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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

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

Modern Judeo-Arabic (twentieth century)²⁾.

In the early and especially classical periods, Judaeo-Arabic was based on Classical Arabic, therefore it is basically a Hebrew script version of Classical Arabic, containing at the same time many pseudo-corrections with Hebrew and Aramaic elements. On the other hand, especially Later and Modern Judaeo-Arabic tends to be written in a local vernacular based on the colloquial Arabic spoken by Jews with less Classical elements, thus in order to read texts from later periods, knowledge of the modern Arabic dialects of the Jews is indispensable. Since the number of the Arabophone Jews is actually decreasing year by year, so the investigation of the modern Arabic dialects of the Jews is an urgent issue. At the same time, it is also important to investigate how Modern Judaeo-Arabic should be read. It is still possible to find some speakers of Judaeo-Arabic dialects, but since the literary Judaeo-Arabic ceased some time ago, it is now very difficult to find someone who can read and write properly³⁾.



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 Judaeo-Arabic" as defined by him.

3) Recently as a result of the resurrectionary movements of the original tradition by some Arabophone Jewish communities, books on the folktales and proverbs etc. in the Arabic dialects of Jews have been published, where the Arabic vernacular is written in the Hebrew characters, but it seems not to be based on the former writing tradition of the Modern Judaeo-Arabic. On this new Judaeo-Arabic, a separate study is necessary.

This paper deals with a Modern Judaeo-Arabic text from Tripoli, Libya: a statute book published in 1917 by “Il Ministero delle Colonie”, the Arabic title of which is: **קוֹאָעֵד לְאֲגִיל מוֹעָמֵלָה תַּחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל** “**אל-סָאָפָנִי فִי עַמָּתָּת טְרָאָבָלָס**” (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: **מַתְרִיגִים מִן אַתְּלִיאָן בְּלָעָרְבִּי אַלְפָקָהִי וּמְשֻׁרוֹת בְּלָסָאָן טְרָאָבָלָסִי** “**juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language**”. From this, we can discern two names of languages: **רְسָמִי** “**juridical Arabic**” (in the body of the text this is replaced by **רְשָׁרֶח** “**official**”) and **לְסָאָן טְרָאָבָלָסִי** “**Tripolitanian language**” (in the body of the text this is replaced by **שְׁרָח** “**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 = **רְסָמִי**

st.abs. = status absolutus

st.cs. = status constructus

Š = **שְׁרָח**

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

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

אלפצל 28

רשמי – תראקב לג'נות אתעלים סיר אלמדארס אטאייפיה וגמר מدارס איהוד אכאיינה פאקסם.
שרה – אכומסיוון מתע אתעלים תנזר פוק סיירת מכאתב חברת תלמוד תורה ובקיית מכאתב לייהוד
אמוגודין פאאראאי אוי תחת נזרהא.

(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 (= رسمي) 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: رسمي – ترائب لجنت التعليم سير المدارس الطيفيا وجميع مدارس اليهود الكينا فالقسم.

Here CA *tārāb marbūtah* is replaced by ة (st.cs.) or ة (جنت) in لجنت (st.abs.) (= CA medial *hamzah* is replaced by ئ in (الطبنيا) أطاييفيا and (الطبنيا) أطاييفيا and (الطبنيا) أطاييفيا and (الطبنيا) أطاييفيا), and the CA preposition في (ف) is abbreviated into ف and attached to the following word as في فالقسم (فالقسم) فاكسם. 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. אכומסיוון 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: סיירת (TRJ *nčāc*, cf. TUM *mtāc*) “of”, מתע (TRJ *mtāc*) “conduct (st.cs. < סיריה)” (cf. TUM *mkātib*) “schools”, ובקיות (TRJ *w-bqīyāc*) “and (the) rest (of) (st.cs. < סיריה)”, מכאתב (cf. TUM *mkātib*) “schools”, מכאתב (cf. TUM *mkātib*) “schools”, and בקיית (TRJ *w-bqīyāc*) “and (the) rest (of) (st.cs. < סיריה)”, לייהוד (TRJ *l-yūd*, cf. CA *zal-yahūd*) “the Jews”, אוי (TRJ *əlli*) “(rel.pron.)”, תחת (TRJ *čəħč*) “under”, في (TRJ *f-*) “in”, אראצ (TRJ *arāḍi*) “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used

in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: תַּנְצֵל (CA) نَظَرٌ (CA) “it observes”, אָמָנוּדִין (CA) الْمُوجُودِينَ (CA) “existing”, נַצְרָהָא (CA) نَظَرَهَا (CA) “its observance”.

It seems that the author of the **רָسְמִי** 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 **לִי** 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
ن	ل، ة، ي، ا (see 3.1.1.1.)	ə, ā	ذ	خ	x
ڭ ⁷⁾	ال	əl	ل	ل	l
ب	ب	b	م	م	m
ج	ج	ž	ن	ن (see 5.3.(1)(2))	n
غ	غ	g	س	س	s
د	د (see 3.1.1.2.)	d	ع	ع	u
ه	ه (see 3.1.1.4.)	(h)	ف	ف	f
و	و، ء، u etc. (see 3.1.1.5.)	w, ww, ū	ص	ص	ṣ
ز	ز	z	ظ، ض	ظ، ض (see 3.1.1.3.)	ḍ
ح	ح	h	ق	ق	q
ط	ط	t	ر	ر	r
ي	ي، ئ، i etc. (see 3.1.1.6.)	y, ī	ش	ش	š
ك	ك	k	ت	ت (see 3.1.1.2.)	č

3.1. Consonants

3.1.1. R

3.1.1.1. ن

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

(1) CA *‘alif maqṣūrah* (‘alif / yā[ۚ])

نَمْشَا (CA نَمْشَا “we had information”, CA أَيْلَا (علَى “on”, CA أَيْلَا (علَى “to”, CA أَطْلَعْنَا (اطَّلَعْنَا “it goes”⁸⁾ (CA يَقْسِي (يَقْسِي “it goes”

(2) *tā[ۚ] marbūtah* (st.abs.)⁹⁾

سَنَة (الطائفة CA سَنَة “year”, CA عَشْرَة (عَشْرَة CA عَشْرَة (عَشْرَة “ten”

7) This ligature of ن and ل 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, ة changes to ت: كل تلثتة أشهر “every three months”.

(3) ئ (‘alif *mamduhdah*) (see 3.1.1.6.(4))

גָּרְבָּא (CA אַלְקָרְבָּא “foreigners”, CA الغرباء “the relatives”)

(4) *hamzah*

مسؤול (CA מסאול) “responsible”, CA אַוְלָאי (أولائي) “proprietors”, CA شُؤُون (أُولَئِكَ) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c)), CA רָאשָׁהָם (رؤسهم) “their heads”, CA אַיִלָּא (إِلَيْهِ) “to”

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

أَوْلَائِي (أولائي) “origins”, CA شُؤُون (أُولَئِكَ) “matters”

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

إِلَيْهِ (إليه) “errection”, CA إِلَّا (إلا) “except”, CA أَيْمَام (أمام) “Rabbi”, CA أَيْمَام (أمام) “to it”, CA أَيْدَى (إذا) “when”

(5) Others

CA short *a*: يومان (اليومان) CA اللذين (الذين) “one day” (see 5.3.(2))

3.1.1.2. ئ, ئ

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

(1) CA *t*

(a) CA *t* > ئ: أَتَيْكَاد (أَتَيْكَاد) “the fixed”, CA أَتَابَتَهَا (أَتَابَتَهَا) “adoption”

(b) CA *t* > ئ: أَتَبَتَنَا (أَتَبَتَنَا) “we confirmed”, CA تَلَت (ثلاث) “three”

(2) CA *d*

(a) CA *d* > ئ: يَتَجَدَّد (يَتَجَدَّد) “it is renewed”

(b) CA *d* > ئ: أَمْدُور (المذكور) “the mentioned”, CA دَالَّك (ذلك) “that”, CA أَيْدَى (إذا) “if”

3.1.1.3. ظ

The etymological distinction between ظ, ظ are not distinguished and they are indicated with ظ.

(1) CA ظ > ظ: عَضُو (عضو) “member”, CA اعْتِيَارَات (اعتزيات) “objections”

(2) CA ظ (CA **תַּנְצִים**: ظ) “it (f.) is organized”, ظ (CA **וְظָאִים** “functions”

3.1.1.4. ה

ה corresponds to CA *hā'* and to CA *tā'* *marbūṭah* (in st.abs.).

(1) *h*

ה (CA **וּמָזוֹה** “faces”

(2) *tā'* *marbūṭah*¹⁰⁾

ה (CA **אַתְּאִיפָה** “Jewish (f.)”, CA **עִשְׂרָה** “the religious community”, CA **אַסְרָאִילִיָה** “(the) Israelite (f.)”, CA **לֹוָה** “language” (לֹוָה “ten”)

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*

ו (CA **מַוְרָאֵד** “one of the two”, CA **מַרְאֵגָעָת** (مَرَاد) (st.cs.) “revision”, CA **אַחֲדָהוּמָה** “intended”, CA **וְעֵין** (يُعيّن) “it is nominated”, CA **כָּל** (كُلُّ) “all”, CA **מַוְכְּלֵפִין** (مَكْلِفِين) “persons in charge”, CA **תַּצְעָהוּ** (تصعه) “it (f.) puts it (m.)”

(2) CA *ū*

ו (CA **חִקּוּקָהָם** (حقوقهم) “their rights”, CA **אַוְצָל** (أصول) “origins”

(3) CA ؤ (see 3.1.1.6.(4))

و (CA **אַسְמָאוּם** (أسماؤم) “their names”

(4) Other cases

و (بدء) < cf. CA **בְּدֹء** (بدء) “beginning”

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

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

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

الـ^{أَخْمَوْ} (CA ^{أَخْمَوْ}, cf. ^{أَخْمَمْ} “father-in-law”)

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

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

(a) CA *-ww-*, *-uw-*, *-u²V-*

مُولَلَّ (CA ^{مُؤْطِينْ} “employees”) موْظَفِينْ (CA ^{مُؤْطِفَةْ} “deputies”), نُوآبَهَا (CA ^{أَوْلَى} “first”, CA ^{أَوْلَى} “its deputies”, CA ^{أَوْلَى} “the employees”), مُؤَلَّفْ (CA ^{مُؤَلَّفْ} “composed”)

(b) CA *w*

لَوْظَعْ (CA ^{لَوْظَعْ} “for putting”)

(c) CA *ū*

أَوْلَى (CA ^{أَوْلَى} “first (f.)”¹²)

شُؤُون (CA ^{شُؤُون} “matters” (see 3.1.1.1.(4)))

3.1.1.6. ^{וְ}

^{וְ} usually corresponds to CA *yā²* (indicating short *i* and long *ī*), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA *i*

בִּשּׂוֹוֹת (CA ^{بِشَوَّهْ} “by”), אַבְתִּידָאִיִּיאָן (CA ^{بِتَدَائِيَا} “primarily”), אַנְתִּילְאָבָתָה (CA ^{أَنْتِيلَيْلَأَبَاتَهْ} “elections”), אַנְתִּילְאָבָתָה (CA ^{أَنْتِيلَيْلَأَبَاتَهْ} “by its matters”), בִּיהָ (CA ^{בִּיהָ} “by it”), לִידָאָן (CA ^{لِيְدָهْ} “therefore”)

(2) CA *ī*

الـ^{لَّدِيد} (CA ^{لَّدِيد} “renewal”), فَيִהָא (CA ^{فِيَهَا} “in it (f.)”), تְּגִידִיד (CA ^{تَهْدِيد} “which”)

(3) CA *u*

وَظَانَتْهَا (CA ^{وَظَانَتْهَا} “its functions”), نَائِب (CA ^{نَائِب} “deputy”), أَطَافِفَة (CA ^{أَطَافِفَة} “the community”), أَنَّا يَهُود (CA ^{أَنَّا يَهُود} “the chief Rabbis”)

(4) CA *u²* (see 3.1.1.5.(3))

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

The ending **-يَن** corresponding to CA **ءَلْ** appears irrespective of its case in the context. But in one case we can find **-يَن-يَن** for CA **ءَلْ**.

באגראי, “scholars”, (علاء CA) علماء (الأعضاء CA) “the members”, (هؤلاء CA) הולאי (CA) “opinions” (آراء CA) “in carrying out”, (يجرؤ CA) “opinions” (آراء CA)

(5) " is used in the following cases.

(a) **מעיינא** (CA) **ميزאניה** (CA) “budget”, **איין** (CA) **אי** (CA) “which?”, **איין** (CA) **איין** (CA) “which?”

(b) **היא** (CA) **هيئه** (CA) “institution”

(c) **מיאן** (CA) **مئة** (CA) “hundred”

3.1.1.7. ↴

3 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. \aleph

☒ corresponds to the following elements.

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

(a) long *ā*: **בְּאֵשׁ** (TRJ *bāš*) “in order to”, **מִעֵן** (TRJ *m̥ān*) “with”, **יִנְאָסְבָּה** (TRJ *ynāsəb-ā*) “it fits it (f.)”, **עַלָּא** (TRJ *‘lā*) “on”

(b) the feminine ending *-a* (= *tā^o* *marbūtah*) (see 3.1.2.2.(2)): **שְׁחָרִירִיא** (TRJ *šārīya*) “monthly salary”, **מָוֶרֶא** (TRJ *morrə*) “time”, **פָּלְמִדִּינָא** (TRJ *f-l-əmdīna*) “in the city”

(2) TRJ ∂

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

אָנָּאָס (TRJ *ən-nas*) “the people”, פְּאַלְעָם (TRJ *f-əl-ə-ām*) “in the year”, אֵי (TRJ *əllî*) “(rel.pron.)”, אַלְיוּם (TRJ *lyūm*) “today”

(3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA *'alif* (= TRJ short *a* or zero)

אכתר (TRJ *kčər*¹³⁾, cf. CA **أكثـر** “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.

ביהם (TRJ *biam*, cf. CA *ብዕም*) “he saw them”, תעטיה (TRJ *biəm*, cf. CA *ብዕም*) “by them”, מעاهד (cf. CA *ሙਆሕد*) “institutions”, תنبיה (cf. CA *ትኩብያ*) “notice” (תנעטיה *ትኩብያ* (f.) “it gives him”, תראה (cf. CA *ጥሩአ*) “this”, ראהום (TRJ *raəm*, cf. CA *ጥሩአዎም*) “he saw them”

(2) CA *tā' marbūṭah* (see 3.1.2.1.(1b))

“(السنوية אָשְׁוֹנִיָּה (cf. CA CA) لمدדה למדדיה (the above mentioned period”, (المدة المذكورة cf. CA CA) لمدדיה لمدדיה annual”, (ثمانية أيام תמנה אַיָּם (TRJ *čmənyā yyām*, cf. CA CA) תמנה אַיָּם eight years”

(3) CA \bar{a} at the final position (see 3.1.2.1.(1a))

אִזְהָה (cf. CA) “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* = CA *אלאתי*, ”(rel.pron.) CA *אלאדין*, ”(rel.pron.) CA *يجب* (CA *יאגב*: נ-)

The cases where \aleph indicates CA a are relatively rare.

CA $u = \gamma$: R: (CA) **אחדהוּמָא** (شُؤُون) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c)), (CA) **שׂוֹאָוָן** (أَحَدْهُمَا) “one of the both”,

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

יְנִין (CA) **יעיִין** (st.cs.) “revision”, מְרַאֵת (CA) **מְרַאֲגָעָת** “intended”, מְרַאֲגָעָת (CA) **מְרַאֲגָעָת** “it is nominated”, כָּל (CA) **כָּל** “all”, מְכֹלֶן (CA) **מְכֹלֶן** “persons in charge”, תְּפִלָּה (CA) **תְּפִלָּה** “it (f.) puts it (m.)”

3.2.2. Š

طָלַע (TRJ *!la^c*, cf. CA طلע) “it goes up”

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

גִּיהְתָּ (CA) **גִּיהְתָּ** “direction (st.cs.)”, צִיפָּת (CA) **צִיפָּת** “quality”

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

For the word corresponding to CA **אֲלָلָفָת**, there are two forms; one with › for the etymological short vowel *i*, which appears in R **אֲלָלָאָפָת** and another without › appearing in Š **פָּלָלָאָפָת**. It is possible to interpret this difference as simple orthographical incoherence, namely the author’s caress mistake. Indeed in other places of R text we find the form without ›. On the other hand, it is also possible that these two different forms reflect the actual pronunciation; the › of R form **אֲלָלָאָפָת** reflects the short *i* of CA *’al-xilāfāt*, meanwhile Š form without › reflects the presumed dialectal form **l-əxilāfāč*, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped. And in Š we can find forms with *mater lectionis*: **אֲנִתִּיכָּבָּ**. 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 › is written. In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA *’intixāb* > 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 *nčixāb*). However in the case of **כָּל**, נ 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*: **אָוְמָר** (CA **אָמָר**) “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: בְּמִדְדַת שְׁחָרִין (CA) לִקְדָּם (CA) תְּתוּלָה (CA) “it possesses”, “in order that he submits”, “for the period of two months”

Š: חַטְטוּ (CA) אַמְתָעַלְלָק (CA) יַצְדָּק (CA) “he believes”, “the concerned”, “they put”

(2) With one consonant

In both texts the geminated consonant in word-final position and in some cases in the word medial position is written as a single consonant¹⁴⁾.

R: לְאַבָּד (CA) עַלְיָא (CA) “at least”, “(it is) necessary”

Š: מְתֻעָלָק (CA) מְחַל (CA) יְנַחַט (CA) “concerned”, “place”, “it is put”

3.4. Definite article

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

3.4.1. Before a noun or an adjective

3.4.1.1. R

The definite article is generally written with **ל-** (ל-).

בֵּין אַתְבָּعָא אֶסְרָאֵלִיָּא “the law court(s) take care ...”, “among the Jewish subjects”, אַלְמַחְאָכָם אֶלְתָּאִינְיָא “the community”, “the Rabbinical courts”, אַתְבָּלִיאָג “the notification”, הַאַד אַמְחָאָכָם “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, נ, כ, י, ח, מ, בָּ, נָ, כָּ, יָ, חָ, מָ, בְּ, נְ, כְּ, יְ, חְ, מְ) in Š it is written with **א-** or **ל-**, irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

הַאַד אַקְנָנוּן “these rules”, הַאַד לְקָנוּ “this law”, “the expenses of the community”

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

15) In R, CA **לְ** **לְ** is written as a single word.

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

(a) with ל- (= נ-)

אלג'וֹא אַתְּלִיאָנִיָּה “the religion”, אַדִּיאָנָה “Italian language”

(b) without ל- (= נ-)

אַתְּכִידָה “the certification”, אַתְּתָּנִי “the notification”, אַתְּכִידָה “the second”, אַגְּמָנִיָּה “the group”, אַנְוּמָרָה “the state”, אַנְוּמָרָה “the number”

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. R

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters

לְלֹאָרָקְ אַלְמָאָלִיָּה “in the sciences”, בְּלֹאָלָם “for the bank bills”

(b) Before sun letters

לְלֹתְבָּעָה (CA לְלֹתְבָּעָה לְלֹתְבָּעָה) “for the head”, לְלֹתְבָּעָה (CA לְלֹתְבָּעָה לְלֹתְבָּעָה) “for the subjects”

(2) נ-, אל-

(a) Before moon letters

פְּאַלְפָצָל “before the term”, בְּאַלְמָגָלָס “in the council”, בְּאַקְדָּמָיָה “in the article”

(b) Before sun letters

פְּאַלְפָצָל (16) “in the year”, בְּאַתְּלִיאָנִיָּה “in Italian”

Note 1: Phrases beginning with לְא- (cf. CA לְלֹתְבָּעָה) are not attested. These are indicated as לְל- (cf. CA לְלֹתְבָּעָה).

Note 2: In R the combination פְּיִ אלְחַאָל- is attested: פְּיִ אלְחַאָל “then in the condition”, פְּיִ אלְטָאִיפָּא “in the community”

3.4.2.2. Š

(1) ל-

(a) Before moon letters

וּבְלֹחְוֹאִיג “in the differences”, לְלֹעְזָאָוָת “for the members”, פְּלֹלְלָאָפָּאָת “and on the matters”

(b) Before sun letters

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

לְלִנְאָס “for the people”

(2) -אָ, -אֵל

(a) Before moon letters

פְּאָוָקָת “with justice”, פְּאָוָקָת “on time”, פְּאָאָעָתִירָאָא “in the opposition”,
בְּאָלָעָרְבִּי “in Arabic”, בְּאָלָעָלְוָם “in the science”

(b) Before sun letters

פְּאָרָאִיס “on the education”, בְּאָדָפָע “in the payment”, בְּאָתְרָבְּיָא “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.

	sg.	pl.
m.	אָדִי	אָלָדִין, אָלָלָדִין, אָלָדִין
f.	אָלָתִי, אָלָתִי	

פְּאָמָאָקָן אַעֲשָׂאֵי אָלָתִי תְּנַתְּבָּב נוֹאָבָהָא “the central districts which choose its deputies...”,
פְּאָלָדִין “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 אָדִי or אָלָדִין is used: אָלָדִין “from the direction where (= because) they are poor” [הַחֲסִתְדָּרוֹת], אָלָדִין “the Zionists are striving for” [סָעִי פִּיהִ], אָלָדִין “this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for” [אַלְצִיוֹנִיסְטִים], אָלָדִין “those people who have rights” [עֲדָה], אָלָדִין “the utensils which the sick person uses” [מִסְאִיל].

In Š, exclusively אִי is used.

לְלַעֲגָוָת אִי סָכְנִין פְּלָמְדִינָא “the people who are Italian”, אָנָאָס אִי הַוָּמָא טְלִיאָן “for the members who are living in the city”, אָלְכָדָמָא אִי יְעַמֵּל “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 יראסללה** “and it is the responsible for it (f.)”, “and he sends it (f.)”

Š: **אליו הווא מאזאל דאכל מעאיהם**: “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.

R: **היא מא יחתאג איה** “it is one of the rights of the community”, **היא מן חוק אטאיפא**: “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, **והי תרמי אילא אָנָאִיאת** “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”

Š: **היא מעולםא**: “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.

R: **הם אָנוּ אָמּוֹכְלָפִין** “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”

Š: **מצאריף לקהיל** “for the people who are able”, **לلنאס אליו הומא מקטדרין** (TRJ *əmma*): “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.

R: **-הו**, **-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 **-ה** or in the position of the genitive **-ה** is used. The use of **-ו** is attested only once in the text.

Š: **הו אָקְתָּפְתָּהוּ** “about him”, “it (f.) required it (m.)”

Š: **ה- עַד תִּקְתְּלִיה** “by his frequent presence”, “it (f.) requires it (m.)”, **עַקְד נִצְמָה** “the

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

-ו: **בינו ובינהא** “between him and her”

ש: -ו-

-ו: **יצירלו** “his presentation”, **ענדו** “by him”, **תקדימו** “it becomes for him”
-ה (after a long vowel וְ וָ or וַיְ): **תעטיה** “on him”, **יטלבוה** “it (f.) gives it (m.)”, **עליה** “they ask it (m.)”

(2) 3.pl.

ר: -ם

חוקוקם “their rights”, **וליפתיהם** “their function”

ש: **הום, -הם, -הם** (TRJ -əm)

-הם: **תכלדמם** “she makes them work”
-הוּם: **ראהוּם** “in them”, **בָּהוּם** “he saw them”

(3) 3.du.

In R, -הומא- is used for dual.

ר: **הומא** “signing their (two) works altogether”, **אחדהוּםא גמייע** “one of the two”

4.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns

ר: **האָדָא** (m.sg.), **זָהָדָא** “that” (m.sg.), **הָאָדָא** “these” (pl.), **הָאָדָא** “this, these”

The long *ā* in the first syllable is indicated with נ except for **הוּלָאִי**. **הָאָדָא** is used as a demonstrative adjective before a singular or plural noun (irrespective of the gender).

וְהָאָדָא אַמְסָבָאָת “and this institution”, **וְהָאָדָא אַהֲרִיאָה** “and these disasters”

ש: **הָאָדָה**, **הָאָדָה** “this” (m.sg.), **זָהָדָה** “that” (m.sg.), **הָאָדִיךְ** “that” (m.f.), **הָאָדָוָן**, **הָאָדָוָן**, **הָאָדָוָן** “these”, **הָאָדָוָן** “those”,

It seems that **הָאָדָה** is not corresponding to CA هذه but to TRJ *ādā* (m.sg.).

ר: **וְכָאָדָא** “because of this”, **וְכָאָדָא** “and likewise”

5. Syntax

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

… אָנָּא אַלְטָאִיפָּא … תַּعֲתִיר גֶּסֶן אֲדָבֵיָן מַנְפָּרָד
“the community … is considered as a separate cultural body…”

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

וַעֲיִין אַלְמַוְצָפָן … יוּקָד אַמְגָלָס בְּלֹאָל אַסְבָּוע
“the meeting should be held within a week”, “the employees are nominated”, יוּעָרָץ נְמוּדָן אַמְּאִיָּה “the model of the budget should be presented…”

5.2. Syndetic constructions

גַּזְוָה לְלִתְבֹּעָא אֲסְרָאִילִיָּן אָנָּרְאָגָעָוּ אַלְמַחְאָכָם … לְאָבָד אָנָּיְכָוּ אַחֲדָהָם
“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.

עדָה [עדָה] “they cannot stay”

5.3. Indication of the *tanwîn -an* in R

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

(1) With *-ג*

עַדְתָּן “usually” (تعَتَّر جَسْأٌ أَدِيَّا (CA) תַּعֲתִיר גֶּסֶן אֲדָבֵיָן מַנְפָּרָד, CA אָנָּא אַלְטָאִיפָּא “it is considered as a separate cultural body…”, CA בְּנָאָן עַלָּא ¹⁷⁾ בְּנָאָן עַלָּא “which?”, CA אַיִּין “according to” (بناء على)

(2) With *-ן*

יְנַבְּגִי לְהֹו אָנָּיְכָוּ אֲסְרָאִילִיָּן אָנָּיְכָוּ יְוָמָאָן (CA “one day” (see 3.1.1.1.(5)), CA אַנְיִפְאָן, CA בְּנָאָן “previously”, CA בְּנָאָן “he has to be a Jew”, CA מַנְטָבָקָאָן עַלָּא “according to”, CA סְנוּיִיָּאָן “yearly”, CA אַבְתִּידָאִיָּאָן “primarily”

(3) With *-אָ*

יְקַדְּדָם פְּמַאְנָה כָּאַפִּיאָה (cf. CA أَتَحَدُّ أَتِيَّةً أَدَدَأْ (adoption), CA قَانُونِيَّةً (legally), CA كَانُونِيَّةً (legally))

¹⁷⁾ In this case *אָ* in *בְּנָאָן* indicates the etymological *’alif* and *hamzah* at the same time.

“he presents a sufficient guarantee”, **אֵין כִּנְ** (كَانَ CA) “anyone whosoever he may be”

5.4. Negative expressions¹⁸⁾

5.4.1. R

The negative in R is indicated in various ways.

(1) **לֹא**

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

פָּלִיס **הוּ** **מִנְחָא** “and they whose birthplace is not Tripoli”, “**אֵילָלָא** **אָן** **יְתַבֵּל** **מִסְקָט** **רַאֲסָהָם** “then it is only to it (f.) that he makes a clear request about it (m.)”, “**לֹא** **לְמִנְתְּבִין** **אַמְרָכָה** **אָן** **יִתְלַבּוּ**¹⁹⁾ “the candidates of the centre cannot vote...”

(2) **לֹמַ**

לֹמַ is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

מֵא **לֹמַ** **יְחַזְּרָהָא** “and if one of them is not provided sufficiently...”, “**אַרְבָּעָה** **מִן** **אַעֲצָא** “as long as four of the members do not attend it (f.)”

(3) **לֹא**

לֹא is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation.

לֹא **יְגַזּוּ** **לְלַעֲצָאָי** **אָן** **יְחַזְּרָה** **אַמְפָאָזָהָת** “the members are not allowed to be present at the negotiation”, “**אַיְגָרָהָת** **אָתֵי** **לֹא** **תְּתַגְּאוּ** **מִדְתָּהָה** **אַתְּסָעָה** **סְנִין** “the rents the term of which does not exceed those nine years”, “**וְהָאָד** **אַהֲיָה** **לֹא** **תְּכַתֵּב** **קְרָאָתָהָה** “and this institution does not obtain its valid decision”, “**לִמְדָדָה** **מַעַיְנָה** **לֹא** **תְּתַגְּאוּ** **סְתָתָה** **אַשְׁהָר**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) **לֹמַ**

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) “six” in this sentence reflects *tā^o marbūtah* in st.cs., whereas **סְתָתָה** “six” in the Š sentence **מִדְדָה** **לֹמַ** **תְּפָוּתָה** **סְתָתָה** “a term not exceeding six months” in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form *sət̚ šūr*.

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

מדדא לם תפ'ות סת *שחוּר* “a term not exceeding six months”

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

(2) **מא ... ש(י)**

מא ... ש(י) is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation. This is a pure dialectal way of the negation. **גמייע אלי מא ירצעש** “but Italian law does not oblige them”, **לאכן קאנון איטליאן מא יגברהמשי** “everyone who is not satisfied with the judgement of the judges...”, **ומא ינקצש**, “and (he) whose age is not less than twenty years”, **עמרהם מן עשרין סנא** “their term should not exceed nine years”, **ולעפ'ואות מא נגמוש יתשארכו**, “and the members cannot participate...”, **מא יוקעוש צרר**, “they don’t do harm”²¹

(3) **מוש**

מוש is used with non-verbal elements (including participles). **גמייע אתכליל'את אי מוש**, “and it is not less than forty eight hours”, **ומוש אקלמן תמניא ורביעין סઆעא** “all expenses which do not accrue to the council”, **עאיידין למלגלאס** “ant they are not registered in the list of poor people”, **ואי מוש מתואלדין פֵי עמאלת טראבלס**, “and they who were not born in the district of Tripoli”, **וכל דאָפָע אי מוש ראנצ'י באַמְבָּלָג**, “and every payer who is not satisfied with the sum”, **מדדא מוש מהזודה** “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 אסראיליא** **אלאסראיליא** **בטראבלס** “the Jewish community in Tripoli”, **אתאייפה** “the Jewish followers in Tripoli”

Š: **קהל יהוד טראבלס** “Jewish community of Tripoli”

²¹ **נִגְמֹש** “to be able” (< **מִא יִגְמֹש** “they cannot”), although not used in **TRJ** (where *qdər* is used for this meaning), frequently appears in Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic texts.

R: אלטאייפא “the community”

Š: אחברה “the (religious) community”

R: אלמחאכם ארבעאניה “the rabbinical courts”

Š: בית דין “religious court”

R: אענאי אמחכמיא ארבעאניה “the members of the rabbinical courts”

Š: חדיינים “the Jewish judges”

R: אלרבאני אללאכבר “the chief of the Rabbis”, אמאם ארבעאניה “the greatest Rabbi”

Š: חכם באשי “Chief Rabbi”

R: אלעבראניה “the Hebrew (language)”

Š: בלשון הקודש “in the Sacred language”

R: פְּקָרָא “phrase”

Š: פְּסָוק “phrase”

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

R: אמחאכל “synagogues”

Š: אצלאוות, בתיה הכנסתית “synagogues”

אצלאוות (الصلوات) is attested in many Arabic dialects of Jews: TRJ *əṣṣlāwāč*.

R: אמדארכ אטאייפיא “the communal schools”

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

R: אלאעמאל אלכיריא “the good deeds”

Š: א(צדקה)ות “charities”

R: אלמְקָבֵר “the cemetery”

Š: בית החיִים “the cemetery”

R: עַלְמָאי אִיחָד “the scholars of Jews”

Š: רַבִּי “Rabbi”

R: אלגָנָא אַבְּרַיאִיא “the charity committee”

Š: כוּמְסִיּוֹן אַצְדָּקוֹת “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] תְּגִינָה and תְּגִוָּנָה are used respectively.

	Š	R
January	תְּגִינָה (It. gennaio)	ינְגִינָה
March	מָרָצָה (It. marzo)	(not attested)
June	תְּגִוָּנָה (It. giunio)	יְגִוָּנָה
August	אֲגּוּסְטָה (It. agosto)	(not attested)
December	דִּצְמְבָרִי (It. dicembre)	דָּסְמָבָרִי
November	נוּוְמְבָרִי (It. Novembre)	נוּוְמָבָרִי

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 נִאָנָה 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 ה,

which is written before moon letters, but before the sun letters it may be missing altogether. Negation is expressed by uninflected **לֹם** or **מוֹשֵׁחַ** or **מִהָּ...** Hebrew words are abundantly used.

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