

SOME ADDITIONS, MOSTLY FROM JUDEO-ARABIC,
TO DOZY'S SUPPLÉMENT

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R. DOZY's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden: 1881) has remained an indispensable tool for anyone engaged in Arabic research in general and in Judeo-Arabic in particular. Yet the influence is reversible: the study of Judeo-Arabic furnishes us with additions to Dozy's work. Recently, G. Vajda has published "Gloses judéo-arabes en marge du Supplément de Dozy" in *Arabica* 26 (1980) 144-57. L. Nemoy's important glossary at the end of the fifth volume (pp. 043-049) of his monumental *Kitâb al-anwâr wal-marâqib, Code of Karaite Law*, by Ya^cqûb al-Qirqisânî (New York: 1939-43) is itself an important addition to Dozy's dictionary. Therefore, I deemed it appropriate, on the occasion of Nemoy's jubilee, to dedicate to him a small collection of additions to Dozy's work (mainly to its first 526 pages), mostly from Judeo-Arabic sources.

The following abbreviations have been used:

Ayalon-Shinar = D. Ayalon-P. Shinar, *Millôn ʿarâbhî-ʿibhrî...* (Second edition; Jerusalem: 1961-1962).

Blau, *Adverb* = J. Blau, "An Adverbial Construction in Hebrew and Arabic," in *Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Science and Humanities*, VI:1 (Jerusalem: 1977).

Blau, *Emergence* = J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic...* (Oxford: 1965).

Blau, *Literature* = J. Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic Literature: Selected Texts*. (Jerusalem: 1980).

Christian Arabic = J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic...* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 267, 276, 279; Louvain: 1966-1967).

Corriente = F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle* (Madrid: 1977).

Diqduq = J. Blau, *Diqdûq hâʿarâbhî hayehûdî, A Grammar of Medieval Judaeo-Arabic* (Second edition; Jerusalem: 1980).

Ecker = R. Ecker, *Die arabische Job-Übersetzung des Gaon Saadja ben Josef al-Fajjumi* (München: 1962).

- Fleischer = H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* (Leipzig: 1885–1888). [Fleischer's studies of Dozy's *Supplément*: II. 470–781, III. 1–102.]
- Friedländer = I. Friedlaender, *Arabisch-Deutsches Lexikon zum Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides* (Frankfurt: 1902).
- Friedman = M. A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine, A Cairo Geniza Study*, II (Tel Aviv and New York: 1981).
- Gil = M. Gil, *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza* (Leiden: 1976).
- Goitein, *Jewry* = S. D. Goitein, *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times...* (Jerusalem: 1980).
- Goitein, *Med.* = S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1967–).
- Goldziher Memorial II* = I. Goldziher Memorial Volume, II (Jerusalem: 1958).
- Graf = G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Second edition; Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 147; Louvain: 1954).
- Ibn Ezra = M. ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal-Mudhākara* (Jerusalem: 1975). [Beginning of the twelfth century.]
- Ibn Janah = *The Book of Hebrew Roots...* by Abu ʿl-Walīd M. Ibn Janāḥ (Ed. A. Neubauer; Oxford: 1873–1875). [Second half of the tenth century.]
- Ibn Quraysh = *Epistola...Jehuda ben Koreisch* (Ed. J. J. L. Bargès and D. B. Goldberg; Paris: 1857). [First half of the tenth century.]
- Jami^c = *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible Known as Kitāb Jāmi^c al-Alfāz...of David ben Abraham al-Fāsī* (Ed. S. Skoss; New Haven: 1936–1945). [Tenth century.]
- Maimonides, *Mišwôt* = Moshe ben Maimon, *Sefer Hamišwôt* (Ed. J. Kafih; Jerusalem: 1971). [Second half of the twelfth century.]
- Maimonides, *Responsa* = Moshe ben Maimon, *Responsa* v. I–III (Ed. J. Blau; Jerusalem: 1957–1960).
- Mishna Maimonides* = *Mishna ʿim Pêrush Rabbênû Moshe ben Maymun* (Ed. J. Kafih; Jerusalem: 1963–1968).
- Nemoy = Ya^cqûb al-Qirqisânî, *Kitâb al-anwâr wal-marâqib, Code of Karaite Law* (Ed. L. Nemoy; New York: 1939–1943). [First half of the tenth century.]
- Pirqê* = David Maimonides, *Sepher pirqê âbhôt ʿim pêrush be-lâshôn ʿarâbhî...* (Ed. B. H. Ḥanan; Alexandria: 1900–1901).

- [David Maimonides died 1300, yet his authorship is uncertain; perhaps fourteenth century.]
- Saadya, *Egron* = Se^cadya Gaon, *Ha^çegron...* (Ed. N. Allony; Jerusalem: 1969). [First half of the ninth century.]
- Saadya, *Prayer* = *Siddur R. Saadja Gaon* (Ed. I. Davidson *et al.*; Jerusalem: 1941). [Saadya's Biblical translations are cited according to the Biblical passage, sometimes from manuscripts.]
- Salmon = *The Arabic Commentary of Salmon ben Yeruham... on the Book of Psalms Chapters 42–72* (Ed. L. Marwick; Philadelphia: 1956). [Middle of the tenth century.]
- Studies Goitein II* = *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein...* (Jerusalem: 1981).
- Tanhum = Tanhûm ben Joseph from Jerusalem, *Al murshid al-kâfi*. [Thirteenth century; cited according to lemmata.]
- Wehr = H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Wiesbaden: 1961).
- Wright = W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Third edition; Cambridge: 1896–1898).
- Yephet, *Daniel* = Jephet ibn Ali, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Ed. D. S. Margoliouth; Oxford: 1889). [The end of the tenth century. Other translations and commentaries of Yephet are cited from manuscripts.]

I, 12a “*axadha* ^c*alayhi* ‘prendre sur soi, se charger de’” is cited from Boethor only (19th century). It is attested in Judeo-Arabic *Pirqê* (14th century?) 14a, 17 *wa-ya^çxudh* ^c*alâ nafsihî an mâ yatakallam* ‘and he will take upon himself not to speak.’

I, 18b “^ç*rq*. Pour l’hébreu *tô^câphôt*, Saadiah, comment sur ps. 95 a ^ç*rq ar-rîm wa-hiya -l-qurûn*.” Yet ^ç*rq* has to be parsed as the plural of *rawq* ‘horn,’ viz. *âruq*, a plural form not mentioned in the dictionaries; yet cf. for it *bi^çr* ‘well,’ plural *ab^çur/âbur* on the one hand, *thawb* ‘garment,’ plural *athwub/ath^çub* on the other (v. e.g. Wright i 210). Saadya translates *tô^câphôt* so also Num. 23, 22; 24, 8, as well as *qarnayim* of the *re^çêm* Ps. 22, 22; 92, 11.

I, 40 “*injibâr* ‘terre à potier verte.’” Yet according to *Mishna* Maimonides vi 56, 17–18 it is exceedingly red: *awânî -l-injibâr wa-huwa mithl aṭ-ṭafl illâ anna lawnahû aḥmar shadîd al-ḥumra* ‘vessels of *injibâr* and it is like *ṭafl* (yellowish earth, used for dying and washing), but it is exceedingly red.’

I, 47b “*bâdahanj* ‘tuyeau semblable à celui d’une cheminée servant de ventilateur.’” It occurs in Judeo-Arabic not only in this sense (as Gil 535, 11; 188, n. 1; *Tarbiz* 46, 1976–77, p. 18, 18), but also in that of ‘summer house’: Yephet, *Daniel* 89 *ba^cḏuhâ buyût aṣ-ṣayf wa-hiya al-bâdahanjât*.

I, 50b *batâ^c*. For its use in much earlier texts see *Diqduq* 159, Blau, *Emergence* 82–83.

I, 55b “*baxal^c alâ fulân bi-shay^ᶜ* ‘refuser une chose à quelqu’un’” is cited from Boethor only; *lâ yabxul bihi* occurs in a 11th century document Goitein, *Jewry* 122, 19; cf. also *baxaltu^c ani-r-rujû^c Jâmi^c* i 208, 50.

I, 56a *ᵀbuddhû¹* ‘he wants’ has to be derived from *bi-wuddihî* and has no etymological connections with *budd* ‘way out’. On the other hand, Dozy (II, 501b) was wrong in interpreting *in kân* as ‘s’il le faut’, translating the clause (from the Arabian Nights) *in kân wa-lâ budd min qatlî* as ‘s’il le faut et que ma mort est inévitable’. As a matter of fact, *in kân wa-lâ budd* has become a fixed phrase meaning ‘if it is absolutely necessary’ and it is amply attested; v. *Christian Arabic* 457, n. 37, *Diqduq* 330, ad p. 195, after § 308. Translate accordingly, ‘if it is absolutely necessary that I die.’

I, 76a *barka* ‘enough’ occurs much earlier; v. *Diqdûq* § 169 *aleph*.

I, 92a: For *bṣ^c* see *Shnaton, An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 3, 1978–79, 201–02.

I, 100a “*al-ba^cid* ‘Dieu nous en préserve’” occurs already in *Pirqê* 13b, 21–22 *dhâ fîka anta al-ba^cid* (in a sense similar to that found by Dozy in the Arabian Nights). *al-ab^cad*, too, is used in this sense: *ibid.*, 13b, –4f *huwa fîka al-ab^cad*.

I, 106a *bukra* ‘tomorrow’ is cited from Boethor only. Yet it is attested in a Christian Arabic text in Coptic characters, presumably from the 13th century; v. *Jerusalem Studies of Arabic and Islam* 1, 1979, 248, further e.g. *Pirqê* 7a, 4; 9b, 5, where it is spelled with final *aleph*, which in *Pirqê* indicates that it was treated as an adverb, rather than a noun terminating in *tâ marbûṭa*. This spelling is even utilized, when it is used in the sense of ‘the day of tomorrow’: 10b, 18–19 *wa-in kân arâd laḥû -llâh bi-l-^cumr wa-^câsh li-bukra nâyib bukra li-ay waqt yuxallîhi* ‘if

God decreed life for him and he lived till tomorrow, for which time will he leave the compensation for tomorrow?’

I, 115b *mubtalîn* ‘leper’ is also attested by *Pirqê* 60a, 8, where Hebrew *mešôrâ^c* is explained by *mubtalî*, spelled with a final *yôd*, which according to *Pirqê*’s spelling does not mark final *-â*. Cf. also *yabtalî* (again with a final *yôd*, i.e. not *yubtalâ*) *ibid.*, 61a, 18 ‘he will become a leper.’

I, 120a–b “*bahdal* ‘insulter...’” is usual in *Pirqê* not only with direct object, but also governing *bi/fî*, e.g. 52a 4, 12–13; 52b, 2. *tabahdal* is used as its passive 52b, 5; 79b, 7.

I, 123b “*tabâhâ* ‘se pavaner’” is attested from Boethor only. Cf. *Pirqê* 61b, 7 *wa-in kân yatabâhâ wa-yaftaxir*; further Ayalon-Shinar, Wehr s.v.

I, 139b “*tôm*, pl. *atwâm* ‘jumeau, jumelle’ is adduced from Boethor only; it occurs, however, already in Christian Arabic mss. from the tenth century; v. *Christian Arabic*, p. 97, where also its possible origins are discussed: for its occurrence in Judeo-Arabic v. *Diqduq* 283, *ad*, p. 30, §11bet c.

I, 154b: “*mutayyaj* pour *mutawwaj*.” Similarly Saadya translates Psalms 142, 8 *wayatatayyaj bî -š-šâlihîn*, Yepheth, Habakkuk (Ms.) 1, 4 *mutatayyij^c alâ -š-šâlih*; *Jâmi^c* ii 136, 55 Ms. A has *yutayyajûn*.

I, 155b “*tûniyya* ‘aube...’” is cited from Boethor. Cf. Graf s.v., where a more likely derivation is offered. In Judeo-Arabic it denotes ‘shirt’ in general; v. Saadya’s translation to Genesis 37, 3ff.; Leviticus 16, 4; further *Jâmi^c* i 191, 10.

I, 164a “*thimâra* (pl. *thimâr*) ‘arbre fruitier’”: this is the way Dozy interpreted Pedro de Alcalá’s *cimara*. It seems, however, rather to reflect *thimara* < *thamara* (cf. for this Spanish feature *cijara* = *shijara* < *shajara*, Corriente 70, n. 99), as preserved in *Mishna* Maimonides (cf. also Friedländer 16b); in many cases Maimonides wrote first *thamara* (plur. *thimâr*) for ‘fruit-tree,’ only to change it later, presumably because it was unknown in this sense in Egypt, to *shajara* ‘tree.’ (In other cases, however, he left it.) So it was changed i 101, n. 15 (where the editor wrongly regarded it as characteristic of the Egyptian vernacular); 122, n. 8; 123, n. 19 (yet left 77, 2; vi 61, 8).

I, 170b “*jabar qalbahû/xâṭirahû* ‘consoler’” is adduced from Boethor and *Muḥîṭ al-Muḥîṭ*; *Pirqê* 1b, 11 *jabar bi-xâṭirihî* is attested, 91b, 10–11 the blend *wa-yajbur xâṭir kull qalb munkasir minnâ*.

I, 174a *jaxx(a)* ‘pride, boast’ is cited from late sources; add *Pirqê* 7a, 2; 23a, 4.

I, 183a “*jarrad kitâban min kitâb âxar* ‘extraire un livre, en faire un abrégé, un sommaire’”; cf. Nemoy 51, 10–11 *wa-jamî^c mâ dhakarnâhu ... mawjûd ma³thûr fî kutubihim wa-qad jama^cahû ba^cduhum fî kitâb mujarrad* ‘and everything we mentioned ... is found transmitted in their books and one of them collected it in a summary,’ where, accordingly, *kitâb mujarrad* means ‘a special book dealing with a special subject summarizing several books.’

I, 209b Dozy cites *jawlaq* ‘grand sac por les grains’ from Boethor; it occurs already *Jâmi^c* i 118, 253.

I, 220a “*janân* ‘extravagance, folie, fureur’” (Boethor); occurs also *Pirqê* 61, 3.

I, 220b “*tajannab* ^c*an* ‘se mettre à l’écart, s’écarter, se garer’ (Boethor)” occurs also *Pirqê* 74a, 11 *mutajannib* ^c*an an-nâs*.

I, 229b “*jawwâ* ‘within’” occurs not only in late texts, but also *Jâmi^c* i 81, 218 *ilâ jawwâ*; Ibn Quraysh 15, 12, 14 *min jawwâ*.

I, 232 *jawwaz* < *zawwaj* (Boethor) occurs also *Pirqê* 103a, 10. Similarly *tajawwaz* < *tazawwaj* (I, 233a, Boethor) *Pirqê* 63a, –4; *jawz* < *zawj* (I, 233b, Boethor) Gil 453, a 10 *jawzayn abwâb* ‘two pairs of doors’; *Pirqê* 29, 6a *jawzuhâ* ‘her husband.’ Cf. also *jawâz* < *zawâj* ‘marriage’ *Pirqê* 29b, 8, further *jawza* < *zawja* (I, 234a; Boethor) Goitein, *Med.* iii, 462, n. 8 ‘wife,’ *jîza* < *zîja* ‘marriage’ (I, 234a; Boethor) Goitein, *ibid.*, 480, n. 158.

I, 238a *jâb* is cited in the sense of ‘bringing forth’ (said of animals; Boethor). It occurs, however, as ‘to bear; to beget’ (said of human beings) as well: *Pirqê* 23a, 16 *yajîb nasl šâliḥ* ‘he will beget righteous progeny.’

I, 246a “*ḥabl lu³lu³* ‘collier de perles’ (Boethor) is already attested in ancient marriage contracts; see Friedman 445, 12.

I, 254a “*maḥjiz* = Hebr. *mešûdâ* ‘filet’ Saadiah ps. 18, 66, 71, 91.” Yet even among the passages adduced by Dozy it is in Ps. 66, 11

only that it means 'net'; in all the other verses (18, 3; 71, 3; 91, 2) it denotes 'stronghold.' For details cf. Ecker 172, Saadya, *Egron* 307 *ad meşâd*.

I, 262a "*ḥarrar* °*alâ* 'examiner avec soin' (Boethor)" is attested with direct object from 1134: Gil 255, 22, further also *Pirqê* 6a, -4; 15a, 8.

I, 270a "*istahrās min* 'se défendre' (Boethor)" occurs *Pirqê* 14a, 7; 36b, 22. As to "se précautionner contre (°*alâ*)" (Boethor) cf. *Pirqê* 22a, 14 *fa-kûn mustahrīs fîhom* 'be careful as to them.'

I, 270b "*taḥarrash bi* 'harceler'" is cited by Dozy from Judeo-Arabic (Ibn Janâḥ). It is already used by Saadya in his translations, e.g. Deut. 2, 5, 9 and by Yephet, e.g. Habakkuk 3, 2 (Ms.). Tanhum, s.v. *sikhsekh* uses *at-taḥarrush bi-sh-sharr* instead.

I, 277b "*aḥrama* 'dénuer, priver'" with direct object occurs not only in Boethor, but also Maimonides, *Responsa* 11, 11, cf. *Pirqê* 34b, 24; also Lane, s.v. ("of weak authority").

I, 278b "*awlâd ḥarâm* 'vauriens, voleurs'" is cited from the Arabian Nights. It occurs *Pirqê* 37a, 17 as well.

I, 280a. For *bi-l-ḥarâ (an)* 'scarcely' v. Blau, *Adverb* 82–83, where n. 132 the possibility of *bi-l-aḥrâ* being used as a secondary form of *bi-l-ḥarâ* is considered. This becomes even more likely in the light of Yephet, *Daniel*, p. 7, 10 *fa-aḥrâ (sic!)*, without the definite article) *an yakûn fîhim* 'there is scarcely among them.' In the light of *Pirqê* 5a, 13 *wa-kam bi-l-ḥariy(yi)* (final *y* in *Pirqê* is never used for marking -â) 'the more so,' I wonder whether this reading is not preferable to that of *bi-l-ḥarâ apud* Dozy.

I, 292a *ḥash(a)wî* 'un parleur inconsidéré' is attested in Judeo-Arabic as well: Ibn Quraysh 33, 10–11 *at-tarjama al-muḥâliyya wa-t-ta³wilâi al-ḥash(a)wiyya* 'absurd translation and inconsiderate interpretations.' For *ahl al-ḥashawiyya*, meaning 'traditionalists and anthropomorphists' see Encyclopaedia of Islam² s.v., *JAOS* 54; 26–28 (H. Ben-Shammai) as well as Yephet's introduction to Job (Ms.) *wa-fî dhâlîka radd °alâ madhhab man yarâ -t-taqlîd wa-yadfa° an-nazar...wa-hâdhâ madhhab al-ḥashawiyya*.

I, 299–300: For *ḥaṭṭ* 'to put' (Boethor) see also *Pirqê* 21a, 4; for *ḥaṭṭ* °*aynahû* °*alâ ibid.* 56b, 4.

I, 302a: For *ḥazz* 'enjoyment' cited from late sources cf. Gil 319, 10 (late 12th century), further *Pirqê* 73b, -13.

I, 306b *bi-ḥaqq/wa-ḥaqq*, used in oaths, is cited from late sources. It occurs e.g. in the vocalized Geniza document T-S 18 (1) 113 recto 8, 15, 27, verso 15, 21 (12th–13th century).

I, 309b *ḥakam* 'to happen,' cited from late sources, occurs also *Pirqê* 57b, 11. Cf. also *ibid.* 15b, 2 *wa-ḥakam yawm sabt* 'and it happened to be on Saturday.'

I, 323b *ḥamaq* 'to be angry,' cited from late sources, occurs also e.g. *Pirqê* 36a, 26; 99b, –2; similarly *inḥamaq* (I, 324a) Blau, *Literature* 244, nn. 40, 47; and *ḥumq* 'anger' *Pirqê* 47b, –2.

I, 327a *istaḥmal* 'to endure, bear' (Boethor) is attested *Pirqê* 13a, 16, 18; 84a, 14.

I, 327a *ḥaml* 'sac' from a late source is used by Maimonides; v. Friedländer, further *Mishna* vi 14, –4.

I, 335a, "aḥâz 'prendre possession de,'" somewhat doubted by Dozy, occurs e.g. *Jâmi*^c i 28, 175; 64, 167, and cf. *Diqduq* 76.

I, 337a "taḥâwaṭ 'entourer,'" cited from the Arabian Nights, occurs also *Pirqê* 31b, 7 (read: *yataḥâwaṭuhû*).

I, 337a *ḥayṭ* 'wall' is already attested in *Jâmi*^c i 113, 127, whereas *ḥayṭa* in the same sense I have, so far, only noted in *Pirqê* 4a, 5.

I, 345a *yâ ḥayf* 'what a pity,' cited from Boethor and the Arabian Nights, occurs also *Pirqê* 31b, 9, 10. Similarly *alâ ḥayliḥi* 'upright, erect' (Boethor) *ibid.* 27a, 22; 51a, –5.

I, 352b "*xudûd al-bâb* 'le chambranle d'une porte,' *Ibn Janâḥ* 190, 4; 236, 28." As with many other expressions, this, too, originates in Saadya's Pentateuch translation: *xadday al-bâb* e.g. Exodus 12, 7; 21, 6. *xudûd al-bâb* is attested also *Tanḥum*, s.v. *lbn*. Interestingly enough, I have found *xadd al-bâb* in the *Maghrebine* dialect of Takruna, see W. Marçais - A. Guïga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, ii, *Glossaire*, p. 1035. Therefore, a possible influence of Talmudical *lehâyyayin* can only be marginal.

I, 353b *xada*^c 'to seduce' is cited from Boethor, yet it is early: Saadya's translation of Exodus 22, 15; Nemoy 27, 9, 17; 28, 7, 9.

I, 357b "*xarbaṭ* 'abymer, gâter' (Boethor)," also *Pirqê* 5b, 15–16.

I, 362a *xuristân* 'small room,' cited by Dozy from late sources, occurs in a document from the middle of the 13th century, Gil 458, c2.

- I, 369a "*xaznat al-mâl* 'trésorerie' (Boethor)" occurs *Pirqê* 34a, 10.
- I, 372a *xasrân* 'loser' (Boethor) is attested *Pirqê* 10a, -5. *yâ xasâra* (I, 372b; Boethor) *ibid.* 14b, -5 'what a pity!'
- I, 375b *bi-xuṣûṣ* 'as to' (Boethor) also *Pirqê* 86a, 10; 99b, -5; cf. also Wehr, *Ayalon-Shinar*.
- I, 376a: For *xâṣṣatan* 'only' see *JSS* 7 (1972), 183-86.
- I, 377a *taxâṣam ma^ca* '(a single person) quarrelled with' (Boethor) is used by Maimonides, see Friedländer; Maimonides, *Responsa* 20, -5.
- I, 391b *xallaṣ tha^ṛrahû* 'to take vengeance' (Boethor) *Pirqê* 27b, 5.
- I, 399a *xulq* 'rage' (Boethor) *Pirqê* 21b, 21; 35a, -3; 36a, -9, etc.
- I, 400b *xallâ* 'to leave (behind)' (Boethor), also *Jâmi^c* i 129, 101, etc. 'to bequeath' (Boethor) also *Pirqê* 7a, 16, 18. *xallâhu yaf^cal* 'he let him do' (Boethor, the Arabian Nights) also *Pirqê* 14b, 16; 39a, 3; 85b, 13; etc. *xallika* 'remain!' (Arabian Nights; I, 401a) also *Pirqê* 36a, 20. *xallâ bâlahû* 'to pay attention' (Arabian Nights; I, 401b) also *Pirqê* 67b, 10; 83b, 5. *xallâ^c anhu -sh-shay^ṛa* 'he ceased doing something' (Boethor, Arabian Nights; I, 401b) also Goitein, *Med.* iii 480, n. 158 *wa-tuxallî^c anka -l-ishtighâl bi-z-zîja* 'and cease being engaged in marriage!'
- I, 406a *xamman* 'to think' is cited from late sources; cf. also *Pirqê* 23a, 10; 25a, 20; 36a, 24; 39b, 12; etc.
- I, 409b *taxânaq* 'to quarrel' is cited from late sources; cf. also *Pirqê* 8a, 6. Further, the infinitive *xinâq* occurs; v. Blau, *Literature* 247, n. 53.
- I, 410a *xawâja* 'merchant' (Arabian Nights) occurs also *Pirqê* 47b, 20.
- I, 413b *xawliyy* 'gardener' (from late sources) is attested also *Pirqê* 41a, 9, 10, 11.
- I, 416b *ixtiyâr* 'old man' (from late sources) also *Pirqê* 25b, -1. *istixâra* 'to ask God what is proper to do' (late sources; I, 415b) occurs also Goitein, *Med.* i 346; 489, n. 1.
- I, 417a *xaysha* 'sack,' cited from late sources, occurs also *Pirqê* 41a, 9.

I, 426b *tadâxal fî* 'to enter into' (Bocthor); also *tadâxal bi*, *Pirqê* 80b, -1.

I, 427a *daxîl* 'proselyte' (from late sources) is already attested in Nemoy 495, 11; 500, 14; 501, 1. Its full form is *ad-daxîl fî -d-dîn ibid.* 501, 7.

I, 427b Dozy is not quite certain whether *dâxila* indeed means 'trouble' ("semble sigifier *embarras, affaire fâcheuse*"). This meaning is corroborated by *Studies Goitein II* 140, 40 *daxalat* ^{alayhi} *-d-dawâxil ma^a -l-qawm*. As its singular *daxîla* is used *ibid.* 141, 13 *ad-daxîla -llatî daxalat* ^{alayhi}.

I, 436a *dârak* 'to make provision for' (Bocthor), add *Pirqê* 55a, -1 *yajib* ^{alayka an tudârik nafsaka}.

I, 447a *daghâ* 'to whisper' (Bocthor), add *Pirqê* 70b, 7 *yaghurruhû wa-yadghîhi* 'he will allure him and whisper to him.'

I, 455a *dallal* 'to pamper, spoil' (Bocthor) occurs already in Saadya's translation Deut. 28, 56 *al-mudallala ... min ad-dalâl*; similarly *tadallal* 'to enjoy, to be pampered' as the translation of Hebrew *hitpanneq*, *hit^aanneg* Is. 55, 2; 66, 11; Ps. 37, 4, 11; Job 22, 26; 27, 10.

I, 455a *adalla* ^{alâ} means, according to *Vocabulista*, 'confidere' and 'facere ex confidentia alterius'; Dozy considers this definition "une manière une peu obscure." Yet as to 'facere ex confidentia alterius,' cf. in Classical Arabic (Lane's translation from *Tâj al-^aarûs*) 'he acted presumptuously, *confiding in another's love*.' As to 'confidere,' this is the meaning of *adalla bi* in Classical Arabic and, indeed, also of *adalla* ^{alayhi} in Spanish Judeo-Arabic (*Vocabulista* is Spanish as well): Ibn Ezra 42, 3-4 *kuntu şanî^aatuhû wa-mudillan* ^{alayhi} 'I was his pupil and relying on him.'

I, 466a *indahash* 'to be astonished' is cited from late sources; yet it is used in Judeo-Arabic already by *Jâmi^c* (i 200, 53), Yephet (Habakkuk 1, 5; Ms.), and Maimonides (Friedländer).

I, 470b "*dâr al-madîna kullahâ* 'il a parcouru toute la ville' (Bocthor)", cf. *Pirqê* 2a, -1 *kân yadûr al-bilâd*. To "*dawwar dimâghahû* 'faire changer d'avis,' *dawwar ra^ssahû* 'lui faire adopter ses opinions' (Bocthor; 471b)" add: *Pirqê* 7b, 5 *wa-yudawwiruhû min shay li-shay* 'and (temptation) turns him (i.e.

makes him change his mind and adopt his views) from one thing to the other.' *dâ³ir* 'enclosure, wall' (Boctor) is attested already from the first half of the 11th century: Gil 138, 35.

I, 489a. To *fî dhimmatihî* 'to owe' (from late sources; cf. also *Pirqê* 64a, 11) cf. *Pirqê* 34b, 4 (if the debtor does not pay) *fadhimmatuhû mu^callaqa li-yôm ad-dîn* 'his debt is kept for the day of resurrection.' *abrâ dhimmatâhû* is also used by the wife divorced from her former husband *Pirqê* 47b, 18–19.

I, 506b. Concerning Saadya's translating 'bullock' by *ratt* and the spread of this word in Judeo-Arabic, see Vajda, *Arabica* 26, 151. It is also used by Salmon Ps. 50, 9; 51, 21; 69, 32. It is interesting to note that in the Yemenite tradition of Saadya's translation, by hyper-correction, *ratt* has been transmitted as *rathth* (just as *anfada* 'to exterminate' has been transmitted as *anfadhâ*; see *Diqduq* 285, ad 35, § 12he; 286, ad 36, § 15bet. *anfadhâ* in this usage already *Jâmi^c* i 99, 170; 216, 86).

I, 511a. Transfer Saadya's translation of Ps. 77 (, 17) from the first verbal form of *rjz* to the eighth; the latter is attested also Ibn Quraysh 83, 2; Yepheth, Habakkuk (Ms.) 3, 16.

I, 512b. To *irtaja^c* 'se convertir, changer de moeurs' (Boctor) add *Pirqê* 11a, 10–11; 71b, 6.

I, 516a. To *istarjâ* 'to hope' (Arabian Nights) add *Pirqê* 83a, –1.

I, 519a. To *raxxam* add *muraxxim* 'worker in marble' in a document from the middle of the 13th century, Gil 453, b6, etc.

I, 520a To "*radda^c an* 'défendre'" (said of a person; Boctor) add *Pirqê* 15a, –2.

I, 521b To "*radâwa* 'wickedness'" (Boctor) add *Pirqê* 35a, 2, 3; 36b, 16.

I, 526a "*alkalâm al-mursal* 'prose simple et libre, sans rimes.'" In Judeo-Arabic (and, presumably, elsewhere) *mursal* has developed to mean 'simple, natural, clear' on the one hand (cf. also Friedländer s.v.), 'general, without proofs' on the other. In the first sense it is attested in Saadya, *Egron* 150, 33 *lâ yabšarûn mursal fašîh fa-kayfa^c awišahû* 'they do not comprehend the simple (expressions) of pure language, the more so the abstruse ones'; *Goldziher Memorial II* 15, 14–15 (Saadya) *wa-kân qawluhâ lahû bi-ṭ-ṭab^c al-mursal* 'and it is said naturally and simply'

(literally: by simple nature) (cf. also *ibid.* ii 16, 8 *wa-qâlûhâ bi-t-tab^c alâ rislihim* 'and said it naturally (and) clearly,' where *risl* is used in the meaning of 'clearness, simpleness,' as against *awîsa* 'abstruse' in the preceding line). Blau, *Literature* 208, n. 5 (Maimonides) *lâ tajid bi-wajh shaxşan şafâ lahû hâdhâ -l-bâb na^cam wa-lâ tajid fîhi kalâman mursalan li-aḥad illâ alâ tashwîsh kathîr* 'you will by no means find anyone who clearly comprehends this subject, nay, even you will not find that anyone has expressed himself clearly on it, but (you will find that it is) very confused'; 222, n. 98 *wa-mâ minhâ jarâ fî-n-nawm wa-dhakarûhu bi-qawl mursal ka-annahû fî -l-yaqza* 'and what if it happened in sleep and they told it clearly, as if (it happened) when awake.' *mursal* meaning 'general, without proofs' occurs Saadia, *Prayer* 11–12 *lâ ulzim nafsî ithbât iqâmat al-ḥujja ... bal êtî(!) bi-jamî^c dhâlika qawlan mursalan muḥarraran faqaṭ idh kunt lam aḍa^c hâdhihî -l-maqâla li-l-ḥujja lâkin li-t-ta^callum* 'I shall not impose upon myself to adduce proofs ..., but I shall express myself in all these (things) in a general and accurate manner, because I have not composed this treatise for proofs, but rather for learning'; Maimonides, *Miṣwôt* 4, –7 *wa-dhikr al-miṣwôt kullihâ dhikran mursalan* 'and to mention all the precepts in a general manner,' being parallel to 6, 3 *dhikran muṭlaqan dûna dalîl* 'in a general manner without proof'; Goitein, *Jewry* 95, 39 *yaqna^c bi-hâdhâ -l-ism idh huwa mursal* 'he will content himself with this title, because it is general.'