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„Mázlid van haver, nem bóvli a szajré."[2] Hebrew and Yiddish Loanwords in Present-Day Hungarian Language

Abstract.

The Jewish minority in the Hungarian population has been undergoing a kind of renaissance in the last decades: the financial and cultural support of the ruling governments met with the awakening power of Hungarian Jews, which has led to the revival of the Hungarian Jewry. As a result, the theme of "Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian" has reappeared. Several list, some simpler, some more detailed, were published either in printed or in electronic form.

Despite the lack of serious sociological and linguistic surveys, the author attempts to give an established and valid list of this segment of Hungarian vocabulary. After biblical onomasticon and international words (e.g. Amen, behemoth, bagel, goy, hallelujah, etc.), he then examined a third group as well, which consists of allegedly Hebrew and/or Yiddish loanwords in the recent usage of Hungarian.

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[2] The English translation of the title is the following: "You are lucky, dude, the swag is not catchpenny." – these Hebrew-originated slang words are used in everyday Hungarian to pinpoint the topic of the article.

Most of them belong to the realm of slang. This part of the vocabulary is well known, but some of the words seems to be new. To clarify this confused picture caused by the new, shorter or longer lists, we have introduced three categories: accepted loanwords, dubious loanwords, and refused loanwords. During the survey, we used all standard Biblical Hebrew dictionaries, workbooks and standard Hungarian linguistic reference books, too.

Because of the aforementioned Jewish revival, we believe that Jews would like to express their renewed dignity in linguistic terms as well. Yiddish has disappeared as a transmitter, but this does not mean they cannot create new lists, extending their loanwords together with their dignity. So, new lists are emerging *in* Budapest and *for* Budapest.

Keywords: Hebrew loanwords, Yiddish loanwords, Semitic loanwords in Hungarian, Hungarian vocabulary

The Jewish part of the Hungarian population has experienced a kind of renaissance in the last decades: the financial and cultural support of the ruling governments met with the awakening power of Hungarian Jews, which has led to the revival of the Hungarian Jewry. The Jewish festivals in the country, the cultural programmes, the renovated synagogues and other buildings, and the growing scholarly interest[3] all point to this process.[4]As a result, the theme of "Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian"

[3] The leading figure of this new scholarly interest is undoubtedly Géza Komoróczy, founder of The Centre of Jewish Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which was established in 1987 as a teaching and scholarly research institution. The main goal of the Centre was to pursue research in Jewish culture, history, and tradition. Besides coordinating the research (with a special respect to the history of Jews in Hungary), the centre aimed to establish Jewish Studies on an academic (university) level, and in completing this pioneering task Komoróczy created a school with a new generation of young scholars devoted to unfolding the (Hungarian) Jewish heritage. The *Hungaria Judaica* series of the Centre is basically the Hungarian Jewish research in the country.

[4] An additional might not be superfluous. In my opinion, this period covers more or less the renaissance of international interest in Yiddishkeit, too. The growing number of Yiddish grammars and anthologies, e.g., strongly reflects this tendency. Almost every well-known

has reappeared. Several lists, some simpler, some more detailed were published either in printed or in electronic form.

Though some of these are valuable, I cannot hide my disappointment upon reading the existing lists and publications, including the scholarly ones.[5] Some of the problems are general and originate from the wider sociological, religious, linguistic background, whole some others are more specific. We are faced with certain basic methodological problems. Estimating the loanword part of an average person's vocabulary poses various difficulties and limitations due to the different definitions and methods employed.[6] First of all, it would be useful to separate two questions: how many Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords are used by the Hungarian Jews, and how many Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords are used by an average Hungarian? The vocabulary of Hungarian-speaking Jews not surprisingly includes mainly words specific to domains of Jewish culture and religion.[7] But can we determine the context of loan usage in everyday speech among non-Jewish Hungarians? Moreover, can we distinguish between Hebrew and Yiddish origin and, if so, exactly how? Hebrew, German, or Yiddish – which of these

publisher realized this and released some kind of linguistic work on Yiddish, e.g. Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Routledge, or de Gruyter. Just a few examples: a) OUP: J. C. Frakes: *Early Yiddish Texts 1100–1750* (2004); J. Baumgarten: *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature* (2005 – revised edition of the original French edition); b) CUP: N. G. Jacobs: *Yiddish. A Linguistic Introduction* (2005); c) Routledge: R. Margolis: *Basic Yiddish: A Grammar and Workboo*k (2011); d) de Gruyter: M. Aptroot, B. Hansen (eds.): *Yiddish Language Structures* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 52; 2013).

[5] Except for T. Bíró's article, where the author outlines three possibilities following three case studies of weak interactions, representing in the first case the influence of Yiddish on Hungarian (so-called type *e* by Bíró). Cf. BÍRÓ, T. (2004): Weak Interactions: Yiddish Influence in Hungarian, Esperanto and Modern Hebrew. In: Gilbers, D. et al. (eds.): *On the Boundaries of Phonology and Phonetics, a Festschrift Presented to Tjeerd de Graaf*. Groningen, University of Groningen. 123–145.

[6] What is the word, what is to know a word, what sample dictionaries were used, or how tests were conducted? Even native speakers' vocabularies vary widely within a language and are dependent on the level of the speaker's education. Some of my questions are expressed in the first, second, and third chapter of M. Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor's handbook: *Loanwords in the World's Languages – A Comparative Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2009).

[7] Since the majority of these loanwords refer to customs and concepts specific to Jews, one can distinguish areas of borrowing, e.g. dietary laws, synagogue, Jewish laws, etc.

should be considered the lending language? Can we localize the territorial usage of these, meaning is there a specific region in the country where these loanwords are dominant? If so, can we draw a loanword geography map of Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords in recent Hungarian?[8] Many of these problems are already researched or being searched in North America in connection with the new "Jewish English", the so-called Yinglish, and could be used as a role model in Hungary.[9]

These are considered general methodological problems. But the problem may as well be just the opposite: besides the unclear definitions, the lack of linguistic and sociological surveys[10] and of monitoring the change of loanwords in Hungarian results in a chaotic setting. Much more research could and should be done to offer a clearer picture of the Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords used in recent Hungarian.

The default Hungarian lexicon is usually estimated to comprise 60,000 to 100,000 words.[11] The largest dictionaries from Hungarian to another language contain 120,000 words and phrases,[12] but all the Hungarian lexemes collected from technical texts, dialects, etc. would altogether add up to 1,000,000 words.[13] Loanwords in Hungarian

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[8] I believe so. Jews are definitely concentrated in the capital city of Hungary. An estimated 100,000-110,000 number is accepted for the Jewish minority as a general, but there is no official consensus. Most of them live in Budapest, and most of the Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords are used also in Budapest.

[9] S. Benor of Stanford University is one of these linguists; cf. her important writing: BENOR, S. (1999): Loan Words in the English of Modern Orthodox Jews: Yiddish or Hebrew? In: CHANG, S. S. et al. (eds.): *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*. Berkeley, Berkeley Linguistic Society. 287–298. The process of borrowing can work in both directions: one language can accept and also give to the other (acceptor–sender roles). It is very interesting in this connection to mention the ongoing dialogue between Yinglish, or Yiddishized English, in which an English word is integrated into Yiddish usage (as in 'allrightnik,' or the expression 'a Heifitz he isn't), and Anglish, or Anglicized Yiddish, in which a Yiddish word is integrated into English usage (as in 'shmo' and 'shmoozing' – cf. in Hungarian *smúzol*). G. Bluestein provides an insightful glimpse into this dialogue in his introduction: *Anglish/Yinglish: Yiddish in American Life and Literature* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, [2]1998).

[10] Cf. BENOR 1999 – her research work is based on personal data collecting.

[11] An accurate estimate for the total word count is difficult, since it is hard to define what to call "a word" in agglutinating languages due to the existence of affixed and compound words.

[12] KENESEI, I. (ed.) (2004): *A nyelv és a nyelvek* [Language and Languages]. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó. 77.

[13] Op. cit. 76, 86.

are held to constitute about 45% of the basic vocabulary. Although the lexical percentage of native words in Hungarian is 55%, their usage accounts for 88.4% of all words used (thus, the percentage of loanwords used being under 12%). According to recent research, an average Hungarian adult can understand approximately 200,000 words and uses roughly 10,000 words. The standard Hungarian linguistic monographs do not count more than two or three dozens of Yiddish loanwords.[14] Comparing these data, the size of the Hungarian lexicon, and the extremely low percentage of loanwords used, the Hebrew and Yiddish segment of the loanwords in Hungarian language is not indispensable yet a very interesting part of our vocabulary.

Most of the Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords have always been in use in the capital city.[15] I am convinced that, basically, the situation is not significantly different in today's Hungary, Jewish and Yiddish loanwords being overrepresented in the capital city in comparison with the other parts of the country.[16] But the reasons are not the same: before World War II, the usage could spread among the colourful substrata of the city, in the everyday interaction, while today's Budapest simply reflects the shameful situation after the Holocaust: those Jews who have survived the death camps and remained in Hungary are concentrated in the capital city. Outside the capital city, only a few of them are in use – I would estimate the number of these words at no more than thirty.

Therefore, in this study, I have a very humble purpose: to examine some of the most often cited so-called Hebrew or Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian and take a look at their origin. I define a loanword as a lexeme that has been transferred from one language into another and is used as a word (rather than as an affix, for example) in the recipient language. The etymological survey will present a somewhat more nuanced

[14] Komoróczy's opinion that "about one third of the vocabulary of slang in Central Europe is of Hebrew or Yiddish origin" is an exaggeration, but nevertheless it is only an estimated number. In: FROJIMOVICS, K. – KOMORÓCZY, G. – PUSZTAI [Bányai], V. – STRBIK, A. (1999): *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History.* Ed. by Géza Komoróczy. Budapest, Central European University Press. 476.

[15] BÁRCZI, Géza (1932): *A „pesti nyelv"*. Budapest, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.

[16] I accepted here Komoróczy's opinion: these loanwords are used in everyday Hungarian "first of all in the metropolitan centre, in Budapest" (FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1999, 476).

picture of these words: in some cases, I would like to underline their Semitic origin, while in other cases I try to prove that they are falsely considered to be of Hebrew or Yiddish origin. Of course, this linguistic picture is not a black and white one, as in some cases I cannot decide the origin, for which I have created a third category: allegedly Hebrew or Yiddish loanwords.[17] Since Yiddish comes from Hebrew, I assign a Hebrew etymon to each word, while I assign a Yiddish etymon only to words that do not exist in Hebrew.[18] To each word, I then try to assign the earliest date at which it was attested or could be reconstructed in the language.[19]

In this work, I follow and use the major etymological and general dictionaries of the Hebrew, Yiddish, and Hungarian languages. Standard Hebrew dictionaries continuously consulted in this paper are as follows:[20] 1) Gesenius's Hebrew dictionary (henceforth Gesenius),[21] Brown–Driver–Briggs's still popular dictionary (henceforth

[17] Haspelmath–Tadmor's handbook uses five degrees of certainty: 0) No evidence for borrowing; 1) Very little evidence for borrowing; 2) Perhaps borrowed; 3) Probably borrowed; 4) Clearly borrowed (cf. HASPELMATH, M. – TADMOR, Uri (2009): *Loanwords in the World's Languages – A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin, W. de Gruyter. 12 ff). However tempting to adopt these categories, I still do not see clear and firm basis for working with them.

[18] Even this discrimination is far from being exact, since the ratio of Yiddish elements in Yiddish loanwords is unclear. The approach is detailed and applied consequently in WEISER, C. (1995): *Frumspeak: The First Dictionary of Yeshivish*. Northvale, Jason Aronson. xx. The book examines the unique linguistic habits of Orthodox, native-born Americans.

[19] Alfred Toth's *Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian* (Mikes International, 2007) is based on the assumption that the Hungarian language is a direct successor of the Sumerian. Though I do not lack imagination, I strongly doubt this hypothesis, and so I have ignored his work completely.

[20] Since I examine the Hebrew background of a given loanword and not the etymology of the Hebrew word, I have looked up also dictionaries, where one cannot find etymology. The first from this category is the final product of the Sheffield Hebrew dictionary project edited by D. J. A. Clines: *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (8 vols., Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2011; henceforth DCH), which is not a user-friendly publication at all, but this is the first dictionary of the Classical Hebrew language ever to be published. The other linguistic work is KAHAL, probably the best existing Biblical Hebrew one-volume dictionary at this moment, which is the updated version of Köhler–Baumgartner's HALAT/HALOT, revised and corrected by W. Dietrich. KAHAL stands for *Konzise Aktualisierte Ausgabe des Hebräischen und Aramäischen Lexikons* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[21] GESENIUS, W. (1949): *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans.

BDB),[22] Baumgartner's dictionary (henceforth HALAT/HALOT),[23] Klein's etymological dictionary (henceforth CEDHLRE).[24] From the Yiddish dictionaries, I used Abelson's three-volume dictionary,[25] Harkavy's dictionary,[26] and Weinrich's dictionary.[27] Some loanwords do not come from Biblical Hebrew but from later Mishnaic, Rabbinical Hebrew, so I decided on this solid linguistic base to use Jastrow's dictionary,[28] too (henceforth: Jastrow). These Semitic dictionaries were continuously used although I do not cite them herein, as it would have significantly expanded the length of the footnotes. I cite them only in very necessary cases. Major Hungarian dictionaries used in this article are as follows: 1) G. Bárczi and L. Országh (eds.): *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992) – henceforth: MNyÉSz; 2) G. Tolcsvai Nagy: *Idegen szavak szótára* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2007) – henceforth: ISzSz; G. Zaicz (ed.): *Etimológiai szótár: a magyar szavak és toldalékok eredete* (Budapest: Tinta Kiadó, 2006) – henceforth: ESz.; Bárczi Géza: *Magyar szófejtő szótár* (Budapest: Trezor, 1991; following the original 1941 edition) – henceforth: MSzSz. In some cases, one cannot decide if the word originally comes from German through Yiddish mediation, or it is just the opposite.

[22] F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs's *Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* based on the lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979, first edition: 1906).

[23] KÖHLER, Ludwig – BAUMGARTNER, Walter (1967–1995): *Hebräische und Aramäische Lexicon zum Alten Testament*. Leiden, Brill. The 5 volumes (the last one is Biblical Aramaic) were soon translated into English and published by Brill as *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon to the Old Testament* (1994–2000, henceforth HALOT), which was shortly followed by a two-volume study edition (2001) and a CD-ROM edition. Gesenius is accepted and followed by BDB, while BDB is usually followed by DCH – the German linguist seems to be more productive in Semitic lexicography in finding newer and more detailed meanings.

[24] KLEIN, E. (1987): *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*. Jerusalem, Carta. (E. D. Klein was the son of a Hungarian rabbi, himself an ordained rabbi in a Hungarian-speaking town until 1944. After surviving the death camps of Auschwitz and Dachau, he immigrated and finally arrived in Toronto in 1951, where he became the spiritual leader of the local Hungarian-speaking community and also a respected linguist.).

[25] ABELSON, P. (1915): *English–Yiddish Encyclopedic Dictionary*. New York, The Jewish Press.

[26] HARKAVY, A. (1925): *Yiddish–English–Hebrew Dictionary*. New York, private edition.

[27] WEINRICH, U. (1968): *Modern English–Yiddish Yiddish–English Dictionary*. New York, YIVO.

[28] JASTROW, M. (1903): *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London, Luzac.

One aspect seems more or less clear: the Yiddish loanwords in German.[29]

The study of loanwords has already a history in Hungarian linguistics, including Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords. Most of these loanwords come from the German argot employed by thieves, vagabonds in the German-speaking regions of Central Europe (so-called *Rotwelsch* or *Gaunersprache*).[30]

Regarding the wordlists of loanwords, Géza Bárczy's excellent writing from 1932[31] seemed like a good starting point considering the earlier publications – it was unfortunately dismissed by most of the researchers. Since up-to-date research and surveys are still missing, I essentially created another list. For this purpose, I simply collected every list I could access and made a list of my own. The solid basis of this new list is the personality of the writer of this paper: I was born and educated in the north-eastern part of the country (Sárospatak), obtained my first degree at a university in Debrecen (another geographical part of the country) and then another one in the northern part of Hungary (Eger). During my doctoral studies, I lived in Budapest for ten years, and presently I am living in the middle of the country. This offers a solid foundation for assessing what an average Hungarian vocabulary looks like today.

The recent shorter or longer lists can be found either in printed or digital format. Let me mention two authors form the latter category as an illustration. The first one is the Israeli writer Shacham Avri, who has compiled the following online list: *abrakadabra, balhé, cefet, dafke, gajd, hadova/haknizni, hapsi, herot, hücpe, jubileum, majré/majrés/majrézik, mószerol, paterol/elpaterol, pónem, srác, stika, szajré, tohuvabohu, tré, smúz/smúzol*.[32] The other writer is Z. Radnóti, Hungarian chief rabbi and active blogger, who uploaded the following wordlist (the order follows the original):[33] *melák, haver, córesz, behemot, stika, bóvli, jatt, mázli, kóser, tréfli (tré), meló, srác, skac, kipaterol,*

[29] See Heidi Stern's outstanding book: *Wörterbuch zum jiddischen Lehnwortschatz in den deutschen Dialekten* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000).

[30] An excellent survey with a selected bibliography was written by Gary A. Rendsburg in: EHLL; see: RENDSBURG, Gary A. (2013): Rotwelsch, Hebrew Loanwords. In: Kahn, G. (ed.): Encyclopedia *of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 3. Leiden, Brill. 431–434.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Source: http://itthonotthon.blog.hu/2011/04/13/heber_szavak_a_magyar_nyelvben (last accessed on: 20.11.2014.

[33] Source: http://rabbi.zsinagoga.net/2013/12/03/10-teny-a-heber-nyelvrol-i/ (last accessed on: 28.05.2018).

mószer, kajak, smúzol, balhé, nebuló, betli, dafke, handlé, markec, télak [menekülés], *pacek, sámesz, smúz, szajré,* and finally he adds the term *abrakadabra*.[34] This list consist of 29 words, each of them used is everyday Hungarian language. The collection was later expanded with two additional phrases:[35] *dajdajozni* and *Kéz és lábtörést!* – the latter one being a popular saying, too. One must not forget that these are meant to be popularizing and not scholarly writings, so it is beyond the task of this paper to examine them.

Among recent scholarly wordlists of Hebrew and/or Yiddish loanwords in earlier Hungarian language, one can find several lists. Here I mention only the most important ones. a) The first of these was written in a monograph titled *Jewish Budapest*.[36] This long list is dubious, however. If it is meant to be a full collection of Yiddish and Hebrew words in the Hungarian language, then we understand the reason behind the long list. However, if it is intended as a summary of Yiddish and Hebrew loanwords used in today's Hungarian, this list is an exaggeration. At least part of this list (min. 10%) is not used at all, not even by the Hungarian Jewry, I would say. Since there was not any scientific research regarding this issue, the list, just like any opinion, is a speculation, nothing more.

The second list was collected by T. Dahn in his slang dictionary,[37] where he lists the following Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian:

> áff, agler, áher, áhrem, ahrem, áhszor, ajser, ajvé, álmón, álmonoh, ámhórec, aureff, auszdéverol, auzor, ávle, ázesz; bájesz, bajesz, bajeszdin, bájzli, balbósz, baldóver, balhé, (balspísz), bárzli, bé, becam, behóved, besikerál, besmúzol, besóresz?, betli, bóher, bohur, boszhart, bóvli, bózer, böhöm, brahi?, brajgesz?, brennol?; córesz, csacsener?, csakliz?; dafke?, dálesz, dalesz, déli-, delles, delli, dölli, derek, déverol, dibbe, diró; éca, écesz, éceszgéber, ejdim, elknasszol, elpaterol, elpénecol, emesz, epli; gaj, gajdesz?, gajszesz, gálah, ganef, gebasz?, gój, gólesz; hajlak, (hajlakol), hajlem, hajsz, hojsz, hajz, hajzó, halef, handlé, hargenol,

[34] The end of Radnóti's list (*stb.* 'etc.') indicates also that his list is incomplete.

[35] Source: http://rabbi.zsinagoga.net/2014/08/27/harom-kozismert-magyar-kifejezes-ami-a-heber-nyelvbol-szarmazik/ (last accessed on: 28.05.2018).

[36] FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1994, 476–481.

[37] DAHN, Thomas C. (1999): *Wörterbuch der ungarischen Umgangsspache: Ungarisch–Deutsch*. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag. I could not get hold of this publication, so I cite his list from another source.

háring, hászvenül, haver, havrűsze, házer, héder, hesz, hevra, hilíroz, hirig, (hirigel), hó, hóhem; illem. jád, jatt, jatty, jajem; kaffer, kaftliz, kajak, kajle, kajmán, káli, kaporész, kimli, knasz, knassz, kóbi, koffer, kóli, kóser, kóved, koveleff, kozás, [kricsmi], kszivedli, ksziverli; lájle, leff, lenovné; mahlajka, májem, majré, makir, márhec, márkec, markeccer, markecol, masefa?, mázli, mecie, medine, mejvin, meló, (melóbajesz), menüsze?, meraglim, mesüge, mész, mezüme, miloch?, mispohé, mísz, míszmahol, mókem, mole, mólés, mószer, móz, mundér, muri; nebih, nebuló, nevere? ojser, oszposz; pacef, pacek, paterol, (pikbajesz), pinka?, planje, plédlizik, pólisi?, pónem, póter?; rahedli?, rebach, rebah, rucc!, rüfke?; sábeszdekli, samesz, sé, sekerc, sem, sém, sejn, sén, sibbesz, sifli, siker, sikerál, siksze, simon?, slamasztika, slapaj?, smonca, smúz, snorrer, sohér, sóher, soherol?, sojvet, sólem, sovjet, srác, stika, stiké, stum(m)angol?, száh, szajre, szliácsol, szróre; tám, tarhál, télakol, tóf, tofel, tré, tropa, [tüme?]; ulem; zóf, züfec?

Though this list is shorter, I have the same problems with it.

Finally, I mention V. Bányai and Sz. R. Komoróczy's list in EHLL.[38] This is a tenable list I think.

I) The Biblical Onomasticon[39]

The first group of Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian is the Biblical onomasticon. Since proper nouns (a noun that identifies a particular person, place, or thing) are also part of the vocabulary, one cannot miss to mention these words.

The Battle of Mohács in 1526 signalled the beginning of a miserable period in Hungarian history: the Ottoman Empire could conquer but one part of the country ("Turkish Hungary"), while the western part had fallen into the hands of the Habsburgs ("Royal Hungary"), and only Transylvania provided a relatively secure way of life for its inhabitants (the Principality of Transylvania). With Mohács, the majority of the

[38] KAHN, G. (ed.) (2013): *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistic*s. Leiden, Brill.

[39] The term "Biblical" is used in this study in reference to both testaments, since the writer as well as the cultural and linguistic background of the Hungarian population is Christian. In other cases, I definitely use the Biblical Hebrew designation.

leadership of the Roman Catholic Church was lost, too. This paved the way for the new religious movement, Reformation, which had just begun a few years earlier (1517), and in the general turmoil following the Battle of Mohács, the new teachings were gaining ground against little opposition. The Reformation has brought the triumph of the vernacular: the sermons were kept in Hungarian, and the first complete Bible translation from Károli (1590) helped to form the Hungarian language. The Counter-Reformation kept the Bible in the focus, so the Biblical influence on Hungarian thinking, Hungarian literature continued. Many of the Old Testament personal names became part of the Hungarian onomasticon during these centuries, e.g. *Ádám* (*µd:a:* – in English: 'Adam'), *Éva* (*hW:j'* – in English: 'Eve'), *Ábrahám* (*µh;r:b]a'* – in English: 'Abraham'), Sára (*jr:c* – in English: 'Sarah'), Mózes (*hv,mo* – in English: 'Moses'), *Dávid* (*dwID:* – in English: 'David'), Sámuel (laeWmv] – in English: 'Samuel'), Eszter (rTes]a – in English: 'Esther').[40] Hebrew (and Aramaic) names from the New Testament are also used in the Hungarian name-giving tradition, e.g. *János* (in English: 'John'), *Magdolna* (in English: 'Magdalene').[41] Some of the Biblical personal names have been very popular for a long time, e.g. *Mózes* (in English: 'Moses') in Transylvania.[42] Other loanwords had different syntactical functions originally, e.g. *tydIWhyÒ* 'Judahite woman' (adverb in Hebrew) became the well-known personal noun *Judit* 'Judith'. We know the opposite of the process, too, when a Hebrew personal name became part of a grammatical structure: *ar;s]ysi* (in English: 'Sisera') is a personal noun in Hebrew, while it is used in Hungarian as *siserahad* in a fixed structure (it means ' a disorderly, ragtag army').

[40] The name "Esther" is originally not Hebrew, but it comes from the Babylonian *Ištar* via Persian; cf. HALAT/HALOT.

[41] *Magdolna* is the Hungarian form of 'Magdalene', from ancient Greek *Μαγδαληνή*, byname of the biblical Mary Magdalene, 'Mary of Magdala', from Magdala (in Greek *Μαγδαλά*), the name of a village along the shores of Lake Galilee. Magdala derives from the Hebrew *ld"gÒmi* 'tower'.

[42] Officially, Transylvania belongs to the state of Romania, i.e. this is a Romanian region, but for centuries this was Hungarian territory, populated even today by the largest autochthonous minority in the EU (with cc. 1.2 million Hungarians).

II) International words

The second group of Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords in Hungarian belongs to the so-called "international words". Most of these lexical items became part of the vocabulary via ecclesiastical Latin or Greek, and they appear usually in the sophisticated usage of intellectuals, though not without exception. These are the following:

1) ***abrakadabra*** (Hebrew *arbdk arba ?* Aramaic *ar:b]d"K] ad:b][' ?*; English, French 'abracadabra'; German *Abrakadabra*)

The use of the mystical term "abracadabra" was supposed to work as part of a magical spell or of a healing charm, the word of magic. The etymology of the phrase is disputed (ÉTSZ/MÉK p. 2; ISzSz p. 23; Zaicz p. 3). There are two popular Semitic explanations. Either it derives from the Aramaic *ar:b]d"K] ad:b][',* which means 'it works as it was said' or from the Hebrew *arbdk arba* 'I create as the word [was said]'. Since practising magic through words has been known from ancient times, the phrase ideologically fits into the realm of magic. The collocation of the structure and keeping its original pronunciation all underline this. The potential source of the power of the words is their secrecy and exclusivity: a particularly sacred language that is incomprehensible to the majority of the population and that can only be used and interpreted by specialized practitioners (e.g. magicians, priests). However, there are other explanations, too. One of them suggests a relationship with the Gnostic deity Abraxas, while the other one regards it as some kind of educational tool used for helping students in learning the Latin alphabet. Its first documented use in Hungarian literature was by M. Tompa and M. Jókai (MNyÉSz vol. 1, p. 11).

2) ***ámen*** (÷*mea;* – English: 'Amen', German *amen*)

Often used in church liturgy, interestingly it is not so often attested in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Ges., BDB, DCH, HALOT – under forty occurrences). Originally used in oath forms in the Bible as a closing form (surely, indeed), it is also used in Hungarian slang meaning simply 'yes'.

3) ***behemót*** (Hebrew *(t/mheB]* – in English: 'behemoth')

The phrase is usually explained as the plural of the Hebrew *hm;heB]* (meaning: 'domestic animal', usually cattle; also animal in general; and 'beast', cf. Ges., BDB, HALAT/HALOT, DCH, KAHAL). Notably, there is another etymological explanation for the word, according to which it derives from the Egyptian *p-ehe-man*, which means 'hippopotamus', literally 'the horse of the water'. This etymology is also mentioned in an earlier Hungarian lexicon as a possible origin of the word.[43] To make things more complicated, this meaning ('hippopotamus') can be detected in Job 40:15. Here – despite its use in the plural form –, there is obviously only one animal, some kind of monster (hippopotamus?[44] crocodile?[45]). I accepted the Hebrew etymology of the word.

4) ***bejgli*** (Yiddish: *lgyyb*, English: 'bagel', Polish: *baygiel*, French and Spanish: *baguel*)

A bagel is a ring-shaped bakery product originating in the Jewish communities of Poland. The first known mention of the bagel was in 1610, in Jewish community ordinances in Krakow (Poland), and they were widely consumed in Ashkenazi Jewish communities from the 17th century on. Nevertheless, I am not convinced that the Hungarian *bejgli* and the Yiddish *baygl* have much in common because of the significant difference in the producing of *bejgli* and bagel. The original bagel was made by boiling or steaming and then baking the yeasted wheat dough. The boiling is the interesting part here because the result is a dense, chewy, doughy interior, which I feel far from the Hungarian *bejgli*. Yet again, one could argue against this by mentioning a very characteristic part of the bagel that is the poppy often used for topping it. Using such a

[43] Cf. ÁLDÁSSY, A. – ÁBRÁNYI, K. – ACZÉL, K. – ÁGOSTON, J. (1900): *Pallas Nagylexikon*. Vols. I–XVIII. Budapest, Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság.

[44] Contrary to popular belief, the hippopotamus is a more dangerous and aggressive animal, than the crocodile – the hunting scenes of the Egyptian pharaohs struggling with hippos on the wall paintings definitely make sense!

[45] This tradition is also followed in the Book of Enoch and later by church tradition: the mediaeval church Latin uses here "Behemoth", just like many modern translations (e.g. NRSV, ZB). From this phase on, it lives its own life in the literature (cf. Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan or one of the main characters in Bulgakov's masterpiece). Note, that German has even plural for behemoth: *die Behemot(h)s*!

specific ingredient cannot be accidental. According to some others,[46] it derives from the Austrian German *beugel*, *beugl*, *beigel*, which is a bended, baked food filled with either poppy or nut (originally from the German *beugen* 'to bend'). The etymology is uncertain.

5) ***gettó*** (English: 'ghetto')

A ghetto is a part of a city where members of a minority group live, typically as a result of social, legal, or economic pressure. The etymology of the word is uncertain, as there is no agreement among etymologists. Theories include: a) it comes from the Venetian *ghèto* 'foundry'; b) from the Hebrew *tG< get* 'official document of divorce, separation'; c) from the Yiddish *gehektes* 'enclosed'; d) from the Latin *Giudaicetum* 'Jewish'; e) from the Italian *borghetto* 'little town', 'small section of a town'; f) from the Old French *guect* 'guard'; g) from the Latin *Aegyptus* (in memory of exile). To sum up, the Hebrew origin is uncertain.

6) ***gój*** (Hebrew *y/G* ,Yiddish *ywg*, plural *µyywg* or *µywg goyim*, adjective *goyische*; from the plural of the Hebrew; English, Portuguese 'goy')

The word is attested in the Hebrew Bible more than five hundred times. It means 'nation', often 'the pagan peoples' as opposed to Israel, and 'swarm of animals'. The exclusive "non-Jewish" meaning is of post-Biblical origin and widely used in later times and other languages, including Yiddish. In the Jewish context, it often has a pejorative meaning, generally used in argot.[47]

7) ***gólem*** (*µl,Go*; English, Spanish, Afrikaans 'golem')

The noun is attested only once in the Hebrew Bible (*hapax legomenon*), in Psalm 139:16. It is suffixed 'my golem' i.e. my formless body, my embryo (cf. Gesenius, DCH, HALAT/HALOT, KAHAL; BDB: imperfect substance). In Aramaic, it means unfinished vessel. In today's usage, it means a man-made humanoid, a kind of android.

[46] ZAICZ, Gábor (2006): *Etimológiai szótár: a magyar szavak és toldalékok eredete*. Budapest, Tinta Kiadó. 62.

[47] ZAICZ 2006, 254.

This meaning is based on the well-known story of Jewish folklore.[48] In later Hebrew, it had another meaning: 'rude, impolite man'.

8) ***gyehenna*** (Hebrew *µNohi (a)yGe*, *µ/NhiyGe*; Greek: *γέεννα*; Latin *gehenna*; Czech, English, Portuguese '[G]ehenna')

The original Hebrew phrase designates the Valley of Hinnom outside Jerusalem. The place is associated with terrible cultist practices like burning the dead bodies or even child sacrifice. The structure later became a fixed collocation, in Hellenistic times already meaning the place of fiery punishment (1Enoch 10:13; 48:8–10; Judith 16:17; etc.).[49] In Judaism and in the New Testament, it is definitely the place where some or all of the spirits are believed to leave after death. The twelve loci except for James 3:6 can be found in the Synoptic tradition, all in Jesus's sayings. The metaphorical meaning is reflected also in the Talmud. In today's usage, it means simply 'hell'.[50]

9) ***hallelujah*** (*Hy:Wll]h'*; English and many others languages: 'hallelujah')

This is an exclamation in the Hebrew Bible used in songs of praise or thanksgiving to God (Praise Yah! Praise the Lord!). The phrase appears several times in the superscriptions of the psalms (Ps. 106; 111–113; 135; 146–150) and also as a closing formula (Ps. 104–106; 113; 115–117; 146–150).[51] It is a well-known phrase in Christian liturgies all over the world as a general expression of gratitude or adoration.

[48] The story of the golem is connected to the famous rabbi, Maharal (Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel, 1513–1609). He created a golem out of clay to protect the Jewish community in Prague and to help them out in doing physical labour. He put a paper into its mouth with the Tetragrammaton on it, and using his Kabbalistic knowledge he brought the golem to life. Otherwise, the creation of man from clay is a millennia-old literary topos in the ancient Near East, known already from the Sumerian creation story, where Enkidu creates Kurgarru and Kalaturru to work instead of him.

[49] The Greek form of the phrase is not attested neither in the Septuagint nor in Josephus's writings.

[50] ZAICZ 2006, 269.

[51] In the Septuagint, it is interestingly attested only in the superscriptions.

10) ***héderel*** (Hebrew *rd,j,*; Danish, English, Spanish, Swedish: 'heder')

Héderel means in Hungarian 'to stay somewhere'. The verbal form comes from the Hebrew noun *rd,j,* , which means 'room', 'inner room'.

11) ***hozsánna*** (*an: [v'/h*; English and many other languages: 'hosana', 'hosannah')

The Hebrew *[vy root* is well attested in the Hebrew onomasticon. The phrase from this root is based on Psalm 118:25, where one can read *aN: h[;yvi/h hw:hyÒ* 'JHWH please save me'. This became later a cry of praise or adoration to God in liturgical use among the Jews (Sukkoth). In the New Testament, Jesus is welcomed by these words upon his entry into Jerusalem. Since then, it has been used in the Christian churches in liturgy and in the psalmody of the church.

12) ***jubileum*** (Hebrew *lbe/y*; Greek *ἰώβηλος*; Latin *jubilaeus*; English,[52] French, and Spanish 'jubile(e)')

The word designates a special year of emancipation in the Bible, presumed to be kept every fifty years, when farming was abandoned and Hebrew slaves were set free. In mediaeval Roman Catholic religion, it designates a special year in which remission from sin could be granted, as well as indulgences upon making a pilgrimage to Rome. Generally speaking, it designated first a period of fifty years, half a century and later simply a time of celebration or rejoicing.[53] The Hungarian usage follows perfectly these outlined traditions – derivative verb: *jubilál* 'celebrates an anniversary'.

13) ***kérub*** (Hebrew *bWrK*]; Latin *cherub*; Dutch, English 'cherub')

The word *bWrK]* is attested nearly hundred times in the Hebrew Bible, the first being in Gen. 3:24. Often used in Biblical books, especially the *µybiWrK]h' bvey* phrase ('who sits on the cherubim'). The cherub is a winged creature who attends on God, later seen as the second highest order of angels.[54]

[52] Orthographic variant: *jubilee*.

[53] Derived terms: silver jubilee, ruby jubilee, golden jubilee, diamond jubilee, platinum jubilee.

[54] The picture of winged creatures is deeply rooted in the religious beliefs of the ancient Near East – e.g. one can mention the *kuribu*/*karibu* in the Assyrian-Babylonian religion.

14) ***kibic*** (German *kiebitzen* 'to look on'; Yiddish ÷x[byq (*kibeytzn*); English 'kibitz/kibbitz')

Kibic is a person who offers unwanted advice, e.g. to someone playing cards or chess. The phrase is not rooted in the Bible, it derives from the German via Yiddish and used in everyday language frequently.[55] The English meaning 'to chat, to gossip' is missing from the Hungarian.

15) ***kóser*** (Hebrew *rveK;*; English, Portuguese, Spanish 'kosher')

The Hungarian *kóser* has the same double meaning as in English: a) correct according to Jewish law, normally used in reference to Jewish dietary laws; b) appropriate, legitimate (slang). The Hebrew root *rvK* occurs only three times in the Bible (Est. 8:5; Qoh. 11:6.10), and only this verb used in Biblical Hebrew, *rveK;*, is not attested. Besides, it has a somewhat different meaning: 'it is proper in his view', 'he is pleased with" (HALAT/HALOT, KAHAL) or 'to succeed', 'to be an advantage' (Ges., BDB, DCH). In present-day Hungarian, the 'not kosher' phrase is also used, meaning 'something suspicious, wrong'.[56]

16) ***manna*** (Hebrew ÷m;; Greek *man/manna*; English, Finnish, Greenlandic, Icelandic, Italian 'manna')

Despite its modern currency, the Hebrew ÷m; is not an often used word at all (Ex. 16:31.33.35; Num. 11:6–7.9; Deut. 8:3, 16; Josh. 5:12; Neh. 9:20; Ps. 78:24–25, 105:40). It is a food in the Bible, miraculously produced[57] for the Israelites in the desert during the wandering. By extension, it means any good thing (not just food) that comes into someone's hand.

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[55] According to Zaicz, it was borrowed from German used in Vienna; he ignores the role of Yiddish (ZAICZ 2006, 407).

[56] Op. cit. 438.

[57] Earlier explained as a secretion of a tamarisk (*Tamarisk mannifera*) after damage from the shield louse but now known as originating from the insect itself (cf. HALAT/HALOT with selected bibliography). KOEHLER, Ludwig – BAUMGARTNER, Walter – RICHARDSON, M. E. J. (transl.) (1994–2000): *The Hebrew & Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden (The Netherlands), Koninklijke Brill, NV. CD-ROM edition.

17) ***macesz*** (*hX;m'*; English 'matzo', 'matza(h)')

Matzo is a Biblical term for unleavened flatbread, and it forms an integral element of the Passover festival. It is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible several times in relation to the Exodus from Egypt (Ex. 12:8.18; Deut. 16:3.8).

18) ***mesüge*** (Hebrew *¨hg:Wvm]*; English 'meshuga', 'meshugah', 'meshuggah')

Another *hapax legomenon* from the Bible (Job 19:4), attested only in suffixed form (*ytigÉWvm]*). The meaning of the presumed (hypothetical) lexeme is 'inadvertent sin, mistake'. In Yiddish, it is spelt *mesüge*, and it means 'fool', which is the widely spread meaning of the word.[58] This is its everyday Hungarian use, too.

19) ***pöcs*** (Yiddish *ÅaP;* 'pots'; English 'putz'; Portuguese *putz*[59])

The term is not attested in the Bible. It means penis, the word being used as an insult (vulgar usage).[60] In Hungarian, the word is also a rude, impolite term. Note that Hungarian has a derivative verb from the noun: *pöcsöl*, which means someone spending too much time with doing something ('dawdle'). Official Hungarian handbooks have not recognized its Yiddish origin yet.[61]

20) ***sabbat*** (Hebrew *tB;v'*; English 'Sabbath' / 'Shabbat'; French *sabbat / chabbat*; Portuguese, Norwegian, Swedish *sabbat*)

Sabbath is the seventh day of the week in the Bible.[62] Though the observance of Sabbath is reasoned differently in the Bible,[63] the custom has become general, and today it is seen as one of the fundamentals of Judaism. The term is also used in the education in compound words like *sabbat év*, cf. English 'sabbatical year'. In Hungarian, the Yiddish form *sábesz* is also used for Sabbath, at least in Budapest (cf. *sábeszdekli* in the following part of this study).

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[58] The word is used all over the world, from I. B. Singer's novel to a Swedish heavy metal band.
[59] With slightly modified meaning: to emphasize something that has gone wrong.
[60] I kindly ask the readership not to be scandalized at these lines. Since this is a linguistic paper, I cannot ignore vulgar phrases, as they also make part of the language.
[61] E.g. ZAICZ 2006, 660.
[62] In modern Hebrew, the days of the week do not have names, except for Sabbath (first day, second day, third day, etc.).
[63] Compare Ex. 20 to Deut. 5, where the observance of Sabbath is explained in different ways.

21) ***smúzol*** (Hebrew *t/[/mv]* 'reports, gossip'; Yiddish ÷*s[wmv shmuesn* 'converse'; English 'schmoose' / 'schmooze')

Smúzol: to converse informally, make small talk or chat.

22) ***spricc*** (German *spritzen*; Yiddish ÷*xyrPv*; English 'spritz')

A sprinkling or spray of liquid; a small amount of liquid. The derivative *spriccelni* 'to spray', 'sprinkle', or 'squirt lightly' is also used. Officially, the Yiddish origin is not mentioned in Hungarian literature.[64] Its origin is disputed.

23) ***tréfli*** (Hebrew *hp;r]f]*; Yiddish *¹yyrf treyf*; English 'tref' / 'trayf' / 'traif' / 'treif'; Dutch *tref*)

The Biblical term *hp;r]f]* literally means 'animal torn by beasts', and therefore it is unfit to be eaten, not kosher. Out of the nine occurrences (Gen. 31:39; Ex. 22:12.30; Lev. 7:24; 17:15; 22:8; Ez. 4:14; 44:31; Nah. 2:13), the laws of Leviticus are especially important, where the meat of the torn animal is declared to be unclean. In everyday usage, it means not acceptable, not good, usually in argot.[65]

III) Hebrew and/or Yiddish Loanwords (Outside the Biblical Onomasticon and International Loanwords) in Present-Day Hungarian

The third group consists of the allegedly thought Hebrew and/or Yiddish loanwords in the recent usage of Hungarian. Most of them belong to the realm of slang. Even Bárczy noted two important things in his excellent article on the language of Budapest. First: the language of the Hungarian capital city differs significantly from the other parts of the country. The average citizen of Budapest uses many words, phrases, and idioms that sound strange, mistakenly used, and broken Hungarian. The designation *pesti nyelv* 'the language Budapest' is still well founded in this connection as somehow strange and

[64] ZAICZ 2006, 749: Bavarian-Austrian loanword.
[65] MÉK p. 1371; ISzSz p. 1042.

sarcastic. That is why I stressed the importance of Budapest in our linguistic survey. The other still relevant point of Bárczy is that the Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords of the Hungarian language mainly used in this stratum, in Budapest, are getting fewer and fewer.[66] In my opinion, the situation is more or less very similar to that of the 1930s though the reasons are different. The German part of the population of Budapest is not a significant cultural or financial factor anymore, and, painfully, this is true for the Budapest Jewry, too. Despite that, as earlier mentioned, 80-90% of the Hungarian Jews can be found here, this is still a very weak factor considering the lifeblood of the city and the pace at which these loanwords are falling into disuse. There are no significant minorities at all, I think. One cannot hear Chinese loanwords or newer Gipsy words despite the growing number of these groups, and no new Jewish or Yiddish loanwords knocking at the door. Here, I would like to articulate and add a significant observation to this general picture after having examined all allegedly Hebrew and Yiddish loanwords.

For this reason, I have carefully chosen the words: those that cannot be understood outside Budapest were left out from my list. Of course, this is just another hypothetical and subjective list without carrying out any in-depth research and surveys; all referenced words and opinions are mine, and so does the responsibility.

balek

Balek means 'looser', 'dupe' in Hungarian, and the Turkish-Yiddish origin is often expressed in etymological lists. According to this, the Turkish-Yiddish *balik* means 'fish'.[67] The ÉTSZ details only the Turkish origin. Another explanation links the term to the Venetian Italian *balocco* 'idler'. The etymology is debated and uncertain; some of the linguistic works simply ignore to mention anything at all.[68] The first use of the word in Hungarian literature was documented in the works of the writer Kálmán Mikszáth.[69]

[66] BÁRCZY 1932, 19.
[67] MSzSz p. 14.
[68] E.g. ISzSz.
[69] MNyÉSz vol. 1. 396.

balhé (Hebrew *hl;h;B]*; Yiddish *beholo*; German *balhe?*)

Balhé means 'hoopla', 'sudden disaster', 'dispute'. According to several Hungarian etymological dictionaries,[70] the word was borrowed from German, which derives from Yiddish. The Yiddish word originates from the Hebrew *hl;h;B]* 'sudden disaster', 'horror', a rarely attested phrase in the Bible (Lev. 26:16; Ps. 78:33; Is. 65:23; Jer. 15:8). Unfortunately, I could not find the suspected word (*balhe*) in German dictionaries. Yiddish comes from Hebrew without doubt, but how can one explain the change from *beholo* to *balhe*? Even with metathesis, this is rather unlikely, so I think the origin of the word is dubious.

barkochba / barkóba[71]

This is a well-known and popular game in Hungary named after the Jewish freedom fighter Simon bar Kokhba. One person thinks of an object (animal, plant, person, etc.), and the other players can ask questions in an effort to guess what it is. In the English version, this is limited to twenty questions, therefore it is called *20 Questions*. According to a Jewish legend, a blind and mutilated man was brought to Bar Kochba. Even his tongue was cut out to prevent him from testifying against them. But Bar Kochba was determined to reveal the truth, so he asked yes-or-no questions, and thus the victim could answer with either nodding or shaking his head. It turned out that his own elder brothers had committed some terrible crimes involving financial interests. The guilty were punished, and the method of investigation became world famous and also played as a game in many countries. However, the naming "barkochba" remains a Hungarian speciality.

bóvli (Hebrew *lb,B; Ã ylib]B*; Yiddish *ylbb*)

Bóvli means worthless, not qualitative, catchpenny. The Hebrew origin of the phrase is generally accepted by Hungarian dictionaries. The Hebrew *lb,B;* means 'Babel', the ancient metropolis in Mesopotamia. Following the prophets' critical assessment, the name of the city became associated with worthlessness, so *ylib]B;* 'Babylonian' equals worthlessness, something that has no real value. However, there is another explanation.

[70] ÉTSZ; ZAICZ; ISzSz p. 110.

[71] According to MÉK, the latter form is incorrect (p. 90).

The word is a German loanword (German *Bovel, Bofel, Bafel*) that derives from Yiddish *lbb* 'bowel'.[72] This latter explanation is preferred by the writer of this paper, the former one supposedly being just a reflection of a Hebraizing intention.

böhöm (*behemót*?)

The word probably derives from the above-mentioned *behemót* as a derivative. It is used in everyday Hungarian.

cefet

The origin of the word is uncertain.[73] The basic form *cefet* is rarely used, and it means bitch, harlot, a shameful person. It was first attested in Hungarian in 1874.[74] Much more common is the derivative adverb *cefetül*, always in this fixed collocation: *cefetül érzi magát*, which means 'feeling sick', 'feeling unwell'. It is more appropriate to consider it as a variant of the word *cafat*.

córesz (Hebrew *hr;x; Ã* – construct state *tr'x;*; with Ashkenazi pronunciation: *córesz*)

The are two *hr;x;* lexemes can be found in Biblical Hebrew dictionaries. The first means concubine, second wife, or enemy, these words occurring only a few times in the Bible (1Sam. 1:6; Ps. 54:9; 138:7; 143:11). The second one is more common, and it means 'need'. We are in need = we are in *córesz* (direct, friendly speaking).

dajdajozik

Dajdajozik = 'having fun and singing'. One of most beloved Jewish songs in the Passover Seder is *Dayenu*. The word means 'it would have been enough'. The singing takes place after the participants have finished eating, often late at night. So, the neighbourhood could hear the celebrating Jews singing the refrain *day-dayenu, day-dayenu, dayenu, dayenu*, i.e. the Jews *dajdajoztak*.

[72] ZAICZ 2006, 82.
[73] ÉTSZ, ISzSz.
[74] ZAICZ 2006, 97.

éca, écesz, éceszgéber

There are three *hx;[e* lexemes according to modern dictionaries (HALAT/ HALOT, KAHAL). The most often attested meanings are 'plan', 'advice'. This word is used in Hungarian in the original meaning: *van egy écám* 'I have an idea'. It is also used in the *écesz* form, which comes from the *status absolutus* form (*tx;[e*). This latter one is also used in a combination with the German *geben* 'to give' as *éceszgeber* 'the one who gives advice, who has an idea'.

gajdol

The original form was *gajdos*, which means 'a drunken, noisy person'. From this was created artificially the term *gajd* with the meaning 'funny song, cheerful noise' – this form is not used anymore, while the derived verb *gajdol* is still in use,[75] meaning 'one that caterwauls'. Unofficial lists often explain the etymology from the Hebrew *dG:* 'fortune', pronounced *god* and in Ashkenazi *gajd*. Though the etymology is missing in several of the Hungarian works,[76] it is probably yet another Hebraizing attempt in an effort to find more Hebrew elements in the Hungarian vocabulary.

hakni

Hakni means 'appearance' (of actors, singers). A popular but probably wrong etymology sees the Hebrew expression *lKoh'* 'all', 'every' behind the Hungarian phrase. The German verb *haken* offers a much better solution. It means 'to hook', 'to catch with a hook'. When someone put in an appearance, he or she could easily say that he or she tried to catch someone (figurative meaning).

haver

The Hebrew noun *rbej;* means 'friend', 'dude'. Used in everyday Hungarian, it derives unambiguously from the Biblical Hebrew.

[75] MNyÉSz vol. 2. 987; also used by famous Hungarian writers and poets like Dezső Kosztolányi, Zsigmond Móricz, or Endre Ady.

[76] E.g. MÉK p. 432.

hirigel

The Hebrew *grh* root means 'to kill someone'; it is used in the same way in Hungarian.

jatt, jattol

The Hebrew noun *dy:* (*jád*) means 'hand'. In Yiddish, *geben jad/jatt* means 'to give hand', 'to give a tip', and from this comes that *jatt* means tip in Hungarian; also the derived verb *jattol* means that 'someone gives a tip'. In prison slang, it also means 'to bribe'. The Hebrew origin is certain behind the Yiddish usage.

majré

The Hebrew verb *arey:* means 'to fear', the derived noun is *ar:/m* 'fear', in Yiddish *moyre, mayre*.[77] *Majrés, majrézik* means 'to be worried'.

mázli (*lZ:m'*)

The Hebrew term *¨lZ:m'* is an ancient Semitic loanword, and it means 'the position of the stars', 'constellations of the zodiac'. It appears only once in the Hebrew Bible (*hapax legomenon*), in 2Kings 23:5. From the 'constellation' came the general meaning 'luck'; therefore, *mázli* as a suffixed form actually means 'my luck'. But the Hungarian cannot perceive the suffix in this form, so it adds a Hungarian suffix and uses it in a highly clichéd expression: *Mázlim van!* 'I am lucky'. An adverbial form is also formed and often used *Mázlista!* 'he has luck', 'he is lucky'. It appears relatively late in Hungarian, its first attestation being from 1956, and it belongs to the realm of friendly, direct speaking.[78]

melák

Melák means 'a huge, big, ungainly man' in Hungarian. One can find it in several modern lists, with the presumed Hebrew etymology *Jl,m,* 'king'. In fact, the adverb possibly comes from a personal name, Ezéchiel de Mélac (1630–1704), who was a soldier of Louis XIV. Mélac became notorious for being extremely merciless and brutal; under

[77] ISzSz p. 645.
[78] ZAICZ 2006, 522.

his command, many German towns and villages were set on fire. Even in present-day southwest Germany, Mélac's name is a synonym for 'murderer' and 'arsonist', and one can hear the harsh judgement: *Du melak!* Moreover, *Mélac* turned into a dog's name, designating a huge, big, ungainly type of dog. This meaning was also attested in Hungarian though the term is out of date.[79] Nevertheless, it became common to designate a huge, big, ungainly man. And this etymology has nothing to do with the Hebrew 'king'.

meló

The noun *hk;al;m]* is well attested in Biblical Hebrew, with several meanings: 1) trade mission, business journey; 2) business, work; 3) handiwork, craftsmanship; 4) service; 5) service in the cult, duty. Later the 'work' meaning displaced all the other meanings, and this simplified meaning was pronounced as *melóchá* in Yiddish, this being the source of the abbreviated Hungarian form *meló*.

mismásol

The verb means 'to gloss over', 'to keep off the work'. Obviously, the Hebrew *pilpel* pattern must have been in someone's mind when trying to see a Hebrew verb behind this. Instead of this, we better look up a German dictionary where one will come across the German *Mischmasch* 'hotchpotch', 'hodgepodge'. However, we cannot excclude that the phrase was transmitted through Yiddish into Hungarian. The etymology is disputed,[80] only one thing is clear: there is no Biblical background here.

mószerol, bemószerol

The meaning of the verb 'to tell on'. The Biblical Hebrew root *rsm* occurs twice in the Bible, in Num. 31:16 (*qal*) and Num. 31:5 (*niphal*); its meaning as *qal* is 'to become an occasion for apostasy' (debated: as *niphal*, it means 'selected', 'to be picked out'. Both of them are *hapax legomenon*, but for 'betray', one would expect the *dgB* root.

pacák

Morvay: Yiddish *pacek*, from the Hebrew *ponem* (??)

[79] Op. cit. 526.

[80] ISzSz p. 685: *1. zagyvalék, vegyes dolog v. holmi; 2. limlom, értéktelen dolgok [ném., jid.].*

(el)paterol

Elpaterol means 'to clear away', 'to set aside', and it is explained as a loanword from the Hebrew *PTR* root. *PTR* with *tav* (*rtP*) is a terminus technicus used for explaining, interpreting a dream. This cannot be our candidate obviously. The other *PTR* with the *tet* consonant (*rfP*) in *nifal* could mean 'to take one's leave', 'say goodbye', 'pass away' – this fits well into the etymological explanation.

séró

Séró means hairstyle, the Gipsy origin of the word being generally accepted.[81] Nevertheless, here one can find again a Hebraizing attempt that deduces it from the Hebrew *r[;ce*. The etymology cannot be verified.

srác

'Little/young boy' – from the Biblical Hebrew *År,v,,* which means 'swarm, a mass of small animals or reptiles which naturally occur in large numbers', from which in Yiddish: 'something that bustles, swarms' and in figurative meaning the creature (= little boy) who always bustles. It is a Yiddish loanword in Hungarian.[82]

stika, stikában

If someone does something *stikában*, that means he 'does something quietly, secretly'. The Hungarian etymologies presume the Hebrew *shetikah* behind this. But where exactly can this word be found? The Biblical Hebrew has the *fqv* root (*sqt*), which means 'to be peaceful', 'to be quiet', 'to maintain a quiet attitude'. The derivative noun *fq,v,* 'rest' is a *hapax legomenon* (1Chron. 22:9). We can assume a hypothetical female form *¨hf;qev]* (*sheketah* – well attested in modern Hebrew), and with metathesis the *hqfv* (*shtikah*) form. The etymology is not certain, however.

szajré

Szajré means 'swag', 'loot', 'stolen or plundered things'. *rjs* is a well attested verb in Biblical Hebrew, which means to pass through, to trade.

[81] MÉK p. 1179; ISzSz p. 923.
[82] ISzSz p. 944.

To sum up, most of the examined words from the second (international words) and third group (non-international words) have real Hebrew and/or Yiddish origins. Some of them are debatable, and in a few cases I have refused to accept the Semitic background.

Table 1. *International and non-international words*

Accepted Hebrew/ Yiddish origin		**Debated Hebrew/ Yiddish origin**		**Refused Hebrew/ Yiddish origin**	
Group II	*Group III*	*Group II*	*Group III*	*Group II*	*Group III*
ámen	barkochba	abrakadabra	balek	gettó	cefet
behemót	böhöm	bejgli	balhé		gajdol
gój	bóvli		mismásol		hakni
gólem	córesz		mószerol, be~		melák
gyehenna	éca, écesz, éceszgéber		stika, stikában		séró
hallelujah	haver				
héderel	hirigel				
hozsánna	jatt, jattol				
jubileum	majré				
kérub	mázli				
kibic	meló				
kóser	pacák				
manna	paterol, el~				
mesüge	srác				
pöcs	szajré				
sabbat					
smúzol					
spricc					
tréfli					

We mention a peculiar phenomenon: among the refused loanwords, there are "new" ones as well – I mean loanwords whose Hebrew origins have not been considered earlier. Presuming a Semitic background for the words *cefet*, *gajdol*, *hakni*, *melák*, and

séró probably has to do with the earlier mentioned cultural revival of the Hungarian, especially Budapest Jewry. Though the mediating role of Yiddish has gone forever and the Jewish population in Hungary has a much smaller role, they still would like to express their renewed dignity in a linguistic way.

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