Not only cherubs: lexicon of Hebrew and Aramaic origin in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Modern Greek dialects

Julia G. Krivoruchko

University of Haifa

Until recently, the study of Hebrew and Aramaic borrowings into the Greek lexicon was limited to learned and ecclesiastical loans of earlier periods, while later evidence was ignored or misinterpreted. Little attention was given to the forms of Jewish-Greek coexistence and language contacts resulting from it. This paper argues that the lexical influence of Jewish languages and of Judeo-Greek in particular can be traced in numerous Greek dialects of modern period. A number of loans, usually credited to Turkish, has also entered SMG. The classification of Hebrew and Aramaic borrowings based on semantic criteria is proposed and examples of each category adduced.

Keywords: lexical borrowing, Greek dialects, Jewish languages.

An extensive description of the Hebrew and/or Aramaic (HA) loanwords is an ambitious task that cannot be ventured at the present stage of research. Our paper will (1) address the way these loanwords are presented in lexicological studies and major MG dictionaries, (2) suggest a theoretical framework for studying these loanwords and (3) adduce examples for the major groups of loanwords.

Almost every monograph on history or lexicography of the Greek language readily recognizes the lexical influx from Hebrew and Aramaic in the Hellenistic period. E.g., N. Andriotis wrote «Από την Αγία Γραφή εισάγονται λέξεις εβραϊκές, όπως αλληλούια, αμήν, βάιον, Βεελζεβούλ, γεέννα, Ιεχωβάς, μαμωνάς, μάννα, μεσσίας, Πάσχα, Σαβαώθ, Σάββατον, Σατανάς, Σεραφείμ, Χερουβείμ, ωσαννά, και ονόματα, καθώς Γαβριήλ, Ιάκωβος, Ιωάννης, Μάρθα, Μαρία, Ματθαίος, Μιχαήλ, Συμεών... και από σημιτικές γλώσσες ο αββάς, η νάρδος κ.ά.» (1995: 55). It is clear from the above passage that Hebraisms are seen as a kind of terminology resultant from a learned loaning process: lexemes are acquired from books and not from actual speakers. Note also that N. Andriotis is cautious, defining the source of αββάς through a vague "Semitic languages", rather than through the more specific "Aramaic".

The European tradition of Greek linguistics holds much similar views: «Ο Ιουδαϊσμός και ο Χριστιανισμός εισήγαγαν λέξεις σημιτικές, αραμαϊκές ή εβραϊκές, προσαρμόζοντάς τες στην Ελληνική: Σάββατον, σατανάς, Πάσχα, Μεσσίας» (Tonnet 1995: 52). Here loanwords are perceived as expressions of religious influence in general, rather than terms from a particular book, and there is an allusion to the process of adaptation. Still, the loaning process is detached from its participants, i.e. Greek-speaking Jews, proselytes, Judaizing sects, etc.

M. Triandaphyllidis in his classic monograph on the loanwords of the medieval period, adduced the already mentioned $\Pi \dot{\alpha} \sigma \chi \alpha$, $\sigma \alpha \tau \alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \zeta$ and $\alpha \beta \beta \dot{\alpha} \zeta$ (the latter as Syriac) (1909: 147), a number of derivatives from previously assimilated proper names, such as $\iota \omega \sigma \eta \varphi \iota \alpha \kappa \dot{\zeta} \zeta$, $\lambda \alpha \zeta \alpha \rho \dot{\omega} \nu \omega$, $\mu \alpha \nu \sigma \eta \lambda \dot{\alpha} \tau \nu \omega$ (ibid.: 149) and a single new Hebrew loan $\mu \dot{\alpha} \zeta \alpha < mazal$ "luck, happiness" with its derivative $\kappa \alpha \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\alpha} \zeta \alpha \lambda \rho \zeta$ "unglücklich" (ibid.: 146). However, Chadzidakis believed that the latter lexeme should be derived from $\mu \dot{\alpha} \zeta \alpha \lambda \eta$. Generally, Hebrew etymologies did not look particularly convincing in the beginning of twentieth century, since very little was known about the extent and forms of Jewish-Greek coexistence. Even the lexicon of E. Kriaras adds to the already presented list but a few lexemes: $\dot{\kappa} \zeta \omega \pi \sigma \omega \circ \sigma \sigma \omega \sigma \varsigma \gg$ (Kriaras 1968: v. 5, 305), $\zeta \tilde{\epsilon} \rho \iota \ll \beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \sigma \mu \omega$) (Kriaras 1968: v. 7, 13).¹

To our knowledge, the HA loans during the modern period have not been considered in any specialized monograph. Even terms with apparently Jewish reference, such as $\chi \alpha \chi \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \varsigma$ with its derivatives or $\chi \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho \alpha$, do not appear in the dictionaries as direct borrowings from Jewish languages, but from Turkish:

> χαχάμης ο ιερουργός των Εβραίων που προέρχονται από την Ισπανία² ΣΥΝ. ραβίνος [ΕΤΥΜ. < τουρκ. haham] (Babiniotis 1998: 1966); χαχάμης (παρωχ.) ο ραβίνος των Εβραίων της Ανατολής, που κατάγονται από την Ισπανία [τουρκ. haham (από τα εβρ.) -ης] (LKNE 1995: 1468); χαχαμίκος (μειωτ.- σκωπτ.) ο Εβραίος που προέρχεται από την Ισπανία [ΕΤΥΜ. < χαχάμης] (Babiniotis 1998: 1966);³

> χάβρα 1. η συναγωγή των Εβραίων 2. θορυβώδης συγκέντρωση [ΕΤΥΜ. η λέξη ανάγεται στο εβρ. *hevra* «συνάθροιση, κοινωνία, παρέα»] (Babiniotis 1998: 1946); χάβρα (οικ.) [τουρκ. *havra*] (LKNE 1995: 1456), etc.

In reality, the first word is derived from Heb. $h \partial a kam$ "wise", and the second from Aram. $h \partial a vra$ "synagogue".⁴ Still, it should be noted that the differentiation between Turkish and HA loanwords is by no means easy, since the Arabic lexemes incorporated into the Turkish lexicon are often phonetically quite similar to the synonymous Hebrew or Aramaic, and their adaptation into Greek may show identical results.⁵ A systematic study of phonetics and morphology of JG dialects and the loans from them would facilitate the correct attribution.

In such recent lexicographical source as LKNE, one finds twenty lemmata with an Aramaic source and eighty with Hebrew. If we eliminate phonetic ($B\varepsilon\epsilon\lambda\zeta\varepsilon\beta\sigma\delta\lambda$ - $B\varepsilon\lambda\zeta\varepsilon\beta\sigma\delta\lambda$) and gender ($E\beta\rho\alpha\delta\sigma\zeta$ - $E\beta\rho\alpha\delta\sigma$) variants, names of letters ($\beta\eta\tau\alpha$, $\gamma\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha$) and semantic calques ($\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\lambda\varsigma$, $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\varsigma$), there will be about sixty loanwords, half of which are personal names. Thus, we are left with approximately thirty common names, which include the abovementioned Biblicisms and a handful of Semitic-based loans from European languages: $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\alpha$, $\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\sigma\iota\omega\nu\iota\sigma\mu\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\sigma\eta\mu\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$ (characterized as "from French"), $\chi\epsilon\tau\iota\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}\varsigma$ ("from German"), $\alpha\mu\pi\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\rho\alpha$ ("from Italian"). Interestingly, $T\alpha\lambda\mu o\dot{\nu}\delta$ is believed to originate from Eng. Talmud.⁶

Apparently, if the authors of these etymologies had been consistent in indicating only the direct source of the loan (LKNE 1995: $\kappa\beta'$), we would have been left with one single loanword from Hebrew into Modern Greek, namely $\kappa\mu\pi\sigma\delta\tau\varsigma < kibuz$.⁷ The sociolinguistic situation implied by such explanations is that of absence of any direct contact between Greek and Jewish languages from post-Hellenistic period until the creation of the state of Israel – something very far from historical reality. Only a few recent publications acknowledge the lexical impact of other Jewish languages besides Hebrew.⁸

The incongruity between the current state of knowledge on the history of Greek Jewish communities on the one hand, and the meager linguistic extrapolation from these historical data, on the other, is blatant. Unlike linguists, scholars dealing with the history of Greece of any period, be it Hellenistic, Byzantine, Venetian, Ottoman or Modern, are well aware of the presence of the Jewish minority both in Greece proper and among the Greek-speaking diaspora.⁹ This minority was never numerous, and even then its numbers varied substantially, but it was continuously present on Greek-speaking territory for more than two thousand years. Since there is no reason to postulate substantial breaks in Jewish presence on Greek territory, there are also no grounds to postulate a break in the process of mutual language influence between the two groups. Therefore, one should hypothesize the existence of loans from Jewish languages during all periods of Greek: ancient, medieval and modern.

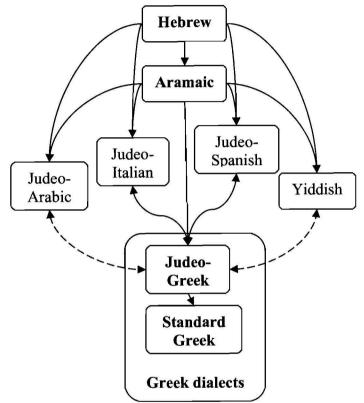
What Jewish languages should be considered as potential loan sources? First and foremost, Jews who dwelled in Greece from the Hellenistic period onwards, so called Romaniotes, are known to have spoken the language of their environment, i.e. Greek, but their sociolect must have accommodated lexical items relevant for Jewish lifestyle, e.g. religious vocabulary, terms of community organization, etc. Such lexemes were inherited from Hebrew as the sacred language, as well as from Aramaic as the main spoken Jewish language of the first centuries of common era. An estimate of the materials that we have analyzed to date suggests that Aramaic was by no means a negligible source of borrowing. Another important detail that one should keep in mind is that the so called "inherited Hebrew" on Greek territory might well have been represented not only by its mainstream phonetic realization, but by a Samaritan one, since Greece was rich in Samaritan communities.¹⁰ This increases the number of

potential etymologies and makes the differentiation between Turkish and HA loanwords still more difficult.¹¹

Jews who came to Greece later spoke different languages, from Judeo-Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic to Judeo-Italian, Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish.¹² The Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes, which these groups brought with them, were not necessarily identical with those already existing in Judeo-Greek. Insofar as the newcomers assimilated into the Romaniote communities, this lexical stock might have also become part of Judeo-Greek. In places where the Jewish communities were numerous enough to influence their language environment, the loans from Jewish languages, including Hebraisms and Aramaisms, drifted into the surrounding dialects. Some of them further reached the commonly understood mainstream Greek.

The routes through which the Hebraisms and Aramaisms reached MG dialects and standard MG are summarized in Figure 1.

Fig. 1. Historical roots of Hebraisms and Aramaisms in MG dialects and Standard MG. (Lines show already discovered examples of lexical borrowing;



dashes denote possible routes of lexical enrichment).

Historical data help us to single out the geographical areas where one may expect to discover Hebrew-Aramaic loans. These are regions with strong Jewish presence, i.e. urban centers of Epirus, Aetolo-Acarnania and the adjacent part of Northern Peloponnese, major Ionian Islands, Chalkida, Crete, Cyprus and major Aegean islands, urban centers of Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly. As we shall see, borrowed lexemes may be retained even in the regions where the communities themselves have disappeared.

What kind of vocabulary should one expect to be borrowed from Jewish languages? From the sociolinguistic viewpoint, Jews were a marginal group of low social standing, and as such they could not provide a stylistically elevated vocabulary; therefore the loans from Jewish languages should be looked for in low colloquial registers.

Semantically these loans seem to fall into the following categories: first, religious expressions and cult *realia* that Jews brought with them. Term of this group may either retain their Jewish character and become specialized designations of Judaic *realia* or spread into the Christian usage. (Naturally, further on they may acquire new, often mainly pejorative, meanings). A case of specialized Judaic loanword is the already quoted $\chi \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho \alpha$ (semantic development: "gathering" > "place of gathering" > "place of gathering for Judaic worship"). As an example of possible borrowing of second kind we would suggest the lexeme

κιβούρι, το 1. το φέρετρο, το κυρ. ξύλινο κιβώτιο, στο οποίο κατά παράδοση τοποθετείται το σώμα του νεκρού για την ταφή 2. ο τάφος, το άνοιγμα γης, στο οποίο τοποθετείται ο νεκρός, καθώς και η ταφόπλακα: τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν στου Διάκου το κιβούρι [ΕΤΥΜ. < μεσν. κιβούριον < μτγν. κιβώριον, δάνειο πιθ. αιγυπτιακής προελ., όπως επιμαρτυρείται και από την ερμηνεία της λ. από τον Ησύχιο: «Αιγύπτιον όνομα επί ποτηρίου»] (Babiniotis 1998: 893).

Since the semantic connection between "glass, bowl" and "grave" is not an optimal one, an etymology from the Semitic root *qbr* is to be preferred. Hebr. *qever*, Aram. *qivra* and Syr. *qavra* all mean "grave, tomb" (Klein 1987: 561). The specific source and period of borrowing are still to be specified, but the Semitic hypothesis seems to provide a much better solution both phonetically and semantically.

It remains to be verified whether and to what extent Jewish religious realia may lose their Jewish or/and religious connotations as a result of reinterpretation of certain rites or conventions by Christian population. E.g., a common Hebrew word kasher has been traced by lexicographers in the Ioannina region: κασέρ (το) «καθαρό. Λέξη Εβραϊκή την οποίαν χρησιμοποιούν μόνο οι Εβραίοι για να δηλώνουν ότι το κρέας έχει διαβαστεί από τον χαχάμη ή ήτο καθαρό» (ILEG Hπ. Ιωανν. χ . 659: 79).¹³ Naturally, this record reflects a rather imperfect understanding, since according to the Jewish law it is not the cleanness per se and not a rabbi's prayer that make the meat kosher. A similar expression was also recorded for Rhodos: κασέρι των Εβραίων "το κατάλληλο κρέας θρησκευτικής για τη χρήσι των Εβραίων (sic!)" (ILEG Poo. χ. 534: 130). It is notable that in Rhodos one finds also such expressions as $\kappa \dot{\alpha} \mu \gamma \omega \kappa \alpha \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \rho \mu$ «σχίζω»: Έκαμα τα ρούχα μου κασέρι and γίνομαι κασέρι «σχίζομαι», echoed by Cypriote έβκαλεν το κασέρι «το έσχισε»: έβκαλεν το βρατσίν του κασέριν (ILEG Kupp. χ . 227: 18). In our opinion, these lexemes might not originate from Fr. casser, as a lexicographer of ILEG has suggested, but rather from Turkish kesir

"dissection, partition, fraction", cf. *kesmek* "cut, cut out, stab" (TRS 1931: 570), while their vocalism was influenced or/and reinforced by the semantically similar Judeo-Greek form.¹⁴

Another important group of loanwords stems from professional terminology in the widest sense of the word, i.e. from the characteristic vocabulary of the spheres in which Jews were traditionally active. In this category we would include trade terms, together with so called "secret languages" of the tradesmen, names of typical articles sold by Jewish merchants, medical and magic vocabulary, and perhaps also terminology of various crafts, although so far we have no convincing examples of the latter.

It can be shown that the designation of the popular cheese $\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon\rho_i$ is a Jewish loanword, *pace* its treatment in major dictionaries:

ημίσκληρο και κίτρινο τυρί που παρασκευάζεται από ανάμικτο γάλα προβάτου και αγελάδας ΣΥΝ. κασκαβάλι [ETYM. < Turk. kaşer] (Babiniotis 1998: 850);

είδος σκληρού κίτρινου τυριού από πρόβειο γάλα, λιγότερο σκληρό και αλμυρό από κεφαλοτύρι < Turk. kaşer -ι (LKNE 1995: 672).¹⁵

The alleged Turkish provenance of this lexeme looks unconvincing in light of Turkish lexicography where this noun is given also with the meaning "kosher for Jews": *kaşar* 1. a type of cheese produced in the vilayet of Edirne; 2. kosher (TRS 1931: 546).

Because of Talmudic dietary prohibitions and their rabbinical interpretations (cf. S<ulha Aruk, Yore De'a 115, 2 et al.), a number of Jewish communities refrained from eating cheese of gentile provenance. In order to be kosher, the cheese had to be prepared from milk that has been milked in the presence of a Jew, curdled with help of exclusively vegetarian coagulants and pressed afterwards by Jewish hands. Naturally, these restrictions complicated the production process and increased the price of the final product. Yet constant demand for it created an entire network spreading through the Mediterranean from Sicily to Egypt and from Crete to Constantinople.¹⁶ The sources referring to the particular sort of cheese (*judiscu, caseum judaicum*) also as *caciocavallo* (Bresc 2002), point to it as a precursor of our $\kappa a \sigma \epsilon \rho i$. The cooperation between Christians and Jews in making and trading this cheese caused the spread of the Jewish dietary term into universal usage.

A magic term of Jewish provenance might be have been $\sigma \alpha \mu \alpha \mu i \theta i$, inasmuch as popular beliefs attribute to this harmless lizard various effects on animals and humans: ¹⁷ σαμιαμίδι κ. σαμιαμίθι (λαϊκ.) 1. μικρή ευκίνητη σαύρα ... 2. (μτφ.σκωπτ.) νεαρό άτομο μικρόσωμο και ευκίνητο [ETYM. < μσν. σαμαμίθιον, λ. σημιτ. αρχής. Δεν φαίνεται πειστική η αναγωγή στο αρχ. σαυρίδιον, με μεσν. τροπή σε *σαμνίδιον (πβ. xa upoj - a kamnoj) και, εν συνεχεία, με αναδιπλασιασμό της πρώτης συλλ. σαμ-(ι)αμ-ίδι/ίθι] (Babiniotis 1998: 1584); cf. μεσαιωνικό και ίσως σημ. αρχής (ibid.: 1592);

σαμιαμίθι 1. είδος πολύ μικρής σαύρας ... 2. (ειρ.) χαρακτηρισμός για άνθρωπο μικρού αναστήματος [-ιθι: μσν. *σαμιαμίθιον (πρβ. μσν. σαμαμίθιον) υποκορ. του σαμιάμινθ(ος) -ιον (απο τα εβρ.) με αφομ. [nθ > θθ] και απλοπ. του διπλού συμφ. [θθ > θ] -ίδι: προσαρμ. στο επίθημα -ίδι] (LKNE 1995: 1194).

G. Babiniotis correctly rejects the Greek etymology in favor of a Semitic one.¹⁸ The exact source is difficult to establish because both Biblical hapax s/amamit (Pr. 30:28) and its collateral form in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac *samamit* would give the same reflection in Greek, namely $\sigma \alpha \mu \alpha \mu i \theta \iota o v$.¹⁹

Unlike these widely known examples, which have entered standard Greek, the sub-standard language and particularly its dialectal forms have absorbed a much greater number of Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes that originate from Jewish peddlers and merchants jargon. Of course, the Semitic vocabulary in Greek jargons never reached the proportion it had in Polish, Ukrainian or Russian with large Jewish groups residing on their territory. To give but a few illustrations from Ianniote dialect: $\kappa \dot{\alpha}\pi \alpha \rho \lambda \alpha \beta \alpha v \dot{\omega} \phi$ (sic, with two accents!) "«τέλος πάντων» - η φράση μεταξύ πωλητού και αγοραστού που δηλοί την συγκατάθεση ... σε συμφέρουσα τιμή" (Bongas 1964: 458) from Heb. kapara le 'awonot "[let it serve as] an expiatory victim for [our] sins; εμέθ «εντάξει» (Petropoulos 1991: 174) from Heb. emet "true!" with its antonym σέκερ, το «ψέμα» (ibid.) from Heb. sheker "lie".

A good example of an adapted loanword is $\tau\zeta\varepsilon\varsigma$, pl. $\tau\zeta\dot{\varepsilon}\delta\varepsilon\varsigma$ from Heb. ze "this",²⁰ via JG pronoun $\tau\zeta\varepsilon\varsigma$ "he", used also in the meaning «o tá $\delta\varepsilon$, áπαυτος» and applied to Turkish soldiers and other undesirable persons. Following the JG semantics, in the clandestine language of Καταφυγιανοί it means «κατάσκοπος» (Vogiatzidis 1921: 156). In common modern Ianniote it seems to mean generally «o τύπος (περιπαιχτικά)». As a noun, it entered the common Greek vocabulary of the underworld, see e.g. the song

Κούνα μπέμπη τον κεφτέ σου Να φχαριστηθεί ο τζες σου (Butterworth 1975: 143), where it is usually glossed as «εραστής, λεγάμενος, ενδιαφερόμενος» (Petropoulos 1991: 125).

The last, but not the least, group of loans is the so-called emotional lexicon, represented mainly by abusive words. No particular reasons for borrowing from Hebrew or Aramaic should be looked for here, since this a constantly renewing part of the vocabulary of every language. As emotional words and expressions with time loose part of their emotional force, they require replacement by stronger synonyms, often of foreign origin. To start with a positive example, I. Vilaras uses the expression $\sigma \tau \eta \zeta \omega \eta \mu ov!$ «έτσι να έχω καλό» (Vilaras 1995: 578), which is a literal translation of Hebr. *be h*@ayay!, a shortened version of the oath "[I swear by] my life!" [Even-Shoshan 1993: v 1, 687].

Ianniote dialect is particularly rich in HA derogatory lexicon, e.g. καμτσάμ' (< καμτσάμι), το «ο φιλάργυρος Εβραιος», συνθημ. απο Γιανν. (Bongas 1964: 152) – from Heb. qamzan; πασλάς, ο «ο σαχλός άνδρας, ο λεγάμενος» (Petropoulos 1991: 174), πασλάτος «χαζογόμενος» (ibid.), both eventually from pasul "despiseable, unapplicable, useless"; τάχας, ο «κώλος» (ibid.) from Heb. tah (λat "the same"; χαμόρ «χαζός άνθρωπος, κουτός» (ibid.) from Heb. h (λamor "donkey".

In fact, the abovementioned χαχάμης is also used in many dialects as a derogatory term, e.g. «άσχημος» (ILEG Ευβ. Βρυσ. χ. 657: 129); «χαζός» (ILEG Σαμ. 875^α/ 65); «χαζογελαστός» (ILEG Μακεδ. Ερατυρ. χ. 1116: 70); «τιποτένιος, αποβλακωμένος» (ILEG Μακεδ. Δεσκατ. χ. 1124: 74; χ. 942: 37); «αβάφτιστο βρέφος» (ILEG Μακεδ. Αρδομερ. 1197/25; Προδρομος Βεροιας χ. Σταμ.; Μακεδ. Γιδ. χ. 920: 91, κ. α.), etc.

Several maledicta of HA origin acquired nation-wide status:

σαχλός, -η, -ο: για κτ. που το χαρακτηρίζει έλλειψη σοβαρότητας και περιεχομένου, ανόητος: σαχλό βιβλίο || άνθρωπος ελαφρός που λέγει ή κάνει ανοησίες, που η συμπεριφορά του είναι σαχλή, ανόητη: σαχλοί νεαροί [μσν. σαχλός ίσως < ελνστ. σαχνός 'μαλακός (για κρέας)'] (LKNE 1995: 1198);

σαχλός 1. αυτός που λέγει ή κάνει ανοησίες...; 2. (ειδικότ.) αυτός που λέγει άνοστα αστεία...; 3. πολύ απλοϊκός, ανούσιος [ΕΤΥΜ. μεσν., αβέβ. ετύμου, πιθ. < μτγν. σαχνός «τρυφερός, αδύναμος»... ή, κατ' άλλη άποψη, < σαφλός (Ποντ.) < παλαιότ. σαθλός, άλλος τ. του αρχ. σαθρός. Καμία από τις δύο απόψεις δεν ερμηνεύει ικανοποιητικά τη σημασιολ. εξέλιξη] (Babiniotis 1998: 1593).

More than a dozen nominal and verbal derivatives demonstrate the popularity of the expression: $\sigma \dot{\alpha} \chi \lambda \alpha$, η : η $\sigma \alpha \chi \lambda \alpha \mu \dot{\alpha} \rho \alpha$ ($\varepsilon \kappa \phi \rho$.) ~ $\mu \pi \dot{\alpha} \chi \lambda \alpha / \sigma \dot{\alpha} \chi \lambda \varepsilon \varsigma \mu \pi \sigma \dot{\nu} \chi \lambda \varepsilon \varsigma$, $\gamma \iota \alpha$

ανόητα λόγια [σαχλ(ός) -α (αναδρ. σχημ.)....], σαχλαμάρα η, σαχλαμαρίτσα η, σαχλαμαράκιας, σαχλαμάρας, σαχλαμαρίζω, σάχλας, ο: ο σαχλαμάρας [σάχλ(α) ας], σαχλαμπούχλας, ο; σαχλαμπούχλα, η (LKNE: ibid., also in Babiniotis: ibid.), σαχλίτσα η, σαχλοκούδουνο, το; σαχλάς ο [χωρ. πληθ.] (λαϊκ.) αυτος που ειναι σαχλός (only in LKNE).

In our opinion, this word could be explained much easier from Heb. sakal "stupid, foolish", while the dialect forms, such as σιάχλας (ILEG Μακεδ. Καστορ. χ. 1003: 66; Στερελλ. Σπαρτ(όν) (Αμφιλοχία Ακαρνανίας) χ. 1057: 199, 202; Ηπ. Κουκουλ. χ. 1023: 672; Στερελλ. Ναυπακτ. χ. 1058: 39) might be also based on the corresponding Aramaic prototype.

Finally, such current colloquial term as

μπάχαλο {χωρίς πληθ.} κατάσταση μεγάλης σύγχυσης, ανακατωσούρα: άρχισαν να φωνάζουν όλοι μαζί κι έγινε ~ ... [ΕΤΥΜ. ηχομιμητική λέξη με σχηματισμό κατ' αναλογίαν προς το κρόταλο, ρόπαλο, θρύψαλο] (Babiniotis 1998: 1146)

seems to originate finally from Heb. *behala* «fright, dismay, terror, confusion» (Klein 1987: 65), cf. Aram. *bahal* "to be frightened, excited" (Sokoloff 2002: 86). Interestingly, this word was also borrowed into German: *einen Bachel machen* (Kreuzer 2001: 112). However, an unexpected reflection of *hei* as χ shows the possibility of indirect borrowing or, perhaps, the elusiveness of our knowledge of Judeo-Greek phonetics.

Further research in HA loanwords in MG should address primarily the phonetics and morphology of Judeo-Greek dialects, morphological adaptation of the loans (see Krivoruchko 2002), as well as the language contacts between Greek and other Jewish languages.

Notes

¹ The data of E. Kriaras and LKNE were searched with the help of the electronic versions under

² The claim that $\chi \alpha \chi \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \varsigma$ refers only to Sephardic rabbis is widespread in historical literature (e.g., Levy 1994: 43) and seems to be based mainly on the terminology of rabbinical *responsa*. Still, $\alpha \chi \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \varsigma$ (ILEG Ioann.) and $\alpha \chi \dot{\alpha} \mu$ (Dalven 1995: 154) were terms for "rabbi" in Ioannina community.

³ This lexeme looks more like Judeo-Spanish *hahamiko* (Bunis 1993: 215; 2003: 222) that was adapted to Greek declination in $-o\zeta$, than a proper Greek formation $\chi \alpha \chi \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \zeta + -i\kappa o\zeta$.

⁴ Hebrew and Aramaic lexemes are transliterated according to the system of the Academy of Hebrew Language (basic version).

⁵ See below on $\kappa a \sigma \epsilon \rho i$. Such examples are numerous, e.g. West Cretan $\nu a \nu \tau i \rho i$ "rare" (Ksanthinakis 2001: 344), viewed on formal linguistic grounds, may be considered as resulting from either Turkish *nadir* or Hebrew *nadir*.

⁶ We are not going to discuss these and other similar attributions here. Still, one should be aware that many Semitic etymologies of LKNE are imprecise.

⁷ Cf. Xadzisavvidis 1999: 617-618.

⁸ E.g., Papakyriakou 1997: 16.

⁹ See Bowman 1985; De Lange 1996; Levy 1994. Starr 1939, 1949, etc.

¹⁰ See van der Horst 1998, 2001. A recent dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic by A. Tal (2000) is a valuable addition to the lexicography of the region.

¹¹ In Samaritan pronunciation $s < ureq-qibbus \diamond$ and $h \diamond olem$ are merged into one phoneme (Morag 1971: 1142), which makes such etyma as e.g. kurban and korban undistinguishable.

¹² The list is by no means exhaustive.

¹³ The ILEG archive materials are quoted by region, manuscript and page. Abbreviations may be consulted in the first volumes of the dictionary.

¹⁴ It is unclear, whether such meaning of το κασιέρι as "πορτοκάλλι μέτριου μεγέθους που έχει στην κορυφή του υπό τον φλοιόν και ένα μικροσκοπικό πορτοκαλλάκι" (ILEG Nαξ. χ . 232: 32) should finally be reduced to a Jewish or a Turkish etymon.

¹⁵ Cf. Papakyriakou 1997: 160.

¹⁶ See Bowman 1985: 114, Jacoby 1997: 526-9 (Crete); Bresc 2002: 118-121 (Sicily).

¹⁷ In Aramaic, the word is associated with samam "to be medically dangerous" (Sokoloff 2002: 382). E.g. σαμ(ι)αμιθάβγουλο "πολύ μικρό και χωρίς κρόκο αβγό κότας που (κατά τη λαϊκή πίστη) έχει φάει «σαμ(ι)άμιθο»" (Ksantinakis 2001: 457).

¹⁸ Needless to say that the acceptance of Semitic etymology cannot go in hand with postulating an original form with nasal insertion. Other variants ($\sigma \alpha \mu \alpha \mu i \delta i$, $\sigma \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu i \delta i$, $\sigma \alpha \mu \alpha \mu i \delta i$, see Babiniotis 1998: 1592) and dialect forms with palatalization effects, such as Cret. $\theta(1)\alpha \mu \dot{\alpha} \mu \theta o \varsigma$ (Ksantinakis 2001: 457), may be easily explained from $\sigma \alpha \mu \alpha \mu i \theta i o v$.

¹⁹ As is proven by *masora*, until late Middle Ages *schwa* had no phonemic status and its pronunciation was similar to that of the adjacent vowels (cf. $s/lomo > \Sigma o \lambda o \mu \omega v$). ²⁰ [dz] is a standard realization of Heb. [z] in Greek communities, see Matsa 1971: 243,

²⁰ [dz] is a standard realization of Heb. [z] in Greek communities, see Matsa 1971: 243, Drettas 2003: 338.

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Περίληψη

Στο άρθρο εξετάζονται οι δάνειες λέξεις της ΚΝΕ και των ΝΕ διαλέκτων από την Αρχαία Εβραϊκή και την Αραμαϊκή. Υποστηρίζεται πως οι γλώσσες των Εβραίων υπήρξαν πηγές τέτοιων δανείων και προτείνεται η ταξινόμηση των δανείων με βάση σημασιολογικά κριτήρια. Εξακριβώνονται οι παλαιές και προτάσσονται οι καινούργιες ετυμολογίες για τις λέξεις χαχάμης, χάβρα, κασέρι, κιβούρι, σαχλός, μπάχαλο κ.ά.

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