<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>On Two Stylistic Varieties in a Modern Judaeo-Arabic Text from Tripoli, Libya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>依田，純和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>言語文化研究. 42 P.195–P.217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2016-03-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Version</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.18910/56201">https://doi.org/10.18910/56201</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOI</td>
<td>10.18910/56201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Osaka University Knowledge Archive : OUKA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Osaka University Knowledge Archive : OUKA

https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/

Osaka University
On Two Stylistic Varieties in a Modern Judaeo-Arabic Text from Tripoli, Libya

YODA Sumikazu

1. Introduction

The tradition of writing Arabic in Hebrew script (i.e. Judaeo-Arabic) began as early as the 9th or even the 8th century and has continued until modern times. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, this tradition was still alive in most of the Jewish communities scattered in Arabophone cities. But after the establishment of the State of Israel, this tradition began to die out. Unlike Classical Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic has made historical developments in every grammatical aspect and at the same time varies according to the place where the texts were written.

Hary, Egyptian Judeo-Arabic p. 200 distinguishes the historical stages of Judaeo-Arabic into five periods: Pre-Islamic Judeo-Arabic, Early Judeo-Arabic (eighth/ninth to tenth centuries), Classical Judeo-Arabic (tenth to fifteenth centuries), Later Judeo-Arabic (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries), and

1) This paper is based on a lecture read at the AIDA symposium on Arabic Dialectology, University of Bergen, October 9-12, 2013. Professor Simon Hopkins (the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) read a draft of this study. He made helpful suggestions about the use of language and the substance, which I followed. The responsibility for all facts and opinions, however, remains mine.
Modern Judeo-Arabic (twentieth century).2)

In the early and especially classical periods, Judaeo-Arabic was based on Classical Arabic, therefore it is basically a Hebrew script version of Classical Arabic, containing at the same time many pseudo-corrections with Hebrew and Aramaic elements. On the other hand, especially Later and Modern Judaeo-Arabic tends to be written in a local vernacular based on the colloquial Arabic spoken by Jews with less Classical elements, thus in order to read texts from later periods, knowledge of the modern Arabic dialects of the Jews is indispensable. Since the number of the Arabophone Jews is actually decreasing year by year, so the investigation of the modern Arabic dialects of the Jews is an urgent issue. At the same time, it is also important to investigate how Modern Judaeo-Arabic should be read. It is still possible to find some speakers of Judaeo-Arabic dialects, but since the literary Judaeo-Arabic ceased some time ago, it is now very difficult to find someone who can read and write properly.3)

---

2) Besides Blau, Judaeo-Arabic roughly divides into three periods: Early Judaeo-Arabic, Classical Judaeo-Arabic, Late Judaeo-Arabic. In this paper the author uses the periodization of Hary, since the text the author is dealing with is from the 20th century, and belongs to “Modern Judaeo-Arabic” as defined by him.

3) Recently as a result of the resurrectionary movements of the original tradition by some Arabophone Jewish communities, books on the folktales and proverbs etc. in the Arabic dialects of Jews have been published, where the Arabic vernacular is written in the Hebrew characters, but it seems not to be based on the former writing tradition of the Modern Judaeo-Arabic. On this new Judaeo-Arabic, a separate study is necessary.
This paper deals with a Modern Judaeo-Arabic text from Tripoli, Libya: a statute book published in 1917 by "Il Ministero delle Colonie", the Arabic title of which is: "רגולואיציאכ אלפקהי אלפקחד ,ןאילטוה תואוקלאמן מ"שגרתמן פאולסאכ יברעלב קוחל יישרה "Regulations for the status of Jewish community in the district of Tripoli" (Fig. 1 above).

This booklet has 43 pages and contains 57 chapters concerning the legal affairs of Libyan Jews of that time under Italian rule. It seems that this booklet had been originally written in Italian and translated into two varieties of Arabic; under the title the following is written: מתרורימ פכ אטיליאן בלערבי אלאמקה ניטשקוד בלסאן תאראבלה "translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language". From this, we can discern two names of languages: "לכסן תראבלסיטי "juristic Arabic" (in the body of the text this is replaced by "رسمית "official") and "Tripolitanian language" (in the body of the text this is replaced by Schumer "explanation")).

The aim of this paper is to describe the grammatical characteristics of these two varieties comparing the textual difference between them).

Abbreviations
CA = Classical Arabic
R = רסמית
st.abs. = status absolutus
st.cs. = status constructus
š = Schumer
TRJ = Jewish dialect of Tripoli
TUM = Muslim dialect of Tunis
V = any vowel

2. Two varieties (R and š)

In order to show the surface difference between R and š, a chapter is quoted from the book.

---
4) Traditionally the term Schumer is usually used to indicate a genre of literal translation of Jewish religious sacred texts from Hebrew into Judaeo-Arabic (see Hary, *Egyptian Judeo Arabic* pp. 216 ff.). The traditional Schumer genre is in fact not a translation, but rather a replacement of the original Hebrew words by corresponding Arabic words. Therefore the sentences of Schumer texts are sometimes ungrammatical (see Hary, *Sociolinguistic Setting* pp. 82 ff.). In this respect, the Schumer of this text does not function as in the traditional way, but is a real translation of the original Hebrew texts.
5) At the AIDA congress, Prof. W. Diem suggested the possibility that R is rather the translation from š.
It is noteworthy that the wording of the sentences of R (=رسمي) and Š (=شره) are so different that it is not appropriate to give a single translation. We can discern that R is a variety close to CA, although written in Hebrew script, and it is in fact the word-for-word transliteration from the Standard Arabic with some modifications:

Here CA תַּל - marbūṭah is replaced by ב - ( jl - ) ( = st.cs. ) or א - ( rl - ) ( jl - ) ( = st.abs. ) in Arabic (الطائفيين) اخذ وفنيا and in (الكلام) أخذ وفنيا and thus the CA preposition  אל is abbreviated into פ - (Falqism) קאנסס and attached to the following word as פ - קאנסס. But this sentence happens not to contain any conspicuous grammatical deviations from CA (whereas in many other R sentences grammatical deviations are quite frequent).

On the other hand, Š represents a variety very different from R (and CA).  š is based much more on the colloquial Arabic spoken by Tripolitans and contains many non-Arabic elements. However, inasmuch as it is a written Judaeo-Arabic text, it naturally contains some Classical elements, too. The CA preposition א - (Falqism) קאנסס is of course a Hebrew expression meaning “a society for Talmudic education”. The remaining words are of Arabic origin, but some are pure colloquial, for example: מ - ( TRJ נְכָא , cf. TUM מט - ) “of”, ס - “conduit” ( TRJ נ - , cf. TUM מ - ) “conduct (st.cs. מ - ( TUM  מְקָאָב ) “schools”, ב - ( TRJ w - בּקִיָּאכ ) “and (the) rest of (st.cs. ב - ) “under”, מ - ( TRJ ב - ) “in”, אר - ( TRJ א - ) “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used
in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: “it observes” (CA) “existing” (CA) “it observes” (CA).

It seems that the author of the Š version had received education in CA and was able to read and write it. On the other hand, the author of Š had learned the Judaeo-Arabic written tradition of his time. I am not sure if these two varieties are written by one and the same author or by (two) different authors.

According to the organization of this booklet, it seems that R is the main text, and that Š is a supplement for readers who have not learned R or CA. The degree of literacy among the Jews of Libya at the time in question, i.e. whether they had knowledge of R (or CA) or the TRJ or both, is not clear, but is it reasonable to think that there were Tripolitanian Jews who could read R but not Š? Naturally, in order to read Š a certain amount of private education is required since it is not a pure dialect but contains some classical elements, but R requires much more long term education. If so, what is the purpose in putting R here and who is the reader of R? It makes sense to assume that the number of the readers of R would have been extremely few, not to say none; therefore, the major emphasis is in fact upon Š, and R version was written to boost the prestige of the official government booklet which treats juridical matters. Surveying other texts written in TRJ for Libyan Jewry, the style is different from text to text, but not deviating from the general character of Modern Judaeo-Arabic, namely based on the local vernacular dialects, sometimes with artificial classical elements such as uninflected לִאֵס etc. In this regard, the language of R occupies a special place, since it is, as mentioned above, based on CA, although with many orthographic and syntactic deviations. In the following, I am going to show some peculiarities of these two varieties.

3. Orthography

As stated above, R is so close to CA that we can state that it is basically a Hebrew-script version of CA. However, as it is a kind of Judaeo-Arabic, it presents a number of orthographical deviations. The following table shows the basic correspondence of each Hebrew letter of R to CA (in Arabic script) and Š (in transcription⁶).

---

⁶) The transcription of TRJ is based on Yoda, Tripoli with modification for the long vowels.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
<th>ֶ</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
<th>ֶ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>א (see 3.1.1.1.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>א (see 5.3.(1)(2))</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>א’</td>
<td>אל</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>מ</td>
<td>מ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ד</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.4.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>פ</td>
<td>פ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>ו etc. (see 3.1.1.5.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>צ</td>
<td>צ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ז</td>
<td>ז</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.3.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ח</td>
<td>ח</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>iph</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ט</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>י etc. (see 3.1.1.6.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>כ</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>ת</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>ט</td>
<td>ֶ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1. Consonants

3.1.1. ר

3.1.1.1. א

א usually corresponds to CA alif and hamzah (including that for tanwîn - an, see below 5.3.) but there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA alif maqûrah (alif / yâ)

א consulate matters (CA año) "we had information", או (CA año) "on", המרי (CA año) "to", המרי (CA año) "in", המרי (CA año) "it goes"

(2) ת marbûrah (st.abs.)

א consulate matters (CA año) "the religious community", השנים (CA año) "year", עשר (CA año) "ten"

7) This ligature of א and ל is used not only for the definite article but in any other cases.
8) In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same latters.
9) In the construct state, א changes to ת: כל תלתת אשתו "every three months".
On Two Stylistic Varieties in a Modern Judaeo-Arabic Text from Tripoli, Libya

(3) (alif mamdūdah) (see 3.1.1.6.(4))
foreigners”, CA “the relatives”

(4) hamzah
“proprietors”, CA “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c)
“responsible”, CA “their heads”, CA “to”
(a) In word initial and medial position 야 is frequently used to indicate CA short ُ
(responsibility) (CA) “origins”, CA “roots”, CA “to it”;
(b) In word initial and medial position 야 is frequently used to indicate CA short ِ.

(5) Others
CA short أ: CA (اليوم) “one day” (see 5.3.(2))

3.1.1.2.

The etymological distinction between the dentals plosives ُ, ِ, ِ is not distinguished and they are indicated with ِ, ِ. This dichotomy tallies the dental consonant system in TRJ (ِ, ِ).

(1) CA ُ
(a) CA ُ > ت (التابعة CA “the fixed”, CA “adoption”
(b) CA ُ > ت (لانقات CA “we confirmed”, CA “three”

(2) CA ِ
(a) CA ِ > ذ (الجدد CA “it is renewed”
(b) CA ِ > ذ (المذكور CA “the mentioned”, CA “that”, (CA (اذًا CA “if”

3.1.1.3.

The etymological distinction between ُ, ِ, ِ are not distinguished and they are indicated with ِ. CA “member”, CA “objections”

(1) CA ِ > ض (عضو CA “member”, CA “objections”

3.1.1.5.

CA short أ: CA (اليوم) “one day” (see 5.3.(2))

3.1.1.6.

The etymological distinction between the dentals plosives ُ, ِ, ِ are not distinguished and they are indicated with ِ, ِ. This dichotomy tallies the dental consonant system in TRJ (ِ, ِ).

(1) CA ُ
(a) CA ُ > ت (التابعة CA “the fixed”, CA “adoption”
(b) CA ُ > ت (لانقات CA “we confirmed”, CA “three”

(2) CA ِ
(a) CA ِ > ذ (الجدد CA “it is renewed”
(b) CA ِ > ذ (المذكور CA “the mentioned”, CA “that”, (CA (اذًا CA “if”

3.1.1.3.

The etymological distinction between ُ, ِ, ِ are not distinguished and they are indicated with ِ. CA “member”, CA “objections”

(1) CA ِ > ض (عضو CA “member”, CA “objections”
(2) CA "it (f.) is organized", (CA דַּיְּתִים (Radical CA מְדַיְּתִים) "functions"

3.1.1.4. h

h corresponds to CA הָ and to CA מַ (in st.abs.).

(1) h "faces"

(2) מַ (in st.abs.)

3.1.1.5. r

r usually corresponds to CA וָ (indicating short u and long ָ), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA ו (Radical CA מֵ) "one of the two", (CA מְרוֹאָה (Radical CA מְרוֹאָה) "intended", (CA מְרוֹאָה (Radical CA מְרוֹאָה) "it is nominated", (CA מְרוֹאָה (Radical CA מְרוֹאָה) "persons in charge", (CA מְרוֹאָה (Radical CA מְרוֹאָה) "all", (CA מְרוֹאָה (Radical CA מְרוֹאָה) "persons in charge"

(2) CA ע (Radical CA מֲ) "origins", "their rights"

(3) see 3.1.1.6.(4))

3.1.1.6. (CA מֲ) "their names"

(4) Other cases

כִּה (Radical CA מֲ) "beginning"

This form implies a CA form כִּה which is frequently attested in classical Judaeo-Arabic, but does not appear in CA.

10) CA יְ is in most cases transcribed as יְ (see 3.1.1.1.(2)).
11) Especially the feminine form of nisbah ending is indicated with two yods.
This form implies a CA form ḫāʾ, which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with the definite article.

(5) ḫāʾ is used in the following cases.

(a) CA ḫāʾ-CA “first”, CA “its deputies”, CA “the employees”, CA “composed”

(b) CA ḫāʾ-CA “for putting”

(c) CA ḫāʾ-CA “first (f.)”

3.1.1.6. ḫāʾ usually corresponds to CA ḫāʾ (indicating short i and long ī), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA ḫāʾ-CA “elections”, CA “primarily”, CA “by its matters”, CA “therefore”

(2) CA ḫāʾ-CA “renewal”, CA “in it (f.)”, CA “which”

(3) CA ḫāʾ-CA “the community”, CA “deputy”, CA “its functions”, CA “the chief Rabbis”

(4) CA ḫāʾ-CA (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

12) It is probable that this form with two wāw is made by analogy from its corresponding TRJ ḫāʾ “first (f.)”.

父親 (CA) "father-in-law"
The ending -א corresponds to CA א appears irrespective of its case in the context. But in one case we can find -א for CA א.

(5) ב is used in the following cases.
(a) -yy: י (CA א"י) “which?”, י (CA א"י) “which?”, מ (CA מ"י) “budget”, מ (CA מ"י) “particular”, הא (CA הא) “primarily”
(b) the feminine ending -ו (CA והי) “institution”
(c) (CA בע) “hundred”

3.1.1.7. ב usually corresponds to CA נה, but there are cases where it indicates tanwîn -an (see below 5.3.).

3.1.2. §
3.1.2.1. א

א corresponds to the following elements.
(1) phonologically long א of TRJ (including the feminine ending -א א, which alternates with -א in st.cs.).
(a) long א: באש (TRJ באש) “in order to”, מ (TRJ מ"א) “with”, נאסבע (TRJ נא"ש) “it fits it (f.)”, אל (TRJ אל) “on”
(b) the feminine ending -א (= תאי marbûrah) (see 3.1.2.2.2): שחריריא (TRJ ש"רי) “monthly salary”, מ (TRJ מ"א) “in the city”, מ (TRJ מ"א) “in the year”, אל (TRJ אל"י) “(rel.pron.)”, מ (TRJ מ"א) “today”

(2) TRJ י

This is in the case when י indicates the definite article (see below 3.4.1.2.) or the relative pronoun (see 4.1.).

(3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA ואל (TRJ short י or zero)
3.1.2. (T)  
(1) CA "h"  
Although in TRJ, upon which Š is based, h has disappeared, as a phonological entity, etymological h is correctly indicated in Š.  

(2) CA  "the above mentioned period", cf. CA  "the annual", cf. CA  "eight years"  

(3) CA  at the final position (see 3.1.2.1.(1a))  

3.2. Short vowels 

Especially in R and rarely in Š, short vowels are sometimes indicated by a mater lectionis: the mater lectionis tends to be used for words which belong to the vocabulary of CA when the short vowel stands in an open syllable.  

3.2.1. R  

CA  = א: CA  "it is necessary", cf. CA  "(rel. pron.)", cf. CA  "(rel. pron.)"  

The cases where א indicates CA a are relatively rare.  

CA  = א: R  "by its matters", "by it", "the differences", "the differences", "among", "during"  

CA  = א: R  "matters" (see 3.1.5.13c)), cf. CA  "one of the both", cf. CA  "the both", cf. CA  "among", cf. CA  "the both", cf. CA  "the both".

13) The initial א of CA form is not reflected in TRJ, but in the written language the etymology is taken into account.
3.2.2. 5

On the other hand, the following words, which in CA are apparently bi-radical, contain yod for the original short i.

The dialectal forms corresponding to these two words are TRJ žia “direction” and TUM sīfa “quality” respectively, where the CA short i is realized as a long [i:].

For the word corresponding to CA ֲוֶאִלָּא (st.cs.) “direction (st.cs.)”, there are two forms; one with ֳ for the etymological short vowel i, which appears in R (אָלָלֶא) and another without ֳ appearing in Š (אלללאא). It is possible to interpret this difference as simple orthographical incoherence, namely the author’s caress mistake. Indeed in other places of R text we find the form without ֳ. On the other hand, it is also possible that these two different forms reflect the actual pronunciation; the ֳ of R form reflects the short i of CA ֲוֶאִלָּא, meanwhile Š form without ֳ reflects the presumed dialectal form *ל-אָלֶא, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find forms with mater lectionis: אָל-לֶא. It seems that in the language of Š, this word would be considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as ֲוֶאִלָּא, i as a phonological long vowel, so that in this case ֳ is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA ֲוֶאִלָּא > TRJ *nēḵāb), but it is plausible that the historical short vowels indicated in this way may be pronounced, when read aloud, in fact as long vowels (TRJ nēḵāb). However in the case of ֲוֶאִלָּא for u may be considered as orthographical influence from Hebrew.

In Š, too, there are some examples of the historical short vowel indicated by a mater lectionis: ֲוֶאִלָּא (st.cs.) “matters”.

In this case, the word is actually pronounced as ūmār, with a long ū in both syllables. This is the reflection of the actual pronunciation, namely in TRJ the historical short u of the first syllable has been lengthened and became ūmār.
3.3. Gemination

In both varieties gemination is usually expressed in the following manners:

(1) With repetition of two identical consonants

R: “it possesses” (CA: “it possesses”, TRJ: “in order that he submits”, "for the period of two months"

CA: “he believes”, "the concerned”, "they put"

(2) With one consonant

In both texts the geminated consonant in word-final position and in some cases in the word medial position is written as a single consonant.14

R: “at least”, “(it is) necessary”

CA: “concerned”, “place”, “it is put”

3.4. Definite article

The definite article is written in the following ways both in R and Š.

3.4.1. Before a noun or an adjective

3.4.1.1. R

The definite article is generally written with א (al-). “the law court(s) take care ...”, “among the Jewish subjects”, “the community”, “the Rabbinical courts”, “the notification”, “these law courts”

3.4.1.2. Š

The definite article tends to be written rather phonetically.

(1) Before the moon letters (א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, י, ק, ל, מ, נ, נא, ס, ת, ע, פ, צ, ק, ק in Š) it is written with א or ו-א, irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

א “these rules”, א Parenthood, א “this law”, א “the expenses of the community”

---

14) This takes place especially when the geminated consonant is followed by another consonant, for example alqa "concerned (f.)", since in this case the geminated consonant is felt as a single consonant as if alqa, which may be true on the phonetical point of view.

15) In R, CA is written as a single word.
(2) Before the sun letters (ך, כ, צ, ש, ט, י, ל, ג, ד, ר, נ, ו, ע, י, פ, צ, ת in §), -ל- is in some cases indicated and in other cases neglected.

(a) with -ל- (= ל-)

“the religion”, אלנアクセス אטלנטניאי “Italian language”

(b) without -ל- (= ל-)

“the certification”, אתלבג “the notification”, אתנאני “the second”, אתנאניי “the group”, אתנאניי “the state”, אתנאניי “the number”

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. ר

(1) -ל-

(a) Before moon letters

“in the sciences”, הלארטג אתנאנליי “for the bank bills”

(b) Before sun letters

“for the head”, הלתגנא “for the subjects”

(2) -ל-

(a) Before moon letters

“before the term”, פאלפהלו, פאלפלה "in the council", פאלפלה "in the article"

(b) Before sun letters

“in the year”, פאלפלה "in Italian"

Note 1: Phrases beginning with -ל- (= ל-), י-לאל- י-לאל are not attested. These are indicated as -ל- (cf. CA לאל).  

Note 2: In ר the combination י-לא- is attested: י-לאל "then in the condition", י-לאל "in the community"

3.4.2. ש

(1) -ל-

(a) Before moon letters

“in the differences”, הליגנאנאת "for the members", הליגנאנאת "and on the matters"

(b) Before sun letters

16) “Italian (language)” in ר is "טיליאניי" [talyaniyya].
“for the people”

(2) -א-ו
(a) Before moon letters
валеал "with justice", валеал "on time", валеал "in the opposition", валеал "in the science", валеал "in Arabic"
(b) Before sun letters
валеал "on the education", валеал "in the payment", валеал "in the head"

4. Morphology
4.1. Relative pronouns
In R, as in CA, the relative pronoun agrees in number and gender with the antecedent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>אֲלַדֵּד</td>
<td>אֲלַדֵּד, אֲלַדֵּד, אֲלַדֵּד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>אֲלַדֵּד</td>
<td>אֲלַדֵּד, אֲלַדֵּד</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

פ בסמסצל "the central districts which choose its deputies... “, אֲלַדֵּד, אֲלַדֵּד, אֲלַדֵּד "in the places of the members who left the meeting"

Such agreements of the relative pronouns with the antecedent are scarcely found in other contemporary Judaeo-Arabic texts of Libya (the publication titles of which are indicated in the brackets after the examples) where exclusively uninflected מ קינא תָּלַיְינוֹ, תָּלַיְינוֹ or מ קינא תָּלַיְינוֹ is used: מ קינא תָּלַיְינוֹ מ קינא תָּלַיְינוֹ from the direction where (= because) they are poor" [הธาדות[ו], [אלוּוֹנְו[ו]] תודרם תָּלַיְינוֹ תמד_effect לאֲלַדֵּד, לאֲלַדֵּד, לאֲלַדֵּד "this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for” [ה précédentות לָאָלַיְינוֹ, לאֲלַדֵּד, לאֲלַדֵּד "those people who have rights” [לָאָלַיְינוֹ, לאֲלַדֵּד, לאֲלַדֵּד "the utensils which the sick person uses" [מטאָלְכ[ו]].

In §, exclusively אֲלַדֵּד is used.
אנצט אלָלַיְינוֹ תמד_effect אלָלַיְינוֹ תמד_effect "the people who are Italian”, אלָלַיְינוֹ תמד_effect "for the members who are living in the city”, אלָלַיְינוֹ תמד_effect "the service which he does"
4.2. Pronouns

In the following only the pronouns of 3rd person are shown. Because of the nature of the text, no pronouns of 1st and 2nd person are attested.

4.2.1. Independent pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ (f.) “and it is the responsible for it (f.)”

Š: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.
R: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ “it is one of the rights of the community”, וּהוֹ “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, וּהוֹ “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”

Š: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.
R: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”

Š: וּהוֹ אַלְמָאָל עָנָה: וּהוֹ (TRJ ḫamma): וּהוֹ “for the people who are able”, וּהוֹ וּהוֹ הָעָנָה: וּהוֹ וּהוֹ “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: וּהוֹ, וּהוֹ, וּהוֹ “about him”, וּהוֹ “it (f.) required it (m.)”

There is no coherent system for the choice of these variants. It seems that -ו is the unmarked variant, and there is a tendency that after -ו or in the position of the genitive -ו is used. The use of -ו is attested only once in the text.

She: וּהוֹ, וּהוֹ, וּהוֹ “by his frequent presence”, וּהוֹ “it (f.) requires it (m.)”, וּהוֹ “the
contract of its system", "by it" (but to its election", "what the minister demonstrates")

“between him and her”

(2) 3.pl.
R: -

their rights", “their function”

(3) 3.du.
In R, - is used for dual.

“signing their (two) works altogether”, “one of the two”

4.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns
R: -

that (m.sg.), these (pl.), this, these

The long $a$ in the first syllable is indicated with $א$ except for $א$ and $א$ is used as a demonstrative adjective before a singular or plural noun (irrespective of the gender).

and this institution”, “and these disasters”

It seems that $א$ is not corresponding to CA but to TRJ $אד$ (m.sg.).

“because of this”, “and likewise”
5. Syntax

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

And if one of them is not provided, it is not allowed to be present at the negotiation.

“one of them must be…”, “after it (f.) asked the opinion of the chief Rabbi…”

5.2. Syndetic constructions

In some cases the vowel of the preformative characterizing the passive form (= u) is indicated.

“the meeting should be held within a week”, “the employees are nominated”, “the model of the budget should be presented…”

5.3. Indication of the tanwin - an in R

As stated above, R is basically a transliteration of CA and therefore the accusative of indefinite triptote nouns with the ending - an is indicated. It is indicated not graphically with alif as in CA, but phonetically with -א or -א נ-

(1) With -א

“usually” (CA עאדתן (הכותר נемся אדאיבין מנפרד, “it is considered as a separate cultural body…”)

(2) With -א נ-

“one day” (see 3.1.1.1.(5)), (CA עאדתן (הכותר נемся אדאיבין מנפרד, “he has to be a Jew”, “according to”, “primarily”

(3) With -א נ-

(cf. CA לקודם להאנה כפלי, “legally”, “adoption”, “primarily”

(...)

[17] In this case א in רא indicates the etymological alif and hamzah at the same time.
“he presents a sufficient guarantee”, anyone whosoever he may be”

5.4. Negative expressions

5.4.1. R

The negative in R is indicated in various ways.

(1) ליט

is used to negate verbless sentence. In R it may be inflected.

“and they whose birthplace is not Tripoli”, “then it is only to it (f.) that he makes a clear request about it (m.)”.

לע

is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

“and if one of them is not provided sufficiently...”

(3) לא

is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation.

“the members are not allowed to be present at the negotiation”, “the rents the term of which does not exceed those nine years”, “and this institution does not obtain its valid decision”, “for a particular period which does not surpass six months”

5.4.2.  ש

In ש, the following particles are used for the negative.

(1) לא

Throughout the text, the negation of verbs on the suffix conjugation is not attested.
19) In TRJ, as in other modern Arabic dialects, the plural ending -m of a nomen regens is not elided before a nomen regens in the idafa construction, see Yoda, Tripoli p. 206.
20) "six" in this sentence reflects לועפ תמרביה in st.cs., whereas סט סיס in the  ש sentence modulation, a term not exceeding six months" in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form סעט שאר.
Only one example is attested with a verb in the prefix conjugation, and it does not refer to the past. a term not exceeding six months"

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after: "...they didn’t stay" [אליגוניסוס], "a problem which I could not suffer" [דבל] correlate their term should not exceed nine years"

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

5. Hebrew words

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible.

In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after: "everyone who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges...", "and (he) whose age is not less than twenty years", "their term should not exceed nine years", "and the members cannot participate... ", "they don’t do harm"

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after: "everyone who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges...", "and (he) whose age is not less than twenty years", "their term should not exceed nine years", "and the members cannot participate... ", "they don’t do harm"

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

In Š, Hebrew words are abundantly attested, as against R, where they are restated as much as possible. In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.
In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

6. Vocabulary

6.1. Hebrew words

who were not born in the district of Tripoli, and they are not registered in the list of poor people, their term should not exceed nine years.

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after (2) and they didn’t stay.

is used with non-verbal elements (including participles). is used for this meaning), although not used in TRJ (where TRJ is attested in many Arabic dialects of Jews: TRJ ʿasslāwāt).

or deviations are attested. Short vowels are often noted by a mater lectionis. The geminated consonants are used respectively.

or the names of months are different between R and Š. In Š, Italian forms are used whereas in R CA forms are used.

The tanwin -an is regularly indicated. The use of the internal passive is attested or denoted by denoted by.

The (religious) community

the (religious) community

the rabbinical courts

the members of the rabbinical courts

the Jewish judges

the chief of the Rabbis”, “the greatest Rabbi

Chief Rabbi

the Hebrew (language)

in the Sacred language

phrase

phrase

synagogues

synagogues

is certainly from Heb. ʿ Kasım but carrying a dot above, which indicates the fricative [f], it should be pronounced as ḥāʾ in TRJ.

the communal schools

the schools of Jewish community

the good deeds

charities
R: אלמקאבר “the cemetery”
Š: בית ההרים “the cemetery”

R: עלמאיאלאיוד “the scholars of Jews”
Š: רבי “Rabbi”

R: אלכטנהאלפריים “the charity committee”
Š: קומיסיויאאידקט “charity commission”

6.2. Italian words

It is worthy of note that names of months are different between R and Š. In Š, Italian forms are used whereas in R CA forms are used (except for November). Note that in order to indicate Italian [g] and [dʒ] and form passive are used respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>וננאי (It. gennaio)</td>
<td>ננאי (not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>מצארו (It. marzo)</td>
<td>мнין (not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>טנוגו (It. giugno)</td>
<td>דסمبر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>אוסטפו (It. agosto)</td>
<td>דיסمبر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>דיסטרבורי (It. dicembre)</td>
<td>נובמבר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>נומבר</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For March and August, only examples from Š are attested.

7. Conclusion

R is in principle based on CA and is written in Hebrew script, but in its orthography many irregularities or deviations are attested. Short vowels are often noted by a mater lectionis. The geminated consonants are often indicated by duplication of a consonant letter. The definite article as in CA is constantly denoted by א or א. The tanwin-an is regularly indicated. The use of the internal passive is attested and sometimes the short vowel indicating the passivity is indicated. The syndetic construction with א is common. Negation follows the way of CA and uses different particles according to the negated elements. Hebrew words are avoided and restated in Arabic words.

On the other hand, Š is based on TRJ with many CA or pseudo-CA elements. The definite article is לא,
which is written before moon letters, but before the sun letters it may be missing altogether. Negation is expressed by uninflected Hebrew words. Hebrew words are abundantly used.

References