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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

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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)\textsuperscript{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 Judeo-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 Judeo-Arabic should be read. It is still possible to find some speakers of Judeo-Arabic dialects, but since the literary Judeo-Arabic ceased some time ago, it is now very difficult to find someone who can read and write properly\textsuperscript{3}).

\textbf{Fig. 1}

\textsuperscript{2} Besides Blau, Judeo-Arabic roughly divides into three periods: Early Judeo-Arabic, Classical Judeo-Arabic, Late Judeo-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 Judeo-Arabic" as defined by him.

\textsuperscript{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 Judeo-Arabic. On this new Judeo-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: "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: מייסלבארט יאסל חורשמו ייהקפלא יברעלב יאהילטא דמן טגרתمم "translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language". From this, we can discern two names of languages: הלם טראבלסיא "juristic Arabic" (in the body of the text this is replaced by "رسمמי "oficial") and הלם טראבלסיא "Tripolitanian language" (in the body of the text this is replaced by "شرح "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 = רסמי
st.abs. = status absolutus
st.cs. = status constructus
شرح
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.

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4) Traditionally the termشرح 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 genre is in fact not a translation, but rather a replacement of the original Hebrew words by corresponding Arabic words. Therefore the sentences ofشرح texts are sometimes ungrammatical (see Hary, Sociolinguistic Setting pp. 82 ff.). In this respect, theشرح of this text does not function as in the traditional way, but is a real translation of theشحن texts.

5) At the AIDA congress, Prof. W. Diem suggested the possibility that R is rather the translation fromشرح.
It is noteworthy that the wording of the sentences of R (=رسمي) and Š (=שדד) 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:

 único تجربة لتعليم مدارس الطائفية وجميع مدارس اليهود الكابا فالقسمم

Here CA tā’ marbū‘ah is replaced by by (TA) جتن (TA) or (TA) (قلت) الجزء (قلت), and CA medial hamzah is replaced by (TA) (المريب) ألاجني، (الكابا) ألاجني، and the CA preposition in is abbreviated into (TA) فالقسمم and attached to the following word as (TA). 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 Tripolitanian Jews and contains many non-Arabic elements. However, inasmuch as it is a written Judaeo-Arabic text, it naturally contains some Classical elements, too. Hebrew ṣīraṯ ṣalām was replaced by (TRJ w-bqiyāt) “and (the) rest (of)” (st.cs. פיאט) and attached to the following word as (TA). The remaining words are of Arabic origin, but some are pure colloquial, for example: (TRJ nāḥām) “of”, (TA) “conduct of”, (TRJ mktāb) “books”, (TA) “and” (TA) “and the (rest of)” (st.cs. תורח), izziness “the Jews”, izziness “the Jews”, izziness “under”, izziness “in”, izziness “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used
in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: \( \text{CA} \) preposition \( \text{it observes} \), \( \text{CA} \) premised \( \text{existing} \), \( \text{CA} \) pl pl, \( \text{CA} \) "its observance".

It seems that the author of the \( \text{R} \) version had received education in \( \text{CA} \) and was able to read and write it. On the other hand, the author of \( \text{Š} \) 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 \( \text{R} \) is the main text, and that \( \text{Š} \) is a supplement for readers who have not learned \( \text{R} \) or \( \text{CA} \). The degree of literacy among the Jews of Libya at the time in question, i.e. whether they had knowledge of \( \text{R} \) (or \( \text{CA} \)) or the TRJ or both, is not clear, but is it reasonable to think that there were Tripolitanian Jews who could read \( \text{R} \) but not \( \text{Š} \)? Naturally, in order to read \( \text{Š} \) a certain amount of private education is required since it is not a pure dialect but contains some classical elements, but \( \text{R} \) requires much more long term education. If so, what is the purpose in putting \( \text{R} \) here and who is the reader of \( \text{R} \)? It makes sense to assume that the number of the readers of \( \text{R} \) would have been extremely few, not to say none; therefore, the major emphasis is in fact upon \( \text{Š} \), and \( \text{R} \) 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 \( \text{CA} \). In this regard, the language of \( \text{R} \) occupies a special place, since it is, as mentioned above, based on \( \text{CA} \), 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, \( \text{R} \) is so close to \( \text{CA} \) that we can state that it is basically a Hebrew-script version of \( \text{CA} \). 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 \( \text{R} \) to \( \text{CA} \) (in Arabic script) and \( \text{Š} \) (in transcription\(^{6}\)).

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\(^{6}\) 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>ʕ</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.1.)</td>
<td>ʕ, ʕ</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>(see 5.3.(1)(2))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>alif</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ד</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.4.)</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.5.)</td>
<td>w, ww, ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ז</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.3.)</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
<td>ר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ח</td>
<td></td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ע</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ט</td>
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<td>ג</td>
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<td>ז</td>
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<td>י</td>
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### 3.1. Consonants

#### 3.1.1. R

#### 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 maqṣurah (alif / ʕā)

א has the etymological pronunciation of "we had information", "on", "to", "the religious community", "the tenth" (CA אָלִילָא, אָלִילָא, אָלִילָא) in sentences "it goes"

(2) ה marbutah (st.abs.)

א has the etymological pronunciation of "year", "year", "year" (CA אָלִילָא, אָלִילָא, אָלִילָא) in sentences "it goes"

---

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 שנה: “every three months”.

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This page contains a table with CA consonants and their English equivalents, along with linguistic notes and examples of their usage. The table includes 10 rows, each representing a different consonant, and 2 columns for the English phonetic representation and the CA equivalent. The page also contains a section titled “3.1. Consonants”, which further explains the usage of the consonants, particularly focusing on the alif maqṣurah (אלף מַכּוּרָה) and marbutah (מַרְבֻּתָה). The notes at the bottom provide additional context for understanding the usage of these consonants in various linguistic contexts.
(4) hamzah

“proprietors”, (CA) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.5c). (CA) “responsible”, (CA) “their heads”, (CA) “to”

(a) In word initial and medial position  is frequently used to indicate CA short ū.

(b) In word initial and medial position  is frequently used to indicate CA short ı.

(5) Others

CA short ə: (CA) “which”, (CA) “one day” (see 5.3.(2))

3.1.1.2. ת, ד, ר

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

(1) CA t

(a) CA t > (CA) “the fixed”, (CA) “adoption”

(b) CA t > (CA) “we confirmed”, (CA) “three”

(2) CA d

(a) CA d > (CA) “it is renewed”

(b) CA d > (CA) “the mentioned”, (CA) “that”, (CA) “if”

3.1.1.3. ל

The etymological distinction between  ט, ר are not distinguished and they are indicated with  ל.

(1) CA ל: (CA) “member”, (CA) “objections”
This form implies a CA form which is frequently attested in classical Judaeo-Arabic, but does not appear in CA.

10) CA י is in most cases transcribed as א (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 

which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with the

definite article.

(5) י”ר is used in the following cases.

(a) CA ינ-וא-ווא (CA) "first", (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) "its deputies", (CA) (CA) "the employees", (CA) (CA) "composed"

(b) CA י (CA) "for putting"

(c) CA י (CA) (CA) "first (f.)" 12) (CA) (CA) (CA) "matters" (see 3.1.1.1.(4))

3.1.1.6. י

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

(1) CA י

(CA) (CA) בישאנה (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) by
its matters", (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) therefore"

(2) CA י

(CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) in it (f.), "which"

(3) CA י

(CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) "its functions", (CA) (CA) "the community", (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) (CA) "the chief Rabbis"

(4) CA י (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

12) It is probable that this form with two waw is made by analogy from its corresponding TRJ וו"א "first (f.)".
The ending -ן appears irrespective of its case in the context. But in one case we can find -ן for CA ב-ן.

バックラジオ "these", אלולץ "the members", "scholars", אלולץ "in carrying out", "opinions" (in TRJ ad, cf. CA)

(5) נ is used in the following cases.
(a) י-ן (CA א-ן "which?", "which?", "budget", CA ב-ן "particular", (CA האברדיאני, "primarily")
(b) ה-ן (CA הרוים "institution"
(c) (CA מ-ן "hundred"

3.1.1.7. נ usually corresponds to CA נין, but there are cases where it indicates tananimal (see below 5.3.).

3.1.2. ס

3.1.2.1. א

א corresponds to the following elements.
(1) phonologically long א of TRJ (including the feminine ending -א < CA א, which alternates with -א in st.cs.).
(a) long א: בית (BAŠ "in order to", מuggestions (TRJ יניוושב-א) "it fits it (f.)", על (TRJ יל "on"
(b) the feminine ending -א (= tא marbāyah) (see 3.1.2.2.2): שרחרי (TRJ שראירה) "monthly salary",
מרא (TRJ מריאה) "time", פלמודינה (TRJ f-לאמרינה) "in the city"

(2) TRJ א

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

אנס "the people", פלאנטס "in the year", API "(rel.pron.)",
ולו (TRJ ייום) "today"

(3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA עלי (TRJ short א or zero)
3.1.2.2. h

(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 ʿa-marbaʿah (see 3.1.2.1.(1b))

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 a = א: (جيب) (CA עלאת, "it is necessary", "(rel.pron.)")

CA i = י: (CA אלאת, "(rel.pron.)")

CA u = י: (CA עלאת, "one of the both," "matters" (see 3.1.5.5c).)

13) The initial h of CA form is not reflected in TRJ, but in the written language the etymology is taken into account.
In both varieties gemination is usually expressed in the following manners:

3.3. Gemination

3.4.1. Before a noun or an adjective

3.4.1.1. R

3.2.2. Š:

In Š, too, there are some examples of the historical short vowel indicated by a mater lectionis: א NSNumber (TRJ  …  tr. m. "for him",  כל  "persons in charge", מְּכַלְּפָּר  "persons in charge", "it is nominated",  ייעור  "intended",  מַרְאֶז  "it is nominated",  הָלָּח  "for him",  כָּל  "all",  מְּכַלְּפָּר  "persons in charge".

The definite article is generally written with

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

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

For the word corresponding to CA ﷲ "direction (st.cs.)", "quality"

For the word corresponding to CA  RANGE, there are two forms; one with  for the etymological short vowel i, which appears in R  RANGE and another without  appearing in Š  RANGE. 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 ﷲ  RANGE reflects the short i of CA  RANGE, meanwhile Š form without  reflects the presumed dialectal form *l-_sibling, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find forms with mater lectionis: Annotations. It seems that in the language of Š, this word would be considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as  RANGE, i as a phonological long vowel, so that in this case  is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA  RANGE > TRJ  RANGE), 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  RANGE). However in the case of _RANGE 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: ﷲ "matters".

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

(ם)לע א  RANGE "for the period of two months",  RANGE "it goes up"
3.3. Gemination

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

(1) With repetition of two identical consonants

R: (CA בְּנֵד בְּשֹׁるので) “it possesses”, (CA בְּנֵד רְקַד) “in order that he submits”, (CA בְּנֵד לְעוֹלָה) “for the period of two months”

S: (CA ) “he believes”, (CA אַמְּתַתַּלַלְוַו) “the concerned”, (CA ) “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: (CA על הל) “at least”, (CAلا ل) “is necessary”

S: (CA ) “concerned”, (CA ) “place”, (CA ) “it is put”

3.4. Definite article

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

3.4.1. Before a noun or an adjective

3.4.1.1. R

The definite article is generally written with (CA על הל). “the law court(s) take care ...”, “among the Jewish subjects”, “the community”, “the Rabbinitical courts”, “the notification”, “these law courts”

3.4.1.2. S

The definite article tends to be written rather phonetically.

(1) Before the moon letters (א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ע, ו, י, ק, ק, ב, ד in S) it is written with (CA על הל - or -) irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

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

\(^{14}\) This takes place especially when the geminated consonant is followed by another consonant, for example (CA המְּלַקְּע) “concerned (f.)”, since in this case the geminated consonant is felt as a single consonant as if (CA המְּלַקְּע), which may be true on the phonetical point of view.

\(^{15}\) In R, (CA ל) is written as a single word.
(2) Before the sun letters (ך, צ, ר, ש, ט, ג, ד, ל, מ, נ, ר, ס, ת, י in §), -ל- is in some cases indicated and in other cases neglected.

(a) with -ל-(= נ-)

"the state", "the number"

(b) without -ל-(= נ-)

"the religion", "Italian language"

4.1. Relative pronouns

4. Morphology

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. R

(1) -ל-

(a) Before moon letters

ל_ARRAK אלאמריא "for the bank bills"

(b) Before sun letters

ל_ARRAK אלאמריא "for the subjects"

(2) -ן- אל

(a) Before moon letters

Before moon letters

ב ARRAK אלאמר "in the sciences", "in the head"

(b) Before sun letters

ב ARRAK אלאמר "for the year", "in Italian"

Note 1: Phrases beginning with -ל- אל are not attested. These are indicated as -ל- אל (cf. CA ל-).

Note 2: In R the combination -ל- אל is attested: פמי אלאמר "in the condition", "in the community"

3.4.2. ש

(1) -ל-

(a) Before moon letters

Before moon letters

ב ARRAK אלאמר "in the differences", "for the members", "and on the matters"

(b) Before sun letters

"in the sciences",
"in the head"

16) "Italian (language)" in R is "Italianiyya" [טיליאניyya].
“for the people”

(2) כ-, -า

(a) Before moon letters

“with justice”, פַּאָלְכִּיָּה “on time”, פַּאָלְכִּיָּה “in the opposition”, בַּאֲלָלֵלוֹם “in the science”, בַּאֲלָלֵלוֹם “in Arabic”

(b) Before sun letters

“on the education”, בַּאֲלָלֵלוֹם “in the payment”, בַּאֲלָלֵלוֹם “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>
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<td>m.</td>
<td>אלדיא, אלדיאֵי</td>
<td>אלדיאֵי, אלדיאֵי, אלדיאֵי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>אלדיאֵי, אלדיאֵי</td>
<td>алдий, алдий, алдий</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

If Admiral Aldie is used: “the central districts which choose its deputies...”, الְדִי “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 feminines or feminine singular is used: מִן כָּיוֹת אֶלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ אֲנִי or אֲנִי אלְדִי “from the direction where (= because) they are poor” [הַסְדִּידֵר, [הָסְדִידֵר], הָסְדִידֵר] “this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for” [אֶלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ, [אֶלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ], [אֶלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ], [אֶלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ]]

“those people who have rights” אלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ “the utensils which the sick person uses” [משָנִי].

In §, exclusively אלְדִי is used.

“the people who are Italian”, אלְדִי הַמְמַהַמ “for the members who are living in the city”, 알דאם אלימ “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: “and it is the responsible for it (f.)”, והו אראסלאה והו, והו “and he sends it (f.)”
S:.ali והו מצאלא דאצל מתאתה: והו “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.
R: “it is one of the rights of the community”, יהו מת החוקון אלفائא: יהו, יהו “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, והו תרמי אצלאי אצלאית, והו “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”
S: יהו עמלא: יהו “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.
R: והו אר אומצלאף הים אפראר אלفائא: והו “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”
S: והו (TRJ אוומא): והו ללהש אל קהמה מחקור: והו “for the people who are able”, והו קהמה מחקור והו ... “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: -וה, -וה, -וה.
There is no coherent system for the choice of these variants. It seems that -וה is the unmarked variant, and there is a tendency that after -וה or in the position of the genitive -וה is used. The use of -וה is attested only once in the text.
S: -וה “about him”, -וה אקף院副院长, “it (f.) required it (m.)”
-וה “by his frequent presence”, -וה понד תורייה -וה “the
contract of its system", by it" (but to its election", what the minister demonstrates")

between him and her

his presentation", its carrying out", it becomes for him

their number", she makes them work

their (two) works altogether", one of the two

The long $\ddot{a}$ in the first syllable is indicated with $\ddot{a}$ except for $\ddot{a}$ לולאי when 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 is not corresponding to CA, but to TRJ $\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}$ (m.sg.).

because of this", a lựač "and likewise"
5. Syntax

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

“the community ... is considered as a separate cultural body...”

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...”

5.2. Syndetic constructions

“one of them must be... “, “... it is possible for the Jewish subjects to appeal to the courts”, “after it (f.) asked the opinion of the chief Rabbi...”

In other texts published in Tripoli, the syndetic constructions are usually not used.

“they cannot stay” [וועדו]

5.3. Indication of the tanwîn -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 ∏-או.

(1) With ∏-

“usually”, “it is considered as a separate cultural body...”.

(2) With ∏-א

“one day” (see 3.1.1.1. (5)), “previously”, “he has to be a Jew”, “according to”, “yearly”, “primarily”

(3) With ∏-או

“legally”, “adoption”, “(cf. CA קדדננ’a (قانونית) אביכים) (... explains that he makes a clear request about it as long as four of the..."

5.4. Negative expressions

"... if one of them is not provided", “anyone whosoever he may be”, “... as long as four of the...”

5.4.1. R

"... it is possible for the Jewish subjects to appeal to the courts", "one of them must be... “, “... it is possible for the Jewish subjects to appeal to the courts”, “after it (f.) asked the opinion of the chief Rabbi...”

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“they cannot stay” [וועדו]

5.5. Indication of the tanwîn -an in R

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“one day” (see 3.1.1.1. (5)), “previously”, “he has to be a Jew”, “according to”, “yearly”, “primarily”

(3) With ∏-או

“legally”, “adoption”, “(cf. CA קדדננ’a (قانونית) אביכים) (... explains that he makes a clear request about it as long as four of the..."

17) In this case ∏ in 베ואר 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.

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

In other texts published in Tripoli, the syndetic constructions are usually not used.

לט is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

לט is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation.

In TRJ, as in other modern Arabic dialects, the plural ending -ן of a nomen regens is not elided before a nomen regens in the idafa construction, see Yoda, Tripoli p. 206.

لفדו in this sentence reflects עד marbrîah in st.cs., whereas עד "six" in the 5 sentence מ愠א בעפִי התש"ב לשת אשת

שחרר “a term not exceeding six months” in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form שנות שאר.
Only one example is attested with a verb in the prefix conjugation, and it does not refer to the past.

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after "למ":

they didn’t stay" [אלאגוים] "a problem which I could not suffer" [דגל]

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.

6. 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.

R: האגיגא אלאגאזייאי לסטראלבסט

the Jewish community in Tripoli

S: קה"ל יהודי טראבלס

Jewish community of Tripoli

21) "to be able" (< כם "they cannot"), although not used in TRJ (where qdr is used for this meaning), frequently appears in Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic texts.
R: "the community"
Š: "the (religious) community"

R: "the rabbinical courts"
Š: "religious court"

R: "the members of the rabbinical courts"
Š: "the Jewish judges"

R: "the chief of the Rabbis", "the greatest Rabbi"
Š: "Chief Rabbi"

R: "the Hebrew (language)"
Š: "in the Sacred language"

R: "phrase"
Š: "phrase"

R: "synagogues"
Š: "synagogues"

R: "the communal schools"
Š: "the schools of Jewish community"

R: "the good deeds"
Š: "charities"
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] in these words and Š is used respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>תגִּיון (lt. gennaio)</td>
<td>ינואר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>תגִניע (lt. marzo)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>תגִוניו (lt. giunio)</td>
<td>יוני</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>אמַגִסטו (lt. agosto)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>דָּמִיסטֵיִבר (lt. dicembre)</td>
<td>דצמבר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>גִּנִייבר (lt. Novembre)</td>
<td>נובמבר</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 'ו or למ. 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 למ 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 מאך,
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