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ON DIALECTAL ROOTS IN JUDEO-ARABIC TEXTS FROM CONSTANTINE (EAST ALGERIA)

RÉSUMÉ

Caractérisé par des traits de langue archaïques, le *sharḥ* – traduction de la Bible en usage à Constantine – est aussi émaillé d'éléments dialectaux. La présente étude analyse quelques racines attestées essentiellement en arabe dialectal mais intégrées dans la traduction judéo-arabe de divers livres de la Bible, dans les traductions de la littérature post-biblique ou dans d'autres œuvres écrites originellement en judéo-arabe de Constantine. Notre étude traite de deux catégories de racines d'arabe dialectal: trois racines secondaires \sqrt{lss} , \sqrt{sgm} , \sqrt{tkl} , et quatre racines formées à partir d'une métathèse $\sqrt{h'd}$, $\sqrt{\text{šnt}}$, $\sqrt{w\dot{g}b}$, et $\sqrt{n'l}$. Nous en examinons les différents aspects, plus particulièrement la manière dont elles furent formées, le degré d'intégration et leur emploi dans le corpus littéraire de Constantine. Nous abordons ensuite, à titre de comparaison, l'emploi de ces racines dans les autres dialectes maghrébins.

ABSTRACT

The language of the Constantinian *sharḥ* (Judeo-Arabic translation) of the Bible is characterized by conservative and archaic trends. Thus penetration of colloquial features into its linguistic fabric is of special interest. This paper analyzes a variety of vernacular roots that found their way into the Constantinian *sharḥ* of various biblical books, as well as into translations of post-biblical texts and original texts written in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine. The discussion encompasses two types of dialectal roots. Three secondary roots: \sqrt{lss} , \sqrt{sgm} , and \sqrt{tkl} , and four roots formed through metathesis: $\sqrt{h'd}$, $\sqrt{\text{šnt}}$, $\sqrt{w\dot{g}b}$, and $\sqrt{n'l}$. These roots are examined from several perspectives, including their formation, their distribution in the Constantinian Judeo-Arabic corpus of texts, and their comparison to other Maghrebian dialects.

North African Judeo-Arabic is an ensemble of dialects spoken and written by Jews throughout the Maghreb, primarily Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

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Like many other Jewish languages, North African Judeo-Arabic is characterized by several key features, among them the use of Hebrew script, the presence of a Hebrew component, and a mixture of conservative trends, vernacular features and heterogeneous elements¹. Following an early study by Fleischer in 1864² the research of North African Judeo-Arabic advanced during the 20th century, focusing mainly on the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Morocco³ and less on those of Algeria and Tunisia⁴. The study of Algerian Judeo-Arabic dialects began with the important study of Marcel Cohen in 1912 on the Judeo-Arabic dialect of the City of Alger, which was a cornerstone in the research of North African Judeo-Arabic dialects⁵. The study of

1. M. BAR-ASHER, "Paramètres pour l'étude des judéo-langues et de leurs littératures", in F. ALVAREZ-PÉREYRE, J. BAUMGARTEN (eds.), *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*, Paris, 2003, pp. 69-86; N.A. STILLMAN, "Judeo-Arabic and Jewish Languages: An Introduction to the Arabic Language of the Jews of Sefrou (Morocco)" (in Hebrew), in J. DAN (ed.), *Culture and History*, Ino Sciaky Memorial Volume, Jerusalem, 1987, pp. 11-18. For a discussion on the characterization of Jewish Languages see Ch. RABIN et al., "Research Forum: The Jewish languages — Commonalities, Differences, and Problems" (in Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 1, 1979, pp. 40-57.

2. H.L. FLEISCHER, "Jüdisch-Arabisches aus Maghreb," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen Gesellschaft* 18 (1864), pp. 329-340; H.L. FLEISCHER, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. 3, Leipzig 1888, pp. 425-439.

3. Some of the key studies on Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (and see additional references therein): L. BRUNOT, E. MALKA, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Rabat, 1939; IDD., *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, Rabat, 1940; H. ZAFRANI, *Études et Recherches sur la vie intellectuelle juive au Maroc de la fin du XV^e au début du XX^e siècle*, Vol. 3: *Littératures dialectales et populaires juives en Occident musulman: l'écrit et l'oral*, Paris, 1980; ID., "Les langues juives du Maroc", *Revue de l'Occident et de la Méditerranée* 4 (1967), pp. 175-188; J. HEATH, M. BAR-ASHER, *Tafilalt*; J. HEATH, *From Code-Switching to Borrowing: A Case Study of Moroccan Arabic*, London-New York, 1989; ID., *Moroccan Arabic*; N. A. STILLMAN, *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou, Morocco*, Manchester, 1988. The study of the Hebrew elements in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic has evolved as a concrete topic of research starting with W. LESLAU, "Hebrew Elements in the Judeo-Arabic Dialect of Fez", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 36, 1945, pp. 61-78, and later by M. BAR-ASHER, "On Hebrew Elements in Spoken Maghribian Judeo-Arabic" (in Hebrew), *Lěšoněnu* 42, 1978, pp. 163-189. Many studies on this topic have been published in recent years by M. Bar-Asher, J. Chetrit, J. Tedghi, A. Maman, Y. Bahat and others.

4. On Tunisian Judeo-Arabic see COHEN, *Tunis*; D. COHEN, "Les deux parlers arabes de Tunis: Notes de phonologie comparée", *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, The Hague-Paris, 1970, pp. 150-171; L. SAADA, "Introduction à l'étude du parler des Juifs de Sousse", *Les Cahiers du Tunisie* 16, 1956, pp. 518-532; ID., "Deux genres d'altérations expresses' dans le milieu féminin des Juifs de Sousse", *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 7, 1954-1957, pp. 61-64. The Hebrew component in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic was recently studied by Y. HENSHKE, *Hebrew Elements in Daily Speech: A Grammatical Study and Lexicon on the Hebrew Component of Tunisian Judeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem, 2007 (in Hebrew). The Judeo-Arabic of Libya was hardly studied with the exception of the dialect of Tripoli, see H. GOLDBERG, "A Pilot Study of the Culture and Language of Tripolitanian Jewry", *Lěšoněnu* 38, 1974, pp. 137-147 (in Hebrew); S. YODA, *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya)*, Wiesbaden, 2005.

5. COHEN, *Alger*. Remarks on Algerian Judeo-Arabic are included in MARÇAIS, *Tlemcen*; HEATH, *From Code-Switching to Borrowing* (see note 3 above).

Algerian Judeo-Arabic has seen little progress in later years, with the exception of the language of the *Sharḥ* (Bible translation) from Constantine in eastern Algeria⁶ and the Hebrew Component in the Judeo-Arabic of Tlemcen and Aïn-Temouchent in western Algeria⁷. In contrast, quite a few Muslim Algerian dialects have been studied over the years, primarily in the first half of the 20th century. These include the Muslim dialects of the large Algerian cities – Alger⁸, Oran⁹ and Constantine¹⁰, as well as dialects of several smaller towns and settlements, such as Philippeville (now called Skikda), Bou-Saâda, Djidjelli (now called Jijel), Tlemcen, Edough, El-Milia, Cherrhell and others¹¹.

The present study focuses on certain aspects of the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine. The city of Constantine, now the third largest in Algeria, is nested in the eastern region of the Atlas mountain range, located atop a high rock separated from its immediate surroundings by steep cliffs. The Jewish community of Constantine is among the oldest Jewish communities in North Africa¹². During the 12th to the 15th centuries, with the arrival of Jewish

6. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*; TIROSH-BECKER, *Characterization*; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*; TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyut*.

7. BAR-ASHER, *Composante* (this book also includes remarks on the Hebrew component in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine). The Hebrew component in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of Algeria was also discussed in COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 386-408; S. ELKAYAM, “Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of R. Shelomo Zarka”, *Pe’amim* 71, 1997, pp. 10-24; ID., “Innovations dans la composante hébraïque des textes écrits par R. Schlomo Zarqua”, in *Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis, Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Jewish Languages (Milan, October 23-26, 1995)*, S. MORAG, M. BAR-ASHER, M. MAYER-MODENA (eds.), Milano, 1999, pp. 353-366. Cf. L. BARGÈS, “Extrait d’un ouvrage inédit intitulé: *Souvenirs de la province d’Oran, ou Voyage à Tlemcen, relatif à la prononciation de l’hébreu usitée chez les Juifs de cette province*”, *Journal asiatique*, 4^e Série, XII, 1848, pp. 472-485.

8. J. CANTINEAU, “Les parlers arabes du département d’Alger”, *Revue africaine* 81, 1937, pp. 703-711; A. BOUCHERIT, *L’Arabe parlé à Alger*, Paris, 2002.

9. J. CANTINEAU, “Les parlers arabes du département d’Oran”, *Revue africaine* 84, 1940, pp. 220-231.

10. J. CANTINEAU, “Les parlers arabes du département de Constantine”, *IV^e Congrès de la Fédération des sociétés savantes de l’Afrique du Nord* 2, 1938, pp. 849-863; LARABA, *Constantine*.

11. J. CANTINEAU, “Géographie linguistique des parlers arabes algériens”, *Revue africaine* 79, 1936, pp. 91-93; ID., “Les parlers arabes des territoires du Sud”, *Revue africaine* 85, 1941, pp. 72-77; MARÇAIS, *Tlemcen*; W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe des Ūlād Brāhīm de Sāida*, Paris, 1908; M. MANGION, “Le Dialecte arabe de l’Edough”, *Revue africaine* 81, 1937, pp. 373-380; Ph. MARÇAIS, “Remarque sur un fait syntaxique du parler arabe d’El-Milia”, *Revue africaine* 79, 1936, pp. 1047-1055; ID., “Contribution à l’étude du parler arabe de Bou-Saâda”, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 44, 1947, pp. 21-88; MARÇAIS, *Djidjelli*; OSTOYA-DELMAS, *Philippeville*; GRAND’HENRY, *Cherrhell*.

12. Latin headstones testify to the existence of a Jewish community in this town already in Roman and Byzantine times, and it seems that this community persisted through the Arab conquest. D. CORCOS, “Constantine”, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, vol. 5, p. 181.

immigrants from Spain, the community was reinvigorated, becoming one of the most important Jewish communities in the Muslim world¹³. Three thousand Jews lived in Constantine in 1830 when the French invaded the city. The colonization of Constantine was completed in 1837. The communal structure of the Algerian Jewish communities was reorganized in 1845 with the formation of three *consistoires* – in Alger, Oran and Constantine¹⁴. The French colonization was completed in 1870 when the Jews of Constantine, like most Algerian Jews, were granted French citizenship under the Crémieux bill¹⁵. These political transformations increased the influence of French culture and led to the adoption of French as the main language. As a consequence, the standing of the Judeo-Arabic dialect within this Jewish community weakened gradually. In 1962, when Algeria became independent, Jewish life in Constantine almost ceased as most of Constantine's 15,000-20,000 Jews emigrated from Algeria, primarily to France. Accordingly, the number of people who still know the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine has significantly diminished and the dialect is at risk of fading into oblivion.

Fortunately, a large corpus of texts written in this dialect was preserved mainly due to the literary endeavors of R. Yosef ben David Renassia, a prominent leader of this community in the 20th century.¹⁶ R. Renassia, who was the director of the *Etz Haim* Yeshiva in Constantine, was determined to preserve the traditional Judeo-Arabic language to counter the increasing influence of the French language and culture. For him, preserving his ancestors Judeo-Arabic tradition and language was inseparable from safeguarding their Jewish identity¹⁷. This effort resulted in a monumental literary and educational project encompassing more than one hundred volumes written in Judeo-Arabic. These extend over a broad range of literary genres, including Bible translations, Bible commentaries, translations and commentaries of Rabbinic literature and of medieval Jewish writings, liturgical texts, translations of history and halakhic books, dictionaries, grammar books and

13. See for example M. WEINSTEIN, "The Jewish Communities in Algeria between the Years 1300-1830" (in Hebrew), Ph.D Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 1974.

14. See M. ABITBOL, "North African Jews under the Colonial Rule" (in Hebrew), in S. ETTINGER (ed.), *History of the Jews in the Islamic Countries*, Part 2, Jerusalem, 1986, pp. 363-371; S. SCHWARZFUCHS, *Les Juifs d'Algérie et la France (1830-1855)* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1981, pp. 243-260.

15. For the history of Algerian Jews under French rule see M. ABITBOL, *From Crémieux to Pétain, Antisemitism in Colonial Algeria (1870-1940)*, (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1993.

16. Y. CHARVIT, "Rabbi Yosef Renasia: A Portrait of a Spiritual Leader in French Algeria (1879-1962)", in M. ORFALI, E. HAZAN (eds.), *Progress and Tradition* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 2005, pp. 89-96; Y. CHARVIT, *Élite rabbinique*, pp. 77-78, 98-100; TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 4-6.

17. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, p. 6.

more¹⁸. This project – led and carried out by a single person – is one of its kind in twentieth century Algeria¹⁹.

My research of the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine examines the language of different literary genres written in this dialect as well as the spoken variety. This study focuses on a representative corpus that includes key literary works from each genre: translations of various books of the Bible, translations of liturgical texts, as well as original Judeo-Arabic compositions. All these texts are written in Hebrew script as is common to Judeo-Arabic writings. The written corpus was augmented by recordings of informants reading some of these texts, primarily the Bible translations, and answering linguistic questionnaires. This research has shown that depending on the genre of the text, its language is characterized by a mixture of conservative trends, vernacular features and heterogeneous elements.

1. Archaic and dialectal elements in the Constantinian *Sharḥ*

The conservative elements are most pronounced in the language of the Bible translation, i.e. the *Sharḥ*, from Constantine, which contains archaic linguistic components that are either rare in the spoken dialect or have altogether ceased to exist. Such archaic phenomena are, for example, the use of the n-form *nəktāb* to denote the passive voice of the simple verbal stem (**inCaCaCa* > *nəCCəC*)²⁰, the preservation of the distinct participle form for feminine plural *-āt* (*tāḥrāt*) vs. the colloquial use of a masculine plural suffix for plural feminine forms (*tāḥrīn*)²¹, and the use of the archaic demon-

18. CHETRIT, *Sources*, pp. 27-29; J. CHETRIT, “Changes in the Discourse and Arabic Language of the Jews of North Africa at the End of the Nineteenth Century” (in Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 53, 1992, p. 93; J. FRAENKEL, “L'imprimerie hébraïque à Djerba (étude bibliographique)”, thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, université Paris III, Paris, 1982, see index. See P.B. FENTON, “L'arabe dans Rachi et Rachi en arabe”, in R.S. SIRAT (ed.), *Héritages de Rachi*, Paris, 2006, pp. 266-270.

19. An attempt to counter the French influence on Algerian Jews by publishing Judeo-Arabic translations and commentaries was made already in the nineteenth century by R. Shelomo Zarka, albeit on a much smaller scale. R. Shelomo Zarka was born in Tunis and moved to Algeria, lived for a while in Oran and then moved to Constantine. See CHARVIT, *Élite rabbinique*, pp. 77, 84, 101; CHETRIT, *Sources*, p. 26; E.R. MARCIANO, *Sefer Malkhe Yeshurun*, Jerusalem, 2000, p. 118; S. ELKAYAM, “Pedagogic Principles in the Writings of R. Shelomo Zarka” (in Hebrew), *Hemda'at* 1, 1997, pp. 34-37; A. D. CORRÉ, “Le vocabulaire emprunté dans le livre Šay Lamora” (in Hebrew), in I. BEN-AMI (ed.), *Recherches sur la culture des Juifs d'Afrique du Nord*, Jerusalem, 1991, pp. 41-46.

20. TIROSH-BECKER, *Characterization*, pp. 305-309; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 199; TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyut*, p. 355-356.

21. TIROSH-BECKER, *Characterization*, pp. 304-305; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 199.

strative pronoun *hāwlay* (האולאי; =‘these’) and not the colloquial pronoun *hādu*²². However, the presence of a few colloquial elements in the language of the *Sharḥ* reflects a process of slow penetration from the spoken dialect into this text²³. Examples of such colloquial phenomena are the presence of the form *CCəCtīw* (*ktəbtīw*) for the 2nd person plural in the past tense²⁴, the colloquial verbal stem *CCāC* (e.g., *smān*)²⁵, the colloquial reflexive/passive verbal stem *ttəCCəC*²⁶, the use of the colloquial interrogative particles *ash* and *‘alāsh*²⁷, and – as we will discuss herein – also the penetration of dialectal roots.

The presence of vernacular features is much more prominent in original Judeo-Arabic compositions written by 20th century authors, and it is also significant in Judeo-Arabic translations of post biblical texts, for which an oral translation tradition was not fully consolidated²⁸.

In this paper we will discuss dialectal roots that have found their way into a variety of written Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts. The presence of these dialectal roots in the *sharḥ* to the Bible is of special interest, as its language is typically conservative in nature. The discussion below will encompass both secondary roots and roots that were created through metathesis.

2. Secondary roots

The Judeo-Arabic works which I have studied in this project present a few secondary Arabic roots: \sqrt{ls} , \sqrt{sgm} , and \sqrt{tkl} .

2.1. The root \sqrt{ls}

In Judeo-Arabic texts from Constantine we find the dialectal verb *lassəs* translating the Hebrew verbs *yissēd* (יִסְדֵּ) or *yāsad* (יָסַד), which mean “to

22. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 269-270; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 199; TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyuṭ*, p. 359.

23. On the differences between the *Sharḥ* to various Books of the Bible with respect to the colloquial elements embedded in them, see TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, pp. 197-204.

24. TIROSH-BECKER, *Characterization*, pp. 303-304; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 200.

25. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 226-227; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 200.

26. TIROSH-BECKER, *Characterization*, pp. 305-309; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 200; TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyuṭ*, pp. 355-356.

27. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 283-284; TIROSH-BECKER, *Uniformity*, p. 201; TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyuṭ*, p. 361.

28. On the presence of vernacular features vs. archaic characteristics in the *Sharḥ* to *piyyuṭ Mi Kamokha*, see TIROSH-BECKER, *Piyyuṭ*, pp. 350-362. Also see M. BAR-ASHER, “Les lexèmes hébreux dans le *Sharḥ* marocain (traditions du Tafilalet)” (in Hebrew), in BAR-ASHER, *Traditions*, pp. 189-190, 196.

found”. This colloquial verb was used in translations of various books of the Bible and liturgical texts, where it refers specifically to divine creation. For example:

- In Psalms 8:3 the Hebrew words *עו יִסְדֶּתְּ עו*, which mean “you [The Lord] have founded strength”²⁹, are translated *læssast quwwa* (עו, יִסְדֶּתְּ עו, מִפִּי עוֹלָלִים וְיִנְקִיּוֹם יִסְדֶּתְּ עו, מִן פִּי'וֹם סִנְאָר וְרֵאצִּי'עֵין לִסְסַת קוּוּא)³⁰.
- In Proverbs 3:19 the Hebrew words *יִסַּד אֲרֶץ*, which mean “The Lord founded the earth”, are translated *læssas 'arḏ* (ה' בְּהִקְמָהּ יִסַּד אֲרֶץ, אֵלֵלֵא בְכִיִּיאֵסָא לִסַּס) (‘אֲרֶץ’)³¹.
- The phrase *בְּיָסְדֵי אֲרֶץ* in the sentence “Where were you when I laid the earth’s foundations?” (Job 38:4) is translated *fi talsīs-i 'arḏ* (אֵיפֹה הָיִיתָ בְּיָסְדֵי אֲרֶץ, וְאִינן דְּלוּק כּוֹנֵת פִּי תִלְסִיִּסֵי אֲרֶץ)³².
- In a translation of the liturgical text *Hosha'not*, the Hebrew sentence *לְמַעַן יִסַּד אֲרֶץ*, which means “for You who founded the earth”, is translated *fi xātrāk ya elli læssas al-'arḏ* (פִּי י' כְּאֵטְרַךְ יָא אֵלֵי לִסַּס אֵלֵאֲרֶץ)³³.

The verb *læssas*, reflects a secondary denominative root $\sqrt{\text{ls}}$ (“to found”), which was derived from the colloquial noun *l-sās* > *lsās* (which means “foundation”)³⁴. The noun *sās* itself is also dialectal, and its origin is the Classical Arabic noun *'asās* (أَسَاس), which in turn relates to the Classical Arabic verb *'assasa* (أَسَّس)³⁵. Namely, the *lām* of the Arabic original definite article *al* in the noun *l-sās* was perceived as the first radical of the trilateral root $\sqrt{\text{ls}}$. The verb *læssas* thus replaced the verb *'assas* with a glottal stop (alif-hamza), which has been weakened in this dialect as in many other modern Arabic dialects³⁶.

The distribution of the two verbs *læssas* and *'assas* in the Maghreb is of interest. The colloquial verb *læssas* is characteristic of Moroccan dialects, where it is used alongside the verb *'assas*. According to Moroccan Arabic dictionaries there is a semantic distinction in their use: *læssas* means “to construct, to build the foundations of a house”, while *'assas* means “to

29. The English translation of the biblical verses is given according to the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh*, Philadelphia, 2000. When deviating from this translation the JPS translation was cited in a footnote.

30. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

31. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*.

32. RENASSIA, *Job*.

33. RENASSIA, *Hosha'not*, p. 2:2 (Hosha'not for the first day).

34. On the forms *lsās* and *sās* see below.

35. In Classical Arabic there are additional singular forms derived from this root to denote foundation – *'iss*, *'ass* and *'uss* – but it is clear that *l-sās* is derived from *'asās* and not from those other forms. For the singular and plural forms in Classical Arabic see LANE, *Lexicon*, vol. 1, p. 56.

36. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 55-66 (see the different realizations of the original glottal stop therein); CANTINEAU, *Cours*, p. 84; COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 35-43; COHEN, *Tunis*, pp. 36-40.

found, to establish (institution, society, etc.)”³⁷. The verb *lassas* is also used in *Leshon Limmudim* by R. Raphael Berdugo from Miknes, Morocco.³⁸ Beaussier’s dictionary, which mainly documents Algerian and Tunisian spoken Arabic, indicates that the verb *lassas* is used in the West Maghreb while the verb *ʿassas* is used in the eastern regions of the Maghreb³⁹. Indeed, Tunisian and Algerian dictionaries and sources document the verb (*ʿ*)*assas*⁴⁰, and not the colloquial verb *lassas*⁴¹. The verb *ʿassas* is also documented in a *sharḥ* to Psalms from the Tunisian city of Gābes (הַסְתָּת קוּוּה — אַסְסַת עוּ) ^{(ʿ)assas}⁴². This verb, (*ʿ*)*assas*, was known to the Jews of Constantine as is documented in R. Yosef Renassia’s trilingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary as the Arabic parallel for the French verb “fonder” and the Hebrew verb “yasad”⁴³. I also found it used in the weekly newspaper *El-Hikma* (*Journal littéraire hebdomadaire*, editor: R. Avraham Zerbib), which is the only Judeo-Arabic newspaper from Constantine known today. In its July 21, 1922 issue we find the verb תַּאסַּת in the following report: תַּאסַּת לַסוּסִיטִי פִי לַאמִירִיךְ, which means “the society *Marbe De’a* was founded in America”. However, in the March 7, 1913 issue of the same newspaper the verb תַּלסַּת was used in the same context: הָאָד לַיִסָּם לַעֲזוֹ דִי מִתָּן בַּסְתֵּר ... תוּעַטָא לַוּאָחַד ג’ מַעֲיִיָּה אַלִּי תַלסַּת אַלְיוּם... As discussed above, the verb *lassas* is the one constantly used in R. Yosef Renassia’s *shuruh* for various biblical books and liturgical texts. It may reflect a translation tradition, which originates from the West Maghreb.

As discussed, the verb *lassas* is derived from the vernacular noun *lsās* (pl. *lsāsāt*), which originates from the definite form of the colloquial *sās* (i.e. *l-sās*). The noun *sās* is documented in a variety of Constantinian Judeo-

37. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 14; vol. 7, p. 1777; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 48, vol. 11, p. 45.

38. BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, part 3, p. 418 (Psalms 90:2; ותחולל, ולססת אוו וכלאקת), see also part 3, p. 228.

39. BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 10, 899 (second meaning). Beaussier reflects the same semantic distinction discussed above: *اسس*, “to found”, *لسس*, “to dig the foundations”.

40. There are dialects in which the hamza itself is not pronounced and the verbal forms of this root begin with a vowel (*assas*).

41. LENTIN, *Supplément*, p. 3 (5th verbal stem); BEN SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 8; BORIS, *Marazig*, p. 10 (2nd and 5th [*tyassas*] stems).

42. R. FRAJI Allouche of Gages, *Sefer Tehillim... Sharḥ Aravi Tunis...*, Djerba, 1926 (Psalms 8:3: מַפִּי עוֹלָלִים וְיִנְקִים יִסְדַּת עוּ — מִן פִּם אַלְצִנָּאָר וְאֵלְרַצִּי עֵינֵי אַסְסַת קוּוּה; “From the mouths of infants and sucklings You have founded strength”). Also in a Tunisian Judeo-Arabic lexicon: “Fondé”, תַּאסַּת, see ATTAL, *Lexique*, pp. 36, 52*.

43. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 212 (*اسس*, *assesse*). It should be mentioned that Lentin’s dictionary, which documents many words used by Constantinian Jews as well, also attests to the root *اسس*, see above note 41.

Arabic texts, both Bible translations and translations of post-biblical texts. For example:

- The Hebrew sentence *עוֹלָם יְסוּד יִצְדִיק* in Proverbs 10:25, which means “but the righteous is an everlasting foundation”, was translated *wa-’ādāl sās d-dānya* (ועאדל סאס דנייא)⁴⁴.
- In Job 4:19 the words *אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶפְרָ יְסוּדָם*, meaning “whose origin is dust” were translated *f-t-trāb sās-hum* (פ’תראב סאסהום)⁴⁵.
- Amos 9:6 *וַיִּבְנֶה עַל אַרְצוֹ יְסוּדָהּ* (“and founded his vault on the earth”) is cited in Mishnah *Avot* 3:6. In R. Renassia’s commentary to Mishnah *Avot* he remarks on the word *יְסוּדָהּ* in this verse: *qāl al-pāsūq “yāsādāh” min lāshōn yāsōd [sās]* ([סאס] מן לשון יסוד “יסדה” מן לשון יסוד)⁴⁶.
- In R. Renassia’s translation of the *Book of Josippon*, which he published under the title *Histoire d-’al-Yahūd*, we read *nāqlāb al-’arḍ wa-nhālāk sisān-ha* (נקלב אלארץ’ ונהלך סיסאנהא), which means “I will overturn the earth and destroy its foundations”⁴⁷.

Like the singular form *sās*, the plural form *sisān* is also dialectal. In Classical Arabic the plural form of the noun *’asās* is *’usus*. Once the singular form has changed from the classical *’asās* to the dialectal *sās*, due to aphaeresis of the alif-hamza and its vowel, a new plural form was derived. This new plural form was constructed in a pattern typical of words whose second radical is a semi-vowel⁴⁸, such as *bāb – bibān*, *ḡār – ḡirān*, and thus *sās – sisān*.

Interestingly, the distribution of the two nouns *sās* (pl. *sisān*) and *lsās* (pl. *lsāsāt*) in the Maghreb resembles that of the two verbs (’)*assās* and *lāssās*. The noun *lsās* is typical of Moroccan Arabic dialects⁴⁹, although *sās* is also documented there (pl. *sāsāt*, *sisān*)⁵⁰. On the other hand, the noun *sās* is the one used in Tunisia⁵¹. The Jews of Tunis pronounce it *šās* according

44. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*.

45. RENASSIA, *Job* (פ’תראב סאסהום). חתא נאזלין (סאכנין) בית טין אלדי).

46. RENASSIA, *Avot*.

47. RENASSIA, *Histoire*, p. 11 (וקאל ראני נרייב האד להיכל ומא נב’לייש פיה חנ’רה וניוד נקלב). Cf. D. FLUSSER, *Sefer Josippon [Josephus Gorionides]*, Jerusalem, 1978, vol. 1, p. 104 (כי אהפור ואהפוך את כל יסודותיו).

48. COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 197. Cf. MARÇAIS, *Djiddjelli*, pp. 252-253.

49. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 7, p. 1777; HARREL, *Dictionary*, p. 72; ABD EL-’AL, *Dictionary*, p. 206; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 48.

50. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 887.

51. BORIS, *Marazig*, p. 10; ATTAL, *Lexique*, pp. 36, 52*. The noun *sās* is also documented in eastern Arabia (Bahrain), see HOLES, *Eastern Arabia*, vol. 1, p. 12. This noun appears in a dictionary of Egyptian Arabic in the saying: *min is-saas lir-raas*, which means “from head to toe, from top to bottom”. However, the main noun that is used in Egyptian Arabic to denote “foundation” is اساس. See HINDS, BADAWI, *Dictionary*, pp. 21, 391.

to the conditioned shift of the sibilants in their dialect⁵². The noun *sās* is prevalent in Algerian dialects as well⁵³. It is the form used in the aforementioned Judeo-Arabic texts from the eastern Algerian city of Constantine, and is documented in R. Yosef Renassia's trilingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary. In this dictionary the noun *sās* (ساس), transcribed *sass*, is offered as the Arabic parallel for the French nouns "fondation" (Hebrew parallel: יסוד)⁵⁴ and "base" (Hebrew parallel: יסוד and אשיא [אָשִׁיאַ])⁵⁵. However, in western and central Algeria the use of the noun *lsās* is documented. The noun *lsās* is used in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Alger⁵⁶, and is documented in Tlemcen alongside the noun *sās*⁵⁷. It is thus interesting that in the Constantinian *sharḥ* we find a mismatch between the verb and the noun, i.e. the verb *lāssās* (and not (')*assās*) is used alongside the noun *sās* (and not *lsās*).

2.2. The root √sgm

The colloquial root √sgm is used in a variety of Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts to express the meaning of "being straight" in the context of "righteousness", such as in the "path of righteousness" or "a righteous person"⁵⁸. The core sense of this dialectal root is "to straighten", "to put in order", or "to arrange". Examples for the use of the verb *səggəm* in the 2nd verbal stem in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic writings are:

- In Psalms 9:9 the Hebrew word, בְּמִישָׁרִים, which means "righteously" in the sentence "the Lord will judge nations righteously" (דָּדִין לְאֲמִים בְּמִישָׁרִים), is translated *b-təsgīm* (ישאראע ג'נוס בתסגים)⁵⁹.

52. COHEN, *Tunis*, pp. 22, 39, 50, 197.

53. CHERBONNEAU, *Français-Arabe*, p. 181; BEN SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 8, 228; BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 453 (although the form *lsās* is also documented there, p. 899).

54. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 212 (ساس, *sass*). Interestingly, in the same page of this dictionary we find: *fondement*, אשיא (with a *he*), اساس, *assasse*.

55. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 35 (ساس, which he transcribes *assasse*). In this occurrence the word אשיא is written with an *aleph*.

56. The Muslims of this city use the form (*el*)*lsās*. See COHEN, *Alger*, p. 42. Cf. *ibid.*, (*al*) *lāf'a* ("viper"), classical Arabic أفعى. A reverse situation was observed in a Hebrew word that is used in North African Judeo-Arabic dialects of Morocco and Tunisia (Djerba). The first syllable *ha* in the Hebrew word *haḡala* (<הגעלה), which means "purification of dishes for Passover", was erroneously perceived as the Hebrew definite article, leading to a dialectal pronunciation of the word as *l-ḡala*. See BAR-ASHER, *Composante*, p. 39, n. 8; Y. HENSHKE, "Hebrew Elements in the Spoken Arabic of Djerba", *Massorot* 5-6, 1991, p. 81.

57. MARÇAIS, *Tlemcen*, p. 314. Also see BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 899.

58. Cf. the phrase *ṣirāt al-mustaqīm* in the opening sura of the Qur'ān. See HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, p. 46.

59. RENASSIA, *Psalms*. The complete verse יהוה ישפט תבל בצדק דין לאמים במישרים, which contains a parallelism, is translated in the JPS Tanakh as "It is He who judges the world with righteousness, rules the peoples with equity".

- In Psalms 5:9 the Hebrew word הַיָּשָׁר in the sentence הַיָּשָׁר לְפָנַי דְּרָכְךָ, which means “make Your way straight before me”, is translated *səggəm quddām-i trīq-ək* (סגגם קודאמי טריקך)⁶⁰.
- In Jeremiah 34:15 (*Haftarot Mishpaṭim*) the sentence וְתַעֲשׂוּ אֶת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי, which means “and [you] did what is proper in My sight”, is translated *u-‘maltīw ila l-msəggəm fi ‘ayniyya* (ועמלתיו אילא למסגגם פ’י עיינייא)⁶¹.
- In the liturgical text *Hosha’not* the Hebrew sentence אָנָּא יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּהוֹשַׁעֲנָא, which means “Please straighten a nation that comes to praise You with affection, Lord, on Hosha’na Rabba”, is translated *b-rəḡba səggəm qawm ḡa fi Hosha’na Rabba l-yirfa’-ək b-m’azza* (ברגבא סגגם קום)⁶².
- Finally, in R. Renassia’s Judeo-Arabic commentary on tractate *Avot* of the Mishnah we find the expression *u-‘irudd-u l-t-trīq l-msəggma* (וירדדו לטריק) (למסגמא) meaning “return him to the path of righteousness”⁶³.

Interestingly, in R. Yosef Renassia’s trilingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary this verb is written with a ق and is transliterated accordingly with *k*’ (which denotes *q*): “droit” – ישר – مسقم (*msekk’em*), “droiture” – שרות – تسقيم (*thesk’ime*), and “redresser” – תיקן – سقم (*sakk’ame*)⁶⁴.

The root \sqrt{sgm} is a dialectal version of the root \sqrt{sqm} , in which the voiceless 2nd radical *qāf* is pronounced as its voiced counterpart [g]. This realization of the *qāf* as [g] in this root is interesting, since in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine the voiceless *qāf* is usually preserved. However, when recording speakers of this dialect I encountered examples of the voiced realization in a few rural words, which were most likely borrowed from Muslim nomad dialects, e.g., *bəgra* (“cow”) and *gəmyra* (“moon”). Even when recording the *sharḥ* to Psalms some informants pronounced a few rural words with the voiced realization. For example, *ḡrūn ər-rīm* (“horns of oryx”) which appears in Psalms 22:22 (וימקרגי רמים – ומן קרון ארים), and the verb *nəggəz* (“jumping and skipping like a calf”) which appears in Psalms 29:6 (ויירקידם כמו עגל – ונגגהום בחאל לעגל)⁶⁵. Dialectal borrowing

60. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

61. RENASSIA, *Haftarot*.

62. RENASSIA, *Hosha’not*, p. 44:1 (*Haqafot for Hosha’na Rabba*).

63. וג’מיע בן אדם לי רג’ע עלא צאחבו וירדדו לטריק למסגמא. This expression appears in the beginning of R. Renassia’s commentary on Mishnah tractate *Avot*, where he offers three arguments why this tractate is named *Avot*, i.e., “Fathers”. This discussion is presented right after an opening paragraph (כל ישראל יש להם חלק לעולם הבא), which includes a quotation of Isaiah 60:21. See Renassia, *Avot*. In the standard version of the Mishnah this paragraph appears in *Sanhedrin* 10:1. However versions in which this paragraph appears in tractate *Avot* are known. It is attested to in R. Yaakov ben Shimshon’s commentary on *Avot* (France, the end of the 11th century). See: S. SHARVIT, *Tractate Avoth Through the Ages*, Jerusalem, 2004, pp. 38-39, 63.

64. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 158, 376.

65. *U-nəggəz-hum bhāl l-ḡal*. The original root is \sqrt{nqz} . The root with a [g] also appears in R. Renassia’s trilingual dictionary: *naggaze*. See RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 402. The verb

of rural words, which find their way into sedentary dialects, is a well-known phenomenon in Arabic dialects. In many of the Maghrebian sedentary dialects in which the main realization of the *qāf* is voiceless [q], one finds penetration of a few words from nomad dialects with a voiced realization [g]. Many of these words are common to different Maghrebian sedentary dialects⁶⁶.

A voiced pronunciation of *qāf* as [g] is characteristic of nomad dialects, including nomad dialects of the Maghreb⁶⁷. Specifically, this realization is typical of the nomad dialects which are spoken in the vicinity of Constantine⁶⁸. In the Muslim dialect of Constantine there are frequent alternations of the voiced and voiceless realizations [q] and [g] of the *ق* even in the same word, although some words are consistently pronounced with either *q* or *g* in order to distinguish minimal pairs⁶⁹. It seems that the voiced pronunciation *səggəm* in the Jewish dialect of Constantine is a result of the interaction with the local Muslim dialect, which in turn may have been influenced by the contact with the surrounding nomad dialects⁷⁰.

The root \sqrt{sqm} ($>\sqrt{sgm}$) is a secondary root that was probably derived from the classical Arabic root \sqrt{qwm} in the 10th verbal stem: *ʾistaqāma* (استقام). It has already been suggested that such secondary derivations may have been preceded by an assimilation of the *t* to *s* in the 10th verbal stem prefix *ist-*⁷¹, resulting in *stənnä* $>$ *ssənnä* (“waited”)⁷². Examples for similarly derived secondary Arabic roots are *saraḥa* ($\sqrt{srḥ}$), “to pasture on morning [a flock]”, which is derived from *ʾistarāḥa*, whose original root is \sqrt{rwh} ⁷³; *sanaḥa* ($\sqrt{snḥ}$), “to turn anyone away from”, which is derived from *ʾistanḥā*, whose original root is \sqrt{nhw} , and *saʿara* ($\sqrt{sʿr}$), “to kindle [fire]”, from *ʾistaʿarra*, whose original root is $\sqrt{ʿrr}$ ⁷⁴. Examples are also found in

naggez is attested in Tunis, Tripoli and in Bedouin and rural dialects in Algeria. See MARÇAIS, *Tanger*, p. 480.

66. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 46; COHEN, *Tunis*, pp. 30-31; TALMOUDI, *Sūsa*, p. 22; HEATH, BARASHER, *Tafilalt*, p. 37.

67. CANTINEAU, *Cours*, pp. 69-70.

68. These include nomad dialects of a Tunisian type that are spoken east of Constantine, and the type of nomad dialects that are spoken in the region west of Constantine. See OSTOYA-DELMAS, *Philippeville*, p. 71.

69. LARABA, *Constantine*, pp. 7, 15-16.

70. TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 51-54.

71. On the 10th verbal stem without the initial *i* in Maghrebian dialects, see for example COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 130; TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 243-245.

72. COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 78, 234-235; VAJDA, *Gloses*, pp. 152-153; BLAU, *Dictionary*, p. 301 (in Maghrebian dialects); HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, p. 46.

73. Cf. BLAU, *Grammar*, p. 300.

74. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, p. 522.

Modern Arabic dialects of the Maghreb, such as the verb *səqša* (“to ask”) from *ʾistaqšā* in Algeria and Morocco⁷⁵ and the verb *sennes* (“get [someone] used to”) from *ʾista nasa* which is used by Muslims in Tunis⁷⁶.

It should be noted that the derivation of the secondary root \sqrt{sqm} meaning “to straighten” could have conflicted with the already existing homophonic Classical Arabic root \sqrt{sqm} , which in the 1st verbal stem means “to be ill” and in the 2nd verbal stem means “to cause illness”. However, at least in the Muslim and Jewish dialects of Alger⁷⁷ and in the Jewish dialect of Constantine the classical root \sqrt{sqm} in the context of “illness” is no longer used. The meaning of “to become ill” is expressed in the Jewish dialects of Alger⁷⁸ and Constantine by the root \sqrt{mrd} . Thus, in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts we find, for example, the phrase *layš mrdqt* (ליש מרצ'ת)⁷⁹ translating the Hebrew sentence בל קליתי (“I did not become ill”)⁸⁰ which appears in Proverbs 23:35⁸¹. The use of the root \sqrt{mrd} to denote “being ill” and “illness” is attested also in Renassia’s trilingual French-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary⁸². The verb *mrdq* meaning “to become ill” is likewise used in Moroccan dialects⁸³.

The dialectal verb *səggəm* or *səqqəm* is considered to be characteristic of North African Arabic dialects⁸⁴, both Muslim and Jewish, although the exact pronunciation may vary from one dialect to another. This verb is documented, for example, in the Muslim dialects of Djidjelli⁸⁵ and Cherchell⁸⁶

75. BROCKELMANN, *ibid.*; COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 820 (*səqša*, *šəqša*).

76. H. STUMME, *Grammatik des Tunisischen Arabisch*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 169; BROCKELMANN, *ibid.*

77. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 48. However see BEN SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 212-213. The meaning “to cause illness” for سقم is also attested to in Beaussier’s dictionary albeit only as the last meaning at the end of the entry. See BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 479.

78. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 144.

79. On the use of the negation particle *layš* (ליש) in the Constantinian *sharḥ* of the Bible see TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 280-283.

80. The sentence בל קליתי הכניני was translated in the JPS: “They struck me, but I felt no hurt”.

81. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*. Another example: Psalms 35:13 בְּהִלּוֹתָם (“when they were ill”) is translated as פִּי מְרַצֵּת הוּמָם. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

82. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 289: “malade – חולה – مريض (*mride*)”, and “maladie – חולי – مرض (*marde*)”. The transcriptions *mride* and *marde* are given here as they appear in Renassia’s dictionary.

83. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 7, p. 1824. *Səqqəm* in the 2nd verbal stem is used in Morocco in the context of “straightening”, but see the 1st verbal stem therein. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 824.

84. BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 479; DOZY, *Supplément*, vol. 1, p. 664 (*sqm* II); VAJDA, *Gloses*, pp. 152-153.

85. MARÇAIS, *Djidjelli*, p. 183 (*seggəm*).

86. GRAND’HENRY, *Cherchell*, p. 183 (*seggəm*).

in Algeria⁸⁷, and the Muslim dialects of Rabat⁸⁸, Fes and Miknes⁸⁹ in Morocco⁹⁰. It is also used in the Jewish dialects of Skoura in Morocco⁹¹, and of Alger and Constantine in Algeria. In fact, the linguistic scene in Alger merits a brief comment. While the Muslims of this city always use *səggəm* with the voiced stop, the Jews made a semantic distinction: *səggəm* means “to arrange, to repair” while *səqqəm* means “to straighten, to straighten up”⁹².

The secondary verb *saqqama* is already attested in medieval Judeo-Arabic in the east. It was used in the monumental Bible translation known as *Tafsir Rav Sa'adia Gaon* (882-942), to translate the Hebrew words יָשַׁר (“straightened”) and פָּלַס (“leveled”), even though Sa'adia also uses the 10th verbal stem form *'istaqāma*⁹³. The verb *saqqama* is also attested in Yefet ben 'Eli's translation to Isaiah⁹⁴, and in David ben Avraham Alfasi's dictionary *Kitāb Jāmi' al-'Alfāz*⁹⁵. It is possible that the use of *səggəm* in later Judeo-Arabic Bible translations in the Maghreb – such as the Constantinian tradition and the translation of the 18th-19th century R. Raphael Berdugo of Miknes, Morocco⁹⁶ – is influenced by the presence of *saqqama* in Sa'adia's *Tafsir*⁹⁷.

87. Also see BEN SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 212-213; cf. LENTIN, *Supplément*, p. 134.

88. L. BRUNOT, *Textes Arabes de Rabat*, Paris, 1952, pp. 371, 677-678.

89. HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, pp. 46-47.

90. Also see COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, pp. 824, 834; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 6, pp. 126-127; HARREL, *Dictionary*, p. 139.

91. HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, pp. 46-47.

92. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 48.

93. For example, Isaiah 26:7 (יָשַׁר מַעְנַל צְדִיק תְּפִלָּס – יָא מַסְתַּקִּים קַד סְקַמַת כַּד־אֲךְ מַסְלַךְ) (אלצאלחין וְעַפְעַפִּיךָ יִישְׁרוּ) (פִּלַּס מַעְנַל רִגְלֶךָ, סְקַם מַסְאֲלַךְ קַדְמִיךָ) (אלצאלחין וְנִגְדֶךָ, וּמַקְלַתְךָ תַּסְתַּקִּים חַד־אֲךְ). See BLAU, *Dictionary*, p. 301; J. BLAU, “Some Instances Reflecting the Influence of Saadya Gaon's Bible Translation on Later Judeo-Arabic Writings”, in R. DĀN (ed.), *Occident and Orient: A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Scheiber*, Budapest-Leiden, 1988, p. 25; Y. RATZABY, *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic in R. Saadya's Tafsir*, Ramat Gan, 1985, p. 81.

94. D.S. MARGOLIOUTH, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel by Jepheth ibn Ali the Karaite*, Oxford, 1889, p. 93. The root *vsqm* appears in Isaiah 40:3 and in the form *مسقم* for מִישַׁר in I Kings 6:35.

95. S.L. SKOSS, *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible known as Kitāb Jāmi' al-'Alfāz (Agron) of David Ben Abraham al-Fasi the Karaite (tenth cent.)*, New Haven, 1936-1945, vol. 2, pp. 464-465 (Proverbs 4:26: סְקַם סְרַאט רַגְלֶךָ – פִּלַּס מַעְנַל רִגְלֶךָ).

96. BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, Part 3, p. 224 (Isaiah 26:7: יִשְׁרוּ אֹרַח לְצַדִּיק מִישְׁרִים, יִשַׁר (מַעְנַל צְדִיק תְּפִלָּס, טְרִיק תַּסְנִים אֶלְסַאֲלַחַ, טַאִיִּק לַמַּסְנֵם מַסְלִיךְ אֶסַאֲלַחַ תְּוִיִּן (Psalms 67:5: בַּתְּסַנִּים (מִישׁוֹר, בַּתְּסַנִּים); part 4, p. 177, n. 46 (*Haftara to the 7th day of Passover*: טְרוֹק (יִפְלַס נַתִּיב, יִסְקַאם אֶלְמַסְלִיךְ (Psalms 78:50: אֶלְמַסְנַמִּךְ). Cf. *ibid.*, Part 3, p. 410 (Psalms 78:50: אֶלְמַסְנַמִּךְ).

97. On the influence of *Tafsir Rav Sa'adia Gaon* on later Bible translations from the Maghreb see BAR-ASHER, *Sharh*, pp. 24-27; M. BAR-ASHER, “Couches linguistiques du Sharh maghrébin” (in Hebrew), in BAR-ASHER, *Traditions*, pp. 52-55.

2.3 The root \sqrt{tkl}

The secondary root \sqrt{tkl} , which is derived from *P`ittakala* (تَكَلَّ) the 8th verbal stem of the root \sqrt{wkl} , is already attested in Ibn-`Abbād's dictionary (*al-muḥīṭ*) from the 10th century⁹⁸. This root is common in Modern Maghrebian dialects⁹⁹, and is frequently used in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic as well. The simple stem of this root *tkal*, which denotes "to rely upon, to trust in", is used in various texts from Constantine:

- In Psalms 5:12 the Hebrew phrase הוֹסִי בְּךָ, which means "who take refuge in You" in the sentence "But let all who take refuge in You rejoice" (וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ בְּךָ חוֹסֵי בְּךָ) is translated *tāklīn bīk* (تَكَلِّينَ بِيكَ) (יפ'רחו ג'מיע תאכלין בידך)¹⁰⁰.
- In Rabbi Renassia's Judeo-Arabic translation of tractate *Avot* of the Mishnah the Hebrew phrase ויש להם על מה שיסמכו (Avot 3:16), which means "for they have that on which they can rely"¹⁰¹, is translated *u'-and-hum 'lāš yitkəlu* (וענדרהום עלאש יתכלו)¹⁰².
- In Renassia's translation of the liturgical text *Hosha'not* the Hebrew sentence בּוֹ בְּטַח לְבִי, which is a quotation from Psalms 28:7 and means "my heart trusts in Him", is translated as *bih tkəl qəlb-i* (ביה תכל קלבי)¹⁰³.

The verb \sqrt{tkl} is also documented in Renassia's trilingual dictionary (transcribed *thkèle*) as the counterpart of the Hebrew בְּטַח and the French "compter"¹⁰⁴. In the Constantinian *Sharḥ* this verb translates the Hebrew verbs בְּטַח¹⁰⁵ and הִסָּה¹⁰⁶. When the Hebrew verb בְּטַח appears in the Bible it can be accompanied by the particles **ב** or **על**. Accordingly, in the Con-

98. LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 310. Also see WRIGHT, *Grammar*, p. 81, §148, rem. b; C. SARAUI, "Die altarabische Dialektspaltung", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete* 21, 1908, p. 48; J.B. BELOT, *Vocabulaire arabe-français*, Beirut, 1955, p. 56; HAVA, *Dictionary*, p. 61.

99. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 186; KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 203; COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 126, note 47; ABD EL-'AL, *Dictionary*, p. 42 (تَكَلَّ).

100. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

101. The English translation of citations from the Mishnah is given according to H. DANBY, *The Mishnah*, London, 1933. The references to chapter and *mishnah* are denoted according to Ch. ALBECK, H. YALON, *The Mishnah*, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv 1988.

102. RENASSIA, *Avot*.

103. RENASSIA, *Hosha'not*, p. 9:1 (*Hosha'not for the second day*).

104. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 92.

105. "To rely upon, to trust in, put confidence in", e.g., Proverbs 31:11: בְּטַח בָּהּ לֵב בַּעֲלָהּ. See RENASSIA, *Proverbs*. JPS: "Her husband puts his confidence in her".

106. "Take refuge", e.g., Psalms 7:2: תְּכַלֵּךְ בִּי אֱלֹהֵי בְּךָ חֲסִיתִי – אֵלֹהֵי אֵלֵינוּ בִּיךָ תְּכַלֵּךְ. See RENASSIA, *Psalms*. JPS: "O Lord, my God, in You I seek refuge". Note that in R. Renassia's trilingual dictionary the Arabic counterpart of חָסָה is مع ("réfugier" [sic!]) and the word חֲסוּת ("refuge") is translated in this dictionary as مضرة. See RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 377. Also see note 107 below.

stantinian *sharḥ* the verb *tkal* is accompanied by the particles *b-* or *'la* when translating *בְּטַח*, reflecting the particle used in the original Hebrew verse¹⁰⁷. Examples:

- Psalms 25:2: אֱלֹהֵי בְךָ בְּטַחְתִּי אֶל אָבוֹשָׁה, אֵילֵאֵהִי בִיךָ תְּכַלֵּת לִישׁ נַחֲשָׁם (“My God, in You I trust; may I not be disappointed”)¹⁰⁸.
- Psalms 31:15: וְאֲנִי עֲלֶיךָ בְּטַחְתִּי ה', וְאֵנָּה עֲלֶיךָ תְּכַלֵּת יָא אֱלֵלֵאָה (“But I trust in You, O Lord”)¹⁰⁹.

Such reflection of the Hebrew particles in the translated biblical verses is typical to the language of the *sharḥ*¹¹⁰. In the spoken dialect, however, the regular particle that accompanies *tkal* is *'la* (*tkal 'la*), as we find for example in R. Renassia's commentary on tractate *Avot* (e.g., Commentary on *Avot* 3:9: לֹאֲכֵן לִי יִתְּכַל עֲלֵא חֲכַמְתּוֹ וְעַקְלוֹ בְּרַךְ, “but he who relies only on his wisdom and wits”)¹¹¹. A similar situation is documented in the Judeo-Arabic of Tafilalt (southeastern Morocco). While in the spoken dialect the Jews of Tafilalt use *tkal 'la*, in their *sharḥ* to the Bible the particle that accompanies the verb *tkal* is sometimes influenced by the corresponding particle in the Hebrew verse¹¹². The verb *tkal* is also documented in *Leshon Limmudim* by R. Raphael Berdugo of Miknes,¹¹³ and is used by the Jews of Tunis¹¹⁴.

As discussed above, in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic the root \sqrt{tkl} is typically used in the first verbal stem, *tkal*, as is evident, for example, from the participle form *tāklīn bīk* (Psalms 5:12), which was presented above. In the studied corpus of texts from Constantine we also found once the root \sqrt{tkl} in the second verbal stem, *takkal*, as a translation of the Hebrew Hif'il form *תִּבְטְחֶתָּהּ*: *takkaltih* (תִּכְכַּלְתִּיהָ)¹¹⁵. In Morocco, however, *tkal* and *takkal* are

107. The Hebrew verb *תָּכַח* is typically accompanied by *-ב* and is translated as *tkal b-*. Interestingly, when *תָּכַח* was accompanied by the particle *תַּחַת* in Psalms 91:4 it was translated in the Constantinian *sharḥ* by the verb *תַּצְרִיק* and not by *תְּכַל*: וְתַחַת כְּנַפְיוֹ תִּתְּחַסֶּה צְנָה: תַּצְרִיק תְּרַס (“you will find refuge under His wings”) — ותחת ג'ואנחו תתצ'רר תרס.

108. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

109. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

110. BAR-ASHER, *Sharḥ*, p. 17 and note 62; Tirosh-Becker, *Uniformity*, p. 201.

111. RENASSIA, *Avot*.

112. I would like to thank Prof. Moshe Bar-Asher for this information. Also see note 113 below.

113. A reflection of the Hebrew particle is seen here as well: [בן] – תכלו פיה (Deuteronomy 32:37). See BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, Part 3, p. 116.

114. COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 126, note 47; ATTAL, *Lexique*, pp. 21, 76*. M. Cohen testifies to the form *t(t)kal* in the Judeo-Arabic of Alger but see his comment there: COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 223-224, 228.

115. אָנָּה זְכַר אָב הַבְּטָחָתוֹ לְרִשְׁת אֲרָצוֹת עֲמֻמִּים שִׁבְעָה, בְּרַגְבָּא אֲתַפְ'כְּכַר אֲב תְּכַלְתִּיהָ לְיוֹרֵת. אֲנָּה זְכַר אָב הַבְּטָחָתוֹ לְרִשְׁת אֲרָצוֹת עֲמֻמִּים שִׁבְעָה, אֲרָאצ' אֲוִמוֹם סִבְעָא (*Hosha'not*, p. 40:2 (*Hosha'not for the seventh encirclement on Hosha'na Rabba*)).

both documented denoting the meaning “to rely upon, to trust in”¹¹⁶. It should be noted that forms with *tt*, i.e., *ttkəl*, are documented in some Moroccan dialects, reflecting its origin in the eighth verbal stem¹¹⁷. In any case, one should distinguish between forms which stem from the root \sqrt{tkl} ($\langle\sqrt{wkl}\rangle$) and the passive forms of the root \sqrt{kl} .

3. Roots created through metathesis

Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts also present dialectal roots that were created through metathesis. Such is the root $\sqrt{h'd}$, whose origin is \sqrt{hd} ; the root $\sqrt{\text{ʿ}nt}$ originating from \sqrt{nst} ; the root $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$ from $\sqrt{\check{g}wb}$; and the root $\sqrt{n'l}$ whose origin is the root $\sqrt{l'n}$.

3.1. The root $\sqrt{h'd}$ ($\langle\sqrt{hd}\rangle$)

The dialectal root $\sqrt{h'd}$, which is used in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic, was formed through metathesis from the classical Arabic root \sqrt{hd} . The colloquial noun *hāʿad* was used in translations of a variety of texts to express the meaning of “a covenant”, “an alliance”. For example:

- In a translation of Joshua 3:3 that was put down in writing by the Constantinian rabbis Ha-Cohen, Zerbib and Choukroun, the expression אָרוֹן בְּרִית ה' which means “the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord”, is translated *ṣundūq hāʿad əlḷah* (סנדוק האעד אלאה)¹¹⁸.
- In the translation of the *Book of Josippon*, entitled *Histoire d-əl-Yahūd*, the expression “the alliance between Rome and Jerusalem” was translated *hāʿad Roma vi-Yrušalayim* (האעד רומא וירושלים)¹¹⁹.
- In Jeremiah 34:13 (*Haḥḥarat Mishpaṭim*) the word בְּרִית, “covenant”, in the sentence אָנֹכִי כָרַתִּי בְרִית אֶת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם (“I made a covenant with your fathers”), is translated as *ana qtaʿt hāʿad mʿa abāy-kum* (אנא קטעת האעד מעא אבאייכם)¹²⁰.

116. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 186 (in Fes); DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 76, 259; HARREL, *Dictionary*, p. 169. The verb كَلَّ is also documented in the eastern dialect of Dathina meaning “entrust; confide”, see C. LANDBERG, *Glossaire Daḥīnois*, Leiden, 1920, vol. 1, p. 234.

117. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 186 (in Fes); DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 76, 259; ABD EL-ʿAL, *Dictionary*, p. 42. Cf. COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 223-224, 228.

118. HA-COHEN et al., *Joshua*. For information on David Ha-Cohen, Shelomo Zerbib, and Zion Choukroun see E. MARZIANO, *Sefer Malkhe Yeshurun*, Jerusalem, 2000, pp. 118, 139, 225 (in Hebrew). Spelling ס for *ץ > s as in the word סנדוק, is already found in medieval Judeo-Arabic texts, see BLAU, *Grammar*, pp. 36-37, §18b. For additional examples from Constantinian texts see TIROSH-BECKER, *Constantine*, pp. 148-149.

119. RENASSIA, *Histoire*, p. 4.

120. RENASSIA, *Haḥḥarat*.

R. Renassia's trilingual dictionary brings the expression *qta' hā'ad* (قطع هاعد) as the Arabic equivalent for "to form an alliance"¹²¹. When a possessive pronoun is added to this noun it is written without the aleph, possibly reflecting a shortening of the long vowel, *hā'ad* > *ha'd-i*¹²², for example:

- In the translation of the liturgical piyyuṭ *Mi Khamokha*, which is recited in Shabbat Zakhor, the Sabbath preceding the festival of Purim, the Hebrew word מן העדי, was translated העדי¹²³.
- In Jeremiah 33:25 (*Haftarat Mishpaṭim*) the Hebrew word בְּרִיתִי, which means "my covenant", is translated העדי¹²⁴.

In the original Classical Arabic form of this noun 'ahd (عَهْد) there are two adjacent guttural fricative consonants, the pharyngeal 'ayn and the glottal hā'. These two consonants switched position through metathesis thereby creating the dialectal form *hā'ad*. This form also reflects a change in the noun pattern from *qaṭl* to *qāṭal* (*CaCC* > *CāCāC*). Namely, a short vowel was inserted between the last two radicals and the first vowel was lengthened¹²⁵. These changes were probably introduced to ease the pronunciation of this word, which has two adjacent guttural consonants. The difficulty of pronouncing successive 'ayn and hā' was already reported by the eighth century Arab grammarian Sībawayhi, who remarks that the Arab of Banū Tamīm say *maḥ-ḥum* instead of *ma'-hum*¹²⁶. This mutual assimilation is attested in many dialects, both in the Maghreb and in the Mashriq, including the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Constantine, where we recorded the pronunciation *ntāḥ-ḥum* instead of *ntā'-hum* ("their")¹²⁷.

The metathesis $\sqrt{hd} > \sqrt{h'd}$ is also documented in *Leshon Limmudim* from Miknes in Morocco¹²⁸. However, the root \sqrt{hd} without the metathesis is the one used in most Magrebian dialects¹²⁹. In the Judeo-Arabic dialects of

121. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 100.

122. However according to Colin in Moroccan Arabic the vowel in this case is not shortened, 'ahād, 'āhdi, see COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 5, pp. 1341-1342.

123. RENASSIA, *Mi Khamokha*, v. 26.

124. RENASSIA, *Haftarat, Haftarat Mishpaṭim*.

125. The same process occurred in some Maghrebian dialects with the original root \sqrt{hd} leading to the colloquial noun 'ahād. See COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 5, pp. 1341-1342; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 9, p. 270; W. MARÇAIS, J. FARÈS, "Trois textes arabes d'el-Hamma de Gabès", *Journal asiatique* 221 (1932), p. 267.

126. A. LEVIN, "Sībawayhi's Attitude to the Spoken Language", in ID., *Arabic Linguistic Thought and Dialectology*, Jerusalem, 1998, pp. 220-221.

127. Cf. COHEN, *Alger*, pp. 33, 72.

128. BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, Part 3, p. 229, note 11. For the different spellings of this word in this *sharḥ* see the indices.

129. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 5, pp. 1341-1342 ('ahād); CHERAIFI, *Dictionnaire*, p. 555 ('ahd); HARREL, *Dictionary*, p. 256 ('ahd); DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 9, p. 270 ('ahd, 'āhād); BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 687 (عهد). ATTAL, *Lexique*, pp. 56, 57* (עהד); BEN SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 23 (عهد); COHEN, *Alger*, p. 34 (Alger Muslims: 'ahd).

Tunis and Alger, where the *hā*ʾ was usually not articulated, this noun was pronounced as *ʿād*¹³⁰.

3.2. The root $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$ (< $\sqrt{g\check{w}b}$)

In Constantinian Judeo-Arabic the meaning “to reply, to respond” is denoted by two related roots: the root $\sqrt{g\check{w}b}$ and the root $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$, which was created from $\sqrt{g\check{w}b}$ through metathesis¹³¹. It is interesting that the verb $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$, which reflects the classical Arabic verb *جاوب*, is used in the spoken dialect, while the metathesized verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ is used in the language of the *sharḥ*, which is typically more archaic.

The verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ (ואג'ב) is used in the Constantinian *sharḥ* to various books of the Bible as well as to the Mishnah and liturgical texts. In some of these *shuruḥ*, e.g. the translation to Psalms, we find almost exclusively the verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$, while in others, e.g. the *shuruḥ* to Proverbs and to the Mishnah, we find the verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ used alongside the verb $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$. Examples:

- The verb $\check{w}\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ (“answer me”) in Psalms 4:2 is translated $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b\text{-}ni$ (ואג'בני)¹³².
- In the *sharḥ* of piyyuṭ Mi Khamokha we find only the verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$, e.g., the Hebrew השיבו (‘answered him’) was translated $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b\text{-}u$ (ואג'בו)¹³³.
- In the *sharḥ* of Joshua, which was put down in writing by the Constantinian rabbis Ha-Cohen, Zerbib and Choukroun, we find the verb $u\text{-}w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ (וואג'בו) translating $\check{w}\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ (“and they answered [Joshua]”, Joshua 1:16)¹³⁴.
- The two verbs $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ and $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ are used interchangeably in the *sharḥ* of Proverbs. For example: Proverbs 26:4 “Do not answer a dullard in accord with his folly” (אל תען כסיל פאג'לתו) was translated using the verb $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ (ליש תג'אוב ג'אהל כף ג'האלתו), while the similar sentence in Proverbs 26:5 “Answer a dullard in accord with his folly” (ענה כסיל פאג'לתו) was translated using the verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ (ואג'ב ג'אהל כף ג'האלתו)¹³⁵.
- In R. Renassia’s translation of the Mishnah we find the two verbs $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ and $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ used side by side, even in the translation of the same mishnah or of adjacent mishnayot. For example, the verb $\check{w}\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ in the expression “and they answered after him” (והן עונין אחריו) was translated in *Yoma* 3:8 by the verb $i\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ (והומאן) and in *Yoma* 4:1 by the verb $i\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ (והומאן וואג'בו וראה)

130. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 34; COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 36.

131. One should differentiate between the metathesized $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$ which means “to answer” and the classical Arabic root $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$ which denotes “obligation”, “necessity”, etc.

132. As noted above, the verb $w\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ is the one used almost exclusively in the *sharḥ* to Psalms. A rare example for the use of the verb $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$ in the *Sharḥ* to Psalms is found in the translation to Psalms 22:22: $\check{g}\bar{a}w\bar{a}b$.

133. RENASSIA, *Mi Khamokha*, v. 57: השיבו המלך כן דברת, ואג'בו אצולטאן האק תכללמת (“The King replied to him: you spoke truthfully”).

134. HA-COHEN et al., *Joshua*: והן עונין אחריו, וואג'בו אילא יהושע ליקול (note, the verb $\check{w}\bar{a}\check{g}\bar{a}b$ was written here without the *aleph*).

135. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*.

(יג' אוכו' וראה). In the translation of *Ta'anit* 2:4 the sentence "May He that answered Abraham our father in mount Moriah answer you" (מי שענה את (אברהם בהר המוריה הוא יענה אתכם) and *iḡāwəb-kum* in the same sentence (אלי ואג' ב אברהם פ' יג' בל אלמוריה הווא) (יג' אוכוכום)¹³⁶.

The verb *ḡāwəb*, which is used in some of these *shuruḥ* alongside the verb *wāḡḡəb*, is the prevalent form in the spoken dialect of the Jews of Constantine. The verb *ḡāwəb* is also the one typically used in original Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts, such as *commentaries* on the Bible and on the Mishnah¹³⁷. Examples:

- In the commentary on Joshua by the rabbis Ha-Cohen, Zerbib and Choukroun, which accompanies their translation (*sharḥ*) of Joshua, the verb that is consistently used is *ḡāwəb*; e.g., in the commentary on Joshua 1:1 we find *u-ma ḡāwəb-hum-š* (ומא ג' אוכוכומש) "and he did not answer them"¹³⁸.
- In Renassia's commentary on Mishnah *Yoma* 7:5 the phrase *u-l-kohen iḡāwəb-u* (ולכהן יג' אוכו) "the High Priest answers him" is being used¹³⁹.

The verb *جواب* is also given in Renassia's trilingual dictionary as the Arabic counterpart of the Hebrew השיב¹⁴⁰.

A similar situation is documented in the dialect of the Jews of Alger, where both verbs *wāḡḡəb* and *ḡāwəb* are used, and the form *ḡāwəb* is preferred in the spoken dialect¹⁴¹. Both forms *wāḡḡəb* and *ḡāwəb* are also documented in the dialect of the Jews of Tunis¹⁴². Among the various *sharḥ* traditions of the Jews of Tafilalt (Morocco) there is one tradition in which the verb *zawb* (זאוּב) is used, while in the other two traditions the verb *wazb* (וואּזב), which is characteristic of their spoken dialect, is employed¹⁴³. Indeed, Heath's study of Jewish and Muslim Moroccan dialects has shown that the metathesized *waḡ(ə)b* or *waz(ə)b* are almost universal in Moroccan Jewish dialects. Moroccan Muslims, on the other hand, used almost exclusively the verb *ḡaw(ə)b*¹⁴⁴. However, the metathesis $\sqrt{ḡwb} > \sqrt{wḡb}$ is known in the 3rd

136. RENASSIA, *Mishnah Mo'ed*.

137. Here we mean *originally written* Judeo-Arabic texts (e.g., commentaries) versus *translations* of Hebrew texts into Judeo-Arabic (i.e. the *shuruḥ*).

138. HA-COHEN et al., *Joshua: תרגום ומא' אוכוכומש*.

139. RENASSIA, *Mishnah Mo'ed: תרגום ומא' אוכוכומש*.

140. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 382.

141. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 99.

142. COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 119.

143. BAR-ASHER, *Sharḥ*, p. 18 note 65, p. 20; M. BAR-ASHER, "Les lexèmes hébreux dans le Sharḥ marocain (traditions du Tafilalet)", in ID., *Traditions*, p. 174; M. BAR-ASHER, "Parallels Traditions of the Oral Sharḥ in the Maghreb and their Transformations", *Massorot* 13-14, 2006, p. 69.

144. For the detailed data see HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, p. 178.

verbal stem in other Maghrebian Muslim dialects¹⁴⁵, such as those of Teṭwan¹⁴⁶, Tanger¹⁴⁷, Djidjelli¹⁴⁸, Tlemcen¹⁴⁹, Tunis¹⁵⁰, and Marazig¹⁵¹.

3.3. The root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ ($<\sqrt{sn̄t}$)

The dialectal root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$, which is used in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic to denote “to listen”, was formed through metathesis from the classical Arabic root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$. Examples:

- In Psalms 10:17 the sentence תִּקְשִׁיב אָזְנוֹךָ, which means “You will incline Your ear”, was translated *tšənnət udn-ək* (תִּצְנַנַּת וּדְנָךְ)¹⁵².
- In Psalms 5:2 the sentence אֶמְרֵי הָאָזְיָהּ ה' קוֹאֲלֵי אֲצַנְנַת יָא (אֵלֵלֵאָהּ), which means “Give ear to my speech, O Lord”, is translated *qwal-i əššənnət ya aḷlah* (קוֹאֲלֵי אֲצַנְנַת יָא) (אֵלֵלֵאָהּ)¹⁵³.
- In Proverbs 1:24 the expression וְאֵין מְקַשֵּׁב, which means “and paid no heed”, was translated *u-layš mən išənnət* (וְלִישׁ מִן יִצְנַנַּת)¹⁵⁴.
- In I Kings 18:29 (*Haftarat Ki Tissa*) the phrase וְאֵין קָשֶׁב, which means “and none who heeded”, is translated *u-layš təšnīt* (וְלִישׁ תִּצְנִית)¹⁵⁵.
- In Job 9:16 the sentence כִּי יֵאָזֵן קוֹלִי, which means “and He would listen to my voice”, was translated *in išənnət liya* (אֵין יִצְנַנַּת לִיָּא)¹⁵⁶.

The root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ is used in the *sharḥ* to translate הקָשִׁיב and הָאָזֵין, both denoting “to listen”. The Hebrew שמע, on the other hand, which means “to hear” was translated by *sma*¹⁵⁷.

In the vast majority of this root’s occurrences in the Constantinian corpus it appeared with a *t* transcribed as ת. However, in a few rare instances this verb was written in Hebrew characters with the last radical of the root transcribed as ט. Example: Psalms 140:7 קוֹל תְּחַנּוּנַי ה' הָאָזְיָהּ ה' (“give ear, O Lord, to my pleas of mercy”) – אֲצַנְנַת יָא אֵלֵלֵאָהּ צוֹת תִּצְרִיעַתִּי. This tran-

145. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 2, p. 263; vol. 8, p. 2027; HARREL, *Dictionary*, p. 204; BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 164, 1039-1040; BEN-SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 570.

146. ABD EL-‘AL, *Dictionary*, p. 246.

147. MARÇAIS, *Tanger*, p. 490.

148. MARÇAIS, *Djidjelli*, p. 184.

149. MARÇAIS, *Tlemcen*, p. 76.

150. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss*, p. 272.

151. BORIS, *Marazig*, p. 659.

152. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

153. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

154. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*.

155. RENASSIA, *Haftarat*: וְאֵין קָשֶׁב, וְלִישׁ צוֹת וְלִישׁ מִן יֵגְאוּב וְלִישׁ תִּצְנִית.

156. RENASSIA, *Job*. JPS translates this sentence as “He would lend me His ear”.

157. E.g., Psalms 84:9: אֲסַמַּע צִלְאֲתִי שְׁמִעָה תִּפְלְתִי הָאָזְיָהּ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סְלָה: אֲסַמַּע צִלְאֲתִי יָא אֵלֵלֵאָהּ יַעֲקֹב דְאִיִּים. See RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

scription may reflect the well known spreading of emphatic pronunciation in Arabic dialects, i.e., *ṣannat* (or possibly *ṣannat*)¹⁵⁸. An emphatic realization of this root is found in the dialects of Takruna in Tunisia¹⁵⁹, and of the Jews of Alger¹⁶⁰. This root with an emphatic *t* (تصنّط) is already documented in Dozy's dictionary alongside the forms with a non-emphatic *t* (صنّت, تصنّت)¹⁶¹. The metathesized root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ with an emphatic *t* (صنّط) is also known in eastern dialects from Syria, Lebanon and Jerusalem¹⁶².

The metathesized root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ is used in other Algerian dialects, such as those of the Jews of Alger and the Muslims of Cherchell¹⁶³. It is found in Moroccan¹⁶⁴ and Tunisian dialects as well¹⁶⁵. In Constantinian Judeo-Arabic texts the root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ is used in the 2nd and 5th verbal stems. Of special interest is the imperative form of the 5th verbal stem אצננת (*aṣṣannat*), in which the *t* of the verbal stem's prefix is assimilated to the first radical *ṣ* and the prosthetic vowel of the imperative is added (*tṣannat* > *aṣṣannat*). Informants from Constantine often pronounced this imperative form *aṣṣannat* without the doubling of the *ṣ*. In general, the singular and plural imperative forms of the 5th verbal stem in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic begin with a prosthetic vowel: *atkallam*, *atkallamu*. These imperative forms are written in the *sharḥ* with an initial aleph, e.g. Psalms 7:7 הַנְּשֵׂא, אַתְּפֹכֶ'כִּי כִּרֹּךְ¹⁶⁶. Perfect and imperative forms of the 5th verbal stem may appear with a prosthetic aleph already in medieval Judeo-Arabic texts¹⁶⁷. Imperative forms in the 5th verbal stem

158. The emphatic pronunciation of *t* in the root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ due to its proximity to the emphatic *ṣ* is found in medieval Judeo-Arabic (נצת < נצט). See BLAU, *Dictionary*, p. 699; BLAU, *Grammar*, p. 39, §22.

159. MARÇAIS, GUÏGA, *Takroûna*, vol. 5, p. 2271.

160. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 100.

161. Dozy also discusses the form صنّط. See DOZY, *Supplément*, vol. 1, p. 845 and references therein.

162. BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 2, p. 446. Barthélemy explains this form as a combination of *naṣata* and *ṣamata*.

163. COHEN, *Alger*, p. 100; GRAND'HENRY, *Cherchell*, p. 143, note 295; BEN-SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, p. 280.

164. COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 1088; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 8, pp. 108-109; ABD EL-'AL, *Dictionary*, p. 128; CHERAIFI, *Dictionnaire*, p. 275. The verb *ṣannat* is also attested in *Leshon Limmudim* by R. Raphael Berdugo of Miknes, see BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, Part 3, p. 403 (Psalms 70:6: הוֹשִׁיעַ לִי was translated as *ṣannat il-i* [סננאת אילי], i.e. "listen to me"); Part 4, p. 140, note 6 (*Haṣṣarat Zakhor*, I Samuel 15:22: להקשיב was translated as *māl-l-isn̄nat* [מלילסננת]).

165. ATTAL, *Lexique*, pp. 29, 33*; BORIS, *Marazig*, p. 352. The root $\sqrt{sn̄t}$ is used in colloquial Egyptian Arabic, see SPIRO, *Dictionary*, p. 344.

166. RENASSIA, *Psalms*. In *Leshon Limmudim* from Miknes spellings such as אַתְּקוּוּא reflect the pronunciation *ttāquwa*, where the aleph indicates that the first character is doubled, and it does not reflect a prosthetic vowel. BAR-ASHER, *Leshon Limmudim*, part 3, p. 251 note 4, and many more examples therein.

167. BLAU, *Grammar*, p. 77, § 75. See already in classical Arabic, WRIGHT, *Grammar*, p. 38, §48 rem. b; pp. 64-65, §111.

with an initial vowel are used in other Algerian and Tunisian dialects as well¹⁶⁸. In Beaussier's dictionary, which documents Algerian and Tunisian dialects, the perfect form *اصَّت* is recorded alongside the regular form *تصَّت*¹⁶⁹. The assimilation of the prefix *t* in this verb (*صَّت*) is also documented in Moroccan dialects, such as those of Tanger and Jbala¹⁷⁰, and in the dialect of Marazig in Tunisia¹⁷¹.

3.4 The root \sqrt{nl} ($<\sqrt{ln}$)

In the Constantinian *sharḥ* of biblical books the Hebrew verb *קלל* (“to curse”) is usually translated by the verb *n'al*. The root \sqrt{nl} was formed through metathesis from the classical Arabic root \sqrt{ln} (لعن). However, in a few cases the original verb *l'an* is still used in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic. Examples:

- In Proverbs 30:11 the expression *דור אביו יקלל*, which means “he will curse his father's generation”, was translated *gāl ubū-h in'al* (ג'יל אובוה ינעל). However, in Proverbs 20:20 a similar expression *מקלל אביו ואמו*, which means “one who curses his father and mother”, was translated using the verb *il'an* (ילען אובוה ואומו)¹⁷².
- In Psalms 37:22 the Hebrew word *ומקלליו*, which means “those cursed by Him”, was translated as *u-mān'al-īn-u* (ומנעלינו)¹⁷³.
- In Ecclesiastes 10:20 the sentence *אל תקלל עשיר*, which means “don't revile a rich man”, was translated as *layš tin'al l-ḡni* (ליש תנעל לגני)¹⁷⁴.

Similarly, the Hebrew nouns *אָלָה*, *קָלָלָה* and *מְאָרָה*, all of which mean “a curse”, are translated as *na'la* pl. *na'lāt* (נעלא pl. נעלאַת), e.g., in the translations of Proverbs 28:27, 29:24 and Psalms 109:18. However, in Proverbs 3:33 (*בְּבֵית רָשָׁע*) the noun *מְאָרָה* was translated by the two alternative forms *na'lāt* and *la'nāt*: *בית צ'אלם פ'י אלאה פ'י*¹⁷⁵. Both roots are also documented in Renassia's trilingual dictionary¹⁷⁶.

168. In the Muslim dialect of Tunis the form without a prosthetic vowel is used alongside this form. COHEN, *Tunis*, pp. 127-128 and note 49; TALMOUDI, *Sūsa*, p. 175; GRAND'HENRY, *Cherchell*, p. 60.

169. BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire*, p. 578.

170. DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 8, pp. 108-109; COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 1088; ABD EL-'AL, *Dictionary*, p. 128.

171. BORIS, *Marazig*, p. 352.

172. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*. JPS (Proverbs 30:11): “There is a breed of men that brings a curse on its fathers”; JPS (Proverbs 20:20): “One who reviles his father and mother”.

173. RENASSIA, *Psalms*.

174. RENASSIA, *Ecclesiastes*.

175. RENASSIA, *Proverbs*.

176. RENASSIA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 262 (نعل and نعل), 294 (ملعون and لعن).

Metathesis of liquid consonants is well known in Arabic dialects, and therefore it is not surprising that the metathesis $\sqrt{ln} > \sqrt{n'l}$ is common to many Arabic dialects¹⁷⁷, including numerous North African dialects¹⁷⁸.

Conclusion

A key aspect in the study of the Neo-Judeo-Arabic language of any *sharḥ* of the Bible is the estimation of the relative extent of its conservative features versus vernacular characteristics. My studies of the Constantinian *sharḥ* of various biblical books have shown that its language is largely conservative and exhibits archaic phenomena. Thus the presence of colloquial roots even in this *sharḥ* is especially significant. Specifically, we have shown that both secondary dialectal roots, namely \sqrt{lss} , \sqrt{sgm} , and \sqrt{tkl} , and metathesized roots, i.e., $\sqrt{h'd}$, $\sqrt{\text{ʃnt}}$, $\sqrt{w\check{g}b}$, and $\sqrt{n'l}$, have found their way into this *sharḥ*. These roots were used in the Bible translation as well as in translations of post-biblical texts, such as the Mishnah and piyyuṭim (*Hosha'not* and *Mi Khamokha*). They were also employed in original compositions written in Constantinian Judeo-Arabic, such as commentaries on the Bible and on the Mishnah, and in the journal *El-Hikma*, which was published in Constantine in the first half of the twentieth century. In this paper we demonstrated the use of the aforementioned roots in the different Constantinian texts, and analyzed in detail aspects of their formation due to phonological and morphological processes. We highlighted the unique facets of each verb, their special distribution in the Constantinian Judeo-Arabic corpus and their position among other North African dialects.

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177. See MARÇAIS, *Tanger*, pp. 477-478. Cf. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, p. 296. For this metathesis in Egyptian dialects see, for example, SPIRO, *Dictionary*, pp. 541, 606; HINDS, BADAWI, *Dictionary*, pp. 792, 872. For eastern dialects see for example: BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, p. 758; vol. 5, p. 836; HOLES, *Eastern Arabia*, vol. 1, p. 479 (who suggests that the metathesis in this verb may be a deliberate euphemism).

178. For example, CHERAIFI, *Dictionnaire*, p. 494; COHEN, *Tunis*, p. 44; MARÇAIS, *Tanger*, pp. 477-478; BEN-SEDIRA, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 486, 538; COLIN, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 8, p. 1921; DE PRÉMARE, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 11, pp. 58, 399-400; ABD EL-'AL, *Dictionary*, p. 235; HEATH, *Moroccan Arabic*, p. 177; MARÇAIS, GUÏGA, *Takroûna*, pp. 4002-4005; TALMOUDI, *Sūsa*, p. 144.

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