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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 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).

\textbf{Fig. 1}

\textsuperscript{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.

\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 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: "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 חברת יהודים בטריפולי, i.e. “translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language”. From this, we can discern two names of languages: אלפוקהי אטליאני "juristic Arabic" (in the body of the text this is replaced by רסמית "official") and תלסאן טראבלסית "Tripolitanian language" (in the body of the text this is replaced byشرח "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
 SHR =شرח
TRJ = Jewish dialect of Tripoli
TUM = Muslim dialect of Tunis
V = any vowel

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

4) Traditionally the term SHR is usually used to indicate a genre of literal translation of Jewish religious sacred texts from Hebrew into Judaeo-Arabic (see Hary, Egyptian J udeo Arabic pp. 216 ff.). The traditional SHR genre is in fact not a translation, but rather a replacement of the original Hebrew words by corresponding Arabic words. Therefore the sentences of SHR texts are sometimes ungrammatical (see Hary, Sociolinguistic Setting pp. 82 ff.). In this respect, the of this text does not function as in the traditional way, but is a real translation of the texts.

5) At the AIDA congress, Prof. W. Diem suggested the possibility that R is rather the translation from SHR.
(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 (= רסמי) and Š (= שרה) 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 tāʾ marbūṭah is replaced by ְת (ְת = st.cs.) in (the) (CA) and CA medial hamzah is replaced by ְת in (the) (CA), and the CA preposition in is abbreviated into ְת (ְת) and attached to the following word as ( váq'ah). 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. The Hebrew expression meaning “a society for Talmudic education”. The remaining words are of Arabic origin, but some are pure colloquial, for example: מנה (TRJ nəḥāʾ, cf. TUM mtāʾ) “of”, סירה (TRJ yāḥaḏ “schools”, בקיסת (TRJ w-bqāyat) “and (the) rest of (st.cs.) and Arabic "commission" or French “commission”, and skaṭ (TRJ 28) “under”, of (TRJ f-) “in”, ארץ (TRJ aṭrāʾ) “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used.
in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: (CA “it observes”, CA للموجودين “existing”, CA “its observance”.

It seems that the author of the Ṣ 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 לִיָּם 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 transcription).

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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>§</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>CA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.1.)</td>
<td>a, ʾ</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>خ</td>
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<td>נ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ד</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.2.)</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>כ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>(see 3.1.1.4.)</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>פ</td>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>w, ww, ū</td>
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<td>כ</td>
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3.1 Consonants
3.1.1 R
3.1.1.1 א

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

1. CA ʾalif maqṣūrah (ʾalif / yāʾ)

אCA "we had information", (على CA "on", (CA אנדשות, see 5.3.) but there "it goes"

2. ת marbūyah (st.abs.,)

אCA "the religious community", (CA יאשרא, "year", (CA عشرة, "ten"

7. This ligature of א and ה 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, ʾ changes to ת "every three months".
8) In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same letters.

7) This ligature of אטלענא in word initial and medial position is frequently used to indicate CA short šū "foreigners", (אלוֹאְכְּרְבֶּא “relatives”, CA "the relatives"

4) hamzah

CA "proprietors", (CA (alif) "matters" (CA (matmāl) "responsible", (CA (rūsūm) "their heads", (CA (alilā) "to"

(a) In word initial and medial position אֵו is frequently used to indicate CA short šū (CA (alilā) "origins", (CA "responsible"

(b) In word initial and medial position אֵו is frequently used to indicate CA short šū (CA (alilā) "erection", (CA (alilā) except", (CA (alilā) "Rabbi", (CA (alilā) "to it", (CA (alilā) "when"

5) Others

CA short a: (CA (alilā) "which", (CA (alilā) "one day" (CA (alilā) "one day" (CA (alilā) "one day"

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

1) CA t

(a) CA t > ת "the fixed", (CA "adoption"

(b) CA t > ת "we confirmed", (CA "three"

2) CA d

(a) CA d > ד “it is renewed”

(b) CA d > ד "the mentioned", (CA "that", (CA "if"

3.1.1.3. The etymological distinction between א and א are not distinguished and they are indicated with א.

1) CA א "member", (CA "objections"
3.1.1.4. ה

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

3.1.1.5. ג

This form implies a CA form 加快建设 which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with CA *

10) CA  ה 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 جوّّ which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with the definite article.

(5) جوّ is used in the following cases.

(a) CA ـ٧٥ يعـ (first, CA “its deputies”, CA “the employees”, CA “composed"

(b) CA | لا ع (indicating short i and long i), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA ـ يعـ (first (f.), CA “elections”, CA “primarily”, CA “by its matters”, CA “by it”, CA “therefore"

(2) CA ـ يعـ (first (f.), CA “renewal”, CA “in it (f.)”, CA “which"

(3) CA ـ يعـ (first (f.), CA “the community”, CA “deputy”, CA “its functions”, CA “the chief Rabbis"

(4) CA ـ يعـ (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

12) It is probable that this form with two waw is made by analogy from its corresponding TRJ لـوا first (f.).
The ending -א is used in the following cases.
(a) -yy: ייי in English “which?”
(b) -א: א in CA “which?”
(c) -א: א in English “budget”

3.1.2.6

This is the case when -א indicates the definite article (see below 3.1.2.7.) or the relative pronoun (see 4.1.).

At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA "alif (= TRJ short " 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 tāʾ-marbūṭah (see 3.1.2.1.(1b))

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

(3) CA ā 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 a = א: יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”

CA i = א: יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָาָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”

The cases where א indicates CA a are relatively rare.

CA u = א: יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”

CA ū = א: יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”, יָאָב (יָאָב) “it is necessary”

3) The initial a 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

these law courts

the Rabbinical courts

The definite article is generally written with

3.4.1. 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,

In this case, the word is actually pronounced as \( \text{ṭēlē} \), which appears in R (CA ʕāthān), where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find forms with mater lectionis: אנטילאה, אנטילאהיכ. It seems that in the language of Š, this word would be considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as antixāb, i as a phonological long vowel, so that in this case ד is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA īntixāb > TRJ *nēxāb), 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 nēxāb). However in the case of י for Š 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: אומור (CA א圍ר “matters”.

In this case, the word is actually pronounced as āmār, with a long ā in both syllables. This is the reflection of the actual pronunciation, namely in TRJ the historical short ū of the first syllable has been lengthened and became āmār.
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 "in order that he submits" (CA "for the period of two months"

Š: "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"

Š: "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 אל (א-ל). "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, קר, כ, ל, מ, נ, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, י, קר, כ, ל, מ, נ in Š) it is written with ה- or ל- in R, "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 המִּדַּקְלַע "concerned (f.)", since in this case the geminated consonant is felt as a single consonant if המִדַּקְלַע, which may be true on the phonetical point of view.

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

(a) with ל- (א-)
- "the religion", "Italian language"

(b) without ל- (א-)
- "the certification", "the notification", "the second", "the group", "the state", "the number"

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. R

(1) ל-

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

(b) Before sun letters
- "for the head", "for the subjects" (CA לַלַתְבָּנָתָה (C) "for the subjects")

(2) לא

(a) Before moon letters
- "before the term", "in the council", "in the article"

(b) Before sun letters
- "in the year", "in Italian"

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

Note 2: In R the combination כא is attested: פִּפּיָּה אַלַּה "then in the condition", "in the community"

3.4.2.5

(1) ל-

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

(b) Before sun letters

---

16) "Italian (language) in R is šתאנתיו trope [štašaniyya]."
“for the people”

2. -א-י
(a) Before moon letters
   "with justice",  "on time",  "in the opposition",  "in A rabic"
(b) Before sun letters
   "on the education",  "in the payment",  "in the head"

4. Morphology
4.1. Relative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>pl.</th>
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<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>אלרי</td>
<td>אל라도, אל라도, אל라도</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>אל라도, אל라도, אל라도</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

פ אמאן אעףיא "the central districts which choose its deputies... “, או אל라도 פאר דו מאכלה "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 "from the direction where (= because) they are poor" [ה DataTypes [אﻹفارات], [אﻹفارات]] "this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for" [אﻹفارات] "those people who have rights" [אﻹفارات]

In §, exclusively "the people who are Italian", "for the members who are living in the city", "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: והו אררטלאת "and it is the responsible for it (f.)", והו אררטלאת "and he sends it (f.)"

Ŝ: "he who still is included among them"

(2) 3.f.sg.
R: והיה מה חטאת או זחביה "it is one of the rights of the community", והיה מה חטאת או זחביה "it (f.) is what it (m.) needs", והיה מה חטאת או זחביה "and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes"

Ŝ: "it (f.) is known"

(3) 3.pl.
R: והם אר ארמרא בה ארמרא א Harold: והם "the persons in charge are individuals of the community"

Ŝ: (TRJ ḳemma): והם לכולל אלה_hero מכתבזר "for the people who are able", והם לכולל אלה Hero מכתבזר ... "the expenses of the community are ..."

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: והו, והו והו, "about him", והו אררטלאת "it (f.) required it (m.)" והו אררטלאת "by his frequent presence", והו אררטלאת "it (f.) requires it (m.)"
contract of its system”, "by it” (but זה娱乐场 גלעטמאב, “to its election”, “what the minister demonstrates”)

“between him and her”

R: 3.sg.

(2) הבנו
reward, 3.m.sg.

after it, 3.du.

(3) הבנו
reward, 3.pl.

4.2. Pronouns

In the following only the pronouns of 3rd person are shown. Because of the nature of the text, no

TRJ ענהו, this is used. The use of

the expenses of the community are …”

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

It seems that זה娱乐场 is not corresponding to CA, but to TRJ əד ə (m.sg.).

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

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

Among the members of the community, among the employees, among the Jewish subjects, it is permissible to appeal to the courts, and the meeting should be held within a week, the model of the budget should be presented, the community is considered as a separate cultural body...

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

5.2. Syndetic constructions

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 alif as in CA, but phonetically with -א or -ן.

(1) With -ן

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

(2) With -ן

one day, previously, he has to be a Jew, according to, yearly, primarily

(3) With -ן

legally, adoption, cf. CA קודזָלָּמָא קַלָּפָא (Qaddos Klomeh Kafaf) (חתימה אָדָא) (CA חתימה אדאה, אדאה) (CA חתימה אדאה, אדאה)

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17) In this case א in בְּנָא 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) לי is used to negate verbless sentence. In R it may be inflected.

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

(2) זמ 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) אלה 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) למ is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation.

למ הוא לבלאא仪יא או חזרה אלמתאפרא "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"

18) Throughout the text, the negation of verbs on the suffix conjugation is not attested.

19) In TR, 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.

20) "six” in this sentence reflects סא"מש in st.cs., whereas סא"מש in the Š sentence. a term not exceeding six months” in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form סא"מש.
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 ל: "they didn’t stay" [ארזיניסך] and "a problem which I could not suffer"

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.

21) "to be able" (< כם "they cannot"), although not used in TRJ (where qadar 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 [ʧ] and [ʤ] and [ת] and [ת] are used respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>תגִוניו (It. gennaio)</td>
<td>וינאיר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>מארצו (It. marzo)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>מזוניו (It. giugno)</td>
<td>יוני</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>אומסטו (It. agosto)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>דיניטימבררי (It. dicembre)</td>
<td>דיסمبر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>נומבררי (It. 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 א or אל. 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 ירייא 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 ב,
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