

# Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords

# Handbook of Oriental Studies

## Section 1, The Near and Middle East

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# Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loanwords

Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician  
and Kindred Dialects

*By*  
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## PREFACE

It is wholly unnecessary to tell the educated reader about the confrontation of one or another kind that Europe and the East have stood in for at least 2500 years, since for the first time two Indoeuropean nations, the Greeks and the Persians clashed in Asia Minor over political and economical interests. It is also well-known that this first feud between Greeks and Achaemenid Persians was to be inherited by the Romans, on conquering those lands, and then by their Eastern heirs, the Byzantines, as traditional foes of the Parthian and Sassanid Persians and, finally, by the Western powers and the Islamic states of the Middle East, whether Arabic or Turkish, until the present day.

It is equally obvious that any illustrated scholar cannot or, at least should not become emotionally or ideologically involved with either an apology of or an attack on any of the cultural, religious, political or economic systems which fought each other in such struggles, our task being merely to describe the events, their causes and consequences.

In the case of Western Europe, it is also widely known that the Muslims' onslaught on this part of the world, as a consequence of their previous successes in the East and North Africa, led to the emergence of Islamic states in the Iberian Peninsula between 711 and 1492 A.D., when the reaction of Christian powers, feeble to begin with, but relentless and increasingly strong, put an end to that chapter of history, not, however, without long-lasting cultural and linguistic consequences in the areas formerly held and for centuries occupied by Islamicized and Arabicized populations.

When we concern ourselves merely with the linguistic aspect of such consequences, i.e., the linguistic interference of Arabic with the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, we soon discover that we have been preceded in this endeavour by other scholars since the Middle Ages, although their contributions may differ greatly in extension and value, according to their methods, goals and attitudes.

It is beyond the scope of our present concern to undertake a historical survey and criticism of those contributions, their merits and shortcomings, about which we have already and repeatedly offered our opinions. Instead, we would rather let readers have their own views on such potentially conflictive subjects, while providing them with the latest results of our research on the grammar and lexicon of the loanwords dealt with here.

However, if one thing we must say for the very sake of being scholarly neutral and ideologically faithful to the highest moral achievement of humankind, namely, the principles of Enlightenment, it is that the still unsettled feud between Islam and the West has had, and continues to have very negative consequences for a dispassionate assessment of their mutual cultural interferences, of which loanwords are an important and revealing chapter. If one anecdote can tell more than a thousand words, we could say with a smile, but also some shock and much worry for what the future might hold for us and our own, that we have received a few anonymous phone calls accusing us, on account of our studies of Arabic loanwords in Western languages, of “furthering a second Moorish invasion of Spain” On a very different level, after having revised that important share of Castilian lexicon, in the wake of the publication of the latest edition of the DRAE, when we offered to take care of the last, but important details of its inclusion in that dictionary, we were told that there was no time for this, as the issuing of that work was too urgent. Too urgent to waste time on improving the presentation of those Arab loanwords and avoiding the host of mistakes reproduced once again since, one would surmise, those in charge of that institution do not feel that the second most important ingredient of the Spanish lexicon deserves any more attention.

It is therefore our perhaps too pessimistic impression that the only people who react in a perceptible way to the issue of cultural relations between Islam and the West are bigots of either trend, i.e., Western racists who in any case would never acknowledge the important debt of Western culture to the East, or fundamentalist Monotheists, be they Christian, Muslim or Jewish, eager only to see the final victory of the crudest brand of their creed over the lands and minds of the infidel. As for neutral, enlightened people on either side of this historical boundary, there would appear to be few or, at least they are not seen rallying eagerly in support of reason, moderation and the acknowledgement of historical facts and inherent traits of human nature.

This book is addressed to them, in order to remind them that Al-Andalus, in addition to having been an important chapter of the shared history of Islam and the West, is also an extremely interesting lesson in sociology and sociolinguistics, as the people of the Iberian Peninsula, whatever their religion and tongue, not only shared the fruit of the progress brought about by the highest civilization of its time, but also a good deal of the Arabic language which supported it. They did not merely borrow a number of isolated words to name new products, inventions and institutions, such as sugar, stills and market inspectors, not to mention such grim notions as Inquisition < *miḥnah*, and crusade < *jihād*, but also an immense array of technical, social and linguistic manners, reflected in games still played by our children, nursery rhymes, more or less decent idioms used by all, even when their words are no longer understood, cries used to cheer sports teams, etc. Because the

contact between Arabic and Romance in the Iberian Peninsula was neither brief nor superficial: Mozarab emigration to the Northern Christian states, since the 9th c. down to the 13th c., brought to them not only a higher civilization, but also the basic words and idioms embedded within it, which gained currency even among those who only spoke Romance. The same happened again in lands conquered by the Christians, but still heavily populated by Muslims, almost as soon as that first wave had ended. Whether or not they converted to Christianity and became assimilated sooner or later between the 12th and 16th cs., which many did it soon enough to avoid the wholesale expulsion of the 17th c., although deprived of prestige, they were still an overwhelming majority in certain areas, craft and trades and underworld activities, such as muleteers, wandering performers, tricksters and thieves among the men; nannies, servants, strolling players, singers, dancers and prostitutes among the women. They consequently exerted considerable influence on the areas of language most closely connected with those activities: professional jargons, such as those of building, animal breeding and driving, technical terms related to games, thieves' cant, taboo words, etc.

Not too many people in Spain and Portugal are fully aware of their mixed linguistic background, and quite a few of them, when appraised of it, often react to such a possibility by rejecting it as an insult. No feeling of humiliation survives from the Roman conquest and subsequent Romanization, nor any resentment against the Germanic tribes who wrought mostly havoc to Hispania; even Napoleon's invasion is looked upon as a historical event not entirely lacking positive consequences and at any rate does not induce most Spanish people to hate the French, but the Islamic invasion is a different matter. It has not been digested, assumed as one more chapter of old history, in spite of the centuries elapsed, of the benefits contributed by the invaders and the merits of multi-racial Andalusí civilization. Two factors have powerfully prevented the easing of this tension, namely, the religious divide and also the geo-political and socio-economic gap between both shores of the Strait. People continue to watch in distrust what may come across the water, because the frontier is still and above all there, so that the other is behind that fence, and one never knows. Under such circumstances, one understands the angry reaction of some Galicians when they are told that **ceibe** "free" is an Arabic word, or some Catalans, when one of their favourite dishes, the **escalivada**, is attributed to the same origin, not to mention the reactions, ranging from amazement to distrust, of any Spaniard who is informed that the popular song **a la lima, al alimón, te vas a quedar soltera** (q.v.), begins with the very Arabic words used by Andalusí criers to call the attention of crowds before proclaiming the ruler's announcement.

But that has been and is our history, and it will not be changed by merely ignoring or pretending to ignore it. Mutual ignorance shall not lead to peace and

collaboration, but even less is it a good preparation for a war. Let us hope for no more of the second ever, and that our efforts to improve present levels of understanding between Islam and the West are only used to serve that first purpose, the only one behooving the honest.

The author  
Saragossa, March 15th, 2008



We use the following abbreviations for any gender and number:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Ak. = Akkadian.   | Cp. = Coptic.   |
| Alg. = Algerian dialect of Ar.  | Cs. = Castilian.  |
| Am. = Amharic.  | Ct. = Catalan.  |
| An. = Andalusian dialect of Cs.   | der. = derivate.  |
| And. = Andalusí Arabic.   | dial. = dialectal.  |
| And.Rom. = Andalusí Rom.  | dim. = diminutive.  |
| Anl. = An. after Alvar Ezquerro <i>et al.</i> 2000.   | ed. = edition, edited.  |
| Anz. = An. after Alcalá Venceslada 1980.  | Eg. = Egyptian.   |
| Ar. = Arabic.   | Eng. = English.   |
| Arag. = Aragonese.  | esp. = especially.  |
| Aram. = Aramaic.  | Et. = Ethiopic.   |
| Ast. = Asturian after Rato 1891 and García Arias 2006.  | Ext. = Cs. dialectal items from Extremadura, after Viudas 1980. |
| Ast.-Leo. = Asturian-León.  | fem. = feminine.  |
| aug. = augmentative.  | Fr. = French.   |
| Baš. = Bašamrani dialect of Taš.  | Ger. = German.  |
| Bal. = Ct. dialects of the Balearic Islands (= Maj. + Men. + Ib.).  | Gl. = Galician.   |
| Bed. = Bedouin dialects of Arabic.  | Gl.-Pt. = Galician-Pt.  |
| Bib. = Biblical.  | Gr. = Greek.  |
| Bie. = León. dialect of El Bierzo after García Rey 1934.  | Ḥas. = Ḥassāniyyah Ar.  |
| Br. = Berber.   | Hb. = Hebrew.   |
| Can. = Canarian dialect of Cs. after Lorenzo 1994, Corrales, Corbella & Álvarez Martínez 1996 and our own data. | Ib. = Bal. dialect of Ibiza.                                    |
| Cl. = Classic.  | Iber.-Rom. = Ibero-Rom.   |
| Cnt. = Cs. dialectal items from Cantabria after López Vaqué 1988.   | int.-And. = intra-And.  |
|   | int.-Ar. = intra-Ar.  |
|   | int.-Rom. = intra-Rom.  |
|   | Ir. = Iraqi Ar.   |
|   | It. = Italian.  |
|   | Jud.-Ar. = Judaeo-Ar.   |
|   | Jud.-Pal. = Judaeo-Palestinian.                                 |
|   | Jud.-Sp. = Judaeo-Spanish.                                      |
|   | Kab. = Kabyle.  |

- Leo. = Leonese from Díez Suárez 1994.  
 Lgr. = Low Gr.  
 Lib. = Libyan Ar.  
 lit. = literally.  
 Llt. = Low Lt.  
 Lt. = Latin.  
 Maj. = Ct. dialect of Majorca.  
 Malt. = Maltese.  
 Man. = Cs. dialect of La Mancha, after Serna 1983.  
 Mand. = Mandaean.  
 masc. = masculine.  
 Men. = Ct. dialect of Menorca.  
 Mor. = Moroccan dialects of Ar.  
 mod. = modern.  
 Mon. = Cs. dialect of Montes de Toledo after Sánchez Miguel 1995.  
 Mur. = Murcian dialect of Cs. after García Soriano 1932.  
 n.ag. = *nomen agentis*.  
 n.inst. = *nomen instrumenti*.  
 n.un. = *nomen unitatis*.  
 Naf. = North African Ar.  
 Nav. = Navarrese after Iribarren 1952 and 58.  
 Neo-Ar. = Neo-Arabic.  
 Neo-P. = Neo-Persian (Farsi).  
 Nvh. and Nvl. = subdialects of Mon. in Navahermosa and Los Navalucillos, respectively, after Sánchez Miguel and Martín Maestro & Gómez López-Pintor 1979.  
 Pahl. = Pahlavi.  
 pl. = plural.  
 pr.n. = proper name.  
 pre-Rom. = pre-Roman.  
 prob. = probably.  
 proto-Rom. = proto-Romance.  
 Pt. = Portuguese.  
 Rb. = Rabinic Aram.  
 Rif. = Riffian Br.  
 Rom. = Romance.  
 Sar. = South Arabian.  
 sg. = singular.  
 Sk. = Sanskrit.  
 Sl. = Cs. dialect of Salamanca after Lamano 1915.  
 Sr. = Syrian dialects of Ar.  
 Syr. = Syriac.  
 Tam. = *Tamazigt* dialect of Br.  
 Taš. = *Tašəlhit* dialect of Br.  
 Tol. = Cs. dialect of Toledo.  
 Tr. = Turkish.  
 Tun. = Tunisian Ar.  
 Ugar. = Ugaritic.  
 Val. = Valencian dialect of Ct.  
 var. = variant.

Besides, and in spite of resorting to the Harvard citation system, we have considered it convenient to use the following siglae for the most frequently quoted works and authors:

- AAR = Corriente 1992a,  
 BRAE = *Boletín de la Real Academia española*,  
 DA = *Diccionario de Autoridades*,  
 DAA = Corriente 1997d,  
 DAI = Corriente 1999d,

DCECH = Coromines & Pascual 1980–81,  
 DE = Dozy & Engelmann 1869,  
 DECLC = Coromines 1983–91,  
 DRAE = *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*,  
 DS = Dozy 1881,  
 EI<sup>2</sup> = *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.),  
 GB = Asín 1943,  
 IQ = Ibn Quzmān's *Dīwān* (usually quoted after Corriente 1995b),  
 PD = Corriente 1997a,  
 SG = Simonet 1888,  
 SK = Corriente 1977, and  
 TD = Benmrad 1990.

Iber.-Rom. words in their traditional spellings are reproduced in bold face, and every other language, except Eng., in italics, bold italics in the case of technical terms. High case is used as required by the traditional spelling rules of some languages, as well as in the whole extension of And.-Rom. items in phonemic transcription, in order to facilitate their easy distinction from And.Ar. and according to linguistic usage in the case of archiphonemes.

However, we make very sparse use, merely in the most necessary instances, of the standard symbols of phonemic (/x/), phonetic (⟨x⟩), morphemic (⟨x⟩) and graphemic transcription (>x<). Our phonemic and phonetic transcription system is the same as in our main works on this and related subjects (e.g., Corriente 1977, 1992a, 1998a, 1999a, etc.), differing from the international continental system only in the use of /j/ y /x/ instead /ǧ/ of /ħ/, respectively; the more visible /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ for *ʕayn* and *hamz*, more in agreement also with their full-fledged phonemic status than the usual spiritus marks; and in the restitution of final /h/ substituting for the ending consonant in the pausal form of the morpheme {-at}, since, despite a widespread prejudice, it is not totally dispensable, like the transcription of predictable post-junctural *hamz*, since it prevents confusion between words ending in /ā/ and others in which that morpheme is attached, e.g., pausal *ḥayā* “rain” and *ḥayāh* “life”

It is noteworthy that place and personal names, work titles and all kinds of Arabic quotes, whether short or long, are often transcribed by Western Arabic scholars in a most whimsical manner, inserting pausal forms in context, in order to avoid inflected items, side by side with contextual forms in pause, when there is no inflectional alternancy, e.g., in the case of functionals and perfective verbs. This ill-advised simplification generates a distorted pseudo-Arabic, absolutely condemnable above all in long quotes, while more tolerable in the case of place and personal names and work titles, in order to avoid chaos in library catalogues

and most common works of reference, should they be correctly rewritten. Nevertheless, even in such cases, we have eliminated most unnecessary hyphens and restored a basically phonemic transcription.

We must also warn that the sign equal (=), placed between And. and Cl.Ar. in this work, does not imply direct genetic descendance, eventually possible, although usually both registers hark back to Old Ar.: we are thereby simply coming to terms with the fact that Old Ar. is represented most of the time only through Cl.Ar. sources. For this reason we have abandoned the sign (<) in such instances.

Finally, we have marked with an asterisk posited words which are not witnessed, but appear to have existed; with two asterisks, those which are not the etymon of the entry, but are mentioned for some other reason; and with three, those words not witnessed and which cannot be posited, being more or less traditionally carried over mistakes.

## THE GRAMMAR OF ARABIC LOANWORDS IN IBERO-ROMANCE

0. Any serious and mod. survey of Arabic loanwords in the Rom. languages of the Iberian Peninsula requires a scientific method to check the accuracy of the hypotheses put forward about them since as far back as the Middle Ages, since many of them are extremely weak and based on mere acoustic or semantic similarities, concocted by authors whose knowledge of the languages implied, sources, and targets was usually insufficient in extension and depth. This method, generated by the progress of mod. linguistics in the field of etymology and perfected through repeated and continuous experiences in diverse language families, is characterized by certain well-defined requirements, namely:

0.1. Phonetic equations, which are the basis of all etyma, except partially in the case of bookish borrowing, must obey the established regular correspondences, though diachronically and diatopically variable also in a regular way, between both phonemic systems in contact, in the present instance, the dialect bundle of And.-Ar.<sup>1</sup> and each dialect of Northern Rom. (Gl.-Pt., Ast.-Leo., Cs., Arag. and Ct. dialects and subdialects). Any irregular correspondence in an etymological proposal deprives it of its phonetic basis, except when explainable in terms of known exceptions, catalogued within the theory of phonetic change, such as assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, aphaeresis, apocope, epenthesis, etc., taking place in the borrowed item, or due to functionally probable contamination with another.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Steiger was practically the first scholar who perceived the necessity of taking this, not Cl.Ar., as the point of departure for the phonetic study of Ar. loanwords, although his endeavours were often foiled by scarcity of information or complemented with Naf. data, with eventual risk of inaccuracy in some cases. A few years later, Coromines also followed this fundamental methodological improvement, more recently adopted by the editors of María Moliner (2nd ed.), while the more conservative *DRAE* has been less consequent with the acknowledged need for self-criticism in this neglected area.

<sup>2</sup> Contaminations are the final outcome of former malapropisms, caused by mere phonetic similarity with a more frequent word (e.g., Arag. *abarroz* "lousewort", Cs. *almocárabe* "stalactite work in Islamic architecture", Ct. *artifell* "earthenware pot", and Pt. *altaforma* "a preying bird", contaminated by *arroz* "rice" *árabe* "Arab", *art* "art", and *alta* "high", respectively). In other cases, contamination is introduced by a fancied prefix {re-} (e.g., Pt. *arrequife*, "iron point of a cotton gin", Cs. *arrezafe* "an edible thistle", Cs., Gl., and Pt. *recamar* "to embroider", etc., all of which should have *ra-* instead), or by the initial segment *almo-*, featured by many Arabic loanwords (e.g., Cs. *almóndiga* "meatball", *almodón* "fine wheat meal" and *almohatre* "ammonia", etc., none of which should have such an onset). Other times, contamination is the result of semantic likeness (e.g., Mur. *acibara* vs. Cs. *azabara*, "American aloe", influenced by synonymous *acibar*, Cs. *aljama* "Muslim or Jewish community", which should be ultima stressed, but has been levelled with a heterogeneous penultima stressed *aljama* "great mosque", not to mention cases of blending, like that of Arag. *catáfila* "crowd", a combination of *caterva* and *cáfila*, it being common that semantic connections

A conspicuous example of neglect of this principle resulting in a false etymon, very much to the surprise of the lay, on account of seemingly irreproachable phonetic and semantic likeness, is that of Cs. **res** and Pt. **rês** "head of cattle": this word cannot reflect Ar. *raʿs* (= And.Ar. *rás*) "head", in spite of a shared meaning, because the expectable Rom. reflex should have been **\*\*\*(ar)raz**, and there is no acceptable derivation from such origin for the only witnessed form.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is obvious that any etymon drawn from Cl.Ar., or even from Neo-Ar. sources, but unwitnessed in And., will be questionable in proportional relation to its rarity and attested survival in the rest of Neo-Ar., although this stricture is somehow mitigated by the well-known circumstance that our lexical information on And. is far from being complete, it being likely, as proven sometimes, that an Ar. loanword in Rom. be the only witness of the presence of an Ar. or Br. item in And. (e.g., Arag. **acorchofa-se** "to squat" < Ar. *alqurfusāʿ*, unattested otherwise in And., Pt. **adarço** "reef" < And. *adḍārs* only documented as "tooth", Nav. **ainea** "reedmace" < And. *\*ṣaynīyya* "mesh", Ct. **alabrent** "worker in paper mills" < And. *\*labrāl*, Cs. **alazán** "sorrell" < *alaṣhāb*, unattested in And. as colour adjective for horses, Pt. **alfonsim**, and Ct. **anfós** "fish names", < Lt. *rāfus*, through Br. and And. forms otherwise unattested, An. **almáf/zaque** "weeding hoe" < And. *\*almāṣzaq* < Ar. *almiṣzaq*, otherwise unattested in And., and Maj. **argamussa**, < Lt. *rācēmus*, through Br. *\*arkamus* and And. *\*arkamūsa*, otherwise unattested. At any rate, since the last quarter of the 20th century, when And.Ar. was for the first time systematically described in a comprehensive manner, we have arrived to a much better position than that of our forerunners, and even our immediate predecessors, when confronted with issues concerning the integration of given words and syntagms in the And. grammar and lexicon.

**0.2.** The semantic match between a purported loanword and its suggested (Ar.) etymon must be quite obvious or, at least, close enough within reasonable and generally acknowledged allowances of semantic evolution—preferably if diachronically documented by successive witnesses of gradual shift towards a new meaning—unless there is evidence of sudden metonymy in the historical and

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be established by folk etymology (e.g., Cs., Gl. and Pt. **caparrosa**, which suggests a "pink cloak", vs. Old Ct. **coparós** "copperas", Nav. **abolorio**, connected with "old folks", vs. Cs. **abolorio** "beadwork", etc.). Such alterations of the signifier are at times accompanied by important shifts in the signified also (e.g., Cs. **andorra** "gadabout", as if derived from **andar** "to walk", instead of its original meaning "talkative woman").

<sup>3</sup> In spite of his excellent background and methodology, even Steiger (1932:329–30) fell into that trap, obsessed by the phonetic and semantic similarities, resorting, in order to offset the phonetic anomaly of which he was fully aware, to a dialectal Sar. *reʿs*, absolutely unknown, however, in the Western dialects of Neo-Ar.

cultural context.<sup>4</sup> Only for this reason, e.g., Ct. **aladroc** “anchovy” cannot have an Ar. etymon *alʔazraq* “the blue one”, as it used to be claimed, for the semantic gap between both concepts cannot be bridged by suggesting antonomasia, since this species of fish is not any more particularly characterized by that colour than others equally common in the presumable time and place where the borrowing would have occurred.

**0.3.** Phonetic and semantic compatibility, although sufficient to suggest borrowing between two given languages, are no definitive proof thereof, precluding other alternatives, as there is a small number of random coincidences between the lexemes of languages only distantly or in no way related. This may generate a dilemma, when a certain word could, simultaneously and without violating any of those two requisites, be given an etymon in two different source languages, while in other cases it can be ascertained that the borrowing did not take place from one to another, but from a third to both.<sup>5</sup> For these and similar reasons, definitive evidence of borrowing can only be found in the available written documents witnessing the presence of both languages in the proper time, place and circumstances for such a transfer and subsequent continued usage. This, in turn, allows the detection of any possible phonetic and semantic evolution which might have masked that original compatibility: as anybody can imagine, all the desirable

<sup>4</sup> Cases of acceptable metonymy, although not necessarily demonstrable, are those of, e.g., Cs. **azafata** = Pt. **açafata** “stewardess”, from **azafate** = **açafate** < And. *saḡaṭ* “tray” (carried by them), Pt. **baforeira** “boasting”, from And. *buxúr* “steam” and, generally, instances of concretization, i.e., semantic evolution from abstract processes to their material outcome (e.g., Cs. **aldabía** “crossbeam” < And. *attubhíyya* “set up”, **atanquía** “depilatory agent” < And. *attunqíya* “cleaning”, and **asnado** “prop” < And. *isnául* “supporting”, contaminated by **asno** “donkey”), euphemisms (e.g., Anz. **alamico** “gesture in the agony” < And. *šalám* “sign”, with the Cs. dim. suffix) and derisive allusions (such as those obtaining in And. *širkáyr* “pigsty” from Lt. *circārium*, the forerunner of Cs. **chiquero**, mischievously distorted in order to suggest “the pagans”, i.e., Christians’ abode”, a Muslim taunt and, conversely, Cs. **mezquita** or Eng. “mosque”, from Ar. < *musqīṭah*, “making fall [in mistakes]”), the Christians’ retaliating corruption of *masgidah*, a “Yemenite” reflex of *masjid*, (see Corriente 1996d:12–13), curiously matched by Judaeo-Ar. *murjaz* “mosque”, lit., “place for making God angry”, after Blau 2006:239–240, about which see Corriente 2007:325–326. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that even the most ingenious explanations can never be as good as *loci probantes*.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., the similarity between Ger. *Erde* and Ar. *arḍ* “earth” is sheer coincidence, as well as between Eng. *sheriff* and Ar. *šarīf* “nobleman”, but that is not the case of Eng. *wine* and Et. *wáyn* “vine”, as we know that the domestication of this plant and its use in the elaboration of wine spread together with its name from an old Anatolian language amidst Indo-European, Semitic and Caucasian peoples. There is also a panchronic tool, used by all etymologists in order to check the correctness of a given etymon, namely, to take into account the degree of diffusion of the target word in its whole linguistic family, beyond the single language boundaries and through the areas where the borrowing was likeliest. It stands to reason that a high degree of diffusion of the same term among the members of a linguistic family favours the chances of its being inherited from the common ancestor, and runs counter to the likelihood of a posited borrowing, unless this is a very successful one, which obliges to consider other possibilities.

evidence is not often available, if there is any; therefore, etymological hypotheses are merely and partially based on that principle of twofold compatibility and can be challenged, even invalidated, as soon as a more convincing argument in favour of a different view appears.

**0.4.** An etymological proposal is often questionable when it contains too many or too serious phonetic irregularities or relies on a semantic evolution scarcely supported by diachronic evidence. In such cases, its likelihood must be contrasted with that of other parallel hypotheses, e.g., an Ar. etymon vs. a Lt. or Germanic one, etc., in the light of their respective phonetic and semantic cogency, as well as of the parameters of linguistic geography, which in principle bar the spreading of a loanword into areas much beyond the point of possible contact, except perhaps in subsequent stages, if there is a migration of speakers bringing about a new language contact, or because of a technical or cultural expansion, accompanied by matching lexical colonization as, then, the transmission may be oral or written, direct or indirect, with diverse scenarios. It is noteworthy that, the less obvious a borrowing is, the more we ought to keep in mind the unavoidable limitations of knowledge affecting every etymologist, above all of foreign languages, not to speak of ideological or professional biases, from which few of us can be completely free; these have generated many of the wrong etyma still in circulation, with a devastating effect on the public prestige of this science in the eyes of many who have discovered its weak spots. The same discredit often follows from the understandable, but risky habit of connecting the soundness of etymological hypotheses to their author's reputation, even when acquired in a different field, which made some dictionaries uphold many far-fetched etyma, among other undesirable effects.<sup>6</sup>

**0.5.** Bookish transmission of many an Arabic loanword, above all in some scientific and technical fields, such as medicine, pharmacology, botany, astronomy, etc., is characterized, as against the overwhelming majority of those transmitted orally, by the impact on the former of two peculiar factors: first, the unforeseeable effects of graphic transmission, even without excluding oral phases at some point along their history and, secondly, the huge extent of a corpus theoretically encompassing the whole scientific literature in Ar., also including foreign terms which were never thoroughly assimilated by this language. On the other hand, neither were such terms totally integrated in the target languages in many instances, their very technical nature rendering them liable to substitution and elimination in later

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<sup>6</sup> A clear instance of this can be read in Corriente 1999a, upon exposing the host of wrong etyma launched by the prestigious Spanish Arabist Asín Palacios, despite his undeniable achievements in other realms.



more advanced phases of Western civilization. This does not prejudice their being first rate witnesses to the impact and importance of the contribution of Islamic civilization to that of the world as a whole. Indeed, they amount to just another chapter of the study of Ar. loanwords in Ibero-Rom., an area where, in spite of some available excellent surveys, fundamental issues are yet to be clarified, such as the degree of competence in Ar., whether Cl., “Middle”, Neo-Ar., or And., reached by the Europeans who introduced those borrowed items in their own languages, and their often indirect approach to Ar. texts, with the intermediation of bilingual natives. This historically attested procedure may have inserted oral phases in the transmission, all the more so as the translations often went through a Lt. version, which could only result in further distortions, compounded by those of a paleographic nature.<sup>7</sup> It is generally known that international terms such as Cs. *cénit* “zenith” and *acimut* “azimuth” owe their anomalous shapes to imperfect transmission, so that some of them, like **Fomalhaut**, do reflect the dialectal And. pronunciation, while in the kindred term **Fem elquez** its first constituent is closer to the Cl. shape, in spite of the vocalic palatalization. Cases like Cs. **Aldebarán** = Ct. **Aldebaran** = Pt. **Aldabarão** “the Hyades” < Ar. *addabarān(i)* combine the rarity of the Cl. shape of the dual in *casus rectus* with the hypercorrect restitution of the definite article, all in all a poor show of competence in Ar.

**0.6.** Investigation of Ar. loanwords is not completed by just detecting and proving an Ar. etymon, first And. and then Old, Cl. or Neo-Ar. In many instances, that item is not either genuine Ar., but has been borrowed in turn, from Aram., Persian, Gr., Eg., Sar., etc. As an Ar. etymological and historical dictionary has not been compiled so far, for several reasons, even knowledgeable readers having access to selected works may find it difficult or impossible to obtain information helping in understanding the behaviour of such words already within the target language, not to speak of merely satisfying a legitimate curiosity. E.g., we do know that Cs. **alficoz** “cucumber” is a reflex of And. *alsuqqús*, but we could not explain the var. **alpicoz**, without knowing that the And. harks back to Rab.Aram. *pikkāsā*, a term with a dietary meaning familiar to Arabic-speaking Sephardic Jews, who must have combined and preserved both pronunciations. Likewise, in view of the tight socio-linguistic interconnection generated by Islamic culture in those communities, Muslim or not, but all sharing that historical and geographic environment, we have deemed it appropriate to include in our survey not only those loanwords which have gone through at least an Ar. phase, but also those taken by Northern Ibero-Rom. languages from And.Rom, i.e., Southern Rom., Hb., Br., Eg., and Persian in its successive phases, Sar., even Hindi and Sk., all of them

<sup>7</sup> See Corriente 2000.

having contributed some share of the Ar. lexicon, because of their relationship, tighter or looser, with the Islamic countries. Much to our regret, we could not proceed further towards the Far East, in the case of other languages of Muslim populations in India, Burma, China, Indochina, Indonesia, and Malaysia, mostly because of our ignorance in that realm. In the case of the surveyed languages, we could at least directly check the accuracy of the handled data.

1. The aim of this chapter is to provide, with additions and corrections, a much needed grammar of the Ar. loanwords in Ibero-Rom., i.e., the catalogue of general and particular rules which generate them and govern their transfer from the source language to the target languages in the three grammar levels, phonemic, morphological and syntactical, where an array of correspondences and substitutions take place that make possible those transfers in each case and in general.

1.1. Phonology: the phonemic systems of Ar. and Hispanic Lt. or proto-Rom. which came into contact in the aftermath of the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula were to a large extent different. Although the former language held a dominating position in the society of the resulting new country, Al-Andalus, progressively bilingual almost from its inception up to the upswing and triumph of an Ar. monolingual trend towards the end of the 12th c., the dominated language, i.e., the And.Rom. dialect bundle,<sup>8</sup> stays in place with considerable though decreasing strength in household, rural and slang usage on account of demographic and practical reasons, until the 11th c. At that point, the urge to show their superiority as Arabs over the indispensable, but despised and hated Berber allies and occupants, and not so much, as has been so insistently proclaimed, their abhorrence of any linguistic ties with the Christian foe, become so strong that the ongoing process of elimination of And.Rom. speeds up and is completed in only a few decades. During those nearly five centuries of close contact between Ar. and Rom., three developments took place which affected the phonemics of Ar. loanwords decisively, namely: a) the emergence of the And. dialectal bundle, with certain traits, phonemic and other, resulting from the interference of Rom., its neighbour in a *Sprachbund* situation, b) the evolution of the And.Rom. dialect bundle, equally and reciprocally conditioned by the vicinity of Ar., and c) the appearance of the oldest Arabic loanwords in Northern Rom., either taken directly from And.Ar. or through And.Rom., the latter also making many contributions to both And.Ar. and to Northern Rom.

1.1.1. Vocalism is one of the areas where the phonemic systems of Ar. and Rom. differ more conspicuously, as the former exhibits a bare triangular system (i.e., /a/, /i/ and /u/), without intermediate phonemes, while the latter has one

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<sup>8</sup> Which we described in Corriente 1997a and 2000–2001.

or two intermediate phonemes, depending on dates and areas, between low and high vowels, which means a five vowel (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/), or even a seven vowel system (when there is a distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/, and /o/ and /ɔ/). The interplay of both systems under the ensuing situation of bilingualism apparently did not increase the number of vocalic phonemes in And.Ar.<sup>9</sup> but, conversely, appears to have determined the option in And.Rom. for a mere five vowel system,<sup>10</sup> like that of Cs., although without any genetic connection with this and its motivation. However, as the Ar. vocalic phonemes, of course, have several allomorphs required by the consonantal environment (palatalizing,<sup>11</sup> velarizing or labializing),<sup>12</sup> it can hardly surprise that Rom., upon borrowing from Ar., does

<sup>9</sup> See AAR p. 37 and fn. 2, about the hypothetical phonemicization of /e/ in And., suggested in the unpublished master dissertation by our disciple Jaime Sánchez Ratia. The fact that in the graphemic code of Aljamiado-Morisco, which is rooted in a still bilingual phase of some And. communities and individuals, there is no distinction between /o/ and /u/, as against the case of /u/ (spelled as *fathah*, the historical grapheme of that short vowel) and /e/ (spelled as *alif*, the historical grapheme of the matching long vowel) might be construed as evidence that, in low registers, as in the parallel case of Malt., the inhibition of velarization led to the emergence of phonemic /e/, formerly a mere positional allomorph, as an expedient to avoid the phonemic merger of many words. However, this would posit other questions, such as why /o/ was not treated likewise in similar cases, by *System-zwang*, as it did happen in Malt. At any rate, the need to be coherent with our position on this issue forces us to always transcribe /u/ in And., even when the Ar. loanwords leave no doubt that the phonetic realization was [e].

<sup>10</sup> See Corriente 1997a:343–344. This issue is generally shunned by traditional researchers of “Mozarabic”, i.e., And.Rom. viewed as just one more Rom. language, although its solution is of paramount importance to obtain a definitive answer to the problem of diphthongization of /ē/ and /ī/, which legitimately interests them so much.

<sup>11</sup> There should be no confusion, as often happens by pedantic misuse, between simple palatalization and the phenomenon meant by the Ar. technical term *imālah*, which should only be applied to cases in which an Old Ar. /ā/ is palatalized, either spontaneously, in the absence of any velarizing environment, or through distant assimilation to a neighbouring /i/ (i.e., *Umlaut-imālah*, in the received Ger. terminology), which may be compatible with a velarizing environment. This latter phenomenon, outlined in AAR, pp. 37–38, was characteristic of And.Ar., except apparently in some early North-western dialects (cf. Cs. *gañán* “shepherd” < And. *gannām*); otherwise, it is usually reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom. either in its first standard degree (/e/), or the second (/i/), in borrowings from the late Granadan period or from low registers (cf. Cs. *albañil* “bricklayer” vs. Pt. *alvanel* < And. *albannāli*, and Ct. *sínia* vs. Cs. *aceña* “waterwheel” < And. *sānya*). It was not necessarily inhibited by a velarized context (cf. the Pt. var. *acéquia* and *açaquia* “irrigation channel” < And. *sāgya*), but dissimulation would usually forestall it when there was an immediately previous /y/ (cf. Cs. *arriaz* “sword hilt” < And. *arriyās*), and it did not happen most of the time in the ending /-ān/ (cf. Pt. *romã* “pomegranate” < Ar. *rummān*, and other instances in SK 22, fn. 3), perhaps because of the substractical influence of the Rom. suffix [-ĀN]. On the other hand, palatalization of any /u/ in contact with /š/, /j/, /č/, even /z/, on account of its closeness to , is often reflected in Ar. loanwords such as Ct. *eixarich* “share-cropper” < And. *u/iššurik*, Cs. *almijarra* “beam of a noria” < And. *almajārru* and Cs. *acebuche* “wild olive-tree” < And. *zubbij*. This would happen sometimes even in the case of /u/, e.g., Cl.Ar. *jušār* = And. *dišār* > Cs. *aljār* “farmhouse”

<sup>12</sup> E.g., in cases like Cs. *albudeca* vs. *badea* “poor quality melon” < And. *baṭṭixa* = Cl.Ar. *biṭṭixah*, or Cs. *alcotán* “lanner” < And. *qatām*, in which And. sources do not yet reflect the vowel change, but for which we must suspect the previous existence of sufficiently labialized and velarized

phonemicize them and, e.g., interpret the palatalized allophone of /a/ as /e/ (e.g., Cs. **adefina** “Jewish stew (left warm in hot ashes for consumption during the Sabbath)” < And. *addaṣfīna*) and that of velarized /i/ (Cs. **alcacer** “green barley” < And. *alqaṣīl*), and as /o/, in the case of the velarized allophone of /u/ (e.g., Cs. **azotea** “terrace” < And. *assuṭáyyaḥ*), or that of labialized /a/ (e.g., Pt. **xarope** “syrup” < And. *ṣarāb*).

However, this trend is by no means a rule, first, because such wide allophonic variegation, necessarily idiolectal, was not consistently realized and/or perceived by Rom. ears, which explains the var. **adafina**, **azutea** and Cs. **jarabe**; secondly, because the consonantal environment of one and the same vowel might contain divergent factors (e.g., Cs. **ajedrez** “chess” < Ar. *ṣaḡranj*, where the first palatal consonant had the upper hand, as against the case of homologous Pt. **xadrez**, in which the velarized second one has prevailed), and thirdly, because, as vowels in a closed syllable tend to be more open, especially under stress, we do most often find in the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom. /e/ and /o/, instead of /i/ and /u/ in such cases (e.g., Pt. **azebre** vs. Cs. **acíbar** “American aloe” < *aṣṣīḡr*, Cs. **mezquino** “mean” < And. *miskīn*, and Old Cs. **mozlemo** “Muslim” < And. *muṣlīm*). Once again, however, this allomorphic variegation is quite unpredictable (cf. Cs. **almizcle** “musk” vs. Ct. **mesc** < And. *misk*, and Cs. **almud** “a dry measure of variable standards” < And. *múdd*).

Furthermore, when considering that And. does not always faithfully reflect the Old Ar. vocalization, nor necessarily coincides with that of Cl.Ar.,<sup>13</sup> and that not every case of such discrepancies can be expected to have been recorded in our limited sources for that dial. bundle, we are clearly confronted with a situation in which the vocalism of Ar. loanwords in Ibero-Rom. is not totally predictable on the basis of our general knowledge of Ar. in terms of unequivocal generative rules while, on the other hand, once their result is known, it can almost always be explained in the light of some of the aforementioned principles.

**1.1.2.** Between the articulatory status of vowel and consonant there is a kind of biphonemic segment called diphthong, made up by a syllable peak occupied by a

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allophones, in order to generate the Rom. perception as /u/ and /o/ respectively. In other instances, it is the velarization of /i/ which leads to its allophonic merger with /u/ (e.g., Cs. **aladar** “cheek” < And. *alṣidār* and **atalaya** “high view-point” < And. *aṭṭaláyīs*) or, by labialization, into /u/ (e.g., Cs. **aduana** “customs” < And. *addiwán(a)* and **zurame** “burnous” < And. *siḡháma*, a case of distant assimilation). Conversely, there were also cases of palatalization of /u/ into /i/ (e.g., Ct. **albíxeres** “reward for glad tidings” < And. *būṣra*).

<sup>13</sup> See on this AAR 2.1.1.1.2, 2.1.1.2/3 and 2.1.1.3.2, 2.1.4.1.7, 2.1.4.1.9 and 2.1.4.2.1 (assimilation), 2.2.1.1.5.2 (Philippi’s law), 2.2.1.1.5.5 (*{la2i3} > {li23}*), 2.2.1.1.5.7 (alternance in the vocalization of the prefix *{mv+}*), 2.2.1.1.5.8 (disharmonizing of quadriconsonantal words), 2.2.1.1.7.1 (vocalization of dim.) and 2.2.2.1.1 (vocalization of verbal stems and imperfective prefixes).

vowel followed or preceded by a glide or semi-consonant /w/ or /y/. Cl.Ar. phonemics only acknowledges as such the falling diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/, which do not posit any specific problems,<sup>14</sup> as the eventual alterations of that semi-consonant in this case are not different from what can be expected in other environments; however, Neo-Ar. features frequent reductions of diphthongs, i.e., monophthongization, at least phonetic, at times even phonemic, which may generate the new vocalic phonemes /e/ and /o/, undoubtedly present in some dialects.

**1.1.2.1.** As far as And. is concerned, it is noteworthy that the Ar. dialects imported by the Muslim conquerors were very conservative at the phonemic level, which allowed the And. dial. bundle to emerge with almost full preservation of the Old Arabic diphthongs,<sup>15</sup> while contemporary Hispanic Llt. or proto-Rom. was characterized by a tendency to monophthongization, stronger in Cs. and Ct., than in Gl.-Pt. The Mozarabs who usually introduced Ar. loanwords in Northern Rom., kept their diphthongs unaltered, as could be expected from bilinguals who, apparently, had not even developed an And.Ar. sociolect, and because their second native language, And.Rom., also accepted diphthongs in some situations. Consequently, Ar. loanwords were introduced in Northern Ibero-Rom. with the original diphthongs they contained, and they were generally preserved in Gl.-Pt. as **ou** and **ei** (e.g., **açoute** “scourge” < And. *assâwʃ* and **aldeia** “village” < And. *aḍḍâyʃa*), but monophthongization obtained in Cs. and Ct. (cf. **azote** and **assot**, **aldea**). However, there are some conspicuous exceptions to that simple principle, when the diphthong is preserved in Cs., like **aceite** “oil” < And. *azzâyʃ*, and **albéitar** “veterinarian” < And. *albâyʃar* (prob. due to imitation of the more prestigious usage of technically and culturally superior Mozarabic émigrés), **albaire** “testicle” < *albâyḍa* (lit., “egg”, a slang word, prob. borrowed from Morisco muleteers in a late phase when the Rom. rule of monophthongization was no longer active) and some other instances, always with a particular explanation. By contrast, there are some cases of extreme reduction to closed vowels in low registers, mostly recent, e.g., Cs. **acitera** “oil cruet”, **acituna** “olive”, **azuche** “oleaster” (< And. *\*azzâwʃ*, < And. *zabbûj*, cf. **ace[b]uche**; cf. also standard Cs. **almíbar** “syrup” < Ar. *maybah*); even more special are cases of hypercorrect diphthongization (e.g., Pt. **açougue** “market” < And. *súq*, where the velarized allophone /q/ has been

<sup>14</sup> And.Ar. also had a diphthong /iw/, a curious feature prob. of Sar. origin (see Corriente 1989b:96), but it was exceedingly rare and marginal to the system, never being reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. It should also be noticed that Ar. phonemics does not treat the strings /wʃ/ and /yʃ/ in a way different from those containing any other consonant, but for isolated cases of evolution of the semiconsonant into /ʃ/ (e.g., *\*wirʃ* > *ʃirʃ* “inheritance”), or of phonetic vocalization (e.g., Naf. *uld* < Old Ar. *walad* “boy; son”).

<sup>15</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.4.1/2 about this rule and its exceptions, occasionally reflected in Rom. loanwords, e.g., in **adula**.

analyzed as infracorrect monophthongization of /aw/, instances of free alternance /ow/y/, which is frequent in Pt. (e.g., *açou/ite*), and other cases of minor importance, all of them as a consequence of already intra-Rom. phenomena.

**1.1.2.2.** It has been sometimes stated that a different treatment obtained in the case of the so-called secondary diphthongs, i.e., those which did not yet exist in Old Ar., but have developed in Neo-Ar. after the loss of certain phonemes (e.g., /āʔi/u/ > /āy/w/, /ayyi/ > /ay/, etc.). Such was the contention of Steiger (Steiger 1932:360), who held that these diphthongs were more resistant to monophthongization, as supposedly proven by the classical example of Cs. *alcaide* “governor” < And. *qáy(i)d* < Ar. *qāʔid*. However, since Corriente 1977:31, we have been producing a long series of counter-examples demonstrating the indifferent treatment given by And. to primary and secondary diphthongs, as both kinds are generally preserved, without any differentiating feature, and sometimes monophthongized in the same manner, with no conspicuous sign allowing Rom. to reproduce that distinction in the Ar. loanwords. In our view, the case is no different for *aceite* and *albéitar*: both were technical terms, not yet belonging to the main lexical core of Rom., felt as foreign by every speaker, though in vogue and heard daily in the correct Ar. pronunciation of the Mozarabs who introduced them, in the same way as a number of Eng. terms, presently current in Cs., are half-correctly pronounced with such phonemes as /h/ and /ʃ/ by educated, not necessarily bilingual people whose Cs. idiolect only has /x/ and /ç/ as their closest matches, respectively. Besides, those bilingual Mozarabs were perfectly aware of the morphemic value of the segment /áy(i)/ in words like *alcaide*, which identifies it as an agentive participle of a very common verb, and would have forestalled any temptation to pronounce it as *\*alquede*, unlike the case, e.g., of *sayyid* “Sir”, morphophonemically opaque to the speakers, and already having the low register doublet *síd*, whence Cs. *Cid*, in spite of the “secondary diphthong”, parallel to Ct. *algueber* “runaway owner of lands” < And.Rom. *\*alğayib+ÁYR*, q.v., where hybridation with the Rom. agentive suffix has blurred the morphological category in Ar. grammar, identical to that of *alcaide*.

**1.1.3.** Ar. consonantism was considerably different from that of Hispanic Llt. or proto-Rom., as can be seen in an integrated diagram<sup>16</sup> of both phonemic systems, combining those of standard Ar., with the matching list of And.Rom., basically valid for the pan-Hispanic situation at the time when both languages came into contact. This we have done in the following layout, where shared phonemes are left in normal type, while those exclusive of And.Rom., are in bold face, and those exclusive of Ar., in italics, not taking into consideration the presence of some of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Corriente 1980b:26 and 1997a:346.

those in particular dialects used by the Muslim conquerors, and the closeness or identity of certain Rom. allophones with some Ar. phonemes, as we shall explain in due time:

| Point of articulation: | Voice type: |                     |    |           |    | Manner of articulation:                  |
|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|----|-----------|----|--|
|                        | V o i c e d |                     |    | Unvoiced  |    |  |
|                        | Sonorants   | C o n s o n a n t s |    |           |    |  |
|                        |             | Palatalized         |    | Velarized |    |  |
| Bilabial:              | m<br>w      |                     | b  |           | p  | Stop<br>Nasal<br>Constrictive            |
| Labio-dental:          |             |                     | v  |           | f  | Continuous                               |
| Dental:                | n<br>l<br>r | ɲ<br>ɭ              | d  | ð      t̪ | t  | Stop<br>Nasal<br>Lateral<br>Vibrant      |
| Alveolar:              |             |                     | ɖ  | ɗ         | ʈ  | Continuous                               |
| Alveolo-apical:        |             |                     | ʒ  |           | ʃ  | Sibilant                                 |
| Alveolo-predorsal:     |             |                     | ʐ  | s̺        | s̺ | Sibilant                                 |
| Prepalatal:            |             |                     | j  |           | ç  | id. affricate <sup>17</sup><br>Affricate |
|                        |             |                     |    |           | ʃ̺ | Hushing                                  |
|                        | y           |                     |    |           |    | Constrictive                             |
| Velar:                 |             |                     | g  |           | k  | Stop                                     |
| Postvelar:             |             |                     | g̠ |           | q  | Stop                                     |
|                        |             |                     | g̠ |           | x  | Continuous                               |
| Pharyngeal:            |             |                     | ħ  |           | ħ  | Continuous                               |
| Glottal:               |             |                     |    |           | ʔ  | Stop                                     |
|                        |             |                     |    |           | h  | Continuous                               |

It is noticeable, therefore, that standard Ar. has no /p/, /g/ and /v/, nor palatalized and prepalatal phonemes, except /y/ and /j/, no other affricate than the latter and no apical sibilant but, instead and unlike Rom., it has continuous alveolar (inter-dental), velar and postvelar series (of which And.Rom. only has /k/), as well as pharyngeals and glottals and some velarized counterparts of frontal phonemes. Not paying attention to some dialectal allophones, like “Yemenite” /g/, and positional or idiolectal allophones, like Rom. [d], [ʒ], [g], [x] and [h], we count twelve Ar.

<sup>17</sup> At times represented as *z* and *s* with circumflex accents.

phonemes alien to the Rom. system, which in turn has ten lacking in the former. The picture is completed by adding that bilingualism and the ensuing *Sprachbund* situation, which imposed constant code switching or mixing and mutual borrowing, forced a relative convergence, thereby And.Ar. acquired the phonemes /p/, /č/ and /g/,<sup>18</sup> at least marginally, while And. people of Hispanic background, in spite of some initial difficulties, made themselves masters of the whole Ar. consonant system, with minimal changes.<sup>19</sup> Next, when Mozarabs emigration to the Northern areas of the Iberian Peninsula, beyond Muslim control and free of dominating Ar., introduced words of this stock in the local proto-Rom. dialects, the strange phonemes were adapted to the indigenous phonemics, substituted for by the closest own, and subjected as a whole to the phonetic evolution characteristic of each one of those Northern Rom. dialects. On the outcome we must make the following remarks:

**1.1.3.1.** In the labial point of articulation, the main differences between Old Ar. and Rom. consisted in the absence of /p/ in the former and the tendency in the latter to the spirantization of intervocalic or implosive /b/, but the And.Ar. dial. bundle ended up by including the unvoiced labial stop in its phonemic system, at least as a marginal phoneme, and accepting that spirantization idiolectically. This explains the presence among the Ar. loanwords of Rom. of such doublets like **ababol** and **apapol** (Nav.) “poppy” < And. *ḥappapáwr*, **albergate** (Pt.) vs. **alpargata** (Cs.) “hempen sandal” < And. *alpargát* and **alpejín** (Anz.) vs. **alpechín** (Cs.) “stinking juice oozing from heaped up olives” < And. Rom. \**al+PEČÍN*, in addition to cases in which a spirantized /b/ may weaken into /w/ (Cs. **alcaudón** “shrike” < And.Rom. \**al+QABṬÚN*), turn into unvoiced /f/ (cf. Pt. **alcoceifa** “brothel” < And. *alqušáyba*, lit., “little castle”, and **anáfega** “white jujube” < And. \**annábqa*), be replaced by another sonorant, because of its scarce audibility in implosive or intervocalic positions (e.g., Cs. **alcarcil** “artichoke” < And.Rom. \**al+QAPICÉ+ÉLA*, prob. through palatalization and subsequent dissimilation of /l/), or even disappear (e.g., Cs. **ataúd** “coffin” < And. *attabút*, Gl. **amboa** “vat” < And. *anbúba*, and Men. **rai** “curd” < And. *ráyb*). Sometimes, in intervocalic

<sup>18</sup> See Corriente 1978b.

<sup>19</sup> The main ones, overwhelmingly shared by Neo-Ar., were the nearly total elimination of the phoneme /ʔ/ and the merger of /d/ and /d/, after a short initial phase of preservation of the ancient lateral (see AAR 2.1.2.11.2.1 and 2.1.2.3.3.1). On the other hand, some hypercorrections bear witness to the initial difficulty, subsequently overcome except perhaps in very low registers, in acquiring the pharyngeal and velarized phonemes, according to Corriente 1993c:82 and 87. The And. consonantism, as usual in Neo-Ar., would later exhibit considerable stability, with no other alterations than those attributable to substratal trends, such as the mix-up of /d/ and /d/ and other homologous phonemic pairs and the /n/ realization of final /m/, or certain consequences of *drift*, like shifts between sonorants and permutation of semiconsonants, with morphophonemic motivations, according to our survey in the related paragraphs of AAR.



position, it is replaced by /g/ (e.g., Arag. **tagud**), there being also some instances in which spirantization is avoided by losing voice, like Cs. **arrope** “syrup” < And. *arrúbb* and Ct. **ràpita** “chapel”, vs. **Roda** in some place names, < And. *rábiṭa*, but all these cases are not frequent enough to generate analytical rules allowing their ascription to a particular synchronic frame, or diatopic, diastratic or diachronic phase of either And. or Rom.

Labials in front of a final juncture exhibit different degrees of stability in agreement with geographical criteria, it being common, above all in Central and Western Rom., to prevent that situation by means of a paragogical vowel (e.g., Cs. and Pt. **adufe** “tambourine”, **adibe** “jackal” and **alfageme** “tailor”); otherwise, Cs. never allows that final sequence,<sup>20</sup> and tends to substitute /m/ for /b/, and simultaneously /n/ for /m/ (e.g., **almotacén** “market inspector” < And. *almuḥtasáb* and **alacrán** “scorpion” < And. *alṣagráb*, **alcotán** “lanner” < And. *alqaṭám*), and the same happens in Pt., but for a better tolerance of final /m/ (e.g., **acém** “hump” < And. *assanám*), and the possibility of an alternative solution, namely, vocalization of /b/ (cf. **alacrau**), eventually coupled with residual nasalization in cases like **alazão** < And. *alaṣháb*, vs. Cs. **alazán** “sorrell horse”). But Ct. does tolerate those sequences well (e.g., **moixerif** “tax collector” < And. *muṣrif*, **alidem** “a sauce” < And. *alidám*, **aljub** “cistern” < And. *aljúb*), although the final stop must always be an unvoiced archiphoneme, regardless of traditional spelling). There are no parallel cases of /w/ anywhere in Rom., as it is extremely rare in Ar. in this position.

However, even in other positions exchanges of labials are not exceptional, in favour of /m/, on account of its higher statistic frequency after the agglutinated article (cf. Cs. **alb/móndiga** “meatball” < And. *albúnduqa*, **almádena** vs. **alpatana** “drop-hammer” < And. *alpaṣána*, **alb/moronía** “a certain dish of aubergines” < And. *alburanṭyya*, Ct. **almeixia** “cloak”, instead of the older and more genuine **aluexia** < And. *alwaṣṭi(yya)*), or through dissimilation (cf. Cs. **amapola** < And. *ḥappapáwra* and **abismal** “kind of nail” < And. *almismár*); in favour of /b/ or /v/ instead of /w/ and /ʃ/, through ultracorreption of the spirantizing trend (Cs. **albacea** “executor of a will” < *ṣáḥb* *alwaṣṭyya* and **alórbola** “trilling cry of joy” < And. *alwálwala*, Ct. **alcavot** “pimp” < And. *alqawwád*, Cs. **aljébana** “bowl”, also **aljáfana** < And. *aljáfna*). Another type of ultracorreption may turn /w/ into /g/, as a reaction to the weakness of intervocalic /g/, if not just because of the strong Hispanic tendency to replace /w/ by /gw/, felt as very close to /b(w)/ (e.g., Cs.

<sup>20</sup> Neither are the labials always tolerated in syllable cauda in the middle of a word, as shown by their eventual loss in the consonant cluster, e.g., Anz. **mataje** “melon patch” < And. *muḥṭáxa* and Cs., Gl. and Pt. **matula** “wick” < And. *maṭṭula*. A curious and isolated case is that of Cs. **ataquizar** “to lay the shoot of a vine” < And. *takhís*, with loss of the labial in the second slot within the cluster, perhaps through /b/ > /w/ > /Ø/, after Corriente 1997a:348.

**aguacil** and Ct. **agotzil** “bailiff” < And. *alwazír*, Pt. **alcagote** < And. *alqawwád*); occasionally, there may be even a three-way solution, like Ct. **bodoix** “tangle” = **mudaixó** = **pidoix**.

The evolution of /ʃ/ is a peculiar chapter, above all in Cs., where its merger with /h/ in the long run has often led to its at least phonetic, not usually orthographic disappearance, e.g., **alcahaz** “cage” < And. *alqašás*, **cero** “zero” < And. *šifr*, **moharra** “a small fish” < And. *muḥarraš*, cf. also Pt. **almança** “vertically divided shield” < And. *almánšaf*, as in the Cs. place name **Almansa**. Finally, there is a number of recent and mostly dial. substitutions of /θ/ for /ʃ/, e.g., Ext. **afilate** vs. Cs. **acirate** “path”, Arag. **afafrán** vs. Cs. **azafrán** “saffron”, Nav. **márzega** “rocking chair” vs. Cs. **márfega** “straw mattress”, etc.

**1.1.3.2.** The dental and alveolar points of articulation in Old Ar. allowed a rich variety of manners of articulation comprehending a triad (unvoiced + voiced + velarized) of interdental fricatives (/ɬ/, /ɖ/ and /ʒ/), a second one of dental stops (/t/, /d/ y /ɖ/), a third one of sibilants (/s/, /z/ and /ʒ/), a fourth one of laterals (/ʃ/, /l/ and /ʒ̣/), plus the nasal /n/ and the vibrant /r/.<sup>21</sup> The dialects of the Muslim invaders of Hispania, although encompassing a numerically strong Sar. element characterized by extreme phonetic conservatism, up to the point of preserving in some cases and without a shade of doubt the velarized lateral /ʒ̣/, perhaps even its unvoiced counterpart /ʃ/, could not in the long run stand in face of the standard tendency to realize the latter as /ʒ/ and to merge its voiced counterpart with /ɖ/,<sup>22</sup> which left the last residual lateral /l/ isolated and outside all the triads, with the same sonorant status as /m/, /n/, /r/ and /y/, assigned in spite of their peculiar manner of articulation to the labial, dento-alveolar and palatal points of articulation. Every other phoneme was preserved, and some registers might perhaps have acquired the Rom. palatalized nasal and lateral, /n/ and /l/, as marginal phonemes.<sup>23</sup> The native speakers of Rom. would eventually acquire all the Ar. phonemes upon learning this language, in spite of the presumable difficulties, given away by certain hypercorrections, whilst, in their own system, the apical pair /ʃ/—/ʒ/ was, as well as the hissing pair /ʃ/—, levelled with the Ar. palatals /ʃ/ and /j/ (the latter being often idiolectically realized as ; cf. And. *šáwɫ* < Lt. *saltus* “thicket” and *pawjáta* < Llt. *pausata* “inn”, And. *šintílla* < Lt. *scintilla* “spark”, And. *jintýána* < Lt. *gentiāna* “gentian”), while the affricate predorsal sibilants were levelled with

<sup>21</sup> See Corriente 1996a:15–23, about the evolution of the phonemic system between Proto-Semitic and Neo-Ar.

<sup>22</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.3.3.1 and 2.1.2.5.1 and fn. 39.

<sup>23</sup> This insufficiently researched contingency is suggested by their hesitating rendering as >ny< or >yn< (e.g. *ṭirtáyna* “earthworm” vs. *ṭištány* “helmet”) and >ly< or >yl< (e.g., *qaráyɫ* “penis” vs. *qubulyunát* “ridges”) respectively, as against the general trend among those who did not possess these phonemes to perceive them merely as /ny/ and /ly/.

their non-affricate Ar. counterparts, /s/—/z/ (e.g., And. *balánsiya* < Lt. *Vālentīa* “Valencia”) These equations are not only reflected in texts like the *xarajāt*,<sup>24</sup> but are an important part of the graphemic code of Aljamiado-Morisco, with the simple occasional addition of the gemination grapheme (*tašdid*) as a diacritical mark.<sup>25</sup>

**1.1.3.2.1.** Regarding the dental stops, after a long century of reflections, we do not know for sure the true reasons why Hispanic /t/ was reflected by Ar. some times as /t/ and some others as its velarized counterpart /tʰ/,<sup>26</sup> whilst Rom. reflects both

<sup>24</sup> About which see Corriente 1997a:336–372.

<sup>25</sup> See Corriente 1990b:57.

<sup>26</sup> This is just one side of the complicated issue of voicing of originally unvoiced stops, which has been given much attention and would-be solutions, as can be seen in the historical survey by Peñarroja 1990:334–355, but none of them totally convincing. It is almost sure, to judge from data like those offered by Michelena 1977:225–260 for Basque, that the native pre-Rom. substratum of Hispania, and not only the quite recently imported Celtic, had a distribution of voiced and unvoiced sounds, perhaps allophonic, at any rate different from that which will be brought along by Lt. When Lt. became the sole prestigious if not the only language used in the whole country, it repressed the former articulatory habits of speakers at least partially, in the higher registers, as a means to insure correct diction and unimpeded communication in a language where voice oppositions had a very high functional yield. However, since the old situation had not died out in the lower registers, when the Roman Empire disappeared and intercourse between its former provinces dwindled to a minimum, the vulgar pronunciation featuring at least incipient voicing in phoneme caudas and intervocalic positions experienced an upswing. The educated appear to have kept the Lt. state of affairs for a long time, and joined the mass trend only later, applying partial voicing at a time when vulgar pronunciation had already reached the point of spirantizing the voiced stops, it standing to reason that the repression would be less successful in intervocalic or implosive position than in word onsets. As for the phonetic values attached to the Ar. graphemes, the prob. substratal And. spirantization of /b/ is well-known (see AAR 2.1.2.1.1.1 and 2) and, in all likelihood it is not coincidental that Rom. /g/ and /d/, in any, not only intervocalic position, are often transcribed as Ar. /g/ and /d/, or else as /q/ and /t/, an optionality never explained by Rom. scholars. Instead, they have put forward a theory based on the voicing evolution of Rom., resorting to the hypothesis of the voiced character of /q/ and /t/ in the Old Ar. brought to Al-Andalus by the Muslim conquerors, according to a peculiar interpretation of the data provided by the famous grammarian Sībawayhi, allegedly supported by Bed. dialects, in general, as well as those of the Yemenite highlands (on which see Fischer & Jastrow 1980:105–107). However, the very transcription of the Ar. loanwords into Ibero-Rom., where those Ar. phonemes are consistently reflected with unvoiced consonants, except in cases of obviously subsequent intra-Rom. voicing, proves the inanity of that hypothesis. It is true that they lack homologous voiced counterparts in the Ar. phonemic system, like all velarized phonemes in the origins, as they have evolved from glottalized ones, a manner of articulation physiologically incompatible with voice, since the glottis cannot simultaneously emit a stop and vibrations, but those two phonemes appear to have usually been unvoiced in every Semitic language, particularly in Ar., where voicing of /t/ is a rarity and that of /q/, characteristically Bed., cannot be considered its old and genuine realization. The answer must be found elsewhere: considering that the majority of the Ar. speaking invaders were in fact Arabized Berbers, still bilingual, that in their mother tongue Ar. /t/ usually becomes voiced, except in gemination, and that their own Br. /g/ in gemination becomes /qq/, it is quite understandable that, to them and to the Hispanic people who learned Ar. from them, /t/ and /q/ were apt to totally or partially represent voiced stops, and yet continued to retain the value of perfectly unvoiced stops (see Corriente 1978b:215–218). To put it in other words, in cases of total voicing, there was no hesitation in the transcription, since the phonemes had already become spirant and were represented by /d/ and /g/, but when the voicing was incipient or occasionally repressed in Rom., the Ar. speakers transcribed in agreement with the most prestigious pronunciation, i.e., the most resistant to the low register,

Ar. phonemes, and even interdental /ʃ/, with its own /ʃ/, except in cases of voicing in intervocalic position or because of intra-Rom. contact assimilation (e.g., Cs. and Gl.-Pt. **ataúd(e)** “coffin” < And. *attabút*, Cs. **atabal** “drum” < And. *aṭṭabál* and **ataharre** “crupper” < And. *attafár*, in contrast with Pt. **adoba** and Cs. **adobe**, vs. Mur. **atoba** “sun-dried brick” < And. *aṭṭúba*, Cs. **adague** “heap of stuff” < And. *lāqa*, **alcaudón** “shrike” < And. Rom. \**al+QABṬÚN* and **aldabía** “crossbeam” < And. *attaṣḥīyya*, with hypercorrect /ʃ/ in an attempt at restoring the agglutinated Ar. article). A certain resistance to voicing is indeed noticeable (e.g., **albéitar** “veterinarian”, **alcotán** “lanner”, **alfayate** “tailor”, **alcatifa** “carpet”, etc., q.v., vs. **algodón** “cotton”, **badana** “lining”, etc.), no doubt because of the constant perception of unvoiced sounds in the speech of the Mozarabs, more prestigious in those trades and, subsequently or simultaneously, because of general awareness that these were foreign terms alien to the rules of the native tongue.

In a few cases, however, the Ar. unvoiced interdental is not reflected with a stop, but with >c< (or, eventually >ç<, turned into >z< in mod. Cs. spelling), e.g., Pt. **açorda** “a soup” < And. *aṭṭúrda*, Cs. **azumbre** “a liquid measure” < And. *aṭṭúmn* and Cs. **celemín** = Pt. **celamim** “a dry measure” < And. *lamaní*. Considering the efforts of medieval scientific translators to correctly transcribe that Ar. phoneme, alien to both Lt. and Rom. at that time,<sup>27</sup> which makes it advisable to put aside bookish items, the remaining cases can only reflect the And. bilinguals’ efforts to avoid the merger of /ʃ/ and /ʃ/, with the modest result, as in today’s Middle Eastern urban milieus, of having the pupils pronounce some very common words with an infracorrect sibilant (i.e. *sānī* “second”, aiming at *lānī*), instead of the dental stop characteristic of their native dialect (i.e., *lānī*). Much more rarely a /ʃ/ appears reflected as /k/ (e.g., **carcaj** “quiver” < And. *tarkáṣ* and **alfeñique** “kind of sugar paste” < And. *alfaníd*, Gl. **acaravillar** “to lock with a latch” < And. *ṭaráb*, through a similar Cs. var. **taravilla** on account of some likeness in their aspect, and vice versa Cs. **adutaque** “finely ground flour” < And. *adduqáq*): after screening frequent cases of paleographic confusion between >c< and >t<, the remaining

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behaving exactly like the children of heteroglottic parents, who learn both languages correctly by imitating only the native in each case, and not the non-native’s mistakes, although all of them speak and understand both. Apparently, this fluctuating situation was favoured by the allophonic laxness of /t/ and /q/ in that phase, which would later disappear with the standardization of And., roughly in the 10th c., in the same manner as Rom. would clearly select voiced or unvoiced stops in positional distribution, with no register allowances on this matter.

<sup>27</sup> As reflected by the long and multifarious series of graphemes put to that task, namely, >th<, >ç<, >c<, >z< and >s< (see AAR 2.1.2.3.1), which only confirm their failure in suggesting the correct articulation and the frustration on the part of those who sought to obtain it. Pt. **zirbo** “mesentery” is of course bookishly taken from Lt. **zirbus**, a reflex through And. of Ar. *ṭarḥ*.

true instances are explainable as dissimilation between two phonemes of similar audibility, contamination, suffix metanalysis and substitution, etc.

In addition to cases in which a stop has been voiced, Rom. /d/ usually reflects its Ar. counterpart, plus the voiced interdental /d/ and velarized /ḏ/ (which, in the aftermath of standardization of And. Ar. in the 10th c., merged with the formerly lateral /ḏ/, commonly transcribed as >ḏ<, and exclusively reflected as >ld< in very early borrowings, such as Cs. *alcalde* “major”, *albayalde* “ceruse”, *aldea* “village”, etc.),<sup>28</sup> e.g., Cs. *adaraja* “toothing in a wall” < And. *addarāja*, *adibe* “jackal” < And. *addīb*, *ademán* “gesture” < And. *aḏḏimán*, and *adohar* “noon” < And. *aḏḏúhr*. However, the Rom. weak interdental realization sometimes causes the loss of that /d/ (e.g., Cs. *almacaero* “stationed fisherman” < And.Rom. \**al+māqṣad*+ÉRO, *alaria* “potter’s finishing iron” < And. *alṣāriḏa*, Ct. *almaina* “drop-hammer” < And. *almāṭina*, *aumaec* “cliff” < And. *almaḏīq*, *amaluc* “hip” < And. *ṣāḏm alhúqq*, but that loss may be made up for by inserting a disjunctive /b/ in cases like Tol. *alcabuz* “waterwheel bucket” < And. *alqadús* and Arag. *almorabú* “sweet marjoram” < And. *almardadúṣ*). In other instances the Cs. reflex is /θ/ (e.g., *añazme* “necklace thread” < *annāḏm*, *alaroz* < *alṣarúd* “tent pole” and, dialectally, *Mecina* for the common place name *Medina* (i.e., “town”), *almoacén* “muezzin” < And. *almuwaḏḏa/in*,<sup>29</sup> even *mazmorra* “dungeon” < And. *maṣmúra*, through voicing of /t/ in contact with /m/). The phonotatic rules of Ct. require the loss of /d/ in the cluster /nd/ (e.g., *albaneyra* “pennon” < And.Rom. \**al+band*+ÁYRA); in other circumstances it is replaced by /l/ (cf. Cs. *alejija* “porridge” < And. *addaṣīṣa*, Old Cs. *almarfil* “ivory” < And. *ṣāḏm alṣīl*, lit., “elephant’s bone”), an already common phenomenon in Lt.<sup>30</sup> and practically universal, because of the articulatory closeness between both phonemes, and the same happens more seldom with homorganic /r/ (e.g., Cs. *albaire* “testicle” < And. *albáyḏa*, Pt. *alfobre* “bed in a field” < And. *alḥawḏ* and Ct. *de gaid/ró* “slanted” < And. *ḡayḏún* “crank of a well”); finally, there is a rare case of replacement by

<sup>28</sup> However, Ct. *baldana* “meat close to the ribs” and der., < *bāḏṣa*, does not look so old and may have an idiolectal explanation. At any rate, true cases of that kind must not be mixed up with others where the same apparent result is the sheer consequence of ultracorrect restoration of an agglutinated article, e.g., *Aldebarán* “the Hyades”, *aldifara* “kind of Jewish cloak”, *aldiza* “sharp rush”, *altabaque* “basket”, *altramuz* “lupin”, etc.

<sup>29</sup> From Montaner 2005:303–307, although in disagreement with his etymological proposal. The converse situation happens in 1.1.3.2.3. Stress was hesitant in this kind of participle.

<sup>30</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.2.2.3. In syllable cauda and in the middle of words, the consonant cluster may be simplified, e.g., in Cs. *tabica* “wooden cover” < *taṭṭīqa*, *alhema* “ration of irrigation water” < And. *alḡayṭ má*, *argamandel* “rag” < And. *xīrḡut mundīl*, and Gl.-Pt. *fanar* “to maim” < And. Rom. \**xatn*+ÁR, perhaps Arag. *garifo* “energetic old man” < And. *ḡaṭrīf*, while the evolution of Cs. *madrollero* to *marrullero*, *fadruba* to *joroba*, and of Ct. *fad/rolla* “lie”, cognate of Cs. *hadrolla*, q.v., is remarkable.

/g/, in Cs. **mostaguera** "tile decoration" < And. *mustadīra*, lit., "round", which belongs together with the aforementioned instances of loss of intervocalic /d/, with a different disjunctive consonant in this case, the audibility of both intervocalic spirants alike being low. On the other hand, an increase of articulatory tension in an attempt at reproducing gemination, alien to Hispanic Rom., but perceptible in Arabic loanwords as pronounced by the bilingual Mozarabs, could be responsible, in positions where spirantization was impossible, for cases of unvoicing like Cs. **atorra** "shirt" < And. *addurrāša* and Pt. **atafera** "plait of esparto-grass for the ears of a frail" < And. *adḍašīra*.

**1.1.3.2.2.** The dental sonorants in the three manners of articulation, nasal, lateral, and vibrant, were shared by both phonemic systems, Ar. and Rom.; consequently their mutual transcription caused no problems, in principle, although their distribution was at times ruled by divergent constrictions eventually leading to particular results.

Nasal /n/ is palatalized in Pt. in intervocalic position (e.g., **azinhaga** "lane" < And. *azzanáqa*, **mesquinho** "mean" < And. *miskín* vs. **alfenim** "sugar paste" < And. *alfaníd*), or is dropped (e.g., **acém** "hump" < And. *assanám* vs. **zarabatana** "air-gun" < And. *zarbašána*). In that same language, when originally geminated, is usually reflected as simple (e.g., **anil** "indigo" < And. *anníl*, **alvanel** "bricklayer" < And. *albanná*), which is also the Ct. solution (e.g., **alquena** "henne" < And. *alhínna*, **anafre** "portable stove" < And. *annáfix*, with insertion of parasitical or repercussive /r/ in front of the paragogical vowel); while in Cs. it is palatalized (Cs. **añil** and **albañil**). In word caudas, Pt. reduces /n/ to mere nasalization (e.g., **armazém** "store" < And. *almaxzán*, with an appended /o/ after /a/, e.g., **alcatrão** "tar" < And. *alqaṭrān*), while Ct. drops it (e.g., **quitrà** and **safrà** "saffron" < And. *zašfarán*). As can be seen, however, these characteristic rules of the phonetic evolution of each language are not always applied, which may be accounted for in different ways, such as dating of the borrowing before or after the validity of those rules, special treatment of words felt as foreign, borrowing through an intermediate language, etc. At times, the other sonorants, /r/ and /l/ substitute for /n/ (e.g., Pt. **alcatra** "rump" < And. *alqáṭna* and **beringela** "aubergine" < And. *badinjána*, Cs. and Ct. **galima** "petty theft" < And. *ḡaníma*, even when this phoneme is geminated, as in Ct. **alafaia** "a cloth" < And. *annašáya* and Cs. **alifafes** = Ct. **alifac** "ailment" < And. *annašxát*); occasionally a parasitical or repercussive /n/ is inserted in an unpredictable way (e.g., Cs. **ronzal** "halter" < And. *rasán*, **alcanfor** "camphor" < And. *alkašúr*, Ct. **gandaia** "hairnet" < And. *qaṭṭáya*), which is common in the vicinity of a palatal consonant (e.g., Cs. **almanjarra** "water-wheel beam" < And. *almajárra*), but it may also be dropped because of homorganic dissimilation (e.g., Pt. **xadrez** and Cs. **ajedrez** "chess" < And. *šaṭrānj*, Cs. **almajaneque** "catapult" < And. *almanjanṭiq*). Before /y/, it usually becomes

/n/ (e.g., Cs. **aceña** “waterwheel” < And. *assánya*, Pt. **alcunha** “nickname” < And. *alkúnya*, **almuinha** “farmhouse” < And. *almúnya*), but not always (cf. Cs. **alcurnia**), nor in Ct. (e.g., **almùnia**, and **en doina** “to and fro” < And. *faddúnya*, lit., “in the world”, with metathesis and half-translation).

Lateral /l/ is usually dropped in intervocalic position in Pt. (e.g., **adaíl** “champion” < And. *addalíl*, **alqueive** “fallow land” < And. *alqalíb*, vs. **taleiga** “purse” < And. *tašlíqa*, **melancia** “watermelon” < And. *balansíyya*, etc., perhaps taken from Cs., cf. **adalid** and **talega**), and becomes simple when it was geminate (**argola** “large ring” < And. *algúlla*, **almofala** “campament” < And. *almuḥállā*), while in Cs. and Ct. it has a palatal result (i.e., Cs. **argolla**, **almohalla**, **alloya** “green almond” < And. *alláwza*, Ct. **ancolla** “vessel” < And. *alqúlla*, although Ct. usually gives the same treatment to even simple /l/ too in any position, e.g., **llima** “lime” < And. *líma*, **alquellada** “collar of armour” < And. *alqiláda* “collar” and **garbell** “sieve” < And. *gírbál*), which may sometimes also happen in the sequence /wíl/, with a result /úl/, e.g., Val. **tafulla**, even Cs. **tahúlla** “a measure of land” < And. *tahwíla*; in Ct. too, above all in the dialects of the Balearic Isles, /l/ tends to /w/ in syllable caudas (e.g., **aumorda** “outlet of an irrigation channel” < And. *almáwrid*, **aumaec** “cliff” < And. *almaḍíq*). This sonorant may also be inserted parasitically, not only in cases of ultracorrect restoration of the Ar. article (e.g., Cs. **aljamía** “Romance” < And. *šajamíyya*), but also in others, like Cs. **alquicel** “a cloak” < And. *alkisá*, Pt. **alvanel** “bricklayer” < And. *albanná*, Cs. **almizcle** “musk” < And. *almísk*, Old Ct. **alflàvia** “jar” < And. *alxáhya*). However, it may also be unpredictably dropped as second element of a consonant cluster (e.g., Arag. **alguaza** “hinge” < And. *alwásl*, Pt. **anafa** “wild clover” < And. *annásl* and Ct. **nacsa** “lineage” < And. *násl*). It is sometimes replaced by /n/ or /r/, above all in caudas (e.g., Gl. **alcacén** “green barley” < And. *alqašíl*), but also in other positions (e.g., Cs. **nenúfar** “water lily” < And. *naylúfar*, by assimilation, Nav. **albar** “unirrigated land” < And. *albásl*, Pt. **alqueire** “a dry measure” < And. *alkáyl*, **alcafar** “rump” < And. *alkafál*, Arag. **alifara** “treat” < And. *alihála* and Cs. **almarrá** “cotton gin” < And. *almahláj*, by dissimilation), at times just spontaneously, for no apparent reason (e.g., in Cs. **arrafiz** “thistle” < And. *allašíf*, with metathesis);<sup>31</sup> finally, in other examples, a hypercorrect /d/ may substitute for /l/,

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps an instance of Zanāfi Br. rotacism, if we pay heed to the important role played by these Berbers in horse riding and breeding, to the point that their tribal name is the etymon of Cs. **jinete** = Ct. **atzanet**, etc., “horseman”). A similar phenomenon obtains in the unparalleled example Ct. **alforrat** “caparisoned (horse)” and its matching Cs. hapax **alforat** (*sic*, prob. also geminated) < And. *alḥúlya* “adornment”, in which the geminated result of dissimilation has not been prevented by palatalization. As for Cs. **acetre** = Pt. **acéter** = Ct. **setra** “bucket” < And. *\*aššíṭl*, their solution prob. obeys to the Rom. dislike, inherited from Lt., for the cluster /tl/, avoided also in other manners, as in Cs. **arrelde** = Nav. **arrate** = Pt. **arrátel** “pound” < And. *arráṭl*.

which is triggered by reaction to the opposite and more frequent trend (e.g., Cs. **adaza** “panic-grass” < And. *ʕalása*, Anl. **adeclín** “shark” < And. *alıklíl*, Anz. **adelga** “ring” < And. *alḥīlqa*, Old Pt. **alcaccede** “green barley” < And. *alqašīl*).

Vibrant /r/ is at times replaced by /l/ or /n/ (e.g., Cs. **abismal** “kind of nail” < And. *almismár* and **alquiler** “rent” < And. *alkirá*, Ct. **matelàs** “mattress” < And. *maṭrāḥ* and **tabair/la** “tray” < And. *ṭabáyra*; Cs. **alfaneque** “the Sultan’s tent” < Br. *afraq*, Anz. **alfanje** “lower stone of an oil-mill” < And. *alfárš*, lit., “bed”), and by /d/, either by hypercorrection or through /l/ (e.g., Arag. **almidet/z** “mortar” < And. *almíhrás*). It is often parasitical (e.g., Cs. **alcabor** “flue of a chimney” < And. *alqabú*, Pt. **almíscar** or **almiscre** “musk” < And. *almísk*, dial. Pt. **açudre** or **açurde** “dam” < And. *assúdd*, Gl. **nezcre** “shuttle” < And. *názq*, also in positions other than final, cf. Cs. **alcurnia** “lineage” < And. *alkúnya*, Ct. **eixàquera** “ailment”, var. of **eixàquia**, q.v., Gl.-Pt. **alcatruz** “bucket of a waterwheel” < And. *alqadús*, Pt. **aldraba** “latch” < And. *aḍḍábba*), but it may also be dropped (cf. Cs. **alcachofa** “artichoke” < And. *alxaršúfa*, **alfanje** “cutlass” < And. *alxánjar*, Pt. **almáfega** “coarse cloth” < And. *almárfaqa* and Pt. **aloque** “fish hideout” < And. *alwákr*). The Hispanic substratum is prob. responsible for a certain tendency to geminate /r/, in cases like Pt. **alcorreta** “talebearer” < And. *alxuráyyaṭa* and **alfarrábio** “hefty tome” < And. *alfarábi*, Cs. **alcaparra** “caper” < And. *alqappára* and **guitarra** “guitar” < And. *qitára*, while in many other instances gemination is the final outcome of clusters of /r/ with /ʃ/ or /h/ (e.g., the aforementioned Cs. **almarrá** and **almorrón** “ridge” < And. *almúhr* with an aug. suffix, Arag. **márrega** “coarse cloth” < And. *márfaqa*, Pt. **farra** “speer” < And. *fárḥa*, etc.

**1.1.3.2.3.** The dental sibilants of Old Ar., integrating a triad of unvoiced, voiced and velarized (/s/, /z/ y /ʃ/), were preserved by And. and are reflected by Rom. with its pair of affricate predorsals, of which the unvoiced phoneme must as well do as equivalent of its Ar. velarized counterpart, since, although voice was not pertinent in this manner of articulation, /ʃ/ was generally unvoiced or not phonemically voiced, except perhaps in some allophones<sup>32</sup> and idiolects, like those of Br. substratum.<sup>33</sup> The corresponding graphemes were, respectively, >c< or >ç< (the latter before vowels other than palatal, in Cs. and Pt., vs. generally >s< in Ct.) and >z< (in Cs. and Pt., vs. generally >tz< in Ct.). However, in the mod. pronunciation of Cs., both phonemes have merged into an unvoiced interdental in the dialects of the northern half of Spain, vs. an unvoiced predorsal sibilant in most of the South and their American offspring, both allophones being represented

<sup>32</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.4.3.

<sup>33</sup> This appears to be the best explanation of Pt. **alazão** and Ct. **alatzà** “sorrell (horse)” < And. *alasháb*, Máj. **atzabó** “wave roaring” < And.Rom. \*aššaxab+ÓN, Val. **atzeni** “brass” < And. *aššíni*, etc.



in spelling by a not always etymological >z<, generally >c< before palatal vowels, e.g., Pt. **açafate** = Cs. **azafate** = Ct. **safata** “basket” < And. *assafât*, Cs. and Pt. **azar** = Ct. **atzar** “(bad) luck” < And. *azzáhr*, and Cs. **aceite** = Pt. **azeite** “oil” < And. *azzáyt* = Cl. Ar. *zayt*. This relatively simple outlay is complicated as a consequence of certain And. tendencies, prob. of Hispanic substratum, to neutralize the voice opposition,<sup>34</sup> which explains Pt. **açafrão** and Ct. **safrà** “saffron” < And. *zaṣṣarân*, Pt. **acepipe** “snack”, vs. Ct. **atzebib** “raisins” < And. *azzabīb*; some other times the occasional agency of certain intra-Rom. phonetic laws determines the loss of the voiced intervocalic sibilant in Ct., e.g., in **aleuna** “path in a cliff” < And. *halazúna* “spiral; snail” and, by hypercorrection, some Cs. dialects substitute /d/ for the unvoiced interdental, e.g., Ext. **alhadena** for **alhacena** “pantry” < And. *alxazána* and **alforda** for **alforza** “pleat” < And. *alhúzza*, Mur. **alcaidía** “silken toque” < And. *alkarzíyya*, influenced by **alcal/idía** “mayoralty”, and Sal. **dagal** for **zagal** “boy” < And. *zağáll*). There are also some phenomena still defying explanation, like the anomalous frequency of >s< in the onset of genuine Pt. items borrowed from Ar. (e.g., **safar** “to remove” < And. *šáf(i)* “clear”, **safaria** “a kind of pomegranate” < And. *safaríyya*, **sáfaro** “wild” < And. *šáxri*, **saga** “rearguard” < And. *sáqa*, **sanefa** “fringe” < And. *šanáyif*, vs. the normal Cs. reflexes **zafar**, **zafarí**, **zahareño**, **zaga** and **cenefa**), or the random substitution of /l/ for the sibilant phoneme in Cs. **alfalfa** “lucerne” < And. *alfásṣaṣa*, and **falquía** “halter” for **fasquia** (in Pt. “lath”; in Ct. “girth”) < And. *fasqíyya*, perhaps a mere dissimilation of a cumbersome consonant cluster.

**1.1.3.3.** Old Ar. was poor in prepalatal phonemes, a point of articulation where it had only one genuine representative, the semiconsonant /y/, as /ʕ/ and /j/ had been the outcome of recent developments, prob. not shared totally and at once by every dialect in the Arabian Peninsula, respectively from the unvoiced lateral /ʕ/ and the voiced velar stop /g/.<sup>35</sup> By comparison, in this point of articulation and through a process of palatalization in front of **yod**, Rom. dialects had acquired a pair of voiced and unvoiced hissing spirants (/ʕ/ y ), as well as another pair of affricates /č/ y /j/, plus their homologous nasal and lateral (/n/ y /l/). It is not certain, as we said, that And. in general would have acquired this latter couple as marginal phonemes, but it did happen in the case of /č/, and an allophone of /j/ developed also, which opened the way towards merging into an archiphoneme with /z/. The old system of their transcription in Ar. loanwords

<sup>34</sup> This rather complex issue is minutely dealt with in Frago 1993:213–307, reaching a conclusion thoroughly supported by the anomalous reflexes of sibilants in Ar. loanwords, namely, that the so-called “modern” pronunciation of Cs. was rooted in pre-Rom. substractal realization which had been secularly repressed in favour of the educated and official standard.

<sup>35</sup> See Corriente 1996a:18–21.

relied on the graphemes >(i)x< for /ʕ/, >ch< (but >tx< in Ct.) for /č/ and >j< or >(i)g< (in front of a palatal vowel) for /j/, although occasionally we find >z<. It is noteworthy, however, that mod. Cs. has levelled the reflexes of /ʕ/ and /j/ in /x/, spelled >j< or >g< (realized by most speakers of southern dialects as /h/). The picture is completed by adding the graphemes >j< or >g< as reflexes of /y/ in word onset (e.g., Cs. **jucefa** “a coin” < And. *yusufīya*, **jazmín** and Ct. **ges-samí** “jasmine” < And. *yasamín*, Maj. **jafut** “Jew” < And. *yahūd*), but otherwise >i< (e.g., Pt. **alvaiade** vs. Cs. **albayalde** “ceruse” < And. *albayād*, Ct. **aliacrà** and Cs. **aliacrán** “jaundice” < And. *alyaraqán*, Cs. **acequia**, Pt. **acéquia** and Ct. **sèquia** “irrigation channel” < And. *assáqya*), in spite of frequent palatalization of the previous consonant (cf. Cs. **aceña** “waterwheel” < And. *assánya* and Ct. **llesamí** “jasmine” < And. *alyasamín*) and total loss in onset (cf. Old Cs. **azemín** < And. *yasamín*) or intervocalic position, not only after the vowels >i< or >e< (in a velarizing environment, e.g., Cs. **ataujía** “a decorative work” < And. *attawšīya* and **aldea** “village” < And. *addáyfa*),<sup>36</sup> but also in front of them (e.g., the Cs. place names **Jaén** < And. *jayyán* and **Baeza** < And. *bayyása*, and Anz. **amocael** “keel greaser” < And. *almuqayyír*).

These expectations are not always fulfilled, for several reasons. First, among the dialects of the Ar. conquerors, those identified as “Yemenites”,<sup>37</sup> had preserved an old non-palatalized /g/; therefore, at times we find >g<, even >c<, instead of regular >j< or >g< (e.g., Cs. **alc/jofaina** “washbasin” < And. *alg/jufáyna*, Cs. **hámago** and Ct. **àmec** “yellow and bitter substance found in honeycombs”, Gl. **ámago** “alburnum” < And. *xámj/g*, Ct. place name **Alfacs** < And. *alhágiz* “sand bar”, etc. One might suspect an homologous conservatism amidst those same ethnic groups in the evolution of South Semitic /ʕ/ into Ar. /ʕ/ in cases, like Cs. **albricias** = Pt. **alvícaras** “tidings” < And. *\*albīšra*, Pt. **alvecim** “a luxury cloth” < And. *alwašī* and Ct. **salefa** “dry fig” < And. *šarīṭha*, where the Rom. transcription reflects a sibilant, not a hissing sound, while all of them have witnessed parallel

<sup>36</sup> In these instances, Pt. >i<, e.g., in **aldeia**, might not be the reflex of /y/, but just a device to prevent hiatus, as in **açafeia** vs. Cs. **azafea** “plate of an astrolabe” < And. *asṣafīṭha* and **almeia** < Cs. **almea** < Fr. *almée* < Sr.Ar. *šālme* “Oriental female singer or dancer”

<sup>37</sup> Their numerical importance in the conquest of the Islamic West is underscored by a long series of linguistic traits connecting Western Ar. dialects with Sar., even with Et., as surveyed by Corriente 1989b for Al-Andalus, following the steps of Wagner 1966. The situation is not different in Naf., in which this relation casts much needed light on some peculiarities, e.g., the strange alternancy of the prefixes {*kā*+} / {*tā*+} before the imperfective (cf. Jastrow & Fischer 1980:263), seemingly a consequence of the hesitation still existent in the Yemenite dialects (*ibidem*, p. 118) between /k/ and /t/ as suffixes of the perfective, as the resulting idioms derive from a compound structure of the kind of (*kun*)/*ku tuktub* “you were writing”, where what remains from the auxiliary verb becomes a prefix and is extended to every person (see Aguadé & Elyacoubi 1995:83, about their nearly total optionality in some subdialects; in other cases, the prefix contains an /l/ instead, reminiscent of South Semitic /hlw/, equivalent of {*kwn*}). However, it should be noted that our most knowledgeable colleague and good friend Behnstedt (Behnstedt 2004) is not convinced by this hypothesis.

normal var., such as Ct. **albíxeres**, **aluexia** and **xarefa**. In the opposite direction, dialects with standard palatalized /ǧ/, analyzed as /d+y/, could dissimilate it into /d/ in the vicinity of /ʃ/, so that Ar. *jušār* became And. *dišār*, whence Pt. **adixar** and Cs. **alijar** "farmhouse", and Ar. *marzanjāš* (borrowed from Neo-P. *marzān guš*) evolved through \**marjanjāš* > \**mardandūš* into And. *mardaddūš*, whence Cs. **alморadux** "marjoram" and parallel forms. Apparently, some speakers came to realize /j/ as and, while there is no evidence of a merger with /z/ in an archiphoneme, their phonetic vicinity did generate confusion in Rom. reflexes, e.g., Pt. **ajoujo** "twin leash" < And. *azzāwj*, lit., "couple", Cs. **jinete** vs. Ct. **atzanet** "horseman" < And. *(az)zanāli*, Cs. **jara**, fem. of **jaro** "red-haired", < And. *zāfra*, Pt. **xadrez** "chess" < And. *šafrānj* and Cs. **jarafz** "pond" < And. *šahrīj*. On the other hand, some And. idiolects rejected the marginal phoneme /č/, as they did in the case of /p/, which produced some doublets, like Anz. **albejín** = Cs. **alpechín** < And. Rom. \**al+PEČ+ÍN*.

On the other hand, not every phoneme can appear in any position in the diverse languages, it being known that Rom. final consonants tend to lose voice, which in this connection explains the appearance of words like Cs. **almarcha** "village in the fields" < And. *almárj*, or **almarrá** "cotton gin" < And. \**almaḥlāj* = Cl. Ar. *miḥlāj*, where /č/, weakened in the Andalusian pronunciation to /ʃ/, has been metanalyzed as a pl. in Morisco speech and, consequently, eliminated from the sg.

The phonetic evolution of the Rom. languages and dialects has also altered the original system of equivalences: for instance, the weakening of the unvoiced affricate in Portugal and Andalusia, and that of the voiced one in Gl., which has become hissing, explains that /ʃ/ is sometimes transcribed as >ch<, e.g., Pt. **chaputa** vs. Cs. **japuta** "ray's bream" < And. *šabbūḡa*, Cs. **charrán** "rogue" < And. *šarrál*, and /j/ as >x< in Gl., e.g., a(l)**xóuxere** vs. Pt. **aljorge** "cowbell" < And. *aljúljal*, while in Arag. /j/ becomes /č/ and generates **chabalín** vs. Cs. **jabalí** "wild boar" < And. *jabalí* and Arag. **charapote** "concoction", vs. Cs. **jarabe** "syrup" < And. *šaráb*. At times, there are exceptional cases like the botanic technical term Cs. and Ct. **cuscuta** "common dodder" a bookishly transmitted item in which, the Ar. /ʃ/ of *kušūl/īā?* is reflected with >sc<, as it was customary in Llt. translations and transcriptions, before that digraph merged to become a more fashionable >x<.

**1.1.3.4.** In the palato-velar point of articulation, proto-Ar. and some later dialects had a triad of stops, /k/, /g/ y /q/,<sup>38</sup> which was broken when the voiced member

<sup>38</sup> This statement, although clear-cut and diachronically correct, is questionable since /q/ had previously been glottalized and as such was representative in the triads of that manner of articulation, but when velarization or pharyngealization substituted for glottalization, /q/ was no longer synchronically assignable as the velarized member of a triad characteristically articulated in the velar zone. As a matter of fact, phonetic evolution appears to have split the phonemes of this point of articulation in two groups, one with an articulation somehow fronted, which explains the tendency to palatalization

became palatalized, in the majority although not the totality of dialects, nor at the same pace, which allowed Ar. to enter the Iberian Peninsula with dialects with and without that feature, as we have mentioned upon dealing with prepalatals. There was also a pair of voiced and unvoiced spirants (/x/ and /g/), generally well preserved everywhere in Neo-Ar., which were ignored by Rom. as phonemes,<sup>39</sup> as in this point of articulation it only had a pair of voiced and unvoiced stops: the encounter of both systems determined the adoption by And. of /g/<sup>40</sup> as a marginal phoneme in precarious conditions, and the acquisition by And.Rom., in its many Ar. loanwords, of that pair of spirants and the velarized stop, with some precariousness too.<sup>41</sup>

In the Ar. loanwords of Rom., the unvoiced stops of this point of articulation are transcribed with >c< before non-palatal vowels and with >qu< before a palatal one, except in cases of intra-Rom. voicing, in which the reflexes are >g< and >gu< respectively, which is also the standard reflex of the voiced spirant (e.g., Cs. *alcaravea* = Ct. *alcaraiüia* = Pt. *alcaravia* “caraway seed” < And. *alkarawíyya*, Cs. *alquicel* = Pt. and Ct. *alquicé* “cloak” < And. *alkisá*, but Cs. *algodón* and Pt. *algodão* vs. Ct. *cotó* “cotton” < And. *alquún*, Pt. *açougue* “market”, vs. Ar. *azoque* < And. *assúq*; Cs., Gl. and Pt. *algazara* = Ct. *algatzara* “din” < And.

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of /g/ and, later on, above all in the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, of /k/ and /q/, and a second uvular one for the stop /q/ and the spirants. Of course, the displaced and isolated phonemes tend to regroup and occupy empty slots, which explains why /q/ becomes /g/ in all the Bed. dialects, and /ʔ/ in most urban ones, retaining its cardinal value only in very conservative areas and in the canonical recitation of the Koran (*tajwíd*).

<sup>39</sup> Although it possessed very similar sounds as allophones of /k/ and /g/: see Corriente 1997a:346, fn. 18, which never became phonemic in And.Rom. nor Northern Rom., with the much later exception of /x/ in Cs., a totally independent evolution of /ʕ/ and /j/.

<sup>40</sup> Once the old dialects with a “Yemenite” substratum, which had /g/ as their normal realization of the corresponding phoneme, were integrated in standard And., following in this matter also the mainstream of Neo-Ar., although some words may have preserved that old pronunciation (see AAR 2.1.2.5.2.1). The presence of /g/ in very common Br. words (e.g., *agallid* “petty king”, *agzal* “spear”, *afrag* “tent”, *tagra* “bowl”, *agalmus* “hood”, etc., invariably spelled with /q/ in their And. witnesses) might have played a no less important role in the acquisition of this marginal phoneme than the contact with Rom., since the spirantization of stops, and not only in intervocalic and cauda positions, as mentioned upon dealing with dento-alveolars, led to an early assimilation of Rom. [g] with Ar. /g/. In fact, the graphemic reproduction of the Rom. voiced stop through /q/, though registered, is statistically less frequent than with /g/. Our interpretation of this circumstance is that the purpose of such a spelling, as in the case of /t/, was to reproduce a conservative or cultivated unvoiced pronunciation, or one only incipiently voiced, unlike the cases of transcriptions with /g/ and /q/, respectively.

<sup>41</sup> Given away by infracorrections, such as And. *zúčču* “marc brandy”, a return from And.Rom. \*/xazz+ÁČO/, with an early elimination of the strange Ar. phoneme, Ar. loanwords reflecting /x/ with >g< and, in the case of /q/, by reports about its infracorrect merger with /k/ (see AAR 2.1.2.8.2 and SK 2.22.3 and fn. 74).

*algazára*, Cs. and Ct. **guilla** = Pt. **guilha** “harvest” < And. *gílla*), but there are also anomalous transcriptions, for instance, in cases of loss of the unvoiced stop in syllable caudas, because of its scarce audibility, e.g., Cs. and Pt. **zabra** “a kind of boat” < And. *záwraq*, Cs. **trafi** “a tax” < And. *tafríq*, Ct., Gl. and Pt. **taful/r** = Cs. **tahúr** “gambler” < Neo-Ar. *takfūr*), of loss of a voiced intervocalic /g/ (through lenition into /h/, e.g., Cs. **zahones** “chap[arajo]s” < And. \**saqún*, **ajuagas** “spavin” < And. *aššuqáq*, **alma(ga)cén** “store” < And. *almaxzán*), which at times triggers a hypercorrect reaction restoring a non-existent /g/, e.g., Cs. **alcandiga** for **alcandía** “Turkey millet” < And. *alqaṣṣniyya*, or devoicing it, e.g., Sal. and Ext. **acarbarse** for **agarbarse** “to stoop”, q.v.). In some instances the voiced spirant is simply not reflected, e.g., Cs. and Pt. **almófar** “mail head-cover under the helmet” < And. *almáǧfar* and Cs. = Ct. **arnadí** “a sweet” < And. *ǧarnáǧi*, lit., “Granadan”, perhaps accountable as a dissimilation of vibrants, quite characteristic of And. in sequences of /ǧ/ and /r/.<sup>42</sup>

The unvoiced spirant exhibits diverse solutions, from total loss (e.g., Cs. **badea** “bad melon” < And. *baǧǧíxa* “melon”, **alfa(ha)r** “pottery” < And. *alfaxxár*, Cs. **(h)ámago** = Ct. **àmec** “yellow and bitter substance in honeycombs” < And. *xámǧ/j*, often just a late phenomenon caused by the loss of phonetic /h/ (although >h< was kept in spelling), to transcriptions by the unvoiced stop (the oldest method, according to Steiger, e.g., Cs. **alcachofa** = Pt. **alcarchofa** = Ct. **carxofa** “artichoke” < And. *alxaršúfa*), by >f< (prevailing since the end of the 12th century, according to that scholar), which would soon alternate with >h< in Cs. (e.g., **alfayate** = Pt. **alfaiate** “tailor” < And. *alxayyáy* and Cs. **alhaite** “trinket” < And. *alxayy*, lit., “thread”), not excluding other graphemic expedients, such as occasional >g< (as a consequence of voicing of the matching unvoiced, e.g., Cs. **algafacán** “palpitation” < And. *alxaḡfaqán* and Ct. **gotzema** “lavender” < And. *xuzáma*, sometimes in agreement with the Llt. transmission, e.g., in Cs. **alguarismo** = Pt. **algarismo** = Ct. **alguarisme** “figure” < And. *alxuwarízmī*, unlike cases as Pt. and Old Cs. **galingal** “galingale” < Neo-Ar. *xalanjān*), >j< in contemporary Ar. loanwords, much after the standardization of the mod. pronunciation of Cs. (e.g., **jaima** “tent” < Ḥas. *xaymā* and **jalifa** “Sultan’s delegate in the former Spanish Protectorate of Northern Morocco” < Mor. *xlifa*) and, exceptionally >ch< (in **alchaz** “raw silken cloth”, a mere old Gl.-Pt. spelling, < And. *alxázz*, also frequent in Llt. bookishly transmitted terms, e.g., Cs. **Achernar** “the star Alpha Eridani” < And. *áxir annahr*

<sup>42</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.9.2.2 and fn. 47, where the example /šutás/ from Alcalá must be erased, as it does not reflect /ǧts/, and the cases of **algarabía**, **algarrada** and **almártaga** must be reconsidered, since they may really be, at least partially, hypercorrections triggered by that tendency, understandable under the effects of the “Yemenite” substratum, in the light of the frequent merger of /ǧ/ and /š/ in the whole Sar., Epigraphic and Modern, according to Corriente 1996a:22.

< Cl.Ar. *āxiru mnahr*, lit., “the end of the river”, where the digraph had its standard Llt. pronunciation, i.e., /k/, even >b< (e.g., Ext. **alburre** for **alhorre** “meconium” < And. *alḥúrr*, through \***algorre**).

**1.1.3.5.** In the pharyngeal point of articulation, Ar. has a spirant pair, unvoiced /ħ/ and voiced /ʕ/, characteristic of the Semitic phonemic system and totally alien to Rom. and every other European language. Their high functional yield has contributed to their preservation; in fact, very few Neo-Ar. dialects have eliminated or altered them to any extent, And.Ar. being no exception to that, with no other consequence than certain pseudo-corrections witnessing the difficulty of their acquisition by the natives of Hispania.<sup>43</sup> In the Ar. loanwords of Rom., the voiced phoneme is usually not reflected at all, as Rom. speakers did not hear it, but as a hollowing of the neighbouring vowels, if anything (e.g., Cs. **adaza** “panic-grass” < And. *ṣalāsa*, **alacrán** “scorpion” < And. *alṣaqrāb*, **atalaya** “high-view point” < And. *aṭṭaláyīf*), with no other exception than a few cases of a reflex as >g<, all of them in words containing /r/ and apt, therefore, to answer to And. idiolects affected by the same hypercorrection described for /ġ/. As for its unvoiced counterpart, the solutions are the same as in the case of /x/, namely, total loss (e.g., Cs. = Pt. **abarraz**, vs. Ct. **fabarràs** “louse-wort” < And. *ḥābb arrās*, Ct. **aladroc** = Cs. **aladroque** “anchovy” < And. Rom. \**al+ḥaṭr+ÓQ*), transcription by >c< and >qu< (less frequent, but sufficiently represented everywhere, and not admitting the consideration of archaicism in every case, e.g., Ct. **alcapç** “prison” < And. *alḥabs*, Pt. **alcaixa** “stripe painted on the sides of a boat” < And. *alḥāṣya*, Ct. **alquena** “henna” < And. *alḥinna*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **almadraque** “straw mattress” < And. *almaṭrāḥ*) and by >f< (replaced by >h< in Cs., which eventually would not be pronounced, e.g., Pt. **alfabaca** = Ct. **alfàbega** = Cs. **alfábega** or **albahaca**, with metathesis, < And. *alḥabāqa*); as expectable also by >g< (e.g., Cs. **bagarino** “free oarsman” < And. *baḥrī*, lit., “sailor” and **garbullo** = Ct. **garbull** “jumble” < And. *ḥarabūl*), which are suspect of Mediterranean origin, but such is not the case of metathetic Cs. **argamula** “alkanet” < And. *alḥalūm*, perhaps resulting from a hard try to pronounce /ħ/. As in the case of /x/, there are also some instances of transcription by >j< in contemporary borrowings dated after the standardization of the mod. pronunciation of Cs. (e.g., **jamilla** “stinking juice oozing from heaped up olives” < And.Rom. \**ḥam+ÉLA*, a Morisco term of An. transmission, and **jaique** “Moorish cape with a hood” < Naf. *ḥāyk*).

**1.1.3.6.** In the laryngeal point of articulation Old Ar. possessed two phonemes, the unvoiced spirant /ħ/ and the so-called **hamz**, which is nothing other than

<sup>43</sup> Like the alterations in *bawd* “mosquito” < *baṣūd*, *yabruṣ* “mandrake” < *yabrūḥ*, etc. (cf. AAR 2.1.2.10.1.2 and 2.1.2.10.2.1).

silence, perceptible as a phoneme, before the articulation of a vowel or placed between the closing and next opening of the vowel cords. The phonemic status of *hamz* was not the same in all the Old Ar. dialects, it being occasionally replaced in many of them by lengthening of a preceding vowel and by semiconsonants (= glides) between vowels, which meant that it existed only in the onset of utterances, where it was of course redundant, as the vocal cords have to be open anyway in order to initiate speech. Such was exactly the case of And.; therefore, from a synchronic viewpoint, this phoneme would be nearly non-existent, provided that the phonemic description of this dialect admits syllables beginning with a vowel, which is a mere technicality. In any case, it has absolutely no reflex in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., but for a rarity like Ct. *alguadoc* “ritual ablution”, which appears to have been taken from not from And., but from Cl.Ar., with its technical, high register pronunciation, exaggerated by Muslim clergy, *alwaḍaʔ*, vs. the standard treatment, for instance, of Cs. *almuédano* “muezzin” < And. *almuwáddan* < Cl.Ar. *almuʔaddin*.<sup>44</sup>

As for /h/, its standard transcription is with >f< (and, in Cs., as a consequence of its old allophone /h/, >h<, e.g. Old Cs. = Old Pt. *alfadia* “bribe” < And. *alhadṭiyya*, lit., “gift”, Cs. *alf/holí* = Ct. *alforí* “granary” (also Arag., with secondary var. *alg/borín* and *alguarín*) < And. *alhurí*, although its total loss is quite frequent (e.g., Cs. *rejalgar* < And. *rāhj algār* “realgar” and *ola* “wave” < And. *hāwla*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. *adarme* = Ct. *adaram* < *addārham* “a coin” and Pt. *merém* “an ointment” < And. *marhām*, which sometimes had already taken place in And., above all in word caudas, e.g., Cs. = Ct. = Gl. *alfaquí* “Muslim cleric” < And. *alfaqí* < Cl.Ar. *faqīh* and Cs. = Pt. *Alá* “God” < And. *allā(h)* < Cl.Ar. *allāh*.<sup>45</sup>

**1.1.4.** Suprasegmental phonemes (stress, vocalic and consonantal quantity, velarization and junctures) have been so far scarcely and confusedly taken into account in the research of Ar. loanwords in Rom., as there was no comprehensive synchronic phonemic description of And.Ar. before the issuing of SK, it being customary to take the so-called Cl.Ar. as source language of interference with Rom., with the addition at best of certain elementary notions of Neo-Ar. dialectology. Under such premises, the term of comparison was *a priori* false and some strange statements were circulated, for instance that the Ar. loanwords of Rom. usually reflect the stress rules of Western Ar., but at times the Cl. rules instead, although

<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Neo-Ar., and within it And., usually preserves the verb *saʔal* “to ask” and some other religious terms, like *qurʔān*, in which the phonemic status of *hamz* cannot be replaced by any other descriptive device. A further synchronic consequence of the residual presence of this phoneme is a certain tendency in And., reflected even in some Ar. loanwords, to geminate the consonant occurring before /ʔ/, e.g., Cs. *alforreca* “jellyfish” < Rom.And. \**alxurr*+*ÁYKA* (< *xurʔ* “shit”) and *cimitarra* “scimitar” < And. *ṣimṣáma ʔár(i)ʔa* (see AAR 2.1.2.11.2.1a).

<sup>45</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.11.1.1.

it was and is well-known that the latter rules are only a mere series of relatively mod. habits based upon Eastern Neo-Ar. urban prosodical usage.

**1.1.4.1.** In SK and other subsequent works,<sup>46</sup> we have proved that, as part of the substratally conditioned adjustment to the features of Hispanic languages at the time of the Islamic invasion, And.Ar. had emerged with a prosody characterized by phonemic expiratory stress, instead of the vocalic and syllabic quantity of Old Ar., which was lost. Further consequences of the phonemic character of stress were its fixation on certain slots of the syllabic structure of words and the occasional loss of certain vowels, even whole syllables, pretonic or post-tonic, as mirrored in the corresponding Ar. loanwords which, of course, never reflect the vocalic or syllabic quantity of Old Ar., not even as factors of stress position, in spite of the groundless hypotheses to that effect, e.g., in the case of the adjectives with the gentile suffix.<sup>47</sup>

Concretely, the following stress patterns are always fixed: *CvCC* (where And., in the absence of a fem. suffix {-a}, always had a disjunctive non-phonemic vowel, which would be phonemicized in Rom., e.g., Cs. **alcázar** = Pt. **alcácer** = Ct. **alcàsser** "palace" < And. *alqás/a/r* = Cl.Ar. *qaṣr*, Cs. **acíbar** = Pt. **acévar** vs. **azebre** = Ct. **sèver** "aloes" < And. *aṣṣīb/a/r* = Cl.Ar. *ṣibr*, Cs. **azófar** = Pt. **açofar** "brass" < And. *aṣṣúf/a/r* = Ar.Cl. *ṣufr*, but Cs. = Ct. = Pt. **rambla** "dry ravine" < And. *rám̄la* = Cl.Ar. *ramlah*), *CvCvC(+{a})* and *CvCCvCC(+{a})* (e.g., Cs. **azabache** = Gl. **azeviche** = Ct. **atzabeja** "jet" < And. *zabáj* = Cl.Ar. *sabaj*, Cs. = Pt. = Val. **retama** "broom" < And. *ratáma* = Cl.Ar. *ratamah*, Old Pt. **acedrenche** "chess" < And. *\*aṣṣiránj* = Cl.Ar. *ṣaṣranj*), in contrast with *CvCvC* (fem. *CvC(i)Ca*, e.g., Cs. = Gl. **gálibo** = Ct. **gàlib** "gauge" < And. *qálib* = Cl.Ar. *qālib*, Ct. **alfersa** "smith's puncher" < And. *alfársa* = Cl.Ar. *fārisah*, lit., "horsewoman", and **atzembla**, vs. Cs. **acémila** "beast of burden" < And. *azzámila*), when the first vowel had been historically long.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See Corriente 1980a, 1988a, 1992a and 1997a. In Corriente 1998a, an allowance was made for an eventual evolution of that situation in the Granadan period, without detriment to the correctness of the first hypothesis for every previous period.

<sup>47</sup> Extreme caution is recommended upon using the materials related to this issue in Steiger 1932:72–100, basically assumed by Coromines, the most distinguished and correct mod. etymologist in this realm, because not only is their analysis pre-phonological, but it does not contain any criticism of the misprints in Alcalá, therein quoted as *loci probantes* of supposed tendencies, contradicted by words of the same structure, correctly inserted elsewhere in that very book, as we warned already in Corriente 1977:65, fn. 92.

<sup>48</sup> This conditioning might suggest effectiveness of phonemic vowel quantity, but the case is not unlike that of antepenultima stressed words in Cs. deriving from those which in Lt. had a short penultimate syllable, while Cs. penultima stressed ones do it from those which in Lt. had it long. The graphemic and prosodic confusions listed in Corriente 1977:60–64 witness just the opposite, although, concerning our support in fn. 88, for García Gómez's theory about the prosody of And. stanzaic poetry, our subsequent studies have shown that he was prob. right upon intuitively detect-



On the other hand, there is some degree of hesitation in structures diachronically derived from  $C\check{V}C\check{V}C$  (e.g., Gl.-Pt. = Ct. **nora** “water-wheel” < And. *nāṣura* = Cl.Ar. *nāṣarah*, perhaps Anl. **albácora** “Atlantic mackerel” < And. \**albákura* = Cl.Ar. *bākārah*,<sup>49</sup> vs. Cs. **arcaduz** = Ct. **caduf** = Gl.Pt. **alcatrúz** < And. *alqadús* = Cl.Ar. *qādūs*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **quilate** = Ct. **quirat** “carat” < And. *qirāt* < Ar.Cl. *qīrāṭ*, Cs., Gl.-Pt. **aduanā** “customs” < And. *diwān* = Cl.Ar. *dīwān*), or from  $C\check{V}CC\check{V}C$  (e.g., Cs. **alacrán** = Ct. **alacrá** = Pt. **lacrau** “scorpion” < And. *alṣaqrāb* = Cl.Ar. *ṣaqrāb*, Cs. **marchamo** “label” < And. *maršām*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **albornoz** = Ct. **barnús** “burnoose” < And. *alburnús* = Cl.Ar. *burnus*, Cs. **altramuz** = Ct. **tramús** “lupin” < And. *alturmús* = Cl.Ar. *turmus*, less frequent than penultima stressed (e.g., Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **adarme** = Ct. **adaram** “a small weight” < And. *addārham* = Cl.Ar. *dirham*, Cs. **aljófar** = Pt. **aljófár** = Ct. **aljòfár** “small pearls” < And. *aljāwhar* = Cl.Ar. *jawhar*), but there is always  $C\check{V}CC\check{V}C(\{a\})$  when the second vowel had historically been long (e.g., Cs. **alcachofa** = Pt. **alcarchofa** = Ct. **carxofa** “artichoke” < And. *xaršúfa* = Neo-Ar. *xaršāfah*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **candil** “oil lamp” < And. *qandīl* = Cl.Ar. *qindīl*). The stress pattern  $C\check{V}CC\check{V}Ca$  clearly prevails in quadriconsonantal roots (e.g., Cs. **albóndiga** = Pt. **albôndega** “meatball” < And. *albúnduqa* “hazel” = Cl.Ar. *bunduqah*, Cs. **alcántara** “wooden case for velvet in the loom” = Pt. **alcântara** = Ct. **alcântera** “bridge” < *alqānṭara* = Cl.Ar. *qanṭarah*), as  $C\check{V}CC\check{V}C(\{a\})$  does when the first consonant is a prefix (e.g., Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **almadraque** = Ct. **matelàs** “mattress” < And. *almaṣrāḥ* = Cl.Ar. *maṣrah*, Cs. **alma(ga)cén** = Ct. **magatzem** = Pt. **armazém** “store” < And. *almaxzān* = Cl.Ar. *maxzan*, Cs. **almofrej** = Pt. **almafreixe** = Ct. **almofreix** “bedspread” < And. *almaṣrāš* = Cl.Ar. *miṣraš*, practically always if there is a fem. suffix (e.g., Cs. **almadraba** = Ct. and Pt. **almadrava** < And. *almaḍrāba* “tunny-fishery”, Cs. **almajara** “nursery” < And. *almāšjara* = Cl.Ar. *mašjarah*, Cs. **almanaca** “necklace” < And. *almaxnáqa* = Cl.Ar. *mixnaqah*, etc., vs. Cs. and Pt. **almófar** “mail head-cover under the helmet” < And. *almāḡfar* = Cl.Ar. *miḡfar*, and Anz. **almázaque** “weeding hoe” < And. \**almāšzaq* = Cl.Ar. *mišzaq*, Cs. **márfega** = Pt. **almáfega**

ing the role of stress, but did not perceive its nature as a mere surrogate for quantity in the Cl.Ar. metrics or *ṣarūd*, which in these poems is simply adapted to native prosody, according to Corriente 1980a and other surveys up to 1997a. This interpretation was never accepted, for personal reasons rather than of method, by that nevertheless distinguished pioneer in this realm, stubbornly proclaiming against all evidence that it was a genuinely Hispanic metrical system.

<sup>49</sup> This stress position, documented in Alcalá only, but for the spelling >*dynr*<, coinciding with his *dīnār* “dinar”, frequent in And. documents, can be considered sufficiently witnessed, although it seems to have developed as an infrequent dialectal feature. Its only two supporting examples in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. are most questionable, the first because the aforementioned occasional loss of /s/ in low registers, in this case proven by the pl. *nawāyir* in Alcalá himself, was sufficient to generate a diphthong and the subsequent loss of one syllable (cf. And. *bāwd* “mosquito”, for *bašūd*, in a similar environment), and in the second case, because of the late dating of the item.

= Ct. *màrfega* “straw mattress” < *almàrfaga* = Cl.Ar. *mirfaqah*). Such varying treatment would reveal the presence of still insufficiently studied diachronic and diatopic divergences in this aspect within the And. dialectal bundle, prob. harking back to the heterogeneous dialects preceding the koine.<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, it is clear that under certain, although quite exceptional and hard to explain circumstances, stress displacement can occur within Rom., e.g., in Cs. *jáquima* “halter” < And. *šakíma*, q.v., *tarima* “wooden platform” < Neo-Ar. *īarimah*, (already displaced in Alcalá *īaríma*, but not yet in *Vocabulišta in arabico*), *azaque* “a tax”, in contrast with the expectable shape of Mur. *asequí*, as well as in some other instances where the reason for the shift may be guessed, e.g., in Pt. *arraia* “the common people” < And. *arraīyya*, in which the loss of /ʃ/ would have helped in producing a most favoured diphthong.

As for the elimination of pretonic and post-tonic vowels and even whole syllables, already taking place to some extent in And. (see AAR 2.1.3.1.1 and fn. 52), the Ar. loanwords of Rom. can feature them after the same historico-phonetic rules as its genuine words, or in imitation of certain preferred syllable sequences, as can be seen for pretonic syllables, in cases like Cs. *adarme*, instead of older *adárame* < And. *addárham*, *adra* “turn”, backformed on *ad(o)rar*, denominal from *ador* < And. *addáwr*, *aulaga* “furze” < And.Rom. \**al+YILÁQA*, *harbar* “to botch” and Pt. *afarvar-se* “to toil” < And.Rom. \**AD+xarab+ÁR* and, for post-tonic ones, in Cs. *marga*, a var. of *márfaga* “coarse cloth” < And. *márfaga*, Gl. *bastrén* “tool for making curved pieces” and Anz. *almastrén* “trowel” < \*And. *almasšarín* < Ar. *masšārīn*, *alfargar* “to whitewash” < And.Rom. \**al+farg+IQ+ÁR*, Ct. *alfalse* = Nav. *alfalce*<sup>51</sup> “lucern” < And. *alfásfasa*, Cs. *azufaifa* = Pt. *açofaifa* “jujube” < And. *azzufáyzafa*. The same obtains in every dim. of the pattern {*CuCáyyaC*}, in

<sup>50</sup> Cf. cases like Cs. *almazara* vs. Ct. *almàssera*. The same inference is to be drawn from the complex distribution of stress patterns when the gentile suffix is attached, because the masc. loanwords, except as established in 1.2.1.2.1, are always ultima stressed, as a consequence of the intra-Rom. generalization of the morpheme {-f}, regardless of the original prosody in the source language in each case, while the fem. ones still reflect the optionality existing in And., e.g., between Cs. *albornía* and Ct. *albúrnía* “a dish” < And. *alburníyya* (?), Cs. *alcanería* and Cl. *alcanària* “artichoke” < And. *alqannaríyya* (?), even inside Cs. *bernia* “cloak” < (*i*)*birníyya* (?) the above *alboronía* < *alburaníyya*: stress retrogression in some (fem.) gentile adjectives was studied in SK 3.1.6, AAR, p. 62 and Corriente 1989c:423. The idiolectic or interdialectal tolerance of diverging stress patterns is not a surprising novelty: it does exist in Cs. in some instances, like *océano* vs. *oceanó* “ocean”, and is not uncommon nowadays in Neo-Ar. between dialects so close and mutually intelligible as the urban ones of Egypt and Syria, e.g. [*madrásu*] “school” in the former vs. [*múdruse*] in the latter. Our studies on And. stanzaic poetry suggest that these allowances were put to use in the aim of creating the prosodic rhythm required by each metre (see Corriente 1980a:22–23 and 1997e:55).

<sup>51</sup> The Ct. shapes *alfals* y *alfaç*, with loss of the final vowel, and Cs. *alfalfa*/e, etc., in which the second >f< is no reflex of that of Ar., but results from assimilation of interdental /θ/ representing its last consonant, are secondary.

which the segment /ya/ is never reflected in Rom., e.g., Cs. *azotea* = Pt. *açoteia* “terrace” < And. *assuṣayyah*, Nvh. *arrucaique* “a sweet” < And. *arruqáyyaq*, as well as in the place names of the pattern of Cs. *Alcocer* < And. *alqušáyyar* “little castle”, previously attributed to the dim. pattern {*CuCayC*}, like in Cl.Ar., but unknown in And. and, generally speaking, in the Western dialects, where it is assimilated to the quadriconsonantal pattern {*CuCáyCaC*}.<sup>52</sup>

**1.1.4.2.** Concerning the suprasegmental of quantity, it is our contention, as said upon dealing with stress, that And. Ar. had given up vowel quantity as a phonemic trait, unlike the case of consonant quantity in a good measure, because of its large functional yield in Ar. morphology, in spite of the substratal pressure and the difficulty it meant for Hispanic speakers. This is proved by some pseudo-corrections in And. documents and several Ar. loanwords, in which the sonorant phonemes, which Rom. could still geminate bear witness to the situation, e.g., Cs. *albañil* “bricklayer” < And. *albanná*, *alcarceña* “bitter-vetch” < And. *alkarsánna*, *alcal-ler* “potter” < And. *alqallál* and *arrabal* “outskirts” < And. *arrabād*.<sup>53</sup> Except in these cases, however, the consonantal gemination, lost in the intra-Rom. phase, is not reflected in the Ar. loanwords.

**1.1.4.3.** Velarization is, at least in Neo-Ar. and prob. already in every Old Ar. dialect, in which original Old Semitic glottalization had evolved in this manner,<sup>54</sup> a feature not only affecting isolated phonemes, but also their vocalic or consonantal environment within a variable range, which is why it is called a suprasegmental. So it was, therefore, also in And., as we have underscored,<sup>55</sup> however, not being

<sup>52</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.7.1. The relative scarcity of reflexes of the Ar. dim. patterns in its Rom. loanwords (barely, Cs. *jofaina* “washbasin” and var., *alcohela* “endive”, Ct. *almudaina* “acropolis” and the Cs. place name *Almudena*, Pt. *alcoceifa* “brothel”, Nav. *culeca* “cake” and not too many more) does not keep pace with its frequent usage in And., but reflects the strong tendency among Mozarab immigrants and, widely speaking, the bilinguals of Al-Andalus, to prefer the Rom. dim. suffixes (see Corriente 1983b:58 and 1992a:126–127).

<sup>53</sup> See AAR 2.1.3.2. It may or not be a coincidence, considering what was said about /t/ and /q/, that Br., in general and by comparison with Ar. morphology, shares the standing of And. on this issue: i.e., phonemic consonantic quantity, but not vocalic. Another riddle which would find a possible solution in assuming a Br. interference is that of a series of Ar. loanwords in standard Cs., namely, *anacalo*, *anafaga*, *anafaya*, *anafe*, *anejir*, *aniaga*, *anoria* and *anúbada*, q.v., where /nn/ is not reflected with the expectable palatal (vs. *añacal*, *añacea*, *añafaga*, *añafea*, *añafil*, *añagaza*, *añascar*, *añazme* and *añil*, with a normal result): since *allosa* and every Ar. loanword in Cs. beginning with *arr-* reflect gemination in And., and unless we adopt the solution of considering them transmitted through westernmost Ibero-Rom. (i.e., Gl.-Pt.), which may be hard to prove, it could be assumed that those terms were borrowed from the bilingual Br. settlements of the Northwest, in whose speech the Ar. article could have been merged with their native masc. mark /a-/, in agreement with 1.3.1.1.

<sup>54</sup> See Corriente 1996a:17.

<sup>55</sup> See AAR 2.1.3.3 and 2.1.4.1.6 and SK 3.3.1. In cases of hesitation like those of Pt. *açacalar* and *aceficalar* = Cs. *acicalar*, the diverse vocalizations might be attributable to presence or absence of velarization in the root {*sqʕl*}, as part of the situation studied in AAR 2.1.2.4.1.2 and 2.1.2.4.3,

reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. except by vowel alterations within that same range, as pointed out in the description of each particular velarized phoneme, we need not go any further about this subject.

**1.1.4.4.** Junctures, i.e., transitions at a slower compass between the segments of an utterance or between it and silence, providing demarcative cues about the speech elements, play an important role in phonetics and usually also in phonemics. In the case of the Semitic languages, the importance of pausal phenomena has been underscored since Medieval times, and they are a basic chapter in the grammars of Cl.Ar. They must equally be a part of any description of And.,<sup>56</sup> as Old Ar. practiced certain shortenings of words before a terminal juncture, i.e., the transition of speech to silence, or before the open external (interrogative) juncture, denoting a question, the so-called pausal forms, often extended by Neo-Ar. as well to open internal junctures, cueing the connection between the constituents of a syntagm, so that they practically became the sole form of any word, but for occasional allomorphic couples (e.g., *madīnah* “city” vs. *madīn(a)ḥ* *bağdād* “the city of B.” or *kull* “every” vs. *kulli yawm* “every day”) Upon dealing with the Ar. loanwords of Rom., which are mere isolated words in most cases, and very seldom short syntagms, it is obviously of paramount interest to know the And. pausal forms before terminal junctures and even, though less so, those used before open internal junctures in the mentioned few syntagms, inasmuch as the matching phonetic solutions may be in conflict with Rom. phonemics, and require certain adjustments.

**1.1.4.4.1.** Concerning the terminal juncture, it is known that many pausal forms of Neo-Ar., and therefore of And., theoretically and phonemically end in a syllable closed by two consonants, i.e., /CvCC/, which often required the insertion of a disjunctive non-phonemic vowel. Since Rom. shared the Ar. abhorrence for such a cluster in that position, this disjunctive vowel used to be inherited and phonemicized in its borrowings, as we advanced in connection with the stress pattern /CvCC/. Or, alternatively, in keeping with its own tendencies developed in a previous phase of its evolution, when it hesitated between tolerating the final consonant cluster and attaching a vowel more or less reminiscent of that which had existed in Llt., it added a paralogical vowel, generally /e/, sometimes even in patterns ending in just one consonant (e.g., Cs. *acetre* vs. Pt. *acéter* “bucket” < And. \**assīl*, Old Cs. *almizque* vs. Ct. *mesc* “musk” < And. *almīsk*, also Cs. *acemite* “fine bran” < And. *assamīd*, *alcahuete* = Gl.-Pt. *alcaiote* vs. Ct. *alcavot* “pimp” < And. *alqawwād*,

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while other anomalous vocalizations, like that of Pt. *acirrar* “to insist” < And. *ayīrr*, instead of the expectable \**acerrar*, would be explained in the same way.

<sup>56</sup> See the summarized essentials in paragraphs 12 to 14 of Corriente 1980b and, for And., in SK 4.4.0–5 and AAR 2.1.4.4.

Cs. **altabaque** "basket" < And. *aṭṭabāq*, **azote** = Pt. **açoute** vs. Ct. **assot** "scourge" < And. *assāwī*, Cs. **jarabe** = Pt. **xarope** vs. Ct. **xarop** "syrup" < And. *šarāb*. It is noticeable that Ct. is less prone to require that vowel, although it can do so in an ultracorrect manner, e.g., in **ambre** vs. Cs. **ámbar** "amber" < And. *šānbar*, in a contour ending in a sonorant). However, this vowel may also be /a/, not only in Ct., something expectable in its more important dialects, as a consequence of the mandatory archiphoneme in that unstressed position, but everywhere in Ibero-Rom. (e.g., Ct. **aumorda** "outlet of an irrigation channel" < And. *\*almáwrid*, **se/itra** vs. Cs. **acéter** "bucket", **atzabeja** vs. Cs. **azabache** "jet" < And. *azzabāj*, **jässera** = Cs. **jácena** "beam" < *jásr*, but also Cs. = Ct. **alforja** "saddlebag" < And. *alxúrj*, Cs. **acemita**, a var. of aforementioned **acemite**, **alfombra** and Pt. **alfâmbara** "carpet" < And. *alḥānbal*, Arag. **azuda** and Pt. **açuda** vs. Cs. **azud** "dam" < And. *assúdd*, Cs. **alfaida** "flood" < And. *alfáyḍ*, Mur. **almaja** "a tax" < And. *almáks*, etc.). In contrast, there are cases in which /e/ is hypercorrectly attached, instead of the expectable /a/, e.g., Pt. **adague** vs. Cs. **daga** "pile of stuff" < And. *lāqa* and Cs. **almagra/e** "red earth" < And. *almágra*.

In other instances, without any visible reason,<sup>57</sup> the paragogical vowel is instead /o/, e.g., Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **abelmosco** "abelmosk" < And. *ḥább almúsk*, Pt. **adarço** "reef" < And. *adḍárs*, **adelo** "broker" < And. *addallál*, **alfaco** "kind of mushroom" < And. *alfāqṣ*, Man. **albercucuco** vs. Cs. **albaricoque** and var. "apricot" < And. *albarqúq*, Cs. = Ct. **alardo** vs. Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **alarde** "parade" < And. *alfárḍ*, Old Cs. **algarivo** "foreigner" < And. *alḡarīb*, Cs. = Gl. **alborozo** = Pt. **alvoroço** "joy" < And. *alburúz*, Old Cs. **horro** "free", vs. Ct. **forro/e** < And. *ḥúrr*.

It was also possible to preserve the final consonant of And. unaltered, when Rom. could tolerate it in that position, which happened normally in the case of all sonorants except /m/ in Cs. and /n/ in Ct. and Pt., on account of their characteristic phonemic constrictions; exchanges are also rather frequent, however (e.g., Cs. = Ct. = Gl.-Pt. **alfil** "bishop in chess" < And. *alfíl*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **azar** = Ct. **atzar** "[bad] luck" < And. *azzáhr*, Cs. **algodón** vs. Ct. **cotó** and Pt. **algodão** "cotton" < And. *alquṭún*, Cs. **atún** vs. Pt. **atum** "tunny" < And. *attúnn*, Ct. **alfaquim** vs. Cs. **alf/haquín** "physician" < And. *alḥakīm*, Cs. **guay** "woe" < And. *wáy*, Muley = Pt. Mulei "Sire" < Naf. *mūlāy*,<sup>58</sup> Cs. **ación** "stirrup leather" < And. *assuyúr*, Pt. **alfim/r** for **alfil**, **alcafar** "rump" < And. *alkafál*, **alecrim** "a plant name" < And. *aliklíl*). The same was allowed in the case of final sibilants, although merging

<sup>57</sup> If there is any, it must be sought after in Rom. diachrony, specifically in the phenomenon of loss of final vowels in the second and third Lt. declensions and their subsequent, often infra-correct restoration, largely interfered by tradition, analogy, folk etymology, pseudo-corrections, etc.

<sup>58</sup> There are no examples of /w/ on account of its rarity in And. in this position, necessarily always in a diphthong.

in an unvoiced archiphoneme, e.g., Old Cs. **alcahaz** “cage” < And. *alqafās*, Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **arroz** and Ct. **arròs** “rice” < And. *arrāwz*, Ct. **algeps** and Cs. **aljez** “plaster” < And. *aljābs*. From the remaining consonants, Ct. tolerates them well in final position in every point of articulation it has, although merging in unvoiced archiphonemes, by a characteristic constriction of its phonemic rules (e.g., **arrop** “syrup” < And. *arrūbb*, **alduf** “tambourine” < And. *addūff*, **taüt** “coffin” < And. *tabūt*, **assut** “dam” < And. *assūdd*, **quirat** “carat” < And. *qirāḡ*, **safareig** “pond” < And. *ṣahrīj*, **gambuix** “mask” < And. *kanbūš* and **sumac** “sumac” < And. *summāq*), in contrast with the practical absence of such a solution in Pt. and its considerable restriction in Cs., above all mod. Cs., where only a few cases of voiced dental are left, e.g., **ataúd** “coffin” < And. *tabūt* and **azud** “dam” < And. *assūdd*, and some obsolete residual witnesses of the hissing series, like **almofrej** “bedspread” < And. *almafrāš* and **cambuj** “mask” < And. *kanbūš*. At times, the adopted solution is an unpredictable replacement of the original phoneme in the source language by another more compatible with the taxemic preferences of the target language, e.g., Pt. **alfenim** “sugar paste” < And. *alfanīd*, Cs. **anejir** vs. Pt. **anexim** “song” < And. *annašīd*, Cs. **ciclán** “having only one testicle” < And. *siqlāb*, **taujel** “lath” < And. *tawšīḡ*, etc.<sup>59</sup> The And. phonemes without a match in Rom. follow the rules of their usual adaptation, as reflected in the given examples, or eventually disappear, e.g., Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **arroba** = Ct. **rova** “a weight” < And. *rūb/aḡ*, Cs. = Ct. = Gl.-Pt. **tara** “tare” < And. *īār/aḡ*, Cs. **eje** “out!” < And. *iššāh* “check (in chess)!”

Finally, it is not uncommon that the last vowel in a final juncture be topped up with a parasitic consonant, usually a sonorant, in spite of the acceptability of that ending in Rom., e.g., Cs. **azacán** and Pt. **açacal** “water-carrier” < And. *assaqqā*, Cs. **alcabor** and Ct. **alcavor** vs. **alcavó** “flue of a chimney” < And. *alqabū*, Cs. **celemín** and Pt. **celamim** “a dry measure” < and. *īamanī*.

**1.1.4.4.2.** The open internal juncture has caused some changes in word shape throughout the evolution from Old Ar. to And., especially as a result of wrong parsing of substantives with the definite article (e.g., Cl.Ar. *īal+īajurrah* > And. *īajūra* “brick”, whence Ct. **rajola**, q.v., Cl.Ar. *īal+īabbār* > And. *labbār* “needle maker or seller”,<sup>60</sup> all in all many fewer cases than in Mor. and Malt.). This phenomenon also happens occasionally in the already intra-Rom. phases of Ar. loanwords, e.g., Arag. **aldaca** “a tax”, < \***as ḡ+adacas** (with subsequent

<sup>59</sup> But these replacements may simply reflect the scarce audibility of those phonemes in cauda positions, as given away by their very variety within one and the same language, even in cases in which the mere transcription of that phoneme in the source language would be acceptable, e.g., in Ct. **alfení** and its var. **alfenic**, Pt. **alfenide** or **alfenim** and Cs. **alfenique**.

<sup>60</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.2.1.2, where the same phenomenon is also detected in words of Rom. origin.

false restoration of the Ar. article in And. *ṣadāqa* “legally prescribed alms tax”), Cs. (f)abacero, < los z+a(fa)bacedos “grocer” (< *ṣāḥb azzād* “owner of proviant”), salema, < \*la+s halemas “saupe” (< And. *ḥallāma*), Cs. alambor = Ct. alambó “citrus”, < \*els z+ambors (< And. *zanbūf*), and Anl. jaharral “stony place”, from a hybrid \**ṣax/a/r+ÁL*, obtained through \*loh zaharraleh, with metathesis in the very juncture, whence \*loz haharraleh. This is also likely in some cases of Rom. indefinite article, e.g., Cs. anaquel “shelf” < And. *manāqil*, An. aranda/el “shelter from the sun” < And. *maḥáll azzáll*, and perhaps Ct. etzit “smart” < And. *naẓīq*, q.v.

**1.1.5.** Combinatory phonetics, i.e., the study of the changes synchronically undergone by phonemes, by virtue of syntagmatic relations, i.e., their co-occurrence in the same context, is an important chapter in the investigation of many a matter of language contact, as this situation brings about new contexts, peculiar to the source language but alien to the target language, so that the latter is confronted with the need to reduce or assimilate them to its own capacities, by means of universal procedures such as assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, epenthesis and repercussion.

**1.1.5.1.** Assimilation is the tendency to totally or partially level phonemes in immediate contact or within word boundaries. In Semitic and particularly in Ar., it plays an important role, causing diverse phenomena, of which we shall only mention those having consequences for the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom., such as: a) Selection of vocalic allophones in agreement with the consonantal environment, b) Distant assimilation of vowel quality, and c) Total or partial contact assimilation of consonants.

**1.1.5.1.1.** The sketchy proto-Semitic vocalism not always had a differential morphemic function, as made evident by the fact that one and the same primitive morpheme can have subsequently split into several which originally were simple phonetic vars. of the former.<sup>61</sup> In the case of Ar., it is apparent that each vocalic phoneme has several allophones matching the variegated consonantal contour, so that whenever there is contact with another language, as that of the And. dialect bundle with Rom., those allophones are perceived as counterparts of the vocalic phonemes in the phonemically richer system of that language, Rom. in this instance, although not without frequent hesitations, because allophones are, often and by their own nature, idiolectic. Consequently, vowel assimilation by contact may have already taken place functionally within And., in instances like Cs. almohada = Pt. almofada “pillow” < And. *almuxádda* < Cl.Ar. *mixaddah*, Cs. almohaza = Pt. almofaça “curry-comb” < And. *almuḥássa* < Cl.Ar. *miḥassah*, Pt. almotolía

<sup>61</sup> See Corriente 1979 and AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7.

“glazed vessel” < And. *almuḥlīyya* < Cl.Ar. *maḥliyyah*, Pt. **albafor** = Ct. **albofor** “a scented plant” < And. *alba/uxūr* < Cl.Ar. *baxūr*, Cs. and Gl. **almadía** = Pt. **almadia** = Ct. **ar/umadia** “ferryboat”, with an And. etymon *almaḥḍīyya* corrupted from Old Ar. *muḥaddīyah*, or be an already intra-Rom. phenomenon, as in Cs. **almodón** “baking flour” < And. *almadhūn*, Cs. **almofrej/z** = Ct. **almofreix** = Pt. **almofreixe** “bedspread”, with a Pt. var. **almafreixe** more faithful to witnessed And. *almafrāṣ*, Cs. = Pt. **almófar** and **almofre**, with a Pt. var. **almafre** closer to And. *almáġfar* < Cl.Ar. *miġfar*, Cs. **almoraduj/x** and Ct. **moradui**x, with a Ct. var. **marduix** closer to And. *almardadūṣ*, Cs. **almijar** = Pt. **almixar** “drying shed”, with the Pt. var. **almanxar** closer to And. *almanṣār*, Pt. **azêmola** vs. Cs. **acémila** “beast of burden” < And. *azzāmila*, Pt. **alcoveto** vs. Cs. **alcahuete** < And. *alqawwād*, and Cs. **alfombra** vs. Old Cs. **alf/hámar** = Pt. **alfâmba**(a) < And. *alhānbal*.<sup>62</sup>

**1.1.5.1.2.** Distant assimilation of vowels within the same word already occurred in Old Ar., as set out by the medieval grammarians, upon explaining the principles of vowel harmony aimed e.g., at avoiding sequences of /i/ and /u/, even of /a/ in certain patterns, and upon describing some dial. peculiarities, diverging from the standard. As for sequences rejected by the Cl.Ar. norms, but possible in the old and mod. dialects, there are the hypocoristic {*1a22ā3*}, its quadriconsonantal allomorph {*1a23ā4*}, the equally quadriconsonantal {*1a23ū4*}, considered by the standard as corruptions of {*CuCCaC*} and {*CiCCiC*} respectively, it being obvious that And., like the remainder of Neo-Ar., in general, did not follow that Cl. norm, since Cs. **candil** “oil lamp” reflects And. *qandīl*, not Cl.Ar. *qindīl*, **acerola** = Pt. **azarola** = Ct. **atzarola** “haw”, And. *zaṣrūra*, not Cl.Ar. *zuṣrurah*, and Gl. **amboa** “vat”, And. *anbūba*, not Cl.Ar. *unbābah*, vocalization also reflected by Cs. **acebuche** “oleaster” < And. *zabbūj*, a hypocoristic pattern unknown to Cl.Ar. As for the dial. tendency to substitute {*CiCiC*} for {*CaCiC*}, it should be noted that Sībawayhi himself attributed this dialectal trait to the Banū Tamīm,<sup>63</sup> it being widely spread in Neo-Ar., fully including And., as reflected in some Ar. loanwords of Rom., e.g., Cs. **cenefa** vs. Ct. = Pt. **sanefa** “stripe” < And. *ṣa/inīṣa*, Cs. **adefera** “tile for friezes” < And. *aḍḍa/īṣra*, and Cs. = Pt. **alquitira** vs. Pt. **alcatira**

<sup>62</sup> Kiesler 1994:211–212 was not convinced by this proposal of ours, and raises phonetic objections on account of the suggested labialization and the loss of unstressed /u/, although these phenomena are often come across in other Ar. loanwords of Rom., as we have been expounding, with the support in this case of the gradual evolution reflected by the Pt. and Old Cs. var. of the same word. It is true that the etymon *xumrah* was put forward by no lesser a scholar than Dozy, however, *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*, as witnessed in the notes by Fleischer 1881–85 and Corriente 1995a, since we all, great and small alike, are bound to make mistakes, whenever our information is incomplete.

<sup>63</sup> See Fleisch 1961:158, fn. 1, and Samsó 1978:216–217.



“tragacanth” < And. *alka/ʔlra*, in which, the velarizing contour and the intensity of the phenomenon appear to exclude mere spontaneous palatalization.

**1.1.5.1.3.** Total or partial assimilation of consonants in contact is a linguistic universal, naturally present in And.<sup>64</sup> as well, and therefore in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. Upon dealing with these, due attention must be paid to standard rules of Ar. such as a) the assimilation of /l/ in the definite article to consonants with a dento-alveolar articulation, including not only hushing /ʃ/, but often also the prepalatal /j/<sup>65</sup> (e.g., Cs. *ajonjolí* “sesame” < And. *aljulfulán*, Can. *ajorás* “small bell” and Gl. *axóuxere* vs. Pt. *aljorge* “cowbell” < And. *aljúljal*), b) the reduction of the cluster of sibilant and unvoiced dental to an unvoiced sibilant, reflected already in some apparently old borrowings, in spite of being scarcely or not at all witnessed in And.Ar. sources, e.g., Cs. *alf/hócigo* “pistachio” < And. *alfúšluq*, *almáciga* and Pt. *almécega* “mastic” < And. *almáʃʃaka*, the Cs. place name *Écija* < And. *ás.s/ija*, and *alquez* “a wine measure” < And. *alqíʃl*). But the occasional assimilation of unvoiced consonants to the voice of a preceding /l/ in the Ar. definite article, e.g., in Cs. *alguarismo* “figure” and derivatives < And. *alxuwaríʃmi*, even at distance in the case of Pt. *almandra* “raincoat” < And. \**almámʃar(a)*, Pt. *alguergue* vs. Cs. *alquerque* “an Eastern game” < And. *alqíʃrq*, appears to be a totally intra-Rom. phenomenon. A curious unparalleled phenomenon is met across in Mon. *algueras* “burrow” < And. Rom. *awkér*+AŚ, wherein this voicing is acting on the metanalyzed shape of a supposed Ar. definite article, conceivable only if /l/ had a velarized allophone, in a prob. hypercorrect reaction, triggered by the opposite phenomenon, described in 1.1.3.2.2, in connection with the Balearic dialects of Ct.

**1.1.5.2.** Dissimilation, either in contact, if this is possible, or at distance, of vowels or consonants, i.e., their total or partial alteration in order to avoid the repetition, felt as cacophonous, of the whole phoneme or some of those features, is also a common phenomenon in many linguistic families, of course, including Old Ar. and And., therefore being quite often reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. Vocalic dissimilation, quite important in the morphology of Old Ar., is much less so in And., although it accounts, e.g., for And. *nišrāni* instead of Cl.Ar. *našrāni* “Christian”, reflected in *Don Quixote* as a non-assimilated Arabic term, *nizarani*, prob. taken from the Morisco Cs. idiolect. Consonant dissimilation is

<sup>64</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.1.1–6.

<sup>65</sup> Which does not necessarily imply, as Steiger 1932:181 thought, a spirant realization, since this kind of assimilation in Neo-Ar. has been extended at times even to velar stops (see Fischer & Jastrow 1980:88, with examples such as Eg. *iggamul* “the camel” and *ikkitāb* “the book”). Nevertheless, any example of this rule and its extension is questionable in the light of many pseudo-correct cases in which the reflex of expectable /l/ has been eliminated, without any visible reason (e.g., Cs. *abitaque* “rafter”) and vice versa (e.g., Cs. *aldiza* “cornflower”).

more conspicuous and appears at work more often, e.g., a) when causing the loss of the /l/ of the Ar. definite article abutting upon a sonorant (e.g., Cs. **a(l)guacil** = Ct. **a(l)gutzir** = Pt. **a(l)guazil** “constable” < And. *alwazīr*, Cs. **abalorio** = Pt. **abalório** “beadwork” < And. *alballūri*, Old and dial. Cs. **abellota** “hazel” < And. *alballūta*, Arag. **abericoque** vs. Cs. **albericoque** “apricot” < And. *albarqūq*, Mur. **afarrasar** vs. Ct. **alfarrassar** “to appraise a harvest” < And. *alxarrāṣ*, etc.),<sup>66</sup> b) in the insertion of /n/ instead of consonantal gemination (e.g., Pt. **azambuja** and Mur. **acembuche** “oleaster” < And. *azzabbūj* or, rather, its already dissimilated var. *zanhūja*, or /r/ in Arag. **almuerta** “a tax” < And. *almuwādda*), and c) haplologic phenomena, such as dropping the first /y/ in a sequence of two (e.g., Cs. **tafurea** = Ct. **tafure(y)a** = Pt. **taforeia** “flat-bottomed boat” < And. *ṭaṣurīyya* por *ṭayṣurīyyah*),<sup>67</sup> or the second one in a sequence of any other couple of sonorants (e.g., Pt. **aljorge** “cowbell” < And. *aljūljāl*, Cs. = Pt. **alfanje** = Ct. **alfange** vs. Old Pt. **alfânjar** “cutlass” < And. *alxânjar*, and Cs. = Gl.-Pt. **cimitarra** = Ct. **simitarra** “scimitar” < And. *\*šimšāma ṭārʔ/ya*).

**1.1.5.3.** Metathesis, i.e., transposition of two phonemes, only vowels, only consonants, or a combination of both in a given sequence, aimed at easing pronunciation or resulting from paradigmatic or syntagmatic interferences, is another linguistic universal, often acting in Old Ar. and And. It is quite common in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., furthered by the loss of the inhibiting factor posed by the speakers’ deep-rooted knowledge of the paradigmatic relations of words and roots within their native and mastered language, which in turn opens the door to the principle of least effort, substractal taxemic preferences, folk etymologies, metanalysis, intentional distortion, etc.

**1.1.5.3.1.** Cases of vocalic metathesis in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. are rare: one of them could be Cs. **ajenuz** “common fennel-flower”, from already metathetic And. *ašṣanūz* < Cl.Ar. *šānīz*, in which this word of Neo-P. origin is adapted to the Ar. pattern {1a2a3}, and some few others.

**1.1.5.3.2.** Cases of consonantal metathesis may be attributed: a) to taxemic preferences,<sup>68</sup> when the sound sequence in the source language is uncommon or

<sup>66</sup> There are no clear examples with /m/ and /n/, as Pt. **agomia** “poniard” of Naf. origin., q.v., and Cs. **ajofaina** “washbasin” < And. *aljufāyina*, and other cases containing /j/ or velar stops may just reflect the aforementioned assimilation of these phonemes to the /l/ of the Ar. article. But a genuine case thereof may be And. **ajeña** vs. Cs. **alheña** “henna” < And. *alḥinna*.

<sup>67</sup> Other two instances of the same tendency in And., reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., are Cs. **linjavera** = Ct. **angevera** = Pt. **aljaveira** “purse” < And. *aljabāyru* for And.Rom. *\*aljayb+ÁYRA*, and Ct. **tabaira** “tray” < And. *ṭabāyru* for And.Rom. *\*ṭayyib+ÁYRA*.

<sup>68</sup> Not always obvious, as can be seen in Cs. **adárgama** “fine flour” < And. *addármaka*, And. **alcábile** vs. **alcálibe** “modelling table” < And. *alqálib*, Cs. **alcatraz** “albatross” vs. **alcartaz** < And. *alqaṭrás*, **cerbatana** vs. **cebratana** “blowpipe” < And. *zarbaṭāna*, Ct. **tabaola** and **bataola** “din” <

even impossible in the target language, e.g., Cs. **adelfa** “oleander” < And. *addīfla*, **alcandía** “Turkey millet” < And. *alqaṣṣīya*, **arrobdá** for **arrótova** “sentry duty” < And. *arrúṭba*, Pt. **alfurja** “well of a building” for old **alfúgera** < Ar. *alfujrah*, **alcachofra** “artichoke” < And. *alxaršúfa*, Cs. **arrelde** “pound” < And. *arríṭl*, **alcrebite** = Pt. **alcrevite** “sulphur” < And. *alkibrít*; b) to folk etymology assuming a false new root or lexemic connection, often nonsensical, in the target language, e.g., Pt. **açaflor** “bastard saffron” < And. *alṣaṣfúr*, contaminated by **flor** “flower”, Cs. **albahaca** “basil” < And. *alḥabáqa*, **alcohol** “red poppy” < And. *alḥubúl* and **alboheza** “marsh-mallow” < And. *alxubbáyza*, all of them contaminated by **alba/o** “white”, and Arag. **acorchofa-se** “to squat” < Cl.Ar. *alqurṣuṣāʔ*, contaminated by **corcho** “cork”; c) to affix metanalysis, a kind of wrong parsing or false identification of morphemes which are next replaced by allomorphs, or eliminated through backformation, e.g., Ct. **almudafàs** for **almudaçaf** “market inspector” < And. *almuḥtasáb*, seemingly assuming an aug. suffix, and **rajola** “bricklet” < And. *lajúra*, assuming a dim. suffix, Arag. **feneza** for Cs. **cenefa** < And. *ṣanáyif*, assuming an abstract suffix, Anl. **marchal** “hamlet” < And. *majšár*, assuming a common adjectival ending, and d) to deliberate alteration, only phonetic (e.g., Old Pt. **acica** “purse” < And. *alkís* and Cs. **chuzo** “spear” < And. *zújj*), or also semantic (e.g., Cs. slang **almifor** “horse” < And. *alḥimár* “ass”, Pt. **alcouce** “brothel” < And. *assúq* “market”), aimed at generating secret languages cant or slang.

**1.1.5.3.3. Cases of metathesis of consonants and vowels, i.e., syllable reshaping through vowel transposition, generally answer to rather obvious taxemic preferences, as the tendency in Rom., to produce consonant clusters of an unvoiced stop with /r/, e.g., Cs. **altramuz** = Ct. **tramús** “lupin” < And. *turmús*, Cs. **trafalnejas** “good-for-nothing” < And. *ṭarf annájs*, **trafi** “a tax” < And. *tafríq* and Pt. **albricoque** vs. Cs. **albaricoque** “apricot” < And. *albarqúq*, or to advance the position of a *yod* in agreement with certain old proto-Rom. historico-phonetic rules, e.g., Arag. **azeica** and, in a second degree, Anz. **acieca** for Cs. **acequia** and var. “irrigation channel” < And. *assáqya*. But the reasons for this phenomenon may also be the same as those for the aforementioned consonantial metathesis, e.g., in Pt. **ceroula** “pants” < And. *sirwála*, imitating a dim. suffix.<sup>69</sup> In other instances, however, it may be hard to explain the shape taken by the loanword without due account of certain only partially known idiolectal tendencies of And., e.g., the random loss**

And. *tuhawwíla*, which obliges us to include, among eventual causes of metathesis, simple lapses of memory in the speakers, with results idiolectally influenced by unfathomable circumstances.

<sup>69</sup> García Arias 2006:232 would rather derivate it from its more frequent pl. *saráwil*, whence **zaragiuelles**, etc., but the paragogic vowel required in that case is rather unlikely in this contour.

of unstressed vowels in a first syllable, resulting in an initial consonant cluster,<sup>70</sup> at once mended with a prosthetic vowel, which has brought about doublets like Cs. **escabeche** vs. **ceviche** “raw fish in vinegar or lemon juice” < And. *suk(ka)bāj* and **escarlata** vs. **ciclatón** “kinds of expensive cloths” < And. \**siqillāṭ*, and words like **zanahoria** < And. *isfannár(i)ya*, the place name **Sevilla** < And. *išbílya*, Pt. **beliz** “cunning” < And. *iblíṣ* “devil” and **xarafim** “a coin” < Neo-Ar. *ašraḫī*.

**1.1.5.4.** Epenthesis or intercalation of parasitic phonemes in order to facilitate pronunciation of a segment, by avoiding a bothersome or physiologically unacceptable cluster, is infrequent in the Semitic languages, even in its lesser mode, i.e., anaptyxis or insertion of vowels only.<sup>71</sup> This is a consequence of the central role played by radical morphemes in this linguistic family as bearers of the basic semanteme, tightly interlocked with the morphological pattern, which exactly maps the position of every phoneme, radical or derivational, thus generating the concrete meaning of the resulting word. This very efficient system of word formation by interdigitation of root and pattern, is not compatible with the insertion of any alien phoneme, even vocalic, not to speak of consonants, which would cause noise in the message encoding, with semantic drawbacks widely offsetting the advantages of solving a problem of combinatory phonetics. Consequently, all phenomena of this kind that may be reflected by the Ar. loanwords of Rom. are intra-Rom., and that includes: a) consonantal epenthesis (e.g., Ct. **atzembla** “beast of burden” < And. *azzám(i)la*, Cs. **alfombra**<sup>2</sup> “measles” < And. *alḥúmra*, Arag. **masedría** “room next to the kitchen” < And. *mašríyya*, the Cs. place name **Madrid** < And. *majrīṭ*, with subsequent loss of the first consonant in the cluster),<sup>72</sup> b) anaptyxis (e.g., Cs. **taracea** “marquetry” < And. *taršīṣ*, Ct. **ratafia** “a liquor” < And. *tarḫīṣa*, Cs. = Pt. **bereber** vs. Pt. **berber** “Berber” < Naf. *barbar*,<sup>73</sup> which is a particularly frequent

<sup>70</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.11.2.1 and 2.1.4.4.1, and SK 2.28.3 and fn. 84. The data are many, reflected not only in And. texts, but also in personal and place names, unluckily heretofore not studied systematically, which makes it risky to attribute them to one or another motive. Some are likely to be mere cases of wrong parsing, as when an initial vowel is linked to the previous word, generating aphæretic shapes, e.g. in personal names beginning with *(a)bu* (see Terés 1990:136); in other instances, one may be confronted with subdialectal traits, including the possible action of the Br. adstratum, answerable for the same phenomenon in the Western Ar. dialects, much more conspicuously than in Al-Andalus, where the Hispanic substratum ran counter to such a tendency which, generally speaking, did not take root in And.

<sup>71</sup> See Brockelmann 1908:I 278–279: “Echte Epenthesis scheinen von den semitischen Sprachen nur das Abessin. und das Mand. zu kennen” As a matter of fact, even the examples excerpted by him from both languages are actually mere cases of metathesis, while Moscati 1964:60–61 only has a short paragraph on anaptyxis which, in Ar. grammar, happens only in the regular fem. pl. (see Corriente 1980b:83, fn. 1). See also SK 2.1.8, disavowing the contention that epenthesis of */h/* in the clusters */mr/* and */ml/* ever existed in And., before the adoption of some of its words by Rom.

<sup>72</sup> See Corriente 1990a.

<sup>73</sup> The tendency to this phenomenon in Pt., above all in low registers, (even in barbarisms like **piquenique** < Eng. *picnic*) is conspicuous and responsible in Ar. loanwords for var. such as **abedale**

way of preventing certain consonant clusters, e.g., **almojarife** = Pt. **almoxarife** = Ct. **almoixerif** "tax collector" < And. *almušrif*, often causing antepenultima stress, e.g., Pt. **alcáçova** "fortress" < And. *\*alqāšba* vs. Cs. **alcazaba** < And. *alqašāba*, **alvíçaras** "reward for glad tidings" < And. *\*albīšra* and **alfétena** "sedition" < And. *alfitna*, Cs. **jácena** = Ct. **jässer/na** "beam" < And. *jāsr*, Cs. **jábega** "net" < And. *šābka*, **adár(a)ga** < And. *addārqa*, **almáciga** "pond" < And. *almāsqa*, etc. This has contributed to spread the mistaken notion<sup>74</sup> that And. occasionally reflected a Cl.Ar. pronunciation *\*šābka*, *\*dāraqa*, etc.

**1.1.5.5.** Repercussion is an infrequent phenomenon of an assimilatory nature, whereby a phoneme or a string of phonemes which are part of a word are spontaneously repeated in another slot within it. It is unknown in the historical phases of Semitic,<sup>75</sup> as well as in And., for the same reasons preventing epenthesis, but it does at times occur in Rom. and, therefore, in some Ar. loanwords, e.g., Arag. **carcachofa** for **alcachofa** "artichoke", Old Ct. **alflàvia** for **alfàbia** "jar", and Pt. **paparraz** for **abarraz** "lousewort"

**1.2.** The morphology of Ar. and its dialects, Old and Neo-Ar., among them And., directly or indirectly affects the Ar. loanwords of Rom., whether immediately borrowed by bilinguals, Mozarabs, Mudejars or Moriscos, or received through And. Rom., a language which was genetically Rom., but adstratically and culturally very receptive to Ar. interference in all grammatical levels, phonemic, morphological and syntactic, as well as in lexical and semantic aspects.

**1.2.1.** Ar. noun morphology has some momentous consequences for the shape of its loanwords in Rom., particularly in areas such as suffix derivation, either inflectional, related to the marking of morphological categories such as gender and number, or derivational, a complement of the internal flexion described above, i.e., the characteristic pattern system of Semitic, in general, and of Ar. most particularly.

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"mystics inspired by God" and **ademe(n)a** (most likely antepenultima stressed) "orchard" It cannot be doubted that this is the origin, as a borrowing from Pt., of Cs. **bereber**, and that the penultima stressed var. introduced by some Spanish arabists and exclusively admitted by several editions of DRAE during a long period, was a mere pedantic blunder.

<sup>74</sup> Still found in Coromines and not revised by the more recent and most knowledgeable Kiesler, e.g., in his entry *šabka*. Of course, our sources do not always reflect the allomorph directly mirrored by a given loanword, which happens for *šābka* and *dāraqa*, but not for *\*qāšba*, although this change is within the acceptable range of variegation in a dial. bundle and matches well with the variety of dialects brought along by the conquerors and matching divergences in stress position mentioned in 1.1.4.1.

<sup>75</sup> Unlike the case of prehistorical phases, when repercussion was indeed a productive morphological procedure, psycho-linguistically based and functionally akin to consonantic gemination: it generated quadriconsonantal roots through repetition of the biconsonantal and some measures of the triconsonantal (e.g., the IX and XI to XV derived ones in Ar., at times somehow masked by dissimilation in /n/ or /w/) or quadriconsonantal verbs (e.g., III and IV of Ar.; see Corriente 1996a:52, fn. 1).

**1.2.1.1.** Concerning the inflectional changes of nouns, basically in connection with gender and number, it is noteworthy that, as Ar. and Rom. share both categories with a very similar distribution, masc. and fem. for gender, and sg. and pl. for number,<sup>76</sup> there were no serious adaptation difficulties at this level between source and target languages. If anything, it should be said for this area that the Ar. loanwords of Rom. do not react in any particular way to cases in which And. had gone through a process of depluralization,<sup>77</sup> e.g., Cs. *arriate* “garden bed” < And. *arriyād*, Cs. = Ct. *alcohol* = Pt. *alcoool* “alcohol” < And. *alkuḥūl*, *acenefa* = Cs. and Pt. *sanefa* “stripe” < And. *aṣṣanáyif*, Cs. *regaifa* = Pt. *regueifa* < And. *arraḡáyif*, Cs. *atalaya* = Pt. *atalaia* = Ct. *talaia* “high view-point” < And. *aṭṭaláyif*, Cs. *rehén* = Pt. *refém* = Ct. *reenes* “hostage(s)” < And. *rihán*, Cs. *almacabra* = Pt. *almocávar* “graveyard” < And. *almaḡábir*.

On the other hand, as totally intra-Rom. phenomena, there are some changes of gender, resulting from hesitation in the realization of final vowels, e.g., Pt. *alfece* vs. *alfeça/o* “hoe” < And. *alfás* (cf. Mur. *feseta*), or from unclear historico-linguistic motives, e.g., Pt. *alcunha/o* “nickname” < And. *alkúnya*, Cs. *almáciga/o* “nursery”, in which gender appears to have connotations of size or importance (cf. Cs. *canasta/o* “basket”, *cesta/o* “hamper”, etc.),<sup>78</sup> or Cs. *mezquita* = Ct., Gl.-Pt. *mesquita* < And. *masjíd*, in which intermediate Br. *tamezgida* has played an instrumental role in determining the phonetic shape and the gender.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The existence of a neuter gender in some grammatical categories of Rom., like the Cs. article and pronouns, and the considerably restricted dual in And. substantives (see AAR 2.2.1.2.4.1) does not basically alter this symmetry. The same applies to the Old Ar. system of opposition between singular and collective, within the number category (see AAR 2.2.1.2.4.3), as there is no sign but of its full integration in it, as a mere alternative marking of sg. and pl. Synchronically speaking, in spite of the complex marking of pl. in Ar., even And., the etyma of loanwords like *albacara* “barn in a fortress” (< *baqqāra* “cowherds” and *alfacara* (< *fuxxāra* “potters”) were just pl., even more vaguely felt as such by the bilinguals who introduced them in Rom.

<sup>77</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.2.4.4. Some mod. and contemporaneous loanwords from Ar. and Neo-P. have undergone a totally intra-Rom. process of depluralization, e.g., Pt. *aiã* “Turkish magistrate” < Ar. *ašyān*, *acedaçō* “Hindu high official” < Neo-P. *āzādegān*, fresh-coined Cs. *talibān* “Muslim student engaged in *jihād*” < Neo-P. *tālebān*, Cs. = Ct. = Gl. *ulema* = Pt. *ulemá* “doctor in Islamic law” < Ar. *ʿulamāʾ*, Cs. = Gl. *musulmán* = Ct. *musulmá* = Pt. *muçulmano* “Muslim” < Neo-P. *mosolmān*, instead of their matching sg. *ṣayn*, *āzāde*, *tāleḡ*, *ʿālim* and *moslem*, respectively. There was a similar case, though isolated, in Old Cs. *alfetián* “eunuch” < And. *fitián*, pl. of *futá*.

<sup>78</sup> The standard doctrine among Rom. scholars is that this alternance would reflect the morphemes of the second Lt. declension, the pl. neuter being the origin of the Rom. fem., and the sg., of the masc. However, in the Ar. loanwords and in the bilingual milieu of those who introduced them in Rom., one cannot exclude some relation with the total identification in Br. morphology of fem. with dim., and masc. with aug.

<sup>79</sup> As already suggested in Corriente 1978c:223–224, it being also the opinion of our good friend, colleague and native speaker of Br., Prof. Bouzineb 1988:373–374. On the other hand, this word has been deliberately distorted, for jocular and ideological purposes, as said in fn. 4 to paragraph 0.2.

**1.2.1.2.** Derivational suffixes are scarce in Semitic and, therefore, in Old Ar. and Neo-Ar., including And., since lexical derivation is basically obtained from internal flexion, i.e., alterations of the vocalic and syllabic structure, assisted by an equally very limited set of prefixes. Out of the derivational suffixes used in Old Ar. (adjectival and abstract {+ān}, abstract {+āl}, both again scarcely productive, and attributive {+ī}), although all of them are reflected in And. sources, only the last one remained productive and therefore had important consequences in the grammar of the Ar. loanwords, in which furthermore one must take into account the sizeable impact of the absorption by And. of a considerable share of the Rom. system of derivational suffixes, through And.Rom.

**1.2.1.2.1.** The attributive suffix (in Ar., *yāʾu nnisbah*) could be in And. both stressed and unstressed,<sup>80</sup> as reflected clearly by the Ar. loanwords of Cs., e.g., **baladí** “trivial” < And. *baladī* and **baldío** “vain” < And. *baḡilī* as opposite to **aloque** “kind of wine” < And. *xalúqi* and **barrio** “quarter” < And. *bārri*. In both cases, the external appearance of these der. was often Romanized, by attaching a final vowel continuing the second declension of Lt., or otherwise, in penultima stressed forms the same effect was attained by substituting /e/ for the anomalous final /i/, as can be noticed in Cs. **abitaque** “raft” < And. *albiḡāqi*, Pt. **coraçane** “from Khorasan” < Neo-Ar. *xurāsānī*, Tol. **leme** “tool” < And. *alxīdmi* and Ext. **zueleh** “a kind of fig” < And. *suhāyli*.<sup>81</sup>

This device was so successful in Cs., that the ultima stressed allomorph of this suffix was adopted and continues to be productive to this day in order to obtain oriental and Orientalized gentiles, e.g., **marroquí** “Moroccan”, **iraní** “Iranian”, **paquistaní** “Pakistani”, etc., which do not directly derive from the matching languages, Ar., Neo-P. and Urdu, but from the Cs. shapes of the geographical

<sup>80</sup> Independently of the syllabic structure of the word, contrary to the often invoked but mistaken and misleading rule given by Alcalá (see SK 3.1.6 and fn. 89 and AAR 2.1.3.1.3 and fn. 57), but as a consequence of the well-known two contextual allomorphs of this suffix in Old Ar., with and without gemination of /y/, regularly dropped in pause and before the mark of indefinite nominative-genitive, e.g., *ṣarab+iy(yun)* “Arab” vs. *yamān(+in)* “Yemenite” The doctrine of Steiger 1932:77–80 on this issue is incorrect on some points, in the absence of criticism of that rule and awareness of the abundant printing mistakes and misapprehensions in Alcalá, and as a consequence of the erroneous assumption of surviving vocalic and syllabic quantity in And.

<sup>81</sup> This is also the likeliest explanation, through the tendency to omit final /e/ during certain periods, of heretofore unaccounted cases of loss of that suffix, e.g., Cs. **albur** “striped mullet” < And. *albūri*, **barchilón** “male nurse” < And. *barčīlōni*, **gome/r** “Berber (soldier) from Ghomara” < And. *gumāri*, **zahén** “a coin” < And. *zuyyāni*, fem. **jayena** “kind of bean” < And. *jayyāni* “from Jaén”, and Jud.-Sp. **cebratán** “wicked” < And. *zarbaṭāni*, a phenomenon curiously attested too by the Ar. proper name of ʿAlī Albagdādī, instead of *albagdādī*, a character in a Morisco story (see Corriente 1990b:311). Cf. also Gl. **túzaro** “unsociable”, perhaps < And. *tāwzuri* (“Berber from Tūzar in Tunisia”), Pt. **algoz** “executioner” < And. *algūzzi* and Anl. **ráfita** “unpleasant person” < And. *rāfiḡī*. Ct., in which final unstressed /i/ is allowed, naturally has **barri**, vs. Cs. **barrio**, while Pt. has **bairro**, with retrogression of *yod*.

names of those countries (**Marruecos, Irán** and **Paquistán**) with the addition of this invariably stressed suffix, regardless of stress or any other feature in those original languages, as this has become an entirely intra-Rom. derivation. In contrast, the Ar. attributive suffix in Gl.-Pt., Arag. and Ct. loanwords, less frequent and in competition with other Rom. rivals, has been attracted by reflexes of Lt. *{-inus}*, as is conspicuous in the almost omnipresent nasalization in Pt. and presence of */n/* in Eastern Ibero-Rom., except when Ct. deletes it from the phonetic surface, above all in sg. masc., in keeping with its own generative rules, e.g., Cs. **jabalí** “wild boar” vs. Gl. **xabarín** and Arag. **chabalí(n)** < And. *jabalí*, Pt. **abexi(m)** “Abyssinian” < Ar. *ḥabašī* and Ct. **carmesí** (but pl. **carmesins**) “crimson” < And. *qarmazī* and **eixortí** “guardsman” (but pl. **eixortins**) < And. *iššurī*.

The matching fems. exhibit the same hesitation in their stress patterns, e.g., Ct. **síndria** vs. Cs. **sandía** “watermelon” < And. *sa/indīyya* and Cs. **bernia** = Ct. (al)**bèrnia** “coarse cloak” < And. *(i)bírniyya* vs. Cs. **alcancia** = Pt. **alcanzia** “moneybox” < And. *\*alkanzīyya* and Cs. **tafurea** = pt. **taforeia** = ct. **tafure(y)a** “flat-bottomed freighter” < And. *īayfurīyya*, in this latter case with a different Rom. reflex of the palatal vowel, prob. due to the velarized contour which is more conspicuous in Cs. **ataífor** “Moorish table”, q.v.

**1.2.1.2.2.** The poverty of the Ar. system of derivational suffixes, unlike the case in Rom., together with a certain substratal abhorrence of internal flexion, have determined the adoption by And. of a good share of that Rom. system, first taken over from And.Rom. and later from Northern Rom., in the Mudejar and Morisco periods. It is often impossible to guess whether the suffixation process took place still in an And. phase or afterwards, once the word under consideration had entered Rom. already; in any case, this phenomenon had three visible consequences on the derivational morphology of And., at times reflected by the Rom. loanwords, namely:

a) Simple adoption of Rom. suffixes, such as aug. *{+ÓN}* and *{+ÓT(A/E)}* (e.g., Ct. **de gaid/ró** “askew” < And. *gayd+ÓN*, lit., an aug. of “crank of a well”, Cs. **zahón** “chap[arajo]s” < And. *\*saq+ÓN*, aug. of Ar. *sāq* “leg”, And. *manxar+ÓT* “big-nosed”, lit., an aug. of Ar. *manxar* “nose”, without a matching loanword in Rom.), dim. *{+ÉL}* and *{+ÓL}* (e.g., Cs. **tarabilla** = Ct. **taravella** = Pt. **tagarela** and **tarabela** “clapper of a mill” < And.Rom. *\*īarab+ÉLA*, dim. of Ar. *īarab* “music”, Cs. **hadrolla** or **trola** “humbug” < And.Rom. *\*ḥaīr+ÓLA*, i.e., “small talk”), aug.-pejorative *{+ÁQ}* and *{+ÁČ}* (e.g., Cs. **halagar** = Gl.-Pt. **afagar** = Ct. **afalagar** “to flatter” < And. *xal(á)+ÁQ* “thief pigeon”, Cs. **azache** “low quality silk” < And. *xazz+ÁČ*, pejorative of Ar. *xazz* “raw silk”), dim.-pejorative *{+ÓQ}* and *{+ÚČ}* (e.g., Ct. **aladroc** = Cs. **aladroque** “anchovy” < And.Rom. *\*al+ḥaīr+ÓQ* “bigmouthed”, perhaps Cs. **alimoche** < And.Rom. *\*īálim+ÚČ*



“smarty”), instrumental and professional  $\{+\acute{A}YR\}$  (e.g., Pt. **algibeira** = Ct. **angevera** = Cs. **linjavera** “bag” < And. *aljab*+ $\acute{A}YRA$ , Old Ct. **algieber** “runaway owner” < And.Rom.  $\ast al+\acute{g}ayib+\acute{A}YR$ ), attributive  $\{+IQ\}$  and  $\{+\acute{A}YQ\}$  (e.g., Cs. **mazorca** = Pt. **maçaroca** = Gl. **mazaroca** or **mazorga** “spindle full of thread” < And.Rom. *masúr*+ $IQA$  “spool-like”, perhaps Pt. **alfândega** “customs” < And.Rom.  $\ast al+házqz+IQA$ , lit., “share-like”, Cs. **breca** “a fish” < And.Rom. *LOBR*+ $\acute{A}YQA$ , lit., “reddish”, and participial  $\{\acute{A}T(A/O)\}$  (e.g., Old Ct. **alforrat** “wearing horse-trappings” < And.Rom.  $\ast alhuly(a)+\acute{A}T$ ), among other less frequent or productive suffixes.<sup>82</sup> There are cases of suffix accumulation, e.g., Cs. = Ct. **fald/triquera** = Gl. **fald/triqueira** < And.Rom.  $\ast hafr+IQ+\acute{A}YRA$  “pocket”, lit., “place for the little things”, and Cs. **argaderas** “packsaddle” < And.Rom.  $\ast falláq+\acute{A}T+\acute{A}YRA$ , akin to **argadillo** or **argadijo** = Pt. **argadilho** = Gl. **argadelo** < And. Rom.  $\ast falláq+\acute{A}T+\acute{E}LO$  “winding frame”, lit., “small place to hang things upon”).

b) Suffix metanalysis, i.e., mistaken identification as such of final segments of words, often coupled with distorting pseudo-corrections. It is always an intra-Rom. phenomenon, as can be seen in Cs. **albóndiga** = Gl. **albóndega** = Pt. **albôndega** “meatball” < And. *albúndu/aqa*, lit., “hazel”, and Cs. = Pt. **alfóstigo** “pistachio” < And. *alfústiaq*, with erroneous assumption of a suffix  $\{+IK\}$  and subsequent pseudo-correction of the vocalization, as also in Cs. **almáciga** “pond”, **alhóndiga** “inn” and **almártiga**, “halter”, Ct. **atifell** “tool” < And. *atífl*, with metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix  $\{+\acute{E}L\}$ , pseudo-correction of stress and vowel and palatalization of the lateral sound, as also in Ct. **albaquella**, a var. of **albaquia** “overdue balance” < And. *albaqfyya* (cf. also Cs. **anaquel** and Pt. *adil*), a case similar to those of **cascall** “poppy” < And. *xašxáš*, with metanalysis of the suffix  $\{+\acute{A}L\}$ , Pt. **azeitona** “olive” < Ar. *zaytānah*, with metanalysis of the aug. suffix  $\{+\acute{O}N\}$ , and pseudo-correction of vocalism, vs. Cs. **aceituna**, Cs. = Pt. **alpargata** “hemp sandal” < And. *alpargát*, with metanalysis of the participial suffix  $\{+\acute{A}TA\}$ , vs. Cs. **alpargate**, Pt. **alcagote** or **alcaiote** = Ct. **alcavot** “pimp” < And. *alqawwád*, in which the labialization of the contour has given way to metanalysis of an aug. suffix  $\{+\acute{O}T(E)\}$ , etc.

c) Substitution for a suffix, real or metanalyzed, of another functionally equivalent, more in vogue or endowed with a special connotation felt as more expressive, e.g., Pt. **zambulho** for **zambujo** “wild olive-tree” < And. *zabbúj*, where the final portion has been metanalyzed as the suffix  $\{+\acute{U}\check{C}\}$  and replaced by  $\{+\acute{U}L\}$ , Cs. **almodrote** “a sauce” vs. Ct. **almadroc** < And. *almafrúq*, lit., “crushed”, where the cauda has been metanalyzed as a suffix  $\{+\acute{O}Q\}$  and replaced by  $\{+\acute{O}T\}$ , Arag. **alfardacho** “lizard” < And. *alhardún*, with metanalysis of an aug. suffix  $\{+\acute{O}N\}$  and

<sup>82</sup> See Corriente 1983b, revised in Corriente 1992a:127–131.

replacement by {-ÁČ}, Cs. = Arag. **macolla** “bunch” < And. *maṣqúda*, lit., “tied up”, in which the ending {+ÚD/TA} has been metanalyzed and replaced by dim. {+ÓLA}, Sal. **alpergota** “hemp sandal”, in which aug. {+ÓTA} has substituted for a metanalyzed participial suffix in more usual **alpargata**, and so on and on.

**1.2.1.2.3.** Affixation, either by optative derivational prefixation or by inflexional suffixation, or both together, is a common means through which And.Rom., and later Northern Rom. languages acquired a number of verbal loanwords from Ar., quite more often than is usually acknowledged and with certain features which have just begun to be better known.<sup>83</sup> To a large extent because of the lack of a historical dictionary of Ibero-Rom., it is not always easy to date that process and attribute the results to a borrowing from And.Rom., or to derivations operated by Northern Rom. on an already assimilated Ar. loanword. In many instances it is even impossible to ascertain whether a first syllable reflects an agglutinated Ar. article or the Rom. prepositional prefix {A(D)+}, unlike the more transparent cases of {EN+} and {DEŚ+}, but the Ar. verbal forms originating the loanword form can be classified as follows:

a) Verbal noun or *maṣdar*, by large the most frequent case, as it is tantamount to both an infinitive and to a nominalization of the verb, morphologically freer from inflectional complexities and semantically more apt to convey its bare semanteme than any finite form of the verb, e.g., Arag. **adermar** “to indent” < \*A(D)+*ʔalm*+ÁR and **estemar** “to mame” < \*(D)EŚ+*ʔamm*+ÁR, Ct. **afanyar** “to toil” < \*A(D)+*ʔana*+YÁR, (ai)**xàldiga** “spark” < \*A(D)+*ʔaʕl*+ID+(IQ)+ÁR, Can. **atafullarse** “to choke” < \*A(D)+*ʔaḥwil*+ÁR and **atafanado** “flattened” < \*A(D)+*ʔaḥn*+ÁR, Sal. **atalucarse** “to be dumbfounded” < \*A(D)+*ʔaʕalluq*+ÁR,

<sup>83</sup> The widespread notion that the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom. are predominantly substantives, followed from afar by adjectives, with only a few verbs and a rare functional is not mistaken. However, the figures in circulation, even the most accurate and free from ideological biases, like those of Kiesler 1994:74, may exaggerate those ratios slightly, because of the chosen sample selection procedure, and further the views recently expressed by some scholars, in the sense that such a distribution would confirm that the borrowing of Ar. lexical items did not take place within bilingual communities, but instead through desultory contact going no further than the inevitable consequences of trade and war. Such an opinion, contrary to the available historic and linguistic evidence, appears to stem from an ideological tendency interested in reducing the bilingual period of Al-Andalus to a minimum and declaring the country totally Arabicized and Islamicized as soon as possible, but this swing in the opposite direction to the prejudice of proclaiming the survival of And.Rom. until nearly the collapse of the Nasrid dynasty, as some famous Spanish arabists have upheld, is no less absurd and amounts to a refusal to see realities as incontrovertible as the bilingualism of the milieu in which the *xarajāt* emerged, although it did not survive them either. It is in the very nature of things that the need to name concrete objects, substantives, be more urgent than in the case of abstractions, adjectives and verbs, i.e., qualities and actions, and it is in that same order that children acquire language. However, as we shall see, there are more verbal loanwords from Ar. than was thought, on account of methodological distortions, although they are usually hybrid as required by morphological constraints.

Gl. **zafar** "to throw" < \**saḡar-ÁR*, Gl.-Pt. **fanar** "to maim" < \**xatn+ÁR*, Cs. = Gl. **enchufar** "to fit in" < \**EN+juf+ÁR*, Cs. = Gl.Pt. **arfar** "to pant" < \**A(D)+lahaf+ÁR*, Old Cs. **alhaonarse** "to get angry" < \**al+hawn+ÁR*, Cs. **azemar** = Pt. **aça(i)mar** "to hold" < \**A(D)+zamm+ÁR*, Pt. **afarvar-se** "to toil" < \**A(D)+xarab+ÁR*, **açobar** and perhaps Cs. **azomar** "to incite" < \**A(D)+ṣawb+ÁR*, Cs. **adarvar** "to stun" < \**A(D)+ḡarb+ÁR*, **agarbarse** "to crouch" < \**A(D)+ḡarb+ÁR*, **ata/emar** "to finish" < \**A(D)+tamm+ÁR*, **embelecar** "to beguile" < \**EN+balá+IQ+ÁR*, **engarzar** "to hook up" < \**EN+ḡarz+ÁR*, etc.<sup>84</sup>

b) Imperative, quite understandable as a consequence of bilingual dialogue between master or foreman and servant or mate, preceding the implementation of any task, e.g., Cs. = Ct. = Gl.-Pt. **atracar** "to tie up" < \**atraqq(a)+ÁR*, Pt. **acirrar** "to insist" < \**aṣirr+ÁR* and **açular** "to incite" < \**A(D)+ṣul+ÁR*, Cs. **nicar** "to copulate" < \**nik+ÁR*, **ajorrar** "to drag" < \**júrr*.

c) Perfective, which is not surprising considering that it is the enunciative form of the Ar. verb, as our infinitive, used before the imperfective and *maṣḍar* as lexical entry of any verb. However, it is not frequently used in this manner, but for some eventual cases in which, nevertheless, it may also be analyzed as an imperative, e.g., Ct. **eixarravar** "to water down" < \**ṣarrab+ÁR*, Cs. **sajelar** "to clean clay" < \**saḡhal+ÁR*, **atarragar** and Pt. **atarracar** "to hammer" < \**A(D)+ṣarraḡ+ÁR* (also derivable from a n.inst. \**ṣarraḡa*).

d) Other deverbatives, like participles, plus adjectives, substantives other than deverbative and even prepositional syntagms may generate Rom. verbs in a similar way, e.g., Cs. **zafar** = Pt. **safar** "to loosen", < And.Rom. *ṣáf(i)+ÁR* "clear", Pt. **aceibar** "to separate cattle" < \**A(D)+sayib+ÁR*, Mur. **jaricar** "to join water allocations" < \**A(D)+ṣarik+ÁR*, Ast. **abaldar** "to cripple (said of a disease)" < \**A(D)+baṣil+ÁR*, Pt. **açalmear** "to supply" < \**A(D)+salm+EYÁR*, Anz. **abatanar** "to make pregnant" < \**A(D)+baṣn+ÁR*, Ct. **eixaure** "capacity, room" < \**iṣṣabr+ÁR*, Arag. **esturrufar** "to ruin" < \**DEṢ+turruḡ+(EY)ÁR*, and Ct. **abassegar** "to subdue" < \**A(D)+bassaḡ(a)+ÁR*, q.v.

**1.2.1.3.** Lexical derivation by internal flexion is one of the most conspicuous features of Semitic, hypertrophied in Old Ar. and not abating in its Cl. phase, in contrast with Neo-Ar., in which that excessive proliferation has been somewhat curtailed. A survey of that evolution would belong to the diachronic dialectology of Semitic and Ar., but we must at any rate mention some of its aspects with an incidence on the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom.

<sup>84</sup> The frequency of the prefix {a-} in the derivation of Cs. verbs led Salomonski 1944 to develop the hypothesis of their origin in a calque of the homophonous Ar. prefix of causative verbs. She was not informed, however, of the almost total abandonment of that morpheme in Neo-Ar. and And., which makes that calque non-viable and reaffirms the classical derivation from Lt. {ud-}.

**1.2.1.3.1.** The synchronic outcome of the process of lexical derivation by internal flexion is a manifold and complex system of patterns, i.e., interdigitated sequences of root morphemes with inserted vowels and some affixes. This system provides Ar. with a rich and, but for some consequences of dialectalization and technical meaning reassignment, precise lexicon, semantically quite transparent too, as the pattern makes explicit to a large extent the vague semanteme expressed by the root morpheme.<sup>85</sup> It is clear, however, that there were certain dial. preferences for some patterns over others with a similar or only slightly different function,<sup>86</sup> and it has been proven that, even within a dial. bundle as compact as And.Ar., there were characteristic tendencies, as well as subdialectal differences on this point, eventually reflected in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., but never grasped by those who have tried to tackle them with bare notions of Cl.Ar. It is presently established, e.g., 1) That And., because of the agency of the so-called Philippi's law in its Sar. substratum, tended to convert an /i/ in a stressed closed syllable into /a/, as reflected in Pt. **adarço** "reef" < And. *aḍḍārs* = Cl.Ar. *ḍirs*, Cs. **zauke** "wineskin" < And. *zāqq* = Cl.Ar. *ziqq*, **adarme** "a weight" < And. *dārham* = Cl.Ar. *dirham*, Pt. **alcânave** "hemp" < And. *alqānnam* = Cl.Ar. *qinnab*, 2) That, in other instances, it had the pattern {1a23(a)} instead of Cl.Ar. {1a2a3(ah)}, which explains the vocalization and stress of Cs. **azarbe** = Pt. **azarve** = Ct. **assarp** "drain" < And. *assārb* vs. Cl.Ar. *sarab*, Cs. **jábega** "net" and **adarga** "shield" (of which **adáraga** is a secondary intra-Rom. var., not a reflex of Cl.Ar. *daraqah*), Pt. **alcáçova** "fortress" < And. *qāšba* with an allomorph *qašába*, a closer match of Cl.Ar. *qašabah*, and 3) That, nevertheless, in other instances {1v23} shifted to {1v2v3}, through phonemicization of a disjunctive vowel, e.g., in Pt. **aljazar** "small island", from an And. dial. allomorph *\*aljázár* of the witnessed *aljázr*.<sup>87</sup>

**1.2.1.3.2.** The shrinking of the pattern system of lexical derivation in the course of the evolution from Old Ar. to Neo-Ar. is an indisputable fact, usually interpreted as the outcome of several factors, from a compensatory trend to check a functionally not very useful hypertrophy, to diminishing needs for expressivity and means to convey its nuances, attributable perhaps to post-Islamic substrata. It cannot be excluded either that there was just a phenomenon of *drift* imposing a reorganization of the language systems, by which the less effective ones were abandoned while the more yielding were reinforced, something necessary and almost unavoidable, when considering the lexical revolution which a Bed. language turned into the vehicle of a great universal culture must undergo, including of course the absorption of much alien vocabulary and coining of neologisms.

<sup>85</sup> See Corriente 1996a:26–31.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the preference, attributed by Sībawayhi II 277 to the tribe of Tamīm, of {1a/i23(ah)} over {1a2i3(ah)}, and other similar cases reported by Corriente 1976:80–81.

<sup>87</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.

In the case of And., basically coinciding with the rest of Neo-Ar., the shrinking affected scarcely used patterns, causing the oblivion of hundreds of old words, and transfer of others to functionally similar patterns (e.g., Cs. **alhavara** “flour” < And. \**alhawwāra*, with substitution of the more frequent pattern {1a22ā3a} for the rare {1u22ā3ā}, < Cl.Ar. *huwwārā*, Pt. **looque** “electuary” < And. *luṣūq*, instead of Cl.Ar. *laṣāq* belonging to the less frequent {1a2a3}, and Cs. **alcazuz** “ivy”, in which the Ar. *qissās*, of Gr. origin, has been adapted in And. to more frequent {1a22ū3}.<sup>88</sup> As part of this scenario, attention should be paid to the following matters:

a) The evolution of the fem. of adjectives of colour and bodily qualities, having the pattern {1a23+ā?} in Old Ar., had its final suffix replaced in And. by the standard fem. {+a(t)}, reflected in the loanwords of Rom. with a simple and familiar penultima stressed structure apt to provide a basic form, whence the masc. is backformed by suffix alternancy within Rom. (e.g., **zarco** “light blue [of eyes]”, **zambo** “half-bred”, **jaro** “red haired [beast]” and **loco** “mad”, from the fem. **zarca** < And. *zārqa* “blue”, **zamba** < And. *sāmra* “brunette”, with an old dim. reflex in the **xarjah** A13 \**samr+ĒLO* “little dark-skinned one”, **jara** < And. *zāṣra* “red haired” and **loca** < And. *lāwqa* “foolish”), not being there but one case of direct derivation from the Ar. masc., namely, **alazán**, treated as a substantive, < And. *alaṣhāb* “sorrell (horse)”

b) The deadlocked productivity of prefixed patterns,<sup>89</sup> above all those n.inst. containing {mv+} which, like in the rest of Neo-Ar., have yielded much ground to the fem. of the intensive pattern, {1a22ā3ah} (e.g., Cs. (a)**jabebe** = Pt. **axabebe** = Ct. **xabebe** “flageolet” < And. *šabbāba* = Cl.Ar. *šabābah*, Cs. **albacara**<sup>2</sup> “little wheel” < And. *albakkāra* = Cl.Ar. *bak(a)rah*, Cs. and Gl. **alcarraza** = Pt. **alcarraç/za** < And. \**alkarrāza* = Cl.Ar. *kur(r)āz*, Cs. and Ct. **alcatara** “still” < And.

<sup>88</sup> As part of this tendency to replace infrequent patterns, as well as roots with more than three consonants, it is interesting to note the contrast between the substitution of Arabicized \**šur(a)ḥīyya*, whence Pt. **enxaravia** “a headgear” for Neo-Ar. *šurbūṣ*, with a foreign appearance befitting an Iranism (after DAA 278), and the case of Br. *agərit* “spear”, whence an Arabicized And. *gargīyya* in Alcalá, but in Rom. having shapes only like those of Ct. **gorgoto**, Cs. **gorguz** and Pt. **gurguz** “javelin”. The morphology of quadriconsonantal roots, no less alive in Neo-Ar. than in Old Ar., often reveals an origin in shorter roots, while at times imitating triconsonantal patterns, as in the curious case of the aforementioned Ct. **alabrent**, in which a quadriconsonantal {1a23ā4} is patterned after triconsonantal {1a22ū3}, following an already Old Semitic trend.

<sup>89</sup> Prob. a phenomenon of *drift*, already started in Old Ar., in which prefixes of lexical derivation such as {yv+}, {sv+} and {hv+} have a merely token presence, and even {la+} and {tv+} are quite restricted, especially in noun derivation, while {mv+} is still prevailing. On the other hand, in Rom., unlike the case of Indo-European, and Cl.Lt. within it, prefixation is not such a favoured and productive device, at least until the Renaissance, under the influence of the Classical languages. Neither does it exist in Basque and other agglutinative languages, and in Br. is limited to a few deverbal prefixes and a multifunctional {tv+}.

*alqaṭṭāra*, Cs. **almarraja** = Ct. **marraixa** = Pt. **almarraxa** “sprinkling bottle” < And. *almarrāša* = Cl.Ar. *miraššah*, Cs. **almártaga** “halter” < And. *almártāša* = Cl.Ar. *ritāš*, Cs. **arracada** “a kind of earrings” < And. *arraqqāda*, Arag. = Cs. = Ct. = Gl.-Pt. **barraca** < And. \**barrāka*, Pt. **fataca** = Cs. **hataca** “wooden ladle” < And. \**fallāqa*, Pt. **fateixa** = Anz. **fateja** “drag-hook” < And. \**fallāša*, perhaps Cs. **atarraga** “hammer” < And. \**aṭṭarrāqa* = Cl. *miṭraqah*, etc.: it can be noticed that And. has either adapted the old words to the new pattern, or applied it directly on the root morphemes).<sup>90</sup> Even in the case of verb participles with a prefix {*mu*+}, the voice distinction is often lost (e.g., Cs. **almuédano** = Pt. **almoádo** < And. *almuwáddan* = Cl.Ar. *muṭāddin*, Ct. **almudaçaf** = Old Cs. **almozaf** “market inspector” < And. *almuḥtasáb* < Cl.Ar. *almuḥtasib*, Cs. **almo/ugávar** = Pt. **almogávar** “a kind of mercenary” < And. *almuḡáwar* < Cl. *muḡāwir*, etc.).<sup>91</sup>

1.3. Syntax plays a very limited role in the grammar of the Ar. loanwords of Rom., as these generally reflect lexical items, not entire syntagms. But there are some exceptions to that rule, which we shall deal with at once, in certain cases with a syntagmatic structure, above all that of the definite article.

1.3.1. The Ar. definite article {*al*+}<sup>92</sup> is a prefix expressing the grammatical determination of nouns with a complex set of syntactic rules, not exactly the same

<sup>90</sup> Of course, the always rare old patterns of n.inst. {*mul2v3(ah)*} have not survived in Neo-Ar., let alone And.; therefore, Coromines was prob. wrong upon thinking that Val. **monfara** “sieve” may derive from Ar. *munxul*, as And. only has *mánxul*, incidentally reflected by the dim. **manfaretá**, which shows that the former shape is nothing but a normal and frequent case of labialization of the prefix vowel. This often happens also in mod. Eastern Ar., e.g., in Sr. *munxul* and Eg. *munxul*, or Eg. *muftāh* “key”, = Cl.Ar. *muftāh*.

<sup>91</sup> See AAR 2.2.2.1.4.1 and SK 6.4.1. Mere phonetic phenomena are the shape {*mu*+} in And. for the prefix of the non-agentive participle of the I verbal measure (reflected, e.g., in Cs. **almofia** = Pt. **almofia** “washbasin” < And. *almuxfīyya*, Pt. **almotolia** “glazed vessel” < And. *almuṭlīyya* = Cl.Ar. *muṭlīyyah* and Cs. **monfi** “bandit” < And. *munfi* = Cl.Ar. *manfi*), perhaps also **almodón** “fine flour with a high rate of extraction”, according to Corriente 2005b:104, fn. to p. 299, because although this vocalization is not witnessed, and mere intra-Rom. phenomena of pseudo-correction or vowel assimilation cannot be excluded, the presence of this dial. trait in And., is documented by AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7, esp. b). The converse situation, i.e., cases of {*mu*+} instead of {*mu*+} in participles and deverbal nouns, also happens, e.g., Pt. **mafarrico** “devil”, **magarefe** “slaughterman” and **malta** “gang”, Cs. **manfla** “brothel”, **maravedí** “a coin”, **marrano** “convert from Judaism”, **matraco** “country bumpkin”, **matrero** “cunning” and **mequetrefe** “good-for-nothing”

<sup>92</sup> It is known that it had an allomorph {*am*+} in dialects with a Sar. substratum (see Corriente 1996a:34 and n. 3, with additional bibliography, SK 5.3.2 and its review by Samsó 1981, who quotes and increases the pioneering work of Vernet 1960). It might be reflected in a number of place names, above all in Eastern Spain, and in some Ct. loanwords from Ar., e.g., **ampréssec** “apricot”, **ambixerer** “glad tidings”, **embarnús** “a cloak”, **emmadroc** “a sauce”, to which we can add the cases of **angevera** “bag”, **angorfa** “garret”, **ancolla** “vessel”, etc., which suggests the possibility of one more “Yemenite” feature in And. However, as we said in SK, there is no definitive proof of it, while it can also be presumed that those words result from a common intra-Rom. phenomenon, very characteristic of Ct. dialects, but not exclusively, as shown in the place names **Ambercoque** and **Amocadén** in Andalusia, the Ast. var. **anfiler** “pin” and Nav. **anforja** “saddlebag” and, with a different result, Arag. **asgorfa** “garret”.

in Old Ar., Cl.Ar. and Neo-Ar., including And., which have little or no bearing on the Ar. loanwords of Rom.. Most of the many pages devoted by scholars to this subject have been elicited by the fact, brought to light by Wartburg 1931<sup>93</sup> and defying easy explanations, that the majority of the substantive Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom., unlike the case in Southern Italy, are preceded by an agglutinated reflex of the Ar. article, a majority which decreases considerably in Ct. compared with westernmost Rom.,<sup>94</sup> and increases to some degree everywhere when going back in time.

**1.3.1.1.** An excellent survey of this diachronic issue and a résumé of conflicting views on its solution can be seen in Noll 1996. We share a good deal of his opinions on them, though not all, as is inevitable; moreover, we no longer stand by some of our own former pronouncements, expressed in contacts with him previous to the publication of his interesting article. To be more precise, we absolutely agree that article agglutination—understandable only in a bilingual milieu—in the heyday of the Islamic cultural hegemony was a hallmark of this prestigious origin, which later would be eliminated upon the reversal of the sociolinguistic situation. To this we may now add that this usage was possible only because it had been practiced since the beginnings of bilingualism in Al-Andalus, as a standard mark of code shifting from Rom. to Ar., as witnessed without a shade of doubt by the *xarajāt*.<sup>95</sup> But this statement pushes us back to the starting line, as we must explain why the insertion of the article in front of substantives in And. was so frequent that it so easily became a mark of code-shifting.

In this connection, together with the prestige mark in a bilingual milieu as an explanation for the article agglutination, which we totally subscribe with only the

<sup>93</sup> Preceded, without noticeable effects, by Da Aleppo & Calvaruso 1910 and Battisti & Furlani 1927.

<sup>94</sup> The data of Bramon 1987 cast about a 70% of cases in which Ct. and Cs. do coincide in having or not an agglutinated article, and a 21% in which Ct. does not exhibit it, always within a range of divergence in every way in the oldest witnesses of both languages. It has long since been underscored that, in many cases, deglutination in Ct. might have resulted from confusion with the dial. (presently standard) pronunciation of its own definite article, but at any rate one cannot avoid the impression that Eastern Ibero-Rom. stands here in a point somewhat different from Cs. and Pt., although not as much as used to be believed. Early contacts of Catalonia with other Mediterranean shores may have brought about, as undoubtedly on many other issues, divergent cultural attitudes, with a bearing even on the linguistic behaviour of the local Mozarabs, who introduced most Ar. loanwords there, as they did in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. Concretely, the rejection of a sign of Islamic identity, pointedly put forward by Noll, could have acted sooner or more strongly in Catalonia than in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>95</sup> See Corriente 1997a:354, where it should be added that And. substantives at times do not take the article in the vocative (e.g., *ya suhḥāra* “hey, witch”, in A7, and *fūjru bannasīyya* “whore not paid on the spot”, in H13), annexation (e.g., *xalxālī* “my ankle”, in A9, *zāyyī tājir* “merchant’s attire”, in H13), adverbialization (e.g., *qāhru* “by force”, in A10, and *amāna ḥālla* “as a deposit”, in H11) and indefinite verbal object (e.g., *kīlma* “one word”, in A5), in agreement with certain constraints of Ar. syntax, impossible to disregard without incurring in bad grammar.

above stricture, Noll offers the stable condition of the shape of the And. article *{ʔal+}* which, in his view and in spite of possible assimilation of its consonant, would have generated a particularly narrow association with the following noun. This, however, stands closer to being the synchronic description of a linguistic fact than the diachronic motivation behind it which is being sought; it being obvious that any person competent in Ar. mentally links the article with the noun, since it can only be used before a substantive or an adjective, nobody would normally fail to use it in the absence of determination. This is exactly what happens, e.g., in the adjective Ar. loanwords, which never exhibit agglutinated articles, although of course in their And. phase they would have been preceded by the article whenever they qualified definite substantives, as often and for the same single reason, i.e., definiteness, as these were so treated.

Our impression is that Noll has underestimated the cogency of the hypothesis launched by Steiger 1948,<sup>96</sup> adopted by Elcock 1960:293 and improved by Lüdtke:1965, purporting that article agglutination has to do with the well-known fact that the majority of the Muslim invaders were superficially Arabicized Berbers who, lacking an article in their native language and being therefore scarcely able to master the rules of its usage, attached it permanently to the Ar. loanwords acquired by Br., as well as to every substantive in the Ar. they learned, spreading this usage in the areas invaded by their troops, the Iberian Peninsula and wide expanses of Western Africa. This adstratic hypothesis is rejected by Noll, pleading an allegedly rapid decay of Br. in Al-Andalus, the unaccountable difference of results in the cases of Ct. and Southern Italy, where article agglutination is much less frequent, in spite of no lesser contacts with Berbers, and finally the situation of Mor. Ar., where the Br. substratum is strongest and, nevertheless, there would be no such abusive use of the article. However, when these arguments and counter-

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<sup>96</sup> First conjectures, subsequently confirmed and circulated thanks to their inclusion in Baldinger 1958:30 and fn. 36 (70 and fn. 49 of the Spanish translation). One has the impression that the almost general ignorance of Br., at times also of Ar., or at least Ar. dialectology, among the majority of those who, paradoxically, have dealt with its relationship with And. and Rom. has pushed them to hurriedly discount any presence of that language in the diverse processes in which its interference was possible, even expectable. This is what shows through the assertion in Kiesler 1994:25 that Br. has not exerted any noteworthy influence on Rom., without regard for not so few Br. loanwords (e.g., *aguineu*, *alarguez*, *alfaneque*, *argamussa*, *atafea*, *atahorma*, *azagaya*, *gorguz*, *ratafia*, *tagarnina*, *tagarote*, *tragacete*, etc., about which, see Corriente 1998c and 2002b:107, fn. 3). In fact, Br. did have some impact on the shape of the Ar. loanwords, as we pointed for the behaviour of /s/, /t/ and /q/, prob., not to mention the agglutination of the article, about which, see Corriente 1981b, 1998c and 2002b, and Ferrando 1997. When, in a not far future, expert Br. scholars look into this matter, they will prob. detect new linguistic traces in Rom. of that important settlement, as is increasingly happening in And., always within discrete ratios, given the known inhibiting socio-linguistic factors.



arguments are checked and counter-checked, a different picture emerges, in our view more clearly favourable to that hypothesis.

To begin with, that alleged rapid decay of Br. appears to be a myth, originated perhaps in the dislike of many an Arab or Western scholar for an abstruse language which most of them did not know at all, and furthered by the historical fact that many *baladiyyān* Berbers, i.e., those partaking in the first invasion of Hispania, tried at all costs to pass themselves off as Arabs and had no qualms about forging the matching lineages. But this was the attitude of those who, having a chance of socio-economic advancement, dwelt in the cities and played a role in political life. We do not for sure know what happened in the important rural communities of certain parts of the country, particularly dense in the border areas, nor to what extent they managed to hide from each other a still strong competence in their native language in order to disguise their ethnic background.<sup>97</sup> It stands to reason that, even if they had managed to forget Br., they could not help speaking Berberized Ar. No surprise then that Br. loanwords in And. be relatively few, and even fewer those having entered Rom., but it is equally well-known that they are also relatively scarce in Naf. Ar. dialects, because Br. was and for most purposes still is a discredited language of peasants and highlanders which it is preferable to pretend not to know, even when it is one's mother tongue. However, it can be asserted on mere grounds of population statistics that the majority of the Hispanic people who became Andalusi had to learn Ar. from bilingual Berbers, as given away by the phonetic features mentioned above; on the other hand, we have also shown that the situation in Ct. is not so different, nor so inexplicable. Finally, it is not completely true that the definite article be used in Mor.Ar. with a distribution strictly governed by the category of determination: the mere existence, especially in non-Bed. dialects, characteristically more influenced by the Br. substratum, of an indefinite article of the shape *waḥd+əl* means that substantives not preceded

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<sup>97</sup> In our time, not so different in this respect from older times, Ingham 1994:106–107 mentions similar attitudes among the “Arabs” of Central Asia, who hide their competence in Ar. from the monolingual Tr. or Neo-P. speakers of their neighbourhood, whose languages are exclusively used by the former, except in the absence of the latter. The same applies nowadays to many Naf. Br. speakers, whose attitude wavers between denying any competence in their mother tongue, under the pretence of having forgotten it, downplaying its importance and their allegiance to it in order to flatter the monolingual Ar. environment, or using it as a secret language, supposedly incomprehensible to the people around. In fact, it is exceptional than Ar. speakers would learn it, an uncommon situation alluded to with the phrase Tam. *ičču tiwajḍamt* “he has eaten watercress”, i.e. “he is a foreigner who can speak or understand Br.”, on account of the folk tradition that eating this mountain plant helps in acquiring such a difficult language (see Laoust 1939:106). Every now and then, however, there appears proof of its use in Al-Andalus. No less sociolinguistically revealing is the circulation of nicknames in Br., e.g., in *Almuqtabis II.1* (see Makkī & Corriente 2002:21, fn. 22), *awid+eč* “bring it and eat it”, an obvious hint at gluttony.

by {*al*+} are statistically few,<sup>98</sup> without forgetting that the generic article reaches much higher rates of usage than in the Eastern dialects.<sup>99</sup>

It is very illuminating to observe the curious panchronic reaction of Br. upon borrowing Ar. substantives, basically following one of two different behaviours: a) total Berberization, with adoption of the masc. prefix {*a*+}, and the prefix {*la*+} and suffix {*+l*} for the fem. (e.g., *amə* “mad” < Ar. *majnūn*, *taqbilt* “tribe” < Ar. *qabīlah*), or b) superficial Berberization, without Br. prefixes, but with the Ar. article for both genders and the suffix {*+l*} for the fem. (e.g. *lqayd* “the tribe chief” < Ar. *ʔal+qāʔid*, and *ləbhīm* “beast of burden” < Ar. *ʔal+bahūmah*, although some fem. nouns take both marks together, *ʔalsarʃ* “orchard” < Ar. *ʃarʃah*). This can only be construed as proof that, although Br. cannot remember a remote time in which class prefixes were still deictic,<sup>100</sup> with a function similar to that of an article, it does identify the Ar. article as their equivalent, phonetic no doubt, as is required for a minimal degree of acceptance, and prob. also functional, because these prefixes, synchronically markers of nominal classes,<sup>101</sup> exhibit an alternance in the state of annexation, reminiscent of the situation in Naf.Ar., in which the article between two substantives is the most obvious mark of annexation (e.g., in Taš., *agayyu n+urgaz / wurgaz* “the man’s head”, equivalent of Naf. *rāš ər+rā əl* or *ər-rāš dərrā əl*).

<sup>98</sup> See Caubet 1993:259–64, who lists the eight very restricted syntactic structures in which that minimal degree of definiteness is allowed, namely, as predicate, in front of a cardinal number or a quantifier, in an exclamation, negation or reiteration, and as adverb or internal object. On the other hand, Marçais 1977:163–164 reports the frequent use of reflexes of *wāhid al*+ in Morocco and Algeria, in contrast with its progressive scarcity as one moves eastwards, until it disappears in Tunisia and Lybia, in perfect agreement with the respective strength of Br. and Arabicization. We had all thought that this trait, shared by And., could be a semantic calque of the Rom. indefinite article, but it is strange that it contains an Ar. defunctionalized definite article, more akin to the Br. construction of “one”, followed by state of annexation, functionally an at least minimal degree of definiteness (cf., in Taš., *yan urgaz* “a man” vs. *yut tmgart* “a woman” = in Tam., *ij urgaz* and *išt n+məttut* = in Rif., *ij wuryaz* and *išt tamtut*. A further structure in which the Ar. article, incidentally with the Sar. trait of stable /ʔ/ as in And., totally loses its defining function, in the same context of Br. substratum, is the Naf. preposition *dyāl*, with a reflex of the Old Sar. relative *d*, (see Corriente 1996a:47) as its first constituent (see Marçais 1977:168).

<sup>99</sup> Cf., e.g., Mor. *hgīt əlma* vs. Eg. *ana ʕayiz mayya* “I want water”

<sup>100</sup> See D’jākonov 1988:63.

<sup>101</sup> Ratcliffe 1998:132–134, in his interesting and well-informed study of the broken pl., reviewed by Ferrando 1999, is contrary to the existence of a system of noun classes in the prehistory of Afrasian. Even avowing that this concept sounds very much like Meinhof, his time and an ideology more hideous than average, precisely this part of our juvenile and, to be sure, very improvable work of 1971 is one which we would consider best established today, in the light of connections such as those existing between fem., n.un. and dim., pl. and collective, etc., as well for Semitic, as for other members of the Afrasian *phylum*. Quite a different matter is the possibility of a successful reconstruction of such a primitive system and its diachronic projections, but denying the vestiges of its past validity would be just another ideological excess of the opposite sign, and therefore unusable for scientific purposes.

It is therefore certain that Br. in the first periods of its contact with Ar. used only the agglutinated Ar. article as first and main method for the Berberization of the many substantives it had to import together with Islamic civilization, because its morphological rules did not allow substantives without a classifying prefix like its own, and only later and gradually Br. substituted that own prefix for the Ar. article in the best assimilated words. Consequently, when they crossed over to Hispania, they could only spread among the natives a kind of creolized or pidginized Ar., with that improper use of the article, reflected in the loanwords of And.Rom., as can be seen in the *xarajāt*, and in the oldest loanwords in Northern Rom. This would not, of course, condition the emergence of the standard And. dialect bundle in the 10th century, after a process of elimination of minority dial. features such as those contributed by the “Yemenites”, and of de-pidginization, even de-creolization and confluence with standard Neo-Ar.; all in all, the reaction reflected by the kind of language found in And. historical texts. Precisely this explains why the Arabic loanwords in Southern Italy, and prob. Sicilian Ar. too,<sup>102</sup> do not reflect a similar impact of the documented Br. presence, an absence considered by Noll as an argument against this hypothesis. He forgot that, even assuming that the Berbers of Ifrīqiyyah who settled in large numbers in Southern Italy belonged to the same ethno-linguistic groups as the invaders of Hispania, these had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in 711, only some forty years or two generations after the steady settlement of the Arabs in Ifrīqiyyah, while the Islamic conquest of Sicily began more than a century later (827) and ended in 902. If we add to this factor the undoubtedly greater flow of native Arabs to Ifrīqiyyah than to Al-Andalus, it becomes evident that the Berbers who invaded Sicily had been subjected more intensely, and at least during four generations more than their predecessors in Hispania, to the process of Arabicization and de-creolization, with results quite conspicuous, e.g., in some features of Malt.,<sup>103</sup> direct heir of Sicilian Ar., which

<sup>102</sup> At least, judging by some data provided by Agius 1996:402, concretely, the anomalous use, after the rules of Cl.Ar. and Eastern Neo-Ar., of the article in the head of a rective syntagm, e.g., >arruhbān addayr< “the monks of the monastery”, of which there is no lack of examples in And. (see SK 7.1.5, particularly the similar case of >arrāhibāt alkunbāt< “the sisters of the convent”).

<sup>103</sup> Already signalled by Stumme at the beginning of the 20th century and listed by Borg 1994:24–25, the most conspicuous of which is the stress in the pattern {CvCvC}. On the other hand, noteworthy is the coincidence with the Ar. loanwords in Rom., in the agglutination of the article in some words like *ilma* “water” < ?al+mā?, *lemin* “right hand” < ?al+yamīn, *lsir* “slave” < ?al?asīr, *ltim* “orphan” < ?alyatīm, *ližar* “sheet” < ?al+?izār, *labra* “needle” < ?al?ibrah, *langasa* “pear” < ?al?ijjāšah, *lhudi* “Jewish” < ?al+yahūdī, *limaru* “news” < ?al?imārūh, also in words of Sicilian origin, e.g., *lamtu* “starch” < l’amitu, *lant* “livelihood” < l’antu, *luptu* “scapulary” < l’abitu, and older, e.g., *lbus* “luxurious cloth” < Gr. *býssos*, etc. This phenomenon is not uncommon in And. (e.g., *lajūra* “bricket” < ?al?ajurūh) and Naf. (e.g., Mor. *laf?u* “viper” < ?al+?af?u, *lingas* “pear” < ?al+?ijjās, *lsas* “fundament” < ?al+?asās, *lunta* “female” < ?al?untā, perhaps mere instances of wrong parsing, but much more frequent than some isolated Eastern cases, like Eg. *liwān* < ?al+?iwān). Maltese also lacks an

to some limited extent separate it from the Western Ar. dialects and bring it somewhat nearer to the Eastern ones.

Finally, and in parallel with the Br. hypothesis, there is a further powerful argument, though heretofore scarcely taken into consideration, to be included in any explanation of the non-functional and excessive use of the Ar. article among a large number of the conquerors of Hispania, namely, the “Yemenites”, answerable in our view for many a feature of And., specially in its first phases. We uphold that many of them might still have been bilingual speakers of Sar. dialects or, at the very least, had only recently adopted North Arabian; therefore, their speech was fraught with numerous substratal relics from their former language which, as is well-known, had not developed a prefixed article, and had in its last period dropped its suffixed counterpart, i.e., nunation, in contrast with mimation.<sup>104</sup> Under such circumstances, it cannot surprise that they would use the article hypercorrectly and excessively, in the same manner detected in Naf., in an area which they had to cross on their way to Hispania, and also characterized by the strong impact of their “Yemenite” dialectal features.

A comparison with the Cp. loanwords in Eg. Ar. can also be illustrating. They do often agglutinate the Cp. article, masc. (e.g., *birba* “Pharaonic ruins” < *p+rpe*, *baqrūr* “frog” < *pe+krou*, *baqlūla* “bubble” < *pe+kelōl*, *baqūī* “basket” < *p+kot*, *baššū* “heron” < *pe+lčōb*, *bōš* “starch” < *p+ōouš* and *falīl* “wick” < *p+eielel*) or fem. (e.g., *dabš* < *t+paše* and *dimīra* “flood season” < *te+mēre*): this would confirm that the majority “Yemenite” settlement in Egypt gave Cp. exactly the same treatment dispensed by them at the time dispensed by them to North Arabian in the process of their adaptation to its features.<sup>105</sup> Summing up, out of all the Arabic speakers from whom the natives of Hispania might have learnt Arabic, only the minority of ethnic North Arabian extraction would use the prefixed article in a functional and normal manner, while the overwhelming majority, Arabized Berbers and “Yemenites”, would use it with hypercorrect frequency. No wonder, then, that alloglotic learners would analyze it as an inseparable part of the substan-

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indefinite article (see Sutcliffe 1936:19), unlike the Western pre-Hilalian dialects (not only Mor., as proven by *ħa+rūr al* from Jijelli, quoted by Fischer & Jastrow 1980:88, and different from the use of *fa(r)d*, not followed by the article in Iraq and Central Asia); see also Corriente 2005c.

<sup>104</sup> See Corriente 1996a:34. Within South Semitic, only North Arabian develops this trait fully, it being totally or almost entirely absent from the other members, Et. and Sar., Epigraphic and Mod. alike.

<sup>105</sup> But the cases of Cp. loanwords not exhibiting this feature are quite more frequent, perhaps because they are more recent. These data are taken from Bishai 1964 and our recent review of Blau 2006, although some examples were known as early as by Dozy 1881. The same phenomenon had taken place already in much older Egyptian loanwords in Ar., at least from the Demotic phase (e.g., *timsāh* “crocodile” < *t'+msht*, *dimmah* “cat” < *t'+mj.t*), for which we must presume similar motives in the bilingualism of the merchants who traded between Egypt and Arabia.

tives, at least during an initial phase before de-creolization, sufficient, however, to leave an indelible trace in the Ar. loanwords acquired by Rom. in those days, and even later, as a classifying and characterizing mark of origin, with connotations that may or not have been prestigious, depending on times and fads.

**1.3.1.2.** As for the synchronic aspects of the use of the Ar. article agglutinated in the loanwords, it is worth mentioning the cases of deglutination, and those of false restoration.

**1.3.1.2.1.** Some Ar. loanwords prob. never had an agglutinated article, because they had been transmitted by Arab speakers alien to that trend, either being of North Arabian stock or dialect, or simply better Arabicized. Such appear to be the cases, e.g., of Arag. **cofaina** “washbasin” < And. *jufáyna*, Cs. **mezquita** = Gl.-Pt. **mesquita** “mosque” < Ar. *masjid*, with a pronunciation giving away a “Yemenite” origin, as in its Br. reflex *taməzɡida*. In other instances, however, older shapes with agglutination were replaced by younger ones without it (e.g., Arag. **(al)gachofa** “artichoke” < And. *(al)xaršúfa* and **(al)fordacho** “lizard” < And. *(al)hardún*, Cs. **(al)badén** < Ar. *(al)baḡin* “sunk ground”, **(al)caparra** “caper” < And. *(al)kapára*, **(al)guarismo** “figure” < Alxuwārizmī (a famous mathematician), **(al)jofaina** “washbasin” < And. *(al)jufáyna*, **(al)cohol** < And. *(al)kuḥúl* and **(al)tabaque** “tray” < And. *(al)tabáq*, Ct. **(al)bérnia** “cloak” < And. *\*al(i)birnáyya* “Irish”, **(al)búrnia** “glazed cup” < And. *\*al(burnáyya* = Cl.Ar. *barniyyah*, **(al)caduf** “bucket of a water-wheel” < And. *(al)qadús*, **(al)forre/o** “free” < And. *(al)ḥúrr*, **(al)gatzara** “din” < And. *(al)ḡazára*, **(al)gerra** “jar” < And. *(al)jarra*, **(al)guarisme** “figure” < Alxuwārizmī, and **(al)quitrà** “tar” < And. *(al)qa/iṭrán*). It can also happen that one or more of the Rom. languages has agglutination of the Ar. article, but not the other(s) (e.g., Cs. **alcachofa** and Pt. **alcachofra** vs. Ct. **carxofa**, Ct. **albergina** “eggplant” vs. Cs. **berenjena** and Pt. **beringela** < And. *(al)badinjána*, Cs. = Pt. **alcadafe** “vessel” vs. Ct. **cadaf** < And. *(al)qadāḥ*, Cs. = Gl. **alcanfor** “camphor” vs. Pt. **cânfora** and Ct. **càmfora** < And. *(al)kašúr*, Cs. = Pt. **alcatifa** “carpet” vs. Ct. **catifa** < And. *(al)qaṭīfa*, Cs. **algodón** and Pt. **algodão** vs. Ct. **cotó** < And. *(al)quṭún*, and Ct. **màrfega** “coarse cloth” vs. Pt. **almáfega** < And. *(al)márfaga*), or optional agglutination is only found in one language (e.g., Cs. and Ct. **(al)juba** vs. Pt. **aljuba** “a garment” < And. *(al)júbba*, Ct. **(al)gerra** vs. Cs. and Pt. **jarra** “jar”, Cs. **(al)magacén** vs. Ct. **magatzem** and Pt. **armazém** “store” < And. *(al)maxzán*, Ct. **(al)mesc** vs. Cs. **almizcle** and Pt. **almíscar** “musk” < And. *(al)mísk*, and Cs. **(al)mojábana** vs. Pt. **almojávana** “a sweet” < And. *(al)mujábbana*). The particular reasons for these differences may only be found out by means of a historical study of each word, beyond the general and known ones, as for Ct., eventual confusion with its own article, for every Rom. language, the action of initial “solar” consonants shrinking the reflex of the Ar. article to a simple /a/, easily lost later through wrong parsing behind the Rom.

article; to this we could still add late borrowings, taking place at times when the And.Ar. speakers no longer practiced that marking in code-shifting, or in absence of a situation of bilingualism, as is the case of every non-And. Ar. loanword in Ibero-Rom., a more or less conscious wish to de-Arabicize the indispensable Ar. loanwords and eliminate the rest, etc. This offers a huge field to future research, which will greatly benefit from advances in the historical lexicology of the Rom. languages.

**1.3.1.2.2.** The false restoration of the Ar. article may be: a) partial, when an /l/ is added to the initial /a/, by hypercorrection in cases where it was lost, most of the time through dissimilation (see 1.1.5.2), or had never existed, either because of assimilation within Ar. (e.g., Cs. **a(l)jorca** “anklet” < And. (aš)šūrka and **a(l)jarafe** “height” < And. aššaráf, Pt. **aldemamel** “boil” < And. addamámil and **altaforma** “kind of falcon” < And. attafúrma, Ct. **alduf(a)** < And. addúff “tambourine”), or in words which never had an agglutinated Ar. article, this provided nevertheless by metanalysis (e.g., Arag. **aldaca** “a tax” < And. šadāqa, Cs. **alcazuz** and Pt. **alcaçuz** “liquorice” < And. širq assús, Cs. = Pt. **a(l)barraz** “lousewort” < And. ḥabb arrás, Cs. **almirante** and Ct. **almirall** < Lit. *amiratus* < Ar. amīr, Gl. **aldroga** “welt”, Pt. **aldrabão** and Ct. **aldarull** “noise”, all of them hybrid derivations of And. \*ḥaḥr “humbug” with Rom. suffixes), at times even in words that are not Ar., like Cs. **almena** “merlon”, **almendra** “almond”, etc., and b) total, when whole **al-** is added to words which did not have any agglutinated Ar. article, mostly with whimsical purposes, in order to increase their appearance of old Ar. loanwords, although they are actually learned, late and even pedantic creatures (e.g., Cs. **albengala** “walking stick”, **almuecín** “muezzin”, **alminar** “minaret” and **almimbar** “pulpit in a mosque” vs. Pt. **bengala**, **minar** and **mimbar**, cf. also Pt. **almená** “a weight”, **alparavaz** “strip”, and **anacara** “drum”, faking assimilation in front of a “solar” consonant, which really reflect Neo-P. *bengāle* “Bengal”, Ar. *muʾaddīn*, *manārah*, *minbar*, *mann* and again Neo-P. *parvāz* and *naqqāre* respectively).

**1.3.2.** It happens, neither often nor exceptionally, that an Ar. loanword of Rom. does not reflect a single lexeme, but a whole syntagm, generally rective, with head and tail, often separated by the Ar. article (e.g., Cs. **argamandel** “rag” < And. \*xīrqaṭ mandīl, lit., “shred of a handkerchief”, **arsenal** “arsenal” < Neo-Ar. *dār aššināṣah* “house of manufacture”, **cicarazate** “pickpocket” < And. \*sāriq azzād “thief of proviant”, **rabadán** “chief shepherd” < And. rább aḏḏán “owner of sheep”, **zalmedina** “prefect of police” < And. šáhb almadīna “master of the city”, **cerracatín** “stingy” < And. sarrāq allín “fig thief”, etc., Pt. **arsenal**, **sarrafaçal** “clumsy” and **sarrafaçana** “rascal”, both < And. sāriḥ aššānṣa “vagrant by trade”, and some more, not too many, Ct. **amaluc** “rump” < Neo-Ar. šaḏm alḥuqq “hip bone”, **arsenal**, **faramalla** “nonsense” < And. ḥarām álla “forbidden by God”, **rabadà**, etc., not as many as in Cs., nor as few as in Pt.). In other instances, the

syntagm is qualifying (e.g., Cs. **matalahúva** = Ct. **batafalua** = Pt. **batafaluga** “aniseed” < And. *(al)ḥabbat alḥalúwwa*, lit., “sweet grain”, Cs. = Pt. **cimitarra** = Ct. **simitarra** “scimitar” < And. \**šimšáma řárya* “gipsy sabre”, i.e., “Indian”), or even of other types, as the prepositional ones of Ct. (e.g., Maj. **a balquena** “in abundance” < And. *balqanása* “with satisfaction”, **a la babalà** “haphazardly” < Neo-Ar. *řala bāb allāh* “at God’s door, i.e., abandoned to the divine providence”, and derived verbs like **balafiar** “to sell off” < And. *balřářya* “without risk”, and **barriscar** “to sell in bulk” < And. *barrřzq* “as divine providence decrees”), and even more complicated (e.g., Pt. **salamaleque** “cajolery” < Neo-Ar. *assalām řalayk* “peace be with you”, and **tamalavés** = Cs. **abés** “scarcely” < And. *řamma la bás* “there is no evil in it”, Pt. **chafranafra** “riot” < And. \**řářra (wa)nařra*, lit., “knife and slaughter”, Cs. **aljemifao** “haberdasher” < And. *alřamř ři rářřu* “everything in its kind”, **zaquizamí** “shed” < And. *řaqř řassamí* “ceiling in the sky”, and **haragán** < And. *xará kán* “he turned out to be shit”,<sup>106</sup> the last two being whole verbal sentences. Understandably, some of these structures were too complex and unpredictable for the available methodology and knowledge of And. Ar, until very recent times, although a good share of them have been correctly interpreted for decades.

However, in spite of similar cases known from old, like the astronomic terms **Altair** (< Neo-Ar. *[annasr] ařřářir* “the flying eagle”) and **Vega** (< Neo-Ar. *[annasr] alwāqřř* “the sitting eagle”), and at the risk of upholding false or forced interpretations, there has been not enough insistence on the relative frequency of cases in which the rective syntagm is cut down to just one of its constituents, usually the last, upon borrowing by Rom. (e.g., Cs. **albacara** “stable in a fortress” < And. *(bāb) albaqqára*, lit., “gate for the cowherds”, **albacea** “executor of a will” < And. *(řāřb) alwařřyya*, **aldrán** = **rabadán** “chief shepherd”, q.v., **alhorre** “skin eruption” < And. *(řakřyyat) alřúrr*, lit., “disease of the white”, **calamón** “purple water-hen” < And. *(abu) qalamún*, **albafar** “shark” < And. *(kālř) albāřr*, lit., “sea dog”, etc.; less often, it is the first constituent that is preserved, e.g., Val. **quelve** = Pt. **albafar**, Arag. **calilo** “silly” < And. *qalřl (alřáql* “of little understanding”), even the astronomic term **Deneb** from Neo-Ar. *řanab addajāřah* “tail of the hen”, name given to Alpha Cygni. Our reflection on these cases is the basis on which we suggest the etyma of **acicate** “spur” **cáramo** “wine” (in thieves’ cant”), **dado** “die” and some other prob. Ar. loanwords, but of difficult etymology.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> There is a similar coarse reference in **mortaricaca** commented in fn. 116, and by Corriente 2006:120–121.

<sup>107</sup> Eventual reflexes, respectively, of Neo-Ar. *muzřl / řāřřř assiqūt* “remover of stumbling”, *bint alkarm* “daughter of the vine”, and *kařřbat alřařřdād* “numbered knucklebone”. The tendency to excessively abridge long terms to a shorter segment, usually the last one, is a linguistic universal little

**1.3.3.** At times there has also been talk of other syntactic influences of Ar. on Cs., dealt with in particular detail by Galmés 1956 (and 2nd ed. in 1996, without noticeable changes).<sup>108</sup> That author posits such influences in: a) relative constructions, b) the usage of personal, demonstrative and possessive pronouns and pronominal locative adverbs, c) impersonal verbal constructions, and d) nominal phrases and non-finite forms of the verb. In our view, his presumptions of an influence are sometimes not grounded, and in other cases the alleged *loci probantes* are just unskillful translations, which naturally have not generated idiomatic utterances nor prob. were such at the moment of the translation. Let us proceed to a case by case survey:

**1.3.3.1.** As for cases in which Cs. would be reflecting the pronoun of reference in relative phrases (*šāʿid*), Galmés offered the examples (p. 90) *kalqullati min šasalin fī asfalihā samm atal como la jarra que yaze en ella, en su fondón veneno* “as the jar at the bottom of which there is poison”, *kal māʿi lmālihi llaḏī mā yazdādu šāhibuhā minhu šurban illā zdāda šašašan como el agua salada, que cuanto más el omne beve della, tanto más sed mete* “as saltwater which, the more one drinks thereof, the thirstier he becomes”, *šalam adaš marīḏan arjā lahu lburʿa non dexé enfermo que yo oviese esperanza de lo guaresçer* “I did not forsake any sick person whom I hoped to cure”, *mā kāna min kalāmin yakrahuhā sāmišuhā todo dicho que se rreçela dél el que lo oye* “whichever speech which is hideous to whomever hears it” But it is obvious that, in the second and third examples, he took for pronouns of reference what are actually a partitive and a pronominal complement, as proven by the fact that contemporary Cs., which has no pronouns of reference, accepts *bebe de ella* “he drinks from it”, and *esperanza de curarlo* “hope of healing him”, without any difficulty. In the first and fourth examples there is a true pronoun of reference, as standard Cs. would require *en cuyo fondo yace* or *en la que yace, en su fondo, and del cual recela*, but everything points to mere awkwardness on the side of the translator, within the ever present limits of influence of any text on its translator, much more so in the case of the earliest Cs. prose, without stylistic traditions other than the not always known or applicable

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used in Semitic, which strives to maintain the consonantic root morphemes in their total extension. Neo-Ar. is more receptive to such a procedure, and And. exhibits some very conspicuous cases, like shrinking *šaqāʿiḡu nnušmān* to *nušmānu* “poppy” and, by the same token, metanalyzing the Rom. loanword *šaqwá(r)s* “cistus” as a compound word, reduced to *wáry* in the *xarjah* A20 (see Corriente 1997a:289–290).

<sup>108</sup> It should be noted that, although the book title limits those influences to medieval Cs. prose, which might suggest mere servile dependence on the originals on the part of inexperienced translators, the author clearly implies in his conclusions that such had become the actual and habitual language usage, since the translators would have been very skilled; however, both statements are in open conflict with objective data.



Lt. models, without any relation with the normal linguistic usage, old or mod. The same can be said of the alleged examples of pp. 92–96.<sup>109</sup>

**1.3.3.2.** As for the taxeme of the unstressed personal pronoun, Galmés himself (p. 119) avows that the few registered cases (*waʔilayhā yasʔawn e las cobdičian* “and they covet them”) must be written off as mere translators’ blunders; as for the use of stressed and unstressed pronominal shapes to convey the dative and accusative pronouns, there is indeed, among the host of his quotes, an instance which, truly, exhibits a strange syntax (e.g., p. 122, *addīnu... wajadtuhum ʕalayhi la religión...en la que yo encontré a ellos* “the religion which I found they followed”, which must again be explained as a fault of the translators. Next, it is amazing that he may blame the Ar. influence for the scarcity and subsequent loss of the pronominal locative adverbs derived from Lt. *inde* and *ibi*, and their replacement by prepositional syntagms, a trait shared with Pt., but not Ct., which therefore points rather to a case of *drift*, previous to the Islamic invasion. Neither does the frequent substitution of personal for possessive pronouns (e.g., **dél, della, dellos, dellas** for **su** = “of him / her / them” for “is / her / their”) appear or be anything but the result of hurried translation, if not an attempt to avoid the Cs. equivocal 3rd person possessives. Equally capricious are his attribution to Ar. of constructions alien to it, like **su vida del hermitaño** for **la vida del h.** (= “the hermit’s life”), his presumption that the rendering **haber para** for **tener** (“to have”) be anything but further proof of the translators’ inexperience, his suggestion of an influence in the only logical matching of Ar. *ḍālika* and Cs. **ello** and, finally, that some rather uncommon case of reflexive use of **mi corazón** and **mi voluntad** (= “my heart” and “my will”) may be due to the influence of Ar., which only uses “soul, spirit” (i.e., *naʕs, rūḥ*), and no other term in these idioms.

**1.3.3.3.** Galmés also considers a syntactic Semitism the use of the 3rd person pl. to convey impersonal actions (e.g., **el colirio que non toman si non un poco dello** = “the eye-drops from which only a little is taken”, **su libro quel dizen Almajeste** “their book called A.”, etc., pp. 146–152), as well as that of the 2nd person sg. (p. 162, **cual estrella quieras** “whichever star one wants”), thus forgetting that this is a linguistic universal, usual, e.g., in Russian, English, etc., and that any statistical increase in the frequency of these usages in the translations is expectable, as they are indeed normal in Ar., but this would have no bearing on normal Cs. syntax. Equally far-fetched is to think that Lt. *omne* could not evolve in the Iberian Peninsula as Fr. *on*, because that was the path followed by its Ar. matches *insān* and *rajuḷ*.

<sup>109</sup> Curiously, although characteristic of his method, in his fn. 27, Galmés reasonably criticizes Huffman 1973 for the same mistaken analyses produced by himself.

**1.3.3.4.** In the realm of influences on nominal phrases and non-finite forms of the verb, it is hard to believe that such was the reason why incipient Cs. would have aped with its suffixes the derivation system of the Ar. lexicon, or the substantial use of the infinitive, already standard in Lt., etc.

**1.3.4.** The situation is similar in the case of stylistic influences alleged by the same author in that work of his, like chains of copulative sentences, copulative or consecutive apodosis, iterative nominalizing **que** ("that"), rhythmic parallelism, paronomasia, multiple possession, pleonastic use of the definite article also before the qualifiers, anacoluthon, pleonastic repetition of subjects, ellipsis of copulative verbs and a liking for the affirmation expressed through negation and exception. All these structures (pp. 185–226), even in the case of being characteristic of Ar. syntax, which is not true in every instance, appear to have been the consequence, in the medieval Cs. prose, of lack of skill, indolence or even literalism on the part of the translators.<sup>110</sup>

**2.** The grammar of the Ar. loanwords of Rom., as a comprehensive treatment of signifier and signified would not be completed without some socio-linguistic comments, derived from the fact that not only was there a transfer of words from one language to another, but also from a society of Arabic and Islamic culture, even if the transmitters often were Christian Mozarabs, as their culture was a mere variant of that one, to another society with a Western culture, in those days deeply penetrated by Christianity, although conscious for centuries of their inferiority, which could only be overcome by imitating the positive sides of their foe's civi-

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<sup>110</sup> As a closing statement on this section on syntactic and stylistic Arabisms, we take the liberty of translating Corriente 1992a:114: "The hypotheses put forward in favour of some syntactic influences of Ar. on the Rom. languages of the Iberian Peninsula share certain features which render their acceptance difficult and almost excuse their detailed rejection, namely: a) When they come from linguists, and are not mere forays of historians trying to confirm certain theories of their liking, they are generally authored by Romanists, often very knowledgeable in their realm, but scarcely familiar with Cl.Ar., usually their only basis of comparison, forgetting that it almost never influenced Rom. directly (except in the case of servile translations), and practically always ignorant of And.Ar., even Neo-Ar., the syntax and idioms of which at times differ much from Cl.Ar.... In the syntactic field, e.g., we must say that expressions like Cs. **burla burlando**, **calla callando** (= "as if joking", "on the quiet"), etc., usually quoted as typical examples of Semitic paronomasia having influenced Rom. syntax, are not calques of Ar., Neo-Ar. or And., where the imperative is never used in that manner, nor is there a gerund. Those idioms are simply non-existent in any kind of Ar., and neither can those phrases be the result of popularization of servile bookish translations, or anything else but a device developed within Cs., in a way parallel to that of other languages. One can only be surprised by the affirmation that the expression of impersonal verbs in Cs. by means of the 2nd person sg. or 3rd pl. is due to Ar. syntactic influence, ignoring that it is almost a linguistic universal (cf., e.g., Russian *ne pover'at i závtra* "You will tell a lie today, and they will not believe you tomorrow"). b) Studies of this kind are usually prompted by a desire to find what is being sought, not the best guarantee of impartiality, as it favours the detection of influences which are actually cases of isomorphism. Matters are only worse when there is an urge to produce original and brilliant contributions, with an insufficient linguistic background and scarce scientific rigour in the proof."

lization. When that difference was levelled, or maybe some time before in milieus enormously conscious of their own identity, the reactions to the conspicuous presence of the important ingredient of Ar. loanwords in the spoken languages started, aimed at their elimination or, at least, at their masking absorption, in the linguistic or social levels.

**2.1.** The absorption of Ar. loanwords in the linguistic level was obtained, in a progressive way, by means of such phenomena as a) metanalysis, b) half-translation and c) calque.

a) Metanalysis is possible only when the user of the loanword, prob. no longer bilingual, goes beyond his residual awareness of its alien character and the habit of reproducing its inherited pronunciation without further alterations, in spite of its unwieldiness and poor fitting into the usual norms of his mother language, and decides to subject it to these totally. In 1.2.1.2.2b, while talking about suffixes, we have seen some of the consequences of this attitude, such as metanalytic substitution but, even without replacing any phonemic segment, metanalysis may radically change the structure of the significants and the grammatical interpretation of which a word is capable. E.g., it is very likely that the Cs. interjection **aba** “away!” and the connected verb **abarse** “to go away”, derive from And. *abšād* “go away”, metanalyzed as a pl. imperative, whence the sg. first and then the whole verbal paradigm have been regularly backformed, in the same manner as the Maj. idiom **a budoixos** “by the score” and related verb **abudoixar** “to heap up” derive the And. idiom \**abu dūš* “given to do several things simultaneously”,<sup>111</sup> with also total alteration of the function of the morphosyntactic constituents, in spite of the preservation of the phonetic sequence and, in a rudimentary way, of the semantics.

b) Half-translation goes one step farther, although paradoxically only conceivable in bilinguals, presumably endowed with a clearer awareness and greater desire to “digest” the loanword or, in the opposite direction, to make its acceptance easier. In this case, the word or syntagm felt as alien is split up in segments, some of which are translated to Rom., e.g., Ct. **aiguanaf** “orange-flower water” < Neo-Ar. *māʔ annafš*, lit., “water of fragrance”, **en doina** “in disorderly movement” < And. *faddūnya*, lit., “in the (whole) world”, and **nou d’eixarch** “nutmeg” < Neo-Ar. *jawz aššarq*, lit., “nut from the East”, Cs. **guájete por guájete** “one by one” < And. *wāḥid biwāḥid*, Gl. **xilmendreiro** “peach tree”, half-translation of Ar. *jillawz*, etc.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> See Zwartjes 1991.

<sup>112</sup> It is remarkable how aware Diego de Guadix is of calques and half-translations, in spite of his limited knowledge of Ar., as we commented in Corriente 2005b:109.

c) Semantic calque is the final phase of the “digestion” of the Ar. loanword, when its signified is totally covered by a Rom. significant, instead of the former Ar. Its presence is not always easy to detect, and there are scores of such alleged abusive cases, posited by persons who knew little Ar. and less And.<sup>113</sup> Some calques are certified, when both the And. model and the exact semantic match, not explainable through Rom., are undoubtable, e.g., **llenar el ojo** “to please”,<sup>114</sup> **mentiras** “selenosis, white spots on the nails”,<sup>115</sup> Nav. = Arag. = Val. **fila de agua**, equivalent of **alhema** < *xayl almāʔ*,<sup>116</sup> vulgar Cs. **follar** “to copulate”, through the double meaning of Ar. *waʕīʕa* “to tread on; to possess sexually”,<sup>117</sup> Ext. **arquitu de Dioh** “rainbow”, a calque of Neo-Ar. *qaws allāh*, lit., “God’s bow”; others, however, are false, like the alleged calque by Cs. **amanecer** and **anochecer** “to be at dawn / night in a place or condition, respectively”, given as reflexes of Cl.Ar. *ašbaḥa* and *amsà*, an impossible pretence, because this usage is alien to Neo-Ar.,<sup>118</sup> let alone And., while in other instances it is difficult to ascertain who is imitating whom, e.g., Cs. **culantrillo de pozo** “maidenhair” = And. *kazbúr albír*, **aguja de mar** “gar-fish” = And. *ibrat albaḥr*, etc.: in this realm real progress is impossible before we have a historical dictionary.

**2.2.** The absorption of Ar. loanwords in the social level happens basically in a later phase, when the superiority of Western culture has become indisputable and the aim is to erase the traces of a different disliked past, which will determine the adscription of those loanwords, as much as possible, to low sociolects or registers, sometimes children’s language, where nobody felt uncomfortable with that heritage. It is noticeable that a share of Cs. thieves’ cant is integrated by Ar. loanwords, prob. introduced in it by Mudejars and then Moriscos (e.g., Cs. **albaire** “testicle” < And. *albáyḍa*, lit., “egg”, **caire** “harlot’s wages” < And. *qáʕida* “norm”, **gurapas**

<sup>113</sup> See Corriente 1992b:445, where we rejected the idioms of the structure **burla burlando** and the cases of **infante** “king’s son” and **hidalgo** “squire”, posited by A. Castro 1949 and 1950–1951, respectively, and Corriente 2004a:202, where we again rejected **hidalgo**, plus verbs like **amanecer** and **anochecer**, and accepted **llenar el ojo**, **herre que herre** “pigheadedly” and **mentiras**.

<sup>114</sup> See van Wijk 1971 and Granja 1976.

<sup>115</sup> See Pérez Lázaro 1990 I:67.

<sup>116</sup> According to Glick & Teixeira 2002–2003:216.

<sup>117</sup> See DAA 566 for the second meaning, metaphorical but common in legal jargon, as a euphemism.

<sup>118</sup> The controversy about this proposal casts light on the *modus operandi* so often followed by Rom. scholars who dare tread the ground of Ar. philology with insufficient knowledge of its complexities. This hypothesis was put forward by A. Lombard 1936, questioned by Coseriu 1961, rescued and enlarged by Castro 1948, who gave up some ground in 1954, and always fought by Spitzer 1949, but none of them resorted to other data than those of Cl.Ar. or knew the definitive argument, i.e., the non-existence of such idioms in the And. dialect, which made the calque impossible, as proven by Corriente 1997d:502 and 300, where *amsà* only has a lexicographical entry drawn from Alcalá’s dictionary, i.e., from a native learned informant, while *ašbaḥ* seems to have some use, but never as a predicative “to be at dawn in a given place or condition” Nevertheless, as a proof of the unsinkable charm of dilettantism, there are still those who uphold the proposal.

“galleys” < Ar. *ḡurāb* “a kind of ship”, **bederre** “executioner” < And. *bidírra* “with a whip”, **balhurria** “rabble” < *bilā ḥurríyya* “without nobility”, etc.), as well as a number of taboo words (e.g., **cipote** and **picha** “penis”, Rom. aug. of Ar. *zibh* and And.Rom. *píšša*, **paja** “masturbation”, prob. backformed on the Rom. loanword of And. *paššáš* “to pacify”, **gilipichi**, “idiot” < And. *ḥírri píšší*, lit., “hermaphrodite, having vulva and penis simultaneously”, then renewed and half-translated as **gilipollas**, etc., plus many calques).<sup>119</sup> One of the contributions made by our study of this issue has been the discovery of relatively frequent Ar. loanwords in the terminology of children’s games (e.g., Cs. **alquerque** “a board game”, of Iranian origin, confirmed by Neo-P. *gorg bāz* “game of the wolf”, **alhiguí** “a game in which people raffle to get a dangling prize” < *alḥiqh* “reach it”, **aleleví** “cue given to start searching for hidden people in the game of hide-and-seek” < Ar. *yā āla llāṣibīn*,<sup>120</sup> lit., “come on, players”, **alirón** “announcement of the town criers” < *alislān* “proclamation, auction”, also (a la lima) **alalimón** < Cl.Ar. *alā ṣalima ḥālī/amān* “come on, let everybody / the concerned people know”,<sup>121</sup> **gua** “marble game” < And. *zādwa* = Cl.Ar. *zadwah*, **marro** “kind of quoits” < And. *márr* “it missed (it)”, **matarile** < And. *ma tarí li* “¿what do you divine for me?”,<sup>122</sup> **orí**, “hide-and-seek” < And. *awrí* “show (me)”, **recodín recodán** “a game of forfeits”

<sup>119</sup> See Corriente 1993b.

<sup>120</sup> We have changed our previous proposal in DAI, for this phonetically and semantically much better one. The first element cannot be ascertained, in the lack of a witnessed And. etymon; both imperative *yā ṭāl*... as exhortative *alā* are possible, not excluding its Neo-Ar. reflex *yalla(h)* “let us go”

<sup>121</sup> Preserved in some folk songs (e.g., **a la lima, alalimón, que te vas a quedar soltera** “Let everybody know: you are going to stay unmarried”, and **alalimó, alalimó que se rompió la fuente** “Let everybody know, the fountain is broken”). In the first item, it is remarkable that the register is Cl.Ar., as required by the official condition of the crier, although there are some doubts about the vocalization and meaning of the last word. Later on, the use of this refrain in the game called **alimón**, described in dictionaries, led to its interpretation as the simultaneous performance of two teams in a game, and it was so understood, e.g., in bullfighting, when it is done by two fighters at the same time. Another phrases of this kind, partially masked with Rom. words, are **carabí hurí, carabí hurá**, at the end of a sad song about a girl taken to her grave (i.e., And. *kárbi urí, kárbi yurá* “my sorrow has been seen, my sorrow will be seen”) **tararí, que te ví**, used in the game of hide-and-seek, to indicate that one of the playmates has been discovered: it seems to be a corruption of And. *taráh aḥnik, waḡḡti fik* “there you see him; I have found you”

<sup>122</sup> It is the refrain of the matching folk song, ending with the seemingly senseless voice, **chimpún**, a probable reflex of And. *jíd* “good”, extant in the *xarjah* H18, followed by its And.Rom. rendering **BÓN**, which allows the dating of this folkloric item no later than the end of the 12th c.; by the way, this voice reappears as **chín pon** in another Cs. folk song: **Don Melitón tenía tres gatos, y los hacía bailar en un plato, y por las noches les daba turrón, chín pon, ¡que vivan los gatos de Don Melitón!** “Mr. M. had three cats, and made them dance on a dish; on evenings he used to give them nougats, hurray for D. M.’s cats!” Curiously, that *turi*, a known And. shape of the verb “to see” appears again in **mortaricaca** in *Poema de Alfonso XI* (see Montaner 2005:145, fn. 3, and Corriente 2006:120–121) and the imperative of its causative measure is reflected in the phrase of La Mancha **¡aburríle!**, for challenging braggarts, i.e., < *awrí li* “show me”. On the other hand, the female

< *raqidín hum ráqid áni* “they are lying, so are you”,<sup>123</sup> Mur. **alaluya** “scramble” < *šala+ llúl* “get the sweet!”,<sup>124</sup> **chinchemonete** or **chincerinete** “leapfrog” < And.Rom. *ČÍNJE ŘENÍŤ / LOMBÍŤ* “girdle your loins”, Nav. **calva** “winning hit” < And. (*dárba*) *gálba*,<sup>125</sup> and **zafaforate** < *šáſ(i) alfurái* “the hole is filled” in a game in which children do that in competition by throwing mud pellets into holes on the ground). This is not surprising considering the lesser ideological and social pressure in these registers and the frequent presence of Morisco nurses. Our information about these marginal and terminal phenomena of the history of Ar. loanwords in Rom. is still very scarce: for instance, only very recently have we learnt that some of those words returned to And., like Cs. **adehala**, **adúcar**, **almocafre**, **marfuz**, **alboroque**, etc., even Arabicized words like **hovero**, q.v., i.e., reintroduced by Mudejars and Moriscos in their Ar. dialect, with the shapes they had acquired in Rom., which cannot surprise in bilingual people, but has caused a lot of confusion among etymologists.

As we said in Corriente 2004a:204, the elimination of Ar. loanwords is, at times, a natural consequence of technical renewal, causing the disappearance of both the object and its name (e.g., **alcandora**, **almajaneque**, **falleba**, etc.); of the devaluation of some terms, often linked to lack of semantic transparency or to fashions (e.g., **albéitar** vs. **veterinario** “veterinary”, **alfageme** vs. **barbero** “barber”, **alfayate** vs. **sastre** “tailor”); or of an absorption process by which all languages tend to eliminate or disguise heterogeneous items, on account of either a lack of semantic transparency or residual phonemic anomaly. Nevertheless, there is an important core of Ar. loanwords firmly established in all Ibero-Rom. languages, which is and will remain a permanent feature in contrast with the other Romances, not even excluding the dialects of Southern Italy, where this implant is not so strong and deep.

That core is not only made up of an important share of vocabulary which is basic or, at least, commonly used and not threatened with replacement (e.g., Cs., **aceite**, **acequia**, **ademán**, **adoquín**, **alborozo**, **alcachofa**, **alcahuete**, **alcoba**, **alcohol**, **algodón**, **aldea**, **alhaja**, **alfombra**, **alfiler**, **almacén**, **almanaque**, **almirante**, **almohada**, **alquiler**, **alubia**, **anaquel**, **arrabal**, **arrebatar**, **arrecife**, **arroz**, **arsenal**, **asesino**, **atracar**, **azar**, **auge**, **avería**, **azote**, **babucha**, **balde**, **café**, **candil**, **cénit**, **cifra**, **diván**, **droga**, **fulano**, **gacela**, **gandul**, **guitarra**, **halagar**, **haragán**, **jazmín**, **joroba**, **laúd**, **loco**, **marfil**, **marrano**, **máscara**, **mengano**, **mezquino**,

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fortune-teller, And. *saḥḥára*, And.Rom. *DEBÍNA*, is a character well documented in the *xarajāt* A7 and H2 and in IQ 84/9–12, including a description of her performance.

<sup>123</sup> See Corriente 1999d:423.

<sup>124</sup> See Corriente 2005a:227.

<sup>125</sup> See Corriente 1999d:272.

mezquita, mohíno, momia, nácar, naípe, noria, ojalá, pato, rehén, retama, riesgo, sandía, sofá, sultán, tabaco, tabique, taza, talco, etc., Ct. afalagar, agafar, aixovar, albelló, albergínia, alcalde, alcavot, alcohol, alfàbrega, alfals, alforja, àlgebra, alifac, almanac, almàssera, almirall, (al)quitrà, anil, arròs, assassí, assot, atuell, atzar, avaria, barraca, barri, cafè, caliu, carxofa, cascall, cotó, dau, droga, escacs, espinacs, fadrina, gaid/ró, garrofa, genet, gerra, ges-samí, heus, llimona, magatzem, matafaluga, matalàs, mesquí, nàcsia, nafrar, nissaga, quirat, racó, rajola, ratafia, raval, reenes, risc, safrà, sèquia, simi-tarra, sínia, sucre, tabaola, talaia, tara, taronja, tassa, tramús, xacra, xarop, xifra, zenit, etc., and Pt. acelga, acepipe, acéquia, achaque, açoteia, açougue, açúcar, adelo, afagar, alambique, albornoz, albufeira, alcachofra, alcaiote, alcalde, alcateia, alcatifa, alcatrão, alcool, alcunha, aldeia, alface, alfageme, alfaiate, alfândega, alfinete, álgebra, algodão, alicerce, almanaque, almirante, almofada, alvanel, anil, armazém, arroz, assassino, atalaia, ataúde, atracar, azambuja, azar, azeite, azeitona, azinhaga, azul, babucha, balde, beringela, café, cenoura, cifra, droga, enxoval, espinafre, faca, farra, fatia, foão, garfo, garrafa, ginete, giz, guitarra, jasmim, laranja, leilão, lima, louco, marfim, melancia, mesquita, monção, quilate, Recife, retama, risco, safar, salamaleque, surrão, tabefe, taça, tareco, tarefa, xadrez, zénite, zero, etc.) but also includes, as we have seen, socially very characteristic areas, e.g., expressive phrases, part of thieves' cant and slang, taboo words, children's language and names of games, etc., which implies a very deep level of interference with Ar., and one not admitting comparison with any other dialectal bundle in the West.





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LIST OF ARABIC AND ALLIED LOANWORDS IN SPANISH,  
PORTUGUESE, CATALAN, GALICIAN AND KINDRED DIALECTS



## A

**aaçat elgebar:** is an unassimilated astronomical term, < And. *šašāt aljabbar* = Cl.Ar. *šaša ljabbar* "the giant's spear", a name given to Orion's Belt,<sup>1</sup> after Kunitzsch 1959:70–71 and fn. 1.

**aanca** "griffin":<sup>2</sup> is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 9, < Ar. *šanqāʾ*.

**aaquic** "agate":<sup>3</sup> < And. *šaḡīq* = Cl.Ar. *šaḡīq*.

**aalguariscen:** see *oarsem*.

**aarónico** and **aaronita** (Cs. and Pt.) "Aaronic"; **aarónida** (Pt.) "Aaronite": are Gr. and Lt. suffixal der. from the Bib.Lt. pr.n. *Aārōn* < Hb. *ahārōn*.

**aayn:** is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 9, < Ar. *šayn* "name of an Ar. letter"

**ab** "eleventh month... of the Hb. calendar": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 3, < Hb. *āb* (between July and August).

**aba**<sup>1</sup> (Gl.-Pt.) and **abá**<sup>1</sup> = **aba(dá)** (Pt., dated from the 18th c.) "Bedouin cloak": from Ar. *šabāl*, an Eastern borrowing, not necessarily direct, as it could have been taken from Neo-P., in which this Ar. loanword is common.

**aba**<sup>2</sup> or **abá**<sup>2</sup> "priest in the Eastern churches" (Pt., already witnessed in the 16th c.): borrowed either in the Near East or in Malabar, in Southwestern India, where there is a native Christian community resulting from the early activities of Syr. speaking missionaries). It reflects Syr. *abbā* "padre" Cf. **abad**.

**aba**<sup>3</sup> (Cs.) "an old length measure in the Arag. kingdom" and "an old land measure" (Ast.): < And. *hábba* = Cl.Ar. *habbah* "grain; small part", designation also of a small weight unit and of a coin of little worth in different times and countries. The specialized meaning in Rom. is not documented in And., but it is met again in Old Cs. **alfaba** "a land measure"

A contamination with Rom. *h/fab/va* "bean" cannot indeed be altogether excluded, as a frequent case of metonymy in the names of some vegetables, given the connotation of something insignificant, thus reversing the widespread attribution of this semantic juncture to a contamination with the Ar. item; at any rate, the shape **aba** is strange in those areas and periods, unless we are dealing with a case of imitation of Cs. usage, recent enough to reflect the almost general loss of >h< in its pronunciation. Finally, this seeming anachronism could be explained as a case of dissimilation in a sequence of labio-dental and labial consonants (i.e., /f/ and /b/, cf. **ababol** and **amapola**). As for the Ar. etymon *\*hāṣ* "step; fathom" suggested by Eguílaz, it is, of course, impossible.

**¡aba!** "Watch out!" (Cs.): this interjection, unconvincingly derived by DRAE, up to its latest edition, from Lt. *ápáge*, together with the matching defective verb *abarse* "to move away", with the var. *ábate* and other inflections in DCECH, prob. reflect And. *abšād* = Cl. Ar. *ibšad* "move away" The loss of the original final consonant and stress shift in the entry form are due to intra-Rom. backformation of the sg. by metanalysis of **abad** as a pl. imperative.

**abā** (Pt., only in Morais) "beneficent spirit among Persians; 8th month and 10th day of any month of the Persian calendar": this unassimilated word, reflects Neo-P. *ābān*, pl. of *āb* "water", after Vullers 1885:4, q.v. As for the strange meaning "month of October among the Syro-Macedonians (*sic*)", it is reminiscent of Syr. *āb* which, however, could not have generated that Pt. spelling; besides, the correct equivalence in the old Mesopotamian calendar

<sup>1</sup> This term was translated into Cs. as **Astillejos**, still correctly identified by Nebrija as "Orion", while DRAE in its successive editions has been reflecting it peculiarly as "Castor and Pollux" Later it would be distorted into **Astillejos**, as stated by Coromines, who provides its correct Lt.

etymon *hastile*, a match of Ar. *šaṣā* "pikestaff"; see also **algeuze**.

<sup>2</sup> The mythical animal but also, after DAX 2, the name of an additional piece in the "Indian" or "big" chess, about which see DS II:182.

<sup>3</sup> DAX 3 has a worse var. **aaquioz**.

is August, as can be seen in the entry **abaf**.

\*\*\***abab** (Cs.) and \*\*\***ababe** (Pt.) “free seaman in the Tr. galleys”: are just ghost words, in spite of Machado’s hesitant suggestion for the Pt., through Fr. and Tr., which really appears not to exist, of an Ar. etymon \**abab*, another ghost word, perhaps a mistake for \*\**abāb*, which only means “wave, mass of water” The first appearance of the Cs. word occurs in Terreros 1783–93, whence probably it was uncritically and silently picked up by some member of the Spanish Academy and gained acceptance even in prestigious works like those of Casares and Moliner, while missing in DA and in Coromines & Pascual (1980–91).<sup>4</sup> In a parallel way, it has entered the best Pt. dictionaries, like that of Morais 1992<sup>5</sup> (with the entry **ababe** “marinheiro o tripulação das galeras turcas, formada por homens livres”) and the etymological one by Machado 1990,<sup>6</sup> which mentions a Brazilian source for this word, with most reasonable doubts about its belonging to Pt., and suggests an unlikely gallicism, refraining from any etymological proposal.

Neither could we guess the truth until, in the course of reading the chronicle written by the Sephardic author Moisés Almosnino and his description of the structure of the Ottoman army, in relation with certain incidents in 1566,<sup>7</sup> we came across the mention of the *azap*, it becoming evident that the sequence >*zt*< of an alternative spelling of this word had been distorted as >*b*< at some point in its journey from Tr. to Cs. and Pt., prob. in Italy, whose

relations with the Ottoman Empire in the Modern and Contemporary Ages were particularly active and, for the most part, peaceful.

That word is not only recorded by the most renowned Tr. dictionaries,<sup>8</sup> spelled in a way clearly giving away its Ar. etymon *šazab* “bachelor” (and “milice bourgeoise” in DS, q.v.): it also has some witnesses in the Iberian Peninsula itself, being reflected not only by Maj. **atzepe** “annoying man”, q.v.,<sup>9</sup> but even in the passage of Cansino, quoted by Eguílaz (s.v. **acefa**, where he mentions the **azafes** of Constantinople as “marine infantry on board of the royal navy”), not to mention no less an author than Lope de la Vega, who used the word **azapo**, with its Tr. military connotation, in *La Jerusalén conquistada*.<sup>10</sup> Apparently following our advice, **abab** has disappeared from the latest edition of DRAE.

**ababelar**: see **Babel**.

**ababol** (Cs. and Ct.), (**a**)**babol** or **farabol** (Arag.), **babòl** (dial. Ct.), **babahol** (Man.) and **jan/rapol** (Anl., with a considerable and peculiar phonetic evolution): “poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*)”: < And. *ħappapáwr*, or its matching n.un. *ħappapáwra*, also reflected by **amapola** (Cs.), a blending of Ar. *ħabb* “grains”, frequent first constituent of many plant names, and Lt. *pāpāver*. The second sense in DRAE, “absent-minded; silly”, without dial. attribution, but coinciding with Nav. **ababol** = **apapol** “stupid”, does not appear to be semantically derivable from the first; therefore, it is possibly a mere case of phonetic contamination thereof, perhaps from And. *hahlál* = Cl.Ar.

<sup>4</sup> A most valuable contribution to the study of Ar. loanwords in Rom., generally superior to those of previous authors, as we demonstrated in Corriente 1999a.

<sup>5</sup> Prob. a mere var. of his **abá** “name of a corps in the old Tr. army” This work is useful on account of its wealth of content, although its comprehensive purpose makes it include many exotic words never really assimilated by Pt., as well as some inaccurate data and a few conspicuous blunders.

<sup>6</sup> The quality of whose contributions to the study of Ar. loanwords is intermediate, higher than in most editions of DRAE, but lower than in Coromines’ works.

<sup>7</sup> In Pascual Recuero 1987:463.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., Redhouse 1890, *azap* or *azeb* (after the author’s transcription of the Ar. script) “name of a corps of Ottoman marines in Janissary times” and Sāmī 1890, *subkta bahriye tüfekçisi*, (i.e., “in the old days, marine musketeer”, transcribed by us into mod. Tr. spelling), and, in this same script, *azap* in Alderson & Iz 1984 “marine”, and in *Türkçe Sözlük* which explains it as “units serving in the fleet of the Anatolian districts”, distinguishing between those assigned to shipyards and to the ships.

<sup>9</sup> This entry in Corriente 1997c:26 must therefore be corrected accordingly.

<sup>10</sup> After Oliver 1996:51.



*buhlul* “jester; religious nuts”,<sup>11</sup> sometimes acquiring that meaning because of the characteristic and simultaneous opposition to ludic or mystic attitudes on the part of monotheistic bigots of any persuasion. Another possibility would be to posit a Rom. \**a(l)mabol*, < And. \**mabhul*, parallel to well documented Naf. *mabhul*,<sup>12</sup> seemingly a peculiar evolution of the suggested And. *bahlul*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *amapolarse*; Ct.: *ababolera*. Cf. *mabull*.

*abaçagar*: see *abassegar*.

*abacero* (Cs.) “grocer”: < And. \**ṣahb azzād*, lit., “the one with victuals”,<sup>13</sup> through wrong parsing of a pl. definite syntagm (< \**los z+abacedos*), resulting in loss of the first consonant, and subsequent contamination by the Rom. suffix of nouns of profession, {-ÉRO}. This hypothesis is upheld by Ast. *zabarced/ra/o* “retailer of fruits or other kinds of food”, exhibiting the second phenomenon only optionally, a word documented by DCELC, with var. of which DRAE has, somewhat whimsically, admitted only *zabarcera*; there are also other Ast. var., *sabarcera* and *zavarciu*, as well the aug. *zabarzón*, in García Arias 2006:224–225. To our new proposal, Prof. Montaner 2005:317 objected the older dates of *f/havacera*; however, this initial consonant may well be the outcome of quite expectable haplology in a lengthy \**çafabazedo/a*.<sup>14</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *abacería*.

*abac/gi* (Pt.) “a certain Persian coin”: < Ar. *ṣabbāsi*, attributive adjective of Ṣabbās I “the Great”, of the Safavid dynasty, who first minted that silver coin, imitated by his successors. The second var. seems corrupt, and there is a third one, *abassi*, unjustly declared by Machado as mistaken, while Eguílaz considers the spelling *abasi* as Cs., Pt. and Maj., and *abassi* only as Maj.

*abácia* and *abacial*: see *abad*.

*abácida* (Pt.), *abasi* (Cs.) and *abbāsida* (Ct.) “Abbasid”: are mod. historiographical terms, with Gr. and Lt. suffixation in Pt. and Ct., and with the characteristic Orientalizing Ar. gentilic suffix in Cs., all of them from the eponymous Cl.Ar. pr.n. *ṣabbās*.

*abacómita/e*: see *abad*.

*abad* (Cs.), *abade* (Gl.) and *abat* (Ct.): < Lt. *abbas*, < Gr. *abbā*, < Syr. *abbā* “father” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *abacial*, *abadejo*, *abadengo*, *abadesa*, *abadía*, *abadiad/to* and *abatismo*; Pt.: *abácia*, *abacial*, *abacómita/e*, *abadado*, *abadágio*, *abadão*<sup>1</sup> (aug.), *abad(i)ar*, *abadecida*, *abadecídio*, *(a)abadejo*, *abadengo*, *abadesco*, *abadesa*, *abadesado*, *abadesar*, *abadia* and *abadiado*; Gl. *abacial*, *abade(i)xo*, *abadengo*, *abadesa* and *abadía*; Ct.: *abacial*, *abadal*, *abadenc*, *abadesa*, *abadeu*, *abadia*, *abadial*, *abadiat* and *abadejo*. Cf. *aba*<sup>2</sup>.

*abadá* (Pt.): seems to be a var. of *abá*<sup>1</sup>, q.v.

<sup>11</sup> See Marzolph 1983 about the historical and legendary character, whose name generated both senses by antonomasia.

<sup>12</sup> See more data in DS II:753. The eventual total loss of any reflex of the *h* in the Ar. article has been surveyed in 1.1.5.1.3.

<sup>13</sup> This idiom is not witnessed as such, but its constituents are common (cf. Cs. *zalmedina*, *zabacequia*, etc., and *cicarazate*, q.v.). Coromines made clear that this word never meant “baker”, as fancied by Oliver, in an attempt at strengthening his case, suggesting a hybrid \*\*\**xabbhūz+ÁYR*; nor does it bear any relation whatsoever to Cs. *abaz* “sideboard”, a modern learned term of Lt. origin. Nevertheless, he was wrong himself upon deriving *abacero* from *haba* “bean”, giving too much weight to the Ast. var. *fabacero* and too little too *sabarcera*. In full agreement with Coromines, there is no need

to even comment on Eguílaz’s proposal, Ar. \*\*\**ubhūr* “species”, phonetically and semantically unsuitable. Our etymon has been endorsed by the latest edition of DRAE.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the cases of *barbacana*, *cimitarra*, etc., in 1.3.2. Concerning the family name *Fabacero*, given in DO 241 as a Romanized reflex of Ar. *xabbhūz* “baker”, the absence of *imālah* in a hapax dated in 1217 would be surprising; therefore, it might rather be a reflex of *abacero*, q.v., witnessed as Ast., whether the onset consonant is due to contamination by *faba*, or it reflects an intermediate phase of the evolution of And. \**ṣahb azzād*. As for the family names *Bazzara*, *Bazari(a/o)*, *Bazarici*, *Baz(z)arius*, *Bazzariz* and *Bazarago* in DO 231, they may well reflect the Ar. substantive *bazzār* “seedsman”, but can hardly amount to any support for the unsatisfactory etymon \*\*\**xabbhūz* de *abacero*.

**abadado, abadágio and abadal:** see **abad**.

**abadanado and abadanar:** see **badana**.

**abadão<sup>2</sup>** (Pt.) "prince of demons; exterminating angel; place of destruction; hell": through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *ābādōn* "ruin; hell" Cf. **abad**.

**abadar, abade, abadecida and abadecido:** see **abad**.

**aba/edim** (Pt.) "village of ascetics": this word, obsolete after Machado, bears no relation to **abade**, but reflects Ar. *ṣābidīn* or *ṣabbādīn* "ascetics",<sup>15</sup> perhaps borrowed during the North African campaigns or in the settlements of the Indian Ocean, already in the Modern Age.

**abadejo, abade(i)xo, abadenc, abadengo, abadesco, abades(s)a, abadessado, abades-sar and abadeu:** see **abad**.

**abadí** (Cs.) and **abádida** (Pt., after Machado) "Abbadid": is a mod. historiographical term, < Ar. *ṣabbādī*, gentilic of the pr.n. *ṣabbād*, eponymous ancestor of the founder of the famous petty kingdom of Seville, with Graeco-Lt. suffixation in Pt., and its Orientalizing counterpart in Cs. (cf. **abácida**). Morais considers that **abádida** and **abadita**, q.v., are synonymous and equally correct, which cannot be the case of the further var. **\*abditā**, mentioned in his second entry, out of its alphabetic place.

**abadi/ia, abadiat and abadiad/to:** see **abad**.

**abadir** (Pt.) "stone used as an idol; stone given to Saturn to eat instead of his son Jupiter; Carthaginian deity of first rank": this mod. learned term, synonymous with **bétilo**, q.v., prob. reflects, through Lt. *ābaddir*, Phoenician or Punic >?bn ʔdr< (pronounced *\*aban addir*) "powerful stone", with some degree of corruption, perhaps introduced by a person with only a smattering of Hb., who interpreted it as *\*\*ab addir* "powerful father" in this language.

**abadita** (Pt.): is an incorrect, though spread form, as the founder of the *ibādī* sect was, in fact, called *ʿAbdallāh b. Ibād Almurri*, not *Abād*, as transcribed mistakenly by Machado. Cf. **abadi**.

**abafir** "overabundantly" (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *halfāyd*, lit., "with overflow"

**abagi:** see **abaci**.

**abai** (Pt.) "month of August in the Tr. lunar calendar": is obviously Tr. *ab ay* "August moon", where the first constituent is Ar. *āb*, name of this month, < Syr. *āb* < Akkad. *abu(m)*.

**abaldar<sup>1</sup>:** see **balde**.

**abaldar<sup>2</sup> or avildar** (Pt.): < Hindi *hava/āldār* < Neo-P. *havāldār*, which in India designated the crop and tax inspectors and the native officers of low rank.

**abalgar** (Cs. and Ct., after Eguílaz) "a kind of purgative": is a mere technical term of the old pharmacopoeia, < And. *hābb algār* = Cl.Ar. *ḥabbu lǧār* "laurel bays"

**abalia:** see **avaría**.

**abalorio** (Cs.), **abalório** (Pt.), **abelorio** (Gl.) and **abolorio** (Nav.) "beadwork": as the documented And. forms are only *billáwr* and *bullár* "crystal", it must be concluded that the Gl. form is the most conservative one, from And. *billáwri* = Cl.Ar. *billawrī*, attributive adjective of *billawr* < Neo-P. *bēlur* < Sk. *vaidūrya*, of Tamil stock, whilst Cs. and Pt. exhibit vowel assimilation in the second syllable, but the /l/ of the Ar. article has been dissimilated everywhere. The Nav. form seems to be a mere phonetic var., with assimilation to the third vowel, unless it is contaminated by the standard **abolorio** "legacy of the elders", as if those outmoded objects have been attributed by folk etymology to them. On the other hand, it is not true that Ar. derives from Gr. *béryllos*, as stated by Machado, Golius and DS; Coromines was wiser upon suggesting the aforementioned Sk. etymon of non-Aryan stock, for both Ar. and Gr. Cf. **ollar**.

**abana/e** (Pt.) "Moorish cape": the alleged Br. etymon given by Machado, *\*\*\*a?aban*, appears to be the Kab. word transcribed by Dallet 1982:970 as *aṣabban* "embellished cloth", prob. < Ar. *ṣabāʾ*. Cf. **abá<sup>1</sup>**.

**abancalar:** see **bancal**.

**abanete** (Pt.) "girdle of the Hebrew higher priest": through Bib.Lt. *abaneth* and Bib.Gr.

<sup>15</sup> It is noteworthy that the second word, with substitution of the Neo-P. mark of pl. for the Ar.

one, i.e., *ṣabbādān*, gave name to the famous town in the Persian Gulf.

*abanēth*, < Hb. *abnet*, prob., of Eg. origin. Machado lists a further var. **abanés**, apparently reflecting the Ashkenazi pronunciation.

**abanto** (Cs. and Pt.) “a kind of African vulture (*Neophron pernopterus*)”: in view of the difficulties acknowledged by Coromines himself when trying to find an etymon for the name of this bird, and considering that its alternative name, **alimoche** (q.v.), may be also borrowed from Ar., it sounds reasonable to look in this direction. And. *abántuh* = Cl.Ar. *ibnatuh*, “his daughter”, might be the second constituent of a jocular phrase, in connection with the bewildered expression of this species since, in the minds of medieval folks, daughters, above all virgins, were supposed to be only imperfectly rational and unable to cope with the everyday problems of life, which was solved by having them married as soon as possible, in order to protect them from their own incapacity.<sup>16</sup>

**abañales** “junk; refuse” and **abañar** “to sift”: Mur., after Gómez Ortín 1991:18, are backformed on **rebaño**, q.v.

**abarbetar** “to hold strongly; to grab and keep with care” (Anl.): might be a denominal hybrid verb, based upon the standard **marbete** (see **almarbate**), with a frequent shift of bilabials, furthered in this case by assimilation.

**abarcocado**: see **abercoc**.

**abarcón** “drinking trough; washing place” (Ast.): looks like an aug. of the standard **alberca**, q.v., although stemming from the allomorph And. *bárka*, instead of *bírka* = Cl.Ar. *birkah*.

**abarcoque**: see **abercoc**.

**abarcora**: see **albacora**.

**abarquid**: see **albarquid**.

**abarrada**: see **albarrada**<sup>2</sup>.

**abarráz** (Cs. and Pt., both with the var. **albarraz**, and in the latter case, also **falparraz** and **papar(r)az**), **fabarràs** (Ct.), **caparrós** (Maj.) and **abarroz** (Arag.)<sup>17</sup> “lousewort (*Delphinium staphisagria*)”: < And. *habb*

*arrás*, lit., “head seed”, on account of its use against lice.

**abarriscar** and **abarrisco**: see **risc**.

**abarroz**: see **abarráz**.

**abarrucarse** “to hoard”: (Mur., from Gómez Ortíz 1991:18) prob. < And. *barrúfqa* = Cl.Ar. *birrufqah* “in company”

**abarse**: see **¡aba!**

**abases**: see **oasis**.

**abasí**: see **abaci** and **abácida**.

**abassegar** (Ct., with the old var. **abçagar** and **abcegar**): considering its old meaning “to subdue”, and the obvious difficulties of a derivation from Lt. *\*obcaecāre*, it would be legitimate to connect this word with Cs. **abaçagar** with this same latter meaning, recorded by Diego de Guadix,<sup>18</sup> which we derive from And. *bassáqa* “in the rear”, through a hybrid Rom.-And. verb *\*A(D)+bassáq+ÁR* “to leave behind, i.e., in unfavourable position” The more mod. meaning “to hoard” is perfectly understandable as a semantic evolution, since hoarders put others in such a situation. This hypothesis is confirmed by the many derivations of **zaga** in Arag., q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **abassegador** or **abcegador** and **abassegament** or **abcegament**.

**abassi(no)**: see **abexi** and **abaci**.

**abat**: see **abad(e)**.

**abatanar** (Cs. and Gl.) and **abataná** (Arag.) “to full (cloth)”: is a denominal verb obtaining from **batán** “fulling mill”, q.v. Pt. **abatanado** “amount of coffee equivalent to the contents of a usual cup, but served in a larger vessel” seems to be a metaphorical use of that same verb. As for Anz. **abatanar**, in the meaning “to accustom” it seems just another der. from **batán**, but in that of “to beget” it is easier to explain as a result of an And.-Rom. hybrid verb *\*A(D)+baṭn+ÁR* “to put in the womb”, from Ar. *baṭn* always used as both “belly” and “litter” The same semantic pattern appears to be reflected by the Tol. curse **el Dios que te abatanó**, roughly, “by God, who made you”

<sup>16</sup> In Tol. this voice has the meanings of “vulture” and “clumsy, silly”, the latter already reflected in Baena’s *Cancionero* N° 289bis and in DRAE.

<sup>17</sup> With a vocalization prob. resulting from contamination by **arroz**, at least in the case of Arag., where there is a homophone meaning “a

dish of beans and rice”, although a derivation of a second constituent from the And. pl. *arrús* cannot either be altogether excluded.

<sup>18</sup> With one of his characteristically absurd etyma, based in this case on Ar. *{sgr}* “to be small”; see Bajo & Mañillo 2005:163.

**abatismo**: see **abad**.

**abaxi**: see **abexi**.

**abbāsida**: see **abácida**.

**abçagar**: see **abassegar**.

**abcari** (Pt.) “manufacture of alcoholic beverages”: < Hindi *ābkāri*, of Neo-P. stock, which must not be labelled as Hindustani-Persian, as often done by Machado and Asín in other combinations, like Arabo-Persian, etc. Such was the name given to the tax on distilleries, an attributive suffixation of Neo-P. *ābkār* “wine merchant”, reflected as **abcar** in Morais.

**abc/çatritaz**: this unassimilated item from DAX 6 undoubtedly reflects Gr. *alabasritēs* “alabaster”, which underwent metanalysis and elimination of a fancied article, in an Ar. phase.

**abcega(do)r** and **abcegment**: see **abassegar**.

**abdabamia**: see **abdarramía**.

**abdāl** (Pt., var. **abedale**) “men inspired by God (a Sufi technical term)”: < Ar. *abdāl*, pl. of *badāl* “substitute” It is documented only very recently (1858), prob. transmitted through Fr., with a der. **abdali(ta/e)** “dervish” The var. **abda(la)** and **abdálá** are incorrect, partially contaminated by the common Ar. pr.n. *ʿAbdallāh*.

**abdálá** (Pt., only in Morais, prob. unassimilated) “habdala, Jewish ceremony marking the close of the Sabbath or a holiday”: < Rab. Aram. *ʿabdālāh* or Hb. *habdālāh* “separation”

**abda/erramía** (Cs., with the var. **abdar-mia**, **abdabamia**, prob. corrupted, **aberramía** and (ave) **ramía** or **averramía**) “a kind of small egret”: is a word retrieved by Mañilo 1998 from treatises on falconry of the centuries 14th to 16th, and from a passage in Lope de Vega’s *La hermosura de Angélica*. Its etymon, however, is not obvious: Mañilo suggests a hybrid of Cs. **ave** “bird” and Ar. *\*ramiyyah* “(animal) shot by a hunter”, through semantic

specialization, a case similar, we would say in his support, to that of And. *\*šáyda* “rabbit”, lit., “hunted animal” (which could also be suggested as etymon of **zaida** “a certain wading bird”, q.v.), as well as to that of Cs. **venado** “deer”, lit., “hunted” But the oldest witnesses—like those of Don Juan Manuel’s *Libro de la Caza* and *Libro del caballero y el escudero*, incidentally, an author who was conversant with Ar. to some extent—exhibit the first shape precisely, which raises the suspicion that **ave** be here just a late distortion due to folk etymology. Historical data may be helpful in solving this riddle, for instance, the comment made by Prof. Bencherifa 1971:76 to the proverb N° 326 of Azzajjālī’s collection, in which the days of Abulgarāniq “the one of the cranes”, were mentioned as particularly happy. Our friend and most knowledgeable colleague provides cogent arguments to conclude that this expression was a nickname given to either ʿAbdarrahmān I or ʿAbdarrahmān II, because of their extreme liking for hunting such birds, to which we may add that the days of the latter are likelier to have been meant by that saying, being more in agreement with the known historical facts. We would, then, be inclined to believe that Andalusī people, famous by their wit and humour, coined an attributive *\*ʿabdarrahmī*, as jesting designation of those birds, through the procedure called *naḥt*, i.e., elimination of less important segments in the combined semantemes, in order to prevent an excessively lengthy compounded word.<sup>19</sup>

**abdeste/o** (Pt.) “(water for) ritual ablution”: < Neo-P. *āb dast*, it being noteworthy that there is a printing mistake in the rendering of the second constituent, namely, **nāo** for correct **māo**, in this entry of Machado’s work. Eguílaz gives as Maj. an **abdest** which is however missing in both Coromines and Alcover & Moll.

**abduato** (Pt., only in Morais) “related to a dynasty of Tlemcen (Algeria) founded by

<sup>19</sup> See Wright 1859:162 and Fleisch 1961:444, and the new data about ʿAbdarrahmān II’s liking for this kind of hunting in Makki & Corriente 2001:221. Hunting is not reprehensible in itself in Islamic morals, but might naturally become so when an exaggerated liking for it leads to exces-

sive expenditure or neglect of other duties, most particularly in the case of holders of public office. On the other hand, the success of the new name for those birds might have been helped by the fact that *garāniq* became also the usual name of a popular roast lungs dish.

ʿAbdulwād”: is a mod. historiographical term.  
**abeací** “a variety of long-grained grapes with a tender peel” (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loanword, although its etymon is not recognizable within the classifications offered by Andalusí botanists.

**abedale**: see **abdāl**.

**abediguar** “to succour, to help” (Jud.-Sp.): seems to reflect a Rom.-And. hybrid \*A(D)+bi+diwá+ÁR “to treat”, derived from Ar. *dawā* “medicine, remedy”

**abedim**: see **abadim**.

**abegão** (Pt.) “hornet”: cannot obviously derive from Cs. **abejón**, as suggested by Machado, but from Celtic, cf. Gallic \**bekos* “bee”, as explained by Coromines and proved by Arag. **apacón** and Rom. reflected by And. in Alcalá’s *pocquón* (= *puqquón*) “drone” It appears that this word was analyzed as made up by the Rom. stem of **pícar** “to sting”, which had been Arabicized, generating a *mašdar* \*\**páqq*, plus the Rom. aug. suffix, with optional vocalic harmonization.

**abehenic**: see **adehenich**.

**abelfa**: see **adelfa**.

**abeliano** (Pt.) “related to Abel; innocent; member of a certain sect” (also **abelita** in the last meaning): are intra-Rom. der. of the pr.n. Abel, < Hb. *hevel*, through its pausal form *hāvel* and Bib.Lt.

**abellota**: see **bellota**.

**abelme/oluco** (Pt.) “castor oil plant”: is a late borrowing, first documented by Machado in 1871, from Eg.Ar. *ḥabb ilmulūk*, lit., “the kings’ grain” This identification, contrasting with that of DS in the East as “spurge (*Euphorbia lathyrus*)”,<sup>20</sup> on the authority of the prestigious Ibn Albayṭar, and also as a certain unidentified purging seed, is clarified, however, by Meyerhof 1940:51, an outstanding connoisseur of Eastern bazaar medicine, who gives that expression as name for spurge grains in North Africa and, by confusion between both plants of similar effects, of castor oil among Cairo druggists.

**abelmosco** (Cs., Pt. and Gl.) “musk mal-low (*Hibiscus abelmoschus*)”: < And. *ḥabb*

*almusk* < Neo-Ar. *ḥabb almusk* “musk seeds”

**abelorio**: see **abalorio**.

**Abencerraje** (Cs.), **Abenserraig** (Ct.) and **Abencerrage(m)** (Pt.): < And. *aban assar-ráj* “the son of the harness maker”, name of profession of the eponymous ancestor of this distinguished Granadan family of Arab stock.

**abenuz** (Cs. and Pt.) and **banús** (Ct.) “ebony”: < And. *abanús/z* = Cl.Ar. *abanūs* < Gr. *ébenos*.

**abercoc/t**, **abéricoque** and **albercoque** (Arag.), **albercoc** (Ct.), **albaricoque** (Cs. and Gl.), **albricoque** (Pt., with the var. **alvaricoque**, **albarcoque**, **albacorque** and **albo-corque**), **abercorque** (Anz. and Mur.), **aba/ercoque** (Anl.) and **albercoque** or **albercucuo** (Man.) “apricot”: < And. *albarqūq* = Cl.Ar. *burqūq* < Gr. *praikókion* < Lt. *praecōquum*, which acquired that sense in the West, instead of that of “prune”, which it has in the East. Ar. does not, in principle, tolerate a vowel sequence like that of \*\*\**birqūq*, it making sense then to conclude that the vocalism of all these words has been contaminated by the off-spring of Lt. (*mālum*) *persicum*, such as Arag. **alberj/ge** and Ct. **alberge** which, in turn, have acquired a reflex of the Ar. article by contamination with the former. In some cases, there has been syllable reshaping, e.g., **albricoque**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albercoquero** and **albaricoquero**; Ct.: **albercoquer**; Pt.: **abricó**, **abricote**, **abri(no)coque**, **abricot/zeiro**, **abricotina** and **albricoqueiro**; Gl.: **albaricoqueiro**; Anl.: **abarcocado** “golden hue of reaped wheat; fresh piece of pottery turned in the lathe, aired and beginning to dry off; old; clumsy” and **abercocado** “yellow” (Anl.).

**aberenjado**: see **albargina**.

**aberh/seme** “hallucination”: is an unasimilated medical technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985:65 and 106, < Ar. (*al*)*hirsām*, but cf. also *birseme* “pain in the sides”.<sup>21</sup>

**abéricoque**: see **abercoc**.

**aberingelar**: see **albargina**.

**aberramía**: see **abdarramía**.

<sup>20</sup> In the Islamic West, it was and still is the usual designation for cherries, although Ibn Albayṭar, according to Benmrad 1989:148, was aware of such an inaccuracy, while Maimonides

seems unaware of that vulgar meaning in his *Šarḥ*.

<sup>21</sup> These authors point to eventual confusions with *sirsēn*, q.v. There is also a var. *birsen* in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175.

**ab/vés** (Cs.) "hard, with difficulty": in the light of Pt. **tamalavés** and Cs. (mal)avés or **malavez** "scarcely", an And. etymon *lamma la bás* = Cl.Ar. *lamma lā baʿs* "there is nothing wrong with it; it is enough", eventually abridged as can be seen, might be in place. These words used to be derived from Lt. *\*vix*, regardless of frequent old spellings with >z<, attributable indeed to contamination by **vez** "time", as are those with >s< to contamination with some forms of the verb **haber** "to have", but the whole idiom sounds strange in Rom. and is more amenable to the suggested Ar. solution. These expressions might also be connected with Pt. **tomara** "would that", q.v.

**abessim**, **abessino** and **abessínio**: see **abexi(m)**.

**abexi(m)** (Pt., with the var. **abassi(no)**, **abaxi**, **abessim**, **abessino** and **abessínio**), **abisinio** (Cs. and Gl.), **abissini** (Ct.) and **abissíni(c)o** (Pt.): appear to be Lt. bookish transcriptions of Ar. *ḥabašī*, prob. through an And. pronunciation, which would explain the palatalization of the second vowel, except the late Pt. var. with >x<, datable from the 16th c., and stemming directly from the East. There is no reason to suppose an It. phase for them, as Machado does; on the other hand, it is questionable whether the forms ending in >im< reflect the Ar. pl. suffix {-in}, or a mere nasalization of some final stressed vowels, which is regular in Pt. This gentilic and the matching country name, **Abisinia** (Cs.) and **Abissínia** (Ct. and Pt.), in Ar. (*bilād*) *alḥabašah*, appear to reflect the name of one of two Sar. tribes which colonized Ethiopia, the >ḥbš<, while the other one, >gʿz<, gave its name to Gəʿz, the language of the state which they founded there. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **abissinismo**.

**abeyota**: see **bellota**.

**abgas**<sup>22</sup> "amnion": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < the Neo-Ar. spelling >ʾnfs<, already corrupted from Gr. *ámnios*.

**abgat** "a waterfowl": is an unassimilated

term from DAX 7, < Ar. *abḡaṭ*, a var. of *buḡāṭ*.<sup>23</sup>

**abhadidi**: see **alhadidi**.

**abibe** (Pt.) "first month of the old Hb. calendar, later known as Nisan": through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *ābīb* "spring". As for the meaning "small migratory wading bird", to which Morais gives several alternative names, among them an interesting **bibe**, it appears to be identifiable with the "lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*)". There is a great phonetic likeness with the final portion of Cs. **archibebe** "common redshank (*Tringa totanus*)", q.v., both being wading birds of very similar appearance, habitat and habits.

**abicheca** (Pt.) "ceremony of aspersion with water from Ganges river": through Fr., < Sk. *abhi-sekā*.

**abidarma** (Pt.) "tenets of the Buddhist faith": through Fr., < Sk. *abhi-dharma* "higher law".

**abigi** (Pt.) "Hindu expiatory sacrifice": through Fr., < Sk. *abhi-jit* "Soma sacrifice".

**abilasão**: see **abulasão**.

**abismal** (Cs.) "clasp nail holding the spearhead in place": < And. *almismār* = Cl.Ar. *mismār* "nail", with dissimilation of the /ll/ of the Ar. article and of the bilabial sequence, and prob. metanalysis and subsequent substitution of a Rom. suffix.

**abisinio**, **abissini** and **Abissínia**: see **abexi(m)**.

**abit**: see **albaialde**.

**abitaque** (Cs.) "quarter, large joist": since Eguílaz and Dozy's day up to our own, including of course Coromines, we have all looked for an etymon of this word in the Ar. root {tḥq}, either in *\*ṭabaq* "cover, shutter" or, as in our previous proposal, in And. *\*aṭṭibāq*, pl. of *\*ṭabāqa* "floor and ceiling between two stories", in any case requiring metathesis and a semantic evolution which make both hypotheses somewhat far-fetched for a technical term of carpentry, unlikely to be so semantically obscure. The clue may lie in the *ḥisbah* treatises,<sup>24</sup> in which builders are instructed to exclusively use materials meeting certain

<sup>22</sup> There is a var. **anefes** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168.

<sup>23</sup> A polysemous word, for which Lane 1863–1892:I 229 provides the meaning matching this context, "ash coloured long-necked bird of water".

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lévi-Provençal 1955a:34, which deserves translation as a witness to the technical sophistication of those instructions: "the builders' gangplanks must be no less than a span and a half wide... the market inspector will have gauges for

standards, in agreement with their functions; therefore, it may well be supposed that such joists, mostly used as rafters, were called in And. \**biṭāqī*, "standard issue", attributive of *biṭāqa* "licence, permit" < Cl.Ar. *biṭāqah* < Gr. *pitákion* "tag, label"

**abitllo and abítilo:** see **abutilão**.

**abnue** "jackal" (Old Cs.): this word occurring only in the medieval translation of *Calila e Dimna*, as documented by Eguílaz, is a mere clumsy transcription of the And. pronunciation \**abn awé* of Cl.Ar. *ibnu āwā* "jackal"

**abolaga:** see **argelaga**.

**aboldregas:** see **baldragas**.

**abolorio:** see **abalorio**.

**aboquel, aboquí and abuquí** "medium-sized, golden, white and delicious variety of white grape" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loan-word, although it is not recognizable as any of the varieties mentioned by And. botanists. It might reflect And. \**abu káyl* "of standard size", cf. **alqueire** and **quela**.

**aborga:** see **alborga**.

**abotil(h)ão:** see **abutilón**.

**abraâmio** (Pt.) "relating to Abraham": is a case of Intra-Rom. suffixation of this pr.n., transmitted through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *abrāhām*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **abraâmida** and, exclusively mentioned by Morais, **abraamita** or **abraamiano** and **abraamismo**.

**abrão:** see **abraemo**.

**abracadabra** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.): the origin of this magical formula, like others of the same kind,<sup>25</sup> might be found in the practice of magic by some Jews in the Middle Ages, as a slight alteration of the word *abrēx*, given as Eg. in the Hb. text of the Biblical story of Joseph (Gen., 41/43), which would have been the salute to him ordered to the masses on the day of his exaltation. In spite of disagreement among Semitic scholars and Egyptologists regarding its meaning,<sup>26</sup> it is not unlikely that its very abstruseness recommended it to sorcerers, who would have used it repeated and

separated by the Lt. copulative conjunction, \**abrec et abrec*. It is also noteworthy that the evolution of unstressed *lel* in this phrase might point to an origin in Ct.-speaking lands. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **abracadabrant** and **abracadabrântic**; Gl.: **abracadabrante**, Pt.: **abracadabrante**, **abracadabrático**, **abracadabrescto**, **abracadábriço**, **abracadabrista** and **abracadabrância** (only the first item in Machado).

**abraemo** (Pt.) "a coin used in Goa": < Ar. pr.n. *ibrāhīm*, which suggests local imitations of the minting ordered by the 18th Ottoman sultan of that name, a reformer of the monetary system. On the other hand, Morais, not always careful in his entries, reports **abraão** "an old measure of four **alqueires**", apparently from the same etymon, but containing some distortion.

**abraico and abrayc:** see **hebreo**.

**abrefil:** see **Altephil**.

**abrent:** see **alabrent**.

**abrey:** see **curci**.

**abricó, abricote, abricot/zeiro and abricotina:** see **abercoc**.

**abrizā** (Pt., only in Morais) "a Persian feast in September": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, < Neo-P. *ābrizān* "the 10th of the month Tir in the Iranian calendar", in which they celebrate the *ābrizgān*, or commemoration of the end of a terrible draught.

**abrochamiento** "blessing": is a rare word listed in GP 10, which Nykl identified with Neo-Ar. *mabrūk* "congratulations!", but see **alboroque**.

**absalónico** (Pt., only in Morais) "related to Absalom": is a case of Intra-Rom. suffixation of this pr.n., through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *abšālom*.

**abube** (Pt., only in Morais) "Hebrew musical instrument": is an exotic unassimilated word, < Rab. Aram. *abbub* "flute"

**abuchear:** see **ahuchear**.

**abujede** (Pt., only in Morais): is not exactly the name of the Ar. alphabet, as said

the thickness of bricks, tiles, rafters, joists and floor planks, or else, they will be kept hung up in the main mosque, ... sawyers will be ordered not to saw up beams but after these regulations, and to make even laths sturdy ...".

<sup>25</sup> Morais gives **abacalam** and **abracalā** as equivalent, it being impossible to explain this alteration, perhaps of a merely cabalistic nature.

<sup>26</sup> See Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907:7 about certain etymological proposals.

by that author, but of its use as a numerating system, < Ar. *ab(u)jad*, a mnemonic term integrated by the first four letters in the characteristic order of that system, an adaptation of the Hb. and Aram. alphabetic order, different from the Ar. one.

**abukalim** “a wading bird”: in GP 10 is an unassimilated term to which Nykl devoted a lengthy entry, without settling on stork, crane, ibis, water hen or hoopoe. The last is likeliest, considering the striking gift of speech attributed to the hoopoe which guided Solomon in Koran 27/20–28. This would have merited the Ar. *kunyah* or nickname of *abū kalām* “the one who speaks”, whence *abu kalīm* in And. dialects with intense *imālah* (cf. *perputa*).

**abulaga(r)**: see *argelaga*.

**abufilasão** (Pt.) “an old weight unit, equal to two oboles, used in pharmacy”: there are no grounds to establish any relation with the Ar. pr.n. *abulhasan*, borne by a famous Merinid sultan. In the lack of any presumption of contamination or folk etymology, and considering its technical use and equivalence, it might reflect a bookishly transmitted Cl.Ar. dual *\*abulusān*, from Gr. *óbolos*, through Syr. *a/obolos*, as part of the important flow of translations of works on alchemy and pharmacopeia from both languages into Ar., although this term is not reflected in the Ar. lexicographical sources within our reach, not even the most specifically scientific ones. If our suspicion were confirmed, the var. *abilasão* would be incorrect.

**abulló**: see *albelló*.

**abuna** “primate of the Ethiopian Church” (Pt. and Cs.): is not necessarily Am., but perhaps still *Goʿaz*.<sup>27</sup>

**abunhado** (Pt., in Indian usage), “serf or person living as such”: the Neo-P. etymon suggested by Machado, *bonyād* “foundation”, for obvious semantic reasons, cannot be accepted without some strictures. The meanings of that term and its der. (e.g., **abunhado** “serf in Pt. India; Indian servant boy”, **abunhar** “to live

as **abunhado**; to live penuriously”, etc.), and the supporting texts given by Machado, lead us to the conclusion that the basic semanteme was not the squalor of the living conditions of those people, but the fact that they enjoyed a certain acknowledged status, as settled in the Pt. colonies, which was the foundation of their meagre rights. Only this explains the semantic connection with that Neo-P. etymon, then transmitted to Hindi. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **abunhar** and **abunhação**.

**aburríle** “let us see how tough you are! (Man.)”:<sup>28</sup> < And. *awrī li* “show me”

(a)**butargo** “cured mullet roe” (Jud.-Sp.): is a var. *de botarga*, q.v.

**abutilón** (Cs.) and **abutil(h)ão** (Pt., with the var. **abítlio**, **abítlo** and **abotil(h)ão**, the last one only in Morais) “American jute (*Abutilon* *Avicennae* and similar *Malvaceae*, like the yellow mallow)”: as explained sharply and in detail by Bustamante 1988:18–20, the scientific Lt. name given in the 18th c. to this plant, reflects And. *abū taylūn*, lit., “that of the toad”, a folk etymology and poor reflex of the *ūbūṭlūn* excerpted by Freytag from *Avicenna's Alqānūn*, in turn a bad reading of *arḥwīyāwn* in Arrāzī, corrupted from Syr. *arqyʾwn*, < Gr. *árktion*, in truth, a species of the genus *Celsia*, mixed up in *Dioscorides'* text with *árkion* “burdock (*Arctium lappa*)”, and thus having acquired this meaning. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **abutilinas**.

**abuzos**: see *botor*.

**abxorea**: see *axarea*.

**abyetitz**: is an unassimilated word from DAX 19, there rendered as “limonite”, although its identification with *boytrenna* gives away a Neo-Ar. phase of Gr. *aetítēs*, more precisely “aetites, eaglestone”, all of them iron ores.

**aca** (Pt.) “tax-collector commission”, < Hindi *haq* < Neo-P. *haqq* “right; privilege” < Ar. *haqq* “right; reason” Cf. **acadar**.

**aça** (Pt., only in Morais) “a preacher's staff”: < Ar. *ṣaṣā(n)*. It seems to be a mod. exotic and unassimilated item.

<sup>27</sup> Of course, the synonymous \*\*\***abima** is just a mistake, as conjectured by Machado himself.

<sup>28</sup> An idiom used for challenging braggarts to demonstrate their abilities, among the inhabit-

ants of Fernán Caballero (Ciudad Real), and personally recorded in the family of Dr. Asunción Ferreras.



**açacal** (Pt.) and **azacán** (Cs. and Arag.) “water carrier”, with a var. **açacan** in GP 70: < And. *assaqqā* = Cl.Ar. *saqqā*. Nav. **azacán** “slovenly fellow” is a case of semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azacan(e)ar** and **azacaneo**; Arag.: **azacarnar-se**; prob. Pt. **açacanhār** “to trample on or abuse” with its participle and verbal noun **açacanhão**, for which Machado offers a thoroughly groundless etymon, based upon **acaçapar** “to subdue”

**açacalar** (Pt., with the var. **aceficalar**) and **acicalar** (Cs. and Gl.) or **cicalar** (Cs.) “to burnish or polish”: the widespread and generally accepted view of a derivation from all these words from the And. n.inst. *\*assiqāl*<sup>29</sup> = Cl.Ar. *ṣiqāl*, is phonetically blameless, as the most usual form in Pt. would simply exhibit regressive vowel assimilation, it being hard to believe that the var. with /i/ would derive from the n.inst. and those with /a/, from the name of profession, *\*ṣaqqāl* “burnisher”, mistakenly transmitted as *\*ṣaqqāl* by Machado. However, that view has been brought into question by the hapax retrieved by Pocklington 1984 in *Repartimiento de Murcia*, **aceical** “burnisher”, undoubtedly from And. *aṣṣayqāl* = Cl.Ar. *ṣayqāl*, since, if all these words must be derived from a single etymon, this form explains them all best, by contraction and reduction of the diphthong, and vowel harmonization in the case of Pt. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **acicalador**, **acicaladura** and **acicalamiento**; Pt.: **açacaladeira**, **açacalador**, **açacaladura**, **açacalamento** and **açag(o)ador**.<sup>30</sup>

**açacanhão** and **açacanhār**: see **açacal**.

**acacif(r)ar**: see **caffis**.

**açadacão**: see **acedação**.

**açadacha**: see **aldaca**.

**acadar** (Pt.) “tax collector entitled to a part of the revenue”: < Hindi *haqqdār* < Neo-P. *haqqadār*, based upon Ar. *haqq* “right, one’s due” Cf. **aca**.

**açadeca**: see **aldaca**.

**acadiano** and **acádico** (Pt.) and **acadio** (Cs.) “Akkadian”: these words are mod. historiographical and linguistic terms obtained

through Lt. suffixation and Fr., from the Ak. place name *akkād*.

**acadir**: see **acazdir**.

**acafalar**: see **acafelar**.

**açafanhar** (Pt.) “to ruin or spoil”: this dial. item from Minho appears to be a blending of **fanar** with **açacanhār**, q.v., and has a probable var. **açafunar** in García Arias 2006:190, “to botch”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açafanhamento**.

**açafate** (Pt.), **azafate** (Cs. and Gl.), **safata** (Arag.) and **(as)safata** (Ct.), **acefate** (Ast., from García Arias 169) “basket”: < And. *assafāt* = Cl.Ar. *safat*. Cs. **azafata** and Pt. **açafata** “lady of the queen’s wardrobe” are due to metonymy and exhibit Intra-Rom. fem. suffixation. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açafatamento**, **açafatar** and **açafateiro**.

**açafeia** (Pt.) and **azafea** (Cs., with the var. **açafeha**, **alzafe(h)a** and **alzefea** in GP 71) “complementary plate of an astrolabe”: is an astronomical term, < And. *aṣṣafiha* = Cl.Ar. *ṣafīḥah* “plate”

**acafelar** (Cs. and Pt.) and **acafalar** (Pt.) “to plaster (a wall)”: Eguílaz’s hypothesis, based upon Ar. *qafr* “asphalt, pitch” (distorted as *\*\*\*cafr* in earlier editions of DRAE, which has eliminated this term in its latest edition), supported by an enlightening Pt. quote, is in our present view correct. Therefore, we give up our former view in Corriente 1996c, based upon And. *\*\*\*qaffāl* “to lock”, requiring a stronger semantic evolution and a relatively uncommon derivation from the perfective. While it is true that asphalt is not used in this action, in mod. technique, it appears to be a semantic extension of the technical term used in the meaning “to cover with pitch”, a common practice in some crafts, pointing to a Rom.And. hybrid *\*A(D)+qafr+AR*. However, it is probable that the same word, in the meaning of “to secure a door” in Cs. and Pt. would indeed reflect the Ar. root *[qfl]*, in the manner suggested for **cafela**, q.v., which might explain the hesitant vocalism of the first meaning as a contamination. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **acafelador** and **acafeladura**. Cf. **(d)escaflar**.

<sup>29</sup> The develarization of this item is documented in IQ, after DAA, but the velarized allomorph may well have been in use, if the

n.inst. were at the origin of **acecalar**.

<sup>30</sup> With an old var. **açaagador** proving the existence of a metathetical var. **\*açalacar**.

**açafera:** see **adefera**.

**acafetar:** see **café**.

**açaflor:** see **alaçor**.

**açafoes:** see **zahón**.

**açafrado** “angry” (Pt., but “very busy” in Alentejo; cf. Ast. **azafráu** “startled”, in García Arias 2006:190): is indeed very close to Ext. **cefrao** (spelled **cefrado** in DRAE) “exhausted”, but the first vowel is puzzling, as Ext. has also **zofrar** “to exhaust” and **zefrar** “to pant”. The solution seems to be that shapes like Cs. **azofra** reflect a denominal verb **\*azofrar**, stemming from standard **azofra**<sup>1</sup>, q.v., while those with vocalism **a/e** descend from And. **şifrāwi** = Cl.Ar. **şafrawī** “bilious, choleric”, an attributive adjective of **şafra** “bile; yellow (fem.)”, with a semantic shift towards “annoyed by a useless effort”, “exhausted” or “very busy”, not excluding contamination by derivatives from **azofra**<sup>1</sup> in the last phase. Cf. **açafrar**.

**açafrão** (Pt.), **azafrán** (Gl. and Cs., with old var. in GP 70, like **aça(f)ran**), **safrà** (Ct.), **az/fafrán** or **s/zafrán** (Arag., the var. **cafrán** being an obvious mistake for **cafrán**)<sup>31</sup> and **safrana** (Nav.): < And. **azzaşfarán** = Cl.Ar. **zaşfarān**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **çafranera** (“a stone”, in GP 136), **azafranado** (**açafranado** in GP 70), and **azafranero**; Cs. and Gl.: **azafranal** and **azafranar**; Ct.: **safranada**, **safraner**, (en)**safranar**, **safranera**, **safraneret**, **safraneria**, **safranet**, **safranina**, **safranó** and **safranot**; Pt.: **açafroa**, **açafroal**, **açafroamento**, **açafroar**, **açafroeira**, **açafroeirial**, **açafroeiro** and **açafroína**; Nav. **zafranero**.

**açafrar** (Pt.): as a synonym of **açafroar** “to dye with saffron” is an intra-Rom. der. of **açafrão**, q.v., but in the meanings “to paint somebody’s house yellow as a token of his wickedness; to become unsociable;

to get angry” seems closer to And. **şafra** = Cl.Ar. **şafra** “bile; yellow”, fem. of **aşfar** = Cl.Ar. **aşfar** “yellow”, with a derivation parallel to those of **zarco**, **jaro**, **loco**, etc.<sup>32</sup> Cf. **açafrado**.

**açafroa(l)**, **açafroamento**, **açafroar**, **açafroeira/o**, **açafroeirial** and **açafroína**: see **açafrão**.

**açafról:** see **alaçor**.

**aça(o)ador:** see **açacalar**.

**acagüete:** see **alcahuete**.

**acaiaz:** see **alcaide**.

**(a)caidón:** see **alcaudón**.

**açaimar** and **açaimo:** see **açamar** and **açamo**.

**acaliuat:** see **caliu**.

**açalm(e)ar** (Pt.) “to supply”: its etymon may well be a Rom.And. hybrid verb **\*A(D)+salm+EYAR**, formed on Ar. **salm** “payment in advance for seeds, oil and other victuals, even slaves”, a technical term of Islamic law,<sup>33</sup> and as such commonly used in Al-Andalus and the entire Islamic world. Gl. **celme** “substance” might have resulted from the semantic evolution of the same Ar. etymon.

**açamar** (Pt.) and **azemar** (Cs.) “to curb; to hold (by the hair, etc.)”: is a word which Coromines suggested to strike off as doubtful, as done indeed by many a dictionary, while DRAE interpreted it only figuratively, as “to smooth down (hair)”. But, as a matter of fact, its original meaning is “to bridle”, and its expectable spelling should be, then, **acemar**, as a der. from a Rom.And. hybrid verb **\*A(D)+zamm+AR**, formed on the **maşdar** of the And. verb **zamm yizumm** = Cl.Ar. **zamm yazumm** “to bridle; to tie up”. It is also quite probable that **açamo** (Pt.) “muzzle” be a deverbal der. from that word,<sup>34</sup> instead of Machado’s groundless proposal, Ar. **\*\*aššammu**, which only means

Appearing in Montaner 1988:216, as pointed out to us by the author himself.

<sup>32</sup> See 1.2.1.3.2a.

<sup>33</sup> Which allowed it, in spite of its ingrained dislike for delays between delivery and payment. It must have been much in use in the active economy of Al-Andalus, to judge by the unusual extension of its treatment, e.g., in the work of the jurist Ibn Ašaṭār, as can be seen in Chalmeta &

Corriente 1983:42–57 and its translation, Chalmeta & Marugán 2000:119–145.

<sup>34</sup> In Corriente 1996b we still upheld the derivation of this substantive from And. **azām-mah**, pl. of **zimām** = Cl.Ar. **zimām**, pl. **azim-mah** “camel halter”, and considered the related verbs as denominal, therefore implicitly assuming a further case of depluralization, not listed with those mentioned in AAR 2.2.1.2.4.4, but plausi-

“poison” or “hole” The var. **açaimo**, **açalme** and **açaimar** seem to be mere paleographical mistakes, as there is no explanation for such a diphthong, nor does it occur in similar cases.

**acange** (Pt.) “Tr. soldier usufructuary of an estate”: this unassimilated borrowing is reported by Machado as documented at the end of the 19th c., being therefore suspicious of indirect transmission. It appears to lack a phonetically and semantically suitable match in the dictionaries of the Tr. language, to which he attributed it vaguely, without specifying a particular etymon. In our view, there has been some corruption and confusion in the old military term *akıncı* “member of a light cavalry corps specialized in plundering”, quite closely matching the first meaning of this word in Morais, “a guerrilla covetous of loot” Curiously enough, that word has been in mod. times rescued from oblivion, not only in the meaning “commando”, but also as “forward” in sports, as a purist var. of the Anglicism *forvet*.

**açaquia**: see **acequia**.

**açaquifa** (Pt.) “prison cell”, and **azaquefa** (Cs.) “porch”:<sup>35</sup> < And. *assaqqifah* = Cl.Ar. *saqqifah*.

**acaramullá** and **acaramullar**: see **caramullo**.

**acaravillar**: see **tarabilla**.

**acarbarse**: see **agarbarse**.

**acarcal** “to press” and **acarcar** “to crush” (Ext.): prob. through And.Rom. and And. *karkál*, < Lt. *calcāre*, although direct transmission is not impossible, in spite of the absence of intermediate witnesses.

(**a**)**çarfa** “12th mansion of the moon”: is a unassimilated astronomical term in the *Libro Complido*<sup>36</sup> and GP 137, < Ar. *aşşarfah*.

**açaria** (Pt., with the var. **azaria**) “raid”:

< And. *assarıyyah* = Cl.Ar. *sarıyyah* “raiding party”. Cf. **zaga**.

**acarís** (Pt., from Morais) “sect founded by Acari”: to judge from the context, is a mere poor transcription of the name of the famous Muslim theologian ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl Alʿaṣṣārī.<sup>37</sup>

**açaroe**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 71bis, < Ar. *aṭṭarwah* “wealth”, said of the conjunction of the moon with the Pleiades, after Lane 1863–1892:375.

**acarrar**: see **garfo**.

**acarxofat**: see **alcachofa**.

**acasa** (Pt.) “omnipresent essence”: is a contemporary unassimilated technical term, through Fr., < Sk. *ākāśā*.

**acasdir**: see **acazdir**.

**açat açayaf**: see **açayah albacar**.

**acauera**: see **alcabela**.

**acayad/z**: see **alcaide**.

**acaz(d)ir** (Pt., with the var. **acasdir**) “tin”: is an unassimilated mod. technical term, < Neo-Ar. *qazdir*, < Gr. *kassiteros*.

**accear**: see **hacer**.

**accenia**: see **acenia**.

**acçifera**: see **adefera**.

**acdrelio**: see **acéter**.

**acea**: see **acenia**.

**aceai** (Pt.) “weight unit equal to 10 mis-kals”: Machado’s supposition that this obsolete and unassimilated word derives from Neo-P. *\*\*\*āhi* “royal” is not phonetically probable, and there is nothing similar in the metrology of that area, except the *mann e šāh* of Tabriz, roughly equivalent to 6 kg., and the *mann e pādišāh* of Agra, of about 33.5 kg., both mentioned by Hinz 1955:21 and 23, consequently much larger than the aforementioned weight unit. Neither is there any semantic connection to **xaí**, q.v., for which that etymon is indeed correct.

ble and posited by this very Ar. loanword. However, camels were uncommon in Al-Andalus, and consequently so would the word *zimām* be in its genuine sense, as betrayed by the fact that its only instance in And. lexicography, in *Vocabulista in arabico*, required the gloss *z. aljamal* “halter for the camel”, while there are quite few instances of that verb and its *maşdar*, e.g. in IQ 64/2/4 and 129/2/1.

<sup>35</sup> With a var. *\*\*\*ajaquefa* “roof” or “cellar”,

scarcely documented and semantically doubtful, according to DCECH, being merely based on a bad reading of **azaquefa**, q.v.

<sup>36</sup> After Hilty 2005b:188, who signals the presence of this word in *Lapidario*, as well as the absence of the remaining astronomical technical terms of *Libro Complido* in previous Cs. works. The same identification is provided by Kunitzsch 1961:108, as Beta Leonis.

<sup>37</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> I 715–6.

**aceal:** see **acial**.

**acear:** see **hacer**.

**acebache:** see **acibeche**.

**acebe:** see **ceiba**.

**aceb/vén** "red dandel (*Lolium perenne* and similar species)" (Can., < Pt. **azevé**m of the same meaning): < And. *zawán* = Cl.Ar. *zuʿlān*.

**acebibe** (Cs.) and **atzebib** (Ct.) "raisins" and **acepipe** (Pt.) "appetizer": < And. *azzabīb* = Cl.Ar. *zabīb* "raisins" The var. **azebid** in a privilege granted by Alfonso X to the city of Alicante is, of course, a mistake, as duly reported by Pocklington 1984:266. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **acepipar** and **acepipeiro**.

**acebre** (Gl.) "verdigris": it is impossible to deny its phonetic likeness and semantic identity with Pt. **aze/inhavre**, derived from an older form, even closer to Neo-P. *zenjarf* or *zenjafr* (although the best var. is *šangarf*) than Ar. *zunjufr* "minium; cinnabar" and its And. var. That hypothetic form, prob. old and Eastern, but otherwise unattested in Al-Andalus, might have been substituted by semantic shift or confusion for the phonetically similar Ar.

*zinjār* "verdigris", though adopting the latter vocalism in the process of contamination. But it remains unclear why Pt. and Gl. would have treated the cluster /nj/ in such divergent ways, nor can we rule out an interference by And. *záybar* "fluff; mould", whence **acebre** would derive in a phonetically irreproachable way, through the speech of bilinguals who would not have distinguished mould from rust, as is common in Cs., e.g., in *roña*. GP 80 has the var. **cambar** and **carabre**, and GP 69 and 132, (**a**)*zingar*; Morais gives **azebre** as Pt. too and, besides, lists an **azamar** "cinnabar" undoubtedly related to these words, though of problematic transmission. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **azebrar** and **azinhavarar**.

**acebuche** or **zambullo** (Cs.) and **zambujo**, **zambulho**, **azambuja** and **azebuche** (Pt.), **cebucha/o** (Nav.), **acembuche** (Mur.), **acibuche** (Tol., Ext. and Nvh.) and **az(a)uche** or **zambulla** (Ext.) "wild olive (*Olea oleaster*)": < And. *zabbúj* or *zanbúja*, a hypocoristic derivation of Cl.Ar. *zāl/ghaj*, name of its fruit.<sup>38</sup> Occasionally the Rom. items reflect the frequent intra-Ar. dissimilation in /n/ of the

<sup>38</sup> See Chihabi 1982:504. This explanation was first suggested by Kuentz 1955:333, and then by us, still unaware of his article, in Corriente 1989a: 140, a coincidence in the perception of the problem and the discovery of its solution which gives weight to its likelihood, when compared with the previous hypothesis, generally accepted since DE, attributing this word to Br. *(t)azā*.

To begin with, the genuine Br. name of the wild olive appears to be *azammur*, though also applying at times to the domestic olive too, so that *(t)azā* would only be just one more Br. borrowing from Ar. It has been argued in favour of the genuineness of both words in Br. that an oil-producing region must have well differentiated designations for each species, but this argument does not hold water, as it suffices to check the situation of similar areas of Syria and Turkey to prove that the addition of the adjective "wild" serves that purpose well enough (e.g. Neo-Ar. *zaytūn harri* and Tr. *\*yabanı zeytun ağ* or *\*yaban zeytini*). Of course, considering that the more valuable plant is the domestic one, there is always a tendency to apply the foreign or less common term to the wild olive, as in the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Cs. *olivo* vs. *acebuche*). It is true

that Ar. *zāl/ghaj* is not frequent and that some dictionaries render the var. with /l/ as the olive, and the var. with /g/, as the wild olive and even another similar plant, prob. the original meaning of both var. in a desert habitat where neither kind of olive existed. It stands to reason that the Arabs used that significant already specialized as the name for the wild olive in the course of their pre-Islamic contacts with Syria, whence they certainly took the names of the domestic olive and its oil. The hypocoristic would express a derogatory nuance in this case, because of the scarce economic value of the wild olive. While in mod. Br. *azammur* may mean both plants, and *azā* only the wild olive, it is striking that Malt. has forsaken *zeitun(a)*, but for some traces in place names, so that olives are called *žebbug*, and wild olives *žebbug salvagg*. This would corroborate that, in the process of Arabization of the West, the substratum languages, Br. and Llt., had no clear-cut terminological distinction between both subspecies, and therefore accepted the Ar. hypocoristic easily, triggering a new process of semantic specialization in the whole region, to which Malt. is only a partial and peculiar exception. Eguílaz's proposal to derive **acebuche** from

geminated consonant, and palatalization in two degrees of intensity, triggered by /z/, or exhibit intra-Rom. suffix metanalysis and substitution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **acebuchal**, **acebucheno** and **acebuchina**; Can.: **zauchazo**; Pt.: **azam-bujeiro**, **zambujal** and **zambujeira/o**.

**aceccalar**: see **açacalar**.

**aceche** (Cs., with the var. **acije** and **aciche**) and **aze/fiche** (Pt.) “copperas”: < And. *azzáj* = Cl.Ar. *zāj* < Neo-P. *zāg* < Pahl. *zāk*, name of several mineral sulphates which are distinguished by their colour adjectives. Pt. **aceche** “earth for making ink” is the same word, received through Cs. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aci-joso** and **enacijo**.

**acedação** (Pt., with the var. **açadacão** in Morais) “Indian magnate”: Dalgado’s fantastic proposal of an Ar.-Persian hybrid \*\*\**asad-xān* “prince-lion”, accepted by Machado, cannot be taken seriously. In fact, this word looks like just another case of intra-Rom. depluralization of Neo-P. *āzādegān* “noblemen”, pl. of *āzāde*.

**acedar** (Pt.) “net or place for fishing sardines”: apparently a hybrid, derived from And. *aššāyd* = Cl.Ar. *šayd* “fishing”, with the Rom. locative suffix {+ĀLR}.

**acederaque** (Cs. and Pt., the latter being of Cs. origin, after Machado, and with the var. **acetraque**), **azedaraque** (Pt., only in Morais) and **azederer** or **seterac** (Cl.): “Indian lilac (*Melia azadirachta*)”: < Neo-P. *āzād deraxt* (i.e., “noble tree”), transmitted through Ar. and Fr. *azéderac* to the languages of the Iberian Peninsula, to judge from their lack of witnesses in them before the 19th c., as reported by Coromines, in spite of the frequent occurrence of this item among Andalusian botanists.

**acesdes** “certain birds of Babylon”: is an unassimilated term from GP 10 and DAX 28, prob. a wrong reading of Ar. *awābid* “non-migratory birds” as *\*awāl/yid*, subsequently transcribed as *\*aoed*, and topped with the Rom. pl. suffix. A confusion with *asad* “lion” seems out of question (cf. **alohey**).

**acedrenche** (Pt.) and **xadrez** (Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **enxa/edrez**) and **ajedrez**

(Cs., with the var. **acedrex** and **açedre(y)x** in GP 11) “chess”: respectively from dissimilatory And. *\*ašširānj* (also reflected by Old Cs. **arcdriche** “chessboard”), and And. *ašširānj* = Cl.Ar. *širanj* < Pahl. *čatrang* < Sk. *čaturanga*. The var. **xadrez** posits a *\*šāra(n)j*, with vowel harmonization, prob. by hypercorrection of the tendency to palatalize vowels in hissing contours.<sup>39</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ajedrecista**, **ajedrecístico** and **ajedrezado**; Gl.: **xadrecista**; Pt.: **acedrenchado**, **(a)xadrezar**, **xadrezinho**, **xadrecista** and **enxadrezar**.

**acefate**: see **açafate**.

**acefi**: see **atifle**.

**aceguero**: see **zaga**.

**aceibar**: see **ceiba**.

**aceica**: see **acequia**.

**aceical**: see **açacalar**.

**(a)ceifa** (Pt.) “harvest” and the denominative **ceifar** “to harvest”: < And. *šayfa* = Cl.Ar. *šālīfah* “harvest time”, metonymically said also of summer raids. With only this latter connotation, 19th c. Spanish historians have reinstated Cs. **aceifa**, from medieval Lt. and Rom. antecedents with the spelling **az/ceipha**, as reported by Eguílaz 1886:18, possibly in vernacular usage, to judge from the Pt. meanings “carnage” and “disaster”. Gl. **ceifa** “season; working time” has a more conservative sense. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **ceifeira/o**.

**aceifões**: see **zahón**.

**aceite** (Gl. and Cs., with the var. **azeyt(e)** in GP 69), **azeite** (Pt.), **azaite** (Arag., Man. and Nav.) and **aseite** (Arag.): < And. *azzāyt* = Cl.Ar. *zayt* < Aram. *zaytā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aceitada**, **aceitar**, **aceitazo**, **aceitera/o**, **aceitería**, **aceitón**, **aceitoso**, **desaceitar** and **enaceitar**; Pt.: **azeitada**, **azeitadeira**, **azeitão**, **azeite** and **azeiteira/o**; Leo.: **ac(e)iteras** “homemade oil lamp”.

**aceituna** (Cs., with the var. **azeytuna** in GP 69), **azeitona** (Pt.), **acetuna** (Sal.), **acituna** (Tol.) and **azaituna** (Man.) “olive”: < And. *azzaytūna* = Cl.Ar. *zaytūnah* < Aram. *zaytūnā*, a dim. of *zaytā* “oil”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aceitunado**, **aceitunera/o**,

Lt. *\*acerbus* and Ar. *zašbuj* from the etymon of **azabache** are only absurd ideas, character-

istic of his rudimentary methodology.

<sup>39</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.1.7, p. 66.

**aceitunil**, **aceitunillo** and **aceituno**; Pt.: **azeitoneira/o**.

**aceituní** or **seituní** (Cs.), **atzeituní** (Ct.) and **cetim** (Pt., prob. through Fr. or It.): < Neo-Ar. *azzaytūnī*, gentilic of *zaytūn*, an adaptation by folk etymology of the name of the Chinese town of Tsō-Thung.

**açelcadeni**: is an unassimilated astrological term, from *Libro Complido*, with the var. **açelcadonj** and **a(l)çelcadenj**, explained there as “lord of the year” but, in truth reflecting Neo-P. *sāl gardeš* “lapse of one year (since the accession of a king)”.<sup>40</sup>

**acelga** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), the latter with the var. **acelca**, **azelga** (Arag.) and **celga** (Mur.) “silver beet (*Beta vulgaris*)”: from And. *assilqa* = Cl.Ar. *silqah* < Gr. *sikelē*.

**acém** (Pt.) “cut of beef between loins and neck, chuck steak”: does not derive from Ar. *\*assamū* “fat”, as fancied by Machado, but < And. *assanām* = Cl.Ar. *sanām* “hump”

**acemar**: see **açamar**.

**acembuche**: see **acebuche**.

**acemena(do)**: see **alzemena**.

**acémila** (Cs.), **azema/efila** and **azemila** (Leo., from DO 227), **azêmo/efala** (Pt.), **(atz)embla** (Ct.) and **azembla** (Arag.) “beast of burden”: < And. *azzām(i)la* = Cl.Ar. *zāmīlah*. Pt. **azemel**, Ast. **azamel** (in García Arias 2006:25) and Leo. **aza/emel** (from DO 154) “muleteer” appear to derive from the matching noun of profession, And. *zammāl*, further reinforced in Pt. with a Rom. suffix of the same function in the var. **azemeleiro**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **(atz)emblem** and **atzemblemia**; Cs.: **acemilado**, **acemilar**, **acemilería** and **acemilero**; Leo. **azemilarius**, **açe/imilero**, **acemilero** (from DO 154); Ast. **azimilero** (from García Arias 2006:25). Cf. **cémilo**.

**acemite** (Cs., with the var. **semid**, **alzemid** and **alcemite** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:261) “semolina”: < And. *assamīd* = Cl.Ar. *samīd* < Aram. *sēmūdā* < Ak. *samīdu(m)*, connectable with Gr. *semīdalos*, which is considered of “Mediterranean” stock. There are no traces of an Ar. n.un. with the suffix *-ah*,<sup>41</sup> which would imply that Cs. **acemita** “semolina bread”, is just one more case of evolution into /a/ of paragogical /el/, proved also by the devoicing of the final dental. Metonymy would explain **acemitre** “wheat gnawed by mice” (Anz.), as it looks like finely ground flour, with a parasitic /r/ after /t/, not uncommon in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. (cf. **alcataz** and **alcaturz**).

**acendría**: see **sandía** and **cendal**.

**(a)cenefa** (Cs., with the old var. **azanefa**), **sanefa** (Ct. and Pt.), **feneza** (Arag., with metathesis) and **fenefa** (Leo., with assimilation) “stripe with cyclic decoration”: < And. *ašsanīfa* = Cl.Ar. *šanīfah* “hem” < Hb. *šēnēfāh* “winding (of a turban)”<sup>42</sup> < Ak. *šiliptu(m)* “diagonal”. The vocalism, as pointed out by Coromines, who suggests a contamination of sg. and pl., makes a derivation from the pl. *šanāyif* likelier, as in the case of **regaifa**, q.v.; however, that contamination appears unnecessary, since the final vowel may just be paragogical and already intra-Rom. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **ensanefat**.

**acenia** and **aceña** (Cs.,<sup>43</sup> the first var. being old as those of GP 69 and 71, **aç/zenna**), **azenha** (Pt., with the var. **acenha** and **acénia**), **acea** (Gl. and Ast., in latter also **azenia**, from García Arias 2006:25), (Leo. **accenia**, **acenna**, **ascenia**, **azenia**, **azeni(i)s**, **azenn(i)a**, **cennera** and **zenera**, from DO 154) and **sínia** or **cénia** (Ct.): < And. *assānya* = Cl.Ar.

<sup>40</sup> See also Hilty 2005b:188.

<sup>41</sup> There is a Mor. *\*smīda*, but the unvoiced final dental of Cs. indicates a final juncture.

<sup>42</sup> A hapax in Is. 22/18, translated by some scholars as “thread ball”, which is less probable, it being likely that it meant the turban itself, like the allomorphs *šanīf* and *\*mišnefet*. The Ar. term, with the var. *šinīfah*, is not semantically transparent and has raised the doubts of lexicographers, as is common in the case of foreign words. It might stem directly from Hb., as a ritual term of the many Jewish settlements in pre-Islamic Arabia, but it may also reflect Rab. Aram. *šēnāfū* “hem”, through a confusion of both words in the Jewish milieus.

<sup>43</sup> Not to be mixed up with **aceña** “sign” and **(a)ceñar** “to make a sign”, words of Lt. origin, frequent in Aljamiado-Morisco and exhibiting the substandard phenomenon of **ceceo**, about which, see Galmés *et al.* 1994:17.

*sāniyah* "(water) raising (device)", early used in this technical sense. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aceñero**; Leo. **sennero** (from DO 156); Ct.: **senial/r** and **senier**; Pt.: **aceneiro**.

**acenoría** (Sal. and Bie.), **cenoria** (Gl. and Leo.), **zenoria** (Sal.), **cenoura** (Pt.), **zana-horia** (Cs.), **safanòria** (Val. and Ct. dial. of Tortosa, with the Maj. var. **safannària**), **azanoria**, **azenoira**, **safanoria**, **sanaferia** or **z/fafandoria** (Arag.), **zanoria** (Nav.) and **azenoria** (Nvl.): from And. (as) *safannàryah* (corrupted from Gr. *staphylinē ágría*, the borrowing of which by Ar. is corroborated by *istiflinah* in Ibn Hišām Allaxmī). Such is the immediate source of Maj., the most faithful to it, followed by Arag. **sanaferia**, with a mere metathesis and vowel assimilation of /ÁRYA/ into /ÉRYA/, if not directly reflecting the allomorph *isfannàrya*.<sup>44</sup> In all the remaining forms there has been, though in different degrees of intensity, a general process of evolution of the metanalyzed Rom. suffix {+ÁRYA} > {+ÁYRA} > {+ÁWRA}, and contamination of the two last phases into {+ÁWRYA}. In Gl., Leo., Bie., Sal., Pt., Nvl., Nav. and occasionally also Arag., there is no trace of /ff/, but only forms posterior to its assimilation, while Cs., Ct., and again occasionally Arag., when depending on Ct., have shapes in which that phoneme is still reflected, with eventual metathesis. From the same origin, by metonymy, is **zanorio** "clumsy" (Nav.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azan(ah)oriate** and **zanahoriate**.

**açenj addib** "the second wolf": is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 71, designating the second of the stars called in Ar. *addiḥbān* "the two wolves", namely, Zeta and

Eta Draconis, after Kunitzsch 1961:104 (cf. **adibeyn**).<sup>45</sup>

**acent**: see **acimut**.

**aceña** and **aceñero**: see **acenia**.

**acepipe**: see **acebibe**.

**aceque**: see **acequia**.

(a) **cequia** (Cs.), **acéquia** (Pt., with the var. **açaquia** and **acéqua**, the latter only in Morais, prob. incorrect), **sèquia** (Ct.), and **aseclla**, **zeclla**, **secll(i)a**, **zieca**, **azeica**, **za/eica**, **ze(i)quia** and **sequera/o** (Arag., the last form, a hybrid with Rom. suffix, if it is correctly stressed and the /r/ is not parasitical, as in **eixàquera**, q.v.), **acieca** (Anz.), **cieca** (Anl. and Man.), **aceque** (Sal.) and **aceica** (Nav.) "irrigation channel": < And. *assáqya* = Cl.Ar. *sāqiyah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a) **cequiaje**, **acequiar** and **acequero**; Ct.: **sequial/r**, **sequiatge**, **sequier**, **sequió** and **sequioleta**; Mur.: **cequión** and **cequeta**; Anl. **cécola** "irrigation ditch or channel" (a Rom. dim. of the standard) and **cequión** "large amount of water"; Arag.: **zicoleta** (dim.); Pt. **acequador** and **acequiar**.

**acerenar**: see **zaranda**.

**acerola** and **azarolla** (Cs.), **aza/erola** (Pt.), **azarolla**, and **azerol(l)a** (Arag.), **atzerola** (Ct., var. Val. **sorolla**), and **cerola** (Mur.) "azarole (fruit of *Crataegus azarolus* or similar species, domestic or wild)": < Neo-Ar. *zaṣrūrah*, which could structurally be a native word, in spite of Coromines' opinion, as Ar. has the pattern {1a23ū3ah}, at least as *maṣdar* of the "hollow" roots (cf. **\*\*kaynūnah** "being", **\*\*daymūmah** "duration", etc.); this is, nevertheless, hardly necessary as {1a23ū3ah} is the usual equivalent in Neo-Ar. of Cl.Ar. {1u23ū3ah}, and in

<sup>44</sup> The first form is mentioned by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (see Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 258), and the second one by *Vocabulista in arabico* and *Leiden Glossary*, while the most evolved *içfernia* of Alcalá, does not appear to have had Rom. descendants. It should be noted that, after the assimilation of /sʃ/ into /ss/ (see SK 2.3.1 and AAR 2.1.2.1.3), *\*issunnàrya* has been metanalyzed as containing the Ar. article and is always reflected as *\*(as)sunnàrya*. It is striking that the gemination of /n/ be not reflected at all in Rom. except in Maj., and maybe, through dissimilation, in the curious Arag. **z/fafandoria**. The same applies to

the aforementioned Granadan var., which makes it possible that all the Rom. forms derive from degeminated allomorphs, a characteristic feature of the lower registers of And., at least in cases where gemination had no functional yield, as surveyed in AAR 2.1.3.2.2.

<sup>45</sup> The sequence, however, betrays the interference of either Lt. or Rom. syntax in the translator's idiom, as Cl.Ar. would admit the qualifying syntagm *addiḥbū ttānī*, or the annexation *ttānī diḥbin*, but not the mere precedence of the adjective, after a rule which remains unaltered in Neo-Ar.

fact, Cl.Ar. has a corrected *zafṛūrah*. However, this word does not belong to that morphological category and, besides, is semantically isolated within its theoretical root, which is extensive to its Syr. cognate *zafṛārā*, whence it might have derived by adoption of the hypocoristic pattern *[CaCCāC]* (cf. *acebuche*), through Western dialects with a pronunciation *zafṛōrō*. In our view, what we might have here are Semitic der. from Cp. *srarooue* (a compound of *soure* "thorn" with its quasi-synonymous *aroue* and *arōou* "boxthorn"), through an Aram. phase (cf. the aforementioned Syr.), in which there has been a blending with *zēraṣ* "seed of", a frequent first constituent of plant names. According to several scholars, including Coromines (see DCELC, s.v. *atzerola*), a contamination with Lt. *cereola* "wax-like" would explain the unvoiced first consonant of some var., as well as the voiced reflex of Jud.-Sp. *zirgwéla*. Gl. *zorollo* "wild plum" might be a hybrid of the same etymon with a Rom. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *acerolo*; Mur.: *cerolo*;<sup>46</sup> Ct.: *atzerolar*, and *atzeroler(a)*; Pt.: *azaroleiro/a* and *azeroleira*; Nav.: *acerolero*.

**acéter** (Pt., with the var. *acetre*, and *acetre*, the latter with an old dim. suffixation, reminiscent of Eastern Ibero-Rom.), *acetre* (Cs., with a var. *celtre*), *azetre*, and *acetría* (Leo., from DO 156), *seṣṭra* (Ct.) "small bucket with handles" and *cetra* (Mur.) "little jar": < And. \**assīl* = Cl.Ar. *saṭl* < Syr. >*syllā*<, of insecure reading, < Lt. *sītula*.<sup>47</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Leo.: *acdrelio*, *acetrelio*,

*arcetrelium*, and *azetrelio* (dim., from DO 156); Arag.: *setrill* "pitcher; oil-cruet", *zetril* "jar", and *zitrel* "jug"; Ct. *setrill(a)*, *sitrell*, *setrillada* and *setrilleres*.

**acetraque**: see *acederaque*.

**acetre(l)**: see *acéter*.

**acetrelium** and **acetría** see *acéter*.

**acetuna**: see *aceituna*.

**acêvar** and **acèver**: see *acibara*.

**acevén**: see *acebén*.

**achaassos** "trier of medicines": is an unasimulated technical term, in Vázquez 1995:104, < Ar. *alkaššāf*, lit., "examiner"

**achaca(r)**: see *achaque*.

**achanamasi** (Pt.): "Islamic evening prayer" (only in Morais, indeed unassimilated): < Tr. *aṣanamazi*, a compound of Ar. *ʿiṣāʾ* "evening prayer" (phonetically mixed up with *ʿaṣāʾ* "diner") and a pleonastic Neo-P. *namāz* "prayer"

**achangar**: see *chancla*.

**achaque** (Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. *achac* in GP 11), (el)xàquia, eixàquera and xacra (Ct., with the old and dial. var. *atxaquia*, *atxaca* and *xaca*), *achaquia*, *eṣinchaquia* and *inchaica* (Arag.) and *achaca* (Sal.) "excuse": the Ar. etymon no doubt stems from the root */škw/*, but prosodic reasons make impossible a direct reflex of the *mašdar* \*\**šakāh*, "complaint; excuse" which, despite its frequency in Cl.Ar. has never been documented in And. and would necessarily have generated an ultima stressed Rom. word.<sup>48</sup> There would be no such problems with its And.

<sup>46</sup> The derivation of tree names from the fruit name, by obtaining the masc. from the fem., reproduces a productive model, although not the only one, in Cs., (e.g., *manzana/o*, *granada/o*, *cereza/o*, *almendra/o*, *naranja/o*, *avellana/o*, *papaya/o*, etc.), favoured in this case by the fact that fruit names in Ar. are usually collectives from which the n.un. is obtained by just attaching the fem. morpheme *-ah/*.

<sup>47</sup> The front vowel of all these loanwords, which cannot be attributed to their remote Lt. etymon, posits the same hypercorrection for And., in spite of the lack of witnesses, after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2, p. 72. It is a case parallel to *arrelde*, q.v., although in this instance And. and Cl.Ar. have also a less frequent allomorph con-

tinuing the vocalization of the source language. We had previously considered that \**siṭl* might reflect the Cl.Ar. allomorph *sayṭal*, but this is unlikely because of the generally very conservative behaviour of diphthongs in And., after AAR 2.1.1.4.1, p. 41, and despite the few exceptions listed in 2.1.1.4.2.

<sup>48</sup> In AAR 2.2.1.1.5.10.3d we considered that Cs. *achaque* and *azaque* would prove that these fem. substantives derived from a defective root might have penultima stress in And. but, even arguing that the abnormality of stressing the fem. morpheme might have forced an exceptional displacement of stress to the previous syllable, it is clear that neither example is good proof thereof: *achaque* because of its lack of And. witnesses,



synonym *aššaktyya* = Cl.Ar. *šakiyyah*, clearly, though in minority, witnessed by *axaquia* (see *alhodera*) and perhaps Arag. *achaquía*, if correctly stressed, while the remaining substantive reflexes, unstressed in that syllable in this case and against the rule, would have been derived from the verb *achacar*, from a Rom. hybrid *\*aššak(ty) + ÁR*. However, since Corriente 2004a: 194,<sup>49</sup> we have been inclined to prefer as immediate etymon its allomorph And. *šákwa* = Cl.Ar. *šakwah*, through an And. Rom. phase, characterized by the action of the phenomenon *Cwv > Cv*, described in PD 348. Otherwise, Coromines was right upon detecting some cases of a reflex /š/ of /šš/ and, as for the occasional parasitical /r/, it is a relatively frequent phenomenon in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., not requiring any unlikely contamination with *lacra* or *nafra*, against his view. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *achacable*, *achacadizo*, *achaquero*, *achaquiento* and *achaquioso* (the latter in GP 11); Ct.: *atxacós*, *atxaquíós* and *xacrós*; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: *achacar* and *achacoso*; Pt.: *achaqueira*, *achaquento* and *achaquilho*.

**achar** (Pt.) “pickles”: < Hindi *a/āčār* < Neo-P. *āčār*, a direct borrowing during the campaigns on the shores of the Indian Ocean, dated from the 16th c.

**acharique** “sharecropping” and **ixarica** “renting of cows” (Arag.): are deverbal substantives derived from two hybrid verbs of the same meaning, “to make partner”, but slightly different origins, as given away by phonetics, *\*A(D) + šarik + ÁR* in the first case, with a Rom. prefix very common in hybrid denominative verbs, and *iššarik + ÁR* in the second one, with an Ar. article with its vowel assimilated to the next hissing consonant (cf. Mur. *jaricar* “to join water allocations”, whence the verbal substantive *jarique*),<sup>50</sup> formed on And. *šarík* = Cl.Ar. *šarík* “partner” Directly derived from this Ar. word are Ct. *eixarich* and Ar.

*exarich* or *exarico* “Morisco sharecropper”, often stressed erroneously *\*exárico*, even by the DRAE, because of the mistaken assumption of a nonexistent Lt. suffix: it has been corrected in its latest edition. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *eixericaña*. Cf. *jarque*.

**acharrachas**: see *adaraja*.

**acharranarse**: see *charrán*.

**achatin**: see *alchatin*.

**achavales** “lesser public festivities after an important feast” (Can., prob. < Ar. *šašbān*).<sup>51</sup>

**Achernar** “the star Alpha Eridani” (Cs.): is a bookish Lt. transcription of And. *áxir annáhr* = Cl.Ar. *áxiru nnahr* “end of the river”. Cf. *aher annahr*.

**achifaifas**: see *açofaifa*.

**achiperre**: see *alchiperre*.

**achmas** “pedion, hollow part of the sole of the foot”: is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:5, < Ar. *axmas*.

**achor(as)**, **alchachur**, **hacar** and **ichor**: is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1985:68 and 106, “abscess”, < Ar. (*al*)*qarh* or its pl. *qurūh*.

**achtalegi**: see *jectigacion*.

**achujar**: see *azuche*.

**achuzada** and **achuçar**: see *azuche*.

**acial/r** (Cs.), **aziár** (Pt.) and **aceal** (Gl. and Leo.) “twitch” and **lacial** “bow or loop to hold the lip of a beast during an operation” (Bie., contaminated by *lazo* “bow”): < And. *azzīyār* = Cl.Ar. *zīyār*.

**acibar**: see *acibara*.

**acibar**: see *ceiba*.

**acibara** (Pt. and Mur.), **alcibara** (Anl.) and **alzavara** or **cimbara** (Mur.) “agave” and **azabara** (Cs.), **acibara** (Mur.) and **atza-vara** (Ct.) “aloe”: < And. *aššabbára*, a var. of *aššibr* = Cl.Ar. *šibr*, reflected by Ct. *sèver* or *acèver*, Cs. *acibar*, Ast. *acibre* (de García Arias 2006:170) and Pt. *azeb/vre*, *azever* and *acèvar*, the vocalism of which appears contaminated in **a(l)cibara** and **alcibera** “fleshy

and **azaque**, because of likely prosodic contamination by **zaque**, as suggested by the var. *asequí*, q.v., a phenomenon with other examples, like *aljama*, q.v.

<sup>49</sup> See also *acica*, *alquicé* and *ra/exe*.

<sup>50</sup> According to DRAE, in Álava, “number of cattle heads allowed to graze in a communal land

and tax on their excess” In both cases the phonetic reflex of the Ar. article has disappeared, as is common for several reasons.

<sup>51</sup> See Corriente 1989a:166 and fn. 4, about festivities in the month of Šašbān, before that of Ramadan, as a kind of carnival, compensating in advance for the rigours of the fast.

leaf of aloe" (Anz.), in addition to a second intra-Rom. contamination with the suffix /+ÉRA/ and a semantic shift, since agave and prickly pear, a different meaning given in some dictionaries, were unknown before the discovery of America.<sup>52</sup> DRAE has also the Cs. var. **zabil/da**, erroneously stressed, as stated by Coromines, who is right in correcting them into **zábil/da**, since its etymon would be the Ar. allomorph *šābirah*, reported by Ibn Albaytar. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **acibarar**; Mur.: **alzavarón** "stem of sunflower"

**acibeche** (Gl.), **azeviche** (Pt.), **acebache** (Mur.), **azabache** (Cs., with the old var. **çabach**, **(a)zabaya** and **zabeg/ia**, in GP 134, and **zebech**, in GP 131), **zebache** (Leo.) and **atzabeja** (Ct.) "jet": < And. *zabáj* = Cl.Ar. *šabaj* < Pahl. *šabag*. The Pt. form is striking in the light of the Ar. vocalization, but without dismissing the possibility of contamination with a relatively frequent ending, Gl. and Ct. also exhibit incipient palatalization, although weaker than in Pt., of the vowel before /j/, quite common in And. Regarding the grammatical gender and final vowel of Ct., and conceding the possibility of a n.un. *\*zabája*, chances are that they merely result from the paragogical /e/ usually attached to final consonants, in order to ease the juncture, after 1.1.4.4.1. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azabachado** and **azabachero**; Gl.: **acibechado**, **acibecheiro** and **acibecheiría**.

**acibuche**: see **acebuche**.

**acica** and **acícua** (Old Pt.) and **cica** (Cs. slang) "little purse": are of uncertain etymon, unlikely to be, as hesitantly suggested by Machado, Ar. *\*assikkah* "mint", or *\*ziqq* "wineskin", according to the DRAE's proposal in many editions for Cs., for both semantic and phonetic reasons, made obvious in the latter case by the reflex **zaque**, q.v.). A metathesis

of Ar. *kīṣah* "purse", put forward by Eguílaz and accepted by Coromines, would be plausible, as such a phenomenon is characteristic of the masking techniques of secret languages, though this form with fem. morpheme is documented only in Naf. Yet, another possibility would be a jesting or slangish use of Lt. *adsēcūla* "acolyte", circulated in the goliards' milieu; in this case the form (a)cica would have obtained in a phase or area where the rule /Cwv/ > /Cv/ prevailed, as was the case of Gl.

**acicala(do)r**, **acicaladura** and **acicalamiento**: see **açacalar**.

**acicate** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **cicate**) and **sicat** (Ct.) "spur": we have long rejected the possibility of a derivation from the Ar. pl. *\*sikkāt*, never attested for *\*sikkah*, which besides was never the name of this device.<sup>53</sup> We now grant also that our previous proposal of a hypothetical Br. *\*asakkat*, "striking instrument", although morphologically regular, would belong to a not very productive pattern. Therefore, we go back to the root /sqt/, phonetically irreproachable, and considering that *siqāt* means "horse's laxity", it is not far-fetched to suppose, as in the cases of **albacar**, **albacea**, etc., the loss of the first constituent of a compounded idiom, Neo-Ar. *\*muzīl / rāfiṣi assiqāt* "remover of laxity"; in the second case, one could even easily posit a mere phonetic evolution *\*rafacicate* > *\*lahacicate*, etc. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **acica-tear**; Pt. and Gl.: **acicatar**.

**aciche** (Cs.) and **arciche** (Nav., also in García Salinero 1968:41, without dial. attribution) "weeding hoe" and **lafiche** "tile cutter" (Ext., a phonetic var. with an agglutinated Rom. article): < And.Rom. *\*AčīlĬC* = And. *ačīlĬC* < Lt. *āciscūlus*.<sup>54</sup> It is noteworthy that

<sup>52</sup> See DAA, p. 301 and fn. 1.

<sup>53</sup> The defence of this hypothesis in Kiesler 1994:292 is not effective, because the data of the Eg. dialect cannot overcome the unambiguous and repeated information about this matter in And. (q.v. in DAA, s.v.), and even conceding, on the phonetic side of the issue, that *imālah* in the suffix of the regular pl. fem., standard in And. after a non-velarizing consonant, is not regular in old Ar. loanwords, the semantic gap between

"ploughshare" and "spur" continues to be huge.

<sup>54</sup> In addition to the data in Meyer-Lübke, quoted in DCECH, this word appears in Ar. script in Abulxayr (see Carabaza 1991:159), and the p.r.n. of the same etymon surfaces in Pellat 1961:167. Dozy's proposal, *\*huṣṣāṣ*, witnessed with a similar sense only in a Sudanese dialect, and in Al-Andalus only with a very different meaning, is not phonetically viable, but the Lt. etymon suggested in its stead by Eguílaz is no better.

only the first consonant has evolved in the Cs. way. Cf. also *aceche*.

**aciclabi** and **aciclán**: see *ciclán*.

**acícua**: see *acica*.

**acidaque** (Cs.). “bridal dower in Islamic law”: < And. *aṣṣidāq* = Cl.Ar. *ṣaḍidāq*, lit., “token of good faith” This word is omitted by DA, DE, Eguílaz and Coromines, on account of its late and limited incorporation to Cs. usage as a Mudejar technical term, merely found in *Leyes de Moros* and similar texts.

**acidate**: see *acirate*.

**acieca**: see *acequia*.

**aciela** (Pt.). “iron bar”: the derivation of this poorly documented hapax of the 13th c., and of doubtful meaning to top it off, posits problems unsolvable for the time being. Machado’s hesitant proposal of an Ar. \*\*\**siyālah* cannot be taken seriously, as this word has not that meaning at all.

**acije** and **acijoso**: see *aceche*.

**acilate**: see *acirate*.

**acimboga**: see *alambor*<sup>2</sup>.

**açimec(h) alaazer**: (with the var. *alaas/zçel*, *azimec*), < Neo-Ar. *assimāk al’aṣṣal* “disarmed s.”, and *açimec alrameh* (with the var. *açinec/ç*, *as(e)mec*, *asinec*, *açmec*, (e)alrramec al/rrameh, *arramech*, *alrire/imec* and *al(l)ramec*, and both with the var. *açimet*) < Neo-Ar. *assimāk arrāmūh* “s. with a spear”;<sup>55</sup> are unassimilated astronomical terms in GP 71, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:105 as Alpha Virginis and Boötis, respectively. Cf. *ajuz alaçet*.

**acimilero**: see *acémila*.

**acimut** (Cs. and Gl.), **azimut** (Cs., with the old var. *açumut*, *azumuth*, *atzumut* and *azimuths* in GP 72, *acent* in DAX 29; *çient arraz*, *sunt alraz* and *sumpt aroth* in GP 138, and *zonte* and *zut*, in GP 133) **azimute** (Pt.) and **a(t)zimut** (Ct.) “azimuth”: from the Ar. pl. *assumūt*, distorted through bookish transmission, as in the case of its sg. *samt*, whence Cs. *cénit* and Pt. *zénite*, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *ac/zimutal*; Ct.: *azimutal*; Gl.: *acimutal*.

<sup>55</sup> Rendered as *por ser alta mucho; lanceador*, i.e., “because it is very high; spear bearer” in an attempt at explaining the pr.n. of both stars, based upon the connotation of the root {smk}, in the vague manner so characteristic of

**acingab**: see *azingab*.

**ación** (cs.). “stirrup leather”: < And. \**assuyūr* = Cl.Ar. *suyūr*, pl. of *sayr* < Syr. *sirā* < Gr. *seirá* “strap”, prob. contaminated by the Rom. aug. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **acionera** and **acionero**.

**aciqua**: see *acica*.

**aciquin**: see *cabdat*.

**acirandagem** and **acirandar**: see *zaranda*.

**acirate** “heap of stones or earth used as a boundary mark” (Pt.), “ridge; alley between trees” (Cs.), “chopping board” and “protruding part of a roof” (Nav.) and “step in front of a door” (Mon.): < And. *assirāt* = Cl.Ar. *ṣṣirāt* < Rab.Aram. *iṣrāṭā* < Lt. *strāta* “road”, with diverse semantic shifts. Of course, there is no reflex here of the pl. of Ar. \**ṣṣirah* “going; behaviour”, as fancied by Machado. Some phonetic var. are **acilate** “step in front of a door; boundary; ridge” (Tol. and Nvh.), “slope” (Ext.), **afilate** “ravine” (Ext.) and **cirate** “sewer for the water flowing from a dunghill” (Ext.). There is no chance of an etymological connection with **acidate**, excerpted by Eguílaz from *Libro de Montería*, for which he put forward an unlikely Ar. etymon \**asḍād*, which in And. could only mean “dams”, not to mention other mistakes in his entry **acirate**.

**acirrar** (Pt.). “to stimulate; to instigate”: this word heretofore considered an etymological riddle, and thought by Machado to be onomatopoeic without any convincing proof, might well reflect an And.Rom. hybrid verb \**açirr*+*ÁR*, formed on the And. imperative *açirr* “insist” Granted that the high vowel in a stressed closed syllable and in contact with velarized consonants is usually reflected in Rom. as /e/, it is noticeable that precisely the *Leiden Glossary*,<sup>56</sup> a first-rate source to know the oldest phases of And., contains two instances of the root {srr} exhibiting loss of velarization, a feature which, like most pseudo-corrections, must have been more frequent in higher dates, although even most

the mediocre translators of these works, about which, see Corriente 2000:144–145.

<sup>56</sup> See Corriente 1991:107. About the frequent pseudo-correct alternance of the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/, see AAR 2.1.2.4.1.2 and 2.1.2.4.3, p. 52.

recent Alcalá has a >*mucírr*< “insistent”, pointing in the same direction. It is interesting that other two quasi-synonymous Pt. verbs with etymological difficulties, *açobar* (cf. Cs. *azomar*) and *açular* “to set on”, lumped together by Machado, can also receive a parallel solution, namely, \**A(D)+šawb+ÁR* “to aim (at)” and \**A(D)+sul+ÁR* “to give power (over)”,<sup>57</sup> respectively. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *acirrante*.

*acirundaja*: see *zaranda*.

*acitara* (Cs. and Pt.) and *citara* (Cs.) “parapet” and “front of a house”, “outer wall of a second story” (Anz. and Anl., with semantic evolution) and *acçitara* (Lit. documents of Aragon) “tapestry; curtain; bedspread”: <And. *assitara* = Cl.Ar. *siṭārah*. DO 158 has Leo. *cithara*, and GP 81 *cidara* <“brocade cloth”, vs. GP 82 *citara...del firmamento*, i.e., “in the sky”, but this is a different word, as this *cidara* “cloth” is a var. of *cidara/i*, q.v. On the other hand, Arag. *azitara* “canopy”, rather than “bed”, does answer to the first etymon. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *citarilla* and *citarón*; Anl. *citarilla* “wooden plinth in lower part of a wall wainscot”

*aciteras*: see *aceiteras*.

*acituna*: see *aceituna*.

*açobar*: see *acirrarr*.

*açobra*: see *azobra*.

*açoca* (Pt.) “asoka (Jonesia asoka)”: mentioned by Dalgado, but not documented before 1907, and phonetically almost a perfect reproduction of Sk. *asoka*, less so of Hindi *asok*, and Konkani *āxok* suggested by Machado, which we could not verify. It is quite likely that this name of a proverbially beautiful tree, also known in Sk. as *devadāru* “the Gods’ tree”, has reached Pt. through another European language, as a learned word.

*acocorarse*: see *acorchofa-se*.

*açofa/eifa* (Pt.) and *azo/ufa/eifa* (Cs.), *azafaifa/o* (Anz., with vowel assimilation)

and *sofeifa* (Ext.) “jujube (fruit of *Zizyphus vulgaris*)”: < And. *azzufáyzaifah*, introduced by Ibn Albaytār in Neo-Ar., a metathetic dim. formed on Syr. *zūzfā* < Gr. *zíziphon*; attention should be paid to the haplology or loss of the post-tonic syllable. The Pt. var. *açofa/eita* in Morais are suspected of poor transmission, while the Nav. rude expletives used to reject a proposition, *arrufaifa* or *achifaifas*,<sup>58</sup> exhibit irregular phonetic alterations, the first perhaps due to an indefinable contamination (cf. *arrucaique*), while in the second, the substitution of /ç/ for /z/, may be identified with the most characteristic mark of the Basque dim. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *azo/ufa/eifo*; Pt.: *açofeifeira*.

*açôfar* (Pt.), *azôfar* (Cs.) and *az/xofre* (Ast., in García Arias 2006:26 and 189) “brass”: <And. *aşşûfr* = Cl.Ar. *aşşufr*.

*açofeifa*: see *açofaifa*.

*acofinar*: see *alcofa*.

*açofra(s)* and *açofrera*: see *azofra*<sup>1</sup>.

*açoite* and *açoiteira*: see *açoite*.

*acólceira* or *cócedra* (Cs. and Pt.) and *cólcedra* (Cs., with the old var. *alcoçedra*, *acolzetra* and *cozedra*, from DO 237) “mattress”: < And.Rom and And. *alkúsiāra*<sup>59</sup> < Lt. *culcitra*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *cocedron*.

*aç/colhafa*, *açulafe* and *aculhaffech* “turtle”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 11 and 72, identified with the star Gamma Lyrae, after Kunitzsch 1961:210, < Ar. *suḥafāh*.

*acolzetra*: see *acólceira*.

*acollar* (Nav., also in DRAE without dial. attribution): “to hill up earth round the base of a trunk”: in this meaning, is not a der. from Lt. *cōllus*, but from *cōllis* “hill”, the etymon of And. *qúll*, which must have previously existed in And.Rom., prob. having an \**A(D)+qúll+ÁR*, whence the word in question. Cf. *alcor*.

*açoloquia*: see *saloquia*.

*açomua* (Pt.) “minaret”: documented only in the 20th c. by Machado, and missing

<sup>57</sup> This word is very similar to the Aljamiado-Morisco verb *çaletar* (< Ar. *sallat*), listed in Corriente 1990b:143a.

<sup>58</sup> The jujube tree, quite common everywhere in the Iberian Peninsula in Islamic times, has progressively disappeared, replaced by more profitable fruit trees, to the point of having become

very rare nowadays; its fruits are consumed almost only by children in some rural areas for fun more than for its excellence as a dessert, which explains that expression.

<sup>59</sup> Witnessed in the documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo, after Ferrando 1995:184.

in Morais, is perhaps a fabrication of David Lopes himself, who transmitted it, based upon Mor. *şamla*, or even And. *aşşumla* = Cl.Ar. *şawmaṣlah*, from sources accessible to him, following the reprehensible behaviour of other Arabic scholars, and masking his creature with the appearance of a medieval Ar. loanword.<sup>60</sup> There is a Cs. var. unassimilated, but possibly authentic, retrieved by Eguílaz from the deeds of the surrender of Granada, with the shape *zumaa*.

**açoraya/e** "lamp": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 72, with the var. (a)thoraya, coraya and (a)foraya, said of the Pleiades, which are also the 3rd mansion of the moon, according to Kunitzsch 1961:114, < Ar. *aṭṭurayā*.

**acorchofa-se** (Arag.) "to squat": looks like metathesis and contamination by **corcho** "cork" of an original **\*acorfozar-se**, which would posit And.Rom. *\*A(D)+qurfuṣ+ÁR*, a hybrid formed on Ar. *qurfuṣā*?, in the idiom *qaṣada+ l+qurfuṣā* "to squat", undocumented in And., but frequent in Cl.Ar. and Neo-Ar.<sup>61</sup> The same word could stand behind the Arag. idioms of Tarazona, **andar a la pericoz** "to limp" and **en corquillas** "in a squatting position", from Gargallo 12 and 24, with a phonetic evolution marked by strong contaminations. In view of the conspicuous difficulty to establish

a satisfactory etymon, such could also be the origin of Cs. **acurrucarse**, its Can. equivalent **acurruchar-se** "to crouch" and a long series of var., like Pt. **acocorar-se**, Arag. **acurcellarse**, perhaps also the Nav. idioms **en cucurubico** / **curcubico** / **curcubilla**, prob. as the result by metathesis and phonetic contamination of the basic etymon with the standard **culillas** or **cluquillas**, although there are still many loose ends.

**açorda** (Pt.) "garlic soup": < And. *aṭṭurda* = Cl.Ar. *ṭurdaḥ*. Cf. **azumbre** and **celemín** for the abnormal transcription of /y/.

**açores**: see **azor**.

**acorzar**: see **alcorzar**.

**açoteia** (Pt.) and **azotea** (Gl., and Cs., with the old var. **azutea**) "flat roof": < And. *\*assutáyyah*, dim. of *sáṭṭ*<sup>62</sup> = Cl.Ar. *sāṭḥ*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açotear** and **açotela**.

**açougue** "butcher's shop; market" (Pt., with the var. **azogue**, only in Morais, imitated from Cs.), **azogue**<sup>2</sup> and **zoco** "market" (Cs.), **assoc**, **çoc** and **xoco** (Ct.) "souk", **açuque** and **azoque** "market" (Arag.): < And. *assúq* (apparently, as given away by Pt., pronounced *\*sáwq* in some subdialects)<sup>63</sup> = Cl.Ar. *sūq* < Aram. *sūqā* < Ak. *sūqu(m)* "street". Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açougada**, **açougagem**, **açougaria**, **açougueiro** and **açouguice**. Cf. **alcouce**.

<sup>60</sup> Some contemporary Spanish Arabists and historians of the Iberian Peninsula, either professionals or dilettanti, displaying most of the time more daring than linguistic method, often without warning and availing themselves of their prestige and monopoly, have indulged in the sport of launching a host of totally unnecessary new Ar. "loanwords", with better or worse luck, ranging from general acceptance, like **casida** "Eastern poem", to charitable oblivion, like the pitiful pseudo-literary term **gacela**, about which see our comments in the matching entry. The same destiny should be the lot of such pedantic eyesores as **jarcha**, **moaxaja**, **imela**, **zéjel**, **beréber**, etc., as whimsical and, in Cs., anomalous sequences which, while adding neither to the wealth or the aesthetics of the language, convey an eloquent and negative message of poor taste and linguistic ignorance.

<sup>61</sup> The Arag. word is connectable with some Ct. ones, like **escarxofar-se**, **carxofar-se** and

**encatxofar-se** "to crouch", for which Coromines suggests a metaphor of the artichoke, hidden amidst leaves. This could be admitted only as a subsequent folk etymology, because the Arag. word does not match with the local and most usual names of that plant, and constitutes a prob. original *lectio difficilior*.

<sup>62</sup> Coromines is right upon rejecting the non-dim. form and the unnecessary and never documented *\*assutáyya* posited by former etymologists and extant, by oversight, even in our DAA. But he only knows the Cl. dim., which does not allow him to correctly explain the final portion of the word; this requires the And. triconsonantal masc. dim. of the pattern */lu2áyya3/*, after AAR 2.2.1.1.7.1.

<sup>63</sup> After SK 1.3.6, p. 29, because of the velar contour generated by the realization *[q]*, at once hypercorrected as */aw/*, as a reaction to the low register tendency to monophthongize, after AAR 2.1.1.4.2, p. 41.

**açou/ite** (Pt.), **azouta/e** (Gl.), **azote** (Cs., old var. **açot(e)**, from DAX 269) and **assot** (Ct.) “scourge”: < And. *assawt* = Cl.Ar. *sawt*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azotable**, **azotacalles**, **azota(do)r**, **azotaina**, **azotalenguas**, **azotamiento** and **azotazo**; Ct.: **assotada**, **assotadís**, **assota(do)r**, **assotament**, **assotacristos** and **assotagossos**; Gl.: **azoutar**; Pt.: **açoutadura**, **açoutamento**, **açou/itar** and **açou/iteira**.

**açouue**: see **alhob**.

**acrebite**: see **alcrebite**.

**açrob**: see **alazrob**.

**açuathealic** “draken”: is an unassimilated zoological term, in GP 72, corrupted for **\*açuet çalic** < Neo-Ar. *aswad sâlix* “snake casting off its slough every year”, after Lane 1863–1892:1463.

**acubus**: see **alchabus**.

**açúcar** and **açucra** (Pt.), **azúcar** (Cs.), **azucre** (Gl.), **sucre** (Ct.), **as/zucra**, **zucra** and **azúcar/l** (Arag.), **açucra** (Ast.) and **azúcar** (Leo., clear witness of the easy evolution of paragogic *le* into *la*, as explained in 1.1.4.4.1): < And. *assúkkar* = Cl.Ar. *sukkar* < Pali *sakkharā*,<sup>64</sup> either directly or through Gr. *sákchar(on)*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azucarar**, **azucarera/o**, **azucarería**, **azucarí**, **azucarillo**, **azuquita** and **azuquitar**; Ct.: **sucrer(a)**, **sucrería**, **sucraire**, **sucral**, **sucrós**, **ensucar** and **desensucar**; Gl.: **azucar** and **azucreiro**; Pt.: **açucaral**, **açucareiro** and **açucarilho**; Man.: **zuclería** “sweetshop” and **zuclero** “confectioner” (Man.); Mur.: **sucrero** “confectioner”; Arag.: **zucrería** “sweetshop” (spelled **sucrería** in DRAE). Cf. **zucarí**.

**açucena** (Pt.), **azucena** (Cs. and Gl.), **azo/uzena** (Arag.) and **assutzena** (Ct.) “white lily (*Lilium candidum*)”: < And. *assussána*, n.un. of Cl.Ar. *sawsan*, < Eg. *sšn* or younger forms like Cp. *šōšen*.<sup>65</sup> As for the Pt. var. **cecém**, considered as belonging to poetical language,

although making some appearances in botanic texts, it seems to stem from some Lit. misspelling, being unsupported by any Ar. form. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açucenal**.

**açucra**: see **açúcar**.

**açude** (Pt., with the old var., dial. or of low registers, **açudra/e** and **açurde**), **azud** (Cs., with the var. **zúa** and **zuda**), **assut** (Ct.), **azud/t**, **azú**, **azuda** and **zut(e)** (Arag.) and **azul** (Mur.) “dam”: < And. *assúdd* = Cl.Ar. *sudd*. The Pt. var. **açuda** cannot hark back, as Machado believes, to *\*assuddah*, which is missing in Alcalá in this sense, it just being a common case of evolution of paragogic */a/* into */e/* (as explained in 1.1.4.4.1); this applies also to Ct. **sodra** “dam”, with the additional development of parasitic */r/*, and by no means derivable, as Coromines would have it, from Ar. *\*šudrah* which can only mean the breast or the cloth or armour covering it. From the same etymon is **zúa** “cesspool” (Anl.), also with that paragogic vowel. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **açudada**, **açudagem** and **açudar**; Ct.: **assuter** and **assuteta**; Arag. **azutero**.

**açufarati/yz** (with the var. **açufdratiz**):<sup>66</sup> is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 50, rendered as “limonite”, but more prob. reflecting an Ar. spelling of Gr. *ostrakítēs* “ostracite”

**açuhe**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 72, with the var. **z/soha** and **z/çoa**, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:106 as Fl. 80 (g) Ursae Majoris, < Ar. *assuhā*.

**açulafe** and **aculhaffech**: see **aç/colhafe**.

**açular**: see **acirrar**

**aç/cumbula** “ear (of wheat)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 72, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:2 as Virgo, and in 108 as synonymous of **alhulba**, q.v., < Ar. *assunbulah*.

**açumut**: see **acimut**.

**açunmes**: see **azumbre**.

**açuque**: see **açouque**.

<sup>64</sup> From Sk. *śárkarā* “powdered sugar; gravel”, etymon also of Russian *sáxar* and the like in Ukrainian and Bulgarian, after Vasmer 1996:III 567. For phonetic reasons, the intermediation of either Pahl. *šakar* or Syr. *šakkar* is unlikely, which leaves no other explanation than the frequent direct naval contact and trade between India and Southern and Eastern Arabia.

<sup>65</sup> Ermann & Grapow 1982: III 487, report

that this word, already witnessed in the Middle Empire, has a forerunner >*sšn*< in the Pyramid Texts. Therefore, Semitic has not borrowed it from Pahl. *\*šōsan*, but both did it from Eg.

<sup>66</sup> With four origins: *lyemeni*, *kabroci*, *luhi* and *untoqui*, i.e., Yemenite, Cypriot, Libyan and Antiochian. DAX is prob. wrong in its identification of this stone with **açuz**, a synonym of **beruth**, q.v.

**acurcollarse** and **acurru(h)arse**: see **acorchofa-se**.

**açurde**: see **açuda**.

**açuteici** “a measure” (with the var. **azu-deiz** and **azudere**, from LHP 80): < Ar. *sudays* “a sixth”, after Corriente 2004b:79.

**adaba**: see **aldaba**.

**adaçal** (Val.) “an esparto net used in tunny fishing”: this hapax, retrieved by Eguílaz in a history of Valencia, might reflect And. *alas-fál* = Cl.Ar. *asfal* “lower”, taking into account similar cases of /sf/ > /ss/ and /vlv/ > /vdv/ (see SK 2.3.1, and cf. **adaza**), and the fact that this text mentions two nets simultaneously, made of esparto and hemp, respectively.

**adaçama** and **adácema** (Pt., in Machado, the latter prob. better stressed) “an oily dish”: < And. *addásm* = Cl.Ar. *dasm* “fat in food”, with intra-Rom. insertion of a paragogic vowel /a/.

**adacilla**: see **adaza**.

**adael**: see **adaíl**.

**adafera**: see **adefera**.

**adafina** (Cs. and Pt.) and **adefina** (Cs.) “kind of stew used by Spanish Jews, left on the embers before the beginning of Sabbath to be eaten then”: < And. *addafina* = Cl.Ar. *dafinah* “buried; hidden”

**adágara**: see **adarga**.

**adague** (Pt.) and **daga** (Cs.) “heap of wood or tiles”: < And. *táq(a)* “layer” = Cl.Ar. *táq* < Neo-P. *táq* “layer, fold; arch”.<sup>67</sup> The second meaning is reflected by **taca**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “locker” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **taquilla** (also Ct., imitated from Cs) and **taquillero**; Ct.: **taquiller** and **taquillatge**.

**adahala**: see **alifara**.

**ada(h)ueba** and **adahueyb**: see **adaueba**.

**adaíão** (Pt.) “dean (in the Church)”: this item, from Old Fr. stock but having assumed a shape matched by *addayyān* in the documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo,<sup>68</sup> seems transmitted through their Christian communal dialect, and contaminated by Cl.Ar. *dayyān* “Jewish judge”, of immediate Aram. origin. Cf. **dayán**.

<sup>67</sup> Reported by Ibn Alǧawwām (see Banqueri 1802: I 615, 13). For semantic and morphological reasons, there can be no relationship with Ar. \**dakā* “to blaze”, as hesitantly fancied by Machado.

**adaíl** (Pt., with the var. **adael**, **adalide**, an imitation of Cs., and **adalil** in a Lt. texto), **adail** (Gl.), **adalid** (Cs., with the var. **adali**, already meaning “leader” in Maya *et al.* 1990: II 15,1, II 35,16 and II 83,1),<sup>69</sup> **adalil** (Ct.) and **adelid** (Arag.) “guide”: < And. *addalil* = Cl.Ar. *addalil*.

**adaira** (Pt.) “circle”: is a bookish technical term, < Ar. *addāʾirah*.

**adal**, **adalmodis**, **adalmuro** and **adals** (Hispanic Lt., with the prob. corrupted var. **azalmus**): this word, after **mancusos**, q.v., often reported by Mateu y Llopis, is indeed, the reflex of Ar. *ṣadl* “just”, said of coins of the right weight and alloy. It is often coupled with an additional term, reflected as **amori(s)**, **amurinos**, **amuris** or **meri**, which is the Ar. *ṣāmīrī*, i.e., attributed to the famous Almanzor, Muḥammad b. Abī Ṣāmīr, punctilious in his external compliance with the letter of Islamic law, while paying little heed to its spirit when political aims were at stake. See **adul**.

**adalid(e)**: see **adaíl**.

**adali/ym** “son of the ostrich”: is an unasimulated astronomical term, in GP 12, which admits of three identifications, after Kunitzsch 1961:118–119: Alpha Piscis Austrini, Theta Eridani and Alpha Centauri, < Ar. *ḡalīm* “male ostrich”, not its “chick”, as misunderstood by the Cs. translator.

**adalit**: see **aladul**.

**adalmir**: see **ayadino**.

**adalmodis**, **adalmuro** and **adals**: see **adal**.

**adalu**: see **aladul**.

**adalym**: see **adalim**.

**Adam** (Ct.), **Adán** (Cs.) and **Adão** (Pt., occasionally corrupted as **Aldrão**): < Hb. *ādām*, through Bib.Lt. A metonymy based upon pictures of this personage, naked in the Garden of Eden, **adán** (Cs. and Gl.), has produced the connotation of “slovenly person”, while Pt. appears to have no other metonymical idiom than **no-de-adão** “Adam’s apple” (also Cs. **nuez de Adán**). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.,

<sup>68</sup> See Ferrando 1995:135. It must have been also common among Jews, as a mere Aram. loanword, to judge from the celebrated *xarjah* H1.

<sup>69</sup> This information was provided by Prof. Montaner.

Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **adamita**; Cs. **adam/nismo**; Ct.: **adamisme**; Gl.: **adámico** and **adamismo**; Pt.: **adâmeo**, **adâmia**, **adamiano**, **adâmico**, **adamismo**, **adamista** and **adamítico**. Cf. **rabadá**.

**adama** (Cs.) “prop; support”: is a genuine word, though ignored by DRAE, found in *Libro de Buen Amor*,<sup>70</sup> in rhyme position, < And. *addašama* = Cl.Ar. *dišāmah*, an allomorph of the etymon of **adema**, q.v.

**adaman**: see **ademán**.

**adamane** (Pt.) “kind of drum used in India”: dated from the 17th c. and, therefore, prob. unassimilated: < Neo-P. *damānā*.

**adamasgado**, **adamascar** and **adamascat**: see **damasco**.

**adâmeo**, **adâmia**, **adamiano**, **adâ/âmico**, **adamisme/o**, **adami(s)ta**, **adamítico**, **Adán**, **adán**, **adanismo** and **Adão**: see **Adam**.

**adar** (Pt.), **ad(d)ar** (Cs.): “12th month of the Hebrew calendar” (between February and March): is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 52, < Hb. *ādār* < Ak. *ad(d)aru*, through Bib.Lt.

**Adara** (Cs.): is a bookish Lt. transcription of Ar. *šadārā* “virgins”, (GP 15 **adret algeuze**, 18 **aladeere**, 19 **alahdere**), identified by Kunitzsch 1961:42 as Alpha Canis Majoris, i.e., Sirius, but in Kunitzsch 1959, with  $\alpha^2$ , Delta, Epsilon and Eta Canis Majoris.

**adarach**: this unassimilated term and hapax of DAX 52, might have been mixed up by the editors with **adarec** “a stone” We cannot assert that it reflects the And. var. *dir-riyāq* of Ar. *tiryāq*, whence **triaca** (q.v.), but it appears that in the context of **archetas llenas de libros de todos los saberes & adarach noble** “boxes full of books on every science and noble a.”, it must be a var. of **andarach** “theriac”, q.v., and that the following **adaracno** “a kind of metal”, is prob. a mistake for a synonymous **\*adaracho**, thus corroborated as the name of a substance from which cups with antitoxic virtues were made. In this

connection too, it should be noted that **andarach** in DAX 160, rendered by the editors as “theriac”, is in truth a mere corruption of Gr. *andrāchnē* “purslane”, through Syr. *andraknē* and Neo-Ar. *andarxā*.<sup>71</sup>

**adáraga**: see **adarga**.

**adaraja** (Cs., with a corrupted var. **acharrachas** in García Salinero 1968:27) “toothing in a wall”: < And. *addarāja* = Cl.Ar. *darajah* “step”

(a)**daram** (Ct.), **adárame** (Old Cs., also **adarham** in GP 13.) and **adarme** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “a small measure”: < And. *addārham* = Cl. *dirham* < Gr. *drachmē* “silver coin; a weight” The And. form acquired a paragogic /e/ in Western Ibero-Rom., like so many words abutting upon a consonant, and subsequently avoided the antepenultima stress by skipping the post-tonic syllable. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **adarmeira** or **darmadeira** “bullet gauge”, formed on a denominal hybrid **\*adarmar** “to measure by **adarmes**”

**adarço** (Pt.) “reef”: reflects And. *aḍḍars* which meant “tooth” in general, not only “molar”, as standard *ḍirs*. DS documents the same meaning for its synonymous **\*\*sinn**, it being noticeable that **adarço** appears to be an Ar. loanword exclusive of Pt., and the only witness of this word with such a meaning in And. Machado’s proposal of a far-fetched Cl.Ar. etymon **\*\*addars** “effaced road” is, besides, semantically unlikely.

**adarconim** (Pt.) “an old Hebrew coin”: is an unassimilated word, reflecting the pl. *ādarkonim* of Late Hb. and Rab.Aram. (*ā*)**darkon** < Gr. *dareikós* “daric, Persian silver or gold coin”. Machado’s Hb. **\*\*adorcon** is inaccurate.

**adarec**: see **adarch**.

**adarga** (Pt. and Gl.), (a)**darga** (Cs. and Ct.) and **adáraga** (Cs., with an anaptyctic vowel) “shield”: all derive from And. *addārk/qa*, without any phonetic difficulty, as shown by the voicing of the stop by contact assimilation

by the Arabs, about which see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:215, N° 2098 (Ar. text) and 2007:318 (Cs. translation), a passage in which Ibn Ḥabīb is said to have assigned to it curative properties for 90 illnesses.

<sup>70</sup> See Coromines 1973:515, l. 1355b. Eguílaz was wrong upon propounding an Ar. **\*\*ašmah** which, in addition to its phonetic difficulty, can only mean “feeding once”

<sup>71</sup> This mix-up must have been furthered by the many therapeutic virtues attributed to purs-



lation. This was the most used allomorph in And., derived from Old Ar. *daraqah*, after SK 5.1.6, but there was also a *darák/qa*, which would have generated Pt. **adaraga**: however, as said by Machado in his entry, though side by side with some mistaken concepts, it is unlikely that Rom. would accommodate both allomorphs simultaneously; consequently, this Pt. word and metathetical Cs. and Pt. **adágara** must also have been antepenultima stressed, because of that anaptyctic vowel, as asserted by Coromines. The same etymon must have generated **atareça** "spearhead", retrieved by Eguílaz from a Llt. text describing a knight's suit of armour, in which, in the phrase *mea atareça cum sua hasta*, he suggests Ar. *\*furs* "shield". He is prob. semantically right, as a shield is expected to appear there, but chances are that the item is a poor reading of **atareca**, a var. of **adarga** which in fact has been documented by DO 223. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adarguero**; Pt.: **adargueiro**; Ct., Cs. and Pt.: **adargar**. Cf. **atareça**.

**adárgama** (Cs.) "top quality flour": is a metathesis of And. *addármaka* = Cl.Ar. *darmak(ah)* < Pahl. *dārmag* "fine".<sup>72</sup>

**adargar** and **adargue(i)ro**: see **adarga**.

**adarham**: see **adaram**.

**\*adarmar** and **adarme(ira)**: see (a)**daram**.

**adarmequé** (Pt.) "kind of gold" (from Morais, missing in Machado): cannot be given an etymon without further information.

**adaroeira** (Pt., with the var. (d)**aroeira**, in Morais only **aroeira**) "lentisk (*Pistacia lentiscus*)": is a hybrid of And. *adqarú* = Cl.Ar. *qirw*, with Rom. suffixation. Machado erred in his disavowal of his countryman Chorão de Carvalho's good guess, because the increasingly shorter var. of this word are clearly due to wrong parsing, coupled with very frequent instances of loss of the reflex of a former Ar. article, or of a dental metanализed as the Rom.

preposition **d(e)**, while it is presently well known that /d/ was no longer reflected as >**ld**< as soon as it lost its lateral articulation in standard And., i.e. in all but the earliest borrowings, e.g., **adiafa**, **adaifa**, **ademán**, vs. **aldea** and **aldaba**.

**adarvar** (Cs.) "to stun": reflects an And. Rom. denominal hybrid verb *\*A(D)+darb+ÁR*, formed on the And. *maşdar darb* = Cl.Ar. *darb* "hit".<sup>73</sup> However, in the sense of "to fortify with **adarves**" (Pt. and Cs.), is of course an intra-Rom. denominal der. of this word, q.v.

**adarve** (Cs. and Pt.) "way behind a parapet": it is known that Neo-P. *darb* "gate" was borrowed by Ar. in early times and, as it was metaphorically said of a mountain gorge, it could easily have come to designate these narrow ways, behind or above a wall, as is largely documented in And. Although that Neo-P. word is sometimes considered of Ar. origin, it seems rather to have resulted from the wrong parsing of certain very frequent der. from Neo-P. and Pahl. *dar* "gate", like *darbān* "gatekeeper", *darband* "large doorway", etc. Cf. **adarvar**.

**adassa**: see **adaza**.

**adatis** (Pt.) "a kind of Indian muslin": through Fr. *adatis*, prob. < Hindi *ādhā tīs* "half of thirty", alluding to its size. It is striking that the second constituent of the Hindi phrase eluded Hobson-Jobson,<sup>74</sup> Dalgado and Machado.

**ada(h)ueba** and its matching pl. **ad(d)ahueyb** "lock of hair; star tail": are unasimulated astronomical terms, from GP 12, < And. *adqaw(w)āba* = Cl.Ar. *quṭābah*, and And. *adqawāyib*, reflecting Neo-Ar. *qawālib* / *tāj aljawzāl*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:53 and 112–113 as some stars of Orion.

**adavid** "electuary": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985:205–208, < Neo-P. *dabid*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> There have been other opinions, about which see Latham 1978:70, fn. 6. But Neo-P. *garme* "hot or white bread" basically answers to the semanteme "hot" (*gurm*, both in Pahl. and Neo-P.), while Pahl. *dārmag* is phonetically and semantically closer to Ar. *darmak*, and Syr. *garmekā* "white flour" appears to be an autono-

mous case of assimilation, contamination, etc.

<sup>73</sup> The idiom *a darbāt* "by stabbing" in Alcalá would imply that this hybridization with the Rom. preposition might have been old.

<sup>74</sup> Whose dictionary is often used by Machado, together with Dalgado's, for terms of this area.

<sup>75</sup> Reflected in And., e.g., in IQ 106/3/2.

(a)daza (Cs. and Arag.) and dacsá (Ct., with the var. *adassa* and others) “panic grass; sorghum; corn (successive identifications)”: < And. *ṣalás* = Cl.Ar. *ṣalas* “spelt” The switch between /d/ and /l/ in Ar. loanwords is not exceptional<sup>76</sup> and, as for the shape of Ct., there is at least another clear case of a reflex /ks/ of Ar. /s/ in *nacsá*, q.v. Therefore, the previous hypothesis, And. \*\*\**addáqsa* = Cl.Ar. \*\*\**duqsah*, must be abandoned, erasing that entry from DAA. Of course, there is no considering the absurd etymon Ar. \*\**ṣadasah* “lentil” proposed by Eguílaz and accepted by DRAE until recent times. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *adacilla*; Ct.: *dacsar*, *dacsal* and *dacsara*.

**addaha annaam** (with the var. *elidahe*, rendered as “the ostriches’ eggs”) “nest of the ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 13 and 87, identified by Kunitzsch 61:115 as certain stars of Eridanus or, alternatively, Epsilon and Pi Ceti, < Neo-Ar. *uḍhiyy* / *madḥā annaṣām*, more exactly, “the place in the sand where an ostrich lays its eggs”

**addahueyb**: see *ada(h)ueba*.

**addani** (with the var. *haddani* and *hātani*, from DO 159): “cloth from Aden” < Ar. *ṣadani*, after Lombard 1978:40, quoted in Corriente 2004b:83.

**addarban**, **addauaran** and **ad(d)ebaran**: see *Aldebarán*.

**addib**: see *adib*.

**addiraaym**: see *mocaddem*.

**addirah**: see *adirah*.

**adducar**: see *adúcar*.

**addumel**: see *aldemamel*.

**adeaala**: see *alifara*.

**adeclín**: see *alecrim*.

**adecuja** (Cs.). “a vessel”: reflects Naf. *dakkūj/ah*, apparently from Cp. *t+kou(n)ēou* “vessel of copper for oil, or from pottery for money”, with agglutination of the fem. article, which explains the phonetic evolution of Ar. and the acquisition of the matching gender morpheme, in addition to the hypocoristic pattern /a22u3/.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Anz. *adeclín* for *alecrín* and *adelga* < \**alḥilqa*; the same phenomenon takes place in Cs. *almidón* < Lt. *amylum*, which puzzled Coromines. In truth, these seem to be all cases of dissimilation of a sequence /l—l/, which prob. means

*adedura*: see *andorra*.

**adefera** (Cs., with the var. *adafera*, *acqifera* and *acafera* in GP 12) “small glazed tile for wainscots”: < And. *addafira* = Cl.Ar. *ḍafīrah* “plait” The vocalization of the loanword posits an allophone \**ḍifira*<sup>77</sup> and intra-Rom. metanalysis of the Rom. instrumental suffix /+ÁYR/. Of the same etymon are *açafera*, an astronomical term in translations commissioned by Alfonso X, after Eguílaz, and Pt. *atafera* “plaited esparto for the handles of frails”, semantically more conservative, but with devoicing of the geminated cluster, as in *atorra* (q.v.). This might just answer to an effort to reproduce the correct interdental articulation of /z/ more faithfully, as in other instances where that spelling is used for /y/. Cf. *atufayres*.

**adefina**: see *adafina*.

**adehala**: see *alifara*.

**adehenic(h)**, **abehenic**, **dehenic(h)** or **dihenic**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 14 (with the var. *dehenech* en DAX 53), < Neo-Ar. *dahnaj* “malachite or jasper; emery”, from Pahl. represented by Neo-P. *dahane*.

**adel(a)**: see *adelo*.

**adelcão** (Pt.): Machado musters convincing evidence proving that this word, found in some dictionaries, among them that of Moraes, with the meaning “sovereign”, is truly a mere reflex of *ʿĀdil Xān*, name—or rather, title—assumed by a prince of the *ʿĀdil-šāhī* dynasty, rulers of Goa when Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered it.

**adeleira/o**: see *adel(o)*.

**adelfa** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., the last with the var. *adelfeira*) and **abelfa** (Anl., by phonetic corruption) “oleander (Nerium oleander)”: from And. *addifla* = Cl.Ar. *diḥlā*, < Gr. *daphnē*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *adelfal*, *adélfico* and *adelfilla*.

**ade/olfin**: see *denabaldelfin*.

**adelga** “kind of iron cramp” (Anz.) and **helga** “large ring” (in García Salinero 1968:130): < And. *alḥilqa* = Cl.Ar. *ḥalqah*

that *adaza* is the result of previous \**alalaza*.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. AAR 2.14.1.9, p. 67. It would also be possible to suggest a derivation from the pl. *ḍafīyir*, as in the cases of *acenefa* and *regaifa*, q.v.

"ring of various kinds", with dissimilatory /d/ in the first instance. Cf. *alferga*.

**adelid**: see *adañl*.

**adel(o)** (Pt., with the var. *adeleiro*) "souk broker": derives, no doubt, from And. *addal-lál* = Cl.Ar. *dallāl*, with some phonetic irregularity, as the geminated intervocalic /l/ is not usually dropped in Pt., but simply de-geminated. The explanation of this anomaly may lay in the metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix [+ÉL], because of *imālah*, with subsequent metathesis of gemination (< \**daléll*, cf. the parallel case of And.Rom. \*\**hal*+ÉLO, by haplogy of \**hallál*+ÉLO "small time thief", in the *xarjah* A13). Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *adela* and *adeleira/o*.

**adema/e** (Cs.) "prop": < And. *addīma* = Cl.Ar. *diṣmah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adema-dor** and **ademar**. Cf. *adama* and *ademena*.

**ademán** (Gl. and Cs., with the var. *adaman*, from DAX 52) and **ademane** (Pt., with the var. *ademã*, both imitated from Cs.) "gesture, especially if passionate": < And. *addamán* = Cl.Ar. *ḍamān* "legal guarantee", easily transferred to the exaggerated gesticulation and/or oaths accompanying it or intended to take its place.<sup>78</sup>

**adem(en)a** or **adémia** (Pt., with the var. *ademea*, *ademha*, etc.), **atemia** (Leo., from DO 159) "patch of land" (already documented in DS) and **delma** or **demba** (Ar.) "orchard next to houses" and **adem(p)na** "pasture" (in Llt. documents of Aragon): < And. *addūmna* = Cl.Ar. *ḍimnah* "dunghill", with a semantic shift, reported by DS, and already detected by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī.<sup>79</sup> That author, how-

ever, merely corrects the vulgar pronunciation *dāmna*, not reflected by the loanword, which on the other hand exhibits phenomena of vocalic anaptyxis in Pt., and of metathesis and/or assimilation and subsequent dissimilation in Pt. and Ar.

**ademuz** "diamond": from GP 14, in which the Gr. etymon *ádamas* is reflected through Syr. *adamūs*,<sup>80</sup> not in the usual Ar. shape, *almās*.

**adenhe** "the male of a beast like a lizard": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 14, being a star identified by Kunitzsch 1961:53 as Iota Draconis. The item is corrupted from Ar. *addīr*, in fact, "male hyena"

**aderajá**: see *adirajá*.

**adermar** "to nick or dent" (Arag.): reflects an And.Rom. denominal hybrid verb, \*A(D)+*jal*m+ÁR, formed on And. \**jal*m "nick, dent".<sup>81</sup>

**aderra** (Cs.) "esparto rope used for squeezing the last oil out of olive husks": < And. *addīrra* = Cl.Ar. *dirrah* "rope used as a whip", particularly, the one used by market inspectors to flog dishonest merchants. Cf. *bederre*.

(a)**dezaga**: see *zaga*.

**adfar** (with the var. *alazfar*, *atfar eddib* and *azfar adib*): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 14 and 69, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:41, with some doubt, as the stars Zeta and Eta Draconis, < Neo-Ar. *azfār adqīl* "the wolf's claws"

**adī**: see *dim*.

**adiafa** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. *dia/efa* and *aldiafa*) "tip; treat": < And. *addiyāfa* = Cl.Ar. *diyāfah* "hospitable

<sup>78</sup> The allomorph *ḍimán* of Alcalá, omitted by neglect in DAA, where it should be inserted next to the standard *ḍamán*, is reflected by the loanword only in its vocalization and not in stress. The standard shape reappears in the oath *fi ḍamáni*, not only witnessed in And., as listed in DAA, but also in *La Lozana Andaluza* ("mamotretos" 28 and 43), a *mí fi damani*, heretofore not understood by the editors. The presence in And. of that allomorph and similar words (e.g., \*\*>*tīlād*<, \*\*>*qīrān*< among *mayḍars*, and some substantives attracted by them, like \*\*>*ikāf*<, \*\*>*tīrūz*<, \*\*>*tīhāl*<, etc., see SK fn. 87), for which the likeliest phonemic interpreta-

tion is a shift of stress to the first syllable, would be the outcome of the occasional survival of the *maṣdar* pattern /i2ā3/ in some Old Ar. dialects, instead of the standard /i2ā3/, as a conservative trait, which is explained by Wright:I 117.

<sup>79</sup> See Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 272.

<sup>80</sup> See Payne-Smith 1879–1901:38.

<sup>81</sup> The relatively rare Cl.Ar. \*\*>*y/durm* of the same meaning, suggested by DRAE (eliminated from the latest ed.), is not documented in And., which on the other hand knew other der. of the root /tḍm/. As for the switch of /r/ and /l/ in And., it is a quite frequent phenomenon, after AAR 2.1.2.6.1.

reception" From the same origin is **diafa** "bonus given to olive harvesters" (Ext.), by semantic evolution.

**adib**: is an unassimilated astronomical technicism, from GP 14, pointedly corrected by Nykl from the erroneous **a(l)gib** of *Picatrix*, < Ar. *adḡib*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:103–104 as Alpha Draconis.

**adibal**: see **adival**.

**adibda eceni**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 14, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:158 as Beta Ceti. Although rendered there as "the second lizard", it properly means "frog",<sup>82</sup> < Neo-Ar. *adḡifdaṣ ayyānī*. Cf. **adifdah elmocaden**.

**adibe**<sup>1</sup> (Pt.), **adip** (Ct.) and **adive** (Cs.) "a kind of jackal": < And. *adḡib* = Cl.Ar. *ḡib*.

**adibe**<sup>2</sup>: from GP 14, correctly identified by Nykl as Ar. *azzibā*? "the gazelles"

**adibeyn** "mountain goats": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 15, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:120 as the stars 3, 4 and 8 of the Great Bear. It seems to reflect a Neo-Ar. dual *adḡibayn* "the two wolves",<sup>83</sup> and so thought Nykl, but the Cs. translation gives away a corruption and mix-up with Neo-Ar. *qafazāt azzibā*? "the gazelles' leaps"

**adiça**: see **aldiza**.

**adidebaran**: see **Aldebarán**.

**adifdah elmocaden** or **eldifda elmuque/ idem** "the front lizard": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 15, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:552 as Alpha Piscis Borealis, < Neo-Ar. *adḡifdaṣ almuqaddam*, with the same semantic mistake as in **adibda eceni**, q.v.

**adigeia**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 15, with the var. **aldigi/ya**, **altigiga** and **digeja**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:69 and 180, fn. 2, as the Pleiades,<sup>84</sup> < And. *addijāja* = Cl.Ar. *dajājah* "hen"

**adil** (Pt.) "waste ground": Machado derived this dial. word of Tras-os-Montes, also

recorded by DO 160 as Leo. with the var. **ad/tile**,<sup>85</sup> from Ar. *ṣāḡil*, which only means "unadorned", thus requiring a considerable semantic evolution, compounded by the phonetic difficulty of different stress, as the synonymous \**ṣāḡil* posited by DO does not exist, although she provides sufficient Neo-Ar. references to support a semantic connection. We have been suggesting an old borrowing from And. *alanādir* = Cl.Ar. *anādir* "threshing floors", free from phonetic objections, as the stress shift may be due to contamination by the Rom. suffix {-*IL*}, and even the late Alcalá has *anādir*, without *imālah*, and semantically logical, considering that waste grounds are very appropriate places for threshing. But, all in all, this etymological problem cannot be considered as definitively solved. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **adilar**.

**adilgo**: see **andelgue**.

**adip**: see **adibe**.

**adir**: see **dim**.

**adirah almobçota** "extended arm": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 15, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:54 as Alpha and Beta Canis Minoris, < Ar. *adḡirāṣ almabṣūḡah*.

**adir(r)ajá**, **adirrajau** and **aderajá** (Pt.) "rajah": this mod. word from India, undocumented before the 18th c., reflects Sk. *adhi-rāj(ā)* "emperor, supreme king", rather than its Hindi offspring *adhi-rāj*.

**adiutorium**: see **alhadab**.

**adiv/bal** (Gl. and Pt.) "rope used for fastening loads or measuring": < And. *attiwāl* = Cl.Ar. *tiwāl* "tether" From the same etymon is Arag. **tibante** "piece of rope; tight", and the denominative verb **tibar** "to tighten"

**adivas** (Cs., with the corrupt var. **oliuas** in GP 112) and **adives** (Ct.) "fives": from the Ar. technical term. *adḡibḡah*, lit., "she-wolf"

**adive**: see **adibe**.

**adixar** (Pt.) and **alijar** (Cs.) "country house; farmhouse" and **alixar** (Ct.) "Morisco

<sup>82</sup> This confusion would confirm the rarity of the standard Ar. word in And., in which it had been replaced by *rína* and *čux/rhún*.

<sup>83</sup> An also existing designation, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:104 as Zeta and Eta of Draco.

<sup>84</sup> Lane 1863–92, however, proposes the constellation Cygnus, which may be explained by

the fact that Kunitzsch 1959:155 renders *dene-beedegige* "the hen's tail" as Alpha Cygni.

<sup>85</sup> García Arias 2006:50, who documents this word in Ast. too, propounds Lt. \**haedile* "(place for) kids", which is also unconvincing because of its vocalism.

peasant's house": < And. *addiṣār*, dissimilatory var. of Cl.Ar. *juṣār* "drove of horses",<sup>86</sup> with considerable semantic evolution.

**adlajare** and **adlares**: see **aladar**.

**adlayada** "public festivities of Purim" (Jud.-Sp.), < Aram. *ṣad dlā yādaṣ* "until one cannot distinguish (Haman from Mordechai)", because of the drunkenness recommended by the Babylonian Talmud for this occasion.<sup>87</sup>

**admirall** and **admirant**: see **almirall**.

**adnutuba**: see **anúbada**.

**adoba/e** and **tubo** (Arag.), **adoba** (Nav.), **tova** (Ct., var. Val. *atòva*), **adobe** (Cs., Pt. and Gl.) and **atoba** (Mur.) "sun-dried brick": < And. *ṣūba* = Cl.Ar. *ṣūbah* < Eg. >*ḏbt* < (cf. Cp. *tōḏbe*). In Cs., as well as in Pt. **adob/va**, it has also the sense of "a prisoner's fetter", by metonymy of the main sense.<sup>88</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adobera**, **adobería** and **adobío**; Val.: (a)**tovó**; Pt.: **adobar**, **adobaría** and **adobeira**.

**adohar** (with the var. **aldohar** and **haldoar**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 15, < Ar. *aẓẓuhr* "noon"

**adohón** (Cs.) "millet": is a hapax, retrieved by Pocklington 1984 from *Colección de Documentos para la historia del reino de Murcia*, < And. *adduxún* = Cl.Ar. *duxn*. The stress of the And. item, suggested by the spelling of *Vocabulista in arabico*, is confirmed by Ibn Hiẓām Allaxmī (see Pérez Lázaro 1990:273), who would not have taken issue with that pronunciation if the second vowel were disjunctive, not phonemic, and its being so implies ultima stress; therefore, this case is similar to that of **racó**, q.v.

<sup>86</sup> This word was surveyed, with rich and documented new data which used to be his best contribution to etymologies, by Oliver 1942: 153–164.

<sup>87</sup> Correction to Corriente 1999e:67 and 2002a: 106, received in private mail from Aharon Klaus, Ph.D. student of Barcelona University, based upon living usage, quotes from the treatise Masechet Megila and the entries of Even Shoshan 1969 II:956 and 949. Therefore, our former proposal of a hybrid suffixation of And. *atlahhá* < Cl.Ar. *tuluhhá* "to have fun", must be abandoned.

<sup>88</sup> As explained by García Gómez 1972:III 474–5. The Pt. meaning as "room in which minor delinquents are allowed to pace around" is an obvious semantic evolution.

<sup>89</sup> Ignored by Eguílaz, which made him pro-

**adolfin**: see **denabaldelfin**.

**adolío** (Ct.) "howl": does not look like a der. from **udolar**, < Lt. *ülülāto*, contaminated by **bonío** "buzz", especially compared with Men. **galió**, an apparent result of And. *alwáy* = Cl.Ar. *wayl* "moan", with the Rom. aug. suffix (\**al+wayl+ÓN* > \**al+GWAYL+ÓN* > *GALYÓ*). This suggests a parallel evolution \**al+wayl+ÓN* > \**AD+wayl+ÓN* (with dissimilation and/or contamination by the Rom. preposition) > \**ADWALYÓN* (with metathesis of *yod*) > *ADAWLYON* (with metathesis of *w/f*).

**adomassar**: see **damasco**.

**Adonai/y** (Cs.) and **Adonai** (Ct.) "Jewish name of God": < Hb. *ādōnay* "my lord(s)" (majestic pl.), through Bib.Lt.

**adoquim** (Pt., with the var. **adoquina**) and **adoquín** (Cs.) "paving stone" and **aloquín** "stone enclosure in a wax bleachery" (Cs., mere phonetic var. of the preceding, not a der. from Cl.Ar. *alwaqī* "protector", as the DRAE used to state, an unknown term in And. with serious phonetic and semantic drawbacks): < And. *addukkán* = Cl.Ar. *dukkān* "stone bench".<sup>89</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adoquinado(r)** and **adoquinar**.

**ador** (Cs. and Arag.) "watering turn": < And. *addáwr* = Cl.Ar. *dawr* "turn, period" Cf. **adra**.

**adora** "corn or millet" (Pt.), **dora** (Pt.) "Indian millet" and **ardurán** "sorghum" (Cs., omitted by DA and Coromines): all of them are late borrowings of Naf. origin, < Mar. *əddra* = Cl.Ar. *ḡurah*.<sup>90</sup> Cf. **adorra**.

**adorem/z**: see **derezi**.

pound a thoroughly unsuitable metathesis of Ar. \*\**kaddān* "a soft stone"

<sup>90</sup> The alleged Br. \*\**ayārdan* "wheat", which older editions of DRAE took from Eguílaz or from Fr. works written at the end of the 19th c., is a mere mistranscription of an also erroneous Ar. spelling of the genuine standard Br. \*\**irdan* of that meaning, well-known by Br. scholars. However, this term is also semantically unsuitable, on account of the quality differences between wheat and the intended North African Gramineae, usually receiving names derived from Ar. *ḡurah*, which Eng. and Fr. colonizers have preferred to simply transcribe as *durra*. The correct etymon is suspected by Machado, s.v. **dora**, though mistakenly transcribed as \*\**dhurra*.

**adorra** “shirt” (Old Pt., in a Llt. document; García Arias 2006:25 adds the Ast. var. **atorra**, and DO 163 Leo. **adtorra** and **adora**;) and **atorra** “petticoat” (Cs. from Álava, after DRAE, also in Llt. documents of Aragon as “buttoned tunic”, after Fort Cañellas 1994:125): do not derive from Basque *atora* “man’s or woman’s shirt”, according to Machado and DRAE in former editions, as all of them derive from And. *addurrāṣa* = Cl.Ar. *durrāṣah*. It is one of the very scarce Ar. loanwords in the Basque language, generally received through Rioja and Navarra from Tarazona and Tudela, strongly Islamicized and Arabized for centuries.

**adorro** “stubborn; tedious, monotonous” (Anz. and Anl.): prob. the same as **handora** in the Arcipreste de Hita and standard **andorra**, q.v.<sup>91</sup> Cf. **alcandora**.

**adova**: see **adoba**.

**adra** (Cs.) “turn; share”: is a deverbal der. from **adrar** (labelled by DRAE as Sal.), for \***adorar**, a denominal der. of **ador**, q.v.

**adramán** (Gl.) “heavily built bad-tempered man”: is an isolated Ar. loanword in the entire Ibero-Rom., reflecting the Ar. pr.n. *ṣabdarrahmān*, a likely reminiscence of times when the Cordovan Umayyad rulers still often threatened the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula.

**adrede** (Cs. and Pt.) “on purpose”: in the lack of a better etymon, it might reflect Ar. *ṣan riḏā* “at pleasure”, perhaps through a hybrid And.Rom. \**AD+riḏā*. The var. **adedre** < \***adedre** would reflect the old lateral result assimilated to the previous sonorant, while the /e/ would match >ā< in the same way as in **atafé**, q.v.

**adret algeuze**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 15, interpreted as “mistress of Orion”, but corrected by Kunitzsch 1961:116 as Neo-Ar. *ṣuḏrat aljawzāʾ*, unclear name of some stars of Canis Major, the meaning of which was also dealt with in Kunitzsch 1959:140, fn. 1.

**adrión**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 672, without an alphabetic entry, s.v. **diarrodón**, not a rose ointment, as fancied by the authors, who often mix up these

terms, but a reflex of Neo-Ar. *aḏaryūn* “mari-gold (*Calendula officinalis*)”, about which, see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:55 and 2007:87.

**adritus**: see **alsadritus**.

**adroguer** and **adrogueria**: see **droga**.

**adrolla**: see **hadrolla**.

**adrua**: see **joroba**.

**adta**: see **ata**.

**adtiua**: see **atiba**.

**adua** (Pt.) and (**a**)**dula** (Cs. and Arag.) “herd”, **duulla** (Leo., from DO 239) and **dula** (Ct.) “pasture land”: < And. *addūla* = Cl.Ar. *dawlah* “turn, period”, of watering, etc., with a semantic shift towards grazing, and then, the grazing flocks and the place for it, although the original meaning also survives in Cs., next to “an irrigated patch of land or used for grazing by turns” There are other semantic evolutions, like **dula** “day of forced labour; subterfuge” (Mur.), “herd of swine” (Anl.), and “prosperity; lucky time” (Jud.-Sp.), **dúa** (Cs.) “forced labour; team of miners; turn” and (Sal., imitating Pt. **adua**) “turn of watering” and Pt. **adua**, in the sense of “compulsory repairs of city walls” and “moat”, generated by “turn” A phonetic var. is **aduba** (Pt.) “crew’s communal meal”. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **edulario** “driver of horses or mules”, **doliquera** “rabbit burrow; bedroom for little brothers” and **duliquera** “wild rabbit”; Can. **adulado** “timely (said of rain)” and **adularse** “to become partners in grazing”; Cs.: **adulear**, **adulero** and **dular**; Ct.: **duler**; Pt.: **aduada/o**, **aduagem**, **aduar** (a verb), **aduerismo** and **adueiro**.

**aduan(a)**(da), **aduanar** and **aduan(e)**(i)ro: see **diván**.

**aduar**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Ct., with the var. **duar**, Pt. and Gl.) “Bed. village”: is a loanword not earlier than the 15th c. campaigns in North Africa, < Ar. *dawwār*, in its Naf. Bed. pronunciation *duwwār*. The etymon of older editions of DRAE, based upon Ar. \**adwār* “turns” is wrong, and neither is this word the pl. of \**dār* “house”. Cf. **adua**.

**aduar**<sup>2</sup> “vertigo, dizziness”: is an unassimilated medical term from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:68 (with the spelling var. **advar**

semantic evolution.

See Corriente 1993c: 139, presently increased with many additions, about its origin and

in Vázquez & Herrera 1985:106) < Ar. *adduwār*.

**aduba:** see **adua**.

(a)dubayla (with the var. *aldubela/eti*, (a)dubellet, a(l)dubellati and *aldubela*) "soft tumor": is an unassimilated medical term from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:126–129 and 1989:84, < Ar. *addubaylah*.

**adúcar** (Cs.),<sup>92</sup> **adducar**, **alducàr** or **aldúcar** (Ct., with optional hypercorrect restoration of the // of the Ar. article) "rough silk from the outer part of the cocoon": the presumed Ar. etymon \*\*\**dukār*, upheld by Eguílaz on the evidence of some late Granadan deeds and a Mor. item from Lerchundi, appears to be a return from Cs., as proved also by the stress. Our contention has been that it might be a hypocoristic And. \**haddūqa*, of the pattern /a22ú3(a)/, formed on the root {*hdq*} "to surround" (cf. Cl.Ar. *hundūqah* "pupil", with vowel harmonization and dissimilation of the geminated dental), semantically based upon the fact that this silk is around the cocoon. However, it could rather be an evolution of And.Rom. \**haṭr+Ó/ÚQA*, posited by Cs. and Ct. **droga**, q.v., with which it shares the connotation of inferior quality. The parasitic /r/ added in the cauda and missing in some var., like **aduque** (Cs.) and **aduca** (Cs. and Maj.), mentioned by Eguílaz, would have brought about the haplological dissimilation of the first one, while the loss of the initial pharyngeal and voicing of the dental intervocalic dental stop are the norm.

**aduerismo** and **adueiro**: see **adua**.

**adufa** (Pt.) "wooden panel" and (Cs.) "sluice", and **aldufa** (Ct., with hypercorrect restoration of the // of the Ar. article) "sluice; gate": < And. *addūffah* "door leaf" = Cl.Ar. *daffah* "side panel" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **aldufeta**; Pt.: **adufar**.

**adufe** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **adufo**), **adufre** (Cs.) and **alduf** (Ct., var. **adufle**, also Old Cs., after GP 16) "tambourine": < And. *addūff* = Cl.Ar. *duff*. Ct. exhibits hypercorrect restoration of the // of the Ar. article; as for its var. **aldufrabal**, Coromines

was right upon considering it a mistake for \***alduf tabal** "drummer's tambourine". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adufero**; Pt.: **adufar**, **adufaria** and **adufeiro**; Ct.: **aldufer**. Cf. **atabal**.

**adugue** (Pt.) "dignitary in the Ethiopian Church": appears to reflect Am. *adug ras* or *dug* "deputy", with some semantic distortion, although Guidi also has *maluna dug* as "vicar of the abuna" Cf. **ras**.

**adul**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Pt.) "advisor of a Muslim judge": is, in both languages, a late technical term, no earlier than the colonization of North Africa. Being usually more than one, it reflects the Ar. pl. *ṣudūl*, of a sg. \*\**ṣadl*, semantically and historically evolved from "a man whose good reputation validates his witness" to "legal advisor of the judge". Cf. **adal**.

**adul**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "decorated braid used as a necklace by Granadan Morisco women": is documented and described by Eguílaz on the basis of a Granadan deed (p. 544) and material from the Alhambra archives (p. 64). This information allows the deduction that, despite Alcalá's spelling *adúl*, the etymon is And. *ṣadūl*, which is strange at first sight, as Cl.Ar. \*\**ṣadūl* only means "fault finding" But it is prob. a corruption of And. *aṣḍūr*, pl. of *ṣidār* < Cl.Ar. *ṣidār* "bridle curb", often lavishly decorated in luxury harnesses. Eguílaz himself, from another document of the Alhambra archives, retrieves an extended form **adula-din**, perhap And. *ṣadul ṣaṣīm* "large braid", prob. decorated with five, instead of three tassels, according to the description afforded therein. Cf. **aladar**.

**adula**: see **adua**.

**aduladin**: see **adul**.

**adulado**, **adularse**, **adulear** and **adulero**: see **adua**.

**adúnia** (Pt.) and **adunia** (Cs. and Gl.): is a relatively rare word in both Pt. and Cs., meaning "in a large amount", and reflecting And. *addūnya* = Cl.Ar. *addunyā* "the (whole) world". From the same origin is Ct. **en doina**, "to and fro; in disorderly motion", not with the semantic shift imagined by Coromines, but through the And. idiom *faddūnya*, descriptive

<sup>92</sup> According to Márquez 1961:107, **adúcar** has a var. **ocal**, phonetically understandable, reflected in some Granadan ordinances and in Mur., with

the expectable stress, which in the standard form appears contaminated by **azúcar**.

of weather or time (e.g., IQ 108/2/3 *alfalúk faddúnya* “the West wind is blowing” and 137/2/1 *ramadán faddúnya* “this is Ramadan”). As can be seen, upon calqueing the idiom, the Ar. preposition has been translated into Rom.

**aduque:** see **adúcar**.

**adurugen** “division of a constellation into three parts, each one attributed to a star”: is a bookish unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 16 and *Libro Complido*,<sup>93</sup> < Neo-Ar. *darījān* < Neo-P. *darigān*.

**adutaque** (Cs.) “top quality flour”: < And. *adduqāq* < Cl.Ar. *duqāq* “fine flour, particularly, of lupins”.<sup>94</sup>

**aeracilis:** see **erak**.

**afā** (Pt., with the var. **afano**), **afán** (Cs., Gl. and Ar.), **afany** (Ct.) and **afañ** (Arag.) “grief”: in view of the difficulties of proving a Lt. etymon for this word and its var. and der. in Cs., Ct. and Pt., it could be wise to look elsewhere, e.g., in an And.Rom. deverbal substantive from *\*A(D)+fan(a+Y)AR*, a denominal hybrid verb formed on Ar. *fanā*? “pining away from love; mystical extinction”, a characteristic term of lyrical poetry which may very well have irradiated from Provence, although the borrowing had taken place in the Iberian Peninsula. The Western forms without palatalization of the nasal (in either substantives or the verbs derived from them, e.g., Cs. and Pt. **afanar** and Arag. **afana-se**, vs. Ct. **afanyar**) may also be due to contamination by **fanar** (Pt.) and **fañar** (Cs.) “to maim”, q.v. However, the possibility of an Ar. etymon *hamm* or *gamu* “worry”,<sup>95</sup> first propounded by Vázquez & Herrera 1984, cannot be dismissed lightly. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **afanado(r)**, **afanar**, **afafiarse** and **afanoso**; Gl.: **afanarse** and **afanoso**;

Pt.: **afanoso**; Ct.: **afanar**, **afanada**, **afaneta**, **afanyat** and **afan(y)ós**. Cf. **açafanhar**. **afaagamento** and **afaagar**: see **afagar**.

**afafrán:** see **açafrão**.

**afagar** (Gl. and Pt., the latter with the old var. **afa(l)agar**), **afalagar** (Ct. and Old Cs.), **afalagá** (Arag.) and **h/falagar** (Cs.), **(a)falagar**; (Leo.) and **afalagar** (Bie.) “to flatter” and **halagarse** “to fly together (said of pigeons sexually attracted to each other)” (Nav., closest to the suggested etymon and confirming the semantic juncture): our contention since Corriente 1987:247<sup>96</sup> has been that this word derives from And. *xalāq* “thief pigeon”, a hybrid of Cl.Ar. *xalā*? “uninhabited place” with the Rom. attributive suffix **/+ÁQ/**. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **falangeiro** “flatterer”; Arag.: **falaguera** “dead calm; female’s rut”; Cs.: **afalago**, **h/falago**, **h/falagador**, **h/falagüefio**, **h/falaguero**, **falagar** and the Sephardic name or nickname (**Ben**) **Falaguera** “son of the beguiling woman”; Gl.: **afagador** and **afago**; Leo.: **falago**; Nav. **falaguera** “whim”, **halagoso** and **esfalagau** “shabby”; Pt.: **afa(a)gamento** or **afalagamento**, **afago**, **(a)fagueiro**, **afagadeiro**, **afagueirar** and **afagueiro**; Ct.: **afalagable**, **afalagadura**, **(a)falagador**, **afalagament**, **(a)falac**, **falaguera** and **falaguejar**; Mur.: **deshalagar** (from Gómez Ortín 1991:163). Cf. **halacaero**.

**afalca:** see **falca**.

**afalfa:** see **alfalç**.

**afaltih:** this unassimilated technical term from DAX 66, identified as **asfalto** “asphalt” in 231 and as an unlikely **césped** “turf” in 405, looks like a corruption of Gr. *ásphaltos*, through Syr. >*spl̄tyn* < and >*spl̄twn* <; see Payne Smith 1879–1901:315.

<sup>93</sup> See also Hilty 2005b: 189.

<sup>94</sup> With some semantic evolution and a comparatively rare dissimilation of a sequence of stops, unless this is an instance of the faulty pronunciation mentioned by IQ 140/2/4, and explained in a note of the 3rd ed. of our translation (Corriente 1984a, ed. 1996:332). However, this isolated case could just be a mistake for **\*aducaque**, as believed by Coromines and accepted by Latham 1978:83, fn. 6.

<sup>95</sup> Linked together, e.g., in *Kitābu šumdati*

*ṭṭabīb*, N° 2516, as a condition curable with bugloss (see the recent edition of this treatise by Abulxayr Alʿišbīlī, in Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:265 (Ar. text) and 2007:381–2 (Cs. translation).

<sup>96</sup> See also PD 242–244 and fn. 208. There is no And. witness of Cl.Ar. *\*xālaq* “to treat kindly”, propounded by previous etymologists, and not too frequent in Neo-Ar. either, while verbs borrowed in the perfective are a rarity, after 1.2.1.2.3c.



**afán, afanado(r), afanar, afana-se, afaneta, afano(so), afany(ar), afan(y)ós, afañarse and afaño:** see **afā**.

**afaquear:** see **faca**.

**afaram** (Arag.) “strange; ugly”: is an insufficiently documented word, perhaps a der. from And. *alḥarām* = Cl.Ar. *ḥarām* “forbidden or morally wrong”, with the semantic support of *faramalha*, q.v., and the phonetic parallel of *afarrasar*, with loss of /ll/ in a similar contour.

**afarbado** (Pt.) “withered, parched” and **afarvar-se** “to toil” (both words missing in Machado), Cs. **harbar** “to do hastily”, **h/jar-bado** “cracked” (Anl.) and Jud.-Sp. **ajarvar** “to beat; to punish” might easily derive from an And. Rom. hybrid verb \*A(D)+*xarab*+*ÁR* “to ruin”, formed on And. *xarāb* = Cl.Ar. *xarāb* “ruin” Cf. also Can. *harbanear* “to fidget about”

**afarfantado and afarfante:** see **farfā**.

**afargatón:** see **fargallo**.

**afarrasar and afarraso:** see **alfarràs**.

**afarvar-se:** see **afarbado** and **harbanear**.

**afciet** “male eagle or falcon”, is an unasimilated word, from DAX 67; in truth, the pl. *ʕafsiyyāt* of the Ar. technical term of falconry *ʕafsi*, after Möller & Viré 1988:73 and 204, said in Iraq and Alḥijāz, of a kind even smaller than the sparrowhawk, because of its colour like gallnuts.

**afegã(o), afegânico or afegane** (Pt.), **afgà and afganès** (Ct.) and **afgano** (Cs. and Gl.) “Afghan”: < Tr. *afġan* or Neo-P. *afġān*, through Fr.

**afião:** see **anfião**.

**afice:** see **hafiz**.

**afilate:** see **acirate**.

**(a)foraya:** see **açoraya/e**.

**aforra, aforrá, aforrament, aforrador, aforrar(-se), aforrecho, (a)forro and aforrón:** see **(al)forre/o**.

**aftaguir** (Pt.) “kind of banner in India”: is an unasimilated word, not documented before the 19th c., < Neo-P. *āfiābhgir* “parasol”, through Konkani.

**(a)fucharse** (Can.) “to kneel down (a camel)”: < Has. *f+ččak* “on your face”, an expressive var. of standard *f+wejhak*, used by the *Znāga* camel drivers.<sup>97</sup>

**agá** (Cs. and Pt.) and **agà** (Ct.): < Tr. *aġa* “lord”, prob. through It.

**agabellar:** see **alcabala**.

**agacé:** see **negús**.

**agafada, agafadís, agafa(do)r, agafadura, agafall(ós), agafatós, agafalops, agafamosques, agafa-roques, agafa-sants, agafa-sopes and agafes:** see **garfo**.

**agalari** (Pt.) “young servants at the palace of the Ottoman sultan”: an unasimilated recent word, which has lost a much necessary first constituent of the Tr. phrase *saray aġalari*.

**agalbanado:** see **galbán**.

**agaliu, agalivança, agaliva/or and agalvós:** see **cálibo**.

**agalugem** (Pt.) “agalloch”: an unasimilated word, used in the Indian trade. If its immediate etymon were Ar., it should be *aġālūjun*.

**agalverar:** see **cálibo**.

**ágama** (Pt.) “revealed Hindu books”: < Sk. *āgama* “knowledge; precept; tradition”, prob. through Fr. or Eng.

**ágamo:** see **ámago**.

**agañafiar** “to clutch” (Mur., from Gómez Ortín 1991:30): seems to be a hybrid of Cs. **agarrar**, of the same meaning, and **ñaflar** for **nafrar** “to wound”, q.v.

**agarbado:** see **cálibo**.

**agarbarse** (Cs.) “to crouch”: this word teams up with **engarbarse** “to climb while fleeing” (Anz.), **acarbarse** “to hide; to shelter oneself” (Sal. and Ext.), **agarbo** “crouching” (Mon.) and **algar**(be) “cave” (Anz.), q.v., usual in areas with high density of Ar. loanwords. The basic semanteme of the And. verb *garáb* ~ *yaġrúb* = Cl. Ar. *garab* ~ *yaġrúb* “to set (a star)” fits them all, it being presumably used as a metaphor to express or order somebody’s instant disappearance. Consequently, the most likely reflect an And. Rom. denominal hybrid verb \*A(D)+*garb*+*ÁR* “to remove from sight;

<sup>97</sup> Information provided, in answer to our consultation, by Dr. Ahmed Salem Ould Mo-

hamed Baba.

to put out of the way", formed directly on the matching *maşdar*, which then would admit prefix substitution and derivation of deverbal substantives.<sup>98</sup>

**agarbella(do)r:** see *garbell*.

**agarbo:** see *agarbarse*.

**agarbuixat and agarbular:** see *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

**agarçal (Pt.)** "noble building next to a pagoda": Morais considers this unassimilated word, with the var. **agursal**, **agareçala** and **agraçala**, as derived from Sk. *\*agraśālā* "front of a building", missing in both Monier-William and Macdonell, although correctly formed. Machado dates it no earlier than in 1886, which makes a transmission through Eng., perhaps of. *agrāsana* "place of honour", apt to designate a hostel for important visitors.

**agarchifa:** see *alcachofa*.

**agardacho:** see *alfardacho*.

**agarè (Ct.) and agareno (Cs., Gl. and Pt.):** is a gentilic formed with Rom. suffixation on Bib.Lt. *Agar* < Hb. *hāgār*, pr.n. of the famous female slave of Abraham. The alleged Hb. *\*hagorīaīs* "descendent of Agar" given by Machado as source of the Gr. is sheer nonsense.

**agareçala:** see *agarçal*.

**agarimar (Gl. and dial. Pt.)** "to fondle": < And. *garīm* = Cl.Ar. *garīm* "debtor", which appears to have acquired in a bilingual environment the semantic value of Cs. **deudo** "relative", i.e., entitled to affection and favour. This would suggest an And.Rom. hybrid verb *\*A(D)+garīm+AR* "to make of someone a relative" Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **agarimo** and **agarimoso**, the latter also dial. Pt.: **agarimoso**.

<sup>98</sup> It could be objected to this that *garb*, in And. and everywhere else in Neo-Ar. has become specialized as "West", to the point of being totally replaced by *gurūb* in the sense of "(star) set". But it was not so in the Old Ar. dialects, nor theoretically in Cl.Ar.; therefore, it might have survived in Al-Andalus long enough to generate these idioms and, on the other hand, the Semitic mind clearly preserves the semantic juncture between "(star) set" and "going into hiding", both expressed by the root *ḡrbh*, since Ak. *erēbu šumši* "sunset", lit., "entrance of the sun", up to the contemporary

**agarrafar:** see *garrafa*<sup>1</sup>.

**agarrama:** see *garama*.

**agarra(da), agarração, agarrade/oira, agarradiço, agarrad(inh)o, agarradera/o, agarra(fa)dor, agarrafar, agarrant(e), agarrar/t, agarrón and agarr(atori)o:** see *garfo*.

**agatanhar:** see *gat*.

**agazela:** see *gacel*.

**agebuctar:** see *algebuctar*.

**agib:** see *adib*.

**agifarse:** see *gifa*.

**agirafado:** see *azoraba*.

**agla (Pt.)** "cabalistic word": Machado explains it as an acronym of Hb. *atūā gībhor lēYolām ādonay* ("Thou art powerful for ever, o Lord"), with the mistake, repeated by Morais, of transcribing the pharyngeal phoneme of *lēYolām* "eternally" with >j<.

**aglábī (Cs.) and aglábīd/ta (Pt.)** "Agh-labite": is a contemporary historiographical term designating this Naf. dynasty, < Ar. *aglābī*, gentilic of the name of its founder at the beginning of the 9th c., Ibrāhīm b. Alʿaglāb b. Sālim b. ʿIqāl.

**agmi (Pt., only in Morais)** "an Egyptian wine": this mod. unassimilated borrowing is a corruption of Neo-Ar. *laqmī* "palm wine"

**agofibar and agoffa:** see *aljoiffa*.

**agomia (Pt., with the var. gomia), gumia (Ct.) and gumia (Cs.)** "Moorish curved dagger": is a word not documented before the 16th c., in relation with the North African campaigns, < Mor. *kumīyya* of the same meaning, lit., "that of the sleeve", because it can be concealed in it. A Br. phase as explanation for the prefix of the first Pt. var. is unlikely, as the resulting fem. form would prob. have required the prefix /ta-/ and suffix /-t/,<sup>99</sup> whilst a simple

coarse Eg. Ar. *ugrub* "get lost!" Therefore, the extended form **algarbe** (Anz.), discussed by Coromines in the entry **algar** of DCECH and well documented as not to leave doubts about its true existence, must not have resulted from contamination with **aljibe**, as he thinks, which is semantically remote, but is a deverbal der.

<sup>99</sup> Such result is, in fact, documented as *\*ukummit* in Šafīq 1989:I 343, who does not specify dialects. There is also a half-Berberized reflex in Baḡ., after Ibáñez 1954:160, with the shape *\*ikummit*.

Ar. article, with the frequent loss of /l/, would explain that onset plus the voicing of the first consonant by contact assimilation. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **agomiada**.

**agotzil/r**: see **aguasil**.

**agovía** (Cs.) "mat-weed sandal" and **argobía** "sandal of unripe esparto" (Anl.): is the footwear called in And. **\*hirkása**, much used by North Africans, of Br. origin (cf. Rif. **\*arkas**), with several dial. allomorphs, among which Rif. **\*aharkus** has widely circulated in Naf. as **\*harkūs**, after DS. There is some phonetic likeness between the shapes of this form and those loanwords in their two first syllables, although insufficient to prove direct kinship. Perhaps, since the And.Ar. speakers had a marked abhorrence of Br., with which they had, nevertheless, to coexist, there was an attempt at making this term semantically transparent by a blending with **\*šarqubíyya** "that of the heel" (cf. **enxaravía**), whence the Rom. shapes derive without hindrance. However, one cannot exclude metathesis and dissimilation of a conceivable And. **\*albulgíyya** "of the kind of the **alborga**", q.v. (> **\*algorbía** > **\*argorbía** > **argobía**).

**agraçala**: see **agarçal**.

**¡agua!** (Cs. thieves' cant) "watch out!": this warning of the presence or imminent arrival of the police bears no relation to any kind of "water", but reflects And. **\*awšá** "beware!", standard in Neo-Ar., although scarcely documented otherwise, except apparently in Jud.-Ct. **aguaya** = **awša** + **yyák** "watch out! beware!", in Bramon 1997:49. The idiom **¡agua va!**, a classic warning to passers-by when any kind of liquid was thrown out of the window, also appears to reflect And. **awšá bašád** "beware, there!" Cf. **alelevi**.

**aguajaque** (Cs., with the old var. **alhuasac** in DAX 114, and **albaxad**, retrieved by Eguílaz from *Libro de Montería*) "fennel gum": from And. **alwašāq** = Cl.Ar. **wuššāq** "gum ammoniac (Dorema ammoniacum) and similar plant exudations", from an unattested Pahl. form, represented by Neo-P. **voše**. The loss of /l/ from the Ar. article has prob. been helped by Intra-Rom. contamination with **agua** "water".

**aguanafa** or **agua de nafa** (Mur.) and **aiguanaf** (Ct.) "orange blossom water": is

half-translated from Neo-Ar. **\*māʔ annafh** "water of fragrance". The compound, undocumented in And. and Ct. shape, merely copied by Mur. and isolated in Ibero-Rom. (but cf. It. *acqua nanfa*) suggests a term acquired through trade with other Mediterranean shores.

**aguaril** "burrow": (Mur., from Gómez Ortín 1991:32): < And. Rom. **\*awkar+ÉL**, i.e., the pl. of Ar. **wakr** "nest" with Rom. dim. suffixation.

**aguarín**: see **alborín**.

**aguasil** and **arguazil** (Arag.), **a(l)guazil** (Pt., with the var. **a(l)gozil** and **alvazil**), **a(l)guacil** (Cs.), **alguacil** (Gl.), **aluzil**, **agueziles** and **uazile** (Leo., from DO 195 and 284, as well as **aluacir/t** and **aluaris** in Gamba 1997–1998:427) and **agutzil**, **algutzir** or **agotzil/r** (Ct.) "constable": a And. **alwazír** = Cl.Ar. **wazír**, an adaptation to the root {wzr} of Pahl. **wižír** "counsellor". The meanings of **alguacil** "talebearer" (Can.) and "last sucking pig in the litter" (Leo.) are semantic evolutions of the standard. From the same Ar. etymon are **visir** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **vizir** (Pt.) "(prime) minister of a Muslim sovereign", in this case through Tr. **vezir**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alguacilad/zgo**, **alguacilejo**, **alguacil(er)ía**, **alguacil(es)a**, **alguacilesco**, **alguacillillo** and **visirato**; Ct.: **algutziria** and **visirat**; Pt.: **alguazilado**.

**aguaya**: see **¡agua!**

**aguaza** and **al/rguaza** (Arag.) and **aguaza** (Nav.) "hinge": < And. **alwāšl** "leather band used for that purpose" < Cl.Ar. **wašl** "joint", with a paragogical vowel. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **desguace** and **desguazar**.

**aguarzaca** "glaucoma" (Cs.): from Herrera & Vázquez 1981: 129–130, is an adaptation of Neo-Ar. **māʔ azraq**, lit., "blue water", it being obvious that its second constituent is no longer Ar. **zurqah**, the standard name of that disease, but the Rom. fem. of the Ar. loanword **zarco**, q.v., as required by the Rom. rules of gender congruence. Cf. **zarach**.

**aguazil**: see **aguasil**.

**aguazul**: see **algazul**.

**aguedal** (Pt.) "palace garden" (in Morocco): < Br. **agdal** "garden, orchard".

**agtiela** (Cs., with a var. **hagvela** in some Granadan ordinances, after Eguílaz) "tax on

bills of exchange": < And *hawāla* = Cl.Ar. *hawālah* "credit cession" Cf. *alifara*.

**águemo**: see **ámago**.

**aguineu** (Arag.) "sweet-toothed", **guineu** (Ct.) "fox" and **guinea** (Ct.) "uproar; humbug" are all prob. metaphoric uses of And. *qināwi* "Guinean; black (man)" (cf. Cs. **guineo**), < Br. *agnaw* "dumb" (from the root *\*gnu* "to sew"), an appellation given by North Africans to their southern neighbours on account of their different, to them unintelligible languages.<sup>100</sup> In spite of the egalitarian doctrine of orthodox Islam, Andalus and North Africans held their black neighbours or slaves in very low esteem, this often surfacing in proverbs and all kinds of literature, in which they were labelled as thieves, liars, gluttons and lechers. This racist attitude, thoroughly shared by their Christian foes, makes such metaphoric uses understandable, although for this very reason it is not always easy to determine the cases in which they existed already within And., or were developed later, already in Rom. It is a bit surprising that the Ct. item be fem., in spite of its masc. shape; the reason may be the result of its hasty adaptation as a euphemism from a language, like Ar., in which this animal name, *ḡaṣṣab*<sup>101</sup> is masc., to Rom. where it is predominantly fem.

**agulaga**: see **argelaga**.

**agumys** (Pt.): this word was excerpted by Eguílaz from Santa Rosa's *Elucidário* and identified with And. *qimá* pl. *aqmūya*, but he did not then know how to interpret the vague *vas* matching it in *Vocabulista in arabico*, nor its identity with Cl.Ar. *qimf* "funnel", which is its correct meaning. Otherwise, it is quite possibly extant in that list of household goods, in spite of some corruption in the expectable *\*a(l)q/guimis*, with *imālah* and the morpheme of Rom. pl. Cf. **alchamha**.

**agurgen** "a fabric from Jurjān in Iran": (Leo., from DO 164) < Neo-Ar. *jurjānī*,<sup>102</sup>

gentilic of that town, later on imitated, as was most often the case, in the flourishing looms of Almería.<sup>103</sup>

**agursal**: see **agarçal**.

**agutzil**: see **aguasil**.

**ahallazare**: this word is erroneously interpreted in LHP 21 as "to find", but in truth it means "to exculpate", after Corriente 2004b:69, being a reflex of a And. Rom. hybrid *\*A(D)+xalās+ĀR* "to release", formed on And. *xalās* = Cl. Ar. *xalās* "release; payment"

**ahanicabvt**: see **alancabut**.

**ahause**: see **algeuze**.

**(a)hé**: see **he**.

**ahē dar** or **alhidar**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 16, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:167 as Beta, or perhaps Alpha Centauri (cf. **eluezn**), < Ar. *ḥaḍārī*, a pr.n. derived from the imperative "be present"

**aheljī**: see **aliclil**.

**aher annahr**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 16, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:99–100 as Alpha Eridani, < Neo-Ar. *āxir annahr* "end of the river" Cf. **Achernar**.

**ahfarar** "variety of falcon": is an unassimilated term, from DAX 84, < Ar. *ahrār*, pl. of (*tāḍirun*) *ḥurr*, lit., "noble bird"

**ahhoxaym**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 17 and DAX 84, apparently identified as "talc" by Nykl, who suggests Ar. *\*huṣayyim* "a little fragile", as etymon of this entry.

**ahobachado**: see **hobacho**.

**ahorra, ahorrador, ahorramiento, ahorrar(se)** and **ahorrativa/o**: see **(al)forre**.

**ahorre**: see **alforra**.

**ahorría**: see **alforria**.

**ahorro**: see **alforre**.

**ahualillo**: see **aixovar**.

**ahucema**: see **alfazema**.

**ahuchear** "to beat the game" and its verbal name **ahucheo** (Anl.) derive from And. Rom. *\*AD+UČ+EYÁR*, a hybrid of the interjection

<sup>100</sup> See Colin 1954–7.

<sup>101</sup> The same obtained in Granadan And., in which the standard term had been replaced by the euphemism *\*kalūx*, formed on the root *[klh]* "to be ugly or stern", with the substitution of */x/* for */h/*, apparently a characteristic "Yemenite" trait, with at least some valid witnesses in SK 2.26.3.

About the same phenomenon in Sar., see Corriente 1996a:22 (1.1.9).

<sup>102</sup> Note the loss of any traces of the final vowel of the *nisbah* suffix, as commented in 2.1.2.1.

<sup>103</sup> According to Alḥidriṣī in his *Kitāb nuzhat almuṣṭāq* (ed. Dozy & De Goeje, Leiden 1866, p. 197).

And.Rom. \**ÚĈ* = And. *úĉ* "oxte" As this is done by shooing, it is also the etymon of *abuchear* "to hoot at"

**ahuma**: see *aljuma*.

**aiā** (Pt.) "Tr. magistrate": is a late borrowing, from the pl. *al-yān* of Ar. *ṣayn*, which indeed means "eye" and "personage", among other senses, but this particular pl. form is restricted to that second meaning. This is ignored by Machado, who gives the wrong impression of a recent metonymy. The intra-Rom. depluralization of designations of communities and their members, as a result of ignorance of the pl. marks and of confusion between group and individual is relatively frequent in the late borrowings from the languages of Islamic countries, e.g., *ulema*, *musulmán* and, most recently, *talibán*, as they are introduced by travellers or journalists, scarcely conversant with them in most cases, unlike the medieval *alfaquí*, *moslemo*, *almorávide*, etc., produced by bilinguals who knew those nuances well.

**aiabeba** (Pt.): although Machado pronounces this word non-existent, after having referred back to it under *axabeba*, it might have circulated as a poor transcription thereof, q.v.s.v. *ajabeba*.

**aiars**: see *ayadino*.

**aiguanaf**: see *aguanafa*.

**ailila**: see *lelilí*.

**aimón**: see *alamud*.

**ainea** (Nav.) and **(a)nea** or **enea** (Cs.) "bulrush (*Typha* spp.)": the Nav. var., phonetically supported by *enea*, might invalidate all the hypotheses heretofore put forward about the etymon of this item in favour of And. \**ṣaynīyya* "that which is like a mesh" (cf. And. *ṣāyn aššabāka* "net mesh", in Alcalá), not documented with that meaning in this attributive derivation, but perfectly possible for And. *ṣāyn* = Cl.Ar. *ṣayn* "eye" The meaning of *anea*, "blanket protecting the packsaddle from the rope fastening the girth" (Anl.) would confirm that *a/enea* at first only meant a kind of tissue or mesh of vegetal fibres. As for Mur. *anea* "slap", from Gómez Ortín 1991:50, it is hard

to connect it with the most usual meanings of **a(i)nea**: but it could be related to "blanket", because of the Cs. idiom *manta de palos* "bad beating", a metonymy of anything thrown on top of something else. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **anear**.

**aique**: see *haique*.

**airages** and **airaga/e**: see *erak*.

**aissauā** (Pt.) "member of a Mor. Sufi brotherhood": is a recent poorly assimilated borrowing, through Fr., from Mor. *ṣisawa*, pl. of *ṣisawī* = Cl.Ar. *ṣisawī*, gentile of the name of its eponymous founder in the 16th c., Muḥammad b. Ṣisā.

**aiiulēn**: see *ajonjolí*.

**(ai)xaldiga** (Ct.) "spark": Considering Gl. **enxaldar** "to endeavour, to get enthusiastic" with the basic semanteme of "to kindle", one may conclude that And. Rom. had a hybrid verb \**A(D)+šal+ID+(IQ)+ÁR*, formed on Ar. *šal* "igniting", whence the Ct. item would be a deverbal noun. A similar origin would be shared by *xalea* (Maj.) "flare-up", in this case starting from the verbal noun of a hybrid verb \**šal+EYÁR*.

**aixandoc**: see *xandocar*.

**(ai)xareca** (Ct., with the var. **salefa**, **jalea** and **xalefa**) and **jareca** "dry fig" (Mur., in which there is also a metonymic *jariega* "overcooked food", from Gómez Ortín 1991:246) and **xarifa** (Pt. vulgarism, by an obvious metonymy)<sup>104</sup> "vulva": < And. *aššarīḥa*, semantic shift from Cl.Ar. *šarīḥa* "(meat) slice" Can. **jareca** has evolved to mean "dried fish", with the matching verb *jarear*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **aixarecar** and **eixalefar**.

**aixareta**: see *jareta*.

**aixarop(ada)**, **aixaropament**, **aixaropat**, **aixaropejar**, **aixaropera** and **aixaropós**: see *jarabe*.

**aixís**: see *hachís*.

**aixixinar**: see *asesino*.

**aixorca** (Ct.), **axorca** (Gl. and Pt., in the latter also **ajorca**) and **a(l)jorca** (Cs.) "bracelet; anklet" < And. *aššūrka* "strap", back-formed on Cl.Ar. *šuruk*, pl. of *širāk* of the same meaning. It must have first designated

<sup>104</sup> Not necessarily based upon Ar., even if in it *tīnah* "fig" as a euphemism for "vulva" is normal,

documented for And. in IQ. This term is missing by oversight in our list of Corriente 1993b.

the pieces of thread, bows or cords used to fasten amulets to arms and legs, but it evolved semantically, perhaps already within Rom. From the same origin would be *xorcas* (dial. Pt., only in Morais) "big shoes", through semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *ax/jorcar* or *enxorcar*.

**aixovar** (Ct., with the var. *a/exovar* and Cal. *eixag/huar*), **ajuar** (Cs., with the old var. *axuar*), **exouar** (Leo., from DO 164), **ajovar** (Anl.), **jugal** (Anz.), **lahuar** (Ext.), **enxoval** (Gl. and Pt.) and **axovar** or **ja/obar** (Arag.) "household goods; trousseau": < And. *aššuwār* = Cl.Ar. *šaliwār*. Ext. *ahualillo* "swaddling clothes" is a dim. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ajuarar**; Ct.: **aixovaret**.

**ajabeba** (Cs., with the var. *jabeb/ga*), **axa-beba** or **jábeca** (Pt., the latter only in Morais, a probable mistake for *jabeba*) and **xabeba** (Ct.) "Moorish flute": < And. *aššabbāba* < Neo-Ar. *šabbābah*.

**ajaez** and **ajaezar**: see **jaez**.

**ajaharrar**: see **jaharrar**.

**ajalún** "to hell!": (Jud.-Sp.), < And. *hallún* "cake", a euphemistic metonymy for "vulva", after DAA 137,<sup>105</sup> preceded by a reflex of the Rom. preposition *A(D)*, in a rude idiom roughly equivalent to "go to hell!"

**ajaqueca** and **ajaquecarse**: see **jaqueca**.

\*\*\***ajaquefa**: see **açaquifa**.

**ajarak** (Cs.) "(decorative) bow": < And. *aššarāka* = Cl.Ar. *šarakah* "net" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ajaracado**.

**ajarafe** and **aljarafe** (Cs.) and **jarafe** (Anz.): "table land": < And. *aššarāf* = Cl.Ar. *šaraf*. The second var. exhibits hypercorrect restoration of the *ll* of the Ar. article.

**ajarius**: see **ayadino**.

**Ajarquia**: is historically a place name, e.g., in Granada, but must previously have had some circulation as the adjective it is, < And. *aššarqíyya* = Cl.Ar. *šarqíyyah* "Eastern (part)". Cf. **aljouf**.

**ajarrar**: see **jaharrar**.

**ajarvar**: see **afarbado**.

**ajasminado**: see **jasmim**.

**ajasserar**: see **jácena**.

**ajea** "white goosefoot (*Chenopodium album*)": < Ar. *šihah* "absinth; artemisia", with semantic evolution.

(a)jebe: see **jabe**.

**ajedrea** (Cs.), **ja/edrea** and **axedrea** (Arag.), and **ajegrea** (Mur.) "savory (*Satureia montana*)": < And. *ašša/īrīyya* < Lt. *sātūrēia*.

**ajedrecista**, **ajedrecístico** and **ajedrez-(ado)**: see **acedrenche**.

**ajegrea**: see **ajedrea**.

(a)jenabe, **jenab(l)e** and **jenabo** (Cs., with the old var. **xenabe** from GP 128) and **senabe** (Arag.): "black mustard (*Brassica nigra*)": < And. *\*aššináb* < Lt. *sīnāpi* < Gr. *sīnapi* < Eg. *>snwpt<*. From the same etymon is **senabre** (Ct.) "wild mustard (*Sinapis arvensis*)"

**ajengibre**: see **gingibre**.

**ajenuz** (Cs.) and **axenuz** (Arag.) "love-in-a-mist (*Nigella damascena*)": < And. *aššanūz* < Cl.Ar. *šūnīz* < Neo-P. *šuniz*.

**ajeña(rse)**: see **alfaña**.

**ajevío** (Cs.): This hapax in *Libro de Buen Amor* (l. 1387 in Coromines' edition) is indeed, as he states, a *crux philologorum*. After careful consideration of the passage, ms. var. and commentaries, it appears that Eguílaz came quite close to the solution, although he suggested *šajabī*, instead of And *šajáybi* "jugler", metaphorically said of the rooster which found a sapphire in a dunghill.<sup>106</sup> We must keep in mind the charm exerted by souk jugglers on the minds of simple people, to judge from descriptions like that of Azzajālī N° 672, about the empty boxes they used, and that of Aššuštarī 8/4/5, who compared the seeming plurality of the nuts they showed with that of the theophanies, which can hide the One's exclusive reality only to the non-initiated.

**ajezón**: see **algeps**.

**aji**: see **alfaig**.

**ajicán** and var. (Can.): "a kind of orchil (*Roccella fuciformis*)" (< And. Rom. *ARČIQON/L* < Lt. *\*aurum caeculum*).

<sup>105</sup> See also Magdalena 1985:54 and 61–72 about this word and its synonyms in a ms. of the Genizah studied by Sheynin 1982.

<sup>106</sup> This theme is reflected, e.g., in some verses

of the Toledan poet Ġirbīb: *innamā yulaqqatu yāqūṭun xilāla lmaẓābīli* "hyacinths are collected only from dunghills" (see Makki & Corriente 2001:113r).

**ajimez** (Cs.) and **axjimez** (Pt.) "twin window": < And. *aššamús* (with the allomorphs *mašmas* in *Vocabulista in arabico*, and *šammas*, in Mor.). Cf. **jemesía**.

**ajofaina**: see **alcofaina**.

**ajoiño**: see **ajoujo**.

**ajojolí**: see **ajonjolí**.

**ajolá**: see **ojalá**.

**ajomate** (Cs.) "a kind of fresh water algae (*Rhizoclonium rivulare*)": < And. *ajjummát*, pl. of *júnma* < Cl.Ar. *jummah* "head of hair". However, the late documentation, only from the 19th c., and the absence of *imālah* in the pl. morpheme raise some misgivings. From the same etymon, through metonymy, is Can. **enjamate** "precious thing; lie". Cf. **aljuma**.

**ajonje** (Cs.) and **lloña** or **llonge** (Val.) "birdlime (*Chondrilla* sp.)": cannot be derived from the Ar. etymon of Cs. **ajonjolí**, as Coromines does, not only on phonetic grounds, but also because of the total disparity between both plants. We would suggest an And. Rom. \**al+YÚNJE*, verbal noun of Lt. *jungo* "to bind", as its main use was that of lime to catch birds.

(**ajonjolí** and **aljonjolí** (Cs.), **ajojolí** (Sal.), **anjolí** (Anl., haplogical var.) and **gergelim** (Pt., with vowel assimilation to the palatal consonant and dissimilation in /r/ of the first /l/) "sesame": < And. *juljúlín* = Cl.Ar. *juljúlān*. All the var. exhibit strong *imālah*, like the Granadan dial. and, except Pt., loss of /n/ in cauda which, although characteristic of this dialect, is not witnessed for this word itself. Consequently, it is prob. due to metanalysis of the gentile Orientalizing suffix (see 1.2.1.2.1).

**ajorar**: see **ajorrar**.

**ajorás** "little bell" (Can.): is a phonetic var. of standard **aljaraz**, q.v., although the vocalism makes likely a contamination with the etymon of Pt. **aljorg/c/ze** and Gl. **axouxere**, i.e., And. *júljal*.

**ajorca**: see **aixorca**.

**ajorí**: see **alborín**.

**ajorozo** "part of the wall closing the gaps of vaults" and **ajorozar** "to close those gaps"

(Anz.): have an Ar. outlook, although the etymon is not in obvious. There might lie a corruption of a hypothetical \***a(l)horofa**, < And. (*al*)*hurúf* = Cl.Ar. *hurūf* "(the) edges" Marcos Marín 1967 mentions the var. **alcjorozar**, with an etymological proposal based in And. *lajúr(a)* "brick" (cf. **rajola**), which might be right, if the final segment is morphologically and semantically explained as a pejorative suffix.

**ajorrar**: see **jorro**.

**ajorrarse**: see **alhorre**.

**ajorrillo**: see **alforra**.

**ajotarse** (Can., at least in the meaning "to take a risk"), **enjotarse** "to become very fond of" (Anz., with the verbal noun **enjoto**), **axotar** (Gl.) "to put to flight" and **enxotar** (Pt.) "to chase":<sup>107</sup> appear to be metaphorical derivations of And. and And.Rom. *šawt* "thicket" (< L. *saltus*), through the hybrid verb \**A(D)+šawt+ÁR* or \**EN+šawt+ÁR* "to make enter in a thicket", it being a moot question, as the parallel case of **agarbarse** and **engarbarse**, q.v., whether the prefix alternance is already And. Rom. or has taken place in a later phase. There is a synonymous **ensotarse** "to become lost in thought; to shut oneself away", of Lt. and Rom. transmission.

**ajou/ijo** (Pt.) "lead for a team of dogs": the Lt. \*\*\**adjugium* propounded by Machado as etymon is not only hypothetical, but cannot account for the diphthong. It is much wiser to suggest And. *záwj* = Cl.Ar. *zawj* < Aram. *zawgā* < Gr. *zeúgos*, in principle meaning "husband", but commonly applied to any couple of objects, yoke of oxen, *et al.* As for the transcription of Ar. /z/ by >j< not only is not infrequent (cf. **jinete**, **jengibre**, etc.) but, precisely for this word has a well-known Mor. allomorph "two; pair", in perfect agreement with some late tendencies of the And pronunciation. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **ajoujar** and **desajoujar**.

**ajovar**: see **aixovar**.

**ajú**: see **alajú**.

**ajua** (Pt.) "pressed dates": is a contemporary unassimilated borrowing, from Ar. *šajwah*.

<sup>107</sup> A derivation of a hypothetical interjection **xut(a)**, suggested by Machado, not only clashes with phonetic difficulties, but also with the fact

that such a word is missing in his own dictionary, and that of Morais.

**ajuagas** (Cs., also in Pt., after Morais only), **eixuagues** (Ct.) and **axuaga** (Gl.) “malanders, ulcers on the hoof”: < And. *aššūqāq* = Cl.Ar. *šūqāq*, documented by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī.<sup>108</sup>

**ajuar** and **ajuarar**: see **aixovar**.

**ajudeng/zar** and **ajudiado**: see **judeu**.

**ajuma**: see **aljuma**.

**ajuz alaçet** “the lion’s haunch”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 17, alternative name of *šarš assimāk allāšzal*, i.e., **ars (açimet)** “the seat of Assimāk”, in GP 62), identified by Kunitzsch 1961:42 and 44 as Beta, Gamma, Delta and Epsilon Corvi, < Neo-Ar. *šajuz allasad*, lit., “the lion’s behind” Cf. **açimeç(h)**.

**al montahim**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 47, said of certain astronomical tables, < Ar. *almumtahān* “the verified one” The infracorrect vocalization of the entry is remarkable, considering the And. trend towards voice confusion in the participles (see SK 6.4.1).

**Alá** (Cs. and Pt.) “Ar. name of God”:<sup>109</sup> < And. *allā(h)* = Cl.Ar. *allāh*. The Ar. word does not derive from any verbal root, as Machado would have it but, as is quite clear, from a contraction of *al+ʔilāh* “the god” This substantive is a characteristic term of almost the whole Semitic family, either in its simple form (cf. Ak. *ilu[m]* and Hb. *ēl*), or in the extended one (cf. Hb. *ēloāh* and *ēlohim*, Aram. *ēlāhā* and Syr. *allāhā*), by means of a morpheme which was prob. in its origin a mark of pl., later on interpreted as a majestic pl., under the aegis of monotheism. Cs. **ala/á** “interjection of surprise”,<sup>110</sup> < Ar. *allāh* (*allāh*), appears to share this etymon.

**alaabor** see **axa(h)ra**.

**alaaquefic**: see **alaaqueca**.

**alaaayoc**: see **alayoc**.

**alabán** “milking season” (Ext.): < And. *allabán* = Cl.Ar. *laban* “milk” In view of this borrowing, it is doubtful that Pt. **alab/vão** “milch cattle” would reflect And. **\*\*allabbán** = Cl.Ar. **\*\*labbān** “milch”, as we had thought, as the phonetic identity of both words implies that in either case there has been simplification of a syntagm of annexation, with total loss of the first constituent. Eguílaz’s etymological proposal, And. **\*\*ráff**, is sheer nonsense since, in addition to the phonetic difficulties, this word does not mean “herd”, as he thought, but “flock of birds” Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alavoeiro**.

**al(a)bathi (vena—)** and **alabathein** “basilic vein(s)”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:49, < Ar. *ibṭī* “axillary” and *ibṭayn* “armpits”

**alabaza** and var. (Can.) “sorrel (Rumez acetosa)”, < And. *lappása* < Lt. *lappāthūm*.

**alabeçir** “spices”: is an unassimilated term from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:159, < Ar. *alʔabāzīr*.

**alaba/erie** “acicular additaments in the lingual muscles”:<sup>111</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:6, < Neo-Ar. *alʔibriyyah*.

**alabí**: see **aleleví**.

**alabirati**: see **alhebrie**.

**alabo/ene** “passive sodomy”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *alʔubnah*.

**(al)abrent** (Ct., with the var. **(a)labrén**) and **laurente** (Cs., borrowed from Ct.) “workman in paper mills who takes paste out of the bowls”: < And. *\*labrāl/n*, noun of profession

<sup>108</sup> After Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 189.

<sup>109</sup> Equally used by Muslims and Arabic speaking Christians and Jews: the ignorant pretence, still held by some Westerners, of making out of this word the name of an exclusive deity of the Muslims is a mere ideological aberration. In Neo-Ar., including And. after AAR, p. 58, fn. 49, this word has a frequent allomorph */aʔla/*, with loss of final */h/*, a pronunciation banned by orthodox Muslims as an amputation of a part of the divine name (see fn. 5 to N° 70 in Corriente

1988b: 110). On the other hand, however, the */ll/* of this word is presently velarized in Neo-Ar., even in the Koranic recitation, except after the vowel */i/*.

<sup>110</sup> Not to be mixed up with **hala** “urging interjection”, which DCECH does not acknowledge as an Ar. loanword, although the question is now open again in the light of the new study of **alalimón**, q.v.

<sup>111</sup> Apparently, synonymous with **alshemie**, q.v.

<sup>112</sup> This pattern has other examples in And.,



of the pattern /*la2344*/, formed on the Rom. loanword *labrál* "bowl".<sup>112</sup> It appears masked as Rom. in *laborante* "intermediate workman between apprentice and master", after Márquez 1961:162.

**alaçar** "evening" (with the var. **alh/gazar** and **assar**): is an unassimilated term, from GP 21, sharing the etymon of **hacer** (q.v.).

**alácar**: see **laca**.

**alaçat** (and var. **eleçet**): see **ajuz**, **calb**, **canb**, **dira**, **alcahar**, **çac**, **dahar** and **quibld**.

(**a**)**lacena** and **alhacena** (Cs.), **hacena** and **lazena** (Arag.) and **lacena** (Nav. and Ast.) "pantry": < And. *alxazána* = Cl.Ar. *xizānah* "closet". The Ext. var. **alhadena**, is interesting as a case of analysis of the unvoiced interdental as voiced dental, as a consequence of intense frication of the latter; see 1.1.3.2.3.

**alacçer** (Cs.) "tax on vineyards and fruit trees" and **alacil/r** (Pt.) "vintage":<sup>113</sup> < And. *alḡašīr* of the same meaning = Cl.Ar. *ḡašīr* "juice", by allusion to that of grapes. Eguílaz, who retrieved this word from an administrative document from Granada, was wrong when he thought that the Cs. word derived from Ar. *\*alḡašīr* "the tenths", which is phonetically impossible, although upheld by Mañillo 1998:385, who deserves credit, however, for increasing the Cs. documentation with some witnesses confirming the relation with vineyards.

**alac/set**, **alazé**, **alazed**, **alazet(e)** and pl. **aliser/tes** (Arag.), **alasset** (Ct.), **alizace** (Old Cs., plus **alaçet** and **eleçet** in GP 22 and 86), **alicerce** (Gl. and Leo.) and **alice(r)ce** (Pt., commonly used in pl.) "foundation(s)": is a sg. backformed on a lost *\*alacez*, metanalyzed as pl., < And. *alasás* = Cl.Ar. *ašās* or, in the case of var. beginning with **ali-**, its And. allo-morph *isás* = Cl.Ar. *isās* (pl.), of Eg. origin,

to judge from Cp. *esēt*. There is a conspicuously frequent morphological confusion of sg. and pl. which, in connection with the phenomenon of deplurization (see AAR 2.2.1.2.4.4, p. 91), is easy to understand by the very nature of the meaning, referred to a number of elements, ditches and masonry, integrated in a single structure. There is also two closely related items, **lizar** "foundation ditch" (Sal., with some contamination accounting for the anomalous ending) and **lizaz** "foundation(s)" (Leo.), derived from the sg., in an archaic pronunciation, without *imālah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **alicerzar**; Pt.: **alicerçar** or **alicercear**.

**alacfar** (for **alaçar**): is an unassimilated term from GP 47, in the syntagm **fijos del**—, translating the Ar. *banū ḡašfar* "the sons of the fair-haired one", an old designation for Europeans among Muslims.<sup>114</sup>

**alachabal(ium)** "heel": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:7, < Ar. *alḡaḡib*, with Lt. suffixation, unlike the var. **chahab**.

**alachad** or **alchad(e)** "crippling": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:69, < Ar. *alḡiqḡād*.

**alachdain** "jugular veins": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:14, < Neo-Ar. *alḡaxdaḡayn*.<sup>115</sup>

**alachuc** and **alachuin** "lumbar region": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:7, reflecting the sg. and dual, respectively, of Neo-Ar. *ḡaqw(ayn)*.

**alacil/r**: see **alacer**.

**alaclán**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**alacilil axemeli** "Corona Borealis": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 47, < Neo-Ar. *alḡiklil aššamālī*.

**alacma**: see **alcama**.

like *ḡarbúl* "maker or seller of sieves", *ḡurnáq* "seller of roasted lungs", etc.

<sup>113</sup> It is possible that, in medieval Cs. or, at least in the Mudejar, then Morisco idiolects, there was also an (**a**)**azir** meaning the "Feast of the autumnal", as purported by García Gómez 1972, fn. 2 to N° 50 of IQ, without any mention of sources, but we have found nothing of the kind in any lexical work, not even the recent and quite comprehensive Galmés *et al.* 1994.

<sup>114</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> I:78, s.v. *ašfar*, about the diverse interpretations given to this expression.

<sup>115</sup> In our view, however, **alchada** is not the matching sg., as it clearly means something physically close, but very different, namely, the back of the neck; therefore, Steiger was right when he identified it as *ḡaḡidah* "(cranium) basis". Only their phonetic likeness has caused this semantic contamination.

**alaçor** (Pt.) and **alazor** (Cs.) “safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*)”: < And. *alṣaṣūr* = Cl.Ar. *ṣuṣfur*. Assimilation of /f/ before /s/ or /ʃ/ is relatively common in And. (see SK 2.3.1 and AAR 2.1.2.1.3) but, not being witnessed in this case, it is probable that this loss of /f/ has taken place already in Rom., given the weakness of that phoneme, e.g., in Cs. The Pt. metathetical var. **açaflor** and **açaflor** are not mere cases of contamination of **açafrão** by **flor** or **frol**, as Machado says, but imply an evolution \***alaçor** > **açaflor** and, with a second metathesis, **açaflor**, although under the influence of **flor**.

**alacrán**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Gl.), **lacrau** (Pt., with the old var. **alacrà**, **alacram**, **alacral/r**, **alacrão**, **alacrara**, **alacrai(a)**, **alecrã** and **alecraia**), **alacrà** (Ct., with the Val. var. **arreclau**), **alac/rán**, **alacrab**, **arra/iclán**, **arraclau**, **arraclabos**, **reclau**, **aliacrà**, **alicro** and **carranclán** (Arag.), **araclán** (Mur. and Nav.), **(c/g)arranclán** (Nav.), **ar(r)aclán** (Ext.) and **arraclán** (Sal., Mur., Nav. and Can., also in the metonymical sense of “hook for the rope-ends of a halter” in Man.): “scorpion”: < And. *alṣagrāb* = Cl.Ar. *ṣagrāb*. The cauda of the Ar. item, unusual for Rom., instead of receiving a paragogical vowel, has adopted more normal forms, above all with a final nasal; there is also occasional metathesis and contamination with the most conservative shapes of **alacrán**<sup>2</sup>, q.v., resulting in var. beginning with **ali(a)**. From the same etymon is Cs. **alicante** “kind of viper”, in which the name of the well-known town has contaminated the var. **alacrán**. There is also a synonymous **alicántara**, with a more recent contamination (cf. Pt. **alicántara** “kind of small lizard” and **alicanzo** “small saurian; wicked person”); prob. **anaclán** “an implement in the beam of an oil mill” (Anl.), perhaps phonetic alteration of **arraclán** for **alacrán**, as supported by its dim. **anaclancillo** “regulating peg on the beam of a plough”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alacranado**, **alacrancillo** and **alacranera**; Pt.: **alacranar**, **alacranida**, **alacraniforme** and **alacranino**; Ct.: **alacranat** and **alacranera**.

**alacrán**<sup>2</sup> and **aliacrà** (Arag.), **aliacrà** (Ct.) and **aliac(r)án** or **aliaca** (Cs., with a var. **aliaquan**, in Herrera & Vázquez 1981:140–

142) “jaundice”: < And. *alyaraqān* = Cl.Ar. *yaraqān*, without any relation whatsoever with Gr. \**ikterós*, in spite of Coromines’ pronouncement in DCELC, as this is a genuinely Semitic word, from the root {wṛq} “to be green (like the leaves)” although, to judge from the treatment of the first consonant, Ar. has received it from West Semitic, prob. from Aram. *yaraqānā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aliacnado**; Ct. **aliacranat**.

**alacrão** and **alacrar(a)**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**aladar**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “forelock over the temples”: < And. *alṣiḍār* = Cl.Ar. *ṣiḍār*, a vague term meaning the cheek and the temples and the hair growing on them. The Rom. reflects an Ar. allophone in which the laryngeal contour has opened and backed the first vowel, after AAR 2.1.1.2.2, although this is not witnessed by the available And. documentation, as in the case of **zalaca**, q.v. Tol. **adlares**, **aldares** or **adlajare** “lower branches of an olive tree” might be a metonymy of the standard. Cf. **adul**<sup>2</sup>.

**aladar**<sup>2</sup> “gallop”: is an unassimilated term from Vázquez 1993:207, < Ar. *alṣiḥḍār*.

**aladarach** “perception”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *alṣiḍrāk*.

**aladeere** or **alahdere** “the ladies”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 18–19, alternative name of *alṣuḡrah* “some stars of Canis Major”, after Kunitzsch 1961:42 and 116 and 1959:103, < Ar. *alṣaḍārī/ā*, properly, “the virgins”, with its sg. **aladra** < *alṣaḍrāʾ*.

**aladma** (Lt.): this word retrieved by Eguílaz from an Arag. statute law of 1307, mentioned by Du Cange, is neither a tax imposed on Jews, nor has the Ar. etymon suggested by him. As a matter of fact, he appears not to have read or understood the long and unequivocal text he quotes, which makes clear that *aladma et nitdui* was the formula of self-excommunication to which the Jewish communities engaged themselves yearly, in case of non-fulfilment of the duties agreed upon with the Christian sovereigns. The second word is Hb. *nidday* “first-degree excommunication”, while the first appears to be a corruption of Gr. *anáthema* “anathema”, after an oral information from the late Prof. Dr. David Romano,

who also told us that the whole expression reappears elsewhere in the medieval Jewish documents. Most recently, Prof. Montaner has pointed out to us the presence of this technical term in *Libro de los Fueros de Castilla*, ccxvii (si el vedin demandar' al aljama a que den aladma a que salgan sus testigos...deuden dar aladma in the synagoga "if the Jewish judge asked the members of the community to oblige themselves under penalty of self-excommunication and to produce witnesses to this effect, these must pronounce their oath in the synagoga").

**aladra**: see **aladeere**.

**aladroc** (Ct.) and **aladroque** (Cs.) "anchovy": < And. Rom. \**al+ħar+ÓQ*, a hybrid word formed with the Rom. pejorative suffix [-ÓQ] on the And. root {ħr} < Cl.Ar. {ħr/qr}.<sup>116</sup>

**aladul** (Cs.) "boiler": this word, excerpted by Eguílaz from Francisco del Rosal's *Diccionario Etimológico*, has never really existed as such, as it appears to be just a poor transcription of Ar. *addalw* as name of Aquarius, sign of the Zodiac (cf. **adalu(m)**, **adalit** and **aldalu** in the translations commissioned by Alfonso X, after DAX 52 and GP 12). Eguílaz had this hunch also, and even charitably corrected the bad Hb. \**dul* of the original into *dli*, i.e., *dēli* (though distorted by a printing mistake into \*\*\*>*dlw*<) which, by Ar. influence, also has that astronomical meaning in Hb. All this proves that we are dealing here with an astronomical term, not a household item. It is also quite possible that a further corruption of this word lies in **lalaul** from GP 101, "the square of Pegasus", identified by Kunitzsch 1961:52, with the stars Delta, Gamma, Beta and Alpha Pegasi, in a sky region next to Aquarius. Cf. **delu**.

\*\*\***alaela** (Pt.) "outskirts; camp": this extremely uncommon item, with disparate var., has turned out to be a ghost word. From DE to Machado it has been receiving the Ar. etymon \*(*al*)*hillah* "camp", undocumented in

And., and without any echo in the place names of the Iberian Peninsula. Nobody appears to have noticed that the spellings **alaeia** and **alahela**, as well as **aleja** "Moorish camp" in Morais, and even **algela**, in which >*g*< is just a poor reading of >*a*<, rightly considered by Machado as a bad var. of **alaela**, all go back to a common misread paleographic source, \***alahela**, i.e., And. *alahyá* = Cl.Ar. *ahyā?*, pl. of \*\**ħayy* "tribal settlement"

**alafa** (Cs.) "salary": < Ar. *šalafah* "allowance", granted by the sovereign to his visitors, etymologically, for the fodder of their beasts, practically, for every expense. As stated by Mañillo 1983, this strange word, making a single appearance in *Embajada a Tamorlán*, in an Eastern context,<sup>117</sup> was not introduced through Al-Andalus.

**alafagera**: see **alfagera**.

**al/nafaia** (Ct.) and **anafaya** (Cs.) "a silken or cotton fabric", **anafala** (Pt.) "a fabric from adúcar (q.v.)" and **añafea** (Cs.) "brown paper": < And. *annafāya* = Cl.Ar. *nufāyah* "residue", as they are, at least in the two last cases, low quality products. This word derives from the Ar. root {*nfy*} "to put aside" (cf. **monfi**), and bears no relation to Gr. \*\**gnafalion* "house-leek (*Sempervivum tomentosum*)", which is good only for filling cushions and cannot be spun, although some who accepted that origin, like Covarrubias, have introduced the mistaken spelling **anafalla**.

**alafara**: see **alifara**.

**alafarse** "tympanitis": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:70, < Neo-Ar. *riyāh alʿafrishah*.<sup>118</sup>

**alaffar** "eyelashes": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 18, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:37–38 as some stars of Cancer and Leo, < Ar. *alʿašfār*.

**alafia** (Cs. and Pt.) "pardon, mercy": < And. *alʿāfiya* = Cl.Ar. *šāfiyah* "health", with a semantic evolution already reflected in the proverb N° 888 of Alonso del Castillo's. Cf. **balafiar**.

<sup>116</sup> See Corriente 1993c. Coromines' view, shared by former editions of the DRAE, to the effect that this word derives from Ar. \*\**azruq* "blue" is both semantically naive and phonetically impossible.

<sup>117</sup> Its circulation in those areas is evidenced

by Old Russian *alolafú* "pay" and *lafú* "good luck", after Vasmer 1991:69 and II 467, received from Tr.

<sup>118</sup> Thus transmitted from Avicenna's *Alqānūn* by the authors, but dictionaries only have *fursuh*.

**alaga:** see **alejá**.

**alagiemí** "foreigner": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *alʿaḡjamī*.

**alagina, alahakam and alahacamas:** see **alcama**.

**alah(a)bor:** see **aza(h)ra**.

**alahadate** "adolescence": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:127, < Ar. *alḥadāyah*.

**alahanc** "billy goat": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 19, < Ar. *alḥanz*, synonymous with **alahannez** (with the var. **alanaça** and **alannaça** in GP 20), < Ar. *alḥannāz* "goatherd", itself a var. of *alḥayyūq* "Capella", after Kunitzsch 1961:43.<sup>119</sup>

**alahaufegi:** see **alhafagi**.

**alahdere:** see **aladeere**.

**alahe(l)a:** see **alaela**.

**alalehem** "signs": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 19, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:36 with Beta, Theta and Gamma Aurigae, < Ar. *alʿalāhām*.

**alahilca** (Cs.) "hangings": is in DA, although without any authority, which was provided by Coromines and DE with quotes from *Testamento de D. Pedro el Cruel* and Marina, respectively, in both cases with the spelling **alailca**. However, there is general agreement in pointing to its rarity and obsolescence, while Eguílaz (p. 86) is right in his criticism of Dozy's etymon, a hypothetical Ar. *\*ṣilqah*, which never existed in And., nor in Cl.Ar. with any meaning similar to the Cs. word. He favours Ar. *ṣilāqah*, indeed witnessed by And. *ṣilāqa*,<sup>120</sup> although phonetically inapt to be the etymon of the form presently recorded in the dictionaries; besides, he brings to light an inter-

esting passage of *Libros alfonsíes del saber de astronomía*, containing the expected var. **alhilaca**, explained as "hanger".<sup>121</sup> Although theoretically, Ar. *ṣilq* "precious object or cloth", incidentally extant in an And. source, *Vocabulista in arabico*, could have provided the etymon of the transmitted **alahilca**, as one of so many cases of substitution of /a/ for the paragogic /el/ in the Ar. loanwords of Rom.,<sup>122</sup> the more exact semantic coincidence with *ṣilāqah* "hangings", much better documented in And. that the aforementioned relatively rare word, suggest that the original loanword had the shape *\*alailaca*, later on distorted. Cf. **zalaca**.

**alahoeýt** "protectors":<sup>123</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 19, < Ar. *alḥawāʾiḍ*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:45 as Ny, Beta, Xi and Gamma Draconis.

**alaho/ue:** see **alaoe**.

**alaimé** (Ct., with the var. **alásme**, by mere graphical mistake) "oath", < And. *alaymán* = Cl.Ar. *aymān*, pl. of *\*yamīn*, more commonly used in pl. Therefore, the Ct. word ought to be ultima stressed.

**alaja:** see **alejá**.

**alajeor** (Cs.) "tribute paid to the owner of the plot of a building": < And. *ṣāṣūr* "ten day period previous to the Great Bairam", in which debts were paid and alms given, some of which were, in truth, inexcusable tributes. This term is morphologically identical with Cl.Ar. *ṣāṣūr* "10th of the month of *muḥarram*", but their meaning was absolutely different in Al-Andalus.<sup>124</sup> Cf. **aljor**.

**alajú, alhajú and alejur** (Cs.), **(al)ajú** (Sal.) and **aljašú** (Jud.-Sp.), "kind of sweet paste of nuts": < And. *alḥašú* = Cl.Ar. *ḥašw* "filling". Cf. **alfajor**.

<sup>119</sup> However, in p. 44 he signals the occasional application of *alḥanz* to Epsilon Aurigae. DAX 126, on the other hand, only has the reading **alohoeýt**. Cf. **ala(a)yoc**.

<sup>120</sup> See DAA, p. 361.

<sup>121</sup> However, as often happens in medieval works on such matters, the identification in this text of that word and **alhelca** "screw eye" (e.g., in GP 39, < And. *alḥilqa*, whence Gl. **alferga** "thimble", q.v.) does not appear to be correct, although their meaning had become functionally

the same.

<sup>122</sup> See 1.1.4.1.

<sup>123</sup> A further proof of the limited competence in Cl.Ar. of those translators, who often resorted to vulgar or imagined meanings as, in fact, this word means "she-camels that have recently brought forth" Cf. also **acedes**.

<sup>124</sup> After García Gómez 1972:I 429, fn.1. Contrary to previous statements by DRAE, *ṣāṣūr* has never meant either "tithes" or "tenths", which is even morphologically impossible.

(al)alem and iulem “pain”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:70 = Ar. *alʿalam*.

**alalimón** and **al alimón** (Cs.) “dodging the bull with the cape held by two bullfighters” and **alálimon** (Nav.) “a game played by children in which two teams ask questions and answer each other, while singing a song beginning with the word **alálimon**” In the light of a folk ballad with the refrain **a la lima al alimón, te vas a quedar soltera**, i.e., “... you are going to stay a spinster”, much older indeed than the first two instances, considering the relatively recent dating of bullfighting on foot, it appears that, as in the case of **alirón**, q.v., we are dealing here with an echo of the introductory words of an Ar. street cry, namely, *alā ʿalima ʿlālamūn* “Hey! Let everybody know” The last word might also have been corrupted from *ʿalimūn* “those who must know”, it being quite logical that, at least in the onset of the cry, the Classical language be used, with an exhortative construction and high register inflections.<sup>125</sup>

**ala(l)me** (Pt., only in Morais) and **alha(l)me** (Cs., still in DE, but missing already in DRAE and Coromines, with some Leo. var., **zoramen**, **çulame**, **çuramen**, **cura/emne**,

**zarama**, **zulame**, **zura(ha)men** and **zura-mine**, from DO 288, and Ast. **zura(ha)men**, **z/çulamine**, **çurame** and **curamen**, from García Arias 2006:39–40) “Moorish tunic”: is the result of metanalysis of a definite syntagm **\*(l)os ç+alames** (unlike the Pt. var. **cera/ome**, **ço/urame** and **çureme**, Ct. **suram** and Cs. **zurame**), < And. *sihāma* (cf. Mor. *salhama*), which is not from Br., as DS would have it, but an antonomasia of Ar. *salhab* “long(-bodied)”, with a common shift of labials.

**alaluya** “scramble to pick up something” (Mur., from Gómez Ortín 1991): prob. < And. *ya ʿala llul*, *ya ʿala llul*, roughly “come and get the delicacy!”<sup>126</sup> Cf. **alaules**.

**alamar** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **alamar(a)** (Ct.) and **arramal** (Anz., corrupted from the standard) “frog and braid trimming”: < And. *ʿalām* of the same sense (< Cl.Ar. *ʿalam* “mark”),<sup>127</sup> with Rom. suffixation. The optional fem. ending in Ct. is a frequent phenomenon in all Rom., even more understandable in Central Ct. on account of the neuter timbre of the unstressed vowel, which in case of addition of a paragogical /e/, allowed its easy confusion with /a/. There is a var. **alfamar** (Sal.), resulting from contamination of the standard by **alhamar**, q.v.s.v. **alfāambar**: therefore, it is

<sup>125</sup> This formula appears partially preserved in the announcement proclaimed by ʿAbdarrāḥmān III inviting his subjects to settle in Azzahrāʾ, transmitted by Ibn Ḥawqāl in his *Kitābu ṣūratī ʿl-arḍ* (ed. J. Kramers, Leiden, Brill 1967, p. 111): *amaru munādina binnidāʿi fī jamīʿi aqṭāri ʿl-andalus: alā man arāda un yaḥtaniya dārān... bījiwāri sṣuṭāni... ʿalāhū minā lmaʿṣunati arbaʿu miʿlāti dirḥam* “he sent street criers all over Al-Andalus to proclaim: hey, whoever wants to build a house for himself... next to the sovereign... will be given a 400 dirham subsidy” In addition to the much celebrated Cs. **sepan todos cuantos la presente oyeren** “let everybody know who hear this”, this formula is directly related to the archetype of the simple street cry which the oldest among us can still remember from the days of our youth: ¡Se hace saber!, i.e., “let it be known!” Dr. Ferreras transmits us another ballade from La Mancha with a similar structure, beginning **alalimó, alalimó, que se rompió la fuente**... “let it be known, let it be known, the fountain broke down”, again confirming that this

expression is a reminiscence of the Ar. phrase opening street cries.

<sup>126</sup> See Corriente 2005a:227–228, where And. *lull(u)* is explained, and the idiom is connected with **al higuí**, q.v.s.v. **higo**.

<sup>127</sup> Not from Ar. *\*ʿamār* “ornament”; by the way, this Ar. word is genuine and by no means borrowed from Br., as stated by DE, prob. thinking of Kab. *\*ʿamrar* “rope; hawser” The remarks in Ibn Ḥiṣām Allaxmī (see Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 296), correcting >*ʿalam*< into >*ʿulam*<, confirm this etymon, first suggested by Müller and Eguílaz and unduly rejected by Dozy and ourselves (in Corriente 1985:122 and 1984b:8); on the other hand, the vogue of this fashion term in Islamic countries is proved by Old Russian *alam* “clothing ornament”, through Tr. *ulam* (presently obsolete), after Vasmer 1996:I 68 who, nevertheless, does not mention the ultimate Ar. origin. This is a good example of the need to revise even would-be established opinions (see Kiesler 1994:36), as soon as more solid arguments become available.

not surprising that it came to be pronounced **alamar** in some areas, as indicated in this source, which is also reflected by the der. **alfamarear** “to make exaggerated gestures” and **alfamarero** “braggart”, stemming from **al(f)amar**, in the sense of “(idle) ornament”. As for **alamar** “tatter” (Bie.), and its pl. **alhamares** (Leo.), they do share the etymon of **alfambar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alamarado**. Cf. **alamico**.

**alámbar** and **alâmbar**: see **ámbar**.

**alambari** “amber”: is an unassimilated term from GP 19, < Neo-Ar. *hajar šanbarī*.

**alambel**: see **alfámbel**.

**alambí** (Ct.), **alambín** (Mur.) and **alambique** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): < And. *alanbíq* = Cl.Ar. *inbíq* < Gr. *ámbix*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alambicamiento** and **alambiquero**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **alambicar**; Pt.: **alambiqueiro**; Ct.: **alambinar**.

**alambó**: see **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

**alambor**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) “declivity” and **arambol** “balustrade of a staircase” (Cs. from Palencia and Valladolid, according to DRAE, the metathetic form having acquired the sense of “gutter” in Mur., through semantic evolution, because of the turbulence of the flow): < And. *harabúl* “upturned thing; hem; declivity”, seemingly derived from Cl.Ar. *hawwal* “to alter; to turn over”. From the same origin seem to be Cs. **harbullar** or **farfullar** “to jabber”, Arag. **arabullos** “intrigues”, **zarrabullo** “mess” (resulting from wrong parsing of the syntagm with pl. article, \***lo+z arrabullos**), **arrebullar** and Cs. **arrebujar** “to jumble up” (which Coromines thought derived from

(b)**orujo** and, in the last analysis from Lt. \**invölūcrum*, in spite of some semantic unlikelihood), and **arrebol** “skirt hoop” (Bie. and, according to DRAE, characteristic of Salamanca, prob. contaminated by **arrebol**<sup>1</sup>), perhaps Pt. **arrebolar** “to round up”. The same can be said of **garbuix** and **garbull** (Ct.) “jumble” and **garbullo** “tumult; scramble” although, in this case, the first consonant points to a Naf. source (cf. Mor. *harbal* “to hem”, and *harbul* “puff pastry”), through It. **garbuglio**, with subsequent suffix substitution in the first Cs. var. **f/harbullar**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alamborado**, **harbullista**, **farfulla(r)**, **farfullador**, **farfullero** and **engarbullar**; Ct.: (a)**garbullar**, **agarbuixat**, **engarbullar** and **esgarbullar**; Pt. and Ct. **alamborar**. Cf. **fargalada**.

**alambor**<sup>2</sup> (Ct., also **alambó**, and Cs., borrowed from Ct.) “kind of citron”: this form came about as a result of wrong parsing of Ct. \***els z+ambors**, whence a sg. \***el ambor**,<sup>128</sup> with subsequent agglutination of the Rom. article, < And. *zanbūs* (cf. Mor. *zanbūs*) < Malay *jambuwa* < Sk. *jambū(la)*,<sup>129</sup> directly reflected by Cs. (a)**zamboa** and (a)**cimboga**, Mur. **cimbo(g)a** and Pt. **zamboa** or **jambo(a)**. But **zamboa** “quince” (Ext. and Anl.) looks like the outcome of a confusion between standard **gamboa** in this sense and the citric (a)**zamboa**, although we cannot exclude, and it might even be likelier among farmers, another wrong parsing of the definite syntagm, in southern dialects, **lah gamboah** > **las+z amboah** > **la zamboa**). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azambo(er)ó**; Ct. **alambon/rer**; Gl. **azamboarse** “to turn purple”, because the bright

<sup>128</sup> The same phenomenon is observed in Arag. **azicates** and **zalaca**, q.v.

<sup>129</sup> Name, in principle, of the myrtaceous Malabar plum (*Eugenia jambosa*), which came to designate some citrus fruits, like the citron and even the grapefruit, possibly under the semantic influence of Neo-P. *dast anbuqe* (“scent for the hand”), a name given to diverse scented fruits, from melons to citrus fruits), which appears in Al-Andalus, altered by folk etymology, first in its way through Persia, as *hostān* or *āsitān buy* “scent of the orchard / place”, and next, already in Ar. speaking lands, as Neo-Ar. *bustānway*, *istanbūd* and *istanbūtī*: see Aubaile-Sallenave 1992, adding to hers the data of semantic interference by

Neo-P. With this exception, the necessary intermediate links between Malay and And. are lost, since the Naf. does not appear to have been the source of And., but it is borrowed thereof instead, while only in Al-Andalus it is conceivable that *istanbūd* became \**ixsanbūd*, after AAR 2.1.4.1.3, then \**sanbūd* (with metanalysis and elimination of the article) evolved into \**zanbūd*, after AAR 2.1.2.4.1.1 and, finally, in an indeterminable moment of this evolution, the last consonant was altered by contamination with the roots {*sbš*} or {*zbf*}. Cf. also Neo-Ar. *bustānbū(r)*, from *Kitābu šumdati ṭṭabīb* (ed. Alxaṭṭābī 1990:45, Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:38, 61 and 102 and 2007:59, 97 and 163).

golden colour of this fruit is apt to be metonymically applied to a bruise.

**alamborado** and **alamborar**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**alambr(e)ar** and **alambra/e**: see **ámbar**.

**alambrilla** "glazed tile to be combined with bricks" (Anz.): unlikely derived by DRAE, up to its latest edition, from **horambre** "hole in a milestone", it might rather be a reflex of And. *alamríyya* "mirrors", with the semantic juncture of glaze, at least acceptable.

**alame**: see **alalme**.

**alámel**: see **alfámbar**.

**alamhat** or **hahamacu** "raging furious": is an unassimilated medical term from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:70–71, < Cl.Ar. *alʿahmaqu*.<sup>130</sup>

**alamí** (Ct. and Arag.), **alamim** (Pt.) and **alamín** (Cs.) "inspector of weights, measures, etc.": < And. *alamín* = Cl.Ar. *amín* "reliable; secretary". From the same etymon, but transmitted recently through Mediterranean and/or European contacts, without an And. phase, are **lami** "a certain Tr. magistrate in Palestine" (Pt.), **amim** (Pt., only in Morais) "trustee; magistrate" and **amín** (Cs.) "governmental administrator" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alamínad/zgo**; Ct.: **alaminatge**. Cf. **alamina**.

**alamia** (Pt., only in Morais, although Eguílaz renders it as "a part of the harness", without mentioning his source) "fringe": in the light of **alamar**, q.v., this might be a reflex of And. \**šalamíyya*, the matching attributive adjective, but the scarcity of information invites caution.

**alamico** (**hacer el**)—"to agonize" (Anz.): looks like a Rom. dim. of And. *šalám* = Cl.Ar. *šalam* "sign; flag", allusive to the gesture made by some pious Muslims when dying, who, unable to speak any more, still raise their right index finger in order to proclaim their belief in an only God until death in this manner. This

gesture is also often made in less dramatic circumstances, for the same purpose, in some moments of the prayer, when hands are placed on knees.<sup>131</sup>

**alamina** "fine on potters for loading the furnace excessively" (Anl., already registered by DRAE): seems to be the fem. with some semantic evolution of standard **alamín**, q.v.

**alamir**: see **emir**.

**alamons**: see **alamud**.

**alamud** (Cs.) "bar securing a door or window": < And. *alʿamūd* = Cl.Ar. *šamūd* "column; prop" From the same etymon are Ct. **alamons** "beams of a balance", already in Cl.Ar., **limón**<sup>2</sup> or **limonera** (Cs. "shaft of a carriage") and **limón** "some wooden pieces in the hurdles of a cart" (Man.), "side beam in the body of a carriage; front part of the body of a carriage" (Anl.), with the var. **aimón** (Sal.) "each of the beams in the bottom of the body of a carriage" As many muleteers belonged to this community, this is prob. a Mudejar term, phonetically contaminated by **limón**<sup>1</sup>. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **limonero**. Cf. **alhamud**, **almudalçaleb** and **calamón**.

**alanac**: it is an unassimilated astronomical term from GP 20, < Ar. *alʿanāq* "the goats", identified by Kunitzsch 1961:43 as Zeta Ursae Majoris, who warns, however, that it at times may be an abbreviation of *šanāq allarq* "lynx" (i.e., **anac** in DAX 182), said of Gamma Andromedae.<sup>132</sup>

**alanaç/za**: see **alahannez**.

**alanamel** "fingertips": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:8 (with the var. **anemul**), < Ar. *alʿanāmil*.

**alancabut** (lit.) "spider": is an unassimilated astronomical term from GP 37 (with the var. **alhan(i)cabut**, **allancabuth** and **ahanicabvt**), designating a part of the astrolabe, < Ar. *šankabūt*.

<sup>130</sup> The authors have not hit the mark in their criticism of Steiger (Vázquez & Herrera 1986:186), upon considering the second form as more corrupted and propounding an Ar. etymon *amšat*, based upon their erroneous understanding of a passage quoted by them from Avicenna's *Alqānīn*, in fact just meaning that *qutrūb* is also the name of the wolf whose hair has fallen off, i.e., *amšat*. There is another var. **alambat** in

Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:106.

<sup>131</sup> As described by Lane 1836:80, and illustrated by a picture in p. 79.

<sup>132</sup> But the mediocre translator of this part of *Libros del Saber de Astronomía* (I, 125, after Nykl), ignorant of such technical terms, figured out a \**šannāq* and rendered it as **abraçador** "embracer"

**alancel:** see **arancel**.

**alancer:** see **alnaç**.

**alanicen:** is an unassimilated astronomical term from GP 20, "the two tame ones" (with a var. **enicen**), identified by Kunitzsch 1961:37 as Alpha and Beta Trianguli, < Cl.Ar. *alʿanīsān*.

**alannaça:** see **alahannez**.

**alantifac** and **alitifac** "swelling": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:71, < Ar. *alintifāx*.

**alao/u/ve**, **aloe** or **alaho/ue** "shouter": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 19–20 and 50, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:45 as Beta, Eta, Gamma, Delta and Epsilon Virginis,<sup>133</sup> < Ar. *alʿawwāʿ* "the howler"

**alap**, **alum d'**—(Ct.) "Aleppo alum": reflects the Ar. name of this city, *ḥalab* (of very ancient origin, already extant in Ak. and Hittite) which, in Western Ar., particularly And., could only be ultima stressed. Cf. **alepín**.

**alauqueca** or **alauqueque** "carnelian" (Cs., with the var. **alauquec**, **alauquefic**, **aaquic** and **aquit**, from GP 20 and DAX 94), and **(a)lauqueca** "iron pyrite" (Pt.):<sup>134</sup> < And. *alʿaqīq* = Cl. *ʿaqīq*, with the usual hesitation in the selection of the paragogical vowel, without altogether excluding a n.un. *ʿaqīqah*.

**alara:** see **alarga**<sup>2</sup>.

**alárabe** (Cs.), **alarbe** (Cs., Gl., Pt. and Arag.), **alarve** and **alárave** (Pt.) and **alarb(i)** (Ct.) "Bedouin; barbarian": no doubt reflects Ar. *ṣarabī* "Arab", but appears prosodically contaminated by the intermediate Rom. item of Lt. origin, it being obvious that the stress could not hit that syllable if this item had been transmitted through And., which has only *ṣarabī*. However, as there appears to be no documentation before the 14th c. in any Ibero-Rom. language, it might have been borrowed from Naf. (cf. Mor. *ṣarbi*), without prejudice to that contamination in some details. This

would socio-linguistically explain the pejorative connotation of that word, unthinkable in Al-Andalus where Arabdom was aristocratic, but easily understandable under the circumstances of the Hilalian invasion and its dire consequences for the sedentary or Br. populations of North Africa. The var. Gl. **alarbío** and Pt. **alarvio**, the latter also documented in fem., whence the masc. might be backformed, clearly point to that Naf. origin, whereas **alarbento** "glutton" (Can.) would be a semantic derivation. Cs. **algarabío** has the same story, but has been contaminated by **algarabía**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alarvejar**. Cf. **arábic** and **arab**.

**alaranjar** and **alaranxado:** see **laranja**.

**alaraquiz:** see **arraquiz**.

**alárave**, **alarbe**, **alar(bi)**, **alarbío** and **alarbento:** see **alárabe**.

**alarbían** "a water creature": is an unassimilated semantically vague term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:72, < Ar. *alʿirbiyān*.<sup>135</sup>

**alarca**<sup>1</sup> (Pt.) "call to arms among Moors": is a term borrowed already during the North African campaigns, < Mor. *ḥarka* "military campaign; squadron (of horsemen)" < Cl.Ar. *ḥarakah* "move; gesture",<sup>136</sup> whence the medieval borrowing **alharaca**, q.v., accordingly reflecting the And. pronunciation. From the same late origin is **harca** (Cs.) "party or raiding group of irregular or rebellious troops" and **jarca** "large group" (Arag.), "group; family" (Can.) and "bunch of noisy boys" (Leo.), a contemporary Ar. loanword, introduced during the days of the Spanish protectorate in Northern Morocco, and common also in other regions of Spain. According to Coromines, this is the origin of the popular Val. expression **fer arca** "to pelt (the children) one another" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **harqueño**.

**alarca**<sup>2</sup> (Arag.) "a quantity of tin and lead, already cold after been taken out of the fur-

<sup>133</sup> Which make up the 13th mansion of the moon, as reflected in DAX 92, with a var. **alaue**, explained as "because their shape is crooked", just a folk etymology based upon Ar. *allāwī*, lit., "crooked" in DAX 880, s.v. **fas-cas**. But the var. **alaije** given here by Nykl, in truth, reflects *alḥayyah*, hesitantly identified by Kunitzsch 1961:68 as four stars in Draco, while

informing us that **alove** is actually *algūl* (see **Algol**).

<sup>134</sup> After Morais, in disagreement with Machado's quote.

<sup>135</sup> Usually "prawn" or similar crustaceans. See also **alarnabet**.

<sup>136</sup> In Neo-Ar. already used in the sense of "military expedition", after DS.



nace": prob. derived from And. *alhārqa* "pouring one time", from the Cl.Ar. verb *harāq*. Cf. *argolla*².

**alarchub** "heel": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:8, < And. *ṣarqūb* of this same meaning, not "Achilles' tendon", as Cl.Ar. *ṣurqūb*.<sup>137</sup>

**alarde** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **alardo** (Cs. and Ct.) "review of soldiers, parade, muster": < And. *alṣārd* = Cl.Ar. *ṣard*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alardeante**, **alardear** and **alardoso**; Pt.: **alard(e)ar**, **alarde/oador** and **alardeamiento**; Gl.: **alardea(do)r**.

**alardó** (Ct.) "fence; stockade (designed to protect banks from erosion)": is a hybrid word attaching the Rom. aug. suffix to And. *ṣārid* = Cl.Ar. *ṣārid* "laid across (object), obstacle" Coromines was not right when questioning this genuine ultima stress, obsessed by a non-existent semantic connection with **alardo**. Cf. **alaria**.

**alárgama**: see **alfarma**.

**alargi(u)ha**, **argiuhaie**, **argeatun**, **alargiuhat** and **altergiha** "swing": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:159, < Ar. *urjūhah*.<sup>138</sup>

**alarguez** and **alguese** (Cs., the latter An., after DRAE, there being a Pt. var. **largis** recorded by Eguílaz 1886:92 from Vieira 1871-4) "barberry (*Berberis hispanica*)": < And. *alarḡis* (although the second var. reflects no article, maybe by haplology) < Br. *arḡis* which designates this shrub, as well as the bark of the root of boxthorn.

**alaria** (Cs.) "potters' finishing iron": < And. *alṣārida* = Cl.Ar. *ṣāridah* "laid across object" (in Alcalá, however, "rasp"). From the same etymon are Leo. **llarias** and Pt. **lárias** "chains holding cooking vessels inside a fireplace" in Tras-os-Montes, according to Morais, also "cogged bar", **área** and **are/ia** "harrow" (Nav.), **(a)lera** "sledge" (Nav.), and in the Cs. dialect of La Mancha **arte**, which DRAE and Nvh. interpret as "waterwheel", but certified to us by local informants as "beam of a noria

to which the beast is attached".<sup>139</sup> This etymon would also befit **(a)laría** (Anz.), a var. which etymologically would be wrong stressed, although Anl. also has **lería** "potter's finishing iron"; this is also no doubt the origin of Lt. **algethe**, from an Arag. document, said of a kind of hangings or tapestry of excellent fabric, accessory of an altar, prob. stretching from side to side. Intra-Rom. der.: Nav.: **are/iar**. Cf. **alardó**.

**alarife**¹ (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **alarif** (Ct.): < And. *alṣarīf* = Cl.Ar. *ṣarīf* "expert; building inspector" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alarifad/lzgo**; Pt.: **alarifada**, **alarifagem** and **alarifona**.

**alarife**²: see **alarije**.

**(a)larije** (Cs.) and **alg/harixes** (Lt. from Arag., pl.) "a kind of grape": < And. *alṣarīṣ* = Cl.Ar. *ṣarīṣ* "climbing vine" From the same etymon are **alarife** (Anl.), **alife** (Anz.), **arife**¹ and **arise** (Anl.) "vine tendril", through phonetic corruption, and **arxón** (Gl.) "vine prop", a Rom. aug., possibly **arītja** and **arītjol** (Ct.) "sarsaparilla (*Smilax officinalis*)", through some contamination or suffix metanalysis and substitution which would explain the anomalous cauda, and even Ct. **arixa** "grate", which Coromines would derive from a contamination of Lt. *\*\*regia* with Ar. *rīṣah* "feather" (cf. also And. *rīṣa*, "wheel spoke", leaving some phonetic and semantic problems unsolved).

**alarís**: see **aleli**.

**alarje** (Arag.) "a tribute": in spite of the scarce information, it is prob. from And. *alxárj* = Cl.Ar. *xarj* "expense", already meaning "tribute", although we cannot exclude *arṣ*, a Cl.Ar. technical term, but sufficiently common in administrative usage as to have occasionally entered in the middle registers, with the connotations of "gift; bribe; fine"

**alármega**: see **alfarma**.

**alarnab**: see **arneb**.

**alarnabet** "fleshy overgrowth on the nose": is an unassimilated medical term, from

<sup>137</sup> As can be looked up in DAA 351, containing the solution for the semantic problems mentioned by the authors.

<sup>138</sup> But the last form would reflect *turjūhah*

"one swing"

<sup>139</sup> However, in Márquez 1961:80 this word designates a carding machine driven by water or beast.

Vázquez & Herrera 1989:72, < Ar. *alʿarnabah* “tip of the nose”.<sup>140</sup>

**alaroz** (Cs.) “door jamb; window post”: < And. \**aʿṣarūd* = Cl.Ar. *ṣarūd* “tent pole; object laid across as a prop or an obstacle”. The spelling **alarós** in Eguílaz is less correct, and the Neo-Ar. etymon put forward by him, \*\**ṣarūs* “bridegroom”, totally arbitrary.

**alaroza** (Cs.) and **alaroça** (Pt.) “Muslim bride”: < And. *aʿṣarūsa* = Cl.Ar. *ṣarūs(ah)*. It is a late borrowing, prob. from Mudejar milieus, not documented in Cs. until the 14th c., and in Pt. until the 16th c.

**alarsafe** “front part of the ankle”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:9, < Ar. *arsāg*, with no other novelty than the semantic restriction to that part, which does exist in the standard. But there are no grounds to suppose a bad reading of Ar. *radfah*, which is reflected by more or less corrupt **arreffatu** or **arressatu**.

**alarve** (Gl.) “mound”: recorded by Eguílaz only, looks like an Ar. loanword, but the lack of further information makes any etymon too risky. Cf. **alárabe**.

**alarvejar** and **alarvio**: see **alárabe**.

**alárze** “copper; bronze” (Jud.-Sp.): its etymon cannot be considered as definitively established.<sup>141</sup>

**alasach(a)fe** “shoemaker’s tincture”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez 1987:142–143, the residue of Neo-Ar. (*midād*)<sup>142</sup> *alʿasākifāh*.

**alasere**: is an unassimilated anatomical term, interpreted by Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168 as “left (calf)”, apparently reflecting Neo-Ar. *albatāh alyusrā*.

**alásfar** “(outer) edges of the eyelids”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:10, < Ar. *ašfār*.

**alasilen**, **alasceilem** or **sceilen** “salvarella”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:10, < Ar. *alʿusaylīm*.

**alasfidbagiat**, **asfidbegi**, **asfidbagie**, **asfidabagi** and **alesfidabegi** “a lamb stew with coriander”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:160, < Neo-Ar. *ašfidabāj* < Neo-P. *esfid bā(j)* < Pahl. *spēdbāg*. “curd soup”, lit., “white porridge”

**alasmae**: see **alaime**.

**alas(s)et**: see **alaçet**.

**alasta(r)dad** “exercise”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:160–161 who, quite reasonably, suspect a confusion of the Ar. words *alistif-dād* “readiness, preparation” and *alistirdād* “recuperation”

**alatar** (Cs. and Ct.) “perfumer; druggist; spice merchant”: < And. *aʿṣattār* = Cl.Ar. *ṣattār*.

**alatef**: see **acefi**.

**alatha**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, recorded by Kunitzsch 1959:173–4 and identified as Lambda Scorpionis, < Ar. *allaṭṭaxh* “the stain or nebula”.<sup>143</sup>

**alathna** “flexibility”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *alinqināʿ*.

**alaton**: see **latão**.

**alatrón**: see **natrão**.

**alatzà**: see **alazán**.

**alaúde**: see **laúd**.

**alau**: see **alaoe**.

**aláujo** “by guesswork; haphazardly; thoughtlessly” (Nav.): might reflect And. *ṣala wájjuh* = Cl.Ar. *ṣalā wajjihī* “in his own way”

**alaules** (Old Cs.) “pearls”, **allolo** (Llt. in

<sup>140</sup> The authors fancy a corruption of **alarbian**, q.v., with the support of a passage of Avicenna’s *Alqānūn* in which *irbiyān* would mean “nasal polyp”, but the close likeness to the Ar. term suggests that Ruyzes incurred in confusion with a better known word.

<sup>141</sup> Prob. a metathetical, prosodically altered, and faulty spelling of \***alazrén**, < Neo-Ar. *xār šinī* < Neo-P. *xār čini* “Chinese stone”, said of

zinc and other metals, it being known that brass, copper, bronze, etc. were often mistaken for each other.

<sup>142</sup> Since >*šdād*< looks like an obvious mistake.

<sup>143</sup> He rightly rejects the previous Ar. etymon *ṣalaṭṭaxh* “jumble”, reflected by that very text, under the rendering “turned up thing”, and believed by Nykl.

a Cs. document)<sup>144</sup> and *allos* (Lit. in an Arag. document) “small pearls”: < And. \**lāwl(a)* < Cl.Ar. *lu?lu?ah* “pearl”.<sup>145</sup>

**alaux**: see **aux**.

**alavão** and **alavoeiro**: see **alabão**.

**ala(a)yoc** “Capella”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 21, identified as Alpha Aurigae by Kunitzsch 1961:46, who since 1959:120 gives Ar. *alḥayyūq* as its correct etymon and disavows the Ar. reading *alḥatūd* “billy goat”, previously circulated and still recorded by Nykl, while DAX 114 provides the var. **alayoc/t/z**, **ala/hayoc** and **ayoc achoraya**.

**alaxa**: see **alfaia**.

**alaxia** (Cs.) “evening”: is a hapax retrieved by Eguílaz from certain irrigation ordinances of Granada, being a mere Mudejar or Morisco technical term, < And. *alḥašīyya* = Cl.Ar. *ḥašīyyah*.

**alazán** (Cs. and Gl.), **alazano** (Cs.), **lanzano** (Sal.), **alazão** (Pt.) and **alatzà** (Ct.) “sorrell (horse)”: on above all semantic grounds these words cannot derive, as Coromines thought, from Ar. *azḥar* “blond”, but only from And. \**alashāb* = Cl.Ar. *aḥṣab*,<sup>146</sup> sharing that Rom. meaning while, from the phonetic viewpoint, there is a host of cases (e.g., **atzabó**, **atzavara**, **etzibar**, and prob. **atzeni**) in which /s/ has that reflex in Ct., the usual match of Ar. /z/. In this particular case, as well as in Cs. and Pt., supposedly borrowed from Cs., the regularity of that procedure might be explained as a feature of the pronunciation of Ar. by Berbers, expert horse breeders, since in their language the shift of Ar. /s/ to /z/ or /ʒ/ is normal.<sup>147</sup> On

the other hand, the treatment of /āb/ in cauda is not exceptional in the Arab loanwords (cf. **alacrán**, **ciclán**, etc.).

**alazarach**: see **zarach**.

**alazé** and **alazed**: see **alacet**.

**alazera** (Arag.) “mat”: < And. *alḥašīra* = Cl.Ar. *ḥašīrah*.

**alazet(e)**: see **alacet**.

**alazfar**: see **adfar**.

**alazor**: see **alaçor**.

**alazrob** “lead”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 22, with the var. **açrob** in GP 72, < Neo-Ar. *usrub* < Neo-P. *osrob(b)* < Pahl. *srub*. The Cs. rendering **plomo negro**, lit., “black lead” is a mere reference to the dark colour of lead, and does not appear to mean “graphite”

**alba coma**: see **alcama**.

**albaca** (Arag. and Cs.), **albahaca** and **alfábega** (Cs.), **alfáv/bega**, **alfava(ca)** and **alfabaca** (Pt.), **alfáb(r)ega** (Ct., with a dial. var. **aufáb(r)ega**), **alhábega** (Mur.), **alufadega** (Arag.), **aljáváka** (Jud.-Sp.) and **albe(h)aca**, **albehanca** and **albehancón** (Ext., the latter with an aug. suffix although, in the same dialect, **albehancón** can designate diverse plants): < And. *alḥabāqa* or its var. \**alḥābqa* (after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.4, by no means a form “with Cl.Ar. stress”, as purported by Coromines) < Cl.Ar. *ḥabaqah*, with occasional metathesis. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albahaquero** and **albahaquilla**; Ct.: **alfabeguer** and **aufabeguera**.

**albacar** (Lit. in an Arag. document, Pt. and Old Ct.) and **albacara**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.): most dictionaries give only rather vague definitions of this

<sup>144</sup> Item recorded by Steiger 1956:96, with a shape more easily explainable as an And. collective *lulu*, than by an intra-Rom. assignation to the second Lt. declination.

<sup>145</sup> The And. witness is the spelling >*lawula?*< in the *Leiden Glossary*, which can only be interpreted as a n.un., the collective of which without the matching morpheme is the shape reflected by Rom. The diphthongization of the first vowel, maintained in Cs. and contracted in Arag., happens also in Malt. *lewluwnu* and can be explained as a further “Yemenite” feature of Western Ar., after Corriente 1989b:95.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. also the item *aḥṣab* “café au lait clair”, as a colour of camels in Has., in Monteil 1952:28.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Kab. \**uḥum* “to fast” and \**ḥall* “to pray”, < Ar. \**ṣām* and \**ṣallā*, respectively. It should not be forgotten that Br. is an important substratum in the whole of Eastern Spain, as proven by P. Guichard and M. Barceló. There is no direct witness in And., but it cannot be a sheer coincidence that the treatise by the jurist Aljazirī (see Ferreras 1999:189, 44r.), mentions \**ṣubḥah* as a colour of donkeys. The hypothesis of DE, admitted by former editions of DRAE and Machado, of a derivation of this word from Ar. \**alḥiṣān* “horse” is semantically naive, especially at a time and in a milieu in which the features of this animal received very particular attention.

architectural term (DRAE: “bailey outside a fortress for keeping cattle” and “turret”, while Morais under **albacara** adds “large cattle pen”, and in **albacar** interprets it as “gate in Moorish fortresses... for the transit of cattle” and “barbican”, in contrast to Machado, who only enters **albacar** as “drove of cows”). Coromines identifies both words with Cs. and Ct. **barbacana**, Pt. **barbacã** “barbican”, and concludes that the etymon is always And. *\*b(āb) albaqāra* = Cl.Ar. *bāb albaqarah*, lit., “gate of the cow”, contaminated by **albarrana**, q.v., which would have favoured the metanalysis of an adjectival suffix. Although there is no documentary support to posit such a haplogological form within And., nor a conspicuous trend in that direction, it is quite possible that this phenomenon would have been at work along the process of acquisition of that word by Rom., but the optionality of the final vowel and an eventual relation with the semantic differentiation would, in that scenario, remain unexplained. Anyway, it does not seem likely that the second constituent could be *albaqarah*, which can only be understood as a n.un., and not the collective *albaqar*, or even better, And. *albaqqāra* “the cowmen”, if not both alternatively, as there is no reason why they could not sometimes say *bāb albaqār* “gate of the cows”, and some other times *bāb albaqqāra* “the cowmen’s gate”, even *(al)bāb albaqqāra* “cattle door”; later on, already within Rom., haplogy, assimilation and dissimilation of sonorants and contamination or folk etymology would have successively taken place (i.e., *\*BALBAKÁRA* > *\*BARBAKÁRA* > *BARBAKÁNA*).<sup>148</sup> Although, of course, the frequent evolution of a paralogical /e/ into /a/ suggests that only the first form, *bāb albaqār*, was there at the start. The problem of semantic differentiation would remain, but can be managed in

the light of the supposed contamination with (**torre**) **albarrana**, q.v., furthering an evolution from “gate” to “enclosure”, or even to the bartizans overhanging that entrance. Coromines’ hypothesis, so adjusted to the facts and linguistic realities, is not only acceptable, but irreplaceable. Cf. **calahorra**.

**albacara**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) “small wheel”: < And. *albakkāra* = Cl.Ar. *bak(a)rah* “pulley”, with adoption by And. of the pattern /a22ā3a/, usual in Neo-Ar. for n.inst.

**albacea** (Cs. and Gl.) and **albacea** (Pt.): < And. *\*šāhb alwašīyya* = Cl.Ar. *\*šāhibu lwašīyyah* “man (in charge) of a will, i.e., its executor”, it being evident that the first constituent has been eliminated in the borrowing process in the same manner as in **abacero**, **albacar**, **acicate**, **sáforo**, etc.). This appears likelier, therefore, than Coromines’ proposal, namely, a confusion between the function and its subject. However, there might be an explanation for the functional evolution from Ar. *wašīyyah* “bequest” to **albacea**, in the eventual confusion between dative and accusative,<sup>149</sup> not infrequent in Al-Andalus because of the Hispanic substratum; in this case we could imagine that the Ar. idiom *jašala lahū wašīyyatahū* “he put him in charge of the execution of his will”,<sup>150</sup> might have systematically, at least in low registers, become *\*jašalahū wašīyyatahū*, thus introducing a new *wašīyyah* “executor of a will”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albaceazgo**.

**albacetense** and **albaceteño** (Cs.) “from Albacete”: are gentilics with Rom. suffixation rom., formed on the place name Albacete < And. *albasīt* = Cl.Ar. *basīt* “flat ground” This is also the etymon of the Cs. hapax **albacete**, a kind of “simple” **atutía**, recorded from *Crónica del Moro Rasis* by Maíllo 1983:153.

**albacora** (Cs., Ct. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alvacora**, which is also Gl.): in its

<sup>148</sup> Cf. other solutions, like Cs. **albacara**, with loss of the first constituent, and Pt. **porta de albacar**, in which this is translated, although starting from a somewhat different syntagm, *bāb albaqar* “gate of the cows” The use as fem. of Ar. *bāb* by interference of the Rom. substratum is recorded in AAR 3.1.3a and happens also in some Mor. dialects under And. influence. Incidentally, Vasmer 1996:I 112 is not right when, upon dealing

with Russian *bulagán*, he says that its Neo-P. etymon *bālāxāne* is extensive to Fr. *barbucane* and Eng. *barbican*, as the Hispanic origin of the latter two has become obvious by now.

<sup>149</sup> See SK 126 (7.2.1) and AAR 111–112 (2.3.1.1.5) about some instances of this phenomenon.

<sup>150</sup> In fact, there is an example of this construction in Makki & Corriente 2001:173v.

both senses as “early fig” and “longfin tunny = *Thunnus alalunga*”, usually half the size of “bluefin tuna = *Thunnus thynnus*”), it derives from And. *albakúra* = Cl.Ar. *albākūrah* “first fruits”. The second meaning, despite the frustrating scarcity of conclusive documentation, may have resulted from a metaphor alluding to the earlier fishing season of that species, not because of a markedly lighter colour (i.e., Rom. *albo* “white”), as thought rather naively by Machado; however, the var. **abarcora** (Anl.) is characterized as **atún blanco** “white tunny” (cf. U.S. “white meat tuna”, and Fr. “thon blanc”)<sup>151</sup> side by side with (Anl.) **arbacora** (for standard **albacora**), also called **perlón**, i.e. “pearly”, which might be construed as an effective semantic contamination by that adjective in recent stages. As for (Anl.) **albacora** “Atlantic mackerel (*Scomber scombrus*)”, this anomalous stress position, confirmed by Alvar Ezquerro 2000:54, may answer to another prosodic possibility within And., after AAR 2.1.3.1.4, it being conceivable that it was, in principle, a different dial. shape, put to a new use in order to establish the semantic contrast with standard **albacora**, also said in Anl. in the sense of “bluefin tuna” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Mur.: **bacoreta**. Cf. **arbacora**.

**albacorón**: see **alboquerón**.

**albacorque**: see **abercoc**.

**albadara** (Pt., only in Morais) “sesamoid bone”: is an insufficiently documented word, prob. excerpted from medieval medical treatises, and reflecting an imperfect transcription of Ar. *baḍr* or *baḍr(ah)* “seed”, as it is characteristic of those bones to have the shape of a sesame seed, whence their name. Cf. **sensemanic**.

(al)**badén** (Cs.) “ditch; ravine”: < And. \**albaḡin* = Cl.Ar. *baḡin* “depressed (ground)” It has the technical var., with vowel harmonization, **albedém** (Pt., only in Morais) “rain drain” and **albedén** (Cs., recorded by Eguílaz from building ordinances of Seville) “a part of a building, mentioned in connection with the skill of tiling certain areas of it, like basins and

**albedenes**”, most likely water outlets. From the same origin also would be Arag. **badina** “pond”, with paragogical vowel and without article agglutination. Cf. **albadena**.

**albadena** (Cs., with an old var. **albadén**, mentioned by Eguílaz, of doubtful meaning) “silken tunic” and **bedém** (Pt.) “waistcoat”: < And. *badán* “body of a shirt” < Cl.Ar. *badan* “waistcoat”; the Cs. shape exhibits the frequent evolution into /a/ of a paragogical /e/ (cf. 1.1.4.4.1); however, after DS, Boethor records *badanah* as an allomorph of the And. form, and Old Russian *badana* “cuirass”,<sup>152</sup> through Kirghiz, confirms the spread of that fem. in the whole Islamic world.

**albafagi**: see **alhafagi**.

**albafar** (Pt., with the var. **albufar**) and **albafar(a)** or **albajar** “spur dog, a small kind of shark (*Squallus acanthias*)” (Can., prob. borrowed from Pt., cf. also Can. **mal/rfara**) “a large kind of shark (*Squallus maximus* or *Hexancus griseus*)”: < And. *kálh albhár* = Cl.Ar. *kalbu lbahr* “porbeagle shark (*Lamna nasus*)”, lit., “sea dog”, generally said of small sharks, with loss of the first constituent (see 1.3.2). Conversely, it is the second one which has been dropped in Val. **quelve** “spur dog and similar species” and Anl. **quelvacho** “a kind of small shark”, with a Rom. pejorative suffix, which has a parallel **jelve** (Anl.), with an anomalous shift of the first consonant, due to voicing and subsequent assimilation within a definite pl. syntagm, \**lq(h)guélbeh* > \**loh hélbeh*. As for the meaning “perfume” for **albafar**, accepted by both Machado and Morais, it seems to be a mere mistake for **albafor**, q.v.

**albafor** (Pt.) “scented plant” and **albofor** (Ct.) “frankincense”: < And. *alba/uxúr* < Cl.Ar. *baxūr* “frankincense”. From the same etymon is **baforeira** (Pt. slang, only in Morais, with Rom. suffixation and prob. belonging to the Morisco sociolect) “boastfulness”, through metonymy (cf. Cs. **tener muchos humos**, lit., “to have much smoke”, i.e., “a big head”). Cf. **albafar**.

**albahaca**, **albahaquero** and **albahaquilla**: see **albaca**.

<sup>151</sup> See Davidson 1972:146, who specifies that its flesh is lighter in colour than other species. But cf. Ast. **albacor(a)** “very large tunny”, from

García Arias 2006:15.

<sup>152</sup> See Vasmer 1996:I 103.

**albahío** (Cs.) and **albaío** (Anz.) “with a white yellowish coat (of beasts)”: < And. *albahí* < Cl.Ar. *bahī* “shining”

**albaialde** (Gl.), **albayaide** (Cs.), **albaiat** (Ct., with a Maj. var. **abit**, recorded by Eguílaz, prob. corrupt) and **alvaiade** (Pt.), “ceruse”: < And. *albáyād* = Cl.Ar. *bayād*, in principle “whiteness”, but commonly used in Neo-Ar. in that technical sense by a semantic calque of Neo-P. *sepidā*, which has both. From the same origin are Cs. **albaiat**, in the meaning “waste ground”, in *Repartimiento de Murcia*, an abbreviation of Cl. *bayādu llarā*, in contrast with *\*sawād* “blackness” which is understood, without any addition, as “tilled land”,<sup>153</sup> and **albayaide** “humidity of dew before it freezes” (Ext.), extended with the Rom. suffix [+ÁDA]. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albayaaldado**; Pt.: **alvaiadar**.

**albaida** (Cs. and Ct.) “kidney vetch (Anthyllis vulneraria)”: < And. *albáyda* = Cl.Ar. *baydā* “white (fem.)”

**albaío**: see **albahío**.

**albare** (Cs. thieves’ slang) “hen’s egg”: < And. *albáyda* = Cl.Ar. *baydah* “egg” Cf. **alboaire** and **alcouve**.

**albait** (panis—) “stale bread”: is an unasimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:244, < Ar. *albāʾit*.

**alba/eitar** and **albeitre** (Arag.), **albáitar** (Nav.), **albeite** (Gl.), **albeitre** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:15), **albéitar** (Cs.) and **alveitar** (Pt.) “veterinary surgeon; blacksmith”: < And. *báytar* or *baytār* = Cl.Ar. *baytār* < Gr. *hippiatrós*. Can. **albéitar** “mammonist” is a semantic evolution of the standard, while Gl. **albeitar** “to inquire” is a der. from **albeite**; however, it does not refer to the healing abilities of veterinarian surgeons, but rather to the blacksmith’s

skill for checking the condition of animals for sale.<sup>154</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs and Gl.: **albeitería**; Pt.: **alveitarar** and **alveitaria**.

**albaixinia**: see **albixeres**.

**albajar**: see **albafar(a)**.

**al/rbal** (Nav.) and **albar** “dry land” (Mur.), with the var. **albeare** and **albare** from LHP 70, and (Arag. of Tarazona) **arbal**, from Gargallo 1985:12: < And. *albāʾl* = Cl.Ar. *baʾl*, supposedly borrowed from northwestern Semites, whose pantheon was presided over by Baal, with the implication that those fields received no other watering than the occasional rains sent by that god. The erroneous etymology of this word, based on Lt. *albus* “white”, appears to be answerable for tilted definitions like that of DRAE, up to its latest edition, “dry land, especially, the whitish soil of hills and slopes”

**albal/ra** “district” (Nav.): is obviously the same word recorded by DE, p. 63, from documents of Tudela, with both spellings, in addition to **alvara** and **albarra**, which led them astray, convinced that this word derived from the root {brr} (see **albarrā**)<sup>155</sup> when, in fact, its etymon is And. *barāh* = Cl.Ar. *barāh* “esplanade; uninhabited place” The same word, excerpted from the same document was mentioned by Andolz as Arag., with the spelling **albala** “district; hamlet”; therefore, it is not, as mistakenly stated in Corriente 1998b:424, a der. from And. *\*albalād* = Cl.Ar. *\*balad* “country; town”

**albalá** and **albalaero**: see **albarà**.

**albalate**: see **balate**.

**albalchie** “a disease of the scalp”: is an unasimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, with the var. **balchie** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Ar. *balhiyyah*,

<sup>153</sup> These cases of antonomasia can only be understood in the light of the characteristic perception of colour by ancient Arabs, according to Fischer 1965. Pocklington 1984:270 is not right when, upon dealing with this connotation, identifies *\*baʾl* “dry land” with *bayād* “waste ground”, concluding that **albar**, q.v., would not be an Ar. loanword, but a simple semantic calque of Ar. *bayād* by Rom. But the notaries’ formularies distinguish both concepts clearly and use the matching Ar. terms, which Rom. has borrowed,

although it was not known in the second instance, before the enlightening note of this distinguished researcher of loanwords and place names of Ar. origin.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. IQ 111/2/2, where *nunqud fi hūfiru* “I examine his hoof” is a metaphor for a detailed inquiry.

<sup>155</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.2.5.1, about the hesitation between /r/ and /rr/, both in And. and in the Ar. loanwords of Rom.

a word not recorded anywhere, to the best of our knowledge, but derivable from *balh* "dryness"

**albané**: see **albanel**.

**albaneca** (Ct.), **alvanega** (Pt.), **albanega** (Cs., with an old var. **alfanigue**) and **alfanega** (Ast., with the var. **albaniega** in García Arias 2006:15) "coif, a kind of skullcap": < And. *albanīqa* = Cl.Ar. *banīqah*, < Lt. *pāgānīca* "country (apparel)", through Bib.Aram. (cf. Rab.Aram. *pā(gā)niqā*). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albanecar** and **albaneguero**.

**albanel** (Gl. and Pt.), **alvanel** (Pt., also **alb/vané** and **albanil**), **albañil(l)r** or **albaní** (Cs., with the var. **albanne** from GP 22), **arbañil** (Nav. and Leo., the latter with an old var. **aruanizo**, from DO 167, with Rom. suffixation) "bricklayer": < And. *albannāʿil* < Cl.Ar. *bannāʿil*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albañil(l)ear**, **albañil(l)ería** and **albañila**; Gl.: **albaneleria**.

**albaneyra** (Ct.) "pennon": appears to reflect the half-Catalanized result of And. Rom. \**al+band+ĀYRA*, with a first constituent which, as its Germanic etymology by Coromines is not convincing, may well be And. *albánd* = Cl.Ar. *band* < Neo-P. *band*, an old cognate of the same Indo-European root. The Ar. item is, no doubt, reflected in **albenda** (Cs.) "hanging" and **alb/vende** (Pt.) "banner". There seems to be no real chronological problem in admitting that this word could have spread to other Rom. and European languages, like so many Ar. loanwords, starting from the Iberian Peninsula, but supposing that its origin would have been Germanic, it would indeed be amazing that it left no autochthonous witness. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albendera** and **albéntola**.

**albaní** and **albanil**: see **albanel**.

**albañil/r**: see **albelló**.

**albañil(l)r**, **albañil(l)ear**, **albañil(l)ería** and **albañila**: see **albanel**.

**albaquía** (Cs.) and **albaquia** (Ct. with the hypercorrect var. **albaquella**, for \***albaqueia**) "balance of an account": <

And. *albaqīyya* < Cl.Ar. *baqīyyah* "residue"

**albar**: see **albarrá**.

**albara**: see **albala**.

**albarà** (Ct.), **albará**<sup>1</sup> (Gl.), **albarán** or **albalá** (Cs.) and **albará(n)** (Arag.) "public document" and **alvará** (Pt.) "licence" and "royal decree" (Bie.): < And. *albará* < Cl.Ar. *barāʿah*, in principle "exemption", but soon said of the writ of its granting, and then of other commercial documents declaring free of charge or liability, until acquiring in Mor. the meaning of a simple "letter".<sup>156</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albalaero**; Ct.: **albaraner**. Cf. **albala**.

**albará**<sup>2</sup> (Pt., only in Morais) "leukoderma, vitiligo", **albaràs** (Ct.), **alvaraz** (Pt.), **albarazo** (Cs., with the var. **albarraz**, and old **alb/uaraz/ç**, de GP 52 and 22, as well as **(al)baras**, **barassem** and **tabaras**, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:35 and 120, and **albaraco**, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985b: 106 "a kind of leprosy or herpes") and **albarazas** "freckles" (Leo., with metanalysis of the Rom. suffix *{+ÁĆ}*): < And. *albarāṣ* = Cl.Ar. *baraṣ*, it being noticeable that Pt. occasionally exhibits a shortened shape, if Morais' witness is correct, perhaps by metanalysis of the Rom. pl. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albarazado**.

**albará**<sup>3</sup> (Val.) "filth stain in shirt tails": this word recorded by Eguílaz may well be correct, but its etymon cannot be Ar. \*\**birāz*, as his posited \*\*\**harāz* is a ghost, but And. *baṣāra* = Cl.Ar. *baṣrah* "piece of dung". This does not require correcting the stress, on account of the high probability of hybridization with the Rom. suffix *{+ÁDA}*, with ultima stress result, by loss of intervocalic */d/*.

**albarán** and **albaraner**: see **albarà**.

**albaràs**, **albaraz(ad)o** and **albarazas**: see **albará**<sup>2</sup>.

**albarauach** "moulds": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *albarābix* "tubes"

**albarazán** (Can.) "a kind of grapes":<sup>157</sup> is a hybrid obtained from the etymon of

<sup>156</sup> The *xarjah* H13 is an interesting landmark of this metonymic semantic evolution still within Al-Andalus, as the **albarán** requested there by the girl is a love letter (see PD 316–317).

<sup>157</sup> Incidentally, the Can. shape, prob. borrowed from Pt., raises suspicions about the matching Pt. spelling *alvaraça*, a likely mistake for *alvarazá(n)a*.

**albará**<sup>2</sup>, q.v.,<sup>158</sup> with Rom. suffixation.

**albarcoque** and **albarcoquero**: see **abercoc**.

**albarda** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.; also Ast., after García Arias 2006:15) and **alubarda** (Arag.): < And. *albárda* = Cl.Ar. *albardašah*. The stress in Maj. *aubardà* and *uberda* in Ib. would corroborate that *bardà* in Alcalá is not a mistake, but a dial. pronunciation. A metonymy has generated Cs. *barda*<sup>1</sup> "harness protecting beasts" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albardado**, (en)**albardar**, **albardear**, **albardela**, **albard(on)ería**, **albard(on)ero**, **albardilla**, **albardón** and **des(en)albardar**; Ct.: **albard(on)ar**, **albard(er)a**, **albarderia** and **albardó**; Pt.: **albardada**, **albard(ad)eiro**, **albardadou/iro**, **albar(da)dura**, **albardão**, **albard(ilh)ar**, **albardaria**, **albardeira**, **albardeirão** and **albardilha**; Gl.: **albardar**, **albardeiro** and **albardón**.

**albardà** (Ct.) and **albardán** (Cs., already in GP 52, and Leo. **aluardan** from DO 168) "jester; buffoon" and **alb/wardão** (Pt., with the var. **albardã**) "brazen": < And. \**albardán* = Cl.Ar. *bardān* "sensitive to cold; unpleasant; brazen" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albardanear** and **albardan(er)ía**; Ct.: **albardanejar** and **albardaneria**; Pt.: **albardar**.

**albardada/o**, **albardadeiro**, **albardadou/iro** and **albardadura**: see **albarda**.

**albardán**, **albardanear**, **albardan(er)ía**, **albardanejar** and **albardaneria**: see **albardà**.

**albardão** and **albardar**: see **albarda** and **albardà**.

**albarda/eria**, **albardear**, **albardeira/o**, **albardeirão**, **albardela**, **albard(er)a/o**, **albardilha(r)** and **albardilla**: see **albarda**.

**albardim** and **albardina** (Pt.), **albardí** (Ct.) and **albardín** (Cs.) "matweed (*Lygeum spartum*)": < And. *albardí* = Cl.Ar. *barḏī*, which in the East was more properly applied to "papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*)", although it has been occasionally said also of bulrush (*Typha angustata*), and other Typhaceae. There has been, therefore, a semantic shift.

**albardó**: see **albarda**.

**albardón** (Cs. in the syntagm *caballo*—"hack": < And. *barḏāwn* = Cl.Ar. *birdawn* < Aram. *bardūnā* < Lt. *burdō[nem]* "mule" Cf. **albarda**.

**albardonar**, **albardonería**, **albardonero** and **albardura**: see **albarda**.

**albare**: see **albal**.

**alba/ergina** and **albergínia** (Ct.), **alberchina**, **alberxina** and **alberjen/ña** (Arag.), **beringela** (Pt.), **berenxena** (Gl., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:196) and **berenjena** (Cs.) "aubergine (*Solanum melongena*)": < And. *baḏinjāna* < Neo-Ar. *bāḏinjānah* (n.un. with the fem. morpheme) < Neo-P. *bātingān* < Sk. *bhaṇḍākt*, (or, more exactly, from an indeterminable Prakrit form, similar to the Hindi pl. *bhāṭeṇ*, subsequently extended with the Pahl. pl. morpheme {-ān}). There are no traces of any special And. allomorph, beyond the effect of *imālah*, reflected everywhere in Rom., which also exhibits the shift of intervocalic /d/ to /r/, prob. through /l/ and, in Pt., the additional dissimilation of the second /n/ into /l/. Ct. and Arag., while maintaining the agglutinated article missing in Cs., Gl. and Pt., have gone farther in their evolution, with haplology of sonorants and dissimilation of the first /h/ into /r/, whence the dial. var. **alba/ergina** and the first three of Arag.; in the long run, however, Ct. has preferred the standard shape, with /y/, either repercussive or due to some Intra-Rom. contamination, and also optionally reflected by Arag. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)**berenjenado**, **berenjenal** and **berenjenín**; Ct.: **alberginiera**; Pt.: **alberingelar**.

**albarhamín**: see **bracmán**.

**albaricoque** and **albaricoqueiro**: see **abercoc**.

**albarnoz**: see **albornoz**.

**albaroque** (Gl.), **alboroque** (Cs., whence Eng. "broker", also Leo., after DO 170, with the var. **albaroch(h)**, **albaroc(c)**, **albaroge**, **albaroko**, **alvaroque**, **alboroc(ho)**, **aluaroc(h)**, **aluaroco**, etc.), **aluoroc** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:23)<sup>159</sup> **alboroque** (Pt.,

<sup>158</sup> By the way, the var. **albaraz** is in no way related to **algrada**, as might be concluded from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:91.

<sup>159</sup> Plus **albarocco** in Herrera de la Fuente 1988 III:83–84, contributed by Prof. Montaner.



with the dial. var. **alvaroque**), and **albor/loc** (Ct.) “gift or invitation at the buyer’s expense”: we have long ago disavowed the etymon traditionally given for this word since DE, based upon a contemporary item from Algeria, a quite prob. mere Rom. borrowing by the Moriscos settled there after their expulsion, as the posited **\*\*burūk**, from the root {brk}, is not documented with any connectable meaning in either And. or Cl.Ar. However, the emergence of a new item, namely, the use in Hb. Aljamiado of the Ar. loanword **masūd** with exactly the same meaning and function,<sup>160</sup> makes us desist from our previous complicated hypothesis in DAA 120. It seems more natural to suppose that Jewish merchants would indistinctly use Hb. **bāruk** or its Ar. match **masūd** “lucky, blessed”, to congratulate the customer for his bargain and remind him of the customary invitation or gift; this congratulatory formula would then have spread to every community, thanks to its phonetic and semantic likeness to Neo-Ar. **mabrūk**, generally used until today as the standard term of congratulation. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alborcar**, **alborque** (deverbal) and **alborqueiro**, with semantic evolution to “barter, swap”

**albarquid** “a stone of uncertain identification”,<sup>161</sup> from GP 22 and DAX 95, < Neo-Ar. **hajar barqū/bāriqī**.

**albarra**: see **albal**.

**alb/varrā** (Pt.) and **albarrana** (Cs.) “squill; watchtower”, **albarrana** (Ct.) “watchtower”, and **alb/varrão** (Pt.) and **albarrán** (Cs.) “bachelor”, and **albarrano** (Arag. and Pt.) “gipsy; stranger”, **barrano** (Arag. and Mur.) “stranger”, **barrão** (dial. Pt.) “immigrant worker”, **barraina** (Arag.) “ewe without a flock or without an owner”, **esbarrainata**

(Arag., participle of an And Rom. hybrid verb **\*DEŠ+barra+AYN+ÁR**) “ewe without an owner” and **albarrana** “cow not calving in the year” (Anz.): are all der. of And. **albar-ráni** “outer; alien” < Neo-Ar. **barrānī** (formed on Aram. **\*\*bārrā** “the outside”), assimilated to the Rom. adjectival ending {+ÁNO}, as in the case of Cs. **citano** (q.v.). Its And. allomorph **bárri** (documented in some sources with the var. **birrí**, < Neo-Ar. **barri** “exterior”, in Cl.Ar. “wild”), is the immediate etymon of **barri** (Ct.), **barrio** (Cs. and Gl.), **bario** and **u/varrio** (Leo., from DO 230), **barriu** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:27) and **bairro** (Pt.) “outskirts; district, quarter”, as well as of Gl. **ir en barría** “to flee in disorder” and Nav. **esbarrar** “to cause the beasts to bolt” and **esbarriar** “to scatter”, it being also probable that similar words have conditioned the semantic evolution of Cs. **desbarrar** from “to slip” into “to blunder”. As for **albar** (Cs., recorded by Garulo 1983:146) and **alvarín** (Bie.) “wild” they also appear to share this etymon, notwithstanding the degemination of /r/,<sup>162</sup> but a semantic evolution of And. **bašlí** “unirrigated (land)” cannot either be ruled out. The latter word in Leo., however, said of any wild plant, gives more weight to the first hypothesis. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albarráneo**, **albarraniego**, **albarranía**, **albarranilla** and **barriada**; Ct.: **barriada** and **esbarriar**; Pt.: **albarráneo** and **albarrania**.

**albarrada**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Pt.) “dry wall”: appears to reflect And.Rom. **\*albarráda**, morphophonemic Arabicization, through adoption of the pattern {a2243a} of n.inst. in Neo-Ar., of the Lt. etymon of An. **parata**, as purported by Coromines, s.v. **parar**. However, his proposal of a Lt. etymon **\*pārāre**

<sup>160</sup> In a text communicated to us by Prof. Magdalena, from Barcelona University (see Corriente 2004b:77, fn. 29). The Hb. word is easily detachable from the ritual blessings ordered by the Jewish faith on diverse occasions, beginning with the phrase **bāruḥ haššem/ādonay** “blessed is God” and as such, used even by people who do not know Hb. beyond these items.

<sup>161</sup> It includes the gentilic suffix, but there are many place names containing **barqah** “stony place” and the like; on the other hand, it might

by synonymous with **hajar albarq** “aventurine” Cf. also **murquid**, of which it might have been corrupted.

<sup>162</sup> See SK 2.11.0, n. 50, with a list of cases exhibiting hesitation in the length of this phoneme, striking out, however, the very old Ar. loanwords **alvara** “outskirts” and **aderra** “whip”, as their etyma are, in truth, **burāh** and **dirrah**, and the same applies to **burrayq**, which is not corrupted from **burayq**; see DAA 47 and AAR 2.1.2.2.5.1.

"to prepare" may be naive, considering that Alcalá, as And. equivalent of **albarrada** gives >*xipar*<, i.e., *šipar*, no doubt a reflex of Lt. *šipārium* "curtain; sunshade". One would say that And. Rom. had \**ŠIPAR*+*ÁTA* "enclosed in a wall", which underwent aphæresis through wrong parsing of a definite pl. syntagm, \**LAŠŠI*+*PARÁTAŠ*, thus generating the And.Rom. and And. items in successive phases.

**albarrada**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **abarrada**) "earthen jar with a spout and a handle": from And. *albarráda* "cooling device" = Cl.Ar. *barrādah*.

**albarrán(eo)**, **albarrana/o**, **albarráneo**, **albarraniego**, **albarrani/ia** and **albarranilla**: see **albarrā**.

**albarraz**: see **abarraz** and **albará**<sup>2</sup>.

**albars/za** (Cs.) "fisherman's basket": through And. Rom., from the pre-Roman etymon of **barcina**, q.v.<sup>163</sup>

**albatara** (Cs., with the var. **albathara**, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168) "disgusting and dangerous ailment affecting women in the neck of the womb": this item, thus quoted and defined by DA, has been eliminated from DRAE and other prestigious dictionaries, on account of reasonable doubts about its accuracy, in conflict already with the two Lt. glosses of that very source *excrecens in ore uteri caruncula* and *femineus quidam morbus*, i.e., a definition of "clitoris" and a vague pathological description. At first sight, the first Lt. gloss would just contain a further instance of frequent phonetic and semantic corruption in the medical treatises translated from Ar., in this case, of *baṣr* "clitoris" which, in truth, as Eguílaz says, has an allomorph *baṣārah*, although so uncommon that it is unlikely to have been the immediate origin of that technical term in either Lt. meaning. As for the second gloss, closely equivalent to the Cs. text, it seems to describe, rather than a "disgusting and dangerous ailment", the mere and not uncommon hypertrophy of that organ, which was thought to require its partial ablation, a procedure not to be confused with ritual clito-

ridectomy in some Islamic and African countries. The etymological starting point of this latter meaning, and perhaps of both, appears to have been Ar. *baṣrā* "woman having a large clitoris", a taunt often addressed to Christian women, not subjected to that traditional and disgraceful mutilation, and so common that it is recorded even in And. as *bādra*.

**albathi**: see **alabathi**.

**albatoça** (Morais) or **albetoça** (Pt.) and **albatoza** (Cs.) "a kind of ship": the Neo-Ar. etymon *baṭṭāṣah* propounded by Coromines for this word, first documented in the 15th c., and for **patache** and allied forms, q.v., from the 16th, is not devoid of difficulties which he acknowledges, and then dismisses. The alternative and hypothetical solution put forward by us in Corriente 1996c, was an And. hypocoristic \**alḡaṭṭāsa*, from Cl.Ar. \**ḡaṭṭās* "albatross", heretofore undocumented in naval terminology, but in keeping with the practice of designating ship types with bird names, e.g., Ar. \**ḡurāḥ* "raven", \**ḡirillā* "dun diver", etc. However, granting the high probability and phonetic adequacy of that hypocoristic hypothesis, as the best way to explain the shape of those Rom. terms, the information provided by Eguílaz for Ar. naval terminology in the Mediterranean sea has documented a word *buṣṣah*, prob. with a doublet *buṣṣāḥ*, as a kind of vessel. The origin of this term is certainly not Ar., which connects with the etymological problems posed by Ct. **gussi** and Cs. **buza/o**, most ably studied by Coromines in his DECLC with a large contribution of data, either Mediterranean or Nordic. The earliest Germanic, above all Scandinavian var. in his survey incline us to believe, as he does, that the second var. (etymologically and semantically different from the first Ct. one, said of a larger ship) must be a technical term of Nordic origin, introduced in the Mediterranean areas by the Vikings. Nevertheless, the application of a hypocoristic pattern to a technical term remains strange.

**albatros** (Cs. and Ct.): is a return via Eng. and Fr. of **alcatraz**, q.v., after Coromines s.v.

<sup>163</sup> Which recommends the spelling **albarza**. In no way can it derive, as fancied by DRAE,

from Lt. *bursa*, always reflected in And., through And. Rom., as *búrša*.

**albatun**: see **charis**.

**alboxad**: see **aguajaque**.

**albayada**, **albayaldado** and **albayaalde**: see **albaialde**.

**albaz** (Cs.) "yellow batiste": < And. *albázz* = Cl.Ar. *bazz*.

**albazul/r** (Can.): "removable panel from port to starboard in a fishing boat" < Ar. *waṣūl* "linking everything"

**albbeth** "kind of rice-pudding": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:161, < Neo-Ar. *bahatt* < Neo-P. *bahat* < Sk. *bhaktá* "porridge"

**albeaca**: see **albaca**.

**albear**: see **alhear**.

**albeare**: see **albar**.

**albeasan**, **albedissanem**, **albedasnam** and **albeds(s)anem** "nose swelling": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:73, < Neo-Ar. *bādiṣṣ/nān* < Neo-P. *ān*.

**albece**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 22, excerpted from *Picatrix*, which Nykl could not identify, although he suggested a corrupted transcription of Gr. *boōtēs*, i.e., Boōtes.<sup>164</sup>

**albeçre** (Old Ct.) "linseed for medical use": < And. *albízr* < Cl.Ar. *bizr* "seed"

**albedarrumbe**: see **bederangi**.

**albedém** and **albedén**: see **albadén**.

**albegendach** "contortion": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1992b:943, < Pahl. represented by Neo-P. *piçide* "twisted".<sup>165</sup>

**albeha(n)ca** and **albeha(n)cón**: see **albaca**.

**albéitar**, **albeitar**, **albeit(r)e** and **albeitaría**: see **albaitar**.

**albejín**: see **alpechín**.

**albelagin** "of age, mature": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:73, < Ar. *albāliḡn*.

**albelat**: is an unassimilated technical term,

from GP 22, half-translated from Neo-Ar. *ṣamḡ albalāṭ* "lapidary's cement"

**albe(l)da** or **elbelda** "town": from GP 22 and 86, < Ar. *albaldah*.

**albelló** (Ct., with the dial. var. **abulló**, **arbelló**, **bullonera**), **albe/ullón** (Arag.), **arbe/ollón**, **albollón** or **albañal/r** (Cs.), **arbañal** (Bie. and Anl.), **arbullón**, **argollón**, **arguilló** and **argullón** (Nav.) and **alvaneira** or **alvanhal** (dial. Pt.) "gutter": this last form and its Cs. match cast doubts on an Ar. etymon *\*ballūṣah* or *bālūṣah*, undocumented in the western dialects, which only have *ballāṣah* (lit., "gluttonous (fem.)":<sup>166</sup> cf. Pt. **algeroz**, with identical semantic juncture. On the other hand, the remaining forms all exhibit an aug. Rom. suffix, which leads us to conclude that there was an And. Rom. hybrid *\*al+ballāṣ+ŌN*, whence they derive. Some of them have assimilated the front vowel to the palatal consonant, some have dissimilated the /l/ of the Ar. article into /r/, some have harmonized the preceding vowel to that of the aug. suffix, and some, finally, exhibit metanalysis and substitution of a Rom. suffix, all these phenomena being intra-Rom. Intra-Rom. der.: **albellonat**. Cf. **ballo**.

**albenda** and **alb/vende**: see **albaneyra**.

**alb/neidalan** "nightmare": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Neo-Ar. *naḡdulān*, so recorded by Ar. dictionaries but, in fact, corrupted from Neo-P. *bidilāne* "faintly"

**albengala** (Cs.) and **bengala** (Pt.) "some fabric", **bengala** (Cs.) "cane, baton; some fabric" and (Gl.) "cane, baton": this word is borrowed from Pt., in which it has other meanings such as "bamboo for sticks; Bengali; firework, etc."; in Cs. it has received a false Ar. article, by the agency of pedants. All this is a consequence of the Pt. colonization of the shores of the Indian Ocean, and the contact

<sup>164</sup> Actually, his suggestion is made likelier by the equation obtaining in that text between "Roman" > *nāt.s* < (cf. DAX 1271 *natis*) and "Persian" *albece*, combined with the mention in Kunitzsch 1959:153, fn. 1, of > *bāt.s* < as one of the transcriptions of that Gr. word, sometimes mixed up with *boētēs* and, therefore, rendered by Ar. *ṣawwāʔ* or *ṣayyāḡ*

"screamer", with which Nykl connects this entry.  
<sup>165</sup> Of which the Ar. technical term *baṣīdaki* is a mere transcription.

<sup>166</sup> Whence **albañal** through *\*alballā(n)*, by sonorant metathesis and palatalization, of a sign opposite to the case of the place name Berrellén, from the pr.n. (*u*)*han rannán*, after Terés 1990:180.

with the Neo-P. geographical term *bangāle* < Hindi *baṅgāl* "Bengal", also reflected by the Cs. gentilic *bengālī*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **bengalada**.

**alberca** (Cs. and Arag.), **alberque** (Cs.), **alverca** (Pt.) and **l(ā)berca** (Arag.) "pond, pool": < And. *albírka* = Cl.Ar. *birkah*. Der. intrarrom. Cs.: **alberquero**; Pt.: **alberqueiro** and **alvercada**. Cf. **abarcón**.

**alberc/zachali**, **alberza** **chali**habet and **confectio alberez**<sup>167</sup> "electuary against leprosy": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:162 and 207, with a var. **bederasuli** in Vázquez 2005:1148, < Neo-Ar. *bazarjalī*, perhaps < Neop. *\*bozorg kali habbat* "pill against the big corrosion", with Pahl. syntaxis.

**albérichico**, **alberéchigo** and **alberóchico** (Nav.), **albérichigo/a** (Cs.), **alberge** (Ct., with the dial. var. **ampréssec**), **alberge** or **alberque** (Arag.) and **alperc(h)e** (Pt.) "a variety of peach or apricot": < And. Rom. *\*al+BÉRŠIQ* < Lt. (*mālum*) *persicum*, with occasional loss of the Lt. suffix or of the post-tonic syllable and mutual, phonetic and semantic contamination with **abercoc** and the like (q.v.). The reflexes with >ch< are anomalous and explainable only by intra-Rom. contamination with shapes in which, after the decay of the suffix, there was alternance of /š/, /j/ and /ʔ/ in cauda position.<sup>168</sup> Cs. **alpérsico** (cf. Pt. **pêsego**), poorly documented, seems to obey to mere contamination of the Lt. etymon with the Arabicized forms. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alberchigal**, **alberchiguero** and **albergero**; Ct.: **albergener**; Pt.: **alperc(h)eiro**.

**alberchina**: see **albergina**.

**albercoc**, **albercoque**, **albercoquer(o)**, **albercucuo** and **alberj/ge**: see **abercoc**.

**alberéchigo**: see **albérichico**.

**alberengi** or **beringi** "a variety of myrobalan (*Embelia ribes*)": with the var. **ibrange** in DAX 1037), is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:204, < Neo-Ar. *ibranj* / *biranj* < Neo-P. *beranj*.

**albez**: see **albercachali**.

**albergate**: see **alpargata**.

**alberge(ner)**: see **albérichigo**.

**albergina**, **alberginia** and **alberginiera**: see **albergina**.

**alaberjen/ña**: see **albergina**.

**alberjó**: see **borja**.

(**al**)**bérnia** (Ct.), **bernia** (Cs.) and **bérneño** (Pt.) "a kind of cloak and the rough fabric out of which it was made": prob. < And. (*al*)*birniyya* for *\*ibirniyya* "Irish, Hibernian", as such would be the origin of that fashion.<sup>169</sup> This etymon was known and considered by Coromines, who finally rejected it as, according to him, that word would be too learned, and its aphaeresis inexplicable. But in fact, Hibernia was for centuries the most common and internationally known name of Ireland, transmitted in Lt. by its own natives, whose Celtic dialect was unintelligible outside the island, while that phonetic phenomenon is very common in And. for words of a similar structure.<sup>170</sup> Cf. **borní**.

**albernoz**, **albernuç** and **albernús**: see **albornoz**.

**alberóchico**: see **albérichigo**.

**alberque**: see **alberca** and **albérichigo**.

**alberxina**: see **albergina**.

**albesti** "fat and greasy substance": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:163, in fact, the gentilic of Bust, in Afghanistan < Neop. *bosti*, said of a variety of figs.

<sup>167</sup> This last var. appears shortened in this manner and is no reflex of *baray* "albarazo", q.v., on account of differences in vocalization and pathological definition.

<sup>168</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.5.2.4.

<sup>169</sup> Strictly speaking, this word is borrowed from And.Rom., as the heir from Lt., by And., but the gentilic morpheme and the optional agglutination of the Ar. article suggest an And. phase as immediate origin of the loanword, prob. coined by Mozarabs.

<sup>170</sup> See SK n. 84 with such conspicuous examples as *\*Émerita* > *\*márida*, *\*Itálica* > *\*tálica*, *\*Arunda* > *\*rúnda*, *\*Olisipo* > *\*lībūna*, etc. While it is true that Ireland was not an industrial country, it was well within its reach to spin wool from its many sheep and to weave materials resistant to cold and rain, a much necessary commodity there. As a matter of fact, Alqazwīnī (13th c.) in his cosmography entitled *ʿAjāʾib al-maḥlūqāt* describes the Irish as wearing luxurious apparel.

**albetoça**: see **albatoza**.

**albexenia**: see **albíxeres**.

**(al)bezel** "punction": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:204–205, < Ar. *baẓl*.

**albhear** "dyspnea": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:74, with the var. **albhear** in Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:106 and **bhear** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *albuhr*.

**albher**: see **albora(ti)**.

**albicar**: from García Salinero 1968:33, is a mere corrupted var. of **alizar**, q.v.<sup>171</sup>

**albihar** (Cs.) "longwort (*Anacyclus clavatus*)": < And. *albihār* = Cl.Ar. *bahār*, which the Cl.Ar. dictionaries identify as the gender *Buphtalmum*, and mod. botanic encyclopaedias, with diverse species of the gender *Anthemis*, all of them *Compositae*. Cf. **alpaa/or**.

**albimorastan** or **almorastani** "hospital": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:163, < Neo-P. *bimārestān*, widely extended in Ar., even And., under several shapes.

**albiñoca** (Anz.) and **il/noca** (Ast.) and **minhoca** (Pt.) "earthworm": the first form cannot obviously derive from the Pt. one; instead, both must have a common And. Rom. origin, proving Machado right when he disavows its African origin. That hypothetical And. Rom. word might well have been a reflex of Lt. *albīnĕa* "whitish" with the dim.-pejorative suffix {-ŌQ}.<sup>172</sup>

**albir** "a round and reddish abscess": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, perhaps a metonymy of Ar. **albizz** "nipple"

**albi** "medicine containing aconite": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:164, < Neo-Ar. *bīṣī*.

**albitana** (Cs.) and **alb/vitana** (Pt., with the var. **albitānea**, **albitano** and **albitona**) "lining": < And. *albiṭānah* = Cl.Ar. *biṭānah*. From the same origin, by semantic, and occasionally phonetic evolution, are **albitana** (Ext. and Anl.) and **armitana** or **armitaño** (Anl.) "coarse mesh layers of a trammel net", **bidana** "a part of a trammel net" (Anl.), **arbitana** "a part of fishing boats using dragnets; fine mesh layer of the trammel net" (Anl.), and Pt. **albitano** (in Morais) "layer of a dragnet"

**albixena**: see **albíxeres**.

**albíxeres** (Ct., with the var. **albixena**, **albaixinia**, **albexenia**, **ambíxeres**, etc.), **alvícaras** or **alvíssaras** (Pt.), **albízaras** (Gl.), **alv(er)ísyas** (Jud.-Sp.), **albricies** (Ast., also **albízaras**, in García Arias 2006:15) and **albricias** (Cs. and Ar.) "(reward for) good news": from an And. pronunciation *\*biṣṣra* of Ar. *buṣṣrā*,<sup>173</sup> with intra-Rom. adoption of pl., prob. by attraction of **noticias** "news" It can be agreed upon with Coromines that there were no reflexes of the Ar. synonymous *\*biṣṣarah* nor therefore antepenultima stressed forms, except perhaps some very minor var. with a peculiar story. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **albriciar**; Pt.: **alvissaragem**, **alvissarar** and **alvissareiro**.

**albízaras**: see **albíxeres**.

**alboaire** (Cs., with a var. **aloharia**, from García Salinero 1968:31) "glazed tile work in a vault": is a Mudejar building technical term from the 16th c., heretofore considered a metonymy of **albufera**, as if the glazed

palatalization of the preceding front vowel would exclude it and direct us towards an intra-Rom. solution, like maybe the phonetic awkwardness of the cluster /lʃr/, given away by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel and occasional metathesis. The same inference may be drawn from the var. **alvistra** (*lege sic* **alvistrat**), as the last consonant is the agglutinated pronoun *le*) excerpted by Eguílaz from *Libro de Alexandre*. A parallel situation with the cluster /fjdr/ was solved through the insertion of /d/, (i.e. /fjdr/ > /dʃr/) in the place name Madrid and similar instances, as Coromines demonstrated in DCELC, s.v. **mejor**.

<sup>171</sup> But if it were distorted from *\*albicar*, the etymon *ihyār* would be a bit more credible.

<sup>172</sup> See AAR, p. 128. The reflexes of Lt. *albus* are well documented in And.Rom., e.g., in IQ 82/10/2 and 84/11/3, and in the *xarajāt* A4, 7, 14, 22 and H11 (see PD 274–5, 278–9, 291 and 314–5).

<sup>173</sup> About the frequency of this phenomenon of palatalization in And., see AAR, 2.1.4.1.7. As for the possibility of this result of the palatal in Pt., Gl. and Cs. being a consequence of the preservation of the old lateral trait of this sibilant, see AAR, p. 53, fn. 39, although the very

tiles were comparable to a small lake. That is not impossible, as there is, after DS, a similar meaning of *bahr*, of which *buhayrah* is a dim., and even in Cs. *lagunar* (< Lt. *lācūnār*) is said of the gaps left by the interlaced beams of a coffered ceiling, but one begins to wonder upon detecting a certain evolution in the lexical definitions, aimed at making them match the suggested etyma (e.g., the first editions of DRAE reading “work formerly done in chapels and vaults, by decorating them with glazed tiles, especially when they were shaped like a furnace”, more recently have evolved into “work which was done in chapels and vaults, especially when spherical in shape, by decorating them with glazed tiles”). It is patent that the momentousness has shifted from the furnace shape to the ornamentation with glazed tiles, although precisely that shape is not devoid of importance, as in the classification of the Sevillian ordinance, quoted in connection with *baída*, it is suggested that the chapel of *alboayres* is so designated because of its shape, like a furnace, divergent from that of the *bayde* and the *ochavada* types, and not on account of its being decorated with glazed tiles. As a matter of fact, DA defines *alboair* as “place to light fire, like a furnace”; summing up, an And. etymon *albuwayda* “small egg” = Cl.Ar. *buwaydah*, a shape quite close to that of a furnace, with a phonetic evolution similar to that *albare*, q.v., is a distinct possibility.

**alboca:** see *alboque*.

**alboayre** (Cs.): this architectural term, recorded by Eguílaz, apparently is not, as he thought, a var. of *alboaire*, q.v., since there is no coincidence of their contexts in those Sevillian ordinances. In this case, the talk goes about the different kinds of staircases, instructing the builders to provide their buttresses with *cañutos de albocaires y de tabla llana*, which can hardly bear any relation to glazed tiles, or furnace-like vaults, not to mention the phonetic difficulty for establishing a common origin. Granted that these two technical terms have never been quite transparent, chances are that those *cañutos* are corbels which, projected from the buttress, bear the *tablas llanas* “flat boards” for the steps; in this case, we might have an And. Rom. hybrid *\*būq+ÁYR*, lit.,

“flute player”, metaphorically applied to that structure, by establishing a parallel between the corbels placed at graduated heights around the buttress, and the fingers of a flute player distributed along its cylinder.

**albocorque:** see *abercoc*.

**albofaria:** see *albufeira*.

**albofo:** see *albafor*.

**albogue** (Cs. and Gl.), **albog/que** (Pt.) and **alboca** (Nav.): “rustic flute”: < And. *albug* = Cl.Ar. *būq*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *albogón*, *albuguear* and *albuguero*.

**albohera:** see *albufera*.

**alboheza** (Cs.) “mallow”: < And. *alxub-háyza* = Cl.Ar. *xubbayz(ah)*, with metathesis.

**albolhol** (Cs.) “bindweed and other species of the genus *Convolvulus*”: < And. *alhubúl*, pl. of *\*hābl* = Cl.Ar. *\*hābl* “rope”, metaphorically used as a plant name, e.g., in And. *\*hābl almasákin* “rope of the poor”, said of “ivy” Pt. *albol* from Morais, scarcely documented, is prob. the same, while from the first edition of the DRAE Eguílaz retrieved a different *albolhol*, burnt by some women as perfume, identifiable with some of the various plants with Ar. names beginning with *baxūr* “frankincense”, usually pronounced *buxūr* in And., as witnessed to by this same Ar. loanword.

**albol:** see *albolhol*.

**albolb/ga**, **alforba** and **lorba** (Ar.), **alfolba** (Ct.), **alforfa** (Gl.), **alfo(l)va** and **alforb/f/v/ja** (Pt.), **alholva** (Cs.) and **albolva**, **albulba**, **alvolva** and **alvuelva** (Nav.): < And. *alhúlba* = Cl.Ar. *hulbah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *alholvar*.

**alboleca:** see *alcoleca*.

**albellón:** see *albelló*.

**alboloc:** see *albaroque*.

**albolorio** “alboroto” (Mur., from Gómez Ortín): is prob. a der. from the And. root *[hrbl]* “to turn over”, according to Corriente 2005:228. Cf. *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

**albolva:** see *albolba*.

**alb/móndiga** (Cs., whence Ct. *mandonguilla*, through its dim.), **albóndega** (Gl.), **alb/móndega** (Pt.) and **almódiga** (Arag.): < And. *albúnduga* = Cl.Ar. *bunduqah* < Rab. Aram. *pundēqi* and Syr. *pundēqā* < Gr. (*kárya*) *Pontiká* “hazelnuts”, with contamina-

tion of the cauda by the Rom. suffix /+IKO/. From the same etymon are metonymic **bodoc** and **bodoque** (Arag.) "a kind of blowpipe" and **bodoque** (Cs. and Pt.) "clay pellet". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alb/mondiguilla**, **bodocal**, **bodocazo** and **bodoquera**.

**alboquerón** (Cs.) "Virginia stock (Malcolmia maritima)": this plant name does not appear connectable with Gr. *boukeron*, i.e., fenugreek (*Trigonella foenum graecum*). The var. **albacorón** of Eastern Spain suggests metathesis and contamination by **albo** "white" of And. *\*abulqurún* "horned; cuckold", which could hypothetically be explained by the different colours of its flowers, as if each one of them had been begotten by a different father. The var. **arbelcorán** (Anz.), with different vocalization rather suggests a euphemism, design to avoid the ominous *qurún* "horns", and perhaps embellishing the word as *\*hább alqur'án* "grain of the Koran".

**alborath**: is an unassimilated term, in DAX 98, corrupted from *\*alborac* < Ar. *alburāq* "name of the Prophet's mount in his oneiric ascension to the heavens".

**albora(ti)** or **albhere** "umbilical area": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:11–12, a semantic specialization of Ar. *buhrah* "centre".

**albórbola** and **albuérbola** (Cs., with the old var. **albueruola**, **alguargualas** and **albuallalo** DAX 98–99) "trilling cries of joy uttered by Muslim women": < And. *alwáhwala* = Cl.Ar. *walwalah*. The first form exhibits intra-Rom. hypercorrect monophthongization,<sup>174</sup> and both have a hypercorrect obstruant result for /w/ (see 1.1.3.1).

**alborga** (Cs.) and **aborga** (Anz.) "kind of hempen sandal": < And. *albülgā*, apparently from the same pre-Roman etymon of **albergate** (q.v.), with vowel labialization. Cf. **agovia**.

**alborín**, **alforí**, **algo/urín** and **a(l)guarín** (Arag.), **alforí** (Ct.) and **alfolí**, **alholí(a)**, **alhorí(n)**, **alforiz** and **alf/gorín** (Cs.) and

**ajorí** (Anz.): "barn, granary; olive store, etc." and **alforís** (Arag. of Tarazona, from Gargallo 1985:64, with semantic evolution) "space under a staircase": < And. *alhurí* < Cl.Ar. *hury*, of Eg. origin (cf. Eg. >*mhr*< and Cp. *ahor*, whence also Lt. *horreum*). Of the same origin are **anjorí** "tool shed" (Anl., phonetically corrupt), Pt. **alfol/nim** "tax on salt" (at first, on stored products), **alforí** "salt store" (Anz.), **alfolín** "store for salt and other products" (Ast.), **algorí(n/s)** (Nav.) "draining place for olives; winepress" and, finally, **algorio** "granary" (Nav.) and **argorio** "fodder store" (Nav.), backformed on the previous terms, as if they were dim. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfoli(n)ero**.

**albornía** (Cs.), **(al)búrnía** (Ct.) and **alburnia** (Arag.)<sup>175</sup> "glazed bowl": < And. *\*alburníyya* < Cl.Ar. *barníyyah* < Neo-P. *barni*.

**albornoz** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., this with the var. **alba/ernoz**) and **barnús** (Ct., with the var. **albernuç**, **(al)bernús** and **albornús** and Maj. **embarnús**) "bathrobe; burnous": < And. *alburnús* = Cl.Ar. *burnus*, in the long run < Gr. *bírros*.<sup>176</sup>

**alboroc**: see **albaroque**.

**(al)boronía** and **almonoría** (Cs.) "a dish of aubergine" and **boronía** "a dish of fried codfish and tomatoes" (Ext., with semantic evolution): < And. *alburaníyya* = Cl.Ar. *būrānīyyah*, attributive of *Būrān*, a wife of the Abbasid caliph *Alma'mūn*, who would have invented it.

**alboroque**: see **albaroque**.

**alborozo** (Gl. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **aluorozo** and **aluoroço**, from GP 53), **alb/uroço** (Leo., from DO 172), and **alvo-roço** (Pt.) "joy": < And. *alburúz* < Cl.Ar. *burūz* "army parade before a campaign", said also in Al-Andalus of certain picnics of the populace in the outskirts of towns. It is very probable that Cs. **alboroto/e**, Ct. **alborot**, Gl. **alboroto** and Pt. **alvoroto** "commotion, disturbance" all share the same etymon with intra-Rom.

<sup>174</sup> Prof. Montaner signals a further var. **arbórbola**, with a second dissimilation of sonorants, in *El Buscón*, book III, chap. 4, p. 173 of its edition by Cabo Aseguinolaza, Barcelona, Crítica, 1993.

<sup>175</sup> See note to **albérnía** about the shifting stress.

<sup>176</sup> Or, occasionally, from a dissimilatory var. *\*burnús*, unattested in And., but expectable after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.8., and in fact documented in Naf. and in Malt. *barnuž*.

suffix substitution.<sup>177</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alborotadizo**, **alborota(do)r**, **alborotapueblos**, **alborotante alboroza(do)r** and **alborozamiento**; Gl.: **alborotar** and **alborozar**; Ct.: **alborotar**.

**alborque** and **alborqueiro**: see **albaroque**.

**alborza** (Tol.) "large and coarse porringer": this word with the appearance of an Ar. loanword might reflect an And. Rom. \**al+PULŠA* < Lt. \**pultea*, supposing that it was so called because it was the usual ware for eating porridge (Lt. *pultes*).

**albot** "crucible": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 23, < Neo-Ar. *būṭah* < Neo-P. *b/pute* < Syr. *pūtā* < Gr. *apothēkē*.<sup>178</sup>

**albot(h)ayn** or **albutaym** "ventricle": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 23, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:51 as the name given to four stars in Aries constituting the second mansion of the moon, < Ar. *buṭayn*.

**albot(h)in** "a certain ulcer", is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, sharing the etymon of **albotín**, q.v.

**albotín** (Cs.) "terebinth (*Pistacia terebinthus*)": is a bookish term, misread for \***albut(u)m** < Cl.Ar. *buṭm*.

**albriciar** and **albricia/es**: see **albíxeres**.

**albricoque** and **albricoqueiro**: see **abricoc**.

**albialualo**: see **albórbola**.

**albudeca** (Cs., with the old var. **budefa** in *Libro de Alexandre*, after Coromines) "watermelon of poor quality" and (Ct.) "a kind of melon", a sense shared with Pt. **albud(i)eca** and **batec/ga**, **badeón** (Anz.) "melon" and **botefa** (Gl.) "large calabash": < And. *albuṭṭaxa* < Cl.Ar. *būṭṭaxah* "melon", with a mere intra-Rom. labialization or contamination by similar words (phenomena absent, e.g., from the

Cs. synonym **badea** "melon of poor quality; cucumber" and from the second form of Pt., which is of Eastern transmission, to judge from its sources and dating, no older than the 16th c.), and not a dim., as Coromines thought, which could only be \*\**buṭṭāṭaxa*. Maj. **budeca** "boy" is a metonymy. On the other hand, the presence already in Bib.Hb. of *ābaṭṭiḥim* does not allow us to consider this Semitic word as borrowed from Persian. Cf. **mataje**.

**albuella**: see **albolva**.

**albuérbola**: see **albórbola**.

**albufar**: see **albafar**.

**albufera** (Cs. and Ct.), **albo/uhera** (Cs.) and **albufeira** (Gl. and Pt., with the var. **albofaria** in a Lt. text) "coastal lagoon": < And. *albuḥáyyrah*, = Cl.Ar. *buḥayrah* "lake", a dim. of *bahr* "sea" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **bufereta** and **albuferenc**. Cf. **alboaire**.

**bullón**: see **albelló**.

**albur** (Cs., with the old var. **aluur** in GP 53) and **albuero** (Gl.) "bleak (*Alburnus lucidus*)": < And. *albúri* = Cl.Ar. *būrī*, of Eg. origin (cf. Cp. *bōre* < Eg. >*br*<), presently a designation of the striped mullet (*Mugil cephalus*), a salt-water fish, unlike the entry, which makes it obvious that we are dealing here with just another case of inexact equivalence of names of animals and plants, either because of semantic evolution or of the initial difference of habitats between the East and the West. Some instances are as striking as the term **japuta** (q.v.) which, having designated a kind of trout, i.e., a freshwater fish, in Eastern Ar., acquired the sense of ray's bream (*Brama brama*), a sea fish, in Al-Andalus. As for the sense of "contingency; chance", it is a metaphor applied, in principle, to the sudden occurrence of a card while gambling, like a fish jumping out of water, after Coromines' reck-

<sup>177</sup> For this word and der., despite some reservations, Coromines prefers a Lt. etymon *volūtāre*, and discounts the possibility of a common origin with **alboroza** with the argument of its vogue in Ct. and Provençal. However, there is no lack of Ar. loanwords in both languages and, semantically, it is easier to admit that the din of a *burūz* or exit of the armies to camp in the outskirts for a few days before actually leaving, would be equated with a "commotion", than to suppose

that "turning around" could acquire this sense. As for the suffix substitution, there is a clear parallel in Ct. **gorgoto** vs. Cs. and Pt. **gorguz**, q.v.

<sup>178</sup> There has been a semantic evolution between the stage represented by Gr. and Syr., maintaining the sense of "store", and Neo-P., in which it has become a "crucible", but the intermediate Pahl. form \**pūtāg* is not documented, which raises some doubts, together with the stress shift.



oning.<sup>179</sup> The treatment of the final anomalous vowel is different in Cs. (elimination, through \***albure**) and Gl. (inclusion among the reflexes of the second Lt. declension). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alburero**.

(a)l**úrn**ia: see **albornía**.

**alburra/eca**: see **alforreca**.

**alburre**: see **alforra**.

**alcaat**: see **alcaide**.

**alcab**: see **alcab(t)**.

**alcabala** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **alcab/vala** (Pt.) "tax on sales and barter": < And. *alqa-bāla*, prob. a semantic evolution of Cl.Ar. *qabālah* "guarantee". But in the meaning "centre of a dragnet", it would reflect And. *alḥabāla* < Cl.Ar. *ḥibālah* "net", contaminated by the entry. From the same etymon are **gabela** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **gab/vela** (Pt.) and **gabella** (Ct., contaminated by **gavella** "sheaf") "tribute, tax", however, not through And., as in the entry, but through It., and prob. Cs. in the cases of Gl. and Pt. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcabalatorio** and **alcabaleiro**; Ct.: **alcabaler**; (a)**gabellar**, **gabeller**, **gabellí** and **gabello**; Gl.: **alcabaleiro**; Pt.: **alcavaleiro**.

**alcabaz** (Cs.): this Cs. hapax, retrieved by DE and Eguílaz from Baena's *Cancionero* without, however, discerning its meaning and etymon, is now transparent thanks to another hapax (Llt. in an Arag. text) mentioned by the latter, though again unable to connect them,<sup>180</sup> or to interpret and etymologize any of them. This second hapax, **alchavis**, appears in one of the documents in the General Archives of the Crown of Aragon, published by Bofarull, and may be related to And. *xawāšš* = Cl.Ar. *xawāšš* "aristocrats, courtiers". The position is not favourable to *imālah* in the second var., which might have been misread.

**alcabe/ila** and **alcauella** (Pt.) and **alcavel/ra** (Cs., with the var. **alcauera**, from GP 25)

"tribe": < And. *alqabīlah*. = Cl.Ar. *qabīlah*. The best explanation for the var. **alcauella** and the Cs. ones is a contamination by the very common Rom. dim. suffixes.

**alcabia**: see **alcavia**.

**alcabila**: see **alcabela**.

**alcábile**: see **calíbo**.

**alcabise** or **alchabisse** "a dessert": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:165, < Ar. *alxabīš*.

**alcabor** (Cs.), **alcavó** (Ct., with the var. **alcavor**), **arcaból** (Mur.) and **cambor** (Nav.) "flue of a chimney": < And. *alqabú* < Cl.Ar. *qabw* "vault". Marcos Marín 1967:445 records the Mur. var. **alcahor** and, particularly, provides two further cases with the same spelling, excerpted from irrigation ordinances of Saragossa, written in Cs. with some Arag. influence, in the meaning "vaulted channel", as proven by this scholar, together with its recurrence in the form **alcabó** of the Ct. dialect of Fraga. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alcavonada**, **alcavon/ret** and **alcavorar**.

**alcabot**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcabota** (Cs.) "a kind of eryngo or centaury": < And. Rom. \**al+QABBŪTA*, a der. of Lt. *caput*. It is not registered by Andalusí botanists.

**alcab(t)** or **chabt** "dross": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:167, < Ar. *alxabaṭ*. As for the second meaning in Ruyzes, "heel", it can only be the result of a confusion with Ar. *kašb*, as Steiger said. Cf. **alcahab**.

**alcabtea** (Cs.) "fine linen fabric": < And. *alqabṭīyya* "sleeveless tunic" < Cl.Ar. *quḥṭīyyah* < Cp. *gyptios* < Gr. *Aigýptios* "Egyptian".

**alcabuz**: see **alcaduz**.

**alcabud/zón**: see **alcadón**.

**alcaçaba** and **alcassava** (Ct.), **alcazaba** (Cs.) and **alcáçova** (Pt., with a old var.

<sup>179</sup> This guess would be supported by the famous collective *zajal* of the Sevillian poets, finished by IQ 193/1/2, which confirms that it was a river fish and that it would sometimes jump out of the water in that manner.

<sup>180</sup> The first, p. 122, reads: **fueronse los alcabazes** "the a. are gone", and the second, p. 138: **cum alguaciris et alfachis et alchavis** "with ministers, doctors in Islamic law and a."

However, the Provençal text quoted by Eguílaz, p. 182, s.v. **alçoce**, in which **alcavis** seems to mean "tribes", suggests that the mistake was perhaps not of the copyist, but a conceptual confusion of the author's. Dutton and González Cuenca rendered **alcabazes** as "invaders", going back to the interpretation of DS, based on an undocumented and unlikely Ar. \*\*\**kabbās* which besides should exhibit *imālah* in its Rom. reflex.

**alcávea** “fortress”: < And. *alqašaba* or, in the case of Pt., from its var. *\*qāšba* < Cl.Ar. *qašabah*. From the same origin is **casbá** (Pt., only in Morais) “citadel”, a very recent borrowing through Naf. *qāšba* and Fr. The meaning “bugel for fringes, etc.” in Ct., with the spellings **alcaçaba** and **algucebra**, reflects a Neo-Ar. metonymy, recorded by the dictionaries. From the same etymon is Mur. **arcazaba** “stalk; corn straw”, as the And. and Arag. word also means “cane” Intra-Rom. der.: Old Cs.: **alkazauia** “forced labour in the service of a castle” (from LHP 37; see Corriente 2004b:75).

**alcaçar**: see **alcácer**.

**alcaçaria** (Pt.), **alca(e/í)ceria** (Cs.), **alcae(s)çeria** (Leo., from DO 173) and **alcaceria** or **alcazarria** (Arag.) “raw silk exchange”: < And. *alqaysariyya* “public market” < Neo-Ar. *qaysāriyyah* < Gr. *kaisáreia* < Lt. *Caesāreā*, as these establishments had first operated as concessions granted by the Byzantine emperors.

**alcaçecatan**: see **alçaratan**.

**alcacel/r** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the old var. **alcacede** and **alcaceire**, and dial. **alcaceira**), **alcacén** (Gl.), **alcacer** (Ast., after García Arias 2006:16) and **alcan/rcel** (Anl.) “green barley for fodder”: < And. *alqāšil* = Cl.Ar. *qāšil*. Intra-Rom. der.: Nav.: **alcaceral** “orchard; barley field”

**alcácema** (Pt.) “crew quarters in front of the captain’s cabin”: Machado’s etymological proposal, < Cl.Ar. *\*qasimah* “beauty”, is an obvious fancy. Less far-fetched would be Ar. *alqāsimah* “(zone) dividing (the ship in two parts)”, as it severs the stern quarterdeck, the most distinguished area in those ships from the rest of the ship up to its bow, but it is likelier that this is a mere mistake for **\*alcácer(a)**, “quarterdeck”, a metonymy of **alcácer**, q.v.

**alcacén**: see **alcacel**.

**alcaceña, tabla**—(Cs.) “a wooden cut of

9 feet × 24 inches × 3”: there is no particular reason to derive it from **arcas**, aug. of **arca** “chest”, as suggested by Coromines, because it would be too long for most of such pieces of furniture, even the largest ones. And. *qabšana* “full length frock” < Lt. *capitiana*, i.e., from head to feet, could imply the common use of this adjective to express a large size, in the same way as its cognate **cabal** in Cs. means “of the required size”

**alcácer** (Pt., with an old var. **alcaçar(él)**, **alcárcer**), **alcázar** (Arag., Cs. and Gl.), **alcacer(em/s)** (Lit. in Cs. documents, after Maya *et al.* 1990:II 7,7, II 55,9, II 63,5 and II 94,13)<sup>181</sup> and **alcásser** (Ct.): < And. *alqāšr* = Cl.Ar. *qašr* < Aram. *qašterā* < Lgr. *kāstra* < Lt. *castra*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alcaçarenho**, **alcacereiro**, **alcacereno** or **alcacerense**. Cf. **alcácema**.

**alcacer** and **alcacén**: see **alcacel**.

**alcaceria**: see **alcaçaria**.

**alcávea**: see **alcáçova**.

**alcachifa**: see **catifa**.

**alcachofa** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **alcachofra/e** (Pt.), **carxofa** (Ct.) and **alcarchofa**, **(al)gachofa**, **gal/rchofa**, **agarchifa** and **(car)cachofa** (Arag.): < And. *alxaršūfa*, < Neo-Ar. *xa/uršūfa*,<sup>182</sup> < Pahl. *xārčōb* “thorn stick” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcachofado**, **alcachofar/l**, **alca(r)chofar** and **alcachofera/o**; Ct.: **carxofada**, **carxofanda**, **carxofar**, **carxofar-se**, **carxofer(a)**, **carxoferat** and **carxofot**; Pt.: **alcachofral**, **alcachofrar** and **alcachofreira**; Gl.: **alcachofal**. Cf. **acorchofa-se**.

**alcacé** and **alcacil**: see **alcaucí**.

**alcáçova**: see **alcaçaba**.

**alca/ocuz** “a kind of bugloss” (*Anchusa azurea*): is a plant name used in some parts of the Madrid area,<sup>183</sup> apparently reflecting And. *xarkūs* < Neo-P. *xar guš* (lit., “donkey ear”). It is true that DS I:366 identifies this plant name with that of the plantain, but it is not its com-

have arisen, even within And., by some likeness in their shape, as the usual name of the plantain in Neo-Ar. is *lisān alhamal* “lamb’s-tongue”, and that of bugloss, *lisān attawr* “ox tongue”, because both were considered *alsun* “languages”, a label given by Ar. botanists to some plants on account of the elongated shape of their leaves.

<sup>181</sup> Information provided by Prof. Montaner.

<sup>182</sup> It is noteworthy that purists do not accept this Neo-Ar. word, and unduly replace it by *haršuf*.

<sup>183</sup> Information provided by D. Luis Laca, from the Instituto Madrileño de Investigación Agraria y Alimentaria. The confusion might

monest designation and, in the light of what is known about semantic changes in this realm, it may happen that the folk detected some likeness between both plants, and gave that variety of bugloss a less frequent name of plantain.

**alcaçuz** (Pt.) and **alcázuz** (Cs.) “liquorice”: < And. *širq assūs* < Cl.Ar. *širqu ssūs*, with intra-Rom. metanalysis of the Ar. article. We had supposed that the Cs. synonym **orozuz** exhibits as its first constituent the pl. *šurūq* = Cl.Ar. *šurūq* “roots” and, as a matter of fact, this form has been recently documented in *Kitābu Šumdati ḥabīb* (ed. Alxattābī 1990:598, Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:795, with several witnesses). But the var. **aroçuz** from DAX 210, **arazú**, **arresú** and **arrezuz** (Anz.) and **arazuz** (Anl.) have the sg. instead, not the pl.<sup>184</sup> Cf. **alfendoz** and **rabazuz**.

**alcadafe** (Cs.) and **alcada/efe** (Pt.) “ves-sel for the wine drops lost upon measuring it” and **cadaf** (Ct.) “jar for wine or oil”: < And. *alqadāḥ* = Cl.Ar. *qadah* “jar”. DE was wrong upon resorting here to an uncommon *\*qudāf* “porringer” Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **cadafa**, **cadafada**, **cadafam** and **cadafet**.

**alcadcode**: is an unassimilated astrological term (with the var. **alcot(h)code(h)**, **alcot-cothde** and **alcodigo**, from *Libro Complido*, and **cot(h)code**, from GP 27 and 83) “planet designating the life span”, < Neo-P. *kad/txodā* < Pahl. *kadagxwadāy* “head of the household; vizier; king”.<sup>185</sup>

**alcadejas**: see **fateixa**.

**alcadi** (Ct.), **alcalde** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **alcall** (Old Cs.), **arcarde** (Mur.) and **alcalde** (Arag.) “mayor” and **alcalde** “crossbar in the body of a vehicle” (Can., by semantic evolution of the standard): < And. *alqādi* = Cl.Ar. *qādī* “judge”. There are many var., like Arag. **alkalde(s)**, **alcalde**, **archalle**, **alcat** and **alcald**,<sup>186</sup> Leo. **alcad(II)e**, **alcadi(b)us**, **alcaede**, **alcaialde**, etc., from DO 175, **alca(II)di** from the statute law of the Mozarabs of Toledo,<sup>187</sup>

Ast. **alcald(r)e**, **alcalde** and **alcái** from García Arias 2006:16, although in some cases semantic or phonetic confusion with **alcaide** is possible. The var. **\*alcudi** and its der. **\*alcudina** from LHP 26 can only be mistakes for **alcadi** and **alcadina**, after Corriente 2004:71; the var. **alcadi** must be more recent, as given away by the inhibition of the old lateral articulation of /d/, characterizing only the oldest Ar. loanwords (e.g., **albayalde**, **aldea** and **arrabalde**); also documented are the forms **cadi** (Pt.), and **cadí** (Cs. and Ct.) “Muslim judge”, transmitted through another European language, and **caz/gi** (Pt., prob. a direct borrowing from Tr. or Neo-P., in which Ar. /d/ is usually pronounced as /z/. For Pt. too, Morais recorded **alicali** “leader of the Brazilian Muslims of African origin”, betraying the transmission of this Ar. term through African languages.<sup>188</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cadiazgo**, **alcaldada**, **alcaldesa** and **alcaldía/o** or **alcallía**; Ct.: **alcaldada**, **alcaldejar**, **alcaldessa** and **alcaldia**; Gl.: **alcaldada**, **alcaldesa** and **alcaldia**.

**alcadril** “kind of grape” (Leo.): looks like an Ar. loanword, but there is nothing similar among the var. recorded by the Andalusí botanists and the available data are insufficient to posit an etymon.

**al/rcaduz** (Cs.), **al/rcanduz** or **cadufo** (Arag.), **arcanduz** (Nav.), **alcabuz** (Tol., Man. and Mon., by contamination with **arcabuz**), **alcatruz** (Gl. and Pt.) and **(al)caduf** or **cad/túfol** (Ct.) “bucket of a waterwheel; tube; vessel”:<sup>189</sup> < And. *alqadūs* = Cl.Ar. *qādūs*, < Gr. *kádos*, through Aram., which must have given it a characteristic pattern of n.inst., although only Syr. *qadsā* is attested. Coromines attributes the occasional alterations of the final consonant to contamination with semantically close **cadaf** (q.v.), but his own correct explanation of **cas** (q.v.), from Ar. *qafā*, makes this hypothesis unnecessary. In the anomalous Pt. **alcatruz**, the epenthetic /r/, of which there

<sup>184</sup> See also García Mouton 1984 about the dial. var. of this term.

<sup>185</sup> See also Hilty 2005b:189.

<sup>186</sup> After Laliena 1996:276, reported by Prof. Montaner.

<sup>187</sup> After Gamba 1997–1998 II:426, doc. 163, reported by Prof. Montaner.

<sup>188</sup> After Steiner 1977:81.

<sup>189</sup> However, not every var. had all the connotations already existing in Ar., to judge from the data of DS: e.g., Arag. has specialized **cadufo** as “bucket of a waterwheel”, but **al/rcanduz** as “drain” or “inspection hatch”, which is conditioned by the particular history of each var.

are other cases (e.g., **acemitre** and **acendría**), is less striking than the innovation of the cluster /tr/ it might have arisen through a contamination, maybe with the root {xrf} “to walk pompously”, on account of the fun poked by Andalusis at a vessel which, unlike others, cannot stand (cf. Azzajjālī’s proverb, N° 1659, *Ṣiyār alquwaydas la qāṣ Ṣalaṣ yaḵlās wala maqbād baṣ yuḥbās* “like the little bucket of the waterwheel, which has no bottom to sit on, nor handle to be held”, also alluded by IQ 88/18/2 *Ṣala jānbi niqāṣ biḥāl qaydūs* “I fall on my side like the bucket of a waterwheel”) The Pt. shape is shared by **alcatrúz** “vessel for the service of a wine shop” (Ext.) and “drain-pipe” (Can.): most likely borrowed from Pt., with semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arcaduzar**; Ct.: **alcadufada**, **alcadugar**, **cadufa(da)**, **caduf(ej)ar**, **alcadufat**, **cadufo**, **encadufada** and **encadufar**; Pt.: **alcatrizada** and **alcatrúzar**. Cf. **alcanduz**.

**alcaecería** and **alcaesçeria**: see **alçaçaria**.

**alcapan**: see **alcapar**.

**alcapar** (Pt.) “horse rump; trappings” and **alcapar** (Cs.) “horse harness”: < And. *alkafāl* = Cl.Ar. *kāfal*. Although an And. var. \**kāfl* can be posited, after SK 5.1.6, Machado’s \***alcáfar**, scarcely documented, is likelier to be wrong stressed, while dial. Ct. **alcapan**, poorly witnessed, “rope holding a mast”, which should be ultima stressed, is prob. a metaphor from the same etymon. Cf. **alcahar**.

**alçaфина** (with the var. **elçefina**, **elçesma**, **çafina** and **casina**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 53, < Ar. *assaḥfinah* “the ship”, of disputed identification; Kunitzsch 1961:103 was in favour of Alpha of Argo Navis.

**alcafir**: see **cafre**.

**alcaforado**: see **alcohol**.

**alcagote** and **alcagüetiar**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcahab** (Cs.) “heel”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, recorded from previous lexicographers by Marcos Marín 1967, also in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:12, with the var. **(al)cahab** and **alchahab** “astragalus”, and **alch(i)ab** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < And. *kāḥb* = Cl.Ar. *kāḥb*.

**alcahar** “the lion’s rump”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 23, western

name of Ar. *wirkā ḥasad* “the lion’s hips”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:116 and 45 as the 13th mansion of the moon. It shares the etymon of **alcapar**, q.v.

**alcahaz** (Cs.) “cage”: < And. *alqafās* = Cl.Ar. *qafās* < Aram. *qafṣā* < Lt. *capsa*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcahazada** and **alcahazar**.

**alcahieda** and **alquieda** (Ct.) “a tribute in Valencia”: it bears no relation to Ar. \**qiyādah* “command, leadership”, suggested by Coromines in DECLC, s.v. **alcaide**; instead, as pointed to by the first form, whence the second one derives easily—not the other way around—we are here dealing with an evolution of \***alcafizada**, in perfect agreement with the combined phonetic rules of Cs. (/f/ > /h/ > Ø) and Ct. (/vzv/ > /vv/), matching Old Cs. **cafizamiento** “tax paid on each **cahíz** (q.v.) sowed”

**alcahotar** and **alcahotería**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcahuete** (Cs., with the old var. **alcahuet**, from GP 23, and **alcau/yuet**, from GP 26), **alcaiote** (Gl. and Pt.) and **alcoveto**, **alcoviteiro** and **alcagote** (Pt.) and **alcav/bot** (Ct.) “pimp”, and **acagüete** (Pt., Brazilian slang, borrowed from Cs., with semantic evolution) “informer”: < And. *alqawwād* = Cl.Ar. *qawwād*. Some var. exhibit **imālah**, some, labialization of the vowel before /w/, some, metanalysis and substitution of a Rom. suffix and finally, **alcagote** has velarized /w/, generating a /g/ in intervocalic position which tends to be dropped, whence **alcaiote**, with development of **yod** to prevent the hiatus. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcahotar** or **alcahuet(e)ar**, **alcahotería** (already **alcaotería** in GP 25) or **alcahuetería** and **alcahuetazgo**; Arag.: **alcagüetiar**; Ct.: **alcavota(da)**, **alcavotejar**, **alcavotenc** and **alcavoteria**; Pt.: **alcovitar**, **alcaiotaria**, **alcaiotismo**, **alcovitagem**, **alcovitar**, **alcovitaria**, **alcovit(eir)ice** and **alcoviteiro**; Gl.: **alcaiotar** and **alcaiotería**.

**alcaiata** (Gl.), **alcayata** (Cs.) and **algayata** (Mur.) “spike”: < And. Rom. \**al+QAYĀTA* < Lt. *cāia*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcayatar**.

**alcaiaz**: see **alcaide**.

**alcaicería**: see **alçaçaria**.

**alcaide** (Cs., with the old var. **alcayade**, **alcaat** and **alcayd(e)**, also Ast., after García Arias 2006:16, Arag., Gl. and Pt.), **alcaiad(e)**,

**alcayde**, **alkaide** and **alkayat** (Leo., from DO 174), and **alcaid/t** (Ct.): < And. *alqáy(i)d* < Cl.Ar. *qā'id* "commander of troops)". Eguílaz adds the Cs. var. **acaiáz**, **acayad**, **alcaiaz** and **alcayad/t**, and the DRAE, **acayaz**, all of them more or less corrupted. There is also a var. **alcayet**, specialized as an astronomical term designating the star Eta Ursae Majoris, after Kunitzsch 1961:91.<sup>190</sup> From the same etymon is **caíd** (Cs.) "sheik, head of a tribe in North Africa", a contemporary Ar. loanword, transmitted through Fr. and Naf. *qāyd*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcaidesa**, **alcaidía**<sup>1</sup> and **alcaidiado**; Ct.: **alcaidessa** and **alcaidia**; Pt.: **alcaid(ar)ia**, **alcaidessa** or **alcaidina**; Gl.: **alcaidesa** and **alcaidía**.

**alcaidía**<sup>2</sup> "silken toque" (Mur. and in some Granadan ordinances, after Eguílaz): is a probable hypercorrection of a previous **\*alcarzía** (cf. 1.1.3.2.1), contaminated by the more frequent standard **alcaidía**, derived from **alkaide**, a lost reflex of And. *alkarziyya* "kind of fine toque", originally a gentilic of the English place name Kersey.<sup>191</sup>

**alcaidina**: see **alkaide**.

**alcaidón**: see **alcadón**.

**alcailum**: see **alqueire**.

**alcaima** (Pt., undocumented before the 16th c., borrowed during the North African campaigns, with some spelling var.) and **jaima** (Cs., even younger) "nomad's tent": is prob. due to contacts with the inhabitants

of the Western Sahara, speakers of Has., in which *xayma* preserves the diphthong of Cl.Ar. *xaymah*, in Morocco mostly contracted into *xima*. The Ar. article of Pt. may reflect a learned retouch.

**alcaiotar**, **alcaiotaria**, **alcaiot(e)ría** and **alcaiotismo**: see **alcahuate**.

**alcaires**: see **alcaiz**.

**alcairía**: see **alcaria**.

**alcairón**: see **alcadón**.

**alcaixa** (Pt.) "painted strip on the sides of a boat; detachable collar of the sailor's shirt": Machado seems to be off the mark upon suggesting **caixa** "box" with the Ar. article. It sounds more reasonable to propound And. *alhāšya* < Cl.Ar. *hāšiyah* "hem; border", although the equivalence of the laryngeal phoneme is abnormal, perhaps because of some contamination.

\*\*\***alcaiz** (Pt., only in Morais) and **alcamiz** (Cs.) "muster roll": are, apparently, mere ghost words, resulting from the graphic corruption of **\*altamiz**, < And. *attamyiz* "knowledge" = Cl.Ar. *tamyiz* "discernment", which had acquired that sense in Al-Andalus.<sup>192</sup>

**alcala**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Arag.) "bed canopy" (prob. also Pt., to judge from the inventory recorded by Machado, clearly alluding to a "royal ornament"): < And. *alkállah* < Cl.Ar. *killah*. On the other hand, **alcala**<sup>2</sup> meaning in Pt. "gaps between the knots of a net", seems to derive from And. *alqála* "a measure of length

<sup>190</sup> Tallgren, followed by Nykl in GP, preferred instead a polysemous **\*alqā'id**, unknown as an astronomical term and of little use in the solution of this problematic identification.

<sup>191</sup> In the light of the presence even in Russian of a *karuzjá*, transmitted through Dutch, after Vasmer 1996:II 191, we abandon our previous hypothesis in DAA of an Eastern origin of this word, still living in Mor. *korzayya* and Kab. *ak'erzi* "silken sash worn by women on either their waist or head", from Dallet 1982:422. Eguílaz, followed by posterity, thought that it was an attributive adjective of **alkaide**, with no better argument than an alleged parallelism with **tocas de reina** "the queen's toques". Márquez 1961:64 records this word in Granada in the sense of "a silken fabric for making toques", and in other documents from Madrid and Teruel as "a fine silken fabric". Cf. **alcavía**.

<sup>192</sup> There is an enlightening coincidence between *Crónica de Alfonso XI* (**alcanizes** [sic] **que es ansy como dizen los alardes en que fueron escriptos los nombres de todos aquellos que passaron la mar** "a. is the name given to the muster rolls containing the names of all those who went overseas") with the text from Annuwayri quoted in DS II 636, *attamyizu wamašnāhu šarḍu* "the *tamyiz*, which means the muster"; the same is inferred from an Ast. document recording **alcaires** as "a book registering those who served the king in war, in order to pay them their wages and assign their rations" A mistaken **alcanizes** for **altamizes**, then spelled as a tilde, the usual abbreviation of >n<, i.e., **alcāizes**, appears to be the immediate source of this distortion and of Pt. **alcaiz**, which does not appear to derive from Ar. **\*qayd** "register" There has been hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article everywhere.

about one foot", also reflected at times by Cs. **cala** and prob. of Rom. origin, undoubtedly the same as **alcalá** "surveying rope" (Nav.), with a peculiar ultima stress, either erroneous or resulting from the vulgar pronunciation of the Cs. suffix [+ÁDA].

**alcalach**: see **alchalach**.

**alcalada** (Ct.) "piece of armour protecting a horse's neck": is, no doubt, And. *alqilāda* = Cl.Ar. *qilādah* "necklace", and by no means the absurd *\*kallah* "mosquito net" suggested by Asín and followed by Coromines. The original vowel is better spelled in the var. **alquellada**, free from the usual confusion of unstressed Ct. /a/ and /e/, while the var. **alquella** is backformed with metanalysis and elimination of Rom. suffix which perhaps is responsible for the absence of *imālah*. Cf. **alquileda** and **zaquilada**.

**alcaladino** and **alcalaíno** (Cs.) is a gentilic of place names beginning with **Alcalá**, although in some cases **alcala(r)efío** has been preferred. The Rom. suffixes are attached to And. *alqalāṣa* < Cl.Ar. *qalṣah* "castle", in the first two cases through minimal adaptations of the And. gentilic *qalāṣī*.

**alcalam**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 23, < Ar. *qalam* "pen".<sup>193</sup>

**alcalays** "hangers": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 24, duly considered by Nykl a mistaken reflex of Ar. *alqalā'id*, pl. of *qilādah*, "collar", identified by Kunitzsch 1961:94 as certain six stars of Sagittarius.

**alcalb** or, unabridged, **calb(a) alacrab** (with the var. **alcab(b)** in DAX 100): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 24, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:91 as Alpha Scorpius, the 18th mansion of the moon, < Neo-Ar. *qalb alṣaqrab*, lit., "Scorpio's heart"

**alcaldada**, **alcalde(jar)**, **alcaldes(s)a**, **alcaldia** and **alcaldía/o**: see **alcadi**.

**alcalena**: see **alcanela**.

**álcali** (Cs. and Gl.), **àlcali** (Ct.) and **alcali** (Pt.) "hydroxide, base": < And. *alqalī* < Cl.Ar. *qily* "soda", through a bookish transcription to scientific Lt., with a characteristic prefer-

ence for antepenultima stress; the Cs. var. **cali** is poorly documented. It is probable that the Eastern word was interpreted in Al-Andalus as the *maṣdar qalī* "frying", because of the well-known causticity of these substances, but such a connection is a mere folk etymology, as Rab.Aram. *qaḥulyā*, immediate origin of Ar., parallel to Syr. *qunāyā*, in fact reflects Gr. *konía* "bleach" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcalinidad**, **alcalización**, **alcaloideo** and **alcalosis**; Ct.: **alcalescència**, **alcalescent**, **alcalí**, **alcalímetre**, **alcalinitat**, **alcali nització**, **alcalinitzar**, **alcalòidic** and **alcalosi**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **alcalímetro**, **alcalinizar** and **alcalino**; Cs. and Gl.: **alcalimetría**, **alcalinizar** and **alcaloide**; Cs. and Pt.: **alcalizar**; Gl. and Pt.: **alcalinidad**; Pt.: **alcalicidade**, **alcalíco**, **alcalificar**, **alcalígeno**, **alcali(ni)metría**, **alcalinímetro**, **alcalinismo**, **alcalinização**, **alcalinoterapia**, **alcalização**, **alcalóide** and **alcalose**.

**alcalia**: see **alcolla**.

**alcálibe**: see **cálibo**.

**alcalicidade** and **alcalíco**: see **álcali**.

**alcalifa** and **alcalifaje**: see **califa**.

**alcalificar** and **alcalígeno**: see **álcali**.

**alcalímetro/o**, **alcalimetría**, **alcalinidad(e)**, **alcalinímetro**, **alcalinimetría**, **alcalinímetro**, **alcalinismo**, **alcalinitat**, **alcalinització**, **alcalini(t)zar**, **alcali(ni)zação**, **alcalino(terapia)**, **alcalización** and **alcalizar**: see **álcali**.

**alcall(e)** and **alcallía**: see **alcadi**.

**alcaller** (Cs.) and **alca/ollaire** (Ct.) "potter": Cs. clearly derives from And. *alqallāl*, formed on *qúlla* < Cl.Ar. *qullah* "jar", whence **alcolla**, q.v.; the optional vocalization of Ct. admits of both a parallel derivation, subsequently reinforced with the Rom. agentive suffix, and a direct attachment of this to the name of the vessel. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcallería**.

**alcaloide(o)**, **alcalóide**, **alcalòidic**, **alcalose** and **alcalosi(s)**: see **álcali**.

**alcama** or **alhacama** (Pt.), "halter": might derive from a hypothetical And. *\*alhakāma* = Cl.Ar. *ḥakamah* (cf. also **jáquima**). But both words are uncommon, perhaps mere mistakes for **\*alçama**, a var. of **açaimo**, q.v. LHP 23

<sup>193</sup> DAX 100 gives the wrong translations "staff; reed; stick", ignorant of the meaning of

the Ar. term.

records the var. **alacma** and **alagina**, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:69–70, to which we must now add **alahacamas**, from García Arias 2006:14, and **alahakam**, **alfacoma** and **alba coma** from DO 164. The latter examples confirm the first propounded meaning “bit of a bridle”, while some of the former suggest corruptions of \***alaenna** < Ar. *alʿaṣinnah* “reins”: a detailed examination of the contexts allows the conclusion that they are, in fact, two different Ar. loanwords, which came to be mixed up on account of their semantic similarity.

**alçamacatayn**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 28,<sup>194</sup> identified by Kunitzsch 1961:22 with *Piscis*, < Neo-Ar. *assamakatayn* “the two fish” Cf. **camecha**.

\*\*\***alcamaz** (Cs.) “sodomite”: considering that its witness is a quote from Dt. 23/17, this is the likeliest meaning of this hapax. The source is a text in *General Estoria*, mentioned by Neuvonen 1939 and again dealt with by Marcos Marín 1967, whose correction to the proposal of his predecessor is appropriate, as is his own etymological quest, once set on the right track, since the etymon truly appears to belong to the root {*xnʿ*}, although most likely under the shape documented in And. *xunnáʿ*, pl. of *xúnʿa*, and rendered by Alcalá as “hermaphrodite”, it being evident that a primitive \*\***alconnaz** has been graphically distorted. In that respect, it might also be pertinent to remember the Pahl. word *kūnmarz* “sodomite”, no longer recorded by Neo-P. dictionaries, yet perfectly intelligible even nowadays, so that it might very well have entered Ar., above all in the unrestrained circles of wanton poets and homosexuals, to judge from the obscene pun with *marzūhān* transmitted by DS II:580.

**alcamhadue**: see **alchamhaduc**.

\*\*\***alcamiz**: see **alcaiz**.

**alcamonia** (Pt.) and **alcamonías** (Cs., with a var. **alcaymonia** in Vázquez 1998:783) “seeds used for seasoning”: < And. *alkam-munʿiyya* = Cl.Ar. *kammūniyyah* “related to

cumin”, attributive adjective of *kammūn* < Aram. *kammūnā* < Gr. *kýminon*.

**alcana**: see **alfaña**.

**alcaná** (Cs.): it was prob. only the pr.n. of a famous street in Toledo, as stated by Coromines, and cannot derive from Ar. \*\**xānāt* “shops”, as this was and is an Eastern term, unknown in Al-Andalus in that meaning. It could have been so called on account of the existence of a water conduit, in And. *alqaná* = Cl.Ar. *qanāh*, but the lack of *imālah* would be striking, or be perhaps a reflex of And. *qandā* which, as can be seen under **balquena**, had evolved semantically to mean “abundance”, a very acceptable metonymy for a market.

**alcanañria**: see **alcanerfa**.

**alcânave** (Pt., with the var. **alcaneve**) “hemp”: < And. *alqānnab* < Cl.Ar. *qī/unnab*. Although in the Iberian Peninsula the der. of Hispanic Lt. *cannābum* are found everywhere, as stated by Coromines, that shape in particular is better explained through Ar. which, after all, through Rab.Aram. *qanbīl/ā/ōs*, derives like Lt. *cannābis* from Gr. *kánnabi/os*, of Scythian or Thracian origin.

**alcâncara** (Pt.) “kind of tambourine”: must be connected with And. *kánkala* from *Codex Canonicus Escorialensis*, an Ar. version of Church canons, although the origin of this word, perhaps onomatopoeic, is unclear: it might be a reflex of Neo-P. *kengere*, a musical instrument of Indian origin, vaguely defined by Vullers as *testudo vel lyra*. It is more difficult to semantically connect this word with the obvious And. and Neo-Ar. Iranism *tanjahār* = *tarjahār*, etc. (see DS II, 30), always meaning utensils for eating, drinking or cooking. Therefore, Machado may be right upon discarding Pt. **altâncara/o** “tambourine” as a mere writing or reading error, despite the proposal put forward by Steiger 1932:185 (fn. 2), based on Neo-Ar. *tanjahār* “pot”, of Iranian stock.<sup>195</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alcancareiro**.

**alcancel**: see **alcael**.

<sup>194</sup> DAX 101 has an extended **alçamacatayn alot**, including the alternative Ar. name of *Piscis*, *alḥūt* (cf. **Fomalhaut**).

<sup>195</sup> Relying on his indisputable authority, we accepted this information in SK 2.19.1 and AAR

2.1.2.5.2.1, p. 53, as an instance of survival of the obstruant *gīm* of the “Yemenites” but, in the light of this new information, and without prejudice to the correctness of the concept, this particular example must be stricken out.

**alcancía** (Cs.) and **alcanzia** (Pt.) "money-box": < And. \**alkanzíyya* "the (box) of the treasure", attributive adjective of Cl.Ar. *kanz* < Pahl. "treasure". The same etymon is valid for Pt. **alcâncias** (only in Morais, borrowed from Cs. and, as such, incorrectly stressed), defined only as a horse riding exercise, undoubtedly what is known in Cs. as **correr** or **jugar alcancías**, i.e., a game in which horsemen throw earthenware balls at each other to be stopped with their shields. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcanciaz**. Cf. **alcantar**.

**alcancil**: see **alcaucí**.

**alcancilla** (Tol.) "fence for cattle that can be dismounted": apparently from And. Rom. \**al+KANČ+ÉLA* < Lt. *cancellus* "railings", given a Cs. form.

**alcándora** (Cs., with the var. **alcandre**, from GP 24), **alcándora** (Pt.) and **alcándara** (Gl.) "falcon perch": < And. *alkándara* = Cl.Ar. *kandarah* < Neo-P. *kande rāh* "path in a cage". Both Cs. and Pt. have known both vocalizations, although the first one is uncommon in Pt.; the second is prob. the result of contamination by **alcandora** "a kind of gown", q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alcandorar**.

**alcandía** and **alcandiga** (Cs.) and **alcandia** (Ct.) "sorghum": < And. *alqaṣṣīyya* < Cl.Ar. *quṣṣīyyah* "legume". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcandial**.

**alcandor** (Cs.) "a cosmetic": the scarcity of data makes it hard to find an etymon for this hapax from Calderón de la Barca, but Coromines' hypothesis of its derivation, as an And. Rom. item, from Lt. \**candor* is unconvincing, because cosmetics in Al-Andalus were overwhelmingly of Eastern origin. DS reports from Ibn Albayṭār of Malaga the existence of a flower ointment obtained from *qa/undūl* "spiny Calycotome (Calycotome spinosa)",

which might be a good candidate as a the solution for this riddle.

**alcandora** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "a kind of Moorish gown": < And. *qandūra* < Neo-Ar. *qandūrah* < Neo-P. *qanture*.<sup>196</sup> It is not at all a var. of Neo-Ar. \**qadwār(a)*, from Pahl. *gad vār* "appropriate for beggars", as confirmed by its Mor. cognate *qadwar* "nappy; woolen rag". On the other hand, Tol. **alcandora** "procuress" and **alcandora** "chatterbox" and **alcandorear** "to babble on" (Anz. and Anl.) are cases of phonetic contamination, by standard **alcandora**, with a very different meaning, of an \***alhondora**, parallel to the **andorra** of the standard (see **adorro**).

**alcá/ándora**: see **alcándara**.

**al/rcandorea** "a plant of the Apocynaceae with lanceolate hairless leaves and blue flowers" (Anz.): might derive from And. \**qanduríyya*, attributive adjective of *qandūra*, etymon of standard **alcandora**, q.v., by supposing that, as is often, not always, the case nowadays in North Africa, that gown was predominantly of that colour in Al-Andalus at the time of its borrowing.

**alcandroz**: see **alcanduz**.

**alcanduz** "bucket of a water wheel; gutter; peashooter" (Nav.): is a phonetic var. of standard **arcaduz**, q.v. But the Nav. idiom "**morros de—**" seems to reflect Br. *aganduz* "calf", common enough in Western Ar. to be posited in And.,<sup>197</sup> which is valid also for **alcandroz** (Pt., in Morais) "large toad". On the other hand, it might not be a coincidence that **morros-de-vaques**, lit., "cow lips", in the sense of "executioner" is documented in Maj. during the 15th c., after DECLC.<sup>198</sup> Cf. **alcaduz**.

**alcanela** "third part of the mesh of a purse sein" (Anz. and Anl.) and **arcanela** "first stone used as a sinker in a dragnet"

<sup>196</sup> Prob. of Old Persian origin, as it is reflected by Gr. *kandýs*, but it may have been contaminated by Aram. *gundūrā* "round", before its vogue in Neo-Ar. As for **alcandora** in the meaning "signal; light in the sky", as demonstrated reasonably by Coromines, it does not appear to have actually existed.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Mor. *qadus* "thick tube; deformed; fat; unpleasant", even Malt. has *gendus*.

<sup>198</sup> Undoubtedly parallel to **morros de vacas**,

as a designation of the black henchmen in the service of the famous governor of Iraq, Alḥajjāj, in an Aljamiado-Morisco text, included in Corriente 1990b: 199 (122r). Coromines suggested a corruption of Fr. *mort de vaches* or the lexicalization of a nickname, short of information to cope with the obvious Islamic origin of this expression, referred to those henchmen in charge of executions, and not necessarily restricted to the aforementioned Iraqi context.



(Anz.) and **alcanela** or **alcalena** (Pt., only in Morais) “sardine net”: we are apparently dealing with borrowings from the Pt. item, which explains the degeminated /n/, a probable And. Rom. dim., based on And. *kánn* < Cl.Ar. *kinn* “shelter”

**alcanería** (Cs.) and **alcanaña** (Val. from Guardamar) “kind of artichoke”: < And. *alqan-naríyya*, < Lt. *\*cannaria* < Gr. *kinára*. Cf. **alcana** and **cañarí**.

**alcaneve**: see **alcánave**.

**alcanfor** (Gl. and Cs., with the var. **cam/nfora** and **camphora**, from GP 79), **alcanfor(a)** and **cânfora** (Pt.) and **câmfora** (Ct.): reflect all And. (*al*)*kafûr* = Cl.Ar. *kâfûr* < Pahl. *kâpûr* < Sk. *karpûra*, of Dravidian origin, but the antepenultima stressed forms without Ar. article have circulated via Lt. *camphora*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcanforada**, (*al*)**canforar** and **alcanforero** and, in GP 79, **canforenna**; Ct.: **câmforada**, **camforat** and **camforer**; Gl. and Pt.: **alcanforar** and **alcanforeira**; Pt.: **alcanforeiro**, **canforar**, **canforeira/o** and **canforifero**.

**alçania**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 55, with the var. **alc/sanja**, **alsania** and **alçaia**, < Neo-Ar. *aşsanjah* < Neo-P. *sang* “stone (used as weight)”

**alcaniça** (Pt., only in Morais) “mosque”: indeed a curious case, the source of which it would be interesting to know, as Ar. *kanīṣah* has always meant a church or a synagogue.<sup>199</sup>

**alcanna**: see **alcana**.

**alcántara** (Cs.) “wooden receptacle for fabric in a loom” and **alcánta/era** (Ct.) and **alcântara** (Old Pt., only in Morais) “bridge”: < And. *alqānāra* = Cl.Ar. *qanṭarah* “bridge” We must, however, abandon the hypothesis of the Gr. origin of this Ar. word, which can more convincingly be derived from Syr. *qṭār(t)ā* “knot; bridge”, with an obvious semantic juncture and descendant of the Semitic root {*qṭr*} < “to tie”, witnessed to in Et., Hb., Ar., etc. In Cl.Ar. there is a *qaṭṭar* “to form a caravan”,

easily dissimilable into *\*qanṭar* and reassignable to the concept of “to line up boats or pilasters as pontoons of a bridge”, whence a *maṣḍar* would have evolved from the abstract action, to its material result. As for **alcántarilla**, its phonetic and semantic attraction by **alcántara** is obvious but, as its original meaning was a “conduit of clean water”, it might rather be a case of corruption of a primitive *\*alcastarilla*, a Rom. dim. of Ar. *qaṣṭal*, about the Lt. origin of which, see DAA 427 and DS II:352. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcantarilla(do)**, **alcantarillar**, **alcantarillero** and **alcantarino**; Ct.: **canterilla**.

**alcanzar** (Old Cs.) “to treasure”: Eguílaz was right upon considering this meaning in a given quote from *Calila e Dimna* an Ar. loanword derived from And. *alkánz* = Cl.Ar. *kanz* “treasure”, integrated into a hybrid And.Rom. verb. *\*al+kanz+ÁR*. Cf. **alcancia**.

**alcanzi**: see **alchauzi**.

**alcanzia**: see **alcancia**.

**alcañizano** (Cs.) “from Alcañiz”: is a gentilic with Rom. suffixation of that place name, based on And. Rom. *\*al+QANNÍŠ* “the hurdle”.<sup>200</sup>

**alcaparra** (Cs. with the var. **caparra**, Gl. and Pt.) “caper (*Capparis spinosa*)”: < And. *alkapára*, < Lt. *cappáris* < Gr. *kápparis*. This is also the origin of standard Ar. *\*kabar*, but the Hispanic terms were not borrowed from the East, as shown by the preservation of /p/. As for the gemination of the last consonant, there is no need to think of an improbable contamination with **parra** “climbing vine”, as it is a frequent spontaneous phenomenon in Rom. (cf. Cs. **guitarra**, **macarrón**, etc.). Contrariwise, **alcaparra** “tick” (Nav.) reflects And. *alqaparra*, of Basque origin, but transmitted through And. Rom., as given away by the agglutinated Ar. article, although a metonymy is not impossible. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcaparrado**, **alcaparral**, **alcaparrera**, **alcaparro** and **alcaparrón**; Gl. and Pt.:

<sup>199</sup> See Samsó 1978 about some phonetic and semantic peculiarities of this word, as well as some interesting data collected by Epalza 1997.

<sup>200</sup> Contemporary pronunciation, not to speak of the Ar. spellings of this place name (e.g., >*qānuṣ*< in the *Muṣjam albulḍān* by Yāqūt or,

in a Western source, >*qbnṣyh*< from *Almuqtubis* V, fol. 123, which must be corrected as *\*qānyṣh* = *\*qannīṣuh*), leave no room for the etymon *\*alkanaṣis* “the churches” suggested in the past.

**alcaparral**; Pt. **alcaparrar** and **alcaparreira**.  
**alcaparrosa**: see **caparrosa**.

**alcapç/s** (Ct., with the var. **alhapz** in a Lt. document quoted by Eguílaz, as well as in the *Repartimientos* of Murcia and Valencia, after Pocklington 1984:279–280) “domestic prison”: < And. *alhábs* = Cl.Ar. *habs*. The same etymon might explain **alcas** (Ct.) “room for locking up the balance, above the chopping block”, after Coromines.

**alcaptor**: see **alcaudón**.

**alcar** (Pt.) “a cistaceous shrub”: Morais’ identification would invalidate Machado’s etymological proposal, based on DE, from And. *\*alqárrah* “lamb’s ear (*Stachys germanica*), lit., “the tranquilizer”, as explained by And. botanists) but, considering that DE attributes to this Pt. term the meaning “common white horehound (*Marrubium vulgare*)”, another labiate, that furthermore contemporary Eastern botanists, like Bedevian and Gālib, exclusively give the var. *qārah* and finally that semantic evolutions of this kind are not uncommon, that etymon might be viable, despite the incomplete coincidence of the botanic identification. The fem. ending in the source language also poses a problem as being a fem. participle it cannot be easily dismissed as a mere morpheme of n.un.

**alcara**: see **alcaria**.

**alcarabe**: see **cáabe**.

**alcarabía**, **alcarabiella**, **alcarauhuya**, **alcarauia** and **alcarauilla**: see **alcaravea**.

**alçaratan** (var. **alçaçecatan**): is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 53, “Cancer”, confirmed by Kunitzsch 1961:22, < Ar. *assaṣṭān* “the crab”. Cf. **saratā**.

**alcaraten**: see **alharatan**.

**alcaraván** (Cs. and Gl.), **alcaravão** (Pt., with the var. **algarvão**, **algoravão** and **algoro(u)vão**), **algaraván** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:181),<sup>201</sup> **ehcaraván** and **algurabao** (Ext., the latter, borrowed from Pt.) and **algaraván** (Arag.) “curlew (*Oedipodius oedipodius*)”, but Can. **alcaraván** is “praying

mantis”, by a semantic contamination based on **algavaro**, q.v.): < And. *alkarawán* = Cl.Ar. *karawān* < Neo-P. *karvān*, it being noteworthy that this name is presently given in the East to diverse species of the genus *Numenius*, while *Oedipodius* is called *karawān aljabal*, i.e., “mountain curlew”. Contrary to Machado’s assertion, it is no kind of partridge, but a wading bird, which might explain why a burly man is called in Pt. **algarivão** (cf. **algarnaça**). As for **alc/garaván** and **algarabán** “anklebone; knucklebones” (Anz.), their etymon seems Ar., but there is no way so far to determine which original word has been phonetically contaminated or what semantic evolution has generated those meanings. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcaravanero**.

**alcaravea** (Cs., with the var. **alcarabía**, **alcarovea** and **alcorobia**), **alcaravia** (Pt., with the var. **alcarovia**, **alque/irivia**), **alcarabiella** and **alcarahueya** (Old Arag.) and **alcarauia** (Ct., with the var. **alcarauhuya**, **alcarauia**, **alcarauilla** and **carahuia**) “caraway seed (*Carum carvi*)”: < And. *alkarawīya*<sup>202</sup> < Neo-Ar. *karawīyā* < Aram. *karawāyā* < Gr. *karō*. From the same origin is the pharmaceutical synonym Cs. **carvi**, through mistaken bookish Lt. transcription.

**alc/garaviz** (Pt.) and **alcribís** (Cs.) “hatch or venting tube at the bottom of a forge” and **alquivir** (Anz., with metathesis and suffix metanalysis and elimination) “forge nozzle”: as said in Corriente 1985:123, this is an Arabicized reflex of Gr. *krēpīs* “base”, which provides the semantic juncture, externally imitating a broken pl. *\*qarābīs*. Although the expectable intermediate Aram. witness has not yet surfaced, it is known that the Ar. word *\*qarabūs* “saddle tree” has the same etymon, applied to a different object, which apparently confirms this origin without any phonetic or semantic difficulty. Cf. **algaravaz**.

**alcarayn** “the equals”: is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 25, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:93 with the pairs Iota-

<sup>201</sup> With the der. **algaravanar** “to jump raising all four limbs”

<sup>202</sup> Pattern and stress confirmed by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī and Alcalá *caraviá*, so that any syl-

lable reshaping and/or alternative stress, e.g., in **alcarauilla**, must be attributed to intra-Rom. phenomena, as in **tahúlla**, q.v.

Kappa, Lambda-My and Ny-Xi Ursae Majoris, < Ar. *alqarā'in*, an alternative name of the stars called in Neo-Ar. *qafazāt azzibā*? ('the gazelles' jumps').

**alcarcel**: see **alcacel**.

**alcarceña** (Cs.): "ervil, bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*)": < And. *alkarsanna* < Neo-Ar. *kirsā/innah* < Aram. *karsannā* "potbellied" because its excessive ingestion makes the belly swell. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcarchefial**.

**alcarchofa(r)**: see **alcachofa**.

**alcarcil**: see **alcaucil**.

**alcarena** "epilepsy": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:133–134, < Ar. *alqarīnah*, lit., "the female companion", a euphemism for an evil spirit supposedly causing this and other evils (see DS II 347).

**alcaria** (Pt.), **alca(i)ría** and **alqueiría** (Sal.), **alquería** (Cs.) and **alqueria** (Ct., with the var. Bal. **auqueria**, and Pt. only in Morais): "village": < And. *alqarīyah* < Cl.Ar. *qaryah*. The seeming var. **alcara**, from LHP 28, is no doubt just an error for **alcaria**, as stated in Corriente 2004b:71. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alquerià**.

**alcaroa**: see **algarroba**.

**alcarod** "monkeys": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 25, < Ar. *alqurūd*.

**alcarovea**: see **alcaravea**.

**alcarovi** (Lit.): Mateu y Llopis records this numismatic term in his rich glossary, not altogether accurate, however, in the case of Ar. terms, as the name of certain dinars of the petty kingdoms of Toledo and Valencia. He would derive it from the title *\*šarafu ddawlah* "honour of the dynasty" allegedly assumed by their sovereigns, but this hypothesis is untenable, and it rather seems that these coins were popularly nicknamed *xarrūbī* "carob-like" on account of their dark colour, because of their poor alloy, or of their little value, comparable to the small copper coin called *xarrūbah*.

**alcarovia**: see **alcaravea**.

**alcarque** (dial. Pt., in Morais) "curved base of a fence" and **alfarque** (Pt.) "cave-in caused by the rain": the first form might represent the primitive shape of **alcorca** and **alcorque**

(q.v.), < And. *alxārq* = Cl.Ar. *xarq* "rift or hollow for draining water", although another possibility would be And. *hārq* "pouring", well documented in DAA 549. But **alcarque** "wide hips or shoulders" is not easily explainable through any metonymy. Cf. **argolla**<sup>2</sup>.

**alcarrabo**: this name, given in the Granada district of Las Alpujarras, after Eguílaz, to a person in ridiculous attire, cannot derive from an non-existent *\*garrāb* "strange", invented by him for the occasion, but from And. *qarāb* "tawny owl (*Strix aluco*)", of Rom. origin and in the ultimate analysis prob. Gr., because of the strange appearance resulting from its variegated feathers.

**alcarraça** and **alcarracero**: see **alcarraza**.

**alcarracilla** "collarbone" (Anz.): it looks like the Intra-Rom. dim. of an Ar. loanword, but on semantic grounds it is not wise to assume this for the standard **alcarraza**, q.v. Perhaps the And. attributive adjective *qārṣi* (fem. *qarṣīyya*) "in the shape of a crossbow trigger" is a better choice, on account of the likeness between that bone and this part of the crossbow; in such case, the phonetic contamination by that word and metanalysis of the cauda as a Rom. dim. could be easily accepted.

**alcarrada**<sup>1</sup> (Pt.) "the falcon's hovering in search of a prey" and metathetic **arracada**<sup>2</sup> "flight" (Anz.): Machado was prob. right upon rejecting the proposal *\*arrakaḍāt* "races" in DE. Chances are that we have Ar. *karrah* "inrush; attack, charge", topped off with Rom. suffixation.

**alcarrada**<sup>2</sup>: see **arracada**<sup>1</sup>.

**alcarrán** (Cs.) "cuckold": this hapax in a famous ballad about the conquest of Antequera, excerpted by Eguílaz, reflects the common And. *alqarrān* = Neo-Ar. *qarrān*; it reappears with semantic evolution as "talebearer" (Sal.).<sup>203</sup> Cf. **carrán**.

**alcarrassador**: see **alfarràs**.

**alcarraza** (Cs. and Gl.) and **alcarraç/za** (Pt.) "earthen jar with a spout and a handle": < And. *alkarrāzah* < Cl.Ar. *kur(r)āz* < Neo-P. *korāz* "crop, craw", on account of its shape. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcarracero**.

<sup>203</sup> See Levi della Vida 1950.

**alcarrota** “carob” (Ext. of Olivenza): is a case of suffix metanalysis and substitution in a var. of the standard **algarroba**, q.v.

**alcartaz** and **alcatraz** (Cs.) “paper cone, cornet”: < And. *alqa/irṭās* = Cl.Ar. *qa/irṭās* < Syr. *qarṭīsā* < Gr. *chárītēs* “papyrus and, subsequently, paper” Pt. **cartaz** “poster” has the same origin, but its documentation, at the beginning of the 16th c., is slightly later than that of Cs. (in Nebrija), though not enough to force to the conclusion that the Pt. form be of Eastern origin on account of the lack of Ar. article, as this feature became more and more frequent even in the Peninsular late loan-words. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **cartazeiro** and **cartazista**.

**alcas**: see **alcapç**.

**alcassava**: see **alçaçaba**.

**alcàsser**: see **alcácer**.

**alcatar**: see **colcotar**.

**alcata** (Cs. and Ct.) and **alquitara** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “still”: < And. *alqaṭṭāra*, a n.inst. anomalously obtained from the Ar. verb *qaṭṭar* “to distil” Coromines attributed the alteration of vocalism to Intra-Rom. contamination by **alquitrán** “tar”, but this explanation is not valid for Pt., in which **alcatrão** is predominant; perhaps the contamination took place with Cs. **quitar** “to remove”, with the semantic juncture in the use of this device for removing or extracting certain substances from others. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alquitarar**.

**alcateia** (Pt., with the old var. **alcatêa**): “pack (of wolves)”: the Ar. words propounded by Machado do not exist under the shapes he uses; the true etymon is And. *alqaṭṭī* = Cl.Ar. *qaṭṭī* “flock”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alcatear**.

**alcatejas**: see **fateixa**.

**alcatenes** (Cs.) “linen ointment”: < And. *alkattān* = Cl.Ar. *kattān* “linen”

**alcatifa** (Pt. and Cs.), **alquetifa** (Cs.) and **catifa** (Ct.) “carpet”: < And. *alqaṭṭifa* = Cl.Ar. *qaṭṭifah* “bedspread” From the same etymon are Cs. **arcatifa** “a kind of mortar”, a building term from García Salinero 1968:41, and Cs. thieves’ cant **alcátife** “silk”, in connection with Alcalá’s addition to that word of the meaning “velvet”, not surprising, as it was

already said in Cl.Ar. of some fine fabrics. As for Ct. **catifet** “gossip” (contaminated in Men. **condes by conta(re)lles** “old wives’ tales”), it is more prob. a Rom. dim. of Ar. *xatfah* “larceny, snatching away”, whence also Pt. **coteife**, from the Ar. dim., q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcatifar** and **alcatifero**; Ct.: **catifer**, **catifaire**, **encatifada**, **encatifament** and **encatifar**; Pt.: **alcatifamento**, **alcatifar** and **alcatifeiro**.

**alcatira** and **alquitira** (Pt.) “tragacanth”, **alque/tira** (Cs.) and **alquitirra** (Ct.): < And. *alkaṭīra* < Cl.Ar. *kaṭīrā*?

**alcatra** (Gl. and Pt.) “oxtail head; buttocks”: < And. *alqāṭna* “the behind” < Cl.Ar. *qaṭan*. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl. **alcatrear** “to stink” and its deverbal substantive **alcatreo**; Pt.: **alcatreiro** “big-bottomed”

**alcatrán** (Gl.), **alcatrão** (Pt.), **alquitrán** (Cs., with the var. **alcadran**, from Maya *et al.* 1990:II 3,4)<sup>204</sup> and (al) **quitrà** (Ct.) “pitch”: < And. *alqaṭṭrān* = Cl.Ar. *qaṭṭrān*. The Ar. word is not a deverbal from *\*qaṭṭar* “to distil”, as Coromines fancies: instead, this verb is, in truth, denominal from *qaṭr* “drops” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alquitránar**; Ct.: **quitránós** and **alquitránar**; Gl.: **alcatranar**; Pt.: **alcatroagem**, **alcatroamento** and **alcatroar**.

**alcatràs** (Ct.), **alcatraz** (Cs. and Pt.) and **arcatraz** (Anl.) “albatross, name of several species of the gender *Sala*”: might derive from Ar. *ḡaṭṭās* “grebe”, but there are some anomalous phonetic correspondences, most particularly the unvoiced velar, in spite of being in contact with a sonorant, and the parasitic vibrant. The existence of Cs. **almocatràcia**, a luxury tax, **mequetrefe**, q.v., and **albatros**, synonymous of **alcatraz**, resulting from a return (cf. Eng. “alcatross” and Fr. *alcatroz*, old forms mentioned by Coromines), even the pr.n. *\*Qaṭrūf* among the Mozarabs of Toledo, suggests a contamination with the roots *[ḡ/xrs/f]*, even *[qṭrf]* “to walk pompously”, whence the And. words *\*x/qaṭrás* = *ḡaṭrás* “walking pompously”, *qaṭrūf* = *\*mux/qaṭra/f* “ostentatious” and *\*mux/qaṭrás* “ostentatious thing”, apt to take the same Rom. suffix as **mocarraria**, q.v. Cf. **alcartaz**.

<sup>204</sup> See **alcacer**. This information has been provided by Prof. Montaner.

**alcátrate** (Pt.) "gangway over the gunwale of a ship": does not derive from Ar. *\*qāṭrah* "piece", but from a much more accurate and technical term, And. *alxattāra* "gangway; pontoon", naturally starting from the pl. (*xattāraf*), as there are usually at least two to each docked ship. Cf. **alfacara** and **zatarā**.

**alcátraz**: see **alcátrās** and **alcátraz**.

**alcátrifia** "name of several species of shark" (Can.): looks like one of the frequent Pt. loanwords in the Canary Islands, and as such, a dim. with semantic evolution of Pt. **alcátra**, q.v., although the dictionaries of this language do not feature this dim. and do not register any similar sense for **alcátra**.

**alcatroagem**, **alcatroamento** and **alcatroar**: see **alcátrán**.

**alcátruz(ar)** and **alcátruzada**: see **alcaduz**.

**alcátufa** "tigernut" (Anl.): is inseparable from Cs. **cotufa** "Jerusalem artichoke", which Coromines connected for good reasons with And. Rom. *QUQÚFFA* "trifle", contaminated by the standard **turma** or **trufa** "truffle", although it might also be a mere case of dissimilation, favoured by the fact that Ar. *{qf}* means "to pick fruits from a plant" and that the pattern *{/a/u22ā3}* is characteristically hypocoristic and dim. At any rate, the And. word has a very archaic outlook.

**alcaucí**, **alcarcil**, **alca(u)cil** and **arcacil** (Cs.), **alcancil** (Man.) and **arcasil**, **arcucil** **orcancil** (Anl.) "(wild) artichoke": < And. *alqabsíl(a)* < And. Rom. *\*AL+QAPICÉLA*, a dim. der. of Hispanic Lt. *capitia* "head"

**alcaudón** (Cs.), **alcaud/zón**, **(a)caidón**, **alcauidón** and **alcuzón** (Ext.) and **alcáid/rón** (Can.) "shrike, name of several species of the

gender *Launius*": < And. *alqabūn* < And. Rom. *\*al+QABTÚN* < Lt. *cāpūn[em]* "big-headed", which matches better with zoological data than the propounded derivative of Lt. *cauda* "tail"; besides, this item usually appears reflected in the Rom. of the Andalusí botanists as *QÚDA*. From the same etymon is **alcaptor** (and its var., in Pt.) "a fish"<sup>205</sup> (cf. Cs. **capitón**, again "big-headed", an alternative name of mullet).

**alcáuella** and **alcáuera**: see **alcabilla**.

**alcáuuet**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcáuz**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 25, the usual Ar. name of Sagittarius, after Kunitzsch 1961:93, < Ar. *alqaws* "the bow". Cf. **alcouce**.

**alcavala** and **alcavaleiro**: see **alcabala**.

**alcavalla** (Pt., excerpted by Eguílaz from a mod. chronicle) "watermelon": < Mor. *kawwar(a)*.

**alcavel/ra**: see **alcabilla**.

**alcavia**: this Arag. hapax, recorded by Borao and spelled by Andolz as **alcabia**, is semantically imprecise and therefore its etymon is doubtful.<sup>206</sup>

**alcavó**, **alcavonada**, **alcavonet** and **alcavo-(r)et**: see **alcabor**.

**alcavot**, **alcavota(da)**, **alcavotejar**, **alcavotenc** and **alcavoteria**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcayad/t** and **alcayade**: see **alcaide**.

**alçayah albacar** (with the var. *c/çayah albacar* and some hesitation in the position of >ç<) "screaming cowman": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 28, identified with some doubts by Kunitzsch 1959:123-4 and 190 with the stars Beta or My Boötis, < Neo-Ar. *aṣṣayyāḥ albaqqār*.<sup>207</sup>

**alcayata**: see **alcajata**.

<sup>205</sup> Neither Machado nor Morais identify it more exactly; nevertheless, it reappears in the cookery book of the Almohad period, edited by Huici 1965.

<sup>206</sup> Both authors are inclined to render it as "carpet, tapestry" and none of their quotes supports our suggestion in Coriente 1998b:425 to consider this item as a var. of **alfàbia**, q.v., since the context of Borao's quote mentions a seat the back of which was upholstered with cloth, with the Arag. coat of arms *sobre una alcavia morisca de oro y sirgo* "on a Moorish a. of gold

and silk". It might have been an easy mistake for the **\*alcarzia** posited under **alcaidia**<sup>2</sup>, q.v., in perfect semantic agreement with both quotes.

<sup>207</sup> This "screaming cowman" bears no relation to **alaoe**, q.v., but would result from a poor reading of the Gr. description by Ptolemy of My Boötis, *ho boreiōteros autōn kai ēpi to kollaribou* "the northernmost above the staff", in which the last word would have been read as *\*kalētor bou* "herald of the ox", through a **ALKALUROP(U)S** reflected in Ar. spelling. On the other hand, and since **ALKALUROP(U)S**

**alcayd** “eggshells”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 26, an alternative name of certain stars of Eridanus and Cetus, after Kunitzsch 1961:94, < Ar. *qayd*.

**alcayet**: see **alcaide**.

**alcaymonia**: see **alcamonia**.

**alcayuet**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcazaba**: see **alcaçaba**.

**alcázar**: see **alcácer**.

**alcazareño** (Cs.) “gentile of any of the towns called Alcázar”: is a case of Rom. suffixation to that place name. Cf. **alcácer**.

**alcazarria**: see **alcaçaria**.

**alcazuz**: see **alcaçuz**.

**alcedeles** and **alçelez**: see **almuçeleç**.

**alçhem** “arrow”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 28, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:205, as the constellation Sagitta, < Ar. *assahm*.

**alçek** and **alceke**: see **alnaçr**.

**alcemena**: see **almazane**.

**alcemite**: see **acemite**.

**alchabisse**: see **alcabise**.

**(al)chabus** and **acubus**<sup>208</sup> “nightmare”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:77, < Ar. *alkābūs*.

**alchachur**: see **achor(as)**.

**alchad** “fleshy and muscular part (of the body)”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:13, which in our view does not contain any semantic confusion with Ar. *xadd* “cheek”, but just a poor reading of Ar. *maqšad* “buttocks”. Cf. **almacaero**.

**alchada**: see **alachdain**.

**alchada/i** or **alchadam** “mote, speck in the eyes”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:78, < Ar. *alqaḏā*. Cf. **algada** and **algaz**.

**alchad(e)**: see **alachad**.

**alchafa** “nape of the neck”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:168, < Ar. *alqafā*.

**alcha(ha)b**: see **alcahab**.

**alchaisum** or **chaisim** “nasal cartilage”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from

Vázquez & Herrera 1989:168 < Ar. *alxayšūm*.

**alc(h)alach** “anxiety”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:74–76, < Ar. *alqalaq*.

**alcha(l)el** “disorder”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:168, < Ar. *alxalal*.

**alchalesae** (**vena** —, with the var. **alhasase**) “occipital veins”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:40–50,<sup>209</sup> < Ar. *alḥasāsān*.

**alchalidicon**: see **calchidicon**.

**alchaluch** “a perfume”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:169, < Ar. *alxalūq*. Cf. **aloc**.

**alchamar** or **altumar** “snow blindness”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:116, < Ar. *alqamar*.

**alchamha** “funnel”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *alqimī*. Cf. **agumys**.

**alchamhaduc**, **alc(h)amhadue**, **camhaduti** or **chamadura** “occiput”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:14, < Ar. *qamḥaduwwah*.

**alchamcha(r)**: see **alhame(c)h**.

**alchanna**: see **alfeña**.

**alcharc(h)a** “baldness”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:78, < Ar. *alqaraḥah*. Cf. **careca**.

**alcharfie**, **alcharsiæ** and **alcharis(ie)** “senility”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:80, < Ar. *alxaraḥfiyyah*.

**alcharis**: see **charis**.

**alcharis(ie)** and **alcharsiæ**: see **alcharfie**.

**alcharisi** “tart”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *ḥirriḥ*.

**alchars** and **alchaser**: see **alchsasar**.

**alchaschenagiat** “a kind of biscuit”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:170, < Neo-Ar. *xuškunānij* < Pahl. *hušk nānek* “small dry bread”

**alchase** “longitudinal fracture”: is an

designates My Boötis, after Kunitzsch, it must be assumed that this is also the identification of **açat açaçaf** “the the screamer’s lance”, in GP 71bis, with the var. **acatacaya** and **acataca(la)**, < And. *ṣaṣāt aṣṣayyāḥ* < Cl.Ar. *ṣaṣā aṣṣayyāḥ*.

<sup>208</sup> Next to even more distorted forms like **Hecuba** and **Incubo**.

<sup>209</sup> With the var. **alhasesa** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171.

unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *alqaṣm*.

**alchasi** "a hidden ulcer in the eyes": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *alqaṣṭ* "hidden"

**al(c)hasu/esa** "protuberant bone behind the ear": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:15, = Ar. *alxušašāʾ*.

**alchataif** or **alchathahif** "a sweet": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:170–171, < Ar. *alqaṭāʾif*.

**alch(a)thara**, **alfatare**, **fater(a)**, **father** and **fatar** "mushroom": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez 1992:171–173, < Ar. *alfuṭ(u)r*.

**alchatin** (Cs.) "small of the back": is an unassimilated anatomical term, quoted by Eguílaz, in fact, a poor bookish transcription of Ar. *qatan*. It has the var. **alchati(m)** and **alchatha** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:16, and **achatin** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168.<sup>210</sup> Cf. **alcatra**.

**alchatiṛ** "catheter": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:171, < Ar. *alqāṭāṭīr* < Gr. *kathetēr*.

**alchauamich**, **alchi(a)uamenich**, **chua-mich**, **alchuam/nich**, **chaugamich**, **(al)-chamach**, **alchuamic**, **alcuamich** and **alchu-uamach** "vinaigrette (sauce)": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:172, < Neo-Ar. *kāmax* or its pl. *kawāmīx* < Pahl. *kāmāg*.

**alchauli** "a sovereign medicine": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:174, < Neo-Ar. *alkābūlī*.<sup>211</sup>

**alch(a)uzi** or **alcanzi** "compound medicine": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:174

< Neo-Ar. *aljawāriṣan alxūzī* "j. from Khuz-istan" < Neo-P. *guwāriṣn* "digester"

**alchavis**: see **alcabaz**.

**alchaz** "raw silk fabric" (Pt., only in Morais, apparently old and bookish, which implies a pronunciation **alcáz**; there is a Leo. var. **alhaz** in DO 139): < And. *alx/qázz* = Cl.Ar. *x/qazz*, from Pahl. represented by Neo-P.

From the same etymon are **gasa** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) "gauze; lint", through It.,<sup>212</sup> and **azache** (Cs.) "low quality silk": < And. *xazzāč*, a hybrid attaching the Rom. pejorative suffix /+ÁČ/.<sup>213</sup> Cf. **feyrach**.

**alcheel(i)** or **alkei** "scapula": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *alkāhil*.

**alchef**: see **kef**.

**alcheṣfir** "callosity": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1993:208, < Neo-Ar. *qazdīr* "tin".<sup>214</sup> Cf. **acazdīr**.

**alchelchelengi**: see **alkalkalangī**.

**alchelefut**, **culef** and **chalef** "freckles": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:80, < Ar. *alkalaḥ*.

**alche/fiscar** or **alkiscar** "bread containing much bran": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:175, < Neo-Ar. *xuškār* < Neo-P. *xošk ārd*.

**alcheschie**: see **alkisch**.

**alcheti** "shoulder": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:17, < Ar. *alkatīf*.

**alchiab**: see **alcahab**.

**alchiardanach** or **alchiardauch** "a roast": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:175–176, < Neo-Ar. *alkardanāk/j* < Neo-P. *gardanāj*.

**alchiaschuegi**, **alcheschinegi**, **alchiaschenegi** or **alkeskineugi** "an electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from

<sup>210</sup> But it is not the same as Ar. *qutāh*, (cf. **catá**), said of the rump of beasts and the buttocks of humans, which is a different area.

<sup>211</sup> Apparently a remedy basically containing the myrobalan of Kabul, not to be confused with the next entry, as the authors do.

<sup>212</sup> The proposal in former editions of DRAE of an etymon based on the name of the Palestinian city of Gaza was totally ungrounded, and has been forsaken.

<sup>213</sup> The same word, with some phonetic evolution reflecting the initial difficulty of some Ar. phonemes for the Hispanic natives, \*\**zāčcu*, meant "marc, grappa" in And., by metonymy.

<sup>214</sup> This strange equivalence is prob. due to Alpago, copied by Ruyzes, which gives Lt. *stan-num*. The hypothesis put forward by the author, Ar. \**qasīr*, in truth meaning "barky", is not convincing.

Vázquez & Herrera 1989:176–177, < Neo-Ar. *kāskabīnaj*, from Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *kaškāb* “porridge”, with the suffix {-īnag}.

**alchiebabat** “kabob(s)”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:176–177, < Ar. *alkabāb*.<sup>215</sup>

**alchimelech**: see **alecrim**.

**a(l)chiperre** “household utensil” (Tol.), **achiperres** (Anl.), **archipenque** (Can., with var.) “the hunter’s tackle”, and **archiperres** “utensils”, heard by ourselves in Granada: < And. Rom. \**al+ČIP+ĒL* “small trap”, cf. And. *čipp* “trap”, in Alcalá. Cf. the new witness for the matching And. Rom., in Corriente 2001:203, fn. 32 and Corriente 1999e:76, fn. 37.

**alchiruniae** or **alchirime** “top difficulty for healing”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Neo-Ar. *alxayrūniyyah*.

**alchisera**: see **chirivía**.

**alchoboin**: see **althaun**.

**alcholaia**: see **alcola**.

**alchora**: see **alcora**.

**alchoresci**: see **alcorasci**.

**alchsarar**, **alchars** and **alchaser** “strong chill”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:79, < Ar. *aliqšīrār* “shivering”

**alchua** “cubit”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, from the etymon of **goa**, q.v.

**alchub**, **aliub** and **arjibe** (Arag.), **aljub** (Ct.), **aljibe** (Cs., with the var. **algib/p** in GP 35), **alxibe** (Gl.) and **algibe** or **aljube** (Pt., the latter in the derived meaning “jail”, which also occurred in Cs.) “cistern”: < And. *aljú/ibh* = Cl.Ar. *jubb*, in which the optional palatalization of And. is a consequence of the evolution of /j/, formerly a velar voiced stop. The same phenomenon is reflected in **chivo**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “pit for oil dregs”, which has an Arag. appearance on account of the evolution of the palatal consonant, but is not so labelled by DRAE. From the same etymon are **ogiva** (Ct., with the var. **giva**) and **ojiva** (Cs. & Pt.) “ogive”, a return from Fr. *augibe*, < Old Cs. *algiba*. Old Ct.

**arquiva** “water tender” apparently shares this etymon also. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aljibero** and **ojival**; Ct.: **aljubar**, **aljub/per** and **aljub/pet**; Ct. and Pt.: **ogival**; Pt.: **aljubádigo** and **aljubeiro**. Cf. **ojiva**.

**alchucsarech** “medicament for ulcers in the back”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:178, with the var. **alchuesarech** and **alchuesarech** in Vázquez 1987:142, < Neo-Ar. *alkuwahsārik*, apparently from Neo-P. *kuwah sarek* “head of cotton or poppy capsules”

**alchude**, **alcudae** and **cauthati** “a severe headache”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:82, < Ar. *alxūdāh*, lit., “helmet”, so called because, unlike migraine, it affects the whole cranium.

**alchuzez**: see **alcuzez**.

**alciba/era**: see **acibara**.

**alçilah** “the weapons”: from GP 28, is a group of stars identified by Kunitzsch 1961:105 in Boötis or nearby, < Ar. *assilāh*.

**alcireño** (Cs.) “from Alcira”: is a Rom. gentilic of this place name, < And. *alja/izira* = Cl.Ar. *aljažīrah* “the island” Cf. **algecireño**.

**alcilil**: see **alilil**.

**alcoba** (Cs., Gl. and Old Pt.) and **alcova** (Ct. and Pt.) “bedroom”: < And. *alqúbba* < Cl.Ar. *qubbah*. From the same etymon is **coba** (Cs.) “the sultan’s tent; domed construction”; however, **alcoba** (Cs.) “case for the tongue of a balance” derives from And. *qúbba* < Cl.Ar. *qabb*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcobilla**; Arag.: **alcobilla de lumbre** “chimney heating a room” (Rom. dim.); Ct.: **alcovar** and **alcoveta**; Pt.: **alcob/vilha** and **alcovista**. Cf. **calamón**.

**alcobaila** “a small kind of thrush” (Anz.): perhaps an intra-Rom. corruption, of Ar. \**qubbarah* “lark”, which would be just another case of frequent reassignment of plant and animal names. But this word is not documented in And., although very common and, above all, the evolution of its two last syllables would be very anomalous. In fact, the usual name of the crested lark in And. was *qubáṣa*, which might quite easily have taken

the entry, unless it is the morpheme of the regular fem. pl.

<sup>215</sup> The var. **alclubeb** and **alchubebe** appear to be due to confusion with **cubeba**, q.v., which is also the likeliest reason for the strange cauda in



the Rom. dim. suffix to mean its smaller variety, *Alauda brachydactyla*, whence And. Rom. \**al+qubāṣa+ĒLA*, a reasonable etymon for the An. form, especially if borrowed through Pt.

**alcobilha and alcobilla**: see **alcoba**.

**alçoçar** (Cs., excerpted by Eguílaz from city ordinances of Seville): is a building term, not altogether clear from its context, although undoubtedly referred to the upper part, framed by an arch, of a door. Neither is the stress certain: it could be penultima stressed, as a reflex of And. *qúsr* "shortness", or ultima stressed, connectable with Ar. *quṣār* "limit, boundary". Finally, if it meant "cornice", it might metaphorically answer to And. *qúṣṣa* = Cl.Ar. *quṣṣah* "forelock".<sup>216</sup>

**alçoçedra**: see **acólcetra**.

**alcoceifa** (Pt.) "brothel": does not derive from Ar. \**qasf* "revelry, carousal", after DE, followed by Machado, which would require too many morpho-semantic anomalies, such as obtaining a dim. and a n.un. and converting a *maṣdar* into a noun of place. Much more prob. we are dealing with a reflex of And. *alquṣāyba*, lit., "little castle", extant in IQ 87/6/3 in the sense of "terrace roof", in fact, a *maṣrīyya* (see **almacería**) or room with independent access, which was built on top of houses and rented for diverse purposes, among them that of a bachelors' hall. The word would prob. soon acquire the connotation of "bawdy house" among the neighbours living downstairs and suffering some detriment to the quiet and respectability of the building, as the watchers of public morals were easily bribed and kept away by the tenants. IQ is, indeed, unequivocal about the purpose of his "little castle".

**alcozuz**: see **alcacuz**.

**alcodeo**: see **alcadcode**.

<sup>216</sup> As a matter of fact, this word appears reflected as *coça* in *Danza General de la Muerte* (see Corriente 2006:119), said of the infants' forelock cut off on the seventh day after his birth, in the already pre-Islamic ceremony of *ṣaṣīqah* (see Lane 1877:2097). IQ uses a pun with the terms *qúṣṣa* "story", *qúṣṣa* "forelock" and *qúṣṣa* "haircut" in 68/7/1-2.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. And. *jabdi rasan* "pandering", lit., "to pull the halter" in *Vocabulista in arabico*,

**alcoba** (Pt.) "wicker basket and the like": < And. *alquṣṣa* = Cl.Ar. *quṣṣah*, from Ak., of Sum. origin *k/quppu*, transmitted through Aram., cf. Rab.Aram. *quṣṣā*. The meaning "pimp" of Pt., as Machado says, results from an idiom parallel to Cs. *llevar la cesta*, lit., "to carry the basket",<sup>217</sup> whence as n.ag. Pt. **alcofeiro**. Of the same origin, but through Mediterranean transmission by It. and/or Ct., are **coff** (Ct.) and **coffin** (Cs.) "frail", with Rom. dim. suffixation,<sup>218</sup> even **cofa** (Cs.) "topmast" and (Ct.) "big basket" and "coffin" (Mur.); it is noticeable that Ct. and Mur. are semantically more conservative. It is, however, a moot question whether this etymon is shared by Val. **cofo** "shield", with a Pt. match of Eastern origin documented only in the 16th c.: the etymon is prob. the same, considering the shape of certain kinds of shield, but it would not have been borrowed from Neo-P., as it is not recorded in the dictionaries of this language. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **acofinar**, **cofinada**, **cofiner**, **cofinat**, **cofinera**, **cofero**, **cofeta**, **descofinar**, **encofinada** and **encofina(do)r**; Gl.: **cofiño** "stern cabin"; Pt.: **alcofinha** and **alcofar** "to pander".

**alcofaina** and **(a)jofaina** (Cs.), **aljofaina** (Cs. and Pt.), **cofaina** (Arag.)<sup>219</sup> and **c/gofaina** (Ext. and Nav.): "washbasin": < And. *aljuṣfāyna* = Cl.Ar. *jufaynah*, dim. of *jafnah*, etymon of **aljáfana**, q.v.

**alcofar**, **alcofeiro** and **alcofinha**: see **alcoba**.

**alcofolar**, **alcofol(ar)**, **alcofolera** and **alcofor(ar)**: see **alcohol**.

**alcohela** (Cs.) "endive (*Cichorium endivia*)": < And. *alkuḥāyḥa* < Cl.Ar. *kuḥaylā*, a name also given at times to other plants, like bugloss.

**alcohol** (Cs. and Ct.), **cohol** and **alcofol** (Cs.), **alcofol** (Old Ct., with the var. **alcofol**,

from DAA 88.

<sup>218</sup> Coromines says very reasonably that the stress position and semantic affinities, even if they are not decisive, do not allow us to derive these words from Lt. \**cōphīnus* < Gr. \**kōphinos* "basket".

<sup>219</sup> Prob. very old, considering the absence of agglutinated article and the obstruent reflex of **jīm** (see 1.1.3.3).

**coffol** and **cofoyl**), **alco(ho)l** (Gl.) and **alcool**, **alcofor** and **alquifol** (Pt.,<sup>220</sup> also Cs., synonymous with **zafre**, after DRAE, q.v.) "alcohol": through scientific Lt., < And. *kuḥūl*, depulverized from Cl. *kuḥūl*, pl. of *kuhl*, name of galena, antimony and other substances with similar applications (cf. "kohl" in cosmetics), it being noteworthy that the old meaning is very faithfully preserved in Ext. **arcó** "foliated galena; lead used in pottery" A direct derivation from the sg., as conceived by former editions of DRAE and Coromines, is not possible because it would have generated an /a/ as last vowel, it being obvious that the etymon was depulverized, as a collective designation of those substances. Mod. Ar. *kuḥūl*, in sg. specialized as "alcohol", apparently imitates the phonetics and semantics of the European languages which have returned this chemical term. As for **alcoh/olar** (Cs.), not only in the sense of "treating with alcohol", but also in that of "passing at a gallop in front of another team in jousts", is a denominative der. of **alcohol**, through a semantic calque from Ar., in which *kaḥḥal* "to smear (the eyes) with antimony" is said jestingly of blinding them, e.g., with a cloud of dust, as reflected by Azzajjālī's proverb N° 1722, "the dust raised by sheep is like is like eye medicine for a wolf", or by the metonymic name of the musket in Mor., *\*mkāhla* < Cl.Ar. *\*mukḥulāh* "kohl jar" There was never any ground for Asín's supposition that the etymon of that verb were Ar. *\*qufūl* "return", exactly the opposite movement to the manoeuvre required to blind opponents with a cloud of dust. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcoholar** (with the var. **alcoholar** in GP 26), **alcoholador**, **alcoholat(ur)o**, **alcoholero**, **alcohólico**, **alcoholímetro**, **alcoholismo**, **alcoholización** and **alcoholizar**; Ct.: **alcofollar**, **alcofollera**, **alcoholèmia**, **alcohòlic**, **alcoholificació**, **alcoholificar**, **alcoholimetria**, **alcoholat**, **alcoholitzar**, **alcoholització**, **alcoholisme** and **alcoholòmetre**; Gl. **alco(ho)lato**, **alco(ho)lemia**, **alco(hó)lico**, **alco(ho)límtria**, **alco(ho)límtero**, **alco(ho)lismo** and **alco(ho)lizar**; Pt.:

**alca/oforado**, **alcoforar**, **alcolad/to**, **alcoolativo**, **alcoólatra**, **alcoholatura**, **alcoóleo**, **alcoolepilepsia**, **alcoolidade**, **alcoólico**, **alcoholificar**, **alcoólise**, **alcoholismo**, **alcoholista**, **alcoholito**, **alcoholização**, **alcoholizar**, **alcooolofilia**, **alcooolomania**, **alcooolometria**, **alcooolómetro**, **alcoooloscópio**, **alcooolose**, **alcoooloterapia**, **alcooolotivo**, **alcooolmel** and **alcooolmetria**.

**alcoice** and **alcoiceiro**: see **alcoice**.

**alcol(ad/to)** and **alcoemia**: see **alcohol**.

**alcola(ia)**, **alcholaia**, **cola** and **alcula** "aphtha": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:134-136 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:76, < Ar. *alqulāṣ*.

**alcolcaz** (Cs.) "arum (Arum colocasia)": is a botanical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from Colmeiro, < And. *alqulqás/s/z* < Neo-Ar. *qulqās* < Aram. *qōlqās* < Gr. *kolokasia*.

**alcólico**, **alcolimetría**, **alcolímetro**, **alcolismo** and **alcolizar**: see **alcohol**.

**alcolla** (Cs. and Ct., the latter with the dial. var. **ancolla**) and **alcola** (Old Pt.) "kind of jar" and **arc/golla** "milk jar" (Anz.): < And. *alqulla* < Cl.Ar. *qullah*, of E.g. origin (cf. Cp. *kelōl*). As for the var. **alcalia** recorded by DO 177, it can only be explained by application of Philippi's law to the *qillah* of VA, s.v. "urceus", unless it is a mere mistake for **alcolla** or for **algalia** in the examples mentioned. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alcolaire**, **ancoller**, **ancolleta** and **argoleta**. Cf. **alcaller**.

**alconcilla** (Cs.) "rouge": is a Cs. adaptation of And. Rom. *\*al+QONČ+ÉLA* < Lt. *conchylium* < Gr. *kogkylion* "murex, mollusk from which the purple dye is obtained". And. Rom. has metanalyzed as fem. the morphemes of neuter gender<sup>221</sup> and dim.

**alcool**, **alcooolativo**, **alcoólatra**, **alcoholatura**, **alcoóleo**, **alcoolepilepsia**, **alcoolidade**, **alcoólico**, **alcoholificar**, **alcoólise**, **alcoholismo**, **alcoholista**, **alcoholito**, **alcoholização**, **alcoholizar**, **alcooolofilia**, **alcooolomania**, **alcooolometria**, **alcooolómetro**, **alcoooloscópio**, **alcooolose**, **alcoooloterapia**, **alcooolotivo**, **alcooolmel** and **alcooolmetria**: see **alcohol**.

**alcopzi**: see **habiz**.

<sup>220</sup> With an old var. **alquifa/u**.

<sup>221</sup> About the abhorrence of word endings in vowels other than /a/, the only one acceptable

in And. morphology except in the pronominal suffixes of first and third persons, see Corriente 1978a:424, fn. 8.

**alcor** (Cs.) "hill": < And. (of And.Rom. origin) *alquill* < Lt. *collis*.<sup>222</sup> The medieval Cs. and Pt. meaning, incidentally also Eng., as a scarcely visible star, Fl 80 (g) Ursae Majoris, has been best explained by Kunitzsch 1959:125–127, as a corruption in scientific Lt. transcription of *aljawn*, the name of another star very close to it. As for **alcor** "hollow for water around trees" (Anz.), it is prob. a reflex of the standard **alcorque**, by haplogy or phonetic contamination with the entry. Cf. **acollar**.

**alcora** (Cs., with the var. **alchora** in GP 27) "globe, sphere": is an old technical term, < And. *alkūra* < Cl.Ar. *kurah*.

**Alcorà** (Ct.), **Alcorão** (Pt.) and **Alcorán** (Gl. and Cs., with the mod. var. **Corán**) "the Koran": < Ar. *alqurʿān*, a verbal noun of the root {qrʿ}, meaning "reading" or "recitation" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (al)coránico, alcoranista and alcorano; Ct.: alcorànic and alcoranista; Gl.: alcoránico; Pt.: alcorânico and alcoranista.

**alcorasci** "Koreishite": is an unassimilated historiographical term, from LHP 28, with the var. **alchoresci** and **alcurexi**, < Ar. *qurašī*, about which see Corriente 2004b:71. Cf. **cora/exita**.

**alcorca** (Pt.) and **alcorque** (Cs. and Pt.) "ditch or hollow for water around trees or along a fence: are prob. var. of **alcarque**, q.v., phonetically contaminated by **alcorque** "kind of shoe", q.v.

**alcorça** and **alcorce** (Pt.), **alcorza** (Cs.) and **alcorsa** (Ct.) "a sweet paste": < And. *alqūrṣ(ah)* = Cl.Ar. *qurṣ* "disk; round cake" Of course, the same etymon is valid for **alcorça**, said of some trinkets mounted in

necklaces worn by Morisco women, no doubt disk shaped,<sup>223</sup> as documented by Eguílaz who, however, does not distinguish them well from **alcorci**, q.v. But **alcorce** "shortcut" (Arag.) is a deverbal noun of the matching verb **alcorzar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcorzar**.

**alcorci** (Cs.) "a jewel": is wrongly stressed by DRAE up to its latest edition, in disagreement with its own Ar. traditional etymon *\*qurṣ*, and with DA, which has **alcórci**. That ultima stress is prob. due to a silent or explicit acceptance of the concepts contained in the prestigious DS, s.v. *\*kursī*,<sup>224</sup> incorrect in this particular case. In fact, the information provided by Eguílaz, in connection with his entry on **alcorça**, q.v., allows us as to verify that whenever the witnesses carry the form **alcorci** there is no allusion to **alhaites**, q.v., and they are mentioned in couples, in contexts where the sense "earrings" fits perfectly. Therefore, the etymon appears to be And. *alxúrṣ* < Cl.Ar. *xurṣ*, having that sense. On the other hand, there is another **alcorci** with an astronomical meaning in GP 27, an unassimilated technical term abridged from Neo-Ar. *kursī aljawzāl almuṭaxxar* "the back seat of Gemini", i.e., the stars Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta Leporis, after Kunitzsch 1961:75.

**alcorde** (Old Cs. "earring": is apparently a hapax, mentioned by Eguílaz, who suggests an Ar. etymon *qurt*, acceptable, given the existence of And. *qúrṭ*, but not excluding an evolution of the *\*alcorce* posited by our proposal for **alcorci** after 1.3.2.1, which is likelier than assuming the voicing of a reflex of /ṭ/.

**alcorozar**: see **ajorozo**.

**alcornoque** (Cs.) "cork oak (*Quercus suber*)": < And. Rom. *\*al+QORNŌQ* < Lt.

<sup>222</sup> Supported by **acollar**, q.v. As for the Cl.Ar. *\*qūr*, pl. of *qūrah*, propounded by DE and widely accepted until Cormines' day, as we said in Corriente 1985, is an uncommon word never witnessed in Al-Andalus, unlike *alquill*, extant in *Vocabulista in arabico*.

<sup>223</sup> This shape is corroborated by Lane 1836:524 for Egypt in mid 19th c., with the Eng. transcription *kurs* and the rendering "round ornament of gold or silver set with diamonds, or of embossed gold, which is worn on the crown of the headdress".

<sup>224</sup> That etymon is not supported either by the 18th c. text mentioned by Maflo 1983:168, by a late author who is just echoing the false etymology heard from some self-appointed Ar. scholar who, instead of avowing his ignorance in the matter, launched an original fabrication of his own, pretending that these jewels had the shape of pillows called *corci*, like Moorish seats, which is also false, as these characteristic pieces of Islamic furniture have neither arms nor back, unlike the case of the seats called *kursī*.

*quernus* with the pejorative suffix [+ÓQ]. There has been vowel assimilation, prob. by contamination with the Rom. offspring of *\*cornus*, no doubt because of its greater frequency and the undeniable lexical impoverishment of the And. Rom. lexicon, usual in the case of a dominated language in situations of bilingualism.<sup>225</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcorno-cal** and **alcornoqueño**.

**alcorobia**: see **alcaravea**.

**alcorque**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Pt.) “a rustic footwear”: < And. *alqúrq*, < Rab.Aram. *qúrqa* and *qúrdq(is)in* < Gr. *kórdax* “dancing shoe”; the presence in Yemenite Jewish dialects<sup>226</sup> of *qurq* lends support to that Gr. etymon, not Lt. as DS II:334 would have it, of its And. etymon. Cf. **alcorca**.

**alcorque**<sup>2</sup> “oak” (Leo.): this meaning, corroborated by the Ast. forms **corco** and **curcu**, mentioned by Coromines, supports his hypothesis that African Lt. *cortex*, -*icis* “cork” entered Br., before reaching Al-Andalus, only explanation for the absence of palatalization in the second /k/ (cf. **argamussa**), although this etymon is not valid for **alcorque**<sup>1</sup>, as he claims, being unacquainted with the Eastern data. From Br., that word must have entered And. Rom. as *\*al+QÓRQ*, with loss of the post-tonic syllable.

**alcorqueño** (**cardo**—) or **alquerque** (Arag.) “a variety of thistle (*Xanthium spinosum*)”: prob. called so because it grows in hollows around trees. In the second instance there would be an abridgment of the syntagm *\*cardo de alquerque*.

**alcorraça** and **alcorraz** (Pt., only in Morais) “a fish of the family Sparidae”: looks like an Ar. loanword, and it might be the same

as Anz. **goraz(o)**, said of “blue-spotted bream (*Pagellus bogaraveo*)”, but also of a kind of “red bream” (*Pagellus cantabricus*), a kind of “pagrus” (*Sparus caerulostictus*) and “Spanish bream” (*Pagellus acarne*),<sup>227</sup> although the lack of sufficient data calls for caution. Perhaps from Ar. *qarrās* “pincher” on account of the protruding teeth of some species, e.g., the dentex.

**alcorreta** (Pt.) “talebearer”: prob. derived from And. *alxuráyyaqa* “little bag”, dim. of *xarīqa* < Cl.Ar. *xarīqah*, a clear allusion to the tales brought and borne by such people, with a possible contamination by **correr** “to run” (cf. Cs. **correveidile** “busybody”, lit., “run, go, tell him”).

**alcorroc** (Val.) “a kind of seagull common in the coast lagoon called Albufera”: this local designation would not derive from And. *\*qarrāq* “shoemaker”, as suggested by Coromines, as its legs and feet are of no particularly different colour. There might be some relation with **xerroquf** (Maj.) “a kind of petrel”; in both cases there might be a reflex of Ar. *šaqarrāq* or *šūqurrūq* “common roller” (*Coracias garrula*),<sup>228</sup> shortened on account of its rather uncommon structure, by adopting the hypoconistic pattern {1a/u22ú3} in a peculiar manner or, at least, a contamination with this bird name might have been at work.

**alcorza**: see **alcorça**.

**alcorsí** (Ct.) “footstool”: < And. *alkursí* = Cl.Ar. *kursī*, < Aram. *kūrs(i)yā* < Akkad. *kussu* < Sum. *gu.za* “chair” Cf. **cursi** and **cursiera**.

**alcorza**: see **alcorça**.

**a(l)corzar** (Arag.) “to take a shortcut”: < And. Rom. *\*AD+QORC+ÁR* < Lt. *curtius* “shorter. Cf. **alcorce**.

<sup>225</sup> About the particular case of And.Rom., see PD 336–342 and fn. 9.

<sup>226</sup> Affer Pimenta 1991:394, who nevertheless accepts Dozy’s proposal.

<sup>227</sup> Information drawn from Davidson 1972:86–107 and Alvar Ezquerro 2000:407–408.

<sup>228</sup> This form is closer than the var. *šaruqrāq*, witnessed by Azzajjālī N° 646 (*baḥāl šaruqrāq yīṭir wayahzāq* “like the bee-eater, always flying and farting”), and might have undergone

aphaeresis in Azzajjālī N° 1955 (*waṣāl alqarrāq laḥabāq* “the seagull (?) has reached the basil”). Obviously, the zoological identifications in all these instances are questionable, as the Eastern and Cl. equivalences of animal and plant names are not always the same all over Al-Andalus, as commented in the case of **albur**, q.v.; at any rate, we might be dealing here with a wading bird characterized by its bad odour, a common feature among seagulls, which would make sense and fit perfectly in both heretofore obscure proverbs.

**alcotán** (Cs.) “lanner (Falco subbuteo)”: < And. *alquṭān* < Cl.Ar. *qaiām*.<sup>229</sup> The meaning “small hare” (Nav.) would be a metonymy of the standard, on account of its speed. The same applies to **alcotana** “scarcely home-loving woman” (Anl.), as it is difficult to find her at home, and to (al)cotana (Cs.) and arcotana (Ext.) “pickaxe”, a metaphor based on some likeness in shape, as is common in craft jargons, and happens again in **cotana** “mortise in tweezers to hold the beast’s lip or ear” and **cotano** “beam nailed to a sawhorse and propping the roof” (Man.). Talking about metonymic uses of **alcotán**, it should be mentioned that the entry **pikos de alkata de LHP** 37 (Corriente 2004b:75), bears no relation to **alcayata**, but reflects a defective spelling of the final nasal; it is no more probable a reflex of Ar. *qaiāh* “grouse”, which apparently did not circulate in Al-Andalus. Cf. **catá**.

**alcot(h)code(h)** and **alcotcothde**: see **alcadcode**.

**alcotín** (Cs.): this hapax from *El Buscón*<sup>230</sup> appears to be an Ar. loanword. Cl.Ar. already had *qubbayṭ* or *qubbāṭ*, a confection of grape juice cooked with other ingredients until it became a white and hard sweetmeat, which in Neo-Ar., with yet another var. *qubbayṭāʿ*?, is defined with other alternative colours and the inclusion of almonds, pistachios, etc. In And. there are the reflexes *qubbāyḍ/dḥ* vaguely interpreted as “sweet preserve”, at times including dry fruits (see DAA, with the suggestion of the Rab.Aram. etymon *qābhūṭā* “jar for preserves”); it must also have existed in Sicilian Ar., after Agius 1996:252 and 381, to judge from its mod. offspring, Malt. *qo/ubbajt* and Sicilian *cubbaíta* (with var.), applied to products akin to Spanish **turrón** “nougat”. As it is well known that an important share of Spanish confectionery is of Andalusi and Eastern origin, it is reasonable to suppose the existence of a hybrid dim. \**al+qubbayṭ+ĒL*, whence,

by suffix substitution and loss of the pretonic syllable (as in **añeclín**, q.v.), our **alcotín**, the significant and signified of which fell into disuse, helped perhaps by persecution by the Inquisition of Moorish customs and traditions.

**alcotón** (Arag. and Old Cs.), **algodón** (Cs., Gl., and also Ast., after García Arias 2006:21), **algodão** (Pt.), **cotón** (Gl.), **algoton(e)** (Leo., from DO 194), and **cotó** (Arag. and Ct.) “cotton (Gossypium herbaceum)”: < And. *alquṭūn* < Cl.Ar. *quṭn*. From the same etymon are Pt. **cotão** “dawn on fruit” and **cotonia** (Pt.) “striped fabric of silk and cotton”, (al)cotonía (Cs.) “a white cotton fabric”, from the matching attributive adjective *quṭniyyah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algodonál/r**, **algodoncillo**, **algodoner**, **algodonosa/o**, **cotonada** and **cotoncillo**; Ct.: **cotona(da)**, **cotonaire**, (en)cotonar, **cotonat**, **cotoner(a)**, **cotoner(ia)**, **cotonet**, **cotoní**, **cotonia** and **cotonós**; Gl. and Pt.: **algodoal** and **algodoeiro**; Pt.: **algodão**, **algodoar**, **algodoaria**, **algodoento** and **algodoim**.

**alcou/ice** (Pt.) “brothel”: cannot be an apocopated form of **alcoceifa**, as DE suggested, for obvious phonetic reasons, nor can it easily be derived semantically from And. \*\**alqāws* = Cl. *qaws* “bow; arch”, by supposing that a very notorious brothel was in the vicinity of an arch and then became the name of every bawdy house, or by another stretch of the imagination, that this usage was generated by the practice of prostitution under bridge arches, in a way similar to Cs. **carcavera** “whore”, allusive to fortress moats (Cs. **carcava**) put to the same use. The fact that in Brazilian slang **açogue** (q.v.) is synonymous with **alcouce** might point to a frequent slangish metathesis (cf. **acica**, **almifor**, etc.), from And. *assūq* or its vulgar allomorph *assāwq* “market”, a prob. euphemism used by still bilingual Mudejars or Moriscos, to judge in the second case by the correct restitution of the Ar. article. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alcoiceiro**.

<sup>229</sup> With assimilation of the first vowel to the velar contour (see AAR 2.1.1.1.2), and dentalization of final /m/ (see AAR 2.1.2.1.4.1).

<sup>230</sup> Book III, chapter 2, p. 159 of the edition mentioned for **alorbóla**, brought to our attention by Prof. Montaner in a detailed and learned

note, with precisions such as its being a fruit confection, served in slices and consumed with brandy for breakfast. There is another witness from Steiger 1948–1949; the same product still exists today in the Middle East with the Neo-Ar. name of *sujūq hīlw* “sweet sausage”.

**alcouve** (Gl.) "seedbed": is no doubt an Ar. loanword, but its etymon is not immediately evident. Semantically, it overlaps And. *alhāwd* "bed, patch cut off for irrigation purposes" < Cl.Ar. *hawd* "basin", normally transcribed as **alholde** (Nav., in documents from Tudela)<sup>231</sup> "land measure of 12x4 cubits", which must have entered Rom. early enough to still reflect the lateral pronunciation of /d/. There is also a Ct. var. **alhoder**<sup>2</sup> in a cartulary,<sup>232</sup> said of small plots, not to be confused with **alhod(e)ra**<sup>1</sup>, q.v. The Gl. term, undoubtedly archaic, as necessarily every genuine Ar. loanword of this language must be, may well have the same etymon, as there are cases of /h/ matched by >c< and >q< (e.g., **alquena**, **alcaixa** and **alcapç**, q.v.) and, as far as the last consonant is concerned, since there are some cases of /f/ < /t/ in And., it would be homologically normal that also /v/ < /d/ would occur, on account of a similar acoustic vicinity.<sup>233</sup> From the same etymon, also supporting this hypothesis, is Pt. **alfobre** (with the var. **alfofre/o**, **alforbe** and **alfovre**) "terrace", which Machado would derive from Ar. *\*hufrah*, semantically unapt: in this case, the result of the pharyngeal is totally normal, while that of the lateral is anomalous; however, as in the case of slangish Cs. **albaire**, q.v., /r/ might have been the match of /d/, so that a primitive form *\*alfovre* would have generated the others without difficulty.

**alcova**, **alcovar** and **alcoveta**: see **alcoba**.

**alcoveto**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcovilha** and **alcovista**: see **alcoba**.

**alcovitagem**, **alcovitar**, **alcovitaria**, **alcovi(teiri)ce** and **alcoviteiro**: see **alcahuete**.

**alcraf**: see **atarf**.

**a(l)crebite** (Cs.) and **alcrevite** (Pt.) "sulphur" and **alquerebites** (Pt., only in Morais) "sulphur match": < And. *alkibrūt* = Cl.Ar. *kibrūt* < Ak. *kibrūtu[m]*.

**alcribís**: see **alcaraviz**.

**alcroco** (Cs.) "saffron": < And. Rom. *\*al+Q(O)RÓQO* < Lt. *croccus*.

**alcroque** (Gl.) "digital (Digitalis)": from the same etymon as Cs. **alcroco** with, however, a very divergent botanic identification.

**alcuamich**: see **alchauamich**.

**alcubilla** (Cs.) "reservoir": < And. Rom. *\*al+KUB+ÉLA* < Lt. *cōva*, with a Rom. dim. suffix, said of basins dug for collecting and distributing irrigation water. The vocalism is explained by contamination, in the impoverished And. Rom. lexicon, with reflexes of Lt. *cūpa*.

**alcecar** and **alcucero**: see **alcuza**.

**alcudae**: see **alchude**.

**alcúdia** (Ct.) "hill": < And. *alkúdyā* = Cl.Ar. *kudyah*.

**alçufa** (Old Cs.) "a kind of cloth": this hapax from *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI*, recorded by Mañillo 1983:169, indeed reflects a n.un. of Ar. *šūf* "wool", in the sense of "(fabric of) coarse wool", to judge by Mor. *sufa*. There is hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article, but no velarizing effect on the vowel /u/, which is particularly striking as And. usually had a hypercorrect *šāwf*. But Alcalá transcribes *çuf*, which would imply the presence of an allomorph with the opposite hypercorrection too, namely, the thorough elimination of the suprasegmental. Cf. **cafal bafal**.

**alçufifa**: see **aljojifa**.

<sup>231</sup> See García Arenal 1982:44 and 56, l. 24; also in the Cs. dialect of La Mancha as "seedbed" The Sar. origin of this system is also reflected in Eg.Ar. *hōd* "field plot sectioned off for irrigation", in Badawi & Hinds 1986:232, while Cowan 1976:214 under *hawd* has "a patch of land surrounded by dikes, flooded by high water of the Nile"

<sup>232</sup> Of the year 1544, in the possession of the Arxiu Ducal de Medinaceli a Catalunya, reel 699, photographs 371–413, referred to land properties in Aitona, not far from Mequinenza (information provided by Dr. Marta Montjo Gallego).

<sup>233</sup> See SK 2.12.3, p. 44 and AAR 2.1.2.3.1,

p. 49; later, in Cs. and Gl. dialects, that phenomenon would become relatively frequent. The second shift happens unconditionally in the *qaltu* dialect of Siirt, after Blanc 1964:27 and 186; this was subsequently corroborated and extended to some points of Western Ar., like Sfax, by Fischer & Jastrow 1980:50. However, in the light of Pt. **alfovre** and var., it might be wiser in the case of Gl. to propound a mere dissimilation of sonorants, operating on *\*alcoure*, in which the evolution of /d/ would be parallel to that of **albaire**, q.v., in which /r/ could also be a mere result of dissimilation in a /l—l/ sequence.

**alchuesarech**: see **alchucsarech**.

**alcuidón**: see **alcudón**.

**alcuj/xā** (Cs.) "bread hearth": this word, recorded by Eguílaz from a Granadan book of former Islamic trusts, undoubtedly answers, as he says, to And. *qúša*, although it is not of Lt. origin as he believes, following the detailed entry of DE, but prob. harks back to Pahl. *kūč* "small" (also reflected by Ar. *\*qūš* "little man"), for this kind of hearth was so in size and efficiency, when compared to the public bakehouses called *\*furn* < Rab. Aram. *\*purnā* < Gr. *\*phoŭrnos* < Lt. *\*furnus*.

**alcula**: see **alcola**.

**alume** and **alcuño** (Gl., the first form contaminated by the suffix {-ume}), **alculha** (Pt., with the var. **alculho** in Morais), **alcuña** (Ast.) and **alcuña/o** (Cs.) "nickname; surname", and **alcurnia** (Cs.) "lineage": < And. *alkúnya* = Cl.Ar. *kunyah* "agnomen, formed by *abū* "father of" or *umm* "mother of" followed by the name of the son, as was and partially still is customary among Arabs; this manner of address is used to imply a higher consideration in some contexts, but also a greater familiarity in others. Curiously enough, the more conservative forms among these loanwords have acquired pejorative nuances, while Cs. **alcurnia** features the opposite trend. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **alcum/fiar**; Pt.: **alculhar**.

**alcunda/ez**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 27 and DAX 104; it does not mean "frankincense tree", as the editors hesitantly propound.<sup>234</sup> In fact, it reflects Ar. *kundus* "white hellebore (*Veratrum album*)"

**alcurathi** "sequels of dysentery": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168, < Ar. *xaraq*.

**alcurçi** "protruding piece on the round part of the astrolabe": is an astronomical term, from GP 27, of the etymon of **alcorsí**, q.v.

**alcurexi**: see **alcorasci**.

**alcutrub** or (al)cutubut "lycanthropy": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:122, with the var. (de)chatrab in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *alquṭrub*.

**alcuxa**: see **alcuja**.

**alcuz** (Pt.) "kind of camphor": this word, documented only in the 16th c. in a pharmacological treatise, does not appear to be well integrated in the language, and by no means can be explained, as Machado does, although puzzled by its appearance, as the Ar. name of liquorice, *\*širqu ssūs*, about which, see **alcaçuz**. It will be more prob. a corruption of And. *alqust* = Cl. *qust* < Gr. *kóustos* < Sk. *kuṣṭha* "costus"

**alcuza** (Cs.<sup>235</sup> and Pt.) "oil cruet": < And. *alkúza* = Cl.Ar. *kūzah* < Aram. *kūz(ā)* < Neo-P. *kuzē*. From the same origin, through semantic evolution, are the meanings "stingy man" (Anl.), as this vessel is provided with a stout for pouring only small doses, and "meddler (fem.)" (Can.), in a different direction as, being often borrowed, it makes the rounds of many houses, whence also **alcucear** "to nose about" (Anl.), an intra-Rom. denominal verb, and **cuza** "indiscrete woman" (Leo.), another metonymy, prob. because these vessels usually let drip a part of their content. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcucero** and **alcuzada**.

**alcuzcuz(ú)** and **cuzcuz** (Cs.), **cuscus/z** (Pt.) and **cuscussó** (Cl., with the old var. **cuscuçó**): < And. *kuskusú(n)*, considered by some of Br. origin,<sup>236</sup> although in truth the name of this typical dish of Western Islamic lands is of Ar. stock. The originally Eastern form *kuskus*, optionally extended in Al-Andalus with the Rom. aug. suffix rom. /+ÓN/, derives from the Ar. verb *kaskas* "to crumble", one of the customary operations involved in its elaborate

<sup>234</sup> They have guessed a corruption of Ar. *kundur* "frankincense", but it is white hellebore, never frankincense, that is frequently prescribed in Möller & Viré 1988:25 as medicine for falcons, mentioning a synonymous **condise** from the treatise called *Moumyn*, missing in Kasten & Nitti.

<sup>235</sup> With a probable var. **couza** in LHP 219 (see Corriente 2004b:81).

<sup>236</sup> Such is the case of Šafiq 1989:II 390, who errs in distinguished company, and in spite of his native and deep knowledge of this language, although none of the var. he excerpts from several unidentified dialects, especially the predominant *avaksu*, exactly matches the And. form, and neither does Mor. *kaksu* or *saksu*, which would suggest that all Naf. forms hark back to the And. item, of Ar. origin, but locally reshaped.

preparation. From the same origin is **cuscu** "wheat ground with a stone mill, mixed with garlic, oil, water and salt" (Anz.), evidently a more recent borrowing from North Africa. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcuzcucero**; Ct. **cuscussonada** and **cuscussoner**; Pt.: **cuscuseira** and **cuscuseiro**.

(al)cuzez, alcuzec, (al)chuzez and cuzegi "cramp": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:122, with a var. **alcuzer** in Vázquez & Herrera 1985b: 107, < Ar. *alkuzāz*.

**alcuzón**: see **alcaudón**.

**aldaba** (Cs.), **albeba** (Arag.), **aldraba** (Gl.) and **aldrab/va** (Pt.): < And. *addābba* < Cl. *ḍabbah* "female lizard; bolt". As explanation of the second meaning, Classical Ar. dictionaries assume an old metonymy based on the likeness of their shapes, but the truth is that its technical meaning reflects and Old Egyptian borrowing (cf. Cp. *t+epō*). In principle, it was indeed a bolt, but in the West it acquired the sense of "knocker", already within Rom., although Cs. and Pt. still preserve the meaning "piece for securing a door or a rudder", respectively. Guinean Pt. **adaba** is not a local der. from Ar., as Machado suggests, but a var. of the standard, although younger, no longer reflecting the lateral articulation of /q/. Arag. also has the dim. **aldebit** "shutter bolt". From the same etymon is **aldabón** "small reptile" (Ext.), with the Rom. aug. suffix, a curious confirmation of the earliest sense of this word. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aldabada**, **aldab(on)azo**, **aldabear**, **aldabeo**, **aldabilla**, **aldabón** and **tragaldabas**; Gl. and Pt.: **aldrabada**, **aldrabar** and **aldrabón**; Pt.: **aldrabão** and **aldrab-eiro**; Nav. **a/endavilla**. Cf. **balda**.

**Aldabarā(o)** and **Aldebarā** (Pt.), **Aldebaran** (Ct.) and **Aldebarán** (Cs., with the old var. **addarban**, **addauaran** and **ad(i)debaran**: is an astronomical term, from GP 13 and 15, "the star Alpha Tauri": < Ar. *addabarān*, with hypercorrect restoration of the /l/ of the Ar. article, prob. due to bookish transmission.

**aldabazo**, **aldabear** and **aldabeo**: see **aldaba**.

**aldabía**: see **atabeo**.

**aldabilla**, **aldabón** and **aldabonazo**: see **aldaba**.

**aldaca** (Arag.) "tribute paid by some Mudejars, consisting in the loins and racks of a ram": a prob. corruption of And. *ṣadāqa* = Cl.Ar. *ṣadaqah*, in principle "alms", but later said of certain tributes, through wrong parsing of a syntagm with the definite article (< \*as *ṣadacas*) and hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article, as is corroborated by also Arag. **azadeca** "a tribute", with the var. **açadacha**, **açadeca** and **azateca**, with occasional contamination by the Rom. suffix {+ÁYQ}.

**aldadi** (vinum)— "seasoned wine": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:279, < Neo-Ar. *addādī* "wine scented with) hypericum, i.e., Saint John's wort"

**aldafeia** (Ct.): "victim immolated in the Greater Bairam": is not an assimilated term, but an Islamic term used in some works, < And. *addahīyya* = Cl.Ar. *ḍahīyyah* "victim"

**aldalu**: see **aladul**.

**aldami** "bleeding": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *addāmī*.

**aldarab** and **dar(a)b** "diarrhoea": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:82, < Ar. *addarab*.

**aldaragi**: see **derezi**.

**aldares**: see **aladar**.

**aldaron** "a cautery": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1998:783, < Neo-Ar. *andarūn*.<sup>237</sup>

**aldarull(a)** (Ct.) "noise" (and **trull**, in the idiom **fer**—"to make noise"): < And. Rom. \**ḥar+ŌL*, from the root {*ḥr*}, with the matching Rom. suffix.<sup>238</sup> It is a very recently documented word, almost from the 19th c., after Coromines, but Cs. **ir de trulla** "to make a row", quoted by himself from classical sources, confirms its long popular background and undoubted connection with the numerous family of der. of that And. root, of which Coromines had a glimpse in that entry. Therefore, his unconvincing derivation from Bib.Lt. \**hallēlūia*. can be dispensed with.

<sup>237</sup> Apparently unrelated to any Ar. word, but perhaps to the Gr. pr.n. *Andrōn*.

<sup>238</sup> See Corriente 1993c.



**aldea** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.), **aldeia** (Pt.), **alde(g)a** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:16) and **aldeya** (Arag.): < And. *adḏáyṣa* = Cl.Ar. *dayṣrah*, a borrowing old enough to still reflect the lateral articulation of /d/, later lost, when the pronunciation of the And. dialectal bundle became standardized. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aldean**(jeg)o, **aldeanismo**, **aldehyela**, **aldeón** and **aldeorr(i)o**; Ct.: **aldeà**; Gl.: **aldeán**; Pt.: **aldeamento**, **aldeano** or **aldeão**. Cf. **aldrabão**.

**aldeaga**, **aldeagante** and **alde(a)gar**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldeba**: see **aldaba**.

**aldebabi** “of the flies”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *adḏubābī*, influenced by And. *adḏibbānī*.

**aldebach** “healing of a wound; strengthening of the stomach”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:83, < Ar. *addabḡ*.

**Aldebarán**: see **Aldabarão**.

**aldebit**: see **aldaba**.

**aldebha** “diphtheria”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170 < Ar. *adḏibḡah*.

**aldegarr**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldehes** “stunned”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:83, < Ar. *addāhiṣ*.

**aldeia**: see **aldeia**.

**aldemamel** “boil” (Pt., only in Morais), while for Cs. Vázquez & Herrera 1989:86 have the var. (al)**dumel**, **aldumel(ia)**, **aldemamil** and **aldemenul**, also **addumel** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:168: < And. *addamāmīl* = Cl.Ar. *damāmīl* (pl. of *dummal*, represented by some var.). To judge from the hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article and the absence of *imālah*, it is a mere bookish loanword.

**alderade** or **alderugi** “extremity of the gums”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:18–19, < Ar. *durdur*.

**aldesbad/t**, **aldesbod**, **alrosboth**, **rasbadu** and **rasbot/r** “callosity in a fracture”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:83–84, also **arobot** in Vázquez 1998:783, < Neo-Ar. *addaṣbaḡ* < Neo-P. *daṣbod* < *doṣ bod* “malformed”.

**aldesisi** “crustae on the hands”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:178, < Ar. *addaṣṣīfī*. Cf. **alejija**.

**aldeya**: see **aldeia**.

**aldhen(i)** “mind”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *adḏihn*.

**aldiafa**: see **adialfa**.

**aldib**: see **adib** and **adibe**.

**aldiaça**: see **aldiza**.

**aldieiro**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldifara** (Ct.) “a garment which Jews were obliged to wear”: < And. *azḏihāra* “kind of shirt or tunic” < Cl.Ar. *zihārah* “outer part of a garment”, it being noticeable that in this case /z/ is reflected, like lateral /d/ in the oldest Ar. loanwords, as >ld<, although most likely this is a mere hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article. It is also a var. of **alifara**, q.v.

**aldira(h)**: see **adirah**.

**aldiza** “great centaur (Centaurea centaurium)” (Cs.) and **al(i)diça** (Pt., apparently, preserved only as place name): < And. *addīsa* “prickly rush (*Juncus acuthus*)”, with hypercorrect restoration of the /l/ of the Ar. article. It seems to be a der. of Neo-Ar. *dīs* “diss (*Ampelodesma tenax*)”, with the customary semantic shift in plant names.

**aldobara** “rivulet” (Ext.): looks like an Ar. loanword, perhaps derivable, with some semantic evolution, from And. *addawwāra* = Cl.Ar. *dawwārah* “circle, disk”, supposing that it came to mean “irrigation channel around a farm”.

**aldog** “sour milk”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:179, < Neo-Ar. *addūḡ* < Neo-P. *duḡ* “yoghourt”.

**aldohar**: see **adohar**.

**aldraba**, **aldrabada**, **aldrabar** and **aldrabón**: see **aldaba**.

**aldrabão** (Pt.) in the sense “clumsy person”, and **aldrabar** (Pt.) “to lie” bear no relation to **ald(r)aba**, but are hybrid der. of the kind of terms surveyed in Corriente 1993c, with the suffixes [+AQ], [+AR], [+AN], [+AYR], [+ÓN], etc., in which the resulting intervocalic >g< often alternates with >b<, e.g., Gl. **aldrabeiro** or **aldrabón** “liar” and Arag. **aldraguero** “intriguer” (< And. Rom. \**ḡaṭr*+AQ+AYR, with two consecutive

Rom. suffixes, pejorative and agentive), Ast. **aldraque** "stunted animal"; from García Arias 2006:16 and 177, **aldromeira** "bossy talebearing woman" and **aldubrio** "bundle of clothes; deformed person"; Nav. **aldraguear** "to gossip", **aldraguería** and **aldragueo** "gossiping" and **aldraguero** "gossiper"; Leo. **aldricar** "to prattle" (< And.Rom. \**ħaṭr* + *IQ+ÁR*) and **altruán** "conceited" (< And. Rom. \**ħaṭr*+*OQ+AN*, with double Rom. suffixation, and probable contamination by the standard **truán**, of Celtic origin, according to Coromines); Pt., **aldeaga** "chatterbox (fem.)", **aldeagante** "talkative", **alde(a)gar**, "to prattle" and **aldeiro** (in Morais, assigned to Madeira) "garrulous", prob. contaminated in their onsets by **aldeia**. It is noteworthy that, on account of semantic similarity and some phonetic likeness, the Rom. der. of *{ħṭr}* often appear blended with those of *{bṭl}*, q.v. s.v. **baldorras**: this explains the frequent insertion of an >I<, although it could also be merely parasitic. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **aldrabeiro**, **aldrabice** and **aldravaz**; dial. Pt.: **aldruba/e** or **aldrugue** and **aldrúbia/o**.

**aldrán** and **Aldrão**: see **rabadán**.

**aldrava**: see **aldaba**.

**aldravaz**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldricar**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldroga** (Gl.) "weal": prob. shares the etymon of **droga**, q.v., although in a different semantic application.

**aldruba/e** or **aldrugue** and **aldrúbia/o**: see **aldrabão**.

**aldrúnganos** "rags" (Sal.): < And. Rom. \*(*al*+)*ħaṭr*+*ÓQ*, sharing the origin of **aladroc**, although with an active phonetic evolution of the suffix, and the sense of **andrajo**, q.v.

**aldeb** (Cs.) "Ursa": is an unassimilated astronomical term, resulting from a bookish reading of Ar. *addubb*. It appears in the syntagms, from GP 29, **aldeb alacbar** / **alazgar** (var. **dubalazgar**, **dubalaç car**) < Neo-Ar. *addubb alʿakbar* / *alʿašgar* "Ursa Major / Minor"

**aldebela/eti**, **(al)dubellet**, **a(l)dubellati** and **aldebela**: see **adubayla**.

**(al)dubul** "emaciation": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:136–138 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:126 (with the var. **alhubul** and **aldu-buren**), < Ar. *adḡubūl*.

**alducár** and **alducàr**: see **adúcar**.

**alducema**: see **alfazema**.

**alduf** and **aldufer**: see **adufe**.

**alduf(et)a**: see **adufa**.

**aldufrabal**: see **adufe**.

**adulab** "waterwheel": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *adawlāb*.

**aldumel**: see **aldemamel**.

**alebra** "needle": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 29, < Ar. *alʿibrah*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:70 as Lambda and Ypsilon Scorpionis.<sup>239</sup>

**alecar** (Arag.) "to create": is a mere religious term of the Mudejars, < Ar. *xalaq* "to create (God)", more often reflected in Aljamiado-Morisco literature as >*xaleq*+*ÁR*<, or even >*haleq*+*ÁR*<.<sup>240</sup> It is obvious that the first consonant was not habitually well realized by those who no longer were Arabic speakers, which generated that phonetically adjusted allomorph.

**alea**: see **aleya**.

**alechil**: see **aliciil**.

**alechmel** "camels": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 29, < Ar. *alʿajmāl*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:44 with Beta, Gamma, Delta and Epsilon Corvis.<sup>241</sup>

**alecrã** and **alecraia**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**alecrim** (Pt., with the corrupted var. **alchimelech**, for the botanic meaning, mentioned by Eguílaz) and **alecrín** (Cs.) "name of several plants and a fish" and **alecri** "rosemary" (Ext., most likely ultima stressed, recorded for bilingual Olivenza as **alícim**, no doubt a mistake for \***alícim**): < And. *iklīl* (*almalík*), lit., "the king's crown" (< Cl.Ar. *iklīl* < Aram. *kēlīl(ā)* < Ak. *kalīlu[m]*), which in

<sup>239</sup> This passage appears also in DAX 105, in which **alebra** has an Ar. synonym **musle**, maybe reflecting Ar. *muslā* "removed", but at any rate a strange equivalence for a word usually mean-

ing "needle" or "sting", unless there is a reminiscence of Ar. *misallah* "pack needle"

<sup>240</sup> After Galmés *et al.* 1994.

<sup>241</sup> But see **alemenia** and **alhebe**.

Alcalá appears to be “rosemary (*Rosmarinus officinalis*)”.<sup>242</sup> The identification of species is vague in Pt., although apparently restricted to the local ones, while in Cs., with phonetic traits giving away a Pt. borrowing, in addition to the meaning of a South American tree (“lantana” = *Lantana microphylla*, used as timber), the reference is to American fish, concretely a species of West Indian shark (*Squalus maculatus*), whence also Anl. **adeclín** “another kind of shark (*Echinorhinus brucus* or *spinus*)”, a phonetic var. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alecrin(z)eiro**. Cf. **anequín**.

**aledan** (Cs.) “*laudanum*”: is a hapax or even an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, excerpted by Mañillo 1983:174 from Chirino’s *Menor daño de la medicina*, < And. *allādan* = Cl.Ar. *lādan(ah)* < Syr. *lādānā* < Gr. *lādanon*.

**alefanginas** (Cs. and Pt.) and **alefangínias** (Pt., only in Moraes) “certain purgative pills”: the survey of this term in DE, with several Lt. var., led the authors to the conclusion that it resulted from a corruption of Ar. *alḥafāwīth* “aromatics”, which is quite probable within the habitual limits of medieval scientific bookish transcriptions, despite Machado’s misgivings.

**alefeniati**: see **alfenit** and **alfení**.

**alefris** (Ct., with the var. **fris** and old **fres**) and **alefriz** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “mortise on the keel, stem and sternpost” and **alefriz** “first plank of the ship next to the keel” (Can.): < And. *alifríz* = Cl.Ar. *ifríz* “frieze”, < Syr. *pērāzūmā*, < Gr. *perizōma* “belt”.<sup>243</sup>

**aleiloar**: see **lailán**.

**aleive** (Pt.) “slander; bad faith” and **aleve** (Cs.) “flaw” (before acquiring its present meaning “treacherous”): once again Coro-

mines was right upon preferring the Ar. etymon *ḥayb* (= And. *alḥayb*) “disgraceful action” over a Germanic one, put forward by Gamillscheg and followed by Machado who furthermore mistakenly states that the Ar. etymon is not acceptable on phonetic grounds. On the contrary, it is corroborated by Cs. **aleve** “flaw; unevenness” (from Eguílaz) and Pt. and Gl. **eiva** “defect”, with an aphaeresis triggered by the loss of intervocalic /l/, or without an agglutinated article, as happens in the earliest Ar. loanwords (see 1.3.1.2.1), in any case with a paralogical vowel evolved into /a/ (see 1.1.4.4.1). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alevosía** and **alevoso**, **aleuado** (its synonym, from Hilty 2005a: 148); Gl.: **aleivosía**; Gl. and Pt.: **aleivoso** and **eivar**; Pt.: **aleivosia**.

**alejá** (Pt., better spelled in Moraes than in Machado)<sup>244</sup> “striped Indian taffeta”: is a late borrowing of the 19th c., maybe transmitted through Fr., from Tr. *alaca*, a der. of *ala* “striped”. The same etymon explains Pt. **alaga** “Turkish cotton fabric” and **alaja** “kind of skirt” (both only in Moraes).

**alejija** (Cs.) “porridge”: < And. *addašīša* < Cl.Ar. *jašīšah*.

**alejor**: see **alajor**.

**alejur**: see **alajú**.

**aleleví** (Cs.) “hide-and-seek”: this strange-looking word, assigned by DRAE to Álava, as the cue to start seeking in that game, without any recognizable Basque garb or etymon, may well be of And. provenance, as in the case of other terms related to folklore and games (cf. **alhigú**, **alalimón** and **alirón**, **marro**, **matarile**, **orí**, **recodín** **recodán**, **zafaforate**, q.v.), in relation with the common presence of Morisco nurses who taught children

<sup>242</sup> The semantic ambiguousness of the Rom. word has been tentatively explained by supposing that, as fish name, is metonymic of the pilgrims to Rome, as it follows ships, but the Ar. loanword, proving that the double meaning existed also in And., casts doubts about that hypothesis, affected also by the presence of the Ct. fish names **remol** and **rom**. Of course, the ambiguousness in And. might answer to a mere calque of the situation in the Rom. substratum.

<sup>243</sup> Coromines was, then, right upon rejecting the \*\*\**fīrād* or \*\*\**fērīd* fabricated by DE as

etymon of this word. Fleischer 1881–5 suggested Gr. \*\*\**ophrys*, which only means “eyebrow” or “slope”, semantically even less apt. In the words borrowed by Semitic from languages with noun declension the loss of case morphemes and other suffixes identified as lexically irrelevant is habitual: this is the case here, as in And. \*\*\**turbúz* for Cl.Ar. \*\*\**darābuzūn* “banister”, < Gr. \*\*\**trupézion*.

<sup>244</sup> An uncommon situation which caused our error in Corriente 1996b, s.v., in an entry which must be replaced by these new considerations.

everywhere how to play, and hundreds of Mudejar and Morisco minstrels, jugglers and puppeteers, who entertained the people, as reported by every author. Our contention is that **aleleví** actually reflects the phrase *yā āl allāṣībīn* “‘Hey, players!’”,<sup>245</sup> prob. connectable to another at first sight unintelligible Cs. phrase, **alabí alabá, alabín bon baí**, used by sports fans to cheer their teams. It is a long shot, but we cannot refrain from saying that all this sounds very much like a sequence of And. and And. Rom., *allaṣībīn, áya baṣád, allaṣīb BÓN BÁD* “hello, players, come on, well goes the game!”

**aleli** (Pt.), **alelí** (Gl. and Cs.), **alhelí** (Cs. and Ct.), **alarís** (Mur., a phonetic var. suggesting Ct. transmission), **alelises** (Leo., with doubly marked pl.), **aleluyes** (Ast., a pl. contaminated by standard **aleluyas**) and **arrail** (Anz., with a different phonetic evolution) “wallflower (Cheiranthus cheiri) and similar species”: < And. *alxayrí*, characteristic of Western Ar., although stemming from Neo-P. *xiri*.<sup>246</sup> There is no relation whatsoever with Br. **alili** “oleander”, despite Machado’s suggestion, who also thinks that Pt. is borrowed from Cs.

**aleluya** (Cs.) and **aleluia** (Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “a ritual interjection of joy”: < Bib. Lt. *hallēlūia* < Hb. *hallēlu yāh* “praise God” Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **aleluiar** and **aleluiá/ítico**.

**aleluyes**: see **alelí**.

**alem**: see **alalem**.

**alema** and **alhema** (Cs. and Arag.) and **agua de lema** (Nav.) “turn of irrigation”: the var. **alhetma** in the Lt. documents of Veru-

*ela*<sup>247</sup> makes it advisable to change our former hypothesis (< And. *alxídma* = Cl.Ar. *xídmah* “service”), since Glick & Teixeira 2002–3 are prob. right upon suggesting an And. etymon *\*alxáyí má*, lit., “a thread of water”, i.e., the allotted quantity for irrigation of a farm. It is true that the final vowel should have been affected by *imālah*, but the alternance in caudas of >a< and >e< is frequent in the Ar. loanwords,<sup>248</sup> and the use of the article before a syntagm of rection is possible in And., in cases of lexification.<sup>249</sup> As for the **\*alhimà** supported by Dozy and Coromines and the **\*alšāmmah** of former editions of DRAE, they must be definitively discarded as phonetically impossible and semantically improbable.

**aleme/finia**: is an unassimilated astronomical term from GP 29, abridged from Ar. *aššīṣrā ḡamāniyah* “Yemenite Sirius”, identified by Kunitzsch 61:111 as Alpha Canis Majoris, i.e., Sirius proper.

**alencel**: see **arancel**.

**alenfaje**: see **alifac**.

**alenya**: see **alfefia**.

**alepín** (Cs.) and **alepina** (Pt.) “a very fine woollen fabric”: < Fr. *alépin* < Ar. *ḡalabī*, the gentilic of *ḡalab* “Aleppo” Etymon also of Pt. **alepino** “from Aleppo” Cf. **alap**.

(a)lera: see **alaria**.

**alerç** (Ct.) and **alerce** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., only in Morais) “larch tree, name of several species of the gender *Larix*”: < And. *alárz* < Cl.Ar. *arz* “cedar” The vocalization of the Rom. items, matching that of Alcalá’s *erç*, in a position unfavourable to palatalization,

<sup>245</sup> With a tinge of high register, not surprising in the stereotyped language of games, prob. imported from the East and always reflecting archaic idioms. Another possibility would be *yā alā*, with the vocative particle followed by the exhortative phrase, whence also Neo-Ar. *yallah* “let us go!”, in which the name of God can only be explained by folk etymology.

<sup>246</sup> The Eastern term is *manṭūr*. It happens often that an Iranism does not survive but in the extreme West: such is the case of the designation of cherries in Western Ar. (*ḡabb almulūk*, a literal translation of Neo-P. *šāhdāne* “the kings’ grain”, in the East only “Indian hemp”, a reflex of Pahl. *šāhdānag*, later acquiring the meaning “castor oil”, cf. **abelmeluco**), or the case of the

Neo-P. name **alambor**, q.v., etc. Linguists are familiar with the fact that the farthest areas of a linguistic realm simultaneously exhibit the highest degrees of conservatism and evolution in a peculiar admixture.

<sup>247</sup> Published by González Palencia 1945, with the var. **alfetma** and **alsetma** (obvious graphical error for the first one), but his etymon, Ar. **\*ḡitmah** “fragment”, is not acceptable as it is merely said of what is broken and torn off, and is not documented in And.

<sup>248</sup> See 1.1.1.4.1.

<sup>249</sup> See AAR 109. As a matter of fact, the calqued idiom **fila de agua** exists in Nav., Arag. and Val.

and the dubious identification of the species, since *Cedrus* and *Larix* are different genders, are explainable because, cedar being uncommon in the Iberian Peninsula, its Ar. name was mixed up with the Rom. reflex of Lt. *lārix*, which would have circulated in And. as *\*áriz* and undergone palatalization. But it was used and known only by professionals such as botanists and carpenters,<sup>250</sup> while the folk only knew the term *\*(al)írz*, without distinguishing meanings, and this is the stage represented by the loanword. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alerzal**.

**alesfidabegi**: see **alasfidbagiat**.

**aletefi**: see **atifells**.

**aletría** (Cs.), **aletria** (Ct. and Pt.) and **alitreá** (Jud.-Sp.): “a kind of noodles”: < And. *ala/itriyya* < Cl.Ar. *itriyah* < Rab.Aram. *ittēri(tā)* < Lt. *attrīta* “soup”, perhaps contaminated by Gr. *itria* “spiced bread”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **aletriaria** and **aletrieiro**.

**aleuado**: see **ale(i)ve**.

**aleuna** (Ct. of Tortosa) “path through the cliffs”: Coromines took the right direction in his search of an Ar. etymon for this word, but there can be no relation with Ar. *\*lawlab*, said only of objects with a helicoidal shape. In a first attempt to solve this riddle, in Corriente 1997c, s.v., we suggested a metonymy and abridgement to its first constituent of the Ar. expression *\*libnat attamām* “bracket crowning a building”, according to the data of DS, but we must acknowledge that it was a far-fetched hypothesis. We now put forward something more convincing, based upon the very interpretation given in the local vocabulary quoted by Coromines, namely, **assagadell**, an equivalent of Cs. **azagador** “mountain trail” (see **zaga**), implying that those paths are passable, although extremely narrow and winding. The latter concept suggests And. *ḥalazūna* < Cl.Ar. *ḥalazūn* “snail”, whence Neo-Ar. *ḥalazūnah* “screw tread”, *ḥalazūnī* “spiral”, etc., which leads to **aleuna** in an altogether regular evolution within Ct. historical phonetics.

**aleve**, **alevosía** and **alevoso**: see **aleive**.

**ale(y)a** (Cs.): “verse of the Koran”: is possibly a borrowing mostly used in Mudejar and

Morisco idiolects, a mostly technical term, < And. *aláyá* = Cl.Ar. *āyah*.

**alfa** (Gl. and Pt.) “esparto, alfa grass (*Stippa tenacissima*)”: is a contemporary borrowed technical term, received through Fr. or Eng., < Naf. *ḥalfa* < Cl.Ar. *ḥalfāʾ*.

**alfate/h**: see **alfaiate**.

**alfaba**: see **abaʾ**

**alfabaca** and **alfabeguer**: see **albaca**.

**alfabaceiro** “baker”: Eguílaz gives this term as Old Cs., though aware that its suffix is Gl.-Pt. At any rate, if the documentation is valid, it would be a hybrid of And. *xabbāz* = Cl.Ar. *xabbāz* of the same meaning.

**alfábar** and **alfabareiro**: see **alfámbar**.

**alfá/bega** and **alfabeguer**: see **albaca**.

**alfabel** “bluish plaster...used by the children for drawing and playing hopscotch” (Nav.): looks like an Ar. loanword, but the information is insufficient to propound an etymon.

**alfábia** (Ct., with the old var. **alfávía** and **Bal. aufábia**) “jar”: < And. *xábya* < Cl.Ar. *xābiʾah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alfabiada**, **alfabier**, **alfabieta** and **alfabió**. Cf. **alfiar**.

**alfábrega**: see **albaca**.

**alfaç**, **alfals/ç** and **alfáfçeç** (Ct.), **alfaz**, **alfals(e)**, **aufals** and **alfalfe(z)** (Arag.), **alfalce**, **alfanc/ge**, **alfangel** and **alfarce** “lucerne” (Nav.), **alfalfe** (Cs.) and **alfalfa** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alfa(i)fa**), **afalfa** (Mur.), **alfálfara** (Can. from Gran Canaria) and **falfa** (Leo.): we once thought, as Machado did, that this word would more prob. derive from Ar. *\*ḥalfāʾ* “esparto” than from And. *alfāšfaša* < Cl.Ar. *fišfišah*, < Pahl. *aspast* (with intermediation of Aram. *espestā* and Cp. *p+espesta*, with agglutinated article) “lucerne”, since the phonetic evolution would be much easier, and the semantic difficulty could be waived by supposing that *alhálfa* came to mean “lucerne” in Al-Andalus at some point. However, after perusing a number of botanical treatises by And. authors, particularly meticulous in providing plant names in diverse languages and dialects, without any hint in that direction, we must acknowledge that Coromines was right with his more complex hypothesis. Intra-Rom.

<sup>250</sup> As is obvious in Ferreras 1999:245 (fol.

59r.), dealing with shipbuilding.

der.: Cs.: **alfalfal/r**; Ct.: **alfalsar**, **alfalser** and **alfalsera**; Pt.: **alfafal**; Ast.: **alfafarra** “a plant similar to camomile”, after García Arias 2006:178; Arag.: **alfarcillo** “white sweet clover (*Melilotus alba*)” (in Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:77).

**alfaca**<sup>1</sup>: see **faca**.

**alfaca**<sup>2</sup> (var. **elfe/ica** and **fec/ta**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 29 and 86, < Ar. *alfakkah*, polysemous, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:55 with eight stars of Corona Borealis.

**alfaça** and **alfaçal**: see **alface**.

**alfacara** (**terres d'**—, Ct.): this semantically imprecise term does not prob. bear any relation to the irrigation method with **alfatara** mentioned in medieval documents, a clear reflex of And. *alxaṭṭāra* = Neo-Ar. *xaṭṭārah* “shadoof”. Neither is there an obvious connection with Naf. *\*faqqāra* or *\*faggāra* (a Bed. pronunciation in the latter case, not Br., which has a phonemic rule converting /gg/ into /qq/), “underground conduit for water supply”, as the documents from Castellón containing that expression mean a kind of soil, prob. “potter’s earth”, < And. *faxxār* < Cl.Ar. *faxxārī*, with a probable pl. in /-a/.<sup>251</sup> Of course, we cannot exclude paleographic confirmation of only **alfatara**, which would invalidate this hypothesis in favour of “shadoof-irrigated lands”.

**alfacara(t)**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 29, pointedly corrected by Kunitzsch 1961:59, as Ar. *fiqarūt* “vertebras”<sup>252</sup> and identified with certain stars in the tail of Scorpio.

**alface** (Pt., with the old var. **alfaça**) and **alfasa** (Ext. of bilingual Olivenza, a mere phonetic var.): < And. *alxāss* = Cl.Ar. *xass*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alfaçal**, **alfacinha** (dim., also said colloquially of the natives of Lisbon).

**alfaco** (Pt.) “a kind of mushroom”: < And. *\*alfāqʿ* = Cl.Ar. *faqʿ* “mushroom”.<sup>253</sup> The var. **alfaço** is, then, an error, as warned in DE.

**Alfacs** (Ct.) “the Alfaques in Tortosa”: this place name must derive from the early pronunciation, by Andalusis of Yemenite stock, of *alhāgiz* < Cl.Ar. *hājiz* “barrier, obstacle”. The var. **alfaixs** (of the 16th and 17th c.), though relatively mod., would corroborate the occasional residual circulation, maybe among bilingual Ar. speakers, of the standard And. allophone, *hājiz*, but Bramon 1987:157 considers it a mistake. As for Ct. **alfac** “sand bar”, if it has really existed, it must have been back-formed rather artificially on the place name, like the Cs. and Pt. **alfaque** of the same meaning. The metaphorical use of Ar. *\*fakk* “jaw”, suggested by Coromines, and *\*xaqq* “rift on the ground” of former editions of DRAE are absolutely out of the question. The Pt. var. **alfaique** is, on the other hand, either incorrect or the reflex of a peculiar reading and meta-analysis of the above Ct. **alfaixs**.

**alfada**: this word recorded by Eguílaz from the Lit. text of the statute law granted by Alfonso VII to Toledo in 1118, which he interprets as Ar. *\*fadā* “ransom” is, in truth, the place name *alfada*? “the platform”, upon which the jail mentioned in that document conspicuously stood.<sup>254</sup>

**alfádega** and **alfadega**: see **albaca**.

**alfadía** (Cs.) and **alfadia** (Pt.) “bribe”: < And. *alhadīyya* = Cl.Ar. *hadīyyah* “gift”. From the same ultimate etymon is **odiá** (Pt.) “gift”, documented only in the 16th c., and only used in connection with the campaigns of the Indian Ocean, borrowed through Neo-P. (as given away by the stress position) or other languages of that area.

**alfadida** (Ct.) and **alhadida** (Cs.) “copper sulphate or oxide”: The And. and Naf. documentation with which DE proves the existence of this meaning in And. *alhadida* = Cl.Ar. *hadīdah* “piece of iron”, is corroborated by Mor. *hādida ḥamra*, name of the native copper oxide and *hādida zarqa* “copper sulphate” (after Colin 1993:292).

<sup>251</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.2.4.3.

<sup>252</sup> The rendering “naked (pl.fem.)” in the first part of *Libros del Saber de Astronomía* is a typical case of the translator’s ignorance and brazenness, who in this instance only knew and inserted *fuqarū*? “the poor”.

<sup>253</sup> Curiously, in this case the loanword is closer to Cl.Ar., propounded by Ibn Hišām (see Pérez Lázaro 1990:I 149), than And. *\*fuqqāʿ*, shunned by him.

<sup>254</sup> As confirmed by Delgado 1987:218, in a reference to that very passage.

**alfado** (Pt.) “written letter; plough furrow”: this word mentioned by Eguílaz matches And. *xáñ* = Cl.Ar. *xáñ* perfectly regarding phonetics and in those two senses.

**alfaeto**: found in LHP 29–30 and DO 182, vaguely definable as a servant of the kings, looks like an Ar. loanword, on account of its phonetic structure, possibly *fāʔit* “a supplier of foreign goods”, lit., “(border) crosser”, but the insufficient information does not allow us to consider its shape nor that etymon as definitive (see Corriente 2004b:72).

**alfafa(l)**, **alfafarra** and **alfafec**: see **alfaç**.  
**alfaga**: see **alfaia**.

**alfagara** and var. **alhagar/la**, **alfagera**, **alfagata**, **alhagale**, **alhaiala**, **halphaiara** and **hlfagara** (from LHP 34 and DO 182) “curtain hung before the altar”, < And. *alhājāla* = Cl. Ar. *hajalah* “bride veil”, after DAA 179 and Corriente 2004b:74, correcting the hypothesis in Steiger 1932:283 of the rare Cl. Ar. *šijārah*.

**alfagém** and **alfageme** (Pt.) “barber; bladesmith; sharpener of swords” and **alf/hajeme** (Cs., with an old var. **alfaiem** in GP 29), **alfageme** (Leo., from DO 183) and **alfaxeme** (Ast.) “barber”: < And. *alhājām* = Cl.Ar. *hajām* “cupper, barber” The second meaning in Pt. reflects a semantic evolution due to socio-economic circumstances.

**alfagia**: see **alfaia**.

**alfaguara** (Cs.) “abundant spring”: < And. *alfawwāra* = Cl. Ar. *fawwārah* “bubbling (fem.)”

**alfahar**: see **alfar**.

**alfaia** (Gl. and Pt., the latter with the old alternative spellings **alfag(i)a** and **alhagias**), **alfaya** (Arag.) and **alh/faja** (Cs.), **alaxa** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:18,<sup>255</sup> who suggests the same etymon, by metonymy, to **alfayas** “farming tools”): < And. *alhājah* = Cl.Ar. *hājah* “(necessary or valuable) thing” The Ast. forms, considering that the normal form of this word in Leo. is **alfaya**, exhibit some anomalies and probable contamination with **algos** “properties”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alha-**

**jar**, **alhajuela** and **desalhajar**; Pt.: **alfaia-mento** and **alfaiar**; Gl.: **alfaiar**.

**alfaiate** (Gl. and P.) and **alfayat(e)** (Cs., also **alfaiat** in GP 29), **alfayate/fi** and fem. **alfayata** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:18) and **alfa(a)te**, **alfaath**, **alfahat**, **alfaiade**, **alfaiat(h)** and **alfayte** (Leo., from DO 187, some of which could, in fact, be a reflex of **alfaeto**, q.v.) “tailor”: < And. *alxayyāt* = Cl.Ar. *xayyāt*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfayata** and **alfayateria**; Gl.: **alfaiateria**; Pt.: **alfaiata**, **alfaiatar** and **alfaiataria**.

**alfaida** (Cs.) “river flood”: < And. *alfāyḍ* = Cl.Ar. *fāyḍ*, with change of gender, either by substratal influence and/or evolution of paralogical /e/ into /a/, as shown by the var. **alfayt** from the *Repartimiento* of Murcia, recorded by Pocklington 1984:270–272.<sup>256</sup>

**alfaia**: see **alfaç**.

**alfaig** (Ct.) “Muslim pilgrim to Mecca”: like Old Cs. **alfaje**, < And. *alhājī* < Cl.Ar. *hājī*. Pt. **aji** is a late Eastern borrowing of the same etymon, prob. through Neo-P. or Tr.

**alfainar**: see **alfām(b)ar**.

**alfaique** and **alfaixs**: see **Alfacs**.

**alfaja**: see **alhaja**.

**alfaje**: see **alfaig**.

**alfajeme**: see **alfageme**.

**alfajía**: see **alfarjía**.

**alfajija** “reeds used instead of tiles in roofing” (Anl.): < And. *alhāššā* = Cl.Ar. *hāššāh* “straw; dry grass” But the var. **alfanjía** suggest that there was also contamination with **alfarje** and its vars., q.v.

**alfajoa** (An.): this word used in the bay of Cadix, after an oral communication of Dr. Bustamente, checked *in situ*, as designation of a kind of “two-banded bream” (*Diplodus vulgaris*), appears to reflect an And. *\*faššūna* < And.Rom. *\*FAŠ+ÓNA* “little sash”, because of the characteristic dark transversal band aft. The transmission might have taken place through Pt., as is not uncommon in the fish names and seafaring language of that area, though unrecorded by the dictionaries of this language.

<sup>255</sup> Who is right in our view upon denying (p. 50) that **ayalga** be a var. of the entry, correcting its meaning as “buried treasure” < Lt. *\*afflatica*.

<sup>256</sup> However, the vars. **alfayg**, **alfayat** and **alfaya** can only be mistakes, as an epenthetic vowel would be here exceptional for And.

**alfajor** (Cs., old var. **alfaxor**) “a sweet”: < And. *alfasúr* < Neo-P. *afsor* “juice”, < Pahl. *afšurdan* “to squeeze” There are hints, such as the witness of Baena’s *Cancionero* (Nº 79), where the talk goes about a drink, and another from the 16th c., mentioned by Coromines, as a synonym of **hipocrás** “hippocras, medicated wine”, pointing to the fact that this word was not in principle synonymous with **alajú** (q.v.), although later the phonetic and semantic confusion happened easily. The And., rendered as “nectar” in *Vocabulista in arabico*, would have been the name of a preparation of juices, it being probable that the present shape has been abridged from a syntagm compounded by two constituents as in other instances.

**alfala**: see **alifara**.

**alfalç**, **alfalce**, **alfalfa**, **alfalfe(z)**, **alfals(e)** and **alfalsar**: see **alfaç**.

**alfálfara**: see **alfaç**.

**alfalfidicum** “compound medicine”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:179, < Neo-Ar. *alfandādīqūn* (see **alfefedium**, of which it looks like a var.).

**alfama**: see **aljama**.

**alfamarear** and **alfamarero**: see **alar**.

**alfâm(b)ar** (Pt., var. **alfábar**, **alambel** and **álâmel**), **alfameras** (Lit. in an Arag. document, with the var. **algamar** and **alfhâmar** (Cs.), **alfa(i)nar**, **alfamare**, **alfamaris** and **alfameres** (Leo., from DO 183)<sup>257</sup> and **alfomare** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:67) “coarse woollen bedspread”,<sup>258</sup> < And. *alhánbal* = Western Ar. *hanbal* “woollen tapestry also used as a bedspread” The var. **alfâmbara** is the imme-

diante antecedent of **alfombra**<sup>1</sup> in Pt., Gl. and Cs. (in the latter, with the var. **al(h)ombra**), through the mere addition of labialization, quite understandable between two labials, while the alleged etymon *\*xumrah* has never been detected in Western Ar. dialects. From the same etymon are **lambel** (Pt., 15th c.) “a striped fabric”, **anibles** (Ct.) “a kind of tapestry”, reflecting the And. pl. in Granadan pronunciation, *hanbil*, and **(h)arambel** (Cs.) “hanging ornament; rag”, also with the sense of “idler, layabout” (Anl.), a semantic evolution of the standard, and the var. **jarambel** (Anz.), prob. due to wrong parsing of a pl. syntagm with the definite article, *\*lo+h arambeleh*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alf/hombrar**, **alf/hombrero**, **alfombrista** and **desalfombrar**; Gl.: **alfombrar**; Pt.: **alfa(m)bareiro** and **alfombrar**. Cf. **alar** and **argamandel**.

**alfana** (Cs.) “courser”: Coromines pronounced it of It. origin, but García Gómez aired it again in his article “Pasos de cebra (Zebra crossings)”, in the newspaper *ABC* of July 18th, 1984, propounding the Ar. etymon. *alfarā* “onager” (cf. **alfario**). This is not convincing, for prosodic reasons above all, since if it had been a common word in And.,<sup>259</sup> it should have been ultima stressed, but this scholar must be credited for the survey of the rare occurrences of this Cs. word, the correction of the erroneous var. **alfona**, and his criticism of the It. origin. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in admitting an And. etymon *alfáhl* = Cl. Ar. *fahl* “stallion”, applicable to any vigorous male, or even metaphorically to any outstanding man, with just a frequent

<sup>257</sup> As for the family names **Alfam(b)ar** and **Alfambre** mentioned by DO 185, it is not very likely that they be reflexes of a *\*hanbal* “tapestry maker”, unattested although possible in And. grammar: cf. *garnáq* “seller of roast lungs” in DAA 378, *garbál* “sieve maker”, in p. 76, and **alabrent** < *\*labrál*, q.v., in which the pattern *[la23ã4]* is the equivalent in quadriconsonantal roots of *[la22ã3]* in the triconsonantal ones; cf. also *jagrāf* “geographer” in DS I:199. In the first case, we might rather be dealing with *hammār* “muleteer”, or *xammār* “barman”, in the second, with *xāmri* “golden brown”

<sup>258</sup> The additional specification for **alhamar** in DRAE of red colour, up to its latest edition,

is only a typical instance of distortion aimed at matching an erroneous etymon, in this case Ar. *\*ahmar* “red” García Arias’ spelling suggests anti-etymological ultima stress, but Prof. Montaner, with prosodic data from *Lazarillo* and *Libro de Buen Amor*, has reassured us that penultima stress is the correct one.

<sup>259</sup> In fact, it is extant in *Vocabulista in arabico*, as reflected in DAA 392, but we have long proved that this work contains a host of classicisms, it being unwise to conclude without further ado that every word in it belongs to dial. registers; as a matter of fact, And. authors use to designate that species with the common Neo-Ar. periphrasis *himār alwuhš* “wild ass”.



sonorant exchange and evolution to /a/ of the paragogic vowel.<sup>260</sup>

**alfanc/ge** and **alfangel**: see **alfaç**.

**alfândega** (Pt.) and **alfândega** (Gl.) "customs house": we have all been assuming, rather acritically, that this Gl.-Pt. term shares the etymon of Cs. **alhóndiga** and allied forms in Ct., q.v., without paying any heed to the different vocalism and meaning. As far as vocalization is concerned, it is quite improbable that a hypercorrect reaction to the labializing trend had changed /ul/ into /a/ in the first syllable after the article, and as for semantics, it is striking that **alfândega** has never meant "inn",<sup>261</sup> nor **alhóndiga**, "customs house". In fact, the only Cs. word sounding like the Gl.-Pt. one is the well-known place name **Alhândega**, where ʿAbdarrāhmān III was crushingly defeated by the Leonese, with an undoubted And. etymon **\*alxāndaq** = Cl.Ar. **\*xandaq** "trench; ravine", from Pahl. represented by Neo-P. **\*kande**. This term was originally said, above all, of artificial ditches for defensive purposes, one of which, dug by the Medinese followers of Muḥammad, to meet the onslaught of the Meccans, became most celebrated in the history of early Islam. Whence, by indulging in fancy and forsaking the burden of historical proof, one might conclude that in the primitive customs houses of the Iberian

Peninsula a ditch was dug, which could only be crossed by a drawbridge after paying the duties. However, no such thing is documented, and chances are it never will be, whereas there is a more logical and convincing etymological alternative, namely, an And.Rom. hybrid term **\*al+ḥazz+IQA**, attaching this Rom. attributive suffix to And. **ḥazz** = Cl.Ar. **ḥazz** "share, part", allusive to the duties imposed upon goods crossing certain boundaries. The presence of this unattested word might be demonstrated by **fādiga**, q.v., and the subsequent dissimilation in /n/ of the geminated consonant is a very frequent phenomenon, perhaps favoured by semantic contamination between **alhóndiga**, where the merchants not only lodged and stored their goods, but also made deals, and the **alfândega**, where they had to deal with the customs officers. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **alfandegario**; Pt.: **alfandegagem**, **alfandegamento**, **alfandegar**, **alfandegário**, **alfandegueiro** and **desalfandegar**.

**alfandoque** (Cs.) "a sweet of honey, cheese, aniseed and ginger": it has usually been given the etymon of **alfeñique**, q.v.s.v. **alfeñí**, with the addition of the Rom. pejorative suffix **[-ÓQ]**, but this clashes with the undoubtedly cognate Arag. **fandoch** "kind of porridge with ham", a very different culinary speciality and, above all, with the absence of **imālah**, usually

<sup>260</sup> See 1.1.4.4.1. From a semantic viewpoint, it is true that the quoted text of *Don Quijote* might be understood in the sense that **cebra** and **alfana** had become synonymous at a time when the wild ass was already extinct in Spain and there remained only a vague memory of its likeness to the horse, but it is also evident that neither the Hispanic wild ass nor the African zebra, which inherited its name in fem., could ever serve as mounts on account of their temper, let alone for military uses, which constitutes another solid argument against the viability of the Ar. etymon propounded by García Gómez. Needless to say, the references to exotic mounts in this kind of literature are always mythical. As for the etymon suggested by Eguílaz 1886:535 **\*uṣṣafana**, i.e., the rare Ar. **uṣṣāfin(ah)** "a horse rarely touching the ground with its fourth foot", it is just one of the fancies of his day.

<sup>261</sup> With the partial exception of the Lt. document of a Pt. area mentioned by Machado,

speaking of *fornos et alfandegas et tendas*, and **alfandeca** in a Lt. Arag. document (next to instances of **alfond(eg)a** and **alfondeka**), but the paleography of all should be checked, as the confusion between **a** and **o** is easy. It is quite understandable that **alhóndiga** would semantically evolve towards "wheat granary", since the ground floor of a *funduq* had from old been used by the merchants lodging in it as a warehouse, which prompted a parallel use as stock exchange, but that was not, of course, the place chosen by tax gatherers for the evaluation and perception of duties, i.e., the **aduana** in Cs. and **alfândega** in Gl.-Pt. However, the semantic evolution of **alhóndiga** in that direction, until the loss in Cs. of the sense "merchants' inn", suggests a rather strong semantic contamination, except in the Gl.-Pt. area, between both words, and a confluence into the connotation of a "public office for financial or tax related transactions".

exhibited by the second word in Cs. and Pt., although absent in some Ct. var. In the lack of a better hypothesis, this absence might answer to a very old borrowing, while semantic evolution in the terminology of cooking, clothing, etc. is commonplace. But there are other solutions; for instance, DS mentions a dish from a Western source, merely described as a delicacy requested by a whimsical woman, called *fatūt*, a der. of the root *[ftt]*, origin of several culinary terms referring to crumbled ingredients, which is its basic semanteme. That vocalization appears influenced by a Cl.Ar. word, recorded by Lane from his old lexical sources, and therefore followed by the editor, but the original shape may be more dial., a hypocoristic pattern *[la22ā3]*, i.e., *\*fatūt*. Always in the realm of hypotheses, such a word might have reached Al-Andalus, been metanized and undergone suffix substitution in its cauda, with a result *\*fatt+ÓQ* which, by dissimilation of gemination in */n/*<sup>262</sup> and voice assimilation<sup>263</sup> would bring about And.Rom. *\*fand+ÓQ*. On the other hand, if one prefers to stick to witnessed items, Ibn Hišām Allaxmī decries the corrupted And. *faḍūl* for Cl. *fālūdaj* “a dessert of semolina and honey” < Pahl. *pālūdaj*, in which only the two first aforementioned phenomena easily lead to the Rom. result. Yet, a more economic interpretation, also more in agreement with the semantics of the Cs. term, of Arag. *fandoch* and metonymical Men. *fanduca* “frivolous woman”, always maintaining the propounded And. Rom. suffixation, would be to start with the frequent Ar. adjective *hāmīd* “sour”, perfectly applicable to dishes of that taste and, metaphorically, to unpleasant traits of behaviour, as reflected in Mor. *tahmeda*, pl. *thamḍat* “pickles”, and *hmadā* “unpleasant character”. Our present view would then be, that the likeliest etymon is an And. Rom. hybrid *\*ham(i)ḍ+ÓQ*.

**alfanec:** see **alfaneque**.

**alfaneca** (Ct.) “unidentified fish, perhaps

“forkbeard” (*Phycis blennoides*), **fañeca** (Ast.) and **faneca** (Cs. and Pt.) “kind of whiting (*Gadus merlangus* or, maybe, *G. luscus* or *barbatus*, as in Gl.)”: this fish name, borrowed from Pt., according to Coromines, to begin with cannot reflect, as he believed, Pt. **faneco** “ear-cropped”, because no fish has ears. Such an etymology of this Pt. word is made more difficult by the fact that it also means “empty chestnut”, “thin”, “conceited”, and “broken piece of stale bread”, to which one must add the meanings of **faneco** (“broken piece of stale bread; piece”, “withered”, etc.); however, all of them share the basic concept of “deteriorated residue”, suggesting a reflex of And. Rom. *\*xatn+Á(Y)Q*, from the same origin as **fanar**, q.v. As for the fish name, it might be explained, proving Coromines partially right, by assuming the identification with the “blue whiting” (*Gadus poutassou*), characterized by a big indent in its dorsal fin, comparable to a mutilation, probable reason of its Neo-Gr. name *prosfygáki* “fugitives” (see Davidson 1972:60), a metaphor based on the suggestion of having lost that part during flight. There is a phonetic var. (Anl.) **paneca** “pollack (*Pol-laciuss pollaciuss*)”

**alfanega:** see **albanega**.

**alfaneo** “hollow formed by the padding of a packsaddle, in order to avoid hurting the beast’s spine” (Arag. from Tarazona, in Gargallo 1985:95): < Ar. *alḥaniyyah* “vault”

**alfaneque:** “a kind of falcon; large tent of the sultan on expeditions; a certain luxurious fur”: each of the three meanings, simultaneously present in the three main languages of the Iberian Peninsula, has a different etymon, despite phonetic and semantic contaminations, which requires their differentiation, as follows:

**alfaneque**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alfeq/gue**, and Ct. **alfanec**). It was supposed since DE that this word would derive, by elimination of a first constituent, as in the

apparently from *\*futtaq* “to rip.

<sup>263</sup> There are some examples of this phenomenon in AAR 2.1.4.1.1, but none of */nt/* > */nd/*, which might have to be attributed to an Intra-Rom. phase.

<sup>262</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.2.2, and SK 2.9.4 about cases of dissimilation of gemination into a sonorant, to which we can now add *[šndx]* > *\*[šaddax]* in DAA. A similar example from a mod. dialect, in a phonetically very close root, is Eg. *\*fundaq* “to open a door completely”,

cases of **albacea**, **albacar**, etc., from Western Ar. **\*bāz** *alfanak* "falcon for hunting fennecs", a small African fox (*Fennecus zerda*) whose valuable fur is indeed meant by **alfaneque**<sup>264</sup> and appears also in Llt. documents of Aragon under the spellings **alfanec/k**, which by no means can be understood as "falcon skin", but only as the fur obtained from that mammal or its imitations, as we shall see below. But the use of falcons for hunting fennecs is not documented,<sup>264</sup> which made Eguílaz disavow Dozy's hypothesis and, followed by us for some time, suggested the alternative And. etymon **\*hanaki** "dark coloured" (from the Cl. root *[hkl]*). It is true that DRAE described this bird as whitish and spotted, but a shift to mean a similar subspecies of a different colour could be admitted within the range of semantic evolution constantly affecting animal and plant names; in fact, Eguílaz thought to have found support in the mention of a black kind of falcon in *Libro de la Caza* by D. Juan Manuel, but it must be acknowledged that his proposal is flawed by the requirement of an unwitnessed semantic evolution and, worst of all, stress, which ought to hit the last syllable in that case. The truth is that there is no documented Ar. form supporting either hypothesis as, although Alcalá renders Cs. **alfaneque** as *fanéque* pl. *fanéc*, this appears to be a mere return from Cs., with a pl. prob. invented by him, as in other instances (see Corriente 1988a:III). Another possibility would be a corruption of And. Rom. **\*al+xal+ĀYQ** "from the wilderness", in perfect agreement with the most reliable descriptions of this bird (in Maíllo 1998:94), being mostly whitish and native of the desert areas of Africa, far from

the coast. The phonetic alteration would have been caused by the much greater frequency of the third sense, documented in And. by IQ 11/9/3, *warridá murí alfanák*, the translation of which must be corrected to "and the cloak shows the **alfaneque** (through holes)", taking for granted that, in this context of utter misery, it was imitation fur. Finally, however, everything we know now about falconry makes us think that this word may be a simple corruption of Neo-Ar. *afriqī* "from Ifriqiyyah", provenance of most varieties of falcons in the Middle Ages, with a phonetic evolution also influenced by the very frequent **alfaneque**<sup>3</sup>.

**alfaneque**<sup>2</sup> "the sultan's tent in campaign": the decisive var. **alfrac** in DAX 110 (closest to its etymon, as will be seen, with a Llt. var. in an Arag. document, **alphamet**, obviously corrupt for **\*alphanec**, in a list of arms, harnesses and tents), confirms its true etymon, And. **\*alfarāq** < Br. *afraq*, distorted by the phonetic attraction of the other two **alfaneques**.

**alfaneque**<sup>3</sup> "a valuable fur" (with the Ast. var. **alfanegue** in García Arias 2006:17 and an **alfaneke** in Herrero de la Fuente 1988 III:500):<sup>265</sup> is, in this case indeed, that of the fennec, < Ar. *fanak*, always very valued by furriers. It makes a curious appearance, coupled with **alifafe**<sup>2</sup> in a Cantabrian document of 1112.<sup>266</sup>

**alfanete**: see **alfler**.

**alfaneya**: see **alhanía**.

**alfange** and **alfanja** (Ct.), **alfanje** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the old var. **alfânjar**) and **alfanxe** (Gl.) "Moorish sabre": < And. *alxânjal* < Cl.Ar. *xanjar* "dagger" From the same etymon, but borrowed in mod. times, is **canjar** (Pt., from Machado, **canjiar** in Morais)

<sup>264</sup> It is meaningful that it is not mentioned in the famous handbook of falconry by Algîrif b. Qudāmah Alḡassānî (see Möller & Viré 1988) which, however, contains brief allusions to some birds of prey eventually stalking game much bigger than themselves, like gazelles and foxes. But this would not go beyond the narrow limits of anecdotes to become a standard procedure, as no owner of a prized falcon would jeopardize it in such reckless endeavours. Already Mettmann 1961 was skeptical on this point, and suggested an alternative **\*bāz alximiḡ** "falcon (hunter) of

leverets", semantically unconvincing however, as such a bird is not expected to be described as a mere hunter of baby animals, but of full-grown preys while, from a phonetic angle, And. only had *xarnāq* (see **arnaca**), in which vowel palatalization was very improbable.

<sup>265</sup> In the phrase **copertorio—in panno gre-cisco**, which could be interpreted as furniture of the cloth of a bedspread, suggested to us by Prof. Montaner.

<sup>266</sup> See Montenegro 1991, doc. N° 70. Information provided by Prof. Montaner.

"Moorish dagger". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfan-jado**, **alfanjazo** and **alfanjete**; Ct.: **alfanjada**; Pt.: **alfanjada** and **alfanjar**. Cf. **alfaç**.

**alfangel**: see **alfaç**.

**alfanhe**: see **alfarja**.

**alfani(c)**: see **alfení**.

**alfanigue**: see **albaneca**.

**alfaniq** "big camel": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 30, < Ar. *alfanīq*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:56 with **Aldebarán**, q.v.

**alfanja(da/o)**, **alfânjar**, **alfanjar**, **alfanjazo** and **alfanjete**: see **alfange**.

**alfanje**: see **alfarja** and **alfange**.

**alfanjera** "an unidentified plant" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loanword, perhaps related to **alfange** on account of its shape, but the lack of information advises caution.

**alfanjía**: see **alfarjía**.

**alfanxe**: see **alfange**.

**alfaque**: see **Alfacs**.

**alfaqueque** (Cs. and Pt.) and **alhaqueque** (Cs.) "ransomer of captives": < And. *alfakkāk* = Cl.Ar. *fakkāk*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alfaquecaria**.

**alfaquí** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **alfaquí** (Pt.) "doctor in Islamic law": < And. *alfaqī* < Cl.Ar. *faqīh*. Pt. also has **faquí**, a late form of the same origin, borrowed during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. Cf. **alforque**.

**alfaquim** (Ct.) and **alf/haquín** (Cs., with the old var. **alfaquí(m)** and **alhaquí(m)** in GP 30) "physician": < And. *alḥakīm* = Cl.Ar. *ḥakīm* "savant; philosopher".<sup>267</sup> From the same etymon, through Eastern transmission, is Pt. **haquim** or **haquino** "physician among Muslims", dated from the 16th c., for which Morais still has another var. **háquimo**, wrongly stressed.

**alfar** (Cs., with the var. **alfahar**) and **alfara** (Arag.) "pottery": < And. *alfaxxār* = Cl.Ar. *faxxār*. The paragogical vowel of Arag. is explained in 1.1.4.4.1. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **alfa(ha)rero** and **alfa(ha)rería**. Cf. **arfar**.

**alfar(ah)án** (An.) "stag beetle" (Lucanus cervus): this dial. item from Cadix, recorded by Garulo 1983:170, is due to metathesis and hypercorrect restoration of Ar. article, on

And. (*abu*) *jahrán* < Cl.Ar. *juṣal* (cf. Eg. Ar. *\*juṣrān*). The correct spelling would then be **\*alfaraján**, in agreement with the place name **Faraján** (*ibidem*, 171); this information is valuable, as an And. var. without prefixed /*abū*/ was not recorded.

**alfaraz** (Cs. and Pt.) and **alfarace** (Leo., from DO 186) "Arabian courser": < And. *alfarás* = Cl.Ar. *faras* "horse". It also has an unassimilated astronomical sense, in GP 30, **alfaraz/sç alaadam** < Ar. *alfaras alʿaḍam* "the greater horse", i.e., Pegasus, already recorded by Lane 1863–1892:2367, and the also technical meaning "trestle of an astrolabe", with the spellings **alferez**, **alfarat**, **alferath** and **alphorat**, from GP 80.

**alfarc** "separation": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 80, with the more correct var. **alferc(h)**, **ferch** and **alferez**, in agreement with the interpretation of Ar. *firq* "flock" of Kunitzsch 1961:59, who identifies it with Alpha and Beta Cephei. As in other instances, the half-learned translator only knew Ar. *farq* "separation; difference".

**alf/harç** (Lit. in Arag. documents): must not be interpreted as a var. of **alfaraz**, as propounded by Fort Canellas 1994:75, because the context does not imply beasts at all, but reflects And. *alxárs* = Cl.Ar. *xarṣ* "fee of the harvest appraiser" (q.v.s.v. **alcarrassador**). To tell the whole truth, the concept and etymon of **alfarda** (q.v.) would fit even better in the two cited contexts, dealing with taxes or expenses in connection with a property, but that word does not seem phonetically possible here.

**alfarcadeyn** (with var. **alfarc/çadem** and **alfarc/raden**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 30, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:58 as Beta and Gamma Ursae Minoris, < Neo-Ar. *alfarqadayn* "the two calves".

**alfarcar** (Ct.) "to plaster": reflects an And. Rom. hybrid verb formed on And. *fārg* "mortar", with devoicing of the velar consonant, prob. due to an unstressed Rom. suffix having generated a post-tonic syllable, which was subsequently dropped, i.e., sea, *\*al+fārg+IQ+ÁR*.

**alfarce** and **alfarcillo**: see **alfaç**.

<sup>267</sup> About the history of this Ar. loanword and

its confusions with **alfaquí**, see Hilty 1995.

**alfard** "solitary (fem.)": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 30, with the var. **alfarde**, **alfart/c** and **alfarçi**, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:57 as Alpha Hydrae or Gamma Ursea Majoris, < Ar. *alfard* "the one"

**alfarda** (Arag., Ct., Cs. and Pt.) "a tribute" and **alfarra** "a certain tribute paid in barley" (Mur., a phonetic var. of the standard): < And. *alfārda* = Cl.Ar. *farḍah* "imposition", n.un. of the *maṣḍar farḍ* "imposing (once)". However, in the meaning "woman's ornament or garment" in Cs. and Pt., that of "thin beam in the frame of a roof" in Cs., and "one of a pair" in Ct., the etymon is And. *alfārda* = Cl.Ar. *farḍah* "one of a pair", as part of a whole. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfardar**, **alfardero**, **alfardilla** and **alfardón**; Ct.: **alfarder**. Cf. **alfardón** and **farda**.

**alf/gardacho**, **(f)ardacho**, **(a)gardacho**, **esf/gardacho** and **fardazo** (Arag., although DRAE also has **fardacho** without any regional attribution), **g/lardacho** (Nav.), **ardacho** (Man.) and **fardaix** or **fardatx(o)** (Ct.) "lizard": < And. *(al)ḥarḍūn* < Cl.Ar. *ḥirḍawn*, with Intra-Rom. metanalysis and substitution of an aug. suffix. From the same etymon, by metonymy, are **fardacha** "bad woman" (Mur.) and **fardacho** "kind of trowel" (Anz.).

**alfardó** (Ct.) "axle guard in the wheels of a carriage; lock" and **alfardón** (Cs and Arag.) and **lanfardón** (Mur.) "washer; hexagonal glazed tile": are metaphorical uses, due to some likeness in their shapes, of And. *alḥarḍūn* < Cl.Ar. *ḥirḍawn* "lizard". But of course, Arag. **alfardón** "tax on water supplies" of DRAE is a Rom. aug. of **alfarda**, q.v.

**alfarém** and **alfarema/e** (Pt.), **alfareme**, (Cs. and Gl.), **alhareme** (Cs., with the var. **halareme** in Eguílaz), **alfir/lem** (Ct.), "kind of cloak or headgear", **jirám** (Jud.-Sp.) "bedspread", and **alfaremes** "odds and ends" (Ast., in García Arias 2006:17): < And. *alḥarām* < Cl.Ar. *ḥirām* "light summer garments"

**alfarería** and **alfarero**: see **alfar**.

**alfarfa**: see **alfaç**.

**alfarg(ue)** **almocadem** / **almuquedam** and **alfarg(ue)** **almuehar** / **almohar** (with the

var. **alfarg almucaden** and **alfarghalmuhar**) "front / back spout (of the bucket)": are unassimilated astronomical terms, from GP 30–31, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:57 as the couples Alpha and Beta, and Gamma and Delta Pegasi, respectively, < Neo-Ar. *alfarḡ almuqaddam / almuḥaxxar*. About that "bucket", i.e., Ar. *dalw*, see **aladul**.

**alfarida**: see **alferida**.

**alfário** (Pt.) "stamping horse often rising on its hind legs": bears no relation whatsoever with the Ar. name of the onager *\*fārāʾ*, as Machado fancies, but reflects And. *fāri*, rendered by *Vocabulista in arabico*<sup>268</sup> as *astutus*, but used by IQ 82/4/3 in the description of a bulky and stubborn ram. Cf. **alfana**.

**alfarja/e** (Pt.): there is some hesitation in the interpretation of this word, which Machado refers to the layout of a winepress, while Morais distinguishes **alfarge** "windmill" from **alfarja** "large stone cup". Matters are simpler in the case of Cs., in which **alfarje** (with the var. Ext. **alfanhe** and **enfarhe**, Anl. **farje**) is the "lower stone of an oil mill" and "carved and panelled wooden ceiling", but all of them do reflect And. *alfārš* "bed" = Cl.Ar. *farš* "tapestry", metaphorically said of the base of a press or the frame of a wooden ceiling. From the same etymon are **alfanje** "groove around the oil mill" (Anz., with a phonetic corruption) and **farja** "base of a coal oven" (Anz.).

**alfa(r)jía** (Cs.) "beam of certain measures" and **alfanjía** "wooden lath" (Anz.), "timber for the frame of a door or window" (Nvl.): < And. *\*alfaršīyya*, attributive adjective of *alfārš*, etymon of **alfarje** (q.v.). Note the alternance of sonorants, as in **alfanh/je**.

**alfarma** (Arag. and Cs.) and **(al)harma**, **al(h)árgama**, **alármega** or **alhámega** (Cs.) "African rue (Peganum harmala)": < And. *alḥarmal* < Cl.Ar. *harmal*. Of the same etymon and meaning is **armalá** (Ct., with the var. **harmala/a**), although it could also derive, directly or through a European language, as a scientific term, from Gr. *harmala*. At any rate, this word is a Semitic loanword in Gr., which also applies to **harmala** (Pt.) "wild rue", a learned and mod. term, received through Fr.

<sup>268</sup> See Corriente 1989a:230, s.v.

**alfarnate** (Cs.) "rascal": perhaps from And. \**al+FARNĀT* < Lt. *fārīnātus* "ground like flour", although the semantic juncture and intended allusion escape us. Neither can we exclude, through intra-Rom. suffix metanalysis and substitution, a semantic evolution of And. *xárnaq* "leveret", about which see **farnaca**. On the other hand, the Ext. meaning "slovenly" might be more conservative of a primitive sense connectable, with every reserve, with And. *xar(r)ún*, a hybrid with the Rom. aug. suffix, recorded without rendering in *Vocabulista in arabico*, but almost surely matching mod. Cs. **cagón** "one who defecates much or often; a coward". Starting from here, with a new Rom. participial suffixation, a \**xar(r)+ON+ĀT* might easily have given that final result. However, always assuming the loss of the vowel in the pretonic syllable, the same outcome could be obtained from **harón** (q.v., i.e., < \**harūn+ĀT*).

**alfarque**: see **alcarque**.

**alfarra**: see **alfarda**.

**alfarrábio** (Pt.) "hefty tome": is an intra-Rom. metonymy, based upon the name of the famous philosopher **Alfārābī** (a gentile of Fārāb, in Central Asia), whose works and those of other Muslim authors were studied in Llt. translations by medieval Europeans scholars. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alfarrabista**.

**alfarraden**: see **alfarcadeyn**.

**alfarràs** (Ct., with a var. **alfarraç**), **alfarraz** (Arag.) and **afarraso** (Mur.), < And. *alxarrāṣ* = Cl.Ar. *xarrāṣ* "harvest appraiser" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alfarrassar** and **alc/far-rassador**; Arag.: **alfarrazar** and **alfarraza-dor**; Anl.: **alfarrasar**; Mur.: **afarrasar**.

**alfarroba** (Pt.), **algarroba** (Cs., with the var. **garrob/fa**; **harroba** from LHP 289, **farroua** from GP 94, and **alcaroa**, from GP 25), **algarrofa** (Arag. and Nav.) and **garrof/va** (Ct.) "carob": < And. *alxarrūba* = Cl.Ar. *xarr/nūbah*, prob. < Neo-P. *xar lubā* "French beans for donkeys".<sup>269</sup> Can. has the var. **alfarroba** and **farroga** (the first, borrowed from Pt.)

and **farroba**, name of a Crasulaceous plant of doubtful identification, perhaps also called **alfarroba**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algarrobal**, **algarrobera/o**, (al)**garrobilla**, (al)**garrobo**, **garra/ofal**, **garrobal**, **garrofero** and **gar-rubia**; Ct.: **garrofal**, **garrof/ver(a)**, **garrof/veral**, **garrofina**, **garrofam**, **garrofat**, **gar-rofejar**, **garrofó**, **garrofero** and **garrob/ví**; Pt.: **alfarrob(eir)al**, **alfarrobar** and **alfarro-beirão**; Sal. **garrobo** "rough" (metaphorical).

**alfarrocho**: see **alferraz**.

**alfas**: see **alfaz**.

**alfasa**: see **alface**.

**alfasd** "bloodletting": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:180, < Ar. *alfasā*.

**alfasir** (Cs., with the var. **alfas(c)era** and **alfesce/ira**) "white bryony (*Bryonia alba*)": is an unassimilated botanical term in bookish transcription, excerpted by Eguílaz from Colmeiro, < Ar. *fāšīrā*, more correctly *fāšīr š.tīn* < Syr. *pāšēr eštīn* "solvent of sixty"

**alfatara**: see **alfacara**.

**alfatare**: see **alch(a)tara**.

**alfatel**: see **fatel**.

**alfath** "talc": is an unassimilated term, from GP 31, of doubtful meaning and etymon, although certainly Ar., without any other known source than *Aljāmiš* by Ibn Albaytār 103-3, spelled as >*fīḥ*< in the Būlāq edition, but >*fx*< in Leclerc, after Benmrad 1985:536-537.

**alfatit**: see **alfetit**.

**alfatra**: see **alfitra**.

**alfava(ca)** and **alfávega**: see **albaca**.

**alfaxeme**: see **alfagem**.

**alfaxor**: see **alfajor**.

**alfaya** (Cs.) "valuation, price" and **alfaya** (Arag.) "precious object": prob. var. of **alfaia**, q.v., not altogether excluding, however, in the case of Cs., a reflex of And. *alḥáyya* < Cl.Ar. *hay'ah* "magnificent looks, excellent aspect", nor a semantic contamination with **alfayo**, q.v.

**alfayata**, **alfayat(e)** and **alfayatería**: see **alfaiate**.

<sup>269</sup> We must thus update our former proposal, *lup* "jaw", a mod. colloquialism. Another possibility would lie in a phonetic alteration of Ak. *xarūbu*, through Aram., as defended by many

authors, although that word did not exactly designate the carob, as can be seen in Oppenheim *et al.* 1956 ss. and Jastrow 1926.

**alfayo** (Old Cs.) "ingenuity, skill", after DRAE, but "value; esteem", according to Coromines, as a hapax in Baena's *Cancionero*: might not be an anomalous var. of **alhaja**, as the learned scholar thought, but a der. of And. *alfáyy* < Cl.Ar. *faʿy*? "booty", a sufficiently widespread word as to be used by IQ and Alcalá, having acquired in this case the semantically evolved meaning "seizure of properties"

**alfaz** (Llt., in a Cs. document, with the var. **alfas**, from LHP 29 and DO 186, and additional information in Corriente 2004b:71) "setting of a gem": this hapax, recorded by Steiger 1956:97-98, indeed reflects And. *alfáʃs* = Cl.Ar. *faʃs* which, however, does not appear to be of Gr. origin, but Eg., in the light of Cp. *poce*. Cf. **alfaç**.

**alfazaque** (Cs.) "a kind of beetle": < And. \**alhazzāq* (from the Cl.Ar. root {hʒq}) "farther", allusive to this known condition of some species of Coleoptera.<sup>270</sup>

**alfazema** (Pt.), **alhucema** (Cs.), **a(h)ucema** (Anl.), **jucema** (Anz., a poorly spelled var.) and **gotzema** (Ct.) "lavender": < And. *alxuzāma* = Cl.Ar. *xuzāmā*. The Pt. vocalization is peculiar, lacking any intra-Ar. parallel: although in the dark text by Gil Vicente, quoted by Machado, **alfazema** might match And. *alxazāma* "rope, in particular, that which is put through the nostrils of the camel, to be used as a bridle" (e.g., in IQ 141/1/3), there are other cases in which this word actually means "lavender" (as apparently confirmed by dial. Pt. **argasema**, mentioned by Coromines); perhaps there was intra-Rom. contamination. The var. **alducema** (Ext.) is somewhat striking, but may be explained as a hypercorrection to **aucema**, with false restoration of the Ar. article or contamination with the correct form. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alhucemilla**; Pt.: **alfazemar**.

**alfechiche**: see **escechie**.

**alfeça, alfece and alfeço** (Pt., with the

var. **alferça and alferce**, with parasitic /r/) "pickaxe": < And. *alfás* < Cl.Ar. *faʿls*. From the same etymon are Maj. **fēs** and Mur. **feseta** "spade", with a dim. suffix also pointing to a Ct. origin. Cf. **almocafre**.

**alfechi**: see **shemie**.

**alfefedum, alfalfidicum, alchalidicon, calcha/idicon or alkendedicon** "a caustic medicine; a kind of copperas": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:180, < Neo-Ar. *qalqīdīqūn* and other corruptions of Gr. *chalkidikón* or *chálkanthos*. Cf. **calcadiz**.

**alfegua** "cerebral ventricle": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:20, < Ar. *alfajwah*.

**alfegue**: see **alfaneque**.

**alfeide**: see **alhaite**.

**alfeijón**: see **alfeisán**.

**alfeirada**: see **alfeiria**.

**alfeire** (Pt.) "sheepfold; flock": < And. *alháyir* < Cl.Ar. *hālir* "garden"

**alfeiria** (Pt.) "sterile mare": must be surveyed together with **alfeir(i)o** which according to Morais does not only mean "sterile", but also "jealous", "restless" and "daring", thus connecting with **alfário**, q.v., but also with the Rom. item represented by Cs. **fiero** "fierce" Said of cattle, **alfeiro** is the opposite of **alabão**, q.v., which borders on the concept of Sal. **alferez** "aloofness" Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alfeirada and alfeireiro**.

**alfeisán** "kidney bean" (Ext.) and **alfeijón** (Can.): are interesting var., close to Pt. **feijão**; however, the first one would not derive from this language, but from And. Rom. \**al+FEYŠ+ÁN*, from *Lt. fāsēōlus*, with suffix substitution.

**alféizar and alfeiza** (Cs.) "splay of a door or window": we had heretofore suggested a derivation from And. *alháy(yi)z* < Cl.Ar. *hayyiz* "range, reach (of one's dominion)"<sup>271</sup> on the following grounds: 1) the parasitical /r/ is similar to that of **almfbar** and prob. **adúcar**,

<sup>270</sup> The \*\**jassūq* "wicked" of older editions of DRAE appears to be a mere misprint for \*\**jassūq*, of that meaning, while Cl.Ar. \*\**xassūq* only means "liar", but the semantic unlikelihood of both proposals is obvious.

<sup>271</sup> The etymon of former editions of DRAE,

\*\*\**alfashah* "empty room", with manipulated vocalization, instead of \*\**fushah*, only one for both Cl.Ar. and And., is phonetically unsuitable, being incompatible with the diphthong in the Rom. result.

but also the last vowel could be paralogical in the terms of 1.1.4.4.1, which makes it unnecessary to posit an And. \*háya, as we did in Corriente 1996c:85, and 2) this hypothesis is supported by the likely etymological community with **alfiz**, q.v., although not by Pt. **alfeizar** “pin or peg holding the cord of a frame saw”, not “saw handle”, *pace* Coromines in DCELC and DCECH s.v., mentioning Steiger 1932:113<sup>272</sup> and adding a var. \***alferizar**, as if found in the same text, but absent from it, and therefore prob. a ghost word, as Pt. dictionaries ignore it. The different stress of that **alfeizar** suggests a word of another origin, so far indefinable, presumably also Ar., unless it contains a Rom. suffix. However, a closer examination of the matter appears to offer a better solution, which is propounded under **alfiz**, q.v.

**alféloa** (Pt.) “a sweet of sugar or molasses”: < And. *alhálwa* = Cl.Ar. *halwah* “a sweet” However, the palatalization of /a/ after /h/ is anomalous and explainable only as due to an intra-Rom. contamination, or to the existence of an allomorph with /i/ so far undocumented in And., although very frequent in other dialects, like Eg. *hilwah* “sweet” (fem. adjective). Cf. **aluá** and **falacha**.

**alfena**: see **alfeña**.

**alfendoz** (Arag. of Ejea) and **fendo(z)** or **hildoz** (Nav.) “liquorice”: no doubt, words of And.Rom. stock, parallel to Cs. **paloduz**, but their onset is not transparent. In the two first items it could be Lt. *fēnum*, i.e., And. Rom. \**al+FEN+DÓ(L)Č*, a var. of the attested shape \*\**YÉRBA DÓLČE*, while the last var., from Corella, suggests a half-translation, based on Ar. *ḥulw* “sweet”, with vowel dissimilation, later on replaced by Cs. **palo** “wood” Cf. **alcaçuz**.

**alfení** (Ct., with the var. **alfenic**, **alfani**, **alfanic** and Maj. **aufení**), **alfenide** and **alfenim** (Pt.), and **alfenique** (Cs., with the var. **alfenit**, **alfeniati**, **penidjis** and (dia)penidium, unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera

1989:181, (a)**fenidio** in DAX 884 and **alfanic** in DAX 108, correcting the erroneous meaning “valerian” in this entry) “a sweet”: < And. *alfaníd* = Cl.Ar. *fānīd* < Neo-P. *pānīd* < Sk. *phānita*: “molasses” All these forms, except Pt. **alfenide**, exhibit alteration of the final consonant, explainable as cases of suffix metanalysis and substitution. The sense of **alfenique** as “valerian” (Anz. and Anl.), already recorded by DRAE, has never been explained. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfenícarse**.

**alfenrra**: see **alfitra**.

**alf/heña** (Cs., with the var. **alhenna**, from GP 39),<sup>273</sup> **alquena** and **alenyá** (Ct.) and **alfena** (Pt., with the mod. var. **hena/e**, of Fr. origin) “henna (Lawsonia inermis)”: < And. *alhínna* < Cl.Ar. *ḥinnāʔ*. Mañlo 1983:161 deserves credit for detecting that **alcana**, considered by DRAE up to its latest edition as a var. of this term is not so, as in its only known authority, Enrique de Villena's *Arte cisoría*, it is synonymous with **alcanería**, q.v., prob. through a curious backformation. This does not run counter to the existence of Lt. **alchanna** “henna”, of bookish origin, to judge by the strange vocalization, with some It. offspring. There are also some metonymic var., such as **ajeña** “cereal blight” (Anz.), **arjeña** “wheat blight” (Anl.) **hecho alheña** “smashed” (Nav., alluding to the fine grinding of this plant before its application) and the denominal verb **ajeñarse** “to be smutted (of grain); to be ruined” (Anl.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alh/feñar**.

**alfeña(r)**: see **alheña(r)**.

**alfenique**: see **alfení**.

**alfequé**: see **alfaneque**.

**alferath** and **alferaz**: see **alfaraz**.

**alferazgo**: see **alferes**.

**alferc**: see **alfarc**.

**alferça** and **alferce**: see **alfeça**.

**alferce**: see **alferes**.

**alferch**: see **alfarc**.

**alferecía** (Gl.) **alferesia** (Pt., only in Morais, prob. borrowed from Cs.), **alferecía**<sup>1</sup>

<sup>272</sup> A high standard, still very useful book, although its reprint without updating notes, in Madrid 1991, advises careful use in aspects needing revision in the light of the progress achieved meanwhile.

<sup>273</sup> We must warn here that **alhena** appears in

some European treatises as the transcription of Ar. *alhanṣah*, name of the 6th mansion of the moon, integrated by Gamma and Xi Gemino-rum, after Kunitzsch 1959:121. For the common meaning of **alf/heña**, a reference to **jeña** must be added.



(Cs.), **alferes/zia** and **ferezías** (Arag.) and **alferessia** (Ct.) “infantile epilepsy”: the hypothesis of a phonetic contamination, not documented in Al-Andalus at the very least, of Ar. *alṣillatu lfālījīyyah* (< Gr. *plēksis* “blow, hit”) by *\*annāru lfārisīyyah* “erysipelas”, is unnecessary, as the shifts between /r/ and /l/ are frequent, above all in a dissimilatory context like this. If that phenomenon ever happened, it should have been intra-Rom., as shown by Anz. **filiche**, q.v., perhaps triggered by Cs. **alferecia**<sup>2</sup> “rank of second lieutenant”, q.v.s.v. **alferes**.

**alferes** (Pt. and Ct.), **alferce** or **alfiérez** (Old Cs.), **alférez** (Cs. and Gl.), **alferi** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:19), and **alfera/iz**, **alferé/it**, **alferice/i**, **alfericus**, **alfia/eraz**, **alfidiz**, **alfiereç/t/z**, **alfieriz**, **alfier(re)z**, **alfirez**, **al(p)herez** and **alphieraz** (Leo., from DO 189) “second lieutenant; ensign”: < And. *alfáris* = Cl.Ar. *fāris* “horseman” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alferazgo**, **alferecia**<sup>2</sup> and **alferizado**; Pt.: **alferena** “banner carried by the ensign”

**alferéz**: see **alfeire**.

**alferessia**: see **alferecia**.

**alferga** (Gl., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:19) “thimble”: in this meaning no doubt a reflex of And. *ḥilqa(t alxiyāta)*, documented by Alcalá and *Vocabulista in arabico*. Pt. **alferga** “measure made of reed, for grains” (though not well documented, extant only in Morais) will have the same origin, through semantic evolution. Cf. **adelga**.

**alferiche**: see **filiche/i**.

**alferida** (Arag.) “pearl”: is a word retrieved by Steiger 1948 from inventories of the 14th and 15th c., < And. *\*alfarída* = Cl.Ar. *farīdah* “pearl of unequal quality”. Maíllo 1983:72–73 adds the var. **alfarida** from *Crónica de 1344*.

**alferiño** “stranger” (Can.): is connectable with the entry **alfeiria**, q.v.

**alferraz** (Cs. and Arag.), **ferre** (already registered as Ast. in DRAE, next to **ferriu** in García Arias 2006:31) and **forrás** (Ct.) “a kind of falcon (*Falco nesus*)”: is an etymologically complex term, although no doubt Ar. The Ct.

form, prob. supported by Cs. **alforre** (q.v.), some Arag. forms to be mentioned below and Nav. **algorraz** “sparrowhawk” and **angorraz** “raven” (perhaps contaminated by And. *alḡurāb* = Cl.Ar. *ḡurāb* of the latter meaning, through the shifts /b/ > /m/ > /n/ in cauda, with subsequent suffix metanalysis and substitution), might be considered as hybridized with the Rom. aug. suffix, from Ar. (*afāḡlir*) **alhurr**, lit., “noble bird”,<sup>274</sup> the usual name of the goshawk. However, as the Cs. vocalism does not fit into this hypothesis, Eguílaz, DRAE and Coromines propounded Ar. *\*farrās* “prey ripper”, regardless of the fact that Ar. /r/ before /a/ is usually velarized and unfavourable to a Rom. result /el/, not to mention the semantic incongruence of such an antonomasia with the size and normal behaviour of lesser birds of prey. Instead of supposing that such a hypothetical etymon had generated **alferraz**, then contaminated by reflexes of Ar. *hurr*, it sounds likelier that the forms with a thematic vowel /e/ had undergone some vocalic contamination, prob. with **aferrar** “to clutch”, a characteristic and most impressive action in the behaviour of birds of prey, as vividly reflected in the folk imagination by **aferrador** “constable, policeman”, in thieves’ cant, as they seize offenders. Also **alfarrocho** (Arag.) and **alfor(r)ucho** (Arag. and Nav.) “sparrowhawk” have the same origin, with a different Rom. suffix, pejorative /+ÓČ/, optionally contaminated in the thematic vowel, by another phonetically very similar bird name, Ar. **alforrocho**, < And. *alfarrūj* = Cl.Ar. *fa/urrūj* “chick” It is striking that the original vocalization be preserved only in the contaminated word, which is not its semantic match; this can be construed as a fortuitous consequence of the strong tendency to harmonize the thematic vowel with that of the suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **alforrochar** “to scare the chickens in the coop”

**alfersa** (Ct.) “smith’s puncher”: prob. derived from And. *\*fārsa* < Cl.Ar. *fārisah*, “horsemanship”, from the etymon of **alferes**, as it is mounted on the anvil in order to protect

<sup>274</sup> By chance no doubt, as it exists everywhere in Ar., not documented in And., unlike a hybrid match, *hurribiyál*, suspected of containing Rom.

\* **ABYÁL** “related to birds” The shorter forms of Cs. and Ast. would betray that the longer ones do contain a Rom. suffix, prob. aug. or pejorative.

it from the punch. The Ar. etymon *\*firzah* "separate piece" suggested with some hesitation by Coromines is not convincing, being a Cl.Ar. word unattested in And., with the basic connotation of "fragment, piece", semantically unsuitable in this case.

**alferuzach**: see **feruz** and **feyruzech**.

**alferza** (Old Cs., with a var. **alferza** in GP 310) "queen in chess":<sup>275</sup> < And. *alfárza* < Cl.Ar. *firzān* < Neo-P. *farzin* < Pahl. *frāzen* "guardian" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfferzar** and **alfferzada**.

**alfesce/ira**: see **alfasir**.

**alfétena** (Pt., with the var. **fetena**, only in Morais, wrongly stressed), **alfeta/ene** (Leo., from DO 190) and **alfetna** (Arag.) "sedition; civil war": < And. *alfitna* = Cl.Ar. *fitnah*, technical term in Islamic law for "war unjustifiable on religious grounds", a metaphor of Rab. Aram. *pitnā* "snake", < Hb. *peten* "viper" = Ugar. >*ptn*<, name of Leviathan in Cananean mythology.

**alfetian** (Old Cs. with a var. **fitian** in GP 92, and again in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:126, **etas alfethian** "age of youth") "eunuch (page); ephebus": is a hapax retrieved by Maíllo 1983:176 from *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, < And. *alfityān* = Cl.Ar. *fityān*, pl. of *fatā*. It is only logical that it be reflected in pl., as there were usually several, as happens with other terms predominantly used as collective (e.g., Cs. **muladí** and **farfán**, mentioned by Maíllo, and a host of other cases, like Cs. **adul**, **asesino**, **atalaya**, **cenefa**, **musulmán**, **regaifa**, **rehén**, **sarraceno**, **tuarego**, **talibán** and **ulema**, Pt. **acedação**, **aiā**, **alcátrate**, **aldemamel**, **anequim** and **assassin**, and Ct. **anibles**, **assassi**, **atífells**, **atzemara**, **jafut**, **nabab**, **reenes**, etc.).

**alfe/atit** and **altfetit** "bread imperfectly baked": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:182, < Ar. *alfatū* "breadcrumbs"

**alfetna**: see **alfétena**.

**alfeyxu**: see **feynac**.

**alfagame**: see **alfagém**.

**alfameres**: see **alfâm(b)ar**.

**alfarg**: see **alfarg**.

**alfayt**: see **alfaida**.

**alferza**, **alfferzar** and **alfferzada**: see **alferza**.

**alfil(ada)**: see **alfil**.

**alffoz**: see **alfoz**.

**alfhagi** "limp": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:86, < Ar. *alxafaj*.<sup>276</sup>

**alfi** "elephantiasis": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1995:104, < neoár. (*dāʾ*) *alfil*.

**alfiar** (Ct.) "to draw water": for *\*alfabiar*, a derivative of *alfābia*, q.v.s.v. *alcabia*.

**alficòs** (Ct.) and **alf/picoz** (Cs.) "cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*)": < And. *alfuqqús/s*, < Rab. Aram. *pikkūsā* "removing the coils of blossoms on gourds".<sup>277</sup> In principle, it would have been just a dietary term of the Jewish community, very fond of the fruits of that plant, which explains the occasional preservation of the original unvoiced bilabial stop, as in the Cs. dialect of La Mancha, after DRAE, but it was soon adapted by all Ar. speakers with a labio-dental consonant, as reflected in Ct. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **alficossar**, **alficossara** and **alficossenc**.

**alficume** "ulcer in the cornea": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, reflected in Ar. spelling as *\*ūqūmā*, perhaps < Lgr. *leukōma*. Cf. **aulunum** and **luluma**.

**alfiérez**: see **alferes**.

**alfiestra** (Gl.) "needle's eye; hole in the head of the rudderstock for inserting the tiller": < Lt. *fēnestra*, through And. Rom.

**alfil**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Ct., the latter with the old var. **a/orfil**, next to Cs. **alfil** in GP 32) and **alfil/m/r** (Pt.) "bishop in chess": < And. *alfil* = Cl.Ar. *fīl* "elephant" < Pahl. *pīl* < Sk. *pīlu*. Intra-Rom. der.: Old Cs.: **alfilada** (in GP 32).

**alfil**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "omen": < Granadan And. *alfil* < Cl.Ar. *faʿl*.

**alhafagi**, q.v., but that is not the case.

<sup>277</sup> This word might derive from Gr. *phýkos* "seaweed", on account of the similarity between both excrescences.

<sup>275</sup> The very concept of a female figure in the game of chess is, as is widely known, only a consequence of its European adaptation. It was originally, and still is in the East, a vizier.

<sup>276</sup> The authors have fancied a confusion with

**alfilem**: see **alfarém**.

**alfiler** (Cs.) and **alfinete** (Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alfanete**), **arfiler** (Leo.) and **anfiler** (Ast.) "pin": < And. *alxilāl* = Cl.Ar. *xilāl*; the evolution was a little more complex in Western Ibero-Rom., as detailed by Coromines, starting from an \***alfiled** (parallel to **adalid** < *addalīl*), with a second dissimilation of the /l—ll/ sequence, or contamination with **fino** "fine", as suggested by Machado. Intra-Rom der.: Cs.: **alfilerazo**, **alfilerera**, **alfileresco**, **alfilerillo** and **alfiletero**; Gl. and Pt.: **alfinetada** and **alfineteiro**; Pt.: **alfinetar** and **alfineteira**.

**alfim**: see **alfil**<sup>1</sup>.

**alfimiane/o** "money belt" (Cs. and Leo.): is simultaneously witnessed by LHP 31 and DO 191, < Ar. *himyān*, also well documented in And.

**alfinago** (Pt.) "rogue": is an archaic word, of meaning and etymon somewhat doubtful. On semantic grounds, Ar. \*\**alhināk* "bridle" suggested by Machado is not valid, it being besides a term infrequent in Cl.Ar. and unknown in And. A better choice could be And. *xannāq* "fishmonger", considering their bad reputation in *hisbah* treatises (cf. the parallel case of Cs. **charrán**) or, if the abnormal palatalization of /a/ after /x/ had no intra-Rom. cause, the attributive adjective \**xināqi* from *xināqa* "fish market".

**alf/hinde** (Old Cs.) and **alfindi** (Old Ct.) "steel (mirror)": < And. (*mirī min*) *hind* < Cl.Ar. (*mirʔātun min*) *alhind* "Indian mirror", the usual name in those times for concave mirrors and lenses. Of the same origin is el Cs. **alinde** "steel", also meaning the mirror surface or a magnifying glass.

**alfinete**, **alfinetada**, **alfineteiro**, **alfinetar** and **alfineteira**: see **alfiler**.

**alfinge**: see **esfenja**.

**alfirem**: see **alfarém**.

**alfitete** (Cs. and Pt.) "a sweet": < And. *alfitāt(a)* < Cl.Ar. *futāt(ah)* "breadcrumbs", used in confectionery.

**alfitra** (Old Cs. and Old Pt.) "a tribute": < And. *alfīṭrah*, already documented in that sense under the Merinids by DS, stemming from Cl.Ar. *fīṭrah* "alms given at the end of Ramadan". Pocklington 1984:272–274 reg-

isters the var. **alfatra** and **alfenrra** in documents of the time of Alfonso X, from Murcia and Alicante, the first of which is accounted for by And. phonetics (see AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2), although there is no witness of \**fātra*; as for the second one, if it is not a mere mistake, it admits of an intra-Rom explanation, according to this scholar, such as that Cs. **mençal**, q.v. Cf. **trafi**.

**alfiz** (Cs.) "frame of an arch": we had propounded the And. etymon \**alhīz* < Cl.Ar. *hayyiz* because, although the contraction of secondary diphthongs is not habitual in And., there are some cases thereof in low and/or late registers (e.g., **cid** "Sir" from *sāyyid* and **jíd** "good" from *jāyyid*, see AAR 2.1.1.4.3), and that would precisely be the case of a late architectural term, most likely taken from the Mudejar or Morisco jargons, and unrecorded by DA, Terreros, Coromines, and Moliner. But it might be in order to revise even our proposal in the first additions and corrections to DAI as, upon reviewing Kiegel-Keicher 2005, and more concretely her vindication of the old etymon of **alféizar**, we have come now to the conclusion that an And. reflex of Ar. *faṣḍ* "overflow" (cf. **alfaida** and **faido**) or *faḍīd* "overflowing", stands a better chance of hitting the mark, as it perfectly overlaps the definition of "bevelled openings in the walls for doors and windows, so that their leaves can be opened wider, letting more light in" Monophthongization cannot strike as unlikely in a loanword as young as this, it being also expectable that older **alféizar** would preserve a more archaic shape; neither can the common origin of both terms surprise, it being rather a corroboration of our latest view, as the talk goes in both instances about flat surfaces next to an opening in a wall. The different pronunciation, however, denotes the belonging of these terms to different periods, which also helps in understanding the semantic evolution mediating between them.

**alfàvia**: see **alfàbia**.

**alfoach** "hiccups": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:87, < Ar. *alfuwāq*.

**alfobre**: see **alcouve**.

**alfoc(h)e**: see **alfoz**.

**alfócigo**: see **alfóstigo**.

**alfofre/o**: see **alcouve**.

**alfola** (Pt., documented from the 14th c.), **alfolla** (Old Cs., after Eguílaz) and **fol(l)e** (Leo., from DO 245) "tunic": < And. *alhúlla* = Cl.Ar. *hullah*.

**alfolba**: see **albolba**.

**alfolí**, **alfoli(n)ero**, **alfolim** and **alfolín**: see **alborín**.

**alfolla**: see **alfola**.

**alfolva**: see **albolba**.

**alfomare**: see **alfâm(b)ar**.

**alfombra**<sup>1</sup>: see **alfâm(b)ar**.

**alfombra**<sup>2</sup> or **alfombrilla** (Cs., with a var. **alhambra** in GP 37) "measles": < And. *alhúmbra* = Cl.Ar. *humrah* "redness", already with the medical meaning in Cl. dictionaries, while the *Leiden Glossary* calls erysipelas *dāṭu lhumrah*, lit., "ailment of redness".

**alfombrar**, **alfombrero** and **alfombrista**: see **alfâmbar**.

**alfona**: see **alfana**.

**alfóncigo**: see **alfórnico**.

**alfóndec** (Ct., with the var. **alfóndic**) and **alhóndiga** (Cs., with the old var. **alfóndega** "inn") and **lóndiga** (Cs.) and **alfondeca** and **alfundega** (Leo., from DO 192) "wheat exchange": the cauda of these words has been metanalysed as the Rom. unstressed suffix [+IKA], thus altering the expectable shape of the And. etymon *fúndaq* < Cl.Ar. *fundaq*, < Gr. *pandokeion* "inn", through Aram. *pendēqā*. From the same origin are Cs. and Ct. **fonda**, although prob. through an uncertain Mediterranean transmission (perhaps the lingua franca), and contemporary Cs. **fondac**, unassimilated and poorly documented, transmitted through Mor. *fandaq*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alfondeguero**, **alhondiguero** and **alhondigaje**; Ct.: **alfondeguer**.

**alfóndega** (Gl.) "a kind of flying fish (Cypselurus / Exocetus rondeleti)" and **alfondega** "tub gurnard, tubfish (Trigla hirundo / lucerna)" (Anl., prob. wrongly stressed): are no doubt of Ar. origin, but their etymon is not

obvious. Considering the frequent reuse as fish names of land species (cf., in Cs., **lubina** "sea bass" < **lobo** "wolf", **gallineta** "blue mouth" < **gallina** "hen", **palometa** "ray's bream" < **paloma** "dove", **cigala** "Dublin bay prawn" < **cigarra** "cicada", etc.), we may be dealing with a contamination, by suffix metanalysis and substitution, of a reflex **\*alfó(n)defa** of And. *xuttāfa* = Cl.Ar. *xuttāfah* "swallow"<sup>278</sup> by the more frequent Ar. loanword **alfóndiga**. However, neither can we exclude an abridgement into its second constituent of a longer metaphorical designation containing this latter word, as the menu of second rate restaurants used to be quite monotonous and that kind of fish is not top quality: we could imagine something like Cs. **\*pescado de alhóndiga** "low quality fish usually served at inns" Cf. **alfóndec**.

**alfondeguer(o)**: see **alfóndec**.

**alfóndic**: see **alfóndec**.

**alhóndiga**: see **alfóndec**.

**alfonim**: see **alborín**.

**alfonsario**: see **alfonsim**.

**alfonsim** (Pt.) "a fish from Madeira", **alfoucim** (Pt., only in Morais) "a fish from Azores" and **alfonsiño** "small red fish" (Can., from Pt., with the var. **alfunsíño**, **alfons(it)o**, **alfursiño**, etc., and identifications changing according to area, but almost always species of red colour): their relation with Ct. **anfós** "grouper (Serranus gigas)" cannot be doubted, although they can be very different species,<sup>279</sup> only connected, to judge from Can., by that colour, characteristic of **alfonsiño** and grouper, although this also has less common white and black subspecies. Western Ibero-Rom. documentation would corroborate that Lt. *rūfos* entered Br. as *\*arfos*, whence And. *\*alfúss*, subsequently contaminated within Rom. by the very common pr.n. **Alfonso** (Cs. and Pt.) or **Anfós** (Ct.). This term, as often happens with terms, spread to the entire Mediterranean area, being represented in Levant by Neo-Gr. *rophós* or *roupho*, whence Tr. *orfoz*.

<sup>278</sup> In fact, some dictionaries, like Kazimirski's, register *xuttāf* as a fish name. Neo-Ar. *xuttayf(ah)* (cf. also Davidson 1972:57, *khoutiffa* and *khoutiffet el bahr*, given as Tun.), although undocumented in And., would further this hypothesis.

<sup>279</sup> Corrales, Corbella & Alvarez Martínez 1966:64 give no less than 8 identifications: *Trigla hirundo*, *Amia imberbe*, *Anthias anthias*, *Beryx dedactylus* and *splendens*, *Brama raji*, *Priacanthus cruentatus* and *arenatus*.

**alforado** (Arag., also Cs., after Eguílaz, without an authority), and **alforrat** (Ct., mentioned by Eguílaz, next to Lt. **alforatus**, with hesitating gemination) “caparisoned with rich trappings”: considering Alcalá’s data, quoted by that author, *hilyat farás* “horse’s trappings” and *farás muhallí* “caparisoned horse”, it is easy to conceive that, from the matching pl. *hulí* < Cl.Ar. *hulà*, a hybrid And. Rom. \**al+huly+ÁT* “bejewelled” was formed, with subsequent dissimilation of the sonorant sequence /l—l/ into /l—r/. Cf. **halarea**.

**alforanda** (Tol.) “the pork’s caecum”: < And. *furát* “anus”, < Lt. *fōrātus* “hole”. There has been suffix substitution. Cf. **tafaforate**.

**alforaz** “a fish defined as solitary and nocturnal (*Priacanthus cruentatus*)” (Can.): < And. *furád* “lonely”, also reflected in Jud.-Ar.; cf. Blau 2006:495.

**alforba**: see **albolba**.

**alforbe**: see **alcouve**.

**alforcha** (Arag.), **alforja** (Cs. and Ct.), **alforje** (Pt.), **alforxa** (Gl.), **alforxias** (Leo., pl.), **alforxes** (Ast., pl.) and **anforja** (Nav.) “saddlebag”: < And. *alxurj* = Cl.Ar. *xurj*, with intra-Rom. almost general development of a fem. morpheme from paragogical /e/\*see 1.1.4.4.1). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alforjero** and **alforjuela**; Cs. and Pt.: **desalforjar**; Ct.: **alforger**; Gl.: **alforxada**; Pt.: **alforjada**, **alforjar** and **alforjerio**; Ast.: **alforxar** and **alforxeru**.

**alforda**: see **alforza**.

**alforfa**: see **albolba**.

**alforfião** (Pt.) “spurge (*Euphorbia*)”: from scientific Ar. (*alfurbiyūn* < Gr. *euphōrbion*).

**alforfjón** (Cs.) “buckwheat (*Fagopyrum* spp.)”: according to Coromines, aug. of Gl. **alforfa** “lucerne”, because it is used for forage. Its chronology and circulation exclude the Ar. etymon \**furfūr* of former editions of DRAE; besides, this term has never meant “buckwheat”, which DS affirmed only by a mistaken interpretation of this Ar. loanword.

**alforger**: see **alforcha**.

**alforí**: see **alborín**.

**alforia** “space”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 32, reflecting Ar. *fur-*

*jah* “interstice” but, according to Kunitzsch 1959:172–173 and 1961:95, this is a mere error for *qurhah* “star on a horse’s forehead”, which he identifies with the star Xi Cephei.

**alforí(n)**, **alforís** and **alforiz**: see **alborín**.

**alforja**: see **albolba**.

**alforja/e**, **alforjada**, **alforjar** and **alforjerio**: see **alforcha**.

**alforjón**: see **alforfón**.

**alforjuela**: see **alforcha**.

**alforma** (Pt.) “safe-conduct sold, after the Bed. custom, to strangers within their boundaries”: < Ar. *alḥurmah* “inviolability”, whence mod. Has. *ḥarme* “protection granted or tribute compensating for it”. It is a term from the North African campaigns, apparently also occasionally used in Cs. with the spelling **alhorma**, misunderstood as “Moorish camp” by DRAE (eliminated in its latest edition), and better reflected by Eguílaz in a text with the sense of “guide responsible for the safe arrival to their destination of the people so protected”.<sup>280</sup> Cf. **cafarro** and **rafeca**.

**alforcho**: see **alferraz**.

**alforque**: in LHP 32, excerpted from the statute law of Tudela (see Corriente 2004b:73), is perhaps a mistake for \***alfoque**(he)s < Ar. *fuqahā* “doctors in Islamic law” or, less likely given the context, a corruption of **exorques** “partners”, q.v.

**alforra** (Pt.), **alforro** (Val. and Ib. dialects of Ct.) and **alhorre**<sup>2</sup> from DO 193 (Cs. and Ext.) “skin eruption in the babies” (but “mildew on cereals” in Pt.), **alburre** “white sores in a child’s mouth” (Ext.) and **ahorre** “eruption in a baby’s mouth” (Ext.), **alh/jorra** “blight of cereals” (Can.), **alhorro** “barley blight” (Ext.), **arrorre** “aphthae” (Anz.) and **ajorrillo** “child’s rash” (Anl., with intra-Rom. dim.): all these terms apparently derive from And. \**šaktyyat alḥurr* “ailment of the free, i.e., white people”, as blacks were supposed to be immune from it. From the same etymon apparently are also **burrica** “fever blister” (Man.) and **borrega** “blister; gastric fever” (Anl.), with dim. suffixation and contamination by the standard **burra** “jenny-ass”

<sup>280</sup> About this word and its der., see the pre-

cious information of Frago 1997.

**alforrar(se), alforrament(o) and aforra-**  
**dor:** see **alforre**.

**alforre:** see **alferraz**.

**(al)forre/o** (Ct.) and **horro** (Cs.) “free-man”: < And. *(al)húrr* = Cl.Ar. *hurr*. Thence also, by semantic evolution Ct. *forra* “sterile female” (but “non-pregnant” in Leo., “sterile, not having given birth or not giving milk” in Ext. and Mon.), Tol. **a(h)orra** “barren cow”, Arag. **aforra** “barren mare”, **ao/urra** “barren ewe”, **aorro** “walking without a burden”, **(a)forro** “lightly dressed”, **aforro** “not wearing a jacket” (Nav.), verbal der., like Cs. **ahor-rar**, Sal. **horrar**, Leo. and Bie. **aforrar** and Arag. **aforrá** “to save” (Arag. also “to have a miscarriage”, like dial. Ct. **forrar**, **(a)forrar-se** and **esforrar**), Pt. **aforrar** “to free; to save” with its verbal noun **aforro**, Ar. **afor-rar-se** and **aorrar** “to put on lighter clothing”, **ajorrarse** “to take off one’s clothes” (Sal.), **ahorrrar** “to empty; to go down; to hide; to take eggs from a nest; to steal fruits; to stay without young” (Ext.), **ahorrarse** “to have a miscarriage” (Can.), **ahorra** “barren cow” (Nvh.), and denominal der., such as Gl. **for-reta** and **aforrón** “stingy” and Ar. **forrón** “too thrifty”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aforrecho**, **ahorradador**, **ahorramiento**, **ahorrrar**, **ahor-rativa/o**, **ahorro**, **horrar** and **en horre**; Ct.: **alforrer**, **alforrar**, **a(l)forrar(se)**, **a(l)forro**, **a(l)forrament**, **a(l)forrador** and **forradís** “prematurely born”; Pt.: **aforramento**; Gl.: **aforrón**. Cf. **alforria**, **alforra** and **jorro**.

**alforreca** (Pt.) and **alburra/eca** or **bor-reca** (Anl.), **furriecca** (Can.) “jellyfish” **for-reca** (Pt., only in Morais) “larvae growing in reedbeds” and **alhurreca** (Cs.) “saltpetre deposited on the shore by seawater”: are prob. akin, but semantically ill-defined. Pt. still means “reproachable thing” and, according to DA, the Cs. word was not transparent either, at times meaning certain balls of organic substance washed ashore. There are no grounds, then, to reject an etymon based on And. *alhurráyqah* “poison ivy” (from the Cl. root *[hrq]* “to burn”), very apt for jellyfish, but it could as well be a hybrid \**xurr*+*ÁYQA*, with an adjectival Rom. suffix attached to Ar. *xur*?

“excrement”, apparently used in Al-Andalus, as suggested by **alhorre**<sup>1</sup>.

**alforria** (Pt. and Ct.) and **a(l)horria** (Cs.) “condition of freedom”: < And. *alhurríyya* = Cl. Ar. *hurriyyah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alforriar**.

**alforro:** see **alforra**.

**alforrochar** and **alfor(r)och**: see **alferraz**.

**alfortoner** (Ct.) “a kind of tray”: can hardly derive from **ofertori**, as Coromines would have it, by positing an intermediate \***aufertoner**. Much likelier an etymon is And. \**furrún*, a Rom. aug. from L. *furtus* “adornment; fitting”, prob. already with vowel harmonization (cf. IQ \**jurrún* “large jar”), documented in cookery books as a conical vessel, whence prob. also Cs. **hortera**, with suffix substitution. The meaning recorded by Alcover & Moll, “piece of linen covering the offering in a funeral mass”, appears to be secondary, and in this case indeed contaminated by **ofertori**.

**alforva:** see **albolba**.

**alforxa(r)**, **alforxeru** and **alforxias:** see **alforcha**.

**alf/horza** (Cs.), **lorza** (Gl., Arag., Nav. and Ast.), **alforda** (Ext.), **loza** (Anz.) and **tsorza** (Leo.), **llorza** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:206) and **aljórza** (Jud.-Sp.) “plait, tuck”: < And. *alhúzza* < Cl.Ar. *hujzah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alforzar**.

**alfóstigo** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alfostigueiro**), **alfóstiga** (Old Cs., also **alfoztec**, in GP 32) and **alfó(n)cigo** or **alhócigo** (Cs.) “pistachio (*Pistacia vera*)”: < And. *alfústaq* (contaminated by the unstressed attributive Rom. suffix *[+IKO]*, cf. **alhóndiga**) < Cl.Ar. *fustuq* < Pahl. *pistag* (of Old Iranian origin, reflected by the Gr. pl. *pistákia*). The second Cs. form exhibits contamination by the pr.n. **Alfonso**, as in the case of Ct. **anfós** (q.v.), and of Cs. **alfonsa-rio** “ossuary” for **(f)ó(n)sario**, a mere jesting alteration suggesting the final station of every **Alfonso**, i.e., of all mankind: it was first a very aristocratic name, then becoming so common that it was used as English “Tom, Dick and Harry”;<sup>281</sup> there is no need then to resort here

no regard”.

This is also the explanation of Cs. **alfon-searse** “to mock”, i.e., “to treat as a person of

to an Ar. article, *pace* DRAE. From the same etymon are **fustet** (Ct.) and **fustete** (Pt. and Cs., borrowed from Ct.) “fustet, European smoke tree (*Cotinus coggygria*)”, contaminated by the Ct. dim. suffix, as if from **fusta** “wood”. There are also mod. forms, like **pistacho** (Cs. and Gl.), **pistache** (Pt.) and **pistatxo** (Ct.) “pistachio”, directly borrowed from Fr. *pistache* < It. *pistacchio*, derived from Gr. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **pistache** and **pistachero**.

**alfoucim**: see **alfonsim**.

**alfova**: see **albolba**.

**alfovre**: see **alcouce**.

**alfoz** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **foz** (Cs.), **alffoz**, **alfoc(h)e**, **alfouza/e**, **alfoze/o**, **alfuz**, **alhauze**, **alhoz** and **alhoc(e)** (Leo., from DO 192 and 193), and **alfoz(e)**, **alfoçe**, **alfouze**, **alfauce** and **alhouce** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:20) “district”: < And. *alhāwz* = Cl.Ar. *hawz*. Intra-Rom. der.: Leo.: **alfoc(e)iros** and **alfozeros** “inhabitants of a district” (from DO 192).

**alfrag**: see **alfaneque**.

**alfrez** (Cs.): Coromines’ interpretation of the line 1078c of *Libro de Buen Amor* (**diz yo só el alférez con esta malapresa** “say, I am the champion [needed] in this mishap”) ignores the *lectio difficilior* **alfrez** of one ms. and prefers the reading **con** of one to that of other two, **contra**. Although the general meaning is correctly grasped, i.e., the challenge between Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma, the truth is that the passage gains intelligibility by assuming that Juan Ruiz, as in other instances, is putting to use his acquaintance with certain Islamic cultural topics, in this particular case, one which even designated a literary subgenre of edifying anecdotes, *alfaraju baṣḍa ššiddah* “consolation after grief”,<sup>282</sup> usually provided by Providence to assuage mankind’s bitter lot. According to our proposal, what Don Jueves promises the Archpriest is not to become his “champion in this mishap”, but to relieve him from his grief, there being a remarkable semantic identity between Ar. *šiddah* and Cs. **malapresa**. Otherwise, the And. *farāj* = Cl.Ar.

*farāj* is perfectly apt to produce a Rom. result **alf(e)rez**, with ultima stress.

**alfrezes** (Pt., with the old var. **al(f)fres**) “bedspread”: appears to derive from And. *alfirāš* = Cl.Ar. *firāš*, with the infrequent shift of /š/ to /s/, recorded in SK 2.18.2. Cf. **almofrej**.

**alfridaría** (Pt. and Cs., with the var. of *Libro Complido*, **firdaria/e**, **firidarie**, **fidari**, **fadaria** and **viridarie** and, from DAX 898, **firdaries**) “astrological influence”: < Neo-Ar., with the var. *fardāriyah*, *ifridāriyah* and *firdār*, < Gr. *proedreia* “preferential position”.<sup>283</sup>

**alfud** or **faud** “heart”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *alfuḍād*.

(**al**)**fulad** “steel”: is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:226, < Ar. *fūlād* < Neo-P. *pulād* < Pahl. *pōlāwād*.

**alfulfuli** “electuary of several kinds of pepper”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:183, < Ar. *alfulfuli* “of pepper”.<sup>284</sup>

**alfundega**: see **alfóndec**.

**alfunsiño**: see **alfonsim**.

**alfurja/e** (Pt.) “well of a building”: the old var. **alfúgera** suggests an Ar. etymon *fa/ujrah* “empty space in a valley”, undocumented so far, however, in And.<sup>285</sup>

**alfursiño**: see **alfonsim**.

**alga** “outer skin of an onion” (Man.): looks like a haplological var. of standard **algara**<sup>2</sup>, q.v., supported by **fárfara** and **alara**.

**algaba** (Cs.) “forest”: < And. *algāba* = Cl.Ar. *gābah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algabefio** “native from La Algaba (Seville)”

**algabarra** “peg holding the head of a drawhammer in place”: this term, given by Eguílaz as Granadan, without an authority, cannot obviously derive from Ar. *\*jibārāh* “splint for a broken limb” (as that is what he meant by *\*chabāra*<); it looks more like a metonymy of the And. etymon of **cabarra**, q.v.

**algabenaire** (Arag.) “a person speaking idly or falsely”: < And. *algabína* =

<sup>282</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> VII, 859.

<sup>283</sup> See Labarta 1982:236 and Hilty 2005b: 190. Look up also **firdaries** alphabetically.

<sup>284</sup> The authors allude to the correct pl. form *fulāfili*, but it was obviously ignored upon bor-

rowing this item, for which the sg. was preferred, about which, cf. **forforí**.

<sup>285</sup> But undoubtedly the origin of And. *búrja* “vaulted niche with or without a window”, reported by Ibn Hišām as a barbarism.

Cl.Ar. *gabīnah* "fraud, deceit", with Rom. suffixation.

**algalbera** "a creeping spontaneous plant (Chenoloides tomentosa, with the var. *alobera* and *algahuera*)" (Can.): prob. hybridization with a Rom. suffix of the etymon of **alga**, q.v.

**algachofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**algada** and **algaz** (Ct.) "a skin disease": no better identified, is mentioned next to "ringworm" in bookish transmission. Coromines' derivation from Ar. *\*gādā* "embers" is unlikely; a better candidate would be And. *alqadā* = Cl.Ar. *qadā* "blariness of the eyes", graphically, phonetically and semantically closer, if the context would allow it. Cf. **alchada/i** and **alchadam**.

**algadara**: see **algarrada**.

**al/rgaderas**, **al/rgados** and **argadillo** (Arag., from Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:96, **algadillo**) and **argadells** (Ct.) "frames for the load on a beast", **argadillo** and **argañillo** "esparto frames for water jars carried on beasts" (Ext.), and **argadijo** or **argadillo** (Cs.), **argadillo** (Pt.), **argadelo** (Gl.) and **argadiellu** (Ast.) "winding frame": are all prob. reflexes of And. Rom. *\*šallaqa+TÁYRA*, *\*šallaq+ÁTO* and *\*šallaq+ÁT+ÉLO*, hybrids with Rom. suffixes of Neo-Ar. *šallāqah* "accessory for hanging objects", which seems likelier than a rare Lt. *\*ergāta* < Gr. *\*ergātēs* "capstan". From the same etymon, with semantic evolution, is **argadijo** "testicles; odd job; a heap of disparate objects" (Anl.). Cf. **árganas** (in Appendix I).

**algafacán** (Cs., with the var. **gafacan** in Herrera & Vázquez 1981:150–152 and **cafachan** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176) "pain in the heart": is a bookish transmission of And. *alxafaqān* = Cl.Ar. *xafaqān* "(heart) palpitation". Cf. **algazafán**.

**algaffra** (from GP 33, with the var. **algar(e)f**, **algarfia** and **garf**) is an unassimi-

lated astronomical term, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:63, with the 15th mansion of the moon, integrated by the stars Iota, Kappa and Lambda Virginis, < Ar. *alḡafr*, lit., "belly; pouch"

**algafir** (Llt. in an Arag. document) "draining ditch": < And. *ħafir* = Cl.Ar. *ħafir*.<sup>286</sup>

**algáfita** and **algafite**: see **gafeti**.

**algaida** (Cs.) "bush thicket": < And. *alḡáya* = Cl.Ar. *ḡáya* "thicket". Considering that this word has always been applied to swampy areas, Coromines is absolutely right in his rejection of the proposals by DE, Eguílaz and DRAE to consider its second meaning "sandbank" as a separate word, for which they suggested untenable Ar. etyma.<sup>287</sup> Of the same origin are An. **algaira** and **gato argaira** "genet", recorded by Garulo 1983:176 (akin to Ast. **gatu algaire** "wild cat", in García Arias 2006:21, prob. an And. gentilic. *\*ḡáya*). Intra-Rom. der.: Anz.: **algaido** "branch covered"; Mur.: **algaidonar** "woods"

**algafjos** (Anz.): is a var. of standard **argadajo**, q.v.s.v. **algaderas**.

**algaira**: see **algaida**.

**algalia**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the old var. **galia**, in GP 94), **algàlia** (Ct.), **algal/ria** (Gl.) and **algàlia** (Pt.) "civet": < And. *alḡāliya* = Cl.Ar. *ḡāliyah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algaliar** and **algalihero**; Ct.: **algaliar**.

**algalfos**: see **califa**.

**(al)galsamac**, **galsamati**, **algalsem** and **algassam** "uvula": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:20, < Ar. *ḡalṣamah*.

**alga(m)** "affliction": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:87–88, < Ar. *alḡamm*.<sup>288</sup>

**algamal/na**: see **amalgama** (in Appendix I).

**algarar**: see **alfāmbar**.

**algamula**: see **argamula**.

**algamur** "gums":<sup>289</sup> is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:89, < A. *alṣumūr*.

<sup>286</sup> This item confirms our reading, adjusted to a well-known *tópos* of Cl.Ar. poetry (traditionally expressed with the term *\*nuṭy*) of the paleographically doubtful passage of IQ 147/0/2, which was being given another interpretation, closer to the ms., but thematically removed from the classicizing style of this context.

<sup>287</sup> The latest edition of DRAE has eliminated the first and most authentic meaning, while retaining its correct etymon.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. also **alhem**.

<sup>289</sup> With the var. **alhamur** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171.



**alganaça** (dial. Pt., only in Morais) “a wading bird: perhaps < And. *alqannāša* < Cl.Ar. *qannāšah* “hunter (fem.)” From the same origin is **algarnaça** (Pt., only in Morais) “burly man”, with phonetic alteration and the same metonymy as in **algarivão**, q.v.s.v. **alcaraván**.

**algame** (Pt.) “head shepherd” and **gan-hão** (Pt.) and **gañán** (Cs. and Gl.) “farm hand”: < And. *gannām* = Cl.Ar. *gannām* “shepherd”, with a semantic evolution due to contamination with **ganar/ganhar** “to earn: to win”, possibly favoured by a semantic calque of Rom., generating in And. *\*\*\*kassáb* the sense of “stock farmer” (cf. Mor. *\*\*\*kassab*, of the same meaning, and *ksiba* “cattle”). Cf. also **rebaño**.

**algar** (Cs., Pt. and Llt. in Arag. documents) “cave”: < And. *algár* = Cl.Ar. *gār*. Pt. **algarica** “apiary” may also derive from this etymon, as it was common practice to shelter beehives from the rain in rock cavities. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **algarão** and **algarajo**. Cf. **algarbe**.

**algará**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “raid”: < And. *algára* = Cl.Ar. *gārah*. Cs. and Gl. also have a form with Rom. suffixation, **algarada**; both are registered in Ct., as loanwords from Cs. The term **algaravide**, excerpted by Eguílaz from a *Noticia sobre las tres provincias vascongadas*, and interpreted as “booty gained from raids”, is interesting, because the Ar. word appears hybridised with Basque *bide* “way; trade; lawful gain” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algarear**, semantically evolved towards “to vociferate”, **algareador** and **algarero**; Ct.: **algarejar** and **algarer**; Gl.: **algareiro**, **algareo** and **alga-reón**; Arag., **algaría** “severe hunger or thirst”, **algarioso** “very hungry or thirsty” and **algarazo** “shower” (cf. Tol. **algará(ita)** “fall of hail or snow”); Nav. **algarada** “storm” (cf. Cs. **algaracear** “to snow softly” and Ast. **xarazar** “to hail softly”) and **algaríar** “to startle”

**al(g)ara**<sup>2</sup> and **fárfara** or **hálara** (Cs.) and **jara**<sup>2</sup> or **járjara** (Anl., with different phonetic evolution) “pellicle of the egg”: < And. *alǧilála* < Cl.Ar. *ǧalīlālah* “garment next to the body” The first form exhibits dissimilation in /r/ of the /l—l/ sequence and subsequent haplology, while the second and third ones reflect the syntagm *\*falǧalála*, i.e., Cs. **en fárfara** “(egg)

without shell” (cf. Nav. **huevo en farfa**), with metanalysis of the preposition as part of the word, due to the frequency of that idiom. The antepenultima stress (cf. **álgebra**, **álcali**) and the transcription of /ǧ/ by >h< (in a necessary previous *\*falhalala*) would give away a phase of scientific Llt. The same etymon would have generated **garga** “egg without shell” (Anl.), with repercussion of /g/ in the second syllable, as it is not credible that Ar. *ǧirqi*? “pellicle of the egg” would have survived here. Neither does the alleged Ar. etymon. *\*\*\*halhala* of former editions of DRAE appear to have existed. Cf. **algilala**.

(**algarab** “abscess and fistule in the corner of the eye”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:89, < Ar. *algarab*.

**algarabán** “knucklebones” (Anz.): see **alcaraván**.

**algarabe** (Ast.) “vociferous”, from García Arias 2006:181, from the etymon of **alárabe**, q.v.

**algarabejo**: see **algavaro**.

**algarabía**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Gl.), **arabía** (Cs.) and **algaravia** (Ct. and Pt., the latter with the var. **aravia**, perhaps derived from the longer form by normal loss of intervocalic /l/) “Ar. language; confused noise”: < And. *alṣarabīyya* = Cl.Ar. *ṣarabīyyah*. Of the same origin is Tol. **algarabío** “uproar”, again with the pejorative semantic nuance. Intra-Rom. ders.: Cs.: **algarabiado**; Pt.: (**al**)**araviar**.

**algarabía**<sup>2</sup>: this plant name was not properly identified before Bustamante 2005:150, who has established that it designates no less than six species (*Euphrasia odontites* / *lutea* / *viscosa* / *trixago*, *Eupragia viscosa* / *latifolia*), all of them with ophthalmological applications, which explains its etymon, Ar. *jara-biyyah*, i.e. “indicated for (the treatment of) trachoma” The transcription of /j/, rather than an archaic “Yemenite” trait would betray early bookish transmission.

**algarabío**: see **alárabe**.

**algaracear**: see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algarada**: see **algará**<sup>1</sup>, **algarrrá** and **algar-rada**.

**algaraita**: see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algarão**: see **algar**.

**algaraván:** see **alcaraván**.

**algaravazes** (Pt., only in Morais) "hem of a dress": < Ar. *qirbās*, which must have acquired the general meaning of "ornament" (see DS about its use as architectural term). Cf. **alcaraviz**.

**algaravia:** see **algarabía**.

**algaravide:** see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algaravio:** see **algarvio**.

**algaraviz:** see **alcaraviz**.

**algarazo:** see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algar(be):** see **agarbarse**.

**algarbe** (Cs.) "West": documented by Pocklington 1984:274–277 in the *Repartimiento* and some other documents of Murcia, < And. *algārb* = Cl.Ar. *garb*. The same etymon has the meaning "early black fig" (Ext.), possibly related to the Pt. region called Algarve, which produces excellent figs. Cf. **algarvès**.

**algarcez** (Lit. in an Arag. document) "vegetable gardens": < And. *garsát*, pl. of *gars(a)*, from Cl.Ar. *gars* "scion". Cf. **garsó**.

**algardacho:** see **alfardacho**.

**algareador and algareiro:** see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algar(e)f:** see **algaffra**.

**algarejo:** see **algar**.

**algare(j)ar, algareo, algareón and algarer(o):** see **algará**.

**algethe:** see **alaria**.

**algarffa:** see **algaffra**.

**algaría:** see **algará** and **algalia**.

**algaríar:** see **algará**<sup>1</sup>.

**algarça:** see **algar**.

**algarín** "thief of fruit and chickens" and "male partridge which is not wooing and cannot serve as lure" (Anz.): appear to be a semantic evolution of And. *garīm* = Cl.Ar. *garīm*, in principle "debtor", but often "person wanted for some purpose, usually negative". The homophonous Anz. in the meaning "skipper, needlefish (*Scomberosox saurus*); lazy", recorded by Alvar Ezquerro 2000:61 1983:177, is prob. a var. thereof.

**algarioso:** see **algará**.

**algarivão:** see **alcaraván**.

**algarivo** (Old Cs.) "stranger": < And. *algārīb* = Cl.Ar. *garīb*.

**algarismo** (Gl. and Pt.), (**al**)**guarismo** (Cs.), **guarismo** (Gl.) and **algoris/tme** or (**al**)**guarisme** (Ct.): to judge from the Lit. var. *algorithmus*, *algorismus*, *alchoarismus* and *alkauresmus*, reflect the gentile part of the name of the renowned mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā Alxuwārizmī, whose work *Aljamī watafrīq biḥisāb alhind* ("Addition and division, in the reckoning of the Hindus"), written in 820 and soon known in the West,<sup>290</sup> appears to have caused the introduction of the so called Arabic numerals. From the same etymon, contaminated by Gr. *arīthmos* "number", is the more recent term **algoritmo** (Cs. and Pt.) and **algoritme** (Ct.) "algorithm" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algoritmia** and **algoritmico**; Ct.: **algorismia** and **algorismic**; Gl.: **algorítmico**; Pt.: **algarismar**, **algarismeira** and **algoritmia**.

**algarixes:** see **alarije**.

**algarnaça:** see **alganaça**.

**algará** "ravage" (Anz.): is a reflex of standard **algarrada**<sup>2</sup> "bullfighting or corraling", an apparent var. of standard **algarada**<sup>1</sup>, Rom. suffixation of standard **algará**, q.v. From the same origin might be, because of the din raised on such occasions, **algarrear** "to shout in song" and **algarra** "call of caged partridges" (Mon. and Tol.), but the influence, at the very least, of And. Rom. *GARRÍRE*, so frequent in the *xarajāt*,<sup>291</sup> cannot be excluded.

**algarrada**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the var. **algadara** and **algarada**, Arag., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "catapult": < And. *alḡarrāda* = Cl.Ar. *ḡarrādah*, prob. contaminated by *ḡaraḡ* "target", through a folk etymology suggesting "hitter of targets" Cf. **algarrá**.

**algarrada**<sup>2</sup>: see **algarrá**.

**algarrafa:** see **garrafa**.

**algarrob/fa, algarrobal, algarrobera/o, algarrobilla and algarrobo:** see **alfarroba**.

**algaruna:** see **gazua**.

**algarvão:** see **alcaraván**.

<sup>290</sup> See Vernet 1978:60–66. According to this most knowledgeable scholar, it spread in Al-Andalus before it did it in the rest of Europe, in the aftermath of a Toledan translation in the 12th c.,

entitled *De numero indorum*. Therefore, we give up the hypothesis put forward in Corriente 1996b:25, 1996c:89, and 1997c:16.

<sup>291</sup> See PD 365 and fn. 64.

**algarvès** (Ct.) and **algarviense** or **algar(a)vio** (Pt.) "native from Algarve": < And. *algarbí* = Cl.Ar. *ġarbí*, gentile of *ġarb*, lit., "West"

**algasen** and **alguassem** "tattoo": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez 1995:417 and Vázquez Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alwašm*.

**algassam**: see **algalsam**.

**algas(s)as** "lump in the throat": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:90, < Ar. *alġuṣaš* (pl. of *ġuṣsaḥ*).

**(al)gatzara** (Ct.), **algazara** (Cs. and Gl.) and **algazar(r)a** (Pt.) "uproar": < And. *alġazāra* "idle talk" < Cl.Ar. *ġazārah* "abundance (of water, milk, etc.)". Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **gatzarejar** and **gatzarós**; Pt.: **algazarrrão** and **algazarrar**.

**algavaro** (Cs.) "Capricorn beetle (Cerambyx herox)": < And. *alġawwār* "raider", on account of its long pikelike antennae, with a metathetic var. An. **algarabejo**, in Garulo 1983:176.

**algayata**: see **alcaiaata**.

**algaz** (Pt.) prob. "fruit of the doom palm": is a late and poorly documented borrowing, of Naf. origin. To judge from the description, in the 17th c. text quoted by Machado, it is a corruption of Ar. *alġazf*. Cf. **algada**.

\*\*\***algazafán** (Cs.): this mod. spelling of the hapax **alġaḥafan** in Baena's *Cancionero* (N° 226), is prob. just a mere error for **algafacán**, q.v. The interpretation "bitter galls", offered by Eguílaz and upheld by later etymologists and editors, up to Dutton and González Cuenca is not acceptable, as although And. indeed had *\*alġafś(a)* = Cl.Ar. *\*alġafśa(ah)* and a metathetical *\*alġafś* of that meaning, the cauda would remain unexplained.

**algazar**: see **alaçar**.

**algazara**: see **algatzara**.

**algazear** (Cs., from DAX 110) "to brandish (a weapon)":<sup>292</sup> is a hybrid verb, formed on And. *ġāzi* < Cl.Ar. *ġāzī* "raider", above all in wars against the infidel, usually said in Al-Andalus

of the North African volunteers" Cf. **gazi**.

**algazel(a)**: see **gacel**.

**algazira**: see **aliazira**.

**algazu**: see **gazua**.

**algazul** (Cs., with a var. **aguazul**) "Egyptian fig marigold (*Mesembryanthemum nudiflorum*)": < And. *alġasūl* = Cl.Ar. *ġāsūl*.

**algazuna**: see **gazua**.

**algebar** "Orion": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 34, with the var. **alia-bar** and **iabar**, < Ar. *alġabbār*, lit., "the giant"

**algebein** (*vena*—) "frontal vein": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:50, < Ar. *alġabīn*.

**algebenech**: see **alġicarech**.

**algebra**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, with the var. **alġiābha** and **gebha(t)**, from GP 34, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:61 as Zeta, Gamma, Eta and Alpha Leonis, < Ar. *jabhah* "forehead", an abbreviation of Neo-Ar. *jabhat alʿasad* "the lion's forehead"

**álgebra** (Pt. and Cs., with the var. **algiebar** and **alġubar**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:92 and 170) and **àlgebra** (Ct.) "algebra; setting (of broken bones)": < Ar. *alġabr* (*walmuqābalah*) "restoration (and compensation)", through Lt. bookish transmission, which explains the antepenultima stress. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **algebraico** or **alġébrico**; Cs., Ct. and Pt. **algebrista**; Ct.: **algebraic**; Pt.: **algebrizar**. Cf. **almucabala**.

**algrebre** "boards on top of the thin beams of a panelled ceiling": in García Salinero 1968:44, from the same etymon as **álgebra**.<sup>293</sup>

**a(l)gebuctar** "regent planet of the place through which the directed ascendent passes": is an unassimilated astrological term, from *Libro Complido*, < Neo-P. *ġāye baxtur* "place of the horoscope"<sup>294</sup>

**algecireño** (Cs.) "native of Algeciras": shares the etymon of **alcireño**, q.v.

**algedi** (with the var. **gedi**, **gidi(t)** and **ali-adi**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 34, < And. *alġaʿidī* = Cl.Ar. *alġady* "lamb", said of Aries, according to Kunitzsch 1961:62–63, or of Alpha Ursae Minoris.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>292</sup> See Hilty 2005b:185.

<sup>293</sup> That author is wrong upon considering this var. a corrupted form of **argeute**, deluded by a semantically and phonetically erroneous etymol-

ogy put forward by P. Clairac y Sáenz.

<sup>294</sup> See Hilty 2005b:189.

<sup>295</sup> The dim. form *alġudayy* in the second meaning is late, in his view.

**algediayn** (var. **a/elgidien**) “the (two) kids”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 34, < Ar. *aljidayn/aljidyān*, of doubtful identification within the stars of Auriga, after Kunitzsch 1961:61.

**algehçi**: see **elgehçi**.

**algeiabe** or **algiab** (Leo., from DO 194): on phonetic grounds, it cannot be a “maker of quivers”, as the author thinks, but an “embroiderer of garment openings”, < Ar. *jayyāb*, not documented in lexica, but made evident by the name of the celebrated Granadan poet Ibn Aljayyāb, whose verses at times appear in the plasterwork of the Alhambra.<sup>296</sup>

**algeia**: see **alaeia**.

**algeleb** “dignity”: is a hapax and unassimilated astronomical term, from *Libro Complido*, also in DAX 111, synonymous of **hayz**, q.v., of a disputed etymon.<sup>297</sup>

**algemas** (Pt.) and **alxemas** (Gl.) “hand-cuffs”: most likely, < Ar. *aljāmīṣah*, through an And. pronunciation \**aljām(a)ṣa*, after SK 1.2.3; cf. Cs. **aljama** “greater mosque”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **algemar** and **desalgemar**.

**algemia** and **algemiar**: see **aljamia** and **aljamiar**.

**algenibe** (Pt.) “bridle”: < Ar. *aljināb* in And. pronunciation, with strong *imālah*. This is the only documentation for this term in And.

**algeps** (Ct.), **aljez** (Cs.), **algés** (Mur.) and **al/rjez**, **alyez**, **jes(a)** and **ches(o)** (Arag.), **xiz** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:70): “plaster”: < And. *jábs* < Lt. *gypsum* < Gr. *gýpsos*. From the same etymon might be **giz** (Pt.) “plaster or chalk” and **xiz** “chalk” (Bie.), through a pronunciation represented by the Ar. var. *jibs* (cf. Arag. **xices**), or from the And. allomorph *jíṣṣ*, of the same origin but through Neo-P. *gač*. On the other hand, the Ct. var. **guix** (said in Mur. of limy substances) cannot be derived directly from Lt. but, as Coromines said, through the blending in And. Rom. of a “Yemenite” pronunciation of Ar. *jíṣṣ*, with obstruant *gīm* (as

in **alg/quezón**), and the normal Rom. reflex of Lt. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **algepsar**, **algepsar** and **algepsó**; Anl.: **ajezón**; Mur.: **aljezón** and **alquezón**; Arag.: **alg/jesón**, **alquezón**, **aljezón**, **jesa**, **aljezar**, **aljezero** or **yesaire** and **aljezería** “yesería”. Cf. **aljor**.

**algera/evia**: see **aljaravia**.

**algerí** and **algerià**: see **argelino**.

**algerif/ve** (Pt.) and **aljarfa** or **aljerife** (Cs.) “dragnet”: are scarcely documented words that cannot derive but from Ar. *aljārīfah* “dragger (fem.)”, which must have existed in And. next to the witnessed *jarrāfah* (reflected only by Leo. **garrafa**<sup>2</sup> “net which is pulled out little by little”, with the old pronunciation of obstruant *gīm*). Therefore, the correct form should have been antepenultima stressed, as implied by **aljarfa**. From the same etymon, through metathesis, is Pt. **aljafra** “bottom of a purse-sein” (only in Morais). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aljerifero**.

**algerivia**: see **aljaravia**.

**algeroz** (Pt., with the var. **aljaroz**) “gutter”: < Ar. *jarūz* “glutton”, undocumented in that technical meaning which is, however, supported by the parallel case of \*\**ballāṣah* > **albelló**, q.v. Can. **algeroz**, borrowed from Pt. and explained as **tejaroz**, reopens the question of the etymon of the latter Cs. word, prob. not derived from **techo**, as Coromines thought, but an abbreviation of **teja de algeroz**, i.e., “gutter tile”

(**al**)**gerra** (Ct.), **jarra** (Cs, Ct. and Pt.), **xarra** and **xerra/o** (Gl.) **xiarra** (Leo.) and **cha/erra** (Arag.) “jar with a wide mouth and a handle” and **yarra** “cylindrical cup for water, wider in the middle” (Anl.): < And. *aljárra* = Cl.Ar. *jarrah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **jarrear** “to draw water with a jar”, Cs. **jarrazo**, **jarr(e)ar**, **jarrer(o)**, **jarre/ita**, **jarro** and **jarrón**; Ct.: **gerrada**, **gerram**, **gerrer**, **gerreria**, **gerreta** and **gerro**; Gl.: **xarrón**; Pt.: **jarrão** and **jarrear**.

<sup>296</sup> Information included in García Gómez 1985:30 and Rubiera 1982:25, taken from Lerchundi & Simonet 1881:67.

<sup>297</sup> Hilty transmits Giuseppe Bezza’s view that it must be corrected into **alheleb** < Ar. *alḥalb*, also having the support of Prof. Samsó who, how-

ever, informs us of the existence of a var. >*hly*<. Both var. would openly clash with a palatalized vocalic reflex, although the term might have been reinterpreted in Al-Andalus as *jalb* “attraction”. Cf. also Hilty 2005b:189.

**algés and algeson:** see **algeps**.

**algeun:** is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 34, < Ar. *jawn* "black (horse) with reddish mantle", with much disputed spelling and meaning, according to Kunitzsch 1961:62, who thinks that a reading *hawar* "bull" would be equally possible as the name of Epsylon Ursae Majoris.

**algeuze** (with the var. **aliauze** and **ahause**, cf. **Betelgeuse**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 34, < Ar. *aljawzā*? "Gemini" or "Orion".<sup>298</sup>

**algiasic** or **algiasie** "plum decoction": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:184, < Ar. *al'ijjāšī*.

**algiathum** "nightmare": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170, < Ar. *aljāqūm*.

**algib:** see **adib**.

**algib(a/e):** see **alchub**.

**algibebe** (Pt., with the var. **aljabebe**) and **aljabibe** (Cs.) "fripper": < Ar. *aljabāb* "seller of jubbās"; cf. **aljuba**. This is also the etymon, through a curious metonymy, of Anz. **archibebe** "common redshank (*Tringa totanus*)".

**algiebeira** (Pt., with the var. **aljaveira**), **alxa/beira** (Gl.), **angevera** (Ct.) and **linjaver** (Cs.)<sup>299</sup> "pocket": < And. *alja/ibáyrāh* < Ar. *jayb* of the same meaning, hybridised with a Rom. instrumental suffix. Cf. **jabera**.

**algibeta** and **algibetaria:** see **aljuba**.

**algiarech** "labial veins": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:20–21, with the var. **(al)gebenech**, **alicherich**, **alieheric**, **iaharic** or **gihearech**, < Neo-Ar. *jahārik* < Neo-P. *čahārek* "little four"

**algiebar:** see **álgebra**.

**algiehar**, **algijfar** or **alihar** "nyctalopia": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:90, < Ar. *aljāhar*.

**algielagiel** "little bells": is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *aljalājil* pl. of *juljul* < Cp. *škelkil* / *šclcil* "bell"

**algierifi** "comminuted (fracture)": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171 < Ar. *aljarīšī* "like coarsely ground barley"

**algemuri** "mature wine": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:184, < Ar. *alxumūr* "wines"

**algilala** "dress of fine fabric": from DO 194, who quotes the var. **algeulele** from Steiger 1956:664.<sup>300</sup> Cf. **al(g)ara**<sup>2</sup>.

**alqip:** see **alchub**.

**algião** (Pt., only in Morais) "opening of a net; tunny net": < Ar. *aljirāb* "purse", unattested in And., but for this loanword.

**algiuda/ebegi** or **algiudaba/et** "a confection of starch, sugar and milk": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Neo-Ar. *aljūdāb(ah)*.<sup>301</sup>

**algizira:** see **aliazira**.

**algotera:** see **algotera**.

**algodão**, **algodoal/r**, **algodoaria**, **algodoeiro**, **algodoento**, **algodoim**, **algodón**, **algodonai/r**, **algodoncillo**, **algodonero** and **algodonosa/o:** see **alcotón**.

**algofifa:** see **aljoiffa**.

**Algol** (Cs.) "the star Beta Persei": < Ar. *alḡāl* "the ogre", through bookish Lt. transmission (e.g., in GP 35), its identification being confirmed by Kunitzsch 1959:115. The same etymon is reflected by **golo** (Cs.) "transformed into a different creature by magic", recorded by Eguílaz from a French traveller, with no other authority, but provided with such accurate details, given in such a vivid manner as to make credible the survival of the Arabian Islamic and pre-Islamic tradition of jinns or demons assuming various forms and causing

<sup>298</sup> This ambiguity was already noted by Lane 1863–1892:485 and Kunitzsch 1961:23, who states that this zodiacal sign is surprisingly placed by the Arabs in Orion, which may explain the semantic shift of Cs. **Astillejos** (cf. **aacat elgebar**).

<sup>299</sup> Spelling corrected by Coromines instead of \***liniavera** in DRAE, a bad reading caused by its etymological error. However, this most knowl-

edgeable scholar was mistaken in his proposal of an etymological connection with **aljabā**.

<sup>300</sup> This term appears, correctly understood by every editor, in the *xarjah* A23 (see PD 291–292), which contains little Ar. material, thus suggesting an early and full integration into And. Rom., corroborated by these inventories.

<sup>301</sup> See more about its description and etymon in DAA 107.

men to wander and perish in the deserts. The absence of their mention in And. sources, including Aljamiado texts, as well as of their female partner, the *\*siṣlāh* "ogress", can be reasonably attributed to the terror caused by their very name.<sup>302</sup> Cf. *alshali*.

**alg/boleca**: this term, recorded in LHP 33, was commented upon in Corriente 2004:73, to correct some semantic presumptions contained there. It is not "granary" or "deposit", but a "small fenced orchard", < And. *algūlāyqa*, dim of *gālqa*.

**algeleja** (Ct., with the var. *arboleja*) and **leja** (Arag.) "alluvial terrace on the inner side of a meander": < And. *alwalāja* = Cl.Ar. *walajah* "bank of a meander" This term occurs in place names of the Iberian Peninsula of Ar. origin,<sup>303</sup> it being presumable that the Arag. form results from haplology of a var. *\*al(b)oleja*.

**algolifa**: see *aljoifa*.

**algomey/z/za** (with the var. *algumeza*, *algumeyça*, *algumayza* and *algomeyçe*) "sick eyes": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 35, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:160 as Alpha Canis Minoris, < Ar. *algumaysā* "little bleary-eyed (fem.)"

**algor** "intense cold": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:90, perhaps < Ar. *alqurr*.<sup>304</sup>

**algorab**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 35, identified by Kunitzsch 1959: 116 as Delta Corvi, < Ar. *algurāb* "raven". Cf. *gurapas*.

**algoravão**: see *alcaravão*.

**algorfa** (Cs.), **an/sgorfa**, **engol/rfa** and **esgorfa** (Arag.) and **golfa** (Ct.) "garret for storing grain": < And. *algūrfa* = Cl.Ar. *gurfah* "chamber, room"

**algori(n/s)** and **algorio**: see *alborín*.

**algoris/tne**, **algorísmia**, **algorísmic**, **algoritmia**, **algorítmico** and **algoritmo**: see *algarismo*.

**algoro(u)vão**: see *alcaravão*.

**algorraz**: see *alferraz*.

**algorza** (Cs.) "thatch": < And.Rom. *\*al+GÓRÇA* < Celtic *\*görtia*, according to Coromines. The Ar. *\*Šarṣah*, put forward by many editions of DRAE does not even exist, being just a mistake for *\*Šarṣah*.

**algoton(e)**: see *alcotón*.

**algez** (Pt.) "executioner": < And. *algúzz* < Neo-Ar. *guzz*, name of a Tr. tribe some members of which emigrated from Central Asia to Anatolia, Syria and Egypt, and finally to the West, called in as skillful archers by the Almohads in the 12th c., and eventually landing that grim job, as DS illustrates. However, this designation, reflecting Tr. *oğuz*, one of the great Turkic tribal confederations in Central Asia, had shifted from its original meaning, and came to be applied to a small fraction of its descendants, displaced to the West and the South, keeping their old name, although ethnically very altered, after so much wandering and vicissitudes.<sup>305</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *algozar* and *algozaria*.

**algezil**: see *aguasil*.

**algrada**: see *alud(h)a*.

**algregue**: see *alquerque*<sup>1</sup>.

**alguacil(a)**, **alguacilad/zgo**, **alguacilejo**, **alguacilería**, **alguacilesa**, **alguacilesco**, **alguacilía** and **alguacillilo**: see *aguasil*.

**alguada**: see *alud(h)a*.

**alguadi**: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez Herrera 1989:127, but it

<sup>302</sup> The same fright is still infused in Mor. folk milieus by the mere mention of *ṣayṣa qandīša*, the beautiful and lewd she-devil with goat feet, who strangles men after lovemaking, a name keeping Judaeo-Br. reminiscences of the *\*qēdēšāh* or sacred Cananean prostitute. Incidentally, in La Mancha little children are scared with the threat of the ogre *golón*.

<sup>303</sup> See Terés 1968, providing an exhaustive and well documented list.

<sup>304</sup> But the fact that this allomorph is precisely the one omitted by Alḥaššā? makes this pro-

posal extremely weak: it could simply be its Lt. homophone or, at the very least, have suffered its interference. As for *maḍor* and *maeror*, *ibidem*, p. 135, they are no doubt Lt., in no way related to Ar.

<sup>305</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> II 1132–37, s.v. *Ghuzz*, and the detailed article by Mañillo 1999. In Egypt it became a general designation for the Ottoman Turks, as reflected in the proverb mentioned by Hinds & Badawi 1986:621, *āxir xidmat ilguzz ṣalqa* "After serving the Turks, (the reward is) a beating".

is not, as suggested by them, a synonym of *algulamae*, but of *aludi*, q.v.

**alguadoc** (Maj.) "Islamic ablution": < Ar. *alwadū*, well-known ritual term, which invalidates Coromines' proposal, based on the Ar. root *[wdʕ]*.

**alguaquaya** (Arag.) "kind of luxurious female headgear": is a hapax, retrieved by Steiger 1948 from inventories of the 14th and 15th c., < And. *alwaqāya* of that sense,<sup>306</sup> < Cl.Ar. *wiqāyah* "protection", first said of headgear preventing make-up from staining the veil, and eventually from other stains, as illustrated by DS.

**alguaquela**: "a tribute of the Mudejars in Aragon",<sup>307</sup> < Ar. *alwakālah* "tutelage"

**alguaquida** (Cs., with the var. *auláquida*, prob. poorly transmitted) "(sulphur) match": < And. *alwaqīda*, n.un. formed on Cl.Ar. *waqīd* "fuel" From the same etymon are Arag. *luquet*, Ct. *lluquet* and Cs. *luquete*, with metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix and, by metonymy, Cs. *aluquete*, recorded by DRAE only in the sense of "orange or lemon slice in drinks"

(al)guardenegi, aluardengi and alurda-nagi "chemosis": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:132, < Neo-Ar. *alwardīnaj*, of inextricable Persian appearance, perhaps Pahl. \**wardīn*+*ag* "dirty thing", matched by Neo-P. *bardīn* "dirt"

**alguarguala**: see *alborbola*.

**alguarín**: see *alborín*.

**alguarismo**: see *algarismo*.

**alguassem**: see *algasen*.

**alguaza**: see *aguaza*.

**alguazil** and **alguazilado**: see *aguasil*.

**alguar**: see *álgebra*.

**algeber** (Old Ct.) "runaway owner": is a perfectly transparent hybrid, though a hapax, < And. *gáyib* < Cl.Ar. *gāʿib* "absent", with the Rom. agentive suffix *[+ÁYR]*.

**algucales** (Lit. in an Arag. document, for \**alguçales*) "bread oven tray": < And. *wiṣāl*, pl. of *waṣla*.

**algecebra**: see *alcaçaba*.

**algefilela**: see *algilala*.

**algueras** "rabbit warren" (Mon.): prob. < And. *awkār* = Cl.Ar. *awkār*, pl. of *wākr* = Cl.Ar. *wakr*, which Alcalá renders as *biuar* "warren" and strangely transcribes as *auquer*, perhaps giving away metanalysis of the Rom. suffix *[+ÁYR]*. The seeming Ar. article would actually be due to hypercorrection of an occasionally palatalized */l/*, which points to an origin in Murcia or, generally, Eastern Spain. Cf. *aloque*<sup>2</sup>

**alguergar** and **alguergue**: see *alquerque*<sup>1</sup>.

**alguese**: see *alarguez*.

**alguesgues**: see *alusuas*.

**alguexi**: see *almeixia*.

**algezón**: see *algeps*.

**alguidar** (Pt.) "large porringer": < And. *alḡidār* = Cl.Ar. *ḡidār*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *alguidarada*.

(al)guidegui and guiden "jugular veins": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:38, < Ar. *alwidāj*.

**algulami(a)e**, **algulamati** "puberty": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:126–127, < Ar. *alḡlāmiyyah*.

**algunmayza**, **algunmeyça** and **algunmeza**: see *algunmeyça*.

**alguja**: see (al)juba.

**alguarabao**: see *alcaraván*.

**alguarín**: see *alborín*.

**alguthu** "cripple having his heels stuck to his buttocks": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:92, prob. < And. *alqawṭin*.<sup>308</sup>

**algutzir** and **algutzeria**: see *aguasil*.

**alha(a)bor**: see *axa(h)ra*.

**alhabari** "aorta": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera :171, < Ar. *alʿabhar*.

**alhabarin**: see *mara malrasul*.

**alhabeces**: see *habiz*.

**alhábega**: see *albaca*.

<sup>306</sup> See Barceló & Labarta 1985:63.

<sup>307</sup> See Corral & Escibano 1980 and Corral 1981.

<sup>308</sup> The relation with And.Rom. \*\**GŪTA* "epilepsy", suggested by the authors, is not probable,

in our view, and there is no reason to connect *gutah* with Lt. *egerere* which, in *Vocabulista in arabico*, under the root *[ḡwt]*, as expectable, only means "to defecate".

**alhabel**: see **alhalabatein**.

**alhacab** or **hachab** "ligament": is an unassimilated anatomical technicism, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:22, < Ar. *alṣaqab*, properly said of the sinews in the hind and fore shanks of a beast.

**alhacama**: see **alcama**.

**alhace**: see **alhaue**.

**alhacena**: see **alacena**.

**alhach** "socket of the hip": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alḥuq*. Cf. **amaluc**.

**alhac(i)a**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 36, "5th mansion of the moon", constituted by certain stars of Orion, after Kunitzsch 1961:64, < Ar. *alḥaqṣah*.

**alhadab** (Cs.) "a part of the forearm and the shoulder": is an unassimilated anatomical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from Ruyzes de Fontecha, < Ar. *alḥadab*, and which properly, designates the vein lying within the upper part of the forearm, but is at times said of the humeral triceps. It is not synonymous with **auditorium**.<sup>309</sup>

**alhadeb** "sweet": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:185, < Ar. *alḥadḥ*.

**alhadena**: see **alacena**.

**alhadida**: see **alfadida** and **alhidada**.

**al/bhadidi** "siderite": is an unassimilated mineralogical term, from GP 35 and 9, abridged from Neo-Ar. (*alḥajar alḥadīdī* "iron stone" Cf. **çanderitiz**.

**alhadiuth** "failing in or excreting during coition": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alḥiḍyawt*.<sup>310</sup>

**alhafagi** and **alahaufegi** "intestine": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:86, < Ar. *alḥafāj*.<sup>311</sup>

**alhaf/hos**: see **alhosos**.

**alhagar/la**, **alhagale** and **alhaiala**: see **alfagara**.

**alhagiag/zi**, **alhaonisi**, **aloinz**, **alhauis** and **alhauim** "the three lowest lumbar vertebrae": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:24, < Ar. *alṣajz*, lit., "sacrum"

**alhagian** or **alugen** "perineum": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:24, < Ar. *alṣijān*.

**alhagias**: see **alfaia**.

**alhagie** "omelette": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:185, < Ar. *alḥujjah*.

**alhaia**: see **alfaia**.

**alhaiuaniae** "vitality": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alḥayawāniyyah*.

**alhaite** (Cs.) and **alfeide** "trinket" (Leo., from DO 187–188, whose objections to both meaning an etymon may be dismissed, in our view): < And. *alxáyṭ* = Cl.Ar. *xayṭ* "thread; string". Not to be mixed up with **heite**, q.v.

**alhaja(r)** and **alhajuela**: see **alfaia**.

**alhajeme**: see **alfagém**.

**alhajú**: see **alajú**.

**alhalaba/etein**, **alhaleb(i)**, **alhalebie**, **alhalibia** or **alhabel** "ureters": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:21–22, < Neo-Ar. *alḥālibayn*.

**alha(l)ch** and **al(c)halchum** "throat": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:22–23, < Ar. *alḥalq* and *alḥulqūm*.

**alha(l)m** after Lt. *dentes* "wisdom teeth": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:37, half-transcribed from Ar. *asnān alḥilm*.

**alhalme**: see **alalme**.

**alhama**: see **aljama**.

**alhamal** "Aries": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 36, after Kunitzsch 1961:22, < Ar. *alḥamal*.

**alhamar**: see **alfāambar** and **alamar**.

**alhambra**: see **alfombra**.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>309</sup> As reported by Vázquez & Herrera 1989:5, although the second term indeed appears to reflect a bad Lt. translation of Ar. *ṣaḥūd*.

<sup>310</sup> Despite its technical nature, this word appears to have circulated in And. as *ṣuḍyūt*, to judge from the information in Azzubaydi (see

ʿAbdattawwāb 1964:151 and DAA 348). Its interpretation as "manners of coition" must be corrected.

<sup>311</sup> Cf. **alfhagi**. There is a further var. **hafagi** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, and another worse, **albfagi**, *ibidem*, p. 168.



**alhame:** see **alalme**.

**alhame(c)h** (with the var. **al(c)hamchar** and **alchamcha**) "silliness":<sup>312</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:92, < Ar. *alḥamaq*.

**alhámega:** see **alfarma**.

**alhamel** (Cs.) "porter; muleteer": < And. *alḥammāl* = Cl.Ar. *ḥammāl*. The spelling **aljamel** given by DRAE as An. is a mere mod. attempt at reproducing the locally preserved /h/. From the same Ar. etymon, but through Genoese *camali*, pl. of *camalo*, is Ct. **camàlic** "carrier" and vulgar Cs. **camalo**, a reflex of the sg. of the Genoese word.

\*\*\***alhamí** (Cs.) "stone bench decorated with glazed tiles": thanks to Dolores Oliver 1996-7,<sup>313</sup> it is now evident that this term was a mere ghost word and a mistake for **alhanía** "tripartite hall", q.v., then replaced by **alcoba** and, finally, recovered under corrupted forms, first graphically and then even semantically, when the RAE licensed a fancy of Zorrilla's.

(**al**)**hamica**, **alhamicha** and **alhumera** "chickenpox": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:93, < Ar. *alḥumayqāʾ*.

**alhanaa** (with the var. **hannaa**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 37, < Ar. *alḥanṣāh* "6th mansion of the moon", integrated by Gamma and Zeta Geminorum, after Kunitzsch 1961:64.

**alhancabut:** see **alancabut**.

**alhandal** (Cs.) "colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*)": < Ar. *alḥánzal* through bookish transmission, to judge by its exclusively scientific use, although the And. pronunciation *alḥánzal* might have influenced it, and stress could easily have been altered in that situation.

**alhanfache** "vein in the chin": is an

unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:25, < Ar. *alṣanfaḥ*.<sup>314</sup>

**alhanía** (Cs.) "bedroom": < And. *alḥanīyya* = Cl.Ar. *ḥanīyyah* "vault".<sup>315</sup> Cf. **alhamf**.

**alhanin** (Cs.) "impotent": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alḥinnīn*. Eguílaz too mentioned this word with the interpretation of "a medicine appropriate for procreation" by Ruyzes de Fontecha, and tried to find an Ar. etymon for it in *\*ḥanīn* "tender affection". But a cursory examination of the Ar. original in Avicenna's *Alqānūn* at once reveals just one more of so many bad transcriptions and poor interpretations in this realm, as what the author describes is the *\*qabīs*, i.e., the vigorous man, particularly apt for procreation, it becoming obvious that the Ar. text has been badly read and that the alleged technical Ar. loanword is just another ghost word.<sup>316</sup>

**alhans/zara** (Cs. and Llt.) "Saint John's day": < And. *alḥānsara* of the same meaning, < Neo-Ar. *ṣanṣarah* "Pentecost" < Syr. *ṣṣartā* < Hb. *ṣṣeret*.

**alhanur:** see **algamur**.

**alhao/ue** "snake hunter": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 37, < Ar. *alḥawwāʾ*, recorded by Lane as *ḥawwāʾ* *waḥuwayyah* "Serpentarius and Serpens", mentioned in GP 38 as **alhaue hualhaya**, in the transcription of part I of *Libros del Saber de Astronomía*, reflecting the second constituent as *alḥayyah* "the snake", in non-dim. form, i.e., *Serpens*.

**alhaonarse** (Cs.) "to take offence": this hapax of *Libro de Buen Amor*, 876c, is a denominational hybrid verb, *\*al+hawn+ÁR*, formed with Rom. suffixation on And. *\*hāwn* "offence", hypercorrectly diphthongized for *hūn* (extant in IQ 90/16/4) = Cl.Ar. *hūn* "vileness".<sup>317</sup>

<sup>312</sup> With a var. **hamach** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177.

<sup>313</sup> A well documented article, which had not reached us by the time of drawing up that entry of DAI.

<sup>314</sup> But lexicographical sources only render it as that area or the hair growing on it.

<sup>315</sup> About this word (having an Arag. var. **alfaneya**), see the interesting additions of Colón 1975.

<sup>316</sup> We owe the information of this entry to Vázquez de Benito & Herrera 1983:154, most particularly to the kindness of the first author, who brought the compared matching contexts to our attention.

<sup>317</sup> This phenomenon was surveyed in SK 1.2.6 and 1.3.6 and AAR 2.1.1.3.3. In this case it has been furthered by the semantic kinship with *hawn* "ease; low cost".

**alhapz:** see **alcapç**.

**alhaqueque:** see **alfaqueueque**.

**alhaquín**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "weavers": the transmission of this rare word is at least faulty, because And. only has *alhay(i)kín*, whence an expectable \***alhaquín**. As for **alhaqín**<sup>2</sup>, see **alfaquim**.

**alharaca** (Cs.) "exaggerated gesture": < And. *alharáka* = Cl.Ar. *ḥarakah* "move; gesture". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alharauero** and **alharauento**. Cf. **alarca** and **harca**.

**alharatan** (with the var. **alharat(h)en** and **alcaraten**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 37, < Cl.Ar. *alxarātān*, semantically disputable, but identified by Kunitzsch 1961:69 as Delta and Theta Leonis.

**alharç:** see **alfarç**.

**alharcohet açufe** "the lower handles" and **alharcuca** "the higher handles": are unassimilated astronomical terms, from GP 37, respective synonyms of **alfargue primero** and **postrimero**, q.v., after Kunitzsch 1961:44, < Neo-Ar. *alḥarquwah assuflā* / (*ḥuḥlā*), more exactly rendered by Lane as "(lower and higher) pieces of wood put athwart the leathern bucket to keep it from collapsing and for the purpose of attaching thereto the well rope"

**alharcon:** see **atzarcó**.

**alhareme:** see **alfareme**.

**alhárgama** and **alharma:** see **alfarma**.

**alharixes:** see **alarije**.

**alharrique:** see **almoharrique**.

**alharua** "loop; handle", more exactly "screw eye of the astrolabe ring": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 37, < And. *alḥarwa* < Cl.Ar. *ḥurwah*.

**alhasaf** and **hafef** "hidroa, a kind of mange":<sup>318</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from de Vázquez & Herrera 1989:94, < Ar. *alḥasaf*.

**alhasafir** "the birds": is prob. part of a longer syntagm, related to some medical applications, as it appears in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:186, < Ar. *alḥasāfir*.

**alhasase** and **alhasusa:** see **alchalesae**.

**alhasch, ylischi** or **flisel**<sup>319</sup> "love": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alḥiṣq*.

**alhastada** "menstrual flux": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *alistihādah*.

**alhauari** "comminted (fracture)": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:171, < Ar. *aljawrī* "like a (cracked) nut"

**alhauce:** see **alfoz**.

**alhaul** "vat": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 38, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:67 as certain stars of Ursa Major. Cf. **alcouve**.

**alhau hualhaya:** see **alhaoe**.

**alhauim/s:** see **alhagiagi**.

**alhayd** (with the var. **alhoto**, **alhoid**) "thread": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 38 and 40, describing the onset of twilight. Cf. **alhaite**.

**alhayoc:** see **alayoc**.

**alhayz:** see **hayz**.

**alhayzaram** "bamboo": is an unassimilated term, from GP 38, < And. *xayzarān* < Cl.Ar. *xayzurān*. Cf. **galzerans**.

**alhavara** (Cs.) "finest flour": < And. \**alḥawwāra* < Cl.Ar. *ḥuwwārā*.

**alhaz:** see **alchaz**.

**alharaz:** see **alaçar**.

**alheame** "front part of the head": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172 and 1989:26, < Ar. *alḥāmāh*.

**alheasme** and **alheasine:** see **hesme**.

**alhebe** "tent": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 38, which Kunitzsch 1961–70 identifies as Beta, Gamma and Delta Corvi, synonymous, then, with **alechmel**, q.v., < Neo-Ar. *alxibāl* (*alyamānī* = "Yemenite tent").

**alhebria**, **alabirati** and **a(p)rea** "dan-druff": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1983:168–172 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:94, with a var.

<sup>318</sup> With a var. **hasef** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177.

<sup>319</sup> See Herrera & Vázquez 1981–83:78, about

the corrupted derivation of this spelling from the preceding one or from \***ylisci**.

**alhebrie** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *alh/ʿibriyah*.<sup>320</sup>

**alhedia(n)**, **hedian** and **chiditan** “raving”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:95, < Ar. *alḥaḍayān*.

**alhelam(ie)**: see **alhumal**.

**alhelca**: see **alahfīca**.

**alhelear**: see **ardalear**.

**alhelp**: see **aleli**.

**alhem**, **heam** and **archam** “affliction”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:87–88, < Ar. *alḥamm*.<sup>321</sup>

**alhema**: see **alema**.

**alhemaraym**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 39, with the var. **alhi/ymarayn** and, in DAX 114, **hamelin**, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:68 with Alpha and Beta Centauri, < Neo-Ar. *alḥimārayn* “the two asses”

**alhenna** and **alheña(r)**: see **alfēña**.

**alherear**: see **ardalear**.

**alhest** “a beast” (with the var. **host**), whose fat is an ingredient of a medicine for falcons”: recorded in DAX 114 but, considering that Möller & Viré 1988:133 mention a similar prescription, including castor, rendered by Alcalá as *heç almúr*, which is explained in Corriente 1997:515 and 554 as *hayş* or *xuṣá samunúr* “beaver sperm or testicles”, is probable that the entry be a mere distortion of *hayş* “sperm”

**alhetma**: see **alema**.

**alheuen** or **guamen** “weakness”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:128, < Ar. *alwahan*.<sup>322</sup>

**alhiara**: see **aliara**.

**alhichante** and **alhixero**: see **haji**.

**alhidada**: see **alidada**.

**alhidar**: see **ahe dar**.

**alhigere**: see **hégira**.

**alhilaca**: see **alahfīca**.

**alhilech** or **alhileg** (from GP 39, with the var. **el hylech** and **alhyleg**, in *Libro Complido alhi/yleg*, *yles*, *hiles*, *ileij* and *iliej*, synonymous with **alcadcode**, q.v.): is an unassimilated astrological term, < Neo-P. *haylāj*, considered by Vullers as a reflex of Gr. *álochos*.<sup>323</sup>

**alhinde**: see **alfinde**.

**alhizan** (with the var. **alhiçem**, **alhezem** and **allue** from LHP 35) “fortification next to a city”: is a word excerpted by Eguílaz from the agreed conditions for the surrender of Granada, with the erroneous Ar. etymon *\*ḥiṣn* “castle”, unlikely in the context of “the Alhambra and the—” There is an older var. **alfizem** which is in fact a kind of fortification invented by the army engineers of ṢAbdarrahmān III to prevent the repeated uprisings of Toledo, consisting in a series of walls and bulwarks allowing control by a small garrison of a rioting population, a system which was successful and was then applied in other cities, < And. *hizām* = Cl.Ar. *hizām* “girdle”.<sup>324</sup>

**alhizem**: see **alhizan**.

**alhob** (Lit. in an Arag. document): this hapax recorded by Fort Cañellas 1994:120 as a word of unknown etymon, said of the material of maniple, amidst other church ornaments, appears to be a paleographical error for **\*athob**, < And. *ayáwb* = Cl.Ar. *ṭawb* “cloth”, said of some fine fabrics, between silk and brocade, after DS. This proposal would be corroborated by the more correct var. **açouue** in LHP 10, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:69. Cf. **alhot**.

**alhobeis** and **(al)hobz**: see **habiz**.

**alhócigo**: see **alfóstigo**.

**alhod(e)ra<sup>1</sup>** (Lit. in an Arag. document): from Eguílaz to Font Cañellas 1994:203 and 205, this passage of *Cartulario de San*

<sup>320</sup> Requiring correction of the erroneous gemination of /y/ and the matching concept that there is here a *nishah* suffix. In truth, this word results from the dissimilation of labials in *\*mabriyyah*, non-agentive participle of *barū* “to sharpen; to scrape”, as dandruff is compared to scrapings. There are other instances in Cl.Ar. of that trend, prob. Sar., like *(m)irzabbah* “club”, *(m)infuhah* “rennet” and *iṣṣū* <“awl”; see Corriente 1996a:16.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. also **alga(m)**, a synonym not always distinguished in transcription.

<sup>322</sup> Both words are very distorted, but unlikely var. of **fechan**, q.v. Another var. is **alhuén** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172.

<sup>323</sup> See also Hilty 2005b:191.

<sup>324</sup> See the commentary in Corriente 2004:74 and the valuable information in Delgado 1987:195–226. A third witness of this term is mentioned by Utrilla & Laliena 1997 for Sariñena

*Juan de la Peña I* (“*non ponam tibi azakia aut alhoderā*”) has been misunderstood as the designation of some tributes, as a sad consequence of the almost general neglect of Ar. among our historians, even Islamologists. In fact, it is an absolutely transparent term in this language, although misspelled for *axaquia* in the first case (cf. *achaque*), next to And. *alšūdr* = Cl.Ar. *šūdr*, and both meaning “excuse”, referred to eventual pretexts to dodge the obligations of a donation.

**alhoderā<sup>2</sup>**: see *alcouve*.

**alhog(e/i)ra** “eyebolt on the larger board of an astrolabe”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 40, < Ar. *alḥujrah*, after DS I:253.<sup>325</sup>

**alholde**: see *alcouve*.

**alholí(a)**: see *alborín*.

**alholva(r)**: see *albolba*.

**alhombra(r)** and **alhombbrero**: see *alfambar*.

**alhóndiga**, **alhondigaje** and **alhondiguero**: see *alfóndec* and *alfándega*.

**alhorí(n)**: see *alborín*.

**alhorma**: see *alforma*.

**alhorra**: see *alforra*.

**alhorrayn** “the two sons of the gazelles”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 40, < Neo-Ar. *alḥurayn*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:53 and 68 as Zeta and Eta Draconis.

**alhorre<sup>1</sup>** (Cs.) and **aljorre** (Mur.) “meconium” and **alfurre** “yellowish meconium of babies” (Mur.): prob. < And. *\*alxúrr* < Cl.Ar. *xur?* “excrement”, through bookish transmis-

sion or, at least learned, as can be expected from a medical term. On the other hand, the hybridization with a Rom. suffix communicates a colloquial appearance to Gl. *furrica* “diarrhoea” and der., plus Pt., only in Morais, *fo/urrica* “almost liquid excrement”. Intra-Rom. der.: Mur.: *eforriarse* and *eforrio*; Gl.: *esfurricense*, *furricas*, *furrucoso* and *furrriqueira*; Pt.: *forricar-se* and *furrizada*. Cf. *herrado* and *horrura*.

**alhorre<sup>2</sup>**: see *alforra*.

**alhorría**: see *alforria*.

**alhorro**: see *alforre*.

**alhorza**: see *alforza*.

**alhos(os/fos)**, **alhafos** or **aloium** “coccyx”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:25, < Ar. *alšūšūš*.

**alhot/b/s** (with the var. *alot* and *elhot/c*): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 40, < Ar. *alḥūr* “Piscis”,<sup>326</sup> after Kunitzsch 1961:68.

**alhoto**: see *alhayd*.

**alhoz** and **alhoc(e)**: see *alfoz*.

**alhuassac**: see *aguajaque*.

**alhucab**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 40, identified in Lane 1863–92:2102 as *Aquila*, < Ar. *alšūqāb* “the eagle”

**alhucema** and **alhucemilla**: see *alfazema*.

**alhuceña** (Cs.) “a Cruciferous plant of disputed identification”.<sup>327</sup> < well known And. and And.Rom. *uxšīna* < Gr. *oxýnēs* “sour”. The hissing /s/ has shifted anomalously to /c/, perhaps through /č/ after Cs historical phonetics (cf. the place name *Tocina*, from *\*->tušānah*) and metanalysis of the Rom.

where, according to *Colección Diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y Navarra*, this king orders in a gift deed: “*et adfirmo tibi tuas casas quas te feceris in illo alluzem* (read *alhezem*) *de illo castillo*”; the authors, although familiar only with Eguílaz’s etymon, pointedly suggest that, in this context, the reference appears to be a part of a fortified place. The same document is mentioned by Fort Canellas 1994:170, next to another, with the expected spelling **alhezem**, although still following Eguílaz’s erroneous concept.

<sup>325</sup> However, the var. **alhogiza** in GP 40, for **\*alhogiza** suggests *alḥujzah*, etymon of **alforza**, perhaps more appropriate semantically, although the standard reading is the first one.

<sup>326</sup> GP 40 and 128 imply a **\*alhot xemely** with the var. **elhot gemely** < Neo-Ar. *alḥūt aššamālī* “Piscis Borealis”

<sup>327</sup> This word was only documented at the end of the 17th c. by Cavanilles, identified as *Brassica vesicaria*, and by others as “rocket” (*Eruca sativa*), although the phonetic likeness between Cs. and And. might corroborate the view of Ibn Albaytār in his commentary to Dioscorides (in Benmrad 1989:182, fn. 3 to N° 101) and of *Kitābu Šumdati ḥabīb* (Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:24 and 2007:31) to the effect that it is “wild radish” (*Raphanus raphanistrum*), or “wild mustard” (*Sinapis arvensis*), all of them Cruciferae of strong taste.

suffix */+ÉÑA/*, similar to that of *façanha*, q.v., which is an infrequent coincidence of two uncommon phenomena in a single word, the origin of which is nevertheless not in doubt. The Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, *\*alxuṣaynāl*?, phonetically unlikely, is devoid of any documental grounds.

**alhuen**: see **alheuen**.

**alhulam**, **alhelam(ie)**, **halam** and **hela-man** "a dish of pickled meat": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:186, < Ar. *alḥulām*.

**alhulba** "hair put together": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 40, < Ar. *alḥulbah*, abridged for *hulbatu l'asad* "hair in the tail of the lion", a constellation identified by Kunitzsch 1961:65 in the vicinity of Leo.

**alhumajo**: see **aljuma**.

**alhumera**: see **alhamica**.

**alhurreca**: see **alforreca**.

**alhyleg**: see **alhileg**.

**alhyamarayn**: see **alhemaraym**.

**aliaba** (Cs., excerpted by Eguílaz from *Libro de la Caza* by D. Juan Manuel) "meat fed to falcons" and **aliava** (Pt., only in Moraes and Eguílaz) "tribute for the maintenance of hunting dogs and birds": prob. < And. *ihāba* "giving", a hapax of a Toledan document,<sup>328</sup> supported by this Ar. loanword and derivable from Cl.Ar. *ihābah* n.un. of the matching *maṣḍar*, with the sense of "to make ready something for somebody". Obviously, it was first said of the rations given to those animals, and later on to the tribute covering the expenses incurred. Cf. **alina**.

**aliabar**: see **algebar**.

**aliabha**: see **algebha**.

**aliaca(nado)**, **aliac(r)án**, **aliacrà** and **aliacranat**: see **alacrán**<sup>2</sup>.

**aliacira**: see **aliazira**.

**aliacrà**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>.

**aliadi**: see **algedi**.

**aliaga**: see **argelaga**.

**ali(-)ala**: see **alifara**.

**aliama**: see **aljama**.

**aliaquan**: see **alacrán**<sup>2</sup>.

**aliara** and **alhara** (Cs.) "horn vessel" and **liaro** "container for carrying olives" (Mon.): < And. and And.Rom. *\*al+FIYÁRA* < Lt. *phūla* < Gr. *phialē*.<sup>329</sup>

**aliauze**: see **algeuze**.

**aliava**: see **aliaba**.

**aliaz**: "annoyance; a disease characterized by vomiting", from DAX 114, is one more case of error incurred in by sheer ignorance of Ar.: in truth, is the word *alyaʿs* "desperation; declaration of being past recovery", said of ailments of impossible or unlikely cure, as literally contained in the quote: **e pocas end escapan delas que enferman en la segunda sazón** "and few of them survive of those contracting (this disease) in their second age". Cf. **almiuz**.

**aliaza** "cornelian": is an unassimilated mineralogical term, from GP 41, with the var. **geza**, < Ar. *aljazaʿ* "onyx".

**aliaz/çira** (Llt. in Arag. documents, with the var. **alga/fizira** and **aliezira**) "little island in the middle of a river, forming a channel appropriate to make a millrace": is a semantic evolution of And. *aljazīra* = Cl.Ar. *jazīrah* "island", in clear connection with the layout of water mills.<sup>330</sup> From the same etymon, with a different semantic evolution, is Pt. **lezira** or **leziária** "bank of a river which is regularly flooded". Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **lezião**.

**alibé** "alphabet" (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *alif bá*. = Cl.Ar. *alifun bāʿ*?, from the name of the two first letters of the Ar. alphabet.

**alicali**: see **alcadi**.

<sup>328</sup> After Ferrando 1995:200.

<sup>329</sup> This word has been at times mixed up with **alifara**, q.v., as it happens in Corominas' edition of *Libro de Buen Amor*, l. 1280d, which does not deal with vessels, but with tips or gifts consisting of wine, considered insufficient. Former editions of DRAE inserted here, as an intermediate phase between Cs. and Gr., a non-existent *\*alṣiyārah* "measure", one of Asín's fancies which, however, does not fit well with the semantics either.

<sup>330</sup> Prof. Montaner, in an internal mail, points to us the assurance with which Andolz licensed **aliazira** (Arag.) "outlet channel for surplus irrigation water; gutter" on no other grounds than a guess by Borao 1908:158. In fact, the two passages of the Llt. document quoted by the latter deal invariably with water mills, which happens also in some of the instances mentioned by Font Cañellas 1994:33, while in the rest the talk prob. goes about little islands in the middle of the stream.

**alicanço, alicântara, alicântara and alicante:** see **alacrán**.

**alicatar** (Cs.) “to cover with glazed tiles”: although contaminated by **alicates** (q.v.), this word seems to be formed, as a hybrid denominative verb, in the technical jargon of Morisco artisans, on And. *alqáṣ* = Cl.Ar. *qaṣ* “cut” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **alicatado**; Ct. **alicatat**.

**alicates** (Cs., Ct., Pt. and Gl) and **azicates** (Arag.) “pliers”: is a late word, not documented in Cs. before DA, and at the beginning of the 18th c. for Ct., which has been receiving an alleged Ar. etymon **\*alliqāt**, with the mere support of Mor. *laqqat*. But this is prob. just a borrowing from Morisco jargon, curiously admitted also by Kazimirski, there being no solid grounds to posit for Old Ar. the matching **\*liqāt**, a pattern of n.inst. {/i2ā3/} scarcely productive, nor has the seldom witnessed **\*milqāt** (only similar word recorded, e.g., by Freytag and Boethor) ever meant anything other than “writing pen”. As a matter of fact, the semanteme of the Ar. root {/lqt/} contains the basic concept “picking up that which has fallen”,<sup>331</sup> which is not close enough for an instrument used, as Diego de Guadix says (see Bajo & Mañlo 2006:280), “to hold subtle and delicate things”, unlike **tenazas** “thongs” < Lt. *forcipes tenaces*, for holding large heavy objects. Therefore, it is not improbable that the And. word be a folk etymology created by Ar. speaking goldsmiths, starting from And. *ḥaḍiqāt* “skillful; subtle (pl. fem.)”, as the loss of the initial pharyngeal is registered for this root (see DAA, p. 8), and the shifts /d/ > /d/ > /l/ were not infrequent (see AAR 2.1.2.2.3), although a contamination with the root {/lqt/} already on And. soil cannot be excluded either. As for the Arag. form, it is the outcome of double wrong parsing **\*a/el+icate**, **\*a/els icates**, **\*sicates**, etc.

**alicece:** see **alacet**.

**aliçelém:** see **islam**.

**alicer:** see **alizar**.

**alicerce, alicerç/zar and alicercear:** see **alacet**.

**alicherich:** see **algicarech**.

**alicimin:** see **jasmim**.

**aliçlām:** see **islam**.

**alicim:** see **alecri**.

**alicil** (elgenubi, with the var. **alechil**, **alieil**, **ahelj**, **alycli/yl** / **alcil** **aljanubi**) “Corona Australis”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 41, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:71 with Beta, Delta and Pi Scorpionis, < Neo-Ar. *alʾiklil aljanūbī*.

**alicroe:** see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**alidada** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **alidade**) and **alhidada** (Cs., e.g., in GP 39 and DAX 115) “alidade”: < And. *alḥidāda* = Cl.Ar. *ḥidādah* “door jamb”

**alidem** (Ct.) “a sauce”: < And. *alidām* = Cl.Ar. *idām* “anything eaten with bread” The semantic somersault performed by Coromines, upon deriving this word from And. **\*i/adān** < Cl.Ar. **\*aḍān** “call to Islamic prayer” and fancying a metaphoric “appeal to dressings”, is far removed from his usually highest scholarly standards.

**aliechla** “wakefulness”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:96, < Ar. *alyaqazah*.

**aliecira:** see **aliazira**.

**alieheric:** see **algicarech**.

**aliernistar** “divider”: is an unassimilated astrological term, from GP 42, more exactly “planet regent in the place of the ascendent”, a distortion of Neo-Ar. *juwīrāst* or *juyīrāst* < Pahl. *gōy rāst* “right sphere”.<sup>332</sup>

**alifa** (Cs.) “two-year-old sugarcane”: might derive from Ar. *xarīfah* “palm-tree left aside for the picking up of its fresh ripe dates”, with some understandable semantic evolution from one to another crop, but keeping the basic concept of a fruit the consumption of which is postponed.<sup>333</sup> But it could also reflect And.

<sup>331</sup> In fact, And. knew a hybrid **\*laqtáyr** “dustpan”

<sup>332</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:189.

<sup>333</sup> Being a basically rural term, one cannot be surprised by the absence of And. witnesses, not total, however, as in the same root {xrf/}, we find *xarríf* “to sprout or shoot”, e.g., in Azzajālī’s

proverb N° 866, *ḥattá yixarríf addāwm* “till the doom palm sprouts”, i.e. roughly, “till hell freezes over” This is a hapax, however, in the light of this Ar. loanword, it might be wiser to read *yuxarríf* and interpret the sense as “till the harvest of doom palm is postponed”, which is never done on account of its uselessness, once the

*xalifa* = Cl.Ar. *xalīfah* “successor”, as those canes succeed the ones harvested in the first year, which is prob. supported by Mor. *xlayf* “new shoots”

**alifac** (Ct.), **alifaz** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:21), **alifás** (Arag.), **alifás** and **alifaz** (Nav.) and **alifafe**<sup>1</sup> (Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the dial. var. **aliface**) “horse ailment” and **ale/infaje** “bruise” (Anl., with phonetic alteration of the standard): the presence in the Consuegrams<sup>334</sup> of the spelling >*naḫāxah*<, clearly matching “spavin”, confirms the hypothesis of DE, generally accepted by posterity, favourable to the root /*nfx*/; however, the term is not exactly Ar. **naḫāxah**, undocumented in And. and in Cl.Ar. meaning “scrotal hernia” This would have not been easily mistaken for a spavin, in a medieval society generally well acquainted with horse care; in fact, the term we are looking for is a backformation on the Cl. pl. *naḫāxāt* of *naḫāx* “swelling”, which has generated And. *naḫāxa*, still well reflected by the Pt. var. **anafafes**, but in the others exhibiting the common shifts between *de /n/* and */l/* and contamination by **alifafe**<sup>2</sup>. The Ct. var. **alifafa**, considered by Corominas as borrowed from Cs. by veterinary surgeons, might or not be so, as it is supported by Arag. **alifafas** in *Vidal Mayor* 104, but he is absolutely right when saying that **alifafes** is a mere reflex of Cs. **alifafes**. As for **alifac**, the pointed remark by Colón 2000 about its vitality in Val. forces us to admit for the propounded And. *naḫāx(a)* an alternative transcription, perfectly regular also, with a result /*kl*/ of /*xl*/.

**alifafe**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Pt.) and **alifaf/t**, **alihaf**, **al(i)iphaphe**, **all(i)hafe**, **alif(f)afe**, **alifaph**

fruit is dry. The Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, **alḫāḫāḫ**, really meaning only “esparto; rush and a kind of cane”, but not “sugarcane”, is phonetically and semantically unsuitable.

<sup>334</sup> See Vázquez de Benito & Bustos 1997–1998:417, N° 61, translated in p. 448 as “swelling” Consequently, we abandon our previous hypothesis, based upon a metonymy of And. **alḫāḫāḫ** = Cl.Ar. **alḫāḫāḫ** “purse”, said of the sower’s in And.

<sup>335</sup> Information provided by Prof. Montaner.

<sup>336</sup> The documents from the cathedral of Tudela already exhibit the corrupt *ihālah* in Ar. and diverse Rom. vars., like **alifala**, **aliphala**, etc.

and **alleape** (Leo., from DO 195, and **alifafe**, from Herrero de la Fuente 1988 III:509)<sup>335</sup> “bedspread; pillowcase (respectively)”: < And. **alīhāḫ** = Cl.Ar. **līhāḫ**.

**alifar** (Cs. dialect of La Mancha) “to polish; to adorn”: might be a hybrid verb formed on And. *lif* = Cl.Ar. *lif* “palm fibres used as a brush” The Lt. etymon of many editions of DRAE **allēvāre** “to smoothen” is phonetically unsuitable, and the entry has disappeared from the latest.

**alifara** (Arag. and Ct., the latter with the old var. **alifala**) and **alial/ra**, **leala**, **alafara** and **li(f)ara** (Arag., with Lt. var. **alif/g/hala**, **aliphala**, **alifar(r)a**, **alliala**, **alfala**, **lihala**, **aligara** and **halifala**) “gratuity added to the accepted price” and **ali-ala** and **hali-hala** “invitation on the occasion of a sale or finished building” (Nav., with whimsical spellings): < And. **alīhālah** “money remittance; gift” = Cl.Ar. **ihālah**. The var. **adehala** (Cs., also **adahala**, obsolete after DRAE), **adeaala** (Ast.), **areala** (Anz. and Anl., recorded in DE as **arrehala**) and **aldifara** (Ct.) reflect the half-Lt. formula used in the contracts *pretium et aliala*, abridged to its two last words, with metathesis of the dental in Ct., rhotacism in An. and/or article metanalysis in them all.<sup>336</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **alifarero**; Ct.: **alifarada**.

**alifás**, **alifaz** and **alifasses**: see **alifac**.

**alife** “vine tendril” (Anz.): is a phonetic var. of standard **arije**. Cf. **alarije**.

**aligal/ra**: see **alifara**.

**alihaf**: see **alifafe**<sup>2</sup>.

**alihala**: see **alifara**.

**alihar**: see **algiehar**.

It is also known that IQ 89/13/4 uses the matching verb in the technical meaning of “money order” As for **adlaxālah**, the traditionally suggested etymon for this word since DE, it does not appear to have ever existed in And., although DS records it in the 17th c., and there is a Cs. **adahala** in the 16th, which prob. means that there was a return of this word, due to the Morisco dialects, Ar. and Rom., coupled with eventual folk etymology, as in the cases of **alicates**, **ojalá**, etc. From the same etymon is vulgar Cs. **del ala**, not recorded by DRAE nor Moliner, said of an amount to pay, in principle additional with regard to a main chapter.

**alijar**: see **adixar**.

**alilaya**: see **lilaila**.

**alima** "(acknowledgment of) debt": from LHP 36, for which we propounded in Corriente 2004b:74 the And. etymon *annīma* = Cl.Ar. *nīmah* "grace, favour". However, phonetically it is equally possible, and semantically, more probable to advance And. *adđīmma* = Cl.Ar. *ḍimnah* "pact and ensuing obligations".

**alimara** (Cs. and Ct, the the mod. and dial. var. **alimària** and **alimari**) "smoke signal": < And. *alimàra* = Cl.Ar. *imārah* "sign, mark".

**álime** (Pt.) "doctor in Islamic law" (considered by Machado as mod., and prob. generated by Naf. or Eastern contacts, although it is frequent in Aljamiado-Morisco Cs. texts): < Ar. *ʿālim* "savant". Cf. **alimoche** and **ulema**.

**alimoche** (Cs.) "a kind of African vulture (Neophron percnopterus)": the pejorative Rom. suffix attached to this word is evident, but nothing much can be said about it. It might be an And.Rom. \**ʿālim*+*ÚČ* "small time savant", from the Ar. etymon of **álime**, q.v., considering the peculiar skill of this bird in cracking eggs open by using a stone as a tool. Cf. **abanto** and **almiroche**.

**alimón**: see **alalimón**.

**alina** (Old Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Maíllo 1984:297–288 from *Libro de la caza de las aves* by López de Ayala, is not yet solved, semantically or etymologically. The context, nourishment "from a goat, hot" which must be given to the convalescent falcon, is not altogether clear, and to suggest that Cl.Ar. \**ʿlīnah* "softness", unattested in And., although its root is frequent, might have acquired the concrete meaning "tender meat" is just an indemonstrable hypothesis. On the other hand, it could easily be a mere graphical error for **aliava**, q.v.

**alinde**: see **alfinde**.

**alinfaje**: see **alifafe**.

**alintisar** or **alitimisar** "dilation": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:142–144 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:96–97,<sup>337</sup> < Ar. *alintiṣār*. **alinul ḥahib** and **alinulḥahib**: see **almul-tahib**.

**aliof(f)ar**: see **aljófár**.

**alioj** (Cs.) "marble": prob., through imperfect bookish transmission, < Ar. *yašb* < Aram. *yašpe* < Ak. (y) *ašpā* "jasper".

**alipes** "dry medicament": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:187, < Ar. *alyābis*.

**aliphala**: see **alifara**.

**aliqueraro** "mole cricket" (Ext. from biligual Olivenza, prob. a mistake for **aliquerao**): is a corruption of standard **alacrán**, q.v.

**alirón**: see **lailán**.

**aliser**: see **alizar**.

**aliser/tes**: see **alacet**.

**(al)istimbre** "full or wholesome digestion": is an unassimilated medical technicism, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172 and 1989:134, < Ar. *alistimrāʾ*.

**alitifac**: see **alantifac**.

**alitreá**: see **aletría**.

**aliub**: see **alchub**.

**aliuba**: see **aljuba**.

**alixar**: see **adixar**.

**alizaque** (Cs.): this word, at least since Alcalá, who renders the matching Ar. etymon as **aliçaque o zanja**, through DA and up to Coromines, has been confused with **alizace**, which apparently has brought about its elimination from DRAE. The confusion must have arisen from its Cs. interpretation as **cemento** "mortar", confused with **cimiento** "foundations", but it is truly an independent and genuine word, < And. *allis/záq* = Cl.Ar. *liš/zāq* "glue; cement", obvious meaning of the Cs. word before that confusion. Cf. **lissaga**.

**alizar** (Cs. and Pt., the latter only since the 18th c., possibly borrowed from the former, in which it is witnessed already in the 15th c.), **allizar** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:182) "wainscot of glazed tiles": we all used to take this word for a der. of And. *aliḥsār*, concretized from Cl.Ar. *iḥsār* "encircling", documented with this sense, prob. as a building term, by Alcalá, who transcribes it as *ehčár*. Little attention was paid to the fact that the Ar. loanword exhibits no similar symptom of vowel velarization in its first syllable, which might have been attributed to contamination, perhaps with **alizace**, q.v., another building term.

<sup>337</sup> There is a worse var. **yutixar** in Vázquez

1998:783.



However, the presence of a Tol. homophone meaning "flowerbed along a wall for ornamental plants", the var. *aeçár* in Alcalá also, and his very hesitation in the quality of the final vowel, reiterated in other sources exhibiting a Cs. var. *alic/s/zer*,<sup>338</sup> suggest that, as in the cases of *almocafre* and *adehala* (q.v.), the Granadan item is not the true etymon, but the return by the Moriscos of an Ar. loanword of Cs., in a makeshift attempt at re-Arabicization. The true etymon in this case may be And. *issál* "ower part" < Cl.Ar. *asfal* "lower", which appears corroborated by metathetic *aricel* (Anz., synonymous with *ajorojo*, q.v.), possibly of the same origin, as its position is below the small vaults under consideration. The Ar. etymon *\*izār* "linen worn around the body" and And. *\*izár* "linen worn around the body; bed sheet", given to this word by Eguílaz, former editions of DRAE and Coromines, ignoring Alcalá's information and its necessary analysis, can by no means be accepted, being also semantically inappropriate.

**aljaba** (Cs., but in Tol. "shepherd's purse"), **alxaba** (Gl.) and **aljava** (Pt. and Ct.) "quiver" and **aljaba** "cage for a ferret" (Can., with semantic specialization): < And. *aljāḡbah* = Cl.Ar. *jaḡbah*.

**aljabão** (Pt., only in Morais) "a plant in the banks of River Minho": in the absence of further information, perhaps a corruption of *urgeão*, q.v.

**aljabe/ibe**: see *algebibe*.

**aljabha**: see *algebha*.

**aljacuán** "purple" (Cs.): this hapax in the Old Bible of Ferrara, which Eguílaz mentions and mistakenly suggests to correct as *\*aljamán*, is just a simpler result of the etymon of *arjorán*, q.v., not its Hb. cognate *argēmān* or *argāwān*, which would have had a different phonetic outcome.

**aljá(d)** "Sunday" (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *alḡad* < Cl.Ar. *yawmu lḡahad*.

**aljáfana** and **aljéba/ena** (Cs.) "washbasin": < And. *aljāfna* = Cl.Ar. *jaḡfnaḡ*. Both var. must etymologically be antepenultima stressed, as Coromines said (s.v. *jofaina*, and finally the latest edition of DRAE has corrected. Cf. *alcofaina*).

**aljafra**: see *algerife*.

**aljama** (Pt., Ct. and Cs., the latter with the var. **aliamia**, from GP 41) and **aljâmia** (Pt., only in Morais) "Muslim or Jewish community; synagogue": There has been a merger of the reflex of And. *aljamáḡa* = Cl.Ar. *jamāḡah* "community" with that of And. *aljāmaḡ* "greater mosque" < Cl.Ar. *jāmḡ*, a sense also known for Cs., at least; the stress pattern of the second item has been extended to the first one too. The var. **aljâmia**, on account of its vocalization would reflect the second item, prob. through later Naf. or Eastern sources, but appears semantically as synonymous with the commonest one. There is also a Pt. var. **xama** (only in Morais) "public school", no doubt late and transmitted through Naf. *ḡḡ*. As for the old var. **alf/hama** in DRAE, they are prob. corrupt.

**aljamel**: see *alhamel*.

**aljamia** (Ct. and Pt., the latter with the var. **algemia**), **aljamía** (Cs.) and **alxamía** (Gl.) "Romance language spoken by the Moors": < And. *ḡjamiyya* = Cl.Ar. *ḡjamiyyah* "foreign language", name given in Al-Andalus to Rom., with metanalysis, adoption by Rom., of a hypercorrect article. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aljamiado**; Ct.: **aljamiat**; Pt.: **algemiar** and **aljamiado**.

**aljâmia**: see *aljama*.

**aljamorras** "nausea" (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *al-xumār* = Cl.Ar. *xumār* "effects of intoxication".<sup>339</sup>

**aljaqueca**: see *jaqueca*.

unlikely that its *maḡdar* be concretized, in spite of one exceptional case like *\*iḡlāq* "melon or cucumber patch"

<sup>339</sup> Perhaps the true source of An. **humera** "drunken state", generally spelled **jumera** and folk etymologized as a der. of **humo** "smoke", on account of wine vapours, a high register concept, totally alien to the lower classes among which that term was coined.

<sup>338</sup> Of which an experienced scholar like Coromines suspected, in spite of the statement in DA, based on Covarrubias, that it might have another sense and be a different word, but he found no witness thereof. The causative verbal measure {a/2a3} was scarcely used in And., though slightly more than in average Neo-Ar. and, within it, the Western dialects (see AAR 2.2.2.1.1c, pp. 99–100); this makes it very

**aljarafe**: see **ajarafe**.

**aljaravia** (Pt., with the var. **algera/e/ivia** and **aljarvia**), **geribia** (Cs., excerpted by Eguílaz from Mármol) and **gelebia** (Ct.) "galabias; djellaba": from Neo-Ar. *aljallābiyyah*, prob. a contamination of Ar. *julbāb* "tunic" with *\*jallāb* "slave trader", explicable as folk etymology, with no need to assume that such a garment would be characteristic of slaves, as suggested by Dozy. Cf. **chilaba**.

**aljaraz** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **aljarze**) "cowbell": < And. *aljarás* = Cl.Ar. *jaras*. Cf. **ajorás** and **aljorce**.

**aljareo**: see **ardalear**.

**aljares** (Tol.) "exaggerated wailing gestures": in the idiom **hacer**—<sup>340</sup> prob. derives from And. *aljāhr* = Cl.Ar. *jahr* "public and/or loud expression", hybridised with the Rom. pl. morpheme.

**aljarfa/e**: see **algerife**.

**aljaroz**: see **algeroz**.

**aljarvia**: see **aljaravia**.

**aljarze**: see **aljaraz**.

**aljasaras** "traps, contrivances" (Jud.-Sp.): < Ar. *xasārah* "loss; ruin"

**aljaśé** "entrails" (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *alḥaśá* = Cl.Ar. *ḥaṣā*.

**aljaśú**: see **alajú**.

**aljau**: see **arjau**.

**aljava**: see **aljaba**.

**aljaváka**: see **albahaca**.

**aljaveira**: see **algibeira**.

**aljazar** (Pt.) "rock emerging at the ebb": appears to be an instance of abbreviation to its second constituent of an Ar. syntagm as *\*(ard) aljazr* "ground emerging at the ebb", pronounced *\*aljazár* in And., after SK 5.1.2.

**aljéba/ena**: see **aljáfana**.

**aljecero** and **aljecería**: see **algeps**.

**aljemifao** (Cs.) "haberdasher": prob. < And. *aljamīḥ fi ráhtu* "everything of its kind", conceivable cry of these travelling merchants, better than *\*\*\*aljamīḥ ḥawāyij* "every ware", suggested by Coromines, sharply intuitive as he used to be, but a bit short of applied linguistic information, as often in the case of Ar. contexts. The genuine form is more faithfully

reflected in Cs. **aljimifrado** "shaved", i.e., with the cosmetics provided by those merchants.

**aljerife** and **aljerifero**: see **algerife**.

**aljesón**, **aljezero**, **aljezería**, **aljez**, **aljezar** and **aljezón**: see **algeps**.

**aljibe(ro)**: see **alchub**.

**aljimifrado**: see **aljemifao**.

**aljofaina**: see **alcofaina**.

**aljófár** (Cs., with the var. **aliof(f)ar** from GP 42), **aljófár** (Ct.), **aljófár** (Pt., with the var. **aljofre**, also in Arag.), **alxófár** (Ast.) and **alxofre** (Gl.): < And. *aljāwhar* = Cl.Ar. *jawhar* < Pahl. *gōhr* "pearls". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aljofarar**; Pt.: **aljof(a)rar**.

**aljoffa** (Cs.), **gob/fifa** and **agofifa** (Anz.), **jof/sifa** (Anl.) and **algotiffa** (Anz. and Anl., also Ext. with the contaminated var. **algotiffa**) and **alcuffa** (Pt., from Vila Real de Santo António, borrowed from Cs.) "mop; dish-cloth": < And. *aljaffáfa* (possibly with a var. *\*juffáfa*, with strong *imālah*), formed on the Cl. root *[jff]* "to dry up". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aljoffar**; Anl.: **agofibar**.

**aljoma**: see **aljuma**.

**aljonjolí**: see **ajonjolí**.

**alJOR** (Cs.): is a scarcely documented word, interpreted by DRAE as an equivalent of **aljez**, which does not tally well with the Ar. etymon propounded therein, *\*ājurr* "bricks". It is missing in DA and Coromines, who might have smelled a red herring, while Eguílaz interprets it as "brick", all of which makes us suspect that the genuine form was *\*alajor*. Cf. **rajola** and **ajoroze**.

**alJorca**: see **aixorca**.

**alJorc/g/ze** (Pt., with a var. **arjorz**) "cowbell" and **axóuxere** (Gl., with a var. **alxouxeres** and **aljoujeres**) "small bell": < And. *aljúl-jal* < Cl.Ar. *juljul*, < Cp. *škelkil* or *šclcil*, thus correcting DAI 180, as Neo-P. *zangol* would be a cognate of *zang* "bell", contaminated by the Arab word. It is noteworthy that the phonetic evolution of Pt., with dissimilation and haplology, is more radical than in Gl., which witnesses a previous phase with mere dissimilation of the second /l/ in /r/ and subsequent vocalization of the first /l/. Cf. **aljaraz**.

<sup>340</sup> No doubt, as justification and accompaniment of the *tadmīyah* or formula of accusation levelled with witnesses by the victim of an assault

against the culprit, in order to obtain retaliation or compensation from him, according to Islamic law, i.e. *fiqh*.

**aljorozar**: see **ajorozo**.

**aljorra**: see **alforra**.

**aljorre**: see **alhorre**<sup>1</sup>.

**aljorze**: see **aljorce**.

**aljouf** (Cs.) "North": is a term retrieved by Pocklington 1984:274–277, from the *Repartimiento* and another document of Murcia, < And. *aljáf*, a special semantic derivation in that sense of Cl.Ar. *jawf* "interior", as corroborated by the Mur. place name **A(l)jufia**, homologous of **Ajarquía**, q.v.

**aljoujeres**: see **aljorce**.

**aljub**: see **alchub**.

(**al**)**juba** (Ct. and Cs., with the var. **aliuba** from GP 42), **algupa** (Leo., from DO 200) and **aljuba** (Pt.) "short-sleeved cloak": < And. *aljúbba* = Cl.Ar. *jubbah*. But Ct. **gipó**, **jupa** and **jupó**, Cs. **jubón** and **chupa**, Pt. **gibão** and **jubão**, etc., as Coromines states, seem to have been transmitted by another way, prob. Italy and Provence, especially in the case of later forms reflecting the Neo-Ar. allomorph *jibbah*, extant in several dialects, but not in And. As for Arag. **aljuba** "outer wall of the potter's shop", it appears to be a metonymy of the basic concept. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jubete** "doublet covered with mail", **jubetería** "shop where either cloaks or jubetes are sold" and **jubetero** "maker or seller of both garments", **jubonero**; Ct.: **engiponar**; Pt.: **aljubeta** or **algebeta**, **algetetaria**, **aljubeteiro**, **gibão**, **gibaneite** and **gibeteiro**. Cf. **farjup**.

**aljubádigo**, **aljubar**, **aljube**, **aljubeiro**, **aljubber** and **aljubet**: Cf. **alchub**.

**aljuma** (Cs.) and **juma** (Anz.) "shoot; pine needle", (**ar**)**juma** (Mur.), and **a(l)juma** "pine needle" (Man.), **ahuma** "broom leaves" (Anl.), **ajuma** "broom (*Cytisus scoparius*)" (Anl.), **aljuma** "bundle of shoots or twigs at the end of a broom" (Anl., with semantic evolution) and metaphoric **aljoma** "lad" (mentioned by Coromines in connection with **aljuma** and **ajomate**): < And. *aljúmma* = Cl.Ar. *jummah* "head of hair; tuft (in plants)" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alhumajo** "pine needle", **aljumada** "with hair" (from GP 42). Cf. **ajomate**.

**aljuper** and **aljupe**: see **alchub**.

**aljuz** (Pt.) "a kind of resin": Machado considers it a reflex of And. *aljáf* = Cl.Ar. *jawz* "walnut; walnut tree"<sup>341</sup> which would make sense if it were a substance extracted from this plant, as the residue of a compound name the first constituent of which would have been dropped (as in **acicate**, **albacara**, **albaceta**, etc.), but there is no evidence on either point, while the assumed diphthong reduction is abnormal, though not exceptional.

**alkaide**: see **alcaide**.

**alkalkalangi**, **alkelkelengi**, **kalchalangi** and **alchelchelengi** "an electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:233, < Neo-Ar. *alkalkalānj* < Neo-P. *kalkalānej* (prob. "containing bdelium").

**alkata**: see **alcotán**.

**alkazauia**: see **alcaçaba**.

**alkef**: see **kef**.

**alkei**: see **alcheel**.

**alkimía**: see **alquimia**.

**alkendedicon**: see **calchidicon**.

**alkeskineugi**: see **alchiaschuegi**.

**alkiscar**: see **alchescar**.

**alkisch(ie)**, **chisch**, **kist** and **kisch** (**hor-dei**) "barley water": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:187–188, from the etymon of **gachas**, q.v.<sup>342</sup>

**alkokin**: see **chuchi**.

**allad/ton**: see **latão**.

**allafa** (Ct.) "parcel": < Ar. *laffah* "pack(et)". It is a hapax from the early 15th c., as stated by Coromines, more probably related with Mediterranean trade than with Al-Andalus; in fact, a *laffe* "turban" is documented in Sr.Ar, after Barthélemy.

**allaga**: see **alfaia**.

**allaton**: see **latão**.

**allauzin(ie)**, **allauzinegi** and **allauze-mie** "almond sweetmeat": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:188, < Neo-Ar. *allawzīnaj* < Pahl. *lawzēnag*.

**alleape**: see **alifafe**<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>341</sup> The spelling \*\*\**al-jūz* must be so corrected.

<sup>342</sup> The data on both items are complementary. The Persian origin is already mentioned in the

dictionary *Tāj alfarūs*; the vowel palatalization, reflected by Freytag and Dozy, seems to be Eastern and old.

**alleba/e** and **lalebán** “vein apparent in the shoulder”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:26, < Ar. *allabbah*.<sup>343</sup>

**allehu**: from DAX 120, is not “white orpine / sedum” (*Sedum album*), but “winter cherry (*Physalis alkekengi*)”<sup>344</sup> < Ar. *allahw*.

**allethe** “gum”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:27, < *allīyah*.

**alleuçe** “almond” (with the var. **allauç/za** and **alleize**): from GP 42. Cf. **alloza**.

**alleze/frange** (Lit., in a Cs. document) “a cloak fabric”: this hapax, recorded by Steiger 1956:103, does not seem to have the etymon suggested by him, a gentilic of the Iranian place name Isfaranj, which indeed exists, but was not known for its textile production, unlike many other places in the same country. In the light of the And. documentation, with witnesses such as >*lāzuh*< in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs and >*las*< in IQ, in both cases a kind of satin, chances are this fabric and other similar materials imported from France and beyond were called in And. *lás ifránji*, i.e., “Frank satin” This conclusion is momentous, because it would confirm that Cs. **raso** and var., derived from the name of the town of Arras in Normandy, is not the etymon of the And. word, connectable with a series of Neo-P. cognates, and even with mod. Eg. *lāsa* “white wrapper of fine linen or silk worn by men”,<sup>345</sup> so that there is no common origin, but a mere phonetic coincidence between both designations, western and eastern. Otherwise, it would be hard to understand the adjective “Frank”

**alliala**: see **alifara**.

**alliff(ə)afe**, **all(i)hafe** and **allifaph**: see **alifafe**.<sup>2</sup>

**allolo** and **allols**: see **alaules**.

**allora**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 42: < Neo-Ar. *allūrah* “Lyra”, after Kunitzsch 1959:206.<sup>346</sup>

**alloza** (Cs., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:182) “green almond” and **allo(r)za** “green or bitter almond” (Anl., with the var. **ayosa**): < And. *allāwza* = Cl.Ar. *lawzah* “almond” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **allozo** “almond tree”, from DAX 121, backformed within Rom.

**allud/tel**: see **aludel**.

**al(l)ui** “sprain”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1992b:942, < Ar. *alluwī*.

**(al)mabit**, **almabad** and **vena almbat** “(vein of the) calf”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:39, < Ar. *maqbiḍ* which, however, is given in the dictionaries several locations, of which the most correct appears to be the front of the thigh.

**almacabra** (Cs.) and **almecora** (Lit. in an Arag. document) “Islamic graveyard” and **almacave**, **almocáv/bar** or **almocóvar** (Pt.) “(Jewish) graveyard”: from the pl. *almaqábir* “graves”, of And. *almaqbára* = Cl.Ar. *maqbarah*, with occasional labialization of the prefix, already within Rom., by contamination with the many cases of Ar. loanwords beginning with **(al)mo-**. Cs. exhibits a final vowel resulting from the evolution of the paragogical /e/, while Ar. also has half-vocalization of the labial and reduction of the ensuing diphthong.

**almacaero** (Cs.) “fisherman in an **almancebe**, q.v.”: this word, excerpted from Sevillian ordinances, reflects the An. pronunciation of \***almacadero**, a hybridization with Rom. suffix of And. *almáqṣad* = Cl.Ar.

<sup>343</sup> But this term really means the upper part of the chest. It should not be confused with **alleba** “colostrum” < Ar. *allibaʿ*, in Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:107.

<sup>344</sup> See Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:293, N° 2582 (Ar. text) and 2007:416 (Cs. transl.). According to Abulxayr, (*ḥubb*) *allahw*, lit., “grain of fun” (And. *lahú*) would be its And. designation, alluding to its consumption as a dainty by children and on festive occasions.

<sup>345</sup> See DAA 473–474.

<sup>346</sup> See fn. 4, in which he mentions Old Cs. **çulyaca**, as a reflex of the alternative Neo-Ar. name of Lyra, *salbāq* (*šalbāq* ein DS, Vullers, Steingass and Payne Smith, *xalyūq* in Blau 2006), supposedly derived from Gr. *sambukē*, which we consider less likely on phonetic grounds than the also Gr. *sálpinx*, -ggis “trumpet”, with a semantic confusion between string and wind instruments comparable to the case of Ar. *ṭunbūr* “small guitar” and its Gr. etymon *pandoura* “drum”; see **mandora**.

*maqṣad* "seat", because in those places fishermen stayed in the same spot.

**almacave**: see **almacabra**.

**almácega** (Pt., only in Morais, as Machado considers it as a mere var. of **almécega**, q.v. s.v. **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>) and **almágega/e** "tank" (only in Morais, as obsolete, corrupted or phonetically evolved) "small tank": < And. *almásqa* < Cl.Ar. *maṣqāh* "water reservoir". From the same etymon, with semantic evolution, is the var. (only in Morais) **almécega** "quagmire; whirlpool"

**almácego**: see **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.

**almacén** (Gl and Cs., with the var. **almazen** from GP 44), **armazém** (Pt., with the var. **almaçem** and **alma(r)zém**), **(al)magacén** (Cs.), **magatzem** (Ct.) and **amagasén** (Mur.) "store": < And. *almazán* = Cl.Ar. *maxzan*. From the same origin, both through Mor. *maxzan*, is **majzén** (Cs.) "central government of Morocco", a poorly assimilated contemporary loanword. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almacenaje**, **almacenamiento**, **almacenero** and **guardalmacén**; Cs. and Gl.: **almacener** and **almacenista**; Ct.: **magatzem(ada)**, **magatzematge**, **magatzemer**, **magatzemista**, **amagatzemador**, **emmagatzemament**, **emmagatzematge** and **emmagatzemar**; Gl.: **almacenable**, **almacenamento** and **almacenaxe**; Pt.: **armazenar**, **armazenário**, **armazeneiro** and **armazenista**.

**almacería** (Cs., with a Granadan var. **macería**, after Eguílaz) "penthouse with an independent entrance" and **masedría** (Arag.) "small room next to the kitchen": < And. *almaṣrīyya* < Cl.Ar. *miṣriyyah* "Egyptian (fem.)".<sup>347</sup> Cf. **alcoceifa**, **almazaria**, **maçari** and **mazarí**.

**almacha(da)**: see **mucadahati**.

**almáciga**<sup>1</sup>, **almaste**, **almástec**, **almizteca**, **almástic/ga** and **almázaque** (Cs., with the var. **(al)mastic**, in GP 44 and 106), **màstic** (Ct.), **almá/écega** (Pt.), **mostique**

(Can.) and **almástiga** or **almazaque** (Arag.) "resin of the lentisk or mastic tree (*Pistacia lentiscus*)": < And. *almástiga* < Cl.Ar. *maṣṭakā*? < Gr. *mastichē*. There is near general assimilation of the dental to the sibilant, after AAR 2.1.4.1.3 and contamination by the unstressed Rom. suffix **/+IKA/**. Of the same origin, with semantic evolution, is Pt. **almácega** "white grape" and "a Brazilian tree" (only in Morais). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almacigar** and **almastigado**; Pt. **almecegar**.

**almáciga**<sup>2</sup> or **almácigo** (Cs.), **almárciga** (Anz.) and **almácego** (Brazilian Pt., after Morais) "seedbed": from And.Rom. *\*al+MÁST+IQA*, < Lt. *bastum* "stick",<sup>348</sup> in the sense of "place where the shoots grow". As stated by Coromines, the Ar. etyma of DS and former editions of DRAE, *\*\*maskabah*, of dubious existence and meaning, as well as Eguílaz's, *\*\*mazraʿah* "plantation", are not suitable, but neither is his own, *\*\*mašjarah* "thicket", for obvious phonetic reasons, which he tries to overrule, invoking a totally unprecedented intra-Ar. blending. From the same etymon, with semantic evolution, are **marcía** and **márciga** "plant having put forth its first shoots" (Anl.) and **márciga** "shoots growing from the stump of a cut down olive tree" (Anl.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almaciguero**.

**almáçmara** "fireplace" (with the var. **mex/yhmara** and **axxhmara**), from GP 67, < And. *almaʿijmār* = Cl.Ar. *"mijmarah"*, more exactly, "censer"

**almacraca** (Cs.): this word excerpted by Eguílaz from a jesting songbook is perfectly adequate, no doubt, for the context in which it appears in the sense of its And. equivalent *almaqrāqa* "purse; leather sack", or even better "saddlebags", as they were to be used on mules. Cf. **carraca**.

**almacraz** (only in Morais), **almofrez** and **alma/erada** (Pt.), **almaraz** or **almarada** (Cs.), **almará** (Man.) and **armará** (Mur.) "awl"

<sup>347</sup> For it was an Egyptian innovation, as explained by the And. jurist Ibn Alʿaṭṭār (see Chalmeta & Corriente 1983:119–23).

<sup>348</sup> Whence also Cs. **vástago**. It is one more case of the frequent shifts between **/b/** and **/m/** (see AAR 2.1.2.1.1.3). The vitality of the Lt. word in And.Rom. and And. is proved by the

verb *maččūq* "to put forth shoots" in Alcalá (with identical shift between labials and the well-known evolution **/st/** > **/č/**, characteristic of Granadan, as described in Corriente 1981a:13), the name Aban Baṣṭaḡáyr, mentioned by Coromines under **vástago**, and Ct. **aumàstecs**, q.v.

and **almarà** “needle for sewing hempen sandals” (Val. of Elche, after DCECH): < And. *almaxràz* < Cl.Ar. *mixraz*. The first Pt. form exhibits a frequent contamination with Ar. loanwords beginning with **almo-**, while the hybridization by the Rom. suffix **/+ÁDA/** is an intra-Rom. consequence of a hypercorrect reaction to the unvoiced spirant articulation of Cs. intervocalic **/d/** in some dialects. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **almarado**. Cf. **almofate**.

**almada**: see **almofada**.

**almáda/e/ina** (Cs., with the var. **almágana** and **almaganeta**), **almàdana** and **almaina** (Ct.), **almaina** (Mur.) and **almada/ena** (Arag.) and **almadena** (Nav.) “large stone hammer”:<sup>349</sup> < And. *almátana*, perhaps a contamination by Cl.Ar. *\*mišdan* of And. *pašana*, < Gr. *patánē*, although shifts between bilabials are often spontaneous (cf. **almaciga**<sup>2</sup>, **almóndiga**, **bastrén**, etc.). The stress position in Arag. and Nav., different from the standard, is prob. old and preserves that of And. and Gr. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almada/eneta**. Cf. **alpata** and **batan**.

**almdarat**, “circles”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 42, < Ar. *madārāt* “tropics” (see **almamarat**).

**almdearse**: see **almdía**.

**almdac** and **aum(a)ec** (dial. Ct.) “cliff”: < And. *almdiq* = Cl.Ar. *mdiq* “narrow passage; strait”. From the same etymon is **almegue** (Pt.) “ford”, an uncommon word only found in place names, with an old var. **Almaegue**, registered by Coromines 1976:III 80; obviously, D. Lopes’ hypothesis of an Ar. etymon *\*maqṭaṣ* is unacceptable on both phonetic and semantic grounds, as the latter word usually means “quarry”, while “ford” has always been *\*maxāḏah*, although Mor. has *\*maqṭaṣ* *alwad*, lit., “crossing place in a river”

**almdén** (Cs.) “mine”: < And. *almdáḏín* < Cl.Ar. *maḏḏin*.

**almdena** (Pt.) “minaret”: obviously, a

reflex of Ar. *almiḏḏanah* of this meaning, although not through And. transmission, in which this term is not documented,<sup>350</sup> but even the late documentation (19th c., with reservations in Machado) raises serious doubts about its genuineness in Pt. Everything points to its being a mere learned creature, disguising with the Ar. article a Fr. or Eng. reflex of Eg.Ar. *madna* or Sr. *māḏne*, mod. phases of that Cl.Ar. word. Cf. **almdána**.

**almdía** (Cs., Arag. and Gl.), **almdia** (Pt.), **armería** (Anl.) and **armadia** (Ct., with the var. **aumedia**) “raft”: < And. *almdāḏyya*, a morphologically anomalous word not exhibiting the pattern matching its meaning, therefore being a likely distortion of *\*muḏḏāḏyyah* “causing to cross (fem.)”, by adoption of the prefix **{ma-}**, as in the case of **Mafamede**, q.v. There is clearly nothing Br. about it, *pace* Machado. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **almdede/larse** and **almdiero**.

**almdína**: see **almdána**.

**almdrá**: see **almdraque**.

**almdraba** (Cs.), **almdrav/ba** (Pt.) and **almdrag/va** (Ct., with the Maj. var. **aumadrava**) “tunny fishery”: < And. *almdrába*, place name of the root **{drb}**, in the sense of place where beating or fighting happens”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **almdrabero**; Ct.: **almdraver**; Pt.: **almdrabilha**.

**almdraga**: see **almdraba** and **almdraque**.

**Almdrán**: name of a Leo. personage from DO 201, which the author considers a reflex of Neo-Ar. *maḏrān* “bishop”, but the person in question is a royal butler, having sons; therefore, discarding a nickname, which seems difficult to justify, what we may have is And. Rom. *METRÁN* “good-looking”, witnessed by the *xarajāt* A17 and A19.<sup>351</sup>

**almdraque** (Cs., Gl., Ast., in García Arias 2006:22, and Pt., the latter with the var. **almd/trá**) and **almdrac**, **almdraga**,

which, see Leslau 1987:557. It is noteworthy that the Eg. term was transcribed as *mūd’ne* by Lane 1836:92, witnessing some degree of palatalization (cf. “Guizeh” in many Western writings about the Pyramids), which must have disappeared a few decades later.

<sup>351</sup> See PD 287; cf. **almdatran**.

<sup>349</sup> Stress apparently supported by **batán**, q.v., and by An. **almdá** “wooden hammer”, recorded by Garulo 1983:186.

<sup>350</sup> The local term for this part of the mosque appears to have been exclusively *\*sūmṣu* < Cl.Ar. *\*yawmaṣ(ah)* “tower”, of Sar. stock, to judge by Et. *\*ṣomaṣt* “hermit’s cell”, about

**matelàs** or **mat(a)laf** (Ct.) and **madalá** or **matalás** (Arag.) “straw bed; mattress”: < And. *almaṣrāḥ*, name of place of {trh} “to throw”, whence Cl.Ar. *\*ṭurrāḥah* of the same meaning. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almadraqueja**; Ct.: **macatretja**, **matalasser(ia)**, **matalofada** and **matalofejar**; Pt.: **almadraquexa** and **almatrixa**; Anz.: **almaraqueja** “thin cushion or mattress” (but “cushion” in Mur.); Ext.: **madrequeta** “cushion”

**almadrava** and **almadraver**: see **almadraba**.

(al)**madraza**: see **madraçal**.

**almadroc** and **emmadroc** “a sauce” (Ct.) and **almadrote** “a sauce of oil, garlic and cheese” (Cs., with the Jud.-Sp. **almadrote**):<sup>352</sup> < And. *almaṣrūq* = Cl.Ar. *maṣrūq* “pounded”, altered in Cs. by contamination of the many Ar. loanwords beginning with **almo-** and by suffix metanalysis and substitution. On phonetic and semantic grounds, the etyma suggested by Asín, *\*\*muḍarriṭ* “flatulent”, and Coromines, *\*\*madrūs* “minced”, (in truth, “threshed”) are inadequate. From the same etymon, with occasional semantic evolution, are **mandrunco** (Ct.), **mandrugo** (Arag.) and **mendruco** (Cs., prob. contaminated by **mendigo** “beggar”, as this kind of alms was given to them) “broken stale bread”, **matrucar** “to pound” (dial Pt.), **madrucar** (Ct., with the Men. var. **madrocar**) “to beat with a mallet”, Men. **madroc** “tangle”, alluding to the thoroughly mixed ingredients of such sauces), the Pt. idiom **a matroca**, “at random”, said of doors being knocked at in that manner, starting from the fem. And. *maṣrūqa* = Cl.Ar. *maṣrūqah* “knocked” and, finally, **matrojo** “core of a corn cob” (Anl.) with metanalysis and substitution of a Rom. suffix, as *maṣrūq* is also said of food which has been tasted, with the same semantic connotation as in standard **mendruco**. Cf. **almorraque**.

**almæza**, **mæz/sa** (Mur.) “snail”, recorded by Gómez Ortín,<sup>353</sup> < And. *almaṣīza* = Cl.Ar. *maṣīzah* “goat”, jestingly alluding to its cirri

(“horns” in Cs.), and also perhaps to legitimate its consumption by Muslims.

**almáf/hala** and **almofalla** (Cs., with the var. **almophalla** in GP 46) and **alma/ofala** (Pt.) “army camp”: < And. *alma/uhālla* < Cl.Ar. *maḥallah*. From the same etymon is metonymic **almohalla** “transom supporting the roof beams” (Anz.). Also from that etymon, but through Mor. *mḥalla* “encamped troops”, in contemporary times, the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco has generated the Ar. loanword **a meh/jala** (Cs.) “unit of the regular Moroccan army”

**almáfaque** (and dim. **almáfauillo**) and **almázaque** “weedhook” (Anz., but **almázaque** in Anl., more coherently stressed, the penultima stress being attributable to backformation on the dim.): < And. *\*almāṣīzaq* < Cl.Ar. *miṣīzaq* “shovel”. It is a precious instance of an Ar. loanword allowing to posit a word otherwise undocumented in the And. sources.

**almafariz**: see **almidet**.

**almafaza**: see **almofaza**.

**almáfega** (Pt., with the var. **almarfaga** and **armarfega**) “a coarse fabric”, **marfega**, **márfega** and **márre/ega** “(fabric for a) straw mattress” and **almarrega** “horse blanket” (Arag.), **márcega** and **márrega** (Cs., the latter, after DRAE, in Aragon and La Rioja), **almarga** “straw mattress” (Mur.), **márfega** “straw mattress; coarse fabric”, **márfaga** “coarse fabric; bedspread” and **marga** “coarse fabric” (Cs.), **márfaga** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:69) and **márfega** (Ct.) “cushion; pillow”: < And. *almárfaga* < Cl.Ar. *miṣfagah* “cushion”. From the same origin is **morrego** “esparto or straw mattress” (Anz.), in which the suffix substitution, stress shift by metanalysis of the Rom. suffix {+ÁYK} and the gender change appear all to be intra-Rom. phenomena. There has been some semantic evolution from a coarse mattress to the rough fabrics used in their manufacture, or otherwise towards resting places, like, e.g., Arag. **márzega** “rocking chair” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **marragón** and

<sup>352</sup> Cf. also Sicilian *matarocco*.

<sup>353</sup> Who included it in Gómez Ortín 1991:269, and later on recognized it as an Ar. loanword in a popularizing article, “Mæza, arabismo murciano inédito”, published in the newspaper *La Opinión*

of Murcia (23/5/2004). Subsequently, in an informative exchange, we suggested the replacement of his etymological proposal, *maṣṣāṣah* “sucker”, with phonetic difficulties, by the aforementioned etymon.

marraguero; Ct.: *marfegada*, *marfegó*, *marfegot* and *marfegueta*.

**almáfeço** (Pt., only in Morais) "a kind of grape": it looks like an Ar. loanword, but the insufficient documentation makes any etymological attribution risky; it might be related to *náfeço* (q.v.) on account of a certain shape.

**almáfí(m)** (Pt., with the var. *olmáfí*) "a precious fabric": is no doubt And. \**almáfí* "fabric from Amalfi, in Southern Italy", so reputed in the Islamic West that it generated *malíf*, through metanalysis and elimination of an Ar. article, as the word for "cloth" in Naf.<sup>354</sup>

**almaño** (Cs.) "fennel": Eguílaz records this term as a dialectal form of Montefrío, in Granada, and puts forward the Ar. etymon *nāfī*, indeed documented with that meaning in And. sources. The nasal shift and ensuing restoration of the /f/ of the Ar. article are not totally unprecedented (cf. *almoháter* and var., q.v.), but the total absence of *imālah* and further dial. Rom. witnesses is striking.

**almáfíre**, **almófíre** and **almófíre** "helmet" (Pt.) and **almófíre** or **almófíre** (Cs., with the var. *almófíre* in GP 46), **almófíre** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:22) "mail head cover under the helmet": < And. *almáfíre* < Cl.Ar. *miḡfār*, with dissimilation of /ḡ/ before /r/ into /f/ (see AAR 2.1.2.9.2.2) and optional labialization of the prefix.

**almáfíre** (Pt., with the var. *almófíre*) and **almófíre** (Ct.) "bedspread" and **almófíre/z** (Cs., with the var. *moffarrex* in LHP 391) "wrapper for a camp bed": < And. *almáfíre* < Cl.Ar. *mifraḡ*.

**almagabe/in** or **almagabani** "glands under the armpits": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:27, < Ar. *almaghbin*.<sup>355</sup>

**almagacén**: see *almacén*.

**almagala**: see *amalgama* (in Appendix I).

**almágana** and **almaganeta**: see *almádana*.

**almagana**: see *almaguana* and *almakanas*.

**almagasy** "fainted": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172 < Ar. *almagšīy* (yu ṣalayh).

**almágega/e**: see *almácega*.

**(alm)agera** and **ma(n)jarra** (Val.) "charity box": < Neo-Ar. *majarr* "(desk) drawer" (cf. Mor. *ar*), with a paragogical vowel. This term is not documented in And., but prob. existed, considering its rather general use in Neo-Ar., as the borrowing appears to have taken place within the Iberian Peninsula. Intra-Rom. der.: Val.: *majarrer*. Cf. *almarraja*.

**almagest(i)** (Ct.), **almagesto** (Cs.) and **almaj/gesto** (Pt.): < Ar. *almajisī*, abridged transcription of Gr. *megálē syntaxis* "great treatise".<sup>356</sup>

**almagieza** "muscle flesh": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:28, identified by them as Neo-Ar. *lahm hāṣī* "filling flesh", an indeed strange expression, perhaps hiding a misreading; we would suggest Ar. *almajassah* "place for feeling the pulse".

**almagita** (Lit. with the Cs. var. *almahita*, an obvious mistake) "the bride's hairdresser": is a word recorded by Eguílaz, < And. *māṣīṭa* = Cl.Ar. *māṣīṭah*, of Eg. origin, to judge by Cp. *māṣīṭe* "comb". The absence of *imālah*, even in Alcalá' spelling, *māṣīṭa*, may indicate a borrowing by And. from other Neo-Ar. dialects.

**almagnales** "veil" (Leo., from DO 202): is prob. a var. of *almakanas* (q.v.), although the etymon in this case seems to be, as the author points out, the masc. And. *maqnaṣ*.<sup>357</sup> Cf. *almakanas* and *macana*.

**almagnicia** or **almagnita/ez** (with the var. *magne/ites*, *magnitat* and *magnita/iz*)

abandonment of the previous etymon, reflected in many editions of DRAE, and based upon Gr. *megístē* "greatest"

<sup>357</sup> Recorded not only in Ferreras 1998:115, but also in DAA 445 from another source, thus confirming its existence. Both masc. and fem. appear to have circulated in And., but it is not possible to ascertain their semantic nuances, if there were any.

<sup>354</sup> See Corriente 1989a:290, where Ibn Hayyan describes the arrival to Al-Andalus of the first textile merchants from Amalfi.

<sup>355</sup> In truth, meaning only the armpit; however, this kind of abbreviation is commonly used in the technical designation of veins, nerves, etc., as the authors pointedly warn more than once.

<sup>356</sup> After C. Nallino's argumentation which, as stated by El<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Buṭlamīyūs*, has forced the



"magnetite": is an unassimilated mineralogical term, from GP 43 and 103, < Neo-Ar. *hajar almāḡnāḡnīs* < Gr. *magnētis*.

**almagra/e** and **almāguena** (Cs.), **almagra/e/o** (Pt.), **almagre** (Gl., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:182), (**al**)**mangra** and **almānguer/na** (Ct.) and **almagre, mangra** and **almaguena** (Arag.) "native iron oxide": < And. *almāḡrah* = Cl.Ar. *maḡ(a)rah* "red ochre" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almagradura**, **almagral**, (**en**)**almagrar** and **almagrero**; Ct.: **mangrat**, **manganejar**, **almangrar**, **almanguenar** and **almanguenada**; Pt.: **almagral** and **almagrar**.

**almagran/m** (Ct.), **magram** (Cs., unassimilated var., excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan archives) "a tribute" and **almagrán** "the tribute called *alfarda*, q.v." (Mur., with the var. **almagrama**, from documents used by Pocklington 1984:281–284).<sup>358</sup> < And. *almāḡram* "tribute" = Cl.Ar. *maḡram* "debt"

**almagreño** (Cs.) "native of Almagro in La Mancha": is the gentilic of that place name, assuming a form like that of Pt. **almagra**.

**almaguana** "tax on country estates" (Cs., with the corrupted var. **almagana**): the information given by Mañillo 1998:400–402 about this term, added to Eguílaz's definition thereof as a tribute paid in compensation for the use of irrigation water, also based on unequivocal Granadan documents, confirm the derivation of this word from And. *muṣāwana* < Cl.Ar. *muṣāwanah* "help", a misnomer aimed at masking a tribute which is illegal under Islamic law, as in the case of **taybix**, q.v. As for **almauna**, recorded by Mañillo under the same entry, despite the lavish documentation of the And. synonym *maṣūna* = Cl.Ar. *maṣūnah*, its appearance in the same collection as a var. of the same term under its more frequent shape,

obliges to consider it as a mere error, although an eventual identity with **almona**, q.v., cannot be altogether excluded.

**almahagiat** "having pop-eyes": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:97, < Ar. *almujahhaz*.

**almahala**: see **almafala**.

**almaharot**: is an unassimilated botanic term, from DAX 122, < Ar. *mahrūt* "root of asafoetida", which the editors have ignored, distorting the entry as **\*almajara** and rendering it as "mastic", while in DAX 1162 **maharot** is not connected with that var., being again falsely identified with "laserpitium".<sup>359</sup>

**almahita**: see **almagita**.

**almaina**: see **almādana**.

**almaissar** (Ct.), **almaizar** (Cs.) and **alme(i)zar** (Pt.) "Moorish cloak": < And. *almayzār* < Cl.Ar. *miṣzar*. The var. **almizar**, excerpted by Eguílaz from Granadan documents, and **armayzares**, suggesting diverse treatment of the diphthong, are uncertain. From the same etymon is **almeazar** (Pt., only in Morais, as obsolete) "altar decoration", prob. misinterpreted, to judge from the meaning "humeral veil" of the matching Cs. word. Intra-Rom. der.: Can.: **almaizalado** "rosy white"

**almāixera**: see **almāserra**.

**almaizar**: see **almaissar**.

**almaizo**: see **almez**.

**almaja** (Cs.) "tax on the harvest of unirrigated lands in Murcia": prob. < And. *almāks* = Cl.Ar. *maks* < Aram. *maksā* < Akkad. *miksum* "tribute"

**almajal**: see **almajar**.

**almajaneque** (Cs.) and **alma(n)janec** (Old Ct.)<sup>360</sup> "catapult": < And. *almanjanīq* = Cl.Ar. *manjanīq* < Gr. *mēchanikē*, prob. through Aram.

**almajar/l** (Cs.) "silken robe": < And. *almaṣjār* < Cl.Ar. *miṣjar*.

<sup>358</sup> In which, however, there is no And. n.un., abnormal in this morphological pattern, but just one more case of intra-Rom. development of a paragogical vowel.

<sup>359</sup> See Meyerhof 1940:111 and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmantine 2004:322, N° 2759 and 2007:450.

<sup>360</sup> Coromines considers it necessary to cor-

rect this hapax by inserting >n<, convinced as he is that this word is a mere Arabization of **manganell** (cf. Cs. **manganilla**). However, taking into due account the different paths followed by the same Gr. etymon, the shape of Cs., and the casual ease of assimilation and dissimilation of /n/ before certain consonants in And. and And. Rom., that correction does not seem so mandatory.

**almajara** (Cs.) “well manured nursery”: < And. *almašjára* = Cl.Ar. *mašjarah*.

**almajarra**: see **almanjarra**.

**almájena** “truncate vat for pouring enamel” (Anl.): < And. *almášjan* < Cl.Ar. *mišjan* “trough”, or its pl. *mašájin*, with development of a paragogical vowel, and not from its allomorph *\*mašjána*, because of the inadequate stress position of the latter.

**almajurada** “a local species of Hypericum (H. canariense)” (Can. with some var.): is a hybrid with Rom. suffixation of And. *almahfúra* = Cl.Ar. *maḥfūrah* “perforated” (cf. the Hypericum perforatum, “goatweed”).

**almakanas** (Llt., in an Arag. document) “toques”: is no mistake for **almanaca** (q.v.) nor does the talk go, therefore, about bracelets or necklaces, as Fort Cañellas 1994:127 suggested, but it reflects *almaqnaša* < Cl.Ar. *miqnašah*. As for Leo. **almagana** in DO 202, it might be either a spelling var. of **almakanas**, or a different word, perhaps that Ar. *\*almuṣayyanah* “decorated with drawings or embroidery imitating the eyes of gazelles”, suggested by the author and quite convincing on phonetic grounds and in the light of semantic concomitances. Cf. **almagnales** and **macana**.

**almalafa** (Pt. and Cs., which has the var. **malafa** and **almeleha**, the latter documented by LHP 75, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:75, and attributed to Leo. in DO 203) “full-length wrap, worn by Muslims”: < And. *almalhāfa* < Cl.Ar. *milḥafah*. Cf. **almallahe**.

**almallahe** (Llt., final vowel due to declension) “salt work”: excerpted from a statute law by Eguílaz, who established its correct etymon, And. *mallāḥa* = Cl.Ar. *mallāḥah*. The var. **almalafa** appears to be a place name, mentioned by Alcover y Moll.

**almamar** “meridian”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 43; together with its also preserved pl. **almamarrat** (with the var. **almomarrat** and **mamartat**) would seemingly reflect Ar. *mamarr* and its pl. *mamarrāt* “corridor”. However, it is noteworthy that this technical meaning is ignored by the dictionaries of Cl.Ar. and Neo-Ar., which casts some doubts about that etymon and does not allow us to exclude a corruption of **almadarat**, q.v. According to DAX 122, the witnessed

readings would be **alman(i)ar**, even more inexplicable.

**almanac** (Ct.), **almanaque** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **armenague** (Anl.) “calendar”: < And. *almanāx* of that meaning, derived from Cl.Ar. *munāx* “halting place of a caravan”, a transparent metaphor of the star stations. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almanaquero**.

**almanaca** (Cs.) “anklet; bracelet”: < And. *almaxnáqa* < Cl.Ar. *mixnaqah* “necklace”, an etymon assured by the correction requested by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:173), for And. usage.

**almanaque**: see **almanac**.

**almanara**: see **almenara**<sup>1</sup>.

**almança** (Pt., only Morais) “vertically split heraldic field”: < And. *\*almānšaf* = Cl.Ar. *maṣṣaf* “half”

**almancebe** (Cs.) “a kind of net used in the Guadalquivir River”: < And. *almanšáb* = Cl.Ar. *maṣṣab* “position, emplacement”, with a semantic shift towards “laying a trap”, as in Eg.Ar. *\*našbah* “swindle” and *\*naššāb* “swindler” Cf. **almacaero**.

**almancina** or **almazina**: is an unclear Ast. word, in García Arias 2006:129, most likely of Ar. origin, which cannot be established as long as its meaning is not certain.

**almandaraque**: see **mandrache**.

**almandra** (Pt.) “raincoat”: < And. *\*almāmar* < Cl.Ar. *miṣṣar(ah)*, with intra-Rom. acquisition of the fem. morpheme, in the manner explained in 1.1.4.4.1. It appears to have an Arag. allomorph, **mandarra** “kind of smock used by children”, in Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:41.

**almangra(r)**, **almánguena**, **almànguer/na**, **almanguenada** and **almanguenar**: see **almagra**.

**almanjanec**: see **almajaneque**.

**almanjar(ra)** and **manjorra** (Pt.), **almijarra** (Cs.) and **alma(n)jarra** (Old Arag., mentioned by Coromines in DECLC s.v. **magerra**) “beam of a noria or similar device”: < And. *almajárrah* (cf. Cl.Ar. *majarr* “beam set athwart”). The Cs. allomorph with palatalization of the vowel before /j/, and with parasitical /n/ is interesting; as for the second Pt. form, a contamination with And. *manjúra* = Cl.Ar. *manjūrah* “turned (piece of wood, on

a lathe)" cannot be excluded. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **almanjarrar**. Cf. **almiharra**.

**almanta** (Cs.) "ridge between two furrows" and "thick and luxuriant plantation; plot ready for sowing" (Mon.): < And. *almánbat* = Cl.Ar. *manbat* "place growing plants, either sown or spontaneous; plant nursery", with evolution to /a/ of paragogical /e/ and loss of the post-tonic syllable.

**almanteca** "girdle" (with the var. **almantera**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 44, identified with Orion's Belt, after Kunitzsch 1959:184, < Neo-Ar. *manṭiqah* = Cl. Ar. *minṭaqah*.

**almanto** "cloak": from GP 44, possibly an And.Rom. item, = And. *mant* < Lt. *mantum*, well documented in DAA 512.

**almantruche** (Tol.) "pad under the pack-saddle against chafing": < And. *almadrúj* = Cl.Ar. *madrāj* "inserted, intercalated", contaminated by *manta*.

**almanxar** (Pt., with the var. **almaixar**, **almeix(i)ar**, **almex(i)ar** and **almijar** (Cs.)) "drying shed": < And. *almanšār*, from the Cl.Ar. root {nšr} "to spread (to dry)".<sup>361</sup>

**almanzurris** (Lit.): this numismatic term is recorded by Mateu y Llopis as the designation of certain dinars coined in the petty kingdoms of Saragossa and Valencia, so named after the Ar. surname of *almanšūr* "victorious by God's help", which those sovereigns had assumed.

**almara** "woman": is part of an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 44, **almara almuçelçela** (va çaca), with the var. **almarmucelcila** and **almarat almuçelçela** < Neo-Ar. *almarah almusalsala* (*wasāqhā*) "the chained woman (and her leg)", a name given to Andromeda, whose leg or foot (cf. **rex**) is identified by Kunitzsch 1959:10 as Gamma Andromedae.

**almará/a**: see **almacraz**.

**almarabú** (Arag.) "bergamot mint": is a corruption of **almoraduj**, q.v.

**almarada** and **almarado**: see **almacraz**.

**almaraqueja**: see **almadraque**.

**almaraujo**: see **almoraduj**.

**almaraz**: see **almacraz**.

**almarbate** (Cs.) "square beam connecting the rafters in a carved and panelled wooden ceiling": < And. *almarbāt* "purse carried on the belt"<sup>362</sup> < Cl.Ar. *mirbaṭ* "tie". From the same etymon is **marbete** (Cs.) "label", without agglutinated article and with a stress shift caused by the Rom. dim. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almarbatar**. Cf. **abarbetar**.

**almàrcera**: see **almàssera**.

**almarcha** (Cs.) "village in a plain" and **almarge(m)** (Pt.) "meadow": < And. *almárj* = Cl.Ar. *marj* < Old Persian *margu*. The Cs. fem. answers to the evolution of paragogical /e/ into /a/ (cf. 1.1.4.4.1). Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **almargeado**, **almargear** and **almargio**.

**almárciga**: see **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.

**almárcova** (Pt., only in Morais) "kind of knife": has a clear Ar. outlook, but data are insufficient to emit any etymon.

**almarfaga** and **almarga**: see **almáfega**.

**almargeado**, **almargear**, **almarge(m)** and **almargio**: see **almarcha**.

**almarjo** or **armajo** (Cs.) "saltwort": as in the case of **marjal**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Ct.) and of **almargeal** or **almarjal** (Pt., only in Morais) "marshy ground", and accepting Coromines' suggestion that this plant is so called on account of its growing in such places, it is semantically obvious that this word cannot derive, as often supposed, from a hybridization of Ar. *\*marj* "meadow" (cf. **almarcha**) with the Rom. locative suffix. As in the case of Fr. *marécage*, the etymon is a Lt. adjective *\*maricadicus*, < *maricadium* "palus", recorded by Du Cange. Therefore, there must have been in Hispanic Rom. a *\*MARKAJÁL*, the pretonic syllable of which has been dropped as in Cs. **morcilla** "a kind of black pudding" and so many other

<sup>361</sup> As DS informs, Ibn Alṣawwām has the spelling *m.nšār*, but it is risky to read it as *\*minšār*, which has the form of a n.inst., not a noun of place, it being perhaps wiser to assume that, as it is a vulgar term, the *alif* marks the stress position in it, i.e. *\*manšār*, the palatalization exhibited by Cs. being due to distant assimilation, after AAR 2.1.4.1.7. As for the alleged Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE *\*\*\*almišarr* "draining place", without consideration of the Pt. match, without palatalization, it simply does not exist.

<sup>362</sup> Documented by *Vocabulista in arabico* and made explicit by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī.

instances (cf. *enfarjar*). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *almarjal* or *armajal*.

(al)maro (Cs.) "marum-germander, cat thyme (*Teucrium marum*)": < And.Rom. \**al*+*MÁRO* < Lt. *mārum* < Gr. *māron*.

almarrá (Cs.) "cotton gin": < And. \**almahlāj* < Cl.Ar. *mihlāj*, with dissimilation into /r/ of the /l/-/ sequence, compensatory gemination of /r/ for the loss of /h/ (cf. *farra* and *garra*), and loss of the last consonant in An. pronunciation, in which the pl. \**almarrajes* has generated \**almarrahes*, whence *almarrá(s)*. Cf. *farachar*.

almarraj/za (Cs.), *alma/orratxa*, *marraixa* and *morratxa* (Ct.) and *almarraxa* (Pt.) "sprinkling bottle": < And. *almaráššah* < Cl.Ar. *miraššah*, with intra-And. metathesis of gemination, as Alcalá already has *marráša* pl. *marářiš*, due to metanalysis, with adoption of the pattern {*la22ā3(ah)*}. From the same etymon, with some semantic evolution, are *marraja* "demijohn" (Mur. and Man.), Arag. *marracha* "large jar" and *marraixa* "drinking jug with a spout and a handle", as well as Val. *matxarra* "bottled enclosed in wickerwork or the like",<sup>363</sup> with another metathesis. Intra-Rom. der.: dial. Ct.: *marraixó* and *marraixeta*. Cf. *borratxa*.

almarrega: see *almáfega*.

almárta/iga<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "halter": < And. \**almártaša* for Cl.Ar. *riṭāš* "shackle", both n.inst. formed by root metanalysis of the Cl.Ar. *irtāšā* "to graze" < {*rṭy*}. From the same etymon prob., with Rom. suffixation and semantic evolution, are Cs. and Arag. *martagón* "sullen", a metaphor of the shackle, which does not let go of the beast. As in the cases of *albóndiga*, *alhóndiga* and *alfóncigo*, the var. *almártiga* exhibits contamination by the unstressed Rom. suffix {+IKO}. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *almartigón*; Anl.: *marta/eguilla* and *mortaguilla* "rope halter" (dim.).

<sup>363</sup> Coromines 1976:III, 124, in the supporting passage of his entry *magerra* in DCELC, is wrong upon considering this word as a mere phonetic var. of the latter, thus neglecting the wide semantic gap between a wooden box for money and a glass container for wine or vinegar.

<sup>364</sup> In spite of their semantic identity, it cannot be etymologically connected with *may:s/s* (cf. *almece*), as explained in DAA 517.

*almárta/ega* (Pt.) and *almárta/ega*<sup>2</sup> (Cs., with the var. *almartac*, from GP 43, and *martak*, from GP 106) "litharge": < And. *almártaq/k* < Cl.Ar. *martak* < Neo-P. *ma/ortak*.

almártiga: see *almártiga*<sup>1</sup>.

almarza: see *almofaça*.

almarzara: see *almássera*.

almarzém: see *almacén*.

(al)masal "serum": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:189, < Ar. *almašl*.<sup>364</sup>

(al)masera, *almesse(ra)*, (al)mese/ire, *massar(i)e* and *massere* "bruise": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:97, < Neo-Ar. *māšarā* < Syr. *māšrā*.<sup>365</sup>

almaset and *ma/est* "curd, cottage cheese": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:190, < Neo-Ar. *māst*, < Neop. with the same shape.

almássera (Ct., with the Val. var. *almàrcera*), *almazera* (Arag.), *almazara* (Cs.) and *almarzara* (Mur., with repercussion): < And. *almaššarah* "oil-press" = Cl.Ar. *mašsarah* "wine press". The aberrant stress in Ct. (cf. *almadrava*, in the same morphological pattern) might answer to either insufficiently known diatopic features of And. dialects, or some intra-Rom. contamination, e.g., with *almáciga*. The Val. var. *almàixera* is interesting in connection with *maixella*, q.v., while *almoçara* (Lit. in Arag. documents, after Fort Cañellas 1994:70) seems to be just an error. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *almasserer*; Mur. *almazareta* "juice oozing from heaped up olives".

almasset: see *mansega*.

almaste, *almástec*, *almástic/ga* and *almastigado*: see *almáciga*<sup>1</sup>.

almastrén (An.) "trowel; bakehouse; mill, etc.".<sup>366</sup> < And. *almaštarīn* < Cl.Ar. *mištar* or *maštarīn* "trowel", a reflex of Gr. *mýstron*

<sup>365</sup> There is, then, no morphological nor semantic relation whatsoever with *essere*, q.v., but only perhaps some confusion on account of phonetic likeness, as the Syr. and Ar. technical terms properly mean erysipelas (Payne Smith 1879-1901:4318), characterized by edematous local inflammations, erroneously identified with bruises.

<sup>366</sup> From plate 2444 in Alvar, Llorente & Salvador 1961-73.

"spoon", prob. through an undocumented Aram. form. From the same etymon, with shift between labials,<sup>367</sup> is Gl. **bastrén** "tool for making curved pieces", after García Arias 2006:195, also Ast. in the meaning "tool for planing clogs". There is a considerable semantic evolution in the last meanings, due perhaps to the fact that the And. word by metonymy came to be said also of the sole of the foot (And. *miştal*, an allomorph of the same origin), comparable to the hollow in which the millstone fits and grinds the grain. Intra-Rom. der.: Anz.: **mastrear** "to fill holes (in building)".

**almatrá**: see **almatraque**.

**almatrac**: see **almadraqe**.

**almatran**: surname of the Mozarab bishop Saʿīd, in GP 46bis: from the etymon of **almadrán** and **meterane**, q.v.

**almatrero** (Cs.) "fisherman using the **almatroque**, q.v.": is prob. a blending of \***almatroquero** with **matrero**, q.v.

**almatricha** (Cs.) "irrigation channel": < And.Rom. \**al+MATRÍČ* "main irrigation channel" < Lt. *mātrīce[m]*.<sup>368</sup>

**almatrixa**: see **almadraqe**.

**almatroque** (Cs.) "kind of casting net": < And. *almaṭrūh* = Cl.Ar. *maṭrūh* "cast". Cf. **atarraya**.

**almauna**: see **almaguana**.

**almazar**: see **almanxar**.

**almayón** "Spanish broom (*Spartium junceum*)" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loanword, perhaps being a hybridised Rom. aug. of And. *almāyā* = Cl.Ar. *mayṣah*, identified as "storax (*Styrax officinale*)" and as a variety of "water plantain (*Alisma ranunculoides*)", two meanings also attributed to Cs. **almea**<sup>1</sup> and **azúmbar**, q.v., but this implies a semantic evolution, because both plants belong to different species and do not look alike.

**almaza**: see **almofaça**.

**almazaque**: see **almáfaque**.

**almazaque** and **almázaque**: see **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>.

**almazar**: see **almofaça**.

**almazar(et)a**: see **almàssera**.

**almazaria** "large square flagstone" (Anl., in which the stress prob. must be corrected as **almazaría**): < And. *almaṣrīyya* "the Egyptian one (fem.)" (cf. the bricks called **mazarí** in DRAE).

**almazarrón** (Cs.) and **mazarrón** (Arag.) "red ochre": perhaps metathetical of \***almagrazón**, doubly suffixed aug. of **almagra/e**, q.v., with a peculiar treatment of the cluster /gr/ in Rom. or /gr/ in And. It is by no means, *pace* Coromines and former editions of DRAE, a reflex of Cl.Ar. \**miṣr*, undocumented in And.; besides, the meaning "red earth" is one of the last, i.e., rarest, in dictionaries.

**almazém**: see **almacén**.

(**al**)**mazen** "narrowness": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *almaḏzan*.

**almazera**: see **almàssera**.

**almea**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) and **almeia** (Pt.) "storax (*Styrax officinale*)"; a variety of 'water plantain (*Alisma ranunculoides*)': < And. *almáyā* = Cl.Ar. *mayṣah*.

**almea**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) and **almeia** (Pt.) "Eastern dancer and singer": through Fr. *almée*, < Sr. Ar. *šālme* = Cl.Ar. *šālimah* "expert (fem.)".<sup>369</sup>

**almeazar**: see **almaissar**.

**almeçdi** (Llt., with the worse var. **almeçdi** and **almeedi**): is a numismatic term, recorded by Mateu y Llopis, as designation of the dinars coined during his very brief reign by the Tujībī petty king Mundir b. Yahyā, who assumed the ostentatious title of *muṣizzu ddawlah* "Glorifier of the dynasty", whence the And.

<sup>367</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.1.1.3.

<sup>368</sup> This is, with metathesis and subsequent normal phonetic evolution, the true etymon of the place name Madrid, as corroborated in Corriente 1990a, acknowledging Coromines' good hit on this matter, and disavowing the weaker hypothesis of Oliver 1959.

<sup>369</sup> Although the contemporary Cairo dialect does not presently palatalize the fem. morpheme

which is in the cauda of this word, it is established that it did so a few decades back (see fn. on **almádena**). In fact, one of the first contemporary Europeans having given a detailed and trustworthy description of Egypt, Lane 1836, transcribes this term as 'Ál'meh or 'Álimeh (p. 361 in the London reprint of 1963). Therefore, it is not a Maghribi pronunciation, as Coromines thought, nor is this word particularly Naf.

attributive *mušizzī*, aimed at by that Lt form.

**almece** (Pt., with the old var. **almeice**) "serum": < And. *almáys*, < Hb. *miš ḥālāb* "squeezed out of milk", a Jewish dietary term which entered the common cooking lexicon of Al-Andalus.<sup>370</sup>

**almécega**: see **almácega** and **almáciga**<sup>1</sup> and<sup>2</sup>.

**almecegar**: see **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>.

**almechthelin** (*etas*—) "mature age": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:127, < Neo-Ar. *almuktahilīn* "the middle-aged"

**almeцина/o**: see **almez**.

**almechora**: see **almacabra**.

**almedi** "secretion of Cooper's glands": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:100, < Ar. *almady*.<sup>371</sup>

**almedina** (Pt.) "walled heights of a city": < And. *almadīna* = Cl.Ar. *madīnah*. Pocklington 1984:284–285 records the same word in a Murcian document of the days of Alfonso X, said of the walled parts of Murcia, excluding the Arrixaca quarter. Cf. **medínés**.

**almefer(b)a**: see **almufera**.

**almefetet** (with the var. **almukafif**): "third degree of hectic fever": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:99, < Ar. *almufattit*, lit., "crumbling"

**almeque**: see **almadec**.

**almehuar** (Cs., with the var. **mehuar** and **almihuar** from GP 45) "astrolabe pinnule or sight": is an unassimilated astronomical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from *Libros del saber de astronomía*, < And. *almihwār* = Cl.Ar. *miḥwar* "axis"

**almeia**: see **almea**.

**almeice**: see **almece**.

**almeida** (Pt., only in Morais) "hole in the rudder head to fit the tiller": < And. *almáyda* < Cl.Ar. *māʾidah* "table", in its technical metaphorical meaning "hip", recorded by DS.

**almeirão** (Pt.), **almiron** (Ct.) and **almirón** (Cs., with the var. **salmerón**, recorded in Villar de Olmo, Madrid):<sup>372</sup> < And.Rom. \**al+MIR+ÓN* or \**AMAYR+ÓN* < Lt. *āmārus* "bitter", with a Rom. aug. suffix and diphthongization during its And. phase, after SK 1.1.10 and AAR 2.1.1.2.1, fn. 6.<sup>373</sup> The And. form *amayrún*, recorded in the *Leiden Glossary*,<sup>374</sup> still preserves the first syllable, subsequently lost by contamination with the frequent morphological Ar. pattern {*lā2ū3*} which, incidentally, was interchangeable in And. with {*lay2ū3*}, although this diphthong could be contracted dialectally, as is reflected in Cs. and Ct.

**almeitiga** (Pt., with the old var. **almitiga**) "invitation to a meal, to which the tax collector was entitled": the Ar. etymon *miṣṣah* "pittance", put forward by Eguílaz and Steiger, semantically very adequate, although undocumented in And., clashes with phonetic objections, on account of the abnormal reflex in the first vowel, as well as semantic ones, since the names of tributes usually reflect preexisting designations in the language of the dominating culture (e.g., **almaja**, **asequí**, **maquila**, etc.), or allude clearly and with transparent terms to their motives or nature (e.g., **aliaba**, **almería**, **taybix**, etc.), which is not the case here, for this word is not witnessed in And. Perhaps

<sup>370</sup> The old hypothesis in DE of a corruption of Cl.Ar. \**maṣl* of the same meaning meets unsolvable phonetic difficulties, not to speak of the semantic ones, as that word in And. actually means "pure honey"; on the other hand, the importance of the Jewish settlement in Al-Andalus makes perfectly understandable the adoption by And. of a certain number of Hb. ritual and dietary terms, sometimes even reflected in Rom. loanwords, such as **alficòs**, **hallullo** and **trefe**.

<sup>371</sup> This term is unmistakable in Ar., because of the ritual questions it raised in Islamic law; therefore, its rendering as "saliva" in Ruyzes is

either an error or, perhaps, a euphemism, reminiscent of >*muššayq*< *humidum veretrum* = "wet penis" in *Vocabulista in arabico*, commented upon in Corriente 1989a:286 and DAA 503.

<sup>372</sup> By D. Javier Tardío and D. Higinio Pascual, from the Instituto Madrileño de Investigación Agraria y Alimentaria, according to an information provided by D. Luis Laca.

<sup>373</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the very presence of synonymous **amargón** and is simpler than Coromines' supposition of a Lt. \**amario*{*nem*} with metathesis of *yod*. Of course, there is no Gr. \**\*myrón* "bitter"

<sup>374</sup> See Corriente 1991:34.

its first segment is an And.Rom. word, with agglutinated Ar. article, from Lt. *mac/ttēa* “dainty”, topped up with the unstressed Rom. suffix *-IKA/O*, which would also solve the phonetic problems.

**almeix(i)ar**: see **almanxar**.

**almexia** (Ct.), **almexia** (Pt.) and **almej(a)** (Cs.) “a cloak worn by Muslims”: is a word with both semantic problems, because of its imprecise definition, and phonetic difficulties for the etymon usually given to it. It cannot derive, *pace* Coromines and former editions of DRAE, from Neo-Ar. *\*mahšīyyah* < Cl.Ar. *\*mahšuwah* “quilted”, which would leave the /e/ unexplained while, on semantic grounds, despite the statement in DRAE, based on information possibly drawn from Dozy 1845, the Rom. word is no match of the garment defined therein as a coarse popular cloak, but was a subtle tunic, as corroborated even by Ast. **almexia** “linen cloth weaved at home”. However, some var., also with semantic and phonetic difficulties, might shed light on the facts: among them is Ct. **almoxia** (in Eguílaz), a good phonetic match, indeed, of And. *almuhšīyya* “quilted”, and semantically very apt to design that coarse garment. On the other hand, **almejfa**, defined as a fine garment, rather reminds us of Ar. (*hullatun*) *mawšīyyah* “embroidered (tunic)”, a participle synonymous with the adjective *wašī* (fem. *wašīyyah*), no doubt reflected by several witnesses, like the Lt. var. **alguexi**, recorded by Eguílaz in a document of 1101, Leo. **alu/vexi**, from DO 216,<sup>375</sup> Lt. **alguaxi** (in an Arag. document), Ct. **aluexia** and prob. also Cs. **almexi**, and Pt. **alveci(m)** or **alveici** “a precious fabric”. All this can be construed as evidence of semantic confusion, already within Rom., of both terms from diverse etyma, and/or phonetic contamination of *\*albexia* by the many Ar. loanwords with /m/ after the agglutinated Ar. article (e.g., en Ct. **aumàstecs** and **mandonguilla**, Pt. **almòndega**, Cs. **alm/bòndiga**, Cs. and Pt. **almocafre** and even And. *mátana*, etymon of **almádena**, q.v.).

**almeizar**: see **almaiszar**.

**almej(a)**: see **almexia**.

**almekales**: see **metical**.

**almela**: see **almila**.

**almele** (**panis**)—“bread baked on embers”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:24. Cf. **almila**.

**(al)melef** (with the var. **elmelef**, in GP 88): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 44 and 104, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:76 as the constellation Crater, < Ar. *almašlaf* “manger”

**almeleha**: see **almalafa**.

**almelilotu** “feverish condition”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *almalīlah*.

**almelm**: see **meli**.

**almemonia** “complementary plate of the astrolabe, designed by Azarquiel and given this name in honour of Almaʾmūn, petty king of Toledo”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 45, < Ar. *almaʾmūniyah*.

**almená** (Pt., in Morais **almena**) “weight unit equal to two *raṭls*”: is a late borrowing, originating in the conquests in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *mann* of the same meaning, prob. through Neo-P., in which the pl. of *man* is *manhā*, with ultima stress. This implies that, as in other cases of learned interference, the Ar. article is a contrived addition.

**almenachele** “cranial fracture”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:99, < Ar. *almunaqqilah*.

**almenar** (Cs.) “torch stand”: < And. *almanār* = Cl.Ar. *manār* “place for putting light”

**almenara**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Ct., Pt. and Gl.) “tower for fire signals” and **almanara** (Lt. in an Arag. document) “candlestick”: < And. *almanāra* = Cl.Ar. *manārah* “lighthouse, place for putting lights”, occasionally said of **minaretes**, q.v.s.v. **alminar**.

**almenara**<sup>2</sup> (Cs., Ct. and Arag.) “outlet channel for surplus irrigation water”: < And. *almanhār* < Cl. *manhar* “brook”, although this word has acquired a fem. morpheme, either in Rom., as final outcome of a paragogical /e/ (see 1.1.4.4.1), or still in And., which is

<sup>375</sup> García Arias 2006:22 believes that **almía** and **almiella** are var. of **almexia**, but they would

be better connected with the much disputed Cs. **almilla**.

not witnessed, but cf. the renowned *mnāra* of Marrakech, a regulating reservoir, also exhibiting the replacement of /h/ by vowel lengthening in the middle of the word, an occasional but characteristic feature of Western Ar.

**almence**: see **almuce**.

**almenc/eheb** "shoulder": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez 1993:208, < Ar. *almankib*.

**almeneumat** "narcotic drugs": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:191, < Ar. *almunawwimāt*.

**almeracha** "involuntary pollution": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:100, < Ar. *almuhraqah* "poured (fem.)."<sup>376</sup>

**almerada**: see **almacraz**.

**almeri**: see **almuri**.

**almeria** (Ct.) "tax on Mudejar weddings": < And. *almariyya* < Cl.Ar. *mar'īyyah* "seen (fem.)", an allusion to the highlight of the ceremony, when the bride is unveiled, i.e., seen by her husband. This is also the etymon, by an understandable metaphor, *pace* Coromines, of the name of the city of Almería, compared to the dazzling beauty of a bride, then adorned by her best attire.<sup>377</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almeriense**.

**almerida** (Tol.) "pusillanimous person": appears to reflect the And. etymon *almarīda* = Cl.Ar. *marīdah* "sick woman"

**almeriz**: see **almidet**.

**almesa/efath** or **almusafata** "having a basket-shaped head": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:100, < Ar. *almusaffat* "basket-shaped" Cf. **tasfid**.

**almesc(at)** and **almesquer**: see **almíscar**.

**almesemar**, **almismar** and **almyamar** "cal-

losity": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:101–102, having the same etymon as **abismal**, q.v.

**almesere**: see **almasera**.

**almesich** "tasteless": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez 1993:209, < Ar. *almasix*.

**almes/isusen**, **missusan** or **almesus** "white lily syrup": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:191, < Neo-P. *may susan*, through Ar.

**almetecares**, **almetechales** and **almetegal**: see **metical**.

**almethecacregi**: see **altheacregi**.

**almethal** "incipient (melancholy)": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *almuṭill*, lit., "beginning to appear"

**almethenein** or **methenem** "upper muscles in the back": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:28, < Neo-Ar. *almatnayn* "both sides of the back"

**almethrelin**: see **altherel**.

**almuce** (Cs.) "banana": is a word recorded by Eguílaz from Villena's *Arte Cisoria*, pointedly correcting the ms. \***almence** and suggesting its etymon, And. *almāwza* = Cl.Ar. *mawzah* < Pahl. *mōz* < Sk. *moṣa*.

**almexar**: see **almanxar**.

**almexi(a)**: see **almeixia**.

**almex(i)ar**: see **almanxar**.

**almex<sup>1</sup>** (Cs. and Pt.), **almezo** and **almecino** (Cs.), **almaizo** (Cs.) and **almuezo** (Arag.) "European honey-berry (*Celtis australis*)": < And. *almāys* = Cl.Ar. *mays*. Arag. exhibits a false restoration of /ul/, triggered by the Rom. tendency to drop the vowel of the segment **mo/** **u-** in Ar. loanwords, in front of another (e.g.,

<sup>376</sup> This is the likeliest etymon, considering the meanings of {hrq} in And., instead of supposing, as the authors do, an alteration of **almedi**, q.v., or a blending of **aludacha**, q.v., both semantically very different.

<sup>377</sup> See Corriente 1993a:63, fn. 1. Some scholars, as still does Kiesler 1994:40 and 295, have thought that And. *marīyyat paččā/ina* meant "the balcony of Pechina", from the same Ar. root, an easy mistake induced by the prestige of this city as a harbour. But it is an impossible etymon on mere grounds of Ar. morphology, as it is not a

pattern of a noun of place or instrument, and neither is it phonetically possible to derive it from the Lt. place name Murgis. In support of our view, we would quote a line of poetry by Ibn Zamrak 1/4/2 (see Corriente 1990c:2), *ṣarīsa mujlīyya marīyya hu šinnīl* "The Genil River is like a bride unveiled and beheld", although we do not exclude a case of folk etymology, arisen when the Andalusis became monolingual speakers of Ar., or even earlier, when most of them had forgotten the And.Rom. \***MARÍYYA** < Lt. \**maregia*, still alive in Mor. *marḍya* "tide; humour, etc."



Arag. **almada**, Cs. **marrano**). Intra-Rom der.: Cs.: **almeza**<sup>378</sup> and **almecina**.

(al)mez<sup>2</sup> "diamond": from GP 44, prob. unassimilated, < Neo-Ar. *hajar almās*. Cf. **ademuz**.

**almezar**: see **almaissar**.

**almhet** "kind of lancet": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1993:210, < Ar. *almixyq* "needle".<sup>379</sup>

**almiar** (Cs.) and **almiar(a)** (Pt.): the alleged Ar. etymon *\*almiyar* in Machado (which only means "supplies") is false, as well as the Lt. *\*metālis* in former editions of DRAE; the true one is Lt. (*peritica*) *mēdiālis* from Coromines, but the Ar. article suggests an And. Rom. phase. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almiarar**.

**almibar** (Cs.), **armiba** (Anl.) and **almívar** (Ct.) "sugar syrup": < And. *\*almiba* < Cl.Ar. *maybah* < Neo-P. *may be* "quince nectar". This ultimate source is the origin of **mibá** (Pt.) "quince syrup", directly borrowed during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almibarar**.

**almicantàrada** (Ct., with a more correct var. **almi/ucantaràt**), **almicantarar** (Cs., with the var. **almocantarar**, **almucanrath**, **almi/ycanteras**, **almicantaraz**, **almuc(h)antherath**, **almucantars**, **almucantherach** and **almuchanthanth**, from GP 48) and **almicantarate**, **almucàntara** and **almucantarado** (Pt.) "minor circle parallel to the horizon": is an unassimilated astronomical term, bookishly transmitted, which explains the distortions, < Ar. *almuqanṣarāt* "vaulted (pl. fem.)".

**almičara** (Arag.) "iron instrument for taking honey from a hive": this hapax, no doubt of Ar. origin, excerpted by Steiger 1948 from 14th and 15th c. inventories, cannot derive from the root *{jzr}*, as he propounded because, although its meaning is "to cut", it is charac-

teristically said of slaughtering, and has no der. in And., or Cl.Ar. apt to generate that sense. The phonetic possibilities are many, none sufficiently supported by documents but, out of them all, we would incline towards *\*mišrahah* "slicing instrument", which would explain the palatalized vowel, even in And., exhibiting a treatment of the cluster */šr/* similar to that of **alvīcaras**, q.v. The word then would be antepenultima stressed.

**\*almicelaras**: this posited word, excerpted by Eguílaz from the Old Bible of Ferrara (Is. 3/19) is in all likelihood a mere error for **almiçleras**. It matches Hb. *\*nēṭifot*, name of a jewel traditionally but uncertainly<sup>380</sup> rendered as "earrings". However, considering that its Hb. root means "to drip", the Sephardic translator, striving after literalism, has thought of certain trinkets, which indeed existed, with the capacity of containing and dripping musk or other perfumes.

**almic/çen** (with the var. **elmeçen**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 45, referred to the couple of stars called *alhanṣah*, integrating the 6th mansion of the moon, after Kunitzsch 1961:77, < Ar. *almaysān*.

**almidet/z** and **almiret(e)** (Arag.), **almirez** or **almofariz** (Cs.), **almeriz** and **almidez** (Nav.) and **alma/ofariz** (Pt.) "mortar": < And. *almihrās* = Cl.Ar. *mihṛās*. Some forms exhibit strong *imālah* and/or contamination by the many Ar. loanwords beginning with **almo-**.

**almifadir** (Pt., only in Morais) "ammunition": is a distortion of **almoxatre**, q.v.

**almifor** (Cs.) "horse": belongs to thieves' cant, with the der. **almifora** "mule" and **almiforero** "horse thief". Its etymon cannot be Cl.Ar. *\*mifarr* "given to flee", as suggested by former editions of DRAE (now deleted), as this voice is not documented in And. which, would rather have *\*mifār*.<sup>381</sup> But neither do

<sup>378</sup> Machado records this word as Pt. also, although only as the tree, not its fruit.

<sup>379</sup> Its appearance is not that of a cautery, nor would this be used in ophthalmology, as explained in the Lt. text.

<sup>380</sup> The hesitation is evident in Ibn Danān (Jiménez Sánchez 1996:213), who translates *hannēṭifot wēhuššērot*, "earrings and bracelets" of the traditional interpretation, all together as

*alṣuqūd* "necklaces". It is noteworthy that it is the same graphical error resulting in **almizcate**, q.v., and that mod. Hb. has followed a similar analogy by giving the sense of "perfume flask" to that word.

<sup>381</sup> See AAR, p. 75, 2.2.1.1.5.7c, with two morpho-phonemically homologous examples, *mīsrār* "graceful" and *miḍrūr* "harmful", proving this point.

we any longer uphold our previous proposal in favour of And. **\*\*almúhr** = Cl.Ar. **\*\*muhr** "colt", as there are differences in stress and vocalization, while the disjunctive vowel generated between the two last consonants is abnormal also, as it should be /a/ in a case like this. Considering the common masking shifts of phoneme positions in this jargon (cf. **acica** and **alcouce**), we may well be dealing with a much more familiar word, And. **alhimār** = Cl.Ar. **himār** "ass", the last vowel of which may easily have been labialized by occurring between a labial and a velarized phoneme (cf. the parallel cases of **Mahoma**, **alfombra**, **zofra**, **Marrocos**, etc.). The semantic degradation also tallies well with the usual features of thieves' cant.

**almiharra** "mattock for stirring molten lead in potter's shops" (Anz.): on phonetic grounds, Ar. **\*\*mihṛāk** "stirring instrument" is not a suitable etymon, and it would be wiser to think of a palatalized allomorph of And. **almajarra**, whence **almijarra** in DRAE (given as An. and South American, but also reflected by Ext. **almiharra**) and Pt. **almanjarra** "beam of a waterwheel", semantically evolved to mean another smaller instrument but also connected with the semanteme of "moving". If this hypothesis is correct, the right spelling should be **almijarra**, and so it appears in Anl. as "a potter's tool".

**almiibutogi**: see **mibachtegi**.

**almijar**: see **almanxar**.

**almijara** (Cs.) "oil depot for the lamps of workers in the Almadén mines": there are no witnesses in the West of non-literary use of Ar. **\*\*maʔjal** "large reservoir", in spite of its well-attested presence in Yemen (e.g., **mājil** in Behnstedt 2006:1145, including Epigraphic Sar. **mʔgl**), possible aim missed by the non-existent **\*\*\*almājilah**, hesitatingly suggested by former editions of DRAE, while Val. **maixella**, q.v.s.v. **maissela**, confirms the presence of a fortuitously undocumented And. **\*alma/išʕala** < Cl.Ar. **mašʕalah** "torch", common enough everywhere in Neo-Ar. as to grant its penetration in Rom., while the palatalization of the prefix vowel is witnessed by Malt. **mixeghla**. Chances are, then, that this entry is the outcome of the abbreviation of an old syn-

tagm meaning "oil depot for torches or lamps", with an additional dissimilation of a sonorant sequence. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almijarero**.

**almijarra**: see **almanjarra** and **almiharra**.

**almila** "potter's furnace" (Anz.), **almela** "Spanish furnace" (Anl.) and **ar mele** (Val.) "calcining furnace for lead" (among potters in Manises): all these words have an Ar. shape, but there is no point in suggesting Ar. **\*\*mal-lah** "embers for baking bread", as Eguílaz and Coromines did, supposing with the help of DS that And. had **\*\*\*mälla** "baking oven", which apparently is not true. On phonetic grounds, the alteration of the first vowel cannot be explained, while from a semantic angle, a baking oven is quite different from a potter's furnace. Considering that potter's shops were called in And. **\*\*dār al-šamāl**, it is possible that the Cl.Ar. substantive **šamālah**, belonging to a pattern characteristic of nouns of activity came to mean that of potters. In that case, And. strong or weak **imālah** and Rom. metanalysis of the Ar. article would easily generate all those vars. Intra-Rom. der.: Anl.: **armelado** "glazed".

**almilá** (Pt.) "Jewish quarter": < Naf. **almellāh**, of the same meaning, very ably researched by Lévy 1992, who proved that this word was a place name in the outskirts of Fes, the site of an important Jewish settlement under the Merinids. There is no relation whatsoever, then, *pace* Machado, with Pt. **almo-fala**, q.v.s.v. **alfafala**, of which he considers it as a mere divergent var.

**almimbar** "pulpit of a mosque" (Cs.) and **mimbar** (Pt.): is a late Ar. loanword undocumented before the 19th c., < Fr. **minbar** < Ar. **minbar** < Gʕʕz **mānbār** "chair; seat". The learned godfathers of this creature ignored the correct stress in both standard and And.Ar, but deemed it suitable, in the case of Cs., to provide it with the reflex of the Ar. article, characteristic of medieval Ar. loanwords in the Hispanic languages. The wrong stress, merely imitated from Fr., should be corrected.

**almina** (Pt.) "harbour": in the text quoted by Eguílaz does not appear to be an assimilated term, but perhaps a mere place name, < Ar. **mināʔ**.

**alminar** (Cs.) and **minar** (Pt.) "minaret": is a case parallel in dating and treatment to that of **almimbar**. The 19th c. learned people who took it from Fr. *minaret* < Tr. *minare* < Ar. *manārah*, whimsically cut off the last vowel and again attached the reflex of the Ar. article, in order to create a medieval appearance. But Gl. and Cs. have also **minarete**, a more faithful and therefore more recommendable imitation of Fr.

**almirach**: see **mirac**.

**almirall** (Ct., with the var. **admirall** and **admirant**), **almirante** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **almiraj(e)** (Cs.) and **amirat(e)** (Lit. in Arag. documents, as designation during the 12th c. of the officers later on called **merinos**)<sup>382</sup> "admiral": has apparently acquired its present shape through hypercorrect assumption of an Ar. article and metanalysis plus suffix substitution in Lit. *amiratus*, < Lgr. *amirās*, -ādos, < Ar. *amīr*, by itself and without being integrated in any syntagm (as the commonly suggested Ar. *amīru lbahr*, lit., "commander of the sea"), as proven by its genuine and first meaning as "commander of troops", not "of a fleet". The assumption of an Ar. article is not shared by all the European languages having borrowed this item, unlike the case of the second phenomenon, as there was an early and solidly established form *amirate*, like that of Lt., which became a basis for further substitutions by more transparent suffixes. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **almirant(es)a**, **almirantad/zgo** and **almirantía**; Ct.: **almirallat** and **almirallesta**; Gl. and Pt.: **almiranta** and **almirantado**; Pt.: **almirantear**. Cf. **miraba(r)**.

**almiramo(me)lin**, **almiramomenin** and **Almira(l)momenin**: see **miramamolí**.

**almirante**: see **almirall**.

**almirc/zsen** (with the var. **almursen** and **almuçzen**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 45-46, "rising in front of the greatest one",<sup>383</sup> name of the stars Beta Canis Minoris and Majoris, after Kunitzsch 1961:78-79, < Cl.Ar. *mīrzam*.

**almir(r)aque**: see **mirac**.

**almirez**: see **almidet**.

**almiroche** "kestrel" (Ext.): although a different species, seems to be a phonetic var. of **alimoche**, q.v.

**almiron** and **almirón**: see **almeirão**.

**almir(r)aque**: see **mirac**.

**almíscar** (Pt.), **almiscre** (Gl.), **almizcle**, **almizque** and **musco** (Cs., with an old var. **musc/go**, in GP 110) and **(al)mesc** (Ct.) "musk": < And. *almísk* < Cl.Ar. *misk*, with parasitical /r/ (cf. Cs. **alféizar** and **adúcar**). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almizclar**, **almizcleña**, **almizclera/o**, **almizqueño**, **almizquera**, **moscado**, **moscatel** and **mosqueta**, plus old **musquet** "moscado" (which DAX 1251 mistakenly interprets as "flower or seed of the musk rose", which does not fit in a context of fumigations); Ct.: **(al)mesquer**, **almescat**, **almesquí**, **moscat**, **moscatell** and **muscat**; Gl.: **almiscreira/o**; Pt.: **almiscarar**, **almiscareira/o**, **almiscrenho**, **almiscrento** and **mosqueta**. Cf. **\*almiceleras**.

**almismar**: see **almesemar**.

**almítiga**: see **almeítiga**.

**almiubegi**: see **mibachtégi**.

**almius** "sick person declared) past recovery": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < *almay?ūs(un minhu)*.

**almívar**: see **almíbar**.

**almixar**: see **almanxar**.

**almizar**: see **almaissar**.

\*\*\***almizate** "central piece of a wooden ceiling" and **almizcate** "inner court between buildings" (Cs.): thus defined in former editions of DRAE, of which only the first and worst form subsists in its latest edition, are really one and the same word. The former shape appears to be a mere ghost word, recorded by Dozy, Casares, Coromines and Moliner, though absent from DA, and given an alleged Ar. etymon \*\*\**mīlūsāy* "centre" which we rejected as non-existent in Corriente 1996c, though still unable to find any acceptable

*zum* "pressing device". No wonder, then, that the Cs. translator has given an inaccurate rendering, merely reflecting the astronomers' definition of these stars as companions of two more important ones, Sirius and Procyon, respectively.

<sup>382</sup> Information provided by Prof. Montaner, with data from Laliena 1996:280.

<sup>383</sup> Ar. dictionaries do not risk giving a rendering of this word other than its astronomical meaning, although it appears to be a var. of *mil-*

solution to this etymological crux. We could do better in DAA, thanks to a reflection about the latter, **almizcate**,<sup>384</sup> which Coromines considered a doubtful item, and caused us to omit it from our first treatment of the issue. However, Casares and Moliner do record it, and the Anl. var. **amicate**, together with the meanings of “narrow passage between wine vaults; inner court between buildings”, have proved revealing and contributed to demonstrate that the latter is the only var. which has truly existed. The mere phonetic and semantic likeness between both words should have raised suspicions, as in both cases the talk goes about an intermediate spot, but the illuminating information was contained in the lexicographical work of the Granadan Jew Ibn Danān, mentioned in DAA (p. 254).<sup>385</sup> He says that >msq< in the local dialect designated a kind of corridor along the walls of a religious building, i.e., an intermediate area, allowing us to presume that this word, prob. pronounced \*masqāt, simply continues Old Ar. *masqat* “place receiving the objects falling from above” (semantically obvious). It became phonetically contaminated within Rom. by **almizcle**, bringing about a single loanword \***almizcate**, which underwent an understandable erroneous graphical contamination, whence \***almizcate**, reflected as **almizate** in prestigious dictionaries.

**almizclar**, **almizcle(fia)**, **almizclera/o**, **almizque(fio)** and **almizquera**: see **almíscar**.

**almizen**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 46, designating the constellation Libra or the stars Delta, Epsilon and Zeta Orionis, after Kunitzsch 1961:81, < Ar. *almūzān* “scales”

**almizteca**: see **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>.

**almocén**: see **almocadém**.

**almóada** (Pt.) and **almohade** (Ct., Gl., and Cs.), this with the old var. **almohat** in GP 46bis) “Almohad”: < And. *almuwahhād* < Cl.Ar. *muwahhid* “declaring the oneness of God”, with voice confusion in the participle, after SK 6.4.1.

**almoádo**: see **almuédano**.

**almoarrás** (Can.) “Annular bream (*Diplodus annularis*)”: is a characteristically yellowish fish, after Davidson 1972:100, no doubt from Ar. *muwarras* “dyed with the plant called wars, i.e., Ceylon corner tree (*Memecylon tinctorium*)”. Cf. **uarç**.

**almoatac** (Lt.) “a kind of cloak”: is a hapax recorded by Steiger 1948 in Arag. inventories of the 14th and 15th c., without suggesting an etymon, an indeed difficult task, in the lack of sufficient data. It might be one more case of the frequent paleographical confusion between >c< and >t<, in a Rom. reflex of And. *almuxattāt* = Cl.Ar. *muxattāt* “striped”, a common feature of many fabrics.

**almobidana** (Cs.) “tax on cattle”: this term, excerpted by Eguílaz from Granadan archives, appears to reflex And. *mubaddān* = Cl.Ar. *mubaddan* “corpulent”, not the \**mawaddah* suggested by him, which never had a matching sense in And, not to speak of phonetic incongruence.

**almocábar**: see **almacabra**.

**almocabel** (Lt.): this hapax in a Cs. document mentioned by Du Cange and recorded by Eguílaz, must be read so, not **almoçabel**, as the talk goes about a safeguard against undue exactions by bailiffs and tax collectors. The witnessed And. matching term is *mut(a)qábbil*, easily leading to that result by mere simplification of the consonant cluster, although an allomorph \**muqábbil* cannot be excluded from existence, especially considering the And. taste for ironical puns, as it would also suggest “kisser”

**almocace**: see **almocafre**.

**almocadém** (Pt.) and **almocadén** (Gl., Arag. and Cs., this with the var. **almocaten** and **almocadan** from GP 46) and **almugatèn** (Ct.) “captain of troops”: < And. *almuqaddām* = Cl.Ar. *muqaddam*, lit., “appointed to an office” The Cs. var. **almoacén** in former editions of DRAE, suppressed in the latest, and studied by Prof. Montaner 2005:303–307, appears to be, in fact, an alternative form of **almuédano**, q.v. From the same etymon are

icon (see now Alvar Ezquerro 2000:66 and 72).

<sup>385</sup> With data drawn from its edition by Jiménez Sánchez 1996:78 and 157 (paragraphs 290 and 797).

<sup>384</sup> We thank Prof. M. Alvar Ezquerro for having communicated us information leading to the solution of this etymological problem, even before the publication of his splendid work on And. lex-

Pt. *mocadão* "patron; boss", and *mucadamo* "skipper", borrowed in the 16th c., during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, transmitted through Neo-P. *moqaddam* and/or its Hindi reflex *muqaddam*.

**almocafre** (Cs. and Pt.) and **amocafre** (Anz., in Ext. "hoe") and **mocafre** or **amocase** (Anl.) "weedhook": we agree with Coromines in his rejection for this term of an Ar. etymon *\*mihfar*, which could not phonetically evolve into that result. The var. mentioned by Coromines, like **almocafe** (also Anz., with a var. **almocace**) and **almocaz**, and **bocafre** (Val. from Castellon) made us think that this instrument might have received the unrecorded And. name of *\*abu káff* "having a hand", alluding to its shape:<sup>386</sup> the interchange of labials, parasitical /r/, false restoration of the Ar. article and alternance of /f/ and /t/ are all common phenomena in the Ar. loanwords of Ibero-Rom. However, instead of propounding an etymon reasonably acceptable on phonetic and semantic grounds, but undocumented, we could give a chance to Alonso del Castillo's suggestion of an etymon *mukaffir*, literally "causing to use profanity" or "atoning for his guilt", as it would match well with what we know about the Andalusis' sense of humour and taste for mockery that they had given that name to the more characteristic instrument of farming, especially in the light of the semantic connection apparently existing between Jud.-Sp. *kafureár* "to get angry", vs. *kafrár* "to blaspheme", q.v. (most likely based on Ar. *kāfir* "unbeliever", cf. *cafre*), and colloquial Cs. *cabrearse* "to get angry"

**almoçala** (Pt., with the var. **almuzalla** and **almocela**), **almazala** (Cs., with the corrupted var. **almofalla**, for *\*almoçalla*), **almoçall(i)a**, **almo/uzalla** and **almuçalla** (Lit, in Arag. documents), **almuca(l)a** and **almuzallis** (Leo., from DO 212, and **almuzalla** "luxurious bedclothes", from Herrero de la Fuente 1988 III:500),<sup>387</sup> **almazala** (Ast., in García Arias

2006:23), **almucella** (Gl., after Eguílaz) "tap-estry; bedspread", and **almorsela** "straw bed" (Anl., with parasitical /r/): < And. *almușalla* "prayer rug" < Cl.Ar. *mușallā* "praying place" The final alteration is due to metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **almoceleiro**.

**almocantarat**: see **almicantarada**.

**almoçara**: see **almàssera**.

(al)**mocárabe** and **almocarbe** (Cs.), **mocàrab** (Ct.) and **almocárabe** (Pt., only in Morais): derives immediately, by metanalysis and elimination of the Rom. pl. suffix, from And. *almuqárbas* < Cl.Ar. *muqarnas*, contaminated by **árabe**, q.v. Ultimately, however, the And. word results from blending of *qarbas* "to build" (< Gr. *krēptís*) with the Cl.Ar. word which, in turn, is a der. of *\*qurnās* "steep rock" (< Gr. *\*korōnús*).

**almoçaraues**: see **moçárabe**.

**almocaria**: see **almocrebe**.

**almocaten**: see **almocadém**.

**almocatí** (Cs., with the var. **almochatim** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172): as stated by Coromines, is a hapax, whimsically so stressed in former editions of DRAE (but deleted from the latest), vs. DA. Neither does its interpretation as "medulla; brain" rest on any solid ground, being a mere conclusion drawn from the supposed etymon, but nearly everybody seemed to assume a perfect semantic and phonetic coincidence between this medical term and And. *\*múxx* = Cl.Ar. *\*muxx*. However, even assuming an improbable n.un. *\*muxxah* "piece of brain", its alleged pl. *\*\*\*muxxāt*, is neither witnessed nor likely in such a sg. pattern, not to mention the final >i<, totally unaccounted for. The passage of Giovanni da Vigo's *Teorica y pratica en cirugía* ("Theory and practice of surgery") containing the entry as title of the book III, third chapter, reads **de la llaga de la cabeça hasta el término del almocati causada, tanto por incision como por contusion** "On head wounds including

<sup>386</sup> This metonymy might also have had a phonetic motivation, if we take into account the presence of the Br. substratum, important in Granada as well as in Eastern Spain, since Br. *\*afus*, pl. *\*ifussæn*, is "hand; handle", while in And. "hoe" is *\*fús*, pl. *\*fús*, which might have lead bilin-

gual Br. speakers to associate both concepts and conceive the hoe as a hand shuffling the soil. Incidentally, the same metonymy is at work in Eg.Ar. *fūrya* "kind of matock", from Cp. *tōri* "hand"

<sup>387</sup> Information provided by Pr. Montaner.

a. caused by either incision or contusion", and it does not occur again within that chapter. A cursive collation with the text of Avicenna's *Alqānūn*,<sup>388</sup> reveals right away that **almochati(m)** is a mere distortion of Ar. *almūḍīḥai*, introduced by a poor transcriber who wrote *\*almodhati*, whence through bad copyists that *almochati* which has reached us and was so strangely misinterpreted.

**almocatracía**: see **alcataz**.

**almocávar**: see **almacabra**.

**almocaz**: see **almocafre**.

**almoceda** (Cs.), **almazeda** (Arag.) and **almóced/na** (Nav., in distorted var., although the former could just be a vulgar shift of stress to the antepenultima syllable) "allocation of irrigation water": < And. *almuqsīṭa* = Cl.Ar. *muqsīṭah* "equitable (share)" The Ar. etymon *\*almusdā* suggested by DE and accepted by Coromines and former editions of DRAE (deleted from its latest edition), is totally unsuitable, not only on obvious phonetic grounds, but semantically as well, since that Cl.Ar. word, not so rare and occurring in *Vocabulista in arabico*, within its non-dial. entries, is only said of the camel let go or the gift granted, but never of water. There is no relation either, *pace* Coromines, with **aumorda**, q.v., nor is the antepenultima stress preferred by Eguílaz the genuine form.

**almocela** and **almocleiro**: see **almoçala**.

**almócena**: see **almoceda**.

**almocígol** "bat" (Ct.): < And. *almurčīqal* < And.Rom. *\*MÚR(E)+ČĚKOL*, lit., "little blind mouse" The reflex of the palatal consonant and restoration of the dim. morpheme give away a process of adoption by Ct.

**almocóvar**: see **almacabra**.

**almocouvar** (Pt., only in Eguílaz and

Morais, in the latter with the var. **almocóvar**) "(young) shepherd": no doubt an Ar. loanword, although by no means derivable, as the former suggests, from And. *\*mizwár*, < Br. *\*amazwaru*, never said of animals, but only of high officials. It might reflect Ar. *muqāwal* "(worker) under contract", or *muqawwad* "in charge of driving (sheep)"

**almocrebe** (Cs.) and **almocgreve** (Pt., with the var. **almoqueri**, **almokeri**, **almoqueire**, **almoquever**, **almogreve**, etc.): The oldest forms undoubtedly reflect And. *almukāri* = Cl.Ar. *mukārī* "muleteer", but those having inserted a labial phoneme or altered the stressed vowel are anomalous. Coromines tried to circumvent this by positing a different etymon, *\*murakkib* "causing to ride", which turns out to be unattested, incompatible with the var. without that labial phoneme, and requires metathesis and arbitrary alterations of vowels and/or stress making it, in short, unacceptable. Looking for another explanation, we suggested that, upon being the And. word borrowed by Rom., as *\*al+MOKÉRYO*, it underwent almost automatic metathesis of *yod* (> *\*al+MOKÉYRO*), and then a dissimilation of sonorants (> *\*al+MOKÉWRO*), but we must agree that this process would have been too complex and isolated. At some other time, we have also thought that it might have been a case of jesting contamination by And. *\*muqārīb* "bad", based on the notorious ill reputation of muleteers, which became the subject of lampoons like, e.g., IQ 84/18 ff. However, in such case, one would expect that at least a var. without *imālah*, not expectable in the vicinity of /q/ should appear, which is not the case; for this reason, we are presently more inclined to believe that the true etymon may be a contraction of an And. syntagm *mukrí dābba* "hirer of

<sup>388</sup> The Ar. text is *waʿammā ššijāju ilā ḥaddi ʾImūḍīḥah* (Vázquez de Benito 1989:136), lit., "as for head wounds so severe that the bone shows...", perfectly understood by Barcia Goyanes 1982, a pioneer in reaching the right conclusion and exposing the mistake of suggesting "pericranium", as one more instance of errors committed by translators of medical treatises in both transcriptions and renderings, subsequently magnified by the alterations of copyists totally

alien to the subject matter, with dire consequences for the emerging Western scientific terminology. In this particular case, the Ar. term is frequent in Islamic law, in connection with compensations for injuries. Da Vigo's book under question is a translation from Lt. into Cs. edited in Perpignan by Luys Roure in 1627, of which there is a copy in the library of Saragossa University, which were able to peruse.

beasts",<sup>389</sup> whence Rom. \**MOKR(ID)ÉBA/E*, perfectly accounting for the var. with inserted labial, which may well have coexisted with simple reflexes of *almukári*, before replacing them. From the same etymon, but through Eastern transmission, borrowed in the 16th c., is Pt. *múcaro*, prob. with erroneous stress, instead of penultima, or even ultima stress, if derived from Neo-P. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *almoc(rev)aria* and *almocrevar*.

**almocrí** (Cs.) "professional reader of the Koran": < And. *almuqrí* = Cl.Ar. *muqrí*?

**almodí** (Ct.) and **almudí** (Cs. and Arag.) and **almudín** (Cs.) "dry measure of six cahíces, q.v.": its very size does not allow any confusion with much smaller **almud** (q.v.); consequently, it has a different etymon, And. *almudí* < Cl.Ar. *mudý* < Aram. *mudýā* < Gr. *módios* < Lt. *mōdiūs*. From the same etymon is **almudó** "grain exchange" (Arag.) as, considering that Cs. and Arag. **almudí** is also synonymous with **alhóndiga**, q.v., would be an intra-Rom. aug., based on an abridgment of the syntagm "house of measures for cereals, i.e., where they are usually kept" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **almodinatge** and **almo/udiner**.

**almódiga**: see **albóndiga**.

**almodiner**: see **almodí**.

**almodón** (Cs.) "wheat flour conditioned by wetting and with a rate of extraction much higher than in the case of **adárgama**, q.v.",<sup>390</sup> < And. *almadhún* = Cl.Ar. *madhūn*, lit., "oiled" According to the And. sources mentioned in DAA, it was a good quality flour used for baking excellent bread, although the Sevillian ordinances quoted by Eguílaz place it between the quality of bread made out of dry flour and top brand **adárgama**. The prefix has been contaminated by the many Ar. loanwords beginning with **almo**.

<sup>389</sup> In fact, the matching verbal noun, *kirá dawáb*, is witnessed in the documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo, as recorded in DAA, and so are both constituents, which makes quite likely the existence of that syntagm. As for the loss of intervocalic /u/ in Rom. is a well-known phenomenon, no less in Ar. loanwords (cf. **alaría**, **zúa**, etc.), than in its own genuine stock.

<sup>390</sup> According to the precisions given by Latham 1987:72–73, 77–79, 82 and 86–87.

<sup>391</sup> It can hardly be a reflex of *almustaṣīn* "ask-

**almodovareño** (Cs.) "native of Almodóvar": is the gentilic of this place name, < And. *almudáwwar* = Cl.Ar. *mudawwar* "round"

**almodrote**: see **almadroc**.

**almoeda** (Pt. and Gl.) and **almoneda** (Cs.) "public auction": < And. *almunáda* < Cl.Ar. *munādāh* "announcement" The sense "quarrel" in Sal. **almoneda** appears to result from a semantic evolution of the standard, as bidders often quarrel over goods for sale. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almoned(e)ar**; Pt. **almoedar** and **almoedeiro**.

**almoedam**: see **almuédano**.

**almoeste**: is a hapax recorded by García Arias 2006:184 as the profession of a Jew in the service of a prince, perhaps < Ar. *almuwaṣṣī* "person in charge".<sup>391</sup>

**almofaça** (Pt., with the var. **almoface**), **almohaza** (Cs.), **alma(fa)za**<sup>392</sup> (Ast.), **almazá** (Nav.) and **almarza** (Anz.): "curry comb": < And. *almuḥássa* < Cl.Ar. *muḥassah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almohazador** and **almohazar**; Pt.: **almofaçar** and **almofacilha**; Arag.: **almazar**; Ext.: **mohacilla** "bit of a halter"

**almofada** (Pt.), **almohada** (Cs.), **alm(ug)ada** (Leo.), **almada** (Arag. and Mur.), **almohada** (Cs.) and **almofada** (Pt.), **aumuada** (Nav.), **armojá** (Anl.) and **almojá** (Sal.) "pillow": < And. *almuxádda* = Cl.Ar. *mixaddah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almohadado**, **almohadazo**, **almohadilla(r)** and **almohadón**; Gl.: **almofadar** and **almofadón**; Pt. **almofadão**, **almofadar** and **almofadinha**.

**almofal(l)a**: see **almafala** and **almoçala**.

**almófar**: see **almafre**.

**almofariz**: see **almidet**.

**almofate** "awl" (Pt.) and **almoflate** "saddler's round knife" (Cs.): obviously the Pt. word cannot derive from the Ar. root {xyl},

ing for God's help", usually a title assumed by sovereigns, nor is it a var. of **almucten**, although the obvious graphical distortion makes any proposal uncertain. Neither is a possible \**muwassaf* "middleman" documented, but the matching verb is.

<sup>392</sup> This shape could be supported by Pt. **almoface**, also from medieval documents, after García Arias 2000:154, but they both could be mere paleographical errors, as that second vowel, not contracted with the next syllable in a reflex of And. *muḥássa* is striking.

as Machado said, since Cl.Ar. *\*mixyat* "needle" is neither documented in And. nor phonetically suitable, which would also apply to any der. of the root *{xrt}* "to bore", in spite of And. *\*xart* "eye of a needle". In spite of doubts even about the meaning, raised by the semantic distance from the Cs. cognate, by the way without an authority and omitted by many dictionaries, chances are that both words are only corrupted from synonymous *almofrez*, q.v.s.v. *almacraz*, through suffix metanalysis and substitution in its cauda.

**almofar**: see *alfafre*.

**almofía** (Cs.), **amofía** (Sal.) and **mofía** (Anz.) "washbasin", **almofia** (Pt. and Gl.) "porringer" and **morfia** "pan" (Ext., a phonetic var.): < And. *almuxfiyyah*, lit., "the hidden one", alluding to its being glazed, standing in a complex but sure semantic relation with the antinome root *{xw/y}*, sometimes on the contrary expressing appearance and brightness, most suitably for a glazed vessel.

**almoflate**: see *almofate*.

**almofre**: see *alfafre*.

**almofreix** and **almofrej/z**: see *alfafreixe*.

**almofrez**: see *almacraz*.

**almogabar**: see *almogávar*.

**almogama** "stern post of a ship" (Cs. and Pt.) and **almojama** or **almogema** "last post fore and aft" (Pt.): although Machado considers the Cs. var. less correct for Pt., the etymon of these words has always been looked for in the Ar. root *{jms}* "to link or gather". A good option appears to be And. *\*almujámmaš* "put together", although the proposal of DE, And. *majámiš*, pl. of *majmaš* "junction", might be even better, considering the frequent labialization of the prefix *{ma+}* in Ar. loanwords of the Rom. languages (after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7a.) and other cases of */a/* < */i/* in pharyngealized contours (see 1.1.1); as for the obstruent pronunciation of *jīm*, it is in perfect agreement with an old Northern borrowing; see 1.1.3.3.

**almogáva/er** (Pt., with the var. **almogavre**, **almograve**, etc.), **almugáver** (Ct.), **almogávar** (Cs. and Gl.), **almugávar** (Cs., with the var. **almogauar**, in GP 46) and **almogabar** (Arag.) "mercenary raider": < And. *almugáwar* < Cl.Ar. *muğāwir* "raider", with characteristic confusion of voice in the participle, although the var. with */el/* might reflect an allomorph closer to Cl.Ar. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almogavarear** and **almogava/ería**;<sup>393</sup> Ct.: **almogaveria** and **almogaveresc**; Pt.: **almogavaria**.

**almogema**, **almogenia** and **almugenia** (Lit., in Arag. documents) "bedspread": are corrupted for *\*almo/ugenna*, < And. *almujánaba*, heretofore interpreted as "tapestry", but certainly related to bedclothes in the texts mentioned by Fort Cañellas 1994:102, requiring correction of the etymon suggested by us at that moment; the treatment of the cauda is anomalous, perhaps due to the presence of an allomorph without fem. morpheme, or to intra-Rom. elimination by confusion with paragogical */e/a/*. Cf. **almogama**.

**almogote** (Cs.) "infantry corps in battle arrangement": already given by DA as obsolete and missing in most lexicographical sources, except Eguílaz and Moliner, with no other authorities than two occurrences in *Poema de Alfonso XI* (according to Mañillo 1983:80). Everybody has taken it for, an Ar. loanword on account of its appearance and the historical contexts of its witnesses, but the discovery of its etymon has been no easy task, and the very rare Cl.Ar. *\*magt* "fight", is on both phonetic and semantic grounds unsuitable. The very context where it appears should have suggested the possibility of a Br. word, and indeed *agdad* means an armed party in this language (Safiq 1989:269) and the root *{gd}* expresses the concept of "being many".<sup>394</sup> In fact, this etymon is also valid for Cs. **mogote** "hillock" and Pt. **magote** "heap", of obscure origin, as reflected by the fact that the latter also has the sense of

<sup>393</sup> Prof. Arcas Campoy has communicated to us an interesting metathetical var. **almogarrafia**, excerpted by her from the documents of a legal suit between the towns of Lorca and Vera. GP 46 also has **almogaueria**.

<sup>394</sup> Cf. Baš. *gudi* "to gather in a mass", Taš. *igut* "to be numerous", whence a regular n.ag.

*\*umgudi* "agglomerated; numerous", which might well have been used by the Merinids as a military term, and become the origin of the Cs. word. Eguílaz's alternative etymon, *\*mujāhidah* "fighting (force)" is also unacceptable on obvious phonetic grounds.



“gathering of people”, even troops in some contexts. It is not, therefore, a late borrowing from Br., imported by the African invasions of the Low Middle Ages, but a witness of the protracted use of their mother tongue by the Berbers of the first Muslim invasion who settled in the Douro valley and transmitted a few words from it, such as *alfonsim*, *tabua*, *tagra*, etc., in addition to their own peculiar Ar.

**almogrove**: see **almogávar**.

**almogreve**: see **almocrebe**.

**almohada(do)**, **almohadazo**, **almohadilla(r)** and **almohadón**: see **almofada**.

**almohade**: see **almóada**.

**almohadi** “prophet”: in GP 46bis, actually reflects And. *almuhdi* < Cl. Ar. *almahdī* “the rightly guided one”, title assumed by Ibn Tūmart, initiator of the Almohad movement.

**almohalifayn** “the two causing to swear”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 46, < Neo-Ar. *almuḥallifayn*, vulgar alteration of Cl.Ar. *muḥlifān* “the two disputed ones”, i.e., two stars of dubious identification, resolved finally in favour of Alpha and Beta Centauri, by Kunitzsch 1961:82 and 66, who explains that, also and for the same reason, they used to be called *almuḥanniṭayn* “the two causing to commit perjury”, reflected as **almohaniṭayn** in GP 47, and possibly corrupted in the form of the entry.

**almohalla**: see **almafala**.

**almoharram/n** (with a var. **moharram**): “first month of the Islamic calendar”, in GP 47, < Ar. *almuḥarram*, lit., “sacred”, because it was a month of truce in pre-Islamic Arabia.

**almo(ha)rrefa** “row of tiles” (Cs.): < And. *almuḥarrifa* “making a socle”

**almoharrique** (Cs.) “mace bearer”: is a word excerpted by DS and Eguílaz from Diego de Torres (with the incorrect var. **alharrique** in Hernando de Baeza), meaning certain knights requesting the exact fulfillment of higher orders with authority to execute whomever resisted them, < And. *almuḥarrīk* = Cl.Ar. *muḥarrīk*, lit., “mover (of people)” Cf. **mafarrico**.

**almohat**: see **almóada**.

**almoháter** and **almoh/jatre** (Cs., with the var. **annoxatir** in GP 58, and **haztrader**, in DAX 989), **no(i)xadre** (Ct.) and **almoxatre**

(Pt., only in Morais, with a later, more correct var. **nochatro**) “ammoniac”: is a corruption of And. *annuṣāṭa/ir* < Neo-P. *nowšādor* < Pahl. *anōš ātaxš* “eternal fire”. Cf. **almifadir**.

**almohaza(r)** and **almohazador**: see **almofaça**.

**almohybeyn** (with the var. **el mehobeyn**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 47 and 88, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:81 and 103 as Gamma and Delta Capricorni, < Neo-Ar. *almuḥibbayn* “the two lovers”

(**al**)**moixerif** (Ct.), **almoxarife** (Gl. and Pt.), **almoja/erife** (Cs., with the var. **almoxerif(e)** and **almuxarife**, in GP 47, and **almusarifo**, in LHP 76, about which see Corriente 2004b:76) and **almuxariffe** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:22) “collector of the Royal Treasury”: < And. *almuṣrīf* = Cl.Ar. *muṣrīf* “controller” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almoja-rifad/l/zgo** or **almojerifazgo** (with the var. **alxa/erifadgo**, **almoxaridfago** and **almux-iridfago**, in LHP 76) and Ct.: (**al**)**moixerifat** and **almoxerifada**; Pt. **almoxarifado**.

**almojá**: see **almofada**.

**almo/ujaba** “window or balcony with an enclosure of latticework” (Cs.): mentioned from several sources by Kiegel-Keicher 2005:283, < And. *mušābbak* = Cl. Ar. *mušābbak* “plaited”, a further example of the loss of implosive /k/, after DAI 36. This scholar transmits also the meaning “water closet”, from Gorosch, which puzzles her; the most likely reason for this semantic shift would be that such closets often had that kind of window for obvious convenience.

**almojábana** (Arag. and Cs., the latter with the var. **mojábana**), **almojábena** and **monjábena** (Ct.), **almojávana** (Pt.) and **almojábena** (Mur.) “cake of cheese and flour”: < And. *almujābbana* “made out of cheese”

**almojaje** “belly pain” (Anz.): rather than a Rom. suffixation of And. *almuwajjāḥ* “aching”, or And. *muḥārrif* “causing some health disorder”, as suggested to us by its synonymous **mojarrillo** (Anz.), this word might simply reflect standard Ar. and Neo-Ar. *maḡaṣ* of the same meaning, unattested in And., no doubt by mere chance, as it is found everywhere, as well in Eastern dialects (cf. Eg. *maḡaṣ*), as in Western ones (cf. Mor. *mḡaṣ*)

"pain in the back"). The labialization of the first vowel might be spontaneous,<sup>395</sup> or a result of the adoption of the pattern /*lu2ā3*/, characteristic of the names of illnesses,<sup>396</sup> while there is no problem in assuming an intra-Rom. evolution of intervocalic /g/ into /h/, which retains its sound in this dialect, nor for explaining the last consonant, perhaps due to its assimilation to preceding /h/ or to metanalysis of the Cs. suffix {-aje}. It is a moot question whether *mojarrillo* and (al)*moharrefe* have exerted any influence on the evolution of *almojaje*, which for this etymon is neither necessary nor absurd.

**almojama:** see *almogama*.

(al)*mojama* (Cs.) and *almojama* (Arag.), *moixama* (Ct.) and *moxama* (Pt.) "dry salted tunny fish": < And. *mušammaš* = Neo-Ar. *mušammaš*, lit., "turned into something like wax", often said of mummified flesh, as the Ar. etymon of *momia* (q.v.), from Neo-P. *mum* "wax", was known because this and similar products were used in mummification techniques. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *amojamamiento* and *amojamar*; Pt. *moxamar* and *moxameiro*.

**almojarifad/lzgo** and **almojarife:** see *almoixerif*.

**almojatre:** see *almoháter*.

**almojávena:** see *almojábana*.

**almojaya** "prop of a scaffold" (Cs.): < And. *almušayyaš* < Cl.Ar. *mušayyif* "accompanying".<sup>397</sup>

**almojerifazgo** and **almojerife:** see *almoixerif*.

**almokeri:** see *almocrebe*.

**almolda:** see *aumorda*.

**almomarrat:** see *almamarrat*.

**almo/una** "shad fishery; store; (soap) manufactory" (Cs.) and **almona** "shad fishery" (Anz.): < And. *\*almáwna* < Cl.Ar. *maʿūnah* "proviand, supply". From the same etymon are Cs. *mona*<sup>2</sup> "a kind of cake" (in Tol. "a cloth impregnated with sugar given to babies as a

pacifier") and, through Mor. *muna*, *muna* "gift of victuals offered to the sultan as a tribute by his subjects", a contemporary technical term coined during the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. It is probable that colloquial Cs. *mona* "drunkenness" be also a metonymy of the same And. etymon, alluding to a more than sufficient intake of liquor, whence also the intra-Rom. Cs. der. *amonarse*. Cf. *almaguana* and *almuinha*.

**almóndega**, **almóndiga** and **almondiguilla:** see *albóndiga*.

**almoneda(r)** and **almonedear:** see *almoeda*.

**almophalla:** see *almaf/hala*.

**almoqueire:** see *almocrebe*.

**almoquelles** (Arag.) "a luxurious garment": this hapax, retrieved by Steiger 1948 in inventories of the 14th and 15th c., rather than a match of *>mqld<* in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs, as he believed, would reflect And. *muqallás* "provided with a *qalan-suwah*".<sup>398</sup>

**almoqueri** and **almoquever:** see *almocrebe*.

**almora** "stone blocks used to mark property boundaries" (Cs.): prob. from And. Rom. *\*al+MÓRA*, of pre-Roman origin, but assimilated by And., in the light of the prefixed *\*máwrat* in the placed names *Mortalla*, *Mortalaz*, *Moratín*, etc., possibly contaminated by And.Rom. *mawráta* < Lt. *mūrāta* "walled (place)".

**almorabet** and **almorabentino:** see *almorávida*.

**almorada** "firewood stove and bunches of chickpeas ready to be roasted" (Anz.): is a corrupted var., through suffix metanalysis and substitution, of standard *moraga*, q.v.

**almoraduj/x** and **moradux** (Cs.) and **mar-duix** or **moradux** (Ct.), **almorabú** (Arag., after DRAE, which has mended the loss of intervocalic /d/ with a /h/, designed to prevent the vowel cluster), and **maradul** (Ext.):

<sup>395</sup> See SK 26, 1.1.9.

<sup>396</sup> See Fischer 1972:45.

<sup>397</sup> The etymon *\*mušajjāʿizah* suggested in former editions of DRAE until corrected in the latest, cannot even exist, as Ar. morphology would require *\*mušajjāʿizah*.

<sup>398</sup> A kind of headgear used by doctors in Islamic law. By a jesting anticlerical metonymy, as Andalusis were not too fond of those religious men, and made sport of all kinds of headdresses, they also gave this name to bread adulterated with inferior flour, except for the crust (see DAA, s.v.).

"sweet marjoram (*Majorana hortensis*)": < And. *almardaddúš* < \**almardandúš* < Cl.Ar. *marzanjūš* < Neo-P. *marzān guš* "mouse ear".<sup>399</sup> From the same etymon, with dial. phonetic evolution, are the var. **almora(h)ú** and **almorauhe** "sweet marjoram used as dressing" (Ext.), **almoraud** (Anl.) and **almoraujo** (Anz.) "wild varieties of thyme" (*Thymus masticina* / *tomentosus*, also **almoroje** in Alvaz Ezquerria 2000:66) and **moragú**: "a wild scented plant" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **marduixí**.

**almoraque**: see **almorí**.

**almoraud**: see **almoraduj**.

**almorávida** (Pt.), **almorávid(e)** (Cs., with the var. **almoraue/ides**, in GP 46bis), **almorávide** (Gl.), **almorabet** (Leo., from DO 211), and **almorávits** (Ct., pl.) "Almoravid": < And *almurābiṭ* = Cl.Ar. *murābiṭ*, lit., "quartered in a fortress (defending the borders)" From the same etymon are Cs. **morabito**, a synonym, and Pt. **morábito** or **morábete** "religious soldier", both dated from the 16th c. and originating, through local dialects, from the North African campaigns. On the other hand, **marabedí** (Gl. and Arag.), **maravedí** (Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **maravetino**, **moravedí(n)** and **moravídí**), **morebetín** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:35) and **mora-batí** (Ct. and Arag.) or **morabetino** (Cs. and Arag.) and (al)**morabino** (Pt., Latinized and more conservative than the usual form) "a coin attributed to the Almoravid rulers of Al-Andalus" descend from And. *murābiṭ* = Cl.Ar. *murābiṭī*, a gentile of *murābiṭ* "Almoravid" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **maravedinada**; Ct. and Lt. (in an Arag. document) **marabetinada** "property taxed with one **maravedí**" Cf. **aiars**, **marabú**, **marabuto** and **ravata**.

**almorchón** "rustic person" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991), from the same And.Rom. etymon as **morecón**,<sup>400</sup> although with a different suffix.

**almorí** "a mixture of flour, salt, honey, and other ingredients baked into cakes" (Cs.): < And. *almurí* < Cl.Ar. *murri* < Aram. *mūryā*

< Lt. *mūria*. From the same etymon are **almorreta** (Pt., only in Morais, dim.) "seasoned pork offal", **moraguello** "sauce of pepper, garlic, salt and vinegar for seasoning a dish of boiled meat and vegetables" (Ext.), and **almorraque** "a dish of minced spring onions, green peppers and tomatoes seasoned with oil, vinegar and salt" (Anz.), which is not a var. of **almordrote**, q.v., as Coromines thought, but just another der. of **almorí** with the Rom. pejorative suffix {+ÁK}, with eventual hesitation in the gemination of /r/ (v. AAR 2.1.2.2.5.1), vs. **almoraque** "a sauce or salad" (Ext.).

**almoronía**: see **alboronía**.

**almorraja** "a kind of wild onion (*Drimia maritima*)" (Can.): prob. < And. *almuṣarrāša* = Cl.Ar. *muṣarraṣah* "embowered like vine branches"

**almorranas** (Cs.), **almorrás** (Gl.) and **almorreimas** (Pt.) "piles": the agglutinated Ar. article and considerable distortion of the Lt. etymon \**haemorrhoea* make an And. Rom. phase likelier than Coromines would grant. This might have occurred through a jesting contamination with And. *muráyma* "Little Mary" in the Pt. case, while Gl. and Cs. are closer to Ct. **morenes**, lit., "brunettes". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **almorraniento**.

**almorraque**: see **almorí**.

**almorrás**: see **almorranas**.

**almorratxa**: see **almarraja**.

**almorreifa**: see **almoharreifa**.

**almorreimas**: see **almorranas**.

**almorreita**: see **almorí**.

**almorrón** (Cs. from Valladolid, after DRAE, also An.) "ridge between furrows in a tilled field": is prob. an And.Rom. hybrid \**al+muhr+ÓN*, attaching the Rom. aug. suffix to And. *almuhr* = Cl.Ar. *muhr* "colt", which would be a semantic calque of And.Rom. reflected, after Simonet, as And. *qabalyunát* (pl.) in Ibn Luyūn's treatise on agriculture.

**almorsela**: see **almoçala**.

**almostalaf** "market inspector of weights and measures" (Ct.) and **almotalafe** "inspector

mere contamination by several Iranian loanwords beginning with *mard-*. Later on, in the Rom. phase, there has been contamination by the many Ar. loanwords beginning with **almo-**.

<sup>400</sup> See Corriente 1989:284, under {MRKS}.

<sup>399</sup> No relation to the plants of this name in Eng. There has been dissimilation on the palatal sequence, /j—š/ > /d—š/, after AAR 2.1.2.5.2.3, loss or assimilation of the nasal, after AAR 2.1.2.2.4.2 and assimilation of /z/ to /d/, perhaps a

of the silk exchange" (Cs., perhaps corrupted from the former): < And. *almustaxláf* and *almutaxalláf* = Cl.Ar. *mustaxlaf* and *mutaxallaf* "deputy", which would easily explain the var. with and without sibilant.<sup>401</sup> Nav. *mudalafe*, interpreted as *almotacén*, q.v., reflects semantic contamination by this more frequent and phonetically similar word. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *mostalafa* "duty paid to the *almostalaf*"

*almotacé* and *almotacel* (Pt.), *almotacé* (Gl.), (al) *motacén* and *almotazaf*, *almotazán* or *almutacén* (Cs., with the old var. *almotacaf*, in LHP 36, an obvious mistake for *almotacaf*), *mostassà* (Ct., with the old var. *almudafàs*, *almudafaf* and *mostassaf*) and *almudazaf*, *almutacas*, *almutafat/z*, *motazén* and *mutafa* (Arag.) "market inspector": < And. *almuhtasáb*, < Cl.Ar. *muhtasib* "performing pious deeds to one's account with God", name given to the officer in charge of enforcing Islamic law and morals", with a characteristically And. confusion of the voice marker.<sup>402</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *almotacenad/l/zgo* and *almotacenía* or *almotazanía*; Ct.: *mostassaf(er)ia*; Pt.: *almotaçar* and *almotaçaria*.

*almotalafe*: see *almostalaf*.

*almotazaf*, *almotazán* and *almotazanía*: see *almotacé*.

*almotexanias* and *almotexenas*: see *mudéjar*.

*almotolia* (Pt., with some var.) "oil-jar": < And. *almuhtlīyah* < Cl.Ar. *mahtlīyah*, lit., "glazed"

*almoxarifado* and *almoxarife*: see *almoi-xerif*.

*almoxatre*: see *almoháter*.

*almoxerif(e)*: see (al) *moixerif*.

*almoxia*: see *almeixia*.

*almozal(l)a*: see *almoçala*.

*almozárabe*: see *moçárab*.

*almozeda*: see *almoceda*.

*almú*: see *almud*.

*almuadem*: see *almuédano*.

*almu(b)tat* "planet of a higher rank" (Ct.) and Cs. var. *almu(b)tez*, *el mubtez*, *almubrez*, *almubtem*, *almutem/z/s* and *almutam*, in GP 48, *elmubtes*, in GP 88, *mubtez/s*, in GP 109, and *almubtez/s*, *mubtz*, *almutes*, *almubatez* and *almubrez*, in *Libro Complido*.<sup>403</sup> Its etymon is not the non-existent \*\*\**mubiāt* propounded by Coromines, but a corruption of Ar. *almubtazz* "the snatcher".<sup>404</sup>

*almucabala* (Pt.) "algebra": < Ar. (*aljabru w)almuqābala* "restoration and) compensation" It does not appear to be an assimilated term, but an occasional bookish transmission of the less common half of the well-known mathematical term. Cf. *álgebra*.

*almuçalla* and *almucal(l)a*: see *almoçala*.

*almucanrath*, *almucántara* and *almucantarado*: see *almicantarar*.

*almuçeleç*: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 48, with the var. *almuçaleç*, *almutalat*, *alçeçez* and *alçedeles* < Ar. *almuṭallaṭ* "triangle", identified by Kunitzsch 1959:161 with *raʿs almuṭallaṭ* "head of the Triangle", i.e., Alpha Trianguli; other times designated as *raç almuçeleç* and *tacalmuçeleç*.

*almucella*: see *almoçala*.

*almucten* (Lit.): in *monete de—*, is a numismatic term recorded by Mateu y Llopis as designation of the dinars coined by the founder of the Tujibī dynasty of Saragossa, Sulaymān b. Hūd, in truth, a corruption of the title assumed by him and by which is generally known, *almustaʿīn* "seeking God's help"

*almud* (Cs. and Ct.), *almú*, *almud/t*, *aumut* and *almute* (Arag.), *almute* (Nav.) and *almude* (Gl. and Pt.) "dry measure equal

<sup>401</sup> The *Leiden Glossary*, at least, contains both, but a source much more specialized, the treatise on *ḥisbah* by Ibn ʿAbdūn (Lévi-Provençal 1995a:9, 2), merely has the first form, said of deputies unlawfully appointed by judges, it being quite probable that it be the only correct one, and that those loanwords without the sibilant just be contaminations by *almotacén*.

<sup>402</sup> This general feature of And., explained in

AAR 2.2.2.1.4.1., is explicitly alluded to with this same example by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (see Pérez Lázaro 1990:183).

<sup>403</sup> See also Hilty 2005b: 190.

<sup>404</sup> As explained in Corriente 1984b:10, with more accurate information, provided by Prof. Labarta, from the *Tractat d' Astrologia* by Bartolomeu de Tresbéns (ed. J. Vernet and D. Romano, Barcelona, 1958).

to one *celemin*, q.v.”:<sup>405</sup> < And. *almúdd* = Cl.Ar. *mudd*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *almudejo* “weight kept for control” (at times Latinized as *almud/telio* “food ration”), *almudada* and *almudero*; Ct.: *almutada*; Pt.: *almudação*, *almudada*, *almudar*, *almudeiral* and *almudeiro*; Nav.: *almutada*.

*almud açaleb*: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 49 (with the var. *hamudaçaleb* in GP 9, and *hamurdaçaleb* in DAX 1307, s.v. *ojadura*), < Neo-Ar. *ṣamūd aṣṣalīb* “upright beam of the cross”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:42 as Epsilon Delphini.

*almudaçaf*, *almudafās* and *almudafeta*: see *almotacé*.

*almudaina* “citadel” (Ct.) and “stronghold” (Arag.): < And. *almudáyyana*. < Cl.Ar. *mudayyīnah* “little town”, dim. de *madīnah* “town” < Aram. *mēdīn/tā* “capital town of a district”

*almudapnab* (Cs.): is the name of an unidentified garment, retrieved by Eguílaz from the inventory of a bishop’s properties, no doubt reflecting Ar. *mudannab* “having a tail” but, although this adjective can easily fit several kinds of attire or adornment, the lexicographers report nothing under that heading. In the context under consideration, one of those items has a white background, and the other, red: they might be liturgical vestments, such as chasubles, stoles or maniples.

*almudazaf*: see *almotacé*.

*almudegena*: see *mudéjar*.

*almude(i)ro*, *almudeiral*, *almude(jo)* and *almudelio*: see *almud*.

*almudí(n)*, *almudiner* and *almudó*: see *almodí*.

*almuecín*: see *almuédano*.

*almuédano* (Cs.), and *almuadem*, *almoedam* or *almoađão* (Pt.) “muezzin”: < And. *almuwáddan* < Cl.Ar. *muṭaḍḍin*, with voice confusion in the participle. Ultimately from the same etymon are *muecín* (Cs. and Gl.), *muezim* (Pt.) and *muetzí* (Ct.), through Fr. *muezin* and Tr. *müezzin*, while Pt. *mezzim*,

an unassimilated technical term dated from the 16th c. and considerably distorted, represents another way of transmission. As for Cs. (al)muecín, is an artificial creature of the 19th c., designed by pedants who ignored the genuine loanword and optionally attached the Ar. article, as a hallmark of medieval Hispanic items borrowed from Ar., to the Fr. item, with a stress position coinciding in this case with that of Tr., in disagreement with Ar.; all in all, a condemnable extravagance.

*almuerta* (Arag.) “a tax on grain sales in the exchange”: < And. *almuwádda* < Cl.Ar. *muladdā* “paid”

*almuezo*: see *almez*.

*almufera* “cordial” (with the var. *almefer(b)a*): is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:190, < Ar. *almufarriḥ* “causing joy”

*almugada*: see *almofada*.

*almugamat* “stew”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:192, < Neo-Ar. *almuḡammāmāt*.<sup>406</sup>

*almugatén*: see *almocadén*.

*almugávar*: see *almogávar*.

*almuinha* (Pt.), *almuñia* (Gl. and Old Cs.), *almuñia* (Gl.), *almuñia* “farm; orchard; soap manufactory” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:22), *almúnia* (Ct.) and *almunia* (Cs. and Arag.) “farmhouse”: < And. *almúnya* in the same sense, a semantic evolution of Cl.Ar. *munyah* “wish” The supposed Arag. var. *almún* is suspected of being incorrectly backformed on the pl. *almunes* of Vidal Mayor, p. 153, and reappears in DO 212 como *almunas*. Cf. *almona*.

*almui/juces* < Ar. *majūs* “Magi”: is an unassimilated historiographical term, from GP 46bis, said of the Normans who raided Al-Andalus and, by assimilation, of the still pagan Basques; see Makki & Corriente 2001:34, fn. 87 and 284, fn. 588.

*almujaba*: see *almojaba*.

*almujuces*: see *almui/juces*.

*almukaffi*: see *almefetet*.

<sup>405</sup> Roughly, 4.625 litres: such is the determination given, e.g., by Nebrija; in cases where it means a much larger measure, this is a consequence of a phonetically understandable confu-

sion with *almudí*, q.v., occurring in Coromines and Kiesler 1994:242.

<sup>406</sup> Unrecorded by dictionaries, apparently an intensive form of *muḡmām* in DAA 383.

**almultahib** (with the var. **alinul çahib** and **alinulçahib**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 49, < Ar. *almultahib* "blazing", identified in DS II:360 as Cepheus.

**almun** "a malign kind of smallpox": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:101, < Ar. *almūm* (*arraşāṣī*),<sup>407</sup> lit., "leaden pleurisy"

**almuna**: see **almona**.

**almunia**, **almúnia** and **almuñia**: see **almuinha**.

**almurea/d safran** "basilicon ointment": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:224, < Neo-Ar. *mūrd asfarām* < Neo-P. *murd esparam* < Pahl. *mōrd sprahm* "myrtle flower", prob. a metaphorical allusion to its fragancy, as it does not contain myrtle.

(**al**)**muri** "indicator": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 49 (with the var. **almeri** and **elmuri** and, from DAX 90, **al muri**), said of mechanical hands or pointers, in this case, of astrolabes, < Ar. *almuri*.

**almursegui**, **almusaragi** and **almuseregia** "iris prolapse": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:101, < Neo-Ar. *almūršāraj* < Neo-P. *murçe rag*, lit., "row of ants", whence *musaraña* in the meaning "floating speck in the eye".<sup>408</sup>

**almusafata**: see **almesafath**.

**almusama** "musical soirée" (Jud.-Sp.): prob. < And. *almusámmaṣ* = Cl.Ar. *musammaṣ* "recited song or musical performance"

**almusarifo**: see **almoixerif**.

**almustahadina** "iliac passion": is an unassimilated medical term, from the Lt. translation of Abulcasis' *Taṣrīf*,<sup>409</sup> < Ar.

*almustaṣṭidīna*, lit., "(of) those seeking refuge in God"

**almut**: see **almud**.

**almutacas** and **almutacén**: see **almotacé**.

**almutada**: see **almud**.

**almutafat/z**: see **almotacé**.

**almutalat**: see **almuçaletç**.

**almute** and **almutelio**: see **almud**.

**almutegena**: see **mudéjar**.

**almutes**: see **almu(b)tat**.

**almuzalla** and **almuzallis**: see **almoçala**.

**almuzara** (Lit., with a var. **almutara** in LHP 41, a mistake for **almuç/zara**,<sup>410</sup> as shown in Corriente 2004b:76) "recreation ground outside the city, also used for military and civil gatherings": although the documented **Almozaras** have long since become place names, the case of the text mentioned by Eguílaz from the statute law of Madrid is prob. not so. He is wrong, of course, in his proposal of an etymon of the Ar. root {*msr*}, as it has been known for a long time already that And. *mušára* reflects a noun of place, without an exact match in Cl.Ar., from the root {*syr*}, with prefix labialization and velarization of the sibilant, contaminated by /r/.

**almymar**: see **almesemar**.

**alnaçr aloke**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 49, (with even more corrupted var. **alceke aluazr**, **alnars alçek**, **alnars alceke**, **annecra alayze**, **annecra alayke** and **alnaçr alayq**),<sup>411</sup> < Neo-Ar. *annasr alwāqif* "the alighting vulture", and matching **alnaçr altayr** (with the var. **alnac/çer atayr**, **alnacr alcahir**, **alancer alcayr** and **alnçer althair**), < Neo-Ar. *annasr aṭṭāʾir* "the flying vulture", respectively identified by Kunitzsch 1961:

<sup>409</sup> By Giovanni de Capua, *anno* 1300, ms. British Library Add 22,313, fol. 128vb, information provided by Prof. Michael McVaugh.

<sup>410</sup> As, besides the tributes mentioned in that text, it appears to mean the duty to muster in the military parade in that esplanade and take the field. There are no sufficient grounds to posit the existence of a third \***almuzara** "grain field" < Ar. \*\**muzāruṣah*, as propounded by DO 213, with Lt. witnesses which are too weak, in our view.

<sup>411</sup> However, the three last var. do not exactly reflect the participle, but the And. periphrasis *allí yiqāf* "which alights".

<sup>407</sup> Prob. the epidemic called *ruşāṣiyyah* in Alonso del Castillo, still unidentified in DAA 209. There is a further var. **almun** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173. Both Neo-P. and Cl.Ar. dictionaries have *mūm* as "pleurisy" or the fever caused by it, in the first case supposed to be borrowed from Ar., but the ultimate etymon is unknown.

<sup>408</sup> This is, of course, the origin of heretofore incomprehensible Cs. **mirar a/pensar en las musarañas** "to go woolgathering", totally unrelated to shrews and their Lt. etymon, but clearly alluding to persons who cannot see well, because of this eye condition.

87 and 86 with some stars of Lyra and Aquila.

**alnadeği** “humour digestion”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1993:209, < Ar. *annaḍaj* “digestion”

**alnafat** “tar”: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 125 and 1271, < Ar. *naft* “petroleum”

**alnafē**: see **anafē**.

**alnahayn** and **alnaym**: see **annaym**.

**alnahr** (with the var. **el nahre**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 50, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:99–101 as Eridanus, < Ar. *annahr* “the river”

**alnaḥbe**: see **nabab**.

**(al)nargez** “narcissus”: from DAX 125 and 1271, < Ar. *narijs* < Pahl. *nargis* < Gr. *nárkissos*.

**alnasa(ha)** “citrine colour”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1993:208, < Ar. *annaṣāḥ*, usually meaning “snow-whiteness”, but *aṣaḥaru nāṣiḥ* is also said of an intense yellow hue.

**alnata** “first mansion of the moon”:<sup>412</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from *Libro Complido*, with the var. **aln/uaṭh** and **alnach** in GP 49 and 52, < Ar. *annaṭh*. That mansion is constituted by Alpha and Beta Arietis after Kunitzsch 1961:88 and 110.

**alnatha** “tip of the tongue”:<sup>413</sup> is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:29, < Ar. *anniṭṭ*, in fact, “alveoli”

**alnathse** “sperm”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Ar. *annuṭṭah*.

**alnayr** < Ar. *nayyir* “shining star”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 50, said of some particularly bright stars of different constellations, after Kunitzsch 1961:117, 128 and 129.

**(al)ned** “fumigation”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:243, < Ar. *annadd*, lit., “incense (of any kind)”

**alnfas** “parturition”: is an unassimilated

medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Ar. *anniṭṭ*.

**alnfesme** “sensitive faculty”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:102, < Ar. *annaṣāniyyah*.

**alneredin**: see **nard**.

**alnisucat** “inhaling products”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:192; < Ar. *annaṣūqāt*.

**alnuscul** “rhair root”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:29, < Ar. *alḥuṣūl*, lit., “the roots”

**aloc** (Ct.) “a bush insecurely identified with some species of the gender *Bupleurum*<sup>414</sup> or with the chaste tree (*Vitex agnus castus*)”: its etymon is therefore also doubtful, although its belonging to the central and Bal. dialects, according to Coromines, gives some weight to the likelihood of its being an Ar. loanword. From a phonetic viewpoint, the etymon hesitantly propounded by him, based upon a metonymy of Ar. *\*\*xalūq* “perfume or dye elaborated with saffron”, raises no problems but on semantic grounds the facts that this word has never designated any plant in Ar., and that the root of *Bupleurum* dyes dark red, not yellow as the *xalūq* does, have a negative impact on this hypothesis. Nevertheless, the plausibility of the same etymon for **alogue**<sup>1</sup>, q.v., and the evidence of frequent semantic shifts in animal and plant names, make it advisable not to reject this etymon, until new information becomes available.

**alocar**: see **loco**.

**alod**: see **laúd**.<sup>415</sup>

**aloe**: see **alaoe**.

**áloe** (Cs.), **àloe** (Ct.) and **aloé(s)** (Pt.) “aloe (*Aloë vera*)”: derives, indeed, through Lt., from Gr. *alōē*, it being obvious, however, that Hb. *āḥālim* is no proof, as DECLC would have it, of an ultimate Semitic origin of this item, apparently descended from Sk. *aguru*.

<sup>412</sup> See also Hilty 2005b:190.

<sup>413</sup> Although the data are correct already in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, here the authors identify this word with **alrauth**, q.v., mistakenly, but the mix-up could be attributed to their sources in Lt. script. On the other hand, the var. **alseleti**, *ibidem*, p. 30, and perhaps also **stazata**, do reflect Ar. *asaluh* “tip of the tongue”; this con-

fusion might also have been furthered by the fact that the alveolar consonants are pronounced by pressing that tip against the alveoli.

<sup>414</sup> DE even provides information, according to which *Bupleurum fruticosum* was called **haloch** in Valencia.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:184.

**aloharia:** see **alboaire**.

**alohoeyt:** see **alahoeyt**.

**aloinz:** see **alhagiagi**.

**alombra:** see **alfâmbar**.

**aloque<sup>1</sup>** "of a light red colour; claret wine" (Cs.) and **haloco** "claret" (Ext.): as etymon of this word, DRAE and Coromines propounded Ar. *xalūqī* "having the colour of diluted saffron", which has the support for Al-Andalus of an entry in the *Leiden Glossary* rendering by Lt. *ametistus* the Ar. syntagm *ṣaḡīq xalūqī*, "light red amethyst", curiously omitted by DS; at any rate, and this is valid also for **aloc**, q.v., there are considerable differences of hue between that dye, claret wine and amethysts. The peculiar perception of colour by Arabic speakers,<sup>416</sup> often based on saturation, not necessarily on frequency, can explain that confusion and make probable the etymological community of all those items. However, as far as the meaning "claret wine" is concerned, it might be wise not to dismiss another possibility: the fact that, in the area of its production, **jaloque<sup>2</sup>**, q.v., is the designation of the most characteristic wine of Sanlúcar, on the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, in a district producing only white or very pale coloured wines, reminds us of the And. gentilic of that region, *ṣalūqī*, and this makes conceivable a case of wrong parsing within Rom., in the pl. \***los x/ aloques**. Cf. **aloc**.

**aloque<sup>2</sup>** (Pt.) "recess where fish hide": < And. *alwákr* = Cl.Ar. *wakr* "nest; den", precisely recorded by Alcalá as *uócr* "warren, burrow" Cf. **algueras**.

**aloque<sup>3</sup>** (Pt.) "dainty morsel or cheap toy to keep children quiet": is semantically akin to Cs. (**h)oque** "gratuity for those who close a bargain", and looks like borrowed from Cs., even keeping the Ar. article missing in Cs. It has been supposed to have the Ar. etymon. \*\**haqq* "right, title", which is semantically appropriate but phonetically open to objection

on account of the vowel of the second syllable, in spite of some isolated cases of this anomalous result for /a/ in a similar consonantic contour (e.g., Pt. **Marrocos** < *marrākuṣ*).<sup>417</sup> If due attention is paid to the early Cs. meaning, recorded by DA, "commission given by shopkeepers to those who bring customers to their shops", it is easy to recognize And. *hūk[a]r* < Cl.Ar. *hukr* "rent; payment", applicable to the money paid to such agents.<sup>418</sup> The loss of /r/ in a consonantic cluster would not be exceptional, according to SK 2.11.2.

**alouqín:** see **adoquín**.

**alot:** see **alhot**.

**aloton:** see **latão**.

**aloucaso, aloucamento and aloucar:** see **loco**.

**alpaa/or** "field marigold (*Calendula arvensis*)" (Can., with some var.): appears to have the same etymon as **albihar**, q.v.

**alpañata** (Cs.) "red marl or clay; piece of chamois skin used for polishing raw pottery before firing it" (Anz.): is a word recorded by DRAE and Coromines, with serious etymological problems. There is no solution in a derivation through And.Rom. from the etymon of standard Cs. **pañio** "cloth", for semantic reasons, above all in its first meaning. This might have been generated from a Rom.And. passive participle \***PEÑATA** "painted (fem.)", < Lt. *pingēre*, perhaps later contaminated phonetically and semantically by der. of **pañio** or its Lt. forerunners.

**alparavaz** (Pt.) "hem with cyclic decoration": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., generated by the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, in spite of the artificial agglutination of the Ar. article (cf. Cs. **albengala**, **alminar**, **almuecín**, etc.), with the pretence of making it look older. But its Neo-P. etymon *parvāz* would not have preserved that first phoneme unaltered, had it crossed the Arabic-speaking areas.

<sup>416</sup> Dealt with in the by now classical work of Fischer 1965.

<sup>417</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.1.2, pp. 38–9. But other instances of /u/ > /o/, excluding labialization cases, adduced by Steiger 1932:311 and DCECH s.v., are presently accounted for in a different manner, which casts many doubts about argu-

ments based on that principle.

<sup>418</sup> In Standard Ar. it basically means payments by the emphyteuta, but in And. appears to have had other senses, as reflected in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs: cf. Ferrando 1995:126, said of a salary and of a payment due as an increased value tax.



**alparca** (Pt.) "kind of rustic sandal": is a term of pre-Rom. origin (cf. Basque *abarka*), like its Cs. match **abarca**, but in Pt. it appears to have been transmitted through And.Rom., to judge by the agglutinated Ar. article. Cf. **alpargata**.

**alpargata/e** (Cs.), **alpargata** (Arag. and Gl.) and **alpergata** or **alparc/gata** (Pt.), **alpergate** and **alpergota** (Sal.), **apargata/e** (Anz.) and **apargate** (Mur.) "hempen sandal": < And. *alpárğa*, with the same pre-Rom. origin as **alparca**, q.v. Coromines attaches great importance to the Cs. var. **alpergate**, considering it a case of hybridization with the Ar. fem. pl. suffix, but the clear sway of Rom. forms ending in /+ÁTA/ and And. *pargatáyr* "manufacturer of those sandals" rather suggest a previous And.Rom. phase with the addition of the Rom. adjectival or participial suffix /+ÁTA/ for the semantic nuance of "(footgear) in the shape of *abarcas*"; later on, perhaps in an already monolingual milieu, an Ar. pl. morpheme was metanalyzed, the sg. And. *párğa* was thus backformed. Pt. **albergate** (in Morais), on account of its vocalism and the phenomenon /b/ < /p/, seems to reflect a younger Naf. phase (cf. Mor. *baġa* "babouche", of And. origin). As for **alpargata** "long sandwich" and **alpergate** "long biscuit" (Anz.), they are obvious metonymies of the standard. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alpargado**, **alparगत**, **alpargatería**, **alpargatero** and **alpargatilla**. Cf. **alborğa**.

**alpartàs** (Ct.) and **alpartaz** (Cs.) "mesh protecting the gap between helmet and cuirass": might reflect Ar. *matras* "crossbar; wall" (confirmed for And. in the first sense; cf. *matrazo*), metaphorically said of that part of a medieval warrior's armour, with alternance of bilabial phonemes and metathesis of the sonorant, perhaps under the influence of Rom. **partir** "to break" and of its aug. suffix, as it separates or, from the opposite viewpoint,

links, i.e. bridges the gap between both parts of the armour.<sup>419</sup>

**alpatana** (Cs.) and **patana** (Anz.) "utensil, tool": < And.Rom. and And. *alpatána* < Gr. *patánē* "dish", with considerable semantic evolution towards heavy or unwieldy instruments. Cf. **almádana** and **batan**.

**alpatēja(s)**: see **fateixa**.

**alpechim** (Pt., with the var. **alpechim** and dial. **alpi(r)che** or **alpirxe**, these only in Morais), **(al)pechín** (Cs.), **alperchín**, **alpichorro**, **ehpechín** and **bechín** (Ext.) and **chipín** (Sal., with metathesis) "stinking liquid oozing from heaped up olives": < And. Rom. \**al+PEČÍN* "pitch-like", < Lt. *pice[m]*, with the adjectival suffix /+ÍN/. From the same origin are Ct. **empotzim** "lee, dregs", with phonetic and semantic evolution, and Sal. **desalpechar** "pour out the water oozing when olives are pressed", without any adjectival suffix; as for Anz. **albejín**, it has the same ultimate etymon, but derives on its own from a totally Arabicized allomorph \**bijín*.<sup>420</sup>

**alpeduque** "foot" (Man.): is a reflex of And.Rom. \**al+PED+ÚK* < *PÉDE* < Lt. *pēs*, -*ēdis*, with the dim. or pejorative suffix /+ÚK/.

**alpend(r)e** (Cs.) and **alpendre** (Gl. and Pt.) "shed": both Coromines and Machado would derive it from Lt. \**pendēre* "to hang", but we would rather consider an And.Rom. early borrowing of the Old Fr. etymon of Eng. "pantry" or "panter", a der. by suffixation of Lt. *pānis* "bread", with the connotation of place where bread and other victuals were stored.

**alperc(h)e** and **alperc(h)eiro**: see **albérrchigo**.

**alperchín**: see **alpechim**.

**alpergata/e** and **alpergota**: see **alpargata**.

**alpersico**: see **albérrchigo**.

**alpetrique** "hops" (Arag.): recorded in Tarazona by Gargallo 1985:77, has an obvious

<sup>419</sup> Prof. Montaner informs us that Riquer 1968:130 was already in favour of an Ar. etymon for this word, even if his proposal \**butarsi*, rightly pointing to the root /trɜ/ is not, of course, the correct form.

<sup>420</sup> About the occasional replacement of foreign phonemes, see AAR 2.1.2.1.2 and fn. 15

and 2.1.2.5.3. As for **bexima**, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, it is not a fem. var. of the same word, but a mistake for *perixma* "bitumen" (i.e., *pirišma*) in Alcalá, corroborated by *Vocabulista in arabico* as *ibrišma*, derived from Gr. *perichrisma* (cf. Corriente 1989a:24).

Ar. or And.Rom. appearance, but we are not aware of any plant name including And. *patríq* "patrician"

**alpexim** and **alpiche**: see **alpechim**.

**alphamet**: see **alfaneque**.

**alporat**: see **alfaraz**.

**alpichorro**: see **alpechim**.

**alpicoz**: see **alficoz**.

**alpirche** and **alpirxe**: see **alpechim**.

**alpiste** (Cs. and Gl.) "canary grass and seed (*Phalaris canariensis*)": < And.Rom. and And. *al+PÍST(O)* < Lt. *pistum*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alpistel/ra** and **alpistero**; Pt.: **alpisteiro**.

**alpiza**, **alpízpara** and **alpizpita** "white wagtail" (Motacilla alba) (Can., with other var.): these words and the like, listed by DCECH in the entry **pizpireta**, are most likely of onomatopoeic and synesthetic origin, but the agglutinated Ar. article suggests And.Rom. and/or And. phases: cf. And. *pizpíz* "bird" and *pizpizáyr* "birdcatcher". There are cases of eventual contamination by the Ar. root {*hšbš*} "to wag the tail", as in And. *bušbúša* and Sicilian *pisipisa*, which, through suffix metanalysis and substitution, might explain Cs. **pizpita** and related shapes.

**alporca** (Gl.) "scrofula": an And.Rom. phase is given away not only by the agglutinated Ar. article, but also by the semantic calque of Ar. *\*\*\*xinzīrah* "sow", in turn, calqued from Gr., as also the Lt. word. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alporquento**.

**alporchón** (Mur.) "auction market of irrigation rights": considering that Cs. and Ar. **porche** "porch" can only be der. through Ct. **por(t)xe** from Lt. *porticus*, one must conclude that Mur. also borrowed that item from Ct., and provided it with the Rom. aug. suffix and the Ar. article, prob. in the aftermath of the Christian takeover, when bilingualism must have been common.

**alpujarreño** (Cs.) "native of the Alpujarras in Granada": is a gentilic formed on that place name, in And. *alpušárra*, perhaps evolved from And.Rom. *\*ÁLBA ŠÉERRA* "white mountain range"

**alqueb**: see **quelb**.

**alqueçeb** (Cs.): is a hapax, apparently

never assimilated, included without the least comment in a text mentioned by Maíllo 1998:400 as authority for **almaguana**. It is no doubt a tax on Muslims subjects, < And. *alkásh* = Cl.Ar. *kash* "earning" (also "cattle" in And.), but the information is insufficient to define its meaning any better.

**alqueire** (Pt.) "dry measure": < And. *alkáyl* = Cl.Ar. *kayl* "measure". The same etymon and meaning prob. hold good for an **alcailum** excerpted by Eguílaz from a Lt. medieval inventory (s.v. **alcailo**). Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alqueiramento**, **alqueirão**, **alqueirar**, **alqueireiro** and **alqueirinho**. Cf. **quela**.

**alqueiría**: see **alcaria**.

**alque(i)ve** (Pt.) "fallow": according to Cunha 1959 and Hilty 1963, derives from And. *alqalīb* < Cl.Ar. *qalīb* "field turned over before sowing; a well the interior of which has not yet been cased with stones or bricks". From the same etymon, with a different semantic evolution, are **caliu** (Ct.) and **calivo** (Arag.) "embers", in which the root {*qlb*}, basically meaning "to turn or turn over", implies that those words, in principle, meant the embers just turned over to obtain more heat, as reflected also in the Ct. der. **escalivar** "to scald", in Arag. merely "to turn over the embers and remove the ashes". Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **acaliuat**, **caliuada**, **calivós**, **caliu(e)jar**, **caliuera**, **escalivar**, **escaliu**, **escalivada**, **escalivador**, **escalivament** and **escalivot**; Pt.: **a(l)queivar**. Cf. **calboche** and **calbote**<sup>1</sup>.

**alquella** and **alquellada**: see **alcalada**.

**alquena**: see **alfaña**.

**alquequenje** (Cs. and Pt.) and **alquequengi** (Ct.) "winter cherry (*Physalis alkekengi*)": < Ar. *alkākanj* < Neo-P. *kāknaj*.

**alquerebites**: see **alcrebite**.

**alqueria**, **alquería** and **alquerià**: see **alcaria**.

**alquerivia**: see **alcaravea**.

(**al**)**quermes**, **carmes(o)** and **kermes** (Cs.), **quermes** (Ct., with the old var. **alquermes**), **alquermes** (Gl.) and **quermes** or **alquermes** (Pt.) "kermes (*Kermes vermilio* or *ilicis*)": < And *alqármaz* < Cl.Ar. *qirmiz* < Neo-P. *kerm e azi* "worm for dying".<sup>421</sup> Cf. **carmesí**.

by a worm, like silk".

<sup>421</sup> Kiesler 1994:263 suggests a Sk. etymon *\*krmijā*, but this word only means "produced

**alquerque**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “ticktacktoe” and **alguergue**<sup>1</sup> (Pt., with the var. **algregue**) “tes-sera”: < And. *alqīrq* = Cl.Ar. *qīrq*, documented by Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān alʿArab*, already in the Prophet’s days, < Neo-P. *gorg bāz* “game of the wolf”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **alquerque**.

**alquerque**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) “a room in the oil mills where the pressed olives are turned over and returned to the bags to be pressed a second time” and **alguergue**<sup>2</sup> (pt.) “stone runner in oil mills”: the etymon suggested in former editions of DRAE, the rare Eastern Ar. *\*qariq* “flat (ground)” is unthinkable and has been corrected in the latest. Considering that oil production was traditionally in the hands of Mozarabs, a der. of Lit. *\*carricare* “to load”, would be a good candidate, although a metonymy of the etymon of **alquerque**<sup>1</sup>, also meaning the board for the game, cannot either be excluded, nor even **alcorque**, in the light of the Pt. var. **alcarque**. Cf. **alcorqueño**.

**alquetifa**: see **alcatifa**.

**alquetira**: see **alcatira**.

**alqueve**: see **alqueive**.

**alquez**<sup>1</sup>: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from DAX 129, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:125, as Alpha Crateris, < Ar. *alkaʿs*. Also called in Ar. *bāṭiyah* (cf. **betya**).

**alquez**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Arag.) “a wine measure equal to about 384 pints”: < And. *alqīst* < Cl.Ar. *qīst* < Syr. *qelīstā* < Gr. *xéstēs* < Lt. *sextārius*, of diverse capacity. As for Ar. *\*qās* “measure”, suggested as etymon by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, it has never existed.

**alquezar** (Cs.) “cutting off the stream of a river for irrigation purposes”: we had considered this word as derived from And. *\*alqīšār* = Cl.Ar. *\*qīšār* “shortness; scarcity”, as the etymon propounded by former editions of DRAE. Ar. *\*qāšārah* “water shortage” does not even exist, and was corrected according to

our proposal. However, the var. **alquezera**, excerpted by Eguílaz also from Granadan documents of the 16th c., cannot easily reflect the same etymon, and raises some doubts about that proposal. Both spellings are better matched by And. *kāsr(a)* = Cl.Ar. *kasr(ah)*, lit., “breaking”, used in Neo-Ar. in the sense of “interruption, suppression, etc.”, as can be looked up in DS, providing a much more suitable etymon also phonetically, once stress is corrected into **alquézer(a)**. Semantically, this is quite coherent with the fact that such cut-off operations were done by breaking the ridges checking the flow of water to the canals with spades.<sup>422</sup>

**alquezón**: see **algeps**.

**alquezrana** (Arag.) “a variety of olive tree”: is an intra-Rom. gentilic of the place name Alquézar, well-documented in the Islamic history of Al-Andalus, from the And. allomorph *alqīsr* of Cl.Ar. *qāsr*, etymon of **alcázar**, q.v.

**alquiar**: see **alquiler**.

**alquibal** (Arag., with the old var. **alquival/r**) “canopy of a bed”: < And. *alxibā* < Cl.Ar. *xibāʿ* “tent”. The absence of *imālah* might give away a very old borrowing, unless it was prevented by metanalysis of the matching Rom. adjectival suffix [+*ÁL*], but this did not happen in **alquicel** and **alvanel**, of similar structure.

**alquibla** (Cs., Pt. and Ct.) and **quibla** (Pt.) “the direction of the Kaabah in any part of the world”: < And. *alqībla* = Cl.Ar. *qiblah*. There is a probable connection with Rab.Aram. *qiblā* “meeting point”, as praying places are held to be so with God, among Semites, when prayer is correctly performed. The Cs. word is dated from the 13th c., the Ct. one, from the 15th, after Coromines, but the Pt. one, only at the end of the 19th c., prob. as a mere archaeological and historical term, as in the case of mod. usage in Cs. and Ct.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. the idiom *kasaru xalīja lqāhirah*, reflected by DS in the meaning “breaking the ditch of the channel crossing Cairo at a given moment of the flood season”, later closed up. Lane 1836:501, instead, records this action as *Gebr el-Baḥr*, i.e., *gabr ilbaḥr* (Eg.), lit., “restoring the river”, and expresses surprise at such an

antiphrasis, being unaware of the euphemism aimed, of course, at avoiding an ominous word on a joyful occasion, according to the usage studied in two classical articles by Marçais 1906 and 1953, in the same way as Egyptians usually say *ya xabar abyad*, lit., “white news”, instead of *iswid* “black”, i.e., “what a misfortune!”.

**alquicé** "a kind of Moorish cloak" (Ct., with the var. **alquicem** and **alquissem/r**), **alquicé** and **alquicer** (Pt.), **alquicel** (Cs., with the var. **kiffe** "linen cloth, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:234) and **queco** (Leo., for **quec/ço**, after DO 214, prob. an error for **queça** or **quess/o**): < And. *alkisá* < Cl.Ar. *kisāʔ*. However, this probable mistake for **queça** or **quessa** might be matched, not by Ar. *kisāʔ*, but by its synonym *kiswah*, often reflected in And. *káswa*, because of the And.Rom. trend of reflecting /Cwa/ sequences with loss of the bilabial.<sup>423</sup> Cf. **cassot**.

**alquiece** and **alquiez** (Pt.) "measure (marked on the wall)": < And. *alqiyás* = Cl.Ar. *qiyās* "measure"

**alquieda**: see **alcahieda**.

**alquiel/r**: see **alquiler**.

**alquiez**: see **alquiece**.

**alquifa/u** and **alquifol**: see **alcohol**.

**alquila(ble)**, **alquiladizo**, **alquila(do)r**, **alquilamiento** and **alquilante**: see **alquiler**.

**alquilate** and **alquilatos**: see **quilate**.

**alquilé** and **alquiler** (Cs., with the old var. **alquilear**, in GP 51, and Pt., with the var. **alquiel/r**): < And. *alkirā* < Cl.Ar. *kirāʔ*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alquilar**, **alquila(ble)**, **alquiladizo**, **alquila(do)r**, **alquilamiento**, **alquilante**, **alquilón** and **desalquilar**; Pt.: **alquilador**, **alqui(l)ar** and **alquilaria**; Nav. **arquilar**.

**alquileda** "hanging object": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 51, designating some stars of Sagittarius, after Kunitzsch 1961:94. Cf. **alcalada**.

**alquilón**: see **alquilé**.

**alquim**: see **alfaquim**.

**alquimia** (Cs. and Gl.), **alquímia** (Ct.) and **alquimia** (Pt., stressed like Jud.-Sp. *alkimfa*, and with the old var. **alqueima**, after Hilty 2005b:187): < And. *alkímya* < Cl.Ar. *kīmīyāʔ* from Gr. *chymela*, through Syr. According to DCECH, **alquimila** (Cs.) "lion's foot (Alchemilla vulgaris)", would have the same etymon, through scientific Lit., because this plant was supposed to further the alchemistic processes.

Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **alquímico**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **alquimista**; Ct.: **alquímico** and **alquimiaire**; Pt.: **alquimiar**.

**alquimila**: see **alquimia**.

**alquina(l)** (Cs.,<sup>424</sup> Ct. and Pt.), **(al)quinal**, from Márquez 1961:113) and **alquiná** (Pt.) "woman's veil or toque": < And. *alqināʔ* = Cl.Ar. *qināʔ*.

**alquirivia**: see **alcaravea**.

**alquissem/r**: see **alquicé**.

**alquitanao** "drunk" (Ext.): is a metonymy and phonetic alteration of standard Cs. **alquitranado** "tarred", from **alquitrán**, q.v.

**alquitara(r)**: see **alcatara**.

**alquitão** (Pt.) "tent or cart for travelling women": < And. *alqaytūn* = Neo-Ar. *qaytun*, "(large) tent" < Syr. *qaytūn* (cf. Rab.Aram. *qītūn*) < Gr. *koiṓn* "bedroom", a word successful in Western dialects, cf. Mor. *giṭun* "tent"

**alquitir(r)a**: see **alcatira**.

**alquitrà**, **alquitrán** and **alquitranar**: see **alcatrán**.

**alquitrete** "talebearer" (Can.): appears to be a metathetic Rom. dim. of *\*fhaltrique*, witnessed by standard Cs. **faltriquera**, q.v., within the large array of der. of the And. root *{htr}*, surveyed by Corriente 1993c.

**alquival/r**: see **alquibal**.

**alquivir**: see **alcaraviz**.

**arabu** "dyspnea": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:102, < Ar. *arrabw*.

**alradradi/a** / **alredradi** (pisces—): is an unassimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:247–248, < Ar. *raḍrāḍī* "rock-fish".<sup>425</sup>

**(al)raib** "milk curd": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:193, from the etymon of **rai**, q.v.

**aragium** "meteorites": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Ar. *arrujūm*.

**alramyfi**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52 and 60, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:22 as Sagittarius, < Ar. *arrāmī* "the bowman"

in Márquez 1961:113.

<sup>425</sup> See DAA 210, with the demonstration that the talk does not go about fossilized fish, as was suggested sometimes.

<sup>423</sup> Cf. **achaque**, **raxe**, **matraco** and **mallada**. This eliminates our reservations in DAI 208 about accepting this var. in *Libro de Buen Amor*, as propounded by Coromines.

<sup>424</sup> With the Granadan var. **alquina** and **quinal**

**alraquīz**: see **arraquīz**.

**alrasium (medicamen—)** “remedy for cranial fractures”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:236, < Neo-Ar. *adwiyat arraʿs*, lit., “medicines for the head”

**alrauth(ae)** “nose tip”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:29–30, < Ar. *arrawṭah*.

**alrhase** “convulsion”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:103, < Ar. *arraṣṣah*.

**(al)rhaune** or **alrahune** “idiocy”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:137–138, with a further var. **alrah(a)une** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Ar. *raṣūnah*.

**alridf** and **alri(t)f**: see **arridf**.

**alrosboth**: see **aldesbod**.

**alrota** (Cs.) “refuse of combed oakum”: is a word not documented before the end of the 19th c., prob. derived from \***aldrota** < And. Rom. \**haṭr+ŌTA*, a hybrid of the root {*hṭr*}, surveyed by Corriente 1993c, with a Rom. suffix. The etymon suggested by former editions of DRAE, Ar. \*\**rawṭah* “piece of dung” is unlikely on grounds of semantic disparity and hypercorrect restoration of the Ar. article in a low register item: it has been corrected in its latest edition.

**alrof**: see **arridf**.

**alsabiart**: see **sabiarat**.

**alsadesa**: see **serasif**.

**(als)adritus** “Theodoretus’ laxative”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:193, < Neo-Ar. *ṭiyādarītūs*, superficial Arabicization of the name of its Greek inventor. Cf. **matridad**.

**alsahad**, **a(l)seid** and **alsehit** “forearm”:<sup>426</sup> is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:30–31 and Herrera & Vázquez 1981:176–179, < Ar. *assāḥid*.

**(al)sahara**, **als(h)ari**, **sha/era** and **asahari** “sleeplessness”: is an unassimilated medical

term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:104, < Ar. *assahar*.

**alsahava**: see **sabane**.

**alsaim** “jejunum”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:30, < Ar. *aṣṣāʾim*.

**alsa/emach**, **samac** or **semachu** “auditory meatus”:<sup>427</sup> is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:31 < Ar. *aṣṣimāx*.

**alsaic** “peritoneal”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Ar. *siḥāqī*. Cf. **cifaque**.

**alsándara** (Can, with var.) “water mint (*Mentha aquatica*)”, < And. *šāndal*, corrupted because of a mere phonetic likeness from *sūn-bar*,<sup>428</sup> distorted from Neo-Ar. *sīsanbar* < Gr. *sisymbriōn* “watercress”

**alsa/erha** “epilepsy”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:104, < Ar. *aṣṣarī* (cf. **sarrha alsabian**).

**alsa/e/orbegi**: see **sorbagi**.

**alsarnac** “hydatid”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173, < Neo-Ar. *aṣṣirnāq*.<sup>429</sup>

**alsathere** “palpebral prolapse”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *aṣṣatar*.

**alsebati** (vena—) and **subet(en)i** “the carotid artery”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:51, < Ar. *assubātī*.

**alsebhai** “wildbeasts, predators”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:172, < Ar. *assibāḥ*.

**alsebu(b)ie** and **alsebuic** “puerility”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:51, < Ar. *aṣṣabwah* or *aṣṣabawīyyah*.

**alsechbagi**: see **cebiche**.

**(al)sedar** “scotoma”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:105, < Ar. *assadar*.

**alsedha**, **sadahan**, **sacha**, **sahagian**, and

<sup>426</sup> Said by extension of its main vein.

<sup>427</sup> Said also of the bone where it begins. But confusions with **almazmach**, q.v., are possible.

<sup>428</sup> According to *Kitābu ṣumdati ṭṭabīb* (ed. Alxaṭṭabī, 1999:I 202, ed. Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:160 N° 1632, 2007:245),

a more convincing explanation than of Corriente 1999d:434. The imitated word is Neo-Ar. *šāndal* < Neo-P. *čāndal* “sandalwood”

<sup>429</sup> Missing in Ar. dictionaries, although Vullers records it as Ar., without vocalization.

**c(h)adesan** "contusion; fracture": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:106 and 122, < Ar. *aṣṣadīḥ*.<sup>430</sup>

**alsegiagi** or **alseiheregi** "head wound": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:107, < Ar. *aššajāj*. Cf. **bassetja**.

**alseheb** "aerolite": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:17, < Ar. *aššihāb*.

**alsehedie** "kerion": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:107, < Ar. *aššuhdiyyah*.

**alseker** "incipient elephantiasis": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:17, < Ar. *attanakkur*.

**alselach**: see **silach**.

**alselamiat**, **selami**, **suemi** and **sulemat** "phalanges": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:32–33, < Ar. *sulāmiyyāt*.

**alseleti**: see **alnatha**.

**alseha** "goiter": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:107, < Ar. *assilḥah*.

**alsenas(c)en**, **alseuasen**, **senasen**, **senasepe** and **sinenia** "apophyses of the dorsal vertebrae": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:32–33, with a var. **senasene** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:179, < Ar. *assanāsin*.

**alserab** "syrup": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:194, var. of **jarabe**, q.v.

**(al)serac**, **arsarach** o **iesera** "choking": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:134, < Ar. *aššaraq*.

**alseriaran** and **alse(c)hereben** "Avicenna's electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:194–197, < Neo-Ar. *\*aššahrayārān*, perhaps a remnant of a Neo-P. syntagm "x + *šahryārān* "... of the sovereigns"

**alshali** "depression": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *assaḥālī* "desert ogresses" Cf. **Algol**.

**alshauthat** "medicaments of nasal application": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical

term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:194–197, < Ar. *assaḥālī*.

**alsias(ia)e** "reasoning capacity": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:108, < Ar. *assiyāsīyah*, lit., "political skill"

**alst/irengi** "suppurating ulcer in the head": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Neo-P. *šīrpanje*, lit., "lion's claw", said of erysipelas and boils in the back.

**alsuichi**: see **sauih**.

**alsurbed** "ranine veins": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:32–33, < Ar. *aššuradāyn*.

**alsuyah** (with the var. **(al)suliah**, **assuja** and **suyah**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:76 as Hydra, < Ar. *aššujāḥ* "a kind of snake"

**altabaca** (Cs.) and **atabaca** (Anz., already recorded in DRAE, being the original form of the standard) "rock flea-bane" (*Inula viscosa*): < And. *aṭṭa/ubḥāqa* < Cl.Ar. *ṭub(b)āq(ah)*, prob. contaminated in Cs. by **alta** "high", rather than having a hypercorrect restoration of the // of the Ar. article. Cf. **tabac**.<sup>2</sup>

**altabaque**: see **tabac**.<sup>2</sup>

**altabaquera** (Can.): is a var. of the standard **altabaca**, q.v.

**altabaquillo** (Cs.) "bindweed": is a metonymic dim. of **(al)tabaque**, q.v.s.v. **tabac**.<sup>1</sup> It bears no relation, *pace* DCECH, with its name among And. botanists, >*m̃xšāl̃h*<, in truth, a corruption of And.Rom. *MATAXŠĒLLA* "little skein", correctly spelled as >*m̃xš(y)āl̃h*< in *Kitābu Sumdati ṭṭabīb* (see Alxaṭṭabi 1990: I 447 and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:316 and 331, N° 2745 and 2967, 2007:445 and 464).

**altabul**: see **atabud**.

**altafarra**: see **atafal**.

**altafasil**, **althafafil** or **altafail** "lentil broth": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:197, < Neo-Ar. *aṭṭafīl* < neop. *tafīl/re*.<sup>431</sup>

**altaforma** (Pt.) and **atahorma** (Cs.) "serpent eagle (*Circetus gallicus*) and other birds of prey of the gender *Circus*": < And. *tafūrma*,

<sup>430</sup> But see **fechan**.

<sup>431</sup> Of doubtful origin, perhaps Hb., after Vull-

ers, or Aram., after DAA 331.

prob. Br., also reflected by Mor. *tafarma*; the tradition that it previously meant the female falcon might echo a Br. adaptation of Lt. *femina* "female", with fem. markers.

**alta-fulla: fer—i xemenia amunt** (Ct.) "witches' spell for flying on their brooms out of the window": might reflect And. *atahwillah* = Cl.Ar. *tahwilah* "transformation", alluding to theirs by its virtue.

**althuamayn** "Gemini" (with the var. **althahuamayn** and **altahua mayn**, cf. **raçay ateu amayn**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52; its identification is corroborated by Kunitzsch 1961:22, < Neo-Ar. *attawlamayn*.

**Altaír** (Cs.) "the star Alpha (sometimes Beta or Gamma) Aquilae": from a Lt. bookish transcription of Ar. *a(nnasru) ḥaṭīr* "the flying (eagle)"; its etymological stress being **Altair**.

**altaluch** "ointment": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:197, < Ar. *allaḥūx*.

**altamia** (Pt.) and **altamía** (Cs., with the var. **antamilla**, attributed by DRAE to Santander) "washbasin": < And. *\*ḥaltamīyya* "earthen (vessel)", attributive adjective of Cl.Ar. *ḥantam* < Syr. *mēḥattam* "sealed", as in principle this name was given to wine containers, although semantic evolution led to a different situation.<sup>432</sup>

**altamuz**: see **altaramuz**.

**altannyn** "snake" (with the var. **tan(n)in**, **ten(n)in** and **Tennyn**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:68 and 114 as synonymous with *alḥayyah*, a name given to some stars of Draco, < Ar. *atinnīn*.

**altarf**: see **atarf**.

**altarfat(i)** "blood spot in the eye": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:144–145; < Ar. *aṭṭarfah*.

**altâncara**: see **alcâncara**.

**altarraga** and **alteraca**: see **atriaca**.

**(al)taur** with the var. **c/çaur**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52, < Ar. *aṭṭawr* "the bull", i.e., Taurus, confirmed by Kunitzsch 1961:22.

**(al)tebegi** and **althebegi** "flaccid tumour": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:143, < Ar. *tahabbuj*.

**altermem/nel** "nervousness": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109, < Ar. *attamalmul*.

**Altephil**: see **atifells**.

**alterbel** "swelling": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109, < Ar. *attarabbul*.

**alterharharha** "infancy": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:126–127, < Ar. *attaraṣṣuḥ*.

**alterhel**: see **altherel**.

**altfettit**: see **alfettit**.

**althafi** "one of the two membranes on the belly": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *aṭṭāfī*, lit., "floating", which suggests the parietal, rather than the visceral peritoneum.

**althaharizi** "cavity": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *attajwif*.

**althamari** "date electuary": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:198, < Ar. *attamarī*.

**althamarich** "rubbing": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:199, < Ar. *attamarīx*.

**(al)tharas**, **alteref**, **altarfat(i)** or **taraxen** "deafness": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109–110, < Ar. *aṭṭaraṣ*, although confusion is possible with **altarfat(i)**, q.v.

**althaun**, **altho(ho)in**, **alt/choboin**, **taon**, **thabun** and **thahaun** "pest": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1982:206–209 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:113–114, < Ar. *aṭṭāḥūn*.

<sup>432</sup> The previous derivation, through an adjective *\*aṭṭalāmīyyah*, from Cl.Ar. *\*aṭṭalām* "food", is not phonetically objectable, as there are cases of hypercorrect restoration of the // of the Ar. article, which might have been furthered here by metanalysis of Rom. **alta**; however, such a term would be semantically vague and is not docu-

mented, but by Lerchundi 1932, being missing in the much more reliable and richer dictionaries of Mercier 1951, Colin 1993 and Premare 1996. This might mean that, as in the cases of **alicates** and **jineta**, Moriscos expelled to North Africa would have re-Arabicized a Cs. word of Ar. origin, unaware of this and resorting to folk etymology.

**althecaregi**, **almethacaregi** or **techer-egiet** “ulceration”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109–110, < Ar. *attaqrīh*.

**althedi** “mamma”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:34, < Ar. *attady*.

**altheltil**: see **altualil**.

**althendue** (with the var. **altherduc**) “pectoral area”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109–110, < Ar. *attanduwah*, properly, “breast of the male”

**altherel**, **trehel**, **alterchel**, **almethrelin** or **teredinis** “soft tumour”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:109–110, < Ar. *attarahhul*.<sup>433</sup>

**althoboin**: see **althaun**.

**althoeme**, (al)tochme and **tochamie** “indigestion”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:112, < Ar. *attuxamah*.

**althute** and **susati** “anthrax-like disease”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:114, < Ar. *attūyah*, lit., “mulberry”

**altramucero**: see **altramuz**.

**a(l)tramuz** (Cs.), **tramús** (Ct.), **tramuso** “lupine” (Mur., imitated from Ct.), **altamuz** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:185), **altamuz** (Ext. and Anl.), **artamú** (Anl.), **tremoço** (Pt.) and **entremozo** (Sal., var. contaminated by folk etymology) “Lupinus spp”: < And. *turmús* = Cl.Ar. *turmus* < Syr. *t(h)ermūsā*, < Gr. *thérmos*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **altramucero**; Ct.: **tramussar**, **tramusser**, **tramussaire** and **tramusser**.

**altruán**: see **aldrabão**.

**altu/fialil**, **altheltil**, **telul** and **teilulae** “warts”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:115, < Ar. *attaālī(ah)*.<sup>434</sup>

**altumar**: see **alchamar**.

**alulá** (Pt.) “cooling drink; a rice confection”: is a mod. term proceeding from India,

ultimately, a reflex of A. *ḥalwā*. Cf. **alféloa** and **falacha**.

**aluarac/z**: see **albará**?

**aluarda**: see **albarda**.

**aluardan**: see **albardā**.

**aluardengi**: see **alguardenegi**.

**aluaroc(h/o)** and **aluoroc**: see **albaroque**.

**aluataroni** “a precious fabric”: is a Leo. hapax, from DO 215, < Neo-Ar. *waḍarānī*, a gentilic of its origin, Waḍār, in the vicinity of Samarkand, with the suffix {-ānī}, frequent in foreign words.<sup>435</sup>

**aluath**: see **alnata**.

**aluathi** “sprain”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:108, < Ar. *alwaḡy*.<sup>436</sup>

**aluatia**: see **betya**.

**aluaz**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 52, designating, after Kunitzsch 1961:116, a region between certain stars of Sagittarius constituting the 20th mansion of the moon, < Ar. *alwaṣl* “the connection”

**aluzil**: see **aguasil**.

**alubia** (Cs.) “French bean (*Phaseolus* sp.)”: < And. *allūbya* < Cl.Ar. *lūbiyā*? < Neo-P. *lubeyā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Nav.: **alubión**.

**(al)uchar** “deafness”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:116–117, < Ar. *alwaqr*.

**aluquecs**: is an unassimilated term, from LHP 44, prob. an error for \***alacuac(s)** “markets”, after Corriente 2004b:76.

**aludacha/i** and **alud(h)a**: see **algrada**.

**aludel** (Cs. and Pt., this prob. imitated from Cs., cf. also the var. **aluthel**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:199) “aludel”: < And. Rom. \**LUTĒL*, dim. of L. *lūtus* “earthen vessel”, hybridised with the Ar. article, as corroborated by Arag. **aluda** “tube”, without the dim. suffix, in *Vidal Mayor* and the Old Cs. var. **alludel** and **allutel**. As for the formerly alleged Ar. etymon \*\**alʾuḡāl*,<sup>437</sup> it simply does not appear to exist, but if at all as a borrowing from Rom. Cf. **alule**.

<sup>433</sup> But the authors point to possible confusion with **alterbel**, q.v. There is also in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174 a var. **armethrelin**, interpreted by them as “flaccid ones”, no doubt because of its participial appearance.

<sup>434</sup> Among which, **teilulae** reflects the And. sg. and., and the others, the collective or the pl.

<sup>435</sup> See Wright 1859:I 153.

<sup>436</sup> For *waḡl*, not a corruption of *luwī*, as the authors think.

<sup>437</sup> Without semantic links with the matching root, and with no other support than a certain reading of a passage in Ibn Alḥaṣṣāʾ’s glossary to Arrāzī’s *Alkitāb almanẓar*.



**alud(h)a, aludacha, aludechi, algu/rada** or **vdha** "white spot": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:91, < Ar. *alwaḡaḡ*.

**aludi** "prostatic secretion after sex" < Ar. *alwady*.

**aluexia**: see **almeixia**.

**alufá** (Brazilian Pt.) "interpreter of Islamic texts": Machado's assertion that it derives from Ar., imported by African slaves, without any explanation about the intermediary languages or etymon, does not presently allow any further comments.

**alugen**: see **alghagian**.

**alui**: see **allui**.

**aluja**: see **lula**.

**alule** (Val.) "furnace vents (among the pots of Manises)": assuming correct transmission, this word may indeed be a cognate of Cs. **aludel**, q.v., without dim. suffix and with the shift of intervocalic /d/ to /l/ in an And. phase, which is not exceptional.<sup>438</sup>

**aluneh** (Cs.) "jujube (*Zizyphus vulgaris*)": e.g., in DAX 134, seems unassimilated, < And. *aḡunnāb* = Cl.Ar. *ḡunnāb*.

**aluroço, aluoroz, alu/boroçar** and **alu/orosçamiento**: see **alborozo**.

**alurdanagi**: see **alguardenegi**.

**alquete**: see **alguaquida**.

**alure(s)chin** "erysipelas": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:117, < Neo-Ar. *alwaraškin* < Neo-P. *raškin*.<sup>439</sup>

**alurid** "pulmonary vein": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *alwarīd*.

**alusuas(i)** or **(al)guesgues** "melancholy": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:118, < Ar. *alwaswās*, more exactly, "obsession"

**alutbar** "necessity": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:118, < Ar. *alwaḡar*.

**aluur**: see **albur**.

**alvacora**: see **albacora**.

**alvaiade**: see **albaialde**.

**alvané** and **alvanel**: see **albanel**.

**alvanega**: see **albaneca**.

**alvaneira**: see **albelló**.

**alvanhal**: see **albelló**.

**alvara**: see **albala**.

**alvará**: see **albarà**.

**alvaraz**: see **albará**<sup>2</sup>.

**alvardão**: see **albardão**.

**alvaricoque**: see **abercouque**.

**alvarín**: see **albarrà**.

**alvaroque**: see **albaroque**.

**alvarral**: see **garbell**.

**alvarrà(o)**: see **albarrà**.

**alvazil**: see **aguasil**.

**alveci(m)**: see **almeixia**.

**alvedí**: see **bedín**.

**alveici**: see **almeixia**.

**alveitar, alveitarar** and **alveitaria**: see **albaitar**.

**alvende**: see **albaneyra**.

**alverca(da)**: see **alberca**.

**alv(er)ísyas**: see **albíxeres**.

**alverjana** (Mur., also in DRAE with a var. **arvejana**, with the same and related meanings) "a wild kind of pea or vetch": prob. resulting from a blending of And. *aljulbána* = Cl.Ar. *julbānah*, said of several wild and domestic species of peas, and Lt. *ervílla*, etymon of **arveja**. The contamination with **avelana** "hazelnut", suggested by Coromines, is semantically unlikely.

**alv/uxei**: see **almeixia**.

**alvícaras, alvissaragem, alvissarar, al-víssaras, alvissareiro** and **alvistra**: see **albíxeres**.

**alvitana**: see **albitana**.

**alvolva**: see **albolva**.

**alvoroço/to**: see **alborozo**.

**alvuelva**: see **albolva**.

**alxaba**: see **aljaba**.

**alxabeira**: see **algibeira**.

**alxamía**: see **aljamia**.

**álxebra, alxébrico** and **alxebrista**: see **álgebra**.

**alxemas**: see **algemas**.

**alxibe**: see **alchub**.

**alxibeira**: see **algibeira**.

**alxófar** and **alxofre**: see **aljófar**.

<sup>438</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.2.2.3.

<sup>439</sup> Obviously, not the immediate etymon of Ar., which prob. reflects an older Pahl. form. The proposal in Alḡawī of an etymon \**bar+iškin*

"rupture of the chest" is based on correct data: Neo-P. *bar* "chest" and *šekan* "rupture" Vázquez 1955:419 has another var. **arestin**.

**alxouxeres**: see **aljorce**.

**alyamei** “a kind of Yemenite alum”: is an unassimilated technical term from DAX 134, corrupted from Ar. *alyamani* “Yemenite”

**alycli/yl**: see **aliciil**.

**alyez**: see **algeps**.

**(al)zahir** “colic”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:174, < Ar. *azzahīr*.

**alzamane**, **alc/zemena**, **azemena**, **zema-natu** and **zemane** “chronic disease” (cf. also DAX 29, **acemena** and GP 69, **azemena** “damage to limbs”): is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:69, < Ar. *zamānah* “chronicity of diseases” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **acemenado** (cf. also GP 69 **azemenado**).<sup>440</sup>

**alzavara** and **alzavarón**: see **acibara**.

**(al)zebd** and **zebedum** “butter”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:199–200, < Ar. *azzubd*.<sup>441</sup>

**alzemach**, **semach** or **simac** “pericranium”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:35, < Ar. *assimhā*.

**alzemid**: see **acemite**.

**alzemoue** “the obese” and **semin** “fat(ness)”: are unassimilated medical terms, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:119 and 1985b:109, two words from the same Ar. root, prob. the pl. adjective, *simān* and the abstract noun *saman*. However, confusion of categories and related meanings is common in these scientific works, so that the first item might have been contaminated by **alzumet** or **zema** “greasy broth” < Ar. *azzuhūmat*, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:200.

**alzerbeiet**: see **zerbagi**.

**amaçarocar**: see **maçaroca**.

**amacollar**: see **macolla**.

**amagasén** and **amagatzemador**: see **al-macén**.

**ámago** (Gl.) “albumum; medulla of a horn”,<sup>442</sup> **(h)ámago** (Cs.) “bitter substance

found in honeycombs; loathing, nausea” and **ámago** “undigested food in the stomach of a slaughtered animal” (Anz., with semantic evolution), **âmago** (Pt., with the metathetic var. **águmo** and **ágamo**) “substance; medulla”, **sámago** (Cs. and Gl., resulting from wrong parsing of a pl. syntagm with the definite article) “albumum”, **âmec** (Ct.) “bitter substance found in honeycombs”, **(s)ágamo** “residues of fruit pulp” (Can.) and **hágamo** (in *echar los*—s) “to throw up” (Mur., with metathesis): would all derive from And. *xámj* “moss” = Cl.Ar. *xamj* “growing moss or mould; decaying”.<sup>443</sup> The fact that *Lisān alʿarab* considers this root as genuinely Yemenite matches well with an early pronunciation \**xámj* in Al-Andalus, before the standardization of its dial. bundle.

**amajar** “to be cured; to calm down” (Jud.-Sp.): seems to reflect an And.Rom. hybrid verb \**AD+mash+ÁR*.

**amal** (Pt.) “porter, loader”: is a mod. unas-similated borrowing, < Hindi *hamāl* < Neo-P. and Ar. *hammāl*. Cf. **camalo**.

**amalecita** or **amalequita** (Cs.) “Amalekite, member of a nation mentioned in the Bible”: < Hb. *šāmālēqī*, through Bib.Lt.

**amalfigas** (Leo., from DO 216): it does not appear to relate to **jofainas**, q.v., nor to be synonymous with **almoñía**, but the talk goes about cushions to give washerwomen some comfort; therefore, it is a var. of **almáfega**, q.v.

**(a)maluc** (Ct.) “hips; croup”: < Neo-Ar. *šazm alhuqq* “hip bone”, through bookish Lt. scientific transmission, although this term has subsequently spread to middle registers, like Cs. **nuca**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **esmalucar** and **malucada**.

**amán** (Cs.) “safeconduct or pardon granted to enemies”: < And. *amán* = Cl.Ar. *amān*, used also as an interjection when asking for mercy. There is no old witness of its use in Rom., except in the bilingual *xarajāt* A5 and 25, and

<sup>440</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005a:148.

<sup>441</sup> But the vowels suggest confusion with **zabad** “foam”

<sup>442</sup> These are secondary meanings, as can be seen in the entry **(h)ámago** of DCECH. Inciden-

tally, this term appeared as \***ámego** in Corriente 1996c:414, which must be corrected.

<sup>443</sup> Cf. Mor. *xmā* “to rot” and Malt. *hammegi* “to soil”, *hamgu* “filth; excrements”, etc.

is prob. a mere exotism among contemporary authors.<sup>444</sup>

(a)mannar "to draw a game": in GP 54, from *Libro de Acedrex*, der. from And.Rom. *MÁNNA* "ruse",<sup>445</sup> alluding to the fact that players who are losing must look for ruses in order to achieve a tie.

amanyac, amanyaga(do)r, amanyagament and amanyagoi: see manyac.

amapola and amapolarse: see ababol.

amarfallar, amarañar and amaravallar (Gl.) "to botch a job": is prob. connected with Cs. *magaña* "melting flaw (in guns)", and Ct. *marfanta* "scarecrow", q.v. But cf. also Cs. *chafallar* and Ct. *ma(r)tafallar* and *marcolfa*.

amárico (Cs. and Pt.): < It. *amarico*, an adaptation of Am. *am(h)arañña*, gentilic of the Amhara country and name of the main mod. language of Ethiopia, presently official. This term has not yet been included in DRAE, nor in Moliner.

amasco: see damasco.

amato: see annamath.

amazacotado: see masicote.

amazorga: see maçaroca.

ámbar (Gl. and Cs., with the old var. *alámbar*, *ambra*, *lambre* and *alanba*), *âmbar* (Pt., with the old var. *alambra/e* and *alámbar*), and *ambre* (Ct., with the var. *lambre*) "amber": < And. *śānbar* = Cl.Ar. *šanbar*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: *ambarar*; Cs., Gl. and Pt. *ambarina/o*; Ct. *ambarí*, *ambrat*, *ambreína* and *ambríta*; Pt.: *alamb(e)ar*, *ambareiro*, *amáríco*, *ambarilha*, *ambarina/o* and *ambarizar*.

ambíxeres: see albíxeres.

ambles: an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from DAX 143, not related at all to *ámbar*, as hesitantly suggested by the editors, but a var. of *êmblico* (q.v.).<sup>446</sup>

amboia (Gl.) "large earthen jar": appears to reflect And. *anbúba* < Cl.Ar. *unbūbah*, with

diverse descriptions in the sources, but always related to vessels.

ambonencuz: given in DAX 143 as the Gr. name of *ferrenna*, i.e., "iron ore", is no doubt corrupted, through Syr. *hmāṭītōs* or >lytws *hmāṭītus*< and Ar. spellings, from Gr. *haimatitēs* "hematite" (also reflected by the var. *amitetiz*, *amatites* or *anetatiz*, in DAX 992–993, s.v. *hematites*).

ambra(t), ambre, ambreína and ambríta: see ámbra.

ambrona "toque" (Cs., from a Granadan inventory of a seizure) and "the pork's lower abdomen" (Arag., by metonymy): < And. *šamrūna* "a kind of tunic", which was designated with this fem. pr.n.

ámec: see ámagó.

ámel (Cs.) "head of a district": is a contemporary borrowing, < Mor. *šamal* < Ar. *šāmil* "governor" From the same origin, through Hindi *āmil* and Neo-P. *šāmel*, is Pt. *amil* "official or governor in India" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *amelfa*.

amém (Pt.) and amén (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) "amen": through Bib.Lt. *āmēn* and Bib.Gr. *amēn*, < Hb. *āmēn* "certainly".<sup>447</sup>

amemice "red horned poppy (*Glaucium corniculatum*)": prob. unassimilated, from DAX 143, reflecting Neo-Ar. *māmīqā* < Syr. *mammīqā* which, among other botanic meanings, has that one.

amesquinhamento and amesquinhar: see mesquí.

amí and jamí "a kind of grape" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loanword, perhaps the gentilic of Alhama, but the list of grape varieties in Andalusí botanists, to the best of our knowledge, does not include such a term.

amicate: see almizcate.

amil: see ámel.

amim and amín: see alamí.

amir: see emir.

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<sup>446</sup> A variety of myrobalan, mentioned indeed sometimes as a remedy for falcons, e.g., by Möller & Viré 1988:254.

<sup>447</sup> Whence also Ar. *āmīn*, through Aram., cf. Syr. *āmīn*. Cf. *santiamén*.

<sup>444</sup> See Corriente 1997a:276 and 293–4. The situation is different in Eastern Europe where, after Vasmer 1996:I 75, and borrowed from Tr., it not only circulates in Russian and Ukrainian, but also everywhere in the Balkans.

<sup>445</sup> Witnessed in IQ 107/3/2 and recorded in

**amiramomel(l)in**: see **miramamolí**.

**amirat(e)**: see **almirall**.

**amirí** (Cs.): is a contemporary historiographical term, < Ar. *ʿāmirī*, attributive adjective of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, known as Almanzor. As a numismatic term, there are some other more or less distorted Lt. var., such as **amori(s)**, **amurinos**, **amuris** or **meri**. Cf. **adal**.

**amocael** "greaser of the keel of a fishing-boat" (Anl.): < And. *almuqáyyir* = Cl.Ar. *muqayyir* "smeared with pitch or wax"

**amocafre** and **amocase**: see **almocafre**.

**amoc/xerce**, **amorcesce** and **amorxerce**: see **morcercel**.

**amofia**: see **almofia**.

**amofinar**, **amohinamiento**, **amohinar**, **amoñadís**, **amoñament**, **amoña(do)r**, and **amoñós**: see **moñino**.

**amojamamiento** and **amojamar**: see **moixama**.

**amonarse**: see **mona**.

**amonita** (Cs.) "Ammonite, member of a nation mentioned in the Bible": through Bib. Lt. *ammōnītēs*, < Hb. *ʿammōni*.

**amoragar**: see **mauraca**.

**amorcesce**: see **morcercel**.

**amoresia** "an electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez 1998:783, < Neo-Ar. *amurūsā*.

**amori(s)**: see **adal**.

**amorreo** (Cs.) "Amorite, member of a nation mentioned in the Bible": through Bib. Lt., < Hb. *ʿmōri*.

**amo(r)xerce**: see **morcercel**.

**ampréssec**: see **albérchigo**.

**amumiar**: see **momia**.

**amurinos** and **amuris**: see **adal**.

**ana** (Cs.) and **aná** (Pt.) "anna, Indian coin of little value": < Hindi *ānā*. Cs. has prob. received this word through Eng.

**anabanoth** "cope, pluvial": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 182, corrupted, prob. through Syr. and Ar., from Gr. *anabolāion*.

**anabí**: see **nabí**.

**anac**: see **alanac**.

**anacala**: see **afiatal**.

**anacara(do)** and **anacarar-se**: see **nácar**.

**anacear**: see **afiacea**.

**anaclán** and **anaclancillo**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**anacora**: see **nácar**.

**anada/el** (Old Pt., with a possibly erroneous var. **anedal**) "captain of arbalisters": is documented since the 14th c., < And. *annázir* = Cl.Ar. *nāzīr* "overseer", as stated by DE and Machado. Being an obsolete term, its original stress is not easily retrievable; had it shifted from penultima to ultima, as Machado thought, it would have done so on account of some contamination or metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix. As for the much earlier **anadir**, documented at the end of the 11th c., it prob. reflects a different And. etymon, *naḏīr* "herald", reflected by both the *Leiden Glossary* and *Alcalá*, < Cl.Ar. *naḏīr* "admonisher" Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **anad(el)aria**. Cf. **nádir**.

**anafa** (Pt.) "wild clover": < And. *nāfl* < Cl.Ar. *naḥal*, with some semantic shift, as the Ar. term designates "sea hedgehog medic (*Medicago ciliaris*)", while Morais identified the Pt. item within the genus *Melilotus*. As for **anáfalo** "Anaphalis", which we attributed to the same etymon in DAI, its identification forces us to recant that error, in favour of the Gr. neologism. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **anafar**.

**anafafes**: see **alifac**.

**anafaga** (Cs., with the old var. **annafaca** and **añafaga**) "cost, expense", **annafag/ka** (Old Leo., in DO 216), and **anáfaga** (Pt.) "a tribute": < And. *annafāqa* "living expenses owed by the sovereign to the troops, ultimately footed by his subjects as taxes" < Cl.Ar. *naḥaḥaḥ* "(living) expenses; allowance" The Cs. shape, more faithfully transmitted in this case, shows that the penultima stress of Pt. in this obsolete word is not genuine, in all likelihood, but recently adopted in imitation of the mod. pronunciation of Cl.Ar., although neither an And. allomorph *\*nāḥaqa*, nor a low-register intra-Rom. hypercorrection of stress, frequent in both Pt. and Cs., can be excluded. From the same etymon are **añiaga** "bird decoy" (Anl.), with the normal result of the geminated nasal, and **aniaga** "day-labourer's pay; small plot" (Mur., in Tol. "a shepherd's living expenses covered by his patron"), through *\*anehaga*. It is noteworthy that the notion assumed by

DRAE that these salaries were yearly is a mere consequence of its mistaken etymon based on Lt. **\*\*annus** "year" Intra-Rom. der.: Mur.: **aniaguero**.

**anafaia** and **anafalla**: see **alafaia**.

**anafar** (Pt.): in the example mentioned by Machado in connection with **anafa**, this item is misplaced, as it appears to mean "to scent" and derives from And. *annáfih* < Cl.Ar. *naḥḥ* "fragrance". Cf. **aguanafa** and **anafa**.

**anafaya**: see **alafaia**.

**anafe** (Cs., with the old var. **alnafa**), **anafre** (Cs., Ext. and Ct.), **anafra** (Mur.) and **arnafe** (Anl.) "portable stove": < And. *annáfih*, of the same meaning, < Cl.Ar. *nāḥiḥ* "blower" as, being small, it is usually lit with a blowing-fan, not needing bellows. But there is semantic evolution in **anafre** "trivet" (Anl.).

**anáfega** (Pt.) "jujube" and **náfega** "apple-tree" (only in Morais, semantically suspect): < And. *\*annābqa* < Cl.Ar. *nabīqah*. As in the cases of **adarga**, **alfáb/vega**, **jábega**, etc., the immediate etymon is an allomorph with loss of the second vowel, a phenomenon already present in the Cl.Ar. option between *nabīq* and *nibq*.

**anafil** (Gl., Pt., the latter with the var. **anafi(m)**, and Ct., with the old var. **(a)nafil**, **nañill** and **añafil**) and **añafil** (Cs., with the old var. **annafil** and **annaphil**, in GP 56) "a kind of trumpet": < And. *annaḥīr* = Cl.Ar. *naḥīr*. As for Pt. **anafil** "a kind of hard wheat", possibly also an Ar. loanword, an etymon is not in sight.

**anafra/e**: see **anafe**.

**anagaça**: see **añagaza**.

**anaguel**: see **anaquel**.

**anahora**: see **nora**.

**anancer lidinelle**: an unassimilated idiom in GP 46bis, it is the title assumed by the Cordovan Umayyad caliph ʿAbdarrahmān III, < Ar. *annāṣīru lidīni llāh* "defender of God's religion"

**anaquel** (Cs.) "shelf": prob. reflects And. *manāqil*, pl. de *manqálah* < Cl.Ar. *minqalah* "bed, frame, horse" It is not documented before the 17th c., and has been usually given an Ar. etymon from the same root, **\*\*naqqāl** "carrier", in which the palatalization of the

final vowel would be abnormal, not to mention the phonetic and semantic gap with **añacal**, q.v., undoubtedly reflecting that very etymon. For these reasons, we prefer the suggested etymon, with loss of the initial nasal, either by dissimilation or by wrong parsing in a syntagm with the indefinite article (**\*un m+anaquel**), while the stress shift may be due to contamination with the Rom. dim. suffix. Pt. **anaguel** (dial., only in Morais) "board for the entrails of the slaughtered pig; cradle; bulky and clumsy woman": appears to share the same etymon, with diverse metonymies. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **anaquelería**. Cf. **bancal**.

**anaranjado** and **anaranjea**: see **laranja**.

**anascar**: see **añascar**.

**anatron**: see **natrão**.

**anax**: see **annays**.

**anaxe** "a disease...in the vein of the leg...from the back of the knee to the heel": is an unassimilated medical term, not very exactly described, by the way, from GP 54, < Ar. *annasā* "sciatica"

**añāzar** (Pt.): this word, which both Machado and Morais consider a der. of **añao** "dwarf", to judge from the witness put forward by the former, is misspelled and misinterpreted as "to lessen". It rather appears to be a var. **\*anazar**, of **anacear**, q.v.s.v. **añacea**, in the meaning of "to rest, to be at leisure"

**ancodi** "(stone) having the shape of a bunch of grapes" (with a worse var. **ancoch**): is an unassimilated mineralogical term, from GP 55, said according to DAX 154 of a variety of calamine, < And. *ṣanqūdi* = Cl.Ar. *ṣunqūdī* "clustered (like grapes)" which, according to DS, means "silver dross"

**ancolla**, **ancoller** and **ancolleta**: see **alcolla**.

**ancorca** or **ancorque** (Cs.) "ochre": their direct derivation propounded by DRAE from Lt. **\*\*croccus** "saffron", through the And.Rom. forms >*qrwqh*< and >*qrwš*< registered by Ibn Buklārīš, is improbable, as this latter term has apparently never meant any other substance; however, ochre being a characteristically yellow mineral, it may be supposed that, when the Rom. signifier for saffron became emptied of its signified in favour of reflexes of Ar.

zašfarān, in the terminal phase of And.Rom., it would phonetically contaminate a reflex of Lt. *ochra*, with a result \**al+QŌQRA* or meta-thetic \**al+QŌRQA*, whence those Cs. shapes.

**anda** (Val.) "until": is a further witness to the semantic and phonetic interference between And. *šad* and *hattā* = Cl.Ar. *hattā* by the offspring of Lt. *ad ista / ipsa / illa*, etc.<sup>448</sup>

**¡anda allā!** (Cs.) "expression of incredulity" and **anda lá!** (Pt.) "interjection of exhortation, warning or threatening": their meanings do not semantically equal an order to leave, nor is there a clear reason for the insertion of that place adverb. It is indeed a long shot but, as in other instances of seemingly senseless Rom. utterances, this might be a remnant of a frequent Ar. phrase, *šinda llāhi (talqā) lhisāb* "before God (you will find) reckoning",<sup>449</sup> used as a rebuke addressed to whomever commits an excess, which also fits the case of **¡anda!** "frightening interjection" (Anl.).

**andadó** (Arag.) "kind of balcony": is the result of contamination by Rom. **andador** "walking area" of And. *nažūr* < Cl.Ar. *nāžūr* "high view-point", often turned into place names, like the town of Nador in Northern Morocco, and the Torre del Andador in the town of Albarracín. From the same origin, through a similar folk etymology, is **andador** (Cs. and Arag., also in Lt. documents) "bailiff; watcher", unrelated to the etymon of Rom. **andar** "to walk", in spite of its appearance.

**andaime/o** (Pt.) and **andamio** (Cs. and Gl.) "building scaffold": Coromines's arguments in favour of a derivation from **andar**

"to walk", supported by two other cases of a suffix /+ÁMYO/, are semantically viable, but prob. not as likely as the contamination by that Rom. item of And. *addašāyim* < Cl.Ar. *dašālim* "stays", corroborated by the Ar. loan-word **adema/e**, q.v., of the same root and similar meaning. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **andamiada** and **andamiaje**; Pt.: **andaimada**, **andaimar** and **andaimaria**.

**andajo**: see **andrajo**.

**andaluz** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **andalús** (Ct.) "gentilic of Andalusia or of Al-Andalus"<sup>450</sup> and **Andaluz** (Pt.) "Al-Andalus (designation of the regions under Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages) and **Andalucía** (Cs.) and **Andalusia** (Ct.) "Andalusia": derive all from And. *alandalús* < Cl.Ar. *jazīratu lʿandalus*. Until now we had believed that this was a probable corruption of Gr. (*hē nēsos tēs*) *Atlantidos* "the island of Atlantis", received either directly or through Syr. \**gāzartā d-aqlanīdos*, as a part of the legacy of Platonic myths which spread together with Greek philosophy and culture. Phonetically, this required develarization, voicing and dissimilation of dentals, a Lgr. pronunciation of the cluster /nt/ as /nd/ and, finally, a shift of intervocalic /d/ to /l/, furthered by a folk etymology inclined to introduce the root of Ar. \*\**dalas* "darkness" in the designation of the region and sea thus characterized in old cosmogony. Other scholars still stick to the traditional etymon based on the ethnicon of the Vandals, against which there are too many arguments, such as the Old Ar. var. *andulus*,

<sup>448</sup> See a survey of these cases in Corriente 1983a.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. IQ 80/2/4 *allāh ḥasibu* "God will call him to account" From a phonetic viewpoint, it must be remembered that the usual pronunciation of this preposition in Neo-Ar. is *šand*, of which there are some examples in DAA. Similar cases of Rom. phrases with very different meanings of their seeming contents, in fact corrupted from And. utterances, are Cs. **Ángela María**, **jodo petaca**, Pt. **tamalavés**, **tomara**, etc.

<sup>450</sup> In order to avoid this ambiguity, it is being recommended with increasing success to use **andalusí** in Cs. and "Andalusi" in Eng., instead

of **andaluz** = "Andalusian", reserved for the second sense. More details about this etymon and its discovery can be seen in Corriente 1993a:22–23, fn. 8, to which we would add a comparison with the parallel case of *Sefarād*, an Eastern Hb. place name which ended up as the name of the Iberian Peninsula in Jewish tradition, prob. thanks to a similar influence amidst the important Hellenized diaspora of Gr. *Hesperis*, -*dos*, pr.n. of the daughter of Hesperos, god of twilight, and collectively also of her daughters, the keepers of the famous garden, sired by Atlas, whose daughter Atlantis, in turn, gave her name to the Atlantic Ocean and the sunken continent of Atlantis.

prevailing in the East for centuries<sup>451</sup> and preserved by Neo-P. *anda/olos* and Tr. *Endülüš*. However, very recently and while surveying the Cp. loanwords in Egyptian Arabic, we have been stricken by the conservative shapes of the cardinal points in this language (*nhit* "North", *rēs* "South", *em[e]nt* "West", and *iebt* or *ma ša* "East") completely free from Greek interference, in spite of the pervasive effects of Hellenization in most aspects of Cp. culture and language. The only possible explanation for this somewhat anomalous preservation, at least compared with what happened in Europe, is one of a socio-linguistic kind: in their strong national pride, they kept considering their country as the centre of the world and, therefore, felt no need to alter their system of geographical coordinates. Upper Egypt and Northern Nubia remained the land of the South, *ma+rēs*, while *a/emnte* still was the region of Hades, the West, and only the neighbouring lands of Greeks and Semites were given more precise names than North and East. So, when the Arabs conquered Egypt and showed their interest in the lands to its West, they might have heard from their new Christian and Jewish subjects some Greek and Latin geographical names, such as Africa, which they took for Ifriqiyah, Libya, Numidia, Mauritania, etc., for which they substituted a vague Maghrib, "the West". But next there was Hispania, which being a part of the West, was conspicuously quite another entity, if only because it was in Europe, beyond the Strait

which was to be called of Gibraltar. They could not easily accept the terms Hispania or Hesperia, because both terms in the East meant only Italy, as made explicit by Payne-Smith 1879-1902:315-316, but there can be no doubt that the Iberian Peninsula already had an Arabic name when Mūsā b. Nušayr discussed with the Caliph Alwalid the issue of its invasion, as it is historically documented. For those far away lands, learned Egyptians of any religion or cultural allegiance possibly had only an unequivocal Cp. designation: *\*ament e-rēs* "the West by the South", usually pronounced as *\*amend+elēs*,<sup>452</sup> and taken by the Arabs as *\*am+andilīs*, with metanalysis of their own definite article in its South Arabian shape,<sup>453</sup> as most of the new settlers in Egypt were of this stock. Of course, this dialectal trait would soon be corrected and generate the old shapes *alʿandilis* or *alʿandulus* in the Eastern dictionaries. This sounds likelier than believing in an extremely widespread divulgation of the Platonian myths, as we had previously believed, in the lack of a better idea. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *andalucismo* and *andaluzada*; Ct.: *andalusisme*.

**andamiada, andamiaje and andamio:** see **andaime**.

**andanico:** is an unassimilated technical term, equivalent of **alfinde** "steel" in GP 55, exhibiting the Rom. attributive suffix, but its base cannot be considered Lt., since its first vowel is under the effect of Philippi's law. It is prob. a reflex of Ar. *hindawānī* "sabre of

<sup>451</sup> It is the only form in the *Lisān alʿarab* which, as a matter of fact, propounds the derivation of this word from the root {*dlv*}, though acknowledging its morphological awkwardness and isolation. In fact, it is quite likely that the local, then general success of the standard vocalization be the outcome of endeavours aimed at making this word fit into regular morphological patterns, by metanalyzing it as {*la23a4*} with the hypocoristic suffix {*+ūs*}, e.g., in *\*šamrūs*, *\*šabdūs*, etc. This would also explain the invariable ultima stress in the West which, in our view, recommends Cs. *Alandalús*, exactly reproducing the native pronunciation, as proved furthermore by the gentile *andaluz*, instead of *Al-Ándalus*, a mere contemporary learned term, not devoid

of pedantry, imitating the mod. pronunciation of some, not all, nor even the majority of Arabs, as it is not followed by the North Africans as a whole, nor the Egyptians, in spite of being the phonetically normal realization in pausal forms of the received pronunciation of Cl.Ar.

<sup>452</sup> Old /t/ has become /d/ in Cp. very early, while lambdacism is characteristic of the whole late stages of the Egyptian language. It is also quite possible that Greek Hesperis came to be metanalyzed as *\*Hesper+rīs*, i.e. the Greek word for the West and the Egyptian one for the South.

<sup>453</sup> See Fleisch 1961:342 and, for Neo-Arabic, in And., Corriente 1977:85 and, in Yemenite, Fischer & Jastrow 1980:121.

Indian steel", with loss of the second vowel, and then of /w/ in a rising diphthong (see Corriente 2004a:194).

**andarach**: see **adarach**.

**andaraje** (Cs.) "wheel of a well or water-wheel": both Eguílaz and Coromines consider this word as an Ar. loanword, < Ar. *daraj* "steps of a staircase", because of the structural similarity; this is phonetically irreproachable and semantically plausible, a contamination with **andar** also being obvious.<sup>454</sup>

**andaric/na**: see **andorina**.

**andavilla**: see **aldaba**.

**andelgue** "vulva" (Man.): this euphemism might stem from the Morisco language and social conventions, as in the case of other taboo words, simply reflecting the Ar. demonstrative pronoun *qālik(a)*, occasionally used in And. as a euphemism,<sup>455</sup> perhaps in the idiom *ʕan qālik* "instead of that". This hypothesis is not totally incompatible with **adilgo** "disorder or mess in a house" (Nvl.), as the matching Cs. four-letter word often has the same sense. Semantic evolution would have been much stronger in the phonetic var. **andergue** "pace; way; appearance, aspect" (Anl.), but cannot be excluded, considering the almost unlimited expressive capacities of that term, a kind of all-purpose word both in Cs. and in And., as can be seen in the entries of {*hrr*} II in DAA. Cs. **endilgar** "to spring something on somebody" might be a der. of this origin.

**andoba**: see **bandoba**.

**andola** (Cs.) "a folk-song of the 17th c.": shares the etymon of **andorra**, q.v., rather than And. **\*\*gandūra** < Neo-Ar. **\*\*gandūrah**, with meanings quite different from that of "silly woman", reported by DRAE, not to mention the additional phonetic difficulty in explain-

ing the loss of the initial consonant. From the same origin is Ct. **andola** (**correr l'**) "to take the wrong way", and Bal. **andoiar** "to wander idly", with mere semantic and phonetic contamination by Rom. **an(d)ar**.

**andolina**: see **andorina**.

**andor** (Pt.) "kind of hammock serving as a throne in Eastern Africa": is an unassimilated term, borrowed during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *andul*, as reported by Eguílaz, although it does not look genuine.

**andorina** (Cs.), **ando/ulina** (Sal.), **andorinha** (Pt.), **ando/urifia** (Ext. from bilingual Olivenza, and Can., clearly borrowed from Pt.), **andorifia** (Gl.), **andaric/na** (Ast.), **arandela** (Cs. from Alava, metathetical) and **angrineta** (Arag., for **\*andrineta**) "European swallow (*Hirundo rustica*)": these words indeed derive from Rom. **\*ARUNDĪNA**, < Lt. *harundo*, for Lt. *hirundo*, but the necessary co-operative contamination was prob. not with the verb **andar** "to walk", which is not a conspicuous feature of this bird, but with the etymon of **andorra**, q.v. From the same origin are Cs. **arandillo** "a kind of sedge warbler (*Acrocephalus scirpaceus*)", Arag. **faldrija** "swift (*Apus Apus*)", **baldritxa** (Ct.) "a variety of seagull in the Balearic Islands", with the var. **baldriga** in the coast of Catalonia, and **baldritja** "sea raven" (in Peñíscola, all of them shrieking birds, with varying dim. or pejorative Rom. suffixes<sup>456</sup> and a stronger phonetic evolution, apparently due to other contaminations.

**andorra** (Cs. and Ct.) and **andorrera** (Cs.) "street-walker: < And. *haddūra* < Cl.Ar. *hūdurrāh* "chatterbox" and other der. of the root {*hrr*}, particularly **handora**, **andora**, (**h**)**adedura**, and **haduro** in *Libro de Buen*

<sup>454</sup> In fact, in some Naf. dialects (DS pinpoints that of Constantina, in Algeria, but it is found in other areas as well), *dā* is a five minute period, considering the clock dial as a series of symmetrical spaces, like the steps of a staircase, and in Mor. the same word means any zigzagging decoration and some parts of a musical composition, after Colin 1994.

<sup>455</sup> See Corriente 1993b:282–91. Although this hypothesis is highly conjectural, it receives some support from the fact that also in Cl.Ar. the old

demonstrative **\*\*han** (whence the standard Ar. definite article) became by metonymy the name of the vulva, and still was so in And. *hán*, pl. *hanāt* "genitals", according to DAA. This hypothesis might also be corroborated by two off-colour poetic passages in *Almuqtābis II-I* (Makki & Corriente 2001: fols. 132v. and 133r.), in which *qāka ššay?*, synonymous with *qālika* "that thing" is a euphemism for "sexual organs", male in the first case, female in the second.

<sup>456</sup> See Corriente 1993c; cf. **baldorras**.



*Amor*<sup>457</sup> and **jandorro** (Can.) “unclean, slovenly” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **andorrear** and **andurrial** (= Ast. **andorvial**, after García Arias 2006:55); Ct.: **andorrejar** and **andorrer**.

**andrajo** (Cs. and Pt.), **andajo** (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:49), **jandrázo** (Jud.-Sp.) and **falandrajo** or **filindrajo** (Nav.) “rag; despicable person”: < And. *haṭrāj* “despicable person; babler”, with the semantic evolution typical of the root {*hṭr*} and its der., but taking another metonymic turn towards culinary meanings in Anl. **andrajo** “name of diverse dishes” and Mur. **andrajos** “Murcian **gazpacho**, q.v.”, Jud.-Sp. **xandrázo**,<sup>458</sup> reminiscent of Cs. **ropa vieja** “a preparation of stew leftovers”, and Leo. **andrayos** “spoils of cattle devoured by wolves” (Leo.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **andrajero** and **desandrajado**; Cs. and Pt.: **andrajoso**; Pt.: **andrajosidade**.

**androlla** (Gl.) “a sausage”: is one more der. from {*hṭr*}, cf. **hadrolla**.

**andrómina** (Cs., Val. and Pt., the latter with the var. **endrómina**) “ruse, trick” and **andrómina** (Ct.) “useless or unwieldy thing”: is one more der. from {*hṭr*} with learned or semi-learned suffixation, developed from Lt. {-*vmen*}. Neither Coromines’ hesitant proposal, based on the myth of Andromeda, nor Machado’s, < Gr. *\*endromís* “hunter’s footgear; lined mantle of athletes”, are semantically probable.

**andulina** and **andurfiña**: see **andorfiña**.

**andullo** (Cs.) “canvas shield used in ships; plug tobacco; bale of tobacco”: looks like one more der. from {*hṭr*}, cf. **hadrolla**.

**andurrial** (Cs. and Pt., borrowed from Cs.) “retired place”: is an intra-Rom. der. of **andorra**, q.v.

**anea** and **anear**: see **ainea**.

**anedal**: see **anadal**.

**anefes**: see **abgas**.

**aneagaça**: see **añagaza**.

**anejir** (Cs.) “versified and/or singable proverb” and **anexim** (Pt.) “proverb”: < And. *annašd* = Cl.Ar. *našd* “hymn or song”, a meaning preserved in Madeira.

**anejo** “stinking” (Can.): prob. < And. *nájs* = Cl.Ar. *naj(i)s* “unclean”.<sup>459</sup>

**anequim** (Pt., only in Morais) and **a / de anequín**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “sheep shearing paid so much a head”: < And. *annaqiyín* “clean (pl.)” (cf. *naqí alxádd* “beardless”). There might have been an And. idiom *\*šan naqiyín*, in which the preposition *šan* would express the manner, as in **anigual**, q.v.

**anequín**<sup>2</sup> and var. (Can.) “a kind of shark (Prionace glauca)”: is a reflex of Pt. **alecrim** (q.v.).

**anemul**: see **alanamel**.

**anesgao**: see **añascar**.

**anexim**: see **anejir**.

**anfasalan** “separation”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:119, < Ar. *infisāl*.

**a(n)fião** (Pt.) and **anfión** (Cs.) “opium”: < And. *afyūn* = Cl.Ar. *afyūn* < Syr. *afiyūn* < Gr. *ópion*.

**anfiler**: see **alfiler**.

**anfión**: see **a(n)fião**.

**anforja**: see **alforcha**.

**anfós**: see **alfonsim**.

**¡Ángela (María)!** (Cs.) and **Àngela Maria!** (Ct.): this remarkable exclamation, expressing relief when a doubt is removed, might answer to Romanization and superficial Christianization, in Mudejar or Morisco milieus, of And. *injlá almúrya* < Cl.Ar. *injlālu bmyrah* “clarification of the doubt”. Can. **aymería**, a prob. Ar. loanword used as an exclamation of surprise, might have some bearing on our proposal for **¡Ángela María!**,<sup>460</sup> by replacing the second constituent of the suggested etymon by And. *almartyya*

<sup>457</sup> See Corriente 1993c. There is no relation whatsoever between **andora** and And. *gandúru*, etymon of **gandul(a)**, q.v., *pape* DRAE, which has corrected that in its latest edition.

<sup>458</sup> DCECH records this term in Jud.-Sp. of Morocco, Bosnia and other Eastern countries but, like in Nehama 1977:250–51, particularly dealing with the dialect of Salonica, only as “rag” The culinary meaning, a kind of filling with auber-

gines, onions and tomatoes, appears in Roden 1970:100 and 104. The etymon suggested by Eguílaz, Ar. *\*midruj* “rag”, and Asín’s proposal, *\*indirāj* “tearing” are phonetically unsuitable.

<sup>459</sup> With semantic evolution (cf. Pt. **anejo** “yearly lamb”), like Cs. **añejo**, unless borrowed from Pt.

<sup>460</sup> With the Mur. var. **marían**, recorded by Gómez Ortín 1991:275.

(cf. *almeria* and *maría[n]*). This will produce an And. syntagm *injlá almaríyya* “unveiling of the bride”, alluding to the moment of the Islamic wedding when the bridegroom can finally see the bride and settle his doubts about her beauty.

**angelot**: see *anzarote*.

**angevera**: see *algibeira*.

**angorfa**: see *algorfa*.

**angorraz**: see *alferraz*.

**angrineta**: see *andorinha*.

**aniaga** and **aniaguero**: see *anafaga*.

**anibles**: see *alfâmbar*.

**anidam** “thread, string (of pearls)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 55, < Ar. *annizām*, which Kunitzsch 1961:89 considers an error for *annaṣām*, some stars of Caetus, or a synonym of Orion’s girdle (see *naam*).

**aniesgar**: see *añascar*.

**(a)nigual (de)** “on the contrary” (Anz.): no doubt reflects Ar. *ṣiwāḍ(a)* “instead of”, phonetically contaminated by Cs. *al igual* “likewise”, although the meaning is exactly the opposite. It is a moot question whether this item is a partial translation and adaptation of the matching And. idiom *fi ṣiwāḍ* > \**en igual*, later altered by phonetic contamination with Cs., or it is an entirely Ar. phrase, *ṣan ṣiwāḍ*, perfectly regular, although not documented in And. There are also the phonetic var. *aniguar* and *anugar* “instead of”

**anil** (Gl., Pt. and Ct., the latter with the var. *anyil*) and **añil** (Cs., with the Jud.-Sp. var. *añir*) “indigo plant (*Indigofera* spp.); indigo dye-stuff and colour”: < And. *annil* and *annir*, the latter documented in the Granadan dialect = Cl.Ar. *nīl(a)* < Pahl. *nīl* < Sk. *nīla*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *añilar* and *añilería*; Cs, Ct., Gl. and Pt.: *anilina*; Pt.: *anilar* and *anileira*.

**anjolí**: see *ajonjolí*.

**anjorí**: see *alborín*.

**anjuão** (Pt.) “assa-foetida (*Ferula assafoetida*)”: is a late borrowing, connected with the

campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *anjūdān* < Neo-P. *angodān*.

**annaam aḥahadir** “departing ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 55, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:95 as Sigma, Phi, Tau and Zeta Sagittarii, < Neo-Ar. *annaṣām aṣṣādir*.

**annaçer atayr**: see *alnaçr*.

**annaçra** (with the var. *annathra* and *annattha*) “loose”:<sup>461</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 55, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:88 as Epsilon and even Gamma and Delta Cancr, in the 8th mansion of the moon; < Ar. *annaçrah*, “snout”

**annafac/g/ka**: see *anafaga*.

**annafil**: see *anafil*.

**anna(h)amet** “ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 56, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:84 as Tau, Upsilon, Zeta and Theta Caeti.

**annam eluerit**<sup>462</sup> (with the var. *anuam*) “oncoming ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 57, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:83–4 as Gamma, Delta, Epsilon and Eta Sagittarii, < Neo-Ar. *annaṣām alwārid*.

**annamath** (Lt., in Arag. documents), **anamath** (Old Leo., in the syntagm *almuzalla anamat* from Herrero de la Fuente 1988 III:98,<sup>463</sup> together with *annomath* and *anna/emate*, in DO 217, although we cannot concur with her view that in some cases it might be a var. of *natamia*) “felt tapestry”: < And. *annamát* = Cl.Ar. *namaṭ* < Syr. *namā* < Pahl. *namad*. The var. *amato*, reported by Steiger 1956, may be misspelled, as suggested by Fort Cañellas 1994:120, or the result of wrong parsing, after dissimilation of nasals and metanalysis of the Ar. article.

**annascar**: see *añascar*.

**annatih** “pusher”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 56, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:88 and 110 as Beta and Gamma or Alpha Arietis, < Ar. *annāṭih*, actually said

<sup>461</sup> Incorrect rendering, by somebody scarcely conversant with the Cl.Ar. language, who knew the root [ntr] “to strew about”, but not this term. About similar cases, see Corriente 2000.

<sup>462</sup> Better than *eliierit* in DAX 164.

<sup>463</sup> Information provided by Prof. Montaner. Also *antemano*, *antemanissime* and *antromnu* seem to be corruptions and/or Romanizations of more conservative var.

of bulls butting with their horns. As a technical term, it is synonymous with *aššaraṭān*.

**annaym** (with a var. **anuaym**) “the ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 57, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:83 as the 20th mansion of the moon, < Ar. *annaṣālim*.

**annays** “bier in which the Moors carry the dead to their burial place”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 54 and 57, (with the var. **ays**, **na(a)x** and **an(n)ax**), which Kunitzsch 1959:149–150 identifies as Eta Ursae Majoris, < Ar. *annaṣ*. Cf. **benanays**.

**annaze(h)a**: see **afiacea**.

**annaziado**: see **enaciado**.

**annec/çra**: see **alnaçr**.

**annexm** “star”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 57, which Kunitzsch 1961:84 identifies as the Pleiades, < Ar. *annajm*.

**annezq aliemeni** “shuttle from the land of Yemen”:<sup>464</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 57, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:86 as a certain star of Serpentarius and Serpens, < Neo-Ar. *annasaq alyamānī* “the Yemenite sequence” Cf. **neççelsemi**.

**anniat** “added (loads on top of a camel’s burden)”: it is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 57, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:89 as Sigma and Tau Scorpionis, < Ar. *anniyāf*.

**an(n)or**: see **nora**.

**annora** “limestone”: it is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 57, < Ar. *annūrah*.

**an(n)oria**: see **noria**.

**annoxatir**: see **almoháter**.

**anorre** “in abundance (Mur.)”: from Gómez Ortín 1991:51, being a var. of **en horre**, q.v.

**ant** (Ct.) and **(d)ante** or **anta** (Cs.) “an African antelope (but presently said of buck-skin)”: < And. *lāmī* < Naf. *lamī*, prob. of the

same Br. origin. The optional initial consonant is mere result of metanalysis in the syntagm **adarga de ante**, i.e., shields made out of the skin of that antelope, very famous and appreciated in Al-Andalus, while the form without that consonant has dropped the /l/ through metanalysis of an Ar. article.

**antamilla**: see **altamía**.

**anteislámico**: see **islam**.

**antimoni** (Ct.), **antimonio** (Cs. and Gl.) and **antimónio** (Pt.) “antimony”: < Ar. *imīd* or *imūd*, < Eg. >*smty*<, through And. *aymād*, the Lt. transcription of which has undergone a gradual process of distortion through bookish transmission, \**atimīd* > \**atimōi* > *antimonium*.<sup>465</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct. and Pt. **antimonial**; Ct.: **antimoniar**, **antimonic**, **antimonina**, **antimonit** and **antimoniós**; Pt.: **antimoniad/to**, **antimónico**, **antimonífero**, **antimonioso** and **antimonite**.

**antipapa**: see **papa**.

**antisemita**, **antisemítico(o)** and **antisemitismo/o**: see **semita**.

**antoqui** “(a stone) native of ... Antioch”: is an unassimilated technical term, of GP 58, a hybridization of the Ar. gentilic *anāḳī* and its Lt. equivalent, *Antiochenus*.

**anuba**: see **arroba**².

**anúbada** or **anúteba** (Cs., with the var. in LHP 52: **annubd/ta**, **abnud/lba**, **adnuba**, **annub/pta**, **annuteba**, **annutu(b/u)a**, **anu(b)da**, **anubt(u)a**, **anu(mp)da**, **anupd/ta**, **anutuba**, **anutva**, **nubdua**, and **adnutuba**, **a(d)nutuba**, **an(n)ubda**, **annu(b)teba**, **annud/tuba**, **annudubera**, **annud/tuua**, **an(n)upta**, **nubdeira**, **anu(m)pda** and **anutva**, (Leo., from DO 218) and **anúduva** (Pt.) “duty of making repairs in the city walls or paying a compensatory tribute; call to arms”: < And. *annūḍba* = Cl.Ar. *nudbah* “call (to arms); wailing”. Intra-Rom. der.: Ast. **anupderos** in García Arias 2006:55.

<sup>464</sup> This rendering again implies misunderstanding of *nasaq* “sequence” as And. *nazq* “shuttle”

<sup>465</sup> Thus explained by Bustamante 1998, with only two unattested phases, a first one in which *athmed* becomes \**atimīd*, and a second one, in which >*d*< is read as >*ñ*<, also assuming a displacement of the tilde to the preceding vowel.

It is also likely, especially in Ar. script, that /t/ was read as /nt/, and final /d/ as /n/, which might have happened at any moment in the process of adoption of the loanword, considering the manifold transcriptions, and possible unfruitful efforts to check the original form. The And. shape is witnessed by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī, who corrects it with the Cl.Ar. standard.

**anugar:** see (a)nigual.

**anutrado** “lustrous”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:51), from And.Rom. \*AD+*NUTRÁT*, dealt with in connection with **trechel** in Corriente 2005:230.

**anxahar** (Old Cs.) “jackal”: this word, documented by a fable in *Calila e Dimna*, is so uncommon that even in the Ar. text required an interpretation by a more frequent synonym in the very heading of the matching story, in which it does not appear a second time. The etymon is Ar. *šagħar*, with a questionable allomorph *šagħbaz*, which some lexicographers consider incorrect; this proves the extreme rarity of this term, prob. gleaned by Ibn Almuqaffaʿ, translator of this work from Pahl., as if to demonstrate his lexical proficiency. It is, therefore, striking that it found its way to Cs., even with a mistaken shape for \***anxabar**.

**anxaneta:** see **atzanet**.

**anxixin:** see **asesino**.

**anzarote** (Cs., missing in DRAE, after Eguílaz, with the worse var. **azaro** and **azarote**), and **angelot** (Ct.) “sarcocolla”: is a bookish scientific term borrowed from Ar. *šanẓarūt* < Neo-P. *anzarut*.

**añacal** (Cs.) “carrier of wheat to mills; board for carrying bread to the baker’s”: < And. *annaqqāl* = Cl.Ar. *naqqāl* “carrier”. Pt. (only in Moraes) *anacala* “female servant who carried the bread to the baker’s” derives from the matching fem.<sup>466</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **añacalero**. Cf **anaquel**.

**añacea** (Cs, with the old var. in GP 57, **annaze(h)a**) “pleasure party”: < And. *annazāha* < Cl.Ar. *nuzhah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **añacear**; Ast.: **añaciari**; Pt.: **anacear**.

**añafaga:** see **anafaga**.

**añafea:** see **alafaia**.

**añafil:** see **anafil**.

(a)**ñagaza** (Cs.) and **negaça** (Pt., with the var. **ana/egaça**) “decoy; trick”: < And. *annaqqāza*, documented in the same sense

in *Vocabulista in arabico*, < Cl.Ar. *naqqāz* “jumping bird”, as decoy birds were usually tied with a rope, from which they tried to break loose by jumping.

**añascar** (Cs., with an old var. **an(n)ascar**, in GP 56)<sup>467</sup> “to collect small items; to entangle”, **añiesgar** “to cut fabrics on the bias” (Ast.-Leo., in García Arias 2006:186): < And.Rom. \*A(D)+*nasag*+*AR*, denominative hybrid verb formed on And. *naság* = Cl.Ar. *nasag* “array, sequence”. The word **nesga** (Cs., Gl., Pt. and Arag., with the phonetic var. Anz. **neja**) “triangular piece of material added to a garment” is prob. a denominal thereof. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **añasco** (and Old Cs. **annascador** and **annascamiento**, in GP 56); Leo.: **anesgao** “garment with nesgas”

**añasquear:** see **nezcre**.

**añazme** (Cs.) “anklet”: < And. *annāẓm* = Cl.Ar. *naẓm* “string of a necklace”, a meaning still preserved in the *xarjah* A11.<sup>468</sup>

**añeclín:** see **naquera**.

**añiaga:** see **anafaga**.

**añigal(eh):** see **doñegal**.

**añil(ar)** and **añilería:** v. **anil**.

**año y vez:** see **añoover**.

**añogaleh:** see **doñegal**.

**añoover** “rotation of fallows” (Nav.): seems to be And. *annawbāt* = Cl.Ar. *nawbāt* “the turns”. By folk etymology, in Tol. this item has become **año y vez** “year and turn”

**aojalá:** see **ojalá**.

**aorra/o** and **aorrar:** see **aforra**.

**apacón:** see **abegão**.

**apapol:** see **ababol**.

**apargata/e:** see **alpargata**.

**apaxar** (Gl.) “to fondle; to paw”: < And. *paššāš* “to flatter”, in which Lt. *pascere* “to calm down” appears contaminated by And. *píšša* “penis” (cf. **picha**), of onomatopoeic And.Rom. origin, in relation with masturbation. From the same origin is coarse Cs. **paja**<sup>469</sup> of this meaning, seemingly reflecting \**pášša* in Mudejar or Morisco slang.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. And. *naqqāla* “the baker’s wife”, in Alonso del Castillo.

<sup>467</sup> But some contexts in this work rather suggest an Ar. etymon *annasj* “weaving”, with ob-

struant pronunciation of *jīm*, particularly frequent in the vicinity of sibilants, after AAR 53.

<sup>468</sup> See Corriente 1997a:282–283.

<sup>469</sup> See Corriente 1993b:286 and fn. 19.

**aphi/y** “a Hebrew dry measure”: is an unassimilated Biblical term, from DAX 801, < Hb. *ēpāh*, through Gr. *ēiphi*, by bookish transmission.

**aprangir**: see **atacir**.

**aprea**: see **alhebrie**.

**aqueivar**: see **alqueive**.

**aquilatamiento** and **aquilatar**: see **quilate**.

**àrab** and **aràbic** (Ct.), **árabe** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the old var. **árab/vo** and **arábío**) and **arabio** (Cs.) “Arab(ian); Arabic”: were transmitted through Lt. and Gr., only indirectly derived from Ar. *šarabī*, through Northwest Semitic or Ak. On the contrary, the Cs. synonym **arabí** is a direct reflex of And. *šarabí*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **arábic/go** and **arabización**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **arabesco**, **arabismo**, **arabista** and **arabizar**; Ct.: **arabesc**, **arabià**, **arabista**, **arabisme**, **arabització**, **arabitzar** and **desarabitzar**; Pt.: **arabesca(r)**, **arábico** or **arávigo** and **arabina**. Cf. **alarb(i)**, **alarbe**, **alárabe** and **algarabía**.

**arabesc(a/o)** and **arabescar**: see **àrab**.

**arabí**: see **àrab**.

**arabi**: see **rabí** and **arbm**.

**arabía**: see **algarabía** and **arabim**.

**aràbic**, **arábí(c/g)o**, **arabina**, **arabisme/o**, **arabista**, **arabización**, **arabí(t)zar**, **arabització**, **árabo** and **arabio**: see **àrab**.

**araboga** (Arag.) “short shower”: this term from Sariñena might be a hybridization with the Rom. pejorative suffix **/+ÓK/** of And. *xal-láb* “deceitful” (cf. Cl.Ar. *xullab* “clouds containing no rain”).

**arabullos**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**araca**: see **araque**.

**araclán**: see **alacrán**<sup>1</sup>.

**arañl (higo or higuera—, Anl.)** “a variety of fig (tree)”: has an appropriate appearance for an Ar. loanword, defined only as having an oblong and black fruit. Phonetically, it would be possible to derivate it from *lañil* < And. Rom. *LATÉL*, a dim. of Lt. *lātus* “large”,<sup>470</sup> with dissimilation of sonorants and An. loss of intervocalid /d/, also semantically suitable.

**arales**: see **arralha**.

**arambel**: see **alfámbar**.

**arambol**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**arameo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **arameu** (Ct. and Pt.) “Aramean; Aramaic”: < Lt. *Arāmaeus* < Hb. *ārāmi*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **aramaico**.

**arancel** (Cs. and Gl.) and **aranzel** (Ct. and Pt.) “customs duties; tariff”: < And. *ali/anzāl* (better reflected by the Old Cs. var. **ala/encel**) < Cl.Ar. *inzāl* “lodging”, which was said in principle of the duty of lodging troops in campaign, (e.g., in IQ 68/10/3, featuring a mouse set up in the poet’s unused kitchen ware “by *inzāl*”), but later became the designation of certain tributes. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **arancelario**; Ct.: **aranzelari**.

**aranda/el** “shed; shack” (Anz. and Anl.): in its cauda prob. contains And. *zill* = Cl.Ar. *zill* “shade, shadow”, but the onset of this item is not obvious. We would suggest the phrase \**maḥáll azzill* “place in the shade”, with loss of the initial nasal by metanalysis in contact with the Cs. indefinite article (\**un m+alandel*), as in the case of our proposal for **anaquel**.

**arandela** and **arandillo**: see **andorina**.

**aranger(a)**, **arangí**, **aranja** and **aranjat**: see **laranja**.

**aranza** “sieve” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:58): is a var. of **zaranda** with the phenomenon described in DAI 44.

**aranzel**: see **arancel**.

**araque** (Pt., with the var. **araca**) “brandy; anisette”: is a contemporary borrowing of the 18th c., possibly transmitted through Fr., < Neo-Ar. *šaraq* or its Tr. reflex *arak*. From the same ultimate etymon are (or)**raca** and **raque** (Pt.) “brandy”, dating from the 16th c., and used in India, transmitted in this case through Hindi *araq* < Neo-P. *šaraq*.

**arar** (Cs.): the oldest witness of this word is in Mármol, in the 16th c., according to Coromines, which suggests a borrowing from Mor. *šaršar*, a species of sandarac tree (*Calitris quadrivalvis*) or thuja (*Tetraclinis articulata*), it being noteworthy that in Standard and Eastern Ar. *šaršar* designates the common

<sup>470</sup> The item appears in Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:107 and 2007:170, and its ety-

mon in Corriente 2000–2001:150, which would now be clarified, if this hypothesis were correct.

juniper (*Juniperus communis*), a meaning also recorded by DRAE and Moliner, although missing in DA. It is, therefore, probable that this entry be due to a proposal by a collaborator of the RAE, who merely resorted to a dictionary of standard Ar., as the only other Western language reflecting this item is Eng., with a rare and highly technical "arar tree" exclusively said of that var. of thuja obviously borrowed from North Africa. The matching Eastern Ar. name of the first plant is *\*san-darak* or *\*sandarūs*, after Bedevian, while Ġālib is aware of two different plants, identified as *Tetraclinis articulata* and *Callitris*, respectively.

**arat araroça** "the brid's sweat": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 58, < Neo-Ar. *šaraq alšarūsah*, a metaphor for "tal", after DS II:120.

**aravi**: see **rabí**.

**aravia(r)**: see **algarabía**.

**arávigo**: see **àrab**.

**arazú** and **arazuz**: see **alcaçuz**.

**arbacora**: see **albácora**.

**arbal**: see **albar**.

**arbañal**: see **albelló**.

**arbañil**: see **albanel**.

**arbe**: the old Biblical name of the town of Hebron, *Qiryat Arba* < Hb. *qiryat arbāš*, possibly "fourfold town" appears in DAX 201, distorted as **carianth arbe**.

**arbelcorán**: see **alboquerón**.

**arbelló(n)**: see **albelló**.

**arbm** and **arabi** (Pt., only in Morais) "coarse woollen fabric; peasant's clothes": appears to reflect Ar. *šarabī*, in the meaning of "Bedouin"; the borrowing, at least in the first case, points to a Naf. origin.

**arbitana**: see **albitana**.

**arbolario** "foolish" (Mur. and Can.): is prob. a der. from the And. etymon of **alam-bor**, **harbullar**, etc., q.v. (cf. **averolo**).

**arboleja**: see **algleja**.

**arbolón** and **arbullón**: see **albelló**.

**arborbola**: see **alborbola**.

**arca**: see **alarca**.

**arcabol**: see **alcabor**.

**arcacil**: see **alcaucí**.

**arcaduz(ar)**: see **alcaduz**.

**arcandorea**: see **alcandorea**.

**arcanduz**: see **alcaduz**.

**arcanela**: see **alcanela**.

**arcarde**: see **alcadi**.

**arcasil**: see **alcaucil**.

**arcatraz**: see **alcatraz**.

**arcazaba**: see **alcaçaba**.

**arcazón** "osier-twig" (Anl., already in DRAE): this heretofore unsolved etymological crux might be clarified by assuming that Lt. *salicacrum* "woody nightshade (*Solanum dulcamara*)", generated And.Rom. *\*ŠALQAST+ÚN* with dissimilation of the second sonorant and an aug. suffix, whence easily, following the tendencies of And. low registers,<sup>471</sup> a *\*šalqassún*, which would have lost its first syllable by aphaeresis, as in **alcorroc** (q.v.) and in the And.Rom. match of Cs. **jaguarzo** "rockrose" in the *xarjah* A20.<sup>472</sup> In fact, this hypothesis would also solve the etymological problem of this Cs. word and of Pt. **sargaço** (borrowed by Cs. as **sargazo**), as Coromines suspected, since it becomes evident that an And.Rom. *\*ŠAWQÁŠRO*, through repeated metathesis, has generated And. *šaqwárs*, whence **jaguarzo** "Cistus clusii" (with a repercussive var. **juaguarzo**), while **sargaço** has resulted from a quite normal evolution in Gl.-Pt., with a different kind of metathesis and dissimilation of /w/. Gl. **chaguazo** "a kind of water rockrose" would be of the same origin, despite its semantic evolution.

**arcetrelum**: see **acéter**.

**archam**: see **alhem**.

**archí** (Cs.) "sergeant major of the Algerian Janissaries, in charge of administration": prob. < Tr. *\*harççi*, not recorded in the dic-

<sup>471</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.1.3.

<sup>472</sup> See PD 289–90 and fn. 120, where *šaqwá(r)s* is reflected as *wárs*, a reading to be now held as secure and definitive, although the /r/-less form is standard in And. after DS. We suggested metanalysis and elimination of the

And. word *\*šáqq*, which would also happen in **arcazón**, even in *\*šaq+qurrúq* (cf. **alcorroc**), considering the frequent loss of /r/ in this position, and starting from *\*šaq+qassún*, with subsequent restoration of the sonorant, taken from the Ar. article.

tionaries, but regularly formed with the suffix of nouns of profession on *harç* < Ar. *xarj* "living expenses"

**archibebe**: see **algibebe**.

**archigenis**, **arquegane** and **charigenis** "a magistral attributed to Archigenes": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:208–209, spelled in Ar. as *arkaḡānīs*.

**archipenque** and **archiperre(s)**: see **alchiperre**.

**archiquez** "archdeacon": de GP 58, < And. *arçiq̄ss*.<sup>473</sup>

**arciche**: see **aciche**.

**arcidriche**: see **acedrenche**.

**arco de Santiago** and **arquitu de Dioh** (Ext.), **arc de Sant Martí**, (Ct., imitated in Mur. as **arco de San Martín**, and as **arco de San Juan** in Tarazona and its region, in Aragón) "rainbow".<sup>474</sup> are all semantic calques of the Neo-Ar. euphemisms *qaws allāh* / *annabī* ("God's / the Prophet's arch"), etc.<sup>475</sup>

**arcó**: see **alcohol**.

**arcolla**: see **alcolla**.

**arcotana**: see **alcotana**.

**arcucil**: see **alcaucil**.

**ardacho**: see **alfardacho**.

**ardalear** (Cs.) "to be small or scarce (the grapes in their bunches)": < And. *xárdal* "to pick grapes from the bunches" < Cl.Ar. *xar-dal* "to give the best part of a dish" Therefore, Nebrija's spelling, **hardalear**, is more correct. From the same etymon are **alhel/rear** "to produce small sour grapes" (Anz.) and An. **aljareo** "small grapes in the bunch not reaching maturity" (Garulo 1983:181), haploglogically corrupted from \***alharda/el(e)ar**.

<sup>473</sup> The data of Nykl in GP, Simonet 1889: cxxx and DAA 427 corroborate the sway of *q̄iss* over *quss*, for the Ar. segment of this hybrid, in disagreement with the latter work, p. 10.

<sup>474</sup> According to Gargallo 1985:20.

<sup>475</sup> Following the Prophet's recommendation, according to a tradition transmitted by *Lisān al-Karīm* III 81, exhorting to substitute this idiom for the original designation, *qawsu quzah* "Quzah's", as this was a pre-Islamic idol or devil, whose mention should be avoided, i.e., a *ḥudūd* attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās: "Do not say 'Quzah's arch', because Quzah is the name of a devil; but

**ardiens** (Ct.), **arrede** (Cs., in DAX 214) "a Moorish garment": < And. *arridá* < Cl.Ar. *ridāʾ*. From the same etymon are **redí** (Cs.) "curtain", an unassimilated word, excerpted by Eguílaz from the Alhambra archives (cf. *ridí* in Alcalá), and the compound **arritacaçavi**, in LHP 66, < Neo-Ar. *ridāʾ qaṣabī* "a cloak embroidered in gold or silver", commented upon in Corriente 2004b:78.

**árdiga** "diligent woman" (Ext.): < And. *ḥāḡiqa* = Cl.Ar. *ḥāḡiqah* "skilled".<sup>476</sup> As for **ardigo** "skilled; bold, brave" (Sal., from Ciudad Rodrigo), it seems to be the same term, although exhibiting an unusual stress shift, perhaps due to contamination with **ardido** "courageous". Cf. **alicates**.

**ardurán**: see **adora**.

**área** and **areña(r)**: see **alaría**.

**area**: see **alhebríe**.

**areala**: see **alifara**.

**areffatu** or **aressatu** "rotula, knee-pan": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Ar. *arradḡah*. Cf. **alarsafe**.

**arehach** "adolescence": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera, < *arriḡah*.

**arestin**: see **alureschin**.

**arfár** (Gl.) "to pant; to raise or lower the head (said of horses)", (Anl., Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "to raise or lower the head (said of horses)": might derive from a denominative And. Rom. hybrid verb \**A(D)+lahaq+ÁR*, formed on And. *laháq* < Cl.Ar. *lahṭ* "panting", with voicing and subsequent intra-Rom loss of the intervocalic dental. The second meaning would be metaphorical, as those movements

say 'God's arch' This connection with Islamic tradition is also witnessed by the following song still used in La Mancha: **Cuando llueve y hace frío, sale el arco del judío; cuando llueve y hace barro, sale el arco del diablo; cuando llueve y hace sol, sale el arco del Señor**, i.e., "When it rains and the weather is cold, the Jew's arch appears; when it rains and it is sunny, God's arch appears" (recorded from the familiar circle of Dr. Ferreras).

<sup>476</sup> The survival of this term amidst Cs.-speaking Moriscos is witnessed by the text mentioned in Corriente 1990b:108, 39v.

in horses, compared with ship pitching, are caused by utter tiredness; Pt. also has other meanings, like “to tremble”, “to rise on the hind legs” (a var. of **alfar**, both in Cs. and Pt.) and, dialectally, “to dry (a fruit)”, according to Coromines. It appears to be a genuine Gl.-Pt. word, merely borrowed by Cs., but there are unclear phonetic and semantic contaminations. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **arfada**; Gl.: **arfante**; Pt.: **arfadura** and **arfagem**.

**arfil**: see **alfil**.

**arfler**: see **alfiler**.

**argadells**, **argadelo**, **argaderas**, **argadijo**, **argadillo**, **argafillo**, **argadiellu** and **argados**: see **algaderas**.

**argaira**: see **algaida**.

**argamandel** (Cs.) “rag” and **haraman-deleh** “head-to-foot female garments” (Ext., with phonetic and semantic evolution of the standard, maybe contaminated by **arambel**, q.v.s.v. **alfāmbar**): prob. < And. *xīrqaṭ mandīl* < Cl.Ar. *xīrqaṭu mindīl* “rag of a cloth”, although the documentation is insufficient. There is a Cs. var. **argamandijo** “tools, utensils”

**argamula** (Cs.), **algamula** (Tol. and Ext.), and **argumula** (Can.): “dyer’s bugloss, alkanet (*Anchusa tinctoria*)”: is a metathesis of And. *alḥālūm* < Neo-Ar. *ḥālūm*, either assuming a n.un., or with a paralogical /el/, subsequently turned into /al/. The first form exists in dial. Pt., interpreted by Morais as “forage for swine”

**argamussa** “bunch of grapes” (Maj. from Felanitx): appears to derive indeed from Lt. *rācēmus*, although not through the Iberian Peninsula, which would have required derivation from the accusative and palatalization of /k/, but via North Africa, where a Br. borrowing, *\*arkāmus*, might have spread

locally, passed on into And., and formed a n.un. *\*arkamūsa*, in the Balearic Islands, where the Br. settlement was significant, as in the whole Eastern region of Al-Andalus.<sup>477</sup>

**argán** and **erguén** (Cs.) “argan tree (*Argania* spp.)”: is a contemporary reflex of Br. *argan*, occasionally mentioned by the medieval And. botanists as (*h*)*arjān*, though exclusively as the Br. name of a North African plant.

**argasema**: see **alfazema**.

**argatero** “idler”, (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:59): seems to reflect an And.Rom. hybrid *\*ḥarakat*+*ĀYR* “clever”, whence also Cs. **zaragatero**, with the phenomenon explained in 1.1.4.4.2, and possible influence on **sargata**, q.v.

**argel** (Pt.) “(horse) with spots in the feet”, (Cs.) “(horse) whose right hind foot is white”: < And. *\*arjāl* = Cl.Ar. *arjal* “(horse) with white spots in one of the hind feet”

**argelaga** (Ct.), (**a**)**ulaga**, **aliaga** and **abo/ulaga** (Cs.) and **agulaga** (Anl.) “furze, gorse (*Genista* or *Ulex* spp.)”: can all derive from And. *abyilāqa*, by mere dissimilation of the second /l/ in **aliaga**, or from an allophone *\*aljilāqa*, which can be posited as the result of vulgar shifts between /j/ and /y/;<sup>478</sup> whence **argelaga** by dissimilation of sonorants; the remaining forms would derive from And.Rom. *\*AW(II)LĀQA*, with vocalization of the /l/ of the Ar. article, frequent in Ar. loanwords, especially although not exclusively in Ct., and loss of pretonic syllable (cf. **adrar**, **morcilla**, etc.). The main issue is, then, the origin of that And. term, which botanists (e.g., *Kitābu Sumdati ḥabīb*, see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:101, 121 and 580, N° 1042, 1375 and 5056, and 2007:161, 198 and 765) declare synonymous with And. *jāwlaq(a)*<sup>479</sup> < Cl.Ar. *jaw-*

<sup>477</sup> Br. loanwords in And. have not been properly surveyed, as Br. itself in general, by most scholars who have dealt with Ar. loanwords in Ibero-Rom. Besides the genuine Br. loanwords of And., occasionally transmitted to Rom., e.g., Ct. **atzagaia**, **gorgoto** and Cs. **azagaya**, **gorguz** and **tragacete**, about which the main reference is presently Ferrando 1997, superseding Corriente 1981b, it is also necessary to consider cases in which Ar. loanwords may have been affected by substratal Br., e.g., **anfós**, **alatzà**, **farfant**, **etziñar**, etc., with at times unmistakable traits, like the

/z/ reflex of /s/, not to mention more complex subjects, such as the possible influence of that substratum in the voicing of /ḥ/ and /ʕ/ (see 1.1.3.2.1, fn. 26) or the agglutination of the Ar. article in the Ar. loanwords of Rom. (see 1.3.1.1).

<sup>478</sup> Characteristic of And.Rom.; see AAR 2.1.2.5.2.4.

<sup>479</sup> Such is the stress position recorded by Alcalá, but it must be remembered that this position is hesitant in the sequences CvCCvC, following conflicting tendencies, prob. dial. (see AAR 2.1.3.1.4 and SK 3.1.11).



*laq* of Pahl. origin, represented by Neo-P. *jule*. In the well-known historical circumstances in which And. emerged, in a society which continued to use Rom. for centuries, it is just as possible that \**y/jiláqa* resulted from *jáwlaq* by reduction of the diphthong<sup>480</sup> and palatalization of the new vowel,<sup>481</sup> as a haplology of \**ÓLĈ(E)* *jáwlaqa*, a hypothetical hybrid designation made up by the And.Rom. reflex of Lt. *ulex* and its Ar. equivalent, an item too long, naturally prone to abbreviation, which was achieved by altering and metanalyzing the first syllable as an Ar. article and eliminating the third by haplology, thus obtaining a triconsonantal structure. We are aware that these are indeed too many changes, not all of them frequent, and that as Coromines pointedly argues, this plant being characteristically Hispanic, it would be strange that it should bear a foreign name. However, for the time being, there is no better etymological solution, and also the very Hispanic *retama* "broom" is an indisputable Ar. loanword, while the great scholar's endeavours to prove that the Arabic and previously Persian word is of Hispanic origin, are vain. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *a(b)ulagar* and *ulaguiño*; Ct.: *argelagada*, *argelagar*, *argelagó*, *argelagós*, *argelaguer(a)* and *argelaguet*. Cf. *verdolaga*.

*argelino* (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. *argeliano*), *arxelino* (Gl.) and *algerí* or *algerià* (Ct.) "Algerian": is a gentile formed on Naf. *a āyr* < Cl.Ar. *aljazā'ir* "the Islands", name given to that city and the country of which is the capital.

*argute*: see *algebre*.

*argiuhai*: see *alargiuh*.

*argobía*: see *agovía*.

*argola* (Gl. and Pt.) and *argolla*<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Ct., borrowed from Cs.) "ring, hoop": < And. *algulla* < Cl.Ar. *gull* "iron collar". Ast. *argolla*<sup>2</sup> "narrow alley used as a latrine", in García Arias 2006:23, is very interesting because of its semantic closeness to Can. *hacer argollas* "to be away from one's duties", as if gone to relieve nature: apparently, there is no relation with the more prevalent first meaning, but an old And.Rom. hybrid word, \**harq+ÓLA*,

formed with the dim. suffix added to And. *hárq* "pouring", euphemistically used for micturition, as recorded in DAA 549.<sup>482</sup> Intra-Rom. ders.: Cs.: *argolleta* and *argollón*; Ct.: *argollada*, *argollam/r* and *argollot*; Gl.: *argolar*; Pt.: *argolada*, *argolagem*, *argolão*, *argolar*, *argoleiro*, *argolinha* and *argolista*. Cf. *alcarque*.

*argoleta*: see *alcolla*.

*argolinha* and *argolista*: see *argola*.

*argolla*: see *argola* and *arcolla*.

*argollada*, *argollam/r* and *argolleta*: see *argola*.

*argollón*: see *arbullón* and *argola*.

*argollot*: see *argola*.

*argorio*: see *alborín*.

*arguaza*: see *aguaza*.

*arguazil*: see *aguasil*.

*arguell* "rickets" (Ct. dialects of Val. and Ribagorza), *arguello* (Arag.) and *arguillo* (Nav.) "physical deterioration" and *arguel-lar* (Arag) "to deteriorate physically; to get hopelessly dirty" and *arguillar(se)* (Nav.) "to deteriorate physically": are indeed better rooted in Aragon, whence no doubt they were taken by Ct., as well as the der. *arquellado* "rachitic" (Anz. and Anl.). But its etymon is not Ar. \**qillah* "scarcity", as it used to be said, because this does not tally well with all the meanings, particularly that of "to get hopelessly dirty"; for this reason, we think that the basic word *arguellar*, whence the verbal nouns, has originated from a hybridization of And. *xaláq* = Cl.Ar. *xalaq* "worn out cloth, rag", with the Rom. suffixes of dim. and infinitive, i.e., \**xalaq+EL+ÁR* "to turn into a rag". The pronunciation \**argüello*, registered by some editions of DRAE, and in Ast. as "property owner incurring in too many debts; dirty ring around the collar; field full of thistles", is prob. mistaken, as Coromines says, although considering that is also documented for Aragon in Alquézar, its actual existence cannot be excluded, as the consequence of a contamination. This could have happened with the word appearing in Ast. as *argüeyu* "outcry", possibly < And. *alwáyl* = Cl. *alwayl* "wailing"

<sup>480</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.4.2.

<sup>481</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.1.7.

<sup>482</sup> See also *alc/farque*.

Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **arguellament** and **arguellar**. Cf. **fargallo**.

**arguillar(se)** and **arguillo**: see **arguell**.

**arguilló** and **argullón**: see **albelló**.

**arhoritiz** "silver ore": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 207, corrupted, prob. through Syr. and Ar., from Gr. *arguritis*, of which **aryuritaz** in DAX 222 might be a var.

**aria**: see **alaria**.

**aricel**: see **alizar**.

**arife<sup>1</sup>** and **arise** (Anl.) "vine tendril": are phonetic var. of standard **alarije**, q.v.

**arife<sup>2</sup>** "suffocating atmosphere" (Can.): is a term of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, recently borrowed from Br. *irifi* "thirst", also designating this weather condition.

**arije**: see **alarije**.

**arimez** (Cs.) "buttress; ornamental imitation thereof": < And. *alSimād* = Cl.Ar. *Simād* "apoyo". Cf. **coz**.

**ario** (Cs.) "Aryan": through Fr., < Sk. *arya* "member of one of the three upper castes"

**arise**, **aritja**, **arítjol** and **arixa**: see **alarije**.

**ar/ljau** (Ct.) "tiller": answers clearly to And. *rájl* of the same meaning, after *Vocabulista in arabico*, an information downgraded by Coromines to a mere helping factor in the distortion in Ct. of a word reflecting Gr. *olax*. He was prob. unaware of the frequent alternance in And. pronunciation of {*lā23*} and {*la2á3*},<sup>483</sup> suggesting the existence of a \**rajál*, whence the Ct. word, as apparently proved by the text of Aljaziri mentioned in connection with **leme**, q.v., corroborating such a meaning for this Ar. word.

**arjeña**: see **alfeña**.

**arjorán** (Cs.) "Judas tree" (*Cercis siliquastrum*): is an incorrect transmission, prob. bookish, of Ar. *arjuwān* < Neo-P. *arjawān* < Pahl. *argawān* < Aram. *argēwānā* < Ak. *argamannu[m]*, lit., "purple", ultimately from Hittite *arkamman* "tribute" Cf. **aljacuán**.

**arjez**: see **algeps**.

**arjibe**: see **alchub**.

**arjoz**: see **aljorce**.

**arjuma**: see **aljuma**.

**armacolla**: see **macolla**.

**armadia**: see **almadía**.

**armahc** "ash-coloured": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 208, said of some sakers, < Ar. *armak*, confirmed by Möller & Viré 1988:241.

**armajal** and **armajo**: see **almarjo**.

**armalá**: see **alfarma**.

**armará**: see **almacraz**.

**armarfega**: see **almáfega**.

**armayzar**: see **almaissar**.

**armazém**, **armazenar**, **armazenário**, **armazeneiro** and **armazenista**: see **almacén**.

**armelado** and **arمله**: see **almilla**.

**armenaque**: see **almanaque**.

**armería**: see **almadía**.

**armethrelin**: see **altherel**.

**armiba**: see **almfbar**.

**armitana** and **armitaño**: see **albitana**.

**armoja**: see **almofada**.

**arnaca** and **fa/ornaca** (Arag.) and **farnaca** (Ct.) "leveret": < And. *xárnaq* < Cl.Ar. *xirniq*, perhaps of Iranian origin,<sup>484</sup> with stress shift as a consequence of metanalysis of a pejorative Rom. suffix and evolution of the paragogical vowel into a fem. suffix, perhaps under the influence of the fem. Rom. gender of **liebre** "hare" Cf. **alfarnate**.

**arnadí** (Cs. and Ct.) "a sweetmeat": cannot derive from Ct. **arna** "moth", as propounded by Coromines, only because it is decorated with notches. As for the proposal of DRAE up to its latest edition, based on the gentile of Granada, it is not corroborated by And. cookery books, and such a var. of so common a word as *garnáti*, would be striking, although its vogue did not prevent the existence of the hapax *garnata/ixí* (= *garnatašit*) in Alcalá, with previous insertion of the Rom. pl. suffix, due to the fact that Granada was considered as a cluster of cities (cf. **fontegí** and **mortexi**). Besides, the dissimilation in And. of /g/ into /s/ in contours containing an /r/ is well documented.<sup>485</sup>

**arnafe**: see **anafe**.

<sup>483</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.1.

<sup>484</sup> Indemonstrable; however, the relation propounded by Coromines with Neo-P. \*\**xarguš*

"donkey's ear", merely based upon the length of the hare's ears, is very unlikely.

<sup>485</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.9.2.2.

**arnaúte** (Cs.) “Albanian”: prob. through It., from Tr. *arnavut* < Lgr. *Arbanútēs* < *Albanútēs*.<sup>486</sup>

**arneb**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 58, with the var. **ateneb** and **alarnab**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:159 as the constellation Lepus, < Ar. *arnab* “hare”

**arobda**: see **arrobda**.

**arobot**: see **aldesbad**.

**arocho** “wild boar smaller and more ferocious than the average” (Anz. and Anl.) and (j)**arocho** “small deer with antlers larger than usual; slovenly person” (Anl.): might derive from an allomorph \**har(r)új* (of the hypocoristic pattern [1a/u22ú3], not documented in this particular case, but frequently used in every Neo-Ar. dialect, on account of its expressive-ness), of And. *hárj* “wrathful”, from a root much used in that sense. The same etymon would befit Malagan **jarcho** “curt or insolent person”, Anl. **arocho** “nanny goat whose milk is sold”, Leo. **farcho** “bungled”, and **faro/ucho** “bungler” (with the der. **faruchar** “to botch”), **farota** (Cs. and Pt., prob. borrowed from Cs.) “bad-tempered woman”,<sup>487</sup> Cs. **feroche** “bad-tempered”, contaminated by **feroz** “ferocious”, (Cl.) **arraix** “stingy”, apparently mixed up with **arraix**, q.v.s.v. **arráez**, Mur. **enfa/urrunchase** “to get angry”, Anl. **farote** “too thin” and **farotón** “strong man”, Granadan **farute** “arrogant”, and Nav. **farrusco** “angry”, with metanalysis and intra-Rom. suffix substitution. In the light of this, it appears that the correct spelling of the items beginning with >j< should be with >h<.

<sup>486</sup> After Vasmer 1996: I 88, in connection with *arnaút* “hard wheat (*Triticum durum*)”, in Russian and Ukrainian.

<sup>487</sup> This word cannot derive from Ar. \*\**xarūt* “bad woman”, which former editions of DRAE converted conveniently into a non-existent \*\**xarūtah*; it has been corrected in the latest edition. The derivation of Sicilian *garuddu* “stubborn” from Ar. *xarūt*, recorded by Ineichen 1997:36 from Pellegrini 1972, and already suggested by Steiger 1932:158, who attributed this discovery to G. Gioeni in a work of 1889, is hard to demonstrate or to dismiss, on account of the scarce information having reached us on Siculo Ar., recently updated by Agius 1996. Curi-

**aroçuz**: is a var. of **alcaçuz** “liquorice”, q.v.; of course, the proposal in DAX 210 to identify it with **arroz** “rice” is sheer nonsense.

**aroeira**: see **adaroeira**.

**aromh** (with a var. **arrioh**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 59, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:99 with a star of Boötes, < Ar. *arrumh* “the spear”

**arquegane**: see **archigenis**.

**arquelfa** (Cs.): this hapax in Baena’s *Cancionero*,<sup>488</sup> heretofore never understood, appears to reflect And. *qárfa* (cf. Alcalá *quérfé*) < Cl.Ar. *qirfah* “cinnamon”

**arquellado**: see **arguell**.

**arquilar**: see **alquilé**.

**arquintiduz** “extract of a thorny tree used as an aphrodisiac”: from DAX 211, with a totally erroneous definition, is in truth a mere corruption, through at least Ar. *arxāqaynūs*, of Gr. *órchis kunós*, lit., “dog’s testicle”, i.e., “orchis”, never taller than a yard and absolutely thornless.

**arquiva**: see **alchub**.

**arraax**: see **erraj**.

**arrabá** (Cs.) “spandrel, ornamented space enclosing the arches of doors and windows”: is a poorly documented word, prob. a late learned borrowing witnessed only by Eguílaz without authorities, with an interesting spelling **arrabaa**. It might reflect a metonymy of Ar. *rabṣah* “box containing perfume or a copy of the Koran”, which would require penultima stress.

**arrabadam**: see **rabadà**.

ously enough, the latter author omits that term, which does not receive any support either from Malt., after the excellent dictionary of Aquilina 1987–90. At any rate, however, the South Italian data cannot be automatically extrapolated to the Iberian Peninsula; if at all, the Hispanic witnesses would speak in favour for that Sicilian word of an etymon in the root [hrj] also.

<sup>488</sup> Pero guarden que su caço / non sea palo d’adelfa / ca desiendo que es d’arquelfa / a muy muchos dan del maço “Let them beware lest their spoon be made of oleander wood, because many are struck with a mallet, pretending that it is a cinnamon stick”.

(ar)rabal and arrabalde (Cs., with the old var. *arra/eual* and *arraualde* in GP 60), *arrabade* (Gl. and Pt.), *arrab/ualde* and *raualde* (Ast., in García Arias 2006:24), *arraball(a)*, *arrabalde*, *arrauale*, *arreualde*, *arravalde* and *raualde* (Leo., in DO 221), and (ar)raval (Ct.) “suburb”: < And. *arrabád* = Cl.Ar. *rabād*. It is an Ar. loanword early admitted in Northern Rom., therefore still occasionally reflecting the lateral pre-standard articulation of /d/. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *arrabaleiro*; Ct.: (ar)raval, (ar)ravaleta, (ar)ravalenc and ravalet; Pt.: *arrabaldado*, *arrabaldeiro* and *arrabaldi(n)o*.

*arrabi*: see *rabi*.

*arrabil*, *arrabileiro* and *arrabilete*: see *rabec*.

*arracada*<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Ct. and Gl.), *arracades* (Arag., pl.), *arracaes* (Bie. and Ast.) and *arrecada* (Pt.) “earring with a long pendant”: prob. < And. *arraqqáda* “sleepy”,<sup>489</sup> as its length made it rest on the shoulders. From the same etymon is the metathetic *alcarrada*<sup>2</sup> (Pt.) meaning the same and “tuft of hair hanging out of the ears of some bovines”. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *arracader* and *arracadeta*.

*arracada*<sup>2</sup>: see *alcarrada*<sup>1</sup>.

*arracaderos* (Arag.) “superficial stones struck by the plough”: is a metonymy of And. *raqqád* “sleepy”, with Rom. suffixation. Cf. *arracada*<sup>1</sup>.

*arracaes*: see *arracada*<sup>1</sup>.

*arraçaz* “lead”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 60. Cf. *orçaz*.

*arracife*: see *arrafiz*.

*arraclabos*, *arraclán* and *arraclau*: see *alacrán*.

*arraconada*, *arraconador* and *arraconar*: see *racó*.

*arracova*: see *récova*.

*arráz* and *arra(ya)z* (Cs.), *arraix/x* (Ct.)<sup>490</sup> and *arraix* (Gl. and Pt.) “commander; skipper; foreman in some jobs”: < And. *arráyyis* < Cl.Ar. *raʿīs* “chief”. From the same etymon is Old Arag. \**arraico* “expert”, no doubt a bad reading of \**arraico*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *arraixeria*.

*arrafém/n*: see *reenes*.

*arrafiz* (Cs.) “cardoon” (*Cynara cardunculus*): is a metathetical form of the second constituent of *cardo arracife*,<sup>491</sup> < And. *arrašif* < *allašif*, a var. of *lašáf* = Cl.Ar. *lašaf*, reflected by Cs. *arrezafe* “spear-plume thistle (*Cirsium lanceolatum*”, contaminated by the Rom. prefix /RE+).

*arrahan*: see *arraian*.

*arrahax*: see *erraj*.

*arra/ehen*: see *reenes*.

*arrahhan*: see *arraian*.

*arraia(-miúda)* (Pt.) “populace”: its first constituent reflects And. *arrašīya* < Cl.Ar. *rašīyah* “subjects”, not its pl. *rašāyā*, suggested by Machado, rarely used until recent times with that connotation, notwithstanding the stress retrogression, a normal intra-Rom. phenomenon in this kind of sequence.

*arraial* (Gl. and Pt.) “camp; encampment; hamlet” and *real* (Cs. and Pt.) “camp” and “fenced orchard” (Mur.): are all der., with semantic evolution, from And. (ar)*rahāl* < Cl.Ar. *rahl* (whence also Ct. *rafal* and Arag. *rafal(la)* “sheep-fold”), in principle meaning the camel packsaddle and belongings therein contained, which are unloaded on the ground at every halt, thus becoming the name of cattle pens, sheds and hamlets. The Pt. word, more recent than its Cs. counterpart, appears to derive from a hybrid form there, *arreal*, con-

<sup>489</sup> Actually witnessed in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs, as >*ryqlāt dhh*< “golden earrings of this type”: see Ferrando 1995:140. Ar. has never known a semantically similar \*\*\**qarrāt*, posited by Steiger, DRAE and Coromines, who thought, following Eguílaz, that such a word could be deducted from *qurārit* “carats” in IQ 68/3/3: curiously enough, although Coromines takes exception to the phonetically altogether unsatisfactory derivation of DE, based

on \*\**alʿaqrāt*, pl. of \*\**qurʿ*, he still mentions it, though bracketed, as if lending support to his own proposal.

<sup>490</sup> However, a recent consultation with additional data by Dr. Bramón reveals that the >*x*< spellings are contaminated from *arraix*, q.v.s.v. *arocho*.

<sup>491</sup> Documented in Alcalá as *cardurrecif*, prob. a folk etymology; see AAR 2.1.2.5.2 about /r/ > /ʀ/ in And.

taminated by the adjective **real** “royal (tent or camp)” and the pl. substantive **arreos** “accessories”, which explains every phonetic anomaly, although the influence of the prefix {re-}, as in many other Ar. loanwords expected to begin with **ra-**, cannot be excluded. From the same etymon is **rafeiro** (Pt.) “sheepdog”, hybridized with Rom. suffixation upon the meaning of “flock” of the And. etymon, with a phonetic evolution absolutely normal in that area, with loss of intervocalic /l/. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **arraialesco**. Cf. **re(h)ala**.

**arraian** (Gl.), **arraião** (Pt.), **arrayán** (Cs., with old var. in GP 59, **arrahan**, **arreham**, **arrayhan** and **arrahhan** and, from GP 60, **arreham(al)es** and **arraiján** (Anz. and Anl.) “myrtle (*Myrtus communis*)”: < And. *arrayhán* = Cl.Ar. *rayhān*. From the same origin apparently, with a gentilic suffix, is **arraijání** (Anz., stress unmarked in the source, and Anl.) “clayey slate with veins of calcspar”, a metaphor of the optical effect caused by the white flowers on a dark green background of that plant. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrayanal**.

**arraico**: see **arráez**.

**arraiján**: see **arraian**.

**arrail**: see **alelí**.

**arraix/x** and **arraixeria**: see **arráez**.

**arralha** (Pt., only in Eguílaz and Morais) “two-year-old heifer”: might be a hybrid with the Rom. dim. suffix of And. *árxa* = Cl.Ar. *a/irx(ah)* of the same meaning,<sup>492</sup> considering other cases of result /rr/ for /rf/ (e.g., **garra**, **márrega**, etc.) and the high frequency of Ar. loanwords in the realm of cattle-raising (cf. **rexelo**, **alabão**, **ceiba**, etc.). From the same origin apparently is Cs. **eral**, fem. **erala**, and pl. **arales** (Lit., in an Arag. document) “head of cattle between one and two years old”, words heretofore etymologically unsolved, hybridized in this case with a Rom. adjectival suffix.

**arramal**: see **alarar**.

**arramblador**, **arramblament** and **arramblar(e)**: see **rambla**.

**arramec** “wielding a lance” (with the var. **arrameh**) and **alrameh**): is an unassimilated

astronomical term, from GP 60, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:105 as Neo-Ar. *assamak arrāmih*, Alpha Boötis.

**arrami**: see **alaramy**.

**arranarse** “to pass out”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:61): reflects a hybrid And.Rom. \**AD+rašn+AR* “to weaken”, as explained in Corriente 2005a:231.<sup>493</sup>

**arranclán**: see **alacrán**.

**arraqui** “pouring (wine)”: is an unassimilated term, from GP 60, < Ar. *arrāqī*.

**arraquib** (**açoraya**) “watcher of the Pleiades”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 60, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:97 and 46 as Alpha Aurigae, < Neo-Ar. *raqib aṭṭurayyā*.

**arraquive**: see **arrebique**.

**arraqiz** “dancer” (with the var. **al(a)raqiz** and **alraqiç**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 60, identified by Kunitzsch as My Draconis, < Ar. *arrāqīš*.

**arras**: see **albaroque**.

**arrate**, **arrela** or **arrelde** (Cs.), **arrelde** (Ast., pl., in García Arias 2006:24), **arrátel** (Pt.), **arrate** (Nav. but apparently no longer understood) and **rotol** (Mur.)<sup>494</sup> “pound”, **ralde** “a weight unit of 5 kgs.” (Nav.): < And. *arráṭil* = Cl.Ar. *raṭīl* < Gr. *litra*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **arratelar**.

**arrauda** “orchard”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 60, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:97 and 86 as a gap between two groups of stars called in Ar. *annasaq* “the sequence”, < Ar. *arrawḍah*.

**arraual**, **arraval(enc)**, **arravaler** and **arravaleta**: see **arrabal**.

**arravatada**, **arravatament** and **arravatar**: see **ravata**.

**araxe** (with the var. **arrex(h)e**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 60, identified by Kunitzsch with **bathnalhoth**, q.v., < Ar. *arrišāl* “rope”

**arrayán** and **arrayanal**: see **arraian**.

**arra(ya)z**: see **arráez**.

**arrayhan**: see **arraian**.

**arreala**: see **re(h)ala**.

<sup>492</sup> See Corriente 1989b:103 and fn. 46, about its Sar. kinship.

<sup>493</sup> Where the witnesses of the root /rʃn/ are

now increased with **alrahune**, q.v.

<sup>494</sup> Retrieved by Pocklington 1984:291–292, with velarization of the vowel (see AAR 2.1.1.1.2).

**arreate:** see **arriate**.

**arreez:** see **arricés**.

**arrebatacapas, arreatadizo, arrebata(do)r, arreatadura, arreatam(i)ento, arreatante, arreatapuñadas, arrebate, arreatinha, arreatiña and arreato(so):** see **ravata**.

**arrebique** (Pt.) “a cosmetic”: prob. a jesting metonymy of Ar. *rabīk(ah)* “mixture of dates, butter and curd”.<sup>495</sup> From the same etymon, but metathetic, are Cs. (**ar**)**requive** (with the old var. **arraquive**) and Pt. **requife** “dress trimming; fringe”; Coromines’ hypothesis of a derivation from *\*rakīb* being devoid of support in the Ar. lexicon. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **arrebicar** and **requifeiro**.

**arrebol(ar), arrebujar and arrebullar:** see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**arrecabe** (Pt., only in Morais) “hawser for a dragnet”: might be a metathesis of Ar. *arribāq* “ropes”, pl. of *ribqah*.

**arrecada:** see **arracada**.

**arrecájel(e):** see **arrejaco**.

**arrecaque** “weak person” (Bie.) and “small, weak or ridiculous person (Leo.): appears to reflect And. *rikák* = Cl.Ar. *rikāk*, pl. of the adjective *rakīk* = Cl.Ar. *rakīk*, of similar meanings, suggesting that this term was initially borrowed as a collective **arrecakes**. The absence of *imālah* implies an early loanword no doubt introduced by Mozarabic immigrants in the Northwestern areas of the Iberian Peninsula. But neither can a common origin with **arrucaique**, q.v., be excluded.

**arrecife**<sup>1</sup> (Gl. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **atraciphes**, from DAX 246) “causeway; reef” and **recife** (Pt.) “reef”: < And. *arrašif* = Cl.Ar. *rašif* “paved (road)” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrecifar**.

**arrecife**<sup>2</sup> (Anz.): in the meaning of “mess” cannot share the etymon of **arrecife**<sup>1</sup>. It might be a metathesis of *\*arrefice*, from And. *rafiš*,

a dessert with several ingredients, semantically evolved into “mix-up, melange”.<sup>496</sup>

**arreciau:** see **alacrán**.

**arrede:** see **ardien**.

**arredoma(do) and arredomar:** see **redoma**.

**arrefece and arrefecer:** see **rafec**.

**arrefém:** see **reenes**.

**arrefezamiento:** see **rafec**.

**arrefiatu:** see **alarsafe**.

**arrehala:** see **alifara**.

**arrehalar:** see **rehala**.

**arreham and arreham(al)es:** see **arraíán**.

**arra/ehen, arrehendes and arreffen:** see **reenes**.

**arrehazar:** see **rafec**.

**arrejaco** (Cs.) “swift”: is a metonymy of **arrejaque**, q.v., based on their profile in flight. The words **arrejáquele** and metathetic **arrecájele** and **arricángel(e)** (Sal.) are phonetic var. of the same meaning, perhaps exhibiting remnants of an old dim. morpheme.

**arrejada:** see **arrejaque**.

**arrejarse:** see **rehala**.

**arrejaque** (Cs.) “trident, fish-hook”: < And. *arraššáqa*, from the Cl.Ar. root {*ršq*} “to shoot”.<sup>497</sup> From the same origin are Arag. **reixaga** “night fishing with tridents”, with semantic evolution, and the Can. var. **arrejada**, with suffix metanalysis and substitution. There is also a contaminated Arag. var. **rejarte** in Tarazona, according to Gargallo 1985:108. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrejacar**. Cf. **arrejaco**.

**arrejáquele:** see **arrejaque**.

**arreker:** is a hapax in LHP 65, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:77, where we rejected the meaning “harness-maker” in favour of And.Rom. *\*REQ+ÁYR* “person in charge of watering”, documented in *Vocabulista in arabico*.<sup>498</sup>

**arrela and arrelde:** see **arrate**.

<sup>495</sup> Undocumented in And., no doubt by mere chance, considering the general circulation of cooking recipes in the whole Islamic realm.

<sup>496</sup> A similar semantic evolution would have brought about **arrebique**, q.v. Cf. also **ratafia**.

<sup>497</sup> The adoption of the masc. gender appears

to be an intra-Rom. phenomenon, caused by hesitation in the interpretation of final paragogical vowels.

<sup>498</sup> See Corriente 1989a:139 and DAA 216, in which the talk does not go about the person, but the instrument for his job.

**arrequite** (Pt.) "iron spike of a cotton gin": < And. *arrikīb* < Cl.Ar. *rikāb* "stirup". Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **arrequisar**. Cf. **arricaveiro**.

(ar)requite: see **arrebique**.

**arres**: see **albaroque**.

**arressatu**: see **alarsafe**.

**arresú**: see **alcaçuz**.

**arretagar**: see **atacar**.

**arreual(de)**: see **arrabal**.

**arrezafe**: see **arrafiz**.

**arrezagar**: see **zaga**.

**arrezikar**: see **risc**.

**arrezuz**: see **alcaçuz**.

**arrial**: see **arriaz**.

**arriate/a** (Cs.) and **arriete** (Anz., contaminated by the dim. suffix) "threshing-floor next to a walled orchard" and **arreate** (Tol.) "seed-bed": < And. *arriyād* "garden", depluralized reflex<sup>499</sup> of Cl.Ar. *riyād*, pl. of *rawd* "orchard". Mod. Cs. **arriate** is a small plot along a wall for flowers and bushes.

**arriaz/l** (Cs.) "quillon or hilt of a sword": < Ar. *arriās* "hilt of a sword", otherwise unattested in And.

**arriacángel(e)**: see **arrajacó**.

**arricaveiro** (Pt., only in Morais) "soldier recruited among peasants; shield-bearer": appears to be a Rom. suffixation of And. *arrikāb* = Cl.Ar. *rikāb* "stirrup", as knights used to disparage them by saying that they were good only for holding it for them as they mounted. Cf. **arrequite**.

**arriacés**, **arriacesa** and **arriacises** (Cs., the last form being the only one documented in DA, prob. a pl., as supposed from DE down to Coromines) "short straps on both sides of the saddle, to which the stirrup-straps are buckled" and not, as described by DRAE, the matching buckles. However, we must in turn recant our etymological mistake concerning the etymon of **arriacés**, as the pl. *rizáz*<sup>500</sup> is indeed documented in Alcalá, of And. *rízza*, which not only meant "ring" or "hinge", semantically suitable to designate the strap on which stirrups are buckled, but also other objects, through semantic evolution, as wit-

nessed by Mor. *rázza* "small turban; head of a nail; backstitch, etc.",<sup>501</sup> all of them conveying the concept of the top or end of an object. Pt. **arrez** (only in Morais) is attributed the same meaning, raising suspicions of bad transmission affecting either form or meaning, which might explain its omission by Machado; it might be a cognate of Cs. **arriaz**, q.v.

**arriacán**: see **alac/rán**.

**arricova**: see **récova**.

**arridf** (with the var. **alrrof**, **arridif**, **alri(t)f** and **alridf**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 61, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:98 as Alpha Cygni, < Ar. *arridf* "hip"

**arriel** "ostrich chicks": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 61, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:97-8 as a number of stars between Alpha Piscis Australis and Theta Eridani, < Ar. *arriāl*.

**arriesc/gar** and **arriescgón**: see **risc**.

**arriete**: see **arriate**.

**arriffe** (Pt.) "ground cleared of vegetation following a straight line; land tract with some rocks; reef": < And. *arriř* = Cl.Ar. *riř* "shore". Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **arriheiro**.

**arrinconamiento** and **arrinco(n)ar**: see **racó**.

**arrioh**: see **aromh**.

**arriacada**, **arriacadís**, **arriacador**, **arriacament**, **arriacamiento**, **arriacar(se)**, **arriaco** and **arriisque**: see **risc**.

**arritacaçavi**: see **ardiens**.

**arroaz** (Cs. and Gl.) "dolphin", **arroaz** (Pt., only in Morais) and **ruazo** "kind of dolphin" (Can., prob. borrowed from Pt.) and **roaz** "dolphin; tunny" (Pt.) and **roassa** (Ct.) "large dolphin": < And. *arrawās* "big-headed",<sup>502</sup> equivalent of Cl.Ar. *rawāsī*. Possible alterations of the standard are **arrua** "swordfish" (Anz., which should be ultima stressed) and **(ar)ruaz** "rorqual" (Anl.). Cf. **corçana**.

**arroba**<sup>1</sup> (Arag., Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **arro(u)a**, in GP 62), **roba/o** (Arag.) and **(ar)rova** (Ct.) "fourth of one quintal" and **(er)robo** (Nav.) "dry measure": < And. *arrūb* = Cl.Ar. *rub*. Mur. **arroba**

<sup>499</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.2.4.4.

<sup>500</sup> As for \*\*\**ar-rizār* of former editions of DRAE, it was just a misprint.

<sup>501</sup> See Sinaceur 1994:III 621.

<sup>502</sup> In Alcalá, however, "tadpole": see Corriente 1988a:83.

"small irrigation channel" is a semantic evolution thereof. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrobador**, **arrobado**, **arrobeño/ro** and **arrobeto**; Ct.: **roveta** and **rovalla**; Pt.: **arrobação**, **arrobamento** and **arrobar**; Mur.: **arrobeto** "basket for one arroba of figs"; Nav.: **robada** "a land measure"

**arroba**<sup>2</sup> "young camel" (with the var. **anuba**), is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 62, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:99 with a small nebulous star in the midst of others in the constellation of Draco, < Ar. *arrubā*.

**arrobação**, **arrobamento** and **arrobar**: see **arrobe**.

**arrobatina**: see **ravata**.

**arrobcas**: in LHP 66 is prob. a mistake for **\*arrobos**, after Corriente 2004b:78–79, < And. *arrúbwa* = Cl.Ar. *rubwah* "hill", with a still more corrupted var. in LHP 77, **azauoes**.

**arrobda** (Cs., with an old var. **(a)robda**, in GP 59 and 119), **arrotova** (Leo., also **rob/vda** in DO 275) and **arrótova** (Pt., with the erroneous var. **arroca/ova**, registered by Morais and prob. avoided by Machado, although discussed by DE) "guard duty or watch": are all var. best spelled under that first shape, < And. *arrúba*, semantically evolved in those forms, starting from Cl.Ar. *rutbah* "grade, rank" Those authors were not right upon admitting Ar. **\*\*arruqabā?** as an alternative etymon, unsupported by either stress or semantics, while that And. item is well documented, as well as its way into Rom., also with a mod. reflex, **ronda** "night patrol" in Cs., Gl. and Pt., contaminated by **rondar** "to walk around", describing what they did. It is not correct, *pace* Coromines, that this word would share the etymon of **arrebato** or **ravata**, q.v., neither is there or can there be a pl. **\*\*rubt** of *rābiṭa*, which he posited. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **rondador**; Gl. and Cs. **arondar** (the latter with the old var. **robдар** in GP 119); Pt. **rond(e)ar** and **rondista**.

**arrobe** (Pt.), **arrop** (Ct.), **arrobe** or **rob** (Cs., with a bookish var. **rob(ub/h)**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:249) and **larrope** (Ext.): "must boiled to a syrup": < And. *arrúbb* < Cl.Ar. *rubb*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arropía** and **arropiero**; Cs. and Ct.: **arropar** and **arropera**; Ct.

**arropada** and **arropar**; Pt.: **arrobação**, **arrobamento** and **arrobar**.

**arrobeño**, **arrobiero** and **arrobeto**: see **arroba**.

**arrocabe** (Cs.) "wooden frame connecting the walls with the ceiling": < And. *arrukkāb* = Cl.Ar. *rukkāb* "riders"

**arroca/ova**: see **arrobda**.

**arrocero** and **arroceira/o**: see **arròs**.

**arrocobas** "ends of the beams connecting a panelled ceiling to its bearing frame" (Cs.): from López de Arenas 1912:173, < Ar. *rakūb*, correctly adduced there and interpreted as "shoots or branches of a palm tree hanging down towards the ground"

**arrocuaique**: see **arrucaique**.

**arroham** and **rroam** "porphyry": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 62 and 119, < Ar. *arruxām*, said of marble and alabaster, but specialized in Alcalá for that sense.

**arrom(es)** "Roman(s)": de DAX 220, < Ar. *rūm*, said in principle of the Byzantines and later, by extension, of Western Christians.<sup>503</sup>

**arronsada**, **arronsador**, **arronsament** and **(ar)rons/zar**: see **ronce**.

**arromi(a)**, **arromia/e(s)** and **arromi(n)s**: see **romi(n)**.

**arrop(e)**, **arropada**, **arropar**, **arropar(a)**, **arropía** and **arropiero**: see **arrobe**.

**arroquero**: see **harruquero**.

**arroró**: see **rorro**.

**arrorre**: see **alforra**.

**arròs** (Ct.), **arrós** and **(ar)roz** (Arag.) and **arroz**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): < And. *arrāwz* < Neo-Ar. *a/ārruz(z)*, from Tamil *arici*, through Aryan languages of India and prob. Neo-P. in which, however, it is not the usual term. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrocero**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **arrozal**; Ct.: **arrossada**, **arrossaire**, **arrossal/r** and **arrosser**; Gl.: **arroceira** and **arroceiro**; Pt.: **arrozada**, **arrozeira** and **arrozeiro**. Cf. **arroz**<sup>2</sup>.

**arrossada**, **arrossaire**, **arrossa/r** and **arrosser**: see **arròs**.

**arrotoma**: see **redoma**.

**arro/ótova**: see **arrobda**.

**arroua**: see **arroba**<sup>1</sup>.

**arroyal**, **aceituna / olivo**—(Anl.): as in the case of other varieties of olive-trees, an

<sup>503</sup> See Lane 1863–1892:1193.



Ar. loanword is likely, but the scarcity of data does not allow us to suggest any etymon.

**arroz<sup>1</sup>**: see **arròs**.

**arroz<sup>2</sup>**: the puzzling presence of this word in idioms like **así y to**, **arroz** (Anz., roughly, "willy nilly") and **que si quieres arroz** (Catalina) (Cs., roughly, "to no avail") might be clarified in the light of expressions of the Ar. kind *šala ruʿūsi nnās* "in front of everybody", or *šala rraʿs* "with pleasure".<sup>504</sup>

**arrozada**, **arrozal** and **arrozeira/o**: see **arròs**.

**arrua(z)**: see **arroaz**.

**arrucaique** "a sweetmeat of dough and oil, flattened and round" (Nvh.): < And. *ruqáyyaq*, dim. of *ruqáq* = Cl.Ar. *ruqāq* "waffles". A metonymy of the same origin is responsible for Tol. **arrocuaique**, in the idiom **estar hecho un—**, said of wrinkled garments, with repercussive /w/, and **recayquí** "a fine silken fabric", excerpted by Eguílaz from some Sevillian ordinances, an attributive adjective of that dim., i.e., *ruqayyaqí*, contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}, as the pl. *\*raqāyiq*, posited by him, is not documented in any similar meaning in And. Cf. **arrecaque**.

**arrufafa**: see **açofaifa**.

**arrujaque** "elegant; well-shaped" (Sal.): might reflect And. *aršāq* = Cl.Ar. *aršaq* "more elegant".

**arrullar**: see **madrollero**.

**arruma** "bit, fragment" (Sal.): coincides with And. *arrum(m)a* = Cl.Ar. *rummah* "bit of rope", within a root with the main semanteme of fragmentation and deterioration.

**arrumí**: see **romí**.

**arrum(i)aco** "ornament in poor taste; mask; dressed in an eccentric way" (Sal.): these words and standard **arrumaco** "exagger-

ated caress", which Coromines would derive from dial. **arremueco** with considerable phonetic difficulties, has its first witness in *La Lozana Andaluza* under the spelling **harrumaco**. Chances are, considering other Morisco traits of this work, that this is a reflex of the coarse And. exclamation *hírr ummak* < Cl.Ar. *híru ummik* "your mother's c.", conspicuously used to express astonishment before something unusual,<sup>505</sup> prob. also the origin of standard **caramba**,<sup>506</sup> q.v. Given these premises, it is easy to understand a semantic evolution towards a "person or object dressed or made up in an exaggerated manner", then "mask" and, finally, "feigned acts of endearment". Cf. **herre que herre** and **junema**.

**ars** (açimet): see **ajuz alaçet**.

**arsarach**: see **alserach**.

**Arsato** "Aristotle" (Jud.-Sp.): this distortion of the Gr. is not isolated, as it appears already as a normal equivalent in *Vocabulista in arabico*: see Corriente 1989a:27, fn. 2, in which it is explained as the result of haplology, assimilation and loss of pretonic vowel (*arista(u)l*) > *arissātu* > *arsātu*, cf. Fr. *Aristote*, as a witness to the old Rom. forms, previous to the reintroduction of the Gr. shape during the Renaissance) although mod. scholars, unaware of those processes, have fabricated a non-existent *\*\*\*aristu*, a supposed abbreviation of the whole name of the kind common in our day.

**arsatun** or **arsacon** "a disease of the uterus and the penis": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, difficult to identify, perhaps an utter corruption of Gr. *stérōsis* "sterility".

**arsenal** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.), **dársena** (Cs.) and **dársena**, **daraçana**, **dreçana**, **dras-**

<sup>504</sup> It is quite likely that these idioms were generated by the observation of Islamic weddings, in which the bride must be asked for her acceptance of the contract, but if she is a virgin, her silence is the usual way of accepting "in front of everybody", although in many cases she has no real chance to oppose her family's decision and must go on with the ceremony and its consequences, "willy-nilly". Incidentally, the lot of Christian or Jewish maidens in the period under consideration was not very different. Respect for human rights

only began to be preached during the Enlightenment, and almost three centuries later there is still a long way to go in this difficult battle against repressive traditions and absurd beliefs.

<sup>505</sup> See the proverbs N° 725 and N° 1016 of Alonso del Castillo in Corriente & Bouzineb 1994:66 and 80. It was already an expletive favoured by Eastern saucy poets like Abū Nuwās, imitated in the West by others, above all, Ibn Quzmān.

<sup>506</sup> See Corriente 1993b:288, fn. 28.

**sana** or **darassa/enal** (Ct.) “shipwright’s yard”: < Neo-Ar. *dār aššināṣah*, lit., “manufacturing house”, with intermediation of It. and Gr., and in interrelation with its own Neo-Ar. der. *tars(ax)ānah*,<sup>507</sup> whence Cs. **atarazana** and Ct. **atarassana**.<sup>508</sup> The stress shift in **drassana** may be due to contamination with this form or to metanalysis of the Rom. suffix [+ÁN], while the late var. **dársena** or **darsena** has been transmitted through It. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **tarazanal**; Ct.: **drassaner**; Anz.: **atarazanero** “worker in a hemp mill”, from the standard **atarazana**, meaning the shed in which rope-makers and weavers of hempen fabrics work.

**artamú**: see **altramuz**.

**artanita** (Ct. and Cs.) and **artanica** (Cs.) “sowbread (*Cyclamen europaeum*)”: is a bookish Lt. transcription, incorrect in the second form, of Neo-Ar. *ṣartanīṭā*, < Syr. *ṣartanīṭā* “frankincense-like”

**artarfe** “spur”: this word was excerpted by Eguílaz 1886:536 from a document of 933, necessarily Lt., although he attributes it to Cs., recently revisited by LHP 78 and DO 221, and dealing with riding accessories (**spolas heites cum artarfes**). Once the preceding term, q.v., has been explained satisfactorily, there is no need to interpret **artarfes** as the points of the spurs, by positing And. *tárf* of that sense, it being much likelier in this context to propound a var. of **ataharre**, q.v., an expectable complement of horse trappings (see Corriente 2004b:78).

**arte**: see **alaria**.

**artícam**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 62 and 68, with the var. **artíqui**, **asrra** and **azang/kan**, reflecting both the corrupted Neo-Ar. *artakān*, and its probable original form, *azankān* “ochre”.<sup>509</sup>

**artífell**: see **atífell**.

**arvanizo**: see **albanel**.

**arvejana**: see **alvejana**.

**arxelino**: see **argelino**.

**arxón**: see **alarije**.

**aryuritaz**: see **arhoritiz**.

**arzanefe** (Pt., with var.) and **azarnefe** (Cs., with the old var. **azarnech**, **zinderch** and **zeurech**, in GP 68) “arsenic”: < And. *azzarnīx*, < Cl.Ar. *zirnīx/q* < Pahl. *zarr nēk* “beautiful gold”

**arzollo** “wild almond tree” (Anz., with the Ast. var **arzolia** of **arzolla** in García Arias 2006:24):<sup>510</sup> is a word with etymological problems, as And.Rom. had *ARZÓLA* as designation of “milk thistle” (*Silybum marianum*), a very different plant of unclear etymon. It is risky to suppose, as Coromines did, that **arzollo** is a metathesis of **alloza**, q.v., or a contamination of words so diverging semantically and phonetically.

**asa** (**fétida**) (Cs.), **asafétida** (Gl.), **assa-fétida** (Pt.) and **asafétida** (Ct.) “asafoetida (*Ferula* sp.)”: < scientific Lt. *asa foetida*, with a first constituent reflecting Neo-P. *azā* “mas-tic”. Therefore, the Pt. form and the Ct. var. **assafétida** are incorrect.

**asagà**: see **zaga**.

**asaiaret**: see **sabiarat**.

**(a)sandía** and **asandria**: see **sandía**.

<sup>507</sup> DS states that the Egyptians have so altered It. *darsena*, of Ar. origin. However, it can hardly be a mere coincidence that this Neo-Ar. word can be analyzed as a hybrid of Ar. *tīr* “shield” and Tr. *hane* “house or place of a given trade” < Neo-P. *xāne* < Pahl. *xānag*, and that the habitual loss of the first consonant of the Tr. word is equally reflected in mod. Eg.Ar. *atūlīrsāna*, and Tr. *ter-sane*, both meaning **atarazana**. It is, therefore, likelier that this term be an early corruption of the Ar. term in the language of the Tr.-speaking soldiers who were the backbone of Egyptian armies during the Ayyubid and Mameluk periods (cf. **algoz**), although both the original Ar. word

and its corrupted var. spread to the Northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea and could have contaminated each other there.

<sup>508</sup> The oldest witnesses of this word, with an initial vowel, would reflect the presence of an article in And., \**addār aššināṣa*, in agreement with AAR 2.3.1.1.a. which could explain, without resorting to contamination, the unvoiced dental, as in **ataire** and **atorra**.

<sup>509</sup> A problematic word, treated in DS I:519, Benmrad 1985:53 and DAA 9 and 13.

<sup>510</sup> Of disputed identification as ‘*Gyrofora cilindrica*’, ‘*Peltigera canina*’ or ‘*Globularia repens*’, which complicates the etymological problem.

**asarata** “a Hebrew feast”: in DAX 224, makes clear that the editors have not recognized **alhansara**, q.v., reflected here in Aram. garb. **asasinar** and **asasin(at)o**: see **asesino**.

**ascachillos** “putrefaction of the members”:<sup>511</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1998b:171, < Neo-Ar. *safāqilūs* < Gr. *sphákelos* “dry gangrene”

**ascalonita** (Cs.): < Lt. *Ascālōnitae* (pl.) < Gr. *Askalōnītēs* < Hb. *ašqēloni*, gentile of Ashkelon, in Palestine.

**áscar** “army” and **áscari** (Cs.), **àscari** (Ct.) and **ascari** (Pt., only in Morais) “infantry soldier”: these two contemporary Ar. loanwords, generated during the Spanish Protectorate in Northern Morocco, reflect Mor. *ʕaskar* < Cl.Ar. and Mor. *ʕaskar* and *ʕaskri* < Cl.Ar. *ʕaskarī*, collective and n.un., respectively, < Pahl. *laškar* “army” From the same origin are Pt. *lascar* “Indian sailor” and *lascarim* “Sepoy”, through Hindi *laškar* < Neo-P. *laškar* “crew; army”, and its sg. Hindi *laškari* < Neo-P. *laškari* “sailor; soldier”

**ascarin**: see **escari(n)**.

**ascenia**: see **acenia**.

**ascham** “diseases”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Ar. *asqām*.

**asecila**: see **acequia**.

**aseid**: see **alsahad**.

**aseite**: see **aceite**.

**asemela** (Lit.) this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from an inventory of the 12th c., indeed seems to reflect Ar. *šamlah* “garment from head to feet”, possibly related to And. *šámra* “cloak”. Cf. **enjalma**.

**asendría**: see **sandía**.

**asequí** (Cs.) “tribute on sheep and goats in Murcia”, **atzaque** (Ct.) “a tribute on the Mudjars’ cattle”, **azaque** (Cs.) and **azaqui** (Pt.) “alms tax”: < And. *azzakáfi* < Cl.Ar. *zakāh* < Aram. *zēkūtā* “acquittal from guilt” The

strong *imālah* of some forms is striking, being more in agreement with the lower registers than what is usual in a religious and administrative term; as for the penultima stress, against the And. rules, but almost sure for Cs., in spite of being words which became obsolete before the general use of stress marks, it is perhaps due to a contamination with **zaque**, q.v. Such is not the case of the other languages, with sure or probable ultima stress.<sup>512</sup> This etymon would always be valid for Ast. **azaquiles** in García Arias 2006:25, if he is right in supposing that **dando los azaquiles**, lit., “giving the a.” would mean “at full speed”, alluding to the tax collectors’ usual request of payment on the spot.

**asesino** (Cs.), **asasino** (Gl.). **assassino** (Pt.) and **assassi** (Ct.) “assassin”: < Neo-Ar. *haššāšīn* “hashish addicts”, a name given to certain Ismailite murderers who acted under the influence of that drug. The term reached the West during the Crusades through Lit. transcriptions, which explains the anomalous match of the hissing phoneme. Cs. **anxixín** in *Partidas*, after Coromines, represents an earlier unsuccessful borrowing of the term, later reintroduced via It. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **asesinato** and **asesinar**; Ct.: **aixixinar**, **assa/essinar**, **assassinament** and **assassinat**; Pt.: **assassina(men)to**, **assassinar** and **assasínio**; Gl.: **asasinar** and **asasinato**. Cf. **hachís**.

**asfengi**: see **esfenja**.

**asfidegi** “ceruse”: is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:201, < Neo-Ar. *asfidāj* < Pahl. *spēdag*.

**asfidabagi**, **asfidbagie** and **asfidbegi**: see **alasfidbagiat**.

**asgorfa**: see **algorfa**.

**asirello**: see **ceroula**.

**asiri(an)o** (Cs.), **asirio** (Gl.), **assiri(à)** (Ct.) and **assirio** or **assiriano** (Pt.) “Assyrian”: < L. *Assyrius* < Gr. *Assýrios*, gentiles formed

<sup>511</sup> With the var. **aschachilos** and **scaculos** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175.

<sup>512</sup> The example given by Machado of this word, the pr.n. *Muferrichi ibem azaki*, is not valid, as the personal name *azzakī* is a word of the same root, but of a different meaning. The explanation of the intra-Semitic semantic evolu-

tion of this word lies in the fact that, for this religious mentality, the alms or payment of an alms tax due to the community of the faithful absolve payers from the sins possibly incurred in while acquiring wealth, above all in the case of mercantile transactions.

on the Ak. place name *aššur*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *asiriología* and *asiriólogo*; Ct. and Pt.: *assiriologia*; Gl.: *asirioloxia* and *asiriólogo*; Pt.: *assírico*, *assiriológico* and *assiriólogo*.

**asirolillo**: see *cerolua*.

**asnado** (Cs.) "side-wall timber in the mines of Almadén": is a mere folk etymology of And. *isnād* = Cl.Ar. *isnād* "prop(ping), support(ing)", not a true der. of *asno* "ass", as stated by DRAE, against all semantic<sup>513</sup> and morphological evidence.

**asobra**: see *azobra*.

**asohora** (with the var. *a so(h)ora*, *aso(h)ora*, *asso(h)ora* and *assora*): is a technical term, registered by DAX 235, possibly unassimilated, and probably a semantic calque, cf. Cl.Ar. *min waqtiḥ* "at once"

**asolvamiento** and **asolvar**: see *azolvar*.

**(a)sopaipa** "fried dough bedaubed with honey" and **azopaipa** "oil cake" (Anz.): with an old var. *xopaipa* and a dim. *sopaipilla*, according to Coromines in his DCECH, who considers this item an And. dim. of And.Rom. \**ŠÚPPA* < Germanic *šuppa*.<sup>514</sup>

**asorvar**: see *azolvar*.

**asrra**: see *articam*.

**assabaq** "lustfulness": is an unassimilated term, from GP 63, < Ar. *šabāq*.

**(as)safata**: see *açafate*.

**assafé/étida**: see *asa*.

**assagada**, **assagadell**, **assagador** and **assagar**: see *zaga*.

**assagreg** (Lit., in a Cs. document, with a more conservative var. *exakeke*, after LHP 232 and DO 240): this hapax, recorded by Steiger 1956:101–103 (with a var. *exageg(e)*

in other two Lit. documents), as a kind of mantle or its material, may be distorted from And. *aššaqīq* "silken fabric", a meaning unrecorded in Cl.Ar., as he remarked.

**assaiare**: see *sabiara*(t).

**assar**: see *açaçar*.

**assaranar**: see *zaranda*.

**assarp** (Ct.), **azarbe** (Cs., with the old var. *azarba*) and **azarve** (Pt., only in Morais, no doubt borrowed from Cs., to judge from the phonetic match) "channel or ditch for irrigation water": < And. *assárβ* < Cl.Ar. *sarab* "conduit". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *azarbeta*.

**assassí**, **assassinament(o)**, **assassinar**, **assassinato**, **assassinio** and **assassinio**: see *asesino*.

**(as)seliejat** "marked" (Maj.): possibly a metathesis of an And.Rom. hybrid \**A(D)+sijill+ÁR*, formed on Ar. *sijill* "register", < Lt. *sigillum* "seal". From the same origin might be **salie(t)jar** "to appoint a time"

**assessinar**: see *asesino*.

**assidar** (Pt.): this hapax, a late borrowing of the 16th c., in a text related to the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, which defied Machado's etymological science, may either derive from Ar. *šidār* "short shirt", or from its Neo-P reflex *šedār*, not paying too much heed to the agglutinated Ar. article, as it is known that it was often artificially introduced in Eastern words.

**assirí(à)**, **assirio** or **assiriano**, **assiriologia**, **assírico** and **assiriológ(ic)o**: see *asirí(an)o*.

**assoc**: see *açogue*.

**assot**, **assotacrist(os)**, **assotada**, **assotadís**, **assotagossos**, **assota(do)r** and **assotament**: see *açoute*.

<sup>513</sup> It is true that in Cs., e.g., amidst Can. fishermen, *burra*, lit., "jenny ass" is a wooden easel or jack used to keep a stranded boat upright, semantically similar to Arag. *asnicó*, lit., "little ass", recorded by DRAE as a "kitchen utensil for fastening a spit", together with *asna* ("she-ass") and *asnilla* ("little she-ass"), which in their diverse meanings designate wooden props or stays for certain objects. However, the very definition of DRAE suggests that *asnado* is, instead, a horizontal shore compensating lateral pressures, a totally different concept, while the apparent participial form is morphologically inexplicable. On the other hand, the mining lexicon of Almadén

contains other Ar. loanwords, like *almijara*, and And.Rom. terms, like *aludel*, q.v., an expectable situation considering the extended period in Islamic times of active exploitation of those mines. As for the absence of *imlāh*, it would be a consequence of that folk etymology.

<sup>514</sup> This would be, however, the only case of use by And.Rom. of the Ar. dim. pattern instead of its own suffix, after Corriente 1997a:350 (2.1.2), while the only form documented in And. is *šuppápa*, with the pattern of the adjectives of intensity, which makes us deduct that the dim. was obtained subsequently by already monolingual Andalusis.

**assuja:** see **alsuyah**.

**assut(er)** and **assuteta:** see **açude**.

**assutzena:** see **açucena**.

**astarnuz** “variety of jasper”: is an unasimulated technical term, from DAX 239, apparently corrupted through Syr. and Ar. from Gr. *astérios* “stellar”

**astracã** (Pt.) and **astracán** (Cs.) “Astrakhan fur”: through Fr., from the Russian name of this city, prob. derived from a Turkic dialect, exhibiting the form *as tarxan* “Alan chief”, as that was the see of the person in charge of that function in the Khazar principedom.<sup>515</sup>

**asucre:** see **açucere**.

**asul:** see **azur**.

**ata** (Gl. and Nav.), **fasta**, **ffata**, **fatta** and **hacta** (Leo., in DO 250), **f/hasta** and **(h)astasa** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:33), **até** (Pt., with the old var. **adta**) and **hasta** (Cs., with the old var. **ata(es)**, **ates** and **assinates**, in Hilty 2005b:187, and **fata**): derive indeed from And. *hattá* = Cl.Ar. *hattā*, although, as we pointed in Coriente 1983a, there has been occasional contamination, in the case of the standard Cs. preposition, with Rom. reflexes of Lt. *ad ista*.

**atabaca:** see **altabaca**.

**atabacado:** see **tabac<sup>1</sup>** and **<sup>2</sup>**.

**atabacar:** see **tabac<sup>1</sup>**.

**atabafar** (Pt.) “to cover”: is a low register word, perhaps resulting from a blending of Pt. **abafar** “to hold, to restrain” with an \***atabacar** formed on the etymon of **tabac<sup>2</sup>**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **atabafamento**; Gl.: **desatabafar**. Cf. **atafagar**.

**atabafeia** and **tabafei(r)a** (Pt., only in Morais) “a kind of pork sausage”: < And.

**tabbāx** = Cl.Ar. *tabbāx* “cook”, hybridized with Rom. suffixes.

**atabal<sup>1</sup>** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **tabal** (Cs.) “drum” and **tabal** (Ct.) “kettledrum”: < And. *aṭṭabāl* < Cl.Ar. *ṭabl*. The African drums of the first Almoravid armies struck such fear among their Christian foes that every Rom. language in the Iberian Peninsula has developed denominal verbs of this meaning, like Pt. **atabalhoar** and its synonym in the dialect of Algarve **ataloar** “to act hastily; to confuse”;<sup>516</sup> Cs. **atobar**<sup>517</sup> and Ct. **atabalar** or **atalb/var** “to bewilder”<sup>518</sup> and Arag. **atabalar** “to drive mad”, **ataubar** “to oppress; to choke” and the participle **atabau** “mad”. From the same origin is **timbal** “kettledrum” (Cs. and Ct.), phonetically contaminated by **címbal** “cymbal”, and metonymic **tabal** “barrel of herrings” (Anz.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **(a)tabalear**, **atabalej/ro**, **atabalete**, **tabalada**, **tabalarío** and **tabaleo**; Ct.: **atabalador**, **atabalament**, **(a)tabalejar**, **(a)tabaler**, **tabalada** and **tabale/ot**; Pt.: **atabaleiro**, **atabalinh(eir)o**, **atabalhação**, **atabalhoamento** and **atabalhoo**. Cf. **atifells**.

**atabal<sup>2</sup>:** see **atafal**.

**atabão** (Pt.) “gadfly”: is a definite proof of the existence of And.Rom. \***TABÁN**, reflected in And. as *ṭabán*, recorded by Alcalá and an agricultural treatise, after DAA.

**atabaque** (Pt.) “atabeg”: is a late borrowing from India, < Neo-P. *atābak* < Tr. *atabek*. Cf. **tabac<sup>2</sup>**.

**atabarre:** see **atafal**.

**atabe** (Cs.) “register of a water pipe”: perhaps from And. *aṭṭaqb(a)* = Cl.Ar. *ṭaqb(ah)* “perforation”, as there are other examples of loss of implosive /k/ in the Ar. loanwords of

<sup>515</sup> After a note by Trubačǝv in Vasmer 1996: I 94.

<sup>516</sup> Although a blending with the etymon of **batahola** and **tabaola**, q.v., is also possible here.

<sup>517</sup> The suggested Lt. etymon. \*\*\**attubāre* of former editions of DRAE for this word is, of course, unlikely, and has been corrected in the latest.

<sup>518</sup> Coromines derives **atalbar** from Ar. \*\**talb* “loss”, but this word does not belong to the dial. register, though used once by IQ 83/17/3, while the cognate words mentioned do not support that hypothesis. On the positive side, his entry **tabal**

in DECLC excerpts, from Mettmann 1989:200, a proverb (N° 259), **cavall tabaler no s’espaventa per brugit de pell secha** “a kettledrummer’s horse is not startled by the noise from any drumskin”, no doubt connected with the of N° 1170 Azzajālī’s collection and N° 91 of Alonso del Castillo’s, witnessing the proverbial indifference of kettledrummers’ horses to deafening noises that might startle any others. This forces us to give up our previous hypothesis about And. *furús* *ṭabbāl* being a metaphorical designation of the bumblebee, upheld up to the publication of DAA, p. 394, with a question mark. Cf. **adufe**.

Rom. (e.g., *cebiche*, *tahúr* and *zabra*, q.v.) although, by the same token, a Neo-Ar. etymon *ṭābiq* “cover, lid” cannot be excluded either, as an allusion to the piece of brick usually closing those registers. Cf. *tabuco*.

**atabefe**: see *tabefe*.

**atabeo** “harness for a carriage” (Leo.): could be a concretization of And. *attaṣṭīyya* < Cl.Ar. *taṣṭīṭah* “arrangement; mounting”, *maṣṭar* of a verb which in And. has the registered senses of “to arrange, to set; to heap up”, etc. There would have been a contamination by the Rom. suffix of noun of action, that brought about the gender shift, but another possibility would be an origin similar to that of *atabales*, q.v.s.v. *atifells*. The same etymon is prob. reflected also by *aldabía* (Cs.) “horizontal beam which, matched with another, and both embedded in opposite walls, constitute the frame of a partition wall” as, despite its phonetic suitability, it is not semantically derivable from *aldaba*, as DRAE propounded in former editions (now eliminated), because it is neither a knocker nor a crossbar. The voicing of a dental in this position is not exceptional (e.g. *adobe*, q.v.), while the false restoration of the /l/ of the Ar. article or even the contamination with *aldaba* might have furthered it. Cf. *tabea*.

(a) **tabi** (Pt., the extended form only in Morais, but Machado has the shorter one, as a var. of the 14th c.) and **tabí** (Ct.) “a silken fabric”: < And. *ṣattābi* < Neo-Ar. *ṣattābī*, gentilic of the *ṣattābiyyah*, a suburb of Baghdad in which it was originally made, with transmission through Fr. or It. Cf. *habi*.

**atabicar**: see *tabique*.

(a) **tabilar** “to crush earthen clods” (Anl.): perhaps a hybrid word, formed on And. *tawil* “utensil, tool”

**atabua**: see *tabua*.

**atabucar** (Pt.) “to allure”: is a word with etymological problems, prob. Ar. and related to Cs. *tabuco*, q.v.

**atabud/l**, **atauc/l**, **tab/gut**, **tagud** and **tauth** (Arag.), **ataúd** (Cs., with the old var. **atau(u)t** in GP 64 and **taut** in GP 123), **ataúde** (Gl. and Pt.), (a) **taüt** (Ct.), **altabul** (Nav.) and **ataúl** (Mur.): < And. *attabūt* < Cl.Ar. *tābūt*, < Aram. *tēbūtā*, < Eg. >ḏbʾt<. As for Old Ast. **tau** in García Arias 2006:58, it looks like just another var. and not, as he thinks, a n.inst. connectable with the Hb. letter mentioned in the matching entry. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **taüter**.

**atacar** (Cs., Arag. and Ct.) and **atacá** (Arag.): at least in the meaning of “to tie”, this item reflects a denominative hybrid verb, formed on the substantive still preserved in Pt. **ataca** “closing string in a garment”,<sup>519</sup> and **taca** “strap”, < And. *tákka* < Cl.Ar. *tikkah* < Aram. *tikkā* < Ak. *tikkatum* “ribbon or band for holding up garments”. By metaphor, it might also be the origin of the other meanings, even if they came via It. or Fr., and without any doubt it has generated **arretagar** “to cram” (Leo.) and **ataque(i)ras** “close-fitting shorts” (Leo.), suggesting the existence of an undocumented \***ataca**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atacamiento**; Cs. and Arag.: **atacadera**; Cs., Ct. and Pt.: **atacador**; Cs. and Pt.: **atacadura**; Ct.: **atacament**; Pt. **atacadas** and **ataqueiro**.

**atacena**: see *taina*.

**atacir** (Cs., with the old var. **ataç/zir**, **atacyr**, **athacir**, **atabc/ziry**, **atarzir**, **atazar** and **aprangir**, in *Libro Complido*,<sup>520</sup> and **ataç/yr** or **atazir** in GP 63) “division of the sky in twelve parts” and **atasir** (Ct.) “influence of the heavenly bodies on human behaviour”: is the unassimilated astrological term Neo-Ar. *tasyīr*, lit., “setting in motion” The Ar. etymon \*\**taṣīr*, propounded by some editions of DRAE, unduly amending former ones more correct on this point, is unviable on semantic and phonetic grounds. On the other hand, **atac(ç)ir** in some Llt. donation deeds of Aragón, quoted by Fort Cañellas 1994:41 and 231,<sup>521</sup> mentioning small amounts of money, bears no relation to that astrological term, does

<sup>519</sup> Machado is wrong, then, upon considering this substantive as a regressive der. of the verb, even aware of the fact that its documentation is older. It is perhaps a Mudejar term, as there are no witnesses thereof before the 15th c.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:190.

<sup>521</sup> E.g., “*dono uobis illa hereditate... et illas uineas et illo atacçir III quartales*”, “*et illas casas... et illa uinea et cum suo atacçir XVI solidos*” and “*dono uobis istos tres campos... et pregnominata aqua II solidos de atacir*”.

not mean “contour”, and is not a coin designation, as we thought in the past, but appears to answer to And. *taksír* = Cl.Ar. *taksír* “measuring (a surface)”. It concerns the wages of the experts who certified the boundaries of land properties dealt with, according to the Islamic *ḥiyāzah*, a procedure constantly referred to in notarial formularies; their fees had to be also assumed by the donor, as an inherent expense in non-onerous donations.

**atafagar** (Cs.) and **atafegar** (Gl.) “to importune; to molest”: might be a metathesis of \***atagafar**, var. of **atabafar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl. and Pt.: **atafego**; Pt.: **atafegação**.

**atafal** (Gl. with the var. **atabal**, Sal. and Pt.), **ataharre** or **atafarra** (Cs., with the old var. **artarfe**), **tafarra** (Ct., Arag., Man., Nav. and Bie.), **altafarra** (Leo., and Ast., after García Arias 2006:12), **taharra** (Can. and Sal.), **taharria** and **tajarria** (Sal.) and **taharria** (Ext.), **(a)tarria** or **tárrea** (Arag.), **tarrea** and **tarria** (Nav.), **atajarria** (Sal.), **atarre** (Nav. and anl.), **tarre** (Anl.), **tarrea** (Nav., apparently through Basque), **atab/jarre** (Anz.) and **atajarre** (Tol.): “crupper”: < And. *aṭṭafār* (with an allomorph with /z/ but not with /t/) = Cl.Ar. *ṭafār* Intra-Rom. der.: Anl.: **atagar-rarse** “to take an excessive burden upon oneself”; **atafarrarse** “to protect oneself with clothes” (Bie., with semantic evolution); Sal. **entafarrarse** “to have one’s clothes or shoes soiled with mud” (Sal., an understandable metonymy, as the crupper is constantly soiled by dung);<sup>522</sup> Gl.: **atafarrilla**; Ct.: **tafarreta** and **entafa/errar**; Man.: **atarraeras** “mud-splashes” (a metonymy, cf. **atarrera** “wool form the hindquarters”, Arag. from Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:97); Sal.: **tajarcilla** “crupper buckle”

**atafanado** “flattened” (Can.): this word and **atafanar** “to strike”, both from La Gomera, are phonetically reminiscent of Ct. **tafaner** “prier” (q.v.) but, no doubt sharing the same Ar. root, the Can. item must be based upon an And.Rom. \***A(D)+ṭaḥn+ÁR** “to grind”

**atafarra(rse)** and **atafarrilla**: see **atafal**.

**atafea** (Cs.): the rendering in DRAE of this hapax as “surfeit”, based upon a mistaken

interpretation of a proverb, and a mistaken etymon, still maintained in its latest edition, is erroneous. As Bustamante 1994 has shown, this is in truth the dish called in And. *atafáya* (presently *ṭfaya*, in Mor.), a lamb stew seasoned with fresh or dried coriander, although at first it was only a sauce accompanying other dishes, as given away by its etymon, Br. *aman* or *a/isswi ntḥiyi/a*, lit., “meat water or broth”

**atafegação, atafegar and atafego**: see **atafagar**.

**atafeke** “settlement in court”: is an unasimulated technical term, from LHP 71 and DO 222, < And. *táfqa*, a peculiar der. of the root /wḥq/, as explained in Corriente 2004b:78.

**atafera**: see **adefera**.

**atafetanado and atafetanat**: see **tafetá**.

**atafime** (Cs.): this uncommon technical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Sevillian ordinances, has no obvious etymon, as neither is its meaning clear in the context: **que el oficial pueda gastar—y en filado remendar y encabalar y de tres filos y en filo delgado sea para hacer redes** “the tradesman must know how to use the—, to mend the thread and to weave with three threads or a thin thread in order to make nets”. It is presumably an instrument or, more prob., a procedure for mending weak spots of the tissue or the yarn, which suggests And. *taxzīm* “plaiting”, with intra-Rom. sibilant shift and a not uncommon substitution of /f/ for /θ/. Cf. **tagzīm**.

**atafona** (Pt.), **tafona** (Gl.), **(a)tahona** (Cs.) “mill; bakery”, and **tafona** (Ct.) “oil mill”: < And. *aṭṭahūna* = Cl.Ar. *ṭāḥūnah*. The meaning “busybody” in Gl., as well as the matching denominal hybrid verb **tafonear**, reflect the same semantic derivation seen in **tafaner** and **tafanejar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atahonero** and **tahonera**; Ct.: **tafoner**; Gl.: **tafonear**; Pt.: **atafoneiro**.

**atafullarse** “to gorge (oneself); to choke with food” (Can.): appears to reflect a hybrid verb \***A(D)+taḥwīl+ÁR**, formed on And. *taḥwīl* = Cl.Ar. *taḥwīl* “deviation”, through the frequent metonymy of choking as a detour of ingested food. By the way, the phenomenon /aḥwīl/ > /AFÚL/ is witnessed by Ct. **tafulla**, q.v.

<sup>522</sup> With the var. **enzafarriar** “to soil”, with the same striking equation, Ar. /t/ > Cs. /t/, as

in standard **azumbre**: see SK 2.12.1 and AAR 2.1.2.3.1.

**atagarrarse**: see **atafal**.

**atagúa** (Cs.) and **atajía** (Anz., mere phonetic var.) "solid wall of earth used as a dam": is perhaps a concretization of And. *ataqiyá* = Cl.Ar. *taqiyah* "precaution"

**ataharre**: see **atafal**.

**atahona** and **atahonero**: see **atafona**.

**atahorma**: see **altaforma**.

**atahúlla**: see **tafulla**.

**atahya** (with the var. **athaya** and **athia**) "salutation": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 64, < Ar. *atahiyyah*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:211 as My Geminorum.

**ataifor** (Cs.) "soup dish; Moorish round low table": < And. *aṭṭayfūr* or *attayfūr*<sup>523</sup> < Cl.Ar. *ṭayfūr* "jumping bird", from the root *[tfr]* "to jump",<sup>524</sup> a metonymy due to its unsteadiness. From the same origin are **taforeia** (Pt.), **tafore(y)a** (Ct.) and **taforea** (Cs.) "and old kind of flat-bottomed ship", through And. *ṭayfurīyya*, fem. of the corresponding attributive adjective, said of those vessels on account of their likeness both in shape and stability, in case of heavy sea.

**ataire** (Cs.) "moulding in the panels and frames of doors and windows": it used to be accepted, since DE down to Coromines, also by DRAE, that this word derives from And. *addāy(i)ra* < Cl.Ar. *dāʾirah* "circle", in spite of some phonetic difficulty, as that unvoicing of the dental is anomalous (though witnessed in a few cases, like **atafera** and **atorra**) and, above all, semantic disparity, as that Ar. word is not applicable to a protruding ornament which is not usually circular. Considering that the technical jargon of Mudejar and Morisco craftsmen belonged to a bilingual milieu, it is very likely that the true etymon be And. *aṭṭāyir* < Cl.Ar. *ṭāʾir* "flying", translated from Cs. **voladizo** "projecting part of a building" (cf. **marfuz**). Of course, it is also quite probable that this technical word emerged

without any connection with Rom., if the latter is not a calque of Ar., in the light of terms as the one registered by DS, *\*ṭayyārah* "open porch", and And *\*ṭayyār* "to knock or pull out (said of an eye or tooth, the rope from a pulley, etc.)", lit. "to make fly", etc. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atairar**.

**atajarre** and **atajarria**: see **atafal**.

**atajea**: see **atarjea**.

**atajía**: see **atagúa** and **atarjea**.

**atalá** (Pt.) "a fabric from China": prob. through Fr., from Hindi *atlas*(ī) < Neo-P. *atlas(i)* < Ar. *aṭlas* "sateen"

**atalaia** (Gl. and Pt.), **atalaya** (Cs.) and **talaia** (Ct.) "high view-point": < And. *aṭṭalāyāṣ* = Cl.Ar. *ṭalāyīṣ*, pl. of *ṭalīṣah* "outpost".<sup>525</sup> Prob. from the same etymon, with a different semantic evolution, is **talaya** "vine-prop" (Nav.) and "trunk of a small oak" (Leo.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atalaya(do)r** (with the old var. **at(h)alear** and **ataleador** in GP 65), **atalayamiento**, **atalayero** and **atalayuela**, as well as **talayote**, from Ct. **talaíot** "Bal. megalithic monument", with a Rom. aug. suffix; Ct.: **atalaiador**, **atalaiament**, **atala(e)iar**, **(a)talaier**, **talaiola**, **taleia** and **taleiós**; Gl. and Pt.: **atalaiar**.

**atalantar**: see **talant**.

**atalaque** "drinking or eating trough" (Mur.): might derive from And. *ṭalāq* "cleared place", although the semantic evolution is considerable. It might also be a concretization of the verbal noun of a hybrid verb *\*aṭlaq+ÁR* "to loosen", said of the place where cattle is let loose for grazing and drinking; in this case, it would be a term borrowed from the Mudejars, rather than from And.Rom., formed on And. *aṭlāq* = Cl.Ar. *aṭlaq*, perfective of the matching Ar. verb. Incidentally, Llt. **talacca**, in an Arag. unclear text, but obviously referred to a certain part of a property (Fort Cañellas 1994:10), appears to be closer to that Mur. word than to **taleca** (q.v.).

<sup>523</sup> This more frequent form is due to root metanalysis as *[ta/2u3]* in the first days of Arabicization, in which velarization, a feature strange to Hispanic people, still triggered pseudo-corrections, as we surveyed for the root *[ṭfr]*, in Corriente 1993c.

<sup>524</sup> However, the sway of the allomorph *ṭayfūr*

in And., without velarization, makes us suspect that there was no longer any awareness of this semantic connection. Note also the dissimilation of */y/*, similar to the cases of **tabaira** and **aljabeira**.

<sup>525</sup> This sg. is reflected as **atalia** in a document mentioned by Eguílaz.



**atalaya(dor), atalayamiento, atalayar, atalayero and atalayuela:** see **atalaia**.

**atalbar:** see **atabal**.

**atalbix:** see **taybix**.

**atalc(h):** see **talco**.

**ataleiar:** see **atalaia**.

**ataleigar and atalicar:** see **taleca**.

**atalfa:** see **atarfe**<sup>1</sup>.

**atalia:** see **atalaia**.

**atalucarse** "to be astonished" (Sal.): appears to derive from a hybrid And.Rom. verb *\*A(D)+tašalluq+ÁR* "to be suspended"

**atalvar:** see **atabal**.

**(a)talvina** (Cs.) and **talvina** (Ct.) "porridge", **tarbina** "a dessert made of milk" (Anl.), **talbina** "pig fodder" (Ext.), **talvina** "mixed fodder for fattening pigs" (Mon.), **talbina** and **taravina** (Can.) "mixture of corn flour, wine and milk; mixture of water and bran as fodder" and **tarbinas** "porridge with potatoes, cod and green peppers" (Anz.): < And. *attalbina* < Cl. *talbīnah* "bran soup with milk and honey". Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **talvinada**.

**atamã** (Pt.) and **atamán** (Cs.) "atman, Cossack leader": from Old Russian *vataman*, prob. through Ukrainian and Fr. According to Vasmer 1996:195, the usually given German etymon, *Hauptmann*, which appears to have furthered the use of the allomorph "hetman" is unlikely, while Tr. *odaman* "overseer" stands a better chance.

**(a)tamar and atemar** (Cs.) "to finish" and **atamar** (Can., from Las Palmas, after Corrales, Corbella and Álvarez Martínez 1996:131, prob. borrowed from Pt., in which it is recorded as dial., with a var. **atimar**, both only in Morais) "to put an end to a lawsuit", **tamear** "to end a job" (Anl.) and **atamar** "to finish an unpleasantness or feud" (Sal.): all reflect a very genuine hybrid verb, unfortunately dropped by DRAE, formed directly in an exceptional way on the And. verb *atámm* = Cl.Ar. *atamm* "to finish". However, Arag. **estemar** "maim" (from *Vidal Mayor*, but in Cs. "to castrate", after DAX 851-2), reflect-

ing a hybrid *\*(D)EŠ+atamm+ÁR*, raises the suspicion that both words are built on the participle *támm* = Cl.Ar. *tāmm* "complete"; in this case **ata/emar** would be the outcome of *\*A(D)+atamm+ÁR*.

**atamares** "dates": prob. assimilated only in Muslim milieu, from GP 64, < Ar. *attamr*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atamarado**. Cf. **tá-mara**.

**atam(b)or:** see **tambor**.

**atanor** "oven" (Pt.), "brick construction for an oven, irrigation channel or curbstone of a well" (Cs.) and "alchemist's oven" (Mod. Ct.): < And. *attannūr* = Cl.Ar. *tannūr* < Aram. *tannūrā* < Ak. *tinūrūm* "furnace"

**atanquía** (Cs.) and **tanquia** (Pt.) "depilatory ointment": is a concretization of And. *attanqīya* = Cl.Ar. *tanqīyah* "cleaning, purification". As for the Cs. meaning "refuse of silk", i.e., that which is taken from the outer part of the cocoon, it is a probable metonymy, as it must be removed to reach the best part. From the same etymon is **atanquina** (Ct.) "depurative medicament", a case of poor transmission or corruption of the same word.

**ataque(i)ras and ataqueiro:** see **atacar**.

**ataquizar** (Cs., given as Arag. by DRAE) "to lay the shoot of a vine": is a denominative hybrid verb, formed on And. *\*attakbīsa*.<sup>526</sup>

**ataracea(r):** see **taracea**.

**ataramiellar:** see **tarabela**.

**atarassana and (a)tarazana:** see **arsenal** and **dársena**.

**atarazanero:** see **arsenal**.

**atarea(r):** see **tarea**.

**atareç/ca:** see **adarga**.

**atarefado, atarefamento and atarefar:** see **tarea**.

**atarf** (with the var. **altarf, atharf(a)** and **alcraf**) "(the lion's) look": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 64, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:114 as Kappa Canceris and Lambda Leonis, < Ar. *attarf*.

**atarfe**<sup>1</sup> and **tarah/je** (Cs.), **taray** (Cs. and Gl.) and **tarrafe** (Pt., only in Morais) "tama-

<sup>526</sup> A n.un. of *takbīs*, documented in the *Leiden Glossary* together with its matching verb, already with this technical meaning (see Corriente 1991:148). The Cs. word is documented only in

the 18th c., but **ataquiza** "layer" appears already at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th c., as stated in Millás 1948:386.

risk": < And. *tarāfa* or *tarfa* < Cl.Ar. *tarfāh*. The primitive forms of the loanword were **atarfe**, from the first And. allomorph and **tarahe**, from the second one, whence **taray**, by loss of the intervocalic spirant, and **taraje**, a spelling based on its An. pronunciation. In spite of its insufficient identification, Tol. **atalfa** "a tree" appears to be a further var. of this word.

**atarfe**<sup>2</sup> "sharp tube used to polish the edges of vessels" (Anz.): is no doubt an Ar. loanword which, rather than from And. **\*attārf** "end", appears to derive from And. **attārh** < Cl.Ar. *tarh* "removing the excess" (cf. standard Cs. **tara**, of the same etymon), prob. abridged from an annexation syntagm (see 1.3.2). Perhaps this etymon is shared by the An. meanings "(channel around the) basis of the oil mill", in Garulo 1983:203.

**atarifat**: see **tarifa**.

**ata(r)jea** (Cs., with the var. **(a)tajea** and **atajfa**) "brick casing of a pipe; sewage pipe" and **atarjea** "main irrigation canal" (Anl., but attributed by DRAE to Andalusia, Canary Islands and Mexico): in the light of Ct. **teginat**, q.v., this term appears to derive, in truth, from And. **attajrīya** "tiling" < Cl.Ar. *tajriyah* "causing to run", and not from **\*attasīy** "accompanying", as suggested in Corriente 1996c, which was adopted by the latest edition of DRAE. The alleged and non-existent Ar. etymon of former editions of this work, **\*tarhiyyah** "way of the excrements", was just one of the many audacious fabrications of Asín's, deservedly criticized by Coromines on this account since, as said in Corriente 1999a, he misled all of us who trusted his credentials as an Arabist, not even bothering to declare the hypothetical nature of such creatures.

**ataronjat**: see **taronja**.

**atarquim/nar** see **tarquín**.

**atarracar** (Pt.) "to hammer; to tighten" and **atarragar** (Cs.) "to shape by hammering": in the lack of any convincing proof of the existence in Ar. of a substantive **\*tarrāqah** "hammer", unless Cs. **atarraga**<sup>2</sup> of this meaning is held as such, the etymon of these words must be obtained directly from the perfective of the verb *tarrāq*, not a common occurrence, but not an exceptional one either, cf. Cs.

**ata/emar**, **atracar**, etc. Alternatively, it may reflect the contamination by this perfective of the verbal noun of one time, *tarrāqah* "one hammer strike", in an intermediate stage. As for **atarragar** "to walk with difficulty" (Anz.) and "to plug (a leak)" (Sal.), it is a clear case of metonymy. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **atarracadela** and **atarracado**. Cf. **matraca**.

**atarraeras**: see **atafal**.

**atarraga**<sup>1</sup>: see **atriaca**.

**atarraga**<sup>2</sup>: see **atarracar**.

**atarragar**: see **atarracar**.

**atarraj/xar**: see **tarraja**.

**(a)tarraya** (Cs.), **tarrafa** (Pt., and Ast., in García Arias 2006:219, with the dim. **tarraffin** and **tarrafina**) "cast net", (Gl. and Ct.) "fishing with a cast net", (Gl.) "this kind of net and the boat in which it is used", **tarraffya** "net" (Ext. and Can.), **tarrafa** "sein (net)" (Anl.) and **tarralla** (Gl.) "cast net": < And. **attarrāha** "easily and often cast", a Neo-Ar. n.inst. of the Cl.Ar. root *[trh]* "to cast or throw". Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **tarrafeira**; Pt.: **tarrafar**. Cf. **almatroque** and **tarraqueta**.

**atarre**: see **atafal**.

**atarzir** and **atasir**: see **atacir**.

**ataxeres** "a kind of decoration in a panelled ceiling": in García Salinero 218, might be corrupted from And. **taššīš** "vine arbour", if not from **taššiq** "joining"

**ataubar**: see **atabal**.

**ataubí** "a kind of grape" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. gentilic, but cannot be identified with any of the varieties mentioned in And. agricultural treatises.

**ataúd** and **ataúde**: see **atabud**.

**(a)taujfa** (Cs.) and **(a)tauxia** (Pt.) "inlaid work of gold and silver in iron": < And. **attawšīya** < Cl.Ar. *tawšīyah* "embroidery". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ataujiado**; Pt.: **tauxiar**.

**ataúl**: see **atabud**.

**ataülla(do)r** and **ataüllament**: see **tafulla**.

**ataurique** (Cs.) "ornamented plasterwork with vegetal motives": < And. **attawriq** = Cl.Ar. *tawriq* "to shoot (of plants)"

**ataüt**: see **atabud**.

**atazar**: see **atacir**.

**(a)tazmim** (with the var. **taçnun** and **camene**, in *Libro Complido*, and **tazmim/n** in GP

123)<sup>527</sup> “position of a planet at less than one degree away from the sun in longitude and latitude”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, < Ar. *tašmīm*.

**até:** see **ata**.

**ateclar:** see **tagra**.

**ateigamento and ategar:** see **taleca**.

**atemar:** see **atamar**.

**atamina:** see **adem(en)a**.

**ateneb:** see **arneb**.

**aterrajar:** see **tarraja**.

**ateserá and ateserare** (Arag.) and **atesserar** (dial. Ct.) “to arrange, to prepare”: appear to reflect a Rom. hybrid verb, formed on And. *attaysir* = Cl.Ar. *taysir* “preparation”. The Rom. match of /s/ and the Ct. forms, even a Gascon one mentioned s.v. **ters** by Coromines, who never suspected the Ar. etymon, suggest that this term spread from “New Catalonia”, i.e., Lerida and Tarragona. Cf. **ensinistrar**.

**atfar eddib:** see **adfar**.

**atgefegar:** see **atxafegar**.

**athacir:** see **atacir**.

**athanas(s)ia** “an antidote”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:202, < *aṭānāsiyā*, Neo-Ar. spelling of Gr. *athanasía* “immortality”

**atharf(a):** see **atarf**.

**athas:** see **hathas**.

**athaya:** see **atahya**.

**(a)thoraya:** see **açoraya/e**.

**atiba, atúa or adtúa** (Leo., from DO 224) “willingly”: < And. \**an ṭība* = Cl.Ar. *ʿan ṭibati xāṭir*.

**atib/uachis** “brocade”: is an unassimilated technical term from LHP 71 and DO 225, < Ar. *addībāḥ(i)*; see DAA 173, about its Iranian origin.

**atifarrar** “to cram with food” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991): prob. a hybrid blending of Cs. **atiborrar**, of the same meaning, with And. *farāḥ* “banquet” (cf. **farra**), after Corriente 2005:231.

**atifells** “utensils” and **tifell** “crock” (Ct., with the Old Val. **artifell**) and **atifle** (Cs.) “a kind of trivet to prevent fresh pottery items from sticking to each other while in the oven”: < And. *atfīl* < Cl.Ar. *aṭāfi* “trivet”, phonetically and semantically contaminated by And. *atābil*, an allomorph of *tawābil* < Cl.Ar. *tawābil* “seasoning for victuals”, or by And. *tawīl* “utensils”, from the root *{tbl}*, with subsequent metanalysis of a Rom. dim. suffix, which caused the stress shift in Ct. From the same etymon are the astronomical term **Altephil** or **Abrefil**, in GP 11, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:58–59 as Sigma, Upsilon and Tau, or Pi, Rho and Phi Draconis or, metaphorically, as Alpha, Epsilon and Zeta Lyrae, or the three stars of the 5th mansion of the moon (Ar. *alḥaḡṣah*), as well as Leo. **atabales** “tools, instruments”, though prob. phonetically contaminated by **atabal**<sup>1</sup> and reflecting an old pronunciation, common in early Ar. loanwords, without *imālah*, of the And. var. *aṭāfil* < Cl.Ar. *aṭāfin*,<sup>528</sup> with the same semantic evolution of the first Ct. form, towards the vague meaning of instruments, even old or useless ones. This evolution led Coromines astray, although of course he knew the etymon, which made him write a two and a half page article for the Ct. words, in defence of a hypothetical Lt. origin. Cf. **acefi**, **alatefi**, **alatef** and **atuell**.

**atijara** (Cs.) “ware; price; reward”: < And. *attijāra* = Cl.Ar. *tiḡārah* “commerce”, from a root backformed from Aram. *taggārā* < Ak. *tamkārūm* < Sum. *dam.gār* “merchant”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atijarero**.

**atile:** see **adile**.

**atimar:** see **atamar**.

**atimçah** “crocodile”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 65, < Ar. *attimsāḥ* < Cp. *temsah*.

**atinca** (Anz.), **atincal** (Pt., only in Morais) and **atincar** (Cs., with the old var. **atimçar** and **atymcar** “a kind of salt”, from GP 65):

<sup>527</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:190.

<sup>528</sup> We use this contextual form instead of the pausal one, as usually in this work, as it is very probable that And. derives from it by a shift of /n/ and /l/, since the occasional integration of nunation in the radical morpheme is an old phenomenon (cf. Cl.Ar. *\*šajun* = *\*šajān*)

“grief”, *\*qafan* = *\*qafān* “nape of the neck”) still active in And., e.g., in *\*šayn* for *\*šaylun* “thing”, *\*nāḡih* for *\*hāḡih* “lamponer”, etc.). In prehistoric times, the same sometimes happened to proto-Semitic mimation, which explains, as is well-known, Ar. *\*fūm* “mouth”.

< And. \**attinkār* < Neo-Ar. *tinkār* < Neo-P. *tangār* “borax”.<sup>529</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *tinca-leira*.

**atizacandiles**: see **candil**.

**atoax lebet** “small foxes”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 65, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:114 and 90 as some star of Ursa Major, also called **cafez alguezlen**, q.v., < Ar. *agḡṣaylibāt*. Cf. **beldet atahlib**.

**atoba**: see **adobe**.

**atobar**: see **atabal**.

**atobó**: see **adobe**.

**atoch**: see **atoque**.

**atocha** (Cs.) “esparto”: < And. *aṭṭāwča* < And.Rom. \**TÁWČA* < Hispanic Lt. *taucia*, of pre-Roman stock. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atochada**, **atochal/r**, **atochar**, **atochero**, **atochón** and **atochuela**.

**atoque** (Arag.) “decoration; wooden protecting strip” and “breastwork; kitchen shelf; guard for the edges of the steps” (Nav., with a var. **toque** in the first meaning): < And. *aṭṭāwq* “lapel; collar; culminating ornament” = Cl.Ar. *ṭawq* “necklace”, semantically better reflected by Arag. **atoch** “(pearl) necklace” (in Steiger 1948–49, from inventories of the 14th and 15th c.). The Ct. dial. of Ribagorza has **atucá** “to grab by the throat”, which appears to share this origin. Cf. **toque**.

**atora**: see **tora**<sup>1</sup>.

**atorra**: see **adorra**.

**atòva**: see **adoba**.

**atracar** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “to berth”: appears to be a hybrid verb, directly formed on the And. verb *atraqqā* < Cl.Ar. *taragqā* “to go up”, after the Semitic concept identify-

ing “going to the water” with “going down” and “getting out of the water, or ashore”, with “going up”. This etymon was one of Asín’s few felicitous intuitions in this realm,<sup>530</sup> and Coromines agreed with him more than usually. As for its other meanings, Cs. “to hold up, to rob” and “to cram with food” (also in Pt., together with “to bump into someone”), are clear metonymies, with the obvious semantic juncture of the sudden approach to the victim or the victims. As for **atracar** “to fasten” (Can.), it is a contamination by this term of standard **atacar**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atracadero**, **atraco**, **atracón** and **desatracar**; Cs., Ct. and Gl.: **atracada**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **atracador**; Cs. and Pt.: **atracque**; Ct.: **atracadís** and **atracament**; Gl. and Pt.: **atracadouro**; Pt.: **atracação**, **atracadela** and **atracão**. q.v. Cf. **malecón**.

**atraciphes**: see **arrecife**<sup>1</sup>.

**atramuz**: see **altramuz**.

**atracue**: see **atracar**.

(a) **triaca** or **atriaca** (Cs.) and **t(eri)riaga** (Pt.) “antidote”: < And. *ṭiryāq(a)* = Cl.Ar. *ṭiryāq* < Gr. *thēriakē*. Apparently from the same etymon are **altarraga** and **alteraca** “a kind of elecampane (*Inula viscosa*)” (Anl.), confirming that the **atarraga** of DRAE, held by Coromines as an error for \***atavaga**, var. of standard **altabaca**, q.v., has actually existed, although anyway the contamination between these synonyms is evident. Being a plant often used for cicatrizing, there is a great probability of contamination by a Rom. reflex of the And. etymon of the entry, or even with the same term through Gr. and Lt. transmission. Intra-

<sup>529</sup> This vocalic dissimilation, frequent for *[taɪ2ā3]* in the whole Neo-Ar., is documented for And. in AAR 2.1.4.2.1. The penultima stress of DRAE maintained up to its latest edition is erroneous, as proven by a rhyme in *Libro de Buen Amor*, quoted by Eguílaz (see Coromines 1073:367, stanza 941).

<sup>530</sup> Although, as a consequence of his total disregard for linguistic methods and rather scarce knowledge of Ar., exposed in Coriente 1999a, as necessary background of the history of the study of Ar. loanwords, in this entry of his 1944 article he commits the following blunders: 1) Inventing an incorrect *mašdar* \*\*\**atturayqā*, for \*\*\**tarayqā*,

2) Mixing up *[ryq]* with *[lqy]*, the real source, not \*\*\**ruqā*, which does not exist in either And. or Cl.Ar., of And. \*\*\**arqā* “to throw or cast (said of the anchor, etc.)”, semantically different from **atracar** “to berth”, which is done without using anchors, unlike the case **fondear**, i.e., “to cast anchor”, and 3) Not realizing, as neither did Coromines, that the Mor. imperative *ṭruka*, is a return from Rom., proving that this metonymical process belonged exclusively to the Sabir or lingua franca used in the harbours of the Southern Mediterranean Sea, in which words easily cross linguistic boundaries in any direction.

Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)triaquero, triaquera and triacal; Pt.: teriacal.

**atrifique** (Cs.): this hapax in Baena's *Cancionero* (N° 360), to judge from the context (yo vos faré...las cejas en filo con el—"I am going to bring your eyebrows into line with your—), prob. reflects And. *attafriq* "parting (of hair)", a concretization of Cl.Ar. *tafriq* "separation", witnessed by IQ 27/0/1 *ṣāḥib attafriq* "the one with the parted hair". Therefore, Dutton & González Cuenca's proposal, "small comb for the eyebrows", is out of place; instead, the idiom is a transparent metaphor for causing pain and/or a ridiculous appearance, by making the victim's eyebrows stand in line with the vertical direction of the parting. Cf. *trafi*.

**atrilles**: in the idiom *echar los*—"to throw up", in Gómez Ortín 1991:70, this term would be a var. of *aletría*, q.v., as commented in Corriente 2005:229, implying vomiting so violently that one would, hyperbolically of course, discharge even the paps eaten in infancy; however, *atril* "easily portable object", Arag. from Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:65, appears akin to *atuell*, q.v.

**atrípulo**: see *trifera*.

**atsech** "realgar": is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:108. Cf. *aceche*.

**atucá**: see *atoque*.

**atueira/o**: see *atun*.

**atuell** (Ct.) "(useless or unwieldy) utensil": < And. *tawīl* "instrument", which DS I, 45 considers a semantic evolution of Ar. *\*taʿwīl* "interpretation, commentary", quite unlikely in our view. In fact, *tawīl* is recorded by *Vocabulista in arabico* as a hapology of *tawābīl*, pl. of *tābīl* "seasoning", which understandably may have evolved semantically towards "accessory, instrument". Therefore, chances are that this hapological pl. be the true etymon of the Ct. word, with metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix and extreme diphthong reduction (cf.

1.1.2.1): there is, then, no etymological community with *atifells*, q.v., pace Coromines, but just a logical semantic contamination. Of the same origin appears to be Arag. *atularios* "(household) furniture; belongings", recorded by Borao, with Rom. suffixation.

**atufayres** "braids" (Cs.): this hapax of the Bible of the House of Alba, reflected by Maíllo 1998:288, is prob. a mistake for *\*atafayres* < And. *azzafáyir* < Cl.Ar. *ḍafāʿir*, as a pl. is much likelier for this concept than a dim., otherwise unknown in And. sources. Cf. *adefera*.

**atun** (Pt.), **atún** (Cs. and Gl.) and **tun** "tunny" (Anl.): < And. *atúnn* = Neo-Ar. *tunn* < Gr. *thýnnos*. There appears to exist no var. with /t/, as suggested by Machado. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *atunara* and *atunera/o*; Gl.: *atueiro*; Pt.: *atueira*.

**aturquesado** and **aturquesat**: see *turco*.

(a)**tutía** (Cs., with the old var. *dutia*, in GP 85, and *tutya*, in GP 124) and **tutia** (Ct. and Pt.) "tutty; zinc hydroxide ointment",<sup>531</sup> < And. *atutíyya* < Cl.Ar. *tūtiyāʿ*, from Pahl. (reflected by Neo-P. *tuteyā*) < Sk. *tuttha*.

**atursihala**: is an obsolete term, if ever assimilated, from LHP 73, explained in Corriente 2004b:78 and 1997:335 as a der. of Neo-Ar. *tarjahālah* < Neo-P. *tarkehār* "vessel for making yoghourt" (after Vullers I 438).

**atxaca** and **atxacós**: see *achaque*.

**atxafegar** and **atgefegar** (Maj., only used in the idiom *no poder-se*—, roughly, "to be up to one's eyes"): is easily explained in the light of Arag. *chalfegar* or *ixafegar* "to pant", from an And.Rom. hybrid verb *\*(AD+)\*ṣahq+ÁR*, formed on And. *ṣāḥqa* < Cl.Ar. *ṣahqah* "sob; rattle", with the connotation of "being unable even to pant, let alone to breathe normally". From the same etymon are Ct. *xafogor*, contaminated by *afogar* and der., with the Maj. var. *xafagor* "sultry weather" and Gl. *chafagueira/o* "bush thicket", based on *\*(AD+)\*ṣahq+ÁYRA* "(place) causing to pant", said of such

<sup>531</sup> This product was considered an efficient remedy for some diseases, which originated the Cs. idiom *no hay tutía*, i.e., "there is no remedy (for this illness or, metaphorically, problem)". However, this term has fallen into oblivion, while

the idiom continues in use, but usually spelled *no hay tu tía* (thus in DRAE and Moliner), which people tend to understand as "not even your aunt can help this".

ground which can be crossed only stooping and pushing the growth aside with great effort. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **chafaguieria**.

**atxaquia** and **atxaquíos**: see **achaque**.

**atxeu** and **atxevo** (Ct.) "bait" (cf. Arag. **enchibir** "to eat the bait"): < And. *aččib* < And.Rom. \**čib*<sup>532</sup> < Lt. *cibus*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **atxevar**.

**atyhox**: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 246, < Ar. *ṭayhūj*, < Pahl. *īthōg* ("small grey partridge" en MacKenzie), reflected by Neo-P. *tihu*, which the editors render as "peacock", although in fact it is a curassow or pheasant.

**atymcar**: see **atimçar**.

**atzabeja**: see **acibeche**.

**atzabó** (Maj.) "din, especially that raised by the waves": < And.Rom. \**aš+šaxab*+*ÓN*, intra-Rom. aug. of And. \**šaxáb* = Cl.Ar. *šaxab* "roar, din".<sup>533</sup>

**atzaca**: see **zaque**.

**atzagaia** (Ct.), **azagaia** (Gl.), **zagaia** (Pt.) and **(a)zagaya** (Cs.): < And. *azgaḡya*, of Br. stock, apparently a n.inst. from *ag* "to throw", e.g., in Rif., with voicing of the characteristic prefix of n.instr., /s+/.<sup>534</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **atzagaiada**; Pt.: **azagaiada** and **(a)zagaiar**.

**atzanet** (Ct.) "light horseman", **genet** (Ct.), **ginete** (Pt.), **jinete** (Cs., with the old var. **genete**, in LHP 293 and DAX 933) and **xe/inete** (Gl.) "rider": < And. *zanāti* < Neo-Ar. *zanāti*, gentilic, reflected by Cs. **cenete**, of the Br. tribal confederation of *Zanāta*, solidly

established in the Rif and renowned in the Islamic West for horse breeding and horsemanship, which led the rulers of Al-Andalus to recruit them in large numbers.<sup>535</sup> From the same etymon is prob. Ct. **enjaneta** (with the var. **anxaneta**) "child who is hoisted to the top of the human towers made in Catalonia on occasion of certain festivities",<sup>536</sup> and certainly **jineta** (Cs., with a var. **ianeta**, in LHP 293), **geneta** (Ct.), **gineta** (Pt., with the var. **gineto**), and **xe/ineta** (Gl.) "genet (*Genetta genetta*)". This latter word does not appear to derive from Naf. \**jarnayt*, as often purported since DE, inasmuch as this word, with an indeed strange look for Ar. or Br., can hardly be but a return of the Rom. latter item, most likely due to the expelled Moriscos. It would then be just a euphemistic metaphor,<sup>537</sup> alluding to the ravages caused by this feared little predator; let us not forget that **jinete** or **caballista** "rider" is an established euphemism for "highwayman" in Andalusia. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jineta**?, **jinetada** and **jinetear**; Ct. **ge/ineta** and **genetari**; Pt.: **ginetaço**, **ginetário** and **ginetear**.

**atzaque**: see **asequí**.

**atzar** (Ct.), **azar** (Pt.) "(bad) luck" and **azar** (Cs. and Gl.) "fortune": < And. \**azzáhr* < Neo-Ar. \**(kašb) azzahr* "die", lit., "knucklebone marked with flowers", as knucklebones, having clearly distinct and identifiable surfaces, were originally used as dice; only later were artificial imitations of wood or horn made, their sides not yet marked by dots or figures,

<sup>532</sup> Undocumented by itself, unlike the verbs, transitive (*ničayyáp* "to hunt (with bait)" and intransitive (*n)aččayyáp*, "to be hunted (with bait)" in *Vocabulista in arabico*, in a passage which, thanks to Coromines' remark for this entry, must be amended in our edition of this source, Corriente 1989a:74, in which we were misled to suppose \**cippus* "snare" by the vagueness of Lt. *vocare*.

<sup>533</sup> See note to **atzeni**, about the seemingly abnormal match of /s/.

<sup>534</sup> See Corriente 1981b:29, fn. 12.

<sup>535</sup> The identification of "Zanati" and "horseman" is clearly reflected in the passage of the anonymous chronicle *Mafāxir albarbar*, in which Buluqqīn b. Zīrī, client of the Fatimids, bent on taking revenge for his father, undertakes an exter-

minatory war against the Zanati confederation, allied to the Cordovan Umayyads, by swearing never to spare the life of "any Berber riding or breeding horses, wherever he was found"

<sup>536</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.5.2.2, about the occasional pronunciation as of /j/, and ultracorrect reactions, but dismissed as arbitrary, by Coromines.

<sup>537</sup> The alteration in *jarnayt* is prob. not merely phonetic, but may stand in a jesting relation with the popular proverbs reviling in-laws, e.g., Alonso del Castillo N° 430 "the sister-in-law is a snake", N° 176 "If one has no enemies, his little daughter will bring him one (as a son-in-law)", Azzajjālī N° 55 "Whenever you see your brother-in-law, draw your sword", N° 1464 "If anybody wants to perform a good deed, let him kill his sister-in-law". etc.

but with some design, like a flower, perhaps only on the winning face, or rather the losing one, which would explain the often negative connotation of this word in Ct., and generally in Pt.). There is a Cs. var. **zahar** in the proverb **hombre viejo, saco de zahares** "an old man is a sum of misfortunes", misunderstood by García Gómez 1977, also mistaken in connection with **zahareño**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azarar** and **azarearse**; Cs. and Gl. **azaroso**; Ct.: **atzarat**, **atzarament** and **atzarós**; Pt.: **azarado** (Cf. Jud.-Ap. **asarado**), **azarar**, **azareiro** and **azarento**. Cf. **dado**.

**atza/ercó** and **atzèrcol** (Ct.), **(a)zarcão** (Pt.) and **azarcón**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the old var. **zarcón**, in GP 13, and **alharcon**, in GP 35 and DAX 113, a graphical mix-up) "minium" and **azercol** (Arag.) "ashes of lead and tin": < And. **azzarqún** = Cl.Ar. **zarqūn** "minium" < Neo-P. **zargun** "gold colour". From the same etymon, but transcribed through scientific Lt. is **circón** (Cs.) "hyacinth, zircon"

**atzaura** (Ct.), **zabra** (Cs., with the var. **zab/ura** and **zambra**, in GP 131, and Pt., from Cs.) and **zavra** (Pt.) "a kind of boat": < And. **azzáwraq** = Cl.Ar. **zawraq**, of Northwest Iranian origin, after Eilers 1968. Cf. **galizavra**.

**atzavara**: see **acibara**.

**atzebib**: see **acebibe**.

**atzeituní**: see **aceituní**.

**atzemara** (Ct.) "flute-players": < And. **azzamára**, pl. of **zámir** = Cl.Ar. **zámir**.

**atzembla** and **atzemble(ria)**: see **acémila**.

**atzèni** (Val.) "a kind of wild box tree, similar to if not identical with *Buxus balearica*": does not derive, *pace* Coromines, from Ar. **\*\*zānī** "fornicator", which is never said of a plant or animal as a metaphoric expression for "false" or "wild", as he fancied. It rather seems to reflect And. **śīni** = Cl.Ar. **śīnī** < Pahl. **čīnī** "Chinese", a gentilic often used in And. plant names; the Ct. transcription of /s/ as >tz< is not exceptional, as we explained in connection with **alatzà**, q.v.<sup>538</sup> The same etymon has also generated Cs. **cení** "brass" (with an old

var. **cini**, in DAX 415, cf. Leo. **cenne** in DO 236), it being noteworthy that this word, the stress position in Ct., Alcalá's transcription as **cini** and our present information about stress in And., all coincide in diverging from the ultima stressed form of DRAE, which would be neither correct nor original, although the stress shift might have been brought about by the identification of the stressed gentilic suffix in the intra-Rom. phase.

**atzep** (Maj.) "annoying little man or child": was considered by Coromines as a der. of Ar. **\*\*zibb** "penis", attaching too much importance to this actually existing semantic juncture, reflected e.g., by Ct. **carallot** (exactly matched in both meanings by coarse American Eng. "prick", Cs. **\*\*pijo**, in the Canary Islands **\*\*tolete**, perhaps even And. **\*\*zibb bálīh** "weary penis", possible origin of **\*\*zahállah** "fool"), but this phenomenon is not actually witnessed for Ar. **zibb**, while the derivation from the true etymon of **\*\*\*abab**, q.v., stands a much better chance of being correct.

**atzèrcol**: see **atzarcó**.

**atzerola(r)** and **atzeroler(a)**: see **acerola**.

**a(t)zimut**: see **acimut**.

**atzucac** (Val.) "lane": < And. **azzuqáq** = Cl.Ar. **zuqāq**.

**atzumut**: see **acimut**.

**atzunar** (Ct.) "Moorish cloak": < And. **zunnār** = Cl.Ar. **zunnār** < Aram. **zunnārā** < Gr. **zōnārion**, semantically evolved from "girdle" (at times characteristic of Christians) to "peasant's cloak" in Al-Andalus.

**atzur** (Ct.) and **azur** (Cs. and Pt.), **azul** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **asul** (Arag.) "blue": does not exactly derive from an actual pronunciation, but from an erroneous reading as **\*(l)azur(d)**, through Lt. bookish transmission, of Ar. **lāzaward** "lapis lazuli" < Neo-P. **lā jvard** < Sk. **rājāvarta** "the king's curl", whence also, postponed to Lt. **lāpis** "stone", the names of the well-known semiprecious stone (**lāpis-**) **lazúli** (Pt.), **lapislázuli** (Cs.) and **lapislātzuli** (Ct.). Gl. **azourido** "livid" no doubt shares this etymon, although in a peculiar manner,

<sup>538</sup> As a matter of fact, Ibn AlṢawwām (see Carabaza 1991:I 287, 6) gives >šīnī< as a designation of cedar, although this gentilic has not

been registered so far in And. botanists for a variety of box tree.

suggesting an allomorph *\*(l)azáur*.<sup>539</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *azul(e)ar*, *azulejo*<sup>4</sup>, *azulenco*, *azulete*, *azulino*, *azulona* and *lazulita*; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: *azurita*; Ct.: *atzurat*, *atzurí* and *atzurita*; Gl.: *azuido* and *azulenta*; Gl. and Pt.: *azulado* and *azular*; Pt.: *azuláceo*, *azulão*, *azulina/o*, *azulíneo*, *azulóio* and *lazulite*.

**aubarda/á**: see *albarda*.

**aubérjé**: see *borja*.

**aucema**: see *alfazema*.

**aufàbia**: see *alfàbia*.

**aufàb(r)ega**, **aufabeguera** and **aufadega**: see *albaca*.

**aufals**: see *alfaç*.

**aufení**: see *alfení*.

**auge** (Ct., Pt., and Cs., the latter with the var. *aux* in *Libro Complido*, and *aux(e)* in GP 66, even the Lt. genitive *circulo augis*, in GP 65) and **auxe** (Gl.) “apogee”: < Ar. *awj* < Neo-P. *owg*, in principle, an astronomical term, used as a metonymy by learned people, in the meaning of “acme, highest point”

**aulaga**: see *argelāḡ*.

**auláquida**: see *alguaquida*.

**auled alguizlen** “the gazelles’ young ones”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 65, identified by Kunitzsch 1861:39 as fourteen stars of the 14th mansion of the moon, < Neo-Ar. *awlād alḡizlān*.

**aulet aziuah** (with the var. *aulet azinah*, *aziuah* and *açiuah*) “the hyenas’ young ones”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 65, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:39 as Kappa, Iota, Theta and Lambda Boötis, < Neo-Ar. *awlād addibāḡ*.

**aulunum**: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Neo-Ar. *lūbūyūn* “first kind of deep wound in the cornea” Cf. *alficume* and *luluma*.

**aumadrava**: see *almadraba*.

**aumaec**: see *almadec* and *almegue*.

**aumàstecs** (Ct.) “cogs of waterwheels”: < And.Rom. *\*al+MAST+AQ* “stem”, from Lt. *bastum*, with a pejorative suffix, as they were small pegs. Cf. *almáciga*<sup>2</sup>.

**aumec**: see *almadec*.

**aumedia**: see *armadia*.

**aumorda** (Ct., with the var. *almolda*) “outlet of an irrigation channel”: there is no relation, *pace* Coromines, with the etymon of Cs. *almoceda*, q.v., as that lemma just reflects And. *almáwrid* = Cl.Ar. *mawrid* “watering-station”, in which the paralogical vowel has evolved, as an intra-Rom. phenomenon, into a fem. morpheme (cf. *alforja*, *atzabeja*, etc.).

**aumuada**: see *almofada*.

**aumut**: see *almú*.

**auqueria**: see *alcaria*.

**aurra**: see *alforre*.

**auxe**: see *auge*.

**aval** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “guarantee, endorsement”: < Neo-Ar. *ḥawālah* “money order”, through It. and Fr. Coromines had qualms about this etymon and, with some hesitation, was inclined to accept a Fr. *aval* “below”, because the signature goes at the bottom of the document, but the indisputable invention of the bill of exchange in North Africa by Muslim or Jewish merchants,<sup>540</sup> and its immediate adoption by the Christians of the northern shores of the Mediterranean do corroborate the Ar. hypothesis. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **aval** and **avalista**; Ct.: **avalador** and **aval**; Pt.: **avalizar**.

**avaría** (Ct. and Pt., the latter with the var. **ab/valia**), **avaría** (Gl.) and **avería** (Cs.): < Neo-Ar. *ṣawāriyyah* “merchandise damaged during transport”, < Ar. *ṣawār* “default, vice”, through It. or Sabir, with some contamination by reflexes of Lt. *hābēre*, having caused, after Coromines, the vocalization of Cs. and some Ct. var., although the mere greater frequency of the suffix {-ería} in Cs. might have been sufficient reason for the alteration. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **averiarse**; Ct. and Gl.: **avarar**.

**avatar** (Cs. and Gl., usually pl.) “ups and downs”: is a recent borrowing, through Fr., from Sk. *avatāra* “descent or incarnation of a god”

**avenayars**: see *ayadino*.

**avería**: see *avaría*.

**averolo** “imbecile” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:71): is prob. a der. of the And. root {hrbl} “to run up”, according to Corriente 2005:228. Cf. *arbolario*.

<sup>539</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.3.3, about occasional hypercorrect diphthongizations of Sar. origin in And.

<sup>540</sup> See, about this, fn. 7 to *zajal* N° 89 by IQ, in our first translation (Corriente 1984a:346).



**averramía**: see **abdarramía**.

**averroísmo** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “Averroism” and **averroísta** “Averroist”: are intra-Rom. der. of the Lt. transcription *Averrhoes* of the And. pr.n. *aban rūšd* < Cl.Ar. *ibnu rušd*.

**avés**: see **abés**.

**avildar**: see **abaldar**<sup>2</sup>.

**Avesta** (Cs.) “Avesta, sacred book of Zoroastrian religion”: through Fr., < Pahl. *abestāg*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **avéstico**.

**avinal/yars**: see **ayadino**.

**Axa** “a common name of Muslim women” (Pt., only in Morais): < And. *šáyša* < Cl.Ar. *šālišah*, a very common woman’s name.<sup>541</sup> In this connection, a survey of the proverbs mentioned by Bencherifa 1971:385–386,<sup>542</sup> either Mor. or Cs., from Martínez Kleiser 1989, makes it possible to distinguish two very different traditions, one referred to a noble lady bearing the name of the Prophet’s wife, and another, portraying a vulgar woman, foolish and even depraved, who appears in the Jud.-Sp. proverbs of Salomica, under *Jáša*, and *jája* “foolish and clumsy woman”, q.v. But in the meaning of “Islamic evening prayer”, **axa** reflects Ar. *šišāʿ*, a term borrowed during the North African campaigns. Cf. **achanamasi** and **xona**.

**axabeba**: see **ajabeba**.

**axabeca** (with the var. **xabega**) “net or spider of the astrolabe”: is an unassimilated astro-

nomical term, in GP 66, about which see DS I 722–723, from the etymon of *jábec/ga*, q.v.

**axadrezar**: see **acedrenche**.

**axa(h)ra** (with the var. **axe(e/a)ra**, **axear** and **elxeera** in GP 66, 67 and 89): is the first constituent of the compounded astronomical terms (**axara**) **alemenia**, < *aššīšrā lyamaniyyah*, i.e., “Yemenite Sirius”, and **axerala-abor** (with the var. **alha(a)bor**, **ala(h)abor** and **alahbor**) < Ar. *aššīšrā lšabūr*,<sup>543</sup> identified by Kunitzsch 1961:111 as Alpha Canis Majoris, i.e., Sirius, while (**axera**) **axemia**, (with the var. **semia**, in GP 67) < Ar. *aššīšrā ššāmīyyah* “Syrian Sirius” is identified by him, *ibidem*, p. 112, as Alpha Canis Minoris, i.e., Procyon.

**axallá** and **áxala**: see **ojalá**.

**axaquia**: see **achaque**.

**axarea** “the Muslims’ oratory” (Cs., with the var. **axerea** and **abxorea**, in GP 67):<sup>544</sup> this word quoted by Eguílaz from Alix, without specifying his source, is a conspicuous Islamic term, prob. from Mudejar or Morisco milieus. It is, exactly, an esplanade in cemeteries for the last prayers in funerals, < And. *šarīʿa* < Cl.Ar. *šarašah*.<sup>545</sup>

**axarque** (Mur.) “East”: is a word excerpted by Pocklington 1984:274–275 from the *Repartimiento* and another Murcian document of the days of Alfonso X, < And. *aššárq* = Cl.Ar. *šarq*. From the same etymon is Ct. **nou d’ eixarc(h)** “nutmeg”, half-translated from Ar.

<sup>541</sup> As it was that of the Prophet’s favourite wife, no doubt alluded to in some Cs. proverbs of Morisco origin later no longer understood in their first sense, as those mentioned by Eguílaz **Aja no tiene que comer y convida huéspedes** “A. has nothing to eat, but she invites guests”, alluding to an extreme generosity, and **Si vos Aja, yo Alí** “If your are A., I am Alí”, reminiscent of the enmity arisen between her and Muḥammad’s son-in-law, ŠAlí, which ended up in the famous “Battle of the Camel”, so called because the beast carrying her was killed in it.

<sup>542</sup> Matched by Ould Mohamed Baba 1999:150 (Nº 1690), with another similar case in p. 108 (Nº 1041).

<sup>543</sup> The meaning of this qualifier has been much discussed, as also the etymon of *aššīšrā*. Lane 1863–92:1938 follows the traditional interpretation of an allusion to its crossing (*šhr*) the

Milky Way, but see a more detailed analysis in Kunitzsch 1959:118–119, fn. 3.

<sup>544</sup> All from *Primera Crónica General de España* (ed. R. Menéndez-Pidal, Madrid, Gredos 1955, II 551b, fol. 187r.), interpreted as “oratory in which the Moors prayed during their festivals”, with two more var., **axarea** and **axeca**, whence Eguílaz recorded this entry, through E. Alix.

<sup>545</sup> The Cl.Ar. form is recorded in Corriente 1990b:270 (182r); however, in Western dialects the first one appears to have circulated widely, as documented by Torres Balbás 1948; prob. they were often used as synonymous, although the Cl.Ar. does not have that particular meaning, and its phonetic equivalence with And. is not regular, as the expected result would be \**šaraša* without *imālah*: a contamination with *šārīf* “street or area cleared in a given direction” is likely.

*jawzu ššarq*, lit., “nut from the East”, while its Ar. gentile *šarqī* is reflected by **exerchins**, **essarquin** or **sarchins**, said in Lt. documents of Aragon of dinars coined in the East, after Fort Cañellas 1994:236. This might hold also for the Leo. var. **xerqui**, in DO 284, for which the author is thinking of the East of Spain, and **exerchin**, in LHP 234.

**axataba** (Old Cs.) “pinnule of an alidade”: this unassimilated astronomical term was explained already in DE in the sense that this word of *Libros Alfonso del saber de astronomía* was just a poor bookish reading of Ar. *šaṣṣiyah*, of that technical meaning and relatively rare. It appears that the common term And. *šaṭāba* < Cl.Ar. *šaṭbah* “palm leaf used as broom”, seemed to the mediocre translators a tolerable metonymy of another vertical object which sweeps a certain area, by standing there in different positions.

(a)**xaula** “thing in the back”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 66, abridged from **xeulet alacrab**, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:111 as Lambda and Upsilon Scorpionis, < Neo-Ar. *šawlat alṣaqrab* “the scorpion’s sting”

**axe** (Pt., from Azores) “interjection forbidding to touch something”: might be And. *ḥašāʾi* < Cl.Ar. *ḥāšā* “far are you (from a fault)”, reflected in the documents of the Toleman Mozarabs, Alcalá and *Vocabulista in Arabico*. A metonymy would perhaps explain the secondary meaning of “little wound”

**axeb/p** “alum”: from GP 68, perhaps unassimilated under this form, cf. **jabe**.

**axedrea**: see **ajedrea**.

**axenuz**: see **ajenuz**.

**axerea**: see **axarea**.

**axhab** “silver-grey”, as a colour of falcons: is an unassimilated term of falconry DAX 262.

**aximez**: see **ajimez**.

**axofre**: see **açôfar**.

**axorca**: see **ajorca**.

**axotar**: see **ajotarse**.

**axóxuxere**: see **aljorc/g/ze**, **alxouxeres** and **aljouxeres**.

**axovar**: see **aixovar**.

**axrahc** “a bluish falcon”: is an unassimilated term of falconry, from DAX 269. Cf. **aladroc** and **zarco**.

**axuaga**: see **ajuagas**.

**axuar**: see **aixovar**.

**axuayca** (Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from Baena’s *Cancionero* is not, as he thought, followed by Dutton & González Cuenca, an altered dim. of **ajorca**, q.v., but And. *\*šuwáyka*, dim. of *šáwka* = Cl.Ar. *šawkah* “thorn”, seemingly meaning here, as in Mor., “(hair)pin”, fitting better in this context mentioning head ornaments.

**axxhmara**: see **almaçmara**.

**aya** (Jud.-Sp.) “come on!”: is And.Rom. *ÁYA*, thorough And. *áyya*, recorded in DAA 33.

**ayabagi** or **ayabassi** (Cs.) “commander of one of the fourteen Turkoman battalions adjunct to the Janizaries” (after Redhouse): this word recorded by Eguílaz is an error for **\*yayabaxí**, < Tr. *yayabaşı*, today obsolete, but appearing in Moses Almosnino’s report.<sup>546</sup> Eguílaz was wrong, then, in his proposal of a Tr. etymon *çavuşbaşı* “commander of the king’s guard” which, besides, does not fit well into a pl. context.

**ayadino**, **ajarius**, **avefinayars**, **avinaiars** and **marabedis aiars** (Lt., in Arag. documents): “dinars coined by ʿAbdarrahmān b. ʿIyād, petty king for a short spell in Valencia in the period between the Almoravids and the Almohads”: excerpted by Eguílaz from a document of that period, is the And. attributive adjective *ʿiyādi* of his family name. According to Mateu y Llopis, who also recorded many var., they were also called **doblas adalmir**, which he interprets as “of the emir”, but Eguílaz was prob. more correct upon identifying the var. **dalmir**, as a haplogly of Neo-Ar. *ḍarb alʿamīr* “the emir’s coinage”

**ayalga**: see **alhaja**.

**ayar** “May”: is an unassimilated term, from GP 67, < Neo-Ar. *ayyār*.

**ayatolá** (contemporary Cs.) “highest rank of the Shiite doctors in Islamic law”: < Ar. *āyat alāh* “God’s sign”

**ayauen**: see **hayauen**.

<sup>546</sup> See Pascual Recuero 1987:458 and 468.

**ayec** (Arag.) “watch out!”: < And. *ayyāk* < Cl.Ar. *īyyāk*, is a word prob. never assimilated by Rom., used by Mudejar muleteers to warn passers by.<sup>547</sup>

**aymería**: see **¡Ángela María!**

**aymu**: is a hapax, given in DAX 262 as Gr. equivalent of Ar. **rroam**, q.v., and of an unintelligible Lt. *vuia*, perhaps a reflex of Syr. >?ymws < Gr. *adámas* “diamond”

**ayoc**: see **alayoc**.

**ayocaçoraya**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 67, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:46 as Capra,<sup>548</sup> i.e., Alpha Aurigae, < Neo-Ar. *ʕayyūq aṣṣurayyā*.

**ayosa**: see **alloza**.

**ays**: see **annays**.

**aytociez** “cupper ore”: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 263, a reflex of Gr. *ánthos chalkoū*, transcribed in Syr. as ?ntwsb?ns<, in Payne Smith 1879–1901:286.

**aytofiquios**: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 263, a reflex of Gr. *Aiithiopikós* “basalt”

**ayz**: see **hayz**.

**aza** “fallow” (Ast.): seems to be an equivalent of standard **haza**, q.v., but the loss of initial **f/h** is striking: as in the case of **aba**, q.v., it might be a late borrowing from Cs.

**azabachado** and **azabache(ro)**: see **aci-beche**.

**azabal** (Gl.) “sheep or goat dung”: is an isolated Ar. loanword in Ibero-Rom., < And. *zábl* < Cl.Ar. *zibl* “excrement” It has a der. **aza-ballarse** “to stain one’s clothes while eating”

**azabara**: see **acibara**.

**azabaya**: see **acibeche**.

**azabra**: see **azobra**.

**azacán**: see **açacal**.

**azacan(e)ar**, **azacaneo** and **azacarnar-se**: see **açacal**.

**azacaya** (Cs.) “big waterwheel; water conduit”: the second meaning would reflect Ar. *siqāyah* “public drinking place”, otherwise undocumented in And., no doubt by chance, as it is a characteristic institution in Islamic countries. As for the first meaning, it is prob. due

to semantic evolution, rather than a metaphor based on the fem. of the etymon of **azacán**, q.v.

**azache**: see **alchaz**.

**azadar**: see **azahar**.

**azadeca**: see **aldaca**.

**azafaifa/o**: see **açofaifa**.

**azáfama** (Pt., with the var. **azafema**) “bustle, noisy stir”: < And. *azzáhma* = Cl.Ar. *zāḥmah*. Intra-Rom. Pt.: **azafamar**.

**azafata/e**: see **açafate**.

**azafea**: see **açafeia**.

**azafes**: see **abab**.

**azafrán**, **azafranado**, **azafranal**, **azafaranar** and **azafranero**: see **açafraão**.

**azafunar**: see **açafanhar**.

**azaga(dor)** and **azagar**: see **zaga**.

**azagaia(da)** and **azagaya(r)**: see **atzagaia**.

**azagón**: see **zaga**.

**azaguán**: see **zagão**.

**azaguaria**: see **zaga**.

**azahar** (Cs.), **azadar** (Mur., by hypercorrect reaction to frequent loss of intervocalic /d/) and **azar** (Gl.) “white flower of citrus fruits”: < And. *azzahár* < Cl.Ar. *zahr* “flowers” Intra-Rom. der.: Can. (higo) **azaharillo** “a variety of fig”

**azainadamente**: see **zaino**.

**azaitte**: see **aceite**.

**azaituna**: see **aceituna**.

(a)**zalá** (Cs.) and **salá** (Ct.) “Islamic prayer”: < And. *aṣṣalá* = Cl.Ar. *ṣalāh* < Aram. *šəlo/ūtā* < Ak. *šul(l)ū* (a verb, however, in this language). Pt. **salá** or **celá** is a late Eastern borrowing from the 16th c.

**azalmus**: see **adal**.

**azamar**: see **acebre**.

(a)**zamboa**, **azamboarse** and **azambo(er)o**: see **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

**azambuja** and **azambujeiro**: see **acebuche**.

**aza/emel**: see **acémila**.

**azanahoriate**: see **acenoria**.

**azándar**: see **sándalo**.

**azanefa**: see **acenefa**.

**azang/kan**: see **articam**.

**azanoria(te)**: see **cenoria**.

<sup>547</sup> Reported by Steiger 1951.

<sup>548</sup> Such would be the etymological meaning of *ʕayyūq*, from Ak. \**īqu*, according to Hommel’s

proposal, as recorded by Kunitzsch, however, this word is not listed in von Soden 1965–81, nor Oppenheim 1956.

**azapo:** see **abab**.

**azaque:** see **asequí**.

**azaquefa:** see **açaquifa**.

**azaquí:** see **asequí**.

**\*\*\*azaquia:** see **alhodera**.

**azaquiles:** see **asequí**.

**azar:** see **azahar** and **atzar**.

**azarado:** see **atzar**.

**azarar:** see **azahar** and **atzar**.

**azarba/e** and **azarbata:** see **assarp**.

**azarcão** and **azarcón**<sup>1</sup>: see **atzarcó**.

**azarcatona:** see **saragatona**.

**azarcón:** “metal vessel with ears for taking oil out of the bottom of a large earthen jar” (Anz. and Man.), “red earthen jar; a not very large vessel” (Ext.), “vessel holding half an **arroba**, q.v.; “jar or measure for oil” (Anl.) and “vessel for drawing or measuring oil” (Tol.): the occasional mention of the red colour might suggest an etymon shared by **azarcón**<sup>1</sup>, q.v. But it might also be coincidental, and have an etymon connected with its use for drawing liquid from larger vessels, as if it were a Rom. aug. of And. *sarríq* “thief”, supported by the practical joke called in Cs. *hurta(a)gua* and in Granadan Ar. *sarríq(at) almí*, a jar apparently for drinking water, which instead leaks its contents on the drinker.

**azarearse, azareiro** and **azarento:** see **atzar**.

**azarfa:** see **açarfa**.

**azaria:** see **açaria** and **zaga**.

**(a)zarja** (Cs.) “winding-frame for raw silk”: < And. \**aššárja*, posited by the Mor. dim. *š* , from the Ar. root *[srj]*, < Aram. *sārāg* “to plait”, whence *sārāg* “plaiter, weaver” and Sy. *sērigtā* “mat”; another witness of Syr. terms in this craft is **cauza**, q.v.

**azarnech** and **azarnefe:** see **arzanefe**.

**azaro:** see **anzarote**.

**azarola, azaroleira/o** and **azarolla/o:** see **acerola**.

**azaroso:** see **atzar**.

**azarote:** see **anzarote**.

**azarve:** see **assarp**.

**azateca:** see **aldaca**.

**(a)zauarget** “chrysolite”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 268 and GP 68 and 131, < Ar. *zabarjad* < Aram. *zēmargdā* < Gr. *smáragdos*, through confusion with emeralds.

**azauche:** see **acebuche**.

**azauoes:** see **arrobcas**.

**azcritas** “internal shell of cuttle fish”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 268, < Gr. *straktiēs*.

**azebache:** see **azabache**.

**azebid:** see **acebibe**.

**azebre:** see **acibara** and **acebre**.

**azebuche:** see **acebuche**.

**azech(e):** see **aceche**.

**azedaraque** and **azederac:** see **acederaque**.

**azeica:** see **acequia**.

**azeitada, azeitadeira, azeitão, azeite** and **azeiteira/o:** see **aceite**.

**azeitona** and **azeitona/o:** see **aceituna**.

**azelga:** see **acelga**.

**azêmala:** see **acémila**.

**azemar:** see **açamo**.

**azembla, azêmela** and **azemel(eiro):** see **acémila**.

**azemena(do):** see **almazane**.

**azemín:** see **jasmín**.

**azêmola:** see **acémila**.

**azeneu/ne:** see **azubene**.

**azenha:** see **acenia**.

**azenhavre:** see **acebre**.

**azenia, azeni(i)s** and **azenn(i)a:** see **acenia**.

**azenoira** and **azenorria:** see **acenorria**.

**azercol:** see **atzarcó**.

**azero(l)ja** and **azeroleira:** see **acerola**.

**azer(r)ufes** (Old Cs.) “curls”: is a rare word, excerpted by Steiger from *Corbacho* and by Maíllo 1983:145 from the Bible of the House of Alba, < And. *zurruíf*, a hypocoristic form derived from Neo-P. *zorfin*.

**azervada** (Pt.) “fence”: is a hybridization with a Rom. suffix of And. *azzárb* “sheepfold” = Cl.Ar. *zārb*. From the same etymon are **azerve** “hedge protecting a threshing floor” (Pt., only in Morais) and **salve** (Cs., from Granada) “hedge”, both recorded and correctly attributed by Eguílaz.

**azetre(lío):** see **acéter**.

**azevém:** see **aceb/vén**.

**azever:** see **acibara**.

**azeviche:** see **acibeche**.

**azevre:** see **acibara**.

**azeyt(e):** see **aceite**.

**azeytuna:** see **aceituna**.

**azfar** “every yellow bird but the goshawk”: is an unassimilated term of falconry, from DAX 268, < Ar. *aṣṣfar* “yellow”. Cf. **azafrar**.

**azfar adib**: see **adfar**.

**azhagi** or **hezegi** “discomfort”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Ar. *izḥāj*.

**aziar**: see **acial**.

**azicates**: see **alicates**.

**aziche**: see **aceche**.

**azimec alrramec**: see **açimec**.

**azimem(o)** and **azimen**: see **zemime**.

**azimut(e)**, **azimutal** and **azimuths**: see **acimut**.

**azingab** (Lit., in an Arag. text, with the var. **acingab** and **azingiave**, after Fort Cañellas 1994:119, and Leo. **zingaue**, in Herrero de la Fuente 1988:III 98,<sup>549</sup> and **zingav/ue**, **cingab/ue**, **azingaue**, **açingab** and **gi/yingabe**, in DO 288) “squirrel fur” < Ar. *sinjāb*, unattested in And.

**azingar**: see **acebre**.

**azinhaga** (Pt.) “lane; footpath”: < And. **azzāḡa** (with intra-Rom. palatalization of the vowel following /z/, not infrequent in And. either; cf. Cs. **jinete**) < Neo-Ar. *zanaqah* < Pahl. *a zang gāh* “place without sunlight”

**azinhavrar** and **azinhavre**: see **acebre**.

**azitara**: see **acitara**.

**azobene**: see **azubene**.

**azobra** (with the var. **açobra** and **as/zçabra**: “11th mansion of the moon”, from GP 71 and DAX 268, < Ar. *azzubrah* “envil” Cf. **zafra**<sup>3</sup>.

**azoche**: see **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

**azoel**: see **azuel**.

**azofaifa/o**: see **açofaifa**.

**azofairón** “a kind of medium-sized olive from the last harvest” (Anz.): is a Rom. aug. of And. *azzuháyra* = Cl.Ar. *zuhayrah* “little flower”

**azófar**: see **açófar**.

**azofeifa/o**: see **açofaifa**.

**azofra**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.), **zofra** (Arag.), **zufra** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:233), **sofra** (Ct.) and **sufra** (Anz.) “forced service”: < And. *assúxra*, equivalent of Cl.Ar. *ṣṣaxr* “hard labour imposed without retribution” This holds good

also for P. **açofras**, understood as “vain hopes” and documented by Machado under **açófar**, in spite of bearing no semantic or etymological relation with the latter word, as made clear by other Rom. reflexes. On the other hand, **açofra** in Morais is a var. of **açófar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Lt. (in an Arag. document): **azofrar** “to be subjected to forced service” and **açofrera** “subjected to forced service”

(a)**zofra**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Ar.) and **sufra** (Cs.) “ridgeband of a harness of a carriage”, (Ct.) “strap crossing over the saddlebag” and (Anl.) “strap attached to the beam and pulling the plough”, **azufra** (Anl.) “strap of a yoke or plough” (a phonetic var.) and **zufra** “strap of the beams of a carriage” (Anz and Bie.): prob. < And. *\*záfra* < Cl.Ar. *zāfirah* “stand, bearing” with labialization (cf. **alfombra**, etc.). This phenomenon does not occur, however, in **zafra**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) and only optionally in **za/ofra** (Arag.) “strap of the beams of a carriage”

**azofre**: see **açófar**.

**azogar** and **azogamiento**: see **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

**azogue**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the old var. **azoche**, and Arag.) and **azogue** (Gl. and Pt.) “quicksilver”: < And. *azzāwq* < Cl.Ar. *zāw/lūq*, Aramaicized form of Pahl. *zīwag*. Concerning **azogue** “quicksilver”, García Arias 2006:26 suspects the occasional confusion of its reflexes with those of Ar. *sūq* “market; butchery”; in fact, all the examples he mentions appear to have the latter meaning, it being quite improbable that quicksilver be sold in the market, as its applications were few and highly technical, which would mean that Ast. **çzogue** and **açogue** are var. of **açogue**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azogar**, **azogamiento**, **azoguej/ro** and **azoguería**; Gl.: **azogamento** and **azogar(se)**; Pt.: **azogar**.

**azogue**<sup>2</sup>: see **azogue**.

**azoguería** and **azoguerro**: see **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

**azolvamiento**: see **azolver**.

**az/solvar** and **ensolvar** (Cs.) and **asorvar** (Anz., phonetic var.) “to stop up, to block up”: is prob. a metathesis of a denominal hybrid verb *\*A(D)+s/lufl+ÁR*, formed on And. *lúfl* = Cl.Ar. *lufl* “dregs; excrement” or *sufi* “bottom”, with phonetic and semantic contamination. Rom the same origin is **ensolvar** (Pt.) “to

<sup>549</sup> Information provided by Prof. Montaner, as well as the var. **ginga(ue)**, ibidem, II:400–

401 and 406, in three versions of the same document.

obstruct the barrel of a firearm” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **az/solvamiento** and **azolve**.

**azomar**: see **acirrar**.

**azopaipa**: see **asopaipa**.

**azoque**: see **açougue**.

**azor**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) and **aç/zores** (Lit. pl., in Arag. documents) “(city) wall”: < And. *assūr* = Cl.Ar. *sūr*.

**azora** (Old Cs.) and **sura** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “sura(h) of the Koran”: < And. *assūra* = Cl.Ar. *sūrah*, prob. from Mishnaic Hb. *sidrāh* “section of the Scriptures”, through a reading mistake.<sup>550</sup> The pl. **zoharas** in GP 133, from the Ar. pl. *suwar* is curious both for using the broken pl. and for reinforcing it with the Rom. pl. morpheme.

**azoraba**, **azor(r)afa** and **jirafa** (Cs., with the old var. **zaraffa** in DAX 1915), **girafa** (Pt. and Ct.) and **xirafa** (Gl.) “giraffe” (Giraffa camelopardis): the two first var. derive from And. *azzurāfa* = Cl.Ar. *za/urāfah*, while the three last ones are of It. transmission. The var. **hirafa** “mantis” (Ext.) is a metonymy. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **agirafado**.

**azo/uraque** (Pt., only in Morais) “a plant name”: looks like it has an Ar. etymon from the root */zrq/*, but in the lack of botanic identification, it is not wise to go further; it is perhaps related to the idiom **leche de azorrágos** of La Mancha.

**azoraya**: see **açoraya**.

**azorrágada**, **azorrágamento**, **azorrágar** and **azorrágué**: see **zurriaga**.

**azorrafa**: see **azoraba**.

**azorrar**: see **zorro**.

**azotable**, **azotacalles**, **azotado(r)**, **azotaina**, **azotalenguas**, **azotar**, **azotazo** and **azote**: see **açoute**.

**azotea**: see **açoteia**.

**azougar(se)**, **azougamento** and **azougue**: see **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

**azourido**: see **atzur**.

**azouta/e** and **azoutar**: see **açoute**.

**azozena**: see **açucena**.

**azú**: see **açude**.

**azu/obene** (with the var. **a(d)zubene**, **azeb/nene** and **azeneue** in DAX): is an unas-

simulated astronomical term, < Ar. *azzubānā*, abridged from **zeba/enay alacrab**, in GP 132, and **zebenay alacrab**, in GP 132, < Cl.Ar. *zubānayā lḥaqrab* “the horns or claws of the scorpion”, identified by Kunitzsch 1861:118 as Alpha and Beta Librae, constituting the 16th mansion of the moon.

**azúcal/r**, **azúcara**, **azucarar**, **azuca-rera/o**, **azucarería**, **azucarí** and **azucarillo**: see **açúcar**.

**azucena**: see **açucena**.

**azuque** (Cs.) “spiked stick”: < And. *zújj* = Cl.Ar. *zujj*, said, in principle, of the iron heel of a spear, and then of any iron end. In And. it was prob. already a name of the characteristic Br. short spear, to judge from its presence in *Vocabulista in arabico*, among the names of blows and ways of hitting. Cs. and Gl. **chuzo**, borrowed by Pt. **chuço** and Ct. **xuço** “a stick with an iron point”, appear to be metathetical forms of the same etymon, possibly in thieves’ cant, and most likely also, in the Morisco idiolect. Its derivation from, or even just contamination by **suizo** “Swiss”, suggested by Covarrubias and accepted by Coromines, is unlikely, since the pikes and halberds of the Swiss mercenaries were very different from the Cs. **chuzo**, much closer to the traditional Br. **\*agzal**, **gorguz** or **tragacete**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **achuçar**; Arag.: **azuchar** “to garnish a stick with an iron point” Cf. **choz** and **acebuche**.

**azucarar** and **azucere(iro)**: see **açúcar**.

**azud(a)**: see **açude**.

**azu/oel** “meridian”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, form DAX 269, < Ar. (*xaṭṭu z*)*zawāl*.

**azudeiz** and **azudere**: see **açuteici**.

**azufa/eifa/o**: see **açofaifa**.

**azufra**: see **azofra**.

**azuido**: see **atzur**.

**azul**: see **açude** and **atzur**.

**azuláceo**, **azulado** and **azulão**: see **atzur**.

**(a)zulaque** (Cs.) and **solaca** (Ct., with the var. **su/ollaca** and **sulleca**) “packing stuff”: < And. *assulāqa* < Gr. *syllōgē*. From the same etymon. by metonymy, is **zulaque** “dregs”

<sup>550</sup> This view of Hirschfeld’s, quoted by Jeffery 1938:181, is the most convincing heretofore

offered interpretation of this term.

(Anz.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **(des)zulacar** and **zulaquear**; Ct.: **ensulla/ecar**.

**azul(e)ar** and **azulejo**<sup>1</sup>: see **atzur**.

**azulejo**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Pt.) and **azulexo** (Gl.): < And. *azzulláyy*, irregular dim. of \**muzallaj*, for *muzajjaj* “glazed”.<sup>551</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azulejar**, **azulejería** and **azulejero**; Gl.: **azulexar**; Pt.: **azulejar**.

**azulenco**, **azulete**, **azulina/o**, **azulíneo**, **azulona** and **azulóio**: see **atzur**.

**azulla** (Cs.) “Islamic oratory in the outskirts”: this word, excerpted by Eguílaz from a Granadan archive, indeed reflects And. *zāwya* < Cl.Ar. *zāwiyah*, lit., “corner”, early said, by metonymy, of small religious establishments. Hypercorrection of the low register Cs. trend /ʎ/ < /y/ and extreme reduction of the diphthong are, of course, intra-Rom. phenomena. Contemporary Cs. **zagüía**, prob. introduced through Fr. from Mor. *zawya*, and incorrectly stressed, has the same meaning and etymon.

**azúmbar** (Cs.) “star-headed water plantain (*Damasonium stellatum*); spikenard (*Nardostachys jatamansi*); storax tree gum

(*Liquidambar orientalis*)”: < And. *assúnbar/l* < Cl.Ar. *sunbul*, lit., “ears of grain”, usually said of the second of those plants.

**(a)zumbedic** and **azumberic**: see **sem-badegi**.

**azumbre** (Cs. and Pt., borrowed from Cs.), **açunmes**, **azumne** and **açume** (Old Ast., in García Arias 2006:27) and **azume** (Gl.) “measure of 2.16 liters” and **zumbre** “liter” (Ext.): < And. *attúmn* = Cl.Ar. *tumn* “eighth of one *qadah*”.<sup>552</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azumbrado**. Cf. **alcadafe**.

**azuqueca** “gnidium” (Anz. and Anl.): looks like an Ar. loanword, but does not coincide with any of the known Ar. designations of *Daphne gnidium*. It might be a reflex of And. *assuqáyya* = Cl.Ar. *suwayqah* “little stalk”

**azuquita** and **azuquítar**: see **açücre**.

**azuraque**: see **azoraque**.

**azur(ita)**: see **atzur**.

**azut**: see **açude**.

**azutea**: see **açoteia**.

**azutero**: see **açude**.

**azuzena**: see **assutzena**.

## B

**baalita** (Cs.) “Baalite, worshipper of Baal”: is a classicizing attributive adjective from Bib.Lt. *Ba(h)al* < Hb. *baʿal* “Lord”

**baar** (Pt., with the var. **ba(ha)r**) “a weight in India”: is a mod. borrowing documented in the 15th c., in connection with the campaigns in the East, < Hindí *bhār(ā)* < Sk. *bhāra* “load”

**babahol**: see **ababol**.

**babalà**, **a la**—(Ct., with the var. **Maj. babal.la** and **Val. bovalà**, plus **Jud.-Sp. a la**

**babúla**) “haphazardly”: is a loanword transmitted through Mediterranean trade, < Ar. *ṣalā bāb allāh*, lit., “at God’s door”. The use of “door” cannot be explained as a metaphor of power, as Coromines thought, but as a reference to the “doors of God’s providence” (= *abwābu rriṣq*, see **risc**) in Islamic tradition, i.e., the different ways through which His help may come. This saying alludes to and criticizes the attitude of those who do nothing themselves

<sup>551</sup> On this see Corriente 1985:128.

<sup>552</sup> According to Heinz 1955:48, there were two measures of this name, the big *q.* = 2.063 litres and the small *q.* = 1.88 liters, although the

mod. Eg. *q.* equals 2.062 litres, and the mod. *tumn* in the same country is of 0.258 litres. The Cs. *cántara* had 1.613 litres and was divided into eight **azumbres**.

but expect that help, the opposite behaviour to that recommended in the famous proverb, originated in one of the Prophet's hadiths "tie your camel well, and then entrust yourself to God (*iṣqilhā fatawakkal*). Of the same origin is Arag. *dejar a la bimbola*, i.e., "to neglect something", with strong *imālah* and/or some contamination, expectable in words no longer understood; cf. vulgar Cs. *echarse a la bartola* "to take it easy", possibly a corruption of a parallel Neo-Ar. *ṣalā barakat allāh* "(counting only) on God's blessing", perhaps under the Malt. guise, *ghal barkat Alla*.

**babatel** "bib" (Anz. and Man.): < And. Rom. \**BABAṬĀYR* which must have existed together with documented And. *babāyr* whence, with the Rom. dim. suffix, the var. **babero**.

**Babel** (Cs. and Ct.): "Babel; (place of) confusion; disorder": from Bib. Lt. *Babel* < Hb. *bābel* < Ak. *bāb ili* "God's gate", reminiscent of the naïve Hb. reinterpretation of Mesopotamian ziggurats as towers, by means of one of which some mortals would have attempted to reach the heavens and be abreast of God's purposes. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *babélico*, *babilónico* and *babilonio*; Ct.: *babiloni* and *babilònic*; Pt.: *ababelar*, *babélico* and *babilóni(c)*.

**babero**: see **babatel**.

**babismo** (Cs. and Pt.) and **babisme** (Ct.): "Babism, sect founded by Mirza Ṣalī Muḥammad": is a contemporary Ar. loanword, < Ar. *bāb* < Aram. *bābā* < Ak. *bābu[m]* "door, gate", in its mystic sense of "initiation" Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *babista*.

**babol**: see **ababol**.

**babucha** (Cs. and Pt.) and **babutxa** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.) "babouche": is a mod. borrowing, received through Fr. *babouche*, from Neo-Ar. *bābūj*,<sup>553</sup> < Neo-P. *pāpuš* "foot cover" On the other hand, Pt. *papus(es)* from the same etymon, documented since the 19th c., is a direct borrowing in the East. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *babuchero*.

**bacal** (Pt.) and **bacalito** (very recent Cs., used in Morocco, prob. borrowed from Pt.)

"grain dealer; grocer": < Neo-Ar. *baqqāl*, through Neo-P. and/or Hindi *baqqāl*.<sup>554</sup>

**bacbi** and **bac(e)ri**: see **bazli**.

**bachela** "bean": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:108, < Ar. *bāqillā*.

**bacoreta**: see **albacora**.

**baciz** "a stone": is an unassimilated term, from DAX 271, identifiable with the Gr. gentilic *ṣasos* in Caria, reflected by Syr. >lytws ?sws< in Payne Smith 1879–1901:1945.

**bácoro** (Gl. and Pt.) "lechón": could phonetically derive from And. *bákur* = Cl.Ar. *bākūr*, and not from another word with the same root, but this is not documented by usage and there is some semantic difficulty, because the usual meaning of that item is "precious" Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: *bacorada*, *bacoreiro* and *bacoriño*.

**bacri**: see **bazli**.

**badafions**: see **botafió**.

**badajocense** or **badajoceño** (Cs.) "native of Badajoz": are gentilities of the And. and And. Rom. name of the town of Badajoz, of an undetermined pre-Islamic origin, reflected in the Islamic period as *baṭalyaws*, whence Cs.

**badal**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Arag.) "meat from the back and ribs": is a Rom. hybrid adjective, formed on And. *bādṣa* "lean meat" < Cl.Ar. *baḍṣah* "piece" The far-fetched Cl.Ar. term \*\**baḍḍilah* "flesh between the male's breast and armpit", given as its etymon by former editions of DRAE, is phonetically unsuitable and has been duly emended. From the same origin are **baldana** (Ct.) "flesh between the ribs; healthy look" and (Arag.) "loin of beef, mutton, etc.", with a different Rom. suffix, and Val. **bledā** "healthy looking", fleshy. Intra-Rom. der.: Maj.: **baldaner**; Val.: **bledania**.

**badán** (Cs.) "trunk of an animal": < And. *badán* = Cl.Ar. *badan* "body". Cf. **bedém**.

**badana** (Ct., Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. *uadana* in GP 125; there are also Leo. *uatanna* and *uatanada* in DO 227): < And. *baṭāna* < Cl.Ar. *biṭānah* "lining". Prob. from the same etymon, by metonymy, are Pt.

<sup>553</sup> The allomorph \*\*\**babūs* added by DRAE does not exist really.

<sup>554</sup> The spread of this term throughout Islamic

countries is witnessed by Russian *bakaléja* "nuts and groceries", < Tr. *bakal* "greengrocer", in Vasmer 1996:1 109.



**badana** “old sheep; lean meat; milk well” and its der. **badanagem** “a group of jades” and **badano** “jade”, as well as **badana** “withered leaves of banana trees” (Can., but “skin of the oxen’s dewlap” in Leo.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **badanado**; Ct.: **abadanar**; Pt.: **abadanado**, **abadanar** and **badanal**.

**badar** (Arag.) “to split; to break”: is prob. a denominal hybrid verb, formed on the Ar. *maṣḍar baḍḍ*.

**badea**: see **albudeca**.

**badén**: see **albadén**.

**badeón**: see **albudeca**.

**bades**: see **balde**.

**badían** and **badiana** (Cs.) and **badiana/e** (Pt.) “badian” (*Magnolia stellata*): is a contemporary botanic term, derived through Fr. or It., from Neo-P. *bādyāne* “aniseed”

**badina**: see **albadén**.

**badistão** (Pt., only in Morais) “market”: through mod. trade relations with the East, < Tr. *bedestan* “covered market for precious wares”, apparently formed on the Neo-P. phrase *bedast šodan* “reach (the clients’) hands”, said of those products, compounded with the Tr. locative suffix {-*(h)an*}, < Neo-P. *xāne* < Pahl. *xānag* “house”, cf. **arsenal**.

**badomía** (Cs.): see **Mafamede**.

**badria** “one-year-old bird”: is an unasimulated term of falconry, from DAX 272, < Ar. *badriyyah*.<sup>555</sup>

**bádur** (Pt.) “title of kings and rulers”: < Neo-P. *bahādor*, < Mongolian *bağatur* “hero”

**bafal**: see **cafal bafal**.

**bafari** (Pt.) and (**halcón**) **baharí** (Cs.) “a kind of falcon”: < And. *bahrí* = Cl.Ar. *bahrī* “marine”. From the same etymon is **bagarino** (Cs.) “free oarsman”, although in this case the transmission would be Mediterranean, to judge from its late documentation at the begin-

ning of the 17th c., and from the peculiar transcription of /h/.

**bafetá**: see **bófeta**.

**baforeira**: see **albafor**.

**bafri**: see **bazli**.

**bagarino**: see **bafari**.

**bagibabo** (Pt.) “customs duties on certain products and supplies”: derives indeed, as Machado said, from Sk. *bhājī* “rice pap”, used in younger dialects, e.g., Hindi, in the sense of “greens, especially fried” and, as second constituent, from Neo-P. *bāb* < Ar. *bāb* “chapter, section”, since it must have been, in principle, a tax on edible commodities. It is a word restricted to matters related with the Pt. colonization of the Indian Ocean, witnessed only in the 18th c., and apparently corrupted in writing as \***lagibabo**, recorded by the same author from Dalgado, and documented only at the beginning of the 20th c.

**bagra** (Ct.) “a river fish”: might reflect And. *bágr*, < Lt. *pagrus* “sea bream (*Pagrus pagrus*)”, although this is a quite different marine species, as we have seen (cf. **albur**) that this kind of semantic alterations are frequent in the case of animal and plant names.

**bahar**: see **baar**.

**baharí**: see **bafari**.

**baharimiento** “astonishment”: from DAX 272, is hybrid with Rom. suffixation from Ar. *bahr*.<sup>556</sup>

**bah(i)t**: see **elbehta**.

**bahri** “marine”: from GP 73, is a var. of **baharí** (cf. **bafari**), said of sea creatures.<sup>557</sup>

**baída** (Cs.): derives from Ar. *baydah* “helmet”, being self-assertively defined by DRAE as the “vault generated by a hemisphere intersected by four vertical planes, parallel in pairs to each other”, which conveys the notion of an established technical term.<sup>558</sup> However, the stress is wrongly placed and, in fact, its

<sup>555</sup> Lane 1863–1892:166 and other Ar. dictionaries only give meanings related to she-camels, but Möller & Viré 1988:258 record this synonym of *muḥṭadīr* “Beizvogel, der im ersten Lebensjahr zur Zeit des Ziehens eingefangen wurde”

<sup>556</sup> With other der., like **esbaharecer** and **esbaharecimiento** in DAX 806, and **baharero**, in Coromines 1973:483, 1. 1255.

<sup>557</sup> DAX 272 also records the pl. **bahariet** and **baharis**.

<sup>558</sup> This definition is repeated in Fatás & Borrás 1988, s.v., who expressed their logical amazement at that spelling, instead of **vaída**, in agreement with the stress adopted by DRAE, even in its latest edition.

documentation, so scarce that most lexica, including DA, have eliminated this item. Its only authority may be the **bayde** excerpted by Eguílaz from some Sevillian ordinances, establishing three kinds of chapels: **bayde**, **de alboaires** and **ochavada**. Out of these, it is evident that **ochavada** means “octagonal”, that **bayde** might mean “oval”, possibly through the attributive *baydī* of that Ar. term in its basic meaning of “egg”, whence “helmet”, while **alboaire** is being dealt with in the matching entry, q.v.

**baila** (Can.): “golden grey mullet (*Mugil auratus*)”: has the same etymon as **breca**, but with a different evolution starting from the And. dim. *lubáya*, with metanalysis and deglutination of the Rom. article, and a result *báya*, which furthermore has undergone lambdacism.

**baina** “puddle” and its der. **embainarse** “to be flooded”, (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991): is a local pronunciation of **badina**, and all of them are cognates of (al)**badén**, q.v.

**bairro**: see **albarra**.

**bajá**: see **pachá**.

**baladí** (Cs.) “native; run-of-the-mill”: < And. *baladí* = Cl.Ar. *baladī*. In the meaning of “a thin-skinned variety of grape” (Anz.), it is noteworthy that the And. botanic treatises do not mention it among the known varieties.

**baladreo**, **baladrón** and **balandrón**: see **baldorras**.

**balafiar** (Ct.) “to squander”: is no doubt a Rom. hybridization of And. *balāfiya*, roughly equivalent to “without risk”, said of reckless actions, i.e., done with disregard of their consequences = Cl.Ar. *biṣṣāfiyah* “in good health” Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **balafi** “squandering”, **balafiamet** and (es)**balafiador**. Cf. **alafia**.

**balaix** (Ct.), **balache**, **balax** or **balais(se)** (Pt.) and **balaj(e)** (Cs.) “balas”: prob. a bookish transcription of Neo-Ar. *balaxš*, a reduction of the gentile *balaxšī* (see 1.2.1.2.1), of *Badaxš(ān)*, in Afghanistan, where these gems were found. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **balaxet**.

**balancia**: see **melancia**.

**balate**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “terrace margin”: < And. *balāt* = Cl.Ar. *balāt* “paved way” < Aram.

*pēlāyā* < Gr. *plateia* < Lt. *plātēa*. From the same origin is **albalate** “stone circle; scandal” (Anl.), although the second meaning could reflect the And. attributive adjective *balāti* “plebeian, vulgar”, with some semantic evolution. García Arias 2006:60 lists the Ast. idiom **llevar en balate**, i.e., “to carry very carefully”, as a possible mod. Ar. loanword, and looks for an etymon in the same word; however, on semantic grounds, we are more inclined to Mor. *ballāti* “slowly; carefully”,<sup>559</sup> often used by Europeans settled in Morocco and likely to have been imported by young army conscripts serving there.

**balax**: see **balax**.

**balchie**: see **albalchie**.

**balda**<sup>1</sup> (Ct.) “latch; knocker”, also “door bar”, in Aragon and Valencia, after DRAE: as suggested by Tallgren and accepted for some time by Coromines, this word would share the Ar. etymon of its synonymous Cs. **aldaba**, q.v. Coromines’ objections in DCELC, based on the intensity and isolation of this metathesis, are not so serious, especially upon considering the possibility of contamination by **balde** (q.v., cf. **falleba**, lit., “deceiver” and **açafior** “bastard saffron”). Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **aldebit** “knocker; shutter-bolt”, **baldero**, **baldobillo** or **bandubilla** “latch”, **baldeta** and **baldorro** “knocker” and **baldón** “shutter bolt”, with occasional accumulation of suffixes and phonetic phenomena; Ct. **baldell(a)**, **baldelló**, **baldeta**, **baldilla**, **baldillar** and **baldó**.

**balda**<sup>2</sup>, **baldadura**, **baldament** and **baldamiento**: see **balde**.

**baldana** and **baldaner**: see **badal**<sup>2</sup>.

**baldaquí** (Arag. and Ct.) and **baldaquín** or **baldaquino** (Cs.) “canopy”, and **baldóquín** “a precious fabric” (Leo., in García Arias 2006:193): is the intra-Rom. attributive adjective of **Baldac**, a frequent medieval distortion of the name of Baghdad, < Ar. *bağdād*, prob. from Pahl. *bağdād* “God’s gift”, although folk etymology preferred Neo-P. *\*bāg e dād* “garden of justice”. Cf. **bordate**.

**baldar**: see **balde**.

**balde**, **de** or **em**—(Pt.), **debades** (Ct.), **de baldes** (Nav.) and **de balde** (Cs., Jud.-Sp. **de**

<sup>559</sup> Originated in the Koranic expression (29/46) *billatī hiya aḥsun* “in the best possible way”,

referred to the attitude recommended to Muslims in their disputes with other Monotheists.

**baldañón** “gratis”, and **en balde** (Cs.) and **en bades** (Ct.) “uselessly”: < And. *bāṭil* “useless; gratis” = Cl.Ar. *bāṭil(an)* “useless(ly)” The And. term could already be used as either adjective or adverb, but the semantic specialization in the latter function is an intra-Rom. development, by hybridization with prepositions; however, the first function still survives in **baldo** “lacking in substance, tasteless” (Sal.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *balda*<sup>2</sup> “worthless thing”, **baldamiento**, **baldero**, **bald(i)o**, **baldón**, **baldonador**, **baldonamiento**, **baldon(e)ar** and **baldono**; Cs. and Gl.: **baldío**; Gl.: **baldeiro** “empty”; Ct. and Arag.: **baldar**; Cs. and Ct.: **baldadura**; Ast. (in García Arias 2006:193), Ast.: **abaldar** “to render a limb useless (rheumatism or humidity)”; Ct.: **baldament**, **balderejar**, **baldor** and **balder** “useless, vain”; Pt. (a) **baldar**, **abaldeirado**, **baldio** and **baldo**(so).

**baldell(a)** and **baldelló**: see **balda**.

**balder(e)ar**: see **balde**.

**baldero**: see **balda** and **balde**.

**baldés**: see **baldorras**.

**baldeta** and **baldilla(r)**: see **balda**.

**bald(i)o**: see **balde**.

**baldó**, **baldobillo** and **baldón**: see **balda**.

**baldón**, **baldonador**, **baldonamiento**, **baldon(e)ar**, **baldono** and **baldor**: see **balde**.

**baldorras** “wretched” (Sal.), **baldraga** (Ct.) and **baldragas** (Cs. and Arag.) “weak man” and (Nav.) “wretched”, **baldrés** (Cs., with the old var. **baldés**, and Arag.) “tanned sheepskin”, **baldréu** “leather for gloves; dirty or depraved person” (Gl. and Pt., in Gl. also **baldrogas**), (Pt., only in Morais) **baldrejado** “dirty”, **baldroar** “to joke”, **baldroca** “fraud”, **baldroguerrío** “intriguer”, (Gl.) **baltroeiro** “liar”, **boldrego** “dirty” (Pt., only in Morais, dialect of Tras-os-Montes), **modrego** “clumsy” (Cs.), **mondragas** “overly placid; useless” (Anl.), **mondrego** “uncouth; clumsy” (Leo.), **baladreo** “dissipation; frenzy” (Nav.), **baladrón** “rascal” (Can.) and **balandrón** “boaster” (Mur.), **baldrogas** “clumsy; lazy; silly” (Leo.), **boldregas** “sloven” (Sal.),

**aboldregas** “sloven; glutton” (Bie.), etc., are all words derived from the And. root *{htr}* with diverse Rom. suffixes<sup>560</sup> and occasional contamination by **balde/o**, as is obvious in **baldorro/a** “animal slaughtered because of old age or sickness” (Sal.). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **embaldragar**; Pt.: **baldrocar**.

**baldorro**: see **balda** and **baldorras**.

**baldoso**: see **balde**.

**baldrejado**, **baldraga(s)**, **baldrés** and **baldréu**: see **baldorras**.

**baldriga**, **baldritja** and **baldritxa**: see **andorina**.

**baldroar**, **baldroca**, **baldrogas** and **baldroguerrío**: see **baldorras**.

**b/galdrufa** (Arag., included as such in DRAE) and **baldufa** (Ct.): “whipping top”: it is very improbable, *pace* Asín, that these words would derive from an And. reflex of Ar. *\*xudruf*, an old Bedouin toy resembling a top only by spinning and buzzing, as it was a perforated disk in which children inserted a string and made it turn around their heads, undocumented in Al-Andalus, unlike tops which had two names, *dawwāma* (< Cl.Ar. *\*duwwāmah*) and the Rom. loanword *\*trómpa/o*, in Alcalá. The basic form seems to be the standard Ct. one, a likely der. of the productive And. root *{htr}*, often reflected in this way in Rom.,<sup>561</sup> with a suffix *{+ÚF}*, of which Coromines gives some examples, if it is not a phonetic alternant *{+ÚĆ}*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **baldufenc**, **baldufer**, **baldufari** and **baldufella**.

**balegón**: see **baluga**.

**balhurria** (Cs. thieves’s cant) “rabble”: seems to reflect And. *bilá hurriyya* < Cl.Ar. *bilá hurriyyah* “without noble rank” (cf. Eng. *snob*, abridged from Lt. *sinē nobilitate*), or a merely ironic And. *balhurriyya* “of noble rank”

**ballo** (Arag.) “watercourse in a street taking rain to the fields”: appears backformed on its var. **ballón**, from the etymon of **albelló**, q.v., although in other meanings, such as “burrow” and “ridge”, would derive from Lt.

<sup>560</sup> See Corriente 1993c. Cf. also, in Basque-speaking areas, Low Nav. **baldes** “ragged” and Biscayan **baldro** “loafer”

<sup>561</sup> Cf. *andorina* and *baldorras* and, in gen-

eral, Corriente 1993c:135–141, encompassing diverse phonetic and semantic contaminations and other alterations.

**balquena, a—**(Maj.): from And. *balqanāṣa* which must have meant “in abundance”, as a semantic evolution of Cl.Ar. *qanāṣah* “contentment of the frugal”, as reflected in expressions like that of IQ 128/5/2, *allāh yarzūqni alqanāṣa fih* “may God grant me the satisfaction of doing without it”. Therefore, it appears that the authors of the Ct. *Renaixença*, in their zeal for recovering obsolete words, but not knowing enough about this one, stressed it erroneously, as it should be ultima stressed and preferably spelled **balcaná**.

**balsam** (Ct.) and **balsamo** (Cs. and Arag.): < L. *balsānum* < Gr. *bálsamon*, from Phoenician > *bšm* = Hb. *bošem*.

**baltra** (Sal., after DRAE) “paunch”: would most likely derive, with a paragogical final vowel, from And. *bān* = Cl.Ar. *baṇ* “belly” (cf. *alcatra*, with the same alteration of the sonorant to avoid an awkward consonant cluster, vs. *jácena*, with another solution for a similar cluster) than from a backformation of *veltrón* “big-bellied”, in the Cs. dialect of Soria, which looks more like a der. of **baltra**, though contaminated in its vocalism by the standard *ventrón*. From the same etymon are, prob., **bando(u)b/ga**, **bandoa** or **andoba** “belly of a beast”, (Ast., in García Arias 2006:193), **bandujo** and **bandullo** (Cs., with the var. **bandrullo** in Leon and Salamanca, after DRAE) and **bandullo** (Gl.) “bowels”, all of them hybrids with Rom. suffixes attached to a metathetical basis. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **bandullada**.

**baltroeiro**: see **baldorras**.

**baluga** (Pt.) “buskin”: appears to stand in a close relation with And. *bullūq*, rendered in Lt. as *ocrea* in *Vocabulista in Arabico*, possible result of the application of the hypocoristic Neo-Ar. pattern /*la/u22ū3*/ to Cs. **abarca**, q.v.s.v. **alparca**. The same holds good for **bullugas**, of that same meaning, a Leo. hapax in DO 232,<sup>562</sup> perhaps Sal. **baluga** “spread of a

loose shirt in the waist”, and Gl. **baluga** “lump of lard”, and even the aug. **balegón** “high shoes fastened on the front” (Ast.).

**bambú** (Cs. and Ct.) “bamboo” (*Bambusa arundinacea*): prob. reintroduced at the beginning of the 17th c. through Pt., from Neo-P. *banbu*, or mod. languages of India, from Sk. *vambha*. Coromines’ mention of a Ct. witness as early as 1489, alleged reflex of Ar. \**bambūh*, which he posits without authority, although it might have been borrowed from Neo-P., does not appear to have introduced this term stably. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **bambuada**, **bambual/r** and **bambueira**.

**bancada** and **bancal** (Cs.; the latter form, also Arag.): some of their meanings such as “base” and “cover” might have resulted from a contamination by Rom. **banco** “bench” of And. *manqāla* “base, stand” = Cl.Ar. *min-qalah* “bed or table in mechanics”. As for the Leo. var. **mankale** and **mancare** in DO 256–257, the author’s complex proposal to derive these forms from Ar. \**mitqālī* “worth dinars” clashes with the fact that no reflex of this word has an /a/ in the first syllable, while it can semantically be understood that those two terms mean tapestry for covering tables or altars, i.e., reflexes of the same And. *manqāla* (a) suggested by us (cf. **anaquel**). The same etymon would also explain **mancal** (Pt.) “hinge or bearing of an axe” and **mancal** “wooden mould for adobes” (Ext.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **bancalero**; Cs. and Ct.: **abancalar**; **men-calada** “inept remark” (Anz.) and “nonsense; lie; trick” (Al.).<sup>563</sup>

**bandoa** and **bando(u)b/ga**: see **baltra**.

**bandolina**: see **mandora**.

**bandrullo**: see **baltra**.

**bandubilla**: see **balda**.

**bandujo**, **bandullada** and **bandullo**: see **baltra**.

**bandurria**: see **mandora**.

**bangue** (Pt.) “Indian hemp”: the shape of

<sup>562</sup> And. \**bulagāt* posited by this author is impossible, since Neo-Ar. ignores the insertion of anaptyctic vowels before the fem. pl. suffix; on the contrary, the hypocoristic pattern /*la22ū3*/ was indeed applicable to And. *būlga* “babouche”, in order to generate that word (cf. **alborga**).

<sup>563</sup> This words coincides curiously, both in

phonetics and semantics, with And. *minqāl*, without fem. morpheme, used by IQ 119/8/4 as synonymous of *xarjah*, i.e., the refrain or support of the rhyme in the whole poem, and again in the treatise on *ḥisbah* by Ibn ʿAbdūn (see Lévi-Provençal 1955:35, 3).

this term in Machado and Morais, as well as its meaning, compared to its broader general sense in Western Ar. as “narcotic, anaesthetic”, gives away the late borrowing of this term during the campaigns of the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *bang* or Hindi *bhāṅg* < Sk. *bhaṅgā*.

**bant alhos:** see **batnalhuc**.

**banús:** see **abenuz**.

**bar:** see **baar**.

**baraço/a** (Pt.) “length measure” and **baraza** (Gl.) “string”: perhaps from Ar. *marasah* “rope”, quite common, though unattested in And. The shift of the initial labial may have been furthered by an early contamination with **braça** “fathom”, or even with **embargar**, through a der. **embarazar** (Cs. and Gl.) and **embarassar** (Ct.) “to hinder”, a denominal hybrid verb apparently spread from Gl.-Pt. Coromines, after proving the older presence of this word family on Hispanic soil by comparison with other Rom. areas, rejects the Ar. hypothesis of Sousa and DE, on account of that labial shift, which we now know is not exceptional, and is inclined to prefer a vague pre-Rom. origin. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **embaraza(do)r** and **embarazoso**; Ct.: **embaràs** and **embarassament**; Pt.: **embaraçada**, **embaraçar** and **embaraço(so)**. Cf. **maroma**.

**baraca** (Cs.) “baraka, miracle-working powers attributed to some Muslim holy men”: is a contemporary borrowing, from Mor. *bārāka* = Cl.Ar. *barakah* “blessing; divine gift”, a mystical term.

**barachien** “deadly tumours”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Neo-Ar. *tarākiyā*, possible abbreviation and corruption of Gr. *kēlē trachēa* “hard tumour”

**barahá** (Cs.) “a Jewish prayer”: < Hb. *bērāxāh* “blessing”, a religious term of Judaism. According to Eguílaz, Covarrubias mentions it as part of a Toledan mocking song against Jews, no doubt because its authors, either Christians or Marranos, were familiar

with the term, which appears with the var. **verahá** in *Danza de la muerte*, as Eguílaz stated.

**baraka:** see **barragán**.

**barama:** see **maroma**.

**baran** “in some places of Africa”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 73, < Neo-Ar. (*hajar al*)*barām* “serpentine” (used in pottery, cf. *birām* in DS I:77–78 and in Eg.Ar., after Hinds & Badawi 69–70).

**baras(sem):** see **albará?**.

**barata** (Pt.) “contract; bill of exchange”: is a late borrowing of the 16th c. from the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, from Ar. *barālah*, in principle “exemption” (cf. **albarán**), through Neo-P. *barāt*.

**baratar** (Cs.) “to make a deal; to have sex”: as a result of an inquiry by Prof. M. Quirós about this item in *Libro Complido* it appears that its etymon might be a hybrid And. Rom. \**bara?āt+ÁR* or *bará+AT+ÁR*, built on Ar. *barālah* “contract, bill; letter”, said of a love letter in the *xarjah* H13. Thence also Cs., Ct. and Pt. **barato** “good deal; cheap”

**baraza:** see **baraço**.

**barbacā** and **barbacana:** see **albacar**.

**barbach(i)** and **barbaki** “panicle on the testicles”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:35, wrongly rendered as “ureter” but, in fact, Ar. *barbax* “parorchis, epididymis”

**barbana** (Pt., only in Morais) “whore”: is apparently related to Ct. **marfan(t)a**, Pt. **marafona** and Cs. **magaña**, q.v.

**barbe** “in Egyptian old wall”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 73, < Neo-Ar. *birbah* “ruin of an ancient temple”.<sup>564</sup>

**barcino** (Cs.) “dappled”: is a word of uncertain etymon, formerly spelled with >z< and therefore not even phonetically derivable from Ar. \*\*\**baršī*, as suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, which happens to be a non-existent term, artificially concocted from \*\**abraš*. A connection between that word and **bardino** “a kind of dog of a

<sup>564</sup> This Cp. term (= “the temple”) is well-known since DS I:63, but the transcription *p'erpe* is misleading, it being better to spell it as *p(e)+rpe*, in which the two first phonemes constitute the definite article. Kasten & Nitti

2002:280, without any criticism and following their usual practice in similar cases, simply copy the rendering of the original, **fortaleza de la sabia** “fortress of the wise woman”.

greenish black colour" (Can.) is very probable, with the late phonetic shift described in 1.1.3.2.1) and, if so, it might reflect a blending of a Rom. reflex of Lt. *pardus* "brown", providing the basic semanteme, with And. *bardí* = Cl.Ar. *bardī* "papyrus; rush", with the appearance of an attributive adjective, often expressing hues, perhaps on account of the light brown colour acquired by the leaves of this plant when prepared for its use as a writing surface. Cf. *albardim*.

**barchilla** (Cs.) "dry measure": < And.Rom. and. And. *b/parčilla*, taken by folk etymology as a reflex of Lt. *particella*, although in truth it shares the prob. pre-Rom. origin of Cs. *barcina*. Nevertheless, Lt. *pachina* "piece of cultivable land" (in an Arag. document), would corroborate the Lt. etymon of **barchilla**.

**barchilón** (Cs.) "male nurse": there can be little doubt that this word derives from the And.Rom. and And. gentilic *barčilóni* of the city of Barcelona, with the loss of the final vowel known from other examples (see 1.2.1.2.1).

**barciguera** "pocket" (Anz.): is a contamination by *barcina* of standard Cs. *faltriguera*, q.v.

**barda**<sup>1</sup>: see *albarda*.

**bardacha** (Pt.), **bardaix** (Ct.) and **bardaja/e** (Cs., with the old var. **bardaxa**) "catamite": < Pahl. *\*bardag* "captive", lost but represented by Neo-P. *barde* and Ar. *bardaj*, recorded in *Lisān alʿArab* and even in Steingass 1892, though in the latter prob. only a return from Ar., whence it entered the West via Tr. and It. The transmission is not clear in every phase, but it is certain that in the background there is a historical reference to the old custom of sodomizing captives as a token of humiliation.

**bardino**: see *barcino*.

**bardoma** (Anz. and Arag.) "filth; mud" and **bardomera** (Mur., recorded by DRAE,

with Rom. suffix) "debris carried away by the stream" and "rotten mud; filthy sediment" (Anl.): according to Pocklington 1985:58–67, < And. *mardúma* = Cl.Ar. *mardūmah* "filled with debris", with some semantic evolution. Cf. *marmota*<sup>2</sup>.

**barharan** "red": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 73, < Neo-Ar. *bahramān* "ruby".<sup>565</sup>

**barrio**: see *barrio*.

**barnabita** (Cs.) "Barnabite, member of a religious order": is a der. of the Bib.Lt. pr.n. *Barnāba*, < Aram. *bar nabbā*, traditionally understood as "son of consolation"

**barnús**: see *albornoz*.

**barrabás** (Cs. and Gl.) "mischievous person" and **barrabàs** (Ct.) "wicked man": through Bib.Lt. and Bib.Gr., from the Aram. pr.n. *bar abbā* "son of (his) father", prob. euphemistic for "bastard". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **barrabasada**; Ct.: **barrabassada**.

**barraca** (Arag., Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "shack or cottage of light materials" and "tent" (Anl.): prob. a blending of And. *bārga* "hut" (of Celtic stock, but spread wide enough to have reached Kab. *lbarka* "hole; cave", borrowed from Ar.), and the Ar. root *{brk}* "to kneel down (of beasts)", applied to the Neo-Ar. instrumental pattern */la22ā3ah/*,<sup>566</sup> and resulting in *\*barráka* "hut for resting beasts". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **barracón**; Ct.: **bar-racada**, **barracam/r**, **barracaire**, **barracó**, **barracot**, **barracull**, **barraquer**, **barraqueta** and **barraquisme**; Mur. **barraqueta**.

**barragán**<sup>1</sup> "brave (youth); bachelor": although we do not attribute an Ar. etymon to this word, it must be stated, in view of the proposal in DO 228, that there is no relation between **baraka** "slave" and the Ar. root *{brk}*, as the latter item is a mere primitive and peculiar spelling of **barragán**<sup>1</sup>.

**barragán**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Gl.), **barregà** (Ct.) and **barregana** (Pt.) "barracan, camlet": <

<sup>565</sup> There is no reason to interpret this word as "Mars", as Kasten & Nitti 2002:281 do, despite the erroneous identification in the original of this red stone with *cayçor* "fourth stone of Mars". The Ar. etymon prob. was an attributive *\*bahrumānī*, treated as described in 1.2.1.2.1.

<sup>566</sup> Cf. *\*xammārah* "tavern", *\*kallāsah*

"lime-kiln", *\*mullāhah* "salt-work", etc., a pattern which in Cl.Ar. is characteristic of the fem. intensive agent. Coromines took the witness of DE for the existence in Naf. of *harrāka* lightly, but the presently available information is not in his favour: at least in Mor., it is recorded in Mercier 1951 and Colin 1993.

And. *bar(ra)kani* < Neo-Ar. *barkānī*, < Neo-P. *pargār/le* "cloth" It is quite probable, as Coromines suggested, that Ct. **bocaram/n** and Ar. **bocarān** be metathetical reflexes of the And. var. *bur(ru)kān*; however, any etymological relation with Cs. **barragán**<sup>1</sup> and Gl. **barra/egán** "male concubine", is unlikely, *pace* Machado. From the same ultimate etymon are **percal** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **percal(a)** (Ct.) "percale", contemporary borrowings through Fr. *percale*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Ct.: **percalina**.

**barraina**: see **albarrā**.

**barralleba**: see **falleba**.

**barranca**: see **tranca**.

**barrano** and **barrão**: see **albarrā**.

**barraquer**, **barraqueta** and **barraquisme**: see **barraca**.

**barrasta** "relatives" (Jud.-Sp.): perhaps < And. *barrāht* < Cl.Ar. *birraht* "with (his) group", q.v.

**barregà** and **barregana**: see **barragán**.

**barri**, **barria**, **barriada** and **barrio**: see **albarrā**.

**barriscada**, **barrisca(do)r**, **barriscament** and **barrisco**: see **risc**.

**barseus hamil raç algol** (with the var. **varseshanul razalgol**, **barseus hanul raç algol** or **razalguol**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 74, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:114 as Alpha Persei, < Neo-Ar. *baršālus hāmīl raʿs alǧūl* "Perseus carrying Gorgon's head"

**bartola**: see **babalā**.

**basar** (Ct.) and **bazar** (Cs. and Pt.) "bazaar, Eastern market": < Neo-P. *bāzār*, borrowed by

Pt. during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, whereas in Cs., it made a short-lived appearance in the 16th c., of identical origin, but was soon forgotten and reintroduced from Fr. only in the 19th c., which is prob. valid also for Ct. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **bazareiro**.

**basilicum**, **basafilicon** and **besalicon** "basilicon ointment": is a pharmaceutical term, documented in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:203 and 276, it being probable that some of these var. reflect Neo-Ar. *bāsiliqūn*, and not directly its Gr. etymon *basilikón*.

**bassetja** (Ct., with the var. **massetja**) "sling": < And. \**masājja*, lit., "head breaker", from the Ar. root {*šjj*} "to break (the skull)", with dissimilation of palatal, i.e., {*sjj*} in And.<sup>567</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **bassetger**, **bassetjar** and **bassetjada**.

**bastrén**: see **almastrén**.

**bata** (Cs., Gl., Pt., the latter with the var. **oeta**), **oveite** (Leo., in LHP 443, with the var. **ovuede** and **ou/vete**, in DO 273) and Ct., with the var. **buata** "gown": it is true that this word reached the Iberian Peninsula only very late (18th c. for Cs., 19th for Ct.), as the name of a cotton fabric, whereas the witnesses of Fr. *ouate*, Eng. *wad* and It. *ovatta*, are much older, but considering the etymological opacity of all these words as a whole, it is probable that we have here is a semantic evolution of the Neo-Ar. technical term *ṣubayḏī*,<sup>568</sup> which has caused it to designate a garment, while the original meaning would be better preserved in Cs. **guata** "raw cotton" As for the Ar. etymon \*\**batt* of former editions of DRAE,

<sup>567</sup> See Corriente 1992b, starting with a note on Balañá 1980.

<sup>568</sup> Represented in an Arag. document by **oveth**, according to Coromines (next to **obet(e)** in other Lit. documents of Aragon), who pointedly suggested a derivation from the name of the founder of the Fatimid state, Ṣubayḏullāh Almahdī. As a matter of fact, the fabric called *ṣubayḏī* after him, was produced in North Africa, although might very well have been imitated in the looms of Almería, as was done with the most famous Eastern fabrics. In this connection, steiger was rather naïve upon suggesting the Syrian place name Ṣubaydiyyah instead, and so were subsequent scholars who followed him on that.

Lombard 1978:34, reports that it was a woollen fabric so fine that it could replace linen and even silk, to the point of being called \*\**ḥarīrī* "silk". On the other hand, Ibn Ḥayyān in *Almuqtabis V* (see Chalmeta, Corriente & Šubḥ 1979:204 and 291), among the gifts sent by Ṣabdarrahmān III to his allies, the Zanati chieftains to whom he resorted to wage war against the rival Šinhājah and their Fatimid sovereigns, mentions clothes of the same quality used by the Cordovan ruler, such as the *xazzun ṣubayḏī*, not to be taken literally as "raw silk of the Fatimid manufactures" The alteration of the vowels is best explained in Italy, to give the appearance of a passive participle.

it is unsuitable, being an exclusively Eastern word, which has never meant a fabric of that origin, nor light indoor clothing; the same would apply to Coromines' attempt, unduly following Asín this time, at deriving this substantive directly from the phrase *\*\*waḍḍaḥa jawbā* "to line a garment", a rare meaning of that Cl.Ar. term. However, there would be no phonetic objections to a derivation from Ar. *waḥā*? "carpet or padding making the floor or a bed softer", whence Eg.Ar. *waḥā* "footwear", although there is no evidence of a specialization of this semantically rather vague word in the meaning of the raw cotton used to line certain garments. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **batero**, **batín** and **enguatar**; Ct.: **batí** and **embuatar**.

**batacazo** (Cs.) "noisy violent fall": is prob. related to **jodo** (**petaca**)! q.v., and a der. of And. *baṭṭāqa* "forcibly", possibly from Morisco usage,<sup>569</sup> with Rom. suffixation.

**batafalúa** and **matafaluga** (Ct.), **bataf/zalúa**, **betafalúa** and **matafalúa** (Arag.), **batafaluga** (Pt.) and **matalahúg/va** (Cs.) "aniseed": < And. *ḥabbat ḥalúwwa* (< Cl.Ar. *ḥabbatun ḥulwah* "sweet grain"), with an abnormal use of a fem. morpheme of annexation /t/, prob. a relic of a qualifying syntagm with *tanwīn*, i.e., *\*ḥabbat an ḥalúwwa*, even *\*ḥúlwa*, in a dial. form which must have existed in parallel to the also anomalous *ḥálwa* of IQ 24/4/2, 111/4/2 and 142/3/1.

**batafiol**: see **botafió**.

**batahola**: see **tabaola**.

**batalero** (Arag.) "wide open": this term of Alquézar and Benasque reflects a hybridization with a Rom. suffix of And. *baṭṭāl* = Cl.Ar. *baṭṭāl* "useless, idle", as in the medieval Islamic mentality such was a door or window revealing (*\*\*kaṣf*) rather than hiding and protecting the inside of a house (*\*\*sar*).

**batan** (Ct.) and **batán** (Cs., Arag., Gl., and also Ast., after García Arias 2006:27) "fulling mill": the available information about the And. origin of this technique is convincing, although its only linguistic witness is Alcalá's matching verb, *baṭṭān*. We must, however, conclude that

the substantive *\*baṭṭān*, perhaps existed only in the jargon of this craft as an allomorph of the etymon of **almádena** and **alpatana**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)**batanar**, **batanear** and **batanero**; Ct.: (a)**batanar**, **batanejar**, **batanada**, **batanador**, **batanadura**, **batanament**, **batanatge** and **bataner/t**.

**bataola**: see **tabaola**.

**batea** (Cs., Gl. and also Ast., after García Arias 2006:195) and **bateia** (Pt.): is a metonymy of And. *\*baṭṭiḥa* < Cl.Ar. *baṭṭiḥah* "a wide flat place" The Ar. etymon propounded by former editions of DRAE *\*\*\*bāṭiḥa* is a mere error for *\*bāṭiḥah* "drinking vessel", phonetically and semantically unsuitable: it has been corrected in its latest edition. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **batehuela**.

**batec/ga**: see **badea**.

**batehuela** and **bateia**: see **batea**.

**bathara**: see **bothor**.

**batharixitaz** and **batraciz**: is an unassimilated technical term in DAX 284–285, prob. a var. of Gr. *botruítēs* "pearl in the shape of a bunch of grapes", through Syr. and Ar. spellings.

**batí(n)**: see **bata**.

**batnalhuc** (with the var. **batnalhoth** and **bant alhoz**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from DAX 277, 284 and 285 and GP 74, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:50 as Beta Andromedae, < Neo-Ar. *baṭn alḥūt* "the whale's belly". Cf. **arraxe**.

**bato** (Cs.) "silly or uncouth man": in the light of the etymon of **pato**, q.v., and the obvious metonymy in **patoso**, "boring", lit., "duck-like", this term might be a phonetic var. of that word; however, García Arias 2006:50–51 is prob. right, upon suggesting a Basque pronunciation of Lt. *fātūus* "fatuous". As for Pt. **bato** "a Hb. measure", it reflects Hb. *bat*, through Bib.Lt.

**batzeb**: see **betzef**.

**bawl** "urine": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:36, < Ar. *bawl*.

**baurac**,<sup>570</sup> **bórax** or **borraj** (Cs., the second form also Gl. and Pt.), **bōrax** (Ct.) and

<sup>569</sup> This very syntagm **bataca** is used in the instructions for lashing culprits ("strongly") in Bar-

celó 1989:53, an Ar. term inserted in a Ct. context.

<sup>570</sup> Old var., next to **borrax**, in GP 74 and 76.



**borrás** (Mur.) “borax”: are bookish transcriptions of Neo-Ar. *bawraq*, of Pahl. origin, represented by Neo-P. *bure*.

**bayal** (Cs.) “a kind of flax”: might derive from Ll. *\*badialis* < Lt. *bādūs* “bay (horse)”, on account of its colour. The proposal in DRAE, of an Ar. etymon *\*bašl* “unirrigated land”, regularly reflected in **alvar/l** (q.v.) and the matching medieval Rom. place names is impossible on mere phonetic grounds. On the other hand, a half-translation of And. *\*kat-tán albayád* “flax of whiteness” or “flax from untitled lands” cannot be altogether excluded. Cf. **albaiat**.

**bayde**: see **baída**.

**baxá** and **baxado**: see **pachá**.

**baxi** (Pt., only in Morais) “Tr. watchman of slaves”: no doubt derives from Tr. *başı* “chief of”, having lost, however, a necessary first constituent of a syntagm of annexation, prob. *köle* “slave” or *esir* “captive”

**bazar(eiro)**: see **basar**.

**bazd** (with a var. **becet**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 74, < Neo-Ar. *bussad* < Neo-P. *bossad* “coral”

**bazli** (Llt. in a Cs. document, with the erroneous var. **bacbi**): this hapax, retrieved by Steiger 1956:101, said of a fabric, appears indeed to reflect the gentilic *bašrī* “from Basra”, in Southern Iraq.

**Bazzara**, **Bazari(a/o)**, **Bazarici**, **Baz(z)a-rius**, **Bazzariz** and **Bazarago**: see **abacero**.

**bebenu/ya** or **bebini/ya** “some stars”: is an unassimilated astronomical term from *Libro Complido*, according to Hilty 2005b:190, DAX 286 and GP 74, with the var. **bebenia**, of disputed interpretation; Kunitzsch 1959:20–21, fn. 3, is inclined to accept a connection with Neo-P. *biyābāni* “of the desert”, alluding to the fixed stars helping travellers to find their way in it.

**bechín**: see **alpechim**.

**bedarangí** or **albedarrumbe**: is an unassimilated botanical term, from Meyerhof 1940:22, < Neo-Ar. *bādaranjuwayh* < Neo-P. *bādarang buy* “balm-gentle”.<sup>571</sup>

**bedém**: see **albadena**.

**bedengenet**: is interpreted, in DAX 288, as the name of certain birds, but it is quite probable that there was an error in the translation of *Libro de Moamyn*, as the parallel passage of Al-Ġiṭrīf’s treatise (see Möller & Viré 1988:139) mentions a medicament containing the expectable aubergines. Cf. **albergina**.

**bederasuli**: see **albercachali**.

**bederre** (Cs.) “executioner”: considering the characteristic structure of cant terms like this, and that in Cs. many of them are of Mudejar or Morisco extraction, this one might reflect And. *bédrra* < Cl.Ar. *bidirrah* “with a small lash”.<sup>572</sup> Cf. **aderra**.

**bedín** (Arag.) “judge of the Jewish community”: from Hb. *bēt dīn* “law court, tribunal”. It appears in the statute law of Sahagún with the var. **alvedí**, with an artificial Ar. article, according to Eguílaz, who misinterpreted it as “prefect”. As for Arag. **edinos** “judges or prefects of the Jews”, it is no doubt a corruption of the pl. **bedinos**.

**beditus** “a certain tumour in the ear”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Neo-Ar. *bārīūs*, perhaps corrupted from Gr. *barūtēs* “heaviness”

**beduño** (Cs. and Pt.) and **beduí** (Ct.) “Arab nomad”: < Naf. *bədwī* < Cl.Ar. *badawī*, through It. The sporadic var. **bedoín** in *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* also reflects a borrowing through other European languages, Fr. or It., during the Crusades, whereas mod. Pt. **bedoim**, is from the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. Cf. **bodojen**.

**bedunaz** “a certain stone...meaning... preventing sleep”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 288, a folk etymology based on Neo-Ar. *bidūn nušās* “without sleepiness”, which is of little avail for its identification.

**beg/que** (Pt.) and **bey** (Cs.) “Ottoman governor; honorific title”: < Old Tr. *bek/g* “master; gentleman”, presently *bey*. At least in Cs., the intermediation of Fr. or It. is almost certain.

**behaísmo** (Cs.) “Baháism”: prob. through Fr., from Ar. *bahā’u llāh* “God’s splendour”,

instances of its frequent use in Al-Andalus in DAA, especially as the punishing instrument of market inspectors and teachers.

<sup>571</sup> From *Botica* by Pontes y Rosales, Madrid 1872–1878.

<sup>572</sup> Cf. Alcalá’s spelling, *dérre*, and see some

surname taken by the founder of this sect, the Persian Mirzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī, a continuator of Babism.

**beid** or **nayd** “eggs”: is an unassimilated bookish technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:204. Cf. **albayt**.

**bel/namarim** (Pt.), **benimerin** (Cs., with an old var. **benamarin**) and **benimeri** (Ct.) “Merinid”: < Naf. *ḥarī marīn*. Cf. **merino**.

**belarbegue** and **belarbei** (Pt.) “Beglerbeg, higher lord”: < Tr. *beyler bey* “lord of lords”

**Belcebú** (Cs.) “Beelzebub”: through Bib. Lt., < Hb. *ḥāṣal zēbub* “lord of the flies”, in fact, the name of a Philistine divinity.

**beldet atahlib** “town of foxes”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 75, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:47 as a region in the sky between Delta and Gamma Pegasi and Beta Andromedae, < Neo-Ar. *balḍat aṭṭālib* or, as Kunitzsch has it, *aṭṭālib*, in sg. Cf. **atoax lebet**.

**belén** (Cs. and Gl.) “crib, nativity scene”: through Bib.Gr. and Bib.Lt., < Hb. *ḥēt lehem* “house of bread”, name of the town in Judea where Christ was born, after the Gospel. Cf. **betle(he)mita** and **betle(he)mítico**.

**bel(h)ez** (Cs.) “vessel; household goods”: perhaps a Mudejar term, < And. *(a)b alhīss* “clinking item”.<sup>573</sup>

**beliz** (Pt.) “shrewd”: < Ar. *iblis* “devil”. It is a characteristic case of anaptyxis after the loss of a prosthetic vowel.

**bellota** (Cs., Val. and Ct. dialect of Ribagorça), **abellota** (Old Cs., Sal., Mur. and Nav.), **abeyota** (Ast.) and **be/olota** (Pt.) “acorn”: < And. *ballūta* < Cl.Ar. *ballūṭah* < Aram. *ballūṭā*, prob. < Gr. *balanōtē* “acorn-

like fruit”. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **bolotada** and **bolotal**; Cs. **bellote** “large roundheaded nail”, in García Salinero 1968:57, through the Ar. attributive *ballūṭī*.

**belmez**: see **velmez**.

**belota**: see **bellota**.

**belyniz** “a variety of jasper”: as in the case of its synonymous **alioj** (q.v.), it is a corruption of Gr. *iaspis*, through Syr. >*lytws* >*lytspys*<, for >*lytspys*< (cf. Payne Smith 1879–1901:1945), and further distortion in Ar. script.<sup>574</sup>

**ben** (Cs.) “ben oil tres (Moringa aptera)”: is a botanical term very recently introduced through Fr., < Ar. *ḥān*. There are old var. **alb(i)en** in DAX 289, which means that, as in many similar cases, the original And. loanword was forgotten and the Ar. item was reintroduced only in contemporary times.

**benamarin**: see **belamarin**.

**benanays** (“the daughters of Nays”, with the var. **benan nax** and **benannax**, short for **benet nays alcubra** and **açogra**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 75, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:48 as some stars of the Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, respectively, < Neo-Ar. *ḥanāt annaṣṣ alkubrā / aṣṣuḡrā*, lit., “big / little daughters of annaṣṣ” Cf. **annays**, a word treated here as a pr.n., although the translators did not ignore its common meaning in this case.

**benat noctis**: (with a worse var. **nebat**): is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:136, < Neo-Ar. *ḥanāt allayl* “overnight pimples”.<sup>575</sup>

**benefe** (Pt., with the var. **muneфе**) “wild violet”: is unlikely to be a borrowing in the

<sup>573</sup> About the allomorph *ab* of *abu* in And., see AAR 2.2.1.1.5.10.3c, p. 77. It is a slang word of unclear origin, as is often the case of Mudejar terms; on the other hand, the identification of a *din* with normality in the home is an Arab commonplace, cf., e.g., IQ 131/8/4 *lu xalā dāruk min ḥasīs* (an allomorph of *ḥiss*, required by the rhyme) “Would that your house be not devoid of noise”

<sup>574</sup> As in the case of other exotic Ar. loanwords, particularly in the names of stones, the preposition *bi-* following the verb *yusammā* “it

is called”, has been included in the transcription of the item; in other instances, however, there are grounds to suspect the agglutination of the Cp. masc. article *p(i)-*, which is sometimes conversely metanalyzed and eliminated by hypercorrection, e.g., Gr. *episkopos* > Ar. *usquf*. This can also happen with the matching fem. article, *t(i)-*, e.g., Gr. *diabolos* > *iblis* (cf. **beliz**).

<sup>575</sup> The shift between *ḥanāt* and *nabāt* is correctly explained by the authors. There is another witness of **benat** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, again related to *ḥanāt allayl* in DS I 120.

Iberian Peninsula of Ar. *banafsaj* "violet" of Iranian origin; chances are that it is a late acquisition connected with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, with an error in the transmission of Neo-P. *banafse*.

**bengala(da)** and **bengali**: see **albengala**.

**beniaerçe** "weasel": is an unassimilated bookish term, from DAX 291, < Ar. *ibn širs*.

**benimeri(n)**: see **belamarim**.

**benjamín** (Cs.), **benxamín** (Gl.) and **benjamí** (Ct.) "youngest favourite son": through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *bin yāmin*, lit., "son of the right hand", as this last scion of Jacob's was expected to become his father's best supporter. From the same etymon is the attributive **benjamita**, with a Lt. suffix.

**benjuí** (Ct. and Cs., borrowed from the former and with a var. **menjuí**), **benxuí** (Gl.) and **benjoim** (Pt.) "benzoin": possibly from And., to judge from its *imālah*, < Neo-Ar. *lubān jāwī* "Javanese frankincense", with metanalysis and deglutination of a Rom. article (cf. **breca**). Of the same origin is Cs. **olíbano**, through the Lt. bookish transcription *olibanum*, while Pt. **lobão**, documented only in the 16th c., whereas the aforementioned var. are from the 15th c., appears to reflect a different and younger transmission. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **benzoico**; Ct. **benzoic**; Pt. **benzóico**.

**benxamín**: see **benjamín**.

**benxuí** and **benzoic(o)**: see **benjuí**.

**berber** (Pt.) and **bereber(e)** (Cs., with a rare var. **berberí**, extended with the suffix of Eastern gentiles) "Br.": < Naf. *barbār* < Cl.Ar. *barbar*, collective designation given by the Arabs to this nation, on account of the mutual unintelligibility of their languages, although they also and for the same reason gave this name to the Nubians and the Cushitic nations of East Africa. The only witness previous to the borrowing through Pt. in the 16th c., is that of DAX 292, **barbaris**, **berberi(s)** and **berberys**, proving that this word did not spread but minimally before the North African cam-

paigns and that its standard Cs. form comes from Pt., in a vulgar pronunciation with anaptyctic /e/. Consequently, there was never any reason for the penultima stress of **\*beréber**, a pedantic innovation by some Spanish Arabists, merely resting on Mármol's spellings without any linguistic basis: bare common sense should have warned them that the coincidence of all European languages makes it unbelievable that Cs. would solely among them reflect the Ar. broken pl. **\*barābir**, in a position in which, besides, /r/ does not allow *imālah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **berberisco**; Pt.: **berbere/isco**.

**berberia** (Pt., only Machado) "Br. language": < Naf. *barbrayya* < Cl.Ar. *barbariyyah*, not analogical of **aravia**, as that author believed.

**berberis** and **bérbero(s)** (Cs.) "Berberis vulgaris": through Lt. bookish transcription, < Neo-Ar. (*am*)*barbārīs*, often distorted as *amīr bārīs*, of unclear origin. As a mere working hypothesis, one explanation would be based on a conjunction of the Yemenite article *am-*, an optional segment as can be seen, with a Rom. reflex of Lt. *barbārus*, "the Br. (plant)", but this is not its distinctive feature. Another possibility would lie in a Neo-P. nickname **\*bār bā rīs** "fruit with violence", allusive to the thorns that hurt whomever tries to pick it"; however, Persian dictionaries do not record this sequence, while the var. *barbārīs* and *am/ nbarbārīs* are considered of foreign stock.

**berberisco**: see **berber**.

**bérbero(s)**: see **berberis**.

**bereber(e)**: see **berber**.

**beren/xena**, **berenjenal** and **berenjenín**: see **albagina**.

**bergamota** (Cs. and Pt.) "a variety of pear or lime" (also Gl. in the first sense) and **bergamote/o** "tree bearing them": is a botanical term documented by Coromines already at the end of the 16th c., through It. and/or Fr., < Tr. *bey armudu* "the lord's pear".<sup>576</sup>

<sup>576</sup> According to Vasmer 1996:I 151; see also DCECH, with data corroborating the Tr. etymon, vs. the gentile of Bergamo propounded by DRAE and other authors, merely based on an It. folk etymology. The Tr. expression is recorded already

by Redhouse, though rendered as "Williams or Jersey pear" Machado lengthens it into "prince Mustafa's pear", a very frequent name among the Ottomans, but unfortunately he offers no authority nor identification of that prince.

**bergazote**: see **bujazón**.

**beriberi** (Cs.) “beriberi”: through Eng., from Cingalese *bāribāri*.

**beringel** (Pt., only in Morais) “a kind of fig”: is listed in the *Kitābu Sumdati ḥabīb* as >*brnjāl*<, (cf. Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmantine 2004:107 and 606, N° 1149, mss. b, which requires emending \**burtijāl* there, in RRGB 119, and in 2007:170), which appears to imply a possibly metonymic origin, common with **beringela**, q.v.s.v. **albargina**.

**beringela**: see **albargina**.

**beringi**: see **alberengi**.

**beritense** (Cs.) “from Beirut”: is a bookish reflex of Lt. *Bērytensis*, gentilic of Phoenician \**bērūt* “wells”, giving name to that city.

**beritharium** “peritoneum”: is an unasimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:175, < Neo-Ar. *bārītūn* < Gr. *peritōnion*.

**berjaçote**: see **bujazón**.

**berloz** “a stone similar to a white pearl”: is an unasimilated technical term, from DAX 292, prob. from the Gr. etymon of **abalorio**, q.v., through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**bèrnia**, **bernia/o** and **bérne/fo**: see **al-bèrnia**.

**bernús**: see **albornoz**.

**berut**: is an unasimilated technical term, from GP 75 and DAX 1279, merely explained as “the stone called in Egyptian *nief de acin*”, i.e., “snow from China”, which is not recorded. Nykl’s etymological proposal, Neo-Ar. *bārūd*, is correct, and the talk goes, of course, about saltpetre, called in Neo-Ar. *ṭalj aṣṣūn*, after DS I:163,<sup>577</sup> < Neo-P. *namak e čini* “Chinese salt”

**besalicon**: see **basalicum**.

**betafalúa**: see **batafalúa**.

**beta(l)mé**, **betamel** and **betalmez** (Old Cs.) “water closet”: as studied by Gorosch 1949–50, reflect And. *báyt almá* < Cl.Ar. *baytu lmā*? “house of the water”, a widespread

Neo-Ar. euphemism. The var. **beticambra** is considered by Kiesel 1994:43 as an instance of synonymic composition, which is true, as the Rom. reflex of Lt. *cāmēra* is an approximate equivalent of the Ar. first constituent, but it is simultaneously a case of half-translation, in which the second constituent is replaced by a semantically more transparent word,<sup>578</sup> which happens to be an early euphemism for excrements.

**betauen** “the idol’s house”: is an unasimilated technical term, from DAX 294, < Hb. *bēt āwen*, according to Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907:110.

**Betelgeuze** (Cs.) “the star Alpha Orionis”: this astronomical term is the reflex of an erroneous Lt. bookish transcription, *Bedelgeuze*, < And. *yad aljāwza* < Cl. Ar. *yadu ljawzā*? “Gemini’s hand”, a less frequent var. of *mankibu ljawzā*? “Gemini’s shoulder”, which gave way to an attempt at reinterpreting it as \**ibhu ljawzā*? “Gemini’s amppit”.<sup>579</sup>

**beth**: see **elbehta**.

**beticambra**: see **beta(l)mé**.

**bétilo** (Pt.) “meteorite turned into an object of cult”: is a learned word, with ultra-correct antepenultima stress, received through Lt. *baetūlylus* and Gr. *baitylos*, reproducing the Semitic phrase “God’s house, temple”; however, its vocalization is closer to a North Semitic language like Ugar. >*bt il*< “temple”, than to Hb. \**bēt ēl*, of the same meaning, often mentioned in the Bible, and soon becoming a “place of idolatrous cult”

**betle(he)mita** and **betle(he)mítico** (Cs.) and **betlemita** or **betlemítico** (Pt.) “Bethlehemite”: through Bib.Lt. *Bethlēmītēs*, a gentilic formed on this Hb. place name, q.v. under **belén**.

**betya** “large earthen jar” (with the var. **betia** and **aluatia**): from GP 75, < Neo-Ar. *batiyyah*, which is in this case an unasimilated astronomical term of medieval Cs. See

<sup>577</sup> The Cs. periphrasis provides a chronological landmark for the corruption of this term, originally *milh*, not *ṭalj*, surveyed by Dozy in this entry.

<sup>578</sup> There is also a cultural motivation for this substitution, namely, the requirement of water

availability for the prescribed ablutions in the latrines of an Islamic house, a feature generally absent from medieval Christian households. This situation would not begin to change until the 18th c.

<sup>579</sup> Según Kunitzsch 1959:150–151.

Kunitzsch 1961:49, s.v. *bāṭiya*.<sup>580</sup> Cf. *botías* and *butía*, and see DS I:50.

**betzef**, **a**—(Bal., with the var. *ba/etzeb*) “abundantly” and **bicef** “enough; abundantly” (Anl.): < Naf. *ḥazzāf* “much” < Cl.Ar. *ḥilzāf* “en bloc; wholesale” < Neo-P. *gezāf* “numberless” That idiom is not documented in And.; therefore, it must stem from trade relations with North Africa or through the *lingua franca*, in which it is documented by Kiesler 1994:34.

**betzoar** (Ct.), **beza(a)r** (Cs., also **beza(ha)r** in GP 76) and **bezoar** (Cs. and Gl.) “bezoar”: < And. *bazāhr* < Cl.Ar. *bā(di)zahr* < Neo-P. *pād zahr* “protecting from poison” The form **be(t)zoar** has been contaminated by confusion with Ar. *bādaward* “welled thistle (Picnemon acarna)”, although this plant is very different from galbanum, another frequent, though erroneous meaning of *bā(di)zahr*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **bezoár(d)ico**; Ct.: **betzoànic**; Pt.: **bezoartícar** and **bezoártico**.

**bexich** “sparrowhawk”: is an unassimilated technical term of falconry, from DAX 294, < Ar. *bāṣa/iq*, of Iranian origin (cf. Neo-P. *bāṣe*).

**bexima**: see **alpechim**.

**bey**: see **begue**.

**beyti**: see **elbehta**.

**beza(a)r**, **beza(ha)r**, **bezoar**, **bezoár(d)ico**, **bezoartícar** and **bezoártico**: see **betzoar**.

**bezaquid** “remover of noise” and **bezebekaury** “remover of sorrows”: are unassimilated names of stones, in GP 76, from *Lapidario*,<sup>581</sup> without identification and etyma.

**bezel**: see **albezel**.

**bhear**: see **albhear**.

**bicef**: see **betzef**.

**bidana**: see **albitana**.

**bijón** “shoemaker’s boxwood tool” (Mur.): < And. *pujón* “mallet”, < Lt. *pīdōn[em]*, with a phenomenon of vowel assimilation to the palatal phoneme, and witness to a pronunciation more Arabicized than Alcalá’ shape.

**biles** “allantois”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983: 175, < Neo-Ar. *f.lās* < Gr. *allās* “sausage”

**bilor**: see **ollar**

**bimbola**: see **babalà**.

**birgazote**: see **bujazón**.

**birsem**: see **abherheme**.

**bismela** (Pt.) “introductory phrase of the Koran”: is an unassimilated item, recorded in the 16th c. after Machado, in some Indian legends, < Ar. *bismi llāh* “in the name of God”

**bisnaga** (Ct.), **bisnac/ga** (Pt.) and **biznaga** (Cs.) “pick-tooth (Ammi visnaga)”: < And. *\*bis(s)ināga*<sup>582</sup> < Lt. *pastināca*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **biznagal**.

**bizath**: is an unassimilated term, from LHP 93, in which its etymon and meaning must be corrected to Ar. *bisāṭ* “tapestry”, after Corriente 2004b:79.

**bizedi**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 76, name of a stone of uncertain identification with an Iranian etymon,<sup>583</sup> < Neo-Ar. *bijādī*.

**bledā** and **bledania**: see **badal**.

**bocací(n)** (Cs.) “a linen fabric”: prob. < Tr. *boğası*, through It. and/or Ct. However, although its first witnesses are Arag. and connected with Turkey, it is not a transparent word

<sup>580</sup> There is a perceptible difference between the etyma *ḥattīyyah* and *bāṭiyah*, sometimes with labialization of the first vowel, of both names of vessels of unclear origin; Payne Smith 454 provides Syr. *bāṭyā* “crater”, diverse from Neo-P. *bād(iyeh)*, which is closer to Pahl. *bādag* “wine”

<sup>581</sup> The first item appears to have a var. **albarquid**, q.v., with a Neo-Ar. folk etymology *\*bāzz alkayd* “remover of ruses”, whereas in the second the last constituent is prob. very distorted, perhaps from *balāwī* “calamities”, in agreement with the suggested sense, and without an excessive spelling gap.

<sup>582</sup> A var. parallel to witnessed *bisnāč* and *p/bastinācu*, and preferable on account of its

better preservation of the Lt. ending, and absence of metanalysis and substitution of a supposed pejorative suffix. The form *\*\*\*bišnaqu* propounded by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as immediate And.Rom. etymon of this word has never been documented, although DE posited it, but could well have existed as a result of the /st/ > /č/ shift and subsequent substitution of /š/ for this marginal phoneme. This would provide a better explanation for the palatalization of the first vowel as a case of contamination between allomorphs.

<sup>583</sup> See DAA 37, DS II:81 and Steingass 1892: 216. Agate, beryl, garnet and amber have been suggested.

in Tr., and might be corrupted from an Ar. or Neo-P. gentilic, as there is an Ar. *bāgaziyyah*, designation of a coarse silken fabric, while the geographer Yāqūt records a place name Bāgaz, without further detail. On the other hand, this term, which is found in many European languages, has reached India too, although apparently is not from this country.

**bocafre**: see **almocafre**.

**bocaram/n** and **bocarán**: see **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.

**bodoc**, **bodocal** and **bodocazo**: see **albón-diga**.

**bodojen** (Old Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, defined as “soldier-monk”, can only mean the Sufis who fought most effectively against the Crusaders, as volunteers and in fulfilment of the religious duty of Islamic *jihād*. It is, in truth, a var. of **bedofin** or **beduino**; however, the talk does not go here about Arab nomads, but about the members of the *ṭarīqah* or Sufi brotherhood founded by the North African Aḥmad Albadawī, whose power in Egypt became considerable.<sup>584</sup>

**bo/udoix** (Bal.) “bundle” (with the var. **pidoix**, **mudaixó**, etc. in other dialects), a **budōxos** “gushing forth”, a **budoixos** “by the score”, etc.: are all prob. from And. \**abu dúš* “doing two things simultaneously” or \**bidúš* (which would explain the /i/-var.) “simultaneously”, from the idiom documented in Azzajjālī’s proverb collection N° 953 and IQ 59/11/2 *duš šamalāyn*.<sup>585</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **abudoixar**.

**bodoque** and **bodoquera**: see **albóndiga**.

**bófeta** and **bofetán** (Cs.) and **bofetá** (Pt.), documented at the beginning of the 17th c., whence prob. Cs.) “an Indian cotton fabric”: < Neo-Ar. *baft(ah)*, or its Neo-P. etymon *hāfte* “fabric” Eguílaz mentions a Pt. var. **bafetá** which might have circulated, although it is scarcely documented.

**bo(j)alaga** (Cs.), **bufal/naga** (Ct.): “gnidium (*Thymelaea hirsuta*)”:<sup>586</sup> < And. *buḥaláq(a)* “whitlow” < Neo-Ar. *abū ḥalaq* “wearing a ring or an earring”, a metonymical designation of this plant on account of its

florescence. This term is not recorded in non-specialized Cs. dictionaries, but is found in DECLC, although with the erroneous notion of its being a phonetic corruption of **pastanaga** “carrot (*Daucus carota*)”, and some identifications requiring the judgement of skilled botanists.

**bolaique** “wide-headed nails for garnishing doors” (Anz., also Anl. as **bolayque**): no doubt shares the meaning and etymon of standard **bollón**, but the characteristically And. Rom. suffix {-ÁYQ}, gives away the direct descent of this from Lt. *bullā*.

**bolda/o** (Ct.) “stone used as an anchor”: it is not a mod. word, nor derived from Eng. \*\*\*“boulder”, pace Coromines. Moll was right upon suggesting a Gr. etymon *bolís*, -*ídōs*, not only because a probe in the old days was just a stone tied to a rope, but also because Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:252), while condemning vulgar And. >*būllis*< gave *buld* as its correct Ar. name, as a matter of fact recorded by some Cl.Ar. dictionaries (e.g., the purist Alfayrūzabāqī’s *Alqāmūs almuḥīṭ* with the spellings >*bld*< and >*bldh*<). By doing so, he inadvertently provided the *casus obliquus* of this term, vs. the *casus rectus* used in lower registers. The transmission of the former might point to the lingua franca, but it appears from Allaxmī’s statement that both had circulated in Al-Andalus.

**boldregas** and **boldrego**: see **baldorras**.

**bollar** “cristal”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 76, with a var. **bilor**, from the same etymon as **abalorio**, q.v.

**bollo** “vulva”: is Mur. in Gómez Ortín 1991:86, which is compatible with its being also Arag. after Sheynin 1982:241, commented by Magdalena 1985:54 and 63;<sup>587</sup> it is a metonymy of standard Cs. “bread loaf”

**bolota(da)** and **bolotal**: see **bellota**.

**bolucbagi** (Cs.) “commander of a battalion of Janissaries”: this hapax is an unassimilated technical term, mentioned by Eguílaz, < Tr. *bölükbaşı*.

**bórax** and **bòrax**: see **baurac**.

**borcejote**: see **bujazón**.

<sup>584</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-badawīyya*.

<sup>585</sup> See Zwartjes 1991.

<sup>586</sup> After López González 1982:663.

<sup>587</sup> But it could also be a euphemistic distortion of And. *būlb* “vulva” (cf. DAA 61); cf. low register Cs. **bollera** “lesbian”.

**bordate** (Pt.) "an old Egyptian cotton fabric": cannot derive, *pace* Machado, from the Ar. pl. of *\*burdah*, which only means a mantle and does not have a reg. pl. with the suffix */+āt/*. It is perhaps a corruption of Ar. *baḡdādī* "from Baghdad", through Fr. Cf. **baldaquí**.

**borit** (hierba) — "soapwort": is an unsimulated technical term, from DAX 1005, a learned word from the Biblical text, < Hb. *borit*.

**borja** (Ct.) "peasants' shack or cottage": < And. *húrij* = Cl.Ar. *burj* < Syr. *būrgā* < Gr. *pýrgos* "tower", with acquisition of the Rom. fem. morpheme through metanalysis of paralogical */e/*. There is also a semantic calque, as **torre** means "country-house" in the whole East of Spain. From the same etymon are prob. Cs. **borje** "tower of a castle", in García Salinero 1968:59, and **burche** "defensive tower", poorly witnessed and missing in many dictionaries. Intra-Rom. der.: Maj.: **al/uberjé** "garret"

**borjaçote**: see **bujazón**.

**borje**: see **borja**.

**borní** (Cs. and Pt.): Covarrubias' hypothesis that these falcons were from Bornu in Central Africa has been given too much credit, without considering those in Ireland or Hibernia, and the frequency in Ar. of vowel labialization by contact. Cf. **albèrnia** and **neblí**.

**boronía**: see **alboronía**.

**borraj** and **borrás**: see **baurac**.

**borreca**: see **alforreca**.

**borrega**: see **alforra**.

**botarga** (Cs.) "motley dress": its etymon was correctly established by Coromines, from It. *bottarga* "dried and pressed roe" < Eg.Ar. *baḡārix*, < Gr. *tárixos* "salted fish", through a posited Cp. with agglutination of the article *p(i)+*. However, the existence of a var. with labialization of the first vowel, posited by him, is unlikely, because the pattern of broken pl. does not allow this alteration; therefore, it is preferable to consider a borrowing of Lgr. *botarichon*, documented by him in a gloss, or even an Ar. folk etymology *\*(a)bū tārix* "father of T.", with some parallels in loanwords from other languages, beginning with a labial consonant, although such a term is not documented nor is there any trace of it.

**boteña**: see **albudeca**.

**botías** and **butía** "earthen jar with a spigot" (Leo.): reflects And. *buṭṭīyya*, < Lgr. *bolūtis* or Lt. *buttis*, of uncertain origin.

**botor** (Cs., with the var. **bathara** and **bothor**, reflecting the n.un. and pl., respectively) "pustule; small tumour": from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:120, is a scientific term of bookish transmission, < A. *buḡūr* "pustules" Cf. **abuzos**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **botoral**.

**bovalà**: see **babalà**.

**bozones**: see **matrazo**.

**bracmán** and **brahmá/in** (Cs.), **brahmana** (Gl.) and **brâ(c)mane** or **braamanas** (Pt., the second var. only pl., also **brâmines**, **brâmena/es**, **brâc/gmane** and **brâmano**) "Brahman":<sup>588</sup> are mod. or even contemporary terms, bookishly transmitted from Pt., which borrowed it in India, although the second var. might have been contaminated by the medieval var. **albarhamín**, with metanalysis and folk etymology < Neo-Ar. *barahman* < Neo-P. *barahman* < Sk. *brahmán* "devout man", folk etymologized in And. as *\*albarhamiyyín* "those of the ointment". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **brahmanismo** Ct.: **braman**, **bramànic** and **bramanisme**; Gl.: **brahmánico**; Pt.: **bramánico**.

**breca** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **breque** (Cs.) "some species of bleak (*Alburnus*)": it appears, in principle, to have designated the characteristically reddish "pandora" (*Pagellus erythrinus*, cf. Fr. *pageot rouge* and It. *fragolino* "little strawberry"), < And.Rom. *\*LOBRÁYQA* < Lt. *rubra*, (closely reflected by Granadan And. *lôbra* in Alcalá = *lúbra*), with dissimilation, addition of the suffix */+ÁYQ/* and metanalysis and deglutination of the Rom. definite article. Former editions of DRAE, now corrected, surprisingly derived this genuine pan-Iberian word from Eng. *\*"bleak"*, in spite of Cs. documentation harking back to the beginning of the 16th c., according to Coromines, who labels it as "Mozarabic (i.e., And.Rom.) of uncertain etymon". Cf. **baila**.

**bricho** (Cs.) "silver or gold tinsel for embroidery": the etymon suggested in DRAE, Lt. *obryzum* "purified gold", does not convince Coromines on both semantic and phonetic

<sup>588</sup> About the history and var. of this Ar. loan-

word, see Marcos Marín 1977.

grounds. However, the former are not too serious, as gold and silver embroidery was a common trade in the Middle Ages, the gap between tinsel and thread being minimal; as for the phonetic irregularity, above all in the match of the last consonant, it may well have been caused by Mediterranean transmission. The Lt. word and Ar. *ibriz* = And. *ibriz*, documented by at least three sources, reflect Gr. *óbryzon*, prob. of Eg. origin, to judge from Cp. *aberēč*.

**brico** (Gl.) "earthen vessel": is a word mentioned by Eguílaz, perfectly derivable, as he propounded, from And. *ibríq* = Cl.Ar. *ibrīq*, of Iranian origin (see DAA).

**buaed** "dishes usually seasoned with oil and vinegar": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:205, < Ar. *bawārid*, lit., "cold (items)"

**buata**: see *bata y guata*.

**bucarán**: see *barragán*<sup>2</sup>.

**buchor** "fumigation": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:206, < Ar. *buxār*.

**budeca** and **budefa**: see *albudeca*.

**budismo** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "Buddhism" and **budista** "Buddhist": are derived, with Graeco-Latin suffixation, through Fr., from the Sk. surname *buddha* "awaken, enlightened" of its initiator, Sākya-Muni Gautama.

**budoix(os)** and **budōxos**: see *bodoix*.

**bufal/naga**: see *bo(j)alaga*.

**bufereeta**: see *albufera*.

**bugia/o** (Pt.) "monkey" and **bugia** (Ct.) "monkey" (only old and dial.) and "wax candle", and **bujfa** (Cs.) "wax candle", < And. *bujíyya*, local pronunciation of the name of the Algerian town of Bijāyah (= Cs. *Bugfa*), with vowel labialization and strong *imālah*, prob. characteristic of the Andalusi emigrés often involved in the commercial activities of that town, from which both items were imported. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *bugiar* and *bugiaria*.

**bujazón** (Arag.), **bujalazor** (Mur.), **bujarasol** (Cs.), **be/irgazote** (Can., borrowed from Pt.) and **burjassote** (Pt., with the var. **borcejote** and **bo/u/erjaçote**, cf. Fr. *bourjasotte*) "a famous variety of excellent figs":

according to Coromines, from the name of the Valencian town of Burjasot (< And. *burj sašúđ* "tower of S."). It is possibly the variety called *burjī* in *Kitābu Šumdati ṭṭabīb* (see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:107 and 606, wrongly spelled as >z/rjy<).

**bujía**: see *bugia*.

**bulbul** (Cs.) "nightingale": is a contemporary, pedantic, unnecessary, wrongly stressed, and for Cs. morpho-phonemics, aberrant borrowing of Ar. *bulbul*.

**bullonera**: see *albelló*.

**bullugas**: see *baluga*.

**burche**: see *borja*.

**buritassen** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 33, apparently reflecting Gr. *puritēs* "pyrite", through Syr. and Ar. scripts.

**burjaçote** and **burjassote**: see *bujazón*.

**bùrnia**: see *albornía*.

**burrica**: see *alforra*.

**burufalla**: see *trafalla*.

**butargo**: see *abutargo*.

**buth** "real displacement of any heavenly body in time units": is an unassimilated astronomical term, < Ar. *buht*.<sup>589</sup>

**butía**: see *botías*.

**buz** (Cs. and Pt.) "kiss of respect": < And. *búss*, imperative of the matching verb, or collective of *bússa*, of the same meaning, equivalent of Cl.Ar. *haws*, *mašdar* of the verb *bās*, recorded by so purist a dictionary as *Lisān alKarab*, although labelled as an Iranism; in fact, its etymon is Middle Persian, surviving in Neo-P. *bus*, verbal noun of *busidan*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *buzcorona*.

**buza** (Pt.) "a popular Egyptian alcoholic beverage": is a contemporary borrowing, < Eg.Ar. *būza* < Neo-P. *buze*, described by Vullers as obtained from cereals and used in Central Asia and India.

**buzaque** (Cs.) "drunkard": is a poorly witnessed word, absent from most dictionaries, prob. from the Mudejar jargon, < And. (a)bu *záqq* < Cl.Ar. *abū zīqq* "that of the wine-skin", as hesitantly propounded by DRAE. Cf. *zaque*.

<sup>589</sup> This word is found in Azarquiél's *Astro-nomical Tables*, 1051r, in a passage which Prof. Samsó was kind enough to explain to us so that,

thanks to his help, we could also locate it in Lane and Steingass.



## C

**Caaba** (Cs. and Pt.) “the Kaaba in Mecca”: < Ar. *kašbah*, prob. through Fr.

**caaclaman**, “name of an insufficiently identified stone”: from GP 77, in which it is considered of Gr. origin, but it is more akin to *axlāmā*,<sup>590</sup> a Hb. synonym in the *Leiden Glossary* of *kahramān* “amber”

**çaad addebeth** (with the var. **çad adda-beh**, **çat aldebeh**, **caad aldeba** and **zaha-dadebich**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 134, < Neo-Ar. *sašd addābih* “S., the slaughterer”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:101 with some stars of Capricornus, constituting the 22th mansion of the moon.

**caad alahbia / alhachbya / alacuuu** (with the var. **çad**, q.v.) “luck of the tents”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 134, < Neo-Ar. *sašd allaxbiyah* “S. of the tents”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:100, as Gamma, Pi, Zeta and Eta Aquarii, constituting the 25th mansion of the moon.

**çaadabola** (with the var. **çaahdebolah**, **caad deboalah** and **çadb/vula**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 134, “swallowing luck”,<sup>591</sup> < Neo-Ar. *sašd bulaš*, of uncertain meaning, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:101 as three stars of Aquarius constituting the 23th mansion of the moon.

**caadazod** (with the var. **çaad acohor**, **çaahzot**, **çahd açoohd** and **çad eçohor**): “luck of licks”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 134, < Neo-Ar. *sašd assušūd* “S. of the licks”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:103, as the designation of two stars in Aquarius and one in Capricornus.

**çabaçalans**: see **zabazala**.

\*\*\***cabacequias**: see **zabezequia**.

**çabach**: see **acibeche**.

**cabaia**: see **gabán**.

**cábala** (Cs. and Gl.), **cábala** (Ct.) and **cabala** (Pt.) “Jewish cabbalah; conjecture”: < Hb. *qabbālāh* “post-Mosaic Scriptures” The anomalous stress is a consequence of bookish Lt. transmission, which used to generate learned antepenultima stressing (cf. **álcali** and **álgebra**), although, in the Pt. case, that prosodic structure was favoured by a tendency in its own system. Of the same origin, through popular alteration, is **gàbula** (Ct., with a var. **càbula**) “imbroglia; trick” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **cabalista** and **cabalístico**; Ct.: **cabalista** and **cabalístico**; Pt.: **cabalar** and **cabalismo**. Cf. **gàbula**.

**çabalaquén**: see **zabalachén**.

**caballo** (Anl.): this local name of the fish also called **quelvacho**, q.v.s.v. **albfar**, appears to be a contamination by Cs. **caballo** “horse” of that word, perhaps pronounced \***calbacho**.

**cabarra** “lick” (Leo., given in DRAE as used in Valladolid too): < And. *qaparra*, of pre-Rom. origin (cf. Basque *kapař*).

**cabayn** “seventy days”: is an unassimilated term, from GP 77, < Neo-Ar. *sabšīn* “seventy”

**cabaza**: see **gabán**.

**cabazohe**: see **zabazoque**.

**cabdat aciquin** “leaves (in the handle of a knife)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 77, < Neo-Ar. *qabdat assikkīn* which, according to DS II:309, names the nebula of Perseus.

**cabecequia(s)**: see **zabezequia**.

**cabeili** “mischievous child” (Men. from Ciudadela): appears to reflect Naf. *qbāyli* < Cl.Ar. *qabāʾilī* “Kabylian”, necessarily a late borrowing, due to mod. or contemporary contacts with Algeria (cf. **betzef**), where the

<sup>590</sup> Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907:29, s.v. *ahlāmāh*, hesitantly suggest “amethyst”, but the equivalences of the gems in the ephod in Ex. 28/39, which is the source of this word, cannot be established with any degree of certainty. Cf. also DAX 3, in which **aaram** “jet” is given as Gr.

<sup>591</sup> In this source, *sašd* has always been interpreted as **uentura** “luck”, although in the native tradition it is usually considered as a pr.n.; this has originated strange renderings and outright misunderstandings, as pointed by Kunitzsch.

Kabyle tribes have always resisted central authority.

**çabgalmerich** "a medicine for falcons: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 324, < Neo-Ar. *şamğ almirrūt* "gum of the yellow narcissus"

**çabia**: see **sabia**.

**cabide** (Pt.) "coat-hanger": is a late word, documented only in the 17th c., which makes unlikely a derivation from the Ar. root *[qbd]*, as this provides no semantically suitable term, not to mention the unlikely absence of effect of velarization on /i/. However, its mention in the 16th c. with the meaning of "staff" might reflect Ar. *qadīb*, with metathesis, which opens the way to a semantic evolution. The borrowing would have taken place through Eastern channels, which does away with that phonetic difficulty, since velarization is not imported by the non-Semitic languages of that area.

**cabila** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.): < Naf. *q̄bila* < Cl.Ar. *qabilah*. Unlike genuine synonymous Cs. **alcavera**, and Pt. **alcabela**, this borrowing took place as a consequence of the campaigns in Morocco at the end of the 19th c. By semantic evolution it has generated Can. **cábila** "vandal(s)", with an incorrect stress, widespread in standard Cs. also, as a consequence of contamination by synonymous **cafila**, as pointed out by Coromines, but also surely through a pedantic hypercorrection often found in the journalistic style. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cabileño**; Ct.: **cabilenc**.

**càb/pit** (Bal.) "shout accompanying a ball passing the wicket" (in a local game resembling cricket): more than a Lt. term, unlikely in such a game, looks like an And.Rom. \**QÁPED*<sup>592</sup> < It. *cāpit* "it goes through", although its preservation after the end of bilingualism in the whole Al-Andalus might have been due to folk etymology as And. *qābid* "holder"

**cabolis** and **quebolis** "myrobalan from Kabul": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from DAX 406. Cf. **alchauli**.

**cabrearse**: see **kafrár**.

**c/kabroci**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 77 and 101, said of a Cyprian mineral, of the same etymon as **caparrós**, q.v.

**càbula**: see **cábala**.

**caç**: see **cazo**.

**çac alaçet** "the lion's leg": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 135, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:104 as Alpha Boötis and Alpha Virginis, < Neo-Ar. *sāq allasad*.

**çaçabé** (Pt.) "district capital in India": < Hindi *qashā* < Neo-P. *qaṣabe* "populous city" < Ar. *qaṣabah* "acropolis" Cf. **alcáçova**.

**çaçahat almeçequin** "porringer of the the poor" (with the var. **caca ahēt/c almeçequin** and **çaçaah**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 77, designation, after Kunitzsch 1961:55 and 92, of eight stars in Corona Borealis, also called **alfaca**, q.v., < Neo-Ar. *qaṣṣat almasākin*.

**çaçapo** (Pt.) "butcher": is a term borrowed during the campaigns in the shores of the Indian Ocean, < Hindi *qassāb* < Neo-P. and Ar. *qaṣṣāb*.

**çaçarate**: see **cassaret**.

**çacaztir** (with the var. **çalaztir**): is an unassimilated term, from GP 135, vulgar Arabization of Gr. *schistos* or its Lt. reflex *schistus*, translated sometimes as *hajarun muṣaqqaq* "cleft stone", i.e., "schist".<sup>593</sup>

**çaçemi**: see **cazeno**.

**cacereño** (Cs.) "gentile of Cáceres": this place name is a hybrid, reflecting the Rom. pl. of And. *qáṣr*, the etymon of **alcázar**, q.v.

**cáceres** (exclusive of Gl.) "notches for the yoke straps or in the surface of a millstone, etc.": < And. *káṣr* = Cl.Ar. *kasr* "cut", with a Rom. pl. suffix.

**cacet**: see **caciz**.

**cachofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**cachumbo** "despicable vessel" (Mur. and Tol.): is inseparable from And. *qačúp* "chamber pot" (in Alcalá), no doubt a word of Hispanic ancestry, to judge by its Rom. cognates, but the etymological problems are not solved, as can be seen under **cacho**<sup>1</sup> in DCECH. Cf. **cotxó**.

<sup>592</sup> See Corriente 1997a:348, 1.2.7 and 352, 2.2, about the preservation of the final dental in the 3rd person sg. in this dial. bundle.

<sup>593</sup> Cf. Payne Smith 1869–1901:1946, with the spellings Syr. >*skysṯws* < and Ar. >*xyṯws* <.

**caciegaleytiz:** see **gaciegaleytiz**.

**cacifo:** see **cañis**.

**cacimies and cacini:** see **cazeno**.

**caciz** (Pt.) "priest": is a term of Eastern origin, documented in the 15th c., < Neo-Ar. *qasīs*, although another possibility is its Et. equivalent *qāsis*, both from Syr. *qāššānā* "old-man", a semantic match of Gr. *presbyteros*, in its liturgical sense. On the other hand, Lt. **cacet** in an Arag. document, recorded by Fort Cañellas 1994:156, reflects the same etymon through And. *qasīs*, exhibiting in its cauda the same phenomenon as **alacet**, q.v.

**caço, caço(u/i)la and caçoleta:** see **cazo**.

**caçuz:** see **cazuz**.

**cad/t** and **cat** or **zad:** is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 135, < Ar. *šād* "name of a letter in the Ar. alphabet". Cf. also **çaad** in every compound.

**cad elbeere** "excellent luck" (with the var. **cad elbere**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 135, < Neo-Ar. *saḏ albārī* "the excellent S.", identified by Kunitzsch 1961:101 as Lambda and My Pegasi.

**cad elmu(l)c** "luck of the kingdom": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 135, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:102, as Alpha and Omicron Aquarii, < Neo-Ar. *saḏ almulk*.

**ç/cad matar** (with the var. **çat**) "luck of rain": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 135, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:102 as Eta and Omicron Pegasi, < Neo-Ar. *saḏ maṭar*.

**cad nexira** (with the var. **caod nexera**) "unfolded luck": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 135, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:102, as Gamma and Delta Capricorni, < Neo-Ar. *saḏ nāširah*.

**cadaf(a), cadafada, cadafam and cadafet:** see **alcadafe**.

**cadamanna:** is a word used in hendiadys with **abrochamiento** (q.v.), in GP 77, from a passage of *Primera Crónica General* II 752a, fol. 344, which reads: **faziendol cadamannas et sus abrochamientos vna grant pieça**, i.e. "doing a good deal of—to him" Nykl 1925 had translated it as "friendly greetings", supposing an Ar. phrase *\*saḏada yawmunā* "let our day be lucky", but apparently did not hit the mark, because such a salutation does not

exist. In our view, the original word might have been **\*çalamarías** (= mod. Cs. *zalamerías* "exaggerated greetings")

**caades:** is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 498, under **çori**, without an alphabetical entry of its own, being an aphaeretic or haplogical form of **\*calcades** < Neo-Ar. *qalqadīs* < Gr. *chalkūtis* "copperas"

**cadi** or **cadí** and **cadiazgo:** see **alcadi**.

**cadimo** (Pt., only in Machado, as dial. and said of bread and pastures) "stale": < And. *qadīm* = Cl.Ar. *qadīm*. On the other hand, Morais records **cadima** "highway" and **cadimo** "skilled, experienced" Although neither of them provides a date, these terms are prob. Mudejar or Morisco jargon, as no doubt is **algibe cadín** "the old cistern", excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances.

**cadina** (Pt.) "lady": is a recent unassimilated borrowing, from Tr. *kadın*.

**cadira** (Cs.) "small stewpot": is a scarcely documented item, missing in most dictionaries, recorded in a poorly edited book of jesting songs. Its vocalization and interpretation raise doubts, as the alleged meaning would require a phonetically incompatible And. etymon **\*\*qudáyra**, dim. of **\*\*qádra** < Cl.Ar. **\*\*qidrah** "pot". But it is also evident that the whimsical reshaping of this word as **\*\*\*qadra**, suggested by DRAE, is no solution either.

**cadixe** (Pt., only in Morais, defined as a breed of Arabian horses): is obviously a mod. borrowing of Neo-Ar. *kadīš* "jade, hack"

**cadohe:** is an unassimilated plant name, from GP 77, possibly abridged from Neo-Ar. *qadaḥ maryam* "navelwort (Cotyledon Umbilicus)", after DS II:320.

**caduf(a), cadufada, caduf(ej)ar and cadufo:** see **alcaduz**.

**cafachan:** see **algafacán**.

**cafal bafal:** this hapax recorded in LHP 104, is an obvious corruption of **\*çof alba-fal** < And. *šawf albaḥr* = Neo-Ar. *šūf albaḥr*, lit., "sea wool", about which, see Corriente 2004b:80.

**çafar:** see **safar**.

**cafarel:** see **cas**.

**cafares:** see **cafre**.

**cafarro** (Pt.) "tribute collected by the Muslims from Christian pilgrims in Palestine", and

**kapáro** (Jud.-Sp.) “earnest money”: < Ar. *xafārah* “escort” The Pt. word is first documented at the beginning of the 18th c., in an itinerary of the Holy Land, prob. transmitted through It., there being a var. **gafar**, reflected by Machado, Morais and Eguílaz, extant in another itinerary. Cf. **alforma** and **rafeca**.

**cafatar** (Pt.) “a Muslim allegedly capable of killing with his eyes only”: prob. from Neo-P. *kafīār* “hyena”, also said of some yogis, especially of witches, e.g., in the chapters on India in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah’s travels.

**café** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **café** (Ct.): through It. or Fr., < Tr. *kahve* < Ar. *qahwah*, formerly meaning “wine” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cafetal/r**, **cafet(al)ero**, **cafetalista**, **cafeteria**, **cafetín**, **cafet(uch)o**, **caficultor** and **descafeinar**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **cafeína**; Cs. and Ct.: **cafetera**; Ct.: **cafeína**, **cafetaire**, **cafetar**, **cafeter(ada)**, **cafeteria**, **cafetí** and **descafeinar**; Gl.: **cafeal**, **cafeira** and **cafeteira/o**; Pt.: **acafetar**, **cafe(eir)al**, **cafe(z)eiro**, **cafeico**, **cafismo**, **cafet/zal**, **cafeteira**, **cafetina**, **cafetismo** and **cafezista**.

**cafela** (Old Cs.) “bolt”: the alleged Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, now eliminated, \*\*\**qaffālah* “strongly closing” has never existed, but there was a common And. *qaffāl* = Cl.Ar. *qaffāl* “locksmith”, which might have circulated with the fem. suffix and a slight semantic evolution towards a n.inst. in Mudejar jargon and easily passed into Cs. thieves’ cant. Cf. **acafelar**.

**cafetā** (Pt.), **caftan** (Ct.) and **caf(e)tán** (Cs.) “caftan”: < Ar. *qafīān*, < Neo-P. *xafīān* “vest worn under armour”, possibly through Tr. *kafīan* and a Western European language.

**cafetaire**, **cafetal/r**, **cafetalero** and **cafetalista**: see **café**.

**cafetán**: see **cafetā**.

**cafeteira/o**, **cafeter(ada)**, **cafeteri/fa**, **cafetera/o**, **cafetí(n)**, **cafetina**, **cafetismo**, **cafet(uch)o**, **cafezal**, **cafezeiro** and **cafezista**: see **café**.

**caffir**: see **safil**.

**cafíar** “to vex” (Ast.): we do not share García Arias’ conviction (García Arias

2006:28) that it derives from the etymon of **cahíz**; instead, we would propound a hybrid Rom.And. verb, based on Ar. *kāfī* “sufficient, enough”,<sup>594</sup> with an easily understandable semantic evolution towards “too much”

**cafias** and **caffy**: see **zafiro**.

**caficultor**: see **café**.

**cafila** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **cafil/ra** (Ct.) “caravan”: is a more recent loanword in Cs., being undocumented before Mármol, than in Ct., in which it appears already in Lull. This circumstance, together with the absence of an agglutinated Ar. article, suggest an Eastern and/or Mediterranean borrowing of a dial. reflex of Ar. *qāfīlah* (cf. Has. *gāvle*). Cf. **catáfila**.

**cafil/res**: see **zafiro**.

**cafilty** (with a var. **caffyuri**): is an unasimulated technical term, from GP 136, name of a stone “similar to bezoar” Nykl might have been right upon suggesting a corruption of the second constituent of *hajarun qubūrī*, an unidentified “gravestone”, according to DS II:306, unless the distorted Ar. term in the former case is *safrāwī* “biliary”, referred to this kind of calculi, i.e., gallstones.

**cafina**: see **alcafina**.

**cafis** (Ct.), **cah/fiz** (Cs.), **caffiz/çes** (Leo. in García Arias 2006:196), **cafis/z**, **capiz** and **kafic/z** and pl. **kahices** (Arag.) and **cacifo** (Pt., with metathesis): < And. *qafiz* = Cl.Ar. *qafiz* < Aram. *qēfīzā*, a sibling of Pahl. *kabīz* < Gr. *kapīthē*, which is prob. of Eg. stock, to judge by Cp. *k/capīče*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cafizamiento** and **cahizada**; Ct.: **cafissada**; Pt.: **acacif(r)ar**.

**cafran**: see **açafrão**.

**cafranera**: in GP 136 is the name of an otherwise unidentified stone “preventing vomit”, a der. of **açafrão**, q.v., a possible case of *signatura rerum*, on account of its yellow colour.

**cafre** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “a pagan Negro”: < Ar. *kāfir* “unfaithful”, is a late borrowing connected with the first western settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa, as a legal term of Muslim slave dealers trading with Europeans, since precisely that condition made their capture

<sup>594</sup> Ar. loanwords without *imālah* are particularly frequent in the Northwest of the Iberian

Peninsula and in early borrowings (see pp. 1999: 23–24, fn. 10).

and sale canonically legal. The same term is occasionally reflected as **alcafir** in *Leyes de Moros*, and a pl. **cafares** appears in *Embajada a Tamorlán*, as pointed by Mafillo 1983:219, with the original meaning of “non-Muslim”, but these forms were not assimilated. It is also quite possible that this item be also the origin of Jud.-Sp **kafrár** “to blaspheme”.<sup>595</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct. and Gl.: **cafrada**; Pt.: **caf-real**, **cafraria** and **cafrice**.

**cafta/án**: see **cafetā**.

**cafezez alguezlen** “the gazelles’ jumps”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 78, < Neo-Ar. *qafazāt alǧizlān*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:90 as *qafazāt azzibāʾ*, q.v. under **alcarayn**.

**çaga**: see **zaga**.

**cagarrache**: see **erraj**.

**cagi**: see **alcadi**.

**çaguera/o**: see **zaga**.

**çaguyl hallaco**: this Ar. phrase in *Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. Corominas 1973:566–567, 1516c), which neither Ribera nor himself could extricate, appears to reflect And. *ṣawīl xallāq* “cooing and billing of a thief dove” (cf. DAA 313 and 165), thereby meaning that the refined sounds of Moorish lyrics were unlike those of the zither and windpipe, looked down upon as vile and suitable only for taverns. Curiously enough, Mur. **laudino** “thief dove”,<sup>596</sup> i.e., etymologically, “lute player”, corroborates the folkloric aspects of this hypothesis.

**cahab**: see **alcahab**.

**cahadenyz** “a stone”: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 331, prob. distortion of Gr. *gagadēs*, through Syr. >lytws ḡḡṭys<.

**caharabe**: see **cárabe**.<sup>597</sup>

**çahat elbeheim** (with the var. **çaad**, q.v.): “luck of beasts”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 137, “S. of the beasts”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:100 as Theta and Ny Pegasi, < Neo-Ar. *saʿd albahāʾim*.

**çahat alhumem** (with the var. **çaad/t** and **caad alhamem**) “the king’s luck”: is an

unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 137, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:102, with Zeta and Xi Pegasi, < Neo-Ar. *saʿd alhumām* “magnanimous S.”

**çahd**: see **ça(a)d**.

**cahea** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 331, but there is prob. no such stone name, as the text deals with the first stone name in the Ar. letter *ṣayn*, in Gr. **eyçrit** (?) and reads “this stone is **cahea**”, prob. for **çahēha** < Ar. *ṣahīḥah* “compact, solid”

**çahena**: see **zahīna**.

**cahiz(ada)**: see **caffis**.

**çahuarí**: see **saurí**.

**caic** (Cl.), **caïque** (Pt.) and **caique** (Cs.) “caïque”: < Tr. *kayık*, prob. through the intermediation of Neo-Ar. *qāyīq* and perhaps It. or Fr.

**caicaba** (Val. from Segorbe) “lotus wood (Celtis australis)”: < And. *qāyqab* = Cl. Ar. *qayqab*, in the sense documented by DS in the West, unlike the case in the East where it is the “maple tree (Acer spp.)”

**caid**: see **alcaide**.

**caida** (Pt.) “salary”: is a late borrowing, related to the settlements in India, < Hindi *qāyḍā* < Neo-P. *qāṣede* < Ar. *qāṣidah* “basis; rule”, through the local languages. Cf. **caire**.

**caidón**: see **alcaudón**.

**caimacán** (Cs.) and **caimacão** (Pt.): is a late and Eastern borrowing, < Tr. *kaymakam* < Neo-Ar. *qāyim maqām* “deputy”, a term chiefly used by the Ottoman administration.

**Caim** (Pt.) and **Caín** (Cs.) “Cain”: through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *qayin*.

**caique** and **caïque**: see **caic**.

**caira** (Anl.) “speckled hen”: this term, first recorded by Eguílaz, is not well enough documented as to posit an Ar. etymon *qāhirah* “victorious (fem.)”, even explained as the name of Cairo, and supposing such an origin. Cf. **cairino**.

**caire** (Cs. thieves’ cant) “money, most particularly a harlot’s wages”: might be a Mudejar

<sup>595</sup> See our parallel etymological suggestion for **almocafre**.

<sup>596</sup> In Gómez Ortín 1991:257. See also PD 75 and Corriente 2006:115 and fn. 44.

<sup>597</sup> The matching entry of DAI must be cor-

rected concerning the consideration of this word as late, as Nykl documents it in *Lapidario*, with the unmistakable definition of “attractant of straws”

term, from Ar. *xáyf* "benefit; welfare", but the match of the initial consonant would be anomalous, and rather sets us on the track of **alqueire**, q.v., easily connectable with the kind of metaphor frequent in thieves' cant, and with the parallel circumstance that these services were often paid in kind. Another possibility lies in And. *qáñda* "basis; rule; agreement", somewhat supported by **caida**, q.v., which also applies to Mur. **caire** "knack; hang; skill", in Gómez Ortín 1991:99. As for **jáyre** "means, income" (Jud.-Sp.), its derivation from the first mentioned Ar. etymon of **caire** is unquestionable. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **dancaire** and **engibacaire**.

**cairell**: see **gaídó**.

**cairino** and **cairota** (Cs.) "gentile of Cairo": are extra-Hispanic borrowings, with Rom. and Gr. suffixation, respectively, on the Ar. agentive participle *alqāhīrah* "the victorious (fem.)", surname given to their capital by the Fatimid founders. Cf. **caira**.

**caizaran**: see **galzerans**.

**cajel**, **naranja**—and **cajín**, **granada**—(Mur., after DRAE): appear to reflect And. *qamhī* < Cl.Ar. *qimhī* "corn-coloured", mentioned by Andalusí botanists among the varieties of pomegranates.

**cala**: see **alcala**.

**calaceiro** (Gl.) "idler": is a metathesis of \***lacaceiro**, a Rom. der. of **lacazán**, q.v.

**calafat** (Ct.) and **calafate** (Cs. and Pt.) and **c/galafate** (Gl.): is a technical term spread throughout the entire Mediterranean area. In the Iberian Peninsula it is prob. a reflex of And. *qalafāt*, from a root alternating with Cl.Ar. *[l]ft*, possible outcome of a Punic-Lt. hybridization \**cufrē aptare* "to treat with *kufer*" (cf. Hb. *kofer* "pitch"), or \**cufrī factor* "kufer operator". From the same origin would prob. be **galafate** "rascal" (Nav., but in Sal. "trifle; child", and "skilled thief; bailiff; porter" in DRAE), a semantic evolution understandable because every trade connected with seafaring was often distrusted by people of other professions. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **calafateado(r)**, **calafateadura**, **calafateo**,

**calafatería**, **calafatín** and **calafet(e)ar**; Ct.: **calafatada**, **calafat(ej)ament**, **calafat(ej)ar**, **calafatador** and **calafa/etós**; Gl.: **c/galafatear** and **c/galafateo**; Pt.: **calafetação**, **calafetagem**, **calafet(e)ar** and **calafeto**. Cf. **galifates**.

**calaforra**: see **calahorra**.

**calahorra** (Cs.) "public office where bread was distributed during famines" and **calaforra** (Ct.) "Islamic fortress": looks like a pre-Islamic Hispanic term, although prob. transmitted through And.Rom., to judge by its predominance in formerly Islamic areas. But its etymon is not clarified by the And. transcription *qalah/hurra*, it being noticeable that its two last syllables have easily undergone folk etymology, generating a segment \**hurrah* "free", but nothing similar happens in its onset, in spite of the phonetic and semantic proximity of Ar. \**qalīhah* "castle", which makes the hypothesis of an Ar. origin quite unlikely. Coromines is right upon taking into account the probability of contamination by the homophonous place name (Cs. **Calahorra** < Hispanic Lt. *Cālāgorris*), but there is no agreement on which would be the original altered item: an innovating proposal would be And.Rom. \***KÁRA** (A) **FÓRA** "outwards", semantically matching the most genuine definition of this kind of building as an **albarrana** tower, q.v. If this were the true etymon, the dissimulation of sonorants and the hesitation between simple and geminated /r/,<sup>598</sup> favoured also by that Ar. folk etymology would be explained as frequent phenomena, both in And. and Rom. Cf. **albacar**.

**calamita** (Cs.) and **caramida** (Cs. and Ct.) "magnet": < Neo-Ar. *qaramīt* < Gr. *kalamītēs* "related to reeds", or even the *casus obliquus* of *kalamūs* "little reed; toothpick", alluding to the makeshift mounting of magnetic needles before the invention of the compass box. Neither can a transmission through It., nor an Ar. form contaminated by folk etymology with \**qarāmīd* "tiles", explaining the /r/, be excluded.

**calamón** (Cs.) "purple gallinule (Porphyrio porphyrio)": this wading bird of beautiful

<sup>598</sup> In fact, after Terés & Viguera 1981, a >*qalahūrah*< appears in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs, which is corroborated by

Ferrando 1995:242, with the Rom. transcription **Calaforra**.

feathers takes its name from an old shimmering fabric, < Neo-Ar. *abū qalamūn*, a folk etymology of Lgr. *hypokálamon*; a similar metonymy could also explain the meaning of “decorative brass-headed nail” As for the meanings “stay supporting the beam of a wine-press” and “top of the case for the tongue of a balance”, surprisingly distributed by former editions of DRAE into two entries, in spite of their functional similarity and presence of the Ar. loanwords *alcoba* and *alamons*, q.v., it is evident that they reflect a contraction of Ar. *qabb alSamūd* “case of the balance arm”, prob. transmitted from an outer source, as And. always has *qūbba* for the first item. The new edition of DRAE offers all the meanings under only one heading, and only the first etymon, which is not valid for the last two meanings.

**calâ/êndar** (Pt.) “calender, mendicant dervish”: is a late borrowing, in relation with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *qalandar*.

**calandracra** (Mur., after DRAE) “annoying talk” and “noise; babbling” (Anz.): this word, to which DRAE adds the meaning of “poorest quality soup consumed by sailors”, appears to be inseparable from standard **calandrajo**, which Coromines correctly connects with **andrajo**, despite some difficulties to explain the onset and his inability to etimologize standard **andrajo**, q.v. In the light of the data provided by our survey of the Arab. loanwords derived from the And. root *{hṛ}* (in Corriente 1993c), we would posit an And. phrase \**qāl ḥaṛāč/llq* “a quack said”, or *qāl ḥaṛāqa* “he talked nonsense”, possible origin of these additional reflexes of that root.<sup>599</sup> It is not improbable that, by metonymy, one of such words would designate sailors’ hardtack or similar pittances, while Cs. **calandrajo** (with the Nav. var. **falandrajo**) “rag; despicable person; slander” would derive from the closely

related And. *ḥaṛāč* “prater” or *ḥaṛāša* “non-sense”, but in any case, the identification of the first constituent of the syntagm is not sure.

**calastó** (Ct.), **carrazón** (Cs. and Arag.) and **carrasó(n)** (Arag.) “arm of a balance”: < And. *qalasṭūn* < Neo-Ar. *qarasṭūn* < Gr. *charistōn*, through Aram.

**calatraveño** (Cs.) and **calatravense** (Pt.) “gentilic of Calatrava”: these attributive adjectives are hybrids formed with Rom. suffixation on the And. place name *qalāṣai rabāḥ* “castle of R.”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **calatravo**.

**calb** “heart”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 36, < Ar. *qalb*.

**calb alaçet** (with the var. **calbalçet**) “lion’s heart”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 78, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:108–109 as Alpha Leonis, < Neo-Ar. *qalb alʿasad*.

**calb alacrab**: see **alcalb**.

**calba** “good guess in measuring” (Ext.): prob. a deverbal der. of \***calbar** “to take measurements”, from the And. etymon of **cálibo**, q.v. But a relation with **calva**, q.v., cannot be excluded. Cf. **calbote**.

**calboche** “earthen vessel for roasting chestnuts” and **calbote**<sup>1</sup> “roast chestnut” (Cs. from Salamanca, after DRAE): may reflect the same Ar. etymon of **caliu** or **calivo** (q.v.s.v. **alqueive**), with And.Rom. suffixation.

**calbote**<sup>2</sup> “slap on the neck” (Mur.): is borrowed from Southern Ct. **calbot**, which Coromines suspects is of And.Rom. origin.<sup>600</sup> Considering **calba**, q.v., it might be its Rom. aug., as that blow is comparable to taking the measurements of the neck.

**calcadiz** “a kind of copperas”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 333, one of the several corruptions underwent by Gr. *chálkanthōn*, concretely the one reflected by Syr. >*klqdy*s.<<sup>601</sup>

**calcant** (Ct., also Cs. in GP 78, with a synonymous (c)**alcatar**) “copperas”: < Neo-Ar.

<sup>599</sup> Some Ar. loanwords do not derive from isolated words, but from syntagms, which may be abridged and reduced to its last constituent (e.g., *albacara*, *albacea*, *aldrán*, etc., and this happens not only in the case of syntagms of annexation, as appears in the etymon propounded for Cs. *haragán*, q.v.), or are reflected in their entirety (e.g., *aljemifao*, *haragán*, *atarazana*, etc.). See 1.3.2.

<sup>600</sup> See DECLC, s.v. **calb**.

<sup>601</sup> The var. given as Gr. in the same source, **guelketiz**, is curious on account of the palatalization of its first consonant, typically Tr., which would be anachronistic in this context. Vázquez & Herrera 1985:215 has a further var. **ungüento calcadino**, from *Tratado de Apostemas* by Diego de Covo. Cf. **alcatenes**.

*qalqant* < Gr. *kalákanthē* for *chálkanthē*, prob. through Aram.

**calcatrife**: see **trefe**.

**calcha/ídicón**: see **alfefediun**.

**caldaico** and **caldeo** (Cs. and Gl.), **caldaico** and **caldeu** (Pt.) and **caldaic** or **caldeu** (Ct.) “Chaldean”: < Bib. Lt. *Chaldaeus* < Gr. *Chaldaios* < Syr. *kaldāyā* < Ak. *kaldū*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **caldeísmo**; Pt.: **calda/eísmo**.<sup>602</sup>

**calêndar**: see **calândar**.

**calforra** “dishevelled hair” and **calforro** “kite” (Nav. with the var. **calzorro** and **galfa/orro**; cf. also the Ast. var. **galfarru** and fem. **galfarra** “preying bird”, in García Arias 2006:204); might contain Ar. *hurr* “free; loose” (cf. **horro**), which is less probable in the second case as, although the falcon is called in A. *aḡālīru ḡhurr* (“noble or free bird”), there is some phonetic and semantic likeness with Arag. **alfarrocho**, q.v. In any case, he first syllable is not accountable for.

**calga** (Ct.) “auction”: prob. through It., < Neo-Ar. *ḡalqah* “circle of students around their teacher, or of bidders around an auctioneer” (In Cl.Ar., simply, “circle of gathered people”).

**cali**: see **álcali**.

**ḡalib aloeqh** “the cross of the perched (vulture)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 137, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:108 as some stars of Draco and Hercules, < Neo-Ar. *ḡalīb (annasr) alwāqif*.

**cálibo** (Cs.) and **calibre** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “gauge, calibre”: < And. *ḡalīb* = Cl.Ar. *ḡālaḡib* < Syr. *ḡālbā* or *ḡelbūd* < Pahl. *kālbod* < Gr. *kálopous*, although the common view is that the second var. has circulated through Fr. From the same etymon are **alcálibe** “moulding putty” (Anl., with metathesis **alcábile**), **ḡalīb** (Ct.) “mould; calibre”, **ḡalíbo** (Cs. and Gl.) “gauge for the load of an open freight-car” and **galimo** (Pt.)<sup>603</sup> “matrix for cutting

pieces; size of frames in boats”, Ast. **galipu** “dry measure”, in García Arias 2006:205. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **agarbado**, **calibración**, **desgabilado**, **galibar** and **garbear**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **calibrador** and **calibrar**; Cs., Gl. and Pt. **garbo** and **garboso** (through It.); Anz. **agalverar** “to heap up sheaves” (prob. an And.Rom. hybrid \*A(D)+*qalib*+AYR+ÁR); Ct.: **agalíu**, **agalívança**, **agalívar**, **agalívor**, **agalívós**, **calíbratge**, **engalípar**, **esgalívança**, **galib/var**, **garbós**, **garbositat** and **malgarbat**; Pt.: **galívar** “to mould a beam”, **galimar**, **galivação** and **garbosidade**.

**caliche** “a piece of reed in some games” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:102, < And.Rom. \*QANNÍČ < Lt. *canicīus* “of reed”

**calicó** (Cs. and Pt., with the var. **calicut**) “calico”: through Fr. *calicot* < Eng. *Calicut* < Bengali *kalakātā* “Calcutta” Of the same origin is Cs. **calicud/t** “thin silken fabric”

**califa** (Cs., with the old var. **califfa** in GP 78, Gl., Pt. and Ct., the latter with the var. **galifa**) “caliph”: < Ar. *xalīfah* “successor, vicary”, prob. borrowed through other Western European languages during the Crusades. There were also local forms which did not survive, like Cs. **alcalifa**, **galdifa**, **halifa** and **halifado**; Lt. **algalifos**, in an Arag. document mentioned by Eguílaz, in the sense of “vicaries”, etc.). From the same origin is contemporary Cs. **jalifa** “the sultan’s vicary at the time of the Spanish Protectorate in Northern Morocco”, < Mor. *x(a)lifa*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alcalifaje**, **califal**, **califato**, **jalifato** and **jalifiano**; Ct.: **califat**; Pt. and Gl.: **califado**.

**calilo** “fool” (Arag.): abridged from And. *ḡalíl alḡaql* < Cl.Ar. *ḡalīlu lḡaql* “short on brains”. Prob. a Mudejar expression.

**caliu(ada)**, **caliu(er)ar**, **caliuera**, **calivo** and **calívós**: see **alqueive** and **calboche**.

**calmuco** (Cs. and Pt.) “Kalmuck”: through Fr., < Tr. *kalmuk* which in some Turkic lan-

<sup>602</sup> The former editions of DRAE contained a false identification of Chaldea with Kurdistan, which has been corrected in the latest. Chaldea was actually the lower valley of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, formerly populated by Sumerians, then Babylonians, and later wholly Aramaicized before Islamic times, to the point of some Ara-

maic dialects being called Chaldaean. On account of this vagueness, which at times included even Et., the use of this term, at least as a language designation, is better avoided.

<sup>603</sup> The seemingly anomalous stress position is some of this items is due to their being deverbal der. of Cs. **galimar**.



guages means "wizard", after Vasmer 1996: II 169.

**calvar** "to hit the top of a post or horn in a popular game;<sup>604</sup> to deceive" (Sal.) and **calva!** "voiced uttered upon hitting that mark" (Nav.): might reflect And. (*ḍarba*) *ḡālba* < Cl.Ar. (*ḍarbatu*) *ḡālibah* "winning (strike)"; another possibility would be *qālibah* "turning over (the mark)". Cf. **calba**.

**calycon** "a certain admixture of metals": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 79, corrupted from Neo-Ar. *ḡāli/ḡān*, and this from Gr. *katholikón*, as stated by DS II:19, under this entry.

**camadura** and **camahaduti**: see **alchamahaduc**.

**camàlic** and **camalo**: see **alhamel**.

**camarabando** (Pt.) "sash": is a late borrowing from India, < Hindi *kamarband* < Neo-P. *kamar band*, lit., "waistband"

**cambar**: see **acebre**.

**cambil** (Cs., with a var. **combil**) "Armenian bole", in DAX 342, "compound of Armenian bole used as a remedy against diarrhoea", prob. a Lt. bookish transcription of Neo-Ar. *qinbīl* (cf. DS I:409 and Benmrad 1985:637) < Neo-P. *qanbīl* "kind of red earth good for intestinal worms" < Sk. *kampīla*.<sup>605</sup>

**cambor**: see **alcabor**.

**c/gambuix** (Ct.) "baby's or lady's cap" and **cambuj**, **gambuj(o)** or **gambux** (Cs.) "mask": < And. *kanbūš* < Lt. *cāpūtum*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **engambuixar** and **esgambuixar**. Cf. **menay gambuyo**.

**camecha** (with the var. **cameça**) "trout".<sup>606</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 137, < Ar. *samakah*, occasional synonym

of *alḥūt* "Piscis", after Kunitzsch 1961:68 and 104. Cf. **alçamacatayn**.

**camelho** (Pt.), **camell** (Ct.) and **camello** (Cs., with the old var. **gamello**, both with fem. **c/gamella**) "camel".<sup>607</sup> < Lt. *camēlus* < Gr. *kāmēlos*, from a Semitic language hard to pinpoint on account of their likeness, although the stress in the Gr. item would favour an option like Aram *gamlā*. From the same origin are **chamalote** (Pt.) and **camelote** (Cs.) "a fabric", through Fr. *chamelot*, which is not from Ar. origin, *pace* Skeat, since as Coromines explains these fabrics were made in France, as imitations of the genuine eastern ones, actually made of camel hair. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **camella**, **camellej/ro** and **camelleria**; Ct.: **cameller**, **camellí**, **camella** and **camellot**; Pt.: **camelão**, **camelaria**, **cameleiro**, **camelete** and **camelino**. Cf. **meari**.

**camene**: see (a)**tazmim**.

**càmfora(da)**, **cam/nfora**, **camphora**, **camforat** and **camforer**: see **alcancfor**.

**camita** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "Hamite", and **camfítico** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **camfític** (Ct.) "Hamitic": < Hb. *ḥām*, through Bib.Gr. and Bib.Lt. Mod. linguists usually prefer the var. **hamita** and **hamfítico** (Cs. and Pt.), for the sake of avoiding Graeco-Lt. interference in the transmission of Bib.Hb. lore.

**çamitarra**: see **cimitarra**.

**camocà** (Ct.) and **camocán** (Cs.) "brocade": < Neo-Ar. and Neo-P. *kamxā*, of Chinese origin.

**campifía** (Cs.) "countryside": < And.Rom. \**QANPĪŅA* < Lt. *campānīa*.

**camsil** and **canzi**, "a fabric from Gafsa, in Tunisia": a technical term from LHP112, < Ar. *qafṣī*, after Corriente 2004b:80.

<sup>604</sup> Which is also the fourth meaning of standard Cs.

<sup>605</sup> However, Monier-William 1899:252 renders this word and its synonyms as the "tincture obtained from the plant *Rottleria tinctoria*", and DAA 433 has *qanbīl* "Kamala tree (*Mallotus philippensis*) powder"

<sup>606</sup> Characteristically And. semantic specialization of the standard meaning of "fish"

<sup>607</sup> Attention should be paid to the pedantic decision, adopted even by some prestigious dictionaries, of reserving **camello** for the two-humped Bactrian camel (*Camelus bactrianus*,

found only in Central Asia), while calling all single-humped camels **dromedario** (*Camelus dromedarius*): naturalists may have found this convenient for their purposes, but the fact remains that only single-humped camels of a particular racing breed from South Arabia have been called dromedaries because they can run, it being unwise to introduce that dichotomy in common usage, as it runs counter to etymological science and centuries of a different solidly grounded scientific tradition. Other works, like the 3rd ed. of Moliner, have kept the old data, while warning of mod. incorrect usage.

**camsin** (Pt., only in Machado) “khamseen, a hot, dust-laden and sultry southern wind in Egypt”: it is often said that it reflects Ar. *\*xamsin* “fifty”, but its true name is *xamsin*, a merely seeming broken pl. of that numeral. A semantic connection between both concepts is commonly supposed, as reflected, e.g., by Lane 1836:18, who speaks of a period of approximately fifty days beginning in April and stretching through May or, in p. 494, lasting from Easter Sunday to Pentecost, after the Cp. calendar. However, even considering that *alxamsin* is the usual Ar. rendering among Eastern Christians of Gr. *penēkostē* “Quinquagesima or Shrove Sunday”, neither the supposed extension of this meteor is accurate, nor does such a pl. have a parallel in the tens of Ar. Therefore, it might well be a native E.g. word, disguised by folk etymology of a no longer understood Cp. term, perhaps *xmme* “heat” and *sine* “to pass”, quite well matching the notion of a temperature rise more transitory than in summer.<sup>608</sup>

**can<sup>2</sup> and kan** (Cs. and Gl.), **cão** (Pt.) and **khan** (Ct. and Gl.) “emperor in Central Asia”: < Tr. *han*, prob. through It. and Fr. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *khanat*; Gl.: *k(h)anato*.

**canagüf** (Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, indeed reflects And. *qanawí* “channel digger and cleaner”

**canana** (Cs., Ct. and Pt., borrowed from Cs.) “cartridge belt”: our entry in DAI, questioning its Ar. origin and genuineness in Morocco, must be amended in the light of new data. As a matter of fact, Ar. *kinānah* “quiver”, has some offspring there.<sup>609</sup> At any rate, there can be no relation with Ct. **canada**, a kind of squid, documented in And. as *qanāta* (< Lt. *canna*,

said of some vessels, on account of their similar shape), as pointed by Simonet and Dozy.

**cananeo** (Cs.) and **cananeu** (Ct. and Pt.) “Canaanite”: < Bib. Lt. *Chānānaeus* < Hb. *kēnašni*.

**canb eleçet** “sheath of the lion’s penis”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 78, identified by Kunitzsch as Beta Leonis, < Neo-Ar. *qunb alʿasad*.

**cancil**: see **alcaucí**.

**cándara** (Arag.) “sieve”: despite Coromines’ information that a sieve for milk in Panticosa is also called so, the presence of deep-rooted **zandra** and **zandrar** (metathetical of Cs. **zaranda**, q.v.), suggests an error for **\*cándara**.

**çanderitz**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 137, an Arabicization of Gr. *siderītēs* “siderite”. Cf. **alhadiidi**.

**candi** (Ct., Pt. and Gl.) and **candefi** (Cs.): < Ar. *qand* < Neo-P. *kand* < Sk. *khaṇḍa* “powdered sugar” Cs. and Pt. are dated from the 14th c. The final /i/ explained by Coromines, who relied on Lokotsch, as an attributive adjective not witnessed in Ar., is likelier to be due to a technical Lt. phase, as a genitive morpheme. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **candiel**; Mall.: **candidera**.

**candil** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “oil lamp”: < And. *qandīl* (vs. Cl.Ar. *qindīl*) < Aram. *qandīlā* < Gr. *kandēla*, < Lt. *candēla*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atizacandiles**, **candilada**, **candilazo**, **candileja/o**, **candilera/o**, **candiletear**, **candiletero**, **candilillo** and **candilón**.

**cand/toriz** (with a var. **cantores/z**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 78, an Arabicization of Gr. *kentáuros*. Cf. **rexil**.

**canequi(m)** (Pt.) and **cane/iquí** (Cs.) “a cotton fabric”: < Konkani *khaṇkī*, transmitted by Pt.

<sup>608</sup> See also Hinds & Badawi 1986:266 who, however, do not question Lane’s view.

<sup>609</sup> Our friend and colleague of Rabat University, Dr. Hossein Bouzineb, had appraised us that such a word was not known in Morocco, although a *Vocabulario de Árabe Marroquí de la Zona española de Marruecos* (without date and signed with the initials C.B.C., which we guessed could have been those of Major (= Sp. **comandante**) Benítez Cantero) recorded *quenana* “cartridge

belt”. But now it has surfaced again in Colin (cf. Sinaceur 1993:1706 and Premare 1998:X 645), as *knāna*, of the same meaning, as an obsolete term of the dialects of the Middle Atlas. Consequently, we must recant our error and imagine that such a term might have been more used in older times and perhaps began to fall into oblivion with the introduction of new military equipment in the first quarter of the 20th c.

**canfor, cânfor(a), canforar, canforeira/o** and **canforifero**: see **alcanfor**.

**caniquí**: see **canequi(m)**.

**canj(i)ar**: see **alfange**.

**cannay** (Old Cs.) "lancer": is an unassimilated hapax, recorded by Maíllo 1983:100 in *Poema de Alfonso XI*, < Ar. *qannāl*, but not through And.,<sup>610</sup> as it exhibits a treatment of the cauda characteristic of Naf.

**canterilla**: see **alcántara**.

**cantusar**: see **gato**.

**canzi**: see **camsil**.

**cañarí** (Anz., Anl. and DRAE) "hollow like a reed": < And. \**qannarí*, attributive adjective of *qannāriya* "cardoon (Cynara cardunculus)", from Gr. *kināra*, through Aram. *qinārā*, with a vocalization implying contamination by Lt. *canna*, unless there was a Lt. \**cannarius*. Cf. **alcanería**.

**cão**: see **can**.

**caod** see **cad**.

**capão** (Pt.) "balance in the custom-house of Ormuz": obviously, < Ar. *qabbān* < Neo-P. *kapān*.

**caparra**: see **alcaparra**.

**caparrós** (Cs. and Ct., the latter with the old var. **coparós**), **alcaparroza** (Cs.) and **caparroza** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): is an alteration by folk etymology of Neo-Ar. (*zāj*) *qubrus/sī* "Cyprian copperas". Cf. **abarraz**.

**çapata/o**: see **zapato**.

**capel(l)i** (Mur.) "a kind of grape": is a technical term, recorded by Pocklington 1984:287–288 in the *Repartimiento* of Murcia. It is no doubt an attributive adjective of And. *qapīl* "cap, hood", of And.Rom. origin, although the semantic connection can only be guessed.

**capigi** (Pt.) "porter of the seraglio": is a mod. borrowing, < Tr. *kapıcı* "porter".

**capiz**: see **cáffis**.

**caqui** (Cs., Gl. and Ct.) "khaki (cotton fabric)": through Eng., < Hindi *khākī*, an attributive adjective formed on Neo-P. and Pahl. *xāk* "dust".

**caraba** (Cs.) "peasants' feast" and "talk; frolic" (Sal.) and **carava** (Pt.) "gathering": is prob. a Mudejar expression, < And. *qarāba* =

Cl.Ar. *qarābah* "close relatives". This hypothesis of a semantic evolution from kinship to company is corroborated also by Sal. **carabita** "comrade; playmate" and **encarabar** "to accompany". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **carabear** and **carabero**.

**cárase** (Cs., with the old var. **ca(ha)rabe** and **(al)carabe**, in GP 25, 78 and 80) and **carabé** (Pt.) "amber": although there is an And. witness >*qahrabā*<, its borrowing appears to be late, undocumented in Pt. up to the 16th c. in a medical text; the very disagreement in stress betrays a bookish transmission, through scientific Lt., of Ar. *kahrabā*? < Neo-P. *kah robāy* "straw thief", alluding to its property of attracting it, when loaded with electricity.

**carabear, carabero** and **carabita**: see **cárase**.

**carabí hurí, carabí hurá**: this refrain of a dirge in a children's song (**a Atocha va una nifia... la llevan a enterrar**—"a girl is going to Atocha... they take her to her grave") appears to contain the And. phrase *kárbi urí, kárbi yurá* "my misfortune has been seen, my misfortune is being seen". Curiously enough, the same idiom appears in the *xarjah* A8, *kárbana biḡl yawrí* "in this manner he is showing our misfortune". Cf. **chereb(u)**.

**c/karabito** "inflammation of the cranium" (etymologically, of the brain): is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Neo-Ar. \*\*\*>*q.rānyīs*<, corrupted from Lgr. *frenītis*.

**carabre**: see **acebre**.

**caraça**: concerning this rare word in DAX 357, it is quite obvious that, next to "women of God", it cannot mean "shameless women", as the editors hesitantly suggest, but "spinners". There might be just a simple metonymy of **alcarraza** "a porous clay jar which keeps drinking water fresh", implying that they no longer kindle, but rather cool down men's passions, but attention should also be paid to Syr. *karrāzā* (Payne Smith 1879–1901:1818, *hircus magnus castratus dux gregis cui vestes suas portandas imponunt pastores*), conveying the concept of being only good for functions other than procreation, as Cs. **quedarse**

<sup>610</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.10.3b, p. 77.

**para vestir santos**, said of no longer eligible spinters, only suitable for taking care of holy images in churches.

**caracal** (Cs. and Pt.) "caracal, kind of lynx": < Tr. *kara kulak* "black ear", of unclear transmission.

**çarachdem** "red goshawk": is an unasimilated technical term, from DAX 262, with a var. **cerhaderet** in DAX 400), < Neo-Ar. *sorx dayzaj*, from Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *sorx dize*, "ashen red", after Möller & Viré 1988:265. Cf. **saroch**.

**caracul** (Cs.) "a kind of sheep in Central Asia, said also of the fur of their lambs": through Fr., from the place name Karakul in Uzbekistan.

**çarafo**: see **sarafo**.

**carahuia**: see **alcaravea**.

**caraismo** "Karaism, a Jewish sect" and **carafita** (Cs.) "Karaite": through Fr., < post-Bib. Hb. *qārāli*, an attributive adjective of *qārā* "reader (of the Bible)", as they do not accept later sacred texts.

**caramba** (Cs.) "interjection of astonishment": is one of several euphemisms (e.g., Cs. **carape** and Gl. **carafio** for **carallo**), designed to avoid the offensive **carajo**, a vulgar name for penis. However, the alteration affecting **caramba** is not a mere phonetic masking distortion, but appears to reflect a blending with another expletive characteristic of Morisco muleteers, no less coarse than the former, but no longer understood by Christians, namely,

And. *hírr úmmak* "your mother's vulva".<sup>611</sup> Cf. **arrumiaco**, **herre que herre** and **junema**.

**carambiello** "clapper" (Leo.): is a mere phonetic alteration of standard **tarabilla**, q.v.s.v. **tarabela**, prob. due to contamination by **caramillo**.

**caramida**: see **calamita**.

**cáramo** (Cs. thieves' cant) "wine": might reflect a Mudejar idiolect or jargon, being an abridgment of And. (*bánt al*)*kárm* < Cl.Ar. *bintulkarm* "daughter of the vine", a rather common metaphorical designation of wine in Ar.

**caramuçal** (Pt.), **caramussal** (Ct.) and **caramuzal** (Cs.) "old Tr. kind of boat": apparently, < Tr. *karamüsel*, missing in mod. dictionaries, but still reflected by Redhouse as an old kind of freighter named after a place in the Gulf of Nicomedia.<sup>612</sup>

**caramull** (Ct.) and **caramullo** (Arag.) "additional heap above a full measure": < And. *qurqumúl* < And.Rom., or a parallel form in Northern Rom., < Lt. *cum cümülo*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: (a)**caramullar** and **caramuller/t**; Arag. **acaramullá**.

**caramus/zal**: see **caramuçal**.

**carandaix**: see **escarandaix**.

**çarantan** "a star of Canis Minor": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in DAX 357, in fact, an incomplete and misunderstood entry, for **zubem çarantan** < Ar. *zubbānā ssaraqān* "the two horns or claws of Scorpio", about which, see Kunitzsch 1959:223–224, who identifies it with "a star of Cancer"

<sup>611</sup> See Corriente 1993b:288, fn. 28, about taboo words circulating between Ar. and Rom.

<sup>612</sup> To be sure, there is no witness of the presence of the technical term \*\*\**qārib musaṭṭah* "flat boat", invented by Asín, abandoned in the latest edition of DRAE in favour of a misspelled Tr. \*\*\**karamusal*. As for this place name, lit. "the black prophet", it is unlikely that such a character ever actually existed and was the inventor of this naval prototype, as Coromines gathers from his quote of the It. scholar Vidos, because even as a nickname such a designation sounds like blasphemy to Muslim ears, as Islam does not accept any prophet after Muḥammad. The Westerners who had the closest trade relations with the Turks, mostly Greeks and Italians, may easily have misunderstood Tr. \**karamüseli*, a gentilic

of *kara mürse* "black anchorage" or "anchorage on the continent", a likely original form of that place name, and invented that "black prophet", which could have been accepted in this manner even by the Turks, as there was no blasphemy in the case of a mythical one, previous to Islam, and the distorted term could have survived when both the naval term and the place of its invention were forgotten. An alteration of the place name Mersin, in the Gulf of Cilicia is less probable, while our proposal appears to be corroborated by Old Cs. spellings like **caramuzalid**, suggesting a final stressed /i/, which is the rule in Tr. gentilics. On the other hand, we do not see a clear relation, if there is any, with mod. Tr. *karamusal* "mooring swivel, designed to prevent that the anchor chain be broken by excessive twisting".

**caratüia**: see **alcaravea**.

**carava**: see **caraba**.

**caravana** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.): < Neo-P. *kārvān*, through Ar. and Fr. or It. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **caravanero**; Ct. **caravaner**.

**caravilla**: see **tarabela**.

**caravansarā** (Pt.), **caravanserrall** (Ct.) and **caravasar** (Cs.) “caravanserai”: Pt. appears to derive directly from Neo-P. *kārvān sarā*, not from Tr., which only has *karvansaray*, while Cs. would have received this term from Pt. or Fr., with a worse transcription, and Ct. took it from It. *caravanserraglio*.

**carcacho** “pine bark dried and cut as fuel” (Man.): is reminiscent of And. *qaraqāč(a)* “seed of any pepo”.<sup>613</sup>

**carcachofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**carcaix** (Ct.), **carcaj**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the old var. **carcax** and **carcaza**) and **carcás** (Pt.) “quiver”: it is sure that its ultimate etymon is Neo-P. *tarkāš* (corrupted from *tirka/āš*), transmitted with the same shape to Neo-Ar., and then taken to the West by the Crusaders, with a simple assimilation of stops of similar audibility,<sup>614</sup> still optional in Old Fr. *c/tarcais* and diachronically intermediate between Lgr. *tarkāsion* and mod. Gr. *\*\*karkāsion*, it being unjustified to suppose, as Coromines did, that the genuine form was contaminated by *karchēsion* “cup”, before continuing its progression towards the West.

**carcaj**<sup>2</sup> (Cs., in old spelling **carcax**) “anklet”: < And. *xalxāl* = Cl.Ar. *xalxāl*, surely by confusion with **carcaj**<sup>1</sup> in Cervantes, its only authority.

**carchena** “importunate insistence” and its der. **carchenoso** “insistent” (Ext.): appear to be related to **carchena** “tattling corner”, mentioned by Coromines in his DECLC in connection with Ct. **carxena** “massacre”, q.v., but the semantic gap, at least in our view, is still too wide to suggest a common origin.

**carchexi**: see **carkexi**.

**garden** “woodpecker”: is an unassimilated

technical term, from DAX 359, < Ar. *širdān*, pl. of *šurad*, name of a bird with diverse identifications, like “shrike (*Lanius*)”

**cardo arracife**: see **arrafiz**.

**careca** (Pt.) “bald; baldness” and (Gl.) “bald”: might be a low register and hybrid der. with the Rom. suffix [+AYQ] of And. *qarāšah* “pumpkin” or even of the adjective *\*\*aqrāš* “bald”, prob. through its fem. *qārša*, as in the cases of **jaro**, **zarco**, etc. But its late date, in the 18th c., casts doubts about this etymon.

**çarfa**: see **açarfa**.

**caris(s)a**: see **charis**.

**carkexi**, **carchexi** and **karkerzi**: “a fabric” (Cs.), from LHP 120, with the Leo. var. **carchexi** or **kaskerxi** in DO 255, who suggests an identification with Ar. *xašxāš* “Jurjān fabric of poppy-red colour”. However, a mere corruption of *\*čarkexi*, unattested attributive adjective of Neo-Ar. *zarkaš* < Neo-P. *zar kašid* “embroidered with gold”, after Corriente 2004b:80, cannot be excluded.

**carme** (Ct., also used in Granada, after DRAE) and **carmen** (Cs.) “country house”: < And. *kārm* = Cl.Ar. *karm* “vineyard”

**carmelita** (Cs.) “Carmelite (friar)”: is a Rom. adjective formed, through Ar. and It., on the name of Mount Carmel, < Hb. *karmēl*.

**carmes**: see **alquermes**.

**carmesí** (Ct. and Gl., Cs., with the old var. **carmesin**, **cremesín** and **cremesino**, and Leo. **car(a)mez**, **carameze** and **karmeze**, de DO 234) and **carmesí(m)** (Pt.) “crimson”: < And. *qarmazí* < Cl.Ar. *qirmizī*, attributive adjective of the etymon of **alquermes**, q.v.

**carmeso**: see **alquermes**.

**caro** (Ct., with the old var. **càreu**) “a small Moorish vessel”: like Cs., < Lt. *carābus* < Gr. *kárabos*, but in the case of Ct. more prob. through Ar. *qāra/ib*.

**carpuz** (Pt., only in Machado) “watermelon”: is an unassimilated item, documented in the 16th c., directly taken from Tr. *karpuz*.

<sup>613</sup> See DAA, p. 424, about its origin.

<sup>614</sup> The substitution of one for another stop in the onset, operated simultaneously in several languages, is a relatively frequent alternance in assimilatory or dissimilatory sequences, in

children’s speech and in some situations of imperfect bilingualism (cf. Cs. **adutaque**, **taba**<sup>1</sup>, etc., Mor. *\*\*kyatru* < Cs. **teatro** “theatre”, after Lerchundi 1932, etc.).

**carraca** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "carrack": the treatment of this word in DCECH contains a mix-up of Cl.Ar. *\*\*harrāq* "fire ship", absolutely unrelated to this entry, and Neo-Ar. *harrāk*, recorded in *Vocabulista in arabico*, or *xarrāq*, extant in Aljazīr's notarial formula, <sup>615</sup> both of them possible etyma, through commercial seafaring in the Western Mediterranean shores, with the intra-Rom. addition of a fem. morpheme. However, the hesitation in the shape of those Ar. words., the first one semantically connectable with the root {hrk} "to move", but without a suitable morphological pattern, e.g., *\*\*muḥarrīkah*, while the second one would suggest "crosser (of boundaries)", <sup>616</sup> according to the basic semanteme of the root {xrq}, but missing in the dictionaries, gives away folk etymologies of a foreign term. This could well be Gr. *kérkouras*, borrowed by Cl.Ar. *qurqūr* "large ship", with a pl. *qarāqir*, apt to provide the etymon of It. *caracca*, with metathesis of the consonantic quantity, understandable in a bilingual milieu familiar with Lt. *carricare* "to carry", which might have brought about an And. *\*qarrāq(a)* "carrier of great capacity", simultaneously compatible with other folk etymologies with purely Ar. bases, like *harrāk* and *xarrāq*. As a matter of fact, this very process appears reflected also in And. *maqrāqa* "purse", an Ar. n.inst. formed on the same Rom. root, and in Leo. **carraca** "provisions for a journey", corroborating our proposal. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **carracón**. Cf. **almacraca**.

**carraça** (Pt.) and **carracha** or **carraza** (Gl.) "tick": Coromines (s.v. **garrapata**) propounded a contamination of this latter genuine Hispanic word, shared with Basque, as an explanation of that problematic synonym and cognate, but another distinct possibility is a metonymic And. *\*qarrāša* "pincher (fem.)", although undocumented as such in the sources.

**carrafa** (Cs. from Salamanca, after DRAE): in the meaning of "carob bean", this item seems to be a mere error for **carrofa**, the matching Ct. form.

**carrán** (Gl.) "sea swallow": is strikingly similar to **alcarrán**, q.v., without an obvious reason.

**carranclán**: see **alacrán**.

**carrañar**: see **reinar**.

**carrasó(n)**: see **calastó**.

**carraxe** (Gl.) "anger" and **carraxento** (Gl.) "angry": are both phonetically and semantically close to And. *ḥarāj* "anger", but the pharyngeal phoneme would have an abnormal reflex. Unless there is an intra-Rom. contamination, it might be a case of shift from /h/ to /x/, a Sar. tendency. <sup>617</sup> Cf. **arocho** and **farota**.

**carraza**: see **carraça**.

**carrazón**: see **calastó**.

**cartagenero** (Cs.) "from Cartagena": this gentilic with Rom. suffixation derives from Lt. *Carthāgo* (*Nova*), hypocoristic form of standard Punic *\*qart ḥadašt* "new town", through And. *qartajāna* < Ar. *qartajannah*, in which Lt. *\*Cartagina* has been contaminated by Ar. *\*\*jannah* "paradise"

**cartagin(i)ense** or **cartaginés** (Cs.) and **cartaginês** (Pt.): these gentilics of Carthage, with Lt. or Rom. suffixation respectively, derive from Lt. *Carthāginīensis*, gentilic of *Carthāgo*, with a Punic etymon reported under **cartagenero**.

**cártama/o** (Cs.) and **cártamo** (Pt.) "bastard saffron": < scientific Lt. *carthamus*, a bookish transcription of Ar. *qurṭum* or *qirṭim*.

**cartaz(eiro)** and **cartazista**: see **alcartaz**.

**carvi**: see **alcaravea**.

**carxena** (Old Ct.) "ravage; slaughter": on semantic grounds, this hapax cannot derive, *pace* Coromines, from And. *\*\*kāršana* "horripilation" from *Vocabulista in arabico*, an extended form of the root {krš}, designating gooseflesh, on account of its resemblance to tripe (Ar. *kirš*), while a derivation from {qrš} is even less probable semantically. Chances are that it is the Ibero-Rom. equivalent of established Neo-Ar. *qaršanah* "piracy, privateering", < Lt. *cursiōn(em)*, with a result *\*qāršana* in Hispanic lands. <sup>618</sup> As for the Cs.

<sup>615</sup> See Ferreras 1999:198 and 224.

<sup>616</sup> Presently said in Morocco of illegal immigrants leaving the country for Europe on board of small boats.

<sup>617</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.10.2.1 and SK 2.26.1/2.

<sup>618</sup> About quadriconsonantal And. verbs of the pattern /123n/ in which the last consonant reflects a deverbal Lt. suffix, see Corriente 1984b, s.v. **carxena**, and Corriente 1980c:210.

hapax **carchena** "tattling corner", more information is needed before confirming or denying its connection with Ct. Cf. **corçana**.

**carxofa(da)**, **carxofanda**, **carxofar(-se)**, **carxofer(a)**, **carxoferat** and **carxofot**: see **alcachofa**.

**carzalles**: see **alcarraza**.

**cas** (Ct.) "back of the knife-blade": prob. < And. *qafá* = Cl.Ar. *qafā* "nape of the neck; back of anything" This hypothesis of Coromines' is both semantically and phonetically irreproachable, but for the difficulty meant by the indubitable ultima stress of the And. item (thus recorded, e.g., in Alcalá); however, the hitch is not serious, as this word was always used as first constituent in annexation (e.g., *qafá + ssikkín* "the back of the knife-blade"), in a position very weakly stressed which might have generated a metanalytical scansion \**qaf + asikkín*, through semantic specialization of a word no longer preserving its basic meaning of "nape of the neck" Thence, as Coromines said, the shift from final /f/ to /c/ poses no problem (cf. Ct. **matalaf** > **matalàs** and, conversely, **caduf** < **caduz**, q.v. Incidentally, Arag. **cafarel** "paper cup for pastry", recorded by Gargallo, may also be a hybrid der. of the same Ar. item, with double Rom. suffixation, adjectival and dim., \**qafá + ÁL + ELL* > *qafá + R + ÉL*, with dissimilation of sonorants.

**casaca** and **casaquinha**: see **cosaco**.

**casbá**: see **alcaçaba**.

**cascal** (Mur., borrowed from Ct.) and **cascall** (Ct. and Arag.) "poppy (Papaver)": < And. *xašxáš* = Cl.Ar. *xašxáš*, with suffix metanalysis and substitution.

**casida** (Cs.) "qasida, one-rhymed poem characteristic of Ar., Neo-P., Tr. and Urdu": is a contemporary transcription of the Cl.Ar. technical term *qašīdah*. It should not be said of poems in Western languages of very different prosodic and thematic structures, as sometimes done in Spain out of sheer pedantry.

**casimir(a)** (Cs.), **casimira** (Pt.) and **caxemira** (Gl.) "a fabric": from the gentile of Kashmir, prob. through Eng., < Neo-P. *kašmīr* or Hindi *kašmīr*.

**casina**: see **alçafina**.

**cassa(da)** and **cassal**: see **cazo**.

**cassaret** (Ct.) and **cazarete** (Cs.) "an

undetermined part of a sweep net": is prob. a Rom. dim. of the etymon of **alcázar**, q.v., particularly if it means, as can be suspected, an inner recess whence fish cannot escape. From some Sevillian ordinances, Eguílaz excerpted the Cs. var. **caçarate**, prob. incorrect.

**casse(ja)r**, **casset(a)**, **càssera**, **casse-rola(da)**, **casseroleta**, **cassó**, **cassolada**, **cassola(er)**, **cassoleta**, **cassolut**, **cassona** and **cassona(et)**: see **cazo**.

**cassi** "sternum": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *qašš*.

**cassot** (Ct.) "a peasant's work clothing": on account of its vocalism, as Neuvonen pointed in his day, a derivation from the etymon of **alquicé**, q.v., would only be possible by supposing that words like Old Cs. **queçote** (and backformed Gl. **quesso**) hark back to an \*(al)quece(l), which then received intra-Rom. dim. suffixes or dropped them, with the consequence of stress shifts. In our view, it is easier to posit one more reflex of Lt. *casula*, with a different dim. suffix, whence Cs. **casulla** and cognate items, very aptly studied by Coromines in the matching entry of DCECH. Intra-Rom. der.: Men.: **cassotí**.

**caszmi**: see **cazeno**.

**cat**: see **çad**.

**catá** (Pt.) "sand grouse (Pterocles)": is an unassimilated technical term, a late borrowing from the 17th c., < Ar. *qafā*.

**catáfila** "retinue" (Arag.): looks like a jesting contamination of the quasi-synonyms **cáfila**, q.v., and **caterva**.

**çatalí** (Mur.): possibly from And.Ar. *saṭlī* "shaped as a bucket", parallel to cases like the kind of gourd called *mašāwīrī*, i.e., "shaped as a *mašwarah* or cushion" (in *Kitāhu Ṣumdati ṭṭabīb*, I 495), *pace* Steiger 1932:189.

**catar** (Pt.) "camel caravan": is an unassimilated technical term, a late borrowing from the 16th c., < Ar. *qīṭār*, through Neo-P. *qetār*.

**cated** "a perpendicular line": is an incomplete entry of Nykl in GP 79, with just that vague rendering, without mention of source, but with a crossed reference to **miquiez** which led us to the 2nd vol. of *Libros del Saber de Astronomía*, where it is an error for \***oated** < Ar. *watād*, explained by DS II:786 as the

technical designation for each one of the four main Sun mansions.

**cathat ataor** "the bull's cut": is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 79 and DAX 379, < Neo-Ar. *qafat attawr* "cut of Taurus" (it would be better *qiflat* "part of", cf. **quitat alfaraç**), said of the four first stars of Taurus.

**çati**: see **seti**.

**catifa, catifaire and catifer/t**: see **alcatifa**.

The meaning of **catifa** "plastering" (Anz.), with the quasi-synonymous phonetic var. **gatif** "cement mixed with red marl" (Anz.) and **alcachifa** "mortar for filling gaps between paving stones" (Anl.), might be just metonymic, but a metathesis of And. *takyf* = Cl.Ar. *takyf* "conditioning, preparation" cannot be excluded either.

**catu** "mouflons".<sup>619</sup> is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 80, prob. corruption of *oal* < Ar. *wašl* "mountain goat"

**catúfol**: see **alcaduz**.

**çauaçala**: see **zabazala**.

**çaualachén**: see **zabalachén**.

**çauam** and **c/çauan**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 80, < Ar. *šawwān* "flint".<sup>620</sup>

**cauchil** and **cauchín** "cistern" (Anl., the first item also in DRAE, attributed to Granada) and **cauchín** "sewer" (Anl.): < And.Rom. \**QAWČIL*, dim. of \**QAWČ* < Lt. *calice[m]* "water conduit". Cf. **coracha** and **galze**.

**caugualib** "cast (for a fracture)": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *qawālib*.

**c/çaur**: see **altaur**.

**cauri** (Cs. and Ct.), **cauri(l/m)** (Pt.) and **caurí** (Gl.) "cowrie, an Indian mollusk with a

beautiful shell used as ornament and money": through Eng., < Hindi *kauri* < Sk. *kaparda*, of Dravidian origin.

**cauthati**: see **alchude**.

**cauuenige** "male falcon": is an unasimilated term of falconry, from DAX 382, < Neo-Ar. *kawhaj*, after Möller & Viré 1988: 74 and 255, prob. < Pahl. \**kōbag* "hitter"

**cauza** (Mur., after DRAE) "an esparto container for hatching silkworms": cannot derive directly from Lt. \*\**capsa* "box", which should have led to a different result in Ibero-Rom. It is prob. the reflex of an allomorph \**qāfs(a)* of And. *qafās* = Cl.Ar. *qafas* "cage" (cf. **alcahaz**), indeed a der. of that Lt. word, through Syr. *qafṣā*.<sup>621</sup> The close likeness of this latter item is not striking, considering the important role played by Syria in the transmission of silk production techniques to the West.

**cavacote**: see **tabacoque**.

**caviar** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "caviar": < Tr. *havyar*, through It. However, the Tr. item does not have a native look, and may reflect Neo-P. *xāye bar* "abundance of eggs", as suggested by Šir 1908:51.

**cayá** (Cs.) "deputy of the Agha in the Regency of Algiers; head of an administrative district": < Tr. *kahya* "steward", prob. through It.

**c/çayah albacar**: see **açayah albacar**.

**çaycor**: is an unasimilated technical term, from GP80, < Neo-Ar. *qayšūr* "pumicestone".<sup>622</sup>

**çaydach**: is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 138, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:108 as a synonym of **açuhe**, q.v., < Ar. *šaydaq* "king; trustworthy person; pole; the star *suḥā*"

**çayracöz** "similar to a bird's liver": is an unasimilated technical term, from GP 138

<sup>619</sup> But the mention of Tibet in *Lapidario* suggests "musk deer", it being known that their best variety was native of that country. In fact, this hapax and its context, occurring again in Bramon 1991:35–36, would posit Neo-Ar. *wašl attibt*, then corrupted as \**oa[l a]tu[bt]* and, finally, as **piedra catu**. In all this, there was perhaps an additional ingredient, namely, the frequent confusion between musk deer and civet cat, Neo-Ar. *qitt azzabād*, reported by the author, *ibidem*, pp. 36 and 49.

<sup>620</sup> Not "granite", as in DAX 379.

<sup>621</sup> Incidentally, the pronunciation /*uʃ*/ of /*uʃ*/ is characteristic of Syr. in some words, e.g., \*\**nawšā* for \*\**našā*: see other instances of this tendency in Aram. in Moscati 1964:26. Therefore, the Syr. term might have been directly imported together with the silk industry itself (see **azarja**).

<sup>622</sup> See Corriente 1997:411 and Benmrad 1985:598 and 647 about the diverse bookish corruptions of Gr. *kisēris*, through Syr. *qisūrā* or *qayšūrā* (Payne Smith 3609) and Ar. spellings such as (>*qyswr*<, >*qyswr*< and >*qbswr*<).



(with the doubtful var. **ceraquiz**, in DAX 384 **caeracoz**); that definition appears to be related to colour, as this term is a superficial Arabization of Gr. *si/erikón* "minium"; cf. **atzarcó**.<sup>623</sup>

**caytoz/s** "whale": is an unassimilated astronomic term, from GP 80, < Neo-Ar. *qaytūs* < Gr. *kētos*, said of the constellation of Cetus.<sup>624</sup>

**caxemira**: see **casimira**.

**\*cayfoz**: see **faycoz**.

**caza**: see **cazo**.

**cazarete**: see **cassaret**.

**\*\*\*cazeno** (Arag.) "a metal similar to silver": this item, given in this manner by Andolz, with that interpretation, as a hapax in a document of 1061, without authority, is a mere silent standardization, after the spelling rules adopted by the proponents of a unified Neo-Arag. language called **fabla**, of the **cazeni** excerpted by Eguílaz (s.v. **kazimo**) from a Llt. document, obviously the same one, for which DE propounded the Neo-Ar. etymon **\*\*xārsīnī** < Neo-P. *xār čini* "Chinese stone", said of some metal from which mirrors could be made. Eguílaz's information, generally reliable from a philological viewpoint, despite his methodological lacunae, allows the identification of that document, the second will of the Aragonese king Ramiro I, and to correct that item as **caçemī**, i.e., the famous *qāsimī* dirhams.<sup>625</sup>

**cazi**: see **alcadi**.

**cazmi**: see **cazeno**.

**cazmira**: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 80, corrupted from Neo-Ar. *qizdir* < Gr. *kassīteros* "tin"

**cazo** (Cs. and Gl.), **çaço** (Pt.) and **cassa** (Ct.) "kettle" and **caza** "oil dipper" (Anl.) and "glazed earthenware tub" (Arag.): although Coromines posits a Llt. *cattia* (excerpted from certain glosses), the dating of the fem. forms, perhaps older than the masc. ones, which might be just backformed to express a bigger size, might point to an And. etymon, propounded by Eguílaz in his day, namely, *qāṣṣa* < Cl.Ar. *qāṣṣah* "bowl; large porringer", a hypothesis which did not convince Coromines. As he acknowledges, the diffusion of this term beyond the limits of the Iberian Peninsula cannot amount to a serious objection, considering that the object was connected with the typically Ar. ideal of the generosity of those who feed all without fearing the expenses; on the other hand, the absence of agglutinated article might betray an importation from the Islamic shores of the Mediterranean sea. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cazolada**, **cazolej/ta**, **cazole(te)ro**, **cazoleter**, **cazolón** and **cazuella**; Ct.: **caç**, **cassal**, **casse(ja)r**, **casset(a)**, **càssera**, **casserola(da)**, **casseroleta**, **cassó**, **cass(ol)ada**, **cassola(er)**, **cassoleta**, **cassolut**, **cassona**, **cassona(et)**, **escassar** and **escassadora**; Gl.: **cazola(da)**, **cazolear**, **cazoleiro**, **cazoleta** and **cazolo**; Pt.: **çaço(u/í)la** and **çaçoleta**.

**cazuz** (Cs., with an old var. **çaçuz**, in DAX 385) "ivy": < And. *qassús* < Cl.Ar. *qissūs* < Gr. *kissós*.

**ceaja**: see **cegaja**.

**cear** (Gl.) and **ciar** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "to back water with the oars and go astern": this technical term of fishermen and seamen, of unknown etymon, at any rate pre-Islamic in the Iberian Peninsula, existed in And. and And.

<sup>623</sup> Reflected by Syr. reflex >*syryqwn*< (Payne Smith 1879–1901:2621), which in this case imitates Gr., and does not take the word directly from Iranian languages.

<sup>624</sup> But the cross-reference in GP 84 to **deneb** implies **deneb caytos** < Neo-Ar. *danab qaytūs*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:156 as Eta Ceti.

<sup>625</sup> About which, see Viguera & Corriente 1981:186, fn. 24., with interesting additional bibliography. The localization and reading of the document, facilitated by the help of the colleagues in the Department of Medieval History and Paleography of the Faculty of Humanities

of Saragossa University, Drs. San Vicente, Utrillas and Laliena, have been obtained in Ubieta 1963:201 (*et illos basos que Sancio filio meo comparaverit et redimerit peso per pisum de plata aut de caçemi illos prenda et eos redimat...*). Another Llt. mention of that coin appears in Canellas 1964:86, document N° 36 ("et dedit ibi pretio CC et XX de argento cazmi"); on the other hand, Fort Cañellas 1994:232 records the var. **ca(s)zmi** and Mateu y Llopis documents **cacimies**, **cacini**, **cazeni**, **cazmi**, **hazi/umies**, **kas(i)mi**, **kaçimi**, **kaz(i)mi**, **kazini**, etc., in other Llt. documents of Aragon.

Rom. as the imperative, *sīyya*, documented in a *muwaššahah* by Ibn Maslamah, in the mid 12th c., as pointed out by García Gómez 1971,<sup>626</sup> and in IQ 31/4/5 in a similar date. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *ciaboga*.

**cebica**: see *cibica*.

**cebiche** (Cs., with the var. *seviche*, and the bookish *sichvegi* and *alsechbagi*, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:261): “dish of raw fish marinated in lemon and seasoned” and **escabeche** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **escabetx** (Ct.) “pickled preserve”: < And. *assukkabā*<sup>627</sup> or *\*iskabāč* < Neo-Ar. *sikhāj*, < Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *serke bā* or *sekbā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **esca-bechar** and **escabechina**; Ct.: **escabetxada**, **escabetxador**, **escabetxer**, **escabetxina**; Gl. **escabechar**.

**cebratana**: see *cerbatana*.

**cebuib**: see *cehuib*.

**ceb/p/utí** (Cs.) “gentilic of Ceuta”: < And. *sābtī*, attributive adjective of the place name *sābta*, prob. < Lt. *septem montes* “seven mountains”.<sup>628</sup> Of the same origin are **ceitil** (Pt.) and **ceitil** or **ceitís** (Cs.) “a coin minted in memory of the conquest of Ceuta”, perhaps **cedotí** or **ceo/utí** “a kind of grape with oblong, golden, hard and somewhat sour grains” (Anz.), although such a variety is not mentioned in And. botanical treatises. Cf. **ceitil**, **ceitil**, **ceitís** and **setí**.

**cebucha/o**: see *acebuche*.

**ceca** (Cs. and Gl.) and **seca** (Ct.) “mint” and (Pt., only in the phrase **Ceca e Meca**, = Cs. **de la Ceca a la Meca** or **de Ceca en Meca** and Gl. **da Ceca para a Meca** “from pillar to post”): < And. *sákka* < Cl.Ar. *sikkah* “die (for coins)” Maybe the Andalusis meant thereby the Cordovan mints and took advantage of rhyming Mecca, but the idiom is not documented before Cs. From the same origin, but through Hindi *sikkā* < Neo-P. *sekke*, is Pt. **sica** “die; seal”, an unassimilated borrowing used since the 16th c. in India.

**cecemonia** “scammony”: is an unassimilated botanic term, in GP 85, < Neo-Ar. *saqmūniyā* < Gr. *skammonia* “escamonea”

**cecém**: see *açucena*.

**cécola**: see *acequia*.

**cecotrim** or **socotorino** (Pt.), **cicotrí** or **sèver se/cicotrí** (Ct.) and **sucotrinno** (Cs., with an old var. **çocotrí(n)** in DAX 1704) “Socotrine aloes”: < And. *suqūtrī* = Cl. Ar. *suqūtrī*, gentilic of the island of Socotra, where the best aloes was produced. This place name derives from Sk. *dvīpā sukhātara* “fortunate island”. All the languages but Cs., have dissimilation of the first vowel; some forms appear to answer to bookish Lt. transcription.

**cedaquá** (Cs.) “alms”: this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from Baena’s *Cancionero*, is an unassimilated term, in a directional code-switch referred to a Jew, from Hb. *šēdāqāh*, as Eguílaz says.

**cedaquín** (Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from Baena’s *Cancionero*, is an unassimilated term, in a directional code-switch, designation of some Talmudist scholars. It is contaminated by **cedaquá**, q.v., which was possibly more frequent and reflects Hb. *šaddiqim* “the righteous”, said of Hassidic rabbis.

**cedoaria** (Cs.), **zedoaria** (Pt.) and **citoal** (Ct., with the var. **sitoal** and **citoval**) “zedoary (Curcuma zedoaria)”: through scientific Lt., < Ar. *jadwār* < Neo-P. *zadwār*.

**cedotí**: see *cebtí*.

**cedría** (Cs.) “waistcoat”: this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from some archives of the Alhambra, corroborates the presence in And. *\*šidriyya* = Neo-Ar. *šidriyyah*, recorded by por DS.

**çef** “sparrowhawk”: is an unassimilated term of falconry, in DAX 387, < And. *sáf*.<sup>629</sup>

**cefra(d)o**: see *açafrado*.

**cefrí** “lowest part of an oven” (Anl.): < And. *sifí* = Cl.Ar. *sufí* “inferior”

<sup>626</sup> See our comments to this passage in Corriente 1997a:140 and fn. 9. Curiously, García Gómez did not recognize the item again in his edition of IQ.

<sup>627</sup> According to Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez

Lázaro 1990: II 354). The loss of implosive /k/ is remarkable (cf. *zabra*, *tahúr*, etc.).

<sup>628</sup> After EI<sup>2</sup> VIII: 709, although this etymon is disputable.

<sup>629</sup> About is possibly Eg. etymon, see DAA 267b.

**cegaia** “ewe lamb of three to six months; goat recently delivered” (Anl.): is the morphological fem. of standard Cs. **cegaio** “lamb or kid less than two years old” in DRAE, surveyed by Coromines under its allomorph **segallo**, basically Arag. with the var. **cegallo** and **c/zeaja**, but also borrowed by Ct. **segall** (fem. **segalla**), spread to Basque and dialects beyond the Pyrenees. This term does not appear to have the Lt. folk etymology suggested by DRAE up to its latest edition, nor the Basque one propounded by Coromines, after proving its genuine Arag. character; instead, it might derive from Ar. *saxlah* “lamb; kid”, through And. \**saxál(a)*, with substitution of /*la2á3*/ for /*lá23*/,<sup>630</sup> metanalysis and substitution of Rom. suffix and metanalysis of its last consonant as if it were a Rom. dim. morpheme. The absence of And. documentation should not surprise in such a rural term, as most of our information on And. is of urban origin; on the other hand, the Ar. loanwords in this realm are abundant (e.g., Cs. **rabadán**, **rebaño**, **zagal** and **zahones**, Gl. **ceibe**, Pt. **rexelo**, **arralha**, **alfeire** and **alabão**, Ct. **rafal**, **rafalí**, etc.).

**cegatero** (Cs.) “huckster”: the Ar. etymon \**saqāṭ* “fripper” propounded by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, is not suitable, neither phonetically, because its pl. appears as **Zacatín**, name of a well-known street in Granada, nor semantically, as those trades are different. It rather looks like a var. of **cicatero** “stingy” (whence the matching verb **cicatear** “to be sparing”), a hybrid with a Rom. suffix on And. \**siqāt* = Cl.Ar. *siqāt* “stumble or refusal (of beasts)”, which occurs again in **acicate**, q.v. Cf. Ast. **cicatiar** and **cicateru** in García Arias 2006:197.

**Cegrí** (Cs., old spelling **Zegrí**) “member of a family in Islamic Granada, famous for its feuds with the **Abencerrajes**, q.v.”: from the And. hypocoristic form *zikrī*<sup>631</sup> of the pr.n. *zakariyyā*. There were never any grounds to identify this word, as the former editions of DRAE did, with And. \**lağarī* < Cl.Ar. \**lağrī* “man of the borderland”, which had a

normal result **tagarino**, q.v.; it has been eliminated from its latest edition.

**çehmeh queteyn**: see **alçamacatayn**.

**cehquib elmech** (with the var. **cebquib elmech** and **cequib alme**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 81: < Neo-Ar. *sākih almā*? “pouder of water”, i.e., Aquarius, corroborated by Kunitzsch 1961:22, and prob. reflected also by **cequebin** or **cequeby** in DAX 394.

**ceiba** (Pt.) “time of the year in which grazing in fallows is allowed” and “premarital cohabitation” (Leo.): < And. *sáy(i)bah* “loose cattle” The matching masc., And. *sáy(i)b* < Cl.Ar. *sālib* “loose, free”, is the etymon of Gl. **ceibe** “free” and **ceibo** “loose”, and not the Lt. etymon of Cs. **célibe** “single”, a much younger learned word which would besides require some semantic evolution to fit all those meanings, unlike the Ar. word, prob. introduced, as so many socio-economic terms, by the more developed Mozarab immigrants. Intra-Rom. der.: Can.: **acebe** “firebreak”; Gl.: **ceibar** “to divide cattle”, **acibar** “to let cattle roam”, with a verbal noun **ceiba**; Pt. **aceibar** “to cause damages in a field by letting in loose cattle” and **ceivar** “to let beasts loose; to let water run”, with a verbal noun **ceiva/e**.

**ceide** (Pt.) “title of Muḥammad’s offspring”: is an unassimilated borrowing from the 16th c., < Ar. *sayyid*.

**ceifa(r)** and **ceifeira/o**: see **aceifa**.

**ceinu** and **ceínu**: see **zaíno**.

**ceitil**: see **cebtí**.

**ceiva(r)** and **ceive**: see **ceiba**.

**cejel**: see **zéjel**.

**celá**: see **azalá**.

**celamim** (Pt.), **celamín** (Gl.), **celemín** (Cs., with the old var. **celemí**), **celemí** (Man.), **zalamín** (Ast., also **çelemin** and **celemín** in García Arias 2006:29) and **celemínos** (Leo., a pl. suggesting the sg. \***celemino**, also **zelemine** in DO 235): “dry measure”: the traditional Ar. etyma of this term, \**ṭumūnī* “related to the eighth” in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, and And. \**ṭamāni*, pl. of \**ṭumūyāh*

<sup>630</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.1 about the relative frequency of this alteration of syllable structure in And.

<sup>631</sup> E.g., in IQ 133/6/6 (see fn. 5 of the 1996 ed. of our translation).

"vessel holding one eighth", in Coromines, lend themselves to serious objections, in the first case, the absence of witnesses, in the second, the fact that the suggested item only meant a "jar of that measure", not to speak of stress distortion. The equivalence in Portugal of **celamim** with one eighth of **alqueire** and one sixteenth of **alqueirinho**, q.v., does corroborate that this entry reflects the Ar root. *[ʕmn]*, whence *ʕamāniyah* "eight", within a metrical system based on 4 (cf. **arroba**), as reflected also by *\*\*rubāʕi* "fourth of one dinar" in IQ, and "1/64 of Gr. and Lt. *metreta*" in DS. The solution may be found in the curious ordinal series used in the Valencian *Doctrina cristiana*,<sup>632</sup> suggesting that in the primitive And. idiolects often reflected by early Ar. loanwords in the Northwestern areas of Iberian Peninsula there was a *\*ʕamani* and/or *ʕamini* meaning a partitive "eighth", which later, in a Rom. phase, underwent dissimilation of /n/ in // and subsequent metathesis of the latter. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **celemínada**, **celeminear** ("to wander about", Sal., after DRAE) and **celemínero**.

**celdal**: see **cendal**.

**célemo** and **cénimo** "himny" (Can.): this term from Lanzarote seems to be a mere phonetic evolution of **cémilo** "bumpkin" (Can.): < And. *zámil* "worn-out horse" < Cl.Ar. *zāmīlah* "beast of burden", with a semantic specialization alien to Cl.Ar., but extant also in And. *zāmila* and its Rom. reflexes. Ct. **acémila**.

**celga**: see **acelga**.

**celme**: see **açalmear**.

**celtre**: see **acéter**.

**gement** "quail": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 390, distorted from And. *summán* < Cl.Ar. *sumānā*.

**cémilo**: see **célemo**.

**ce/imiri** "Samaritan": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 81 (with the pl. var. **çe/imires** and **çimiris**), < Ar. *sāmīrī*.

**cenacho** (Cs.), **f/zenacho** and **zenalla** (Arag.) and **senalla** (Ct.) "frail": < And. *šan-nāč*, prob. hybridized with the Rom. dim. or pejorative suffix, from Ar. *šinn* "bread basket", prob. of Eg. origin, to judge by Cp. *čano*.

**cencerretas** "horse collar with little bells; back" (Mur.): both meanings, at first sight semantically disconnected, might cast decisive light on the hitherto obscure etymon of standard **cencerro**, about which, see DCECH. It is well-known that Ar. *silsilah* "chain" may mean the backbone, e.g. in And. *sálsalat aššūlb*, whence the hypocoristic *sursūl*, which explains the second Mur. sense, with contamination through the Rom. suffix *{+ÉRRO}*, while the first one might have been generated by an easy confusion of **cencerro** and **cencerreta** which is, in truth, a chain of little bells, either because at some point an And. *\*sán-salat aljaláji*<sup>633</sup> has been in use, whence the haplological **cencerro**, or just because the **cencerretas** were called "chains", which is not semantically strange. Cf. **cereceda**.

**cendal** (Cs., documented since the earliest texts, with a Leo. var. **celdal** in DO 235 and Pt.) and **cendat** or **sandales** (Arag.) "very thin silken or linen fabric": prob. < Neo-Ar. *šandal*, corrupted for *sundus*, supposedly der. from Gr. *sindón*, of unidentified Eastern origin.<sup>634</sup> Of the same origin is **acendría** "silken fabric" (Mur.), prob. through *\*cendalía*, a cognate of intra-Rom. Cs. **cendalí** documented already in 1637 by Coromines.

**cendía**: see **sandía**.

**cenefa**: see **acenefa**.

<sup>632</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.3.2, p. 93. Disregarding the ordinals with the attached *nishbah* suffix of Et., the stem *{/a2i3/}* is used for this function, within Semitic, only in Hb. and Aram., perhaps as cases of preservation of an archaic feature. Other traces in Ar., like *\*\*xamīx* "Thursday" and *\*\*rubīš*, name of two months, of which the second one is fourth in the Ar. lunar calendar, lead to the conclusion that a whole ordinal and/or partitive system might have existed and been transmitted to Al-Andalus by the Yemenites. As a matter of

fact, Cl.Ar. admits an alternative pattern *{/a2i3/}* for partitives between 3 and 10.

<sup>633</sup> The frequency of the second constituent in And. is witnessed by the Gl. borrowings **axóxure** and Pt. **aljorc/g/ze**, q.v.

<sup>634</sup> About this fabric, see Alfau 1969:74-77. As Coromines says, the Gr. etymon *sindón* is semantically suitable, but the change of ending is not easily explained. It cannot be altogether excluded that all these words reflect the gentile of Sind.

**çenemanaca** (with the var. **cenemanac/ça** and **çenem annacha**) “backbone of the she-camel”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 138, discussed by Kunitzsch 1961:85 and identified for the use of astrolabes as Beta Cassiopeiae, < Neo-Ar. *sanām annāqah*, “the she-camel’s hump”

**ceneque** “small loaf of bread” (Cs. thieves’ cant), “stale bread; brute” (Nav.) and **zeneque** “fool” (Arag.): for the latter we had propounded the And. etymon *zanix* = Cl.Ar. *zanix* “rancid”, metaphorically said of a weak mind by IQ 132/4/4 *šāqlan zanix* “a stupid mind”. Considering both words together, the semantic evolution from “fool” to “stale bread” is stranger than the other way around, while the presence in Anl. of **zalaco** and **zalaque** “stale bread” makes matters even more complex.

**cenete**: see **atzanet**.

**cenhegi** (Cs.) “member of the Br. tribe of Šinhājah”: < And. *šinḥāji* < Neo-Ar. *šinḥājī*, gentilic of Šinhājah.

**cenf**: see **atzeni**.

**cénia**: see **aceña**.

**cénimo**: see **célemo**.

**cénit** (Gl. and Cs., with the old var. **zonte** and **zunt**, in GP 133), **zénite** (Pt.) and **zenit** (Ct.): derive from a bad reading of the Lt. transcription of Ar. *sanit* (*arraʿs*), lit., “direction of the head, i.e., vertical line”, as an astronomical term. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **cenital**; Ct. **zenital**. Cf. **acimut**.

**cenne**: see **atzèni**.

**cennera**: see **acenia**.

**cenoria** and **cenoura**: see **acenoria**.

**ceo/ptí**: see **cebtí**.

**cequebin** or **cequeby**: see **ce(b/h)quib**.

**cequeta**: see **acequia**.

**cequí** (Cs.), **c/sequim** (Pt.) and **sequí** (Ct.) “sequin”: < Ar. *sikkī* “related to the mint”, prob. of Eastern origin.

**cequia** and **cequiaje**: see **acequia**.

**cequib**: see **cehquib**.

**cequión**: see **acequia**.

**cerame**: see **ala(l)me**.

**ceranda**: see **zaranda**.

**cerbatana** and **cebratana** (Cs.), **sarbatana** (Ct.) and **zarab/vatana** (Pt.) “blowgun”: < And. *zarbaḥāna* (also meaning “latrine outlet”) < Cl.Ar. *sabaḥānah*, from the Sar. root *{shy}* “to hit”, and not of Persian stock, as it is often said, there being no suitable root in this language, unlike the case of epigraphic and mod. Sar. (cf. Mehri *sabūt*) and Et. *zābāḥā*. From the same etymon are **sarpatana**, **sarpatica** and **serventica** “mantis” (Can.),<sup>635</sup> through the And. attributive adjective *zarbaḥāni* “outlaw”, lit., “user of blowgun; disreputable hunter”, said of that insect on account of the way it stalks and kills prey,<sup>636</sup> **zaratán** and **zaratano** “mischievous, wicked” (Nav., prob. a phonetic alteration) and **zarabatano** “quarrelsome” (Mur., with some semantic evolution). Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **zarabatanada**. Cf. **charlatán**.

**cereceda** (Cs.) “chain of prisoners”: the etymon suggested by Eguílaz, And. *sársala* (cf. Alcalá *cércele*) < Cl.Ar. *silṣilah* “chain”, is both appropriate for a term of thieves’ cant, and phonetically correct, as there are other cases of /l/ > /d/, e.g. **adaza** and **adelga**, q.v. Cf. **cencerretas**.

**cerhaderet**: see **çarachdem**.

**cerir benet nays** “bed of B.N.”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 81, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:194 as Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta Ursae Majoris, < Neo-Ar. *sarīr banāt naʿīs* “the bed of the daughters of N.”

**cero** (Cs. and Pt.) and **zero** (Ct. and Pt.): derives, through scientific Lt. transcription, from Ar. *ṣifr* “empty”, already used in Ar. as an arithmetical term. Cf. **cifra**.

**cerola/o**: see **acerola**.

**cerome**: see **ala(l)me**.

**ceroula** (Pt.) “underpants”, **cirolas** (Gl.), **zaloiras** and **zaragüel(l)es** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:230), **saragüells** (Ct.), **zaragüelles** (Arag. and Cs.), **zaragüel** (Mur.), **zarragüelle** (Arag.) and **cirigüelles** (Nav.): “a kind of drawers”, and **zarangüelloh** (Ext.) “old kind of trousers”: < And. *sirwāl(a)*, pl. *sarāwīl* < Cl.Ar. *sirwāl(ah)*, pl. *sarāwīl* < Aram.

**cervata(na)** and **cierva**, **sierva**, **siervesita**, etc.

<sup>636</sup> The term **s/zebratán** is extant with a similar meaning in Jud.-Sp., according to Cid 1991:48.

<sup>635</sup> Information in García Mouton 1999, which includes Arag. **zarapatana** and var. altered by metanalysis and folk etymology, like Anz.

*sarbāl(ā)* or *sarbēlā*, of Old Persian origin, already reflected by Gr. *sarābara*. However, dates and phases appear to differ, as while Cs. and Ct. derive from the pl., much more used everywhere, and merely exhibit stress shift due to metanalysis of their own dim. suffix *{+ÉL}*, Western Rom. stems from the sg., with metathesis (*>\*ĆIRÁWLA*) and subsequent metanalysis of the dim. Rom. suffix *{+ÓL}*, which points to an earlier date. From the same etymon is prob. *asire/olillo* (Mur.), although given as of doubtful meaning, most likely trousers, more correctly spelled in the second form. As for Sal. *zaragüelle* and *zarajuelle* “beard of wheat; seed of some plants which sticks to clothing”, they are prob. metonymies of the standard.

**cerquer** and **cerque(i)ra** (Pt.) “an Indian silken fabric”: on semantic grounds, cannot have the Neo-P. etymon suggested by Dalgado, *\*\*šir šakar* “milk sugar”

**cerracatín** (Cs.) “stingy” and **zarracatín** (Cs.) “huckster selling expensively”: < And. *sarráq attín* “fig thief”, i.e., “petty thief” From the same etymon are **zaracat(r)alla** (Arag. with a var. **zarracatralla**, recorded by Gargallo 1985:38 in Tarazona) “crowd”, with degemination of */r/*, suffix metanalysis and substitution, or some contamination.

**cerraje** (Cs.): is a rare Castilianized var. of **serrallo**, q.v.

**cerrazino/es**: see **sarraceno**.

**cervata(na)**: see **cerbatana**.

**ceteraque** (Pt.) “common ceterach” (*Ceterach officinalis*): considering its late documentation in 1873, it must have been taken from Fr., and this from scientific LIt. which reflects a bookish transcription of Ar. *šīṭaraj* < Sk. *čīṭraka*, with a semantic shift, as Sk. dictionaries rend this term as *Plumbago ceylanica* and “castor bean” (*Ricinus communis*).<sup>637</sup>

**cetil**: see **cebtí**.

**cetim**: see **acetuní**.

**cetís**: see **cebtí**.

**cetra**: see **acéter**.

**ceutí**: see **cebtí**.

**ceyriet** “experienced (?) eagle”: is an unassimilated term of falconry, in DAX 406, defined as “the largest”, perhaps a corruption of the gentilic of (*ard*) *sirt* “(country of the Great) Sirte, Gulf of Sidra”, in Libya, to judge by the list of Möller & Viré 1988:96, if it is not just an error for **hodayriet**, q.v. In fact, the Cs. adjective **viada** is not semantically transparent, perhaps meaning “having been around for some time”, which would connect with Ar. *sāʿir* “moving about”, but none of this is certain.

**cezen**: see **sirs/z/çen**.

**chabalí(n)**, **xabalín** or **jabalín** (Arag., the latter reported by DRAE as of Andalusia and Salamanca, but being also Nav.), **jabalí** (Cs.), **javalí** (Pt.), **xabarán** (Gl.), **xabali** (Ast.), **jabaril** (Bie.) and **xavalí** (Ct.) “wild boar” and **xiabaril** “wild boar; stubborn” (Leo.): < And. *jabalí* = Cl.Ar. *jabalī* “of the mountains” The words **jabalina** “a dense white stone” (Mur.), **javaluna** “a kind of jasper” (Anl., also in DRAE as An., spelled **jabaluna**), **jabaluna** “very hard white stone; large kind of olive” and **jabaluno** “kind of olive tree with big pointed fruits; related to wild boars” (Anz.) are der. more or less metonymic of standard **jabalí**, q.v., or direct reflexes of its etymon, in cases in which there is no relation, not even metaphorical, with that animal. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jabalín**, **jabalina**, **jabalínero**, **pie-dra jabaluna** and **jabato**; Pt. **javalina**; Ast. **xabalina**; Leo.: **jabarila**.

**chabt**: see **alcab(t)**.

**chabuco** (Pt. as spelled by Morais, while Machado, in the same sense, has **chabraque** which, in truth, is a var. of **xabrac**, q.v.) “lash”: < Neo-P. *čabo/uk*, considered Vullers as Hindi, although McGregor 1997:311, declares Hindi *čābuk* as Persian.

**chabus**: see **alchabus**.

**chacal** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **xacal** (Ct.) “jackal (*Canis aureus*)”: through Fr., < Tr. *čakal* < Neo-P. *šāḡal* < Sk. *śṛḡālā*.

**chader** (Pt., with a var. **chan/udel**) “chador, veil from head to feet used by some

<sup>637</sup> There are problems also with the identification of the Ar. term, as commented in Benmrad 1989:202; in fact DS identifies it with “dittender”

(*Lepidium latifolium*), which is unlikely, because *šayṭuraj* is not edible.

Muslim women”: < Hindi *čādar* < Neo-P. *čādo/ar* “chador; tent”. In Cs., through Fr. and Eng., *chador* is in use.

**chadesan**: see *alsedha*.

**chafagueira/o**: see *atxafegar*.

**chafalmeja(s)**: see *trafalnejas*.

**chafardero** and **chafardear**: see *chafariz*.

**chafarí**: see *jaharí*.

**chafariz** (Cs. and Gl.) “waterspout; fountain with several jets”, *s/xafarice*, (Leo., in DO 285), *chafariz* (Pt.), *jaraíz*, *jahariz* and *zafariche* (Cs., with metathesis in the two first shapes), *charaíz* (Ext. and Sal.), *xafariz* (Pt.), *zafareche* (Arag.) and *safareig* (Ct.) “pool”, and *zafariche* “shelf for jars” (Arag., by metonymy): < And. *s/sahrīj* = Cl.Ar. *sihrīj* < Pahl. *čāh+\*riqu*<sup>638</sup> “flowing well” Coromines, in his DECLC, explains convincingly that Ct. *xafarder(a)* “prater”, *xafarderia* “prating” and *xafardejar* “to prattle” derive by metonymy from this etymon, as women had this proverbial habit in their daily visits to public fountains, which would also hold good for colloquial Cs. *chafardero* and *chafardear*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *safaretget*, *safaretger* and *safaretjada*.

**chafarote** (Cs.), **xafarot** (Ct.) and **chifarote** (Pt.) “short and broad Tr. sword”, and **chafarote** “pruning knife” (Ext., with semantic evolution): may be a hybridization with the Rom. aug. suffix of Ar. *šafrah* “large knife”. Although this word appears always in And. as *šifra* (cf. Val. *xefla*, Pt. *chifra* and Cs. *chifla* “shoemaker’s knife”, but Ast. *chá-fara* “razor”, in García Arias 2006:198), this vocalic harmonization cannot surprise in a prob. Morisco low register term, to judge from its late documentation (18th c. for Cs. and Pt., and 19th for Ct.), not excluding the occasional survival of the Cl.Ar. vocalization in And., as suggested by *chafranafra*, q.v. From the same etymon would be Pt. *chanfra* in the meaning of “sword”, current in Brazil, *chanfrar* “to cut in a certain manner”, with the verbal nouns *chanfradura* and *chanfro*. On the other hand,

this term has no relation with Br. *\*\*tafrut* “knife” (e.g., in Kab.), *pace* Coromines. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *chafarotazo*, *chiflar*<sup>2</sup>; Pt.: *chifrar*.

**chafranafra** (dial. Pt., only in Morais): this term of Alentejo meaning “fast run; medley” might reflect And. *šāfra* (*wa)nāhira* “knife and slaughter”, alluding to the predicament of frightened defenceless civils when a town was stormed.

**chagrém** (Pt., with the var. *chaguer* and *cheguel*), **chagrín** (Cs.) and **xagrí** (Ct.) “shagreen”: according to Vasmer 1996:IV 394, through Fr. *chagrin*, from a Turkic dialect, like Chaghatay *sağrı* “leather of the back” (in Tr. “rump”), apparently spread widely, as it is reflected in Neop. *sāğari* and Eg.Ar., to judge by its inclusion in Bocthor’s dictionary, mentioned by Eguílaz.

**chaguazo**: see *arcazón*.

**chaguer**: see *chagrém*.

**chahab**: see *alachabal(ium)*.

**chaisim**: see *alchaisum*.

**chaizaran**: see *galzerans*.

**chal** (Cs. and Gl.), **xal** (Ct.) and **xa(i)le** (Pt.) “shawl”: < Neo-P. *šāl*, through Fr. *châle*.

**chalahan** “sprain”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989: 123, < Ar. *xašah*.<sup>639</sup>

**chaleco** (Cs., with the var. *jileco*, and Gl., with the var. *chaleque*), **jaleca/o** (Pt.) and **jalec(o)** (Ct.) and **jaleco** (Anz.) “waistcoat, vest”: < Tr. *yelek* through It., in which /y/v/ > /jv/ is normal, so that Alg.Ar. *īkah* is actually a return from It. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **chalequeiro**.

**chalef**: see *alchelefut*.

**chalegi** “tartar (on teeth)”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:123, < Ar. *qalah*.

**chalfegar**: see *atxafegar*.

**chamach**: see *alchauamich*.

**chamá(da)** “series of happenings” (Mur. in Gómez Ortín 1991): might derive from Ar. *jamāšah* “group” (cf. *aljama*).

<sup>638</sup> This second element is not documented, but is reflected by Neo-P. *riqu* “suffering from diarrhoea”, being a der. of the verbal stem *ruḥk* in Old

Persian, surviving in Pahl. as *rēxtan* “to flow”.

<sup>639</sup> But see fn. to *fechan*.

**chamadura**: see **alchamhaduc**.

**chamalote**: see **camell**.

**chamaz** (Pt., in Morais **chamás**) “deacon in Malabar”: is indeed Syr. *šammāš(ā)*, of the same meaning (“servant”), adopted as *šammās* in the Ar. idiolects of Christians. Of the same origin is **ssamas**, an unassimilated term, excerpted by Eguílaz from Baena’s *Cancionero* (Nº 142), < Hb. *šammāš*, or its Rab. Aram. etymon *šammāš(ā)* “shammash, sexton of a synagogue”, with a transcription of the hissing sound giving away the LIt. transmission (cf. **vijola**). It has never meant “sun priest” or “minister of a synagogue”, unless this term is understood as “servant”

**chamerlucio** (Cs.) “close jacket for women”: < Tr. *yağmurluk* “raincoat”, imported in the West more than once. It kept its original meaning in Old Russian *jemurlúk*, but in our days *jermólka* or *jelomók* is a kind of hat or hood, and in Polish *ja(r)mutka* whence Yiddish and mod. Hb. *yarmulqāh* “Jewish cap”. As for the alleged Tr. \*\*\**zamura* in DRAE, it is a mere bad transcription of the true etymon.

**chanan** “morbid twang”:<sup>640</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:123, < Ar. *xunān*.

**cháncharras máncarras** (Cs.): the idiom **andar en**—“to give lame excuses” possibly derives from an And. phrase *ját jára ma ját jára* “a neighbour came, a neighbour did not come”, as explained in Corriente 2006:109, as one more witness of Morisco idioms which became popular and remained in use even when nobody could remember their true meaning, although Guadix at least had an inkling in this case.

**chanc(l)a** (Cs.) “worn-out down-at-heel shoe”, **chanc(l)a** or **chancleta** (Arag.) “crutch” and **chanclos** “galosh” (Cs.) and “stilt” (Arag.): < And.Rom., represented by And. *čánka*, from a pre-Rom. etymon also surviving in Basque *txangi* “lame”, dim. of *zang/ko* “leg”. The semantic juncture lies in the fact

that **chanc(l)a** is conceived as “lame” footwear, because it has no heel, and so is the gait of a person using crutches or stilts. From the same etymon are **sanca** (Pt.) and **zanca** (Cs.) “long and thin leg”, with their matching aug. der. **sancarrão** and **zancarrón**,<sup>641</sup> **changa** “useless thing” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991), and **achangar** “bar a door” (Anz.), by metonymy. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **chancleta**, **chancletear** and **chancleteo**.

**chandel**: see **chader**.

**chanfra(dura)**, **chanfrar** and **chanfro**: see **chafarote**.

**chapa** “plate” and **chapar** “to plate or veneer” (Cs.): are etymological cruces. If >*jbh*< “bowl of a mortar” in DAA 88, were an easy mistake in Hb. script for >*jbh*<, it would constitute an And. root \*{ČPP} II “to flatten” with *mučappáp* “flattened” in Alcalá, clearing the way to a solution, as one could easily posit a parallel And. Rom. \*Čapp+ÁR “to flatten metal, etc., in order to plate or veneer a surface”, whence a deverbal \*ČÁPPA. Cf. **chepa**.

**chaparote**: see **jarabe**.

**chaputa** (Pt.) “brill” (Rhombus laevis or Scopthalmus rhombus), **xaputa** (Pt.), **japuta** (Cs.) and **chaputa** (Anl., borrowed from Pt.) “ray’s bream” (Brama brama or B. rayi): indeed reflect And.\*šabbūta < Cl.Ar. šabbūtah of Aram. origin. In this language it simply meant “swimmer”, and in Iraq it was a fresh water fish, which means that, as often in plant and animal names, there has been a semantic evolution in this term.

**charaíz**: see **chafariz**.

**charapote**: see **jarabe**.

**charate** “small locusts” (Mur.):<sup>642</sup> it appears to reflect a Morisco item in Arag. dial., < And. *jarād* < Cl.Ar. *jarād* “locusts”

**charigenis**: see **archigenis**.

**charis** “food seasoned with vinegar”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:169 (with the var. **alcaris** and **caris(s)a**), < Ar. *qarīs*, with three kinds,

causing obstruction of the nasal area and snuffing.

<sup>641</sup> The LIt. etymon \*(t)zanga, derived from Old Persian, suggested by Coromines and accepted by Machado, is absolutely unlikely.

<sup>642</sup> The details provided by Gómez Ortín 1998:169–171 are important.

<sup>640</sup> Not “gangrene”, as in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, by error. Properly, *xunān* is a kind of glanders affecting camels in their nostrils or a disease affecting the bird’s throat, but Ruyzes’ rendering and the passage del Avicenna’s *Alqūnūn* quoted by the authors suggest a human disease



**c. albatun** (< *albuṭūn* "of bird tripe"), **c. albachar** (< *albaqar* "of beef") and **c. alse-mec** (< *assamak* "of fish").

**charlatán** (Cs.) "quack": its cauda is hard to explain, but through a contamination with the \**cebratán* or \**cerbatán*, posited in *cerbatana*, q.v.

**charouvia**: see *chirivía*.

**charra**: see *algera*.

**charrán** (Cs.) "rogue" and "boy who helps fishermen" (Anl.): prob. < And. \**šarrāl* "seller of horse mackerels", through An. pronunciation. DRAE informs that it was said, in principle, of travelling fishmongers in Malaga, but the alleged Ar. etymon it suggests in former editions, \*\*\**šarrānī* "wicked", does not exist, and has been corrected in the latest one. On the other hand, the market ordinances contained in *ḥisbah* treatises have acquainted us with the low esteem in which fishmongers were held in Al-Andalus, and that they had to stay away from other vendors because of the smell of their wares. They had also a proverbial reputation for being quarrelsome, as suggested by the very name given to that area in the markets, \*\**xināqa* (whence \*\**xannāq* "fishmonger"), a close der. of \*\**xināq* "quarrel". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *charranada*, *charranear* and *charranería*; Anz.: *acharranarse*. Cf. *jurel*.

**charramalla** (Arag.) "hubbub, clamour": is a var. contaminated by *charrar* "to chat" of *faramalla*, q.v.

**chasen** or **charsim** "nasal obstruction caused by vegetations": is an unassimilated medical technicism, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:124, < Ar. *xašam*.

**chatrab**: see *alcutubut*.

**chatria** (Cs.) "Kshatriya, member of the military caste in Hindum": < Sk. *ksatriya*, through Fr.

**chaudel**: see *chader*.

**chaugamich**: see *alchauamich*

**chautz** (Cs.) and **chaus** (Pt.) "usher": < Tr. *çavuş*, whimsically reflected by former editions of DRAE as \*\*\**šāwīš*, corrected in the latest. Cs. might be a borrowing from Pt.

**chazena**: see *jácena*.

**chebet**, **kabith**, **keted** and **diacheded** "King Qabadh's electuary":<sup>643</sup> is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:215–216, < Ar. *qabāḍ*.

**chede** "surfeit": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:124, < Ar. *kizzah*.

**cheguel**: see *chagré*.

**chemed** "suffocation by foul air": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:125, < Ar. *xamd*.<sup>644</sup>

**chepa** "refuse of pressed olives" (Mur., in Gómez Ortún 1991, a cognate of And.Rom. *ČÁPA* and the root {*ČPX*}, surveyed in Corriente 1997:88. Cf. *chapa*, *chapar* and *chipi-chape*.

**chereb(u)** "affliction": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *karb*. Cf. *carabí hurí*, *carabí hurá*.

**chere(u)via** and **cherivia**: see *chirivía*.

**cherna** (Cs.) "grouper (*Epinephelus guaza* or *Serranus gigas*)" and **cherne** (Pt., of uncertain identification,<sup>645</sup> borrowed in Can., as designation of a kind of grouper: < And.Rom. \**ČÉRN(IY)A*, reflected by And. *črniya*, < Lit. *acern(i)a* < Lgr. *ácherna*.

**cherra**: see *algera*.

**che/irrión** (Cs., in García Salinero 1968:96): "carriage... for transportation of materials", appears to be a cognate of *jorro*, *zorra*, etc., q.v.

**cherva** (Cs.) "castor oil plant" and (Pt.) "a textile fibre", with some semantic evolution: can only have resulted from a Lt. bookish transcription of Ar. *xirwaš*, as evidenced by the var. *querva*, q.v. Cf. *kesb*.

**ches(o)**: see *algeps*.

<sup>643</sup> The Sassanid Emperor Kavadh I, father of Khosrow Anuširwān, exalted to the throne in 490.

<sup>644</sup> In our view, the authors are wrong upon suggesting {*kmd*} and distrusting the correct text of *Alqānūn*, as {*xmd*} means "to faint; to agonize", etc.

<sup>645</sup> There are dial. differences: Davidson 1972:79, 82 and 83, propounds "wreckfish (*Polyprion*

*cernium*)", while *Epinephelus aeneus* would be Cs. *cherne de ley* (i.e., "of milk", cf. Fr. *mérrou blanc*), different from the dark grey species (Fr. *mérrou noir*), *Epinephelus caninus*, for which he gives no Cs. name. As for Can. *cherne*, his identification is with *Polyprion americanum*, a var. of wreckfish or stone bass.

**cheton** "kind of shirt used by Hebrews" (with the var. **cethemone**): is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 406, < Hb. *kuttonet*.

**chía** (Cs.) "kind of black mourning mantle": this term, undocumented before the end of the 16th c., might derive from And. *šáya* "kind of tunic", as Coromines propounds, although his hypothesis does not tally well with the fact that this reflex of Hispanic Lt. *sagía* does not exhibit the necessary and expectable *imālah* in Alcalá.

**chiach** "cakes": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:210, < Neo-Ar. *kašk*.<sup>646</sup>

**chibuque** (Pt.), **chibuquí** (Cs.) and **xibuc** (Ct.) "Tr. pipe": through Fr. *chibouque*, < Tr. *čubuk* (poorly transcribed in former editions of DRAE as \*\*\**šibūq*, corrected in the latest), not excluding intermediation of an Ar. dialect, like Sr. *šeboq* from Barthélemy 1935–69. The abnormal stress in Cs. is mere result of an unskilled and pedantic manipulation aimed at generating a non-existent Ar. gentilic suffix.

**chica** "sword" (Cs. thieves' cant): prob. a cognate of And. *šīga* of identical meaning, often spelled as >*šāgah*< by botanists, apparently an And.Rom. item. Otherwise, it only appears as a Granadan word, with the sole authority of Alcalá, who recorded both degrees of *imālah*. In DAA 298, we derived it from Lt. *saga* "weapons", it having prob. passed over from the lexicon of Morisco muleteers to Cs. thieves' cant, perhaps contaminated with the preexisting fem. adjective **chica** "small (fem.)" in a joking way, as it is not small but large, compared to a knife or dagger.

**chícharo** (Cs.) "(chick) pea or French bean": < And.Rom. \**ČÍČAR(O)* < Lt. *cīcēra*.<sup>647</sup>

**chiclón**: see **ciclán**.

**chiditan**: see **alhedía(n)**.

**chifla(r)**, **chifarote** and **chifra(r)**: see **chafarote**.

**chíismo** (Cs.) and **xíisme** (Ct.) "Shiism": is a Romanization, through Fr. and by means of Rom. suffixes, of Ar. *šīah* "followers", name given to the supporters of ʿAlī and his descendants exclusive right to the Caliphate, on account of their kinship with the Prophet. Pt. **xiá**, however, appears to directly reflect the Neo-P. pronunciation, Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **chíista**; Ct. **xííita**; Gl.: **xííita**.

**chilaba** (Cs. and Gl.), **xilava** (Ct.) and **gelaba** (Pt., only in Morais) "djellaba, North African long robe": is a contemporary borrowing from Mor. *allaba*, formed on Cl.Ar. *jilbāh*, with adoption of the pattern of intensive fem. n.ag., used as n.inst. in Neo-Ar.). Cf. **aljaravia**.

**chilibí** (Cs.) "Tr. gentleman": this term in Cervantes, recorded by Eguílaz, indeed reflects Tr. *čelebi*, although distorted through Ar. pronunciation.

**chinchemonete** or **chinchinerineta** "a child's game", (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:150), < And.Rom. \**ČINJE LOM(B)+ĪT / REN+ĪT* "girdle your loins / kidneys", with a multi-functional suffix.

**chintoria** "centaury (Centaurea)": is an unassimilated botanical term, from DAX 407, < And.Rom. *ČENTÁWR[I]YA* < Lt. *centauria* < Lt. *centaurēum*.

**chipchape** (Cs.) "a prank consisting of a blow on the cheeks inflated with air": reported by Diego de Guadix (Bajo & Mañillo 2005:533), possibly < And. \**čipi čappáp/x* "hit my bait" (see Corriente 2005b:108). It appears to have a var. **zipizape**, rendered by dictionaries as "quarrel, row"

**chípín** (Sal.): is a metathesis of standard **alperchín**, q.v. Cf. **alperchín**.

**chiquero** (Cs.) "pigsty; bull pen": prob. < And.Rom. reflected by And. *širkáyr* < Lt. *circārium*.<sup>648</sup> From the same etymon, with more conservative phonetics, there is **enxer-**

<sup>646</sup> Of Eg. origin, see Corriente 1991:151, fn. 3.

<sup>647</sup> This term occurs in the nickname *al-ČÍČARO MÓLE* "soft chick pea" of a person mentioned in *Almuqtabis V* (see Chalmers, Corriente & Šubh 1979:475, for the text, and Viguera & Corriente 1981:356, for its Cs. translation).

<sup>648</sup> The transcription of /č/ as /š/ is not too striking, as it occurs sometimes by a tendency to eliminate the marginal phoneme, but in this

case one can suspect the ideological prank of suggesting "suitable for polytheists" (< Ar. \*\**širk*, a frequent, though inappropriate designation of Christians by Muslims), in retributions for the Mozarabs' distortion of the Ar. etymon of *mes/zquita*, q.v., parallel to the fact, recorded by Blau 2006, that mosques in Jud.-Ar. are called *murjaz*, lit., "place to anger God", as underscored in our review of that important book.

**car** (Pt.) “to prepare (beef) jerky” and its verbal noun **enxerca**, in the light of information from DCECH, s.v. **charquefi**, in a medieval context in which animals slaughtered in the fields and not taken to butcheries had a different tax consideration. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **enxerqueira**.

**chirivía** (Cs. and Gl.), **xirivía** (Ct.) and **cholovía** (Arag.) “skirret, water parsnip (*Sium sisarum*)”: it has been asserted since Dozy down to Coromines that this word derives from And. **\*karawfyya** (see **alcaravea**). As this poses a phonetic problem, the latter adds the hypothesis that And. **jirivfyya** would result from a contamination with that Eastern Ar. word of And.Rom. **\*ĈĪSĒRA** (supported by rare Pt. **alchísiera**, missing in Machado and Morais, < Lt. *sīser*, -*ēris*). Considering that, as proven by Dozy, there has been an intra-Ar. confusion of *Carum carvi* with *Sium sisarum*, a possible solution is to think that, by bookish transmission as in the case of **cherva**, q.v., a Lt. spelling with >ch< for /k/ was read in Rom. as /tʃ/ and then passed over to relatively late And., which tallies well with the absence of documentation before Alcalá. Once within And., there is nothing surprising in the gradual palatalization (cf. the var. **cherevía** in the first witness from Berceo, and Pt. **cherivia**, possible returns), down to the closest palatal vocalic archiphoneme, or the phonetic Arabization of /tʃ/ into /j/.<sup>649</sup>

**chiroba** “hump (Ext.): as suggested in DCECH, it is the result of contamination of standard Cs. **joroba**, q.v., by Cs. **chepa** or, perhaps in an older phase, by Cs. **giba**.

**chisch**: see **alkisch**.

**chiscellón**: see **ciclán**.

**chivo**: see **alchub**.

**chocho** (Cs.) “lupine”: through An. pronunciation, < And.Rom. **ŠŌŠ**<sup>650</sup> < Lt. *salsus* “salted”, alluding to the usual method of their cure.

**choçola** “artificial pond” (Cs., in García Salinero 1968:96), prob. antepenultima stressed, < And. *jīsr* “dam”, in Cl.Ar. “bridge” or “paved road”

**cholade** “arrangement of scrofulae like a necklace”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *gilādah*. Cf. **alcalada** and **zaquilada**.

**cholovía**: see **chirivía**.

**chomb/po**: see **zambo**.

**cho/urtal** “water spring” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:155): < And.Rom. **\*ŠORT+ÁL**.

**choz** “strike” (Cs.): may share the etymon of **chuzo**, q.v.s.v. **azuche**, especially considering that its use might in principle have been limited to the idiom **\*de choz y coz**, in rhythmic slang, soon misunderstood and converted into **de hoz y coz** “headlong”

**chuamich**: see **alchauamich**.

**chuba** “tetter”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:125, < Ar. *qūbāʿ*.

**chuchamel** (Gl.): this name of bugloss (*Anchusa officinalis*) allows us to correct the mistaken transcription of Asín 1943:291 for this passage of *Kiābu Sumdati ḥabīb*<sup>651</sup> and to confirm the presence in And. of the verb *čūč* “to suck” of And.Rom. origin, ultimately < Lt. *sūgēre*.

**chuchi**, **chusi** and **alkokin** “electuary against cough”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:211, < Neo-Ar. *qūft* < Gr. *kūfi* < Eg. >*k2pt*<, according to Ermann & Grapow 1982:IV 249a.

<sup>649</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.5.3. This phenomenon might have been helped by the phonetic likeness of And. *jurū* < Cl.Ar. *jirw* “puppy”, possibly suggesting lowest quality, as Cs. **perruno** “good only for dogs”. As a matter of fact, in And. botanical treatises this same word has kept its Cl. meaning “small unripe fruit”, already recorded by DS I:189; this hypothesis is upheld by var. still reflecting a segment /raw/, like Gl. **chereuvía** and **charouvia** and Pt. **quirúvia**, mentioned in DCECH. The penetration of that Ar. term in

Rom. might have been reflected also by Mur. **girulo** (q.v.).

<sup>650</sup> Documented, e.g., by the place name Guadajoz (< *wādi šūš* “salted river”, e.g., in IQ 96/12/2). With the Rom. aug. suffix, *šūšūn*, occurs in the proverb N° 1593 of Azzajjālī, as a metaphor of the vulva, common for the entry in low register Mod. Cs.

<sup>651</sup> All the spellings in its edition by Alxaṭṭābī 1990 confirm >*šj*māl(h)<, as an imperative, but one which could also be a *maṣḍar*.

**chucla** “picarel (Maena maena); a kind of sardine” (Anl.) and **xucla** (Ct., only in the first meaning): < And. *šukla* “mark (on bread, cloth, etc.)”. As for Ct. **xuclar**, its occurrence in *Vocabulista in arabico* bears little relation to its usual meaning in this language, being no doubt an Ar. loanword, not understood by Coromines. Its equivalence with the Ar. root *[dḥl]* warrants the meaning “to vocalize a text”, in the characteristic manner of Semitic consonantal scripts which, optionally and in order to guarantee their correct reading may be supplemented with supralinear and infralinear vowel graphemes, as in the cases of Ar., Hb. and Syr. Therefore, **xuclar** is a mere transcription of the hybrid Rom. verb derived from Ar. *ša/uklah*, “vocalization”, as recorded by DS I:779, from Alcalá. At times, however, it means “to paint”, through semantic evolution.

**chuco**: see **azucho** and **choz**.

**chué** “a little” (Pt., only in Machado, documented in 1813): it can hardly derive from And.; it rather looks like slang generated by mod. relations with North Africa, from Mor. *šway*.

**chulo** (Cs.): this term, originally a “butcher’s assistant”, seems to derive, through An. pronunciation, from And.Rom. \**ŠULO*, reflected by Alcalá as *xúlo* = /šúlu/ “head shepherd; bullfighter’s assistant”, < Lt. *sciŭlus* “little know-all”. This hypothesis, first propounded by Eguílaz, is corroborated by the sense of “young shepherd” in Tol., as well as by **julo** (Cs.) “leading ox or beast”. However, the data in Diego de Guadix (Bajo Maíllo 2005:440, commented in Corriente 2005b:105, would imply that *xúlo* is a masc., backformed in Cs., although returned to Granadan Ar., and that And. in principle only had *šúla* “bell cow” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **achulado**, **achula(pa)rse**, **chulada**, **chulamo**, **chulear**, **chulería** and **chulesco**.

**chumel** “plush”: is an unassimilated technical term. from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176, < Ar. *xaml*.

**chupa**: see **aljuba**.

**churrumama** “viper’s grass (Scorzonera hispanica)” (Man.)<sup>652</sup> < And.Rom. \**ČĚRO MÁMA* “suck the hair”, see.

**churtal**: see **cho/urtal**.

**chusi**: see **chuchi**.

**chuta** (Arag.) “owl”: < And. *čúta*, of onomatopoeic origin, most likely Rom., like Cs. **chotar**.

**chuzez**: see **alcuzez**.

**chuzo**: see **azucho**.

**ciaboga**: see **cear**.

**cianí** and **zahén** (Cs., with the var. **za(h)ena**, **zayén**, **zaenes(a)**, **zayena/s**, **ziana/i**, etc., extensively documented by Mateu y Llopis) “a gold coin”: < And. *zayyān(i)*, attributive adjective of Abū Zayyān, eponymous founder of the Zayyanid dynasty of Tlemcen, or from its Naf. var. *zyāni*.

**ciar**: see **cear**.

**cibica** (Cs.) “reinforcing bar or clamp”, **savica** (Pt., only in Morais) “clout or hurter of an axle-tree” and **cebica** “brace, clamp” (Ext.): < And. *sabika* “link (of a chain); iron piece” < Cl.Ar. *sabīkah* “ingot; bar” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cibicón**. Cf. **jabeca**.

**cibiqui** “large piece of bread” (Ext.): prob. metonymy of **cebica**, q.v.

**cibiralá** (Pt.) “water reservoir for passers-by”: is a word documented in the 16th c., excerpted from an Eastern itinerary, indeed reflecting the Ar. phrase (*fi*) *sabīli llāh* “for the cause of God”, said of every pious deed. Starting from this idiom, the word *sabīl* (“way, path”) has generated the meaning of “public fountain”, also in Neo-P. *sabīl*, together with “food or drink given as a charitable gift”, reflected in Hindi *sabīl* as “drink offered to passers-by during the month of Muḥarram”.

**cica**: see **acica**.

**cicalar**: see **açacalar**.

**cicarazate** (Cs. thieves’ cant) “pick-pocket”: might reflect, with metathesis, And. *sál/riq azzād* = Cl.Ar. *sāriq* *zzād* “thief of food supplies”, both constituents being recorded in other Ar. loanwords of Rom. (e.g., **zarracatín** and **abacero**, q.v.), besides, it is commonplace to see many Ar. loanwords in Cs. thieves’ cant, via Mudejars and Moriscos, relegated by social pressure to the most menial jobs and contact with the lowest layers of the population. The absence of *imālah* in the second constituent is abnormal, but may be explained by contamination with the Rom.

<sup>652</sup> Recorded in the familiar environment of Dr. Ferreras. And. botanists transcribe this word

as *jirmāmāh* (see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:130 and 2007:301).

suffix, not excluding the possibility of an alternative semantically adequate word, like And. *saīd* < Cl.Ar. *saīd* "fortune, luck"

**cicate**: see **acicate**.

**cicatear** and **cicatero**: see **cegendero**.

**čičigáya** (Jud.-Sp.) "cicada": is for sure an And.Rom. item, cognate of And. *čiqāla*, despite a phenomenon of prob. onomatopoeic repercussion in the first syllable, and a meta-analysis of the Rom. dim. suffix, subsequently affected by the intra-Cs. tendency /l/ > /y/.

**ciclán** (Cs., perhaps with the old var. **cicopes** "castrated by cold", in DAX 551), **sicló** (Ct.), **aciclán** (Ext.) and **chisción**, **sisclón**, **zicglón**, **zisción** or **zinglón** (Arag.) "having only one testicle", **ziquilón** (Arag.) "ram with only one or no testicles" and **chiclón** "beast with a hidden testicle" (Nav.): < And. *siqlāb* < Neo-Ar. *s/šaqḷab(i)* < Lt. *sclavus* "sclav", alluding to their frequent castration. This is corroborated by Ast. **aciclabi** "disfigured", which García Arias 2006:170 derives reasonably from the etymon of **ciclán**, also supposing that **aciclán** "importune" be another var. The Lt. word and Lgr. *sklābos*, for *sklabēnoi* (with epenthetic /k/) in fact reflect the ethnic name of the Slavs, who were often reduced to slavery, even emasculated, and as such sold to the Southern Muslims, in the period of armed expansion of Christianity in Central and Eastern Europe. That term was an echo of Old Slavonian *slovēne*, designation of the Slaves settled in the neighbourhood of Salónica, after Vasmer III:664–665. The original meaning is reflected only, according to Saéz Durán 1998, under the shape of **čiclaues**, in a chapter of the pseudo-Aristotelic work *Poridat de las Poridades*, translated from Ar.

**ciclatão** (Pt.), **ciclatón** (Cs., with the var. **ciglatón** in GP 82), **ciclatone** and **ciquilstone** (Leo., in DO 236, and **escarlín**, in García Arias 2006:148), and **siclató** (Ct.) "fine silken fabric": < And. *siqlātūn* < Neo-Ar. *siqlātūn* < Lt. *sigillātum*, prob. through Lgr.<sup>653</sup> From the same etymon are Cs. and Ct. **escarlata**, **escarlata** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:29) and Arag. **escarlata** "scarlet (fabric)", through an intermediate And. form *iškarlāja*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **escarlátin**; Cs. and Ct.: **escarlatina**; Ct.: **escarlata**, **escarlát**, **escarlatinada** and **escarlatinós**.

**čiclaues**: see **ciclán**.

**cicl/rano** (Pt.), **citano** or **zutano** (Cs.) and **siclano** (Can., borrowed from Pt.) "so-and-so": within the complex problems, some even now unresolved, of the etyma of the two last members of the series **fulano-mengano-zutano**, parallel to the three-degree deixis of Cs., it is obvious that they were jesting substitutions. **Cicrano** might reflect And. *sikrān* = Cl.Ar. *sakrān* "drunkard" and **ciclano** might match Cs. **ciclán**, q.v. At any rate, Cs. **citano** might derive from **citrano**, and this from **cicrano**; however, our former hypothesis of its derivation from And. *sīd iāni* "a second / another mister" is not to be discarded.

**čiqūhet**, "black (falcon)": is an unassimilated term of falconry, from DAX 262, under **axhab**, without an entry of its own, is corrupted from Ar. *aswad* "black"

**cid** (Cs.) "strong and brave man": is a metonymy of the surname of the famous Castilian knight, < And. *sīd* = Cl.Ar. *sayyid* "lord; chieftain".<sup>654</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **cidiano**.

**cidara**: see **acitara**.

<sup>653</sup> Although *Vocabulišta in arabico* renders the Ar. word by Lt. *\*cycḷas*, *-adis*, of Gr. origin, that is not its etymon, as in the East, where the most famous and esteemed material of this kind was made, /k/ was not palatalized and eventually matched by /s/, as in Western Europe.

<sup>654</sup> The hypothesis put forward by some scholars, e.g., Tāhir Makki 1970, followed by Epalza 1977, against the well-grounded traditional interpretation, in the sense that this surname would not derive from Ar. *sayyid*, but from *sīd* "wolf; lion" cannot be upheld. Regardless of its semantic plausibility, as And. Muslims could only regard Rodrigo with the abhorrence and

contempt provoked by his cruel and deceiving deeds, as usual then as today among conquerors, they were not the ones to call him Cid, but his mercenary and often bilingual troops. The phonetic evolution from Cl.Ar. to And. is perfectly clear and witnessed (see AAR 2.1.1.4.3, p. 42 and fn. 12), whilst of Cl.Ar. *sīd* there is no trace in And., in which *sīd* is only an allomorph in low register of *sayyid*. The traditional interpretation is furthermore confirmed by its contemporary half-translation as "Mío Cid" and, besides, the use of this title by Christians is witnessed by some Lt. Arag. documents, like the one mentioned by Fort Cañellas 1994:139, "*meo zite don Monnio*".

**cidara/i** "headband, tiara": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 408, < Ar. *sidārah*, defined by Kazimirski as a *bandeau que les femmes roulent sous le voile*.<sup>655</sup>

**cieca**: see **acequia**.

**ciendoco**: see **zendoco**.

**cient arraz**: see **acimut**.

**cierva**: see **cerbatana**.

**cifa** (Pt.): is an etymologically problematic term, explained by Machado as "very fine sand at the base of a hill" or "tar", while Morais interprets it as "grease", "tar for caulking" and "sand filled into the moulds for gold or silver work", which might perhaps connect with Ar. *ṣifāh* "shape". There is no obvious Ar. etymon for the meaning of "sand"; as for "tar", the alleged Neo-P. \*\*\**sift*, is corrupted for Ar. *zift*, borrowed by Neo-P. as *zefi*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **cifar**.

**cifaque** (Cs., with the old var. **cifac**, and bookish **s/cifac**, from Herrera & Vázquez 1982:183–186, and **siphac** from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:179) "peritoneum": is an unassimilated anatomic term, < Ar. *ṣifāq*, through scientific Llt. Cf. **alsaic**.

**cifra** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **xifra** (Ct.) "figure; cipher": from the etymon of **cero**, q.v., it being noticeable that this generalizing semantic shift was due to the breakthrough that was zero regarding previous numeration systems. As for Ct., it is noteworthy that the anomalous match of the first consonant happens also in **xoco** and **xurriaca**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **cifrar**, **descifrar**, **descifra(do)r** and **descifre**; Ct.: **desxifrar**, **desxifrador**,

(**des**)**xifrar** and **xifratge**; Pt.: **cifrante**, **cifrão** and **cifrar**.

**cil** "an animal whose meat is fed to sick falcons": is an unassimilated term of falconry, from DAX 412, apparently a corruption of \***eil** < And. *áyl* = Cl.Ar. *ayyil* "deer"

**çilue** "quail": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 413, with the corrupted var. **çulunen** en 551 and GP 139, which does not look like a wrong reading of Ar. *sulfān* "young partridge", as Nykl thought,<sup>656</sup> but reflects Ar. *salwān*.

**cimach** and **cimaco**: see **sumac**.

**címbara** (Cs.) and **zimbara** (Arag.) "short, broad and thick scythe" and **cimbarra** "hoe with a short handle" (Ext.): < And. *zabbāra* "pruning hook", with palatalization of the first vowel in contact with /z/ (cf. **jinete**) and intra-Rom. development of a parasitical nasal. The antepenultima stress in Cs. is anomalous, perhaps due to intra-Rom. factors, like a contamination with **cimbira**, another curved tool.

**cimbara**: see **acibara**.

**cimbarra**: see **címbara**.

**cimbo(g)a**: see **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

**çimia y çime**: see **udimia**.

**çimiris**: see **cemiri**.

**cimitarra** (Cs., Gl. and Pt., in the latter with the var. **çamitarra**) and **simitarra** (Ct.) "scimitar": this word, entering Europe from the Iberian Peninsula, in the mid 15th c., although always referred to Eastern matters, cannot reflect Neo-P. \*\**šamšir*, nor have another plausible etymon in this language, Tr. nor, at first sight, Ar.<sup>657</sup> However, this must be an Islamic

<sup>655</sup> I.e., "a ribbon rolled under the veil"; apparently from Syr. *settārā* "veil, protection" (see Payne Smith 1879–1901:2760, from a root alternating with *sdr*), which also contains a *sedrā* of the same meaning. In spite of appearances, there is no relation whatsoever with *ṣidār*, which Lane 1863–1892 and Dozy 1845:246 interpret as a veil from head to chest; cf. **alguacaya** in p. 172. It is noteworthy that DAX 420 gives the mistaken sense of "cushion, pillow" to **citara**, and next that of "strip or zone in the sky", because the authors, as often in that work, have not understood the Ar. loanword in a passage describing why the explorers of the sources of the Nile could not reach them, as their way was cut by a red curtain

hanging from the sky and forbidding access to the torrid zones.

<sup>656</sup> Who, nevertheless, jotted the correct solution by hand on his typescript ("Casiri I 319: coturnix"); cf. **çilue**. At any rate, considering the circumstances of *Lapidario*, this may well be a desperate attempt at translating a word which was not understood, namely, Ar. *sulwān* "shell or stone used as an amulet"

<sup>657</sup> The alleged Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, \*\*\**šimšara*, phonetically unsuitable to begin with, is just a slight modification of the also inexistent \**šimšira*, invented by Asín for the occasion, as was his wont. It has been duly corrected in the latest.

technical term of late Mudejar transmission; in our view, a haplogy of And. *šimšama tarya*, both recorded in *Vocabulista in arabico* and easily understood as “gipsy sword”,<sup>658</sup> prob. alluding to the curved “Indian swords” (*sayfun hindī*), often mentioned, e.g., in notarial formularies,<sup>659</sup> most likely introduced by the traditionally skilled gipsy smiths from Sind, in contrast with the Frank straight swords (*sayfun ifranjī*). The reason for the substitution of the adjective is easily imagined, as *hindī* usually meant “steel”, and was insufficient to establish the distinction between both types.

**cin** “name of a letter”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 82 and DAX 414, < Ar. *sīn*.

**c/çin** “China”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 82 and DAX 414, < Ar. *aššin*.

**cingabe**: see **azingab**.

**cingalés** (Cs. and Gl.) “Cingalese”: through Fr., < Sk. *siṃhala*, name of Ceylon supposedly meaning “abundant in lions”

**cingaue**: see **azingab**.

**cini**: see **cení**.

**cinniamate** “kind of frankincense”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 415, obviously corrupted from Hb. *qinman bešem* and *qnē b.*, in Ex. 30/22–23.

**cinzen**: see **sirs/z/çen**.

**cipai(o)** (Pt.), **cipayo** (Cs.), **sipaio** (Gl. and Pt.) and **sipai** (Ct.) “sepoy”: was first used in India, < Hindi *sipāhī* < Neo-P. *sepāhī* “soldier” The Cs. word was borrowed from Pt., Fr. or Eng. From the same etymon are Cs. and Ct. **espahí**, through Fr. *spahi* and, prob., Tr. *sipahi*.

**cipote** (Cs.) and **zipote** (Arag.) “penis”: Such is, no doubt, the original meaning of this coarse low register term, prob. taken from Morisco jargon, a hybrid with a Rom. aug. suffix of And. *zūbb* = Cl.Ar. *zubb*, which must have been itself a prehistoric euphemism, reflecting Ak. *zibbatu* “tail” There has been vowel dissimilation, or a derivation from the

Neo-Ar. allomorph *zibb*, presently common; in that case, the borrowing must have followed a different path, either Mediterranean commerce or captives returned from North Africa. On the other hand, the Cs. var. **zupo** has neither a suffix nor any vocalic alteration.

**ciquiribaile** (Cs. thieves’ cant) “thief”: may reflect, with metathesis, And. *śīriq albayd* “egg thief”, alluding to the utter skill of snatching them away from a broody hen without being noticed, as reported by some folk tales. The likelihood of the first constituent is supported by **ciquiricata**, q.v., perhaps the same in some heretofore etymologically obscure words like **ciquitraque** and **ciquitroque**.

**ciquiricata** (Cs.) “flattery”: may derive, with metathesis and haplogy, from the And. syntagm *śīriq rukāta* “thief of the yarn”, a frequent manner of pilfering, often mentioned in proverbs (e.g., Azzajjālī N° 706), which would be an understandable metonymy, as the successful flatterer steals from his victim the fruits of experience. The second constituent may also be another word.

**ciranda(gem)**, **cirandão**, **cirandar** and **cirandinha**: see **zaranda**.

**cirate**: see **acirate**.

**circón**: see **atzarcó**.

**cirigüelles** and **cirolas**: see **ceroula**.

**cis/zirão** (Pt., only in Morais) “a plant of the Leguminosae or Papilionaceae”: reminiscent of Neo-Ar. *śīsārūn*, < Gr. *śīsaron*, actually the umbelifera “skirret, water parsnip” (*Sium sisarum*), but nothing can be definitively asserted, in the lack of more details.

**citano**: see **ciclano**.

**citar(ill)a**, **citarón** and **cithara**: see **acitara**.

**cito(v)al**: see **cedoaria**.

**ciuan**: see **siban**.

**civeta** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “civet cat” (*Civettictis civetta* or *Viverra zibetha*); “civet perfume” and **civeto** (Cs.) “civet perfume”: through Fr. *civette*, < Ar. (*qiṭṭu z*)*zabād*.

<sup>658</sup> The term >*tārī*< is rendered by *Vocabulista in arabico as mimus* “musician”, another renowned gipsy skill, but it is a diachronic reflex of Ar. *tārī*? “outsider, stranger”. DS was already aware that, coming next to *\*sindī* “native of Sind” in that entry, it should mean *bohémien*s,

which can only be understood as gipsies in this connection. Incidentally, there are other cases of loss of *hamz* compensated by gemination of the preceding consonant in AAR 2.1.2.11.2.1a, pp. 58–9.

<sup>659</sup> See Ferreras 1999:278.

**cizirão**: see **cisirão**.

**clinia**: see **quedimia**.

**clova**, **clovell(a)**, **closca**, and **clofoll(a)** (Ct.) "shell; bark": to judge from the equivalents Arag. **clofo**, **clofull** and **closco** "nutshell" and **golfá**, **gar(a)folla**, **gallarofa** "bracts of corncocks", **garfo/ullo** "refuse of pressed grapes" and some other var. and intra-Rom. der. in both languages, e.g., Arag. **esgalufar** "to pluck the saffron filaments" and **(d)esgarfollar** or **esgolfar** "to strip the bracts of a corncock", there can be no talk of a contamination of the offspring of Celtic *\*knowā* "nut" with a posited Ar. *\*\*\*qurfah*, a non-existing allomorph of *qirfah* "bark", as Coromines propounds for Val. **corfa** "bark; crust" ("shell" in Mur., and "pod" in Arag.), in a circular way, assuming a contamination with this group of Rom. words. We can accept as very probable the contamination of forms containing -sc- by forms parallel to Cs. **cáscara** "shell", **casca** "skin of pressed grapes" and/or **cuesco** "pit" (the latter also Arag., meaning not only the pit, but also the useless husk of any vegetable, cf. Arag. **escoscar** "to shell; to clean"), but the best explanation of the consonant skeleton of these words is not provided by the Celtic proposal, either phonetically or semantically, as convincingly as done by And. **gúluf** "shells; barks". This item is well documented, as a descendant of Cl.Ar. *guluf* and, in fact, the backformed n.un. *gulfah* and matching pl. *gulaf* are frequently met across in *Kiūabu Ūmdati ḥabīb*, so that it could easily enter the Rom. of imperfectly bilingual peasants with shapes like *\*g/clofo/es*, receive dim. or pejorative suffixes, etc., and perhaps even develop in And. a hypocoristic *\*gallúfa* explaining the Arag. forms beginning with *gall-* and Cs. **gallofa**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **gallof(e)ar** and **gallof(er)o**; Ct.: (en)**corfar-se**, **corfassa**, **corfota**, **corfós**, **corfut**, **descorfar**, **corfam** and **corfoll**. Cf. **pellorfa**.

**goa**: see **açuhe**.

**coba**: see **alcoba**.

**coballas** "cunning man" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:124): appears to reflect And. *xubáyyar* "rumour, misreport"

**cobayo**: see **sobai**.

**cobti** or **kebime** "Egyptian ointment": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from

Vázquez & Herrera 1989:206, < Neo-Ar. (*šiyāf*) *qibīl*. "Coptic collyrium"

**çoc**: see **açougue**.

**cócedra** and **cocedron**: see **acólcestra**.

**cocelbaxa** (Pt., only in Machado): "Turks settled in Persia": is an unassimilated late borrowing, < Tr. *kızıl baş* "red head", on account of their headgear. However, the definition of "Kizilbash" in Webster is that of mixed Turks in Turkey.

**cochiaes/s** (*pilulae*)—"some laxative pills": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:246, < Neo-Ar. *qūqāyā* < Gr. *kokkia*.

**çocotri(n)**: see **cecotrim**.

**codrá** (Pt.) "an Eastern kind of millet": Ar. *\*\*\*kodrá* "sheaf", posited by Machado as etymon of this word does not exist, but *\*\*\*kadarah*, a rare term, phonetically and semantically unsuitable. Vullers records Neo-P. *kodro/am* with exactly the same meaning as Pt., also an uncommon term, missing, e.g., in Haim's and Gaffarov's dictionaries, but matched in Hindi by *kodm* < Sk. *kodrava*, identified as *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, a local variety of millet, evidently the true Indian etymon.

**coenim**: see **cohén**.

**\*çof albafal**: see **cafal bafal**.

**cofa**: see **alcofa**.

**cofafa** (Val.) "panic-grass bread": cannot share the etymon of **coff**, q.v.s.v. **alcofa**, *pace* Coromines, which is semantically unlikely, while there is not a pl. *\*\*\*qufáf* of *\*\*\*quffa* in And. But it might be a case of abridgment to its second constituent, with vowel labialization in contact, of the Neo-Ar. syntagm *xubz alkafāf* (= Mor. *kfaf*) "minimal daily ration or bread", because panic-grass bread was exactly that.

**cofaina**: see **alcofaina**.

**coffol**: see **alcohol**.

**cofin** "rugosity": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez 1995:104, < Ar. *xašīn*.

**cofi(n)**, **cofinada**, **cofiner(a)**, **cofinat**, **cofiño**, **cofero**, **cofeta** and **cofo**: see **alcofa**.

**cofoyl**: see **alcohol**.

**cofto**: see **copto**.

**cohén** (Cs.) "soothsayer; pimp": no doubt, < Hb. *kohēn* "priest", original sense of the entry, as Coromines says, while rejecting the two meanings of DRAE which, besides, had



a wrong penultima stress, and finally deleted that entry from the latest editions. However, in the anti-Semitic atmosphere of 15th c. Spain, in which it is documented, at least as a slangy term, it cannot surprise that it acquired those negative connotations. The Hb.pl. is reflected by **coenim** in a context related to Judaism, as an unassimilated voice, in Baena's *Cancionero*, after Eguílaz.

**çoheyl** "Canopus": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 139 (with the vars. **çuha/eyl**, **coheyl** and **cu(che)yl**),<sup>660</sup> < Ar. *suhayl*.

**cóhol**: see **alcohol**.

**coiraça**: see **coracha**.

**coja/e** (Pt.) "merchant": < Neo-P. *xoje*, var. of *xāje*. The pronunciation *xawājah* of this word mentioned by Machado is obsolete, though preserved in the Eastern Neo-Ar. dialects in the meaning of "foreigner, particularly Christian; foreign businessman" which obviously is not the origin of Pt.

**cola**: see **alcola**.

**cólcetra**: see **acólcetra**.

**colcotar** (Pt. and Ct.) and **colcótár** (Cs., with an incorrect and pedantic stress, and the var. **alcatar**, due to haplology and folk etymology since, according to the passage of the *Lapidario* quoted in GP 25, "it is formed by the drops falling in its mine", i.e., < Ar. *qatr* "drops"; cf. **alcatrán**): < And. *qulquṭār* = Neo-Ar. *qulquṭār*, poor reflex of Syr. *kalqaṭārin*, and this from Gr. *chalkánthē*. Cf. **calcant**.

**colinjão**: see **galanga**.

**colugli** (Pt.) "Algerian son of a Tr. father and a native mother": a late borrowing, < Tr. *kul oğlu* "a slave's son", name given to Janissaries sons of a Janissary

**combil**: see **cambil**.

**condefes**: see **alcátifa**.

**condise**: see **alcundaz**.

**çonog** "cymbals": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 39, < Neo-Ar. *şunūj*.

**conza** "template for making decorative stalactites": in García Salinero 1968:87, prob. < And. *qunzāṣ* "hood" = Cl.Ar. *qunzuṣah* "tuft of hair", because of a likeness in their shapes.

**coparós**: see **caparrós**.

**copta/o** (Pt.), **copto** (Gl. and Cs., with the var. **cofto**) and **copte** (Ct.): < Gr. *Aigýptios*, through Ar. *qī/ubḥī* and Cp. *gyptios*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **cóptico**.

**cora** (Cs. and Ct.) "district in And. administration": is a contemporary historical term, based on And. *kūra* = Cl.Ar. *kūrah* < Gr. *chōra* "country"

**coraçane** (Pt.) "gentile of Khorasan": is a mod. borrowing, dating from 1512, < Neo-P. *xorāsāni*.

**cora/eixita** (Pt.) and **coreichita** (Cs., missing in DRAE, with an old var. **coraxino**, in GP 82) "Koreishite, form the tribe of Koreish": is a gentile with Graeco-Lt. suffixation, a contemporary historical term diverging from the correct Ar. form *quraṣī*, although *qurayṣī* has also circulated in Neo-Ar. and still does Cf. **alcorasci**.

**coracha** (Cs.) and **coi/uraça** (Pt.) "fortification along a wall, protecting the access to water supplies": this archaeological term, missing in many dictionaries, is not a der. of Lt. *\*cōriācēa*, as Coromines would have it (s.v. **cuero**), in spite of appearances, because although contaminated by **coraza** "cuirass", its main feature is not being a fortification, but protecting the access to a water point.<sup>661</sup> The true etymon, And.Rom. *QAWRĀČA*, documented and prob. borrowed by And. as *qawrāčā*, would be a metathesis of *\*QAWČ + ĀYRA*, an adjectival derivation from the etymon of **cauchil**, q.v.

**çorame**: see **alalme**.

**Corán** and **coránico**: see **Alcorà**.

**corat** "eyeball": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:36, for which the authors suggest the same etymon of **alcora**, without any grounds. It is prob. a misunderstanding of the common Ar. idiom *qur-ratu ḥayn* "freshness of the eye", a frequent expression of endearment which could easily have been taken as an equivalent of Rom., e.g., Cs. **niña de mis ojos**.

**coraya**: see **açoraya/e**.

**corbacho** (Cs.) "whip": < Neo-Ar. *kurbāḥ* or its Tr. etymon *kırbaç*. Coromines places its first occurrence in *Don Quixote*, and tries to

<sup>660</sup> See also Hilty 2005b:190.

<sup>661</sup> See Ricard 1954 and 1955, Lévi-Provençal

1955b and Gonzalbes Cravioto 1980.

distinguish it from the homophonous alternative title of a famous work by the Archpriest of Talavera,<sup>662</sup> for which he endorses a phonetically unsuitable It. hypothesis. Considering the early and intense relations between Italians and Turks, the term seems to be the same one, transmitted through It. precisely, as part of the jargon used by galley slaves of both sides, whether war prisoners or convicts,<sup>663</sup> so that the loanword might have been generated directly by Tr., or from its Neo-Ar reflex. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **corbachada**.

**corcam**: see **cúrcuma**.

**corçana** (Ib.) "a kind of dolphin": is prob. the fem. of Neo-Ar. *qurşân* "pirate" (< It. *corsale* or Llt. *cursarius*, always away from the Iberian Peninsula), understandable both on account of the damage caused to nets by these cetaceans, and of their frequent confusion with sharks, as commented upon under **arroaz**, q.v. Cf. **carxena**.

**corchim** (Pt.) "cuirassier in the Shah's army": is a mod. unassimilated loanword, < Neop. *qurçi* < Mongol *qorçi* "bowman", thereby meaning the tribal Turkmen cavalry.

**corcho** (Cs.) "cork": < And.Rom. \**QOR-Č(O)* < Lt. *cortice[m]*.

**cordobí** "Cordovan olive; a large, golden, translucent grape variety" (Anz.): < And. *qurṭubí*, gentile of Cordova, although neither variety is mentioned in And. botanic treatises, which also applies to the **cordobí** fig in DE.

**coreixita** and **coreichita**: see **coraixita**.

**corfa(r-se)**, **corfassa**, **corfota**, **corfós**, **corfut**, **corfam** and **corfoll**: see **clova**.

**gori**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 139 (with a var. **gory**), said of a variety of copperas, < Ar. *sūrī* "Syrian".<sup>664</sup>

**corma** (Cs. and Old Ct.) "stocks (for punishment)" and (Pt.) "handcuffs": does not derive from Chinese, as Machado would have it, but from And. *qırma* = Neo-Ar. *qurmah* < Gr. *kórmos* "piece of wood", as reported by Coromines.

**cornac(a)** (Cs.) "elephant driver": through Pt. **cornaca**, < Cingalese *kūruṇeka* "elephant-tamer"

**çorrat (alfaraz)** "horse's genitals": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 139 (with the var. **çorat** and **cotat**), a name given to the star Alpha Andromedae = Delta Pegasi, as explained by Kunitzsch 1959:132-133, < Neo-Ar. *surrat alfaras*, properly, "horse's navel"

**ç/corriaga**: see **zurriaga**.

**cosaco** (Cs. and Gl.), **cosac** (Ct.) and **cos(s)aco** (Pt.) "Cossack": through Fr., < Russian *kazák* < Tr. *kozak* "roaming freeman". From the same origin is **casaca** (Cs. and Pt.), which former editions of DRAE, often etymologically naive, derives from **casa** "house", duly corrected in the latest, at least partially. A derivation from Neo-P. \*\* *āgand* "thick quilted jerkin used instead of a coat of mail", is unlikely, since Pt. **casacão** does not appear to be but an aug. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **casquinha**.

**coso** and **cosera** "vulva" (Cs. thieves' cant): as in other cases of taboo words, might have been taken over from the Morisco muleteers' jargon, reflecting Ar. *kuss*, about which information is scarce,<sup>665</sup> as often in this kind of terms. If so, it would be interesting proof of the circulation of that word in Western Ar., at least among Moriscos, although it is not documented in And., which used to prefer an

<sup>662</sup> It should be noted that DCECH has carried on a printing mistake of DCEL, dating that work in 1498 instead of 1436 or 38, as is correctly indicated in the bibliographies of both dictionaries.

<sup>663</sup> The circulation of that lexicon and its use as an exotic literary motive in Cs. is witnessed by *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (ed. Juan B. Avallé-Arce, Madrid, Castalia 1969, p. 345), in which a would be freed captive inserts

several such terms in his story, with the aim of proving his alleged condition. Recently, Egido 1998:121-122 has dealt again with this subject.

<sup>664</sup> After DAX 498, confirmed by Benmrad 1985:413.

<sup>665</sup> WKAS 167 considers it of probable Gr. origin, while Vullers thinks it is Iranian: at any rate, as it occurs often, this today coarse term prob. used to be a euphemism earlier.

archaic *hir(r)*, (see p. 344 under **herre que herre**); however, it would stand to reason that so common an Eastern term, frequently heard during the pilgrimage to Mecca, would not be entirely unknown in the West, and occasionally used as an exotic or even euphemistic item. It might even have influenced the first consonant of **cotxó**, q.v.

**Cotamaluco** (Pt.) "title assumed by the kings of Golconda": is a distortion, prob. intended (cf. Pt. **maluco** "mad"), of Ar. *qutbu lmulūk* "pole of kings" It has a parallel, **Madreemaluco**, instead of Ar. *badru lmulūk* "full moon of kings"

**cotana/o**: see **alcotán**.

**cotão**: see **alcotón**.

**cotcode**: see **alcadcode**.

**coteife** (Pt., with an Ast. var. **cuchife**, convincingly documented by García Arias 2006:56–57) "foot soldier of peasant extraction": is a much discussed word, prob. a der. of the Ar. root *{xʃf}* with the basic semanteme of "to snatch", although it is hard to pinpoint its precise etymon in the absence of documental proofs. The Ar. dim. pattern is obvious, but it would not be regular for **\*\*xutāf** "rapacious", which could only generate And. **\*\*xutāyaf**, as in the case of **\*\*xutāf** "swift, swallow", by assuming a metaphor based on fast motion. In our view, the likeliest etymon is **\*\*xutāyfi**, attributive adjective of **\*\*xutāyfa**, a dim. of **\*\*xāṭfa** "a grab", as a name given to rearward auxiliaries who finished off the wounded and had to make do with whatever little booty remained on the enemy's camp neglected or deemed unworthy by the vanguard. However, it could also belong to the quasi-synonymous root *{qʃf}*, also frequent in And., and receiving some support from the And. der. **\*\*miqtāf** "scissors; trident", as well as from the Cl.Ar.

idiom **\*\*yā qatāfi**, reviling a pilfering servant, which would allow us to posit **\*qutāyfa** "petty theft". Cf. **alcatifa** and **alfóndega**.

**cothcode**: see **alcadcode**.

**cótia** (Pt., only in Morais) "a kind of fig tree in Algarve": shares the etymon of the fig variety known in Cs. as **coties**, from **cotio** "small fig of trees not needing caprification" (Anz.) and **cot(i)o** "kind of fig" (Can.), i.e., And. **qúti** "Goth", specialized in a way reflected by several And. sources, it being known that stress hesitation in this case was already extant in And. (see SK 3.1.6 and fn. 89). Of the same origin is prob. **godenes** "early ripe figs", a hapax in Baena's *Cancionero* (N° 169).

**cotifar** (Gl.) "to act like a buffoon; to paw; to push" and **cotife** "low jester": appear to be related to Pt. **coteife**, q.v. There has been an obvious semantic evolution leading to a vague derogative qualifier.

**cotio**: see **cótia**.

**cotó(n)**, **cotonada**, **cotoncillo**, **coton(i/f)a**, **cotonaire**, **cotona/er**, **cotona/et**, **cotoner(a)**, **cotoneria**, **cotoní** and **cotonós**: see **alcotón**.

**cotxó** (Ct. of Tarragona and Fraga) "vulva": its derivation from And. **haččün**,<sup>666</sup> is not obvious, *pace* Coromines, because such matches of /h/ are scarce and old, whereas this term is located in "New Catalonia" and last areas of Aragon to be conquered by the Christians. It is possible, however, that this And. word has been blended with coarse Ct. **cony** and/or used as a euphemistic alteration.<sup>667</sup> On the other hand, a slight euphemistic distortion of that And. etymon might have generated dial Ct. **fatjos**, a strong expletive in the Roussillon, considered by Coromines as an equivalent of the equally obscene, in principle, **fava** "penis". Nevertheless, Eastern And. had a synonymous **qaččūč**, of the hypocoristic

<sup>666</sup> After DAA, a */la22u3/* hypocoristic, possibly also euphemistic in principle, < Ar. *hišmah* "shame, scruple", synonymous with other Rom. words and And. **\*\*hírr** < Cl.Ar. *hir*, used as an expletive since Old Ar. (see **herre**). This term is not synonymous in Cl.Ar. with **\*\*šawrah** "shameful parts of the body, but such semantic

contaminations were frequent in And., due to the Rom. substratum, as stated in AAR 3.1.3c, p. 132.

<sup>667</sup> The same may happen in **\*\*batšu**, one of the eight Rom. names of the vulva according to the interesting article by Sheynin 1982, reminiscent of **hozón** = **buzzún** in Alcalá. See **caramba**.

pattern /*la22u3*),<sup>668</sup> which can either support the hypothesis of the aforementioned contamination (*haččūn* + *cony* = *\*qa/uččūn* > *qaččūč*), or be connected with the fish name *cachucho*, spread also in North Africa, and etymologically problematic.<sup>669</sup>

**couza**: see **alcuza**.

**coz (de limas)**: is, in truth, the Neo-Ar. Iranism *kūs* (*alšimād*) “(supporting) square”,<sup>670</sup> a technical word of carpentry in both languages; therefore, García Salinero 1968:90 was wrong upon propounding a reflex of Lt. *calx*. Cf. **cauchil**.

**cozcucho** (Cs.): is a distortion, by metanalysis and substitution of a pejorative suffix, of (al)**cuzcuz**, q.v.

**cozedra**: see **acolcetra**.

**cozteniet** or **coztenis** “mountain falcon”: is an unassimilated term of falconry, in DAX 514, < Neo-P. *kuhestāni* “of the mountain”

**cremesín** and **cremesino**: see **carmesí**.

**gubat** “February”, in the Hb. calendar:

is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1917, borrowed through Ar. *s/šubāṭ*.

**cubeba** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) “cubeb”: is a learned borrowing, dating from the end of the 15th c. for Cs. and from the 16th for Pt., < Ar. *kubābah* < Neo-P. *kabābe* (*ye čini*) “Chinese cubeb”

**čuc** “a medicament”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in DAX 538 (with a less correct var. **čut** in p. 557, not identified by the editors, but in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:268, **suc** is “gallnut confection”; cf. also DS I:666 and Lane 1863–1892:1387, one of its varieties being mentioned by Möller & Viré 1988:144), < Ar. *sukk*.

**čuc/zanc**: see **čuzanc**.

**cu(che)yl**: see **čoheyl**.

**cuchife**: see **coteife**.

**cucurubico**: see **acorchofa-se**.

**cúfico** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **cúfic** (Ct.) “Kufic (Ar. script)”: is a contemporary archaeological term, < Ar. *kūfī*, gentilic of the town

<sup>668</sup> We owe this information to our colleague Prof. Labarta's kindness and deep knowledge of Morisco history, who communicated us the following text, fraught with clues about the social and linguistic situation of the Valencian Moriscos (book 938, fol. 438 of the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid): “Juan Picadura, peasant, new Christian, living in Cárcel, 37 years old. Three witnesses accuse him as, being jailed in the prison of Alzira in the company of an old Christian affected with a disease of which he died, who several times invoked the help of our Lady of Puig, as the Morisco heard him, said: God's Mother of Puig *arru el cachuch*. This he said most disrespectfully, and the two witnesses say that they knew and understood Arabic, and those words meant ‘God's Mother of Puig, give me your cunt’; he laughed and would not ask forgiveness”

<sup>669</sup> As is its identification, since that of Moliner, *Serranus oculatus*, corresponds to an American species, only one included by DRAE and Coromines, unaware of the existence of other homonyms in Andalusia, identified by Davidson 1972:88 with the “large-eyed dentex (*Dentex macrophthalmus*)”, and Alvar Ezquerro 2000:170 “couch's sea bream” (*Pagrus pagrus*), “red bream” (*Pagellus centrodonatus*) and “dentex” (*Dentex dentex*), all of them Sparidae. This

coincides with the fish name in Oman 1966:82 *gajūj* in Libya, and *qajūj* in Algeria, “gilt-head bream” (*Sparus aurata*), perfectly matching the Cs. word, once adapted to Naf. phonemics. This means, first, that the term must have spread to the whole Western Ar., but was subsequently given up in many places, perhaps because it had become offensive (cf. Cs. **pijota**, commonly replaced by **pescadilla** “small hake”), and second, that being obviously of Rom. origin on account of its phonemic structure, it might have acquired its sexual connotation by metonymy of **cacho** “piece”, a rather vulgar word, etymologically unclear (cf. **cachumbo**), prob. connected with **cachonda/o** “in heat” and pointing in the same direction. Alvar Ezquerro's *Tesoro* confirms some obscene meanings (e.g., **cachucha** “penis; erection”, **cachuchar** “to flatter; to fondle”, cf. **paja**), next to the possibly basic one, “old or useless utensil”, e.g., in **cachucho**, it being probable that the acquisition of the meaning of fish be an exaggerated An. metonymy, starting from its sexual connotation, as in the case of **pijota**.

<sup>670</sup> Often mixed up in spelling with Ar. *qaws* “bow” (cf. **alcouce**). This technical term explains the enigmatic idiom of DS II 54 and 426, *ṭallaf qaws šimādī*, lit. “he calculated my supporting square”, i.e., “he put the screws on me”. We shall see *šimād* again as etymon of **arimez**, q.v.

Al Kufa (Al-Kūfah) in Mesopotamia, prob. through Fr.

**çuheyl**: see **çoheyl**.

**culai** (Pt.) "hood": is a late Eastern borrowing from the 16th c., < Neo-P. *kolāh*, this sg. being backformed from the documented pl., *collāes*.

**culame**: see **alalme**.

**culeca** "cake" (Nav.): < And. *kuḥáyka*, phonetically contaminated by *culeca* "broody hen"

**culef**: see **alchelefut**.

**culi** (Cs.) "coolie": through Eng., < Hindi *qulī* < Tr. *köle* "slave"

**çulufidena** "lead ore": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 551, a poor transcription of Gr. *molibdaina*, through Syr. > *mwlwbdhnā* < "galena"

**çulunen**: see **çilue**.

**çumarie**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1843 and 1917, not meaning "hellebore", but just a corruption of an Ar. spelling > *qanāmwān* <, interpreted by Möller & Viré 189 as cinnamon, nutmeg or long pepper.

**çumo**: see **zumo**.

**cumy** "red shells from the Red Sea":<sup>671</sup> is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 93, < Neo-Ar. *xīnī* < Gr. *Chēmē*.

**çuna** (Ct., with an old *sunā*), **zuna** (Cs., in our days replaced by the contemporary historiographic term *sunna*) "sunna(h), body of traditions attributed to Muḥammad", and **cuna** (Arag., obvious error for **çuna**) "Moorish law": < And. *sunna* = Cl.Ar. *sunnaḥ* with that technical sense, of Eg. origin, to judge by Cp. *sōnt* "custom". From the same etymon are prob. Gl. **zuna** (also Ast., after García Arias 2006:39) "stubbornness; bad habit; abhorrence" and its der. **zunado** "stubborn" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **sunniṭa** and Pt. **sunī(ta)** "sunni(te)" Cf. **jaraçuna**.

**çunuc(e)** "merlin (Falco aesalon)": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 555,

with the var. **zumech** pl. **zamemija** "serpent eagle (Circus gallicus)" en 1918, in spite of the different identification,<sup>672</sup> < Ar. *zummaḥ*, pl. *zamāmij*.

**çurame** and **cura/emne**: see **alalme**.

**curcubico** and **curcubilla**: see **acorchofa-se**.

**cúrcuma** (Ct., Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with an old var. **corcam**, in GP 82): < Ar. *kurkum(ah)* < Pahl. *kurkum* "saffron"

**curdo** (Cs.) and **kurd** (Ct.) "Kurd": is a Romanization, through Fr., of Neo-Ar. *kurdt*.<sup>673</sup>

**çureme**: see **alalme**.

**çurriaga**: see **zurriaga**.

**cursi elgeuze almocaden**, "Orion's front seat": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 10 and 83 (with the corrupted var. **abrey**, **abrcy**, **aviri elgeuz/se elmuquedem**), identified by Nykl and Kunitzsch 1959:154 as Lambda, Beta and Psi de Eridani plus Tau de Orionis, < Neo-Ar. *kursī aljawzā almuqaddam*.

**curujo** (Pt.) "customs duty in Ormuz": is a mod. borrowing, in relation with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *xurūj* "exit"

**cuscu(s)**, **curcuseira/o**, **cusucussó**, **cuscussonada** and **cuscussoner**: see **alcuzcuz**.

**cuscuta** (Cs. and Ct.) "dodder (*Cuscuta* spp.)": through scientific Lit. *cuscute*,<sup>674</sup> < Ar. *kuṣūṭ/īlā* < Aram. *kāṣūṭā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **cuscutācijas**.

**cusita** (Cs.) "Cushite": is a gentilic formed Greco-Lt. suffixation, from the Hb. pr.n. *kuš*.

**çut**: see **çuc**.

**cutubut**: see **alcutrub**.

**cutún** "amulet; scapular" (Nav.): perhaps from And. *kutūb* "writings". It is recorded in Basque, e.g., in Azkue with meanings "pin-cushion; scapulary, etc.", s.v. *kutun*.

**cuza**: see **alcuza**.

**cuzcuz**: see **alcuzcuz**.

**cuzez** and **cuzegi**: see **alcuzez**.

<sup>671</sup> Nykl refers to DS II:419, but the fact that the native name of Egypt, Cp. *chēmi*, was known even in Gr. as *Chemía* (lit., "the black [earth]"), together with the origin of that mollusk suggests an abridgment of a longer native name, containing the gentilic "Egyptian", or the Cp. adjective *chul/eme* "black" (see Crum 1939:109–110).

<sup>672</sup> Möller & Viré 1988:204 identifies it with

the gender *Hieraetus*, particularly with *H. pennatus* y *H. fasciatus*, small eagles which could hunt even gazelles and foxes, as Dozy fancied in the case of the **alfaneque** (q.v.).

<sup>673</sup> EI<sup>2</sup> V:450–451 states that this ethnic designation might reflect Gr. *Kordouchoi* or *Kýrtioi*, but anyway these are not genuine Gr. words.

<sup>674</sup> See Bustamante 1998:16.

## D

**dabá** (Pt.) “leather bottle for butter in India”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, < Hindi *dabbā* < Neo-P. *dabbe* < Ar. *dabbālah* “gourd (used as a bottle)”. Machado was mistaken upon accepting the hypothesis launched by the unreliable Dalgado in the sense that Neo-P. derives from Sk. \*\*\**dabada*, missing in Monier-Williams’ comprehensive dictionary, because, although Hindi has that meaning and that of ladle, the first one obviously derives from Neo-P. and the second from Sk. \*\**darva*.

**dacsa(r/l)** and **dacsera**: see **adaza**.

**dado** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **dau** (Ct.) “die”: it is impossible that this term and its other European reflexes, all of them der. from Lt., may reflect, *pace* Coromines, the rare Cl.Ar. \*\**dad* “play; frivolity”, unknown in Neo-Ar., above all in the West,<sup>675</sup> especially when considering that, to judge from its true root {*wdd*}, it must have originally meant “sexual foreplay”, as it is totally unbelievable that allegedly Persian words like *dad(ah)* and *dadan* might have spread through Romance speaking lands before Islam. It is wiser to think that this word, like **tabas** and **azar**, q.v., is one more relic of medieval Islamic culture, obsessed by fate, fortune and games, condemned by the orthodox, but practised, spread and even invented by many Muslims. In Corriente 1985, we suggested that **dado** may be a Lt. adaptation of the final constituent of an Ar. syntagm \**kašbat allašdād* “knuckles of figures”, a name given to true dice in order to distinguish them from their forerunners in the same function, simple knuckles without marks on their faces, or merely marked with colours. Of course, it could also happen that people simply used

to say in Ar. *allašib bil-ašdād*, i.e., lit., “to play with the figures”, thereby meaning those of the dice, parallel to the still living expressions *lašib azzahr / annard*, “game of flowers / nards”, reminiscent of older times when some faces of the knuckles or dice were marked with sketchy drawings of flowers. Rom. folk etymology, metanalyzing this term as the participle of **d(on)ar** “to give” may have powerfully contributed to the rooting of this term. Cf. **nerdi**.

**daga**: see **adague**.

**dagal**: see **zagal**.

**daharadub** “the bear’s back(bone)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 84: identified by Kunitzsch 1959:158 as Alpha Ursae Majoris, < Neo-Ar. *zahr addubb*.

**daharalaçet** “the lion’s back(bone)”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 84, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:159 as Delta Leonis, < Neo-Ar. *zahr alʿasad*.

**dahír** (Cs.) “decree of the king or sultan of Morocco”: is a contemporary borrowing from Mor. *ḏ(a)hír* < Cl.Ar. *zahr*.

**daia** (Pt.) “midwife”: is a mod. borrowing, from Neo-P. *dāye* “nurse”, derived not from Sk., but from Pahl. *dāyak* “mother”

**daifa** (Cs.) “concubine; female guest”: < And. *dāyfa* = Cl.Ar. *ḏayfah*. The semantic evolution towards “mistress” must have occurred already in And., as it is registered in Alcalá for its synonym \*\**sūt* “lady”. Of the same origin are prob. **gaifa** (Ct.) “insignificant woman” and **gaifó** “cunning”, exactly matching the meanings acquired by And. *dāyfa* (“female guest”, then “lady”, and finally “whore”) and *ḏayfún*, a hapax in N° 669 Alonso del Castillo’s proverbs,<sup>676</sup> next to “dog” and “accursed”,

<sup>675</sup> Where Mor., e.g., only has *ḏaḏus*, an obvious recent borrowing from Cs. or Pt.

<sup>676</sup> See Corriente & Bouzineb 1994: 63. It might come as a surprise that all of Azáceta, Dutton and González Cuenca in the Ar. passage of Baena’s *Cancionero*, N° 213, *ya ḏayfy*, hold onto the translation “O, my guest”, instead of “my lord”, known already by the editors of

*Vocabulista in arabico* and Alcalá more than one century ago, but it is known that some Romanists feel little or no interest for the second most numerous ingredient of the Ibero-Rom lexicon, with the total reciprocity of disregard for Rom. linguistics in the case of most Arabic scholars dealing with Hispanic issues.

to be sure with an also negative connotation. Consequently, it is quite sure that all these reflexes of Ar. *dayf* "guest" operated the shift of /d/ to /g/ already in Rom., perhaps by contamination with the Provençal and Fr. words mentioned by Coromines in this entry.

**dainaca**, **dana/eca** and **dalac/ça** (Pt.) "lighter (in Iraq)": do not have a certain etymon; they perhaps derive from Neo-P. *dāne gāh* "granary" (cf. Tr. *tekne*; see *téquina*).

**dalfin**: see **adelfin**.

**dalmir**: see **ayadino**.

**damão** (Pt., only in Morais, defined as a kind of kids): is an unassimilated late borrowing, prob. the breed of North African sheep known as *damānī*.

**damasco** "apricot" (Pt.), "damask" (Cs. and Gl., in Ct. **da/omàs**) and **amasco** "apricot" (Anl.): through Lt. *Damascus*, from Aram. >(d)rjmšq<, already Ak. *dimašqi*, the city after which these products were named. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **damascado**, **damasceno**, **damasquillo** and **damasquina**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt. **damasquinar**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **adamascado**, **adamascar** and **damasquino**; Ct.: **adomasar**, **damascè**, **damassè** or **da/omasquí**, **da/omasquillo**, **damasqinatge**, **domassada**, **domas(s)ell**, **endomassar**, **adamascat** and **endomascats**; Pt. **damasqueiro**, **damasquim** and **damasquinaria**.

**damboria**: see **tambor**.

**danaca**: see **dainaca**.

**danças** "sequences, series" (of arches or pillars, Cs.): in García Salinero 1968:97 may be related to the complex Ar. etymon of **tanda**, q.v., or with a simple metathesis, to that of **añazme**, q.v.,

**dandalear** (Arag.) "to hesitate" (with the var. **dendalear** "to brood over, to worry", recorded by Gargallo 1985:35 in Tarazona): together with its verbal noun **dandaleo** appears to derive from Ar. *daldāl* "oscillation", represented in And. by an entry in Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:255), *tadaldala lqamīs* "to dandle (said of loose shirt-tails)", with And. reflexes in *[dldl]* and *[dndn]*. From the same etymon, with semantic evolution, are **dándalo** "worry", **dandaloso** "apprehensive" and Pt. **delandão** "swinging movement".

**daneca**: see **dainaca**.

**dansar** (Ct.) and **danzar** (Cs.) "to dance": Coromines' proposal of a derivation of this term from the Ar. root *[dns]* "to soil oneself" must be outright rejected, regardless of the support he believes to find in *\*\*madānis* "disreputable places", since this word does not mean "dancing places", as he believes, but "places in which honour is easily lost". He is right indeed in assuming that both dance and its name spread throughout Europe starting from Provence, in milieus influenced by And. lyrics and game-loving culture, as corroborated by the Ar. loanwords **naipe**, **afanyar** or **afanar** and **embelecar**, q.v., but a much better choice than fancying a connection between dancing and defiling oneself, which sounds like an old time moralistic sermon, would be to propound And. *tan̄z* "mockery, jest", of Cl.Ar. origin, inseparable companion of drinking and the ensuing dance of the drunk in the spreeds described by poets. Another possibility lies in the And. verbs *tan̄jár* and *añanjár*, rendered by *Vocabulista in arabico* as *gaudere* "to rejoice" and *ludere* "to play", which we interpreted as "to dance", supposing a connection with the place name *Ṭinjir*, a vague designation of sub-Saharan Africa, if not referred to Tangiers, the gentilic of which, *tan̄j(āl)ī*, was applied in Al-Andalus to any North African Berber. In our view, those verbs might have described the characteristic dances of Br. and Sudanese people, in the typical mod. and old performance called in *Vocabulista in arabico* the *\*\*hawrīyya* and *\*\*sugurdīyya* "spinning and crouching".<sup>677</sup>

**dante**: see **ant**.

**danzar**: see **dançar**.

**daraçana**: see **arsenal**.

**dāram**: see **adaram**.

**darassa/enal**: see **arsenal**.

**darb**: see **aldarab**.

**darbar** (Pt.) "government in India": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, from Hindi *darbār* < Neo-P. *darbār* "the royal court".

**dardabasi** (Cs.) "a kind of hawk or kite": despite its Eastern appearance, no acceptable etymon has heretofore been found for this rare and poorly documented word. Coromines connected it with a no less uncommon Ct. **darda/omerí** "hoarder", with a var. **dardanari**, and

<sup>677</sup> See Corriente 1989a:150.

suggested a *\*\*īlīrun ṣabbāṣī* "Abbasid bird or goshawk",<sup>678</sup> no less far-fetched and conjectural than the Tr. *\*\*derd abasī* "midwife for relieving pain" and Neo-P. *\*\*dard e ṣabbās* "A. pain", suggested by us without any conviction in Corriente 1985.

**darga**: see **adarga**.

**darmadeira**: see **adaram**.

**darnificer/n** "a semiprecious yellow stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 567, interpreted as "healer of the pain of one half of the head", which suggests a corruption of Neo-Ar. *dawā? niṣf arrāṣ*.

**daroeria**: see **adaroeira**.

**da/eroga** (Pt.) "governor or superintendent": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, from Neo-P. *dāruge* of Mongolian origin.

**daroês** (Pt., with the var. **dervis** and **dervixe**), **dervixe** (Gl.), **dervix** (Ct.) and **derviche** (Cs.) "dervish": < Neo-P. *darviš* "beggar". Its shape and relatively early documentation of the 16th c. in Pt. may give away a borrowing in North Africa, through Neo-Ar. *darwīš*, and not through India, while in the other cases there has been a Fr. phase, based on the Tr. Iranism *dervīš*.

**dársena** and **darsena**: see **arsenal**.

**dastão** (Pt.): this word, erroneously rendered as "provisions store" by Morais, using the same text as Machado, who proposes the Neo-P. etymon *dastān*, requires clarification, as this word really means "cheating", and what this word means is "cheating", and was said of pilfering in deliveries of rice.

**dastur** (Pt.) "dastur, Parsi high priest": < Neo-P. *dastur* "minister"

**dau**: see **dado**.

**daura** (Pt.) "a kind of boat in India": apparently cannot derive from dial. Ar. of the Persian Gulf *\*\*daww*, erroneously spelled *\*\*dāo* by Machado, unless his transmission is very poor. Neither can **tabo** (Pt.) "an Asian and African one-masted lateen-rigged boat", an unassimilated mod. Eastern borrowing, derive from that etymon directly, but from

some Indian language, as the Marathi and Malabar forms mentioned by Machado.

**dauuechiz arran** "a kind of worm": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 567, with a gloss explaining that "they grow in sand and have white skin and black heads" This allows us to read Neo-Ar. *dawāxis arraml* "sand trivets", a clear metonymy which, however, does not provide an identification for those worms.

**davídico** (Cs. and Pt.) and **davídic** (Ct.) "Davidic": is a Rom. suffixation of the matching pr.n., through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *dāwid*.

**dayán** and **dayeno** (Arag.): is a mere reflex of the Hb. technical term *dayyān*, applied to the judges of the Jewish community. It was occasionally used in Ar.,<sup>679</sup> but it is not probable that it spread to other communities, or came to be assimilated by any Rom. language. Cf. **adaiaño**.

**daza**: see **adaza**.

**de rehaia**: see **dulheg/ma**.

**debades**: see **balde**.

**debir** "temple tabernacle": from García Salinero 1968:97, is an unassimilated Hebraism, < Hb. *dēbir*.

**debul**: see **aldubul**.

**dechatrab**: see **alcutrub**.

**dedodedama** "variety of grape" (Anz.): is a literal Cs. rendering of Neo-Ar. *ṣaṣābī alṣaḡārā / alfaṭayāt*, "damsels' fingers", mentioned in *Kiṭābu Ṣumdati ḥabīb*.

**deheb** "gold": is an unassimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:212, < Ar. *ḡahab*.

**dehen** "ointment": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:212, < Ar. *duhn*.

**dehenec** and **dehenic(h)**: see **adehenic(h)**.

**dei** (Pt.) and **dey** (Cs.) "title of the Turkish viceroy in Algiers": < Tr. *dayī* "maternal uncle"

**deiacur** or **diacude** "confection of poppy": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:213, < Neo-Ar.

<sup>678</sup> It must be noted, however, that in And. botanic texts *ṣabbāṣī* (cf. *abaci*) was a popular synonym of "Eastern", in a reminiscence of times when the Islamic lands were divided

between the three caliphates Abbasid, Umayyad and Fatimid.

<sup>679</sup> Ibn Addayyān, "the judge's son", occurs as a Jewish pr.n. in the *xarjah* H1, see PD 308-309.



*diyāqūd*, < Gr. *diā kōdeion*, directly reflected as **diacodion**.

**delma**: see **adém(en)a**.

**delu** (Pt.) "bucket": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing dated in 1596, < Naf. *dlū* < Cl.Ar. *dalw*. Cf. **aladul**.

**dem** "blood": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:37, < Ar. *dam*.

**demba**: see **adém(en)a**.

**denabaldelfin** "the dolphin's tail": is an unassimilated astronomical term, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:156 as Epsilon Delphini. It occurs abridged as **ade/olfin**, with the var. **dal-fin** in GP 84, and **velfin**, **Delfun** and **alda/ilfin** in GP 14, < Neo-Ar. *ḡanab addulfīn*.

**dendalear**: see **dendalear**.

**Deneb** (Cs.) "the star Alpha Cygnis": is an abbreviation of the bookish Lt. transcription of And. *ḡanāb addijāja* < Cl.Ar. *ḡanabu ddajājah* "the hen's tail" Cf. **adelfin** and **caytoz**.

**d/teneb aldigeia**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 123, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:155 as Alpha Cygni, < Neo-Ar. *ḡanab addajājah* "the hen's tail"

**denebelget**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 84, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:155 as Gamma Capricorni, < Neo-Ar. *ḡanab aljady* "the kid's tail"

**Denebola** (Cs.) "parallel name of the star Beta Leonis": is an abbreviation of the bookish Lt. transcription of Cl.Ar. *ḡanabu lʿasad* "the lion's tail"

**dequihda**: see **dulchada**.

**deraonech** "scented substance": is an unassimilated term, in DAX 602, in truth, "doricum"; see **dorónico**.

**derarie** "Spanish fly": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:212, < Ar. *ḡarārīh*.

**derezi** "bone suture": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:17, with the var. **adorem/z**, **alदारagi** and **medaruzan**, < Neo-Ar. *darz*.

**dèria** (Ct.) "whim; extravagancy" (with the Bal. var. **endèries** "trifles"): we have given up our previous proposal in Corriente 1984b of an And. *maṣḡar \*\*\*ḡiryā* "habit" as etymon

of this word, in favour of the Ar. expression (*fikrah*) *tāriḡah* "sudden idea" However, the *imālah* after a velar consonant, in contrast with the expectable solution in *c/simitarra* (q.v.), makes us suspect that the Bal. form may be more faithful to a possible And.Rom. \**HAN-DÈRYA*, common with Cs. *andorra*, as well as *handora*, *haduro* and (h)*adedura* in *Libro de Buen Amor*, i.e., one more der. of the very productive And. root *[hʾr]* with an undetermined Rom. suffix or contamination.<sup>680</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **enderiament** and **enderiar-se**.

**deroga**: see **daroga**.

**derviche**, **dervis** and **dervix(e)**: see **darôes**.

**desaceitar**: see **aceite**.

**desagarrar**: see **garfo**.

**desajerar**: see **sajelar**.

**desajoujar**: see **ajoujo**.

**desalbardar**: see **albarda**.

**desalfandegar**: see **alfândega**.

**desalfombrar**: see **alfâmar**.

**desalforjar**: see **alforcha**.

**desalgemar**: see **algemas**.

**desalhajar**: see **alfaia**.

**desalpechar**: see **alpechín**.

**desalquilar**: see **alquilé**.

**desandrajado**: see **andrajo**.

**desarabitzar**: see **àrab**.

**desatabafar**: see **atabafar**.

**desatarraxar**: see **tarraja**.

**desatracar**: see **atracar**.

**desaxacado** (Gl.) "sloven": looks like a hybrid, formed on And. *šákl* "adornment; beauty" This result of a cluster of consonant followed by // occurs also in Arag. **alguaza**.

**desbarrar**: see **albarrā**.

**descalar**: see **descalfilar**.

**descafeinar** and **descafeñar**: see **café**.

(d)**escalfilar** (Cs.) and **descacilar** (Anl.) "to remove bumps or adhesions from bricks", and **escalfilar** "to dig or chip into a wall to lower its level or straighten it" (Anl.): from the etymon of **acafelar**, q.v., with a different Rom. suffix.

**descifr(abl)e**, **descifrador** and **descifrar**: see **cifra**.

**descofinar**: see **coff**.

<sup>680</sup> See Corriente 1993c:139 and 140.

**desemascarar:** see *máscara*.  
**desenalbardar:** see *albarda*.  
**desenchufar:** see *enchufar*.  
**desenfardar:** see *fardo*.  
**desenfardelar:** see *fardel*.  
**desenjaezar:** see *jaez*.  
**desenjalmar:** see *enjalma*.  
**desenmascarar:** see *máscara*.  
**desenrajolar:** see *rajola*.  
**desensucrar:** see *açúcar*.  
**desentaramelar:** see *tarabela*.  
**desentarquinar:** see *tarquí*.  
**desentarraxar:** see *tarraja*.  
**desfardar:** see *fardo*.  
**desfargalado:** see *fargalada*.  
**desgabilado:** see *cálibo*.  
**desgarfollar:** see *clova*.  
**desguazar and desguace:** see *aguaza*.  
**desguitarrament and desguitarrar:** see *guitarra*.  
**deshalagarse:** see *afagar*.  
**desmalazado, desmazalado, desmazelar and desmazelo:** see *mazal*.  
**desmelenar:** see *melena*.  
**desquilar:** see *quilate*.  
**destaramelar:** see *tarabela*.  
**destarar:** see *tara*.  
**destarifament and destarifat:** see *tarifa*.  
**destartalado** (Cs.) "out of proportion or in disorder": is an etymological crux as, even considering Pt. *estatulado* "thrown in the middle", Coromines' suggestion of an etymon based on the Cl.Ar. verb *\*istaṭāl* "to be oblong", is unlikely on account of the rarity of borrowings from finite forms of verbs, but through the *mašdar* or participle (*\*istaṭālah* and *\*mustaṭīl* in this case), and of the fact that this verb in And. is only used in the meaning of "to become insolent". A better choice would be And. *ṭarṭala* "heaping up", or *ṭarṭáli* "crest of certain objects", whence the possibility of hybrids with Rom. privative prefixation in the meanings of "undone (said of a heap)" and "lopped, cut off, razed to the ground", respectively.  
**desxifrabable and desxifra(do)r:** see *cifra*.  
**deszafrar and deszafre:** see *saфра*.

**deszulacar:** see *azulaque*.  
**deszumar:** see *zumo*.  
**det alhalac:** is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 85, < Neo-Ar. *ḡāt alḡalaq* "armillary sphere".  
**detalcurçi** "the woman sitting on the chair": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 84, (with a var. *vetalcorcy*), identified by Kunitzsch 1959:198 as Cassiopeia, < Neo-Ar. *ḡāt alkursī*, lit., "the owner (fem.) of the chair".  
**devanagari** (Cs.) and **devanágari** (Pt.): "devanagari, standard Indian script": is a contemporary learned word, borrowed through Fr. or Engl., < Sk. *devanāgarī* "from the divine town". It should be, then, ultima stressed. Intra-Rom.der.: Pt.: **devanagárico**.  
**dey:** see *dei*.  
**dezaga:** see *zaga*.  
**(dia)chebet and diacheded:** see *chebet*.  
**diafa:** see *adiafa*.  
**dialacea** "confection of gum-lac": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:216–222, < Neo-Ar. *dawāl allakk*, contaminated by the Gr. prefix **dia-**, characteristic of these preparations.  
**dianthu** "electuary for phthisic, hepatic and cardiac patients": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:216–222, < Neo-Ar. *diyānūṭā* < Gr. *diā anthēōn*. Other Gr. names of medicaments with the prefix **dia-** in that work, like **diachylos/n**, **diacurcuma** and **diarhodon**<sup>681</sup> do not seem, on account of their spellings, to have been transmitted through Ar.  
**diapenidium:** see *alfenit* and *alfení*.  
**dibá** (Pt.) "Persian brocade": is an unassimilated mod. borrowing from Neo-P. *dibā*, while Cs. **dibeth** is an older borrowing, received through the Ar. etymon of *mudbage*, q.v.).  
**dichbardich** "a caustic medicament": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:223, < Neo-Ar. *dik bardik* < Pahl. *dēg bar dēk* "pot upon pot (said metaphorically of arsenic)".  
**dida** (Arag. and Ct.) "nurse" (also "fish-

<sup>681</sup> Unlike its var. **akondinon**, which reflects a Neo-Ar. phase *rūdūnūn*.

ing expedition" in Mur., according to Colina 1997:232).<sup>682</sup> < And. *dá'ida* < Neo-Ar. *dādah* < Neo-P. *dādā*. The Indo-European cognates mentioned by Coromines are true, but this word cannot be counted as a der. of And.Rom., because in its meaning as "nurse", not "teat", the phases between Neo-P. and And. are clear, with a phenomenon of second degree *imālah* in the last step. On the other hand, the sociolinguistic motive of the penetration and spread of this foreign term in Ar. is clear since, during the period of the great Islamic conquests, the Arabs were integrated in armies of men alone, who later formed families with local women, it happening often that they needed nurses of the same origin for their sons.

**dihenic**: see **adehenic(h)**.

**dim** (Pt.) "Islam, in India": is an unassimilated mod. Eastern borrowing, through Hindi and Neop., < Ar. *dīn* "religion", < Pahl. *dēn*. From the same etymon, as reported by Coromines 1976:III 143, are **dino** "pleasure; satisfaction" (Anz.) and **adī** (Val. in the Maestrazgo, and Bal. var. **adir**) "savour or nutritional value of food", through And. *addin*, because the Ar. term from old had metonymical senses like "strength", being used in mod. dialects in some superlative expressions.<sup>683</sup>

**dimad** "poultice": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:224 < Ar. *ḍimād*.

**dimagi** "brain": is an unassimilated anatomical technicism, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989: 37, < Ar. *ḍimāḡ*.

**dinar** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "dinar, Islamic gold coin": is a mod. borrowing in Rom., in spite of its frequency in And., undocumented before the 16th c. in Pt., through Neo-P., < Ar. *dīnār* < Lt. *dēnārius*.

**dino**: see **dim**.

**dira alaçet almaboda** "the lion's withdrawn arm": is an unassimilated astronomical term, de GP 85, with the var. **elayra almegeboda**, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:54 as Alpha and Beta Canis Minoris, < Neo-Ar. *qirāḥ al'asad almaqbūdah*.

**dirha/em** (Cs.) "dirhem, Islamic silver coin": is a contemporary transcription of the Ar. etymon of **adarme**, q.v.

**dissabte**: see **sábado**.

**diván** (Cs., with an old var. **duán**) and **divan** (Ct.) "divan, the Tr. sultan's privy council": prob. through Fr., < Tr. *divan* < Ar. *dīwān* < Pahl. *dēwān* "archive; collected writings". A direct reflex of the Ar. phase is Pt. **divā(o)**, Cs., Gl. and Pt. **aduanā** and Ct. **duana** "customs house". In the case of the Cs. and Ct. shapes of this term, not only the treatment of the diphthong, but also the development of the fem. morpheme, possibly from a mere unstressed paragogical /e/, speak in favour of earlier adaptation to Ct. However, the fem. morpheme might also have resulted from wrong parsing in a syntagm of the Neo-Ar. type *dīwān alxarāj* "tax registry", not being known where and when the var. with fem. morpheme emerged, as mod. Naf. *dīwānah* may be due to at least contamination with the Ibero-Rom. or It. forms. As for **duana** "strait, hardship" (Anz.), it is a clear metonymy. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aduanar** and **aduanero**; Ct.: **duaner** and **duanista**; Gl.: **aduanada** and **aduanero**, Pt.: **aduanar** and **aduanero**.

**doctori, dolcerii, doztoni, duceri** and **duzuri**: see **loztou**.

**doina**: see **adúnia**.

**doliquera**: see **adua**.

<sup>682</sup> By a metonymy which puzzles this author. The semantic juncture lies in the fact that, as in the case of shepherds, often caring for the sheep of different owners who hire them jointly, also nannies used to be in charge of children of several parents. This suggested the idea that particular fishers, being accepted in large organized expeditions, were like young boys looked after by the responsible skipper.

<sup>683</sup> E.g., in Eg., after Badawi & Hinds 1986:317,

*ḥaṭallaḥ dīnak* "I'll give you hell", lit., "to pull out his religion" or *ḥittit dīn ṭabaq dandurma* "an absolutely superb dish of ice cream", lit., "a piece of religion of—", to the point that saying of somebody *mūt šala dīnu*, lit., "he died in his faith", may imply that he died without forsaking a habit, even an abominable vice. This semantic evolution appears corroborated in the westernmost dialects of Ar. by the aforementioned loanwords, first spotted by Coromines.

**dolmä** (Pt.) and **dol/rmán** (Cs.) “dolman, hussar’s jacket” and **dulimán** “Tr. robe”: through Magyar and Fr., < Tr. *dolama* “wind-ing”, on account of its wide sleeves, a garment described by *Türkçe Sözlük* as open in the front and worn over other clothing.

**domàs, domassada, domas(s)ell, domas-quí and domasquillo**: see **damasco**.

**dóme/ida**: see **tanda**.

**doñegal** (Cs.), **añigal** (Tol.) and **oña/egal** or **añi/ogaleh** (Ext., by corruption of the standard) “varieties of figs”, and **moñigal** “a kind of very sweet black fig” (Anl., by corruption of the standard): < And.Rom. *DONIQÁL* < Lt. *dōminicālis*.

**dor** (Pt., only in Morais) “midday prayer in Persia”: is a mod. unassimilated Eastern borrowing, < Ar. (*ṣalātu ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*). In spite of the inaccurate restriction to Persia, as this concept is the same in every Islamic community, the transmission cannot be Neo-P., nor reflect any other non-Arabic language, which would require initial >z<, but only Neo-Ar., either Eastern or Naf.

**dora**: see **adora**.

**dorage** and supposed var. **adorrach**, **adorraia(s)**, **dah/uuerige**, **dorrache(s)** and **dorraias**: are unassimilated terms of falconry, from DAX 693, not always, however, birds of prey, as all the forms with >rr< mean “francolin” (see **darariza**), whereas sg. **dorage** and its pl. **dah/uuerige** are given as Ar. names of the black goshawk, which is not supported by the dictionaries.

**dorc(a)** (Ct.) “jar”: < Ar. *dawraq*, still used in the East, prob. from a Pahl. etymon, represented by Neo-P. *dowre*. The fem. var., unattested in Ar., might be intra-Rom. (cf. **atza-betja**), but could have existed as a reflex of Syr. *dūrqa*, in *status emphaticus*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **dorquet**.

**dormán**: see **dolmán**.

**dorónico** (Pt.) “Doronicum spp.”: is a mod. borrowing, through bookish scientific Lt. transmission, < Neo-Ar. *darawnaj* < Neo-P. *darunak*. Cf. **deraonech**.

**dostaiair** “to be favourable or propitious”: is an unassimilated astrological term, from

GP 85, formed on Neo-P. *dost dārad* “he has affection”

**doxtui**: see **loztou**.

**draçana**: see **arsenal**.

**dragoman** and **dragomán**: see **torc/simany**.

**drassana** and **drassaner**: see **arsenal**.

**droga** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “drug”: < And. Rom. *\*ḡar+Ó/ÚQA* “trifle”, a hybridization of the And. root *[ḡr]*, with a pejorative Rom. suffix,<sup>684</sup> suggesting “quackery”. Arag. **droga** “mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*)” is a case of semantic specialization; from the same origin are Nav. **droga** “debt”, the Anl. interjection **droga** “leaping lizards!”, and Nav. **faltruca** “large bell cow” Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **drogué** and **droguero**; Cs.: **drogar**, **drogueria**, **droguero** (also “indebted”, in DRAE as Can. and in the speech of Mexico and Peru) and **endrogarse**; Cs., Ct. and Pt. **droguista**; Arag., Cs. and Gl. **drogueria**; Cs. and Ct.: **drogar**; Ct.: **drogada**, **drogant**, **drogatje**, **droguejar**, **droguet**, **drogueria**, **droguer(o)**, **adroguer** and **adrogueria**; Gl.: **drogueiro**; Pt.: **drogaria**. Cf. **adúcar**.

**drogmán**: see **torcsimany**.

**druso** (Cs. and Gl.) “Druze, member of a syncretic sect of Islam”: through Fr. or It., < Neo-Ar. *durūz*, pl. of *durzī*, attributive adjective of the name of one of the founders of this denomination, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Addarazī.

**dúa**: see **adua**.

**duán**: see **diván**.

**duana, duaner** and **duanista**: see **adua** and **diván**.

**duar**: see **aduar**.

**dubalazgar** and **dubalaç car**: see **aldub alazgar**.

**dubayla, dubellet** and **dubellati**: see **adubayla**.

**ducadatin**: see **dulchada**.

**ducão** (Pt.) “shop in Persia”: is an unassimilated mod. borrowing, documented in 1554, < Ar. *dukkān*, through Neo-P. *dokkān*. Cf. **adoquim**.

**dula** and **dula/er**: see **adua**.

**dulchada**: is an unassimilated technical

<sup>684</sup> See Corriente 1993c:140.

term, from GP 84 (with the var. **dulkidda**, **ducadatin**, **dulheda** and **dequihda**), < Ar. *ḡal-qāṣdah* “11th month of the Islamic calendar”

**dulchugeh**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 84 (with the var. **dulheg/ma**, **dulhegeth** and **de rehaia**), < Ar. *ḡulḥijjah* “12th month of the Islamic calendar”

**Dulfun**: see **adelfin**.

**dulheda**: see **dulchada**.

**dulheg/ma** and **dulhegeth**: see **dulchugeh**.

**dulimán**: see **dolmán**.

**duliguera**: see **adua**.

**dulkidda**: see **dulchada**.

**dumb**: is an unassimilated technical term,

from DAX 699, misunderstood as “a kind of bird”, although it clearly reflects Ar. *ḡunb*, pl. of *ḡḡnab* “long-tailed”

**dumel**: see **aldemamel**.

**durdi** “lees, dregs”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:224. Cf. **tártaro**.

**dustoria** “arrangement of the planets to the East of the Sun and to the West of the Moon”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 85 and *Libro Complido*, < Neo-Ar. *dustūriyyah* < Neo-P. *dastur* “norm, standard”.<sup>685</sup>

**dutia**: see **atutía**.

**duulla**: see **adua**.

## E

**ebionita** (Cs. and Pt.) “Ebionite, member of a Judaeo-Christian sect of the 2nd c. a.D.”: through Church Lt. and Gr., with the matching suffixation, < Hb. *ebyon* “poor”, as it placed particular emphasis on the Gospel’s recommendation of voluntary poverty.

**ebliśa** “plumbago, toothwort (*Plumbago europaea*)”: is identified in DAX 703 with **saytarache**, i.e., Neo-Ar. *šaytaraj hindī* (see. Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:23 and 65, N° 261 and 757, 2007:27 and 104, with the And.Rom. equivalences **ABLÍŠA** and **BALÍŠA**).

**edén** (Cs. and Gl.), **eden** (Pt.) and **edèn** (Ct.) “paradise”: < Hb. *ēḏen* “delight”, through Bib.Lt. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **edénico**; Ct. **edènic**.

**edinos**: see **bedín**.

**edri** (Ib.) “a kind of thapsia (*Thapsia garganica*)”: < Neo-Ar. *adriyās* (and var.) < Neo-P. *āḡaryās*, with metanalysis and elimination of the Rom. pl. suffix. There are no semantic

grounds, *pace* Coromines, to propound the Ar. etymon of **aletría**, q.v.

**edrisí** (Cs.) “Idrisid, relative to the dynasty founded in Morocco in the 8th c. by Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh”: < Ar. *idrīsī*. It is a historiographical term, presently superseded by the spelling **idrísí**, after the mod. principles of phonemic transcription.

**edriz** “black snake”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 86, prob. Ar. or Syr. reflex of the genitive of Gr. *hýdra*, i.e., the constellation Hydra.<sup>686</sup>

**edulario**: see **adua**.

**efaca**: see **faca**.

**efende/í** (Pt.) and **(e)fendi** (Cs.) “effendi, old Tr. title of respect of members of the upper and middle classes”: through Fr. or It., < Tr. *efendi* < Lgr. *afēndēs* < Gr. *authēnēs* “absolute master”

**efetá** (Cs.) “expression describing somebody’s stubbornness”: reproduces a liturgical term used in the sacrament of baptism, the

<sup>685</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:190.

<sup>686</sup> Cf. **alsuia** and var. There has been con-

tamination with the pr.n. *idrīs*.

Aram. word reproduced in Gr. script as *eph-patha* (Mark 7/34,) i.e., *eppētah* for *etpētahāh* "open yourself".<sup>687</sup>

**effengi**: see *esfenja*.

**efod** (Cs.) "ephod, ornate vestment of the Jewish high priest": through Bib.Lt. and Bib.Gr., < Hb. *ēfod*.

**eforriarse and eforrio**: see *alhorre*<sup>1</sup>.

**efraimita** (Cs.) "Ephraimite": is a gentilic, through Bib.Lt. and Bib.Gr., with their matching suffixation, of Hb. *efrayim*, name of one of the twelve tribes.

**efrateo** (cs.) "Ephrathite": is a gentilic, through Bib.Lt. and Bib.Gr., < Hb. *efrāti* "from Ephratha", another old name of Bethlehem.

**egi(p)ciano, egipci(ac)o and egiptano** (Cs.), **egipci** or **egipcià** (Ct.), **egipciaco, egipcião, egípcio and egiptano** (Pt.) "Egyptian": all share the etymon of *copto*, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **egiptología** and **egiptológico**; Cs. and Pt.: **egiptólogo**; Ct.: **egiptòleg**; Ct. and Pt.: **egiptologia**.

**eguado** (Cs.) "grown": in DAX 710, is a semantic calque of Ar. *mustawī*.

**ehcaraván**: see *alcaraván*.

**ehpechín**: see *alpechín*.

**eiba and eivar**: see *aleive*.

**eirake**: see *erak*.

**eiva and eivar**: see *aleive*.

**eixabuc(ar) and eixabuit**: see *escacs*.

**eixag/huar**: see *aixovar*.

**eixaldar** (Ct.) "to split": might reflect a hybrid denominal verb *\*iššandax+ÁR*, formed on And. *šándaxa* "splitting, cleaving", *mašdar* of *šandāx*, dissimilated from Cl.Ar. *šaddax*.

**eixalefar**: see *alxareca*.

**eixames**: see *maissela*.

**eixamús** (Old Val. and Maj.) "haughty;

*firm*": < And. *šamús* = Cl.Ar. *šamūs* "ungovernable, disobedient", with no semantic influence of the etymon of *ajenuz*, *pace* Coromines. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **examucia** and **mal-a/eixamús**.

**eixanguer** (Ct.) "yoke strap": < And.Rom. *\*ĈING+ÁYR*, < Lt. *cingo* with a frequent instrumental prefix, and the influence of a reflex of the Lt. prefix *ex-*, which has caused the alteration of the first consonant.

**eixàquera and (ei)xàquia**: see *achaque*.

**eixarc(h)**: see *axarque*.

**eixareta**: see *jareta*.

**eixaric(h)**: see *acharique*.

**eixarravar** (Ct.) "to mix with water": rather than a var. of *eixalavar* it seems to be a direct hybridization of the And. verb *šarráb* = Cl.Ar. *šarrab* "to drench"

**eixaure** (Ct. of Tortosa) "room, capacity": appears to be a deverbal der. of an And.Rom. hybrid verb *\*iš+šabr+ÁR* "to span", as it was done when measuring limits between properties, thickness of walls, etc., in various transactions, < And. *šābr* < Cl.Ar. *šibr* "span" Cf. *eixem*.

**eixea** (Ct.) and **exea** (Cs., old never updated spelling) "scout, guide": < And. *iššā* = Cl.Ar. *šāh* "company", apparently said in Al-Andalus of reconnaissance patrols, and later of merchant parties gathered to ensure mutual protection upon crossing the dangerous border areas. The information of DCECH confirms that, already within Rom., this term becomes sg. and means the guide who guaranteed the crossing of those areas with goods.<sup>688</sup> Of the same origin, with semantic evolution, but normal phonetics and spelling, is *jea* (Cs.) "a tax on goods imported from Islamic countries"

<sup>687</sup> See Stevenson 1952:52, based on Dalman 1905:278, fn 1.

<sup>688</sup> It cannot be said for sure, as Coromines did, that the And. word had already become a sg., despite its being rendered as Lt. *ductor* and matched with *\*qālid* in *Vocabulista in arabico*, known for the vagueness of its definitions. This practice is the same as that of *alhorma*, q.v.; on the other hand, that author's notion that its Western counterpart was the *enaciado*, q.v., is not correct, as his own witnesses together with steiger's correct Ar. etymon, known to him, do

not leave any doubt that the latter was a turncoat or renegade. It stands to reason that such people might in some extreme cases have done the same functions of guide, guarantor or spy, but not usually, because the risk of eventual recognition by former coreligionists would seriously endanger the security of the whole party. The entry is basically characteristic of the lands of the crown of Aragon, scarcely used in Cs. in border areas, and already obsolete in Nebrija's day, who recorded it, according to Coromines.

**eixem** (Ct.) and **jeme** (Cs.) “small span, length between the tips of the thumb and the index finger when extended”: < And.Rom. \**ŠÉM* < Lt. *semis* “half (foot)”, it being probable that the semantic evolution of Lt. had been triggered by the frequent use in Ar. of \*\**šibr* “span” and \*\**fūr* “small span”,<sup>689</sup> roughly its half. Cf. **eixaure**.

**eixericança**: see **acharique**.

**eixortí** (Ct.) “royal guard”: < And. *aššurṭi* = Cl.Ar. *šurṭi* “policeman”, attributive adjective of *šurṭah*, apparently a metathesis of imperfectly Aramaicized \**šoṭrā*, < Hb. *šoṭēr*, of Ak. origin, a designation in the Rabbinic period of the community overseers.

**eixuagues**: see **ajuagas**.

**ejarbe** (Nav., after DRAE) “river swell caused by rain; one fourth of a measure of water for irrigation”, **jarba** “a three-day turn of irrigation” and **jarb/ve** “irrigation turn” (Nav., with a Medieval var. **exarbe**):<sup>690</sup> < And. \**iššārb* = Cl.Ar. *širb* “drinking water; share of water for irrigation” Arag. **ja(r)bar** “to distribute irrigation water by the hours” is the matching denominal hybrid verb.

**eje**: see **escacs**.

**el difda elmuquedem**: see **adifdah**.

**el hylech**: see **alhyleg**.

**el mehobeyn**: see **almohybeyn**.

**elamita** (Cs. and Pt.) “Elamite”: is the genitive, through Bib.Lt. *Elamitae*, with its own suffixation, of Hb. *ēlām*.

**elati** (Pt.) “title of the Negus”: is a mod. unassimilated technical term, which cannot be traced to any Am. or Gəʿəz (Old Et.) word; instead, it appears to reflect Neo-Ar. *alīṣāī* “the insolent one”, matching well the opinion of Ethiopian Muslims regarding this Christian sovereign. This is corroborated by an interesting information, concerning the Toledan astrologer and poet Marwān b. ʿĠazwān, fallen from the grace of the emir Muḥammad I,

who had him jailed, and to whom he attached that epithet in his verses, in a context of anti-Umayyad protest.<sup>691</sup>

**elayra almeghoda**: see **dira**.

**elbehta** “paralysis”: see GP 86, with the var. **beth** and **beyti**, and in GP 75, **bah(i)t** < Neo-Ar. *baht(ah)* < Neo-P. *bāhat* “aetites, eaglestone”, after Dozy 1881:I 121, although the author of *Lapidario* has only thought of the semanteme of the Ar. root *[bht]* “to astonish”

**elbelda**: see **albelda**.

**elçefina** and **elçesma**: see **alçafina**.

**eldifda**: see **adifdah**.

**eldifdah eteni/y** or **eldifdaheteny**: see **adibda eceni**.

**eleçet**: see **alaçet**.

**elfe/ica**: see **alfaca**.

**elfeueris**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 86, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:59 as Delta, Gamma, Epsilon and Zeta Cygni, < Ar. *alfawāris* “the horsemen”

**elgehci alerocbetihi**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 87, with the var. **alieçi alerocbatihī**, **algesi hila rocbatihy**, **elgeha aleidebehety**, **algeha aleidebeheti** and **aliezi alerosbatihī**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:194 as Alpha Herculi, < Neo-Ar. *aljāṭī ṣalā rukbatayh* “the kneeling (man)”.<sup>692</sup>

**elgeuze**: see **algeuze**.

**elgorab**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 87, <, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:115 as Delta Corvi, < Ar. *alḡurāb* “the raven” Cf. **gurapas**.

**elhoc/t**: see **alhot**.

**elidahe**: see **addaha annaam**.

**elinays**: see **benanays**.

**elche** (Cs. and Pt.) “renegade”: < And. *šilj* = Cl.Ar. *šilj*, with the basic semanteme of “stuttering”, subsequently connected with the idea of being foreign. In Cs., with the spellings **elche/i**, there is in Ruy González de Clavijo a word, totally different in etymon and meaning

<sup>689</sup> By chance no doubt, this word is not documented in the lexical sources of And., unlike its der. \*\**fiṭliyya* or \*\**futaliyyah* “nail which is one small span long”

<sup>690</sup> Not to be mixed up with **assarp**, **azarbe**, etc., q.v., as occurs in Colomina 1997:248, fn. 446, who, however, knows the correct definition

given by González Ollé.

<sup>691</sup> See Makki & Corriente 2001: fol. 171v.

<sup>692</sup> It is remarkable that no var. reflects the dual required by Ar. syntax, but an improbable sg. in contextual form, which was just another consequence of the conspicuous lack of skill of the translators, as stated in Corriente 2000.

"ambassador", < Tr. *elçi*, which Eguílaz, ignorant of this language, mistakenly considered an error.

**elemi** (Pt.) and **elemí** (Cs. and Ct.) "elemi, gum-resin": < Ar. *allāmī* (non-genuine word, borrowed from a more Eastern area), through Fr.

**elixir** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "elixir, philosopher's stone; medicinal liquor": through bookish Lt. transcription, < Ar. *alʿiksīr*, < Gr. *χέρως*. The penultima stress of Cs. (*elfxir*), authorized by RAE is pedantic and anti-etymological.

**ellehet** "uvula": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from GP 87, < Ar. *allahāi*.<sup>693</sup>

**elmahe**: see **mahe**.

**elmeçen**: see **almicen**.

**elmelef**: see (al)melef.

**elmehobeyn**: see **almohybeyn**.

**elmubtes**: see **almubtez**.

**elmuri**: see **almuri**.

**elneç** see **annezq** and **neç** **elsemi**.

**elquef alhadib** (with the var. **alhabid**) "the tainted palm", < Neo-Ar. *alkaff alxaḏīb*, and **elquef aliedme** (with the var. **elquef euedme** and **qpeuedme**) "the amputated palm", < Neo-Ar. *alkaff aljaḏmāʾ*, are unassimilated astronomical terms, from GP 88, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:72 as the stars 1 to 6 of Cetus.

**elquelbayn** "the two dogs": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 88, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:74 as Upsilon and Kappa Tauri, < Neo-Ar. *alkalbayn*.

**eluezn** "the weight": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 88, second constituent of *ḥaḏāri walwazn*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:116 as Alpha and Beta Centauri. Cf. **ahedar**.

**elul** "sixth month... of the Hb. calendar": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 716, < Hb. *ēlul* = between August and September.

**elxeera**: see **axa(h)ra**.

**embaldragar**: see **baldorras**.

**embaraçada, embaraçar, embaraço(so), embaraça(do)r, embarazoso, embaràs, embarassament and embarassar**: see **baraço/a**.

**embarnús**: see **albornoiz**.

**embelecar** (Cs., Gl. and Pt. and Arag): prob. reflects a denominative hybrid And.Rom. verb \**EN+balá+IQ+ÁR*, formed on And. *baláʾī* "calamity; lovesickness"<sup>694</sup> < Cl.Ar. *balāʾī*. The proposal of former editions of DRAE, a derivation from Cl.Ar. \**balīq* "to be astonished" (not "to stun!") is highly unlikely, being a relatively unfrequent word, not documented in And., and has been corrected in the last edition of that work. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Arag. and Pt.: **embeleco**; Cs.: **embelecador** and **embelecamiento**.

**embla and embler**: see **atzembla**.

**êmblico** (Pt.) "emblic-myrobalan (Phyllanthus emblica)": reflects bookish Lt. transcription of Ar. *amlaj*, harking back, through unattested Pahl., to Sk. *āmālaka*.

**embuatar**: see **bata**.

**embuba** "tube": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, < Ar. *unbūbah*. Cf. **amboa**.

**emir** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.): < And. *amīr* = Cl.Ar. *amīr*. The var. **amir** (Cs. labelled by DRAE as obsolete, and Pt., only in Moraes, which declares it preferable to the standard form, prob. on account of the traditional Cl.Ar. pronunciation) is documented next to **alamir** by DCECH in the 16th c., but must have been very rare. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **emirato**; Ct.: **emirat**; Pt.: **emirado**. Cf. **almirall** and **mira-mamolin**.

**emmacar**: see **macar**.

**emmadroc**: see **almadroc**.

**emmagatzemament, emmagatzematge and emmagatzemar**: see **almacén**.

**emmascarar**: see **máscara**.

excellent lexicon.

<sup>693</sup> Again a contextual form, instead of the expectable pausal one. It would be amazing that DAX 716 may have interpreted this word as "manger", i.e., **almelef**, at the end of its quote, if we were not acquainted with the total lack of concern for Ar. items in this otherwise

<sup>694</sup> This semantic evolution is well reflected by the verb *baḥulī* "to be lovesick", a very characteristic term of And. lyrical poetry, the influence of which upon the Christian North must be admitted. Cf. **afán**.



**empialos** “a fever”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez 1998b:171, < Neo-Ar. *anfiyalūs* < Gr. *ēpíalos* “continuous fever”

**empotzim**: see **alpechín**.

**enaceitar**: see **aceite**.

**annaziado** (Cs., with an old var., in GP 57, **annaziado**) “renegade”: is a hybrid participle, formed on And. *nāzīl* = Cl.Ar. *nāzīl* “turncoat, runaway”. It is a very old borrowing, to judge by the absence of *imālah* in a very favourable position. Cf. **eixea**.

**enaciyar**: see **aceche**.

**enalbardar**: see **albarda**.

**enalmagrar**: see **almagre**.

**encadufada** and **encadufar**: see **alcaduz**.

**encarabar**: see **caraba**.

**encaramar** (Cs.) “to lift with effort; to praise; to exalt”: is a word documented since the mid 15th c., which suggests a Mudejar hybrid verb \**EN+karam+ÁR*, from And. *karāma* = Cl.Ar. *karāmah* “honour”. However, the Cs. idiom **subirse a la parra** “to exaggerate, to lose sense of proportion”, makes possible an early contamination, understandable among bilinguals, with And. *kārm(a)* = Cl.Ar. *karm* “vine”, perhaps based in this case and in principle, not on actual climbing to pick up the grapes, e.g., but on the behaviour of some who showed off by refusing to receive visitors and having their servants tell them that they were out of town in their often non-existent country estates, as narrated in IQ 88/4/4. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **encaramadura**.

**encatifada**, **encatifament** and **encatifar**: see **alcatifa**.

**encazucar** (Pt.) “to impale”: is a Rom. hybrid derivation, no older than the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, of Neo-Ar. *xāzūq* or Neo-P. *xāzuq* < Tr. *kazık* “impaling stake”

**encejarse** “to take refuge amongst rocks (said of goats)”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:176), is a der. of **ceje** “trench in a mountain” < And. *fājj* = Cl.Ar. *fajj* “steep hill”

**enchaquia**: see **achaque**.

**enchebedir-se**, **enchelebri-se** and **encherbedir** (Arag.) “to grow stiff with cold”: perhaps reflect a hybrid denominal verb formed on And. *injiḅād* < Cl.Ar. *injiḅāb* “shrinking”

**enchibir**: see **atxeu**.

**enchufar** (Cs. and Gl.) “to plug”: is prob. a technical term of the jargon of Mudejar workers, and reflects a hybrid verb \**EN+juf+ÁR*, based on And. \**júf*<sup>695</sup> < Cl.Ar. *jawf* “inner part” The shift /j/ > /č/ gives away a clear Arag. origin; however, in this dialect the witnessed form is **enjubar** “to connect stories by making a staircase or a chimney”, not yet reflecting that dial. tendency. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **desenchufar**, **enchufe**, **enchufismo** and **enchufista**; Gl.: **enchufe**.

**encofinada** and **encofina(do)r**: see **alcofa**.

**encorfar-se**: see **clova**.

**encotonar**: see **alcotón**.

**endavilla**: see **aldaba**.

**enderiamient**, **enderiar-se** and **endèries**: see **dèria**.

**endomascat**: see **damasco**.

**endrogarse**: see **droga**.

**endrómina**: see **andrómina**.

**endros** “area between the testicles”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, < Neo-Ar. *ʔfydyḏwws* < Gr. *epididymís*, in fact, “epididymis”

**endulkār** “to exorcise; to bribe” (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *dulūka* “beating”, < Cl.Ar. *dalak* “to massage”, with an ironical semantic evolution.

**enea**: see **ainea**.

**enfalcar**: see **falca**.

**enfaramallar**: see **faramalha**.

**enfarda(do)r**: see **fardo**.

**enfundeladura** and **enfardelar**: see **fardel**.

**enfarhe**: see **alfarja**.

**enfarjar** (Ct. of Maestrazgo) “to plaster (with mortar)”: does not share, *pace* Coromines, the etymon of Cs. **alfarje**, q.v., it being hard to conceive such a metaphor in a generally vertical surface. A better chance would be

<sup>695</sup> This particular monophthongization is not witnessed in And. for this word (see other examples in AAR 2.1.1.4.2, p. 41), but by the anonymous *Aljumānah fī izālat arriṭānah* (see

ʔAbdalwahhāb 1964), where Tun. and Granadan features are mixed, and it is no doubt reflected by the Murcian place name *Ajufía* (see SK 1.4.4).

a hybrid denominative verb \**EN+farg+ĀR*, formed on And. *fārg* "mortar" (cf. Ct. *mal-fargat* "not set hard enough", mentioned by Coromines), with loss of the pre-tonic syllable (cf. Ct. *marjal* and *parcela*, Cs. *marjal*, *parcela*, *morcilla*, etc.).

*enfa/urruncharse*: see *arocho*.

*engace*: see *engarzar*.

*engabanado*: see *gabán*.

*engalipar*: see *cálipo*.

*engambuixar*: see *cambuix*.

*engarbarse*: see *agarbarse*.

*engarb(ol)arse* "to climb" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991): is a cognate of *agarbarse* and *engarbullar*, q.v.

*engarbullar*: see *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

*engarfar*: see *garfo*.

*engarrafeira*, *engarrafaagem* and *engarrafar*: see *garrafa*.

*engarrafaador*, *engarr(ar)ar* and *engarro*: see *garfo*.

*engarzar* (Cs. and Gl.) "to link; to hook": is prob. a hybrid denominative verb \**EN+garz+ĀR*, formed on And. *gārza* = Cl.Ar. *garzah* "inserting, sticking" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *enga(r)ce*, *enga(r)zador*, *engarzadura* and *engarzo*; Gl. *engarzamento*.

*engatusar*: see *gato*.

*engavanyament* and *engavanya(do)r*: see *gabán*.

*engazador* and *engazo*: see *engarzar*.

*engibar* (Cs. thieves' cant) "to pocket": is prob. a Mudejar item, a hybrid denominative verb \**EN+jib+ĀR*, formed on And. *jīb* < Cl.Ar. *jayb* "pocket, especially in the neck or bosom of a garment". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *engibacaire* or *engibador*, also thieves' cant, meaning the pimp who pockets the whores' wages. Cf. *caire* and *algebeira*.

*engiponar*: see *aljuba*.

*engol/rfa*: see *algorfa*.

*enguatar*: see *bata*.

*eniçen*: see *alaniçen*.

*enjabegarse*: see *jábec/ga*.

*enjaezar*: see *jaez*.

(en)*jalma* (Cs.) "light packsaddle": < And. Rom. and And. \**iššálma*<sup>696</sup> < Lt. *salma* < Lt. *sagma* < Gr. *ságma*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (en) *jalmereo* and (des)*enjalmar*. Cf. *asemela*.

*enjamate*: see *ajomate*.

*enjaquimar*: see *jáquima*.

*enjaneta*: see *atzanet*.

*enjaretar*: see *jareta*.

*enjebar* and *enjebe*: see *jabe*.

*enjeco*: see *escacs*.

*enjotarse* and *enjoto*: see *ajotarse*.

*enjubar*: see *enchufar*.

*enlouquece/imento* and *enlouquecer*: see *loco*.

*enmaromar*: see *maroma*.

*enmascarar*: see *máscara*.

*enrafar*: see *rafa*.

*enrajolada* and *enrajola(do)r*: see *rajola*.

*enrassar*: see *rasa*.

*enredomar*: see *redoma*.

*enresmar*: see *raima*.

*enroc(ar)* and *enroque*: see *roc*.

*ensafranar*: and *çafrão*.

*ensanefat*: see *acenefa*.

*enseco*: see *escacs*.

*ensinistrar* (Ct.) "to prepare": is a semantic calque of And. *yassār* = Cl.Ar. *yassar* of the same meaning, connected with *yasār*, euphemistic designation of the left, as suggested by Colón 1998.<sup>697</sup>

*ensolvar*: see *azolvar*.

*ensotarse*: see *ajotarse*.

*ensulla/ecar*: see *azulaque*.

*entabacado*: see *tabac*<sup>2</sup>.

*entabacarse*: see *tabac*<sup>1</sup>.

*entafarrarse*: see *atafal*.

*entalec/gar*: see *taleca*.

*entandar*: see *tanda*.

*entaramelar*: see *tarabela*.

*entarima(do)r*: see *tarima*.

*entarquinamiento* and *entarquinar*: see *tarquín*.

*entazaga*: see *zaga*.

*enteixinar* and *enteixinat*: see *teginat*.

<sup>696</sup> Perhaps contaminated by And. \**šámla* "cloak" < Cl.Ar. *šamlah*, of which there is some Neo-Ar. documentation in DS and a parallel And. form *mašmála* in Ibn Hišām Allaxmī.

<sup>697</sup> Curiously, the same Ar. verb, through its *mašdar*, is reflected in Arag. *ateserá* "to prepare", q.v.

**entremozo**: see **altramuz**.

**enxaca**: see **jaque**<sup>3</sup>.

**enxadrez(ar)**: see **acedrenche**.

**enxaldar**: see **aixàldiga**.

**enxaqueca**: see **jaqueca**.

**(en)xara** (Pt.) and **jara** (Cs.) “scrub” and **jara** (Cs.) and **xara** (Gl.) “name of some species of the gender *Cistus*, most particularly, *C. ladanifer*”: < And. *iššāra* < Cl.Ar. *šaṣrā*?. This word has no relation, *pace* Machado, with the **enxaraffe** occurring in a text of Alfonso X, referred to the Sevillan Aljarafe or terrace, proverbially famous for its olive-groves (e.g., IQ 105/8/4), although this place name also has an Ar. etymon (see **ajarafe**). Intrar-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jaral**; Gl.: **xaral**; Sal.: **jariego** “peasant”

**enxaravia** (Pt.) “kind of women’s head-gear”: < And. *\*aššarabīyya* “silken toque”, originated by the Arabicization of Neo-P. *sar-puṣ* “head-cover” (Cf. Neo-Ar. *šurbūš* “high triangular cap” and Eg. *šarbūš* “cap for the live coal in a hookah”), which appears abridged in And. *šārb* “brocade (for head-gear)”, suffixed in Mor. *šārbayya* “toque covering head and shoulders” Ct. **serboix** “medieval headgear”, however, reflects Neo-Ar. directly.

**enxaroque** and **enxaropa(do)**: see **jarabe**.

**enxarrafa** (Pt.) and **xarraba** (Cs.), unas-similated technical term and a hapax excerpted by Eguílaz from the Alhambra archives) “tas-sel”: < And. *iššarrāba* = Neo-Ar. *šarrābah*.

**enxávega**: see **jábeca**.

**enxeco**: see **escacs**.

**enxerca(r)**: see **chiquero**.

**enxerga** (Pt.), **jerga** (Cs.) “coarse fabric; coarse mattress” and **jergón**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “coarse mattress”: < And. *iššāriqa*, of the same unclear origin of Cs. **sirga** “hawser”, which cannot be Lt. *\*serica* “silk” on semantic grounds.

**enxerqueira**: see **chiquero**.

**enxorcar**: see **aixorca**.

**enxotar**: see **ajotarse**.

**enxoval**: see **ajuar**.

**enxovia** (Pt.) “some Ar. tribes settled in

the Moroccan coast”: is an unassimilated technical term of the 16th c., still current in Mor. as *aššawya*, lit., “shepherds”, = Cl.Ar. *šāwiyah* “owner (fem.) of many sheep” As for the meaning “jail”, and the denominal verb **enxov-alhar**, recorded by Machado, who attributes this fact to the presence of a famous prison in those same lands, it is more probable that the true etymon be a derivation and subsequent hybridization of the Ar. etymon of **aljube** (q.v.), in its Naf. pronunciation

**enzafarriar**: see **atafal**.

**enzainarse**: see **zaino**.

**enzalamar**: see **salamaleque**.

**erak** (Lit. in Arag. documents) and **erac/g, erake, eraque, aeracilis, airaga/e, iracha and iragan** (Leo., from DO 252): the **basos de erak** o **vasos iraches**, etc., discussed by Dozy, Eguílaz, Neuvonen, Steiger and Fort Cañellas 1994:98, are a well-known type of vessel of Iraqi origin, < Ar. *širāqī*, gentilic of this country, although it might have been locally imitated in Al-Andalus, as often happened with many initially imported manufactures.<sup>698</sup>

**eraqui**: this item of *Lapidario*, according to GP 89 and DAX 1057, related to a stone, is not sufficiently defined. It might be the same as *\*eraque*, from GP 116 and DAX 1516, possibly the correct reading of “**martiello e raque**”, recorded by Nykl also from *Lapidario* in the context of a magical stone which, mixed with silver in the alloy of which that hammer was made, would give it the power of leaving birds motionless by its mere sound upon hitting that stone. It must be kept in mind that Iraq was as renowned for its manufactures as for the “magic of Babel”

**erguén**: see **argán**.

**erraj** (Cs.)<sup>699</sup> “fuel made from ground olive stones”: < And. *arrāhj* < Cl.Ar. *rahj* “dust” Tol. **cagarrache** “worker in an oil mill; mistle thrush (*Turdus viscivorus*)” is a jesting hybridization with standard low register **cagar** “to defecate”. Cf. **rejalgar**.

**erage, airages** and **iraga**, most of them implying the loss of the attributive suffix.

<sup>699</sup> There are old var. like **arra(a)ax** and **arra-hax**, corroborating a subsequent contamination with **herra(j)e**, an anti-etymological spelling also accepted by DRAE.

<sup>698</sup> As proven by the relative frequency of mentions, e.g., in *Almuqtabis* V, fols. 238 and 239, as part of the gifts sent by ʿAbdarrahmān III to the Zanati chieftain Mūsā b. Abilʿāfiyah (see Viguera & Corriente 1981:264–265). Steiger 1956:99 has the var. **redoma erag**, (e)irake,

**erre que erre:** see **herre**.

**er robo:** see **ar roba**.

**esbaharecer** and **esbarecimiento** “astonishment”: in DAX 806, is a hybridization based on the Ar. etymon **baharimiento** (q.v.).

**esbarrainata** and **esbarr(i)ar:** see **al barrā**.

**escabeche**, **escabechar**, **escabechina**, **escabetx(ada)**, **escabetxador**, **escabetxer**, **escabetxina:** see **cebiche**.

**escacs** (Ct.) “chess”, **escaque** (Pt.) and **escaque** (Cs.) “(square of a) chessboard”: < Lt. *scaccus*, bookish transmission of And. *iššāh* = Cl.Ar. *šāh*, < Neo-P. and Pahl. *šāh* < Old Persian *xšāyīya-* “king (in chess)”, whence also in mod. times, as the title of Iranian emperors, starting from Neo-P., **xa** (Ct. and Pt., the latter since the 16th c., because of the campaigns in the Indian Ocean) and **sah** (Cs., an unfortunate contemporary transcription of Eng. “shah”, which it would be wiser to adopt without alterations). It is noteworthy that the original Neo-P. term to check the king, *keš šāh*, reflected in Neo-Ar. as *kišš (malik)*,<sup>700</sup> is the true etymon of the name of this game and of the Cs. interjection **eje** “away!” with loss of the first consonant, since this idiom was metanalyzed in Ar. as just the second constituent with a definite article. From the same etymon are Cs. **jaque**<sup>1</sup> and Gl. **xaque** “check (in chess)”, of European origin, substituted for the genuine **exe** (cf. Alcalá “**exe** as in the chess game *ix*”), **enjeco** (Cs., with the old var. **e(n)xeco** and **enseco**) and **enxeco** (Ct.) “bother”, both with an *imālah* giving away an And. phase, as in the case of the interjection **eje**, still very often used in Andalusia, to drive away bothersome animals. Another prob. der. of **escacs** is also Ct. **eixabuc** (in Bal. and Southern Catalonia) “rebuke”, with a Rom. pejorative suffix and development of /b/ to prevent hiatus, since it cannot derive, *pace* Coromines, from a non-existent Ar. \*\*\**šabūk* “getting entangled”, which even if corrected as *šubūk*, could only undergo palatalization of its first vowel. Of the same origin also will be **eixabui/t** “stunted”, for which Coromines posited Lt. \**exapiditus*, although the original suf-

fixation is hard to determine, as the historical phonetics of Ct. could offer several solutions with the same result. On the other hand, it is possible that Cs. **jaque**<sup>2</sup> “bully” be a metonymy of **jaque**<sup>1</sup>, being obvious that, *pace* former editions of DRAE, it cannot derive from Ar. \*\**šayx* “sheikh”, on phonetic grounds. It appears also that, through a European phase, Cs. (**jaque**) **mate** “checkmate” (with the old var. **xamat(e)**, **xamathe** and **xaque (e mate)** in GP 127), Gl. **mate** and Pt. **xa/equear** and **xa/eque-mate** reflect Neo-Ar. *aššāh māt* “the king is dead”,<sup>701</sup> but at least Pt. has a form with *imālah*, as a result of contamination with **xa/eque**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **escaqueado**, **escaquear** and **jaquear**; Ct.: **eixabucar**, **escacat**, **escacadura**, **escaquejat**, **escaquer** and **escaquista**; Pt. **escaquear**.

**escaflar:** see **descafilat**.

**escaliola** (Ct.) “spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*)”: < And.Rom. \**ESKALÓ+LA*, dim. of \**ESKÁLA*, < Lt. *scandula* < Lt. *scandāla*.

**escaliu**, **escalivada**, **escaliva(d)or**, **escalivament** and **escalivot:** see **caliu**.

**escaque(ar)**, **escaqueado**, **escaquejat**, **escaquer** and **escaquista:** see **escacs**.

(**es**)**carandaix** (Maj.) “half-burnt wood” and **carandaix** “cap for hospital inmates” (Men.): can hardly derive directly from Tr., as Coromines thinks, availing himself, with serious semantic risks, of the occasional presence of prisoners of that nation in the Balearic Islands. However, although Russian and Bulgarian \*\**karandāš* “pencil” are of Turkic origin, the parallel Mod. and Ottoman (equal to Osmanli, *pace* Coromines) Tr. form, \*\**kara taş* “black stone”, has no such meaning in the dictionaries.

**escarcatar** (Ct.) “to make crumble; to erode”: cannot derive from Ar. \*\**qarqat*, as Coromines would have it, which is rare and unattested in And.; chances are it is a reflex of And.Rom. \**QARRIQĀTA* “load”, with the connotation of carrying away little by little. Cf. **carraca**.

**escari(n)** (Cs.) and **ascari(n)** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:24) “luxury fabric”: in spite of being sufficiently documented, Cs. dictionar-

<sup>700</sup> See DS II:477.

<sup>701</sup> In truth, as stated in DS, s.v. *šāh*, a folk

etymology of Neo-P. *šāh e māt* “perplexed king”, which won the day even in Iran.

ies tend to omit it, or to erroneously identify it with *escarlata*, q.v. under *ciclatão*.<sup>702</sup>

**escarlata(t)**, **escarlati(n)**, **escarlantina(da)**, **escarlatinós** and **escarlatinoso**: see *ciclatão*.

**escassadora** and **escassar**: see *cazo*.

**escatrinar** “to exasperate” (Can.): might be an Ar. loanword, if our hypothesis of a hybridization of Ar. *xāfir* “mind” were correct, i.e., “to drive somebody out of his mind”, cf. Corriente 2001:199.

**escazarí** (Cs.) “(arch) less than a semicircle”: is a hapax of uncertain reading in some Sevillian ordinance and, therefore, a word of uncertain etymon. The proposal of an in-existent Ar. \*\*\**qaṣarī* “short” by Eguílaz and DRAE cannot be accepted, although some connection with And. *qaṣṣār* “to shorten” and *kassār* “to break” cannot be totally excluded. A shared etymon with synonymous **escarzano**, connectable with Pt. **escarçar** “to cut the honeycombs from beehives”, derivable from Lt. *castrāre*, is not sure either. Finally, if there had been a merely bookish phase, an attributive Ar. *ṣazrī* from the adverb *ṣazran* “askew” would be a good candidate.

**escehehie**, **escechie** or **pilulae alfcehiche** “certain pills designated after their inventor’s name”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:245, with no more data than its Ar. appearance.<sup>703</sup>

**eschalas** (Lt. in an Ar. document): in an inventory of kitchen utensils, recorded by Fort Cañellas 1994:100, would not mean “ladders”, but “cups”, < And. *iškāla* < Lt. *scala*, of Germanic origin, frequent in IQ, extant already in the *Leiden Glossary*, and admitted by DS.

**escoscar**: see *clofa*.

**esenio**: see *essénio*.

**esfadigar**: see *fadiga*.

**esfalagau**: see *afagar*.

**esfaqueamento** and **esfaquear**: see *faca*.

**esfardacho**: see *alfardacho*.

**esfardar**: see *fardo*.

**esfenja** (Ct.) “a kind of fritter”: < And. *isfānja* < Lt. *spongīa* < Gr. *spoggīa* “sponge” From the same etymon are **asfengi** or **effengi**

“sponge”, an unassimilated technical term in Vázquez Herrera 1989:200, and **alfinge** (Old Cs.) “fritter”, although the borrowing did not take place in the Iberian Peninsula, but through Algiers, and with a corrupted way of transmission.

**esferchegar** (Arag.) “to poke into a place for driving an animal out or cleaning it”: appears to reflect a hybrid denominative verb \*(D)*EŠ*+*farš*+*AYQ*+*ÁR*, formed on And. *farš* “bed” = Cl.Ar. *farš* “tapestry”

**esfurricarse**: see *alhorre*<sup>1</sup>.

**esgalivança**: see *cálibo*.

**esgallufar** and **esgolfar**: see *clova*.

**esgambuixar**: see *cambuix*.

**esgambullar**: see *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

**esgardacho**: see *alfardacho*.

**esgarfollar**: see *clova*.

**esgatinyar-se**: see *gat*.

**esgorfa**: see *algorfa*.

**esguitarrament** and **esguitarrar**: see *guitarra*.

**esmalucar**: see *amaluc*.

**esnafrar**: see *nafra*.

**esnó(g)a** (Jud.-Sp.) and var.: “synagogue”, < And. *ṣunūga* < Gr. *synagōgē* “reunion”

**espahí**: see *cipaio*.

**espanhol** (Pt.), **espanyol** (Ct.) and **español** (Cs.): this gentilic, with a peculiar history and Ct. dim. suffixation, derives from Lt. *Hispānus*, attributive of *Hispānia*, very prob. reflecting the Phoenician equivalent of Hb. *ṣāfān* “Syrian daman (*Hyrax syriacus*)”, an approximative name given to the abundance of rabbits of this country, *Oryctolagus cuniculus*, unknown in the East and Africa at the time of the Phoenician arrival to these coasts.

**espinaca** (Cs. and Gl.), **espinacs** (Ct.) and **espinafre** (Pt.) “spinach” (*Spinacia oleracea*): < And. *ispināxa* < Neo-Ar. *isb/fānāx* < Neo-P. *espenāx*, with accidental restoration of /p/ by contamination with Rom. reflexes of Lt. \*\*\**spīna* “thorn” Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **espinafar**.

**esquife** “churlish person”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991), < Ar. *saxīf* “arrogant”

<sup>702</sup> See a possible Neo-P. etymon in DAA 19, although the case remains open.

<sup>703</sup> There are no grounds to suggest \**uṣṣaṣṣū*, as the authors do, nor a definition of their effect

which might allow a guess. However, a possible solution could be \**ṣāhiyyah* “imperial”, cf. *basilicum*.

**essarquin:** see **axarque**.

**essénio** (Pt.), **esseni** (Ct.) and **esenio** (Cs.) "Essene, member of an ascetic, esoteric and monastic Jewish sect": < L. *Essēni* < Gr. *essēnos*, perhaps from Rab.Aram. *šēnišīn* "chaste (pl.)". The alleged Aram. etymon \*\*\**hesaiia* "pious" suggested by Machado is not recognizable.

**es(s)ere** "eruption, rash": is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:98 and Vázquez 1998b:172, < Ar. *aššarā*.

**estemar:** see **atamar**.

**esteuequicir:** see **ezteuehiciri**.

**estol** (Ct.) "fleet": ultimately derives from Gr. *stólos* but, as pointed out by DE and Eguílaz, in view of the early dating and the presence of the old var. **ostol**, there was a probable intermediation or, at least, contamination by the Ar. hellenism *uštāl*, especially considering that Catalonia was, since its beginnings and for centuries, subjected to raiding by Islamic fleets.

**estormia** (Maj.) "cylindrical cushion": as Busquets stated, can only derive from Mor. *štalormayya* (with the var. *štrombayya*) of the same meaning, through recent contacts. It is no var. of Ct. **estora** "mat" as, though occasionally made out of esparto, there is no explanation for that /m/, nor any proof of its presence in And., pace Coromines. Even in Mor., it appears to be a relatively recent term, prob. derived from Gr. *strōma* "upholstering or similar material", through its dim. *strōmation*. Ct. **estrumàs** "sailor's hammock", Maj. **estrumbol** "old or useless utensil" and Tr. *istromaça* "shock absorber for the protection of docks made out of ropes and shaped like a mattress"<sup>704</sup> point all to a naval term of the Mediterranean lingua franca, of Gr. origin, first designating the sailor's hammock, with occasional semantic evolution, and substitution in Ar. of its attributive suffix for the former ending.

**estragão** (Ot.), **estragó** (Ct.) and **estragón**

(Cs. and Gl.) "tarragon (*Artemisia dracuncul*)": < Fr. *estragon*, < Neo-Ar. *īarxūn* < Syr. *īark/xon* < Gr. *drákon*, although the bookishly transmitted Fr., formerly *targon*, whence Eng. has an unclear contamination.

**esturrufar** "to destroy" and **esturrufiar-se** "to evanesce" (Arag.): seem to reflect a hybrid denominative verb \*(D)EŠ+*turruh*+(EY)ÁR, formed on And. *turrúha* < Cl.Ar. *turrahah* "trifle", of Iranian origin.

**estrumàs** and **estrumbol**: see **estormia**.

**etzibar** (Ct.) "to throw; to reach; to eat up; etc.": Coromines' proposal of Ar. \*\*\**zibb* "penis" as its etymon must be rejected on semantic and phonetic grounds, as the lemma always reflects /i/, while And. preferred *zúbb*; cf. **cipote** and **zupo**. Chances are that it is a hybridization on the imperfective stem of the verb *ašāb*, i.e., *ašīb*, perfectly matching those meanings, as a clear case of /s/ reflected as /t/ (cf. 1.1.3.2.3). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **etzibada** and **etzibori**.

**etzit** "hurried; brisk, smart": Coromines had doubts about the authenticity of this word, but Balaña 1986 upheld it and suggested its Ar. origin which, however, is not obvious. A candidate could be And. *nazīq*, rendered by the *Leiden Glossary* as *feruidus*, < Cl.Ar. *nazīq* "irritable; fickle; fast running and stopping", in connection with the And. Iranism \*\*\**nāzq* "shuttle" (see **nezcre**), but this hypothesis is a long shot, requiring the co-occurrence of two phenomena: metanalysis and substitution of a Rom. suffix and metanalysis and elimination of the indefinite Rom. article, the latter being infrequent in Ar. loanwords (but cf. **anaquel** and **arandal**).

**evad** and **evas**: see **hé**.

**exage(g)**: see **assagreg**.

**examucia**: see **eixamús**.

**exarbe**: see **ejarbe**.

**exarich** and **exarico**: see **acharique**.

**exe**: see **escacs**.

**exea**: see **eixea**.

<sup>704</sup> Our transcription into mod. script, as this word is missing in contemporary dictionaries like that of Alderson & Iz and the Tr. Academy's *Türkçe sözlük*. Redhouse interprets it as a "large rope fender like a mattress", while Sāmī, who considers it as an It. technical borrowing, inter-

prets it as (our transcription into mod. script) *birbirine takımlı kat kat halat veya zincir* "chain or cable held in layers one on top of another", which is a description of the shock absorbers used in docking manoeuvres.

**exerchin**: see **axarque**.

**exorques** “partners”: from Barceló 1989: 119 (with possibly a worse var. in LHP 32, **alforque**, q.v., see also Corriente 2004b:73), < And. *iššuraká* < Cl.Ar. *šurakā*?

**exou/var**: see **aixovar**.

**ezbenecen** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 872, then identified with **alharcon**, q.v., which is corroborated by Benmrad 1985:68, as an erroneous transmission of Neo-P. *esrenj*.

**ezpaharaiá** “snow white (said of goshawks)”: is an unassimilated technical term, in

DAX 872, with the var. **zphrage** s.v. **axhab**, < Neo-Ar. *asbahraj*, reflecting Pahl. *spihrig*, said of bluish feathers, according to Möller & Viré 83:1988.

**esteuequçir** or **ezteuehiçiri**: is an unassimilated technical term in DAX 872, name of either a medicament or a bird in *Libro de Moamyn*, in two passages apparently containing significant textual corruptions, so that the talk might go about the product called *jabākšīr*,<sup>705</sup> or the Ar. phrase *istawā kaṭīr(an)* “to be well done; to ripe”. Cf. **tayafin**.

## F

**faararmeni**: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 91, < Neo-Ar. *hajar armant* “Armenian stone”, i.e., lapis lazuli.<sup>706</sup>

**faba** and **fabá**: see **haba**.

**fabacero**: see **abacero**.

**fabarrás**: see **abarráz**.

**fabella**: see **falleba**.

**faca** (Gl., Pt. and Cs.) and **efaca** (Anz.) “knife” and **alfaca** “knife for killing pigs” (Anl., with preservation of the agglutinated article): this item is not very old (1427 for Pt., much younger in Cs., in which it is less characteristic and general, being defined by DRAE as “large” or “curved”, with dial. or low register connotations), which tallies well with the supposition of belonging, in principle, to marginal lexica, such as that of the Morisco muleteers. This circumstance furthers the suggested And. etymon *fārxah* (= Cl. Ar.

*fārxah* “young (of animals)”, but also already, by metonymy “spear head”); IQ 76/3/2 indeed has *fārxat sikkín*, exactly as “knife, dagger”, a precious corroboration of its metonymic derivation, “young of a knife”, alluding to its smaller size. As a matter of fact, Mudejar and Morisco loans often do not agglutinate the Ar. article any more and, as for the loss of /r/, the only remaining phonetic difficulty, it can easily be attributed to contamination with another frequent word in the muleteers’ language, **jaca** “mare”, not excluding an intermediate \**falca*, in which the loss /l/ would not be so striking.<sup>707</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **facazo** and **facón**; Gl.: **facada**; Pt.: **afaquear**, **esfaqueamento**, **(es)faquear**, **facada**, **facadista**, **fac(alh)ão**, **facalhoz**, **faqueiro** and **faquineta**.

**faça**: see **haza**.

**façanha** (Pt.) **fazaña** (Gl.) and **hazaña**

<sup>705</sup> See Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:246 and 2007:357; cf. **tabaxir**.

<sup>706</sup> However, the term is given as Gr. in DAX 873 and sharing the Ar. etymon of **feruz**. The transcription of the entry is anomalous and suggests the Ar. etymon of **alfar**, q.v.

<sup>707</sup> Because it is lost in Rom. without further consequences in cases like Lt. \*\**cāpūla* > \**QALÇA* > **cacha**, or Lt. \**vulpeculinus* > *bubbijñuh* < \**BUPEČINO*, in *Kitābu Sumdati ttabīh*.

(Cs., with an old var. **fazaña**): < And. *ḥasāna* = Cl.Ar. *ḥasanah* "good deed", contaminated by the Rom. suffix */+ĀŃA/O/*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **hazañar**, **h/fazañero**, **hazañería** and **h/fazañoso**; Gl.: **fazañeiro** and **fazañoso**; Pt.: **façanhiero**, **façanhice**, **façanhoso** and **façanhudo**.

**facar assuja** "Orion's vertebra": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 91, < Neo-Ar. *faqār aššujāf*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:56 and 89 as *faqār / mīṭaqat / nīṭāq aljawzā*? "Orion's backbone or belt", i.e., Delta, Epsilon and Zeta of this constellation.

**facenzal**: see **fazanzal**.

**facón**: see **faca**.

**fádiga** or **fadiga** (Arag.) and **fad/tiga** (Ct.) "right of redemption or sharing the price of some sales", **fadiga** (Mur.) and **fádiga** "right of redemption" (Nav.): appears to be a hybrid adjective *\*házz+IQA*, formed on And. *házz* = Cl.Ar. *ḥazz* "share, portion; favour of important people; allotment" (cf. Cs. **hato**). In his DCELC, Coromines considers this word as inseparable from **fad/tiga** "fatigue", supposing an allusion to the restriction meant by that right to the seller, which is quite far-fetched; of course, he did not know the possibility of an Ar. etymon, corroborated by the Cs. idiom **dar parte** "to inform", first obligation of such sellers. The antepenultima stress, unmarked in Ct. and not confirmed for Arag. either, would constitute a decisive argument in favour of the Ar. hypothesis, although in case of corroborated penultima stress, it would not benefit the opposite view, as our opinion is not affected by cases like the var. **faidío** (from *Vidal Mayor* 249, a doubtful hapax according to Coromines), or spellings like **fatiga de dreito**, as the contamination by the Rom. word of Lt. origin is sure. Intra-Rom. der.: Ar.: **fadigar** "to exert the right of redemption" and **esfadigar** "to make disappear" Cf. **alfândega**.

**fadolla**: see **hadrolla**.

**fadrí** (Ct., fem. **fadrina**) "(poor) boy": < And.Rom. *\*ḥaṭr+ĪN*, a hybridization of the And. root */ḥṭr/* with the adjectival or dim.

Rom. suffix */-ĪN/*.<sup>708</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **fadrinet**, **fadrinejar**, **fadrinatge**, **fadrinesa**, **fadrinalla** and **fadrister**.

**fadruba** and **fadrubado**: see **joroba**.

**fafagada**: see **safar**.

**fafandoria**: see **acenoria**.

**fahet/r** "(white) turtle dove": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 874, < Ar. *fāxītah*.

**fágara** (Pt., only in Machado) "fagara (Fagara Avicennae)": is a late scientific borrowing, perhaps directly from Neo-P. *fāgare* (as Tr. and It. *fagara* give away that Ar. *fāgīrah* "open-mouthed (fem.)" is mere folk etymology), and not through Fr. *\*\*fagare*.

**fagueiro**: see **afagar**.

**faidío**: see **fádiga**.

**faido** (Pt., only in Morais) "rest, excess": appears to be a late borrowing, during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *ḥayd*, and not from its reflexes, Neop. *feyz* and Hindi *\*\*faiz* "liberality; benefit, etc.", on account of the match of the last consonant. Cf. **alfaida**.

**falac**: see **afagar**.

**falaca** (Pt., only in Morais) "bastinado": perhaps from Mudejar or Morisco slang, < And. *falāqa* = Cl.Ar. *falaqah* "stocks for holding the feet of those so punished" From the same origin is **falaca** "beating" (Bal.), prob. a recent borrowing generated by Mediterranean commerce.

**falacha** (Pt.) "chestnut pudding": DE (which suggest a var. **falaxa**) considered it as a der. of the Ar. root */ḥlj/* "to gin (cotton)", which is even semantically very unlikely, while Eguílaz's hypothesis, Ar. *\*\*ḥaltjah* "a dessert of dates and milk", is phonetically unsuitable. Considering the tendency in Western Rom., particularly in Gl., to eliminate */w/* in */Cw/* sequences,<sup>709</sup> we may be dealing with an And. Rom. hybrid *\*ḥālw+ĀČA*, formed with the Rom. pejorative suffix on And. *ḥālwā* = Cl.Ar. *ḥalwā* "sweetmeat". Cf. **alféola** and **aluá**.

**falagador** and **falagar**<sup>1</sup>: see **afagar**.

**falagar**<sup>2</sup> "to flail (flax)" (Ext.): at first sight it seems to derive from Ar. *ḥalj* (with the old

<sup>708</sup> See Corriente 1993c:140. As in the case of **añeclín**, q.v., and the like, a phonetic evolution of the dim. suffix */+ĒL/* cannot be excluded either.

<sup>709</sup> See Corriente 1997a:348–349, about this tendency in And.Rom.



obstruant pronunciation of *jīm*, characteristic of the "Yemenites"), but a parallel *falagá* "to ruin", phonetically inseparable, forces us to look for another etymon more valid for both meanings, like And. *falláq* "to split" or *faláqa* "slice; stripe" (but cf. Arag. *farachar*, more favourable to the first hypothesis).

**falago, falaguejar, falagüefio, falaguera/o** and **falagueria**: see **afagar**.

**falandrajo**: see **andrajo** and **calandraca**.

**falangeiro**: see **afagar**.

**falca** (Pt., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:199)<sup>710</sup> "lath; slice" and **falca** (Cs., Arag. and Ct.) "wooden wedge": < And. *fálqa* = Cl.Ar. *filqah* "splinter" The meaning "compartment in a wine-press" (Anz. and Anl.) appears to be a semantic evolution, as is the var. **afalca** "kerb of the pavement" (Anz.), with dissimilation of the /l/ of the Ar. article. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **falcar** "to drive a wedge" (also Ct.) and **enfalcar** "to drive a wedge or use it to break something"; Arag. and Mur.: **falcar**; Ct.: (en)**falcar** and **falcadura**.

**falcatrúa** (Pt.) "ruse" and **falcatrúa** (Gl.) "mischief": is a metathesis of a hybrid *\*ḥaṭr+AQ+OLA*, formed on the And. root *[ḥṭr]* with the Rom. pejorative and dim. suffixes. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **falcatrúa** and **falcatrueiro**; Pt.: **falcatrúar**.

**faldig/quera** and **faldi/quera**: see **faldri-quera**.

**faldrido** (Old Cs.) "experienced": this word, recorded by Steiger 1948 in *Calila e Dimna* and *Libro de Alexandre*, appears to reflect an And.Rom. hybrid *\*ḥaṭr+IT*, meaning a person who has conversed with many and has gathered much experience thereof. It is a little striking that the participial suffix be not that of the first conjugation, as usually in hybrid words, perhaps because of contamination with other synonyms, like **sabido**, **aguerido**, **curtido**, etc.

**faldrija**: see **andorina**.

**fald/triquera** (Cs. and Ct.), **fald(r)iquera** (Arag.), **fald/triqueira** (Gl.), **faldig/quera** (Ext.), **fardiquera** (Anl.), **faldiquera** (Man.

and Nav.) and **faldi/quera** or **fratiquera** (Sal.) "pocket": < And.Rom. *\*ḥaṭr+IQ+ÁYRA*, an intra-Rom. hybridization of the And. root *[ḥṭr]* with the Rom. suffixes *[+IQ]* and *[+ÁYR]*.<sup>711</sup> Cf. **alquitrante**.

**falfa**: see **alfaç**.

**falgamoni** "hot aposteme":<sup>712</sup> is an unasimulated medical term, from Vázquez 1998:782, < Neo-Ar. *falaḡmūnī* < Gr. *phlegmon* "phlegmon"

**falifa** "woollen or leathern pelisse" (Pt and Cs., from GP 91, with the var. **falipa** and **ganinfa**, poorly attested, prob. related to Pt. **falhipo** "rag", cf. Ast. **ffalyffa** "pelisse", in García Arias 2006:69, and **falifu** "dirty rag", *ibidem*, p. 199): lexicographers have treated this term, possibly spread from Cs., with some neglect, as can be observed in the entry **alifa** by Coromines. While it is true that Cl.Ar., after Eastern sources, had a term *\*xanīf* "coarse dress", it is not a common word, nor is it witnessed in the West. Chances are that its true etymon is the same as that of Cs. **zalea**, q.v.s.v. **salefa**, through metanalysis of a definite syntagm (i.e., *\*as ç+alifas*, as in *ala(l)me*, *alam-bor* and *abacero*, q.v., vs. the opposite phenomenon in *salema*), with subsequent hypercorrect restoration of a first consonant *h/f*, triggered by cases like Cs. **acera** and **azache**. As for Cs. **falifa** "alliance", it bears no relation with that meaning, but derives from the Ar. root *[ḥlf]*, concretely from *ḥalīfah* "oath"

**fall** "split" (Arag.), **fallá** (Arag.) and **fallar** (Ct.) "to split", and **fallet** (Arag.) "little girl's vulva (with a Rom. dim. suffix, cf. Pt. **xarifa**)": derive all from And. *fáll(a)* = Cl.Ar. *fáll(ah)* "breaking", *mašdar* of the verb *fáll* = Cl.Ar. *fáll* "to break"

**falleba** (Cs.), **fabella** (Arag.) and **(fa)lleba** (Ct.) "shutter bolt": < And. *\*xallába* (documented also in Mor.), semantically parallel to Ar. *mixlab* "claw", on account of the likeness of its end, received into a socket. The alleged contamination which Coromines posited by a hypothetical Cs. *\*halleba* is totally unnecessary to explain the optional aphæresis of the first

<sup>710</sup> It is not sure, however, that its seeming der. **falqueru** be its noun of profession, as it might just be a var. of **falaguero**, q.v.

<sup>711</sup> See Corriente 1993c:140.

<sup>712</sup> With the var. **p/galgamoni** in Herrera & Vázquez 1981:83–86.

syllable in Ct., as Ar. /x/ could also be matched by /h/ in Ct. and Arag., and then be lost (cf. Arag. (f)arnaca, Ct. aloc, etc.). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **barralleba**.

**fallega** (Ct.) “animal droppings” (only by corruption as a var. of **falleba**): is a word from Alicante of doubtful etymon, but its var. **fòlle-ga** and, in other dialects, **fóllega** “droppings of small game” (Mur.), **fólliga** and **fóniga** or **fuélliga** “animal excrement; track” and **fuélligo** “groove left by a dragged object” (Anl.), **fólliga**, **fuélliga** and **huélle/iga** “animal track” (Anz.), **huéllega** “droppings of small game” and **huélliga** “track” (Anl.), with emphasis on the semanteme of “excrement as track”, together with the vocalism of Ct. **fallega** “rabbit droppings marking their track”, points to a hybrid derivation from Lt. *fullare* “to tread”, phonetically and semantically contaminated with Ar. *fall* “scattered remnants of a defeated army”, with the Rom. suffix /+ÁYK/.

**falparraz**: see **abarraz**.

**falquía** (Cs.) “double halter”: derives from a corruption of \***fasquía**, with a phenomenon found also in **alfalc**, q.v., < And. *fašqíyya* < Syr. *pesqūtā* < Lgr. *phaskía* < Lt. *fascia* “girdle”. The correct form is attested by Pt. **fasquia** “lath”,<sup>713</sup> Leo. **fazquia** (in García Arias 2006:204), and Ct. **fasquía** “girth”. Cf. also **fal/rquía** “upper edge of a rowboat” (Can. from Gran Canaria). Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **fasquiar** and **fasquio**.

**faltrique(i)ra**: see **faldrique(i)ra**.

**faltruca**: see **droga**.

**faluá** (Gl. and Pt.), **falu(g)a** (Ct.), **falu(c)a** (Pt.), **falúa** or **faluca** (Cs.) and **faluga** (Anz.): its seeming immediate etymon, Neo-Ar. *fallūkah*, undocumented in Western dialects, however, cannot possibly derive from Ar. \*\**fulk*, a mere poetical name of ships, only habitual in sacred texts for Noah’s Ark.<sup>714</sup>

A better candidate would be Neo-Ar. *filwāh* “young mare”, name given in Egypt to a similar boat, but not as a direct borrowing, as Coromines thought, on phonetic grounds, since that meaning is not attested for the matching And. *fallūwwa*. The sway of forms without loss of the third consonant, and the impossibility of a direct derivation from the Eg. form *falwa*, undocumented in the West, force us to accept, despite Coromines’ diachronic objections, a hybridization of the Eg. term with the Rom. pejorative suffix /+ÚK/, already within the lingua franca, which is not unlikely for this kind of small boat, indispensable in port operations. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **falucho** (with substitution of the pejorative suffix, confirming our hypothesis); Ct.: **faluer**, **falueta**, **faluguejar**, **falutx(o)** and **falutxer**; Gl. and Pt.: **faleiro**.

**faluz** (Pt.) “copper coin in Ormuz”: is a mod. borrowing, from Ar. *fulūs*, pl. of *fil*, < Aram. *pulsā* < Lgr. *phóllis*. From the same period and origin is Cs. **foluz** “= **cornado**, old copper coin worth a sixth of one **maravedí**, q.v.”, documented at the beginning of the 17th c., as well as Pt. **felu** (only in Morais) “copper coin”, resulting from metanalysis as pl. of the entry, and Cs. **felús** “coppers, already a contemporary item, from the 20th c., through Mor. *flus*, although, according to Mateu y Llopis, numismatists apply it to any Islamic copper coin, most particularly, to the And. ones from the Caliphate and Petty Kingdoms.

**fanal** (Cs. and Ct.) “large lantern”: < And. *fanár*, < Lgr. *phanári*, a dim. of *phanós*, whence also Neo-Ar. *fānūs* “lantern”

**fanar** (Gl. and Pt.) “to maim; to lop, to amputate”: this characteristically Gl.-Pt. term was a heretofore unsolved etymological crux. A derivation from Lt. \*\**fanum* “temple”, hesitantly propounded by Machado, with a

<sup>713</sup> Machado pretends not to have found this word in Ar. dictionaries, though attributing this etymon to Dozy through Nascentes’ *Dicionário*, which is strange and contradictory, as the term is registered in DS, often used by himself.

<sup>714</sup> Curiously enough, this term is documented, as a pl., in the *xarjah* ĀṬĪI: see Corriente 1997a:

188). Theoretically, one could posit a hypocoristic der. \**fallūkah*, whence the different Rom. forms would easily derive; however, everything points to an Ar. loanword, not transmitted through Al-Andalus, but as a consequence of commercial relations between the Northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea with the Eastern harbours.

complex semantic evolution, is unbelievable but, as stated DCECH, s.v. **fanático**, it has also meant “to circumcise”, “to die” and “to wither”, which might imply semantic contamination with other words. This could have happened with **afán** (q.v.), but the meaning “to circumcise”, apparently the basic one, as in the Christian thinking of those days this Jewish and Islamic practice was regarded as a mutilation, strongly suggests a derivation from a hybrid And.Rom. verb *\*xatn+ÁR*, formed on And. *xátn* = Cl.Ar. *xatn* “circumcision”, in which the position of the dental stop is very favourable to its being lost, as in Cs. **alhe(t)ma**, q.v. Cf. **alfaneca**.

**fandoch** and **fanduca**: see **alfandoque**.

**faneca**<sup>1</sup> (Ct. and Cs.), **hanega** (Cs., with a var. **fanega[da]**), **fanega** (Gl.), **faniega** (Ast.), **fanec/ga** (Arag.), **janega** (Sal.) and **fānēga** or **fanga** (Pt.) “a dry measure”: < And. *fanīqa* = Cl.Ar. *fanīqah* “a sack for carrying earth” The Pt. stressing corroborates a report recorded by DS in the sense that And., next to *fanīqa*, had an allomorph *fānqa*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **fanegada** and **fanegüero**; Ct.: **fanecada**; Gl.: **fanegueiro**; Ast. **faneguero** “rich” (in García Arias 2006:30) and Pt.: **fanguero**.

**faneca**<sup>2</sup> and **faneco**: see **alfaneca**.

**fānēga**, **fanega(da)** and **fanegue(i)ro**: see **faneca**<sup>1</sup>.

**fanfarrão** (Pt.), **fanfarrón** (Cs. and Gl.) and synonymous **farfallán** (Gl.) “bully”: appear to be var. of Cs. **farfantón**, aug. of **farfante**, var. of **farfán**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **fanfarronear**, **fanfarronería** and **fanfarronesca**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **fanfarronada**; Gl.: **fanfarr(on)ear**; Pt.: **fanfarraria**, **fanfarr(on)ear**, **fanfarrice** and **fanfarronesco**.

**fanga**, **fanguero** and **faniega**: see **fanega**<sup>1</sup>.

**fañeca**: see **alfaneca**.

**fañicar** “to work without retribution” (Sal.): looks like an Ar. loanword, although

it is not easy to precise whether its semantic evolution started from standard **fañar** or from **alfañique**.

**faquear** and **faqueiro**: see **faca**.

**faqui**: see **alfaquí**.

**faquineta**: see **faca**.

**faqir** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “fakir, Muslim mendicant or ascetic”: is a late borrowing, documented in the 16th c. for Pt, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, and even younger in the other languages, which might have received it from Pt. or Fr., < Ar. *faqīr* “pauper”, habitual designation of these mystics. Intra-Rom der.: Gl. and Pt.: **faquirismo**.

**farabol**: see **ababol**.

**faraça/ola** (Pt.) “a weight in India”: reflects *farāsīlah*, a term used in Southern Persia, coasts of the Red Sea India, according to Hinz 1955:7–11, documented by Piamanta 1990:370 as Ar. *farāsila* and its pl. *farāsīl* “weight unit in Southern Arabia”

**fa/orachar** “to brake (hemp or flax)” and **fa/oracha** or **zaracha** “brake for dressing flax or hemp”: these Arag. words, the former being the intra-Rom. denominal verb of the latter, appear to derive from And. *hallāja* “gin”,<sup>715</sup> from an equivalent pattern of the same root providing the etymon of **almarrá**, q.v., and exhibiting the same substitution of the sonorant.

**faragán**: see **haragán**.

**faragayu**: see **fargallo**.

**faraguanes**: see **fargallo**.

**faramalha** (Pt.) and **faramalla** (Ct. and Gl.) “nonsense, idle talk” (Ct.), “suckers (in plants)” (Arag.), **faramalla** “worthless thing” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:201), and “wordiness” (Cs. and Gl.) and **zaramalla** (Ast.) “fancy; imbroglia”: prob. < And. *ḥarām ālla*<sup>716</sup> = Cl.Ar. *ḥarāmu llāh* “prohibited by God”, although it is hard to precise its date and

<sup>715</sup> Its sole source, Alonso del Castillo’s collection of proverbs, says it of the ginning woman, not the device, but this functional transference is regular in all Neo-Ar. for the pattern [1a22ā3ah], as explained in connection with **barraca**, q.v.

<sup>716</sup> The abridgment of God’s name by eliminating its last consonant is commonplace in Neo-Ar.,

also registered for And. (see Corriente 1980a:19, 1.1.2.29.1), while the allomorph with shortening of the preceding vowel is even older, even being allowed as poetic licence (see Wright 1859:II 383, paragraph 245, commented in Corriente 1976:72, fn. 2; see also the information in Corriente 1997b:131 and fn. 17).

phases. From the same origin, with semantic evolution, are **faramallo** “intriguer” (Leo.) and **faramalla** “liar” (Ast.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **faramallero** and **faramallón**; Gl.: **enfar-amallar**, **faramallada** and **faramello**; Pt.: **faramalheiro** and **faramalhice**. Cf. **afaram**.

**faranga**: see **haragán**.

**farān** (Cs. and Gl.) “Pharaoh”: < Lt. *Phārāo* < Hb. *parōh* < Eg. >prʾ? < “big house”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **far-aónico**; Ct.: **faràonic**.

**faraz** (Pt.) “steward”: is a late borrowing of the 16th c., of Eastern origin, through Hindi *farrāś* < Neo-P. *farrāś* < Ar. *farrāś*.

**farbollar**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**farc** (Maj.) “indolent, slovenly, etc.”: is prob. a backformed masc. of And. fem. *fārga*, i.e., Cl.Ar. *fāriḡ* “empty; idle; wasted”.<sup>717</sup> From the same etymon is **oliva farga** “hollow olive”, but there is no relation with **fargalada** (q.v.), *pace* Coromines.

**farda**: this term has different etyma in the diverse meanings and languages. Cs. **farda**<sup>1</sup> “compulsory tribute or service” (cf. “charge; guilt” in Leo., “guilt” in Ast., after García Arias 2006:30, and the idiom **echarle la**—“to put the blame on somebody”, Nav.) is a var. of **alfarda**<sup>1</sup>, q.v., whereas in the meaning “bundle of clothing”, shared by Gl. “bundle” and Arag. “bundle; excessive amount”, seems to have an immediate origin in Fr. or It., as Ar. **\*fard**, always restricted to metaphorical applications of “load; charge”, is not suitable in those cases although, ultimately, it is probable that those terms also hark back to Ar. *fardah* “each of the twin loads carried by a beast”, spread by Mediterranean commerce. On the other hand, Cs. **farda**<sup>3</sup> “notch, mortise”, a sense shared by Gl., obviously reflects Ar. *fard*, or perhaps rather its n.un. *fardah*. Furthermore, there is a Ct. **farda** “squirrel”, which does not appear to have an Ar., nor prob. Br. etymon, in spite of some statements in that sense, and finally, Pt. and Gl. **farda** “uniform” is no doubt of Fr. origin, after Coromines’ DCECH, under **fardo**, with the witnesses of Gascon and Languedocian *fardas* and Fr. *hardes*. Cf. **fardo**.

**fardagem**: see **fardo**.

**fardacha/o** and **fardaix**: see **alfardacho**.

**fardatge**: see **fardo**.

**fardatx(o)** and **fardazo**: see **alfardacho**.

**fardel** (Cs. and Pt.) “shepherd’s purse” and **fardell** (Ct.) “bundle containing one’s belongings”: does not require an etymon through Fr., as Machado thinks, since this word is recorded as And.Rom. in cookery books, applied to the same product still so called in Aragon, a parcel-like preparation made from entrails. It is an obvious Rom. dim. of the etymon of Cs. **fardo**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enfardeladura**, (des)enfardelar and fardelejo.

**fardería**, **fardero** and **fardete**: see **fardo**.

**fardiquera**: see **faldriquera**.

**fardo** “bundle of clothing” (Cs. and Gl.) and “sack for a load” (Pt.), and **harda** “sack” (Anl., already in DRAE): both derive, with some semantic evolution, in the first case prob. through Fr. or It. (see **farda**), from Ar. *fard(ah)* “one of a pair”, which seems to have substituted for **\*šiqq** “one of the two loads carried by a beast on either side”. Nav. **enfar-dar** “to make pregnant” is an obvious semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **desenfardar**, **enfardador** and **fardería**; Arag.: **fardero**; Cs. and Gl.: **enfardar**; Ct.: **desfardar**, **fardatge** and **fardot**; Pt.: **esfardar**, **fardagem** and **fardete**.

**farduba**: see **farjup**.

**fares** (Cs.) “darkening of churches during certain ceremonies of the Holy Week”: seems to derive from the last word of the riddle said to have been written by a mysterious hand on the wall during the dinner in Balthazar’s palace, in Lt. transcription *mane tecel phares* < Bib. Aram. *mēnē taqēl parsīn* “counted, weighted, Persians”, (Dan. 5/26), a passage which used to be staged in churches, by darkening the scene at the right moment.

**farfa**: see **algará**<sup>2</sup>.

**farfā** (Pt.) and **farfán** (Cs.) “Christian knight in the service of Muslim rulers in North Africa”, Pt. and Cs. **farfante**, Ast. **farfán** “brazen” (de García Arias 2006:202), Cs. **farfantón** and Ct. **farfant** “braggart; liar”: appear

<sup>717</sup> Incidentally, the euphemistic expression *walad alfārga*, which we rendered as “the lazy

woman’s son”, is documented in the *xarjah* CGA1: see Corriente 1997a:195 and fn. 115.

to be all der. from the name given there to the members of those military units who, as scarcely integrated mercenaries, soon earned themselves a bad reputation. For this reason, they were given the Br. nickname of *ifarxan* “young roosters; boys” (pl. of *afarx*, < Ar. *farx* “young of animals”, cf. *faca*),<sup>718</sup> whence the Cs. and Pt. forms, which they assumed proudly, although it was interpreted by their neighbours with the pejorative connotation of “braggart, bully, etc.”, also transmitted to Cs., Ct. and Pt. The etymon suggested by Coromines, Occitan *forfant* “rogue”, and the proposal of DRAE, based upon Ar. *\*\*farhān* “glad” must, therefore, be forsaken. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **farfantonada**, **farfantonería** and **farfallón**; Ct.: **farfantada**; Pt.: **farfantear** and **farfancia**; Anz. **afarfantado** and **afarfante** “borracho” Cf. **rabastieno**.

**farfallán**: see **fanfarrão**.

**farfán**, **farfancia**, **farfant(on)ada**, **farfante(ar)** and **farfantonería**: see **farfá**.

**farfara**: see **algara**?

**farfulla**, **farfulla(do)r** and **farfullero**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**fargalada** (Ct.) “wine or oil lees”, **fragalá** (Mur.) “dry wine lees” and **fargallada** (Gl.) “medley”: are hybrids with Rom. suffixation of And. *hārbala* “turning up, stirring” (*mašdar* of *hārbāl* < Cl.Ar. *hawwala*) because, as is obvious for Ct. in the examples given by Coromines, the talk does not go so much about the stuff stuck to the bottom of the vessel as to its effects when it is stirred up and makes the new contents turbid. However, the alteration of the third consonant in both cases makes a phonetic contamination with **fargallo**, q.v., possible. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag. **desfargalado** “slovenly” Cf. **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**fargallo** (Gl.) “rag, tatter”: is a hybrid with pejorative Rom. suffixation of And. *xalāq* “worn-out cloth”, more prob. than of *\*\*xirqa* “rag”, with a problematic first vowel. This hypothesis is upheld by Ast. **farguanes** “badly

tailored, torn or dirty clothes” and **faragayu** “old patched shirt, in García Arias 2006:200–201, and Tol. **afargatón** “slovenly; dirty”, from an And.Rom. *\*A(D)+xalaq+AT+ÓN* “turned into rags” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **far-gallón** “slovenly; hasty”. Cf. **arguell**.

**fargandán** “loafer; bungler” (Man.): appears to reflect And. *fār(i)ḡ azzān* “of insane thoughts”, although other hypotheses resulting from contamination with standard **haragán**, q.v., cannot be excluded.

**farguanes** and **faragayu**: see **fargallo**.

**fargueras** “finicky man” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991): is prob. an And.Rom. hybrid *\*fāriḡ+ĀYR* “frivolous”, comparable to **far-gandán**, q.v.

**faricos** “burning fever”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, < Neo-Ar. *fārīqūs* < Gr. *baruēkoos* “causing deafness”

**fariseo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **fariseu** (Ct. and Pt.) “Pharisee”: < Lt. *phārīsaеus* < Aram. *pērīsayyā*, equivalent of Hb. *pērūšim* “separate”, because of their ritual scruples. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **farisa/eísmo**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **farisaico**; Ct.: **farisaic** and **fariseisme**; Gl. and Pt. **farisaísmo**.

**farja/e**: see **alfarja**.

**farjup** (Ct. of Tortosa) “lump made by a badly tailored or adjusted garment”: Coromines would derive it from a blending of And. *hadúbba* (better than his *haddúba*) “hump” and Lt. *\*\*gibbus* “hunchbacked”, which is semantically and panchronically unlikely. It might perhaps be descended from a form parallel to Jud.-Ct. **farduba**, from the same And. etymon, contaminated by also And. *júbba* > (al)**juba**, or its Ct. **jupa**, q.v., but the likeliest solution, in our view, is a der. of And. *xārij* “protruding” (cf. its pl. *xurrúj* in IQ 84/20/3) which, with or without the addition of the Rom. aug. suffix/ +ÓN/, has been blended with *hadúbba* (prob. already pronounced *\*hadúpa*), rather than with *\*\*júbba*, so that it has produced

<sup>718</sup> The story is narrated by Albaydaq (see Lévy-Provençal 1972), who calls them *bani f.r.xān*, no doubt an interpretation of Br. *ayt f.r.xan*. This etymon had been propounded before, but except in a note added to the latest edition of

DAI, we had been thinking of the Ar. pl. *fīrxān*, in the very secondary meaning of “bastards”, instead of the Br. pl., both phonemically and semantically recommendable.

\**xarjúpa*, origin of the Ct., with backformation of a masc. on account of unstressed /a/, easily mixed up with /e/. Cf. *joroba*.

**farnaca**: see **arnaca**.

**farrocho**: see **arocho**.

**farolla**: see **hadrolla**.

**farón** (Arag.), **harón** (Cs.) and **jarón** (Anz. and Anl.) “lazy”: < And. *harún* = Cl.Ar. *harūn* “restive”, with semantic evolutions in Leo. **farona** and Sal. **jarona** “lassitude”, Anl. **jarona** “vine stock without fruit”, and **harona** “dredge scoop”, in García Salinero 1968:129. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **haronear** and **haronía**; Arag.: **faronía** (in Vidal Mayor 194).

**farota**: see **arocho**.

**farpar**: see **farrapo**.

**farra** “spree” (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): is everywhere a word of low register or jesting connotations apparently spread fast, already in the 20th c. It is prob. borrowed from Naf. *fārha* < Cl.Ar. *farḥah* “joyful celebration”, transmitted from coast outposts or harbours by soldiers or traders. This is corroborated by Pt. **farrabadó** “noisy feast; uproar”, which we first thought might be interpreted as \*\**fārḥat bdu* “Bedouin feast”, but in fact appears to be \**fārḥet albdū* “first day of a wedding celebration”.<sup>719</sup> There is an Ext. var. **farria**, while Cs. **parranda** is a return of the same word with a suffix, through Basque. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **farrear**.

**farracachona** (Arag.) “attractive woman”: is prob. a case of double Rom. suffixation on a base with a characteristically Ar. syllable structure {1a22á3a}, with a wide array of matching possibilities. A good candidate would be \**xal(l)aq+ĀĈ+ŌNA*, on the etymon of **afagar**, q.v., but, considering the relatively rarity of this sonorant substitution in Ar. loanwords, which in fact does not occur in any of the many Rom. reflexes of that And. term, there are other possibilities to be considered, such as And. *harráqa* “burning (woman)”, \**harráka* “arouser (fem.)”, *farráka* “female robber (of hearts)”, etc.

**farrapo** (Pt.), **harapo** (Cs.) and **farrapu** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:203) “rag”: are, in truth, an etymological crux. If they were deverbal der. of the old Pt. verb **farpar** = Ast. **esfarrapar** “to rip”, they might be connected with And. *xar(r)áb* = Cl.Ar. *xar(r)ab* “to ruin”, but this does not tally well with the steadiness of /p/, never /b/ reflexes, although an explanation could be found in a contamination with Cs. **trapo**, **guiñapo**, etc., all of them meaning “rag”.

**farrear** and **farria**: see **farra**.

**farrob/ga**: see **alfarroba**.

**farruco** (Cs., Arag. and Ast., in García Arias 2006:203) “fearless”: is prob. a case of metanalysis and substitution of the suffix {+ÚK} for {+ÚĈ} in an And. hypocoristic *farrúj* = Cl.Ar. *farrúj* “chicken”. This explains its application in Cs., with the connotation of shyness, to Galicians and Asturians having recently abandoned their native land.<sup>720</sup>

**farrusco**: see **arocho**.

**farsanga** (Pt.) “parasang, Persian unit of distance”: is a late Eastern borrowing, documented in the 16th c., as Machado says, taken directly from Neo-P. *farsang*, as its Ar. reflex *farsax* would have had another result. However, its cauda would be better explained by a contamination with the Graeco-Lt. form of the same term, **parasanga**, derived from Old Persian.

**fartaquí(m)** (Pt.) “gentilic of Cape Fartak in Aden”: reflects Ar. *fartakī*, the matching attributive adjective.

**faruchar**, **farucho** and **farute**: see **arocho**.

**fas** and **fas(s)os**: see **páscoa**.

**fasia**, **fe(r)sia** and **fescia** (Ct.): is a numismatic term, recorded by Mateu y Llopis, as designation of a kind of doubloons, coined by the Merinid sovereign Abū Fāris ʿAbdāʿazīz, whose *kunya* or agnomen generated an attributive *fārisiyyah*, to judge from the var., without any relation with their origin in Fes, which that author admitted as an alternative possibility.

<sup>719</sup> Cf. Vicente 2000:226, in which this is the technical sense of the expression (*nhar*) *lābdu uttādāyuf*, lit., “day of starting and hospitality”

<sup>720</sup> As for the etyma of former editions of

DRAE, now corrected, there is no Ar. \*\**fārūq* meaning “brave”, but “shy”, synonymous of \*\**farrūq*, and neither is witnessed in And.

**fasquia(r)**, **fasquía** and **fasquio**: see **falquía**.

**fassi** “anus” (Ct. of Tortosa): is no doubt And. *fassá/l* “farter” < Cl.Ar. *fassā?*; therefore, its normal spelling should be **fessi**.

**fas(s)os**: see **páscoa**.

**fa(s)ita**: see **ata**.

**fasuricon** or **fosarachi** “a remedy for mange”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez 1992b:944, < Neo-Ar. *fasūrīqūn* < Gr. *psōrikón*.

**fataca** (Pt.) “wooden ladle for cutting cottage cheese” and **hataca** (Cs.) “wooden ladle; rolling-pin” and **jartaca** “stirring ladle” (Anl., a mere phonetic var.): < And. *\*fajtāqa* “mincing utensil”, undocumented but regularly derived as a n.inst. from the root *{ftq}*, frequent And. reflex of Cl.Ar. *{ftq}*.

**fateixa** (Pt.) “grappling iron; hook” and **fateja** “grappling iron used in wells” (Anz.): < And. *\*fattāša* “seeker (fem.)”, undocumented, but regularly derived as n.inst. of the root *{ftš}*. Of the same origin are **alcatejas** (Nvl. and Mon.), **alcad/tejas** and **alpiteja(s)** (Tol.) and **pateja** (Anl.) “grappling iron used in wells”; however, the first consonant in these items has an abnormal reflex: in the case of >c<, there might have been a contamination with der. of the root *{tfx}*, whence And. *\*\*muxtāf* “(fish) hook; anchor”; in the case of >p<, prob. with **pata**. Intra-Rom. der. Pt.: **fateixar**.

**fatar**: see **alch(a)thara**.

**fatel** (Gl.) “garment worn between skirt and apron”: is the only surviving witness of **fate/ol**, mentioned by DE (p. 266), but for the information provided by Berganza, from two Lt. documents of the 10th c., not used to its full extent in that work. The etymon suggested there was Ar. *faḍlāʔ*, which is not documented in And., while Rom. would suggest a masc. here. But conversely, there is And. documentation of *faḍāl* “hedge of a garment”, so that, in the light of some hypercorrect devoicing of intervocalic /d/ into /t/ (e.g., Cs. **atafera**, **ataire** and **atorra**, although always after an agglutinated article), it would be possible to posit a semantic evolution of that word, with

probable metanalysis of the Rom. dim. suffix. However, the **alfatel** “cord of a waistcoat” mentioned by Eguílaz, and pointing to And. *\*fattāl*, specially when coupled with the expression *fatl alakmām* in IQ 147/5/3 “rolling up the sleeves for dancing”, would suggest that this n.inst. meant the cords used for tying up loose flaps of clothes so that they would not interfere with dancing or other activity, and that the term would then have semantically evolved to designate a kind of apron protecting clothes in such situations. This interpretation is not hampered by the **fatel** of some Lt. documents of Aragon, mentioned by Fort Cañellas 1994:104, which she renders as “blanket”, because it occurs together with bedclothes in one instance, and with household goods in another, in both cases specifically made of silk and cotton. While it is true that such materials are more suitable for cords than for blankets, they might have meant the cords often used to keep the sheets and blankets in place; on the other hand, the **fateles alfanegues** of the Cs. Lt. document mentioned by Eguílaz (p. 397), also as bedclothes, can only be broad surfaces of fur. As for LHP 242, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:81, its long entry devoted to **fatel**, in which its polysemy becomes evident, does not make any definitive contribution to its etymological solution, which applies also to García Arias 2006:30, who documents it in Ast., and DO 242. This author resorts to Almaqqari’s famous text, quoted from Dozy & Engelmann 1869 down to Steiger 1956, who apparently was right upon reading *faḍālī*,<sup>721</sup> pl. of Neo-Ar. *faḍlāʔ*, for which its Naf. offspring suggests the meaning of “piece of cloth; sheet”, but not “cord of a waistcoat”, “pillow”, or “undershirt”. Consequently, while the solution in Corriente 1999d for “cord of a waistcoat” appears to hold good, and there are no serious objections to interpreting **fatel** “pillow” as a contamination of **fazal**, unless it is a hybrid *\*xadd+ÉL* “little cheek”, we are inclined to think that, in other cases, there have been reflexes, not of a sg. *faḍlāʔ*, which poses unsolvable phonetic problems, but of its pl.

<sup>721</sup> Nothing else can be suggested by Mor. *faḍāle*, nor is there any other possible type of bro-

ken pl. in Ar., in general, or Naf., in particular.

*faḍālī*, with a cauda which in And.Rom. pronunciation might well have been metanalyzed as the Rom. dim. suffix, thus solving the phonetic difficulty and ushering a likely semantic evolution.

**fater(a) and father:** see **alch(a)thara**.

**fatia** (Pt.) "slice": is only documented in the 16th c. and, on both phonetic and semantic grounds, cannot derive from And. *\*\*fātā-tah* "crumb", despite the lucubrations of DE, accepted by Machado. Chances would be better with Ar. *fatīlah* "wick", with the same semantic evolution of its Cs. match **mecha** towards "bacon slice" Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **fatiar** and Can. **fatiosa** "coquettish woman" (borrowed from Pt.), lending support to the mentioned etymological hypothesis.

**fatifat, per la**—(a Bal. oath): as stated by Coromines, is an at least verbally surviving Islamic oath "by the *fātīhah*", i.e., the Ar. name of the first sura of the Koran. The realization of the final consonant as /t/ is worth noticing, as it can only mean that there was first a longer formula, before being abridged, reflecting Neo-Ar. *fātīhat alkitāb*, i.e., "opening of the Book"

**fatiga:** see **fādiga**.

**fatimī** (Cs.) and **fatimīta** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **fatīmīda** in Machado) "Fatimid": is a contemporary historiographical term, < Ar. *fāṭimī*, attributive adjective of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter and ʿAlī's wife, from whom the members of this dynasty claimed to descend.

**fatjos:** see **cotxó**.

**fato** "bundle of clothes" (Ct. and Pt., the latter in the meaning of "small flock" and ders.) and **fatu** ("bundle of clothes", Ast., in García Arias 2006:31): like Cs. **hato** "bundle of clothes; possessions; bunch' shepherd's hut, etc.", are prob. of Germanic origin, although semantically contaminated by And. *hāzz* = Cl.Ar. *ḥazz* "share; portion" On the other hand, this is the exclusive undoubtable etymon of Cs. **hate** "allocation of irrigation water in the Granadan plain", after Eguílaz. As for Machado's alleged but non-existent Ar.

etymon *\*\*\*hatu* "(school of) fish", it is a mere whimsical distortion of *\*\*hū* "(huge) fish; whale", of no etymological use.

**fatta:** see **ata**.

**faulas** (**hacer**—) "to loaf while pretending to work": (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:205), < Ar. *ḥawlah* "one spin". Cf. **argolla**.

**fausal:** see **fofal**.

**fava:** see **haba**.

**favacera:** see **abacero**.

**faicoz:** is an unassimilated astronomical term, in DAX 881, an error for *\*cayfoz* "Cepheus", < Ar. *>qyḥāws* < Gr. *Kēpheús*, after Kunitzsch 1959:112.

**fayrocech:** see **feyruzech**.

**faza:** see **haza**.

**faza/onzal** (Llt., in Pt. documents of the 10th and 11th c.) and **facenzal** (Leo., in DO 241) "an Eastern fabric": < Ar. *fasāsārī*,<sup>722</sup> gentile of the town of Fasā in Fāris, whence it took its name, as many other manufactures of Persian origin.

**fazaña, fazañe(i)ro** and **fazañoso:** see **façanha**.

**fazonzal:** see **fazan zal**.

**fazquia:** see **falquia**.

**fazroen** (Llt., in a Cs. document) "a fabric of pure silk": this textile term, recorded by Steiger 1956:106–108, indeed reflects Ar. *dībājūn xusrawānī* "royal brocade", < Neo-P. *xosravani*, attributive of Cosroes, in principle, and then "royal", said already of this fabric.

**fe:** in DAX 882 (with the var. **ffe**, in GP 92): "name of the letter F in Ar." < *fāʾ*?

**febra** (Pt.) "boneless meat": the presence in Mor. of its semantic match *ḥabṛa*, would confirm the Ar.Cl. etymon *ḥabrah* of this word, already suggested by Steiger 1932:270 and accepted by Kiesler 1994:194 and 286, despite the lack of agglutinated article, absence of And. documentation and isolation of the loan in Ibero-Rom. However, one of the meanings of Lt. *fibra* "fibre", no doubt regularly reflected by Pt. **febra** and Cs. **hebra**, was "entrails", boneless parts of the body, which understandably induced Machado to prefer this etymon, phonetically unobjection-

<sup>722</sup> Later *safsāri*, after Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 350).



able, as is the Ar. one, but semantically less immediate.

**feca**: see **alfaca**.

**fechan** "sprain": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:128, < Ar. *fadaṣ*.<sup>723</sup>

**feda**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 92, < Ar. *fidḥah* "silver".<sup>724</sup>

**feila** (Cs. thieves' cant) "fainting fit feigned by the thief caught red-handed": perhaps < And. *háy(i)la* < Cl.Ar. *hā'ilah* "terrible thing"

**felá** (Pt.) "fellah, Egyptian peasant": is a contemporary borrowing, prob. received through Fr., < Ar. *fallāḥ* "peasant" As for Arag. **felalo** "simple soul", it might have the same etymon, but through Mudejar transmission.

**felaga** (Pt., only in Machado) "bandit": is a contemporary borrowing, prob. received through Fr., < Alg. *fəllaḡa*, pl. of *fəllaḡ*, derived from Neo-Ar. *fallāq* "braggart". It was used by the colonials to refer to the nationalistic guerrillas in the Algerian of independence.

**feletal borox** "orbit of the Zodiacal signs": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 92, < Neo-Ar. *falak alburūj* (cf. **mantequet falec alboroché**).

**fel/rga** "slovenliness, disorder, negligence" (Pt.): without an obvious etymon, it might well reflect Ar. *harj* in "Yemenite" pronunciation; on the other hand, **felga** "crushed lump of soil" and "protruding root" are closer to Ar. *filqah* "chip broken off something".<sup>725</sup>

**felu** and **felús**: see **faluz**.

**fem elquez**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 92, < Neo-Ar. *fam*

*alkaʿs* "mouth of the cup", which Kunitzsch 1959:125 identifies with Alpha Crateris.

**fen** (Pt.) and **fin** (Cs.) "part (of Avicenna's *Alqānūn*)": is an unassimilated technical term recorded by Eguílaz, < And. *fām* = Cl.Ar. *fann* "chapter"

**fenacho**: see **cenacho**.

**fendi**: see **efendi**. As for the Ct., especially Bal. idiom **fer fendi** "to fall through", Coromines' proposal to derive it from Ar. *\*\*xan-daḡ* "ravine" is worth little, because nothing similar is documented in And., and the solution may be more at hand. It so happens that Malt. has a verb *fenda ifendi* "to roll (said of marbles)",<sup>726</sup> from It. *fendere*, which points to Mediterranean transmission of a metaphor based on the concept of the rolling dice in gambling, often ruining the hoped result.

**fendo(z)**: see **alfendoz**.

**fenecf** (Cs.) "buttress of an arch": prob. from And. *banasf* "Venetian", a late Granadan term, possibly having an allophone with *ff*, as it transcribed the gentile of Venice, since Italian merchants often visiting Andalusian harbours pronounced the labiodental phoneme neatly.

**fenef/za**: see **acenefa**.

**fenelaman** "roots used as remedy for falcons": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 884, < Neo-Ar. *fann alyaman* "branch from Yemen"

**fenidio**: see **alfeni**.

**ferezias**: see **alferec**.

**ferfide** (with a better var. **farfiri**): is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 885, confirmed by DAA 396, and interpreted in this work as "stone formed by polyps of the gender Alcyonum", which is a totally mistaken con-

<sup>723</sup> The authors suspected instead a corruption of **alsedha** or a var. thereof; however, here and in some of these cases, the semantically and graphically closer root *[fɪk]* is likelier. Incidentally, some of these terms meaning braking and twisting, e.g., **chadesan**, **sadahan**, **chalahan** and **fechan**, are likely to be *maṣḍars* of the pattern *[la2a3ān]*, not necessarily recorded by lexicographers, but very common in that semantic category of verbs, expressing "violent or continuous motion", after Wright 1959:I 113.

<sup>724</sup> Also reflected in Vázquez & Herrera

1989:225 as **fedhe**.

<sup>725</sup> The scene is further complicated by Cs. **helgado** "irregular or separated" and **helgadura** "being so", said particularly of teeth, possible cognates of those Pt. words, but also reminiscent of Ar. *filj* "space between the teeth", *fulaj* "quality of been irregular or separated", etc.

<sup>726</sup> The meaning of this Malt. verb is precisely the opposite, "to go well" (after Aquilina 1987-90), but of course both possibilities are contained in this metaphor.

cept, as what this term really means is “purple” or the mollusk whence it is obtained, < Neo-Ar. *ṣadaf alfirfir* “murex shell”.<sup>727</sup>

**ferga**: see **felrga**.

**ferre**: see **alferraz**.

**ferrete** (Cs.) “copper sulphate used as drying stuff; branding iron”: < And. *firrát* < And.Rom. \**FERRÁT* < Lt. *ferrātus*. The original form, documented in the *Leiden Glossary*, Alcalá and the *xarjah* VTU1,<sup>728</sup> appears here contaminated by Cs. **herrete** “ferrule”

**ferriu**: see **alferraz**.

**fersia**: see **fasia**.

**feruz** (Lit., in an Arag. document, with erroneous var. *f/suruz* in LHP 249 and 609, commented upon in Corriente 2004b:82 and 92) “turquoise”: < And. *fayrúz* < Cl.Ar. *fayrūzaj*, from Pahl. represented by Neo-P. *firuze*. In this context, the reference is to the colour, not to the stone itself, constituting one more case of loss of the attributive suffix (< *fayrūzī*, parallel to the **feruzi** mentioned by Olschlager, after Fort Cañellas 1994:122. But this suffix is still preserved in **foruzi** “turquoise coloured”, in DO 243 and García Arias 2006:57.

**fēs and feseta**: see **alfeça**.

**fes(c)ia**: see **fasia**.

**feta**: see **alfaca**.

**fetena**: see **alfétena**.

**fetua** (Cs.) “formal legal opinion issued by a Muslim doctor in law”: is a contemporary legal term, < Ar. *fatwā*, from the same root as **muftī**, q.v. In agreement with mod. system of phonemic transcription, the correct form would be **fatua**.

**feyrach**: is a hapax and unassimilated borrowing, recorded by LHP 244 and DO 244, with two phonetically unsuitable etymological proposals, namely, a connection with **irake**

and a derivation from Ar. \**farājī*. In our view, this is just an error for \**fez(z)ach*, from the And. etymon of **alchaz**, q.v.

**feynac**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 32 (with a var. **alfeyxu**), < Neo-Ar. *faynak/j* “pumice stone” in DS II:303, but “sea-foam” according to its Neo-P. etymon *finak*, after Steingass 1892:945.

**feyruch** or **fayrocech** “lapis lazuli”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 91 and 92, with the var. **alferuzach** in GP 32), from the same Ar. etymon of **feruz** (q.v.), and with the meaning which would also be that of **feruzegi** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:225, despite Ruyzes’ interpretation as “tin”

**fez** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “fez, tarboosh”: does not derive directly from Naf. *fās*, name of the city of Fes in Morocco, but from its Tr. equivalent *fas*, through Fr. or Eng.<sup>729</sup>

**ffalyffa**: see **falifa**.

**ffata**: see **ata**.

**ffe**: see **fe**.

**ffomalhos algenubi** “the mouth of the Southern Fish” (with the var. **fom alhot/b elgenubi**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 93, < And. *fūmm alhāwt aljanūbi* < Cl.Ar. *famu lhūti ljanūbi*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:164–5 as Alpha Piscis Australis. Cf. **Fomalhot**.

**fiberla** or **fiboria** (Leo., in DO 244): its interpretation as “striped fabric”, based on Ar. *hibarah*, is etymologically correct, but not semantically, as Church liturgy imposes on chasubles the background colour assigned to each one of the four times of the year. The cauda suggests attributive suffixation, \**hibríyya*, or a hybridization with the Rom. dim. suffix, i.e., \**hib(a)r+ÉLLA*, merely implying likeness, not identity with the genuine Eastern fabric.

<sup>727</sup> The term **milicion** given there as Gr. is, indeed, *milēšion*, reflected in Syr. as >*myl-sywn* < “species alcyoni”, after Payne Smith 1879–1901:2092, for which the definition of DAX is correct.

<sup>728</sup> See Corriente 1997a:187.

<sup>729</sup> Although it originated as an And. fashion, spread to North Africa by the expelled Moriscos, it appears that this name was coined by the Turks, who consider Fes as the symbol of Western Islam,

and was only later adopted by western languages through French and English exotic novels. Eastern Arabs preferred to call it \**farbūš* (see **tarbuche**), possibly the slangy name given to it by Spanish-speaking Moriscos, none too fond of headgear, from **traposo** “rag-like” or **trapucho** “despicable rag” (see Corriente 1980c:199–200). In the Islamic West it kept the old neutral name of \**šāšyū* (see **seixa**).

**fideu** (Ct. and Pt.) and **fideo(s)** (Cs. and Gl.) "spaghetti": Coromines' proposal, of a Rom. hybrid on the Ar. root *{fyd}* "to overflow" is impossible on semantic (as their volumen once cooked does not increase any more characteristically than other products), as well as phonetic grounds (as the resulting /i/ before a velarized consonant is irregular), and even from a graphemic viewpoint, as the Ar. spelling always has /d/, never /ḏ/. We had thought that the name of this product, which was not thread-shaped as in our days, but rather resembled grains or wafers,<sup>730</sup> might reflect a Rom. word, parallel to It. *\*\*fettucia* (cf. in Syria, *\*\*fatūš* "salad made out of slices of stale bread"), but the And. spelling *fidāw(i)š* is not compatible with the quadriconsonantal broken pl. pattern expectable in a word of this structure, nor is the match of the dental normal. Coromines might have been right, after all, upon presuming that this is a hybrid term, although formed, in our view, on the And. verb (*a*)*fād yifid* < Cl.Ar. *afād yufid*, "to profit; to be profitable", with the Rom. suffix of verbal nouns *{+É(Y)O}*, alluding with this "profiting" to the use made of flour left over from other preparations, which was so converted into less perishable dry pasta. Intra-Rom. der: Cs.: **fideero**; Ct.: **fideuada**, **fideuet**, **fideuá**, **fideuer** and **fideueria**.

**fila de agua** (Nav., used also in Aragon and Valencia) "a unit for the allocation of irrigation water": appears to be a semantic calque of Ar. *xayl* "thread" (in both real and metaphorical senses). Cf. **alhema**.

**filele/f** (Pt. and **filelf** (Cs.)) "fine woollen fabric": is a mod. borrowing, documented by Mármol in the 16th c., < Mor. *filali*, gentile of Tafilalet in Morocco. It is prob. also the origin of Cs. *fililí* "exquisiteness".

**filliche/f** "fainting" (Anz., with the var. **alf-erliche**): < And. *fílij* = Cl.Ar. *fālij* "hemiple-

gia", with stress shift due to metanalysis of the Rom. suffix *{+ÍČ}*. Cf. **alferecía**.

**filindrajo**: see **andrajo**.

**filisteo** (Cs.) and **filisteu** (Pt. and Ct.) "Philistine": < Bib.Lt. *Philistaeus* < Hb. *pēlišti*.

**filonia/o** "sedative electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez 1998a:782 and Vázquez 1998b:172, < Neo-Ar. *fālūniyā* < Gr. *philōneion*.

**fin**: see **fen**.

**finnoso** "beautiful": from DAX 898, rather "gracious", as it is no doubt a hybrid with the Rom. suffix of Hb. *hēn* "grace".<sup>731</sup>

**firdaries**: is an unassimilated astrological term, from DAX 898, to which the editors have given a whimsical sg. **\*firdarí**, with the no less absurd interpretation of "a star not integrated in a constellation", although provided with a question mark. In truth, this is the term explained in **alfridaria**.

**fírmán** (Cs.) and **fírmão** (Pt.) "decree of the Ottoman sultan": is a contemporary historiographical term, prob. through Fr. or It., < Tr. *ferman*, or its etymon, Neo-P. *farmān* < Pahl. *frāman* "order". The older Pt. spelling **formão** is a direct borrowing from Neo-P.

**fitian**: see **alfetían**.

**filisei**: see **alhasch**.

**foão** and **fulano** (Pt., the latter also Gl.), **fulán** (Ast.) and **fulano** (Cs., with the old. var. **fulán** and **hulano**, fem. **hulana**) "so-and-so": < And. *fulán* = Cl.Ar. *fulān* < Eg. *>pw rn<* "this name", an early loanword in the whole West Semitic group. It is remarkable that Old Ar. apocopated vocative *yā fulu*, matched by *yā hādā* "hey, you" suggest some awareness of the demonstrative first element of this old compound.

**foceífiza** (Cs.) "a kind of mosaic in Islamic art": is a contemporary archaeological term, < Ar. *fusayfisā?* < Aram. *pēsipās(ā)* < Gr. *psêphos*. The antepenultima stress **\*focéfiza**,

<sup>730</sup> According to data in Huici 1965:184, in which this term is sg.

<sup>731</sup> The text containing this term, from the *General Estoria I*, reflects a haggadic story about Moses, most likely inserted by a Jewish collaborator, which makes it probable that this be one

of the many Hebraisms of Jud.-Sp., cognate of the term integrated in a phrase of Baena's *Cancionero*, **sofar ahenim** "trumpet (announcing) graces", as well as in the adjectives **ajenádo** and **jenózo** "gracious", in Nehama 1977:17 and 255, perfectly etymologized by the author.

preferred by Coromines in agreement with standard Neo-Ar., is more advisable that the ultima stress, strictly classical, or the penultima stress, suggested by DRAE, characteristic only of Mod. Eg.

**foc(h)a** or **fuca** "a kind of beer": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez 1993:210–212, < Ar. *fūqāṣ*.

**fodelí** (Old Val., prob. poorly transmitted) and **fodolí** (Cs.) "meddler": < And. *fuḍulí* = Cl.Ar. *fuḍūlī*.

**foeta**: is an unassimilated technical term in DAX 903, which is given the erroneous interpretation of "neck" when, in fact, it is And. *fūwāh* "mouth" (see DAA 406, under *{f(mw)}*).

**fofal** "areca or betel nut (Areca catechu)": is an unassimilated technical term in GP 92, altered in DAX 881 as **fausal** and wrongly rendered as "nutmeg (*Myristica fragans*)", although with a question mark, and again in DAX 910, as **fo(u/s)fal**, identified as "white bryony (*Bryonia alba*)", it being obvious that the editors have not recognized Ar. *fawfal*.

**fola**: see **foula**.

**folar** "a sweetmeat" (Jud.-Sp.): is an And. Rom. culinary term, < And. *fullár* "puff pastry".<sup>732</sup>

**fole**: see **alfola**.

**folforinho**: see **forforí**.

**folgazano**: see **holgazán**.

**foluz**: see **faluz**.

**follar** (low register Cs.) "to copulate": this word may well be a borrowing from the Morisco idiolect, in which it is a semantic calque of And. *waṭá* < Cl.Ar. *waṭī* "to tread", a common word, simultaneously and by metonymy having both meanings, the original "to tread", and the legal term "to possess sexually" (cf. Cs. **pisar**, said of birds), while the absence of diphthongization of stressed Cs. /o/ and /e/ is a feature of that idiolect.

**fol(l)e**: see **alfola**.

**fó/óllega** and **fólliga**: see **fallega**.

**Fomalhaut** (Cs.) "the star Alpha Piscis Australis": is an unassimilated astronomical term, scientific Lit. transcription of And. *fūmm*

*alḥāwt* < Cl.Ar. *famū lḥūt* "the mouth of the fish" Cf. **fomalhos algenubi**.

**fonda** and **fondac**: see **alfóndec**.

**fonga**: see **fungi**.

**fontegí** (Cs.) "a variety of wheat": < And. *funtiśí*, gentile of an And.Rom. place name \***FONTE**(ś), meaning "spring(s)",<sup>733</sup> therefore hard to spot.

**fóniga**: see **fallega**.

**foracha(r)**: see **faracha(r)**.

**foraya**: see **açoraya/e**.

**forcal** "part of the combs in a loom": is a technical term in Márquez 1961:98, apparently an And.Rom. borrowing, < Lt. *furca* "fork"

**for/sdar** and **fouzadar** (Pt.) "commander of a regiment": < Neop. *fowjdār*, whence also Hindi *faujdār* "head of a district", compounded of Ar. *fawj* "legion; regiment" and the Neo-P agentive suffix *dār*.

**forforí** (Ct.) and **forfolino** or **fa/orfolina** (Can.) "a smaller pound used for spices" (cf. the "troy pound"): < And. (*rāṭl*) *fulful* "pepper pound", equivalent of Pt. **arrátel folforinho**,<sup>734</sup> attributive adjective of Ar. *fulful* "pepper", < Sk. *pippalī* not transmitted by preserved Iranian forms, as those witnessed in Persian are borrowed from Ar.

**formão**: see **fírmán**.

**fornaca**: see **arnaca**.

**forra**, **forradís** and **forrar**: see **alforre**.

**forrás**: see **alferraz**.

**forre**: see **alforre/o**.

**forreca**: see **alforreca**, q.v.

**forreta**: see **alforre**.

**forrica(rse)**: see **alhorre**<sup>1</sup>.

**forro** and **forrón**: see **alforre/o**.

**foruz(i)**: see **feruz**.

**fosdar**: see **fórdar**.

**fossal**: see **fofal**.

**fota** (Pt.) "turban; trunk-hose": is a late borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *fūṭah*, < Sk. *puṭa* "wrapping"

**fotroz** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 910, in truth, any stone, as it reflects Gr. *pétros*, through Syr. >*pṭrws*<, after Payne Smith 1879–1901:3955.

<sup>732</sup> About which, see García Gómez 1972 III:410–411. The treatment of /ll/ gives away a Pt. origin, not infrequent in Jud.-Sp.

<sup>733</sup> See **arnadí**.

<sup>734</sup> See Cunha 1970.

**fo(u/s)fal:** see **fofal**.

**foula** (Gl.) “mill dust; thin flakes of snow; foam raised by the ship bow; dandruff”: as Coromines suspected, at least some of these meanings would reflect And. *hávla* “whirl-wind”, a solidly established term in this dialect, extant with a Rom. pl. morpheme in the *xarjah* A32,<sup>735</sup> and supported by *batahola*, q.v. From the same etymon is prob. *ola* (Cs. and dial. Pt. dial., Ast. *folá*, in García Arias 2006:31) “wave”, it being well-known that this word is an etymological crux, as every attempt to find its etymon anywhere else has failed. Only the Ar. hypothesis is viable, especially considering that it is a n.un. of *hāwl* “storm”, often referred in Neo-Ar., after DS, to the agitation of the sea and the fright it causes, which is the basic semanteme of the root. It would first have meant the big waves of a storm, and then those of any size and their foam, thus gathering all the meanings of **foula**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. *ol(e)aje* and *olear*. Cf. *olla*.

**fouzadar:** see **fordar**.

**foz:** see **alfoz**.

**fragalá:** see **fargalada**.

**fratiquera:** see **faldriquera**.

**fres** and **fris:** see **alefris**.

**fucharse:** see **afucharse**.

**fuélliga:** see **fallega**.

**fugel** (Pt., only in Morais) “old name of the radish”: is And. *fújl* = Cl.Ar. *fujl* < Aram. *puḡlā* < Ak. *puḡlum*.

**fugela** “hard tumour behind the ears”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1983:173–177 (with the var. **fugelic/na** and **fugille** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177), < Neo-Ar. *fūjilā* or *fūjilā* < Syr. >pwgāilā< < Gr. *phūgethla*, pl. of *phūgethlon*, in fact, “tumour in the groin or, more widely, in the glands” The matching Ar. texts have *ḡudād* “glands”, but a mix-up has occurred, caused by the transcription of Gr. *adēn*, pl. *adēnes* “gland”, which has been misread as Neo-Ar. *uḡḡayn* “ears”, as suggested by Payne Smith 1879–1901:3051 and 32, with the Syr. transcription >*dhnes*< for the same subject matter.

**fulad:** see **alfulad**.

**fulán** and **fulano:** see **foño**.

**fuludia** “stone causing the milk to curdle”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 920, corrupted from Gr. *kollódēs* “glue”, for *kóllotes* “kind of stones”, through Syr. and Ar. scripts.

**fungi** or **fonga** “diseases; hot cinders”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1983:129, considered by the authors as a distortion of Ar. *naḡḡah* “swelling”, which cannot surprise in these scientific texts, as a consequence of a contamination or bad transcription, as explained in Vázquez & Herrera 1985:223.

**furfus** “abnormal growth of flesh in the cervix uteri”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, corrupted from Gr. *kórax* “curved instrument” or *krēpís* “base”

**furrica(s)**, **furricada**, **furricoso** and **furriqueira:** see **alhorre**<sup>1</sup>.

**furrieca:** see **alforreca**.

**furrufalla** “food or objects of little value” (Arag. of Tarazona, from Gargallo 1985:66): is prob. a pejorative Rom. suffixation of And. *xuraf*+*ÁLLA* < Ar. *xurāḡah* “trifle”

**furuz:** see **feruz**.

**fustán**, **fustal** or **fustañ** (Cs., with the var. **fostán**), **fustán** (Gl.), **hustan** (Leo., in DO 248), **fustani** (Ct.) and **fustão** (Pt.) “a fabric”: for the solution to the etymon of this word requires it must be remembered that, although the Egyptian city of Alfusāt (today a part of Cairo) might have produced fabrics, among other many manufactures, this term cannot derive from its gentilic, as purported by former editions of DRAE, corrected in the latest, because there are no expectable closer forms, even in the languages of the Mediterranean countries with the closest trade relations with the Near East, nor was this fabric ever called \*\*\**fustāif* in Ar., as would be reasonable, but it was only known under designations of European origin, such as *fusṭān* and *fi/ustāl*. Therefore, it is almost certain that this fabric was made in the West and occasionally exported

<sup>735</sup> See PD 300.

to the Middle East and, considering that one of its most typical varieties was dyed with sumac,<sup>736</sup> or its ersatz *fustete*, q.v., it would be quite legitimate to posit a Lt. *\*fustet-aneus*, integrated by a first constituent of Ar. origin and a Rom. attributive suffix which, by either

haplology or loss of the unstressed syllable generated the form attested in Ct., Cs., etc. Consequently, the correct form in Ct. would be *fustany*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *fustanero*; Ct.: *fustan(i)er*.

*fustet(e)*: see *alfóstigo*.

## G

**gabán** (Cs. and Gl.), **gabão** (Pt.), **gavan(y)** (Ct.) “cloak and **gabán** (Arag.) “woman’s blouse”: prob. < Ar. *qabāl*, through at least It. intermediation, in spite of being documented in *Vocabulista in arabico* and the *xarjah* ŪM2.<sup>737</sup> From the same etymon, though through And. *qabá*, could be **cabaza** (Old Cs.) “long mantle or coat”, which does not seem to be a Rom. aug. of **capa**, *pace* Eguílaz and former editions of DRAE, on account of the unvoiced labial. Such is also the etymon of **cabaia** (Pt.) “typical Malay dress”, although altered by dial. pronunciation and that of intermediate languages, beginning with Neo-P., in which *qabāyi* *pešvāz* “kind of shirt” exhibit an *ežāfe* (i.e., annexation) form, prob. source of that type of cauda. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **engabanado**; Ct.: **engavanyament** and **enganvanya(do)r**.

**gabaonita** (Cs. and Pt.) “Gibeonite”: < Bib.Lt. *Gābāōnites* < Hb. *gibsoni*, a gentilic of *gibšōn*, the city of Gibeon.

**gabel(l)a**, **gabella(er)**, **gabellí** and **gabel-lot**: see **alcabala**.

**gabera**: see **jabera**.

**gàbula**: see **cábala**.

**gacel(a)** (Cs., with the old var. **gazela** and **gancela**), **gasela** (Ct., with the old var. **gatzela** and **gatzell**), **gacela** (Gl.), **algazela** (Arag.) and **algazel**, **agazela** or **(al)gazela** (Pt.) “gazelle”: < And. *gāzāl* = Cl.Ar. *gāzāl*. Although a fem. *gāzālah* is regularly formed, which is by no means a n.un., as the citation form is not a collective, that fem. is relatively rare. Consequently, it would appear that the transmitted form was that of the usual masc., regularly reflected in the var. Cs. **gacel**, Pt. **algazel** and Old Ct. **gatzell** (in this case contaminated by the Rom. dim. suffix), and that the prevailing fem. is intra-Rom., on account of the greater concern with animal gender in this linguistic family, in comparison with Ar., in which the gender distinction is only effective for large animals of those particularly valuable to men. The pedantic and arbitrary purpose of some 19th c. Spanish Arabists, like Eguílaz, of rendering as **gacela** the Ar. technical term *\*\*gāzal*, said of a type of love poetry in Ar., Neo-P., Tr. and Urdu, absolutely unrelated to that animal name, has luckily fallen into total oblivion.<sup>738</sup>

<sup>736</sup> See Martínez Meléndez 1989:450, who also mentions a Latinized *fuscotinctorium*, corroborating this hypothesis.

<sup>737</sup> See PD 226.

<sup>738</sup> Except, of course, for its naive use by García Lorca, convinced as he was that it was legitimate to so call some of his poems, and to designate others as **casida**. Naturally, a poet cannot be forbidden to use metonymy and metaphor, but scholars specialized in literature

should not attempt to Castilianize, Hispanicize and denaturalize technical terms belonging to another language, literature and culture, in which they have a precise and untransferable value. Eguílaz also purports, without any authority, that such a meaning of Cs. **gacela** has a Ct. match **gasel** which, had it really existed, would be somewhat less censurable, on account of the better equivalence of gender and phonetics.

**gacha(s)** (Cs.). “porridge, pap”: is a word prob. coming from afar, with a route hard to trace. Its likeness to Russian *káša*, put forward in Corriente 1985:133, was not underlined by Vasmer 1996:II 214 who, nevertheless, recorded its reflexes in diverse Slavic languages and concluded that it derives from hypothetical Lithuanian *\*kasiā*, from the verb *kóšti ~ kóšiu* “to strain”. In our view, however, the strange coincidence of Slavic and Cs. can only have a common denominator in the Islamic world, the clue being Neo-P. *kaškaw/b* “puls e farina hordacea”, i.e., “porridge from barley flour”, in Vullers, with the var. *kaškva* and *kašk(ak)*, of similar meaning. Its Ar. phase is documented as *kašk* in the two purist dictionaries *Lisān alʿArab* and *Alqāmūs almuḥīṭ* as well as in, at last, one And. source, the well-known *Kitāb aṭṭabīx fi lmağrib waʿandalus* (Huici 1965:233), with the shape *kaškāb*, q.v. in DAA, p. 462, there being no doubt as to its Neo-P. etymon *kašk āb* “barley water”, reflected also nowadays in Iraqi Ar. *kaska/ā*.<sup>739</sup> Every phonetic difficulty would cease if there ever was an And. *\*káš[a]k* with an An. transmission, often omitting final consonants.

**gachofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**g/caciegaleyitz** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 326, perhaps the same as **galecaciz** (q.v.).

**gaciuz**: see **gatiuz**.

**gacora** “a marine seaweed”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 94 and DAX 923, for **\*qaçora**, corrupted from **cayçor**, q.v.

**gadu** “hard apostema”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:130, < Ar. *guddah* which, however, only means “gland, aden”. The mix-up, as in the case of **fugela**, q.v., has occurred on the way from Gr. to Ar., through Syriac, as Galenus’

passage on *phúgethla* was rendered in Syr. as >*šubyānā māšrā d-hwā adhn*< (“erysipelas tumour, which is aden” [!], see Payne Smith 1879–1901:3051 and 4318, rendered in Ar. as *awrām ḥārrah*, a mistake for *ḥāddah* “hard [tumour]”), but the fact that this tumour affected the glands has introduced *guddah* or its pl. *gudad* in the Ar. translations from Syr.

**gafacán**: see **algafacán**.

**gafar**: see **cafarrro**.

**gafetí** (Cs.) and **algáfita** (Can.) “agrimony (*Agrimonia eupatoria*)”: < Neo-Ar. *ḡāfīṭī* through Lit. bookish transmission, which explains the anomaly of a seeming attributive suffix, missing in Can. and in the most genuine but obsolete var. **algafite**, prob. reflecting And. *algáfa/it*.

**gafo** “leper” and **gafedad** “leprosy” (Cs.): Corominas propounded an Ar. etymon based on a fem. **\*qafāʾ** of **\*aqṣaf** “claw-handed”, although aware of the total absence of Neo-Ar documentation for that Cl.Ar. word. In our view, this is rather an early Ar. loanword of the kind found in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, reflecting a “Yemenite” pronunciation *gāff* of Ar. *jāff* “dry”,<sup>740</sup> which is semantically suitable, since this is the kind of leprosy called dry or mutilating, as a euphemism otherwise quite understandable. On the other hand, it is remarkable that And. sources do not document that term in its usual meaning, but replace it by *majfíf*, an anomalous non-agentive participle, attributable to a calque of the Rom. substratum;<sup>741</sup> this would imply that the euphemism had again become ominous and was avoided, in turn. Besides, the same etymon, possibly contaminated by phonetically close Ar. *jāfi* “displeasing”, perfectly matches the meanings of Gl. and Ast. **gafo** “ferocious”<sup>742</sup> and Pt. **gafar-se** “to get angry”

<sup>739</sup> After Woodhead & Wayne Beane 2003: 406.

<sup>740</sup> See 1.1.3.3 and AAR 53 about this feature in some early Ar. loanwords, and AAR 37–38 about the absence of *imālah* in this and other instances. Euphemistic denominations of leprosy were frequent in Cs., e.g., **meselidad**, **malatía**

and **lacería**, and other languages, cf. Ger. *Aussatz*, roughly “out of mention” and Russian *prokaza*, lit., “mischievous”

<sup>741</sup> See AAR 126, 3.1.2b.

<sup>742</sup> According to García Arias 2006:32, much alive and with der. like **gafura**, **gafez**, **gafencia**, **gafedá**, etc.

**gagates** or **gagatz**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 924, < Neo-Ar. *gāgāṭis* “a kind of jet” < Gr. *gagátēs*.<sup>743</sup>

**gaiatell** (Old Ct.) “float of a fishing line”: is a hybrid of And. *gáya* “limit, end” = Cl. Al. *gāyah* “(small flag marking the) finish line (in a race course)”, with the Rom. suffixes, participial /+ÁT/ and dim. /+ÉL/.

**gaid/ró, gairell, garrell and cairell, de—** (Ct.) and **de gairón** (Arag.) “askew”, **gairón** “very tall” (Can.) < And. *gaydún*, a Rom. aug. hybrid of *gáy(i)d* < Cl. Ar. *gālid* “drawing water”, a name given to shadoofs, which has generated metonymies on account of its large size and crooked arm. There is occasional contamination with **cairell**, a der. of Lt. *quadrus*. Cf. **gairo**.

**gaifa** and **gaifó**: see **daifa**.

**gair alnachar** “not rotten”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:131, < Neo-Ar. *gayr annaqir*.

**gairell** and **gairó(n)**: see **gaidó**.

**gairo** (de—) “forgotten olives picked up by gleaners” (Nvl.): might be a half-translation of And. *liḡáyru* < Cl. Ar. *liḡayrihī* “somebody else’s”, although a relation is also possible with Arag. **de gairón** “askew”, q.v.s.v. **gaidó**, suggesting that those olives had not been directly visible to the harvesters.

**gaitil** (a Ct. hapax of 1399) “latrine, or perhaps its hole on the ground”: is a hybrid with the Rom. adjectival suffix formed on And. *gáy(i)t* < Cl. Ar. *gāliṭ* “excrement”

**galaadita** (Cs.) “Gileadite”: through Bib. Lt., < Hb. *giḡādī*, gentilic of Gilead.

**galafate(ar)** and **galafateo**: see **calafate**.

**galanga, galingal** and **colinjão** (Pt.), **galanga(l)n** (Ct.) and **galanga** (Cs.), with the old var. **garengal** and **gal/ra/ingal**: are all names of galingale (*Alpinia officinarum*), transmitted through scientific Lt., < Neo-Ar. *xa/*

*ulanjān* < Neo-P. *xulangān* < Sk. *kulañjana*, which derives from Chinese *kó-leung-kéung*, according to Vasmer 1996:II 165. Its etymon is frequently mixed up, as in DRAE, with Ar. *\*\*xalanj*, “brier (*Erica arborea*)”, completely different from galingale.

**galapatero** “a kind of snail which plagues vegetables” (Mur.): like standard Cs. **galapatio**<sup>744</sup> “insect plaguing unripe wheat”, is a reflex of And. Rom. *\*QALAPAQ+ÉL*, lit., “little turtle”, preserved in And. *qalapaqil* “vine grub”, of pre-Rom. origin.

**galbán** (Gl. and Arag.) “idler”: this word and its der. (like Gl. an Cs. **galbana**<sup>1</sup> and Ct. **galvana** “sloth” and Arag. **galbanar** “to yawn”, **galbané** and **galbanut** “loafer”, **galbaniar** and Gl. **galbanear** “to loaf”, Can. **galión** “opportunist” and **galivardo** “big man”, and perhaps also, although with contamination, Arag. **galuf/po** “loafer”) are an etymological crux. Apparently more genuine in Gl. and Arag., on account of the number and quality of their var., its cauda at least would not be Ar., but the Rom. adjectival suffix /+ÁN/, very characteristic of Gl. and Arag., attached in a hybrid to the And. *maṣḍar ḡalb* = Cl. Ar. *ḡalb* “victory” or the And. agentive participle *ḡalib* = Cl. Ar. *ḡalib* “victorious” This would require a sociolinguistic reinterpretation, as the semantic juncture would not have been, initially, “defeated, lacking strength”, but on the contrary, “insolent victor refusing to toil” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **agalbanado**, **galbanero** and **galbanoso**.

**galban** (Ct.) and **galbano** (Cs. and Pt.) “galbanum”: < Lt. *galbānum* < Gr. *chalbánē* < Hb. *ḡelbānāh*.

**galbana**<sup>2</sup> (Sal., after DRAE) “small pea”: prob. a corrupted bookish transmission of And. *juḡilbāna* < Cl. Ar. *juḡ(ub)bānah*.<sup>745</sup> Cf. **alverjana**.

<sup>743</sup> But see DAA 116 and fn. 1.

<sup>744</sup> With the same dissimilation as in standard Cs. **gallipato**, which strikingly both DRAE and Coromines consider a der. of **gallo**, paying no heed to obvious folk etymology.

<sup>745</sup> This shape is the outcome of an old dual formed on the pl. *juḡab* of *juḡbah* “kind

of saddlebag or sheath”, an accumulation of number morphemes permitted when there was a combination of different concepts of number, as in this case, because the object is naturally dual, so that the pair can be pluralized, cf. *\*\*jimalāni* “two herds of camels”, after Wright 1859:1 190–191.



**galbanar, galbané, galbane/iar** and **galbanut**: see **galbán**.

**galchofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**galdifa**: see **califa**.

**galdracha** (Gl.) "scraps; tattered", **galdrán** (Gl.) "tattered", **galdrana** (Arag.) "lazy woman",<sup>746</sup> (Gl.) **galdrapo** "rag; tattered" and **galdrexar** "to cook a bad meal", (Ast.) **galdrir** "to rot", **galdrapu** "hanging shred" and **galdrofa** "hogwash" (in García Arias 2006:204), are all der. from And. {*hṛ*}<sup>747</sup> with diverse Rom. suffixes or contaminated by other semantically close words.

**galdrufa**: see **baldrufa**.

**galecaciz** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 925, perhaps the same as **geleate/iz** and **gelefeticoz** in DAX 931, corrupted from Gr. *galaktitēs* (*lithos*), reflected by Syr. >*kāpā gālātyṭws* < or >*lyṭws gālāqṭyṭys* < in Payne Smith 1879–1901:1664 and 1945 (see also **gaciagaleytyz**).

**galfaru**: see **calfarro**.

**galfau**: see **garfo**.

**galforro**: see **calforra**.

**galga** (Cs.) "boulder rolling downhill", "stone wheel for grinding olives", "ribbon for tying women's footgear", and similar meanings always suggesting a closing device fitting into something or detachable from it, may all reflect And. *gāliqa* "shutter", *gālq* "shutting" or *gālqa* "closed area", from the Cl.Ar. root {*glq*}. Cf. **saloquia**.

**galgamoni**: see **falgamoni**.

**galia**: see **algalia**.

**gālib, galibar** and **gālibo**: see **cálibo**.

**galifa**: see **califa**.

**galifates** "long nails; suspicious character" (Leo.): likely belonging to thieves' cant, it might characteristically reflect And. *garifāt* "grabbers", although the absence of *imālah* in the pl. fem. morpheme is strange, if the term is not very old, therefore, it might also be an alteration of **galafate**, q.v.s.v. **calafate**.

**galileo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **galileu** (Ct. and Pt.) "Galilean": through Bib.Lt. *Gālīlaeus* < Hb. *gēlīlī*, gentilic of *gēlīl* "Galilee"

**galima** (Cs. and Ct.) "pilfering" and Arag. **echar la galima** "to steal fruit or vegetables from an orchard": < And. *ḡanīma* = Cl. Ar. *ḡanīmāh* "booty" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **galimar**.

**galimar** and **galimo**: see **cálibo** and **galima**.

**galió**: see **adolío**.

**galión**: see **galbán**.

**galipu**: see **cálibo**.

**galivação** and **galivar**: see **cálibo**.

**galivardo**: see **galbán**.

**galizavra** (Pt.) "a kind of sailboat in the Mediterranean Sea": is a hybrid of a Rom. member of the family of Cs. **gale(r)a** and the Ar. etymon of **atzaura**, q.v.

**gall(ar)ofa, gallof(e)ar** and **gallof(er)o**: see **clova**.

**gallerans**: see **galzerans**.

**galpão** and **galpón**: see **jabalcón**.

**galsamac** and **galsamati**: see **algalsamac**.

**galuf/po**: see **galbán**.

**galvana**: see **galbana**.

**galzerans** (Ct., with the var. **gaserans, gatserans** and **gallerans**, cf. also the bookish var. **c(h)aizaran** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:176): "butcher's broom, knee holly (*Ruscus aculeatus*)", prob. < And. *xayzarán* < Neo-Ar. *xayzarān* < Neo-P. *xēz e rān* "appearance of a thigh", an apt designation for bamboo, which was its genuine meaning). With the adjectives *baladī* "local" or *jabalī* "from the mountain", it was in fact the And. name of *Ruscus aculeatus*, as reported by *Kitābu Ṣumdati ḡabīb*, although most var. exhibit some contamination.

**gamar-se** (Ct.) "to fall seriously ill; to cloud over": Coromines' hypothesis of an Ar. etymon *ḡamm* (= And. *ḡamm*) affliction" is both phonetically and semantically plausible, in spite of its being an exclusively Ct. and Provençal item, which occasionally happens with other Ar. loanwords. Cf. **afā**.

**gambo/ux, gambuj(o)** and **gambuix**: see **cambuix**.

**gamburrino** "an imaginary bird" (Mur.): in spite of the presence of other more or less

<sup>746</sup> Contaminated by reflexes of {*bṭl*} like **balde**, which appears corroborated by Biscayan Cs. **baldro** "loafer", in Basque **baldro** and

**baldan**, and by **baldreu** and **baldrés**. q.v.

<sup>747</sup> See Corriente 1993c.

dial. var. throughout Spain, like **gambusino**, this item might contain either an Ar. attributive or Rom. dim. suffix attached to And. \**qanbúra* = Cl.Ar. *qunbarah* "lark".<sup>748</sup>

**gamella/o**: see **camella/o**.

**ganafiel**: see **peroriel**.

**ganbax** (Cs.): is a hapax, in GP 94, < Neo-Ar. *gūnbāz* "buff doublet"

**gancela**: see **gacela**.

**ganchumba** "bump or bruise" (Anz.): appears to be connected with And. *gūnjúfa* "lock of hair"

**gandaia** (Pt.) and **gandaina** (Gl.) and **gandaya**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "loitering", "rascal; loafer" (Ext.), "lazy people" (Ast.) and "students' holidays" (Nav.), on one side, and **gandalla** (Ct.) and **gandaya**<sup>2</sup> "hairnet", and Arag. **gandaya** or **gandalla** "deformed garment" (with semantic evolution), on the other, all share the same origin. Coromines is prob. right upon thinking that, this garment being characteristic of bandits, it was metaphorically said of any immoral lifestyle (cf. Cs. **andar a la gandaya**, "to lead a an irregular life", etc., after DRAE), but his dubious Gothic etymon is just a desperate attempt. The sway of the var. **gandaia** in the Ebro Valley, where that hairstyle is still on use, refers us directly to Naf. *gāṭṭāyah* "tuft of hair tied with a ribbon; braided hair left in an otherwise shaven head", documented in its pl. *qatāṭi* in the And. *xarjah* Āṭī2,<sup>749</sup> attributing this fashion to Berber women. But also the men of this ethnic group might have followed it and, as many of them practised brigandage in those very areas, this headgear would have been identified with their activities. However, this word is not Br., but Ar., initially suggesting "something trailing or hanging", although it is solidly rooted in Naf., either because it rendered a previous Br. term with accuracy, prob. *amzur* or *tamzurt*, Arabicized in And. as

*muzúra*, or because it was introduced together with that fashion by the Bedouin invaders of the 12th c. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **gandaió**; Pt.: **gandaia** and **gandaieiro**.

**gándara** (Cs. and Gl.) and **gândara** (Pt.) "untilled land": seems to have undergone a semantic evolution from its initial meaning of "stony place", well documented by some of Machado's and, above all, Coromines' quotes. The latter author established its Gl. genuineness and scientific definition, provided by the geologist Schulz, upholding that meaning. This, in turn, suggests the And. etymon *jándal* = Cl.Ar. *jandal* "pebbles", still in "Yemenite" pronunciation with obstruant *gīm*, and without agglutinated Ar. article, as occurs only in very early Ar. loanwords.

**gandaya**: see **gandaia**.

**gandul**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Ct.) "loafer, truant; member of a Granadan army unit" and **gandulo** (Gl.) "truant":<sup>750</sup> < And. *gandúr* "truant", prob. derived from Ar. *gundar* "pampered; obese" < Neop. *gundār* "of a peculiar colour". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **gandulear** and **gandulería**; Ct.: **gandulejar** and **ganduleria**.

**gandul**<sup>2</sup> "glaucous tobacco" (Nicotiana glauca) (Mur.): in Gómez Ortín 1991:216, appears to share the etymon, although not the botanic equivalence of Ar. *qandūl* "spiny calicotomy (Calycotome spinosa)" and other species recorded in DS II:418.

**gane**: see **gone**.

**ganhão**: see **algame**.

**ganinfa**: see **falifa**.

**gansull** (Maj.) "spike of some reeds": cannot easily be related, *pace* Coromines, to Ar. \*\**gāsūl*, i.e., **algazul**, q.v., a very different plant. But a phonetic and semantic kinship with Rom. **QANÓLO** "caltrop (Tribulus terrestris)", after *Kitābu Sumdati ṭṭabīb* is indeed possible.

<sup>748</sup> This vowel shift is normal in Neo-Ar. as part of a tendency to avoid scarcely used nominal patterns, after AAR 2.2.1.1.4., cf. And. \*\**kazbūr* for Ar. \*\**kuzbar*.

<sup>749</sup> See PD 188.

<sup>750</sup> The information about these people in DS, s.v., is very valuable. As bullies, they are matched in mod. times by the Eg. \*\**futuwwah* or

Syr. \*\**qabadāy* (< Tr. \*\**kabadayī* "tough guy"), whose social role fluctuates between protecting their districts against abuses of authority and delinquents and committing identical excesses against their own neighbours, in a way reminiscent of Western *mafias*, q.v., from which, genetically and functionally, they hardly differ.

**gañán**: see **algame**.

**gañote** "shepherd's crook; bent down person" (Mur.): in Gómez Ortín 1991:217, reflects And.Rom. *QÁNNA* "reed" with the aug. suffix {+ÓT}.

**garab**: see **algarab**.

**garaça** (Old. Cs.) "amulet": is an unassimilated hapax, excerpted by Mafflo 1983:226 from E. de Villena's *Tratado del Aojamiento*. In the light of **gumça**, q.v., in the same work, this is an obvious transcription of And. *xaráza* = Cl.Ar. *xarazah* "bead", prob. of a substance with supposed magic properties, as recorded by DS in the matching entry, according to very old customs already mentioned in Cl.Ar. dictionaries.

**gar(a)folia**: see **clova**.

**garama** (Cs.) "tribute or compensation paid by a tribe (in Morocco); gifts on festive occasions to a family", (a)**garrama** (Cs.) "tribute paid to Muslim rulers; theft; apportionment of expenses" (same meaning of Ct. **garrama**, borrowed from Cs., while in Val. it meant a copper coin counterfeited at the beginning of the 17th c., after Mateu y Llopis) and **gar-rama** (Pt.) "tribute": < And. *garāma* < Neo-Ar. *garāmāh*, with eventual phonetic contamination and, at times, also semantic, by Ibero-Rom. **derramar** "to scatter; to apportion" The meanings "vice; dissipation" of **garrama** in Anz. seems to be due semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **garramar**.

**garangal**: see **galanga**.

**garbear**: see **cálbo**.

**garbell** (Ct.), **garbillo** (Cs.) and **alvaral** (Pt., with metathesis and assimilation) "sieve": < And. *gīrbāl* = Cl.Ar. *gīrbāl*,<sup>751</sup> with metanalysis of a Rom. dim. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **garbilla**(do)r; Ct.: **garbella**, (a)**garbella**(do)r, **garbelladures**, **garbellada**, **garbelladora**, **garbellament**, **garbeller/t**, **garbellies** and **garbellós**.

**garbí** (Arag. and Ct.) "west wind" and **garbino** (Cs.) "southwest wind": < And. *garbí* = Cl.Ar. *garbī* "west wind" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **garbinada**, **garbinal**, **garbinell** and **garbinet**.

**garbilla**(do)r: see **garbell**.

**garbinada**, **garbinal**, **garbinell**, **garbinet** and **garbino**: see **garbí**.

**garbo**: see **cálbo** and **gelba**.

**garbós**, **garbosidade**, **garbositat** and **garboso**: see **cálbo**.

**garbuix**, **garbull**(ar) and **garbullo**: see **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.

**garchofa**: see **alcachofa**.

**garcía**: see **garfio**.

**gardacho**: see **alfardacho**.

**garengal**: see **galanga**.

**garfa**(da/o), **garfañón**, **garf(e)ara**, **gar-feiro**, **garfe**(j)ar, **garfela**(da/o), **garfiada** and **garfiñar**: see **garfo**.

**garfio** (Cs.) "hook" and **garfo** (Pt.) "(pitch) fork": < And. *gārfa* = Cl.Ar. *garfah* "handful", with semantic evolution towards the instrument for taking it. The basic form is reflected by Cs. **garfa** "crooked nail; tax paid for watching the threshing floors", "handful of cocoons of silkworms which the tax collectors overcharged the Moriscos" (after a text of *Nueva Recopilación*, mentioned by Eguílaz) and "amount of fish distributed among net fishers" (Anl.). The latter word exists in dial. Pt. too, in the meaning of "little swarm", it being noticeable that, in a phonetic contour similar to that of **farra** (q.v.), in Gl., Pt., Ct., Arag. and Cs., it generated **garra**,<sup>752</sup> which in the latter language has been semantically specialized as "claw", metonymically said also of "nail on the hoops of barrels; large hook in mining" (Anl.), while **garfio** is basically "hook" It has a dim. **garfi**(e)lla/o, in which masc. and fem. bear a relation to the size of the object, following a conspicuous rule of

See Corriente 1980c:185, fn. 7, about the indubitable genuine Semitic origin of this word, proved by Aram. *šarbēlā* and Ak. *arballu[m]*, and its only accidental likeness to Lt. *\*\*cribellum* whence, via Rom., Mor. *\*\*kərballō*. It is picturesque that, in the entry **garbell** of his DECLC, Coromines, despite the unequivocal

warning which reached him well in time, repeated the same mistake of **garbillo** in his DCELC of 1954, and so it happened again in DCECH.

<sup>752</sup> This hypothesis is demonstrated by a text in *Libro de Alexandre*, quoted by Eguílaz, in which **garpha** means a lion's claw.

Ibero-Rom. lexicon. Of the same origin, as denominal verbs, are **agafar** (Ct.) and **agarrar(fa)r** (Cs.) “to hold”, not from the unlikely Celtic etymon suggested by Coromines. Ct. exhibits here a loss of /r/, similar to that of Cs. **faca**, < And. *fárxa*, perhaps after having become //, more often dropped in syllable caudas. Mor. *garfu* “fork” is, of course, borrowed from Pt. in mod. times. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **galfau** “handful of grain”, reflex of a hybrid participle \**garf+ATO* “held”, formed on the basic etymon); Cs.: **agarrada**, **agarradera/o**, **agarrar(fa)dor**, **agarrar(fa)r**, **agarrante**, **agarro**, **agarrón**, **desagarrar**, **engarrar**, **engarrafa(do)r**, **engarro**, **garf(i)-ada**, **garfear**, **garf(i)a** (in García Salinero 1968:123–124), **garfiña**, **gar(ra)fiñar**, **garrafiña**, **garr(e)ar**, **garrocha**, **garroch(e)ar**, **garrochazo**, **garrochista**, **garr(och)ón** and **garrudo**; Ast. (in García Arias 2006:32): **garfiella** or **garf/cía** “ladle”, *ibidem*, p. 205, **garf(i)a** and **garfiu** “claw”, **garfiar**, **garf(i)áu**, **garfiada** and **garzáu**; Anl.: **garrear** “to drag (said of anchors)”; Ct.: **agafada**, **agafadís**, **agafador**, **agafadura**, **agafall**, **agafallós**, **agafatós**, **agafallops**, **agafamosques**, **agafaroques**, **agafa-sants**, **agafa-sopes**, **agafes**, **agarrada**, **agarrar(n)t**, **garfada**, **garró**, **garroner**, **garrell**, **garrut**, **garrejar**, **garreta**, **garrotera** and **esgarrar**; Gl.: **garfela** “large spoon” (Rom. dim.) and **garfelada/o**; Pt.: **agarrar(ção)**, **agarrade/oira**, **agarradiço**, **agarradinho**, **ac/garrar**, **agarratorio**, **engarrar**, **garfada/o**, **garf(e)ara**, **garfeiro**, **garfejar** and **garrear**; Anl. **garfada** “scratch; stroke with a paw; amount of water held with both hands; crowd of people; gathering of objects” and **garfañón** “grabbing with nails”

**garfolla** and **garfo/ullo**: see **clova**.

**garga**: see **algara**<sup>2</sup>.

**gargamel** (Mur.), **gargamello** (Cs., also in the Morisco idiolect), **gorgomil(o)**, **gorgomilho**, **gorgomela** and **gragamilho** (Pt.), **gorgomil** (Gl.) and **gargamella** (Ct., with the

Val. var. **gargamell**) “throat”: < And.Rom. \***GARGAMÉL**, represented by And. *gargamíl* in IQ 82/6/4.

**gárgol**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) “addled (egg)” and **gargol** (Arag., prob. of the same meaning, not “hard-boiled egg”, as reported by Andolz, whose stressing also raises serious doubts): < And. *gárgal*, a der. of Cl.Ar. *garqal* “to be addled” There appears to be a phonetic contamination by **gárgol**<sup>2</sup> “mortise”

**garibolo** “round, spherical”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:218), reflects the etymon of **alambor**, q.v., from the And. root {*hrbl*}. Cf. **fargalada**.

**garifo** (Arag.) “sick or old person pretending to be healthy and strong” and **g/jarifo** (Cs.) “lush; showy; well-dressed”, **garifu** “insignificant” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:206), **jarifa** “wild” (Can., said of goats), and **garifo** “conceited; well-kept” (Nav.): Coromines considers this as a semantic evolution, by contamination with **garrido**, of the standard **jarifo**, also held as a basic form by Terreros and DRAE, up to its latest edition. The latter agrees with Coromines in propounding a common etymon for **jarifo** and **jerife** (q.v.), which is neither semantically nor phonetically very probable. In fact, **garifo** is etymologically a problematic item, with the appearance of an Ar. loanword, and semantically very close to Ar. *x/gitrif* “exuberant or petulant youth”, although its theoretical And. equivalent \**x/gitrif*<sup>753</sup> is not documented, nor is the loss of the dental in this position regular. On the other hand, Arag. **garuf/jo** “braggart” is no doubt inseparable from the entry, but appears contaminated in an unclear manner.

**garingal**: see **galanga**.

**garopo** (Pt.) “kind of ship in the Indian Ocean”: is a late unassimilated borrowing, dating from the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in that area. It can indeed derive, as Machado suggested, through Malay, from Ar. *gurāb* “galley”, like **gurapa(s)** in Cs. thieves’ cant and Pt., q.v.

<sup>753</sup> However, the verb and *mašdar* of {*xtrf*} are recorded in the *Leiden Glossary*, and some Ar. loanwords like **albatros**, **almocatracía**

and **mequetrefe**, q.v., and even the place name **Benacatraf** (< “rock of the albatross”?) would corroborate its currency in And.

**garra**: see **garfo**.

**garrafa**<sup>1</sup> (Pt.) "bottle" and (Cs., Gl. and Ct.) and **algarrafa** (Anl.) "demijohn": it is true, as Coromines states, that the Hispanic documentation of this word is somewhat later (end of the 16th c.) than that of It. *caraffa* (mid-16th) but, considering the phonetic differences, such a circumstance is far from being decisive proof in favour of this immediate origin. The dates, and the older Pt. var. **alg(u)arrafa** and Anl. **algarrafa**, suggest a borrowing from Naf. *ḡarrāf*, even today normal in Mor. as "jar", from the Ar. root {ḡrf} "to draw water", which could easily generate a n.inst. \**ḡarrāfah*, becoming the name of several vessels, although such a term, with the fem. morpheme, is missing in the dictionaries of dial. Ar. This forces us to consider a possible development of that ending from a paralogical /e/, or an unclear connection with Neo-P. *qar(r)āb/fe*, the >q< of which, subsequently pronounced /ḡ/, might be due to a contamination with Ar. \*\**qirbah* "leather bottle", which is less probable, because it does not seem to have circulated widely in Neo-Ar. The It. form might have the same source, imported by the Genoese traders from Morocco. Besides, there is a possibility of phonetic, or at least semantic contamination with Ar. \*\**qarṣah* "calabash", common as "bottle" in North Africa, because its fruit was often dried and put to that use. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **garrafón**; Ct.: **garrafada**, **garrafam**, **garrafer/ta**, **garrafó**, **garrafoner** and **agarrafar**; Pt. **engarrafa-deira**, **engarrafaagem**, **engarrafar**, **garrafada**, **garrafal**, **garrafão**, **garrafaria** and **garrafeira/o**.

**garrafa**<sup>2</sup>: see **algerife**.

**garrafal**: see **alfarroba** and **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.

**garrafam**, **garrafão**, **garrafaria**, **garrafeira/o** and **garrafer/ta**: see **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.

**garrafina** and **garrafiña(r)**: see **garfo**.

**garrafó** and **garrafoner**: see **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.

**garrama** and **garramar**: see **garama**.

**garranclán**: see **alacrán**.

**garrar** and **garre(j)ar**: see **garfo**.

**garrell**: see **gaidó** and **garfo**.

**garreta** and **garró**: see **garfo**.

**garroba(l)**, **garrobi**, **garrobo** and **garrobilla**: see **alfarroba**.

**garrocha**, **garroch(e)ar**, **garrochazo**, **garrochista** and **garrochón**: see **garfo**.

**garrofa(l/m/t)**, **garrofejar**, **garrofer(a)**, **garroferal**, **garrofero**, **garrofi**, **garrofina** and **garrofó**: see **alfarroba**.

**garrón**, **garroner** and **garrotera**: see **garfo**.

**garrou/va**, **garrover(a)**, **garroveral** and **garroví**: see **alfarroba**.

**garrubia**: see **alfarroba**.

**garrudo**: see **garfo**.

**garrufo** "alluvium, silt": this An. word, recorded by Garulo 1983:234, appears to reflect a hypocoristic pattern {a22ú3} of the Ar. root {ḡrf}, which has the basic semanteme "grabbing by handfuls", source of several Ibero-Rom. loanwords from Ar., like **garra**, **garfio** and der., **garrafa** and **magarufa**.

**garrut**: see **garfo**.

**garsó** (Val.) "shoot, scion": is a hybrid with Rom. aug. suffixation of And. *ḡárs* = Cl.Ar. *ḡars*, by no means, *pace* Coromines, an Ar. regular pl., twice impossible as irrational substantives never use that morpheme (cf. **añeclín**), and because the Neo-Ar. and consequently And. and Ar. loanwords of Rom., never reflect the Cl. Ar. nominative morpheme {+ūn}, but only {+ín}.

**garuff/jo**: see **garfio**.

**gasa**: see **alchaz**.

**gasa/ima** (Bal., with a var. **gatzim**) "welcome party": < Neo-Ar. *ḡazīmāh* "invitation",<sup>754</sup> it being admissible that **gasama**, with a second vowel unsupported by Ar., might have been optionally contaminated by *salāmāh* "salutation". The absence of *imālāh* in both cases implies a Mediterranean, not And. source. As for Coromines' proposal to derive these words from the Ar. root {xzn} "to store", it is semantically unviable.

**gasela**: see **gacela**.

**gaserans**: see **galzarans**.

**gasima**: see **gasama**.

**gaspallo** (Gl.) "mixed fodder" and **gaspacho** (Cs.) and **gaspato** (Ct.) "a cold soup of vegetables": appears to reflect Rom.And.

<sup>754</sup> E.g., in Barthélemy 1935-69:528.

\*GAZP(EL)ÁČO<sup>755</sup> < Lt. *gāzōphylācūm* < Gr. *gazophylákion* "(church) poorbox", as a metaphorical designation of those and similar products (cf. Cs. *aceitunas gazpachadas* "olives mixed with pickles"), allusive to the usual contents of poorboxes, such as disparate and worthless coins and even pieces of stale bread, which was many parishioners' answer to the insistence with which priests demanded alms, steadily repeating the parable of the widow's mite (Mark 12/41–44), in which that word occurred. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *gazpachero* and *gazpachuelo*; Gl.: *gaspalloso*.

**gasunya** (*tirar diners a* —, Val.) "to throw coins for which people scramble": this hapax in Sanelo's dictionary is reminiscent of Pt. *algazuna*, q.v., and possibly a metonymy in which the attitude of those people is compared to that of a raiding party. The Ar. loanword is parallel to its matching Cs. *rebatifia*, also from Ar. origin and with a similar Rom. suffix, although in the case of Val. prob. contaminated by a Rom. reflex of Lt. *\*\*ungūla* "nail".<sup>756</sup>

**gat** (Ct.) and **gato** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): it is quite sure that Lt. *cattus* derives from Aram., cf. Syr. *qatīūs(ā)*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *engatusar*, and slangy *cantusar* "to trick; to rob";<sup>757</sup> *gata*<sup>1</sup>, *gatallón*, *gamamuso*, *gatatumba*, *gatazo*, *gateamiento*, *gater(f)a*, *gatero*, *gatesco*, *gatill(az)o*, *gatuna/o*, *gatonero* and *gatupeño*; Cs. and Gl.: *gatada*, *gatar* and *gatuña*; Ct.: *gatada*, *gamamoixa*, *gamamoixer*, *gatarro*, *gatarrot*, *gatàs*, *gatassa*, *gatejar*, *gatera*, *gati/onada*, *gati/onar*, (es) *gatin-yarse*, *gatemaimó*, *gatonera* and *gatos(a)r*; Pt.: *gatal*, *gatanhada*, (a) *gatanhar*, *gatanho*, *gatar(ia)*, *gataria*, *gatarão*, *gatazio*, *gatea-(do)r*, *gateio*, *gateira/o*, *gatesco*, *gatinhar* and *gatinho*. Cf. *maimó*.

**gata**<sup>2</sup> (Pt., only in Morais) "Egyptian cucumber (*Cucumis* [melo] *chate*)": < dial. Ar. *qatā* < Cl.Ar. *qittā*? "cucumber"

**gata**<sup>3</sup> "protective screen for mining the walls of a besieged fortress": in DAX 931, seems to reflect < Ar. *gūtāl*? "cover"

**gatarif** "falcon captured in its nest": in DAX 931: < Ar. *gātārīf*, pl. of *gīrāf* (see Möller & Viré 1988:80 and 249).

**gatifa**: see *catifa*.

**gatill(az)o**, **gati/onada**, **gati/onar**, **gatinhar**, **gatinho**, **gatin-yarse**, **gatemaimó**, **gatonera**, **gatos(a)r**: see *gat*.

**gat/ciuz** "a variety of jasper": in DAX 931, which describes it as "smoky", allowing the detection of a distorted transcription of Gr. *kápnios*, through Syr. *>qpnysw<* (cf. Payne Smith 1879–1901:3695, though said only of fumitory) and Ar.

**gaterans**: see *galzerans*.

**gatuna/o**, **gatonero**, **gatuña** and **gatupeño**: see *gat*.

**gatzara**, **gatzarejar** and **gatzarós**: see *algazara*.

**gatzela** and **gatzell**: see *gacela*.

**gatzim**: see *gasama*.

**gavan(y)**: see *gabán*.

**gavela**: see *alcabala*.

**gavial** (Cs.) "gavial (*Gavialis gangeticus*)": through Eng., by erroneous transmission, as Machado says, of Hindi *ghariyāl*. DRAE commits a considerable etymological blunder upon giving as etymon of this word the scientific Lt. designation of this animal, which is of course a mere Latinization of its mod. name in Western languages, borrowed from India.

**gazapo** (Cs.) "lie; mistake": Eguílaz's proposal of a derivation, in Morisco slang,

<sup>755</sup> The loss of /l/, only phonetic hindrance for this etymon, may be explained as a solution to the triconsonantal cluster /zpl/, as a consequence of the loss of the pretonic vowel, through elimination of the sonorant, or metathesis (with a result *\*gazpālčo*, in which /l/ is bound to disappear, cf. Cs. *cacha*), not excluding a dialect similar in this point to Western Ibero-Rom., cf. Pt. *paço* "palace" form Lt. *\*\*palātium*.

<sup>756</sup> IQ 27/9/4 used a similar metonymy, saying

that his plagiarists fling themselves on his verses *biḥāl guzá fi fīy* "like raiders upon booty". As this phrase occurs at the end of a *zajal*, as a *xarjah*, it might well be an established idiom.

<sup>757</sup> Both might owe their seeming suffixation to direct descent from And. *qatūs*, about which, see DAA 433. However, *gato* "money stolen and concealed" is most likely a descendant of Lt. *captus* "caught".

from And. **\*\*kaḏāb** = Cl.Ar. **\*\*kaḏab** “lie”,<sup>758</sup> is unlikely, in spite of the occasional occurrence of the same evolution of an intervocalic /d/ (see 1.1.3.2.3); therefore, this item ought to be listed as a false Ar. loanword. Coromines is more convincing with his hypothesis in this case of a folk backformation of the Hellenism **gazapatón**. However, Ast. **gazapu** “kind of kite”, in García Arias 2006:206, might reflect And. **gaṣṣāb** “robber”.<sup>759</sup>

**gazela**: see **gacela**.

**gazgaz** (Cs.) “mocking expression implying that somebody has been easily taken in”: might be a slangy word, < And. **gáz gáz** “it passed, it passed (undetected, said of false coins, lies, etc.)”, with obstruant pronunciation of **jīm**, often found in sibilant contours.<sup>760</sup>

**gazi** (Cs.) “Berber”: this term, excerpted by Eguílaz from *Nueva Recopilación*, obviously derives from And. **gāzi** = Cl.Ar. **gāzī** “raider”, initially designating the volunteers of the *jihād*, particularly the North Africans arriving in Al-Andalus for that purpose, since the Umayyad period until the definitive fall of the Al-Andalus in the Nasrid epoch, but later meaning any North African in some contexts, as can be seen in DAA. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **algazear**.

**gazi(v)a**: see **gazua**.

**gaznate** (Cs.) “throat”: this word is a conspicuous etymological crux, which Coromines tried to solve by assuming an Ar. loanword and launching a rather complicated hypothesis, namely, a simplification of the syntagm

**\*\*qanūt alḥalq** “channel of the throat”, or the like, fundamentally flawed by its not accounting properly for the evolution of the inner consonantic sequence. A more likely solution might lie in And. **qāniṣa(t aḥḥār)** = Cl.Ar. **qāniṣatu ḥālīr** “(the bird’s) crop”, with an insignificant semantic evolution and the same Intra-Rom. metathesis as in **gozne** < **gonce** “hinge”. The simplification of a compounded idiom is a phonetically satisfactory solution, even probable as haplology of **\*ganzat(at)er**, but it is not strictly necessary, since the Cs. suffix {-ate} might have led to the same result.

**gazpach(er)o** and **gazpachuelo**: see **gaspallo**.

**gazua** (with the wrong var. **gazi(v)a**) and **algazu** (Pt.) “raid”: are mod. loanwords, generated by the North African campaigns, and reflecting the local dial. items **gzu** and **gẓawwa**. Of the same origin is hypercorrect **algazuna** (only in Morais, with false restoration of an intervocalic /n/ usually lost in Pt.) “Moorish army”, and its erroneous var. in the same author, **algaruna** “flank of an Arab army”. Cf. **algazear** and **gasunya**.

**gazul(es)** (with the var. **ganzules**, **gazu-elos** and **gazuellas**, in GP 94.): is the gentile of the Br. tribe of **Gazūlah**.<sup>761</sup>

**gebe/al** (with the var. **gabal**): in GP 94, < Ar. **jabal** “mountain”

**gebenech**: see **algicarech**.

**gebha(t)**: see **algebha**.

**gece**: see **gessa**.

**gedi** and **gidi(t)**: see **algedi**.

<sup>758</sup> The vitality of this Ar. root in the phase in which former bilinguals in Ar. and Rom. had just lost their command of that language appears proven by Cs. **mentira** “lie; white spots on the nails” < And. **kāḏha** < Cl.Ar. **kadābah**, as recorded by Ibn Hišām, and pointedly detected by Pérez Lázaro 1990:I 67, fn. 25. That author himself and other persons cognizant with Central Cs. dialects inform us that, in local popular belief, those spots are considered a consequence of telling lies.

<sup>759</sup> Rather than Ar. **qaṣṣāb** “butcher”, unattested in And., as is corroborated by the late Eastern origin of Pt. **caçapo**, mentioned by García Arias. The phonetic likeness with **gazapo**

“cony” would have been merely coincidental; see García Hernández 2006 about this word.

<sup>760</sup> Cf. IQ 6/9/3 > **lā tujawwaz ṣalīh... maxāriq**: “they cannot palm something off on him.” However, this pronunciation is not witnessed for this word in And. in which, besides, it should exhibit **imālah**; contrariwise, it is frequent in Northern Mor., as reported by Lerchundi 1889:4, fn. 1, and 1932:601 (s.v. **pasar**), which might suggest that this idiom would have originated from the relations between foreign soldiers or traders and the native population of the North African garrisons.

<sup>761</sup> Sometimes mixed up with the Getulians, mentioned in classical sources.

**geena** (Pt.), **gehena** (Cs.) and **Leo. gehenna/e** and **ge(hh)ena** (Leo., de DO 249) "Gehenna, hell": through Bib.Lt. *gēhenna*, < Hb. *gē hinnom* "valley of H.", accursed on account of pagan rites celebrated in it, possibly through Aram, cf. Syr. *gihannā*.

**gelaba**: see **chilaba**.

**gelb/va** "skiff in the Red Sea": is a late borrowing in Pt., dated in the 16th c. and connectable with Eastern enterprises, while its Cs. match **gerba** is dated in the 15th c., excerpted by Mañillo 1983:285 from the Cs. author Tafur, as an unassimilated term, with a var. **garbo** attributed to the 17th c. by the same scholar, "kind of flat-bottomed vessel": < Neo-Ar. *jāl-bah* (documented by DS).

**geld** "skin": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:37, < Ar. *jild*.

**gelebia**: see **aljaravia**.

**gele/iniabin**, **gelengibin** or **gelincabin**: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:227, "confection of roses and honey": < Neo-Ar. *julanjabīn* < Neo-P. *gol angobin*.

**gema** "piece of timber badly sawed so that it still has some bark": in García Salinero 1968:124, does not derive from **jeme** (cf. **eixem**), but perhaps from Ar. *jāmīd* "stiff; hard; frozen", unless it is a metonymy of *gémāl* "flax waste", in Alcalá *jūmmāl* (= Cl.Ar. *jūmmāl*; see. **gúmena**).

**gemb almuçelçela** and **gemb/genib berseus**: are unassimilated astronomical terms, from GP 95, < Neo-Ar. *janb almusalsalah* "the chained (woman's) side", and *janb / jānib barsālus* "Perseus' side", identified respectively by Kunitzsch 1959:67 and 113 as Beta Andromedae and as Alpha and Gamma Pegasi.

**gemezt**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 95, < Neo-Ar. *jamast* "amethyst"

**gemma**: see **jomo**.

**gendebuster** and **iundibudest** "castoreum": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical

term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:229, < Neo-Ar. *jundubādestar* < Neo-P. *gonde bida-star* "beaver's testicle"

**gene(h)** "(the horse's/raven's) wing" (with the var. **genalfaraz**, **gehnah** and **geh nah**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 95: < Neo-Ar. *janāh alfaras / alğurāh*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:116 and 166 as Gamma Corvi and, in later times, with Epsilon Cygni.

**genet(a)**, **genete** and **genetari**: see **atzanet**.

**gengib/vre** (Pt.), **gingebre** (Ct., with the var. **enge/ibre**) and **(a)jengibre** (Cs.) "ginger (Zingiber officinale)": does not derive from Ar. *\*zanjabīl*, pace Machado, as made obvious by the stress, but from Lt. *zingiber* < Gr. *ziggiberis* < Sk. *śṛṅgavera*.

**genissar**: see **janfzaro**.

**gerba**: see **gelba**.

**gerbão**: see **urgebão**.

**gergelim**: see **ajonjolí**.

**ge/irgonça**: see **jagonça**.

**geribia**: see **aljaravia**.

**gerra(da)**, **gerram**, **gerrer(ia)**, **gerreta** and **gerro**: see **algera**.

**gesaran(t)**: see **jacerina**.

**gesmiler**, **gessamí** and **gessaminer**: see **jasmim**.

**gessa/e** "callosity":<sup>762</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:131, < Ar. *jasāʔ*.

**geugere**: see **acebre**.

**geza**: see **aliaza**.

**gibanete**, **gibão** and **gibiteiro**: see **aljuba**.

**gibli** (Pt., only in Morais, prob. an error for **\*guebli**) "sandstorm in North Africa": is no doubt Neo-Ar. *qiblī* "southern wind", reflected by DS and often pronounced with /g/ instead of /q/, as usual in Bed. dialects.

**gibaltareño** (Cs.) "from Gibraltar": is a gentilic of that place name, in And. *jīb[al] tāriq* < Cl.Ar. *jābalu tāriq* "mountain of Tāriq", pr.n. of the commander of the first Muslim invasion through the Strait named after him.

<sup>762</sup> The var. **gese** in Vázquez 1998b:172 is interpreted as "difficulty for opening and closing the eyelids", and there is an additional

**gece** "hardening of the eyelid", from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:153–155.



**gibun** “cheese”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:229, < Ar. *jubn*.

**gicebi** (Pt., only in Morais, as an obsolete word) “luxurious fabric”: this spelling is prob. very distorted, perhaps reflecting Ar. *qasab* (> Neo-P. *qasabi*) “linen fabric occasionally interwoven with precious metal”, which would be corroborated by the second constituent of the entry **arritacaçavi**, q.v.

**gídio** (slangy Pt., only in Morais) “good or beautiful”: reflects And. *jid* < Cl.Ar. *jayyid*, which occurs in a famous and for decades misunderstood passage of *xarja* H18.<sup>763</sup> Prob., dial. Pt. (only in Morais) **gido** “dexterous” is from the same etymon.

**gielketiz**: see **calcadiz**.

**gifa** (Ct.) “coward; discoloured; ugly”: is borrowed from Cs. **guifa** or **jifa**, < And. *jifa* = Cl.Ar. *jifāh* “carriage”. Considering the absence of an agglutinated Ar. article, it would not be an old loanword, but prob. a Mudejar item; consequently, a “Yemenite” obstruent **gim** is not expectable in the var. **guifa** (Anz. after DRAE); this /g/ would just have resulted from hypercorrection in the definite syntagm **la hifa**, with the spirant /h/. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jiferada**, **jiferia** and **jifero**; Ct.: **agifarse**.

**gihearech**: see **algicarech**.

**gilaila**: see **lilaila**.

**gildunie** “a medicine”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 936, in truth, < Neo. Ar. *xālīdūniyūn*, “swallow-wort (*Chelidonium majus*)”.<sup>764</sup>

**gilen**: see **julepe**.

**gilí** (Cs.) “stupid”: is a slangy term, An. after Eguílaz, not documented before 1882, as pointed by Coromines, whose gipsy etymon is fully convincing. Therefore, it cannot derive from Cl.Ar. **\*\*jāhil** “ignorant”, as stated by Eguílaz and DRAE, but it might have been influenced by vulgar Cs. **gilipollas** and **gilipichi**,<sup>765</sup> the latter prob. < And. *hírri píčkī* “hermaphrodite, having both sexes”, with an etymon coming through better in **herrabache** “old or useless utensil; busybody; ragamuffin” (Anl.), with some semantic evolution.

**gilmendro** “a variety of peach” (Nav.): like Gl. **xilmendreiro**, is a half-translation of Ar. *jillawz*.

**gima** (Cs.) “mosche”: is an unassimilated term, although frequent in the registers of habous (i.e., religious bequests of the Muslims, confiscated by the Christians after the takeover of Islamic lands), after Eguílaz, < And. *jūmīš* < Cl.Ar. *jāmiš*.

**gineta/e/o**, **ginetaço**, **ginetário** and **gine-tear**: see **atzanet**.

**gingave**: see **azingab**.

**gingebre**: see **gengibre**.

**gipó**: see **aljuba**.

**girafa**: see **azoraba**.

**girbafo** (Pt.) “a fabric”: is a late unassimilated term, used in the settlements of the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *zarbāft* “brocade”, lit., “golden fabric”.<sup>766</sup>

**girulo** “libertine”: (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:221), is prob. a der. of Ar. *jirw* “pup” Cf. **chirivía**.

**gitano** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) and **xitano** (Gl.): share all the etymon of **egipciano** and **copto**, q.v.

**giva**: see **alchub**.

**giz**: see **algeps**.

**giza**, **gisça** or **geiça** (**de** —): is an unassimilated technical term in LHP 283, qualifier of a kind of vessels, perhaps the gentile of Giza in Egypt; see Corriente 2004b:82.

**goa** (Pt.) “a length measure of three spans” and **gúa** (Ct.) “a measure for the length of ships, between 2 and 4 spans”: the phonetic and semantic overlapping with Neo-Ar. *kūš* “elbow (of the human body)” is quite perfect, so that it is easy to imagine that it would acquire the metrical meaning too (i.e., “cubit”) in the lingua franca, by contamination with the languages of Southern Europe, exhibiting the same characteristic ambiguousness.

**gobifa**: see **aljoffa**.

**godenes**: see **cótiā**.

**godomecil** (Gl.), **guada(l)mecí** (Cs., with the var. **guadamací**, **guadama/ecil** and, in GP 96, **guadamesçi**), **godomecio** and **guadamazil** (Leo., in DO 249), **guadameci(l)m** (Pt.) and

<sup>763</sup> See Corriente 1997a:319 and fn. 299.

<sup>764</sup> See Corriente 2000–2001:127.

<sup>765</sup> See Corriente 1993b:288.

<sup>766</sup> After Vasmer 1996:II 80, reflected also in Russian (*i)zarhav*.

**guadamassil** (Ct.) “embossed tanned leather”: < Ar. *ḡadāmīṣī*, gentilic of Gadames, in Libya, initial centre of production of this ware. But for Gl., which rejects the sequence /CwV/, the remaining languages exhibit contamination by the many river names beginning with **guad**-. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **guadamacilería** and **guadamacilero**; Ct.: **guadamassiler**.

**gofaina**: see **alcofaina**, q.v.

**goffa**: see **aljoiffa**.

**Gója** (Jud.-Sp.): “Juḡā”, a frequent pr.n. in Islamic proverbs.<sup>767</sup>

**goleuas** “a herb used as a medicine for falcons”: in DAX 939, seems to reflect **julepe** (q.v.), although merely by phonetic confusion with Ar. (*ha*)*lablāb* “ivy”, for which Möller & Viré 1988:174 mentioned that use. The source distinguishes two varieties, **negra** “black variety”, and **montesina** “mountain variety”

**golfa**: see **algorfa** and **clova**.

**gólgota** (Pt.) “torture”: through Bib.Lt. and Gr., < Aram. *ḡulḡa/ulā* “skull”

**goliztíz** “a stone found in an Indian river”: in DAX 939, is corrupted, through Syr. and Ar. scripts, from Gr. *gaggētis* “Gangetic (stone)”

**golo** and **golón**: see **Algol**.

**gomedar** (Pt.) “curved dagger”: is a late unassimilated borrowing in the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *xamdār* “curved”

**gomel/r** (Cs.): gentilic of the Br. Riffian tribe of Ghomara: < And. *ḡumāri* or Naf. *ḡmārī* = Neo-Ar. *ḡumārī*. It exhibits elimination of the unstressed gentilic suffix (see 1.2.1.2.1).

**gomia**: see **agomia**.

**gomorreu** (Pt.) “native of Gomorrah”: through Bib.Lt. and Gr., with the matching gentilic suffixation, < Hb. *ḡāmōrah*, name of that town in the Bible.

**go/ane** “nasal twang”: is an unassimilated medical term, form Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177 and 1989:131, < Ar. *ḡunnah*.

**gorabe** or **goraz** “hake” (Merluccius merluccius) (Can.): shares the etymon of **gurapas**,<sup>768</sup> q.v. Cf. **alcorraça**.

**gorgomil**, **gorgomil(o)**, **gorgomilho** and **gorgomela**: see **gargamel**.

**gorgoto** (Ct.), **gorguz** (Cs.) and **go/urguz** or **guarguz** (Pt.) “javelin” (with contamination by the pejorative Rom. suffix, except in the more conservative shape of Ct.): < Br. \**agargut*, unattested but almost routine var. of documented *agargit*.<sup>769</sup>

**gormar** “to torture” (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *ḡúrm* = Cl.Ar. *ḡurm* “exaction”

**gor**: see **çori**.

**gotzema**: see **alfazema**.

**gargamilho**: see **gargamel**.

**granadés**, **granadí** and **granadino** (Cs., the two first var. being old) “Granadan”: < And. *ḡarnāṭi*, gentilic of *ḡarnāṭa* “Granada”, in the second case with intra-Rom. ultima stress, opposite to And. usage in this case. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **granadina** and **granatín**. Cf. **arnadí**.

**gua** “hole in which marbles must be thrown (in a child’s game)”: appears to be just another Ar. loanword in the realm of children’s games, < Ar. *zādwaḥ*, mentioned by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī,<sup>770</sup> > And.Rom. \**LA+zādwa*, with the definite article, later metanalyzed in

<sup>767</sup> With a Mur. reflex *coa* “rascal” in Gómez Ortín 1991, coinciding with **Koa** in Correas, mentioned by Granja 1984:256.

<sup>768</sup> Of undetermined dial. origin, as this Ar. fish name, after Oman 1966, is preserved only in Tunisia and Libya, and replaced in more Western areas by reflexes of Rom. *kórbo* “raven” or *korbína* “meagre”, so that the Can. item may inherit lost forms of the southern dialects of Cs. or Pt., or be due to early contacts between Canarian fishermen and speakers of Ḥas. It should be noted that, according to Corrales & Corbella 2001:460, in Can. this fish is not “meagre” (*Sciaena aquila* or *Argyrosomus*

*regius*), as suggested in many dictionaries.

<sup>769</sup> See DE 270. There are more dissimilar forms like Rif. *ṭaḡriṭ* “stock; halberd” and Kab. *ṭigriṭ* “stock” From the same origin is, in Alcalá, *guarguía* “scimitar, Tr. knife” and its dim. *guruyguía* (= *ḡarḡḡya* and *ḡurayḡḡya*), with a semantic shift, previously misunderstood and attributed to the root {wrk}. As for this vowel alternance, characteristic of Br. and Naf., see Corriente 1981a:18, and add Mor. \*\**fənni/uš* “mule”

<sup>770</sup> See Pérez Lázaro 1990:321, it being remarkable that the author does not relate it to the place noun *muzdā(h)*, occurring in 182.

pl. as \**LAŚ+ÁD(G)WAŚ* >, reflected in An. pronunciation as \**las/h aguah > la gua*.

**gúa:** see **goa**.

**guadafiones:** see **botafió**.

**guadalajareño** (Cs.) "from Guadalajara": is a gentilic, formed on this place name, < And. *wád alhajára* < Cl.Ar. *wādi lhijārah* "river of stones"

**guada(l)mecí, guadamací, guadama/ecil, guadamacilería, guadamacilero, guadamecí(l/m), guadamassil(er), guadamazil** and **guadamesçi:** see **godomecil**.

**guadianés** (Cs.) "gentilic of the River Guadiana", < And. *wādi āna* "river of Ana", a pre-Rom. place name.<sup>771</sup>

**guadíjeño** (Cs.) "gentilic of Guadix", formed on this place name, < And. *wād iš* "river of Acci", its pre-Rom. shape.

**guágete:** see **guájete por guájete**.

**guájar(a)** (Cs.) "difficult terrain": < And. *wáśra* = Cl.Ar. (*arḍun*) *waśrah* "rugged area", through Cs. ultracorrect spelling, reflecting An. pronunciation \***guáhara**. The etymon of former editions of DRAE, now corrected, a rare Cl.Ar. *\*\*waj(a)rah* "path leading to a trap for wild animals", non-existent in Neo-Ar., And. included, is once again a mere fancy.

**guájete por guájete** (Cs.) "tit for tat": is, no doubt, Mudejar slang, half-translated from And. *wāhida biwāhida* < Cl.Ar. *wāhidatan biwāhidah* "one (thing) for another" It is abridged in Anl. **guágete** "it is the same thing"

**gualá** (Cs.) "by God!": < And. *wallá(h)* = Cl.Ar. *wallāh*, apparently never assimilated by Rom., but merely made to be uttered by Arabic speakers for literary purposes, in directive code-shifts.

**guamen:** see **alheuen**.

**guardalmacén:** see **almacén**.

**guardenegi:** see **alguardenegi**.

**guargoto:** see **gorgoto**.

**guarisme/o:** see **algarismo**.

**guasa** (Cs.) "bore; jest" and "toil; importance; sport spoiling" (Anl.): this latter wide range of meanings, much more semantically informative than those in DRAE (which, together with Corominas, is in favour of a Caribbean or vaguely American origin), makes likely a Morisco slangy etymon, < And. *wásʿ* = Cl.Ar. *wasʿ* "wideness; comfort; laxity", through an easily understandable semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **guasearse** and **guasón**.

**guata:** see **bata**.

**guaxa** "bogy" (Ast.): perhaps < And. *wāhš* = Cl.Ar. *waḥš* "wild beast"

**guay** "alas!" and **guaya** "wailing" (Cs.): it is well-known that these words are not Cs. proper interjections of pain, and that there is no universal onomatopoeia of such a meaning; therefore, they cannot be easily separated from their only phonetic match in the whole Iberian Peninsula, And. *wáy* (= Cl.Ar. *way*) and its n.un. *wáya*, respectively.<sup>772</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **guayadero** and **guayar**.

**guebli:** see **gibli**.

**guebro** (Pt.) "Zoroastrian": through Fr., < Neo-P. *gabr*.

**gueche** (Pt., with a var. **geiché**) "a kind of adobe": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., used in connection with campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Hindi *gač* "mortar", or from a form similar to Neo-P. *gači* "made of mortar"

**gueice** (Pt.) "mud": is an unassimilated word, excerpted by DE from a chronicle, < Naf. *gays* (cf. Mor. *gis*).

**guelfo/a** "young of a camel" (Can.): as in the case of other words related to camel breeding, it was expectable that this term stemmed from Has., but our perusal of the relevant works and consultations with native speakers of this dialect have not yielded any result. Perhaps it is an early var. of Can. **baifo** "kid".<sup>773</sup> Cf. **reiso** and **ro**.

<sup>771</sup> See Terés 1986:452–4.

<sup>772</sup> Both words have early reflexes in And. Rom., in IQ 102/4/1 and in the *xarjah* A2, after PD 272, fn. 15. Eguílaz's proposal to derive

these items from Ar. *\*\*wajaš* "pain" was of course wrong, on obvious phonetic and semantic grounds.

<sup>773</sup> See Wölfel 1965:491.

**guermezes** “plague of worms in the eyes of preying birds”: from DAX 957, vaguely interpreted by the puzzled editors,<sup>774</sup> appears to reflect Neo-P. \**kerm mās* “tumour of worms”, with correct Pahl. syntaxis, but unattested.

**guerreyfa**: see **regueifa**.

**guesgues**: see **alusuas**.

**guete** (Pt.) “letter of divorce”: is an exclusive technical term of the Jewish community, < Rab.Aram. *gēt* < Ak. *giṭtu* “long clay tablet; receipt, certification”, < Sum. *gid.da*.

**guidegui** and **guiden**: see **alguidegui**.

**guifa**: see **gifa**.

**guilha** (Pt.) and **guilla** (Cs. and Ct.) “harvest”: < And. *gilla* < Cl.Ar. *ḡallah*.

**guinea** and **guineu**: see **agineu**.

**guirguesca** “a dice game”: in DAX 960, seems a hybridization of **alquerque**<sup>1</sup>, q.v.

**guitarra** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) and **quitarra** (Ext.) “guitar”: < Neo-Ar. *qūārāh* < Syr. *qītārā* < Gr. *kithára*. And. basically had the well documented term *kaytára*, unsuitable to be the immediate etymon of Rom. but, as Coromines says, there is no denying that this word spread in European languages from Provence, and certainly in connection with And. dial. lyrics, as is demonstrated by its first Cs. witness in Juan Ruiz. On the other hand, the occurrence in Fr., mentioned by Coromines, of *guiter(n)e*, interpretable only as a dissimilation of previously geminated /r/, posits a var. without that diphthong, by the way ultracorrect as proved by Neo-Ar., Syr. and Gr. This form may have been the most usual one, and is possibly documented by Simonet as >*k.ttārah* < in the 13th c., i.e., \**ka/tittára* which might have, already in Rom., undergone quantitative

metathesis in favour of the consonant in which gemination would be most perceptible, i.e., /rr/, although even spontaneous gemination of de /r/ is frequent in Hispanic languages. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **guitarrazo**, **guitarre(r)o**, **guitarrería**, **guitarresco**, **guitarr(ill)o** and **guitarrón**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **guitarrista**; Ct.: (d)**esguitarrament**, (d)**esguitarrar**, **guitarrer** and **guitarró**; Ct. and Pt.: **guitarrada**; Gl. and Pt.: **guitarreiro**; Pt.: **guitarrão**, **guitarrear**, **guitarréu** and **guitarrilha**.

**guix**: see **algeps**.

**gumça** (Old Cs.) “amulet shaped as a hand”: is an unassimilated term, a hapax recorded by Mañlo 1983:228 in E. de Villena’s *Tratado del Aojamiento*, although this object, commonly called “Fatima’s hand”, was and is quite well-known, < And. *xúmsa* of the same meaning,<sup>775</sup> < Cl.Ar. *xamsah* “five”, instead of its fem. *alxams* “the five (fingers)”

**gume** (Can.) “go (out)!”: < Has. *gūmī* = Cl.Ar. *qūmī* “get up (fem.)” (see Corriente 2001:194).

**gumia** and **gumfa**: see **agomia**.

**gurapas** (Cs. thieves’ cant and Pt.) “punishment of rowing on board of galleys”: prob. Mudejar slang, < And. *gurāb* = Cl.Ar. *ḡurāb* “galley”, a metonymic designation, as in the case of other ships, based on the name of the raven. Cf. **alferraz**, **albatoca** and **garopo**.

**gurguz**: see **gorgoto**.

**guta**, vaguely interpreted as “gum-resin”: from DAX 965, < Ar. *q/ḡuttah* “fennel gum”.<sup>776</sup>

**gynazt**: see **gemezt**.

**gyngabe**: see **azingab**.

<sup>774</sup> Who adopt the spelling of former editions of DRAE, **giúrmeces**, based on Germanic *worm*, which we would consider unlikely for a term of falconry. The latest edition, while maintaining that spelling, proposes a new etymon, Lt. *vómex*, a dubious var. of *vómax* “often vomiting”, a rare word and a far-fetched metaphor,

also phonetically problematic.

<sup>775</sup> As the spelling *kímce* in Alcalá is a mere typographical error, as shown by his own *kúnce*.

<sup>776</sup> See DAA 374 and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:420 and 476, N° 3515 and 4207, and 2007:564 and 634.

## H

**ha ham**: see **hacén**.

**haba**: in the meanings of “seed”, “nod-  
ule”, “tumour; bump in the body”, “surprise  
gift hidden in pastry” and “glans (penis)” (Cs.)  
and “blister” (Nav.), with the spelling var.  
**jaba** “painful bump in either armpits or groin”  
(Can.), more abundant in Cs. than in Ct. and Pt.  
**fava** and Gl. **faba**, although not absent and dat-  
able in some cases at least from the end of the  
15th c., points to And. *hába* = Cl.Ar. *ḥabbah*  
“grain; pustule”. Other cases of metonymy are  
the meanings, in García Salinero 1968:133,  
“stone like rock crystal... which tools cannot  
striate”, unless it is corrupted from **mahe**, q.v.,  
and Arag. **fabá** “boil”, although the última  
stress is striking, either incorrect, or resulting  
from contamination with the Rom. homograph  
meaning “harvest of beans”. Intra-Rom. der.:  
Cs.: **habado** and **habón**.

**habara** “great bustard” (Can.): is a var. of  
**hubara** (q.v.).

**háber** (Cs.) “Jewish scholar”: is a con-  
temporary historiographical term, wrongly  
stressed by DRAE, at least in the standard  
(Sephardic) pronunciation,<sup>777</sup> < Hb. *hāber*.

**habi**: this hapax in LHP 289 and DO 245,  
might be, as suggested in Corriente 2004b:82–  
83, just an error for (a)**tabi**, q.v.

**habiz** (Cs.) “habous, religious bequest  
in agreement with Islamic law”: although an  
Ar. *ḥabīs* “inalienable as part of a habous”,  
an exact phonetic match of the entry, indeed  
exists as a legal term, its circulation in And.  
is not documented. Consequently, we are  
inclined to prefer the And. etymon *aḥbā/īs* =  
Cl.Ar. *aḥbās*, pl. of *ḥub(u)s* “habous”, sug-

gested by Eguílaz and maintained by DRAE,  
up to its latest edition, in which a characteristi-  
cally Granadan second degree *imālah* tallies  
well with **alhabeçes** (and a var. **halgabbes**) in  
the *Repartimiento* and another Murcian docu-  
ment of the days of King Alfonso X, and with  
**lalahbeç** recorded by Eguílaz in a document  
from Eastern Spain,<sup>778</sup> while **alhobeis**, in LHP  
35 (see Corriente 2004:74), looks like an error  
for a var. \***alhobcis**. As for the synonymous  
Cs. **habús**, it is clearly a contemporary bor-  
rowing from the administrative jargon during  
the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, < Mor.  
*ḥbus* = Cl.Ar. *ḥub(u)s*.

**habón**: see **haba**.

**habús**: see **habiz**.

**hacén** (Cs.) “Jewish doctor, rabbi”: it  
is not recorded by DA, nor Coromines, but  
by DRAE and Moliner, < Hb. *hāxām* “sage;  
rabbi”, widely circulated in Judeo-Ar. and  
Neo-Ar. Its shape is not contemporary and  
might have been used by Cs. speaking Jew-  
ish authors of the Low Middle and Early  
Modern Ages, but its dating and authorities  
are not known. Of the same origin is **ha ham**  
“chief” (Anl.), strangely spelled in two sepa-  
rate words, perhaps so transmitted from the  
*haketia* or Cs. dialect of Sephardic Moroccan  
Jews to their mostly Andalusian neighbours,  
with some semantic evolution, in agreement  
with a certain tendency of that word.<sup>779</sup>

**hacar**: see **achor**.

**hacén** (cs.) “a Granadan coin”: does not  
appear to have been an assimilated word,  
although having prob. circulated in the bilin-  
gual milieus of Andalusia, since Alcalá uses

<sup>777</sup> As shown by the entry in Nehama 1977:253,  
s.v. *javér*. The latest edition of DRAE maintains  
both the mistaken stress and the transcription of  
the Hb. as \**habber*.

<sup>778</sup> The sg. appears represented by (al)**hobz**  
and var. in the *Repartimiento* of Murcia (after  
Pocklington 1984:280–281), **alcopzi** in a Llt.  
document mentioned by Eguílaz, and two others  
recorded by Borao 1908:158, possibly the same

of LHP 35, which invalidates the reading **alhobeia**  
suggested by him and any connection with **alfoz**.  
For the pl., Pocklington suggested aphaeretical  
pronunciation with subsequent restoration of  
a prosthetic vowel, in the terms of SK 59, fn.  
84, which is a subdialectal phenomenon well  
documented and also characteristic of Mor.,  
although still insufficiently researched.

<sup>779</sup> See Nehama 1977:248, s.v. *jajám*.

it as Cs. match of And. *hasáni*. It would be one more interesting witness of the occasional elimination of the morpheme of attributive adjectives (cf. *zahén*, *albur*, *gomer*, etc.; see 1.2.1.2.1). Mateu y Llopis also mentions *dobla hacena*, *doblas acenas* and *hacenes*, mere var., mixed up by him in some cases with *zahena*, q.v. s.v. *cianí*. Cf. *hasaní*.

**hacena**: see *alacena*.

**hacer** (Pt.) "Islamic afternoon prayer": is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in North Africa, < Ar. *ḡaṣr*. It is recorded only in Morais, with an erroneous definition, as he sets it at sunrise. Cs. **ac(ce)ar**, excerpted by Eguílaz from older dictionaries, with a mistaken proposal of identification with *azalá*, q.v., is prob. a corrupted var. thereof.

**hache**: see *haji*.

**hachís** (Cs., infelicitous recent standardization of the old spelling *haxix*, preserved by Gl.), **aixís** (Ct.) and **haxixe** (Pt.) "Indian hemp (Cannabis indica)": < Ar. *ḡaṣīṣ* "grasses, herbs" Although this term existed in And., such a technical meaning is not clearly documented in it, unlike the case of Eastern Neo-Ar., in which it is dated of the Middle Ages. Possibly this was due to the fact that its consumption in Al-Andalus was far less widespread than that of wine among people with these additions. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **haxixismo**. Cf. *asesino*.

**hacho** "angry": (Mur.), in Gómez Ortín 1991, might be the same as *arocho*, q.v.

**hachuna** "a disease in the genitals": is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, prob. a distortion of Syr. *ḡaqrūtā* "sterility", through Ar. script.

**hacino** (Cs.) "stingy; afflicted": < And. *ḡazīn* = Cl.Ar. *ḡazīn* "sad" Intra-Rom. der.: Jud.-Sp.: **jazinénto** "unhealthy"

**haclocoz**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 982, interpreted by the edi-

tors as "owl", on no other visible grounds than a passage reading **dun af quel dizen en romanía haclocoz** "of a bird called h. in Rom." which, in principle, allows no such precision. However, the fact that Möller & Viré (1988:162) mention the meat of owls (*ḡūmah* or *ḡadā*), as a treatment for eye occlusions, i.e., loss of sight and eventual blindness, suggests that Rom. means Gr. here, more exactly, *glauḡ*, -*kós*, and that the origin of that prescription would be just one more case of Medieval *signatura rerum*, establishing a relation of medicine to disease between the meat of this bird and homophonous glaucoma, in which the eye acquires a gleaming blue nuance, comparable to that of the owls' eyes.

**hacta**: see *ata*.

**(h)addani** or **hatani**: see *addani*.

**hadedura**: see *andorra*.

**hadeŋ**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 982, interpreted as "cormorant", no doubt because the text talks about marine crows, but the true etymon is Ar. *ḡadaŋ*, always said of Anatidae, most particularly the "teal" (*Anas crecca* / *querquedula*).

**hadham**: see *ithmaeidem*.

**ha(d)id** "perigeum": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 97, < Ar. *ḡadīd*.

**hadit** "iron": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 67, < Ar. *ḡadīd*.<sup>780</sup>

**hadraamj** "verjuice": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez 1995:419–420, a poor reading of Ar. *ḡiṣrim*.

**(h)adrolla** (Cs.), **adrolla** "fraud in a deal" (Ast., from García Arias 2006:13) and **fad/rolla** (Ct.) "trick, fraud" and **trola** (Cs. and Gl., with aphaeresis of the first syllable) "lie": < And.Rom. \**ḡaṣr+ÓLA*, a hybrid of the And. root *ḡṣr* with the Rom. dim. suffix *{+ÓL}*.<sup>781</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **adrollero** and **trolero**; Ast.: **adrolleru**; Gl.: **troleiro**.

**hadrubá** and **hadrubado**: see *joroba*.

**haduro**: see *andorra*.

**hafagi**: see *alhafachi*.

<sup>780</sup> Also in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:229 as **hadid**.

<sup>781</sup> See Corriente 1993c:140. Therefore,

the Ct. item does not share the etymon of **fat<sup>2</sup>**, *pace* Coromines, but its optional solution to the consonantal cluster is remarkable.

**hafef**: see **alhasaf**.

**hafiz** (Cs. and Pt.) and **afice** (Cs.) "Muslim who knows the Koran by heart": is a mod. learned word, < Ar. *ḥafīz* or *ḥāfīz*. However, in the meaning of "keeper, custodian", recorded by Eguílaz in a text of *Nueva Recopilación*, necessarily older than this work itself, with two var., Cs. **haiz** and Maj. **hais**, it is prob. a Mudejar term, derivable only from And. *ḥāfīz* = Cl.Ar. *ḥāfīz*, consequently penultima stressed, **hāfīz**.

**hágamo**: see **ámago**.

**hagvela**: see **agüela**.

(h)aique (Pt.) and jaique (Arag. and Cs., with the var. **hayque**, after Eguílaz) "a kind of Moorish cape": is a mod. borrowing, not dated before the 16th c., < Naf. *ḥāyk*, apparently a metonymy of Cl.Ar. *ḥālik* "weaver" (cf. Cs. **bañador** "bathing suit" and Fr. *\*peignoir* "combing gown", as similar examples of such morpho-semantic transferences). Can. **jaique** "badly tailored dress" is a mere semantic evolution.

**hais/z**: see **hafiz**.

**haji** (Pt., only in Machado) "pilgrim to Mecca": is a mod. learned word, transmitted through Fr., < Tr. *ḥacī* < Ar. *ḥājj*. The Aljamiado-Morisco idiolect had the form **hache**, directly borrowed from Ar., as well as the more characteristic hybrids **alhichante** and **alhixero**,<sup>782</sup> which did not circulate outside Islamic milieus.

**hájibe** (Pt., only in Morais) "chamberlain of the Umayyad caliphs": is an unassimilated mod. learned term, < Ar. *ḥājib*, applicable to any chamberlain.

**hala** (Cs.) "interjection expressing encouragement or pressing": appears to be a polygenetic expressive word, which cannot have the Ar. etymon *\*ḥalā*, suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, undocu-

mented in And. and clashing with the form **ala** in *Poema de Mio Cid*, which does not usually omit the phoneme /h/. Cf., however, **ala**.

**halacalero** "flatterer" (Anl.): is an obvious hybrid with Rom. suffixation of And. *xal(l)āq* "thief dove", but the preservation of the intervocalic unvoiced stop and its peculiar suffixation point to a different and more recent way than standard Cs. **halagar**, q.v., and its cognates.

**halaf** "heir, successor": is an unassimilated technical term, from LHP 289, < Ar. *xalaf*.

**halagador**, **halagar(se)**, **halago(so)**, **halagüeño** and **halaguero**: see **afagar**.

**halam**: see **alhulem**.

**hálara**: see **algara**?

**halarea** and **halía** (Cs.): these two words, excerpted by Eguílaz from Berceo (**dél prendían halareas** "they received valuable gifts from him") and Juan Ruiz (1036c: **et dame halia** "and give me a precious gift"), respectively, are reflexes with and without an agglutinated Ar. article of And. *\*ḥaliyya*, a var. of *ḥilya* = Cl.Ar. *ḥilyah* "adorno",<sup>783</sup> accompanied in the first case by sonorant dissimilation. Cf. **alforado**.

**halareme**: see **alfarém**.

**haldoar**: see **adohar**.

**halifa(do)**: see **califa**.

**halifala**: see **alifara**.

**hali-hala**: see **alifara**.

**hallice** or **alize** "pure, unmixed": is an unassimilated term, from LHP 289, < Ar. *xāliṣ*, both commented upon in Corriente 2004:83.

**hallulla/o** (Cs.) and **jallulla/o** (Anz. and Anl.) "a kind of bread baked on cinders or on a hot surface" and **hallulla** "kind of bread seasoned with oil and salt" (Anz.): is a hybrid word, formed with alternance of the Rom. dim. suffix on And. *ḥallún* "kind of cake baked on

<sup>782</sup> See Galmés et al. 1994:65.

<sup>783</sup> See SK 5.2.6, p. 84, about the And. tendency to reshape every final /C(i)ya/ as /Cíyya/, although that allomorph is not documented in any Neo-Ar. dialect, in spite of Coromines' statement in his annotation to this passage of *Libro de Buen*

*Amor*, which he interpreted correctly. Another possibility would be a derivation through its very frequent synonym And. *ḥalulí*, (e.g., in the *xarjah* H11: see PD 315), either by forming a n.un. with the fem. morpheme, or by intra-Rom. evolution.

festive occasions", <sup>784</sup> derived with the Rom. aug. suffix [+ÓN] from Hb. *hallāh* "cake ritually offered during the Feast of Weeks", <sup>785</sup> with a semantic evolution turning it into a culinary speciality. The mere vocalism makes impossible the Lt. etymon *\*\*fōliōla* suggested by DRAE.

**haloch**: see **aloc**.

**haloco**: see **aloque**.

**haloque**: see **aloque**.

**halphaiara**: see **alfagara**.

**hamac**: see **alhamech**.

**hámago**: see **ámago**.

**hamal** "redbreast robin (*Erythacus rubecula*)": this infrequent An. word, recorded by Garulo 1983:237, with the var. **jamal** in Alvar Ezquerro 2000:450, indeed appears to reflect And. *aḥmár* = Cl.Ar. *aḥmar* "red"

**hamarillo** (Cs.) "bad thought": all editors of Baena's *Cancionero* since Eguílaz agree on analyzing this hapax as a Cs. dim. with metathesis of Ar. *ḥarām* "unlawful behaviour, sin", and there is apparently no better hypothesis.

**hambalita** (Pt.) "Hanbalite, follower of the Hanbali school of Islamic law": is a contemporary historiographical term, received prob. through Fr., < Ar. *ḥanbalī*, attributive adjective of the name of its founder, Ahmad b. Ḥanbal.

**hamec** (Old Pt.) "electuary of colocynth": this word recorded by DE, which reviewed several possible etyma, appears to be corrupted, considerably but no more than usual in this kind of medical and pharmacological sources, from Ar. *ḥabīd* "colocynth seeds", prob. through a misread *\*hauet*.

<sup>784</sup> Rendered by Alcalá merely as "loaf of bread", but having a more special connotation in IQ 720/1, in which its preparation and consumption are connected with the feast of *nayrūz* or New Year, celebrated by all Andalus, although in principle coinciding with the circumcision of Christ, on January 1st. About those cakes, apparently shaped as a town, and other details concerning this feast, the information provided by Granja 1969:2 and 34–35 is a must. It is noteworthy that And. *hallūn* became a euphemistic designation of the vulva, according to Sheynin 1982, exactly like Mod. Cs. *bollo*,

**hamelin**: this hapax, from DAX 114 and GP 97, is perfunctorily dispatched by Nykl with a cross-reference to his entry **alhema-raym**, in which it is not included in any way, although perhaps he thought that it was a var. thereof, on account of some phonetic likeness. However, being excerpted from *Lapidario*, chances are that it is another var. of **meli**, q.v.

**hamez** (Cs.) "cuts in the feathers of falcons caused by poor feeding": the Ar. etymon *\*\*mahīd*, propounded by DS, is not convincing, as not only requires a metathesis, but it is also semantically unsuitable, meaning only a bone broken for a second time, while *\*\*yamīṣ* "starved", suggested by DRAE in 1884, is much worse and, in fact, was omitted in later editions, until it was replaced in the latest by our proposal, namely, a backformed sg. of *\*hameces*. This is quite logical, as such wounds are usually several, and would reflect a bookish calque of Ar. *ḥamazāt* "wounds made by spurs", an understandable metonymy considering the similarity between both kinds of injury.<sup>786</sup> In such case, the stress position should be corrected as sg. *\*hámece* and pl. *\*hámecece*.

**hâmeza** (Pt.) "grapheme matching the glottal stop of Ar.": is a mod. linguistic term, borrowed from the grammatical jargon of Ar., < *ḥamzah*, lit., "spur strike" Its adoption by Pt. seems unnecessary and ill advised, as it has not become standard in the description of other languages.

**hamica**: see **alhamica**.

**hamita** and **hamítico** (Cs. and Pt.): see **camita**.

which is witnessed again, without recognition of its origin, in Nehama 1977:249, s.v. **jalún**, in the idioms **a jalún de la madre** or **del padre**, in which the second var. shows that the primitive meaning is no longer understood.

<sup>785</sup> See Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907:319.

<sup>786</sup> However, it must have been a Western technical term, missing in the treatise of falconry by Alḡassānī (Möller & Viré 1988), particularly painstaking in the description of diseases and injuries of these birds. Cf. the similar case of **alifafes**.



**hampa** "(life-style of) the underworld": (Cs.): this term is documented at the beginning of the 17th c., as part of the thieves' cant, apparently unrelated to neighbouring languages, including Fr., in which attempts have been made at finding an etymon for it. In some old contexts mentioned by Coromines, it is applied to officers of the law and to one of their duties, namely, to avoid quarrels between vagabonds and delinquents, which might be semantically connected to the name of the body-guard of the Dey of Tunisia, *hānba*. However, when it comes to finding out the etymon of this latter term, and in spite of proposals to derive it from the Ar. root *{hnb}*, there is no suitable semanteme for this meaning in Cl.Ar., nor a possible Tr. origin, whereas the date of the introduction of both signified and signifier, according to DS, took place in the period of the Dey Muḥammad Tābāq, in the second half of the 17th c. This was a time in which the Moriscos expelled from the Iberian Peninsula played an important political and social role in Tunisia, so that one should consider the converse possibility, i.e., the adoption by the local Ar. dialect of a word stemming from Morisco idiolects of Rom. If we accept that **hampa** is a Morisco item borrowed by Tun. Ar., and not vice versa, it could be assumed that the pejorative connotations of this word had derived from the frequent idiom **gente de hampa**, i.e., people who had much contact with law officers on account of their unlawful behaviour, and that **hampa** had in principle been a slangy designation of those officers. Thoroughly within the realm of conjecture, such a word might have derived from And. *\*\*maḥnāb* "trap, snare", a n.inst. which would by back-formation have generated the matching verb, its participles, and an idiom like *\*(nās) hānba* "people hunting with traps" (cf. **cazahampo**), understandable in the underworld jargon, and in agreement with the contempt of other hunters for trappers, who were deemed disreputable, as explained under **cerbatana**. Intra-Rom. der.: Mur.: **jampón** "strong; good-looking", in Gómez Ortín 1991:245 and Can. **jampona** "pretty woman"

**hamudí** (Cs.) "related to the Hammudi dynasty during the period of the Petty Kings":

is a contemporary historiographical term, < Ar. *ḥammūdī*, gentilic of its eponymous ancestor ṢAlī b. Ḥammūd.

**hamu(r)dačaleb**: see **almud alčaleb**.

**handora**: see **andorra**.

**hanega(da)**: see **faneca**<sup>1</sup>.

**hanefifita** (Pt.) "Hanafite, follower of the Hanafi school of Islamic law": is a contemporary historiographical term, received prob. through Fr., < Ar. *ḥanaḥī*, attributive adjective of the name of its founder, Abū Ḥanīfah", or from a Neo-Ar.var. *ḥanīḥī*. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt. **hane/fismo**.

**hanicades** "a kind of trephine": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:177, < Neo-Ar. *>jwnyšds<* and the like, < Gr. *choiniktis*.

**hannaa**: see **alhanaa**.

**haonc ayuiah** (with the var. **hoon(e)c siuah** and **suiah**) "the neck of Hydra": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 98, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:183 as Alpha Hydrae, < Neo-Ar. *ṣunq aššujāš*.

**haque**: see **jaque**<sup>3</sup>.

**haquim** and **haquino**: see **alfaquim**.

**hara** (Cs.) "quarter, parish": is an unassimilated word, after Eguílaz, although frequent in Granadan registers and ledgers of habous, < And. *hāra* = Cl.Ar. *ḥārah*, from Aram. origin, cf. Syr. *ḥīrtā* "camp"

**harac alic bel hual idber**: in DAX 987, is a phrase which the editors have not understood, nor bothered to ask about, as in the case of most Ar. items, < Neo-Ar. *ḥarakat alʿiqbāl walʿidbār* "movement of approaching and receding"

**haragán** (Cs.), **haragano** (Pt., borrowed from Cs.) and **faragán** (Leo.) "loafer": is prob. a reflex of the coarse And. phrase *xarā kán* "he turned out to be a shit", an utterly disparaging judgment, with a parallel in the proverb N° 1442 of Alonso del Castillo's, in which somebody is described as *xarā ma zāl* "he is still a shit" The borrowing would be very old to judge from the absence of *imālah*, as in **fulano** and **mengano** (q.v.). There is, therefore, no need to devise a complicated derivation from **harón**, *pace* Coromines, nor positing And. *\*\*\*xarqán* "clumsy", as we did in Corriente 1985, nor is there any witness

exhibiting initial >f<, which excludes the hypothetical \*\*\**farḡān* "idler", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected. Of the same origin would be Cs. *faranga* "laziness", although its derivation is not transparent. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *haragan(er)ía* and *haraganoso*; Cs. and Pt.: *haraganear*; Sal.: *harganear*.

**haramandeleh**: see *argamandel*.

**harambel**: see *alfâmbar*.

**harão**: see *harém*.

**harapo**: see *farrapo*.

**haraze**: see *alcarrassador*.

**harbado, harbanear** and **harbar**: see *afarbad*.

**harbullar**: see *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

**harca**: see *alarca*.

**harda**: see *fardo*.

**hardalear**: see *ardalear*.

**harém** (Pt., in Morais also *harão*, which is not a better, but a worse form), **harem** (Ct. and Cs.) and **harén** (Cs. and Gl.) "(rooms of the) women in the Islamic house": through Fr., < Tr. *harim* < Ar. *ḥarīm* "woma/en in a Muslim's house" The rendering of this term as "forbidden place; gynaeceum" in DRAE, and the etymon *ḥarām*, of the same root, propounded by DCELC for this word, are not accurate; in the first case, the mistake has been corrected in the latest edition.

**harganear**: see *haragán*.

**harire** "food like peeled barley": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:230, < And. *ḥarīrah* "broth"

**hariza** (Cs.) "crushed wheat": this meaning of a hapax in a document mentioned by Eguílaz is striking, as And. *harīsa* = Cl.Ar. *ḥarīṣah* is a dish of crushed wheat and minced meat. There was either confusion in the explanation, or the purpose was to say that in a given shop the already crushed wheat was sold for that dish, as it is known that crushed wheat has never been so called. There is no etymological relation with Cs. *harija*, *pace* Eguílaz.

**harma** and **harmalà**: see *alfarma*.

**harmunca** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 987, possibly a corrupted var. of *faararmani*, q.v.

**harón, haronear** and **haronía**: see *farón*.

**harqueño**: see *alarca*.

**harrado** (Cs.) "reentering angle in a vault or other buildings", in García Salinero 1968:130: is prob. a hybrid formed with Rom. suffixation on And. *hárif* = Cl.Ar. *ḥarf* "edge", with the same phonetic evolution as in *garra*, q.v., unless it is a var. of \**harrafado*, another Rom. hybrid of the same origin as *almoharrefa*, q.v. Cf. *moharra*.

**har(r)aze**: see *alcarrassador*.

**harroba**: see *alfarroba*.

**harrumaco**: see *arrum(i)aco*.

**harruquero** "muleteer" (Anl., also in DRAE): this word may be a var. of standard Cs. *recuero*, an intra-Rom. der. of *recua*, q.v., but not without at least some unclear contamination. In fact, the var. *arroquero* de DAX 220, already mentioned by Coromines, apparently means "vagrant", and Eguílaz records *haruquero* "unquiet and quarrelsome person", in the dialect of Alhama de Granada, which he would derive from an And. etymon \*\*\**ḥarakí* "troublemaker", phonetically impossible, but raising doubts about that first hypothesis. A hypoconistic And. \**harrúk* "restless" (cf. *acebuche* and *albatoza*) might have existed; on the other hand, *horáqui* "cheater" in Alcalá does not appear to be a mere error for *haraqú* "restless", nor *haráyqui* "businessman" (= *ḥaráyki*, cf. Mor. *ḥaraka* "commercial activity" and *ḥarkawi* "resourceful man"), but could have been produced by mistake or metathesis by the posited \**har(r)úki*.

**hasán** (Cs.): this hapax in a Jewish context of Baena's *Cancionero*, recorded by Eguílaz, cannot derive from Hb. \*\*\**ḥāson* "strong", as he thought, in spite of its semantic suitability, because it is phonetically impossible, and the transcription of the last vowel cannot be emended, being in the rhyme. In truth, the item is Rab. and Medieval Hb. *ḥazzān*, a kind of janitor or sexton in synagogues (even a cantor, as interpreted correctly by Dutton & González Cuenca), schools and tribunals, a widely known term, which became a famous Sephardic family name, which happened to fit into the rhyme of the poem.

**hasaní** (Cs.) "related to the Moroccan Sultan Alḥasan": is a contemporary historiographical and numismatic term, reflecting Ar.

*ḥasanī*, attributive adjective of that name of several Moroccan rulers. Cf. *hacén*.

**hasef**: see *alhasaf*.

**hasta**: see *ata*.

**hataca**: see *fataca*.

**hatama** (Pt., only in Morais) “a region of hell in Islamic eschatology”: is a contemporary technical term, poorly transcribed, < Ar. *ḥuṭamah* “the fifth stage of hell, designed for the Jews”

**hatani**: see *addani*.

**hate/o**: see *fato*.

**(h)athas** “brain inflammation”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:133, supposedly from non-existent Ar. \*\*\**ṣaṭās* but, in truth, its etymon is Ar. *ṣuṭāš* “polydipsia”, i.e., a disease causing intense thirst which cannot be quenched.

**hatux**: see *kantoz*.

**havacera**: see *abacero*.

**havar(a)** (Cs.) “member of the Arabized Br. tribe of Hawwārah”: < And. *hawwāra* = Neo-Ar. *hawwārah*, name of that tribe.

**haxix(e)** and **haxixismo**: see *hachís*.

**(h)ayauen bahri** “marine animal”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 97.<sup>787</sup>

**hayque**: see *haique*.

**hayz/s** or **ayz** “conjunction of a masculine and day planet with a masculine sign during the day, or of a feminine and night planet with a similar sign during the night”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from *Libro Complido* and GP 97, < Ar. *ḥayyiz* “domain”.<sup>788</sup>

**haza** (Cs., with the old var. *faça*) “patch of cultivable land”: The etymon suggested by DO 251 and in previous works of hers, Ar. *fahṣ* “field”, was long ago convincingly refuted by Coromines, while our own proposal of an allophone \**ḥāṣṣa*<sup>789</sup> of And. *hiṣṣa* < Cl.Ar. *hiṣṣah* “share, portion” has not gained universal acceptance.<sup>790</sup> We still feel that there is no better solution, but should we be wrong

on this account, our mistake would bear negatively also upon our statement in DAI<sup>2</sup> 584, to the effect that Can. (h)azada de agua “allocation of irrigation water” would contain an Ar. loanword as its first constituent.

**hazaña(r)**, **hazañería**, **hazañero** and **hazañoso**: see *façaña*.

**hazi/umies**: see *cazeno*.

**hazez** “tetter”: is an unassimilated medical term, from GP 97, < Ar. *ḥazāz*.

**haztrader**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 989, corrupted from Ar. *nuṣṣādir* “ammoniac”; cf. *annoxatir* and *almoháter*.

**hcat toloḥ alfegir** “line of the rise of dawn”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 98, < Neo-Ar. *xatt tulūṣ alfajir*.

**he** and **ahé** (Cs., with the var. *afe* in DAX 84) and **heus (aquí)** (Ct.): concerning these deictic adverbs, it is striking that Coromines, who since his DCELC had given reasonable arguments in favour of the Ar. origin *hā*, of Csn. **he**, upon dealing with the parallel Ct. term, would resort to a blending of Rom. and Lt. elements. In our view, the Ar. hypothesis would be equally valid for the segment **he** in both languages, not precluding a phonetic contamination of a pre-existent Rom. term, a reflex of Lt. \*\**hābē*. By the same token, Arag. **evas** “here (it) is” (eventually exhibiting a pl. **evad**), cannot be interpreted but as a hybrid of Ar. *hāhū*, with pronominal or verbal elements of Rom. origin.

**heam**: see *alhem*.

**hebén** (Cs.) “a variety of large, white and fuzzy grapes”: the Ar. etymon \*\**ḥaban* “dropsy”, of the DRAE edition of 1884, which Coromines accepted with reservations, is clearly impossible, and as such was omitted in later editions, and replaced by his own suggestion in the latest. However, this hypothesis, derived from And. \*\**habá* “paltriness”, which

<sup>787</sup> However, the item concerned is a “stone found in the back of sea crabs”, i.e., *ḥajur (bahri)* *ḥayawāni* in GP 79.

<sup>788</sup> Cf. also Hilty 2005b:191.

<sup>789</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.2 (pp. 39–40), about the frequency of this phenomenon in velar contours, and 2.2.1.1.5.2 (p. 72), about its occurrence as a

consequence of Philippi’s law, both circumstances coinciding in the case of this word.

<sup>790</sup> García Arias 2006:51 rejects it emphatically; nevertheless and at the very least, semantic contamination cannot easily be excluded among bilinguals, since **haza** is more exactly a portion or a share than a strip of land.

we upheld until Corriente 1996c, based on the description of this type of grapes as insipid, obviously requires a not altogether common metonymy from an abstract quality to agricultural terminology.

**hebraico, hebraísmo, hebraísta, hebraizante and hebraizar:** see **hebreo**.

**hebreo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **hebreu** (Ct. and Pt.): through Lt. *Hēbraeus*, < Hb. *šibri*, prob. < Ak. *xapiru[m]* “pariah”, a term also common to Ugar. and Eg. > *špr* <. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **hebraico, hebraísmo, hebraísta and hebraizante**; Cs. and Pt. **hebraizar**; Pt.: **abraico**; Ct. **hebraic** (with the old var. **abrayc**), **hebraisme, hebraísta and hebraizar**.

**hedian:** see **alhedia(n)**.

**hégira** (Pt and Cs., with the old var. **alhigere** in GP 39) and **hélixira** (Gl.) “Hegira, date of Muhammad’s emigration from Mecca to Medina”: is a mod. historiographical term taken, through Fr.,<sup>791</sup> from Ar. *hijrah* “emigration”

**heical** “most sacred place in a temple”: is an unassimilated Hebraism, from García Salinero 1968:130, < Hb. *hēkāl*, but reflected through cognate Ar. *haykal* < Aram. *haykalā*, all of them from Ak. *ekallu(m)*, < Sum. *e-gal* “big house”

**heite** “horse trappings”: this entry in LHP 289, commented upon by Corriente 2004b:83, reflects And. *háyti*, formerly documented only as “altar or wall hanging”, a der. with the attributive suffix of Ar. *hālīṭ* “wall” In this meaning it is not a var. of **alhaite**, as suggested at the end of this entry in DO 196, upon mentioning the item *spolas heites cum artarfes*, also commented under the last word, q.v.

**helam:** see **alhulem**.

**helga:** see **adelga**.

**helgado and helgadura:** see **fel/rga**.

**hemace:** see **humadich**.

**hena/e:** see **alfenia**.

**hene** “an interjection used to call pigs to feed”: this An. item, recorded by Garulo 1983:239 and Alvaz Ezquerria 2000:429, may indeed reflect And. *ahná* (*ahané* in Alcalá) < Cl.Ar. *hāhunā* “here”, which would be corroborated by the var. **ené** and **hone**, the first one with the original stress, although its shift an interjection is no great problem, and the second one being a witness of the And. allomorph *hunā* = Cl.Ar. *hunā*.

**herrabache:** see **gillí**.

**herrado** “meconium” (Anz.): coincide semantically with the first meaning of standard Cs. **alhorre**, q.v., from which it is phonetically different only by vocalization, perhaps due to contamination or vulgarism (cf. Cs. **o/escuro, alferraz and alforrocho**).

**herraj(e):** see **erraj**.

**herre que herre** (Cs.) “pigheadedly”: is prob. part of the Mudejar idiolect, and reflects the coarse speech of Morisco muleteers who, as an interjection or insult, often used vulgar And. *hírr úmmak* “your mother’s cunt”, abridged from the Old Ar. expletive *ayrun fī hiri ummik* “(there is) a penis in your mother’s vulva”.<sup>792</sup> The very spelling shows that **herre** is not here the name of any letter, which would make no sense, although, once the original sense was forgotten, such an absurd interpretation indeed appeared and originated a spelling without >h<. Cf. **caramba** and **junema**.

**hesme and alheasme or alheasine** “wound through the head bones”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:133, < Ar. *hāšimah*.

**heteo** (Cs.) and **heteu** (Pt.) or **hitita** (Cs. and Pt.) and **hittita** (Ct.) “Hittite”: through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *hitti*, of Hittite origin. Presently, the latter and less Biblical form is preferred as more scientific.

**herra** in Bajo & Mañlo 2005:707 (e.g., **herra, qué de gente** “what a crowd of people!”), commented by Corriente 2005b:108. Also the Cs. idiom **entrar con haches y erres**, lit., “to land h’s and r’s”, said of a player with a bad hand of cards, alluding to the same expletive with which players used to curse their bad luck.

<sup>791</sup> Prof. Montaner points out to us a preceding var. **higera** in Mámol; however, in the light of the different vocalization, it does not appear to have been successfully adopted, so that, as often, the present form was reintroduced from Fr.

<sup>792</sup> I.e., roughly, “f...your mother”; see Corriente 1993b:288 and fn. 28, and the entry

**hetus:** see **kantoz**.

**heus:** see **he**.

**hezagi:** see **azhagi**.

**hezleche:** is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1004, "a bird", according to both text and editors, but an obvious error for \***ha'eriliche** < And. *harlij* < Neo-Ar. *halīlaj* < Pahl. *halīlag* < Sk. *harīṭaka* "myrobalan", a plant precisely mentioned as treatment for some ailments of falcons in Möller & Viré 1988:136 and 254.

**hico** (Cs. and Pt.) "Hyksos, name of the foreign invaders who ruled Egypt during part of the 17th and 16th c. B.C.": < Eg. *ḫtšwt* < "kings of foreign lands", through the Gr. transcription *hyksōs* and Fr.

**higo** (Cs.) "a phrase expressing the need of providig the means to reach an end" and **higos** "interjection used by children playing hide-and-seek when they succeed in discovering one of the hidden party" (Anl.): might be thematically and etymologically connected with the expressions **al higuí** (Cs.) and **el iguí** (Arag.) "a game consisting in trying to catch with one's mouth a fig or sweet hanging on a stick which is wobbled by another person" This carnivalesque amusement might have originated in harems under quite different circumstances, when women would vie to reach a jewel dangled by their lord, who thus enjoyed their jumping and wrestling, while uttering the Ar. word *alḥiqīḥ* or *alḥiqūḥ* "reach it (sg. or pl.)"; cf. **rebatifia** and **gasunya**. Unluckily, there is no documentation about this folkloric motive, nor how, when, and where it was transferred to Rom. speakers, but for the fact that the reflected sg. fem. imperative cannot be And., which did not mark it with the suffix */+i/* and perhaps, that the voiced pronunciation of *qāf*, prob. reflected accurately in a period in which Rom. no longer voiced the intervocalic velar stop, points to North Africa, and therefore to customs imported by former captives during the Early Modern Age, but all this is necessarily a mere conjecture. However, it is evident that this word, transferred to a differ-

ent linguistic milieu in which it was no longer understood, had the effect of turning the dangling jewel into a more affordable fig, also more suitable for the occasions of this game in its new social setting, and this explains the strange meanings acquired by this Rom. word in the idioms of this entry.

**hildo:** see **alfendoz**.

**hiles:** see **alhileg**.

**hindú** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **hindu** (Pt.) "Hindu": through Fr. or Eng., < Neo-P. *hendu*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **hinduismo** and **hinduista**; Ct.: **hinduisme** and **hinduista**; Pt.: **hinduísmo**, **hinduista**, **hinduizar** and **hindustani/o**. Cf. **indostanés**.

**hindustànic:** see **indostanés**.

**hirafa:** see **azoraba**.

**hitita:** see **heteo**.

**hifagora:** see **alfagora**.

**hobacho** (Cs.) "fat and lazy": is perhaps a hybrid with the Rom. pejorative suffix */+ÁČ/* of And. *hábba* = Cl.Ar. *hawbah* "fear", if its original meaning were "frightened", although of course a connection with Cs. **fofo** "soft" and **bofe** "lung and other entrails" cannot be excluded either. If anything is sure it is that the suggested Ar. etymon \*\*\**habayyaj* of former editions of DRAE has never existed, being just a mistake for \*\*\**habayyax*, a very rare Cl.Ar. word, absolutely unlikely to be an acceptable etymological hypothesis, now emended in the latest edition of that work. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ahobachado**, **hobachón** and **hobachoneria**.

**hodamo** (Pt.) "priest in Socotra" (in Morais): there is no documentation for such a word in such a meaning in Socotran,<sup>793</sup> although its phonetic and semantic derivation from Ar. *xuddām*, pl. of *xādim* "servant", occasionally said of those of a mosque or of pilgrims, poses no problem.

**hodayriet** "a kind of eagle": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1012, < Ar. *xudāriyyāt*.

**holgazán** (Cs., with the old var. **folgazano**) "lazy": in its onset, no doubt reflects a der. of

<sup>793</sup> It is missing in Leslau 1938, the only lexicographical general reference for this mod.

Sar. language so far.

Rom. **holgar** “to be idle”, but its cauda cannot be given any obvious intra-Rom. explanation. It might have resulted from a half-adaptation of a term like **lacazán**, q.v., and would also be a very old borrowing, in its Ar. segment, as proved by the absence of **imālah**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **holgaz(ane)ar** and **holgazanerfa**.

**holivela** “stonecutter’s pincers”: is a rare technical term, in García Salinero 1968:132, prob. created as a jesting dim., \***xuláiywala**, of the And. etymon of **alfiler**, q.v.

**homarrache**: see **moharracho**.

**homas** (Cs.): this unassimilated hapax in a Jewish context of Baena’s *Cancionero* (N<sup>o</sup> 142), excerpted by Eguílaz, indeed matches Medieval Hb. **homeš** “each fifth of the Pentateuch”, but the ultima stress, the reflex of the last consonant and the vocalization, requested by the rhyme, suggest a Jud.-Ar. phase \*\***xumās**, which cannot surprise, in the light of the frequent use by Sephardic Jews of that language, even in their religious writings. However, Blau 2006:19 has only **xums** in this meaning.

**hoonc alhaya** (with the var. **houe halue** and **haonc alhaue**) “the snake’s neck”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 98, < Neo-Ar. **ṣunq alhayyah**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:217 as Alpha Serpentis.

**hoque**: see **aloque**<sup>3</sup>.

**horda** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “horde”: through Fr., Polish and Russian, < Mongolian **ordu/a**, perhaps but not necessarily through Turkic dialects.<sup>794</sup> There is no Ar. \*\*\***ṣurḏā**, as suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, but just **ṣurḏī**, an adaptation of the Tr. word.

**horrá** (Pt.) “hora” (*Dipterocarpus ceylanicus*): is a late borrowing, not documented before the 17th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. As for Machado’s hypothesis of its derivation from Ar. \*\***ḥurr**

“noble”, it is far from solid, as the expectable Neo-P. link is missing, while Webster considers this item as its native name in Ceylon.

**horrar, en horre** and **horro**: see **alforre**.

**horro**, a—“on one’s back” (Anz.): is a misspelled var. of standard Cs. **jorro**, q.v., which led Coromines astray, when he connected it with standard **horro** in the entry **hórreo** of DCECH.

**horrura** “lees; mud” (Sal.): is a der. of standard Cs. **alhorre**<sup>1</sup>, q.v.

**hosana** (Pt.) and **hosanna** (Cs. and Ct.) “Hoshana”: through Bib. Lt., < Hb. **hošānā** “save (us), we pray”

**hot** “Indian wood”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 98, < Neo-Ar. **ṣūd hindī** “Indian aloe (*Aloexylon agallochum*)”

**hotege**: is an unassimilated hapax in LHP 292, explained in Corriente 2004b:83 as a raincoat for riders, < Ar. **hawḏaj** “howdah”

**hualçaba** (with the var. **ve el çahba**, **vel çahba** and **ve el çahba**) “and the wolf”, which appears complete in DAX “centaur and the wolf”: is clear thanks to Kunitzsch 1959:215, in which Centaurus is designated with synonymous Neo-Ar. **ḥāmīl assabūf** “carrier of the beast”,<sup>795</sup>

**hubara** “bustard” (Can., with the var. **habara**): < Ar. **ḥubārā**, prob. through Has.

**hucá** (Pt.) “hookah”: is a late unassimilated borrowing, from Hindi **huqqā** < Neo-P. **hoqqe**, having acquired that meaning in this language, absent in its Ar. etymon, **ḥuqqah** “little box”

**huélle/iga**: see **fallega**.

**huelveño** (Cs.) “from Huelva”: is a Rom. gentile formed on that place name in its And. Rom. shape \***WÉLBA** < Lt. **Onüba**.

**hulano/a**: see **foão**.

**humeire** “a kind of grape, white and brown” (Anz.): it suggests the Ar. gentile **ḥumayrī**,<sup>796</sup> or the attributive adjective \***xumáyri** “of little

<sup>794</sup> Vasmer 1996:I 150, has the form **orda** for Chaghatay, Azeri, Tartar and Kazak, vs. Tr. **ordu** “military camp”, its cognate, but obviously not a link in the chain of its transmission. The latter word appears as **ordo**,

an unassimilated item, in Clavijo, after Eguílaz.

<sup>795</sup> About the semantic ambiguousness of the last term, see DAA 242.

<sup>796</sup> Which is unlikely, however, because this word meant “onanist” in And.

wine", but it does not appear among the varieties mentioned by And. botanists.

**hurí** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "hourí, female companion of the blessed in Islamic eschatology": is a contemporary learned word, received through Fr., < Neo-P. *huri* < Ar. *hūrun ṣīn*, often misinterpreted as *hūru ḥayn* "having eyes like those of gazelles and wild cows" This term had been frequently used in Aljamiado-Morisco (see Corriente 1990b:75 and Galmés *et al.* 1994:49 and 67, with various shapes), but it did not circulate outside Muslim milieus.

**hurrita** (Cs. and Ct.) "Hurrian": is a contemporary historiographical term, through Fr., < Ak. *xurru* "clumsy"

**huynna** (Cs.): this hapax in Baena's *Cancionero*, excerpted by Eguílaz, cannot obviously derive from Hb. *\*qināh* "dirge;

mourning", as he propounded, but it is the noun of action of a verb, prob. of onomatopoeic origin, lost in Cs., but reflected in the Aljamiado-Morisco idiolect as *uinar* "to howl (of pain)".<sup>797</sup>

**huzeinis** (Llt.): after an information provided by Vives, and mentioned by Mateu y Llopi, this numismatic term appears in a document of 893, a few decades before the appointment of Qāsim b. Xālid as prefect of the Cordovan mint; therefore, it cannot be a mistake for **kazimo** (see **cazeno**), and must be related to another previous prefect bearing the name of *ḥusayn* (perhaps Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāṣim, in the days of the emir Ṣabdallāh, mentioned by Codera 1879:72–73), whence the attributive *ḥusaynī*, reflected by this term.

**hyles**: see **alhileg**.

# I

**iabar**: see **algebar**.

**iafarí** (Llt., in an Arag. document, with the var. **iaari(s)**, **iaharis**, **iafarií**, **ja(ph)aris** and **yaf/haris** in Mateu y Llopi): this qualifier, from And. *jaṣṣarí*, sometimes attached to the dinars called **mancusos**, q.v., is a gentilic of Jaṣṣar ibn ṢUṣmān Almuṣḥafi, who coined them, a famous poet and vizier of Alḥakam II, later fallen in disgrace and executed by order of his former protégé, Almanzor.

**iahardenquet**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1037, interpreted by the editors as "kite" with a question mark; in truth, it is a reflex of Neo-P. *čārdānag* "medium-sized"

**iaharic**: see **algiarech**.

**iahselet**: see **jahafalet**.

**iahuzahar** "planetary node": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 99, with a var. **iauzalhares** en DAX 1037, < Neo-Ar. *jawzahr* < Pahl. *gōzihr*, more accurately, "nodes in the moon's orbit"

**iamilas** "a marine bird": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1037, < Ar. *jāmilah* "white marine birds"

**ianeta**: see **atzanet**.

**iaro**: see **(en)xara**.

**ibrange**: see **alberengi**.

**ichor**: see **achor**.

**iqlam**: see **islam**.

<sup>797</sup> See Corriente 1990b:334. Cf. Pt. **uivar**.

**icoglă** (Pt.) "page, valet": is an unassimilated contemporary borrowing, documented at the end of the 19th c., prob. received through Fr., although incorrectly,<sup>798</sup> < Tr. *iç oğlanı*, lit., "inside boy"

**idrisî**: see **edrisî**.

**idumeo** (Cs.) "Idumaeen, Edomite": through Bib.Lt. *Idūmaeus*, < Hb. *ēdomi*.

**iesera**: see **alserach**.

**iezemen**: see **almazane**.

**ifçiğin** "common dodder (*Cuscuta*)": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 67, corrupted from Neo-Ar. *aftīmūn* < Gr. *epithymon*.

**ifrite** (Pt.) "devil or evil spirit in Arab traditions": is a contemporary learned term, prob. through Fr., < Ar. *ʿifrīt*.

**igual**: see **(a)nigual**.

**iguf**: see **higo**.

**ileij** and **ilieij**: see **alhileg**.

**imā** or **iname/o** (Pt.), **iman** (Ct., borrowed from Cs. and recently corrected as **imam**) and **imán** (Cs. and Gl.) "imam, prayer leader of Muslims": are cases of contemporary adaptation, prob. through Fr., of Ar. *imām*, occasionally said also of some Muslim rulers. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **imanato**; Ct. **imamat**; Pt. **imanado**.

**imela** (Cs.) "palatalization of Ar. /ā/": is the technical term *imālah* of Ar. grammar, arbitrarily introduced in the Cs. dictionary, where it does not belong, not to mention the mistake of an allegedly genuine And. pronunciation, absolutely unsuitable in a technical term.

**inama** (Pt.) "benefice granted to some Hindu communities": is a late borrowing of the 18th c., < Hindi *inām* "concession of tax-exempted lands", backformed as a would-be singulative of Neo-P. *enām* "gift", < Ar. *inām* "favour, grace"

**inchaquia** and **inchaica**: see **achaque**.

**inchinia** "sling of a lateen-yard" (Mur.): reflects And.Rom. \**INČĪNYA* < Lt. \**incingula*, backformed as an aug. of Lt. (*in*)*cingulum*.

**indostanés**, **indostánico** and **indostano** (Cs.), **hindustānī** (Ct.) and **indostānī** (Pt.): are hybrid gentilics with Rom. suffixation of Neo-P. *hendustān*, "India", through mod. Western languages, although ultimately the Lt. stem is a reflex of older Iranian forms of the same basic term. Cf. **hindú**.

**iogurt** (Ct.) and **yogur** (Cs., with an old var. **yagurt**) "yoghurt": through Fr., < Tr. *yōğurt*.

**iracha**, **iraches**, **iraga(n)** and **irake**: see **erak** and **iraquí**.

**iraní** (Cs.), **iranià** (Ct.) and **iraniano** or **irānī(c)o** (Pt.) "Iranian": are contemporary gentilics of "Iran", < Neo-P. *irān* < Pahl. *ērān* "country of the Aryans", with the Orientalizing suffix {-i} in the case of Cs. DRAE records a latinised **iranio** as gentile of Old Iran.

**iraquí** (Cs.), **iraquíà** (Ct.) and **iraqueno** or **iraquiano** (Pt.) "Iraq/ki": is a contemporary gentile, derived from the Ar. place name *aḫrāq*, with the Orientalizing suffix {-i} in the case of Cs. Cf. **erak**.

**irichen** (**gofio de—**) "roasted wheat flour" (Can.): this designation of "wheat" is the native Guanche term, a cognate of Br. *irdan*.

**islam** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **islā(o)** or **islame** (Pt.) "Islam": is a contemporary historiographical term, < Ar. *islām*, prob. through Fr. The Aljamiado-Morisco idiolect had the direct borrowings **aliçelém**, **aliçlām** and **içlam** (see Galmés *et al.* 1994:67 and 335), but they had no echo outside the Muslim communities. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **anteislámico**, **panislámico** and **panislamismo**; Cs. and Gl.: **islámico**, **islamismo**, **islamita**, **islamización** and **islamizar**; Cs. and Pt.: **islamismo** and **islamita**; Cs. and Ct.: **panislamista** and **islamita**; Ct.: **islámīc**, **islamisme**, **islamista**, **islamització**, **islamitzar** and **panislamisme**; Pt. **islâmico**.

**ismaelita** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "Ismael-ite": through Lt. and Gr., with the gentile suffix of the latter, attached to a reflex of the Hb.

<sup>798</sup> Unlike the case of the transcription in Hb. script, in Almosnino's chronicle (after

Pascual Recuero 1987:456 and 464).



pr.n. *yišmāšēl*. In mod. times, besides meaning the offspring of Ismael, it is said of the members of the Ismaili denomination, through Fr., although contaminated by the former term, < Ar. *ismāšīlī*, attributive adjective of *ismāšīl*, n.pr. of its founder; however, in this case and in order to avoid Bib. echoes, the var. **ismaelí** is usually preferred.

**israelí** (Cs.), **israelià** (Ct.) and **israeliano** (Pt.) "Israeli, gentile of the state of Israel": is a contemporary derivation of this place name, with the Orientalizing suffix {-í} in the case of Cs. But it has been influenced, through Lt. forms of both country and gentile, by genuine **israelita** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "Israelite", a reflex of Bib.Lt. *Isrāēliya*, a gentile of *Isrāēl* < Hb. *yisrāʾēl*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **israelítico**; Ct.: **israelític**.

**istimbre**: see **alistimbre**.

**ithmaedem** "use of the bones" (with a var. **hatham**): is an unassimilated medical term,

from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:38, < Neo-Ar. *imām šizām*, with a doubtful first constituent, both in shape and meaning, perhaps referred to complete development of the bones and readiness for their functions (cf. Cs. **uso de razón** "majority").

**iuleb**: see **julepe**.

**iulem**: see **alalem**.

**iundibudest**: see **gendebuster**.

**ixafegar**: see **atxafegar**.

**ixarica**: see **acharique**.

**izar** (Pt., only in Morais) "toque worn by Muslim women": is a contemporary learned term, prob. received through Fr., < Ar. *izār*, while the Leo. var. **izale**, **liçare** and **yzare** (in DO 253) are old, and **lizar**, excerpted by Eguílaz from Mármol, appears to be a direct borrowing from Naf. As for the meaning "hunting tool used by Alg. tribes," its etymon must be different, but cannot be ascertained without more data.

## J

**jaaris**: see **iafari**.

**jaba**: see **haba**.

**jabado** "having scale-like, many-coloured feathers; male linnet with two or three feathers under its beak; lover" (Anz.): except the last meaning, apparently requiring an indeterminate metaphor, also reflected in **jabarse** "to fall in love" (Anl.), the etymon is prob. based, with some semantic evolution and Rom. suffixation, on And. *šáhba* < Cl.Ar. *šahbāʾ*, fem. of *ašháb* = Cl.Ar. *ašhab*, "grey; dapple and other light shades of horse colours."<sup>799</sup>

**jabalí(n)**, **jabalina** and **jabalinero**: see **chabalín**.

**jabalón** and **jabalonar**: see **jabalcón**.

**jabal/rcón** (Cs.) "main rafter in a roof" and **jibrón** (Can.) "common rafter in a roof": < And. \**jamalún* < Neo-Ar. *jamalún* < Aram., e.g., Rab. *gamlōn* "beam", a dim. of "camel", a metonymical use already present in Ak. *gamlu[m]* "beam". The coincidental absence of And. documentation does not raise any doubt, as it is a technical term of standard use. Since its first occurrences in the 17th c., it appears at times phonetically contaminated by **balcón**. The same etymon could explain **galpão** (Pt.) and **galpón** (Gl.) "shed", considered by Machado as etymologically obscure, by either distortion or contamination, as both metathesis and labial alternance are not infrequent in the

<sup>799</sup> See 1.2.1.3.2a.

Ar. loanwords of Rom. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jabal(c)onar**.

**jabaluna**: see **chabalín**.

**jabar**: see **aixovar** and **ejarbe**.

**jabarcón**: see **jabalcón**.

**jabaril(a)** and **jabato**: see **chabalín**.

**jabe** and **xepe** (Arag.) and **ajebe** or (**en**)**jebe** (Cs., with the old var. **axeb/p** in GP 68) “alum”: < And. *šābb* = Cl.Ar. *šabb*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enjebar** (prob. in both meanings as “to dip in alum” and “to whiten”, the latter being metonymical, since the Lt. suggestion **\*\*exalbāre** of DRAE is phonetically unsuitable).

**jabeb/ga** and **jábeca**: see **ajabebe**.

**jabeca** (Cs.) “a kind of oven for the distillation of quicksilver”: is an obsolete term, prob. antepenultima stressed, as a metonymy of **jábec/ga**, q.v., this device being similar to a grate. The Ar. etymon suggested by former editions of DRAE, **\*\*sabikah** “ingot” is both phonetically and semantically unsuitable; it has been corrected in the latest one.

**jábec/ga** (Cs.), **xàvega** (Ct.), **xáb/vega** or **enxàvega** (Pt.) and **jáb(r)ega**, **jabeta** and **jabegón** (Arag.) “large fishing net (used in the sea)”: < And. (*iš*)*šābka* < Cl. Ar. *šabakah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jabeguero**; Ct.: **xavegada**, **xavegó** and **xaveguer**; Anz.: **enjabegarse** “to be entangled (under water)” Cf. **jabeque**.

**jabeluna** (Anz.): is a var. of the kind of olive called **jabaluna**, q.v.s.v. **chabalín**.

**jabeque** (Cs., with the doubtful var. **jábega**) and **xabec** (Ct.) “xebec, three-masted ship used in the Mediterranean Sea” and **xaveco** (Pt.) “skiff”: < And. *šabbák*, originally, a skiff used in net fishing”. As for the meaning “scar of a wound in the face” in thieves’ cant, as in the idiom **pintar un** —, lit., “to draw a xebec”, i.e., “to wound on the face”, it is a quite clear metonymy, comparing that wound with the silhouette of a sailing ship: cf. Ct. **xiribec**, of the same meaning, and Cs. **jeribequé** “contortion”, from the same etymon with dissimilation of the gemination into a sonorant.<sup>800</sup>

**j/gabera** “tuft of hair on the temples” (Mur.): might be a metaphor of standard Cs. **linjavera** (q.v.s.v. **algibeira**), it being difficult to establish a connection with Cs. **jabera** “a kind of Andalusian folk song”, in DRAE and Alvar Ezquerro 2000:449.

**jabeta**: see **jábec/ga**.

**jabí** (Cs.) “a variety of apples or grapes” (only of grapes in Anz.): < And. *šābī*, it being noteworthy that And. botanists only mention the *šābī* apple, but not a variety of grapes with the same adjective.

**jábrega**: see **jábec/ga**.

**jaca** (Cs.) “mark on the cards with the purpose of cheating”: is a term of thieves’ cant, recorded by Diego de Guadix (see Bajo & Maíllo 711, commented by Corriente 2005b:109), < And. *šāqqa* < Cl.Ar. *šaqqaḥ* “crevasse, rift”

**jácena** (Cs.), **xacia** (Gl.), **jässer/na** (Ct.) and **chazena** (Arag.) “beam”: < And. *jāsr* “bridge; beam” = Cl.Ar. *ja/īsr* “bridge; paved road” Ct. exhibits the same hesitation in the sonorant as in **tàper/na** and **almànguer/na**, q.v., while the acquisition of a fem. morpheme through metanalysis of paragogical /e/ is found in all the Rom. reflexes. There is no need to resort to blending with Ar. synonymous **\*\*jālīzah**, which Eguílaz mistakenly propounded as etymon, as even the change of gender, if it ever needed a helping factor, can be attributed to contamination by its Cs. and Ct. match, **viga**. As for the var. Ct. **jassa** and **jaza** and Arag. **chaza**, as well as Gl.-Pt. **jázia** and **jácia**, rather than reflexes of **\*\*jālīzah**, appear to be alternative solutions to the cumbersome cluster /sr/ (cf. Cs. **albricias**, < And. *\*bīšra*) as, otherwise, the expectable result would be **\*jeza**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **ajasserar**.

**jacerina** and **jazarán** (Cs.), **jazerina** and **jazerão** (Pt., the first var., prob. borrowed from Cs.) and **jaseran** (Ct., with the var. **gesaran(t)**) “a kind of coat of mail”: < Naf.

*āyri* < Neo-Ar. *jazālīrī* “Algerian” The Ct. and second var. of Cs. and Pt. appear to have been borrowed from Fr. *jaseran*, while

<sup>800</sup> The Ar. etymon **\*\*habaṭ**, suggested once by DRAE, but undocumented in And., is also

phonetically unsuitable: its latest edition has adopted our suggestion.

the other are closer to It. From the same origin is **jazarino** (Old Cs.) “Algerian” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jacerino**.

**jacia**: see **jácena**.

**jacobeo** (Cs.) and **xacobeo** (Gl.) “related to Saint James” and **jacobeu** (Pt.) “member of a religious society”: through Bib.Lt. and with Rom. suffixation, from the Hb. pr.n. *yāšāqob*, prob. meaning “watcher, keeper”, as the etymology given in the Bib. text, “overtaker (of his brother Esau)”, is merely traditional. From the same etymon is **jacobita** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) “Jacobite, member of a Middle Eastern church”, and **santiago** (Cs.) “St. James! (battle cry of the Christians in the Middle Ages)” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **santiagouefi/ro**, **santiagués**, **santiaguino** and **santiaguista**.

**jadraque** (Cs.) “spiritual overseer appointed to the Moriscos forcibly converted to Christianity”: this word appears to have no other authority than Cervantes’ *Persiles*, being initially spelled as **xadraque**, which makes impossible the Ar. etymon **\*hadrā(t)** “(Your) Excellence” suggested by DRAE and having induced its false but matching interpretation as “courtesy title of Muslim princes”, maintained in the latest edition, with an additional new mistake in the transcription of the alleged etymon as **\*\*\*šadrat**. In fact, it appears to be a distortion of Lt. *subdiācōn*, reflected as *šubdiyāqun* and *šuddiyāqun* (= /šu(b)diyāqun/) in the Toledan Mozarabic documents<sup>801</sup> (cf. Fr. *diacre*), with some additional unclear contamination.

**jadrar** “to make preparations for a feast” (Jud.-Sp.): reflects a hybrid And.Rom. **\*hadrir**+**ÁR**, based on And. *hadrir* = Cl.Ar. *hadrir* “ready”

**jadrea**: see **ajedrea**.

**jaecero**: see **jaez**.

**jaén** (Cs.) “a kind of grape and vine”: it may simply reflect the name of the Andalusian town of Jaén, with a disputed pre-Islamic etymon,<sup>802</sup> but the presence of **jayena** “a kind of bean with long pods and white seeds” (Anl.),

suggests one more case of elimination of an unstressed attributive suffix (see 1.2.1.2.1), i.e., And. *jayyáni* “of Jaén”, the gentile of *jayyān* “Jaén” This gentile usually exhibits Rom. suffixation in Cs., e.g., **jaenero**, **jaenés** or **jien(n)ense**.

**jaez** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **ajaez**), **jafes** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:69) and **jaíz** (Nav.): “trappings of a riding beast”: < And. **\*jaház**<sup>803</sup> = Cl.Ar. *jahāz* “apparel; trousseau”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **desenjaezar**, **(en)jaezar** and **jaecero**; Pt.: **ajaezar**.

**jafes**: see **jaez**.

**jafético** (Cs.) “Japhetic”: this mod. historiographical term, said of Caucasian peoples, is formed with Gr. suffixation on Bib.Lt. *Jāphet* < Hb. *yāʾefet*, name of Japheth, Noah’s son from whom they were supposed to descend.

**jafut** (Maj.) “despicable”: < And. *yahūdi* = Cl.Ar. *yahūdī* < Hb. *yāhudi* “Jew(ish)”, originally a gentile of the tribe made up by Judah’s offspring, < Hb. *yēhudāh*, one of Jacob’s twelve sons. Cf. **judeu**.

**jaguarzo**: see **arcazón**.

**jaguir** (Pt.) “fief in India”: is an unassimilated late borrowing, recorded in the 17th c., < Hindi *jāgīr* < Neo-P. *jāgīr*.

**jahafalet elfaraz** (with the var. **jahselet alfaraz** and **iahselet alfaraz**) “the horse’s face”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 99, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:6 as the region of the sky occupied by Omicron and Fl. 2 of Andromeda, < Neo-Ar. *jahfalat alfaras* “the horse’s lip”

**jaharí** (Cs. and Anl.) and **jariz** or **chafarí** (Anz.) “an Andalusian kind of fig”: in all these cases the etymon appears to be And. *jašfarí*, an attributive adjective of the common pr.n. *Jašfar*, but also And. *šašrī* “from a country growing **jará**”, q.v., cannot be totally excluded, as both epithets are registered in And. botanical treatises, such as *Kitābu Šumdati ṭṭabīb*.

**jahariz**: see **chafariz**.

**jaharral** “a place abounding in pebbles” (Anl., already in DRAE as An.): cannot derive,

<sup>801</sup> See Ferrando 1995:148.

<sup>802</sup> See Aguirre & Jiménez 1979:34–35 about Dozy and De Goeje’s hypothesis identifying it with old Uciense in Antoninus’ *Itinerarium*.

<sup>803</sup> In And. *jiháliz* is only documented as “chamberpot”, but this loanword implies that the Cl.Ar. meaning was also known.

on phonetic grounds, from the etymon given by DRAE, based on Ar. **\*\*hajar** “stones”, as that definition does not tally well with our proposal in Corriente 1996c, based on **\*\*jayyār** “limestone”; this entry has been eliminated from its latest edition. In the light of similar cases among the Ar. loanwords of Rom., e.g., Cs. **zahareño** and Pt. **saforil** and **sáfaro**, q.v., der. from And. **šáxr** = Cl. Ar. **šaxr** “rocks”, we would now rather presume a hybrid of the latter item with an obvious Rom. locative suffix, plus a phenomenon of assimilation or metathesis of consonants in contact in the definite pl. syntagm **\*loh zaharraleh > loz haharraleh**, subsequently spelled with hypercorrect >j< in the first syllable.

**j(ha)rrar** (Cs.), **ajaharrar** and **zafarrar** (Anz.), **zaharrar** (Ext.) and **zah/jarrar** (Anl., with the deverbial noun **zaharro**) and **ajarrar** (Anl.) and **jarrear** (Arag.) “to whitewash”: is a hybrid denominal verb, formed on And. **jayyār** “lime”, an equivalent of Cl.Ar. **jīr**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jaharro**.

**jaïma**: see **alcaima**.

**jaïque**: see **haique**.

**jaíz**: see **jaez**.

**jája**: see **Axa**.

**jalea**: see **aixareca**.

**jaleca/o**: see **chaleco**.

**jalfa(to)** and **jalfiano**: see **califa**.

**jallulla/o**: see **hallulla/o**.

**jalma** and **jalmero**: see **enjalma**.

**jaloque**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) and **xaloc** (Ct.) “Southwest wind” and **xarôco** or **xarouco** (Pt.) “Mediterranean wind; land wind; East or Southwest wind”: < And. **šalāwq** “sea wind”, apparently resulting from the addition of the Rom. pejorative suffix **/+ŌQ/** to a reflex of Lt. **sālum** < Gr. **sálos** “(main) see” Cs. and Pt. have also **síroco** “Southwest wind”, of the same ori-

gin, but through Mediterranean channels (cf. It. **s(c)irocco**), also borrowed by some Naf. dialects. The proposals of former editions of DRAE, now corrected, **\*\*\*šarūq** and **\*\*\*šalūk** simply do not exist neither in Cl.Ar. nor And., and there is no semantic connection with the root **/šrq/**, which would suggest the East, not the Southwest.<sup>804</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **xalocar** and **xalocada**.

**jaloque**<sup>2</sup>: see **aloque**<sup>1</sup>.

**jaltizfikos** “flattery” (Jud.-Sp.): is a hybrid attaching a Rom. dim. suffix to And. **xál(a)ti** = Cl.Ar. **xālatī** “my maternal aunt”

**jaluga** “pod” (Leo.), **jaruga** “bean pod” (Anl.), **xeruga** (Ct.) “pod”, and **jeruga** (Cs.) “pod of some vegetables”: < And. **šulūqa** or Rom. **\*šILŪQA** < L. **sīlīqua**, at times with a first anomalous vowel, prob. resulting from hypercorrection of a palatalized var. **\*šilūqa**.<sup>805</sup>

**jam/n** “uncle” (Jud.-Sp.): < And. **šamm** = Cl.Ar. **šamm** “paternal uncle”

**jamadar** (Pt.) “inspector of tributes in India”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, < Hind **jamādār** < Neo-P. **jamśdār** “army, police or customs officer; guide; messenger”

**jambo(a)**: see **alambo**<sup>2</sup>.

**jamear** (Arag. of Caspe) “to carry”: may be a hybrid denominal verb, formed with Rom. verbal suffixes on the And. **mašdar jamś** = Cl.Ar. **jamś** “to collect or gather”

**jamedar** (Pt.) “landowner in India”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, dated from the 19th c., < Hindi **zamīndār** < Neo-P. **zame/indār** “landowner”

**jamela**: see **maissela**.

**jamequia** (Ct.) “salary of an official; armed guard of a consul”: the first meaning reflects Neo-Ar. **jāmaq/kiyyah** < Neo-P. **jām(a)gi** “stipend sufficient for food and clothing”. As for

<sup>804</sup> The complex issue of wind names in Al-Andalus, most particularly the **jaloque**, was dealt with in detail by García Gómez 1972:III 371–374, who collected plenty of interesting data, although ultimately avowing the as yet unresolved difficulty of this subject matter. Curiously enough, Malt. has two reflexes of this etymon, **x(i)lokk**, **xrok** or **xloq** “southwest wind” and **xellug** “left (side)”, the latter being an

understandable euphemism in a nation of sailors, as that was the direction from which this wind blew when they sailed to the South, primary focus of their economic concerns.

<sup>805</sup> About this substandard tendency, very active in And. and often causing anomalous vocalizations in the Ar. loanwords of Rom., see AAR, p. 66, 2.1.4.1.7 and Corriente 1981–82:33, fn. 4.

the second one, if it was correct, which is not probable in this hapax, it would have been generated by a confusion with Neo-Ar. *jumaqdār* < Tr. *çomaktar* "mace bearer". There is no etymological relation between both words, *pace* Coromines.

**jamete** (Cs.), **xamito** (Leo., in DO 253)<sup>806</sup> and (e)**xamete** or **xamite** (Pt.) "a fabric of silk and gold": considered by Coromines, without making the way explicit, as reflex of Gr. *hexámitos* "six-threaded cloth", which would require an intermediate And. \**šamít*, actually reflected as **xamed** in *Poema de Mio Cid* and parallel shapes in early Cs. literature. As for the proposal in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, of an Ar. etymon \*\**hammād* "praising much", it is not only impossible on account of historical phonetics, but also clashes with the fact that this word was merely used as pr.n. in And. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **jametería** (given by DRAE as Mur.) "flattery"

**jamí**: see **amí**.

**jámila** (Cs.) "stinking juice oozing from a heap of olives": is a poorly documented word, penultima stressed in the oldest witnesses (cf., also Anz., **jamila** "vessel in which that juice is separated from oil", not that juice itself, although the mix-up happens in some villages of the province of Cordova), with a var. **jamilla**, recorded by DRAE and Terreros. In order to establish its etymon, the genuine stress position must be ascertained, but the data are somewhat disparate, e.g., Anl., **jamila** "oil without dregs, in olive pressing" and **jámila**, **jamilero** or **jamilón** "out-of-town dumping place for that juice". Antepenultima stress is certainly less frequent, perhaps due to a hypercorrect popular shift, provided it is not merely a consequence of some scholars' etymological hypotheses, like those of Eguílaz. Assuming an original shape **jamilla**, we might simply

have here a standardized transcription of An. \***hamilla** < And.Rom. \**ham+ÉLA*, a Rom. dim. of And. *hamí* < Cl.Ar. *hama?* "mud", a common hybridization in the speech of the Mozarabs, who for a long period had nearly monopolized some trades (cf. standard Cs. **tarabilla**, **azache**, **alpechín**, An. **azofairón**, etc.). As for Ar. \*\**jamīlah*, suggested by former editions of DRAE, but now corrected, it has never existed in a similar meaning, nor is there any probable connection with the rare lexical item \*\**jamīl* "melted grease" of the Cl.Ar. dictionaries, which would not even be semantically suitable, since as pointed to by its basic meaning of "beautiful", it was an edible and much appreciated product, by no means comparable to a stinking liquid; in short, these and all the other etyma given in diverse works, including those of Coromines', are unsatisfactory. Of the same origin is prob. **jemella** "refuse" (Anz.), in which the first vowel has been altered through intra-Rom. assimilation to the next one, also corroborating the stress position of an original \***jamilla**.

**jampón** and **jampona**: see **hampa**.

**janapol**: see **ababol**.

**jandorro**: see **andorra**.

**jandrázo**: see **andrajo**.

**janega**: see **faneca**.

**janglón** "damaged bunch of grapes" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 199:245): reflects a hybrid And.Rom. \**šanqud+ÓN*, from And. *šanqud* < Cl.Ar. *šanqud* "bunch of grapes", with the Rom. aug. suffix, in this case with a pejorative nuance.

**janíño** (Jud.-Sp.) "congenial": < And. *hanín* "compassionate". Cf. **alhanin**.

**janízaro** (Pt.), **jenízaro** (Cs.) and **genísser** (Ct.) "Janissary": < Tr. *yeni çeri* "new troops",<sup>807</sup> through It. and Lgr.

**japharis**: see **iafari**.

<sup>806</sup> Whose proposal of forsaking Coromines' Gr. etymon is unconvincing.

<sup>807</sup> Correctly interpreted by former editions of DRAE, but wrongly transcribed as \**yeni-şeri[k]*, which meant some retrogression with respect to Eguílaz's one century older transcription, *yenyicheri*; the correct form, however, appears

in its latest edition. The Lgr. var. recorded by Du Cange, *genitzaroi*, *gianitzáros* and *ianitzáro* explain the It. forms *giannizero* and *iannizzero* better than a direct borrowing from Tr., as It. would have reflected the unvoiced affricate palatal more exactly.

**japuta:** see **chaputa**.

**jaque<sup>1</sup>, jaque mate and jaquear** (Cs.): see **escacs**.

**jaque<sup>3</sup>** (Cs.) “flat hairdo” and **ja/eque** or **xaque** (Arag.) and **enxaca** (Pt.) “saddlebag; half of a pannier”, and **haque** “each frame of the couple of water jars carried on horses” (Ext.): < And. \*šāq < Cl.Ar. šiqq “one half of any pair”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jaquero**.

**jaqueca** or **a(l)jaqueca** (Cs., with the old var. **xaqueca**, in Vázquez 1998:783, also Ast. after García Arias 2006:221) and **enxaqueca** (Pt.) “megrin”: < And. (i)šaqīqa < Cl.Ar. šaqīqah, in principle, “side or half of a twin object”, as it affects a half of the cranium, prob. calque or translation of Gr. *hēmikranía*, ultimate etymon of the Rom. equivalent. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ajaquecarse** and **jaquecoso**.

**jaquel** (Cs.) “quartermaster in a coat of arms”: is a Rom. dim. der. of **jaque<sup>1</sup>**, q.v.s.v. **escacs**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jaquelado**.

**jaquima** (Cs.), **xaquima** or **xàquima** (Val.), **xácoma** (Gl.) and **xáque/ima** (Pt., only in Morais, prob. borrowed from Cs., and adapted to Pt.) “rope halter”: < And. šakīma = Cl.Ar. šakīmah. There has been, but in one of the Val. forms, an anomalous stress shift, late to judge by its penultima stressed rhyming in *Libro de Buen Amor*, exactly the opposite to the case of **tarima**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enjaquimar** and **jaquimazo**; Ct.: **xaquimer**. Cf. **alcama**.

**jara<sup>1</sup>:** see **enxara**.

**jara<sup>2</sup>:** see **algará<sup>2</sup>**.

**jará** “filth” (Anl.): considering its isolation and only recent documentation, this item appears to be a contemporary borrowing from Mor. *xra* < Cl.Ar. *xarāʾ* “excrement”, matched by And. *xarā* which had Rom. reflexes in **haragán**, **jaryéntarse** and **jaryénto**, q.v. Therefore, the reappearance of a repressed Mudejar or Morisco item of taboo language in Cs. spelling cannot be altogether excluded.

**jarabandino** or **jaramandín** (Can.) “Arab”: this pejorative designation of the members of the local Arab settlement might

derive from Sr.Ar. *xārib iddīn* “irreligious”, a label first applied by the most conservative Arabs to those of their coreligionists who became increasingly assimilated to the environment and less concerned with traditions. As such cases are the rule rather than the exception, it cannot surprise that the term was picked up by their hosts and neighbours, monolingual speakers of Cs., as a derogatory ethnic nickname for all Arabs; see Corriente 2001:201.

**jarabe** (Cs., with the var. **jarope**, and old **x/sorope** or **xorop(e)**, in GP 127), **xarope** (Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **enxarope**), Ast. **xarabe** (in García Arias 2006:222), and (ai)**xarop** (Ct.) “sweet drink”: < And. šarāb < Cl.Ar. šarāb “drink”. Morais mentions a Pt. **xarau** “palm wine”, of the same etymon, but borrowed either in North African or Eastern colonial settlements. Also from the same etymon are Arag. **charapote** “mixture”, **jarapote** “syrup” (recorded by DRAE as An. and Arag., but possibly also Nav.) and metathetical **chaparote** “poorly cooked dish” (Arag.), with a pejorative Rom. suffix. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jarabear**, **jarop(e)ar**, **jaropeo** and **jarapotear**; Ct.: **aixaropada**, **aixaropament**, (ai)**xaropejar**, **aixaropat**, (ai)**xaropera**, (ai)**xaropós**, **enxaropador** and (e)**xaropar**; Gl.: **xaropear** and **xaropeiro**; Pt.: **enxaropar** and **xaroposo**. Cf. **alserab**.

**jaraçuna** (Cs., with the erroneous var. **xaraçina** and **jarazamaa**): is an unassimilated technical term, excerpted by Eguílaz y Maíllo 1983:288 from the capitulation of Granada and related documents. It reflects the And. words šarf and sunna, prob. connected with the Old Cs. copulative conjunction *e*, scarcely pronounced by Mudejars, i.e., Cl.Ar. šarf “Koranic law”, and *sunnah* “the Prophet’s traditions”. These were the two basic pillars of the law for the Sunnis and, as such, common designation of the laws governing their community, the first constituent of this expression being at times reflected in Medieval Ct. as **xara**.<sup>808</sup> Cf. **çuna**.

<sup>808</sup> Such is the case of the very title of the Val. *Libre de la çuna e xara* from the beginning of

the 14th c., edited and studied by Barceló 1989.

**jarafe:** see **ajarafe**.

**jarafz:** see **chafariz**.

**jaral:** see **enxara**.

**jaramago:** see **saramago**.

**jarambel:** see **alfâmbar**.

**jarapol:** see **ababol**.

**jarapote and jarapoteare:** see **jarabe**.

**jarazamaa:** see **jaraguna**.

**jarba:** see **ejarbe**.

**jarbado:** see **afarbado**.

**jarba(r) and jarbe:** see **ejarbe**.

**jarca:** see **alarca**.

**jardón** "glutton" (Anl.): the diverse phonetic equivalences of the grapheme >j< in the transcription of An. texts makes it quite difficult to pinpoint the correct etymon of such an isolated word, in which only the Rom. aug. suffix is obvious. If the genuine spelling were \***hardón**, it could be a mere instance of voice assimilation in Rom. \*f/hartón, i.e., "completely full [after a meal]", or a mythical metonymy of And. *harđún* < Cl.Ar. *hirdawn* "lizard", an animal with some negative connotations, prob. contaminated from Rom. (cf. **fardacha**). But, if the entry spelling were historically correct, it might be a Rom. aug. of And. *jarád* = Cl.Ar. *jarād* "locusts", and this is not the last possibility, as the initial consonant might be the result of wrong parsing of a substantive with the definite pl. article, etc. Cf. **charate**.

**jarea and jarear:** see **aixareca**.

**jareta** (Cs.), **eixareta** (Ct., with the Val. var. **aixareta**), **xareta** (Gl. and Pt., also Ast., after García Arias 2006:223) and **xiareta** (Leo.) "casing for a ribbon": < And. *šarīta* = Cl.Ar. *šarīṭah* "ribbon" There has been, therefore, a semantic evolution, or simplification of the syntagm \**húzzat aššarīṭa* "tuck of the ribbon" (cf. **alforza**). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enja-retar**, **jaretera** and **jaretón**; Nav.: **enja-retar** "to make ready" (with semantic evolution).

**jaricar:** see **acharique**.

**jariega:** see **aixareca**.

**jariego:** see **enja-ra**.

**jarifa:** see **g/jarifo**.

**jarife and jarifiano:** see **jerife an jerifiano**.

**jarifo:** see **garifo**.

**jarique:** see **acharique**.

**jariz:** see **jaharí**.

**járjara:** see **algara**<sup>2</sup>.

**jaro** (Cs.) "red-haired", **jaro** and der. **jaramendado** and **jaramandero** "white-spotted animal" (Sal.) and **jaro** "slovenly; dirty; saffron yellow" (Anl.): to judge by standard Cs., which appears to be semantically most conservative, this adjective is the backformed masc. of **jara**, < And. *zārāra*, fem. of *azārār*, of the same meaning, as is frequent in this kind of adjectives (see 1.2.1.3.2a), while the transcription of /z/ as >j< is not infrequent; cf. **jinete**, **jorro**, etc. It is curious that Coromines propounded this etymon for **alazán**, q.v., although failing on both accounts. Of the same origin, with the most usual phonetic result in the first consonant, is **zaro** (dial. Pt.) "a round and brown fig" and "mottled rooster" (Man.).

**jaroch:** see **farota** and **aroch**.

**jarón and jarona:** see **farón**.

**jarop(e)ar and jarope(o):** see **jarabe**.

**jarque** "irrigation turn": if this word is correctly transmitted, it would derive from And. *šárka* < Cl.Ar. *šarikah* "association", but it is suspiciously similar to **ejarbe**, q.v., by which it might be at least contaminated, if it is not one of the many errors in Andolz, for **jarique**, as in Mur., q.v.s.v. **acharique**.

**jarquía** (Cs.) "Eastern district of a city": < And. *šarqīyya* = Cl.Ar. *šarqīyyah* "Eastern (fem.)"

**jarrão, jarrear and jarra(zo):** see **algera**.

**jarr(e)ar:** see **algera** and **jaharrar**.

**jarrafa** (Pt.) "a kind of shad (Alosa)": is documented only in the 20th c., although it looks like a genuine old borrowing, possibly from Ar. *jarrāfah*, lit., "scraper", because it is mostly seen on the sandy bottom of rivers, which it enters during the spring from the sea to spawn. It is noticeable that DS has a cognate *jarāf* "miraillet, raie, lisse", while Oman 1966:81 attributes this item to Tunisia, identified as small "gilt-head bream" (*Sparus auratus*).

**jarrer(o), jarre/ita, jarro and jarrón:** see **algera**.

**jartaca:** see **fataca**.

**jaruga:** see **jaluga**.

**jarve:** see **ejarbe**.

**jaryéntarse** “to become worm-eaten” and **jaryénto** “worm-eaten” (Jud.-Sp.): are hybrid der., with Rom. suffixes, < And. *xárya* “excrement”. Cf. **haragán** and **jará**.

**Jaśá**: see **Axa**.

**jaśabí** “invalid, void” (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *xaśabí* “wooden”.<sup>809</sup>

**jaśfúro** (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *harfúš* “vagrant”, synonymous of **jaśpačo** “a nobody” (contaminated, at least, by **gazpacho**, q.v.).

**jaseran**: see **jacerina**.

**jasmim** (Pt.), **jazmín** (Cs., with an old var. **alicimin**, in DAX 114), **gessamí** or **llessamí** (Ct., the latter var., with agglutinated Ar. article, being prob. more genuine than the former possibly transmitted through It.), **xasmín** (Gl.), and **xazmín**, (Ast., in García Arias 2006:223) “jasmine (*Jasminum* spp.)”: < And. \**yasmín* = Cl.Ar. *yāsamīn* < Pahl. *yāsaman*. There is an Old Cs. **azemín**, which Coromines considers of direct transmission. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jazmíneo** and **jazminero**; Ct.: **gesmiller**, **llessaminer** and **gessaminer**; Pt.: **ajasmínado** and **jasmineiro**.

**jassa** and **jasser/na**: see **jácena**.

**jaṭib** (Cs.) “preacher in a mosque”: is a contemporary unassimilated borrowing, connected with the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, < Mor. *xṭib* < Cl.Ar. *xaṭīb*.

**jaṭibí** “a variety of grape” (Mur.): < And. *šaṭibí* “of Xàtiva”, gentilic of the place name *šaṭiba* < Lt. *Saetābis*, although this variety is not mentioned by And. botanists. From the same origin is **jaṭivés** (Cs.) “gentilic of Xàtiva”, in this case with Rom. suffixation. Cf. **jetubí**.

**javačči** “earth almond (*Cyperus esculentus*)” (Jud.-Sp.): < Neo-Ar. *habb šaṭiz*.

**javalí(na)** and **javaluna**: see **chabalfín**.

**jayena**: see **jaén**.

**jáyre**: see **caire**.

**jaza**: see **jácena**.

**jazarán**, **jazarino**, **jazerina** and **jazerão**: see **jacerina**.

**jázia**: see **jácena**.

**jazinénto**: see **hacino**.

**jazmín(eo)** and **jazminero**: see **jasmim**.

**jea**: see **eixea**.

**jebe**: see **jabe**.

**jebuseo** (Cs.) and **jebuseu** (Ct.) “Jebusite, member of a Canaanite nation settled in the Jerusalem area at the time of the Hebrew invasion”: through Bib.Lt. *Jēbūsaeus*, < Hb. *yēbusi*.

**jectigacion** “convulsion”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981–83:82, corrupted and Latinized, < Ar. *alixtilāj*, as proven by the alternative spelling **achtalegi** in a Lt. translation of Avicenna’s *Al-Qānūn*.

**jedive** (Cs.), **kediv** (Ct.) and **kedive** or **quedive** (Gl.) “Khedive, viceroy of Egypt in the Ottoman Empire”: is a contemporary historiographical term, < Tr. *hidiv* < Neo-P. *xediv* “sovereign”, through Fr. *khédive*.

**jedrea**: see **ajedrea**.

**Jehová** (Cs.), **Jehová** (Ct.) and **Jeová** (Pt.) “God”: is a Lt. bookish transcription of Hb. \**yahweh*, considered unspeakable, so that its pronunciation was forbidden in Hebrew law under penalty of death as blasphemy. Consequently, it was replaced by *ādōnay* (“my Lord[s]”; see **Adonay**), and the tetragrammaton or consonantal skeleton of the original item was vocalized with the vowels of the latter term, which gave way to that strange and distorted shape of the name of God among Christian Hebraists. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **jeóvico**, **jeovismo** and **jeovista**.

**jelala** (Pt.): is not one, but in truth two different unrelated words. In the meaning of “missile” (as in the context of Machado’s quote), is no doubt a poor transcription of Hindi *gulelā* < Neo-P. *golule*, said of spherical projectiles, whereas in Morais’ definition as “a copper coin of 3 or 10 reis, used in India during the 16th c.”, apparently, though confusedly explained also by the Gujarati etymon given by Machado in the first part of his entry, the talk goes about the genuine and imitated coins of gold, silver, copper or other, minted by the Madura sultans, particularly by the usurper

<sup>809</sup> Cf. IQ 19/14/4, *wát tusammá wahu biḥál aḥūd* “and you will be much talked about, while

he will be like a wooden dummy, i.e., ignored”.



Šarīf Jalāluddīn Aḥsan Šāh, in the first half of the 14th c., whose assumed title reflects Ar. *jalālu ddīn* "majesty of the faith."<sup>810</sup>

**jeliz** (Cs.) "manager of the royal monopoly of silk in Granada": < And. *jallīs* "dealer", noun of profession or intensive activity of the Ar. root *[jls]* "to sit", supported by the more classical spelling. > *jallās* < in Assaqaṭī's treaty of *ḥisbah*, which excludes the propounded \*\**jallīs* "sitting next to another" of DE and DS, considered by Coromines as the Granadan shape matching the Cl.Ar. one.<sup>811</sup>

**jelve**: see **albafar**.

**jeme**: see **eixem**.

**jemella**: see **jámila**.

**jemesía** (Cs.) "moucharaby, lattice window": < And. *šamsīyya* "window letting in (only) the sun", or from \**šamīšīyya*, undocumented attributive adjective of *šamīs* "lattice window", all of them der. from Cl.Ar. *šams* "sun" Cf. **ajimez**.

**jenab(1)e** and **jenabo**: see **ajenabe**.

**jenízaro**: see **janízaro**.

**jengibre**: see **gengibre**.

**Jeová, jeóvico, jeovismo** and **jeovista**: see **Jehová**.

**jeque**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) and **xec** (Ct.) "sheikh, Arab chief": < And. *šāyḫ* = Cl.Ar. *šayḫ* "(ruling) old man"

**jeque**<sup>2</sup>: see **jaque**<sup>3</sup>.

**jerbo** (Cs.) and **jerbu** (Ct.) "jerboa (Jaculus or Dipus sp.)": is a contemporary zoological term, < Ar. *yarbūʿ*, through Eng.

**jeremiada** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "jeremiad": is an intra-Rom. der. of the name of the prophet Jeremiah, through Bib.Lt. *Jērēmās* < Hb. *yirmēyāh*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jeremiquear**; Pt.: **jeremiaco**, **jeremial** and **jeremi(n)ar**.

**jerga** and **jergón**<sup>1</sup>: see **enxerga**.

**jergón**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "jargon": through Fr. *jargon* and Lt., from the etymon of **azarcón**, q.v.

**jeribeque**: see **jabeque**.

**je/arife** (Cs.), **xarife/o** (Pt.) and **xerife** (Gl. and Pt.) "sherif, title of the descendants of Muhammad, particularly said of some families in North Africa": < And. *šarīf* = Cl.Ar. *šarīf* "noble" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ja/erifano**.

**jerosolimitano**: see **Jerusalén**.

**jeruga**: see **jaluga**.

**Jerusalén** (Cs.) "Jerusalem": through Bib.Lt. *Jērūsālem* < Hb. *yērušalayim*. Of the same origin, with Lt. suffixation is the gentilic Cs. (**jero**)solimitano and Pt. **jerosolimitano** "Hierosolymitan"

**jervilla** (Cs.) "pump, slipper": appears to reflect the intermediate And. form *šarbilla* < Lt. *serva*, with dim. Rom. suffixation, presently preserved in Mor. *šarbil*.

**jesa**: see **algeps**.

**ješa** "burlap" (Jud.-Sp.): < Neo-Ar. *xayšah*, q.v.

**Jesús** (Cs.) "Jesus": through Bib.Lt. *Jēsūs* < Hb. *yēhošūʿ*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **Jesu-cristo** and **jesusear**; Cs. and Pt.: **jesuato**, **jesu-íta** and **jesuítico**; Ct.: **jesuat**, **jesuíta**, **jesuítico**, **jesuitismo** and **jesuset**; Pt.: **jesuitada**, **jesuitice**, **jesuitismo** and **jesuitizar**.

**jatubí** "name of two varieties of grapes" (Anz.): looks like an And. gentilic, but there is nothing similar in the And. botanists, nor is there a place name to derive it from, unless it is altered or corrupted for **jatibí**, q.v.

**jibia** (Cs.) and **xiba** (Gl.) "cuttlefish" (*Sepia officinalis*): these var. of **sepia** < Lt. *sēpia* < Gr. *sēpia*, can only be explained through an intermediate And.Rom. form, actually represented by And. *šibiya*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jibión**.

**jibrón**: see **jabalcón**.

**jical** "rope" (Anl.): appears to derive from Ar. *šikāl*, although not through And., as *imālah* would have acted, but from Naf., e.g. Mor. *škal* "hobble, shackle". For the same reason, it

<sup>810</sup> About this information and other biographical data about this for a time father-in-law of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, see Hultzsich 1909:671–675.

<sup>811</sup> This dial. word in And. meant "lamp" and survives in Mor. *gallas*, as "chamberpot", i.e., objects usually placed in one and the same spot, suitable for their purpose, but it was also said of

people who plied a trade requiring their steady presence in one place, like the And. item rendered by Alcalá as "innkeeper", misunderstood in DS as "a seat made of esparto" It is still the designation in Mor. of the person in charge of a public bathhouse.

is questionable whether **xecalina** (Maj.) "dirty trick", Cs. **socaliña** (older **sacaliña**) and Pt. **sacalina** "trick; snare" are related to that Ar. word, which would require phonetic contaminations altering the expectable result. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **socalifiar** and **socalifihero**.

**jien(n)ense**: see **jaén**.

**jif(erad)a**, **jifería** and **jifero**: see **guifa**.

**jileco**: see **chaleco**.

**jineta(da)** and **jinete(ar)**: see **atzanet**.

**jirafa**: see **azoraba**.

**jirám**: see **alfarém**.

**jirel** (Cs.) "rich trappings of a horse" and **xa(i)rel** (Pt.) "horse blanket": is prob. a reflex of Ar. **jilāl** "packsaddle", although in And. there is only **\*\*jáll** "trappings" in Azzajjāli's proverb N° 280. The semantic evolution and the vocalism of Pt. suggest a contamination by a Rom. dim., **\*šayr+ÉL**, of And. **šayra** "crate, hamper" (cf. **serón**), an object also often carried by the beasts.

**Job** (cs.) "Job": through Bib.Lt. **Jōb** < Hb. **īyyob**.

**jobar**: see **aixovar**.

**jodo (petaca)!** (Cs.): this vulgar expletive expressing an annoyed amazement, documented in Castilla la Nueva, Aragon and La Rioja, and, without its second constituent everywhere in Spain, appears to have originated in And. **xúdu biṭāqa** "take it by force", undoubted continuation of the shout accompanying the strike dealt a foe in battle since pre-Islamic times, Ar. **xuḏhā šannī** "take this from me!" This proposal of ours is supported by a series of data, such as the interjection **ho!** < **xu(d)** "take, here!", recorded by Diego de Guadix and commented in Corriente 2005b:108, as well as by Alcalá (see Corriente 1988a:2), the appearance of And. **ṭāqa** in idioms like IQ 9/21/1 **tiqābal umūr biṭāqat ḏirāṣak**,<sup>812</sup> and in vulgar Cs. **batacazo**, q.v., etc. There is a probable semantic relation with another equivalent vulgar expletive, **manda huevos!**, at first sight unintelligible, but prob. containing a similar second constituent recognizable as Old Cs. **pora huevos** "of necessity, forcibly" (e.g., in *Cantar de Mio Cid*), while the first

constituent is less transparent, perhaps corrupted from an imperative (**taṣṣall**) "enjoy it (willy nilly)!" It is noteworthy that, in both cases, the linguistic evolution and oblivion of the original meanings has not led to the disuse of these expletives, but to a replacement of the message for words which make little sense, but at least belong to Rom., even obscene ones, which has contributed to further restriction of the use of these expressions.

**jofaina**: see **alcofaina**.

**joffa**: see **aljoffa**.

**jofor** (Cs.) "superstitious predictions among the Moriscos": < And. **jufūr** = Cl.Ar. **jufūr**, pl. of **jafr** "little camel", of which a certain membrane was used in the old days in a kind of divination", thereby called **šilm aljafr**.

**jogue** (Pt.) "Yogi, Hindu ascetic": this hapax is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. Mentioned by Eguílaz, it indeed reflects Neo-P. **jogi** < Sk. **yogin** "adherent of yoga philosophy".

**jokná** (Jud.-Sp.) "disappointment": appears to reflect a metonymical and hybrid **\*huqn+Á(DA)**, based on And. **húqna** = Cl.Ar. **huqnah** "enema; injection".

**jomo** (Pt.) "a Persian length measure" (sic in Moraes, but Machado's text clearly deals with sailing in the Red Sea, with the var. **gemma**): is prob. corrupted from Ar. **jumal**, pl. of **jumlaḥ** "(sub)total", e.g., the parts of a branch of knowledge. Machado's suggestions are not acceptable.

**jonjolí**: see **ajonjolí**.

**Jordán** (Cs.) "River Jordan": through Bib. Lt. **Jordānēs** < Bib.Gr. **Iordánēs** < Rab. Aram. **yōrdēnā** < Hb. **yārdēn**. Contemporary intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jordano**; Ct.: **jordà**; Gl. **xor-dano** "Jordanian".

**jorel**: see **jurel**.

**jorete**: see **rajola**.

**jorfe** (Cs.) "cliff; containing wall": < And. **júrf** = Cl.Ar. **jurf** "cliff".

**jorim** (Pt.) "Indian brocade": is a late unassimilated borrowing, < Hindī **zārī**, < Neo-P. of

<sup>812</sup> "You face the situations with the strength

of your arm" (see Corriente 1996e:72).

the same shape, meaning "golden" Machado posited an inexistent Neo-P. \*\*\**jarin*.

**jo(r)jÓ**, (llevar a—) "to carry on one's shoulders": (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991), used in children's games, it is a possible reflex with Rom. suffixation, of either Ar. *jaḥṣ* "young ass" or *kurrij* "hobby"

**joroba** (Cs., with the var. **adruba** in Herrera & Vázquez 1983:165–168) "hump": < And. *ha/udúbba* < Cl.Ar. *ḥadabah*. The And. form, though explainable as a hypocoristic of the pattern {1a2ú3}, is unusual on account of an infrequent metathesis of consonantic quantity possibly masking a case of suffix metanalysis. The usual mod. spelling reflects the transcription of an An. pronunciation; formerly, the usual forms were **h/fadruba** and the adjective **h/fadrubado**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jorobado**, **jorobadura**, **jorobar** and **jorobeta**. Cf. **farjup**.

**jorro** "road by which logs are dragged" (Cs.) and "road taken by the logs dragged to the sawmill"<sup>813</sup> (Anz.), "road by which logs are dragged; logs ready to be dragged" (Anl.), and Cs. **red de jorro**, "dragnet, sweep seine", and **a jorro** "in tow; climbing a slope straight": is a der. of And. *júrr*, imperative of the verb *járr* < Cl.Ar. *jarr* "to drag". From the same origin are **zorra**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "truck" and **jorrão** (Pt., with aug. Rom. suffixation), "harrow", **jorradera** "sledge" (Anl.), and the verb **ajorrar** (Cs.) and **zorrar** (Cs. and Pt.) "to tow", **azorrar** "to drag" (Pt., only in Morais), **ajorrar** "to drag logs to the loading area" (Anl.) and **ajorrarse** "to slide" (Sal.). Cs. **ajorar** "to drive people or cattle by force", also seems to be a phonetic var. of this etymon, not a der. from Lt. \*\*\**ad+foras*, as stated in former editions of DRAE, now corrected. Cf. **alforreo** and **horro**.

**josefino** "relative to any Joseph" and **josefismo** "religious reform promoted by Joseph II of Austria": are Rom. der. of the pr.n. **José**, a reflex, through Bib.Lt. *Joseph*, of Hb. *yosēf*, lit., "the increaser" (of the number of sons begotten by the Patriarch Jacob).

**josifa**: see **aljoiffa**.

**jota**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) and **xota** (Gl.) "a folk dance": < And.Rom. \**ŠAWTA*, verbal noun of Lt. *saltāre* "to dance"

**juaguarzón**: see **arcazón**.

**juba**, **jubão**, **jubete(tería)** and **jubete(i)ro**: see **aljuba**.

**jubileo** (Cs.), **jubileu** (Pt.) and **xubileu** (Gl.) "year of restoration of properties and emancipation of slaves, prescribed by the old Hebrew law every 50th; special plenary indulgence among Catholics": through Lt. *jūbīlaeus*, < Hb. *šēnat hayyobēl*, lit., "the year of the ram's horn", in allusion to the trumpet being blown on those occasions. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **jubilación** and **jubilar** (adjective and verb); Gl.: **xubilación** and **xubilar**; Pt.: **jubilação** and **jubilar**.

**jubizí** (Cs.): this architectural term, a hapax excerpted by Eguílaz from some Sevillian ordinances, but subsequently omitted by most lexicographers, is an etymological crux. The context implies that it is a kind of arch, different from the one called **escazarí**, q.v., but again, in spite of the characteristic appearance of an Ar. loanword, on account of the attributive suffix, its etymon is not easily recognizable. Eguílaz's proposal, Ar. \*\*\**jubis*, does not even exist, and is perhaps a mere misprint for a more normal transcription \***jabizí**, < And. \**jabbist*, attributive of *jabba/is/s* "plasterer", whence Chapiz, family name of a Granadan artisan whose house has been preserved until this day.

**jubón** and **jubonero**: see **aljuba**.

**jucefia** (Cs.) and **jusephina** or **jus/zefina** (Cs., Ct. and Lt., after Mateu y Llopis, who also adds corrupted Val. **jusasives**) "doubloon minted by the Almohad sultan Abū Yaḥyā Yūsuf": < And. *yusufīyya* < Cl. *yūsufīyah*, attributive of the pr.n. *Yūsuf* < Hb. *yosēf*, q.v.s.v. **josefino**.

**jucema**: see **alfazema**.

**judareh** "pocks": is an unassimilated medical term, from DAX 1098, without an entry of its own, under **lechuza** "owl", < Ar. *judarī*, as

<sup>813</sup> In DRAE, "road by which logs are dragged".

the treatment suggested by the matching passage was a feather of this bird.

**judeu** (Pt.), **judfo** (Cs.), **jueu** (Ct.) and **xudeu** (Gl.): < Lt. *Jūdaeus* < Hb. *yēhudi*, attributive adjective of *yēhudāh* “Judah”, the patriarch who gave name to a region of Palestine and to the whole Jewish community. From the same etymon is the Cs. pr.n. **Judas**, through Bib.Lt. *Jūdās*, **judaico** and Gl. **xudaico**, through Lt. *Jūda(e)icus*, and other intra-Rom. der., like Cs.: **ajudiado**, **judaización**, **judaizante**, **judas**, **judería**, **judezno**, **judiada**, **judiazo**, **judiego** and **judihuelo**; Cs. and Pt. **judaico**, **judaísmo** and **judaizar**; Ct.: **judaic**, **judaisme**, **judaítzar**, **jueria**, **juerot**, **juetó**, **juesc** and **jueiteria**; Gl.: **xudaizar** and **xudería**; Pt. **ajudeng/zar**, **jud(i)aria** and **judengo**. Cf. **jafut**.

**judía** (Cs.) “French bean”: the alleged Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, now corrected, \*\*\**judiyā*?, simply does not exist, and despite the absence of documentation a mere reflex of the aforementioned gentile is possible, as in the case of some other plants, distinguished with this epithet by Neo-Ar. botanists.<sup>814</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **judiar**, **judihuela** and **judión**.

**judiada**, **judiego**, **judihuelo**, **jue(ite)ria**, **juerot**, **juetó**, **juesc** and **jueu**: see **judeu**.

**jugal**: see **aixovar**.

**julep** (Ct.), **julepe** (Cs. and Arag., borrowed from Cs. in the meaning of a card game, found only in Cs., which also has the var. **juleb** and **gilen** as “rosewater”, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:231) **xulepe** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:224, “card game”, adapted from Cs.) and

**julepe/o** (Pt.), “sedative drink”: < Ar. *julāb* < Neo-P. *golāb* “rosewater” Pt. might have been borrowed from Cs., in which it is documented in the 15th c., therefore excluding the intermediation of Fr.

**julo**: see **chulo**.

**juma**: see **aljuma**.

**jumet** “Jumada, name of two months of the Islamic calendar”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 100, < Neo-Ar. *jumād* < Cl.Ar. *jumādā*.<sup>815</sup>

**junema** “goodness gracious!” (Mur.): this interjection expressing amazement might be the match of Mor. \**ḥaššun imak* “your mother’s cunt” (cf. **caramba** and **herre que herre**). Although Ct. *xona*, q.v., could suggest another possible origin for the first constituent of that syntagm, that particular item does not seem to be inherited from And., but rather acquired through later contacts with Naf. speakers, quite concretely the Muslim captives in Cartagena and other places in Eastern Spain.

**jungla** (Cs. and Ct.) “jungle”: through Eng., < Hindi *jaṅgal* < Sk. *jaṅgala*.

**jupa** and **jupó**: see **gipó**.

**jurel** (Cs.) and **jorel** (Mur.) “scad, horse mackerel (*Trachurus trachurus*)”: < And. *šurīl*, an And.Rom. reflex with a dim. suffix of Lt. *sauros* < Gr. *saūros* “lizard”. Cf. **charrán**.

**jusasives**, **jusephina** and **jus/zefina**: see **juceffia**.

**jvnazt** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1078, prob. a spelling var. of **gemezt**, although the description is different.

<sup>814</sup> Cf., \*\**baqlahyahūdīyyah*, \*\**axāṣāṣyahūdī*, \*\**muql alyahūd* and \*\**ṣawkah yahūdīyyah*, varieties of mallow, poppy, bdellium and thistle, respectively.

<sup>815</sup> The masc. shape has been generated by

loss of the fem. morpheme in juncture with the next necessary adjective, “first” or “second”. Nevertheless, that morpheme appears, with strong *imālah*, in the var. **gilmedi** and **jumedi**, recorded by Nykl from Millás.

## K

**kabi/rane**: this rare Leo. term, mentioned by DO 255 with reasonable doubts about previous interpretations, such as an identification with And. *qabşána* (see DAA 412), cannot be attributed to any sure etymon. It might even be a mere transcription of the Cl.Ar. dual *kabirāni* “two big (ones)”, as in both cases the talk goes about two tunics.

**kabith**: see **chebet**.

**kabroci**: see **cabroci**.

**kaçimi**: see **cazeno**.

**kaeden** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1079, in truth, “toufa” < Ar. *kaddān*.<sup>816</sup>

**kaf**: is an unassimilated term, in GP 101, < Ar. *kāf* “name of a letter”

**kafiç/z**: see **cafiş**.

**kafrár**: see **cafre**.

**kalchalangi**: see **alkalkalangi**.

**kan**: see **can**<sup>2</sup>.

**kanato**: see **khanato**.

**kantoz** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1079, an obvious reflex of Gr. *huákunthos* “hyacinth”, with a var. **hy hetux**, rendered as **iargonça cardena** “purple hyacinth”, also spelled as **hetus** and even **he**.

**kañifos** (Jud.-Sp.) “stench”, < And. *kaníf* = Cl.Ar. *kaníf* “latrine”

**kapáro**: see **cafarro**.

**karabito**: see **carabito**.

**karkerzi** and **kaskerxi**: see **carkexi**.

**karmeze**: see **carmesí**.

**karráya** “lamp” (Jud.-Sp.): is an alteration by suffix metanalysis and the shift /ʃ/ > /y/, characteristic of Southern Cs. dialects, of the And. etymon of **alcarraza**, q.v.

**kas(i)mi**, **kaz(i)mi**, **kazini** and **kazimo**: see **cazeno**.

**kebime**: see **cobti**.

**kediv(e)**: see **jedive**.

**kef** “whole useful hand”:<sup>817</sup> is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:38, < Ar. *kaff* “palm of the hand”

**kermes**: see **alquermes**.

**kerne** “inguinal hernia”: is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:135, < Ar. *qarw*.

**kesb alcherua** “refuse of the castor oil plant”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:234, < Neo-Ar. *kush alxirwaş*.<sup>818</sup>

**keted**: see **cheted**.

**khan**, **khanat** and **k(h)anato**: see **can**<sup>2</sup>.

**kif**: see **quif**.

**kiffe**: see **alquicé**.

**kiosco**: see **quiosco**.

**kisch** and **kist**: see **alkisch**.

**kivil**: see **quibir**.

**kurdo**: see **curdo**.

<sup>816</sup> See DS II:458 about the identification of this stone.

<sup>817</sup> With the var. **alkef** and **alchef** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:170.

<sup>818</sup> This Ar. term, < Neo-P. *kosbe*, unknown

in the West, has been here interpreted as *kush* “gain”; cf. **alqueçeb** and **cherva**. The authors provide another example, **kesb sisami** “sesame refuse”, with a Lt. second constituent.

## L

**laberca:** see **alberca**.

**labrén:** see **alabrent**.

**laca**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt., with the var. **alácar**) and **lacre** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “(gum-) lac”: in Cs. is documented in the 13th c., as a learned term, which might explain the anomalous final vowel, missing in the var. **lacre**, borrowed from Pt.,<sup>819</sup> < Neo-Ar. *lakk* < Neo-P. *lāk* < Prakrit *lakkha* < Sk. *lāksā*, with the vicissitudes recorded by Coromines in that entry. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **lacrar** and **laquear**; Ct.: **làcic**; Ct. and Pt. **lacar**.

**laca**<sup>2</sup> “wheat given to the miller as payment; a quarter of a **robo**, q.v.” (Nav.): perhaps from And. *lāṣqa* = Cl.Ar. *laṣqah* “lick”

**lacazán** “loafer”: is an Ar. loanword exclusive of Gl., Leo. (with the var. **llacazán**) and Bie., metathetic of And. *kaslān* = Cl.Ar. *kaslān*, while Cs. **holgazán** and Gl. **folgazán** appear to have a similar origin, but have been contaminated by **fholgar** “to be idle”, as part of a series of synonyms, modified and contaminated for the sake of expressiveness, among which Gl. **larchán** is interesting and etymologically dark. It might reflect And. *ṣājz* = Cl.Ar. *ṣajz* “laziness” (but not directly \*\*\**ṣajzān*, suggested by Steiger 1948: 22–24 as etymon of **holgazán**, because that adjective is not documented and its pattern is no longer productive in And.); that would require agglutination of an Ar. article and Rom. suffixation, \**al-ṣajz*+*ÁN*, plus some not unprecedented phonetic evolution, like the total assimilation of /jz/ into /zz/<sup>820</sup> and the emergence of a parasitical or dissimilatory /r/,<sup>821</sup> which is, all in all, an indeed rather complex hypothesis. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **lacazanear** and **lacazanería**.

**lacena:** see **alacena**.

**lacial:** see **acial**.

**làcic:** see **laca**.

**lacrau:** see **alacrán**.

**lacrar** and **lacre:** see **laca**.

**laerén:** see **lairén**.

**lafiche:** see **aciche**.

**lagaliga** “stork”: is an unassimilated zoological term, from DAX 1087, < Ar. *laqāliq*, pl. of *laqlaq*, apparently unusual in And., commonly replaced by the Hellenism *bullúja* > *pelargós*.<sup>822</sup>

**lagibabo:** see **bagibabo**.

**lágima** (Pt., with the var. **lazima** in Eguílaz) “customs duty in India”: is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean: < Ar. *lāzimah*, through Neo-P. *lāzeme* “requirement” There is a curious semantic coincidence between Neo-Ar. *laṣmah* “tribute”, And. *lázma* “bite (also the horse’s)” and Mexican Cs. **mordida** “bribe to officials”, with the same semantic juncture as in Ar. *jizyah* “tribute on non-Muslims” < Pahl. *gazīn* “bite”, but there is no connecting And. documentation.

**laguel** (Pt. “skiff of the Arabian Sea”: is a mod. term, poorly documented, derived by Dalgado from Neo-P. \*\**lāgar* “thin” which, at least semantically, is quite questionable.

**lahuar:** see **aixovar**.

**lailán** (Old Cs.), **leilão** (Pt.) and **leilão** (Gl.) “auction”: < And. *alīlān* = Cl.Ar. “announcement”, etymon also of popular Cs. **alirón**, repeated at the beginning of public cries, a genuine word left out by dictionaries such as former editions of DRAE (but included in the latest), Casares and DCECH. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **aleiloar**. Cf. **alalimón**.

<sup>819</sup> But semantically evolved in mod. Cs. to mean a paste which may contain gum-lac, but more characteristically other red dyeing substances, used for sealing letters, among other uses.

<sup>820</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.1.1, p. 65.

<sup>821</sup> See AAR 2.1.4.2.2., p. 68. It occurs, e.g., in **alforza**, < And. \*\**hūjza* or \*\**hūzza*, in the same cluster and with the same treatment.

<sup>822</sup> Having a curious dissimilatory pl. var. *barūrīj*, not recorded by DAA, in Zuwiya 2001:51.

**lai/erén** (Cs.) "a variety of grape": < And. *layráni*, documented in *Kitābu Šumdati ḡabīb*.

**lalaul**: see **adalu**.

**laleblan** see **alleba/e**.

**lambel**: see **alfāmbar**.

**lambre**: see **ambre**.

**lami**: see **alamín**.

**lanfardón**: see **alfardó**.

**lanzano**: see **alazán**.

**(lāpis-)lazúli**, **lapislázuli** and **lapislātzuli**: see **atzur**.

**laquear**: see **laca**.

**laqueca**: see **alaqueca**.

**laquete** (Cs.) "backgammon": from DAX 1092: its identification with **chaquete** is now sure, this latter term being considered by Coromines as borrowed from Fr., on account of its phonetics and late dating in 1720, although the game, under the name of **tablas reales**, was already known in the days of Alfonso X. As for its etymon, chances are that it is a hybrid with Rom. dim. suffix of the Neo-P. etymon of **jaque**, q.v., thus qualifying as "small chess" a game easier than the standard, as in the parallel case of **damas** "game of draughts", lit., "of ladies";<sup>823</sup> the absence of *imālah* in the reflex of *šāh* would suggest an Eastern import, possibly during the Crusades. Therefore, it appears that the witness of DAX must be corrected as **i/laquete**, corroborating an immediate origin on the other side of the Pyrenees, but antedating its arrival to Cs. by five centuries, which is not strange for a technical term of courtly games.

**laranja** (Pt. and Nav.), **laranxa** (Gl.), **naranja** (Cs.), **naranja** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:35), **narago** (Leo., in DO 272) and **narancha** (Arag.) "orange (Citrus aurantium)": < Neo-Ar. *nāranj* < Neo-P. *nārang* < Sk. *nāraṅga*. From the same etymon is Ct. **naronja** (with the Bal. var. **aranja**) designating

"citron (Citrus medica)", while the orange is called **taronja**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **anaranjado**, **anaranjear**, **anaranjada/o**, **naranjal**, **naranj(er)o** and **naranjilla(da)**; Ct.: **aranja(t)**, **aranger(a)**, **arangí**, **naronger** and **naro/anjat**; Pt.: **alaranjar**, **laranjada/o**, **laranjal** and **laranjeira**; Ast.: **naranzu**, **naranzal**, **naranzeru**; Gl.: **alaranxado**, **laranzada**, **laranzal**, **laranzeira/o** and **laranzxo**.

**larchán**: see **lacazán**.

**lardacho**: see **alfardacho**.

**larguis**: see **alarguez**.

**laría** and **lárías**: see **alaria**.

**larije**: see **alarije**.

**larim** (Pt.) "old silver coin in the countries of the Indian Ocean": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, < Neo-P. *lāri*, gentilic of the Iranian city of Lār.

**lascar(im)**: see **áscar**.

**larrope**: see **arrobe**.

**latão** (Pt.), **latón** (Cs. and Gl.), **ala/otone** and **allad/ton** (Leo., in DO 255) and **llaütó** (Ct., with an old var. **lató**, previous to contamination by **llauna**): from a Turkic dialect represented by Tr. *altın* < Old Tr. *altun* "gold", through Neo-Ar. *lāṭūn*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **latonería** and **latonero**.

**latica** "pituitous continuous fever": is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, < Ar. *laṭiqah* "humid"

**laúd** (Cs., with an old var. **alod**, in GP 50)<sup>824</sup> and **laúde** (Gl.): is a term with two main meanings, the first and most frequent one being a musical instrument (matched by Ct. **llaüt** and Pt. **alaúde**), and the second, an old kind of ship (reflected by Ct. **llagut**). However, both derive from And. *alšūd* = Cl.Ar. *šūd* "wood" (already said in Cl.Ar. of a musical instrument); however, as this Ar. term does not usually mean a ship, but in rare cases of

<sup>823</sup> Conversely, there was a "big chess" of 100 to 110 squares and more men (cf. the "philosopher's game" of 128 squares) than the usual "small chess"; cf. DS I 759.

<sup>824</sup> The text quoted by Nykl from *Judizios de las estrellax*, describing the musical instrument and adding **e lo cual semeja e vasos e taças con**

**que beuer vino** "which resembles glasses and cups for wine drinking", is dark in the light of the lack of similarity between lutes and cups, unless it contains a reminiscence of the toast formula **ala ud**, studied and explained by Oliver 1956; see also DAA 560.

synecdoche, it is bound to have acquired it properly within the lingua franca or among the bilingual sailors of Eastern Spain, under the influence of the twin meaning of Ct. *fusta*, "wood" and "ship", before entering this and other Rom. languages of the Western shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *llauter* and *llautejar*; Mur. *laudino* "thief dove".<sup>825</sup>

**lauich**: is an unassimilated technical term, in *Lapidario*, in DAX 1094, considered by Nykl a distortion of Neo-Ar. *linaj* < Neo-P. with the same shape, "blue copper ochre", in Dozy 1881:II 571 "white copper ochre", with the var. *lenc*, *lenque* or *lienc* "a variety of wire", in DAX 1102, in fact, the litharge produced in Cyprus.<sup>826</sup> Cf. *litarne*.

**laurente**: see *alabrent*.

**layda** (Cs.): is a hapax, recorded by Eguílaz from *Danza de la Muerte*, mistakenly interpreting it as a mere var. of *leila*, q.v. But in truth, what Death says to the *alfaquí* (q.v.) in the line *En meca ni en layda y non estare-des*, is that he shall not go again as a pilgrim to Mecca, nor see Bairam again, < And. *al'íd* < Cl. *īd* "feast", with /a/ paragogical, instead of /e/.

**lazena**: see *alacena*.

**lazima**: see *lagima*.

**lazúli** and **lazulita**: see *atzur*.

**leala**: see *alifara*.

**lebeche** (Cs.) and **llebeig** (Ct.) "southwest wind": < And. *labáč* < Lt. *libŷce* "in the Libyan or African manner", as it blows from that direction. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: *llebetjada* and *llebetjol*.

**lebení** (Cs.) "Moorish drink prepared from sour milk": < And. *labaní* = Cl.Ar. *labanī* "lactic", attributive adjective of *laban* "milk", which in the Islamic West is said only of curds, while fresh milk is called \*\**halīb*, lit., "milked"

**lecas** "fool; loafer" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991): might reflect And. *liqqa* = Cl.Ar. *liqah*

"wad of cotton put in an inkpot", a metaphor based on the fact that it must suffer the continuous stabbing of the pen and, nevertheless, protect it from losing its sharp point.

**lechín** (Cs.) "a variety of olive tree and olives": < And.Rom. *LEČÍN*, mentioned by the And. botanists, perhaps connectable with Lt. \**līcīnus*, a hybrid of *lign(e)us* and *līcēus* "oaklike",<sup>827</sup> with a stress shift caused by contamination with the Rom. adjectival suffix {-*ĪN*}.

**lefe** (Cs.) "a kind of knot in architectural decoration": is a term excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, indeed < And. \**lāffa* = Cl.Ar. *laḥḥa* "turn; coil" Cf. *allafa*.

**leila** (Cs.) "Moorish night festival, evening party": < And. *lāyla* = Cl.Ar. *laylah* "night" Cf. *leilán*.

**leilán** (Gl.) "reckless, immoral person": might be a hybrid with the Rom. suffix, so characteristic of Gl., [+*ÁN*], of And. *lāyla* = Cl.Ar. *laylah* "night" in the connotation of "evening party" (see *leila*), alluding to the often loose morals of assiduous attendants to such occasions.

**leilão** and **leiloio**: see *lailán*.

**leja**: see *algoleja*.

**lela** (Pt., only in Moraes, and Cs.)<sup>828</sup> "title of noble ladies in Morocco": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, from Mor. *lalla*, of unclear origin (see DAA 484).

**le/lilí** (Cs.) "Moorish cry of joy or war whoop": the very semantic ambiguousness of this definition reveals the confusion between the meanings of this term and that of *lilaila*, q.v. This entry is merely the reflex of a festive Ar. phrase *yā laylī yā ḥaynī* "what a night, my night!, o my eyes, mine!", placed at the start of many dial. or Cl.Ar. poems, sung at evening parties, it being unbelievable, on grounds of religious orthodoxy or sheer social convenience, that the *ṣahādah*, i.e., the Islamic doctrinal formula would be uttered in such

<sup>825</sup> Lit. "lute player", with an echo of *çaguy* **hallaco** in *Libro de Buen Amor*, q.v.

<sup>826</sup> After Steingass 185, based upon Vullers 1855:1110, corroborated by Benmrad 1985:726.

<sup>827</sup> The presence of this hybrid is supported by And.Rom. *LEČNO* "thuya" in *Kitābu šumdati*

*ṭṭabīb*; see Corriente 2000–2001:152.

<sup>828</sup> At least, in Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I, xxxvii and xl, **Lela Meriën** = Our Lady, the Virgen Mary, and **Lela Zoraida**, title given to the bride of the escaped captive.



contexts; besides, its last word, *allāh*, has never undergone *imālah*, which could explain the final ///. That presumable confusion among monolingual Christians is confirmed by Pt. *aillila* (only in Morais) "bravo!", phonetically reflecting that formula, but semantically matching the aforementioned festive cry and poetic utterance.<sup>829</sup>

**lema**: see **alema**.

**leme** (Tol.) "old or useless utensil": in the idiom **lemes de matar**, i.e., "killing instruments", such as knives, there is perfect semantic and phonetic identity with And. *xídmī* "knife" (whence Mor. *xədmī* "kitchen knife"), a semantic evolution of *xídma* "service". The same etymon is prob. valid also for Pt. and Cs. **leme** "rudder", a term difficult to etymologize, to judge by the results of the attempts made by Machado and Coromines. Not only the metonymical relation between the blades of rudder and knife is immediate,<sup>830</sup> especially in the case of the Tol. item, clearly open to semantic generalization but, in the case of Ar., it might have been furthered by phonetic contamination, even easier under the effects of *imālah*,

between And. *sikkín* "knife" and *sukkán* "rudder" Cf. **alema** and **socão**.

**lenc** and **lenque**: see **lauich**.

**lenelim**: see **meli**.

**lera** and **lería**: see **alaria**.

**lesnedrí**: see **ysnedrí**.

**leva/ente** (Cs.) "Tr. marine": prob. through It., < Tr. *levant*, of the same meaning.<sup>831</sup>

**leviatán** (Cs. and Gl.) and **leviatão** (Pt.) "Leviathan, sea monster often symbolizing evil": through Bib.Lt. *Leviathan* < Hb. *liwyātān* < Ugar. > *ltn* < (see Gordon 1965:429).

**levita** (Cs., Gl., Pt. and Ct.) "Levite, member of the priestly tribe of Levi among the Hebrews": through Bib.Lt. *lěvīta* < Bib.Gr. *leuitēs* < Hb. *lěwī*, name of that Patriarch and attributive of itself. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **levítico**.

**lezira**, **lezirão** and **lezíria**: see **aliazira**.

**leztori**: see **loztou**.

**liara**: see **alifara**.

**liaro**: see **aliara**.

**libanés** (Cs.), **libanès** (Ct.) and **libanês** (Pt.) "Lebanese": is a Rom. gentilic formed on the native place name, through Bib.Lt.

<sup>829</sup> The semantic mix-up already occurs in Covarrubias, when saying that **lilailá** is a term taken over from the Moors, who use it often "in their feasts and necessary occasions", as well as in Góngora, in his **villancico** (see his *Letrillas*, ed. R. Jammes, Madrid, Castalia, 1980, pp. 175-177): **bailá, Mahamú, bailá/ falalá lailá/ tania el zambra la javevá/ falalí lailá/ que el amor del Nenio me matá/ falalá lailá** "dance, M., dance, there is no God but God, let musicians play their flutes, there is no God but God; the child's love is killing me, there is no God but God", in which, regardless of the interpretation given to **fa-**, the corrupted text of the Islamic doctrinal formula is unmistakable, although absolutely misplaced in this context. However, this is a most peculiar document, possibly authentically emerged in a Christianized Morisco environment, as its initial segment (**Al gualete, hejo del senior Alá, ha, ha, ha, haz vuesa mercé zalema e zalá** "For the Child, son of the Lord God, hallo, hallo, hallo! invoke salutations and blessings!") encompasses a profession of Christ's divinity, absolutely incompatible with Islam, together with an invocation to him by means of the characteristic formula which is

exclusive of Muhammad in the latter religion, as recipient of God's blessing and praise, *aṣṣalātu was-salām = zalema e zalá*. We hereby thank our friend and colleague, Prof. Egido, for having brought this text to our attention.

<sup>830</sup> In fact, both Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:374) and Aljazīrī (Ferrerías 1999: 198) document **\*ispāta** in this sense, it being noteworthy that the former appears to be talking about the tiller, perhaps mixing up the terms, because the latter, who sounds more professional, mentions two >*rjl*< and a >*šbāth*<. As we know through Ct. **arjau**, q.v., that the first term is the tiller, the second one must be the blade, it standing to reason that a spare tiller should be carried along on board in case it was damaged.

<sup>831</sup> Also, by understandable metonymy, "handsome lad"; however, in Eg.Ar. *lawandī* is said of highfalutin talk, after Badawi & Hinds 1986:806. DRAE is wrong, up to its latest edition, in its supposition that the Tr. word, by the way incorrectly spelled there as **\*\*\*lāwandī**, derives from "Levantine", as it is a clear reflex of Neo-P. *lavand*, which has all those meanings and appears to be well established, although without a root in that language.

*Lībānus*, < Hb. *lēbānon*, prob. allusive to the whiteness of its snow-covered mountains (cf. Hb. *\*\*lābān* "white").

**liçare**: see **izar**.

**lichinitas** or **lignites** "a kind of ruby": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1117, < Gr. *luchnītēs*, through Syr.

**lienc**: see **laulich**.

**lifara** and **lihala**: see. **alifara**.

**lila** (Ct. and Cs., with the var. **lilac**) and **lilà** (Ct.) "common lilac (*Syringa vulgaris*)": through Fr., < Neo-Ar. *līlak* < Neo-P. *lila(n)j* or *lilang*, of Indian origin going back to Sk. *nīla* "dark blue" Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **lilera**. Cf. **anil**.

**lilaila** (Cs. and Gl.) and **lilailas** (Pt., only in Morais, pl.) "trick, ruse": < Ar. *lā ilāha illā allāh* "there is no god but God", the Muslims' doctrinal formula and war whoop which, as is evident, has undergone some semantic evolution, as launching this cry in unison upon entering battle was aimed at making the enemy lose heart. Of the same origin, with another semantic evolution are Can. **alilaya** "idle talk, nonsense", Arag. **lilaila** "foolishness; fool" and "stupid" (Nav., in unclear relation with colloquial standard **lila**, of the same meaning), and prob. **gilaila** "singsong voice; monotonous repetition of scarcely understandable words" (Mur.), an interesting var., prob. reflecting only the final part of the profession of Islamic faith. Cf. **lelilí**.

**lililí**: see **lelilí**.

**lima**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **llima** (Ct. and Arag.) "sweet lemon or lime (*Citrus limetta*)": < And. *líma* = Cl.Ar. *līmāh* < Neo-P. *limu* < Sk. *nimbū(ka)*, whence also Pt. **limão**, Cs. **limón**<sup>1</sup> and Ct. **lilmona**, through the same ways, although the pronunciation of Neo-P. >*lymw*< is doubtful, it being probable that Neo-Ar. *laymūn* acquired the diphthong and its metanalytical aug. suffix only in Alandalús,<sup>832</sup> and then was re-exported to the East with that shape, while *līmāh* exhibits elimination of the anomalous final vowel, also a process

characteristic of And.<sup>833</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **limonar**, **limoncillo** and **lim(on)ero**; Cs. and Pt. **limonada/o**; Ct.: **lilmonada**, **lilmoner(a)** and **lilmonerar**; Pt.: **limoada/o** and **limoeiro**.

**lima**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.): this term has peculiar meanings in García Salinero 1968:144, such as "dihedral angle formed by each pair of triangular slopes in a roof", "piece in the corner of two adjacent surfaces", etc. Its true etymon appears to be that of **arimez** (cf. **coz**). As for the **lima moamar** of the same source, it has an additional second constituent, reflecting Ar. *muṣammad* "leaning, resting", a technical term excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granada ordinances. The whole phrase means "a rafter in a carved ceiling coupled with another so that a space is left between both".<sup>834</sup>

**limeta** (Cs.) "bottle of a certain shape": is a Rom. dim. of And. *líma* < Neo-P. *nime* "half". A Lt. etymon *\*\*l/nimbus* is impossible, because /mb/ is preserved unaltered in And. Rom., while the var. >*nīmah*<, recorded by Dozy, points in that direction, with a semantic evolution parallel to that of And. *\*\*dúbla*, another kind of bottle, < Lt. *\*\*dupla*.

**limo(n)ada/o**, **limoeiro** and **limón**<sup>1</sup>: see **lima**.

**limón**<sup>2</sup>: see **alamud**.

**limonar** and **limoncillo**: see **lima**.

**limonera**: see **alamud**.

**limonero**: see **lima**.

**linjavera**: see **algibeira**.

**liparia** "a fever": is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez 1988b: 172, < Neo-Ar. *līfūriyā* < Gr. *liparēs*, i.e., "persistent"

**lisonja**: see **losange**.

**lissaga** (Val., with a rare var. **lisaga**), **nis-saga** (Ct.) and **lizaga** (Arag.) "race; kind": in Ct. is documented only at the beginnings of the 19th c., having the consideration of vulgarity, and rather negative nuances; Coromines considers it an etymological crux. An Eg. pronunciation with obstruant *gīm* of Ar. *\*\*nisāja* "weaving", as a possible etymon, is no longer

<sup>832</sup> See SK 1.1.10 and fn. 12 and AAR 2.1.1.2.1 and fn. 6, p. 39.

<sup>833</sup> See Corriente 1978a:424, fn. 8.

<sup>834</sup> After Fatás & Borrás 1988. The new data require a matching correction in DAI 392.

our choice, and the same applies to the And. idiom **\*\*nis sáqa** “people of the rearguard”, i.e., of lowest quality, although supported by its use with similar connotations (e.g., in IQ 6/5/4 **\*\*namšī fassáqa** “I go in a rear position”, and 81/4/2 **\*\*baqīt sáqa** “I remained behind”), and some Rom. offspring, above all in Cs., as can be seen under **zaga**. In the light of the Arag. shape and of other cases of shift between /n/ and /l/ (e.g., **alafaia**, **alifafes**, **beringela** and **galima**, q.v.), and following a sharp remark by P. Balañà, the true etymon would be And. **lišáqa** “base metal in an alloy”, from the Ar. root /lšq/ “to adhere”. Cf. **alizaque**.

**litarne** “litharge”: is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1126, a distortion of Gr. **lithárguros**, through Syr. and Ar. scripts. Cf. **lauich**.

**lizar**: see **izar**.

**lizar/z**: see **alacet**.

**llaberca**: see **alberca**.

**llacazán**: see **lacazán**.

**llagut**, **llauter** and **llaüt(ejar)**: see **laúd**.

**llarias**: see **alaria**.

**llautó**: see **latão**.

**lleba**: see **falleba**.

**llebeig**, **llebetjada** and **llebetjol**: see **lebeche**.

**llessamí** and **llessaminer**: see **jasmim**.

**llima**, **llimona(da)**, **llimoner(a)** and **llimoner**: see **lima**.

**loba** (Ct.) and **loba** (cerradura o llave de—, Cs.) “lock with wards shaped like wolf’s teeth”: this term is supposed to exhibit a clear metonymy, indeed a successful folk etymology. However, there is an alternative solution, more reasonable diachronically speaking, namely, the Ar. etymon of Cs. **aldaba**, **ḏab-bah**, with labialization of the first vowel, after AAR 2.1.1.1.2, shift to /l/ of intervocalic /d/ (cf. And. **\*\*mulūfyya** < Gr. **\*\*melō(i)día** “melody”, **\*\*ḥiqāla** < Lt. **\*\*cīcāda** “cicada” = Cs. **cigala**, Cs. **alejija**, q.v., etc., after AAR

2.1.2.2.2.3), both of them relatively frequent phenomena. As for Mor. **luba** of the same meaning, it is of course only borrowed from Cs., prob. exported by the expelled Moriscos.

**llonja** and **llonge**: see **ajonje**.

**llorza**: see **alforza**.

**lluquet**: see **alguaquida**.

**loba**: see **lloba**.

**lobão**: see **benjuí**.

**loco** (Cs. and Ct., borrowed from Cs.), **llocu** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:256) and **louco** (Pt. and Gl.) “mad(man)”: rather than Ar. **\*\*lawq**, suggested by Coromines, a mere error for **\*\*lawaq** “madness”, with phonetic difficulties and an unexplained shift of morphological category, it appears to derive from Cl.Ar. **lawqāl** = And. **lāwqa**, fem. of **alwāq** “stupid”, as a matter of fact witnessed to by *Kitābu Ṣundatī ṭṭabīb*,<sup>835</sup> which has made certain the hypothesis considered too daring by some.<sup>836</sup> Rom. derivation of Ar. adjectives through a fem. pattern has other parallels, which can be seen under 1.2.1.3.2a. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **alocar**, **locuela/o**, **locura**, **loquear**, **loquera/o** and **loquesco**; Ct.: **loquer(ia)**; Gl.: **aloucado**, **enlouquecimento**, **louquear**, **reloucar**, **relouco** and **(re)louqueiro**; Gl. and Pt. **enlouquecer** and **loucura**; Pt.: **aloucamento**, **aloucar**, **enlouquecimento**, **louquejar** and **louqueice**.

**londiga**: see **alfóndec**.

**looque** (Pt.) “electuary”: through Fr., after DE, in which it is considered as a medieval technical term, prob. < And. **luṣūq** < Cl.Ar. **laṣūq**.

**lopi(n)s** and **lopine/os** (Lt., in Arag. documents): is the epithet of some doubloons coined by the petty king Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Mardaniš of Murcia, in the interregnum between Almoravids and Almohads, < And. **luppí**, attributive of his eponymous ancestor Lubb < Lt. **lupus** “wolf”, whence also the Cs.

matching verb in Ibn Janāh.

<sup>836</sup> That was not the case of the ingenious and not a bit pusillanimous Nykl, but his proposal in GP 101, based upon Ar. **maʿlūq**, clashes with the relative rarity of this word, undocumented in Neo-Ar., in spite of its phonetic similarity with Pt. **maluco** “crazy”.

<sup>835</sup> See Corriente 2000–2001:154 and, for the edited passage, Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:86 and 2007:138 for its translation), in which the author, trying to explain Gr. **leuké** “white (fem.)”, transcribed in Ar. script as **lawqā**, makes the comment “i.e., fool” DS II 566 reports from Wright the occurrence of the

family name **Lope**. Eguílaz recorded the also Lt. var. **lupinos** in a document of the same period. Cf. **ayadino**.

**loquear, loquer(a/o), loqueria** and **loqu-esc**: see **loco**

**lorba**: see **albolba**.

**lorza**: see **alforza**.

**losange** (Cs.) and **losango** (Pt., with the old var. **losanja**) “lozenge, rhombus” and **lisonja**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Pt., contaminated by **lisonja**<sup>1</sup> “flattering”) and **losange** (Ct.) “lozenge in a coat of arms”: as explained by Coromines, following Rodinson 1966, < Fr. *losange*, which took it during the Crusades from Ar. *lawzīnaj* < Pahl. *lawzēnag*, said of an almond cake usually cut into rhombi, as is even today commonly done with the cake of nuts or pistachios called in Neo-Ar. **\*\*baqlāwah** and in Tr. **\*\*baklava**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **losanjat**; Pt.: **lisonjado**. Cf. **alloya**.

**louco, loucura, louqueiro, louque(j)ar** and **louquite**: see **loco**.

**loza**: see **alforza**.

**loztou** (Lt., in Cs, documents, with the var. **doztoni, doctori, dolceri, duceri, duzuri, leztori** and **lotzori**):<sup>837</sup> this hapax, recorded by Steiger 1956:104, and clarified and supported by Lt. **panno doxtui** in a slightly older Leo. document, is indeed corrupted from the gentile *dastawī* of the Iranian town of Dasta/uwā, renowned by its textile manufactures, after Yāqūt.

**lubi**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 102: < Ar. *lūbī* “Libyan”

**lufa** (Pt., in Morais) “a gender of Cucurbitaceae”: in fact, the talk goes about its best known species, “sponge gourd (*Luffa cylin-*

*drica* or *aegyptiaca*)”, because the fibrous skeleton of its fruits is used as a sponge, < Ar. *lūf*, prob. a reflex of Syr. *lūfā*, although this and Rab.Aram. *lōf* are applied to several Araceae.

**lula** (Pt.) “squid” and **aluja** (Men.) “large squid”: are reflexes of a dial. And. n.un., formed on *\*lūl*, simplified by metanalysis of the morphemes of *nīsah* and pl. masc. of *\*luliyīn*<sup>838</sup> < And.Rom. *\*LOLIYÍN* < Lt. *lōlīgīn(em)*. The Men. var. no doubt also derives from Lt. *lōlīgo* or *lollīgo*, and is closely related to And. *lawáyina*, although the equivalences are anomalous, easier to explain through Coromines’ valuable hypothesis that there must have been a Lt. var. *\*lollugin(em)*, with a result *\*lollúje* easily metanalyzed in And. as a hypocoristic of the pattern {1a22ú3a}, which lost its first consonant by haplology or metanalysis of a Rom. article, becoming *\*al(l)úja*, or else, reduced by simple haplology to *\*lúje*, analyzable as a fem. *\*lúja*.

**luluma** “deep ulcers in the cornea”: is an unassimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, perhaps a var. of **aulunum** and **alficume**, q.v.

**lupinos**: see **lopi(n)s**.

**luquet(e)**: see **alguaquida**. As for **luquete** “hemispherical top of a dome”, in García Salinero 1968:147, it looks like a metonymy of **alquete** in the meaning of “slice of orange or lemon decorating a glass”

**luza** “last feathers in the tail” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:262): is prob. a metonymy of the Ar. etymon of **alloza**, q.v., said of the tassel topping off some garments, as in IQ 55/7/2.

**lyemeni**: see **yaymeni**.

<sup>837</sup> But see **tártaro**<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>838</sup> That the basic Rom. form sometimes underwent haplology and was abridged into

*\*LOYÍN*, is proven by the broken pl. *lawáyin* in Alcalá, and even by Serbo-Croatian *lignya*, no doubt borrowed from Dalmatian.

## M

**ma** (Val.) and **mam** (Ct.) "water": only as baby-talk in the phrase **vols**—? "do you want some water?" which has been reported for decades, although first seriously dealt with by Bramon 1986:150, as a reflex of Ar. *māʾ* "water". This was supposed to be a case of residual use of Ar. words initially transmitted by Morisco nannies, hired by the Christian conquerors of Valencia to take care of their children, which makes sense, as such cases are common in similar situations, and this one is particularly documented for Eastern Spain. However, there is a serious phonetic difficulty, as it is not conceivable that this word would be pronounced without any degree of *imālah*, i.e., with at least a reflex **me**, if not **mi**. The solution is possibly that the truly borrowed word was Br. *aman*, some centuries before the Christian conquest, when Br. speaking nurses were hired by Arabic speakers, and introduced this item in And. baby-talk, only to be transmitted to Ct. much later, under similar circumstances. Once lost the class prefix *a-* in a process of de-Berberization, the Val. shape is regular, while the final /m/ of Ct. may be due to hypercorrect restoration of the lost final nasal, contamination of the previous consonant, or to a feature of baby-talk, in which this phoneme is favourite.

**maaḡin aḡoraya** "the wrist (of the Pleiades): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 103, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:80 as Chi h Persei, < Neo-Ar. *miḡṣam aḡurayā*.

**maal** (Pt.) "counsel in India" and **malo** "village" (Pt.): are unassimilated late borrowings of the 19th c., var. of one and the same item, < Hindi *mahl* "abode" < Neo-P. *maḡall* "district" < Ar. *maḡall* "place"

**maamartaba** (Pt., with a var. **maio-marataba**) "a kind of sceptre in India": is a unassimilated mod. borrowing, < Hindi *māyā martabā* "rank of total power", with a second constituent Ar. *martabah* "rank", received through Neo-P. *martabe*.

**maavez** (Cs.): this hapax, excepted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, indeed derives from And. *mahbās* = Cl.Ar. *mahbas* "cistern, reservoir"

**mabit**: see **almabit**.

**mabral**: see **margual**.

**mabull** (Maj.) "obsession": the presence in the lingua franca (after Kiesel 1994:39) of *maho(u)l* < Neo-Ar. *mahbāl* "fool" corroborates the semantic evolution already suggested by Coromines for this word, prob. acquired through mod. Mediterranean relations. Cf. **ababol**.

**maca**: see **macar**.

**Macabeo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **Macabeu** (Ct. and Pt.) "Maccabean, pr.n. of a Jewish family and, in pl. of a book in the Bible narrating the uprising against the Seleucids and Hellenization": < Bib.Lt. *Māchāboeus*, attributive adjective formed on Hb. *maqāb* "hammer"

**maḡaconia**: see **masicote**.

**maḡal** (Pt.) "whey": is a word not documented before the 17th c., no doubt a reflex of Cl.Ar. *maḡl*, which is usually replaced in And. by *\*\*mays* (see **almece**), which makes it desirable to know the context of that term, extant in Nascentes' dictionary but prob. not transmitted through Al-Andalus.

**maḡalata** (Pt., only in Machado) "deceit": is an unassimilated word, borrowed in India, documented in the 16th c., < Hindi *maḡlahat* "right thing (to do); advice" < Neo-P. *maḡlahat* "convenience", < Ar. *maḡlahah* "interest", distorted by Dalgado.

**macaleu** (Ct.) "mahaleb cherry (*Prunus mahaleb*)" and **macaleba** (Arag., with semantic evolution) "wild pear tree": < Ar. *maḡlab*, prob. through It.

**macana** (Pt.) "woman's toque in Ormuz": this mod. item is, obviously, dial. Gulf Ar. *maḡnaḡ* < Cl.Ar. *miḡnaḡah*, "kind of chador or veil". Machado's conclusion that this word meant "effeminate" is mistaken and caused by confusion with the var. **mucana**, supposed by him, which indeed has this sense and derives

from Ar. *muxannaq* "hermaphrodite" Cf. *almagnales* and *almakanas*.

**macange**: this unassimilated phrase in *Don Quixote* I xxxvii, appears to reflect Naf. *mā kānhabb* "I do not want" An alternative Naf. *mā kānš* "by no means", has also been suggested, and is more in agreement with the rendering given by Cervantes himself, **que quiere decir no** "which means no"; however, this is not a serious objection, as he may simply have abridged the whole sentence to a shorter equivalent phrase, while there is a semantic difficulty in that second interpretation, as *mā kānš* rather means "it was not", while the >g< is a better match of a velar, pharyngeal or laryngeal spirant in the mod. Cs. pronunciation<sup>839</sup> than of /ʃ/ in the old pronunciation.

**maçapão** (Pt.), **mazapán** (Cs. and Gl.), **massapà** (Ct.) and **marzapán** (Cs. and Arag.) "marzipan, marchpane": this word is an etymological crux, as there is a wide range of var. in the diverse European languages, as well as a frequent second meaning "little box",<sup>840</sup> side by side with an almost total absence of Ar. documentation, although all witnesses point to an Eastern origin. At a time, we believed that the etymon might be an abbreviation of Neo-Ar. *\*ḥalāwah marzabāniyyah* "marquis' sweetmeat", a culinary designation which would be parallel to other well attested cases, like Ar. *\*luqmat alqādī* "a kind of doughnut", lit., "judge's morsel", Cs. **orejas de abad**, lit., "abbot's ears" etc., although that Neo-Ar. item is not documented, but very recently in some Sr. dialect, suspect of influence by It. *marzapane*, indeed not the etymon of the Iberian terms, but a reflex thereof. Therefore, we are presently inclined to posit a semantic specialization and slight phonetic evolution in the Iberian Peninsula of And. *paṣīḥmāt* (and var.), apparently borrowed directly in its Eastern region, occupied by the Byzantines for a short spell before the Islamic invasion, from Gr. *paxamádion* (prob. not autochthonous in Cl.Gr.

itself). Already within Lt. or Proto-Rom., this term would have undergone metathesis of labials (> *\*MACĀPĀT*) and next be given a folk etymology based on *masa* "dough" and *pan* "bread" (> *\*MAC[A]PÁN*), which was accompanied by a semantic evolution as, while the aforementioned And. term is documented in *Vocabulista in arabico* in its original meaning of "biscuit" (*biscoctus*), in IQ 1/5/3 is already mentioned as a confection prepared by a pastry cook, and in 44/6/4 as a proverbially soft substance, as is *marzipan*. As for Cs. **mazamorra**, Ct. **massamorro** and Pt. **massamorda** "hardtack, ship biscuit", they appear to derive from the same Gr. etymon through an undetermined Mediterranean way of transmission, either It. or lingua franca, in which it is uncertain whether And. *piḥmāt*, already specialized as "marzipan", played any role, but it is sure that the initial form was another reflex of that Gr. word, Neo-Ar. *bi/ūṣmāt*, in the West and *buqsumāt*, in the East, already documented in the Western Mediterranean as "ship biscuit" Can. **mazamorra** "ulceration in hooves" appears to be a case of semantic evolution, as An. **mamorra** "oil lees", recorded by Garulo 1983:254, attributed to the same etymon. As for the meaning of "container", e.g. in Pt., it appears to connect with Ar. *marṭabān*, from a gentile of a place in Burma, origin of a kind of earthenware (see DS II 590). However, a folk etymology based on Neo-P. *mardbān* "man's protector", as it was impervious to poison) cannot be precluded, nor a contamination by the Ar. root {rṭh} (suggesting a "refreshing place"), although such a distortion is not easily explained through oral ways, nor is a contamination by **mazapán** "sweetmeat" likely. Cf. **martabão**.

**macar** (Cs. and Ct.) "to bruise (people or fruit)" and the matching verbal noun **maca**: prob. derive from Hb. *makkāh* "strike, wound, especially when caused by lashes", one of a few Rabbinical technical terms used by all

<sup>839</sup> Which, according to Frago 1993:456 had been in vogue since the last decades of the 15th c., and fully extended at the beginning of the 16th.

<sup>840</sup> About which, it is known since García

Gómez 1972, that Simonet's reading *\*\*\*max-šabān* of IQ 105/2/2 is totally ungranted and must no longer be mentioned, not even as doubtful, as Coromines did.

Jews in their everyday colloquial speech, And. or Rom., so that it was secularized and borrowed by the other communities (e.g. **\*\*hallāh**, **\*\*rēfāh**, **\*\*mamzēr**, **\*\*malšīn**, **\*\*pšūāš dakkāh** and **\*\*bēšorāh**, and Rab. Aram. **\*\*pikkūsā**, origin of Cs. **hallullo**, **trefe**, **māncer** and **malsīn**, And. **\*\*pāzwa** “hernia” and Ct. **viñola** and **alficòs**, respectively). From the same origin are Arag. **maca-se** “to be bruised” and **macad/ta** “bruised fruit”. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **macada**, **macadís**, **macadura** and **emmacar**. Cf. **mağar**.

**maçari** or **mecerí** (Pt.) “Egyptian”: is an unassimilated Eastern borrowing of the 16th c., < Eg.Ar. **mašrī** < Cl.Ar. **mišrī**, gentilic of Ar. **mišr**, Semitic name of that country reflecting Ak. **mišru[m]** “border”. From the same ultimate origin are Cs. **mazarí** “a kind of square tile”, first witnessed to by Nebrija, prob. a Mudejar architectural term, which might still descend from And. **mašrī**. Cf. **almacería**.

**macario** “rascal” (Mur., in Gómez Ortún 1991:268): seems to reflect Ar. **makkār**, although the transmission may be Naf. or Mediterranean.<sup>841</sup>

**maçaroca** (Pt.), **mazorca** (Cs.) and **mazaroca** or **mazorga** (Gl., the second var. also Leo.) “spindle full of thread”, **mazaroca** (Ext. and Sal.) and **mazorga** (Leo.) “ear of corn” and “corn cob” (Anl.) and **mazaroca de millo** “ear of corn” (Can.): < And. **mas/súrqa** or **ma/súrqa**, a hybrid derivation of Neo-Ar. **masūrah** “tube” < Neo-P. **masure**, with the Rom. adjectival suffix **/+IKA/**, first meaning the thread wound on a reel.<sup>842</sup> Of the same origin are Leo. (a) **mazorga** or **mazorca** “reed-mace, bulrush (*Typha latifolia* or *angustifolia*)” and Nav. **mazarota** “bunch of cherries”, a phonetic var. with suffix metanalysis and substitution, both with semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der. Pt.: **amaçarocar**.

**macarota** (Arag.) “side post ending in a knob in the back of a chair or bench”, with a var. **mascorrota** “knob topping off the posts supporting planks in some structures”, in Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:109): appears to

derive from And. **maxrūta** = Cl.Ar. **maxrūtah** “turned on a lathe”, in Neo-Ar. “cone”. Possible metonymies thereof are Arag. **macar(r)ota** “fruit of the cypress” and, with suffix metanalysis and substitution **macarula** “box-tree” (cf. dial. Ct. **macarulla** “fruit of the box tree, and **macarota** “pinecone”).

**macatretja**: see **almadraque**.

**macatrefla**: see **mequetrefe**.

**macemutina**: see **mazmodina**.

**macería**: see **almacería**.

**machir** “net”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1155 reflecting the passages of Ex. 27/4, 38/4–5–30 and 39/39 in the Hb. Bible, which contains the instructions for building the sacrificial altar. The same passage includes **machar**, interpreted as a gridiron of an oven, and afterwards (in DAX 1189), **mar-chesilis**, interpreted as a frying pan, all of which is further witness to these authors’ lack of concern for etyma and meanings, as well as to the abstruseness of that old biblical passage, even for the rabbis usually consulted in those times about such matters. In fact, these are corruptions of the three Hb. items **mikbār**, **mizlēgot** and **mahtot**, presently understood in that context as gridiron, tridents and fire shovels of the sacrificial altar.

**machumacete** (Cs., with worse var. in Eguílaz): this pharmaceutical term of the Early Modern Age, taken by DS from Nebrija, and soon obsolete, reflects And. **mašjūm asšitta** = Cl.Ar. **mašjūmu ssittah** “electuary of six (ingredients)”, although its definition mentions seven by folk etymology. Cf. **majum**.

**maciega**: see **mansega**.

**macloc** (Ct. of Tortosa) “large round mushroom (*Lactarius deliciosus*)”: prob. a metonymy of And. **maḡlūq** = Cl.Ar. **maḡlūq** “closed”. The Ar. root **{ḡlq}** might also be the origin of the place name Mola de Maclac, suggesting the idea of an inaccessible place.

**macoca** “dry open fig” (Val., spread to Cs. in Murcia and La Mancha): might derive from Ar. **maḡqūq** “ripped”, but this is a rare word, not documented in And. nor in the Western

captives in Cartagena.

<sup>842</sup> As explained in Corriente 1985:142.

<sup>841</sup> Cf. Mor. **makkār** “fourbe, roué” in Colin 1993:VII 1849, it being known that there was an important number of North African

dialects. The true etymon is likelier to be And. *mašqūqa* = Cl.Ar. *mašqūqah* "split, cleft", with anomalous treatment of the first syllable, resulting from a contamination (cf. *tabique*). In the Arag. of Ateca the same term means a "thin cake" and "flip, blow on the head with the knuckles" (the latter meaning, also in Sal., after DRAE), semantic contaminations by Ct. *coca* "cake" The meaning of blow is prob. secondary, (cf. Cs. *torta* "cake" and *galleta* "biscuit", Pt. *tabefe* "milk cake", all of them also meaning "slap"), while an origin in Eastern Spain would suggest a contamination by Ct. *coca* of a word of Ar. origin, like *mašqūdah*, a culinary term said of any caked substance, said presently in North Africa of omelettes. Another der. of this term is *macoco* "too ripe" (Man.), and perhaps also *macocana* "early olive" (Mur.). Cf. *macolla* and *taguitón*.

**macolla** (Cs., Arag. and Ct., the latter two borrowed from Cs.) "cluster of shoots": < And. *mašqūda* = Cl.Ar. *mašqūdah* "knotted", with suffix metanalysis and substitution. From the same etymon is *armacolla* "knob on the top of the posts of a pall or canopy" (Anl.). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a) *macollar*. Cf. *macoca*.

**macometa** (Pt.) "Muslim": is a mod. borrowing documented in the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, from Ar. *muḥammad*, p.r.n. of the Prophet of Islam, whose name is borne by many Muslims.<sup>843</sup>

**macomutina**: see *mazmodina*.

**macramé** (Pt.) "macramé, coarse lace or decorative fringe made of threads or cords knotted in geometrical patterns": is a mod. term, < Sr.Ar. *mxarmeh* < Cl.Ar. *muxarramah* "embroidered in filigree", through Fr.<sup>844</sup> Although recorded only by well updated dictionaries like Moliner's, it is presently used also in Cs.

**macsura** (Cs.) "section in a mosque fenced and reserved for the ruler": is a con-

temporary archaeological term, adapted from Ar. *maqṣūrah* "restricted (area)"

**macta** (Cs., excerpted by Eguílaz from a Granadan inventory) and **mactà** (Old Ct.) "piece or length of cloth": < And. *maqṭāṣ* = Cl.Ar. *maqṭāṣ*.

**madagaña**: see *magandafa*.

**madalá**: see *almadrake*.

**madianita** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "Midianite": through Bib.Lt. *Madianita* < Hb. *midyāni*.

**madim** (Pt.) "an old Tr. coin": is an unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., recorded by the unreliable Dalgado, allegedly from Tr. *maden* < Ar. *maṣḍin* "metal, mine", although the dictionaries of Ar., Neo-P. and Tr. do not record this term as the name of any coin. It might be an error for Ar. *majīdī* > Tr. *mecit*, *mecidiye*, a Tr. silver coin of 20 piastres minted by Sultan ʿAbdulmajid, widely circulated throughout the Middle East.

**madoganya**: see *magandafa*.

**madraçal** (Pt.) "school": is an unassimilated late borrowing of the 16th c., from Neo-P. *madrase* < Ar. *madrasah*. The immediate derivation from Neo-P. explains the ultima stress; Machado was wrong upon attributing the same tendency to all the Eastern Ar. dialects. Conversely, Cs. (al) *madraza* "college of Islamic high studies", ultimately sharing that Ar. etymon, has been transmitted through And. *madrasa*.

**madraço** "loafer" (Pt.): if the transmission is correct, as assumed by Houaiss, it seems to be another case of suffix metanalysis and substitution, in a close cognate of Cs. *matraco* within the family of der. from the root /*htr*/ studied in Corriente 1993c.

**madrava** (Southern Ct., Bal. and Val.) "undergrowth, scrub": according to Coromines, it would share the etymon of *almadraba* (q.v.), as such places cannot be entered without using a matchet, which sounds too imaginative. We would be more

<sup>843</sup> Due to one of the sayings attributed to him by tradition, i.e., a *ḥadīṭ*, "*raḥūlun min ahli bayti yuwāṭi smuhu smi*" = "a man of my family shall be my namesake" (see Wensinck *et al.* 1936:VII 253), mentioned, e.g., by Aššūṣṭarī 16/5/4 (see Corriente 1988b:223).

<sup>844</sup> It should be warned that the etyma given in Webster, all of them hinging on Ar. *maḥrumah* "handkerchief" (whence Tr. *mahkruma*) are erroneous, as the very semantics make evident, and that the posited Ar. \*\*\**migruma* "embroidered veil" simply does not exist.



inclined to posit a phonetic contamination by that frequent word of another less common one, e.g., And. *mudarráka* "protected, sheltered" <sup>845</sup>

**madraza**: see **madraçal**.

**madrazo** "rams used to knock down walls": is a rare technical term, in GP 103, possibly a semantic evolution of **matrazo**, q.v. <sup>846</sup>

**Madreemaluco**: see **Cotamaluco**.

**madrequeta**: see **almadraque**.

**madroc(ar)**: see **almadroc**.

**madrollero** "cheater" (Nav.): like standard Cs. **marrullero**, and prob. also **arrullar**, which Coromines considered as onomatopoeic, it appears to be just another der. of the And. root *[hɪr]*, <sup>847</sup> in this case through its And. var. *maṭrāša* "foolishness", with suffix metanalysis and substitution.

**madroño** (Cs.) and **medronho** (Pt.) "strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*)": derives from well documented And.Rom. *MAṬRŌN* (*ŃO*), in turn reflecting the Lt. var. *arbutus* of Lt. *arbūtus*, while the first syllable has been metanalyzed as an Ar. article and subsequently eliminated, and there has been also a labial alternance, possibly furthered by contamination by Rom. reflexes of Lt. *\*\*māṭēr* "mother", *\*\*māṭērīa* "wood", or *\*\*māṭūrus* "ripe". The phases of this process would have been as follows: *\*ARBOTRŌNO* > *\*ARMATRŌNO* > *\*(al+)MATRŌÑO*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **madroncillo**, **madroñal**, **madroñero** and **madroñuelo**; Pt.: **medronhal** and **medronheira/o**.

**madrucar**: see **almadroc**.

**maduz**: see **medebich**.

**maeda** "impassable place" (Leo.): may be a var. of standard Cs. **moheda**, q.v., and

in such case, a valuable witness of the early presence in the Iberian Peninsula of Old Ar. dialects preserving the prefix *{ma+}* without labialization in any case. <sup>848</sup>

**maes/za**: see **almaeza**.

**mafader** (Ct.) "raftsman": is a hybrid of And. *maxāda* = Cl.Ar. *maxādah* "ford" with the Rom. agentive suffix *{+ÁYR}*, reflecting the fact that these men transport logs not necessarily across a river, but always downstream. Of course, there is no relation whatsoever with the Ar. etymon of Cs. **almohada**, q.v., *pace* Coromines.

**Mafamede** (Pt.) and **Mahoma** (Cs.) "Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam": < And. *maḥammád* < Cl.Ar. *muḥammad*. <sup>849</sup> From the same origin is Pt. **Mafoma** "Muhammad; a coarse sculpture", it being noticeable that **Maf/homa** reflects the high register penultima stressing. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mahomía** "wrong deed" (with the var. **badomía** "non-sense" and a semantic shift, similar to that of Granadan **mahoma** "slovenly lazy man" and Anl. **majoma** "boring person", all of them reflexes of the sectarian bias typical of the medieval rivalry of monotheistic religions), **mahomético**, **mahometista** and **mahometizar**; Cs. and Gl.: **mahometismo** and **mahometano** (like Pt. **maometano**, received from It.); Pt.: **mafa/omético**, **mafometano**, **mafomista**, **maometa**, **maomet(an)ismo**, **maometanizar** and **maomético**.

**mafarrico** (Pt.) "demon": might reflect mere misunderstanding of the epithet of the angel of death among Muslims, *almufarriq* "the separator" (cf., in Aljamiado-Morisco idiolect, **espartidor de ayuntamientos**, i.e., "disjoiner of companies"), <sup>850</sup> transmitted by Mudejars or Moriscos.

<sup>845</sup> Azzajjālī N° 1503 calls *mudarrūk* a demijohn enclosed in wickerwork, with the same metonymy.

<sup>846</sup> A synonymous **bozones** coming next appears to reflect And. *puččín* "ram" (see DAA 38).

<sup>847</sup> See Corriente 1993c.

<sup>848</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7b. We have been recently informed by Dr. Josep Moran, from the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, of the presence of **mecelema/a** "Muslim" in Medieval Ct., which

is another instance of the same situation.

<sup>849</sup> About the vocalization of the first consonant, see Corriente 1979:190–1.

<sup>850</sup> See Corriente 1990b:82. This syntagm was not recorded in the matching lexical list, not in Galmés *et al.* 1994. Neither can a semantic connection with **almoharrique**, q.v., be excluded, considering the connotations of the Koranic Ar. term *\*\*zabāniyah*, in the light of Corriente 1989a:135.

**mafia:** see **manfia**.

**Mafoma:** see **Mafamede**.

**mafometano, mafometista and mafomé-tico:** see **Mafamede**.

**magacén:** see **almacén**.

**magadaña:** see **magandafa**.

**magaluf** (Ct.) “a kind of fur or fabric”: indeed looks like a non-agentive Ar. participle, but it is difficult to find its etymon as long as its description is so insufficient. It might be *maqlūb* “turned back”, as Coromines suggested, but the phonetic and etymological possibilities of that spelling are many. However, it does not appear to share the etymon of Lt. *magaluffo* “tip given to the broker”, < Ar. *maxlūf* “given as a compensation”

**magandafa** (dial. Ct.) “cheating”: does not seem to be contaminated by other words, but a reflex of the fem. of And. *muḡandāf* “rascal” (e.g., in *Vocabulista in arabico*), prob. a blending of the synonymous roots {ḡtrf} and {ḡndr}, the latter backformed on the etymon of **gandul**, q.v. It is probable, although not sufficiently proven, that Ct. **madoganya** and Cs. **madagaña** or **magadaña**, even **magaña** in the meaning of “trick, ruse”, and Arag. **malagaña** “wooden frame for gathering swarms of bees” have all a common etymological origin, although with a different set of contaminations.

**maganto:** see **manganzón, mindango and mondongón**.

**magar and maguer** (Old Cs.), **macar** (Old Pt.) and **maqueri** (Ib.): reflect And. *makkār* which, through And.Rom., derives from Gr. *ḥ makárie*, “happy you”, as Coromines reports from Diez in DCELC. The presence of similar forms in the Balkans, cannot surprise in a Lgr. item which circulated also in Lt., to judge from its offspring; however, concerning Tr. *meḡer* < Old Tr. *māḡār*, deemed by some a link in the chain of transmission, this is a term

of clear Iranian stock, with just a coincidental phonetic similarity to those dealt with here.

**magarefe** (Pt.) and **matarife** (Cs.) “slaughterman”: the Pt. word, documented already in the 14th c., while its Cs. match made its first appearance in the 19th c. as slang, suggests that the latter is a reflex, contaminated by **matar** “to kill”, of the former. This term may derive from Neo-Ar. *muḡarrif* “loathsome” (cf. Can. **magarefo** “slovenly man”), since butchers had a bad reputation among medieval Muslims, as shown for Al-Andalus by the *dīwān* of the poet of Saragossa, Ibn Aljazzār.<sup>851</sup> However, in the light of so many cases in which the presence of the Ar. root {x/ḡtrf}, e.g., **alcataz, almocatracía, mequetrefe**, etc., is either documented or suspected, it is equally possible that both Pt. **magarefe** and Cs. **matarife** be diverse reflexes or, at least, contaminations of And. *muxarrif* “braggart”, a quality proverbially attributed to butchers and slaughtermen.<sup>852</sup>

**magar(r)ufa:** see **malcolfa**.

**magarza** (Cs.) “wild or German camomile (Matricaria chamomila)”: newest data of And. botany have made it necessary to change our previous etymological proposal for this term in DAI. We are presently favour of a reflex of Lt. *matricālis* with the Rom. suffix {+EČA}, and subsequent loss of the pre-tonic syllable, i.e., \*MA[TRI]QÁLEČA > \*MAQÁLČA > *maqárča*. In this manner, both the Lt. etymon and the allusion to the obstetrical virtues of this plant are preserved. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **magarzuella** and **gamarza**. Cf. **lebeche**.

**magatzem(ada), magatzematge, magatzemer and magatzemista:** see **almacén**.

**magdalena** (Cs.) “repentant woman”: through Bib.Lt., with a gentile suffix, from the Aram. place name *magdēlā*, whence the matching character of the New Testament was a native (cf. Hb. \**migdāl* “tower”).

**magerra:** see **almagerra**.

<sup>851</sup> Ph.D. dissertation of the late Arabist Dr. Salvador Barberá, published as Barberá 2005.

<sup>852</sup> This is the implicit sense of Azzajjālī’s proverb N° 23, *ida waqāṣat albāḡra ḡzārut assakākin* “when the cow falls, the knives abound”, equivalent of Cs. *del árbol caído todos hacen leña* “all make firewood of the fallen tree”.

Abū Bakr Aljazzār who, as his family name gives away, came from a long line of butchers and finally went back to this trade, has left us as his most famous poem a rejoinder to a satire by Abulfaḍl b. Ḥasday, a vizier of Jewish origin, containing an eloquent and sharp parody of the bravados of these tradesmen.

**maglaca** (Cs. of Granada) "sluice": is the reflex of a Mudejar or Morisco item, < And. *maglāqa*, n.inst. of the Cl.Ar. root {*glq*} "to close"

**magne/tes, magnitat and magnita/iz**: see **almagnicia**.

**mag** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **mag** (Ct.) "Magus, Zoroastrian priest": through Lt. and Gr., < Old Persian *maguš*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **magisme**.

**magote**: see **almogote**.

**magram**: see **almagran**.

**magratat**: see **almagnicia**.

**magrebino** (Pt.) "Maghribian, gentile of Islamic Western Africa": is a contemporary historiographical term, a Romanized reflex of Ar. *magribī*, attributive adjective of *magrib* "West". But Cs. prefers **magrebí**, with its Orientalizing suffix, and mod. Ct. has **magribí**, with a Rom. suffix, which recovers the shape {-*ín*} in fem. and pl.

**maguer**: see **magar**.

**mahafa** "stretcher": is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, < Ar. *miḥaffah*.

**mahamudí** (Pt.) "a gold coin" (after Steingass, however, silver): is a mod. borrowing, recorded by Eguílaz, connected with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *maḥmudī* < Ar. *maḥmūdī*, attributive adjective of the pr.n. of the ruler who first coined it, prob. one of the three sultans of Gujarat called Maḥmūd.<sup>853</sup> Cf. **mamude**.

**maharajá** (Cs.), **maharajá** (Ct.), **maharajah** (Gl.) and **marajá** (Pt.) "sovereign of some Indian states": through Fr. or Eng., < Sk. *māhārāja* "great king". It has in Cs. a fem. **maharani**, reflex through the same ways of Sk. *māhārāṇī* "great queen"

**maharón** (Cs.) "unfortunate": < And. *maḥrūm* = Cl.Ar. *maḥrūm*, "deprived (of

God's approval and, consequently, of luck)" Through Southern Cs. pronunciation, there is also **majareta** "crazy" (Anl., recorded by DRAE), with suffix metanalysis and substitution, although the shift to a seeming fem. gender and the kind of dim. morpheme, more characteristic of Eastern Ibero-Rom. than of the central dialects, are striking and may suggest some contamination, at the very least.

**maharot**: see **almaharot**.

**maharrana**: see **marrano**.

**mahaxa** "swelling of the belly": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 103, prob. < Neo-Ar. *maḥāṣṣ/maḥāṣṣ alʿasad*,<sup>854</sup> an alternative designation of *warikā ʿasad*, "the lion's haunches", four stars behind Beta Leonis, forming the 13th mansion of the moon, after Kunitzsch 1961:45.

**mahe** (with the var. **elmahe**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 76 and 116, < Ar. *mahā* "rock crystal"

**mahium almoloh** "electuary of salts": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 103, < Neo-Ar. *maṣjūn almulūḥ*.

**mahlef**: see **almelef**.

**Mahoma**: see **Mafamede** and **mahona**.

**mahomati** and **mahometis** (Lt.): after Mateu y Llopis, this was the epithet of Islamic dirhams among Christians, < Ar. *muḥammadī*, attributive adjective of the name of the Prophet.

**mahometano** and **mahomético**: see **Mafamede**.

**mahometis**: see **mahomati**.

**mahometista**, **mahometizar** and **mahomía**: see **Mafamede**.

**mahona** (Cs.) and **maona** (Pt.) "barge, lighter": is a mod. term, a der., through It., from Eg.Ar. *māṣūna*,<sup>855</sup> semantic specialization of Cl.Ar. *māṣūn* "utensil". From the same etymon, by metonymy, because of its large

<sup>853</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> VI:48–50.

<sup>854</sup> The second item is just distorted from the first, meaning "the lion's behind", once again becoming evident that the translator is ignorant of many Ar. words, and renders them by the closest ones he knows, often wrongly.

<sup>855</sup> This word only means "kitchen utensil"

in Hinds & Badawi 1986:828, but the suitable meaning is corroborated by Tr. and Sr.Ar. *māṣūn*, after Barthélemy 1935–69:794, rendered by Fr. *mahonne*, which might have intermediated. The Tr. \*\*\**magūna* posited by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, does not exist, but only *mavna*, of the same Ar. origin.

size, and subsequent folk etymology, is prob. An. **ma(h)oma** "long-nosed skate (*Raja oxyrhincus*)", recorded by Garulo 1983:254, as there is no apparent reason to connect it with the name of Muhammad.

**mahozmedín**: see **mazmodina**.

**maidão**: see **medão**.

**mailhutz** and **mailhytz**: see **martiz**.

**maimó** (Ct.), **maimón** (Cs., with the old var. **maymón** in GP 107 and Jud.-Sp.) and **gato meimão** (Pt., documented in the 16th c., without any connection with **mamão**, *pace* Machado) "monkey": < And. **maymún** = Cl.Ar. **maymūn** "fortunate",<sup>856</sup> by antiphrasis, being an ominous animal in Islamic tradition,<sup>857</sup> unrelated to Yemen, *pace* Coromines, but for the fact that both words belong to the root {*ymn*}, which expresses being lucky or right, as opposed to what is left or unlucky. In fact, **yaman** became the name of this country because it lies to the right of most Semites when they face the East, as conversely **ša(?)m** became the name of Syria. The original meaning is still reflected in Ct. when this same word means "cool, tranquil" and "a yard in ships serving as mascot"; on the contrary, it is a metonymy of the hairy monkey, when said of masculine or feminine pudendae in contemporary low register Ct. and Cs. As for **maimones** and **marimones** "imaginary animals" (Leo.), in principle they would be monkeys, as in standard Cs. On the other hand, haplology is the likeliest explanation of Cs. and Pt. **mono** "monkey", firstly used more in fem., for which also Ct. has **mona**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **maimonismo**, **monería**, **monesco** and **monicaco**; Cs. and Ct. **monada**; Ct.: **maimona(da)**, **maimoneri**, **maimonet**, **monet(a)** and **monería**. Cf. **mono**.

<sup>856</sup> Which is not a genuinely Tr. word, as former editions of DRAE suggested, though present in this language with some of its Ar. meanings, occasionally reflected by the Bal. family name **Maimó**. This pr.n., frequent among slaves, appears also in the meanings of Anz. and Anl. "a kind of soup" and Cs. **bollo maimón**, equivalent of Neo-Ar. **rās maymūn**, lit., "M.'s head", a dish made of semolina and eggs, described in Huici 1965. Its containing magic ingredients does not

**maimona** "movable board serving to centre the axis of a potter's wheel" (Ext.): most likely < And. **mamūna** = Cl.Ar. **maʾmūnah** "secure", contaminated within Rom. by standard **maimón**, q.v.

**maimondina** and **maimudina**: see **mazmodina**.

**maina**: see **maná**.

**maissela** (Ct., with the var. **maixella**) "bundle of lavender burnt during Christmas": < And. **\*mašāla** = Cl.Ar. **mašālah** "torch" (cf. Malt. **mixegħla** and Cs. **almijara**, q.v.).<sup>858</sup> The equivalent word **eixames**, of Jijona (Val.), reflects And. **iššāmīa** = Cl.Ar. **šamšah** "(wax) candle", and **j/xamela** is the same, with a Rom. dim. suffix, which has contaminated **maixella** and in turn been influenced by **maissela**.

**maja** "esparto horse collar": (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:269) prob. < Ar. **māsikah** "holder (fem.)"

**majalulo/a** "young camel between weaning and breeding" (Can.): < Has. **maxlūl**, < Cl.Ar. **maxlūl** "pierced", said by antonomasia of weaned young camels, whose tongues are pierced to prevent their continuing to suck. It is obvious that this loan is due to the commerce of beasts between the natives of Western Sahara and Canarian traders, but it appears to be old, on account of its semantic evolution, as Monteil 1952:31 and Taine-Cheikh 1988:552 record it as the young camel which is still sucking.

**majara**: v. **maharón**.

**majaraca** "vegetable nursery" (Anl.): < And. **mašraqa** = Cl.Ar. **mašraqah** "sunny place"

**majareta**: see **maharón**.

**majarra**: see **almagerra**.

appear to be etymologically relevant, as they are not designated in Ar. with words derived from that same root.

<sup>857</sup> So that the original term, **\*qind**, often meant "bad luck" in And., as can be seen in IQ.

<sup>858</sup> Of the same origin is, after Vasmer 1996: II 586, Russian **mašul**, through Tr. **mešul**, still recorded by Redhouse, while mod. dictionaries only have **maşale**.

**majenca** and **maja/e/incar**: see **ma/oncaje**.

**majoma**: see **Mafamede**.

**maju** (Pt.) "gallnut": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., < Hindi *māju* < Neo-P. *māji/zu*.

**majuguín** "what is its name?" (Anl.): prob. from And., in the way of a short dialogue, — *má?*—*aššu kín*—"What?—whatever it is"

**majuje**: see **majum**.

**majum** (Pt.) "electuary": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., < Ar. *mašjūn* which, incidentally, is not the etymon of Cs. **me(n)junje** or **me(n)jurje**, as has been often said, although Coromines has it right, as a reflex of *manzūj* "mixed", while Anz. **majuje** "collusion" may be a blending of both. Cf. **machumacete**.

**majzén**: see **almacén**.

**malabar** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "Malabar, gentile of the Malabar coast in India": through Fr. or Eng., < Sk. *malabāra*, of Dravidian origin. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct. and Pt. **malabarista**; Cs. and Pt. **malabarismo**; Ct.: **malabàric**; Pt. **malabàrico**.

**malachinus**: see **malaguí**.

**malafa**: see **almalafa**.

**malagaña**: see **magandafa**.

**malaguí** and **malají** "fish retailer" (Anz., the second form also Anl. as "fish hawk"): possibly from the Ar. gentile of Malaga, And. *malaqí*, as many people had that trade there in the Islamic period. Of the same origin are Arag. (in Lt. documents) **ma/elaquis** (with the var. **melechin/s** and **melechinós** or **melequinós**, Leo. **melqui** and **melquín** in DO 265 and, after Mateu y Llopis, **malachinus**, **malechinis**, **malequino/us**, etc.), said of certain doubloons coined in Malaga during the Almoravid period. The second Anz. shape may be due to exaggerated spirantization of Cs. intervocalic /g/ but, taking into account that the gentile is still transcribed in Alcalá as *malaqí* at a time in which the voicing of intervocalic stops was no longer active, we might be instead dealing with And. *mallahín* "sailors", regularly repre-

sented by that second shape;<sup>859</sup> in such case, the first one would be explained by contamination by the gentile of that city, as that Ar. word was no longer understandable.

**mal(l)ato**: see **muladí**.

**malavés** or **malavez**: see **abés**.

**malcolfa** "virago" and **marcolfa** "slovenly fat woman" (Anz.) and "lazy woman" (Nav.) and **malcorfa** "fat phlegmatic woman" (Mur., also in Anl. as "bad woman in any way"): like Ct. **marcolfa** "inelegant or mundane woman", with the var. **marconfla** and **marcòfia**, q.v., and **marcolfu** "lover" (Leo.),<sup>860</sup> are var. of one and the same term of disputable etymon, apt to have been contaminated in several manners reflected in the diverse Rom. languages. Such etymon is most likely Ar., considering the almost perfect match with the pattern of its non-agentive (fem.) participle, simultaneously with the possibility of its first syllable being a reflex of And. *mará* < Cl.Ar. *imraʿah* "woman" As for the contaminations, they may have affected the onset (e.g., in Pt. **magarufa**, **marafona**, **barbana** and **magana**, Ct. **marfan(t)a**, Cs. **ma(da)gaña** and Cs. thieves' cant **maraña**, etc., all of them disparaging qualifiers of women), or the cauda (e.g., in Arag. **corfa** "pod" and **golfa** "spathe of an ear of corn, etc."). If the basic form were Pt. **magarufa**, supported by **magarrufa** (Ct.) "insincere caress" and **magarrufa** (Pt., only in Morais) "caress accompanying an embrace; hussy", the etymon might be Ar. *maḡrūfah* "grabbed by handfuls", semantically suitable to evolve in both ways, while in the case of **maraña** the most likely candidate would be And. *mará hānya* "bartender (fem.)", comparable to *\*xarajāyra* "whore plying her trade at an inn"

**malcorcho** (Pt.) "local tribute in India": is a late Eastern borrowing, documented in the 19th c., exhibiting Hindi syntax, and the Neo-P. reflexes of Ar. *mahall* "village" and *xarj* "expense; tribute". Cf. **maal** and **alarje**.

**maldar** (Pt.) "rich man": is an unassimilated Eastern borrowing of the 18th c., from

<sup>859</sup> See fn. to **macange** about the dating of the new Cs. pronunciation.

<sup>860</sup> See Corriente 1997c:56.

Hindi, an exact reflex of Neo-P. *māldār*, of the same meaning.

**malecón** (Cs.) "pier; jetty": it is striking that Coromines, after expounding the etymological difficulties of this entry and pondering over its And.Rom. origin ("Mozarabic", in his old-fashioned terminology), does not even mention the prob. correct view reflected in DE, that it is a Rom. aug. of Ar. *marqāh* or *marqā* "scale", often "landing place", as not only its witnesses in DS are many, but it is known thanks to the etymon of **atracar**, q.v., that this Ar. root provided the usual phrases for "to put into a harbour"

**malechínis**: see **malaguf**.

**malemo** (Pt.) "pilot": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *muṣallim* "master"

**malequino/us**: see **malaguf**.

**malfara**: see **albafar**.

**malgarbat**: see **cálibo**.

**malguán**: see **marguà**.

**mallada** and **mal(l)ato**: see **muladí**.

**malo**: see **maal**.

**malsí** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.), **malsim** (Pt.) and **malsín** (Cs.) "sower of dissent, slanderer": from a Lt. pronunciation of Hb. *malšīn*, a Jewish legal term, possibly adopted by other communities in pre-Rom. phases, in which Hispanic Lt. did not yet possess hissing phonemes and therefore reflected them as sibilants, as in Lt. For the same reason, the Ct. and Pt. forms do not require a Cs. phase, as Coromines thought. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **malsinar**, **malsindad** and **malsinería**; Pt.: **malsinação**, **malsinadura**, **malsinar** and **malsinaria**.

**malta** (Pt.) "gang of rogues; group of people": < Ar. *muxālaṭah* "mixture of things or people of diverse kinds", most particularly said of transactions between Muslims and non-Muslims, usually forbidden or very restricted in the interpretations of the most strict legal schools. Of the same origin is **mujalata** (Cs.) "partnership in an agricultural venture between a Muslim and a non-Muslim in Morocco", a contemporary legal term of the period of the Spanish Protectorate, through the Mor. pronunciation *muxalaṭa*.

**maluc(ada)**: see **amaluc**.

**malvazar** (Pt.) "permit given in India to the tax lessor to start collecting": is a late bor-

rowing of the 17th c., with a clear first Hindi constituent < Neop. < Ar. *māl* "riches; tribute", and a less obvious second one, prob. Neo-P. *bāzār* "market; use", based on idioms like *b. kardan* "to set a price; to trade"

**mamarrachada**, **mamarrachista**, **mamarracho**, **mamarratxada** and **mamarratxo**: see **moharracho**.

**mamartat**: see **almamarrat**.

**mameluc** (Ct.), **mameluco** (Cs. and Pt.) and **mamelucho** (Gl., a doubtful item): "Mameluke, member of the Egyptian military class, initially slaves, but having later reached the sultanate": is not in any of the Ibero-Rom. languages a borrowing previous to the 16th c., in connection with Eastern enterprises, < Ar. *mamlūk* "slave"

**mamoco** "a day of the lunar month" (Pt., only in Machado): is an unassimilated term of the 16th c., borrowed during the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, prob. corrupted, unrecognizable as Neo-P. or Ar., and scarcely known. Its first syllable indeed might contain Neo-P. *māh* "month; moon"; however, its definition as "final portion of the moon's course", suggests Ar. *maḥāq* "last nights of each lunar phase"

**mamol/na** (Cs.) "chuck under the chin, either as a caress or as a mocking gesture": perhaps < And. *maḥmūla* < Cl.Ar. *maḥmūlah* "suffered by force". But it could also share the etymon of Pt. **mamulengos** "kind of puppet theatre" (though documented only at the end of the 19th c.), perhaps a der. of Ar. *maṣmūl* "(artificially) made", with a Rom. suffix, as Alcalá has *maṣmūl* "feigned thing", above all if the original meaning of that word, as former editions of DRAE stated, was that of feigned caresses, meaning scorn. Its latest edition, however, has adopted our first opinion.

**mamona** (Pt.) "riches": is a word used since the 15th c., in religious contexts, of a Semitic origin, namely, Rab.Aram. *mammōn*, whence Bib.Gr. and Bib.Lt.

**mamorra**: see **maçapão**.

**mamude** (Pt.) "Persian silver coin; a fabric from Bengala": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., the true etymon of which is an attributive adjective of the Ar. pr.n. *maḥmūd*, born by many sovereigns of Indian states, particularly, the sultans of Bengala and Gujarat. Cf. **mahamudí**.

**mamulengos:** see **mamola**.

**maná** (Cs., with the var. **mana**, Gl. and Pt.) and **mannà** (Ct., with the var. **maina**) "manna, sweetish dry exudation of some plants used as food by the Israelites in the desert": through Bib.Lt. *manna* < Aram. *mannā*. Hb. *man*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **manner** and **mainar**.

**manachasin** "underclothes": is an unasimulated technical term, from DAX 1171, indeed reflecting Hb. *minkēsē bad* in Ex. 28–42 "underpants"

**manaman** (Gl., in *Cantigas*) "right away": appears to reflect the And. adverb *min amám* "ahead", which might require some modification in the interpretation of the passage, although the semantics of this And. adverb is not altogether clear, the former sense not being excluded, e.g., in IQ 4/6/6 and 11/9/2.

**ma/oncaje** "weed hook" (Anz.) and **moncaje** (Anz. and Anl.) "dibble": < And. *mánqaš*, of the same meaning, < Cl.Ar. *minqaš* "tweezers", occasionally contaminated by the many Rom. reflexes of the Ar. prefix {mu+}. For Mur., Gómez Ortín 1991:269 reports **majenca** "weed hook" and its der. **maja/e/incar** and **mencajar** "to weed"

**mancal:** see **bancal**.

**máncer** (Cs.) "son of a whore": reflects the Llt. pronunciation of the Hb. legal term *manzēr* "bastard"

**manchil** and **manjil** (Pt.) "a kind of sickle or knife": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., likelier to be a der. of Lt. *mānūs* "hand", like Cs. **mancera**, "plough handle", than a reflex of And. *mánjal* < Cl.Ar. *minjal* "sickle", although semantic contamination through And.Rom. cannot be excluded.

**mancús** (Ct.) and **mancuso** (Arag.) "a gold coin": < Ar. (*dīnārūn*) *manqūš* "engraved dinar" through Llt. transmission, without any relation, *pace* DECLC, to Ar. \*\**manqūš* "lessened" as, in fact, these coins were highly appreciated, that epithet being pleonastic, since most coins bear an engraved or punched inscription, although perhaps in this case the metal disk to be minted or the finish were particularly excellent.

¡**manda huevos!**: see ¡**jodo petaca!**

**mandarim** (Pt.) and **mandarín** (Cs., borrowed from Pt., as in the case of other Western languages) "mandarin": < Hindi *mantri* < Sk. *mantrin* "sage; sorcerer; minister", through other Indian languages.

**mandarra:** see **almandra**.

**mandeo** (Cs.) and **mandeu** (Ct.) "Mandaean, adherent of a Gnostic sect of the Middle East": through Fr., formed with Rom. suffixation on *mandaya* "Gnostic, Mandaean", their own designation in their Eastern Aram. dialect, an attributive adjective of Aram. *mandaf* "(mystic) knowledge, gnosis".<sup>861</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mandeísmo**; Ct.: **mandeisme**.

**mandil** (Cs. and Pt.) and **man(d)il** (Ct.) "apron": < And. *mandil* = Cl.Ar. *ma/indīl* < Syr. *mandīlā* < Lgr. *mandēlē* < Lt. *mantē/īle*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mandilar** and **mandilón**; Cs. and Pt.: **mandilete**; Ct.: **mandilada** and **mandilona**; Pt.: **mandileiro**.

**mandonguilla:** see **albóndiga**.

**mandora** (Pt.) "old kind of lute" and **b/mandurria** (Cs.) "bandore": < Gr. *pandōūra*, although the way of transmission is disputable. Without downplaying the role of Italy and Provence in the transference to the West of Greek musical instruments, knowledge and techniques, and the presence of Llt. *pandurium* "three-stringed lute", it is likelier that Fr. *mandore* derives from an Iberian or Italian form than the other way around, despite Machado's proposal for the Pt. word. On the other hand, the And. form *bandúra*, mentioned by Coromines in connection with Cs. **b/mandurria**, and the significant fact that its first appearance occurs in *Libro de Buen Amor*, quite dependent on the And. musical heritage, as is well-known, suggest that the undoubtedly Graeco-Lt. word, which generated metathetical Ar. *ṭunbūr* in the East and its offspring in every direction (see **tambor**), had a Hispanic and then And. phase, with consequences at least contaminated to parallel forms of the Northern Rom. languages, such as variations in the first consonant and occasional gemination of /r/.

**mandrache** (Cs.) "mole, quay": this hapax of *El licenciado Vidriera*, recorded by Eguílaz,

<sup>861</sup> This is no doubt what DRAE means to say

in its doubly mistaken "Ar. \*\*\**mandā*".

together with **almandaraque** (also in DE), with the var. **almandarache**,<sup>862</sup> is presently identifiable with Neo-Ar. *madraj*, which had evolved from its Cl.Ar. meaning “way of approach”, to that of “dam”, recorded by DS, and finally, in And. *mádray*, and sure enough in other dialects, “mole, quay”, like the famous one in the port of Genoa, mentioned in the aforementioned passage.<sup>863</sup> The var. **almandaraque** results from the It. var. *mandracchio*, possibly reflecting an Eg. pronunciation \**madrag*, with obstruant *jīm*, vs. *mandracio*, reflected by Malt. *Mandragg*, name of the inner area of the port of La Valetta, and other no less ill-reputed areas, at least in past times, in diverse points of the Archipelago; this implies that the term was widely spread in many Mediterranean ports.

**mandrongo** and **mandrugo**: see **almandroc**.

**manfaretà**: see **monfara**.

**manfla** (Cs. thieves' cant) “brothel”: prob. < Ar. *muḥālafah* “alliance under oath”, whence also Sicilian *maffia*, reflected as **mafia** in mod. Cs. and Gl., although the ways of transmission are not totally clear. The Cs. seems Mudejar, while It. has a reflex of the Ar. substratum of Sicilian. Other meanings of **manfla** in DRAE such as “concubine” and “old female pig delivered of piglets”, the latter attributed to La Mancha, seem to be secondary.

**manful**: see **marful**.

**manganejar**: see **almagra**.

**manganzón** (Can. borrowed from Pt.), **mangaz** (Pt.) and **maganto** (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:269; cf. *mindango*) “loafer” are var. of one and the same Ar. loanword,

no doubt of Naf. origin, as it reflects Mor. *māṣgāz* of the same meaning; in fact, it is not documented in Pt. before the 18th c., and the etymon offered by Machado, based on **man-gar** “to beg for alms”, is very inferior to this proposal.

**mangote, hacer**—“to be dejected (said of roosters)” (Mur.): could be a metonymy of And. *manquid* = Cl.Ar. *manquid* “undone; unseamed” or deformed through suffix metanalysis and substitution from And. *mankūb* < Cl.Ar. *mankūb* “disgraced, ruined”

**mangra(t)**: see **almagra**.

**manguar**: see **margual**.

**manhareym** “the lion's nose”: is an unasimilated astronomical term, from GP 104, < Neo-Ar. *manxarayn*, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:77 as Gamma and Delta Canceris.

**manil**: see **mandil**.

**manjal**: see **manzel**.

**manjarra**: see **almagera**.

**manjorra**: see **almanjar(ra)**.

**mannà** and **manner**: see **maná**.

**manquil** (Arag.) “rabble”: perhaps from And. *man (u)qil* = Cl.Ar. *man qil* “those said”, which tallies well with the idiom **llegar las manquil y zanquil** “to come (many guests, even the unwanted ones)”. Cf. **mengano**.

**mansega** (Ct., with the var. **mansiega**, cf. An. **maciega**) “a kind of rush (*Schoenus mariscus* or *mucronatus*)” It is doubtful that it shares the etymon of its Val. synonym **masseta** or **almasset**, which has been identified with Ar. *masad*, rendered by the *Leiden Glossary* as Lt. *carex* “reed mace (*Typha angustata*)”, and by *Vocabulista in arabico*

<sup>862</sup> Eguílaz attributes a further var. **almandarahe** to Diego de Guadix, but it does not appear in the matching passage of his edition (see Bajo & Mañlo 2006:288), which has only **almandarache**, with the proposal of the etymon *madurich*, i.e., And. *madárij*, pl. of the true form.

<sup>863</sup> This certainty derives from some proverbs dealing with young male prostitutes who used to find their clients, sailors and traders, or whomever knew where and how to meet them, preferably at the docks, e.g., Azzajjālī's proverb N° 1600 *ṣibhān almadárij: alishāf f'āṣṣu wahu ṣiṣh: a+bāyḍi* “like the boys of the docks, with

one finger in their (aching) behind, and shouting: ouch, my testicles! (trying to distract attention from the shameful place actually hurting)” or, with a different wording and subject, his N° 1615, *ṣibhān almina yarḍāw hannāyk wala yarḍāw balḡabīna* “the boys of the port will suffer sodomy, but not fraud” About the savageness of these boys if they felt cheated, there are many stories, like the well-known one of Ibn Xāqān's assassination, and even descriptions of their aggressive disposition in IQ 76/3 and other passages of his *zajal*: see Corriente 1997:140–141, fn. 9, with more information about this scurrilous matter. Cf. **manyac**.



as *spartum*, while its Cl.Ar. meaning is "rope made of palm fibres", not esparto. While it is known that the usual name of this latter plant in Al-Andalus is *ǧawǧa*, of pre-Islamic and pre-Rom. origin, cf. Cs. *atocha*, all this does not lead to any solid conclusion, as transfers of both signifier and signified in the realm of plant names are frequent.

**mansobre, mordobre**, etc. (Pt., only in Morais)<sup>864</sup> and **manzobre** (Cs., with the var. **mozobre**): was studied by Coromines in DCELC. However, it is hardly believable that a technical term of the Ar. rhetoric would enter Rom., as there were no important contacts between high registers. On the other hand, the basic form propounded by that scholar, \***mozobre**, is easily derivable from Ar. *muza-braj* "ornamented fabric": once this term had been acquired as a textile term by Rom., the door was open for a possible metaphorical application to a very elaborate poetical genre.

**mantequet falec alboroché** (with the var. **mentecuefalec alboroché** and **manteqt falec alboroché**) "girdle of the sky of the signs": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 104, < Neo-Ar. *miṣṣaqat falak alburūj*, more accurately, "region of the belt of the zodiacal signs" (cf. *feletal*).

**manxorim** (Pt.) "customs duties": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, prob. reflecting either an attributive adjective or an abstract noun with the suffix {-i} attached to Neo-P. *manšur* "patent, license" < Ar. *manšūr* "proclaimed in an edict" The derivation propounded by Machado, based on the etymon of **massul**, q.v., is not phonetically suitable.

**manyac** (Ct.) "docile" and **mañaco** (Mur.) "babe" and "small child" (Anl.): not being

documented before the 17th c., are prob. terms introduced by trade relations with the Eastern Mediterranean coast, < Sr.Ar. *manyak* "passive sodomite";<sup>865</sup> form the old Ar. and Hamito-Semitic root {nyk} "to copulate" This is also the probable origin of Arag. **maño** "my friend; Aragonese", backformed on metanalyzed fem. **maña**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **amanyac**, **amanyaga(do)r**, **amanyagament**, **manyaga**, **manyagadura**, **amanyagoi**, **manyagueria**, **manyaguet** and **manyagó**.

**manzel** and **manjal** (Pt.) "hall, vestibule": is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *manzel* or it Ar. etymon *manzil* "place of abode or rest"

**manzid** (Arag.) "tax on fish": prob. reflects And. *mašid* = Cl.Ar. *mašid* "fished"

**manzobre**: see **mansobre**.

**manzorro**: see **mazorral**.

**maña/o**: see **manyac**.

**mañaco**: see **manyac**.

**maoma**: see **maroma**.

**maometa(no)**, **maomet(an)ismo**, **mao-metanizar** and **maomético**: see **Mafamede**.

**maona**: see **mahona**.

**maqueda**: see **maseda**.

**maquefe**: see **quif**.

**maqueri**: see **magar**.

**maquía** (Gl.), **maquia** (Pt.), **maquila/u** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:34) and **maquila** (Cs. and Ct., the latter with a var. **màquila** with stress shift, prob. due to a contamination) "portion of grain given as payment to the miller": < And. *makīla* = Cl.Ar. *makīlah* "measured (substance)", nor "measure of capacity", as in DRAE. Mur. **maquila** "defect" appears to be a metonymy, unless it is related to **maca**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ast.

<sup>864</sup> Machado in **mordobre** refers to **mosdobre**, but this entry is missing, at least in its alphabetic place.

<sup>865</sup> See Barthélemy 1935-69. The talk goes about the boys called \*\**hūwi* in And. sources, who were abundant in harbours, where their services were required by foreign or local visitors with this sexual inclination. It is noteworthy that Turmeda in 1420, as an outstandingly virtuous deed by the Tunisian sovereign Abū Fāris

ʿAbdāʿazīz, mentions the suppression of this and all other kinds of prostitution, thus forsaking the huge income provided by the taxes on them (Epálza 1971:264-265). Such indulgences have contributed to further mutual accusations, still heard today, by the inhabitants of both the Northern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea of having begun such practices and spread them to their neighbours. Cf. **mandrache**.

and Arag.: **maquilar** “to collect the **maquila**”; Cs.: **maquillero** and **maquilón**; Ct.: **maquileta**, **maquiler** and **maquilar**; Gl. and Pt.: **maquiar** and **maquieiro**; Pt.: **maquiadura** and **maquilão**; Ext. **maquilera** “flour given in payment for baking”

**mar** (Pt.) “title of Maronite bishops”: is a mod. borrowing, < Sr.Ar. *mār* “my Lord”, used by the Arabic-speaking Christians of the Middle East. Cf. **maronita**.

**mara malrasul** or **vnguentum alhabarin** “the (so called) apostles’ ointment”: is an unasimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:234 and 276, < Neo-Ar. *marham arrusul* / *alḥawāriyyīn*, exhibiting in the second constituent both the genuine Ar. word and the loanword from Et., usually preferred in the case of Christian apostles.

**marabedí**: see **almorávida**.

**marabú** (Cs. and Gl.) “**marabou**(t) (Lep-toptilus spp.)”: through Fr. and by metonymy, < Naf. *marbūt* “Sufi ascetic”, documented already in DS as name of this bird. From the same etymon, but directly transmitted is Pt. **marabuto** “Muslim ascetic”, a late borrowing of the 16th c., acquired during the North African campaigns and also shared by Cs. and Gl.<sup>866</sup>

**maradul**: see. **almoraduj**.

**marafa** “unclean woman” (Ext.): is prob. an Ar. loanword perhaps containing And. *mará* “woman”, but its cauda is hard to explain. It might be a hybrid with a pejorative suffix, \**mar*+*ÁÇA*, as there are other cases of this consonantal alternance in Ext. (e.g., **afilate** and **lafiche**), but it could also be backformed from **marafona**, q.v.

**marafona**: see. **barbana** and **malcolfa**.

**marachezes** (with a var. **marayce**) “a fabric of fine wool”:<sup>867</sup> Leo., in DO 259, < And.

*marʿizz(a)* < Aram *ʿmar ʿizzā* “goat wool”, about which, see DAA 499.

**marajá**: see **maharajá**.

**maram/n**: see **merém**.

**marañia** “trick in a game; fog” and **marañar** “to filch” (Anl.): appears to be related to Cs. **magaña**, Pt. **barbana** and **marafona** and Ct. **marfana**, q.v., all of them with contaminations hampering the establishment of an etymon which could be Ar.

**marath** (with another also corrupted var. **sararach**) “gall, bile”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:39, < Ar. *marārah*.

**maravedí**, **maravedinada** and **marave-tino**: see **almorávida**.

**marayce**: see **marachezes**.

**marbellí** “a variety of grape” (Anz., with the var. **merbellí** in Eguílaz): is the And. gentile of Marbella, *marballí*, although not recorded in such a meaning by the And. botanists.

**marbete**: see **almarbate**.

**marbí**: see **marvil**.

**marcasita** (Cs. and Gl.) and **marcasita** (Ct. and Pt., also Old Cs., in GP 105, with another var. **marchesica**) “marchessite”: through Lit., < Ar. *marqašīṭā* < Syr. *marqēšīṭā* < Ak. *marxa/ušu[m]* (with a non-Semitic appearance), not altogether regularly transmitted from a phonetic viewpoint, as in the case of Neop. *marqašīšā*, prob. due everywhere to folk etymologies (cf. Aram. {*b/mrq*} “to shine” and *qēšīṭā* “hard”, and Neop. *šiše* “glass”).

**marcavín** (Mur.) and **marcavins** (Val., pl., both in Colomina 1997:261) “a large kind of nails”: < And. *markabí* < Cl.Ar. *markabī* “naval”, obviously because they were initially used in shipbuilding.

<sup>866</sup> However, it does not mean “Islamic hermitage, oratory of a Muslim hermit”, as stated by DRAE and *Diccionario normativo galego-castelán*, but only the hermit.

<sup>867</sup> There is no doubt, according to García Arias 2006:57 that Old Cs. **marachez** and Pt. **marraiz** “kind of tow” are the same word, although the semantic evolution is striking.

**márcega**: see **almáfega**.

**marcén** or **marcen** (Mur.): "strips of land for the purpose of distributing the sowing";<sup>868</sup> prob. < Neo-Ar. *marsam* "marked place"

**marchal** "hamlet" (Anl.): < And. *majšár*, allomorph of *d/jišár* = Cl.Ar. *jušār* "herd of breeding mares", frequent in place names of Andalusia with the form **Machar**-. From the same etymon is **mičhar** (Cs.) "land property", excerpted by Eguílaz from a Granadan land survey, in this case with assimilation of the first vowel to the next palatal consonant.

**marchamo** (Cs.) and **marxamo** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.) "mark made by customs officials on goods": < And. *máršam* "branding iron", n.inst. of the Cl.Ar. root *{ršm}*, < Aram. *rēšam* "to mark" This word is phonetically irregular on account of the abnormal match of the hissing phoneme and a stress position divergent from And.; therefore, and not being documented before the 16th c., its transmission may have occurred through trade relations in the Mediterranean Sea. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **marchama(do)r** and **marchamero**.

**marchesica**: see **marcasita**.

**marchesilis**: see **machir**.

**marchito** (Cs.) "withered": this result of Lt. *\*marcitus*, can only be explained through And.Rom. *\*MARČIT(O)*.

**marcia** and **márciga**: see **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.

**márcola** (An., after DRAE) "a kind of pruning tool for olive trees": the Lt. etymon suggested by DRAE, up to its latest edition, *\*marcūlus* "little hammer" is phonetically unassailable, but semantically unconvincing, because this tool is neither used to hit, nor is it small. Instead, it looks like a cognate of And. *mirkíl* "linen brake", a normal reflex of n.inst. of the Ar. root *{rkl}* "to hit or stamp with one's

feet" Consequently, it would be possible to posit a parallel And. *\*márcala*, which would have undergone assimilation of its second vowel to the velar consonant, prob. within Rom., as in **alcotán**, **alcáçova**, **Mahoma**, etc.

**marcolfa** and **marcolfu**: see **malcolfa**.

**marcolla** "first batch of braked linen" (Arag. of Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:83), connectable with our hypothesis for **márcola**.

**marculillo**, **dar**—"to give the swinger a push" (Nav.): < And. *markúl* = Cl.Ar. *markúl* "pushed by a kick", said also in Ar. of a spurred beast.

**marduix** and **marduixí**: see **almoraduj**.

**márfaga**: see **almáfega**.

**marfan(t)a** (Ct.) "scarecrow; Carnival mask; despicable woman" (cf. Pt. **marafona** and **barbana**): the still optional contamination by **farfanta** (see **farfant**) is obvious, but Coromines' hypothesis, i.e., Neo-Ar. *\*marat xānah* "inn woman", once corrected according to Ar. grammar, is unlikely, because its second constituent was not used in the West. In order to establish an appropriate etymon for this word, it is of paramount importance to ascertain its original meaning: if it were "despicable woman", a good candidate would be And. *mará* < Cl.Ar. *imra'ah* "woman", but the second constituent would remain obscure, together with the causes of the semantic shift towards the other meanings, it being obvious only that there was some contamination by **farfant**.<sup>869</sup> Cf. **malcolfa**.

**marfar** (Gl.) "to offend or anger": might be a Rom. denominal hybrid verb, formed on And. *mašrifā* "nickname = Cl.Ar. *mašrifah* "distinctive mark"

**marfara**: see **albafar**.

<sup>868</sup> In Gómez Ortín 1991, although Moliner 1998 II:278 records the var. **márcena**. There is a clear connection with IQ 82/0/1, in which *našām* means "to mark an area next to the city walls for the sale of lambs in Bairam", as well as with Mor. *ršam* "to draw a plot on the ground as a guide for builders" (Sinaceur 1994:630). It appears that the Aram. root *{ršm}* "to engrave" was borrowed by Ar. twice, with enough chronological distance

for the second to show the well-known evolution of its sibilant phonemes. But later, the semantic distinction of both roots was not very systematic, perhaps because of the Sar. substratum, in which the loss of lateralized phonemes happened later or was even non-existent (see, for Al-Andalus, AAR 53, fn. 39).

<sup>869</sup> See Corriente 1985:139.

**mà/árfega, marfega(da), marfegó, marfegot, marfegueta and márfiga:** see **almáfega**.

**marfic** “elbow” (with the var. **m. at/choraya/açoraya**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 105, < Neo-Ar. *almirfaq* and *mirfaq aṭṭurayyā* “elbow of the Pleiades”, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:77 as Alpha Persei.

**marfil** (Cs., Gl. and Ct., borrowed from Cs., with the var. **a(l)ma(r/l)fil** in Gl., Cs., etc., and **marfim** (Pt.) “ivory”: < And. *ṣaṣn alfil* = Cl.Ar. *ṣaṣnu lfīl* “elephant bone”, with loss of the first syllable by metanalysis of the Ar. article between imperfect bilinguals. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **marfileño** and **marfilina**; Ct.: **marfilenc** and **marfilí**; Pt.: **marfileno**, **marfineo**, **marfinizar** and **marfinoso**.

**marfollo** (Gl.) “sucker of a vine which is to be pruned”: appears to be an intra-Rom. case of suffix metanalysis and substitution in **marfuz**, q.v.

**mar/nful** “a biting insect smaller than a mosquito” (Mur.): as in the case of Val. **marfull**, the etymon may again be that of standard **marfuz**, q.v., suffix metanalysis and substitution.

**marfus/z** (Pt., considered a borrowing from Cs.), **marfuz** (Cs.) and **marfuzu** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:207, “renegade; false-hearted”: is a late term, documented in Pt. in the 16th c., prob. a mere calque into Ar. by Moriscos of Rom. **renegado** as *marfūd*, which in the former language would not have such a meaning. Cf. **modrefuz**.

**marga:** see **almáfega**.

**margen** “coral”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 105, < Ar. *marjān*.

**margomar** (Cs.) “to embroider”: is a denominal hybrid verb, formed on And. *marqum* = Cl.Ar. *marqūm* “embroidered” From the same origin is **marromaque** (Old Cs.) “embroidery”, a hapax in *Poema de Alfonso XI* recorded by Mañillo 1983:121, which cannot derive, through a simple metathesis, from Cl.Ar. *muraqqam*, unattested in And., but through dissimilation, or suffix metanalysis

and substitution, from the And. pl. \**marqumāt*. The non-agentive participle appears in Leo. **morgome** and **morbcon** (in DO 270) and, with a Rom suffix, in **margomaduras** of GP 106. On the other hand, the matching *mašdar raqm* “embroidering” is reflected in **recamar** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “to embroider”, through a lt. hybrid *ricamare*, in which the prefix *{ri-}* has been metanalyzed, and its intra-Rom. der. **recamado** and **recamador** (Cs.), and **recamadura** and **recamo** (Pt.).

**marguà** (Ib.) and **margual** or **mabral** (Mur.) and **marual** or **maural** “(Anl.):” esparto blowing fan”, **margual**, **marguán** and **manguar** “fan” (Mur., also **mal/rguán**, in Gómez Ortín 1991:270) and **margual** “round esparto mat” (Anl.): < And. *marwāh* < Cl.Ar. *mirwahāh* “fan” There are some Val. var., like **dim. maruanet**, or semantic derivations, like **maruà** “tablemat; frail for dung; feeble”, and **maruell** “scandal”

**María** (Cs. and Gl.) and **Maria** (Ct. and Pt.) “pr.n.”: through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *miryām*.<sup>870</sup> The Mur. interjection of surprise **maría(n)**, recorded by Gómez Ortín 1991:275, might be related to Can. **aymería**: see **Ángela María!** Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **maricón**, **mariconada**, **marimandona**, **marimanta**, (mari)marica, **marimonia**, **marimorena**, **mariol**, **mariología**, **mariólogo**, **marión**, **marioneta**, **marioso**, **maripérez**, **mariposa(do)**, **mariposea** (do)r, **mariposón**, **mariquita**, **marisabisabidilla** and **maritornes**; Cs. and Pt.: **marimacho**; Cs., Ct. and Gl.: **marial** and **marista**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **mariano**; Ct.: **maria**, **amariconarse** and **marieta**; Ct. and Pt. **marial** and **mariología**; Gl.: **mariánico**, etc.; Pt.: **marianismo**, **mariani(s)ta**, **marica(fede)s**, **maricão**, **maríolatra** and **mariquice**.

**maría(n)**: see **María**.

**marifilón** “milfoil (Achillea millefolium)”: is an unassimilated botanical term, from DAX 1190, < Gr. *murióphullon*, through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**marimones**: see **maimones**.

**marjadraque** (Old Cs.) “compensation for damages”: this Islamic legal term, <

<sup>870</sup> As in the case of Moses, it would not be strange that also his sister bore an Egyptian name,

perhaps a hypocoristic of *mryty ʔmn* “loved by Amon” (see Erman & Grapow 1928 II:101).

Cl.Ar. *marjaṣu ddarak*, appears occasionally Romanized, with the spellings *mariadaraque* and *mariaderac*, in some deeds translating or closely following Islamic legal practice.<sup>871</sup>

**marjal<sup>1</sup>**: see **almarjo**.

**marjal<sup>2</sup>** and **almarjal** (Cs.) “a land measure”: < And. *márjaṣ*, with stress shift by contamination with the apparent Rom. suffix.

**marlota** (Cs. and Pt.) “kind of Moorish gown”: < Neo-Ar. *mallūṭah* < Gr. *mallotē*.

**marmota<sup>2</sup>** “debris carried away by the stream” (Mur.): seems to be a metathesis of \***mardoma**, posited by **bardoma**, q.v.

**marmunietiz** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1191, apparently corrupted from Gr. *marmarītis*, through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**maroma** (Cs., Gl., Pt. and Val., the latter borrowed from Cs., Ast. **maoma** and Leo. **barama** in García Arias 2006:208, possibly contaminated by **baraça**, q.v.): “hawser”: < And. *mabrūma* = Cl.Ar. *mabrūmah* “twisted” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **amaromar**, **enmaromar** and **maromero**.

**maronita** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “Maronite”: is a Latinization of Neo-Ar. *mārūnī*, attributive adjective of Mār (= Saint) Mārūn, eponymous founder of this Eastern Christian community. Cf. **mar**.

**marracha**: see **almarraja**.

**márraga**, **marragón** and **marraguero**: see **almáfega**.

**marraixa/ó** and **marraja**: see **almarraja**.

**marrano** (Cs. and Pt.) and **marrán** (Gl.) “Marrano, Christianized Jew”, on one side, and **marrão** (Pt.) “piglet” and **marrano** (Cs.), **marranu** (Ast.) “pig” and **maharrana** “fresh bacon” (which DRAE considers An.), on another, derive both, without any necessary interrelation, from And. *muḥarrām* < Cl.Ar. *muḥarrām* “prohibited, anathematized”, in the

first case by former coreligionists, through an Ar. adoption of Hb. *ḥērem* “anathema” and, in the second one, through the normal meaning of this term, on account of the dietary law forbidding consumption of pork to Muslims and Jews. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **marranada**, **marranalla**, **marrancho**, **marranchón**, **marranería** and **marranillo**.

**marranxeta**: see **almarraja**.

**marrar** (Cs.) “to miss (a target)”: in view of the difficulties for a satisfying Rom. etymon, this word is likely to derive from And. *márr* < Cl.Ar. *marr* “to pass by; to go away; to be lost” This matches also well with **marro**, the Cs. name of two different games, one of the a kind of quoits (which may ring the pin or miss it), and the second, a pursuit game in which running children often twist aside in order to avoid capture. There might also be a relation with two Cl.Ar. interjections, *marḥà*, used to applaud an Bowman’s hit, and *barḥà*, in case of failure.

**marras**, **de** — (Cs.) “in question”: < And. *ḡi márra* “this (occurred) once”,<sup>872</sup> used exactly so in IQ 48/3/2, in which the first word is not Rom., as some thought, but the Ar. fem. demonstrative. As for the obsolete Cs. adverb **marras** “long ago”, it is not the starting point, but a partial reuse of the whole idiom.

**márrega**: see **almáfega**.

**marro**: see **marrar**.

**marroaz** “big-headed” and **marruaz** “a kind of boat” (Pt.): derive from And. *mirwās* “big-headed”, only attested as a kind of arrow, which could only be so called on account of having an iron head larger than average, while that boat would be so designated because of its speed, compared to that of an arrow.

**marromaque**: see **margomar**.

**marroquí(n)** and **marrueco** (Cs.), **marroquí** (Ct.), **marroquino** (Gl.) and **marroqui(m)**

See additional data and bibliography in Cervera 1997:87–88 and fn. 22.

<sup>872</sup> This syntagm could also be analyzed as a sequence of a relative pronoun and a perfective verb, “which has preceded”, considering the normal use in Ar. of the verb *marr(u)* to express something which has happened or appeared before and the occasional preservation, even

lengthening of final /u/ in pause, even in some Neo-Ar. dialects (see Corriente 1975:48 and fn. 2). It is easy to imagine that an Old Ar. dial. phrase *alkalām(u) ḡi marr(u)* was reinterpreted, when that relative shape disappeared and survived only as demonstrative, as “words (said) this (was) once”, i.e., in the old days. The connotation of iteration in Cs. is intra-Rom.

(Pt., with the var. **marroquino**) “Moroccan”: is a mod. word, documented in the 16th c. in both languages. It cannot derive, *pace* DRAE, from Neo-Ar. **\*\*marrākušī**, on obvious phonetic grounds, nor from Naf. **\*\*mārūkī**, as Machado propounded, a very recent borrowing from European languages, but it is an intra-Rom. gentile suffixation, only in Cs. with the suffix of Ar. origin, attached to the place name **Marrocos** (Pt.) < Neo-Ar. *marrākuš*, with regular loss of the metanalyzed Rom. pl. suffix. Chronological considerations exclude a Fr. phase. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **marroquineria**; Ct.: **marroquineria**; Pt.: **marroquinar**, **marroquinaria** and **marroquineiro**.

**marruaz**: see **marroaz**.

**marsa** (Pt., only in Morais) “bay formed by sinking of an eroded valley”: seems to be a reflex of Ar. *marsā* “port”, but the lack of dating and sources makes uncertain the case of this word, which does not appear to be assimilated.

**marungo** (Pt.) “tribute”; is a late borrowing of the 16th c., used in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *marsum* “pay, stipend” < Ar. *marṣūm* “decree; precept”

**martabão** and **martabana** (Pt.) “a kind of glazed vessel”: < Ar. or Neo-P. *martabān*, a place in Burma in which they were made.<sup>873</sup> Cf. **maçapão**.

**martabela**: see **tarabela**.

**ma(r)tafallar** (Val., contaminated by **martellejar**) “to pound”: an immediate derivation from And. **\*\*maḥāna** = Cl.Ar. **\*\*mīḥanah** “grindstone” is semantically questionable, as the talk does not go about grinding, but rather about hammering, which points to And. *mātana* “mallet” (cf. Cs. **abatánar**, from **batan**, q.v.), it being conceivable that, because of the similar result, a Rom. hybrid verb **\*maṭan**+**ÁR** would be contaminated with another, formed on *maḥāna*, i.e., **\*MATAFAN**+**EL**+**ÁR**, with the outcome of the entry.

**martagão** (Pt.) and **martagón**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Gl.) “martagon lily, Turkish-cap lily (*Lilium martagon*)”: through Fr., < Tr. *martagan* “a kind of turban”, by a botanic metaphor. The Tr. term is obsolete, recorded only in Red-house’s dictionary, while mod. works call this plant **\*\*kirmızı zambak** “red lily”

**martagón**<sup>2</sup> and **martaguilla**: see **almártaga**.

**martak**: see **almártaga**<sup>2</sup>.

**màrtava** (Ct.) “turn”: < And. *mártaba* < Cl.Ar. *martabah*.

**marteguilla**: see **almártaga**.

**martín** “word expressing that something is paid religiously” (Anl.): might derive from And. *martáyn* “twice”, considering that substandard monophthongization is documented enough<sup>874</sup> and that contamination with the Cs. pr.n. would have furthered it.

**martiz** (with the var. **merhites**, **mertis**, **martices** and **mailhu/tytz**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 104 and 106, < Neo-Ar. *marhīṣ* < Gr. *murrīṣ lithos* “a stone having the colour of myrtle”

**maruà**, **marual**, **maruanet** and **maruell**: see **marguà**.

**maruira** or **maruyra** “a stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1192, perhaps < Gr. *Merōē* “Nubia”, which would tally well with the description, but it is strange that the suffixation is not Gr., but rather Ar.

**marvil** (Pt.) and **marbi** (Leo., in García Arias 2006:207), “lining fabric”: is recorded only by Morais, dated in the 12th c., < And. *mar(a)wī* = Ar. *marwī*, gentile of Merv, in Central Asia, a name given to some cotton fabrics, according to DS and DAA.

**marxamo**: see **marchamo**.

**marzagani** and Pl. **marzaganía** (Pt., with var.) “soldiers of the sultan of Morocco”: are corrupted forms of Mor. *mxazni* and *mxaznəyya*, masc. attributive adjective and matching collective pl., respectively, of the etymon of **majzén**, q.v.s.v. **almacén**. Note the

<sup>873</sup> See information about this term in *Journal Asiatique* 1 (1847) 252, fn. 31.

<sup>874</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.4.2, to which cases of monophthongization aimed at producing a rhyme must be added, as in IQ 66/1/1 **\*\*hawīt**

por **\*\*hawāyt** and other instances in paragraph 1.3.2.1 of Corriente 1980a:26. The idea of doing two favours in one day is expressed precisely by *mar(ru)táyn* in one of the proto-*zajals* contained in the prologue of IQ (see Corriente 1995:18).

/r/ match of velar /x/, comparable to the case in **maxilar**, always in Pt. dialects velar realization of the vibrant phoneme. Cf. **reiso**.

**marzapán**: see **maçapão**.

**márzega**: see **almáfega**.

**masamuda** (Cs.) "member of the Maṣmūdāh Br. tribe": is a contemporary historiographical term, designating the tribe from which the Almohads emerged. However, this is an infelicitous spelling, with an unnecessary distortion of the original term, and also disregarding the Medieval Ar. term **mazmodina**, q.v.

**masarró**: see **zaharrón**.

**máscara** (Cs., Gl. and Ar., borrowed from Ct.) "mask" and **màscara** or **mascara** (Ct.) "masked person": through It., almost surely from Ar. *masxarah* "laughing stock", while Ct. **masca** "witch", **mascàra** "soot" and **mascarar** "to soot" would hark back, as Coromines says, to a Germanic or Celtic etymon. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (en)**mascarar**, **desenmascarar**, **mascarero** and **mascareta**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **mascarada**; Cs. and Ct.: **mascarilla**; Cs. and Gl.: **mascarón**; Ct.: **mascareta**, (des)**emmascarar**, **mascarassa**, **mascarat**, **mascaró**, **mascarot** and **mascarell**; Pt.: **mascarado** and **mascarão**.

**mascorrota**: see **macarota**.

**masdeísmo** and **masdeísta**: see **mazdeísmo**.

**mase**: see **nase**.

**maseda** "a child's disease" (with a corrupted var. **maqueda** in GP 104): is an unassimilated medical term, from DAX 1194,<sup>875</sup> prob. < Ar. *maṣḍaf* "rupture, (scrotal) hernia"

**masedría**: see **almacería**.

**masera**: see **almesere**.

**masicote** (Gl.), **massicot** (Ct.), **mazacote** (Cs., with the old var. **maçaconia**, in GP 103)

and **mazaco** (Sal., backformed as if from an aug.): "barilla ashes (used by potters)", and **massicote** (Pt.) "lead oxide (for the same job)": < Fr. *massicot* or It. *mar/zzacotto*, folk etymology of Neo-Ar. *maṣḥaḡunyā* < Syr. *mēšāḥ qūnyā* "kali ointment", a hybrid compounded by Syr. *mēšāḥ* "ointment" and Gr. *konía* "glaze for pottery".<sup>876</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **amazacotado** and **mazacotudo**.

**masmondina**: see **mazmodina**.

**masmorra** and **mat(a)mor(r)a** (Pt.), **masmorra** (Ct.) and **mazmorra** (Cs. and Gl.) "(silo used as a) prison": < And. *maṣmūra* = Cl.Ar. *maṣmūrah* "silo", as they were commonly used for that purpose. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **masmorreiro**.

**masmudina**: see **mazmodina**.

**masora** (Cs. and Gl.) and **massorá** (Pt., better stressed in Sephardic pronunciation) "Masora, textual criticism of the Hb. Bible": is a contemporary philological term, < Hb. *massorāh* "tradition" Intra-Rom. der. (with learned Gr. suffixation): Cs.: **masoreta** and **masorético**; Pt.: **massoreta** and **massorético**.

**massamorda**, **massamorro** and **masapão**: see **maçapão**.

**masseta**: see **mansega**.

**massetja**: see **bassetja**.

**massicot(e)**: see **masicote**.

**massorá**, **massoreta** and **massorético**: see **masora**.

**massul** (Pt.) "total sum of tax collection": is a mod. word, used in India, < Hindi *maḥsūl* < Neo-P. *maḥṣul* "total collection" < Ar. *maḥṣūl* "result, product"

**mastaba** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "mastaba, kind of Egyptian tomb": is a contemporary archaeological term, borrowed through Fr. or Eng., < Eg.Ar. *maṣṭabah* "bench", prob. metathesis of \**maḥṣaḡah* "flat place"

<sup>875</sup> The editors add "of the brain with epileptic symptoms", perhaps because they consulted an Arabist who thought this was an error for *maṣraṣ*, which then has been equalled with Ar. *ṣarṣ* "epilepsy" (cf. *alsarha*), but all of this is erroneous, no less than Nykl's decision to transcribe Ar. *maṣaddah* and render it as

"constipation" Our proposal is not reflected anywhere as a medical term, but at least is semantically probable, and tallies well with the context "child protected from m.; let crying not hurt him"

<sup>876</sup> See Corriente 1985:142.

**mastrear**: see **almastrén**.

**matafallar**: see **martafallar**.

**matafalúa**, **matafaluga** and **matalahúv/ga**: see **batafalúa**.

**matafió** and **matafiol**: see **botafió**.

**mataje** "melon plot" (Anz.): < Ar. *mabṭaxah*, noun of place of the etymon of **albudeca**, q.v.; curiously enough, its expectable And. reflex, *\*mabṭáxa*, by sheer coincidence is not documented in any other way.

**matalaf**, **matalá/ás**, **matalasser(ia)**, **matalofada** and **matalofejár**: see **almadraque**.

**matal/rote** "worn-out horse" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991: even the standard Cs. **matalón** or **matalote** does not derive from **matar** or **matadura**, but from And. *mabṭúl* "cripple", or its synonym *mubṭal*, with alternate Rom. suffixation and folk etymology.

**matamor(r)a**: see **masmorra**.

**matarafe**, **materafe** and **metrah** "silken fabric" (Leo., in DO 262): < Ar. *muṭrif*,<sup>877</sup> the author is right, on account of the semantic arguments provided by the quoted contexts, upon stating that this word is different from the reflexes of **almadraque**, which is also valid for in LHP 379: therefore, Corriente 2004b: 86, erroneously suggesting a var. of **almadraque**, must be emended.

**matarife**: see **magarefe**.

**matarile**, **rile**, **rile**, **matarile**, **rile**, **ro**, **chimpón**: is the popular refrain of a nursery rhyme, prob. reflecting And. *ma tarí li, rí li...rúd, júd*, **BÓN** "what you are going to guess, guess it for me, ... answer, well, handsome!"<sup>878</sup>

**mata-selva** (Mall.) "honeysuckle (*Lonicera* spp.):" is a folk etymology and phonetic adaptation of And.Rom. **MAṬREŠÉLBA**.

**mate<sup>1</sup>**: see **escacs**.

**matelàs** and **matlaf**: see **almadraque**.

**maticarse** "to acquire bad habits", (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:278): appears to be a Rom. hybrid verb based on And. *muṣattiq*, participle of the verb *ṣattāq* < Cl.Ar. *ṣattaq* "to make old"

**matmor(r)a**: see **masmorra**.

**matraca** (Cs., Arag. and Ct.) "wooden rattle" and "loom" (Can., with a semantic evolution, on account of some similarity in their sound): < And. *maṭraqa* < Cl.Ar. *miṭraqah* "hammer", also with a considerable semantic shift, which suggests the possibility of a different etymon, based on the And. root {ḥṭr}, as in the case of **matraco**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **matraquear** and **matraquista**; Ct. **matracada** and **matraquejador**; Ct. and Pt. **matraquejar**; Pt.: **matracar**. Cf. **atarracar**.

**matraco** (Cs.) "country bumpkin": is prob. reflex of *\*muḥaṭraq*, within the series of der. of the And. root {ḥṭr},<sup>879</sup> contained an attested synonymous *ḥaṭraj/l*. Of the same origin is prob. **matruco** "silly" (Anz.), with suffix alternance. Cf. **madraço**.

**matral** (Arag.) "dam made of dirt": < And. *matrāba* "heap of dirt", place name semantically more conservative than Cl.Ar. *matrabah* "misery", with loss of the weak last vowel and metanalysis of the Rom. suffix {+ÁL}.

**matraquear**, **matraquejador** and **matraquista**: see **matraca**.

<sup>877</sup> More accurately, from an And. reflex *\*muṭraf*, with the morphological simplification dealt with in AAR 71 and 74, and/or characteristically And. voice indistinctness in the participles of derived forms, *ibidem*, p. 101. In disagreement with the author's opinion, as is habitual in Ar. loanwords, none of the var. reflects the pl. *\*muṭārif*.

<sup>878</sup> This song (preceded in some versions by **ambo hato**, possibly, And. *a muṣāṭṭal* "you, slow chap") is part of a game, in which the keys of a castle have supposedly been lost and a female

soothsayer is to say where they are. Cf. references to other Ar. loanwords and phrases used in children's games in 2.2, and instances of *naẓār* and *ná* "to see" in the sense of "to guess" in IQ 84/11/1 y 3. The closing And.Rom. item might be rendering the And. adverb *júd*, as in other cases of IQ, surveyed by García Gómez, and in *alabí*, *alabá...BON BÁD*, q.v., although we are inclined to believe that **BÓN** means "handsome" here, as it often does in the *xarajāt* (see Corriente 1997a:362).

<sup>879</sup> See Corriente 1993c.



**matràs** (Ct.), **matrás** (Pt.) and **matraz** (Cs. and Gl.) “matrass”: is a Rom. aug. of Neo-Ar. *maṭar(ah)*, a haplological der. of Gr. *\*metrētēs*,<sup>880</sup> prob. through It. However, in the meaning of “quarrel, arrow of a cross-bow”, Ct. **matràs** derive, instead, from And. *matrád* < Cl.Ar. *miṭrad*, with contamination of the sg. by the pl., logically more frequent, *\*matrats*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **matrassar** and **matrasser**. Cf. **matraxi**.

**matraxi** (Pt., only in Morais) “Tr. water carrier”: is a mod. borrowing, from Tr. *mataraci*, < Neo-Ar. mentioned as etymon of **matràs**, q.v., with the Tr. suffix of noun of profession.

**matraz**: see **matràs**.

**matrazo** (Arag.) “stone or beam in an oil mill”: < And. *\*matrás*<sup>881</sup> = Cl.Ar. *miṭra/ās* “crossbar”. Cf. **alpartàs**.

**matre(i)ro**: see **mofatra**.

**matroca**, **matrojo** and **matrucar**: see **almadroc**.

**matruco**: see **matraco**.

**matruecas** “blockhead” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:208): is prob. an Ar. loanword, although it is questionable whether it is related to **almadroc** or to **matraco**, q.v.

**matul** (Cs.) “bundle of handfuls of tobacco leaves”: < And. *maṭūl* = Cl.Ar. *maṭūl*. Cf. **matula**.

**matula** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “wick: is a term documented in the 15th c., prob. taken from the Mudejar idiolect, with mere simplification of the strange consonant cluster in And. *maṭūla* = Cl.Ar. *maṭūlah*, after Coromines, it being evident that in the spelling **mattula**, the first >t< is either an error or a bad reading of >f<. As for **matula** “fox” (Anz. and Anl.), this meaning might be a metonymy of

the standard, by allusion to the long tail of that animal, although its frequent euphemistic designations offer other possibilities, e.g., And. *maṭūla* “cripple”, while **matulejo** “tool used by belt makers for engraving” (Anl.) might be just another case of metonymy of animal names transferred to utensils, e.g., Cs. **alcotana**, q.v., **gato** “lifting jack”, **gavilán** “iron hook”, **burra** (cf. **asnado**), etc.

**matusalén** (Cs., with the old var. **matusaleno**) and **matusalém** (Pt.) “old as Methuselah”: through Bib.Lt. *Mathusala* and var. < Hb. *mētušālēh*, pausal form of *mētušēlāh*, pr.n. of a Patriarch of the Old Testament, renowned for his longevity.

**matxarra**: see **almarraja**.

**mauraca** and **moraga** (Cs.) “outdoor roasting of fish or fruit” and **moraga** (Ct.) “roasted ears of grain or olives”: < And.Rom. and And. *mawraq* “entrails (added to sausages)”, of pre-Rom. origin, shared by **morcón**, **morcilla**, etc., a term extant in *Vocabulista in arabico* which would semantically evolve to mean pig slaughter, the roasting and chores done on such occasions and, under the shape of **moraga/o** “a handful or ears of grain” Ext. **moraga** “meat sample for tasting at pig slaughters” is a semantic evolution. The Ar. etymon propounded by former editions of DRAE and accepted by Coromines, *\*muḥraqah* “burnt” is unsuitable not only phonetically, as the older diphthong is so left unexplained, but above all semantically, as these products are never burnt, but just roasted before consumption; the latest edition of DRAE adopted our etymon. Intra-Rom. der. Cs.: **amoragar**; Val.: **moragar** “to ripen (said of grapes)”, Ib. **moragada** “small fried fish”

**maural**: see **marual**.

<sup>880</sup> The opinion expressed by Fleischer 1881–85 in the sense that this word would be an evolution of Ar. *\*maṭharah* is not acceptable, as it only means a vessel or place for purifying or cleaning oneself.

<sup>881</sup> This etymon is corroborated by the synonymous And. term *\*tuxtún*, used as a metonymy and mocking nickname of a certain person endowed with a huge penis in a heretofore dark passage of Almaqqarī’s *Nafḥ aṭṭīb* (ed.

I. Ṣabbās 1968: I 534, previously quoted by Dozy 1855–61: I 350–1 and recently studied by Montaner 1998:59). The Arag. term is defined as “each of the wooden pieces or props holding the back part of a press or the beam in oil mills when the counterweight is hung” in a book of instructions from Binéfar, mentioned by Coll y Altabás in a *Colección de voces usadas en la Litera*, according to an information provided by Prof. Montaner.

**maymón:** see **maimó**.

**maxilar** (Pt.) “sash”: is a late borrowing, documented in the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean which, for obvious phonetic reasons, cannot derive, *pace* Machado, from Ar. *\*mintaḡah* “belt”. Neither is that meaning prob. correctly understood in the context quoted by that author, as it rather suggests Neo-Ar. *mašlah* “a kind of cloak”. Note the reflex /r/ of /h/; cf. **re(i)so** and **marzaganí**.

**maxmorden:** “worthless man”: is a hapax recorded by Diego de Guadix (in Bajo Mañilo 2005:791), prob. a Rom. hybrid with the aug. suffix of And. *mašmút* “reviled”, with some contamination in its cauda.

**mazaco(te) and mazaco(tudo):** see **masi-cote**.

**mazacuca** “a kind of truffle” and **mazacuco** “packsaddle” (Anl.): perhaps from And. *maškūk* = Cl.Ar. *maškūk* “slapped on the neck”, most humiliating among Arabs and sometimes considered as an allusion to cuckoldom. As for its first meaning, it can be explained considering that truffles in Southern Spain and Morocco are usually of inferior quality, although of course there are many possible metonymies, both in Ar. and Rom.

**mazal** (Pt.) “fate”: < Hb. *mazzāl* “fate, luck” < Ak. *maz(z)altu* “position of a star”.<sup>882</sup> This is also the origin of hybrid Cs. **desmazalado** “dejected”, and its metathetical var. **desmalazado**, Pt. **desmazelar** and **desmazelo**, not Lt. *\*\*malaxatus*, *pace* DRAE.

**mazamorra and mazapán:** see **maçapão**.

**mazar** (Gl.) “to touch up”: appears to reflect And. *máss* < Cl.Ar. *mass* “to touch”, used with the same connotation in the And. *xarjah* CMI5, of a Hb. *muwaššah*.<sup>883</sup>

**mazarí:** see **maçarí**.

**mazaroca and mazarota:** see **maçaroca**.

**mazarrón** (Cs.) “tax evasion or fine for it”: is prob. a hybrid Rom. aug. of And. *mašárr* “purse”, backformed as n.inst. of Cl.Ar. *surrah* of the same meaning. Cf. **almazarrón**, **surraõ** and **zaharrón**.

**mazarugo** (Arag., with the var. **mazeruco** and **zamarugo**) “silly”: may be a semantic evolution of a hybrid word with the Rom. pejorative suffix /+ÚK/, formed on And. *zammár* = Cl.Ar. *zammār* “flute player”, a profession often considered immoral, even in proverbs.<sup>884</sup> However, with the same suffix, the basic word could also be the Ar. etymon of **máscara**, q.v., admitting a semantic evolution “laughing stock > stupid”, but due consideration must be given to the var. **samaruc/go** “tadpole; silly”, with a first element matched by Basque *zapa-buru*. Cf. **zamborotudo**.

**mazdeísmo** (Cs. and Gl.), **mazdeisme** (Ct.) and **masdeísmo** (Pt.) “Mazdaism, Zoroastrianism” and **mazdeo** (Cs.), **mazdeísta** (Gl.) and **masdeísta** (Pt.) “Mazdean, Zoroastrian”: are contemporary historiographical terms, borrowed through Fr., and formed on the Avestan name, (*Ahura*) *Mazda*, of the supreme deity in that religion.

**mazeruco:** see **mazarugo**.

**mazmodina** (Cs., with the var. **mahoz-medín**), **maimudina** (Ct., with the var. **maimondina** and **masmondina**), **masmudina** (Arag.), **ma/ezmudinas** (Lit., in Arag. documents), **mace/omutina** (Lit., after Mateu y Llopis with other var.) and **mozmodi** (Pt.) “a coin”: < And. *mašmudī* = Cl.Ar. *mašmūdī*, gentile of the Br. tribe of Mašmūdah, place of origin of the Almohads, who minted it, whence also the attributive adjective **mezmud** (Lit., in Arag. documents, with the inflected var. **muzmutus**, in DO 272, **muzmutos**, **muzmuti** and **muzmutorum**, very common in Maya *et al.* 1990:II 10,6, II 101,6, II 102,1 and 12, II 103,1

<sup>882</sup> Sephardic Jews must have used this term often, independently of how familiar they were with Hb., as in the case of present-day *mazzāl ʔov* “congratulations”, lit., “good luck”, among Jews not necessarily conversant with that language.

<sup>883</sup> See Corriente 1997a:221. It had not been commented upon in previous works, although

registered under N° 175 since Schirrmann 1965.

<sup>884</sup> For this reason, the famous poet Ibn Zamrak or Zumruk altered his family name in that manner, which appears in Morisco sources as Zamrūk: see Labarta 1987:243, with the var. Zambaroc(h), Zamboroc, Zanbrac, etc.

and 8, II 104,3 and II 109,1) "Almohad", with frequent loss of the reflex of the *nisbah* suffix. Cf. *masamuda*.

**mazmorra**: see *masmorra*.

**mazmudinas**: see *mazmodina*.

**mazorc/ga**: see *maçaroca*.

**mazur** (Pt.): this term is mentioned by Machado, without any meaning, as characteristic of India and documented in the 18th c., < Ar. *manzūr* "(regarded as) correct", through Neo-P. *manzur* "approved, acceptable, well-regarded."

**meari** (Pt.) "Mehari": through Fr. *méhari*, < Ar. *mahrī*, gentilic of Mahrah, a region of South Arabia, whence this breed is native. Some dictionaries, like Webster's, resort to the Cl.Ar. pl. *mahārī* to explain this borrowing, but in fact that transcription is a mere device by which the French have tried to reproduce /h/ and a following non-phonemic *shewa*, from Naf. *māhri*. Other dictionaries speak of "racing dromedaries", which is pleonastic, as dromedaries are by definition and etymology "racing camels" (< Gr. *dromás kámēlos*), about which, cf. *camelho*.

**Meca** (Cs.) "Mecca": this place name appears in idioms like *de Ceca en Meca* (q.v., also Ct. *per Ceca i Meca*), *bálsamo de La Meca* "balm of Gilead (Commiphora opobalsamum)" and *paja de Meca* "camel grass (Andropogon schoenanthus)", with or without the definite article, and little or no

awareness of its meaning, < And. *mákka* = Cl. Ar. *makkah*,<sup>885</sup> the city of Alḥijāz famous as hometown of Muhammad and centre of the Islamic cult.

**mecadatin**: see *mucadahati*.

**mecano** (Cs.) "Meccan": is a gentilic formed with Rom. suffixation on the place name *Meca*, q.v.

**meccales**: see *metical*.

**mecelemo**: see *maeda*.

**mecerí**: see *maçarí*.

**mechal(e)s, mechalia and mec(h)als**: see *metical*.

**mechinal** (Cs.) and **michinal** (Ar.) "put-log hole": < And.Rom. reflected by And. *mač(i)nár*<sup>886</sup> < Lt. *māchīnāle*.

**mecne**: see *mezne*.

**mectal**: see *metical*.

**med** "dilatation": is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:135, < Ar. *madd*.

**médão** (Pt.) and **médano** (Cs. and Gl.) or **medaño** (Cs.) "sandbank" and **méngano** "dune" (Anl., by mere distortion): < And. *máydan* = Cl.Ar. *maydān*,<sup>887</sup> designating any esplanade, especially of sand and appropriate for races, battles, etc. From the same etymon are *maidão* (Pt.) "square, place", an unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., and *midā* "lists for jousts", from North African or Indian campaigns. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **medanoso**.

**medaruzan**: see *derezi*.

<sup>885</sup> Apparently an abridgment of Sar. *mkrb* "sanctuary" (cf. *Gəʔəz məkʔrub*, to judge from the Lt. form *Macoruba*, in Claudio Ptolomeo (see Conti Rossini 1931:34).

<sup>886</sup> Documented as >*mjynr*<, after Simonet, in a legal deed from Almería.

<sup>887</sup> The same etymon is found in Russian *majdan*, derived by Vasmer 1996:II 559 from Tr. *maidan* (presently spelled *meydan*), without entering the somewhat problematic origin of this, as Neop. *maydān* is often considered as a loan from Ar., in spite of morphological appearances. The locative suffix [-*dān*] is characteristically Iranian, but the base is questionable, as *may* in Pahl. means "wine", which has generated the hypothesis of Šir 1990:148, that in principle *maydān* was the tavern or place where wine was consumed, and later a battlefield. No matter how

untrustworthy this Persian scholar at times may be, he may well have been right this time, not only because drinking parties usually ended up in bitter scuffles, but also because in Ar. poetry, since pre-Islamic times, the metaphors of death in battle as the cup offered by the champions to their foes, and of the battle as the place where such deadly rounds are served had become commonplace. The semantic juncture between "battle" and "tavern" is not entirely absent from other periods and places, as reflected by the famous anecdote of the nipping answer given by a veteran to Frederick the Great who, while reviewing his troops and noticing a terrible scar in his face, asked him in which tavern he had been so badly treated: "In Lützen, Sire, where we were honoured by having Your Majesty pay for the rounds".

**meded** “restoring thing”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:236, < Ar. *madad*.

**medebich** (with the var. **maduz**) “a kind of bizedi”, q.v., is an unassimilated term, from GP 107, < Neo-Ar. *maḡbanj*.<sup>888</sup>

**medeni** “varix”:<sup>889</sup> is an unassimilated pathological term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981: 155–158, < Ar. (*ṣirq*) *madanī*, lit., “Medinan vein”. Cf. **medinés**.

**médico** and **medo** (Cs. and Pt.), **mèdic** and **mede** (Ct.) “Median, gentile of Media”: are der., through Lt. and Gr., of Old Persian *māda*, name of that Iranian country.

**medina** (Cs.) “fillet... as decoration of a ceiling with carved work”: in López de Arenas 1912:179, is prob. a metonymy of the wall surrounding a city.

**medinés** (Cs.) “Medinan; gentile of any town called Medina”: is a hybrid, formed with the Rom. gentile suffix, on Medina, reflex of And. *madīna* = Cl.Ar. *madīnah* < Aram. *mēdīn(t)ā* “capital city”, lit., “district capital with a court of justice”. Cf. **medeni** and **almedina**.

**medronhal**, **medronheira/o** and **medronho**: see **madroño**.

**mehala**: see **alfafala**.

**mehctal**: see **metical**.

**mehuar**: see **almehuar**.

**meibe** or **miua** “must boiled to a syrup”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:37, < Neo-Ar. *maybah* “quince syrup” < Neo-P. *may beh*.

**meimão**: see **maimó**.

**meisusen**: see **almesusen**.

**mejala**: see **alfafala**.

**mejunje**: see **majum**.

**melancia** (Pt., with the var. **balancia**) “a kind of watermelon of Indian origin”: in spite of its late documentation only in the 16th c. and of its Eastern origin, it might derive from the And. gentile **\*balansiyyah** “Valencian (fem.)” (cf. **valançf**) if such a variety had an

authority, which is not the case so far. Another possibility is a folk etymology of And. *mallísi*, corrupted from Cl.Ar. *imlīsī* “having a smooth peel”, a very common botanical and agricultural term.

**melech** “(mineral) salt” (with a var. **milh** in GP 108): is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:239, < Ar. *milh*.

**melena** (Cs., Gl., Pt. and Ast., after García Arias 2006:209) “yoke pad for draught oxen”: this meaning appears to be the original one (found also in dial. Pt. *meleia*) before the others, such as “mane”, which have prevailed. Given the difficulty to find another appropriate etymon for this item, it may well reflect Ar. *\*mulayyinah*, agentive participle more closely matched by dial. Pt. *muleia* of Beira Baixa, with the support of semantically parallel Ar. *laynah* “small cushion”. The first vowel would be explainable as a case of early Rom. vocalic harmonization in a very old borrowing or, as was expectable in high dates in northwestern areas, an occurrence of the Ar. participial prefix {ma+}, a characteristic “Yemenite” allomorph.<sup>890</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **desmelenar**, **melenera** and **meleno**; Cs. and Pt. **melenudo**.

**meli** (with the var. **almelm**, **lenelim**, **nielim**, **nyhel** and **hamelim**): is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 107 and 111, and DAX 1207, interpreted as “talc” and “asbestos”, with the comment “found in the lakes of Cyprus”, a possible corruption of Lt. *ālūmēn*, “alum”, through the Lt. accusative *\*alumine(m)*, perhaps merely transmitted to And.Rom., without an Ar. phase. Cf. **hamelin**.

**mèlica** (Ct.) “a vessel from Málaga”: < an And. var. *\*máliqa* of the Arabicized name of that city, *mālaqah*.

**melina**: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:239, interpreted by Ruyzes with three meanings: emollient medicaments, an instrument with a

<sup>888</sup> Documented only by Ruska 1912, according to Nykl in his unpublished GP. The Persian shape is obvious, but it is not recorded as such by the dictionaries of this language; it might be a corruption of *\*māde biḡād*, lit., “female bizedi”, with Pahl. syntax, which tallies well with the

text under consideration, which defines it as of lower quality, after a well-known terminological usage.

<sup>889</sup> With a var. **medini** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178.

<sup>890</sup> See AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7b, p. 75.

sharp sound, and a kind of soil. All in all, it is a complex entry; its first meaning obviously corroborates our hypothesis about the etymon of *melena*, q.v., but the remaining two are not yielding to etymological analysis.

**melique** (Pt.) “petty king in India”: is a mod. borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Hindi *malik* < Neo-P. *malek* < Ar. *malik* “king”

**melqui and melquín**: see *malaguf*.

**melquisedeciano** (Cs.) “Melchizedekian, adherent of an old sect”: is a hybrid der., with Rom. suffixation, formed through Lt., from the Hb. pr.n. *malkisedeq*.

**melquita** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) “Melchite, adherent of a Middle Eastern Christian community”: so called, through Gr. and Lt., on account of their acceptance of the decrees of the concile of Calchedon in 401, proclaiming the existence of two natures and one person in Christ, with the support of the emperor Marcianus, < Syr. *malkā* “the king”, so that this doctrine became official in the Bizantian emperors, opposed to the Monophysites.

**méma** “turban” (Jud.-Sp.): < And. *šimāma* = Cl.Ar. *šimāmāh*.

**menay gambuyo**: (dial. Cs.) this expression of rejection of braggartism, recorded in Baza by Gómez Ortín, seems to reflect And. *min áy qambúšu* “Whence did he get a cap (being neither a babe nor a lady)?”

**mencajar**: see *ma/oncaje*.

**mencal**: see *metical*.

**mencalada**: see *bancada*.

**mençales**: see *metical*.

**meneffi** (with the var. *menefix* and *nefitiz*): is an unassimilated technical term, de GP 108, < Neo-Ar. (*hajar*) *manfi* “Memphitic (stone)”

**mendruço**: see *almadroc*.

**mengano** (Cs.) “so-and-so”: this second term of the series *fulano*,—and *zutano* (q.v.) appears to derive, as propounded by Asín 1944:34,<sup>891</sup> from And. *man kán* = Cl.Ar. *man kán* “whoever”. All three are very early loan-words, without *imālah*. Cf. *manquil*.

**méngano**: see *médão*.

**menjuí**: see *benjuí*.

**menjun/rje**: see *majum*.

**menque/ib açoraya** “the Pleiades’ shoulder”, and **menque/ib elgeuze** “Orion’s shoulder”: are two unassimilated astronomical terms, from GP 107, identified by Kunitzsch as Xi Persei and Alpha Orionis, respectively; < Neo-Ar. *mankib aṭṭarayyā / aljawzāʾ*.

**menquib** (with the var. *mengeub*) **alfaraz** “the horse’s shoulder”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 107, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:132 and 182 as Beta Pegasi, < Neo-Ar. *mankib alfaras*.

**mequetrefe** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **macatrefla** (Ct.) “insignificant fellow”: the contamination with *meço* propounded by Coromines is probable, but he has undervalued the Ar. etymon *muḡ/xatṛif* “arrogant, conceited”, suggested by Eguílaz and accepted by DRAE, as And. *muxatṛif* is witnessed in *Vocabulista in arabico*, and the use of the root {ḡ/xṛf/s} is corroborated by *alcatraz* and *almocatracia*, q.v. However, the late documentation of this term in the 17th c. might point to a Morisco item.

**mequinecí** (Cs.) “from Meknes, in Morocco”: is a term excerpted from Mármol by Eguílaz, < Mor. *məknasi*, gentilic of that city, although the stress position is only due to the Cs. rule for the use of its Orientalizing suffix.

**merbelí**: see *marbellí*.

**mercal**: see *metical*.

Although one must be on guard against his constant fancies and the consequences of his rather scanty Ar. In this case, as often, he did not fully understand the Ar. phrase which he considers a witness, and it is not, despite Coromines’ acceptance, *daš fulān ibnu mān kán*, not meaning, as he thought, “never mind so-and-so, son of such and such”, but “never mind whose

son is so-and-so” On the other hand, this phrase may be a witness in favour of his hypothesis that *mengano* is the Rom. result of those three last words, i.e., “whosever son he is”, meaning somebody whose father or family is unknown, in the same manner as “bastard” is said *\*ibnu abih*, lit., “son of his father”.

**merçen:** see **almircen**.

**merém** (Pt.) "ointment for wounds caused in shearing" and **maram/n** "ointment": from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:235: the Ar. etymon *marham* "ointment" is valid, *pace* Machado, as the rule of article agglutination in Ar. loanwords has many exceptions, and the absence of any reflex for the phoneme /h/ is not infrequent, e.g., **adarme** and Cs. **rejalgar**. Cf. **mara malrasul**.

**merhites:** see **martiz**.

**meri**<sup>1</sup> "oesophagus": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1981:158–161, < Ar. *marīʿ*?

**meri**<sup>2</sup>: see **adal**.

**merideño** (Cs.) "from Merida": is a gentilic with Rom. suffixation, formed on that place name, from And. *márida* < Lt. *Emērita*.

**mertis:** see **martiz**.

**mesc:** see **almíscar**.

**mécia** (Pt., only in Morais) "part of an oil mill causing the olives to fall under the millstone": this term requires more information, as it might derive from Ar. or And.Rom., like most technical terms of this industry.

**mesera/e:** see **almesere**.

**mesias** (Cs. and Gl.), **messias** (Pt.) and **messies** (Ct.) "Messiah": through Bib.Lt. *Messīās* < Hb. *mēšīāh* "anointed". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mesiazgo**; Cs. and Gl.: **meslánico** and **meslanismo**; Ct.: **messiànic**, **messianisme** and **messianitat**; Pt.: **messiânico**, **messianidade**, **messianismo**, **messianista** and **messianizar**.

**mesquer:** see **almíscar**.

**mesquí** (Ct.), **mesquíño** (Gl.) **mesquinho** (Pt.), **mezquino** (Cs., with the old var. **mesquin(n)o** in GP 108) and **misquino** (Mur.) "mean, petty": < And. *miskīn* = Cl.Ar. *miskīn* < Aram. *miskēnā* < Ak. *muškēnu(m)* "subject of the palace", with an understandable semantic evolution towards poverty and precariousness and, already within Rom., towards moral misery. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mezquindad**, old terms in GP 108: **mesquinamient** and **mesquina mientre**; Mur.: **misquinear** and **misquinero** (in Gómez Ortín 1991:285); Ct.: **mesquinejar**, **mesquinesa**, **mesquindat** and **mesquiner(ia)**; Gl. and Pt.: **mesquindade**; Pt. **amesquinhamento**, (a)**mesquinhar**, **mesquinharia**, **mesquinhata** and **mesquinez(a)**.

**mesquita** (Ct., Gl. and Pt.) and **mezquita** (Cs., with the old var. **misquita** and **meç/squita**) "mosque": both Machado and Coromines suggest the interference of a language remote in time and place, Gr. or Armenian, as an explanation for the very early but anomalous transmission of Ar. *masjid* to Rom., with an occlusive match of /j/ and fem. gender.<sup>892</sup> But in fact, both phenomena are found also in the no less old Br. loanword, *tamazgida*, which is explained by the simple fact that the "Yemenites" were a majority among the first Muslim conquerors of the West, and they spoke dialects characterized by the preservation of that occlusive pronunciation and frequent hesitations in the use of noun gender and its morphemes. Neither has it been suspected that Mozarabs may have jestingly altered this term

<sup>892</sup> See Corriente 1976:95, fn. 3, about this phenomenon. The Br. form is rather anomalous, as it lacks the expectable fem. suffix /+t/, which means that Berberization was not complete, while the gender shift might have been caused by a South Semitic trend, or by confusion with *misjudah* "praying rug". At any rate, it does not seem that in this case the adoption of the fem. can be merely attributed to an intra-Rom. mix-up in the paralogical vowel, of the kind described in 1.1.4.4.1. It is striking that no less a philologist than Coromines would commit the anachronism of supposing that this term was imported on occasion of the Crusades, since the first of them did not reach the East before 1097, whereas the

first documentation of this Arabic loanword in Hispanic Rom. is a bit older. On the other hand, it cannot be believed that such a fundamental element of Islamic life had not immediately been reflected in the languages of the neighbouring Christian lands. Incidentally **Mexeta**, which Machado considered a synonym of this term transmitted in Eastern pronunciation, appears to be in the context he mentions just the Iranian place name Mašhad, capital city of the province of Khorasan, with an etymon absolutely unrelated to **mezquita**, namely, an Ar. word meaning "place of martyrdom", being the location of the tomb of the Imam ʿAlī Arriḍā, very venerated by the Šīʿah.

to make it sound like *\*ma/usqīta* “that which makes fall (in error)”, a possible explanation of European forms beginning with *mos-* in Fr., Eng. and Ger., even It. *moschea*, it being well-known that ultramontane Christians visiting Al-Andalus used to deal predominantly with their local coreligionists. It is also quite possible that the secondary meaning “dung” of the Ct. item has been brought about by the same kind of scoffing purposes.<sup>893</sup> Cf. *chiquero*.

**messiānic, messiānico, messianidade, messianismo/o, messianista, messianitat, messianizar and messia/es:** see *mesías*.

**mest:** see *almaset*.

**mesumad** (Cs.): this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from Baena's *Cancionero* in a Jewish context, reflects the Hb. legal term *mēšummād* “apostate”, it being noticeable that the hissing phoneme matched by a sibilant gives away the Lt. transmission, not Rom., which is paralleled by *mašmān* and *vijola*, q.v.

**met(e)al:** see *metical*.

**metelachlaha** “stirred substance, as when powder is boiled in water”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:136, prob. < Neo-Ar. *\*mutalaxlixah* “mixed like perfume”.<sup>894</sup>

**meterane** (Pt.) “bishop in Malabar”: is a mod. borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, from Gr. *mētropoliētēs*, through Syr. *mīrōpōlīā* or *mīrān* and its Malayalam reflex, as a consequence of the penetration of the Syriac Church in Southern India. Cf. *Almadran* and *almatran*.

**metharach** “moderate (exercise)”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:240, < Ar. *mutarāx(in)*.

**metical** (Pt., with the var. *almetegal*, and Cs., with the var. *men/rcal, mizcal*, etc.), *mechalia, mectal, mehtcal* and *methtecal*

(Leo., in DO 266) and *met(e)cal* (Lt., in Arag. documents, with the var. *metkal(e)s, meccales, mechal(e)s, mec(h)als, miscales, mencales, almekales, almetechales* and *almetecares*) “a monetary unit; dinar”: < And. *mīqāl* < Cl.Ar. *mīqāl*.

**metne:** see *mezne*.

**metrah:** see *matarafe*.

**metraphus** (Llr.) “a silken garment”: is a term recorded by DE and Eguílaz, apparently not reflected in Rom., < Ar. *miṭraf*.

**metridad** “an electuary”.<sup>895</sup> is an unasimilated pharmaceutical term; from Vázquez 1998:783, < Neo-Ar. *maṭrudīūs*.

**mexelim** (Pt.) “striped Indian fabric of silk and cotton”: is a mod. borrowing, produced by the campaigns in the Indian Ocean. On phonetic grounds, it cannot derive, *pace* Machado, from Ar. *\*mašrūl* “legal”, or its Neo-P. reflex; it might be a mere corruption of *musselina*, another fabric of cotton or silk, q.v.

**mexerufada** (Pt.) “hogwash”: exhibits the Rom. suffix expressing abundance and is prob. contaminated by *mexer* “to mix”, but its basic element is Ar. *mašrūb* “drunk”, an exact semantic match of >*byrāl*> in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs,<sup>896</sup> from Lt. *\*hiberaculum*, cf. Ct. *beurall* and Cs. *brebaje* “beverage”, particularly one given to oxen as a tonic.

**mexhmara:** see *almaçmara*.

**mexuar** (Pt., only in Morais, although a famous hall in the Alhambra receives the same denomination in Cs. sources and archaeological jargon) “counsel”: < And. *mašwār* < Cl.Ar. *mašwarah*.

**meymara:** see *almaçmara*.

**meyzim:** see *almuédano*.

**mez:** see *almez*.

**mezmud and mezmudinas:** see *mazmo-dina*.

<sup>893</sup> See Corriente 1996d:12–13. As a matter of fact, *maṣqāt* “dung” is witnessed by the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs cf. *almizcate*, being easily convertible into posited *\*ma/usqīta* which lends itself to that malicious pun.

<sup>894</sup> The authors' proposal, corrected as *muta-qulqil*, is not impossible, but the spelling is

likelier to suggest And. *laxlaxah* “perfume”, connected with the Neo-Ar. der. of [xlt], like dial. Eg. *luxbat*, Mor. *xarwat* “to mix up”, etc.

<sup>895</sup> The var. *metridato* in Vázquez 1998b apparently had no Ar. phase. Its likeness to *alsadritus* raises suspicions regarding identity.

<sup>896</sup> See Ferrando 1995:115 and fn. 6, where the correct reading is *\*BEBRĀL*.

**mezki** “brown” (Llt. in Cs. and Leo. documents): from LHP 395 (see Corriente 2004:86) and DO 267, < Ar. *miskī* “musk-like”

**mezne** (with a var. **met/cne**) **alfaraz** “the horse’s backbone”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 107, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:176 as Alpha Pegasi, < Neo-Ar. *matn alfaras*.

**mezquindad** and **mezquino**: see **mesquí**.

**mezquita**: see **mesquita**.

**mezre(o)** (Cs.) “Egyptian”: is an unassimilated item, from DAX 1232. Cf. **maçari**.

**mfa** (Cs.) “Moroccan twin company of infantry and cavalry”: is a contemporary borrowing, received during the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, < Mor. *mya* = Cl.Ar. *mīʾah* “one hundred”

**mibá**: see **almfbar**.

**mibachtegi**, (al) **miubegi** o **almiubutogi** “must boiled to a syrup”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:237, < Neo-Ar. *maybuxtaj* < Pahl. *may paxtag* “boiled wine”.<sup>897</sup>

**micar**<sup>1</sup>: see **marchal**.

**micar**<sup>2</sup>: see **machar**.

**mich(in)o**: see **moix**.

**midā**: see **médão**.

**mid(l)e** (Cs.): is an unassimilated term, recorded by Eguílaz as the Ar. name of the price of irrigation water for each **carmen**, q.v., although he was wrong upon trying to derive it from *\*muwaddā* “tribute”, which is phonetically impossible. In fact, the etymon is And. *mīl* “equivalent”, < Cl.Ar. *tamanu lmiṭl* “fair price”, it being noticeable that Alcalá occasionally transcribed this word as *midl*, proving the strong spirantization of Cs. /d/ in this position and contact voice assimilation of And. /l/.

**Mifsut** (Ct.): this Val. family name, of Malt., not And. origin (*mīfsud*), does not derive, *pace* Coromines, from the Ar. root *[fsd]*, with always negative connotations, but

from *[fsd]*, and therefore means “bled”, an indeed aristocratic allusion, as only the upper classes, overfed and underexercised, usually needed therapeutic phlebotomy against plethora, as accurately shown by IQ 38/30/3–4.

**migal** “shrewmouse”: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 1233, < Gr. *mugalēē*, through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**mihrab** (Cs.) “mihrab, prayer niche”: is a contemporary unassimilated archaeological term, < Ar. *mihṛāb*, apparently a dial. pronunciation of Sar. *>mhṛm* “sanctuary” (cf. Gəʿəz *māhram*). Pt. has a better assimilated form, **mirabe**, prob. taken from Fr. As for **mirabi**, excerpted by Machado from a poetical text of the 16th c., it is not surely a word of the same meaning, so that the data cannot be altered on this basis.

**mijara** (Cs.) “drain”: is a prob. unassimilated technical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, < And. *mijrá* = Cl.Ar. *majrā*. It should be ultima stressed.

**milh**: see **melech**.

**milicion**: see **ferfide**.

**mililitaz** (Cs.): is an unassimilated term, from GP 108, of which DAX 1264 **muludi/yntaz** might be a var., < Gr. *melittēs* “topaz”.<sup>898</sup>

**mil/noca**: see **albiñoca**.

**mim** “name of a letter” (Cs.): is an unassimilated term, from GP 109, < Ar. *mīm*.

**mimbar**: see **almimbar**.

**mina** “a stone” (Cs.): is an unassimilated term, from DAX 1233, in truth “enamel”, < Ar. *mīnā*, of Neo-P. origin.

**minar(ete)**: see **alminar**.

**mincara digea** “the hen’s beak”: (Cs.): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 109 (with the var. **mincar aldigei/ya** / **altigega** and, in DAX 596, **nuncara digeia**, s.v. **deneb**, without an entry of its own), a constellation identified by Kunitzsch 1959:69 as the Pleiades, < Neo-Ar. *mīnqār addajājāh*.

<sup>897</sup> Not to be mixed up with **meibe**, which is always made of quinces, while this item is always made with grapes, in a perfect match with the Neo-P. etyma.

<sup>898</sup> Which must have entered Neo-Ar., through

Syr. *>hytw* *mahlīṭīṭis* and *>myhyṭṭis* (see Payne Smith 1879–1901:1945 and 2091). DAX 1235 has also **mililitaz**, not far from other two stones, **mililitaz** and **miliztiz**, of problematic identification, as often in *Lapidario*.



**mindango** "loafer" and **mondongón** "lazy" (Mur. in Gómez Ortín 1991:284 and 288): are possible der. from And. *mudannáq* "glutton", with eventual Rom. suffixation, or from a superlative *\*midnáq*, unattested, but of a very frequent pattern. Cf. **maganto**.

**min(h)oca**: see **albinoca**.

**minixar** (Cs.) "pine bark, used as a tanning substance": is a word excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, although its etymon cannot be Ar. *\*mini ššūh* "from the pine", suggested by him, with a euphonic vowel impossible in And. and a dial. item, recorded by DS, but never documented in this dialect. Chances are that this word reflects And. *mand/išir* "sawdust", indirectly documented as the name of nodules caused by blepharitis, after DAA.

**mirquiez** "gnomon, indicator of the hour" (Cs.): is an unassimilated term, in GP 109, < Ar. *miqyās* "measuring instrument"

**mir** (Pt.) "a Persian title of respect": is a mod. borrowing, < Neo-P. *mir*, syncopated from Ar. *amīr* "prince" Cf. **emir**.

**miraba(r)** (Pt.) "port customs officer": is a mod. borrowing of the 16th c., used in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *mirbahār* "harbour master" < Ar. *amīru lbaḥr*, lit., "lord of the sea" Cf. **almirall**.

**mirabari** (Pt.) "exclusive fishing rights and its matching tribute": is a mod. borrowing, used in the Indian Ocean, prob. < Neo-P. *mir bahri* "port dues"

**mirabe** (Pt., only in Moraes): given as the name of a star in the neck of Cygnus, must be one of the cases of utter corruption, frequent in that author, as none of the stars with medieval Ar. names in that constellation has a by far similar designation, unlike the case of other constellations.<sup>899</sup> Cf. **mīhrab**.

**mirac** (Pt., after DE and Eguílaz) and **mirach** (Cs., with the var. **almirach**, in translations of Avicenna's *Alqānūn*, **mira(c)h**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:40–41 and **miraque**, **mirrac**, **almir(r)aque**, in Herrera & Vázquez 1981:161–166, together with the hapax der.

**mirachia** "puncture in that point", although in some Ar. texts it may mean the disease produced by accumulation of black bile) "soft parts of the belly": is an unassimilated anatomical term, systematically misread, for Ar. *marāqq*. Cf. **mizar**.

**miramamolí** (Ct.), **miramamolín** (Cs., with the old var. **almiramo(me)lin**, **almiramomenin**, **almiramolim**, **miralmomelin** and **miramamelin**, in GP 54, and Leo. **mira-momelín**,<sup>900</sup> **Almira(l)momenin** (in DO 206) and **miramolim** (Pt., with the var. **almiramolim** and others) "title of the caliphs": < And. *amīr almumīnīn* < Cl.Ar. *amīru lmuʾmīnīn* "prince of the believers"

**mirás** (Pt.) "estate in India": is a mod. borrowing, connected with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Hindi *mīrās*, thus pronounced already in its immediate source, Neo-P. *mirāt* < Ar. *mīrāt* "heritage"

**mirza** (Cs.) "Persian title of respect": through a Western European language, < Neo-P. *mirzā*, abridged from (a)*mir zāde* "prince's son"

**miscales**: see **metical**.

**miso**: see **moix**.

**misquino**: see **mesquí**.

**missusan**: see **almesusen**.

**mistah** (Cs.): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 109, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:77 as the Hyades, < Ar. *mīḍaḥ*, lit., "stirrer-up of rain"

**místic** (Ct.), **místico** (Cs.) and **mistico** (Pt.): Tr. *místiko*, which Machado considers as the etymon of these terms, and Redhouse records with the Lt. transcription *mistiqa*, as borrowed from It., is now obsolete, cannot be the origin of It., and must furthermore have been borrowed from it rather recently, as this words appears without any minimal effect of the law of vowel harmony characteristic of the Turkic family. On phonetic grounds, it is hard to accept that the only documented medieval Neo-Ar. name for this kind of ship, *musaffah*, could evolve into *\*\*\*mīṣṭah*, and later generate those 19th c. words in the

<sup>899</sup> After Kunitzsch 1959:235–6.

<sup>900</sup> Prof. Montaner has informed us that this

var. must be the oldest, as it appears in *Primeru Crónica General* (ed. Menéndez Pidal, p. 596a).

Western Neo-Latine languages and Lgr., even resorting to a semantically unlikely contamination with the most usual meaning of this word.<sup>901</sup> In any case, if this term were an Ar. loanword, independently of its being a corruption of that documented Ar. word, its entry would have been through Italy.

**miuar:** see **meibe**.

**miubegi:** see **mibachtegi**.

**mix:** see **moix**.

**Mizar** (Cs.) "the star Zeta Ursae Majoris": its true etymon, distorted by graphic similarity and Lt. bookish transmission, is Ar. *marāq*, lit., "soft part of the belly", through a confusion with much better known And. *\*māyzar* (etymon of **almaissar**, q.v.), designation also of some stars in the constellations of Andromeda and Boötes.<sup>902</sup> Cf. **mirac**.

**mizcal:** see **metical**.

**mizo:** see **moix**

**moabita** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "Moabite, member of a nation in ancient Middle East": through Bib.Lt. *Mōābūtēs* < Hb. *mō'ābi*.

**moacir** (Pt., only in Morais) "painful": is no doubt Ar. *mu'laṭīr* "impressing", but data are lacking about the chronology and source of such a term.

**moadeſi** (Pt.) "Muslim priest": only Morais has this item so strangely explained, but it appears to be a reflex of the Ar. etymon of **almuédano**, q.v.

**moamar:** see **lima moamar**.

**moaré** (Ct. and Cs.) and **mo/uer**, **muaré** or **mué** (Cs.) "moiré, water silk": through Fr. *moiré* and *moire*, < Neo-Ar. *muxayyar* "chosen", already used in this technical meaning.<sup>903</sup>

A substitution of *\*mistāh* for that attested form cannot be altogether excluded, considering the frequency of this pattern in Western Ar. (see AAR 2.2.1.1.5.7c), but this would then require that a borrowing by Lt., *\*mistaco*, had undergone suffix metanalysis and substitution, or contamination by common *místico*, of which there is no hint. Redhouse records a Tr. reflex of Ar. *\*masṭah* "esplanade", perhaps allowing an explanation based on the distinction between ships with and without a bridge or quarterdeck,

**moarrā(o)** or **moarrame** (Pt., only in Morais) "first month of the Islamic calendar": is no doubt a mod. borrowing, connected with North African or Indian enterprises, < Ar. *muḥarram*, lit., "sacred", because it was a period of truce in pre-Islamic times. Cf. **mar-rano**.

**moaxah/ja** (Cs.) and **muaxa** (Pt.) "a kind of Ar. or Hb. stanzaic poem of And. origin": is a contemporary, pedantic and unnecessary literary term, as it does not concern anything existing in Rom. literatures. It is, of course, unassimilated, missing for Cs. in some editions of DRAE, and left unexplained in Pt., imitated by Machado, but forsaken by Morais, although its meaning is transparent in his quote. Its etymon is Ar. *muwašṣaḥ*, in principle, "a necklace formed by strings of diverse colours", which later acquired that technical sense. At least **moaxaha** is built according to the rules of medieval transcription, in contrast with the arbitrariness of the other var., although none can be recommended, since the standard norm among scholars is to simply transcribe foreign technical terms, rather than assuming the authority to coin and circulate false Ar. loanwords with a faked medieval appearance. Cf. **gacela**.

**mobatana** "lined cloak" (Leo.): in GP 267, < And. *mubāṭṭana* = Cl.Ar. *mubāṭṭanah* "lined" (see DAA 57).

**moca** (Cs. and Pt.) "Mocha coffee": takes its name from the seaport of Mocha (= *muxā*) in Yemen.

**mocadão:** see **almocadém**.

**mocaddem addiraaym:** is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 109, identi-

but there is no authority supporting this hypothesis either, nor any intermediate forms abutting upon the It. one.

<sup>902</sup> After Kunitzsch 1959:186-7.

<sup>903</sup> This etymon is corroborated by Tr. (in Redhouse 1782, "a fine kind of changeable silk", although mod. dictionaries no longer have this meaning in the matching entry in Lt. script *muhayyer*) and Russian *muxojār*, after Vasmer 1996:III 19.

fied by Kunitzsch 1959:72–3, 82–3 and 110–101 as Alpha Geminorum, < Ar. *muqaddam adḍirāḥayn* “extending both arms”

**moçafo** (Pt.) “copy of the Koran”: is a late borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with Eastern enterprises, < Ar. *muṣḥaf* < *Gəḥṣaz māṣḥaf* “book”

**mocafre**: see **almocafre**.

**mocahr** “face upward”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 109, < Ar. *muqaḥḥar* “concave”, said of the upper part of the eyebolt in an astrolabe.

**mocal** (Cs.) “bdellium”: is an unassimilated technical hapax, excerpted by Maíllo from Chirino’s *Menor daño de la Medicina*, < And. *múql* = Cl.Ar. *muql*.

**mocamo** (Pt.) “sacred place”: is a late borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with Eastern enterprises, < Ar. *muqām*.

**mocanco** (Pt.) “lazy”: perhaps < And. \**mutḡānnij*<sup>904</sup> = Cl.Ar. *mutaḡannij* “coquettish; dainty”, with obstruant pronunciation of *jīm*, as is frequent in very old loanwords. From the same etymon would be **moganga** (also Cs.), which appears to have basically meant the same as present **moc/ganguice**, i.e., “grimace”, with functional evolution from participle to noun of action. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **mocaqueiro** or **mogangueiro**.

**mocarab** and **mocarabe**: see **almocarabe**.

**moçarabe** (Pt.), **mozárabe** (Gl. and Cs.), with the old var. **almazárabe** and **muzárabe**, as well as **moçaraues** in GP 110, and its earliest Cs. form, **almazaraues**,<sup>905</sup> **moçarab**, **mozarb**, **muccaraui** and **muzaraueis** (Leo., in DO 270) and **mossàrab** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.) “Mozarab, Christian living under Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula”: < And. *mustaṣrabī*, attributive adjective of Cl.Ar. *mustaṣrab* “Arabicized”, contaminated in its cauda by Rom., of immediate Lt. origin, **árabe**.

Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mozarabía**; Ct.: **mossarabia** and **mossaràbic**; Gl.: **mozarábico** and **mozarabismo**.

**mocarraria** (Pt.) “tribute paid to the princes of Ormuz for their permission to trade”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the campaigns in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *muqarrar* “assigned, appointed”, prob. with intra-Rom. suffixation, unlike the case of its var. also mentioned by Eguílaz, **mocarrarat**, exactly matching the Ar. pl. *muqarrarāt* “assigned (taxes)”

**mocejón** “gnat, mosquito” (Cs.), studied by Hilty 2004:195–196, < And.Rom. \**MOŠELYŌN*, prob. a Rom. aug. of Lt. *muscella* “little fly”

**moch** “marrow”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:41, together with **mochia halbadam** “bone marrow” < Neo-Ar. *muḥḥ* (*alṣiḡām*).

**mocifal** (Pt., only in Morais) “low place”: no doubt, < And. *musaffāl* = Cl.Ar. *musaffal* “lowered”, but it would be desirable to know its text and context.

**moçre** “the month called Mesori in the Egyptian calendar”, i.e., roughly August: in DAX 1240, < Cp. *mesōrē*, presently pronounced *misrā* in Eg.Ar.

**moçuaquim** (Pt.) “medicinal plant of Mozambique, serving as toothpaste”: seems to be Ar. *miswāk*, a strip of walnut tree bark, used for cleaning the teeth.

**modaçar** (Cs.): is an unassimilated Mudéjar term, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, as designation of a technique for setting the wooden pieces of a carved ceiling. It does not derive from Ar. \*\*\**mudassar* “fitted with yam or nailed”, just a fancy of that etymologist’s, not documented in any kind of Ar., Cl., Neo-Ar., nor And., but rather from And. *mudastār* “pegged”, as those pieces were held by pegs.

<sup>904</sup> In And. only the *maṣḍar ḡúnj* “coquetry; daintiness” is recorded but, being a common term in the lyrical lexicon, it is quite safe to assume that other verbal and deverbal forms also existed.

<sup>905</sup> In *Primeru Crónica General* (pp. 586b–587a), to which Prof. Montaner attracted our attention.

**modéjar**: see **mudéjar**.

**modrefuz** “hypocrite; scorpion” (Jud.-Sp.): reflects And.Rom. \**MÓRDE+FÚJ*, lit., “bite and flee”,<sup>906</sup> but the final consonant might have been contaminated by **marfuz**, q.v.

**modrego**: see **baldorras**.

**moer**: see **moaré**.

**mofatra** (Pt.) and **mohatra** (Cs. and Ct., borrowed from Cs.) “fraudulent or abusive deal”: < And. *muxáṭara* = Cl.Ar. *muxāṭarah* “legal fraud, especially when aimed at obtaining interest, forbidden by Islamic law”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mohatrar**, **mohatrante**, **m(oh)atrero**<sup>907</sup> and **mohatrón**; Ct.: **mohatrer**; Pt.: **matreiro**, **mofatrão**.

**mofedo** (Pt.) “excessive branches”, **moheda(l)** (Cs.) “mountain covered with underbrush” and **mogeda** “mountain covered with evergreen oaks” (Anz., with hypercorrect Cs. spelling, instead of >h<): < And. *muṣṭā* = Cl.Ar. *muṣṭā* “luxuriant (vegetation)” (cf. the idiom *istafāda lwādī šajārā* “the valley was covered by trees”),<sup>908</sup>

**moffarex** “tunic open in the front” (Leo., in DO 268): is not a var. of **almofrej**, as we had previously thought, until Corriente 2004b:87, but a reflex of Ar. *muṣṭarraj*, as the author says and proves with suitable quotes from Dozy and Steiger.

**moffia**: see **almoffia**.

**mofino** (Pt.), **mo(h)í** (Ct.) and **mohíno** (Cs.) “peevish”: < And. *muḥín* < Cl. Ar. *māhín* “insulted”. As for the syntagm **negro mohíno** (Anz.) “pitch-black”, it appears to be due to a contamination of the two meanings of standard **zahíno** (q.v.), starting from **negro zahíno**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **amohinamiento**, **amohinar**, **mohín(a)** and **mohinidad**; Ct.: **amoínós**, **amoínament**, **amoínadís** and **amoína(do)r**; Pt.: **amofinar**, **mofina**, **mofineto** and **mofinez**. Cf. **alhaonarse**.

**mofiti/fi**: see **mufti**.

**moganga**, **moganguero** and **moganguice**: see **mocanco**.

**mogatace** (Pt.) and **mogataz** (Pt. and Cs.) “North African soldier in the Spanish army”: < And. *muḡaṭās* “baptized” = Cl.Ar. *muḡaṭās* “plunged”, an expression of reproach for their service to the Christian foe, although usually they did not convert.

**mogate** (Cs.) “potter’s gloss”: < And. *muḡāṭa* “covered”, a participle of the root {ḡṭw} “to cover”.<sup>909</sup> Prob. of the same origin are Cs. **mogato** “feigning or exaggerating either humility or cowardliness” and, by contamination with the hypocoristic names of the cat (cf. **moix**), its synonymous **mogigato**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mogigatería** and **mogigatez**.

**mogeda**: see **mofedo**.

**mogo/ubell** (Old Ct.) “discount; interest”: < Ar. *muḡābil* “(money) compensation”, apparently through Mediterranean transmission (cf. It. *moccobello*, of the same meaning). Of the same origin are Cs. and Arag. **mogollón** “free entertainment” (whence, by semantic evolution, Anl. **mogollón** “vulva; plump person”) and **de—** “free, gratis” Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **mogobellar**; Anl. **mogollonear** “to loaf”

**mogol** and **mogólico**: see **mongol**.

**mogollón** and **mogollonear**: see **mogobell**.

**mogote**: see **almogote**.

**mogubell**: see **mogobell**.

**mogul**: see **mongol**.

**mohacilla**: see **almofaça**.

**mohaddab** “face downwards”: is an unasimulated astronomical term, in GP 109, < Ar. *muḡaddab* “concave”, said of the lower part of the eyebolt of an astrolabe.

**mo/uharra** (Cs.) “spearhead”: prob. < And. \**muḡarraṭ* “having a (sharp) edge”, formed on *hārf* = Cl.Ar. *ḥarf* “edge”, a likelier hypoth-

<sup>906</sup> The first item is several times witnessed in the *xarajāt* (see Corriente 1997a:368, while the second was detected in A37 (*ibidem*, pp. 304 and 64), but the word in question may have a different reading.

<sup>907</sup> Whence Can. **matrero** “fish eating the bait without getting hooked”, with semantic evolution.

<sup>908</sup> As for the alleged Ar. etymon \*\*\**muḡāḍah* of former editions of DRAE, now emended, it does not even exist.

<sup>909</sup> This explanation is corroborated by *ṭabaḡun muḡaṭṭaṭun discoopertus* in the *Leiden Glossary*, which must be understood as *discus coopertus* “covered dish”.

esis than Cl.Ar. **\*\*muḥarrab** “sharpened” of former editions of DRAE, now emended, absolutely unwitnessed in And., not to mention the support given to that first hypothesis by **almo(ha)rrefa** and **harrado**, q.v., and the well-known circumstance that the loss of /f/ in cauda positions in Ar. loanwords, through /h/, is much more frequent than in the case of /b/. Even less suitable are Eguílaz’s etymological proposals, Ar. **\*\*\*mixrās** “punch”, **\*\*\*mixraz** “awl” and **\*\*\*mixraṣ** “lance”, not to speak of a **\*\*\*muwahhar** in some old editions of DRAE, in which he could not recognize **\*\*mulaxxar**, phonetically impossible too. Of the same origin, by metonymy are **majarra** (Cs.) “short and wide knife; two-banded bream” (*Diplodus vulgaris*), with hypercorrect spelling of the An. pronunciation, and Can. **mugarra**, a phonetic evolution, designating a similar, if not identical species.

**moharrache/o**, **mamarracho** and **homarrache** (Cs.) and **mamarratxo** (Ct.) “harlequin”: < And. **\*muharrāj** = Cl.Ar. **muḥarrīj** “buffoon”.<sup>910</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mamar-rachada** and **mamarrachista**; Ct. **mamar-ratxada**.

<sup>910</sup> Some texts having circumvented orthodox censorship speak of the presence of buffoons in medieval Islamic royal courts, bearing the name of **\*\*muḥḥik**, i.e., “laugh maker, jester” even female as the unabashed Rasīs at the court of ṢAbdarrahmān III, whom Ibn Ḥazm, after Ibn Ḥayyān’s *Almuqṭabīs* V (fol. 23), upbraids for having her ride in his retinue with cap and sword. In turn, IQ 23/5/3 tells us that they also wore bells in their headgear, as their European counterparts. But **muḥarrīj** seems to be a much younger term, exhibiting in And. the frequent voice confusion in the participles of the derived verbal measures, unless this cauda is due to metanalysis of the pejorative Rom. suffix [+ĀČ].

<sup>911</sup> See a short but dense entry about this coin in EI<sup>2</sup> VII, 222–223.

<sup>912</sup> See Erman & Grapow 1982:II 31 and 157, with information dispensing the more complex hypothesis of DAA, s.v. **mūsā**. It is no wonder that the Hebrew youth were so nicknamed, since the very Biblical text depicts him as a violent individual who availed himself of the protection of the Egyptian princess who had adopted him, until he went too far once and had to exile

**moharram**: see **almoharram**.

**mohatra(nte)**, **mohatrar**, **mohatrer(o)** and **mohatrón**: see **mofatra**.

**moheda(l)**: see **mofeda**.

**mo(h)í, mohín(a), mohindad** and **mohíno**: see **mofino**.

**mohúr** (Cs.) “an Indian gold coin”: is a contemporary technical term, missing from most dictionaries, borrowed through other European languages Fr. or Eng., but strangely absent in Pt., < Hindi *muhar* < Neo-P. *mohr* < Sk. *mudrā* “seal”.<sup>911</sup> Cf. **mortaba**.

**moisaico**, **moiseísmo** and **moiseísta**: see **Moisés**.

**moisém** (Old Pt., only in Morais) “summons”: phonetically might derive from Ar. *mawsim* “season”, but more information is needed about dating, source and semantic evolution. Cf. **monção**.

**Moisés** (Cs. and Pt.), **Moisés** (Ct.) “Moses” and, by metonymy, **moisés** “portable cradle, carrycot”, similar to the one in which, after tradition and iconography, baby Moses was found among the reeds, by the banks of the Nile: through Bib.Lt. *Mōsēs* < Hb. *mošeh*, prob. < Eg. *mʿs* “knife” or *mšw* “dagger”,<sup>912</sup> no

himself to escape the consequences of a killing committed in those days, according to Ex. 2/12. He appears again as a quarrelsome character, although chivalrous this time, in the episode of the watering place, where he defended the rights, if they were such in Bedouin custom, of Jethro’s daughters against the shepherds who had driven them away from it. All of this tallies well with his undeniable capacity as a leader who did not hesitate to spill the blood of either friend or foe, whenever he deemed it necessary, being often wrathful and nearly always intolerant, according to the Bible. His name, like those of his brother Aharon and his sister Miryam, were not teophoric, prob. not even Hb., but Eg., although he preached an exclusive monotheism in which, in agreement with those psychological traits, faith is more often imposed through violence, even murder, than spread by example and persuasion, from the genocidal conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews, who repeatedly followed the dreadful instructions of Dt. 7/2, down to the well-known grim episodes of the expansion of its Christian and Islamic branches.

coincidentally also the etymon of homophonous Ar. **\*mūsā** "razor". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **mosaico** and **mosaísmo**; Ct. **mosaic** and **mosaisme**; Pt.: **mosaísmo** or **moiseísmo**, **mosaísta** or **moiseísta** and **mo(i)saico**.

**moix** (Ct. with var. like **mix** and der.) and **mich(in)o** or **mis/zo** (Cs.): this name of the cat, hypochoristic everywhere except in Bal., where it is the usual term, may well be an Ar. loanword. While it is true that, it does not exist in Cl.Ar., i.e., is not recorded by the dictionaries basically by Coromines, it is well established as the usual name of this animal in Western dialects precisely (e.g., Mor. *māšš* and Malt. *mejx*) and in Br. *amušš*, *amšš*, etc. This of course does not exclude an onomatopoeic origin even here. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **micha**.

**moixama**: see **almojama**.

**moixerif(at)**: see **almoxarife**.

**mojábana**: see **almojábana**.

**mojama**: see **almojama**.

**mojarra**: see **moharra**.

**mojarrilla** (Cs.) "jolly person": does not appear to stand in any semantic relation with **moharra**, despite its looking like its dim., as DRAE maintains up to its latest edition. There must have been a non-dim. form, **\*mofarra**, < And. *mufárrah* = Cl.Ar. *mufarrah* "gladdened"

**mojf** (Cs.) "sponge cake": < And. *muhšf* < Cl. *mahšū* "filled"

**molá** (Pt.) "doctor in Islamic law in Iran and Turkey": is a mod. borrowing, < Neo-P. *mollā*, usually understood as "full (of knowledge)", allegedly from the Ar. root {ml?}, but it appears to derive from Ar. *muwallā* "appointed", and must not be mistaken, as Machado did, for **\*mawlā** "lord" and its ders.

**molfam** (Lit.) "a kind of shirt": was excerpted by Steiger 1948 in Arag. inventories of the 14th and 15th c., < And. *mulhām* which, originally, like Cl.Ar. *mulham* meant a fabric of a given size and quality.

**momia** (Gl., and Cs., with an old var. **mumia** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:241), **múmia** (Pt.) and **mòmia** (Ct.) "mummy": with this meaning, is not used before the 19th c. in the whole Ibero-Rom., introduced from Fr. or It., < Neo-Ar. *mūmiyyah*,<sup>913</sup> an attributive adjective of Ar. *mūm* "wash" < Neo-P. *mum*. But there was also an Ar. *mūmiyā*? "embalming bitumen", which had entered Ct. as **mo/umia** already in the 14th c., as Coromines states, matched by coetaneous Cs. **carne momia** "mummy", and Pt. **mómia**, documented since the 16th c. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **momificación**; Cs. and Ct.: **momificar**; Ct.: **momificació**; Pt.: **amumiar**, **munificação** and **mumificar**. Cf. **almojama**.

**mona**: see **almona** and **maimó**.

**monada**: see **maimó**.

**moncaje**: see **mancaje**.

**monção** (Pt.) and **monsó** (Ct.) and **monzón** (Cs. and Gl.) "monsoon": through Pt., which borrowed it in the 16th c., in connection with the Eastern enterprises, < *mawsam* in the Ar. dialects spoken in the coasts of the Indian Ocean, reflecting Cl.Ar. *mawsim* "season of certain activities". Cf. **moisés**.

**mondongón**: see **mindango** and **maganto**.

**mondragas** and **mondrego**: see **baldorras**.

**monerí/ia**, **monesco** and **monet(a)**: see **maimó**.

**monfara** (Val. with a dim. **manfareta**) "kind of sieve": < And. *manxál* < Cl.Ar. *munxu/al*. In spite of Coromines' opinion, **monfara** does not reflect a Cl.Ar. vocalization, anomalous and lost everywhere in Neo-Ar., but is due to a labialization furthered by the frequency of the onset (al)mo- in Ar. loanwords.

**monfarra** "bandit" (Man.): is a case of suffix metanalysis and substitution, stemming from standard Cs. **monfi**, q.v.

**monfi** (Cs.) "Moorish bandit": < And. *munfi* < Cl.Ar. *manfi* "exile" Cf. **monfarra**.

<sup>913</sup> Documented in And. by Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:225), but not transmitted to

Ibero-Rom., as given away by the different stress position.

**mo(n)gol** (Cs. and Pt.), **mongol** (Gl.) and **mogo/ul** (Ct.) “Mongol”: through Pt. or Fr., < Neo-P. *moğol* or Tr. *moğol*, reflexes of Mongolian *moŋɣol*.<sup>914</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **mo(n)gólico**; Cs., Ct. and Gl. **mongolismo** and **mongoloide**; Ct.: **mongólic** and **mongolisme**; Gl. and Pt.: **mongólico**; Pt.: **mongolismo** and **mongolóide**.

**monicaco**: see **maimó**.

**monjábena**: see **almojábana**.

**mono**: see **maimó**.

**monos** (Old Cs.) “mung bean (*Phaseolus aureus*)”: the etymon of this hapax in *Libro del conocimiento* 187 is not obvious. Phonetically, it seems to reflect Hindi *mung* < Sk. *mudgá*, borrowed by Neo-P. *mong* and then by Neo-Ar., to judge by *munj* in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, mentioned by DS, but this item does not seem to have ever been common, unlike the case of its Neo-Ar. synonym *māš*, with the same shape in Neo-P. and Hindi, harking back to Sk. *māṣa*. It is, therefore, probable that the Cs. form be merely bookish, resulting from a bad reading, perhaps \**manos*, of an Ar. spelling distorted as >*mānš*<.

**monsó** and **monzón**: see **monção**.

**montaquila**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1243, wrongly interpreted as “periodically shedding feathers”, as the editors, totally ignorant of Ar. and never consulting anybody who could help them with it, have not been able to cope with the Cs. text **e dellas ay que las prenden quando uelan. e dizem les mudantes. e en arauigo montaquila** “some of them are captured when they can already fly, being called ‘moving (birds)’”, in which **mudantes** is not “shedding feathers”, but a literal rendering of the therein alluded Ar. term, *muntaqilah* “moving, changing their abode” The same technical term is given as synonymous of *muhtadir* “hurried” in Möller & Viré 1988:206 and 80, said of falcons already capa-

ble of flying, unlike those caught in their nests, although they also receive the Ar. designations of *manṣūr* “which has seen rain already” and *muṣlif* “having shed feathers”

**moñigal**: see **doñegal**.

**moque** (Pt.) “tribute paid by Mudejars of 1/40 of their harvests”: Machado supposed that it is an Ar. loanword, without any concrete hypothesis, while Eguílaz propounded an unsuitable Ar. \*\**mukūs*, pl. of *maks* (see **almaja**), but the information is insufficient. Perhaps the etymon could be And. *māwq* “boot; greaves”, if the case were similar to those of **chapín de la reina**, **vajilla**, **yantar**, **aliava**, etc., i.e., tributes theoretically assigned to provide the rulers’ needs of table, clothes and sports.

**morabafí** and **morabefitino**: see **almoráv-ida**.

**morab/pio** (Cs.) “red wine”: < And. \**mu-rabbh*<sup>915</sup> < Cl.Ar. *murabbā* “electuary”, for *murabbab* “turned into arrope, q.v.” Cf. **muraba**.

**morabetín**, **mora/ábito**, **morábeta**, **mora-betinada** and **morabito**: see **almoráv-ida**.

**moradu(i)x**: see **almoraduj**.

**moraga/o**: see **mauraca**.

**moragú**: see **almoraduj**.

**moragullo**: see **almorí**.

**morapio**: see **morabio**.

**moravedí(n)** and **moravidí**: see **almoráv-ida**.

**moravita** “a kind of grape with a hard black grain” (Anl.): although ignored by And. botanists, it seems to share the etymon of **almoráv-ida**, q.v., with stress shift, due to contamination by the Rom. dim. suffix.

**moraxe** (Cs.) “a kind of fabric”: in LHP 400 (see Corriente 2004b: 87): is prob. a corruption of Neo-Ar. *muzarkaš* “embroidered in gold”, < Neo-P. *zarkaš(id)*, of the same meaning.

**morbcon**: see **margomar**.

<sup>914</sup> After Vasmer 1996:II 649, who states that also Russian has preferred *mongol*, suggesting direct transmission.

<sup>915</sup> Pronunciation with strong *imālah*, late and prob. Granadan, which suggests a Mudejar item. This sounds strange in a medical term, but it might have been widely used as a therapeutic designa-

tion aimed at legitimizing its consumption (cf. *šarāb* “drink, syrup” which in Tr. \*\**šarap* has become the usual name of wine). A contamination with **moro** “Moorish”, favoured by the well-known jesting application of this adjective to pure wine, not “baptized”, seems to be responsible for the semantic evolution to “red wine”.

**morcercel** (Cs.) “a kind of saddle”: is a rare item, recorded by Eguílaz 1886:305 and 458, with the var. **morzelzel** in a Lt. document of Portugal, mentioned in the entry **atareça**; **amorcesce** and **amorxerce**, in LHP 403, and **amoc/xerce** (Leo.) in DO 268, < And. *musarsál* < Cl.Ar. *musalsal* “chained”, because that kind of saddle was held or ornamented with links. Steiger 1956:98–99 excerpted, in turn, **estolas morcerceles**, some kind of stoles, from a Lt. document of Castile, but did not accept that etymon, first suggested by Gómez-Moreno, considering that such an adjective could not possibly qualify this object, preferring instead a posited Neo-Ar. \*\*\**musarsar*, formed on Neo-P. \*\**sarāsar* “brocade interwoven with gold threads” He thinks that his proposal is supported by the term used by the weavers of Tlemcen, *sarsar* “to gather small skeins in larger ones”, which is indeed a surprising proposal as, if anything is semantically clear in this term that is its close connection with the concept of “chain-ing”, without any relation with that Neo-P., which does not appear to have entered Ar., let alone Western Ar., while the same verb of Tlemcen exists in Mor. with the meaning of “to trickle; to scatter”, with a no less obvious connection with the concept of chain or sequence. The great Romance and Arabic scholar of Zurich did not take into account that the Ar. root */s/ls/* and its der. are said not only of material chains and links, but also of all kinds of cyclic sequences in two or three dimensions, when not as mere metonymy, as it happens, e.g., in Cs. **cadeneta**, “lacework wrought in the form of a chain” For these reasons, we think that **morcercel** was applied to that kind of saddles and stoles, because they were adorned with some kind of cyclic decoration. Of course, in spite of the absence of concrete witnesses, the etymon in both cases could also phonetically and semantically be Ar. *mustarsil*, said of hair or clothes let loose. Cf. **amocerce**.

**mordobre**: see **mansobre**.

**morfia**: see **almofia**.

**morgome**: see **margomar**.

**morha** (Cs.) “mirror”: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 109, < And. *mura*<sup>916</sup> < Cl.Ar. *mūrāh*.

**morquil** (Cs.) “secondary irrigation channel”: this Granadan term, recorded by Eguílaz from colloquial usage, of course cannot, on obvious phonetic grounds, derive from And. \*\**masāqi*, pl. of \*\**masqā* “aqueduct”, as he claims. Its etymon would rather be And. *murqī* < Cl.Ar. *mulqā* “thrown out”, as is the water in such channels.

**morraça** (Pt.) “wick, fuse”: is a word not documented before the 19th c., perhaps because of its belonging to low registers of Morisco origin, possibly from And. *muhrāqa* = Cl.Ar. *muhrāqah* “burnt”, with the shift */hr/* > */rr/*, found also in **farra** and **garra**. Its synonym **morraço**, documented already in the 16th c., would be a case of intra-Rom. suffix substitution.

**morratxa**: see **almarraja**.

**morrego**: see **almáfega**.

**mortaba** (Pt.) “a nobleman’s seal”: this hapax documented at the beginning of the 19th c., in connection with Indian enterprises, cannot phonetically or semantically have the etymon suggested by Dalgado and accepted by Machado, based on Hindi *martabā* (see **maamartba**). In fact, it is Hindi *muhr* “seal”, attached to a second constituent, a reflex of Ar. *ṭabṣ* “impressing”, in a compound word, borrowed from Neo-P. \**mohr e ṭabṣ* “printing seal” Cf. **mohúr**.

**mortaguilla**: see **almártaga**<sup>1</sup>.

**mortexi** (Cs.) “teasel with worn-out thorns”: in Márquez 1961:107, does not derive from Lt. *morticinus*, being a hybrid with the Ar. attributive suffix attached to the And.Rom. basis **MÓRTAS** “dead (fem.pl.)”<sup>917</sup>

**morxama** (Pt., only in Morais) “greased cowhide”: its etymon would require more

<sup>916</sup> The Cs. spelling suggest gemination of */r/*, compensating the loss of */l/* (see SK 58), as in the var. *murriš* of *Vocabulista in arabico*.

<sup>917</sup> This suffix could be attached to And. Rom. words with a pl. suffix, as in the gentiles *Wakkaši* “from Huecas”, *Qubbaši* “from Covas”

and *garnataši* “Granadan” (as Granada and other towns were considered as aggregates of preexisting smaller towns, this interpretation being more cogent than the one we gave in DAI under *arnadí*).



information, but there might be a relation with that of *almojama*, q.v., or with And. *maršūm* = Cl.Ar. *maršūm* "marked, branded (like beasts)". Cf. *marchamo*.

**morzelzel**: see *morcercel*.

**mosaic(o)**, **mosaísmo** and **mosaísta**: see *Moisés*.

**moscado** (Cs. and Gl.) and **mo/uscát**, (Ct.) "musk scented": < Lt. *muscatatus*, formed on the Ar. etymon of *almíscar*, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: *moscatel*; Ct.: *moscatell*.

**moslém** and **mosleme** (Pt., only in Morais, with the var. *muslemo*), **mozlemes** (Arag., pl.), **muslim** (Ct.), **muslimes** (Cs., pl., with the medieval var. *mozlemo*) and Lt. **muzlemítarum** (in Leon, after DO 271): < And. *muṣlāʾīm* = Cl.Ar. *muslim* "Muslim". It is noteworthy that Cs. and Ct. use those forms as a contemporary historiographical term, transcribed from Cl.Ar., but the common term in standard usage is a later item, *musulmán* (Cs. and Gl.), *muçulmano* (Pt.) and *musulmà* (Ct.), transmitted through Fr. and Neo-P. *mosolmān*, pl. of *moslem*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *muslímico*; Cs. and Gl.: *musulmanismo*; Ct.: *muslímico*. Cf. *maeda*.

**mosqueta**: see *almíscar*.

**mossàrab**, **mossarabia** and **mossaràbic**: see *moçárabe*.

**mostaguera** (Cs.) "decoration of glazed tiles in the socles of the Alhambra": is a term recorded by Eguílaz and given its correct etymon, a reflex of And. *mustadīra* (mentioned in Alcalá) = Cl.Ar. *mustadīrah*, lit., "turning around". The irregular match of intervocalic /d/ is prob. due to its lenition and even loss in An. pronunciation, followed by infracorrect restoration.

**mostalafa**: see *almostalaf*.

**mostassà**, **mostassaf**, **mostassaf(er)ia** and **motacén**: see *almotacé*.

**mostique**: see *almáciga*.

**motão** (Old Pt., only in Morais) "object inlaid with precious metals": is obviously Ar. *muṭaʿallam*, but more information about dating and sources is required.

**motarafi**, **mutaraz** and **motarraci** (Ast. and Leo., in DO 271 and García Arias 2006: 157): are prob. reflexes of the And. name *muṭarraḥ* = < Cl.Ar. *muṭarriḥ*.<sup>918</sup>

**motazén**: see *almotacé*.

**motebage**: see *mudbage*.

**moúr** (Pt.) "dowry in India": is a mod. borrowing, < Ar. *muhūr*, pl. of *mahr* "dowry".

**moxama(r)** and **moxameiro**: see *almojama*.

**moxara**: see *muxara*.

**mozarb**, **mozárabe**, **mozarabía**, **mozarábico** and **mozarabismo**: see *moçárabe*.

**mozlemo** and **mozlemes**: see *moslém*.

**mozmodi**: see *mazmodina*.

**mozobre**: see *mansobre*.

**muaré**: see *moaré*.

**muaxa**: see *moaxaha*.

**mudbage**: see *mudbage*.

**mubtadira**: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1257, in which the editors upon rendering it as "breeding males", exhibit their lack of concern for such items, as can be seen in our comment to *montaquila*, q.v., it being also evident that their mistaken etymological explanation of the original is only due to a mix-up of the Ar. roots {*hḍr*} "to come unexpectedly or hurriedly" and {*hḍr*} "to sow".<sup>919</sup>

**mubtz** and **mubtez/s**: see *almu(b)tat*.

<sup>918</sup> As the suggested \**muṭarriḥ* "embroiderer" does not exist. That is the true origin of *Mudarra*, as R. Menéndez Pidal thought, unduly emended by García Gómez in their joint article of *Al-Andalus* 1951.

<sup>919</sup> In Corriente 2000 we warned about the

mediocre skills of the medieval translators of these works, who must be distrusted, above all, when they act as etymologists. In this case the confusion has been furthered by the imperfect distinction of both phonemes in And., after SK 37–38 and 45.

**mucadahati** and **muchdahati**: is an unasimilated surgical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:240, “instrument for the extirpation of cataracts” < Ar. *muqaddihah*.<sup>920</sup>

**mucadamo**: see **almocadém**.

**mucana**: see **macana**.

**múcaro**: see **almocrebe**.

**muccaraui**: see **moçárabe**.

**muçulmano**: see **moslém**.

**mudaha**, **almochati(m)**, **mecadatin** and **almacha(da)**: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:2136, “wound discovering the bone” < Ar. *mūdhah*. Cf. **almocati**.

**mudaixó**: see **bo/udoix**.

**mudalafe**: see **almotacé**.

**mudbage** (Old Pt., only in Eguílaz and Morais, with a var. **mubdage**, obviously incorrect) and **mutebage**<sup>921</sup> (Llt. in Arag. documents, also **mutebag** in a Leo. document, mentioned by Neuvonen) “brocade”: < And. *mudabbāj* = Cl.Ar. *mudabbaj*, a participle formed on *dībāj* < Pahl. *dēbāg* “brocade”

**mudéjar** (Arag., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **modéjar**), **mudèjar** (Ct.) and **mudéxar** (Gl.) “Mudejar, Muslim living under Christian rule”: < And. *mudājjan*, prob. meaning “subjected” Of the same origin is Ar. (in Llt. documents) **almut/degena** and pl. **almotexenas** or **almotexanias**, said in principle of

the Mudejar villages and, by metonymy, the income from their tributes.

**muecín**: see **almuédano**.

**muer**: see **moaré**.

**muete** (Arag.) “child; boy”: in Tarazona, from Gargallo 1985:38, might reflect Ar. *muṣīd* “still wearing the amulets (protecting children)”, after an ancient use, also found in Rome.<sup>922</sup>

**muetzí** and **muezim**: see **almuédano**.

**muftí** (Cs. and Gl.) and **mufti** (Pt., documented in the 17th c., and borrowed in connection with the Eastern enterprises): < Ar. *muftī* “professional jurist”, from Aram. *afti* “to make a long story” < Ak. *patū uznam* “to explain”, lit., “to open the ear”). There were more genuine forms, Pt. **mofti** and Cs. **moftí**, the latter documented already in the days of the fall of Granada, < And. *muftí*.

**mug/harra**: see **moharra**.

**mujalata**: see **malta**.

**muladí** (Cs. and Pt., source of Cs.), **mal(l)ato** and its fem. **mallada** (Leo., in DO 256)<sup>923</sup> “Muslim of Hispanic origin”: < And. *muwalladīn*, pl. of *muwallād* = Cl.Ar. *muwal-lad* “half-bred”, which in Ar. properly means “reared in the house of strangers”

**mulana** (Old Pt., only in Morais) “Muslim judge”: is merely a title of respect in Naf. *mūlānā* < Cl.Ar. *mawlānā* “our lord”

<sup>920</sup> To judge from its transcription, this form attested in Avicenna’s *Alqānūn* is the origin from which those var. stem, instead of more frequent *miqdah*, at least for the two first ones. In other works, this instrument is designated with the Hellenism *mīl* < Gr. *mēlē* “optical probe”, after an information provided by Dr. Bustamante, based on M. Meyerhof, *L’ophtalmologie de Muhammad al-Ghāfiqī*, Barcelona 1933, with Neo-P. and Tr. parallels and direct observation of some prototypes preserved in the Museum of Algeiras, whose true use was unknown until our colleague discovered them. Through perusal of *Lisān alʿarab* and *Tāj alʿarūs* we have verified that those authors already knew the surgical meaning of this term, although they were unaware of the difference between that

instrument and a mere kohl stick.

<sup>921</sup> The stress in **motébage** of Fort Cañellas 1994:124 is in any case whimsical, as these sequences could be ultima or penultima stressed in And., in an idiolect distribution, but the only trustworthy documentation for this item, in IQ, precisely occurs in a necessarily ultima stressed rhyme.

<sup>922</sup> As commented upon in our translation of Imruʿulqays’ *muṣallaqah* (see Corriente & Monferrer 2005:99, fn. 19). However, its isolation among Ar. loanwords and the geographical vicinity speak in favour of a reflex of Basque **mote** “shoot”, or even **mutil** “boy”

<sup>923</sup> Applying the And.Rom. rule /Cwv/ > /Cv/, mentioned in Corriente 2004a:194 and active in **achaque**, **queça**, **rexe**, **matraco**, etc.

**Mulei** (Pt.) and **Muley** (Cs.) “title assumed by the Western Muslim kings”: < Naf. *mulay* < Cl.Ar. *mawlāya* “my lord”

**mulquía** (Cs.) “title deed in Morocco”: is a contemporary legal term, of the days of the Spanish Protectorate, < Mor. *malkeyya* < Cl.Ar. *milkiyyah* “property right”

**muludi/yntaz**: see **milititaz**.

**mum/n** “wax”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:240, sharing the etymon of **momia**, q.v.

**mumçic alayna** (with the var. **mumç/sic**, **mumçit** and **mumçidalahina**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 110: < Neo-Ar. *munsik allašinnah* “holding the reins”, possibly of Pegasus, after Kunitzsch 1959:162–163.

**mumia**: see **momia**.

**múmia**, **mumificação** and **mumificar**: see **mómia**.

**mun**: see **mum/n**.

**muna**: see **almona**.

**munefe**: see **benefe**.

**munir assuja** “gleaming (star) of Hydra”, corrupted for **minchir**:<sup>924</sup> is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 110, < Neo-Ar. *minxar aššujāš* “the nose of Hydra”, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:183 as Alpha Hydrae.

**muraba** “preserve, jam”: is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:241, < Ar. *murabbā*. Cf. **morabio**.

**muradasacris**: see **almurea safran**.

**muruquid**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 109, although extant in DAX 1265, next to **murufez**, perhaps a mere var., in spite of the diverse descriptions, < Neo-Ar. *muruxt* < Gr. *mórochthos* “fullers’ earth”.<sup>925</sup>

**musa** (Cs.) “rafter in the corner of a carved ceiling”: is a Mudejar building term, mentioned by Eguílaz and for which Dozy suggested an Ar. etymon *\*muwāzī* “parallel”, which is unsuitable both phonetically and semantically. Considering that in Cs. any board or piece cut in an angle is called **cuchillo**, i.e., “knife”, what we have here is prob. just in front of And. *mús(a)* = Cl.Ar. *mūsā* “razor”, either on account of the similarity between that structure and an open razor, or by simple calque of Rom.

**musarafia**: see **almursegui**.

**musatra**: see **nusatra**.

**muscat**, **musc/go** and **musquet**: see **almíscar** and **moscado**.

**muselina** (Cs.), **musselina** (Pt.) and **musolina** (Cl.) “muslin”: < Ar. *mawšillī*, gentile of *almawšil* “Mosul”, through It.

**musle**: see **alebra**.

**muslemitarum**, **moslemo**, **muslim(e)** and **mušlímic(o)**: see **moslém**.

**musse/olina**: see **muselina**.

**musulmà**, **musulmán** and **musulmanismo**: see **moslém**.

**mutafa**: see **almotacé**.

**mutakaregi**: see **althezaregi**.

**Mutaraz** and **Mutarraci**: see **motarafi**.

**mutebag(e)**: see **mudbage**.

**muxara** (Pt., with the var. **moxara** in Morais) “gratuity”: is a late borrowing of the 16th c., used in India, < Hindi *mujrā* < Ar. *mujrā* “stipend”, received through Neo-P. As for Machado’s proposal, Ar. *\*\*\*muxāra* (sic), it simply does not exist.

**muzárabe** and **muzaraue/ís**: see **moçárabe**.

**muzmutus**: see **maimudina**.

<sup>924</sup> Into Ar. *munīr*, which explains the rendering of the entry.

<sup>925</sup> But DS I:252 has a different definition. Note the likeness of the Ar. spelling to **bezaquid**. Its Syr. reflexes >*mwrwkyws*< and >*laytos mūrūktūs*< also have two different interpretations “stone used for polishing writing surfaces” and “fullers’ earth”, after Payne Smith 1879–

1901:1945 and 2049, but the latter seems to be the standard, to judge from its rendering *kīpā dqušsārē* “fullers’ earth” and its half-translation *kīpā mūrūktūs*, explained in Ar. as *hajarun yubayyadu bihi lkattān*, lit., “a stone used for whitening linen”, this last word being easily confused with *kitāb* “book”.

## N

**naam** “ostriches”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 111, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:83 and 74 as Tau and Upsilon Pegasi, < Ar. *našām*. Cf. **anidam**.

**naax**: see **annays**.

**nabab** (Cs. and Ct.) and **nababo** (Pt. and Cs.) “nabob, governor of a province in India”: through Fr., < Hindi *navāb* < Neo-P. *novvāb*, already in that sense, < Ar. *nuwwāb*, pl. of *nāʾilīb* “deputy” From the same ultimate etymon, but in sg., are the Pt. synonymous **naiba/e**, a late unassimilated term from India, **naibre** “measure controller in Egypt” (only in Morais) and **alnaibe** “captain of cavalymen”, prob. connected with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, considering their isolation in the middle of Ar. loanwords in Rom. languages, the stress shift, more understandable in indirect borrowing, and the evidently learned and ultracorrect restoration of the Ar. article.

**nabī** (Cs., prob. a Mudejar item, with the var. **anabī**) and **nabi** “prophet” (Pt., documented in the 17th c., borrowed in connection with Eastern enterprises): < Ar. *nabī*, in the case of Cs. through And. *nabī*. Cf. **arco de Santiago**.

**nabla**: see **nebel**.

**nácar** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **n/ñácara** or **ñacra** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:210) and **nacre** (Ct., with the var. **nacra** and **nàquera**) “mother-of-pearl”: < And. *náqra* “tambourine”, as these instruments were decorated with that product, according to DS; the same etymon is shared by And. **nacla** “horn shell (*Cerithium vulgatum*)”, recorded by Garulo 1983:262 and Alvar Ezquerro 2000:549. Its root, adopting the pattern /la22ā3ah/, has produced Neo-Ar. *naqqārah* which, with a slight semantic evolution, has generated **anacara** (Pt.) and **anacora** (Cs., poorly documented, prob. an error for a form like the Pt.) “military drum in the East”, a 19th c. term, prob. transmitted through Neo-P. *naqqāre* and Hindi *naqqārā*; the reflex of an Ar. article in this particular case seems to be the consequence of wrong parsing of a syntagm with the Rom.

definite article, rather than a learned attempt at giving it the appearance of a genuine Ar. loanword of the Ibero-Rom. languages, bound to generate an ultracorrect \***alnacara**. Pt. has a further form, **nagara**, an unassimilated borrowing of the 18th c., in India, which Machado supposed was received through Marathi, although it might also reflect the present-day pronunciation of Neo-P. *naḡḡāre*. In the case of Cs. **nácara** “kettledrum of the old cavalry”, with a matching Ct. **nacar(r)a**, according to Coromines, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not it is correctly stressed, and whether it is a reflex of And. or of Neo-Ar. Intr-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)**nacarado**, **nacáreo**, **nacarón** and **nacríta**; Ct.: **nac(a)r(r)**; Gl. and Pt.: **nacarar** and **nacarino**; Pt.: **anacarar-se**.

**nacibo** (Pt.) “luck; fortune”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., < Ar. *našīb*.

**nacla**: see **nácar**.

**na/ecodá** (Pt.) “commander of a ship”: is a mod. unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., < Neo-P. *nāxodā*.

**nacra/e**: see **nácar**.

**nàcsia** (Ct., with the var. **nètsia** and **nacsa**) “stock, race”: is often pejorative, very prob. an Ar. loanword, contaminated by **naquis** (q.v.), at least semantically, when said of weak offspring, prob. also phonetically, as its likeliest etymon is And. *násl* = Cl. Ar. *nasl* “offspring, progeny”, which should have become Rom. \***nác/sle/a** and avoid the exotic consonantal cluster in one way or another (cf. **gaspato** and **aguaza**), although the subsequent contamination does not allow us to discover the adopted solution.

**nadea** “curved piece of iron in the centre of the runner (in a mill)” (Bie.) and **fiadea** “iron clasp which, in local mills, is firmly attached to the upper end of the shaft of the cogwheel” (Leo., a phonetic var.): considering the frequency of Ar. loanwords in the terminology of mills (e.g., **tahona**, **tarabilla**, **aceña**, **alguarín**, **maquila**, etc., q.v.), side by side with items of And.Rom. origin (e.g., **poya**, **trapiche**, **capa-**

cho, etc., q.v.), the conclusion must be drawn that this technology, as often, was perfected, if not altogether introduced in the Northern Christian kingdoms by Mozarab immigrants. That curved piece firmly holding the runner or rotating stone while it turns, can be a metaphor of Ar. *naṭṭḥah*, phonetically impeccable, and meaning, among other things, a beast thrusting straight ahead with its horns;<sup>926</sup> such a meaning, if admitted for an And. \**naṭṭḥa*, would explain the heretofore obscure proverb N° 1578 of Azzajjālī's, *naṣṭḥa binaṭṭḥa*, now understandable as "advice with a clasp", i.e., guaranteed not to bring about dire consequences, as in the case of a runner going loose by lack or failure of that clasp.

**nadir** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "nadir, point of the celestial sphere directly opposite the zenith": is a bookish astronomical term, < Ar. *naḏīr*, lit., "homologous"

**nádīr** (Cs.) "administrator of a habous or charitable institution in Morocco": is a contemporary legal term of the Spanish Protectorate, < Mor. *naḏār* < Cl.Ar. *nāḏīr* "inspector" From the same ultimate etymon is **názir** (Pt.) "custodian of a mosque", a mod. borrowing, in connection with Eastern enterprises. Cf. **anadal**.

**nafa**: see **aguanafa**.

**naḥār** (Pt.) "armed servant": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., in relation with India, < Hindi *naḥār* "servant" < Ar. *naḥār*, through Neo-Ar. and Neo-P., languages in which it means "private (soldier)"

**naḥé** (Pt.) "plant of Arabia": the lack of an identification does not allow any etymological proposal, but to be sure there is no Ar. \*\*\**naḥāḥah*, pace Machado. In Western Ar., *nāḥīṣ* is "common fennel (Foeniculum vulgare)"

**naḥefiche**: considered by the editors of DAX 1270 as synonymous of **nauath** in DAX 1273, and rendered as "wagtail", for no better reason than a certain phonetic likeness, it requires some comment. The context makes clear that they are birds on occasion used as food for falcons, the first form looking like a quadriconsonantal pl. of the pattern */la2ā3i4(ah)/*, very frequent in Ar., even in these materials (cf. **darariza**, **cauuenige**, **dauuechiz**, **dahueruiege**, **gatarif**, **lagaliga**, **rauuegeh**), but Ar. dictionaries only have a rare *nufāṣḥ* "a kind of small bird" However, in Möller & Viré 1988:149, as food for the same purpose, we find Neo-Ar. *qab(a)jah* < Neo-P. *kabg* "common partridge (Perdix perdix)", paleographically apt to be the origin of the second form, on account of frequent confusion between >q< and >u< in Western Arabic script, and of >th< and >ch< in Rom. mss.<sup>927</sup>

**náfega**: see **anáfega**.

**náfego** and **náfico** (Pt., with a provincial var. **náfico**) "horse with a protruding side of its croup" and **naifo** (Pt.) "lame" (also synonymous of **náfego**): as in the case of other early Ar. loanwords related to cattle raising and veterinary science (cf. **alabão**, **ceibe**, **alifafe**, **ajuagas**, etc.), these terms might also share that origin. The three first forms may reflect And. *nāḥik*<sup>928</sup> < Cl.Ar. *nāḥik* "wasting away; weakening", if we admit that the original meaning is the second one in Morais, "fracture of the horse's ilium, causing its croup to be uneven", the full phrase **cavalo (com) náfego** "a horse (with) a broken ilium" having been abridged later. The last term of the series is less yielding: in spite of occasional synonymy, perhaps through a mere semantic contamination, it prob. does not belong here and has a different etymon, e.g., And. *náyif* < Cl.Ar.

<sup>926</sup> Ast. **nadexa** "conduct pouring the grains under the runner" could be argued as a phonetic objection against this hypothesis, but the sense is not the same, and a local adaptation of Cs. \***nadeh/ja** cannot be excluded.

<sup>927</sup> Both forms are amenable to confluence, accepting that *nufāṣḥ* would have adopted the pattern */la22ā3uh/*, after SK 5.1.9, and that

\**qubaj* would be just a bad reading of **nab/uac/th**, but these are mere hypotheses and the doubts remain.

<sup>928</sup> This participle is not listed, but is normally derivable from its verb, recorded in *Vocabulista in arabico*, precisely with the example "to waste away (said of disease)" (see DAA, p. 42).

*nāʿif* “protruding”, although the possibilities are not exhausted.

**naffatin**: is an unassimilated term, mentioned by Nykl in GP 51, without any comment or elucidation, in connection with **alquitrán** (**fuego de—**, i.e., “pitch or naphtha fire”); chances are that the talk goes about the primitive launchers of Greek fire, in Neo-Ar. *naffāṭin*, already reflected in Alcalá.

**naffill** and **nafil**: see **anafil**.

**nafra** “wound” (Ct. and Arag.) and **fiafi/ra** “harness sore” (Arag.): < And. *nāhra* = Cl.Ar. *naḥrah* “cutting of the throat” Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **naframent** and **nafrar** (the latter also Arag.); Gl. **esnafrar** “to wound seriously”. Cf. **chafranafra**.

**náfrico**: see **náfeço**.

**nafta** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) “naphtha”: does not derive from Ar., but from Lt. *naphtha* < Gr. *náphtha* < Ak., *naptu[m]*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Ct.: **naftalina**.

**nagara**: see **nácar**.

**nagiuela** (Cs.) “hut”: prob. never existed in Rom., with DRAE’s mere repeating Alcalá’s definition, **casa pajiza o pobre** “poor or straw house”. It would be, then, a mere transcription of And. *nawwála* “hut”,<sup>929</sup> above all those erected provisionally for the watchers of crops during harvest, < And.Rom. \**NAVÉLA*, from a reflex of Lt. *nāvis* with the Rom. dim. suffix, i.e., “little boat”, a reminiscence of the old habit among seamen of pulling their light

boats aground, turning them upside down and using them as shelter during the night.

**naiba/e** and **naibre**: see **nabab**.

**naid**: see **beid**.

**naifo**: see **náfeço**.

**naip** (Ct.) and **naipe** (Cs.) “playing card”: the old pronunciation **naíp**, proved by rhymes, and other information provided by Coromines in connection with a possible spread of this term stemming from Perpignan, more concretely from its Jewish community, closely connected with Arabicized circles, suggest that playing cards might have been a Jewish invention or, at least, diffused by this community in its present form, as a consequence of the deeply rooted tradition of gambling in the Feast of Purim. This would simultaneously offer two possible Ar. etyma, And. *laṣīb* = Cl.Ar. *laṣīb* “game in general”, a much disputed and disputable hypothesis,<sup>930</sup> and *maṣīb* “censurable”, an adjective very apt to qualify gambling and even to become its name by antonomasia, as in the case of its synonym \*\**munkar*, a common metonymy of wine, with a perfectly normal intra-Rom. dissimilation of labial phonemes.<sup>931</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **naipera** and **naipesco**; Ct.: **naiper**.

**naire** (Cs.) “elephant tamer” and (Pt.) “member of the Malabar military caste”: through Pt., < Malayalam *nāyar* “of Malabar caste” < Sk. *nāyakaḥ* “chief”; however, an

<sup>929</sup> This word is also found in Mor. *nwala*, and Rif. *anuwar*, having been made famous in contemporary historiography by the defeat and massacre of Spanish troops in Annual, during the Rifian War. A derivation from Lt. \*\**magalia*, of Punic origin, widely circulated, is not phonetically possible.

<sup>930</sup> See AAR 2.1.2.6.2 about cases of the shift /l/ > /n/, not always by dissimilation, as Coromines denounces this hypothesis, although he is right about the absence of other examples in word onset, while the opposite phenomenon does happen in **alafaia** and **alifafe**<sup>1</sup>, q.v. As a matter of fact, playing cards are called *waraq allaṣīb*, lit., “playing leaves”, in Neo-Ar., although dating is a problem, as DS documents it only

since Boethor 1864.

<sup>931</sup> Cf. Ct. **m/nero** “grouper (*Epinephelus guaza* or *Serranus gigas*)”, of disputable etymology and, contrariwise, Cs. **m/nastuerzo** “watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*)” < Lt. \*\**nasturtium*; in this connection, it should be noted that Alcalá’s \*\**narríy* “hoarhound (*Marrubium vulgare*)” has been considered just as a printing mistake since DS, but might well be another instance of this dissimilatory trend. On semantic grounds, the Ar. etymon \*\**nāṣīb* “deputy”, based on a never proven theory that the four suits of cards represent the four main social classes of warriors, priests, merchants and peasants, has long ago been dismissed.

updated Webster's dictionary of 1986 renders **nair** or **nayar** as the name of an ethnic group in Malabar, with the same ultimate Sk. etymon, origin also of Eng. "naik" ("leader, chief in India"). As for the Sk. etymon of former editions of DRAE \*\*\**nêtra* (corrected as \*\*\**netra* in its last edition) "guide", it is not phonetically suitable.

**namaz** (Pt.) "prayer": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with Eastern enterprises, < Neo-P. *namāz*.

**nammeixies** (Val.) "Moorish swords": is a term recorded by DE and Eguílaz, scarcely documented, although some Mor. antiquarians still know *namša*, and it is noteworthy that there is a Rif. reflex *annamšaj* "sabre" (Ibáñez 1949:108) and, in the East, Jud.-Yemenite *namšah*, (Piamenta 1901:498), < Neo-P. *nimče* "short garment or sword"

**namosía** "mosquito net" (Jud.-Sp.), < Neo-Ar. *nāmūsiyyah*.

**nansú** (Ct. and Cs.) "nainsook, a soft lightweight cotton fabric": through Eng. < Hindi *nainsux* "pleasure of the eyes"

**napelo** (Cs.) "aconite (*Aconitum ferox*)": < And.Rom. *NAPÉL* < Lit. *napellus*, a dim. of Lt. *nāpus* "rape"

**naquera** (Ct.) "trough of a draw-well": < Ar. *naqīr* "canal" (in principle, "hollow trunk", as that piece was usually nothing else), a member of a series of And. words of the same root and similar meanings, so that an allomorph with the fem. morpheme may well have existed, although the Rom. ending and gender may also be a mere result of the phonetic evolution of the paragogical vowel, or of metanalysis of a Rom. instrumental suffix (cf. *atafera*). The same origin has An. *añeclín*, "trough for the water scooped by the buckets of a water wheel", recorded by Alvar 1957, although the Ar. etymon suggested by him, \*\*\**annāqilīn* "the carriers", is impossible. This most respectable linguist could not yet avail himself of certain information, like the correct stress of the Ct. item, known only thanks to DECLC, which put him on the wrong track

of a participle \*\*\**nāqil* "carrier", nor was he informed by the Arabic scholars whom he consulted that the regular pl. masc. is only used with rationals, but for a few non-productive fem. exceptions, and only in the case of substantives, even in Neo-Ar. For this reason, though aware of the equivalent Mor. *nqir* and its Cl.Ar. origin, he thought that an equation between the Ar. roots {*nqr*} and {*nql*} would be phonetically assumable and reached that conclusion. In truth, the basic etymon is an And.Rom. var., \**an-naqir+ÉL*, with a dim. suffix, which evolved by multiple sonorant dissimilation into \*/*annaq(i)lín*/\*<sup>932</sup> with optional, palatalization of its first vowel, by distant assimilation (see AAR 2.1.4.1.9; it being noticeable that this phenomenon does not occur in *añacal*, a true der. of {*nql*}). Of course, it is not impossible that a semantic contamination by the latter root might have contributed to the replacement of /r/ by /l/.

**naquera**: see **nacre**.

**naqueracuzá** (Cs.) "merry music or dance": this word in the first edition of DRAE might have been corrupted, and lacked authorities, but its Ar. etymon points to a possible real item. Eguílaz suggested And. \*\*\**nāqira* "tambourine" plus Cl.Ar. \*\*\**kās* "kettledrum", of all which we can retain only And. *nāqr* "playing (an instrument)" as a first constituent, while the second one remains a problem, as the word suggested by him is not common, let alone Western, but Eg. *naqraz* "to drum" would support a case of *blending* with another term, some musical instrument ending in /z/.

**naquis** (Ct., fem. *nāquissa*) "deficient; faulty": < Ar. *nāqīs* of the same meaning. The var. *nacse/i* (fem. *nacsa* or *nācsia*), semantically inclined towards "rachitic" reflects a paragogical /e/ converted into /i/ through a fem. \**nācsea*. Cf. *nācsia*.

**naranacha**, **narago**, **naranja(da/o)**, **naranjal/t**, **naranjero**, **naranjilla(da)**, **naranjo**, **naranxa/u**, **naranxal** and **naranxeru**: see **laranja**.

<sup>932</sup> Cf. AAR 3.1.2c4, about other cases in which that Rom. suffix evolved into /ín/, through

an Arabicized pronunciation, in an already monolingual milieu.

**nard** (Ct.) and **nardo** (Pt., Gl. and Cs., the latter with an old var. **alneredín**, in DAX) “garden tuberosa (*Polianthes tuberosa*)” and “spikenard (*Nardostachys jatamansi*)”: < Lt. *nardus/m* < Gr. *nárdos*, from Sk. *nālada*, surely through Semitic transmission (cf. Hb. *nērd*). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **nardino**.

**nargez**: see **alnargez**.

**nargoritiz** “a (silver coloured) stone”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1271, corrupted from Gr. *margaritis lithos* or *margaritēs* “pearl”, through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**narguil** (Ct.), **narguilé** (Pt.) and **narguile** (Cs.)<sup>933</sup> “hookah”: through Fr., < Tr. *nargile* < Neo-P. *nārgil* < Sk. *nārikel/ra* “coconut”, because it was originally made out of an empty coconut, or on account of the likeness of their shapes.

**naronger** and **naronja(t)**: see **laranja**.

**nase** (Cs., with a corrupted var **mase**) “sciatic (nerve)”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1983:190–196, < Ar. *nasā*.

**natamia**: is an unassimilated technical term, from LHP 410 and DO 217, surely from Ar. *naẓmiyyah* “stringlike”, which must not necessarily mean a fabric decorated with strings of beadwork, but perhaps with a mere cyclic decoration; there have been confusions with **annemate**, q.v., of which Dolores Oliver is wholly aware.

**nathif**: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:109, corrected as Ar. *kaṭṭif* “thick”, but the lack of context bars any further comment.

**natis**: see **albece**.

**natr(ā)o** (Pt.) “sodium”, **natró** (Ct.) and **natrón** (Gl. and Cs., the latter with the var. **alatrón**, and with a different meaning, **anatron** “kind of borax”, in GP 54) “sodium carbonate”: are mod. technical terms, through Fr., < Ar. *naṭrūn*, < Gr. *nítron* < Eg. Cs. **trona** “nitre” is an aphaeretic var.

**naura**: see **nora**.

**naurós** (Pt., in Morais **nauros**) “Feast of New Year”: is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the Eastern enterprises, < Neo-P. *nowruz* “new day”.<sup>934</sup>

**nax**: see **annays**.

**nazareu** or **nazarita** (Pt.) and **nazare(n)** (Cs.) “Naza/irite, person consecrated to God in the Hebrew religion”: < Hb. *nāzīr*, through Lt. *Nazāraeus*. The Cs. word has been contaminated by **nazareno** “Nazarene, gentile of Nazareth” (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), < Bib.Lt. *Nazārēnus*, gentile of *Nazārēth*, a reflex of the Hb. or Aram. place name *nāšrat*. But Cs. **nazarí** and **nazarita**, with an either Orientalizing or Gr. suffix, are used as a contemporary historiographical term designating the members of the last Granadan dynasty, Ar. *banū našr* “Našr’s sons”, i.e., their eponymous ancestor. This term is not supported by older Rom. documentation, therefore, it appears that it has merely been given an artificial appearance of medieval transmission.

**názir**: see **nádir**.

**nea**: see **ainea**.

**nebat**: see **benat**.

**nebel** (Cs.) “nabla, a Hebrew rectangular harp”: < Hb. *ne/ēbel*, possibly of Eg. origin. The Cs. shape must be mod., while its var. **nabla** reflects Lt. *nabla* and Gr. *nábla(s)*, giving away an undocumented intermediate Aram. *\*nablā*.

**nebí**: see **neb(l)í**.

**nebit** “wine”.<sup>935</sup> is a late unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:242, < Ar. *nabīḏ*.

**neb(l)í** (Cs.), **nebrí** (Gl.) and **nebrí** (Pt., prob. borrowed from Cs., and expectable to be ultima stressed) “a kind of falcon”: as Coromines said, the early documentation, already in the Lt. and Ar. texts of the *Cordovan Calendar*,<sup>936</sup> of the And. gentile *lablī* “from Niebla” corroborates that this false attribution circulated in Al-Andalus, although those birds

in Al-Andalus, the *naṭríz* or *nuríz*.

<sup>935</sup> With the anomalous var. **nes/d/fuad y nuduad**, for which a different origin cannot be excluded.

<sup>936</sup> According to Pellat 1961.

<sup>933</sup> With an incorrect stress shift, apparently suggested by a linguistically naive Arabist who, having heard Eg.Ar. *nargīla*, thought that the borrowing had happened through Ar., and did not take into account the true transmission.

<sup>934</sup> See **hallullo** about its etymological match



came, in truth, from Northern or Mediterranean countries. The genuine corrupted term might well have been *\*(i)birnī* "Hibernian, Irish", therefore, synonymous with the **bornī** in Alcalá, although perhaps the information provided by López de Ayala in his *Libro de la caza de las aves*, mentioned by Eguílaz, to the effect that **nebli** is corrupted from **nebi**, may be valuable, as this shape is exactly what could be expected as transcription of And. *nabīh* = Cl.Ar. *nabīh* "sharp-sighted", a very apt qualification for the best falcons. Cf. **albernia** and **bornī**.

**nécaras** (Pt., only in Morais) "a marble game": may be related to Ar. *niqr* or *naqrah* "hole (in the date pit)", although more information is needed about dating and sources.

**neçc elsemi** (with the var. **elneçc el senu**, **neço elseim** and **neca elsenu**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 111, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:86 as some stars of the constellations of Hercules, Lyra and Serpens (cf. **annezq aliemeni**), < Neo-Ar. *annasaq aššāmī* "Syrian sequence"

**nec/fitiz**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1275, which gives diverse identifications to both spellings, perhaps the same stone found in the banks of the Nile, despite the diverse description, < Gr. *Memphítēs líthos*, through Syr. >*lytws mhyptws*< in Payne Smith 1879–1901:1945.

**necla** (Ct.) "pole": is an obsolete word, < And. *náqla* "stake", n.un. of the *maşdar* of the Cl.Ar. verb *naqal*, used in the meaning of "to (trans)plant", without other relation to Cs. **añacal**, **anaquel**, etc., q.v., than their common belonging to the same root.

**ned**: see **alned**.

**nefitiz**: see **nec/fitiz**.

**negaça**: see **añagaza**.

**negus** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "Ethiopian sovereign": is a term of the mod. or contemporary historiographical lexicon, received through Pt. or another Western language, from Gəʿəz *nəgus*, not from Amharic, which took it from the former, although could have been the immediate source. In the text

quoted by Machado, **ao Preste lhe chamam, ...em sua língua negus e agacé**, i.e., "the P. is called in their language—", whence Machado and Morais have extracted a second title of the Negus, **agacé**, the most elementary knowledge of Et. suffices to recognize *nəgus* and *nāgasi*, the two synonyms meaning "king", correcting that ghost word. It could also be an even greater distortion of the official Gəʿəz title of the Ethiopian kings, *nəgusä nəgäst* "king of kings", usually abridged as *nəgus*, reflected in Western languages. This word, according to the traditional pronunciation of Gəʿəz,<sup>937</sup> should be ultima stressed, which the RAE has overlooked, for lack of competence in this realm, resorting as in other cases, and not necessarily with fortune, to merely copying the dictionaries of other European languages.

**neja**: see **añascar**.

**neneyoquiod** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1277, prob. corrupted (after Payne Smith 1879–1901:1946) from Syr. >*lytws nāksyā mrgwns*<, distorted from Gr. *Naxías akónēs tò apótrimma* "dust of the whetstone from Naxos"

**nenūfar** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "water lily (*Nymphaea* spp.)": through scientific Lit., < Neo-Ar. *naylūfar* < Neo-P. *nīlōpal* < Sk. *nīlautpala* "blue lotus (*Nymphaea cyanea*)"

**nerdi** (os—) and **oss grandino** "tarsus": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:41, < Ar. *nardī*, which in the dictionaries is only recorded in connection with the flower called *nard*, q.v.s.v. **nard**. However, as this became the name of dice in Neo-Ar. (see **dado**), the Ar. translators of Gr. medical treatises have reflected *tarsós* as \**ʿazm nardī*, lit., "die shaped bone", otherwise unattested and half-translated here as in the entry.

**nesga**: see **añascar**.

**nessa** (Pt., only in Morais) "intercalary month of the pre-Islamic Ar. calendar": is an unassimilated and poorly transmitted term, as the original Ar. form is *nasīʿ*.

**nesuad**: see **nebit**.

**nětsia**: see **nácsia**.

<sup>937</sup> See Argaw 1984:19.

**neubahar** “three and a half degrees”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from *Libro Complido*, < Neo-Ar. *nawbahār* < Pahl. *nōg bahr* “new line”.<sup>938</sup>

**neutraz** “a stone” which is found in Cyprus: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1277, apparently a corruption of the Gr. etymon suggested for **buritassen** (q.v.), through Syr. and Ar. transcriptions.

**nezcre** (Gl.) “shuttle”: < And. *názq* < Neo-P. *nēzak* “spear”, with a meaning undocumented in Ar., which reflects only the Neo-P. item as *nayzak*.<sup>939</sup> It is an isolated Ar. loanword in Ibero-Rom., heretofore undetected, exhibiting the same solution to the consonantal cluster as **almiscre**, q.v. Apparently, it has a der. **añasquear** “to till superficially” (Man.), through a metaphorical And.Rom. \**an+nazq+EYÁR*, “to run over, like a shuttle in a loom”

**nháfete**: see **ñafas**.

**nica** (Pt., in low register) “coition”: is a Rom. deverbal reflex of the And. verb *nāk* ~ *yinik* < Cl.Ar. *nāk* ~ *yanik* “to copulate”, cf. Cs. **nicar** in Baena’s *Cancionero*, after Eguílaz.

**nielim**: see **meli**.

**nigual**: see **anigual**.

**minicoraz** “night raven”: is an unassimilated term, from DAX 1280, slightly corrupted from Gr. *nuktikórax*, through the Ar. transcription.

**ninivita** (Cs. and Pt.) “Ninevite, inhabitant of Nineveh”: is a gentilic with Graeco-Lt. suffixation of the Hb. place name *ninwēh* < Ak. *ninua*, through Bib. Gr. and Lt.

**nisan** “a month of the Hebrew calendar, comprehending days of March and April”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1280, < Hb. *nisān*.

**nissaga**: see **lisaga**.

**nizarani** (Cs.) “Christian”: is a term given by Cervantes in *Don Quixote* as unassimilated, < Naf. *našrānī* < Cl.Ar. *našrānī*, although the high reflex of the first vowel points to an And. pronunciation.

**noayx** (with a worse var. **uoayx**) “little *našš*”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 111, identified in DS II 698 as *Assuhā* (cf. **açuhe**) in Ursa Major.

**nochatro**: see **almoháter**.

**nochizo** (Cs.) “wild hazelnut tree”: < And. Rom. \***NÓČE** “nut” with the adjectival suffix */+iČ/*.

**nocla**: see **nuca**.

**nocra** “nape, nucha”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:42, < Ar. *nugrah*.

**no-de-adão**: see **Adam**.

**Noé** (Cs.) “Noah”: through Bib. Lt. *Nōa* < Hb. *noāh*.

**non**: is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 111, < Ar. *nūn* “name of a letter”

**nora** (Gl., Pt. and Ct., the latter with the var. **nòria**, contaminated in its cauda by **sínia** and **sèquia**), **anahora** (Lt., in Arag. documents), **ñora** (Mur. and Ast.), **nória** (dial. Pt.) and **noria** (Cs., with the var. **anoria**, and old **annoria**, in GP 57) and **an(n)or**, **naura**, etc. (Leo., in DO 272) “water wheel”: < And. *nāšura* = Cl.Ar. *nāšūrah*.<sup>940</sup> Mur. **ñora/o**.<sup>941</sup> and Ct. **nyora** “a variety of red pepper” reflect the place name *Ñora*, of the same etymon. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **norial**; Ct.: **nyoreta**; Mur. **ñorial**.

**noxadre**: see **almoháter**.

**nubiense** and **nubio** (Cs.) “Nubian”: are gentilics formed with Rom. suffixation on the matching country name, based on Lt. *Nubae*, < Eg. >*nb* < (cf. Cp. *noub*) “gold”, as

<sup>938</sup> Designation of the descendent node of the intersection of the lunar orbit with the ecliptic, also called “the Dragon’s tail”, vs. the ascendent node, called “the Dragon’s head”, occasional only meaning of *jawzahar* (see EI<sup>2</sup> II 514). Cf. also Hilty 2005b:191.

<sup>939</sup> The And. word is quite well documented, after DAA 526 and, although the Ar. loanword is

completely isolated in Ibero-Rom., is somehow supported by **etžit**, q.v.

<sup>940</sup> Which appears to have an allomorph \**nāwru* in the lower registers of And., after AAR 2.1.2.10.1.2, comparable to \*\**bawd* for \*\**bašūd* “mosquitoes” in *Vocabulista in arabico*.

<sup>941</sup> Presently used everywhere in Spain.

there were famous mines of this metal in that country.

**nuca** (Ct., Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the bookish var. **nucha** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:43), **nocla** (Anl.) and **nu(n)cla** (Mur.) "nape of the neck": < scientific Lt. *nucha*, < Ar. *nuxāṣ* "marrow; medulla", with a semantic evolution prob. influenced by Ar. *nuqratu rraqabah* "hollow part of the neck, nucha".<sup>942</sup> In fact, the meaning "small round artificial pond dug for water storage", given by Eguílaz as used in the fertile lands of Granada, corroborates the circulation of And. *nūqra* with this connotation. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **nuquera**.

**nuduad**: see **nebit**.

**nugeymath turquia**: is an unassimilated term, from GP 111. Prof. Harvey appears to have been right in his interpretation of this passage of *Primera Crónica General* II 636–7, fol. 251v. to 252v, to the effect that the would-be Amazons were, in truth, Tuareg warriors. As for the discussed phrase, translated in the

text as "star of the bowmen of Turkey", his criticisms were pertinent, and we subscribe his reading *\*nujáyma attarqíyya* and matching interpretation "Little Star, the Tuareg woman" or, assuming a collective pl., *\*nujáy-mat attarqíyya* "Little Star of the Tuareg".<sup>943</sup> However, the var. **turya** and **turia** remind us of *tárya* "Gipsy", an ethnic group witnessed in Al-Andalus perhaps since the days of ʿAbdarrahmān III, if his female buffoon Rasis was such (see Viguera & Corriente 1988:40) or, in any case, by *Vocabulista in arabico*. Cf. **moharracho** and **cimitarra**.

**nura** "lime": is an unassimilated term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:243, < Ar. *nūrah*.

**nuruz**: see **naurós**.

**n/musatra** or **nusarta** "fistula": is an unassimilated medical term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1983: 177–181, < Ar. *nāṣū*.

**nyhel**: see **meli**.

**nyora** and **nyoreta**: see **nora**.

## Ñ

**ñácaras** (Gl.) "insignificant man": might derive from Ar. *nakirah* "unknown", without any phonetic hindrance, as it is a generally used term, although belonging to a rather high register; however, it is not documented in And.

**ñadea**: see **nadea**.

**ñafas** "mockery" (Sal.): Covarrubias' annotation about the insulting term **ñafete** in Portugal, confirmed by **nháfete** in Morais, "derogatory nickname of converts to Christianity",<sup>944</sup> suggests And. (an)*náfxa* "boast-

<sup>942</sup> This evolution is made evident by the Lt. rendering *cerebellum* still given by Nebrija to the Cs. word.

<sup>943</sup> See Harvey 1968:232–240. The term "Turk" was early known and used in Al-Andalus, as designation of the Hungarian invaders of 942 (see Viguera & Corriente 1981:361 and ff.), and was applied at times inaccurately, which would facilitate this confusion. As for the woman's pr.n. *nujáyma*, it makes an appearance in IQ 10/0/2.

<sup>944</sup> However, this interpretation is not neces-

sarily correct, because Machado's *Dicionário*, much more accurate most of the time, ignores it. As reflected by DS, it appears that this word had been a suspected der. of **neófito** "neophyte", which is obviously impossible, but might explain Morais' definition. His stress is incorrect too, in contrast with that of Covarrubias, which is in perfect agreement with the Ar. pl. *nafxát*, calqued by Sal. with the matching Rom. suffix, whence *\*nafate*, subsequently contaminated by a Rom. dim. suffix.

fulness, air of conceit" or its pl. *naḫát*. This requires a socio-linguistic and semantic explanation, the latter based on the semantic juncture of Cs. **darse aires** = Eng. "to give oneself airs", i.e., "being boastful", a common trait of many converts, who had previously made a fortune, acquired an enviable social position, and accepted the conversion to Christianity as the only possible means to keep them without having to leave the country. Once they had converted, old Christians of lower social standing would hate them out of sheer envy, disguised as hatred for their suspect conversions from Judaism or Islam. It is imaginable that some of those old Christians would poke fun at converts by calling them \**ñafa* or *ñafet*,

i.e., "blown air(s)", or even scoff some of them who were within their reach, by blowing on their persons, in allusion to those airs which some new Christians allegedly gave themselves.

**ñafi/ra**: see *nafra*.

**ñagaza**: see *añagaza*.

**ñarras, a** —"with toil" (Sal.): might derive from And. *náŕra* "sigh; grunt", contaminated by the Rom. suffix /-ARRA/O/, which is likely, as this is this word has the same Ar. root as the water wheel, the creak of which is a common metaphor in Ar. for moaning. As for *ñarros* "tricks", it might be a semantic evolution of the same word.

**ñora(l)**: see *nora*.

## O

**oarsem** (with the var. *aalguariscen*) "a bird... which is the lark": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 112, < Ar. *warašān* "turtle dove", misunderstood by the Cs. translator.

**oasis** (Cs. and Gl.), **oásis** (Pt., with an old hapax var., pl. *abases*) and **oasi** (Ct.) "oasis": through Fr., < Gr. *óasis* < Eg. >*whʔt*<,<sup>945</sup> in truth, the pr.n. of the region of the Oases.

**oca** (Pt.) "oka, Tr. weight unit equal to 1.28 kg.": < Ar. *wuqqa* or Tr. *okka*. At times, it is mixed up with the much smaller ounce. Cf. *ouquia*.

**ocal**: see *adúcar*.

**odalisca** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "female concubine in a harem": < Tr. *odalık*, lit., "suit-

able for the bedroom", through It. and/or Fr.

**odiá** (Pt.) "gift": is a late borrowing, documented since the 16th c., in connection with enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *hadiyyah*, through Neo-P. *hadiyye*. Cf. *alfadia*.

**oeta**: see *bata*.

**ogallá**: see *ojalá*.

**ogervão**: see *urgebão*.

**jógina!** (An.) "interjection of astonishment": recorded by Alvar Ezquerro 2000:559 in Alhaurín de la Torre, appears to reflect Granadan And. *áššu jina* "what a thing happened to us!"<sup>946</sup>

**ogiva(l)**: see *alchup*.

**ojalá** (Cs.), **ojualá** (Arag.), **aojalá** (Mur.), **ogalla** and **oxalá** (Gl., the second var. being

<sup>945</sup> Whence also Ar. *\*\*wāhah*, which was not taken from Cp. *ouahe*, as Machado states, following Lokotsch in a mistake repeated by Bishai 1964:46, but straight from older phases of Eg.

<sup>946</sup> Extracted from a saying identical or very

close to the proverb N° 1116 of Alonso del Castillo's, *rakkābtī qarāšū šala biđinjina, hirrum allī jina!* "I grafted a pumpkin onto an aubergine: goodness gracious, what came out of that!" Cf. *menay gambuyo, majuguñ*, etc.

also Ast., together with *axallá* and *áxala* in García Arias 2006:212), *ajolá* (Can.) and *oxalá* (Pt., prob. borrowed from Cs.): < And. *law šā llāh*,<sup>947</sup> a local adaptation of the well documented Ar. phrase *lā awḥaša(hu) llāh* ‘may God not forsake him’.<sup>948</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *ojalatero*. Cf. *oxamala*.

*ojear*: see *oxte*.

*ojiva(l)*: see *alchup*.

*ojualá*: see *ojalá*.

*ola(je)*: see *foula*.

*olé*: listed in DAI as a false Ar. loanword, for the reasons outlined there, on second thought, we now feel that we have all actually been more or less mistaken about this item as, although its derivation from Ar. *wallāh* is impossible, there would be no phonetic or semantic problems for a synonymous etymon *walʔilāh(i)*. In And. this item would have been pronounced with *imālah*, as reflected by Alcalá,<sup>949</sup> an allomorph listed, e.g., in DAA 25, which allows us to think that the oath by the non-abridged name of God might have been frequent before the general adoption of the standard form in Cl.Ar. and Neo-Ar.

*oleaje* and *olear*: see *foula*.

*olfbano*: see *benjuf*.

*olluas*: see *adivas*.

*olla* (Cs.) ‘whirl in a river’: from LHP 427, is a still living var. of *foula*, q.v.

*olmafi*: see *almafi(m)*.

*omalhacén* ‘an And. woman’s jewel’: Eguílaz quotes (s.v. *abumelih*, p. 13) a document from the Alhambra archives, describing this hapax, an unassimilated borrowing as a necklace of small pearls with five gold loz-

enges, and suggests the And. etymon *úmm alḥasán* = Cl.Ar. *ummu lḥasan*, lit., ‘mother of the handsome one’ or ‘of Alḥasan’,<sup>950</sup> common in the whole Western Ar. as designation of the nightingale, although that description, despite that author’s opinion, contains nothing implying that the whole jewel or part of it would portray such a bird. In our view, it is likelier that either the jewellers or their customers gave this name to that trinket in memory of the lady for which the prototype was designed.

*omeya* (Cs.), *omeia* (Ct.) and *omíada* (Pt.) ‘Umayyad, member of a famous Ar. dynasty’: is a mod. or contemporary historiographical term, < And. *umáyya* = Cl. Ar. *umayyah*, pr.n. of their eponymous ancestor.

*onanismo* (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and *onanisme* (Ct.) ‘onanism’: is a der. with Rom. suffixation, through Lt., of the Hb. pr.n. *onān*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct. and Pt.: *onanista*.

*oña/egal*: see *doñegal*.

*oque*: see *aloque*.

*orcaneta* (Cs. and Ct.) ‘alkanet (Alkanna tinctoria)’: the alleged Ar. etymon *\*\*\*irqān* of DRAE is a blunder and, as Coromines stated, it is a der., through Fr. *orcanette* and *alcanne*, from the etymon of *alcana*, q.v.

*orçaz* (Pt., only in Morais) ‘bottom of the fishing net’: thereby meaning the sinkers, appears to reflect Naf. *ršāš* ‘lead’ = Cl.Ar. *rašāš* < Pahl. *aršz*, possibly belonging to the fishermen’s jargon in North African fisheries. However, *arraçaz* ‘lead’ in GP 60 is an unassimilated technical term of And. transmission (i.e., < *arrašāš*).

<sup>947</sup> By hapology. This idiom is textually present in IQ 74/1/1 and Azzajjālī N° 1011, while the would-be Ar. idiom *\*\*\*wašāʾ Allāh*, posited by former editions of DRAE is syntactically impossible. It appears corrected in its latest edition, after Corriente 1996c.

<sup>948</sup> Documented not only in Ar. dictionaries, but also in those of Neo-P., as a vague expression of good wishes, which must have been very widely used.

<sup>949</sup> See Corriente 1988a:6, *dios verdadero* ‘true God’ *iléh*, etc.

<sup>950</sup> The most renowned mother of an Alḥasan in Islam is, of course, Fāṭimah, the Prophet’s daughter and wife of his cousin ʿAlī, which explains the prestige of this *kunyah* (see *alcurnia*) and the fact that in the West it ended up as an alternative name of the nightingale, in which, as in that lady, several outstanding qualities are gathered. In a parallel way, Eastern Neo-Ar. uses its hypocoristic *\*\*\*ḥassūn* as the name of another bird with a beautiful voice and colours, presently identified as the linnet.

**orchilla** (Cs.) “flowering moss (*Usnea barbata*)”: < And.Rom. *ORČĚLA* < Lt. *auricilla*.<sup>951</sup>

**orcob arrami** (with the var. **orcobarami**) “Sagittarius’ heel”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 112, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:144 as the star 23 of Sagittarius, < Neo-Ar. *ṣurqūb arrāmī*.

**orfil**: see **alfil**.

**orí** (Cs.) “cue given in the game of hide-and-seek by the hidden to the seekers”: in view of its unintelligibility in Rom. and of the presence of quite a few Ar. loanwords as technical terms of games (see 2.2), it may very well be And. *awri(h)* < Cl.Ar. *ari(h)* “show him, bring him to light”

**orlla** “tail of a animal”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1324, in truth, only the fat tail of sheep of an Eastern breed, < Ar. *alyah* = Hb. *alyāh*.<sup>955</sup>

**orozuz**: see **alcaçuz**.

**(or)raca**: see **araque**.

**orzahoneh**: see **zahón**.

**osga** “gecko” (Gl. and Pt.): < And. *wázga* < Cl.Ar. *wazağah*, in spite of Machado’s doubts about its being an Ar. loanword.<sup>953</sup> No doubt it was imported by bilingual Mozarabs as a euphemism, required by the folk’s super-

stitious rejection of this useful creature.<sup>954</sup> On the other hand, the relation suggested in DAI 586 with Ast. *alagüezo* “false viper”, must be disavowed, in the light of the arguments given by García Arias 2006:253–255.

**osmanlı** (Cs.), **osmanli** (Pt.) and **otomano** (Cs. and Pt.) “Ottoman, Osmanli, related to a famous Tr. dynasty”: the first item reflects the Tr. form *osmanlı*, prob. through Fr., while the second one does so, prob. through It., both from Ar. *ṣuṣmānī*, attributive adjective of *ṣuṣmān*, pr.n. of the eponymous founder. Cs. and Ct. **otomana** “ottoman, piece of furniture”, immediately taken from Fr. *ottomane*, is not an Eastern term, but a Western term designating an Eastern object. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **otománico**.

**ouquia** (Pt., only in Morais, who defines it as an old Asian gold coin, with a Frenchified spelling, proving its recent adoption): is, in truth, the “ounce, weight unit fluctuating between 320 g. in Alepo and 37.44 g. in Egypt, < Ar. *ūqiyya*, < Lt. *uncia*, through Gr. *ouqkia* and Aram. *u(n)qiyā*.

**ouete, ouvede, ouvete, oveite, ovede, ovete and oveth**: see **bata**.

**ox**: see **oxte**.

**oxalá**: see **ojalá**.

<sup>951</sup> The author of *Kitābu Ṣumdati ṭṭabīb* (see Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:58 and 2007:92) was aware that >*urjāllah*< and >*uriḥyallah*< are dim. of “ear” and, *ibidem* 2004:232 and 2007:339, that this plant is called >*urjāllah*< “because it looks like the fetlocks of a beast”, comparing its appearance to tufts of hair on them.

<sup>952</sup> The quoted text of the *General Estoria I* is referred to Lev. 3/9, in which Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907 have translated this item as “fat tail of sheep”

<sup>953</sup> Mistakenly rejecting, in Machado 1952, s.v., the pointed remark of Coelho 1890:922 which, however, he hesitantly accepted in his *Vocabulário português de origem árabe*, according to an information transmitted by our Brazilian colleague M.M. Jarouche, who also tells us that the Ar. origin was confirmed by Nascentes 1932:I 573 and Nimer 1943:I 142. So did Cunha Serra 1974.

<sup>954</sup> Already reflected in Ar. lexicographical sources, like *Lisān alʿArab*, recording its other name, *\*sāmmu aḥraṣ* “venomous and speckled”, as well as old traditions which call for its extermination, because “they rejoiced in the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by fire” All of this is related to the adoption of many Jewish stories by Muslims who heard them from converts of that origin, and with the myth of the salamander’s imperviousness to fire, as both animals are often mixed up by the folk. Such a misconception is reflected in the entry **osga** of Morais 1813:II 374, defining it as “a kind of venomous lizard”, and including the idiom “like an **osga**...under hand, in order to reach his purposes”. Later editions, like the *Novo dicionário compacto da língua portuguesa*, have corrected the zoological error and suppressed that idiom, but cannot, of course, omit ingrained meanings such as “repugnance; ill will; ugly old woman”.

**oxamala** (Pt., only in Morais) “interjection of compassion”: is perhaps a metathesis of And. \**law ma šá lláh* “would that it had not been God’s will”. But the parallelism with Cs. **noramala** cannot be left out of consideration, nor a contamination with the And. etymon of **tomara**, q.v.

**oxear**: see **oxte**.

**ox(t)e** (Cs.) “interjection of rejection”: < And. *ušš*, prob. of Hispanic origin, as there is nothing similar in Ar. It is an obsolete word, with a spelling which has not been updated, unlike the case of its still living verbal der. **oj/xear** (Cs.), equivalent of **uchar** or **uixar** (Arag.), whence the deverbal n.inst. **uchador** or **uchamoscas** “fly whisk”

## P

**pachá** (Cs.), **paixà** (Ct.) and **paxá** (Pt.) “Pasha, high official in the Ottoman empire”: through Fr., < Tr. *paşa*, but not genuine in this language and prob. of vague Iranian origin. It should not be confused semantically and etymologically, as Coromines did, though sinning in distinguished company,<sup>955</sup> with the reflexes of Neo-P. *pādšāh* “king on a throne” (e.g., Pt. **padixá**, in Morais, correctly interpreted), exclusive of sovereigns, < Pahl. *pātixšāi*. There is a var. **bajá** (Cs.) and **baxá** (Pt.) “Ottoman governor or admiral”, of the same etymon through Neoár. *bāšā*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **bajalato** (which does not reflect Tr. *pašalik* directly, as Coromines thought, but has Rom. suffixation); Pt. **baxado** and **paxalato** (vs. **paxalique**, entirely faithful to Tr., suffixation included).

**pachina**: see **barchilla**.

**padixá**: see **pachá**.

**pagoda** (Cs. and Ct.) and **pagode** (Pt.) “Eastern temple”: as Coromines said, through Pt., in which it first meant “idol”, from Dravidian *pagōdi*, epithet of the goddess Kali, < Sk. *bhagavatī* “goddess”, not from the would-be Neo-P. \*\*\**putkuda* of former editions of DRAE.<sup>956</sup>

**paidar** (Pt.) “deputy”: is an unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., connectable with the Indian enterprises, < Hindi, exact reflex of Neo-P. *pāydar* “stable, faithful”

**paixà**: see **pachá**.

**paja**: see **apaxar**.

**palestino** (Cs. and Pt.) “Palestinian”: is a gentilic with Rom. suffixation transmitted through Lt., from the Hb. etymon of **filisteo**, q.v.

**palgamoni**: see **falgamoni**.

**pali** (Cs.) and **páli** (Pt.) “Prakrit dialect of Magadha”: < Sk. *pālī* “series”, name given to the collection of basic texts of Buddhism, preached in that dialect and, later, to that sacred language of Southern India.

**palmiche** (Cs.) “fruit of the palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*)”: < And.Rom. *PÁLMA* < Lt. *palma*, with the adjectival suffix {+{Ĉ}}.

**paneca**: see **alfaneca**.

**panislámico**, **panislamisme**, **panislamismo** and **panislamista**: see **islam**.

**papa** (Cs. and Pt.) “pope”: through Lt., < Gr. *páppas*, reflecting Cp. *p+abba*, in which the Syr. etymon of **aba**<sup>2</sup>, exhibits the Cp. article. Of the same origin is Cs. **pápaz** “name given to Christian priests in North Africa”

<sup>955</sup> Even Vasmer 1996:II 223.

<sup>956</sup> Possibly aiming at Neo-P. *botkade* < Pahl. \**but kadag* “house of idols”, successively dis-

torted by Devic, Eguílaz and Asín, but this is not the correct etymon. The latest edition of DRAE simply refers to Pt.

Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **papad(g)o**, **papal(ino)**, **papisa** and **papismo**; Cs. and Ct. **papable**, **papal**, **papista**, **papalina** and **antipapa**; Ct. **papisme** and **papabenet**.

**papagai** (Ct.), **papagaio** (Pt.) and **papagayo** (Cs.) "parrot (*Psittacus erithacus*)": is a word of disputed etymon, apparently introduced in the Iberian Peninsula from Mediterranean languages in close contact with the East, stemming from Ar. *babbagā*, relatively old, or less prob., from its Neo-P. etymon *baḡḡā*, although neither of them can be autochthonous. Its Rom. documentation, slightly older in Fr. (12th c., vs. 13th in Ct. and Cs., and 14th in Pt.), would confirm a Mediterranean way, prob. connected with the Crusades. There has been contamination with Rom. words, which has altered the bilabial phoneme and the cauda.

**papal(ina/o)**, **papisa**, **papisme/o** and **papista**: see **papa**.

**papar(r)az**: see **abarraz**.

**pápaz**: see **papa**.

**papus(es)**: see **babucha**.

**paquistani** (Cs. and Gl.) "Pakistani": through Eng., although with adoption of the Cs. Orientalizing suffix, < Neo-P. neologism *pakestān* "pure country", name assumed, upon being created in 1948, by this state with an overwhelming Muslim majority in the Indian subcontinent.

**para** (Pt.) "a Tr. small coin": < Neo-P. *pare* "piece"

**paradís** (Ct.) and **paraíso** (Cs. and Pt.) "paradise": < Lt. *pārādīsus* < Gr. *parádeisos* < Old Persian *pairidaēza* "round enclosure", said of royal gardens. Intra-Rom. der. Cs.: **paradisíaco**; Ct.: **paradisíac**.

**parasanga** (Cs. and Ct.) "parasang, old Persian unit of distance": < Lt. *pārāsanga* < Gr. *parasággēs*, < Old Persian \**frasanga*, represented by Pahl. *frasang*.

**parchís** (Cs. and Gl.) "pachisi": through Eng., < Hindi *pāčhīsī*, attributive adjective of

*pāčhīs* "twenty five", < Sk. *pañca vimśati*. However, the European phase has been influenced by the trademark *Parcheesi* of its local adaptation.

**parides** "pyrite": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1352, etymologically correct (cf. **buritassen**), but not textually, as the text interprets it as "marcasite", which is corroborated by Payne Smith 1879–1901:1946, for Syr. > *lytws pwrtyš*.

**parranda**: see **farra**.

**parsi** (Cs. and Pt., the latter with the var. **parse** and **pársio**) "Zoroastrian living in India": through Eng., < Neo-P. *pārsi* < Pahl. *pārsīg* "Persian" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **parsismo**.

**part** (Ct.) and **parto** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "Parthian, member of an Iranian nation and dynasty": through Lt. *Parthus* and Gr. *Párthos*, < Old Persian \**parāma* "aristocrats".<sup>957</sup>

**pasamaques** (Cs., pl.) "a Tr. footwear": is an unassimilated word, excerpted by Eguílaz from Haedo and Cervantes. In his total ignorance of Tr., he considered it strangely corrupted from the etymon of **tamanco**, q.v., although it is the most usual term for shoes in Tr., *başmak*.<sup>958</sup>

**páscoa** (Pt.), **pascua** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **pasqua** (Ct.) "Easter; Passover; Bairam": < Lt. *pascua* < Lt. *pascha* < Gr. *páscha* < Aram. *pishā* < Hb. *pesah*. The Lt. corruption *phase* of Gr. has generated **fas** and **fas(s)os** (Ct.) "matins of Easter", and **fasos** "matins of Maundy Thursday" (Arag., in Borao, who mistakenly derives it from *farsa*). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **pascuero** and **pascuilla**; Cs. and Gl.: **pascual**; Ct.: **pasqual** and **pasquities**; Gl.: **pascuela**; Pt.: **pascoal** and **pascoela**.

**patache** (Cs., with the var. **pataje** and **patax**), **patacho** (Pt.) and **patatxo** (Ct., with the var. **pataxa**) "a kind of boat": its established etymon is And. *bañāš* < Neo-Ar. *bañāš* "agile, fast", contaminated by **pato** in an Intra-Rom. phase, being a name of a boat, but the

<sup>957</sup> After Nyberg 1974: II 148.

<sup>958</sup> Very common also as a loanword in Russian and Ukrainian, after Vasmer 1996:I 139, s.v. *bašmak*. The initial unvoiced consonant of Cs. is

prob. due to hypercorrection by And. Moriscos in Algeria, habitual bilingual informers of the Spaniards, aware that their native coreligionists voiced the Tr. /p/.



presence in Ar. of >*h*ish< and Pt. **albatoça** = Cs. **albatoza**, q.v., plus the fact that a large share of the seafaring terminology in the Mediterranean Ar. dialects is of Graeco-Lt. origin raises some doubts.<sup>959</sup>

**patana**: see **alpatana**.

**patatxo** and **pataxa**: see **patache**.

**pateja**: see **fateixa**.

**pato** (Cs, Gl. and Pt.) “duck (Anas spp.)”: < And. *pátt*, with ultracorrect /p/, < Neo-Ar. *bat̤* < Neo-P. *bat*.<sup>960</sup>

**paulilla** (Cs.) “moth”: < And. *pawllil(l)a* and And.Rom. *PAWLÉLA* < Lt. *papillōn[em]*, with suffix substitution (\**PAPILLŌN* > *PAP(1)LÉL* > *PAWLÉL*) and addition of a morpheme of n.un., after the rules of Ar. morphology.

**paxá**, **paxalique** and **paxalato**: see **pachá**.

**pelfa** “lazy woman” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:325): perhaps < Ar. *halbāʔ* “hairy”.<sup>961</sup>

**pellorfa** “husk; involucre of an ear of corn” and metathetical **perfolia** “involucre of an ear of corn” (Mur.): have resulted from contamination by standard Cs. **pelajo** of Ar. loanwords such as Ct. and Arag. **corfa** and their var., q.v.

**pellote**: see **polote**.

**pelota/e**: see **polote**.

**pelvi** (Cs.) “Pahlavi, Middle Persian”:

through Fr., < Neo-P. *pahlavi* < Pahl. *pahlawīg* “Parthian”.<sup>962</sup>

**penidium** and **penidjis**: see **alfení**.

**peñiarao** “spiny rest-harrow (Ononis spinosa)” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:326): this plant name is a half-translation and adaptation of Neo-Ar. *mušt arrāšī* “shepherd’s comb”

**peoriel**: the rendering “a star” in the matching passage of *Picatrix* transcribed in DAX 926, and in **ganafiel**, in 1394, makes it obvious that the editors have not understood the gist of the context, i.e., the existence of some angels in command of the stars, taxiarchs and chiliarchs, after *Book of Henoc*, although their pr.ns. appear so badly distorted.<sup>963</sup>

**percal(a)** and **percalina**: see **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.

**perengano** (Cs.) “so-and-so”: this additional member of the series **fulano**, **mengano** and **zutano** appears to have resulted from a blending of the common pr.ns **Pere** or **Pérez** with **mengano**, q.v.

**perfolia**: see **pellorfa**.

**peri** (Cs.) “peri, elf or fairy in Persian mythology”: is a servile adoption by DRAE of the Fr. reflex of Neo-P. *pari* “creatures formed of fire excluded from paradise pending a penance”, < Pahl. *parik*, with Nyberg 1974 II:151 renders as “sorceress, witch”. As in the parallel case of **pelvi**, DRAE is no authority

<sup>959</sup> According to Alṣudrī (partial ed. by Alṭahwānī 1965:81), in 340 of the Hejira, the admiral Muḥammad b. Rumāḥis sent against Catalonia a small fleet including “two reconnaissance ships” (*futtāṣayn*), which might provide a new valuable information, and bear on this etymological issue in favour of an Ar. solution. But this shape does not tally well with the aforementioned Neo-Ar. item and the matching Ar. loanword, as shown by its normal Rom. reflex **fateixa**, q.v., with the expectable palatalization, which is inhibited in the alleged Ar. etymon of **patache** by the velarized contour.

<sup>960</sup> Eguílaz misunderstood the witness of Aljawālīqī he mentions, who, as can be clearly read in *Lisān alṣarub*, s.v. *bat̤*, knew both etymological Iranian and onomatopoeic hypotheses. He did not say that the Arabs called the small ones *bat̤uh*, and the large ones *\*iawazz* “goose”, but that they only had this latter name

(see DAA 563, about its origin) for both species of Anatidae.

<sup>961</sup> As urban Islamic custom attributes slovenliness to women who do not remove body hair; see **felpa**.

<sup>962</sup> The incorrect definition of former editions of DRAE, “language of the Parsis”, has been emended in its latest edition, although preserving a Castilianization which is a servile adaptation from Fr. As in other instances in which this learned institution has not found competent people at hand, it has piled up mistakes, in this case, altering the original vocalism, eliminating >*h*< where Spanish spelling rules do not usually do so (cf. **brahmán**, **ohmio**), which destroys a whole syllable, and whimsically distorting the Orientalizing gentilic morpheme, even against the normal and correct pronunciation in Neo-P. and Fr. Consequently, we prefer a linguistically more correct **pahlaví**.

<sup>963</sup> See Corriente 1984c:43 and 108–109.

in this case, and the recommended Cs. form is **parí**.

**perputa** “hoopoe” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:325): < And. *buthúta*.<sup>964</sup>

**persa** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the var. **pérsio**) and **persà** (Ct.) “Persian”: < Lt. *Persēs* < Gr. *Pérsēs* < Old Persian *pārsa*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **persiana**, **persiano** and **pérsico**; Ct. **pèrsic**.

**pes algelbar** “the star Rigel, Beta Orionis”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from DAX 1398, half-translated from Neo-Ar. *riḷ aljabbar*. Cf. **risl algeuze aliuçe**.

**pharimithi** “eighth month of the Egyptian calendar, roughly coinciding with March”: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1403, < (Saidic) Cp. *parmhat*, presently pronounced *barmahāt* in Eg.Ar.

**phateri** “pious fathers”: this unassimilated item, from DAX 1403, allegedly Egyptian, is in truth the Gr. vocative *páter*, with Syr. suffixation, as explained in Payne Smith 1879–1901:3019 *pātryn*, *pātryā*.

**phitanos** “Gr. name of the fifth, sixth and seventh fever”: is an unassimilated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, matched in Ar. by >*fymātūs*<, perhaps corrupted from Gr. *pneumatōdēs* “asthmatic”.<sup>965</sup>

**phyma**: see **udimia**.

**picha** and **pijo** (Cs. vulgarism) “penis”: these terms of the taboo lexicon often belong to the speech of Mudejars or Moriscos; in this case, it is a reflex of And. *píxx(a)*, of onomatopoeic Rom. origin.<sup>966</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **pijota/e**, **pijotería** and **pijotero**. Cf. **apaxar**.

**pidoix**: see **bo/udoix**.

**piedra folórica**: this technical term of DAX 1408, can be identified as Cs. **berilo** “beryl”, from the Ar. etymon of **abalorio**, q.v.

**pijama** (Cs., with the var. **piyama**, Pt. and

Ct.) and **pixama** (Gl.) “pyjamas”: through Fr. and Eng., < Hindi *pā(e)jāma*, < Neo-P. *pā(y)jāme* “loose trousers”, lit., “leg garment”

**pijo(ta)**, **pijote(ría)** and **pijotero**: see **picha**.

**pistache(ro)**, **pistacho** and **pistatxo**: see **alföstigo**.

**piyama**: see **pijama**.

**pizpireta** “lively woman” (with the Mur. var **pizpirita**, in Gómez Ortín 1991:339): might contain And. *bizbíz* or *pizpíz* “wagtail”, possibly related to Ar. *baṣṣa* “to wag the tail”

**poiada** (Maj.) “strike on the spinning top”: as Coromines said, < And.Rom. *POYÁTA*, formed on Lt. *podiare*, like Cs. **poya**, q.v.

**polote** (Cs., with the var. **pel(l)ote**) “a kind of Moorish dress skirt of different valuable fabrics, but usually very short”: clearly, from And. *pullút* < Lt. *pellis* “skin”, with the aug. Rom. suffix, there being some doubts about the genuineness of **pel(l)ote**, on account of its first vowel, but it is a likely result of contamination with other der. of the Lt. word. The text by Guerra de Lorca, quoted by Eguílaz, describing the **polote** as sexy lingerie that would not cover the thighs, together with Juan Ruiz’s quote s.v. **pellote** (**en pellote vos iredes como por vuestra morada** “you will walk in p., as if in your home”, in 863b), make it clear that not only was it indoor clothing, as Coromines points out in his edition of *Libro de Buen Amor*, but also that it stopped one step short of integral nudity, being the origin of the Cs. **en pelota** (**picada**, i.e., wearing only an openwork garment) and der.

**polvo** (Cs. vulgarism) “coition”: this item of taboo lexicon prob. reflects a Mudejar or Morisco idiom, continuing And. *rabāḥ ḥírr* / *húlb*, lit., “to gain or get a vulva”.<sup>967</sup>

**ponche** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **ponx** (Ct.)

<sup>964</sup> This is no doubt the correct meaning in Corriente 1990b:324, not “snail”, as in Alcalá, following our rectification in Corriente 2005a:226 in connection with Gómez Ortín 1991.

<sup>965</sup> Unless it is corrupted from Gr. *phlégma* or *phlegmatikós*, as phlegm was supposed to cause several kinds of fevers, after Arrāzī (cf. *Hāwī*, 145). On the other hand, the authors’ proposal of

*phymátion* “small tumour” does not appear to be felicitous.

<sup>966</sup> See Corriente 1993b:283 and fn. 4 and 286 and fn. 19.

<sup>967</sup> See Corriente 1993b:284 and fn. 11 and 289 and fn. 30. Cf. the American Eng. vulgarism “to get some tail”.

"punch"; through Eng. *punch* (prob. not directly), < Hindi *pāṁṣ* "five", number of ingredients of the old recipe. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ponchera**; Ct.: **ponxera**; Pt.: **poncheira**.

**puñema** (Mur.): is a var. of **junema**, q.v., contaminated by the expletive **puñeta**, of standard Cs.

**purana** (Cs.) "a kind of old theogonic poem of India": through Fr. or Engl., < Sk. *purāṇa* "primitive"

**pysmon**: this unassimilated hapax, in a Jewish passage of Baena's *Cancionero*, reflects medieval Hb. *pizmon* "couplet; hymn; refrain" < Bib.Gr. *psalmós* "psalm"

## Q

**queber**: "tambourine": is a unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1490 and GP 113,<sup>968</sup> < Ar. *kabar*.

**quebolis**: see **cabolis**.

**queça**, **queçço** and **quessa/o**: see **alquicé**.

**queder** "stewpot": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 113, with the var. **alqueder**, designating the stars Eta and Theta Cefei, after Kunitzsch 1961:94; < Ar. *qidr*.

**quedi** (Ct.) "screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)": is not prob. an assimilated Ct. word, although extant in the translation of Ibn Wāfid, reflecting Neo-Ar. *kād/qī* < Neo-P. *kād/qī* < Sk. *ketaka*.

**quedimia** (Ct., with a var. **quelimia**) "calamine": is an unassimilated term, excerpted from Alcoati, after DECLC, precisely reflecting the var. *>?qdymyā*, unjustly rejected by Dozy, of Neo-Ar. *qalīmīyā* or *iqīmīyā*, < Llt. *cadmī/ea*.

**quedive**: see **jedive**.

**quef açoraya**: see **elquef eliedme**.

**quela** (Pt.) "a capacity measure": is a late borrowing documented in the 16th, acquired in India, < Neo-P. *kile* or *kaylat* < Ar. *kaylah*

"measure", applied in both cases to some in particular. Cf. **alqueire**.

**quelb** (with a var. **alqueb**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 114, < Ar. *alkalb*, after Kunitzsch 1961:73, Alpha or Beta Canis Majoris, while **quelb (array)** "the shepherd's dog" (with the var. **quelbaray** and **quelb array**), < Neo-Ar. *kalb arrāṣī*, is identified *ibidem* as Fl. 28, 29 Cephei.

**quelimia**: see **quedimia**.

**quelvacho** and **quelve**: see **albafar**.

**quema**, **alla**—(Ct.) "tax on imported or exported goods in the kingdom of Valencia in the first half of the 15th c.": is a technical term excerpted by Dozy and Eguílaz from the minutes of sessions of the local parliament; however, their etymological proposal is not correct, as the true etymon is not Ar. *\*alʿiqāmāh*, which by the way never means "evaluation", but *ʿala (l)qīma* = Cl.Ar. *ʿalā lqīmāh* "ad valorem, AVT"

**quenibir** (Cs.): this name of a mosque in the Granadan quarter of Albaicín, mentioned by Eguílaz, cannot be a corruption of And. *\*kibīr* "big", as he fancies, but a pl. *[la2ā3i4]* in Granadan pronunciation with strong *imālah*,

<sup>968</sup> See DAA 453 about its steady presence in And. With the support of a parallel text, including a drawing of a guitar, Nykl would correct this word into *kitūr*, but *kabar* is well attested in

And., the paleographic evidence does not further his proposal, as the text is another, it being also common that drawings in mss. do not illustrate the expectable object.

which opens two ways, at least: And. *qánbara* "little guitar" and *qúnbar* "a coarse fabric", or even the presence of *\*qanbár* "maker of either object", all of which would have a pl. *\*qanbíbir*.

**querc:** is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 115, < Neo-Ar. (*hajar al*)*kazak* / *karak* / *kizk*<sup>969</sup> "a very white stone found in the shores of the Indian Ocean"

**quermes:** see **alquermes**.

**querubí** (Ct.), **querubim** (Pt.) and **querub(e)** (Cs.) and **querubín** (Cs. and Gl.): through Bib.Lt. *chērūbīm/n*, < Hb. *kērub(im)*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **querúbico**.

**querva:** see **cherva**.

**quetmee** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1505, used to make invisible ink, which suggests an Ar. etymon *kātimah* "keeper (of secrets, fem.)"

**quetra** and **quevera** (Maj.) "goodness gracious!": these interjections of amazement, euphemistic according to Coromines, who, however, is not sure of their etyma, are quite close matches of And. *ká/úra* = Cl.Ar. *ka/úrah* "abundance, multitude" and *kibíra* = Cl.Ar. *kabírah* "big thing; mortal sin". Conceding that their use as interjections is not documented in And., the structure of the language would no doubt admit idioms like those of Cl.Ar. (*yā*) *ka/rah* "what an abundance!, how many!" and (*yā*) *kabírah* "what a big thing!" or "what a terrible sin!"

**queyebz** "lapis lazuli with copper veins": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1505 prob. corrupted from Gr. *kinnábari(s)*, through Syr. *>qnābrys<* which, however, in Payne Smith 1987–1901:3658 is "minium"

**quiaz** (Pt.) "an old small weight unit in Ormuz": cannot derive from the etymon of **ouquia**, but from Ar. *qiyās* "measure", although neither in this language nor in the matching Neo-P. loanword is there any documentation of that meaning for this item, which advises caution, before the context is better known and researched. Cf. **alquiece**.

**quibd allaçet** "the lion's liver", (with the var. **quivt / quid alaçer** and **quibt alaaced**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 114, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:71 as Fl. 12 (Alpha) Leporis or Alpha Boötis, < Neo-Ar. *kibd al'asad*.

**quibir** (Cs., with the var. **kivil**) "a coin": this rare item, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, indeed derives from Ar. *kabīr* "name of a certain coin", in And. *kibír*, but is not a theoretical monetary unit, as he says on Freytag and Dozy's authority, but an actually circulating coin, of little value to judge from proverb N° 1454 of Alonso del Castillo's collection, q.v., in Corriente & Bouzineb 1994: 103.

**quibla:** see **alquibla**.

**quif** (Cs. and Gl.) and **kif** (Gl.) "kief": is a contemporary borrowing, < Mor. *kif* "kief" < Neo-Ar. *kayf* "good humour" = Cl.Ar. *kayf(a)* "how?" Of the same origin would be **maquefe** (low register Pt., only in Morais) "disgusted", prob. reflecting Eastern dial. Ar. *mā kēf* "there is no pleasure", although more information about dates and source of the borrowing are needed.

**quifradaxa** (Cs.): about this hapax, probable Ar. loanword excerpted by Eguílaz (s.v. **xarnafa**, q.v.) from some Sevillian ordinances, we only know that it appears in a sequence (**desvanes, encañamientos, galones, xarnafas e quifradaxas de diversas maneras**) of architectural elements which builders were required to know how to make. There can be little doubt that it reflects And. *kif raḍā ššāy* "however it may be",<sup>970</sup> and chances are that it is a mere rendering of the following Cs. phrase **de diversas maneras** "of diverse kinds", in a pleonastic code-switch of a kind very common in IQ, although it might also happen that some kind of exceedingly baroque ornament had been so designed.

**quiladar** (Pt.) "commander of a garrison": is a mod. borrowing, acquired during the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *qaḥse dār*.

<sup>969</sup> Doubtful reading: see DS and DAA 116.

<sup>970</sup> Not surprisingly, as it was common in the Mudejar idiolect, this structure is calqued

from Rom., parallel to *quif irid*" (= *kif yirid*) = Cs. **como quiera**, in Alcalá (Lagarde 1883:53, l. 28).

**quilate** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **quirat** (Ct.) “carat”: < And. *qirāt* < Cl.Ar. *qīrāt* < Gr. *kerátion*, through Aram. From the same etymon is Mur. **alquilate** “tax on sales of properties and crops”, and the Cs. numismatic term **quirate** “silver coin used by the Almoravids”, with the var. Lt. **alquilatos** and Ct. **alquilats**, recorded by Mateu y Llopis, defined as a half dirham, minted by the Almohads, later imitated by Christian rulers. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **aquilatamiento**, (a)**quilatar**, **desquilatar**, **quil/rata-dor**, **quilatera** and **quiratar**; Gl.: **quilateira**.

**quilma** (Cs.) “sack of coarse fabric”, **quima** and **quilmu** “package” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:213): appears to hark back to a pre-Islamic North African term, documented in the Low Empire, as Lt. *girba* and Gr. *kírba*.

**quina** (Cs.) “cinchona (*Ferula galbani-flua*)”: is a bookish Lt. transcription of Ar. *qinnah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **quinado**.

**quinal**: see **alquinal**.

**quintal** (Cs. and Ast., in García Arias 2006:213) and **quintar** (Pt.) “quintal, hundredweight”: < And. *qinṭār* = Cl.Ar. *qinṭār* < Aram. (cf. Syr. *qanṭīrā* and Rab. *qinṭ(i)nār* or *qinṭ(ē)r(ā)*) < Gr. *kentānārion* < Lt. *centēnārīum*.

**quiosc** (Ct.), **quiosco** (Gl. and Cs., the lat-

ter with the spelling var. **kiosco**) and **quiosque** (Pt.) “kiosk, pavilion”: through Fr. *kiosque*, < Tr. *kōşk* < Neo-P. *košk* < Pahl. *kōšk*. The palatalized pronunciation of Tr. /k/ in this position lies at the origin of the Fr. shape and its imitations in other languages.

**quirat** and **quirate**: see **quilate**.

**quirguis** (Gl.) and **quirguiz** (Cs.) “Kirghiz, member of a Turkic people”: through Fr., < Tr. *kırgız* < Old Tr. *qırqız*.

**quirúvia**: see **chirivía**.

**quislep**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1079, name of the Hb. month of *kislēw* (between November and December).

**uitarra**: see **guitarra**.

**quitat alfarac** (with the var. **quith(u)t alfaraz** and **quetad/t alfaras(ç)**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 114, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:170 as Alpha Equulei < Neo-Ar. *qifṣat alfaras* “the horse’s cut” Cf. **cathat ataor**.

**quitrà** and **quitrános**: see **alcatrán**.

**quixera** (Cs.) “wood shavings”: is a technical term in López de Arenas 1912:181, possibly from the Mudejar or Morisco idiolect, < Ar. *qīṣrah*, reflected by Alcalá as *quixara* “peeling”, also in Diego de Guadix (see Corriente 2005b:110).

## R

**rab**: see **rabí**.

**rabadà** (Ct.), **rabadán** (Cs., with the var. **rebaldán**), **robadan** and **rrabadan** (Leo., in DO 274), **ra/epatán** (Nav.; by metonymy said also of any young servant), **rabadão** (Pt., with the old var. **arrabadam**), **re/ibadán** (Sal., influenced by the Rom. prefix {re-}) and

**rabán** (Anz. and Sal.) “chief shepherd” and **reba/edán**, **rebedano** and **repatán** (Arag., with optional semantic evolution) “(chief) shepherd”: < And. \**rább aqdán* < Cl.Ar. \**rabhu ddaʿn* “owner of sheep”.<sup>971</sup> The first constituent has been dropped in the Cs. var. **aldrán** (cf. **acicate**, **albacara**, **albacea**, etc.),

<sup>971</sup> Curiously enough, this idiom has never so

far been documented in any variety of Ar.

as well as Pt. **Aldrão**, semantically converted into a synonym of **Adão**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **rabadana**.

**rabal**: see **arrabal**.

**rabán**: see **rabada**.

**rabastieno** (Cs.): Eguílaz recorded this term as the designation of some Christian knights who, according to the chronicler Gonzalo de Illescas, were integrated in the personal guard of the Tunisian sovereign in the days of Charles V, in a situation comparable to that of the **farfanes** (q.v.) in Morocco. For this reason, he suggested the same etymon of **rabatín**, q.v., but this word is likelier to be just an error for **\*rabastieno**, a suffixation more It. than Hispanic of Ar. *ribāṭī*, i.e., "member of a *ribāṭ*" (see **ravata**), since such fortresses were many and famous along the shores of Tunisia, as a defence against frequent military and piratical attacks from various sources. It makes sense to suppose that these Christian units were quartered nearby, in order to prevent clashes with the Muslim inhabitants of more densely populated areas, and to have them ready for action whenever the need arose, thanks to the system of visual communications linking those fortresses, while they watched one another, so that any attempt of uprising or defection could be promptly forestalled.

**rabatico** (Arag.) "a tribute": shares the etymon of **ravata**, q.v. This item should be penultima stressed on etymological grounds.

**rabatín** (Arag.) "Valencian Mozarab": < And. *rabadī* "inhabitant of the suburbs", because they were housed mostly in the outskirts of Valencia.

**rabazuz** (Cs.) "liquorice juice": < And. *rúbb assūs* < Cl.Ar. *rubbu ssūs* "liquorice syrup" Cf. **alcaçuz** and **orozuz**.

**rahe**: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 115, < *rabīn* "name of two months of the Islamic calendar"

**rabec** and **rabequet** (Ct.), **rabeca** (Pt.), **rabel** (Cs. and Gl.) and **rabenque** (Ext.) "rebec": < And. *rabāb* = Cl.Ar. *rabāb*. The Ext. var. **rabil** is said of a variety of the same instrument, possibly through a folk etymology connecting it with **raho** "tail", on account of its long neck, although the same occurs in Pt. **arrabil**, perhaps a simple case of strong *imālah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **rabelejo** and **rabelero**; Pt.: **rabecada**, **rabecão**, **arrabileiro** and **arrabilete**.

**rahe(h)**: see **rahe**.

**rabí** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.), **rabi** (Pt.) and **rabino** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "rabbi, doctor in Jewish law": through Bib.Lt. *rabbi* < Hb. *rabbi* "my lord" From the same origin is **arab/vi** (Pt.) "title of Jewish magistrates", according to Morais' correct definition, a mere var. de (**ar**)**rabi**,<sup>972</sup> as Machado pointed, although mistakenly including Muslim doctors under the same label. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **rabinismo**; Cs. and Ct.: **rabinista**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **rabínico**; Ct.: **raça, rabina(r), rabínico** and **rabinisme**; Pt.: **rabinato** and **rabinice**.

**radiador, rabianchín** and **rabiantín** "peasant; small farmer" (Anl.): the third form might be the basic one, then altered by folk etymology, < And. *\*rább aṭṭīn* < Cl.Ar. *\*rabhu ṭṭīn* "land owner" or And. *\*rább amuṣṣa* < Cl.Ar. *\*rabhu amuṣṣah* "owner of possessions", although neither of these expressions are documented, nor And. *ṭṭīn* seems to have designated a land property, unlike the case of other dialects, which gives more weight to the second hypothesis.

**raça**: see **rabí**.

**rábida** (Cs. and Pt.), the latter only in Morais) and **rápita** (Ct.) "oratory": < And. *rábiṭa*, equivalent of Cl.Ar. *ribāṭ* "garrison of Muslims consecrated to religious and military services"). The origin might be shared with **repatani** (Ct., with the mod. var. **repatà**)

<sup>972</sup> With a var. **rab**, recorded by Pocklington 1984:288 in a Mur. document of the time of Alfonso X, applied to a Jewish financial official or royal tax-gatherer, although in this case the

borrowing may have been direct from Hb., as it was, without the possessive suffix, the preferred courtesy title of doctors in Jewish law within their own community.

"stubborn", a recent term, according to Coromines, who could not propound a convincing etymon. It prob. reflects **rapitán**, with adjectival Rom. suffixation, a name given, e.g., to a bulwark in Jaca, not far from the boundary, with vowel metathesis under the influence of the Rom. prefix **{re-}**, in allusion to the staunch resistance of the defenders of the mountain passes in their Pyrenean fortresses to the attacks of often very superior invading French forces. All this might also explain the mod. Can. (Gran Canaria) **rábito** "board on which the roof tiles rest", with an etymon sharing the root **{rbt}**, source of many Ar. loanwords in Ibero-Rom. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **repataneria** and **repataniesa**. Cf. **rata** and **raut**.

**rabil**: see **rabec**.

**rabina(r)**, **rabínic**, **rabinato**, **rabinice** and **rabinisme/o**: see **rabí**.

**raca** (Cs. and Pt.): it appears only once in the Gospel (Math., 5/22, hinting at a not very strong insult), through Bib.Lt. and Bib.Gr., < Aram., cf. Syr. *raqqā* "inane, contemptible". Unlike the case of Cs., in Pt. this word would have had some vernacular use in the meaning of "fool", after Machado and Morais. Cf. **araque**.

**raçay ateu amayn** "the two heads of Gemini" (cf. **altahuamyn**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 117, < Neo-Ar. *raʕsay atawlamayn*, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:195 as Alpha and Beta Geminorum.

**racha**: see **raixa**.

**rachab** "pubes": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, < Ar. *rakab*.

**racla** (Arag.) "sequels of an ailment": prob. < And. *rákla* = Cl.Ar. *raklah* "kick"

**racó** (Ct. and Arag.), **rencón** (Arag., with the var. **rancon** in a Lit. document), **rincão** (Pt., prob. borrowed from Cs.) and **rincón** (Cs.) "corner": < And. *\*rak(k)ún*,<sup>973</sup> a var. metanalyzed as aug. of *rukán* < Cl.Ar. *rukn*.

Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **arrinconamiento**, **arrinconar**, **rinconada** and **rinconera/o**; Ct.: (ar)**raconada**, **arracona(do)r** and **raconer(a)**; Pt.: **arrinco(n)ar**.

**raconic** "resin": is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 115: corrupted from Neo-Ar. *ratñaj*.

**radam**: is perhaps corrupted for **rroam**, q.v.

**radar** (Pt.) "customs dues": is a late borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises of the Indian Ocean, < Hindi *rāhdār* < Neo-P. *rāh dāri*.

**rafa** (Pt.) "strong tide": prob. < And. *rāfī* = Cl.Ar. *rāfī(ah)* "rising", origin also of another Ar. loanword in Rom., namely, the denominal hybrid verb **rafar** "to lift or filch" (provincial Pt., only in Morais, most likely reflecting the Mudejar jargon). As for **rafa** "way open to let irrigation water out and derive it from a main canal" and its intra-Rom. der. **enrafar** "to open one of those ways" (Mur.), they derive prob. also from the same word in the meaning of "withdrawing, removing", but it is not necessary, because an implosive pharyngeal is generally perceived by Rom. ears as an /a/ (e.g., **arroba**, **tara**), and besides, in many Ar. loanwords paragogical /e/ often evolves into /a/ (see 1.1.4.4.1). García Salinero 1968:193 is prob. wrong, upon suggesting a Gr. etymon for **rafa** "buttress of lime and bricks between the panels of an adobe wall", as it appears to be another Ar. loanword, < And. *rāfī* = Cl.Ar. *rāfī?* "damer". This is with a labialized var. **rufa** "place in which mud is left to dry", although in this case the etymon may be Ar. *rāf* "shelf", as is almost sure in Nvl. **rafa** "doorjamb; window post" and its match in DRAE "buttress in a wall or a crack" Cf. **rafe**.

**ráfaga** (Cs.) and **ref(r)ega** (Pt.) "gust of wind" and **ràfega** (Ct., with the var. **ref(r)ega** and **ràfaga**) "gust of wind and the like; throng

<sup>973</sup> Such a form, although undocumented, is supported in IQ 88/17/4 by the dim. *rukáykan* and by the Cs. and Ct. shapes; see Corriente 1985:148. There is a rondelet by Góngora,

quoted in connection with **lelilí** (q.v.), containing a **roncón**, perhaps an error for **rancón**, which would be a conservative Morisco trait.

of people”: is an etymological crux, although prob. < And. *rifqa* (easily pronounceable as \**ráfqa*, after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2) = Cl.Ar. *ra/ ifqah* “company”, with the original meaning of “group of birds or people”; see Corriente 1985:147. The stress divergence of Ct. and Pt. **ref(r)ega** can be explained as one more case of allomorphy, as in **adar(a)ga**, **alfavaca**, **alfávega**, etc., or through backformation of a deverbal noun from a hybrid verb **ref(r)egar**, with a necessary penultima stressed result.

**rafal(la)**: see **arraial**.

**rafalí** (Val.) “low quality meat” and **carne** — “carrion” (Mur.): < And. *rahlí*, documented in *Vocabulista in arabico*<sup>974</sup> in that second meaning, by semantic evolution of the attributive adjective of the Ar. etymon of **rafal** (q.v., in Arag., Val. and Bal. “hamlet”), which had become the technical designation of meat brought from such remote areas, in contrast with the products of urban slaughterhouses, regularly distributed in the markets by reputed retailers, as the first kind was a health risk, in the absence of quality control by market inspectors. Of the same origin are **ralea** (Cs.) and **ralé** (Pt.) “kind” and **ralea** “offspring; hatred” (Nav., semantic evolutions of the standard), stemming from the fem. *rahlíyya*, except in Pt., with an Intra-Rom. semantic evolution from “carrion” to “prey of predatory birds”, still found in Cs. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ralear** and **raleón**.

**rafar**: see **rafa**.

**rafe** (Cs. and Ct.), **rafec** (Ct.) and **rafe(l)** or **ráfil** (Arag.) “eaves”: < And. *ráf* = Cl.Ar. *raff* “shelf”, it being noteworthy that the form \**raf-fah* posited by Coromines is not documented, nor necessary, since the paralogical vowel is a clear intra-Rom. development, as is the final optional consonant in Ct., through contamination by other words exhibiting a similar cauda; cf. the local var. **ráfo/el**. From the same etymon is Arag. **raze** “edge”, but by no means Val. **riurau** “drying shed”, pace Coromines, as there is no semantic juncture supporting

such an etymological proposal. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **rafegut**. Cf. **rafa**.

**rafec** (l. **rafec**) **mientre** and **de rafetz** “easily” and **raf/hez** or **refez** (Cs., with the old var. **raffaz**, **rref(f)ez** and **rehez**, from GP 115), **rafaz** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:213) and **refece** (Pt., with an old var. **rafaz**) “vile, mean”, and **arrefece** “at low price” (Pt., only in Morais, apparently including the Rom. preposition (cf. Alcalá \*\**a darbát* “by blows”, Sal. **a fiarras**, q.v., etc.) < And. *raxís* = Cl.Ar. *raxís* “cheap”. From the same etymon, with metanalysis and substitution of a Rom. suffix, is prob. Arag. **rafollada** “abundance” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **raf/hezar** or **refezar**, **rafezmient(r)**, **rafeçedumne**, **rafec/çia** and **rafec/car**, **arrefezamiento** and **arrehazar** from GP 61 and 115, **enrrafeçer**, **refazia** and **rehazer**, from Hilty 2005b:184, and **arrefezamiento** and **arrehazar**, from DAX 246; Gl. **arrefecer** “to cool, to temper” and Pt. “to lose interest; to decrease”

**rafeca** (Ct., with a var. **rafifica**) “toll; tribute”: is an old term in Lit. documents, < Ar. *rafīq*, lit., “companion”, already recorded by DS as “Bedouin who protects travellers through his country for money”, i.e., the \*\**badraqah*, imposed by them, documented in Pt. for Palestine under the name of **cafarro** and, in the Western Sahara, in Cs., as **alharma**, q.v.

**rafega**: see **rafaga**.

**rafegut**: see **rafe**.

**rafeiro**: see **arraial**.

**rafel**: see **rafe**.

**rafenas**: see **reenes**.

**rafaz(ar)**: see **rafec**.

**rafica**: see **rafeca**.

**rafidi** (Pt.) “Rafidite, adherent of a Shiite sect”: is a contemporary historiographical term, < Ar. *rafīdī*.<sup>975</sup> Anl. **ráfita** “an intractable or insolent person” seems tightly connected with the entry, possibly as another der. of Ar. *rafīd* “dissenter” or, rather, from collective *rafīdah*, designation of that Shiite sect, particularly disliked by other Muslims. There is no

<sup>974</sup> This information of Griffin 1964 and its interpretation must be re-examined in the light of the Ct. term., dealt with anew by Bramon 1998, which requires a correction in the matching entry

of DAA 204 as “meat sold by shepherds out of town”

<sup>975</sup> See EI<sup>2</sup> VIII 400–402.



semantic difficulty, as Eg. *rafadi* is “heretic; fanatic; renegade”, a vague insult no longer widely connected with its genuine historical meaning, while for Mor., Mercier records *rafidi* as “schismatic”. While on the phonetic side, devoicing of /d/ is a characteristic trait of some North Moroccan dialects, the transmission, which must have been late, Naf. or Mediterranean, lacks a few links.

**ráfíl:** see **rafe**.

**ráfita:** see **rafidi**.

**ráfol:** see **rafe**.

**rafollada:** see **rafec**.

**ragatxo** (Ct.) “messenger”: through Sicilian, < Naf. *raqqās*, with metanalysis and substitution of aug. suffix.

**rageb:** see **raiab**.

**ragel:** see **rexl**.

**ragua** (Cs.) “terminal flower cluster of sugarcane”: the Ar. etymon *\*\*raqwah* “foam” suggested by DRAE, up to its latest edition, is not semantically suitable.<sup>976</sup> It is prob. a reflex of And. *rākba* < Cl.Ar. *rākibah* “rider (fem.)”, which would also be the origin of a mountain pass, mentioned by Eguílaz, between Cenete and Alpujarras; cf. *alfersa*, with a similar metonymy).

**rahama:** is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 116: < And. *raxám* “osprey (Pandion halietus)” = Cl.Ar. *raxamah* “a kind of vulture”.<sup>977</sup>

**rahenas:** see **reenes**.

**rahez and rahezar:** see **rafec**.

**rai** (Men.): “cottage cheese”, with a var. (al)**raib** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:193, < And. *ráyib* (thus in *Vocabulista in arabico*) = Cl.Ar. *rālib* “milk curd”

**raiab:** is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 116, with the var. **regeb** and **regel** ein

DAX 1513), < Ar. *rajab* “name of a month in the Islamic calendar”

**raima** (Ct.) and **resma** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “ream of paper”: < Ar. *rizmah*, which might have had an And. var. *\*rāzma*.<sup>978</sup> From the same origin is **rezmilla** “glans penis” (Cs., in P. de Alcalá), hybridized with the Rom. dim. suffix, a metonymy suggesting “little pack” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enresmar** and **resmilla**.

**raixa** (Ct.) “anguish”: according to Coromines, it would have resulted from a blending of Lt. *\*\*rīxōsus* with **ratxa** (Ct.) or **racha** (Cs.), which he considers as an Ar. loanword on shaky grounds, as we said in Corriente 1985, not only on account of its late 19th c., documentation (in contrast with Pt. **rajada** “gunnery salute” of the 17th c., not necessarily of the same etymon, in the same manner as Arag. **rayada** “cramp”), but also because of the phonetic, even semantic difficulty in the case of some meanings forced out of Ar. *rajjah*, which never meant anything but “convulsion” and may be reflected in **roge** “tremor”, from DAX 1576. In fact, the first Ct. items would more easily derive from Ar. *rafšah* “tremor”, said in Mor. of feverish convulsions, while the others might indeed be explained, parallel to Arag. **racha**, a Morisco der. of Ar. *rajjah* “shake”, coincidentally unattested in And., but spread enough in Neo-Arabic as to posit it without risk.

**rajá** (Cs. and Pt.) “rajah, Indian sovereign”: through Fr., < Hindi *rājā* < Sk. *rāja* “king”

**rajola** (Ct. and Arag.) and **reg/jola** or **reyol** (Arag.) “brick” and **rayola** “thin brick” (Ext., no doubt a mod. borrowing from Eastern Spain, as given away by the phonetics, as the Ct. industries flooded every corner of

<sup>976</sup> Neither do the latest editions of DRAE carry the meaning “hole in the ground next to a smith’s shop”, < And. *rākwa* = Cl.Ar. *rukwah*.

<sup>977</sup> To judge from the detailed information of Lane 1863–1892:1059, there was some semantic evolution in And. Nykl says that the matching illustration features some waterfowl, prob. a pelican, which would lack any lexicological support.

<sup>978</sup> After AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2; cf. **maimudina**

and **embla** as parallel cases of regular loss of intervocalic /z/ in Ct., while **resma** might have been altered under the influence of the Rom. prefix {re-}. It is not sure that Cs. **en rama**, as DRAE purports, and Pt. **em rama** “in a rudimentary state”, would share this etymon as, in addition to the phonetic difficulties, there might be a mere extension of the semantic concept expressed in idioms like **algodón** or **canela en rama**, i.e., unmanufactured.

Spain with their manufactures): is a mere metathesis<sup>979</sup> of And. *lajúra* = Cl.Ar. *ājurrāh* < Aram. *āgūrā* < Ak. *agurru*, < Sum. The stress is erroneous in the var. \**réjola* and \**rélojas* of García Salinero 1968:196. From the same origin is *jorete* “strong brick with six cavities” (Anl.), a Rom. dim. with wrong parsing and metanalysis of a syntagm with the definite article (*RAJOLÉTE* > *LAJORÉTE* > *LO+[H]JORÉTE[H]*). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: (en)rajolada, enrajola(do)r, desenrajolar, rajol(er), rajoleria and rajoleta; Mur.: *ra/ejoleta* “small brick”

**ralde**: see *arrate*.

**ralé, ralea(r) and raleón**: see *rafalí*.

**ramadão** (Pt.), **ramadán** (Cs., with the old var. **ramada** in GP 116) and **ramadan** (Ct.) “Ramadan, month of fasting for Muslims”: < And. *ramaḍān* = Cl.Ar. *ramaḍān*. Ib. **ramadam** “din” is a metonymy of the uproar raised every evening when the fast ends. The name of this month in the old Ar. calendar, lunisolar before Islam, though subsequently strictly lunar, when the intercalary days were eliminated, alluded to its coincidence with the hottest days of summer (from the root {*rmḍ*} “to roast”); therefore, it is unconceivable that Coromines would place it in Christmas.<sup>980</sup>

**ramales** “riches” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:356): < Neo-Ar. *rasmāl* “capital”, without *imālah*, which gives away a Mediterranean transmission.

**rambla** (Cs. and Ct.) “dry riverbed”, **rambla** (Arag.) “island in a river” and **rambla** or **râm(b)ola** “wooden frame with nails for drying fabrics” (Pt., a metonymy, implying that, in older times, this process took place on the very sandy grounds of dry riverbeds): < And. *rāmīla* = Cl.Ar. *rāmīlah* “sandy ground” A

semantic evolution is evident in the denominative verbs **arramblar** (Cs.) “to cover a place with sand; to carry away”, (Arag.) “to fill with mud”, **arramblare** and **arramplar** (Arag.) “to steal” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **ramblar** and **rambla/fizo**; Ct.: **arrambla(do)r**, **arramblament**, **ramblada**, **rambla(er)**, **ramblejar**, **rambl(ej)aire**, **ramblís** and **ramblista**.

**ramia**: see *abdarramfía*.

**rami(c)h** “an astringent medicament”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:248, < Neo-Ar. *rāma/ik* “mixed”.<sup>981</sup>

**rancon**: see *racó*.

**ranzal<sup>1</sup>** and **razén** (Arag., the first var. also Anz.), **ronzal** (Cs., with an old var. **rançal**) and **ronsal** (Ct., with an old var. **rançal**) “halter”: < And. *rasán* = Cl.Ar. *rasan* < Pahl. *rasan* “rope” Cs. **ranzal<sup>2</sup>** “old linen fabric”, however, reflects Old Fr. *rensan*, a gentile of Reims, of which And. *rassán* or *raṣṣál* is a mere transcription, not its etymon, as former editions of DRAE, now corrected, would have it. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **ronsalera**.

**ranzonero**: see *ronce*.

**rapatán**: see *rabadà*.

**rape** “edge” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:357): is prob. a var. of *rafe* (q.v.).

**rapenate** “wearing mismatched clothes” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:357): perhaps < And. \**rābb annaḥs* “ill-omened person”, after some folks’ belief.<sup>982</sup>

**ràpita** and **rapitán**: see *rábida*.

**raqua**: see *récova*.

**raque**: see *araque*.

**ras** (Pt.) “ras, title of certain Ethiopian princes or feudal lords”: < Am. *ras* “head; prince”. Cf. *adugue*.

**rasa**: see *rassa*.

<sup>979</sup> Which eluded Coromines’ perspicacity, as in the case of *balda*, q.v., to the point of saying that these changes were not evident and that contamination might have occurred with a Rom. word. Oliver 1959 had similar difficulties with the etymon of *Madrid* (see *almatriché*).

<sup>980</sup> He might have been convinced thereof by some indemonstrable hypotheses put forward by S.D. Goitein about the influence of Jewish rites on the institution of Islamic fast, which would coincide with the Jewish New Year (see EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ramadān*); however, this does not start in January

(i.e., Christmas time in the Julian calendar), but in September (*Tiṣri*), very close to the hot days of August.

<sup>981</sup> Apparently there are not two meanings distinguished by vocalization, nor does Ruyzes try to do that, in spite of the authors’ statement in this sense.

<sup>982</sup> Cf. IQ 7/2/33 and its annotated translation, Coriente 1996:63 and fn. 5, from which it is inferred that wearing clothes in mismatch or disorder was regarded as inauspicious.

**rasbadu** and **rasbot/r**: see **aldesbod**.

**rascetae** "tarsus": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, < Ar. *rusg* (cf. **alarsafe**, a reflex of the matching pl.).

**rasma** and **rasmie** (Nav.) "rancour; inclination; discretion; filth", (Arag.) **rasmia** "endeavour", **rasmadura** (Nav.) and **rasm(i)azo** "light wound" and **rasmear** "to scratch" (Ar. and Nav.): apparently derive all from a hybrid denominal verb, formed on And. \**rázma* "bite" (a var. of *lázma*, also witnessed by a verb *razám*, from a root with the basic meaning of "to grapple", although the semantic evolution at times has been considerable: in fact, there is some doubt about the possible belonging here of Nav. **rusm(i)ar** "to rub")

**rasa, en** — (Ct.) "en bloc": is a technical term in sea trade jargon, not to be mixed up with **rasa** "mutiny, riot", of Lt. origin. It cannot derive from Ar. \*\**raʿsan*, as Coromines thought, as this latter word never meant anything but "directly; completely", and does not imply the indistinction of quality which is the basic semanteme of that Ct. idiom. But it might instead derive from Ar. *raṣṣah* "layer of objects placed on top of each other", which can easily be understood as "all lumped together, without distinction" From the same origin would be **corcho en** — "raw cork before being selected" (Ext.); however, as the Ct. idiom is much better rooted, and the Ext. restricted to Merida only, it might well have been borrowed in the latter case from Ct., as a consequence of the at times brisk market of cork from Extremadura, shipped to the Ct. industries. As for Val. **a tarús** "wholesale; without reckoning or consideration", this idiom does not appear to be related to the entry, as Coromines thought, upon trying to connect it with Ar. *raʿs* by means of risky morphological assumptions: while it is true that prefix *{ta+}* favours an Ar.

loanword, that is not the case of the cauda. One might imagine that And. *battarjís* "by the lump" might have undergone half-translation of its onset, i.e., the preposition through code-switch (cf. Cs. **guájete por guájete**, q.v.) and that the cauda had been contaminated by Ct. **ús** "use, habit", unless there has been a phase of bookish transmission with an erroneous reading of >*tariis*<, as in the case of **balquena** (q.v.). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **enrassar**.

**rasul** "messenger": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 116, < Ar. *rasíl*.

**rata** "pocket" (Cs. thieves' cant): shares the etymon of **rábito** and **rauta**, q.v.

**ratafia** (Cs.) and **ratafia** (Ct.) "ratafia, a liqueur made of brandy and fruits, such as green nuts, cherries, etc., spiced with cinnamon": can hardly have its origin in the French Antilles, as Coromines fancied, considering the appearance of this item and its var. in Ct. (**ratassia**), Provençal of the Valley of Aran (**retassia**) and Arag. (**retafia**, **retaiza**, liqueurs of diverse ingredients, and **retazía** "delicacy"), it being easier to conceive that it made its way from Catalonia to Southern France, and was then taken to America by emigrants. Even less believable is a derivation from Lt. \*\**rātā fiat* "let it be confirmed", after Coromines' far-fetched hypothesis that this liqueur was served in toasts when a deal was made and, to top it off, that these toasts were accompanied by a Lt. phrase in such parts of the world and times. Contrariwise, the fact that this liqueur has sweet ingredients and spices, and that one of its var. be rendered as "delicacy" may well suggest that it was initially a desert, namely, Ar. *rafīs(ah)*, described in DS and cookery books, with a Berberized form >*tārfīst*<, a variety made in Fes, extant in Huici 1965:193 and 207.<sup>983</sup> All the var. of this term can then be easily explained, as stemming from a metaphorical \***ratafis/za**.

<sup>983</sup> Described as "bran biscuits baked and crumbled in mead and saffron, made into a liquid paste which is mixed with almonds, butter, sugar, cinnamon and cloves" About isolated cases of voicing of /s/ in And., a necessary step to explain the decay of intervocalic /z/ in the Ct. vars., see AAR 2.1.2.4.1.1. It was a feature attributed by Andalusis to Berbers, e.g., in the utterance mentioned in *Mafūxir alburbur* and other works,

which ṢAlī b. Hammūd would have used upon killing Sulaymān Almustaṣīn, *lā yaqtul azzulṭān illā zulṭān* "only a sultan can kill a sultan" In truth, however, this phenomenon appears to have occurred only in the case of their pronunciation of /s/, it being probable that in that utterance the basic item had been \**zulṭān* as a consequence of the contamination of velarization to the whole word.

**ratinegi** “resin”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:249, from the same etymon but better preserved than in **raconic**, q.v.

**ratxa**: see **raixa**.

**rátzia** (Ct.), **razia** (Pt.) and **razzia** (Cs. and Gl.) “raid”: is a contemporary borrowing, through Fr., < Naf. *gāzya* < Ar. *gāziyah*. Genuine Cs. **algara** or, simply, the standard Cs. **incursión** allow doing without that awkward Gallicism. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **raziar**.

**raualde**: see **arrabal**.

**rauda** (Cs.) “Islamic cemetery”: < And. *rawḍa* “mausoleum”, a euphemistic use of Cl.Ar. *rawḍah* “garden”. Coromines rightly points out its lack of genuineness, having been used by Mármol at the beginning of the 17th c., in a description of the Alhambra, and inaccurately defined by the RAE.

**rauta** (Cs.): is a word erroneously defined by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as “route, way”, by misunderstanding of the two only idioms in which it is used, with the verbs **coger** and **tomar** “to take”. In truth, it is a reflex of And. *rābta* “(tied up) sack containing one’s baggage” = Cl.Ar. *rabṭah* “bundle, parcel”, as reflected by Anz “bundle of clothes for washing”, preserving the original meaning lost by those editions of DRAE. Cf. **rábito** and **rata**.

**rauageh**: is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1518, which the text renders as “returning” and interprets as falcons caught in their rut, a metonymy of Ar. *rawājiḥ*, pl. of *rājiḥ* “a woman returning to her family upon her husband’s death”

**raval(ene)** and **ravaler/t**: see **arrabal**.

**ravata** (Ct.), **rebate** (Pt.) and **(ar)rebato** (Cs.), **arrebato** (Gl.), **rebate** (Pt.) “alarm, call to arms; uproar; commotion”: < And. *ribāt* = Cl.Ar. *ribāt* “military service of the Muslims quartered in a **rábida**, q.v., in order to perform this religious duty, or done by any of them in emergencies” When that service was required, the need for volunteers was proclaimed with that cry, so that it became synonymous with commotion and hasty action. The Ct. form appears to exhibit metanalysis of the paragogical vowel as a fem. morpheme, as the addition of the fem. morpheme to

**maşders** of the derived measures of the verb, as suggested by Coromines was neither frequent nor documented in And. for this term; another possible solution, supported by the Cs. var. **rebata**, would be a denominal der. of a hybrid Rom. verb built on that term. Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **rebatico**; Cs.: **arrebatacapas**, **arrebataidizo**, **arrebata(do)r**, **arrebataimiento**, **arrebatainte**, **arrebatapuñadas**, **arrebatiña** and **arrebato(so)**; Old Cs. in GP 117–118, **rebatar**, **rebatatamient(e)**, **rebato** and **rebatoamiente**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **arrebata(do)r**; Ct.: **arravatada**, **(ar)ravatar**, **arravatament** and **ravatacapas**; Ast.: **arrobata** (phonetic var. of standard Cs. **arrebatiña**); Pt. **arrebataidura**, **arrebataimento**, **arrebate** and **(ar)rebatinha**. Cf. **almorávida**, **arrobada**, **marabedí**, **gasunya** and **rábida**.

**ra/exe** or **resce** “goodwill”, < And. *rāšwa* = Cl.Ar. *rašwah* “bribe”, with application of the rule enunciated in Corriente 2004b:91 (cf. **achaque**, **queça**, etc.).

**raxadī** (Cs.) and **rexa/edia** (Llt., after Mateu y Llopis) “a kind of doubloon”: is an unassimilated numismatic term, excerpted by Eguílaz from a medieval inventory (s.v. **dalmir**), reflecting the Ar. attributive adjective *rašadī*, formed on the assumed title of the Almohad caliph ʿAbd alwāḥid Arrašid (“well-guided”).

\*\*\***raxbe** (Ct.): thus spelled in DECLC is a ghost word, resulting from a corruption in the translation of Ibn Wāfīd’s medical treatise, although the context makes clear that the good reading is \***raxtē**, vowel harmonization of the term extant in *Vocabulista in arabico*, >*rištān* < “aphthae”, < Neo-P. *riš e tāt* “mouth pustule”

**raxibe** (Ct., better than **reixiva**) “reef”: is a hapax prob. badly transmitted, if its etymon is Ar. *rašif*.

**rayola**: see **rajola**.

**raz elgehçi** “head of the kneeling one”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 116, with the var. **r. algacey**, **raç algacey**, **ras elgesi** and **rraz al gesi**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:194 as Alpha Herculis, < Neo-Ar. *raʿs al-jāḥi*.

**raz algol**: see **barseus**.

**raz alhace** (i.e., \*alhace) "head of the snake hunter": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 117, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:196 as Alpha Ophiuchi, < Neo-Ar. *raʿs alhawwāʾ*.

**raz almara** "the woman's head" (with the var. **rac almara**, **rasalmara** and **tasaljnara**): is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 116, < Neo-Ar. *raʿs almarʿah*, is prob. Alpha Andromedae, to judge from Kunitzsch 1959:132.

**raz elmutallet**: see **almučeleg**.

**razane** "self-possession": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:137, < Ar. *razānah*.

**raze**: see **rafe**.

**razén**: see **ranzal**.

**raz(z)ia** and **raziar**: see **ràtzia**.

**real**: see **arraial**.

**reala**: see **rehala**.

**realgar** (Ct.) and **rejalgar** (Cs.) "realgar" and "poison; very bad wine; poisonous plant" (Anl.): are all semantic evolutions of the standard meaning, < And. *rahj alḡār* < Cl. Ar. *rahju lḡār* "dust of the cave", at times supposed to be a bad reading of *alḡār* "the mouse", as it was often used as rat poison. The onset of the word has no doubt been contaminated by Rom. reflexes of Lt. *rēgālis* "royal", although in the Cs. case it would be enough to assume the frequent influence of the prefix {re-}.

**rebadán**: see **rabadà**.

**rebalbica** or **revalbica** "a blue bird with a speckled belly and black beak" (Mon.): perhaps < And. \**rábh albayqa* "lord of the meadows", simultaneously contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-} and the dim. suffix.

**rebaldán**: see **rabadà**.

**rebaño** (Cs.) and **ra/ebanho** (Pt.): from a hybrid And.Rom. \**ribh+ÁÑO*, half-translation and adoption of And. *ḡanám* "small cattle".<sup>984</sup> Cf. **alganame**.

**rebata/e/o**, **rebatar**, **rebatatamient(e)**,

**rebatoso**, **rebatosamiente**, **rebatice** and **rebatinha**: see **ravata**.

**rebedán** and **rebedano**: see **rabadà**.

**re/ibí** "rabbi" (Jud.-Sp.): is parallel to And. *ribbi* vs. *rabbī* in Cl.Ar. and *rabbī* in Hb.<sup>985</sup>

**rebite** (Cs. and Pt.) "rivet": prob. < Ar. *rabīṭ* "tied; prisoner", contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **rebitar**.

**recam(ad)o**, **recama(do)r** and **recamad-ura**: see **margomar**.

**recamo** (Cs.) "caster; pulley": is a technical term in García Salinero 1968:195, < And. *rukāh* "knees"

**recayquí**: see **arrucaique**.

**rechiruela** "yellow bedstraw (Gallium verum)" (Mur., in Gómez Orín 1991:362): is a metathetical var. of And.Rom. *LAXTAR-WÉLA*.<sup>986</sup>

**rech(o)**: see **re(i)so**.

**reciella**: see **rexelo**.

**recife**: see **arrecife**.

**reclau**: see **alaclán**.

**recod/tín recod/tán** (Cs.): is a cue word in a game in which, in its most genuine version, a grown-up receives a child's head in his lap and taps his back a number of times, so that the child will say how many, this being repeated until he guesses right and is let go. It appears to be a stimulating exercise applied by nannies to small children, although it has evolved into a game played by several children alone, using their elbows to strike their partner, as DRAE states, in agreement with that phrase (cf. **alhiguf**). Considering that, for a long time, such nannies were Mudejar or Morisco women in the regions last taken over by the Christians, the survival here of Arabo-Islamic folkloric uses, as in the case of other games of the Iberian Peninsula is likely. That cue word is not easily recoverable, but it might be something like And. *raqidín* = Cl.Ar. *raqidīn* and

<sup>984</sup> As explained in more detail in Corriente 2005a:226. Cf. **ydanitaganam**.

<sup>985</sup> According to the contents of a personal letter from R. Steiner, it was a Mishnaic var.

preserved in the East and documented by Mazar 1973–1976.

<sup>986</sup> See Corriente 2000–2001:151–153.

*ruqūd* < Cl.Ar. *ruqūd* "lying", describing the child's position during the game.<sup>987</sup>

**récova** (Pt., with the old var. **arracova** and **récua**), **récua** (Ct., with a mod. var. **récua**), **recua** (Cs. and Gl.) and **raqua** (Cs., in LHP 540) "train of pack animals", and **recova** (Can.) "market": < And. *rākb(a)* = Cl.Ar. *rakb(ah)*, "riding (one time)", contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}. From the same origin is **arricova** (Pt., only in Morais) "baggage" which, therefore, ought to be antepenultima stressed. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **recovar**, **recovero**, **recuaje** and **recuero**; Ct.: **recover** and **recuer**; Pt.: **recova(gem)**, **recovar** and **recoveira/o**. Cf. **raqua**.

**redaño** (Cs.) "mesentery": according to Vázquez 1988, < Ar. *ridān*.<sup>988</sup>

**redí**: see **ardien**.

**redina** "spindle" (Can.): this term used in La Palma is the only witness in Ibero-Rom., but for the isolated information in F. del Rosal (after Gómez Aguado 1992:534,) already mentioned by Eguílaz, of And. *raddána* (cf. *raddina* in Alcalá), a renewed form of Cl.Ar. *mirdan*.

<sup>987</sup> Šir 1990:85–86 describes a rather similar game, with the same positions and aimed at guessing something, described in old Islamic sources, possibly supporting the hypothesis of the Eastern origin of its Spanish counterpart, not only of the cue word under consideration. That game, called *\*\*suddar* in Ar., but vaguely considered as an Iranism, appears to have spread among the speakers of the three main languages of the Islamic East, as that author documents it among the Turks with the designation of *benizi boz oyunu*, lit., "game of altered appearances", in which a child is blindfolded and rests his head on a partner's lap; next, the others trade their clothes and lie on the ground with their faces hidden. Thereupon, the first child removes the blindfold and tries to guess their names one by one, so that if he guesses right they trade roles, but otherwise he must carry that partner on his back and start again. There was prob. a var. of this game in which the partner having the first child's head in his lap could help him by tapping his back in some kind of identification code: this would explain the features of the Spanish version, and suggest cue words such as And. *ruqidin* (*húm*) *rāqid ānt* "they are lying down, you are lying down", serving to

**redoma** (Ar., Cs., Gl. and Pt., the latter with the old var. **rodoma**, **arredoma** and **arrotoma**), **arrodoma** and **rot(h)oma** (Leo., in DO 274); and **red(toma)** (Ct.) and **re(i)oma** (Mur.): "flask": < And. *\*ra/uqūma*, of that same meaning, a metaphor of Cl.Ar. *raṭūm* "narrow in the vulva",<sup>989</sup> contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}. The Can. meaning "a cloud over Teide's peak" is due to semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (**ar**)**redomado** and **redomazo**; Cs. and Pt.: **arredomar**; Pt. **enredomar**.

**reec**: see **risc**.

**reenes** (Ct., with a rare var. **reena**), **refém** (Pt., with the old var. **arra/efém**), **arrafé** and **refén** (Gl.) and **rehén** (Cs.)<sup>990</sup> "hostage": < And. *rihán* = Cl.Ar. *rihān*, pl. of *rāhn* = Cl.Ar. *rahn* "pawn; hostage", in most cases contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}. The immediate source was not the sg., as is usually purported, because usually more than one hostage was taken: besides, the sg. is not phonetically suitable, as there are no traces of phonemicization of a *shewa* in front of the last consonant, which is a necessary condition for

signal the attempt at identifying the others, after that previous communication by tapping.

<sup>988</sup> Her arguments are quite convincing, and presently supported by **rebaño**, with the same suffixation.

<sup>989</sup> Cf. the Cl.Ar. idiom *waqaḥa fī ruṭūmah* "to be in dire straits", already exhibiting the metonymy of a "place with a narrow or difficult exit". On the other hand, Syr. *rūṭūmā* "prater", usually considered as an alteration of {rṭm}, has a tight semantic juncture with Ar. {bḡbq} "to bubble out (said of water poured out of bottles)", represented by the *maṣḍar* *\*\*baḡbāq* in a *zajal* of Madgallis' (11/5/1 in Corriente 1994:72) and in a well-known passage of *El Conde Lucanor* (see Corriente 1992b). It is, therefore, legitimate to suppose that, in a prehistoric phase of {rṭm}, *\*ruṭūmah* would have acquired in the speech of the Syrian immigrants of Al-Andalus the meaning of "narrow-necked vessel gurgling upon been emptied or filled"

<sup>990</sup> With the old var. **arrehén** in *Crónica del rey don Pedro y del rey don Enrique, su hermano*, by Pero López de Ayala, after information provided by Prof. Montaner.

stress shift. Neither is the fem. of Old Ct. and Arag. var. **raf/henas** a reflex of Ar. *rahīnah*, which apparently was not circulated in the low and middle registers of And., although extant in the *Leiden Glossary*: as in other instances, that final vowel is the result of metanalysis of a /e/, either paralogical or generated by metanalysis of a Rom. pl. rom.

**refece**: see **rafec**.

**refega**: see **ráfaga**.

**refém/n**: see **reenes**.

**refez(ar)**: see **rahez**.

**refrega**: see **ráfaga**.

**regaifa** (Cs.) “cake”, (also Val., prob. borrowed from Cs) “loaf”, **regueifa** (Pt.) “loaf” and **regueifa** (Gl.) “wedding cake”: < And. *ragáyif* < Cl.Ar. *ragāʾif*, pl. of *ragʿfa* = Cl.Ar. *ragʿfah*, the derivation from the pl. being necessary to explain the steady presence of that diphthong, as well as logical, as there is usually more than one cake or loaf. The pl. appears corroborated also by the meaning preserved by Eguílaz, “a stone slab on which the frails full of ground olives are piled up, and subsequently pressed”, which is more accurate than the definition later adopted by DRAE, “a round slab with a groove all around through which, in oil mills, the oil flows squeezed out of the frails full of ground olives and pressed”, as is obvious that this term originally designated those frails, comparable to cakes, flattened by pressure. The final vowel is the result of metanalysis of a paralogical /e/, and there has been contamination by the Rom. prefix {re-}. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **regueifante**; Gl. and Pt.: **regueifeiro**; Pt.: **regueifar**.

**regola**: see **rajola**.

**regueifa(nte)**, **regueifeiro** and **regueifar**: see **regaifa**.

**re(h)ala** (Cs.) “drove of sheep of several owners herded by a single head shepherd”: < And. *rahāla* “household furniture” < Cl.Ar. *rihālah* “camel packsaddle”, with a semantic evolution contrary to that of Lt. *pēcūnla*, first “cattle”, then, “properties”, prob. old, as already in Cl.Ar. sheep were designated with that term. From the same etymon is Cs.

**arreala** “tax on those sheep”. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **rehalero**; Anl. **rehalilla** “dogs speedier but less abundant than those accompanying a **rehala**”; Anz.: **arrehalar** “to take dogs to the **rehalas** where they are trained in hunting”; Can.: **arrejalar** “to move aside”

**rehalí** (Cs.) “peasant of the Ar. tribes of Morocco”: is a mod. borrowing, backformed by metanalysis of the Naf. pl. *rəḥḥalīn* “nomads” as *\*raḥḥāliyyīn*, with assumption of gentilic suffix, usually reflected by Cs. as {-í}.

**rehalilla**: see **rehala**.

**rehani** (Cs.) “a Cordovan variety of figs”: is recorded in DS, although absent in the listings of And. botanists, < And. *rayhāni* = Cl.Ar. *rayḥānī* “myrtle-like”; therefore, this term should be ultima-stressed.

**rehén**: see **reenes**.

**reicho**: see **reiso**.

**reinar** “to grumble” (Can.): reflects the hybrid And.Rom. verb *\*raynaq+ÁR*, formed on the And. *mašdar ráynaqa*, from the same Lt. origin as Cs. **renegar**. Such will prob. be the case of the homophonous words in DRAE, meaning “to meditate” in Andalusia and “to make a top spin” in Aragon, with obvious but diverse semantic evolutions.

**reiso**, **reistete** and **ro(o)** “interjection to stop camels” (Can.): as in the case of other terms related to camels, it reflects Ḥas. *ēi ḥo*,<sup>991</sup> appended with Cs. so “shoo!”, another common interjection addressed to beasts; from a similar origin is **reicho** or **reih** “interjections to make the camels drink”, < Ḥas. *ēi aha*. Cf. **guelfo** and **marzagani**.

**reixaga**: see **arrejaque**.

**reixiello**: see **rexelo**.

**reixiva**: see **raxibe**.

**rejalgar**: see **realgar**.

**rejol(et)a**: see **rajoleta**.

**reloucar**, **relouco** and **relouqueiro**: see **loco**.

**remesaque** (Arag.) “earmark in sheep”: might be metathetical of a hybrid of And. *rāsm* = Cl.Ar. *rasm* “mark” with the Rom. pejorative suffix {+ÁK}.

<sup>991</sup> See Monteil 1952:101, and Corriente

2001:194–195.

**rencón:** see **racó**.

**reoma:** see **redoma**.

**repata:** see **rábida**.

**repatán:** see **rabadà**.

**repataneria** and **repatani(esa):** see **rábida**.

**requife(iro)** and **requite:** see **arrebique**.

**resm(ill)a:** see **raima**.

**ressaga(r)**, **ressagar-se**, **ressagot** and **ressaguer:** see **zaga**.

**retahíla** (Cs.) "series, sequence": this term, with etymological difficulties dealt with by Coromines, is more popular than learned, which makes unlikely the Lt. etymon **\*recta fila** usually purported; besides, it has a clear tendency to mean a series of words uttered together in a row. In the light of **ratafia** and **batahola**, resulting from similar structures, it might be a case of metathesis and concretization of Ar. **tarfīlah** "trailing or dragging a garment on the ground"

**retama** (Cs., Pt. and Val., the latter borrowed from Cs.) "broom (Genista spp.)" and **ret(r)ama** "chestnut flower" (Leo., with semantic evolution): < And. **ratāma** = Cl.Ar. **ratamah**, contaminated by the Rom. prefix {re-}. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **retamal/r**, **retamero**, **retamilla** and **retamón**.

**retoma:** see **redoma**.

**reva** (Ct.) "tax, tribute; turn": prob. < And. **riḥ** = Cl.Ar. **riḥ** "profit, interest" (cf. **tara**, **rova**, etc., concerning the development of the disjunctive vowel).

**revalvica:** see **rebalvica**.

**rexa/edia:** see **raxadī**.

**rexelo** "lamb; kid; colt" (Pt.) and "young lamb" (Gl.), **reixiello** "young ram" (Leo.) and **reciella** "crowd of noisy boys; young animals" (Ast., by metonymy): apparently derive from And. **raśá** = Cl.Ar. **raśaʿ** "young gazelle", with Rom. dim. suffixation. Eguílaz's etymological proposal, Ar. **\*šīl** "young bull" is unsuitable, both phonetically and semantically.

**reyol:** see **rajola**.

**rezaga(nte)**, **rezago** and **rezagar:** see **zaga**.

**rezmilla:** see **raima**.

**rial** (Cs.) "rial, unit monetary of some Middle Eastern countries": is a return, through Neo-Ar. **riyāl**, of Pt. and Cs. **real**, carried to

those lands by the Portuguese. It has been also used in Morocco.

**ribadán:** see **rabadà**.

**ribes** (Ct. and Pt.) "red currant (*Ribes rubrum*)": is prob. a mere Lt. bookish transcription of Ar. **riḥās**, < Neo-P. **riḥ/vās/j** or **riyiv**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **river**.

**rib/vet** (Ct.) and **ribete** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "hem, trimming": perhaps < And. **ribát** = Cl.Ar. **ribāt** "band, ribbon", contaminated by the Ct. dim. suffix; this circumstance and its dating point to an originally Ct. term, spread towards the West.

**ricial/r** and **ricio:** see **risc**.

**rieche** "lungs": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:44, < Ar. **riḥah** or its pl. **riḥāt**.

**riedo** (Arag.) "regime, discipline": if it were an error for **rieda**, it would reflect And. **riyāda** = Cl.Ar. **riyādah** "exercise"

**riesgo:** see **risc**.

**rifeny** (Ct.), **rifeño** (Cs. and Gl.) and **rifenho** (Pt.) "Riffian": this gentilic has been obtained from the Mor. place name **arriḥ** ("Er) Rif(f)" = Cl.Ar. **riḥ** "coastal area"

**rifica:** see **rafeca**.

**Rigel** and **rigil:** see **risl**.

**rigueifa:** see **regaifa**.

**riha:** see **alsarha**.

**rija** "lachrymal fistula": Coromines considered it as an Ar. loanword, which he connected with **riḥah** "feather", as this was the term used by Ibn Wāfid, but in truth he was merely using the Neo-P. medical term **riše** "wound"

**rincão**, **rincón**, **rinconada** and **rinconera/o:** see **racó**.

**rioma:** see **redoma**.

**risc** (Ct., with the old var. **reec**), **risch** (Arag.), **risco** (Pt.) and **riesgo** (Cs.): no doubt from Ar. **rizq** "God's providence determining the lot of his creatures", a characteristic term of the Mediterranean trade and seafaring lexicon, in turn derived from Pahl. **rōzig** "daily ration" In the Islamic mind it is said of whatever God decrees for his creatures, whether good or evil, which roughly coincides with the "risk" or unforeseeable outcome involved in any commercial venture. Every Ar. dialect or Mediterranean language has a reflex of this term and



underlying concepts, e.g. And. *barríq* "by the lump; without forethought", whence Cs. *abar-risco* and Pt. *a barrisco* "abundantly; by the lump", and Nvh. *a barrisco* "without a share in an invitation" (with semantic evolution). Coromines rejected this etymon, suggested by Devic, on account of the Cs. diphthong and the Ct. form *reec*, given away intervocalic /z/, unaware that the Cs. form may have resulted from contamination of the Ct. by another form preserving the sibilant, as the Ar. loanword appears to have reached Northeastern Spain under two shapes, *\*rézek* and *\*risk* which, being a technical term, can easily have contaminated each other into *\*reesk*. Also *arriscarse* "to adorn oneself" (Sal.) might have resulted from contamination by standard Cs. of a hybrid And.Rom *\*AD+rizq+ÁR* "to stock". However, in the case of Nav. *ricio* "spontaneous weed; field sown with unharvested ears of cereal", with the der. adjective *ricial* and verb *riciar* "to weed; to sow with grain which was not harvested; to graze those oars", attributed sometimes, even in our DAI, to the same etymon through *\*ricigo*, we are presently more inclined to the Lt. etymon *rējicio* "to reject". Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: *barriscar* "to give without reckoning"; Cs.: *arriesgar*, *arriesgón*, *arriscado(r)* and *arriscamiento*; Cs. and Gl.: *arriscar* and *arrisco*; Ar.: *riscá* or *arriescar* and the verbal noun *arrique*; Jud.-Sp.: *arrezikar*; Ct.: (a)*barriscar* "to buy or sale without measuring", *arrisc(able)*, *arriscadís*, (b)*arriscada*, (b)*arriscador*, (b)*arriscament*, *arrriscar* and *riscós*; Pt.: (abar)*riscar*, *riscado* and *riscoso*.

**risl algeuze aliuçre** and (Cs.) **Rigel** "(Orion's left) foot": is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 119, with the var. *rixl* / *rryl* **algeuze**, identified by Kunitzsch 1959:198 as *Rigel*, i.e., Beta Orionis, < Neo-Ar. *rijl aljawzā? alyusrā*.

**rivet**: see **ribet**.

**rixl**: see **risl**.

**ro**: see **re(i)so**.

**roa** "rogue" (Mur., in Gómez Ortún 1991:374): is a bookish reflex of the Ar. pr.n. *Juḥā*.<sup>992</sup>

**roassa** and **roaz**: see **arroaz**.

**rob**: see **arrope**.

**roba(da)** and **robo**: see **arroba**.

**rob(ub/h)**: see **arrope**.

**robadan**: see **rabadā**.

**robda(r)**: see **arrobda**.

**roc** (Ct.) and **roque** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "rook (in chess)": < And. *rixx* = Cl.Ar. *ruxx* < Neo-P. *rox* < Pahl. *rah* "chariot". Primitive meaning is preserved in a passage of *Fuero Juzgo* quoted by Eguílaz, mentioning the **roque de fuego** "fire chariot" in which Elijah was carried away to the Heavens. Pt. **roque** and Cs. **ave roc**, **rocho** or **ruc** have the same etymon, apparently, by metonymy. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **enroque**; Cs., Ct. and Pt.: **enrocar**; Ct.: **enroc**.

**rochbe** "knee": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:45, < Ar. *rukbaḥ*.

**roge**: see **raixa**.

**rodoma**: see **redoma**.

**romā** (Pt.) "pomegranate": < And. *rum-mána* = Cl.Ar. *rummānah* < Syr. *rummānā* < Ugar. > *lrmnt* < Ak. *l/nurmū*, of Hurrite origin. The Ext. speech of Olivenza has the var. **ruma**, thus transmitted, although it should be ultima-stressed.

**romani** and **romanillo** (Can.) "French / spike lavender (*Lavandula stoechas*)", < And. *šṭḥ armanī*.

**romanía** (Jud.-Sp.) "silken hairband worn by married Sephardic women": after Nehama, a survival of a distinctive headgear which Jewish women were forced to use in the Middle Ages, semantically and etymologically parallel to Mor. *rumayya* "striped foulard", most likely sharing the etymon of **romí**, q.v.

**ro/humaníati** "pomegranate compound": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez 1992b:945, < Ar. *rummāniyyah*.

**romí(n)** or **rumí** (Cs.) "name given to the Christians among Muslims", **romí** "Byzantine" (Leo., in DO 275), and **romio** "Christian" (Leo., in DO 276): < And. *rumí* = Cl.Ar. *rūmī* "Byzantine; Christian", a gentilic formed on the name of Rome. Although Alcalá only has *rómi*, the stress position in And. gentilics

<sup>992</sup> About which, see Granja 1984.

appears to have been hesitant; however, in this case the influence of the Cs. Orientalizing suffix {-i} cannot be excluded. Its Rom. fem. **romfa**, in the meaning of a Christian female slave converted to Islam, is witnessed in the deed of the surrender of Granada, after Eguílaz, while the Mur. documents of the time of Alfonso X, studied by Pocklington 1984:285–286 reflect both genders and numbers, **arromi**, **arromi(n)s** or **arromies**, **arromia** and **arromias**, said in the *Repartimiento* of those slaves when they returned to Christianity after the Christian takeover. The same etymon and meaning has Pt. **rume**, documented in the 16th c., borrowed during the Eastern enterprises; this could also be the case of **arrumí** “curelwe (Oedicnemus oedicnemus)” (Sal.), with an obscure metonymy although, to judge by the case of the saffron called **romí** (i.e., safflower) and the like,<sup>993</sup> this was a common qualifier of products of lower quality.

**ronce(ría)** “lagging; flattery” (Cs., cf. **ronza** “flattery” in Anl.), **roncero** “lazy; flatterer” (= **ranzonero** in Sal.), **roncear** “to lag; to flatter” and (ar)**ronzar** “to move sideways with levers” (Cs., cf. **ronce** “round bending of the plain of side props in the basin of a salt pit” and **roncear** “to polish the edges of those props” in Anl., with semantic evolution) and Ct. (ar)**ronsar** “to make signs with the eyes, grimaces etc.”: are all direct reflexes or hybrid denominals formed with Rom. suffixes from And. **rámz** = Cl. Ar. **ramz** “sign; wink”, with the labialization observed in **alfombra**, **borní**, etc., and intra-Rom. assimilation of the nasal to the sibilant. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **arronsada**, **arronsador**, **arronsament**, **ronsejaire**, **ronsejar**, **ronse(gue)r** and **ronseria**.

**ronda(dor)**, **rond(e)ar** and **rondista**: see **arrobdá**.

**ronsal(era)**: see **ranzal**.

**rons(ej)ar**, **ronsejaire**, **ronse(gue)r** and **ronseria**: see **ronce**.

**ronza(r)**: see **ronce(ría)**.

**ronzal**: see **ranzal**.

**ro(o)**: see **reiso**.

**roque**: see **roc**.

**rorro**, a **la**—“onomatopoeia of dove cooing, used as a lullaby” (Anz.) and **arroró** (Can.) “lullaby”: are possibly of And. origin, as **rúrru** is documented in Alonso del Castillo, proverb N° 1289,<sup>994</sup> apparently in the meaning of “baby”, connectable with similar words, like Neo-Ar. **nūnū**.

**rosboth**: see **aldesbod**.

**rotol**: see **arrate**.

**rova**, **roveta** and **rovalla**: see **arroba**.

**rovda**: see **arrobdá**.

**roz**: see **arròs**.

**rrabadan**: see **rabadan**.

**rrre**: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 119, < Ar. **rāl?** “name of a letter”

**rrroam**: see **arroham**.

**ru** “excrement of silkworms” (Anl.): perhaps < And. **rāwī** = Cl.Ar. **rawī** “manure”, with monophthongization in low register<sup>995</sup> and intra-Rom. loss of the final consonant in An. pronunciation.

**ruaz(o)**: see **arroaz**.

**rubia** (Cs.) “an Islamic coin”: this meaning, generally missing in dictionaries, is doubtful. On phonetic grounds, the Ar. etymon **\*\*rubṣīyah**, given in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, is unsuitable, although semantically it tallies well with its equivalence, “a fourth of **ḥānī**, q.v.” Chances are, if such a word really existed, that it is a Western pronunciation of the etymon of **rupia**, q.v.

**ruc**: see **roc**.

**ruj** (Jud.-Sp.) “go away!”: < And. **rūh** = Cl.Ar. **ruh**.

**ruma**: see **romā**.

**rume(f)**: see **romí**.

**rupia** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.): through Pt., < Neo-P. **rupiye** or from its Hindi and Sk. etymon, **rūpya** “silver”. Cf. **rubia**.

**rusastech** or **rusa cheegi** / **chtegi**: see **sief**.

**rutuba** “common worry”: is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez 1992b:945; however, it appears to merely reflect Ar. **ruṭbah** “tenderness”.<sup>996</sup>

<sup>993</sup> See DAA under /rwm/ II. The kind of apple called **rromí**, after Eguílaz, is possibly an error belonging here.

<sup>994</sup> See Corriente & Bouzineb 1994:94, fn. 3.

<sup>995</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.4.2.

<sup>996</sup> Not a metathesis of **ṭarūb** “moved, stirred”, as the author thinks.

## S

**saariano**: see **saharai**.

**sábado** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **dissabte** (Ct.) "Saturday" and **sàbat** (Ct.) "Jewish Sabbath": < Bib.Lt. *sabbātum* < Bib.Gr. *sabbaton* < Hb. *šabbāt* < Ak. *šabbatu(m)* "rest" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **sabadefiño**, **sabadiego** and **sabatario**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **sabático**, **sabatina/o**, **sabatismo** and **sabatizar**; Ct.: **dissabte**, **sabàtic**, **sabatí**, **sabatisme** and **sabatitzar**; Pt.: **sabadear**, **sabatário**, **sabatinar** and **sabatineiro**.

**sabag** "seasoning": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:250, < Ar. *šibāḡ*.

**sabai**: see **sobai**.

**sabane** or **sashane** "fish sauce": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:250, equivalent of Vázquez & Herrera 1983:173 **alsahava** "salted little fish", < Ar. *ṣaḥnāʾ*.

**sabania** (Cs.): is a word excerpted by Eguílaz from the Alhambra archives, and correctly derived by him from And. *sabaníyya*, about which, see DAA 243; however, it never meant "sheet", nor "earring", and only occasionally "handkerchief", to judge from Alcalá's information. Like Mor. *sahnayya*, it was in truth a luxurious kind of headgear, adorned even with precious metals, as implied by the descriptions of **sabanas labradas** "embroidered s." and "gold s. with pearls for the ears"

**sabarcera**: see **abacero**.

**sàbat**: see **sábado**.

**sabeo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **sabeu** (Ct. and Pt.) "gentilic of Saba in Southern Arabia":<sup>997</sup> < Lt. *Sābaeus* < Gr. *Sabaĩos* < Sar. >*sbȳn*<, whence also Cl.Ar. *sabaʿī*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **sabeísmo**; Ct.: **sabeisme**; Pt. **saba/eísmo**.

**sabia** (Ct.): this word, spelled as **çabia** in a rhyme by J. Roig, and mentioned by Coromines in DECLC, s.v. **algàlia**, appears to mean "mistress, concubine", as he explains s.v. **saber**, < And. *šabíyya* = Cl.Ar. *šabíyyah*, a very frequent term, also documented in Ct. by the masc. dim. **sobai**, q.v.

**sabiara(t)**, **sceiaret** or **pilulae alsabiar/t/asaiaret/assaiare/seiar** "a somniferous and laxative medicament": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:245, < Neo-Ar. *šabyār* < Neo-P. *šab yār* "friend of the night"

**sabiselars** and **sabiselans**: see **zabazala**.

**sacaliña** and **sacalinha**: see **jical**.

**sacaniabin**: see **scangibin**.

**saca(r/za)neja**: see **saganea**.

**sacatón**: see **zacatón**.

**sacre** (Cs. and Pt.) "a kind of falcon": Coromines is right in his phonetic objections to the derivation of this term from Ar. *ṣaqr*, it being quite probable that there was a mere coincidence between a Rom. reflex of Lt. *sacer* and the Ar. word, apparently genuine, or at least well rooted, although its etymon is not established either. The entry has existed also in Ct. with the same meaning, but was preserved only in Val. as "viper", it being impossible to ascertain either their community or its etymon. It is curious that DAX 429–430 only registers **sagre**, with intra-Rom. evolution of the stop.

**sadahan**: see **alsedha**.

**sadenegi**: see **sedineg**.

**sade/i** and **sandi(l/m)** (Pt.) "a Persian coin": is a mod. borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *šad* "one hundred"

**sadrá** (Pt.) "old sacred tunic": is a late unassimilated borrowing, in connection with

<sup>997</sup> A region famous since classical antiquity (see Conti Rossini 1931:1–2, 6–8, 10–12, 21–23, 26, 30 and 32) by the production and export of frankincense and perfumes, as reflected in *Don Quixote*, I xxxi. However, the same gentilic has

also been given to the **mandeos** (q.v.), called in the Koran *šabīʿah*, from *šbia* "baptized", in their own language, a dialect of Eastern Aram, as well as to the adherents of the Gnostic sect of Harrān, prob. through sheer confusion of both groups.

the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *sodre*, which Vullers considered as the etymon of Ar. *šudrah* "cuirass", although its isolation suggests a loanword.

**saduceo** (Cs. and Gl.) and **saduceu** (Pt.) "Sadducee, adherent of a Jewish sect": through Bib.Lt. *Saddūcaeus*, < Hb. *šēduqī*, gentilic of the pr.n. of its founder, Šādoq. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **saduceísmo**.

**saetia** (Cs.), **sagetia** (Ct.) and **setia** (Pt.) "a kind of ship": there can be no doubt about the contamination by Rom. **sa(g)eta** "arrow" of this term, which emerged in It. at the beginning of the 12th c., earlier than in Ibero-Rom. An Ar. etymon is indeed possible for it, in spite of the strange hesitation between *šaytiyyah* and *šaytiyyah*, although the roots {štt} and {šyt} have often coalesced in Western Ar. by metanalysis, as is common in the so-called defective roots. At any rate, that hesitation in Western Neo-Ar. suggests that it might be a loanword from Rom., not its etymon, which continues to be uncertain. If it were Ar., it would not be the rare C.Ar. *šaytī* "whirlwind", suggested by Coromines, but rather an attributive adjective of *šayt* "large river", or of *šayt* "large" (or "too large", and in And. "long"). Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **sagetial**.

**safa** (Arag., Val. and Ib., plus the contaminated Men. var. **safra** and **zafa** (Arag. and Cs.) "wash-hand basin": < And. *šāḥfa* = Cl.Ar. *šahfah* "bowl" From the same origin, by metonymy, is Arag. **zafa** "slab at the base of an oil mill; chamberpot", but "treetop" in Ast. Cf. **safar**.

**safada**: see **safar**.

**safanão** (Pt.) "shove; slap" and **zafan/ñada** or **zafranada** (Gl.) "slap": have resulted from hybridization with Rom. suffixation of And. *šaffa* of the same meaning, possibly through a quadriconsonantic verb \**šaffān*,<sup>998</sup> to judge by that additional /n/. There might also be some kinship with Nav. **zafllón** "slap", despite the existence of some related Basque words.

**safannària** and **safanòria** or **safanoria**: see **cenoria**.

**safão**: see **zahón**.

**safar**<sup>1</sup> (Ct., borrowed from Cs. sailors'

jargon, and Pt., with the old var. **çafar**) and **zafar** (Cs. and Gl.) "to let go": the scarce likelihood of verbal Ar. loanwords in Rom. deriving directly from the Ar. perfective has made us change our mind about the etymon of **s/zafar**, and the first constituent of **z/tafaforate** (q.v.): we presently give up (a)zāh "to remove", in favour of much more frequent And. *šāf(i)* "clear" From the same etymon would be Pt., **safa** "interjection of fright", and **safa-safa** "call to action stations on a ship", Anl. **z/sáfate** "excuse me; please, move away" (imperative) and Arag. **fafagada** "clearing a place", corrupted from a previous \***zafagada**, a denominal der. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zafacoca**, **zafada**, **zafado** ("brazen" in Can.), **zafarrancho** and **zaf(er)ó**; Ct.: **safada** and **safero**; Gl.: **zafado**. Cf. **zafio**.

**safar**<sup>2</sup> "month of the Islamic calendar": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1598, < Ar. *šafar*.

**safardana** (Pt.) "rascal": in no way can be related to **sefardí**, q.v., as Machado suggests, whose ignorance of this matter is given away by his own wrong definition of this Jewish community as a "special lineage of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula". As is well-known, all Jews in this country were by definition Sephardic, which makes it impossible that this were a derogatory label among them, while the Christians generally ignored such genealogical distinctions, known only within the Jewish community. We would suggest And. *šāff addanā* "row of misery", with a second constituent witnessed twice in IQ 38/13/3 and 151/2/4.

**safareig**, **safaretget/r** and **safaretjada**: see **jaraíz**.

**safari** (Cs.) "safari, hunting expedition in Africa": is a contemporary borrowing, through Eng., < Swahili *safari* < Ar. *šafar* "trip"

**safaria** (Pt.) and **granada zaf/h/jarí** (Cs.) "a variety of pomegranate": < And. *safarí*, attributive adjective of Safr b. ŠUbayd Alkilāšī, who introduced it in the days of Šabdarrahmān I, after DS I:559. From the same etymon would be **zajarí** "tart orange" and **sajarí** "a variety of grape" (Anz.), although ignored by And. botanists, rather than And. *šaxrī* = Cl.Ar. *šaxrī*

<sup>998</sup> See Corriente 1980c:210.

"rocky", on account of a quality reminiscent of stones.

**safarice**: see **chafariz**.

**sáfaro** (Pt.) "wild; distant", **safarenho** (Pt.) and **zahareño** (Cs.) "wild, savage", **saforil** (Pt.) "vulgar person; hideous animal", **zaf(o)ras** or **zofras** (Arag.) "coarse; slovenly" and **safaròs** (Ct.) "dirty": all derive, with eventual Rom. suffixation, < And. *ṣaxrī* = Cl.Ar. *ṣaxrī* "rocky", notwithstanding the anomalous transcription of the initial sibilant, with >s< instead of >ç<, which is frequent in Pt. and normal in Ct. Apparently, none of these words answers to And. *ṣāhṛa* < Cl.Ar. *ṣahrāʾ* "desert", in spite of the medieval Pt. text mentioned by Eguílaz (*os alarves chamão safora á terra que he toda coberta de pedregulho miudo em modo de area grossa* "the Bedouins call s. a country which is entirely covered by pebbles, like coarse sand"). This makes it clear that it was not an assimilated term in Pt., and allows to dispense with the hypothesis that \**terra sáfora* generated the adjective *sáforo*, while the relative phonetic difficulty of a cauda not reflecting the suffix in this word can be avoided by positing the simplification, witnessed in other instances, of a compound syntagm, reduced to only its second constituent, in this case, \**báz aṣṣáxr* "falcon of the rocks". Besides, the etymon *zafar*, suggested by Coromines for *safaròs*, becomes unnecessary, in view of this compact semantic family. Of the same origin are, though with different Rom. suffixes, *zahoreño* "partridge which cannot be tamed" (Anl.) and *z/sahareña* "unidentified plant; sideritis" and *sahareña* "aromatic plant similar to thyme" (Anl.).<sup>999</sup>

**safata**: see **açafate**.

**sáfate**: see **záfate**.

**safena** (*vena*—) (Ct., Gl. and Cs., the latter with the var. *sofena* and *saphena* in Vázquez 1998:781 and Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, respectively) and **safeno/a** (Pt.) "saphenous vein": < Ar. *sāfin* < Gr. *saphēnēs*, through scientific Lt.

**safero**: see **safar**.

**safi**: see **zafio**.

**safí**: see **zafiro**.

**safio** (Pt.) and **zafio** (Cs.) and **saffo** (Anl.) "conger eel (Conger conger)": perhaps < And. *safih* = Cl.Ar. *safih* "coarse", as it is not highly esteemed. The Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, \*\*\**safih*, now corrected, does not even exist, being a distortion of \*\*\**asfaḥ* "dark", a Cl.Ar. item not documented in And., characteristic of Asín's peculiar method often including morphological alterations aimed at creating phonetic likeness.

**safir(a)**, **safirí**, **safiric**, **safirina** and **safiro**: see **zafiro**.

**safiros**: see **sephiros**.

**safio**: see **zafio**.

**saforil**: see **sáfaro**.

**safra** (Pt.) and **zafra**<sup>4</sup> (Cs.) "harvesting or fishing season": < And. *sāfra* = Cl.Ar. *safrah* "journey (for a given purpose, whence Mor. *safra* "one time"). The semantic evolution is due to the circumstances which made it necessary, when the season began, to employ a large number of workers making their way together, from several directions to the place of their activity. Other Cs. meanings, e.g. "debris extracted from mines" might share that etymon, but in other instances, e.g., Ext. **zafra** "treeless granitic ground", the true etymon may be Ar. *ṣaxr* "rocks",<sup>1000</sup> while in the

<sup>999</sup> Cf. the plant names \*\*\**anaysūn ṣaxrī*, \*\*\**bishās ṣaxrī*, \*\*\**hazáz ṣaxrī*, etc. in DAA, under *[ṣxr]*. Kiesler 1994:302, fn. 1, pays too much heed to the opinion expressed by García Gómez 1977 in the sense that some of these words had other etyma, all of them rarities in the Cl.Ar. dictionary and absent in And., in contrast with Coromines' views, more professional and trustworthy, in his position of an established linguist and etymologist. Even less possible is it to derive *zahares* (cf. *atzar*) from the Ar. root *[ṣfr]* "to whistle", and then force the interpretation of the abstruse proverb which triggered that

entry, in which "disgraces", from And. *zāhr*, makes perfect sense; in fact, deserts were rarely talked about in Al-Andalus, but when dealing with neighbouring Africa, as corroborated by the presence of \*\*\**yāhru* in the sources of And., but unaccompanied by the matching gentile, Cl.Ar. \*\*\**ṣahrāwī*, from which, however, it is phonetically impossible to derive any of the loanwords concerned. Stony grounds, however, are many in the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>1000</sup> This dial. item makes this etymon likelier than the one suggested in Corriente 1996c:407, fn. 7. As for the final vowel, see 1.1.4.4.1.

case of Pt. "work, task", even "slave worker", the derivation seems to be from /sɜr/ (cf. Cs. *azofra*), and there are other words (e.g., *zafra*<sup>3</sup> and *zafre*, q.v.) with different etyma. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *deszaftrar* and *zafretero*; Pt.: *safreiro* and *safredo*; Anz. and Anl.: *zafrear* "to collect ore and load it onto the truck", "to remove debris" (Anl.).

*safrà*, *safrán*, *safrana(da)*, *safraner(a)*, *safranar*, *safrane(re)t*, *safraneria*, *safranó* and *safranot*: see *açafrão*.

*safre*: see *zafre*.

*safredo* and *safreiro*: see *safra*.

*saga*: see *zagal*.

*sagal*: see *zagal*.

*ságamo*: see *ámago*.

*saganea*, *sagzena*, *saca(za)neja*, *sacaneja*, *socrite* and *socrugene* "an electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:251–253, reflecting the Neo-Ar. spellings *šak/xzanāyā*, *šajriyānā*, *šaxazitā*, etc., prob. < Neop. *šakarine* "sugar preparation", through Aram. with successive corruptions.<sup>1001</sup>

*sagen* (Ct.) "bottom of a kiln": is a technical term of potters in Manises (Valencia), which indeed could, as Coromines proposed, derive from Ar. *sijn* "jail", after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2, although the total absence of palatalization in the first vowel is strange, and matters are not made easier by the var. *satge* and the uncertainty of the stress position.

*ságena* (Pt.) "Moorish prison for captives": is a mod. borrowing of the 16th c., taken during the North African enterprises, < Mor. *sə* "coop for birds; cage for rabbits" = Cl.Ar. *sijn* "jail". The stress position is, therefore, correct, *pace* Machado.

*sagetía* and *sagetial*: see *saetía*.

*sagre*: see *sacre*.

*saguão*: see *zagão*.

*saguer(a)*: see *zaga*.

*sah*: see *escacs*.

*sah(a)fatí* "head ulcers": is an unassimilated pathological term, from Herrera & Vázquez 1982:173–176, with a var. *sahafat* in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:178, < Ar. *saḥafāt*.

*sahagian*: see *alsedha*.

*saham* "fat adhering to the kidneys": is an unassimilated anatomical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:139, < Ar. *šahm* "fat"

*sahara*: see *alsahara*.

*saharaui* (Cs.) "gentilic of the Sahara desert":<sup>1002</sup> is a contemporary Castilianization of Ar. *šahrāwī*, gentilic of *aššahrāʾ(u lkubrā)* "the Great Desert", restricted to the Western area which was for a few decades a Spanish possession. When the whole Sahara Desert is meant, the matching attributive adjectives are Cs. *sahariano*, Pt. *saariano* and Ct. *saharià*, from the same origin, with more genuine Rom. suffixation. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *sahariana* and *sahárico*; Ct.: *sahàric*. Cf. *saloi*.

*sahareña*: see *zahareña*.

*sahariana/o*: see *saharaui*.

*sahón*: see *zahón*.

*saibis*: this hapax in LHP 566, meaning "without embroidery", after Corriente 2004b: 91, prob. shares the etymon of *ceiba*, q.v.

*saíbo* (Pt.) "sahib, a term of respect in India": is a mod. borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises of the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *šāhib*, in its Neo-P. meaning.

*sais* (Pt., more correct than the var. *saneis*) "stable boy": is an unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., used in India, < Neo-P. *sāles* < Ar. *sālis*.

<sup>1001</sup> Although the description in Avicenna's *Alqānūn* does not include sugar among its ingredients, it reports that these are diluted in mead, and some var. still reflect the sequence >*skr*<, then altered in Aram. as >*sxr*< and, later, paleographically as >*šxz*<, etc., in the same manner as the Neo-P. suffix *-ine* was altered into *-āyā*, *nānā*, *nāyā*, etc. As for the interpretation in *Alʿaqrūbādīn* as "very healthful" it is based on Syr. *sagi* "much" and Ar. *nāgī* "saviour".

<sup>1002</sup> The pedantic imitation of the usage in other Western languages, coupled with the ignorance of Ar. by many Spanish (and Western) linguists, has led to whimsical consequences in the process of acquisition of neologisms and geographical terms, in this particular case, the servile imitation of the Fr. masc. gender. A normal and scholarly adoption should have produced *La Sáhara*, like *La Pampa*, *La Huerta*, etc.

**sajarí**: see **zajarí**.

**sajelar** (Cs.) and **desajerar** (Anl.) "to clean the clay from strange substances": is a hybrid word, which should on historical grounds be spelled as **\*zahelar**, no doubt a technical term of Mudejar potters, formed directly on the imperative of the And. verb *sahhál* "to purge" = Cl.Ar. *sahhal* "to facilitate"

**sajingibin**: see **scangibin**.

**salá** and **salà**: see **azalá**.

**salagustín**: see **saragustín**.

**salá/ema** (Pt.) "Islamic greeting": is a mod. borrowing of the 16th c., < Ar. *salāmāh*. Cf. **salema**.

**salamaleque** (Pt., a mod. borrowing of the 16th c.), **salema** (Ct.) and **zalema** or **zalamalé** (Cs.) "feigned or exaggerated courtesy": the comparison of Ct. and Cs. with Pt. suggest a derivation, not exactly from Ar. *salām(ah)* "greeting", but from an abridgment of *assalāmu šalayk* "Peace on you", traditional form of the Islamic greeting. Intra-Rom. der.: Anz.: **enzalamar** "to pamper; to flatter" (the meaning "to provoke to fight" in Sal. would be ironical); Cs.: **zalamear**, **zalamería** and **zalamero**; Ct.: **salamejar** and **salamer(ia)**. Cf. **cadamanna**.

**salar** (Pt.) "chief": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., used in India, < Neo-P. *sālār*, or its identical Hindi reflex.

**salatino**: see **saloió**.

**salbazequias**: see **zabezequia**.

**salefa** (Ct.) and **zalea** (Cs.) "undressed sheepskin", **zalegu** "rag; carrion" (Ast., in García Arias 2006:229); < And. *salíxa* = Cl.Ar. *salīxah*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zalear** "to shake; to frighten"; Sal.: **zalear** "to damage the sown ground (said of beasts)"<sup>1003</sup>; and **zaleo**; Ast. and Leo.: **zaleos** "remnants of a devoured animal"; with semantic evolution, Arag. **zaleo** "piece of bread" and **zaleada** "failed harvest" (from

Gargallo 1985:56 and 82, in Tarazona). Cf. **aixareca**.

**salema** (Cs. and Pt.) "salema (Boops / Box salpa)", **zulema** (Ast., from García Arias 2006:233, no doubt by some contamination): < Western Ar. *ḥallāmāh* (after Coromines, based upon Lerchundi and Brunot), with agglutination of an initial consonant generated by wrong parsing and metanalysis of (l)a+s **\*halemas**.<sup>1004</sup> Cf. **salama**.

**salep** (Cs. and Ct.) and **salepo** (Gl. and Pt.) "salep (Orchis hircina)": < Neo-Ar. *saḥlab* (corrupted from *xuṣā ḡaṣṣab*, lit., "the fox's testicles"), through Fr.

**salescarim** (Pt.) "commander in chief": is a mod. unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *sālār e laškar*, poorly transmitted.

**salfar**: see **ṣafar**.

**salie(t)jar**: see **asseliejat**.

**salmedina(t)**: see **zalmedina**.

**salmerón**: see **almeirão**.

**saloió** (Pt.) "rustic": does not derive from Ar. **\*ṣaḥrāwī** "from the desert", as Machado suggested and Kiesler 1994:209 subscribed, but from *salāwī* "from Sale". The semantic evolution was prompted by the contempt of Andalusis for North Africans, whom they regarded as brutish yokels, most particularly in the case of the people of that town.<sup>1005</sup> In fact, standard Pt. **salatino**, gentilic of Sale, coincides with one of the meanings registered by Morais for **saloió**. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **salóismo**.

**salomón** (Cs.) "wise man": reflects the famous p.r.n., derived through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *šēlomo*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **salomónico**; Ct.: **salomònic**.

**saloiuia** (Ct., with a better old var. **açoloiuia**) "barbican": < And. *suluḡfyya* = Cl.Ar.

<sup>1003</sup> DRAE records the meaning of "to devour an animal but for its skin (said of wolves)" as characteristic of Aragón, Ávila and Salamanca.

<sup>1004</sup> The matching hypocoristic *ḥallūm* appears in the *xarjah* ŪM1 of a *muwašṣaḥ* by Ibn Alšarabi: see Corriente 1987:238. Oman 1966:94 corroborates *ḥallama* for Alhucemas, Larache, Rabat-Salé and Casablanca exclusively, which

points to a word introduced by And. immigrants.

<sup>1005</sup> Made evident in the comparison between Malaga and Sale drawn by Ibn Alxaṭīb (see García Gómez 1934), which can be completed with the proverb N° 20 of Azzajjālī's, *ida rūyt ḥalawī, adri annu salawī* "if you see a fool, you can be sure he is from Sale".

*salūqiyyah*, apparently used also in other Neo-Ar. areas, to judge from the data in DS I 676, in the meaning of certain devices controlling access to a fortress. It cannot be morphologically connected with the root */slq/*, as Coromines would, as this root does not acquire the meaning of “to climb” except in the der. verb *tasallaq*<sup>1006</sup> while, from a semantic viewpoint, this part of a fortress does not serve the purpose of climbing. An interesting possibility is that this Ar. word, usually meaning “greyhound bitch”, would have been semantically contaminated by the technical meanings of Ct. *galga*, which unlike Cs., does not have a zoological meaning, q.v. It would not be the only case of a technical term of military architecture borrowed by Rom. from Ar., e.g., *calahorra* and *coracha*, q.v.

**salvaquén**: see *zabalachén*.

**salve**: see *azervada*.

**samac**: see *alsamach*.

**sámago**: see *ámago*.

**samamel** “penis” (low register Can.)<sup>1007</sup>: prob. < And. *abu šahmīl*, reflected in *Recopilación* by Diego de Guadix (cf. Corriente 2007:107, and fn. 51).

**samaritano** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) and **samarita** (Cs.). “Samaritan”: through Bib.Lt. *Sāmārītānus*, a gentilic formed on Bib.Gr. *Samareítis* “Samaria” < Aram. *šamrāyā* “Samaritan”, attributive adjective of this region.

**samaruc/go**: see *mazarugo*.

**sambra**: see *zambra*<sup>1</sup>.

**sambuco** (Pt., with the var. *zambuco*) “an Indian kind of boat”: is a mod. borrowing of the 15th c., < Neo-Ar. *sanbūq*, recorded by DS and extant also in Neo-P. *sanbuq* or *sonbok*, of obscure origin.

**sampsuco** or **sansuco** “marjoram (Origanum majorana)”: is an unassimilated techni-

cal term, from DAX 1612, < Gr. *sámpsuchon*, through And. *samsaq*.<sup>1008</sup>

**sanaféria**: see *acenoria*.

**sanagustín**: see *saragustín*.

**sanca(rrão)**: see *chancla*.

**sanda** and **sándal**: see *sándalo*.

**sandala** (Pt.). “barge”: is a mod. borrowing, < Neo-Ar. *šandal* < Neo-P. *sandal*.

**sandales**: see *cendal*.

**sándalo** (Gl. and Cs., the latter with the old var. *azándar*), **sanda** (Anz.), **sándalo** (Pt.) and **sándal** (Ct., with the old var. *sāndi/ol* and *sāndril*) “sandalwood (*Santalum album*)”: the medieval var. indeed reflect And. *aššándal* < Neo-Ar. *šandal* < Pahl. *čandal* < Sk. *čāṇḍana*, although a Mediterranean transmission, stemming from Neo-Ar., cannot be excluded either. However, the forms presently normal have been transmitted through scientific Lt., of the same origin. Gr. *sántalos*, which Coromines considers as the immediate source of Rom., does not appear to have intermediated necessarily between Ar. and Lt. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *sandalino*; Ct.: *sandalí*.

**sandía** (Gl., Cs., with the var. *zandía*, also Nav.), **acendría** (Anz. and Anl.), **cendía** (Tol.), **(a)sandía**, **asendría** (Anz.), **asa/endría** (Anl.) and **síndria** (Ct.) “watermelon (*Citrus vulgaris* / *lanatus*)”: < And. *\*sandīyya* < Cl.Ar. *biṭṭaxatun sindīyyah* “melon from Sind”, in the peculiar case of Ct. with development of a parasitical /r/, (not exceptional in the Ar. loanwords, cf. Ct. *alfabrega*, Cs. *anafre*, optional in both cases), and stemming from the And. allomorph *sīndīyya*, which is recorded in Alcalá.<sup>1009</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *sandial/r*; Ct.: *sindriada*, *sindriar/t* and *sindrier(a)*.

**sāndil**: see *sándalo*.

**sāndi(l/m)**: see *sade*.

**sāndol** and **sāndril**: see *sándalo*.

<sup>1006</sup> Prob. borrowed from Aram., considering the isolation of this meaning in the Ar. root */slq/*. It is true that *salūqiyyah* is documented in Neo-Ar. in the meanings of “cockpit” and “panel of a door”, but both may have stemmed from Al-Andalus.

<sup>1007</sup> From our own observation in Tenerife.

<sup>1008</sup> See Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:502 and 507.

<sup>1009</sup> About this anomalous stressing, see Corriente 1989c:423. This vocalization, posited after the principle enunciated in AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2, is not documented in And., but is supported by the Rom. result *zandia* in its most genuine form, although the definitive option has been the one preferred in Lt. scientific transcriptions, like those of the *Cordovan Calendar* (13th c.).



**sanedrí** (Ct.), **sanedrim** (Pt.) and **sanedrín** (Cs. and Gl.) “sanhedrim/n, supreme counsel of the ancient Jewish nation”: through Bib.Lt., < Mishnaic Hb. *sanhedrin* < Gr. *synédrión*. The Cs. learned var. **sinedrio** has skipped the Semitic phase.

**saneña**: see **aceneña**.

**saneis**: see **sais**.

**sanjacad/to** (Cs.) and **sanjaco** (Cs. and Pt.) or **sanjaque** (Pt.) “sanjak, district in the Ottoman administration”: are mod. borrowings poorly assimilated by Pt. in the 16th c., in connection with Eastern enterprises, then imitated by Cs., < Tr. *sancak*, originally meaning “banner”, but merely meaning those “districts” in Western languages, with some analogical problems, as **sanjaco** should not mean the governor of such a district (*sancak-beyi* in Ottoman terms), being synonymous with **sanjacad/to**, if this hybrid suffixation is accepted.

**sanjuán** (Cs. of Badajoz) “a beam of certain measures”: independently of the unclear reasons of this dial. designation, perhaps an allusion to the leanness characterizing the images of Saint John the Baptist, his pr.n. derives, through Bib.Lt., from theophorous Hb. *yohānān* “God is gracious” It is a part also of Cs., **sanjuanada**, **sanjuaneño/ro**, **sanjuanino** and **sanjuanista**.

**sanlucareño** and **sanluqueño** (Cs.) “from Sanlúcar”: are gentils of this place name, distorted by folk etymology (as if it were “Saint Luke”) from And. *šalúqa*, which shares the

etymon of **jaloque**<sup>1</sup>, q.v., as it was the nearest shore for the inhabitants of Seville and hinterland.

**sanmiguelada** (Cs.) “days around Michaelmas” and **sanmigueleño** “ripe for Michaelmas” are cases of Rom. suffixations to the pr.n. “Michael” which derives, through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *mi kālēl* “Who is like God?”

**sansón** (Cs.) “very strong man”: through Bib.Lt., < Hb. pr.n. *šimšon*, parallel to Ak. *šamšānu* and prob. related to a solar deity.

**santiago**, **santiagoño/ro**, **santiagués**, **santiaguino** and **santiaguista**: see **jacobeo**.

**santiamén**, **en un** — (Cs.) “in an instant”: i.e., in less time than it takes to say *sancti amén*, q.v., two frequent words in Christian Lt. prayers.<sup>1010</sup> Cf. **amém**.

**saphir(o)**: see **zafiro**.

**sarabanda** (Pt. and Ct., the latter being borrowed from Cs.) and **zarabanda** (Cs.) “saraband, a kind of dance and music”: appear to derive, although the intermediate links are missing, < Neo-P. *sarband* “head adornment”, in spite of Coromines’ rejection of this and other proposals on account of that weakness and of semantic distance. However, it is sure that it was said in the East metaphorically of some refrains, according to Šafīyaddīn Alḥillī, in his treatise *Kitāb al-kāfi al-ḥālī*,<sup>1011</sup> upon dealing with the strophe-creating devices invented by Eastern poets, matched by Andalusis with parallel methods. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **sarabandear**.

<sup>1010</sup> Possibly excerpted from the formula of Baptism, which ends in Lt. *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen*, it being known that priests use to utter such words at full speed, especially when they have to perform several ceremonies in a row.

<sup>1011</sup> After Hoenerbach 1955:26, in a passage dealt with anew by Zwartjes 1997:155. Concretely, upon mentioning the invention of the *xarjah*, Alḥillī attributes it to the fact that “Andalusis did not know, unlike Easterners, the *tarānāt*, *awāzāt* and *awāzkaštāt*, serving to complete *adwār*, i.e., the strophes or stanzas, and the >*srbdāt*”. Those Neo-P. words (*āwāz* “tone”, *āwāzkašte* “refrain” and *tarāne* “melody”) are not clear as technical

terms, but it is obvious that they were devices to create strophes, either metrical or musical, and that *sarband* quasi-synonymous of the latter. Therefore, it is possible that this technical term would have travelled westwards, as a part of the technical lexicon of stanzaic poetry adopted and developed in Al-Andalus, which presently we know had more connections with the East than was formerly acknowledged: this would have allowed the adoption of that term, at least in the jargon of dance. As a matter of fact, the Neo-Ar. technical term *salband* “martingale”, from the same Neo-P. origin, is quite spread in the jargon of equitation.

**saraça** (Pt.) “clumsy man”, but also after Morais, “effeminate” (cf. low register Cs. **sarasa**): appears to be related to **saraças** “love potion” and Cs. **zarazas** “dog poison”, possibly reflecting And. \**šārīš assāla* “tumbling down at once”, simultaneously an obvious sexual metonymy<sup>1012</sup> and continuation of the Cl.Ar. idiom \*\**sammu sālāh* “instant poison”

**sarafo** (Pt., only in Morais, with the var. **çarafo** in Eguílaz) “money changer in Ormuz”: is a mod. Eastern borrowing, < Ar. *šarrāf*.

**saragata** (Ct.) “tumult, bustle”, **zaragata** “chimera; half-wit” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:231, but see **argatero**): one may be tempted to look for an etymon of this word and its Cs., Arag. and Pt. der. in the Ar. root /zgrd/}, but this is not documented in And. (which preferred /wlv/}, whence Cs. **albórbo-las**, q.v.); on the other hand, they are all recent words, and there is a lack of sufficient information about a possible It. phase.

**saragatona** (Ct.), **zar(a)gatona** (Cs., with the var. **zarcatona** in GP 131) and **zaragatoa** (Pt., late borrowing from Cs.) “fleawort (*Plantago psyllium*)”: < And. *zaraqatūna*, equivalent of Neo-Ar. *haraqatūnā*, half-translated from Syr. *zēraš qatūnā* “seed of the little cat”

**saragüells**: see **ceroula**.

**sar/lnagustín** “grasshopper” (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1998: 167–169):<sup>1013</sup> its etymon would be And. *saraqusī* “Saragossan”, an obvious allusion to the greed of some Arag. occupiers, it being difficult to pinpoint the time when that metaphor was generated, as it could be from a still Islamic period, e.g., in the troubled days of Ibn Mardaniš, who resorted to Arag. mercenaries for the defence of his Eastern possessions, or in the wake of the

Christian conquest by Alfonso X, followed by the settlement in Murcia of many subjects of the Crown of Aragon, Arag. or Ct., who left important traces in the Mur. dialect.

**saramago** (Pt.) and **jaramago** “hedge mustard (*Diplotaxis virgata*)”: Coromines accepted Eguílaz’s proposal of an Ar. etymon \*\**sarmaq* < Neo-P. \*\**sarmaq/k/j* or \*\**sarme*, although aware that this is the designation of orach (*Atriplex hortensis*), a completely different plant, which he circumvents by assuming a transference of significant. The sources, basically Ibn Albaytār’s information recorded in DS I 650, thoroughly corroborated by *Kitābu Šumdati ḥabīb*, which simply describes it as “edible orach”,<sup>1014</sup> do not allow that identification. Consequently, that hypothesis is based on mere phonetic likeness, and cannot be considered as definitive.

**saranda**: see **zaranda**.

**sarangue** (Pt.) “commander”: is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neop. *sarhang*.

**sararach**: see **marath**.

**saratà** (Val.) and **zaratán** (Arag. and Cs., with the var. **çaratan**, in Herrera & Vázquez 1981:147–150) “cancer”: < And. *saraṭān* = Cl.Ar. *saraṭān*, lit., “crab”, early used in this pathological meaning.

**sarbatana**: see **cerbatana**.

**sarchins**: see **axarque**.

**sargaço**: see **arcazón**.

**sardar** (Pt.) “commander in chief”: is a late unassimilated borrowing, of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neop. *sardār*.

**sardone** “kind of taffeta” (Cs.): in LHP 571, is prob. an error for **sardane** and a var. of **zarzahán**, q.v. (see also Corriente 2004b:91).

<sup>1012</sup> The erotic connotations of the verb *šaraš* “to knock down; to drive crazy (of love)” is already classical, as reflected by the nickname given to the poet Muslim b. Alwalid, *šārīš* *Alḡawānī* “madly in love with the beauties”, and witnessed to also by And., e.g., in IQ 65/3/4 *tašraš almiqdād* “you drive crazy of love even Almiqdād”, it being known that, generally speaking, “conquest” is a common metonymy of

amorous success. As we can see, the metaphorical description of homosexuals as poison was also rooted in all times.

<sup>1013</sup> His consultation led to the discovery of this curious Ar. loanword, disguised by folk etymology.

<sup>1014</sup> See Alxaṭṭabī 1990:II 716 and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:502 and 2007:665.

**sargana** (Can.) “bluefish” (*Pomatomus saltatrix*): < Br. *tasargal(t)* or *tasargan*, through Mor. *sargalla*.

**sargi** and **sarm** “rectum”: are two unasimilated anatomical terms, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:45, < Ar. *šaraj* and *surm*, respectively.

**saroch** “a kind of falcon”: is an unasimilated technical term, from DAX 1620, apparently abridged from *çarachdem*, q.v.

**sarpatana** and **sarpatica**: see **cerbatana**.

**sarraceno** (Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the var. **sarracín** and **sarracino**, as well as **sarrazin(o)**, **se/arrazines** and **cerrazine/os** in GP 120) and **sarraí** (Ct.) “Saracen: Muslim”: through Lt. *Sarracēni*, < Rab.Aram. *saṣṣān/yīn* “inhabitants of the desert”, gentilic of *sērāq* “desert”, at the time the name of an Ar. nomadic tribe.<sup>1015</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **sarracénico**; Cs. and Ct.: **sarracina**; Ct.: **sarrañesc** and **sarracènic**.

**sarrafa** (An.): “ladder”: this Granadan word, recorded by Eguílaz, indeed reflects And. *šarrāfa*, of the same meaning.

**sarrafaçal** (Pt., only in Morais) “lazy or clumsy in his job” and **sarrafaçana** (Pt.) “rogue”: appear to be late borrowings related to each other, perhaps Mudejar items, of which the first could derive from the second by intra-Rom. suffixation. This, in turn, may derive from And. *sāriḥ aṣṣānḥa* < Cl.Ar. *sāriḥu ṣṣanḥah* “roamer by profession”.<sup>1016</sup> From the same origin would derive **sarrafaçar** “to cut badly; to do a poor job”, and perhaps **sarrafado** “not whole”, although in this case there is the possibility, at least, of contamination by And. *šarrāḥ* = Cl.Ar. *šarraḥ* “to scarify” Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **sarrafaçadura**.

**sarraí**: see **sarraceno**.

**sarrha alsabian** “children’s epilepsy”: is an unasimilated pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:105, < Neo-Ar. *šarf aṣṣibiyān*, which is not a var. of **alsarha**, as the authors believe.<sup>1017</sup>

**sashane**: see **sabane**.

**satā** (Pt.) and **satán** or **satanás** (Cs. and Gl., the second form being also Pt.) “Satan”: through Bib.Lt. *sātān(ās)* < Hb. *šāṭān* “enemy” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **satanismo**; Cs. and Gl. **satánico**; Cs. and Pt. **satanizar**; Ct.: **satànic** and **satanisme**; Pt.: **satánico** and **satanista**.

**satí**: see **setí**.

**sátrapa** (Cs. and Gl.) “satrap, viceroy in ancient Persia”: < Lt. *sātrāpa* < Gr. *satrápēs* < Old Persian *xšathrapāvan* “protector of the dominion” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **satrapía**; Ct. and Pt.: **satrapia**.

**saturca**: is a hapax in LHP 572, not understood by the editors, as the talk goes about a kind of decoration on the doors of a palace, possibly corrupted from \***saturoa(n)**, < And. *šadrawān* or *šaṭrawīn* “ornamental fountain”, < Pahl. *čādūr bān* “guardian of the veil”, as described in Corriente 2004b:92.

**saudita** (Cs. and Ct.) “Saudi, related to the state founded in Arabia by this dynasty”: is an instance of Gr.-Lt. suffixation on the Ar. name of its founder, Saūd.

**saue**: see **xauel**.

**sauf(e)**, **seufe** or **suf** “wool”: is an unasimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:201, sharing the Ar. etymon of **alçufa**,<sup>1018</sup> q.v.

**sauch**, **such** or **alsuich** “barley decoction”: is an unasimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:196, < Ar. (*as*)*sawīq*.

<sup>1015</sup> There is no relation with Ar. \*\**šarqīyyūn* “Eastern people”, as has been stated, even in such prestigious works as Vasmer 1996:III 561.

<sup>1016</sup> We had first propounded Ar. \*\**šarrāf alṣayal* or *aṣṣanḥah* “waster of his lineage or of the honour of his profession”, phonetically a bit closer, but semantically more questionable, as *šarrāf* only means “money changer”. In the case of *sāriḥ*, the necessary phonetic adjustment is minimal, as vowel harmonization and hesitation

in the gemination of /r/ are frequent phenomena.

<sup>1017</sup> As for **riha alsabian**, interpreted as “children’s flatulence” in Ruyzes, chances are that its first constituent is merely corrupted from **sarrha**; cf. **maseda**.

<sup>1018</sup> The connection with *isfanj* “sponge” in the context of Ruyzes is semantic, the confusions having been introduced only by commentators and translators.

**saurí** (Ct., with the Val. var. **çahuarí**) and **zahorí** (Cs.), **zaurín** (Arag.), **zahoril** (Ext.), **zahoriles** (Nav., pl.), **zauril** or **zahurín** (Nav.) “seer of hidden treasures, water sources, etc.”: is a relatively late term, documented in the middle of the 19th c. in Ct., and at the beginning of the 17th c. in Cs., perhaps derived, according to DS I:609, from Ar. *zuharī* “geomancer” (attributive of *azzuharah* “Venus”, as its influence was supposed to induce those skills), which tallies well with the pronunciation with /z/ among the Sephardic Jews of Morocco, but the fact that the oldest Ct. and Cs spellings always have >ç< suggests that, in addition to that metathesis, there has been a contamination with the root {shr} “to use magic”: as a matter of fact, Alcalá calls several kinds of soothsayers *saḥḥār* < Ar.CI. *saḥḥār* “wizard” In the long prehistory of these words, it is not surprising that there were phonetic interferences between the And. pl. *saḥḥārīn* “enchanters”, *zuharī* “geomancer”, if this term was actually used in And., and even with the vocalism of And. *ṣāḥḥ assaḥūr* “person who wakes up people to make the last meal before daybreak during the month of Ramadan” The meanings **zahuril** “restless” (Sal.) and **zahoril** “smart; rickety; busybody” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:229) have resulted from semantic evolutions. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zahoriar**; Ct.: **saurina**. Cf. **zahara**.

**savassèquia**: see **zabacequia**.

**savica**: see **cibica**.

**saxe** (with the var. **saxos** and **xaxes**) “a kind of turtle dove”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1621, in truth and lit. “rock dove” (cf. Ct. **xixella** under **seixa**).

**saytarache** “dittender (*Lepidium latifolium*)”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1622, < Ar. *ṣayṭaraj* < Sk. *ṣṭraka*.<sup>1019</sup>

**saytó**: see **seitó**.

**scaculos**: see **ascachilos**.

**scangibin**, **scaniabin** **schingibin**, **sajin-gibin**, **squngebi**, **schingerin**, **squizibin** and **squincibin** (with a better var. **sacaniabin** in Vázquez 1998:783) “oxymel”: is an unas-

similated pharmaceutical term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982: 256–258, < Ar. *sakanjabīn* < Neo-P. *sik anguben* “vinegar honey”

**scarue**: is an unassimilated technical term, in DO 277 “thin linen fabric”, < And. *šarb* “brocade for headgear” Cf. **enxaravia**.

**sceiaret**: see **sabiarat**.

**scelita** “an electuary”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982: 179–181, < Neo-Ar. *šilīā*, although Neo-P. has *šališā*.

**scyuan**: see **siban**.

**sebel** “pannus, superficial opacity of the cornea”: is an unassimilated medical term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982: 179–181, < Ar. *sabal*.

**sebesta** (Gl.), **sebesta/e** (Pt.), **sebestén** (Cs.) and **sebest(a)** or **sebestern** (Ct.) “sebesten (*Cordia latifolia/myxa*)”: used to be considered a borrowing through Fr. in the second half of the 20th c., < Ar. *sabastān* < Neo-P. *sag pestān* “bitch nipples”, but the information provided by Karbstein 2002:192 suggests that **sebestán** had entered Ibero-Rom. directly. Intra-Rom. der.: Gl. and Pt.: **sebesteiro**.

**sebratán**: see **cerbatana**.

**seca**: see **ceca**.

**secacul** (Cs.) “secacul (*Pastinaca schekakul*)”: through scientific Lt., < Neo-Ar. *šaqāqul* < Neo-P. *šaqāqol*. It is possible that Medieval Lt. would be based on an And. pronunciation \**ša/iqāqul*, but as the usual And. form in written sources is >*išqāqūl*/r<, chances are that the Lt. shape is a mere bookish transmission of standard Neo-Ar.

**sechirusiae** “scirrhous”: is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:179, reflecting the Neo-Ar. spelling >*sqyrwys*< (cf. **sephiros**).

**secll(i)a**: see **acequia**.

**secotrí**: see **cecotrim**.

**seda alhadid** “(iron) rust”: is an unassimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:259, < Neo-Ar. *šada? alḥadīd*.

**sedar**: see **alsedar**.

<sup>1019</sup> Meyerhof 1940:184 warns about the frequent confusions between this plant and

fumitory, Ar. *šāhturrāj*, from the Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *šāh tarre* “the king’s weed”.

**sedef** "clams": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:259, < Ar. *ṣadaf*, lit., "shell; mother-of-pearl, etc."

**sedinech**: is an unassimilated medical term, in GP 120, with the var. **sadenegi**, **s(c)edenegi** and **sedine** in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:251, < Neo-Ar. *šādanj* "hematite"

**sefaiha** "plates": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:259, < Ar. *ṣafāḥ*.

**sefardí** (Gl. and Cs., with the var., also Ct., **sefardita**) and **sefardim** (Pt.) "Jew of Hispanic origin": is a gentilic with the Rom. Orientalizing suffix, formed on Hb. *šefārād*, pausal form of *šefārēd*, originally an unidentified place name in the Middle East, which the tradition attributed to the Iberian Peninsula. Cf. **andaluz**.

**segall(a/o)**: see **cegaja**.

**seguer** (Ct.) "small or wild beehive" (with the Maj. var. **sequer**): Coromines' view that it derives from Ar. *ṣagīr* "small beehive" appears as very unlikely, as in this syntagm the qualifier is much less important than the qualified. Besides, the presence of **sarseguer** with similar meanings advises caution.

**sehnah**: see **gena**.

**seiar**: see **sabiara(t)**.

**seibão** (Pt.) "sunshade": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *sāyebān* "keeper of the shade", or its Hindi reflex *sāyāban*.

**seiffa** "two-banded bream (*Diplodus vulgaris*)" (Can., borrowed from Pt. *seiffa*): < And. *ṣayfiyya* = Cl.Ar. *ṣayfiyyah* "sword shaped"

**seitó** (Ct., with the var. **xeytó** and **saytó**) "unsalted anchovy": is inseparable from And. *ṣuṭūna* and Mor. *ṣṭuna*, apparently derived from Rom. *\*SALAT+ŌNA* "little salty", as anchovies are usually preserved in salt.

**seixa** (Pt.) "fez": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the colonial enterprises, < Naf. *šāšya*, designation of this kind of headgear, characteristic first of West-

ern Muslims, though apparently derived from the gentilic of Šāš, in Central Asia (cf. **fez** and **tarbuche**). The primitive form must have been *\*xeixa*, < And. *šāšya*, perhaps metaphorically reflected by provincial Pt. in the meaning of "little mushroom" But Ct. **xixell(a)** "wild pigeon", with dim. Rom. suffixation, is no doubt a reflex of And. *šāšša*, recorded by Alcalá, < Lt. *saxēa* "rocky". Cf. **saxe**.

**selami**: see **alselamiat**.

**sellejat**: see (as) **sellejat**.

**selhue** (Cs.) "quails": is an unassimilated item, excerpted by Eguílaz from the version of the journey of the Israelites through the desert contained in *Fuero Juzgo*; however, it cannot reflect Hb. *\*šēlāw*, but And. *sālwa* = Cl.Ar. *salwā*.

**semach**: see **almazmach**.

**semachu**: see **alsamach**.

**sembadegi** "emery":<sup>1020</sup> is an unassimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:260, with the var. (a) **zumbedic** and **azumberic** in GP 70), < Neo-Ar. *sunbādaj*, from the Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *sonbāde*.

**semen(um)** "butter": is an unassimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:260, < Ar. *samn*.

**semia**: see (axera) **azemia**.

**semid**: see **acemite**.

**semin**: see **almazemou**.

**semita** (Cs., Ct., Pt. and Gl.) "Semite": from the Gr. gentilic of the Hb. pr.n. *šēm*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **antisemítico**; Cs. and Gl.: **antisemitismo**; Cs. and Pt.: **semitista**; Cs., Gl. and Pt. **semitismo** and **semítico**; Cs. and Ct.: **antisemitisme**, **semítico** and **semitisme**; Ct. and Gl.: **antisemita**.

**sen** (Cs.), **sena** (Cs. and Gl.), **sene** (Pt.), and **senet** (Ct.) "true senna (*Cassia acutifolia*)": through scientific Lit., < Ar. *sanā*. The strange Ct. shape suggests an And. spelling with the fem. morpheme, after AAR 2.2.1.2.3.1.

**senab(r)**: see **ajenabe**.

**senalla**: see **cenacho**.

**senan** "related to teeth": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:139, < Ar. *asnān* "teeth"

<sup>1020</sup> The authors are aware of Ruiyzes' confusion upon rendering this item as "iron

dross"

**senasen(e)** and **senasepe**: see **alsenasen**.

**senet**: see **sen**.

**senial/r** and **senier**: see **aceña**.

**sensemanic**, **sisamina/e** and **ossa sisami(n)a** “sesamoid bones”: is an unasimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:46 and 65 and Herrera & Vázquez 1982:187–191, < Neo-Ar. (*šizām simšāmiyah*).

**séphiros** “scirrhous” (with the var. **safiros**): is an unassimilated medical term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:181–183, a bad reading of Ar. *saqīrūs* < Gr. *skírros*. Cf. *sechirusiae*.

**sequera**, **sèquia**, **sequial**, **sequia/er**, **sequiateq**, **sequió** and **sequioleta**: see **acequia**.

**sequí** and **sequim**: see **cequí**.

**serafí** (Ct.), **serafim** (Pt.) and **serafín**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Gl.) “seraph(im)”: through Bib.Lt. *seraphin/m* < Hb. *šērāfīm*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **serafina**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **seráfico**; Ct.: **seráfico**; Pt.: **serafinesco** and **serafizar**.

**serafín**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) “an Eastern gold coin” and **xa/erafim** (Pt.) “a silver coin” (documented in the 15th c., in India): reflect Neo-Ar. *ašrafī*, attributive adjective of the pr.n. of the Egyptian Mamluk sultan Alʿašraf Barsbāy, who minted those coins, subsequently imitated several times in Iran. A transmission to Cs. via Pt. or Ct., in which Mateu y Llopis documents **xarafi** and **xarafin**, is probable.

**serasif** and **alsadesa** “cartilages”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:46, < Ar. *šarāsif*.

**serasquier** (Cs.) “general of a Tur. army”: < Tr. *serasker* < Neo-P. *sar šaskar* “head of the army” The palatalized realization of /k/ in this position in Tr. accounts for the diphthong, as in the case of **quiosco**, q.v.

**serboix**: see **enxaravia**.

**serir** (Cs.): the expression **almalafa**—, in an inventory of the Alhambra archives, excerpted by Eguílaz, < And. *malḥāfat sarīr*, appears to designate a nightgown, synonymous with *malḥāfat arruqād* in the documents of the Toledan Mozarabs.

**seriza/í** (with the var. **serezi**): is an unasimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1983: 181–190, < And. *širíz* = Cl.Ar. *šīrāz* “cottage cheese”, of Iranian origin,<sup>1021</sup> absolutely unrelated to Ar. **\*xanāzīr** “scrofula”, hesitatingly suggested by the authors.

**serrall** (Ct.) and **serrallo** (Cs.) “seraglio, harem”: through It., < Tr. *saray* “palace” < Neop. *sarāy* < Pahl. *srāy*, unrelated, *pace* Coromines, to Mandaic **\*srādqa**, matched by Pahl. **\*srādīg**, prob. < Gr. **\*stratēgion** “the general’s tent”

**serrazines**: see **sarraceno**.

**serventica**: see **cerbatana**.

**servilla** (Cs.) “cup”: has resulted from contamination, by the homophone meaning “sandal”, of And. *šarbālla*, Rom. dim. of *šārba*, < Ar. *šarbah* “a drink”

**sésamo** (Cs., Pt. and Gl.) and **sèsam** (Ct.) “sesame (*Sesamum indicum*)”: through Lt. and Gr., from Aram. (cf. Rab. *šumšum*, or Cp. *semsēm*), < Ak. *šam(aš)šammū*, a contraction of *šaman šammi* “vegetable oil” Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **sesámeo** and **sesamoideo**; Gl. and Ct.: **sesamoide**; Pt.: **sesamóide**.

**seterac**: see **acederaque**.

**set(h)im/n** “acacia”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1658, mere transcription of Hb. *šittim* < Eg. *>šndt<*, in Ex. 25/10.

**setí** (Ct., with the var. **cebtí**) “satin”: on account of this latter var., Coromines is inclined to Ar. *sabīl*, gentile of Ceuta, as etymon of this word documented almost everywhere in the second half of the 14th c. But this is an unnecessary risk, as that var. may well be due only to folk etymology, in contrast with the abundance and oldness of the Fr. and Provençal *satín*, with vars. like Ct. *s/çati*, whereas there is no evidence of production of such luxurious fabrics in Ceuta.

**setia**: see **saetía**.

**setim/n**: see **set(h)im/n**.

**setón** “loafer” (Mur.): is prob. a der. of Ar. *sathāʾ* “big-bottomed (fem.)”, with Rom. aug. suffixation and backformation of masc.<sup>1022</sup> Ct. **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).

**setuní**: see **aceituní**.

<sup>1021</sup> See DAA 279.

<sup>1022</sup> If not from And. *\*šunt+ÓN*, as we have

**setra**, **setrill(a)**, **setrillada** and **setrilleres**: see **acéter**.

**seufe**: see **sauf(e)**.

**sèver**: see **acibara**.

**seviche**: see **cebiche**.

**seyron** "hair set on end with fright": is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1669, formed, upon rendering a Haggadic passage, on Hb. *śašar* "horror"

**sha/era**: see **alsahara**.

**shemie** or **ossa shemiae** "little bones behind the ears": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:19 and 44, < Ar. *saḥmiyyah*, lit., "sagittal", possibly meaning the sagittal suture of the two parietal bones.

**siban** (with the var. **ciuan** and **scyuan**) "3rd month of the Hb. calendar": is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1672 < Hb. *siwān* (= May–June).

**sibare** "mania": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:139, reflecting the Neo-Ar. spelling *šibārā*, of Syr. *šbārā* "insanity".<sup>1023</sup>

**sica**: see **ceca**.

**sicat**: see **acicate**.

**sícera**: see **sidra**.

**sichvegi**: see **cebiche**.

**siclano**: see **ciclano**.

**siclató**: see **ciclatão**.

**siclo** (Cs. and Pt.) "an old Hb. monetary and weight unit": through Lt. *siclus*, < Hb. *šeqel* "weight standard", from the same Semitic root as **metical**, q.v.

**sicló**: see **ciclán**.

**sicotrí**: see **cecotrim**.

**sicrac** (with the var. **xitraquete**): is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1661, "a kind of woodpecker", about the identification and etymon of which, see **xorocat**.

**sicrano**: see **ciclano**.

**sidonio** (Cs. and Gl.) "Sidonian, gentile of Sidon": < Lt. *Sīdōnūs* < Gr. *Sidōnios*, formed on the Hb. place name *šidon*.

**sidra** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "cider": < Lt. *sicēra* < Gr. *síkera* < Eg. *škr*.<sup>1024</sup> There is a learned Pt. **sícera**, directly taken from Lt. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **sidrería**.

**sief album rasis** "Razes' white collyrium": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:262–263, together with **sief de plumbo** "lead collyrium" and **sief de thure** "frankincense collyrium", the first constituent of which is Ar. *šīyāf*; cf. also **siefal nesastegi** "starch collyrium" < Neo-Ar. *šīyāf našāstaj*, in which the second constituent is Neo-P. *nešāste*, **sief rusahaec**, **siefruface**, **rusastech** and **rusa cheegi / chtegi** "collyrium of burnt copper or antimony" < Neo-Ar. *šīyāf rūšaxtaj*, with a second constituent Pahl. *rōy sōxtaj*, and **siefalchendure** "frankincense collyrium" < Ar. *šīyāf alkundur*. Cf. **xief**.

**sierv(esit)a**: see **sarpatana**.

**sifac** "peritoneum": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:47, < Ar. *šifāq*. Cf. **cifaque**.

**sife** "collyrium": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:263, < Ar. *šīyāf*.

**silac(h) o alselach** "blepharitis ulcerosa": is an unassimilated pathological term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:140, with the var. **silac**, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:186–187, < Ar. *sulāq*.

**simac**: see **almazach**.

**simitarra**: see **cimitarra**.

**simonía** (Cs. and Gl.) and **simonia** (Ct. and Pt.) "simony": through Bib.Lt. and Bib. Gr., from the Hb. pr.n. *šimṣon*, who tried to purchase spiritual powers, after the New Testament. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **simoniaco**; Ct.: **simoníac**; Pt.: **simoníaco** and **simoniano**.

**simún** (Cs. and Gl.), **simun** (Ct.) and **simum** (Pt.) "simoom, hot dry wind laden with dust": is a contemporary borrowing, through Fr., < Naf. *smūm* < Ar. *samūm* "pestilential wind"

**sinabafa** (Cs.) and **sinabafo/a** (Pt.) "a cotton fabric from Bengala": < Neo-P. *simbaft* "silver woven" Cf. **girbafo**.

**sinapismo** (Cs. and Pt.) "sinapism, mustard poultice": see **ajenabe**, about the Eg. origin of its etymon.

**sinedrio**: see **sanedrín**.

**sinenia**: see **alsenasen**.

<sup>1023</sup> See Payne Smith 3559.

<sup>1024</sup> Hb. *šēkār*, apparently the failed aim of

\*\*\**šēkāt* in DRAE, derives also from Eg., and is not the etymon of this item, as this work fancies.

**súnia**: see **acenia**.

**súndria(da)**, **sindriar/t**, **sindrier** and **sindriera**: see **sandía**.

**sionismo** (Cs. and Pt.) and **sionisme** (Ct.) "Zionism" and **sionista** "Zionist" (Cs., Ct. and Pt.): are cases of Rom. suffixation, through mod. Western languages and Bib.Lt. *Sīōn*, on Hb. *šīyyon*, name of a hill in Jerusalem, taken as symbol of the main centre of Judaism.

**sipai(o)**: see **cipaio**.

**siphac**: see **cifaque**.

**siphe** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1671, interpreted as "healing", apparently matching a Neo-Ar. *\*(hajar aš)šifā* "healing stone" which, however, is missing in the dictionaries.

**siríaco** (Cs. and Gl.) "Syrian; Syriac": < Lt. *Sýriacus*, formed on the place name *Sýria*, < Gr. *Sýria*, a reflex of Aram. *sūryā*, possibly through an Anatolian language. Cs. **siriano** and **sir(i)o** answer to diverse, though parallel Rom. suffixations.

**sirçen**: see **sirs/zçen**.

**siroco**: see **jaloque**.

**sirs/zçen** (with the var. **cinzen**, **çezen**, **sirsén**, **sirsemati** and **xerçi(n)**) "frenzy": is an unassimilated pathological term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:186–187, with a var. **sirsem** in Vázquez & Herrera 1983:179, < Neo-Ar. *s/širsām*.

**sisamina/e** and **ossa sisami(n)a**: see **sensemanic**.

**sisclón**: see **ciclán**.

**sitoal**: see **cedoaria**.

**sitra** and **sitrell**: see **acetre**.

**sobai** (Ct., whence corrupted **sabai**, q.v.) "slave boy": is a rare word, documented by Alcover y Moll in a text of 1265, < And. *šubáy* = Cl.Ar. *šubayy*, dim. of *šabí* = Cl.Ar. *šabí* "boy", frequent in And., unrelated to *\*\*sabšah* "seven", and its root, *pace* Dozy, followed by Coromines. It has a further witness in Cs. **çobayo**, a hapax in Baena's *Cancionero* (Nº 407), never understood heretofore.<sup>1025</sup> Cf. **sabia**.

**sobreacequero** and **sobre-sequier**: see **zabecequia**.

**socaliña(r)** and **socaliñero**: see **jical**.

**socão** (Pt.) "tiller": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 16th c. in India, < Ar. *sukkān* < Pahl. *\*sōg-kang*, represented by Neo-P. *sō(y) kang*, lit., "aiming arm"

**socotorino**: see **cecotrim**.

**socríte** and **socrugene**: see **saganea**.

**soda**<sup>1</sup> "headache": is an unassimilated pathological term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:191–194 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:140, < Ar. *šudāf*.

**soda**<sup>2</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): is an international It. term, sharing the etymon of **sosa**, q.v.

**sodat** "obstruction": is an unassimilated pathological term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:194–197; < Ar. *suddah*.

**sodomita** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "Sodomite": < Bib.Lt. *Sōdōmīta* < Bib.Gr. *Sodomitis*, a gentilic formed on Hb. *šēdom*, name of the town of Sodom. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **sodomítico** and **sodomizar**; Cs. and Gl.: **sodomía**; Ct.: **sodomitar** and **sodomític**; Ct. and Pt.: **sodomia**; Pt.: **sodómico**.

**sodra**: see **açude**.

**sofa** (Pt. and Gl.), **sofá** (Cs.) and **sofà** (Ct.) "sofa": Cs. and Ct. reflect, through Fr., Neo-P. *soffe* < Ar. *suffah*. The Pt. word is a mod. borrowing of the 18th c., but older than any other reflex in a Western language, prob. taken directly in the East, as given away by the stress position in agreement with Ar., while Fr. would have borrowed it from Pt., rather than from Tr., which most likely would have generated *\*sofé*.

**sofeifa**: see **açofaifa**.

**sofena**: see **safena**.

**so/ufi** "Persian mystic" (Pt., only in Morais), **so/uffi** (Cs.) and **suffi** (Ct. and Gl.) "Islamic mystic": < Ar. *šūfi* "woollen" (an allusion to their clothes), prob. through Neo-P., rather than from Gr. *sophia* "science", suggested by some. The meaning "title of the sovereigns of a Persian dynasty" in DRAE, up

<sup>1025</sup> Prob. because the Ct. borrowing was still ignored, in spite of the quite obvious context, **Non** so ç. / **nin moro** / **nin elche**, **tampoco Farfan**,

"I am not a—, nor a Moor, nor a renegade, not even a F. (q.v.)" Dutton & González Cuenca understood it as **zuavo**, q.v.



to its latest edition, is the result of the historians' confusion, by sheer ignorance of Ar. and Neo-P., between the Neo-P. adjective *ṣafavi*, true name of that dynasty, attributive adjective of its eponymous ancestor Ṣafīyyaddīn Iṣḥāq, and Ar. *ṣūfi*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *sofiano*; Cs. and Pt. *sufismo*; Ct.: *sufismo*; Pt.: *sufista*.

**sófora** (Cs. and Pt.) and **sòfora** (Ct.) *sophora* (Sophora): < scientific Lt. *sophora*, created by Linnaeus, apparently based on Neo-Ar. *ṣufayrā* "little yellow", allusive to the colour of these flowers.

**sofra**: see **azofra**.

**soha**: see **açuhe**.

**solaca**: see **azulaque**.

**soldà** (Ct.), **soldão** (Pt.), **soldán** (Old Cs.) and **sultán** (Cs. and Gl.): Ct., Old Cs. and Pt. reflect a direct medieval borrowing from And. *sulṭān* = Cl.Ar. *sulṭān*, while mod. Cs. appears to have received it through intermediation of It., rather than directly from Tr., as Coromines thought. The personal and concrete meaning of this word, which originally only meant the authority, is early, being already documented in the And. historians of the Umayyad period. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *sultana(to)* and *sultanía*; Cs. and C.: *sultana*; Cs. and Gl.: *sultánico*; Gl.: *sultanado*; Ct.: *sultanat* and *soldana(t)*.

**soleto** "brazen" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:390): might reflect Ar. *salīt*, with vowel contamination by Rom. items.

**solimán** (Cs.) "corrosive sublimate": is a contamination of the Rom. reflex of scientific Lt. *sublimātum* by the Ar. pr.n. *ṣulaymān*. The forms **solimad** and **solimán** existed already in the 15th c.

**solimitano**: see **Jerusalén**.

**sollaca**: see **azulaque**.

**soltaní** (Cs., with the var. **zoltaní**) "an Islamic gold coin" and **sultaní** (Pt.) "an Eastern coin": < Neo-Ar. *sulṭānī* "of the sultan". It is noteworthy that, although DRAE considers it as a Tr. coin, its etymon had the equivalence of one silver dirham already in 12th c. Al-Andalus, in IQ 20/18/2.

**somalí** (Cs. and Gl.) and **somali** (Pt.) "Somali, gentile of Somaliland": through Fr.,

< Ar. *ṣūmālī*, gentile of *aṣṣūmāl*, name of Somaliland, surely of Cushitic origin.

**somorta** (Cs.) "emerald": this term, excerpted by Eguílaz from a collection of jesting poems, indeed reflects And. *zamúrrata* (in Alcalá *zamórrata*) < Cl.Ar. *zumurradah* < Aram. *zēmaragdā* < Gr. *smáragdos*.

**sopaip(ill)a**: see **asopaipa**.

**so/urbagi**, **surbeget** and **alsa/e/orbegi** "broth": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:269, < Neo-Ar. *ṣurbājah*, from Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *šūrba*.

**sorbete** (Cs. and Gl.), **sorvete** (Pt.) and **sorbet** (Ct.) "ice cream": < Lt. *sorbete* < Tr. *şerbet* < Ar. *šarbah* "draught"

**soriac**: see **zurriaga**.

**sorolla**: see **acerola**.

**sorope**: see **jarabe**.

**sorra** (Ct.) "flank" (of tunny)" and **zorra** (Arag.) "flank": < And. *súrra* = Cl.Ar. *surrah* "navel"

**sorvete**: see **sorbete**.

**sosa** (Ct., Cs., and Gl., always borrowed from Ct.) "glasswort (*Salsola kali*); soda": Ar. *sawdāʾ* is phonetically an irreproachable etymon; however, the Ar. term documented for this plant and even adopted by medieval Lt. as its name, *Suaeda fruticosa*, appears always as a dim. *suwaydāʾ* < Neo-Ar. *suwaydah*, lit., "little black", which would require a backformation in And. From the same origin is **zagua** (Cs.) "*Salsola verticillata*", with loss of intervocalic /d/.

**sosati** "sharp pain in the side":<sup>1026</sup> is an unassimilated pathological term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:141, < Ar. *ṣawṣah*.

**sotira** "an electuary": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:263–264, < Neo-Ar. *ṣūṭirā* < Gr. *sōteira*.

**squingerin**, **squincibin**, **squizibin** and **squngebi**: see **scangibin**.

**ssamas**: see **chamaz**.

**suachy** "capilar vein": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:47, < Ar. *ṣaṣarī*.

<sup>1026</sup> Occasionally mixed up with **soda** "headache", as warned pointedly by the authors.

There is a var. **sosa** in Vázquez 1998:784.

**subedar** (Pt.) “viceroy, governor”: is an unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises of the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *ṣowbe dār*.

**subet(h)** “lethargy” (with the var. **subeth sahari**, **subet asahare**, **subetsari** and **subetasahari**<sup>1027</sup> “insomnic lethargy”): is an unassimilated pathological term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:205–206 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:141–142, < Neo-Ar. *subāt* (*saharī*).

**subetī** and **subetenī**: see **alsebatī**.

**suc**: see **çuc**.

**sucata** (Pt.) “junk”: is a very recent word, undocumented until the end of the 19th c., according to Machado, who would derive it from Ar. *suqāḥ*. In spite of the phonetic likeness, and the similarity with **zacatīn**, q.v., such an etymon is not quite convincing, because that form is not documented in And., that late documentation in Pt. is anomalous, and so would be its first syllable phonetically, although some of these problems would disappear if the transmission were Naf. At any rate, it must not be connected with Cs. **zoquete**, as Machado did. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **sucateiro**.

**such**: see **sauch**.

**sucotrino**: see **cecotrim**.

**sucre**, **sucrer(a/o)**, **sucreria**, **sucaire**, **sucral** and **sucros**: see **açúcar**.

**sudanés** (Cs. and Gl.), **sudanês** and **sudanense** (Pt.) and **sudanès** (Ct.) “Sudanese”: through Fr., < Ar. *bilādu ssūdān* “country of the Blacks”

**suf**: see **sauf(e)**.

**sufete** (Cs. and Pt.) and **sufet** (Ct.) “sufete, higher magistrate in Carthage”: through Lt. *sūfes*, -ētis < Phoenician *šūfē*.

**suffuf/s/t** and **suffofet** “medicinal powder”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:268, < Ar. *saḥḥuf*.

**sufī**, **sufismo/e** and **sufista**: see **sofī**.

**sufra**: see **azofra**<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>.

**sui/yah**: see **alsuyah**.

**sulemat** and **sulemi**: see **alselamiat**.

**sulegian**: see **zocani**.

**sulla**: see **zulla**.

**sulla/eca**: see **azulaque**.

**sultán**, **sultana(d/to)**, **sultanía** and **sultánico**: see **soldà**.

**sultaní**: see **soltaní**.

**sumac** (Ct.), **sumagre** (Pt.), **zumaque** (Cs.) and **zumac(h/o)**, **zumak/ge**, **zumague** and **cimaco** (Leo., in DO 2004:290): “sumach (Rhus coriaria)”: < And. *summāq* = Cl.Ar. *summāq* < Aram. *summāq* “red”, which is the colour of its seeds. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **sumacar**; Pt.: **sumagral/r** and **sumagreiro**.

**sumerio** (Cs. and Gl.) “Sumerian”: through Fr., < Ak. *šumeru(m)*, name of the country, Sumer.

**sumpt** and **sunt**: see **acimut**.

**sunā**, **sunī(ta)** and **sunn(it)a**: see **çuna**.

**sunt**: see **acimut**.

**sura**<sup>1</sup>: see **azora**.

**sura**<sup>2</sup> “calf of the leg”: is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:48, identified by the authors as the fibula, < Neo-Ar. *qaṣbah ṣuḡrā*.

**surā** (Cs. and Ct.) “surat, a silken fabric”: through Fr., < Neo-P. *surat* < Hindi *sūrat*, name of the city in India where it was manufactured.

**surim** (Pt.) “hot Southwestern wind in the Indian Ocean”: Machado propounded the Neo-P. etymon \*\*\**surīn*, i.e., \*\*\**sorin*, following the untrustworthy Dalgado, but this word is nowhere documented with any similar meaning, being no doubt incorrect or corrupted.

**suram**: see **alalme**.

**surbagi** and **surbeget**: see **sorbagi**.

**surias** “Syrians (fem.pl.)” and **surianos** “Syrians (masc.pl.)”: are unassimilated terms, in DAX 1712, with vocalizations reflecting Ar. *sūrī* and *suryānī*, instead of the matching Graeco-Lt. forms. Cf. **çori**.

**suristan** or **surmale(n)** “medicament for the gums”: are unassimilated pharmaceutical terms, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:270, apparently corrupted from Neo-Ar. *sūrīnjān* “meadow saffron (Colchicum autumnale)”, which has several medical applications.

**surmah** (Pt.) “kohl-like collyrium”: is an unassimilated borrowing, in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, excerpted

<sup>1027</sup> Perhaps also **subetenetī**.

by Eguílaz from one of their historians, < Neo-P. *sorme*.

**surrão** (Pt.) and **zurrón** (Cs.) “haversack”: is a hybrid term, with the Rom. aug. suffix attached to And. *šúrra* = Cl.Ar. *šurrah* “purse”, although Basque *zofo*, preferred by Coromines, cannot be excluded.

Intra-Rom. der.: Arag.: **zurraco** “money purse” in Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:41. Cf. **mazarrón**.

**suruz**: see **feruz**.

**susati**: see **althute**.

**sut**: see **çuc**.

**suyah**: see **alsuyah**.

## T

**ta** “the letter T in Ar.”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1717, < Ar. *tāʾ*.

**taba<sup>1</sup>** (Arag., Cs. and Ct.) “anklebone”: < And. *kāṣba* = Cl.Ar. *kaṣbah*,<sup>1028</sup> name of that bone, used instead of dice, contaminated by *tābah* “game played with a ball and a bat”, as Eguílaz suspected. There is a clear semantic evolution in the idiom **coger la** — “to take one’s turn” (Nav.), and prob. also in the meaning “portion of a vine shoot between two nodes” (Anz.).

**taba<sup>2</sup>** (Ct.) “specifications (for a tender)”: < And. *tābṣ* “agreement”, by semantic evolution of Cl.Ar. *tābṣ* “innate character”

**tabac<sup>1</sup>** (Ct.) and **tabaco** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*)”: is most prob. a mere reassignment of forms akin to **altabaca**, q.v., a Cs. reflex of Ar. *ṭa/ubbāq*, < Syr. *dubāqā*, which became the designation of the well-known American plant on account of a certain likeness to other species of that name in the Old World, as Coromines propounded.

Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atabacado**, **entabacarse**, **tabacalero**, **tabacón** and **tabaquera/o**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **tabacal**; Cs. and Gl. **tabaquería** and **tabaquismo**; Cs. and Pt.: **tabacoso** and **tabaquista**; Ct.: **atabacar**, **entabacar**, **tabacada**, **tabacar**, **tabacaire**, **tabaquejar**, **tabaquer**, **tabaqueria** and **tabaquisme**; Gl.: **tabaqueira/o**; Pt.: **tabacão**, **tabacaria**, **tabaquear** and **tabaqueira/o**.

**tabac<sup>2</sup>** (Ct.) and (al)**tabaque** (Cs., with a poorly documented var. **tabahia**, suspected by Coromines on solid grounds of being a ghost word), **altabaca** and **tabaque** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:185) “hand-basket”: < And. *tābāq* = Cl.Ar. *tābaq* “dish” From the same etymon are **atabaque** (Pt.), a musical instrument more like a cymbal than a drum, and also a vessel, **atabaque** “potter’s wheel” (Ext.), var. of **tabanque** (Cs.) of the same meaning, (but “shed” in Mur., with semantic evolution), **tabaque** or **atabacado** “space between two pannels or between ceiling and roof” (Anz.)

<sup>1028</sup> This etymon, known of old, has been criticized for positing a seemingly inexplicable shift /k/ > /t/. However, within Ar. phonemics there is some relation between both consonants, possibly based on their similarly scarce audibility at distance, resulting in cases of assimilation like **carcaj**, or dissimilation, e.g., **adutaque** (q.v.). This shift may be spontaneous in some

Jud.-Mor. dialects (which have **\*\*ṭbir**, **\*\*ṭan**, **\*\*raṭha**, **\*\*ṭax**, etc., after Lévy 1995:53), as well as in some informations about a pronunciation of /k/ resembling /t/, cf. IQ 140/2/4 and Ibn Hišām Allaxmī (Pérez Lázaro 1990:II 365) for the West, and Aljāhiz for the East (after Hārūn 1985:I 34).

and **entabacado** "empty space, hidden or unusable upon closing a work" (Anz.), although in these last cases the etymon could also be And. *ṭabāqa* = Cl.Ar. *ṭabaqah* "closure; story" As for Cs. **tabaque** "a nail slightly bigger than a tack" has no clear etymon, not being likely a metathesis of **abitaque**, q.v., as Coromines suggested in his study of the latter term. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **tabaquet** and **entabacat**.

**tabacada**, **tabacaire**, **tabacalero**, **tabacarl**, **tabacão**, **tabacaria** and **tabacoso**: see **tabac**<sup>1</sup>.

**tabaco**: see **tabac**.

**tabacoque** "unevenness on the ground" and **tab/vacote** or **cavacote** "pothole" (Mur., the latter also in DRAE, without dial. attribution, in the meaning of "heap of earth used as a signal", and a naive etymology from **cavar** "to dig" and **coto** "landmark"): < And. *ṭapaqqūṭa* "sticking", alluding to the unevenness of a ground in which lumps of mud and the like fall and stick to it.

**tabafei(r)a**: see **atabafeia**.

**tabahia**: see **tabac**<sup>2</sup>.

**tabair/la** (Ct.) "a kind of earthenware hollow tray": is rather Val., < And. *ṭabāyra* "gallipot", resulting from the hybridization of Ar. *ṭayyib* "good (to eat)" with the Rom. instrumental suffix, and hapology of the diphthongized segment, as in **algibeira**, q.v. Coromines was not right upon following García Gómez in one of the cases in which his efforts were not crowned by success in his valuable and pioneering edition, as there is no relation whatsoever between And. *ṭabāyra* and **\*ṭabari** in IQ 19/4/4. The context leaves no doubt about its being not a vessel, but a fabric, by the way a renowned one, the And. imitation of one attributed originally to Tabaristán.<sup>1029</sup>

**tabal(ada)**, **tabaler/t**, **tabale(j)ar**, **tabalot**, **tabalarío** and **tabaleo**: see **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

**tabanque**: see **tabac**<sup>2</sup>.

**tab(a)ola** (Ct., with the var. **bataola**), **tabola** (Arag.) and **batahola** (Cs.) "uproar": < And. *ṭahawwūla* "commotion, especially that of a storm in the sea", the latter meaning unknown in Cl.Ar. for the n.un. of the *maṣdar* [ṭal a22u3] of the root [ḥwl]. Apparently, there is no semantic link with Ct. **batayola**, whence Cs. **batalola** "rail on a boat", although Coromines, who pondered the possible influence of *ṭahwīl*, the homologous non-reflexive form, might be right in suggesting that the fierce fighting which took place there during sea battles may have furthered that metathesis. Intra-Rom. ders.: Ct.: **tabolada**, **tabolaire** and **tabolejar**. Cf. **foula**.

**tabaque**: see **tabac**<sup>2</sup>.

**tabaqueira/o**, **tabaque(j)ar**, **tabaquer** (a/o), **tabaqueri/ia**, **tabaquisme/o** and **tabaquista**: see **tabac**<sup>1</sup>.

**tabaques** "medium sized nails": in García Salinero 1968:215, is a metathesis of **abitaque**, q.v.

**tabaquet**: see **tabac**<sup>2</sup>.

**tabaras**: see **albará**<sup>2</sup>.

**tabard(ill)o** and **tabardete** "buboes" (Cs.): is a pathological term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1986, < Ar. *ṭawāḍīn*.<sup>1030</sup> Cf. **althaun**.

**tabarroto**: see **tagarot**.

**tabaxir** (Pt.) "bamboo manna": is an unsimulated technical term of the 16th c., < Neo-Ar. *ṭabāšīr* < Neo-P. *ṭabāšīr* < Sk. *tavakṣīra* or *ṭvak-kṣīra*.

**tabea** (Cs. from Burgos and Palencia) "a sausage made with pig's fry": in the light of the signifier and signified of **tabefe**, q.v., its etymon is likelier to be the same as that of **atabeo**, q.v., for which, besides, Alcalá adds the meaning of "to compose"

**tabefe** (Pt.) "name of diverse dishes": < And. *ṭabīx* = Cl.Ar. *ṭabīx* "cooked dish" Can. (a) **tabefe** and **tabique**<sup>2</sup> "whey" and Anl. **tabefe** "cottage cheese" are borrowed from Pt., although not in its most frequent meaning.

<sup>1029</sup> In this entry, Coromines was not fortunate either when, in a quote of a text related to the Crusades, mentioning Syria, Damascus and Tabaria, he thinks that this is again Tabaristan, instead of obvious Tiberias (Ar. **\*ṭabariyyah**);

also his transcription in fn. 2 of the Ar. text of Ibn Alxaṭīb, quoted by Simonet, contains several mistakes.

<sup>1030</sup> Their arguments are quite convincing.

**tabí** and **tabi**: see **atabi**.

**tabica** “small board closing a gap” (Cs.) or “certain parts of boats in top places, etc.” (Pt.): < And. *taṭbiqa* = Cl.Ar. *taṭbiqah* “covert” Cf. **tabique**.

**tabicar**: see **tabique**.

**tábila**, **tabira** and **tábira** “a vulnerary plant, prob. aloe (vera)” (Anl.): semantically, and even on the point of stress hesitation, there is a total coincidence with standard Cs. **zábila** or **zabila**, q.v.s.v. **acibara**, but the shift of the first consonant is hard to explain.

**tabilar**: see **atabilar**.

**tabique**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., with the old var. **taibeque**, Gl. and Pt.) and **taibique** (Mur.) “partition wall”: < And. *tašbik* = Cl.Ar. *tašbik*. This etymon is guaranteed by Alcalá's witness, but its phonetic irregularity may be due to contamination with **tabica**, q.v., still absent in the var. **taibe/ique**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tabicón**, **tabiquería** and **tabiquero**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **tabicar**; Can.: **atabicar** “to corral”

**tabique**<sup>2</sup>: see **tabefe**.

**tabla** “collection of irrigation taxes” (Mur.): < And. *ṭābl* “tribute”, < Lt. *tābella*, through Aram.).

**tabo**: see **daura**.

**taboa**: see **tabúa**.

**tabola(ire)** and **tablejar**: see **tabaola**.

**taboll** (Ct.) “coarse; unripe; foolish”: Coromines' etymological proposal, based on the Ar. root *{hbl}*, is not convincing, as this root is scarcely used in And. (but cf. **mabull**) and there is not a term phonetically apt to generate such a loanword, and the same happens in Cl.Ar. and Naf. It might derive, by suffix substitution, from Mor. *ṭabbun* “vulva”, after a well-known semantic juncture (cf. Fr. **\*\*con**, vulgar Cs. **chocho**); it is true that this term is

not documented in And., but it belongs to a kind of taboo words easily importable, e.g., by trade relations with North Africa, and might have been used in the final days of Al-Andalus, brought to Granada by the Naf. *guzāh* or Islamic volunteers. Finally, as this item lacks any obvious Ar. or Br. appearance, a Rom. origin cannot be excluded either, perhaps a metonymy of Rom. **tapón** which, as is known, first meant “spigot”. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **tabolleria**.

**tabor** (Cs.) “battalion”: is a contemporary borrowing, received during the Spanish Protectorate in Northern Morocco, < Mor. *ṭabur* < Neo-Ar. *ṭābūr* < Tr. *tabur*, of the same meaning.<sup>1031</sup>

**tabúa** “rush” (Ext., apparently borrowed from Pt.) and **(a)tabua** or **taboa** “bulrush (*Typha latifolia*)” (Pt.): was no doubt borrowed from Br., being recorded in some dictionaries of this language as *(t)abuda*,<sup>1032</sup> while And. only knew *búda*. This was regarded by Griffin 1961:114 as borrowed from Lt. *buda*, which in turn is usually considered as a Naf. loanword; his hypothesis is more cogent than assuming an unlikely second de-Berberization, this time from Br. to And., since Br. loanwords in And. usually preserve at least the prefixed mark *{ta+}*, characteristic of the fem., vs. the habitual loss of its masc. counterpart *{a+}*.<sup>1033</sup> It is therefore quite sure that this item was a direct loan from Br. to Rom., an infrequent witness of the living use of the former language, in agreement with what is known about the presence of an important Br. settlement in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula during the early period of the Islamic conquest, as a consequence of the subsequent allotment of lands, until the great Br. uprising

Although extant in several Slavic languages, apparently stemming in all of them from Polish *tabor*, after Vasmer 1996:IV 6, this term is more at home in Turkic, as he proves, which requires correcting the notion of DS II 20 that Tr. derives from Polish.

<sup>1032</sup> See Šafiq 1989:I 184. Mod. (Eastern) Ar. dictionaries of plant names, like those of Ġalīb, Bedevian and Chihabi, also record *būṭ* as designation of *Typha* spp., no doubt introduced in the

East, as so many other And. plant names, by the prestigious botanist Ibn Albayṭār of Málaga.

<sup>1033</sup> About which, as an almost exhaustive source, see Ferrando 1997. The different treatment of both prefixes was commented upon in our lecture “Le berbère à Al-Andalus”, delivered in the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris, on 21–5–97, now published in Corriente 1998b, and updated in Corriente 2002b.

and migration southwards, which left that country empty and cleared the way for its takeover by Northern Christians. As for the loss of intervocalic /d/, it is a conspicuous intra-Rom. phenomenon.

**tabuco** (Cs.) "narrow dwelling": is a hybrid, resulting from metanalysis and substitution of a pejorative suffix for a fancied adjectival one, attached to Neo-Ar. *īābiq* "cellar", in truth an abridgement of *bayt aṭṭābiq* "room with a hatch", documented in DS II 25, prob. a technical term in jail jargon, as reflected by Ct. **tàvega** "dungeon", without suffix substitution, but with evolution of the paralogical vowel, after 1.1.4.4.1. On the other hand, this Ct. word cannot derive from Ar. *\*īābaqah*, *pace* Coromines, not so much on phonetic grounds (as an And. allomorph *\*īābqa* could be posited, which would circumvent the required penultima stress of *īābāqa*, cf Cs. **adarga**, Ct. **alfāb(r)ega**, etc.), as for semantic considerations, because that word has not a suitable meaning for such an evolution of its meaning. Cf. **atabe**.

**tabuixar** (Ct.) "to disturb, to raise a din": prob. < And. *\*tahwīš* = Cl.Ar. *tahwīš* "to confound; to turn up; to raise a din"

**tabut**: see **atabud**.

**taca**<sup>1</sup>: see **adague**.

**taca**<sup>2</sup>: see **atacar**.

**taça** (Pt., also Old Cs. in GP 12), **tassa** (Ct.) and **taza** (Cs. and Gl.) "cup": < And. *īāssa*, with several shapes in Cl.Ar., like *īassah*, < Pahl. *tašt* "bowl", also reflected by Neo-P. *īāšt*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tace/ita**; Cs. and Gl.: **tazón**; Ct. **tass(on)ada**, **tasser** and **tassó**; Gl.: **tazada**; Pt.: **taçada**.

**tacanh** (Pt.), **tacany** (Ct.) and **tacaño** (Cs. and Gl.) "stingy; sordid": as early as in Corriente 1985 we disowned its derivation, propounded by Coromines, from Hb. *\*īāqānāh* "ordinance, regulation", which is semantically quite far-fetched, while giving no proper account of the last consonant. Granted that its primitive meaning was that of

"despicable; wicked", and that its documentation began at the end of the 14th c. in the three main Rom. languages of the Iberian Peninsula, what we might have is a concretization of And. *taqannūš* "to muffle oneself up", operated in the situation described by Ibn ʿAbdūn in his famous treatise of *hishah*.<sup>1034</sup> He explains that the use of a veil should be strictly forbidden but to ethnic Almoravids, as many rogues resorted to it as a means of committing crimes with impunity, as they were taken for members of that untouchable African corps. If so, the basic form of the loanword must have been Ct. **tacanyó** or Cs. **tacañón**, subsequently met-analyzed as aug. and reduced to their habitual form, while the semantic shift from an abstract substantive to a qualifying adjective has a parallel in **aleve**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tacañear**; Cs. and Gl. **tacañeria**; Ct.: **tacanyejar**, **tacanyeria** and **tacanyó**; Pt.: **tacanharia**, **tacanhear** and **tacanhaz(a)**.

**tacaniça** (Pt.) "eaves": perhaps < And. *taqlīsa* "attiring with a cap" (cf. Cl.Ar. *taqallus* "wearing it"), as it aims at protecting walls from rain.

**tacanyejar**, **tacanyeria**, **tacanyó**, **tacañear**, **tacañeria** and **tacaño**: see **tacanh**.

**taccie** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, from DAX 1719, prob. corrupted from *\*taocie* < Ar. *īāwūsīyyah* "peacock-like" (cf. **taoz** in DAX 1729, perhaps synonymous), recorded in DS II 67 as a variety of malachite. Cf. **tonitoz**.

**tace/ita**: see **taça**.

**tacho** "cauldron" (Can.): < And. *īāst* = Cl.Ar. *īast*.

**taçnun**: see (a)**tazmin**.

**taeiga**: see **taleca**.

**t/zafaforate** "lump of mud thrown noisily onto the ground" (Nav.): as explained under **tababullero**, which has contaminated its first consonant optionally, the talk goes about a game in which each player must try to plug with mud lumps the holes made by his contrary on the ground. This they would

<sup>1034</sup> See Lévi-Provençal 1955:28 (Ar. text).

do accompanying it with the And. phrase *şafá alfurát* "the hole is gone", with a second constituent of Rom. origin. Cf. *safar*<sup>1</sup>.

**tafal** (Men.) "foolish woman": cannot on phonetic grounds derive from Ar. \**ʔifl* "child", pace Coromines. In the light of Ar. **tafal(az)** "prater", **tafalar** "to prattle", **tafanear** "to feel; to paw" and **tafanero** "busybody", the correct etymon is that of **tafaner**, q.v., with the frequent alternance of /n/ and /l/, and our previous hypothesis in Corriente 1997c must be abandoned.

**tafanario** (Cs.) "buttocks": may be a jesting application of the etymon of **tafaner**, q.v., as it was frequent in both Ar. and Rom. to designate that part of the body with qualifiers alluding to its untimely and embarrassing sounds (cf. Cs. **antifonario** "antiphony", phonetically similar, by mere coincidence, with this entry). A dissimilation of \***tafamarario**, from the etymon of **ataharre**, q.v., would be another possibility; however, the first hypothesis is supported by the Cs. synonym **tafanero**, quoted by Coromines from Pedro Espinosa's *Voces vulgares y malsonantes*, published in 1600.

**tafaner** (Ct.) "prier" and **tafanejar** "to pry": < And. *tahhán* "pimp; miller" = Cl.Ar. *tahhān* "miller", an understandable metonymy, as in mills, while each waited for his turn there was much gossip and slander, while on the other hand millers had a proverbial bad reputation, recorded by Assaqaṭī in his treatise of *ḥisbah*.<sup>1035</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **tafaneria**, **tafaneta** and **tafaneig**. Cf. **atafanado** y **atafona**.

**tafarinada** "strong smell or stench" (Anl.): is a hybrid with obvious Rom. suffixation, most likely attached to And. *tahrīm* = Cl.Ar. *tahrīm* "interdiction, anathematization", with an easily understandable semantic evolution, as that was the judgment passed on everything which was impure and loathsome to orthodox Muslims, as is obvious in the etymon of stan-

dard Cs. **marrano**, q.v., a reflex of the matching non-agentive participle.

**tafarr(et)a** and **tajaría**: see **atafal**.

**tafarūk** "pleasurable" (Jud.-Sp.): is prob. a reflex of a hybrid \**ʔafr*+*ÚK*, attaching a Rom. suffix to Ar. *ʔafr* "victory", although another possibility would be a metathesis of the Armenian etymon of Cs. **tahúr**, q.v.s.v. **taful/r**, which might have entered Jud.-Sp. together with other Ar. loanwords before the exile, or been acquired already in it, from the Tr. reflex *tefkur* "Byzantine prince". In the latter case, the metathesis would have been triggered by metanalysis of the Rom. suffix [+*ÚK*].

**tafe/cira** (Pt.) "a kind of chintz": is a mod. borrowing perfectly derivable from genuine Ar. *tafšīlah* "dress length", in spite of Machado's unjust criticism of Dalgado on this point. Vullers records Neo-P. *tafsile* "a silken fabric" with a non-native shape, a possible corroboration of that Ar. hypothesis, although this sibilant substitution, a mere matter of spelling in Neo-P., is unusual in the latter language, which suggests an origin farther East.

**tafeña** "roasted cereal" (Can.): < And. *taḥīn* = Cl.Ar. *taḥīn* "ground; flour"

**tafetá** (Gl. and Pt.), **tafetà** (Ct.) and **tafetán** (Cs.) "taffeta": < Neo-P. *tāfte* "tissue", through a lost Neo-Ar. form,<sup>1036</sup> transmitted by It. and Ct. during the Middle Ages. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atafetanado**; Ct.: **atafetanat**.

**tafi** "floating": is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 122 and DAX 1719, said of a certain stone, from the Ar. etymon of **althafi**, q.v.

**taficira**: see **tafecira**.

**taffie** (Pt.) "wooden cutting used as weather-strip in doors and windows": prob. < And. *takfif* = Cl.Ar. *takfif* "hemming, edging" (cf. Mor. *takfif* "moulding between beams").

**tafiladera** "sharp tool used for removing fired pottery from their stands or **atiffes**, q.v." and **tafilar** "to do this job" (Anl.): appear to be intra-Rom. der. from standard Cs. **atifle**, q.v. Cf. **atabales**.

*tuftūh* and *tafuttā*, have been reintroduced from European languages.

<sup>1035</sup> See Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:21–26 (Ar. text).

<sup>1036</sup> As those currently used now, such as

**tafilet** (Ct.) and **tafilete** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) “leather from Tafilalt”: from this place name, a region in Southern Morocco. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tafiletear** and **tafileteria**.

**tafona**, **tafonear** and **tafoner**: see **atahona**.

**tafora** (Arag.) “spree”: might be a Mudejar term derived from And. *ṭahūr* = Cl.Ar. *ṭahūr* “circumcision”, as a party is usually given on this occasion.

**taforeia**: see **ataifor**.

**taful/r** (Pt.), **tafur** (Ct. and Gl.), and **tahūr** (Cs., with an old var. **tafur**) “gambler; card sharper”, **tafuru** “stingy; bad-tempered” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:217): prob. < Neo-Ar. *tafūr* < Armenian *tağavor* (after DS I 149), a title given not only to Armenian but also to Greek sovereigns, which the Crusaders learnt as their designation, and that of their subjects altogether. When soon enough their diverging interests damaged their reputation in the eyes of the Westerners, that term came to mean “disloyal; trickster”.<sup>1037</sup> From the same etymon might derive Arag. **tafurria** “a tax”, if it could be ascertained that it was placed on earnings from gambling or on gambling houses. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tah/furria**; Ct.: **tafurrier(ia)**, **tafurell** and **tafur(ej)ar**; Pt.: **tafular(ia)** and **tafulhice**.

**tafulla** (Val.) and **(a)tahúlla** (Cs.) “land measure”: < And. *taḥwilla* “plot or its surface”, by semantic evolution of Neo-Ar. *taḥwīl* (*aḥlād*) “fallow land”. The phonetic evolution, however, is not triggered, as Coromines though, by stress regression to the first element of the sequence /wi/, something impossible in And. and Ar., but as an intra-Rom. process, as /l/ has shifted to /ʎ/, and caused the vocalization of /w/, so that the stress has stayed in the same syllable in which it was. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **ataúlla(do)r** and **ataúllament**.

**tafur**: see **taful**.

**tafuru**: see **taful**.

**tafure(y)a**: see **ataifor**.

**tafurria**: see **taful**.

**tagalbix**: see **taybix**.

**tagara** “vessel”: in LHP 611, **tagar(r)as** “vessels, bowls” in DO 279: are Cs. and Leo. var. of the Br. loanword **tagra**, q.v.

**tagarela(r)** and **tagarelice**: see **tarabela**.

**tagarinio** “rough; strong” (Sal.): appears to be a metonymy of standard Cs. **tagarino**, q.v.

**tagarino** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.), **tagarí** (Ct.) and **tagariño** (Arag.) “Muslim inhabitant of border areas”: < And. *ṭagari* < Cl.Ar. *ṭagrī*, attributive adjective of *ṭagr* “march, frontier area”

**tagarnina** (Cs. and Ct.) “carline thistle (*Carlina vulgaris*)”: < And. *taḡarnīna*, < Br. *taḡarnīna*, < And.Rom. \**QARLĪNA*, adjectival der. of Lt. *cardus*.<sup>1038</sup>

**tagarot** (Ct.) and **tagarote** (Cs. and Pt.) “a kind of falcon, *baharī* (q.v.)”: there is general agreement since DE on deriving the name of this North African subspecies from Br., but no reliable etymon in that language, generally unknown to those who make that assertion. The often suggested gentilic of the town of Tahert is an anachronism, on account of its early downfall; besides, it is not free of phonetic difficulties, nor is it corroborated by native authors usually providing this kind of information. By contrast, the area of origin of these birds does coincide with the name of a part of Tlemcen, *Tāgrārt*, < Br. “camp”, so called because it was the Almoravids’ camp, when they besieged the city in the 11th c., but this hesitant proposal by Mettmann 1961 also defies phonetic rules, which cannot be avoided without resorting to bookish transmission or some contamination, both unlikely in a

<sup>1037</sup> It is noteworthy that Guadix (see Bajo & Maíllo 2005:954) corroborates the connection of Cs. **tahūr** with Ar. *taḥfūr* “you will blaspheme”, although showing his ignorance of Ar. once again, upon transcribing the latter word as *tahur*.

<sup>1038</sup> Cf. Cs. **carlina**, in the Iberian Peninsula

and, in North Africa, Kab. *taḡarnunt* “artichoke head” and de-Berberized Mor. *ḡarnīna* “dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*)”. The connection suggested by former editions of DRAE with Gr. \*\**akarna* is erroneous, as it would not have led to that result.



technical term of sport and trade of those days. Considering the relatively small size of this bird and its head, the etymon might be similar to Kab. *taqərri* "little head". Mur. **tabarrote** "tall and slovenly man" appears to be a corrupted metonymy of the usual meaning. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tagarotear**. Cf. **taheruc**.

**tagaras**: see **tagar(r)as**.

**tagarrão** (dial. Pt.) "large earthenware stewpot": is prob. a Rom. aug. suffix attached to a reflex of And. *tanjahār*, meaning rather a drinking vessel, but was contaminated by *tanjār*, another Iranian culinary term, semantically identical with the Pt. word. This must be very old, to judge by the obstruant reflex of *jīm*.

**tagarrillo** "unidentified mountain plant" (Mur.): is a metathesis of **terraguillo** "a fragrant weed", < And.Rom. *TÉRRA*.<sup>1039</sup>

**taginat**: see **teginat**.

**tagra** (Gl. and Pt., the latter only in Morais and Eguílaz, not in Machado) "old measure equal to two litres": it matches And. *tāgra* "vessel" < Br. *tagra(t)*,<sup>1040</sup> said of bottles made of calabash, etc., an etymon corroborated by the Arag. denominative hybrid verb **ateclar** "to make bottles of dry calabash". This might also be the etymon of **tarro** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "glass or china jar", considering the difficulty for giving it an acceptable one, and the presence of **tarra** "earthenware jar for milk" (Ext.), an indeed close match, while the survival of Br. items in this area is hardly surprising; in both cases, the consonantal cluster would have been treated as in **farra** and **garra**. According to this hypothesis, Cs. **tarrefia** "piece of ceramic used as a castanet" would be an intra-Rom. der.

**tagud/t**: see **atabud**.

**ta(gu)itón, huevos al**—"omelette containing grated bread" (Nav.): appears to reflect And. *tašqīd* = Cl.Ar. *tašqīd* "thickening or inspissation". It has a var. in Tarazona, **alto-guitón** "poached egg", after Gargallo 1985:53. Cf. **macoca**.

**tagzim** (Val.) "frail for olives in oil mills": may be a concretization of And. *taxzīn* = Cl.Ar. *taxzīn* "storing" (cf. And. *\*\*tanjīs* "chamberpot", originally, "soiling", Ct. **tarquim**, **tarsia**, etc., Cs. **tarquín**, **talega**, **atarjea**, **atanquía**, q.v., etc.), but there is a serious competitor in And. *taxzīm* "plaiting", perhaps a semantic calque of Lt. *\*\*plecta* > Cs. **pleita**. Coromines' contention that the Ar. root {xzn} would be pronounced /gzm/ in Eastern And. is a mere fancy of his.

**taha** (Cs.) "district": is a term documented only in the middle of the 16th c., in contexts dealing with Moriscos, < And. *tāša* = Cl.Ar. *tāšah* "obedience", which had acquired that administrative connotation in Al-Andalus.

**ta/ehal** "spleen": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:48, < Ar. *tihāl*.

**taha/elfi** (Cs.), **ta(h)alí** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.) and **talim** (Pt.) "shoulder belt": < And. *tahlīl* = Cl.Ar. *tahlīl* "uttering the Islamic profession of faith", as this or other parts of the Koran were carried in the scabbard as both an amulet and legitimization of the use of a weapon. Anl. **tahalf** "reaper's tobacco pouch" is metonymical.

**tahanero**: see **tafanario**.

**taharr(i)a**: see **atafal**.

**taheño** (Cs.) "reddish (said of hair or beard)": appears to be a masc. backformed on its fem.,<sup>1041</sup> < And. *mata hīnna* "(dyed) with alheña, q.v.",<sup>1042</sup> The proposals of former edi-

<sup>1039</sup> See Corriente 2000–2001:204 and fn. 3.

<sup>1040</sup> The widespread diffusion of this Br. word in Naf. is proved, e.g., by Tun. *dāgra* "jar; free food for poor students" See Corriente 2004b:92.

<sup>1041</sup> See 1.2.1.3.2a.

<sup>1042</sup> This adjective creating device, by means of the *nota genitivi*, inherited from a long line of precedents in Old Ar. and Sar. with *dū* and *abū*

(see Corriente 1996a, 3.1.1.1 and 3.2.1.1, fn. 3), is still quite frequent in Neo-Ar., e.g., Eg. *\*\*bitāš illaban* "the milkman", *\*\*bitāš ilfunn* "artists", etc., and in Western dialects, in Mor. *\*\*allaba dyul əyyuf* "woollen djellaba" and Malt., e.g., *\*\*ta' demm nobbli* "of noble blood", *ta' qalb tajba* "kind-hearted", etc., with even some rudimentary example in And., e.g., IQ 79/3/2 *hu matāš allāyl* "he belongs to the night".

tions of DRAE, now corrected, and Coromines, based upon an And. *maşdar* \*\**taḥannún* or Cl.Ar. \*\**taḥannu?* cannot overcome the impossibility of palatalization of /a/ after /h/. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *barbitaheño*.

**taheruc** "falcon": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1719, given in the text as Persian, but in fact a mere var. of *tagarote*, q.v.

**tahona** and **tahonera**: see *atafona*.

**tahquil** "set of adobes closing the mouth of a kiln" (Ext.): there is no apparent relation with standard Cs. *tasquil*, q.v., despite their phonetic likeness. Being a technical term of pottery, it might well be the Ar. loanword it seems, prob. a concretization of And. *taḥqtn* "holding back", since that device covers the mouth of the kiln and holds back its heat, although this presumable metonymy is not documented.

**tahúlla**: see *tafulla*.

**tahúr** and **tahurería**: see *taful*.

**tahya**: see *atahya*.

**taibe/ique**: see *tambique*.

**taibola** (Ct.) "ferret hole": this alteration of *gaibola* (Mur. var., < Lt. *caveola*) may have happened by contamination with reflexes of And. *ta(y)búr* "chest; coffin, q.v.", but not, as Coromines suggested, with *tabaila* or *taifor*, semantically remote.

**taifa** (Pt., Cs. and Ct., prob. borrowed from Cs.) "petty kingdom, separated from the old Umayyad state of Al-Andalus":<sup>1043</sup> is a historiographic term of mod. and learned introduction, < Ar. *ṭāʾifah* "group, faction", a natively coined term alluding to ethnical or genealogical differences, which prevailed over the orthodox unity, theoretically the only

legitimate government of the Islamic community. Vulgar Pt. "group of sailors" might be a mod. Naf. borrowing, and something similar would happen in Can. "group of workers or dancers", a characteristic term of the Eastern islands, which suggest a direct borrowing from Has., without any link with the entry, but for the ultimately shared Ar. etymon. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: *taifeiro*.

**taina** "joy" (Mur.): cannot be separated from Val. *ta/eina* "bustle; noise of music and dance", considered by Coromines as an expressive coinage. However, it can be explained as a reflex of And. *tazyina* = Cl.Ar. *tazyīnah* "adornment (for a feast)", with a phonetic evolution absolutely normal in Ct. Besides, this is corroborated by Cs. *atacena*, a heretofore never understood word, appearing only twice, in Baena's *Cancionero*, in two contexts in which "adornment" fits perfectly.<sup>1044</sup> As for the var. *toina*, however, it appears to be a mere phonetic contamination by the same item in the meaning of a certain garment, which would derive from another origin, as propounded by Coromines.

**taitón**: see *tagitón*.

**tajarcilla** and **tajaría**: see *atafal*.

**tajea**: see *atarjea*.

**tákya** (Jud.-Sp.) "skullcap" < And. *ṭáqya* < Neo-Ar. *ṭāqiyah*.

**tala**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "tipcat": the name of this game in which players strike the wooden peg lying on the ground in order to make it fly up before the strong strike which drives it as far as possible, may reflect And. *ṭāla/ṭ* < Cl.Ar. *ṭālīf* "rising", as part of the Mudejar share of name games in Rom. This term is also an Arag. var. of Cs. *tara*, q.v.

<sup>1043</sup> The usage by some historians and archaeologists of this word as an adjective, e.g., \***rey taifa** "petty king", \***cerámica taifa** "pottery of the Taifa period", etc., is totally arbitrary and incorrect in Cs. An adjective \***taifal**, parallel to already circulating **califal**, would be less cacophonous.

<sup>1044</sup> Namely, N° 383, **vos faran muchas mercedes, / non dudedes, / si meteyes en socarrena / mi vallena e atacena** "they will do you great

favours, doubt it not, if you keep in a safe place my whalebones and adornments", and N° 425, **Yo juro a la Madalena, / pues mi obra es singular, / que sy juego al enbidar / vos buscays grant atacena** "I swear by St. Madeleine, as my work has no equal, that if I play and you bid, you may get a good adornment" The regular match would be >C<, not >C>, but there are some exceptional cases (see 1.1.3.2.3).

**talaca** (Old Pt., only in Morais) "divorce": is a doubtful item, poorly documented and, to be sure, never assimilated; it would reflect Ar. *ṭālāq*, a legal term found in every dialect. Eguílaz documents its verbal der. **talacar** in *Castigos e documentos del rey D. Sancho* also as an unassimilated item, prob. circulated in the Mudejar idiolect.

**talacca**: see **atalaque**.

**talaia**, **talaier**, **talaiola** and **talaiot**: see **atalaia**.

**talant** (Arag., in *Vidal Mayor*) and **talante** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "countenance; will": while Coromines' plea in favour of an etymon based on Cs. **talento** may be hearkened, on both semantic and phonetic grounds And. *ṭālā* = Cl.Ar. *ṭālāh* is more convincing, if only a contamination by the Rom. synonymous **semblante** is admitted. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atalantar**.

**talaya** and **talayote**: see **atalaia**.

**talbina**: see **atalvina**.

**talbix**: see **taybix**.

**talc** (Ct.) and **talco** (Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **atalc(h)** and **talc**, in GP 63 y 122) "talc": < And. *ṭālq* = Cl.Ar. *ṭālq* < Neo-P. *talk*. As the Cs. item is already in Nebrija, there is prob. no European intermediation. From the same origin is Cs. **talque** "talcose soil" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **talcoso**; Cs. and Ct. **talquita**; Ct.: **talcó**.

**taleca** (Arag. and Ct.), **talega** (Arag. and Cs.), **taleiga** (Gl.) and **t(al)eiga** or **taeiga** (Pt.) "bag": < And. *ṭālīqah*, concretization of Ar. *ṭālīqah* "hanging once" From the same etymon are **ataleigar** "to overfill; to pull up one's trousers above the waist" and **atalicar** "to bother" (dial. Pt., only in Morais), though prob. of another time, to judge by the treatment of the velar. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **entalegar**, **talegada**, **talegazo** and **taleguilla**; Ct.: **talec**, **talequet(a)** and **entalecar**; Gl. and Pt.: **ateigamento**, **ateigar** and **taleigada**; Pt.: **taleigo**.

**taled** (Cs.) "tallith, Jewish prayer scarf": < Mishnaic Hb. *ṭallit*, is a learned term recently introduced by Hebrew scholars, and included in some dictionaries, like those of Casares, Moliner and DRAE, the latter with a misprint in the etymon, corrected in its latest edition.

**tale(i)ga**, **taleigada**, **taleigo** and **talequet(a)**: see **taleca**.

**talfinar** "to cover (woollen fabrics) with marl" and **talfinaire** "worker who does this as a part of the fulling process"<sup>1045</sup> (Ct.): reflect And. *ṭaffī*, concretely said of the fabrics so treated (see DAA 331 and DS II:49), an adjective locally derived and semantically evolved from Ar. *ṭaffīl* "dry mud" This item is one more witness of the important And. contribution to Western industrial techniques.

**talicón** "splashes of mud on clothes": this An. item, recorded by Garulo 1983:275, reflects a hybrid with a Rom. aug. suffix attached to a concretization of And. *ṭālīq* = Cl. Ar. *ṭālīq* "hanging"; cf. the parallel case of **taguitón**.

**talim**: see **tahalf**.

**talismà** and **talisman** (Ct.) **talismā** (Pt.) and **talismán** (Cs. and Gl.) "talisman, charm": through Fr., < Neo-P. *ṭelesmāt* < Ar. *ṭilasmāt*, pl. of *ṭilasm*, < Gr. *ṭélesma*. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **talismànic**.

**talismano** (Pt.) "doctor in Islamic law": is a late borrowing of the 17th c., introduced through relations with Persia, from Neo-P. *danišmand*, corrupted by contamination with **talismán**, according to Coromines; however, this corruption must have been intra-Rom., not being attributable to Tr., which ignores the entry, and has only **\*ulsum** for the latter item.

**talmud** (Cs. and Ct.) and **talmude** (Pt.) "Talmud, post-Pentateucal Jewish law": < Mishnaic Hb. *talmud* "teaching" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct. and Pt.: **talmudista**; Cs. and Pt.: **talmúdico**; Ct.: **talmúdic**.

<sup>1045</sup> Information provided by Dr. Montserrat Durán, transmitted by Dr. Dolors Bramon and Dr. Rosa Lluch, excerpted from a text kept in the

Archive of the Crown of Aragon, collection of St. John of Jerusalem, vol. 851, Llibre major de Nicolau Colomer, dated on March 6th of 1617.

**talque and talquita:** see **talco**.

**taluca** (Pt.) "district": is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 19th c., in connection with the Indian enterprises, < Hindi *tālluqā* < Neo-P. *taṣalluqe* "fief; possession; district", a semantic specialization and concretization of Ar. *taṣalluq* "attachment, connection"

**talvina(da):** see **atalvina** and **talbina**.

**tama** (Arag.) "wish, desire": perhaps from And. *tám̃s* = Cl.Ar. *tamaṣ* "greed, covetousness"

**tamalavés:** see **abés**.

**tamanco** (Pt.) and **tamango** (Cs.) "coarse shoe of wood or leather": < And.Rom. \*ANT+AMA/INK(O) "(piece) in front of the shoe, a kind of leggings" < Lt. \**amincum*, backformed on Lt. *amīcūlum*.<sup>1046</sup> From the same etymon is Ast. **tamangu** "chubby", with semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **tamanca(da)**, **tamancaria**, **tamancudo**, **tamanquear**, **tamanqueiom**, **tamanqueira/o** and **tamanquinha/o**.

**tamar:** see **atamar**.

**támara** (Pt. and Gl.) "date", **tàmara** (Ct., as a technical term borrowed from Cs.), **támara** (Cs.) and **támbara** (Ext.): "Canary palm (Phoenix canariensis) and its low quality fruit": < And. *támra* = Cl.Ar. *tamrah* "(dried) date". Intra-Rom. der.: Gl. and Pt.: **tamareira**; Pt.: **atamarado** and **tamaral**.

**tamarinde** (Ct.) and **tamarindo** (Cs. and Pt.) "tamarind (Tamarindus indica)": is a learned borrowing, introduced in the 16th c., < Neo-Ar. *tamr hindī* "Indian dates"

**tambaca** or **tambaque:** see **tumbaga**.

**támbara:** see **támara** and **tarima**.

**tambor<sup>1</sup>** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) and **atam(b)or** (Cs., with an old var. in GP 122, **tanbor**) "drum": cannot derive from Neo-P.

\*\**tabir*, contaminated by Ar. *ṭunbūr* "a kind of mandolin" < Aram. *ṭanbūrā*, a metathesis of Gr. *pandoûra* "three-stringed instrument", as that Neo-P. term has never apparently circulated in Ar. A better solution is a mere semantic evolution of this last item, already suggested by Devic, started in Aram. and triggered by the fact that the *ṭunbūr* had its sound-box closed with a piece of leather. In the West, where string instruments evolved considerably during the Middle Ages, soon driving the Eastern models into oblivion, it is conceivable that Rom. reflexes of the *ṭunbūr* might be mixed up with those of *ṭabl* "kettledrum", perhaps, though not necessarily, through a hypocoristic \**ṭabbūl*, undocumented but of a very frequent pattern, both in proper names, as in some common ones (e.g., Cs. *acebuche*). This process would explain the enigmatic >*ṭanbūr*<, rendered as *vacuitas* in *Vocabulista in arabico*.<sup>1047</sup> From the same etymon is **dam-boria** "four-stringed psaltery" (Nav.), through a Basque phase *danbore*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tamborete**, **tamborilazo**, **tambor(il)t/ear**, **tamborileo**, **tamboril/tero**, **tamborí/ón** and **tamborino**; Cs. and Ct.: **tambora**; Cs. and Pt.: **tamboril(ete)** and **tamborilada**; Ct.: **tamborejar**, **tamborell**, **tamborer/t**, **tamborí**, **tamborinada**, **tamborinaire**, **tamborin** (ej)ar and **tamborinet**; Gl.: **tamborilar**; Gl. and Pt.: **tamborileiro**; Pt.: **tamboril/nar**. Cf. **mandora**.

**tambor<sup>2</sup>** (Pt.) "betel pepper (Piper betle)": is a mod. borrowing, documented in the 16th c. in India, < Neo-P. *tanbul* < Sk. *tāmbūla*.

**tamear:** see **atamar**.

**tamutz** "fourth month of the Hebrew calendar": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1725, < Hb. *tammuz* (= June–July).

<sup>1046</sup> And.Rom. sources record *amínq* and >*amánka*< "footgear", in the second case with a vowel shift giving away an And. phase, after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.2. The loss of the first syllable has been caused by metanalysis of an Ar. article in a bilingual environment, corroborated by *iltimáy* "buskin" in Alcalá, and even a backformed verb \**altamáy*, after DAA. This term has survived in Naf. *ṭmág* "riding boot", which is the etymon of

Tr. *tomak*, not the other way around, as has been thought; see Corriente 1985:149.

<sup>1047</sup> The fact that in Egypt *ṭanbūr* is the designation of both drums and Archimedes' screw, an indeed old metonymy, similar to its Western counterpart, shows that this word has been used since quite old times as the name of soundboxes. The Gr. etymon, therefore, is the same of **bandurria**, **mandora**, etc.

**tanadar** (Pt.) "commander of a detachment; policeman; collector of customs duties, etc.": < Hindi *thānādār*, a hybrid of *thānā* "post, station" with the Neo-P. agentive suffix *dār*. Der. intrarrom. pt.: **tanadaria**.

**tanda** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) "turn; batch, series", (Arag.) "rental period" and "flow of an irrigation channel; irrigation turn" (Mur., with semantic evolution): the Ar. etymon *\*tanẓīm* "regulation", suggested by Coromines, is unsuitable, above all because that stress shift is impossible, as proved by the many Ar. loan-words of the pattern {*ta*12i3} in Ibero-Rom, without exception, e.g., Cs. **tabique**, **tahálí**, **talega**, **taracea**, **tarquín**, **tarjea**, **tauje**, etc., Pt. **tabica**, **taleiga**, **talim**, **tanquia**, etc., and Ct. **tafulla**, **tagzim**, **taleca**, **tarquim**, **tarsia**, etc.); neither is it sure that Cs. is taken from Ct., rather than from An. or Mur., which would explain its late written documentation. Coromines is right in his criticism of the alleged Lt. etymon *\*tantum*, phonetically impossible but, in our view, the solution to this etymological crux may lie in Ar. *ḍamdah* "bandaging or hitting the head once",<sup>1048</sup> a semantic ambiguity due to the metaphorical comparison of punishment with heeling, as both cure the wound or the fault; phonetically, the devoicing of the initial consonant must have occurred in gemination after the Ar. definite article. (cf. Cs. **atorra**, **ataire** and **atarazana**) in a prepositional syntagm like Cs. **a tandas** "by batches" (cf. about these hybrids, in Alcalá, *a darbái* "by stabs"). In Cs. there is a number of expressions, like **tanda de palos**, **azotes**, etc., "a series of blows, lashes, etc.", preserving the original connotation of this word, and in An. there are some interesting var., like **dóme/ida** "amount, abundance; layer," (Anz.), **dómeda** "group, batch; age bracket" (Anl.) and **dómida**

"batch" (Anl.),<sup>1049</sup> with velarization of the first vowel, easily attributable to a former velarized consonant like /d/, and an epenthetical palatal vowel as a means of preserving the labial consonant preceding the dental. As for Ct. **tanda de moltó** "offal of a ram", an Ar. etymon *\*tandīs* or *\*tadnīs* is again impossible for the same aforementioned prosodic reasons; the solution is prob. the same as in Cs. **tanda**, semantically connected with Arag. **madejas**, lit. "skeins", a dish of lamb tripe, rolled up in a manner reminiscent of a bandage). Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **entandar** and **tandeo**; Ct.: **tandada**, **tandam** and **tandear**; Gl.: **tandar**.

**tanga** (Pt.) "small Indian coin": is a mod. borrowing, < Neo-P. *tamge* < Tr. *t/damga* "mark(ing tool); minting die", subsequently "coin" in Neo-P., and Hindi *tamgā* "medal-lion", cf. also Neo-Ar. *damgah* "stamp(ed paper)".

**tangerino** (Cs. and Pt.) "Tangerine, gentile of Tangiers": is a hybrid containing a Rom. suffix attached to Neo-Ar. *ṭanjah*, of Br. origin. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt. **tangerina** and **tangerineira**.

**tangí** (Ct.) "earthen stewing pan": < And. *ṭanjír* = Neo-Ar. *ṭanjír* < Neo-P. *tang/kire*, unrelated to *teginat*, q.v. Cf. **tagarrão** and **tixela**.

**tangul** (Pt.) "low quality copper": Machado repeats the Br. etymon of DE, >*tāngūlt*<, >*tūngūlt*< or >*ṭanqūl*<, but such variety makes obvious by itself that it is not a genuine Br. word.<sup>1050</sup> It might be a reflex of Ar. *nuqrah* "ingot of precious metal", in some dialects "silver".

**tannara** (Ct.): is prob. a ghost word as, concerning its alleged occurrence in an Arag. document mentioned by Coromines, in the expression *\*tannara de la puerta de*

<sup>1048</sup> This term is not documented as such in And., but only the verb *ḍammūd* "to bandage; to yoke", and *ḍāmd* "yoke" (of Sar. stock, after Corriente 1989b:103), i.e. metonymically, "conjunction of two things", but this semantic juncture is obvious in jesting idioms, e.g., the verses quoted in *Almuqtabis* V:177, after Cor-

riente 1989a:190.

<sup>1049</sup> On the other hand, Anl. **dómeda** "taming" is a mere contamination of standard Cs. **doma**.

<sup>1050</sup> Šafīq 1989 III:199 records *tāngūlt*, but only after *anās*, which appears to be the oldest term, from Phoenician >*nḥšt*< "bronze".

**Benhayón**, this is an obvious mistake for **tannora** "the bakehouse next to B. Gate", a var. of Cs. **atanor**, q.v.

**tan(n)in**: see **altannyn**.

**tanquia**: see **atanquía**.

**tanquil** "perpendicular line, plumb line": is an architectural term, in López de Arenas 1912:182, prob. a part of the Mudejar builders' jargon, < Ar. *tanqīn* "dominion; gravitation"; subsequently, this term has been altered into Cs. **tranquil**, by folk etymology.

**taon**: see **althaun**.

**taoz**: see **taccie**.

**taquelvix**: see **taybix**.

**taquilla(tge)** and **taquiller**: see **adague**.

**tar** (Pt., only in Morais) "tambourine": it appears to be a rare unassimilated late borrowing, < dial. Ar. *tār* < Cl.Ar. *iṭār*.

**tara** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "tare": < And. *ṭārḥ* = Cl.Ar. *ṭarḥ* "subtraction, deduction" with insertion of a disjunctive non-phonemic vowel in And. pronunciation, but quite perceptible to Rom. ears. From the same etymon, with Rom. hybridization in the technical jargon of Morisco builders, is **tarjar** "to lay out the frame of a ceiling; to reckon the width of a piece of pottery" (Anl.), based on the additional meaning of "projection" of that Ar. term. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **tareja(do)r**, **tarós** and **destarar**; Cs., Ct. and Gl.: **tarar**; Pt.: **taração** and **tar(e)ar**. Cf. **atarfe**<sup>2</sup>.

**tará** (Pt., only in Morais) "woman's head-gear in Egypt": is an unassimilated late borrowing, incorrectly stressed, < Eg.Ar. *ṭarḥah*.

**tarab/mela** and **tagarela** (Pt.), **tarabilla** (Cs.), **taravella** (Ct.) and **caravilla** (Gl., with a var. **martabela**, contaminated by **martelo**) "clapper", and **tarabela** (Gl.) "rattle for scaring birds" and **tarapiella** "sonorous scarecrow" (Leo.): is a hybrid formed on And. *ṭarāb* = Cl.Ar. *ṭarab* "music" with the Rom. dim. suffix, alluding to the noise produced by such instruments, in the first case with the purpose of warning the miller of operation halts. The second and most usual Pt. form results from metathesis and a frequent shift

between /b/ and /g/. From the same etymon, with semantic evolution and occasional suffix substitution, are (Cs.) **tarabita** or **tarabilla** "peg or pin holding the cord of a frame saw", **tarabilla** or **tarambana** "wooden catch of a window or door", perhaps **taramba** "one-stringed musical instrument", (Ext.) **tarabilla** "double wooden hook attached to a rope", (Nav.) **tarab/villa** "latch", (Ast.) **tarabica** "wooden catch of a window or door", with an alternative suffix), (Leo.) "wooden catch of a window or door"; clapper", and (Can., borrowed from Pt.) **taramela** "wooden catch of a door; prater". But **tarabela** (Gl.) in the meaning of "brace and bit" is, of course, a reflex of Lt. *tērebra*, although phonetic contamination with the first meaning is probable, together with some relation with And. *ṭurbīl* < And. Rom. \***TORBĒL**, reflected as "whirlwind" in the *Leiden Glossary* and in Granadan place names.<sup>1051</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Gl.: **acaravillar**, **tarabelear**, **tarabeleiro** and **tarabelo**; Pt.: **des(en)taramelar**, **entaramelar**, **tagarelar**, **tagarelice**, **taramelagem**, **taramel(e)ar**, **taramelice** and **taramelo**; Ast.: **ataramiellar** "to stumble"

**tarabito** (Gl.) "cockeyed": is no doubt a cognate of And. *ṭalábri* (e.g., in Alcalá), < Lt. *tērebra* "drill, auger", most likely transmitted through And.Rom., with sonorant dissimilation and suffix substitution.

**taração**: see **tara**.

**taracea** and **ataracea** (Cs.) "inlaid work in wood, bone, etc." and **tarsia** (Ct.) "marquetry": < And. *attarṣīf* = Cl.Ar. *tarṣīf* "inlaying" Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)**taracear**.

**tarago/unfía** (Can.) "(Dracunculus canariensis) a local subspecies of common dragon": < And. *ṭarquntīyya* < Lt. *drācontēa*.

**tarah/je**: see **atarfe**<sup>1</sup>.

**taramela/o**, **taramelagem**, **taramel(e)ar**, **taramelice** and **tarapiella**: see **tarabela**.

**tarar**: see **tara**.

**tarasí** (Cs.) "tailor": is a recent, pedantic and unnecessary borrowing from Neo-Ar. *tarzī* < Neo-P. *darzī*. As for \*\**ṭirāzī*, which

<sup>1051</sup> See this root in DAA.

former editions of DRAE hesitantly suggested as etymon of this word, it is documented only as an attributive of fabrics produced by a *dāru ṭṭirāz* or royal manufacture of brocade; besides, it presents insurmountable phonetic difficulties. It has been corrected in its latest edition, according to our proposal.

**taravella:** see **tarabela**.

**taraxen:** see **altharas**.

**taray:** see **atarfe**<sup>1</sup>.

**tarazanal:** see **atarazana**.

**tarbea** (Cs.) “great hall”: < And. *tarbāḥ* “square piece”, concretization of Cl.Ar. *tarbāḥ* “squaring”

**tarbina(s):** see **talbina**.

**tarbuche** (Pt.) and **tarpúš** (Jud.-Sp.) “fez”: Machado’s proposal of a Tr.-Persian etymon *\*\*\*ter puš* is too complex and unlikely. In Neo-P., *\*\*\*tār puš* would mean “cover for the top”, but it is not documented, unlike a parallel *\*\*\*sar puš* “veil; tiara”. However, this headgear was originally so uncommon in the East that there is no similar word in Neo-P., and even Tr. has only *tarbuš* as a loanword from Western Ar., subsequently spread to Eastern dialects too as the name of this item, about which see **fez**.

**tarea** and **atarea** (Cs.), **tarefa** (Gl. and Pt.) and **tareia** (Pt.) “task”: < And. *tarḥa*, from the Cl.Ar. root *{trh}* “to throw (on somebody’s shoulders)”. Ext. **tarea** “four measures of olives” is a semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atarear** and **tareero**; Gl.: **atarefado**; Pt.: **atarefamento**, **atarefar** and **tarefeiro**.

**tarear:** see **tara**.

**tareco** (Cs. and Can., prob. borrowed from Pt., with an American var. **tereque**) and **t(a)reco** (Pt.) “old and useless utensil”: < And. *tarāyik* < Cl.Ar. *tarāḥik* “forsaken objects” From the same etymon are Ast. **tariegu** “earthen pot” and **tarecu** “old and

useless utensil”, in García Arias 2006:37, and perhaps Cs. **tarego** “gold or silver box”, in LHP 614, commented upon by Corriente 2004b: 92. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **tarecada** and **tarecagem**.

**tareero**, **tarefa**, **tarefeiro** and **tareia**: see **tarea**.

**tareja(do)r:** see **tara**.

**tarelho:** see **tarí**.

**tarf:** see **atarf**.

**tarfe** “oil mill” and **tarje** “lower stone of an oil mill” (Anl.): appear to reflect one single original word, *\*tarhe*, semantically split, which makes difficult to propound an etymon, prob. Ar. In spite of the considerable semantic distance, as evolution cannot be discounted, these words may share the etymon of **atarfe**<sup>2</sup>, q.v.

**targum** (Cs. and Pt.) “Targum, Aram. translation of some parts of the Bible”: is a contemporary unassimilated philological term, < Mishnaic Hb. *targum* “translation”, a cognate of the etymon of **dragomán** and **torcsimany**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Pt.: **targúmico** and **targumista**.

**tarí** (Ct.), **tarim** (Pt.) and **tarín** (Cs.) “a medieval gold coin”: < And. *ṭarī* = Cl.Ar. *ṭarī* “tender; fresh”, a name given to these coins, prob. meaning that they were, at the beginning, of course, new.<sup>1052</sup> From the same origin is the Cs. idiom **tarín b/marín** “more or less”, it being a moot question whether the second constituent has been generated by mere rhythmic slang by the insertion of /m/ (cf. **oxte ni moxte**, **tus al mus**, etc.), or is a more or less distorted name of another coin, perhaps minted by the Merinids. Such an etymon is not so sure in the case of **tarelho** (provincial Pt., only in Morais) “young donkey still suckling”, hybridized with a Rom. dim. suffix, as it might also derive from Ar. *\*\*\*talā* or *\*\*\*ṭalī* “young of

<sup>1052</sup> Such a circumstance used to be highly esteemed, because coins were generally good only in their first batches, and then the quality of the alloy would gradually diminish in favour of the exchequer or of the corrupted officials in charge of it, to the point that it became necessary

to replace them by new issues, only to repeat that cycle. See Stern 1970 and Corriente 1985:150, with information about the circulation in Al-Andalus of these coins, first Islamic, and then, imitated in Southern Italy.

any animal with cloven hooves", but this term is not attested in And. and, besides, it requires a semantic shift, as donkeys are soliped.

**tarida** (Cs. and Ct.) and **tárida** (Pt., only in Morais, with erroneous stressing) "a kind of cargo boat; galley": < And. *tarida* = Cl.Ar. *ṭarīdah* "chased", prob. an epithet due to the swiftness of the earliest prototypes.

**tarifa** (Arag., Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "tariff, price-list": < Neo-Ar. *taṣrīfah* of the same meanings, from Cl.Ar. "definition" In the westernmost languages the intermediation of It. and/or Ct. is probable. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **tarifar**; Ct. **atarifat**, **destarifament** and **destarifat**; Pt.: **tarifação**, **tarifário** and **tarificar**.

**tarifeño** "gentile of Tarifa" (Cs.): is a case of Rom. suffixation attached to that place name, reflecting the pr.n. of Ṭarīf, Br. commander of the first Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>1053</sup>

**tarificar**: see **tarifa**.

**tarim**: see **tarī**.

**tarima** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **tarim(b)a** (Pt.) "stand; low bench": < And. *ṭarīma* "low bench; wooden bed" < Neo-Ar. *ṭarīmah* < Neo-P. *tāram* "wooden pavilion" The stress in Rom. agrees with Granadan, exhibiting a not infrequent shift, when compared with an older *ṭarīma*, with the matching pl. *ṭawārim*, reflected by *Vocabulista in arabico*, and Mor. *ṭarma* "beadstead". From the same etymon are **tarma** and metathetical **támbara** "vine prop" (Sal.), preserving the original stress. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **entarimador** and **tarimón**; Cs. and Ct.: **entarimar**; Pt.: **tarimbar**, **tarimbeirice** and **tarimbeiro**.

**tarín**: see **tarī**.

**tarjar**: see **tara**.

**tarma**: see **tarima**.

**tarongina** (Ct.) and **toronjil** or **toronjina** (Cs.) "lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*)": < And. *ṭurunján* = Cl.Ar. *ṭurunjān* < Neo-P. *torongān*.

**taronja** (Ct., with the var. **aranja**) "orange" and **ta/eronya** (Arag.), **tora/onja** (Pt.) and **toronja** (Cs., with an old var. **toronia** in GP 123) "grapefruit / Schaddock tree (*Citrus maxima*)": < And. *ṭurúnja* < Neo-Ar. *ṭurunjah* < Neo-P. *toranj* < Pahl. *vātrang* < Sk. *māṭulunja*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **toronjo**; Ct.: **ataronjar/t**, **taronger**, **tarongerar/l**, **tarongina**, **taronjada**, **taronjaire**, **taronjal** and **taronjós**.

**tarós**: see **tara**.

**tarpús**: see **tarbuche**.

**tarquí(n)** or **tarquil** (Arag.), **tarquim** (Val.) and **tarquín** (Cs.) "slime": is a case of concretization of And. *tarkīm* = Cl.Ar. *tarkīm* "piling up".<sup>1054</sup> From the same etymon are Arag. **tarquila** "a drove of two to three thousand heads" and **terquila** "stack of lumber", and Ast. **tarquina** "strand; piece; lump" (in García Arias 2006:219, with semantic evolution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **atarquinar** and **entarquinamiento**; Cs. and Ct.: **entarquinar**; Ct.: **atarquimar**, **tarquimada** and **desentarquimar**.

**tarra**: see **tagra**.

**tarrafa(r)** and **tarrafeira**: see **atarraya**.

**tarrafe**: see **atarfe**.

**ta/erraja** (Cs.) and **tarraxa** (Gl. and Pt.) "pipe stock, screwstock and the like": < Neo-Ar. *\*tarrāṣah*, an unattested n.inst., though easily derivable from the Neo-P. verb *tarāṣidan* "to cut", which entered Neo-Ar., at least in some forms, like the one reflected by *tirāṣ* "knife" in DS I:145.<sup>1055</sup> From the same etymon is **tarraza** "steel drill" (Sal.), with suffix metanalysis and substitution Intra-Rom. der.: Gl. and Pt.: **(a)tarraxar**, much more alive than Cs. **ata/errajar**; Gl.: **tarraxeiro**; Pt.: **desatarraxar** and **desentarraxar**. Cf. **tarraza**.

**tarralla**: see **atarraya**.

**tarraque** "makeshift unfinished job" (Anl.): perhaps from And. *ṭarrāq* "traveller" (particularly, when moving by night), from the

<sup>1053</sup> See Corriente 1999a:86, fn. 16.

<sup>1054</sup> Eguílaz committed a blunder upon propounding the derivation of this word from a regular pl. of Ar. *\*ṭarḥ* "manure", ignoring the

impossibility of such an inflection in substantives of this kind (cf. *añeclín* and *garsó*), an elementary notion of Ar. grammar.

<sup>1055</sup> See Corriente 1985:151.



Cl.Ar. root */trq/*, as a metonymy of temporary provisions.

**tarraquet(a)** (Ct.) "kind of packsaddle; wicker basket on beasts": indeed derives, as Coromines propounded, < Neo-Ar. *tarrāḥah* "cushion or padding", but not in pl., as *imālah* is impossible after */h/*, but hybridized with the Ct. dim. suffix. Cf. **atarraya**.

**tarraxa**: see **tarraja**.

**tarraya**: see **atarraya**.

**tarraz-borraz** (low register Pt., only in Morais) "in disorder": this rhythmic slang might be an old idiom reflecting Ar. *tarrās barrāz* "footsoldiers and champions (in medley)" The first constituent reappears as **tarraz** "spectacled warbler (*Sylvia conspicillata orbitalis*)" (Can.), < Ar. *tarrās* "armed with a shield", alluding to the diverse colours of breast an neck in this bird.

**tarraza**: see **tarraja**.

**tarre(a), tárrea** and **tarria**: see **atafal**.

**tarro**: see **tagra**.

**tarsi** "eyelids": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:49, identified by them as Ar. *ṭaraf* "extremity, end", although there might have been a confusion with the Ar. etymon of **atarf**, q.v.<sup>1056</sup>

**tarsia**: see **taracea**.

**tartarí**: see **tártaro**<sup>2</sup>.

**tártaro**<sup>1</sup> (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "cream of tartar": < And. *ṭarṭar*, of uncertain stress, or < its Lt. etymon. *tartarum*, prob. a bookish transmission of Neo-Ar. *durdī* < Neo-P. *dordī* "lee", perhaps contaminated by Lt. *Tartārus* "hell", as argol deposits in the bottom of wine casks.

**tártaro**<sup>2</sup> (Cs. and Gl.) and **tà(r)tar** (Ct.) "Tartar": through Fr., < Neo-Ar. *tatār*, or from its Tr. etymon *tatar* or from Neo-P. *tātār*. There is in Cs. a more mod. var., pedantically adorned with the gentile Orientalizing suffix, **tartarí**. As for Leo. **pannos tartari** (in García Arias 2006:219–220, document of the year 1327), it does not appear to belong here, but is most likely a corruption of *tuštārī*, gentile of

Tuštār, in Khuzistan, a town reputed throughout the Islamic world for the manufacture of brocade (*dībāj*),<sup>1057</sup> which was prob. imitated in Almería, like most Eastern fabrics. Therefore, it may be surmised that this could be the true etymon of some var. of **doxtoni**, q.v., and not always *dustawī*, as Nykl thought.

**tarus, a**—: see **rasa**.

**tasarte** "a kind of mackerel" (Can.): appears to be the Scomber or Orcynopsis unicolor, which has this Br. name, *tasart*, in Mauritania, after Oman 1966:121.

**tasfid** "basket-like shape of the head": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:100, < Ar. *tasfīṭ*. Cf. **almesefath**.

**tasia, fer** — (Ct.) "to shift the towline from one shore to the other": is quite obviously Ar. *tašḍiyah* "making pass to the opposite shore", not needing any problematic contamination as required by Coromines' proposal, quasi-synonymous *\*\*taṭwīz*, because the shift */vdv/* > */vzv/* was normal in Ct. (e.g., **espasa** "sword" vs. Cs. **espada, sosa** "soda", etc.).

**tasín** "earthen stewing pan" (Jud.-Sp.): from the Neo-Ar. etymon of **tixela**, q.v.

**tasmea** "distribution of carriers arranged by foremen" (Anl.), **tazmía** (Cs.) "list of people; distribution, particularly of grain" and **tasmear** "to distribute" (Anz.) and "to reckon the width of a place or the clearance of a street" (Anl.): < And. *tasmíyya* < Cl.Ar. *tasmíyah* "designation, nomination"

**tasquiva** "irrigation channel" (Anz.): Eguílaz defines this term more exactly as a "channel dug in properties in order to let irrigation water flow", and adds an intra-Rom. der. **tasquivar** "to collect slimy waters in channels as fertilizer", suggesting the Ar. etymon *\*\*taḡībah* "perforation", **mašdar** of a verb documented in And., which was accepted by Steiger 1932:124, fn. 1. Instead, Garulo 1983:278 gives the meanings of "secondary irrigation channel", "mud obstruction designed to change the flow of irrigation water" and "quagmire",

<sup>1056</sup> DAA contains some examples of this word applied to the eyes.

<sup>1057</sup> V. EI<sup>2</sup> IX:432 and Yāqūt II:30.

and rejects Eguílaz' etymological hypothesis, with the pointed argument that such a reflex of /y/ has never been documented. But her own scarcely enthusiastic proposal of a rare Cl.Ar. *\*taskāb*, non-existent and unlikely in And, is equally unconvincing. We are presently inclined to an And. etymon *\*tašqība*, n.un. of *tašqīb* < Cl.Ar. *tašqīb*, normal semantic evolution of the *mašdar* of the matching verb, "to reconsider; to revise",<sup>1058</sup> said in this instance of fields receiving some more water after a reappraisal of their shares". As is known, it is common that the name of the action be concretized and come to mean the device through which it is performed and, finally, quagmires do result from the diversion of the water flow by means of sand barriers partially turning into mud. Phonetically either, there is no difficulty as, even without the regular devoicing of /ʔ/ in this position by contact assimilation (AAR 2.1.2.10.1.2), that Ar. phoneme is transcribed as >h< by Rom. sometimes, and >s<, more graphic here than phonetic, is a mere result of hypercorrection to An. pronunciation.

**tassa(da), tasser, tassó and tasyonada:** see *taça*.

**tātar:** see *tártaro*².

**tau** (Cs.) "last letter of the Hb. alphabet": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1732, through Bib.Lt., < Hb. *tāw*.

**tauje** (Cs.) "lath": is a concretization of And. *tawših* = Cl.Ar. *tawših* "girding with an adorned belt" There is no phonetic or semantic relation whatsoever with And. *tawjūl* "thick arrow", *pace* former editions of DRAE, now corrected.

**tauja:** see *atauja*.

**tauris** (Ct.) "old precious fabric": no doubt from the name of the Persian city of Tabriz,

renowned by the manufacture of *ciclatón*, q.v.,<sup>1059</sup> and not, *pace* Coromines, from the eymon of Cs. *ataurique*, q.v., which is quite a different thing. As for the name of this city, prob. a reflex of Armenian Thavrēz, and of that export, transmitted by the Crusaders and medieval traders, it is quite normal that it was transcribed in Lt. as *\*Tauris*.

**tau(t):** see *atabud*.

**taüt(er) and tauth:** see *atabud*.

**tavacote:** see *tabacoque*.

**tāvega:** see *tabuco*.

**tauxia(r):** see *atauja*.

**tayafin** or **tayaquin:** is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1732, designating a medicament for falcons, perhaps a major corruption of *ezteuehiçiri* (q.v.), prob. < Ar. *ṭabāšīr*.

**taybix** (Cs.) "a tax on cattle brought from outside, in compensation for grazing, in Granada and Murcia": this item, communicated by our colleague Dr. Arcas Campoy, who excerpted it from litigation deeds of the 16th c., together with the var. (a)**talbix**, **tagal-bix** and **taquelvix** in documents of the area between Malaga and Alpujarra, reflected in Galán 1981 and 1991, appears to result from a hybrid *\*taxár(i)b+ES*, attaching the morpheme of Rom. pl. to the And. pl. *\*taxárib* of *taxrīb* = Cl.Ar. *taxrīb* "destruction", alluding to the damage caused by overgrazing.<sup>1060</sup> Vulgar pronunciation has distorted the Ar. word beyond recognition, by converting /r/ into /l/ and then /y/ (after AAR 2.1.2.2.5.2), whereas the velar consonant has not been reflected graphically, except in the two last var., or had disappeared upon entering Rom.

**taza(da):** see *taça*.

**tazmía:** see *tasmea*.

<sup>1058</sup> There are other frequent meanings corroborating the same idea, e.g., "to stay in place, after the end of prayer, to add supererogatory performances", "to take a thing in exchange for something else", and its agentive participle is applied to camels withdrawn from the watering station to let others drink, which is comparable to the purpose of a *tasquiva*.

<sup>1059</sup> See Lombard 1978:243.

<sup>1060</sup> The reason behind the choice of this tech-

nical term appears to be that, in strict Islamic law, charges for the use of communal grazing lands are not permitted, unlike the case of compensation for damages caused by cattle upon entering a property, so that, by resorting to this legal ruse, the perception of a tax for this concept was legitimated. Dr. Arcas has also communicated us the var. *taxbix* and *tazb/vix*, prob. to be read as *\*tarbix*, with preservation of the original /r/.

**tazmim/n:** see **atazmim**.

**tazón:** see **taça**.

**tebegi:** see **altebegi**.

**tèber** (Ct.) and **tíbar** (Cs.) “(of) pure gold”: < And. *tíbr* = Cl.Ar. *tíbr* “pure gold”

**tech algeuze** “Orion’s crown”: is an unassimilated astronomical term, from GP 123, said of several stars of this constellation, after Kunitzsch 1961:112–113, < Neo-Ar. *tāj aljawzā*?

**techaschas** “clang, rattle”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1983:179, < Ar. *taxaxuṣ*.

**techeregiet:** see **althe-caregi**.

**téfana** and **telfa** “knee of the camel’s hind leg; camel’s sternum” (Can.): < Ḥas. *tafna* (not recorded by Taine-Chaikh, but by Monteil) = Cl.Ar. *tafinah* “callosity upon the camel’s knees or breast”, with some semantic evolution.

**tefylá** (Cs.) “prayer”: is an unassimilated technical term, excerpted by Eguílaz from a Jewish context in Baena’s *Cancionero*, in rhyme position, besides, < Hb. *tefillāh*.

**teginat** (Ct., with the var. **t(r)aginat**, (en)teixinat, tre(t)ginat, traginada, teginada, etc., cf. Mur. **ternijal** and Arag. **ternilau**) “pavement, floor; cover; shed”: can hardly derive, as Coromines propounded, from Gr. *\*tágēnon* (whence Ar. *\*tājīn*, cf. **tixe/ola**), always restricted to kitchen utensils. In our view, the true etymon is a concretization of And. *tajrīya*, the *mašdar* of a verb meaning “to cover with tiles, slates, etc.” (see DS, in which, however, the information provided by Alcalá was not taken into account); the cauda has been metanalyzed as a fem. of the attributive morpheme, generating a form *\*tajrī*, subsequently subjected to the rules of Ct. morphophonology, with a result **t(r)eginar**, which accounts without difficulty for all those words. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **enteixinar**. Cf. **atarjea**.

**teguál** (Cs.) “tax on fish loads in the kingdom of Granada”: a semantic evolution of And. *\*tiwál* = Cl.Ar. *\*tiwāl* synonymous of *\*taṭāwul* “insolence, excess” is a possibility, in line with Coromines’ proposal who, distrusting that definition by Eguílaz, adopted from

Diego de Guadix, preferred Ar. *\*ṭawāʾil*, pl. of *\*ṭāʾilah* “fine for a revenge”, a very particular meaning, recorded in DS II:74. But this is no better phonetically than the etyma Ar. *\*ṭeqal*, suggested by Eguílaz, or its pl. *\*ṭiqāl* “loads” (once the misprint *\*ṭiqāl* is corrected), propounded by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, while tampering, no less recklessly than Eguílaz was criticized for, with the definition in DA, “kind of tribute paid to the king as **farda**”, q.v., in an instance of semantic acrobatics. Considering that And. *tiwál* = Cl.Ar. *tiwāl* “rope”, whence **adibal**, q.v., precisely meant the means to secure a load, we are inclined to consider this as the true etymon, metonymically said then of the tax on each cartful.

**tehal:** see **ta/ehal**.

**teiga:** see **talega**.

**teilulae** and **teli/ul:** see **altialil**.

**teina:** see **taina**.

**teixinat:** see **teginat**.

**tejaroz:** see **algeroz**.

**teljarmín** (Old Cs.) “Armenian bole”: is a rare technical term, recorded by Eguílaz from *Libro de la Montería del Rey Don Alfonso XI*, < Neo-Ar. *ṭīn armīnī*, with dissimilation of the first nasal in a sequence into /l/, repercussive /y/ and the frequent elimination of the gentile suffix (see 1.2.1.2.1).

**teliz** (Pt.) and **terliz** (Cs.) “ticking, sackcloth” and **telliz** (Cs.) “horsecloth”: < And. *tillīs* < Cl.Ar. *tillīṣah* < Syr. *tallīsā* < Lt. *trilix*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **telliza**.

**tenchis alras** “bowing one’s head”: is an unassimilated technical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:143, < Neo-Ar. *tankīs arraʿs*.

**tendís** (Cs.) “carding refuse”: a technical term in some Granadan ordinances,<sup>1061</sup> possibly belonging to Mudejar jargon, is no doubt a reflex of a concretization of And. *\*tandīf* “carding”, *mašdar* of a der. verb, documented only in its first measure, *nādīf* = Cl.Ar. *nādīf*.

**tendur** (Val., documented only in the 20th c.) “table with a heater underneath”: cannot obviously derive directly from Ar. *tannūr*

<sup>1061</sup> After Márquez 1961:120.

"oven" (whence *atanor*, q.v.). It was prob. introduced by returning emigrants to Algeria or Southern France, from Fr. (cf. also Eng. "ta/endour" and "tendoor"), < Tr. *tandor* < Neo-P. *tondur*, perhaps a dissimilation of Aram. *tannūrā*, the source of Neo-Ar. and dial. Sr. *tannūrah*, "skirt", on account of its likeness to the trailing tablecloth covering such a table and keeping the warmth inside.

**teneb**: see *adelfin* and *caytoç*.

**tenin**: see *altannyn*.

**tenique** (Can.) "stone (used instead of a trivet)": < *tʃenik* in the extinct proto-Libycy-Br. Canarian dialects.<sup>1062</sup>

**teniya**: see *te(r)niya*.

**ten(n)in** or *Tennyn*: see *altannyn*.

**tèquina** (Men.) "small flat-bottomed boat": is a mod. term, introduced by Mediterranean trade, < Tr. *tekne* "boat; hull; tub, etc." or < Eg.Ar. *tikna* "hull" < Gr. *téganon* "frying pan", prob. through Syr. *ṭignā* which also means "stewpot". Cf. *dainaca*.

**teredins**: see *alterhel*.

**tereniabim** (Pt.) and *tereniabín* (Cs.) "laxative extracted from the leaves of an East-em bush":<sup>1062</sup> < Neo-Ar. *taranjabín* < Neo-P. *tar angolabin* "manna", already having that technical meaning.

**tereque**: see *tareco*.

**teriacal** and *teriaga*: see *atriaca*.

**terid** "broth": is an unassimilated dietary term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:270, < Ar. *ṭarīd*.

**terliz**: see *teliz*.

**ternijal** and *ternlau*: see *teginat*.

**te(r)niya** "plough pin" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:399): prob. < Ar. *ṭaniyyah* "incisive tooth"

**teronya**: see *taronya*.

**terquilla**: see *tarquín*.

**terranguillo**: see *tagarillo*.

**terraja**: see *tarraja*.

**tertil** (Cs.) "a tax on silk in Granada": < And. *tarṭil* = Cl.Ar. *tarṭil* "weighing by pounds", sharing the root of the etymon of *arrátel*, q.v.

**tesgi** (Pt., only in Morais) "Islamic rosary with 100 beads": is distorted from Tr. *tesbih* < Ar. *tasbīḥ* "glorification of God", already used with that meaning in Neo-Ar, after DS.

**tetuán** and *tetuaní* (Cs.) "native from Tetouan": is a gentilic with optional Orientalizing suffix, formed in contemporary times on the place name Tetouan, < Mor. *taṭwan* < Br. *tiṭṭawan* "springs"

**teuebi alayoc** "followers of Alayoc": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 123, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:114 and 36 with Beta, Theta and Gamma Aurigae, < Neo-Ar. *tawābiḥ alʿayyūq*.

**tezigüela** (Arag.) "small irrigation channel": appears to be a concretization of And. *tazwil* = Cl.Ar. *tazwil* "removing; distracting"

**thabahegiat** or *thabahegi* "a dish": is an unassimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:271, < Neo-Ar. *ṭabāhijiyah* < Neo-P. *tabāḥče*.<sup>1063</sup>

**thabun** and *thahaum*: see *althaun*.

**tharas**: see *altharas*.

**th(e)begi**: see *altebegi*.

**thebeth** "January": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1733, < Hb. *ṭēbēṭ*, in fact including part of December and January.

**theriaca**: see *tyryace*.

**thesserin** "seventh month of the Hb. calendar": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1733, although the entry answers to Syr. or Ar. *tišrīn*, not to Hb. *tišrī* (= September - October).

<sup>1062</sup> The form with an affricate is that of Tenerife, unlike those of Gran Canaria and La Palma, with semantic shift from "stone" and a specialized "stones used as trivet". The documentation from the related Br. dialects supports both meanings: cf. *inek* or *tinkt* "stones used as trivet" in Taš., vs. *tunišša* "silex" in Kab., after Wölfel, 1965:537,

to which we can add our personal observation of *tonique* "stone than can be thrown" in Tenerife, with Rom. dim. suffixation.

<sup>1063</sup> Like "camel thorn (Alhagi mannifera / maurorum)" and "Nile tamarisk (Tamarix nilotica)".

**thoehhamie**: see **althochme**.

**thoraya**: see **açoraya**.

**tibante** and **tibar**: see **adival**.

**tíbar**: see **tèber**.

**tibo** (Cs.) "perfume": this term, excerpted by Eguílaz from Villena's *Arte Cisoria*, indeed reflects And. *tīb* = Cl.Ar. *tīb*.

**tifell**: see **atifells**.

**tifò** (Ct.), **tifón** (Cs.) and **tufão** (Pt.): was prob. first acquired by Pt. during the initial explorations of the Indian Ocean, < Ar. *tūfān* "flood; hurricane", and phonetically contaminated by Gr. *typhón*, name of the mythical monster causing volcano eruptions and hurricanes.

**tigela**: see **tixela**.

**timão**: see **tomão**.

**timbal**: see **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

**tincaleira**: see **atinca**.

**tiraz** (Pt., and Leo. **tiraz/çe** or **tyrace** in DO 282) "embroidery of the royal manufactures": is a technical term occasionally occurring in Lt. medieval documents, e.g., of Aragon, recently reused by contemporary historians, < Ar. *tirāz* < Neo-P. *tarāz*, prob. transmitted in the latter case by a mod. European language. Intra-Rom. der.: Leo. **tiracero** (in DO 281–282).

**tixe/ola** (Gl.) "frying pan" (cf. Pt. **tigela** "metal or earthen tray to serve food or to send it to the baker's"): it bears no relation to Lt. *\*tēgūla*, pace Machado, as the likeness to **tixolo** "brick" (cf. Pt. **tijolo**, Cs. **tejuelo**) is a mere consequence of suffix alternance. Its semantic identity with And. *tājīn* or *tāyjan* = Neo-Ar. *tājīn* (< Gr. *tágenon*, prob. of Eg. origin) "earthen stewing pan" is total and, from a phonetic viewpoint, that first vowel or diphthong is in a situation very favourable to palatalization or monophthongization, while the loss of that /n/ is normal in Western Ibero-Rom., once it became intervocalic through the addition of the Rom. dim. suffix, i.e., *\*tājan+Ó/ÉLA* > *\*TIJ(EN)Ó/ÉLA*). The probable semantic relation with **tangí**, q.v., is not clear.

**tochibí** (Cs.) "member of a renowned Muslim family in Aragon": is a contemporary historiographical term, unnecessarily Castilianized and transcribed in that old and long ago discredited form, < Ar. *tujībī*.

**tochme** and **tochamie**: see **altochme**.

**togrín** "kind of sparrowhawk": is a technical term, in DAX 1765, < Ar. *tugrīl*, of Tr. origin, in truth, the female of the common goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis buteoides*, after Möller & Viré 1988:203), from the Khazar country.<sup>1065</sup>

**toina**: see **taina**.

**to/imão** (Pt.) and **tomán** (Cs.) "Persian monetary unity": < Neo-P. *tumān* (lit., "ten thousand"), of Mongolian origin.

**tomara** "would that" (Pt., only in Morais, although very frequently used, and borrowed by Can. **tomaría**): < And. *atāmm allāh* "God grant".<sup>1066</sup>

**tomín** (Cs.) "eighth of the old coin called **castellano**": < And. *tūmn* (*addārham*) < Cl.Ar. *tumnu dārham* "eighth of a dirham"; not documented before the 18th c. The vocalism can be explained by insertion of a disjunctive vowel (cf. *Alcalá cúmen* = */túm[a]n/*), then phonemicized in Rom., and possibly undergoing stress shift by contamination with most Cs. words ending in **-ín**. From the same etymon is **túmens** (Ct.) "certain old coins of Majorca", strikingly interpreted by Coromines as a "tenth, perhaps with a Hb. etymon", which is semantically and phonetically unsuitable and culturally highly unlikely, as Hb. had ceased to be a spoken language a few centuries b.C., which rendered its use impossible for commercial transactions, so that the only Hb. loanwords in Rom. are religious and legal terms related to Jewish communities. Besides, the partitive pattern */lu23/* characteristic of Ar. is evident, while Hb. only has *šēmonē* "eight" and *šēmini* "eighth (ordinal)". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tomineja/o**.

**tonitoz** "a stone": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1772, corrupted from Gr. *taōneios* "peacocklike". Cf. **taccie**.

**tonocí**: see **tunecí**.

<sup>1064</sup> A kind of stew, described in DAA 325.

<sup>1065</sup> Cf. Neo-P. *togról* < Old Tr. *togrīl* "a bird of prey" in Nadel'ajev *et al.* 1968:571.

<sup>1066</sup> See Corriente 1990b:334, s.v. *tamala*, about similar idioms in Aljamiado-Morisco and And.

**topegi** (Pt.): is an unassimilated borrowing, documented by Dalgado in the second half of the 17th c. If it meant "gunner", which is probable, its etymon would be Tr. *topçu*, pronounced in Neoár. *tūbhj*.

**toque**: see **atoque**.

**toquer** and **toqueta**: see **toca**.

**tora**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "Torah, Pentateuch": through Bib.Lt. < Hb. *torāh* "teaching".<sup>1067</sup>

**tora/onja**: see **taronja**.

**toraquí**: see **turco**.

**torc/simany**<sup>1068</sup> or **dragoman** (Ct.), **truchimán**, **trujamán**, **dragomán** or **drogmán** (Cs., with the var. **troiaman**, in Hilty 2005b:184 and **truiaman**, in GP 124) and **turc/gimão** (Pt.) "interpreter": < And. *turjumán* < Cl. *turjumān* < Aram. (cf. Rab. *tūrgēmānā*) < Ak. *turgamānu*, of Hittite origin. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **trujamanear** and **trujamanfa**, Old Cs. **trugimaneria**; Ast. **traxu/imar** "to trade", **traxu/imán** and **trachimante** "hawker" (in García Arias 2006:220).

**toriz** "semiprecious stone resembling marble": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1776, perhaps the same, in spite of the different definition, as **toryn** "rock crystal" in DAX 1785, < Ar. *tabrīzī* "from Tabriz" Cf. **tauris**.

**toronia**: see **taronja**.

**toroninio**: is a hapax (Leo., in DO 283), < Ar. *ṭārūnī* "a fabric of silk and wool".<sup>1069</sup>

**toronjil** and **toronjina**: see **tarongina**.

**toronjo**: see **taronja**.

**torqui** and **torquy**: see **turco**.

**torsimany**: see **torcimany**.

**toryn**: see **toriz**.

**tougue** (Pt., only in Morais and Eguílaz) "Tr. banner with a horsetail": is an unassimi-

lated term, received through Fr., < Tr. *tuğ* "horsetail, as symbol of a high rank"

**tova** and **tovó**: see **adobe**.

**trachimante**: see **torc/simany**.

**trafalgar** (Cs.) "a cotton": from Eng. "Trafalgar cotton", as Coromines explained, a designation reminiscent of the famous battle and the matching place name, < And. *ṭarf alağarr* < Cl.Ar. *aṭṭarafu llağarr* "clear point or cape"

**trafalmejas** (Cs.) "good for nothing": perhaps from And. *ṭarf annājs* "utter filth", where the first constituent is pretty sure, if not its pl. *aṭṭāf*, unlike the second one, which cannot be *annās* "people", in the light of the *difficilior* var. **trafalnejas**, more favourable to the first hypothesis. From the same etymon is **chafalmejas** (Cs.) "person without character" and **chafalmeja** or **tra(m)pameja** "unreliable person" (Can.), altered by folk etymology.

**trafalla** "thoughtless person" (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991:405): is a possible cognate of **trafalnejas** or of **esturrufar** (q.v.).

**trafi** (Cs.) "a tax levied on Granadan Moors": is a word excerpted by Eguílaz from Granadan archives and explained as "an assessment of four **maravedis** on each ten heads" His Ar. etymon, *tafrīq* "distribution",<sup>1070</sup> is very prob. correct, being supported by Alcalá, *tafrīq aṣṣiyām*, vaguely redereed as **propina desayunamiento**, lit., "distribution of breakfast", a disguised designation of the tribute called **alfitra**, q.v., originally the alms tax incumbent upon Muslims at the end of Ramadan, but turned by the Christian rulers into a tribute exacted from the Mudejars. Cf. **atriffique**.

**tragacete** (Cs.) and **tragazeite** (Pt.) < Br.

<sup>1067</sup> The penultima stress is supported by a rhyme in *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, mentioned by Eguílaz, demonstrating the Lt. pronunciation of Hb. words, with other examples like Ct. **vijola**, q.v., and And. **\*pázwa** "hemia" < Hb. **\*pāzuāf**. Only later, the Rabbinic schools would introduce the Sephardic pronunciation, answerable for the ultima stressed **torá** of present standards.

<sup>1068</sup> Concerning this word, which occurs in a text of paramount importance for the Ct. lan-

guage, Ramon Muntaner's chronicle, it must be noted that, for the Ar. phrase quoted by Coromines, the text printed by Casacuberta, *ani ben efi soltan* "I am the king's son", is more correct than his own *\*ʔan ʔibun ex-soltān*, which did not take into account the grammar of And. which he nevertheless had already at hand.

<sup>1069</sup> After Steiger 1943:697.

<sup>1070</sup> See 1.1.3.4 about the loss of the final consonant.

\**tagzalt*, dim. of *agzal* "spiked stick", documented in IQ 87/22/4 and in Ibn ʿAbdūn's treatise of *hisbah*.<sup>1071</sup>

**tragaldabas**: see **aldaba**.

**traginada** and **traginat**: see **teginat**.

**tra(m)pameja**: see **trafalmejas**.

**tramús**, **tramuso**, **tramussa/er** and **tramusaire**: see **altramuz**.

**trancas y barrancas**, a — (Cs.) "with great difficulty": this idiom, absolutely opaque to Rom. analysis, may contain a Mudejar or Morisco idiom, < And. *arakkán barrámka* "withdraw to a corner on your mare", as advice given to a knight in a rout making his last stand, or a description of that predicament.

**tranquil**: see **tanquil**.

**trapiche** (Cs. and Pt.) "sugar mill; olive press": < And.Rom. \**TRAPIC* < Lt. *trāpētum* or *trāpētes*, with suffix metanalysis and substitution. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **trapichear** and **trapiche(r)o**; Pt.: **trapicheiro**.

**traxu/imar** and **traxu/imán**: see **torc/simany**.

**treco**: see **tareco**.

**trefe** (Cs.) "weak; false; phthisic": < And. *ītrif* "meat unapt for consumption" < Hb. *īrēfāh* "animal killed by a beast, unapt for consumption, according to Jewish dietary law", a ritual term which spread to the other communities in the Iberian Peninsula. From the same etymon are the Ct. adjective **trufā**, said of such a meat,<sup>1072</sup> the unassimilated technical term **treffa**, in DAX 1805, which in no way means "phthisic" here, as the authors thought, but is precisely the well-known Rabbinical term, and perhaps the cauda of Cs. thieves' cant **calcatrife** "coarse person". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **trefedad**. Cf. **macar**.

**teginar**: see **teginat**.

**trehel**: see **altherel**.

**tremesén** (Ct.) "a fabric": takes its name from the Algerian city of Tlemcen (< Ar. *tilimsān* of Br. origin).

**tremoço**: see **altramuz**.

**tretginat**: see **teginat**.

**triacal(l)**, **triaga** and **triaquera/o**: see **atriaca**.

**trigem** (Ct.) "ear of a cattle bell": on semantic grounds, it cannot derive, as Coromines propounded, from Ar. \*\*\**tarjīm*, which simply does not exist, while the root {rjm} only means "to stone; to curse". On the other hand, it might well be a concretization of the *mašdar* \**taljīm*, an undocumented but routine var. of Neo-Ar. *iljām* "bridling", as that that piece precisely holds the bell in place.

**trobiguera** (Ct.) "leggings": is a hybrid with the Rom. instrumental suffix attached to And. *īarbhūq*, < Lt. *tu/brucus*, *tibraca*, *tribucus* or *tribuces*, < Germanic *thiuhbrūks*, after Coromines. The intermediation of And., not strictly necessary, seems probable, as this already exhibits the metathesis of /r/.

**troche (y) moche**: a — (Cs., with a var. **a tochemoche** en Diego de Guadix) "haphazardly": this idiom, absolutely opaque to Rom. analysis, according to our comments on Diego de Guadix (Corriente 2005b:110), might reflect a Mudejar or Morisco idiom, And. *tujīb ma wajāh* "let her impose whatever be due", i.e., "let her have her way, as long as her demands are legal", describing the conditions of a divorce much desired by the husband against the will of the wife, who would exact from him every right granted by law.

**troiaman**: see **torc/simany**.

**trola** and **troleiro**: see **hadrolla**.

**trona**: see **natrão**.

**truchimán**: see **torc/simany**.

**trufā**: see **trefe**.

**trugimaneria**, **trui/jamán**, **trujamanear** and **trujamanía**: see **torc/simany**.

**trull(a)**: see **aldarull**.

**tsorza**: see **alforza**.

**tuareg** (Ct.), **tuaregue** (Pt.) and **tuarego** (Cs.) "Tuareg, southernmost Berber population": there has been some insistence on deriving this term from Br. although in fact this

See Lévi-Provençal 1955a:28. This weapon is mentioned next to the similar **azagaya**, q.v., also characteristic of North African soldiers

in Al-Andalus.

<sup>1072</sup> See Bramon 1998:9.

is only the name given to them by the Arabs in Bed.Ar., *ṭwāreg* "highwaymen", from the Cl.Ar. root *{trq}* "to assault by night".<sup>1073</sup>

**tuba/el** "dross": is an unassimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:276, < Neo-P. *ṭūbāl* < Neo-P. *tup/bāl*.

**tubo**: see **adoba**.

**tuera** (Cs.) "colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*)": <And.Rom.> *TŪRAH* <or> *TUWA-RAH*,<sup>1074</sup> < Lt. *phthorá* < Gr. *phthorá* "ruin, destruction"

**tufão**: see **tifô**.

**tugue** (Pt.) "thug": is a late borrowing of the 18th c., obviously transmitted through writing from Eng. *thug*, < Hindi *thag* "thief", as the alleged Neo-P. *\*tūg* posited by Machado does not exist.

**tulipán** (Cs. and Gl.) "tulip (*Tulipa* spp.)": shares the etymon of **turbante**, q.v.

**tumbaga** (Cs. and Ct.) "similar": the Pt. var. **tambaca** or **tambaque**, directly from Malay *tambāga*, suggest that in the other Ibero-Rom. languages there has been intermediation of Eng., as Coromines suspects, not of Neo-Ar. *tunbāk*, perhaps also Western, in the light of its vocalization and the absence of a Neo-P. intermediate form. As for that Malay word, it is supposed to derive from Sk. *tāmra* "copper". Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tumbagón**.

**túmens**: see **tomín**.

**tun**: see **atum**.

**tunecí** or **tunecino** (Cs.), **tunefisino** (Pt.), **tuniciano** (Gl.) and **tunisenc** (Ct.) "Tunisian": are gentilics formed with Rom. suffixes attached to the Neo-Ar. place name *tūnis*, of Br. origin. From the same etymon are **tonocí** (Cs.) "a kind of silk", a hapax excerpted by Eguílaz from some Granadan ordinances, and **tunizo** "Tunisian falcon", in López de

Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves*, also after Eguílaz.

**turbant** (Ct.) and **turbante** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.) "turban": through Fr., < Tr. *tūlbent* < Neo-P. *do/ulband*, prob. < *dulu band* "folded scarf"

**turbit** (Cs. and Ct.) "turpeth (*Ipomoea turpethum*)": has always been a mere scientific term, transmitted through medieval Lt., < Neo-Ar. *turbid* < Neo-P. *torbed* < Sk. *trivṛta*. On both phonetic and semantic grounds, it is not understandable that such a distinguished etymologist as Coromines could assert, as he did in DECLC, s.v. **terebint**, that Neo-Ar. *turbid* derives from this term of Gr. origin.

**turc** and **túrcico**: see **turco**.

**turcimão**: see **torcimany**.

**turco** (Gl., Pt. and Cs., the latter with the old var. **torquí/y**, in GP 123 and **turquy** in Baena's *Cancionero*, **turqués** and **turquino**) and **turc** (Ct.) "Turk(ish)": < And. *turkí* = Cl.Ar. *turkī* < Tr. *türk* ("strong" in Old Tr.). Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt. also have the var. **turquí**, with Orientalizing suffix. As for the var. **toraqú** in *Don Quixote* II lxiii, it seems to have resulted from the attachment of that suffix to some pl. or collective Ar. forms, like Naf. *trāka* and Eg. *tarākwa*. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: (a)**turquesado**, **turcople**, **turquesco** and **turquía**; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: **turquesa**; Cs. and Pt.: **turquesco**; Ct. (a)**turquesat**; Gl. and Pt.: **turquesado**; Pt.: **túrcico**, **turqués** and **turquesino**.

**turcomano** (Cs., Pt. and Gl.) and **turcman** (Ct.) "Turkoman": through Fr., < Neo-Ar. *turkumān* < Tr. *türkmen*.

**turcople**: see **turco**.

**turcimão**: see **torcimany**.

**turqués**, **turquesa(t)**, **turquesado**, **turquesino** and **turquesco**: see **turco**.

<sup>1073</sup> In Prasse (1972:10), this brilliant Br. scholar, following the most knowledgeable Foucauld 1951:534, considers this Ar. word as a mere folk etymology, built on a gentilic of Br. *turgu*, old name of Fezzan, after the hypothesis of the Tripolitanian origin of the Tuareg. But this cannot explain the behaviour of the first vowel of the sg. as a long vowel, while vowel quantity

does not exist in Br., in a perfect match with the expectable pattern of broken pl. in Ar., nor the velarization of the first consonant. Incidentally, the Tuareg call themselves *tamašek*.

<sup>1074</sup> Non-existent in (And.) Ar., *pace* former editions of DRAE, now corrected, it being a mere transcription by local botanists of the Graeco-Lt. term or its And.Rom. pronunciation.



**turquestano** (Gl.) “gentilic of Turkestan”: through Fr., with accommodation to the Rom. suffixation of Neo-P. *torkestān* “Turkish land”

**turquí(a)**: see **turco** and **nugemath**.

**tutía** and **tutya**: see **atutía**.

**túzaro** (Gl.) “intractable”: is an odd looking term, reminiscent of the Br. place name of Túzar, whose inhabitants, renowned as fierce and rebellious, settled in some parts of Al-

Andalus, above all in the Eastern regions.<sup>1075</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Ast.: **tuzarón** “coarse” (in García Arias 2006:221).

**tyryace esdre** “Esdras’ theriac”: is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:263, with the var. **theriaca hazere** / **esdrae**, < Neo-Ar. *tiryāq šizrā*, although both constituents appear alternatively in their Gr. forms.

## U

**uacria** “falcon caught in the nest”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 931 and 1817, < Ar. *wakriyyah* “of nest” (fem. sg. also meaning the pl. of irrationals).

**uacuac**: is an unassimilated geographical term, in DAX 1817: < Neo-Ar. *wāqwāq*, name of the renowned legendary island, tree and bird.<sup>1076</sup>

**uadana**: see **badana**.

**uakil(e)**, **uaquile**, **vakil**, **vaquile** and **ulaquidi** (Leo.) “attorney”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DO 283, < Ar. *wakīl*.

**uarc** “calculus formed in the gall bladder (of bulls or oxen)”: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 125 and DAX 1817: < Ar. *uarc*.<sup>1077</sup>

**uarrío**: see **barrio**.

**uatanada** and **uatanna**: see **badana**.

**uau** “letter of the (Arabic) alphabet”: is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1899, < Ar. *wāw*.

**uazile**: see **aguasil**.

**uba/erdà**: see **albarda**.

**ubar** “lead”: is an unassimilated term, in GP 125, < Neo-Ar. *ubbār* < Neo-P. *ābār* “burnt lead”

**ubericlequyn** “bezoar”: is an unassimilated term, in DAX 1818, explained as “poison stopper”, but in fact corrupted, through Syr. and/or Ar. scripts, from Gr. *apétrgei kolchikón*.

**ubí** “a variety of round, black, thick grape with thin skin” (Anz.): is not mentioned by And. botanists, but appears to be an And. gentilic of an undetermined place.

<sup>1075</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān’s *Almuqtabis* V mentions a Yaḥqūb b. Abī Xālid Attūzārī, insurgent in Murcia, later killed in the raid conducted by ʿAbdarrāḥmān III against Navarra (see Viguera & Corriente 1981:147 and 149), who might be connected with the place name Benetússer, and its medieval var. Benituçer/n/m, Benitosen and Benituça. However, we have no proof that these

people, stemming from Túzar, the most important oasis of Aljarīd, in Tunisia, already known to Ptolemy as Thusuros, would have settled together with other Br. groups in the Douro region.

<sup>1076</sup> About which, see EI<sup>2</sup> XI:113–119.

<sup>1077</sup> See Meyerhof 1940:60–61) and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:573 and 2007:758, in which this metonymy is explained.

**ucha(do)r, uchamoscas and uixar:** see **oxte**.

**udimia** (with the var. **undimia, z/çimia, çime and zímial**) “oedema”: is an unasimilated medical term, in Herrera & Vázquez 1982:209–211 and Vázquez & Herrera 1989:145, < Neo-Ar. *ūdīmā* < Gr. *hóidema*.<sup>1078</sup>

**uixer** (Ct.) “transport ship for troops and horses” (cf. the medieval Cs. hapax **u/oxel**): < And. *Sušári* < Neo-Ar. *Sušārī*, or rather its var. *Suš(š)áyri*, although the alteration of the cauda is prob. due to contamination by the Rom. instrumental suffix {+ÉR}, also reflected in Fr. *huissier* and It. *usciera*. The Ar. term is an attributive adjective of *Sušār*, multiplicative adjective of “ten”, of a pattern often used to qualify objects the length of which is reckoned in a certain measure, not easy to determine here, as we do not know the size of the prototype first being so called, although the likeliest unit is the cubit, \*\**qirāṣ*, which in Islamic metrology oscillates between 54 and 145 cm.

**ulaga and ulaguño:** see **argelaga**.

**ulano** (Cs.) “uhlan”: through Fr., Ger. and/ or Polish, < Tr. *oğlan* “lad”

**ulaquidi:** see **uakil(e)**.

**ulema** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **ulemá** (Pt.) “doctor(s) in Islamic law”: < Ar. *ṣulamāʾ*?, pl. of *ṣālim* “sage”, it being noteworthy that this term was borrowed in the pl., because most of the time the talk goes about their whole. Otherwise, it is a contemporary historiographical term, received by bookish transmission, through Fr. and Tr., which explains a totally anomalous stress, but for the case of Pt., which merely imitates Fr. but happens to coincide with Tr. and Cl.Ar. Cf. **álime**.

**uma** “nurse”: is an unassimilated term, of LHP 656 and DO 284, < Ar. *umm* “mother”

**uoayx:** see **noayx**.

**urgebão** (Pt., with the var. **gerbão and ogervão**) “vervain (*Verbena* spp.)”: < And. Rom. \**WARBINÁI*, var. of the *BERBENÁQA* mentioned in *Kitābu Sumdati ḥabīb*.<sup>1079</sup> Cf. **aljabão**.

**uxnen** “glasswort (*Salicornea* spp.)”: is an unassimilated term, of DAX 1831, < Ar. *uṣṣnān*, also called **usnen asafir**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:278, < Neo-Ar. *uṣṣnān alḥaṣāfir*, lit., “barilla of the birds”, possibly misread for *u. alqaṣṣarīn* “fullers’ barilla”

## V

**vacarí** (Cs.) “of cow leather”: < And. *baqarí* = Cl.Ar. *baqarī* “bovine”, with an obvious spelling contamination by **vaca** “cow”

**vachz(i)** “punction”: is an unassimi-

lated medical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:279 and 1983:179, < Ar. *waxz*.

**vakil:** see **uakil(e)**.

**vala/encí** (Anz.) and **valací or valencí**

<sup>1078</sup> With a corrupted var. **phyma** in Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:109.

<sup>1079</sup> After Steiger 1958, who used Asín 1943. This distortion has resulted from idiolectic hesitation between the palatal and occlusive realizations of *jīm*, as well as from probable metanalysis

of the Br. negative prefix {*war-*}, common in compounded nouns, and not a bit striking in the Douro region, where it is known that many North Africans were settled after the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

(Mur.) "varieties of grapes": is obviously the Ar. gentile (*balansi*) of Valencia, although not mentioned by And. botanists. Cf. **melancia**.

**valí** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **vali** (Pt.) "provincial governor": through Fr., < Tr. *vali* < Ar. *wālī*. The stress imitated from Fr. is by chance correct for Tr. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **valiato**; Ct.: **valiat**; Pt.: **valiado**.

**vaquile**: see **uakil(e)**.

**varses**: see **barseus**.

**vdha**: see **algrada**.

**ve el çahba** "and the wolf": is an unassimilated item, from GP 125 and DAX 1841, < Ar. *wassabaḥ*, a remnant of the complete phrase *qaṇṭūrusu wahuwa ḥāmīlu ssabūḥ* "Centaurus carrying the lion", one of the descriptions of Alpha Centauri, after Kunitzsch 1959:215.

**Vega** (Cs.) "the star Alpha Lyrae": is an abridged scientific Lt. transcription of Ar. *annasru lwāqīf* "the alighting eagle"

**velfin**: see **adelfin**.

**velmez** (Cs.): several words have coalesced under this spelling. In the meaning of "jacket worn beneath armour", the one retained by DRAE, it indeed appears to be a metathesis of And. *malbás* = Cl.Ar. *malbas* "dress" But in the medieval meaning "consideration, respect", preserved by Cejador, most particularly in the idiom **tener belmez** "to show respect", there has been a rather poor comprehension of the texts. Nykl documented it in his unpublished *Glosario Preliminar* with two quotes from *Primera Crónica General* and from *Judizios de las Estrellas*, in the idioms **tener belmez** "to have consideration" and **llevarse de belmez** "to depart from any consideration" (GP 75); the latter occurs several times in Baena's *Cancionero*, never understood by any editor, and in *Libro de Buen Amor*, 1521a, in which Coromines provides information, but not the much needed explanation, misguided by the better known meaning of **velmez**. Nykl, with some hesitation, propounded a dissimilative reflex of Ar. *\*malmas* "place that is felt", under the influence of parallel Cs. **tacto** "tact", and of two passages of Lane's dictionary, *fulānatu lā taruddu yada lāmīs* "such a woman does not repel the hand of any feeler", an obvious metonymy of promiscuous women, and a secondary *fulānun lā yaruddu yada lāmīs* "he

does not care for what is sacred or inviolable", the metaphorical meaning of which he could not fully grasp. In truth, that item reflects a substantivization of the And. prepositional syntagm *balmáyẓ* "with knowledge or discretion" (cf. Mor. *balmiz* "more or less; approximately"), which in Rom. acquired the meaning of "consideration, respect"

**ventifarde/o** and **ventifarel(o)** "mosquito" (Sal.): is quite probable, as there is no reason to connect this insect with the wind, that this be one of the frequent Ar. designations of animals and plants starting with *hint* "daughter", of which the one witnessed in And. is *\*hint[i]* *wardān* "cockroach", phonetically and semantically unsuitable, but proving the continuity of that structure. Our guess is that this was a local jesting nickname, substituting for the usual *\*baṣūṭ/da* < Cl.Ar. *baṣūḍah* "mosquito, gnat": as this conspicuously means "biter, taking away a part", it makes sense to posit a *\*hint[i]* *fārda* "collector of the **alfarda**", q.v., alluding to their bites, although of course other hypotheses would be possible.

**verahá**: see **barahá**.

**veranda** (Ct.) "veranda": through Eng., < Hindi *vharanda* < Sk. *varaṇḍa* "fence separating the elephants in a joust"

**verdín** "unspecified spontaneous grass serving as animal fodder": (Mur. de Gómez Ortín 1991): prob. from the etymon of **barc/dino**, q.v.

**verdino** "dog with a black, white, and brown coat; dark greenish; striped" (Anl.): is derived by folk etymology from **bardino**, q.v.

**verdolaga** (Cs. and Ct.) "purslane (Portulaca oleracea and similar species)": this result of Lt. *portulāca* cannot be explained without a double contamination, through folk etymology, by Rom. reflected in Cs. **verde** and **aulaga**, (q.v.s.v. **argelaga**).

**verruma** (Pt.) "drill": < And. *\*barrúma*, a hypocoristic form of *barrina*, through unattested And.Rom., < Lt. *veruina*.

**vetalcercy**: see **detalcurçi**.

**vetamel** "large amount" (Anz.): < And. *bāyt almāl* < Cl.Ar. *baytu lmāl* "treasury"

**vgia** "ailment": is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:144, < Ar. *wajaḥ* "pain".

**vijola** (Ct.) "Jewish feast of circumcision": does not derive from Lt. **\*\*vīgilāre**, nor is the stress to be corrected and shifted to antepenultima, as Coromines thought, as this is a contamination by a Rom. dim. suffix of a Hispanic Lt. reflex **\*besóra**, < Hb. **běšorāh** "tidings", with development of the **shewa** into

/e/ and a wholly normal intra-Rom. evolution, including the voicing and palatalization of intervocalic /s/.

**vilaite** (Pt.) "province": is a late unasimilated borrowing, < Tr. **vilayet** < Ar. **wilāyah**.

**visir, visirat(o) y vizir**: see **aguacil**.

## X

**xa**: see **escacs**.

**xabali**: see **chabalí**.

**xabalina** and **xabalín**: see **chabalí**.

**xabandar** (Old Pt.) "head of the customs; harbour master": del Neo-P. **šāhbandar**. Intra-Rom. der.: Pt.: **xabandaria**.

**xabarín**: see **chabalí**.

**xabebe**: see **ajabebe**.

**xabec**: see **jabeque**.

**xábega**: see **jábega**.

**xabrac** (C.) "horse trappings": through Fr. **chabraque** < Ger. **Schabracke** < Tr. **şaprak** < Neo-P. **šapare** and **şaprak** "packsaddle"

**xaca**: see **achaque**.

**xacal**: see **chacal**.

**xacia**: see **jácena**.

**xacobeo**: see **jacobeo**.

**xácoma**: see **jáquima**.

**xacra** and **xacrós**: see **achaque**.

**xadraque**: see **jadraque**.

**xadrec/zista, xadrez(ar)** and **xadrezinho**: see **acedrenche**.

**xafagor**: see **atxafegar**.

**xafarder(a), xafardería, xafardejar, xafarice** and **xafariz**: see **charafiz**.

**xafarot**: see **chafarote**.

**xafarrancho** (Pt., borrowed from Cs.), **xafarranxo** (Ct.) and **zafarrancho** (Cs.): are

hybrid words, combining the etymon of **safar** (q.v.) with Cs. **rancho**.

**xafogor**: see **atxafegar**.

**xagrí**: see **chagrém**.

**xaherim** "a stone": is an unasimilated technical term, in DAX 1901, in fact, corrupted from Hb. **šoham**, imprecisely identified, as in the case of the others gems mentioned in the Bible.<sup>1080</sup>

**xahben** "name of a month of the Islamic calendar": is an unasimilated technical term, in GP 127, < Ar. **šābān**. Cf. **achavales**.

**xaí** or **xaim** (Pt.) "small Indian silver coin": < Neo-P. **šāhi** "royal". Cf. **aceai**.

**xaica** (Ct.) "a kind of small boat": Coromines' suggestion, a blending of **caique** and **xabec**, q.v., sounds far-fetched, but there is no solution in sight, at least, for an Ar. loan-word.

**xaille**: see **chal**.

**xaim**: see **xaí**.

**xairel**: see **jirel**.

**xal**: see **chal**.

**xàldiga** and **xalea**: see (ai) **xàldiga**.

**xalefa**: see **aixareca**.

**xaloc(ada)** and **xalocar**: see **jaloque**<sup>1</sup>.

**xama**: see **aljama**.

**xamata** (Pt.) "damask cloak": is a late

<sup>1080</sup> Brown, Driver & Briggs 1907: 295 sug-

gested onyx, beryl and malachite.

Eastern borrowing, of the 16th c., simply derived from Neo-P. \*šām matāḥ “fabric from Damascus”, rather than from \*šām māhut “coak from Syria”, although neither syntagm is documented.

**xamat(e), xamathe and xac / xaque** (e mate): see **escacs**.

**xamed:** see **jametería**.

**xamela:** see **maissela**.

**xame/ite:** see **jametería**.

**xamito:** see **jamete**.

**xamo/uço** (Pt.) “fierce”, is a var. of **eixamús**, q.v., recorded by Hilty 2003:187, who also added a new Ct. var. **xamós**.

**xampu** (Ct.) “shampoo”: through Eng. *shampoo*, < Hindi *čampī* “massage”

**xandocar** (Maj.) “to prattle” and (ai)xandoc “prater”: are rustic words apparently reflecting a hypocoristic And. \*šaddūq, formed on šad/q “prater”, from the Ar. root {šdq} “to be wide in the sides of one’s mouth”

**xaputa:** see **chaputa**.

**xaque:** see **jaque**<sup>3</sup>.

**xaque(a)r and xaquemate:** see **escacs**.

**xáquema:** see **jáquima**.

**xaqueca:** see **jaqueca**.

**xàquia:** see **achaque**.

**xá/aquima and xaquimer:** see **jáquima**.

**xara:** see **jaraçuna** and **enxara**.

**xar(a)bando** (Pt.) “city wall”: is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean, < Neo-P. *šahrband*.

**xarabe:** see **jarabe**.

**xaraçina:** see **jaraçuna**.

**xarafi and xarafim/n:** see **serafin**<sup>2</sup>.

**xaral:** see **enxara**.

**xarau:** see **jarabe**.

**xarazar:** see **algara**<sup>1</sup>.

**xareca:** see **aixareca**.

**xarel:** see **jirel**.

**xareta:** see **jareta**.

**xarifa:** see **aixareca**.

**xarife/o:** see **jerife**.

**xarifiz:** in García Arias 2006:223, is a Leo. family name apparently formed on the etymon of **jerife**, q.v.

**xarnafa** (Cs.) “a certain insufficiently described architectural ornament”: this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from some Sevillian ordinances, may, as he propounded, be related to Cl.Ar. *širnāf* “long and superfluous leaves of a plant”, through the root {šnf}, of which it is a dissimilatory derivation; however, in the search of an explanation of the nature of that adornment there is a Mor. *šannafa* “round edge of a cup; fleshy upturned upper lip”, akin to *šanfur* “fleshy lip” and And. *šanfūr* “snout”, and all the der. of the Cl.Ar. root {šfr} with the semanteme “lip; edge, etc.”, shared by Gəŋəz *kānfār* and Mehri *kərff* which, however, have not undergone the same early palatalization. Were this connection correct, that ornament would be a rounded moulding. Cf. **quifradaxa**.

**xarôco and xarouco:** see **siroco**.

**xarop(e), xarop(e)ar, xaropejar, xaropeiro, xaropera, xaropós and xaroposo:** see **jarabe**.

**xarquès** (Ct.) “Circassian”: through Fr. *tcherkèsse*, < Russian *čerkés*, < Tr. *čerkez*.

**xarra and xarrón:** see **algerra**.

**xarraba:** see **enxarrafa**.

**xaruellas** “small pitcher (Cs.)”: in DAX 1901, is a Rom. dim. formed on the And. etymon of **servilla**, q.v.<sup>1081</sup>

**xasmín:** see **jasmim**.

**x/sauel** “Islamic month of šawwāl”: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 120 and DAX 406.

**xaula:** see (a)**xaula**.

**xáuter** (Pt.) “guide”: is a late unassimilated borrowing of the 17th c., < Ar. *šāṭir* “clever” used in Neo-Ar. and Neo-P. *šāṭer*, as well as in Tr. *šatur*, in the meaning of “courier, messenger”

**xavalf:** see **chabalín**.

**xaveco:** see **jabeque**.

**xávega, xavegada, xavegó and xaveguer:** see **jábega**.

**xazmín:** see **jasmim**.

**xe** (Val.) “interjection to request attention”: considering the etymological difficulties of this term and that one of its var. is **xe(ic)**, it might derive from Ar. *yā šayx* “hey, old man”,

<sup>1081</sup> See SK 278.

very frequent in the dialects with the same function and familiar context as in Val.

**xec:** see **jeque**.

**xecalina:** see **jical**.

**xefia:** see **chafarote**.

**xehera** "a variety of copperas": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1901, < Ar. *ṣaḥīrah*.<sup>1082</sup>

**xenabe:** see **ajenabe**.

**xeneta/e:** see **atzanet**.

**xepe:** see **jabe**.

**xeque(ar)** and **xequemate:** see **escacs**.

**xerafim:** see **serafin**<sup>2</sup>.

**xerçi(n):** see **sirs/zçen**.

**xerife:** see **jerife**.

**xerop(e):** see **jarabe**.

**xerqui:** see **axarque**.

**xerra/o:** see **algerra**.

**xerroquí:** see **alcorroc**.

**xeruaci** "callosity of phlegmatic swellings": is an unassimilated pathological term, in Vázquez 1998:784, < Ar. *ṣarnāq*, "hydatid cyst in the eyelids" in DS I 754.

**xeruga:** see **jaluğa**.

**xeta** (Cs.): this hapax in Baena's *Cancionero* (Nº 439, **tus consonantes que no valen**—"your rhymes which are not worth one—") has never heretofore been understood. The item is no doubt a reflex of Lt. *saeta* "hog's bristle", through And.Rom and/or And., in which is *ṣīṭa* is the comb or card for linen, garnished with bristles.

**xeulet:** see **(a)xaula**.

**xeýtó:** see **seitó**.

**xiá:** see **chiismo**.

**xiabarił:** see **chabalıf**.

**xiareta:** see **jareta**.

**xiarra:** see **algerra**.

**xiba:** see **jibia**.

**xibuc:** see **chibuque**.

**xices:** see **algeps**.

**xief** (Ct.) "collyrium": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical technicism in Alcoatí, < Ar. *ṣīyāf*. Cf. **sief**.

**xifra(r)** and **xifratge:** see **cifra**.

**xiisme, xiíta and xísta:** see **chiismo**.

**xilava:** see **chilaba**.

**xilmendreiro:** see **gilmendro**.

**xinete:** see **atzanet**.

**xirafa:** see **azoraba**.

**xiraz** (Pt., only in Morais) "milk curd": is prob. a mod. borrowing, < Ar. *ṣīrāz* or Neo-P. *ṣīrāz*, recorded by dictionaries as an Ar. loanword, although Pahl. *ṣīr* "milk" points in the opposite borrowing direction.

**xiribec:** see **jabeque**.

**xirivía:** see **chirivía**.

**xitano:** see **gitano**.

**xixell(a):** see **seixa**.

**xiz:** see **algeps**.

**xoco:** see **açougue**.

**xona** (Ct.) "vulva": the aphaeresis posited by Coromines from And. *ḥaṣṣún* (cf. **junaema**) is not impossible, although Alcalá does not have *\*\*aṣawwana*, but *\*\*aṣṣahwán* "to lust", nor is an And. etymon *ṣunn* "fold of a dress" suitable for this term, but as a very hypothetical euphemism. It might be a documented hypocoristic (A)*xona*, i.e., *\*ṣaṣṣúna*, from *ṣāṭiṣṣah*, one of the most frequent names of Muslim women.<sup>1083</sup>

**xopaipa:** see **asopaipa**.

**xorcas:** see **aixorca**.

**xordano:** see **Jordán**.

**xorocat:** is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1620, without an entry of its own, under **saroch**, with which the editors have mistakenly identified it; it is actually corrupted from the Ar. etymon of **alcorroc** "warbler", q.v.<sup>1084</sup>

**xorope:** see **jarabe**.

**xota:** see **jota**.

**xubilación, xubilar and xubileu:** see **jubileo**.

**xuclar:** see **chucla**.

**xuço:** see **azuche**.

**xudaico, xudaizar, xudería and xudeu:** see **judeu**.

**xurriaca(da), xurriacar and xurriaquejar:** see **zurriaga**.

<sup>1082</sup> See DS I:732 and DAA 732 about this substance.

<sup>1083</sup> See Labarta 1987:41.

<sup>1084</sup> See Möller & Viré 1988:115, in which its flesh is prescribed as food for falcons.

## Y

**ya** (Old Cs.): this vocative mark is common in texts such as *Poema de Mio Cid*, *Libro de Buen Amor*, etc., < And. *yá* = Cl.Ar. *yā*.

**yacoth alaaazfor** "yellow hyacinth": is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 129, < Neo-Ar. *yāqūt ašfar*.<sup>1085</sup>

**yafaris**: see *iafari*.

**yagurt**: see *iogurt*.

**yaharis**: see *iafari*.

**yarra**: see *algerra*.

**yatagán** (Cs.) "yataghan": through Fr. < Tr. *yatağan*.

**yaymany/i**: is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 129, with a var. *lyemeni*, < Ar. (*ḥajarun*) *yamānī* "Yemenite stone", a designation of hyacinth or agate.<sup>1086</sup>

**ybucace** (for \**ybnaoe*): is an unassimilated term, in GP 129, < Cl.Ar. *ibnu āwā* "jackal"

**yçimin**: see *jasmim*.

**ydanitaganam** (for *yda mita ganam*): is an unassimilated term, designation of a tax on Moriscos, excerpted by Eguílaz from Granadan archives, and correctly etymologized by him as *šidda mita ganām* "a number of heads (constituting a tax bracket)"

**yday alacrab** "the scorpion's two hands": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in GP 129, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:117 as Alpha and Beta Librae, < Neo-Ar. *yaday alʿaqrab*.

**yed elgeuze elyemin** "Orion's right hand": is an unassimilated astronomical term, in

GP 129, identified by Kunitzsch 1961:116, as Alpha Orionis, < Neo-Ar. *yad aljawzāʾ alyamīn*.

**yemení** (Cs.) "Yemenite": is a contemporary historiographical term, formed with the Orientalizing gentile suffix on the Fr. reflex of name of the country, Ar. *alyaman*. Cf. *maimón*.

**yesaire**: see *algeps*.

**ylady** "vitreous humour": is an unassimilated anatomical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:51, < Ar. *jallidī*.

**yles**: see *alhileg*.

**ylischi**: see *alhasch*.

**yogur**: see *iogurt*.

**ysnedrí**: this unassimilated And. phrase in *Libro de Buen Amor* (1509d), long ago correctly understood as "I do not know", has been discussed on account of the mss. var. *les nedrí*. It is now known that both are correct in diverse idioms of And., the first one being characteristic of Val. And., and the second, more general, except in the late Granadan period, in which the usual negative was *iš*; see SK 144–145 and AAR 120–121).

**yute** (Cs.) "jute": through Eng., < Hindi and Sk. *jātā* "woven hair; name of several plants; interwoven roots"

**yutixar**: see *alitimisar*.

**yzare**: see *izar*.

**yzí** "jasper": is an unassimilated technical term, from GP 130, < Neo-Ar. *yašf*. Cf. *alioj*.

**yz/çimin**: see *jasmim*.

<sup>1085</sup> On the other hand, its synonym in GP 95 and 99 *jagonça*, with the var. *j/iargonça* and *ge/irgonça*, does not seem to be an Ar. loanword, *pace* Nykl, but a der. of the pl. of the Gr. dim. *huakínthion*, whence Cl.Ar. *yāqūtah* "hyacinth", through Syr. *yāqūn/ūtā* (see Jeffery 1938:289). The same applies to *jaspio* "jasper", through Lt., unlike the cases of *alioj*, *azufaija* (vs. *iuiuba* in GP 100), etc.

<sup>1086</sup> However, this identification does not tally well with the descriptions of its synonymous *açufaratiz* in DAX 1153, 50 and 52, in which is also identified with *beruth*, q.v. The rendering "limonite" by Kasten & Nitti is merely based on the segment *açufar-*, connected by them with Ar. *ašfar* "yellow" or with the Ar. loanword *azófar*, but in truth the talk goes about saltpetre or a similar substance.

## Z

**zabacequia**: see **zabezequia**.

**zabalachén** and **z/çaualachén** (Arag.) and **salvaquén** (Ct.) “a magistrate”: are var. of **çab/ualaquén**, < And. *šāḥb alahkām* < Cl.Ar. *šāhibu l’ahkām* “person in charge of norms and sentences”, a designation of certain magistrates in Al-Andalus. In the case of the Ct. var., no tribute is concerned, nor is there any relation with the Ar. root {bqy} “to remain”, pace Coromines, but it is just a corruption of more faithful ones.

**za(ba)lmedina**: see **zalmedina**.

**zabarceda/o**: see **abacero**.

**zabascorta** “police superintendent”: (Leo., in DO 285), < Neo-Ar. *šāhib aššurṭa*.

**zabaya**: see **acibeche**.

**zabazala** (Cs.), **çauaçala** (Arag.) and **sabiselans** (Ct.)<sup>1087</sup> “imam, prayer leader”: < And. \**šāḥb aššalā* < Cl.Ar. *šāhibu ṣṣalāh* “person in charge of prayer”, an indeed old term. The correct stress would therefore be **zabazalā**.

**zabazoque** (Cs., with an old var. **cabazoze** in LHP 101), **zauazouke** (Leo., in DO 284), **zavazogado** and **za/o/euazogado** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:59 and 225–226, with Rom. suffixation) “market inspector”: < And. \**šāḥb assūq* < Cl.Ar. *šāhibu ssūq* “person in charge of the market”

**zabeg/ia**: see **acibeche**.

**zabezequia** (Arag.) and **çavacèquia** or **çavasequia** (Ct.), half-translated into Mur. as **sobreacequero**, from Val. **sobre-sequier** (Colomina 1997:250) “person in charge of the distribution of irrigation water”: < And. *šāḥb assāqya* < Cl.Ar. *šāhibu ssāqiyah* “person in charge of an irrigation channel” The dictionaries also have \*\*\***cabecequia** (DRAE spelling

for Arag. **cabezequia**) and \*\*\***cabacequias** (Nav., in a document of the 17th c.), a mere misreading of **çabacequias**, as shown often by the var. closer to **zabacequia**, sometimes corrupted in other ways, like Arag. **zagaleicas**, **zelazaicas** and **zerezeiquia** or even **salbazequias**; in all this folk etymologies play a role. The Arag. from Tarazona (Gargallo 1985:34) **zafacequias** “bungler, botcher” might be an interesting case of peculiar phonetic and semantic evolution, but there might also be a relation with the etymon of the first constituent of **zafaforate** (q.v.), with the connotation of “person who damages an irrigation channel”

**zabida** and **zábila**: see **acibara**.

**zabra**: see **atzaura**.

**zabrín** (Arag.) “wizard; goblin”: perhaps < And. *zafrit* “jinni”, with suffix metanalysis and substitution.

**zaca**: see **zaque**.

**zacanero** (Mur., in Gómez Ortín 1991: 428): is a synonym sharing the etymon of **açacal** (q.v.).

**zacatín** (Cs.) “frippers’ street”: < And. *saqqāṭin*, pl. of *saqqāṭ* = Cl.Ar. *saqqāṭ* “fripper”

**z/sacatón** “a kind of tipcat game” (Anz.) and **sacatón** “a game in which goat anklebones are tossed” (Anl.): is prob. a Rom. aug. of And. *saqāṭ* = Cl.Ar. *saqaṭ* “worthless thing”, also said of offal. The first word in the meaning of “gadder; hard-worked” (Sal.) is prob. a reflex of And. *saqqāṭ* = Cl.Ar. *saqqāṭ* “fripper”, with Rom. aug. suffixation and semantic evolution. From the same first origin would be **zacatreno** “half-witted” (Mur.), with Rom. suffixation.

**za(c)bascorta**: see **zabascorta**.

<sup>1087</sup> After Coromines’ proposal of correction to a **sabiselars** “a kind of muezzin” in Eiximenis, although the Ar. etymon \*\*\**šāḥb assalām* “lord of salvation” suggested by him does not, of

course, exist. Eguílaz also recorded a Ct. reflex from Labèrnia’s dictionary, \***cabacalans**, to be corrected as **çabaçalans**.



**zacum** (Pt.) “zachum oil tree (Balanites aegyptica)”: although mentioned often in the Koran as food of the damned in hell, that Eastern plant was unknown in Al-Andalus, so that this item must be a recently acquired botanical term, < Ar. *zaqqūm*.

**zaena** and **zaenes(a)**: see **cianí**.

**zafa**: see **safa**.

**zafacoca** and **zafada/o**: see **safar**.

**zafaforate**: see **tapaforate**.

**zafanada**: see **safanão**.

**zafandoria**: see **acenoria**.

**zafañada**: see **safanão**.

**zafar**: see **safar**.

**zafareche**: see **chafariz**.

**zaf/h/jarí**: see **safaria**.

**zafariche**: see **chafariz**.

**zafarrancho**: see **safar**.

**zafarrar**: see **jaharrar**.

**zafarrón** and **zafarronada**: see **zaha-rón**.

**z/sáfate**: see **safar**.

**zafero**: see **safa**.

**zafes** “right distribution of ridges and furrows in a slope to improve irrigation efficiency” (Anl.): < And. *šáff* = Cl.Ar. *šaff* “row”

**zafiedad**: see **zafio**.

**zafio**: see **safio**.

**zafio** (Cs. and Gl.) “rustic”: the former etymological proposal of DRAE, now corrected, Ar. *šāfi* “displeasing” is not suitable, because there would have almost necessarily been *imālah*. Most likely, the correct etymon is a half-translation and abridgment of And. *fallāh šāfi* “simple peasant”, as is obvious in its first and predominant occurrence in the syntagms **villano ~ labrador zafio** “rustic villager ~ ploughman”. From the same origin, because And. *šāfi* = Cl.Ar. *šāfi* “clear, clean” also means “finished, ready”, are the Ct. hapax **safi** “finished, ruined” in Turmeda, recorded

and correctly explained by Coromines,<sup>1088</sup> and Pt. **safo**, said of the ship ready to sail, and dialectally, “quits”, although the latter might also be a “short” participle (cf. **quite** and **pago**, the second one borrowed by Can.) of **safar**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. and Gl.: **zafiedad**.

**zafiro** (Gl. and Cs., with the old var. **çafir/les**, **çafias** and **çaffy**; in GP 119bis, **safir(o)** and **saphir(o)**), **çafil**, **zaffil** and **çoffil** (Ast., in García Arias 2006:39), **safir** (Ct.), **safira** (Pt.) and **zafir(a)** (Cs.) “sapphire”: although at least the forms ending in >o< have been influenced by Lt. *sapphirus* in the Golden Age of Spanish literature. As Coromines says, they all derive from And. *šafir* = Cl.Ar. *šāfir* < Gr. *šáppheiros*, not borrowed from Hb., but from another still undetermined Asian language.<sup>1089</sup> It is known that this scholar considered that Ct. was a direct der. from Lt., without an Ar. phase, which is not coherent with his own position in the case of Cs., and with the fact that the very Ct. var. **saffí**, backformed from the pl. **safi(r)s**, is instrumental to explain the short var. of Cs. Pt. **çafil** “old name of a gem” is obviously a conservative var., although Machado incredibly considered it a der. of the name of the Mor. town of Safi, on account, he said, of the >ç< spelling which, however, is the expectable one, in the light of the regular correspondences with Cs. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **zafireo** and **zafirina/o**; Ct.: **safirí**, **safiric** and **safirina**.

**zafión**: see **safanão**.

**zafio**: see **safar**.

**zaf(o)ras**: see **sáfaro**.

**zafra**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Mur.) “oil jar”: < And. *šāfra* < Cl.Ar. *šāfrā* “yellow (fem.)”, as such vessels used to be brazen.

**zafra**<sup>2</sup>: see **azofra**<sup>2</sup>.

**zafra**<sup>3</sup> (Gl.) and **safra** (Pt.) “two-horned anvil”: < And. *zúbra* = Cl.Ar. *zubrah*, although

<sup>1088</sup> Although propounding an untimely and unnecessary contamination with Ar. *šāfi*, triggered by his erroneous opinion about the origin of Cs. **zafio**.

<sup>1089</sup> Some prestigious dictionaries, like Vasmer 1996:III 556, mistakenly uphold the Sk. etymon *šānīpriya* “loved by Saturn; sapphire” for this term, which is a mere folk etymology.

the contamination or allomorph responsible for the vowel shift remains in the dark.

**zafra<sup>4</sup>**: see **saфра**.

**zafarán**: see **açafirão**.

**zafranada**: see **safanão**.

**zafranero**: see **açafirão**.

**zafrar** (Gl.) “to throw”: looks like an Ar. loanword, but it is not easy to come by an etymon. It derives perhaps from a hybrid slangish expression, \**safar-ÁR* “to send away”.<sup>1090</sup>

**zafre** (Cs.), **safre** (Ct.) and **safre/a** (Pt.) “blue dye of cobalt oxide”: is not a var. of **zafiro**, as suggested in former editions of *DRAE*, now corrected, but reflects Neo-Ar. *zahr*, perhaps from Neo-P. *zahr* “poison”, a technical term of the alchemists in the meaning of “dust” at times erroneously rendered by Cs. **flor** “flower” (Ar. *zahr*), as in **flor de azufre** “finest quality sulphur obtained by sublimation”.<sup>1091</sup> Cf. **alquifol**.

**zafrear** and **zafrero**: see **saфра**.

**zaga** (Cs.) and **azaga** (Pt.) “rearguard”, **zaga** (Cs., Gl. and Ast., after García Arias 2006) “rear part” and “closing teams of lumberjacks in rafting shipments” (Anz.), **saga** (Ct. and Pt.) “rearguard; rear part” and “forepart of a carriage” (Anl., with semantic evolution), **z/saga** (Arag.) “single file”: < And. *sāqa* = Cl.Ar. *sāqah* “rear part; rearguard”. From the same origin are **de çaga** or **(a)dezaga** (Arag.) and **azaga** or **dezaga** “behind” (Mur.), **azagón** “fast walk” (Mur., but “toil” in Anz., understandable through the standard Cs. meaning “gait of sheep and goats in single file along the paths”), **zago** (Arag.) “intestine; reticulum, second stomach of a ruminant; row; behind”, **zagüño** (Arag.) “hard pork sausage of poor quality; (air blowing) from below”, **zager(o)** (Arag.) “last”, **asagà** (Arag.) “to walk in a line”, **entasaga** “backwards” (Arag.), **rezagar** “to make lag behind” (Arag.), etc. Cs. **aceguero** “lumberjack who has no tools”, included in *DRAE* very recently, and derived by Coro-

mines from **haz** “bundle”, is prob. a dial. case of vowel assimilation for \***azaguero**, as they could only make some profit by following the steps of the better equipped. This is also the origin of the much disputed **azaguaría** in the Lt. text of the statute law of Daroca, prob. misunderstood from Dozy and Eguílaz down to Fort Cañellas 1994:172 as a corruption of **açaria** (q.v.): in our opinion, the privilege granted to that council, in case of a war campaign, is not being exempt of providing a squadron of horsemen, which was more within the reach of the nobility than of the municipal councils of villeins, but more simply and logically, of providing the rearguard of footsoldiers, who came off worst in case of defeat, not having beasts on which to flee with any chance of survival. By the way, there are also some cases in which **aç/zaria** (q.v.) may be a corruption or confusion for \***açagaria**, as in the text of the statute law of Casada, mentioned by Eguílaz (p. 321), and very similar to that of Daroca, in which the military duty of the Casada villagers is to provide a **quinta** “fifth of the **azaria**”, thereby meaning the whole **zaga**. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **(ar)rezagar** (no metathesis of **arregazar**, *pace* *DRAE*), **azaga(do)r** and **azagón**, **rezaga(nte)**, **rezago**, **zagadero** and **zaguera/o**; Ct.: **assagada**, **assagadell**, **assaga(do)r**, **assegador**, **ressaga(r-se)**, **ressaguer**, **ressagot** and **saguer(a)**.

**zagaia(r)**: see **azagaya**.

**zagal** (Arag., Cs., Gl., Pt. and Ast., after García Arias 2006), **sagal** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.), **ságal** (Arag., prob. erroneously stressed) and **dagal** (Sal., see 1.1.3.2.1) “lad; young shepherd”: < And. *zağáll* “young; brave”, a possibly Sar. non-hypocoristic form of Ar. *zuğlāl* “lad”; a Br. origin (cf. Kab. *izəğğāl* “to get angry”) appears to be less likely. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zagala**, **zagaleja/o**, **zagalesco** and **zagalón**.

**zagaleicas**: see **zabezequia**.

<sup>1090</sup> A cognate, in that case, of **saфра** and **zafra<sup>4</sup>**. Our research on And.Rom., particularly the texts of the *xarajāt*, has unearthed a host of hybrid verbs of this kind, e.g., \*\**duyf*+*ÁR*

“to offer”, \*\**liq*+*ÁR* “to meet”, \*\**hayr*+*ÁR* “to restrict” and \*\**ʿišq*+*ÁR* “to fall in love”: see 1.2.1.2.3.

<sup>1091</sup> See Corriente 1985:153.

**zagaleja/o, zagalesco and zagalón:** see **zagal**.

**zagão** (Pt., with a var. **saguão**) and **zaguán** (Cs., with an old var. **azaguán**, and Gl.): through Cs. in the other languages, < And. \**aṣṣawān* for *isṭawān* < Cl.Ar. *uṣṭuwānah* < Neo-P. *ostovān* “steady”<sup>1092</sup> The meanings of **zaguán** as “cesspool providing manure” (Sal.) and “pond” (Ast., after García Arias 2006), may be jesting semantic evolutions of the standard, but this is questionable. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zaganete**.

**zagaya:** see **azagaya**.

**zago:** see **zaga**.

**zagones and zagóns:** see **zahón**.

**zagua:** see **sosa**.

**zaguán:** see **zagão**.

**zaguanes:** see **zahón**.

**zaganete:** see **zagão**.

**zaguaque** (Cs.) “auction of certain wares”: is an uncommon term, recorded by Eguílaz from Granadan ordinances, indeed derived from And. *sawwāq* “broker; commission merchant”, from the etymon of *açougue*, q.v., of Ak. origin, unrelated to Cl.Ar. *sawwāq* “cattle driver”, from an homophonous root, but of Eg. origin, as is explained in DAA.

**zagüefio and zaguer(a):** see **zaga**.

**zagüía:** see **azulla**.

**zaguín:** see **zaín**.

**zahadadebich:** see **ṣaād addebeth**.

**zahara** (Cs.) “witch”: this hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from Granadan glosses of the 17th c., cannot exactly derive from Ar. *sāḥirah*, as he states, but from its And. synonym *sahhāra*, of the pattern /la22ā3ah/ of nouns of profession and intensive adjectives, a word already documented in the *xarjah* A7. Cf. **saurí**.

**zahareña/o and zahares:** see **sáfaro**.

**zaharí:** see **safaria**.

**zaharrar and zaharro:** see **jaharrar**.

**zaharrón** (Cs.) and **masarró** (Ct.) “clown”, **zafarrón** “a person dressed in a ridiculous way” (Ast., in García Arias 2006:226): < And. \**saxrún*, a hybrid term formed by attaching the Rom. aug. suffix (cf. And. \*\**raqadún* “sleepy” and other examples in AAR 128) to the *maṣdar* of the Cl.Ar. root /sxr/ “to mock”, or perhaps to an intensive adjective \**saxxār* “jester” Ct. appears to derive from the metathetical dial. Cs. **mazarrón**. Intra-Rom. der.: Ast.: **zafar-ronada** “a group of disguised people”

**zahebalbaharia** (Mur.) “command of the coasts”: is a term of which Pocklington 1984:292–293 provides three witnesses, excerpted from documents of the time of Alfonso X, being an intra-Rom. der. from And. *sāhib alabāh* < Cl.Ar. *sāhibu lbaḥr* “commander of the coasts”

**zahén and zahena:** see **cianí**.

**zahína** “porridge” (Cs.): < And. *saxína* = Cl.Ar. *saxīnah*, lit., “warm”, with a semantic evolution. The meaning of “kick” (Sal.) may be due to a jesting metonymy, cf. Pt. **tabefe**. There is no etymological relation with the plant of the same Cs. name, “sorg(h)o (*Sorghum* spp.), of a well-known Lt. etymon, *pace* DRAE, which continues to ignore their semantic difference in its latest edition, caused by a phonetic and orthographic contamination. On the other hand, **ṣahena** in Baena’s *Cancionero*, though sharing that etymon, has evolved semantically to designate a dish of meat, eggs, potatoes, peas and rice, preserved among the Moroccan Jews, with the name of *sxēna*, after Premare, who identifies it with the

<sup>1092</sup> With the shift /st/ > /ss/, after AAR 2.1.4.1.3. Cl.Ar. *uṣṭuwānah* appears to have had not only the meaning of “column”, the one accepted by purists, but also that of “portico” (cf. Rab.Aram. *isṭēwānā* “balcony”), to the displeasure, e.g., of Ibn Hišām Allaxmī, who disavowed the use of *uṣṭuwān* in Al-Andalus in the meaning of “hall” (see Alʿahwānī 1957:16–17). The semantic mix-up appears to have resulted from

a contamination, in the bilingual Arameo-Persian environment of pre-Islamic Mesopotamia, of Pahl. *ōstīgān* “steady”, forerunner of the aforementioned Neo-P. item, by reflexes of Syr. *eṣṭēwā* < Gr. *stoá* “portico” and of Syr. *eṣṭūnā* < Gr. *stýlē* “column”, due to the translation of Gr. *peristyla* as *bēt eṣṭūnē*, or even to contraction of the common idiom *eṣṭūnē d-eṣṭēwā* “portico of columns”.

**adafina**, q.v., and corrects two mistakes in DS, the spelling **\*saxānah** and the statement of its being eaten on Sundays when, in fact, it is the lunch of Saturday, i.e., of the Sabbath.

**zahir**: see **alzahir**.

**zahón** (Cs., generally in pl., **zag/hones**) and **açafões**, **açefões** and **safão** (Pt., borrowed from Cs., but trying to give it a Pt. appearance, generally in pl. **safões**), **sahón**, **zagones**, **zagóns** or **zaguanes** (Arag.), **zajones** (Leo. and Man.), **zanjones** (Mon.), and **orzahoneh** (Ext.) “chaps”: < And **\*saqún**, hybridization of Ar. **sāq** “leg” with the Rom. aug. suffix.<sup>1093</sup> Also García Arias 2006:39 and 228 documents **zahón** as Ast., with the pl. **zahóis** and an interesting backformed var. **zabu**; but we cannot agree with this proposal of an Ar. etymon **\*ṣaḥn** “leathern tablecloth”, a rare word in the Cl.Ar. dictionaries, never documented in And., and clashing with the stress of the original form, **zagón**, exhibiting an intervocalic consonant which followed every possible way in Hispanic Rom.: to simply disappear or to become /b/, /h/ or /x/, even /f/ in Pt. for the peculiar reasons outlined above. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs. **zahonado**.

**zahora** (deverbal noun) and **zahorar** “to have a meal in the middle of the night or before daybreak; to have a banquet” (Cs.): is a hybrid denominative verb, formed on And. **saḥūr** = Cl.Ar. **saḥūr** “light meal before daybreak during Ramadan”, < **saḥar** “dawn” Cf. **saurí**.

**zahoreño**: see **sáforo**.

**zahorí**, **zahoriar**, **zahoril(es)** and **zahurín**: see **saurí**.

**zahuahyl**: is an unassimilated item, in DAX 474, rendered by “hoopoe”, is distorted from Ar. **abāḥil**.<sup>1094</sup>

**zaica**: see **acequia**.

**zaid/ra** (Pt.) “a kind of fly”: might be an Ar. loanword, but the information is insufficient. There is a suspicious likeness with Cs. **zaida** “a kind of heron (Anthropoides virgo)”, prob. < And. **sāyda**<sup>1095</sup> = Cl.Ar. **sayyidah** “lady”, on account of its slender shape. Neither can we exclude Ar. **ṣāḥidah** “angler (fem.)”, although the usual word in And.was **ṣayyāda**, and Pt. **alganaça**, q.v., could further this second hypothesis. However, cf. also **abdarramía**.

**zaina** (Cs. thieves’ cant) “money purse”: perhaps from And. **zāy(yi)na** = Cl.Ar. **zayyinah** “beautiful (fem.)”, or an antonomasia of the fem. of **zaino**, q.v., allusive to the dark colour of leather. The far-fetched High Ger. etymon of DRAE is unlikely.

**zaino** (Cs., Gl. and Pt.): is in fact two different words, with different meanings, although both are Ar. loanwords. Dysyllabic **zaino** “chestnut coloured (horse)”, reflects Ar. **sāḥim**, while trisyllabic **zaino** “hypocrite” (also Ast., in García Arias 2006:228, with the var. **zaguino**, **zainu**, **ceinu** and **ceinu** “traitor, hypocrite”), derives from And. **zahim** “unpleasant”, as we explained in Corriente 1985:154. The two respective etyma of former editions of DRAE, Ar. **\*aṣamm** “deaf” and **\*xāḥin** “traitor”, are unsuitable on both phonetic and semantic grounds, it being noticeable that its latest edition has accepted the etymological and semantic difference, but has not consequently adopted their prosodic differentiation. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **azainamente** and **enzainarse**.

**zaira**: see **zaida**.

**zairagia** (Pt., only in Morais) “Arab divination by means of circles and letters”: < Neo-Ar. **zāyirjah**, < Neo-P. **zāyeyjē** “astrological table” < Pahl. **zāyč(aḡ)** “horoscope”

<sup>1093</sup> In Corriente 1985:154 we first provided the true etymon of this word, not a “vestige of Ibero-Basque”, nor a “Mozarabism”, except in its Rom. suffix, it being curious that it had an And. synonym **siqún** < Cl.Ar. **sīqān** pl. of **sāq** “leg”, recorded by Alcalá.

<sup>1094</sup> See SK 3 and fn. 1, about the semantic

assimilation of this Koranic word, on account of a phonetic similarity, to Rom., concretely Cs. **abubilla**. In a forthcoming article, we explain that enigmatic Koranic passage as a metaphorical reference to catapult missiles used by the people of Mecca against the Ethiopian besiegers.

<sup>1095</sup> An allomorph documented in DAA.

**zajarí:** see **safaria**.

**zajarrar:** see **jaharrar**.

**zajones:** see **zahón**.

**zalá:** see **azalá**.

**zalaca** (Arag.) “large cattle bell”: appears to derive by wrong parsing of a syntagm with the pl. definite article, \***al+s alacas**, < And. *šilāqa* = Cl.Ar. *šilāqah* “hanging object”.<sup>1096</sup> Cf. **alahīlca**.

**zalaco:** see **ceneque**.

**zalama(lé), zalamear, zalamería** and **zalamero:** see **salamaleque**.

**zalamín:** see **celamim**.

**zálamo** “dog muzzle” (Anz. and Ext.), “muzzle for donkeys or camels” (Can.): appears to derive from And. *māzām* = Cl.Ar. *milzām* “wise; holding tool”,<sup>1097</sup> with metathesis and haplology, although another candidate from the same root would be *lāzma* “bit of a bridle”

**zalaque:** see **ceneque**.

**zalea(r)** and **zaleo:** see **salefa**.

**zalema:** see **salamaleque**.

**zaleos:** see **salefa**.

**zallar** (Cs.) “to roll lengthwise and outwards”: appears to be a hybrid denominative verb, formed on And. *zálla* = Cl.Ar. *zallah* “slip, slide”

**zalmedina** (Cs.) and **salmedina** (Ct.) “a magistrate with jurisdiction over delinquency”: < And. *šāḥb almadīna* < Cl.Ar. *šāḥibu lmadīnah* “person in charge of the town”. Intra-Rom. der.: Ct.: **salmedinat**.

**zaloiras:** see **ceroula**.

**zalombo** “wooden jar” (Ast.): in García Arias 2006:230, who pointedly suggests it is a var. of **zalona**. q.v.

**zalona** (Cs.) “large unglazed earthen vessel” and “stewpot for labourers in the fields; vessel for measuring wine” (Anl.), < And. *zanūna*, of unclear origin.

**zamacuco** (Cs.) “brutish or sly man”: the phonetic and semantic identity with Cl.Ar. \***šamakūk** “malicious fool”, observed by

Eguílaz and accepted by DRAE, is almost perfect, but such a structure is uncommon in Neo-Ar. and, not being attested in And., it may well be a mere coincidence. It could simply be a metathesis of **mazacuco**, q.v., similar to the case of **zamarugo**.

**zamarugo:** see **mazarugo**.

**zambac** (Cs.) “field / corn camomile (*Anthemis arvensis*)”: this is the correct reading of the hapax \***zaubac**, recorded by Maíllo 1983:258 from E. de Villena’s *Tratado del Aojamiento*, < Ar. *zanbaq*, < Pahl., reflected by Neo-P. *zanbe*, in no way, as he thinks, a reflex of Ar. \***zīlbaq** “quicksilver”

**zambo** (Cs. and Pt.), **zambu** (Ast., after García Arias), **zambro** (Gl.-Pt.), **zampo** or **chompo** (Arag.) and **chomb/po** or **zombo** “knock-kneed” (Ext.): there have been desperate attempts at deriving this word from Lt. \***strambus** for \***strabus**, without due consideration to the fact that it is not documented before the 16th c., and that in Cs. the meaning “half-Black; half Amerindian” is early attested, a fact observed by Coromines and explained by him, on the authority of Lenz, by some anatomical traits of Blacks, which cannot be disputed. This takes us to And. *asmār* = Cl. Ar. *asmar* and its fem. *sāmra* < Cl.Ar. *samrāl* “dark-skinned”, a common euphemism for Black: this appears to have been, in truth, the original meaning of the Rom. entry, soon followed by the most common one, as a consequence of that anatomical peculiarity, to the point of driving out that first connotation, in a frequent kind of semantic evolution. Therefore, the Gl. and Pt. form would be the most conservative phonetically.

**zamboa:** see **alambor**<sup>2</sup> and **jamboa**.

**zamborotudo** “unripe; turbid; rough” (Anl., “uncouth” in DRAE): this word may derive from And. \***zamruk**,<sup>1098</sup> < Ar. *zāmīr* hybridized with a Rom. pejorative suffix, reflecting the scorn often directed at flute players, whose performances were much less

<sup>1096</sup> See AAR 2.1.1.2.2, about the shift /i/ > /u/ in velar, even pharyngeal contours.

<sup>1097</sup> Sufficiently known to be used metaphorically by IQ 64/2/4.

<sup>1098</sup> About this original shape of the name of the renowned Granadan poet, altered by him as *Zamrak* or *Zumruk*, see Corriente 1990c, fn. 1 and 1983b, fn. 15. Cf. **mazarugo**.

appreciated than those of players of string instruments. It is a moot question whether An. words like **zamborina** “a mollusk like scallops, pecten” and **zamburino** “very long pumpkin of scarce contents” share this same etymon with alternant Rom. suffixes.

**zambra**<sup>1</sup> (Cs. and Pt., only in Morais, prob. borrowed from Cs.) and **sambra** (Ct., borrowed from Cs.) “evening party” and (Arag.) “din”: < And. *zámra*, n.un. of *zámra* = Cl.Ar. *zamr* “flute playing” The Ar. *samrah* suggested by DRAE is not totally impossible, as in And. *sámir* is the comrade of nightly carousal, but it requires some semantic evolution, and does not contain the basic ingredient of those parties, i.e., music. Ct. **sarambeque**.

**zambra**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) “a Moorish boat”: is prob. the result of a contamination of **zabra**, q.v.s.v. **atzaura**, by **zambra**<sup>1</sup>, as the Ar. etymon *\*sammāriyyah* of former editions of DRAE, now corrected, undocumented in the West, is phonetically unsuitable.

**zambro**: see **zambo**.

**zambuco**: see **sambuco**.

**zambujo**, **zambujal**, **zambujeira/o**, **zambulho** and **zambulla/o**: see **acebuche**.

**zamemija**: see **çunuc(e)**.

**zamor**, “sable” (Leo.): is an unassimilated hapax, in LHP 664 and DO 268, < Ar. *sammūr*.

**zamorat** “emerald”: is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 132; see **somorta**.

**zampo**: see **zambo**.

**zana** “injury, damage” (Sal.): is perhaps an evolution of And. *śāṇṣa* “piece of work” which, as in Cs. **faena**, may have pejorative connotations (see DS II 278).

**zanahoria** and **zanahoriate**: see **acenoria**.

**zanca(rrón)**: see **chancla**.

**zandía**: see **sandía**.

**zandra(r)**: see **cándara**.

**zanjones**: see **zahón**.

**zanoria/o**: see **acenoria**.

**zaque** (Cs., Arag., and Ast., after García Arias 2006:230) “small leather bottle”: < And. *záqq* < Cl.Ar. *ziqq*. From the same origin are Cs. **zaca** “leather bottle used by miners” and, with semantic evolution, Ib. **atzaca** “chubby man; boy pretending to be a man”, a metaphor based on some Ar. proverbs about people who are like skins full only of air which lose their shape as soon as that air goes out.<sup>1099</sup> Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zaquear**.

**zaquilada** “horse collar” (Sal.): apparently reflects And. *qiláda* of the same meaning, as is corroborated by Old Ct. **alcalada**, q.v., but its onset has been altered by wrong parsing and agglutination of the definite article in pl., *\*la+s/z alquiladas*. In the meaning of “measure of wheat given to the shepherds”, it is reminiscent of *\*maquiladas*, a der. of standard **maquila**, q.v., but this alteration is hard to explain.

**zaquizamí** (Cs.) “garret; makeshift room; wooden frame of the ceiling”: < And. *śáqq[i] fassamí*, lit., “ceiling in the sky”, documented in Alcalá, alluding to its frailty.

**zarabanda**: see **sarabanda**.

**zarabatana(da)**: see **cerbatana**.

**zarabato**, **zarabitoso** (Sal.) and **zarabeto** “stutterer” (Gl. and Leo.): like Cs. **zarab/gutear** “to entangle”, may stand in some relation with And. *śalbát* “to stutter”, e.g., in Alcalá, which suggest a reflex of an old Sar. causative measure, formed on the Cl.Ar. root {*lbt*}.

**zarabatano**: see **cerbatana**.

**zarabeto** and **zarabitoso**: see **zarabato**.

**zaracat(r)alla**: see **cerracatín**.

**zarach** and **alazarach** “blue-eyed” < Ar. (*al?*)*azraq*. Vázquez & Herrera 1989:72 have both shapes rendered as “(blue) colour of the sky”, but in truth they mean the matching colour adjective and the first item is unduly clipped at its onset.

**zaracha**: see **faracha**.

<sup>1099</sup> See Corriente & Bouzineb 1994:79, N° 993: **Los cortesanos a la puerta del rey son como odres: a quien sopla, se hincha** “Courtiers

at the king’s door are like skins; wherever he blows, there they swell”.

**zaradía, gallina**—"hen of variegated feathers" (Mur. and Anl.): there is a striking phonetic and semantic similarity between this expression and And. *zarád* = Cl.Ar. *zarad* "coat of mail", which would be total if a fem. attributive adjective \**zaradýya* is supposed, but there is no documentation supporting this hypothesis.

**zaradic** (Old Cs.): is an unassimilated hapax, excerpted by Eguílaz from *Libro de la Montería del Rey D. Alfonso XI*, and vaguely explained as a medicament which is diluted in vinegar. It appears to be And. *zardak* < Neo-Ar. *zardaq* < Neo-P. *zardak* "bastard saffron juice" (lit., "little yellow"), mentioned in DS from medical treatises. Cf. **zoradic**.

**zaraffa**: see **azoraba**.

**zaragata**: see **saragata**.

**zaragatero**: see **argatero**.

**zar(a)gatona** and **zaragatoa**: see **saragatona**.

**zaragocí** (Cs. and Arag.) "from Saragossa (particularly said of a kind of plum)": is a gentile with the Rom. Orientalizing suffix of the And. place name *saraqúst/sa* < Lt. *Caesàrēa Augusta*.

**zaragüel, zaragüelle(s)** and **zarajuelle**: see **ceroula**.

**zaraha**: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1719, without an entry of its own, s.v. **tacalquet** "a bird" given as food to falcons, < Ar. *šarrāḫah*, lit., "screamer".<sup>1100</sup>

**zarama**: see **alalme**.

**zaramalla**: see **faramalla**.

**zarambeque**: see **sarambeque**.

**zaranda** (Cs.), **saranda** (Ct.) and **ciranda** (Pt.) "sieve": < And. *saránd* < Neo-P. *sarand*. An intermediate Neo-Ar. is not documented, although it must have existed, while there are

in And. denominal verbs proving the vitality of this word;<sup>1101</sup> the meaning of **zaranda** "pond in a pottery shop" (Ext.) would be a semantic evolution. From the same etymon are **ceranda** "sieve for chick peas" (Bie.), a phonetic var. spread throughout Leon, after Coromines, and indeed documented in Leo., as "sieve", Cs. **zarandajas** "sifting", with Rom. suffixation,<sup>1102</sup> **acerenar** and **assaranan** (Ct.), **zarand(e)ar** (Cs.) and **(a)cirandar** (Pt.) "to sift; to shake; to shove", hybrid verbs with Rom. suffixation. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **zaran-dador, zarandeo, zarandero** and **zarandillo**; Pt.: **acirandagem**.

**zarandalf, palomo**—or **zarándalo** "male dove with black speckles" (Anz.): looks like an Ar. loanword, perhaps a cognate of And. *sándar* "to varnish", but the available information is too scarce.

**zarangüelloh**: see **ceroula**.

**zarapatana, zatán<sup>1</sup>** and **zaratano**: see **cerbatana**.

**z/çararica** "male falcon": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1915, < Ar. *zarārīq*, pl. of *zurraq* (after Möller & Viré 1988:269).

**zatán**: see **saratà**. As for **zatán<sup>3</sup>** "cord factory", dial. Cs. from Segovia, mentioned by Coromines, its etymon cannot yet be ascertained, but his proposal of a derivation from Ar. \*\*\**šarrāḫīn*, based on its Mor. reflex \*\**šarraḫīn*, "street of the cord makers", is unlikely, on account of insurmountable phonetic difficulties for connecting it with **zatán<sup>1</sup>**, even through a contamination.

**zaravatana**: see **cerbatana**.

**zarazas**: see **saraça**.

**zarazo** "half ripe" (Anl., also in DRAE, with the var. **sarazo**): as such a fruit is

<sup>1100</sup> Cf. *šarrāḫ* "peacock", although the context deals with birds smaller than quails, not allowing that identification.

<sup>1101</sup> Vgr., the metathetical verb *sardán* "to sift" and matching reflexive der. *assardán* "to be sifted"; see DAA and additional information in our edition of the materials of *Vocabulista in arabico*, p. 147.

<sup>1102</sup> But **zarandajas** (Arag.) "chitterlings", as shown by its synonymous **acirundaja** (Mur.) and by Leo. **serondayas** "late fruits", < Lt. \*\**sērōtīnus*, is a phonetic contamination by reflexes of this etymon; at least the Mur. traces of the Ar. article would indicate that this phenomenon occurred already in And.Rom.

generally indigestible, there might be a relation with Cs. *zarazas*, and Pt. *saraça*, q.v.

**zarcão**: see *atzarcó*.

**zarcatona**: see *saragatona*.

**zarco** (Pt. and Cs., with the old var. *zarcho*, in GP 131) "light blue (said of eyes)": is a masc. backformed on the fem., < And. *zárqa* < Cl.Ar. *zarqāʾ*. Cf. (ala)*zarach*.

**zarfe** (Arag.) "servant shared by several travellers": might reflect Ar. *šarf* "of (common) use", not witnessed in that connection, although a very normal structure; however, the documentation is insufficient to confirm this possibility or exclude others, e.g., in the roots {*sfr*} "to journey", {*sxr*} "to exploit" and {*srh*} "to let go"

**zargatona**: see *saragatona*.

**zarja**: see *azarja*.

**zaro**: see *jaro*.

**zarocan**: see *atzarcó*.

**zarrabullo**: see *alambor*<sup>1</sup>.

**zarracatín**: see *cerracatín*.

**zarragüelle**: see *ceroula*.

**zarzaganía** (Pt.) "old Indian cotton fabric": is a late borrowing of the 16th c., in connection with the enterprises in the Indian Ocean; however, Cs. had *zarzahán* already in the 15th c., and there is another likely cognate in Mor. *zardxan* "silk embroidered with gold", subsequently said of mod. manufactures of artificial silk and cotton"). All this takes us to Neo-Ar. *zardaxānah* "kind of taffeta", after DS I:585, resulting perhaps from a contamination by much frequent Neo-P. *zardaxāne* "armoury; deposit of cuirasses" of also Neo-P. *\*zardaxān* "golden smoke" or *\*zarad e xāye* "egg pellicle", unattested syntagms as such, but appropriate for a very fine cloth. Cf. *sardone*.

**zarzal**: see *zorzal*.

**zatalí**: see *çatalí*.

**\*\*\*zatara** (Cs.) "raft": this term, recorded by DRAE, is a mere ghost word, as acknowledged in its latest edition, resulting from a bad

reading with >ç< of *\*catara*, < And. *xattāra* "pontoon", a Neo-Ar. n.inst. of the root {*xtr*}, one of its frequent meanings being "to pass" (cf. *alcatrate*). As for its alleged var. *zata*, this is a doubtful hapax, perhaps an error for *\*mozata* < Ar. *musattāh* "a kind of flat-bottomed boat", fitting into the only context, but this can be no more than a guess.

**zatre** (Arag.) "hellebore": although phonetically matching And. *\*\*sāštar* = Cl.Ar. *\*\*saštar*, name of thyme and similar plants, they are very different species, no matter how strange the transferences of signifiers can be. Besides, *zetre*, name of a medicinal herb in High Aragon, casts serious doubts about an Ar. origin.

**zualachén**: see *zabalachén*.

**zauarget**: see *azauarget*.

**zauazouke**: see *zabazoque*.

**zaubac**: see *zanbac*.

**zaura**: see *atzaura*.

**zauril** and **zaurín**: see *saurí*. But *zaurín* "a kind of ash tree" (Mon.) appears to be an Ar. gentilic of a place name hard to identify. The same word means "active, diligent, tireless", in the Arag. of Tarazona, after Gargallo 1985:34, perhaps as a var. of *zabrín*, q.v.

**zavazogado**: see *zabazoque*.

**zavra**: see *atzaura*.

**zayén** and **zayena/s**: see *cianí*.

**zázio** (Pt., used in the Indian Ocean, only in Machado who, as often, does not specify its meaning): perhaps < Ar. *jahāz* "outfit, rig"

**zdayrofe** "limestone": is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1916, given there as Gr., but likelier to be a corruption of Syr. >ʔzdbdlʔws<.<sup>1103</sup>

**zeaja**: see *cegaja*.

**zebaney**: see *azubene*.

**zebech**: see *acibeche*.

**zebedum**: see *alzebd*.

**zebena/ey alacrab**: see *azubene*.

**zebethal bahar** "sea foam":<sup>1104</sup> is an

<sup>1103</sup> "Quicklime", after Payne Smith 1879–1801: 105, prob. corrupted itself from Gr. *ásbestos*, however, the equivalence suggested in DAX with Ar. *cauam*, q.v., for Ar. *ṣawwān*, raises doubts.

<sup>1104</sup> As for the meaning of "halcyon and its net" added by Ruyzes, it can only be due to confusion of that Neo-Ar. syntagm with *zummaǵ almāʾ* "seagull", inaccurately identified with Gr. *alkuōn* "kingfisher".



unassimilated technical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:279, < Neo-Ar. *zabad albaḥr*.

**zebratán:** see *cerbatana*.

**zechema:** see *zukkem*.

**zecilla:** see *acequia*.

**zedoária:** see *cedoaria*.

**zefrar:** see *açafrado*.

**zegrí:** see *cegrí*.

**zehirbeeget:** see *zerbagi*.

**zeitera:** see *aceitera*.

**zeica and zeiqufa:** see *acequia*.

**zéjel** (Cs., and Pt., unduly borrowed from Cs.) “stanzaic poem in And. dialect”: is a very recent learned technical term, a mere copy of its shape in Alcalá, who by chance chose the less frequent and less correct allomorph, instead of the basic And. form *zajál* = Cl.Ar. *zajal*,<sup>1105</sup> which should normally have become Cs. *cejel*, while Pt., following its own habitual spelling norms, should have *zejel*.

**zelazaicas:** see *zabazequia*.

**zelemine:** see *celamin*.

**zema:** see *alzumet*.

**zeman** (Cs.) “time; fortune”: this hapax, retrieved from Lucas Fernández’s *Farsas y Églogas* by Mañillo 1983:301, who rightly considers it as an accidental word, is not, however, in our view, as he thinks, a reflex of Ar. *\*zamān* “age”. Phonetically, because its And. counterpart had *imālah*, and therefore should have been reflected as *\*zemén*, as is demonstrated by the rhymes of the *xarja* H1, mentioned by himself in his second edition of 1998 as witness of this alleged Ar. loan-word;<sup>1106</sup> semantically, because that Ar. word does not have all the meanings of Cs. *tiempo*, most particularly lacking that of “age of a liv-

ing creature”, which he thinks is required by the context (*zagal soy de buen zemán / juro a san / que quizá os agradaré* “I am a lad of the right age, I swear by God, I shall perhaps please you”) and which, as can be checked out in DAA, s.v., neither did And. acquire it by a semantic calque from Rom. In fact, the true etymon appears to be its cognate Hb. *zēmān*, also deriving, like Ar., from Aram. *zēmān*, but phonetically irreproachable, and having, in addition to all the meanings recorded in Ar., those of “luck” and “feast”, etc. Being a quasi-ritual term, it is not strange that this word were known and widely circulated among Jews and converts, and could have been inserted here by the servitude of rhyme, in spite of being so infrequent that it never occurred again in the texts.<sup>1107</sup> Consequently, the lad was not alluding to his age, but to his good luck, on account of his qualities, or to his joyful character.

**zeman and zemenatu:** see *almazane*.

**zemime** (Cs.) “wooden prop”: is a hapax recorded by DE from the technical jargon of carpentry, with an already correct proposal of the And. etymn *zimím* < Cl.Ar. *zimām* “camel halter; holder”. The same etymon, but in the meaning of “ledger”, is reflected in Mur. *azimem(o)* or *azimen* of *Repartimiento de Murcia*, whence Pocklington 1984:268–269 has recorded it, its lesser degree of *imālah* being noteworthy. Cf. *açamar*.

**zenacho and zenalla:** see *cenacho*.

**zendo** (Cs.) “Zend, an Iranian dialect”: through Fr., < Neo-P. *zand* < Pahl. *zand* “commentary”, said of Zoroaster’s book, written in that language.

**ze/ondoco and ciendoco** “trivet” (Nav.):

<sup>1105</sup> About the deep roots of this term in Southern Semitic, see Corriente 1997a: 79, fn. 14, to which we can now refer to the information provided by Militár’ov in his prologue to Májzel’ 1983:15, fn. 18, about triconsonantization of biconsonantal roots by means of the addition of a sonorant (/m/, /n/, /l/ or /r/) or of /ʕ/. The dim. connotation of the Old Semitic suffix /l/ was also mentioned by Fleisch 1961:I 463–5 and Brockelmann 1908:I 402.

<sup>1106</sup> See Corriente 1997a:308–309, 363 fn. 59

and 372. The same conclusions are drawn from Alcalá’s witness, mentioned by Mañillo himself.

<sup>1107</sup> But this hypothesis is again corroborated by its recurrence in Jud.-Sp., marked as a Hebraism by Nehama 1977, although semantically restricted to the meaning of “(past) period”, perhaps by interference of Tr. *\*zaman*, although, on phonetic and semantic grounds, it can be asserted that it is not just one more borrowing from Tr. by Jud.-Sp.

perhaps a hybrid with the Rom. suffix {+ÚK}, of And. *sanád* = Cl.Ar. *sanad* "support"

**zeneque**: see *ceneque*.

**zenit(al)** and **zénite**: see *cénit*.

**zennera**: see *acenia*.

**zenoria**: see *acenoría*.

**zequia**: see *acequia*.

**ze/irbagi**, **ze/irbegi**, **zehirbeeget**, **zirbagiat** and **alzerbeiet** "a dish": is an unasimilated dietary term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989: 280, < Neo-Ar. *zīrbāj(ah)* or *zīrbājiyyah* < Pahl. reflected by Neo-P. *zir bā*, originally, *ā* "cumin porridge", but its description in Al-Manṣūrī includes sugar, almonds and vinegar (see DS I:618).

**zerezeiquia**: see *zabacequia*.

**zero**: see *cero*.

**zerod/la**, **zerolla** and **zerolico**: see *acerola*.

**zerumba** and **zerumbete** (Pt.) "zedoary (Zingiber zerumbet)": through scientific Lt. and Ar, *zarumbah* and *zurunbād*, < Neo-P. *zorombād*.

**zetre**: see *zatre*.

**zetril**: see *acéter*.

**zeuazogado**: see *zabazoque*.

**zeurech**: see *arzanefe*.

**zexegt**: is an unasimilated technical term, from GP 132, corrupted from Neo-Ar. *rāsaxt* "burnt copper".<sup>1108</sup> Cf. *sief ruhaec*.

**ziana/i**: see *cianf*.

**ziclón**: see *chiscellón*.

**zicoleta**: see *acequia*.

**zieca**: see *acequia*.

**ziglón**: see *chiscellón*.

**zigurat** (Cs.) "zigurat, Babylonian temple tower": is a contemporary archaeological term, through Fr., < Ak. *ziqurratu[m]* or *siquurratu*.

**zimbara**: see *címbara*.

**zimia(l)**: see *udimia*.

**zinderch**: see *arzanefe*.

**zingar**: see *azingar*.

**zingav/ue**: see *azingab*.

**zinglón**: see *chiscellón*.

**zipizape**: see *chipichape*.

**zipote**: see *cipote*.

**ziquilón**: see *chiscellón*.

**zirbagi**, **zirbegi** and **zirbagiat**: see *zerbagi*.

**zirbo** (Pt.) "mesentery" (with inflected Lt. var. *zirbus* or *zirbi* in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:52 and 1983:179): < Ar. *īarb*, through hypercorrect scientific Lt. *zirbus*.

**zitrel**: see *acéter*.

**zislón**: see *ciclán*.

**zoa**: see *açuhe*.

**zocani** "play ball and a crooked stick on top": is an unasimilated technical term, in GP 132, < Neo-Ar. *jūkān* < Pahl. *\*čaw(la)gān* "polo stick".<sup>1109</sup> Vázquez 1992b:946 has Cf. *sulegian*, "polo game"; see DS I:235.

**zoco**<sup>1</sup>: see *assoc*.

**zoco**<sup>2</sup>: is an unasimilated technical term, in DAX 82, s.v. *águila*, < Ar. *suqf* "(birds) having a white spot on their heads"

**zofra**: see *azofra*<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>.

**zofra** (Cs.) "carpet": < And. *súfra* = Cl.Ar. *sufrāh*. Cf. *azofra*.

**zofrar**: see *açafrado*.

**zofras**: see *sáfarō*.

**zogoibí** (Cs.) "poor devil": this an unasimilated term, nickname of the last king of Granada, Boabdil, has been transmitted so by historians for centuries, repeating Mármol's error, for And. *\*zūgáybi*, dim. of *\*zūgbi*, still preserved in Mor. *zōgbi*. Otherwise, it is a curious term, prob. reminiscent of the homosexual jargon, as it alludes to the misfortune brought about by the growth of down (And. *zāgh* < Cl.Ar. *zaghāb*) on the face of young catamites, who then lose much of their charm, one of the topics most repeated by some poets.<sup>1110</sup>

**zo(h)a**: see *açuhe*.

<sup>1108</sup> See DAA 207.

<sup>1109</sup> See DAA 314 and MacKenzie 1071:22.

<sup>1110</sup> Not only *qasīdas*, but also stanzaic poems, as can be seen in *xarājāt* like CNI2, in *muwaššah*, and AL2, in *zajal* (see Corriente 1997a: 229 and 261). The malevolence of this nickname, labelling

the unfortunate king as lacking manliness, had not been heretofore noticed, and the same applies to the case of Almanzor's son ʿAbdarrahmān, whose Rom. nickname *Sanchol* was a pun both reminiscent of his Christian ancestry and calling him swine (see DAA 292, fn. 2).

**zoharas:** see **azora**.

**zoína** (Pt.) “harebrained person; prostitute”: although rejected by Machado and Steiger, the opinion launched by DE that it is a reflex of Ar. \**zāniyah* “adulteress” has had some success, although it ignores the first meaning and disregards the abnormal and inexplicable reflex of the diphthong. On the contrary, it would be more reasonable to explain the second meaning as an evolution of “senseless woman” (cf. Ast. **zoilu** “fool” in García Arias 2006:232, a possible phonetic var.), as (a)zoínar precisely means “to make giddy”. A contamination with **zaino**, q.v., suggested by Machado, is not likelier, although he simultaneously considers an onomatopoeic origin too. In truth, the case remains open.

**zoltaní:** see **soltaní**.

**zombo:** see **zambo**.

**zondoco:** see **zendoco**.

**zondjefor:** see **acebre**.

**zonte:** see **cénit**.

**zoradic** “cardamom”: is an unassimilated technical term, in DAX 1917, doubtful to the editors and, in fact, a var. of **zaradic**, q.v.

**zoramen:** see **ala(l)me**.

**zorollo:** see **acerola**.

**zorra(r):** see **jorro** see **sorra**.

**zorzal** (Cs. and P.) “thrush (*Turdus* spp.)” and **zo/arzal** (Arag.) “blackbird”: < And. *zurzál* < Cl.Ar. *zurzūr*, with adoption of the pattern /lu23a4/<sup>1111</sup> and probable contamination by *parzál* “sparrow; bird”, of And.Rom. origin; see DAA 46–47.

**zouazogado:** see **zabazoque**.

**zozeche:** is an unassimilated technical term, in GP 133, < Ar. *zujāj* “glass” < Aram. *zaggāgā* < Ak. *zakakātu*.

**zúa:** see **açud**.

**zuavo** (Cs.) “colonial soldier, whether

Algerian or French”: through Fr. *zouave*, < Algerian Ar. *zwāwī*, gentile of the Br. tribe of *Zwāwa*.<sup>1112</sup>

**zubia** (Cs.) “place to which water flows”: < And. *zúbya* = Cl.Ar. *zubyah*. It is probable that this term was never more than a place name;<sup>1113</sup> the etymon suggested by DRAE, an alleged Cl.Ar. \*\*\**šūšhiyyā*, being a mere error for *šūšbah* “water stream in the middle of sands”, phonetically unsuitable.

**zucarí** “a variety of grape” (Anz.): is not mentioned by And. botanists, but is an obvious reflex of And. *sukkārī* = Cl.Ar. *sukkārī* “sugary”. Cf. **açúcar**.

**zuclería, zuclero and zucrería:** see **açúcar**.

**zuda** “castle or palace of a Muslim governor”: < And. *súdda* = Cl.Ar. *suddah* “gate, grating or threshold of a palace, as symbol of authority”. Cf. **açud**.

**zueleh** “large figs of excellent quality” (Ext.): < And. *suháyli*, gentile of *Suhayl*, presently, Fuengirola, a variety mentioned by several And. botanists.

**zufra:** see **azofra**<sup>2</sup>.

**zukkem or zachema** “common cold”:<sup>1114</sup> is an unassimilated medical term, in Vázquez & Herrera 1989:144–145, < Ar. *zūkām*.

**zulacar and zulaque(ar):** see **azulaque**.

**zulame:** see **ala(l)me**.

**zulema:** see **salema**.

**z/sulla**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) and **sulla** (Ct.) “sulla (*Hedysarum coronarium*)”: < And. *súlla* < Neo-Ar. *su/illah* < Syr. *sellā* “lentil; moss”, known worldwide by its Spanish name or related expressions, e.g., Fr. *sulla* or *sainfoin d’Espagne*, Eng. “soola clover” or “sulla”, It. *sulla* or *sanofiano di Spagna*. It becomes obvious that Lit. *sylla*, considered by Coromines as its etymon, is a mere scientific medieval

<sup>1111</sup> Frequent in And. in quadriconsonantic words, after AAR 2.2.1.1.5.8.

<sup>1112</sup> Mentioned by Ibn Hazm in his *Jamharat unsūb alʿarab* “Repertoire of Ar. lineages” (Hārūn 1963:496 and 501), as Kutamīs, descended from Zuwāwah b. Samjān, some of whose members settled in certain areas of Andalusia.

<sup>1113</sup> This word has contradictory meanings in Cl.Ar., such as “height”, and “ditch used as covert by hunters”, but in And. sources, only the second item is included in the *Leiden Glossary*.

<sup>1114</sup> With a more correct var. **zukkem**, in Vázquez & Herrera 1985b:109.

transcription thereof, although it is even more striking that DRAE upheld Asín's etymon, phonetically and semantically unsuitable Ar. **\*sullaj** "a plant upon which camels pasture", while the plant under consideration is mentioned in *Kitābu Sumdati ḥabīb*, with the spelling >slh<,<sup>1115</sup> studied by himself (p. 181). It has been duly corrected in its latest edition.

**zumaa**: see **açómua**.

**zumaque**: see **sumac**.

**zumbed/ric**: see **azumbedic**.

**zumbre**: see **azumbre**.

**zumeche**: see **çunuc(e)**.

**zumo** (Cs., with the old var. **çumo** in GP 139) "juice": between Gr. *zōmos* and Cs., it appears to have intermediated And. **\*zūm** = Neo-Ar. *zūm*, also witnessed by Alcalá's *zimpí* "small wine", with vowel assimilation, unlike the case of Cs. **zupia** "wine lees; turbid wine". Intra-Rom. der. Cs.: **deszumar**.

**zuna(do)**: see **çuna**.

**zunt**: see **cénit**.

**zupia**: see **zumo**.

**zupo**: see **çipote**.

**zura(ha)men**, **zurame** and **zuramine**: see **alalme**.

**zurraço**: see **surrão**.

**zurriaga/o** (Cs., with the old var. **çurriaga** and **ç/corriaga** in GP 140) and **x/surriaca** (Ct.) "whip, thong": And. *surriyāqa*, shared

with And.Rom., is prob. a pre-Rom. item, also the source of the matching words in Northern Rom. languages. All of them would hark back to Basque *zūra* "beating" (> Cs. **zurra**) and *aga* "stick", connected in the Rom. manner with an interfix /+i+/, not at all surprising in the bilingual area where Cs. was born. While it is true that the **zurriaga** appears to have always been made of leather, a contamination was easy with **zorra** "skin of the flanks" (< Ar. *surrah*), very apt to make leather straps, at the time when forms of punishment became more civilized and lashing came to take the place of often deadly stick beating.<sup>1116</sup> From the same etymon is **azorrage** (Pt.) "whip, thong" Intra-Rom. der. Cs.: **zurriagar** and **zurriagazo**; Ct.: **xurriacada**, **xurriacar** and **xurriaquejar**; Pt.: **azorragada**, **azorragamento** and **azorragar**.

**zurrón**: see **surrão**.

**zurumí** (Cs.) "a variety of grape in Andalusia": prob. < Ar. *jurūmī*, qualifying in Alḥidriṣī such fruits as bananas, pomegranates, figs and grapes, after DS I:188, but neither is its connotation clear, nor do And. botanists mention that variety of grape.

**zutano**: see **ciclano**.

**zut**: see **acimut**.

**zut(e)**: see **açud**.

<sup>1115</sup> Distorted as >salulla< in the Mor. edition, but correctly spelled in mod. Ar. botanical dictionaries like those of Chihabi, Bedevian and Gālib, while DS has an erroneous \*\*\*>salillah<, for Syria and North Africa.

<sup>1116</sup> The Hispanic term would have been the etymon, not the other way around, as we had

first thought, of And. *zaryūt* "to knock down", of *ziryāt* "club" and of Mor. matches *zərwaṭ* and *zərwaṭa*, through a process of metanalysis and substitution of the Rom. suffix /+ĀT/ for /+ĀK/, while the basic semanteme of "stick" is preserved here.

# APPENDIX I: FALSE ARABIC LOANWORDS

**abada** (Cs.) "rhinoceros": its Malay origin, through Pt., is presently well-known, and the Ar. etymon *\*\*wāhidī*, suggested by Eguílaz in his day, is a mere anecdote.

**aberto** (Pt.): Machado's hypothesis explaining the secondary meaning of "tight (colour)" in this adjective ("open") as a semantic calque from Ar. is unconvincing, because that semantic juncture is a logical linguistic universal, shared by Pt. itself in its opposite counterpart, so that **prieto**, originally "tight, closed" has become "black". As for his Tr. quote, *\*\*\*renk acyk*, it must be corrected into *açik renk*.

**adaí** (Pt.) "toothbrush tree (*Salvadora persica*)": so called because its fibrous branches are so used, it is inexplicable why Machado suggests (and Houaiss upholds!) a Cp. item *\*\*\*addahid*, which does not appear to exist.

**albanar** (Cs.) "to rest on": is a poorly documented word, excluded from many dictionaries, e.g., DA and Coromines, and consequently of uncertain etymon, as those suggested, based on Ar. *albinā*? "building" or *albannā*? "builder", are phonetically unsuitable. DRAE considers it as an equivalent of **estribar**, without any further detail; however, the third meaning of this entry, "to hang (a rider) from the stirrup upon falling from the horse", could suggest a derivation of **al vano** "in the gap", without any relation with Ar.

**alacitonar** (Cs.): is a hapax of unclear meaning, found in *Leyes de Moros*, which Gayangos rendered as "to pillory", by positing an Ar. *>ʔstwnh<*, misspelled for *\*\*ustuwānah* "column", and phonetically unsuitable, as detected by Marcos Marín 1969, although the Ar. root */lss/* hesitantly propounded by him cannot solve this crux either.<sup>1</sup> The parallel text of *Llibre de la çuna e xara* (Barceló 1989:73), concerning the punishment of thieves and bandits, omits this item, merely

saying that "the mayor or lord may sentence them to decapitation or gallows or life banishment from that place", while the Cs. text says "he shall be killed or hanged, or **quel alaçitonen** or his hand or foot shall be cut off, or he shall be whipped, or banished" Considering that **alacitonar** in this context appears to be a variety of the death penalty, one is tempted to connect it with Ct. **a l'ast** "on the skewer", which could easily receive an aug. suffix and become a phrase *\*a l'astó(n)*, metonymically said of impaling, an exceedingly cruel punishment, often criticized as barbaric, but reportedly used in those times, by Muslims and Christians alike, for particularly hideous crimes. It is questionable whether that Rom. expression is instead adapted from And. *\*ʕala ástu* "on his behind" because, although there are sporadic cases of impaling in the Islamic West, Maliki jurists condemned it; it appears to have been applied more often in the East, to the point that the matching Tr. term generated **encazucar**, q.v. Cf. **setón**.

**aleja** (Cs.) "shelf": is parallel to Ct. **lleixa**, der. from Lt. *laxāre*, in no way related to Ar. *\*\*luwayḥah* "little board", according to former editions of DRAE, now corrected, for obvious phonetic reasons. Cf. **alaela**.

**alhoja** (Cs.) "lark": is in truth, as Coromines explained, a reflex of Val. *aldixa*, of Lt. origin, absolutely unrelated to Ar. *\*\*alhājj*, "pilgrim", suggested in DE, and extended with the fem. morpheme, *\*\*alhājjah*, as Asín preferred. Such etymon has been long ago eliminated from DRAE; however, it is fair to point out that the present shape of that entry cannot be a consequence of such etyma, as Coromines supposed, since it was already recorded in DA.

**amalgama** (Cs., Ct. and Gl.) and **amál-gama** (Pt.) "amalgam": in our view, Coromines

As a matter of fact, the Cl.Ar. vars. *\*\*lu/il uyt*, closest to the Gr. etymon *lēstēs* "bandit", are

generally rare and unknown in And.

was not right upon disavowing the common opinion deriving this term through Lt. and Ar. (with a readjustment of the syllable sequence to its own patterns), from Gr. *málagma* "poultice". Based on the alleged support of secondary var. like *algalma/na* and *almagala*, in a very artificial manner, he propounds a derivation from the Ar. root *{jmš}* "to gather"; however, such var. are rare and prob. corrupted, and there is no trace of the use of Ar. *\*\*jamāšah* "community, group" in such a technical sense. On the other hand, the Gr. term entered Aram., and is documented, e.g., in Rab. *mālugmā* and Syr. *mālagmā*, the language which was the usual intermediate station of scientific translations from Gr. to Neo-Ar., in which that item appears again (e.g., in *Vocabulista in arabico*, as *laḡmán* "to mix bad and good"), with meanings at time very close to the mod. term. As can be imagined, the loss and massive destruction of treatises on alchemy at the hands of religious fanatics, Muslim and Christian alike, are responsible for the scarcity of links in the chain of witnesses of this term. Of course, the mod. Ar. term *alḡam* "to amalgamate" is an adaptation of the item returned from Europe, as in the case of *\*\*kuhūl* "alcohol", q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: *amalgamación*, *amalgamador* and *amalgamamiento*; Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.: *amalgamar*; Ct.: *amalgamable* and *amalgamació*; Pt. *amalgamação*, *amalgá(ma)mento* and *amalgámico*.

**amusgar** (Cs.) "to flatten back the ears in an aggressive mood": cannot derive, as former editions of DRAE, now corrected, suggested in a display of semantic acrobatics, from Ar. *\*\*mušḡā*, which only means "listened to", but, as Coromines says, from Lt. *\*mussicare* < Lt. *mussāre*.

**andorga** (Cs.) "belly": is perhaps a blending of *pandorga* and (b)*andullo*. As for the proposal of former editions of DRAE, Cl. Ar. *\*\*šunduqah* "low abdomen", it is rare even in the Eastern dictionaries, and absolutely unlikely as an etymon of that entry; it has been corrected in its latest edition, after our proposal.

**andosco** (Cs.) "less than two years old (said of sheep)": its derivation from Ar. *\*\*annuṣqah*

"ring or tie to hold a beast by the neck", a relatively rare Cl.Ar. word, with insurmountable semantic and phonetic difficulties, was one of Asín's etymological blunders, subsequently eliminated by DRAE, but paradoxically not by DCECH. The information provided by this work itself suggests a Lt. or pre-Rom. origin.

**anoque** (Pt.) and **noque** (Cs.) "tanning vat": is not an Ar. loanword as, although an Ar. root *{nqš}* "to dip" does exist, there is no substantive in it with the adequate pattern and meaning, it being clear that Ar. *\*\*nuqāšah* "soaking water", propounded by former edition of DRAE, in an entry now eliminated, is not semantically suitable, nor phonetically apt. Coromines is right upon resorting to a der. of Lt. *naucus*, backformed on the Lt. dim. *\*\*naucilla* or *\*\*nāvīcula* "little ship", transmitted from Ct. *noc* "wooden bowl" to the whole Iberian Peninsula and Morocco, due to the prestige of Ct. tanners.

**anorza** (Cs.): is a var. of *nue(r)za* < Lt. *nōdīa*, which may have had an And.Rom. phase, like many plant names, but in no way can derive from an non-existing And. *\*\*\*šuršān* "vines", as suggested by former editions of DRAE.

**añicos** (Cs.) "bits of a broken object": in truth, derives from Celtic *\*ann-*, as Coromines explains with the support of Gl. *anaco* "piece of bread", but in no way from Ar. *\*\*anniqd*, as suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as that word only means "fragments" in its pl. *\*\*anqād*.

**árganas** and **árguen/fías** (Cs.) "panniers; saddlebag": derives from a dim. of Lt. *angārīa* < Gr. *aggareta* "harness for carrying burdens", according to Coromines' most reasonable proposal, while the Ar. etyma *\*\*alwanyah* and *\*\*\*arquen* suggested by former editions of DRAE for the second and third items deserve no credit, being very rare or even non-existent terms, duly corrected in the latest edition. On the other hand, Coromines did not perceive that *argadells* "packsaddle for burdens" (see *algaderas*) does not belong in this group of words, unlike the cases of Ct. *àrguens*, *arguenell*, etc., although the

semantic similarity may have furthered phonetic contaminations.

**argaña and argaya** (Cs. and Sal.) "beard of wheat grains": Coromines suggested a correct pre-Rom. \**argánna*, in contrast with the phonetically and semantically unsuitable Ar. etymon \*\**algāyah* "end, extreme limit", suggested by former editions of DRAE, duly corrected in the latest.

**argele** (Val.) "dumping area for bits of clay which have not been fired": is a term used by the potters of Manises, with an uncertain written transmission, prob. just Ct. **argiler**, "place where clay abounds", by no means a der. of Ar. \*\**jullah* "dung", as Coromines suggested, for obvious phonetic and semantic reasons.

**arguen/fias**: see **árganas**.

**arrutx** (Ct.) "end of a boat hook": obviously cannot derive from Ar. \*\**zujj* (prob. etymon of Cs. **chuzo**, q.v.), in spite of Coromines's proposal, nor is there any other possible Ar. candidate in sight.

**ataviar** (Cs.) "to adorn; to dress up": does not derive, as propounded in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, through its verbal noun **atavío**, from Ar. *ṣattābī*, name of a fabric (see **atabí**), but from the Gothic etymon *taujan*, propounded by Coromines. Its early adoption by And. is proved by its occurrence in IQ 82/7/4, *kinnatābyāt* "I would dress up", spelled in a way which makes impossible both that Ar. etymon and And. *attaṣbiyya* < Cl.Ar. *taṣbiḥ* "arrangement, disposition", sometimes suggested.

**atequepera** (Pt.) "a kind of pear": is a late Eastern borrowing of the 17th c. but, whatever its etymon, it cannot be Ar. *ḡaḡī* "scented", suggested by DE and Steiger, and approved by Machado, since the needed hybridization is unlikely for that period, context and word structure.

**atona** (Pt. and Cs.) "ewe giving suck to a lamb of another" and (Anl.) "goat which is tied because she flees from her kid": obviously, it is not an Ar. loanword, but it is noteworthy that the first definition, recorded by DRAE, originated a false Ar. etymon propounded by Eguílaz (*dāḡinah*), followed by Steiger 1932:161, and still naively accepted

in our SK. This word was omitted by DA and Coromines.

**azanca** (Cs.) "spring": is a word documented only at the end of the 19th c., of unknown etymon, as Coromines very pointedly rejects that of **azacaya**, q.v., suggested by Eguílaz.

**bagaje** (Cs.) and **bagatje** (Ct.) "baggage": immediately, of course, from Fr. *bagage*, but this word is not at all related, as Asín stated, repeating Eguílaz's error and even inventing an inexistent \*\*\**baqaj*, with Neo-Ar. *buqjah* which, like Tr. *bohça*, appears to reflect Neo-P. *baḡçe* "bundle"

**baño**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "prison for Christian captives in Islamic countries": is a metonymy of **baño**<sup>1</sup>, as Coromines suggested, because one of the first such prisons in Istanbul was a bath house. The derivation from Ar. \*\**hunayyah* "little building", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, is not only phonetically unsuitable, but happens to be usually understood as "little daughter"

**baza** (Cs.) "trick (at cards)": < It. *bazza* "gain", without any relation with Ar. \*\**baz-zah* "stripping of all one has", not "gain obtained in a dispute", as DRAE propounded most fantastically in its former editions, now corrected.

**bernegal** (Cs.) and **ba/ernegal** (Pt.) "wide cup; earthen jar for collecting filtered water": < It. *vernicare*, after Coromines, not from the phonetically unsuitable Ar. \*\**barniyyah* propounded by Eguílaz and DRAE, in its now corrected former editions, it being besides known that its first vowel was labialized in And. (see **albornía**).

**borracha** (Cs.) and **borratxa** (Ct.) "small leather wine bag": its connection with Ar. \*\**miraššah*, etymon of Cs. **almarraja** and Pt. **almarraxa**, q.v., though phonetically possible (cf. **b/massetja** as an example of a similar alternance of the initial labial), is semantically rather questionable, since this utensil is more appropriate for sprinkling than for drinking, but for the very restricted case of the would-be var. **morratxa** (q.v.). As for Coromines' hypothesis of an intermediate form in the

botanical treatise studied by Asín 1943:42,<sup>2</sup> namely, >brālh<, which he would read as \*\*\*BURRAČ+ÉLA, the fact is that our edition and analysis of this passage (Corriente 2000–2001:174, with a reading PORÉLA in connection with Lt. *porrum/s* “leek”, and Bustamante, Corriente & Tilmatine 2004:495, N° 4263) do not allow any such whimsical alteration of the text and interpretation. Our present contention is that the likeliest etymon of this entry is Lt. *burrus* “reddish”, alluding to the effect of intoxication on the drinkers’ face.

**borraja** (Arag. and Cs.) and **borratja** (Ct., with a var. **borraina**) “borage (*Borago officinalis*): obviously, even on phonetic grounds, cannot derive from an alleged Ar. name of this plant, \*\*\*bū šaraq “sudorific”, which Coromines accepted as origin of Lt. *borrago*, -inis, as its flowers were used as such. However, not only those phonetic difficulties, but also the absence of anything by far similar in the Western Ar. botanic glossaries we have seen oblige us to look for an etymon elsewhere. Another feature of this plant, namely, the fuzzy surface of its stems and leaves, which many nap-like filaments which stick to the inside of cooking utensils, suggests a reflex of Lt. *burra*, with a Rom. suffix., as the origin of the Ct., Cs., Arag., and Lt. names.

**borratxa**: see **borracha**.

**botafió** (Ct., with the var. **matafió** and **badafions**, cf. Cs. **guadafiones** “fetterlock” and It. *mat(t)afione*) and **b/matafiol** (Cs.) “gasket”: is an etymological crux, for which Alcalá’s data are of little use, as he did not understand the meaning of Lt. *manicae lineae* in Nebrija’s dictionary, nor that of Cs. **guadafiones**, so that he placed this term next to others meaning “sling” in And., namely, \*\*\*buraybar-ryya and waḍāfa. While Coromines’ hypothetical Gothic etymon is far-fetched, we must

also acknowledge that Malt. *madaxxumi* and It. *mataciú*, even Eg. *batafura* (in Hinds & Badawi 1986:52) do not support our former proposal in DAI, but suggest a technical term coined by seamen of the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea (possibly a Rom. aug. of Lt. *mētaxa* “rope”, of Gr. origin), rather than a metonymy based on the lexicon of camel drivers of Islamic lands.

**busnada** (Ct., used in Maestrazgo) “thunderstorm; squall; tumult”: a derivation from Ar. \*\*\*muznah “cloud giving rain”, with Rom. suffixation, is unlikely, *pace* Coromines, as it is a rare poetical term, in spite of its occurrence in *Vocabulista in arabico*, which is known to include classical items never integrated in the everyday language of Al-Andalus. Besides, there are semantic difficulties, because this Ar. word does not have connotations of quantity or turbulence, and its unexplained phonetic closeness to **busnaga** “fish entrails” only adds to the doubts. It might share the Lt. etymon of **boci** and Cs. **bocina** “trumpet, horn”, assuming an easy orthographic alteration of \***bocinada**.

**cachera** (Cs.) “coarse woollen cloth”: is a word of uncertain etymon, in no way from Ar. \*\*\*qīšrah “bark”, suggested by Eguílaz and former editions of DRAE, now corrected, disregarding phonetic and semantic considerations.

**cala** (Cs. and Pt.) “inlet”: Coromines removed any doubts about the impossibility of an Ar. origin of this apparently pre-Rom. word, although Machado persisted obstinately in that opinion, on account of the phonetic similarity. However, the very rare Ar. \*\*\*kallā? would have had a different phonetic result in Cs. and Ct.

**calancho**: see **galacho**.

<sup>2</sup> A very unreliable book, like all his linguistic works, as we had to explain in Corriente 1999a. The *Kitābu šumlati ṭṭubih fī mašrafati nnabāt*, was first completely edited by Alxaṭṭābī 1990, who must be credited with the identification of its author as the renowned agronomist Abulxayr Alṭiṣṭīlī. However, its critical apparatus is insufficient to assess the at times important textual differences between its two mss., that of the

National Library of Rabat and that of the Academy of History of Madrid. Therefore, we had to embark upon a new critical edition and translation of this work of paramount importance for And. botany as well as for And.Rom., in collaboration with two colleagues of the University of Cadix, J. Bustamante and M. Tilmatine, of which the parts I (Ar. text, 2004) and II (Spanish translation, 2007) are already issued.



**camelote**: see **chamalote**.

**cáncana**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "a species of spider": is a word of uncertain etymon, in no way a der. of Ar. **\*\**ṣankabāl*** "female spider", as suggested in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, a very rare term in the Cl.Ar. dictionaries, and phonetically unsuitable.

**cáncano** (Cs.) "louse": is a word of uncertain etymon, in no way a der. of Ar. **\*\**qamqam***, a would-be sg. of **\*\**qamāqim***, suggested in former editions of DRAE, now corrected, but a very rare term in the Cl.Ar. dictionaries, and phonetically unsuitable.

**cancón** (Cs.) "bogy": the derivation of this word from Lt. **\*\**cacanus*** < Neo-Ar. **\*\**xāqān*** "Turkish chief", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, cannot be accepted, as Coromines says, who derives it from its synonymous **coco**.

**cárab**<sup>2</sup> (Cs.) "screech owl (*Strix aluco*)": is a word of uncertain etymon, as **caráb** in Alcalá (= **qaráb**) is a mere Cs. loanword, and nothing else points to an Ar. origin. Even less reasonable is the derivation suggested by former editions of DRAE of Cs. **cárab**<sup>3</sup> "a breed of hunting dog" to Ar. **\*\**kalb*** "dog".

**caracoa** (Cs.) "rowboat in the Philippines": like the var. **caracora** attributed by some dictionaries to the Molucca Islands, must derive from a Malay-Polynesian dialect, and by no means from an Ar. **\*\**qarqūra***, propounded by DRAE in former editions, now corrected, aiming at **\*\**qurqūr***, from Cypriot Gr. **\*\**kérkouros***, whence also Neo-P. **\*\**qorqur***; not to speak of phonetic difficulties, the seafaring terminology of South Eastern Asia is not usually of Gr. origin.

**carbagé** (Pt.): this seeming hapax was declared by Dalgado as of uncertain meaning, while Machado rendered it as "camel packsaddle" and would derive it from Neo-P. **\*\**kajāb/ve***. However, a cursory examination of the passage reveals at once that this word is nothing else than misspelled Pt. **carruagens** "carriages".

**carcajada** (Cs.) "guffaw": is, of course, an onomatopoeia, which needs not be derived from Ar. **\*\**qahqaha***, as propounded by DRAE in former editions, now corrected.

**catán** (Cs.) and **catana** (Pt.) "cat(t)an, Japanese sword": it is clearly a der. of Japanese **katana**, totally unrelated to Ar., as DRAE propounded in former editions, now corrected.

**cazurro** (Cs.) "taciturn; procacious": is a word of uncertain etymon as, despite a certain phonetic and semantic similarity, there are no And. reflexes of Cl.Ar. **\*\**qadūr*** "unsociable", and the old transcription with >ç< does not tally well with that etymon, suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as Coromines pointedly stated.

**ceje** (Mur., after DRAE) "figwort (*Scrophularia*)": its identity with Ct. **setge** is obvious, not surprisingly in that dialect, strongly influenced by Ct. If nothing else, Fr. **herbe du siège** should have warned Asín against the phonetic and semantic error of suggesting the Ar. etymon **\*\**ṣḥ*** "artemisia", inserted in former editions of DRAE, and now corrected.

**cendolilla** (Cs.) "hare-brained girl": is prob. a distortion of **citollilla**, dim. of **cítola**, q.v., an understandable metaphor. The etymon suggested by Eguílaz y Coromines, Ar. **\*\**sandāl*** "idle", by altering an information of DS in a certain manner, does not really exist, nor is there anything valid of an Ar. origin.

**cha/eira** (Cs.) "blade": its Gl. origin has been proved by Coromines, while the Ar. etymon registered by former editions of DRAE, **\*\**ṣafīrah*** "shoemaker's knife", was just one of Asín's inventions, now corrected in the latest edition.

**chisme** (Cs.) "gossip; trifle": prob. < Lt. **cīmex** "bedbug", in no way from Ar. **\*\**jizn*** "part", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as this item is semantically unsuitable, rather infrequent in the dialects, undocumented in And., and besides, requires an evolution of /j/ which only occurred in Aragon.

**chúmeas** (Pt.) "buttress of a mast": by no means can derive from Ar. **\*\**jāmiṣah***, pace DE, on obvious phonetic grounds. To judge from some nautical meanings of Pt. **chuma-ceira**, semantically close, it would derive from Lt. **plūma**, which has preserved some naval connotations in Pt. and Cs., concretely, "beam or jib of a crane" which when unused

are vertically hoisted along the masts, and may look like buttresses.

**coima**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "mistress": is a word of uncertain etymon, as the one suggested by Eguílaz and former editions of DRAE, \*\*\**quwaymah* "girl", is not acceptable, because it neither exists nor would be phonetically adequate to produce that result. The same applies to **coima**<sup>2</sup> "perquisite received by the keeper of a gambling table", attributed by both sources to the same etymon \*\*\**quwaymah*, which would be now a dim. of *qimah* "price" as, though semantically and theoretically possible this time, its phonetic result would have been different. Both have been corrected in the latest edition of that work.

**coime** (Cs.) "keeper of a gambling table; ruffian": is a word of uncertain etymon, not being acceptable Ar. \*\*\**qālim* "person in charge", *pace* DRAE, which is phonetically unsuitable.

**cunacho** (Cs. of Burgos and Soria) "basket": looks like a pejorative of **cuna**, and cannot be derived, *pace* DRAE, from a non-existent Ar. \*\*\**canách* (for And. *ṣannāč*, see **cenacho**), nor from its alleged Lt. origin \*\*\**canistrum*.

**cursi** (Cs. and Ct.) "affected, corny": the etymon suggested by Coromines, based on Mor. \*\*\**korsi* "chair; bookrest for a Koran" = Cl.Ar. *kursī* "chair", is not semantically convincing, as it is not easy to cover the distance up to the meaning of "an affected person".

**cursiera, silla** — (Arag.) "a kind of saddle": it occurs in contradictory contexts, but considering Fr. *coursier* "courser" and the close relations in matters of horsemanship between both sides of the Pyrenees, it sounds more reasonable to look for an explanation there than in Ar. \*\*\**kursī* "chair", in spite of the semantic temptation of identifying it with a saddle with tall bows, in a way similar to a chair.

**dolama/e** (Cs.) "slight disorder; hidden ailment": would be a der. with Rom. suffixation of **doler** "to hurt", since the would-be Ar. \*\*\**zulāmah*, suggested by Coromines as its etymon does not exist, let alone in And.

**endibia** (Cs.) and **endivia** (Ct. and Pt.) "endive": derives very simply from the Lgr. pronunciation of *entūbia*, pl. of *entūbion*, instead of *intybos*, source also of the Semitic forms (Aram., e.g., Rab. *hīndēbī*, and Ar. *hindibah*, And. *hūdaba*, etc.), which apparently have not influenced Rom. As for Machado's suggestion of a relation with Eg. \*\*\**tybi* "January" (in truth, Cp. *tōbi/e*), it is totally erroneous.

**enjarje** (Cs.) "toothing (in architecture); corbels connecting vault ribs with pillars": < Ct. **enxarxar** "to entangle", while the etymon suggested in former editions of DRAE, based on Ar. \*\*\**xarjah* "exit", is an obvious mistake, now corrected, simultaneously giving its old and mod. value to Cs. >x<.

**escàtil** "fang" (Bal.): Coromines' proposal to derive it from Ar. \*\*\**qātil* "killer", through a remote and unattested antonomasia is not believable. The shape of this word is almost certainly Lt. and, as standard And. renders that word as \*\*\**qánwal*, no doubt a dim. of Lt. *cānis*, a possibility would be an alteration by suffix shift of synonymous *cātūlus*, with agglutination of the masc. Bal. article *es*.

**essacanas** (Pt., only in Machado): the meaning and etymon of this hapax continue to be unclear, there being no solid ground to suggest a derivation of the Ar. root {*skn*}.

**farida** (Maj.) "natural tendency, instinct, said especially of hunting dogs": a derivation from Ar. \*\*\**farīdah* "obligation, duty" is unlikely, on account of the excessive semantic distance, considering that what this Ar. word means is precisely the opposite of instinctive behaviour; neither is the result /i/ before a velar consonant normal. It might be a dissimilation of **flaire** "smell", with a suffix and sonorant dissimilation.

**galacho** (Arag.) "bottom of a valley; dale" and **galatxo** (Ct.) "inlet in a river" would not prob. derive from Ar. \*\*\**xalīj* "gulf, inlet", through suffix metanalysis and substitution, *pace* Coromines, when due consideration is given to the fact that this term, more genuinely Arag. than Ct., originated in the Pyrenees for the description of local features. However, in

the case of the Arag var. **gulicho** and **galitx**, a contamination would have been possible, while Tol. **calancho** "stone cavities in the river where fish hide" appears to be a der. of **cala**, q.v. It is noteworthy that the definition of **galacho** in DRAE, after attributing it to Ar., as "excavation by the flow" is imprecise,<sup>3</sup> while Andolz adds "cave; hideout; shelter" and "deep hole in a river", both omitting the meaning of the most famous **galacho**, in the vicinity of Saragossa, a lagoon resulting from an old meander"

**galayo** (Cs.) "cliff": is a word of uncertain etymon, prob. pre-Rom., as Coromines said, while the Ar. etymon **\*\*qulaylah** "small castle", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, is unsuitable, as shown by the place name Alcolea, its normal reflex.

**galze** (Ct.) "small canal in wood or stone": appears to share the Lt. etymon of Cs. **caz** and **calce**, not needing the contamination posited by Coromines with the Ar. roots {*xrz*} or {*grz*}, semantically remote. Cf. **cauchil**.

**\*\*gamenno** "hell of the Muslims": after Solà-Solà 1964, but it has turned out to be a mere ghost word generated by a bad reading of a passage in *Danza de la Muerte*, for **ca el game non** "in the mosque not..."<sup>4</sup>

**garduña** (Cs.) and **gardunha/o** (Pt.) "beach / pine marten (Martes foina / martes)": the etymon of former editions of DRAE, taken from Eguílaz, Ar. **\*\*qarqadūn** or **\*\*qarqadawn**,<sup>5</sup> is unsuitable, not only on phonetic grounds, but mainly because those are rare Eastern dial. terms, which apparently have not circulated in Al-Andalus. Neither is Coromines's proposal convincing, i.e., to connect the entry with **ardilla** "squirrel", and this with Br. (Kab.) **\*\*agārda** "rat" and And. **\*\*gūrāyra** "badger" (less unlikely than "squirrel"), on account of insurmountable phonetic and semantic diffi-

culties, so that there is presently no chance of an Ar. etymon for this entry.

**gratzem** (Ct. of Tortosa) "name of an unidentified plant": in any case, its derivation, suggested by Coromines, from a blending of **gra** "grain" and **magatzem** "store", is not believable.

**grisgrís** (Cs.) "Moorish amulet": endorsing one of Asín's etymological fancies, DRAE, up to its latest edition, tries to explain this word as a repetition of Ar. **\*\*hīrz**, of the same meaning, in spite of serious phonetic difficulties. Besides, Fr. *gris-gris* "amulet in the West African coast", closely matched by Pt. **gri(s)-gri(s)** (only in Machado), apparently from Yoruba, makes that hypothesis nearly untenable.

**guedre** (Ct.) "a kind of white rose": is a word of the 17th c., in no way derivable from Ar. **\*\*ward** "rose", as has been said since Engelmann, whose *rose de Gueldre* indeed contains a place name, corroborated in a private communication by Prof. Montaner: "Gueldre (in Fr.) or Güeldres (in Cs.) is the name of the former county, then dukedom of Geldern, disputed by Burgundy and France, gained by the former, and incorporated, with the remaining possessions of the House of Austria, to Spanish Flanders, until the triumph of the Reformation and subsequent partition between the United Provinces and the Spanish dominion. That realm is presently divided between the Netherlands and Germany"

**gúmena** (Cs., Ct. and Pt.) "hawser": < Gr. *hēgouménē* "leading or towing (rope)", through the intermediation of languages like It. *gomena* (cf. Malt. *gumna* and Mor. *gomna*), but not, as Coromines proved against Lokotsch and Vidos, through Ar., which also borrowed it with diverse shapes, among which the one documented in And., *jummalīyya*.

<sup>3</sup> That Ar. etymon has been forsaken, but the erroneous meaning has been maintained.

<sup>4</sup> As we explained in Coriente 2006:117–118.

<sup>5</sup> The latest edition of DRAE has abandoned that etymon in favour of a pre-Rom. origin, coinciding here with Moliner. This is difficult to argue either for or against, since so little is known about those old and scarcely documented

languages, but a distinct possibility is that, as in the case of the weasel (see Griffin 1961:111), this other feared predator of small domestic animals received a euphemistic name, perhaps including Cs. **garrido** "handsome" (originally "much talked about") and/or **uña** "claw", which at least might have contaminated a reflex of the Lt. suffix {*-ōneus*}.

**gusla** (Pt.) and **guzla** (Cs. and Pt.) "a musical string instrument": certainly through Fr., from Serbo-Croatian *gusle*,<sup>6</sup> absolutely unrelated to the Tr. term, a mere Ar. loanword, still recorded by Redhouse, but obsolete and missing in most dictionaries, *ğazl* "thread; string", whimsically propounded by Machado.

**hola** (Cs.) "hello!": is an interjection with an expressive and polygenetic phonetic structure, so that the proposal in DRAE of a derivation from Ar. *\*\*\*wallāh* "by God" has long since been almost universally rejected on phonetic and semantic grounds. It has been corrected in the latest edition of that work.

(h)overo (Cs.) "egg coloured": as explained by Coromines, derives from Lt. *fulvus varius*, as Pt. **fouveau** makes impossible the And. etymon *\*\*\*hubīri*, attributive adjective of *\*\*\*hubīra* < Cl.Ar. *\*\*\*hubārā* "bustard", documented by Alcalá and Alonso del Castillo, but only as a mere Arabicized Rom. loanword.

**hucha** (Cs.) "coin bank": it is amazing that DRAE may have declared for decades, until its recent rectification in favour of the Fr. etymon, that its etymon was Tr. *\*\*\*uṣṣa* (*sic*), through Ar., as there is no trace of such a word in either language. The term **hucha** must be definitively considered a false Ar. loanword.

**huelga** "alluvial terrace on the inner side of a meander" (Anz.), "land on the shores of rivers and rivulets" (Anl.): is semantically the same as **arboleja**, q.v., but there are serious phonetic difficulties, not so much on account of the need to presume an occlusive *gīm* (cf. **cofaina**), of which there are examples even in Granadan And., as on account of the syllable structure, because And. only has *\*\*\*walāja*, and not *\*\*\*wālja*, like Mor. Consequently, and without excluding possible contaminations, e.g., by the Celtic term still represented in the place name Las Huelgas, the immediate etymon appears to be that of standard Cs. **huelgo**.<sup>7</sup>

**jácara** (Cs.) "a kind of ballad, music or dance": is prob., after Coromines, a der. of **jácara**, instead of **jaque**<sup>2</sup>, q.v., because those songs were typical of lowlives. The verb *\*\*\*jakkar*, suggested by DRAE, is a mere error for *\*\*\*jākar*, a rare word, non-existent in And.; its latest edition, however, follows our advice. Neither is a derivation from Ar. *\*\*\*šīr* "poetry", propounded by Eguílaz, phonetically possible.

**jayán** (Cs.) "giant": Coromines proved that its true etymon is medieval Fr. *jayant*, and the inanity of the alleged Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE *\*\*\*ḥayyān* "courageous, vital", which has simply never existed; it has been corrected in the latest, although a misprint has crept into the Fr. word, which appears as *\*\*\*jayani*. No need, therefore, to comment the equally fancied Ar. *\*\*\*xayyān*, propounded by Asín.

**jeta**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "snout": is a var. of **seta**, of disputed origin, but in no case derivable from Ar. *\*\*\*xaṭm* of the same meaning, suggested by DRAE, up to its latest edition, for obvious phonetic reasons and considering the old spelling **xeta**.

**jirasa** (Cs.) "fruit of the lac tree": the Ar. etymon *\*\*\*qarāsiyā* (*sic*, for *\*\*\*qarāsiyā* "prunes"), hesitantly attributed by former editions of DRAE to this American fruit is phonetically and semantically unsuitable; it has been eliminated from the latest edition.

**josa** (Cs.) "unfenced property": as shown by Leo. **xosa** and Cs. **llosa** < Lt. (*cohors*) *clausa*, well documented everywhere with normal equivalences, in spite of the semantic evolution concerning the presence or absence of a fence, the Ar. etymon of former editions of DRAE, now corrected, *\*\*\*huššah*, to be corrected as *\*\*\*hušš*, a relatively rare word,<sup>8</sup> is semantically unsuitable and phonetically impossible.

**jota**<sup>8</sup> (Cs.) "potage of spiced greens": is a word of uncertain etymon which, for obvi-

<sup>6</sup> See Vasmer 1996:I 477 s.v. *gusli*, about this genuine Slavic term, derived from the root of the verb "to whistle", and represented in many members of the family, often in the meaning of "fiddle".

<sup>7</sup> From Celtic *ōlca* "fertile field next to a river", after Coromines 1972 I:49.

<sup>8</sup> There is a story proving that it was unknown in And. in Corriente 1997a:183, fn. 90.

ous phonetic reasons, cannot be, *pace* Eguílaz and former editions of DRAE, Ar. **\*\*futtah** "a soup or ragout" (in Neo-Ar. usually **\*\*fattah**). It has been omitted from the latest.

**jurdía** (Cs.) "a kind of net": is a word of uncertain etymon, to be sure not Ar. **\*\*zaradiyya** "coat of mail", suggested by former editions of DRAE, now omitted, as it is documented in Asturias as **xurdia** in the 17th c.

**macabro** (Cs.) "macabre": as explained by Coromines, it does not derive from Ar. **\*\*maqābir** "tombs", after former editions of DRAE, now corrected, but from Fr. (*danse*) **macab(r)é**.

**macamba** (Pt.) "an African tree": in truth, designation of two different plants, "manioc (Manihot esculenta)" and a kind of palm (Typhaene thebaica) but in either case it is phonetically and semantically very risky, and prob. mistaken to give them, as Machado did, the Ar. etymon **\*\*muxammas** "pentagonal", just by supposing that their fruit would have that shape.

**maracha** and **marachão** (Pt.) "dam": in no way can derive from Ar. **\*\*marj** "meadow", the closest real word to the inexistent **\*\*\*marajā**, suggested by Machado.

**marmota**<sup>1</sup> (Cs.) "marmot (Arctomys marmota)": derives from Fr. *marmotte*, not from non-existent Ar. **\*\*\*marbūdah**, suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected.

**marojo** (Cs.) "red berried mistletoe (Viscum cruciatum)": its etymon cannot be, for obvious phonetic reasons, as Coromines propounded s.v. **malo**, Neo-Ar. **\*\*mulūx(iyā)** "Jew's mallow (Corchorus olitorius)", of the Malvaceae, while thae former belongs to the Lorantheae.

**matachín** (Cs.) "clown": obviously from It. *mattaccino*, as Coromines says, and not from the phonetically and semantically impossible etymon suggested by Eguílaz and DRAE **\*\*mutawajjihīn**, which never had any by far suitable meaning.

**mazorral** (Cs., with patent Rom. suffixation, unlike its old var. **ma(n)zorro**, also Mur. **manzorro**, in Gómez Ortún 1991:279) and **mazorro** (Pt.) "uncouth": the Ar. etymon

**\*\*manzūr** "scarce", propounded by Machado, is unlikely, being a rare word, though from a common root, undocumented in And., while there are no traces in either Pt. or Cs. of such a semantic evolution, and the Basque forms mentioned by Coromines with the closest meaning of "stingy" are not necessarily cognate of this entry. Its presence in Gascon suggests that it is not of Ar. origin, unless it reflects some rancorous reminiscences of the Muslim ruler Almanzor, as in the parallel case of **adramán** (q.v.).

**morais** (Pt., only in Morais) "month of August in the Arab calendar": as in the case of **nair**, q.v., it is an absurdity hard to explain and, at any rate, a false Ar. loanword.

**mulato** (Cs. and Gl.) "mulatto": as explained by Coromines, with solid phonetic arguments, derives from **mulo** "mule", and is no allomorph of **muladí**, q.v., as Eguílaz propounded, nor any derivation of its Ar. etymon, as DRAE stated before its latest edition.

**naife** (Cs.) "diamond of top quality": < Fr. *naif*, concretely used in this meaning, after DCECH IV:204, not from Ar. **\*\*nāʾif** "superior", as asserted by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, and still accepted by us in Corriente 1996c.

**nair** (Pt., only in Morais) "11th month of the Arab calendar": as in the case of **morais**, q.v., is a blunder of difficult explanation and a false Ar. loanword.

**naja** (Cs.) in the idiom **salir de**—"to beat it": as explained by Coromines, is a verbal noun of Gipsy **najarse** < *našar* "to go", it being impossible to establish any connection with Cl.Ar. **\*\*nahā** "to go away", as DRAE did in old editions, following Asín's often groundless fancies.

**noca** (Cs.) "common crab (Cancer pagurus)": is a word of uncertain etymon, unlikely to be Ar., being rather characteristic of Gl., documented in Cs. only at the end of the 19th c., and a species very different from any kind of shells; besides, there is no And. reflex of Cl.Ar. **\*\*nāqūr** "hunting horn", suggested by Coromines as its etymon.

**noque**: see **anoque**.

**ojaranzo** (Cs.) "Pontic rhododendron (*Rhododendron ponticum*)": < Lt. *\*olearandēum*, a blending of *\*\*lorandēum* and *\*\*oleandrum*, corrupted from Lt. *rhōdōdendrōn* < Gr. *rodōdendron*, after Coromines. The proposals of former editions of DRAE, *\*\*xarínj* "heath" (only And., < Cl.Ar. *xalanj*) or an non-existent *\*\*\*xabanj*, a mere misprint of the former, are phonetically and semantically unsuitable, and have been corrected in the latest edition of this work.

**orzaga** (Cs.) "orach (*Atriplex halimus*)": is a word of uncertain etymon, of course not the Ar. *\*\*ššāqah*, suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, which was derived from Lt. *\*oxālica*, rather whimsically. There can be no doubt about the derivation of And. *\*\*ššāq(a)* from the Ar. root */ššq/*, but its meaning in Alcalá "black nightshade (*Solanum nigrum*)", is clearly incompatible with that Cs. entry.

**overo**: see **hovero**.

**pataca** (Cs.) "an old coin": is a word of Fr. or It. origin, not Neo-Ar. *abū fāqah*, as propounded in former editions of DRAE, which is only a late folk etymology, "with a window" (see **adague**), alluding to the columns of Hercules, featured in many Spanish coins. That etymon has been eliminated from its latest edition.

**phingites** "stone like a mirror": this unasimilated item, from DAX 897, is in fact a der. of < Gr. *phēggos* "brightness", with the characteristic suffixation of stone names.

**rabera** (Ct. of Valencia and Tortosa) "herd": cannot derive from the pl. *\*\*rabārib* of Ar. *\*\*rabrab* "herd of wild cows or gazelles", an infrequent and rather poetical term, although listed in *Vocabulista in arabico*, together with some similar instances. Besides, the phonetic evolution propounded by Coromines is very questionable, it being striking that he admits the common origin of Cs. **rebaño**, q.v., and Ct. **ramat**, but cannot conceive the much simpler evolution of *\*ramera* to **rabera**, with a mere suffix alternance.

**raqueta** (Cs. and Ct.) "racket": < Fr. *raquette*, which Schmitt 1996 has proven is an

autochthonous word, not a var. of *rachette*, in which indeed there has been metanalysis of a dim. suffix, from Ar. *\*\*rāḥatu lyad* "palm of the hand", through intermediation of medieval anatomical treatises.

**res** (Cs.) and **rês** (Pt.) "head of cattle": as proved by Coromines, against Steiger and Machado's contentions, it cannot derive from Ar. *\*\*raʿs*, but from Lt. *rēs* "property"

**rusma** (Pt.) "depilatory agent containing unslaked lime": cannot derive, as Machado suggests, from an alleged Ar. *\*\*\*rusmah* "mark", which simply does not exist.

**sábalo** (Cs.) "shad (*Alosa vulgaris*)": < Celtic *\*sabōlos*, as reported by Coromines, not from And. *šabal*, as purported by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, a mere Rom. loanword, subsequently spread to North Africa.

**sampaguita** (Cs.) "Arabian / double jasmine (*Jasminum sambac*)": is a Cs. dim. of Tagalog *sampaga*, absolutely unrelated, *pace* former editions of DRAE, now corrected, to Ar. *\*\*zanbaq*, from Pahl. reflected by Neop. *\*\*zanbe*, name of some Liliaceae, not to be mixed up the Oleacea jasmine, although some Ar. botanists, imitating the Western scientific name, call that plant *\*\*yāsamin zanbaqī*, instead of *\*\*full*, its habitual and well-known name.

**sarambeque** (Pt.) and **zarambeque** (Cs.) "a kind of Black music or dance": its derivation from the etymon of Cs. **zambra**, q.v., propounded by Coromines and accepted by Machado, is highly doubtful; neither is its relation to **s/zarabanda** quite clear.

**sarilla** (Cs.) "marjoram (*Majorana hortensis*)": its etymon, common with Fr. *sarriette*, lacks the Ar. phase of **ajedrea**, q.v., *pace* former editions of DRAE, now corrected, as it derives through exclusively Rom. ways from Lt. *sātūrēia*.

**sassafrás** (Pt., prob. borrowed from Cs.) and **sasafrás** (Cs.): from Lt. *saxifrāga*, but the intermediation, suggested by Coromines, of And.Rom. *ŠAXŠAFRÁGA* does not seem possible, nor is a Lt. phase with intermediation of Fr. or It. unlikely.

**segrí** (Cs.) "a silken fabric": the very disparity of material makes impossible a common

origin with **chagrén**, as Coromines himself is aware of.

**sistar** (Val.) "drain with a grate": cannot derive from Ar. **\*\*sītārah** "curtain", nor is a blending with **\*\*mistār** likely. It might be just a peculiar spelling of a der. of Lt. **cista** "basket", because this device is aimed at holding back objects washed away by the stream, which might block up the pipes.

**sonta** (Val.) "lees in a cask": cannot derive from And. **\*\*sūnta** "scourge", it being likelier that it reflect Lt. **sumpta** "chosen; spent", as that is the part of the must which is separated, deposited and finally extracted and dried for certain uses.

**sudā** (Maj.) "discomfort": for obvious phonetic reasons cannot derive from Ar. **\*\*sawdāʾ** "melancholy", because ultima stress in this kind of words did not exist in the West and is very rare in the East for the whole of Neo-Ar. Chances are that it is a parallel of Cs. **sudada** "intense sweat; hard work"

**tabaz** (Pt., only in Morais, as a word used in Mazagan) "wolf": it appears to be an unasimilated word, in any case too corrupted to recognize an Ar. or Br. etymon in it.

**tagaté** (Pt., only in Morais) "caress; flattery": the Ar. etymon **\*\*tagītis** "baptism", suggested by Machado is unlikely and, not being documented before the 19th c., an Ar. loanword is not probable.

**tamarella** (Ct.) "an old low quality fabric": can hardly derive, on phonetic and semantic grounds, *pace* Coromines, from Ar. **\*\*timr**

"rag" A relation with **tamarell**, dial. var. of **tamariu** "tamarisk", of Lt. origin It., would be likelier, if its colour was similar.<sup>9</sup>

**tasquil** (Cs.) "chip of stone": prob. from **tasçar**, not from the alleged Ar. etymon **\*\*taṣqīr**, suggested by former editions of DRAE, now corrected, which does not have the required meaning, nor apparently was used in And.

**tecla** (Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt.) "key of musical instruments and the like": the data mentioned in connection with **tagra**, in spite of their phonetic similarity, do not ensure a common etymon because of their semantic disparity, especially considering that, within the great variety of musical instruments used by the Muslims in the Middle Ages, sometimes imitated in Europe, none of them had keys, a most probably European invention which reached the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 14th c. Consequently, and for the same reasons as in the case of **raqueta**, q.v., it would be logical to give up an Ar. etymon and favour Lt. **thecula**, dim. of Lt. **thēca** < Gr. **thēka** "box", with a half-learned phonetic evolution (cf. Cs. **flor**), possibly due to the church and royal court milieus in which this invention exclusively circulated. However, Coromines' information about the use in the 14th c. of a Pt. **tecla** "trap" or "cage" suggest that the And. der. of Br. might have been contaminated by reflexes of the Lt. item and acquired some of its meanings. Intra-Rom. der: Cs. and Gl.: **teclear** and **tecleo**; Cs., Gl. and Pt.: **teclado**; Ct.: **teclat** and **teclejar**; Pt.: **teclar**.

<sup>9</sup> In this entry also, Coromines mixes up the Rom. dim. fem. suffix **/+ÉLA/** with reflexes of the Ar. name of God, in keeping with a fixation of his which made him find it in several place names (Fondeguilla, Fondarella, Fatarella, Fathilla, etc.; see also the entry **Mutxamel** in DECLC), prob. containing only words with a mere Rom. dim. suffix. He was obsessed with the supposed model of the pr.n. of the last king of Granada, Boabdil (< **\*\*abū Ṣabdillāʾ**), although this was a very different case, being a Cl.Ar. pr.n. in vulgar pronunciation, with aphaeresis and apocope. His misconception might have been generated

by a hurried reading of an article by our late good friend and most knowledgeable colleague Fórneas 1967, who in fact dealt with a case, by no means isolated (see **zamborotudo**), of euphemistic alteration of a nickname, so that a vulgar **\*\*hawt+ÉLA** "small hake", with a Rom. dim. suffix, alternating with **\*PIȘŌȚA**, an obscene double-entendre) became **\*\*hawt allāh** "God's custody. This was, however, sporadic linguistic behaviour, not standard procedure, and does not allow for filling Eastern Spain with "God's inns", "God's markets", etc.

**toca** (Cs. and Ct.), **tokas** (Llt., in an Arag. document) and **touca** (Pt.) "toque": the Hispanic ancestor of this word, \**TÁWKA*, cannot derive from Ar. \**tāq*, of Persian origin, as Coromines suggested and Machado transmitted, nor does its early Hispanic documentation, including Basque, allow of considering Ar. \**tawq* "collar; very wide lapel", which might semantically be extended to a garment which covers the head entirely and, conversely, is the etymon of Arag. **atoque**, q.v. Intra-Rom. der.: Cs.: **tocado(r)**; Ct.: **toquer**, **toqueta** and **entocar**.

**trifera** or **triphera** "an antidote": is an unassimilated pharmaceutical term, from Vázquez & Herrera 1989:273, it being questionable whether there was a phase like that of Neo-Ar. *itrīful*, as it looks like the pl. of Gr. *tripherón* "delicate", precisely Ruyzes' rendering. Cf. **atrípulo**.

**valija** (Cs.) "handbag": < It. *valigia*, of unknown origin. On phonetic and historical grounds, the Cl.Ar. etymon \**walīḥah* "large bag" suggested by Eguílaz and former editions of DRAE, now corrected, is impossible, besides its being a rare word, unknown in Neo-Ar. and in the West.

**xagna** (Ct.) "bird which is a victim of the cuckoo": any Ar. etymon is unlikely, *pace* Coromines.

**xifarrera** (Ct.) "bleariness of the eyes; rubbish": cannot derive from Ar. \**jīfah* "carion", but from the etymon of Cs. **chafarrinar**, which Coromines considers as onomatopoeic.

**xúmenes** (Ct.) "cymbals": by no means can derive, as Coromines suggests, from a hapax of an Eastern edition of the *Thousand and One Nights*, \**šūm* "bronze", strange to standard, Eastern or Western Ar. of any period, which then would have to receive the dual morpheme [+*āni*], something impossible in Neo-Ar., which only uses the oblique form [+*ayni*], always stressed. Chances are that this term be onomatopoeic.

**zapato** (Cs.) "shoe": is a word with a very disputed etymon, likelier to be Hispanic, as this is the only possible origin of And. *s/šappāt* (cf. Basque *zapatu* "to step", apparently autochthonous), in spite of the presence of similar words in Slavic, Turkic and Neo-P.,<sup>10</sup> by sheer coincidence, considering the dated documentation of the Iberian Peninsula. As for the Tr. etymon of DRAE up to its latest edition, \**zabata*, it appears never to have existed.

**zoquete** (Cs.) "short piece of wood": prob. from Celtic \**tsucca*, as Coromines suggested for Arag. **zoca** and Cs. **tocón**, with dim. suffix, which is also valid for **zoqueta** "reapers' wooden glove". The absence in And. of a \**suqāt* "refuse", which besides would clash with phonetic difficulties, favours the Celtic hypothesis, corroborated also by Nav. **zoque** "chopping-board", **zoquete** "brake shoe" and **zueca** "stump".

**zurrapa** (Cs.) "dregs, lee": perhaps from the pre-Rom etymon of **churre**, since the Ar. etymon suggested by former editions of DRAE, now forsaken, \**surāb* "slime" has never existed.

<sup>10</sup> See Vasmer 1996:IV 370, e.g., Russian *čóbot*, Tartar *čabata*, etc.



## APPENDIX II: LIST OF OTHER FOREIGN WORDS

Languages with a script of their own are given in their most habitual system of Lt. transcription, but for some cases in which we have standardized a given grapheme, which is always warned about. The alphabetical order is also the standard Lt. one, disregarding diacritical marks, and not using capitals unless required by the spelling rules of each language. Words preceded by an asterisk are unattested, preceded by two, attested but unrelated to the etymon under discussion, and with three, unattested and unrelated, presumably non-existent.

### 1. AKKADIAN<sup>1</sup>

*abu(m)*: **abaf**.

*ad(d)aru*: **adar**<sup>2</sup>.

*agurru(m)*: **rajola**.

*akkād*: **acadiano**.

*arballu(m)*: **garbell**.

*argamannu(m)*: **arjorán**.

\**ašpu*: **botafió**.

*ašpû*: **alioj**.

*aššur*: **assiriano**.

*bāb ili*: **Babel**.

*bābu(m)*: **babismo**.

*dimašqi*: **damasco**.

*ekallu(m)*: **heical**.

*erēbu šamši*: **agarbarse**.

*gamlu(m)*: **jabalcón**.

*gištu*: **guete**.

\**ilu(m)*: **Alá**.

\**īqu*: **ayocaçoraya**.

*kaldû*: **caldaiço**.

*kalīlu(m)*: **alecrim**.

*kibrītu(m)*: **alcrebite**.

*kuppu*: **alcofa**.

*kussu*: **alcorsí**.

*lurmû*: **romã**.

*marxa/ušu(m)*: **marcasita**.

*maz(z)altu*: **mazal**.

*miksum*: **almaja**.

*mišru(m)*: **maçari**.

*muškēnu(m)*: **mesquí**.

*naṣṣu(m)*: **nafta**.

*ninua*: **ninivita**.

*nurmû*: **romã**.

*patû uznam*: **muftí**.

*puglum*: **fugel**.

*quppu*: **alcofa**.

*šabattu(m)*: **sábado**.

*šaman šammi* and *šam(aš)šammû*: **sésamo**.

*šamīdu(m)*: **acemite**.

*šamšānu*: **sansón**.

*šilīptu(m)*: **acenefa**.

*šiqurratu*: **zigurat**.

*šul(l)û*: **azalá**.

*šumeru(m)*: **sumerio**.

*sūqu(m)*: **açougue**.

*tamkārurum*: **atijara**.

*tikkatum*: **atacar**.

*tinūrurum*: **atanor**.

*turgamānu*: **torcimany**.

\**urubānu*: **albaroque**.

*wašpu*: **botafió**.

<sup>1</sup> In the usual Assyriological transcription, except for >x<, instead of >h<.

*xapiru[m]*: hebreo.

*xurru*: hurrita.

*yašpû*: alioj.

*zakakāu*: zozече.

*zibbatu*: cipote.

*ziqurratu[m]*: zigurat.

## 2. ARABIC<sup>2</sup>

**\*\*a qarbat** (And.): **adarvar, rafec, tanda.**

**āb**: **abai.**

(a)b alḥiss (And.): **belhez.**

ṣabāʔ: **aba<sup>1</sup> and abana.**

**\*\*abab and \*\*abāb**: **abab.**

abšād (And.): 2.1, **¡aba!**

aban (as)sarrāj (And.): **Abencerraje.**

aban rūšd (And.): **averroísmo.**

(a)ban rannān (And.): **albelló.**

abāntuh (And.): **abanto**

abanūs/z (And.) and abanūs: **abenuz.**

abāzīr: **alabeçir.**

ṣabbād: **abadí.**

ṣabbādīn: **abadim.**

abbār: 1.1.4.4.2.

ṣabbās: **abácida.**

ṣabbāsī: **abaci.**

abdāl: **abdal.**

ṣabdallāh: **abdāl.**

ṣabdāl-wād: **abduato.**

ṣabdarrahmān: **adramán.**

\*ṣabdarrahmī (And.): **abdarramia.**

**\*\*ṣabdūs**: **andaluz.**

abḡat: **abgat.**

abhar: **alhabari.**

ṣabidūn: **abadim.**

\*abn awé (And.): **abnue.**

**\*\*abraš**: **barcino.**

ab(u): **belhez.**

**\*\*abū ṣabdillā/ah**: **tamarella.**

\*abu dúš (And.): 2.1, **bodoix.**

abū ḥalaq (Neo-Ar.): **bo(j)alaga.**

(abu) jahrán (And.): **alfar(ah)án.**

\*abu káff (And.): **almocafre.**

abū kalām and abukalīm (And.): **abukalim.**

**\*\*abū kayl**: **aboquel.**

abū qalamūn: 1.3.2, **calamón.**

abu šahmīl (And.): **samamel.**

abū ṭāqah (Neo-Ar.): **pataca** (in Appendix I).

abu ṭaylūn (And.): **abutilón.**

abu zāqq (And.) and abū ziqq: **buzaque.**

ab(u)jad: **abujede.**

**\*\*abulḥasan**: **abulasão.**

\*abulqurūn (And.): **alboquerón.**

\*abulusān: **abulasão.**

abwābu rriq: **babalā.**

**\*\*abzār**: **abacero.**

aččayyāp (And.): **atxeu.**

ačlīč (And.): **aciche.**

šād: **anda.**

ašdād: **dado.**

**\*\*aḡān** (And.) and **\*\*aḡān**: **alidem.**

ṣadanī: **addani.**

ṣaḡārā: **Adara, dedodedama.**

ṣaḡārī/ā: **aladeere.**

aḡaryūn (Neo-Ar.): **adrión.**

**\*\*ṣadasah**: **adaza.**

ṣaḡb: **alhadeb.**

**\*\*ṣadl**: **adul.**

ṣāḡm alfil: 1.1.3.2.1.

ṣāḡm alḥuq: 1.1.3.2.1, 1.3.2.

aḡnab: **dumb.**

ṣaḡrāʔ: **aladra.**

adriyās (Neo-Ar.): **edri.**

<sup>2</sup> In the most usual phonemic transcription, with the following features, for the sake of clarity and economy: >ʔ< (*hamz*) is omitted in word onset, >ʔ<, >x< and >ʃ<, are used instead of >'<, >,<, >h< and >'<. The *hāsu ssakt* is not arbitrarily omitted, as it has phonemic value and is not always automatically retrievable, the assimilation of the /l/ of the article is reflected, as well as vowel length not represented by *matres lectionis*, while we dispense in all cases with bothersome and unnecessary hyphens. In the dialects,

Malt. retains its own spelling, while the others are transcribed as Cl.Ar.; in the case of Naf., for the sake of coherence with our own system, we also follow a strict phonemic system, with three "stable" vowels (/u/, /i/ y /u/) and two "unstable" ones (/a/ and /o/), without thereby prejudging the phonemic status of quantity. However, phonemic stress is transcribed in And. items, instead of quantity, which appears to have disappeared (see SK 60–65).

*Ṣaḍud*: **alhadab**.

*Ṣaḍul* (*Ṣaḍīm*) (And.) and **\*Ṣaḍūl**: **adul**<sup>2</sup>.

*aṢḡūr* (And.): **adul**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*adwār**: **aduar**.

*adwiyat arraʿs* (Neo-Ar.): **alrasium**.

*afād* (And.) and *afād*: **fideu**.

*afāʾ*: fn. 103.

*aṢḡāj*: **alhafagi**.

*afāwīth*: **alefanginas**.

*afṭīmūn* (Neo-Ar.): **ifçimiçin**.

**\*Ṣāṣ(a)** (And.) and **\*Ṣaṣa(ah)**: **algazafán**.

*Ṣaṣī*, pl. *Ṣaṣiyyā*: **afciet**.

*Ṣāṣya* (And.) and *Ṣāṣyah*: 1.3.2, **alafia**, **balafiar**.

*afyūn* (And.) and *afyūn*: **anfião**.

*aḡālūjun*: **agalugem**.

*aḡārr* (And.) and *aḡarr*: **trafalgar**.

*aḡlabī*: **aglabí**.

*aḡbāʾīs* (And.) and *aḡbās*: **habiz**.

*aḡdab*: **alhadab**.

*aḡmaq(u)*: **alamhat**.

*aḡmār* (And.) and *aḡmar*: **alfāambar**, **hamal**.

*aḡrār*: **ahfarar**.

*aḡyā* (And.): **\*alaela**.

*aṣinnah*: **alcama**.

*Ṣāʾīṣah*: **Axa**.

*aṣjamī*: **alagiemí**.

*Ṣajamiyya* (And.) and *Ṣajamiyyah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **aljamia**.

*Ṣajāybi* (And.): **ajevío**.

*aṣmāl*: **alechmel**.

**\*aṣjurr**: **aljør**.

*ājurrah*: 1.1.4.4.2, fn. 103, **rajola**.

*Ṣajuz alʿasad* (Neo-Ar.): **ajuz alaçet**.

*Ṣajwah*: **ajua**.

*Ṣajz*: **alhagiagi**.

*Ṣājz* (And.), *Ṣajz* and **\*Ṣajzān**: **lacazán**.

*akmām* (And.): **fatel**.

*āl naṣṣ* (Neo-Ar.): **elinays**.

*ālā Ṣalima Ṣālamūn*: 2.2, **alimón**.

**\*Ṣala āṣu** (And.): **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).

*Ṣalā bāb allāh* (Neo-Ar.): **babalà**.

*Ṣala+ llul*: 2.2.

*Ṣala* (*lqāma*) (And.) and *Ṣalā lqāmah*: **quema**.

*Ṣala+ nnabí* (And.): **aleleví**.

*Ṣala rraʿs*: **arroz**<sup>2</sup>.

*Ṣala ruʿṣi nnās*: **arroz**<sup>2</sup>.

*Ṣala wújjuh* (And.) and *Ṣalā wajhih*: **aláujo**.

*Ṣalaḡah*: **alafa**.

*alam*: **(al)alem**.

*Ṣalām* (And.) and *Ṣalam*: fn. 4, **alamar**, **alamico**.

*aṢlām*: **alafelem**.

**\*Ṣalamīyya** (And.): **alamia**.

*alandalūs* (And.) and *alʿandalus*: **andaluz**.

*Ṣalās* (And.) and *Ṣalas*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.5, **adaza**.

**\*alʿaṣār**: **alacer**.

*Ṣalaḡah*: **alatha**.

**\*alfúss** (And.): **alfonsim**.

*alḡam*: **amalgama** (in Appendix I).

*alḡiqṭūh*: **higo**.

*alīf bá* (And.): **alibé**.

*al+ʾilāh*: **Alá**.

*Ṣālim*: fn. 77, **álime**, **ulema**.

*Ṣalima Ṣālamūn*: **alimón**.

*Ṣālimah*: **almea**<sup>2</sup>.

*allá(h)* (And.) and *allāh*: 1.1.3.6, **Alá**, **ṣanda allá**, **arco de Santiago**, **babalà**, **bismela**, **faramalha**, **lilaila**, **ojalá**, **olé**, **tamarella**, **tomara**.

*Ṣallāḡah* (Neo-Ar.): **al/rgaderas**.

*allí yiqāṣ* (And.): **annaçr aloeke**.

*almās*: **ademuz**.

*Ṣālme* (Sr. or Eg.): **almea**<sup>2</sup>.

*alpušarra* (And.): **alpujarreño**.

**\*altamáq** (And.): **tamanco**.

*alwāq* (And.): **loco**.

*alyah*: **orlla**.

*Ṣamāl* (And.): **almila**.

*Ṣamālah*: **almila**.

*amām* (And.): **manaman**.

*amán* (And.) and *amān*: **amán**.

*amána* (And.): fn. 95

**>amānka<** (And.): **tamanco**.

**\*Ṣamār**: **alamar**.

*amṣaḡ*: **alamhat**.

*amayrún* (And.): **almeirão**.

*amharbarīs* (Neo-Ar.): **berberís**.

*Ṣamal* (Mor.): **ámel**.

*Ṣāmūl*: **ámel**.

*amún* (And.) and *amūn*: **alamí**.

*āmūn*: **amém**.

*amínq* (And.): **tamanco**.

*amír* (And.) and *amīr*: 1.3.1.2.2, **almirall**, **emir**, **mir**.

*amír almuṣmīn* (And.): **miramamolí**.

*Ṣāmīrī*: **amirí**.

*amīru lbaḡr*: **almirall**, **mirabar**.

*amīru lmuṣmīn*: **miramamolí**.

*amlaj*: èmblico.

*Samun* and *Sam̄m* (And.): **jam/n**.

**\*\*Sam̄mah**: **alema**.

*amr̄fyya*: **alambrilla**.

*Samr̄una* (And.): **ambrona**.

**\*\*Samr̄ūs**: **andaluz**.

*amsā*: 2.1.

*Samūd* (And.) and *Samūd*: **alamud**.

*Samūd aṣṣalīb* (Neo-Ar.): **almud açaleb**.

*amurūsā* (Neo-Ar.): **amoresia**.

*San ḡalik* (And.): **andelgue**.

*San Siwād*: **anigual**.

**\*San naḡiyyīn** (And.): **anequim**.

*San ḡiba(ti nnaṣ / lṣāṭir)*: **atib/ua**.

*ana Ṣāyiz mayya* (Eg.): fn. 99.

*anādir* (And.) and *anādir*: **adil**.

*anāmīl*: **alanamel**.

*Sanāq* and *Sanāq alʿarḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **alanac**.

**\*\*anaysūn ṣaxrī** (And.): **sáfaro**.

*Ṣānbar* (And.) and *Sanbar*: 1.1.4.4.1, **ámbar**.

*anbíq* (And.): **alambí**.

*anbūba* (And.): 1.1.3.1, 1.1.5.1.2, **amboa**.

*andarūn* (Neo-Ar.): **aldaron**.

*andarxā* (Neo-Ar.): **andarach**.

*andulus*: **andaluz**.

*Sanfaḡah*: **alhanfache**.

*anḡiyālūs* (Neo-Ar.): **empialos**.

*anīsān*: **alanicen**.

*anjuḡān*: **anjuão**.

**\*\*Ṣankabāʿ**: **cáncana**<sup>2</sup> (in Appendix I).

*Ṣankabūt*: **alancabut**.

**\*\*\*Ṣannāq**: **anac**.

*Ṣannāz*: **alahannez**.

*Sanqāʿ*: **aanca**.

**\*\*anqāḡ**: **añicos** (in Appendix I).

*Sanqūd* (And.): **jaglón**.

*Sanqūdi* (And.): **ancodi**.

*Ṣānšara* (And.) and *Sanšarah*: **alhansara**.

*anṡākt*: **antoqui**.

*Ṣanz*: **alahanc**.

*anzāl* (And.): **arancel**.

*Sanzarūt*: **anzarote**.

*Ṣaqab*: **alhacab**.

**\*\*aqṣaf**: **gafo**.

*Ṣaqib*: **alachabal**.

*Ṣaḡiq* (And.) and *Ṣaḡīq(ah)*: **aaquic, alaqueca**.

*Ṣaḡīq xalūqī* (Neo-Ar.): **aloque**<sup>1</sup>.

*Ṣaḡīḡah*: **alçoçar**.

*Ṣáql* (And.) and *Ṣaql*: **calilo**.

*aqmīya* (And.): **agumys**.

**\*\*aqráṣ** (And.): **careca**.

*Ṣaqráb* (And.) and *Ṣaqrab*: 1.1.3.1/5, 1.1.4.1, **alacrán**.

**\*\*aqrāt**: **arracada**<sup>1</sup>.

*Ṣarabī* (And.) and *Ṣarabī*: fn. 80, **alárabe, arabí, arbm**.

*Ṣarabīyya* (And.) and *Ṣarabīyyah*: **algarabía**.

*Ṣar(a)būn*: **albaroque**.

*Ṣaraq*: **araque**.

*Ṣaraq alṢarūsah* (Neo-Ar.): **arat araroça**.

*Ṣarṣar*: **arar**.

*Ṣarbūn* (And.): **albaroque**.

*arḡiḡīss* (And.): **archiquez**.

*arḡ*: **tafulla**.

*Ṣárd* (And.) and *Ṣarḡ*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alarde**.

**\*(arḡ) aljazar** (Neo-Ar.): **aljazar**.

*(arḡ) sirt* (Neo-Ar.): **ceyriet**.

*arḡun waṣrah*: **guájár**.

*arḡīs* (And.): **alarguez**.

*Ṣárid* (And.) and *Ṣārid*: **alardó**.

*Ṣárida* (And.) and *Ṣāridah*: 1.1.3.2.1, **alaria**.

*Ṣarīf* (And.) and *Ṣarīf*: **alarife**.

*arī(h)*: **orí**.

*Ṣarīṣ* (And.) and *Ṣarīṣ*: **alarije**.

*áriz* (And.): **alerç**.

**\*arjál** (And.) and *arjal*: **argel**.

*arjuwān*: **arjorán**.

*arkaḡānīs* (Neo-Ar.): **archigenis**.

**\*arkamūsa** (And.): 0.1, **argamussa**.

*armak*: **armahc**.

*arnab*: **arneb**.

*arnabah*: **alarnabet**.

**\*\*arḡá** (And.): **atracar**.

**\*\*\*arquēn**: **árganas** (in Appendix I).

*Ṣarqūb* (And.): **alarchub**.

**\*Ṣarqubīyya** (And.): **agovía**.

*Ṣarquwah suḡā / Ṣuḡyā* (Neo-Ar.): **alharcohet açufle**.

*Ṣarrāda* (And.) and *Ṣarrādah*: **algarrada**.

**>arrāhibāt alkunbāt<** (And.): 1.3.1.1, fn. 102.

**>arruhbān addayr<** (Neo-Ar.): fn. 102.

*arṣ*: **alarje**.

*Ṣarṣ assimāk alʿaṣzal* (Neo-Ar.): **ars**.

*Ṣarṣah*: 1.3.1.1.

*arsāḡ*: **alarsafe**.

**\*\*Ṣarṣah**: **algorza**.

*arṣāḡ* (And.) and *arṣāḡ*: **arrujaque**.

*Ṣarṡanīḡā*: **artanita**.

*Ṣarúd* (And.) and *Ṣarūd*: **alaroz**.

**\*Şarūs: alaroz.**

Şarūsa (And.) and Şarūs(ah): **alaroza.**

āruz(z) (Neo-Ar.): **arròs.**

Şárwa (And.): **alharua.**

árxa (And.) and arx(ah): **arralha.**

arxāqaynūs (Neo-Ar.): **arquintiduz.**

árz (And.) and arz: **alerç.**

Şašā?: **achanamasi.**

Şašā aljabbar: **aaçat elgebar.**

Şašā ašşayāh and Şašāt ašşayāh (And.): **açat açaçayaf.**

aşāb: **etziabar.**

aşābiš alŞađārā / alfatayāt (Neo-Ar.): **dedo-dedama.**

asad: **Denebola.**

Şašāfir: **alhasafir.**

asalah: **alseleti.**

**\*aşamun: zaino.**

Şašā(n): **aça.**

Şašāt aljabbar (And.): **aaçat elgebar.**

**\*aŞšār: alacer.**

asās (And.) and asās: fn. 103, **alacet.**

aşbaḥ: 2.1.

aşbahraj (Neo-Ar.): **ezbenecen.**

**\*aşdād: acirate.**

**\*Şāşf (And.): algazafān.**

**\*aşfaš: safio.**

aşfāl (And. and aşfal: **adazal, alizar.**

aşfār (And.) and aşfar: **açafrar and yacoth alaazfor.**

aşfār: **alasar and alaffar.**

aşfidabāj (Neo-Ar.): **alasıfıdbagiat.**

aşfidāj (Neo-Ar.): **asıfıdegi.**

Şaşfūr (And.): 1.1.5.3.1, **alaçor.**

aşhāb (And.) and aşhab: 0.1, 1.1.3.1, fn. 33, 1.2.1.3.2, **alazān.**

aşhāb (And.) and aşhab: **jabado.**

aşhāb (Has.): **alazān.**

aşīb: **etziabar.**

aşir: 1.3.1.1, fn. 103.

Şaşir (And.) and Şaşir: **alacer.**

aşirr (And.): fn. 55, **acirrar.**

Şaşıyya (And.) and Şaşıyyah: **alaxia.**

Şaskar(i): **áscar.**

**\*aşl: sarrafaçal.**

asmār (And.) and asmar: **zambo.**

asnān: **senan.**

asnān alḥilm (Neo-Ar.): **alha(l)m.**

aşqām: **ascham.**

Şaşr: **hacer.**

aşrafi (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.5.3.3, **seraffin<sup>2</sup>.**

**\*aşşahwān (And.): xona.**

**\*assannārya (And.): acenoria.**

assardān (And.): **zaranda.**

**\*assawān (And.): zagão.**

aşşu kīn (And.): **majuguín.**

Şaşşūna (And.): **xona.**

aşī (And.): **alacitonar (in Appendix I).**

ást/sija: 1.1.5.1.3.

Şaşūr (And.) and Şaşūr: **alajor.**

aswad: **ciçuhet.**

aswad sālix: **açuathealic.**

atābil (And.): **atifells.**

aţāfil (And.) aţāfi / aţāfin: **atifells.**

atāmum (And.) and atamum: **atamar.**

atāmum allāh (And.): **tomara.**

aţānāsiyā (Neo-Ar.): **athanas(s)ia.**

Şaşas: **(h)athas.**

Şātī (Neo-Ar.): **elati.**

atīfil (And.): 1.2.1.2.2, **atifells.**

Şāpil: **adil.**

aţlāq (And.) and aţlaq: **atalaque.**

aţlas: **atalá.**

aţmād (And.): **antimoni.**

**\*aţqāl and \*\*\*aţqāl: tegual.**

aţraf (And.): **trafalmejas.**

atrakkān (And.): **trancas.**

atraqqā (And.): **atracar.**

aţríyya (And.): **aletría.**

Şattābi (And.), Şattābī and Şattābiyyah: **atabi,**

**ataviar (in Appendix I).**

aţţanjār (And.): **dansar.**

Şattāq (And.) and Şattaq: **maticarse.**

Şaţfār (And.) and Şaţfār: **alatar.**

Şattūd: **ala(a)yoc.**

awšā and awš+ayyāk: **¡agua!**

awābid and awāʔiyid: **acedes.**

Şawāʔiq: **alahoeyt.**

Şawār and Şawāriyyah (Neo-Ar.): **avaria.**

āwīl alxāyī (And.): **auyl alhaid.**

awj: **auge.**

awkār (And.) and awkār: **algueras.**

awlād addibāš (Neo-Ar.): **aulet aziuah.**

awlād alğizlān (Neo-Ar.): **auled alguizlen.**

**\*Şawrah: cotxó.**

awrī(h) (And.): 2.2, **orí.**

awrī li (And.): **aburrisle.**

Şawwāʔ: **alao/u/ve and albece.**

awwalu lxayī: **auyl alhaid.**

axdaşayn (Neo-Ar.): **alachdain.**

*āxir annāhr* (And.) and *āxir annahr* (Neo-Ar.):

1.1.3.4, **Achernar, aher annahr.**

*axlāmā* (And.): **caaclaman.**

*axmaš:* **achmas.**

*āya* (And.) and *āyah:* **aleya.**

*ašyān:* fn. 77, **aiā.**

*āyatu llāh:* **ayatolā.**

*āyib* (And.) and *āyib:* **aleive.**

*āyl* (And.): **cil.**

*aymān* (And.) and *aymān* (pl.): **alaima.**

*āyān:* **aayn.**

*\*āyān* (And.) and *āyān:* fn. 77, **aiā** and **ainea.**

*\*āyān aššabāka* (And.): **ainea.**

*āyān:* **lelilī.**

*\*āyānīya* (And.): 0.1, **ainea.**

*ayrun fī hiri ummik:* **herre.**

*āyāša* (And.): **Axa.**

*āyāša qāndiša* (Mor.): **Algol.**

*āyā* (And.): **aya.**

*āyāk* (And.): **ayec.**

*āyār* (Neo-Ar.): **ayar.**

*āyil:* **cil.**

*āyāyūq* (*ayurayyā*): **ala(a)yoc.**

*āzab:* **abab.**

*\*āzāh* (And.) and *\*āzāh:* **safar.**

*azāmna* (And.) and *azimma*, pl. of *zimām*  
and *zimām*, q.v.

*azankān* (Neo-Ar.): **azangan.**

*\*āzār:* **alazān.**

*āzār* (And.): **jaro.**

*āzāf:* **algaz.**

*āzār aqāqīb* (Neo-Ar.): **adfar.**

*āzām:* **adul.**

*āzāmāh* (Neo-Ar.): **gasama.**

*āzām alfil* (And.): **marfil.**

*āzām alhuqq* (Neo-Ar.): **amaluc.**

*āzām nardī* (Neo-Ar.): **nerdi.**

*āzāmu lfīl:* **marfil.**

*āzraq:* **aladroc.**

*\*bāš:* **aba<sup>3</sup>.**

*bāšād* (And.): **agua, aleleví.**

*bāšāra* (And.): **albarā<sup>3</sup>.**

*bāb:* **babismo, bagibabo.**

*bāb albaqār / albaqqāra* (And.) and *bāb  
albaqār / \*albaqarah* (Neo-Ar.): 1.3.2,  
**albacar.**

*bāb allāh* (Neo-Ar.): 1.3.2, **babalā.**

*babāyr* (And.): **babatel.**

*babbagā:* **papagai.**

*bābūj* (Neo-Ar.): **babucha.**

*\*\*\*babūs:* **babucha.**

*baḏ:* **badar.**

*bāḏša* (And.) and *baḏšah:* 1.1.3.2.1, fn. 28,  
**badal<sup>2</sup>.**

*badal:* **abdal.**

*badān* (And.) and *badan(ah):* **albadena,  
badān.**

*bādarānuwayh* (Neo-Ar.): **bedarangi.**

*bādaward:* **betzoar.**

*badawī:* **beduīno.**

*\*bāḏlīlah:* **badal<sup>2</sup>.**

*bāḏjāna* (And.) and *bāḏjānah:* 1.1.3.2.2,  
1.3.1.2.1, **albargina.**

*bāḏiḥḥnān* (Neo-Ar.): **albeasan.**

*bāḏizahr:* **betzoar.**

*baḏr:* **albadara.**

*bāḏra* (And.): **albatara.**

*\*\*baḏraqah:* **rafeca.**

*badru lmulūk:* **Cotamaluco.**

*baḏi(ah)* (Neo-Ar.): **bófeta.**

*bāḡaziyyah:* **bocací.**

*baḡdād:* 1.1.4.4, **baldaqú.**

*baḡdād:* fn. 81, **bordate.**

*bāḡr* (And.): **bagra.**

*bahār:* **albihar.**

*bahaḥ* (Neo-Ar.): **albbeth.**

*bahāʾullāh:* **behaísmo.**

*bahí* (And.) and *bahī:* **albahío.**

*bahūmah:* 1.3.1.1.

*bahlūl* (And.): **ababol.**

*bahr:* **baharimiento.**

*bāhr* (And.) and *bahr:* **albafar, alboaire,  
albufera.**

*bahramān* (Neo-Ar.): **barharan.**

*bahrī* (And.) and *bahrī:* 1.1.3.5, **bafari.**

*bahī(ah)* (Neo-Ar.): **elbehta.**

*bāʾit:* **albait.**

*bak(a)rah:* **albacara<sup>2</sup>.**

*bakkāra* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **albacara<sup>2</sup>.**

*bākūr* (And.) and *bākūr:* **bácoro.**

*bakūra* (And.) and *bākūrah:* 1.1.4.1, **albacora.**

*bāʾl* (And.) and *bāʾl:* 1.1.3.2.2, **albaialde,  
albal, bayal.**

*balāʾí* (And.) and *balāʾ:* **embelecar.**

*\*\*\*balād* (And.) and *\*\*\*balad:* **albala.**

*baladī* (And.) and *baladī:* 1.2.1.2.1, **baladí.**

*balāšfya* (And.): **balafiar.**

*balahiyyah:* **albalchie.**

*balānsiya:* 1.1.3.2.

**\*\*balansiyyah:** 1.1.3.2.2, **melancia**.  
*balāṭ* and *balāṭi* (And.) and *balāṭ:* **balate**<sup>1</sup>.  
*balāwī:* **bezebekaury**.  
*balaxš* and *balaxš:* **balaix**.  
*baldaṭ aṣṣaṣ* (Neo-Ar.): **beldet atahlib**.  
*balḥāṣ* (And.): **abafir**.  
*balḥurriyya* (And.): **balhurria**.  
*balī* (And.): **embelecar**.  
*baṣlī* (And.): **albarra**.  
*bāliḡīn:* **albelagin**.  
**\*\*baliq:** **embelecar**.  
*ballāṣah* and **\*\*ballūṣah:** **albelló, algeroz**.  
*ballūri* (And.): 1.1.5.2.  
*ballūta* (And.) and *ballūtah:* 1.1.5.2, **bellota**.  
*balmaṣ* (And.): **belmez**.  
*balqanāṣa* (And.): **balquena**.  
**\*\*bālūṣah:** **albelló, algeroz**.  
**\*bambūh:** **bambú**.  
*bān:* **ben**.  
*banafṣaj:* **benefe**.  
*banasī* (And.): **fenecí**.  
*banāt allayl:* **benat noctis**.  
*banāt annaṣṣ alkubrā / aṣṣuḡrā* (Neo-Ar.):  
**benet nays alcubra / açogra**.  
*bānd* (And.) and *band:* **albaneyra**.  
*bandūra* (And.): **mandora**.  
*banī* (Neo-Ar.): **U/Ba/eni**.  
*banī f.r.xān* (Neo-Ar.): **farfā**.  
*banīqa* (And.) and *banīqah:* **albaneca**.  
*bannālī* (And.) and *bannāl:* 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.2,  
**albanar** (in Appendix I), **albanel**.  
*(bānt al)kārm* (And.): **cáramo**.  
*banū llaṣfar:* **alacfar**.  
*banū naṣr:* **nazarita**.  
**\*\*\*baqaj:** **bagaje** (in Appendix I).  
*baqār* (And.) and *baqar(ah):* **albacar**.  
*baqarī* (And.) and *baqarī:* **vacarí**.  
**\*\*baqbāq:** **redoma**.  
*bāqillā:* **bachela**.  
**\*\*baqīt sāqa** (And.): **lissaga**.  
*baqīyya* (And.) and *baqīyyah:* 1.2.1.2.2, **alba-  
quía**.  
**\*\*baqlah yahūdīyyah** (Neo-Ar.): **\*\*judía**.  
**\*\*baqlāwah** (Neo-Ar.): **losange**.  
*baqqāl* (Neo-Ar.): **bacal**.  
*baqqāra* (And.): fn. 76, **albacar**.  
*barā* (And.) and *barāʔah:* **albarā**.  
**\*\*barābir:** **berber**.  
*barābix:* **albarauach**.  
*baṣrah:* **albará**<sup>3</sup>.

*barāh* (And.) and *barāh:* **albala**.  
*barahman:* **bracmán**.  
*bārāka* (Mor.) and *barakah:* **baraca, bartola**.  
*barām:* **baran**.  
**\*\*barānī:** **borracha** (in Appendix I).  
*barārīj* (And.): **lagaliga**.  
*barāš* (And.) and *baraš:* **albará**<sup>2</sup>.  
**\*\*\*barāz:** **albará**<sup>3</sup>.  
*barbar:* **berber**.  
*barbarīs* (Neo-Ar.): **berberís**.  
*barbarīyyah:* **berberia**.  
*barbax:* **barbach(i)**.  
*barčilla* (And.): **barchilla**.  
*barčiloni* (And.): fn. 81, **barchilón**.  
*bārdaṣa* (And.) and *bardaṣah:* **albarda**.  
*bardaj:* **bardacha**.  
*bardān* (And.) and *bardān:* **albardà**.  
*barḡawn* (And.): **albardón**.  
*bardī* (And.) and *bardī:* **albardim, barcino**.  
*bārḡa* (And.): **barraca**.  
*barḡa:* **marrar**.  
**\*barhamīyyīn** (And.): **bracmán**.  
*bārīṭūn* (Neo-Ar.): **beritharium**.  
*bārka* (And.): **abarcón**.  
*barkāni* (And.) and *barkānī* (Neo-Ar.): **bar-  
ragán**<sup>2</sup>.  
*barmahāt* (Eg.): **pharimithi**.  
*barīyyah:* 1.3.1.2.1, **albornía, bernegal** (in  
Appendix I), **borracha** (in Appendix I).  
**\*barnūs** (And.) and *barnuz* (Malt.): **albornoz**.  
*barḡuq* (And.): 1.1.4.4.1, 1.1.5.2, 1.1.5.3.3,  
**abercoc**.  
**\*barrāda** (And.): **albarrada**<sup>1</sup>.  
*barrāda* (And.) and *barrādah:* **albarrada**<sup>2</sup>.  
*barrāḥ* (And.): **barrasta**.  
**\*barrāka** (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **barraca**.  
*barrakāni* (And.): **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.  
*barrāni* (And.) and *barrānī:* **albarra**.  
*bārī* (And.) and *barrī* (Neo-Ar.): 1.2.1.2.1,  
**albarra**.  
*barrīna:* **verruma**.  
*barrīzq* (And.): **risc**.  
*barrūfqa* (And.): **abarrucarse**.  
**\*barrūma:** **verruma**.  
*baršāṭus ḥāmīl raṣ alḡūl* (Neo-Ar.): **barseus**.  
**\*\*\*barš:** **barcino**.  
*bārīṭūs* (Neo-Ar.): **beditus**.  
*bārūd:* **berut**.  
*bās:* **buz**.  
*bāšā* (Neo-Ar.): **pachá**.

- bāša/iq*: **bexich**.  
*başbaş*: **pizpirita**.  
*başīdak* (Neo-Ar.): **albegiendach**.  
*basīf* (And.) and *basīf*: **albacetense**.  
*başrī*: **bazli**.  
*bastināča* (And.): **bisnaga**.  
*bařalyaws*: **badajocense**.  
*\*bařān* (And.): **batan**.  
*bařāna* (And.): **badana**.  
*bařārix* (Eg.): **botarga**.  
*bařīha* (And.) and *bařīhah*: **batea**.  
*bāřil* (And.) and *bāřil(an)*: **balde**.  
*bařīn* (And.) and *bařīn*: 1.3.1.2.1, **albadén**.  
*bāřiyah*: **betya** and **batea**.  
*\*\*\*bāřiya*: **batea**.  
*bařlī* (And.): 1.2.1.2.1.  
*bāřn* (And.) and *bařn*: **abatanar**, **baltra**.  
*bařn alhūr*: **bathnalhoth**.  
*\*\*batt*: **bata**.  
*bařt(ah)*: **pato**.  
*bařah yusrā* (Neo-Ar.): **alesere**.  
*bařāl* (And.) and *bařāl*: **batalero**.  
*bařān* (And.): **batan**.  
*bařāqa* (And.): **batacazo**.  
*bařarjīs* (And.): **rassa**.  
*bařāř* (And.) and *bařāřah* (Neo-Ar.): **patache**.  
*battīyyah*: **betya**.  
*bařīxa* (And.): 1.1.3.4, **albudeca**.  
*\*\*bařūd*: fn. 43, **nora**.  
*\*\*bařūd/yā* (And.) and *bařūdāh*: **ventifarde**.  
*bawārid*: **buared**.  
*\*\*bawd* (And.): fn. 43, **nora**.  
*bawl*: **baul**.  
*bawraq* (Neo-Ar.): **aurac**.  
*baws*: **buz**.  
*baxūr* (And.) and *baxūr*: fn. 4, 1.1.5.1.1, **albahor**, **alcohol**.  
*bayād* (And.) and *bayād(u llarđ)*: 1.1.3.3, **albalalde**.  
*bayd*: **albayt**.  
*báyda* (And.) and *baydā?*: 1.1.2.1, **albaida**.  
*báyda* (And.) and *baydah*: 1.1.3.2.1, 2.2, **albare**, **baída**.  
*báyqa* (And.): **rebalbica**.  
*báyť alnā* (And.): **beta(l)mé**.  
*báyť alnāl*: **vetamel**.  
*bayť ařābiq* (Neo-Ar.): **tabuco**.  
*báyťar* or *bayťar* (And.) and *bayťar*: 1.1.2.1, **albaitar**.  
*bayťu lmā?*: **beta(l)mé**.  
*bayťu lmāl*: **vetamel**.  
*bayťasa* (And.): 1.1.3.3.  
*\*\*bāz alfanak*: **alfaneque**.  
*\*bāz ařřāx* (And.): **sáfar**.  
*bazāhr* (And.) and *bāzahr*: **betzoar**.  
*bazārah*: **albatara**.  
*bazarjalť* (Neo-Ar.): **alberc/zachali**.  
*bazl*: **(al)bezel**.  
*bazr* and *bazrā?*: **albatara**.  
*bazr(ah)*: **albadara**.  
*bazraqařūnā*: **saragatona**.  
*bāzz* (And.) and *bazz*: **albaz**.  
*\*bāzz alkayd*: **bezaquid**.  
*\*\*bazzah*: **baza** (in Appendix I).  
*bazzār*: **Bazzara**.  
*bdu* (Mor.): **farra**.  
*bədwī* (Naf.): **beduíno**.  
*bəłga* (Mor.): **alpargata**.  
*bəllāťi* (Mor.): **balate**.  
*bəlmiz* (Mor.): **belmez**.  
*bənī mārīn* (Naf.): **belamarim**.  
*bərbər* (Naf.): 1.1.5.4, **berber**.  
*bərbəryya* (Naf.): **berberia**.  
*bərraka* (Mor.): **barraca**.  
*bəzzāf* (Mor.): **betzef**.  
*bğit alma* (Mor.): fn. 99.  
*bidírra* (And.) and *bidirrah*: 2.2, **bederre**.  
*bidūn nuřās* (Neo-Ar.): **bedunaz**.  
*\*bidūř* (And.): **bodoix**.  
*bihār* (And.): **albihar**.  
*\*bījīn* (And.): **alpechim**.  
*bilā hurřiya* (And.) and *bilā hurřiyah*: 2.2, **balhurria**.  
*bila máyz* (And.): **velmez**.  
*(bilād) alħabařah*: **abexi**.  
*bilādu ssūdān*: **sudanés**.  
*bilřāřiyah*: **balafiar**.  
*biljizāf*: **betzef**.  
*billāwr* and *billāwri* (And.) and *billawr* and *billawri*: **abalorio**.  
*\*\*binā?*: **albanar** (in Appendix I).  
*bint alkarm* (Neo-Ar.): fn. 107, **cáramo**.  
*\*bin[i] řarđa* and *\*\*bin[i] wardān* (And.): **ventifarde**.  
*biranj*: **alberengi**.  
*\*\*birāz*: **albará**<sup>3</sup>.  
*birbah* (Neo-Ar.): **barbe**.  
*birđawn*: **albardón**.  
*birka* (And.) and *birkah*: **abarcón**, **alberca**.  
*birnū* (And.): **neblí**.



*bírníyya* (And.): 1.3.1.2.1, **albernia**.

*birraḥq*: **barrasta**

*birrí* (And.): **albar**.

*birrufqah*: **abarrucarse**.

*birsām*: **birseme**.

**\*\*bišārah**: **albíxeres**.

*bisāṭ*: **bizath**.

**\*\*bišbās ṣaxrí** (And.): **sáfaro**.

*bīšī*: **albisí**.

*bišmāṭ* (Neo-Ar.): **maçapão**.

*bismi llāh*: **bismela**.

*bisnāč*, **\*\*bišnaqa** and **\*bisnáqa** (And.): **bisnaga**.

**\*bišra** (And.): 1.1.3.3, 1.1.5.4, **albíxeres**.

**\*bissináqa** (And.): **bisnaga**.

**\*\*biṭāṣ illaban** (Eg.): **taheño**.

*biṭānah* (And.) and *biṭānah*: **albitana**, **badana**.

*biṭāqat ḡirāṣak* (And.): **batacazo**.

**\*biṭāqi** and *biṭāqa* (And.) and *biṭāqah*: 1.2.1.2.1, **abitaque**.

*biṭṭīxah*: **albudeca**.

*biṭṭīxatun sindiyyah*: **sandía**.

**\*\*biṭūṣ ilfann** (Eg.): **taheño**.

*bizbíz* (And.): **pizpire/íta**.

*bízzr* (And.) and *bizzr*: **albeçre**.

*bizz*: **albir**.

**\*\*bū Ṣaraq**: **borraja** (in Appendix I).

*bu zāqq* (And.): **buzaque**.

*būda* (And.): **tabua**.

*buḡāṭ*: **abgat**.

*buhāláq(a)* (And.): **bo(j)alaga**.

*buhāyrah* (And.) and *buhayrah*: **alboaire**, **albufera**.

*buhlūl*: **ababol**.

*buhr*: **albhear**.

*buhrah*: **albora(ti)**.

*buhrt*: **buth**.

*bujíyya* (And.): **bugja**.

*búlḡ* (And.): **polvo**.

*bulbul*: **bulbul**.

*buld*: **bolda**.

*búlḡa* (And.): **alborga**, **baluga**.

**\*bulḡíyya** (And.): **agovía**.

*bulí* (And.): **embelecar**.

**>būlīs<** (And.): **bolda**.

*bullár* (And.): **abalorio**.

*bullúja* (And.): **lagaliga**.

**>bullūq<** (And.): **baluga**.

*būmah*: **haclocoz**.

**\*\*bunayyah**: **baño**<sup>2</sup> (in Appendix I).

*búnduqa* (And.) and *bunduqah*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.4.1, 1.2.1.2.2, **albóndiga**.

*búq* (And.) and *būq*: **albugue**.

*buqjah*: **bagaje** (in Appendix I).

*buḡsumāṭ* (Neo-Ar.): **maçapão**.

*buraníyya* (And.) and *būrānīyyah*: 1.1.3.1, fn. 50, **alboronía**.

*burāq*: **alborath**.

**\*\*buraybaríyya** (And.): **botafió**.

**\*\*burdah**: **bordate**.

*búri* (And.) and *būrī*: fn. 81, **albur**.

*búrj* (And.) and *burj*: **borja**.

*burj saṣūd* and *burjī* (And.): **bujazón**.

*búrja* (And.): **alfurja**.

*burkán* (And.): **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*burníyya** (And.): fn. 50, 1.3.1.2.1, **albornía**.

*burnús* (And.) and *burnus*: 1.1.4.1, **albornoz**.

*burqūq*: **abercoc**.

*burrukán* (And.): **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*\*burša** (And.): **albarsa**.

**\*\*burūk** (Naf.): **albaroque**.

*burúz* (And.) and *burūz*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alborozo**.

*bušbúsa* (And.): **alpiza**.

*bušmāṭ* (Neo-Ar.): **maçapão**.

*bušrā*: **albíxeres**.

*búss* and *bússa* (And.): **buz**.

*bussad* (Neo-Ar.): **bazd**.

*bustanbū(r)* and *bustānway* (Neo-Ar.): **alam-bor**<sup>2</sup>.

*būṭ*: **tabúa**.

*būṭah* (Neo-Ar.): **albot**.

*buṭayn*: **albot(h)ayn**.

**\*\*buṭáyṭaxa** (And.): **albudeca**.

*bulbúta* (And.): **perputa**.

*buṭm*: **albotín**.

*buṭṣah* and *buṭṣah*: **albatoça**.

*buṭṭíyya* (And.): **botías**.

*buṭūn*: **charis albatun**.

*buṭūr*: **botor**.

*buwáyḡa* (And.) and *buwayḡah*: **alboaire**.

*buxār*: **buchor**.

*buxúr* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **albafor**, **albohol**.

*būza* (Eg.): **buza**.

*buzzún* (And.): **cotxó**.

**\*\*canách**: **cunacho**.

*čánka* (And.): **chancla**.

*čayyáp* (And.): **atxeu**.

*čīb* (And.): **atxeu**.

čípp (And.): a(l)chiperre.

čiqála (And.): čičigáya, lloba.

čirniya (And.): cherna.

čúč (And.): chuchamel.

čur/xdún (And.): adibda eceni.

čúta (And.): chuta.

(dāl) alfīl: alfi.

dašama (And.): adama.

dašayim (And.) and dašā'im: andaime.

đabarān(i): 0.5, Aldabarā.

đābba (And.) and đabbah: 1.1.3.2.2, aldaba, lloba.

đabbālah: dabá.

đabg: aldebach.

\*\*đad: dado.

đáda (And.) and dādah (Neo-Ar.): dida.

\*\*đad(ah) and dadan: dado.

đāđī (Neo-Ar.): aldadi.

đadus (Mor.): dado.

đafáyir (And.) and đafā'ir: adefera, atufayr.

đaffah: adufa.

đafina (And.) and đafīnah: 1.1.1, adafina.

đafifira (And.) and đafīrah: 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.5.1.2, adefera.

đāgra (Tun.): tagra.

đahab: deheb.

đahir (Mor.): dahír.

đāhiš: aldehes.

đahíyya (And.) and đahiyyah: aldafeia.

đahnaj (Neo-Ar.): adehenic(h).

\*\*đā'īnah: atona (in Appendix I),

\*\*đā'īrah: ataíre.

đajājah: Deneb.

đāka ššay?: andelgue.

\*\*đakā: adague.

\*\*đakī: atequípera.

đalak: endulkár.

\*\*đalas: andaluz.

đaldāl: dandalear.

đálik (And.) and đálik(a): andelgue.

đalíl (And.) and dalíl: 1.1.3.2.2, adaíl.

đallál (And.) and dallāl: 1.1.4.4.1, adelo.

đalw: aladul, delu.

đam: dem.

đamāmīl (And.) and damāmīl: 1.3.1.2.2, alde-mamel.

đamán (And.) and đamān: ademán.

đamānī (Naf.): damão.

đamdah: tanda.

đamgah (Neo-Ar.): tanga.

đāmī: aldami.

đammād (And.): tanda.

đamna (And.): ademe(n)a.

đán (And.) and đa'in: aldrán.

đaná: safardana.

đanah qaytūs: caytoz.

đanáb addijája (And.) and đanabu ddajājah:

1.3.2, Deneb (aldigeia).

đanab aljady (Neo-Ar.): denebelget.

đanabu l'asad: Denebola.

\*\*\*đāo: दौरa.

\*\*\*đāqsa: adaza.

\*\*đār: aduar.

\*\* (đār al)šamál (And.): almila.

đār aššināšah (Neo-Ar.): 1.3.2, arsenal.

đarab: aldarab.

\*\*đarābazū'un: alefris.

đaraj: andaraje.

darāja (And.) and darajah: 1.1.3.2.1, adaraja.

darák/qa (And.) and daraqah: 1.2.1.3.1, adarga.

đarārīh: derarie.

darārīj: darariza.

darawnaj (Neo-Ar.): deraonech.

darb: adarve.

đárh (And.) and darb: adarvar.

(đárba) gálba (And.) and đarbatun gālibah: 2.2, calvar.

\*\*đarbāt (And.): rafec, tanda.

đárahm (And.): 1.1.3.6, 1.1.4.1, 1.2.1.3.1, adaram, tomín.

darījān (Neo-Ar.): adurugen.

đárka (And.): adarga.

\*\*đarm: adermar.

đármaka (And.) and darmak(ah): fn. 68, adárgama.

đárqa (And.): 1.1.5.4, adarga.

\*\*đars: adarço.

đárs (And.): 0.1, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.2.1.3.1, adarço.

đarú (And.): adaroeira.

darwīš (Neo-Ar.): daroês.

darz: derezi.

dašbađ (Neo-Ar.): aldesbad/t.

dašīša (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, alejija.

dásm (And.) and dasm: adaçama.

daštawī: loztou.

đāt alhalaq / alkursī (Neo-Ar.): det alhalac, detalcurçi.

đā'lu lhumrah: alfombra<sup>2</sup>.

*dawāl?*: **abediguar**.  
*dawāl allakk* (Neo-Ar.): **dialacea**.  
*dawāl nisf arraʿs* (Neo-Ar.): **darnificer/n**.  
*ḡawālīb aljawzāl?* (Neo-Ar.): **ad(d)ahueyb**.  
*dawāxis arraml*: **dauuechiz arran**.  
*dawlāb*: **aldulab**.  
*dawlah*: **adua**.  
*dāwr* (And.) and *dawr*: 1.1.4.1, **ador**.  
*dawraq*: **dorc**.  
*\*\*ḡaww* (Gulf dialects): **daura**.  
*ḡaw(w)āba pl. ḡawāyib* (And.): **ada(h)ueba**.  
*\*\*dawwāma* (And.): **baldrufa**.  
*dawwār*: **aduar**.  
*dawwāra* (And.) and *dawwārah*: **aldobara**.  
*\*\*\*daxālah*: **alifara**.  
*ḡāyʿa* (And.) and *ḡayʿah*: 1.1.2.1, 1.1.3.3, **aldea**.  
*dāye*: **daia**.  
*ḡāyfa* (And.) and *ḡayfah*: **daifa, gaifa**.  
*ḡayfūn* (And.) and *ḡayf*: **gaifa**.  
*\*\*ḡāyira*: **ataire**.  
*\*\*ḡaymūmah*: **acerola**.  
*\*\*ḡāyira*: **ataire**.  
*days*: **aldiza**.  
*dayān* (And.) and *dayyān*: **adaião**.  
*dakkūj/šah* (Naf.): **adecuja**.  
*də* (Naf.): **andaraje**.  
*ḡhir* (Mor.): **dahír**.  
*\*\*\*dhurra*: **adora**.  
*ḡi mārra* (And.): **marras**.  
*ḡiṣāmah*: **adama**.  
*ḡib* (And.) and *ḡiʿb*: 1.1.3.2.1, **adibe**.  
*ḡiʿbah*: **adivas**.  
*ḡibāj*: **mudbage**.  
*ḡibājī*: **atib/uachis**.  
*ḡibājūn xusrawānī*: **fazroen**.  
*ḡiʿbān* and *ḡiʿbayn*: **adibeyn**.  
*ḡibbāni* (And.): **aldebabi**.  
*ḡibḡah*: **aldebha**.  
*dīda* (And.): **dida**.  
*ḡifdaʿ ʿlānī / muḡaddam* (Neo-Ar.): **adibda eceni, adifda elmocaden**.  
*dīfla* (And.) and *dīflā*: 1.1.5.3.1, **adelfa**.  
*ḡihn*: **aldhen(i)**.  
*dijāja* (And.): **Deneb**.  
*dīk bardīk* (Neo-Ar.): **dichbardich**.  
*dīṣma* (And.) and *dīṣmah*: **adema**.  
*ḡimād*: **dimad**.  
*dimāḡ*: **dimagi**.  
*\*\*ḡīman* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, **ademán**.  
*ḡimnah*: fn. 105.

*ḡimnah* and *ḡimma* (And.): **alima**.  
*ḡimna* (And.) and *ḡimnah*: **ademena**.  
*dīn* (And.) and *dīn*: **dim**.  
*dīnār*: **dinar**.  
*(dīnārūn) manḡūš*: **mancús**.  
*\*\*ḡirāl*: **uixer**.  
*ḡirāl mabsūḡah* (Neo-Ar.): **adiraḡ almocota**.  
*ḡirāl alṣad almaḡbūḡah* (Neo-Ar.): **dira alaḡet almocboda**.  
*dirham*: 1.2.1.3.1, **adaram, tomín**.  
*ḡirra* (And.) and *dirrah*: **aderra, bederre**.  
*dirriyāq* (And.): **adarach**.  
*ḡirs*: **adarço**.  
*ḡirw*: **adaroeira**.  
*\*\*\*ḡīrya*: **dèria**.  
*dīsa* (And.): **aldiza**.  
*dīšār* (And.): 1.1.3.3, **adixar, marchal**.  
*dīwānah* (Naf.) and *dīwān(u lḡarāj)*: 1.1.4.1, **díván**.  
*ḡīx*: **adenhe**.  
*ḡiyāfa* (And.) and *ḡiyāfah*: **adiafa**.  
*ḡiyānūṣā* (Neo-Ar.): **dianthu**.  
*ḡiyāḡūd* (Neo-Ar.): **diacude**.  
*dlu* (Naf.): **delu**.  
*ḡra* (Mor.): **adora**.  
*ḡuṣābah*: **ada(h)ueba**.  
*ḡubābī*: **aldebabi**.  
*dubaylah*: **(a)dubayla**.  
*dubb*: **aldub**.  
*dubb akbar / aḡar* (Neo-Ar.): **aldub alacbar / alazgar**.  
*\*\*dūbla*: **limeta**.  
*dūffah* (And.): **adufa**.  
*dūff* (And.) and *duff*: 1.1.4.4.1, 1.3.1.2.2, **adufe**.  
*dūḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **aldog**.  
*duhn*: **dehen**.  
*ḡūhr*: 1.1.3.2.1.  
*\*\*\*dūkār*: **adúcar**.  
*dukkān* (And.) and *dukkān*: **adoquim, ducão**.  
*dūla* (And.): **adua**.  
*ḡulḡijjah*: **dulhega**.  
*ḡulḡaḡdah*: **dulchada**.  
*dulūka* (And.): **endulkár**.  
*dummal*: **aldemamel**.  
*ḡunb*: **dumb**.  
*dūnya* (And.) and *dunyā*: 1.1.3.2.2, **adúnia**.  
*duḡāq* (And.) and *duḡāq*: 1.1.3.2.1, **adutaque**.  
*\*\*duḡsaḡ*: **adaza**.  
*ḡurah*: **adora**.  
*durdī* (Neo-Ar.): **tártaro**<sup>1</sup>.

*durdur*: **alderade**.

*durrāṣa* (And.) and *durrāṣah*: 1.1.3.2.1, **adorra**.

*durrāj*: **darariza**.

*durūz* and *durzī*: **druso**.

*duš* (*Samalāyn*) (And.): **bodoix**.

*dustūriyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **dustoria**.

*duwār*: **aduar**.

**\*\*duwwāmah**: **baldrufa**.

*duwwār* (Naf.): **aduar**.

*duxūn* (And.) and *duxn*: **adohón**.

*dýl* (Naf.): fn. 98.

*dýal aššuf* (Mor.): **taheño**.

*ēi ho* and *ēi aha* (Has.): **re(i)so**.

*Ṣarṣar* (Mor.): **arar**.

*Ṣarbi* (Mor.): **alárabe**.

*ərrāš dərṛā əl* (Naf.): 1.3.1.1.

*Ṣaskər* and *Ṣaskri* (Mor.): **áscar**.

*fāḏ*: **fe**.

*fād* (And.): **fideu**.

**\*\*fadā**: **alfada**.

*faḏāḏ*: **alfada**.

*faḏaṣ*: **fechan**.

*faḏāl* (And.) and *faḏālī* (Neo-Ar.): **fatel**.

*faddúnya* (And.): 2.1, **adúnia**.

*faḏlāḏ* (Neo-Ar.): **fatel**.

*faḏúl* (And.): **alfandoque**.

**\*\*faggāra** (Bed.): **alfacara**.

*fāḡirah*: **fágara**.

*fāhl* and *fāhl* (And.): **alfana**.

*fāḡs*: **haza**.

*fāḏiḏ*: **alfiz**.

*fāḏit*: **alfaeto**.

*fājj* and *fājj* (And.): **encejarse**.

*fājra* (And.): fn. 95.

*fājah*: **alfurja**.

**\*\*fakk**: **Alfacs**.

*fakkah*: **alfaca**<sup>2</sup>.

*fakkāk* (And.) and *fakkāk*: **alfaqueque**.

*faḏl*: **alfil**<sup>2</sup>.

*falaj*: **felga**.

*falaḡmūnī* (Neo-Ar.): **falgamoni**.

*falak alburūj* (Neo-Ar.): **feletal borox**.

*falāqa* (And.) and *falaqah*: **falaca**, **falagar**.

*fālij* (And.) and *fālij*: **filiche**.

*fall*: **fallega**.

*fall(a)* (And.) and *fall(ah)*: **fall**.

*fallāh*: **felá**.

*fallāh šāfi* (And.): **zafio**.

*fallāq*: **falagar**.

*fallāq*: **felaga**.

*\*fallūkah* (Neo-Ar.): **falua**.

*fālqa* (And.): **(a)falca**.

*fālūḏaj*: **alfandoque**.

**\*\*falūk** (And.): **adúnia**.

*falūkah* (Neo-Ar.): **falua**.

*fālūniyā* (Neo-Ar.): **filonia/o**.

*falūwwa* (And.): **falua**.

*fabwa* (Eg.): **falua**.

**\*\*fam**: **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

*fam alkaʿs* (Neo-Ar.): **fem elquez**.

*famu lhūt*: **Fomalhaut**.

*famu lhūti ljanūbī*: **ffomalhos algenubi**.

*fanāḏ*: **afā**.

*fanāk* (And.) and *fanak*: **alfaneque**.

*fanár* (And.): **fanal**.

*fandādīḡūn* (Neo-Ar.): **alfalidicium**.

*fandaq* (Eg.): **alfandoque**.

*faníd* (And.) and *fānīd*: 1.1.3.2.1/2, 1.1.4.4.1, **alfení**.

*fanīḡ*: 1.1.3.2.1, **alfaneque**, **alfanic**.

*\*fanīqa*: **alfaneque**.

*fanīqa* (And.) and *fanīqah*: **faneca**<sup>1</sup>.

*fānn* (And.) and *fānn*: **fen**.

*fānn alyaman* (Neo-Ar.): **feneiaman**.

*fānqa* (And.): **faneca**<sup>1</sup>.

*fānūs* (Neo-Ar.): **fanal**.

*\*fāqʿ* (And.) and *faqʿ*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alfaco**.

*faqār aššujā / aljawzā* (Neo-Ar.): **facar assuja**.

*faqī* (And.) and *faḡth*: 1.1.3.6, **alfaquí**.

*faqīr*: **faquir**.

**\*\*faqqāra** (Naf.): **alfacara**.

**\*\*farāḏ**: **alfário**.

*farābi* (And.) and *fārābī*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alfarrábio**.

*farah*: **atifarrar**.

*farāj* (And.) and *faraj*: **alfrez**.

**\*\*farājī**: **feyrach**.

*\*farāq* (And.): **alfaneque**.

*farás* (And.) and *faras*: **alfaraz**.

*faras aššam* (Neo-Ar.): **alfarazs/ç alaadam**.

*farás muḡallī* (And.): **alforado**.

*faras ṭabbāl* (And.): **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

*farāsil(a)* (Neo-Ar.): **faraça/ola**.

*fard*: **alfard**.

*fa(r)d+* (Iraq and Central Asia): fn. 103.

*fārda* (And.) and *fardah*: **alfarda**, **farda/o**.

*fārḏa* (And.) and *fard(ah)*: **alfarda**, **farda**.

*fardāriyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **alfridária**.

*fārg* (And.): **alfarcar**, **enfarjar**.

- fārg azzānn* (And.): **fargandán**.  
*fārg muqaddam / mulaxxar* (Neo-Ar.): **alfarg almucaden, alfarghalmuhar**.  
*fārga* (And.): **farc**.  
 \*\*\**fārgān* (And.): **haragán**.  
*farḥah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **farra**.  
 \*\**farḥān*: **farfā**.  
*fāri*: **alfário**.  
 \**farīda* (And.) and *farīdah*: **alferida**.  
*farīdah*: **alfridária, farida** (in Appendix I).  
*fārig*: **farc**.  
*fārig azzānn* (And.): **fargandán**.  
*fāriqūs* (Neo-Ar.): **faricos**.  
*fāris* (And.) and *fāris*: **alferes**.  
*fārisah*: 1.1.4.1, **alfersa**.  
*fārisiyyah*: **fasia**.  
*farqadayn*: **alfarcadeyn**.  
*farrāka* (And.): **farracachona**.  
 \*\**farrās*: **alferraz**.  
*farrāš*: **faraz**.  
*farrūj* (And.) and *farrūj*: **alferraz, farruco**.  
 \*\**farrūq*: **farruco**.  
*fārš* (And.) and *farš*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alfarj(í)a, esferchegar**.  
 \**fārsa* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **alfersa**.  
*farsax*: **farsanga**.  
 \**faršīyya* (And.): **alfarjía**.  
*fartakī*: **fartaqui**.  
 \*\**fārūq*: **farruco**.  
*farx*: **farfā**.  
*fārxah* and *fārxat sikkīn* (And.) and *farxah*: **faca**.  
*fārza* (And.): **alferza**.  
*fās* (And.) and *fašs*: 1.2.1.1, **alfeça, almocafre**.  
*fās*: **fez**.  
*fasāsārī*: **fazanzal**.  
*fašd*: **alfasd**.  
*fāšfaša* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, 1.1.4.1, **alfaç**.  
 \*\*\**fāshah*: **alféizar**.  
*fāšīrā* and *fāšīr štyr*: **alfasir**.  
*fašqīyya* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, **falquía**.  
*fāšš* (And.) and *fašš*: **alfaz**.  
*fassá* (And.) and *fassāʔ*: **fassi**.  
 \*\**fassāq*: **alfazaque**.  
*fassāqa* (And.): **lissaga**.  
*fassí* (And.): **fassi**.  
 \**faššūna* (And.): **alfajoa**.  
*fašūr* (And.): **alfajor**.  
*fasūrīqūn* (Neo-Ar.): **fasuricon**.  
*fatā*: fn. 77, **alfetián**.  
 \*\**fataliyyah* (And.): **eixem**.  
*fatarār*: **feterat**.  
*fatayār*: **dedodedama**.  
*fātiḥah* and *fātiḥatu lkitāb*: **fatifat**.  
*fatīlah*: **fatia**.  
*fāʔimī*: **fatimí**.  
*fatīr*: **alfa/etít**.  
*fatīl alakmām* (And.): **fatel**.  
 \*\**fattah* (Neo-Ar.): **jota<sup>4</sup>** (in Appendix I).  
 \**fattāl* (And.): **fatel**.  
 \*\**fattaq*: **alfandoque**.  
 \**fattāqa* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **fataca**.  
 \**fattāša* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **fateixa**.  
 \*\**fattuš* (Sr.): **fideu**.  
 \**fat(t)ūr*: **alfandoque**.  
*fatwā*: **fetua**.  
*fawfal* (Neo-Ar.): **fausal**.  
*fawj*: **fordar**.  
*fawwāra* (And.) and *fawwārah*: **alfaguara**.  
*fāxiyah*: **fahet/r**.  
*faxxār(a)* (And.) and *faxxār(ī)*: 1.1.3.4, fn. 76, **alfacara, alfar**.  
*fayʔ*: **alfayo**.  
*fāyḍ* (And.) and *fayḍ*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alfaida, faido**.  
*faynak/f* (Neo-Ar.): **feynac**.  
*fayrūz* (And.) and *fayrūzaj* and *fayrūzī*: **feruz**.  
*fāyy* (And.): **alfayo**.  
*fāʔle* (Mor.): **fatel**.  
*fəllag* (Alg.): **felaga**.  
*fenda* (Malt.): **fendi**.  
*fəndaq* (Mor.): **alfóndec**.  
 \*\**fənni/uš* (Mor.): **gorgoto**.  
*fərḥa*, \*\**fərḥat bdu* and \**fərḥet əlbdu* (Mor.): **farra**.  
 \*\*\**fərīḍ*: **alefris**.  
*fī ʔiwād*: **anigual**.  
*(fī) sabīlī llāh*: **cibiralá**.  
*fīdāw(i)š*: **fideu**.  
*fīddah*: **feda**.  
*(fikrah) fāriʔah* (Neo-Ar.): **dèria**.  
*fīl* (And.) and *fīl*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alfil<sup>1</sup>**.  
*fīl* (And.): **alfil<sup>2</sup>**.  
*filali* (Mor.): **filele**.  
*filj*: **felga**.  
*filqah*: **falca, fel/rga**.  
*filš*: **faluz**.  
*filwah* (Neo-Ar.): **falua**.  
*fiqarār*: **alcara(t)**.  
 \*\*\**fīrād*: **alefris**.  
*fīrāš* (And.) and *fīrāš*: **alfrezes**.

*firdār* (Neo-Ar.): **alfridária**.  
*fīrq*: **alfarc**.  
*fīrrāṭ* (And.): **ferrete**.  
*fīrxān*: **farfā**.  
 \*\**fīrzah*: **alfersa**.  
*fīrzān*: **alferza**.  
*fiṣṣāḥ*: **alfaç**.  
*fiṣṭāl*: **fustán**.  
*fiṭāt(a)* (And.): **alfitete, fatia**.  
 \*\**fīr*: **eixem**.  
*fīṭna* (And.) and *fīṭnah*: 1.1.5.4, **alfétena**.  
*fīṭrah* (And.) and *fīṭrah*: **alfitra**.  
 \*\**fiṭlāya* (And.): **eixem**.  
*fīṭyān* (And.) and *fīṭyān*: fn. 77, **alfetián**.  
 >*f.lās*< (Neo-Ar.): **biles**.  
*flus* (Mor.): **faluz**.  
 >*f.th/x*<: **alfath**.  
*fūṭād*: **alfuad**.  
*fūḍulī* (And.) and *fūḍulī*: **fodelí**.  
*fūḡilā* = *fūḡilā* (Neo-Ar.): **fugelic/na**.  
*fūḡl* (And.) and *fūḡl*: **fugel**.  
*fūḡrah*: 1.1.5.3.1, **alfurja**.  
*fūḡād*: (al)**fulad**.  
*fūḡān* (And.) and *fūḡān*: **foão**.  
*fūḡul*: **forforí**.  
*fūḡulī* (And.): **forforí**.  
 \*\**fūḡ*: **falua**.  
 \*\**fūḡ*: **sampaguita** (in Appendix I).  
*fūḡār* (And.): **folar**.  
*fūḡūs*: **faluz**.  
*fūḡm alḡāwt* (And.): **Fomalhaut**.  
*fūḡm alḡāwt aljanūbi* (And.): **fom alhot algenubi**.  
*fūḡdaq* (And.) and *fūḡduq*: **alfândega, al-fóndec**.  
*fūḡtiṣī* (And.): **fontegí**.  
*fūḡahāl*: **alforque**.  
 \*\**fūḡarāl*: **alcara(t)**.  
*fūḡqāḡ*: **foc(h)a**.  
 \*\**fūḡqāḡ* (And.): **alfaco**.  
*fūḡqūs/s* (And.): 0.6, **alficòs**.  
*fūrāṭ* (And.): 2.2, **tafaforate, alforanda**.  
*fūrbiyūn*: **alforfião**.  
 \*\**fūrḡūr*: **alforfón**.  
*fūrjah*: **alforia**.  
 \*\**fūr*: **alcuja**.  
*fūrriḡ*: **alferraz**.  
*fūs* (And.): **almocafre**.  
 \**fūs* (And.): **alfonsim**.  
 \**fūrḡūn* (And.): **alfortoner**.

*fūḡyṣisāl*: **foceifiza**.  
 \*\**fūḡḡāḡ*: **alféizar**.  
*fūṣṭāl* and *fūṣṭān*: **fustán**.  
*fūṣṭaq* (And.) and *fūṣṭuq*: 1.1.5.1.3, 1.2.1.2.2, **alfóstigo**.  
 \*\*\**fūṣṭāṭ*: **fustán**.  
*fūḡāḡ*: **fota**.  
*fūḡāt(ah)*: **alfitete**.  
 \*\**fūṭah*: **jota<sup>4</sup>** (in Appendix I).  
*fūṭ(u)r*: **alch(a)thara**.  
 \*\**fūṭuwwah* (Neo-Ar.): **gandul**.  
*fūwāq*: **alfoach**.  
*fūwwa* (And.): **foeta**.  
 >*ḡfydyḡwws*< (Neo-Ar.): **endros**.  
 >*fymāṭūs*< (Neo-Ar.): **phitanos**.  
  
*ḡāba* (And.) and *ḡābah*: **algaba**.  
*ḡābāna* (And.) and *ḡābānah*: **algabenaire**.  
 \*\**ḡābr ilbaḡr* (Eg.): **alquezar**.  
 \*\**ḡāḡā*: **algada**.  
*ḡādāmīṣ*: **godomecil**.  
*ḡāḡāṭ* (And.) and *ḡāḡāṭ*: **gafetí**.  
*ḡāḡr*: **algaffra**.  
*ḡāḡāḡīs* (Neo-Ar.): **gagates**.  
*ḡāḡīb*: **algueber**.  
*ḡāḡīḡ*: **gaidó**.  
*ḡāḡīḡ*: **gaitil**.  
*ḡāḡīj* (Lib.): **cotxó**.  
*ḡālālāḡ*: **algara<sup>2</sup>**.  
*ḡāḡb* (And.) and *ḡāḡb*: **galbán**.  
*ḡāḡba* (And.): **calvar**.  
*ḡāḡīb* (And.) and *ḡāḡīb*: **galbán**.  
*ḡāḡībāḡ*: **calvar**.  
*ḡāḡīḡa* (And.): **galga**.  
*ḡāḡīḡa* (And.) and *ḡāḡīḡah*: **algalia<sup>1</sup>**.  
*ḡāḡāḡ*: **guilha**.  
 \**ḡāḡlūḡa* (And.): **clova**.  
*ḡāḡq* and *ḡāḡq* (And.): **galga**.  
*ḡāḡqa* (And.): **alg/boleca**.  
*ḡāḡṣāḡāḡ*: (al)**galsamac**.  
*ḡāḡm* (And.) and *ḡāḡm*: **afā, alga(m), gamar-se**.  
*ḡāḡām* (And.): **rebaño and ydanitaganam**.  
*ḡāḡūr* (And.): **gandul**.  
 \*\**ḡāḡūra* (And.) and \*\**ḡāḡūraḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **andola, andora**.  
*ḡāḡūna* (And.) and *ḡāḡūmah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **galima**.  
*ḡāḡnām* (And.) and *ḡāḡnām*: **algame**.  
*ḡār* (And.) and *ḡār*: **algar**.

*ğára* (And.) and *ğārah*: **algara**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ğarāb* (And.) and *ğarab*: **agarbarse**.  
*ğarab*: **(al)garab**.  
*ğarađ*: **algarrada**.  
*ğarāma* (And.) and *ğarāmāh* (Neo-Ar.):  
**garama**.  
*ğarāniq* (And.): **abdarramía**.  
*ğar*: **agarbarse, algarbe, algarvès**.  
*\*\*ğarbāl* (And.): **alabrent**.  
*ğarbī* (And.) and *ğarbi*: **algarvès, garbí**.  
*ğárfa* (And.) and *ğarfah*: **garfo**.  
*ğarfu* (Mor.): **garfo**.  
*ğárgal* (And.): **gárgol**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ğarğamıl* (And.): **gargamel**.  
*gargıyya* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **gorgoto**.  
*ğarīb* (And.) and *ğarīb*: 1.1.4.4.1, **algarivo**.  
*ğarífāt* (And.): **galifates**.  
*ğarīm* (And.) and *ğarīm*: **agarimar, algarín**.  
*\*\*ğarnāq*: **alabrent**.  
*ğarnāta* (And.): **granadés**.  
*ğarnāti* and *ğarnaṭaṣī* (And.): 1.1.3.4, **arnadí**,  
**granadés**.  
*ğarqal*: **gárgol**<sup>1</sup>.  
*\*\*\*ğarrāb*: **alcarrabo**.  
*\*ğarrāfah*: **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ğárs(a)* and *ğarsāt* (And.) and *ğars*: **algarcez**,  
**garsó**.  
*ğárza* (And.) and *ğarzah*: **engarzar**.  
*ğaşşāb*: **gazapu**.  
*ğasūl* (And.) and *ğāsūl*: **algazul, gansull**.  
*ğañārīf*: **gatarif**.  
*\*ğañrás* (And.): **alcatràs**.  
*\*ğañríf* (And.): fn. 30, **garifo**.  
*ğañās*: **alcatràs, albatóça**.  
*\*ğañúsa* (And.): **albatóça**.  
*ğāwle* (Has.): **cáfila**.  
*ğawwār* (And.): **algavaro**.  
*ğāya* (And.) and *ğāyah*: **gaiatell, argañia** (in  
Appendix I).  
*ğáyđ* (And.): **gaidó**.  
*ğáyđa* (And.) and *ğayđah*: **algaida**.  
*ğayđún* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, 1.2.1.2.2, **gaidó**.  
*ğáyih* (And.): **algeuber**.  
*ğáyıđ* (And.): **gaidó**.  
*ğáyıđ* (And.): **gaitil**.  
*ğayr annaqir* (Neo-Ar.): **gair alnachar**.  
*ğáyru* (And.) and *ğayrih*: **gairo**.  
*ğays* (Naf.): **gueice**.  
*ğáyı* (And.): **gaitil**.  
*gáz* (And.) and *gaz* (Mor.): **gazgaz**.

*\*\*ğazal*: **gacela**.  
*ğazāl* (And.) and *ğazāl(ah)*: **gacela**.  
*ğazāra* (And.) and *ğazārah*: 1.1.3.4, 1.3.1.2.1,  
**algatzara**.  
*ğāzi* (And.) and *ğāzī*: **gazi**.  
*ğāziyah*: **ràtzia**.  
*ğāzya* (Naf.): **ràtzia**.  
*ğallas* (Mor.): **jeliz**.  
*gendus* (Malt.): **alcanduz**.  
*ğarnina* (Mor.): **tagarnina**.  
*ğarrāf* (Naf.): **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ğañāyah* (Naf.): **gandaia**.  
*ğhal barkat Alla* (Malt.): **babalà**.  
*ğidār* (And.) and *ğidār*: **alguidar**.  
*ğilāla* (And.) and *ğilālah*: **algara**<sup>2</sup>.  
*ğilla* (And.): 1.1.3.4, **guilha**.  
*ğirbāl* (And.) and *ğirbāl*: 1.1.3.2.2, **garbell**.  
*ğirqı?*: **algara**<sup>2</sup>.  
*ğis* (Mor.): **gueice**.  
*ğıñā?*: **gata**<sup>2</sup>.  
*ğıñrāf*: **gatarif**.  
*ğıñríf*: **garifo**.  
*ğıñun* (Mor.): **alquitão**.  
*ğmārī* (Naf.): **gomel**.  
*gomna* (Mor.): **gúmena** (in Appendix I).  
*ğuddah*: **gadu**.  
*ğül*: **Algol**.  
*ğulaf*: **golfa**.  
*ğulāmiyyah*: **algulamí(a)e**.  
*ğuláyqa* (And.): **alg/boleca**.  
*ğulfah*: **clova**.  
*ğulla* (And.) and *ğull*: 1.1.3.2.2, **argola**.  
*ğulúf* (And.) and *ğuluf*: **clova**.  
*ğumári* (And.) and *ğumārī*: fn. 81, **gomel**.  
*ğumaysā?*: **algomeyç/zsa**.  
*ğūmī* (Has.): **gumé**.  
*ğumna* (Malt.): **gúmena** (in Appendix I).  
*ğunbāz* (Neo-Ar.): **ganbax**.  
*ğundar*: **gandul**.  
*ğúnj* (And.) and *ğunj*: **mocanco**.  
*ğunjıfa* (And.): **ganchumba**.  
*ğunnah*: **go/ane**.  
*ğurāb* (And.) and *ğurāb*: 2.2, **albatóça, alfer-**  
**raz, garopo, gurapas**.  
*ğurayğıyya* (And.): **gorgoto**.  
*\*\*ğuráyra*: **garduñia** (in Appendix I).  
*ğúrfa* (And.) and *ğurfah*: **algorfa**.  
*ğúrm* (And.) and *ğurm*: **gormar**.  
*ğurūb*: **agarbarse**.  
*ğúzz(i)* (And.) and *ğuzz*: fn. 81, **algoz**.

*guşaş* and *guşşah*: **algas(s)as**.

*gūṭah*: **alguthu**.

*guttah* (Neo-Ar.): **guta**.

*gzu* and *gẓawwa* (Mor.): **gazua**.

*hā*: **he**.

*hāʔ*: **he**.

**\*\*habá**: **hebén**.

*habála* (And.): **alcabala**.

**\*\*haban**: **hebén**.

*habáqa* (And.) and *habaqah*: 1.1.3.5, 1.1.5.3.1, **albaca**.

*habašī* and *habašah*: 1.2.1.2.1, **abexi**.

**\*\*habaṣ**: **jabeque**.

**\*\*habayyaj** and **\*\*habayyax**: **hobacho**.

*hābb*: **ababol**.

*hābb algár* (And.): **abalgár**.

*habb allahw* (Neo-Ar.): **allehu**.

**\*\*habb almulūk** (And.): **aleli**.

*habb almúsk* (And.) and *habb almusk* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.4.4.1, **abelmosco**.

**\*hābb alqurʔán** (And.): **alboquerón**.

*habb arrás* (And.): 1.1.3.5, 1.3.1.2.2, **abarraz**.

*habb ʕazīz* (Neo-Ar.): **javačiči**.

*habb ilmūlūk* (Eg.): **abelmeluco**.

*hābba* (And.) and *habbah*: **aba<sup>3</sup>**, **haba**.

*habbat (an) ḥalúwwa* (And.) and *habbatun hulwah*: 1.3.2, **batafalúa**.

*habbu lǧār*: **abalgár**.

*habīd*: **hamec**.

*habīs*: **habiz**.

**\*\*hābl (almasákin)** (And.) and *habl*: **albohol**.

**\*hābqa** (And.): **albaca**.

*habrah*: **febra**.

*hābs* (And.) and *habs*: 1.1.3.5, **alcapç**.

*haččún* (And.): **cotxó**.

*hād* (And.): **aljád**.

*hadabah*: **joroba**.

*haḡaf*: **hadeḡ**.

*hadāri walwazn*: **eluezn**, **ahe dar**.

*hadāyah*: **alahadate**.

*haḡayān*: **alhedia(n)**.

**\*haddúqa** (And.): **adúcar**.

*haddúra* (And.): **andorra**.

*hadūd*: **hadit**.

*haḡūd*: **ha(d)id**.

*hādida* (And.) and *hadīdah*: **alfadida**.

*hādīqa* (And.) and *hādīqah*: **árdiga**.

*hādīqát* (And.): **alicates**.

*hādīr* and *hādīr* (And.): **jaḡrár**.

*hadīyya* (And.) and *hadīyyah*: 1.1.3.6, **alfadía**, **odía**.

**\*\*hadra(t)**: **jadraque**.

*hadúbba* (And.): **farjup**, **joroba**.

*hāḡfz* (And.) and *haḡfz* or *hāḡfz*: **hafiz**.

*hāḡiz* (And.): 1.1.3.3, **Alfacs**.

*hāhū*: **he**.

*hāhunā*: **hene**.

*hāʔik*: **haique**.

*hāʔilah*: **feila**.

*hāʔir*: **alfeire**.

*hāʔit*: **heite**.

*hājah* (And.) and *hājah*: **alfaia**.

*hajalah* and *hajála* (And.): **alfagara**.

**\*\*hajar**: **jaharral**.

*hajar albarām* (Neo-Ar.): **baran**.

*hajar alkaz/rak / kizk* (Neo-Ar.): **querc**.

*hajar almaḡnāʔīs* (Neo-Ar.): **almagnicia**.

*hajar almās* (Neo-Ar.): **almez<sup>2</sup>**.

*hajar ʕanbarī* (Neo-Ar.): **alambari**.

*hajar armanī* (Neo-Ar.): **faararmeni**.

*hajar aššīfāʔ* (Neo-Ar.): **siphe**.

*hajar (bahrī) ḡayawānī* (Neo-Ar.): **(h)ayauen bahri**.

*hajar barqī / bāriqī / albar* (Neo-Ar.): **albarquid**.

*hajar hadīdī* (Neo-Ar.): **al/bhadidi**.

*(hajar) manḡt* (Neo-Ar.): **meneffi**.

*hajar mušaqqaq* (Neo-Ar.): **çacztir**.

*hajar qubūrī* (Neo-Ar.): **çafilty**.

*(hajar) yamānī* (Neo-Ar.): **yaymani/y**.

*hajarun yubayyaḡu bihi lkattān*: **murquid**.

*hājib*: **hājibe**.

**\*\*hāji[n]**: **atifells**.

*hājiz* (And.) and *hājiz*: **Alfacs**.

*hājī* (And.) and *hājī*: **alfaig**, **haji**.

**\*\*hājī**, fem. **\*\*hājījah**: **alhoja** (in Appendix I).

*hājām* (And.) and *hājām*: **alfagém**.

**\*hakāma** (And.) and *hakamah*: **alcama**.

*hakīm* (And.) and *hakīm*: 1.1.4.4.1, **alfaquim**.

**\*\*halā**: **hala**.

*halab* and *halabī*: **alap**, **alepín**.

*(ha)lablāb*: **goleuas**.

**\*\*halāwah marzabāniyyah** (Neo-Ar.): **maça-pão**.

*halazúna* (And.) and *halazūn(ah)*, *halazūnī*: 1.1.3.2.3, **aleuna**.

*halb*: **algeleb**.

*halbāʔ*: **pelfa**.

**\*\*hālfā** (And.) and *hālfāʔ*: **alfa**, **alfaç**.



**\*\*ħalfah:** *alifa*.  
**\*\*\*ħalhala:** *algara*<sup>2</sup>.  
*ħalī* (And.): *halarea*.  
**\*\*ħalīb:** *lebení*.  
*ħālibayn* (Neo-Ar.): *alhalaba/etein*.  
*ħaliḥah:* *falifa*.  
**\*\*ħaliḥah:** *falacha*.  
*ħālīaj* (Neo-Ar.): *hezleche*.  
*\*ħaliyya* (And.): *halarea*.  
*ħalj:* *falagar*.  
*hālla* (And.): fn. 95  
*ħallāja* (And.): *farachar*.  
**\*\*ħallāl** (And.): *adelo*.  
*ħallāma* (Western Ar.): 1.1.4.4.2, *salema*.  
*ħallūm* (And.): *salema*.  
*ħallūn* (And.): *hallulla, ajalūn*.  
*ħalq:* *alha(l)ch*.  
*ħalqah:* *adelga, calga*.  
*\*ħaltamīyya* (And.): *altamia*.  
*ħaliūm* (And.) and *hālūm:* 1.1.3.5, *argamula*.  
*ħālwa* (And.) and *ħalwah:* *alféloa, batafalúa*.  
*hālwa* (And.) and *ħalwà:* *falacha, aluá*.  
*hama?*: *jámila*.  
*hāmah:* *alheame*.  
*ħamal:* *alhamal*.  
*ħamaq:* *alhame(c)h*.  
*hamazāt:* *hamez*.  
*hamga* (Malt.): *ámago*.  
*hamí* (And.): *jámila*.  
*hāmiḍ:* *alfandoque*.  
*hāmil assabuḥ* (Neo-Ar.): *ve el çahba*.  
*hanun:* *alhem* and *afā*.  
*hāmna* (And.): *alhamí*.  
**\*\*ħammād:** *jametería*.  
*ħammāl* (And.) and *ħammāl:* *alhamel, amal*.  
*ħammār* (And.): *alfāambar*.  
*hammeğ* (Malt.): *ámago*.  
*ħanmí* (And.): *alhamí*.  
*ħammūdī:* *hamudí*.  
*hamzah:* *hāmeza*.  
**\*\*hán pl. hanát** (And.) and *han:* *andelgue*.  
*ħanaft:* *hanefita*.  
*hanṣah:* *alhanaa, alhenna* and *almic/çen*.  
**\*\*ħanakí** (And.): *alfaneque*.  
*hānba* (Tun.) and *hánba* (And.): *hampa*.  
*hānbal* (And.) and *ħanbal* (Western Ar.):  
 1.1.4.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1, *alfāambar*.  
**\*\*\*ħanbál** (And.): *alfāambar*.  
*ħanbalī:* *hambalita*.  
*ħanībíl* (And.): *alfāambar*.

**\*\*ħanīn** and *ħanín* (And.): *alhanín*.  
*ħanīyya* (And.) and *ħanīyyah:* *alhanía*.  
*ħantam:* *altamia*.  
*hānya* (And.): *marcolfa*.  
*hānzal* (And.) and *ħanzal:* *alhandal*.  
*ħappapāwī(a)* (And.): 1.1.3.1, *ababol*.  
*ħaqṣah:* *alhac(i)a* and *Altephil*.  
*ħaqṣ:* *aca, acadar, alogue*<sup>3</sup>.  
*hāra* (And.): *hara*.  
*ħarabúl* (And.): 1.1.3.5, *alambor*<sup>1</sup>, *arabullos*.  
*hārah:* *hara*.  
*ħarāj:* *carraxe*.  
*ħaraka* (Mor.): *harruquero*.  
*ħarāka* (And.) and *ħarakah:* *alharaca, alarca*.  
*ħarakat alʿiqbāl walʿidbār* (Neo-Ar.): *harac*  
*alic bel hual idber*.  
**\*\*ħarakí** (And.): *harruquero*.  
*ħarām* (And.) and *ħarām:* *afaram, harém,*  
*hamarillo*.  
*ħarām allá* (And.) and *ħarāmu llāh:* 1.3.2,  
*faramalha*.  
*ħarām* (And.): *alfarém*.  
*harāq:* *alarca*<sup>2</sup>.  
*ħaráyki* (And.): *harruquero*.  
*hārbala* and *ħarbál* (And.): *fargalada*.  
*ħardún* (And.): 1.2.1.2.2, 1.3.1.2.1, *alfarda-*  
*cho, alfardó, jardón*.  
*hārf* (And.) and *ħarf:* *harrado, moharra*.  
*ħarfúš* (And.): *jašfúro*.  
*hārij* (And.): *arocho*.  
*ħarlij* (And.): *hezleche*.  
*ħarīm:* *harém*.  
*ħarīrah:* *harire*.  
**\*\*ħarīrī:** *bata*.  
*harīsa* (And.) and *harīсах:* *hariza*.  
*harj:* *fel/rga*.  
**\*\*harkūs** (Naf.): *agovía*.  
*hārmal* (And.) and *ħarmal:* *alfarma*.  
*hārq:* *alc/farque, argolla*<sup>2</sup>.  
*hārqā* (And.): *alarca*<sup>2</sup>.  
*ħarrāk* (Neo-Ar.): *carraca*.  
**\*ħarrāka** (And.): *farracachona*.  
**\*\*ħarrāq:** *carraca*.  
*ħarrāqa* (And.): *farracachona*.  
**\*ħar(r)új** (And.): *arocho*.  
**\*ħarrúk(i)** (And.): *harruquero*.  
*ħarún* (And.) and *ħarūn:* *farón*.  
*ħašá* (And.) and *hāšā:* *axe*.  
*ħašá* and *ħašá* (And.): *aljašé*.  
*ħaṣaf:* *alhasaf*.

*ḥasāna* (And.) and *ḥasanah*: **façanha**.

*ḥasanī*: **hasanī**.

*ḥasāni* (And.): **hacén**.

*ḥašī* (And.): **axe**.

*ḥāšimah*: **hesme**.

*ḥaštra* (And.) and *ḥašīrah*: **alazera**.

*ḥašīš*: **hachís**.

*ḥašīša* (And.) and *ḥašīšah*: **alfajija**.

*ḥašīšān*: **alchalesae**.

*ḥāšīyah*: 1.1.3.5, **alcaixa**.

\**ḥāšša* (And.): **haza**.

\*\**ḥaššāš* (Sud.): **aciche**.

*ḥaššāšīn* (Neo-Ar.): **asesino**.

*ḥaššūn* (And.): **cotxó, xona**.

\*\**ḥassūn* (Neo-Ar.): **omalhacén**.

*ḥašū* (And.) and *ḥašw*: **alajú**.

*ḥāšya* (And.): **alcaixa**.

*ḥaṭrāč* (And.): 1.3.1.2.2.

*ḥaṭrāč* (And.): **calandrac**.

*ḥaṭrāj* (And.): **andrajó, matraco**.

*ḥaṭrāl*, *ḥaṭrāq(a)* and *ḥātraša* (And.): **caland-raca, matraco**.

*ḥatū* (And.) and *ḥatū*: **anda, ata**.

*ḥawāla* (And.) and *ḥawālah*: **agüela**.

\*\**hawāyt* (And.): **martín**.

\*\**hawāyij*: **aljemifao**.

*ḥāwba* (And.) and *hawbah*: **hobacho**.

*ḥāwd* (And.) and *hawd*: 1.1.3.2.1, **alcouve**.

*hawdaj*: **hotege**.

\*\**ḥāwi* (And.): **manyac**.

\*\**hawūt* (And.): **martín**.

*ḥāwl(a)* (And.): 1.1.3.6, **foula**.

*ḥawlah*: **faulas**.

\**ḥāwn* (And.) and *hawn*: **alhaonarse**.

\*\**hawrīyya* (And.): **dansar**.

*ḥāwt* (And.): **Fomalhaut**.

\*\**hawt allāh*: **tamarella**.

*hawwāʔ*: **alhao/u/ce**.

\*\**hawwal*: **alambor<sup>1</sup>, fargalada**.

*hawwāra* (And.) and *hawwārah*: **havana**.

*hawwāra* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **alhavana**.

*ḥāwz* (And.) and *hawz*: **alfoz**.

*ḥāxām* (Neo-Ar.): **ha ham**.

*ḥaylah*: **alfaya**.

*ḥayawāniyyah*: **alhauaniae**.

*ḥayikūn* (And.): **alhaquín<sup>1</sup>**.

*ḥāyila* (And.): **feila**.

*ḥāyk* (Naf.): **haique**.

*ḥaykal*: **heical**.

*ḥaykūn* (And.): **alhaquín<sup>1</sup>**.

*ḥāyla* (And.): **feila**.

*ḥāyr* (And.): **alfeire**.

*ḥayš sammūr* (And.): **alhest**.

*ḥāyī* (And.): **heite**.

\*\**ḥayy*: \*\*\***alaela**.

*ḥāyya* (And.): **alfaya**.

*ḥayyah*: **alahofue, tan(n)in, alhao/u/ce**.

\*\*\**ḥayyān*: **jayán** (in Appendix I).

*ḥāy(y)z* (And.) and *ḥayyiz*: **alféizar, alfiz, hayz**.

\**ḥāyza* (And.): **alféizar**.

*ḥazāz*: **hazez**.

\*\**ḥazáz šaxrī* (And.): **sáfaro**.

*ḥazín* (And.) and *ḥazīn*: **hacino**.

*ḥāzz* (And.) and *ḥazz*: **alfāndega, fádiga, fato**.

\**ḥazzāq* (And.): **alfazaque**.

*ḥbus* (Mor.): **habiz**.

*ḥdida ḥamra* and *ḥdida zərqa* (Mor.): **alfadida**.

*ḥə+rrā al* (Jijelli): fn. 103.

*ḥəbra* (Mor.): **febra**.

*ḥəlfā* (Naf.): **alfa**.

*ḥəllama* (Mor.): **salema**.

*ḥənbāl* (Naf.): **alfāmbar**.

*ḥərbāl* and *ḥərbul* (Mor.): **alambor<sup>1</sup>**.

*ḥərkā* (Mor.): **alarca**.

*ḥərkawī* (Mor.): **harruquero**.

*ḥərmē* (Has.): **alforma**.

\**ḥəššūn imak* (Mor.): **junema**.

\*\**ḥibālah*: **alcabala**.

*ḥibarah*: **fiberla**.

*ḥibriyah*: **alhebría**.

\**ḥibriyyah*: **fiberla**.

*ḥijrah*: **hégira**.

\*\**ḥillah*: \*\*\***alaela**.

*ḥilqa* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **adaza, adelga, alahíla**.

*ḥilqa(t alxiyāta)* (And.): **alferga**.

*ḥilw*: **alfendoz**.

*ḥilwah* (Eg.): **alféloa**.

\**ḥilya* (And.) and *ḥilyah*: **halarea**.

*ḥilyat farás* (And.): **alforado**.

\*\**ḥimā*: **alema**.

*ḥimār* (And.) and *ḥimār*: 1.1.5.3.1, **almifor**.

*ḥimār abwahš*: **alfana**.

*ḥimārayn*: **alhemaraym**.

*ḥimyān*: **alfimiane/o**.

\*\**ḥināk*: **alfinago**.

*ḥind* (And.) and *alhind*: **alfinde**.

*hindawānī*: **andanico**.

*hindī*: **cimitarra**.

*hindibah*: **endibia** (in Appendix I).

*hínna* (And.) and *hinnāʔ*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.5,  
fn. 66, **alfeña, taheño**.  
\*\**hīr*: **cotxó**.  
*hīrām*: **alfarém**.  
*hīrdawn*: **alfardacho, alfardó, jardón**.  
\*\**hirkása* (And.): **agovía**.  
\*\**hīrr* (And.): **cotxó, polvo**.  
*hīrrīf*: **alcharisi**.  
*hīrrī pīšši* (And.): 2.2, **gilí**.  
*hīrr úmmak* (And.) and *hīru ummik*: **arru-**  
**m(i)aco, caramba, herre**.  
\*\**hīrz*: **grisgrís**.  
*hīšāb*: **¡anda allá!**  
\*\**hīšān*: **alazán**.  
*hīšnah*: **cotxó**.  
*hīšrim*: **hadraamj**.  
*hīšsa* (And.) and *hīšsah*: **haza**.  
\*\**hītmah*: **alema**.  
\**hīz* (And.): **alfiz**.  
*hīzām* (And.) and *hīzām*: **alhizan**.  
*hīmaḍa* (Mor.): **alfandoque**.  
*hō hō* (Has.): **re(i)so**.  
\*\**hu matāš allāyl* (And.): **taheño**.  
\*\**hubārā*: **hovero**.  
\*\**hubíra* and \*\**hubíri* (And.): **hovero and**  
**hubara**.  
*hubúl* (And.): 1.1.5.3.1, **alcohol**.  
*hub(u)s*: **habiz**.  
*hudúbba* (And.): **joroba**.  
*huḍurrah*: **andorra**.  
\*\**hufrah*: **alcouve**.  
*hujrah*: **alhog(e)i**ra.  
*hujzah*: **alforza, lacazán and alhog(e)i**ra.  
*hūk[a]r* (And.) and *hukr*: **aloque**<sup>3</sup>.  
*hulā*: **alforado**.  
*hulām*: **alhulam**.  
*húlba* (And.) and *hulbah*: **albolba**.  
*hulbah* and *hulbat alʔasad*: **albulba**.  
*hulí* (And.): **alforado, halarea**.  
*húlla* (And.) and *hullah*: **alfola**.  
*hullatun mawšiyah*: **almeixia**.  
*hulqūm*: **alc(h)alchum**.  
\**húlwa*: **batafalúa**.  
*húlya*: fn. 31.  
*humayqāʔ*: **(al)hamica**.  
*humnāḍ alʔutruj*: **humadic**.  
*húma* (And.) and *humrah*: 1.1.5.4, **alfombra**<sup>2</sup>.  
*hún* (And.) and *hūn*: **alhaonarse**.  
*huná* (And.) and *hunā*: **hene**.  
*húndaba* (And.): **endibia** (in Appendix I).

*hundūqah*: **adúcar**.  
*huqnah* and *húqna* (And.): **jokná**.  
*huqqah*: **hucá**.  
*hūr*: **hurí**.  
*hurí* (And.): 1.1.3.6, **alborín**.  
*hurmah*: **alforma**.  
*húrr* (And.) and *hurr*: 1.1.3.4, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1,  
**alferraz, alforreo, calforra, horrá**.  
*hurrayn* (Neo-Ar.): **alhorrayn**.  
*hurráyqah*: **alforreca**.  
*hurriyya* (And.) and *hurriyyah*: **alforria, bal-**  
**hurria**.  
*hurrubiyál* (And.): **alferraz**.  
*hūr(u)ḥayn*: **hurí**.  
*huríf* (And.) and *huríf*: **ajorozo**.  
*hury*: **alborín**.  
*husayn(i)*: **huzeinis**.  
*hušayyim*: **ahhoxaym**.  
\*\**hušš* and \*\*\**huššah*: **josa** (in Appendix I).  
\*\**hūr*: **fato, Fomalhaut and cameca**.  
*hūt* (*šamālī*): **alhot**.  
*huṭamah*: **hatama**.  
*huwayyah*: **alhao/u/ce**.  
*huwwārā*: 1.2.1.3.2, **alhavara**.  
*húzza* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, **alforza, lacazán**.  
\**húzzat aššarīṭa* (And.): **jareta**.  
  
\*\**ibšad*: **¡aba!**  
*ibādī*: **abadita**.  
\**ibirnī* (And.): **neblí**.  
\**ibirnīyya* (And.): fn. 50, 1.2.1.2.1, 1.3.1.2.1,  
**albernia**.  
*iblis*: 1.1.5.3.3, **beliz**.  
*ibn širs* (Neo-Ar.): **beniaerçe**.  
\*\**ibnatuh*: **abanto**.  
*ibnu āwā*: **abnue and ybucace**.  
\*\**ibnu man kān*: **mengano**.  
*ibnu rušd*: **averroísmo**.  
*ibrah*: fn. 103, **alebra**.  
*ibrāhīm*: **abraemo**.  
*ibranj* (Neo-Ar.): **alberengi**.  
*ibrat albáhr* (And.): 2.1.  
*ibrīq* (And.) and *ibrīq*: **brico**.  
*ibrīšma* (And.): **bexima**.  
*ibriyah*: **alhebria**.  
*ibriyyah*: **alaba/erie**.  
*ibríz* (And.) and *ibríz*: **bricho**.  
*ibīf* and *ibīayn* (Neo-Ar.): **al(a)bathi, ala-**  
**bathein**.  
\**ibṭu ljawzāʔ*: **Betelgeuse**.

*šid* (And.) and *šid*: **layda**.  
*šidāda* (And.) and *šidādah*: **alidada**.  
*idām* (And.) and *idām*: 1.1.3.1, **alidem**.  
 \*\**idān* (And.): **alidem**.  
*šidār* (And.) *šidār*: **adul<sup>2</sup>, aladar**.  
*šidda mīta ḡanām* (And.): **ydanitaganam**.  
*idrāk*: **aladarach**.  
*idrīsī*: **edrisī**.  
*šidyawī*: **alhadiuth**.  
 \*\**šifās* (And.) and \*\**šifāš*: **alifac**.  
*ifendi* (Malt.): **fendi**.  
*ifranjī*: **cimitarra**.  
*ifridāriyah* (Neo-Ar.): **alfridária**.  
*šifrūt*: **ifrite**.  
*ifrīz* (And.) and *ifrīz*: **alefris**.  
*ihāba* (And.) and *ihābah*: **aliaba**.  
*ihālah* (And.) and *ihālah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alifara**.  
*ihdār*: **aladar**.  
*iḥšār* (And.) and *iḥšār*: **alizar**.  
*šijān*: **alhagian**.  
 \*\**šijārah*: **alfagara**.  
*ijjās(ah)*: fn. 103.  
*ijjāšī*: **algiasic**.  
 \*\**šijl*: **rexelo**.  
 \*\*>*īkāf*<: **ademán**.  
*iklīl* (*almalīk*) (And.) and *iklīl*: 1.1.3.2.2,  
 1.1.4.4.1, **alecrim**.  
*iklīl janūbī* (Neo-Ar.): **aliclil**.  
*iklīl šamālī* (Neo-Ar.): **alacilil axemeli**.  
*iksīr*: **elixir**.  
*ilāh*: **lilaila, olé**.  
*īlān* (And.) and *īlān*: 2.2, **lailán**.  
*šilāqa* (And.) and *šilāqah*: **alahílca, zalaca**.  
*šilj* (And.) and *šilj*: **elche**.  
*iljām*: **trigem**.  
*illā*: **lilaila**.  
*šillatun fālījīyah*: **alferecía**.  
*ilma* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
 \*\**šilq* (And.) and \*\**šilq(ah)*: **alahílca**.  
*iltimāq* (And.): **tamanco**.  
*šimād* (And.) and *šimād*: **arimez**.  
*imālah*: **imela**.  
*imām*: **imā**.  
*šimāmah* and *šimāma* (And.): **méma**.  
*imāra* (And.) and *imārah*: fn. 103, **alimara**.  
*imlīsī*: **melancia**.  
*imraḥ*: **malcolfa**.  
*inšām*: **inama**.  
*inbīq*: **alambí**.

*šinda llāhi* (*talqā*) *lḥisāb*: **šanda allá!**  
 \*\**inḍirāj*: **andrajo**.  
*infāḥah*: **alhebria**.  
*infišāl*: **anfasalan**.  
*injiḥād* (And.) and *injiḥāb*: **enchebedir-se**.  
*injlā almūrya* (And.) and *injlālu lmūryah*:  
**¡Ángela (María)!**  
*šinnūn*: **alhanin**.  
*intifāx*: **alantifac**.  
*inḡināl*: **alathna**.  
*inišār*: **alintisar**.  
*inzāl* (And.) and *inzāl*: **arancel**.  
*iqšād*: **alachad**.  
 \*\**iqāmah*: **quema**.  
*iqḡimiyā* (Neo-Ar.): **quedimia**.  
*iqšīrār*: **alchsarar**.  
*širāq*: **iraquí**.  
*širāqī*: **erak**.  
*irbiyān*: **alarbian**.  
*širq assūs* (And.) and *širqu ssūs*: 1.3.1.2.2,  
**alcaçuz, alçuz**.  
*(širq) madanī*: **medeni**.  
 \*\*\**irqān*: **orcaneta**.  
*širī*: fn. 14.  
*irtaḡā*: **almártaga<sup>1</sup>**.  
*irx(ah)*: **arralha**.  
 \**īrz*: **alerç**.  
*irzabbah*: **alhebria**.  
*šišā?*: **achanamasi, axa**.  
*šišām šimsāmiyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **sensemanic**.  
*isās* (And.) and *isās*: **alacet**.  
*šisawa*, pl. of *šisawi* (Mor.) and *šisawī*: **ais-sauà**.  
*išbīlyā* (And.): 1.1.5.3.3.  
*išbānāx* (Neo-Ar.): **espinaca**.  
*išfanj* (Neo-Ar.) and *išfānja* (And.): **esfenja**  
 and **sauf(e)**.  
*išfannāriyah* (And.): 1.1.5.3.3, **acenoria**.  
 \**iškābāč* (And.): **cebiche**.  
*iškāla* (And.): **eschalas**.  
*iškarlāta* (And.): **ciclatão**.  
*islām*: **islam**.  
*ism*: **bismela**.  
*ismāšīlī*: **ismaelita**.  
*isnād* (And.) and *isnād*: fn. 4, **asnado**.  
 \*\**išpāta* (And.): **leme**.  
*išpināxa* (And.): **espinaca**.  
*šišq*: **alhasch**.  
*issāl* (And.): **alizar**.

\**issannārya* (And.): **acenoría**.  
 \**issawān* (And.): **zagão**.  
*istafāda lwādī šajarā*: **mofedo**.  
*istanbūd e istanbūtī* (Neo-Ar.): **alambor<sup>2</sup>**.  
 \*\**istaṭāl* and \*\**istaṭālah*: **destartalado**.  
*istawā kaṭūr(an)*: **esteueequiçir**.  
*ištawān* (And.): **zagão**.  
*istīdād*: **alasta(r)dad**.  
*istihādah*: **alhastada**.  
*istimrāl*: **(al)istimbre**.  
*istirdād*: **alasta(r)dad**.  
*iṣṭifīnah*: **acenoría**.  
*iṭār*: **tar**.  
 \*\**iqlāq* (And.): **alizar**.  
*itmām Ṣiẓām* (Neo-Ar.): **ithmaeidem**.  
*īmīd*: **antimoni**.  
*iṭrif*: **trefe**.  
*iṭrifūl* (Neo-Ar.): **trifera**.  
*iṭriyya* (And.) and *iṭriyah*: **aletría**.  
*Ṣiwad(a)*: **anigual**.  
*ṭwān*: fn. 103.  
 \*\**iwazz*: **pato**.  
*ixtilāj*: **jectigacion**.  
*Ṣiyādi* (And.): **ayadion**.  
 \*\*\**Ṣiyārah*: **aliara**.  
*īyyāk*: **ayec**.  
*izṣāj*: **azhagi**.  
 \*\**izār* (And.) and *izār*: fn., 103, **alizar**, **izar**.

*jāṣbah* (And.) and *jaṣbah*: **aljaba**.  
*jabal*: **gebe/al**.  
*jabalī* (And.) and *jabalī*: 1.1.3.3, 1.2.1.2.1, **chabalí**.  
*jabalu ṭāriq*: **gibaltareño**.  
*jabáyyrah* (And.): 1.1.5.2, fn. 67, 1.2.1.2.2, **algibeira**.  
*jabbāb*: **algibebe**.  
*jabbār*: **algebar**.  
 \**jabbisī* (And.): **jubizí**.  
*jabbah* and *jabbat alʿasad* (Neo-Ar.): **algebha**.  
*jabr (wamuqābalaḥ)* (Neo-Ar.): **álgebra**.  
*jābs* (And.): 1.1.4.4.1, **algeps**.  
*jaḍām* (And.) and *jaḍam*: **algada**.  
*jadwār*: **cedoaria**.  
*jady, jidyān, jidayn* and *jaʿidī* (And.): **algedi**.  
*jaṣfarī*: **jaharí**.  
*jaṣfari* (And.): **iafari**.  
*jāff*: **gafo**.  
*jaffāfa* (And.): **aljoiffa**.  
*jāfi*: **gafo** and \*\**jāfi*: **zafio**.

*jāfna* (And.) and *jafnah*: 1.1.3.1, **alcofaina**, **aljáfana**.  
*jafr*: **jofo**.  
*jaḡraf* (And.): **alfāambar**.  
*jahar*: **algiehar**.  
*jahārik* (Neo-Ar.): **algicarech**.  
 \**jaház* (And.) and *jahāz*: **jaez, zázio**.  
*jaḥalat alfaras* (Neo-Ar.): **jahselet alfaraz**.  
 \*\**jāhil(ī)*: **gilí**.  
*jāhr* (And.) and *jahr*: **aljares**.  
*jahrān* (And.): **alfar(ah)án**.  
*jaḥš*: **jo(r)jo**.  
 \*\**jāʿizah*: **jácena**.  
 \*\**jākar* and \*\*\**jakkar*: **jácara** (in Appendix I).  
*jalājil*: **algielagiel**.  
*jalālu ddīn*: **jelala**.  
*jalb*: **algeleb**.  
*jalbah* (Neo-Ar.): **gelba**.  
*jalīdī*: **ylady**.  
 \*\**jalīs*: **jeliz**.  
 \*\**jallāb*: **aljaravia**.  
*jallābiyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **aljaravia**.  
*jallīs* (And.): **jeliz**.  
*jāmṣ* (And.) and *jāmṣ*: **jamear**.  
*jāmaṣ*: **aljama**.  
*jāmāṣa* (And.) and *jāmāṣah*: **aljama, amal-gama** (in Appendix I).  
 \**jām(a)ṣa* (And.): **algemas**.  
*jāmaq/kiyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **jamequia**.  
 \**jamalūn* (And.) and *jamalūn* (Neo-Ar.): **jabalcón**.  
*jamasi* (Neo-Ar.): **gemezt**.  
*jāmīṣ*: **aljama, gima**.  
*jamṣ fi ráḥṭu* (And.) and \*\*\**jamṣ ḥawāyij*: 1.3.2, **aljemifao**.  
*jāmīṣah*: **algemas, chúmeas** (in Appendix I).  
*jāmīd*: **gema**.  
 \*\**jamīl* and \*\**jamīlah*: **jámila**.  
*jamīlah*: **iamilas**.  
*janāḥ alfaras / alḡurāb* (Neo-Ar.): **gene(h)**.  
*janb almusalsalah* (Neo-Ar.): **gemb almu-çelçela**.  
*janb / jāniḥ barsāʿiṣ* (Neo-Ar.): **gemb ber-seus**.  
 \**jānba* (And.): **zambo**.  
*jāndal* (And.) and *jandal*: **gándara**.  
 \*\**jannah*: **cartagenero**.  
*jarād* (And.) and *jarād*: **charate, jardón**.  
*jarás* (And.) and *jaras*: **aljaraz**.  
*jāriḥah*: **algerife**.

*jarīšī*: **algerifi**.

**\*\*jarnayī** (Naf.): **atzanet**.

*jārr* (And.) and *jarr*: **jorro**.

*jārra* (And.) and *jarrah*: 1.3.1.2.1, **algera**.

*jarrāf(ah)*: **jarrafa**.

**\*\*jarrāfah** (And.): **algerife**.

*jarú* (And.): **chirivía**.

*jarūz*: **algeroz**.

*jasā?*: **gessa**.

*jašīšah*: **alejija**.

*jāsr* (And.) and *jasr*: 1.1.4.4.1, 1.1.5.4, **jácena**.

*jāšī Ṣalā rukbatayh*: **elgehci alerocbetihi**.

*jāṭūm*: **algiathum**.

*jawārišan xūzī* (Neo-Ar.): **alch(a)uzi**.

*jāwf* (And.) and *jawf*: **aljouf, enchufar**.

*jāwhar* (And.) and *jawhar*: 1.1.4.1, **aljófár**.

*jāwī* (Neo-Ar.): **benjuí**.

*jāwlaqa* (And.) and *jawlaq*: **argelaga**.

*jawn*: **alcor**.

*jāwz* (And.) and *jawz*: **aljuz**.

*jawzā?*: **Betelgeuse**.

*jawzahr* (Neo-Ar.): **iahuzahar**.

*jawzī*: **alhauari**.

*jawz aššarq* (Neo-Ar.): 2.1, **eixarc**.

*jayb*: **algibeira, engibar**.

*jayyāb*: **algeiabe**.

*jayyān* (And.): 1.1.3.3, **jaén, jayena**.

*jayyāni* (And.): fn. 81, **jayena**.

*jayyār*: **jaharral, jaharrar**.

*jayyid*: **gídio, alfiz**.

*jazaš*: **aliauze**.

*jazāšīr*: **argelino**.

**\*jazār** (And.): 1.2.1.3.1, **aljazar**.

*jazāšīrī* (Neo-Ar.): **jacerina**.

*jazīra* (And.) and *jazīrah*: **alcireño, aliazira**.

*jazīratu lʿandalus*: **andaluz**.

*jazr*: 1.2.1.3.1, **aljazar**.

*jīb* (And.): **engibar**.

*jīb[al] táriq* (And.): **gibraltaréño**.

**\*\*jībārah**: **algabarra**.

*jībāyah* (And.): **algibeira**.

*jībīb* (And.): **alchub**.

*jībībāh* (Neo-Ar.): **aljuba**.

*jībs*: **algeps**.

*jīd* (And.): **alfiz, gídio**.

*jīfa* (And.) and *jīfah*: **gifa, xifarrera** (in Appendix I).

*jīhāʿiz* (And.): **jaez**.

*jīlāl*: **jirel**.

**\*jīlāqa** (And.): **argelaga**.

*jīlbāb*: **chilaba**.

*jīlbāna* (And.): **galbana<sup>2</sup>**.

*jīld*: **geld**.

*jīllawz*: 2.1, **gilmendro**.

*jīmālani*: **galbana<sup>2</sup>**.

*jīmiš* (And.): **gima**.

*jīmmal* (And.): **gema**.

*jīnāb*: **algenibe**.

*jīnyāna*: 1.1.3.2.

*jīr*: **jaharrar**.

*jīrāb*: **alگیرāo**.

*jīriwīyya*: **chirivía**.

*jīrw*: **chirivía**.

**\*\*jīšār** (And.): **adixar, marchal**.

*jīs*: **jácena and choçola**.

*jīšš* (And.) and *jīšš*: **algeps**.

*jīzīra* (And.): **alcireño**.

**\*\*jīzm**: **chisme** (in Appendix I).

**\*\*jīzyah**: **lágima**.

*jūḍal*: **alfar(ah)án**.

*jūbb* (And.) and *jubb*: 1.1.3.1, **alchub**.

*jūbbā* (And.) and *jubbah*: 1.3.1.2.1, **aljuba**,

**farjup**.

**\*\* (jubhun) ṣaḡīr**: **seguer**.

**\*\*\*jubis**: **jubizí**.

*jubn*: **gibun**.

*jūdāb(ah)* (Neo-Ar.): **algiudaba/et**.

*judarī*: **judareh**.

*judayy*: **algedí**.

**\*\*\*judiyā?**: **judía**.

**\*jūf**: **enchufar**.

*jufáyna* (And.) and *jufaynah*: 1.1.3.3, fn. 66, 1.3.1.2.1, **alcofaina**.

*juffīfa* (And.): **aljofifa**.

*jufūr* (And.) and *jufūr*: **jofor**.

*juhā*: **roa**.

*julab* and *julbah*: **galbana<sup>2</sup>**.

*julāb*: **julep**.

*julanjubīn* (Neo-Ar.): **gele/iniabin**.

*julbāb*: **aljaravia**.

*julbāna* (And.) and *julbānah*: **alverjana, galbana<sup>2</sup>**.

*júljal* (And.) and *juljul*: 1.1.3.3, 1.1.5.1.3, 1.1.5.2, **ajorás, aljorce**.

*juljulán* (And.) and *juljulān*: 1.1.5.1.3, **ajonjolí**.

**\*\*júll**: **jirel**.

**\*\*jullah**: **argele** (in Appendix I).

*julubbānah*: **galbana<sup>2</sup>**.

*jumād(à)*: **jumet**.

*jumal*: **jomo**.

*jumaqdār* (Neo-Ar.): **jamequia**.  
*jumlah*: **jomo**.  
*jummāl*: **gema**.  
*jummaliyya* (And.): **gúmena** (in Appendix I).  
*jummát*, pl. of *júmma* (And.) and *jummah*:  
**ajomate, aljuma**.  
*jundubādastar* (Neo-Ar.): **gendebuster**.  
*\*\*jušrān* (Eg.): **alfar(ah)án**  
*júrf* (And.) and *jurf*: **jorfe**.  
*jurjānī* (Neo-Ar.): **agurgen**.  
*júrr* (And.): 1.2.1.2.3, **jorro**.  
*\*\*jurrún* (And.): **alfortoner**.  
*jurūmī*: **zurumí**.  
*\*\*jušār*: 1.1.3.3, **adixar, marchal**.  
*juwīrāst* and *juyīrāst* (Neo-Ar.): **aliernistar**.  
*\*\*\*jūz*: **aljuz**.  
*>jwnyʃds<* (Neo-Ar.): **hanicades**.  
*kāšb* (And.) and *kašb*: **alcahab**.  
*\*(kašb) azzahr* (Neo-Ar.): **atzar**.  
*kāšba* (And.) and *kašbah*: **taba<sup>1</sup>, Caaba**.  
*kašbat alʔašdād* (Neo-Ar.): fn. 107.  
*kabāb*: **alchiebabat**.  
*kabar*: **queber**.  
*\*\*kabar*: **alcaparra**.  
*\*kašbatu lʔašdād*: **dado**.  
*\*\*\*kabbās*: **alcabaz**.  
*kabīr*: **quibir**.  
*kabīrah*: **quetra**.  
*kabīrāni*: **kabí/rane**.  
*kābūlī* (Neo-Ar.): **alchauli**.  
*kābūs*: **(al)chabus**.  
*\*\*kaḏāb* (And.) and *\*\*kaḏab(ah)*: **gazapo**.  
*\*\*kadarah*: **codrá**.  
*\*\*kāḏba* (And.): **gazapo**.  
*\*\*kaḏdān*: **adoquim** and **kaeden**.  
*kād/qī*: **quedi**.  
*kadīš* (Neo-Ar.): **cadixe**.  
*kaff*: **kaf**.  
*kafāf* (And.): **cofafa**.  
*kafāl* (And.) and *kafal*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.4.1,  
**alcafan**.  
*káff* (And.): **almocafre, kef**.  
*kaff xadīb / jaqmāʔ* (Neo-Ar.): **elquef alhadib /**  
**eliedme**.  
*kāfī*: **cafiar**.  
*kāfir*: **cafre**.  
*kafūr* (And.) and *kāfūr*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.3.1.2.1,  
**alcanfor**.  
*kahhal*: **alcohol**.

*kāhil*: **alcheel(i)**.  
*kahrabāʔ*: **cárabe**.  
*kahramān* (Neo-Ar.): **caaclaman**.  
*kašk*: **chiach**.  
*kākanj*: **alquequenje**.  
*kalaf*: **alchelefut**.  
*\*\*kalb*: **cáрабо<sup>3</sup>** (in Appendix I).  
*kālb albaḥr* (And.) and *kalbu lbaḥr*: 1.3.2,  
**albafar**.  
*kalb (arrāšī)* (Neo-Ar.): **quelb (array)**.  
*kalbayn* (Neo-Ar.): **elquelbayn**.  
*kalkalānj* (Neo-Ar.): **alkalkalangi**.  
*\*\*kallāʔ*: **cala** (in Appendix I).  
*kállah* (And.): **alcala(da)**.  
*\*\*kallāšah*: **barraca**.  
*\*\*kalúx* (And.): **aguineu**.  
*kāmax* pl. *kawāmīx* (Neo-Ar.): **alch(a)uamich**.  
*kamunīyya* (And.) and *kammūn(iyya)h*: **alca-**  
**monia**.  
*kanxā* (Neo-Ar.): **camocà**.  
*kán* (And.): **haragán**.  
*\*\*kanāʔis*: **alcañizano**.  
*kanbúš* (And.): **cambuix**.  
*kándara* (And.) and *kandarah*: **alcándara**.  
*kānḥabb* (Naf.): **macange**.  
*kanīf* and *kanīf* (And.): **kañifos**.  
*kánkala* (And.): **alcâncara**.  
*kánn* (And.): **alcanela**.  
*kánz* (And.) and *kanz*: **alcancia, alcanzar**.  
*\*kanzīyya* (And.): 1.2.1.2.1, **alcancia**.  
*kapāra* (And.): 1.3.1.2.1, **alcaparra**.  
*karāma* (And.) and *karāmah*: **encaramar**.  
*karawán* (And.) and *karawān (aljabal)* (Neo-  
 Ar.): **alcaraván**.  
*karawīyya* (And.) and *karawiyā*: 1.1.3.4,  
**alcaravea, chirivía**.  
*karb*: **chereb(u)**.  
*kárbi* (And.): 2.2.  
*kardanaḱj* (Neo-Ar.): **alchiardanach**.  
*karkál* (And.): **acarcal**.  
*kárm(a)* (And.) and *karm*: **cáramo, carme,**  
**encaramar**.  
*karrāh*: **alcarrada<sup>1</sup>**.  
*karrāzah* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **alcarraza**.  
*\*\*káršana* (And.): **carxena**.  
*karsánna* (And.): 1.1.4.2, **alcarceña**.  
*karzīyya* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, **alcaldía<sup>2</sup>**.  
*kaʔs*: **alquez**.  
*kášb* (And.) and *kasb*: **alqueçeb**.  
*\*\*kašf*: **batalero**.

*kaska/ā* (Ir.): **gacha(s)**.  
*kāskabināj* (Neo-Ar.): **alchiaschuegi**.  
*kaskas*: **alcuzcuz**.  
*kaslān* (And.) and *kaslān*: **lacazán**.  
*kašk* and *kaškāb*: **gacha**.  
*kásr* (And.) and *kasr*: **cáceres**.  
*kásr(a)* (And.) and *kasrah*: **alquezar**.  
*\*\*kassáb* (And.): **algame**.  
*kaššāf*: **achaassos**.  
*kassár* (And.) and *kassar*: **escazarí**.  
*káswah* (And.): **alquicé**.  
*katif*: **alcheti**.  
*kaṭif*: **nathif**.  
*kātimah*: **quetmee**.  
*kaṭra* (And.) and *kaṭrā?*: 1.1.5.1.2, **alcátira**.  
*kāṭra* (And.) and *kaṭrah*: **quetra**.  
*kattān* (And.) and *kattān*: **alcatenes**.  
*\*kattān albayāḍ* (And.): **bayal**.  
*\*kattāra* (And.): **guitarra**.  
*kawbaj* (Neo-Ar.): **cauuenige**.  
*kayf* (Neo-Ar.) and *kayf(a)*: **quif**.  
*kāyl* (And.) and *kayl*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alqueire**.  
*kaylah*: **alqueire**.  
*\*\*kaynūnah*: **acerola**.  
*kayṭāra* (And.): **guitarra**.  
*\*\*kazbūr* (And.): **gamburrino**.  
*kazbūr albīr* (And.): 2.1.  
*\*\*kārballō* (Mor.): **garbell**.  
*kāksu* (Mor.): **alcuzcuz**.  
*\*\*kassab* (Mor.): **algame**.  
*kāwwar(a)* (Mor.): **alcavalla**.  
*kṣaf* (Mor.): **cofafa**.  
*kibḍ alḥasad* (Neo-Ar.): **quibḍ allaaçet**.  
*kibīr* (And.): **quenibir, quibir**.  
*kibīra* (And.): **quetra**.  
*kibrūt* (And.) and *kibrūt*: 1.1.5.3.1, **alcrebite**.  
*kif* (Mor.): **quif**.  
*kif radā ššāy* and *kif yirid* (And.): **quifradaxa**.  
*killah*: **alcala**.  
*kīlma* (And.): fn. 95.  
*kūmya* (And.) and *kīmīyā(?)*: **alquimia**.  
*\*\*kinānah*: **canana** (in Appendix I).  
*kinn*: **alcanela**.  
*kinnatabyāt* (And.): **ataviar**.  
*kirā* (And.) and *kirā?*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alquilé**.  
*kirā dawāb* (And.): **almocrebe**.  
*kirsa/innah*: **alcarceña**.  
*kīs* (And.): 1.1.5.3.1.  
*kisā* (And.) and *kisā?*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.4, **alquicé**.  
*kisah*: **acica**.

*kišš* (*malik*) (Neo-Ar.): **escacs**.  
*kiswah*: **alquicé**.  
*kiṭār*: **queber**.  
*kiṭra* (And.): 1.1.5.1.2, **alcátira**.  
*kīra* (And.) and *kīrah*: **quetra**.  
*kittāra* (And.): **guitarra**.  
*kizzah*: **chede**.  
*knana* (Mor.): **canana** (in Appendix I).  
*\*\*\*kodrā*: **codrá**.  
*kommīyya* (Mor.): **agomia**.  
*\*\*korsi* (Mor.): **cursi**.  
*korzayya* (Mor.): **alcaldía**.  
*\*\*ksiba* (Mor.): **algame**.  
*kūṣ* (Neo-Ar.): **goa**.  
*kubābah*: **cubeba**.  
*kúdyā* (And.) and *kudyah*: **alcúdia**.  
*kūft*: **cúfico**.  
*kuḥāyka* (And.): **culeca**.  
*kuḥāyla* (And.) and *kuḥaylā?*: **alcohol**.  
*kuḥl*: **alcohol**.  
*kuḥūl* (And.) and *kuḥūl*: 1.2.1.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **alcohol, amalgama** (in Appendix I).  
*kull(i yawm)* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.4.4.  
*kundur*: **alcunda/ez**.  
*kundus*: **alcunda/ez**.  
*kúnya* (And.) and *kunyah*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.2.1.1, **alcume**.  
*kúra* (And.) and *kurah*: **alcóra**.  
*kúra* (And.) and *kūrah*: **cora**.  
*kurbāj* (Neo-Ar.): **corbacho**.  
*kurdī*: **curdo**.  
*kurkum(ah)*: **cúrcuma**.  
*kur(r)āz*: 1.2.1.3.2, **alcarraza**.  
*kurrij* (Neo-Ar.): **jo(r)jo**.  
*kursī* (And.) and *kursī aljawzā? almuṭaxxar / almuqaddam* (Neo-Ar.): **alcorc/sí, cursi elgeuze elmocaden, cursiera** (in Appendix I).  
*kūs* (*alšimād*) (Neo-Ar.): **coz (de limas)**.  
*\*\*kūs*: **naqueracusa**.  
*kusḥ alxirwāf* (Neo-Ar.): **kesb alcherua**.  
*kūsidra* (And.): **acólcetra**.  
*kuskusú(n)* (And.) and *kuskus*: **alcuzcuz**.  
*kuss*: **coso**.  
*kušūt/īā?*: 1.1.3.3, **cuscuta**.  
*kutūb* (And.): **cutún**.  
*kuwāḥsārik* (Neo-Ar.) and *kūzah*: **alcuza**.  
*kuzāz*: **(al)cuzeu**.  
*\*\*kuzbar*: **gamburrino**.  
*\*\*kyaṭro* (Mor.): **carcaix**.



- la* (And.): **alalimón**.  
*lā awḥaša(hu) llāh*: **ojalá**.  
*lā ilāha illā allāh*: **lilaila**.  
*labáč* (And.): **lebeche**.  
*labán* (And.) and *laban*: **alabán, lebení**.  
*labaní* (And.) and *labanī*: **lebení**.  
*labbah*: **alleba/e**.  
*\*\*labbán* (And.) and *\*\*labbān*: **alabán**.  
*labbár* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2.  
*lablāb*: **goleuas**.  
*lablí* (And.): **neblí**.  
*labra* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*\*\*labrál* and *\*labrál/n* (And.): 0.1, **alabrent**.  
*lādan* (And.) and *lādan(ah)*: **aledan**.  
*\*lāffa* (And.) and *laffah*: **lefe, allafa**.  
*laffe* (Sr.): **allafa**.  
*laḡmán* (And.): **amalgama** (in Appendix I).  
*lahāt*: **ellehet**.  
*lahát* (And.) and *lahḡ*: **arfar**.  
*\*laḡm ḡāšī*: **almagieza**.  
*lahw* and *lahú* (And.): **allehu**.  
*lašīb* (And.) and *lašib*: **naip**.  
*lašībín*: **aleleví**.  
*lašibu zzahr / nnard*: **dato**.  
*laǵúr(a)* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2, 1.1.5.3.1, fn. 103.  
**ajorozo, rajola**.  
*lakk* (Neo-Ar.): **laca<sup>1</sup>**.  
*lalla* (Mor.): **lela**.  
*lāmī*: **elemí**.  
*lāmḡ* (And.) and *lamḡ* (Naf.): **ant**.  
*lamtu* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*langasa* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lant* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lappása* (And.): **alabaza**.  
*laptu* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lāšqa* (And.) and *lašqah*: **laca<sup>2</sup>**.  
*laqlaq*, pl. *laqāliq*: **lagaliga**.  
*laqmī* (Neo-Ar.): **agmí**.  
*\*\*laqtáyr* (And.): **alicates**.  
*>lās<*, *lās ifránji* (And.) and *lāsa* (Eg.): **allezeffrange**.  
*lašá/íf* (And.) and *lašaf*: 1.1.3.2.2, **arrafiz, ar-rezafé**.  
*\*lašt*: **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).  
*lašiqah*: **latica**.  
*lāšūn* (Neo-Ar.): **latão**.  
*lašūx*: **altaluch**.  
*lašxah*: **alatha**.  
*lašūq*: 1.2.1.3.2, **looque**.  
*law šá llāh* (And.) and *law šāʿa llāh*: **ojalá**.  
*\*law ma šá llāh* (And.): **oxamala**.  
*lāwī*: **ala/o/u/ve**.  
*lawandī* (Eg.): **levente**.  
*\*\*lawaq*: **loco**.  
*lawáyina*: **aluja**.  
*lawáyin* (And.): **lula**.  
*\*lāwla* and *>lawlaʿah<* (And.): **alaules**.  
*\*\*lawlab*: **aleuna**.  
*\*\*\*lawq*: **loco**.  
*lāwqa* (And.) and *lawqāʿ*: 1.2.1.3.2, **loco**.  
*lāwza* (And.) and *lawzah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alloza**.  
*lawzīnāj*: **losange** and **allauzin(i)**.  
*lāyla* (And.) and *laylah*: **leila, leilán**.  
*laylī*: **leilí**.  
*laymūn* (Neo-Ar.): **lima**.  
*laynah*: **melena**.  
*layrání* (And.): **lairén**.  
*lázma* (And.): **lágima, rasmear**.  
*lāzaward*: **atzur**.  
*lāzimah*: **lágima**.  
*lázma* (And.) and *lazmah*: **lágima, zálamo**.  
*>lāzuh<* (And.): **allezeffrange**.  
*lbus* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lašsa* (Mor.): fn. 103.  
*lamin* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*laqqat* (Mor.): **alicates**.  
*letim* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lewluwwa* (Malt.): **alaules**.  
*lhudi* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*libāʿ*: **alleba/e**.  
*\*\*libnat atamām* (Neo-Ar.): **aleuna**.  
*līf* (And.) and *līf*: **alifar**.  
*līfūriyā* (Neo-Ar.): **liparia**.  
*liḡáyrū* (And.) and *liḡayriḡ*: **gairo**.  
*liḡáf* (And.) and *liḡāf*: **alifafe<sup>2</sup>**.  
*llak* (Neo-Ar.): **lila**.  
*líma* (And.) and *līmah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **lima, limeta**.  
*līmara* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*līnāj* (Neo-Ar.): **lauich**.  
*\*\*līnah*: **alina**.  
*lingaš* (Mor.): fn. 103.  
*līqah*: **lecas**.  
*\*\*\*liqāḡ* (And.) and *\*\*\*liqāḡ*: **alicates**.  
*liqqa* (And.): **lecas**.  
*lisān alḡamal / aḡawr* (Neo-Ar.): **alca/ocuz**.  
*lišáq* (And.) *lišāq*: **alizaque**.  
*lišáqa*: **lissaga**.  
*\*\*lišbūna*: **albérnia**.  
*\*\*lišṭ*: **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).  
*liyah*: **allethe**.

*liwān* (Eg.): fn. 103.  
*lizāq* (And.) and *lizāq*: **alizaque**.  
*lizar* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*lizāz* (And.): **arricés**.  
*lizmah*: **lágima**.  
*lsas* (Mor.): fn. 103.  
*lsir* (Malt.): fn. 103.  
*luba* (Mor.): **lloba**.  
*lubān jāwī* (Neo-Ar.): **benjuí, olíbano**.  
*lūbī* (Neo-Ar.): **lubi**.  
*lūbra* (And.): **breca**.  
*lūbūyūn* (Neo-Ar.): **aulunum**.  
*lūbya* (And.) and *lūbiyāl*: **alubia**.  
*lūf*: **lufa**.  
*\*lūl(iyyūn)* (And.): **lula**.  
*lūlu* (And.) and *lu?lu?ah*: **alaules**.  
*lunta* (Mor.): fn. 103.  
*luppī* (And.): **lupi(n)s**.  
*\*\*luqmat alqāḏī*: **maçapão**.  
*lūrah* (Neo-Ar.): **allora**.  
*\*\*lušt*: **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).  
*lušūq* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **looque**.  
*\*\*luwayyah*: **aleja** (in Appendix I).  
*luwī*: **al(l)ui**.  
*lzaz* (Mor.): **arricés**.  
  
*mā* (And.): **majuguín**.  
*māl*: fn. 103, **ma**.  
*\*māl annafh* (Neo-Ar.): 2.1, **aguanafa**.  
*\*māl azraq* (Neo-Ar.): **aguazarca**.  
*mā kānhābh* (Naf.): **macange**.  
*mā kēf* (dial.): **maquefe**.  
*ma tarī li, rī li... rūd, jūd* (And.): 2.2, **matarile**.  
*\*ma zāl* (And.): **haragán**.  
*mašājin*: **almájena**.  
*maʔbiḏ*: **(al)mabit**.  
*\*mabriyyah*: **alhebria**.  
*mabrūk* (Neo-Ar.): **brochamiento and albo-roque**.  
*mabrūma* (And.) and *mabrūmah*: **maroma**.  
*\*mabsatah*: **mastaba**.  
*\*mabṭāxa* (And.) and *mabṭaxah*: fn. 20, **mataje**.  
*mabṭūl* (And.): **matal/rote**.  
*mabṭūla* (And.): **matula**.  
*maččāq* (And.): **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*mač(i)nār* (And.): **mechinal**.  
*mašdān* (And.): **almadén**.  
*madanī*: **medeni**.  
*\*\*madānis*: **dansar**.

*madārār*: **almadarat**.  
*madaxxumī* (Malt.): **botafió**.  
*maḡbanj* (Neo-Ar.): **medebich**.  
*madd*: **med**.  
*madhā annašām* (Neo-Ar.): **addaha annaam**.  
*madhūn* (And.) and *madhūn*: 1.1.5.1.1, **al-modón**.  
*mašdīn* (And.) and *mašdīn*: **almadén, madim**.  
*madīna* (And.) and *madīnah/t*: 1.1.4.4, **alme-dina, almudaina, medinés**.  
*maḏīq* (And.) and *maḏīq*: 1.1.3.2.1/2, **almadec**.  
*mašdīyya* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **almadfa**.  
*madna* (Eg.) and *mādnē* (Sr.): **almádena**.  
*maḏrāba* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **almadraba**.  
*\*madrag* (Eg.), *mādrāj* (And.) and *madraj*: **almandrache**.  
*maḏrāsa* (And. and Eg.), *mādrase* (Sr.) and *madrasah*: fn. 50, **madraçal**.  
*maḏrūj* (And.) and *maḏrūj*: **almantruche**.  
*\*\*maḏrūs*: **almadroc**.  
*maḏy*: **almedi**.  
*maḏraš* (And.): 1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1, **almafreixe**.  
*maḏtūl(a)* (And.) and *maḏtūl(ah)*: 1.1.3.1, fn. 20, **matul(a)**.  
*maḡarah*: **almagra**.  
*maḡārja* (And.): **magarza**.  
*maḡaš*: (Neo-Ar. and Eg.): **almojaje**.  
*maḡbin*: **almagabe/in**.  
*maḡfar* (And.): 1.1.3.4, 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1, **almalfre**.  
*\*\*\*maḡḏah*: **mofedo**.  
*maḡlāqa* (And.): **maglaca**.  
*maḡlūq* (And.) and *maḡlūq*: **macloc**.  
*maḡnītis* (Neo-Ar.): **almagnicia**.  
*maḡrah* (And.) and *maḡrah*: 1.1.4.4.1, **almagra**.  
*maḡram* (And.) and *maḡram*: **almagran**.  
*maḡrib* and *maḡribī*: **magrebino**.  
*maḡrūfa* (And.) and *maḡrūfah*: **malcolfa**.  
*maḡšiy(yun Ṣalayh)*: **almagasy**.  
*\*maḡt*: **almogote**.  
*maḡā*: **mahe**.  
*maḡall*: **maal, malcorcho**.  
*\*maḡáll azzīl* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2, **arandal**.  
*maḡalla* (And.) and *maḡallah*: **almafala**.  
*maḡammād* (And.): **Mafamede**.  
*maḡāq*: **mamoco**.  
*maḡāšš / maḡāš alʔasad* (Neo-Ar.): **mahaxa**.  
*maḡbās* (And.) and *maḡbas*: **maavez**.  
*maḡbūl* (Neo-Ar.): **ababol, mabull**.

*mahdī*: **almohadi**.  
*mahfūrah* and *mahfūra* (And.): **almajurada**.  
 \*\**mahīd*: **hamez**.  
*mahīn*: **mořino**.  
*mahlab*: **macaleu**.  
 \**mahlāj* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.3, **almarrá**.  
*mahlūl*: **majalulo**.  
*mahmūd*: **mamude**.  
*mahmūdī*: **mahamudī**.  
*mahmūla* (And.) and *mahmūlah*: **mamola**.  
 \*\**mahnāb* (And.): **hampa**.  
*mahr*: **mořr**.  
 \*\**mahramah*: **macramé**.  
*mahrī*: **meari**.  
*mahrūm* (And.) and *mahrūm*: **maharón**.  
*mahrūt*: **almaharot**.  
 \*\**mahšiyah* (Neo-Ar.): **almeixia**.  
*mahšū*: **mořj**.  
 \*\**mahšuwah*: **almeixia**.  
*mahšūl*: **massul**.  
*mašib*: **naip**.  
*māšidah*: **almeida**.  
*mašizah* and *mašiza* (And.): **almaeza**.  
 \*\**mašjal*: **almijara**.  
*majāmiš* (And.): **almogama**.  
*mašjan* and \*\**mašjana* (And.): **almájena**.  
*mašjār* (And.): **almajar**.  
*majarr* (Neo-Ar.): **almagerra**.  
*majarra* (And.) and *majarr*: 1.1.3.2.2, **almanjarra**, **almiharra**.  
*majassah*: **almagieza**.  
*majfūf*: **gafo**.  
 \*\**majīdī* (Neo-Ar.): **madim**.  
*mājil* (Yem.) and \*\*\**mājilah*: **almijara**.  
*majisī* (Neo-Ar.): **almagest**.  
*mašjmar* (And.): **almaçmara**.  
*majnūn*: 1.3.1.1.  
*majrā*: **mijara**.  
*majrīt* (And.): 1.1.5.4.  
*majšār* (And.): 1.1.5.3.1, **marchal**.  
*mašjūn*: **majum**.  
*mašjūn almulūh* (Neo-Ar.): **mahium almoloh**.  
*mašjūm assitta* (And.) and *mašjūmu ssittah*:  
**machumacete**.  
*majūs*: **almuljuces**.  
*makila* (And.) and *makīlah*: **maquía**.  
*mākka* (And.) and *makkah*: **Meca**.  
*makkār*: **macario**.  
*makkār* (And.): **magar**.

*máks* (And.) and *maks*: 1.1.4.4.1, **almaja**, **moque**.  
*māl*: **malvazar**.  
*mālaqah*: **mēlica**.  
*mašlaf*: (al) **melef**.  
*malaqī* (And.): **malaguf**.  
*malbās* (And.) and *malbas*: **velmez**.  
 \**māfi* (And.): **almafi**.  
*malhāfa* (And.): **almalafa**.  
*malhāfat sarīr* and *malhāfat arruqād* (And.):  
**serir**.  
*malik*: **melique**.  
*malīk* (And.): **alecrim**.  
 \**māliqa* (And.): **mēlica**.  
 \*\*\**mālla* (And.) and \*\**mallah*: **almila**.  
*mallāha* (And.) and *mallāhah*: **almallahe**,  
**barraca**.  
*mallahūn*: **malaguf**.  
*mallīsi* (And.): **melancia**.  
*mallūqah* (Neo-Ar.): **marlota**.  
 \*\**malmas*: **belmez**.  
 \*\**mašlūq*: **loco**.  
*mālzam* (And.): **zálam**.  
*mamarr*, pl. *mamarrāt*: **almamar(at)**.  
*māmūā* (Neo-Ar.): **amemice**.  
*mamlūk*: **mameluc**.  
 \**māmīar(a)* (And.): 1.1.5.1.3, **almandra**.  
*manūūr*: **montaquila**.  
*mašmūl* (And.) and *mašmūl*: **mamola**.  
*mašūna* (And.) and *mašmūnah*: **maimona**.  
*mašmūniyah*: **almemonia**.  
*manzūj*: **majum**.  
*man kān* (And.) and *man kān*: **mengano**.  
*man (u)qīl* (And.) and *man qīl*: **manquíl**.  
*manāqīl* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2, **anaquel**.  
*manār* (And.) and *manār*: **almenar**.  
*manāra* (And.) and *manārah*: 1.3.1.2.2, **almenara<sup>1</sup>**, **alminar**.  
*manāšir*: **minixar**.  
*manāx* (And.): **almanac**.  
*mānbat* (And.) and *manbat*: **almanta**.  
 \*\*\**mandā*: **mandeo**.  
*mandīl* (And.) and *mandīl*: **mandīl**.  
*Mandraġġ* (Malt.): **mandrache**.  
*manfī*: fn. 91, **monfī**.  
*manhār* (And.) and *manhar*: **almenara<sup>2</sup>**.  
*manīšir*: **minixar**.  
*mānjāl* (And.): **manchil**.  
*manjanīq* (And.) and *manjanīq*: 1.1.3.2.2,  
**almajaneque**.

*manjúra* (And.) and *manjúrah*: **almanjarra**.  
*mankib*: **almenc/eheb**.  
*mankib aḡurayyā / aljawzāʾ / alfaras*: **menque/ib aḡoraya / elgeuze / alfaraz, Betelgeuse**.  
*mankúb* (And.) and *mankūb*: **mangote**.  
*mann*: 1.3.1.2.2, **almená**.  
*manqálah* (And.): **anaquel, bancada**.  
*mánqaš* (And.): **mancaje**.  
*manqūd* (And.) and *manqūd*: **mangote**.  
*manqūš*: **mancús**.  
**\*\*manqūs**: **mancús**.  
*maṣáb* (And.) and *maṣab*: **almancebe**.  
*máṣaf* (And.) and *maṣaf*: 1.1.3.1, **almança**.  
*mašár* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **almanxar**.  
*mašūr*: **almanzurris**.  
*mašūr*: **manxorim**.  
*mánt* (And.): **almanto**.  
*manṭiqah* (Neo-Ar.): **almanteca**.  
*manxál* (And.): fn. 90, **monfara**.  
*manxarūt* (And.) and *manxar*: 1.2.1.2.2.  
*mánxar mučáppap* (And.): **chapazo**.  
*manxarayn*: **manhareym**.  
*manyak* (Sr.): **manyac**.  
*manzil*: **manzel**.  
**\*\*manzūr**: **mazorral** (in Appendix I).  
*manzūr*: **mazur**.  
*maqābir* (And.): 1.2.1.1, **almacabra**.  
**\*\*maqābir**: **macabro** (in Appendix I).  
*máqṣad* (And.) and *maqṣad*: **almacaero**.  
*maqárja* (And.): **magarza**.  
*maqábāra* (And.) and *maqbarah*: **almacabra**.  
*maqlūb*: **magaluf**.  
*maqnaṣ*: **macana, almagnales**.  
*maqnáṣa* (And.): **almakanas**.  
*maqráqa* (And.): **almacraca, carraca**.  
*maqšūrah*: **mascura**.  
*maqtāṣ* (And.) and *maqtāṣ*: **mactà, almeque**.  
*maṣqūda* (And.) and *maṣqūdah*: 1.2.1.2.2, **macolla, macoca**.  
*maṣqūq*: **macoca**.  
*mará* (And.): **malcolfa, marafa, marfanta**.  
*mará ḡanya* (And.): **malcolfa**.  
*marah musalsalah (wasāqhā)* (Neo-Ar.): **almara almuçelçela va çaca**.  
**\*\*marajā**: **maracha** (in Appendix I).  
*marāqq*: **mirac, Mizar**.  
*marārah*: **marath**.  
*marasah*: **baraço**.  
*maráššah* (And.): **almarraja**.  
**\*\*marat xānah** (Neo-Ar.): **marfanta**.

*marawí* (And.): **marvil**.  
*marballí* (And.): **marbellí**.  
*marbát* (And.): **almarbate, marbete**.  
**\*\*marbūdah**: **marmota**<sup>1</sup> (in Appendix I).  
*marbūt*: **marabú**.  
*marḡad(d)úš* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.3.3, 1.1.5.1.1, **almorabú**.  
*marḡuma* (And.) and *marḡumah*: **bardoma**.  
*marḡyya* (Mor.): **almería**.  
*márfaga* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **almáfega**.  
*marfúd* (And.): **marfus**.  
*marḡā*: **marrar**.  
*marham*: 1.1.3.6, **merém**.  
*marham arrusul / alḡawāriyyīn* (Neo-Ar.): **mara malrasul**.  
*marḡīs* (Neo-Ar.): **martiz**.  
*marī*: **meri**.  
*márida* (And.): **albéria, merideño**.  
*marīda* (And.) and *marīdah*: **almerida**.  
*maṣrifa* (And.) and *maṣrifah*: **marfar**.  
*marīyya* (And.) and *marīyyah*: **almeria**.  
*marīzz(a)* (And.): **marachezes**.  
*márj* (And.) and *marj*: 1.1.3.3, **almarcha**, **almarjo, maracha** (in Appendix I).  
*márjaš* (And.): **marjal**<sup>2</sup>.  
*marján*: **margen**.  
*marjašu ddarak*: **marjadraque**.  
*markabí* (And.) and *markabī*: **marcavín**.  
**\*márkala** (And.): **márcola**.  
*markúl* (And.) and *markúl*: **marculillo**.  
*marqā* and *marqāh*: **malecón**.  
*marqāšū/ā*: **marcasita**.  
*marqūm* and **\*marqumát** (And.) and *marqūm*: **margomar**.  
*márr* (And.) and *marr*: **marrar**.  
*márr(a)* (And.): **marras**.  
*marrākuš* and **\*\*marrākušī** (Neo-Ar.): **mar-roquí**.  
*marrāsa pl. maráris* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **almar-raxa**.  
*marsà*: **marsa**.  
*marsam*: **marcén**.  
*máršam* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **marchamo**.  
*maršūm*: **marsungo**.  
*maršūm* (And.) and *maršūm*: **moxama**.  
**\*mártaša** (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **almártaga**<sup>1</sup>.  
*mártaba* (And.) and *marṭabah*: **maamartaba**, **màrtava**.  
*marṭabān*: **maçapão, martabão**.

*mártak/q* (And.) and *martak*: **almártaga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*martáyn* (And.): **martín**.  
 \*\**mārūkī* (Naf.): **marroquí**.  
*mārūnī* (Neo-Ar.): **maronita**.  
*marwáh* (And.): **marguà**.  
*marwī* (And.) and *marwī*: **marvil**.  
*marzanjūš*: **alморабú**.  
*māš* (Neo-Ar.): **monos**.  
*masad*: **mansega**.  
 \*\**masaddah*: **maseda**.  
 \*\**masájja* (And.): **bassetja**.  
 \**maššala* (And.) and *maššalah*: **almijara**,  
**maissela**.  
*masáqi* (And.): **morquil**.  
*māšārā* (Neo-Ar.): **(al)masera**.  
*maššarah* (And.) and *maššarah*: **almàssera**.  
*mašárr* (And.): **mazarrón**.  
*mašdaš*: **maseda**.  
*mašgidah* ("Yemenite"): fn. 4.  
*mašhaqunyā* (Neo-Ar.): **masicote**.  
*mašid* (And.) and *mašid*: **manzid**.  
*māsihah*: **maja**.  
*māšīa* (And.) and *māšīah*: **almagita**.  
*mašx*: **almesich**.  
*mašjára* (And.) and *mašjarah*: 1.1.4.1, **almajara**, **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*mašjid*: fn. 4, 1.2.1.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **mesquita**.  
 \*\**maskabah*: **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*maškúk* (And.) and *maškúk*: **mazacuca**.  
 \*\**mašl*: **(al)masal**, **almece**, **maçal**.  
*mašlah*: **maxilar**.  
*mašlahah*: **maçalata**.  
*mašmála* (And.): **enjalma**.  
 \*\**mašmas*: **ajimez**.  
*mašmudí* (And.) and *mašmūdī*: **maimudina**.  
*mašmút* (And.): **maxmordón**.  
*másqa* (And.) and *mašqāh*: 1.1.5.4, **almácega**,  
**morquil**.  
 \**masqát* (And.) and *mašqaš*: **almizate**, **mesquita**.  
 \**masqúa* (And.): **mesquita**.  
*mašqúqa* (And.) and *mašqūqah*: **macoca**.  
*mašraš*: **maseda**.  
*mašráqa* (And.) and *mašraqah*: **majaraca**.  
*mašrī* (Eg.) and *mašrī* (And.): **maçari**.  
*mašrýyya* (And.): 1.1.5.4, **alcoceifa**, **almacería**, **almazaria**.  
 \*\**mašrūš*: **mexelim**.  
*mašrūb*: **mexerufada**.  
*mašrúqa* (And.): **maçaroca**.

*máss* (And.) and *mass*: **mazar**.  
 \**maššāšah*: **almaeza**.  
*māst* (Neo-Ar.): **almaset**.  
*maštabah* (Eg.): **mastaba**.  
*māštaka* (And.) and *maštakāl*: 1.1.5.1.3, **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>.  
 \**maštarín* (And.) and *maštarín*: 1.1.4.1, **almastrén**.  
*maššūd*: **alboroque**.  
*mašūrah* (Neo-Ar.): **maçaroca**.  
*maššūrah* (And.): **maçaroca**.  
*mašwār* (And.) and *mašwarah*: **mexuar**.  
*mašxarah*: **máscara**.  
*māt*: **escacs**.  
*mata húnna* (And.): **taheño**.  
*māḡa/ina* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, **almádana**, **martafallar**.  
*maḡar(ah)* (Neo-Ar.): **matràs**.  
 \*\**maḡarīf*: **matarafe**.  
 \*\**maḡhāna* (And.): **martafallar**.  
 \*\**maḡharah*: **matràs**.  
*maḡliyyah*: 1.1.5.1.1, 1.2.1.3.2, fn. 91, **almo-tolia**.  
*maḡmúra* (And.) and *maḡmūrah*: 1.1.3.2.1, **masmorra**.  
*matn alfaras* (Neo-Ar.): **mezne alfaraz**.  
*matnayn* (Neo-Ar.): **almethenein**.  
*matrába* (And.) and *matrabah*: **matral**.  
*maḡrād* (And.): **matràs**.  
*maḡráf* (And.): **matarafe**.  
*maḡrah* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.5, 1.1.4.1, **almadraque**, **almeixia**.  
*maḡrān* (Neo-Ar.): **Almadrán**, **almatran**.  
*maḡráqa* (And.): **matraca**.  
 \**matrás* (And.) and *matras*: **alpartàs**, **matrazo**.  
*maḡráša* (And.): **madrollero**.  
*maḡrudūtūs* (Neo-Ar.): **metridad**.  
*maḡrūh* (And.) and *maḡrūh*: **almatroque**.  
*maḡrúq(a)* (And.) and *maḡrūq(ah)*: 1.2.1.2.2, **almadroc**, **mandrunco**.  
*māšūn* (also Sr.): **mahona**.  
*mašūnah*: **almona**.  
*māšūna* (And.) and *māšūnah*: **almaguana**.  
*māšūna* (Eg.): **mahona**.  
 \*\**mawaddah*: **almobidana**.  
 \*\**mawlā*: **molá**.  
*mawlānā*: **mulana**.  
*mawlāya*: **Mulei**.  
*māwna* (And.): **almona**.  
*māwq* (And.): **moque**.

*mawraq* (And.): **mauraca**.  
*máwra(t)* (And.): **almora**.  
*\*máwrid* (And.) and *mawrid*: 1.1.3.2.2,  
 1.1.4.4.1, **aumorda**.  
*mawsam* (dial.): **moiséim, monção**.  
*mawšil* and *mawšilī*: **muselina**.  
*mawšim*: **monção, moiséim**.  
*mawšiyah*: **almeixia**.  
*máwza* (And.) and *mawzah*: **almeuce**.  
*maxāda* (And.) and *maxādah*: **almadec,**  
**mafader**.  
*maxlūf*: **magaluf**.  
*maxlūt*: **majalulo**.  
*maxnáqa* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **almanaca**.  
*maxráz* (And.): **almacraz**.  
*maxrūta* (And.) and *maxrūṭah*: **macarota**.  
*\*\*\*maxšabān*: **maçapão**.  
*maxzān* (And.) and *maxzan*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.4,  
 1.1.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **almacén**.  
*māšya* (And.) and *mayšah*: **almayón, almea**<sup>1</sup>.  
*maybah*: 1.1.2.1, **almfbar, meibe**.  
*maybuxtaj* (Neo-Ar.): **mibachtegi**.  
*máyda* (And.): **almeida**.  
*máydān* (And.) and *maydān*: **medão**.  
*maymūn* (And.) and *maymūn*: **maimó**.  
*máys* (And.): **almece, maçal**.  
*máys* (And.) and *mays*: **almez**.  
*maysān*: **almicçen**.  
*mayžūs(un minhu)*: **almius**.  
*máyz* (And.): **belmez**.  
*mayzār* (And.): **almaissar, Mizar**.  
*małzam*: **(al)mazen**.  
*māšzaq* (And.): 0.1, 1.1.4.1, **almáfaque**.  
*\*\*\*mazraṣah*: **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*māšgāz* (Mor.): **manganzón**.  
*māhbūl* (Naf.): **ababol**.  
*māhri* (Naf.): **meari**.  
*mejx* (Malt.): **moix**.  
*māknaši* (Mor.): **mequinecí**.  
*mālf* (Naf.): **almafi**.  
*mālkeyya* (Mor.): **mulquía**.  
*māllāh* (Naf.): **almilá**.  
*\*\*\*maqṭāṣ alwad* (Mor.): **almadec**.  
*māšš* (Mor.): **moix**.  
*māxlūt* (Has.): **majalulo**.  
*māxzān* (Mor.): **almacén**.  
*mgaš* (Mor.): **almojaje**.  
*māhalla* (Mor.): **almafala**.  
*mišah*: **mfa**.  
*\*mība* (And.): **almfbar**.

*(midād) allasākifah* (Neo-Ar.): **alásach(a)fe**.  
*\*\*\*mišdan*: **almadena**.  
*mišdanah*: **almádena**.  
*\*mišnāq* (And.): **mindango**.  
*\*\*\*mišraj*: **andrajo**.  
*\*\*\*mišfarr* and *\*mišfár*: **almifor**.  
*mišraš*: 1.1.4.1, **almafreixe**.  
*mišsud* (Malt.): **Mifsut**.  
*mištāh*: 1.2.1.3.2, fn. 90.  
*mišfar*: 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1, **almafre**.  
*\*\*\*migramā*: **macramé**.  
*mišaffah*: **mahafa**.  
*mišassah*: 1.1.5.1.1, **almofaça**.  
*\*\*\*mišfar*: **almocafre**.  
*mišlāḡ*: 1.1.3.3, **almarrá**.  
*mišrāb*: **mihrab**.  
*\*\*\*mišrāk*: **almiharra**.  
*mišrás* (And.) and *mišrās*: 1.1.3.2.2, **almidet/z**.  
*mišwār* (And.) and *mišwar*: **almehuar**.  
*mišjan*: **almájena**.  
*mišjar*: **almajar**.  
*mišdah*: **mistah**.  
*mijmarah*: **almaçmara**.  
*mijrá* (And.): **mijara**.  
*mīl*: **mucadahati**.  
*milh*: **melech**.  
*milḡafah*: **almalafa**.  
*milkiyyah*: **mulquía**.  
*\*\*\*milqāt*: **alicates**.  
*milzam*: **zálamo**.  
*mīm*: **mim**.  
*minṣar(ah)*: **almandra**.  
*min amám* (And.): **manaman**.  
*min waqtiḡ*: **asohora**.  
*mīnāḡ*: **almína**.  
*mindīl*: **mandil**.  
*mīnbar* (And.) and *minbar*: 1.3.1.2.2, **almim-**  
**bar**.  
*minṣafah*: **alhebria**.  
*\*\*\*mini ššūh*: **minixar**.  
*minjal*: **manchil**.  
*minqál* (And.): **bancada**.  
*minqalah*: **anaquel, bancada**.  
*minqar addajjah* (Neo-Ar.): **mincara digea**.  
*minqaš*: **mancaje**.  
*minṣaqah*: **almanteca, maxilar**.  
*minṣaqat falak alburūj* (Neo-Ar.): **mantequet**  
**falec alborroche**.  
*minṣaqat aljawzāḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **facar assuja**.  
*minxar aššujāḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **munir assuja**.

*miqnaṣah*: **almakanas, macana.**

\**miqtāf* (And.): **coteife.**

*miqyās*: **miquiez.**

*mirāʔ*: **morha.**

*miraššah*: 1.2.1.3.2, **almarraja, borracha** (in Appendix I).

*mūrāṭ*: **mirás.**

(*mirʔātun min*) **alhind: alfinde.**

*mūrbaṭ*: **almarbate.**

*mirdan*: **redina.**

*mīrfaq*: **marfic.**

*mīrfaqah*: 1.1.4.1, **almáfega.**

(*miri min*) **hīnd (And.): alfinde.**

*mīrkīl* (And.): **márcola.**

*mīrwaḥah*: **marguà.**

*mīrwās* (And.): **marroaz.**

*mūrya* (And.) and *mīryah*: **¡Ángela (María)!**

*mīrzabbah*: **alhebria.**

*mīrzam*: **almircen.**

\**mīšala* (And.): **almijara.**

*mīšallah*: **alebra.**

*mīšam*: **maaaçin açoraya.**

\*\*\**mīšarr*: **almanxar.**

\*\*\**mīšāṭ*: **almizate.**

*mīšadah*: **mesquita.**

*mīsk* (And.) and *misk*: 1.1.1, 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **almíscar.**

*mīskī*: **mezki.**

*mīskīn* (And.) and *mīskīn*: 1.1.1, 1.1.3.2.2, **mesquí.**

*mīsmār* (And.) and *mīsmār*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.2.2, **abísmal.**

*mīšr* and *mīšrī*: **almazarrón, maçari.**

*mīsrà* (Eg.): **moçre.**

\**mīšraḥa*: **almiçara.**

*mīšriyyah*: **almacería.**

\**mīšṭāḥ* and \*\*\**mīšṭāḥ*: **místic.**

*mīšṭāl* (And.) and *mīšṭār*: **almastrén.**

\*\*\**mīšṭār*: **sistar** (in Appendix I).

*mīšwāk*: **moçuaquim.**

*mīta* (And.): **ydanitaganam.**

*mīṭṭah*: **almeitiga.**

\*\*\**mīḥanah*: **martafallar.**

*mīṭl* (And.) and *mīṭl*: **midle.**

*mīṭqāl* (And.) and *mīṭqāl*: **metical.**

\*\*\**mīṭqālī*: **mancal.**

*mīṭrad*: **matràs.**

*mīṭraf*: **metraphus.**

*mītra/ās*: **matrazo.**

*mīṭraqah*: 1.2.1.3.2, **matraca.**

*mīxaddah*: 1.1.5.1.1, **almofada.**

*mīxeghla* (Malt.): **almijara.**

*mīxlab*: **falleba.**

*mīxnaqah*: **almanaca.**

\*\*\**mīxṛās* and \*\*\**mīxṛās*: **moharra.**

*mīxraz*: **almacraz, moharra.**

*mīxyaṭ*: **almhet, almofate.**

\*\*\**mīyar*: **almiar.**

*mīz* (Mor.): **belmez.**

*mīzān*: **almizen.**

*mīzraq*: 0.1, **almáfaque.**

*mīzṛar*: **almaissar.**

\*\*\**mīzwār*: **almocouvar.**

\*\*\**mīkəhla* (Mor.): **alcohol.**

*mīnāra* (Mor.): **almenara<sup>2</sup>.**

*mīladdā*: **almuerta.**

\**mīšaddiyah*: 1.1.5.1.1, **almadía.**

*mīladdīn*: 1.3.1.2.2, **almuédano.**

*mīšallim*: **malemo.**

*mīšammad* (And.): **moamar.**

*mīšarrašah* and *mīšarrāša* (And.): **almorraja.**

*mīšattīq* (And.): **maticarse.**

*mīlaggīr*: **moacir.**

*mīšāwana* (And.) and *mīšāwanah*: **almaguana.**

\*\*\**mīlaxxar*: **moharra.**

*mīšayyanah*: **almagana.**

*mībaddān* (And.) and *mībaddan*: **almobidana.**

*mībāṭṭana*: **mobatana.**

*mībṭadīr*: **montaquila.**

*mībṭal*: **matal/rote.**

\*\*\**mībṭāl* and *mībṭazz*: **almubtat.**

*mīčappāp* (And.): **chapa(r).**

>*mūcīrr*< (And., in Alcalá): **acirrar.**

*mudabbaj*: **mudbage.**

*mudājjan* (And.): **mudéjar.**

*mudannab*: **almudapnab.**

*mudannāq* (And.): **mindango.**

*mudarrāk* and *mudarrāka* (And.): **madrava.**

\*\*\**mūdarrīṭ*: **almadroc.**

\*\*\**mūdassar*: **modaçar.**

*mudastār* (And.): **modaçar.**

*mudāwwar* (And.) and *mudawwar*: **almodo-vareño.**

*mudāyyana* (And.) and *mudayyinah*: **almodaina.**

*mūdīd* (And.) and *mudd*: 1.1.1, **almud.**

\*\*\**mūdḥik*: **moharrache.**

*mudī* (And.) and *mudy*: **almodí.**

*mūdīḥah*: **almocatí, mudaha.**

*mūfarraj*: **moffarex.**

*mufárrah* (And.) and *mufarrah*: **mojarrilla**.  
*mufarrih*: **almufera**.  
*mufarriq*: **mafarrico**.  
*mufattit*: **almefetet**.  
*mufid* (And.) and *mufid*: **mofedo**.  
*mufitāh* (Eg.): 1.2.1.3.2, fn. 90.  
*mufit* (And.) and *mufit*: **muftí**.  
*muḡammamāt*: **almuḡamat**.  
*muḡandáf* (And.): **magandafa**.  
*muḡaṭrif*: **mequetrefe**.  
*muḡaṭṭa* (And.): **mogate**.  
*muḡaṭṭás* (And.) and *muḡaṭṭas*: **mogatace**.  
*muḡaṭṭaṭun* (sic): **mogate**.  
*muḡāwar* (And.) and *muḡāwir*: 1.2.1.3.2,  
**almogávar**.  
*muḡaddab*: **mohaddab**.  
*muḡālafah*: **manfla**.  
*muḡállā* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **almafala**.  
*muḡallifayn* (Neo-Ar.): **almohalifayn**.  
*muḡammad*: **macometa**, **Mafamede**.  
*muḡammadī*: **mahomati**.  
*muḡanniḡayn*: **almohaniḡayn**.  
*\*\*muḡarrab*: **moharra**.  
*\*muḡarrāj* (And.): **moharrache**.  
*\*muḡárraf*: 1.1.3.1, **moharra**.  
*muḡarrám* (And.) and *muḡarram*: **almohar-**  
**ram**, **marrano**, **moarrā**.  
*muḡárrif* (And.): **almojaje**.  
*muḡarrifa* (And.): **almoharrefa**.  
*muḡarrif*: **moharrache**.  
*muḡarrík* (And.) and *muḡarrik*: **almoharrique**.  
*\*\*muḡarrikah*: **carraca**.  
*muḡássa* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **almofaça**.  
*\*muḡaṭṭráq* (And.): **matraco**.  
*muḡdī* (And.): **almohadi**.  
*muḡibbayn* (Neo-Ar.): **almohybeyn**.  
*muḡín* (And.): **mofino**.  
*muḡlifān*: **almohalifayn**.  
*\*\*muḡhr* (And.) and *\*\*muhr*: 1.1.3.2.2, **almi-**  
**for**, **almorrón**.  
*muḡraqah*: **almeracha**.  
*muḡráqa* (And.) and *muḡraqah*: **morraca**,  
**mauraca**.  
*muḡší* (And.): **mojí**.  
*muḡšíyya* (And.): **almeixia**.  
*muḡtasáb* (And.) and *muḡtasib*: 1.1.3.1,  
1.1.5.3.1, 1.2.1.3.2, **almotacé**.  
*muḡūr*: **moúr**.  
*muḡizzí* (And.) and *muḡizzu ddawlah*: **almeçdi**.  
*muḡábbana* (And.): 1.3.1.2.1, **almojávana**.

*muḡaḡḡah*: **almahagiat**.  
*\*\*muḡāhidah*: **almogote**.  
*\*\*\*muḡāḡizah*: **almojaya**.  
*\*muḡāmmāḡ*: **almogama**.  
*muḡānnaba* (And.): **almogema**.  
*\*\*muḡāwizah*: **almojaya**.  
*muḡrā*: **muxara**.  
*\*\*muḡaḡfir*: **almocafre**.  
*muḡāri* (And.) and *muḡārī*: **almocrebe**.  
*\*\*muḡḡulah*: **alcohol**.  
*muḡrī dābba* (And.): **almocrebe**.  
*muḡtahilīn* (Neo-Ar.): **almechthelin**.  
*\*\*muḡūs*: **moque**.  
*mūlānā* (Naf.): **mulana**.  
*mūlāy* (Naf.): 1.1.4.4.1, **Mulei**.  
*\*mūlayyīnah*: **melenā**.  
*muḡām* (And.) and *muḡam*: **molfam**.  
*muḡā*: **morquil**.  
*muḡtahib*: **almultahib**.  
*mūlūk*: **Cotamaluco**.  
*\*\*mūlūṭīyya* (And.): **lloba**.  
*\*\*mūlūx(iyā)* (Neo-Ar.): **marajo** (in Appen-  
dix I).  
*mūm*: **mómia**.  
*mūm raṣāṣī* (Neo-Ar.): **almun**.  
*mūminīn* (And.) and *muḡlminīn*: **miramamolí**.  
*mūnsik allaṣīnah* (Neo-Ar.): **mumçic alayna**.  
*mūmtaḡan*: **al montahim**.  
*mūmiyyah* (Neo-Ar.) and *mūmiyāḡ*: **mómia**.  
*mūna* (Mor.): **almona**.  
*mūnāda* (And.) and *mūnādāh*: **almoeda**.  
*mūnaḡḡilāh*: **almenachele**.  
*mūnaḡwīmāt*: **almenemat**.  
*mūnāx*: **almanac**.  
*mūnfī* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, fn. 91, **monfí**.  
*mūnīr*: **munir assuja**.  
*mūnj* (Neo-Ar.): **monos**.  
*\*\*mūnkar*: **naip**.  
*mūntaḡilāh*: **montaquila**.  
*mūnxu/al*: fn. 90, **monfara**.  
*mūnya* (And.) and *mūnyah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **al-**  
**mūinha**.  
*muḡaḡḡar*: **mocahr**.  
*muḡābalaḡ*: **almucabala**.  
*\*muḡābbil* (And.): **almocabel**.  
*muḡābil*: **mogobell**.  
*muḡaḡdām* (And.) and *muḡaḡdam*: **almo-**  
**cadém**.  
*muḡaḡdam aḡḡīrāṣayn* (Neo-Ar.): **mocaddem**  
**addiraaym**.



*muqaddihah*: **mucadahati**.  
*muqallás* (And.): **almoquelles**.  
*muqām*: **mocamo**.  
*muqanṣarāt*: **almicantàrada**.  
*muqárbas* (And.): **almocárabe**.  
*muqarnas*: **almocárabe**.  
 \*\**muqárib*: **almocrebe**.  
*muqarrar(āt)*: **mocarraria**.  
*muqarrif* (Neo-Ar.): **magarefe**.  
 \**muqarraf*: **alcatràs**.  
 \**muqarraf*: **alcatràs**.  
*muqāwal*: **almocouvar**.  
*muqawwad*: **almocouvar**.  
*muqāyyir* (And.) and *muqayyir*: 1.1.3.3, **amocael**.  
*mūql* (And.) and *muql*: **mocal**.  
 \*\**muql alyahūd* (Neo-Ar.): **judía**.  
*muqrí* (And.) and *muqrí?*: **almocrí**.  
*muqsīḥa* (And.) and *muqsīḥa*: **almoceda**.  
*murá* (And.): **morha**.  
*murabbà* and *murabbab*: **morabio**, **muraba**.  
 \**murabbí* (And.): **morabio**.  
*murābiḥ* (And.) and *murābiḥ*: **almorávida**.  
*murābiḥī* (And.) and *murābiḥī*: **almorávida**.  
 \*\**murakkib*: **almocrebe**.  
 \*\**muraqqam*: **margomar**.  
*muráyma* (And.): **almorranas**.  
*muríqal* (And.): **almocígol**.  
*mūrd asfarām* (Neo-Ar.): **almurea/d safran**.  
*murí*: **al muri**.  
*murí* (And.): **almorí**.  
*murjaz*: fn. 4, **chiquero**.  
*murqí* (And.): **morquíl**.  
*murri*: **almorí**.  
*murrúš* (And.): **morha**.  
*mūršāraj* (Neo-Ar.): **almursegui**.  
*muruxt* (Neo-Ar.): **murquid**.  
*mūs(a)* (And.) and *mūšā*: **Moisés**, **musa**.  
*mušabbak* and *mušabbák* (And.): **almo/ujaba**.  
*mušaffál* (And.) and *mušaffal*: **mocifal**.  
*mušaffaḥ*: **almesa/efath**.  
*mušállā* (And.) and *mušallā*: **almoçala**.  
*mušallī*: **caramuçal**.  
*mušalsal*: **morcercel**.  
*mušammaḥ* and *mušammaḥ* (And.): **almusama**.  
*mušammaḥ* (And.) and *mušammaḥ* (Neo-Ar.): **almojama**.  
*mušāra* (And.) and \**mušāraḥ*: **almoç/zara**.  
*mušarsál* (And.) and \*\*\**mušarsar* (Neo-Ar.): **morcercel**.

\*\*\**mūsāḥ*: **almizate**.  
*mušaffaḥ*: **caramuçal**, **místic**, **zatará**.  
*mušāyyaḥ* (And.) and *mušāyyiḥ*: **almojaya**.  
 \*\**mušdā*: **almoceda**.  
 \*\**mušgā*: **amusgar** (in Appendix I).  
*mušhaf*: **moçafó**.  
*mušlā*: **alebra**.  
*mušlāḥim* (And.) and *mušlim*: 1.1.1, **moslém**.  
 \*\**mušqīḥa*: fn. 4, **mesquita**.  
*mušrif* (And.) and *mušrif*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.5.4, **almoixerif**.  
*mušrūqa* (And.): **maçaroca**.  
*mušt arrāḥ*: **peñarao**.  
*muštādīra* (And.) and *muštādīrah*: 1.1.3.2.1, **mostaguera**.  
*muštāḥim*: **almoeste**, **almucten**.  
*muštāḥabī* (And.) and *muštāḥab*: **moçárabe**.  
*muštāḥlāf* (And.) and *muštāḥlaf*: **almoestalaf**.  
*muštarsil*: **morcercel**.  
 \*\**muštāḥil*: **destartalado**.  
*muštawī*: **egüado**.  
*muštāḥam*: **motão**.  
*muštāḥannij*: **mocanco**.  
 \**muštāḥlaxah*: **metalachlaha**.  
*muštāḥlāf*: **almoçeleç**.  
*muštāḥbil* (And.): **almocabel**.  
*muštāḥlil*: **metelachlaha**.  
*muštāḥ(in)*: **metharach**.  
*muštarrif* and *muštarrif* (And.): **motarafi**.  
 \**muštarriz*: **motarafi**.  
 \*\**muštawajjihīn*: **matachín**.  
*muštāḥlāf* (And.) and *muštāḥlāf*: **almoestalaf**.  
 \**muštāḥannij* (And.): **mocanco**.  
*muštīl*: **almethal**.  
*muštīlyyah* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **almoetolia**.  
*muštāḥda* (And.): 1.1.5.2, **almoerta**, **midle**.  
*muštāḥda/in* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.3.6, 1.2.1.3.2, **almoedano**.  
*muštāḥhād* (And.): **almoáda**.  
 \*\*\**muštāḥhar*: **moharra**.  
*muštāḥhid*: **almoáda**.  
*muštāḥjāḥ*: **almojaje**.  
*muštāḥlā*: **molá**.  
*muštāḥlād(in)* (And.) and *muštāḥlād*: **muladí**.  
*muštāḥras*: **almoarrás**.  
*muštāḥḥah*: **moaxaha**.  
 \**muštāḥḥah*: **almoeste**.  
*muštāḥḥi* (And.): **almoeste**.  
 \*\**muštāḥḥi*: **musa**.  
*muštāḥ*: **moca**.

*muxádda* (And.): 1.1.5.1.1, **almofada**.  
*muxalaṭa* (Mor.) and *muxālaṭah*: **malta**.  
 \*\*\**muxammas*: **macamba** (in Appendix I).  
*muxannaṭ*: **macana**.  
 \*\*\**muxāra*: **muxara**.  
*muxarramah*: **macramé**.  
*muxāṭara* (And.) and *muxāṭarah*: **mofatra**.  
 \**muxaṭrás* and *muxaṭríf* (And.) and *muxaṭra/*  
*if*: **alcatrás**, **magarefe**, **mequetrefe**.  
*muxaṭṭát* (And.) and *muxaṭṭat*: **almoatac**.  
*muxayyar* (Neo-Ar.): **moaré**.  
*muxfṭyya* (And.): fn. 91, **almofia**.  
*muxlíf*: **montaquila**.  
 \*\**muxṭáf* (And.): **fateixa**.  
*múxx* (And.), *múxx*, \*\**múxxah* and \*\*\**múxxāt*:  
**almocatí**.  
*múxx* (*alṣizām*): **moch(ia halbadam)**.  
*muzabraṭ*: **mansobre**.  
*muzajaj* and \**muzallaj* (And.): **azulejo**<sup>2</sup>.  
 \*\**muzāraṣah*: **almuçzara**.  
*muzarkaš* (Neo-Ar.): **moraxse**.  
 \**muzīl assiḡāt* (Neo-Ar.): fn. 107, **acicate**.  
 \*\**muznah*: **busnada** (in Appendix I).  
 \*\**muzūra* (And.): **gandaia**.  
*mxarmeh* (Sr.): **macramé**.  
*mxazni* and *mxaznəyya* (Mor.): **marzagani**.  
*mya* (Mor.): **mía**.  
*ər* (Mor.): **almagerra**.

*naṣālim*: **annaym**.  
*naṣām*: **anidam**, **naam**.  
*naṣām ṣādir* / *wārid*: **annaam aḡahadir**,  
**annam eluerit**.  
*nabār*: **nebat**.  
*nabí* (And.) and *nabī*: **arco de Santiago**,  
**nabí**.  
*nabīd*: **nebit**.  
*nabīh* (And.) and *nabīh*: **neblí**.  
*nábqa* (And.) and *nabīq(ah)*: 1.1.3.1, **anáfega**.  
*naḡaj*: **alnadegi**.  
*nadd*: **(al)ned**.  
*naḡər* (Mor.): **nádir**.  
*nádf* (And.) and *naḡf*: **tendis**.  
*naḡír* (And.) and *naḡír*: **anadal**.  
*náḡm* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1.  
 \*\*\**naḡaḡah*: **nafé**.  
*naḡal*: **anafa**.  
*naḡāqa* (And.) and *naḡaḡah*: **anafaga**.  
*naḡar*: **nafar**.  
*naḡáx(a)* (And.) and *naḡaxāt*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alifac**.

*naḡáya* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **alafaia**.  
*naḡṭāṭin* (Neo-Ar.): **naffatin**.  
*naḡh* (And.) and *naḡh*: **aguanafa**, **anafar**.  
*naḡī* (Western Ar.): **almafió**, **nafé**.  
*naḡír* (And.) and *naḡír*: **anafil**.  
*naḡíx* (And.) and *naḡíx*: 1.1.3.2.2, **anafe**.  
*naḡl* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **anafa**.  
*naḡṣāniyyah*: **alnesceme**.  
*naḡ*: **alnafat**.  
*naḡxa* pl. *naḡxāt* (And.): **ñafas**.  
*naḡxah*: **fungi**.  
 \*\**naḡā*: **naja**.  
*naḡhik* (And.) and *naḡhik*: **naḡego**.  
*nahr*: **alnahr**.  
*naḡhra* (And.) and *naḡrah*: **nafra**, **ñafla**.  
*nāḡib*: **nabab**, **naipe**.  
*nāḡif*: **naḡego**, **naife** (in Appendix I).  
*najm*: **annexm**.  
 \*\**nāḡij* (And.): **atifells**.  
*naḡ(i)s* and *nāḡs* (And.): **anejo**.  
*nāk* (And.) and *nāk*: **nica**.  
*nakirah*: **ñacarás**.  
*namāt* (And.) and *namaṭ*: **annamath**.  
 \*\**namšī faṣṣāqa* (And.): **lissaga**.  
*nāmūsiyyah*: **namosía**.  
*naḡal*: **necla**.  
*naḡí alxádd* and *naḡiyyín* (And.): **anequim**.  
 \*\**nāḡil*, \*\**nāḡilín* and *naḡír*: **naquera**.  
 \*\**nāḡira* (And.): **naqueracuzá**.  
*nāḡiṣ*: **naquis**.  
*nāḡla* (And.): **necla**.  
*nāḡr* (And.): **naqueracuzá**.  
*nāḡra* (And.): **nácar**.  
*naḡrah*: **nécaras**, **ñafla**.  
*naḡraz* (Eg.): **naqueracuzá**.  
*naḡqál* (And.) and *naḡqāl*: **añacal**, **anaquel**.  
*naḡqála* (And.): **añacal**.  
*naḡqārah*: **nácar**.  
*naḡqāza* (And.) and *naḡqāz*: **añagaza**.  
 \*\**nāḡūr*: **noca** (in Appendix I).  
*nāḡra* (And.): **ñarras**.  
*nāranj*: **laranja**.  
*nard*: **dado**.  
*nardī*: **nerdi**.  
*nargīla* (Eg.): **narguil**.  
*narjis*: **(al)nargez**.  
 \*\*>*narróy* (And., in Alcalá): **naipe**.  
*nārūn fārisiyyah*: **alferecía**.  
*nās*: **arroz**<sup>2</sup>, **trafalmejas**.  
 \*(*nás*) *hánba* (And.): **hampa**.

- našš:* annays.  
*nasā:* nase.  
*našāḥ:* alnasa(ha).  
*nasāq:* arrauda.  
*nasāq yamanī* (Neo-Ar.): annezq aliemeni.  
*nasāq šāmī* (Neo-Ar.): neçc elsemi.  
*nasāq* (And.) and *nasāq:* añascar.  
 \*\**našbah:* almancebe.  
*nasīl:* nessa.  
*nasīyya* (And.): fn. 95.  
*našīb:* nacibo.  
*našīd* (And.) and *našīd:* 1.1.4.4.1, anejir.  
 \*\**našīha:* nadea.  
*nāšir lidīn allāh:* anancer lidinelle.  
*nāsl* (And.) and *nasl:* 1.1.3.2.2, nācsia.  
*nasr:* Altaír, Vega.  
*nasr wāqī / ḡāḡir* (Neo-Ar.): 1.3.2, alnaçç  
 aloeke / altayr.  
*naşr:* nazarita.  
*naşrānī:* 1.1.5.2, nizarani.  
 \*\**naşşāb* (Eg.): almancebe.  
*našūqāt:* alnisucat.  
*nāšūr:* nusatra.  
*naṭṭ:* alnata.  
*nāṭīḥ:* annatīh.  
 \**naṭīḥa* (And.) and *naṭīḥah:* nadea.  
*naṭrah:* annaçra.  
*naṭrūn:* natrão.  
*nāḡura* (And.) and *nāḡūrah:* 1.1.4.1, nora.  
*nawbahār* (Neo-Ar.): neubahar.  
*nawbāt* (And.) and *nawbāt:* añover.  
 \**nāwra* (And.): nora.  
*nawwāla* (And.): nagüela.  
*naḡdulān* (Neo-Ar.): alb/neidalan.  
*nāyīf* (And.): náfego  
*naḡlūfar* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.2.2, nenúfar.  
*naḡrūz* (And.): naurós.  
*nayyir:* alnayr.  
*naḡzak:* nezcre.  
*naḡāha* (And.): añiacea.  
*naḡār* (And.): matarile.  
*nāzīf* (And.) and *nāzīf:* enaciado.  
*nāzīq* (And.) and *nāzīq:* etzit.  
*nāzīr* (And.) and *nāzīr:* anadal, nádír.  
*naḡīr:* nadir.  
*nāzm* (And.) and *nāzm:* añazme.  
*naḡmiyyah:* natamia.  
*naḡq:* annezq aliemeni.  
 \*\**nāzq* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, etzit, nezcre.  
*naḡūr* (And.) and *nāzūr:* andadó.
- nāmša* (Mor.): nammeixfes.  
*naşrānī* (Naf.): nizarani.  
*(nhar) laḡdu utṭāḡyaf* (Mor.): farra.  
*nibq:* anáfega.  
*nifās:* alnefas.  
*nīl* (And.) and *nīl(aj):* 1.1.3.2.2, anil.  
*nīḡmah:* alima.  
 \*\**nīqḡ:* añicos (in Appendix I).  
*nīqr:* nécaras.  
*nīr* (And.): añír.  
 \*\**nīs sāḡa* (And.): lissaga.  
 \*\**nīsāḡa:* lissaga.  
*nīf:* alnatha.  
*nīḡāq alḡawzā* (Neo-Ar.): facar assuja.  
*nīyāt:* anniat.  
*nīzām:* anidam.  
*nḡir* (Mor.): naquera.  
*nuḡāḡra* (And.): fugille.  
*nūḡba* (And.) and *nudbah:* anúbada.  
*nufāḡah:* nafefiche.  
*nufāyah:* alafaia.  
*nufāyma(t) attarḡīyya* (Neo-Ar.): nugeymath  
 turquia.  
*nuḡmāna* (And.): fn. 107.  
*nūn:* non.  
*nūnū* (Neo-Ar.): rorro.  
 \*\**nuḡāḡah:* anoque (in Appendix I).  
*nūḡra* (And.) and *nuḡrah:* nuc(h)a.  
*nuḡrah:* tangul.  
*nuḡratu rraḡabah:* nuca.  
*nūrah:* nura.  
*nurūz* (And.): naurós.  
*nuḡāḡaḡir* (And.) and *nuḡāḡdir:* almoháter and  
 haztrader.  
 \*\**nuḡḡah:* andosco (in Appendix I).  
*nuffah:* alnathse.  
*nuwwāb:* nabab.  
*nuxāḡ:* nuca.  
 \*\**nuḡy:* alḡafir.  
*nuzḡah:* añiacea.  
*nwāla* (Mor.): nagüela.
- paḡmāt* (And.): maçapão.  
 \*\**pāḡq* and *puḡqūn* (And.): abegão.  
*parḡilla* (And.): barchilla.  
*pāḡra, pargāt* and *pargatāyir* (And.): 1.1.3.1,  
 1.2.1.2.2, alpargata.  
*parḡāl* (And.): zorzal.  
 \**pāḡša* and *paḡšāḡ* (And.): 2.2, apaxar.  
*pastināḡa* (And.): bisnaga.

*pařána* (And.): 1.1.3.1, **almádena**.  
*pařríq* (And.): **alpetrique**.  
*pářt* (And.): **pato**.  
*pawlll(l)a*: (And.): **paulilla**.  
*\*\*pázwa* (And.): **macar, tora**<sup>1</sup>.  
*pičmát* (And.): **maçapão**.  
*pirišma* (And.): **bexima**.  
*pišša* (And.): **apaxar, picha**.  
*pizpíz* and *pizpízayr* (And.): **alpiza, pizpirita**.  
*puččún* (And.): **madrazo**.  
*pujún* (And.): **bijón**.  
*pullúy* (And.): **polote**.  
*puqquín* (And.): **abegão**.

*qabá* (And.) and *qabā?*: **gabán**.  
*qabāq* (Neo-Ar.): (dia) **chebet**.  
*\*\*qabadāy* (Sr.): **gandul**.  
*qabā?ilī*: **cabeili**.  
*qab(a)jah* and *\*qabaj* (Neo-Ar.): **nafefiche**.  
*qabála* (And.) and *qabālah*: **alcabala**.  
*qabalyunát* (And.): fn. 23, **almorrón**.  
*qabb*: **alcoba**.  
*qabb alšamūd* (Neo-Ar.): **calamón**.  
*qabbālāh*: **cábala**.  
*qabbān*: **capão**.  
*qabdat assikkī* (Neo-Ar.): **cabdat aciquin**.  
*qábīd* (And.): **càbit**.  
*qabīlah* (And.) and *qabīlah*: 1.3.1.1, **alcabela, cabila**.  
*\*\*qabīs*: **alhanín**.  
*qabšána* (And.): **alcaceña**.  
*qabsīl(a)*: **alcaucl**.  
*qabšīyya* (And.): **alcabtea**.  
*qabšún* (And.): **alcaudón**.  
*qabú* (And.) and *qabw*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.4.1, **alcabor**.  
*qaččúč* (And.): **cotxó**.  
*qačúp* (And.): **cachumbo**.  
*qađā*: **alchadafi** and **algada**.  
*qadaš* (And.) and *qadaš*: 1.3.1.2.1, **alcadafe**.  
*qadaš maryam* (Neo-Ar.): **cadohe**.  
*qáđi* (And.) and *qāđī*: **alcadi**.  
*qadīb*: **cabide**.  
*qadīm* (And.) and *qadīm*: **cadimo**.  
*\*\*qádra* (And.): **cadira**.  
*\*\*qađūr*: **cazurro** (in Appendix I).  
*qadús* (And.) and *qādūš*: 1.3.1.2.1/2, 1.1.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **alcaduz**.  
*qadus* (Mor.): **alcanduz**.  
*\*\*qadwār(a)*: **alcandora**.

*qafā*: **alchafa**.  
*qaf(á+ ssikkún)* (And.) and *qafā*: **cas**.  
*\*\*qafšā?*: **gafo**.  
*\*\*qafan* = *\*\*qafā[n]*: **alcaduz, atifells**.  
*qafás* (And.) and *qafas*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **alcahaz, cauza**.  
*qafazāt algizlā* (Neo-Ar.): **cafez alguezlen**.  
*qafazāt azzibā?* (Neo-Ar.): **adibeyn, alcarayn, cafez alguezlen**.  
*qaffál* (And.) and *qaffāl*: **cafela**.  
*\*\*\*qaffālah*: **cafela**.  
*qāfilah*: **cáfila**.  
*qafiz* (And.) and *qafiz*: **caffis**.  
*qafir*: **acafelar**.  
*\*qáfš(a)*: **cauza**.  
*qafšī*: **camsil**.  
*qafšān*: **cafetā**.  
*qāhirah*: **caira, cairino**.  
*\*\*qahqaha*: **carcajada** (in Appendix I).  
*qāhara* (And.): fn. 95.  
*>qahrahā<*: **cárabe**.  
*qahwah*: **café**.  
*qāzīd*: 1.3.1.1, **alcaide, eixea**.  
*\*\*qāzīd*: **alcayet**.  
*qāšida* (And.): **caire**.  
*qāšidah*: 2.2, **caida**.  
*\*\*qāšim*: **coime** (in Appendix I).  
*qajūy* (Alg.): **cotxó**.  
*\*qál ḥařraq/čl* and *qál ḥařraqa* (And.): **calan-draca**.  
*qála* (And.): **alcala**.  
*qalāša* (And.) and *qalšah*: **alcaladino**.  
*qalāšat rabāh* (And.) **calatraveño**.  
*qālah*: **cálibo**.  
*qalafáy* (And.): **calafat**.  
*qalah*: **chalegi**.  
*qalāšī* (And.): **alcaladino**.  
*qalāzīd*: **alcalays**.  
*qalam*: **alcalam**.  
*qalapaqíl* (And.): **galapatero**.  
*qalag*: **alc(h)alach**.  
*qalaštún* (And.): **calastó**.  
*qalb* (alšasad) (Neo-Ar.) **calb alaçet**.  
*qalí* (And.): **álcali**.  
*qálib* (And.) and *qālib*: 1.1.3.2.2, fn. 68, **cálibo**.  
*qalīb* (And.) and *qalīb*: **alqueive**.  
*qālibah*: **calvar**.  
*qalíl alšáql* (And.) and *qalilu šaqi*: 1.3.2, **calilo**.  
*qalīmiyā* (Neo-Ar.): **quedimia**.  
*qallál* (And.): 1.1.4.2, **alcaller**.

*qalqadīs* (Neo-Ar.): **cades**.

*qalqant* (Neo-Ar.): **calcant**.

*qalqidīqūn* (Neo-Ar.): **alfefedium**.

**\*\*qamāqim: cáncano** (in Appendix I).

*qamar*: **alchamar**.

*qamḥaduwh*: **alchamhaduc**.

*qamḥī* (And.): **cajel**.

**\*\*qamqam: cáncano** (in Appendix I).

*qaná* (And.) and *qanāh*: **alcaná**.

*qanáṣa* (And.) and *qanāṣah*: 1.3.2, **alcaná, balquena**.

**\*\*qanāt alḥalq** (Neo-Ar.): **gaznate**.

*qanawī* (And.): **canagüf**.

*qanbār* and *qánbara* (And.): **quenibir**.

*qanbīl* (Neo-Ar.): **cambil**.

*\*qanbūra* (And.): **gamburrino**.

*qand*: **candi**.

*qandīl* (And.): 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.1.2, **candil**.

*qandūl*: **alcandor, gaudul**.

*qandūra* (And.) and *qandūrah*: **alcandora**.

*\*qandurīyya* (And.): **alcandorea**.

*\*qanībīr* (And.): **quenibir**.

*qāniṣa(t aṭṭáyr)* (And.) and *qāniṣatu ḥāḏīr*: **gaznate**.

*qānnab/m* (And.): 1.2.1.3.1, **alcânave**.

*\*qannarī* (And.): **cañarí**.

*qannarīyya* (And.): fn. 50, **alcanería, cañarí**.

*qannāṣa* (And.) and *qannāṣah*: **alganaça**.

**\*\*qannāṭa** (And.): **canana**.

*qannāʔ*: **cannay**.

*qānṭara* (And.) and *qanṭarah*: 1.1.4.1, **alcán-tara**.

*qanṭūrusu wahuwa ḥamilu ssabul* (Neo-Ar.): **ve el çahba**.

**\*\*qānwāl** (And.): **escàtil**.

*qanzīr* (And.): **cazeno**.

*qaparra* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **alcaparra, cabarra**.

*qapīl* (And.): **capel(l)i**.

*qārṣa* (And.): **careca**.

**\*\*qarṣah: garrafa<sup>1</sup>**.

*qarāṣa*: **careca**.

*qārab*: **caro**.

*qarāb* (And.): **cáрабо<sup>2</sup>** (in Appendix I), **alcar-rabo**.

*qarāba* (And.) and *qarābah*: **caraba**.

**\*\*qarabūs, pl. \*\*qarābīs: alcaraviz**.

**\*\*qārah: alcor**.

*qarāʔin*: **alcarayn**.

**\*\*qarāmūd: calamita**.

*qaramūt* (Neo-Ar.): **calamita**.

*qaraqāč(a)* (And.): **carcacho**.

*qarāqir*: **carraca**.

**\*\*\*qarāsiyā** and **\*\*qarāsiyā: jirasal** (in Appendix I).

*qarasūn* (Neo-Ar.): **calastó**.

*qarāyl*: fn. 23.

*qarḥās* (And.): **almocárabe**.

*qārfa* (And.): **arquelfa**.

*qarḥ*: **achor(as)**.

*qārib*: **caro**.

**\*\*\*qārib musaṭṭah: caramuçal**.

*qarīnah*: **alcarena**.

**\*\*qariq: alquerque<sup>2</sup>**.

*qarīs*: **charis**.

*qarīyyah* (And.): **alcaria**.

*qārmaz* (And.): **alquermes**.

*qarmazī* (And.): **carmesí**.

**\*\*qarqadawn, \*\*qarqadūn** and **\*\*\*qarqar-dawn: garduña** (in Appendix I).

**\*\*qarqaṭ: escarcatar**.

**\*\*\*qarqūra: caracoa** (in Appendix I).

**\*\*qárrah** (And.): **alcar**.

*qarrān* (And.) and *qarrān* (Neo-Ar.): **alcarrán**.

**\*\*qarrāq** (And.): **alcorroc**.

*\*qarrāq(a)* (And.): **carraca**.

*\*qarrāṣa* (And.): **carraça**.

**\*\*\*qarrāṭ** (And.): **arracada<sup>1</sup>**.

*qarrūq* (And.): **alcorroc**.

*\*qārṣana* (And.) and *qarṣanah* (Neo-Ar.): **carxena**.

*qārṣi* and *qarṣīyya* (And.): **alcarracilla**.

*qartajánna* (And.) and *qartajannah*: **carta-genero**.

*qartās* (And.) and *qartās*: **alcartaz**.

*qarw*: **kerne**.

*qaryah*: **alcaria**.

**\*\*\*qās: alquez**.

*qāṣṣa* (And.): **cazo**.

*qaṣab*: **gicebi**.

*qaṣāba* and *\*qāṣba* (And.) and *qaṣabah*: 1.1.5.4, 1.2.1.3.1, **alcaçaba, çaçabé**.

**\*\*\*qaṣarah: alquezar**.

**\*\*\*qaṣarī: escazarí**.

*qaṣṣat almasākīn* (Neo-Ar.): **çaçahat almeçequin**.

*\*qāṣba* (And.): 1.1.5.4, **alcaçaba**.

*qaṣbah suğrà* (Neo-Ar.): **sura**.

*qaṣīdah*: **casida**.

*qaşıl* (And.) and *qaşıl*: 1.1.1, 1.1.3.2.2, **alcacel**.

**\*\*qasimah** and *qāsimah*: **alcácema**.

*qāsimī*: **cazeno**.

**\*\*qaşır**: **alchefsir**.

*qasıs* (And.) and *qasıs*: **caciz**.

*qáşr* (And.) and *qaşr*: 1.1.4.1, **alcácer**, **alquezrana**, **cacereño**.

**\*\*qaşf**: **alcoceifa**.

*qaşm*: **alchasesm**.

*qaşş*: **cassi**.

*qaşşa*: **alcoçar**.

*qaşşāb*: **caçapo**, **gazapu**.

*qaşşár* (And.) and *qaşşar*: **escazarí**.

*qassús* (And.): **cazuz**.

*qaşal* (Neo-Ar.): **alcantarilla**.

*qáşf* (And.) and *qaşf*: **alícata**.

*qaşā*: **catá**.

**\*\*qaşāfi**: **coteife**.

*qaşālif*: **alchataif**.

*qaşām*: 1.1.3.1, **alcotán**.

*qaşan*: **alcatra**, **alchatin**.

*qaşat aḡawr* (Neo-Ar.): **cathat ataor**.

*qaşāfi* (And.): **gandaia**.

*qāşāfir* (Neo-Ar.): **alchatir**.

*qaşf* (And.) and *qaşf*: **alcateia**.

*qaşffa* (And.) and *qaşffah*: 1.3.1.2.1, **alcatifa**.

**\*\*qātil**: **escàtil**.

*qātna* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, **alcatra**.

*qaşnıyya* (And.): 1.1.3.4, 1.1.5.3.2, **alcandía**.

*qaşr*: **alcatrán**.

**\*\*qaşrah**: **alcatrate**.

*qaşırán* (And.) and *qaşrān*: 1.3.1.2.1, **alcatrán**.

**\*qaşrás** (And.): fn. 68, **alcatràs**.

**\*\*qaşrúf** (And.): **alcatràs**.

*qatūā* (Eg.): **gata<sup>2</sup>**.

*qaşar*: **alcántara**, **alcatrán**.

*qaşāra* (And.) and *qaşar*: 1.2.1.3.2, **alcata**, **alcatrán**.

*qaşāya* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2.

*qaşús* (And.): **gato**.

*qawālib*: **cagualib**.

*qawráča* (And.): **coracha**.

**\*\*qáws** (And.) and *qaws*: **alcouce**.

*qaws allāh / annabī* (Neo-Ar.) and *qawsu quzah*: 2.1, **arco de Santiago**.

*qawşın* (And.): **alguthu**.

*qawwād* (And.) and *qawwād*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1, 1.2.1.2.2, **alcahuete**.

*qawwás* (And.): **acaguasarse**.

**\*\*qayd**: **\*\*\*alcaiz**.

*qayd*: **alcayd**.

*qáy(i)d* (And.) and *qāyd* (Naf.): 1.1.2.2, **alcaide**.

*qāyiq* (Neo-Ar.): **caic**.

*qāyim maqām* (Neo-Ar.): **caimacán**.

*qáyqab* (And.) and *qayqab*: **caicaba**.

*qaysariyya* (And.) and *qaysāriyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **alcaçaria**.

*qayşūr* (Neo-Ar.): **cayçor**.

*qaytún* (And.) and *qaytūn* (Neo-Ar.): **alquitão**.

*qaytūs* (Neo-Ar.): **caytoz**.

*qazdır* (Neo-Ar.): **acazdir**.

*qázz* (And.) and *qazz*: **alchaz**.

*qazzır* (And.): **acazdir**.

*qbāyli* (Naf.): **cabeili**.

*qbila* (Naf.): **cabila**.

**\*\*qadwar** (Mor.): **alcandora**.

*qəşba* (Naf.): **alcaçaba**.

*qibla* (And.) and *qiblah*: **alquibla**.

*qiblí* (Neo-Ar.): **gibli**.

*qibfī*: **copta**.

*qibtiyyah*: **alcabtea**.

*qidr*: **queder**.

**\*\*qidrah**: **cadira**.

*qıl* (And.) and *qıl*: **manquil**.

*qiláda* (And.) and *qiládah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alcalada**, **cholade**, **zaquilada**.

**\*\*qillah**: **arguell**.

*qıllah* (And.): **alcolla**.

*qily*: **álcali**.

*qimá* (And.) and *qimí*: **agumys**, **alchamha**.

*qimah*: **coima<sup>1</sup>** (in Appendix I), **quema**.

*qimhī*: **cajel**.

*qināf* (And.) and *qināf*: **alquinal**.

*qināwi* (And.): **aguineu**.

*qinbıl* (Neo-Ar.): **cambil**.

*qindıl*: 1.1.4.1, **candil**.

*qinnab*: 1.2.1.3.1, **alcánave**.

*qinnah*: **quina**.

*qintār* (And.) and *qintār*: **quintal**.

**\*\*qīrān<**: **ademán**.

*qiráf* (And.) and *qīrāf*: 1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **quilate**.

**\*\*qirbah**: **garrafa<sup>1</sup>**.

*qirbāş*: **algaravazes**.

**\*\*qird**: **maimó**.

*qirfah*: **clova**, **arquella**.

**\*\*qirillā**: **albatoça**.

*qirmiz*: **alquermes**.

*qirmizī*: **carmesí**.

*qírq* (And.) and *qirq*: 1.1.5.1.3, **alquerque**<sup>1</sup>.

*qirrás* (And.) and *qirrás*: **alcartaz**.

*qirrim*: **cártama**.

*qışah*: **cazo**.

**\*\*qışár** (And.) and **\*\*qışar**: **alquezar**.

*qışr* (And.): **alquezana**.

*qışrah*: **cachera** (in Appendix I), **quixera**.

*qışsa* (And.): **alçoçar**.

*qissūs*: **cazuz**.

*qışt* (And.) and *qışt*: 1.1.5.1.3, **alquez**.

*qūārah* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.2.2, **guitarra**.

*qūār*: **catar**.

*qūřat*: **cathat ataor**.

*qūřat alfaras* (Neo-Ar.): **quitat alfaras**.

*qūřān* (And.) and *qūřān*: **alcatrán**.

*qūř azzabād*: **catu**.

*qūřā?*: **gata**<sup>2</sup>.

(*qūřu z*)*zabād*: **civeta**.

**\*\*qūřādah**: **alcahieda**.

*qūřās* (And.) and *qūřās*: **alquieze**, **quiaz**.

*qizdīr* (Neo-Ar.): **cazmira**.

>*qnāmwn*<: **çumarie**.

*qobhajt* (Malt.): **alcotín**.

**\*\*\*>q.rānyts<**: **carabito**.

*qūbāl?*: **chuba**.

*qubāla* (And.): **alcobaila**.

*qūbba* (And.) and *qubbah*: **alcoba**, **calamón**.

**\*\*qubbahar**: **alcobaila**.

*qubbāy/d/ā?* (And.), *qubbajt* (Malt.) and *qub-bāt* or *qubbayī(ā?)*: **alcotín**.

*qubrus/sī*: **caparrós**.

*qubīf*: **copta**.

*qubīyyah*: **alcabtea**.

**\*\*qudāf**: **alcadafe**.

**\*\*qudāyra** (And.): **cadira**.

**\*\*\*qufāf** (And.): **cofafa**.

*quffa* (And.) and *quffah*: **alcofa**, **cofafa**.

*qufī*: **chuchi**.

*qulās*: **alcola(ia)**.

**\*\*qulayřah**: **galayo** (in Appendix I).

*qull* (And.): **acollar**, **alcor**.

*qúlla* (And.) and *qullah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alcaller**, **alcolla**.

*qulqās/sz* (And.) and *qulqās* (Neo-Ar.): **alcolcaz**.

*qulquřār* (And.) and *qulquřār* (Neo-Ar.): **colcotar**.

*qūmī*: **gume**.

*qunb alřasad* (Neo-Ar.): **canb eleçet**.

*qúnbar* (And.): **quenibir**.

*qunbarah*: **gamburrino**.

*qundūl*: **alcandor**.

*qunnab*: **alcânave**.

*qunzās* (And.) and *qunzuřah*: **conza**.

*qūqāyā* (Neo-Ar.): **cochiae/s**.

**\*\*qūr**: **alcor**.

*qurřān*: **Alcorà**.

*qura(y)ř*: **coraixita**.

**\*\*\*qurřah**: **clova**.

*qurřuřā?* (*qařada* + *l*—): 0.1, 1.1.5.3.1, **acorchofa-se**.

*qurřah*: **alforia**.

*qūrma* (And.) and *qurmah* (Neo-Ar.): **corma**.

**\*\*qurnās**: **almocárabe**.

*qúrq* (And.): **alcorque**.

*qurqumūl* (And.): **caramull**.

**\*\*qurqūr**: **caracoa** (in Appendix I), **carraca**.

*qurr*: **algor**.

*qurřat alřayn* (Neo-Ar.): **corat**.

*qúřř(ah)* (And.) and *qurř*: **alcorça**, **alcorcí**.

*qurřān* (Neo-Ar.): **corçana**.

*qúřt* (And.) and *qurř*: **alcorde**, **arracada**<sup>1</sup>.

*qurřubī* (And.): **cordobí**.

*qurřum*: **cártama**.

*qurřūh*: **achor(as)**.

*qurún* (And.): **alboquerón**.

**\*\*qūř**: **alcuja**.

*qūřa* (And.): **alcuja**.

*quřār*: **alçoçar**.

*quřāyba*: 1.1.3.1, **alcoceifa**.

*quřāyyar*: 1.1.4.1.

*quřr* (And.): **alçoçar**.

*quřřa* (And.): **alçoçar**.

*quřt* (And.) and *quřt*: **alçuz**.

*quřān* (And.): **alcotán**.

*\*quřāyfa*: **coteife**.

*quřbu lmulūk*: **Cotamaluco**.

*qūř* (And.): **cótia**.

*quřn*: **alcotón**.

*quřniyyah*: **alcandía**, **alcotón**.

*quřrub*: **alamhat**, **alcutrub**.

*quřtah* (Neo-Ar.): **guta**.

*quřún* (And.): 1.1.3.4, 1.1.4.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **alcotón**.

**\*\*\*quwaymah**: **coima**<sup>1</sup> (in Appendix I).

*quzah*: **arco de Santiago**.

>*qyřāws*< (Neo-Ar.): **cayfoz**.

*řa* (And.): **matarile**.

*řā?*: **rre**.

\**raṣāyā*: **arraia-miúda**.  
*rabāb* (And.) and *rabāb*: **rabec**.  
*rabād* (And.) and *rabād*: 1.1.4.2, **arrabal**.  
*rabādī* (And.): **rabatín**.  
*rabṣah*: **arrabá**.  
*rabāh hūrr / būlb* (And.): **polvo**.  
 \*\**rabārib*: **rabera** (in Appendix I).  
 \**rābb addān* (And.): 1.3.2, **rabada**.  
 \**rābb albáyqa* (And.): **rebalbica**.  
 \**rābb amīṣa / aṭṭīn* (And.): **rabiador**.  
 \**rābb annāhs* (And.): **rapenate**.  
*rabbi*: **refibí**.  
 \**rabbu amīṣah*: **rabiador**.  
 \**rabbu ddaʿn*: **rabada**.  
 \**rabbu ṭṭīn*: **rabiador**.  
*rabīṣ*: **celamim, rabe(h)**.  
*rabīk(ah)*: **arrebieque**.  
*rabīṭ*: **rebite**.  
*rābiṭa* (And.): 1.1.3.1, **arrobdá, rábida**.  
 \*\**rābrab*: **rabera** (in Appendix I).  
*rābta* (And.) and *rabtah*: **rauta**.  
*rabw*: **alrabu**.  
*raḍá* (And.): **quifradaxa**.  
*raddána* (And.): **redina**.  
*raḍfah*: **alarsafe, areffatu**.  
*raḍrāḍī*: **alradradi/a**.  
*rafī* (And.) and *rafī(ah)*: **rafa**.  
*rafādi* (Eg.): **rafidi**.  
*ráfī* (And.) and *raff*: **alabán, rafa, rafe**.  
*rāfīl* and *rāfi* (And.): **rafa**.  
 \**rāfīṣ assiqāṭ* (Neo-Ar.): fn. 107, **acicate**.  
*rafīdi* (Mor.), *rāfīd(ah)* and *rāfīdī*: fn. 81, **rafidi**.  
*rafīq*: **rafeca**.  
*rafīs* (And.): **arrecife**<sup>2</sup>.  
*rafīs(ah)*: **ratafia**.  
 \**rāfqa* (And.) and *rafqah*: **ráfaga**.  
*ragáyif* (And.) and *ragāʿīf*: 1.2.1.1, **regaifa**.  
*ragīfa* (And.) and *ragīfah*: **regaifa**.  
 \*\**ragwah*: **ragua**.  
*raḥál* (And.): **arraial**.  
*raḥála* (And.): **rehala**.  
 \*\**rāḥatu lyad*: **raqueta** (in Appendix I).  
*rahīnah*: **reenes**.  
*rāhj* (And.) and *rahj*: **erraj**.  
*rāhj alǧār* (And.) and *rahju lǧār*: 1.1.3.6, **realgar**.  
*rahl*: **arraial**.  
*rahlī(ya)* (And.): **rafalí**.  
*rāhn* (And.) and *rahn*: **reenes**.

*rāhī* (And.): **aljemifao**.  
*rāḥib*: **rai**.  
*raḥīs*: **arráez**.  
*raṣīyya* (And.) and *raṣīyyah*: 1.1.4.1, **arraia-miúda**.  
*rajab*: **raiab**.  
*rājīṣ*: **rauuaqeh**.  
*rajah*: **raixa**.  
 \**rajál* and *rājil* (And.): **arjau**.  
*rakab*: **rachab**.  
 \*\**rakaḍāt*: **alcarrada**<sup>1</sup>.  
*rākba* (And.) and *rakbah*: **récova**.  
*rākba* (And.): **ragua**.  
 \*\**rakīb*: **arrebieque**.  
*rākibah*: **ragua**.  
*rakīk* (And.) and *rakīk*: **arrecaque**.  
 \**rakkún*: **racó**.  
*rákla* (And.) and *raklah*: **racla**.  
*rakūb*: **arrocobas**.  
 \**rakún*: **racó**.  
*rákwa*: (And.) and *rakwah*: **ragua**.  
*ramadán* (And.) and *ramadān*: **adúnia, ramadão**.  
*rāma/ik* (Neo-Ar.): **rami(c)h**.  
*rāmī*: **alramy**.  
 \*\**ramīyyah*: **abdarramía**.  
*rāmka* (And.): **trancas**.  
*rāmīla* (And.) and *ramlah*: 1.1.4.1, **rambla**.  
*rāmz* (And.) and *ramz*: **ronce**.  
*rána* (And.): **adibda eceni**.  
 \*\*\**raqā*: **atracar**.  
*raqabah*: **nuca**.  
 \*\**raqadún* (And.): **zaharrón**.  
 \*\**raqāyīq*: **arrucaique**.  
*rāqī*: **arraqui**.  
*raqīb aṭṭurayyā* (Neo-Ar.): **arraquib (açoraya)**.  
*raqīd*, *raqīdīn* (And.) and *raqīdīn*: 2.2, **recodín**.  
*rāqīs*: **al(a)raquiz**.  
*raqm*: **recamar**.  
*raqqād*: **arracaderos**.  
*raqqáda*: 1.2.1.3.2, **arracada**.  
*rāṣ ar+rā ʿal* (Naf.): 1.3.1.1.  
*raṣ*: **arroz**<sup>2</sup>, **cénit**, **res** (0.1, Appendix I).  
*raṣ alḥawwāl* (Neo-Ar.): **raz alhace**.  
*raṣ alǧāī* (Neo-Ar.): **raz elgehçi**.  
*raṣ almarʿah* (Neo-Ar.): **raz almara**.  
*raṣ almuṭallaṭ* (Neo-Ar.): **raç almuçeleç**.  
*rās*: 0.1.  
*rās maymūn* (Neo-Ar.): **maimó**.  
*rašá* (And.) and *rašaʿ*: **rexelo**.



*rašadī*: **raxadī**.

*rašáf* (And.): **arrezafe**.

*raššah*: **alrhase, raixa**.

*rasán* (And.) and *rasan*: 1.1.3.2.2, **ranzal**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*\*raʿsan**: **rassa**.

*rašás* (And.) and *rašās*: **orçaz**.

*rašāsiyyah*: **almun**.

*raʿṣay attawʿamayn* (Neo-Ar.): **rasay ateu amayn**.

*rāsaxt* (Neo-Ar.): **sief rusahaec**.

*rašff* (And.) and *rašif*: **arrarifz, arrecife, raxibe**.

*rāsm* (And.) and *rasm*: **remesaque**.

*rasmāl* (Neo-Ar.): **ramales**.

*raššah*: **rassa**.

*raššál* and *rassán* (And.): **ranzal**<sup>2</sup>.

*raššáqa* (And.): **arrejaque**.

*rašwah* and *rāšwa* (And.): **ra/exe**.

*ratáma* (And.) and *ratamah*: 1.1.4.1, **retama**.

*ratīnay* (Neo-Ar.): **raconic**.

*rátīl* (And.) and *ratl*: fn. 31, **arrate, forforí**.

**\*raṭúma** (And.) and *raṭúm*: **redoma**.

*rašūnah*: **(al)rhaune**.

*rawājl*: **rauuageh**.

*rawāšī*: **arroaz**.

*rawḍ*: **arriate**.

*rāwḍa* (And.) and *rawḍah*: **(ar)rauda**.

*rāwḡ* (And.) and *rawḡ*: **ru**.

*rawḡah*: **alrota, alrauth(ae)**.

*rawwás* (And.): **arroaz**.

*rāwz* (And.): 1.1.4.4.1, **arròs**.

*raxamah* and *raxám* (And.): **rahama**.

*raxiṣ* (And.) and *raxiṣ*: **rafec**.

*rayhán* (And.) and *rayhān*: **arraian**.

*rayhāni* (And.) and *rayhānī*: **rehani**.

*rāynaga* (And.): **reinar**.

*rāyyib* (And.): 1.1.3.1, **rai**.

*rāyyis* (And.): **arráez**.

*razám* (And.): **rasmear**.

**\*rāzma** (And.): **raima, rasmear**.

*rázza* pl. *rizáz* (And.) and *razzah*: **arricés**.

*raḥḥalín* (Naf.): **rehalí**.

*raqqāš* (Naf.): **ragatxo**.

*reʿs* (Sar.): fn. 3.

**\*raṭba** (Mor. idiolect): **taba**<sup>1</sup>.

*razza* (Mor.): **arricés**.

*riʿah* and *riʿāt*: **riech**.

*riʿāl*: **arriel**.

*riʿās*: **arriaz**.

*ribāq*: **arrecabe**.

*rībās*: **ribes**.

*ribát* (And.) and *ribāt*: **rabastieno, rábita, ravata, ribet**.

*ribāṭī*: **rabastieno**.

*ribbi* (And.): **re/fibí**.

*ribḥ* (And.) and *ribḥ*: **reva**.

*ribqah*: **arrecabe**.

*ridá* (And.) and *ridāl*: **ardiens, redaño**.

*ridāl qašabī* (Neo-Ar.): **arritacaçavi**.

*ridf*: **arridf**.

*rif* (And.), *rif* (Mor.) and *rif*: **arrife, rifyeny**.

*rifqa* (And.) and *rifqah*: **ráfaga**.

*riḥalah*: **rehala**.

*rihán* (And.) and *rihān*: 1.2.1.1, **reenes**.

*rihāq*: **arehach**.

*rijl*: **rexl**.

*rijl aljabbār* (Neo-Ar.): **pes algelbar**.

*rijl aljawzāʿ* *alyusrà* (Neo-Ar.): **risl algeuze aliuçre**.

*rijl qinṭawrus* (Neo-Ar.): **rexl (almulçelçela)**.

*riju ljawzāʿ*: **Rigel**.

*rikáb* and *rikīb* (And.) and *rikāb*: **arrequite, arricaveiro**.

*rikák* (And.) and *rikák*: **arrecaque**.

*rikīb* (And.): **arrequite**.

*rīša* (And.) and *rīšah*: **alarije, rhyada**.

*rišāʿ*: **arraxe**.

**>rišān<** (And.): **\*\*\*raxbe**.

*ritāš*: 1.2.1.3.2, **almártaga**<sup>1</sup>.

*rīl* (And.) and *riṭl*: 1.1.5.3.1, **arrate**.

*riyād* (And.) and *riyād*: 1.2.1.1, **arriate**.

*riyāda* (And.) and *riyādah*: **riedo**.

*riyāḥ alʿafrišah* (Neo-Ar.): **alaferse**.

*riyāl* (Neo-Ar.): **rial**.

**\*\*\*rizār** and **\*\*rizáz** (And.): **arricés**.

*rizmah*: **raima**.

*riżq* (And.) and *rizq*: 1.3.2, **risc**.

*ršāš* (Naf.): **orçaz**.

*rúbḥ* (And.) and *rubḥ*: 1.1.4.4.1, **arroba**.

*rubāš*: **anuba**.

**\*\*rubāšī** (And.): **celamim**.

*rúbb* (And.) and *rubb*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **arrobe**.

*rúbb assús* (And.) and *rubbu ssūs*: **rabazuz**.

**\*\*rubšiyah**: **rubia**.

**\*\*\*rubṭ**: **arrodda**.

*rubwah* and *rúbwa* (And.): **arrobcas**.

*rūdūnūn* (Neo-Ar.): **diarhodon**.

*rujūm*: **alragium**.

*ruh* and *rúh* (And.): **ruj**.

*rukáb*: **recamo**.  
*rukán* (And.): **racó**.  
*rukáya* (And.): **ciquiricata**.  
*rukáyan* (And.): **racó**.  
*rukbah*: **rochbe**.  
*rukbat addubb* (alʿašgar) (Neo-Ar.): **rocbat adub**.  
*rukbat arrāmī* (Neo-Ar.): **rocbat arramí**.  
*rukkáb* (And.) and *rukkāb*: **arrocabe**.  
*rukn*: **racó**.  
*rūm*: **arrom(es)**.  
*rumh*: **aromh**.  
*rumī* (And.) and *rūmī*: **romí**.  
*rūm(m)a* (And.) and *rummah*: **arruma**.  
*rummāna* (And.) and *rummānah*: **romā**.  
*rummāniyyah*: **ro/umaniyati**.  
*\*\*rūnda* (And.): **albéria**.  
*\*\*ruqabāʾ*: **arrodda**.  
*\*\*ruqād* (And.): **serir**.  
*ruqāq* (And.) and *ruqāq*: **arrucaique**.  
*ruqāyyaq* (dim.) and *ruqayyaqī* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **arrucaique**.  
*ruqūd* (And.) and *ruqūd*: **recodín**.  
*rūrru* (And.): **rorro**.  
*rusg*: **rascetae**.  
*\*\*\*rusmah*: **rusma** (in Appendix I).  
*rūtba* (And.) and *rubah*: 1.1.5.3.2, **arrodda**.  
*ruṭmah* (And.) and *ruṭmah*: **redoma**.  
*ruṭba*: **rutuba**.  
*ruṭūs*: **arroz<sup>2</sup>**.  
*ruṭām*: **arroham**.  
*ruṭx* (And.) and *ruṭx*: **roc**.

*šá* (And.) and *šāʾ*: **ojalá, oxamala**.  
*\*\*\*saʿada yawmunā*: **cadamanna**.  
*saʿqār*: **sa(h)afati**.  
*saʿālī*: **alshali**.  
*šāʿarī*: **suachy**.  
*\*\*sabʿah*: **sobai**.  
*sabaʿī*: **sabeo**.  
*sabaj*: **acibeche**.  
*šabakah*: **jábeca**.  
*sabal*: **sebel**.  
*šábal* (And.): **sábalo** (in Appendix I).  
*šābān*: **achavales**.  
*sabaníyya* (And.): **sabanía**.  
*šabaq*: **assabaq**.  
*sabastān*: **sebesta**.  
*sabaʿānah*: **cerbatana**.  
*šabawíyyah*: **alsebu(b)ie**.

*šább* (And.) and *šabb*: **jabe**.  
*šabbāba* (And.) and *šabbābah* (Neo-Ar.):  
 1.2.1.3.2, **ajabeba**.  
*šabbák* (And.): **jabeque**.  
*šabbára* (And.): **acibara**.  
*\*šabbūta* (And.) and *šabbūtah*: 1.1.3.3, **chaputa**.  
*šabī* (And.) and *šabī*: **sobai**.  
*šābī* (And.) and *šābī*: **jabí**.  
*šābīlah*: **sabeo**.  
*sabika* (And.) and *sabīkah*: **cibica, jabea**.  
*sabīl(i llāh)*: **cibiralá**.  
*sabšīn*: **cabayn**.  
*šābirah*: **acibara**.  
*šabíyya* (And.) and *šabíyyah*: **sabia**.  
*šābka* (And.): 1.1.5.4, **jábeca**.  
*šābr* (And.): **eixauere**.  
*sabtī* and *sābta* (And.): **cebtí, setí**.  
*šabūga* (Eg.): **saboga**.  
*\*\*\*šabūghah*: **saboga**.  
*\*\*\*šabūk*: **escacs**.  
*šabwah*: **alsebu(b)ie**.  
*šabyār* (Neo-Ar.): **sabiara(t)**.  
*šad*: **sade**.  
*šād*: **čad/t**.  
*sāʿd* (And.) and *saʿd*: **cicarazate**.  
*saʿd aqḍābiḥ* (Neo-Ar.): **čaad addebeth**.  
*saʿd alʿaxbiyah* (Neo-Ar.): **caad alahbia**.  
*saʿd albahāʿim* (Neo-Ar.): **čahat elbeheym**.  
*saʿd albārīʿ* (Neo-Ar.): **čad elbeere**.  
*saʿd alhumām* (Neo-Ar.): **čahat alhumem**.  
*saʿd almulk* (Neo-Ar.): **cad elmul)c**.  
*saʿd assuṣūd* (Neo-Ar.): **caadazod**.  
*saʿd bulaʿ* (Neo-Ar.): **čaadabola**.  
*saʿd maṭar* (Neo-Ar.): **č/cad matar**.  
*saʿd nāšīrah* (Neo-Ar.): **čad nexira**.  
*šadā*: **haclacoz**.  
*šadaʿ alḥadīd* (Neo-Ar.): **seda alhadid**.  
*šadaq*: **sedef**.  
*šadaq alfirfir* (Neo-Ar.): **ferfide**.  
*šadšah*: **alsedha**.  
*šāqanj* (Neo-Ar.): **sedinech**.  
*šadāq*: **acidaque**.  
*šadāqa* (And.) and *šadaqah*: 1.1.4.4.2, 1.3.1.2.2, **aldaca**.  
*sadar*: **(al)sedar**.  
*šaddax*: **alfandoque, eixaldar**.  
*\*šaddūq*: **xandocar**.  
*\*\*saʿdīyya* (And.): **adul**.  
*šad/qq*: **xandocar**.

- šadrawán* (And.): **saturca**.  
*šáf* (And.): **çef**.  
*šafá alfurát* (And.): **tafaforate**.  
*šáfša* and *\*šafšán* (And.): **safanão**.  
*šafāʔih*: **sefaiha**.  
*šafannáryah* (And.): **acenoria**.  
*šafāqilūs* (Neo-Ar.): **ascachillos**.  
*šafar*: **safari**.  
*šafar*: **çafar**.  
*šafaríyya* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, **safaria**.  
*šafát* (And.) and *šafat*: fn. 4, 1.1.3.2.3, **açafate**.  
*šáfš* (And.) and *šaff*: **zafes, safardana**.  
*šáfí* (And.) and *šāfī*: 1.1.3.2.3, 2.2, **zafio, safar<sup>1</sup>, t/zafaforate**.  
 \*\*\**šafš*: **safio**.  
*šafih* (And.) and *šafih*: **safio, zafio**.  
*šafihā* (And.) and *šafihah*: **açafeia**.  
*šāfin*: **safena**.  
*šafinah*: **alçafina**.  
*šafir* (And.) and *šafir*: **zafiro**.  
 \*\*\**šafirah*: **chaira** (in Appendix I).  
 \*\**šafn*: **zahón**.  
*šáfra* (And.) and *šafrah*: **safra**.  
*šáfra* (And.) and *šafraʔ*: **zafra<sup>1</sup>**.  
*šáfra* (wa)náhra (And.): 1.3.2, **chafrañafra**.  
*šafraʔ* and *šafraʔwī*: **açafrado**.  
*šafrah*: **chafarote**.  
*šafsári* (And.): **fazanzal**.  
*šafūf*: **suffuf**.  
*šāḡah* (And.): **chica**.  
*šāḡbar/z*: **anxahar**.  
 \*\**šāḡr*: **seguer**.  
*šáh* (And.) and *šā(h)*: 1.1.4.4.1, **escacs**.  
*sahar*: (al)**sahara**.  
*sahar*: **zahora**.  
*šāhb alahkām* (And.): **zabalachén**.  
*šāhb almadína* (And.): 1.3.2, **zalmedina**.  
*\*šāhb alwaštyya* (And.): 1.1.3.1, 1.3.2, **albacea**.  
*šāhb assahúr* (And.): **saurí**.  
*\*šāhb aššalá* (And.): **zabazala**.  
*šāhb assáqya* (And.): **zabezequia**.  
*\*šāhb assúq* (And.): **zabazoque**.  
*\*šāhb azzád* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2, **abacero**.  
*šáhba* (And.) and *šahbāʔ*: **jabado**.  
*šahdiyyah*: **alsehedie**.  
*šáhfa* (And.) and *šahfah*: **safa**.  
*sahhál* (And.) and *sahhal*: **sajelar**.  
*sahhára* (And.): fn. 95.  
*sahhár(in)* (And.) and *sahhār*: **saurí**.  
*sahhára* (And.): **zahara**.  
*šāhib*: **safbo**.  
*šāhib albahár* (And.): **zahebalbaharia**.  
 \*\*\**šāhib assalām* (Neo-Ar.): **zabazala**.  
*šāhib aššurqa* (Neo-Ar.): **za(c)basorta**.  
*šāhib atafriq* (And.): **atrifique**.  
*šāhibu llaḡkām*: **zabalachén**.  
*šāhibu lbahr*: **zahebalbaharia**.  
*šāhibu lmadinah*: **zalmedina**.  
 \*\**šāhibu lwašiyah*: **albacea**.  
*šāhibu ššalāh*: **zabazala**.  
*šāhibu ssāqiyah*: **zabezequia**.  
*šāhibu ssúq*: **zabazoque**.  
*šāhiḡah*: **cahea**.  
*sāhim*: **zaino**.  
*šāhirah*: **zahara**.  
*šahīrah*: **xehera**.  
*\*šāhiyyah*: **escehehie**.  
*sahlab* (Neo-Ar.): **salep**.  
*šahm*: **saham**.  
*sahmiyyah*: **shemie**.  
*šahnāʔ*: **sabane**.  
*šáhqa* (And.) and *šahqah*: **atxafegar**.  
*šáhra* (And.) and *šahrāʔ*: **sáfaro**.  
*šahrāwī*: **sáfaro**.  
*šahrāwī* and *aššahrāʔ(u lkubrā)*: **saharauí**.  
*šahrayārān* (Neo-Ar.): **alseriaran**.  
*š/sahríj* (And.): 1.1.3.3, 1.1.4.4.1, **chafariz**.  
*šāhtar* (And.): **çatalí**.  
*šāhtarraj* (Neo-Ar.): **saytarache**.  
*sahúr* (And.) and *šahūr*: **zahora, saurí**.  
*sāʔib*: **ceiba**.  
*sāʔid*: **alsahad**.  
*šāʔidah*: **zaida**.  
*šāʔifah*: **aceifa**.  
*šāʔim*: **alsaim**.  
*sāʔis*: **sais**.  
 \*\**šajan* and \*\**šajā[n]*: **atifells**.  
*šajā*: **alsegiagi**.  
*šajar*: **mofedo**.  
*šajriyānā* (Neo-Ar.): **saganea**.  
*sakanjabīn* (Neo-Ar.): **scangibin**.  
*sākih almāʔ* (Neo-Ar.): **cehquib elmeh**.  
*šakíma* (And.) and *šakīmah*: 1.1.4.1, **jáquima**.  
*šakíyya* (And.) and *šakiyyah*: **achaque**.  
*\*šakíyyat alhúrr* (And.): 1.3.2, **alforra**.  
*sákka* (And.): **ceca**.  
*šákl* (And.): **desaxacado**.  
*šaklah*: **chucla**.  
*sakrān*: **ciclano**.  
*šákwa* (And.) and *šakwah*: **achaque**.

šakzanāyā (Neo-Ar.): **saganea**.

šāḡl: (ai)xaldiga.

šalá (And.) and šalāh: **aleleví, azalá**.

salāmu(ah): 1.3.2, **salama(league)**.

salāmu šalayk (as—): **salamaleque**.

(šalātu z)zuhr: **dor**.

salāwī: **saloio**.

šalāwq (And.): **jaloque<sup>1</sup>**.

salband (Neo-Ar.): **sarabanda**.

salbāq (Neo-Ar.): **allora**.

šalbāt (And.): **zarabato**.

\*\*salhab: **alalme**.

šalīb (annasr) alwāqīf (Neo-Ar.): **çalib aloeqh**.

salīf: **soleto**.

salīxa (And.) and salīxah: **salefa**.

\*\*\*>salilla<: **zulla**.

\*\*šallā: **alazán**.

salm: **açalmear**.

\*šálma (And.): **enjalma**.

\*šalqassún (And.): **arcazón**.

sálsalat aššúlb (And.): **cencerretas**.

\*\*\*šalūk: **jaloque<sup>1</sup>**.

\*\*\*>salulla<: **zulla**.

šalúqa (And.): **sanlucareño**.

šalúqi (And.): **aloque<sup>1</sup>**.

salūqiyyah: **saloquia**.

sálwa (And.) and salwá: **selhue, çilue**.

\*\*šām: **alazán**.

šāmḡa (And.) and šamḡah: **maissela**.

samak: **charis alsemec**.

samak rāmi (Neo-Ar.): **arramec**.

samakah: **camecha**.

samakatayn: **açamacatayn**.

\*\*šamakūk: **zamacuco**.

saman: **alzemoue**.

šamḡ albalāt (Neo-Ar.): **albelat**.

šamḡ almirrūt (Neo-Ar.): **çabgalmerich**.

samī (And.): **zaquizamí**.

samūd (And.) and samūd: 1.1.4.4.1, **acemite**.

šāmīdah: **zomde**.

\*\*\*samūd/ḡah: **acemite**.

sāmīr (And.): **zambra<sup>1</sup>**.

sāmīrī: **ce/imiri**.

šamūs (And.): **ajimez, jemesía**.

\*šamīšyya (And.): **jemesía**.

\*šamūt (And.): **jametería**.

\*\*šamkūk: **mazacuca**.

\*šámīla (And.) and šamlah: **asemela, enjalma**.

\*\*\*samm: **açamar**.

\*\*sammāriyyah: **zambra<sup>2</sup>**.

šammās: **ssamas**.

\*\*sāmmu abraš: **osga**.

\*\*sammū sāḡah: **saraça**.

sammūr: **zamor**.

samm: **semen(um), acém**.

sámra (And.) and samrāt: 1.2.1.3.2, **zambo**.

samrah: **zambra<sup>1</sup>**.

šámra (And.): **asemela**.

šams: **jemesía**.

samsaq (Neo-Ar.): **sampsuco**.

šamsīyya (And.): **jemesía**.

samū (arraʿs) (Neo-Ar.): **acimut, cénit**.

samūm: **simún**.

šamūs (And.) and šamūs: **eixamús**.

sanā: **sen**.

šanḡa (And.) and šanḡah: **sarrafaçal, zana**.

sanād (And.) and sanad: **zendoco**.

ša/inīfa (And.): 1.1.5.1.2.

sanām (And.) and sanām: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.2.2, **acém**.

sanām annāqah (Neo-Ar.): **çenemanaca**.

sanāsīn: **alenas(c)en**.

šanāyīf (And.): 1.1.5.3.1, 1.2.1.1.

sanbūq (Neo-Ar.): **sambuco**.

sandal (Neo-Ar.): **acendría**.

\*\*\*sandāl: **cendolilla** (in Appendix I).

šāndal (And.) and šāndal: **sandala, sándalo, alsándara**.

šāndal (Neo-Ar.): **cendal**.

sāndar (And.): **zarandalí**.

\*\*šāndarak and \*\*šāndarūs: **arar**.

šāndaxa and šāndāx (And.): **eixaldar**.

\*ša/indīyya (And.): 1.2.1.2.1, **sandía**.

šanfūr (And.): **xarnafa**.

sānī (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.2.1.

šanīfa pl. šānāyīf (And.) and šānīfah: 1.1.3.2.3, **acenefa**.

šanjah (Neo-Ar.): **açania**.

šānnāč (And.): **cenacho, cunacho** (in Appendix I).

sannārya (And.): **acenoría**.

\*sānsalat aljalājil (And.): **cencerretas**.

šanūz (And.): 1.1.5.3.1, **ajenuz**.

sānya (And.) and sāniyah: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.3, **acenia**.

šappápa (And.): **asopaipa**.

s/šappát (And.): **zapato**.

sāq: **zahón**.

sāq alʿasad (Neo-Ar.): **çac alaçet**.

*sáqa* (And.) and *sāqah*: 1.1.3.2.3, **zaga**, **lis-saga**.

*šaqaḏīqu nuṣmān*: fn. 107.

\**šaqaqul* (And.) and *šaqaqul* (Neo-Ar.): **secácul**.

*šaqqarrāq*: **alcorroc**.

*saqāt* (And.) and *saqaṭ*: **z/sacatón**.

*saqffij fassamī* (And.): 1.3.2, **zaquizamí**.

*saqīfah* (And.) and *saqīfah*: **açaquifa**.

*šaḳīq* (And.): **assagreg**.

*šaḳīqa* (And.) and *šaḳīqah*: **jaqueca**.

*saqīrūs* (Neo-Ar.): **safiros**.

*s/šaqlab(i)* (Neo-Ar.): **ciclán**.

*saqmūniyā* (Neo-Ar.): **cecamonia**.

*šáqq* (And.): **arcazón**, **enxaca**.

*šáqqa* (And.) and *šaqqah*: **jaca**.

*saqqá* (And.) and *saqqā*: 1.1.4.4.1, **açacal**.

\**šaqqāl*: **açacalar**.

*saqqá(īn)* (And.) and *saqqāt*: **cegatero**, **zacatín**.

*saqr*: **sacre**.

\**saqún* (And.): 1.1.3.4, 1.2.1.2.2, **zahón**.

*šaqqwál(r)š* (And.): fn. 107, **arcazón**.

*sáqya* (And.) and *sāqiyah*: 1.1.3.3, 1.1.5.3.3, **acequia**.

*šarš*: **alsa/erha**, **maseda**.

*šarš aššibiyān* (Neo-Ar.): **sarrha alsabian**.

*šārš* (And.) and *šarš*: **jaraçuna**, **xara**.

*šāšra* (And.) and *šāršāl*: **enxara**.

*šarā*: **es(s)ere**.

*šaraš*: **saraça**.

*šarašah*: **axarea**.

*sarab*: 1.2.1.3.1.

*šarāb* (And.) and *šarāb*: 1.1.1, 1.1.3.3, 1.1.4.4.1, **jarabe**, **morabio**.

*šarabīyya* (And.): 1.2.1.3.2, **enxaravia**.

*šarāf* (And.) and *šaraf*: 1.3.1.2.2, **ajarafe**.

\**šarafu ddawlah*: **alcarovi**.

*šaraj*: **sargi**.

*šarāka* (And.) and *šarakah*: **ajaraca**.

*sarānd* (And.): **zaranda**.

*šaraq*: **(al)serac**.

*šaraqráq* (And.): **alcorroc**.

*saraqūst/ša* (And.): **zaragocí**.

*saraqūstī*: **sar//nagustín**.

*šarāšif*: **serasif**.

*šaraṭān*: **annatīh**.

*saraṭān* (And.) and *saraṭān*: **saratà**.

*sarāwil* (And.) and *sarāwīl*: fn. 69, **ceroula**.

*sárb* (And.): 1.2.1.3.1, **assarp**.

*šárĥ* (And.): **scarue**, **enxaravia**.

*šárĥa* (And.) and *šarĥah*: **servilla**, **sorbete**.

*šarbálla* (And.): **servilla**.

*šarbīla* (And.): **jervilla**.

*šarbūš* (Eg.): **enxaravia**.

*sarab*: **assarp**.

*sardān* (And.): **zaranda**.

*šarf*: **zarfe**.

*šaraf*: **(a)çarfa**.

*šašrī* (And.): **jaharí**.

\**šārīš assāša* (And.): **saraça**.

*šārīša* (And.) and *šārīš*: **axarea**.

*šarīf* (And.) and *šarīf*: **jerife**.

*sārīĥ aššanša* (And.) and *sārīĥu ššanšah*: 1.3.2, **sarrafaçal**.

*šārīĥa* (And.) and *šārīĥah*: 1.1.3.3, **aixareca**.

*šarīk* (And.) and *šarīk*: **acharique**.

*šarikah*: **jarque**.

*sārīq azzād* (And.) and *sārīqu zzād*: 1.3.2, **cica-razate**.

*šārīqa*: **enxerga**.

*sarīr* (And.): **serir**.

*sarīr banāt našš* (Neo-Ar.): **cerir benet nays**.

*šarīta* (And.) and *šarītah*: **jareta**, **zaratán**<sup>2</sup>.

*sarīyyah* (And.) and *sarīyyah*: **açaria**.

*šarja* (And.): **azarja**.

*šarka* (And.): **jarque**.

\**šarmaq*: **saramago**.

*šarnāq* (Neo-Ar.): **xeruaci**.

*šārq* (And.) and *šarq(i)*: **axarque**.

*šarqīyya* (And.) and *šarqīyyah*: **jarquía**.

\**šarqīyyūn*: **sarraceno**.

*šarrāb* (And.) and *šarrab*: **eixarravar**.

*šarrāba* (And.) and *šarrābah* (Neo-Ar.): **en-xarrafa**.

*šarrāf*: **sarafo**.

\**šarrāf allaš* / *aššanšah*: **sarrafaçal**.

*šarrāfa* (And.): **sarrafa**.

*šarrāĥ* (And.) and *šarraĥ*: **sarrafaçal**.

*sarrāj* (And.): **Abencerraje**.

\**šarrāl* (And.) and \*\*\**šarrānī*: 1.1.3.3, **charrán**.

*sarrāq atīn* (And.): 1.3.2, **cerracatín**.

\*\*\**šarrāfīn*: **zaratán**<sup>2</sup>.

*šarrāxah*: **zaraha**.

*sarrīq* and *sarrīq(at) almī* (And.): **azarcón**<sup>2</sup>.

*sārsala* (And.): **cereceda**.

\*\*\**šarūq*: **jaloque**<sup>1</sup>.

*šāšya* (Western Ar.) and *šāšya* (And.): **fez**, **seixa**.

\*šāḡā: escehehie.  
 šaḡāba (And.): axataba.  
 šatar: alsathere.  
 \*\*sāḡtar (And.) and \*\*saḡtar: zatre.  
 saḡtarī (And.): čatalí.  
 šaḡbah: axataba.  
 sāḡh (And.) and saḡh: ačoteia.  
 saḡhā?: setón.  
 šāḡiba (And.): jatívés.  
 šaḡibí (And.): jatibí.  
 šāḡir: xáuter.  
 saḡl: acetre.  
 \*\*satr: batalero.  
 \*šāḡranj: 1.1.1, 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.3.  
 šaḡrawín (And.): saturca.  
 šaḡrīyya (And.): ajedrea.  
 šaḡḡ, šāḡḡ and šaḡḡīyyah: saetía.  
 saḡūd: saudita.  
 saḡūtār: alshauthat.  
 \*\*sawād: albaialde.  
 šawār: aixovar.  
 sawād?: sosa, sudà (in Appendix I).  
 šawf (And.): alčufa.  
 šawf albhār (And.): cafal bafal.  
 šawíl xalláq (And.): čaguyll hallaco.  
 sawīq: sauich.  
 šāwīyah: enxovia.  
 šāwka (And.) and šawkah: axuayca.  
 \*\*šawkah yahūdīyyah (Neo-Ar.): judía.  
 šawlah and šawlat alšaqrab (Neo-Ar.):  
 (a)xaula, xeulet alacrab.  
 šawlaḡān (Neo-Ar.): zocani.  
 šawmaḡah: ačómua, almádena.  
 šawšah: sosati.  
 sawsan: ačucena.  
 \*sāwq (And.): ačougue.  
 sawt (And.) and sawt: 1.1.2.1, 1.1.4.4.1,  
 ačoute.  
 šāwt (And.): 1.1.3.2, ajotarse.  
 šawwāl: x/sauel.  
 šawwān: c/čauan, zdayrofe.  
 sawwāq (And.) and sawwāq: zaguaque.  
 šawya (Mor.): enxovia.  
 \*šaxāb (And.) and šaxab: atzabó.  
 \*šaxāl(a) (And.): cegaja.  
 \*\*šaxānah: zahína.  
 šaxazītā (Neo-Ar.): saganea.  
 saxlah: cegaja.  
 saxar: zaharrón.  
 saxīf: esquite.

saxína (And.) and saxīnah: zahína.  
 \*\*saxr: azofra<sup>1</sup>, zaharrón.  
 šáxr (And.) and šaxr: jaharral, safra.  
 šaxrī (And.) and šaxrī: 1.1.3.2.3, safaria,  
 sáfaro.  
 \*saxrún (And.): zaharrón.  
 šáxša (And.): seixa.  
 \*saxxār (And.): zaharrón.  
 šaxzanāyā (Neo-Ar.): saganea.  
 šáy (And.): quifradaxa.  
 šáya (And.): chíia.  
 sāyb and sāyah (And.): ceiba.  
 šáyd (And.) and šayd: acedar.  
 sáyda (And.): zaida.  
 šaydaq: čaydach.  
 sayf aljabbar (Neo-Ar.): čeyf algebar.  
 šáyda (And.): abdarramía.  
 šáyfa (And.): aceifa.  
 sayfīyyah and sayfīyya (And.): seiffia  
 sayfun hindī // ifranjī: cimitarra.  
 sāyib and sāyibah (And.): ceiba.  
 \*\*šáyn (And.): atifells.  
 šayqál (And.) and šayqal: ačacalar.  
 sayr: ación.  
 šáyra (And.): jirel.  
 saytal: acetre.  
 šaytaraj hindī (Neo-Ar.): eblisa, saytarache.  
 šaytī and šaytīyyah: saetía.  
 \*\*šaytun: atifells.  
 šáyx (And.) and šayx: escacs, jeque<sup>1</sup>, xe.  
 šayyāda (And.): zaida.  
 šayyāḡ: albece.  
 šayyāḡ baqḡār (Neo-Ar.): c/čayah albacar.  
 \*\*sáyyyid (And.) and sayyid: 1.1.2.2, alfiz,  
 ceide, cid.  
 sayyidah: zaida.  
 šaḡīyyah: axataba.  
 šbūqa (Tun.): saboga.  
 šabnāyya (Mor.): sabania.  
 šeboq (Sr.): chibuque.  
 šafra (Mor.): safra.  
 šaksu (Mor.): alcuzcuz.  
 šalham (Mor.): alalme.  
 šamḡa (Mor.): ačómua.  
 šamnas (Mor.): ajimez.  
 šanfūr and šannafa (Mor.): xarnafa.  
 šarbhāyya (Mor.): enxaravia.  
 šarbil (Mor.): jervilla.  
 šargana (Mor.): sargana.  
 \*\*šarraḡin (Mor.): zaratán<sup>2</sup>.

\**sarsar* (Alg. and Mor.): **morcercel**.  
*sə* (Mor.): **ságena**.  
*šīla* (And.) and *šīlah*: **chiismo, eixea**.  
*sibāš*: **alsebbai**.  
*šibāg*: **sabag**.  
*šibārā* (Neo-Ar.): **sibare**.  
*šibiya*: **jibia**.  
*šibr* (And.) and *sibr*: 1.1.1, 1.1.4.1, **acibara**.  
*šibr*: **eixaure, eixem**.  
*sīd* (And.) and *sīd*: 1.1., 2.2, **cid**.  
*sīd tūni* (And.): **ciclano**.  
*šidāq* (And.) and *šidāq*: **acidaque**.  
*šidār*: **assidar, cidara/i**.  
*šidārah* (Neo-Ar.): **cidara/i**.  
*\*šidriyya* (And.) and *šidriyyah* (Neo-Ar.):  
**cedría**.  
*šifah*: **cifa**.  
*šifāq*: **cifaque, sifac**.  
*šifāqī*: **alsaic**.  
*šiflī* (And.): **cefrí**.  
*šifr*: 1.1.3.1, **cero**.  
*šifra* (And.): **chafarote**.  
*šifráwi* (And.): **açafrado**.  
*šīga* (And.): **chica**.  
*\*\*ših*: **ceje** (in Appendix I).  
*ših armanī*: **romani(llo)**.  
*šihāb*: **alseheb**.  
*šīhah*: **ajea**.  
*šihrij*: **chafariz**.  
*sijill*: **asseliejat**.  
*sijn*: **sagen, ságena**.  
*šikkāl*: **jical**.  
*sikkāj* (Neo-Ar.): **cebiche**.  
*sikkah*: **acica, acicate, ceca**.  
*sikkī*: **cequí**.  
*sikkīn* (And.): **leme**.  
*sikrān* (And.): **ciclano**.  
*silāh*: **alçilah**.  
*silšah*: **alshali**.  
*sišlāh*: **Algol**.  
*silháma* (And.): **alalme**.  
*šiliṭā* (Neo-Ar.): **scelita**.  
*sillah* (Neo-Ar.): **zulla**<sup>1</sup>.  
*silqa* (And.) and *silqah*: **acelga**.  
*silsilah*: **cencerretas, cereceda**.  
*simāk ašzal / rāmiḥ* (Neo-Ar.): **açimec(h)**  
**alaazer / alrameh**.  
*siman*: **semin**.  
*simān*: **alzemoue**.  
*šimāx*: **alsa/emach**.

*simhāq*: **almazmach**.  
*šimšāma tarya* (And.) and *\*\*\*šimša/ira*: fn.  
 44, 1.1.5.2, 1.3.2, **cimitarra**.  
*simsāmiyyah*: **sensemanic**.  
*šin*: **cin**.  
*šin*: **c/çin**.  
*šināšah*: **arsenal**.  
*\*šināb* (And.): **ajenabe**.  
*\*\*sindī*: **cimitarra**.  
*sindiyya* (And.) and *sindiyyah*: **sandía**.  
*šinfah*: **acenefa**.  
*šinhāji* (And.) and *šinhājī* (Neo-Ar.): **cenhegi**.  
*šini* (And.) and *šini*: fn. 33, **atzeni**.  
*sinjāb*: **azingab**.  
*\*\*sinn*: **adarço**.  
*sinn*: **cenacho**.  
*šīpar* (And.): **albarrada**<sup>1</sup>.  
*siqāl*: **acicate**.  
*\*s/šiqāl* (And.) and *\*\*šiqāl*: **açacal**.  
*\*šiqāqul* (And.): **secacul**.  
*siqān* (And.) and *siqān*: **zahón**.  
*\*siqāt* (And.) and *siqāt*: **acicate, cegatero**.  
*siqāyah*: **azacaya**.  
*\*siqillāt* (And.): 1.1.5.3.3.  
*siqlāb* (And.): 1.1.4.4.1, **ciclán**.  
*siqlātūn* (And.) and *siqlātūn* (Neo-Ar.):  
**ciclatão**.  
*šiqq*: **enxaca, fardo**.  
*\*\*šīr*: **jácara** (in Appendix I).  
*šīrā yamāniyyah*: **aleme/inia**.  
*šīrā lšabūr / šāmiyyah*: **axeralaabor, (axera)**  
**axemia**.  
*\*\*šīrah*: **acirate**.  
*šīrāk* (pl.): **aixorca**.  
*sirāt* (And.) and *s/širāt*: **acirate**.  
*šīrāz* (Neo-Ar.): **seriza/i, xiraz**.  
*šīrb*: **ejarbe**.  
*širdān*: **çarden**.  
*širiq albayd* (And.): **ciquiribaile**.  
*širiq azzād* (And.): **cicarazate**.  
*širiq rukāta* (And.): **ciquiricata**.  
*šīrīz* (And.): **seriza/i**.  
*\*\*šīrk* and *šīrkāyr* (And.): fn. 4, **chiquero**.  
*šīrnāf*: **xarnafa**.  
*šīrnāq*: **alsarnac**.  
*š/sirsām* (Neo-Ar.): **sirs/z/çen**.  
*sirwāl(a)* (And.) and *sirwāl(ah)*: 1.1.5.3.3,  
**ceroula**.  
*šīsanbar* (Neo-Ar.): **alsándara**.  
*šīsarūn* (Neo-Ar.): **cisirão**.

šīa (And.): xeta.

šītaraj: ceteraque.

šitāra (And.) and šitārah: acitara, sistar (in Appendix I).

\*šītl (And.): fn. 31, 1.1.4.4.1, acetre.

\*šītrānj and šītrānj (And.) and šītranj: 1.1.4.1, acedrenche.

šītrīyya: ajedrea.

\*\*šītt (And.): daifa.

šīwār: aixovar.

šīyāf: xief.

(šīyāf) qihī (Neo-Ar.): cobti.

šīyāf (našāstaj / rūsaxtaj / soxtaj / alkundur) (Neo-Ar.): sief nesastegi / rusahaec / sie-falchendure.

\*\*šiyālah: acielā.

šiyāsiyyah: alsias(ia)e.

šīyya (And.): cear.

škal (Mor.): jical.

\*\*smida (Mor.): acemite.

smūm (Naf.): simūn.

\*\*sonnəyyin (Mor.): canana (in Appendix I).

š (Mor.): azarja.

šəforməyya and štrombəyya (Mor.): estormía.

šuna (Mor.): seito.

šūḡbah and \*\*\*šūḡbyā: zubia.

šūḡbāt ((Neo-Ar.): çubat.

subāt(un saharī): subeth sahari.

subātī: alsebaati.

šubáy (And.) and šubayy: sobai

šubdiyāqun (And.): jadraque.

šubūk: escacs.

šudāf: soda.

šūdān: sudanés.

šudays: açuteici.

šudd (And.) and sudd: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.4.4.1, açude.

šudda (And.) and suddah: açude, zuda, sodat.

\*\*suddar: recodín.

šuddiyāqun (And.): jadraque.

šudrah: açude, sadrá.

šūf albaḡr (Neo-Ar.): cafal bafal.

šūf(ah): alçufa.

šufa (Mor.): alçufa.

šufayrā?: sófora.

šuffah: sofa.

šūfī: soffí.

šufī: azolvar.

šufī: cefrí.

šúfr (And.) and šufr: 1.1.4.1, açôfar.

šúfra (And.) and sufrāh: zofra<sup>1</sup>.

\*\*šugurdīyya (And.): dansar.

\*\*šūh: minixar.

suhā: açuhe.

suhayl: çoheyl.

suháyli (And.): 1.2.1.2.1, zueleh.

\*\*šuhbah: alazán.

šuhūr: zahora.

šujāf: alsuyah.

sujuq ḡilw (dial.): alcotín.

sukk: çuc.

suk(k)ahāj (And.): 1.1.5.3.3, cebiche.

sukkān: socão.

\*\*sukkān (And.): leme.

sukkar (And.) and sukkar: açúcar.

sukkarī (And.) and sukkarī: zucarí.

šúkla (And.) and šuklah: chucla.

sulāmiyyāt: alselamiat.

sulāq: silac(h).

sulāqa (And.): azulaque.

\*\*sulaymān: solimán.

sulfān: çilue.

sulḡafāh: açcolhafe.

súlla (And.) and sullah ((Neo-Ar.): zulla<sup>1</sup>.

\*\*sullaj: zulla<sup>1</sup>.

sultān (And.) and sultān: soldà.

sultānī (Neo-Ar.): soltaní.

šúlu: chulo.

šulūqa (And.): jaluga.

suluqīyya (And.): saloquia.

šulwān: çilue.

\*\*šūm: xúmenes (in Appendix I).

šūmā (And.): açómua, almádena.

šūmāl and šūmālī: somalí.

šumāná; and šummān (And.): çement.

šummāq (And.) and šummāq: 1.1.4.4.1, sumac.

šumūt: acimut.

šunbāḡaj (Neo-Ar.): sembadegi.

šúnbar/l (And.) and šunbul: alsándara,

zúmbar.

šunbulah: aççumbula.

sundus: cendal.

šūnīz: 1.1.5.3.1, ajenuz.

šúnn (And.): xona.

súnna (And.) and sunnah: (jara)çuna.

\*\*súnḡa: sonta (in Appendix I).

šunūga (And.): esnó(g)a.

šunūj: çonog.

šúq (And.) and šūq: 1.1.2.1, 1.1.3.4, 1.1.5.3.1,

açougue, alcouce.



*suqʿ*: **zoco**.

*šuqāq* (And.) and *šuqāq*: 1.1.3.4, **ajuagas**.

\*\*\**suqāt* (And.): **zoquete** (in Appendix I).

*suqāyah*: **sucata**.

*suqāyqa* (And.): **azuqueca**.

*šuqurrūq*: **alcorroc**.

*suquṭrī* (And.) and *suquṭrī*: **cecotrim**.

*sūr* (And.) and *sūr*: **azor**<sup>2</sup>.

*sūra* (And.) and *sūrah*: **azora**.

\*\*\**surāb*: **zurrapa** (in Appendix I).

*ṣurad*: **çarden**.

*ṣuradayn* (Neo-Ar.): **alsurbed**.

*ṣurakāl* and *ṣurakā* (And.): **exorques**.

*ṣurbājah* (Neo-Ar.): **so/urbagi**.

*ṣurbūš* (Neo-Ar.): 1.2.1.3.2, **enxaravia**.

*sūrī*: **çory**, **surias**.

*ṣurīl* (And.): **jurel**.

*ṣūrka* (And.): 1.3.1.2.2, **aixorca**.

*surm*: **sarm**.

*sūrra* (And.) and *surrah*: **sorra**, **zurriaga**.

*ṣūrra* (And.) and *surrah*: **mazarrón**, **surrão**.

*surrat alfaras* (Neo-Ar.): **çorrat** (alfaraz).

*surriyāqa* (And.): **zurriaga**.

*sursūl* (And.): **cencerretas**.

*ṣurṭī* (And.) and *ṣurṭī* and *ṣurṭah*: 1.2.1.2.1, **eixortí**.

*ṣuruk*, pl. of *ṣirāk*: **aixorca**.

*surx dayzaj* (Neo-Ar.): **çarachdem**.

*sūryānī* (Neo-Ar.): **surianos**.

*sussāna* (And.): **açucena**.

*ṣuṣūn* (And.): **chocho**.

\*\*\**ṣuṣāyha*: **açoteia**.

\**ṣuṣāyāh* (And.): 1.1.1, 1.1.4.1, **açoteia**.

*ṣūṣīrā* (Neo-Ar.): **sotira**.

*ṣuṣūna* (And.): **seitó**.

*sūxra* (And.): **azofra**<sup>1</sup>.

*suwar*: **azora**.

*ṣuwār* (And.): **aixovar**.

*suwaydah* (Neo-Ar.) and *suwaydāḥ*: **sosa**.

\**ṣuwāyka* (And.): **axuayca**.

*suwayqah*: **azuqueca**.

\**suyūr* (And.) and *suyūr*: 1.1.4.4.1, **ación**.

*ṣway* (Mor.): **chué**.

*ṭāḥ*: **ta**.

\*\*\**ta' demm nobbli*, *ta' qalb tajba* (Malt.): **tahēño**.

*ṭāḥa* (And.) and *ṭāḥah*: **taha**.

*ṭāḥālīl(ah)*: **atu/ialil**.

*ṭāḥalluq*: **taluca**.

\*\*\**ṭāḥām* and \*\*\**ṭāḥāmiyyah*: **altamia**.

*ṭāḥl* (And.) and *ṭāḥl*: **mortaba**, **taba**<sup>2</sup>.

*ṭābah*: **taba**<sup>1</sup>.

*ṭāḥāhijīyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **thabahegiat**.

*ṭābāl* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

*ṭābān* (And.): **atabão**.

*ṭābāq* (And.) and *ṭābaq*: 1.1.4.4.1, 1.3.1.2.1,

**abitaque**, **tabac**<sup>2</sup>.

*ṭābāqa* (And.) and *ṭābaqah*: **abitaque**, **entabacado**, **tabuco**.

*ṭābaqun muḡaṭṭalun* (sic): **mogate**.

\*\*\**ṭabārī* (And.) and \*\*\**ṭabariyyah*: **tabaira**.

*ṭābāšīr* (Neo-Ar.): **tabaxir**.

*ṭābāyra* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, fn. 67, **tabaira**.

*ṭābbāl* (And.): **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.

*ṭābbāq*: **tabac**<sup>1</sup>.

*ṭābbāqa* (And.): **altabaca**.

*ṭābbāx* (And.) and *ṭābbāx*: **atabafeia**.

\**ṭābbūl*: **tambor**.

*ṭāḥīṭah*: **atabeo**, **ataviar** (in Appendix I), **tabea**.

*ṭābil*: **atuell**.

*ṭābiq* (Neo-Ar.): **atabe**, **tabuco**.

*ṭāḥīyya* (And.): fn. 4, 1.1.3.2.1, **atabeo**, **ataviar** (in Appendix I).

*ṭābīx* (And.) and *ṭābīx*: **tabefe**.

*ṭābl*: **atabal**<sup>1</sup>, **atambor**.

*ṭābl* (And.): **tabla**.

*ṭābrīzī* (Neo-Ar.): **toryn**.

*ṭabur* (Mor.) and *ṭābūr* (Neo-Ar.): **tabor**.

*ṭabūt* (And.) and *ṭābūt*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **atabud**, **taibola**.

*ṭadaldala lqamīs*: **dandalear**.

*ṭāḥīyah*: **tasia**.

\*\*\**ṭadmiyah*: **aljares**.

\*\*\**ṭadnīs*: **tanda**.

*ṭāḍy*: **althedi**.

*ṭāḥāl*: **tafinar**.

*ṭāḥār* (And.) and *ṭāḥār*: 1.1.3.2.1, **atafal**.

*ṭāḥattā* (Neo-Ar.): **tafetá**.

*ṭāḥāya*: **atafea**.

*ṭāḥarma* (Mor.): **altaforma**.

*ṭāḥī*: **althafi**.

*ṭāḥīnah*: **téfana**.

*ṭāḥī* (And.): **tafinar**.

*ṭāḥīq* (And.) and *ṭāḥīq*: **atrefique**.

*ṭāḥīq* (aṣṣiyām) (And.): 1.1.3.4, 1.1.5.3.3, **trafi**.

*ṭāḥīl* (Neo-Ar.): **altafasil**.

*ṭāḥīlah*: **tafecira**.

*táfqa* (And.): **atafeke**.  
*taftāh* (Neo-Ar.): **tafetá**.  
*tafūrma* (And.): 1.3.1.2.2, **altaforma**.  
*tafuríyya* (And.): 1.1.5.2.  
*tağarí* (And.) and *tağr* and *tağrī*: **Cegrí, tagarino**.  
 \*\**tağrīs*: **tagaté**.  
*tahabbuj*: (al)**tebegi**.  
 \*\**tahannu?* and \*\**tahannún* (And.): **taheño**.  
*tahawwúla* (And.): fn. 68, **tab(a)ola**.  
*tahhán* (And.) and *tahhān*: **tafaner**.  
*tahīn* and *tahīn* (And.): **tafeña**.  
 \*\**tahiríyya* (And.): **adul**.  
*tahíyyah*: **athya**.  
*tahlíl* (And.) and *tahlíl*: **tahalí**.  
*tahqín* (And.): **tahquil**.  
*tahrím* (And.) and *tahrīm*: **tafarinada**.  
*tahúna* (And.) and *tāhūnah*: **atafona**.  
*tahúr* (And.) and *tahūr*: **tafora**.  
*tahwíl* (And.) and *tahwíl*: **atafullarse**.  
*tahwíla* (And.) and *tahwíl* (*alʔard*) (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.2.2, **tafulla**.  
*tahwílāh* (And.) and *tahwílāh*: **alta-fulla**.  
 \*\**tahwīš* (And.) and *tahwīš*: **tabuixar**.  
*taʔifāh*: **taifa**.  
 \*\**taʔilāh*: **teguar**.  
*taʔlir*: **Altaír, ataire, gaznate**.  
*taʔlir hurr* (Neo-Ar.): **ahfarar**.  
 \*\**taʔlirun Ṣabbāsī*: **dardabasí**.  
 (*taʔlirun*) *hurr*: **alferraz, calforra**.  
*tāj* (*aljawzāʔ*) (Neo-Ar.): **ad(d)ahueyb, ateché, tech algeuze**.  
*tājīn* (And.) and *tājīn*: **teginat, tixela**.  
*tājir* (And.): fn. 95.  
*tajríyya* (And.) and *tajríyah*: **atarjea, teginat**.  
*tajwíf*: **altharizi**.  
 \*\**tajwīz*: **tasia**.  
*takbísā* (And.) and *takbīs*: fn. 20, **ataquizar**.  
*takfíf* (And.) and *takfíf*: **tafife**.  
*takfūr* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.4, **taful/r**.  
*tákka* (And.): **atacar**.  
*taksír* (And.) and *taksír*: **atacir**.  
*takyíf* (And.) and *takyíf*: **catifa**.  
 \*\**talā*: **tarí**.  
*talāš* (And.): **tala²**.  
*talša* (And.) and *talšah*: **talant**.  
*talšab*: **aguineu, salep**.  
*talábri* (And.): **tarabito**.  
*talāq*: **talaca**.  
*taláq* (And.): **atalaque**.

*taláyaš* (And.) and *talāyīš*: 1.1.3.5, 1.2.1.1, **atalaia**.  
 \*\**talb*: **atabal¹**.  
*talbína* (And.) and *talbīnah*: **atalvina**.  
 \*\**talī*: **tarí**.  
*talīš* (And.) and *talīš*: **tala²**.  
*talīšah*: **atalaia**.  
*talīq* (And.) and *talīq*: **talición**.  
 \*\**talīqa* (And.) **albéria**.  
*talīqa* (And.) and *talīqah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **taleca**.  
*talī/iqūn* (Neo-Ar.): **calycon**.  
*talī ʔššīn* (Neo-Ar.): **nief de acin**.  
 \*\**taljīm*: **trigem**.  
*tallaš qaws Ṣimādī* (Neo-Ar.): **coz (de limas)**.  
 \*\**talīm* (And.): **adernar**.  
*talq* (And.) and *talq*: **talc**.  
*talqā* (< *lqy*): **anda allá!**  
*támš* (And.) and *tamaš*: **tama**.  
 \*\**tašmah*: **adama**.  
*tamalmul*: **altemem/nel**.  
 \*\**tamaní*, \*\**tamānī* and \*\**taminí* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **celami**.  
*tamanu lmiṭl*: **middle**.  
*tamarī*: **althamari**.  
*támm* (And.) and *tāmm*: **atamar**.  
*támma la bás* (And.) and *támma lā baš*: 1.3.2, **abés**.  
*tamr*: **atamares**.  
*tamr hindī* (Neo-Ar.): **tamarinde**.  
*támra* (And.) and *tamrah*: **támara**.  
*tamrīx*: **althamarich**.  
*tamyīz* (And.) and *tamyīz*: \*\*\***alcaiz**.  
 \*\**tan* (Mor. idiolect): **taba¹**.  
*tanakkur*: **alseker**.  
*tanbūr* (And.): **atambor**.  
 \*\**tandīf* (And.): **tendis**.  
 \*\**tandīs*: **tanda**.  
*tanduwah*: **althendue**.  
*ṭānī*: 1.1.3.2.1.  
*ṭaniyyah*: **te(r)niya**.  
*ṭanjah* (Neo-Ar.): **tangerino**.  
 \*\**ṭanjahār* and \*\**ṭanjarah* (Neo-Ar.): **alcân-cara**.  
*ṭanjahār* (And.): **tagarrão**.  
*ṭanjālī*: **dansar**.  
*ṭanjār* (And.): **dansar**.  
*ṭanjī*: **dansar**.  
*ṭanjīr* (And.) and *ṭanjīr* (Neo-Ar.): **tagarrão, tangí**.  
 \*\**ṭanjīs* (And.): **tagzim**.

*tankār* (Neo-Ar.): **atimçar**.  
*tankīs arraʔs* (Neo-Ar.): **tenchis alras**.  
*tannūr* (And.) and *tannūr*: **atanor, tendur**.  
*tannūrah* (Sr.): **tendur**.  
*tanqíya* (And.) and *tanqiyah*: fn. 4. **atanquía**.  
*ʔanz* (And.): **dansar**.  
 \*\**ʔanzīm*: **tanda**.  
*ʔapaqúʔa* (And.): **tabacoque**.  
*ʔáq(a)* (And.) and *ʔāq(ah)*: 1.1.3.2.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **adague, pataca, touca**.  
*ʔaqallus*: **tacaniça**.  
*ʔaqannūʔ* (And.): **tacanho**.  
*ʔaqarnína* (And.): **tagarnina**.  
*ʔáqb(a)* (And.) and *ʔaqb(ah)*: **atabe**.  
*ʔaʔqíʔ(a)* (And.) and *ʔaʔqíʔ*: **tasquiva**.  
*ʔaʔqíd* (And.) and *ʔaʔqíd*: **taguitón**.  
*ʔāqiyah* (Neo-Ar.): **tákya**.  
*ʔaʔíyya* (And.) and *ʔaʔíyyah*: **ataguía**.  
*ʔaqlísa* (And.): **tacaniça**.  
*ʔáqra* (And.): **tagra**.  
*ʔaqríʔ*: **altheacaregi**.  
*ʔáqya* (And.): **tákya**.  
*ʔār* (dial.): **tar**.  
*ʔaráb* (And.) and *ʔarab*: 1.1.3.2.1, **tarabela**.  
*ʔarabbul*: **alterbel**.  
*ʔaraf*: **artarfe, tarsi, trafalgar**.  
*ʔaráʔa* (And.): **atarfe**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ʔarahhul*: **altherel**.  
*ʔarāʔik*: **tareco**.  
*ʔarākiyā* (Neo-Ar.): **barachien**.  
*ʔarākwa* (Eg.): **turco**.  
*ʔaranjabīn* (Neo-Ar.): **tereniabim**.  
 \*\*\**ʔaraqqa* and \*\**ʔaraqqi*: **atracar**.  
*ʔaraʔruʔ*: **alterharharha**.  
*ʔaraʔ*: (al)tharas.  
*ʔaráyik* (And.): **tareco**.  
*ʔarb*: fn. 27, **zirbo**.  
*ʔarbíʔ* (And.) and *ʔarbíʔ*: **tarbea**.  
*ʔarbuq* (And.): **trobiguera**.  
 \*\**ʔarbūʔ*: **fez**.  
 \*\**ʔarbúz* (And.): **alefris**.  
*ʔarf*: **atarf**.  
*ʔárf* (And.): **artarfe, atarfe**<sup>2</sup>.  
*ʔárf alaʔárr* (And.): **trafalgar**.  
*ʔárf annájs* (And.): 1.1.5.3.3, **trafalmejas**.  
*ʔárfa* (And.) and *ʔarfāh*: **atarfe**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ʔarfah*: **altarfati**.  
*ʔarfīlah*: **retahfia**.  
*ʔarfísa* (And.): 1.1.5.4.

*ʔárh* (And.) and *ʔarh*: 1.1.4.4.1, **atarfe**<sup>2</sup>, **tara, tarquín**.  
*ʔarhah* (Eg.): **tará**.  
 \*\**ʔarhiyyah*: **atarjea**.  
*ʔarí* (And.) and *ʔarí*: **tarí**.  
*ʔáriʔ*: **cimitarra**.  
*ʔāriʔah*: **déria**.  
*ʔarid*: **terid**.  
*ʔarida* (And.) and *ʔarīdah*: **tarida**.  
*ʔaʔrīʔah* (Neo-Ar.): **tarifa**.  
*ʔariha* (And.): **tarea**.  
*ʔarīma* and *ʔarīma* (And.) and *ʔarimah* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.4.1, **tarima**.  
*ʔaʔrīʔ*: **ataxeres**.  
*ʔarjahālah* (Neo-Ar.): **atursihala**.  
 \*\**ʔarjahār*: **alcâncara**.  
 \*\*\**ʔarjīm*: **trigem**.  
*ʔarjís* (And.): **rassa**.  
*ʔarkáʔ* (And.): 1.1.3.2.1.  
 \*\**ʔarm*: **adermar**.  
*ʔarma* (Mor.): **tarima**.  
*ʔarqah*: **atarracar**.  
*ʔarrāhah* (Neo-Ar.): **tarraqueta**.  
*ʔarrāha* (And.): **atarraya**.  
*ʔarraq*: **atarracar**.  
*ʔarráq* (And.): **tarraque**.  
 \**ʔarrāqah*: 1.2.1.3.2, **atarracar**.  
*ʔarrās*: **tarraz**.  
*ʔarrās barrāz*: **tarraz-borraz**.  
 \**ʔarrāʔah* (Neo-Ar.): **tarraja**.  
*ʔarsāna* (Eg.) and *ʔars(ax)ānah* (Neo-Ar.): **arsenal**.  
*ʔarʔíʔ* (And.) and *ʔarʔíʔ*: 1.1.5.4, **taracea**.  
*ʔártala* (And.): **destartalado**.  
*ʔarʔáli* (And.): **destartalado**.  
*ʔarʔar* (And.): **tártaro**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ʔarʔíl* (And.) and *ʔarʔíl*: **tertil**.  
*ʔarūb*: **rutuba**.  
*ʔārūnī* (Neo-Ar.): **toroninio**.  
*ʔarxūn* (Neo-Ar.): **estragão**.  
*ʔárya* (And.): **nugeymath turquia**.  
*ʔarʔí* (Neo-Ar.): **tarasí**.  
 \*\**ʔas* (Mor. idiolect): **taba**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ʔasallaq*: **saloquia**.  
 \*\*\**ʔaʔawwana*: **xona**.  
*ʔasbīh*: **tesgi**.  
*ʔaʔbīk* (And.) and *ʔaʔbīk*: **tabique**.  
*ʔaʔfī*: **tasfid**.  
*ʔaʔʔíq*: **ataxeres**.

- \*\*taskāb: tasquiva.**  
*taškīm* (And.): **tahquil.**  
*tašmūm:* (a) **tazmim.**  
*tasmiyya* (And.) and *tasmiyah:* **tasmea.**  
**\*\*tašqīr: tasquil** (in Appendix I).  
*tāssa* (And.) and *tassah:* **taça.**  
*tast* and *tást* (And.): **tacho.**  
**\*\*tašyūl** (And.): **atarjea.**  
*tasyīr:* **atacir.**  
*tatār* (Neo-Ar.): **tártaro**<sup>2</sup>.  
**\*\*taṭāwul: tegual.**  
*taṭbīqa* (And.) and *taṭbīqah:* fn. 30, **tabica.**  
**\*\*taḷīr: atacir.**  
**\*\*taḷqībah: tasquiva.**  
*tāḷūn:* **althaun.**  
*tawābiḥ alḥayyūq:* **teuebi alayoc.**  
**\*\*tawāḷil: tegual.**  
*tawābil* (And.) and *tawābil* or *tawābil:* **atifells,**  
**atuell.**  
*tawāḷīn:* **tabardillo.**  
*tawlamayn:* **altahuamayn.**  
*tawārim* (And.): **tarima.**  
*tāwb* (And.) and *tawb:* **alhob.**  
*tāwča* (And.): **atocha, mansega.**  
*tawīl* (And.): **atabilar, atifells.**  
**\*\*taḷwīl** and *tāwīl:* **atuell.**  
*tawjūl* (And.): **taujel.**  
*tāwq* (And.) and *tawq:* **atoque, toca.**  
*tawr:* (al) **taur.**  
*tawrīq* (And.) and *tawrīq:* **ataurique.**  
*tawšīh* (And.) and *tawšīh:* 1.1.4.4.1, **taujel.**  
*tawšīyya* (And.) and *tawšīyah:* 1.1.3.3, **ataujía.**  
*tāwūsiyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **taccie.**  
*tāwzari* (And.): fn. 81.  
*taxaḥruš:* **techaschas.**  
**\*\*taxtūn** (And.): **matrazo.**  
*taxīm* (And.): **atafime, tagzim.**  
**\*\*taxzīn** (And.) and *taxzīn:* **tagzim.**  
*taybūt* (And.): **taibola.**  
*taḡfūr* or *tayfūr* (And.) and *tayfūr:* **ataifor.**  
*taḡfurīyya* (And.) and *taḡfurīyyah:* 1.1.5.2,  
 1.2.1.2.1, **ataifor.**  
*taḡhūj:* **atyhox.**  
*tāyir* (And.): **ataire.**  
*tāyjan* (And.): **tixela.**  
*taylūn* (And.): **abutilón.**  
*taysīr* (And.) and *taysīr:* **ateserá.**  
**\*\*tayyār** (And.): **ataire.**  
**\*\*tayyārah: **ataire.**  
*tayyib:* **tabaira.****
- tazwīl* (And.) and *tazwīl:* **tezigüela.**  
*tazyīna* (And.) and *tazyīnah:* **taina.**  
**\*\*ṭbir** (Mor. idiolect): **taba**<sup>1</sup>.  
*ṭbbun* (Mor.): **taboll.**  
*ṭḍyaf* (Mor.): **farra.**  
*ṭfna* (Has.): **téfana.**  
*ṭḥmeda* (Mor.): **alfandoque.**  
*ṭḥfif* (Mor.): **taffife.**  
**\*\*\*teqel: tegual.**  
*ṭaṭwan* (Mor.): **tetuaní.**  
*ṭfaya* (Mor.): **atafea.**  
*ṭḥmdat* (Mor.): **alfandoque.**  
*ṭib* (And.) and *ṭib:* **tibo.**  
*ṭibah:* **atib/ua.**  
**\*\*ṭibāq: abitaque.**  
*ṭibr* (And.) and *ṭibr:* **tèber.**  
**\*\*ṭift: tafal.**  
*ṭihāl:* **ta/ehal.**  
**\*\*>ṭihāl<: ademán.**  
*ṭijāra* (And.) and *ṭijārah:* **atijara.**  
*ṭikkah:* **atacar.**  
*ṭikna* (Eg.): **tèquina.**  
**\*\*>ṭilād<: ademán.**  
*ṭilasm(āt):* **talismà.**  
*ṭilimsān:* **tremesén.**  
*ṭillīs* (And.) and *ṭillīsh:* **teliz.**  
**\*\*ṭimr: tamarella.**  
*ṭimsāh:* fn. 105, **atimçah.**  
*ṭīn:* **rabiador.**  
*ṭīn armūnī* (Neo-Ar.): **telarmín.**  
*ṭīnah:* **aixareca.**  
*ṭīnkār* (And.) and *ṭīnkār* (Neo-Ar.): **atinca.**  
*ṭinnūn:* **altannyn.**  
*ṭirāš* (Neo-Ar.): **tarraja.**  
*ṭirāz* and *>ṭirāz<:* **ademán, tiraz.**  
**\*\*ṭirāzī: tarasí.**  
*ṭirs:* **arsenal.**  
*ṭirsāna* (Eg.): **arsenal.**  
*ṭirṭāyna* (And.): fn. 23.  
*ṭiryāq(a)* (And.) and *ṭiryāq:* **atriaca.**  
*ṭiryāq šizrā* (Neo-Ar.): **tyryace esdre.**  
*ṭišrīn:* **thesserin.**  
*ṭišṭāny* (And.): fn. 23.  
*ṭiwāl* (And.) and *ṭiwāl:* **adival, tegual.**  
**\*ṭiwāl** (And.) and **\*ṭiwāl:** **tegual.**  
*ṭiyādarīṭūs* (Neo-Ar.): (als) **adritus.**  
*ṭmāg* (Naf.): **tamanco.**  
*ṭrāka* (Mor.): **atracar.**  
*ṭrāka* (Naf.): **turco.**  
*>ṭrmysws<* (Neo-Ar.): **turmusius.**

**\*\*trómpa/o** (And.): **baldrufa**.  
*tuṣaylibār*: **atoax lebet**.  
*tūba* (And.) and *tūbah*: 1.1.3.2., **adoba**.  
*tūbāl* (Neo-Ar.): **tuba/el**.  
*tubbāq*: **tabac<sup>1</sup>**.  
*tubbāqa* (And.) and *tub(b)āq(ah)*: **altabaca**.  
*tūbjī* (Neo-Ar.): **topegi**.  
*tūfān*: **tifō**.  
*tūfl* (And.) and *tūft*: **azolvar**.  
*tūgrīl* (Neo-Ar.): **togrin**.  
*tujībī*: **tochibí**.  
*tūmn* (And.) and *tūmn*: 1.1.3.2.1, **azumbre**.  
*tūmn* (*addārham*) (And.): **tomín**.  
**\*\*tūmnī**: **celamim**.  
**\*\*tūmnīyyah** (And.): **celamim**.  
*tūmnū ddirham*: **tomín**.  
*tunbāk* (Neo-Ar.): **tumbaga**.  
*tunbūr*: **mandora, tambor**.  
*tūnis*: **tunecí**.  
*tūnn* (And.) and *tunn*: 1.1.4.4.1, **atum**.  
*turayyā*: **açoraya/e**.  
*turbid* (Neo-Ar.): **turbit**.  
*turbīl* (And.): **tarabela**.  
*tūrda* (And.) and *turdah*: 1.1.3.2.1, **açorda**.  
*turjumān* (And.) and *turjumān*: **torcimany**.  
*turkī* (And.) and *turkī*: **turco**.  
*turkumān* (Neo-Ar.): **turcomano**.  
*turmūs* (And.) and *turmus*: 1.1.4.1, **altramuz**.  
*turquntīyyah* (And.): **tarago/untía**.  
*turrahah*: **esturrufar**.  
**\*\*turrāḥah**: **almadraque**.  
*turrūha* (And.): **esturrufar**.  
**\*\*turs**: **adarga**.  
*turúnja* (And.) and *turunjah* (Neo-Ar.): **taronja**.  
*turunján* (And.) and *turunjān*: **tarongina**.  
*tūrya* (Eg.): **almocafre**.  
**\*\*>tušānah<**: **alhuceña**.  
*tūḡah*: **althute**.  
*tutīyya* (And.) and *tūtiyā?*: **atutía**.  
*tuxamah*: **(al)tochme**.  
*twāreg* (Bed.): **tuareg**.

*ṣubaydī*: **bata**.  
*ubbār*: **ubar**.  
*ubnah*: **alabo/ene**.  
*ūbūṣīlūn*: **abutilón**.  
*ūč* (And.): **ahuchear**.  
*ūčč+ak, f+* — (And.): **(a)fucharse**.  
*ṣūd* (And.) and *ṣūd*: **laúd**.  
*ṣūd hindī* (Neo-Ar.): **hot**.

*ūdīmā* (Neo-Ar.): **udimia**.  
*uḏhiyy annaḏām* (Neo-Ar.): **addaha annaam**.  
*uḏnayn* (Neo-Ar.): **fugela**.  
*ṣūḡr* (And.) and *ṣuḡr*: **alhodera**.  
*ṣuḡrah*: **aladra**.  
*ṣuḡrat aljawzā?*: **adret algeuze**.  
*ṣudūl*: **adul**.  
*ṣujjah*: **alhagie**.  
*ṣulamā?*: fn. 77, **ulema**.  
*uld* (Naf.): fn. 14.  
*ṣumayrī*: **humeire**.  
*umáyya* (And.) and *umayyah*: **omeya**.  
*umm*: **uma**.  
*ūmm alḥasān* (And.): **omalhacén**.  
*ūmmak* (And.) and *ummika*: **arrum(i)aco**.  
*ummu ḥasan*: **omalhacén**.  
*ṣumūr*: **algamur**.  
*unbūbah*: 1.1.5.1.2, **embuba, amboa**.  
**\*\*ṣunduqah**: **andorga**.  
*ṣunnāb* (And.) and *ṣunnāb*: **aluneb**.  
*ṣunq alḥayyah* (Neo-Ar.): **hoonc alhaya**.  
*ṣunq aššujāḡ* (Neo-Ar.): **haonc ayuiaha**.  
*ṣunqūd*: **jaglón**.  
*ṣunqūdī*: **ancodí**.  
*unḡa*: fn. 103.  
*ṣuqāb*: **alhucab**.  
*uqīl* (And.): **manquil**.  
*ūqiyya*: **ouquia**.  
*ṣurbān* (And.): **albaroque**.  
**\*\*\*ṣurḡā** and *ṣurḡī*: **horda**.  
*urī* (And.): 2.2.  
*urjūḥah*: **alargi(u)ha**.  
*ṣurqūb arrāmī* (Neo-Ar.): **orcob arrami**.  
**\*\*\*ṣurṣah**: **algorza**.  
**\*\*\*ṣurṣān**: **anorza** (in Appendix I).  
*ṣurūq* (And.): **alcaçuz**.  
*ṣurwah*: **alharua**.  
*ṣuṣāri* (And.) and *ṣuṣār(i)* (Neo-Ar.): **uixer**.  
*usaylim*: **alasilan**.  
*ṣuṣāyri* (And.): **uixer**.  
*ṣuṣfur*: **alaçor**.  
*uṣnān* (*alṣaṣāfir*) (Neo-Ar.): **uxnen**.  
*usquf* (Neo-Ar.): **belyniz**.  
*usrub* (Neo-Ar.): **alazrob**.  
*uṣṣ* (And.): **oxte**.  
**\*\*ṣuṣṣāqah**: **orzaga** (in Appendix I).  
*ṣuṣ(ṣ)āyri* (And.): **uixer**.  
*uṣṣūl*: **estol**.  
*uṣṣuwānah* (Neo-Ar.): **alacitonar** (in Appendix I), **zagão**.

*uṣūl*: **alnuscul**.

*ṣuṣṣuṣ*: **alhos(os/fos)**.

**\*\*\*ʔuṣāl**: **aludel**.

*ṣuṣmān(i)*: **osmanlí**.

*uṣmud*: **antimoni**.

*uxšīna* (And.): **alhuceña**.

*wād alḥajāra* (And.): **guadalajareño**.

*wād iṣ* (And.): **guadijeño**.

**\*\*waḍāfa** (And.): **botafió**.

*waḍaḥ*: **algu/rada**.

*waḍarānī* (Neo-Ar.): **aluataroni**.

**\*\*waḍḍaṣ jawbā**: **bata**.

*wādī*: **mofedo**.

*wādi āna* (And.): **guadianés**.

*wādi lḥijārah*: **guadalajareño**.

*wādi šūš* (And.): **chocho**.

*waḍū?*: 1.1.3.6, **alguadoc**.

*wady*: **aludi**.

**\*\*wāḥah**: **oasis**.

*wahan*: **alheuen**.

*waḥd+əl* (Mor.): 1.3.1.1.

*wāḥid+ al* (Naf.): fn. 98.

*wāḥida biwāḥida* (And.) and *wāḥidatan biwāḥidah*: 2.1, **guájete**.

**\*\*wāḥidī**: **abada** (in Appendix I).

*wāḥš* (And.) and *waḥš*: **guaxa**.

*wajaš*: **guay, vgia**.

**\*\*waj(a)rah**: **guájar**.

**\*\*wajh**: **aláujo**.

*wakālah*: **alguaquela**.

*wakīl*: **uakil(e)**.

*wákr* (And.) and *wakr*: **algueras, aloque<sup>2</sup>**.

*wakriyyah*: **uacria**.

*wašl* (*attibi*) (Neo-Ar.): **catu**.

*walad* (Naf.): fn. 14.

*walad alfārga* (And.): **farc**.

*walāja* (And.) and *walajah*: **algoleja, huelga** (in Appendix I).

*wālī*: **valí**.

**\*\*walīḥah**: **valija** (in Appendix I).

*wallá(h)* (And.) and *wallāḥ*: **gualá, olé, hola** (in Appendix I).

*wálwala* (And.) and *walwalah*: 1.1.3.1, **albór-bola**.

**\*\*wanyah**: **árganas** (in Appendix I).

*wāq* (Neo-Ar.): **uuach**.

*waqaḍa ft ruṭūmah*: **redoma**.

*waqáya* (And.): **alguaquaya**.

**\*\*waqī**: **adoquim**.

*wāqī*: **Vega**.

*waqīda* (And.) and *waqīd*: **alguaquida**.

*waqr*: 1.1.3.2.2, **(al)uchar**.

*wāqwāq* (Neo-Ar.): **uacuac**.

*wāšra* (And.) and (*arḍun*) *wāšrah*: **guájar**.

*waraq allašib* (Neo-Ar.): **naip**.

*warašān*: **oarsem**.

*waraškin* (Neo-Ar.): **alure(s)chin**.

**\*\*ward**: **guedre** (in Appendix I).

*wardīnaj* (Neo-Ar.): **(al)guardenegi**.

*warīd*: **alurid**.

*warikā lḥasad*: **mahaxa**.

*wars*: **uarç**.

*wārs* (And.): **arcazón**.

*wāšl* (And.) and *wašl*: **guasa**.

**\*\*wašā?** *Allāḥ*: **ojalá**.

*wašāq* (And.): **aguajaque**.

*wašī*, fem. *wašīyyah*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.3, **almeixia**.

*wašīyya* (And.) and *wašīyyah*: 1.1.3.1, **albacea**.

*wāšl* (And.) and *wašl*: 1.1.3.2.2, **aguaza, aluaz**.

*wāsla* (And.): **alguemales**.

*wašūl*: **albazul/r**.

*wašm*: **algasen**.

*wassabuš*: **ve el çahba**.

*waswās*: **aluasuas(i)**.

*waṣ?*: **aluathi**.

*waṣā* (Eg.) and *waṣā?*: **bata**.

*waṣā* (And.) and *waṣī?*: **follar**.

*watad*: **cated**.

*waṭar*: **alutbar**.

*waṭīla*: 2.1.

*waṭy*: **aluathi**.

*wāw*: **uau**.

*waxz*: **vachz(i)**.

*wáy* and *wáya* (And.) and *way*: 1.1.4.4.1, **guay**.

*wáyl* (And.) and *wáyl*: **adolió, arguell**.

**\*waṣāfiyyah**: **botafió**.

*wazaḡah* and *wázga* (And.): **osga**.

**\*\*wazīf(ah)**: **botafió**.

*wazīr* (And.) and *wazīr*: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.5.2, **aguasil**.

**\*\*wāja** (Mor.): **huelga** (in Appendix I).

*widāj*: **(al)guidegui**.

*wilāyah*: **vilaiete**.

*wiqāyah*: **alguaquaya**.

*wirkā lḥasad*: **alcahar**.

*wīšāl* (And.): **alguemales**.

*wūjj* (And.): **aláujo**.

*wuqqa*: **oca**.

*wuššāq*: **aguajaque**.

\*\*\**xabanj*: **ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).

*xabaq*: **alcab(t)**.

*xabbáz* (And.) and *xabbāz*: **alfabaceiro**.

*xabīs*: **alcabise**.

*xábya* (And.) and *xābi?ah*: 1.1.3.2.2, **alfàbia**.

\*\**xadd*: **alchad**.

*xādim*: **hodamo**.

\**xādimu sarf*: **zarfe**.

*xafaj*: **alfhagi**.

*xafaqān* (And.) and *xafaqān*: 1.1.3.4, **algafacán**.

*xafārah*: **cafarro**.

*xafī*: **alchasi**.

\*\**xālin*: **zaino**.

*xalā?*: **afagar**.

*xalaf*: **halaf**.

*xalāh*: **chalahan**.

*xalat*: **alcha(I)el**.

\*\**xalanj*: **galanga, ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).

*xalanjān* (Neo-Ar.) 1.1.3.4, **galanga**.

*xalaq*: **alecar**.

*xalāq* (And.) and \*\**xālaq*: 1.2.1.2.2, **afagar, halacalero**.

*xalāq* (And.) and *xalaq*: **arguell, fargallo**.

*xālatī* and *xāl(a)ti* (And.): **jaltizikos**.

*xalās* and *xalās* (And.) **ahallazare**.

*xālīqūniyūn*: **giltunie**

*xalīfa* (And.) and *xalīfah*: **alifa**.

*xalīfah*: 1.1.3.4, **califa**.

\*\**xalīj*: **galacho** (in Appendix I).

*xāliḥ*: **hallice**.

*xallāb* (And.): **araboga**.

\**xallāba* (And.): **falleba**.

\*\**xalūq*: **aloc**.

*xalūqī*: 1.2.1.2.1, **aloque<sup>1</sup>**.

*xalxāl* (And.) and *xalxāl*: fn. 95, **carcaj<sup>2</sup>**.

*xamasīn* (Eg.): **camsin**.

*xamd*: **chemed**.

\*\**xamīs*: **celamim**.

\*\**xamīs*: **hamez**.

*xāmī/g* (And.) and *xamj*: 1.1.3.3/4, **ámago**.

*xamī*: **chumel**.

*xamūár* (And.): **alfāambar**.

\*\**xamūārah*: **barraca**.

*xāmri*: **alfāambar**.

*xams(ah)*: **gumça**.

\*\**xamsīn*: **camsin**.

\*\**xānāt*: **alcaná**.

*xanāzīr*: **seriza/i**.

\*\**xāndaq* (And.) and \*\**xandaq*: **alfândega, fendi**.

\*\**xanīf*: **falifa**.

*xánjal* (And.) and *xanjar*: 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.5.2, **alfange**.

*xannāq* (And.): **alfinago, charrán**.

\*\**xāqān*: **cancón** (in Appendix I).

\*\**xaq*: **Alfacs**.

*xār šīnī*: **alárze**.

*xará kán* (And.) and \*\**xará ma zál* (And.): 1.3.2, **haragán**.

*xarāl?*: **jará**.

\*\**xarajáya* (And.): **malcolfa**.

*xaráb* (And.) and *xarab*: **farrapo**.

*xaráb* (And.) and *xarāb*: **afarbado**.

*xarāfiyyah*: **alcharfie**.

*xarāj*: **diván**.

\*\**xarajáya* (And.): **marcolfa**.

*xaraḥ*: **alcurathi**.

*xarātān*: **alharat(h)en**.

*xaráza* (And.) and *xarazah*: **garaça**.

*xardāl* (And.) and *xardal*: **ardalear**.

*xarīfah*: **alifa**.

*xárij* (And.): **farjup**.

\*\**xarīnj* (And.): **ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).

*xarīḥa* (And.) and *xarīḥah*: **alcorreta**.

*xárj* (And.) and *xarj*: **alarje, archí, malcorcho**.

\*\**xarjah*: **enjarje** (in Appendix I).

\**xarjupa* (And.): **farjup**.

*xarkús* (And.): **alca/ocuz**.

*xárnaq* (And.): **alfarnate, arnaca**.

*xarnūbah*: **alfarroba**.

*xárq* (And.) and *xarq*: **alcarque**.

\*\*\**xarqán* (And.): **haragán**.

*xarráb* (And.) and *xarrab*: **farrapo**.

*xarráf* (And.): **alifa**.

*xarrāq*: **carraca**.

*xarrāḥ* (And.) and *xarrāḥ*: 1.1.5.2, **alcar-rassador**.

*xarrūbah* and *xarrūbī*: **alcarovi**.

*xarrūba* (And.) and *xarrūbah*: **alfarroba**.

*xāršīnī* (Neo-Ar.): **cazeno**.

*xaršūfa* (And.) and *xaršūfa* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.2.2, 1.1.3.4, 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.3.1, 1.3.1.2.1, **alcachofa**.

*xar(r)ún* (And.): **alfarnate**.

*xárs* (And.) and *xars*: **alfarç**.

*xart*: **almofate**.

\*\**xarūt* and \*\*\**xarūtah*: **arocho**.

*xárya* (And.): **jaryéntarse, jaryénto**.

*xašabī* (And.): **jašabí**.

- xasārah*: aljasaras  
*xašam*: chasen.  
*xašin*: cofin.  
*xāss* (And.) and *xass*: alface.  
*\*\*xassāq*: alfazaque.  
*xašxāš* (And.) and *xašxāš*: 1.2.1.2.2, cascál.  
*\*\*xašxāš yahūdī*: judía.  
*xašxāšī*: carkexi.  
*xáfa* (And.) and *xaṭfah*: alcatifa, coteife.  
*xaṭib*: jatib.  
*xāṭir*: escatrinar.  
*\*\*xaṭm*: jeta<sup>1</sup> (in Appendix I).  
*\*xaṭrás*: alcatrás.  
*xátn* (And.) and *xatn*: fanar.  
*\*xaṭríf* (And.): garifo.  
*xáṭṭ* (And.) and *xaṭṭ*: alfado.  
*xaṭṭ tulūṣ alfajr* (Neo-Ar.): hcat toloḥ alfegr.  
*\*\*xaṭṭāf*: alfóndega, coteife.  
*xaṭṭāra* and pl. *xaṭṭarāt* (And.) and *xaṭṭārah*:  
 alcatrate, alfacara, \*\*\*zatara.  
*\*\*xawāʔ*: alque(i)ve.  
*xawājah* (Neo-Ar.): coja.  
*xawāšš* (And.) and *xawāšš*: alcabaz.  
*xayma* (Has.) and *xaymah*: 1.1.3.4, alcaima.  
*xáyr*: caire.  
*xayrí* (And.): aleli.  
*xayrūniyyah* (Neo-Ar.): alchiruniae.  
*xayšah* (Neo-Ar.): jéša.  
*xayšūm*: alchaisum.  
*xáyí má* (And.): fn. 30, 2.1, al(h)ema.  
*xáyí* (And.) and *xayt*: 1.1.3.4, alhaite, fila.  
*\*\*\*xayyān*: jayán (in Appendix I).  
*xayyáí* (And.) and *xayyāt*: 1.1.3.4, alfaiate.  
*xayzarán* (And.) and *xayzarān* (Neo-Ar.):  
 galzerans.  
*xazāma* (And.): alfazema.  
*xazāna* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, alacena.  
*xāzūq* (Neo-Ar.): encazucar.  
*xāzz* and *xazzāč* (And.) and *xazz*: 1.1.3.4,  
 1.2.1.2.2, alchaz, azache, bata, gasa.  
*xadmi* (Mor.): leme.  
*xellug* (Malt.): jaloque.  
*xarwaṭ* (Mor.): metalachlaha.  
*xibá* (And.) and *xibāʔ*: alquibal.  
*xibāʔ yamānī* (Neo-Ar.): alhebe.  
*xídma* (And.) and *xídmah*: alema, leme.  
*xídmi* (And.): 1.2.1.2.1, leme.  
*xilál* (And.) and *xilāl*: alfiler.  
*xilokk* (Malt.): jaloque.  
*xima* (Mor.): alcaima.
- xīmī* (Neo-Ar.): cumy.  
*\*\*xínáq* and *\*\*xínáqa* (And.): charrán.  
*\*xínáqi* (And.): alfinago.  
*\*\*xinzīrah*: alporca.  
*xirniq*: arnaca.  
*\*\*xírqa* (And.): fargallo.  
*xírgat mandíl* (And.) and *xirgatu mindíl*: fn.  
 30, 1.3.2, argamandel.  
*xirwaṭ*: cherva.  
*xīríf*: garifo.  
*xizānah*: alacena.  
*xlayf* (Mor.): alifa.  
*xloq* (Malt.): jaloque.  
*xmā* (Mor.): ámagó.  
*xra* (Mor.): jará.  
*xrok* (Malt.): jaloque.  
*xṭib* (Mor.): jatib.  
*xubáyyar* (And.): cobailas.  
*xubbáyya* (And.) and *xubbayz(ah)*: 1.1.5.3.1,  
 alboheza.  
*xubz alkafāf*: cofafa.  
*xūḡah*: alchude.  
*xudāriyyāt*: hodayriet.  
*xuddām*: hodamo.  
*\*\*xuḡruf*: baldrufa.  
*xúḡu biṭáqa* (And.) and *xuḡhā ṣannī*: ¡jodo  
 (petaca)!  
*xūlanjān*: galanga.  
*\*xuláyyala* (And.): holivela.  
*xullab*: araboga.  
*xumār* and *xumār* (And.): aljamorras.  
*\*\*xumās*: homas.  
*\*xumáyri* (And.): humeire.  
*\*\*xumrah*: alfámbar.  
*xúmsa* (And.): gumça.  
*xumūr*: algemuri.  
*xunān*: chanan.  
*xunnáq* and *xúnqa* (And.): alcamaz.  
*xurʔ*: fn. 44, alhorre<sup>1</sup>, alforreca.  
*xurāfah*: furrufalla  
*xuráyyaṭa* (And.): 1.1.3.2.2, alcorreta.  
*xúrj* (And.) and *xurj*: 1.1.4.4.1, alforcha.  
*\*xúrr* (And.): alhorre<sup>1</sup>.  
*xurrúj* (And.): farjup.  
*xúrš* (And.) and *xurš*: alcorcí.  
*xuršūfa*: alcachofa.  
*xurūj*: curujo.  
*xuṣā ṣannūr* (And.): alhest.  
*xuṣā ṭaṣlab*: salep.  
*xuṣāšāʔ*: al(c)hasu/esa.



**\*\*xušaynā?:** **alhuceña.**

*xuškār* (Neo-Ar.): **alche/fiscar.**

*xuškunānij* (Neo-Ar.): **alchaschenagiat.**

*xusrawānī:* **fazroen.**

**\*\*xuṣāyfa, \*xuṣāyfi and \*\*xuṣāyfaṣ** (And.): **coteife.**

**\*\*xuṣāf:** **coteife.**

*xuṣāfa* (And.) and *xuṣāfaḥ:* **alfóndega.**

*xuṣāyfaḥ:* **alfóndega.**

*xuwārizmī:* 1.1.3.4, 1.1.5.1.3, 1.3.1.2.1, **algarismo.**

*xuzāma* (And.) and *xuzāmā:* 1.1.3.4, **alfazema.**

*yā* (And.) and *yā:* fn. 95, **ya.**

*yā āla llāṣibīr:* 2.2, **aleleví.**

*yā ṣāla llūl:* 2.2, **alaluya.**

*yā kabīrah:* **quetra.**

*yā kaṣrah:* **quetra.**

*yā laylī yā ṣaynī:* **lelilí.**

*yallah* (Neo-Ar.): fn. 120.

**\*\*yā qatāfi:** **coteife.**

*yā ṣayx:* **xe.**

*yābis:* **alipes.**

*yabrūṣ* (And.) and *yabrūḥ:* fn. 43.

*yad aljāwza* (And.) and *yadu ljawzā?:* **Betelgeuse.**

*yad aljawzā? alyamīn* (Neo-Ar.): **yed elgeuze elyemin.**

*yaday alṣaqrab* (Neo-Ar.): **yday alacrab.**

*yaḡrūb* (And.) and *yaḡrub:* **agarbarse.**

*yahūd:* **judía.**

*yahūdi* (And.) and *yahūdī:* 1.1.3.3, **jafut, judía.**

*yahūdiyyah:* **judía.**

**\*\*yallāh** (Neo-Ar.): **olé.**

*yaman, al—:* **yemení.**

*yamanī:* fn. 80, **alyamei.**

**\*\*yamīn:** fn. 103, **alaime.**

*yanīk:* **nica.**

*yaqazah:* **aliechla.**

*yāqūtah* and *yāqūt aṣfar* (Neo-Ar.): **yacoth alaazor.**

*yaraqān* (And.) and *yaraqān:* 1.1.3.3, **alacrán².**

*yarbūṣ:* **jerbo.**

*yaʿs:* **aliaz.**

*yasār:* **ensinistrar.**

*yāsamīn:* **jasmim.**

**\*\*yāsamīn zanbaḡī** (Neo-Ar.): **sampaguita** (in Appendix I).

*yašb/f:* **alioj, yzf.**

**\*yasmīn** (And.): 1.1.3.3, **jasmim.**

*yassār* (And.) and *yassar:* **ensinistrar.**

*yatīm:* fn. 103.

*yawmu lʿahad:* **aljá(d).**

*yazumm:* **açamar.**

*yifid:* **fideu.**

*yilāqa* (And.): **argelaga.**

*yimūn* (And.): **alalimón.**

*yinīk* (And.): **nica.**

*yirid* (And.): **quifradaxa.**

*yizūmm* (And.): **açamar.**

*yufid:* **fideu.**

*yurá* (And.): 2.2.

*yūsuf:* **juceffia.**

*yusufiyya* (And.) and *yūsufiyyah:* 1.1.3.3, **juceffia.**

*zabād:* **civeta.**

*zabad albaḥr* (Neo-Ar.): **zebethal bahar.**

*zabāj* (And.): 1.1.4.1, 1.1.4.4.1, **acibeche.**

*zaṣbaj:* **acebuche.**

**\*\*zabāllah** (And.): **atzep.**

**\*\*zabāniyah:** **mafarrico.**

*zabarjad:* **(a)zauarget.**

*zabbāra* (And.): **cimbara.**

*zabbúj* (And.): 1.1.2.1, 1.1.5.1.2, 1.1.5.2, 1.2.1.2.2, **acebuche.**

*zabīb* (And.) and *zabīb:* 1.1.3.2.3, **acebibe.**

*zābl* (And.): **azabal.**

**\*\*zāčču** (And.): **alchaz.**

*zād* (And.): **abacero, cicarazate.**

*zādwa* (And.) and *zadwah:* 2.2, **gua**

*zaṣṣarān* (And.) and *zaṣṣarān:* 1.1.3.2.2/3, **aça-frão, ancorca.**

*zafāyir* (And.): **atufayres.**

*zāfirah:* **azofra².**

*zāfr:* **tafarúk.**

**\*zāfra** (And.): **azofra².**

*zāfrūt* (And.): **zabrín.**

*zāgab:* **zogoibí.**

*zāḡall* (And.): 1.1.3.2.3, **zagal.**

*zāḡaya* (And.): **atzagaia.**

*zāḡb* (And.): **zogoibí.**

*zāḡbaj:* **acebuche.**

*zāḥ* (And.): **safar.**

*zahār* (And.): **azahar.**

*zahím* (And.): **zaino.**

*zahīr:* **dahír.**

*zahīr:* **(al)zahir.**

*zāḥma* (And.) and *zāḥmah:* **azáfama.**

*zahr* (Neo-Ar.): **zafre**.

\**záhr* (And.) and *zahr*: 1.1.3.2.3, 1.1.4.4.1,  
**atzar, azahar, dado, sáfaro**.

*zahr addubb* (Neo-Ar.): **daharadub**.

*zahr allasad* (Neo-Ar.): **daharalaçet**.

*zāj* (And.) and *zāj*: **aceche, caparrós**.

*zajál* (And.) and *zajal*: **zéjel**.

*zaká/i* (And.) and *zakāh*: **asequí**.

*zakariyyā*: **Cegrí**.

\*\**zál* (And.): **haragán**.

*ikah* (Alg.): **chaleco**.

*zālīm*: **adali/ym**.

*zálla* (And.) and *zallah*: **zallar**.

*zamāmij*: **çunuc(e)**.

\*\**zamān*: **zeman**.

*zamānah*: **almazane**.

*zamára* (And.): **atzemara**.

*ǝl* (Naf.): **aljama**.

*zāmīl(a)* (And.) and *zāmīlah*: 1.1.4.1, 1.1.5.1.1,  
1.1.5.4, **acémila, cémilo**.

*zāmīr* (And.) and *zāmīr*: **atzemara, zamboro-**  
**tudo**.

*zāmun* (And.) and *zāmun*: **açamar**.

*zāmūl* (And.): **acémila, azamel**.

*zāmūár* (And.) and *zāmūār*: **mazarugo**.

*zāmūr(a)* (And.) and *zāmūr*: **zambra**<sup>1</sup>.

\**zāmūrūk* (And.): **zamborotudo**.

*zāmūrata* (And.): **somorta**.

*zanāqa* (And.) and *zanaqah* (Neo-Ar.):  
1.1.3.2.2, **azinhaga**.

*zanāti* (And.) and *zanāti* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.3.3,  
**atzanet**.

*zanbaq*: **sampaguíta** (in Appendix I), **zambac**.

*zanbūš* (And.): 1.1.4.4.2, **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

*zanbūja* (And.): **acebuche**.

\*\**zānī*: **atzeni**.

*zanix* (And.) and *zanix*: **ceneque**.

\*\**zāniyah*: **zoína**.

\*\**zanjabīl*: **gengibre**.

*zanjafūr* (And.): **acebre**.

*zānn* (And.): **fargandán**.

*zanúna* (And.): **zalona**.

*záqq* (And.): 1.2.1.3.1, **zaque**.

*zaqqūm*: **zacum**.

*zāšra* (And.): 1.1.3.3, 1.2.1.3.2, **jaro**.

*zarād* (And.) and \**zarādīyya* (And.) and *zarad*:  
**zaradía**.

\*\**zaradiyya*: **jurdía** (in Appendix I).

*zarāfah*: **azoraba**.

*zaraqatūna* (And.): **saragatona**.

*zarārīq*: **z/çararica**.

*zārb* (And.) and *zarb*: **azervada**.

*zarbašana* and *zarbašani* (And.): fn. 68, fn. 81,  
**cerbatana**.

*zardak* (And.) and *zardaq* (Neo-Ar.): **zaradic**.

*zardaxānah* (Neo-Ar.): **zarzagania**.

*zarkaš* (Neo-Ar.): **carkexi**.

*zarnīx* (And.): **arzanefe**.

*zārqa* (And.) and *zarqā?*: 1.2.1.3.2, **zarco**.

*zarqūn* (And.) and *zarqūn*: **atzarcó**.

*zarumbah*: **zerumba**.

*zašrūrah* (Neo-Ar.): 1.1.5.1.2, **acerola**.

*zaryāt* (And.): **zurriaga**.

*zālūq*: **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

*zawāl*: **azu/oel**.

*zawān* (And.): **aceb/vén**.

*zāwīyah*: **azulla**.

*zāwj* (And.) and *zawj*: 1.1.3.3, **ajoujo**.

\**zāwj* (And.): 1.1.2.1.

*zāwq* (And.): **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

*zāwraq* (And.) and *zawraq*: 1.1.3.4, **atzaura**,  
**galizavra**.

*zāwūq*: **azogue**<sup>1</sup>.

*zawya* (Mor.) and *zāwya* (And.): **azulla**.

*zāybar* (And.): **acebre**.

*zāyirjah* (Neo-Ar.): **zairagia**.

*zāyna* (And.): **zaina**.

*zāyt* (And.) and *zayt*: 1.1.2.1, 1.1.3.2.3,  
**aceite**.

*zaytūna* (And.) and *zaytūnah*: 1.2.1.2.2, **acei-**  
**tuna**.

*zaytūn(i)* (Neo-Ar.): **aceituní**.

*zaytūn barrī* (Neo-Ar.): **acebuche**.

*zāyy* (And.): fn. 95.

*zayyān(i)* (And.): fn. 81, **cianí**.

*zāy(yi)na* (And.) and *zayyinah*: **zaina**.

*žebbuğ* (*salvağg*) (Malt.): **acebuche**.

*žejtun(a)* (Malt.): **acebuche**.

*allaba* (Mor.): **chilaba, taheño**.

*zānbūš* (Mor.): **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

*zārdxan* (Mor.): **zarzagania**.

*zārwaš* and *zārwaša* (Mor.): **zurriaga**.

*žihā?*: **adibe**<sup>2</sup>.

\**zīlbaq*: **zambac**.

*zibb*: 2.2, **atzep, cipote, etzibar**.

\**zīb bāliḥ* (And.): **atzep**.

*zibl*: **azabal**.

*zift*: **cifa**.

*žihāra* (And.) and *žihārah*: **aldifara**.

*zikrí* (And.): **Cegrí**.

*zill* (And.) and *zill*: **arandal**.  
*zimāʾīm* (And.) and *zimām*: **açamar, zemime**.  
*zimpī* (And.): **zumo**.  
*zinjār, zinjarf* and *zinjafr*: **acebre**.  
*ziqq*: 1.2.1.3.1, **acica, zaque**.  
*zīrbāj(ah)* = *zīrbājiyyah* (Neo-Ar.): **zeʿirbagi**.  
*zīrnīx/q*: **arzanefe**.  
*zīryāt* (And.): **zurriaga**.  
*ziyādah*: **rhyada**.  
*ziyār* (And.) and *ziyār*: **acial**.  
 (Naf.): **enxovia**.  
*zoġbi* (Mor.): **zogoibí**.  
*zuʾān*: **aceb/vén**.  
*zubānā* and *zubānayā alʿaqrab*: **azu/obene, zebenay alacrab**.  
*zubānā ssarāʾān*: **çarantan**.  
*zūbh* (And.) and *zubb*: **cipote**.  
*zūbd*: (al) **zebd**.  
*zūbra* (And.) and *zūbrah*: **zafra**<sup>3</sup>  
*zūbya* (And.) and *zūbyah*: **zubia**.  
*zufāyzaʿfah* (And.): 1.1.4.1, **açofaifa**.  
*\*zuġáybi* and *\*zuġbi* (And.): **zogoibí**.  
*zuġlūl*: **zagal**.  
*zuharah* and *zuharī*: **saurí**.  
*zuhāyra* (And.) and *zuhayrah*: **azofairón**.  
*zühr*: **adoar, dor**.  
*zuhūmat*: **alzumet**.  
*zujāj*: **zozche**.  
*zūjj* (And.) and *zujj*: 1.1.5.3.1, **arrutx** (in Appendix I), **azuche**.  
*zūkām*: **zukkem**.  
 \*\*\**zulāmāh*: **dolama** (in Appendix I).  
*zullāy* (And.): **azulejo**<sup>2</sup>.  
*\*zūm* (And.) and *zūm* (Neo-Ar.): **zumo**.  
*zummaġ*: **çunuc(e)**.  
*zumurradah*: **somorta**.  
*zunjufr*: **acebre**.  
*zunnār* (And.) and *zunnār*: **atzunar**.  
*zuqāq* (And.) and *zuqāq*: **atzucac**.  
*zurāfa* (And.) and *zurāfah*: **azoraba**.  
*zurqah*: **aguazarca**.  
*zurraq*: **z/çararica**, 1.1.5.1.2.  
*zurruḥ* (And.): **azer(r)ufes**.

*zurunbād*: **zerumba**.  
*zuʾrūrah*: 1.1.5.1.2, **acerola**.  
*zurzāl* (And.) and *zurzūr*: **zorzal**.  
 (Mor.): **ajoujo**.  
*zwāwi* (Alg.): **zuavo**.  
*zyāni* (Naf.): **cianí**.  
*āyr* (Naf.): **argelino**.  
*āyri* (Naf.): **jacerina**.

### 3. ARAMAIC<sup>3</sup>

*āb* (Syr.): **abā, abai**  
*abbā* (Syr.): **aba<sup>2</sup>, abad**.  
*abbub* (Rab.): **abube**.  
*abdālāh* (Rab.): **abdala**.  
*abolos* (Syr.): **abulasão**.  
*ʿad dlā yādaʿ* (Rab.): **adlayada**.  
*adamūs* (Syr.): **ademuz**.  
*(ā)darkon* (Rab.): **adarconim**.  
*>adhn(n)s<* (Syr.): **fugela**.  
*aḡiūn* (Syr.): **anfião**.  
*aḡi*: **muftí**.  
*āġūrā*: **rajola**.  
*allāhā* (Syr.): **Alá**.  
*āmīn* (Syr.): **amém**.  
*andraknē* (Syr.): **andarach**.  
*ʿaqrūtā* (Syr.): **achuna**.  
*ʿarhēlā*: **garbell**.  
*argēwānā*: **arjorán**.  
*>arqyʾwn<* (Syr.): **abutilón**.  
*ʿarṭanūā* (Syr.): **artanita**.

*bābā*: **babismo**.  
*ballūṭā*: **bellota**.  
*bar abbā*: **barrabás**.  
*bar nabbā*: **barnabita**.  
*bardūnā*: **albardón**.  
 \*\**bārrā*: **albarrā**.  
*bāṭyā* (Syr.): **betya**.  
*bēt eṣṭūnē* (Syr.): **zagão**.  
*būrgā* (Syr.): **borja**.

<sup>3</sup> The terms not attributed to a particular language or dialect, without necessarily being pan-Aramaic, are witnessed in several. In our transcription, the *matres lectionis* are reflected as long, without prejudging the thorny matter of

true phonemic quantity; spirantization is not indicated in any manner, except in the case of [f], and occasionally [x], in order to prevent a great distortion of actual pronunciation, again without entering into the issue of phonemicity.

>d(r)mšq<: **damasco**.  
*dubāqā* (Syr.): **tabac**<sup>1</sup>.  
*dūraqā* (Syr.): **dorc**.

*ēlāhā*: **Alá**.  
*eppētaḥ*: **efetá**.  
*ēšartā* (Syr.): **alhansara**.  
*espestā*: **alfaç**.  
*eštūnā* and (*eštūnē d+*)*eštēwā* (Syr.): **zagāo**.  
*etpētaḥāh* (Jud. Pal.): **efetá**.

*gamlā*: **camell**.  
*gamlōn* (Rab.): **jabalcón**.  
*gandūrā*: **alcandora**.  
*\*gāzartā d+aqlanīdōs*: **andaluz**.  
*gēt*: **guete**.  
*giḥannā* (Syr): **geena**.  
*gulga/ultā*: **gólgota**.

*haykalā*: **heical**.  
*\*\*\*hesaiia*: **esenio**.  
*hīndēbī* (Rab.): **endibia** (in Appendix I).  
*hīrtā* (Syr.): **hara**.  
*hmāṭīṭōs* (Syr.): **ambonencuz**.

*išērātā* (Rab.): **acirate**.  
*ištēwānā* (Rab.): **zagāo**.  
*iṭṭērī(tā)*: **aletría**.

*kaldāyā* (Syr.): **caldaico**.  
*kalqaṭārin* (Syr.): **colcotar**.  
*kammūnā*: **alcamonia**.  
*karawyā*: **alcaravea**.  
*karrāzā* (Syr.): **caraça**.  
*karsannā*: **alcarceña**.  
*kāšūtā*: **cuscuta**.  
*kēlīl(ā)*: **alecrim**.  
*kīpā dqaššārē l mūrūktūs* (Syr.): **murquid**.  
*>kldqdyš<* (Syr.): **calcadiz**.  
*>k2p2 g2l2ṭyṭys<* (Syr.): **galecaciz**.  
*kūrš(iy)yā*: **alcorsí**.  
*kūz(ā)*: **alcuza**.

*lādānā* (Syr.): **aledan**.  
*>laytos mūrūktūs<* (Syr.): **murquid**.  
*lōf* (Rab.) and *lūfā* (Syr.): **lufa**.  
*>lytws hmāṭīṭus<* (Syr.): **ambonencuz**.  
*>lytws ʔn2spys<* (Syr.): **belyniz**.  
*>lytws ʔsws<* (Syr.): **baciz**.  
*>lytws gālāqīṭūs<* (Syr.): **galecaciz**.

*>lytws g2l2ṭyṭys<* (Syr.): **cahadenyz**.  
*>lytws mahlīṭīṭis<* (Syr.): **milititaz**.  
*>lytws mḥpyṭws<* (Syr.): **nec/fitiz**.  
*>lytws nāksyā ʔnrws<* (Syr.): **neneyoqui-quod**.  
*>lytws pwrṭyṭys<* (Syr.): **parides**.

*magdēlā*: **magdalena**.  
*maksā*: **almaja**.  
*mālagmā* (Syr.): **amalgama** (in Appendix I).  
*malkā* (Syr.): **melquita**.  
*mālugmā* (Rab.): **amalgama** (in Appendix I).  
*mammūā* (Syr.): **amemice**.  
*mammōn* (Rab.): **mamona**.  
*mandaf*: **mandeo**.  
*mandaya* (Mand.): **mandeo**.  
*mandīlā* (Syr.): **mandil**.  
*mannā*: **maná**.  
*mār* (Syr.): **mar**.  
*Šmar ʕizzā* (Syr.): **mar**.  
*marqēšūtā*: **marahезes**.  
*māšrā*: (Syr.): **(al)masera**.  
*mēdīn/ūtā*: **almudaina, medinés**.  
*mēḥattam* (Syr.): **altamia**.  
*mēnē*: **fares**.  
*mešhā* and *mēšah qūnyā* (Syr.): **masicote**.  
*miskēnā*: **mesquí**.  
*mīṭrān* and *mīṭrōpōlīā* (Syr.): **meterane**.  
*mudyā*: **almodí**.  
*mūryā*: **almorí**.  
*>mwlwbdhnā<* (Syr.): **ḥulufidena**.  
*>mwrwkyws<* (Syr.): **murquid**.  
*>mylšywn<* (Syr.): **ferfide**.  
*>mylyṭyṭys<* (Syr.): **milititaz**.

*\*nablā*: **nebel**.  
*\*\*naṣṣā*: **cauza**.  
*namā* (Syr.): **annamath**.  
*nāšrat*: **nazareu**.  
*\*\*nawšā* (Syr.): **cauza**.  
*ʔntwsbʔns<* (Syr.): **aytociez**.

*obolos* (Syr.): **abulasão**.

*pā(gā)niqā* (Rab.): **albaneca**.  
*parsīn*: **fares**.  
*pāšer eštīn* (Syr.): **alfasir**.  
*>pāṣryn<* and *>pāṣryā<* (Syr.): **phateri**.  
*pēlaṭyā*: **balate**<sup>1</sup>.  
*pendēqā* (Syr.): **alfóndec**.

*pěřāzūmā* (Syr.): **alefris**.  
*pěřīsayyā*: **fariseo**.  
*pēsīpas(ā)*: **foceifiza**.  
*pesqūā* (Syr.): **falquía**.  
*pikkūsā* (Rab.): 0.6, **alficòs**, **macar**.  
*pishā*: **páscoa**.  
*pīnā* (Rab.): **alfétena**.  
 \*>ptrws< (Syr.): **fotroz**.  
*puglā*: **fugel**.  
*pulsā*: **faluz**.  
*pundēqā* (Syr.) and *pundēqi* (Rab.): **albón-diga**.  
 \*\**purnā* (Rab.): **alcuja**.  
*pūtqā* (Syr.): **albot**.  
*pwglātā*: **fugela**.  
  
*qābhūā* (Rab.): **alcotín**.  
 \*\**qadsā* (Syr.): **alcaduz**.  
*qafšā* (Syr.): **alcahaz**, **cauza**.  
*qālbā* (Syr.): **calíbo**.  
*qalyā* (Rab.): **álcali**.  
*qanbā/ī/ōs*: **alcānave**.  
*qandīlā*: **candil**.  
*qanīrā* (Syr.): **quintal**.  
*qarīšā* (Syr.): **alcartaz**.  
*qaššīšā* (Syr.): **caciz**.  
*qasīērā*: **alcácer**.  
*qaīūs(ā)*: **gat**.  
*qaysūrā* (Syr.): **cayçor**.  
*qayīūn* (Syr.): **alquitão**.  
*qēfīzā*: **caffis**.  
*qelbūd* (Syr.): **calíbo**.  
*qenīērūn* (Syr.): **alcántara**.  
*qēšīā*: **marcasita**.  
*qesīā* (Syr.): **alquez**.  
*qiblā* (Rab.): **alquibla**.  
*qinārā*: **cañarí**.  
*qinī(i)nār* or *qinī(ē)r(ā)* (Rab.): **quintal**.  
*qisā* (Syr.): **alquez**.  
*qīsūrā* (Syr.): **cayçor**.  
*qiuārā* (Syr.): **guitarra**.  
*qīūn* (Rab.): **alquitão**.  
 >qnābrys< (Syr.): **queyebyz**.  
*qōlqās*: **alcolcaz**.  
 >qpnysws<: **gat/ciuz**.  
*qīār(t)ā* (Syr.): **alcántara**.  
*qulyā* (Rab.): **álcali**.  
*qunyā* (Syr.): **álcali**.  
*qūppā* (Rab.): **alcofa**.  
*qūrdq(is)īn* and *qūrqā* (Rab.): **alcorque**.

*raqqā* (Syr.): **raca**.  
*rāīūmā* (Syr.): **redoma**.  
*rēšam*: **marchamo**.  
*rummānā* (Syr.): **romā**.  
  
*šakkar* (Syr.): **açúcar**.  
*šalbāq*: **allora**.  
*šammāš(ā)*: **chamaz**.  
*šamrāytā*: **samaritano**.  
*sārāq* and *sārāg*: **azarja**.  
*sarbāl(ā)* and *sarbēlā*: **ceroula**.  
*sarqā/ī/īn* (Rab.): **sarraceno**.  
*šbārā* (Syr.): **sibare**.  
*šbia* (Mand.): **sabeo**.  
*sellā* (Syr.): **zulla**<sup>1</sup>.  
*šēlo/ūtā*: **azalá**.  
*šēmūdā*: **acemite**.  
*šēnāfā* (Rab.): **acenefa**.  
*šēnīīn* (Rab.): **esenio**.  
*šērāq* (Rab.): **sarraceno**.  
*šērigīā* (Syr.): **azarja**.  
*settārā* (Syr.): **cidara/i**.  
*sirā* (Syr.): **ació**.  
 \*šōīrā: **eixortí**.  
 >šplīyn< and >šplīwn< (Syr.): **afaltih**.  
 \*\**srādqa* (Mand.): **serrall**.  
*summāq*: **sumac**.  
*šumšum* (Rab.): **sésamo**.  
*sūqā*: **açougue**.  
*sūryā*: **sírfaco**.  
 >syryqwn< (Syr.): **caeracoz**.  
 >syīlā< (Syr.): **acetre**.  
  
*taggārā*: **atijara**.  
*tallīsā* (Syr.): **teliz**.  
*tanbūrā*: **tambor**.  
*tannūrā*: **atanor**, **tendur**.  
*tar/xon* (Syr.): **estragão**.  
*tēbūtā*: **atabud**.  
*tēqēl*: **fares**.  
*t(h)ermūsā* (Syr.): **altramuz**.  
*tiqnā* (Syr.): **tèquina**.  
*tikkā*: **atacar**.  
*tūrgēmānā* (Rab.): **torcimany**.  
  
*u(n)qiyā*: **ouquia**.  
  
*yaqqūn/dtā* (Syr.): **yacoth alaaazfor**.  
*yarqānā*: **alacrán**<sup>2</sup>.  
*yašpe*: **alioj**.

ḡymws< (Syr.): **aymu**.  
 yōrdēnā (Rab.): **Jordán**.  
 >ḡyʿspys< (Syr.): **belyniz**.

zaggāgā: **zoeche**.  
 zaḡrārā and zaḡrōrō (Syr.): **acerola**.  
 zawgā: **ajoujo**.  
 zaytā and zaytūnā: **aceite, aceituna**.  
 >ḡzdbdlpws< (Syr.): **zdayrofe**.  
 zēkūtā: **asequí**.  
 zēmān: **zeman**.  
 zēmaragdā: **somorta, (a)zauarget**.  
 zēraḡ (Syr.): **acerola**.  
 zēraḡ qaḡḡūnā: **saragatona**.  
 zunnārā: **atzunar**.  
 zūzfā (Syr.): **açofaifa**.

#### 4. BERBER<sup>4</sup>

\*aḡaban: **abana**.  
 abuda: **tabua**.  
 aḡabban (Kab.), **abana**.  
 aḡrag: 1.1.3.2.2, **alfaneque**.  
 aḡruḡ: **farfā**.  
 aḡus: **almocafre**.  
 aḡ (Rif.): **atzagaia**.  
 aḡayyu n+urgaz / wurgaz (Taš.): 1.3.1.1.  
 aḡdal: **aguedal**.  
 aḡdud: **almogote**.  
 aḡanduz: **alcanduz**.  
 \*\*aḡārda (Kab.): **garduña** (in Appendix I).  
 \*aḡargut and aḡargit: 1.2.1.3.2, **gorgoto**.  
 aḡnaw: **aguineu**.  
 aḡzal: **azuche, tragacete**.  
 \*\*aharkus (Rif.): **agovía**.  
 ak<sup>w</sup>erzi (Kab.): **alcaldía<sup>2</sup>**.  
 \*\*alili: **aleli**.  
 aman: **ma**.  
 aman nḡfyi/a: **atafea**.  
 amā 1.3.1.1.  
 \*\*amazwaru: **almocouvar**.  
 \*amgudi: **almogote**.  
 \*\*amrar (Kab.): **alar**.  
 amuḡḡ and amḡḡ: **moix**.

amzur: **gandaia**.  
 anuwar (Rif.): **nagüela**.  
 \*arfos: **alfonsim**.  
 argan: **argán**.  
 argis: **alarguez**.  
 \*\*arkas (Rif.): **agovía**.  
 \*arkamus: 0.1, **argamussa**.  
 arruz (Kab.): **arricés**.  
 \*\*\*asakkat: **acicate**.  
 \*\*asaksu: **alcuzcuz**.  
 asswi nḡfyi/a: **atafea**.  
 awid+eč: fn. 97.  
 \*\*\*ayāarden: **adora**.  
 ayt farxan: **farfā**.  
 azā : **acebuche**.  
 azammur: **acebuche**.

čenik (Can.): **tenique**.

ənnamšəl (Rif.): **nammeixfes**.

\*gnu: **aguineu**.  
 gudi (Baḡ.): **almogote**.  
 ifassən: **almocafre**.  
 ifarxan: **farfā**.  
 igut (Taš.): **almogote**.  
 ij urgaz (Tam.): fn. 98.  
 ij waryaz (Rif.): fn. 98.  
 inek (Taš.): **tenique**.  
 \*\*irdən: **adora, irichen**.  
 irifi: **arife<sup>2</sup>**.  
 isswi nḡfyi/a: **atafea**.  
 iḡ n+mḡḡut (Tam.): fn. 98.  
 iḡt tamḡut (Rif.): fn. 98.  
 izəḡḡəl (Kab.): **zagal**.

lbəhimt: 1.3.1.1.  
 lbarka (Kab.): **barraca**.  
 \*\*lkummit (Baḡ.): **agomia**.  
 lqayd: 1.3.1.1.

tabuda: **tabua**.  
 \*\*tafrut (Kab.): **chafarote**.  
 tagart: **tagarot**.

<sup>4</sup> The words not attributed to a particular dialect, without being necessarily pan-Berber, are common to several. In our transcription, we

reflect spirantization, in order to avoid a too great distortion of actual pronunciation, without prejudging phonemicity.

*tagra(t): tagra.*  
*tağrix (Rif.): gorgoto.*  
*\*tagzalt: tragacete.*  
*\*\*takummit: agomia.*  
*tašarst: 1.3.1.1.*  
*taməzgida: 1.2.1.1, 1.3.1.2.1, mesquita.*  
*tamzurt: gandaia.*  
*tanišša (Kab.): tenique.*  
*>tanqūl and >tānq/ḡūlt<: tangul.*  
*taqbilt 1.3.1.1.*  
*taqərnina: tagarnina.*  
*taqərnunt (Kab.): tagarnina.*  
*taqərrut (Kab.): tagarot.*  
*>tārftst<: ratafia.*  
*targa: tuareg.*  
*tasargal(t) = tasərgan: sargana.*  
*tasart (Taš.): tasarte.*  
*tazə acebuche.*  
*tenik (Can.): tenique.*  
*tiğrit (Kab.): gorgoto.*  
*tinkt (Taš.): tenique.*  
*tiṭṭawən: tetuaní.*  
*>tūngūlt<: tangul.*  
  
*\*\*uzum (Kab.): alazán.*  
  
*yan urgaz (Taš): fn. 98.*  
*yat tməgart (Taš): fn. 98.*  
  
*\*\*zəll (Kab.): alazán.*

## 5. CELTIC

*\*ann-: añicos (in Appendix I).*  
*\*bekos: abegão.*  
*\*gōrtia: algarza.*  
*\*knowā: clova.*  
*ōlca: huelga (in Appendix I).*  
*\*tsucca: zoquete.*  
*\*sabōlos: sáballo (in Appendix I).*

## 6. EGYPTIAN

*aberēc (Cp.): bricho.*  
*\*\*addahid: adaí (in Appendix I).*  
*ahor (Cp.): alborín.*  
*a/ement (Cp.): andaluz.*  
*arouue and arōo (Cp.): acerola.*

*bōre (Cp.): albur.*  
*>br<: albur.*  
  
*čano (Cp.): cenacho.*  
*capice (Cp.): caffès.*  
*cha/eme (Cp.): cumy.*  
  
*>qb<: adoba.*  
*>qb?<: atabud.*  
  
*ieibt (Cp.): andaluz.*  
*esēt (Cp.): alacet.*  
  
*gyptios (Cp.): alcabtea, copta.*  
  
*>hk?w x?šw?<: hicso.*  
  
*kapiče (Cp.): caffès.*  
*kelōl (Cp.): alcolla.*  
*>k?pt<: chuchi.*  
  
*mesōrē (Cp.): moçre.*  
*mhit (Cp.): andaluz.*  
*\*\*>mhr<: alborín.*  
*moučc/k (Cp.): almíscar.*  
*>m?s<: Moisés.*  
*mšote (Cp.): almagita.*  
*>mšw<: Moisés.*  
  
*>nb< and noub (Cp.): nubiense.*  
*>n?r<: natrão.*

*ouahe (Cp.): oasis.*

*p+abba (Cp.): papa.*  
*parmhat (Cp.): pharimithi.*  
*p+eielel (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.*  
*pe+kelōl (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.*  
*pe+kroul (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.*  
*p+elc/žōb (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.*  
*p(e)+rpe (Cp.): 1.3.1.1., barbe.*  
*p+espesta (Cp.): alfaç.*  
*p(i)+: botarga.*  
*p+kot (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.*  
*poce (Cp.): alfaz.*  
*p+ōouš (Cp.):*  
*>lpr<: hebreo.*  
*>pr?l<: faraón.*  
*>pw rn<: foão.*

*rēs* (Cp.): **andaluz**.

*šclcl* (Cp.): **algielagel**.

*semsēm* (Cp.): **sésamo**.

*sine* (Cp.): **camsin**.

*škelkil* (Cp.): **algielagel**.

>*snuy*<: **antimoni**.

>*šndt*<: **set(h)im/n**.

>*snwpt*<: **ajenabe**.

*sōnt* (Cp.): **çuna**.

*šōšem* (Cp.): **açucena**.

*soure* (Cp.): **acerola**.

*srarouue* (Cp.): **acerola**.

>*sšn*< and *sššn*: **açucena**.

>*tkr*<: **sidra**.

*temsah* (Cp.): **atimçah**.

*t+emēre* (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.

*t+epō* (Cp.): **aldaba**.

*tī+šēte* (Cp.): 1.3.1.1.

*t+kou(n)çou* (Cp.): **adecuja**.

*t'+msh̄t*: fn. 105.

*t'+mj.t*: fn. 105.

*tōbi/e* (Cp.): **endibia** (in Appendix I).

*tōōbe* (Cp.): **adoba**.

*tōri* (Cp.): **almocafre**.

\*\*\**tybi*: **endibia** (en Apéndice I).

>*wḥ?t*<: **oasis**.

*xmne* (Cp.): **camsin**.

## 7. ETHIOPIAN<sup>5</sup>

*abuna*: **abuna**.

*am(h)arāñña* (Am.): **amárico**.

*dug* (Am.): **adugue**.

*adug ras* (Am.): **adugue**.

*kānfär*: **xarnafa**.

*māk<sup>w</sup>rab*: **Meca**.

*mānbär*: **almimbar**.

*māšhaf*: **moçafo**.

*māhrām*: **mihrab**.

*māluna dug* (Am.): **adugue**.

*nāgus, nāgasi* and *nāgusā nāgäst*:

**negus**.

*qäsis*: **caciz**.

*ras* (Am.): **ras**.

\*\*\**šomašt*: **almádena**.

*zābāyā*: **cerbatana**.

## 8. PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC

\**bērūt* (Phoenician): **beritense**.

>*ʔbn ʔdr*< (= \**aban addir*): **abadir**.

>*bšm*<: **bālsam**.

\**kufēr* (Phoenician): **calafat**.

>*nḥšt*<: **tangul**.

\**qart ḥadašt* (Punic): **cartagenero**.

\**šūfeṭ* (Phoenician): **sufete**.

## 9. GREEK<sup>6</sup>

*abanēth*: **abanete**.

*abbā*: **abad**.

*ácherna* (Lgr.): **cherna**.

*ádamas*: **ademuz, aymu**.

\*\*\**adēn, adēnos*: **fugela**.

*aetūtēs*: **abyetitiz**.

*aggareía*: **árganas** (in Appendix I).

*Aigýptios*: **alcabtea, copta**.

*Aithiopikós*: **aytofiguios**.

\*\*\**ákarna*: **tagarnina**.

*alabastrútēs*: **abc/çaritaz**

*Albanútēs* (Lgr.): **arnaúte**.

<sup>5</sup> The words not attributed to Am. belong to Gəʕəz. Our transcription matches the traditional pronunciation, in which quantity plays no phonemic role, so that the five historically long vowels are reproduced without macron, and the two short ones, as >*ü*< and >*ə*<. Otherwise, note that >*a*< also represents an old short vowel in pharyngo-

laryngeal contours, that the diacritic dot under >*h*< has merely an etymological value, and that the type of emphasis is glottalization.

<sup>6</sup> Transcribed in the Lt. manner, except for the use of >*ou*<, >*r*< for >*rh*<, >*g*< before velars and >*k*<, instead of >*c*<.



*alkýónion* zebethal bahar.

*allâs*: biles.

*álochos*: alhilech.

*alôê*: áloe.

*ámbox*: alambí.

*āmēn* (Bib.): amém.

*amirás*, -ádos (Lgr.): almirall.

*anaboláion*: anabanoth.

*anáthema*: aladma.

*andráchnē*: andarach.

*ánthos chalkoû*: aytociez.

*apétrgei kolchikón*: uberículequyn.

*aphéndēs* (Lgr.): efende.

*apothēkē*: albot.

*Arbanútēs* (Lgr.): arnaúte.

*argyrútis*: arhoritiz.

*aríthmos*: algarismo.

*árkion* and *árktion*: abutílón.

*arrabôn*: albaroque.

*ásbestos*: zdayrofe.

*Askalônútēs*: ascalonita.

*ásphaltos*: afaltih.

*Assýrios*: asiriano.

*astérios*: astarnuz.

*athanasía*: athanas(s)ia.

*Atlantídos*: andaluz.

*authéntēs*: efende.

*balanōtē*: bellota.

*bálsamon*: bálsam.

*baútylos*: bétilo.

*baryēkoos*: faricos.

*barýtēs*: beditus.

*basilikón*: basilicum.

*bēryllos*: abalorio.

*birros*: albornoz.

*boētēs*: albece.

*bolís*, -ídos: bolda.

*boótēs*: albece.

*botarichon* (Lgr.): botarga.

*botrýtēs*: batharixitaz.

*\*\*boukeron*: alboquerón.

*boúttis* (Lgr.): botías.

*býssos*: fn. 103.

*chalbánē*: gálban.

*Chaldaíos*: caldaico.

*chálkanthē*: calcant, colcotar.

*chálkanthos*: alfefidium, calcadiz.

*chalkidikón*: alfefidium.

*chalkítis*: cades.

*charistíōn*: calastó.

*chártēs*: alcartaz.

*Chēmē*: cumy.

*choinikís*: hanicades.

*chōra*: cora.

*chymela*: alquimia.

*daphnē*: adelfa.

*dareikós*: adarconim.

*dià anthéōn*: dianthu.

*dià kōdeíōn*: deiacur.

*diábolos*: belyniz.

*drachmē*: adaram.

*drákon*: estragão.

*dromás kāmēlos*: meari.

*ébenos*: abenuz.

*\*\*endromís*: andrómina.

*entýbia* and *entýbion* (Lgr.): endibia (in

Appendix I).

*epididymís*: endros

*epíalos*: empialos.

*epískopos*: belyniz.

*epítymon*: ifçimiçin.

*\*\*ergátēs*: algaderas.

*essēnos* (Lgr.): esenio.

*euphórbion*: alforfião.

*gagátēs*: cahadenyz.

*gaggútis*: goliztiz.

*galaktútēs*: galecaciz.

*gazophylákion*: gaspalló.

*genúzaroi* and *gianitzáros* (Lgr.): janízaró.

*gláúx*, -kós: haclocoz.

*\*\*gnaphálion*: alafaia.

*gýpsos*: algeps.

*haimatútēs*: ambonencuz.

*hármala*: alfarma.

*\*\* (hē nēsos tēs) Atlantídos*: andaluz.

*hēgouménē*: gúmena (in Appendix I).

*hēmikranía*: enxaqueca.

*hexámitos*: jametería.

*hippiatrós*: albaitar.

*ho boreióteros autôn kai épi toû kolloróbou*:

alçayah albacar.

*hóidema*: udimia.

*huakýnthion*: yacoth alaaazfor.

*huákynthos*: kantoz.

*hýdra*: **edriz**.  
*Hyksōs*: **hicso**.  
*hypokálamon*: **calamón**.

*ianitzároi* (Lgr.): **janízaro**.  
*íasos*: **baciz**.  
*íaspis*: **belyniz**.  
 \*\**ikterós*: **alacrán**?  
*ínybos*: **endibia**.  
*lordánēs*: **Jordán**.  
*útria*: **aletría**.

*kádos*: **alcaduz**.  
*kaisáreia*: **alcaçaria**.  
*kalákanthē*: **calcant**.  
*kalamís* and *kalamítēs*: **calamita**.  
 \*\**kalétor boú*: **alçayah albacar**.  
*kálopus*: **cálibo**.  
*kandēla*: **candil**.  
*kandýs*: **alcandora**.  
*kámēlos*: **camell**.  
*kánnabi/os*: **alcánave**.  
*kapíthē*: **cañis**.  
*kápnios*: **gat/ciuz**.  
*kápparis*: **alcaparra**.  
*kárabos*: **caro**.  
 \*\**karchēsion*: **carcaix**.

*karkásion* (Mod.): **carcaix**.  
*karō*: **alcaravea**.  
*kassíteros*: **acazdir**.  
*kástra* (Lgr.): **alcácer**.  
*kathetēr*: **alchatir**.  
*katholikón*: **calycon**.  
*kassíteros*: **cazmira**.  
*kēlē trachéa*: **barachien**.  
*kentánáron*: **quintal**.  
*kentáuros*: **cand/toriz**.  
 \*\**kétron*: **alcántara**.

*Kēpheús*: **cayfoz**.  
*kerátion*: **quilate**.  
 \*\**kérkourōs*: **caracoa** (in Appendix I), **car-raca**.

*kētos*: **caytoz/s**.  
*kinára*: **alcanería, cañiarí**.  
*kinnábari(s)*: **queyebyz**.  
*kírba*: **quilha**.  
*kísērīs*: **cayçor**.  
*kissós*: **cazuz**.  
*kontá*: **álcali**.  
*kiuhára*: **guitarra**.

*kogkýlion*: **alconcilla**.  
*kokkiá*: **cochiaes**.  
*koiitōn*: **alquitão**.  
*kollódēs* and *kóllotes*: **fuludia**.  
*kolokasía*: **alcolcaz**.  
*kontá*: **masicote**.  
 \*\**kóphinos*: **alcofa**.  
*kórax*: **furfus**.  
*kórdax*: **alcorque**.  
*Kordoûchoi*: **curdo**.  
*kórmos*: **corma**.  
 \*\**korónís*: **almocárabe**.  
*kóstos*: **alçuz**.  
*krēpís*: **alcaraviz, almocárabe, furfus**.  
*kûfi*: **chuchi**.  
*kýminon*: **alcamonia**.  
*Kýrtioi*: **curdo**.

*lúdanon*: **aledan**.  
*leuítēs* (Lgr.): **levita**.  
 \*\**lēstēs*: **alacitonar** (in Appendix I).  
*leukóma* (Lgr.): **alficume**.  
*liparēs*: **liparia**.  
*lithárgyros*: **litarne**.  
*líttra*: **arrate**.  
*lychnútēs*: **lichinitas**.

*magnētis*: **almagnicia**.  
*makárie*: **magar**.  
*makários*: **magarza**.  
*málagma*: **amalgama** (in Appendix I).  
*mallotē*: **marlota**.  
*mandélē* (Lgr.): **mandil**.  
*mánna* (Bib.): **maná**.  
*masíché*: **almáciga**<sup>1</sup>.  
*margarítis lithos* = *margarítēs*: **nargoritiz**.  
*marimarítis*: **marmunietiz**.  
*mâron*: **almaro**.  
*mēchanikē*: **almajaneque**.  
*megálē syntaxis*: **almagest**.  
*megístē*: **almagest**.  
*mēlē*: **mucadahati**.  
*meliútēs*: **millitiz**.  
 \*\**melō(i)día*: **lloba**.  
*Memphútēs lithos*: **nec/fitiz**.  
*Merōē*: **martiz**.  
 \*\**metrētēs*: **matràs**.  
*mētropolitēs*: **meterane**.  
*módios*: **almodí**.  
*molíbaina*: **çulufidena**.

*mórochtos*: **muquid**.  
*mygaléē*: **migal**.  
*myrióphullon*: **marifilon**.  
 \*\*\**myrón*: **almeirão**.  
*myrrútēs líthos*: **martiz**.  
*mystron*: **almastrén**.

*nábla(s)*: **nebel**.  
*náphtha*: **nafta**.  
*nárdos*: **nard**.  
*nárkissos*: **(al)narguez**.  
*Naxias akónēs tò apótrimma*: **neneyoqui-quod**.  
*nútron*: **natrão**.  
*nēsos, -oi*: **andaluz**.  
*nytikórax*: **ninicoraz**.

*ô makárie*: **magar**.  
*óasis*: **oasis**.  
*óbolos*: **abulasaõ**.  
*óbryzon*: **bricho**.  
 \*\**óiax*: **arjau**.  
*ôphi*: **aphi/y**.  
 \*\**ophrys*: **alefris**.  
*ópion*: **anfião**.  
*órchis kunós*: **arquintiduz**.  
*ostrakútēs*: **açufarati/yz**.  
*ougkia*: **ouquia**.  
*oxynēs*: **alhuçeña**.

*pandokeion*: **alfóndec**.  
*pandoûra*: **tambor**.  
*páppas*: **papa**.  
*parádeisos*: **paradís**.  
*parasággēs*: **parasanga**.  
*Párthos*: **part**.  
*páscha*: **páscoa**.  
*patánē*: **almádena**.  
*páter*: **phateri**.  
*paxamádion*: **maçapão**.  
*pentēkostē*: **camsin**.  
*péperi*: **pebre**.  
*períchrisma*: **alpechim**.  
*perístyla*: **zagão**.  
*peritónaion*: **beritharium**.  
*perizōma*: **alefris**.  
*Pérsēs*: **persa**.  
*pétros*: **fotroz**.  
*phanári* (Lgr.): **fanal**.  
*phanós*: **fanal**.

*phaskía* (Lgr.): **falquía**.  
*phiálē*: **aliara**.  
*philōneion*: **filonia/o**.  
*phlégma, phlegmatikós*: **phitanos**.  
*phlégmōn*: **falgamoni**.  
*phóllis* (Lgr.): **faluz**.  
 \*\**phoûrnos*: **alcuja**.  
*phrenitis* (Lgr.): **c/karabito**.  
*phthorá*: **tuera**.  
*phýgethlon* pl. *phýgethla*: **fugela**.  
*phýkos*: **alficòs**.  
*pistákia*: **alfóstigo**.  
*pittákion*: **abitaque**.  
*plateia*: **balate<sup>1</sup>**.  
*plēksis*: **alferecia**.  
 \**pneumatōdēs*: **phitanos**.  
*Pontiká* (kárya) —: **albóndiga**.  
*praikókion*: **abercoc**.  
*presbyteros*: **caciz**.  
*proedreia*: **alfriðária**.  
*prosphegákia* (Mod.): **alfaneca**.  
*psalmós* (Bib.): **pysmon**.  
*psēphos*: **foceifiza**.  
*psōrikón*: **fasuricon**.  
*pýrgos*: **borja**.  
*pyrútēs*: **buritassen**.

*rodódendron*: **ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).  
*rophós* and *roupho* (Mod.): **alfonsim**.

*Sabaîos*: **sabeo**.  
*sábbaton*: **sábado**.  
*ságma*: **enjalma**.  
*sákchar(on)*: **açúcar**.  
*sálos*: **jaloque<sup>1</sup>**.  
*sálpigx*: **allora**.  
*Samareítis*: **samaritano**.  
*sambúkē*: **allora**.  
*sámpsouchon*: **sampsuco**.  
*sántalos*: **sândalo**.  
*saphēnēs*: **safena**.  
*sáppheiros*: **zafiro**.  
*sarábara*: **ceroula**.  
*satrápēs*: **sátrapa**.  
*saûros*: **jurel**.  
*schistós*: **çacaztír**.  
*seirá*: **aciòn**.  
*semídalos*: **acemite**.  
*sēpia*: **jibia**.  
*sē/irikón* (Lgr.): **caeracoz**.

*sidērtēs*: çanderitiz.  
*Sidónios*: sidonio.  
*sikelē*: acelga.  
*síkera*: sidra.  
*sínapi*: ajenabe.  
*sindón*: cendal.  
*sísaron*: cisirão.  
*sisýmbrion*: alsándara.  
*skammonía*: cecamonía.  
*skírros*: sephiros.  
*smáragdos*: somorta, (a)zauarget.  
*Sodomítis*: sodomita.  
*sôteira*: sotira.  
*sophía*: so/ufí.  
*sphákelos*: ascachillos.  
*spoggía*: esfenja.  
*staphylínē ágría*: acenoria.  
*steírósis*: arsatun.  
*stoá*: zagão.  
*stóllos*: estol.  
*strakítēs*: azcritas.  
*\*\*stratégon*: serrall.  
*strōma* and *strómation*: estormía.  
*stýlē*: zagão.  
*syllogē*: azulaque.  
*synagōgē*: esno(g)a.  
*synédriōn*: sanedrí.  
*synaxis*: almagest.  
*Syría*: siríaco.  
*syrikón*: caeracoz.

*\*\*tágēnon*: teginat, tixela.  
*taóneios*: tonitoz.  
*tárichos*: botarga.  
*tarkásion* (Lgr.): carcaix.  
*téganon*: tēquina.  
*télesma*: talismà.  
*\*\*thēka*: tecla (in Appendix I).  
*thermāsios*: turmusius.  
*thēriakē*: atriaca.  
*thérmos*: altramuz.  
*thýnnos*: atum.

*\*\*trapézion*: alefris.  
*tripherón*: triferá.  
*typhón*: tifô.

*xērós*: elixir.  
*xéstēs*: alquez.

*zelúgos*: ajoujo.  
*ziggíberis*: gengibre.  
*zítzyphon*: açofaifa.  
*zōmos*: zumo.  
*zônáron*: atzunar.

## 10. HEBREW<sup>7</sup>

*āb*: ab.  
*\*\*ab addir*: abadir.  
*ābādon*: abadão.  
*\*\*ābaṭṭihim*: albudeca.  
*ābib*: abibe.  
*abrāhām*: abraâmio.  
*abrēx*: abracadabra.  
*abšālom*: absalónico.  
*ādām*: Adam.  
*ādār*: adar<sup>2</sup>  
*ādarkonim*: adarconim.  
*addir*: abadir.  
*ādonay*: Adonai, agla, Jehová.  
*\*\*\*adorcon*: adarconim.  
*āhālīm*: áloe.  
*ahāron*: aarónico.  
*aḥlāmāh*: caaclaman.  
*alyāh*: orlla.  
*āmālēqi*: amalecita.  
*āmēn*: amém.  
*Sammoni*: amonita.  
*āmorāh*: gomorreu.  
*ārāmi*: arameo.  
*argāwān* and *argēmān*: aljacuán.  
*ašqēloni*: ascalonita.  
*attā gibbor lēšolām ādonay*: agla.

<sup>7</sup> Our transcription system is intermediate between the most traditional one and the old (reconstructed) and mod. pronunciations, so that without prejudging phonemicity both emphatic and pharyngeal realizations are marked, *kāmēy* are *šērē* represented by >ā and >ē<, and ultra-

short vowels in the usual way, but *matres lectionis* are not marked with macron, nor spirantization is transcribed in any way, except in the cases of [f] and [x], in order to prevent a great distortion of current pronunciation.

*baʕal*: baalita.  
*baʕal zēbub*: Belcebú.  
*bābel*: Babel.  
*bāruk*: alboroque.  
*bat*: bato.  
*bērāxāh*: barahá.  
*\*\*bēšorāh*: macar, vijola.  
*bēt āwen*: betauen.  
*bēt dīn*: bedín.  
*\*\*bēt ēl*: bétilo.  
*bēt lehem*: belén.  
*bin yāmin*: benjamín.  
*borit*: borit.  
*bošem*: bàlsam.

*dāwid*: davídic.  
*dayyān*: dayán.  
*dēbir*: debir.  
*dēli*: aladul.

*ebyon*: ebionita.  
*ēden*: edén.  
*ēdomi*: idumeo.  
*ēfod*: efod.  
*efrāti*: efrateo.  
*efrayim*: efraimita.  
*ēl*: Alá.  
*ēlām*: elamita.  
*ēloāh and ēlohim*: Alá.  
*ēlul*: elul.  
*ēmori*: amorreo.  
*ēpāh*: aphí/y.  
*\*\*ērābon*: albaroque.  
*ēšeret*: alhansara.

*gē hinnom*: geena.  
*gēlil*: galileo.  
*gibbor*: agla.  
*gibsoni*: gabaonita.  
*gilšadi*: galaadita.

*habdālāh*: abdalá.  
*hābel*: abeliano.  
*hāber*: háber.  
*hāgār and \*\*\*hagorīaš*: agarè.  
*hallāh*: hallulla, macar.  
*hallēlu yāh*: aleluya.  
*hām*: camita.  
*\*\*hāson*: hasán.

*hāxām*: ha ham.  
*hazzān*: hasán.  
*hebel*: abeliano.  
*hēkāl*: heical.  
*helbēnāh*: gálban.  
*hēn*: finnosio.  
*hērem*: marrano.  
*hitti*: heteo.  
*homeš*: homas.  
*hošašnā*: hosana.

*Šibri*: hebreo.  
*īyyob*: Job.

*karmēl*: carmelita.  
*kēnašni*: cananeo.  
*kērub(im)*: querubí.  
*kislew*: quislep.  
*kofer*: calafat.  
*kohēn*: cohén.  
*kuš*: cusita.  
*kuttoner*: cheton.

*lābān*: libanés.  
*lēbānon*: libanés.  
*lēšolām*: agla.  
*lēwi*: levita.  
*liwyātān*: leviatán.

*mahtot*: marchesilis.  
*makkāh*: macar.  
*malkišedeq*: melquisedeciano.  
*\*\*malšīn*: macar, malsí.  
*mamzēr*: máncer, macar.  
*man*: maná.  
*maqqāb*: Macabeo.  
*massorāh*: masora.  
*mazzāl and mazzāl job*: mazal.  
*mēšāh*: mesías.  
*mēšummād*: mesumad.  
*mētušāleh and mētušelāh*: matusalén.  
*mi kālēl*: sanmiguelada.  
*midyāni*: madianita.  
*\*\*migdāl*: magdalena.  
*mikbār*: machar.  
*minkēsē bad*: manachasin.  
*mīryām*: María.  
*miš hālāb*: almece.  
*\*\*mišnefet*: acenefa.

*mizlēgot*: machir.  
*moʿābi*: moabita.  
*mošeh*: Moisés.

*nāzir*: nazareu.  
*ne/ēbel*: nebel.  
*nērd*: nard.  
*nēṭṭot*: almiceleras.  
*nidduy*: aladma.  
*ninwēh*: ninivita.  
*nisan*: nisan.  
*nōāh*: Noé.

*onān*: onanismo.

*paršoh*: faraón.  
*pēlišti*: filisteo.  
*pērušim*: fariseo.  
*pesah*: fas, páscoa.  
*peten*: alfétena.  
*pēšuaʿ dakkāh*: macar, tora<sup>1</sup>.  
*pizmon* (Mishnaic): pysmon.

*qabbālāh*: cábala.  
*qārāʿi*: caraísmo.  
*qayin*: Caim.  
*\*\*qēdēšāh*: Algol.  
*\*\*qināh*: huynna.  
*qinman / qnē bešem*: cinmiamate.  
*qiryat arbāš*: arbe.

*rabbi*: rabí.

*šaʿar*: seyron.  
*šabbāt*: sábado.  
*šaddiqim*: cedaquín.  
*šāfān*: espanhol.  
*šammāš*: chamaz.  
*sanhedrin* (Mishnaic): sanedrí.  
*šanif*: acenefa.  
*šāṭān*: satã.  
*šēdāqāh*: cedaquá.  
*Šēdom*: sodomita.  
*šēduqi*: saduceo.  
*šēfārād* and *šēfārēd*: andaluz, sefardí.  
*šēkār* and *\*\*\*šēkār*: sidra.  
*\*\*šēlāw*: salhue.  
*šēlomo*: salomón.  
*šēm*: semita.

*šēmonē*: tomín.  
*šēmini*: tomín.  
*šēnat hayyobēl*: jubileo.  
*šānēfāh*: acenefa.  
*šeqel*: siclo.  
*šērāfim*: serafí.  
*\*\*šērot*: almiceleras.  
*šidon*: sidonio.  
*šimšon*: simonía.  
*Šimšon*: sansón.  
*šūṭim*: set(h)im/n.  
*siwān*: siban.  
*šyyon*: sionismo.  
*šoham*: xaherim.  
*šoṭēr*: eixortí.  
*šūrah* (Mishnaic): azora.

*ṭallit* (Mishnaic): taled.  
*talmud* (Mishnaic): talmud.  
*tammuz*: tamutz.  
*\*\*taqqānāh* (Mishnaic): tacafío.  
*targum* (Mishnaic): targum.  
*tāw*: atabud, tau.  
*ṭēbēr*: thebeth.  
*ṭēfillāh*: tefylá.  
*\*\*ṭērēfāh*: macar, trefe, treffa.  
*tišri*: thesserin.  
*ṭob*: mazal.  
*torāh*: tora<sup>1</sup>.

*yahweh*: Jehová.  
*yarmulqāh* (Mod.): chamerlucio.  
*yaʿāqob*: jacobeo.  
*yāfer*: jafético.  
*yardēn*: Jordán.  
*yēbusi*: jebuseo.  
*yefet*: jafético.  
*yēhošuaʿ*: Jesús.  
*yēhudāh* and *yēhudi*: judeu, jafut.  
*yērušalayim*: Jerusalén.  
*yirmēyāh*: jeremiada.  
*yišmāʿēl*: ismaelita.  
*yiśrāʾēl*: israelí.  
*yobēl*: jubileo.  
*yohānān*: sanjuán.  
*yosēf*: josefino, jucefia.

*zabub*: Belcebú.  
*zēmān*: zeman.

11. INDIAN<sup>8</sup>*abhi-dharma*: **abidarma***abhi-jit*: **abigi***abhi-ṣekā*: **abicheca**.*a/ācār* (Hindi): **achar**.*ādhātis* (Hindi): **adatis**.*adhi-rāj* (Hindi) and *adhi-rāj(ā)*: **adirrajā**.*āgama*: **āgama**.\*\*\**agraśālā* and *agrāsana*: **agarçal**.*aguru*: **áloe**.*ākāśā*: **acasa**.*āmalaka*: **êmblico**.*āmīl* (Hindi): **ámel**.*ānā* (Hindi): **ana**.*araq* (Hindi): **araque**.*arici* (Tamil): **arròs**.*arya*: **ario**.*aśok* (Hindi) and *aśoka*: **açoca**.*atlas(t)* (Hindi): **atalá**.*avatāra*: **avatar**.>*āxok*< (Konkani): **açoca**.*baṅgāl* (Hindi): **albengala**.*baqqāl* (Hindi): **bacal**.*baraṇḍa* (Hindi): **veranda**.*bāribāri* (Cingalese): **beriberi**.*bhāṭeṇ*: **albargina**.*bhagavatī*: **pagoda**.*bhājī*: **bagibabo**.*bhaktā*: **albbeth**.*bhāṅg* (Hindi): **bangue**.*bhaṅgā*: **bangue**.*bhār(ā)* (Hindi) and *bhāra*: **baar**.*brāhman*: **bracmán**.*buddha*: **budismo**.*čābuk* (Hindi): **chabuco**.*čādar* (Hindi): **chader**.*čampī* (Hindi): **xampu**.*čandana*: **sándalo**.*čaturaṅga*: **acedrenche**.*čiraka*: **saytarache, ceteraque**.\*\*\**dabada*: **dabá**.*dabbā* (Hindi): **dabá**.*darbār* (Hindi): **darbar**.\*\**darva*: **dabá**.*devadarū*: **açoca**.*devanāgart*: **devanagari**.*dvīpā sukhātara*: **cecotrim**.\*\**faiz* (Hindi): **faido**.*farrās* (Hindi): **faraz**.*faujdār* (Hindi): **fordar**.*gač* (Hindi): **gueche**.*ghariyāl* (Hindi): **gavial**.*gulelā* (Hindi): **jelala**.*hamāl* (Hindi): **amal**.*haq* (Hindi): **aca**.*haqdār* (Hindi): **acadar**.*harūtaka*: **hezleche**.*hava/āldār* (Hindi): **abaldar<sup>2</sup>**.*huqqā* (Hindi): **hucá**.*inām* (Hindi): **inama**.*jāgīr* (Hindi): **jaguir**.*jamādār* (Hindi): **jamadar**.*jambū(la)*: **alambor<sup>2</sup>**.*jaṅgal* (Hindi) and *jaṅgala*: **jungla**.*jātā* (also Hindi): **yute**.*kalakātā* (Bengali): **calicó**.*kamarband* (Hindi): **camarabando**.*kampīla*: **cambil**.*kaparda*: **cauri**.*karpūra*: **alcanfor**.

<sup>8</sup> The terms not attributed to a particular language or dialect, are Sanskrit, although in many of the given etyma there has been, necessarily on chronological grounds, frequent intermediation, often not documentable, of Prakrit or younger dialects. The transcription is the usual one among indologists, except for the harmonization with the systems used of other languages of >c<

in >č< and >η< for >n<; therefore, it should be remembered that subscript dots convey cerebral phonemes, unlike the case in Semitic languages. For the sake of clarity, nasalizations are transcribed as >m̃< and >ñ<, respectively. For Dravidian, Cingalese and Konkani, we transcribe our sources literally and acritically.

*kaśmīr* (Hindi): **casimir**.

*kauri* (Hindi): **cauri**.

*ketaka*: **quedi**.

*khāktī* (Hindi): **caqui**.

*khaṇḍa*: **candi**.

*khaṇkī* (Konkani): **canequi(m)**.

*kodom* (Hindi): **codrá**.

*kodrava*: **codrá**.

**\*\*kṛmijā**: **alquermes**.

*kṣatrīya*: **chatria**.

*kulañjana*: **galanga**.

*kūrupeka* (Cingalese): **cornac**.

*kuṣṭha*: **alcuz**.

*lakkha* (Prakrit) and *lākṣā*: **laca**<sup>1</sup>.

*laṣkar(i)* (Hindi): **áscar**.

*māhāraja* and *māhārāṇi*: **maharajá**.

*mahl* (Hindi): **maal, malcorcho**.

*mahsūl* (Hindi): **massul**.

*māju* (Hindi): **maju**.

*māl*: **malvazar**.

*malabāra*: **malabar**.

*māldār* (Hindi): **maldar**.

*malik* (Hindi): **melique**.

*mantrī* (Hindi) and *mantrin*: **mandarim**.

**\*\*martabā** (Hindi): **mortaba**.

*māś* (Hindi) and *māśa*: **monos**.

*maslahat* (Hindi): **maçalata**.

*mātuluṅga*: **taronja**.

*māyā martabā* (Hindi): **maamartaba**.

*mīrās* (Hindi): **mirás**.

*moča*: **almeuce**.

*mudgá*: **monos**.

*mudrā*: **mohúr**.

*muḥar* (Hindi): **mohúr, mortaba**.

*mujrā* (Hindi): **muxara**.

*mumg* (Hindi): **monos**.

*muqaddam* (Hindi): **almocadém**.

*naḥar* (Hindi): **nafar**.

*nainsux* (Hindi): **nansú**.

*nālada*: **nard**.

*naqqārā* (Hindi): **nácar**.

*nāraṅga*: **laranja**.

*nārikel/ra*: **narguil**.

*naṣar* (Gipsy): **naja**.

*navāb* (Hindi): **nabab**.

*nāyar* (Malayalam): **naire**.

*nāyakaḥ*: **naire**.

**\*\*netra**: **naire**.

*nīla*: **anil, lila**.

*nīlautpala*: **nenúfar**.

*nimbū(ka)*: **lima**.

*paččīs(i)* (Hindi): **parchís**.

*pāējāma* (Hindi): **pijama**.

*pagôdi* (Dravidian): **pagoda**.

*pājāma* (Hindi): **pijama**.

*pāṁč* (Hindi): **ponche**.

*pañča viṃśati*: **parchís**.

*pāli*: **pali**.

*pāydār*: **paidar**.

*pāñita*: **alfení**.

*pīlu*: **alfil**<sup>1</sup>.

*pīppalī*: **forforí**.

*purāṇa*: **purana**.

*puṭa*: **fota**.

*qasbā* (Hindi): **çaçabé**.

*qassāb* (Hindi): **çaçapo**.

*qāyda* (Hindi): **caida**.

*qulī* (Hindi): **culi**.

*rāhdār* (Hindi): **radar**.

*rājā* (Hindi) and *rāja*: **rajá**.

*rājāvarta*: **atzur**.

*rūpya* (also Hindi): **rupia**.

*sabīl* (Hindi): **cibiralá**.

*sakkharā* (Pali) and *sárkarā*: **açúcar**.

*sālār* (Hindi): **salar**.

**\*\*śanipriya**: **zafiro**.

*sāyāban* (Hindi): **seibão**.

*sikkā* (Hindi): **ceca**.

*siḥala*: **cingalés**.

*sipāhī* (Hindi): **cipaio**.

*śṛgālā*: **chacal**.

*śṛṅgavera*: **gengibre**.

*sūrat* (Hindi): **surá**.

*tālluqā* (Hindi): **taluca**.

*tāmbūla*: **tambor**<sup>2</sup>.

*taṁgā* (Hindi): **tanga**.

*tāmra*: **tumbaga**.

*tavakṣirā*: **tabaxir**.

*ṭhaḡ* (Hindi): **tugue**.

*thānā(dār)* (Hindi): **tanadar**.



*trivṛta*: **turbit**.  
*tuttha*: **atutía**.  
*tvak-kṣīra*: **tabaxir**.

*vaidūrya*: **abalorio**.  
*vambha*: **bambú**.  
*varaṇḍa* (Hindi) and *varaṇḍa*: **veranda**.

*yogin*: **jogue**.

*zamīndār*: **jamedar**.  
*zarī* (Hindi): **jorim**.

## 12. LATIN

*Aārōn*: **aarónico**.  
*ābaddir*: **abadir**.  
*abbas*: **abad**.  
 \*\**acerbus*: **acebuche**.  
*acern(i)a* (Lit.): **cherná**.  
*āciscūlus*: **aciche**.  
 \*\*\**ad+foras*: **jorro**.  
*ad ista / ipsa / illa*: **anda, ata**.  
 \*\*\**adjugium*: **ajoujo**.  
*adsēcūla*: **acica**.  
*Agar*: **agarè**.  
*albīnēa* and *albus*: **albiñoca**.  
*alchoarismus* and *algorithmus*, *algorismus*  
 and *alkauresmus* (Lit.): **algarismo**.  
 \*\**allēvāre*: **alifar**.  
*ālūmēn* and Lit. \**alumine(m)*: **meli**.  
 \**amario[nem]* (Lit.): **almeirão**.  
*āmārus*: **almeirão**.  
*amēn* (Bib.): **amém**.  
*amīcūlum*: **tamanco**.  
 \**amincum* (Lit.): **tamanco**.  
*amīratus* (Lit.): 1.3.1.2.2, **almirall**.  
*ammonītēs*: **amonita**.  
 \*\**amylum*: **adaza**.  
*angārīa*: **árganas** (in Appendix I).  
 \*\**annus*: **anafaga**.  
*antimonium* (Lit.): **antimoni**.  
*Antīōchēnus*: **antoquí**.  
*Arāmaeus*: **arameo**.  
*arbutrus* (Lit.) and *arbūtus*: **madroño**.  
*arrhā* and *arrhābo*: **albaroque**.  
*Arunda*: **albértia**.  
*asa foetida* (Lit.): **asa**.  
*Ascālōnītae*: **asclonita**.

*Assyrius*: **asiriano**.  
*attrīta*: **aletría**.  
 \*\*\**attubāre*: **atabal**<sup>1</sup>.  
*aurīcilla*: **orchilla**.  
*aurum caecūlum*: **ajicán**.  
*Averrhoes* (Lit.): **averroísmo**.

*Baal* (Bib.): **baalita**.  
*Babel* (Bib.): **Babel**.  
 \**badialis* (Lit.) and *bādīus*: **bayal**.  
*baetūylus*: **bétilo**.  
*Bahal* (Bib.): **baalita**.  
*balsamum*: **bàlsam**.  
*barbārus*: **berberís**.  
*Barnāba* (Bib.): **barnabita**.  
*bastum*: **almáciga**<sup>2</sup>, **aumàstecs**.  
*Bedelgeuze* (Lit.): **Betelgeuse**.  
*Bērytensis*: **beritense**.  
*Bethlēēmītēs* (Bib.): **betlehemita**.  
 \**biberaculum* (Lit.): **mexerufada**.  
*biscotus*: **maçapão**.  
*borrago, -inis* (Lit.): **borraja** (in Appendix I).  
*buda*: **tabua**.  
*bulia*: **bolaique**.  
*burdō[nem]*: **albardón**.  
*burra* (Lit.): **borraja** (in Appendix I).  
*burrus*: **borracha** (in Appendix I).  
 \*\**pursa*: **albarsa**.  
*butis* (Lit.): **botías**.

\*\**cacanus*: **cancón** (in Appendix I).  
*cadmīlea* (Lit.): **quedimía**.  
*Caesārēa*: **alcaçaria**.  
*Caesārēa Augusta*: **zaragocí**.  
*cāia*: **alcayata**.  
*Cālāgorris*: **Calahorra**.  
*calcāre*: **acarcal**.  
*cālīce[m]*: **cauchil**.  
*camēlus*: **camell**.  
*campānia*: **campiña**.  
*camphora* (Lit.): **alcanfor**.  
*cancellus*: **alcancilla**.  
*candēla*: **candil**.  
 \*\**candor*: **alcandor**.  
*cānis*: **escàtil**.  
 \*\**canistrum*: **cunacho** (in Appendix I).  
 \*\**canna*: **canana, cañarí**.  
*cannābum* (Hispanic) and *cannābis*: **alcānave**.  
 \**cannaria* (Lit.): **alcanería**.  
 \**cannarius* (Lit.): **cañarí**.

*cannīcūs*: caliche.  
*cāpir*: càbit.  
*capitūa* (Hispanic): alcaucí.  
*capitiana* (Lt.): alcaceña.  
*cāpīton[em]*: alcaudón.  
*cappāris*: alcaparra.  
*capsa*: alcahaz, cauza.  
*capūs*: gato.  
**\*\*cāpūla**: faca.  
*caput*: alcabota.  
*cāpūtūm*: cambuix.  
*carābus*: caro.  
*cardus*: tagarnina.  
*\*carricare* (Lt.): alquerque<sup>2</sup>, carraca.  
*Carthāgo* (Nova): cartagenero, cartaginiense.  
*Carthāgīniēnsis*: cartaginiense.  
*carthamus* (Lt.): cártama.  
*castra*: alcácer.  
*castrāre*: escazarí.  
*casula* (Lt.): cassot.  
*cattia* (Lt.): cazo.  
*cattus*: gat.  
*cātūlus*: escàtil.  
*cauda*: alcaudón.  
*caveola* (Lt.): taibola.  
*centēnāriūm*: quintal.  
*centrum*: alcántara.  
*cereola* (Lt.): acerola.  
*Chaldaeus*: caldaico.  
*Chānānaeus*: cananeo.  
*chērūhim/n* (Bib.): querubí.  
*cibus*: atxeu.  
**\*\*cīcāda**: lloba.  
*cīcēra*: chícharo.  
*cīmex*: chisme (in Appendix I).  
*cingo*: eixanguer.  
*cingūlum*: inchinia.  
**\*\*cippus**: atxeu.  
*circārūm*: fn. 4, chiquero.  
*cista*: sistar (in Appendix I).  
*(cohors) clausa* (Lt.): josa (in Appendix I).  
*cōllis*: acollar, alcor.  
**\*\*cōllus**: acollar.  
*conchylium*: alconcilla.  
**\*\*cōphīnus**: alcofa.  
**\*\*cōrīācēa**: coracha.  
**\*\*cornus**: alcornoque.  
*cortex*, -īcis (African): alcorque.  
*cortīce[m]*: corcho.  
*cōva*: alcubilla.

**\*\*cribellum**: garbell.  
*crocus*: alcroco, ancorca.  
*\*cufre aptare* and *\*cufri factor*: calafat.  
*culcitra*: acólceitra.  
*cum cūmillo*: caramull.  
*cūpa*: alcubilla.  
*cursarius* (Lt.): corçana.  
*cursiōn(em)*: carxena.  
*curtīus*: alcorzar.  
*cuscute* (Lt.): cuscuta.  
**\*\*cyclas**, -adis: ciclatão.

*Damascus*: damasco.  
*dēnārīus*: dinar.  
*dōmīnicālis*: doñegal.  
*drācontēa*: tarago/untía.  
**\*\*dupla**: limeta.

*Elamitae*: elamita.  
*Emērita*: albérnia, merideño.  
**\*\*ergāta**: algaderas.  
*ervīllā*: alverjana.  
*Essēni*: esenio.  
**\*\*exalbāre**: jabe.  
*\*exsapiditus* (Lt.): escacs.

**\*\*fanum**: fanar.  
*fārinātus*: alfarnate.  
*fartus*: alfortoner.  
*fascia*: falquía, haza.  
*fāsēōlus*: alfeisán.  
*fāūus*: bato.  
*fēmīna*: altaforma.  
*fēnēstra*: alfiestra.  
*fēnum*: alfendoz.  
*ferrātus*: ferrete.  
**\*\*fiat**: ratafia.  
*fibra*: febra.  
**\*\*fōllōla**: hallulla.  
*fōrātus*: alforanda.  
*forcipes tenaces* (Lt.): alicates.  
*fullare*: fallega.  
*fulvus varius* (Lt.): hovero.  
*furca*: forcal.  
**\*\*furnus**: alcuja.  
*\*fustetaneus* (Lt.): fustán.

*Gābāōnītes* (Bib.): gabaonita.  
*galbānum*: galban.  
*Gālīlaeus* (Bib.): galileo.

*gāzōphylācium*: **gaspallo**.

*gēhenna* (Bi.): **geena**.

*geniāna*: 1.1.3.2.

**\*\*gibbus**: **farjup**.

*girba*: **quilma**.

*gypsum*: **algeps**.

**\*\*hābē**: **he**.

*hābēre*: **avaría**.

*hallēlūia* (Bib.): **aldarull**, **aleluya**.

*\*haemorrhœuma* (Lt.): **alморranas**.

*harundo* (Lt.): **andorina**.

*hostile*: **aaçat elgebar**.

*Hēbraeus*: **hebreo**.

*hirundo*: **andorina**.

*Hispanus*: **espanhol**.

**\*\*horreum**: **alborín**.

*Idūmaeus* (Bib.): **idumeo**.

*\*incingula* (Lt.) and (*in*)*cingulum*: **inchinia**.

**\*\*invölūcrum**: **arabullos**.

*illa*: **anda**.

*ipsa*: **anda**.

*Isrāēl(ita)* (Bib.): **israelí**.

*ista*: **ata**, **anda**.

**\*\*Itālica**: **albéria**.

*Jāphet* (Bib.): **jafético**.

*Jēbūsaëus* (Bib.): **jebuseo**.

*Jērēmīās* (Bib.): **jeremiada**.

*Jērūsālem*: **Jerusalén**.

*Jēsūs* (Bib.): **Jesús**.

*Jōb* (Bib.): **Job**.

*Jordānēs* (Bib.): **Jordán**.

*Joseph* (Bib.): **josefino**.

*jūbīlaeus* (Bib.): **jubileo**.

*Jūdās*, *Jūda(e)icus* and *Jūdaeus*: **judeu**.

**\*\*jungo**: **ajonje**.

*lācūnār*: **alboaire**.

*lāpāthūm*: **alabaza**.

*lāpis*: **atzur**.

*lārix*: **alerç**.

*laxāre*: **aleja** (in Appendix I).

*Leviathan* (Bib.): **leviatán**.

*lēvīta* (Bib.): **levita**.

*Lībānus* (Bib.): **libanés**.

*lībŷce*: **lebeche**.

**\*\*limbus**: **limeta**.

*lollīgo* and *lolligin(em)*: **aluja**, **lula**.

*\*lollugin(em)* (Lt.): **aluja**.

**\*\*lorandēum**: **ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).

*lupus*: **lopi(n)s**.

*lūtus*: **aludel**.

*Māchāboëus* (Bib.): **macabeo**.

*māchīnāle*: **mechinal**.

*Macoraba*: **Meca**.

*mac/ttēa*: **alm(e)tiga**.

*Madianīta* (Bib.): **madianita**.

**\*\*magalia**: **nagüela**.

**\*\*malaxatus**: **mazal**.

*manna* (Bib.): **maná**.

*manē/īle*: **mandil**.

*mantum* (Lt.): **almanto**.

*mānūs*: **manchil**.

*\*marcitus*: **marchito**.

**\*\*marcūlus**: **márcola**.

*\*maregia* (Lt.): **almería**.

*\*maricadicus* and *maricadium* (Lt.): **almarjo**.

*mārum*: **almaro**.

**\*\*mātēr**: **madroño**.

**\*\*mātēriā**: **madroño**.

*Mathusala* (Bib.): **matusalén**.

*matricālis*: **magarza**.

*mātrīce[m]*: **almatrice**.

**\*\*mātūrus**: **madroño**.

*mēdiālis*: **almiar**.

*Messīās*: **mesías**.

**\*\*metālis**: **almiar**.

*mētaxa*: **botafió**.

*Mōābītiēs*: **moabita**.

*mōdiūs*: **almodí**.

*Mōsēs* (Bib.): **Moisés**.

*mūrāta*: **almora**.

*mūrīa*: **almorí**.

*muscatu* (Lt.): **moscado**.

*muscella*: **mocejón**.

**\*mussicare** (Lt.) and *mussāre*: **amusgar** (in Appendix I).

*nabla*: **nebel**.

*napellus* (Lt.): **napelo**.

*naphtha*: **nafta**.

*nāpus*: **napelo**.

*nardus/m*: **nard**.

**\*\*nasturtium**: **naipe**.

*naucus* (Lt.), **\*\*nāvīcula** and **\*\*naucūla**: **anorque** (in Appendix I).

*nāvis*: **nagüela**.

*Nazāraeus* and *Nazārēnus* (Bib.): **nazareu**.

**\*\*nimbus: limeta**.

*Nōa* (Bib.): **Noé**.

*nōdīa: anorza* (in Appendix I).

*Nubae: nubiense*.

*nucha* (Llt.): **nuca**.

*nucic(u)la* (Llt.): **fugela**.

**\*\*obcaecāre: abassegar**.

*obryzum: bricho*.

*ochra: ancorca*.

**\*olearandeum** (Llt.) and **\*\*oleandrum: ojaranzo** (in Appendix I).

*olibanum* (Llt.): **benjuí**.

**\*\*Olisipo: albérnia**.

*Onūba: huelveño*.

**\*oxālīca: orzaga** (in Appendix I).

*pāgānīca: albaneca*.

*pagrus: bagra*.

**\*\*pālātūm: gaspallo**.

*palma: palmiche*.

*pandurium* (Llt.): **mandora**.

*pāpāver: ababol*.

*papīlōn[em]: paulilla*.

*pārādīsus: paradís*.

**\*\*pārāre: albarrada<sup>1</sup>**.

*pārāsanga: parasanga*.

*pardus: barcino*.

*Parthus: part*.

*particella: barchilla*.

*pascēre: apaxar*.

*pascha: páscoa*.

*pascūa* (Llt.): **páscoa**.

*pastīnāca: bisnaga*.

*pausata* (Llt.): 1.1.3.2.

*pellis: polote*.

**\*\*pendēre and pendēre: alpendre**.

*Persēs: persa*.

*persicum: (mālum)—: abercoc, albérrico*.

*(pertica) mēdīālis: almiar*.

*pēs, pēdis: alpeduque*.

*Phārāo: faraón*.

*phārisaeus: fariseo*.

*phase: páscoa*.

*phīāla: aliara*.

*phīlistaeus* (Bib.): **filisteo**.

*phthōra: tuera*.

*pīce[m]: alpechim*.

*pingēre: alpañata*.

*pīper: pebre*.

*pīšōn[em]: bijón*.

*pistum: alpiste*.

*plātēa: balate<sup>1</sup>*.

**\*\*plecta: tagzim**.

*plūma: chúmeas* (in Appendix I).

*podiare* (Llt.): **poiada**.

*porrum/s: borracha*.

*porticus: alporchón*.

*portūlāca: verdolaga*.

*praecōquum: abercoc*.

**\*pultea** (Llt.) and **pultes: alborza**.

*quadrus: gaidó*.

*quernus* (Llt.): **alcornoque**.

*rabbi* (Bib.): **rabí**.

*rācēmus: 0.1, argamussa*.

**\*\*rātā fiat: ratafia**.

**\*\*recta fila: retahíla**.

*rēgālis: realgar*.

**\*\*regia** (Llt.): **alarije**.

*rējīcō: risc*.

*rēs: res* (in Appendix I).

*rhōdōdendrōn: ojaranzo* (in Appendix I).

**\*\*rīxōsus: raixa**.

*rubra: breca*.

*rūfus: 0.1, alfonsim*.

*Sābaeus: sabeo*.

*sabbātum* (Bib.): **sábado**.

*sacer* (Llt.): **sacre**.

*Saddūcaeus: saduceo*.

*saeta: xeta*.

*Saetābis: jativés*.

*sāga: chica*.

*sagīa* (Hispanic): **chía**.

*sagma: enjalma*.

*salicastrum: arcazón*.

*salma* (bl.): **enjalma**.

*saltāre: jota<sup>2</sup>*.

*salus: 1.1.3.2, ajotarse*.

*sālum: jaloque<sup>1</sup>*.

*Sāmārītānus* (Bib.): **samaritano**.

*sapphīrus: zafiro*.

*Sarracēni: sarraceno*.

*sātān(ās)* (Bib.): **satā**.

*sātrāpa: sátrapa*.

*sātūrēia: ajedrea, sarilla*.

*saurus: jurel*.

*saxēa*: **seixa**.  
*saxīfrāga*: **sassafras** (in Appendix I).  
*scaccus* (Lit.): **escacs**.  
*scala* (Lit.): **eschalas**.  
*scandula* (Lit.) and *scandāla*: **escaiola**.  
*scōlus*: **chulo**.  
*schistus*: **çacaztīr**.  
*scintilla*: 1.1.3.2.  
*sclavus* (Lit.): **ciclán**.  
*semis*: **eixem**.  
*sēpīa*: **jibia**.  
*septem montes*: **ceutí**.  
*seraphin/m* (Bib.): **seraff**.  
**\*\*serica**: **enxerga**.  
*sērōtīnus*: **zaranda**.  
*serva*: **jervilla**.  
*sextārius*: **alquez**.  
*sīcēra*: **sidra**.  
*siclus*: **siclo**.  
*Sidōnīus*: **sidonio**.  
*sīgillātum*: **ciclatão**.  
*sīgillum*: **asseliejat**.  
*sīlīqua*: **jaluga**.  
*Sīōn*: **sionismo**.  
*sīnāpī*: **ajenabe**.  
*sīnē nōbīlītāte*: **balhurria**.  
*sīpārīum*: **albarrada**<sup>1</sup>.  
*sīser*, *-ēris*: **chirivía**.  
*sītūla*: **acetre**.  
*Sōdōmīta*: **sodomita**.  
*sophora* (Lit.): **sófora**.  
**\*\*spīna**: **espinaca**.  
*spongīa*: **esfenja**.  
**\*\*strabus**: **zambo**.  
**\*\*strambus** (Lit.): **zambo**.  
*strāta*: **acirate**.  
*sublīmātum* (Lit.): **solimán**.  
*subdīacōn*: **jadraque**.  
*sūfes*, *-ētis*: **sufete**.  
*sūgēre*: **chuchamel**.  
*sumpta*: **sonta** (in Appendix I).  
*sylla* (Lit.): **zulla**<sup>1</sup>.  
*Sýrīa* and *Sýrīacus*: **siríaco**.

*tābella*: **tabla**.  
**\*\*tantum**: **tanda**.  
*tartarum* (Lit.): **tártaro**<sup>1</sup>.  
*Tartārus*: **tártaro**<sup>1</sup>.  
*taucia* (Hispanic): **atocha**.  
**\*Tauris**: **tauris**.  
*tērebra*: **tarabela, tarabito**.  
**\*\*tēgula**: **tixela**.  
*thēca*: **tecla** (in Appendix I).  
*thecula* (Lit.): **tecla**.  
*tībraca* (Lit.): **trobiguera**.  
*trāpētum* and *trāpētes*: **trapiche**.  
*tribucus* or *tribuces* (Lit.): **trobiguera**.  
*trilix*: **teliz**.  
*tu/ylbrucus*: (Lit.): **trobiguera**.  
**\*\*tzanga** (Lit.): **chancla**.

*ulex*: **argelaga**.  
**\*\*ūlūlātīo**: **adolío**.  
*uncia*: **ouquia**.  
**\*\*ungūla**: **gasunya**.

*Vālentīa*: 1.1.3.2.  
*vallis*: **ballo**.  
*veruina*: **verruma**.  
**\*\*vīgūlāre**: **vijola**.  
**\*\*vix**: **abés**.  
*volūtāre*: **alborozo**.  
*\*vulpeculinus* (Lit.): **faca**.

*zanga* (Lit.): **chancla**.  
*zingīber*: **gengibre**.  
*zīrbus* (Lit.): **zirbo**.

### 13. PERSIAN<sup>9</sup>

*āb* and *ābān*: **abā**.  
*āb dast*: **abdeste**.  
*ābār*: **ubar**.  
**\*\*Ābādhān**: **abadim**.  
*abestāg* (Pahl.): **Avesta**.  
*ābkār* and *ābkāri*: **abcari**.

<sup>9</sup> The terms not attributed to Old Persian or Pahl. are Neo-P. Its vowels are transcribed, according to the mod. pronunciation, but >ā< reflects the low back vowel (/a/), the macron being here a mere graphical device, not implying quantity, to distinguish it from /a/, unlike

the cases, of course, of Old Persian and Pahl. The consonants, however, are graphemically transcribed, i.e., reflecting the Ar. spelling, not the well-known Neo-P. phonemic realizations, which do not include interdental, emphatics or pharyngeals, while >q< is realized as /g/.

*ābrizān* and *ābrizgān*: **abrizā**.  
*āčār*: **achar**.  
*āḡaryās*: **edri**.  
*afgān*: **afgā**.  
*afšor*: **alfajor**.  
*afšurdan* (Pahl.): **alfajor**.  
*āftābgir*: **aftaguir**.  
*(ahura) mazda* (Old): **mazdeísmo**.  
*šamel*: **ámel**.  
*amir zāde*: **mirza**.  
*anda/olos*: **andaluz**.  
*andul*: **andor**.  
*angodān*: **anjuão**.  
*anōš ātaxš* (Pahl.): **almoháter**.  
*anzarut*: **anzarote**.  
*šaraq*: **araque**.  
*argawān* (Pahl.) and *arjawān*: **arjorán**.  
*aržiz* (Pahl.): **orçaz**.  
 \*\*\**asad xān*: **acedacão**.  
 \*\**āsiūtān buy*: **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.  
*aspast* (Pahl.): **alfaç**.  
*atābak*: **atabaque**.  
*aṭlas(i)*: **atalá**.  
*āvāz(kašte)*: **sarabanda**.  
*azā*: **asa**.  
*āzāde* and pl. *āzādegān*: fn. 77, **acedacão**.  
*āzād deraxt*: **acederaque**.  
*a zang gāh* (Pahl.): **azinhaga**.

*bāb*: **bagibabo**.  
*bādag* (Pahl.): **betya**.  
*bādarang buy*: **bedarangi**.  
*ān*: **albeasan**.  
*bādyāne*: **badián**.  
*bād(iy(ēh))*: **betya**.  
*bāfte*: **bófeta**.  
 \*\**bāḡ e dād*: **baldaquí**.  
*baḡdād* (Pahl.): **baldaquí**.  
*bahādor*: **bádur**.  
*bahat*: **albeth**.  
*bāhat*: **elbehta**.  
*bālāxāne*: **albacar**.  
*banafse*: **benefe**.  
*banbu*: **bambú**.  
*band*: **albaneyra**.  
*bang*: **bangue**.  
*bangāle*: **albengala**.  
*baḡḡā*: **papagai**.  
*baḡče*: **bagaje** (in Appendix I).  
*baqqāl*: **bacal**.

\**bar*: **alure(s)chin**.  
*bār bārīs*: **berberís**.  
*barahman*: **bracmán**.  
*barāt*: **barata**.  
 \**bardag* (Pahl.) and *barde*: **bardacha**.  
*bardūn*: **(al)guardenegi**.  
 \**bar+iškin*: **alure(s)chin**.  
*barni*: **albornía**.  
*bāše*: **bexich**.  
*bātingān*: **albargina**.  
*bat*: **pato**.  
*bāzār*: **basar**.  
*bāzār kardan*: **malvazar**.  
*bedast šodan*: **badistão**.  
*bēlur*: **abalorio**.  
*bangāle*: 1.3.1.2.2.  
*beranj*: **alberebgi**.  
*bīdīlāne*: **alb/neidalan**.  
*bījādī*: **bizedi**.  
*bīmārestān*: **albimorastan**.  
*bīyābāni*: **bebebu/ya**.  
*bonyād*: **abunhado**.  
 \*\**bostān buy*: **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.  
*bossad*: **bazd**.  
*bosti*: **albesti**.  
 \**bozorg kali ḡabbat*: **alberc/zachali**.  
*botkade*: **pagoda**.  
*bure*: **baurac**.  
*bus(idan)*: **buz**.  
 \**but kadag* (Pahl.): **pagoda**.  
*bute*: **albot**.  
*buze*: **buza**.

*čabo/uk*: **chabuco**.  
*čāda/or*: **chader**.  
*čādūr bān* (Pahl.): **saturca**.  
*čāh+\*riqu* (Pahl.): **chafariz**.  
*čahārek*: **algicarech**.  
*čandal* (also Pahl.): **alsándara, sándalo**.  
*čārdānag*: **iahardenquet**.  
*čatrang* (Pahl.): **acedrenche**.  
*čaw(la)gān* (Pahl.): **sulegian**.  
*čīnī* (Pahl.): **atzeni**.

*dabbe*: **dabá**.  
*dabid*: **adavid**.  
*dādā*: **dida**.  
*dahane*: **adehenic(h)**.  
*damānā*: **adamane**.  
*dāne gāh*: **dainaca**.

*danišmand*: talismano.  
*dar*: adarve.  
*darb*: adarve.  
*darbān* and *darband*: adarve.  
*darbār*: darbar.  
*\*\*dard e Šabbās*: dardabası.  
*darigān*: adurugen.  
*dārmag* (Pahl.): adārgama.  
*dāruge*: daroga.  
*darunak*: deraonech, dorónico.  
*darviš*: daroês.  
*darzi*: tarasí.  
*dašbod* and *doš bod*: aldeesbad/t.  
*\*\*dast anbuye*: alambor<sup>2</sup>.  
*dastān*: dastāo.  
*dastur*: dastur, dustoria.  
*dāyak* (Pahl.) and *dāye*: daia.  
*dēbāg* (Pahl.): mudbage.  
*dēg bar dēg* (Pahl.): dichbardich.  
*dēn* (Pahl.): dim.  
*dēwān* (Pahl.): diván.  
*dibā*: dibá.  
*dokkān*: ducāo.  
*dolband*: turbant.  
*dordī*: tártaro<sup>1</sup>.  
*dost dārad*: dostaiar.  
*dowre*: dorc.  
*duḡ*: aldog.  
*dulband* and *dulu band*: turbant.

*enšām*: inama.  
*ērān* (Pahl.): iraní.  
*espenāx*: espinaca.  
*espūd bā(j)*: alasfidbagiat.  
*esrenj*: ezbenecen.

*fāḡare*: fágara.  
*farmān*: firmán.  
*farsang*: farsanga.  
*farrāš*: faraz.  
*farzin*: alferza.  
*finak*: feynac.  
*firuze*: feruz.  
*fowjdār*: fardar.  
*frāman* (Pahl.): firmán.  
*frasang* (Pahl.) and *\*frasanga* (Old): parasanga.  
*frāzen* (Pahl.): alferza.

*gabr*: guebro.  
*gač*: algeps.

*gači*: gueche.  
*\*\*gad vār* (Pahl.): alcandora.  
 (Pahl.): alcancia.  
*gardanāj*: alchiardanach.  
*gazūt* (Pahl.): lágima.  
*gezāf*: betzef.  
*gōhr* (Pahl.): aljófar.  
*gol angobin*: gele/iniabin.  
*golāb*: julep.  
*golule*: jelala.  
*gonde bidastar*: gendebuster.  
*gorg bāz*: 2.2, alquerque.  
*gōy rāst* (Pahl.): aliernistar.  
*gōzihr* (Pahl.): iahuzahar.  
*gundār*: gandul.  
*guwārišn*: alch(a)uzi.  
  
*hadiyye*: odiá.  
*halīlag* (Pahl.): hazleche.  
*hammāl*: amal.  
*haqq*: aca.  
*haqqadār*: acadar.  
*havāldār*: abaldar.  
*haylāj*: alhilech.  
*hendu*: hindú.  
*hendustān*: indostanés.  
*hoqqe*: hucá.  
*huri*: hurí.  
*hušk nānek* (Pahl.): alchaschanagiat.

*irān*: iraní.

*jāgir*: jaguir.  
*jāmagi*: jamequia.  
*jamšdār*: jamadar.  
*jāngi*: jamequia.  
*\*\*\*jarīn*: jorim.  
*jāye baxtur*: a(l)gebuctar.  
*jogi*: jogue.  
*jule*: argelaga.

*kabābe* (ye čini): cubeba.  
*kabg*: nafefiche.  
*kabiz* (Pahl.): caffs.  
*kād/ḡi*: quedi.  
*kaftār*: cafatar.  
*kah robāy*: cárabe.  
*kaj*: alchaz.  
*\*\*kajāb/ve*: carbagé (in Appendix I).  
*kāknaj*: alquequenje.

- kālbod* (Pahl.): **cálíbo**.  
*kalkalānej*: **alkalkalangi**.  
*kāmag* (Pahl.): **alch(a)uamich**.  
*kamar band*: **camarabando**.  
*kamxā*: **camocà**.  
*kand*: **candi**.  
*\*\*kande*: **alfāndega**.  
*kande rāh*: **alcándara**.  
*kapān*: **capão**.  
*kāpūr* (Pahl.): **alcanfor**.  
*karvān*: **alcaraván**.  
*kārvān*: **caravana**.  
*kārvān sarā*: **caravansará**.  
*kašk āb, kaškaw/b, kaškva* and *kašk(ak)*: **alchi-  
 aschuegi, gacha**.  
*kašmīr*: **casimīr(a)**.  
*kaylat*: **quela**.  
     : **alchaz**.  
     *āgand*: **cosaco**.  
*kengere*: **alcâncara**.  
*kerm e azi*: **alquermes**.  
*\*kerm mās*: **guermes**.  
*keš šāh*: **escacs**.  
*kile*: **quela**.  
*\*kōbag* (Pahl.): **cauuenige**.  
*kodro/am*: **codrá**.  
*kolāh*: **culai**.  
*korāz*: **alcarraza**.  
*kosbe*: **kesb alcherua**.  
*kōšk* (Pahl.) and *košk*: **quiosc**.  
*kūč* (Pahl.): **alcuja**.  
*kuhestāni*: **cozteniet**.  
*kūnmarz* (Pahl.): **alcamaz**.  
*kurkum* (Pahl.): **cúrcuma**.  
*kuwah sarek*: **alchucsarech**.  
*kuze*: **alcuza**.  
  
*\*\*lāgar*: **laguel**.  
*lājvard*: **atzur**.  
*lāk*: **laca<sup>1</sup>**.  
*lāri*: **larim**.  
*laškar* (also Pahl.) and *laškari*: **áscar**.  
*lavand*: **levente**.  
*lawzēnag* (Pahl.): **allauzin(i)e, losange**.  
*lā* : **atzur**.  
*lāzeme*: **lágima**.  
*lila(n)j* or *lilang*: **lila**.  
*limu*: **lima**.  
*lubeyā*: **alubia**.  
  
*māda* (Old): **médico**.  
*\*māde bijād*: **maduz**.  
*madrase*: **madraçal**.  
*maguš* (Old): **mago**.  
*\*\*māh*: **mamoco**.  
*maḥall*: **maal**.  
*maḥāq*: **mamoco**.  
*mahmudi*: **mahamudí**.  
*maḥsul*: **massul**.  
*māju*: **maju**.  
*māl*: **malvazar**.  
*malek*: **melique**.  
*man pl. manhā*: **almená**.  
*mann e pādišāh*: **aceai**.  
*mann e šāh*: **aceai**.  
*manšur*: **manxorim**.  
*manzel*: **manzel**.  
*manzur*: **mazur**.  
*marābān*: **maçapão**.  
*margu* (Old): **almarcha**.  
*marqašišā*: **marcasita**.  
*marsum*: **marsungo**.  
*maṭabān*: **martabão**.  
*martabe*: **maamartaba**.  
*martak*: **almártaga<sup>2</sup>**.  
*marzān guš*: **alморabú**.  
*māš*: **monos**.  
*mašlaḥat*: **maçalata**.  
*māst*: **almaset**.  
*masure*: **maçaroca**.  
*may* (Pahl.) and *maydān*: **médão**.  
*may beh*: **almfbar, meibe**.  
*may poxtag* (Pahl.): **mibachtegi**.  
*may susan*: **alme/susen**.  
*mazda* (Old): **mazdeísmo**.  
*māzu*: **maju**.  
*mir*: **mir**.  
*mir baḥri*: **mirabari**.  
*mir zāde*: **mirza**.  
*mirāḡ*: **mirás**.  
*mirbaḥr*: **miraba**.  
*mirzā*: **mirza**.  
*moḡol*: **mongol**.  
*\*mohr*: **mohúr**.  
*\*mohr e ṭabṣ*: **mortaba**.  
*mollā*: **molá**.  
*mong*: **monos**.  
*moqaddam*: **almocadém**.  
*mōrd sprahm* (Pahl.): **almurea/d safran**.



*mortak*: **almártaga**<sup>2</sup>.  
*moslem* and *mosolmān*: fn. 77, **moslém**.  
*mōz* (Pahl.): **almeuce**.  
*mum*: **almojama**.  
*murč'e rag*: **almursegui**  
*murd' esparām*: **almurea/d safran**.

*nafar*: **nafar**.  
*namad* (Pahl.): **annamath**.  
*namak e čini*: **berut**.  
*namāz*: **achanamasi, namaz**.  
*naqqāre*: 1.3.1.2.2, **anacara, nácar**.  
*nargis*: **(al)narguez**.  
*nārang*: **laranja**.  
*nārgil*: **narguil**.  
*nāxodā*: **nacodá**.  
*nayyif*: **náfego**  
*nēzak*: **nezcre**  
*nīl* (Pahl.): **anil**.  
*nīlōpal*: **nenúfar**.  
*nimč'e*: **nammeixís**.  
*nime*: **limeta**.  
*nōg bahr* (Pahl.): **neubahar**.  
*novvāb*: **nabab**.  
*nowruz*: **naurós**.  
*nowšādor*: **almoháter**.

*osrob(b)*: **alazrob**.  
*ōstīgān* (Pahl.): **zagão**.  
*ostovān*: **zagão**.  
*owg*: **auge**.

*pādšāh*: **pachá**.  
*pād zahr*: **betzoar**.  
*pahlavi*: **pelvi**.  
*pahlāwig* (Pahl.): **pelvi**.  
*pājāme*: **pijama**.  
*pakestān*: **paquistaní**.  
*pālūdag*: **alfandoque**.  
*pānid*: **alfení**.  
*pāpuš*: **babucha**.  
*pairidāēza* (Old): **paradís**.  
*pargār/le*: **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.  
*parīk* (Pahl.) and *pari*: **peri**.  
*pārsa* (Old): **persa**.  
*pārsi*: **parsi**.  
*pārsīg* (Pahl.): **parsi**.  
*\*parāma* (Old): **part**.  
*parvāz*: 1.3.1.2.2, **alparavaz**.

*pātixšāi* (Pahl.): **pachá**.  
*pāyđār*: **paidar**.  
*pāy jāme*: **pijama**.  
*pīl* (Pahl.): **alfil**<sup>1</sup>.  
*pičide*: **albegiendach**.  
*pistag* (Pahl.): **alfóstigo**.  
*pōlāwad* (Pahl.) and *pulād*: **(al)fulad**.  
*\*\*\*putkudaš*: **pagoda**.

*qabāye pešvāz*: **cabaia**.  
*qāšede*: **caida**.  
*qalandar*: **calāndar**.  
*qaš'e dār*: **quiladar**.  
*qanbil*: **cambil**.  
*qanture*: **alcandora**.  
*qar(r)āb/fe*: **garrafa**<sup>1</sup>.  
*qašabe*: **çaçabé**.  
*qašabi*: **gicebi**.  
*qaššāb*: **çaçapo**.  
*qetār*: **catar**.  
*\*qorqur*: **caracoa** (in Appendix I).  
*qurči*: **corchim**.

*raēk* (Old): **chafariz**.  
*rah* (Pahl.): **roc**.  
*rāh dāri*: **radar**.  
*rasan* (Pahl.): **ranzal**<sup>1</sup>.  
*rēxtan* (Pahl.): **chafariz**.  
*ribās/fj*: **ribes**.  
*rivij*: **ribes**.  
*riqu*: **chafariz**.  
*riš e tān*: **\*raxbe**.  
*riše*: **rhyada**.  
*rivās/fj*: **ribes**.  
*rivij*: **ribes**.  
*ro layen*: **reulin**.  
*rox*: **roc**.  
*rōzig* (Pahl.): **risc**.  
*rupīye*: **rupia**.

*šab yār*: **sabiara(t)**.  
*šabag* (Pahl.): **acibeche**.  
*sabil*: **cibiralá**.  
*šad*: **sade**.  
*sāles*: **sais**.  
*šafavi*: **sofi**.  
*sag peštān*: **sebesta**.  
*šāgal*: **chacal**.  
*sāgari*: **chagré**.

*šāh* (also Pahl.), and *šāh e māt*: escacs.  
*šāh tarre*: saytarache.  
*šāhbandar*: xabandar.  
*šāhdānag* (Pahl.) and *\*\*šāhdāne*: aleli.  
*šāhi*: aceai, xaí.  
*šahrband*: xar(a)bando.  
*šahryārān*: alseriaran.  
*šakar* (Pahl.) açúcar.  
*šakarine*: saganea.  
*šāl*: chal.  
*sāl gardeš*: ac/çelcadeni.  
*sālār*: salar.  
*sālār e laškar*: salescarim.  
*šališā*: scelita.  
*\*šām matāš* and *\*šām māhut*: xamata.  
*\*\*šamšir*: cimitarra.  
*sandal*: sandala.  
*sanbuq*: sambuco.  
*sang*: alçania.  
*šangarf*: acebre.  
*šāpare* and *šāprak*: xabrac.  
*šāqāqol*: secácul.  
*sar šaskar*: serasquier.  
*sarand*: zaranda.  
*\*\*sarāsar*: morcercel.  
*sarāy*: serrall.  
*sarband*: sarabanda.  
*sardār*: sardar.  
*sarhang*: sarangue.  
*\*\*sarmaq/k/j* and *\*\*sarme*: saramago.  
*sarpuš*: enxaravia, tarbuche.  
*šāter*: xáuter.  
*sāyebān*: seibão.  
*šedār*: assidar.  
*šekan*: alure(s)chin,  
*sekbā*: cebiche.  
*sekke*: ceca.  
*sepāhi*: cipai.  
*sepidā*: albaialde.  
*serke bā*: cebiche.  
*\*\*\*sift*: cifa.  
*sik anguben*: scangibin.  
*simbaft*: sinabafa.  
*\*\*štr* (Pahl.): xiraz.  
*\*\*šir šakar*: cerquer.  
*širāz*: xiraz.  
*širpanje*: alst/irengi.  
*šišē*: marcasita.  
*sodre*: sadrá.  
*soffe*: sofa.

*\*sōg-kang* (Pahl.) and *sō(y) kang*: socão.  
*sonbade*: sembadegi.  
*sonbok*: sambuco.  
*\*\*sorin*: surim.  
*sorme*: surmah.  
*sorx dize*: cerhaderet.  
*sōsan* (Pahl.): açucena.  
*šowbe dār*: subedar.  
*spēdag* (Pahl.): asfidegi.  
*spēdbāg* (Pahl.): alasfidbagiat.  
*spihrig* (Pahl.): ezipaharaia.  
*\*\*srādig* (Pahl.): serrall.  
*srāy* (Pahl.): serrall.  
*srub* (Pahl.): alazrob.  
*šuniz*: ajenuz.  
*surat*: surá.  
*šurba*: so/urbagi.  
*suzāk*: çuc/zanc.

*tašalluqe*: taluca.  
*tabāhče*: thabahegitat  
*tabāšir*: tabaxir.  
*\*\*tabir*: tambor.  
*tafšil/re*: altafasil.  
*tafsile*: tafecira.  
*tāfte*: tafetá.  
*tāleb(ān)*: fn. 77, talibán.  
*talk*: talc.  
*tamge*: tanga.  
*tanbul*: tambor<sup>2</sup>.  
*tangār*: atinca.  
*tang/kire*: tangí.  
*tāq(e)*: adague.  
*tar angolabin*: tereniabim.  
*\*\*tār puš*: tarbuche.  
*tāram*: tarima.  
*tarāne*: sarabanda.  
*tarāšidan*: tarraja.  
*tarāz*: tiraz.  
*tarkāš*: carcaix.  
*tarkehār*: atursihala.  
*tašt* (Pahl.) and *t/tašt*: taça.  
*tātār*: tártaro<sup>2</sup>.  
*jelesmāt*: talismã.  
*\*\*\*ter puš*: tarbuche.  
*tīhōg* (Pahl.) and *tihu*: atyhox.  
*tirka/āš*: carcaix.  
*toğrol*: togrin.  
*tondur*: tendur.  
*toranj*: taronja.

*torbed*: turbit.  
*torkestān*: turquestano.  
*torongān*: tarongina.  
*tub/pāl*: tuba/el.  
 \*\*\**tūg*: tугue.  
*tumān*: tomão.  
*tuteyā*: atutía.

*vātrang* (Pahl.): taronja.  
*voše*: aguajaque.

\**wardīn+ag* (Pahl.): (al)guardenegi.

*xaftān*: cafetã.  
*xāje*: coja.  
*xāk* (also Pahl.): caqui.  
*xamdār*: gomedar.  
*xānag* (Pahl.) and *xāne*: arsenal, bedestão.  
 \**xar lubā*: alfarroba.  
*xār čini*: alárze, cazeno.  
*xār čōb* (Pahl.): alcachofa.  
 \*\**xar guš*: *arnaca*, *alca/ocuz*.  
*xāye bar*: caviar.  
*xāzuq*: encazucar.  
*xediv*: jedive.  
*xēz e rān*: galzerans.  
*xiri*: aleli.  
*xoje*: coja.  
*xorāsāni*: coraçane.  
*xošk ārd* (Pahl.): *alche/fiscar*.  
*xosravani*: fazroen.  
*xšathrapāvan* (Old): *sátrapa*.  
*xšāyitiya-* (Old): *escacs*.  
*xulangān*: galanga.

*yāsaman* (Pahl.): jasmim.

*zadvār*: cedioaria.  
*zāg*: aceche.  
*zahr*: zafre.  
*zāk* (Pahl.): aceche.  
*zame/indār*: jamedar.

*zanbe*: *sampaguita* (in Appendix I), *zambac*.  
*zand* (also Pahl.): *zendo*.  
*zang(ol)*: *aljorce*.  
*zar kašid*: *carkexi*.  
 \**zarad e xāye*: *zarzagania*.  
*zaradxāne*: *zarzagania*.  
*zarbāft*: *girbafo*.  
*zardak*: *zaradic*.  
 \**zardoxān*: *zarzagania*.  
*zargun*: *atzarcó*.  
*zarī*: *jorim*.  
*zarr nek* (Pahl.): *arzanefe*.  
*zāyč(ag)* (Pahl.) and *zāyej/če*: *zairagia*.  
*zeft*: *cifa*.  
*zenjafr* and *zenjarf*: *acebre*.  
*zir bā* and *ā*: *ze/irbagi*.  
*zīwag* (Pahl.): *azogue*<sup>1</sup>.  
*zorfin*: *azer(r)ufes*.  
*zorombād*: *zerumba*.

#### 14. AND.ROM. AND AR.-ROM. HYBRIDS<sup>10</sup>

\**ABYÁL*: *alferraz*.  
*AČÍLČ*: *aciche*.  
 \**A(D)+bassáq+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *abassegar*.  
 \**A(D)+baqil+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3.  
 \**A(D)+baqm+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *abatanar*.  
 \*\**A(D)+bi+diwá+ÁR*: *abediguar*.  
 \**A(D)+darb+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *adarvar*.  
 \**A(D)+fan(a+Y)+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *afā*.  
 \**A(D)+garb+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *agarbarse*.  
 \**A(D)+garim+ÁR*: *agarimar*.  
 \**A(D)+kafal+ÁR*: *acafelar*.  
 \**A(D)+lahaq+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *arfar*.  
 \**AD+mash+ÁR*: *amajar*.  
 \**A(D)+nasaq+ÁR*: *añascar*.  
 \**AD+NUTRÁT*: *anutrado*.  
 \**A(D)+qalib+AYR+ÁR*: *cálipo*.  
 \**A(D)+QORČ+ÁR*: *alcorzar*.  
 \**A(D)+qúll+ÁR*: *acollar*.  
 \**A(D)+qurfuṣ+ÁR*: *acorchofa-se*.

<sup>10</sup> In many cases, the hybridization has obviously occurred in Northern Rom., after the adoption of an Ar. loanword; at times, time and place are hard or impossible to ascertain, which we shall not try to do here. The Rom. segments are transcribed in capital letters, retaining the Ar. graphemes >q< and >č<, even within them, as they may

convey some phonemic value, which we shall also not prejudice. Ar. segments are reflected in their And. pronunciation, although this would only be faithfully realized by bilinguals, undergoing the expectable and well-known distortions when uttered by monolingual speakers of Rom.

- \*AD+raṣn+ÁR: **arranarse**.  
 \*A(D)+rizq+ÁR: **risc**.  
 \*(AD)+ṣahq+ÁR and \*(AD)+ṣahq+ÁYRA: **atxafegar**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣaḥl+ID+(IQ)+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, (ai)xàl-diga.  
 \*A(D)+ṣalm+EYÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **açalmear**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣarik+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **acharique**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣawb+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **acirrar**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣawt+ÁR: **ajotarse**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣayib+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3,  
 \*A(D)+ṣijill+ÁR: **asseliejat**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣufl+ÁR: **azolvar**.  
 \*A(D)+ṣul+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **acirrar**.  
 \*A(D)+taṣalluq+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **atalucarse**.  
 \*A(D)+ṭahṇ+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **atafanado**.  
 \*A(D)+ṭahwil+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **atafullarse**.  
 \*A(D)+ṭalm+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **adermar**.  
 \*A(D)+ṭamm+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **atamar**.  
 \*A(D)+ṭarraḡ+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3.  
 \*A(D)+ṭufl+ÁR: **azolvar**.  
 \*AD+UČ+EYÁR: **ahuchear**.  
 \*A(D)+xalaq+AT+ÓN: **fargallo**.  
 \*A(D)+xalás+ÁR: **ahallazare**.  
 \*A(D)+xarab+ÁR: 1.1.4.1, 1.2.1.2.3, **afarbado**.  
 \*A(D)+zamm+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **açamar**.  
 \*al+ṣajz+ÁN: **laczán**.  
 \*al+ballás+ÓN: **albelló**.  
 \*al+band+ÁYRA: 1.1.3.2.1, **albaneyra**.  
 \*ÁLBA ŠÉRRÁ: **alpujarreño**.  
 \*al+BÉRŠIQ: **albérchic**.  
 al+ČÍČARO MOLE: **chícharo**.  
 \*al+ČIP+ÉL: a(l)chiperre.  
 \*al+farg+IQ+ÁR: 1.1.4.1, **alfarcar**.  
 \*al+FARNÁT: **alfarnate**.  
 \*al+FEN+DÓ(L)Č: **alfendoz**.  
 \*al+FEYŠ+ÁN: **alfeisán**.  
 \*al+FIYÁRA: **aliara**.  
 \*alḡayib+ÁYR: 1.1.2.2, 1.2.1.2.2.  
 \*al+GÓRČA: **algorza**.  
 \*al+ḡar+ÓQ: 1.1.3.5, 1.2.1.2.2, **aladroc**, **al-druénganos**.  
 \*al+ḡawn+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **alhaonarse**.  
 \*al+házz+IQ: 1.2.1.2.2, **alfândega**.  
 \*al+huly+ÁT: 1.2.1.2.2, **alforado**.  
 \*Šálim+ÚČ: 1.2.1.2.2, **alimoche**.  
 \*al+jayb+ÁYRA: **fn. 67**.  
 \*al+KANČ+ÉLA: **alcancilla**.  
 \*al+kanz+ÁR: **alcanzae**.  
 \*al+KUB+ÉLA: **alcubilla**.  
 \*Šalláqa+TÁYRA, \*Šalláq+ÁTO and \*Šalláq+AT+ÉLO: 1.2.1.2.2, **algaderas**.  
 \*al+máqṣad+ÉRO: 1.1.3.2.1.  
 \*al+MÁRO: **almaro**.  
 \*al+MÁST+AQ: **aumàstecs**.  
 \*al+MÁST+IQ: **almáciga<sup>2</sup>**.  
 \*al+MATRÍČ: **almatriche**.  
 \*al+MIR+ÓN: **almeirão**.  
 \*al+MÓRA: **almora**.  
 \*al+muh+ÓN: **almorrón**.  
 \*al+PEČÍN: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.3, **alpechim**.  
 \*al+PEDÚK: **alpeduque**.  
 al+PÍŠT(O): **alpiste**.  
 \*al+PÚLSA: **alborza**.  
 \*al+QABBÚTA: **alcabota**.  
 \*al+QABTÚN: 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.2.1, **alcaudón**.  
 \*al+QANNÍS: **alcañizano**.  
 \*al+QAPIČ+ÉLA: 1.1.3.1, **alcaucí**.  
 \*al+QAYÁTA: **alcaliata**.  
 \*al+QONČ+ÉLA: **alconcilla**.  
 \*al+QÓQRA: **ancorca**.  
 \*al+QORNÓQ: **alcornoque**.  
 \*al+QORÓQO: **alcroco**.  
 \*al+QÓRQ: **alcorque**.  
 \*al+QÓRQA: **ancorca**.  
 \*al+QORÓQO: **alcroco**.  
 \*al+qubás+ÉLA: **alcobaila**.  
 \*al+qubbayt+ÉL: **alcotín**.  
 \*al+wayl+ÓN: **adolió**.  
 \*al+xal+ÁYQ: **alfaneque**.  
 \*al+xur?+ÁYKA: **fn. 44**.  
 \*al+YILÁQA: 1.1.4.1, **argelaga**.  
 \*al+YÚNJE: **ajonje**.  
 \*AMAYR+ÓN: **almeirão**.  
 \*an+naqir+ÉL: **naquera**.  
 \*an+nazq+EYÁR: **nezcre**.  
 \*Šanqud+ÓN: **jaglón**.  
 \*ANT+AMÁ/ÍN(K)(O): **tamanco**.  
 \*ARBON+ÓQ: **albaroque**.  
 ARČÍQON/L: **ajicán**.  
 \*ARONDÍNA: **andorina**.  
 \*\*ARZÓLA: **arrollo**.  
 \*aš+šak(iyy)+ÁR: **achaque**.  
 \*aš+šaxab+ÓN: 1.1.3.1, **fn. 33**, **atzabó**.  
 \*aširr+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, **acirrar**.  
 \*ašt+ÓN: **setón**.  
 \*aṭlaq+ÁR: **atalaque**.  
 \*atraqq(a)+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3.  
 \*AW(II)LÁQA: **argelaga**.  
 \*awkar+ÉL: **aguaril**.

- \*BABATÁYR: babatel.  
 BALÍSA: eblisa.  
 \*\*BATŠU: cotxó.  
 \*BEBRÁL: mexerufada.  
 BERBENÁQA: urgebão.  
 BÓN: matarile, alabí.  
 \*BUPEČÍNO: faca.  
 \*búq+ÁYR: albocayre.  
 \*\*\*BURRAČ+ÉLA: borracha (in Appendix I).
- \*ČERN(IY)A: cherna.  
 \*ČERO MÁMA: churumama.  
 \*ČÍB: atxeu.  
 \*ČÍČAR(O): chícharo.  
 \*ČING+ÁYR: eixanguer.  
 \*ČÍNJE LOM(B)ÍT I REN+ÍT: 2.2, chinche-monete.  
 \*ČÍSERA: chirivía.
- \*\*dayf+ÁR: zafrar.  
 \*DEŠ+barra+AYN+ÁR: albarrã.  
 \*DEŠ+farš+AYQ+ÁR: esferchegar.  
 \*DEŠ+tamm+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, atamar.  
 \*DEŠ+turruh+(EY)ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, esturrufar.  
 DOÑIQUÁL: doñegal.
- \*EN+balá+IQ+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, embelear.  
 \*EN+farğ+EJÁR: enfarjar.  
 \*EN+garz+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, engarzar.  
 \*EN+jib+ÁR: engibar.  
 \*EN+juf+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, enchufar.  
 \*EN+karam+ÁR: encaramar.  
 \*EN+šawt+ÁR: ajotarse.  
 \*EŠ+barra+AYN+ÁR: albarrã.  
 \*EŠ+farš+AYQ+ÁR: esferchegar.  
 \*EŠKÁLA and \*EŠKAL+ÓLA: escaiola.  
 \*EŠ+tamm+ÁR: atamar.
- \*fand+ÓQ: alfandoque.  
 \*fariğ+ÁYR: fargueras.  
 \*FAŠ+ÓNA: alfajoa.  
 \*fatt+ÓQ: alfandoque.  
 \*FERRÁT: ferrete.  
 \*FÓNTE(Š): fontegí.
- \*garf+ÁTO: garfo.  
 \*GARGAMÉL: gargamel.  
 GARRÍRE: algarrá.  
 \*GAZP(EL)ÁČO: gaspallo.  
 \*\*GÚTA: alguthu.
- \*hađir+ÁR: jađrár.  
 \*hal+ÉLO: adelo.  
 \*hálw+ÁČA: falacha.  
 \*ham+ÉLA: 1.1.3.5, jámila.  
 \*ham(i)đ+ÓQ: alfandoque.  
 \*HANDÉRYA: dèria.  
 \*harakat+ÁYR: argatero.  
 \*harq+ÓLA: argolla.  
 \*harün+ÁT: alfarnate.  
 \*\*hašr+ÁR: zafrar.  
 \*hařr+AQ+ÁYR: aldrabão.  
 \*hařr+AQ+ÓLA: falcatrua.  
 \*hařr+ÉL and \*hařr+ÍN: fadri.  
 \*hařr+IQ+ÁR: aldrabão.  
 \*hařr+IQ+ÁYRA: 1.2.1.2.2, faldriquera.  
 \*hařr+ÍT: faldrido.  
 \*hařr+ÓL: aldarull.  
 \*hařr+ÓLA: 1.2.1.2.2, hadrolla.  
 \*hařr+ÓQA: adúcar, droga.  
 \*hařr+OQ+ÁN: aldrabão.  
 \*hařr+ÓTA: alrota.  
 \*hařr+ÚQA: adúcar, droga.  
 \*\*hawt+ÉLLA: tamarella.  
 \*házz+IKA: fádiga.  
 \*hib(a)r+ÉLLA: fiberla.  
 \*huqn+Á(DA): jokná.
- \*INČÍNYA: inchinia.  
 \*\*šiq+ÁR: zafrar.  
 \*iš+šabr+ÁR: 1.2.1.2.3, eixaure.  
 \*iš+šandax+ÁR: eixaldar.  
 \*iš+šak(iyy)+ÁR: achaque.  
 \*iš+šarik+ÁR: acharique.
- \*KÁRA (A) FÓRA: calahorra.
- \*LA+zádwa: gua.  
 LAXTARWÉLA: rechiruela.  
 LEČÍN: lechín.  
 \*\*liq+ÁR: zafrar.  
 \*LOBRÁYQA: 1.2.1.2.2, breca.  
 \*LO(LI)YÍN: lula.  
 \*LUTÉL: aludel.
- MÁNNA: (a)mannar.  
 \*MAQÁRIČE: magarza.  
 \*mar+ÁČA: marafa.  
 \*MARÍYYA: almeria.  
 \*MARKAJÁL: almarjo.  
 \*MARČÍT(O): marchito.

\**masúr+IQA*: 1.2.1.2.2.

\**MATAFAN+EL+ÁR*: *martafallar*.

\**maġan+ÁR*: *martafallar*.

*MATAXŠÉĽA*: *altabaquillo*.

*MATREŠÉĽBA*: *mata-selva*.

\**MA[TRI]QÁLEČA* and \**MAQÁLČA*: *ma-garza*.

*MATRÓN(ŃO)*: *madroño*.

*METRÁN*: *Almadrán*.

*MÓRDE+FÚJ*: *modrefuz*.

*MÓRTAŠ*: *mortexi*.

\**MOŠELYÓN*: *mocejón*.

\**MÚR(E)+ČÉQOL*: *almocígol*.

*NAPÉĽ*: *napelo*.

\**NAV+ÉĽA*: *nagiġela*.

*nik+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *nica*.

\**NÓČE*: *nochizo*.

\**ÓLČ(E)*: *argelaga*.

*ORČÉĽA*: *orchilla*.

*PÁLMA*: *palmiche*.

*PAWLÉĽA*: *paulilla*.

*PÉDE*: *alpeduque*.

\**PEŇÁŤA*: *alpañata*.

\**PIŠÓŤA*: *tamarella*.

*PIŠŠA*: 2.2.

*POYÁŤA*: *poiada*.

\**QABŤÚN*: *alcaudón*.

*qafa+L+ÉĽ*: *caz*.

\**QALAPAQ+ÉĽ*: *galapatero*.

\**QÁLČA*: *faca*.

*QANČÓĽO*: *gansull*.

*QÁNNA*: *gafiote*.

\**QANNÍC*: *caliche*.

\**QANPÍNA*: *campiña*.

\**QÁPED*: *càbit*.

\**QARRIQÁŤA*: *escarcatar*.

\**QAWČ(ÍĽ)*: *cauchil*.

\**QÓRČ(O)*: *corcho*.

\**QARLÍNA*: *tagarnina*.

\**QAWČ+ÁYRA* and *QAWRÁČA*: *coracha*.

*QŮDA*: *alcaudón*.

*QUQŮFFA*: *alcátufa*.

\**RAYNAQ+ÁR*: *reinar*.

\**REQ+ÁYR*: *arreker*.

\**ribh+ÁŃO*: *rebaño*.

\**safar+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *zafrar*.

\**šaff(i)+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3.

\**sahhal+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3, *sajelar*.

\**ŠALAT+ÓNA*: *seitó*.

\**šalš+EYÁR*: *aixàldiga*.

\**ŠALQAST+ÚN*: *arcazón*.

\*\**samr+ÉĽO*: 1.2.1.3.2, *jabado*.

\**šarrab+ÁR*: 1.2.1.2.3.

\**ŠAWQÁSRO*: *arcazón*.

\**ŠÁWT*: *ajotarse*.

\**ŠÁWŤA*: *jota*<sup>2</sup>.

\**sax[a]r+ÁĽ*: 1.1.4.4.2.

*ŠAXŠAFRÁGA*: *sassafrás* (in Appendix I).

*šay+ÉĽ*: *jirel*.

\**ŠÉM*: *eixem*.

\**ŠILÚQA*: *jaluga*.

\**ŠIPAR+ÁŤA*: *albarrada*<sup>1</sup>.

\**ŠORT+ÁĽ*: *cho/urtal*.

*ŠÓŠ*: *chocho*.

\**ŠÚĽO*: *chulo*.

\**ŠÚPPA*: *asopaipa*.

\**TABÁN*: *atabão*.

\**tarab+ÉĽA*: 1.2.1.2.2.

\**TÁWČA*: *atocha*.

\**TÁWKA*: *toca*.

\**tayyib+ÁYRA*: fn. 67.

*TÉRRÁ*: *terraguillo*.

\**TORBÉĽ*: *tarabela*.

\**TRAPIČ*: *trapiche*.

>*ŤU(WA)RAH*<: *tuera*.

\**UČ*: *ahuchear*.

\**WARBINÁJ*: *urgebão*.

\**WÉĽBA*: *huelveño*.

\*\*\**xabbāz+ÁYR*: *abacero*.

\**xadd+ÉĽ*: *fatel*.

\**xalaq+EL+ÁR*: *arguell*.

\**xal(l)aq+AČ+ÓNA*: *farracachona*.

\**xar(r)+ÓN+ÁŤ*: *alfarnate*.

\**xatn+ÁR*: fn. 30, 1.2.1.2.3, *fanar*.

\**xatn+Á(Y)Q*: *alfaneca*.

\**xuraf+ÁĽĽA*: *furrufalla*.

\**xurr+ÁYQA*: *alforreca*.

\**YÉRBA DÓLČE*: *alfendoz*.

\**zafr+ÚK*: *tafarúk*.

15. SOUTH ARABIAN<sup>11</sup>

>gʃz<: **abexi**.  
 >ʔhbʃ<: **abexi**.  
*kərʃf* (Mehri): **xarnafa**.  
*mʔgl*: **almijara**.  
 >mħrm<: **mħrab**.  
 >mkrb<: **Meca**.  
 >sbʔyn<: **sabeo**.  
*səbū* (Mehri): **cerbatana**.

16. TURKISH<sup>12</sup>

*ab ay*: **abai**.  
*açık renk*: **abert** (in Appendix I).  
*ağğan*: **afgà**.  
*ağa*: **agá**.  
*akıncı*: **acange**.  
*ala(ca)*: **alejá**.  
*alam*: **alamar**.  
*altın*: **latão**.  
*altun* (Old): **latão**.  
*arak*: **araque**.  
*arnavut*: **arnaúte**.  
*as tarxan* (Turkic): **astracã**.  
*aşanamazı*: **achanamasi**.  
*atabek*: **atabaque**.  
*azap*: **abab**.

*bakal*: **bacal**.  
 \*\**baklava*: **losange**.  
*başı*: **baxi**.  
*başmak*: **pasamaques**.  
*bedestan*: **badistão**.  
*beg* (Old) and *bekly*: **begue**.  
*bey armudu*: **bergamota**.  
*beyler bey*: **belarbegue**.  
*boğası*: **bocací**.  
*bohça*: **bagaje** (in Appendix I).  
*bölükbaşı*: **boluchagl**.

*čabata* (Tartar): **zapato**.  
*çakal*: **chacal**.  
*çaprak*: **xabrac**.  
*çavuş*: **chauz**.

*çavuşbaşı*: **ayabagi**.  
*çelebi*: **chilibí**.  
*çerkez*: **xarquès**.  
*çomaktar*: **jamequia**.  
*çubuk*: **chibuque**.

*damğa*: **tanga**.  
*dayı*: **dei**.  
 \*\**derd abası*: **dardabasí**.  
*derviş*: **daroeş**.  
*divan*: **diván**.  
*dolama*: **dolmã**.

*efendi*: **efende**.  
*elçi*: **elche**.  
*Endülüis*: **andaluz**.  
*esir* (*başı*): **baxi**.

*fagara*: **fágara**.  
*fas*: **fez**.  
*ferman*: **firmán**.  
 \*\**forvet*: **acange**.

\*\*\**ğazl*: **gusla**.

*hacı*: **haji**.  
*han*: **can<sup>2</sup>**.  
*hane*: **arsenal, bedestão**.  
 \**harç(çı)*: **archí**.  
*harim*: **harém**.  
*havyar*: **caviar**.  
*hidiv*: **jedive**.

*iç oğlanı*: **icoglã**.  
*istromaça*: **estormía**.

\*\**kabaday*: **gandul**.  
*kadın*: **cadina**.  
*kaftan*: **cafetã**.  
*kahve*: **café**.  
*kahya*: **cayá**.  
*kalmuk*: **calmuco**.  
*kapıcı*: **capigi**.  
*kara kulak*: **caracal**.  
*kara mürsel* and \*\**Kara Mürsel*: **caramuçal**.  
 \*\**kara taş*: **escarandaix**.

<sup>11</sup> Epigraphic Sar., unless a mod. dialect is specified.

<sup>12</sup> Mod. forms and spelling, except when Old Turkish or other Turkic languages are specified.

*karamusal*: **caramuçal**.  
*karpuz*: **carpuz**.  
*karvansaray*: **caravansará**.  
*kayık*: **caic**.  
*kaymakam*: **caimacán**.  
*kazık*: **encazucar**.  
*kırbaç*: **corbacho**.  
*kırgız*: **quirguis**.  
*kırmızı zambak*: **martagão**.  
*kızıl baş*: **cocelbaxa**.  
*köle (başı)*: **baxi, culi**.  
*köşk*: **quiosc**.  
*kozak*: **cosaco**.  
*kul oğlu*: **colugli**.

*levant*: **levente**.

*maden*: **madim**.  
*mägär (Old)*: **magar**.  
 \*\*\**magüna*: **mahona**.  
*martağan*: **martagão**.  
*maşal(e)*: **maissela**.  
*mataracı*: **matraxi**.  
*mavna*: **mahona**.  
*mecit, meci diye*: **madim**.  
*meğer*: **magar**.  
*meşal*: **maissela**.  
*meydan*: **médão**.  
*minare*: **almenara**<sup>1</sup>, **alminar**.  
*mistiko*: **místic**.  
*moğol*: **mongol**.  
*müezzin*: **almuédano**.  
*muhayyer*: **moaré**.

*nargile*: **narguil**.

*odalık*: **odalisca**.  
*odaman*: **atamâ**.  
*oğuz*: **algoz**.  
*okka*: **oca**.  
*ordu*: **horda**.  
*orfoz*: **alfonsim**.  
*osmanlı*: **osmanlı**.

*pare*: **para**.  
*paşa and paşalık*: **pachá**.

*qırqız (Old)*: **quirguis**.

*sağrı (also Chagatay)*: **chagrém**.  
*sancak and sancakbeyi*: **sanjacado**.  
 \*\**şarap*: **morabio**.  
*saray*: **serrall**.  
*saray ağaları*: **agaları**.  
*şatır*: **xáuter**.  
*serasker*: **serasquier**.  
*şerbet*: **sorbete**.  
*sipahi*: **cipai**.

*tabur*: **tabor**.  
*tañga*: **tanga**.  
*tandor*: **tendur**.  
*tarbuş*: **tarbuche**.  
*tatar*: **tártaro**<sup>2</sup>.  
*tekfür*: **tafarúk**.  
*tekne*: **dainaca, téquina**.  
*tersane*: **arsenal**.  
*tesbih*: **tesgi**.  
 \*\**ulsım*: **talismano**.  
*toğril (Old)*: **togrin**.  
*tomak*: **tamanco**.  
*topçu*: **topegi**.  
*tuğ*: **tougue**.  
*tülbent*: **turbant**.  
*türk*: **turco**.  
*türkmen*: **turcomano**.

\*\*\**uŷşa*: **hucha**.

*vali*: **valí**.  
*vezir*: **aguasil**.  
*vilayet*: **vilaiete**.

\*\**yabanı zeytun ağ* and \*\**yaban zeytini*: **ace-buche**.

*yağmurluk*: **chamerlucó**.  
*yatağan*: **yatagán**.  
 \*\*\**şāwīš*: **chauz**.  
*yayabaşı*: **ayabagi**.  
*yelek*: **chaleco**.  
*yeni çeri*: **janízaro**.  
 \*\*\**şibūq*: **chibuque**.  
*yoğurt*: **logurt**.

\*\*\**zamurlic*: **chamerlucó**.  
 \*\*\**zabata*: **zapato**.  
 \*\**zaman*: **zémán**.



## 17. UGARITIC

>*bt il*<: **bétilo**.  
 >*lrmut*<: **romã**.  
 >*ltin*<: **leviatán**.  
 >*Spr*<: **hebreo**.  
 >*pin*<: **alfétena**.

## 18. OTHER LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

*abarka* (Basque): **alparca**.  
*abitu* (Sicilian): fn. 103.  
*acqua nanfa* (It.): **aguanafa**.  
*adatis* (Fr.): **adatis**.  
*aga* (Basque): **zurriaga**.  
*alafá* (Russian): **alafa**.  
*alam* (Russian): **alamar**.  
*alcanne* (Fr.): **orcaneta**.  
*alépin* (Fr.): **alepín**.  
*alगतross* (Eng.): **alcatràs**.  
*alगतroz* (Fr.): **alcatràs**.  
*almée* (Fr.): **almea**<sup>2</sup>.  
*amarico* (It.): **américo**.  
*amitu* (Sicilian): fn. 103.  
*antu* (Sicilian): fn. 103.  
*arar tree* (Eng.): **arar**.  
*\*argánna* (pre-Rom.): **argaña** (in Appendix I).  
*arkamman* (Hittite): **arjorán**.  
*arnaút* (Russian and Ukrainian): **arnaúte**.  
*atoña* (Basque): **adorra**.  
*augibe* (Fr.): **alchub**.  
*aval* (Fr.): **aval**.  
*azédarac* (Fr.): **acederaque**.

*babouche* (Fr.): **babucha**.  
*badana* (Russian): **albadena**.  
*bagage* (Fr.): **bagaje** (in Appendix I).  
*bagatur* (Mongolian): **bádur**.  
*bakaléja* (Russian): **bacal**.  
*balagán* (Russian): **albacar**.  
*baldan, baldro* (Basque): **galdracha**.  
*barbacane* (Fr.): **albacar**.  
*barbican* (Eng.): **albacar**.  
*bašmák* (Russian and Ukrainian): **pasamaques**.  
*bazza* (It.): **baza** (in Appendix I).  
*bide* (Basque): **algara**<sup>1</sup>.  
*\*\*bleak* (Eng.): **breca**.

*bottarga* (It.): **botarga**.  
*\*\*boulder* (Eng.): **bolda**.  
*bourjassotte* (Fr.): **bujazón**.  
*broker* (Eng.): **albaroque**.

*calicot* (Fr.): **calicó**.  
*Calicut* (Eng.): **calicó**.  
*camalo* (Genoese): **alhamel**.  
*caracca* (It.): **carraca**.  
*caravanserraglio* (It.): **caravansará**.  
*carcais* (Fr.): **carcaix**.  
*čerkés* (Russian): **xarquè**.  
*chabraque* (Fr.): **xabrac**.  
*chagrin* (Fr.): **chagrém**.  
*châle* (Fr.): **chal**.  
*chamellot* (Fr.): **chamalote**.  
*chibouque* (Fr.): **chibuque**.  
*civette* (Fr.): **civeta**.  
*čóbot* (Russian): **zapato**.  
*\*\*con* (Fr.): **tabull**.  
*coolí* (Eng.): **culi**.  
*corsale* (It.): **corçana**.  
*coursier* (Fr.): **cursiera**.  
*cubbaita* (Sicilian): **alcotín**.

*dam.gàr* (Sum.): **atijara**.  
*danbore* (Basque): **atambor**.  
*(danse) macab(r)é* (Fr.): **macabro**.  
*diacre* (Fr.): **jadraque**.  
*durra* (Eng. and Fr.): **adora**.

*e-gal* (Sum.): **heical**.  
*estragon* (Fr.): **estragão**.

*fagara* (It.) and *\*\*fagare* (Fr.): **fágara**.  
*fardas* (Provençal): **farda**.  
*fendere* (It.): **fendi**.  
*\*\*fettucia* (It.): **fideu**.  
*forfant* (Provençal): **farfá**.  
*forward* (Eng.): **acange**.  
*fragolino* (It.): **breca**.

*garbuglio* (It.): **alambor**<sup>1</sup>.  
*garuddu* (Sicilian): **arocho**.  
*gld.da* (Sum.): **guete**.  
*giannizero* (It.): **janízaro**.  
*gomena* (It.): **gúmena** (in Appendix I).  
*gris-gris* (Fr.): **grisgrís**.  
*güiter(n)e* (Fr.): **guitarra**.  
*gusle* (Serbo-Croatian): **gusla** (in Appendix I).

*gúsli* (Russian): **gusla**.  
*gu.za* (Sum.): **alcorsí**.

*hardes* (Fr.): **farda**.

**\*\*Hauptmann** (Ger.): **atamá**.

*herbe du siège* (Fr.): **ceje** (in Appendix I).

*huissier* (Fr.): **uixer**.

*iannizzero* (It.): **janízaró**.

*(i)zarhav* (Russian): **girbafo**.

*jambuwa* (Malay): **alambor**<sup>2</sup>.

*ja(r)mulka* (Polish): **chamerluco**.

*jaseran* (Fr.): **jacerina**.

*jayani* (Medieval Fr.): **jayán**.

*jelomók* (Russian): **chamerluco**.

*jemurlúk* (Old Russian): **chamerluco**.

*jerboa* (Eng.): **jerbo**.

*jergon* (Fr.): **jergón**<sup>2</sup>.

*jermólka* (Russian): **chamerluco**.

*jungle* (Eng.): **jungla**.

*kapař* (Basque): **cabarra**.

**\*\*karandáš** (Russian and Bulgarian):  
**escarandaix**.

*karazejá* (Russian): **alcaidía**.

*káša* (Russian): **gacha**.

*katana* (Japanese): **catán** (in Appendix I).

*kazák* (Russian): **cosaco**.

*khaki* (Eng.): **caqui**.

*khédive* (Fr.): **jédive**.

*kiosque* (Fr.): **quiosc**.

*kó-leung-kéung* (Chinese): **galanga**.

*kóšti ~ kóšiu* (Lithuanian): **gacha**.

*kutun* (Basque): **cutún**.

*lafá* (Russian): **alafa**.

*lignya* (Serbo-Croatian): **lula**.

*losange* (Fr.): **losange**.

*macab(r)é* (Fr.): **macabro**.

*maffia* (Sicilian): **manfla**.

*magaluffo* (It.): **magaluf**.

*mahonne* (Fr.): **mahona**.

*majdan* (Russian): **medão**.

*mandore* (Fr.): **mandora**.

*mandrac(h)io* (It.): **mandrache**.

*marécage* (Fr.): **almarjo**.

*marmotte* (Fr.): **marmota**<sup>1</sup> (in Appendix I).

*marzacotto* (It.): **masicote**.

*marzapane* (It.): **maçapão**.

*mašal* (Russian): **maissela**.

*massicot* (Fr.): **masicote**.

*matafione* (It.): **botafió**.

*matarocco* (Sicilian): **almadroc**.

*mattaccino* (It.): **matachín**.

*mattaciuni and matafione* (It.): **botafió**.

*mazzacotto* (It.): **masicote**.

*méhari* (Fr.): **meari**.

*mérout blanc / noir* (Fr.): **cherne**.

*minaret* (Fr.): **alminar**.

*minbar* (Fr.): **alminbar**.

*moccobello* (It.): **mogobell**.

*moiré and moire* (Fr.): **moaré**.

*mongól* (Russian): **mongol**.

*mongolul* (Mongolian): **mongol**.

*moschea* (It.): **mesquita**.

*mote, mutil* (Basque): **muete**.

*muxojár* (Russian): **moaré**.

*muez(z)in* (Fr.): **almuédano**.

*naïf* (Fr.): **naife** (in Appendix I).

*nainsook* (Eng.): **nansú**.

*orcanette* (Fr.): **orcaneta**.

*ordu/a* (Mongolian): **horda**.

*ottomane* (Fr.): **osmanlí**.

*ouate* (Fr.): **bata**.

*ovatta* (It.): **bata**.

*pageot rouge* (Fr.): **breca**.

**\*\*peccato** (It.): **quetra**.

**\*\*peignoir** (Fr.): **haique**.

*percale* (Fr.): **barragán**<sup>2</sup>.

*pispisa* (Sicilian): **alpiza**.

**\*\*prick** (Eng.): **atzep**.

*prokáza* (Russian): **gafo**.

*punch* (Eng.): **ponche**.

*pyjamas* (Eng. and Fr.): **pijama**.

*qorči* (Mongolian): **corchim**.

*rachette and raquette* (Fr.): **raqueta** (in Appendix I).

*rensan* (Fr.): **ranzal**<sup>2</sup>.

*ricamare* (It.): **recamar**.

*safari* (Swahili): **safari**.

*sampaga* (Tagalog): **sampaguita** (in Appendix I).

*sainfoin d'Espagne* (Fr.): **zulla**.  
*sanofiano di Spagna* (It.): **zulla**.  
*sarriette* (Fr.): **sarilla** (in Appendix I).  
*satén* (Fr.): **setí**.  
*sáxar* (Russian): **açúcar**.  
*Schabracke* (Ger.): **xabrac**.  
*scirocco* (It.): **jaloque**<sup>1</sup>.  
*shah* (Eng.): **escacs, sah**.  
*shampoo* (Eng.): **xampu**.  
*sirocco* (It.): **jaloque**<sup>1</sup>.  
*slovène* (Old Slavic): **ciclán**.  
*snob* (Eng.): **balhurria**.  
*soola clover* (Eng.): **zulla**.  
*sorbete* (It.): **sorbete**.  
*spahi* (Fr.): **cipai**.  
*sulla* (Eng., Fr. and It.): **zulla**.  
*süppa* (Germanic): **asopaipa**.  
  
*tabor* (Polish): **tabor**.  
*tagavor* (Armenian): **taful**.  
*tambāga* (Malay): **tumbaga**.  
*tandoo/ur* (Eng.): **tendur**.  
*tarcais* (Fr.): **carcaix**.  
*targon* (Fr.): **estragão**.  
*taujan* (Gothic): **ataviar** (in Appendix I).  
*tcherkesse* (Fr.): **xarquès**.

*tendour* (Eng.): **tendur**.  
*thiuhbrüks* (Germanic): **trobiguera**.  
*thug* (Eng.): **tugue**.  
*Trafalgar cotton* (Eng.): **trafalgar**.  
*txangi* (Basque): **chancla**.  
  
*usciera* (It.): **uixer**.  
  
*valigia* (It.): **valija** (in Appendix I).  
*vataman* (Old Russian): **atamā**.  
*vernicare* (It.): **bernegal** (in Appendix I).  
  
*wad* (Eng.): **bata**.  
*\*worm* (Germanic): **guermezes**.  
  
*xatti* (Hittite): **heteo**.  
  
*yarmulqāh* (Yiddish): **chamerlucó**.  
  
*zang/ko* (Basque): **chancla, sanca**.  
*zapaburu* (Basque): **mazarugo**.  
*zapatu* (Basque): **zapato**.  
*zoro* (Basque): **surrão**.  
*zouave* (Fr.): **zuavo**.  
*zuña* (Basque): **zurriaga**.



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<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, so that we shall omit outstanding works, the information of which has not been directly handled in the production of the present one, for several reasons, though they can be easily found in the existing bibliographies. At the same time and for the opposite reason, we must include other references of lower quality. Nobody should therefore be offended by any such omission, nor flattered for being included, since this is a mere list of used bibliographical references, not a selection of recommended readings.

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