

## Notes on George Borrow as a witness of Tangier Arabic in 1839

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Among the indirect sources of Moroccan Arabic before the systematic description launched mainly by French and Spanish scholars since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a place of distinction should be assigned to the *Moorish Vocabulary* compiled in 1839 by the well-known English traveller and writer George Borrow (1803–1881). A noted polyglot,<sup>1</sup> much given at scattering words and phrases of the numerous foreign languages which he mastered in his writings, most particularly in his lively and hugely successful travelogue *The Bible in Spain* (1842–43),<sup>2</sup> Borrow had already started to study both Literary Arabic and Biblical Hebrew on his own as a teenager,<sup>3</sup> and had been exposed to spoken Maghribi Arabic in Lisbon, before learning some Moroccan Arabic in Madrid in May 1836 from a “Moorish merchant from Tetuan”.<sup>4</sup> His masterpiece *The Bible in Spain* (henceforth: *BiSp*),

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<sup>1</sup> Erard (2012: 228) credits Borrow with the knowledge of 42 languages, without however quoting any evidence for this number, being apparently more preoccupied with asserting that the famous hyperpolyglot was affected by obsessive-compulsive disorder. The best analysis of Borrow’s competence (distinguished according to diverse categories: reading, speaking, extant translations, contact with native speakers, evidence of interest, simple mention of the language) in about 60 languages is to be found in Ann M. Ridler’s 1983 PhD thesis: see especially the full range of linguistic interests summarized in Tables IA-B in Ridler (1996: 422–432).

<sup>2</sup> The book was published in December 1842, but carrying on the frontispice the year 1843.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins (2013: 104 and n. 40). On Borrow’s Classical Arabic studies see Ridler (1996: 35 n. 57, 141 n. 45, 169 and 430 [annotations left in the years 1826–1828 in a copy of Th. Erpenius’ *Grammatica Arabica*], 453); on his approach to Maghribi Arabic and his sources see now the exhaustive treatment by Hopkins (2015: 9–38).

<sup>4</sup> Ridler (1996: 41 n. 77 and 386 n. 9), with all relevant references.

particularly the last seven chapters (51–57), devoted to his stays in Gibraltar and Tangier in the summer of 1839, contains several items in Maghribi Arabic as exotic illustrations of his conversing with several Arabic-speaking acquaintances, first among them being the old Moor acting as his guide in Tangier, while his most constant informer was his young Jewish valet Hayim ben Attar, bilingual in Arabic and (Judaeo-)Spanish,<sup>5</sup> whom Borrow took with him first to Spain, then to England until 1843.<sup>6</sup> As all the foreign elements embedded in Borrow's narrative, they are listed and commented upon in the Glossary contributed to the (18<sup>th</sup>) definitive Murray edition of this book (1896) by the Hispanist Ulick Ralph Burke (1845–1915) and by the Oxford classical scholar Herbert W. Greene (1857–1933):<sup>7</sup> Simon Hopkins has offered an accurate philological commentary of most of them,<sup>8</sup> while a couple more shall be dealt with at the end of this paper. Despite the many problems of transcription and pronunciation evident in Borrow's quotations of Arabic forms, these make a valuable contribution to Arabic studies,<sup>9</sup> a conclusion fully confirmed by a punctual examination of the *Moorish Vocabulary*.

Borrow's Moroccan Arabic vocabulary, compiled in Tangier in August 1839, his most systematic effort at dealing with Arabic, was

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<sup>5</sup> Hayim ben Attar may be presumed to be the source of the Moroccan Arabic features given by Borrow as typically Jewish, which do not always coincide with the communal distinctions posited by Heath (2002) (and Lévy 2009): see Hopkins (2015: 35–38), with copious exemplification.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins (2015: 38). As Ridler (1996: 365 n. 54 and 36 n. 15) pertinently remarks, Borrow's recurrent method of hiring foreign servants, such as the Moroccan Jew Hayim ben Attar, to converse with them in their native languages finds a well-established precedent in missionary linguistic practice.

<sup>7</sup> As Hopkins (2013 and 2015) does, I give here page references to *The Bible in Spain* in the Murray definitive edition: in my one-volume copy, printed in 1908, the Glossary occupies p. 797–833.

<sup>8</sup> Hopkins (2013: 112–115).

<sup>9</sup> Hopkins (2013: 115).

recently published by Simon Hopkins in a compact *édition numérotée*, with excellent introduction and succinct lexical commentary.<sup>10</sup> This word-list and phrasebook takes up 74 pages of a small autograph hand-written notebook, conserved in the library of the Hispanic Society of America,<sup>11</sup> and comprises 1166 entries—not in alphabetic order<sup>12</sup>—numbered by the editor, each composed by an Arabic word or phrase on the left column and by its English, or occasionally Spanish, translation on the right one, the two columns being sometimes inverted. Not being a professional Arabist, albeit a gifted linguist, Borrow understandably faced not a few phonological difficulties in transcribing Maghribi Arabic: in fact, “his transcriptions are impressionistic, inconsistent and imprecise, [...] his word division is often awry”.<sup>13</sup> An instance in point, combining defective spelling of velars, pharyngeals and glottals (in this case of /ʕ/ and possibly /h/) and faulty written segmentation of Arabic phrases, may give an idea of the difficulties met by Hopkins in his task of reducing Borrow’s transcriptions to correct—or at least plausible—Moroccan Arabic: <anda ljah de legusa> ‘she has the face of an old woman’ (# 378) = ʿānd(h)a le-wʒeh d-le-ʕguza (Hopkins 2015: 60). Another feature of Borrow’s Moroccan Arabic interlanguage,<sup>14</sup> surely

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<sup>10</sup> Hopkins (2015: 41–103).

<sup>11</sup> The notebook was part of the *Nachlass* of Borrow’s first biographer and collector of much of his literary legacy, the U.S. Hispanist William I. Knapp (1835–1908), who extracted from it a short list of words recurring also in *BiSp* in Appendix II to his biography (1899/II: 378–379).

<sup>12</sup> Only the first 10 pages or so seem to follow a sort of division into semantic fields, though with several inconsistencies (approximately: numbers, names of animals, body parts, time units): Franz von Dombay’s *Vocabularium Latino-Mauro-Arabicum*—unknown to Borrow—shows in comparison a much more systematic semantic organization.

<sup>13</sup> Hopkins (2013: 113 sq. and n. 87); a detailed analysis of Borrow’s transcriptions in the notebook is offered by Hopkins (2015: 22–25).

<sup>14</sup> On further pidgin-like hallmarks of Borrow’s Moroccan Arabic, see Hopkins (2015: 25).

due to the shortness of his stay in Tangier,<sup>15</sup> is his occasional insertion of the Spanish subordinator *que* in an Arabic sentence: e.g. <*zman que rajil marut [...]*> ‘At the time that a man is ill [...]’ (# 329) = *zman que ražel mriđ [...]* (Hopkins 2015: 57 f.).<sup>16</sup>

Despite his disadvantages in conducting what we may hardly name linguistic fieldwork on Tangier Arabic, Borrow made nevertheless some shrewd phonological remarks: for instance, he took account, generally marking it as <w>, of the characteristic spirantisation of *b* > *ḅ* [β],<sup>17</sup> e.g. <*Dar Dwag*> ‘tannery’ (# 807, *BiSp* 779: *Dardwag*) = *ḍar ḍ-ḍbeğ ~ ḍar ḍ-dbağ* (Colin 1993: 502, 571; Hopkins 2015: 83); he occasionally indicates in his spelling (<ts> or <tz>) the typical Moroccan affrication of /t/ > [ts],<sup>18</sup> e.g. <*hanutz*> ‘shop’,<sup>19</sup> or the region name <*Tafilaltz*>,<sup>20</sup> he often does not mark as a consonant at all (i.e., he marks as <0>) the replacement of *q* by glottal stop [ʔ], a typically urban dialectal feature in Moroccan Arabic,<sup>21</sup> but in other cases he regularly marks with <k> the preserved realization [q], e.g. *qbiḥ* ‘bad, unpleasant’ is transcribed by Borrow now with ʔ (<*oweeah*>, # 199), now with *q* (<*kweeah*>, # 1037) (Hopkins 2015: 30).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> According to Kraft (1899/I: 323 sq.), Borrow’s stay in Tangier was rather 5 than the 6 weeks he declared.

<sup>16</sup> I reproduce this instance here in a shortened form, as being the most straightforward illustration of this phenomenon of code-switching; another case (# 488) may admit of an alternative interpretation: see Hopkins (2015: 66).

<sup>17</sup> Moscoso (2003: 37 and n. 66); Hopkins (2015: 26).

<sup>18</sup> On the assibilated release of *t* in Moroccan Arabic dialects see Heath (2002: 135); Moscoso (2003: 39 and n. 71).

<sup>19</sup> This was not perceived in the Glossary, p. 815b, where—as is often the case—Borrow is taken to task by quoting (“more correctly”) the corresponding Literary Arabic form: here, *ḥānūt*.

<sup>20</sup> Hopkins (2013: n. 88 and 2015: 27).

<sup>21</sup> Heath (2002: 144); Guerrero (2015: 312 and n. 7) for this feature in both the Muslim and the Jewish Tangier communal varieties.

<sup>22</sup> See Hopkins (2015: 26–31) for a full-fledged description of Borrow’s Moroccan Arabic phonology, with abundant exemplification.

On the lexical level, on which this paper is focused, Hopkins' thorough mastery of Arabic linguistics and superb philological skill succeeded in decoding almost entirely Borrow's Moroccan Arabic data, which shows to be generally consistent with a Tangier diatopic profile, where this newly accessible source can be placed a few decades later than Franz von Dombay (1758–1810)'s<sup>23</sup> *Vocabularium Latino-Mauro-Arabicum* (1800) and over 70 years earlier than William Marçais (1874–1956)'s extensive Glossaire to his *Textes arabes de Tanger* (1911), though another valuable repository of Northern Moroccan Arabic recorded mostly in Tangier is represented by the glosses in Fray José Maria de Lerchundi (1836–1896)'s Spanish-Arabic dictionary (1892), whose practical purpose and idiosyncratic simplified transcription do not diminish its substantial reliability for lexicological purposes.<sup>24</sup> Albeit most of these sources have understandably not been included—as indeed would have been the case also of Borrow's vocabulary, had it been available—in Aguadé's most recent (2016) diachronic outline of Tangier Arabic,<sup>25</sup> in a purely lexical-semantic perspective Borrow's material in any case offers some useful dialectological and historical points of comparison. In the following pages I shall endeavour to draw attention to a small number of words and forms recorded by Borrow and clarified by Hopkins' philological commentary, which seem to me to be fraught with interest for Neo-Arabic lexicology, besides offering a most welcome hermeneutical aid to Borrow's admirers not conversant with Maghribi Arabic.

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<sup>23</sup> On Franz von Dombay as an Arabic scholar see now Guerrero (2012) (grammar of Moroccan Arabic) and Hellmuth (2012) (general scholarly profile).

<sup>24</sup> Dombay (1800: 51–136) (subdivided into semantic fields); W. Marçais (1911: 215–504); not having at present access to the original, I quote here Lerchundi's (1932) updated edition.

<sup>25</sup> Aguadé (2016: 22 n. 4): inclusion only of the linguistically most reliable sources for Tangier Arabic, provided with precise phonetic transcriptions. Aguadé's essay usefully complements Hopkins (2015: 18 sq.) on the history of research on the Arabic of Tangier.

Among the several areas of Moroccan Arabic vocabulary that attracted Borrow's attention, the names of animals and plants take pride of place: some of them were not previously documented, while others had not yet been recorded for Tangier, or were known in different forms. An instance of the first category is <*zorkan*> 'crane' (# 103): Hopkins (2015: 47) was informed by a friend from Fez that *zerqan* is actually the name of a bird, but could not find written evidence for it. The form seems to be derived from the rt. ZRQ, which would be compatible with a *sème lexicogène* of a bluish or (in some colour systems) a brownish tinge perceived by the speakers in the colour of the bird's plumage. Though an ethnozoological approach has not often been practised in Neo-Arabic lexicology,<sup>26</sup> Moroccan Arabic fish names actually attest to the productive recourse to this root as a mechanism of colour-directed denomination: e.g. *zūrīqa* (Rabat-Salé) and *zrīqa* (Casablanca) 'gilt-head bream'.<sup>27</sup> A semantic novelty is also Borrow's <*el haisha*> 'the shark' (# 862), glossed by Hopkins (2015: 87) as *l-hiša* 'the wild beast; monster; whale', mentioning *hiša d-le-bħar* 'whale (lit. 'beast of the sea')': only the second meaning is recorded in the Atlante Linguistico del Mediterraneo (ALM) onomasiological investigation as *haiša del bħar* 'finer whale',<sup>28</sup> with a vocalization akin to Borrow's form. An instance of Borrow's collecting an animal name subsequently recorded by professional dialectologists is <*slooffan* pl. *slaffin*> 'lizard' (## 984–985), identified by Hopkins (2015: 94) with *slufan* 'large brown lizard' (Colin 1993: 836 s.v. *slihfan*): this is now confirmed for Northern Moroccan Arabic as *slihfāna* in Larache (Guerrero 2015: 293); though a proper etymological investigation is still a *desideratum*, one may

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<sup>26</sup> Provençal & Skaarup (2016) (on fish names in Egyptian Arabic) constitutes a most welcome recent exception. Ethnobotany, on the other hand, has been brilliantly exemplified by Mandaville (2011) for Najdi Arabic.

<sup>27</sup> Oman (1966: 83 no. 137), with further references.

<sup>28</sup> Oman (1966: 194 no. 333).

however remark that this word is strongly reminiscent of names for ‘turtle’ current in some Egyptian (*siḥlifa*) and Arabian dialects (*silḥifa* etc.),<sup>29</sup> as well as of names for ‘ant’ in Sinai Arabic (*ziḥilfi*),<sup>30</sup> it being well known that the denomination of creeping animals in Neo-Arabic show some bizarre formal connections, if not actual etymological cognates. Among names of animals whose mention by Borrow for Northern Moroccan Arabic anticipates much later recordings by professional dialectologists one could also mention <*surda*> ‘mackerel’ (# 1137), which is of course *sarda* (Hopkins 2015: 102), recorded for Tangiers by Brunot (1920: 59), for Larache (*sarda*) and Alhucemas (*serda*) in the ALM questionnaire for ‘atlantic mackerel’;<sup>31</sup> <*hajilat*> ‘tench’ (# 1139), lit. ‘partridge’ (*ḥažla*), which Hopkins (2015: 102) correctly surmises to be a kind of wrasse: actually several species of wrasse turn out to be named *ḥajla* in the Arabic dialect of Larache, e.g. the ocellated wrasse, the peacock wrasse, and the cleaver wrasse;<sup>32</sup> <*jerro*> ‘dog’ (# 1145) is *žru*, meaning ‘puppy’ in many Arabic dialects, but the normal form for ‘dog’ in Tangier (W. Marçais 1911: 249; Hopkins 2015: 102), as already given by Lerchundi (s.v. ‘perro’), as in other Northern Moroccan varieties, e.g. Chaouen.<sup>33</sup> Concerning plant names, Borrow’s <*safsaf*> ‘oak’ (# 724) offers the wrong botanical identification for what Hopkins (2015: 79) corrects to *şefşaf* ‘poplar’: however, the other 19<sup>th</sup> century lexicographers of Tangier Arabic were also guilty of mistaken identity for this tree, though in favour of the ‘willow’.<sup>34</sup> Another plant, the ‘aloe tree’, was recorded by

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<sup>29</sup> WAD I (128: 378), with discussion of metathesis and other phenomena.

<sup>30</sup> WAD I (124: 363), with pertinent suggestions about the influence of rt. ZḤF ‘to creep, to crawl’ (eventually crossed with type *suhliyyah* / *siḥliyyah* ‘salamander; lizard, etc.’) and further semantic connections.

<sup>31</sup> Oman (1966: 119 no. 203).

<sup>32</sup> ALM data listed by Oman (1966: 112–114 nos. 187, 188, 191).

<sup>33</sup> Moscoso (2003: 363).

<sup>34</sup> Von Dombay (1800: 70) (‘salix’); Lerchundi (1932: 742b) (‘sauce blanco’), beside (39b) (‘alamo blanco’ = white poplar).

Borrow as <*gurseeán*> ‘pita’ (# 738), identified by Hopkins (2015: 80) with *gerzyan*, given by Colin (1993: 1730) only with the meaning ‘aloe fibre, used as sewing thread’, but correctly documented by W. Marçais (1911: 439) as denoting also the plant itself, as had actually already been asserted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century dictionaries by von Dombay and Lerchundi (duly acknowledged by Marçais).

Borrow’s data often touch upon the semantic area of material culture, particularly of domestic appliances and architecture, where one also finds some semantic surprises. A case in point is represented by <*mijerar*> ‘común’ (Spanish for ‘privy, public lavatory’) (# 976), which Hopkins (2015: 93) suggests to analyse as *mexra*, derived from the rt. XRY ‘to defecate’, a rather crude—not to say dysphemistic—denomination, of course well known in many languages; I wonder, however, whether it would not be possible to put forward an alternative interpretation, by positing that Borrow’s <*j*> marks here, as it often does in his dictionary,<sup>35</sup> /*ž*/ rather than /*x*/, i.e. *mīžra* ‘any place where running water flows; system of pipes; sewer’,<sup>36</sup> extended euphemistically to denote also the ‘lavatory’: since the current dictionaries of Moroccan Arabic record neither *mexra* nor *mīžra* with this meaning, this suggestion is of course highly speculative. Borrow’s <*tiva*> ‘basket’ (# 444) has been brilliantly decoded by Hopkins (2015: 63) as *ṭbeq* ‘(bread) basket’: the notebook’s corrupt form possibly reflects the diminutive *ṭbiqa*, recorded by Harrell (1966: 196a s.v. *ṭbeq*). Another house implement is Borrow’s <*shtátoo al harīsh*> ‘a sieve of silk’ (# 809), correctly interpreted by Hopkins (2015: 84 f.) as *štaṭṭu (l)-le-ḥreš* ‘a sieve (for)

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<sup>35</sup> Hopkins (2015: 28 sq.)

<sup>36</sup> Moscoso (2003: 330) (Chaouen: *mīžra* ‘cualquier lugar donde el agua corre, tubería’); Brunot (1944: 110 sq.); Prémare (2, 280) (2. ‘égout domestique; conduit d’évacuation des eaux de l’intérieur de la maison vers l’égout; orifice de ce conduit dans la cour de la maison’); cp. Corriente (1997: 95b) for Andalusí Arabic *mijrā* ‘sewer; underground flow of water’.

the rough (grain)', actually having a mesh of silk: this induced Colin (1926: 66) to suggest a Late Latin etymon *setatium*, \**setatum* 'tamis fait de crins, de soies', a hypothesis subsequently abandoned in favour of a loanword from Berber.<sup>37</sup> In the case of <*chuka*> 'fork' (# 838: more correctly *šuka*, lit. 'thorn, spike'),<sup>38</sup> Borrow's testimony complements for Tangier the documentation of this meaning—very rare outside Eastern Arabic—recorded in the dialect atlases for other towns or villages in Morocco.<sup>39</sup> The names of two pieces of furniture are also included in Borrow's dictionary: <*shooleya*> 'chair' (# 958) = *šūlya*, a variant of *šālya*, recorded for Tangier by Colin (1993: 983) and already by Lerchundi,<sup>40</sup> a loanword from Spanish *silla*,<sup>41</sup> more common in Northern Morocco, but elsewhere receding before *kūrši*;<sup>42</sup> <*māida* pl. *meadi*> 'table' (## 960 f.), a variant of the more widespread and ubiquitous *mīda*, already recorded for Tangier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, subsequently there apparently replaced by *ṭeyfōr* in the meaning 'table basse, sans rebord, ronde ou carrée sur laquelle on mange',<sup>43</sup> but still current in other Northern Moroccan localities.<sup>44</sup> Borrow's <*horsā*>, glossed in Spanish *argolla* (# 524), is actually *xorša* 'large ring, ring-shaped door-knocker' (Hopkins 2015: 68), still current in Moroccan Arabic, also with diverse metaphorical extensions in the nautical vocabulary.<sup>45</sup> Domestic architecture can be further exemplified through

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<sup>37</sup> Prémare (7, 103) s. rad. ŠṬṬ, with copious references to Berberological lexical literature.

<sup>38</sup> Colin (1993: 1018); Hopkins (2015: 86).

<sup>39</sup> Heath (2002: 109); WAD II (215: 137).

<sup>40</sup> Lerchundi (1932: 758b).

<sup>41</sup> The presence of /š/ points to a Morisco loanword according to Moscoso (2003: 346 and n. 1249); cf. Heath (1989: 315 no. C-714).

<sup>42</sup> Heath (2002: 108 and 529, map 2-140).

<sup>43</sup> Brunot (1944: 761 sq.); Abu-Shams (2002: 309 sq.); WAD II (208: 101).

<sup>44</sup> Abu-Shams (2002: 309 sq.); Heath (2002: 114); Moscoso (2003: 328) (Chaouen: *māyda* pl. *myādi*); WAD II (208: 101).

<sup>45</sup> Prémare (4, 54); nautical specialized meanings: Brunot (1920: 37) (Rabat-Salé: 'cigale ou organeau de l'ancre'); Guerrero (2015: 302) (Larache: 'conjunto de argollas

a word recurring also in *BiSp* and in its Glossary,<sup>46</sup> namely <*wustiddur*> ‘patio’ (# 843), more correctly *wūṣṭ d-dār* lit. ‘centre of the courtyard’ (Hopkins 2015: 86), as already recorded by W. Marçais (1911: 494: ‘cour intérieure d’une maison’), still currently used in Northern Moroccan Arabic.<sup>47</sup>

Borrow’s dictionary includes several surprises, the main one being possibly <*herami*> ‘thieves’ (# 480), interpreted as *ḥrami* ‘thief (sg.)’ by Hopkins (2015: 65), who rightly remarks that this meaning is unexpected in Moroccan Arabic, the dictionaries offering a semantic range ‘sly; dishonest, rogue; illegitimate (child); fake’,<sup>48</sup> whereas *ḥarāmi* is of course the usual term for ‘thief, robber’ in Eastern Arabic.<sup>49</sup> One wonders whether we have here a relic of Borrow’s asserted experience (in his letter of 4 September 1839 to the Bible Society) of communicating quite well with Moors, both in Gibraltar and in Tangier, in “Arabic of the East”,<sup>50</sup> though the source of this knowledge on his part can only be open to conjecture.<sup>51</sup>

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por las que pasa la jareta o cabo encargado de cerrar la red en la pesca llamada de cerco’).

<sup>46</sup> *BiSp* (764, 833).

<sup>47</sup> Vicente (2000: 260) [Anjra]; for Tangier, already recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Lerchundi (1932: 605b s.v. *patio*).

<sup>48</sup> Harrell (1966: 246b); Prémare (3, 86–87).

<sup>49</sup> *WADI* (29: 74 sq.).

<sup>50</sup> Ridler (1996: 41 and n. 77), with full references. This assertion seems to contradict Borrow’s already mentioned claim in 1836 of having practised Arabic with a Moorish merchant from Tetuan: Ridler may well be right, however, in surmising that “possibly he had some reason to wish to conceal his knowledge of Moorish Arabic from the Bible Society”.

<sup>51</sup> Ridler (1996: 149 n. 70 and 359 n. 42) mentions a double possibility, namely, 1) Borrow’s picking up some quite rough colloquial Arabic in early youth from some Lascar in Norwich, and 2) Borrow’s frequenting Arabic speakers during his prolonged stay in St. Petersburg (1833–35), such as Mirza Jafar, who taught Persian and Arabic at the University of St. Petersburg. Be that as it may, no journey of Borrow to the Levant is documented before his visiting Istanbul in 1844 (Ridler 1996: 21 n. 3).

Despite Hopkins' valiant efforts, a few lexical items listed by Borrow remain unidentified in Moroccan Arabic. In some cases the possibility of a ghost-word should perhaps not be excluded: one such instance could be <zuil> 'guitar' (# 1123), where one may suspect that the gloss was actually in Spanish, as in the case of 'parar' (to stop) translating <yrkaff> (# 1116) in the preceding page (71) of the notebook, thereby positing, with a mistaken transcription of the first consonant, Spanish 'quitar' (to take off, to remove), a fitting gloss for Moroccan Arabic *zūwwāl*.<sup>52</sup>

As pointed out above, several Arabic words and phrases familiar to readers of *BiSp*, but inadequately explained in the Glossary, surface also in Borrow's Moroccan Arabic dictionary, where Hopkins (2015) now offers their correct interpretation. Two cases in point are: <*ayanas*> 'grasshoppers' (# 642, cp. *BiSp* 772, 800), derived from the phrase *ʿayša ʿayyāna*, lit. 'tired Ayesha', metaphorically used to denote the 'locust' in Tangier Arabic:<sup>53</sup> Borrow's dictionary entry carries the Spanish plural ending -s because the word was also borrowed in *Hakitía*, the North-African Judaeo-Spanish variety, today virtually extinct, spoken by Hayim ben Attar;<sup>54</sup> <*chali*> 'shore' (# 876), erroneously interpreted in the Glossary of *BiSp* (805b) as "possibly a misprint for *shát* 'shore'", but actually corresponding (Hopkins 2015: 88) to Tangier Arabic *čāli*, *tšāle*, duly recorded by Lerchundi (1932: 584b: 'orilla del mar') and Colin (1993: xv, 173: 'rivage de la mer').

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<sup>52</sup> See s.v. *zūwwāl* the glossaries of Vicente (2000: 263) (Anjra); Moscoso (2003: 362) (Chaouen); Guerrero (2015: 303) (Larache).

<sup>53</sup> Prémare (4, 309 and 9, 324); Hopkins (2015: 75).

<sup>54</sup> Hopkins (2015: 36 sq., 75 and *passim*), with punctual annotation of parallels in *Hakitía* for (Judaeo-)Moroccan Arabic words quoted by Borrow; on *Hakitía*'s allegedly dormant status in Northern Morocco see now Lévy (2009: 158): "le judéo-espagnol marocain, *ħakitíya*, a été absorbé par l'espagnol moderne".

Not included in Borrow's dictionary, but also deserving to be correctly interpreted to satisfy the curiosity of the readers of his masterpiece, is <*majoon*>, which in the context of Joanna Correa's denunciation of Hammin's excesses (*BiSp* p. 784) is plainly an intoxicating substance that one eats, faultily commented upon in the Glossary (p. 819b) as "probably connected with the Arabic *majnūn* = possessed by a *jinn*, mad", but actually to be interpreted as *ma'jūn*, a passive participle from  $\text{ʕJN}$  lexicalized to denote "certain opiat des Maures, dont ils usent pour se mettre en appétit".<sup>55</sup> On this (fittingly) intoxicating note we shall conclude this short discussion of Borrow's Moroccan Arabic dictionary.

Modern European travel literature has lately been shown to be a most valuable source affording diachronic depth for the lexical documentation of Neo-Arabic dialects antedating the onset of professional Arabic dialectology in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century:<sup>56</sup> Simon Hopkins' masterly studies on George Borrow's data on Moroccan Arabic further contribute to this research trend. Nobody is more aware of the documentary importance of this genre for Arabic dialectology than the great specialist in Levantine and Middle Arabic, as well as a reputed authority on the history of Maghribi Arabic lexicography,<sup>57</sup> who is the dedicatee of these lines,<sup>58</sup> and to

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<sup>55</sup> Dozy (1881/II: 99b); further evidence, also concerning the mode of its consumption, in Prémare (3, 125 s. rad.  $\text{ḤṢṢ}$ ) and (9, 36 s. rad.  $\text{ʕJN}$ ).

<sup>56</sup> A selection of studies concerning only 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers should include Behnstedt (1993) [Eduard Glaser (1855–1908) for Yemeni Arabic], Palva (1997) [Georg Wallin (1811–1852) and other travellers in central Arabia for Najdi Arabic], Provençal (2002) [Peter Forsskål (1732–1763) on Yemeni Arabic], Talmon (2004) [several missionaries, archaeological explorers and travellers to the Holy Land on Palestinian Arabic], Contini (2010) [Charles Montague Doughty (1843–1926) on Najdi Arabic] and (2012) [Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890) on Najdi and North-West Arabian Arabic].

<sup>57</sup> Lentin (2006) is of course the first illustration that springs to the mind in this connection.

whom their author—as indeed most of Jérôme’s colleagues and pupils—owes many useful hints for the solution of diverse Arabic lexical conundrums,<sup>59</sup> dispensed in the course of over 20 years’ friendship: this small parergon to Hopkins’ fine work on George Borrow’s Moroccan Arabic is meant as a very inadequate return of that largesse.

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<sup>58</sup> Witness his recourse to 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> c. Arabic travel accounts for his capital research on the history of Levantine Arabic: see Lentin (1997: 36 sq.).

<sup>59</sup> An instance can be found in Contini (2010: 308 n. 18).

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