[8.2] The Enclitic Pronouns

[8.2.1] Possessive Pronouns

Enclitic pronouns are used in the *šarḥ* to the Book of Psalms to express possession and belonging, as follows:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 1PS | -i / -ya |  | 1PP | -na |
| 2PS | -ək / -k |  | 2PP | -kum |
| 3PMS | -u / -h |  | 3PP | -hum |
| 3PFS | -ha |  |  |  |

I) First-Person Singular Possessive Pronoun

This person has two conditioned enclitic pronouns: -i (-י) is added to a noun ending in a consonant, while -ya (-ייא) is added to a noun ending in a vowel. For example:

-i: *fi qəlb-i* (בְלִבִּ֑י, Ps 4:8), *ṛāṣ-i* (רֹ֝אשִׁ֗י, Ps 40:13), *uqāṛ-i* (כְּבוֹדִ֑י, Ps 16:9), *xālq-i* (צוּרִי֮, Ps 28:1), *ṣlāt-i* (תְפִלָּתִ֨י, Ps 39:13), *ǧdūd-i* (אֲבוֹתָֽי, Ps 39:13).

-ya: *bkā-ya* (בִּכְיִֽי, Ps 6:9), *klāwī-ya* (כִלְיוֹתָֽי, Ps 16:7), *rəǧlī-ya* (רַגְלָֽי, Ps 25:15), *ˁaynī-ya* (עֵ֝ינַ֗י, Ps 13:4), *dəṛˁī-ya* (זְרֽוֹעֹתָֽי, Ps 18:35), *xū-ya* (“my brother”).

Second-Person Singular Possessive Pronoun

The corpus includes numerous instances of the second-person masculine singular possessive pronoun, but not a single instance of its feminine counterpart. The informants’ replies suggest that, at least in the colloquial language, the feminine form has merged with the masculine,[[1]](#footnote-1) just as the masculine and feminine merged in CJA in the personal pronouns and the conjugation of verbs in the second person.[[2]](#footnote-2)

The second-person singular pronoun also has two realizations: *-*ək when the pronoun is added to a word ending in a consonant, but -k when it follows a word ending in a vowel. For example:

-ək: *qawm-ək* (עַמְּךָ֖, Ps 3:9), *ˀanf-ək* (אַפֶּֽךָ, Ps 18:16), *ḥkāym-ək* (מִ֭שְׁפָּטֶיךָ, Ps 10:5), *faḍl-ək* (חַ֭סְדְּךָ, Ps 26:3), *bayt-ək* (בֵּיתֶ֑ךָ, Ps 26:8).

When the noun ends in a back consonant, the vowel in the pronoun may be realized as [a]; for example: *ṣwābˁ-ak* (אֶצְבְּעֹתֶ֑יךָ, Ps 8:4), *uǧˁ-ak* (נִגְעֶ֑ךָ, Ps 39:11).

-k: *ˁaynī-k* (עֵינֶ֑יךָ, Ps 5:6, 17:2), *xū-k* (“your brother”).

In two instances, one of the informants used the pronoun -əki for the second-person masculine singular:[[3]](#footnote-3) *uǧh-əki* (פָּנֶ֬יךָ, Ps 4:7), *ḥamq-əki* (פָּ֫נֶ֥יךָ, Ps 21:10).

III) Third-Person Masculine Singular Possessive Pronoun

This pronoun takes the form -u when it follows a word ending in a consonant, but -h after a word ending in a vowel. The form following a consonant has a range of realizations from [u] to [o], but in most instances is [ų] [CHECK symbol]; we have marked this form as *u* for the sake of uniformity. As noted,[[4]](#footnote-4) the vowels in the pronouns are regarded as long and, accordingly, belong to the long vocal phonemes. Since the phoneme /ū/ in CJA is more stable than /ō/, we prefer to consistently mark the verb in the pronoun as *u*, even though it often has a lowered realization.

Examples:

-u/o: *xdām-ọ* (עֲבָדָ֑יו, Ps 34:23), *ˁḍām-u* (עַצְמוֹתָ֑יו, Ps 34:21), *u-fi šrīˁt-ọ* (וּֽבְתוֹרָת֥וֹ, Ps 1:2), *sayf-ọ* (חַרְבּ֣וֹ, Ps 7:13), *ṣḥāb-ų* (עָבָ֥יו, Ps 18:13), *ṭrāyq-ų* (דְרָכָ֨ו, Ps 10:5).

-h: *ˁaynē-h* / *ˁaynī-h* (עֵ֝ינָ֗יו, Ps 10:8), *kursī-h* (כִּסְאֽוֹ, Ps 9:8), *riǧlē-h* (רַגְלָֽיו, Ps 18:10), *fi wudnē-h* (בְאָזְנָֽיו, Ps 18:7), *šqā-h* (עֲמָל֣וֹ, Ps 7:17).

The third-person masculine singular possessive pronoun, which has its origins in the CA هُ, is pronounced [h] when added to a word ending in a vowel and written as ה; for example: שקאה (עֲמָל֣וֹ, Ps 7:17), רג'ליה (רַגְלָֽיו, Ps 18:10). The pronoun is pronounced [u] without any remnant of the *h* when added to a word ending in a consonant. This form was recorded in writing by Rabbi Yosef Renassia in the šarḥ to the Psalms by the letter ו alone; for example: תמארו (פִּרְי֨וֹ, Ps 1:3), פ'ומו (פִּ֣יהוּ, Ps 10:7). In a single instance, the pronoun was written -הו, while in the preceding word it was written with ו: פ'י וקתו וורקתהו (בְּעִתּ֗וֹ וְעָלֵ֥הוּ, Ps 1:3).[[5]](#footnote-5)

By contrast, Rabbi Yosef Renassia recorded the third-person masculine singular possessive pronoun as -הו in other books he authored; for example: הואולאדהו (*Shir Ben David*, p. 12) [Renassia, Y. 1953, p. 12], כ'אתרינהו (his choosers: *Azharot*, I, p. 163) [Renassia, D. 1987, I, p. 163].[[6]](#footnote-6) However, he uses the same orthography in his translation of Rashi’s exegesis on the Book of Deuteronomy as in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms; for example: פ'ומו (31b).

IV) Third-Person Feminine Singular Possessive Pronoun

This pronoun is always -ha (-הא), regardless of the final element of the word to which it is suffixed. Examples: *u-kmāl-ha* (וּמְלוֹאָ֑הּ, Ps 24:1), *fi fumm-ha* (*fi fumm-ha*, Ps 14:3), [אין בתהלים, אולי שמואל ב' יד, 3] *bayt-ha* (“her house”).

V) First-Person Plural Possessive Pronoun

This pronoun is always -na (-נא), whether the word to which it is added ends with a consonant or a vowel; for example: *ˀilāh-na* (אֱלֹהֵ֥ינוּ, Ps 20:6, 8), *qəlb-na* (לִבֵּ֑נוּ, Ps 33:21), *rǧəl-na* (אַ֭שֻּׁרֵינוּ, Ps 17:11), *ṛūḥ-na* (נַ֭פְשֵׁנוּ, Ps 33:20), *u-mḍaṛqət-na* (וּמָֽגִנֵּ֣נוּ, Ps 33:20), *l-lsān-na* (לִלְשֹׁנֵ֣נוּ, Ps 12:5), *šwārəb-na* (שְׂפָתֵ֣ינוּ, Ps 12:5).

VI) Second-Person Plural Possessive Pronoun

The enclitic pronoun -kum (-כום) is used for the second-person masculine plural and probably also for the feminine (at least in the spoken language).[[7]](#footnote-7) The realizations of its vowel range from [u] to [o], but for the sake of uniformity we have marked it as *u*.

Mangion, who describes the colloquial dialect of the Adough region to the northeast of Constantine, states that the realization of the vowel in these pronouns as -kọ̈m, -họ̈m is characteristic of the sedentary dialects.[[8]](#footnote-8) We did not find any evidence among the Jews of Constantine of the alternative pronouns *kum* / *kəm* (and *hum* / *həm*), as is found, for example, in Jijli[[9]](#footnote-9) and in the Jewish dialect of Tunis.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Examples of the second-person possessive pronoun in the corpus: *ǧbəl-kum* (הַרְכֶ֥ם, Ps 11:1), *ṛūṣ-kum* (רָֽאשֵׁיכֶ֗ם, Ps 24:7), *fi qəlb-kum* (בִ֭לְבַבְכֶם, Ps 4:5; לְבַבְכֶ֣ם, 22:27), *fṛāš-kum* (מִשְׁכַּבְכֶ֗ם, Ps 4:5).

VII) Third-Person Plural Possessive Pronoun (Masculine and Feminine)

The possessive pronoun for the third-person masculine plural is -hum (-הום). The corpus did not include any instances of the feminine form, but it is reasonable to assume that -hum is also used in this function.[[11]](#footnote-11) We should add that the above comments regarding the realization of the *u* in -kum also apply to the pronoun

-hum.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Examples of the enclitic third person masculine plural possessive pronoun: *wusṭ-hųm* (קִרְבָּ֪ם, Ps 5:10), *lsān-hųm* (לְ֝שׁוֹנָ֗ם, Ps 5:10), *gərǧumt-họm* (גְּרֹנָ֑ם, Ps 5:10), *ˁayṭət-họm* (שַׁוְעָתָֽם, Ps 34:16), *ṣḥāb-hum* (רֵֽעֵיהֶ֑ם, Ps 28:3).

This system of enclitic possessive pronouns is very similar to those in other Maghrebi dialects. The clear enunciation of the /h/ phoneme is a characteristic of CJA, unlike certain dialects, such as the Jewish dialect of Tunis, in which the weakening of this phoneme is apparent in the pronouns, as it is elsewhere.[[13]](#footnote-13)

The language of the *šarḥ* is characterized by the exclusive use of enclitic possessive pronouns. In the colloquial language, in contrast, the informants express belonging and possession by use of the particle dyāl or (n)tāˁ; these are used both in divided construct chains and together with the enclitic pronouns described above.[[14]](#footnote-14)

[8.2.2] Enclitic Pronouns on the Prepositions

These pronouns are identical to the enclitic possessive pronouns but are added to prepositions rather than nouns. Here, too, we find a distinction in the first-person singular, second-person masculine singular, and third-person masculine singular between the form of the pronoun added to a preposition ending in a vowel – for example: *fi*, *li*, *bi*, *ila*, *ˁla*, *mˁa* – and those attached to prepositions ending in a consonant, such as: *men*, *quddam*, *ˁand*, *qbālət*.

Examples:

Prepositions ending in a vowel: *li-ya* (לִ֭י, Ps 16:6), *lɪ̄-k* (לָּֽךְ, Ps 6:6), *u-lē-h* (וְ֭לוֹ, Ps 7:14), *ˁli-ha* (עָלֶֽיהָ, Ps 37:29), *l-ha* (לָ֥הּ, I Sam 28:13), *ˁlē-na* (עָ֭לֵינוּ, Ps 4:7), *li-hum* (לָ֫הֶ֥ם, Ps 9:21).

Prepositions ending in a consonant: *qbālt-i* (לְנֶגְדִּ֣י, Ps 16:8), *qbālt-u* (נֶ֫גְדּ֥וֹ, Ps 18:13), *mən qddām-ək* (מִ֭לְּפָנֶיךָ, Ps 17:2), *mən-na* (מִמֶּ֣נּוּ, Ps 2:3), *mən-hum* (מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה, Ps 34:21).

The abolition of the distinction between the masculine and feminine in the third-person plural pronouns is already apparent in the *šarḥ* in the form מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה (Ps 34:21), which is translated as מנהום *mən-hum*, in the verse: שֹׁמֵ֥ר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָ֑יו אַחַ֥ת מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה לֹ֣א נִשְׁבָּֽרָה. The gender of the noun עצ'אמו (עַצְמוֹתָ֑יו) in Arabic is masculine (Beaussier 1958, p. 661) and this may explain why מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה was translated into the masculine. In most cases, however, the translator stays close to the Hebrew source and preserves the gender of the Hebrew pronoun, even when the Arabic noun he uses in his translation is of the opposite gender. To give an example concerning a singular noun: קַשְׁתּ֥וֹ דָ֝רַ֗ךְ וַֽיְכוֹנְנֶֽהָ (Ps 7:13) – קווצו עפ'ס וצאובהא; while the Hebrew קשת is feminine, the equivalent noun in Arabic is masculine (Beaussier 1958, p. 836). Accordingly, we may assume that in the above-mentioned verse the translator also remained faithful to the source; if he translated מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה in the masculine, the most likely explanation is that there is no distinction between the masculine and feminine in the third-person plural pronoun.

The /n/ in the preposition *mən* is doubled when an enclitic pronoun beginning with a vowel is added: *mənn-i* (מִמֶּֽנִּי, Ps 18:18), *mənn-ək* (מִ֭מְּךָ, Ps 21:5), *mənn-u* (מִמֶּֽנּוּ, Ps 18:9). When the pronoun begins with a consonant, this doubling is not heard, for example: *mən-hum* (מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה, Ps 34:21). The doubling heard in the form *mən-na* is not secondary, but the product of the attachment of the first-person plural enclitic pronoun to the preposition ending in /n/.

The usual form of the preposition *li* in the *šarḥ* when the enclitic first person singular possessive pronoun is added is: *li-ya*. In a few instances, however, the form *li* appeared (לִ֣י, Ps 18: 25, 45).

In a single instance in the entire corpus, the preposition -l together with its enclitic pronoun was attached to the verb:[[15]](#footnote-15) קדרתלו *qdərt-lo* (יְכָלְתִּ֑יו, Ps 13:5).

[8.2.3] Enclitic Pronouns Attached to the Verb

The following are the enclitic accusative pronouns attached to the verb in CJA:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Singular |  | Plural |
| 1PS: | -ni |  | 1PP: | -na |
| 2PMS: | -ək / -k |  | 2PMP: | -kum |
| 3PMS: | -u / -h |  | 3PMP: | -hum |
| 3PFS: | -ha |  |  |  |

The enclitic first-person singular accusative pronoun -ni – reflects the only formal difference between the possessive and indirect pronouns and the system of pronouns attached to the verb. Examples: *ġīt-ni* (ה֖וֹשִׁיעֵ֣נִי, Ps 31:17), *wāǧəb-ni* (עֲנֵ֤נִי, Ps 4:2), *mənnaˁ-ni* (פַלְּטֵֽנִי, Ps 31:2), *u-waqqaft-ni* (וַתַּצִּיבֵ֖נִי, Ps 41:13), *ṛəffaˁti-ni* (דִלִּיתָ֑נִי, Ps 30:2), *yiḥafḍu-ni* (יִצְּר֑וּנִי, Ps 25:21), *li-yġīt-ni* (לְהֽוֹשִׁיעֵֽנִי, Ps 31:3), *tǧī-ni* (תְּ֭בוֹאֵנִי, Ps 36:12).

The enclitic second-person masculine singular accusative pronoun is –ǝk when added to a verbal form ending in a consonant and –k when added to a form ending in a vowel. Examples:

-ǝk: *nšəkr-ək* (אֲהַלְלֶֽךָּ, Ps 22:23), *nˁaṛṛf-ək* (אוֹדִ֪יעֲךָ֡, Ps 32:5), *nḥəbb-ək* (אֶרְחָֽמְךָ֖, Ps 18:2), *iwāǧb-ək* (יַֽעַנְךָ֣, Ps 20:2), *nādīt-ək* (קְרָאתִ֑יךָ, Ps 31:18).

-k: *u-nwaṛṛī-k* (וְֽאוֹרְךָ֗, Ps 32:8), *iqawwī-k* (יְ֝שַׂגֶּבְךָ֗, Ps 20:2).

The corpus did not include any instances of the feminine counterpart of this pronoun. However, it seems probable that the forms for the two genders have merged in the enclitic accusative pronouns for the second-person singular, as they have in other declensions in CJA.

III) The Enclitic Third Person Masculine Singular Accusative Pronoun

Three conditioned forms of this pronoun are found: (1) When added to a verbal form ending in a consonant, the pronoun is –u. As in the case of the possessive pronoun for this person, the realization ranges from [o] to [u]. (2) When added to a verbal form ending in a vowel, the pronoun is realized as –h. [3) When added to a verbal form ending in a diphthong whose second component is /w/, the pronoun is realized as ǝh / ah.

-u: *tsabbq-u* (תְ֭קַדְּמֶנּוּ, Ps 21:4), *tfaqd-u* (תִפְקְדֶֽנּוּ, Ps 8:5), *iǧāwb-u* (יַֽ֭עֲנֵהוּ, Ps 20:7), *yifəkk-u* (יַ֝צִּילֵ֗הוּ, Ps 22:9), *iḍawwṛ-u* (יְסֽוֹבְבֶֽנּוּ, Ps 32:10).

-h: *iwuṛṛī-h* (י֝וֹרֶ֗נּוּ, Ps 25:12), *taˁṭē-h* (תִּ֝תְּנֵ֗הוּ, Ps 41:3), *əškrū-h* (הַֽלְל֗וּהוּ, Ps 22:24), *waqqəṛū-h* (כַּבְּד֑וּהוּ, Ps 22:24), *ḍṛabnā-h* (“we hit him”), *ḍṛabtī-h* (“I hit him”), *ḍaṛbū-h* (“they hit him”).

-ǝh/-ah: *ḍṛabtīw-ah* (“you (m.pl.) hit him”), *ktəbtīw-əh* (“you (f.pl.) wrote it”), *isammīw-əh* (“they will prepare it”).

This realization is also found in additional Algerian dialects, such as the Jijli[[16]](#footnote-16) and Arba’a[[17]](#footnote-17) dialects and the Muslim dialect of Algiers.[[18]](#footnote-18)

It should be noted that the third-person masculine singular form of the future tense with an enclitic third-person masculine singular accusative pronoun is identical to the third-person masculine plural form of the same tense. Similarly, the third-person masculine singular form of the past tense with the addition of the same enclitic pronoun is identical to the third-person masculine plural form of that tense. Thus, in the plural, we find “they will save” *yifəkku* (יַצִּ֖ילוּ, I Sam 12:21), and “he will save him” *yifəkk-u* (יַ֝צִּילֵ֗הוּ, Ps 22:9). Similarly, “they will save” *imənnˁu* (יַצִּ֖ילוּ, I Sam 12:21), “he will rescue him” *imənnˁ-u* (יְֽמַלְּטֵ֥הוּ, Ps 41:2) and, in the past tense, “they dug” *ḥafru* (חָֽפְר֥וּ, Ps 35:7) and “they dug it” *u-ḥafr-u* (וַֽיַּחְפְּרֵ֑הוּ, Ps 7:16). Speakers distinguish between these unified forms according to their context. The unification of these forms is also documented for various Moroccan dialects.[[19]](#footnote-19)

The enclitic third-person feminine singular accusative pronoun is –ha, as in the following examples: *iṣāwəb-ha* (יְכֽוֹנְנֶֽהָ, Ps 24:2), *u-ṣāwub-ha* (וַֽיְכוֹנְנֶֽהָ, Ps 24:2), *u-ṣāwub-ha* (וַֽיְכוֹנְנֶֽהָ, Ps 7:13), *ləssəs-ha* (יְסָדָ֑הּ, Ps 24:2), *li-yifnē-ha* (לִסְפּ֫וֹתָ֥הּ, Ps 40:15).

The enclitic first-person plural accusative pronoun is –na as in, for example: *iwaṛṛī-na* (יַרְאֵ֪נ֫וּ, Ps 4:7), *iwāǧəb-na* (יַֽעֲנֵ֥נוּ, Ps 20:10), *ḍawwṛū-na* (סְבָב֑וּנוּ, Ps 17:11).

The enclitic second-person plural accusative pronoun is -kum, with the realization of the vowel ranging from [o] to [u]. It is reasonable to assume that this pronoun is also used for the second-person feminine plural. An example of the pronoun is found in: *nˁalləm-kum* (אֲלַמֶּדְכֶֽם, Ps 34:12).

The enclitic third-person plural accusative pronoun for the third-person masculine and feminine[[20]](#footnote-20) plural is –hum; again, the realizations of the vowel range from [u] to [o]. Examples of its use: *taḥrəz-hum* (תִּשְׁמְרֵ֑ם, Ps 12:8), *txəbbi-hum* (תִּצְפְּנֵ֥ם, Ps 31:21), *idāhəš-hum* (יְבַֽהֲלֵֽמוֹ, Ps 2:5), *u-ṛˁā-hum* (וּֽרְעֵ֥ם, Ps 28:9), *u-nəlḥaq-hum* (וְאַשִּׂיגֵ֑ם, Ps 18:38), *nḍaġḍaġ-hum* (אֶ֭מְחָצֵם, Ps 18:39), *ibəllaˁ-hum* (יְבַלְּעֵ֑ם, Ps 21:10).

[8.3] The Demonstrative Pronouns

[8.3.1] Proximal Demonstrative Pronouns

The following proximal demonstrative pronouns appear in the *šarḥ* to the first book of Psalms:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| זה | - | האדא | - | *hāda* |
| זאת, הזאת, (זוּ) | - | האדי | - | *hādi* |
| זה / זאת | - | האד- | - | *hād-* |
| אלה, האלה | - | האולאי | - | *hāwlay* |

The masculine singular proximal demonstrative pronoun זה is translated in the *šarḥ* as האדא[[21]](#footnote-21) – *hāda*. However, when the pronoun appears before a noun preceded by the definite article, it is shortened to האד – *hād*. These forms are also used in the spoken language: *səddūr hāda* (“this book”), but *hād əs-səddūr*.[[22]](#footnote-22)

The shortened form *hād-* eliminates the distinction between the masculine, feminine and plural forms of the proximal demonstrative pronoun before a noun with the definite article. This shortened form is also found in numerous Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian dialects.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The form *hād-*, which is characteristic of the modern dialects, penetrated the language of the *šarḥ* from the spoken language. We found this form once in the verse זֶ֤ה עָנִ֣י קָ֭רָא – האד אלמסכין נאדא (Ps 34:7); the translation of an indefinite Hebrew noun by a definite Arabic one is a common phenomenon in the *šarḥ*. Conversely, the verse זֶ֭ה דּ֣וֹר דֹּֽרְשָׁ֑ו (Ps 24:6) was translated האדא ג'יל מפ'תשינו, since the definite article was not added to the noun ג'יל. Additional instances of the shortened form האד- were found in Psalms outside our corpus before nouns with the definite article: האד אלבאב לאללאה – זֶֽה־הַשַּׁ֥עַר לַֽיהוָ֑ה (Ps 118:20), האד אנהאר עמל אללאה – זֶה־הַ֭יּוֹם עָשָׂ֣ה יְהוָ֑ה (Ps 118:24), האד לבחאר כביר וואסאע ליידין – זֶ֤ה ׀ הַיָּ֥ם גָּדוֹל֮ וּרְחַ֪ב יָ֫דָ֥יִם (Ps 104:25).

The demonstrative pronoun האד appears frequently in other texts written by Rabbi Yosef Renassia: for example, in his commentary on the Psalms, *Zikhron Yaacov* we find האד אלדין (p. 40), האד לפסוקים (p. 43), פ'י האד אדניא (p. 43), when the pronoun precedes the noun. An example when the pronoun follows the noun is ובטבע האדא (p. 41). We also found the use of both האד and האדא, according to the above-mentioned rule, in the translation and commentary to the Mishna, *Nishmat Kol Chai*, in the book *Shir Ben David*, and in the translation of Rashi’s commentary on Deuteronomy.

The feminine singular proximal demonstrative pronoun forms זאת, הזאת, זוּ are translated in the *šarḥ* as האדי *hādi*.[[24]](#footnote-24) When a preposition is attached to the pronoun in Hebrew, the form in the *šarḥ* employs the analogous preposition with the Arabic demonstrative pronoun: for example, בזאת is translated *b-hādi*.[[25]](#footnote-25) Like *hāda*, this pronoun is also used in the spoken language of the Jews of Constantine when it follows a definite noun: *ṭ-ṭəfl-a hādi* (“this girl”). Before a noun beginning with the definite article, however, the shortened form *hād-* is used.The use of the demonstrative pronoun *hāda* for the masculine and *hādi* for the feminine is found in additional Maghrebi dialects, such as the Jewish dialect of Algiers,[[26]](#footnote-26) Tlemcen,[[27]](#footnote-27) Ouled Brahim,[[28]](#footnote-28) the Jewish dialect of Tunis,[[29]](#footnote-29) and various Moroccan dialects.[[30]](#footnote-30)

The plural proximal demonstrative pronoun אלה is translated by the form האולאי in all its occurrences in the book of Psalms,[[31]](#footnote-31) for example: ...עֹֽשֵׂה־אֵ֑לֶּה לֹ֖א יִמּ֣וֹט לְעוֹלָֽם (Ps 15:5) – עאמל האולאי ליש ימיל לדואם. This form, which has its origins in the CA هَؤُلآءِ, is only used in the language of the *šarḥ*.[[32]](#footnote-32) The rabbis are also familiar with this term from the Ten Commandments as translated by Rabbi Sa’adia Gaon: הָאוְולָאי אַלכִּלְמַאת....[[33]](#footnote-33) This form has been excluded from the spoken language, which prefers the form *hādu*, with a plural morpheme –u by way of analogy to the formation of the plural in the conjugation of verbs, a more transparent form.[[34]](#footnote-34) In one instance the two forms appear together in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms, with האדו placed in parentheses: וְיִשְׁמָר־אֵ֑לֶּה – ויחרז האולאי (האדו) (Ps 107:43).[[35]](#footnote-35)

The rabbis translated the pronoun אלה as *hāwlay*; only the rabbi who reads directly from the Hebrew source translated the above-mentioned verse as: *li-yaˁməl hādu* (Ps 15:5), though he, too, is familiar with the *šarḥ* form האולאי. One of the other rabbis also uses the more archaic form when translating verses from the Torah.

The form האולאי would appear to be a distinct characteristic of the *šarḥ*.[[36]](#footnote-36) In his other writings, Rabbi Yosef Renassia uses the pronoun האדו. In *Zikhron Yaacov*, for example, his commentary on the Psalms: תן להם כפעלם האדו אוולין (p. 91); in his commentary on the Song of Songs: האדו כלהם (*Shir Ben David*, p. 36); in the Passover Haggadah: תלאת חואיג' האדו והאדון[[37]](#footnote-37) הומאן (p. 18) (p. 18); in his translation of Rashi’s commentary on Deuteronomy: האדו אנביאים (p. 53b).

In the western *šarḥ* of Issachar ben Mordecai ibn Susan, too, the form האולאי is used to translate אלה and האלה.[[38]](#footnote-38) Conversely, in the *šarḥ* of the Jews of Morocco, the form האולאי is extremely rare and the dialectal form האדו predominates.[[39]](#footnote-39)

The demonstrative pronoun *hādu* is found in many other Maghrebi dialects, such as Jijli,[[40]](#footnote-40) the Jewish dialect of Algiers,[[41]](#footnote-41) Tlemcen,[[42]](#footnote-42) Ouled Brahim,[[43]](#footnote-43) the Jewish dialect of Tunis,[[44]](#footnote-44) various Moroccan dialects,[[45]](#footnote-45) and so forth.

To summarize, the system of proximal demonstrative pronouns in CJA comprises three elements shared by the language of the *šarḥ* and the colloquial language: האדא, האדי, and the shortened form האד; in the plural, however, the archaic form האולאי is consistently maintained. It is interesting to a find a single system that embodies both the penetration of a dialectal foundation and the preservation of an ancient one. The position of the demonstrative pronouns in the sentence reflects the position of the pronoun in the Hebrew source.

[8.3.2] The Distal Demonstrative Pronouns

No distal demonstrative pronouns appear in the first 41 Psalms; indeed, in the entire Book of Psalms only the pronoun ההוא appears in one single instance: תֵּצֵ֣א ר֭וּחוֹ יָשֻׁ֣ב לְאַדְמָת֑וֹ בַּיּ֥וֹם הַ֝ה֗וּא אָֽבְד֥וּ עֶשְׁתֹּֽנֹתָֽיו (Ps 141:4). This is translated in the *šarḥ* as: תכ'רג' רוחו ירג'ע לארצ'ו פ'נהאר האדאךּ צ'אעו תכ'מימאתו.

The distal demonstrative pronouns used in the spoken language are:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| ההוא | - | *hādāk* |
| ההיא | - | *hādīk* |
| ההם / ההן | - | *hādūk* |

These forms are also used in other Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan dialects.[[46]](#footnote-46)

We found examples of the use of these pronouns in other texts written by Rabbi Yosef Renassia. For example: in the commentary on the Psalms *Zichron Yaacov* – למנהג פ'י האדוךּ לאייאם (p. 78), באש מא תג'יניש האדיךּ ארעה (ibid.), והאדאךּ לחסד דיאל עולם הבא (p. 118). These pronouns also appear in the translation of Rashi’s commentary on Deuteronomy, in the Passover Haggadah *Zeved Tov*, and elsewhere.

[8.3.3] Presentatives

Two presentatives appeared in the first book of Psalms: האכדאךּ and הודא (האודא). These are discussed here due to their demonstrative quality.[[47]](#footnote-47)

The word האכדאךּ is used in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms to translate the Hebrew כן; thus we found: עַל־כֵּ֤ן – עלא האכדאךּ (Ps 1:5, 18:50, 25:8), and לֹא־כֵ֥ן – ליש האכדאךּ (Ps 1:4).[[48]](#footnote-48) When reading from the printed *šarḥ*, two of the rabbis use the form *hākdāk*, but when translating freely they pronounce *hākda*. The form האכדא also appears in the *šarḥ* itself, but as a translation of the Hebrew כָּ֣כָה (Ps 144:15). The rabbi who translates directly from the Hebrew source translated: לֹא־כֵ֥ן (Ps 1:4) *lākən*, עַל־כֵּ֤ן (Ps 1:5) *ˁal-hād-ši*.

The form *hākdāk* has its origins in the Classical Arabic هٰكَذَا (hā-ka-ḏā), which is composed of ها (حرف التنبيه) + كذا.[[49]](#footnote-49) In many dialects various phonetic changes occurred; a form including the final *k* is documented in certain dialects, but the form *hākda* is more across almost the entire region where modern Arabic is spoken. It is documented for the dialects of Jijli, Tlemcen, and Rabat, as well as in many other North African dialects.[[50]](#footnote-50) In the Jewish dialect of Algiers, a form without *k* (häi̯dä) is documented alongside one with (häi̯däk). It is worth mentioning the comment by M. Cohen that the form *hai̯da* is also found among the Jews of Constantine.[[51]](#footnote-51) In our study, we found just a single instance of this form as pronounced by one of the rabbis: *hāydāk*.[[52]](#footnote-52) The coexistence of different forms is also found in the Jewish dialect of Tunis,[[53]](#footnote-53) where several variants appear to be in use.

In Rabbi Yosef Renassia’s translation and commentary on the Mishnah, the shortened form האכד is used alongside האכדא. Fischer asserts that the shortened form is rare in the North African dialects but is documented in the Mashriqi dialects.[[54]](#footnote-54)

The particle הודא serves in the *šarḥ* to translate the Hebrew words הנה and הלא; the rabbis pronounced it with a diphthong: *hawda*.[[55]](#footnote-55) An orthographic form reflecting this diphthong can be found three times in the *šarḥ*: האודא (Ps 7:15, 11:2, 14:4), but in all the remaining instances the word is written הודא. Examples:[[56]](#footnote-56) *hawda ˁayn əḷ-ḷah* (הִנֵּ֤ה עֵ֣ין יְ֭הוָה, Ps 33:18), *hawda šwārb-i* (הִנֵּ֣ה שְׂ֭פָתַי, Ps 40:10), *hawda ˁaṛfu* (הֲלֹ֥א יָֽדְעוּ֮, Ps 14:4).

Blanc suggests that the form הוד'א has no parallel in CA, but that it may be compared to the phrase *(hā) huwwa ẟa*.[[57]](#footnote-57) Fischer explains *hā-huwa ḏa*, which can already be found in ancient Arabic, as a combination of the prefix *hā* + the personal pronoun + the demonstrative pronoun *ḏā*.[[58]](#footnote-58) The same sequence may also be used to yield: *hāˀana-ḏā* (for the first person), *hāˀantum-hāˀulāˀi* (for the second person plural), and so forth. The form *huwa-ḏā* (with its varying pronunciations) became fossilized in the third person masculine singular and serves as a presentational particle from as early as Medieval Judeo-Arabic, as well as in tenth-century Christian texts.[[59]](#footnote-59)

The word האוודא (*hawda*) is also used to translate הנה in the *šarḥ* of the Jews of Tafilalat,[[60]](#footnote-60) in the Maghrebi translation of the Torah *Or Ne‘erav* (האודא),[[61]](#footnote-61) and in the western translation of Issachar Ben-Susan (הודא).[[62]](#footnote-62) It is also used in the literary language of the Jews of Baghdad, who pronounce it *hōẟa*.[[63]](#footnote-63) Sa’adia Gaon already uses הוד'א to translate הנה in many instances; for example: וַתֹּ֨אמֶר שָׂרַ֜י אֶל־אַבְרָ֗ם הִנֵּה־נָ֞א עֲצָרַ֤נִי יְהוָה֙ מִלֶּ֔דֶת (Gn 16:2) – פ'קאלת לאברהם הוד'א קד מנעני אללה מן אלולאדה.... The use of הוד'א in many later translations, both Maghrebi and Mashriqi, may reflect Gaon’s influence.

[8.4] Relative Pronouns

[8.4.1] The Relative Pronoun אלדי

The Hebrew relative pronoun אשר is translated in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms as אלדי. However, when the rabbis read the *šarḥ*, differences were apparent in their pronunciation of this word. One of the informants almost always reads *ǝldi*[[64]](#footnote-64) and uses this form when translating verses by himself.[[65]](#footnote-65) The other two informants[[66]](#footnote-66) often use *ǝlli*, even when reading from the printed *šarḥ*. However, we should note that each informant also used the alternative form. The female informant who was born in Constantine uses only *ǝlli* in her speech.

In the *šarḥ* to the Psalms, the relative pronoun is overwhelmingly written אלדי. In a small handful of instances, the pronoun אלי is used, almost always before participle forms serving as relative clauses and translated as future forms.[[67]](#footnote-67) Some of the other texts written by Rabbi Yosef Renassia show similar use of אלדי, while in others he prefers אלי. In the *Zikhron Yaacov* commentary on the Psalms, in his translation and commentary on the Mishnah, *Nishmat Kol Chai*[[68]](#footnote-68) and in his translation of Rashi’s commentary on Deuteronomy, the rabbi used אלי. In his commentary on the Song of Songs, *Sefer Shir Ben David*, and in the Passover Haggadah *Zevach Tov*, however, he uses אלדי, which is also the form he recorded in his trilingual dictionary (pp. 69, 365) – *eldi*.

We can conclude from the above that the common relative pronoun in the spoken language is *ǝlli* (which is also present in its shortened form *lli*). The form *ǝldi* belongs to the higher linguistic register of the literary language, though it is not confined to the *šarḥ*. The rabbis are aware that *ǝldi* is the more literary form, and at least one of them feels that it is a more suitable translation for אשר in the *šarḥ*. However, their familiarity with *ǝlli* leads it to penetrate their reading of the *šarḥ*. The form אלדי as a higher register form is also found in the literary language of the Jews of Tunis and Baghdad.[[69]](#footnote-69)

The relative pronoun no longer agrees with the gender and number of the noun to which it refers; even in Medieval Judeo-Arabic, אלדי had already fossilized as a pronoun for all persons.[[70]](#footnote-70)

Two main alternative forms of the relative pronoun emerged in the Maghrebi dialects. The first (*ǝlli* / *lli*) preserves the *ll* component of the ancient pronoun الذي, while the second (*ddi / ddi) [*CHECK di/ddi או ddi/əddi] preserves the *d* component.

Thus, we find the form *ǝlli*, in its sundry variations, in the Jewish dialect of Algiers,[[71]](#footnote-71) in Ouled Brahim[[72]](#footnote-72) and Tlemcen,[[73]](#footnote-73) in the Jewish dialect of Tunis,[[74]](#footnote-74) and in Sousse.[[75]](#footnote-75) This form is also common in Moroccan dialects.[[76]](#footnote-76)

The form preserving the *d* element (*eddi, di, di*, and so forth) is documented in spoken dialects in the vicinity of Constantine, such as Jijli[[77]](#footnote-77) to the northwest; in sedentary dialects in the Constantine Province;[[78]](#footnote-78) and in dialects in the Philippeville district.[[79]](#footnote-79) Similar forms are also documented in various Moroccan dialects, including those of the Jebala and of Fez.[[80]](#footnote-80)

It is interesting that the Jews of Constantine use the relative pronoun *ǝlli*, despite the prevalence of *di* in the surrounding dialects. This preference may reflect the affinity of their dialect to those of Tunisia (Sousse and the Jewish dialect of Tunis) or the combined influence of Jewish dialects (Tunis and Algiers).

In the *šarḥ* to the Psalms, the relative pronoun אלדי appears in the same position as the analogous pronoun in the Hebrew sentence and, accordingly, we cannot gauge here the uses of the Judeo-Arabic relative pronoun in free writing. In the translation and commentary on the Mishnah, the relative pronoun אלי also appears after an indefinite referent.[[81]](#footnote-81)

[8.4.2] Translation of the Hebrew Relative Pronoun זוּ

The double function of זוּ, which was originally a demonstrative pronoun, but which already serves in the Bible as a relative pronoun,[[82]](#footnote-82) is apparent in the translations of this word in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms.

In most of the occurrences of this pronoun in the *šarḥ*, two possible translations are presented together, אלדי and האדי, one of which is placed in parentheses. For example:

בְּרֶֽשֶׁת־ז֥וּ טָ֝מָ֗נוּ (Ps 9:16) – פ'שבכא אלדי (האדי) כ'בבאו.

בְּדֶֽרֶךְ־ז֥וּ תֵלֵ֑ךְ (Ps 32:8) – פ'טריק האדי (אלדי) תמשי.

הֽוֹדִיעֵ֗נִי דֶּֽרֶךְ־ז֥וּ אֵלֵ֑ךְ (Ps 143:8) – עררפ'ני טריק האדי (אלדי) נמשי....[[83]](#footnote-83)[[84]](#footnote-84)

In one instance זוּ was translated by אלי:

מִפְּנֵ֣י רְ֭שָׁעִים ז֣וּ שַׁדּ֑וּנִי (Ps 17:9) – מן קודאם אצ'אלמין אללי כ'טפ'וני.

In another instance זוּ was translated by the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun האדא, agreeing with the preceding noun: מִן־הַדּ֖וֹר ז֣וּ לְעוֹלָֽם (Ps 12:8) – מן אלג'יל האדא לדואם.

In Sa’adia Gaon’s translation, a relative pronoun appears as a translation of זו in just a couple of instances (Ps 9:16 – אלתי; Ps 31:5 – אלד'י). In the remaining occurrences a variety of translation techniques were adopted according to the overall structure of the sentence.

**Chapter Nine: The Definite Article**

This chapter discusses the behavior of the CJA definite article in two respects: the realization of the article by the informants and its orthographical presentation by Rabbi Yosef Renassia.

In the printed *šarḥ*, the definite article appears parallel to its use in the Hebrew source. In many additional instances, however, Rabbi Yosef Renassia added the definite article to an indefinite Hebrew word. For example:

בִּשַּׂ֤רְתִּי צֶ֨דֶק (PS 40:10) – בששרת לעדל.

רֶ֣גֶל גַּֽאֲוָ֑ה וְיַד־רְ֝שָׁעִ֗ים (Ps 36:12) – רג'ל אטג;ווא ויד אצ'אלמין.

נֹתֵ֖ן בְּאֽוֹצָר֣וֹת תְּהוֹמֽוֹת (Ps 33:7) – יג'על פלמכ'אזן אתהום.

רָנֵּ֥י פַלֵּ֑ט (Ps 32:7) – תרנין אלמנע.

יָלִ֥ין בֶּ֗כִי (Ps 30:6) – יבאת לבכא; but: וְלַבֹּ֥קֶר רִנָּֽה (ibid.) – ולצבח תרנין.

The greater use of the definite article in CJA than in the Hebrew source was very evident in the rabbis’ readings. They added the definite article to nouns and adjectives even when not in the written text. The phenomenon of the translation of indefinite Hebrew substantives by definite Arabic words is influenced by the spoken language and is also a notable feature of all the *šarḥ* traditions of the Jews of Morocco.[[85]](#footnote-85)

[9.1] Realizations of the Definite Article

Several rules can be formulated based on an examination of the behavior of the definite article in the reading of the *šarḥ* to the Psalms by the informants:

Firstly, the definite article *(ǝ)l* is usually attached to a noun that is not governed by a construct chain and is not accompanied by an enclitic pronoun.[[86]](#footnote-86)

Secondly, in most instances the initial vowel of the definite article *ǝl* is maintained both when the *l* assimilates to the following vowel and when it does not do so.[[87]](#footnote-87)

When the definite article appears before “sun letters,” the *l* assimilates to the letter. For example:

*əḍ-ḍālm-īn* (רְשָׁעִים֮, Ps 28:3), *əṛ-ṛāǧəl* (אִ֥ישׁ, Ps 31:21), *ən-nhāṛ* (יוֹמָ֣ם, Ps 32:4), *əd-dnūb* (עֲו֖‍ֹן, Ps 32:5), *əṭ-ṭaġwa* (גַּֽאֲוָ֑ה, Ps 36:12), *əṣ-ṣulṭān* (הַ֝מֶּ֗לֶךְ, Ps 20:10), *əz-zawṛ* (אָ֤וֶן, Ps 36:5), *mən əs-sayf* (מֵחֶ֣רֶב, Ps 22:21), *əš-šukr-a* (תּוֹדָ֑ה, Ps 26:7), *ət-tasgīm* (מִישׁ֑וֹר, Ps 27:11), *əl-lsān* (לָ֝שׁ֗וֹן, Ps 12:4).

However, some exceptions were noted (particularly in the pronunciation of one of the rabbis) when [l] was realized before a “sun letter;” for example: *əl-ṭrāyɪq* (אָרְח֣וֹת, Ps 25:10), *əl-ṛāǧəl* (אִ֗ישׁ, Ps 39:7), *əl-d-dənya* (תֵּבֵ֥ל, Ps 9:9),[[88]](#footnote-88) *u-l-dūni* (וָ֝רָ֗ע, Ps 10:15), *əl-rīḥ* (רֽוּחַ, Ps 1:4).

The definite article *l* assimilates with an initial /ğ/, for example: *əǧ-ǧbāl* (הָרִ֣ים, Ps 18:8), *ǧ-ǧmāˁ-a* (רָ֗ב, Ps 40:10). However, this pattern is not entirely regular, for example: *əl-ǧays* (חָ֑יִל, Ps 33:16). The assimilation of the /l/ of the definite article to /ğ/ is known in the dialects in the vicinity of Constantine: it is found in all the dialects of the Edough region[[89]](#footnote-89) and in all the nomadic and transitional sedentary dialects in the Philippeville district, although Ostoya-Delmas states that this is not the case in the sedentary dialects of this district.[[90]](#footnote-90) This assimilation is also maintained in the Arba’a dialect in the Algerian Sahara,[[91]](#footnote-91) but not in the Jewish dialect of Algiers.[[92]](#footnote-92) In the Jewish dialect of Tunis[[93]](#footnote-93) the assimilation of the *l* of the definite article to /ž/ is documented, and this phenomenon is also found in many Mashriqi dialects.[[94]](#footnote-94)

On rare occasions, the /l/ of the definite article is also assimilated to the consonants /m, q, x/ in CJA, for example: *q-qāš* (כַּ֝מֹּ֗ץ, Ps 1:4), *x-xāṭy-īn* (חַ֭טָּאִים, Ps 1:1), *əm-mḍaṛq-a* (מָגֵ֣ן, Ps 3:$, 18:31). Cantineau also mentions the possible assimilation of the /l/ of the definite article to the labial and post-palatial consonants in the sedentary dialects of the Constantine Province.[[95]](#footnote-95)

When the definite article appears before consonants not mentioned above (i.e., before the “moon letters,”) it may be realized in one of two ways, depending on the first component in the first syllable of the noun.

When the word begins with CVC[C/V], the definite article is realized as [ǝl-], for example: *l-əl-qawm* (לְעַ֥ם, Ps 22:32), *b-əl-fāṛəġ* (רֵיקָֽם, Ps 25:3), *əl-ˀarz* (אֲרָזִ֑ים. Ps 29:5), *əl-qudš* (קֹֽדֶשׁ, Ps 29:2), *əl-qəlb* (לֵֽב, Ps 32:11), *əl-makṛūh* (נָ֝בָ֗ל, Ps 39:9), *əl-ġəlṭ-āt* (שְׁגִיא֥וֹת, Ps 19:13).

When the word begins with a consonantal cluster CCV[C], the definite article will be realized as [lə-]. The reduced vowel pronounce after the /l/ of the definite article prevents the creation of a triconsonantal cluster.[[96]](#footnote-96) Examples: *lə-xdīˁ-a* (מִרְמָֽה, Ps 34:14), *lə-fḍəl* (חֶ֝֗סֶד. Ps 32:10), *lə-ǧyūs* (צְבָא֑וֹת, Ps 24:10), *lə-mlīḥ* (טֽוֹב, Ps 14:1), *lə-qbəṛ* (שְׁא֣וֹל, Ps 18:6), *lə-ġyāṛ* (יָג֣וֹן, Ps 13:3), *lə-kdəb* (שֶׁ֝֗קֶר, Ps 27:12).

Exceptions are rare, for example: *əl-kbāṛ* (כְּ֭פִירִים, Ps 34:11), *əl-ġnəm* (צֹנֶ֣ה, Ps 8:8).

When the definite article appears before a consonantal cluster beginning with /h ḥ/,[[97]](#footnote-97) the reduced vowel will be realized as [a],[[98]](#footnote-98) for example: *li-la-ḥš**ūm-a* (לִ֭כְלִמָּה, Ps 4:3) [CHECK u or ū], *u-la-hdiy-a* (וּמִנְחָ֨ה, Ps 40:7), *la-ḥbəl* (יֶ֑תֶר, Ps 11:2).

When the definite word begins with a vowel, the accompanying definite article is usually realized as [l] when the preceding word ends in a vowel, and as [ǝl] when the preceding word ends in a consonant,[[99]](#footnote-100) for example: *kīf əl-awāli* (כִּכְלִ֥י, Ps 31:13), *yiqūl* *əl-uqāṛ* (אֹמֵ֥ר כָּבֽוֹד, Ps 29:9), *yišəbˁu l-ulād* (יִשְׂבְּע֥וּ בָנִ֑ים, Ps 17:14), *ġaṭsu l-umūm* (טָֽבְע֣וּ ג֭וֹיִם, Ps 9:16), *fi l-usaˁ* (בַמֶּרְחָ֣ב, Ps 31:9).

When a definite word beginning with a consonant follows a word ending in a vowel, the definite article may be realized as [l], for example: *yisəmˁu l-wāṭy-īn* (יִשְׁמְע֖וּ עֲנָוִ֣ים, Ps 34:3), *ya l-ˁādl-īn* (צַדִּיקִ֑ים, Ps 32:11), but*u-yaˁfəs l-ˀaṛḍ* (וְיִרְמֹ֣ס לָאָ֣רֶץ, Ps 7:6).

The definite article is also realized as [l-] after the conjunctive ו, for example: *u-l-ḥwāt* (וּדְגֵ֣י, Ps 8:9).

[9.2] Orthography of the Definite Article

When examining how the definite article appears in the printed, it should be recalled that it appears more frequently than its Hebrew counterpart but less frequently than in the rabbis’ readings. The orthography of the definite article in the *šarḥ* to the Psalms is not entirely uniform, but several key tendencies may be observed.

The definite article is written אל or ל before the “moon letters,” regardless of the final sound of the preceding word, for example: אליום (הַיּ֥וֹם, Ps 2:7), אלארץ' (הָאָ֑רֶץ, Ps 8:2; אֶ֗רֶץ, Ps 22:30), לארץ' (אָ֑רֶץ, Ps 22:28), אלוחל (הַיָּ֫וֵ֥ן, Ps 40:3), למות (מָ֑וֶת, Ps 18:5), לקבר (שְׁא֣וֹל, Ps 18:6), מן למסתעמדין (מִזֵּדִ֨ים, Ps 19:14), למשתהיין (הַֽנֶּחֱמָדִ֗ים, Ps 19:11), אלג'יל (הַדּ֖וֹר, Ps 12:8), אלמות (הַמָּֽוֶת, Ps 13:4), ואלתאכל (וְהַבּוֹטֵ֥חַ, Ps 32:10), אלכ'יל (הַ֭סּוּס, Ps 33:17), מן למלאיכאת (מֵֽאֱלֹהִ֑ים, Ps 8:6).

It may be possible to discern a tendency to use אל more often when the definite article also appears in the Hebrew source, but this is not consistent.

Before a “sun letter,” the definite article will usually be written as א. Examples: אשהאד (צוּפִֽים, Ps 19:11), אסיסאן (הַ֭שָּׁתוֹת, Ps 11:3), אטג;ווא (רְ֝הָבִ֗ים, Ps 40:5), אתסגים (מִישׁ֑וֹר, Ps 27:11), אצולטאן (הַ֝מֶּ֗לֶךְ, Ps 20:10), אדניא (תֵּ֫בֵ֥ל, Ps 18:16), אנאר (אֵֽשׁ, Ps 18:13), מן אצ'או (מִנֹּ֗גַהּ, Ps 18:13), אראץ (רֹֽאשׁ, Ps 22:8), ארים (רֵמִ֣ים, Ps 22:22), אדפ'תר (סֵ֝֗פֶר, Ps 40:8), אג'נוס (!) (לְ֭אֻמִּים, Ps 7:8).[[100]](#footnote-101)

When the definite article follows one of the prepositions ב-, פ'- or ל-, it is written as ל- alone and the א is omitted.[[101]](#footnote-102) Examples: ללוסע (לַמֶּרְחָ֑ב, Ps 18:20), ללמסגמין (לַ֝יְשָׁרִ֗ים, Ps 33:1), בלעאפ'ייא (בְּשָׁל֣וֹם, Ps 4:9), ללמדאח (לַמְנַצֵּ֣חַ, Ps 6:1), פ'למות (בַּמָּ֣וֶת, Ps 6:6), בלעדל (בְּ֭צֶדֶק, Ps 17:15), בלמרכב (בָ֭רֶכֶב, Ps 20:8), בלכ'יול (בַסּוּסִ֑ים, Ps 20:8).

However, we also find the orthographic forms: לאלצ'אלם (לָֽ֭רָשָׁע, Ps 36:2),[[102]](#footnote-103) באלעוד (בְּכִנּ֑וֹר, Ps 33:2).

As is common in Judeo-Arabic texts, the Arabic definite article is also attached to Hebrew words.[[103]](#footnote-104) The *šarḥ* to the Psalms includes only a very few Hebrew words, but this principle nevertheless applies, for example: אלגתית (Ps 8:1), אנחילות (Ps 5:1) – with omission of the ל before a Hebrew letter analogous to one of the Arabic “sun letters.” In the phrase אַיֶּ֥לֶת הַשַּׁ֗חַר (PS 22:1), whether the definite article is “trapped” between two Hebrew words, the Hebrew definite article is used.

In Rabbi Yosef Renassia’s orthography in his book *Nishmat Kol Chai*, the Hebrew definite article ה appears in several Hebrew construct chains that are perceived as a single unit: הר הבית, ולד הטומאה, though the Arabic article may also appear in such forms: ולד אטומאה, סגן אלכהנים (Pesahim 1).

The attachment of the Arabic definite article to Hebrew words is the first stage of the integration of these words in the Judeo-Arabic text,[[104]](#footnote-105) testifying at least to the preliminary absorption of these words in the dialect. This phenomenon is also seen in other Judeo-Arabic dialects (in Tafilalat, Fez, Sana’a, and elsewhere).[[105]](#footnote-106)

1. The merger of these two possessive pronouns is salso een in the Jewish dialect of Tunis, in Algiers, and in Moroccan dialects, among others. Cf.: Cohen 1912, p. 338; Cohen 1975, pp. 212-213; Brunot 1950a, p. 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Sections [7.2.1.1] and [8.1]II. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. In writing, this form was as usually written simply as ךּ. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. See Section [3.2.3]. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Only the informant who adhered strictly to the written text read *u-wṛaqt-ho*; however, the same rabbi also read the form שביהתו (דִּמְיֹנ֗וֹ, Ps 17:12) with the realization -ho: *šbihət-ho* [CHECK long I after the b]. In all the other numerous instances of the third-person masculine singular possessive pronoun, there is no sign of this *h*. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Rabbi Daniel Renassia republished *Sefer Ha-Azharot* in a revised edition. However, the Judeo-Arabic sections in the book are taken from the work by his father, Rabbi Yosef. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. No instances of the second-person feminine plural enclitic pronoun appeared in the corpus itself. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Mangion 1937, p. 374. Cf. Millon 1937, p. 347. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Marçais 1956, p. 439. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Cohen 1975, pp. 212-213. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See Section [8.2.2] regarding the translation of the form מהנה. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. For Moroccan dialects, Brunot documents the enclitic possessive pronoun -kum for the second-person masculine plural, but -họm for the third person (1950a, pp. 55-56). The difference can probably be attributed to phonetic differences, i.e., the /h/ led to the lowered realization of the vowel. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Regarding the weakening of /h/, see: Cohen 1912, p. 338; Cohen 1975, pp. 212-213; Stillman 1981, p. 236. Regarding the pronoun systems in other dialects: Marçais 1902, p. 121; Marçais 1956, p. 439; Brunot 1950a, pp. 55-56. Cf. the possessive pronouns in the Jewish dialect of Tafilalet, which feature the shift k > t: Heath and Bar-Asher 1982, p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See Section [10.4] for detailed discussion of these particles and their uses. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Such forms are common in other texts written by Rabbi Yosef Renassia, such as his translation of Rashi’s commentary on Deuteronomy, *Shir Ben David* (the commentary on the Song of Songs), and his commentary on the psalms, *Zikhron Yaacov*. See Chapter 11.  [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Marçais 1956, p. 441. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Dhina 1938, p. 320. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. M. Cohen notes that this form is also used by Jews when they imitate the Muslim dialect (1912, p. 339). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Brunot 1950a, pp. 55-56, 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See Section [8.2.2] regarding the translation of the form מֵ֝הֵ֗נָּה (Ps 34:12). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. See the following verses: Ps 24:6, 8, 10; 25:12. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. One of the rabbis offered this formulation of the rule: “If you say האדא last then it is האדא, but if it is in the construct then האד [without *a*].” [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Fischer 1959, pp. 71-72; Cohen 1912, p. 346; Cohen 1975, p. 224; Brunot 1950a, p. 59; Marçais 1956, p. 458. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. See the following verses: Ps 18:1, 7:4, 32:6. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Ps 27:3, 41:12. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Cohen 1912, p. 346. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Marçais 1902, pp. 176-177. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. The pronunciation of the interdental consonant is maintained: Marçais 1908, p. 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Cohen 1975, p. 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Fischer 1959, pp. 71-72; Brunot 1950a, p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See the following verses: PS 20:8, 9; 15:5; 42:5; 50:21; 73:12; 107:43: 126:2. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Some dialects maintain plural demonstrative pronouns that show an origin in هٰؤُلاَءِ (rather than هٰذَا); see: Fischer 1959, pp. 102-109. The form האולי appears in Medieval Judeo-Arabic texts. Blau 1980a, pp. 63-64, §51C and fn. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. See Morali 1965, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. A similar process can be seen in Talmudic Hebrew with the adoption of the form אלו in place of אלה. See: Bendavid 1971, pp. 644, 646-647. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. One of the rabbis told me that they used to teach the young boys to translate using both words in order to ensure that they would be familiar with both forms; in the spoken language, however, only *hādu* is used. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. For example, even the phrase אֵ֥לֶּה מִזֶּ֖ה וְאֵ֣לֶּה מִזֶּ֑ה (Josh 8:22) was translated האולאי מן הנא והאולאי מן הנא (*Sefer Ha-Azharot*, I, p. 133 [Renassia 1987, I, p. 133]), although in his own free writing in the same book he uses האדו. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The Passover Haggadah also features האדון as a plural demonstrative pronoun, e.g., p. 14a: האדון אלולאד (“these sons”) and elsewhere. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Doro 1980, pp. 116-117. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Bar-Asher 1988a, p. 8 and fn. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Marçais 1956, p. 459. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Cohen 1912, p. 346. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Marçais 1902, pp. 176-177. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Marçais 1908, p. 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. In the Muslim dialect of the city, however, the form *hađūla* is used. See: Cohen. 1975, p. 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Brunot 1950a, p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Cohen 1912, p. 346; Marçais 1956, p. 460; Cohen 1975, p. 225; Marçais 1902, pp. 176-177; Marçais 1908, p. 158; Brunot 1950a, p. 59; Fischer 1959, pp. 92-94. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Fischer describes them as *Demonstrative Satzeinleitungs Partikeln*; (1959, p. 161). The term “presentative” was coined by Brunot (1922, p. 8). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. In many other verses in the Psalms outside our corpus, כן is consistently translated as האכדאךּ. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Wright 1981, I, pp. 268, 287. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Fischer 1959, pp. 134-138. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Cohen 1912, p. 375. In the Algiers Haggadah we found: האיידא (e.g., p. 2) [הטל 1975, עמ' ב]. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. On another occasion, however, the same rabbi read [hāgda] in the same place, so that the subject requires further examination. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Cohen 1975, pp. 240-241. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Fischer found only a single instance in Jijli (1959, pp. 135-136). In the spoken dialect of the Jews of Baghdad *hēkəð* is used, but the community’s Haggadah uses the form האכד'ה, which belongs to the literary language. See: Blanc 1964a, p. 140; 1964b, pp. 23, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. This pronunciation is documented in additional dialects in northeastern Algeria: Willms 1972, p. 48. Cf. Zafrani 1969, p. 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. For additional examples see verses: 7:15, 11:2, 39:6, 40:8. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Blanc 1964b, p. 30 & n. 32. Cf. Blau 1966-67, II, p. 466, n. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Fischer 1959, pp. 161-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Blau 1966-67, II, pp. 465-46; Blau 1980a, p. 174, §260. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. As I learned from Bar-Asher. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. See the details about this translation on p. 122, fn. 3 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Doron 1980, pp. 328-331. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. I found that in the Baghdad Haggadah, the Hebrew word הרי is translated by הוד'א. Cf.: Blanc 1964b, pp. 29-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Sometimes the pronoun *ǝldi* is realized with the accompaniment of a glottal stop – *ˀǝldi*. The initial vowel in the forms *ǝldi* / *ǝlli* may vary to [a], for example: alli (Ps 40:16), ˀaldi (Ps 41:10). [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. At my request, he also translated the Hebrew אשר in writing, recording אלדי. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. One, who usually strictly follows the written text, this time deviated from his practice, only occasionally reading *ǝldi* but usually preferring *ǝlli*. The third rabbi, who translates directly from the Hebrew source, almost always used *ǝlli*. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. In these instances, the shortened form lli- / li- is pronounced; see section [7.12]. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Cohen 1975, p. 221; Blanc 1964b, p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Blau 1980a, pp. 235-237, §361. The form אלי appears rarely in Medieval Judeo-Arabic manuscripts; ibid., §362. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Cohen 1912, pp. 349-350. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Marçais 1908, p. 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. This is the more common form, although *ǝddi* is also documented: Marçais, W. 1902, p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Cohen 1975, pp. 218, 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Talmoudi 1980, pp. 146-147. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Brunot 1950a, p. 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Marçais 1956, p. 492. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Cantineau 1938, p. 854. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Ostoya-Delmas 1938, p. 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Fischer and Jastrow 1980, p. 258. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. For example: מצ'רב אלי ידכ'כ'לו פ'יה אלחמץ (Pesahim, 1, translation). This phenomenon is also documented in the Jewish dialect of Algiers (Cohen 1912, p. 349). [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Cowley 1910, p. 446, §138g. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. The western Issachar Ben Susan translated זו in this verse as מה: ערّפני טריק מה אסיר. See his translations of this word in other verses: Doron 1980, pp. 127-128, 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. See also the translations of זוּ in Ps 10:2, 31:5, 62:12, 68:29, 142:4. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Bar-Asher 1988a, p. 6. Regarding colloquial Judeo-Arabic, see: Bar-Asher 1978, p. 178. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. In exceptional cases, however, the definite article was prefixed to a noun that had already been rendered definite by an enclitic pronoun, such as: *l-əl-faḍl-u* (לְחַסְדּֽוֹ, Ps 33:18), or in a construct chain, such as *l-əl-məkṣūṛ-īn əl-qəlb* (לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵ֑ב, Ps 34:19). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. The preservation of this vowel is also found in the Jewish dialect of Tunis in similar circumstances to those in CJA. See: Cohen 1975, p. 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. In this instance, both the [l] and the doubling of the /d/ were maintained. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Magnion 1937, p. 378. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. She reports that in these dialects this assimilation is found only in the word *ež-žbel*: Ostoya-Delmas 1938, pp. 69-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Dhina 1938, p. 314. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Cohen 1912, p. 342. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Cohen 1975, p. 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. For example, this assimilation may occur in Palestinian Arabic: Elihi 1977, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Cantineau 1938, p. 853. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Cf. Cohen 1912, p. 343. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. It is reasonable to assume that this phenomenon also occurs when the first element in the cluster is /ˁ/; however, we did not find any conclusive examples of this in the corpus. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Cf. Cohen 1975, p. 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Similar behavior is found in other Maghrebi dialects, such as the Muslim dialect of Tlemcen (Marçais 1902, p. 117). [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
100. See the previous page regarding assimilation of the definite article to /ğ/. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
101. In Medieval Judeo-Arabic texts, the omission of א after these prepositions is rare. See: Blau 1980a, p. 52, §36. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
102. See also in Medieval Judeo-Arabic texts: ibid., p. 51. §35. In the western translation of Issachar Ben Susan this is the predominant orthographic form: Doron 1980, p. 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
103. Shitrit 1989, p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
104. See previous footnote. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
105. Bar-Asher 1978, p. 172; Leslau 1945-46, p. 68; Gottwein 1931, p. 274 [add to bibliography]. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)