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<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2016-03-31</td>
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Osaka University
On Two Stylistic Varieties in a Modern Judaeo-Arabic Text from Tripoli, Libya

YODA Sumikazu

トリポリ（リビア）の現代ユダヤ・アラビア語テキストに見られる２つの変種

依田純和

要旨：1917年にトリポリで「トリポリ地方のユダヤコミュニティーの地位に関する法令」と題する冊子が出版された。この冊子は２種類のユダヤ・アラビア語で書かれている。一つは古典アラビア語をほぼそのままヘブライ文字に置き換えたもの（以下R）、もう一つはトリポリのユダヤ教徒によって用いられるアラビア語・現代ユダヤ教徒方言をヘブライ文字で表記したもの（以下Š）である。条項毎にRの後にŠが続き、ŠはRの翻訳または解説という体裁である。

本論考ではこれら2つの変種についてそれぞれの正書法およびいくつかの文法項目を比較・分析し、両者の性格を明らかにする。

Keywords: Tripoli (Libya), Judaism, Arabic dialect

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 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\textsuperscript{3).}

Fig. 1

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 Judeo-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 Ministro 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: מתוריה מFramebuffer אלפתיהו מספריה בלטואית תרגולו "translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language". From this, we can discern two names of languages: הלטואית תרגולו "juridical Arabic" (in the body of the text this is replaced by רשמי "official") and תלסאן תרגולו "Tripolitanian language" (in the body of the text this is replaced byشرح "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 = רשמי
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.

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 Judaeo 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 the רשמי texts.

5) At the AIDA congress, Prof. W. Diem suggested the possibility that R is rather the translation fromشرح.
(Translation)

Chapter 28

Official - The Education committee supervises the conduct of the (Jewish) community schools and of the all Jewish schools existing in the department.

Explanation - The education commission supervises the conduct of the schools of the Talmud-Torah society and other Jewish schools existing in the areas under its supervision.

It is noteworthy that the wording of the sentences of R (א"ר = "א"ר) and ס (א"ר = "א"ר) 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 ת"א marbūnah is replaced by ב (א = st.abs.) in (ה váw) in (ן = st.cs.) in (לנִגל) and CA medial hamzah is replaced by כ in (א = st.abs.) in (לנִגל) and the CA preposition כ is abbreviated into כ (ד) and attached to the following word as כ (א"נ) כלאסמס ( pulverization). 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, ס is a variety very different from R (and CA). ס 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 Judeo-Arabic text, it naturally contains some Classical elements, too.

The remaining words are of Arabic origin, but some are pure colloquial, for example: מועט (TRJ נ腩א, cf. TUM ma'ta) "of", מ"ס Сер "seir" (cf. TUM mtkab) "schools", בֵּכֵיר תר"ש (TRJ w-bqiyyac) "and (the) rest of" (st.cs. בֵּכֵיר תר"ש) ל"ח (TRJ l-yad, cf. CA א-ל-יהד) "the Jews", א"ע (TRJ əbull) "(rel.prn.)", כהר (TRJ כהֶר) "under", מ (TRJ f-) "in", ארץ (TRJ al-raft) "lands", but others are rather Classical, which are not used...
in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: (CA) אלמגורדים, "existing", (CA) ת=zerosר תנדאר, "it observes", (CA) אלמגורדים, "existing", "its observance".

It seems that the author of the 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 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).

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6) The transcription of TRJ is based on Yoda, Tripoli with modification for the long vowels.
### 3.1. Consonants

#### 3.1.1. R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
<th>-setup</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>א (see 3.1.1.1.)</td>
<td>א, ā</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ġ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>מ</td>
<td>כ</td>
<td>כ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>ס</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>ד</td>
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<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>ה (see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
<td>д</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>ש</td>
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<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>ו (see 3.1.1.4.)</td>
<td>(h)</td>
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<td>ז</td>
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<td>ט</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>ש</td>
<td>ש</td>
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<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>י (see 3.1.1.6.)</td>
<td>y, i</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ק</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ת</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>ר</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.1. א

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

1) CA alif maqṣurah (alif / ṣāʾ)

א (אַלּ) “we had information”, אָלּ (אָלּ) “on”, אַלּ (אַלּ) “to”, אַלּ (אַלּ) “the religious community”, א–ל (א–ל) “year”, א–ל (א–ל) “the ten”

2) לֵג marbuṭah (st.ab.).

ל–ג (ל–ג) “it goes”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>R</th>
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<td>ש</td>
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<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>י (see 3.1.1.6.)</td>
<td>y, i</td>
<td>ק</td>
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<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ק</td>
<td>ת</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>ר</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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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 letters.
9) In the construct state, א changes to ע (see 3.1.1.5.) “every three months”.
In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same letters. This ligature of אטלענא (אטלענא) illustrates the sound of ला (lā) in the word "foreigners". The letter "the relatives" appears in the text.

(7) hamzah
 misconception ת (ת) as the word initial and medial position ア or א is frequently used to indicate CA short א.

(8) Others
 CA short א: (the letter CA א) "which", (the letter CA ימימה) "one day" (see 5.3.2).

3.1.1.2. ת, ד, ת

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

(1) CA ד
(a) CA ד > ת (the letter CA ת) "the fixed", (the letter CA א) "adoption"
(b) CA ד > (the letter CA ת) "we confirmed", (the letter CA ד) "three"

(2) CA ת
(a) CA ת > ד (the letter CA ת) "it is renewed"
(b) CA ת > ד (the letter CA ת) "the mentioned", (the letter CA ד) "that", (the letter CA א) "if"

3.1.1.3. לא

The etymological distinction between לא, לא, לא and the letter לא are not distinguished and they are indicated with לא.

(1) CA לא: (the letter CA לא) "member", (the letter CA לא) "objections"
2. CA

(2) CA "it (f.) is organized", קנות (Consume) CA "functions"

3.1.1.4. ה

(1) ה

which is frequently attested in classical Judaeo-Arabic, but does not appear in CA.

(2) CA ız is in most cases transcribed as ן (see 3.1.1.1.2).

10) CA ız is in most cases transcribed as ן (see 3.1.1.1.(2)).

11) Especially the feminine form of nisbah ending is indicated with two yods.
"father-in-law"

This form implies a CA form حو, which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with the definite article.

(5) ينول is used in the following cases.

(a) CA ينول "first"، 
CA iff (CA of) "its deputies", CA iff (CA of) "the employees", CA iff (CA of) "composed"

(b) CA لوز (CA of) "for putting"

(c) CA الموت (CA of) "first (f.)"12

CA شور (CA of) "matters" (see 3.1.1.1.(4))

3.1.1.6. ي

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

(1) CA لوز
CA تنتج (CA of) "elections", CA تنتج (CA of) "primarily", CA تنتج (CA of) "by its matters", CA تنتج (CA of) "therefore"

(2) CA لوز
CA تنتج (CA of) "renewal", CA تنتج (CA of) "in it (f.)", CA تنتج (CA of) "which"

(3) CA بـ لوز
CA تنتج (CA of) "the community", CA تنتج (CA of) "deputy", CA تنتج (CA of) "its functions", CA تنتج (CA of) "the chief Rabbis"

(4) CA لوز (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

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

Since CA "the members", "scholars", "opinions" in an open syllable.

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

3.1.2.2. in an open syllable.

3.2. Short vowels

Although in TRJ, upon which Š is based, h has disappeared, as a phonological entity, etymological h is

4.1.  see below 3.4.1.2. indicates the definite article

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

א correponds to CA נnin, but there are cases where it indicates tanwin -an (see below 5.3.).

3.1.2. א

3.1.2.1. א

א corresponds to the following elements.

(1) phonologically long ן of TRJ (including the feminine ending -ן < CA  ג, which alternates with -ן in st.cs.).

(a) long ן: באת (TRJ ba'at) "in order to", מערת (TRJ marbārah) "it fits it (f.)",

עלאת (TRJ 'ala') "on"

(b) the feminine ending -ן (= tān marbārah) (see 3.1.2.2.(2)): שם (TRJ šāmī'ya) "monthly salary",

מרא (TRJ marya) "time", פלדמריא (TRJ f-l-amdima) "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.).

أم (TRJ an-nas) "the people", ימלעם (TRJ f-al-ūm) "in the year", א (TRJ Allīr) "(rel.pron.)",

דר (TRJ lyōm) "today"

(3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA  alif (= TRJ short א or zero)
(TRJ keər\(^{13}\)), cf. CA אָכיָר (אָכיָר) “more”

3.1.2.2. h

(1) CA h

Although in TRJ, upon which ū is based, h has disappeared, as a phonological entity, etymological h is correctly indicated in ū.


(2) CA тэ·марбі́я (see 3.1.2.1.(1b))

CA the above mentioned period”, cf. CA the annual”, TRJ TRJ TRJ “eight years”

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

CA אָדֵד (אָדֵד “if”

3.2. Short vowels

Especially in R and rarely in ū, 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 = ā: יָבָט (CA יָבָט “it is necessary”, (CA דָּלָט (CA דָּלָט “(rel.pron.)

The cases where ā indicates CA a are relatively rare.

CA i = ī: אֵיבֵר (CA אֵיבֵר (CA אֵיבֵר “elections”, (CA בָּשָׂה (CA בָּשָׂה “primarily”, (CA אָבָט (CA אָבָט “by its matters”, (CA בָּה (CA בָּה “by it”, (CA אָלָל (CA אָלָל “the differences”, (CA לָל (CA לָל “during”

CA u = ū: רָעָה (CA רָעָה “matters” (see 3.1.5.(5c)), (CA אָדָה (CA אָדָה “one of the both”.

\(^{13}\) The initial ū of CA form is not reflected in TRJ, but in the written language the etymology is taken into account.
The definite article is generally written with
3.4.1.1. Before a noun or an adjective
The definite article is written in the following ways both in R and Š.

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

In Š, too, there are some examples of the historical short vowel indicated by a mater lectionis: 쯤, แถว
For the word corresponding to CA .DateTime, which appears in R (件事), cf. CA 件事 "quality" (CA 件事 "quality"
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 ורח "direction" and TUM ขวา "quality"
respectively, where the CA short i is realized as a long [i:].

For the word corresponding to CA 件事, there are two forms; one with ור for the etymological short
vowel i, which appears in R (件事) and another without ור appearing in Š (件). 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 ור. On the other hand, it is also
possible that these two different forms reflect the actual pronunciation; the ור of R form
件事 reflects the short i of CA 件事, meanwhile Š form without ור reflects the presumed dialectal form
件事, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find
forms with mater lectionis: 件事. It seems that in the language of Š, this word would be
considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as件事, i as a phonological long vowel, so
that in this case ור is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA
something > TRJ *something), 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 something). However in the case of 件事 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: 件事 (CA 件事 "matters"
In this case, the word is actually pronounced as件事, with a long ư 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件事.
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) “for the period of two months”
Š: “he believes”, (CA) “the concerned”

(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 consonant14.
R: “at least”, (CA) “it is necessary”
Š: “concerned”, (CA) “place”

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 (“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 (ב, ב, ג, ג, ח, ח, ד, ד, כ, כ, מ, מ, נ, נ, פ, פ, צ, צ, ק, ק, ל, ל) it is written with ל- or ל-א, irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

---

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

15) In R, CA לא is written as a single word.
(2) Before the sun letters (א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, י, ו, ז, ח, י in §), ל- is in some cases indicated and in other cases neglected.

(a) with ל- (ל- = לא-)
   - אלמלא "the religion", אלמלאי "Italian language"

(b) without ל- (ל- = לא-)
   - אתנאותיך "the certification", ואתנאותי "the notification", אתנאותי "the second", אתנאותי "the group", אתנאותי "the state", ואתנאותי "the number"

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. R

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters
   - לאלמאִייא, לאלמאִיליאא "for the bank bills"

(b) Before sun letters
   - לאלמאִייא, לאלמאִיליאא "for the head", לאלמאִייא, לאלמאִיליאא "for the subjects"

(2) לא-ןז

(a) Before moon letters
   - לאםלפֶּל, לאםלפֶל "in the sciences", לאםלפֶל "for the bank bills"

(b) Before sun letters
   - לאםלפֶל, לאםלפֶל "for the head", לאםלפֶל, לאםלפֶל "for the subjects"

Note 1: Phrases beginning with לא-ל, לא-ל are not attested. These are indicated as לא-ל (ל- הפרعين אָלֶל). (cf. CA l-)

Note 2: In R the combination לא-ל is attested: לא-ל לע "then in the condition", לא-ל לע "in the community"

3.4.2.2. ש

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters
   - לפללפאֶל, לפללפאֶל "in the differences", לפללפאֶל "for the members", לפללפאֶל "and on the matters"

(b) Before sun letters

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

(2) -א-,

(a) Before moon letters

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

(b) Before sun letters

“on the education”, “in the payment”, “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>אַלְדִּי</td>
<td>אלַדִּי, אלַדִּי, אַלְדִּי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>אַלְדִּי</td>
<td>אלַדִּי, אלַדִּי</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

פִּי אַלְדִּי אֶלֶף אָגוּרָם אַלְדִּי "the central districts which choose its deputies... “)

אלַדִּי פַּרְגּוּ מִן אֲמֵרוּת מַלְכָּבָה "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 or אַלְדִּי or is used: “from the direction where (= because) they are poor” [הדמץ] [ה_>מד<ית|<ים,] [ה>מד<ית|<ים] "this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for" [ם] [ם] [ם] [ם] "those people who have rights" [שם] [שם] [שם] [שם] “the utensils which the sick person uses” [ם] [ם] [ם] [ם].

In §, exclusively אַלְדִּי is used.

אַלְדִּי אֶלֶף אָגוּרָם אַלְדִּי "the people who are Italian", אַלְדִּי אֶלֶף אָגוּרָם אַלְדִּי "for the members who are living in the city", אַלְדִּי אֶלֶף אָגוּרָם אַלְדִּי "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: हוה אונמהל דעיה ר: “and it is the responsible for it (f.)”, “and he sends it (f.)”
Ś: אלה והוה ממאלאל דאצלה מתאצלה: “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.
R: והיה מק תחאנים שליה והיה “it is one of the rights of the community”, “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”
Ś: והיה משלמה: “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.
R: והם בעבר חא nuova את האבר והאבר “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”
Ś: והם האבר עמה (/ TRJ א[{m]ה): “for the people who are able”, מתאצרכל לקרוול “הלשט עליום והם מתאצרכל והם ... “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: והיה חד-והיה.
There is no coherent system for the choice of these variants. It seems that והיה is the unmarked variant, and there is a tendency that after והיה or in the position of the genitive והיה is used. The use of -והיה is attested only once in the text.

והיה “about him”, אקקקקוקק “it (f.) required it (m.)”
והיה “by his frequent presence”, תקקקקקק “it (f.) requires it (m.)”, עקוד נאמה, “the
contract of its system”, “by it” (but נא העיר “to its election”, “what the minister demonstrates”)

between him and her

his presentation”, “by him”, “its carrying out”, “it becomes for him”

in the first syllable is indicated with א except for היא and האד אלאי as in CA, but אלאי 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 היא is not corresponding to CA but to TRJ אדה (m.sg.).

because of this”, רעך “and likewise”

their rights”, ציון “their function”

their number”, מנה “she makes them work”

in them”, פנה “he saw them”

one of the two”

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

4.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns

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

הומא, האדא “that” (m.f.), אדה, האדא “these”, האדא “those”,

It seems that האדא is not corresponding to CA but to TRJ אדה (m.sg.).
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.

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 ʼalif as in CA, but phonetically with ʼ-א or ʼ-א א.

(1) With ʼ-

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

(2) With ʼ-

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

(3) With ʼ

“legally”, “adoption” (cf. CA בְּלֶגֶּל ()((((CA) "legally") (CA) "adoption"”), "approximately")

17 In this case ʼא in ʼאvenues indicates the etymological ʼalif 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) לִיס

לִיס 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.)."

לִיסְהֶמֶרֶד (1) "the candidates of the centre cannot vote..."

(2) לַמָּה

לַמָּה is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

"and if one of them is not provided sufficiently...", "as long as four of the members do not attend it (f.)"

(3) לָא

לָא 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. Š

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

(1) לְמָה

18) 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 التاء المربعة in st.cs., whereas ست "six" in the Š sentence مدآ لم تفتم ست. "a term not exceeding six months" in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form סֵאֶה שֶׁאֵר. 
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 the communal schools

they didn’t stay” [אלאגוים] “a problem which I could not suffer”

“and the communal schools

cf. CA

synagogues

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.

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6. Vocabulary

6.1. 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: אטליאןיא “the Jewish community in Tripoli”, אטליאניםיא בטרפאל “the Jewish followers in Tripoli”

Š: קוקל רוד טראבלס “Jewish community of Tripoli”

(2) Me ... ש(3)

is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation. This is a pure dialectal way of the negation.

“but Italian law does not oblige them”, “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”

(3)

is used with non-verbal elements (including participles).

“and it is not less than forty eight hours”, “all expenses which do not accrue to the council”,

“ant they are not registered in the list of poor people”,

“and they who were not born in the district of Tripoli”,

“and every payer who is not satisfied with the sum”,

“an unrestricted term”

21) “to be able” (< כמ “they cannot”), although not used in TRJ (where qdar is used for this meaning), frequently appears in Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic texts.
6.1. Hebrew words

who were not born in the district of Tripoli”,
“and they are not registered in the list of poor people”

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

Note that in order to indicate Italian [f] sounds, the consonant /ṣ/ is translated into theFrozen characters: ”גםגאש (It. gennaio)

and every payer who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges…”
“they didn’t stay”

the schools of Jewish community

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

(cf. CA (الصلاةات) is attested in many Arabic dialects of Jews: TRJ اسْلَمَاءَة.

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

In Š, a term not exceeding six months”

and the members cannot participate…”,

which I could not suffer”

an example is attested with a verb in the prefix conjugation, and it does not refer to the past.

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

and every payer who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges…”
“they didn’t stay”

but Italian law does not oblige them”

or are often indicated by duplication of a consonant letter. The definite article as in CA is constantly

except for November

and it is not less than forty eight hours”,

the charity committee

the charity commission

the greatest Rabbi”

“Chief Rabbi”

the (religious) community”

the Jewish community in Tripoli”,

the Jewish judges”

the schools of Jewish community

the greatest Rabbi”

the members of the rabbinical courts”

and they are not registered in the list of poor people”,

the school in Tripoli

the members of the rabbinical courts”

the members of the rabbinical courts”

the Jewish judges”

the Jewish community in Tripoli”,

the greatest Rabbi”

the members of the rabbinical courts”

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R: **אלמקאבר** “the cemetery”

Š: **בית הquisar** “the cemetery”

R: **עלמאו אילודר** “the scholars of Jews”

Š: **רבי Rabbi** “Rabbi”

R: **אלמה אלפניריא** “the charity committee”

Š: **כומסיו אצדקט “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] are used respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>תגִוניו</td>
<td>נטגior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>מארצו</td>
<td>טנגי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun</td>
<td>מארצו</td>
<td>טגינאי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug</td>
<td>אמסטו</td>
<td>דסמר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec</td>
<td>דימישרבֶר</td>
<td>נומבר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov</td>
<td>דימישרבֶר</td>
<td>נומבר</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 regularly denoted by או. 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 לא 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 מָהוֹת or מְפִתָל, Hebrew words are abundantly used.

References