Arabic Vocalisation in Judaeo-Arabic Grammars of Classical Arabic

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Many Judaeo-Arabic texts use Arabic vocalisation signs. In the vast majority of such texts, vocalisation is sporadic, and rarely includes case endings, *tanwīn* or other elements typical of fully vocalised classical Arabic texts. A much smaller group of Judaeo-Arabic texts – most if not all of which were originally composed in Arabic script and later transcribed into Hebrew characters – are consistently vocalised with Arabic signs. Examples include Judaeo-Arabic fragments of the Qurʾān (Halle DMG Arab 5),[1] of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (L-G Ar. 2.73), and of medical (Mosseri I.126.2, IX.124, X.30.1) and grammatical works (T-S NS 301.25). In addition, there are fully vocalised manuscripts that use a combination of Tiberian vowels with Arabic signs such as *waṣla* and *tanwīn*, which are not found in the Tiberian system; for example, a complete copy of the Qurʾān in Judaeo-Arabic (Ox. Bodl. Hunt. 529).

Few studies of Arabic vocalisation in medieval Judaeo-Arabic texts exist. E. Rödiger included a relatively detailed analysis of the Arabic vocalisation in his description of the Judaeo-Arabic Qurʾān fragment Halle DMG Arab 5, highlighting a number of instances of non-standard vocalisation.[2] Recently, E.-M. Wagner has studied Arabic vocalisation marks in Judaeo-Arabic letters and legal documents written by Ḥalfon b. Manasse, an early 12th century Jewish court scribe. Wagner suggests that this scribe may have become familiar with Arabic vocalisation practices through copying Arabic books into Hebrew characters, subsequently pioneering the use of Arabic signs in Jewish documentary texts.[3]

A study of Arabic vocalisation in Judaeo-Arabic texts is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, by identifying instances of non-classical vocalism such study can contribute to our knowledge of the phonology of medieval Arabic, in both its Jewish and its Muslim varieties, given that vocalisation marks

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[1] For a transcription (without vowels) and a facsimile of this manuscript, see Paudice, 2009, pp. 230–239, 252–257. For a study of the manuscript, see Rödiger, 1860.

[2] Rödiger, 1860, pp. 485–489.

[3] Wagner, forthcoming. See Ox. Bodl. Heb. e.74.1–6, a Muslim letter formulary, transliterated into Hebrew by Ḥalfon b. Manasse.

in texts transcribed into Hebrew characters could have been copied from Arabic *Vorlagen*.[4] Secondly, it can inform our ideas on medieval Jewish education in Classical Arabic and its scribal conventions, shedding light on the level of Jews' knowledge of Arabic vocalisation rules, the kinds of people who might have had this knowledge, the periods when Arabic vocalisation marks were used by Jewish scribes in texts of different types, and the role Judaeo-Arabic texts consistently vocalised with Arabic vocalisation signs might have had as teaching materials for learning Classical Arabic pronunciation and vocalisation rules. To answer the latter set of questions, a systematic study of Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts with Arabic vocalisation signs is required, based on a corpus of sources that includes texts that were transcribed from Arabic as well as those that were originally written in Judaeo-Arabic.

This article makes a small contribution to the programme of research outlined above by analysing the Arabic vocalisation in Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts transcribed from Arabic *Vorlagen*, based on my work on a corpus of Classical Arabic grammars copied in Hebrew characters and preserved in the Cairo Genizah and in the Firkovich Collections in the National Library of Russia.[5] The article consists of an edition of a grammatical fragment vocalised with Arabic signs, accompanied by a study of its spelling and vocalisation in the context of linguistic features reflected in other Judaeo-Arabic grammars of Classical Arabic and vocalised Judaeo-Arabic texts.

1   T-S NS 301.25

T-S NS 301.25 is a well-preserved one-folio fragment measuring 20.5cm x 12.5cm. The folio carries two unrelated texts: on recto, a grammar of Classical Arabic is copied in Judaeo-Arabic, in a 12th–13th century Egyptian handwriting;[6] on verso, in a different Egyptian 12th–13th century hand, there is a dirge for a communal official who bore the title Nagid.[7]

The grammar on T-S NS 301.25 recto has been identified by Dr Almog Kasher from Bar-Ilan University as a passage from *Kitāb al-Jumal fī al-Naḥw* by Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī, a 10th century Arab grammarian.[8] *Kitāb al-Jumal fī al-Naḥw* is an introduction to Classical Arabic

grammar written for beginners, in which Al-Zajjājī presents the rules of grammar accompanied by multiple examples and explains grammatical terminology. Numerous Arabic script copies of and commentaries on *Kitāb al-Jumal* exist, testifying to its popularity in the Muslim world, especially in al-Andalus.[9] *Kitāb al-Jumal* was well known to Andalusian Jewish grammarians, as is shown by quotations from it identified in Jonah ibn Janāḥ's *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* and in Isaac ibn Barūn's *Kitāb al-Muwāzana bayn al-Lugha al-ʿIbrāniyya wa-l-ʿArabiyya*.[10]

Copied in the 12th–13th century, T-S NS 301.25 is one of the earliest surviving manuscripts of *Kitāb al-Jumal*.[11] The preserved text belongs to The Chapter on Knowing the Markers of Inflection (*bāb maʿrifat ʿalāmāt al-iʿrāb*) and forms the closing section of the chapter.[12] Below this, The Chapter On Verbs is announced but is not copied, leaving a large empty space at the bottom of the page. The text is consistently vocalised with Arabic signs.

2 Edition[13]

1. וגَמֹעَהَא נَחֹו קֹולَךֹ לَםֹ יَפֹעَלَא ולَםֹ יَפֹעَלֹו[14] ומَא

2. אשֹבَהَ דَלֹךֹ פَגֹמִיֹע עَלאَמאתَ אלאَעֹראَבَ

3. ארֹבَע עَשׂרה עَלאَמה ארֹבَעֹ לلרֹפֹעֹ וَכَמֹסֹ

4. للנَצֹב וֹתَלֹת للכֹפֹצֹי[15] ואתֹנתَאן للגَזֹם[16]

5. וגَמִיֹע מَא יֹערَב בَהَ אלֹכَלאَםֹ דסَעֹה אَשיאَ[17]

6. תלֹת[18] חَרَכَאתَ וَהֹי אלֹצَّמَّהֹ ואלֹפَתֹחَהֹ ואلֹכَסרהֹ

7. וَאֹرֹבَעֹ[19] אחרֹף וَהֹ[20] אלֹואو[21] וَאلֹיֹאَ וَאلֹף וَאلֹנֹون

[9] Binaghi, 2015, pp. 339–348.

[10] See Becker, 1998, pp. 44–46, 57 and Becker, 2005, pp. 66–67.

[11] The earliest identified copy in the Arabic script is dated 1207 CE (Binaghi, 2015, p. 173).

[12] Cheneb, 1927, pp. 18–21, esp. p. 21; Al-Ḥamad, 1996, p. 3–6, esp. p. 6.

[13] A transcription of this fragment, without vocalisation signs and identification, can be found on the Friedberg Genizah Project (FGP) website, https://fjms.genizah.org/.

[14] In Cheneb, 1927, p. 21 and Al-Ḥamad, 1996, p. 6 the elision of the final *nun* in 2fsg verbs is also mentioned, exemplified by لم تفعلي. This passage is worded and placed slightly differently in the editions. The omission of this passage in the early Judaeo-Arabic copy, together with its instability in the editions, suggests that it is a gloss which made its way into the main body of the text.

[15] ללכֹפֹצֹי and ללגֹזמי, corrected to ללגَזֹם (see n. 16), with the *plene* spelling of the short /i/ of the genitive, may have originated in the process of dictation or of 'inner dictation' when copying from a model. Alternatively, the spelling ללכֹפֹצֹי could be explained by the graphic similarity between the Arabic ضى and ض.

[16] Originally ללגֹזמי, corrected to ללגَזֹם.

[17] This vowel sign is barely legible and uncertain.

[18] Originally תלאת, corrected to תלֹת.

[19] The expected form is ארבעה.

[20] This vowel sign is barely legible and uncertain.

[21] Ink traces are preserved above the final *waw*, but the vowel is uncertain.

8. ‏[ו]חדת�' וסכّוןֹ 22 לَא'ֹ 23 יכّוןֹ מֹעّרَבَ פּי שיא' 24 מَן אלכّלאَם

9. ‏אِלّא בَאחَד' 25 הֹדה אלאֹשֹّיא

10. ‏באב אלאפﬠאל

3 Analysis

3.1 Spelling and vocalisation reflecting non-standard pronunciation

Although T-S NS 301.25 is a copy of a grammar of Classical Arabic, and its spelling and vocalisation were undoubtedly intended to represent Classical Arabic, some of its readings indicate non-standard pronunciations. These include:

a. ‏פَגْמֵיﬠ' (l. 2), with a *sukūn* instead of the expected *fatḥa* for the Classical Arabic *fa-jamīʿu*, probably reflects a sandhi-type elision of the short /a/.[26]

b. The numeral three is vocalised ‏וَתֹّלֹּת (l. 4) in place of the Classical Arabic *wa-ṯalāṯun*. In the second occurrence of the same numeral in line 6, the initially written ‏תלאת is corrected by overwriting to ‏תלֹת.

c. The spelling ‏דסֹﬠֹה (l. 5) instead of *tisʿatu* reflects a voiced or an unaspirated pronunciation of /t/. The same pronunciation is attested in medieval Judaeo-Arabic letters from the Maghreb in the spelling of the name Tustarī as ‏דסתרי.[27]

d. In ‏בَאחَד' (l. 9) the preposition ‏ב is vocalised *ba-* instead of *bi-*. Similar vocalisation can be found in Halle DMG Arab 5, a Judaeo-Arabic Qurʾān fragment vocalised with Arabic vowel signs, in which *fatḥa* is occasionally marked where *kasra* is expected in Classical Arabic, especially but not exclusively on the prepositions ‏ב and ‏ל: ‏בֹעבאדה, בَמֹא, ‏לכל, לَמֹן.[28] In Judaeo-Arabic texts vocalised with Tiberian signs, the preposition ‏ב is occasionally vocalised with a *shewa*: ‏בְּדָאך (T-S Ar. 53.12 r.), ‏בְּכֵאר, בְּמֵא (T-S Ar. 53.12 v.). Inasmuch as the main sound value of *shewa* in the Tiberian reading tradition is a short /a/, and since the phonetic conditions in the above given examples are not conducive to realising the *shewa* as short /i/, it has been assumed that the vocalisation of the Judaeo-Arabic preposition ‏ב with a *shewa* either

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[22] Ink traces are preserved above the final *nun*, but the vowel is uncertain.

[23] The *sukūn* is partially rubbed and is uncertain.

[24] The final *aleph* may have been crossed out.

[25] Two dots are visible above the *aleph* and the *ḥet*.

[26] Cf. Woidich, 1991, pp. 1632–1633.

[27] See Wagner, 2010, p. 35 and n. 23 there.

[28] Rödiger, 1860, pp. 487–488.

reflects the Palestinian substrate pronunciation, in which the *shewa* stands for a short /e/, or is a Hebraism.[29] The vocalisation of this preposition with a *fatḥa* found in manuscripts with Arabic vowel signs may hint that the intended value of the *shewa* here is, in fact, a short /a/ reflecting the reading *ba-*, possibly by hypercorrection.[30]

3.2 Inflectional vowels

The majority of case endings in T-S NS 301.25 are correct. Exceptions are:

a. וגَמֹעֹהَא (l. 1) should probably have the genitive case marker /i/ and not the accusative /a/. Although the preceding text is missing, the phrase according to the editions is[31]

<div dir="rtl">

وحذف النون ايضا علامة للجزم في تثنية الافعال وجمعها
</div>

'The elision of the *nun* is also a marker of *jazm*, in the dual and plural verb forms.'

It is likely that the reading in our fragment was the same, as is supported by the preserved examples לَمֹ יَפֹעَלَא ולَمֹ יَפֹעַلֹו (l. 1). If so, the genitive case ending is expected after the preposition פִי.

b. לֹלֹרֹפֹעֹ (l. 3), where the genitive rather than the nominative ending is expected after the preposition.

c. לَא יَכֹוֹן מֹעֹרַבَ (l. 8), where a *fatḥa* on the second radical, and a nunated nominative ending -*un* are expected: *muʿrabun*.[32] The active participle form *muʿrib* is highly unlikely in this context and appears to be a mistake. The accusative ending may be due to an erroneous parsing of יכון as 'incomplete' *kāna* and of מערב as its object.

Confusion in the marking of case endings is also attested in a Kufan grammatical primer preserved in T-S Ar. 31.254, T-S 24.31 and T-S AS 155.132,[33] where the name ʿAbd Allāh after a preposition is occasionally vocalised with a *fatḥa* – for example, עלי עבדَ אללה (T-S 24.31 r.) – as well as in the Qurʾān fragment Halle DMG Arab 5 and in Judaeo-Arabic texts with Tiberian vocalisation.[34]

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[29] Khan, 2010, p. 209; Khan, 1992, pp. 110–111.
[30] For examples of substituting /a/ for the Classical Arabic /i/ by hypercorrection, see Khan, 2010, p. 206.
[31] Cheneb, 1927, p. 21; Al-Ḥamad, 1996, p. 6.
[32] Cf. Cheneb, 1927, p. 21; Al-Ḥamad, 1996, p. 6.
[33] Edited and analysed in Vidro and Kasher, 2014.
[34] Rödiger, 1860, p. 487; Khan, 2010, p. 205; Blau and Hopkins, 1988, p. 469, §26.

3.3 The marking of long vowels

In a number of cases in T-S NS 301.25, long /ā/ is represented by an *aleph* vocalised with a *sukūn*; for example, מֹא (l. 1, l. 5), עְלֹאמאתֿ (l. 2), עֹלֹאמהֿ (l. 3), אלכלֹאֹם (l. 5), אלכלֹאֹם (l. 8) and לֹא (l. 8, example uncertain). This spelling is found in about half of the cases of long /ā/ in the fragment; in the rest of the cases the *aleph* is unvocalised, and other long vowels are never marked with a *sukūn* on the respective *matres lectionis*. The marking of all three *matres lectionis* with a *sukūn* is attested in Islamic manuscripts,[35] and was known to Jewish scribes. It is used in Judaeo-Arabic fragments L-G Ar. 2.3, 2.4, 2.10, 2.142 of *Kitāb al-Afʿāl Ḏawāt Ḥurūf al-Līn* by Judah Ḥayyūj – for example, בֹאֹבֿ (L-G Ar. 2.3 v.) and פֹאֹקֹוֹל (L-G Ar. 2.4 v.) – as well as in an Arabic script Pentateuch commentary by Abū al-Faraj Furqān in BL Or. 2545, where a *sukūn* can be found on *matres lectionis* both in the original Arabic words (mainly for the long /ī/ and /ū/) – for example, رَسُوْلًا (BL Or. 2545, f. 8 v.) – and in transliterations of Hebrew words – for example, مغَمَزِيْن for מגמזין (BL Or. 2545, f. 87 r.).[36] This function of the *sukūn* was carried over to the Tiberian *shewa* in some Judaeo-Arabic texts, such as a copy of the Qurʾān in Hebrew characters in Ox. Bodl. Hunt. 529, where most long /ī/ and /ū/ vowels are represented by *yod* or *waw* with a *shewa* while the *aleph* of the long /ā/ is left unvocalised – for example, גִּ֖יִר אֵלְמַגְ֜צֵוֹבֿ and וַאֵיֹאֹךְ נַסְתַעִיְן, רַבֿ אֵלְעָאלַמִיְן (f. 1 v.) – and a liturgical fragment T-S Ar. 8.3, where the *aleph* of the long /ā/ is the only *mater lectionis* vocalised with the *shewa* – for example, דְּאֶר (f. 13 r.).[37]

3.4 The marking of the initial *hamzat al-qaṭ ʿ* and *hamzat al-waṣl*

Only *hamzat al-qaṭ ʿ* is found in T-S NS 301.25, written on top of the aleph אֹ irrespective of its vowel, as seen in אלאֹשׂיֹאֹ (*al-ʾašyāʾ*, l. 9) vs. אלאֹעֹראבֿ (*al-ʾiʿrābi*, l. 2). The *hamza* is marked inconsistently and is missing in such forms as אֹרֹבֿע (l. 3), אֹשׂיא (l. 5), אחרֹךְ (l. 7) and אשֹֹׁבֿהֿ (l. 2). On the other hand, it is used a number of times on the *aleph* of the definite article after a word ending in a vowel, where it is not pronounced according to the rules of Classical Arabic: וגֹמִיע מֹאֹ יֹערֹבֿ בֹהֿ אלֹכלֹאֹם (l. 5) and וֹהי אלֹצֹמהֿ ואֹלפֹתֹחהֿ (l. 6). A parallel phenomenon, understood in secondary literature as pseudo-Classical or morphophonemic spelling, is attested in Judaeo-Arabic texts with Tiberian vocalisation signs, where *alif al-waṣla* after a vowel is often vocalised as if it were pronounced as a glottal stop: פִי אלחִכְּמֹה (T-S Ar. 53.12 v.).[38]

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[35] Cf. Wright, 1996, vol. I, p. 13, §10 rem.
[36] See Tirosh-Becker, 1998, pp. 383, 386.
[37] See Khan, 1992, pp. 108–109 and n. 20 there.
[38] See Khan, 2010, p. 205. See also Blau and Hopkins, 1988, p. 239, §14.2.

3.5   Nunation[39]

The marking of nunated vowels in T-S NS 301.25 is largely in accord with Classical Arabic norms, with the exception of some cases where non-nunated vowels are found instead, for example:

אַרְבַּעַ עֶשְרהַ עֲלַאֹמהַ **אַרְבַּעֹ** לֵלְרֻפְֹעֹ (l. 3)

לֵאֹ יִכֹוֹן **מֻּעְֹרַבֿ** פִֿי שִׁיא (l. 8)

In other grammars, too, *tanwīn* is occasionally unmarked where it is clearly intended. Thus, in T-S Ar. 5.45 the forms זידֿ, עמרֿ and בכרֿ stand for Zaydun, ʿAmrun and Bakrun:

ודכלה אלתנוין כקולך זידֿ ועמרֿ
'It has the *tanwīn*, e.g. Zaydun (זידֿ) and ʿAmrun (עמרֿ).' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r.)

אעלם אן אלרפע פי אלאסם אלואחד יכון בשיין באלצֿמה ואלואו פאלצֿמה זידֿ ועמרֿ
ובכרֿ ומא אשבה דלך עלאמה אלרפע פי הדה אל אסמא צֿמה אכרהא ובעד אלצֿמה תנוין
'Take note that the nominative case of single nouns is (expressed) by two things: the *ḍamma* and the *waw*. The examples of *ḍamma* are Zaydun (זידֿ) and ʿAmrun (עמרֿ) and Bakrun (בכרֿ), etc. The marker of the nominative in these nouns is the *ḍamma* at the end and the *tanwīn* after the *ḍamma*.' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 v.)

In the Kufan grammatical primer *tanwīn ḍamma* is never marked:[40] for example, קאם זידֿ (T-S Ar. 31.254 r.) and עלי אכיך תובֿ גדידֿ (T-S 24.31 r.). Both *tanwīn fatḥa* and *tanwīn kasra* are found in the fragments alongside their non-nunated counterparts, but the signs are used indiscriminately: רפעת עבדֿ אללה (T-S Ar. 31.254 r.) vs. רפעת עבדَ אללהَ (T-S 24.31 r.); לקית עבדَ אללהَ (T-S Ar. 31.254 r.) vs. לקיני עבדَ אללהَ (T-S Ar. 31.254 r.); בכסרֶ אלפא (T-S 24.31 v.). At the top of T-S Ar. 31.254 short discontinuous passages of Arabic grammar are copied in Arabic script.[41] In these passages a similar confusion between nunated and non-nunated vowels can be detected: *tanwīn ḍamma* is not used, whereas *tanwīn fatḥa* and *tanwīn kasra* are invariably used at the end of words irrespective of their syntactic position, as well as for final non-inflectional vowels:

اقسَامُ الكلام ثلاثُ إسمُ وفعلُ وحرف; فالاسمُ قولكَ رجلُ وفرَسُ وغلامُ; ضربَّ زيدُ عمرَّ; بين
الفاعلٍ

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[39] On *tanwīn* in Judaeo-Arabic texts see Baneth, 1945–1946; Blau, 1980, 153–154; Blau, 1955; Wagner, 2010, pp. 175–188.
[40] Vidro and Kasher, 2014, p. 206.
[41] See Vidro and Kasher, 2014, pp. 176–177.

The lack of *tanwīn ḍamma* in these grammatical fragments resembles the vocalisation of the Qurʾān fragment Halle DMG Arab 5, in which *tanwīn fatḥa* and *tanwīn kasra* are marked as expected, whereas *tanwīn ḍamma* is not attested and the simple *ḍamma* is used instead.[42]

When *tanwīn* is marked, its graphic representation varies somewhat among different Judaeo-Arabic grammars of Classical Arabic. In the section on orthographic signs in T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r., *tanwīn* is recorded as two oblique strokes, as in figure 1.
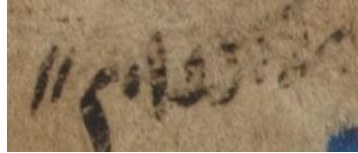

Figure 1. Tanwīn as two oblique strokes (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r.)[43]

Unsurprisingly, this sign placed above or below the final consonant is used in the corpus for *tanwīn fatḥa* and *tanwīn kasra* respectively. For *tanwīn ḍamma* more variants are attested. The most common one is a *ḍamma* with an oblique stroke to the left, as in figure 2; in more cursive notation, the stroke connects to the *ḍamma*'s tail (see, e.g., SPB RNL Evr Arab II 185, f. 4 r.).[44]

Figure 2. Tanwīn ḍamma as ḍamma with oblique stroke (T-S NS 301.25)[45]

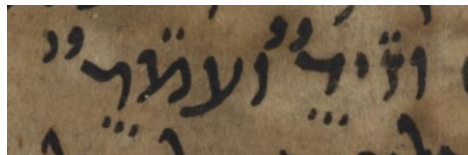*Tanwīn ḍamma* can also be written with a double *ḍamma*, occasionally accompanied by the Hebrew *qubbuṣ*, as in figure 3.

Figure 3. Tanwīn ḍamma as double ḍamma with Hebrew qubbuṣ (T-S Ar. 31.30 v.)[46]

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[42] Rödiger, 1860, p. 486.
[43] Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.
[44] Image available on Ktiv, the International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts, http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/, item 159468, accessed 6 July 2017.
[45] Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.
[46] Image courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

The writing of *tanwīn ḍamma* with two *ḍammas* one on top of the other, mentioned in Muslim treatises on Arabic orthography,[47] has not been found in Judaeo-Arabic grammars but can be seen in a Judaeo-Arabic copy of the Qurʾān copied in Iraq or Iran in 1575–1625 (see, for example, Ox. Bodl. Hunt. 529, f. 2 v.).[48]

In addition to the *tanwīn* sign, *nun* or *aleph* in combination with simple vowels can be used to indicate *tanwīn* in all three cases. Examples of *nun* are:

אבו זידן

'Abū Zaydin' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 v.)

... אלכפץׄ יכון מע אל תנוין ואלכסר בלא תנוין מתל זידן בתנוין

'… the genitive case is with *tanwīn* and *kasra* is without *tanwīn*, for example, Zaydin (זידן) has *tanwīn*.' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r.)

Examples of *aleph* are:

אלרפע פי קולך זידא ואלנצב פי קולך זידא ואלכסר והו אל גׄר פי קולך זידַא

'An example of the nominative is Zaydun (זידא), an example of the accusative is Zaydan (זידא), and the example of /i/, which is the genitive, is Zaydin (זידַא).' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 v.)

אלחרכאת פתח והו אלנצב כקולך זידאַ או רפע והו אלצׁם כקולך זידֻא או כפׄץ והו אלכסר כקולך זידִא

'The vowels are: /a/ which is the accusative, e.g. Zaydan (זידאַ), or the nominative, which is /u/, e.g. Zaydun (זידֻא), or genitive, which is /i/, e.g. Zaydin (זידִא).' (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r.)

The writing of the *tanwīn* with an *aleph* can also be found in the example קאם זידא (T-S Ar. 5.45, P1 r., for the Classical Arabic *qāma Zaydun*), where *aleph* should probably be interpreted not as a hypercorrection but as a marker of the *tanwīn* but not of the case ending.[49]

3.6   Function of the text

T-S NS 301.25 is unique in the corpus of Classical Arabic grammars in Judaeo-Arabic in that it is consistently vocalised with Arabic vocalisation signs. In all other grammars, Arabic vocalisation is used but is sporadic. This may hint at the fragment's function. Al-Zajjājī's *Kitāb al-Jumal* was composed in

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[47] See Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Al-Qalqašandī (Egypt, 1355–1418), *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā* (Shams al-Dīn, 1987, p. 161).

[48] Image available at Digital Bodleian, https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/0673a609-8fa3-40f2-b372-23099ab76822, accessed on 22 June 2016.

[49] See also Blau, 1955 on the use of *aleph* to indicate nunation but not case in certain types of nominal sentences.

order to provide learners with basic knowledge of the Classical Arabic language and grammar,[50] and was traditionally used in the classroom for beginning students.[51] It is clearly with the same purpose – that of learning the basics of Classical Arabic and its grammar – that this fragment was transcoded into Hebrew characters. That the single currently identified part of this grammar in Hebrew characters is the chapter on inflection, and the following chapter on verbs was not copied even though enough space remained on the page to do so, may indicate that only a portion of this book was transcribed and vocalised, possibly as a vocalisation exercise. Indeed, it seems fitting to use a basic text on grammatical cases, which mainly deals with vowels and ends with a summary of all case markers, as teaching material on the topic of Arabic vocalisation and as a sample text to practice one's vocalising skills. The imperfect vocalisation of the fragment may indicate that this is not an expert's work to be copied by future students, but the product of a learner who has not yet attained full mastery of this subject.

4 Conclusions

In this article I have edited and analysed a Judaeo-Arabic fragment of Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī's basic grammar of Classical Arabic, *Kitāb al-Jumal fī al-Naḥw*, preserved in T-S NS 301.25 and consistently vocalised with Arabic vowel signs. T-S NS 301.25 was undoubtedly intended to represent Classical Arabic, but nonetheless its spelling and vocalisation hint at the scribe's substrate pronunciation and imperfect knowledge of the Arabic case system. The present analysis complements earlier studies of Judaeo-Arabic fragments vocalised with Tiberian vowel signs and describes different ways of indicating vowel length and nunation, which are not regularly marked in manuscripts with Tiberian vocalisation or in those sporadically vocalised with Arabic signs. It is suggested that the fragment is a vocalisation exercise performed by a learner of Classical Arabic and its grammar.

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[50] Binaghi, 2015, pp. 158–159.
[51] Carter, 2017; Binaghi, 2015, pp. 155–156, 158–159.

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