE 1997, p. 40, 2.8.4.

p. 80: *jabšah* “rubble, quarrystone” is certainly a case of dissimilation of *dabšah*, reported by DS and attributed by Hinds & Badawi 277a to Coptic, without further detail, as usual in their work, but apparently unsupported in this case by Crum. In this same page, for *axdar mujabban* and *dajn*, Gil was probably right when translating “yellowish (i.e., light) and dark green”, respectively, referred in the first case to the light green colour of some kinds of fermented cheese.

p. 82: *jurubbān* or *jiribbān* “breastplate of the high priest” reflects Pahlavi *grōw bān* “neck-guard” (MacKenzie 37 & 17), whence Neo-Persian *gerib/wān* “collar” (Steingass 1086b & 1087a). As for the semantic assimilation of *jirāb* with *qirāb*, it is already reflected in the *Vocabulista in arabico*, where both are rendered by Latin *pera* “bag” (see Corriente 1989a:64 & 241), it being quite understandable in the early days of Islamic Al-Andalus and North Africa, where the Yemenite *gām* and the Bedouin *gāf* coexisted for a while⁸.

p. 83: *jarādī* “a kind of cloth” is perhaps related to *jarīd* “a kind of the material called *barrakān*” (see Dozy 1845:120, who suggests an abridgment of earlier *barrakān jarīd* “fleeced *b.*”). Next in this same page, it appears that *jarx* “a kind of axe” would be, at least etymologically, a better spelling than *šarx*, as its description with a round shape points to a Neo-Persian etymon *čarx* “wheel of any kind” (Steingass 390b).

p. 84: *jardaqaḥ* “cake of bread”, in fact a round loaf, derives from Pahlavi **gardag* “round”, posited by Neo-Persian *garde*, (Steingass 1081b, “kind of round cake”), a synonym of that word, as reported by DAA 93b,46. In this same page, *jawārišn* “digestive” should not be mixed up with *jawāriš* “millet”, from Pahlavi *gāwars* (MacKenzie 35), as the first item is a derivate from Pahlavi *gugār(īdan)* “to digest” (MacKenzie 38), with the denominative suffix {-išn}, although their easy phonetic confusion is attested to, e.g., already in Arrāzī’s *Almanšūrī*, as reflected by DS I 186.

p. 85: the hapax *jurm* “fine, penalty” is highly suspicious of being a mere scribal error for frequent *gurm*, it being doubtful that *jarīmah* “fine” in DS I 188b would lend any support to that spelling. In this same page, *jarhaj* “to knead” and *jurayhaj* “loaf” appear to be slang derivatives of *jurr hij* “pull, shake!”, according to the explanation provided by the matching quote “called in this manner because they are kneaded while (the bakers) say: they pinch and bite each others”.

p. 88: it is remarkable that *jizyah* “bribe” retains one of the meanings of its Neo-Persian etymon *gazīd/t* “gift; bribe; tribute” (Steingass 1089a), literally

⁸ About this, see CORRIENTE 1997, pp. 50-51.

“bite”, with the same semantic juncture found in Mexican Spanish **mordida** “bribe”.

p. 90: *juff* “stocks” is undoubtedly the same word as AA *čipp* < Latin *cippus* (cf. Castilian **cepo**, see also DAA 88a, 26), it being questionable whether such a vocalization is correct, as a result from assimilation to the labial contour, or has been taken over (by whom and when?) from the semantically close *jubb* “dungeon”; DS I 1999b, while using the same supporting passage, does not vocalize this word.

p. 92: *jilwāz* “oppressor, tyrant” is an obvious cognate of Neo-Persian *jelvāz* “tax-collector” (Steingass 369a); however, in spite of the presence of that entry in the *Lisān al‘Arab*, rendered as “henchman”, this item is highly suspicious of being a mere corruption of Aramaic (cf. Syriac *gelyārā* “turba hominis infimae sortis”, in PS 730, and Rabbinic *gu/olyār* “common soldier”, in Jastrow 221-222, ultimately from Latin *g^ol+ār* **Xus** “army servant”). In the same page, the complex etymological case of *jawlaq* “sack; case” is given an explanation in DAA109b,26.

p. 93: *jamm* “to cut / shave” is likelier to be a chalque of Rabbinic *gāmam* “to raze” (Jastrow 254a, “to cut off” in Sokoloff 2002:290) than a denominative verb obtained from *jummah* “head of hair”. In this same page, *jamadān* “leather container” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *jāmadān* “wardrobe, clothes-bag” (Steingass 351a).

p. 94: *jamtar* “to interpret according to the numerical value of the letters” is, in fact, “to use geometry”, i.e., “magic engineering”, in the way suggested by texts like that of Corriente 1990:247 & 328, when dealing with the magical and technical devices controlling the opening of the gates of the legendary brass-city.

p. 97: *jāmiyah* “racing camels”: this hapax might be a scribal mistake for *jāmizah*, easy to happen in Hebrew script.

p. 99: *jahbad* = *jihbid* “banker in the government service” reflects Neo-Persian *kahba/od* or *ke/ohbod* “banker” (Steingass 1066a) < *kāh biz* = Pahlavi *kāh wēz* “to sift straw” (MacKenzie 46 & 90).

p. 100: *tajahram* “to display arrogance” is an obvious metathetical denominal derivation of *jurhum*, the old Arabic tribe which is not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, but traditionally connected with those of Tamūd and ʿĀd in their disregard of the divine commands (cf. also DS I 189).

p. 101: it seems that *alkittān aljuwwānī* / *albarrānī*, i.e., the “close” and “open” kinds of flax are the same as *maḡlūq* and *maftūḥ* (= Romance *APERTÉL*) in Ibn AlCawwām II 112 (ed. Banqueri, see also Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:289). One cannot be surprised by the diffusion of the same basic technical terms from one to another end of the Islamic world,

but it always matters, for lexicographical purposes, to see how those terms are at times renewed and to what extent the new items take over the whole area again or gain foot only in some parts of it.

p. 104: *jawzahr*, from Pahlawi *gōzihr* (MacKenzie 37), is not exactly the constellation of Draco, although it was at times so understood, but the technical name of the nodes in the moon's orbit; see DAA 109a,18 and Kunitzsch 1959:165. In the same page, *jawsaq* "castle" reflects Pahlavi *kōšk* (MacKenzie 51), whence Neo-Persian *kušk* (Steingass1062b) and subsequently, Turkish *köşk* "pavilion", which became an international word through French **kiosque**, English **kiosk**, etc.; finally, *jūq* "company, troupe" is a loanword from Neo-Persian *jowx* (Steingass 377a).

p. 105: *jūkāniyyah* "a sort of garment" is probably a reflex of Neo-Persian *čawgāni* "related to the polo game" (Steingass 403a), possibly "an outfit for playing polo", which would imply that its synonymous *ma^craqah* would not only be a headgear, as suggested by Dozy 1845:299. In the same page, *jūniyyah* "a bag for the transport of corals" appears to be a variant of Arabic *jūnah* "box for carrying perfumes" < Syriac *gūnā* "vas ligneum aut aeneum, scutella" (PS 683).

p. 107: *jīrī* "made of soft leather" is a hapax, perhaps just a graphical mistake for *jīzī* in the same page "best variety of silk", when one considers the variety of products attributed to Giza⁹, presently in the southern outskirts of Cairo.

p. 116: *ħurbah* "frustration" with two supporting texts is, nevertheless, a ghost-word. AA has only *xūrba* (see DAA 152a,21), which prompted our correction to DS I 264b in Corriente 1995:30, although a mistaken ultra-correct pronunciation cannot be altogether excluded in the light of Corriente 1977:57, 2.26.3.

p. 121: *ħuramdān* "leather bag" reflects Neo-Persian *xoramdān*, according to DS I 279b, and rendered by Steingass 456b as "leather bag carried at the side by beggars or travellers", with a certain degree of hesitation in the reflexes of /x/ and /ħ/, attributable to folk etymology and / or semantic assimilation, in this case probably with Arabic *ħuram*, plural of *ħurmah* "each one's lot".

p. 122: it should perhaps be noticed that *ħujjah* "waistband" does not belong to the root {ħjj}, but it is an old corruption of *ħujzah*, from the root {ħjz}, already spotted and rejected by AlḠaṣmaḠī in the East and then by the Andalusi Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (cf. Pérez Lázaro 1990:83).

p. 174: *xurdādī* "traditional wedding present of unknown shape, perhaps a dressing-table object", is a *nisbah*-adjective of Pahlavi *hordād* = Neo-Persian

⁹ Cf. the vessels **de giza / gisça / geiça**, mentioned in CORRIENTE 2004, p. 82.

xordād, literally “Perfection, the fifth Amahraspand, guardian of the water; 3rd month or 6th day of the calendar” (Mackenzie 44, Steingass 453) which, however, does not allow us to define the kind of present meant thereby.

p. 175: *xuru/istān* “small cupboard” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *x^worestān* “pantry”, literally “place of food” (Steingass 484a). In this same page, the relation between common *xaršaf* “or *xaršūf* “artichoke” and the purists’ *ḥaršaf* is dealt with in DAI 128b.

p. 177: the true etymon of *xazāšj* = *xazzaj* = *xašāz* “silk of inferior quality” is Arabic *xazz* “raw silk” with the Romance pejorative suffix {-ÁĈ}, according to DAA 155b,4.

p. 180: *xašāš* “slug” appears in AA sometimes as *xušāš* in the meaning of any kind of creeping creature, reptile or insect, according to DAA 157a,17; however, the identification with *ḥuryān* “naked” confirms that semantic specialization, shared by its close variant *ḥirwān* in AA, which is in turn supported by Maltese *g⁺arwien* (cf. DAA 352a,5). In the same page, *xaškinān* = *xuškinān* “biscuit” reflects Neo-Persian *xošk nān* (Steingass 463a) < Pahlavi *hušk nān* “dry bread” (see MacKenzie 45 & 58 and DAA 157a,33).

p. 184: >x.sy< is a hapax of uncertain meaning and vocalization, but its context makes it likely indeed to be some kind of headgear; in such case, one might surmise a vocalization *xuṣṣī*, an attributive of *xuṣṣ* “straw house”, with a kind of metonymy also found in AA *kallawta* “cap”, from Greek *kalúbē* “hut”, according to DAA 465a,22.

p. 189: *axlada ḥan* “to depart from” is a hapax raising very reasonable doubts in Blau’s mind; we would instead suggest a correction as *axlafā ḥan*.

p. 193: *xilāf* is not accurately rendered as “reed”; “willow” is the exact equivalence.

p. 195: **xulūqī* “light red” would be better vocalized as *xalūqī*, supported by its Classical Arabic etymon, as well as by Neo-Arabic sources (cf. DS I 399b and DAA 164b,41), even by the Castilian borrowing **aloque** “light red wine” (see DAI 204a,4 and 33).

p. 198: *mixlā(h)* is not quite accurately rendered as “sack”, its usual meaning being a “nosebag” for beasts, but in Blau’s quote it appears to be a shepherd’s provision-bag.

p. 199: *xalyāq* “lyre” is a rather peculiar spelling of the same word written as >šalyāq< in DS I 784, Payne Smith 1518 and Steingass (“constellation of the Lyre”), as well as Old Castilian **çulyaca**¹⁰, it being well known that the hesitation between >š< and >x< is characteristic of a certain Greek phase.

¹⁰ From KUNITZSCH 1959, p. 206, with a suggested Greek etymon *sambúkē*, which is phonetically far from convincing, at least without the agency of scribal tampering.

p. 200: *xawjah* “crucible, melting pot”, a hapax from Ibn Janāḥ, appears to be an easy scribal error for **kawjah*, from Romance **KÁWĈĒ* (cf. Castilian **cauce** “river bed”) < Latin *c* *lyx*, *-ycis* “cup”.

p. 202: *xayfī* “ship with reputation for speed” cannot easily be kept apart from Neo-Arabic *šayfī* and its variants. Perhaps the etymon is Arabic *xaṭṭiyyah* “spear”, considering that *xaṭṭ albaḥrayn* not only was the place whence those reputed lances came, but also the main harbour in the Persian Gulf frequented from ships engaged in the Indian trade. However, the hesitation between >š< and >x<, similar to that reported in other items borrowed by Arabic from Greek, would point to an etymon in this language which, as in the case of other nautical terms, would also be in place here..

p. 203: *dādīn* “pine” is correctly attributed to Syriac (same shape and meaning in PS 801), from Greek *da* X*s*, but it should be noticed that, on account of phonetic likeness, this plant name was often mixed up with *dādī* “Judas tree” (*Cercis siliquastrum*) and even with the herb *dādī* (*rūmī*), “perfoliate St. John’s wort” (*Hypericum perforatum*, which is not an “edible lichen”, as purported in the following entry). As for *dāwardān* “utensil in which kohl containers are kept”, its etymon is Neo-Persian *dāvar dān* “medicine cabinet” (Steingass 502a & 500b). Finally, in this same page, it should be noted that, out of the options listed in this entry, *dabīd* would be bettered rendered by Hebrew *merqāḥāḥ* “drogue, remedy” than by *taḥbošet* “bandage”, as there is no relationship with Andalusī Arabic *dābid/ī* “pair of compasses” (from Arabic {*dbt*}, which might erroneously have suggested the notion of “binding”); instead, it is matched in this dialect bundle by *dābīd* “electuary for the liver” and by Neo-Persian *dabid* “electuary” (see DAA 191a,33 and Steingass 503); the ultimate etymon, however, is unclear. As for the second meaning “(false) blossom of the rose” (but mainly that of the pomegranate flower), chances are that this is just a corruption, most likely in Arabic script, for *junbad*, about which see DAA 104a,42 and this very dictionary, 98b.

p. 204: for *dabīqī* “fine linen manufactured in Dabīq (Egypt)”, there is an additional AA witness in Ibn Quzmān 87/3/4, *Ḥamāyim dabīq* “turbants from D.”

p. 208: *madxūl* should better not be severed from its necessary complement, *adḍīhn*, an idiom synonymous with *madxūl fī Ḥaqlihī*, i.e., somebody whose mind has been invaded by the jinns and therefore driven mad (= *majnūn*).

p. 210: *durdūr* is usually “whirlpool”, not “breaker, gale”; however, the fact that it translates Hebrew *naḥšōl* and that the talk goes about the Red Sea might suggest that it had indeed acquired that second meaning. In the same page,

>dryzj< and variants “a mould of sand into which molten gold and silver are poured” is undoubtedly Persian as, although unregistered by Neo-Persian dictionaries, its Pahlavi constituents are, clearly, *dō* “two”, *rēz* “to flow” and *-ag* “adjectival suffix”, i.e., “instrument for melting two (substances)”.

p. 211: *dāriš* “black leather” is registered by native Arabic dictionaries, including the very *Lisān al‘Arab*, though isolated as a foreign word, as well as by Steingass 496b, as an Arabic loanword; it might be neither Arabic nor Persian.

p. 212: *darmūn* “ship; fleet”, perhaps more exactly “a kind of ship”, as in DAA 177b,49, reflects Greek *drómōn* (s. also DS I 437b, with the parallel forms *darmūnah* and Greek *dromádion*, PS 952 Syriac >drmw< “navis longa” and Low Latin *dromones*).

p. 213: *durn* may well have come to be so pronounced and to mean “worm”, but its etymon appears to be Neo-Persian *darn* “leech” (Steingass 514a), from which Rabbinic *deren* “a parasite worm” and its synonymous *darnā*, also “moth” and “wood worm” (Jastrow 324, Sokoloff 2002:353). In this same page, *darwand* “locking bolt” only reflects Neo-Persian *darvand* (Steingass 515b), while *dazdaynaq* and variants “bracelet” is the result of Pahlavi **dast+ēn+ag* “thing for the hand”, surviving in Neo-Persian *dastine* (Steingass 525b).

p. 213-214: *dastaj* “pestle” and “bundle, parcel” reflect two Pahlavi derivatives of *dast* “hand”, the diminutive *dast+ak* “little hand” in the former case, and *dast+ag* “bundle” in the latter, but Neo-Persian, while keeping the diminutive as such, has confounded both meanings under the normal reflex of the second form, *daste* (Steingass 525a).

p. 214: *dastaraq* “small saw” posits a Pahlavi **dastarag*, actually reflected in DS I 441 *dastarah* “handsaw”, while Neo-Persian dictionaries have as its equivalents the matching *dastare* and a divergent *dast ranj* also meaning “skill, handiwork” (Steingass 523b).

p. 217: *daqqārah* “wooden latch” is only a standardization as noun of instrument¹¹ of DS I 452b *duqqa/urah* of the same meaning which, in turn, might derive from Rabbinic *duqrā* “fork-like reed” (Jastrow 288b), by assuming some likeness in their outlook. In this same page, >dq< “accounting instruments, more complex than an abacus”¹² may, paradoxically, strengthen our case against the traditional etymology of Castilian **alicates** “pincers”, as explained in DAI 175b,29, by positing a derivation from {*dqq*} as the name of certain precision instruments, it being another question whether {*ḥdq*} would or not be the best solution to this etymological problem.

¹¹ About this trend in Neo-Arabic, see CORRIENTE 1977, pp. 78, 5.1.9.

¹² Probable vocalization **daqqāh*, as suggested by the spelling variant *dāqāh*.

p. 218: *dalab* “to use tricks” appears to be a denominal derivate from Neo-Persian *dowlāb* “trick” (Steingass 546a), a meaning attested also for its Neo-Arabic match *dawlāb* by DS I 478b.

p. 219: *dalfaq* “to couple” is a derivate from *laffaq*, probably through its V measure, *talaffaq*. In this page, *dalmah* “a female mule” can be explained as a case of antonomasia in the use of *dalmāʔ*, the feminine of *adlam* “intensely black”, cf. *kumayt* “(bay) horse”.

p. 220: the entry *dīmār* “Christ’s nature” with Fleischer’s etymological proposal from Geʿez, actually put forward by the great Ethiopic scholar Dillmann, is somehow puzzling, because it is notorious that the Abyssinian monks in the Holy Land, unlike their Greek, Syrian and Egyptian brethren, had little sway in the theological discussions which necessitated such technical terms. In fact, Geʿez *dāmmare* means only “(comm)union”, and it is only *tādmort* which means the “union of two persons in Christ”¹³. In our view, chances are that not only that term is a reflex of Coptic *mēr* “linking”, with a prefixed feminine article or causative *ti-*, but even that this is also the origin of the whole Ethiopic root {*dmr*}. In this same page, *dandaj* “attachment, protuberance” looks like a reflex of a Pahlavi **dandag*, posited by Neo-Persian *dande* “rib” (Steingass 538b). Finally, *>d/ḏnq<* “distress, oppression” is indeed semantically identical with *ḏank*, but its likeliest etymon is Aramaic (cf. Rabbinic *dānaq* “to regret, despair” in Jastrow 315b, and the diverse conjugations of this root in Syriac, PS 929).

p. 222: *dawdal* “to toss so. around” features a common dissimilation phenomenon operating on *daldal* “to dangle”.

p. 224: *madās* is rendered as “trampled”, which is metaphorically exact, but in fact this common word only means “footwear”, often implying something or somebody being continuously trampled or trodden on¹⁴. Also in this page, concerning the diverse meanings of *dawsar*, recent studies on Arabic plant names¹⁵ list *Aegilops ovata* (goat grass) *Lolium temulentum* and *rigidum* (varieties of darnel), etc., but not *Avena sativa* (rye). Finally, *ḏīb* is a variant with strong *im ālah* of characteristically Andalusī *d/ḏāb(a)*, invariably meaning “now”, about which, see DAA 190b,27.

¹³ See LESLAU 1987, p. 135b, who also underscores the isolation of its root in this connotation in both Ethiopic and in Semitic.

¹⁴ We remember, as a personal note, how the late celebrated Egyptian comedian Ismāʿīl Yāsīn made theatres come down in laughs by featuring a peasant who would constantly address a high-class Turkish lady by calling her *yā madās*, instead of *yā madām*.

¹⁵ See BUSTAMANTE, CORRIENTE & TILMATINE 2004, p. 202.

p. 227: *miḍraḥ* “plane (tool)” is a heretofore unrecorded addition to Neo-Arabic lexicon, and a loanword from Rabbinic *mardēḥa* “handle of the plough having on one end a broad iron blade ...” (Jastrow 837b).

p. 232: *rāsuxt* is indeed rendered as “antimony” for Neo-Persian in Steingass 563a, but Arabic dictionaries such as DS I 496a and DAA 207b,32 also or exclusively offer its etymological and exact meaning of “burnt copper”¹⁶, from Pahlavi *rōy sōxtag* (MacKenzie 72 & 75). In the same page, *rān(ah)* = *rānīn* “greaves” derives, with some semantic evolution, from Neo-Persian *rāne* = *rānin* “drawers, breeches”, suffixed forms harkening back to Pahlavi *rān* “thigh”.

p. 235 *rabaḍī* “inhabitant of the city outskirts”, said in the matching quote of Jews, is the same term applied to the Christians called **rabatines** in a similar context of social exclusion from walled cities in Al-Andalus (see DAA 416b,17), this situation would be inverted under Christian rule, when Muslims and Jews were confined to **moreñas** and **juderías**, i.e., Muslim and Jewish ghettos beyond the city walls.

p. 237: *rattah* pl. *rattāt* “heifer, cow” is indeed a strange word and, in spite of its two witnesses, we would consider it a mere scribal mistake for *arxah* pl. *arxāt* of the same meaning, a rare word in Classical Arabic but relatively common in Al-Andalus¹⁷, as can be seen in DS I 17b and DAA 10b,1. In the second quote, >ʾrḥʾ< could easily have become >ʾrtʾ< in Hebrew script and, even in the first one, >mtl ʾrḥʾ< could have lost the *aleph*, through fast dictation of **miṭla arḥah*.

p. 239: *rajūjah* “a vessel containing water” is again a suspicious hapax, without recognizable cognates or semantic connection to its apparent root; therefore, we would again risk the hypothesis of a scribal mistake, this time in Arabic script, for *dakkūj/šah*, about which, see DS I 453b and DAA 181b,21 and 182a,15, with an etymological proposal and a Castilian reflex¹⁸.

p. 239-240: *arjaz* “to pray, a derogatory designation of Muslim prayer” and *murjaz* “mosque” (with doubtful vocalization but identical connotation) posit no etymological problems, as they have been clearly derived from Hebrew *hirgiz* “to anger”, with the sectarian mocking implication that such a prayer would only anger, not please God, and that mosques were places where only that aim would be achieved. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that we had long

¹⁶ So, e.g., BENMRAD 1985, II, p. 408, under its variant *rūsaxtaj*.

¹⁷ On account of its strong South Arabian background, according to CORRIENTE 1989b, where the cognates of this same item are mentioned (p. 103, fn. 46, to which we could now add Yemenite *arx* from BEHNSTEDT 1992, p. 9), as well as the alternance /x/ = /ḥ/ implied in our hypothesis for this item (p. 98).

¹⁸ About this, see also CORRIENTE 1999a, p. 94b.

ago suspected a similar reciprocal process in the adoption of Arabic *masjid* into Castilian **mezquita** and its match in Catalan, Galician and Portuguese **mesquita**, French **mosquée**, English **mosque**, German **Moschee**, etc., through a phonetic distortion towards Arabic *musqīṭah* “that which makes fall (in disgrace)”, as well as in the Andalusí Romance adaptation of the word “pigsty” as *širk+áyr*¹⁹

p. 242: the rendering of *nuḥās rajf* as “elastic copper” is rightly accompanied, as a hapax, by a question mark, although the matter would require a larger context before being clarified. If we read *raǧf*, the whole expression might mean a thin plate of copper, it being curious that Dozy (DS I 538b), so seldom caught in bad Latin, in this case misunderstood Alcalá’s Castilian **suplicación de comer** and translated it as “invitation à diner”, in spite of the synonymous **oblada** and the Arabic *ragūfa*, obviously implying “wafer”.

p. 245: *raddah* “small turban” provides the vocalization and adds semantic precision to the vague “piece of cloth of a certain width” in DAA 206a,17, although the contexts may differ.

p. 246: *raydāj* “pitchfork, winnowing-shovel” is a somewhat inaccurate rendering, as can be gathered from DS I 521b (where, however, “rateau” for Latin *rastrum* is not correct; instead, both this word and Alcalá’s Castilian **rastro** mean “rake”, which is also supported by Ibn Janāḥ’s quote “an instrument for gathering straw (*tibn*, not *tīn* “figs”!) and garbage”. Its etymon, Pahlavi reflected by Neo-Persian *rande* “grater” (Steingass 588b) also confirms this, it being probably said of teasels or cards for combing wool, as a semantic extension, and of combs in perhaps a joking manner; see also DAA 205b, 13.

p. 247: *mirzaq* “rolling-pin” is attested in Syriac as *marzaq* (PS 3877), but the term is isolated in both cases. We would analyse it as a compound of Iranian *marz-* “hitting; border line; coition; intoxication, etc.” with the instrumental suffix *{-ag}*; in fact, the Arabic verb *mazar* appears to be a loanword of that origin having preserved some of those meanings, sometimes with metathesis, under the root *{mrz}*.

p. 251: *rašādī* “a sort of cloth” may be, as in similar cases, a gentile adjective, in this case “from Rosetta, where one of the two main branches of the Nile River abuts upon the Mediterranean Sea”.

p. 254: *marfa* “bowl decorated with network” is a quite curious item, as stated by Blau, perhaps Yemenite, to judge from its rendering in the document

¹⁹ See CORRIENTE 1999a, pp. 389a and 286b. Neither can an alternative or additional connection with *rijs* “filth” be excluded, especially considering the frequent exchange of final /s/ and /z/ in AA (about which, see CORRIENTE 1977, p. 48, 2.15.1).

mentioned by Goitein, upon dealing with *zirxuwān*, q.v. Considering the frequent loss of /c/ in some peripheral dialects²⁰, it might be a variant of *marfa^c* “cuboard; saddlebag, etc.” (cf., again in Yemenite, Behnstedt 1996:454, *mirfa^c ḥakk al- ʿakl* “grosse geflochtene Platte, auf die man das Essen stellt”). The latter word appears in p. 256 and calls for no further comment, except that nouns of instrument of the patterns {mv12v3(ah)} in Neo-Arabic usually vocalize their prefix as {ma-}, unlike the pattern {mi12ā3}²¹.

p. 258: between *ruqān* or *raqqān* “carpenter’s plane” and Greek *rukánē* there must have been an Aramaic intermediate, like Rabbinic *ruqāni* (Jastrow 1464, cf. Syriac *reqnā* in PS 3978, also previous to adoption of the pattern {1a22ā3}, characteristic in Neo-Arabic of nouns of instrument).

p. 260: >rks< “to diminish / lessen the value of” is very likely to be misspelled for >rxs<.

p. 261: we could not help noticing the quote which illustrates *ramaḏīyyah* “days of the month of Ramadan”, *hādā ḥālunā wahuwa bilfiṭri, kayfa law kāna ramaḏīyyah* “our situation is this (bad), in spite of being the Lesser Bairam: (imagine then,) how it would be if this were the Ramadan Fast”. It connects vividly with certain passages of the *kharajāt* (refrains in Arabic or Hebrew stanzaic poems, at times mixed with Romance, but basically reflecting Islamic culture and topics, in spite of that which some people have rather lightly assumed, upon declaring them a survival of Hispanic Pre-Islamic culture²²). In this same page, for *rummānah* “steelyard”, from Latin *stētēra Rōmāna* “Roman steelyard”, but phonetically influenced by *rummānah* “pomegranate”), Blau provides witnesses from Ibn Janāḥ and Maimonides, preceding in several centuries that of Ibn Danān, heretofore unique and mentioned in DAA 219a,21.

p. 265: *rawzab* “mould” appears indeed to be a metathetical derivate of *rawbās*, from Neo-Persian *ru bāz* “open in the front”, as was characteristic of this kind of crucibles. In the same page, *rūzjārī* “daily hired labourer” simply reflects Neo-Persian *ruz gāri* of the same meaning (Steingass 593b); next, *rūznāmah* “daily account journal, daily book” is Neo-Persian *ruz nāme* (Steingass 594a) and, finally, >ryzah<, tentatively translated as “socket” in a

²⁰ E.g., in AA (see CORRIENTE 1977, p. 56, 2.25.2).

²¹ See BROCKELMANN 1908, I, p. 377 and, for AA, CORRIENTE 1977, p. 78, 5.1.11.

²² E.g., A12: *BÉNED LA PÁ KA AYÚN IN ÉLLE* “Bairam without him is like Fast”, AR2: *da+lyáwm taftár* “today you will break the fast (i.e., have sex)” and CRI14: *šimtu ʿānu awān wajaʿaltu fiṭri* “I had been deprived from him for a while, as if in Fast, so I enjoyed the occasion, as if it were Bairam” (see CORRIENTE 1999b, p. 63. Considering that *ramaḏān* became also an accepted term for Christian fast (e.g., in Maltese *randan* and Andalusī Arabic, see DAA 218b,9), it could not surprise that the same had happened in Jewish milieus.

text describing the external accessories of the Ark of Covenant, appears to be *scriptio plena* of *rizzah* “hinge”, a dialectal variant of the *razzah* registered in Classical Arabic dictionaries (cf. Lane’s “staple for the bolt a lock”), about which see DAA 207a,16.

p. 268: it should perhaps be in order to warn that *zubdah* “success” is a mere metaphorical use of its proper meaning, “butter”.

p. 269: *mazbahlah*, rendered as “basket; load” is puzzling, as it usually means “dunghill”. It could perhaps be a mistake or misreading for *zinbīlah*, as in DS 580a; however, this same work includes next *mazbahlah* “boîte dans laquelle on renfermait le fumier”, which points to a semantic evolution in that former direction.

p. 270: the root >z/sdw< “to throw, to cast, to lay” is the result of a semantic contamination between *asdā* “to neglect; to let loose” and the *zadwah*, a child game, played with marbles which must be thrown with skill in order to introduce them in a hole on the ground. This game and its name were so popular that they have survived until today in Spain as **gua**²³, it standing to reason that the matching verb *zadā* “to play with marbles” was soon understood as “to throw the marbles” and could easily be associated with *asdā* and acquire the simpler connotation of “throwing”.

p. 271: *muzarrah* “dressing gown made of heavy and costly material” appears indeed as a mistake or variant of *muzarrar* “satin”; see DS I 583b, although a derivation from Pahlavi *zarr* “gold” (MacKenzie 98) would speak in favour of an even more expensive gold-embroidered material. As for *zirxuwān* “bowl decorated with a net pattern”²⁴, it posits an etymological problem, although its Iranian outlook is patent. Neo-Persian would suggest *zar x^wān “golden table or tray”, but a first constituent *zarad* “coat of mail” would better explain the final part of its description²⁵. Next, *zarjan* “to deceive” cannot be separated from AA *zarkan* of the same meaning; see DAA 229a,20, where a derivation from *zarqūn* (“to give read lead instead of gold”) is perhaps likelier. Finally, *zarrāqah* “syringe” is the same as AA *sirrīqa* (see DAA 249b,31), a practical joke for squirting or leaking its liquid contents on inadvertent people; the original root seems to have been {zrq} “to throw”, and this explains the alternative meaning of “fountain”, but the folks forgot this etymon and connected that syringe with the idea of “stealing, i.e., deviating

²³ By wrong parsing of Castilian *las zaguas as *lasz/ aguas, backformation of a singular *agua, and second wrong parsing of *la agua as la gua.

²⁴ Rendered as *marfa* in GOITEIN 1973, p. 193, fn. 3.

²⁵ This could be the correct etymon of Neo-Arabic *zard.xānah* “silk gauze” (DS I 585a), which would require changing our proposal in DAA 228a,13: in both cases, pottery and cloth would have been given a name related to their decoration imitating the outlook of coats of mail.

water from its normal use”, so that they pronounced *sarrāqah* and *sāriqat almāʿ* (see below), and even in Castilian this was translated as **hurtaagua**.

p. 272: *zurumyāq* “a piece of jewelry” is a hapax, apparently Iranian, perhaps corrupted from Neo-Persian **zar amyān* “golden purse”.

p. 273: *zifzif* “mosaic stones” would ultimately be a reflex of Aramaic *p̄sippās* < Greek *psēphos*, probably back-formed on its Arabic reflex *fusayfisāʿ*, all of them with the same meaning.

p. 275: *zalaʿ* “to let out water and draw it” appears to be a denominative verb, derived from *zalʿah* “jar” (DS I 599b and Hinds & Badawi 377a; cf. also Syriac *zālaʿ* “hausit” and *zəl(lā)ʿā* “cyathus” in PS 1129-1130). In the same page, *zumʿah* “storm, whirlwind, etc.” reflects an alternate of the Arabic root {*zbʿ*}, e.g., in *zawbaʿ* “storm”.

p. 276: *zanjalah* “spice box” is probably Neo-Persian *zangole* “a bell which women and letter-carriers attach to their feet” (Steingass 626a) but, in the first case, most often just a perfume spraying device. In the same page, *zanfalījah* “trunk for dresses” is included and explained by the *Lisān alʿArab* as Neo-Persian **zīm bīlah* which, in fact, must be read as *zīn pile* “small wares hawked by peddlers and carried in the packsaddles” (Steingass 835a & 269b).

p. 277: *zuhayrī* “a kind of cloth” is probably the same as *zuharī* in Lombard 1978:40, which makes likely that *zahrī* in DS I 609 be a mistake, it being well-known that nouns of diminutive patterns had either a more Classical *nisbah*-derivation {1u2a3ī} or a more colloquial {1u2ay3ī}.

p. 278: *zawdanah*, a semantic equivalent of Arabic *ʿarbadah* “boisterous behaviour of drunk people”, is clearly related to Biblical Hebrew *zādon* “insolence” and *zēdon* “insolent” and, therefore a most clear case of application of the pattern {1aw2a3} in order to obtain a quadriconsonantic derivate verbal pattern²⁶. It cannot be excluded that Pahlavi and Neo-Persian *zadan* “to hit” (MacKenzie 97 and Steingass 612) played some co-adjuvant role in this development.

p. 281: *zīj* “frame, circlet, margin, fringe, hem” is an obvious reflex of Neo-Persian *zig* “mason’s rule; astronomical tables; threads by which embroiderers are guided in their work, etc.” (Steingass 634b).

p. 285: *sabbāj* or *sabbāḡ* “a pejorative nickname” may quite probably be misspellings or mispronunciations of *ṣabbāḡ* “dyer”, as this profession enjoyed little social consideration because of both the odours prevailing in its workshops and of the metaphorical use of calling liars “dyers of the truth” (cf. Steingass 780b).

²⁶ As studied by BROCKELMANN 1908, I, pp. 514-515 and FLEISCH 1944.

p. 286: *sabastān* “plums” is more accurately “sebesten, Assyrian plum” (*Cordia myxa*), about which see DAA 242a,33 and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:527.

p. 293: idioms like *šariba sirrahū* “to drink to his health” and similar are frequent in Ibn Quzmān (see DAA 248b,19).

p. 294: the hapax *sirfij* “head-dress, turban” rather reflects Neo-Persian *sarpičš* “an ornament of gold, silver ..., generally place in front of the turban”, like the famous *çelenk* presented to Nelson by the Ottoman sultan as a reward for his victory against the French fleet in Abū Qīr, and ultimately stolen, never to surface again, from the Greenwich Naval Museum.

p. 295: *sāriqat almāʿ* “vessel for spraying water” see note to *zarrāqah* in p. 271. In this same page, *misraqah* “a thin cane around which the woof is wrapped” could have benefited from the information in DAA 504a,31, according to which, that word is no derivative from a Semitic root {*srq*} or alike, but a hybrid of Neo-Persian *māsure* “weaver’s reel” (Steingass 1141a, see also our note to p. 647), also borrowed by Arabic *māsūrah*, with an adjectival Romance suffix. Next, for *siryānī* “Aramaic” only the vocalization *suryānī* is attested (cf. Rabbinic *sūryā* in Jastrow 970a, in agreement with the standard reflex /u/ for Greek *û psilón* in Semitic).

p. 296: *saʿīdī* “a sort of cloth” is likely to be corrupted from *šaʿīdī* “from Upper Egypt”, according to Lombard 1978:37.

p. 298: the entry is truly *sarīr safarī* “cot”, still in use nowadays in the Middle East.

p. 299: *sifāq* is infracorrect for *šifāq* “peritoneum”, as in p. 373a, apparently also said improperly of the three membranes wrapping the brain.

p. 301: *saqanqūr*, corrupted from Greek *skígkos*, never meant a “baby crocodile” but, on the contrary, a skink or kind of lizard which preys on crocodile eggs. Only their outer likeness could have generated that confusion, as seen in the manifold renderings of Steingass 687b (*saqanqos* = *saqanqur* “a species of newt or spawn of the crocodile ...; a skink”).

p. 304: the identification or connection of *sult* “maslin; rye” with *Canzarūt* “sarcocolla” is beyond our comprehension and could only be due to some kind of textual corruption.

p. 310: *>s.mānī<* “a colour” appears to be Neo-Persian *samāni* “azure” (Steingass 696a).

p. 311: *samiyyah* “buoy” reflects the plural of Greek *sēmeíon*, through Syriac *simiyā* “signal”.

p. 312: the semantic identity of *>snāj<* as a Western Arabic equivalent of *zubdiyyah* “bowl, plate” is made explicit by this second entry in p. 268, but its vocalization and etymon are far from certain. The form **sannāj* suggested by

Blau may have been influenced by *ṣannāċ* “basket” (see DAA 311b,22), especially when considering the frequent alternancy of /s/ and /š/ in AA; perhaps the true reading is **sināj*, a broken plural of *sanjah*, which has sometimes meant a vessel where marbles could be introduced, as part of the works of a clock (DS I 691a), while *sanj* in Neo-Persian is a conch-shell (Steingass 700a).

p. 315: *sās* “oakum” is a reflex of Coptic *sa(a)se* “tow” (see Crum 358b). In this same page, *sūsanjird* “an expensive cloth” reflects a place name, (from Persian *susangerd* “town of lilies”), in the vicinity of Baghdad, according to Yāqūt III 281, reputed for its textile manufactures, after Lombard 1978:43.

p. 317: *sūk* “small flask” with a question mark is a hapax quoted without a context, which makes any suggestion too risky; nevertheless, it could be just another case of *scriptio plena* for the well-known perfume called in Arabic *sukk almisk*.

p. 322: *šād/darwān* and other variants is an obvious Iranism with a clear Pahlavi etymon, *čādur bān* “guardian of the veil” (see DAA 277a,45 and 283a,3), but semantically not so easy to define, as it was a metaphorical designation of diverse objects, not only the “cooling device” described by Blau, but also a fountain at the entrance of a palace and other contrivances (see DS I 715 and, for Neo-Persian, Steingass 722a).

p. 328: for the Arabic verb *šaxaṣ*, the English translation, “eye exhausted in vain expectation” does not match well the Hebrew *kallu Ćēnav bəšippiyyat šaw*² and should be emended as “to be (the eyes) exhausted, etc.”.

p. 334: *i/ašrās*, rendered as “strong glue” is primarily a plant, *Asphodelus ramosus*, from which that product is actually obtained.

p. 337: *šustujah* “scarf” continues Pahlavi **šust+ag* “thing for washing”, reflected in Neo-Persian as *šuste* or *šustaje* “handkerchief; towel” (Steingass 744a), with a certain semantic evolution. In this same page, *šawāšir* is, more exactly, *Artemisia abrotanum*, from Syriac *šušārā* (PS 4279).

p. 339: *šaĆriyyah* “wig” casts much needed light on the same term in the *Vocabulista in arabico*, vaguely rendered by Latin *coma* and inaccurately translated by us as “hair of head” in DAA 283b,37.

p. 342: *šūgnūb* “tender branch” is confirmed by the *Lisān alĆarab*, which accepts both *šūgnūb* and *šunġūb* as “twigs at the end of the branches” (cf. also DS I 792a *šunġūbah* “partie saillante en forme de dent, dans le bois, la pierre, etc.”). In this same page, *šaffārah* “oar-propelled galley” is probably a metaphorical allusion to Moroccan *šaffār* “thief”, a derivative from *šfra* “paring knife”, because they “pare”, i.e., pick pockets. Next, *šafšaj* “belt, girdle”, in fact that of the Jewish higher priest’s (DS I 770a), and *šafšajah* “protuberance; wart; sack (?)” would reflect a lost Pahlavi **šifšag*, preserved in Neo-Persian

šefše “yarn-beam of a loom; a cotton dresser’s rod; a thin, straight and smooth branch” (Steingass 749a), with some semantic evolution, perhaps influenced by the derivate *šafšāhang* “perforate plate of steel through which gold and silver wire is drawn”, not without some likeness to the plate in the middle of that sacred belt.

p. 343: the usual spelling of *šafm̄* = Abies pinsapo, a kind of cedar or, more exactly, Spanish fir, is *šabbm̄* or *šarb̄m̄* (cf. Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:782); however, the transcription of /p/ by /f/ is standard in these materials (cf. *juff*, *ṭāfiyah*, *farṭal*, etc.) and quite normal in Hebrew script, where they share the same grapheme. In this same page, *šaqabān* “a folded garment used for carrying burdens” is an obvious metaphorical derivate from the so-called *šawqabān* in the *Lisān al‘arab*, defined as the two wooden pieces in the packsaddle where ropes are tied; the hypothesis in DS I 773 of a derivation from **šukbān* is unlikely, as such a word is nowhere recorded.

p. 346: upon dealing with *šalūnī* “Spanish cloths from Šalūn”, it might help contemporary users of the dictionary to know that the talk goes about the valley of the Aragonese river called Jalón in modern times, densely populated by Muslims in towns and villages even after the *Reconquista* until the Moriscos were finally expelled in 1609.

p. 348: it is a bit surprising to find *šamšak* rendered as “a certain cloth”, as it appears in DS with a plural *šamšakāt* as the manufacture of shoemakers, as well as in PS 1522, s.v. *ṭarmisitā*, while its Neo-Persian etymon is listed in Steingass 371a as *jamša/āk* “shoe”.

p. 349: *šand* “saddle” means in AA any place for sitting, even a litter, as can be seen in DAA 292a,43, where it is derived from Low Latin **adsedentare*. Its use must have spread to the East, as even in Modern Egyptian Arabic we find *šind* “first and principal transverse timber supporting the half-deck of a Nile sailing boat” (according to Hinds & Badawi 481a).

p. 351: *šahr* “potter’s lathe” is given in DS I 795b with the variants *jahr*, *šahr* and >*bryšyr*<, which have allowed us to discover its Neo-Persian etymon, **pari čahre* “winged wheel”, presently forgotten as such a compound (Steingass 246b & 405a).

p. 352: *šawbaġ/q* “baker’s rolling pin” (as in DS 724a) reflects the well-known Neo-Persian *čubak* (Steingass402a).

p. 358: *šaybah*, doubtfully rendered as “grey perfume”, might in fact be *Artemisia absinthium* / *arborescens*, “absinth”, still often used in Morocco to improve the scent of tea (see Premare 1995: VII 249); that name is abridged from *šayb al‘ajūz* “the old woman’s grey hair”. In this page also, the exact rendering of *šz* posits some problems, which began in DS I 810b, when Dozy misunderstood Alcalá’s Castilian “palillos de tañer” as “drumsticks”

(“baguettes de tambour”), instead of the correct “wooden castanets”, as reported by DAA 298a,39. Blau’s mere “castanets” does not make this distinction clear enough, as underscored by his Hebrew *šilšalim* “cymbals”, although Maimonides made perfectly explicit that both pieces were of wood (*ʿūd*), not metal. Tanḥum’s version has *sājā* instead, an Eastern word usually applied to a rough match of that instrument made out of metal (cf. *šāga* “finger cymbal” in Hinds & Badawi 492) and called *mašfaqah* pl. *mašfaḥiq* in the West, as reported in this same dictionary, 373a.

p. 360: the etymon of *šāgār* “earthenware goblet” is Neo-Persian *šāgar* “large drinking-cup” (Steingass 779b).

p. 373: **mašāfin* pl. of **mašfa* “pool of water” is a hapax difficult to connect semantically with the root {*šfw*}; chances are that it is a mere scribal error, taken over from the Arabic script as in other instances, for *mašqah* pl. *mašāqin*, in fact so common an item in AA (see DAA 256a,6) that it was borrowed by Portuguese **almácega** (see also DAI 181b,22).

p. 374: the explanation of *šalībī* “autumnal”, offered by DS I 840-841, i.e., around the season when the Copts celebrate the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, might have deserved some mention.

p. 379: *mašwarah* “basket” was indeed common in Al-Andalus, although spelled as *maswarah* (see DAA 266b,43), from Old Arabic *miswarah* “round cushion”, an original meaning which was also known, according to Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (see Pérez Lázaro II 314). As for *šūf albaḥr*, it cannot be doubted that it did mean “sponge” in the witnesses provided, but its usual meaning was that which Dozy explains (DS I 853), i.e., threads obtained from some sea shells and woven into a precious cloth.

p. 381: *šīr* “pickle made of small fish” derives from Coptic *šīr*, through Hebrew or Aramaic, although this tradition was followed in Al-Andalus even by Christians, according to the Mozarabic horoscope published by Kunitzsch (see DAA 315a,5), while in *šīr albāb* “hinge of the door” we are dealing with an entirely different and genuinely Semitic word, resulting from the phonetic evolution in Neo-Arabic of Old Arabic *šāšīr*.

p. 385: *dar^c* is unlikely to have ever meant “humidity” in the hapax quoted by Blau. What actually seems to have happened is that in the Hebrew text of Ps. 32-4, *nehpak lōšāddi b-ḥarbonē qayiš* “my juice was altered in the summer heat”, the translator into Arabic did not recognize the second rather uncommon Hebrew word, but took it to be the more common *šad* “(female) breast” and dismissed the supposed preposition *l-ḥ*, thus obtaining something like “my breast was altered in the summer heat”, where *dar^c* retains its common meaning in Arabic “female breast (of a beast)”. A poor job indeed, but translations are full of such blunders.

p. 396: *tarjahārah* is often found in AA under the shape of *tanjahārah* and slight variants, always meaning a large drinking vessel (see DAA 335a,38, where its Neo-Persian etymon *tarkehār(ān)* “a vessel for condensing sour milk”, is also mentioned from Steingass 296b); it cannot surprise much to find it as the name of the vessel of a clepsydra where water was gathered.

p. 398: *ṭārixah* “water reservoir”, with a question mark, appears to be the same as *ṭarxah* in the *Lisān al‘Arab*, defined as “a large basin where a channel abuts and water is collected only to be next let gush into the fields... it is neither a foreign Persian word nor pure Arabic”.

p. 401: *ṭaštīq* “basin” appears to be a reflex of Pahlavi **tašt+īg* “related to a basin”.

p. 403: : *ṭāfiyah* “a wall built out of hard clay” is the same word as AA *ṭāpya* (see DAA 325a,41, cf. Castilian **tapia**), another clear instance of transcription of /p/ as >f< (cf. *juff* and *farṭal*). In this same page, *maṭall* “lintel” appears to share the generally accepted Low Latin etymon of this English item, i.e., **limitellus*, with metanalysis and elimination of a Romance article: the Semitic interpretation of this term as a place from which one looks out from does not recommend itself from a semantic viewpoint.

p. 404: *ṭawlaq* “big scarf embroidered with figures”: it is a long shot, but this kind of embroidery might semantically connect with AA *ṭaylaq* pl. *ṭawāliq* “evil spirit” (DAA 333b,30), by using some twist of imagination. In the same page, *ṭulm* “curdled” lays on Ibn Janāḥ’s assumption that the Arabs call so any curdled substance, when, in fact, *ṭulm* in this language is only the board on which the dough is laid before being kneaded, and *ṭulmah* is the bread cooked in hot ashes (cf. Rabbinic *ṭūlmā* from Jastrow 524a and Sokoloff 2002:497 = Syriac, see PS 1477).

p. 410: *ṭawbanār* is not accurately rendered as “salamandar”, since Dozy (DS II 66a) was mistaken in his etymology of this term as a blending of Castilian **topo** and Arabic *nār*. The true etymon is in DAA 336a,28, Low Latin **talpinarius* “dormouse, mole”.

p. 427: the hapax **maḥdan alḥawāyij* under *ḥaddan*, in the sentence *lammā kāna ḥarasahu llāhu maḥdana lḥawāyij*, correctly interpreted by Hebrew *ṣarāḥim*, is probably a scribal error for *maḥarrat(a)* “disgrace, misery”, a word which reappears normally spelled in p. 429, translating the Hebrew *bəḥurim ṭəḥon nāsāʿu* (La 5,13) as *aššabāb ḥamalū lmaḥarrāh* “the youth suffered the disgrace”, where *ṭəḥon* has not been literally rendered as “millstone”, but in the metaphorical sense it has in this context, i.e., “disgrace”, by influence of the semantic possibilities of Arabic *ṭāḥūn*.

p. 428: the English translation of Hebrew *sālah dāvār* (“to allow something”) is missing by an oversight.

p. 432: the vocalization of **ḡuraḡī* “provisional, temporary” should be corrected into *ḡaraḡī*.

p. 433: this entry witnesses that *maḡraqah* (better than **miḡraqah*) not only meant a “skull-cap” as in DS II 121a, but also “sweat absorbing underwear for the whole body”.

p. 435: the hapax *ḡazrī*, rendered as “rabble, mob, crowd” with a double question mark is indeed suspicious of faulty transmission. In this Arabic context, *waḡṭṭablu wazzamru fī dārī wallaḡību wakullu >ḡzry wḡrwdy<*, the two last words might well be read as *ḡūdiyyin waḡurḡūlī*, i.e., “there was drum and flute music in my house, games and every kind of lute and clarinet players”²⁷.

p. 439: *ḡuṣḡān* “a kind of food” is simply “tripe” (see DS II 133, where the vocalization **ḡaṣḡān* seems less correct than our proposal, also reflected in Premare IX 126 and Iraqui V, 1274).

p. 456: *ḡamtānī* “a kind of excellent indigo” is perhaps a mistake for *ḡumānī* “from Oman”, considering the important role played by South Arabia in the production of diverse perfumes and spices.

p. 469: *ḡāq* “neck of a bottle” is a strangely looking word, perhaps just a scribal mistake for *ḡunq*.

p. 472 and 473: the entries *ḡayn* “mesh of a net” (reflected by both DS II 197a and DAA 373a,24) and *ḡayyan* “to embroider”, unattested to heretofore, provide additional support to the etymon given to Navarrese **ainea** and Castilian **(a/e)nea** in DAI 103b,41, namely, **ḡayniyya* “reedmace”, mostly applied to seats made out of a mesh of its intertwined stalks.

p. 478: *ḡurnah* “watering trough”, in spite of Hava and Wahrmund’s disputable witnesses, appears as a hapax in the Judæo-Arabic texts, likely to be just a scribal error for *jurnah*.

²⁷ The presence of lutes in Moorish music needs no illustration; as for the *arḡūl*, it is not only recorded in DS I 18b, but also and quite significantly mentioned by IBN SANĀʿ ALMULK (*Dār alḡīrāz*, ed. M. Z. ʿINĀNĪ, Beirut, Dār alḡāqāfah, 2001:45) “Most *muwaṣṣaḡāt* are composed to be accompanied by the *arḡūl*, so that singing them without it is mere metaphore (*istiḡārah* and *majāz*)”; see also LÓPEZ MORILLAS, and ZWARTJES 1997, p. 217 and fn. 56. There are some reasons to conclude that *arḡūn* and *būq* (Castilian **albogue**) were the same thing: besides the passages quoted by ZWARTJES, we have the catalogue of musical instruments mentioned by JUAN RUIZ in *El Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. J. COROMINAS, 1973, pp. 475-476) where **guitarra morisca**, **alaut** and **guitarra ladina** are placed next to **rabé**, **rota**, **salterio** and **vihuela**, **medio canon**, **harpa**, **galipe francisco** and **taborete**, and then to **panderete**, **sonajas**, **gaita**, **axabeba**, **albogón**, etc., not all of them clearly identified, but suggesting that **axabeba** and **albogón** were not too different, both being wind instruments, required in Moorish music together with wind and percussion instruments. This subject was already quite ably surveyed by LÓPEZ MORILLAS 1985 and, most recently, D. F. REYNOLDS 2006, pp. 215-219 has reached the same conclusion about the nature of the *arḡūl* as a clarinet.

p. 480: **maġtūm* is reported as a word of unclear meaning. In the quoted context, *urīdu niṣfa dīnārin wayakūnu maġtūm*, the solution may lay in the fact, recently discovered by archæologists and reported to us, that some primitive Islamic Andalusī seals for money purses apparently bear the inscription *maġnūm*, literally, “taken as booty”²⁸. The immediate explanation for such a feature is that some pious Muslims, painfully aware of the illegal taxes, unjust exactions and other sources of irregular income of the state in every area of the Islamic world, had qualms about accepting that their services might be paid with money of that unlawful origin, as literally reported in the case of the Andalusī judge Muḥammad b. Baṣīr²⁹. For this reason and in order to quash those scruples, some rulers appear to have ordered the attaching of metal seals on purses containing money proceeding exclusively from booty taken in the *jihād* and, therefore, above any suspicion of illegal source, from the viewpoint of *fiqh*. According to this, that quote should be rendered “I want half a dinar and let it be as good as those contained in purses sealed as war-booty”: the confusion of *maġnūm* and *maġtūm* in Hebrew script being easy. As the person to which this sentence is attributed here was most likely a Jew, who must not have shared that finicky concern, it is almost warranted that such an expression had come to just mean “best quality coins”. It is true, however, that a simpler explanation for all such cases would be to read *maxtūm* “(well) coined”, equally easy to mix up in Hebrew script, but this is not possible in the only available witness, that Narbonese seal.

p. 482: *ġallaq* has been rendered as “to close one’s account; to pay the remainder of one’s debt” and documented with the quotes *taġliqū lḥisāb* “the closing of the account”, *t. aljawālī* “payment of the remainder of the poll-tax”, *t. mā baqiya lahu min jawālī sanah* “payment of remaining poll-taxes of the year”³⁰, and *t. baqiyyati mā baqiya ʿalā lqāhirah* “the payment of the remaining sum is incumbent upon Cairo”. In AA, however, the same verb apparently means “to claim one’s dues; to foreclose a mortgage” (see DAA 382a,18, with two clear examples from Ibn Quzmān), so that one wonders

²⁸ These news have reached us through oral communication and mails exchanged with Dr. C. LALIENA from Saragossa University and the established expert in Islamic coinage Tawfiq IBRĀHIM, who have also acquainted us with recent discoveries by P. SÉNAC, although a final conclusion has not been yet attained.

²⁹ See MAKKI & CORRIENTE 2001:115, where it is reported that this scrupulous man only accepted his designation as judge on three conditions: guarantee of execution of all his sentences, quick exoneration in case of incapacity and being remunerated exclusively from the booty taken in the *jihād*.

³⁰ Incidentally this use of such a pl. of *jāliyah* also in the meaning of “tribute paid by non-Muslim” is not recorded in standard Arabic dictionaries, nor in DS, and might have merited an entry in p. 93.

whether there has been a semantic evolution in between, or there is a possibility of correction in the translations of the Judæo-Arabic texts, such as “foreclosing of the account”, “exacting payment of poll-taxes”, etc. In the same page, there are reasons to doubt that *ǧalq* be exactly a “padlock” in a text transmitted by Maimonides, as there is a passage in Ibn Quzmān 18/3/2 where he mentions a shop with a new *ǧalq*, which can be seen from afar, while another Andalusī text, from the pen of the jurist Aljazīrī clearly speaks about *alwāḥu ǧalqihī* “the planks of a *ǧ*.”³¹, i.e., a shutter compounded of several wooden laths.

p. 483: as a result of the correction to *ǧalq* in the previous page, a *ǧallāq* must have been a carpenter who made shutters for shops, not wooden locks.

p. 490: *fattar* = *aftar* is rendered as “to leave so. alone; to concede in his favour”, but the supporting text talks about a lady who, once a certain deadline has expired, will not concede any further delay, *laysat tifattarunā sāʿah*, perhaps better translated as “she will not grant us any respite”.

p. 491: *fattās* “tax collector who searches haystacks” with some kind of stick, with which he probes them in order to discover deposits of grain hidden there for the purpose of dodging taxes. The term means, in principle, “searcher”, and supports the etymon of Portuguese **fateixa**, and several dialectal Castilian cognates (in DAI 320a,18), all of them meaning “hooks” used to retrieve objects fallen in a well”. In this same page, *fajrah* “copper fragment” is again a precious additional clue on a scarcely documented item, recorded in DAI 391a,1. DS II 242b would have merely copied the scanty data of the *Vocabulista in arabico*, “*fajarah* pl. *āt* = frustum”, translated as “morceau de plomb”, this last addition being drawn out of the entry “Plumbum *fajarah* pl. *fajāʿr* plumbi pecia”, interesting also because this broken pl. would posit a singular **fajārah*, in agreement with the etymological hypothesis to be suggested next. However, the proverb N° 692 in Azzajjālī’s collection (Ould Mohamed Baba 1999:85) contains the same word, apparently in the meaning of “signet”, to be impressed upon a leaden sheet (*muhl*). To make matters even more complicated, this meaning of *muhl* is supported by the *Vocabulista*, (Corriente 1989a, p. 293), while its Classical Arabic value is “molten copper”. With these data, and considering that AA *fačáyra*, meaning “face”, could easily have had an allomorph *fačára* in its Romance origins³², we have purported that the talk goes about a signet used in order to brand a stamp on a sheet of lead or copper placed on top of the surface that was so marked and

³¹ See FERRERAS 1998, p. 125 (Arabic).

³² See CORRIENTE 2000-2001, p. 234 about cases of contraction of the diphthong in the suffix *-ÁYR*, in addition to the possibility of a mere dissimilation of palatals in *FAČÁYRA* > **FAČÁRA*, as in *jayb+ÁYRA* > *jabáyra* (DAA 89a,12).

sealed. Summing up, *fajrah* would be an arabicized spelling of Romance *fačára*, meaning a sheet of lead or copper, mainly used for the purpose of sealing certain objects through the application of a hot signet to impress a given mark on them and guarantee that they had not been opened before a given time.

p. 492: Concerning *faxtah* “snare, trap”, and considering that even its standard Arabic reflex *faxx* does not semantically match with the remainings words of this root, it is conspicuous that it was borrowed from Aramaic, cf. Rabbinic *paḥ* \diamond *tā* “pit” (Jastrow 1154a) and Syriac *peḥtā* “fovea, hiatus terrae” (PS 3086).

p. 495: *furād* “single, solitary”, back-formed on *furāda(n)*³³ “one by one”, is the necessary support for our etymon of dialectal **alforaz** “solitary fish” recorded in the Canary Islands (in Corriente 2001:196).

p. 496: *farāwiz* “corridors” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *parvaz* “border or selvage of a garment; circular disposition of an army” or its close cognate *parvāz* “porch” (Steingass 246a & 245a), a borrowing recorded in Syriac (see PS 1205), and extant in Modern Egyptian *birwāz* “frame” (see Hinds & Badawi 71b).

p. 500: *fāriqī* “seller of a particular choice kind of figs” is crucial to establish the definitive shape of this product, *fāriq* in DS II 260a correctly, but incorrectly $\langle qāriq \rangle$ in our edition of the *Kitābu Ġumdati ṭṭabīb*, p. 107.

p. 501: Vajda’s doubt about *furmah* “grapes or olives prepared for pressing” being borrowed from Latin *forma*, as suggested by DS II 261b, on account of its presence in SoCadyah, is ungranted in our view, as not only Latin had a certain impact on the whole Near East, including Egypt, but even these same materials show that Jews from Spain, North Africa and Egypt continuously travelled from one of these countries to another and beyond, contributing to far-reaching linguistic interference between their dialects. In this same page, *ifrantī*, instead of *ifranjī* “European” might be an early witness of affricated /t/ in North Africa³⁴, so that it could be an appropriate transcription of /č/.

Next, concerning *furnāq* “(baking) oven”, it is remarkable that DS II 262b only knows it as “furnace of a bathhouse”, while AA had *furnáč* “furnace; oven in the silk industry (DAA 397b,5)”: there can be no doubt that both are reflexes of Latin *formax*, but the Judæo-Arabic item betrays its North African,

³³ Apparently patterned after the distributive numerals *ḥunāʿa*, *ḥulāʿa*, etc.

³⁴ See about this FISCHER & JASTROW 1980, pp. 34, 49 and 252, where this pronunciation is attributed to urban dialects. Another early witness to this situation is found in Ibn Baṭṭūḥah’s *Riḥlah*, where he transcribes Tinkīz Xān (see DEFREMERY & SANGUINETTI’s edition, Paris, Anthopos, 1969, p. 299).

not Hispanic, origin, on account of the characteristic treatment of /k/³⁵. Also in this page, the entries *furāniq* “messenger” and *furānik* “noble” require some comments. It has been established beyond reasonable doubt that the first item harkens back to Pahlavi *parwānag* “guide, leader” (see MacKenzie 65, DS II 262b, PS 1426 with the spelling >*frwānq*< and Corriente 1991:134), but the second item was already detected by DS II 247a, attributed to a Latin etymon (apparently, although not expressly, **foranicus*) and interpreted by Dozy as “a member of city-hall”, although it might as well have been understood as “citizen with full rights”, given the well-known connotations of Castilian **fuero** and Catalan **fur** < Latin *f*rum*, as a privileged status granted by cities and villages to those who settled in them. However, such a Latin word has never surfaced, its suffixation is unlikely and has left no trace in Romance languages; so, chances are that **furānik* and its plural *farānikah* instead reflect Romance **frank(o)* < Latin *Francus* “Frank”³⁶, later on applied to any privileged citizen. Of course, it is understandable that some spelling confusion might have arisen between this *furānik* and that *furāniq*.

Also in this page, *afzān almaqlūb* “artichoke” is, in its first portion, a Berber item, as stated by the author of the *Kitāb Ġumdati ṭṭabīb*, (see p. 157 of our edition³⁷).

Finally, about *fuzyūn* “silk brocade,” see our note to *buzyūn* in p. 41.

p. 504: *faštubān* “bolt, latch” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *pošt bān* “bar of a door” (Steingass 251b & 152a), literally “guard of one’s back”. Also in this page, *f/mišmāt* “toast” is the same as AAC *pišmāt*, about which see DAA 38a,5 and 54a,19.

p. 508: *ifšīm* “pieces of stone used for the frame of a door” is a reflex of Rabbinic *paššim* “board nailed against the wall to form a door-frame” (see Jastrow 1205a and Sokoloff 2002:923).

p. 513: *falīl* “torch”, repeatedly found in the Egyptian Səḳadyah, appears to reflect Coptic *p+eielel* “light, lamp” (see Crum 77a, with agglutination of the definite article as in other instances of Coptic loanwords).

³⁵ On the issue of Latin loanwords in Berber, see CORRIENTE 1998, p. 275.

³⁶ It is remarkable that this item appears as an error for Romance *FARĀYLE* “friar” in the *Kitābu Ġumdati ṭṭabīb* (BUSTAMANTE, CORRIENTE & TILMATINE 2004, p. 153), spelled as >*frānkuh*<, probably because the scribe was more familiar with it than with >*frāylyh*<. Incidentally, BLAU does not warn that he is substituting *farānikah* for *ṭarāxīnah* in DOZY’s reading of Ibn Janāh (DS II 247a), but it looks like a wise decision, since that plural of *ṭarxan*, from a Turkic dialect, *tarxan* “prince”, among the Khazars (SEE NADEL’AYEV, NASILOV, TENIŠEV & ŠČERBAK 1969, p. 539b), was not likely to be known in Sefarad.

³⁷ Confirmed in our days by ŠAFĪQ 1989, I, p. 260.

p. 514: *falīd* “unclean, defiled”, *>flǫ<* “dirt, uncleanness” and *falādah* “dirt, filth” are all reflexes of Neo-Persian *palid* “impure; foul” (Steingass 255b, cf. Pahlavi *pālūdan* “to purify” in MacKenzie 64).

p. 517: *fawj* = *fayj* “messenger” is an entry requiring some comments. The second form is obviously a reflex of Pahlavi and Neo-Persian *payg* “foot-soldier, courier” (cf. MacKenzie 67, Steingass 269a), and has produced a denominal verb *fayyaj* “to use the services of a courier” in p. 519, but the first one cannot be posited with only the context quoted, *biwuṣūli fawjin mina lǧarb*, which could simply mean “upon the arrival of a group of people from the West”.

p. 518: *fāwī* “hollow, cleft” is a questionable item of unclear derivation. Perhaps just an easy scribal mistake in Hebrew script for *xāwī* “empty”.

p. 521: *finaj* “pumice-stone” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *finaj* (cf. Steingass 945b), rendered as “froth of the sea, meerschaum”, however DS II 302b confirms the first meaning for Neo-Arabic in a reputable source, also accepted by Benmrad 1985:600.

p. 522: *qabb aṣṣārī* “top of a mast” is indeed a Classical word, recorded by Lane 2478 as *qabbu ddaqal* “head of the mast”, which makes unlikely the Romance or Latin etymon suggested by DS II 305a, although not impossible, since seafaring was not the ancient Arabs’ cup of tea, except in some rather confined areas, therefore having borrowed many marine terms from their neighbours. However, the presence of Akkadian *qapp(at)u(m)* “basket (made out of palm leaves)”, with the same meaning in Aramaic *kuppōtā*, next to Arabic *quffah* “basket; maintop (whence Castilian *cofa*)”, makes us suspect that we are dealing here with one and the same word of Sumerian origin giving name to baskets as well as to the makeshift maintops in the old ships of Mesopotamia, which were not much more than big baskets. Dozy’s quote from Ibn Janāḥ supports the second choice, as it is possible, although dangerous, to sleep on a maintop, but not on the head of a mast, unless one is securely tied to it and is very sleepy or skilled in this kind of tricks. See also *qūb*.

p. 528: *qadd*, rendered as “to give (God)” with a question mark, has not failed to raise Blau’s suspicions that his quote *>wqd lk nṣyb fy ʾlḏy mny<* might only contain the particle *qad*, if not a scribal error for *>wqdr<*. We are inclined to accept his first hypothesis, as *qad* is a frequent emphatic marker in AA, even in nominal sentences, as can be seen in Corriente 1977:129 and DAA 415b,45, perhaps as just another Yemenite trait, considering its frequency in Behnstedt 1992-2006:975-977. The exact translation will be, then, “you certainly have a share of what is mine”.

p. 538: concerning *qarrābah* “container (for rose water)” and other phonetically similar and semantically akin names of vessels, we have explained in Corriente 1999a:331 how its prototype is preserved in North

African *ǧarrāf* “jar”, from the root {ǧrf} “to draw out water”, while other reflexes beginning with a stop have resulted from contamination with Arabic *qirbah* “waterskin”, e.g., the Neo-Persian borrowing *qar(r)āb/fe*, where >q< is, pronounced as /ǧ/, following the rule in this language. Turkish *karafa*, Italian *caraffa*, French and English *carafe* and German *Karaffe* have adopted a shape close to Neo-Persian spelling, while Hispanic Romance languages have preferred **(al)garrafa**, closer to the North African form.

p. 539: *qaraṣ* and its Hebrew equivalent *hiqris* are not accurately rendered as “to ferment”, as the talk goes about wine, i.e., is fermented grape juice, beginning to turn sour, i.e., to become vinegar through a second fermentation. The semantic juncture is with “sting” (cf. Portuguese, Castilian and Catalan **picar**), an appropriate metaphor for the effect on the tongue of the acid contained in vinegar.

p. 540: *qarraṭ* “to fasten, to connect” with nails, for instance, gives support to some entries of our AA dictionary, such as *mismār attaqrīṭ* “kind of nails used in ship-building” and *aqfāl aqrāt* in Aljazīrī (Ferrerias 1998:49, Arabic 148 & 245), rendered as **cierres de zarcillo** in Castilian, i.e., “connecting pieces or shutters provided with devices somehow similar to the clasps of earrings”. In this same page, *qurṭub* “thorn” deserves some comments: in spite of its being listed by Hava and Dozy, it is conspicuously not Old Arabic and its presence in the Middle East may be due, as in other instances, to the Andalusī émigré Ibn Albayṭār’s impressive work as a botanist and great prestige in that area. Its original shape is *qardūb* < Romance *QÁRD(O) ÁLB(O)*, literally “white thistle”, about which see *Kitāb ʿumdati ṭṭabīb*, pp. 497-499, N° 4276.

p. 543: *qariyy* “boom mast of the ship” is correctly attributed to its Greek etymon *histokeraía*, abridged, however, to its final portion, *keraiá*, as common also in Greek and usual in standard Arabic *qariyyah*. In the same page, *qasīs* = *qissīs* “flax of high quality” refers to *ṭawb alqissīsiyyah* “cloth of the clergy”, i.e., the ephod.

p. 552: *qaṭāriš* “floss silk, tangled waste silk”: it is perhaps a long shot but, considering the importance of the silk industry in Al-Andalus, this might be a hybrid technical term, AA *qāṭra* “bit, piece”, with the Romance plural suffix {-E-}, i.e., **qāṭr+E-*, and finally adopting the quadriconsonantic Arabic plural pattern {1a2ā3i4}.

p. 559: *qifq* “cup” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *qefk* (Steingass 981a). In the same page, *qaffān* “steelyard” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *kapān* (Steingass 1014a).

p. 562: *qild* “caravan from the Red Sea to Cairo”; it was called so because water was distributed only once every fourth day (according to Steingass 984a), *qild* being the name of the bowl used in that occasion and, in Al-

Andalus, a kettle with a hole in the bottom used for measuring water (Corriente 1997:438a).

p. 563: *qilqilī* “alkali” is an obvious hypercorrection for **ilqilī*, with the Neo-Arabic standard defined article, in the mouth of people who pronounced /q/ as /ʔ/.

p. 566: *qindīl* “quiver” is abridged from Neo-Persian *qendil+e+tir* “ornamental quiver” (Steingass, 991a).

p. 567: *qahr* “a (yearling) he-goat” is probably a scribal mistake, easy in Hebrew script, for *qahd*.

pp. 567-568: *qūb* is first “bar (for carrying chests)”, and next “pail, bucket”, which simply means that two words different in sound and meaning have coalesced. The first one was, before its phonetic evolution, *qabb*, for which DS II 305a has the meaning “hollow handle of a sickle” (see also our note to 522). The second *qūb* is, of course, the term recorded in Corriente 1997:446b, from Latin *cūpus*.

p. 568a,16: in this location we miss the entry >*qwjh*< of Ibn Danān N° 226, given as an equivalent of Hebrew *bor* in Is. 1,25 (*wəʔəʃrof kabbor sigayk* “I shall remove your dross like lye”), a passage in which we became somewhat involved when the Spanish editor of Ibn Danān asked us what that word could be, and we suggested Romance *QAWLÉLLA* (*Gypsophila struthium*) “Egyptian soapwort”³⁸, known for its applications instead of lye. But, in the meantime we have come across that entry again in the Romance plant name *QODQÁWČE*, synonymous of *QAWLÉLLA*³⁹, which allows us to surmise that it was sometimes trimmed down to *QÁWČE*. However, as this reflects Latin *c* *lyx*, known to have been used in the meaning of “crucible” (see our note to *xawjah* in p. 200), there is another possibility, namely that the translator into Arabic, familiar only with other more modern methods for refining precious metals, thought that the correct meaning was “I shall remove your dross in a crucible”: such cases of approximate or adjusted translations of the Holy Writ are not infrequent.

p. 569: *qūf* pl *aqwāf* “skin-bottle” is just another case of transcription of Romance /p/ with >*f*< and reflects Latin *cuppa* “cask” (see Corriente 1997:446b).

p. 586: *kabak* “holder for a candle” reflects Neo-Persian *kabk* “palm of the hand” (cf. Steingass 1012b). This etymon may also be valid for the next entry,

³⁸ The printed texts (JIMÉNEZ SÁNCHEZ 1996, p. 68, fn. 12) bears >*fw(ly)jh*<, a misprint for >*qw(ly)h*<, although the spelling of this word is quite variable, as can be seen in CORRIENTE 1997, p. 440a,32 and 2000-2001, p. 184.

³⁹ See CORRIENTE 2000-2001, p. 185.

kabkah “drying board, suspended from the ceiling, on which dishes are stacked”.

p. 590: *kajār* “special courier, express caravan” is, according to Goitein 1973:212, a reflex from Turkish *kaçar* “running”.

p. 591: *kūdīn* “bleacher’s beetle, washing bat” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *kudin(e)* (cf. Steingass 1060a), a descendant of a Pahlavi **kūdīnag* posited by Arabic *kuḏayniq* (*Lisān al‘Arab*) or *kadīnaq* (Kazimirski).

p. 592: *kjarbazah* “deception, swindle” reflects Neo-Persian *gorbozi* (cf. Steingass 1078a). In this same page *kirbāl* “sieve” is an uncommon alternate of *gīrbāl*, but it existed already in Old Arabic, where *garbal* and *karbal* “to sift” were phonetic variants of the same word, and *kirbāl* is registered in Classical Arabic dictionaries as “teasing bow for carding cotton”; there is no genetic connection with Latin *cribellus* “little sieve”, which was once suggested as etymon of Catalan **garbell** and Castilian **garbillo** (see DAI 329b,14). Also in this page, *kardāl* “manager” reflects Neo-Persian *kārdār* “one in office” (Steingass 1002b); *karzal* “pillow (for carriers)” is a derivative from Rabbinic *qirzēl* “to form a ball” (cf. Jastrow 1415a); *takartam* “to be worried” and *kartamah* “grief” are derivatives from *iktarab* and, finally, *karastānāt* “timber” reflects Neo-Persian *kārāste* “planks, building material” (cf. Steingass 1002b).

p. 593: *kārim* “the big commercial company trading with India” appears to be a corruption of Kanem, an Islamicized and Arabicized region of today’s Southern Chad. According to DS II 468a, some of its natives had settled in Egypt and were active in the spice trade with Yemen, receiving the denomination of *tujjār alkārim* or *tujjār kārimiyyah*. In this same page, *kirnīb* “bowl, dipper, ladle; wash-basin” reflects Greek *chérnips*, according to DS II 469a.

p. 599: *kaškāšah* is rendered as “a toy, presumably a kind of rattle”, possibly under the influence of Standard Arabic *xašxašah* but, putting together AA *kaššāš* (DAA 462a,18) with Neo-Arabic *kaškaš* “to drive away flies”, it makes more sense to assume that this word is a quadriconsonantic name of instrument meaning “fly-whisk”, also more consistent with the context, where it is mentioned next to a silver jug and being made of the same metal. In this same page, it is not clear why *kaškūlāni*, literally “two cups (or goblets)”, as Blau himself states, is instead supposed to mean “earrings”, a semantic shift never registered for that loanword from Neo-Persian *kaškul*, especially considering that, if mentioned together with pieces of jewellery, drinking vessels used to be counted as such. Also in this page, the hapax *kuzzah* “stomach pains” deserves some comment, concerning its meaning, as “surfeit” would be more accurate, and its vocalization, as the *wāw* is possibly a mistake for a *yod* in *scriptio plena*, since the usual shape of this word is *kizzah*; even

the **kuzz* “vomissement” of DS II 481b, taken from Alcalá, is a mistake for *kazz*.

p. 601: the hapax *kāfir kūb* pl. *kāfir kūbāt* “rod, club” is indeed a strange rendering of Hebrew *bad* in Ez. 19,14, but the passage is somewhat dark. If the fire consuming the fruits of Israel is an allegory of the Babylonian repression of Sedecias’ uprising, “club” or “mallet” would be in place, and we could surmise a Neo-Persian **kāfer kube* “mallet of the unfaithful” as a possible solution, but that compound is not attested, while *kāfir* may be a *lectio facilior*, substituting for other Neo-Persian words, e.g., *gabr*, which means both “unfaithful” and “coat of mail”, thus allowing a compound **gabr kube*.

p. 604: *kulband* “kind of turban” seems, however, to reflect Neo-Persian *gulband* “swaddling-bands” (see Steingass 1105b).

p. 608: *kinānah* “bag carried around the neck”, instead of its Classical meaning “quiver” is probably important to define the etymon of Castilian and Catalan **canana** “cartridge belt”, correcting our proposal in Corriente 1999a:488-489 which, incidentally appears invalidated also by the detection of a cognate *knāna* in the Moroccan Arabic dictionaries of Sinaceur 1993 VII:1705 and Premare 1998 X:645. Also in this page, *kunayt*/*ī* “spelt” can use some help from the *Kitābu Ġumdati ṭṭabīb* (p. 256 of our edition), which presents several vocalizations, and gives “spelt” as its first identification, followed by others, interpreted by J. Bustamante as *Triticum dicoccum* and *monococcum*, *Lathyrus sativum* and *Panicum* sp.

p. 609: *kandajah* “chiselling, stonecutting” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *kandagi* “engraving” (Steingass 1054a), from Pahlavi *kandan* “to dig” (MacKenzie 49), with a famous Arabic descendant, *xandaq* “ditch”. In this same page, *kundūman* “cabinet”, with a question mark, appears to reflect Neo-Persian *kandmand* “house in ruins” (Steingass, 1054a).

p. 610: concerning *kanīṣah* “any place of worship, even of idols” and *kanīsiyyah* “synagogue”, there are some additional interesting data about AA in the twin articles published in the journal *Al-Andalus* 1978 by J. Samsó and F. Corriente. The second variant appears to have been frequent in Al-Andalus, which would match well with a Yemenite origin⁴⁰, but both words appear to reflect a blend of Aramaic *kānīsāh* “gathering” and Greek *ekklēsia* of the same meaning, responsible not only for that apparent *nīsbah*-suffix, conspicuous, e.g., in Rabbinic *kānīsiyyah* (Jastrow 650a), and Maltese *knisja* (Aquilina 1987:I 665), but also for forms with /l/, like *kalīs(iyy)ah* (DS II 491a), Turkish *kilise*, etc.

p. 611: *mukawbaj* “fixed by hammering, inlaid”: is the non-agentive participle of an Arabic verb resulting from the adoption of Pahlavi **kob+ag*

⁴⁰ See on this CORRIENTE 1989b and BEHNSTEDT 2004.

“pounding instrument” reflected by Neo-Persian *kube* “mallet” (Steingass 1058a), as suspected by Goitein. In the same page, *kawarjah* “score, parcel of twenty units” reappears in DS II 505b *bilkawarjah* “en bloc, sans compter”, cf. Hindi *kavar* “bundle, bunch” (McGregor 180a), and the Turkish adverbial suffix *-ça/e*.

p. 614: *kuy(y)* “pelican” is a reflex of Neo-Persian *gay* (see Steingass 1108a “a speckled bird whose wings are used in feathering arrows”).

p. 615: *kaylah* “a dry measure about two liters” (see DS II 514a), when compared to Arabic *kaylah*, Syriac *kaylā* “measure” and Neo-Persian *kile* “a measure of corn” (Steingass 1070a), suggests a Pahlavi form **kayl+ag*, perhaps a Semitic loanword with the instrumental suffix. In this same page, *kīmuxt* “shagreen made from the skin of a wild ass” reflects Neo-Persian *kimox*.

p. 620: *lāḍah* “a piece of red silk” reappears in Ibn Quzmān as *lāḍ* which, according to Ibn Hišām was *laḍ* in vulgar pronunciation, to be corrected as *lāḍ*, with a *nomen unitatis* *lāḍah*, and described by him as “silken cloth woven in China” (Pérez Lázaro 205). In this same page, *lāsīm* “a special cheap sort of red silk” cannot be detached from DS II 569b *laysīm* “strasse, bourre or rebut de la soie”, nor from Steingass 111b *lās* “refuse of silk or lint; coarse silk”, but the semantic problem is compounded by passages like Ibn Quzmān 87/3/2 where *lās* is the material used in the lining of expensive cloths, (cf. Modern Egyptian *lāsa* “white wrapper of fine linen or silk” in Hinds & Badawi 775), whence we may conclude that the quality of this material went up and down along the times.

p. 621: *lālas* “fine red silk” and *lāna/is* “muslin, red Indian silk” (= *līnas* in 645) do reflect *lālas* “a kind of red silken stuff of a delicate texture” (Steingass 1113a) and *lāh* “kind of red silken stuff (ibidem 1114b), but their ultimate etymon is unclear.

p. 622: *lābsān* “wild mustard” is a reflex of Greek *lampsánē*, about which see *Kitābu ʿumdati ṭṭabīb*, pp. 302-303. In this same page, neither can *lablāb* be rendered as “thorn”, nor connected with *qaysūm* “southernwood, Artemisia abrotanum”, as botanists consistently identify it with “*Convulvulus arvensis*, lesser bindweed”.

p. 623: *labuww* “lion” is not likely to reflect a back-formed masculine of Old Arabic *labuʿah* “lioness”, so that Ibn Janāḥ was right when he said that reliable authors did not support that item. What actually happened is that, lions being unknown in Al-Andalus, while wolves were common, *labwa* became synonymous with the native Romance *LÚPA* > *lúbbā* “she-wolf” (see DAA 474a,25 and 38, under {LBʿ} and {LPP(S)}), so that a **labú* may have been artificially back-formed in order to render passages where synonyms were

used, like Num. 24,9 or, simply, because both beasts had coalesced under the common label of *assab*^c “the preying beast”.

p. 624: *lajnah* is equivocally rendered as “ploughed strip, the strip made around a field which is about to be ploughed”, it properly being the “narrow path between fields” of Rabbinic *lignā* (Jastrow 693a), exactly as in one of the witnessing texts of this item (Arabic: *alxaṭṭu llaḍī yaxuṭṭuhu ḥarrāṭu ḥawālayi lmakāni llaḍī yurīdu ḥarṭahū wahuwa lmusammā lajnah* “the furrow made by the farmer around the place which he wants to plough, called *l.*”, although this word might have been ambiguous, meaning as well the bed ploughed and ready to be sown, as in PS 1891 *ləgettā* “lectulus, sulcus”. In this very page, the hapax *lājiyah* “kind of wine vessel” is a doubtful item, perhaps corrupted from a reflex of Latin *lagoena* < Greek *lágunos* “bottle”, probably through Syriac *ləginā* (PS 1892).

p. 628: *laxtaj* “sediment of mud”, which appears again as *laxṭi/ṭj* “porridge” in an Andalusí cooking book, appears to be a derivate of Latin *lac* “milk” with a pejorative suffix (see DAA 478b,19).

p. 631: *laṭx* pl *alṭāx* “coil, spool” does not diachronically belong to the root {*lṭx*}, as shown by the fact that it does not share its basic semanteme (“filth”); it has rather been back-formed on *iltaxx* “to be entangled” from the root {*lxx*}, by contamination of velarization from /x/ to /ṭ/.

p. 633: rendering *laṭmī* as “Spanish, Old Castilian” reflects the misconception, still upheld by some scholars, that the Romance language spoken in Al-Andalus was a forerunner of Old Castilian, if not the same thing or, at any rate, of Modern Spanish. Some famous Spanish authors like Simonet proclaimed that mistaken idea, while others, by using the label “Mozarabic” and sharing similar nationalistic tenets, have masked or only half-acknowledged the fact that Andalusí Romance was a separate, though cognate, linguistic entity, like Catalan or Galician-Portuguese, not an ancestor of Castilian. That Romance spoken in Al-Andalus until the end of the 12th century was usually labelled by Muslim authors as *ʿajamiyyah*, while *lāḥiniyyah* was reserved to Latin, but confusions were frequent and fostered by the last Mozarabs who, although mostly monolingual in Arabic, not to mention their general ignorance of Latin, pretended to pass off the scarce Romance words they still remembered as items from that more prestigious language.

p. 636: **laqrab* “iron beam on which copper is beaten into sheets” is a hapax, perhaps a scribal error for >*bqrn*(y)<, as AA has *buqurníyya* for “envil”, from the Latin (*incus*) *bicornis* (see DAA 59a,26), whence **buqurn* would also be expectable.

p. 637: see the Latin etymon of *luqṣah* “splinter, chip” in DAA 483b,26.

p. 638: *laqan* “basin” is, of course, a reflex of Greek *lekánē*, as said by DS II 553-554; however, see DAA 477a,36, about its disputable ultimate etymon.

p. 643: *lūlū* “cricket” is probably a reflex of Latin *grillus*, possibly in onomatopoeic baby-talk, as the phonetic correspondence of its first syllable is irregular⁴¹, and looks more like a repetition of the second one in a way characteristic of the structures of baby-talk.

p. 644: *lunbīlā* “loins” is supported, besides Ibn Janāḥ’s famous quote first offered in DS II 568a, by its singular *lunbāl* in an Andalusī cooking book (see DAA 486a,21).

p. 645: *līqah* “ink” is rendered as “secret ink” in DS II 570a, but in Kazimirski, Belot, Hava, Hinds & Badawi 807b and DAA 484a,3 (Andalusī *liqqah*), it is a “wad of cotton put in the inkpot”, for the purpose of protecting the tip of the pen, while the *Lisān al‘Arab* has *līq(ah)* “some black stuff which is put in the *kuhl*”, with semantic nuances not altogether clear, although in the passage quoted by Blau this last option seems to fit best.

p. 647: *māsūr(ah)* “pipe” does not belong to the Arabic root {*sr*}, but to {*msr*}, in spite of DS I 26b⁴², as shown by the fact that it is never spelled **maṣūr(ah)*, with a **hamzah**. Strict Classical Arabic dictionaries ignore this term which, on the other hand, is not attributed to Arabic in Persian dictionaries (e.g., Steingass 1141a, *māsūre* “weaver’s reed”, see also our note to p. 295).

p. 648: *matī* “two wooden bars attached to the loom, provided with iron needles for stretching the cloth” reflects Neo-Persian *matit* “weaver’s comb” (Steingass 1171b), the semantic and phonetic likeness with Arabic {*mtt*} being coincidental. In this same page, >*mtwry*< “rough, uneven (cloth)”, with a question mark, might perhaps be as gentilic of Mathura in India (cf. Neo-Persian *matūre*, in Steingass 1170b), if not related to Neo-Persian *motavarri* “hidden, lurking” < Arabic *mutawarrī*.

p. 656: *mirād* “ancestors, forefathers” is a doubtful hapax, as in previous cases; in the context >*mrʔdnʔ wʔslʔfnʔ*<, one is tempted to correct one grapheme and read *marāji‘una waʔaslāfuna* “our referees and ancestors”, or even to suppose that {*rdd*}, i.e., *marāddunā*, has been substituted for the synonymous {*rjʕ*}, although *maradd* does not cover all the semantic functions of *marjiʕ*, in particular this one. In this page, the rendering of *marzubān* as “a measure, *ṣomer*” is absolutely striking, as that Iranian word, without any connection with the Semitic root {*zrb*}, had widely circulated in its proper meaning of “margrave, warden of the marches” (so already in Pahlavi *marz(o)bān*, MacKenzie 54, but also in Neo-Persian, *marz(a)bān*, Steingass 1214a), as well as in the jesting connotation of “catamite” (about which, see

⁴¹ See DAA 20b, under {**ĠRL**} about the normal reflex of this same item in AA.

⁴² Dozy is this time inconsistent as he clearly pronounces it a Persian item, with several variants, as usual in loanwords.

the anecdote in DS II 588b)⁴³. Chances are that this familiar word is only a scribal error instead of a less frequent one, perhaps *martabān* (DS II 590b, still frequent in some Modern Eastern dialects, as well as in Neo-Persian *martabān*), a kind of vessel very apt to put in it and preserve the rations of manna allowed to the Israelites in their exodus by divine decree in that passage of the Holy Writ. It is probably not sheer coincidence that one of these vessels would approximately hold one *Comer*.

p. 657: *markan* “to store food” is provided with a question mark, which may be deleted, as Egyptian Arabic *rakan* “to put aside; to save” (Hinds & Badawī 350b) makes easy to posit **markan* “a place for keeping things”, whence a denominal quadriconsonantic verb. In this same page, *marhamdān* “bandage container” reflects Neo-Persian *marham dān*, literally “container for dressings”, later on “strip on which a plaster is put” (Steingass 1220a).

p. 660: concerning *masannī* “greenish”, DS I 695 did not hit the mark upon listing this term under the root {*snw*}, nor is it a corruption of **musannā*; the true story can be found in DAA 264b,35, where we learn that *misann* “whetstone” became *ma/usann* in AA, whence the adjective *masannī* “dark green”, with the *nisbah*-ending, because the whetstones used then and there were of that colour, almost black, as explicitly detailed by Azzubaydī, according to ^CAbdattawwāb’s edition of his *Laḥn al-Ānmmah*, p. 150, N°131).

p. 661: *māsīk* “tongs” is not a case of confusion between /s/ and /š/, in spite of variants with /s/, due to semantic assimilation to the root {*msk*} “to hold”. In fact, it is a reflex of Pahlavi **māšag*, continued by Neo-Persian *māšē* (Steingass 1141a), which has entered Egyptian Arabic as *māšah* (Hinds & Badawī 810a).

p. 664: *maṭrūn* and its alternate *maḥrūn* “snake, viper” are probably euphemistic designations used instead of the original name of that loathed and feared animal. In the first case, we suggest a phonetic deliberate alteration of *maṭrūq* “met across the way”, while *maḥrūn* in its turn could be a distortion of *malḥūn* “accursed”.

p. 668: *malfī* “cloth” is, more accurately, “cloth made in Amalfī, Southern Italy”, about which see DAA 510a,1. Here we retrieve the original gentilic with the *nisbah*-suffix, not preserved in the AA witnesses.

p. 672 *mannā* “to examine a ritually slaughtered animal” seems to connect with Rabbinic *amnē* “to designate for a share (in the Passover meal)” (Jastrow 800b). In this page also, >*mhj*< “bolt” must be connected with Egyptian Arabic *mihagg* “deep circular niche in a wall ... to take the tongue of a wooden lock”

⁴³ Based upon a pun, as *marz* also means “coition”, while *bān* “ben tree” was a usual metaphore for a lovely person with a slender waist.

(Hinds & Badawi 900a), a derivate of the Classical *hajj* “to be sunken or deep-set”.

p. 674: the rendering of *mahā* as “sapphire” is not accurate, in spite of Raphelengius’ opinion, transmitted by DS II 630, “legitur pro *sappir* et *taršīs*”, apparently based upon the very often unreliable information of the *Glossary of Leiden*, where that Arabic term is translated as *saffirus* and *onocinus* (see Corriente 1991:164), while most native sources take it to be “rock crystal”. It must, however, be remembered that the rendering of the Old Hebrew gem names in Ex 28,18-20 have posed insolvable problems to all subsequent translators, who have tried to get themselves off the hook as well as they could, without aiming at absolute accurateness in any case, from *Septuaginta* up to the present day. In this same page, *mawraj* “threshing sledge” (see DS II 631b) is a reflex of Hebrew *morāg* (Brown, Driver & Briggs 558), whence Arabic *nawraj* by dissimilation of labials⁴⁴, and then *nayraj* by assimilation of palatals, but the ultimate etymon is far from clear.

p. 677: *mays/s* “whey” constitutes the needed support for our hypothesis in DAA 517a,32 about the same item in AA as a reflex of Hebrew *miš ḥalab* “squeezing of milk”.

p. 679: the adjective *manbūt* applied to silver is probably not accurately rendered as “coined”, since Ibn Hišām Allaxmī translates it as “pure or native silver” (see DAA 519b,6; also *manbūt maḍdanī* “native metal”, i.e., as is found in the mines). In this page also, *anbār* “heap” pl. *anābīr* is likely to be of Persian stock, as pointed by Kazimirski and Steingass 103b, while the singular *na/ibr* registered in the *Lisān alḤarab* seems to be back-formed and suspect, in view of the famous old place name Alʿanbār in Mesopotamia.

p. 680: the rendering of *nabaḥī* as “Aramaic” is questionable. While the true historical Nabateans indeed used an Aramaic dialect⁴⁵ in the inscriptions they left, and that gentilic adjective is often attached to words that are of Aramaic stock, e.g., in botanical treatises⁴⁶, it is notorious that this Arabic term soon became the derogatory label of those inhabitant of Syria and Iraq who spoke Neo-Arabic since the earliest, pre-Islamic times, and it is sometimes used even today to distinguish Colloquial from Classical Arabic (see Corriente 1975:55-56, fn. 2)⁴⁷. In this same page, *nabālah* “a type of bracelet” is not some kind of

⁴⁴ Which Ibn Janaḥ considered more correct.

⁴⁵ Studied by CANTINEAU 1930-32.

⁴⁶ Above all, the “Nabataean agriculture” attributed to Ibn Waḥṣiyyah and edited by T. FAHD 1998.

⁴⁷ However, this notion has not gained universal recognition, which is conspicuous, e.g., in the translation of the famous paragraph by Ibn Sanāʾ Almulk describing the *kharjah*, where the mss. have >nfīy< and the editors have failed to recognize it as a mistake for *nabaḥī*, i.e., the requirement of its being dialectal, as conspicuous in translations like that STERN 1974, pp. 159

hypercorrection for *nabīlah*, which appears next, but possibly an independent word documented in DAA 520b,7, perhaps exhibiting second degree *imālah*, but operating on a dissimilated and metathetical reflex of Latin *monile* “necklace”.

p. 688: *narūka* “frog”, metathetical of *ranūq/k* (DAA 220a,15) may well have acquired this meaning, e.g., in Ibn Danān (see Jiménez Sánchez 1996:288), as it meant “toad” in Granadan Arabic (see DAA 525b,22), but its original etymon contained a diminutive suffix, and must have meant “tadpole”, unless it was merely pejorative (cf. Catalan **granota** and French **grenouille**). In this page also, *nizājah* “vagabondage, deception, deceit, trickery” with a question mark, should rather be connected to *nazaj* “to dance”, on account of the low reputations of dancers among Semites.

p. 696: >*nšf*< “crossbeam” is likely to be corrupted or evolved from *našib* “steady, fixed”.

p. 705: the spelling *na^{Cām}* for *na^{Cam}* “yes” needs no other explanation than the Andalusis’ habit of marking stressed vowels with *matres lectionis*, about which, see Corriente 1977:60-61, as a consequence of the loss of phonemic vowel length in their speech and the emergence, instead of it, of phonemic stress. This was the most conspicuous feature perhaps of this dialect bundle, without which the metre of Andalusī stanzaic poetry cannot be understood⁴⁸.

p. 718: *namardaj* “bolt” reflects Pahlavi *nar* + *mādag* “male and female” (MacKenzie 58 & 53), whence Neo-Persian *narmāde* “male and female; bolt” (Steingass 1395b), an obvious allusion to the two parts of a bolt. In this same page, *nahd* “knob; protuberance of a fruit” would be bettered rendered as “stalk”, the semantics of the Arabic item, which means “breast”, being calqued on AA *puččūn*, about which see {PČN} II in DAA 38a,11.

p. 722: *nawbahār* “beginning of spring” is a rather naïve translation of this Neo-Persian loanword (*nowbahār* in Steingass 1431b), which designates the descending node of the moon’s orbit.

pp. 722-723: *nawārijī* “wizard, magician, sorcerer, conjuror” reflects a *nisbah*-derivate of Neo-Arabic *naw/yrij* (DS II 663a), from Neo-Persian *nirang/j* (Steingass 1441b) < Pahlavi *nērang* “spell” (MacKenzie 58), also valid as the etymon of *nayranjiyyah* “black magic” in p. 726.

p. 725: *anāq* “to give light” is a hapax, perhaps a scribal mistake for *anār*.

& 34 (“like naphtha”), and even in the unaltered quote by ZWARTJES in his excellent and updated survey of this subject, 1997, p. 320.

⁴⁸ IBN QUZMĀN 105/4/5 uses a pun based on the phonemic identity of *na^{Cām}* “yes” and *na^{Cam(a)}* “ostrich(es)”: *faqūlli na^{Cām} āha mūr / na^{Cāma} ajāll aṭṭuyūr* “Say yes to me, come on, do, / for ostriches are the best birds”. Which is not a great joke, but plays with the phonetic likeness of both words.

p. 727: the correct etymon of *nāmbirišt* is Neo-Persian *nim berešt* “half cooked” (Steingass 1445a), as correctly stated by DS II 751b, although *nāmaras(a)t* and other corruptions have also circulated in Arabic.

p. 734: *h/hulayq* “pap made of fruits, spices and vinegar” reflects Neo-Persian *halyāk* “thin milk, thickened by boiling and hardened or dried” (Steingass 1507a).

p. 737: *hanbazāni* “instrument of torture”, probably pincers, from Neo-Persian *hambāz* “playmate, associate” (Steingass 1508a).

p. 738: *hāwad* “to maintain close relation with so.; to be attracted to him; to join him” may be better rendered as “to condescend; to agree upon”, in the light of the same entry in DAA 553a,36.

p. 758: *warrāz* “farmer” is a morphological adaptation of Neo-Persian *varzi* “labourer” (Steingass 1463a) < Pahlavi *warz* “agriculture” (MacKenzie 87) with the suffix +*ṛg*.

p. 759: “to plaster” is not an accurate rendering of *warraq* in this context, which refers to the kind of decoration in plaster called *tawrīq* (Castilian **ataurique**, see DAI 239b,16), i.e., with leaves and fruits.

p. 781: >*wkb* *ʿan*< “to abstain from” is a hapax, with a supporting example >*wkbt* *ʿan*<, which is perhaps to be emended into *wakafafu ʿan*, it being known that geminate verbs were at times abridged (see Corriente 1977:112).

Finally, we have detected some unavoidable pesting misspprints, e.g, p. xviii & xxviii “Kokovstov” for “Kokovtsov”, 21a,31 “Daszsatz” for “Daßsatz”, 23a,7, “constract” for “construct”, 49b,25, “Amacardium” for “Anacardium”, 150b,32, Arabic >*mḥwḥ*< for >*mḥwj*<, 224b,20 & 21, “purer” and “purest” for “poorer” and “poorest”, 375b, 19, “cymbols” for “cymbals”, 415b,22, “boul” for “bowl”, 436a,5, “seperate” for “separate” and 703b,5, “Firkovitsh” for more usual “Firkovitch”.

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