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On Two Stylistic Varieties in a Modern Judaeo-Arabic Text from Tripoli, Libya¹⁾

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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

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

Modern Judeo-Arabic (twentieth century)²⁾.

In the early and especially classical periods, Judeo-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 properly³⁾.



Fig. 1

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- 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.
- 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: קואעד לאגיל מועאמלאת קהל ישראל אלסאכנין פי עמאלת טראבלס “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: מתרגים מן אטליאן בלערבי אלפקהי ומשרוח בלסאן טראבלסי i.e. “translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language”. From this, we can discern two names of languages: (א)לערבי אלפקהי “juristic Arabic” (in the body of the text this is replaced by רסמי “official”) and לסאן טראבלסי “Tripolitanian language” (in the body of the text this is replaced by שרח “explanation”⁴).

The aim of this paper is to describe the grammatical characteristics of these two varieties comparing the textual difference between them⁵.

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic

R = רסמי

st.abs. = status absolutus

st.cs. = status constructus

Š = שרח

TRJ = Jewish dialect of Tripoli

TUM = Muslim dialect of Tunis

V = any vowel

2. Two varieties (R and Š)

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

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

5) At the AIDA congress, Prof. W. Diem suggested the possibility that R is rather the translation from Š.

אלפצל 28

רסמי – תראקב לגנת אתעלים סיר אלמדארס אטאיפיא וגמיע מדארס איהוד אכאינא פֿאקסם.
 שרח – אכומסיון מתע אתעלים תנצֿר פֿוק סירת מכאתב חברת תלמוד תורה ובקיית מכאתב ליהוד
 אמוגודין פֿאאראצֿי אי תחת נצֿרהא.

(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 (= שרח) 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: رسمي – تراقب لجنـة التعليم سـير المدارس الطائـفـيـة وجميع مدارس اليهود الكائـنـة فـالـقـسـم.

Here CA *tā' marbūṭah* is replaced by ת (= st.cs.) in לגנת (لجنـة) or א (= st.abs.) in אטאיפיא (الطائـفـيـة) and אכאינא (الكائـنـة), CA medial *hamzah* is replaced by ם in אטאיפיא (الطائـفـيـة) and אכאינא (الكائـنـة), and the CA preposition *فـي* is abbreviated into פֿ (فـ) and attached to the following word as פֿאקסם (فـالـقـسـم). 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. אכומסיון is Italian “commissione” or French “commission”, and חברת תלמוד תורה is of course a Hebrew expression meaning “a society for Talmudic education”. The remaining words are of Arabic origin, but some are pure colloquial, for example: מתע (TRJ *nčāc*, cf. TUM *mtāc*) “of”, סירת “conduct (st.cs. < סירה)”, מכאתב (cf. TUM *mkātib*) “schools”, ובקיית (TRJ *w-bqīyāč*) “and (the) rest (of) (st.cs. < בקייה)”, ליהוד (TRJ *l-yūd*, cf. CA *al-yahūd*) “the Jews”, אי (TRJ *əlli*) “(rel.pron.)”, תחת (TRJ *čəḥč*) “under”, פֿ (TRJ *f-*) “in”, אראצֿי (TRJ *aṛaḍi*) “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used

in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: תנצֵר (CA تنظر) “it observes”, אמוגודין (CA الموجودين) “existing”, נצֵרהא (CA نظرها) “its observance”.

It seems that the author of the רסמי 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 לִיס etc. In this regard, the language of R occupies a special place, since it is, as mentioned above, based on CA, although with many orthographic and syntactic deviations. In the following, I am going to show some peculiarities of these two varieties.

3. Orthography

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

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

R	CA	Š	R	CA	Š
א	ء، ة، ي، ا (see 3.1.1.1.)	<i>a, ā</i>	ח	خ	<i>x</i>
א ⁷⁾	ال	<i>al</i>	ל	ل	<i>l</i>
ב	ב	<i>b</i>	מ	م	<i>m</i>
ג	ج	<i>ž</i>	נ	ن (see 5.3.(1)(2))	<i>n</i>
ד	غ	<i>ġ</i>	ס	س	<i>s</i>
ד	ذ، د (see 3.1.1.2.)	<i>d</i>	ע	ع	<i>ʿ</i>
ה	ة، ه (see 3.1.1.4.)	<i>(h)</i>	פ	ف	<i>f</i>
ו	u etc. (see 3.1.1.5.)	<i>w, ww, ū</i>	צ	ص	<i>ṣ</i>
ז	ز	<i>z</i>	ק	ظ، ض (see 3.1.1.3.)	<i>ḍ</i>
ח	ح	<i>ḥ</i>	ר	ق	<i>q</i>
ט	ط	<i>ṭ</i>	ש	ر	<i>r</i>
י	i etc. (see 3.1.1.6.)	<i>y, ī</i>	ת	ش	<i>š</i>
כ	ك	<i>k</i>		ث، ت (see 3.1.1.2.)	<i>ṯ</i>

3.1. Consonants

3.1.1. R

3.1.1.1. א

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

(1) CA *ʿalif maqṣūrah* (*ʿalif / yāʿ*)

אטלענא (CA طلعنا) “we had information”, עלא (CA على) “on”, אילא (CA إلى) “to”, יתמשש⁸⁾ (CA يتمشى) “it goes”

(2) *tāʾ marbūṭah* (st.abs.)⁹⁾

אטאילפא (CA الطائفة) “the religious community”, סנא (CA سنة) “year”, עשרא (CA عشرة) “ten”

7) This ligature of א and ל is used not only for the definite article but in any other cases.

8) In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same letters.

9) In the construct state, ט changes to ת: כל תלתת אשהר “every three months”.

(3) *ʕ* (ʕalif mamdūdah) (see 3.1.1.6.(4))

גֻּרְבָּא (CA) “foreigners”, אֶלְאֻקְרְבָּא (CA) “the relatives” (الأقرباء)

(4) *hamzah*

מִסְאֻל (CA) “responsible”, שׁוּאֻן (CA) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c)), אֻלְיָא (CA) “proprietors”, אֵלִי (CA) “to”, רְאֻסְהֵם (CA) “their heads”, אִיקְאֻמַּת (CA) “erection”, אִידָא (CA) “when” (إذا)

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

אֻצֻל (CA) “origins”, שׁוּאֻן (CA) “matters” (شؤون)

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

אִיקְאֻמַּת (CA) “erection”, אִלְלָא (CA) “except”, אִמָּא (CA) “Rabbi”, אִילִיָּה (CA) “to it”, אִידָא (CA) “when” (إذا)

(5) Others

CA short *a*: אֶלְאֻדִין (CA) “which” (الذين), יוֹמָא (CA) “one day” (see 5.3.(2))

3.1.1.2. ת, ד

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

(1) CA *t*

(a) CA *t* > ת: אֶתְאֻבְתָּא (CA) “the fixed”, אֶתְאֻזָּא (CA) “adoption” (اتخاذ)

(b) CA *t* > ת: אֶתְאֻבְתָּא (CA) “we confirmed”, תֻּלַּת (CA) “three” (ثلاث)

(2) CA *d*

(a) CA *d* > ד: יֶתְגֻדֵּד (CA) “it is renewed” (يتجدد)

(b) CA *d* > ד: אֶמְדֻכֹּר (CA) “the mentioned”, דֶּאֻלֵּךְ (CA) “that”, אִידָא (CA) “if” (إذا)

3.1.1.3. ז

The etymological distinction between *z*, *ḏ* are not distinguished and they are indicated with *z*.

(1) CA *z* > ז: אֶמְצֻר (CA) “member”, אֶעְתִּירָאֻזָּא (CA) “objections” (اعتراضات)

(2) CA وظائف (CA וְצִאִיף, “functions”, it (f.) is organized (CA تنظّم) תַּנְתַּצִּים: > ط CA (2)

3.1.1.4. ה

ה corresponds to CA *hāʾ* and to CA *tāʾ marbūṭah* (in st.abs.).

(1) *h*

וגוה (CA وجوه) “faces”

(2) *tāʾ marbūṭah*¹⁰

עשרה (CA الطائفة) “the religious community”, אטאיפה (CA إسرائيلية) “Jewish (f.)”, אסראילייה (CA) “ten”, (CA عشرة) “language” (CA لغة) לוֹגָה, “ten” (CA) “faces” (CA وجوه)

3.1.1.5. ו

ו usually corresponds to CA *wāw* (indicating short *u* and long *ū*), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA *u*

אחדהומא (CA أحدهما) “one of the two”, מוראגעת (CA مراجعة (st.cs.)) “revision”, מוראד (CA مراد) “intended”, יועיין (CA يُعَيَّن) “it is nominated”, כול (CA كل) “all”, מוכלִיין (CA مكلفين) “persons in charge”, תצעהו (CA تَضَعُهُ) “it (f.) puts it (m.)”

(2) CA *ū*

אוצול (CA أصول) “origins”, חקוקהם (CA حقوقهم) “their rights”

(3) لاء (see 3.1.1.6.(4))

אסמאזהם (CA أسماؤهم) “their names”

(4) Other cases

בדו (بدو* < cf. CA بدء) “beginning”

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

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

¹¹) Especially the feminine form of *nisbah* ending is indicated with two *yods*.

אלחמו (CA ^{١٢}الحمو, cf. ^{١٣}الحم) “father-in-law”

This form implies a CA form ^{١٤}حمو, which is in fact the form used in the construct state, but not with the definite article.

(5) ^{١٥}ו is used in the following cases.

(a) CA ^{١٦}-ww-, ^{١٧}-uw-, ^{١٨}-u^oV-

מווללף, “the employees”, (CA ^{١٩}موظفين) מוולצפין, “its deputies”, (CA ^{٢٠}نوابها) נוואבהא, “first”, (CA ^{٢١}أول) אורל (CA ^{٢٢}مؤلف) “composed”

(b) CA ^{٢٣}w

לווצע “for putting” (CA ^{٢٤}لوضع)

(c) CA ^{٢٥}ī

אאוולא “first (f.)”¹² (CA ^{٢٦}الأولى)

שוון “matters” (CA ^{٢٧}شؤون) (see 3.1.1.1.(4))

3.1.1.6. ^{٢٨}י

^{٢٩}י usually corresponds to CA ^{٣٠}yā^o (indicating short *i* and long *ī*), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA ^{٣١}i

בישווונה (CA ^{٣٢}بشؤونه) “by its matters”, (CA ^{٣٣}لنا) לידא, “by it”, (CA ^{٣٤}به) ביה, “therefore” (CA ^{٣٥}ابتدائيا) אבתידיאייאן, “elections”, (CA ^{٣٦}انتخابات) אנטילכאבאט

(2) CA ^{٣٧}ī

אלאדין (CA ^{٣٨}الذين) “which”, (CA ^{٣٩}فيها) פיהא, “in it (f.)”, (CA ^{٤٠}تجديد) תגדיד “renewal”, (CA ^{٤١}نائب) נאיב, “the community”, (CA ^{٤٢}الطائفة) אטאיפא, “its functions”, (CA ^{٤٣}وظائفها) וצאיפאה, “the chief Rabbis” (CA ^{٤٤}أئمة اليهود) אימת אליהוד

(3) CA ^{٤٥}ʿ

אטאיפא, “the community”, (CA ^{٤٦}نائب) נאיב, “deputy”, (CA ^{٤٧}وظائفها) וצאיפאה, “the chief Rabbis” (CA ^{٤٨}أئمة اليهود) אימת אליהוד

(4) CA ^{٤٩}ل (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

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

The ending **א־** corresponding to CA **ـ** appears irrespective of its case in the context. But in one case we can find **או־** for CA **ـ**.

באגראי (CA **علماء**) “scholars”, **עלמאי** (CA **الأعضاء**) “the members”, **אאעצאי** (CA **هؤلاء**) “these”, **הולאי** (CA **آراء**) “opinions”, **אראי** (CA **بإجراء**) “in carrying out”

(5) **יי** is used in the following cases.

- (a) **מעיינא** (CA **ميزانية**) “budget”, **מיזאנייא** (CA **أيّ**) “which?”, **איינ** (CA **أياً**) “which?”, **איי** (CA **yy-**) “particular”, **אבתידייאן** (CA **ابتدائياً**) “primarily”
 (b) **הייה** (CA **هيئة**) “institution”
 (c) **מייא** (CA **مئة**) “hundred”

3.1.1.7. נ

נ usually corresponds to CA *nūn*, but there are cases where it indicates *tanwīn -an* (see below 5.3.).

3.1.2. Š

3.1.2.1. א

א corresponds to the following elements.

- (1) phonologically long *ā* of TRJ (including the feminine ending *-a* < CA **ـ**, which alternates with *-əč* in st.cs.).

- (a) long *ā*: **באש** (TRJ *bāš*) “in order to”, **מעא** (TRJ *mā*) “with”, **ינאסבהא** (TRJ *ynāsab-ā*) “it fits it (f.)”, **עלא** (TRJ *ʿlā*) “on”
 (b) the feminine ending *-a* (= *tāʾ marbūṭah*) (see 3.1.2.2.(2)): **שהרייא** (TRJ *šārīya*) “monthly salary”, **מררא** (TRJ *mārṛa*) “time”, **פֿלמדינא** (TRJ *f-l-əmdīna*) “in the city”

(2) TRJ *ə*

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

אנאס (TRJ *an-nas*) “the people”, **פֿאלעאם** (TRJ *f-əl-ām*) “in the year”, **אלי** (TRJ *əllī*) “(rel.pron.)”, **אליום** (TRJ *lyūm*) “today”

- (3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA *ʾalif* (= TRJ short *ə* or *zero*)

אכתר (TRJ *kčər*¹³), cf. CA (أكثر) “more”

3.1.2.2. ה

(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.

האד (TRJ *ad*, cf. CA هذا) “this”, ראהום (TRJ *raəm*, cf. CA رآهم) “he saw them”, ביהם (TRJ *biəm*, cf. CA بهم) “by them”, שחר (TRJ *šərr*, cf. CA شهر) “month”, מעאד (cf. CA معاهد) “institutions”, תעטיה (TRJ *čəṭī*, cf. CA تعطيه) “it (f.) gives him”, תנביה (cf. CA تنبيه) “notice”

(2) CA *tāʾ marbūṭah* (see 3.1.2.1.(1b))

למדדה למדכורה (cf. CA المدة المذكورة) “the above mentioned period”, אסנוייה (cf. CA السنوية) “the annual”, תמנייה איימ (TRJ *čmānyā yyām*, cf. CA ثمانية أيام) “eight years”

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

אידה (cf. CA إذا) “if”

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: יאגב (CA يجب) “it is necessary”, אלאדין (CA الذين) “(rel.pron.)”, אלאתי (CA التي) “(rel.pron.)”

The cases where א indicates CA *a* are relatively rare.

CA *i* = י: R: אנתילאבאת (CA انتخابات) “elections”, אבתידאייאן (CA ابتدائياً) “primarily”, בישוואונה (CA بيشوونه) “by its matters”, ביה (CA به) “by it”, אכילאפאת (CA الخلافات) “the differences”, זילאל (CA خلال) “during”

CA *u* = ו: R: שואון (CA شؤون) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c)), אחדהומא (CA أحدهما) “one of the both”,

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

מוראגעת (CA مراجعة (st.cs.)) “revision”, מוראד (CA مراد) “intended”, יועיין (CA يُعَيِّن) “it is nominated”, להו (CA له) “for him”, כול (CA كل) “all”, מוכלפין (CA مكلفين) “persons in charge”, תצעהו (CA تضعه) “it (f.) puts it (m.)”

3.2.2. Š

טלאע (TRJ *tləʿ*, cf. CA: طلع) “it goes up”

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

גיהת (CA جهة) “direction (st.cs.)”, ציפת (CA صفة) “quality”

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

For the word corresponding to CA الخلافات, there are two forms; one with ʾ for the etymological short vowel *i*, which appears in R (אַלִּילאַפּאַת) and another without ʾ appearing in Š (פֿלכֿלאפּאַת). 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 ʾ. On the other hand, it is also possible that these two different forms reflect the actual pronunciation; the ʾ of R form אַלִּילאַפּאַת reflects the short *i* of CA *ʾal-xilāfāt*, meanwhile Š form without ʾ reflects the presumed dialectal form **l-əxlāfāč*, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find forms with *mater lectionis*: אַנטִיכאַב. It seems that in the language of Š, this word would be considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as *əntixāb*, *i* as a phonological long vowel, so that in this case ʾ is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA *ʾintixāb* > TRJ **nčxāb*), 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 *nčīxāb*). However in the case of כול, ʾ 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*: אומור (CA أمور) “matters”.

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

3.3. Gemination

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

(1) With repetition of two identical consonants

R: במדדת שהרין (CA ليقدّم) “in order that he submits”, תתוללא (CA تتولّى) “it possesses”, תתוללא (CA تتولّى) “for the period of two months”

Š: חטטו (CA حطّوا) “they put”, אמתעללק (CA المتعلّق) “the concerned”, יצדדק (CA يصدّق) “he believes”

(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: עלא אאקל (CA على الأقل) “at least”, לא בד (CA لا بد) “(it is) necessary”

Š: מתעלקא (CA متعلّقة) “concerned”, מכל (CA محلّ) “place”, ינחט (CA ينحطّ) “it is put”

3.4. Definite article

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

3.4.1. Before a noun or an adjective

3.4.1.1. R

The definite article is generally written with א- (א-).

among the Jewish subjects”, בין אתבעא אאסראילינא “the law court(s) take care ...”, תתוללא אלמחאכס “the Rabbinical courts”, אלמחאכס אלרבאנינא “the community”, אלטאיפא “the notification”, אתבליג, האד אאמחאכס “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, ה, ו, ח, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ע, פ, ק in Š) it is written with א- or ל-, irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

“the expenses of the community” מצאריף לקהל, “this law” האד אקאנון, “these rules” האד לקואעד

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

15) In R, CA لا بد is written as a single word.

(2) Before the sun letters (ג, ד, ז, ט, ל, נ, ס, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת in Š), ל- is in some cases indicated and in other cases neglected.

(a) with ל- (= א-)

אדיאנא “the religion”, אלגוא אטליאנייא “Italian language”

(b) without ל- (= א-)

אתצדיק “the certification”, אתבליג “the notification”, אתאני “the second”, אגמעייא “the group”, אדולא “the state”, אנומרו “the number”

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. R

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters

בלעלום “in the sciences”, ללאוראק אלמאלייא “for the bank bills”

(b) Before sun letters

ללראיס “for the head”, ללתבעא (CA للتبعة (?)) “for the subjects”

(2) א-, אל-

(a) Before moon letters

באאקדמייא “before the term”, פאלמגלס “in the council”, פאלפצל “in the article”

(b) Before sun letters

פאסנא “in the year”, באטליאנייא¹⁶ “in Italian”

Note 1: Phrases beginning with לאל, לא-, לא- are not attested. These are indicated as לל- (cf. CA لل).

Note 2: In R the combination פי אל is attested: פפי אלחאל “then in the condition”, פי אלטאיפא “in the community”

3.4.2.2. Š

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters

פלללאפא “in the differences”, ללעצואא “for the members”, ובלחואיג “and on the matters”

(b) Before sun letters

¹⁶ “Italian (language)” in R is טליאנייא [talyāniyya].

ללנאס “for the people”

(2) א-, אל-

(a) Before moon letters

באעדאלא “with justice”, פֿאָלוקת “on time”, פֿאָלוקת “on time”, פֿאָלעתיראָץ “in the opposition”,
באלעלום “in the science”, באלערבי “in Arabic”

(b) Before sun letters

פֿאָלראיס “in the head”, באַדפֿע “in the payment”, באתרבייא “on the education”

4. Morphology

4.1. Relative pronouns

In R, as in CA, the relative pronoun agrees in number and gender with the antecedent.

	sg.	pl.
m.	אדי	אלאדין, אללאדין, אלאדין
f.	אלאתי, אלתי	

פֿי אמאכן אַעצאי “the central districts which choose its deputies...”, אמראכו אלתי תנתלב נוואבהא
“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 אדי or אלי is used: מן גיהת אלדי הוממא עניים [ההסתדרות], האדא הווא אַמקצד אדי אַציונים, “from the direction where (= because) they are poor” [ההסתדרות], האדון אַנאס אלדי להם חק, [אַלציוניסם] “this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for” [ההסתדרות], אַלממען אלי יסתכדם ביהם אַלמריץ, [עדה] “those people who have rights” [עדה], אַלכדמא אלי יעמל, [מסאיל] “the utensils which the sick person uses” [מסאיל].

In Š, exclusively אלי is used.

ללעצאואת אלי סאכנין פלמדינא “the people who are Italian”, אַנאס אלי הומא טליאן
“for the members who are living in the city”, אַלכדמא אלי יעמל “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: והוא יראסלהא “and he sends it (f.)”, והוא אמסאול ענהא “and it is the responsible for it (f.)”, הו, הווא “(f.)”

Š: אלי הווא מאזאל דאכל מעאהם “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.

R: הייא מא יחתאג אליה “it is one of the rights of the community”, הייא מן חקוק אלטאיפא “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, והי תרמי אילא אלגאיאת “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”

Š: היא מעלומא “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.

R: אן אמוכלפין הם אפראד אטאיפא “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”

Š: מצאריף לקהל “for the people who are able”, ללנאס אלי הומא מקתדרין (TRJ *əmmā*): הומא “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.

R: ו, -ה, -הו,

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

-הו: “about him”, אקתצתהו “it (f.) required it (m.)”

-ה: “the”, עקד נצאמה “it (f.) requires it (m.)”, תקתציה “by his frequent presence”, ענד תעדד חצורה

contract of its system”, ביה “by it” (but לאנתיכאבה “to its election”, “what the minister demonstrates”)

-ו: בינו ובינהא “between him and her”

ה, -ו: Š:

-ו: תקדימו “his presentation”, ענדו “by him”, תגרייתו “its carrying out”, יצירלו “it becomes for him”

-ה (after a long vowel ו \bar{u} or י \bar{i}): עליה “on him”, תעטיה “it (f.) gives it (m.)”, יטלבוה “they ask it (m.)”

(2) 3.pl.

הם: R:

חוקקהם “their rights”, וציפתהם “their function”

Š: הום, -הם: (TRJ -*am*)

-הם: עדדהם “their number”, מנהם “from them”, תכדדמהם “she makes them work”

-הום: פיהום “in them”, ראהום “he saw them”

(3) 3.du.

In R, הומא- is used for dual.

תוקיע אעמאלהומא גמיען “signing their (two) works altogether”, אחדהומא “one of the two”

4.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns

R: האדא (m.sg.), דאלך “that” (m.sg.), הולאי “these” (pl.), האד “this, these”

The long \bar{a} in the first syllable is indicated with א except for הולאי. האד is used as a demonstrative adjective before a singular or plural noun (irrespective of the gender).

והאד אהייה “and this institution”, והאד אמסאבאת “and these disasters”

Š: האדא, האדה “this” (m.sg.), האדאך “that” (m.sg.), האדיך “that” (m.f.), אדון, האדול “these”, האדוך “those”,

It seems that האדה is not corresponding to CA هذه but to TRJ $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ (m.sg.).

וכדאך “and likewise”, ובהאדא “because of this”

5. Syntax

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

... “the community ... is considered as a separate cultural body...”
 תעתבר גסמן אדאביין מנפרד ... אן אלטאיפא ...

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

... “the meeting should be held within a week”, יועקד אמגלס כלאל אסבוע
 “the employees are nominated”, יוערץ נמודג אמאייא ... “the model of the budget should be presented...”

5.2. Syndetic constructions

... “one of them must be...”, יגוז ללתבעא אאסראיליין אן יראגעו אלמחאכס ... לאבד אן יכון אחדהם
 “it is possible for the Jewish subjects to appeal to the courts”, בעד אן תסתפתי אמאם ארבאניין ... “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” [עדה] לם יקדרו יקעדו

5.3. Indication of the *tanwīn -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 *ʿalif* as in CA, but phonetically with -ן, אן or -א.

(1) With -ן

... “it is considered as a separate cultural body...” (تعتبر جسماً أدبياً CA) תעתבר גסמן אדאביין מנפרד, “usually” עאדתן
 “according to” (بناءً على CA) ¹⁷⁾ בנאן עלא, “which?” (أيّا CA) איין

(2) With -אן

... “he has to be a Jew”, ינגזי להו אן יכון אסראיליין, “previously” (آنفاً CA) אניפאן, “one day” (يوماً CA) יומאן
 “primarily” אבתידיאייאן, “yearly” סנוייאן, “according to” מנטבקאן עלא

(3) With -א

... “adoption” (اتخاذاً CA) אתיכאדא, “legally” (قانونياً CA) קאנוניא (cf. CA ضماً كائناً)

¹⁷⁾ In this case א in בנאן indicates the etymological *ʿalif* and *hamzah* at the same time.

“he presents a sufficient guarantee”, **אייא כאן** (CA **أَيَّا كَانَ**) “anyone whosoever he may be”

5.4. Negative expressions¹⁸⁾

5.4.1. R

The negative in R is indicated in various ways.

(1) **ליס**

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

פליס הו מנהא “and they whose birthplace is not Tripoli”, **ואללאדין ליסת טראבלס מסקט ראוסהא** “then it is only to it (f.) that he makes a clear request about it (m.)”, **ליס למנתלבין אמרכו אן ינתלבו**¹⁹⁾ “the candidates of the centre cannot vote...”

(2) **לם**

לם is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

מא לם יחלרהא “and if one of them is not provided sufficiently...”, **לם יתופר פיה אחדהומא** “as long as four of the members do not attend it (f.)”

(3) **לא**

לא is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation.

לא יגוז ללאעצאי אן יחלרו אמפאוצא “the members are not allowed to be present at the negotiation”, **לא תתגאזו אתי לא תתגאזו מדתהא אתסעא סנין** “the rents the term of which does not exceed those nine years”, **והאד אהייא לא תכתסב קראראתהא** “and this institution does not obtain its valid decision”, **למדדא מעיינא לא תתגאזו סתת אשהר**²⁰⁾ “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) **לם**

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 *-in* of a nomen regens is not elided before a nomen regens in the *idāfa* construction, see Yoda, *Tripoli* p. 206.

20) **סות** “six” in this sentence reflects *tāʾ marbūʿah* in st.cs., whereas **סות** “six” in the Š sentence **לם תלעות סות** “a term not exceeding six months” in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form *səʔč šūr*.

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

לם מדדא לם תפֿות סת שוהר “a term not exceeding six months”

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after לם: “a problem מסאלא וחדא אלדי לם קדרת נתחממלהא, [אלציוניסם] לם בקאו “they didn’t stay” [דגל] “which I could not suffer”

מא ... ש(י) (2)

מא ... ש(י) is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation. This is a pure dialectal way of the negation. גמיע אלי מא ירצאש “but Italian law does not oblige them”, לאכן קאנון אטליאן מא יגברהמשי “everyone who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges...”, ובא ינקצש “and (he) whose age is not less than twenty years”, עמרהם מן עשרין סנא “their term should not exceed nine years”, “and the members cannot ולעצאואת מא ינגמוש יתשארכו, ²¹⁾ “they don’t do harm”

מוש (3)

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

גמיע אתכליפאת אי מוש “and it is not less than forty eight hours”, ומוש אקל מן תמניא ורבעין סאעא “all expenses which do not accrue to the council”, עאידין ללמגלס “ant they are not registered in the list of poor people”, ואי מוש מתואלדין פֿי עמאלת טראבלס “and they who were not born in the district of Tripoli”, וכל דאפֿע אי מוש ראצי באמבלג “and every payer who is not satisfied with the sum”, מדדה מוש מחדודה “an unrestricted term”

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: אתבעא אאסראיליאי, אטאיפא אלאסראיליאי בטראבלס “the Jewish community in Tripoli”, בטראבלס “the Jewish followers in Tripoli”

Š: קהל יהוד טראבלס “Jewish community of Tripoli”

21) נגם “to be able” (< מא ינגמוש “they cannot”), although not used in TRJ (where *qdar* is used for this meaning), frequently appears in Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic texts.

R: אלטאיפא “the community”

Š: אחברה “the (religious) community”

R: אלמחאכס ארבאנייא “the rabbinical courts”

Š: בית דין “religious court”

R: אעצאי אמחכמא ארבאנייא “the members of the rabbinical courts”

Š: הדיינים “the Jewish judges”

R: ארבאני אלכבר, אמאם ארבאניין “the chief of the Rabbis”, “the greatest Rabbi”

Š: חכם באשי “Chief Rabbi”

R: אלעבראנייא “the Hebrew (language)”

Š: בלשון הקודש “in the Sacred language”

R: פֿקרא “phrase”

Š: פֿסוק “phrase”

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

R: אמחאפֿל “synagogues”

Š: אצלואות, בתי הכנסית “synagogues”

אצלואות (cf. CA الصلاوات) is attested in many Arabic dialects of Jews: TRJ *aṣṣlāwāč*.

R: אמדארס אטאיפייא “the communal schools”

Š: מכאתב חברת תלמוד תורה “the schools of Jewish community”

R: אלאעמאל אכירייא “the good deeds”

Š: (א)צדקות “charities”

R: אלמקאבר “the cemetery”

Š: בית החיים “the cemetery”

R: עלמאי איהוד “the scholars of Jews”

Š: רבי “Rabbi”

R: אלגנא אלכרייא “the charity committee”

Š: כומסיון אצדקות “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 [ʃ] and [dʒ] תש and תג are used respectively.

	Š	R
January	תגיאניו (It. gennaio)	ינאיר
March	מארצו (It. marzo)	(not attested)
June	תגוניו (It. giugno)	יוניו
August	אגוסטו (It. agosto)	(not attested)
December	דיתשימברי (It. dicembre)	דסמבר
November	נוומברי (It. Novembre)	נוומברי

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 *tanwīn -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 אן 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 ל,

which is written before moon letters, but before the sun letters it may be missing altogether. Negation is expressed by uninflected **לם**, **מוש** or **מה...ש**. Hebrew words are abundantly used.

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