



DARIO BURGARETTA

**Addenda to “The Maltese and Sicilian Component
in the Arabic Glosses of the Italian version of *Maqrē Dardēqē*”**

In an article published in 2018, I presented a selection of Arabic glosses from the Italian edition of the *Maqrē Dardēqē* (hereafter MD), the trilingual biblical glossary first printed in Naples in 1488, based on a manuscript prototype written between the 14th and 15th centuries by the French-Catalonian lexicographer Pereş Trebot (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Hébr. 1243).¹ Previous approaches to the issue and attempts to identify the region which the Arabic used in these glosses belongs to, were made by scholars from a traditional perspective, placing the Arabic of these glosses within the general context of western Arabic dialects (Tirosh-Becker 1990; Schippers 1998; Hary – Gallego 1999 and 2006). My innovative approach in the aforementioned article, analysed those glosses for the first time through the lens of comparison with Maltese and with Sicilian Romance and Judaeo-Arabic elements.

Though taking into consideration the chronological dimension and the methodological difficulties implied in the use of lexical sources so distant from each other, in terms of periods and sociological contexts, the lexical analysis still provided very interesting elements nonetheless. Specifically, the resulting frame was surprising and showed a language with lexical, phonetic and morphological peculiarities strictly connected to other coeval records of Sicilian Judaeo-Arabic, as well as to the linguistic variant of Arabic that evolved into Maltese. A further comparison with two main Judaeo-Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, the well-known Se‘adya Ga’on’s *Tafsīr al-Tawrā bil-‘arabiyya* and the less known *Tafsīr el-Tōra* of Leiden, (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 236; hereafter Leiden Ms.),² offered further new and interest-

¹ Burgaretta 2018; Pazzini 1992: 28; Brisman 2000: 40; Rubin 2016: 304. See also Guetta 2023. For the French version see Kogel 2023.

² A recent article published by David Doron finally begins to bring justice to this much underrated and unjustly overlooked text which, in my opinion, holds instead a wealth of

ing elements and confirmed that the author of the Arabic glosses of the Italian MD acted under a very strong sphere of influence of the latter much more than the former. Meaning that he probably drew his quotations from a source very similar to, if not exactly the same as, the Leiden manuscript text of the Pentateuch.

In my aforementioned paper, I analysed the main morphophonetic and lexical features of the selected glosses, arguing that all their characteristics taken into consideration, and all the elements that emerged, clearly link the Arabic glosses of the Italian MD to Siculo-Arabic (SA), Sicilian Judeo-Arabic (Sic. JA) and Maltese dialects, much more than to any of the other western dialect groups. In my conclusions, I shared Henri Bresc's considerations that, in referring to spoken Sic. JA, "Syntax and morphology are those of an Arabic dialect of the Maghreb region, but the spelling and vocabulary show abandonment of part of the phonetic system and the Romanization of the lexicon, as in modern Maltese" (Bresc 2007: 8), adding that one could also comfortably apply Bresc's remarks to the language of MD Arabic Glosses, and concluding that all this provides a new and reliably corroborated basis to the scholars' assumption that the Jewish communities of southern Italy, and more specifically of Sicily, were the most likely targeted readership of the Italian version of *Maqrē Dardēqē* (Jerchow 2008: 494, Burgaretta 2018: 282-284).

In the current paper, we present some further glosses taken from the aforementioned edition of the MD, which for editorial timing reasons could not be included in my previous publication. These additions are collected and analysed here according to the same parameters as in my first article, in order to expand and enrich the corpus, in the perspective of a desirable complete edition of the Arabic glosses of the Italian MD.

The structure of the Italian MD maintains the same as the French source, therefore presenting the typical structure of the entries in the Hebrew-French glossary, with a regular tripartite scheme. For each biblical lemma, the glossary provides one or more vernacular glosses, as well as a short commentary in Hebrew, which most often consists of a quotation from another biblical passage in which the lemma or another word of the same root appears, and it is often accompanied by the translation of the Targums and the explanations or interpretations provided by Rashi or Qimḥi (Rappel 1988: 236; Kogel 2023: 354-358). Some meta-linguistic markers, usually given in acronym, are used to introduce the explanation in Hebrew and to establish

precious information relating to the Judeo-Arabic of the Sicilian-Maltese and Tunisian area around the 14th-15th century (Doron 2024).

a relationship between the lemma, gloss and commentary. Below are those relevant to the entries collected in this article:

ל"א [לשון אחר] – *lašon 'aḥer* ‘another term [for]’: introduces an alternative gloss for the Hebrew lemma;

ל' [לשון] – *lašon* ‘term [for]’: introduces the Hebrew root of the lemma or a Hebrew synonym;

בע' [בערבית] – *bə-'arabī* ‘in Arabic’: introduces the Arabic gloss;

ובע' [ובערבית] – *u-bə-'arabī* ‘and in Arabic’: introduces the Arabic gloss;

כמו – *kəmo* ‘[this is] like’: introduces a biblical passage in which the same Hebrew root occurs;

פ' [פירוש] – *peruṣ* ‘explanation’: introduces a synonym or an explanation of the lemma;

פר"ש [פירוש רש"י] – *peruṣ Raši* ‘Rashi’s explanation’: introduces a quote from Rashi’s commentaries.³

Table of abbreviations

*	Non attested or reconstructed forms	Malt.	Maltese
AA	Andalusi Arabic	med.	Medieval
Abr.	Abruzzese	mispr.	misprint
Alg.	Algerian	Mor.	Moroccan
Ar.	Arabic	Ms.	manuscript
CA	Classical Arabic	Pal.	Palestinian
Cal.	Calabrian	Pan.	Pantesco
col.	column	pl.	plural
Eg.	Egyptian	Prov.	Provençal
Fr.	French	Rm.	Romance
Gr.	Greek	SA	Siculo Arabic
Heb.	Hebrew	Sal.	Salentino (South Apulian)
It.	Italian	Sic.	Sicilian
JA	Judaeo-Arabic	sing.	singular
JIt.	Judaeo-Italian	Sp.	Spanish
Lat.	Latin	Syr.	Syrian
Leb.	Lebanese	Tun.	Tunisian
Lib.	Libyan	vern.	vernacular
m.	masculine		

³ Cp. Kiwitt 2013: 114-124; Kiwitt – Dörr 2016: 154-155.

LEXICON

ײַר

ײַר [אײַר], *air*, *wind* (under the Heb. entry RWH.6): ל"א אאירו אײַר, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *airo* (ײַrw),⁴ (in Ar.) *ayr[u]*»,⁵ adopting Qimḥī's interpretation with Mishnaic Hebrew *awīr* (Qimḥī 1847: 346; see Jastrow 1903: 24).

French MD has vern. *vant* (b'nt) [בָּאָנְט] (under the Heb. entry RWH.2);⁶ Spanish MD⁷ has vern. *viento* (wyntw) [וויינטו]⁸ and Ar. *hawā'* [הווא].

Se'adya Ga'on and Leiden Ms. have Ar. *rīḥ* [ריח],⁹ and the same term is found in Ibn Danān (Ibn Danān 1996: 306, s.v. 1780.5) while Ibn Ḡanāḥ gives *hawā'* (Neubauer 1875: col. 670) and Ben Mubārak ben Ṣa'ir distinguishes between *rīḥ*, for Ex 14:21, and *hawā'*, for Job 41:8 (Martínez Delgado 2010, 2: 306.15-16, 308.1-2).¹⁰

Old Sic. *airu* (meaning both *air* and *breeze*: Scobar 1990: 13; Corpus ARTESIA, s.v. *airu*) and Sic. (archaic) *àiru* (VS, 1: 100-101). The Rm. loanword (in its Sic. form) survived and has been fully integrated in Malt. *ajru* 'air' 'weather', along with the Semitic term *hewwa* 'air' (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 14, 459); old Malt. *ʿa'iru* (read *'airu*): *aria*' (Cassola 1992: 21r s.v. 338, 117r s.v. 93).

⁴ Old It. *airo* (Corpus OVI, s.v.), and old Sic. *airu*, meaning both *air* and *breeze* (Scobar 1990: 13; Corpus ARTESIA, s.v. *airu*); old Abr. (late 15th cent.) *àiro* (DAM, 1: 91). Cp. also Naples area's *aero* or *airo* (Scoppa 1558: 32, s.v. *aeter*).

⁵ Ex 14:21, Job 41:8.

⁶ Old Fr. *vent* spelled also *vant* and *vont* (see passim in FEW, 14: 255-270, s.v. *ventus*); Cp. Rashi's gloss *de vent* (דוונט) on Gen 7:22 (Greenberg 1992: 24), and the old Fr. 13th century's gloss *vont* (בֹּוֹנְט) (Lambert - Brandin 1905: 22.48 and passim).

⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Hunt. 218.

⁸ Cp. Ferrara Bible: 23b.

⁹ Saadia 1899: 102; Leiden Ms., f. 103r line 12 (vocalised *rēḥ* [ריח]).

¹⁰ For AA *rīḥ*, *rawwāḥ* and *hawā'*, see Corriente 1997: 221, s.v. RWH and 554, s.v. HWY; and Lagarde 1883: 95, 429 (Sp. *ayre* and *viento*). But cp. Leiden glossary (11th cent.): *ayār wa-hawā'* (Seybold 1900: 11, s.v. *aer*) and *ayyār wa-rawwāḥ* (Seybold 1900: 38, s.v. *aura*), and see Corriente's remarks 'about the unlikelihood of this word having ever become integrated into AA' (Corriente 1991: 35, s.v. ײַר and footnote 1; Id. 1997: 33, s.v. ײַר).

BWS³

KWS³ [בוסא], mispr. for BWS³ [בוסא],¹¹ *crop, craw (of birds, etc.)*, (under the Heb. entry MR³.3): *בוסא* ובע' *בוסא*, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *gavazzo* (gb³šw),¹² and in Ar. *bossa».¹³

Fr. MD has vern. *javáill* [גַ'אבַ'אֵל];¹⁴ Sp. MD has vern. *papo* (p³pw)¹⁵ and Ar. *ḥawṣal* [חַוְסַל]. Se'adya Ga'on and Leiden Ms. have Ar. *ḥawṣala* [חַוְסַלָּה],¹⁶ and the same term is found in JA lexicographical tradition (Neubauer 1875: col. 656; Ibn Danān 1996: 301, s.v. 1753.16; Martínez Delgado 2010, 2: 286.4, 287).¹⁷ Also Malt. has the semitic word *ḥawsla* for *crop, craw of birds* (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 520), and this is the term used in Saydon Bible (Saydon 1982-1990, 1: 242); old Malt. *'ḥawsela: bosseto, gotto'* (Cassola 1992: 26r s.v. 564, 146v s.v. 1359). But see also Malt. Rm. term *bozza* 'swelling' (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 139; ESI, 1: 191). Old Sic. *bocza* and *vocza* (Scobar 1990: 48, 310).¹⁸ The Ar. gloss *bossa (BWS³ [בוסא]) in MD is therefore to be related to this Sic.-Malt. Rm.

¹¹ Misprint of K [כ] for B [ב] is quite common in 1488's edition of MD; see, for instance, KWSQW [בוסקו], mispr. for BWSQW [בוסקו], *wood, forest*, (under the Heb. entry LBN.2) (Burgaretta 2018: 251).

¹² See Cal. *gavazzu* and *vavazzu* (Rohlf 1977: 298, 758), and old It. *gavazze* (REW: 3623; DELI: 640, s.v. *gavazzàre*, and *gavocciolo* (Corpus OVI, s.v.). Cp. Prov. *gavage* or *gavàgi* and *gavach*, *gavacho* (Mistral 1979, 2: 40).

¹³ Lev 1:16.

¹⁴ See old Fr. *gavai* or *gavay* (Godefroy 1881-1902, 4: 248, s.v. *gavai*; FEW, 4: 1, s.v. *gaba*); mod. Fr. *jabot*. Cp. the old Fr. 13th century's gloss *jabéy* [גַ'אבַ'י] for this specific verse (Lambert - Brandin 1905: 32.46).

¹⁵ For Sp. *papo* see Casas 1570: 221 ('papo: gobbazzo'); Ferrara Bible 1553: 33b; Cordovero 1617: 13b.

¹⁶ Saadia 1899: 144; Leiden Ms., f. 148r line 17.

¹⁷ For CA see Lane 1863-1893, 2: 586; for AA see Corriente 1997: 129 and Lagarde 1883: 342 (Sp. *papado* and *papo*).

¹⁸ Current Sic. *bbozza* or *vozza* (VS, 1: 438 and 5: 1181; Traina 1868: 1102), see also Pant. *bbózza* 'hen's craw' (Tropea 1988: 27). Old Sic. spelling ⟨cz⟩ renders voiceless dental affricate /tʃs/ (Barbato 2007: 153-154 § 49). See Scoppa 1558: 377, s.v. *Ingluvies: gola, cannarozzo, bozza, uozza*, and 606, s.v. *Vessicula: uoza, bozza*; and current Abr. *ùozza*, and its subregional variants *vùòzza*, *vòzza* and *bbózzo* (DAM, 4: 2287). But cp. also Abr. *vòzza* and Sal. *vòzza* with the related but different meaning of 'big and high bowl for wine' (It. *boccia*) (DAM, 4: 2369; Rohlf 1976-2007, 2: 820), and Cal. *vozza* with both meanings (Rohlf 1977: 780).

term.¹⁹ For the spelling of voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ (which is spelled with [z] in contemporary Malt. and It.) with Heb. *Samek* [ס] here and in Sic. and Malt. JA documents, see Burgaretta 2018, s.v. GSS, L'NS', LSS, and *Orthography and Phonetics* section (Burgaretta 2018: 242, 267, 274-275).

ĠBL

ĠBL [גבל], *rock* (under the Heb. entry ŠR.2): ל"א פסקיו ובע' גבל, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *peschio* (pysqyw), and in Ar. *ġabal*»;²⁰ and explained with Heb. סלע 'rock' (under the Heb. entry M'N.4): ל"א פסקיו או רוקא ובע' גבל, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *pesco* (pysqw) o *rocca* (RWQ'), and in Ar. *ġabal*».²¹ It is found also spelled ĠYBL [גיבל] (under the Heb. entry KFF.10), as the *Yōd* probably conceals a form **ġebel* or **ġibel*: ל"א פסקיו ובע' גיבל כמו, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *pesco* (pysqw),²² and in Ar. *ġebel*, like in "They climb among rocks", and "In holes in the ground, and in the rocks",²³ meaning 'rock' (סלע). The noun of unity is also found in two occurrences, spelled ĠBL' [גבלא] (under the Heb. entry ŠWR.2): ל"א פסקיו ובע' גבלא כמו ותקח צפורה צור ל' סלע, «Another meaning (in vern.) is *pesco* (pysqw), and in Ar. *ġabla*, like in "But Zipporah took a flint", meaning "rock",²⁴ and also spelled ĠBLH [גבלה] (under the Heb. entry SL'.1):

¹⁹ Cp. also old Prov. *bosa, vosa* (and old. Fr. *boce*, current Fr. *bosse*) 'swelling, hump' (FEW, 1: 467, s.v. *bottia*).

²⁰ Is 5:28. According to Rashi's commentary: «"Like flint": Jonathan renders: like a rock (טנרא), similar to צור».

²¹ Judg 6:26. MD (both Fr. and It.) reads על ראש המעון הזה, while the Massorah reads על ראש המעון הזה.

²² For the vern. forms *pesco* and *peschio*, cp. also the central-south Italian dialectal forms: Lazio *peschio* (Rohlfs 1966-1969, 1: 382 § 270), Abr. *pěschja* 'sasso sporgente, masso, macigno', *piěschja*, *pěschja* e *pěschja* 'sasso, roccia, macigno, dirupo' (DAM, 3: 1516, 1553), Sal. *pěschiu* and *pěscu* 'macigno, sasso, grossa pietra, roccia' (Rohlfs 1976-2007, 2: 467, 468), and also Cal. *pešca* 'zolla di terra' and *pašconə* or *pišcunə* 'grossa pietra, sasso, macigno' (Rohlfs 1977: 514, 531). On the etymology of this term and its geographic distribution in central-southern Italy, see Poccetti 1983. The word is recorded also in Jlt. texts: *pesčolo* [פִּסְקוֹלוֹ] for Heb. *sela'* in Song 2:14 (Sermoneta 1974: 57, 69, 85 and footnote 14), and *pesklu* in Salento, although with the older meaning of *latch* (Cuomo 1977: 265).

²³ Jer 4:29 and Job 30:6 respectively.

²⁴ Ex 4:25 and Deut 32:31. According to Rashi's commentary on the latter: «The word צור in Scripture is always an expression meaning סלע, rock».

גבלה, פִּסְקִיּוֹ וּבִע' גבלה, «(Vern.) *peschio* (pysqyw), and in Ar. *ḡablah*».²⁵ Finally, we find ḡBH [גבה], mispr. for ḡBLH [גבלה] or ḡBL [גבל] (under the Heb. entry ḤLMYŠ): פִּסְקוֹ אוֹ רוֹקָא וּבִע' גבה, «(Vern.) *pesco* (pysqw) o *rocca* (RWQʿ), and in Ar. *ḡab(l)ah*».²⁶

The meaning of the Ar. gloss *ḡabal* and *ḡabla* in our MD is not that of “mountain” or “hill” as in CA and various dialects, but unambiguously that of “rock”, “cliff” or “block of stone”, as also clearly confirmed by the Fr. MD vern. gloss *roche* [רוֹקָא] to all the previous entries, except the latter, which is glossed with *fort* [פֹּרְט];²⁷ or even that more specific of “stone”, “pebble”, “flint”. This is furthermore evident from the context itself in which the term is found, which leaves no doubts of interpretation, as in the case of Ex 4:25: וַתִּקַּח צִפּוֹרָה צֶפְרָה צֶר וַתְּכַרֵּת אֶת עֶרְלַת בְּנָהּ “But Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son’s foreskin”, where Hebrew צֶר has clearly and unequivocally the meaning of “small, worn, smooth stone”, “pebble”, “flint”; cp. LXX ψῆφος (Muraoka 2009: 742), Targumim טִנְרָא and טִינְרָא (Jastrow 1903: 533), Peshitta ܦܝܬܬܐ (Payne-Smith 1879: 1522). We find the same rendition also in the mediaeval Jit. tradition: *E tolse Şipporah una preta e circonciise il serramento del figlio suo*” (Bodleian Library MS. Canonici Or. 10, f. 56r).

Sp. MD has vern. *peña* (pynyʿ) and Ar. *ḡabal*, but this should probably be considered as a residual trace of the It. MD, as this term is recorded in AA only with the meaning of “mountain, cliff”, while for the meaning “rock, stone” the common term *şahr* is recorded.²⁸ Moreover, the Ar. gloss ḡBʿL [גבאל], under the Heb. entry ḤLMŠ, is followed by the alternative *şawwān al-şald* [צאון אל] ‘hard rock (flint)’. || Seʿadya Gaʿon and Leiden Ms. have Ar. *şawwān* [צואן] in both, and *şahr* [צחר] in the former.²⁹ || Modern Western dialects have *şahra*, *şḥar* or *şhar* ‘rock, big block of stone’, and *şawwān* ‘silex, flint’ (Prémare 1993-1999, 8: 35, 138; Ben Sedira 1910: 588; Ben Abdelkader 1977: 330; Beaussier - Ben Cheneb - Lentin 2006: 562, 583); and *jbāl* or *jbāl* with the only meaning of

²⁵ Num 20:8 and 24:21.

²⁶ Deut 8:15 and 32:13.

²⁷ See old Fr. *roche* or *gavay* (Godefroy 1881-1902, 7: 213, TLF, 14: 1192a, s.v. *roche*; FEW, 10: 435a, 440a, s.v. *rocca*; see also DMF, s.v. *roche*¹). Cp. the old Fr. 13th century’s glosses *roche* [רוֹקָא] for these specific verses (BNF Hébr. 302, passim, and Lambert - Brandin 1905: passim).

²⁸ Corriente 1997: 90, 303 and Lagarde 1883: 314, 346, 381.

²⁹ Saadia 1899: passim; Leiden Ms., passim.

‘mountain’ (Prémare 1993-1999, 2: 144; Ben Abdelkader 1977: 491; Griffini 1913: 177; Beaussier - Ben Cheneb - Lentin 2006: 130).

Only Malt. has the term *ġebel*, and noun of unity *ġebla*, with the main meaning of “stones”, and only secondarily with the meaning of “hillock, mountain”, still used in this sense only «in literature and in place-names» (Aquilina 1987-1990, I: 382-383). The semantic ambivalence of this term is also recorded in our MD, as we find ĠBYL [גביל] (under the Heb. entry HR.1): «(Vern.) monte (mwntý), and in Ar. *ġ.byl*».³⁰ Important evidence of the archaicism of this semantic shift (*ġebel*: mountain → rock) in Malt. is found in the renowned Pietro Caxaro’s *Cantilena*, which is considered the oldest extant literary composition in Maltese, dating back to the 15th century, and therefore contemporary to our MD: in the central quatrain, line 9 reads «*fen tūmáyt insib il ġébel sib táfal morchi* ‘Where I hoped to find the rock, I found crumbling clay’» (Brincat 2011: 171-172).

ĠBN

ĠBWN [גבון], *cheese* (under the Heb. entry GBN.2): ל”א וכגבנה תקפיאני ובע’ «Another meaning is (as in) “And (did you) curdle me like cheese”,³¹ in Ar. *ġkwn* [גבון] (read *ġbwn* [גבון]), meaning *curdled milk*»; and (under the Heb. entry ŠFH.13): ל”א קאשי ובע’ גבון כמו ושפות בקר פי חריצי חלב «Another meaning (in vern.) is *caçi* (q’šy or q’šy), and in Ar. *ġbwn*, as in “And cheese from the herd”,³² meaning *chunks of (curdled) milk*». See also the form *ġubna* [גבנא], noun of unity (under the Heb. entry HRŠ.8): ל”א קסי ובע’ גבנא «Another meaning (in vern.) is *casi* (qsy), and in Ar. *ġbn*».³³

Leiden Ms. *ġēbon* [גִּבֹּן] renders Heb. *halev* (חֶלֶב) in Ex 23:19 and 34:26, and with *Scriptio plena* *ġēbbōn* [גִּבֹּון] in Deut 14:21. Differently, Se’adya Ga’on has *la-ban* [לבן] for these three cases (Saadia 1899: 115, 133, 275), and *ġubn* [גבן] for Job 10:10 (Saadia 1899: 35, Saadia 1969: 201). And so does Ibn Danān: *ġubn* [גבן]

³⁰ The spelling ĠBYL [גביל] with Yōd could hint at a reading **ġbel* (cp. some similar spellings in Leiden Ms., i.e. *qmel* קמיל ‘lice’ in Ex 8:13, along with a more common *qmal* קמל). On the light of the different spelling for ĠYBL [גיבל] ‘rock’, as we saw previously, and the consequent different stress (on the first syllable in ĠYBL, and on the last syllable in ĠBYL), one could assume that the difference in the spelling could have corresponded also to the semantic distinction between the two terms.

³¹ Job 10:10: וְכִגְבְּנָה תִקְפִּיאֲנִי וְבַע’.

³² 2 Sam 17:29: וְשִׁפּוֹת בָּקָר.

³³ 1 Sam 17:18: חֲרִיצֵי הַחֶלֶב.

and *ġubnāt* [גִּבְנָאֵת] (Ibn Danān 1996: 74, s.v. 259; 135, s.v. 657.9; 342, s.v. 2013.4).

For MD *ġbwn* [גִּבּוֹן] and Leiden Ms. *ġēbon* [גִּבֶּן], cp. Malt. collective noun *ġobon* and noun of unity *ġobna* (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 410). This case seems to fall within the several occurrences of the pattern $C^1eC^2oC^3$ (for both singular or broken plural) found in MD and Leiden Ms., which find their correspondence in Malt. patterns $C^1oC^2oC^3$ or $C^1eC^2eC^3$ (with vowel harmonization $\text{ə-o} > \text{o-o}$ or $\text{ə-o} > \text{ə-ə}$): Leiden Ms. and MD *bēton* > Malt. *boton*; Leiden Ms. and MD *ṭēroq* > Malt. *toroq*; Leiden Ms. *bēyoḡ* > Malt. *bojod*; Leiden Ms. *rēkon* > Malt. *rokon*; Leiden Ms. *ġēdod* > Malt. *ġodod*; MD and Leiden Ms. *rēḡol* > Gozo dialect *roḡol* (standard Malt. *raḡel*, Brincat 2011: 392; Zammit 2013: 33); Ms. Vat. Ebr. 411 *ēzor* > MD *ozor* and Malt. *lozor* (with agglutination of the article); Ms. Vat. Ebr. 411 and Leiden Ms. *ġēdū* > MD *ġodū* and Malt. *ġhodu*; MD and Leiden Ms. *nēhon* > old Malt. *nehen*, MD *bhwn* > old Malt. *behen* (Wettinger 1985: 192; Burgaretta 2018: 237-238, 251, 279).

K³NYṬ³

K³NYṬ³ [כַּאֲנִיטָא], *sallet*, *helmet*, (under the Heb. entry QNH.5): ל"א צִלְטִינָה «Another meaning (in vern.) is *celatina* (šltynh),³⁴ and in Ar. *kānēt(t)a*,³⁵ according to quoted Qimḥī's explanation;³⁶ (under the Heb. entry QB^c.2): כַּאֲנִיטָא וּבַע' קוּפּוּלָא ל"א «Another meaning (in vern.) is *coppola* (qwpwl'),³⁷ and in Ar. *kānēt(t)a*.³⁸

³⁴ Diminutive of *celata*, 'sallet', 'helmet' (Grassi 1833, 1: 431, s.v. *celatina*). Cp. old Sic. *chilata* (Scobar 1990: 69, referring to the entry *chanecta*; Valla 1991: 35: 'Celata haec galea'; Bresc-Bautier – Bresc 2014, 6: 1639 s.v. *celata*). Cp. also Schwab quoting the entry *celata* [צִילָאטָה] from *Or lustry* [אור לוסטר], the Hebrew-Italian vernacular glossary, s.v. *qōva* [קובע] (Schwab 1888-1889, 18: 113).

³⁵ 2 Sam 21:16.

³⁶ «And with another meaning, he (Qimḥī) explains it as *cap* or *armor*, meaning what is on the top the spear-haft, like a cap» (Qimḥī 1847: 325: קִינּוֹ כּוּבַע אִו שְׂרִיִּין «And maybe the meaning of *qēnō* is *cap* or *armor*»; and Rashi's commentary: הוּא כְּמוֹ תֵּיק שְׁבִרָאֵשׁ בֵּית יָד הָרֹמַח שְׁקוּרִין אֲרִישְׁטוּיִי לְבַע"ז וְעִשׂוּי כְּכּוּבַע [...] כְּמִין קוּלְסוֹת שְׁבִרָאֵשׁ הַתִּינוּקוֹת, 'קוּלְסוֹת' הוּא כְּמוֹ תֵּיק שְׁבִרָאֵשׁ בֵּית יָד «It is like a case on the top of the spear-haft, wich is called *arestoil* in vernacular, and is made like a cap ... like a sort of coifs on the head of the newborns, *qōlasōt* is *helses* in vernacular»), cp. Greenberg 1992: 84, and Catane 1996: 22 s.v. 3355 and 3356.

³⁷ Cp. Sic. *coppola*, 'cap', 'skullcap' (Scobar 1990: 75, Bresc-Bautier – Bresc 2014, 6: 1648 s.v.).

Old Southern It. vern. *chianetta* ‘sallet, helmet’,³⁹ old Sic. *planecta* or *chanecta*, and this spelling seems to also be reflected in our Ar. gloss *kānēt(ṭ)a* (Scobar 1990: 66; Bresc-Bautier – Bresc 2014, 6: 1640 s.v.);⁴⁰ current Sic. *chianetta* (VS, 1: 673: *ant. elmo di forma schiacciata, simile ad una ciotola*). Unfortunately neither of the two Heb. entries is available in Fr. MD, as they happen to be alphabetically listed in some missing pages of the manuscript. Sp. MD, under either Heb. entry, omits both the vern. and the Ar. glosses, which evidently were not intelligible to the copyist.

Maltese has also absorbed this term, in particular in the generic meaning of headgear, as in the second semantic meaning of MD, but spelled in the

³⁸ 1 Sam 17:5.

³⁹ Cp. Scoppa 1558: 317, s.v. *Galea: elmetto, chianetta*.

⁴⁰ The word *chanecta*, *planecta* or *plana*, occurs frequently in old Sic. documents and inventories after 1400 (11 occurrences), alongside with *chilata* (39 occurrences), *birricta de ferro* (13 occurrences) and *berruerium* (13 occurrences) (Bresc-Bautier – Bresc 2014, 1: 275). On the spelling <ch> (and sporadically even <c>) for rendering the postpalatal [kj] in old Sic., see Rinaldi 2005, 2: 352, 381, and Barbato 2007: 137-138 § 31, 152-153 § 47, 156 § 54). And see other similar cases in It. MD, spelled with *Kaf* or *Qof*: *ʾprykʾmyntw* [אפריכמינטו] ‘preparation’ (under the Heb. entry MNL.1, old Sic. spelling *apparichamentu*, see Scobar 1990: 25); *sqṭ* [סקטא] ‘lineage’ (under the Heb. entry YḤS, *scatta* for current It. spelling *schiatto*); *sqḃyn* [סקבינא] ‘long coarse robe’ (under the Heb. entry ŠMK, old Sic. *scavina* and current It. spelling *schivina*, see Scobar 1990: 246); *wyqw* [ויקו] ‘old, elder’ (under the Heb. entry YŠN.2, old Sic. *vechu* and current spelling *vecchiu*, see Scobar 1990: 301); *swpyrqw* [סופירקו] ‘superfluous, redundant’ (under the Heb. entry YTR.1, old Sic. *superchu* and current It. *soverchio*, see Scobar 1990: 278). See also the Sic. JA gloss *filǧika* [פילגיקא] to Avicenna’s Canon of Medicine in Ms. BBS Cod.arab. 974 (f. 62r), for Sic. *filicichia* ‘Polypodium vulgare’ (VS, II: 71); and see Sic. JA sound plural *khūmāsī* [כומאסי] in Ms. Vat. Ebr. 411 (f. 8v line 10), term (and verse) unidentified and not fully understood by Mainz and Wettinger (Mainz 1949: 69, Wettinger 1985: 190-204), standing for old Sic. *chumazi* or *chumaczi* [kjuʾmat.tsi], pl. *cushions* (Scobar 1990: 72; Corpus ARTESIA: s.vv.) and current Sic. *chiumazzi* or *ciumazzi* (VS, I: 689, 741). The verses, in the light of my new reading, now make complete sense: *וְזוּג אֲזוֹר קוֹמוּ לִי / בְּאַחַדָּאשׁ אֵין דְּרַהֵם סָבָה / וְלִילָה אֵין בְּתֵת / מְתִקְוִבִין מְתִל אֵל שְׂבָבָא* [Zawǧ ʔzōr qawwāmū li / ḥḳōnī ḳāl mḥḳa / ʔāl kōmāsi mō bōra / mḥḳōbīn mḥṭl ʔl šḳḳa] / *li / bəʔahḏāš an darham sukka / wə-layla an batət fihōm / ḥakkūni kəʔel məḥakka / wəʔel khūmāsī min būrra / maṭqūbīn maṭl el šabka*, “They valued (to) me a pair of bed-sheets / worth eleven dirhams of good quality. / By just one night I spent within them, / they scratched me like a grater. / And the cushions made of raw wool wad, / [are] holed like a net”.

phonetic variant with voiceless alveopalatal affricate č [tʃ] or [č], borrowed in Maltese from the diatopic variant of south-eastern Sicily, *čnetta* o *činetta*,⁴¹ although now obsolete, but recorded by some lexicons: “*Cnetta* among the peasants is a cap, with which one covers his head” (Agius Sultana 2016: 129 [f. 96v]), “Round cap without a peak, skull-cap” (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 180, 185).

KWL'R

KWD'R [קודאר] (mispr. for KWL'R [קולאר]), *collar*, *neck-chain*, (under the Heb. entry RBD.1): «קלונא [קולנא] בע' קודאר [קולאר] כמו רביד הזהב» (Vern. *collana*, in Ar. *kullār*, like “a gold chain”).⁴²

We find the same vern. term *collana* for Heb. *raḇīd* also in the medieval Jlt. tradition: «La collana de oro» in the Jlt. translation of the Pentateuch (Bodleian Library MS. Canonici Or. 10, f. 37r), and קולאנה *collana* in the glossary *Or Lusto* (f. 10 s.v. רביד).

Fr. MD has vern. *koléyr* [קולייר]; see also BNF Hébr. 302, f. 8r, line 11: קולייר (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 14, 65, 261).⁴³

Sp. MD has vern. *collar* /ko'lar/ [קולייאר] and Ar. *ṭawq* [טווק]. The same Sp. term קולייאר is used also in the Polyglot Pentateuch of Constantinople (1547), besides the Romaniote Judaeo-Greek version, where the Hebrew term *raḇīd* is rendered with פֶּטְרֵחִילִי [πετραχήλι /petrɛ'xili/] (PC, Hesselring 1897: 89; Kriaras 1968-, 6: 243 and 16: 200).

Se'adya Ga'on and Leiden Ms. also have Ar. *ṭawq* [טוקא and טווק respectively], and the same term is found in JA lexicographical tradition (Neubauer 1875: col. 660; Ibn Danān 1996: 304, s.v. 1757.1; Martínez Delgado 2010, 2: 290.16-17).

Old Sic. *cullaru* (Scobar 1990: 80; Corpus ARTESIA, s.v.) and current Sic. *cuḏḏaru* (VS, 1: 810). The Rm. term also entered Malt.: *kullar* or *kollar*, ‘collar’ or ‘necklace’ (Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 669, 703; ESI, 5: 202), beside the Semitic term *tewq* or *tewk* (Aquilina 1987-1990, 2: 1430; for old Malt., Cassola 1992: 32v s.v. 859, 181v s.v. 2922).

⁴¹ Cp. the toponym *Cianetta* in Noto (Avolio 1898: 90).

⁴² Gen 41:42. MD quotes also Rashi: «פר"ש ענק, ועל שם שהוא רצוף בטבעות קרוי רביד», «Rashi's explanation is ‘a chain’, and it is termed *raḇīd* because it is made up of links placed in a row». Cp. Miš. Heb. קולר [kōllar], *collar*, (Roman) prisoner's band or chain around the neck (Jastrow 1903: 1329).

⁴³ Cp. also Kiwitt 2013: 424, s.v. *coler* (Tobler – Lommatzsch 1925-1976, 2: 574).

LWQ

YWF (HŠB ṾL YWF) [כשב אל יף] (mispr. for ṾL LWQ [לוק]),⁴⁴ *white poplar* ‘*Populus alba*’, (under the Heb. entry LBN.7): ל”א אלבט [אלבנו] ובע’ כשב אל יף: «(In vern.) *al-bano*»⁴⁵ [lbt, read Ṿlbnw), and in Ar. *ḥašab al-lūq*, as in “Rods of poplar” and also “Under oaks and poplars”,⁴⁶ and this is Rashi’s explanation because its bark is white».⁴⁷

‘*Storax*’ (*Styrax officinalis*) in Gen 30:37 for the Greek Septuagint (πάβδον στυρακίνην, Muraoka 2009: 640), Se’adya Ga’on (*lubnā*: Saadia 1899: 47; Saadia 1969: 263), Leiden Ms. (*labna*’ [לִבְנָא]: Leiden Ms., f. 48r line 1), Ibn Ḡanāḥ (Neubauer 1875, col. 344), Qimḥī (Qimḥī 1847: 176), and Ibn Danān (Ibn Danān 1996: 182, s.v. 946.6); but ‘white poplar’ for the 16th century Jlt. version (Bodleian Library MS. Canonici Or. 10, f. 26r): “alvuccio” [אַלוּצִי] (see Abr. *alvuccio* in a 1575 local statute, Manzi 2001: 148-149; cp. current Abr. *alavucca* and *alpucca*, Giammarco 1968-1979, 1: 97, 112).

Heb. לִבְנָה is ‘white poplar’ also in Hos 4:13 for the Greek Septuagint (λεύκη, Muraoka 2009: 429) and for Rashi, as said (followed by MD, with Rm. *albano* and Ar. *lūq*), while Qimḥī translates the term as *olmo* ‘elm’ (Qimḥī on Hos 4:13).⁴⁸

Sp. MD apparently misreads both It. and Ar. glosses: «*albano*, and some others render it in local vernacular *almendro*», and «In Ar. *ḥašab al-YWF*», maintaining the same misprints as in the Naples edition, and not being able to complement it with a local Ar. term, leaving a blank space instead.

Sic. JA *wqlyś pwply whw yny rmy Ṿl lwq* [אוקליש פופלי והו עיני ראמי אל לוק] «*Oculus populi*, which are the sprouts of *al-lūq*», poplar buds, (BSB Cod.arab. 974, f. 319r, col. A, lines 33-34); *rws pwply whw Ṿl lwq* [רוס פופלי והו אל לוק] «heads of *populi*, which is the *lūq*» heads of poplar (BSB Cod.arab. 974, f. 336v,

⁴⁴ The Naples edition has YWF, with a clear misprint (or misreading of a possible underlying manuscript) of *final Pe* for *Qōf* and *Yōd* for *Lamed*.

⁴⁵ Old Sic. ‘*albanu*: *arburu blancu*, *populus*’ and ‘*chuppu*: *populus* [‘*lu albano blanco*’]’ (Scobar 1990: 14, 72).

⁴⁶ Gen 30:37; Hos 4:13.

⁴⁷ MD: עץ שקלפתו לבנה; see Rashi on Hos 4:13: לִבְנָה: «a tree having white bark», and Rashi on Gen 30:37: לִבְנָה: «א בלעז שהיא לבן [...] ואומר אני הוא שקורין טרינבל» [...] «It is a tree named *livneh* [...] And I believe it is the one called *trenble* (trembling poplar) in vernacular, which is white».

⁴⁸ For the same confusion between trees, cp. old Sic. *chuppu*: ‘*arburu alnus*, *ulmus*, *populus* [‘*lu albano blanco*’]’ (Scobar 1990: 72).

lines 15-16); rws אל פופליו והו אל לוק אי לטי' [לטי' lwny l lwq y ty. lwny] «buds of poplar heads, which is the *lūq*, that is in Latin *albani*», and in the same line, on the right edge, in Latin, *oculorum populi hi chuppu* (BSB Cod.arab. 974, f. 336v, lines 21-22); finally, in a JA poem, *asḡār el lawq* [אסגאר] «trees of white poplar» (Vat. ebr. 411 f. 15r line 8; Wettinger 1985: 191; cp. Mainz 1949: 77). Malt. *luq* 'White poplar': "Li arbori appellati albani ut vulgo dicitur *luc*" in a local notarial deed dated 1567 (Wettinger 2006: 70; Aquilina 1987-1990, 1: 763). All these forms (SJA *lūq* or *lawq* and Malt. *luq*) are loans from Gr. λεύκη; cp. several forms in local Calab. variants meaning all 'white poplar': *liéquia*, *liequa*, *léquia*, *liévuca*, *líuca*, *liévicu* (Rohlf 1977: 364; Rohlf 1964: 295).

R'Y

MD⁹ [מדא], read MR⁹ [מרא], *mirror* (under the Heb. entry R⁹H.9): ל"א [מרא] «Another meaning is (in vern.) *speclu* (spyqlw),⁴⁹ and in Ar. **mirā*». Pl. MRY⁹ [מרייא], (crescent) mirrors (under the Heb. entry SHR.3): ל"א מיסי לוני ובע' מרייא; «Another meaning is (in vern.) *messe lune* (mysy lwny),⁵⁰ and in Ar. **mirya*».

Fr. MD has vern. *miroer* [מירייר] (under the Heb. entry R⁹H.5), *mirail* [מיראלל] (under the Heb. entry SHR.3) and *mireor* or *mireur* [מירייר] (under the Heb. entry GLH.3).⁵¹ Cp. the old Fr. XIII century's gloss *mireüys* [מיריירש] for the first, *lunétes* [לונטיש] for the second, and *mireürs* [מיריירש] for the third occurrence (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 31.82 and 104.43, 58; Kiwitt 2013: 248, 328, 442). || Sp. MD has sing. *espejo* [אישפיגו] and Ar. *mre* [מרה] (R⁹H.9), pl. *espejos* [אישפיגוש] (GLH.3 and SHR.3), and Ar. MRY⁹R [מרייר] (!) for the first and MRY⁹ [מרייא] for the latter. Ibn Danān has pl. *amriya* [אמרייה] both for Heb. entries SHR and R⁹H (Ibn Danān 1996: 227 s.v. 1257.2 and 303 s.v. 1753.4); Ibn Ḡanāḥ gives pl. *marā*ⁱⁿ for Ex 38:8 (Neubauer 1875: col. 655.10), while Leiden Ms. has pl. *amr^eya* [אמר'יא] (f. 142r line 8), and Se'adya Ga'on has *marāyā* [מראיא] for the same verse (Saadia 1899: p. 138).

⁴⁹ Ex 38:8. See old It. *speclo* and old Sic. *speclu* (Corpus OVI, s.v. *speclo* and *speclu*; 13th-14th centuries), and old Sic. *spechu* (Corpus ARTESIA, s.v. *spechu*).

⁵⁰ Is 3:18. Old It. *messe* or *messe lune*, current It. *mezze lune* 'crescents' (lit. *half moons), referred to crescent-shaped mirrors. And cp. old Sic. *menzaluna* 'half-moon, crescent' (Scobar 1990: 173).

⁵¹ Is 3:23. It. MD has only vern. *myryr* [מירייר] for the Heb. entry GLH.3, which is clearly a remnant of the Fr. source. For the various old Fr. forms, see FEW, 6/2: 149-152, s.v. *mīrari*.

CA *mir'āh* and pl. *marāⁱⁿ* or *marāyā* (Lane 1863-1893, 3: 1002). The disappearing of *hamza*, a common feature in Ar. dialects, is recorded in Andal. Ar. *mirā* or *murā* and pl. *amriyyah*, with Alcalá spelling *mirí*, pl. *amríe* (Corriente 1997: 197), and in Sic. Ar. *mirā* (Ibn Makkī 1992: 122; see also Agius 1996: 163, 166). While all modern Western dialects share a different form sing. *mrāya*, pl. *mrāyāt*,⁵² Malt. maintained a form similar to MD glosses: sing. *mera*, pl. *mirja* (Aquilina 1987-1990, 2: 1168), and cp. old Malt. spelling *merà*, pl. *mèria* (Cassola 1992: 163r: 2094; Cassola 1996: 106.826), which perfectly dovetails with the spelling of our MD glosses: sing. MR' [מרא] and pl. MRY' [מרייא].

RHL

RHL [רחל], *village, hamlet*, (under the Heb. entry KFR.8): ל"א לויאטי או בסלי: «Another meaning (in vern.) is villate (lwy'ty, mispr. for wyl'ty) or casale (bsly, mispr. for ksly),⁵³ and in Ar. *rahl* (...), meaning a town not surrounded by walls».⁵⁴

RH'YYL [רחאיל], pl. *villages, hamlets*, (under the Heb. entry BNH.4): ל"א וילאטי ובע' רחאיל כמו וכל בנותה ופר"ש כפרים הסמוכי לה «Another meaning (in vern.) is villate (wyl'ty) and in Ar. *r.hāyy.l* [רחאיל]⁵⁵ as in "And all its daughters", and Rashi explains [the Heb. *bēnotēha*] as the villages near it».⁵⁶

RHL [רחאל], sing. or pl. *villages, hamlets*, (under the Heb. entries HWH.2): ל"א וילאטי ובע' דחאל [רחאל] (...) פ" העירות הקטנות «Another meaning is villate

⁵² For Mor. see Prémare 1993-1999, 11: 184; for Alg. see Ben Sedira 1910: 387; for Tun. see Ben Abdelkader 1977: 246; for Lib. see Griffini 1913: 270. Cp. also Eg. *mirāya*, pl. *mirāyāt* (Hinds – Badawi 1986: 321), but also Eastern dialect Pal. *mrāye* or *mrāy*, pl. *muri* (Elihay 2012: 364), Syr. and Leb. *mrāye*, pl. *mrāyāt* (Barthélemy 1935: 265) and Iraqi *mrāya*, pl. *mrāyāt* or *muri* (Woodhead – Beene 1967: 179).

⁵³ Misprinted as *lwy'ty* (by transposition of the letters) and *bsly* respectively. See old It. *villata*, pl. *villate* 'village' (Corpus OVI, s.v. *villata* and *villate*) for the first gloss (cp. also old Sic. *vila* or *villa* 'town, village', Scobar 1990: 304: 'vila v. casali, vicus'), and old Sic. *casali* 'village, hamlet' for the second gloss (Scobar 1990: 62). The first gloss, a pan-Italian vern. word unrecorded in Sic., is likely perceived by the glosser as alien, and therefore complemented with a more familiar word relevant to the Sic. vern.: *casali*.

⁵⁴ Song 7:12.

⁵⁵ Broken plural pattern $C^1aC^2āiC^3 > C^1aC^2āyiC^3$ (see Derenbourg 1867: 75, § 52. See also Sacy 1831, 1: 366, § 856); the shift $āi > āyi$ is evident from the spelling with double *Yōd* (Blau 1995: 30, § 11.2.a).

⁵⁶ Num 32:42. But Rashi's comment is on Num 21:25. This Heb. entry is in a missing page in Fr. MD manuscript.

(wyl'ṭy) and in Ar. *riḥāl [...], meaning *the small towns* [העירות הקטנות];⁵⁷ (under the Heb. entry PRZ): פִּי ל' כפר (...) וילאטי בע' רחאל (In vern.) villate (wyl'ṭy), in Ar. *riḥāl [...], meaning *village* [כפר].⁵⁸

Fr. MD has *village* [בִּילאָגאַ] for the first occurrence;⁵⁹ Sp. MD has *aldeas* [אלדיאַש] as vernacular gloss, while the Ar. gloss *rahl* [רחל] is complemented with a less alien *ḍiyā'* [צִיאַע], pl. of *ḍai'a* (from which Sp. *aldea* and Port. *aldeia*), 'landed estate, country estate' and 'small village, hamlet' (Lane 1863-1893, 5: 1812).⁶⁰

Leiden Ms. pl. *rēḥāyal* (רִחְאִיל), renders both Heb. *ḥawwot* (חֻוֹת), in Num 32:41 and Deut 3:14, and *bēnot* (בְּנוֹת) in Num 21:25, 21:32 and 32:42. On the contrary, Se'adya Ga'on has *sawād* [סואד]⁶¹ for Heb. *ḥawwot*, and *rasātīq* [רסאטיק]⁶² for Heb. *bēnot* (Saadia 1969: 215; Ratzaby 1985: 150; Saadia 1899: 227, 246, 257), and Ibn Danān has *qurā* [קרי] for Heb. *bēnot*, *ḥawwot* and *kēfarīm*, and *basā'it* [בסאיט]⁶³ for Heb. *pērazōt* (Ibn Danān 1996: 65, s.v. 209.10; 118, s.v. 564.2; 174, s.v. 902.9; and 271, s.v. 1538).

CA *rahl*, originally meaning 'camel's saddle', has also been explained as meaning *station* or *stopping place*,⁶⁴ but it is not the Ar. hypernym for the basic

⁵⁷ Deut 3:14, Num 32:41. On the latter see Rashi: «their hamlets (Heb. חֻוֹתֵיהֶם), [Onkelos renders] their villages (כְּפָרֵיהוֹן)». Under this Heb. entry, Fr. MD has *villette* [בִּילִיטַא] (old Fr. *vilete*, *villete* or *villette*, see Godefroy 1881-1902, 8: 242 and 10: 858), and cp. old Fr. *vilètes* [בִּילִטֶּט] rendering Heb. *bēnot*(ēḥa) in Num 21:25 and *ḥawwot* in Num 32:41 (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 44.64, 47.2).

⁵⁸ Esth 9:19, Zech 2:8, Hab 3:13, Judg 5:7, 11. Under this Heb. entry, Fr. MD has *chanpetre* [כְּאַנְפִּיטְרַא] (old Fr. *champestre* or *champêtre*, see Godefroy 1881-1902, 2: 48-49), and cp. old Fr. *chonpêtre* [כֹּנְפִיטְרַא] rendering Heb. *ha-pērazī* in Deut 3:5, *pērazīm* in Esth 9:19, and *pērazōt* in Ezek 38:11 and Zech 2:8 (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 48.43, 56.29, 100.62, 145.24).

⁵⁹ Old Fr. *village* or *vilage* (Godefroy 1881-1902, 10: 858), and cp. old Fr. *vilage* [וִילִגֶּא] rendering Heb. *kofer ha-pērazī* [כֹּפֶר הַפְּרָזִי] in 1 Sam 6:18 (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 69.26).

⁶⁰ The same goes for the Heb. entries ḤWH (Ar. דִּיאַע) and PRZ (Ar. דִּיאַע), while for Heb. BNH it keeps the original רחאיל.

⁶¹ Ar. *sawād*, 'villages and cultivated lands around a city, particularly around Kufa and Basra' (in Iraq, and this would explain the choice of this term by Se'adya Ga'on), 'rural district' (Kazimirski 1981, 1: 1161; Blau 2006: 315).

⁶² Pl. of *rastāq* (Pers.) 'village' (Kazimirski 1981, 1: 858).

⁶³ Pl. of *basāt*: 'pays étendu et ouvert de tous côtés' (Kazimirski 1981, 1: 126).

⁶⁴ Literally, the place where the camel's saddles (*rahl*, pl. *riḥāl*) are put down for a stop (See Lane 1863-1893, 3: 1053-1054; Wehr 1976: 331).

concept of *village*, while it is found with this meaning in medieval Sicily, Malta, the Balearic Islands and Andalusia' (Hahs 2010: 34).⁶⁵

In SA *rahl* or *rahal* (pl. *raḥā'il*) is very frequent and seems to be equivalent to Lat. *casale* and Gr. χωρίον [*xōríon*], usually indicating villages and estates contained in the several districts (*iqlims*) into which Muslim and Norman Sicily was divided. It appears also transliterated in Latin and Greek script as *rahal* and ῥάχαλ [*ráxal*], in several place names (Agius 1996: 44, 79; Caracausi 1990: 493).⁶⁶ Recent studies on the semantic value of the *rahal* in Sicily have convincingly argued that the term, at least with specific regard to Islamic Sicilian reality, actually appears to be not a strict synonym of hamlet or village, but rather an administrative term designating in its original sense a fiscal and landed property unit, which did not necessarily include a small town within. The semantic shift experienced by this word in Sicily was still in progress during the Norman period, and its Latin corresponding term *casale*, used in the bilingual texts, was therefore not always meant to be its exact synonym, but it was rather used when a *rahal* did also include a built-up place within (Nef 2011: 408-428, and in particular pp. 419, 427; see also Arcifa 2012: 87). The meaning restriction (by synecdoche) of the term *rahal*, as a clearly disambiguated hypernym for 'village', already appears to be a consolidated fact in early Maltese lexicography (17th cent.), while our MD Ar. glosses, as well as the Leiden Ms. allow us to also extend it to Sicily and Malta and perhaps the Tunisian area, and to backdate it at least to the 14th-15th centuries.

In current Malt. *rahal* (pl. *rhula* but also *rhajjel*)⁶⁷ is the usual hypernym for 'village' (Aquilina 1987-1990, 2: 1167); old Malt. «*rahal*: villa ò villaggio, ca-sale» (Cassola 1992: 29v s.v. 722, 109r s.v. 3818, 171v s.v. 2453). Ultimately, our

⁶⁵ For AA *rahl*, meaning 'camp; ranch; village' (Corriente 1997: 204; see also Corriente 2013: § 1.4.4.1.3, and Steiger 1991: 264).

⁶⁶ For instance Lat. *casale safi*, rendered in Ar. *Raḥl šāfi*, and *casali quod dicitur rahalumur* or *casali humur*, in Ar. *Raḥl al-ḥumr* (Cusa 1868-1882: 181, 189, 204; Metcalfe 2001: 64-65); or Gr. χωρίον ρογερίου, rendered in Ar. *Riḥāl Ruḡayr*, and τοῦ χωρίου γαλίδ, in Ar. *Raḥl al-ḡalīz* (Cusa 1868-1882: 143, 257), or τοῦ χωρίου ῥαχαλσαλέμ for Ar. *Raḥl al-salām* (Cusa 1868-1882: 18); see also De Simone 1979: 55-63. For pl. *raḥā'il* in SA, see for example Ar. *Qurulūn wa-l-raḥā'il al-dāḥila fī ḥudūdihā* 'Corleone and the estates falling within its boundaries', and Gr. καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτοῦ, in Ar. *wa-raḥā'ilihā* (Cusa 1868-1882: 202, 262).

⁶⁷ The Malt. pl. *rhajjel* is formed with the infix *ayye* between the 2nd and 3rd radical, according to the pattern *C¹C²ayyeC³* (or *C¹C²ayyaC³*) (Aquilina 1959: 242-243 §§ 20-21; Cremona 1950: 191 § 453; 195).

MD term **raḥal* (pl. *raḥāyil*) fully shares both its morphological and semantic characteristics with Leiden Ms., SA and Malt. cognates.

As is customary in the tradition of biblical glossaries, in the MD the terms of the glosses are generally reported in the exact morphological and grammatical form of the Hebrew term to which they refer, from the quoted biblical passage. In this case, RH³L [רהאל] would recall here the vernacular gloss *villate* [וילאטי], pl. noun, which renders the Hebrew *pərazōt* [פְּרָזוֹת], and the gloss should be read then as pl. **riḥāl*. This pl. is apparently shared by MD with SA, although its existence in SA has recently been questioned,⁶⁸ but these two entries (RH³L [רהאל]) in MD could suggest the need to reconsider the issue. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that we are in the presence of a sing. noun spelled with *Mater Lectionis*, which would be therefore indicative of a pattern shift CvCC > CCvC, and the gloss would then read **rəḥāl* (see, for example, *rəmal* [רמל] and *rəmal* [רמאל] ‘sand’, both sing. simultaneously found in Leiden Ms. for CA *raml*).

ṬN³ (ṬYN³)

ṬN³ [טנא] or ṬYN³ [טינא] *basket, bucket*, (under the Heb. entry ṬN³), קניסטרו ובע' כן, «Vern. *canestro* (qnysṭrw), and so is in Ar.». ⁶⁹

This and the next entry are not properly mentioned as Ar. glosses in MD, but are inferred from the fact that the meta-linguistic marker “so” (Heb. *ken*) here in the MD usually correlates the Arabic gloss to the immediately preceding vernacular term, although sometimes it can also be referred to the Heb. entry at issue. In the first case, the marker “so” here should therefore be read as referring to Heb. *ṭene*.⁷⁰ If this is the case, then the Ar. term meant here by the locution “an so is in Ar.” could be related to AA *ṭunna* ‘cask, barrel’ (Corriente 1997: 335) and current Mor. Ar. *tonna* ‘très grande corbeille cylindrique de roseaux refendus, enduite de bouse, pour conserver le grain’ (Prémare 1993-1999, 8: 357). Nevertheless, one could also consider the possibility of a term related to old and current Sic. *tina* ‘vat, tub, (wooden) bin, big jar (Sco-

⁶⁸ It appears only once in Cusa (Cusa 1868–1882: 143, footnote 26), but A. Nef, also because of the lack of records for this pl. in SA, suggests to amend Cusa’s reading, based on the Gr. *chōrion*, with the reading *riḡāl*, ‘the men of’ (Nef 2011: 412, footnote 180).

⁶⁹ Deut 26:2, 28:5.

⁷⁰ But even in case it should refer instead to the vern. gloss *canestro*, for the related SA term see Burgaretta 2018: 273, s.v. QNSṬR and La Rosa 2019: 249.

bar 1990: 286; VS, 5: 601), see also Pant. *tína* (Tropea 1988: 314),⁷¹ and med. Sic. Greek τινάριον or τηνάριον (Caracausi 1990: 571).

Fr. MD has *paner* [פאנייר] (FEW, 7: 536, s.v. *panarium*).⁷² Sp. MD has vern. *canastilyo* [קאנשטיליו],⁷³ and Ar. *salla* (סלא) or *ṭabaq* (טבאק)⁷⁴ or *‘iyār* (עייאר). Also Ibn Danān has Ar. *salla* [סלה] (Ibn Danān 1996: 143, s.v. 715), while Sa‘adya Ga’on uses the term *baniḡa* [בניגה] (Saadia 1899: 290, 293-294; Blau 2006: 52).

ṬRGYṬ

ṬRGYṬ [טרגיטא] *small shield*, (under the Heb. entry KDN.1),⁷⁵ טרגיטא ובע’ בן (...), «Vern. *targhetta* (ṭrgyṭ), and so is in Ar. (...) term for iron protruding from the helmet, and extending between his shoulders, to protect his neck», revising Rashi’s explanation of the verse (probably influenced by Fr. MD gloss) on the base of *Targum Yonathan* (קסחפא).

In case the meta-linguistic marker ‘so’ here relates the Arabic gloss to the Hebrew entry *kīdōn*, the Ar. gloss could be a semantic renewal, by analogy and assonance with the corresponding rare Ar. root KDN, as in the tradition of Sa‘adya Ga’on’s translation.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the possibility should be taken into consideration that ‘so’ might refer to the vern. gloss *targhetta*,⁷⁷ thus implying a similar term now considered as an Arabic word by the author of the gloss. In such a case, the lemma would be evidently relatable to the Ar. terms

⁷¹ For the rest of Italy, from North to South, see also old It. *tina*, from Lat. *tina* (Corpus OVI, s.v.).

⁷² See also the form *panéyr* [פנייר] (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 51.80).

⁷³ Old and current Sp. *canastillo* (see Casas 1570: 171b); see also Ferrara Bible: 67b; Cordovero 1617: 22a.

⁷⁴ The spelling with *Alef* likely reflects an oxytone reading *ṭbaq* rather than a long vowel *ā*; see Leiden Ms. *ṭbaq* [טבֿק] (Leiden MS., f. 298v line 4), and also Tun. *ṭbaq* (Ben Abdelkader 1977: 418).

⁷⁵ 1 Sam 17:6.

⁷⁶ Cp. Ar. *kidn* ‘Vestis quae vitando inquinamento inservit’ and ‘pellis de crure animalis detracta et deprendo concinnata, in qua velut mortario quid contunditur’, or *kidyūn* ‘Subtiliores arenae cum olei amurca mixtae, quibus mundantur et poliuntur loricae’ (Golius 1653: col. 2012), and *kidān* ‘Courte corde que l’on attache à la tête du chameau et à l’aide de laquelle on le retient’ (Kazimirski 1981, 2: 876).

⁷⁷ See also vern. *targa* [טארגא] under the Heb. entries SHR.3 and SNH.1. See also old Tosc. and Roman *targetta* (Corpus OVI, s.v.).

tārġa [طَرِغَة] and *tāriqa* [طَارِقَة], recorded in Arabic lexicons with the meaning of ‘shield’ (Dozy 1881, 2: 37, 40–41), both variants of the same Rm. loanword, most likely dating back to contacts with European armies at the time of the Crusades, and furthermore relatable to Ar. *daraq* [دَرَقَة], bearing the same meaning (Dozy 1881, 1: 435).

Fr. MD *targe* [טאַרגאַ].⁷⁸ Sp. MD has vern. *targeta* [טאַרגיטאַ], and Ar. LZ²NH (לואנה) added in the down edge, while ‘also so’ within the text is crossed out; Ibn Danān has Ar. *turs* [תַּרְס] (Ibn Danān 1996: 168, s.v. 862.3).

Old Sic. *targheta* (Valla 1991: 110: ‘Targheta haec parma’; cp. Scobar 1990: 283: ‘Targa di cavalleri, cetra-ae’).⁷⁹ Malt. *tarka* ‘shield, buckler’, from. old Sic. *targa* (Aquilina 1987–1990, 2: 1407).

ŠW[N]D

ŠWD² [שׁוּדָא] *slingshot* (under the Heb. entry QL^c.2), ל”א פיונר בע’ שודא ; «Another term (Vern.) *fiond[a]* (fywnd[h]), and in Ar. *šu[n]da*».⁸⁰

Old Sic. *xunda* (spelled also *hyunda*) [ʃunda].⁸¹ The missing ⟨n⟩ between ⟨w⟩ and ⟨d⟩ (*šu[n]da*) could be a mere typo,⁸² but it could also reflect a typical phonetic feature of Sic. JA: the assimilation of the nasal /n/ with the following consonant when found in a closed syllable, in this case with the dental /d/, resulting into a double dental (/nd/ > /dd/). If this is the case, the Ar. gloss should therefore be read *šudda*. This phenomenon is well recorded in several Sic. JA texts, along with very few counted cases in Maltese, and Mons.

⁷⁸ FEW, 17: 314, s.v. *targa*; Godefroy 1881–1902, 7: 648, 649, s.v. *targete* and *targuete*.

⁷⁹ See Grassi 1833, 4: 222, s.v. ‘Targhetta, diminutivo di Targa; Piccola targa’, and s.v. ‘Targa, in lat. *Parma*. In franc. *Targe*. Spezie di scudo leggiero di legno o di cuoio, fatto a modo di cuore, cioè largo in cima e acuto in fondo’. See also Florio 1598: 412: ‘Targhetta, a little buckler, target or shield’.

⁸⁰ 1 Sam 17:40, 25:29.

⁸¹ Called also *frumbula* (Scobar 1990: 132, 313, s.v. *xunda* and *hyunda*; Valla 1991: 52, 119, s.v. *frumbula* and *xunda*; Cp.Scoppa 1558: 313, s.v. *funda*: ‘fionda, fiodea, frombola, xionda’), mod. Sic. *çiunna* (VS, 1: 742), and Pant. *ššúnna* (Tropea 1988: 297); It. *fionda* or *frombola* (See Grassi 1833, 2: 140).

⁸² Other typos are present in the same entry: the vern. gloss is spelled FYWND [פיונר], without final *He* or *Alef*, while the Ar. gloss is spelled ŠWD² [שׁוּדָא], with a superfluous *He* after the *Alef*, moreover with an undefined sing in between. We can therefore assume that the unnecessary *He*, following *Alef* at the end of the Ar. gloss, might have been intended to conclude the spelling of the vern. gloss FYWND [פיונר] but was finally placed there by mistake.

Rocco ascribes it to a Hebrew influence (Rocco 1995: 364; Rocco 1998: 540 § 4).⁸³

It is worthy of remark that a similar feature, *mutatis mutandis*, is found in neo-Greek, where consonant clusters of nasal followed by dental or palatal <μπ, ντ, γκ, γγ> are either pronounced as prenasalized voiced stops [mb, nd, nj, ŋg] or as voiced stops without nasalization [b, d, j, g]. One can thus hear, for example, the word φούντα ‘tuft’ pronounced either /'funda/ or /'fuða/ (Lexiko 1998: ιε', 1437). But this phenomenon is certainly not recent in Greek, and a very interesting record of it is found in a Jewish document, the so-called Pentateuch of Constantinople, printed in 1547, where the Hebrew text is supplied with a Judaeo-Spanish and a Judaeo-Greek translation. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point: in Lev 6:6, for instance, Heb. תמיד is rendered in the Judaeo-Greek version with the adj. παντοτινή [pandoti'ni] ‘perennial’, but the phonetical transcription adopted for the Judaeo-Greek, in this case פדוטני [pdwtyni], reveals a pronunciation /padoti'ni/ without prenasalization. Heb. עץ ‘tree’ (e.g. in Gen 1:11) is δέντρο ['ðendro] in Judaeo-Greek, but the spelling דיידרו [dydrw] unambiguously defines the unprenasalized pronunciation /'ðendro/; Heb. חיה adj. f.s. ‘alive, living’ (e.g. in Gen 1:21) is ζωντανή [zonda'ni], spelled זודני [zwdny], for a pronunciation /zoda'ni/; and Heb. אדני ‘my lord’ (in Gen 18:12) is αφέντης μου [a'fendis-mu] in Judaeo-Greek, spelled אפדישמו [ʔw ʔfdyśmw] rendering an unprenasalized pronunciation /a'fendis-mu/.

Sp. MD has Ar. *miqlā'* [מקלאע] for vern. *fonda* [פונדה].⁸⁴ This entry is not available in the Fr. MD (it should have allegedly been in one of the missing leaves of the Ms., ff. 67-71), but we find there *frande*⁸⁵ [פראנדה] (under the

⁸³ See Burgaretta 2014: 148; for Malt., see Saydon 1966 : 117. Exactly the opposite outcome spread later in Sicilian, where the nasal prevailed between the two consonants: mb > mm and nd > nn (Rohlf's 1966-1969, 1: 356-359 § 253; Várvaro 1979 and Várvaro 1980; see also Rinaldi 2005, 2: 386, § 3.3.6.8; Barbato 2007: 138-139, § 32). And see also other similar cases in It. MD: אבולייאטא [ʔbwlyyʔʔ] for אנבולייאטא [ʔnbwlyyʔʔ] ‘wrapped, rolled up’ (under the Heb. entry LWT.1, old Sic. *inbuglata* or *imbuglata*, see Scobar 1990: 136, s.v. *imbuglari*, and Corpus ARTESIA, s.v. *inbuglata*); קונסיליו [qwsylyw] for קונסיליו [qwnsylyw] and קוציליו [qwsylyw] for קונסיליו [qwnsylyw] ‘advice, suggestion’ (under the Heb. entries LHŠ and MLK.2, It. *consiglio* and old Sic. *cunsiglu*, see Scobar 1990: 84).

⁸⁴ Also *honda* (DRAE: s.v. *fonda*²).

⁸⁵ Variant of old Fr. *fronde* (see FEW, 3: 861).

Heb. entry RGM.2) rendering Heb. *margema* [מַרְגְּמָה],⁸⁶ and *fronde* [פְּרוֹנְדָא] is also found in the 13th cent. Hebrew-French glossary.⁸⁷ Malt. ignores completely the term, in both its Sic. form *xunda* and in its It. form *fionda*, and instead has the Rm. term *zbandola*, spelled also *sbandola* (cp. Sic. *sbannola*), and the less common Semitic term *wadab* or *wadaf* (Ar. *wadaf*) (Aquilina 1987-1990, 2: 1513, 1602).

ŠWRṬY

ŠWRṬY [שורטי] pl. *sorts, kinds, species* (under the Heb. entry ŠṬNZ), שורטי, «Vern. *šortī* [šwrty], and so is in Ar.» (Deut 22:11).

Old Sic. *xorti*, pl. of *xorta*, It. ‘sorta’ (VS, 4: 667, s.v. *sciòrta*, ‘sort, kind, variety’; Traina 1868: 889: *A la sciorta* ‘assorted’). The same Sic. term is found in Malt. *xorta*, pl. *xorti*, with the same meaning (Aquilina 1987-1990, 2: 1584).

Sp. MD gives only the quote from the Bible verse and the explanation of the term, but omits both the vern. and Ar. glosses. Fr. MD reads *retors* [רייטורש], and so does the 13th cent. Hebrew-French glossary [רִטְוֹרֶשׁ] (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 37.1, Greenberg 1992: 355).⁸⁸

The choice of the gloss *šortī* ‘sorts, kinds, species’ in It. MD can be explained in light of the interpretation given to the same Heb. word *ša’aṭnez* (שַׁעֲטָנִי) under another Heb. entry (Heb. KL².4): *naw’ayn muḥallaṭīn* [נאוועיין מַכְטְלִיטִין], ‘two assorted kinds’, for Heb. *kil’ayim ša’aṭnez* [כִּלְעִים שַׁעֲטָנִי] (Lev 19:19),⁸⁹ and cp. Leiden Ms. *naw’ayn maḥṭalṭa* [נוועיין מַכְטְלִטָא],⁹⁰ ‘two mixed kinds’ and Se’adya Ga’on *naw’ayn mulḥimayn* [נוועיין מלחמין] ‘two joint kinds’.

⁸⁶ Prov 26:8. MD follows Rashi’s interpretation: *fondele* [פֹּנְדִילָא] (Catane 1996: 67 s.v. 4185, 4186; Greenberg 1992: 207; on the old Fr. term *fondel*, see FEW, 3: 861). Sp. MD for this entry has vern. *fonda* [פֹּנְדִירָא] and Ar. *miqla’* [מִקְלָע]. It. MD also has vern. *fionda* [פִּיאֹנְדָא] for this entry, but its Ar. gloss (actually Heb.) follows Qimḥi’s interpretation: *argaman* [אַרְגָּמָן] ‘crimson, purple’ (Qimḥi 1847: 343).

⁸⁷ In 1 Sam 17:40; Prov 26:8 and Job 41:20 (Lambert – Brandin 1905: 71.5, 166.19, 196.71). Sa’adya Ga’on has *miqlā’* [מִקְלָאע] in Job 41:20 (Saadia 1899: 120).

⁸⁸ Old and mod. Fr. *retors* ‘twisted (yarn, and the fabric woven with this yarns)’ (FEW, 13/2: 96).

⁸⁹ See Burgaretta 2018: 257, fn. 147. Cp. It. *assortito* ‘mixed, assorted’, from *sorta* ‘sort, kind’.

⁹⁰ מַכְטְלִיטָא (cp. מַכְטְלִיטָא in Deut 22:11), for CA *muḥṭallīṭa*.

Bibliography

- Agius, D.A. 1996 *Siculo Arabic*, Kegan Paul International, London – New York.
- Agius Sultana, G. 2016 [1767] *Ġamma tal Kliem Kartaginis mscerred fel fom tal Maltin u Ghaucin* [Collection of Carthaginian Words Spread among the Tongues of Maltese and Gozitans], ed. R. Carabott, Baroni and Gori, Firenze.
- Aquilina, J. 1959 *The Structure of Maltese: A Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary*, Royal University of Malta, Msida.
- 1987-1990 *Maltese-English Dictionary*, 2 vols., Midsea Books, Malta.
- Arcifa, L. 2012 “Alle origini del Raḥal di ‘Abbūd: i documenti di età normanna”, in I. Contino, F. Buscemi (eds.) *L’insediamento rupestre di Monte S. Antonio a Regalbuto - Alle origini del Raḥal di ‘Abbūd*, Paruzzo Editore, Caltanissetta: 83–93.
- Avolio, C. 1898 “Saggio di toponomastica siciliana”, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, suppl. VI: 71–118.
- Barbato, M. 2007 “La lingua del *Rebellamentu*. Spoglio del codice Spinelli (prima parte)”, *Bollettino* 21, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo: 107–191.
- 2010 “La lingua del *Rebellamentu*. Spoglio del codice Spinelli (seconda parte)”, *Bollettino* 22, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo: 43–124.
- Barthélemy, A. 1935 *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem* (5 fasc.), Paul Geuthner, Paris.
- Beaussier, M. – Ben Cheneb, M. – Lentin, A. 2006 *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français (arabe maghrébin). Constitué du “Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français” de Marcelin Beaussier (1871) dans l’édition de Mohamed Ben Cheneb (1958) & de son “Supplément” par Albert Lentin (1959)*, Ibis Press, Paris.
- Ben Abdelkader, R. 1977 *Peace Corps English-Tunisian Arabic Dictionary*, Washington DC.
- Ben Sedira, B. 1910 *Dictionnaire Français-Arabe de la langue parlée en Algérie*, A. Jourdan, Alger.
- Blau, J. 1995 *A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, 3rd ed., Magnes Press, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- 2006 *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*, Academy of the Hebrew Language, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Bresc, H. 2007 “Le judaïsme sicilien: caractères généraux et particularités”, in M. Perani, (ed.), *Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate. Un ebreo converso siciliano*, Officina di Studi Medievali, Palermo: 1–22.
- Bresc-Bautier, G. – Bresc, H. 2014 *Une maison de mots - Inventaires de maisons, de boutiques, d’ateliers et de châteaux de Sicile (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, 6 vols., Associazione Mediterranea, Palermo.
- Brincat, J.M. 2011 *Maltese and Other languages. A Linguistic History of Malta*, Midsea Books, Sta. Venera (Malta).
- Brisman, S. 2000 *A History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*, Ktav, Hoboken NJ.
- Burgaretta, D. 2014 “Un’antica attestazione siciliana della cantilena sui mesi dell’anno in caratteri ebraici”, *Sefer yuḥasin* 2: 141–161.

- 2018 “The Maltese and Sicilian Component in the Arabic Glosses of the Italian Version of *Maqrē Dardeqē*”, in G. Mandalà, I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *Multilingual and Multigraphic Manuscripts and Documents of East and West*, Gorgias Press, Piscataway NJ: 233–292.
- Caracausi, G. 1983 *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia*, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo.
- 1990 *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)*, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo.
- Casas, C. de las 1570 *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*, Sevilla.
- Cassola, A. 1992 (ed.), *The Biblioteca Vallicelliana Regole per la lingua maltese: The Earliest Extant Grammar and Dictionary of the Maltese Language*, Said International, Valletta.
- 1996 (ed.), *Il mezzo vocabolario maltese-italiano del '700*, Said International, Valletta.
- Catane, M. 1996 *Recueil des gloses: Les mots français des commentaires de Rachi dans la Bible*, Les Frères Gitler, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Cordovero, G. 1617 (ed.), [Anon.], *Sefer hešeq šəlomoh wē-hū' he'eteq kol milah zarah še-bēkol ha-Miqra' mi-lēšōn ha-Qodeš li-lēšōn la'az*, Bragadin Pietro e Lorenzo, Venezia.
- Corpus ARTESIA = *Corpus ARTESIA. Archivio testuale del siciliano antico*, Direttore Mario Pagano; vicedirettori Salvatore Arcidiacono e Ferdinando Raffaele, Università di Catania, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Online: <http://artesia.o-vi.cnr.it> (last consultation: 10.06.2024).
- Corpus OVI = *Corpus OVI. Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*, Direttori Pär Larson, Elena Artale, Diego Dotto, Online: <http://tlioweb.o-vi.cnr.it> (last consultation: 10.06.2024).
- Corriente, F. 1991 *El léxico árabe estándar y andalusí del “Glosario de Leiden”*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid.
- 1997 *A Dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*, Brill, Leiden et al.
- 2013 *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusí Arabic*, edited by the Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza, Leiden – Boston.
- Cremona, A. 1950 *Tagħlim fuq il-Kitba Maltija*, 4th edition, 2 vols., A.C. Aquilina & Co., Malta.
- Cuomo, L. 1977, “Antichissime glosse salentine nel codice ebraico di Parma, De Rossi, 138”, *Medioevo Romano* 4: 185–271.
- Cusa, S. 1868–1882 (ed.) *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia pubblicati nel testo originale*, Stabilimento Tipografico Lao, Palermo (repr. 1982, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne and Vienna).
- DAM Giammarco, E. 1968–1979 *Dizionario abruzzese e molisano*, 4 vols., Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma.
- DELI Cortellazzo, M. – Zolli, P. 1999 *Il Nuovo Etimologico. DELI Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana*, Zanichelli, Bologna.
- De Simone, A. 1979 *Spoglio antropomimico delle Giaride (Ġarā'id) arabo-greche dei Diplomi editi da Salvatore Cusa. Parte 1*, Istituto per l'Oriente “C.A. Nallino”, Roma.
- Derenbourg, H. 1867 *Essai sur les formes des pluriels arabes*, Imprimerie Impériale, Paris.

- DMF *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français [1330–1500]*, Online: <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> (last consultation: 10.06.2024).
- Doron, D. 2024 “Linguistic Notes on a Chapter from a Manuscript Translation of the Pentateuch into Maghribi Judeo-Arabic and Its Seventeenth-Century Printed Edition”, in M. Frenkel, Ph.I. Lieberman (eds.), *An Inspired Man: Studies in Judeo-Arabic Culture Dedicated to the Memory of Joshua Blau*, Brill, Leiden: 68-90.
- Dozy, R.P.A. 1881 *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Brill, Leiden (repr. 1967, Librairie du Liban, Beirut).
- DRAE *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, Online: <http://www.rae.es/recursos/diccionarios/drae> (last consultation: 10.06.2024)
- Elihay, J. 2012 *The Olive Tree Dictionary: A Transliterated Dictionary of Conversational Eastern Arabic (Palestinian)*, Minerva Publishing House, Jerusalem.
- ESI Serracino-Inglott, E. 1975-1989 *Il-Miklem Malti*, 10 vols., Klabb Kotba Maltin, Malta.
- Ferrara Bible 1553 = *Biblia en Lengua Española, Traducida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados*, Abraham Usque and Yom-Tob ben Levi Athias, Ferrara.
- FEW = Wartburg, W. von 1922-2002 *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 25 vols., Zbinden, Bâle.
- Florio, J. 1598 *A Worlde of Wordes, Or Most Copious, and Exact Dictionaire in Italian and English*, London (repr. 1972, G. Olms, Hildesheim – New York).
- Godefroy, F. 1881-1902 *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, 10 vols., Vieweg – Bouillon, Paris.
- Golius, J. 1653 *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, Ex Officina Hackiana, Leiden.
- Grassi, G. 1833 *Dizionario militare italiano*, 2nd edition enriched by the author, 4 vols., Società Tipografico-Libraria, Torino.
- Greenberg, J.C. 1992 *Foreign Words in the Bible Commentary of Rashi*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Griffini, E. 1913 *L'arabo parlato della Libia*, Hoepli, Milano (repr. 1985, Cisalpino/Goliardica, Milano).
- Guetta, A. 2023 “Les dictionnaires d'hébreu écrit par les Juifs en Italie à la première époque moderne: une première analyse”, *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, 45/2: 127-135.
- Hahs, D.G. 2010 *Medieval Malta: Abandoned Villages, Chapels and Farmhouses*, Florida State University, Electronic Theses, Treatises and Dissertations (Paper 4334), Online: <http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/etd/4334> (last consultation 10.06.2024)
- Harrell, R.S. – Sobelman, H. 2004 *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English/English-Moroccan*, vol. I (*Moroccan Arabic-English*) edited by R.S. Harrell (Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 1966) and vol. II (*English-Moroccan Arabic*) edited by H. Sobelman (1963); both reprinted in 1 vol. (2004).

- Hary, B. – Gallego, M. Á. 1999 “La version española de *Maqre Dardeq*”, in J. Targarona Borrás, A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the 20th Century*, Proceedings of the 6th EAJC Congress (Toledo, 1998), Brill, Leiden: 57-64.
- 2006 “Lexicography and Dialectology in Spanish *Maqre Dardeq*”, in B. Hary, H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *Esoteric and Exoteric Aspects in Judeo-Arabic Culture*, Brill, Leiden – Boston: 227-256.
- Hesseling, D.C. 1897 *Les cinq livres de la loi (le Pentateuque). Traduction en néo-grec publiée en caractères hébraïques à Constantinople en 1547, transcrite et accompagnée d’une introduction, d’un glossaire et d’un fac-simile*, S.C. van Doesburgh – Otto Harrassowitz, Leyde – Leipzig.
- Hinds, M. – Badawi, E. 1986 *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Arabic-English*, Librairie du Liban, Beirut.
- Ibn Danān, S. 1996 *Sē‘adyah Ibn Danān, Sefer ha-šorašim*. Introducción, edición e índices por M. Jiménez Sánchez, Universidad de Granada, Granada.
- Ibn Makkī al-Šiqillī 1990 *Tatqīf al-lisān wa-talqīh al-ġanān*, M. ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (ed.), Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmīya, Beirut.
- Jastrow, M. 1903 *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, Luzac & Co. – G.P. Putnam’s Sons, London – New York (repr. 1950, Pardes, New York).
- Jerchow, S. 2008 “From *Maqre Dardeq* to *Sefer ‘Arba’ah ve-‘esrim*: The Tradizione della traduzione and Directions for Research”, in F. Aspesi et al. (a c.), *Il mio cuore è a Oriente. Studi di linguistica storica, filologia e cultura ebraica dedicati a Maria Luisa Mayer Modena*, Cisalpino, Milano: 493-510.
- Kahn, L. – Rubin, A.D. 2016 (eds.), *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, Brill, Leiden.
- Kazimirski, A. d. B. 1981 *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 2 vols., Maisonneuve, Paris, 1860¹ (repr. 1981, Librairie du Liban, Beirut).
- Kiwitt, M. 2013 *Les gloses françaises du glossaire biblique B.N. hébr. 301. Édition critique partielle et étude linguistique*, Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.
- Kiwitt, M. – Dörr, S. 2016 “Judeo-French”, in Kahn – Rubin 2016: 138-177.
- Kogel, J. 2023 “La version française du *Maqre-dardeq* (Paris, BNF Hébreu 1243)”, *Revue des études juives* 182: 375-389.
- Kriaras, E. 1968– *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669* [Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature, 1100-1669], after Em. Kriaras re-dacted by a team directed by J.N. Kazazis, Centre for the Greek Language, Thessaloniki, 20 vols. to date.
- La Rosa, C. 2019 *L’arabo di Sicilia nel contesto maghrebino: nuove prospettive di ricerca*, Istituto per l’Oriente “C.A. Nallino”, Roma.
- Lagarde, P. de 1883 (ed.) P. de Alcalá, *Petri Hispani De lingua arabica libri duo*, Otto Zeller, Göttingen.

- Lambert, M. – Brandin, L. 1905 *Glossaire hébreu-français du XIII^e siècle, recueil de mots hébreux bibliques avec traduction française*. Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds hébreu, n° 302, E. Leroux, Paris.
- Lane, E.W. 1863-1893 *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols., Williams and Norgate, London.
- Lexiko 1998 *Λεξικό της κοινής Νεοελληνικής* [Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek], Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Manolis Triantafyllidis Foundation, Thessaloniki.
- Liddell, H.G. – R. Scott, et al. 1996 *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford U.P. – Clarendon Press, Oxford – New York⁹.
- Mainz, E. 1949 “Quelques poésies judéo-arabes du manuscrit 411 de la Bibliothèque du Vatican”, *Journal Asiatique* 237: 51-83.
- Manzi, A. 2001 *Flora popolare d’Abruzzo*, Rocco Carabba, Lanciano.
- Martínez Delgado, J. (ed.) 2010 Š. Ben Mobarak ben Ša‘ir, *Libro de la Facilitación. Kitāb at-taysir* (Diccionario judeoárabe de Hebreo Bíblico), 2 vols., Universidad de Granada, Granada.
- Metcalf, A. 2001 “De Saracenico in Latinum Transferri: Causes and Effects of Translation in the Fiscal Administration of Norman Sicily”, *Al-Masaq* 13: 43-86.
- Mistral, F. 1979 *Lou Trésor dou Félibrige ou Dictionnaire provençal-français*, 2 vols., M. Petit, Raphèle-lès-Arles.
- Muraoka, T. 2009 *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Peeters, Louvain et al.
- Nef, A. 2011 *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 346), École française de Rome, Rome.
- Neubauer, A. (ed.) 1875 *Kitāb al-Uṣūl, The Book of Hebrew Roots*, by Abu ‘l-Walid Marwān Ibn Janāḥ, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Payne-Smith, R. 1879 *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Pazzini, M. 1992 “Grammatiche e dizionari di ebraico-aramaico in italiano. Catalogo ragionato”, *Liber Annuus* 42: 9-32.
- PC חמשה חומשי תורה. *Ḥamišah ḥumāšē Torah* [The Five Books of the Law], Eliezer Soncino, Constantinople, 1547 (Hebrew) (Constantinople Polyglot Pentateuch).
- Poccetti, P. 1983 “Considerazioni sul tipo toponomastico Pesco nell’Italia centro-meridionale”, *L’Italia dialettale* 46 (n.s. 23): 245-254.
- Qimḥī 1847 = David ben Yōsef Qimḥī ha-Sēfaradī, *Sefer ha-Šorašīm. Rabbi Davidis Kimchi Radicum Liber, sive Hebraeum Bibliorum Lexicon*, eds. J.H.R. Biesenthal, F. Lebrecht, G. Bethge, Berlin.
- Rappel, D. 1988 “Milonim ‘ivriyyim ke-sifrē limmud: 500 šanah le-hadpasat ‘Maqrē Dardeqē” [Hebrew Dictionaries as Textbooks: 500 Years of the Printing of “Maqrē Dardeqē”], *Sinai* 101: 235-265.
- Ratzaby, Y. 1985 *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic in R. Saadya’s Tafsir*, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan (Hebrew).
- REW Meyer-Lübke, W. 1911 *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Winter, Heidelberg.

- Rinaldi, G.M. 2005 *Testi d'archivio del Trecento*, (Collezione di testi siciliani dei secoli XIV e XV), 2 vols., Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo.
- Rocco, B. 1995 "Le tre lingue usate dagli ebrei di Sicilia dal secolo XII al secolo XV", in *Italia Judaica 5. Gli ebrei in Sicilia sino all'espulsione del 1492*, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Roma: 355-369.
- 1998 "Il giudeo-arabo e il siciliano nei secoli XII e XV. Influssi reciproci", in G. Ruffino (ed.), *Atti del XXI congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza, Palermo 18-24.9.1995* (vol. IV: *Le strutture del parlato*), Niemeyer, Tübingen: 539-545.
- Rohlf, G. 1964 *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris* (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*), Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- 1966-1969 *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, 3 vols., Einaudi, Torino, vol. I (Fonetica).
- 1976-2007 *Vocabolario dei dialetti salentini (Terra d'Otranto)*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Congedo, Galatina.
- 1977 *Nuovo dizionario dialettale della Calabria. Con repertorio italo-calabro*. Nuova edizione interamente rielaborata, ampliata ed aggiornata, Longo, Ravenna.
- Rubin, A.D. 2016 "Judeo-Italian", in Rubin – Kahn 2016: 297-364.
- Saadia 1899 = Bacher, W. – Derenbourg, H. – Derenbourg, J. (eds.), *Version arabe du Livre de Job de R. Saadia Ben Iosef Al-Fayyūmī* (*Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia Ben Iosef Al-Fayyūmī*, vol. 5), Imprimerie National, Paris.
- 1969 Allony, N. (ed.), *Ha'egron. Kitāb 'Uṣūl al-Shi'r al-'Ibrānī by Rav Šē'adya Ga'on*, The Academy of the Hebrew Language, Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Sacy, A.I.S. de 1831 *Grammaire arabe à l'usage des élèves de l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes: avec figures*, 2nd edition, 2 vols., Imprimerie Royale, Paris.
- Saydon, P.P. 1966 "Hebraico-Maltese Notes", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 41: 115-154.
- 1982-1990 (ed.), *Bibbja Saydon. It-Testment il-Qadim*, 2 vols., Edizzjoni Societas Doctrinae Christianae M.U.S.E.U.M., Blata l-Bajda.
- Schippers, A. 1998 "A Comment on the Arabic Words in the *Maqre Dardeq*", in Y. Tobi (ed.), *Ever and 'Arav: Contacts Between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Afikim, Tel-Aviv: 27-46.
- Schwab, M. 1888-1889 "Le *Maqre Dardeq*", *Revue des Études Juives* 16: 253-268; 17: 11-124, 285-298; 18: 108-117.
- 1889 *Maqre Dardeq. Dictionnaire hébreu-italien de la fin du XIV^e siècle*, A. Durlacher, Paris.
- Scobar, L.C. 1990 *Il vocabolario siciliano-latino di L. C. Scobar*, A. Leone ed., Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo.
- Scoppa, L.G. 1558 *Spicilegium seu thesaurulus latinae linguae atque italicae*, Apud Petrum Bossellum, Venezia.
- Sermoneta, G. 1974 *Un volgarizzamento giudeo-italiano del Cantico dei cantici*, Sansoni, Firenze.
- Seybold, C.F. 1900 (ed.), *Glossarium latino-arabicum ex unico qui exstat codice Leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto*, Emil Felber, Berlin.

- Steiger, A. 1991 *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid (1932¹; repr. 1991).
- Tirosh-Becker, O. 1990 "The Arabic Glosses in the Italian Version of *Maqre Dardeqe*" *Italia* 9: 37-77 (Hebrew).
- TLF Imbs, P. – B. Quemada, B. (eds.) 1971-94 *Trésor de la langue française: Dictionnaire de la langue du XIX^e et XX^e siècle*, 16 vols., Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique - Gallimard, Paris.
- Traina, A. 1868 *Nuovo vocabolario siciliano-italiano*, G. Pedone Lauriel, Palermo.
- Tropea, G. 1988 *Lessico del dialetto di Pantelleria*, Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo.
- Valla, N. 1991 *Valliliu. Primo dizionario siculo-latino del XVI secolo*, Edizioni Librarie Siciliane, Palermo [repr. of the original edition, 1510].
- Várvaro, A. 1979 "Capitoli per la storia linguistica dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia: i. Gli esiti di « -nd- », « -mb- »", *Medioevo Romanzo* 6: 189-206.
- 1980 "Ancora su « -nd- » in Sicilia", *Medioevo Romanzo* 7: 130-132.
- VS Piccitto, G. – Tropea, G. 1977-2002 *Vocabolario siciliano*, 5 vols., Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, Palermo-Catania.
- Wehr, H. 1976 *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*, 3rd edition, ed. J. Milton Cowan, Spoken Language Services, Ithaca NY.
- Wettinger, G. 1985 *The Jews of Malta in the Late Middle Ages*, Midsea Books, Valletta.
- 2006 *Kliem Malti Qadim*, University of Malta Press, Valletta.
- Woodhead, D.R. – Beene, W. 1967 *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English*, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC.
- Zammit, M.R. 2013 "The Sfaxi (Tunisian) element in Maltese", in A. Borg, S. Caruana, A. Vella (eds.), *Perspectives on Maltese Linguistics*, Akademie-Verlag, München: 23-44.