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<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>依田，純和</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>言語文化研究. 42 P.195–P.217</td>
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<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2016-03-31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Text Version</td>
<td>publisher</td>
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<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.18910/56201">https://doi.org/10.18910/56201</a></td>
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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...
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 properly\(^3\).

Fig. 1

\(^2\) 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 Ministro delle Colonie”, the Arabic title of which is: "Regulations for the status of Jewish community in the district of Tripoli" (Fig. 1 above).

This booklet has 43 pages and contains 57 chapters concerning the legal affairs of Libyan Jews of that time under Italian rule. It seems that this booklet had been originally written in Italian and translated into two varieties of Arabic; under the title the following is written: ממורים מיכ' אָסֵלבארט חורשמו אלנסלבארט פּי אָסֵלבארט תאלמאעומ ל'גאל דעאוק, i.e. “translated from Italian to, juridical Arabic and explained in Tripolitanian language”. From this, we can discern two names of languages: "jurist Arabic" (in the body of the text this is replaced by רסמי “official”) and "Tripolitanian language" (in the body of the text this is replaced byشرح "explanation").

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

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic
R = רסמי
st.abs. = status absolutus
st.cs. = status constructus
شرح
TRJ = Jewish dialect of Tripoli
TUM = Muslim dialect of Tunis
V = any vowel

2. Two varieties (R and Š)

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

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

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

Chapter 28

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

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

It is noteworthy that the wording of the sentences of R (= רוספ) and Š (= סרְפ) 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 taḥ̄ marbūṯah is replaced by ת (TA) or ת (st.abs.) in (al-Yahūd) אל-יהוד and CA medial hamzah is replaced by the (the) rest of (st.cs.) in (al-Yahūd) אל-יהוד, and the CA preposition of is abbreviated into פ (TA) and attached to the following word as פ榄ִנס (FALASEM). 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. לְפָהֵר (REL.PRON.) 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: מַתְנִי (TUM mtā˒) “of”, מַתְנִי “conduct (st.cs.)” (cf. TUM mkātib) “schools”, בְּקִרְיָת (TUM w-bqiyya˒) “and (the) rest (of) (st.cs.)”. לְיָד (REL.PRON.) (REL.PRON.) “under”, פ (TUM f˒) “in”, ארְאֶזְי (TUM aʔrā˒) “lands”, but others are rather Classical, which are not used
in the dialect of Tripolitanian Jews: "it observes", "existing", "it’s observance".

It seems that the author of the Š 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 לילא 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.
3.1. Consonants

3.1.1. R

3.1.1.1. א

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

1) CA ālif maqūrah (ālif / yā')

א' (א) "we had information", א"ל "on", א"ל "to", א"ל "the religious community", א"ש "year", א"ש "Egyptian" (CA ʿalif / yā')

2) תָּו' marbūrah (st.abs.)

א"ש "the religious community", א"ש "year", א"ש "Egyptian" (CA ʿalif / yā')

---

7) This ligature of א and י is used not only for the definite article but in any other cases.
8) In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same letters.
9) In the construct state, א changes to את: כל תلاتת אשתא אר "every three months".
8) In some cases the geminated consonant is indicated with two same letters.

7) This ligature of אטלענא CA (1) CACA “foreigners”, CA (אטלענא CA) “the relatives”

(4) hamzah

CA (אטלענא CA) “proprietors”, CA (שתור CA) “matters” (see 3.1.1.5.(5c))
CA (משאול CA) “responsible”, CA (ראשונים CA) “their heads”, CA (城镇化 CA) “to”

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

CA (אטלענא CA) “origins”, CA (אטלענא CA) “matters”

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

CA (אטלענא CA) “erection”, CA (אטלענא CA) “except”, CA (אטלענא CA) “Rabbi”, CA (אטלענא CA) “to it”, CA (אטלענא CA) “when”

(5) Others

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

3.1.1.2. צ, צ, צ

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

(1) CA צ

(a) CA צ > צ (צלות CA) “the fixed”, CA (званא CA) “adoption”

(b) CA צ > צ ( antlrית CA) “we confirmed”, CA (تراث CA) “three”

(2) CA צ

(a) CA צ > צ (צעדי CA) “it is renewed”

(b) CA צ > צ (ذلك CA) “that”, CA (ذلك CA) “if”

3.1.1.3. לא

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

(1) CA לא: CA (אטיראطم CA) “member”, CA (אטיראט shopper CA) “objections”
2. CA  ה comes to CA ה and to CA תיך-מרבע (in st.abs.).

(1) י י faces

(2) תיכ-מרבע 10).

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

3.1.1.5. CA  usually corresponds to CA וֹ (indicating short u and long ī), and there are cases where it corresponds to other CA elements.

(1) CA ו

“one of the two”, “intended”, “it is nominated”, “persons in charge”, “it (f.) puts it (m.)”

(2) CA ī

“origins”, “their rights”

3.1.1.6. See 3.1.1.6.(4))

3.1.1.6. (א) CA  אָ at the names

(3) CA  אָ at names

(4) Other cases

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

10) CA ī is in most cases transcribed as X (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 "father-in-law".

This form corresponds to other CA elements.

is used in the following cases.

(a) CA אול (CA "first", "its deputies", "the employees", "composed"
(b) CA ו (CA "for putting"
(c) CA ילאת (CA "first (f.)")
(d) CA שוור (CA "matters" (see 3.1.1.1.(4)))

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

(1) CA אול (CA "elections", "primarily", "by its matters", "therefore"
(2) CA ילאת (CA "renewal", "in it (f.)", "which"
(3) CA ילאת (CA "the community", "deputy", "its functions", "the chief Rabbis"
(4) CA ילאת (CA "as one", (see 3.1.1.5.(3)))

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

Bezarai, scholars, “the members”, “members”, “the people”, “in carrying out”, “opinions”

3.1.2.2. \( \text{at the final position} \)

(1) phonologically long \( \dot{a} \) of TRJ (including the feminine ending \( -a < \text{CA} \ s \), which alternates with \( -\dot{a} \) in st.cs.).

(a) long \( \dot{a} \): TRJ \( \text{baš} \) “in order to”, TRJ \( \text{mוא} \) “with”, TRJ \( \text{ynāsšāb-ā} \) “it fits it (f.)”, TRJ \( \text{lā} \) “on”

(b) the feminine ending \( -a \) (= TRJ marbāyah) (see 3.1.2.2.2.): TRJ \( \text{šāriyya} \) “monthly salary”, TRJ \( \text{marra} \) “time”, TRJ \( \text{f-l-āmdīna} \) “in the city”

3.1.2.3

3.1.2.1. \( \text{in} \)

\( \text{in} \) corresponds to the following elements.

(1) phonologically long \( \dot{a} \) of TRJ (including the feminine ending \( -a < \text{CA} \ s \), which alternates with \( -\dot{a} \) in st.cs.).

(a) long \( \dot{a} \): TRJ \( \text{baš} \) “in order to”, TRJ \( \text{mוא} \) “with”, TRJ \( \text{ynāsšāb-ā} \) “it fits it (f.)”, TRJ \( \text{lā} \) “on”

(b) the feminine ending \( -a \) (= TRJ marbāyah) (see 3.1.2.2.2.): TRJ \( \text{šāriyya} \) “monthly salary”, TRJ \( \text{marra} \) “time”, TRJ \( \text{f-l-āmdīna} \) “in the city”

3.1.2.3

3.1.2.3. \( \dot{a} \)

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

(2) TRJ \( \dot{a} \)

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

(3) At the initial position, it indicates etymological CA \( \text{alif} (= \text{TRJ short} \dot{a} \text{ or zero}) \)
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 الت (TRJ ad, cf. CA 3.1.2.1. “this”, cf. CA ראוהוים “he saw them”, cf. CA ביבם “by them”)

(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 = ה: “it is necessary”, cf. CA אלאותרי, “(rel.pron.)”, cf. CA הליתני, “(rel.pron.)”, cf. CA אלאותרי, “(rel.pron.)”

The cases where ה indicates CA a are relatively rare.


CA u = י: R: CA שủaייא (שות), “matters” (see 3.1.1.5,“(c)”, cf. CA אתדות, “one of the both”, “the people”, “time”, “institution”)

13 The initial a of CA form is not reflected in TRJ, but in the written language the etymology is taken into account.
3.2.2. $\$  
On the other hand, the following words, which in CA are apparently bi-radical, contain yod for the original short i.

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

For the word corresponding to CA $\xi$הילא, there are two forms; one with י for the etymological short vowel i, which appears in R $\xi$הילא ( Poundform) and another without י appearing in $\$ ( Poundform).  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 י.  On the other hand, it is also possible that these two different forms reflect the actual pronunciation; the י of R form reflects the short i of CA $\xi$הילא, meanwhile $\$ form without י reflects the presumed dialectal form $\xi$הילא, where the etymological short vowel in an open syllable is dropped.  And in $\$ we can find forms with mater lectionis: $\xi$הילא.  It seems that in the language of $\$, this word would be considered as high level word, and actually pronounced as $\xi$הילא, i as a phonological long vowel, so that in this case י is written.  In TRJ, historical short vowels in open syllables are eliminated (CA $\xi$הילא > TRJ $\xi$הילא), 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 $\xi$הילא).  However in the case of י, כול for י may be considered as orthographical influence from Hebrew.

In $\$, too, there are some examples of the historical short vowel indicated by a mater lectionis: $\xi$אמהו.  And י of CA $\xi$אמה (Amor) “matters”.

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

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

1) With repetition of two identical consonants

R: בכם תחלה "in order that he submits", (CA "it possesses").

"for the period of two months"

(Ex. לְתַחֲלָה 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 consonant.

R: (CA "at least", "it is necessary"

(Ex. לְתַחֲלָה 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 (CA "the law court(s) take care ...").

תתוללא alma - "among the Jewish subjects", אומור "the community", "the notification", "these law courts"

3.4.1.2. Š

The definite article tends to be written rather phonetically.

(Ex. before the moon letters (א, ב, ג, ס, ת, ט, י, כ, ש, צ, מ, נ, נ, ק in Š) it is written with א, ק, ק, ק, ק, ק, ק, ק in Š, irrespective of phonological condition of the preceding word.

תתוללא alqa "these rules", האד "this law", התתוללא "the expenses of the community"

---

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

15) In R, CA לְתַחֲלָה is written as a single word.
(2) Before the sun letters (א, צ, ר, ש, ת, י, ת, י, ת in §), -ל is in some cases indicated and in other cases neglected.

(a) with ול-(= ל-)
   אללארה אללאלאראיאיתל "the religion", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "Italian language"

(b) without ול-(= ל-)
   אללארה אללאלאראיאיתל "the certification", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "the notification", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "the second", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "the group", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "the state", א"אלאלאראניאיתל "the number"

3.4.2. When preceded by an inseparable monosyllabic word.

3.4.2.1. ר

(1)sounds like 

(a) Before moon letters
   "in the sciences", אללאראיאיתל "for the bank bills"

(b) Before sun letters
   "for the head", אללאראיאיתל "for the members"

(2)sounds like 

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

(b) Before sun letters
   "in the year", אללאראיאיתל "in Italian" 16)

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

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

3.4.2.5

(1)sounds like 

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

(b) Before sun letters

16) "Italian (language)" in R is אללאראיאיתל [alyaniyya].
لناس “for the people”

(2) -א-י

(a) Before moon letters

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

(b) Before sun letters

“on the education”,قالكات,“in the payment”,قالكات “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.

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<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<td>m.</td>
<td>אלי</td>
<td>אלאתדים, אלאתד, אלאתדין</td>
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<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>אלאתד, אלאתדין</td>
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ﬁ אמאכ אלעצאי “the central districts which choose its deputies...”, אלאתדין פרגי מץ אלמדס “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 המ יינח אלי אלחרג א顆מס ﬂ לח ﷺ. אֵלָאָדָּי “from the direction where (= because) they are poor” [השתח作った], “this is the purpose the Zionists are striving for” [הווא], “those people who have rights” [אלימי אלי ﷲ ﷺ. ﷺ. אֵלָאָדָּי], “the utensils which the sick person uses” [מסאיל].

In §, exclusively את is used.

“the people who are Italian”, את “for the members who are living in the city”, אתלדמא אלי ﷲ ﷺ. “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 וראיתאתה, והו והו וראיתאתה: “and it is the responsible for it (f.), and he sends it (f.)”

S: “he who still is included among them”

(2) 3.f.sg.
R: והייא מיתיתואו והייא. “it is one of the rights of the community”, והייא, והייא “it (f.) is what it (m.) needs”, והייא והייא “and it (f.) is aimed to the purposes”

S: “it (f.) is known”

(3) 3.pl.
R: והז האמהה והז האמהה: “the persons in charge are individuals of the community”

S: מתאריך לקהל, והז האמהה והז האמהה: “for the people who are able”, והז האמהה והז האמהה ... “the expenses of the community are ...”

4.2.2. Suffix pronouns

(1) 3.m.sg.
R: והו והו והו והו: “about him”, והו והו והו והו: “it (f.) required it (m.)”

S: “by his frequent presence”, והו והו והו והו: “it (f.) requires it (m.)”, והו והו והו והו: “the
contract of its system”, “by it” (but to its election”, “what the minister demonstrates”)

between him and her

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

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

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

and this institution”, ָָהִライ, “and these disasters”

this”, “those”, “these” (m.f.), אֶלְדַּוּ, אֶלְדַּוּ, “those”

It seems that ָָהִライ is not corresponding to CA, but to TRJ ָדַָ (m.sg.).

because of this”, דאָלָל, “and likewise”

their rights”, וּפְתַּחְמָה “their function”

their number”, מָנְה, “from them”, מָנְה, “she makes them work”

in them”, רָאָהוּ, “he saw them”

is used for dual.

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

4.2.3. Demonstrative pronouns

This is not corresponding to CA, but to TRJ ָדַָ (m.sg.).

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

5.1. Use of the internal passive in R

The community is considered as a separate cultural body...

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

5.2. Syndetic constructions

it is possible for the Jewish subjects to appeal to the courts...

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

it is considered as a separate cultural body...

(2) With -ן

he has to be a Jew, according to

(3) With -ן

he has to be a Jew, "primarily"

17) In this case את in Biblical Hebrew indicates the etymological alif and hamzah at the same time.
“he presents a sufficient guarantee”, “anyone whosoever he may be”

5.4. Negative expressions\(^{18}\)

5.4.1. R

The negative in R is indicated in various ways.

(1) \( \text{לט} \)

\( \text{לט} \) is used to negate verbless sentence. In R it may be inflected.

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

(2) \( \text{ל} \)

\( \text{ל} \) is used with the verbs in the prefix conjugation.

“and if one of them is not provided sufficiently...”

(3) \( \text{לא} \)

\( \text{לא} \) 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) \( \text{ל} \)

\( \text{ל} \) is used with verbs in the suffix conjugation.

“as long as four of the members do not attend it (f.)”

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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 -\( \text{m} \) of a nomen regens is not elided before a nomen regens in the idafa construction, see Yoda, Tripoli p. 206.

20) “six” in this sentence reflects \( \text{שֶׁשׁ} \) in st.cs., whereas \( \text{שֶׁשׁ} \) in the Š sentence \( \text{שֶׁשׁ} \) “six” in 5.4.2.(1) reflects the dialectal form \( \text{שֶׁשׁ} \).
Only one example is attested with a verb in the prefix conjugation, and it does not refer to the past.

In other texts published in Tripoli, we can find examples with verbs in the suffix conjugation after "a problem which I could not suffer" [דול]

Ma... ש(ו) (2)

Ma... ש(ו) is used with verbs in the prefix conjugation. This is a pure dialectal way of the negation.

(3)

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

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: האונס האסטרהיליתא טראברבלס “the Jewish community in Tripoli”
Š: הקהילת טראברבלס “Jewish community of Tripoli”

21) “to be able” (כָּפַס “they cannot”), although not used in TRJ (where qdar is used for this meaning), frequently appears in Tripolitanian Judaeo-Arabic texts.
In the following, comparison is made how the same phrases are expressed in both of them.

6. Vocabulary

R: אלעמאפ “the community”
Š: אלעבאר “the (religious) community”

R: אלעמעטן אלרבאנייא “the rabbinical courts”
Š: בית דר “religious court”

R: אלעメインי אלמא אראבאייא “the members of the rabbinical courts”
Š: ודעייס “the Jewish judges”

R: אלרבראני אלאבכיבר “the chief of the Rabbis”, אלמסומ אראבאנייא “the greatest Rabbi”
Š: חאפ באהי “Chief Rabbi”

R: אלעבארינייא “the Hebrew (language)”
Š: באלשו חקרוט “in the Sacred language”

R: פסקא “phrase”
Š: פסוק “phrase”

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

R: אלמאפלל “synagogues”
Š: אצלראאנא, בתו חכמיס “synagogues”

(cf. CA is attested in many Arab dialects of Jews: TRJ ассълана.)

R: אלמאראאט אלאפייא “the communal schools”
Š: מיהאת חברת תלמוד תורה “the schools of Jewish community”

R: אלעמייאל אפריריא “the good deeds”
Š: קאימא (“charities”)
6.2. Italian words

It is worthy of note that names of months are different between Š and R. In Š, Italian forms are used whereas in R CA forms are used (except for November). Note that in order to indicate Italian [g] and [dʒ] šin and šin tet are used respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>תֶנַניינא (lt. gennaio)</td>
<td>ננאי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>מַאֲרוֹר (lt. marzo)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>תֶנֶנַי (lt. giunio)</td>
<td>יוני</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>אֲמוֹסָט (lt. agosto)</td>
<td>(not attested)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>דִּיטֶשְׁמֶנֶר (lt. dicembre)</td>
<td>דִּיטֶשְׁמֶנֶר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>נוֹמָבֶר (lt. Novembre)</td>
<td>נוֹמָבֶר</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 א 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 are abundantly used.

References