

Who wrote the Ladino Siddur for Women [French National Library, Hebr. 668]?

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ABSTRACT: Lazar published *Siddur Tefillot: A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book* in 1995, based on a manuscript found in the French National Library [Hebr. 668]. He claimed that the text originated in 15th century Spain. Minervini reviewed the publication in 1998 and argued that the manuscript must have been written later, most likely in the latter years of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. Both researchers agree that the Siddur is a literal, non-normative translation of a Hebrew Siddur written by an amateur author. The bibliographical description of the manuscript gives its origin as “Maroc?.” The manuscript is extremely interesting because it features linguistic characteristics of the languages spoken in Andalusia, Aragon, Portugal, Italy, and Judeo-Spanish from the Ottoman Empire. This paper examines various linguistic and textual aspects of the Siddur to determine the origin of the author. Even if the manuscript did reach Paris via Morocco, the linguistic data prove that the author's background is from Italy, probably of Portuguese ex-converso origin.

KEYWORDS: Prayer book; Ladino/Judeo-Spanish; woman; dialects; Hebrew; Italian; Portuguese; Greek.

TRANSLATED TITLE: ¿Quién escribió el Siddur para mujeres en ladino [Biblioteca Nacional de Francia, Hebr. 668]?

RESUMEN: Lazar publicó *Siddur Tefillot: A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book* en 1995, basado en un manuscrito encontrado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia [Hebr. 668]. Afirmó que el texto tenía su origen en España en el siglo xv. Minervini revisó la publicación en 1998 y argumentó que el manuscrito debió haber sido escrito posteriormente, muy probablemente a finales del siglo xvi o principios del siglo xvii. Ambos investigadores coinciden en que el Siddur es una traducción literal y no normativa de un Siddur hebreo escrita por un autor aficionado. La descripción bibliográfica del manuscrito indica su origen como «Maroc?». El manuscrito es sumamente interesante porque presenta características lingüísticas de los idiomas hablados en Andalucía, Aragón, Portugal, Italia y judeoespañol del Imperio Otomano. Este artículo examina diversos aspectos lingüísticos y textuales del Siddur para determinar el origen del autor. Aunque el manuscrito llegó a París a través de Marruecos, los datos lingüísticos demuestran que el trasfondo del autor proviene de Italia, probablemente de origen portugués ex-converso.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Libro de oraciones; ladino/judeoespañol; mujer; dialectos; hebreo; italiano; portugués; griego.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The manuscript *Prières juives (judéoespagnol)* is found in the French National Library with the catalogue number Hebr. 668¹. Next to the French description of the manuscript the word «Maroc?» is added with a question mark. Is it a Moroccan Judeo-Spanish manuscript? This is a question that will be addressed in this paper. The first folio includes the words סְדוּר תְּפִלּוֹת and it starts with the morning prayers. Only by reading the formulation of the blessings, can it be deduced that it is a Siddur for women.

Moshe Lazar published this manuscript as *Siddur Tefillot: A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book* (Lazar 1995a). He copied the Judeo-Spanish manuscript in Hebrew letters without the vowel signs, transliterated it into Latin letters using Spanish conventions, and added abundant textual and lexical comments. His work is of great value to anyone working on this text.

Lazar (1995a, xx) claimed that the text originated in the first half of fifteenth-century Spain, before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Laura Minervini (1998, 404-419) reviewed the publication and argued that the manuscript must have been written later than originally thought, most likely in the later years of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century². Her analysis is based on a detailed linguistic analysis of the unique phonological, morphological and lexical phenomena found in this Siddur. Her arguments are very convincing in that it is clear the text was not medieval Hispanic but rather a late Judeo-Spanish (henceforth JS) diaspora text. Both Lazar (1995a, ix) and Minervini (1998, 415-416) agree that the Siddur is a literal, non-normative translation of a Hebrew Siddur, written by an amateur author. In my previous investigations of the text, I raised the possibility that the manuscript originated in Italy, probably in Venice (Schwarzwalld 2011, 53-86). While re-examining the text, I would like to prove that the manuscript must have been written by a person whose origins are in Italy, perhaps a Portuguese-converted Jew.

In the first part of the paper, I will describe the history of the manuscript, and then present its special features which lead to the conclusion as to who wrote this manuscript.

2. HISTORICAL PRELIMINARY NOTES

The manuscript was first listed in a catalogue from 1739, as a text in use by Lusitania Jews (*Catalogue* 1739). It was later mentioned briefly as a woman's prayer book by Hermann Zotenberg (1866). Laurent Héricher, the curator of the Hebraica-Judaica manuscripts at the French National Library in Paris, informed me that the manuscript was delivered in 1667 from Gilbert Gaulmin's collection, together with an additional hundred manuscripts and books.

On the flyleaf of the manuscript, the name Hubert d'Orleans is written by hand. Étienne Hubert d'Orléans (Stephanus Hubertus 1567-1614) was a French physician, orientalist, and diplomat. Born in Orléans, he studied medicine there and in Paris, as well as Semitic and other European languages. From 1598 to 1600, he served as the court physician of the Moroccan ruler, Ahmad al-Mansur in Marrakech, Morocco. He was an expert in Arabic and taught that language in Paris after his return from Morocco. His student, Gilbert Gaulmin (1585-1665), an Orientalist scholar, studied Arabic from him. Gaulmin was also interested in Semitic and European languages. It was he who probably received the manuscript from Hubert d'Orléans, which was eventually donated to the French National Library by his followers. This explains the name Hubert d'Orléans on the flyleaf of the manuscript and shows that the manuscript probably dates from the end of the sixteenth century and might have been brought to Paris from Morocco; however, it does not necessarily prove that it was written either by a Moroccan author or in Morocco.

¹ Now available online: https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/9200519/ark__12148_btv1b105430384.html?q=ladino#dcId=1579624581224&p=1.

² Many examples in the review article are listed briefly.

3. THE MANUSCRIPT

According to Laurent Héricher, the curator of the French National Library, codicological analysis reveals a paper probably of Italian origin, with several different watermarks which could be found in Ottoman papers. In addition, the paper has been polished with a stone, the traces of which are visible with grazing light, and there are several polishing directions. This usage was widespread in the Ottoman Empire, but not exclusively, as it appeared in North Africa too (Velkov 2005; Briquet 1968). Hence it seems to point to three possible sources: Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and North Africa.

The pocket-size manuscript (8.7 × 11 cm) includes 302 folios, numbered consecutively by a later hand. It is obvious that some folios are missing, while others have been misplaced. Here are a few examples: folios 19r-22v should have been inserted after fol. 80v. There is a gap between fols. 80v and 81r. Fol. 231v finishes with the words תם תם תם [tam] 'finished' followed by לה עמידה די כפור [la 'amida de quipur]³ 'The Amidah prayer of Yom Kippur' in cursive letters, but fol. 232r starts with the translation of Psalms 17 which is said on Yom Kippur, but not the prayer itself. Fol. 32v finishes with the words אי בינדיג'ו (i bendicho) 'and he blessed' in solitreo (the handwritten Sephardic letters), but fol. 33r does not start with these words, and apparently a folio is missing or misplaced here. A detailed description of the order of the folios, the contents and the missing parts are listed in Lazar (1995a, xxii-xxiv, 228, 231, 249).

The body of the manuscript is written in Ladino in the square, Hebrew, vocalized letters, without the Hebrew text. Some instructions and occasional notes are written either in the square, non-vocalized letters or in solitreo, perhaps by another hand, as can be seen in the example from fol. 231v. At the bottom of a few folios the beginning words of the next folio are written in square, non-vocalized letters (e.g., fol. 8v: איל [el] 'the'), but in other folios it is written in solitreo (e.g., fol. 39v: אי טומו מירם לה פרופיטה אירמאנה די אהרן אל אדופ'לי [i tomo Miryam la profeta ermana de Aharon al adufle] 'and Miriam the prophetess, Aharon's sister, took a timbrel' (Exodus 15:20). Several instructions are written in square, a smaller size vocalized letter, as in Example 1:

Example 1:

אי דירה שמע לה פרשה פרימירה נומאש אי דירה וינועם קומו לו דיזין לאש מוגיריש אי דירה איסטי פסוק ... אי
דישפואיש שי אירה אה דורמיר

[y dirá fema⁴ la paraña primera no.más y dirá vino'am cumo lo dizen las moñeres y dirá este pasuk
... y después se irá a dormir] (fol. 92r)

'And she should say Shema [Israel], the first Parasha [portion], no more. And she should say
Vino'am⁴ as women use to say and she should say this verse ... and afterwards she should go to
sleep.'

³ I use the following transcription conventions: Biblical citations are transliterated following the biblical tradition: ā = camats, a = patah, e = tsere, ε = segol, ə = shwa, ō = holam male, o = holan haser, ī = hirik male, i = hirik haser, ū = shuruk, u = cubuts, ʔ = alef, ʿ = ayin, h = het, q = cof, k = caf rafa, b = bet rafa [v], j = shin, ś = sin. The Spanish transcription follows Spanish usage with modifications depending on the Ladino orthography: gimel with a diacritic is transcribed as ġ, ĝ and ch as in iġo 'son' (Sp. hijo), aġipto 'Egypt' (Sp. Egipto), and dicho 'said' (Sp. dicho), lamed-yod is transcribed by Sp. ll, and nun-yod by Sp. ñ, samej transcribes ç, while shin transcribes both s and š, as in ċiempres~siempre 'always' (Sp. siempre), baġo 'low' (Sp. bajo). The English translations of the Siddur are based on Toledano 2002. Bible translations are based on the American Standard Version.

⁴ *Vino'am* is misspelled for Hebrew וְיָהִי נֹעַם [vīhī nō'am], a verse from Psalms 90:17: "And let the beauty of the LORD our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." The translation here is based on the King James Version.

The writing is not unified, and it seems that perhaps several scribes wrote the text consecutively. For instance, fols. 1-6r, 15r-16r, and 17v-28v are written by one hand, whereas fols. like 7r-14v and 16v-17r seem to be written by another. There are differences in the size of the letters, due to the different plumes used and the pressure of the ink. There are also some differences in the shape of some letters like *gimel*, *shin*, and *pe*. Because of the width of the letters, the folios with more delicate writing include more text – more lines and more words in each line than the ones with bolder letters (see for example fols. 83v–84r). Nevertheless, it seems clear that the language tradition is the same, and the text continues from the same point that the previous folio ends (cf. fols. 114v–116r). It is possible that the same author changed his writing at different times, or it is possible that the work was divided between two writers who decided which sections of the prayer book each was going to write.

In one case, however, it is certain that another person wrote the text, from fol. 296r forward. Not only are the letters handwritten in a different way from all the previous folios, but there are several unique linguistic features that typify these folios which are different from previous ones⁵. The discussion below concentrates on the first 295 folios of the Siddur as being by one author, because the final folios were appended later from another source.

In many cases, there are corrections to the text. Sometimes the author writes a word and corrects it, as seen in several instances. For example, on fol. 114v, the author starts writing *esperantes*, realizes that the word cannot be finished at the end of the line, erases the beginning *espe* and writes the whole word on the next line. Two lines below the author writes *esperar* but realizing that it should be *escapar*, erases the letters *perar* (of *esperar*) and writes the letters *capar* above it, leading to the word *escaper*. On fol. 125v, the author writes *boladía*, erases it, and writes *mortandad* over it. On fols. 124v-125r, there are several corrections, some within the text, and others at the margins: *el angostino* is erased, and *yerba* is added above the line; the letters *mos* are erased from the word *foemos*, and above them the correction *ron* (i.e., *foeron*) is added. The word *anigadios* is erased, and in the margins the words *atemad[os] noes[os] años* are added. On fol. 45v, the author writes the Hebrew word על ['al] 'on', erases it, and writes *sobre* next to it.

4. FEATURES OF LADINO TRANSLATIONS IN THE SIDDUR

Like other Hebrew liturgical texts translated into Ladino, the entire Siddur, except for the short instructions, is a word-for-word translation, as described in various references to Ladino translations (Sephia 1973, 50-92; Schwarzwald 1989, 7-15; Bunis 1996, 337-357). Here is a short example:

Example 2:

Bindicho Él y Bindicho Su nombre y Bindicho Su remembraçión para çiempre y çiempre Bindicho Tú YY noestro Dio Rey para çiempre el Rey el grande y el santo Padre piadozo alavado en boca de Su poeblo loado y afirmoziwado en lengoa de todos Sus boenos y Sus siervos 'Blessed be He and blessed be His memory for ever and ever Blessed are You, our God, King forever, the great and holy King merciful father lauded in the mouth of His people praised and glorified by the tongue of all His righteous ones and His servants' (15v-16r).

The Hebrew equivalent in standard Sepharic Siddurs is:

ברוך הוא וברוך שמו וברוך זכרו לעולם ועד. ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו מלך העולם. המלך הגדול והקדוש אב רחמן מהלל
בפה עמו. מושבח ומפאָר בלשון חסידיו ועבדיו.

The translation is an exact copy of the Hebrew text, although this part of the prayer is not an exact formula found in Hebrew Sephardic prayer books. The Hebrew text says *ʾēlohēnū meleḵ hāʾōlām* 'Our

⁵ See discussion in section 8 below.

God King of the universe', which occurs only once in the whole Siddur as *noestro Dio rey del mundo* (2r). The formulation of the blessing here and in the entire Siddur is *noestro~noeso Dio rey para siempre* 'Our God king forever', as if the Hebrew says מֶלֶךְ לְעוֹלָם [mēlek ləʿolām] 'King forever'⁶.

Nominal sentences do not include the copula *ser*, e.g., *Bindicho Él y bindicho Su nombre, bindicho Tú* (not: *bindicho sea Él y bindicho sea Su nombre, bindicho seas Tú*). In Hebrew, the definite article appears both in front of the noun and in front of the adjective that defines it, as in הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל וְהַקָּדוֹשׁ [hammēlek haggādōl wəhaqqādōš] 'the great and holy king'. In Spanish, as in English, the definite article is placed only once. In the Ladino translations, the definite article is duplicated as in *el rey el grande y el santo* (rather than *el rey grande y santo* or *el grande y santo rey*). The same applies to the possessive pronouns which are part of the inflected noun. Hence הַסִּידִי וְהַבְּרִי [hāsīdī wəhābādī] is translated as *sus boenos y sus siervos* (rather than *sus boenos y siervos*).

God's name YHWH is represented by double *yod* and an additional *yod* above them (representing the *holam*?), and a decoration at the end. The vowels underneath are *schwa* and *camats*, as vocalized in the Bible. The Hebrew word *ʾēlohīm* (in *ʾēlohenū*) is translated by *Dio*.

Another example of the lack of a copulative verb can be seen in this example: *heg el foego y los leños y ado el carnero para la alsasion*, 'Behold the fire and the woods and where is the lamb for a burnt offering?' (Genesis 22:7; 20r).

5. COMPARISON TO OTHER SOURCES

Minervini (1998, 406)⁷ compared Psalms 48 in the Siddur to *Libro de Oraciones* from Ferrara 1552 (Lazar 1993, 208-211), and Moses Song in Exodus 15:1-18 in the Siddur (Minervini 1998, 407-408)⁸ to the Constantinople Ladino Pentateuch from 1547 (Lazar 1988, 170-173; Lazar 1995a, xiv-xvi)⁹. Lazar also brought the versions of Moses Song in the Siddur, together with the Spanish Bible Escorial Ij3, the Constantinople Pentateuch, and the Ferrara Bible (Lazar 1992, 489). He also paired parallel paragraphs from the Siddur with Ferrara prayer book from 1552, Ferrara Bible from 1553, prayer books from Judeo-Provançal and Judeo-Catalan, Escorial Ij3 and Constantinople 1540(?), without any comments (Lazar 1995b, xiv-xx).

Hereinafter, I cite a few examples as translated in the Siddur, compared to other translations. The first example relates to the word *boladia*¹⁰.

Example 3:

The verse in Psalms 104:12 states: עֲלֵיהֶם עוֹרֵה־שָׁמַיִם יִשְׁכֹּן מִבְּיַן אֲפֻמִּים יִתְנַקְּלוּ [ʿāleyhem ʿōf-haʃʃāmayim yīškōn mibbeyn ʿōfāʾim yittənū qōl] 'By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, among the branches will sing [lit: give voice]'. Here are the translations:

S: *Sobre elyos boladia de sielo mora, de entre boladias dan vos* (228v-229r)¹¹.

C: *Sobre elyos abe de los çielos mora de entre hojas dan boz* (Lazar 2000, 1714-1715).

F: *Sobre ellos aue de los cielos morara, de entre hojas darán boz* (Lazar 1992, 511).

⁶ See discussion of this expression in section 6.4.31 below.

⁷ Fols. 289r-290v in the Siddur.

⁸ Fols. 35v-39r in the Siddur.

⁹ Moses Song has been described and compared in nine different versions by Morreale 1963, 3-21, excluding this Siddur.

¹⁰ S stands for the Siddur under discussion, F to Ferrara 1553 (Lazar 1992), and C for Constantinople-Saloniki (Lazar 2000).

¹¹ The word *haʃʃāmayim* is translated in the Siddur by *sielo* in the singular form, while the other translations use *los cielos* reflecting the Hebrew structure.

The word *boladía(s)* refers in the Siddur both to Hebrew *‘ōf* 'fowl' and to *‘ōfā’im*, although the traditional interpretation of the latter is 'branches and leaves of a tree'¹². The translations from Constantinople and Ferrara refer to the traditional meaning, *abe-ave* for *‘ōf* and *hojas-hojas* for *‘ōfā’im*. The medieval translations have *ave* for *‘ōf* and either *ramas*, *fojas* or *piedras* for *‘ōfā’im*, according to the traditional interpretation (Enrique-Arias and Pueyo Mena 2008-). None has the meaning of fowls in the translation of *‘ōfā’yim*. I guess that the spelling similarity between *‘ōf* and *‘ōfā’yim* with *āyin* and *pe* led the writer to this choice of words in the Siddur.

The word *boladía* is listed three more times in fol. 125v, once erased and replaced by *mortandad* as a translation of *deber*, and two times as the translation of *deber* 'pestilence' and *qeteb* 'destruction', as in Example 4:

Example 4:

Psalms 91:6: מְדַבֵּר בְּאֶפֶס יִהְיֶה מְקַטֵּב יְשׁוּר צְהָרִים [middeber bā’ofel yahālok miqqeteb yāfūd šāhōrāyim]
'Nor for pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for destruction that wasteth at moonday'.

S: *De boladía que en la noche anda, de boladía que prea en las siestas* (125v).

C: *De mortaldad que en la tinevla se anda, de tajamiento que prea en las siestas* (Lazar 2000, 1698).

F: *De pestilencia {que} en tiniebla anda, de tajamiento {que} destruye en las siestas* (Lazar 1992, 507).

Ferrara translates *deber* and *qeteb* by *pestilencia* and *tajamiento*, and Constantinople by *mortandad* and *tajamiento*, respectively. The medieval Bibles translate the first word *deber* by *priessa*, *mortandad*, *vestigio*, *pestilençia* or *negocio* [*de la prissa*], and the second word *qeteb* by *contracorrimiento*, *tajamiento*, *vagelisco*, *basilisco*, *corrimiêto*, *cortamento*, and *contrario del mal*¹³. None of them used a word resembling *boladía*. The use of the word *boladía* in the context of this verse seems unusual.

Perhaps one can find a clue for this strange use in the Haketía. Benoliel (1977, 258) lists two expressions: *voladía de cabeza* means 'dizziness', 'confusion' or 'frustration', and *volatero de corasson* means 'agitation'. Being unfamiliar with the Hebrew words *deber* and *qeteb*, the translator of the Siddur used the word *boladía* (= *voladía*) to indicate those terms carrying negative meanings, although in the first case on the same folio the word *boladía* was corrected to *mortandad*, as described above.

The following comparison is taken from the *Musaf* of the Sabbath¹⁴. Hebrew words are marked by capital letters. The instruction in solitreo letters that precedes the prayer in the Siddur says לְמֹשֶׁה צִיָּבָה <lmšh šybh> [lemoše šiva] instead of לְמֹשֶׁה צִיָּוִת [lemoše šivita] 'to Moses you ordered', with *bet* instead of *vav* and the use of 3rd person instead of 2nd¹⁵.

¹² The word is derived from the Latin verb *VOLARE*, and the noun *VOLATĪLE*, see Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *volar*. It is attested there as a JS *volatilla* and *boladilla* in the Ferrara Bible; Blondheim 1925, 132-133, refers to *boladilla* in the footnote as cited in Lumbroso. The word *boladidia* (from Old Spanish *uolatilia*) meaning 'bird' is attested in a 13th-century medieval text written by Jews, see Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 363. *Boladidia*, but not *boladía*, is also attested in another religious text from the 15th century according to *CORDE*. *Bolladilla* is also attested in *CORDE* in the Ferrara Siddur.

¹³ In Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 303, 408, one finds *tajadura que fiéred*.

¹⁴ The Hebrew text is: וְבוֹ צִיָּוִתָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ / לְהַקְרִיב בָּהּ קָרְבָּן מוֹסֵף שֶׁבֶת כְּרָאוֹ: יְהִי רָצוֹן / מִלְפָּנֶיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַלֵּהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ שְׁמַעֲלֵנוּ / בְּשִׁמְחָה לְאַרְצֵנוּ וְתַשְׁעֵנוּ בְּגִבּוּלֵנוּ וְשֵׁם נַעֲשֶׂה / לְפָנֶיךָ אֶת קָרְבָּנוֹת חֻבּוֹתֵינוּ תְּמִידִין כְּסֶדֶר / וּמוֹסָפִין כְּהַלְכָתָן. אֶת מוֹסֵף יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת הַזֶּה. / נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִקְרִיב לְפָנֶיךָ בְּאַהֲבָה קִמְצוֹת רָצוֹנָךְ / כְּמוֹ שֶׁכָּתוּב עָלֵינוּ בְּתוֹרָתְךָ עַל יְדֵי מֹשֶׁה עֲבָדְךָ כְּאֲמוֹר

¹⁵ S = the Siddur (fols. 161r-162r), F = Ferrara *Libro de oraciones* from 1552 (fols. 84v-85r; Lazar 1993, 122), SN = Seder Nashim, a women's prayer book from Saloniki ca. 1565, see Schwarzwald 2012, 101-102, pp. 68-70 in the original book.

Example 5:

a

S: *A Mofeh encomendaste sobre monte de Sinay encomendansa del Sabat*F: *A Moseh encomendaste sobre monte de Sinay mandamiento del sabath*SN: *A.Mofe encomendaste sobre monte de Sinay encomendaça de Sabat*

b

S: *membrar y go^wardar y en.el nos encomendaste YY noeso Dio*F: *membrando y guardando en.el nos encomendaste AND (=Adonay Nuestro Dio)*SN: *membrar y guardar y en.el nos encomendaste YY nueso Dio*

c

S: *para alegar en.elya alegasion del Musaf del Sabat cumo conviene*F: *para fazer allegar en.el allegacion de Musaph de sabath como pertenece*SN: *por alyegar en.elya alyegasion de eñadimiento de Sabat cumo pertenece*

d

S: *Sea voluntad de delantreti YY noeso Dio e Dio de noestros padres que mos subas*F: *Sea voluntad delante ti AND y Dio de nuestros padres que nos fagas subir*SN: *Sea voluntad delante ti YY nueso Dio y Dio de nuegos padres que nos hagas subir*

e

S: *con aligria a noestras tierras y plantarnosas en noestros terminos y alye faremos*F: *con alegria a nuestra tierra y nos plantes en nuestro termino, y alli faremos*SN: *con alegria a nuesa tierra y nos plantes en nuestro termino y aí haremos*

f

S: *delantreti a alegaciones de noestras obligansas Temidin cumo su regla*F: *delante ti allegaciones de nuestras obligaciones continuas como su orden*SN: *delante ti a alyegaçiones de nuestras obligaciones continos cumo su orden*

g

S: *y Musafin cumo su uzo a Musaf de dia de.la folgança este*F: *y añadimientos como su derecho y al acrecentamiento de dia de la folgança este*SN: *y eñadimientos cumo su regla a eñadimiento de dia de la folgança este*

h

S: *fare y alegare delante ti con amor cumo encomendansa de tu beluntad*F: *faremos; y faremos allegar delante ti con amor como mandamiento de su voluntad*SN: *faremos y alyegaremos delante ti con amor cumo encomendaça de tu voluntad*

i

S: *cumo escreviste sobre.nos en.tu ley por mano se Mofe tu siervo en su ley*F: *como que escreuiste sobre nos en tu ley por mano de Moseh tu sieruo en su ley*SN: *cumo escrebiste sobre nos en.tu ley por manos de Mofe tu siervo cumo es dicho en su ley*

The principle governing all the translations is the same: they are literal, word-for-word translations from Hebrew, like any other Ladino translation. However, if one ignores orthographic phenomena like connections of words (e.g., *enel~en el*, *enelya~enella~en ella*) and the systematic differences in vowels between *cumo* (S, SN) and *como* (F), and *noeso-nueso* (S, SN), *noestro-nuestro*, *go^wardar-guardar* (S, F, SN), and *b-v-u* alternations *escreviste-escreuiste* (S, F) *escrebiste* (SN), *siervo-sieruo* (S, F) *sierbo* (SN), one can find the following equivalents between this Siddur and the other prayer books in Table 1:

Example	The Siddur	Ferrara Siddur	Seder Nashim
a	encomendansa	mandamiento	encomendaça
b	membrar y go ^w ardar	membrando y guardando	membrar y guardar
b	y	—	y
c	alegar	fazer allegar	alyegar
c	Musaf Musaph		eñadimientto
c	conviene	pertenece	
d, h	veluntad, <i>bel</i> untad	voluntad	veluntad
d	e	y	y
d	mos subas	nos fagas subir	nos hagas subir
d, f, h	delantre	delante	
e	aligria	alegria	
e	plantarnos	nos plantes	
e	alye	alli	aí
e	faremos		haremos
f	alegaciones	allegaciones	alyegaciones
f	obligansas	obligaciones	
f	Temidin	continuas	continuos
f	regla	orden	
g	Musafin	añadimientos	eñadimientos
g	uzo	derecho	regla
g	Musaf	acrecentamiento	eñadimiento
h	fare y alegare	faremos y faremos allegar	faremos y alyegaremos

Table 1. Variations in the Ladino translations of the prayer books.

The Siddur resembles Seder Nashim in the words *encomendansa* (a), *membrar y guardar* (b), *veluntad* (d, h), and in the addition of *y* in b. They also resemble each other in the frequent alternations between the *noeso-nueso* and *noestro-nuestro*, as demonstrated in the examples above. The Siddur resembles Ferrara in the translation of the Hebrew word *Musaf* in c but not in g, and in the use of *faremos* in e. It uses the Hebrew word *Musaf* two more times in g, once in the singular and once in the plural, unlike the other translations. It also features the Hebrew word *Temidin* in f, which is translated in F and SN by *continuas* and *continuos*, respectively.

Ferrara and Seder Nashim translate the same way in a few cases: *pertenece* (c), *faças~hagas subir* (d), *nos plantes* (e), *obligaciones* and *orden* (f). In these cases, they differ from the Siddur.

The Siddur is unique in the consistent use of *alegar* and its derivatives in the translation of the Hebrew root *q-r-b* related to sacrifice and scarifying. Only in fols. 59v, אֵלֵיגָנוֹשׁ [alyeganos] is written, where it translates 'to arrive' (Sp. *llegar* or *allegar*). In the other traditions in Ferrara and in Seder Nashim, *allegar/alyegar* is homonymic for both meanings.

The above example also demonstrates the use of JS *mos* in example d rather than *nos*, although in many other cases *nos* is used. This initial *m* is typical of JS and appears from time to time in the possessive *moesa* (190r) and *moestros* (188r, 259r; see section 6.2.2 (1) below). The vowel *i* in *aligria* (e; for *alegria*) in the Siddur is not frequent in the verb *alegrar* and its derivatives, but it occurs several times. The alternations between *e* and *i* can be seen in *alye~alyi* demonstrated above, and in other cases (see section 6.1.1.1 below). The word *delantre* is typical to JS, found sometimes in medieval Spanish texts (according to *CORDE*). The occurrence of *delante* is rarer in this Siddur (see section 6.4.12 below).

The selected examples above, the one regarding *boladía* in Examples 3-4 and the other regarding the translation of a few sentences from the *Musaf* prayer in Example 5 demonstrate the uniqueness of this prayer book. In the following paragraphs further analyses of the linguistic features of the Siddur will be presented.

6. SOME LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MANUSCRIPT¹⁶

6.1. Phonological features

6.1.1. Vowels

The vowel system is represented by the Hebrew vocalization system (*niqud*). The vowels are not represented systematically. *Pataḥ* and *camats* represent the vowel *a*, *segol*, *tsere* and sometimes *schwa* – the vowel *e*, *ḥolam* represents *o* and *shuruk* *u*. *Cubuts* does not occur at all, and the *schwa* may represent a lack of vowel as well. Alternations between *i-e* are very frequent; less frequent are *o-u* alternations. A few features have already been seen in the previous examples. Here I list them briefly¹⁷.

6.1.1.1. *i-e* Alternations

Alternations between the vowels *i* and *e* are quite common, e.g., *abewiwan* (43r, 96v +25)—*abiviwan* (58r); *aboresimos* (75v, 277v)—*aboresemos* (267v)¹⁸; *bendicho* (2r, 40v and many more)—*bindicho* (1r, 1v +13); *bendezir* (12r, 25v +12)—*bendizir* (133v); *dezientes* (47r, 59r, 255r)—*dizientes* (19v, 47v, 129r, 242v); *regmien* (57r, 60r, 111r, 214v)—*rigmien* (85v, 118r); *vidas* (60v), *bidas* (21v, 22r +8), *ḥidas* (164r, 172v +6)—*vedas* (164r), *bedas* (192v), *ḥedas* (266v); *bevela* (23r, 32r)—*bivela* (28v, 31r +3)—*bevila* (293v; Sp. *vihuela* 'violin'); *fermozura* (17r, 18r +18)—*firmozura* (3v, 18r, 141v); *invierno* (57v, 96v +6)—*envierno* (197v); *premerilya* (15r, 44v)—*primerilya* (62v), *primeriya* (100r, 149r)¹⁹.

6.1.1.2. *u-o* Alternations²⁰

Alternations between the vowels *u* and *o* are less common, e.g., *buscantes*²¹ (118v, 288v)—*boscad* (118v)—*buscar* (230r, 252v); *cumo* (8r, 12r and many more)—*como* (3v, 24r +6)—*comu* (24r, 125r, 258v, 273r)—*cumu* (162r, 232v)²²; *alyudan* (56r, 137r, 186r)—*alyodan* (57v); *complira* (215v)—*cumplir* (245r, 248r).

¹⁶ MINERVINI 1998, 409-413 LISTS SOME OF THEM BRIEFLY AS WELL.

¹⁷ As stated above, most examples are taken from the main body of the Siddur; the final folios written by another hand will be discussed separately in section 8 below.

¹⁸ Cf. Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 349. See discussion below in the morphological section 6.2.6 regarding the conjugation of preterit forms.

¹⁹ Cf. Minervini 1998, 409-410. The alternation of *i-e* and *o-u* existed in medieval Spanish, see Lapesa 1984, §§30, 40-41.

²⁰ In several cases *ḥolam* and *shuruk* are both marked on *vav*, e.g., *cobrenos/cubrenos* קֹבְרִינוֹ (86r).

²¹ The author does not distinguish between /s/ and /ʃ/ and they both are written with *ṣ*. The Judeo-Spanish pronunciation is with /ʃ/ in this case, but it is not certain. Lazar 1995a transcribes these cases with the letter *s*. Note that on the same folio (118v) both pronunciations with *u* and *o* are represented. Lazar 1995a transcribes these cases with the letter *u*.

6.1.1.3. *oe-ue Alternations*²³

The sequence *oe* is very frequent and occurs hundreds of times. Here are a few examples: *acoerda* (20v), *acoesta* (232v, 283v), *afoeras* (44r, 54v +9), *amoestra* (208v), *amoestrame* (284v), *bergoensa* (249r, 270v), *boeno* (4r, 15r and many more), *coenta* (28r, 28v +4), *coentanos* (274v), *coerbo* (28v), *coernos* (11r), *coerpos* (2r), *coestas* (7v, 30r +4), *compoesto* (236r, 295r), *despoes* (90r, 92r +2), *desvegoensan* (5r), *doenyo* (5r, 48r +13), *doerme* (90v, 128v), *empoes* (8r, 20r, 194r) *encoentro* (5r, 91v), *esfoersalos* (68v), *foente* (217r), *foersa* (3r, 28v +13), *foerte* (21r, 36r +28), *joizios* (62v), *joigísio* (232r)—*goegsio* (260r)—*joezios* (286r)—*goegios* (290r), *loengo* (17v, 70r, 281r, 285r). *poeblo* (5v, 16v and many more), *poertas* (25r, 29r +8), *roedas* (145v)²⁴.

Rarely does the sequence *oe* alternate with *ue*, e.g., *atuendo* (241v)—*atoendo* (270v), *foego* (10r, 228r, 246r)—*fuego* (176v), *joezes* (110v)—*jueges* (242r, 290v).

In four more cases, only the sequence *ue* occurs: 1. *envuelto* (162r); 2. *encuenta* (234v); 3. In the second person plural pronoun realized as *guesos* (=vuesos, vuestros) (181v), *uestros* (243v), *uestra* (243v); 4. Alternating with *ui* in *juesio* (113r), *juezio* (286v)—*juisio* (221v), *juizio* (193v, 235v, 286v)²⁵.

6.1.1.4. *oa-ua Alternations*

As a rule, *oa* is frequently used throughout the Siddur. Here are a few examples: *coaḡaron* (37r), *coal* (78v, 279r, 288v), *coando* (39r, 74v +8; also alternations with *cowando* 278v), *coanto* (23r, 44v +8), *coanta* (133r), *coatrevas* (36r) *coatrea* (215v, 297v), *coatro* (49v, 71v, 151r, 269v), *coatrupea* (51v, 132v, 279v; alternating with *coatro pea* 28v, 30v, 229r), *goarda* (20v, 61v)—*wardan* (1v, 27v)—*goarda* (67v), *menḡoa* (116r)—*menḡwaran* (116v), *pascoa* (199v, 203v).

In three cases, *oa* alternates with *ua*: 1. in the word for 'water', e.g., *agoas* (295v)—*āguas* 2v, 35r +4)—*aguas* (29v)—*awas* (39v)—*agwas* (29v, 30r +10)—*āgwas* (68v, 80v +3)—*agwa* (239v, 240r); 2. in *escuantra* (45v)—*escoantra* (76v, 98r, 148v); 3. in *lengua* (253v)—*lingoa* (67v)—*lengoa* (116v, 138r +4). The single word *cuarenta* (269r) is spelled with *ua*, but *coatro* (49v 71v +2) is spelled with *oa*.

Only in one example does the sequence *ua* occur systematically: *asetuaste* (183r) alternating with *asetuwaste* (189v).

6.1.1.5. *Diphthongization*

The following feature is typical of certain verbs, where diphthongs alternate with simple vowels, e.g., *amostran* (78r), *amoestra* (208v), *amoestre* (10r), *amuestrame* (251v), *amoestrame* (284v); *despierto* (137v, 233v), *despertan* (27r, 137v); *esfoersalos* (68v), *esforsan* (109r, 215r +4). The diphthongization and lack of diphthongs in some of the forms could show the confusion between Spanish and Portuguese forms, but one should recall that all these variations have already existed in medieval Spanish²⁶.

6.1.2. *Consonants*

The Hebrew alphabet is used to represent the JS consonants.

²² The form *cumo* is more widespread than the other ones.

²³ Cf. Minervini 1998, 410.

²⁴ The word occurs two more times, one as *roidas* (47v), and one as *la roedas* (!) (148v).

²⁵ See more discussion about these words in section 6.1.2.7, paragraph (6).

²⁶ See Quintana's discussion of such forms in JS, Quintana 2004, 173. The verb *mostrar* is documented in medieval Spanish, and the diphthongization is well attested as described in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 276-280, 355.

The letters *het*, *caf*, *ayin*, *šadi* and *tav* are typical of Hebrew words in the Siddur²⁷, e.g., חסיד *hasid* (244v), כהן *cohen* (187v), זכות *zejut* (22r), בלעם הרשע *bil'am haraša*²⁸ (81r), עולם *'olam* (13r), צבאות *šeba'ot* (19v, 20r +14), תפלה *tefila* (136v)²⁸. However, *het* and *šadi* also appear sometimes in JS words, as described below in 6.1.2.4 and 6.1.2.8. The following graphemes show one-to-one correspondence with the consonants they represent: *dalet* /d/, *tet* /t/, *lamed* /l/, *mem* /m/, *nun* /n/, *samej* /s/, *resh* /r/, and *pe* /p/, although sometimes the letter *pe* without a diacritic might represent /f/ as well.

The following consonant letters will be discussed below: *bet-bet rafa-vav* <b-ḥ-v>, *pe rafa-he-alef* <p-f-h-Ø>, *gimel-cof* <g-q>, *het* <h>, *lamed-yod* and *yod-yod* <ly-y>, *shin/sin-samej* <f-s>, *gimel* and *gimel rafa* <g-ḡ>, and *šadi* <š>.

6.1.2.1. Bet-bet rafa-vav <ב-ḥ-ו> Alternations

The letter *bet* is used more frequently than *vav*. Because in Hebrew *bet* can represent both *b* and *v*, the writer preferred *bet* in many cases instead of *vav*. It could be expected that in word initial position, *vav* would be more frequent in cases of clear /v/, but this is not the case. The letters *bet* and *vav* alternate in many cases in words' initial and medial positions. In final positions, only *bet* prevails. This distribution proves that the pronunciation of *b-v* was not so distinct at that time, as in Spain. In some cases, *bet* is marked by a diacritic pointing to the pronunciation of *v*.

Examples: *alavaron* (30r, 55v)—*alaḇaron* (56v, 66v, 84v, 98v); *alavaran* (30r, 30v +9)—*alabaran* (16v, 31r +18)—*alaḇaran* (20r, 103r, 139v); *anduvu* (115r)—*andubo* (11r); *aproveze* (177v)—*aprobeze* (240v); *barḇes* (11r, 11v, 189r)—*barves* (182r); *beḇer*, *beveremos* (40v)—*beḇen* (228v); *cativemos* (206r)—*catiḇemos* (271r); *veran* (65v, 155v +9)—*ḇeran* (191r)—*beran* (183v, 232r, 259r); *vinien* (177v)—*ḇinien* (76r, 267v); *vidas* (60v, 66r +16)—*bidas* (21v, 22r +8)—*ḇidas* (164r, 172v +6); *varagan* (47r, 49v +4)—*ḇaragan* (57v, 147v +3)—*baragan* (96v, 101v +19); *noebo* (31r, 113r)—*noeḇo* (56v)—*noevo* (127r); *vos* (12v, 46r, 109r)—*ḇos* (249v); *veluntad* (46v, 48v and many more)—*ḇiluntad* (4v, 65r, 187v)—*beluntad* (68r, 82r and many more)—*ḇeluntad* (4v, 22v +4)—*velunta* (181v); *berdad* (21r, 23r and many more)—*ḇerdad* (54r, 70r +5)—*verdad* (54r, 55r and many more).

In some words, only *bet* occurs in the initial position, e.g., *bien* (22r, 27v and many more), the verb *bendizir* in all its occurrences, e.g., *bendizeras* (136v, 200r), *bendizira* (176v), *bendision* (22r, 43v and many more), etc. Some words include only *bet* in medial position, e.g., *abaḡar* in all its conjugations (see examples below in the discussion on *s-f*, in section 6.1.2.6); *abastado* (45v, 125r, 297r); *abezare* (236v), *abezame* (251v), next to the verb *ambezare* (e.g., 5v, 49r, 59r, 292v), and a few more words²⁹.

In a few words, only *vav* occurs in the initial position, e.g., *viernes* (295r), *vaso* (175r), *ventanas* (1r), *vos* (9r, 27r, 40v, 160v) 'you', *vestido* (228r) *vestiste* (228r), and the pronouns *voeso* (119v, 290r), *voesa* (119v), *voesas* (289r), *voesos* (174v, 188v), *voestro/a/s* (51r, 52v +5), *vos* (9r, 27r and many more), and even *wesas* (281v, 288v).

6.1.2.2. Pe rafa-he-alef <פ-ḥ-א> Alternations

Initial *fe* (*pe* with or without diacritic) alternates with *he* in the following words³⁰:

- (1) In the Sp. verb *hallar* 'find', as in *falyaste* (34r), *falyo* (216v)—*halyaras* (232r).

²⁷ As for the Hebrew component, see section 7 below.

²⁸ There are very few exceptions when Spanish words are spelled with these letters. The words *toro* and *toros* are spelled with *tet* on folios 182r and 237r, but with *tav* on folios 188v and 189r, perhaps influenced by the Aramaic word תורא 'bull'. In one case the word *que* is spelled with *caf*, כִּי (50v) because of the phonetic and semantic similarity. See discussion below regarding the word *mezquino* and its derivatives in 6.1.2.6.

²⁹ For instance, *abatirlosas*, *abeviwan*~*abivian*, *cabalgador*, *cabalgaduras*, *cabalyeros*~*cabayeros*, *cabalyo*~*cabayo*, *cabanya*, *cabeza*, *cabeseras*, *cabrito*~*cabreto*, *saber*, *sabensia*.

³⁰ The diacritic mark is not always placed on the letter *pe*, but the words are probably pronounced as *f*.

(2) In the preposition *hasta*, as in *fasta* (9r, 16r, 23v and many more)—*hasta* (243v) which also alternates with *hasta* (72r, 139r, +7; see discussion in section 6.1.2.4 below).

(3) The Sp. verb *hacer* is mostly realized with initial *f* (*pe*), e.g., *fazien* (15r, 29v and many more), *fazer* (1v, 21v +11), *faz* (49v, 60v and many more)³¹. The number of forms with the initial *he* is scarce, with only three occurrences, e.g., *heziste* (12r) next to *feziste* (33v 35r +15), *hizieron* (252v), next to *fizieron* (208v). A few times, the verb occurs in the forms *azio* (38r, 98r), *aziolos* (38r, 98r, 289v), *los azio* (289v), and *aziere* (255r) without *pe* or *he*. Forms like *azio*, *fazio* and *faziere* are attested in medieval texts according to *CORDE*, and the forms in the Siddur seem to retain these old forms, but they also reflect JS varieties. The infinitive form is realized twice as *fer*: *para fer saber* (18r), *para ferlos saber* (79r), an influence of dialectal Aragon, Asturia-Leon, or Catalan, perhaps Old Northern Portuguese³².

(4) Sp. *hermoso* is realized as *fermozo* (53v)—*hermoza* (145r), and its JS derivative *fermozura* (17r, 18r +20)—*hermozura* (263r).

(5) Sp. *hijo* is realized as *fiños* (5v, 6r, 18r and many more)—*hiños* (118v), *fiño* (8r, 9v, 10r and many more)—*hiño* (11r, 11v, 241v)³³.

In all these cases, the occurrences with initial *fe* are more frequent than those with *he*. In JS, they are pronounced with the initial *f* only in some dialects, as in Thessaloniki (Quintana 2006). For most JS speakers, the words start with a vowel, namely *ayar*, *asta*, *azer*, *ermozo-ermozura*, and *ijō*.

The initial *he* is rare as the examples above show, but in addition to them, it occurs in the following words: *haḡi* (270v; translation of Heb. הִנֵּה 'indeed, here is'); *heḡ* (10r, 11r, 76r, 160v)—*heg* (23v, 90v +6), *hegme* (8r)—*heḡme* (9v, 10v; translation of הִנֵּה 'here! here is')³⁴; the Sp. verb *henchir*, as in *hinchiose* (20r, 44v), *henchara* (32v), *hinchirsea* (37r), *hinche* (61v), *hincha* (87r), *henchirlae* (106r, 294v), *hinchio* (113r, 144v +3), *hinchieran* (138r), *hengyose*³⁵ (143v, 230r), *henchira* (215v), *henchiras* (233v).

Some of the words that are derived from historical *f* (*fablar*, *fambre*, *fartar*, *fecha*, *ferir*, *filo*)³⁶ are written consistently in the Siddur with *pe* with a diacritic. Here are a few examples: *fablo* (6r), *fabla* (6r, 22v +13), *fablare* (17r, 129v), and 12 more forms of the same verb; *fambrientos* (27v, 276v), *fambre* (86r, 114v, 138v), *fambrienta* (277r); *fartan* (18r), *fartanos* (100v, 124v +8), *fartartas* (51v), *fartura* (61r, 62r, 229r); *feridas* (60v), *firien* (84r, 134v, 135v), *ferida* (86r, 128v), *ferira* (90v, 126v, 298r), *firio* (29v, 132v); and *filo* (52v). Many of these words have equivalents with initial *f* both in Italian and in Portuguese.

6.1.2.3. Gimel-cof <ג-כ> Alternations

Spanish words are written with *cof* to represent /k/ (Sp. *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, *qu* before *e* and *i*). In several places, the letter *cof* replaces *gimel*, but only sometimes is the author aware of the change, e.g., in *colieron* (249r) the *cof* is erased and the letter *gimel* is written in the margin (>*golieron*). In *cobernan* (186r) the letters *gimel* and *vav* are written over the *cof* and *vav* (>*gobernan*). The word *cozo* (120v, 200v, 210r) is written instead of *gozo*: in the first case without any correction; in the two other times *gimel* and *vav* are written over the *cof* and *vav*. The letters *shin* and *gimel* in גושקארה *juscara*

³¹ Cf. Italian *fare*, Portuguese *fazer*.

³² See discussion in Dubert García 2021, 51-85, and the references there. In Old JS text one also finds *fazer* next to *fer*, cf. Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 383-384. Three such forms of *fer saber* are attested in Spain according to *CORDE* as early as in the 13th century.

³³ Cf. Italian *figlio*, Portuguese *filho*.

³⁴ In the translations of Pirke Avot, Venice versions from 1696 till 1780 have *heg*, except for Venice 1609 which is based on Thessaloniki 1570, that has *hek*, see Schwarzwald 1989, 325.

³⁵ The *gimel* is not marked by a diachritic, referring to *henchiose*.

³⁶ Cf. Portuguese *falar*, *fome*, *fartar*. *ferita*, *fio*, Italian *fame*, *ferita*, *filo*.

(133r) are marked as mistakes and *zayin* and *gimel* are written in the margin (>*juzgara*). The same verb is written twice more as *juzca* and *juzcades* (290v) without any correction. Also, the word for 'worm' is spelled *cuzano* (252v) with *cof* rather than *guzano* with *gimel*. The confusion between the letters might stem from the fact that the consonants *k* and *g* vary only in voicing (*k* voiceless, *g* voiced).

The Hebrew word *Moriya* 'place name' is translated twice by *monte del.almisque* (7v) or *tierra de la almisge* (8r), Old Sp. *almizque*, Modern Sp. *almizcle*³⁷, relating the name of the place to the word *mor* 'myrrh', based on Jewish interpretation of the place name.

In all these cases, the translator replaced the voiced *g* with a voiceless *k*. This is a possible result of the special status of *g* in this Siddur, as described below in section 6.1.2.7.

6.1.2.4 *Het* (ח)

As stated above in 6.1.2, the letter *het* occurs many times in words of Hebrew origin, mostly proper names, e.g., חוּנִי³⁸ (247r), חוּקִיָּה (246r), חוּקִיָּהוּ (81r), חנוכה (193r), חנניה (246v), חשמונאי (193v), יצחק (6r, 7v +15), יריחו (81r), ישתבח (42r), מנחה (81v, 166r, 216r).

In three other cases, the letter *het* is used in Ladino words:

- (1) In the JS word for Sunday, *alhad* (288r), which is derived from Arabic *al-ḥad* 'the one', the equivalent of *yom rīṣon* 'the first', in Hebrew³⁹.
- (2) In the translation of Hebrew *herut* 'freedom', twice in the singular *alhoriya* (62r, 84r) and twice in the plural *alhoriyas* (199r, 206r), although the Hebrew text in both cases is in the singular. Another time the word is spelled with *he*: *y los saco a al horia de trebejos* 'and he took them out to freedom from sufferings' (245r; Sp. *alhorria*)⁴⁰.
- (3) In the word for 'until'. In section 6.1.2.2 above, we demonstrated the alternations of *fasta-hasta* where *fasta* occurs many times, whereas *hasta* occurs only once. The word *hasta* occurs nine times in the Siddur⁴¹.

The example in (1) cannot prove a direct Arabic influence, because this is the JS word attested since the beginning of the 16th century⁴². The two other examples hint towards Arabic influence, but because the words also occurred in texts produced in the Ottoman Empire, they look like a general JS pronunciation in use at the time, not necessarily reflecting an author from an Arab country⁴³.

6.1.2.5 *Lamed-yod and yod-yod* <לִי-י> Alternations⁴⁴

The author writes *lamed* and *yod* to represent Spanish <ll>, but often only *yod* is written instead of Spanish <ll>, e.g., *cabalyeros* (39r)—*cabayeros* (215v; Sp. *caballero*); *cabalyo* (28v, 35v, 40r, 234v)—*cabayo* (39r, 114v; Sp. *caballo*); *elyas* (82v)—*eyas* (117v; Sp. *ellas*); *en.eyos* (31v, 109v)—*en.elyos* (34r, 110v; Sp. *en ellos*); *falyaste* (34r)—*falyo* (216v)—*halyaras* (232r)—*fayemos* (71v)—

³⁷ From Old Arabic *misk*, see Corriente 2008, 151.

³⁸ Vocalized by *shuruk* rather than with *holam*, i.e., *Huni* rather than *Honi*.

³⁹ The term *yom rīṣon* for Sunday already exists in Mishnaic Hebrew.

⁴⁰ The JS word is *alforia*, as in Portuguese, derived from Arabic *al-hurriyya*. See Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *horro*; *DRAE*, s.v. *alhorria*. The word appears in Ladino in the Ferrara Prayer book from 1552, in the Ferrara Bible from 1553, in the medieval Spanish Bible E3, in a few other medieval Spanish texts (according to *CORDE*), and in other Ladino translations, see Schwarzwald 1989, 345; Schwarzwald 2008, 104.

⁴¹ Folios 72r, 139r, 146v, 193r, 195r, 196r, 255r, 276r, 279r. According to Corominas and Pascual, 1981-1991, s.v. *hasta*, the origin of *hasta* is Arabic *ḥatta* and the *s* is a result of dissimilation. According to *DRAE*, the origin of the word is Arabic *hatta* combined with Latin *AD ISTA* 'until that'.

⁴² See, for instance Schwarzwald 2012, 84, 104, 116, and several other places in *Seder Nashim*.

⁴³ In *Seder Nashim* from Thessaloniki the word *alforia* occurs three times and *alhorria* one time, the word *hasta* occurs 44 times, *fasta* 28 times and *hata* (!) five times, never with *het*, see Schwarzwald 2012.

⁴⁴ Cf. Minervini 1998, 411.

fayar (234v; Sp. *hallar*); *maravilyas* (32v, 34v, 37v and many more)—*maraviyas* (132v)—*maravelyas* (17r, 164r; Sp. *maravillas*); *oria* (12r)—*orilya* (35r, 56v; Sp. *orilla*); *silya* (1v, 55v +6)—*siya* (26r)—*silyas* (129v)—*siyas* (129v; Sp. *silla*).

Moreover, in several cases, words are written with *lamed* and *yod*, although there is no etymological <ll> in Spanish. Here are a few examples of such alternations: *alyina* (49v, 51v +11)—*ayina* (67r, 80v +13; Sp. *aina*); *ayudan* (96v, 101v +12)—*alyudan* (56r, 137r, 186r; Sp. *ayudan*); *en.vazio* (64v)—*en bazilyo* (71r; Sp. *en vacío*); *fuyes* (174r)—*fulyeron* (249r; Old Sp. *fuir*, Sp. *huir*); *mayor* (33v)—*malyor* (55v; Sp. *mayor*); *olyeste* (34v)—*oyiste* (12v; Sp. *oir*); *pilyadades* (2v)—*piadades* (7r, 13v and many more; Old Sp. *piadad*); *podestadilya* (18r, 42v)—*podestadia* (220v, 221r; *podestania* in Ferrara's Bible and *Libro de Oracyones*); *rebeyos* (76v, 261r)—*rebelyos* (78r, 234v +5; Sp. *rebelios*); *varaganilya* (3v)—*baraganiya* (28v, 145r +3; Sp. *barraganía*).

In other cases, there are no alternations and either *lamed* and *yod* are written, or *yod* with no alternations, e.g., *vilyentes* (2v; Sp. *veyentes*); *roselyo* (59v)—*rosilyos* (60v)—*rosilyo* (61r, 97r, 102r +9; Sp. *rocío*); *rodiya* (139v; Sp. *rodilla*). In the following cases the *lamed* and *yod* correspond to Spanish spelling: *calyad* (243v; Sp. *callad*), *cochilyo* (9v, 10v; Sp. *cuchillo*).

Two conclusions can be drawn from the examples cited here: a. there is no distinction between /y/ and /ʎ/ (Sp. <ll>), and they are both pronounced probably as [y], a result of the well-known process of *yeísmo* in many dialects of Spanish (Lapesa 1984, §§121-125; Penny 2000, 120-121, 147-148; Penny 2002, 106); b. the writer is no longer familiar with Spanish spelling.

6.1.2.6. Shin-Samej <ס-ש> Alternations

The letter *shin* is predominantly used to represent the consonant /s/ (Sp. <s>, <c> before *i* and *e*, and sometimes <z>), although occasionally it alternates with *samej*, e.g., ⁴⁵שיימפרי אי סיימפרי (150v; Sp. *siempre*), פאז~פאס (165v; Sp. *paz*), אַלאבאַצִיִּון (42v) ~ אַלאבאַצִיִּיִּון (66r; JS *alavación*, from Sp. *alabar*)⁴⁶. Sporadically it represents the consonant /ʃ/ as well, although the cases where *f* is marked by a diacritic are rare, e.g., אַבאַשׁוּ abaʃo (159v) 'down' with a diacritic, but אַבאַשׁוּ (45v), אַבאַשׁוּ (146v) without a diacritic; באַשׁוּשׁ baʃos (56r) 'low.PL' with a diacritic, but אַבאַשׁאָן abaʃan (56r) 'lower.SG.PRES' on the same folio, and באַשׁוּשׁוּ baʃos, *bafo* (247v) without a diacritic.

Shin is marked with a dot over the letter in one unusual case: in *vefeno* (5r; וִיפֶּנִּינֹו, Sp. *vecino*, JS *vezino*) 'neighbor'⁴⁷.

We cannot be certain about the pronunciation of the Sp. verb *buscar*. Lazar transcribed it with *s*, based on the commonly known pronunciation at the time, rather than the JS pronunciation [buʃkar] (Lazar 1995a). Contrarily, Lazar transcribes the following cases with *x*, which represent *f* in JS: the Sp. verb *dejar*, e.g., *defara* (i.e., <dexara>) (27r, 49v +3), *defaron* (139r), *defen* (49v, 150v), *defaste* (24v) *defaran* (233v), and the noun *farifes* (27r, 173v, 176v; Sp. *jarife*). I guess Lazar's decision was based on Spanish medieval Spanish *f* (Old Sp. *x*, Modern Sp. *j*) in these cases.

The case of the Sp. word *mezquino* and its derivatives in the Siddur need special consideration because of its spelling⁴⁸. The word *mesquino(s)*~*misquino(s)*, of Semitic origin (*miskēn* in Hebrew, *miskīn* in Arabic), written in Hebrew with *caf* and *samej*, is spelled in the following ways in the Siddur: מִשְׁקִינוֹשׁ (28v), מִשְׁקִינוֹשׁ (56r), מִיִּסְקִינוֹשׁ (140r), מִיִּשְׁקִינוֹ (79r, 247v, 291a), מִיִּשְׁקִינוֹ (140r)⁴⁹, מִיִּשְׁקִינוֹ (291r), מִיִּסְקִינוֹ (115v, 173v, 283)⁵⁰. It seems that the Hebrew vowel under the *mem* and the

⁴⁵ Statistically, the word *siempre* is spelled many more times with *samej* than with *shin*.

⁴⁶ It is part of the *seseo* process that occurred in many dialects of Spanish, see Lapesa 1984, §§391-392; Quintana 2006, 92, 122-125; Penny 2002, 26-29, 103; Penny 2000, 118-120.

⁴⁷ Two other times in the end of the book by the other handwriting appear in *cafa*: קאַפּע (299r) קאַפּע (299v) in the translation of 'house' (Sp. *casa*, JS *caza*). See section 8 below.

⁴⁸ Cf. *meçquinos*, *emeçquinoxer*, and *emeçquenexironsi*, which are all spelled with *samej* and *caf* as in Hebrew, in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 291, 374.

⁴⁹ The *caf* was corrected to *cof* in מִיִּשְׁקִינוֹ.

spelling with *samej* and *caf* intervene with the Spanish pronunciation of the word and cause these variations in spelling and vocalization.

The verbal derivative of this word, *enmeskenesimos* (80v), *enmeskeneserlosa* (37r), and *emeskenesieron* (116v), all translations of biblical 'impoverished'⁵¹, are spelled as Ladino standard words with *shin* and *cof*.

6.1.2.7. *Gimel* and *Gimel rafa* <ג-ג'>

The letter *gimel* with a diacritic represents the consonants /ʒ/, /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ in JS texts as in *mejor* (176r; Sp. *mejor*), *Aḡifto* (14v, 34v +10; Sp. *Egipto*), *anḡel* (10v; Sp. *angel*), and *anḡura* (138r 176r; Sp. *anchura*). In this Siddur, *gimel* with a diacritic is not marked consistently, leading to some speculations regarding the consistent pronunciation of the words.

(1) The letter *gimel* with a diacritic (ḡ) alternates with *gimel* without a diacritic, pointing to a fricative pronunciation of /g/ (perhaps like [ɣ]), rather than to the usual pronunciation of /ʒ/, /dʒ/ and /tʃ/. E.g., *foeḡo* (9v, 30r, 34r)—*foego* (10r, 228r, 246r); *heḡ* (10r, 11r, 76r, 160v)—*heg* (23v, 90v +6), *hegme* (8r), *heḡme* (9v, 10v) (and see 6.1.2.2 above); *ḡiaste* (37v, 38r)—*ḡian* (137r), *ḡiarmeas* (250v)—*gia* (278v); *ḡovernan* (58r)—*ḡobernan* (197v, 204v)—*governan* (97r, 102r +3)—*governan* (186r⁵², 257r); *mengoe* (74r)—*menḡoa* (116r); *reḡmidor* (54v, 144r)—*regmidor* (19r, 54v + 19), *riḡmien* 55v 56r)—*rigmien* (85v, 118r, 137r; JS *regmir*, Sp. *redimir*); *yaḡa* (35r)—*yaga* (126r, 234r; Sp. *llaga*); *vergonsofos* (56r)—*berḡonsofos* (78r), *berḡonsofos* (78r), *averḡonsefos* (49r). In all these cases, *gimel* with a diacritic alternate with *gimel* without a diacritic.

To these examples one can add the forms *reḡirmeas* (251r; Sp. *regir*), and *soḡiuo* (13r), *soḡiwen* (13r; Sp. *soguear*), with the diacritic mark on the *gimel*.

(2) *Gimel* with a diacritic represents a fricative pronunciation of /g/, especially next to the diphthongs /ua/~oa/ and /ue/~oe/ realizing them as [wa] and [we]⁵³. In these cases, the *gimel* might disappear altogether. Here are a few examples: *aḡuas* (2v, 35r +4)—*aguas* (29v)—*awas* (39v)—*aḡwas* (68v, 80v +3); *desverwensamentos* (2v)—*desveḡoensan* (5r)—*desverḡonsados* (74v); *ḡoalardoname* (4v)—*walardonamento* (175r)—*gwalardon* (195v, 248v); *goarda* (20v, 61v)—*wardan* (1v, 27v)—*wardete* (6r)—*wardares* (41r)—*gowardan* (28r⁵⁴, 86v, 117v), *ḡowarden* (153v); *goerfano* (28r)—*werfano* (291r) (Minervini 1998, 410; Lazar 1995a, xxvi; Schwarzwald 2010, 185-187).

The JS verbs *abiviguar* 'revive', *aboniguar*⁵⁵ 'improve, make better', *afermoziguar/aformoziguar* 'glorify, beatify', *apaciguar* 'pacify', *fraguar* 'build', *mochiguar* 'increase', and the invented verb *justiguar* 'judge'⁵⁶, always occur in the Siddur without any traces of *gimel*:

abiviwan (16r, 34r + 6), *abeviwan* (43r, 96v +25), *abivian* (57v, 167r, 257r), *abeviwar* (58r, 153r +6), *abevivasteme* (107r, 198r), *abevevarlos* (114v), *abiviwan* (58r)

aboniwan (61r, 208r), *aboniwad* (113r), *aboniwa* (237r), *aboniwarsea* (250v), *aboniwara* (252v), *aboniwar* (281r)

⁵⁰ *Samej* is written over the *shin* in the first two occurrences.

⁵¹ The words translate *dālonū* (Psalms 79:8), *tōrifemō* (Exodus 15:9) and *rāfū* (Psalms 34:11).

⁵² Written with *cof* and corrected to *gimel*, see discussion above in 6.1.2.3.

⁵³ Cf. Minervini 1998, 410-414.

⁵⁴ At the end of 27v the word is written with *vav*, *wardan* וורדאן, in solitreo, but the first word in 28r is written with *gimel* גווארדאן in square vocalized letters.

⁵⁵ *Aboniguar* is already attested in the Middle Ages, cf. Blondheim 1925, 30-31; Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 348-349.

⁵⁶ See Blondheim 1925, 65-66, where the closest form is the Provanca-Catalan verb *justiugar*.

afirmoziwado (15v), *afermoziwado* (16r, 43v +3), *afermoziwartee* (16r), *aformoziwān* (31r), *aformoziwār* (36r), *aformoziwado* (43v, 44r, 144v), *afermoziwaran* (46r, 146r, 146v, 178v), *afermoziwantes* (46v), *afermoziwaras* (136v), *aformozewar* (96r), *aformoziwān* (139v), *afermoziwar* (141r), *afermozewada* (146v), *aformoziwantes* (147v), *afermoziwān* (238r)

apaziwar (107r), *apaziwamento* (126r), *apaziwarse* (129v)

frawo (10r), *frawān* (28r), *frawa* (64r, 208v), *frawān* (64r), *frawada* (129r), *frawadores* (177v), *frawarleas* (207r, 271v), *frawansa* (208v), *frawaras* (237r)

mochiwar (12r), *mochiware* (12r), *mochiwara* (24r, 94r, 281r), *mochiwa* (20v, 27r, 122v, 235v), *mochiwaron* (44v, 79r +4), *semogiwen* (52v) *mochiwan* (69r, 244v, 281r), *mochiwaste* (239v)

justewaronsen (110v), *justiwarnos* (72v), *justewad* (291v), *juḡtiware* (280r), *jostiwes* (235v).

The same applies to the Sp. noun *quatregua* which translates רָקֵב [rəkēb]: *catrewa* (39r), *coatrewas* (36r), *coatrewa* (215v)⁵⁷.

This pronunciation of /gual/ > [wa] occurs in several JS dialects, including the Haketia, and in Andalusia. It is especially marked in JS texts written in Arab speaking countries (Benoliel 1977, 32; Romeu Ferré 2020, 34; Quintana 2008, 187-235; Quintana 2014a, 105-143). It also exists in some south Italian dialects where *g* in front of back vowels changes into *γ* or *ø*. Moreover, in the Venician Italian dialect the verb *vardar* corresponds to the Italian verb *guardare*, thus the use of this verb in the Siddur can be seen as a Venician influence (Rohlf 1966, 206, 208; Loporciano 1997, 338-348; Boerio 1856, 778-779).

(3) Orthography demonstrates that *gimel* with a diacritic is used as an equivalent of <ll> in Spanish in the verb *llamar*, spelled as *ḡamar*. The variations in the Siddur show that in some cases the pronunciation is either *y* or *tʃ*⁵⁸, e.g., *chamo* (11v, 11v +6)—*yamo* (10v, 11v +5), *chamantes* (21r, 22v +6)—*chama* (28v), *chamar* (105v)—*yamar* (21v, 27r +3), *chamaste* (187r, 190r)—*yamaḥa* (58v), *chame* (232v)—*yame* (214v), *chiamē* (250r)—*yamaron* (70v). The verb *chamar* was known in Galicia, it exists in Portuguese (*chamar*) and is close to the Italian verb *chiamare*, pronounced today as [kiamare], but as [tʃamare] in the Venetian dialect⁵⁹.

(4) The occurrence of *gimel* with a diacritic, features not only in the case of Sp. <ll> which is pronounced as *y* in JS, but also in other cases of phonetic [y]. The verb 'to play (a musical instrument)' (Sp. *tañer*, from Latin *TANGĒRE*) is translated once by *tanḡeran* (31r) next to *tanyeran* (140r) and other forms like *tanyer* (23r, 92v +7) *tanyedura* (32r) and more. The occurrence of *tanḡeran* seems to be of Portuguese influence (cf. Port *tanger*).

In the conjugation of the verb 'to be', *ser*, one finds *seḡa* (5r, 60v, 61v), *seḡan* (68r), *seḡan* (81r), *seḡas* (66v), next to *sea* (4r, 4v, 22r and many more), *sean* (271r, 282v), *seas* (45v, 46r +3). One explanation could be that a secondary pronunciation of *y* is created in forms like *sea*, *seas*, *sean*, as if they were [seya], [seyas], [seyan], and based on the other cases where *y* is realized as *ḡ*, so are these examples. However, although the number of verbs with *gimel* with a diacritic is small, compared to the verbs without it, it seems that this might also be an influence of the Portuguese present subjunctive (cf. *seja*, *sejan*, *sejas*).

The Sp. word *ya* is also written as *ḡa* (269v), reflecting the Portuguese pronunciation (*ja*).

(5) *Gimel* with a diacritic might rarely represent /ʃ/ as well, as in the Sp. verb *alejar* (JS *alefar*): *aleḡame* (4r)—*aleḡados* (206r, 271r)—*alefaron* (249r)—*alefar* (251v); the Sp. verb *bendecir*

⁵⁷ *Quatregua* in the Ferrara Bible and Prayer Book according to *CORDE*. Unknown in *DRAE*.

⁵⁸ Cf. Minervini 1998, 411. The examples in her review are very few.

⁵⁹ I found such spelling in a Haggadah from Venice 1716 in the translation of *miqrā*, spelled <ḡamadura> [chamadura], whereas other Haggadot had <lyamadura>, see Schwarzwald 2008, 136.

(JS *bendizir*), e.g., *bendifo* (29r, 99r)—*bendeğistelo* (98v) (Sp. *bendijo*, *bendijiste*)⁶⁰; and the Sp. verb *decir* (JS *dezir*), e.g., *difo* (8r-v, 10r +9)—*diğō* (9v×2, 10r-c +13)—*difiste* (200r)—*dife* (107, 291)—next to *değimos* (269v; and see section 6.1.2.6 above).

(6) Finally, it seems that the words *juicio*, *juez*, *justedad*, and *juzgar* (and see *justiguar* above in paragraph no. 2) confused the writer of the Siddur⁶¹. The occurrence of nearby sibilants *dʒ*, *s*, and *z*, caused the author to write in the following ways:

Sp. *juicio*: *goiğio* (5r), *goisio* (5r, 292v), *goesio* (27v), *goezio* (286v, 294r), *goisio* (31v, 41r, 73r), *goizio* (55r, 62v, 235v, 249r), *goiğsio* (232r), *goegsio* (260r), *guigio* (29v, 251r), *guigio* (5r, 78r, 240v), *guizio* (193v, 235v, 286v), *guesio* (113r), *guisio* (221v), *goigios* (29v, 118v), *goiğios* (29v, 82v, 119r), *goizios* (62v), *goezios* (286r), *goeğios* (290r), *guisios* (75v) *guigios* (29v, 40v, 267v)

Sp. *juez*: *goez* (105r), *goeğ* (290v)⁶², *goezes* (110v), *gueğes* (242r, 290v)

Sp. *justedad*: *gustedad* (17v, 21r +22), *gostedad* (62v), *gogtedad* (62v), *goğtedad* (127r, 292v), *guğtedad* (127r, 233v), *gustedad* (177r, 212v), *gostedad* (290r, 291r), *gustedades* (48r)

Sp. *juzgar*: *gusgar* (41v), *guğgar* (42r, 121v), *guzgar* (128r), *guzca* (290v), *guzcad* (291r) (and see 6.1.2.3 above regarding *g-k* alternations), *gusgad* (291r), *guğgantes* (30v), *guzgara* (128r), *gufcara* (133r), *gusgaste* (193v), *guzges* (251r), *guğges* (248r), *goğgador* (291v), *susga* or *fusga* (?) (291v)

6.1.2.8. *Şadi* (ş)

In addition to its use in Hebrew words, the letter *şadi* occurs in the following four cases:

(1) In the words related to 'shade, shadow' (Old Sp. *solombra*): אַצולִימְבְּרָאָה *YY te ašolombrara*⁶³ *sobre mano de tu derecha* 'the lord is thy shade upon thy right hand' (90v; based on Psalms 121:5); צולִימְבְּרָאָה and אַצולִימְבְּרָאָה: *En solombra del Abastado sera ašolombrado* (125r)⁶⁴ 'under the shadow of the Almighty will be sheltered' (125v; from the Siddur, Seder Hashcavot); צולִימְבְּרָאָה: *Con solombra de tus alas me encubriras* 'hide me under the shadow of thy wings' (232v; based on Psalms 17:8).

According to *CORDE*, of the 75 occurrences of *solombra* in the 16th century, 74 are related to religious texts: two are in this Siddur, and the other 72 occur in the Ferrara Bible and Prayer Book, both written in Italy. *Solombra* is the JS word for shadow, but the spelling with *tsadi* is unique in this Siddur.

(2) The word *faces* 'face' is written in the following ways: *faşes* פֶּאֶשִׁישׁ (4v 5r + 19), פֶּאֶשֶׁשׁ *faşes* (103v, 233v), פֶּאֶשִׁישׁ (203r, 230v, 249r), פֶּאֶשֶׁשׁ (212v, 229r; without an apostrophe), פֶּאֶשִׁישׁ (61r 70v 71v ×5), פֶּאֶשִׁישׁ (61r), and פֶּאֶשֶׁשׁ (246r; without an apostrophe). The occurrences of the *şadi* in the word *faces* is much greater than the use of *shin* [fases]. It seems that there is a clear influence of Italian *faccia* rather than restoration of the medieval pronunciation of /c/.

(3) The word *eşpereraran* אֵיפֶּרֶרָאָה (139v): *y todo ojo ati eşpereraran* 'and every eye will look forward to You' (from the morning prayers of the High Holidays) is written with a *şadi*. It translates Hebrew: וְכָל עֵינִי לְךָ תִּצְפֶּה. The verb *esperar* and the noun *esperanza* occur many times

⁶⁰ Lazar 1995a transcribes these cases with the letter *x* (representing /ʃ/ in medieval Spanish). The use of *shin* for ʃ occurred in other texts, see Bunis 2005, 125; Schwarzwald 2004, 179-180; Alonso 1976, vol. 2, 47-144.

⁶¹ A similar explanation can be given about *yağığa* and *gağé* to be discussed in section 6.4.38.

⁶² The word is not vocalized, and its end is blurred.

⁶³ Typo error: the letter *caf* is written by mistake instead of the first *resh*. Lazar 1995a transcribes it as it should be: *asolombrara*.

⁶⁴ From Latin SUB UMBRE, Modern Sp. *sombra*. Only once does the word *sombra* 'shade' occurs in the Siddur with *shin* in the expression *y con sombra de tus alas cobrenos* (86r) 'and in the shadow of your wings cover us'.

in the Siddur (29 times), always written with *shin*. Perhaps the Hebrew word *təšappē* written with *šadi* influenced the use of this single occurrence.

(4) The word *fonšado(s)* (Sp. *fonsado*) is written with *šadi* six times: פ'ונצאדוֹשׁ (29v, 113v, 159v, 247r), פ'ונצאדוֹ (99r), פונצאדוֹשׁ (159v); it is written with *samej* or *shin* 11 times: *fonsados* (34r), *fonsado* (34r, 36r, 129v +6), and *ponsados* (45v) without an apostrophe. The reason in this case seems to be phonetic: the pronunciation of *s* next to *n* causes an insertion of the parasitic sound *t* which ultimately sounds like *ts*⁶⁶.

The fact that the letter *šadi* is used in the Siddur in these specific cases, probably pronounced as *ts*, could be a clear indication of an Italian influence, where *šadi* is used in Judeo-Italian texts, not only because of the frequent use of the word for 'faces' and the existence of *ts* next to *n* (Minervini 1992, I, 31-34)⁶⁷.

6.1.3. Metathesis

Several words show metathesis: *ildo* (294v; Sp. *idolo*) and *ildos* (51v, 52r +3), never *idolo(s)*⁶⁸. The Sp. word *postero* and its derivatives are realized as *prosmeto* (!) (44r), *prosteros* (54r), *prostimero* (55r)⁶⁹, *prostimerilya* (61r, 61v) *prostimeria* (61v, 252v), *prostimeros* (137r), *prostemereia* (160v) and once *porostimero* (290v). In the conjugation of the verb *alabar*, the following forms are attested: *alavalde* (29v×3), *alavaldo* (29v, 30r, 32r, 42v), rather than *alavadle*, *alavadlo*, and in the verb *rodear* – *rodealda* (290r) rather than *rodeadla*, and *sobreviamos* (267r) rather than *soberviamos*.

Metathesis was known in medieval and in vulgar Spanish next to *r*, but also in the verbal system next to *d* and *l*, as found in the Siddur (Lapesa 1984, §§391-392; Quintana 2006, 107-109; Bunis 2018, 381, 391, 397, 399). The forms are typical JS.

6.1.4. Consonant deletion

At times, due to customary pronunciation, some letters are deleted. The word *verdad* (54r, 55r-v and many more) is written *verda* (18v, 53v +7), *berda* (21v, 89r, 224r) and *berda* (108v) without the final consonant. *Velunta* (181v) is written only once without the final *d*, next to countless occurrences of *veluntad*, *viluntad*, *biluntad*, *beluntad*, and *beluntad*⁷⁰. Both words were attested in Medieval texts as *verdat-berdaθ* and *veluntaθ*⁷¹, indicating that the final consonants were weak and therefore susceptible to deletion.

The deletion of *n* in front of *m* is attested in the Siddur in *comigo* (115v, 285r) for *conmigo* 'with me', in *emalesimos* (75v, 76r, 267v), *emalesades* (120r), *emalesientes* (293r), next to *enmalesimos* (75r, 267v), *enmalesemos* (267r), *enmaleserme* (68r), *enmalesientes* (24r)⁷², and in *emoesos términos* (181r). The occurrence of the two adjacent apical consonants led to the deletion of *n*.

The deletion of a whole syllable occurs in *enelbanon* (94r; *en el Lebanon*), and there are other cases of letter deletion due to unsuitable division of morphemes (see section 6.2.5 below).

⁶⁶ The same *tsadi* is spelled in a Ladino translation of a Haggadah from Livorno 1794, Italy, next to *n*, in words like *cenşeña* סינצנייא 'Matzah', *olganša* (Sp. *holganza*) 'rest', *encomendaŋša* 'commandment', *alcanšar* 'reach', *gananšia* 'possessions', *sentenšio* 'judged' and more, see Schwarzwald 2010, 181; Schwarzwald 2008, 32.

⁶⁷ This letter is also attested in medieval Jewish texts, and to some extent in texts written in the Arabic world where the distinction between /s/ and /š/ was not too clear. The pronunciation of *ts* also exists in late north Balkan JS communities in words like *natsional* 'national' instead of *nasional* due to Ashkenazi influence. However, this consideration is irrelevant in the examples cited above.

⁶⁸ Cf. *idlu* in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 291.

⁶⁹ Cf. *postremeru* in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 399.

⁷⁰ Cf. Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 362.

⁷¹ Next to *v[e]rdad* and *voluntad*, *boluntaθ* and *beluntad* in Minervini 1992, I, 484, 486.

⁷² Cf. *emalexer* in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 374.

6.2. Morphological features

6.2.1. Present tense

As in other Ladino translations, the Hebrew present tense forms are translated by apocopated present participle forms rather than by Spanish present tense forms, e.g., *melezinan*, *maravillan*, *wardan* (1v); *bolvien*, *dan* (2r, 65v +9); *abrien*, *soltan*, *enfistan* (2v) 'heals, astounds, preserves it; restores, gives; opens [sights], releases, stands upright' (Hebrew *rōfeʿ*?, *maflīʿ*?, *māšammārāh*; *maḥzīr*, *nōten*; *pōqeāh*, *mattīr*, *zōkef*). The same occurs throughout the whole Siddur, e.g., *aboresien* (180v), *asufrien* (58r, 64r +10), *cubrien* (28v), *deperdien* (27v), *dizien* (15r), *dezientes* (47r, 59r, 255r), *embolvien* (228r), *fazien* (15r, 29v and many more), *partien* (35r), *ponien* (29r, 228r), *regmien* (57r, 60r, 111r, 214v), *sabien* (268r, 292v), *tendien* (273r), *vinien* (177v).

6.2.2. Pronouns

(1) The first-person possessive plural pronoun is either *noeso(s)* or *noestro(s)* with numerous occurrences. On the first few folios only *noestro(s)* occurs, e.g., *noestro Dio* (1r×2, 2v×3, 3r×4 and more). From fol. 7 on, the pronoun *noeso(s)* is outnumbered, e.g., *noeso Dio* (7r×2), *noeso padre* (7v), but later *noestro* and *noeso* alternate freely, sometimes on the same folio, e.g., *noestro Dio y Dio de nuevos padres envelunta agora en nuesa folgansa... pon noestra parte en tu ley* (168r) (Bunis 1994, 328). And although the above forms are very common, in some later folios of the manuscript, the first-person possessive pronouns, *moeso/moestro* occur with initial *m*: *emoesos terminos* (181r; =*en muelos términos*; see 6.1.4 above), *moestros* (188r, 259r) and *moesa* (190r)⁷³. The occurrence of *m* in such cases is typical of JS in the modern period, but it was also known in vulgar Iberian Spanish (Lapesa 1984, §116, §125; Menéndez Pidal 1962, 252, 258; Penny 2000, 179; Bunis 2018, 392; Crews 1935, 27, 183).

(2) The second-person possessive pronoun is not very frequently used, and it also alternates between *voeso(s)* and *voestro(s)* as follows: *voesa* (119v), *voeso* (119v, 290r), *voesos* (174v, 188v), *voesas* (289r), and two times *wesas* (281v, 288v; see discussion in 6.1.2.7 (2) above); *voestro* (51r, 53r×2, 83r), *voestros* (52r, 52v, 53r, 261v), *voestras* (52r×2).

The pronouns are vocalized twice with initial *u*, *ואישטרו uestro corason* (243v), and *ואישטרה uestra gaḡisa*⁷⁴ (243v) pointing to the pronunciation of *westro*, *westra*, as in the case of *voeso*.

Only once does the pronoun *gueso* occur: *y en cabeseras de guesos mezes* (181v) 'in the beginnings of your months'. The use of *ue>gwe* is well attested in rural Spain and America, and this pronoun exists in spoken and written documents of JS, especially in the Balkans (Penny 2000, 134-135; Quintana 2006, 33-40; Schwarzwald 1989, 87; Schwarzwald 2008, 237; Bunis 2018, 392).

The use of the pronoun *-ueso* occurs in north Spain, Aragon, and Leon; *noeso* resembles the Portuguese *nosso* (Menéndez Pidal 1962, 145, 258; García de Diego 1981, 143). The pronouns *-uestro* reflect the standard Castilian Spanish. However, there are instances where spoken JS pronouns occasionally appear.

(3) The expression 'with us' is translated consistently in the following manner: *conosco* (225v), *con nosco* (102v, 105r +3), *conusco* (72v, 105r +6), and *con nusco* (138v, 156v, 196r)⁷⁵. The expression *conusco/con nusco* was quite rare in standard Spanish. It was attested in *CORDE* over 200 times until 1580 in various documents, mostly religious or juridical, including this manuscript. However, it should be kept in mind that *conosco* is the standard Portuguese form that might influence it.

⁷³ See also the use of *mos* in section 5, Example 5, and the discussion there.

⁷⁴ Translation of *משכבך* (Psalms 4:5) 'your bed'. See discussion in 6.4.38 below.

⁷⁵ Cf. Minervini 1998, 413.

6.2.3. The suffix *-mento*

The suffix *-mento* is common: *apanyamento* (140v, 159v), *alavamento* (42v, 138r +5) *complimento* (98v), *enfortesimento* (122v), *mantenimento* (182v, 189r, 227r, 266v), *vensimento* (33r, 42v, 141v) – a total of 49 different words with many occurrences⁷⁶. This suffix points towards a Portuguese influence, although this ending is also common in Italian and in Galician. The suffix *-miento* occurs only in one word in the Siddur: *nasimientos* (137r, 180r)⁷⁷.

6.2.4. Second person preterit form

The second person past tense (preterit) ending *-ste* occurs more than 100 times in words like *alegraste* (23r, 93r, 106v) 'you were glad', *ambezaste* (82v) 'you learned', *asoplaste* (37r, 139r) 'you blew', *foeste* (123r, 177v) 'you were'. The ending *-stes* appears only 12 times⁷⁸, e.g., *regmistes* (138v) 'you redeemed', *alejastes* (151r) 'you went up', *alegastes* (187r) 'you sacrificed', *ambezasteslos* (149v) 'you taught them', *ensalsastes* (148v), *quebrantastes* (243r) 'you tortured', *santiudastes* (187r) 'you sanctified', *santiudastesnos* (222r, 260r) 'you sanctified us'. These forms represent the intermediate stage before changing *-ste* into *-tes* in Modern JS (e.g., *regmites*, *alefates*)⁷⁹.

6.2.5. Definite article

The definite articles are not always perceived as independent units, therefore in several cases they are attached to the noun that follows as part of it. Here are a few examples: *a lmuundo* (2r), *elvinien* (2r), *a lgalyo* (2r), *fasta lsielo* (56r), *a lDyo* (56r), *a lombre* (59r), *a lmafiah* (64r), *de lanoche* (81v), *almundo* (92r, 143r), *laluna* (134v), *elombre* (1r), *latiera* (2v), *lcabo* (196r, 276r). This phenomenon is common among illiterate individuals who base their spelling on what they hear. The author of the Siddur has knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet but does not possess literacy in JS.

6.2.6. The preterit perfect verbs

The preterit perfect simple verbs show variations in the conjugation of the first-person plural between the final vowels *-emos*, *-imos* and *-amos*. Some occur in the Viduy 'confession' section (75r-v; 267r-v), both in the morning prayer and in Yom Kippur, but in other places as well. Thus, we find verbs of type *-er* (a), and verbs of type *-ar* (b) with *-emos* endings:

(a) *atorsimos* (75r-v)—*atorseemos* (267r-v; Old Sp. *atorcer*); *aboresimos* (75v, 267v)—*aboreseemos* (267v; Sp. *aborrecer*); *enduresimos* (75v)—*endureseemos* (267v; Sp. *endurecer*); *enmalesimos* (75r, 267v)—*enmaleseemos* (267r; Sp. *enmalecer*)

(b) *aconsejemos* (74r, 267v; Sp. *aconsejar*)⁸⁰; *ajuntemos* (267r; Sp. *ajuntar*); *andemos* (285v; *andar*); *angustiemos* (75v, 267v; *angustiar*); *aranquimos* (241r; Sp. *arrancar*); *engendremos* (22r; Sp. *engendrar*); *aregitemos* (49r)⁸¹; *arigitemos* (63v; Sp. *registrar*); *avergonseemos* (49r; Sp. *avergonzar*); *cativemos* (206r)—*catiḥemos* (271r; Sp. *cautivar*, Old Sp. *cativar*); *culpemos* (267r; Sp. *culpar*); *danyemos* (75v, 267v; Sp. *dañar*); *echemos* (241r; Sp. *echar*); *enfeuziamos* (49v, 63v, 150v)—*enfeuziemos* (105v)—*emfeuziemos* (123r; JS *enfeuziar*); *esperemos* (80v, 102v, 115r, 156v)—*esperamos* (123r, 164v +9), and *אִשְׁפִּירְיָמוּשׁ* (88r; Sp. *esperar*)⁸²; *fablemos*

⁷⁶ Cf. Minervini 1998, 412.

⁷⁷ In the word *cimiento* (255r), the ending is part of the word, not a suffix.

⁷⁸ Three of these occurrences appear in the final folios of the Siddur: *sobistes*–*subistes* (297v) 'you went up', *tomastes* (297v) 'you took'.

⁷⁹ Cf. Bunis 1994, 328.

⁸⁰ Cf. Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 350.

⁸¹ The letter *s* is missing before *t*.

⁸² The word is written with a *yod* but vocalized with *camats a*.

(75r, 267r, 267v; Sp. *hablar*); *falemos* (75r)—*fayemos* (71v; Sp. *fallar*); *falsemos* (75r, 267v; Sp. *falsar*); *fartemos* (130r; Sp. *hartar*, Old Sp. *fartar*); *foimos* (71v)—*foemos* (72r, 123v, 124r, 131v; Sp. *estar*, *fuimos*); *gowardemos* (22r; Sp. *guardar*); *joremos* (253v; Sp. *jurar*); *lebantemos* (216r; Sp. *levantar*); *pequemos* (59v, 72r +8; Sp. *pecar*); *rebiyemos* (75r)—*rebeyemos* (75v, 66v; Sp. *rebelar*?); *robemos* (75r, 267r; Sp. *robar*); *tiremos* (267v; Sp. *tirar*); *tornemos* (280v; Sp. *tornar*); *trabajemos* (22r; Sp. *trabajar*).

Only three times does the ending *-emos* occur with verbs of the type *-ir*: *oemos* (289v; Sp. *oír*); *reviemos* (60r; Sp. *rever*) and *sobreviemos* (267r; Sp. *sobrevir*?). In the other cases, the verbs end in *-amos* or *-imos* consistently, depending on the verb types.

All these verbs in the Viduy in the Ferrara Siddur from 1553 are represented by *-amos* in all the *-ar* verbs. In Seder Nashim, the prayer book for women from ca. 1565, those verbs in the Viduy are also represented by *-emos*, e.g., *pequemos*, *culpemos*, *falçemos*, *robemos*, *hablemos fealdad*, *ajuntemos falçedad*, etc.⁸³ Quintana (2012a, 37) observes that these forms occur specifically in the Viduy of Seder Nashim and she contends that it is an old tradition from Aragon that was kept in this special prayer, because the other occurrences of the verbs in Seder Nashim demonstrate standard usage of *-ar* verbs, e.g., *pecamos*, *rebelyamos*, *esperamos*, etc.⁸⁴

The data under discussion shows a fluctuating situation. Although there are a considerable number of verbs with *-emos* endings of the verb type *-ar* in the Viduy, they alternate with *-amos* in the same contexts – and there are plenty of other verbs in various prayers of the Siddur with *-emos*. It might be an influence from the Aragon dialect keeping an old tradition, as Quintana suggests, but it may also be the unsteady intermediate development of JS from *-amos* to *-emos* in which all these verbs eventually turned to the unified *-imos* ending, as in JS *echimos* (Sp. *echamos*), *avlimos* (Sp. *hablamos*), *artimos* (Sp. *hartamos*), etc.

6.2.7. The suffix *-des*

The ending *-des* is common in the conjugation of second person plural, e.g., *acordedes* (53r) *alimpiaredes* (274r), *ambezaredes* (52r), *bindiziredes* (6r), *encorvarvosedes* (51v), *enfeuziedes* (27r), *emalesades* (120r), *esculquedes* (53r), *faredes* (53r), *olyer oyerdes* (40v), *pondredes* (51v), *serviredes* (51v), *tirarvosedes* (51v), *veredes* (53r). Only once does the form *saltaies* (174r) occur⁸⁵.

6.3. Syntactic and textual features⁸⁶

Since the syntax follows the Hebrew structure quite rigidly, only a few comments will be discussed here.

6.3.1. Verbal compositions

(1) One medieval Spanish feature is retained in the Siddur, namely the construction of Verb + Pronoun + Copulative verbs as one unit, e.g., *enmeskeneserlosa* (80v; *lo enmesquenerser ha*), *afermoziwartee* (16r; *te he afermoziguar*), *alavartee* (16r), *amostrartee* (234v), *enaltesertee* (16v, 106v, 178r), *enfortesertee* (58v, 97v), *loartean* (17v), *loartee* (177v, 178r, 284v), *moþermee* (252r; *mover me he*), *alavartean* (178r), etc.

This construction is probably reinforced by Hebrew, where the accusative pronoun is attached to the verb as part of it, as in the verse: *rodearmeas siempre, parartee mientes y amostrartee en carera esta*

⁸³ Cf. Schwarzwald 2012, 200, 241-242.

⁸⁴ In fact, there are two more occurrences of *-emos* in the preterit forms of *-ar* verbs, *llamemos* and *fablemos* in the section about Ta'anuyot in Seder Nashim, see Schwarzwald 2012, 212.

⁸⁵ Cf. Minervini 1998, 413; Penny 2002, 217.

⁸⁶ A few of the phenomena are listed in Minervini 1998, 414.

que andaras 'you surround me always, I will instruct you and teach you in the way you should go' (Psalms 32:7-8): תְּסֹבְבֵנִי <tsōḇḇenī> = *tesōḇēh* 'oti (*rodearmeas*), אֶשְׁכִּילָךְ <'aškīlākā> = 'askil 'otkā (*parartee*), אֶרְאֶךְ <'ōrākā> 'ore (lā)kā (*amostrartee*) and many more such as יְדוּכָה <yōdūkā> = *yudu* (lā)kā 'they will thank you' (*loarantea*).

- (2) Accusative pronouns are often attached to the verb at the end, as in Hebrew, e.g., *ambezasteslos* (149v), *criolos* (145r), *estroerlos* (23v), *atemarme* (253r), *ayudasteme* (285v), *enfueziarte* (13v), *goardarte* (126r), etc.

6.3.2. The translation of *fene'emar*

For the translation of Hebrew *fene'emar* when reciting a biblical verse, two structures are used: *cumo es dicho* (149r, 281v) and *cumo dize el pasuk* (48r). Both constructions are typical to liturgical translations from Italy: *como es dicho* occurs in Ladino translations in Latin script from Italy (as well as in London and Amsterdam). *Como dize el pasuk/verso* occurs in Venetian Ladino translations of Pirke Avot as well as in the Ladino translations of Haggadot from various locations in Italy. The Ottoman Empire Pirke Avot and Haggadot have instead the formula of *que ansi dize el pasuk* (sometimes *como que ansi dize el pasuk* in the Haggadah) (Schwarzwalld 1989, 302; Schwarzwalld 2008, 138-139)⁸⁷. The usage in this Siddur points towards an Italian influence.

6.3.3. Deviations from other Siddurim

In many cases, the translation slightly deviates from the Sephardic prayer book. Here are three short examples from the morning prayers:

- (a) Instead of *felo 'āsani gōyā* 'who did not make me a gentile.F' the translation says: *qui mi criyo en so godizmo* (3v) 'who made me in His judaism'. The word *goy* 'gentile' is avoided, perhaps for fear of the Inquisition⁸⁸. Instead of *felo 'āsani 'iḥā* 'who did not make me a woman' that man says, the translation is: *qui mi criyo cumo so viluntad* (3v) 'who made mi as His wish'.
- (b) *El pasan soeño de noestros ojos y adermedura de mis palpados* (4r). The Hebrew text has *me'eynay* 'from my eyes', but the translation has 'from our eyes'. The word *palpados* is used instead of *párpados* with *r-l* substitution (Bunis 1977, 319-333).
- (c) The translation of the blessing *malbif 'arumim* 'who clothes the naked' is absent in the list of the initial morning blessings.
- (d) In the blessing immediately after the list of the morning blessings, in the paragraph that starts in Hebrew with the words *yāhī rāṣon milāḥāneka* 'May it be Your will', translates as *sea viluntad de lantriti*. The following Hebrew expressions are not translated in the Siddur: *vākōf 'et yiṣrī lāhifā'bed lāk* 'and force my inclination to be subservient to You', *hayōm ubkōl yōm* 'today and every day', and *lā'amō Yisrā'el* 'to His nation Israel'. In the same paragraph, the Hebrew word 'ēlohay 'my God' is translated by *noestro Dio* 'our God' instead of *mi Dio*.

6.4. Lexical features

Most of the vocabulary is Spanish, as in other Ladino translations, but sometimes the choice of words in the Siddur is unique. The following list refers to some of the special lexical usages in this Siddur, some of which were mentioned above. The list is given in alphabetical order.

⁸⁷ Only in the Salonica translation of Pirke Avot from ca. 1570, which is the origin of Venice 1601, do we also find *cumo dize el pasuk*. See Schwarzwalld and Cohen 2020, 117-136.

⁸⁸ The saying echoes *ḥe'āsani Yisrā'el* from the Babylonian Talmud (Menahot 43:2), see Elbogen 1972, 70.

6.4.1. *Abiviguar*

The Hebrew word *heheya* 'revived' is translated in the Siddur by the verb *abiviguar* which relates to the Spanish verb *vivir* (Latin *VIVĒRE*; pronounced in JS as *bivir*), e.g., *abivivan* (16r, 34r +6), *abeviwan* (43r, 96v +25), *abivian* (57v, 167r, 257r), *abeviwar* (58r, 153r +6), *abevivasteme* (107r, 198r), *abevevarlos* (114v), *abiviwan* (58r), and *aabevivaminto* (144r) (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *vivo*). The use of this verb is typical of the Italian Ladino translations, from the Ferrara Bible to the latest translations of other texts (Sephia 1973, 240; Schwarzwald 1989, 385-386; Schwarzwald 2008, 203). The equivalent typical verb in the eastern Ladino translations from the Ottoman Empire is *abediguar*⁸⁹.

6.4.2. *Afeitar*

The Spanish verb *afeitar*⁹⁰ appears just once in the Siddur, *afeitad sus torres* (290r) in the translation of Psalms 48:13, מִגְדָּלֶיהָ וְצִיָּוֶיהָ <*siprū migdāleyhā*>. The English translations have: 'go through her citadels' or 'consider her palaces'⁹¹. Hebrew exegesis interprets it as 'count the number of towers', or 'see how big they are'⁹². It seems that the meaning in the Siddur is related to the old meaning of *afeitar* 'decorate, beautify', a word used in JS as well (Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 351; Nehama 1977, 9; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 6; Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 8).

6.4.3. *Afreir*

Another well attested verb in the Ladino translations of the Ottoman Empire and in JS is *afreir* and its derivatives. The Siddur includes the following occurrences: *afreision* (34v, 60r, 79r, 277r), *afreiste* (125r), *afreido* (291r), *afreidos* (277v), *afresios* (277v), and *afrien* (292r; Sp. *afligir*). Such forms were attested in a medieval Jewish text as well (Blondheim 1925, 19-20; Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 352-353).

6.4.4. *Āġifto*

The word for Egypt is translated 17 times as *Āġifto/Āġipto* (14v, 34v +15; Sp. *Egipto*), and one time it is copied as *Miṣrayim* (245r) in the translation. *Āġipto~Eġipto~Āġifto* is common in the Ladino translations from Italy and quite rare in the Ottoman Empire translations where the word *Aifto* is used in Ladino translations, especially in Thessaloniki (Schwarzwald 1989, 339; Schwarzwald 2008, 134-135)⁹³.

6.4.5. *Alarze*

The word *alarze* (24r, 30v, 94r, 229v; Sp. *alerce*) translates Hebrew *ʿerez* 'cedar'. The word is used in JS, and attested in the Ferrara Bible and in the Constantinople Pentateuch as well. The word looks like the Arabic word *ʿalārze*, and Corriente (2008, 54) relates it to JS, but gives the meaning of copper or bronze, and claims that the etymon is unclear⁹⁴. It might be a JS form echoing the Arabic structure based on the common Semitic root.

⁸⁹ Cf. Bunis 1994, 329. Only in very early Haggadot from Italy do we find *abediguar* as well, see Schwarzwald 1989, 199-200, 339. The translations of the Haggadot are more conservative of old JS features and sometimes resemble the eastern ones, see Schwarzwald 1994, 33-54.

⁹⁰ Of Aragonese or Leonese sources, from Latin *AFFECTARE* which meant 'to arrange'.

⁹¹ The English translations vary, as can be seen here. Ferrara and Constantinople-Salonica Bibles have *contad*, see Lazar 1992, 489; Lazar 2000, 1632. All medieval Bibles also use the verb *contar*. See Enrique-Arias and Pueyo Mena 2008-.

⁹² See Rashi, RaDaQ, and Alshekh interpretations, in the Responsa Project, 30, Bar-Ilan University, Psalms 48:13.

⁹³ See section 8 below for the discussion regarding *aifto* in the last folios of the Siddur, see Aslanov 2011, 135.

⁹⁴ Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *alarce*, from Arabic *ʿarz*. Nehama 1977, 23 states the meaning of copper and bronze and adds in parenthesis that it is Ladino, although in Ladino it always means cedar tree. Perez and Pimienta 2008,

6.4.6. Alongramento

The expression *alongramento de noestros días* (82v), *alongramento de días* (126v), *alungramento de días* (295v; Sp. *alongamiento*) is based on the Old Sp. verb *alongar* (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *luengo*). The form exists in Portuguese as *alongamento*, but the addition of *r* is unique in this Siddur, although *alongrar* is also attested in 15th century Spain, according to *CORDE*.

6.4.7. Aquedar

The Old Spanish verb *aquedar* 'become calm, quiet stopped' with its derivatives are attested several times in the Siddur: *aquedamento* (47r, 148r, 168r), *aquedados* (130v), *aquedo* (44r), *daquedo* (43v; *de+aquedo*), *aquedar* (292v). This verb is well-known in JS (Nehama 1977, 19; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 10).

6.4.8. Arnasio

The Hebrew word *dor* 'generation' is translated as *arnasio* many times in the Siddur, e.g., *arnasio a arnasio alavaran tus fechas* 'One generation shall praise thy works to another' (17r; Psalms 145:4)⁹⁵; *en cada arnasio y arnasio* 'throughout all generations; lit. in every generation and generation' (54v-55r; Psalms 145:13); *para fazer al Sabat asus arnaçios firmamento de mundo* 'to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations for a perpetual convent' (153v-154r; Exodus 31:16)⁹⁶. This word was attested in medieval Spanish used by Jews (Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 358), and it is a typical word in Ladino translations from Thessaloniki, because other JS communities use [*generansio*] or [*gerenansio*] (Nehama 1977, 48; *DHJE*, s.v. *arnancio*; Schwarzwald 1989, 322; Schwarzwald 2008, 83).

6.4.9. Aylo/ayelo

The word for 'angel' is translated only once as *ángel* (10v) in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac. In all the other occurrences of the word in the Siddur it is translated as אֵלֹי aylo, or ayelo. Lazar (1995a) transcribes it: *aylo* (11v, 116r, 244v) and *aylos* (29v, 56v +6, including one on p. 297v). Aslanov (2011, 395) attributes this word to a Judeo-Greek influence where a fricative *g* was lost⁹⁷, but the *g* deletion does not explain the form *aylo/ayelo* (see the discussion on *ġ* above, section 6.1.2.7, and the case of *aifto* 'Egypt' mentioned above in 6.4.4). I could not find such a translation in any other place.

6.4.10. Buraco

The word *boracos* or *buracos*⁹⁸ 'holes' occurs twice on the first folio. It is known to exist in Portugal, Galicia, and Leon, but *buraco* is also the common JS word (Bunis 1994, 329; Nehama 1977, 101; Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 67; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 77)⁹⁹.

6.4.11. Conecer~conocer

The Sp. verb *conocer* occurs three times in the Siddur: *conosieron* (29v), *conoser* (280r) and *coneseran* (168r). The third representation reflects the Catalan *coneixer* and Portuguese verb *conhecer*,

13 give both meanings, whereas Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 16 gives the botanical meaning and adds in parenthesis that it is a tree.

⁹⁵ The expression also appears in 18r, 25v and 21 more times on other folios.

⁹⁶ *Arnasio* and *arnasios* also occur in 52v, 54r, 119r, 247r, 288v, 290v. Cf. Minervini 1998, 412 who discusses it very briefly.

⁹⁷ Angel is ἀγγελος in Greek.

⁹⁸ The first vowel is unclear. Quintana 2004, 173 considers the word as a Portuguese influence on JS.

⁹⁹ The equivalent word in Seder Nashim and in the Siddur from Ferrara is *forados*.

though it was attested in Old Spanish as well. It is also attested in *Sefer Heseq Shelomo* published in Venice 1588, and in the Haketía (Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 266-267; Bunis 1994, 325; Quintana 2014b, 79)¹⁰⁰.

6.4.12. *Delantre*

The preposition *delantre* (1v, 181r +9), is very common and occurs with pronouns, as in *delantreti* (2r, 7r and many more), *dedelantreti* (64v, 73r +3), *dedelantriti* (4r, 4v, 232r). The form *delante* (29v, 39r, 35r) occurs as well, next to *delanteti* (76r, 76v +5), but its occurrence is quite rare. The form *delantre* is attested in vulgar Spanish and it is the common JS word attested in Ottoman Empire Ladino translations, in the spoken language, and in Haketía (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *delante*; Benoliel 1977, 189).

6.4.13. *Deledir*

Portuguese influence can be seen in the following forms: *deledidos* (38r), *delidelos* (29v), *delediras* (239r), *deledia* (278v), and in the last folios, *deledirse* (301r). Lazar (1995a, 229) comments on *delidelos* that is an assimilation of *r* and *l*, and it was probably from *derretir*. The Portuguese verb *deletar* seems more appropriate for these forms, which all indicate disappearance or deletion¹⁰¹.

6.4.14. *Ensalsar*

The verb Old Spanish verb *ensalzar* 'elevate' and its derivatives are written in the Siddur with *shin*: *ensalsamento* (33v), *ensalsado* (43v, 45r +17), *ensalsalos* (108v), *ensalsaste* (106v), *ensalsastes* (148v), *ensalsantes* (47v), *ensalsanos* (200r, 209v), *ensalsa* (207r), *ensalsados* (288v, 292r), *ensalsaron* (295v), and *ensalsad* (301v) in one of the last folios. It is unclear whether it is pronounced [enʃalʃar], [ensalsar], [enʃalsar] or [ensalʃar]. In the translations of Pirke Avot in Hebrew script it alternates between *ensalsar*, *ensasar*, *ensansar*, and *enʃalʃar* but in the Latin script *enxalçar*, *exalçar*, where the *x* reflects the pronunciation of *ʃ* (Schwarzwald 1989, 407). In the Ladino Haggadot in Hebrew script, we find *ensalsar*, *ensalʃar*, *ensansar*, *enʃaʃar* and *enʃalʃar* (Schwarzwald 2008, 165). Modern JS dictionaries have *enʃaʃar*, *ensalsar*, *enshalzar* and *enshalshar*, *enshalshar* (Nehama 1977, 177; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 154; Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 129). Quintana (2004, 173) argues that it is Portuguese *exalter* influence on JS, but it should be recalled that it existed in Old Spanish as well (derived from Latin EXALTIĀRE) (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *ensalzar*).

6.4.15. *Entropezar*

The Old Spanish verb *entropezar* 'stumble' is realized in the Siddur as *entropesamos* (49r), *entrompesare* (150v), *entropisaron* (277r). Nehama (1977, 182) lists the verb as *entrompesar*, as in one of the occurrences in the Siddur. Quintana (2004, 185) claims that it is a Portuguese influence on JS.

6.4.16. *Escarnidor*

The Hebrew expression *me'am lo'ez* (Psalms 114:1) is translated *de pueblo escarnidor* (173v) 'from mocked people' unlike the traditional translations that choose the base *ladinar*: *pueblo aladinan/ ladinador/ ladinan* in the Ladino Haggadot and in the Constantinople Bible (*ladinan*). Ferrara translate it as *pueblo barbaro*, like several medieval Bibles, although some translate as *estraño*, *descreydo* or *destruydo* (Bunis 1994, 329). The word *escarnidor* existed in Old Spanish, later replaced by *escarnecedor*.

¹⁰⁰ The Ladino translations have *conoser*, but one translation of the Haggadah from Thessaloniki 1894 has *conesieron*, cf. Schwarzwald 2008, 329; Benoliel 1977, 185.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 370, where are attested some forms in the 13th century text.

6.4.17. *Fermozo/hermozo, afermoziguar/aformoziguar*

The Sp. words *hermoso* and *hermosura* are always realized with the vowel *e*, e.g., *hermoza* הֵרְמוֹזָה (145r), *fermozo* פִּי־רְמוֹזוֹ (53v), *hermozura* (263r), *fermozuras* (47v) and *firmozura* (3v, 18r, 141v)¹⁰². The Latin etymology for *hermoso* is FORMMŌSUS. *Hermosear* and *hermosura* are derived from *hermoso* in Spanish. Portuguese *formoso*, and Italian *formoso* 'shapely' kept the vowel *o*. The change of the Latin vowel *o* to Spanish *e* is already attested in medieval Spanish. The derivative JS verb and adjective in the Siddur are realized with two distinct vowels, *e~i* or *o*, e.g., *afermoziwaran* אֶפֶרְמוֹזִיְוֹרָאן (46r, 146r, 146v, 178v), *aformoziwaran* אֶפֶרְמוֹזִיְוֹרָאן (139v), *afermozewada* (146v), and *aformoziwado* (43v, 44r, 144v), where the forms with the vowel *e* outnumber those with the vowel *o*¹⁰³. In other Ladino translations of Pirke Avot and the Haggadah, most of the forms with the vowel *o* after *f* occur in Italy (the vowel *e* is rare); most of the forms with the vowel *e* occur in the Ottoman Empire (the vowel *o* is rare) (Schwarzwalld 1989, 417; Schwarzwalld 2008, 224-225, 314, 318). This distribution means that both forms were familiar to JS speakers. The forms in the Siddur reflect that inconsistency, although the tendency is towards the Ottoman Empire tradition.

6.4.18. *Fortenza*

The word for 'strength' is consistently translated by *fortenza* (17v, 32r +40)¹⁰⁴. It is also attested in *Sefer Heṣeq Šelomo* (Bunis 1994, 329). *Fortenza* seems to be analogous to forms like *altenza* (36v, 223v +5), *altanzas* (233r; next to *altura* [19v, 46r +3]), *bergoensa* (243v), *bergoensa* (249r, 270v; JS *verguensa*), *mani festan sa* (25r), and *manifestansa* (see 6.4.21 below). The word *fortenza* is attested in *CORDE* only in this Siddur. *Fortenza* is also used just once in the Constantinople Pentateuch (Dt. 8:17), although *forteza* occurs elsewhere. The words *fortaleza*, the standard Spanish word, like the Portuguese (*fortaleza*), or *forteza* like the Italian (*fortezza*) occur in other Ladino translations.

6.4.19. *Chuvia*

The word for 'rain' is always spelled with *gimel*, with or without diacritic, realized as follows: <ḡubia> *chubia* (28v, 51r +11), *gubia* (57v) *gubias* (61v) <ḡubia> *chuḡia* (166v;=*chuvia*), never Spanish *lluvia* or JS *luvia*. Apparently, the pronunciation was [tʃuvia], as in Portuguese (*chuva*) or Galician (*chuvia*).

6.4.20. *Lamos*

The word *lampos* (132r) 'lightenings' is attested in Old Spanish. It also occurs in Haketía, the JS of Morocco, as well as in Portuguese and Italian (Benoliel 1977, 225; Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 388).

6.4.21. *Manifestansa*

The word *manifestansa* (25r, 28v, 175v, 278r; Sp. *manifestación*) is an innovation of the translator. Ladino translations of the Haggadot have *manifestación* in all the versions (Schwarzwalld 2008, 274).

6.4.22. *Mar ruvlo*

The Hebrew expression *yam sūf* is translated by *mar ruvlo* (34v, 55v) and *mar rublo* (36v, 84r, 135r; Sp. *rubro*), whereas the translations from Ferrara and Constantinople had *mar (de) Suph* and Constantinople sometimes has *mar rubio*. The medieval translation uses *mar rubio/ruvio* or *bermejo*.

¹⁰² See *i-e* alternations in 6.1.1.1 and *h-f* alternations in 6.1.2.2 above.

¹⁰³ See *afermoziguar* in Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 352; Wiesner 1981, 4. In Ladino translations, see Schwarzwalld 2015, 488-506.

¹⁰⁴ And once in the last folios of this manuscript which represents a different author: *fortenzas* (302r), next to *forteza* (300r-v).

Only E8/E6 through the whole Bible and the Alba Bible (not in the Pentateuch) have *mar rubro* (Enrique-Arias and Pueyo Mena 2008-). The author of the Siddur seems to be experiencing a case of *r-l* confusion, like the instances of *palpados* mentioned above in section 6.3.3 (b) and *prenizmo* mentioned below in section 6.4.28.

6.4.23. *Muncho*

The translator consistently uses the word *muncho* 'a lot' e.g., *muncho* (17r, 72r +7), *muchos* (26v, 45r +4), *munchas* (59v, 58r +17), *monchas* (159r), *moncho* (227v; Sp. *mucho*). This is the common JS form which was attested in old Spanish as well (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *mucho*)¹⁰⁵.

6.4.24. *Niev*

The word *niev* (29r, 30r, 236r) stands for Sp. *nieve* 'snow'. There is no occurrence of *nieve* in this Siddur¹⁰⁶.

6.4.25. *Nilguna*

The word *ninguna* is attested in the Siddur as *nilguna* (11r) or *nelguna* (268r). This seems to be a dissimilation of *n* to *l* and a unique form of the translator of this Siddur.

6.4.26. *Oêe*

The word 'today' is translated eight times as *oêe* (4v, 11v +6; Sp. *hoy*, from Latin *HODIE*), and never as *hoy*. The Portuguese *hoje* is an exact equivalent, and the Italian *oggi* shows similarity with the word observed in the Siddur. It is plausible that these two languages, especially Portuguese, have had an influence on the occurrence of this word in the Siddur.

6.4.27. *Pelegrino*

The Old Spanish word *pelegrino* 'foreigner' (Hebrew [ger]) is attested in the Siddur in the singular (252r, 292r; Sp. *peregrino*) and in the plural (28r, 63v), and it is the standard word in JS, Haketía, and Ladino translations from the Ottoman Empire; many of the medieval translations use it as well.

6.4.28. *Prenizmo*

The word for 'unsophisticated' (Hebrew [tām]) and its derivatives are realized in the Siddur as *prenizmo* (73v), *prenizma* (110r), *prenizmedad* (79v, 217v; Sp. *plenismo*), with *r* instead of *l*. *Prenizmo* is the word used in the Haggadot from Thessaloniki for the translation of *tam*, whereas other Ladino translations and those from other locations use *plenismo*, however, both versions with *l* and *r* are very common in JS¹⁰⁷.

6.4.29. *Preva*

The Sp. verb *probar* and the noun *prueba* (from Latin *PRŌBĀRE*; Portuguese and Catalan *prova*, *provar*) are realized with the vowel *e* in the Siddur, e.g., *preva* (4r), *prebo* (8r), *prevo* (40v), and *previte* (294r). The forms with *e* instead of *o* were considered vulgar Spanish, but they are widespread in Asturias, Mexico and Puerto Rico, as in this Siddur (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v.

¹⁰⁵ See the distribution in *CORDE*.

¹⁰⁶ In *CORDE* it is attested in this Siddur and in five occurrences in a medical document from around 1500. Lapesa 1984, §125 mentions the use of *nief* for *nieve*.

¹⁰⁷ Nehama 1977, 448, lists *prenismo* as a Ladino word and sends the reader to *plenismo*, but the late entry is missing; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 361, have *prenismo*~*prenizmo* and *prenizmedad* with the same meaning, but *plenismo* gets the meaning of integrity and wholesome. Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 326, has one entry of *plinizmo/prinizmo*. Cf. Blondheim 1925, 91-92; Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 398.

probar)¹⁰⁸. These forms were retained in JS and Haketia. The usage of the forms in the Siddur conforms with the Ottoman Empire Ladino translations of these words which have the forms *prevaron*, *fue prevado*, and *prevas*, while in Italy and Amsterdam, the translations include forms like *provaron*, *pruebas*¹⁰⁹.

6.4.30. Regmir

The JS verb *regmir* and its derivatives are used consistently in the Siddur, never the Sp. *redimir*, e.g., *rigmio* (85r, 276v), *reğmiste* (98r), *regmidor* (19r 54v +19), *regmision* (60r, 193r, 194r, 195r), and many more forms (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s.v. *redimir*; Blondheim 1925, 100).

6.4.31. Rey para siempre

The special expression *Rey para siempre* 'King forever' deviates from any known Ladino translation of the blessings that start with *bārūk ʾattā YY ʾēlohēnū melek hāʾōlām* 'blessed You are, our God king of the universe'. *Rey del mundo* (2v) is written only once in the whole Siddur in such blessing, while *Rey para siempre* occurs many times (see section 4, example 2 above). I could not find such a version in Hebrew *Bārūk ʾattā YY... melek lāʾōlām...*, neither in Hebrew prayer books nor in any Sephardic tradition. I consulted experts in Jewish prayers, but none could find an equivalent expression. Furthermore, I examined prayers of the Portuguese conversis (*Anusim*), and none of them contain such a formulaic version (Schwarz 2005, 132-264; Yovel 2014, 235-239).

6.4.32. Romagiga

The word רומאגִיגָה / רומאגִיגָה (*romagiga/romağığa/romağija/romachicha?*) occurs three times in the Siddur¹¹⁰: a. *la bestia y toda coatro pea romagiga y pasara de ala* רומאגִיגָה (30v), as a translation of Hebrew *remēs* 'insect' in Psalms 148:10¹¹¹; b. *Y sobre romagiga de tu pueblo caza de Yisrael y sobre escapadura de caza de soferim* רומאגִיגָה (63v), as a translation of Hebrew *šāʾerit* 'remains'¹¹²; and c. *Y defaran su romağığa a sus chiquitos* רומאגִיגָה (233v), based on Psalms 17:14, as a translation of Hebrew *yeter* 'remainder'¹¹³. I could not find the source of this word. Even if we assume *o~e* alternations¹¹⁴, the word *remagiga / romağığa / romağija* is unknown. It could be associated with Sp. *remanente* or Catalan *romanent* meaning 'remainder'¹¹⁵. As for the translation of Hebrew *remēs*, perhaps the phonetic similarity led to the use of this translation in the first case. It is worth mentioning that the expression *fue romanesido* (55v) 'remained' occurs once in the Siddur, with the vowel *o* (Sp. *remanecer*) which strengthens the assumption regarding *o~e* alternations in some words.

6.4.33. Santiudar/santiudad

The Spanish verb *santificar* is never used in the whole Siddur; instead, the verb *santiudar* occurs very frequently (Catalan influence?), e.g., *santiudo* (1r, 5r, 99v), *santiudaste* (98v, 99r +4),

¹⁰⁸ Koén-Sarano 2009/10, has *prova* and *provar* next to *aprevar*; Nehama 1977 and Perez and Pimienta 2008, include both *preva*, *prevar* and *prova*, *provar*.

¹⁰⁹ Except for Venice 1601, which has *provaron* but *fue prevado*, see Schwarzwald 1989, 394-395.

¹¹⁰ Lazar copied the text in Hebrew letters and in the transliteration inaccurately; *CORDE* followed his transcription accordingly.

¹¹¹ 'הַסֵּמָה וְכָל-בְּהֵמָה וְרֶמֶשׂ וְצִפּוֹר כָּנָף'

¹¹² 'וְעַל זִקְנֵי שְׂאֵרֵי עַמּוּךְ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל פְּלִיטַת בֵּית סוֹפְרֵיהֶם', a phrase from a Sephardic prayer.

¹¹³ 'וְהִנֵּיחוּ לְעוֹלָמָם לְעוֹלָמָם'

¹¹⁴ See *veluntad~voluntad* in section 5, example 4 above, and *veluntad* in section 6.4.36 below, and *afermoziguar/ afromoziguar* in section 4.4.17 above.

¹¹⁵ Alfonso and del Barco 2021, 403, base *romasa* on Old Spanish *remasaja/romasaja* from Latin *REMANERE*. Javier del Barco (personal communication) thinks it relates to Occitan/Catalan *romandre* 'to stay, to remain'. Cyril Aslanov (personal communication) suggests *romaníga* or *romaniga* but cannot pinpoint the Roman source of the word. Cf. also Blondheim 1925, 133-133.

santiudartea (186v), *santiudara* (258r), *santiudan* (101r, 154v +8) among other verbal forms. The noun *santidad* is quite rare, e.g., *santidad* (45v, 105r +10), *santedad* (47v), compared to *santiudad* which occurs very frequently, e.g., *santiudad* (22v, 32r, 37v +over 40 occurrences)—*santibddad* (19v, 236r, 238r 241v)—*santiḇddad* (19v)—*santeḇddad* (108v). The adjectival form occurs as well from the same stem, e.g., *santiudado* (47v, 140v +4), *santiudada* (159v). The form is unique in this Siddur.

6.4.34. *Sequiyozo*

The word *sequiyozos* (276v) 'thirsty', derived from *seco* rather than from *sed*, is used in Ottoman JS, is probably derived from a Portuguese usage of *sequioso* (Quintana 2004, 187; Quintana 2014b, 75).

6.4.35. *Tanġer*

Tanġeran, see discussion in 6.1.2.7 (4).

6.4.36. *Veluntad*

Unlike the above alternations, the Siddur shows consistency in the verb *velunta* (181v) and the noun *veluntad* (46v, 48v and many more), *beluntad* (68r 82r and many more), *ḇeluntad* (4v, 22v +4), and *viluntad* (3v, 4r, 22v)¹¹⁶. The Latin source is VOLŪNTAS, -ATIS (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, s v. *voluntad*). Modern Spanish only uses the nominal form *voluntad*, although the verb *voluntar* 'want' occurred in old juridical medieval Spanish texts, according to *CORDE*. The forms *veluntad* and *enveluntar* were very rare in medieval Spanish, according to *CORDE*. The noun *beluntad* and the verb *enbeluntar* are attested in a medieval Jewish explanation of the Bible (Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 362, 374). In medieval JS texts from Castile and Aragon, both forms appear: *voluntad*, *boluntaḥ*, *veluntaḥ*, *beluntad* (Minervini 1998, 486). Ottoman Empire Ladino texts from the 16th century onwards only use the forms *veluntad*, *enveluntar*, and rarely <*enbeluntar*> in early texts. The Ferrara Bible from 1553 and *Libro de oracyones* from 1552, written in Latin letters and late JS Hebrew script texts from Italy, only use *voluntad* and *envoluntar* (Schwarzwald 1989, 437; Schwarzwald 2008, 170, 255, 256). This usage in the Siddur shows an old JS tradition which was retained in the Ottoman Empire and in Haketía¹¹⁷.

6.4.37. *Ġa*

The Sp. word *ya* is written as *ġa* (269v), reflecting the Portuguese pronunciation (*ja*). See 6.1.2.7 (4).

6.4.38. *Yaġiġa*

The expression *su yaġiġa* (31r) translates Hebrew מְשָׁכְבָּתָם in which the traditional interpretation is 'their rest' or 'their bed'. The expression *uestra ġaġisa* (243v) translates מְשָׁכְבְּךָ 'your bed'. The verb *ġaġé* (242v) translates שָׁכַבְתִּי 'I laid down' and is spelled with *gimel* with a diacritic, and the verb *ġazere* (244r) translates אֶשְׁכַּב 'I will lie down'. The Spanish equivalents are *yacija*, *yací*, and *yaceré*, respectively¹¹⁸. Lazar (1995a, 230) comments on the first example that it alternates with *yazida* or *yazisa*, but not in this Siddur. Perez and Pimienta (2008, 466) have *yazeza*, *yazizá* and *yazida* next to *yazedura* meaning lying down, none of which agree with the spelling in the Siddur. The Portuguese noun is *jazigo*, related to the verb *jazer*. The pronunciation in this case hints towards the Portuguese

¹¹⁶ See Example 5 above and Table 1 in section 5.

¹¹⁷ Nehama 1977, 583 has *veluntád*, *veluntáryo* and *veluntádo*, and on p. 595 he adds *voluntáryo* as well; Perez and Pimienta 2008, 457 has *veluntad*, *veluntar* and *enveluntar*, *veluntario* and *veluntozo*, and also *voluntad*, *voluntariamente*, *voluntario/volontario*; Koén-Sarano 2009/10, 431 addresses *veluntar* to *voluntad* on p. 436, where the word is listed next to *voluntariamente* and *voluntario*; see also Benoliel 1977, 257.

¹¹⁸ Alfonso and Del Barco 2021, 411, found *yazer* in Psalms 139:3.

pronunciation. As in the case of the words related to 'justice' discussed in 6.1.2.7, the occurrence of the sibilants in the words caused the occurrence of this spelling with multiple *g*'s.

7. THE USE OF HEBREW WORDS

The Hebrew form of personal names and toponyms is kept in the translation, e.g., [yarden, lebanon, babel, yerufalayim; par^o, ya^aqob, yiš^haq, mo^{se}, [elomo] (rather than Sp. *Jordan, Libanon~Labanon, Babilonia, Jerusalem; Faraon~Pharaon, Jacob, Ysaach~Ysac~Ysaque, Moysen, Salamon~Salomon*). At times, the spelling is inconsistent: יעקב or יעקוב, דוד or דויד, ירושלם or ירושלים. The exceptions are scarce: the word *Miṣrāyim* 'Egypt' is translated 17 times as *Agifto*, and only once written as מצרים (245r; see section 6.4.4); also, Mount Moriya is interpreted as *Almisque* (see section 6.1.32 above).

The number of Hebrew words in the translation is relatively small (Minervini 1998, 415). In addition to personal names and toponyms, all the Hebrew words related to Jewish concepts are written in their Hebrew spelling in the translation, e.g., *ʿadar* (195v) 'Adar, a month in the Jewish calendar', *ʿafre(y)* (16v), *baruk feʿamar* (136r) 'Ashrey, Blessed be who says – names of prayers', *bet din* (270r) 'Jewish court of law', *bet hamicdaf* (288r) 'the Temple in Jerusalem', *quipur* (231v, 272r, 302r) 'Day of Atonement', *soferim* (63v) 'writers'. Other words which are in daily JS use are also written in the translation, e.g., *ʿafilu* (1v) 'even', *ʿabera* (4r) 'sin', *mafiāh*¹¹⁹ (64r, 144r +5) 'messiah', *ʿamen* (32v, 43r +10) 'Amen', *haber* (5t) 'friend, partner', among others. The word for 'world' is always translated by *mundo* (15r, 21v + 15, and five more times as *mondo[s]*), but once it occurs in its Hebrew form: *Señor del ʿolam* (13r). Lazar (1995a, 261) lists only 47 Hebrew words excluding personal names and toponyms, but I found many more types of Hebrew words. Sometimes the Hebrew original words are either miscopied or replaced by other words, e.g., *malaquiyot* (269r) instead of *malcot* 'lashes', and *Yisraʿel* (270r) instead of *Yefurun*. More on the Hebrew use will be discussed in the Conclusion section.

8. THE UNIQUENESS OF THE FINAL FOLIOS OF THE SIDDUR

As mentioned earlier, the final folios from 296r to 302r were appended to the Siddur by another writer. The handwriting is totally different. Fols. 295v ends with the words *tam tam tam* meaning 'end'. The repetition of the word *tam* indicates that it is final; fols. 296r-v is taken from the middle prayer of the 9th of Av. The next folios are not ordered appropriately. According to Lazar (1995a, 258), the right order is 301r-v, 299r-v, 297r-298v, and 300r-v. Fol. 302r starts with a translation from a verse of Psalms 66:36 and ends with the title *Mizmor leyom haquipurim* 'a psalm for the Day of Atonement'.

There are several features that mark distinguish these folios from the rest of the Siddur, in addition to the handwriting:

- Words are divided at the end of the line and continue in the next.
- Sentences are separated by a colon; in the previous folios the quotation mark (") separates sentences and paragraphs.
- There is an *n* in front of *p* and *b* in words like *tanbien* (297v, 299r; cf. *tambien* 14r, 30v +9), *sienpre* (297v, 298r, 299r, 300v; cf. *siempre* 26r, 54v and many more), and *onbre* (297v; cf. *ombre* (5r, 18r +27).
- The letter *shin* /š/ is marked by a diacritic, e.g., דישו *difo* (298r) '(he) said', but דישו (8r×2, 9v×2¹²⁰ +6) with no diacritic, in all other occurrences of the Siddur.
- The word for house is spelled three times as קאשה [kaʃaʔ] (298r, 299r-v) with a diacritic dot over the *shin* in the middle, rather than קאזה [kaza] in the previous folios.

¹¹⁹ The *yod* is vocalized by *camats* or *patah*.

¹²⁰ See discussion in 6.1.2.7 above, paragraph no. 5.

- f. The marking of the vowels in the final folios is less consistent than in the rest of the Siddur, especially with regards to *i* and *u*, hence *dilantre* (301r) instead of *delantre* (1v, 181r +9); *aburesientes* (301r) rather than *aboresientes* (63r, 83v +5), *Şiyun* (296r-v) rather than *Şiyon* (cf. 19r, 26v and many more), *to* (298r, 299r-v) next to *tu* (296r) 'you, your'; *ildus* (296r) rather than *ildos* (51v, 52r +3) 'idols'¹²¹; *altigus* (296r) rather than *altiwos* (56r, 105r, 130v, 291v; <*altiguos); *cun* (296v) next to *con* (297v), *so*, *sos* (297r) rather than *su*, *sus* 'his', *colpas* (298r) rather than *culpás* (264r, 276r); *surbientes* (296r)¹²² rather than *sirvientes* (154r), *cumu* (296r-v, 301r) rather than *cumo* in the whole Siddur (see examples above in section 5 and discussion in 6.1.1.2), *Yehoda* (298v) rather than *Yehuda* (173v, 290r), *fuegu* (296v, 301r) rather than *foego* (9v, 30r, 34r), *foego* (10r, 228r, 246r) or *fuego* (176v)¹²³, and *zeḥolon* (298v) for *Zeḥulun*, etc.
- g. Only in these final folios does the word *Aifto* (300v) translate the word *Miṣrayim* 'Egypt' instead of *Aḡifto/Aḡipto* (14v, 34v +15) which was used throughout the whole Siddur. The word *Aifto* is typical of the Ottoman Empire Ladino translations, especially in Thessaloniki, (see section 6.4.4 above).
- h. The word *hek* (300v) is written instead of *heg* (see 6.1.2.2). This typifies Thessaloniki tradition.
- i. There are no vowel signs on God's name ״ (Cf. section 5, Example 2 above).
- j. The verb *fuir* (Sp. *huir*) is written as *fueran* (301r). In the previous folios, the conjugation resembles Old Spanish, cf. *fuyes* (174r), *fulyeron* (249r), *foirtes* (97v), *folyo* (174r), *foir* (242r), *foire* (249r)¹²⁴.

Based on the handwriting, on the mixed order of the folios, and on the features pointed out here, these folios do not belong to this Siddur, but being connected to prayers, were appended to the existing manuscript. These pages also prove that the writer followed some Ottoman Empire traditions.

9. CONCLUSION

As noted by both Lazar (1995a, ix) and Minervini (1998, 415-416), the manuscript is a literal, non-normative translation of a Hebrew Siddur written in Ladino by an amateur author. The data presented so far support their claim that the Siddur was written by a nonprofessional individual. There are numerous inconsistencies in the translations in orthographic, lexical, textual, and morphological aspects. Laurent Héricher, the curator of the Hebraica-Judaica manuscripts at the National Library in France, has also suggested that the translator could be either male or female. The question remains as to the identity of the manuscript's author. Its target reader appears to be a woman, as indicated by expressions such as *que non me fizo sierva* (3v), or *cumo lo dizen las mujeres* (92r). However, this does not necessarily imply that a woman wrote it, making the gender issue of the writer irrelevant in this context. In this section, I will be referring to the first 295 folios of the manuscript, as the last pages were written by a different person, as described in section 8.

The translation is based on the Hebrew text, and the prayers and the psalms are recited in a manner like other Hebrew prayer books. However, the citations are not exact translations from Hebrew into the vernacular, giving the impression that the translation was done from memory. Nevertheless, the presence of Hebrew phrases inserted into the text, along with some spelling mistakes and corrections, indicates that the translator was familiar with the Hebrew source. As mentioned in the end of section 3, the translator initially wrote על [ʿal] in Hebrew, then erased it and corrected it to *sobre* (45v). Similarly, the word אדם [ʾadam] is written in Hebrew and corrected to *ombre* (133v), בראשית [bereṣit]

¹²¹ Metathesized form, instead of *idlos*. See 6.1.3 above.

¹²² Lazar 1995a, 216-217, transcribes it both in Hebrew script שׁוֹרְבֵינְיֵטִישׁ and in Latin script as s[ʔ]rvientes with v, although it is spelled שׁוֹרְבֵינְיֵטִישׁ with a bet and the vav is clearly vocalized by shuruk.

¹²³ See discussion above on *oe-ue* alternations in 6.1.1.3 and the discussion on *gimel* in 6.1.2.7.

¹²⁴ See discussion in section 6.1.2.5 above regarding *ly-y* alternations.

is corrected to *premeriya* (143r), and אָהד is corrected to *uno* (160r). In section 6.1.2.6, I discussed the spelling of *mezquino* with *samej* and *caf*, as in Hebrew. Additionally, the spelling of אַתאַמאַראַל [atamaral] (24r, 94r) is written with *tav*. Both instances reflect the spelling of the Hebrew words מִסְכֵּן [misken] and תָּמַר [tamar], and they imply that the author had a good command of Hebrew¹²⁵.

The data presented in the Siddur are indeed perplexing due to the numerous variations found within it. Lazar's assertion that the Siddur originated in 15th-century Spain is challenged by the linguistic evidence, as the dialectal variations are too diverse to be attributed to a specific region in Spain. Minervini's claim that the Siddur was written in the Sephardic diaspora after the Expulsion from Spain finds support in the various linguistic phenomena observed in the text. These phenomena align with the historical context of Sephardic Jews settling in different locations after the expulsion, which could explain the linguistic diversity present in the Siddur.

The paper on which the Siddur was written is Italian, but its processing could potentially be attributed to either the Ottoman Empire or from North Africa, as previously described by the curator (as mentioned in section 3). While it is evident that the Siddur arrived at the French National Library from Morocco, as demonstrated earlier, the specific nationality or origin of the translator remains uncertain.

The language style employed by the translator can be classified as JS from the late sixteenth century, which adheres to the principles of the Ladino calque translations of other liturgical texts. JS retains a close resemblance to Spanish, but it also exhibits distinct features. When the translator uses certain Y forms instead of X forms in parallel linguistic circumstances, it suggests that these Y forms emerged due to the writer's other language habits. However, if the translator consistently employs forms that deviate from X forms in Spanish, Ladino, or JS, it indicates the presence of a different language tradition. In such instances, etymological analysis, comparison with other languages, examination of Ladino translations, and exploration of other JS traditions can provide clues about the author's identity.

The language of the translator exhibits clear evidence of language intervention, which can be attributed to language contact. While the manuscript's origin in Morocco and subsequent arrival in Paris may suggest Arabic influence, other languages and dialects have exerted a more significant impact. These include Portuguese, Italian, Ottoman Empire JS, particularly the Salonica dialect, and at times Haketía. In contrast, the influence from dialects such as Galicia, Leon, Aragon or Catalan, Old Spanish, and even Greek appears to be relatively minor.

Table 2 captures some of the variations presented above. Certain sporadic phenomena discussed above will not be included in this table, e.g., *k~g* alternations or *nm>m* (see sections 6.1.2.2 and 6.1.4). I ignore orthographic variations that existed in contemporaneous Spanish and JS (like *i~e*, *u~o*, *b~v*, *oa~ua*, *oe~ue*, or initial *f~h* alternations). I also ignore systematic *ly~y* alternations as part of *yeísmo*, and diphthongization processes which were typical of the general trends in Spanish of that time (see sections 6.1.1.5 and 6.1.2.5 above). I concentrate on the relevant linguistic phenomena which can shed light on the origins of the writer.

Linguistic forms	Possible source	Section
<i>h</i> (the spelling of <i>het</i>)	Arabic (?)	6.1.2.4
<i>alarze</i>	JS ¹²⁶	6.4.5
<i>boladía</i>	Italian Ladino translations; Haketía (?)	5, Ex. 3, 4
<i>ġ=f</i> , fricative <i>ğ</i>	JS, JS dialects	6.1.2.6, 6.1.2.7

¹²⁵ See also fn. 28 above.

¹²⁶ Unless otherwise indicated, JS refers to the Haketía as well.

Linguistic forms	Possible source	Section
metathesis	JS	6.1.3
<i>mos, moestros, moesa</i>	JS	6.2.2
final <i>d</i> deletion	JS	6.1.4
<i>-ste>-stes</i>	JS	6.2.4
<i>regmir</i>	JS	6.4.30
<i>muncho</i>	JS	6.4.23
<i>delantre</i>	JS	6.4.12
<i>veluntad</i>	JS	6.4.36
<i>preva</i>	JS	6.4.29
<i>pelegrino</i>	JS.	6.4.27
<i>afreir</i>	JS	6.4.3
<i>gua>wa, gue>we</i>	JS dialects, Ḥaketía, Andalusia, Venice (?)	6.1.2.7
<i>arnasio</i>	Old JS, Thessaloniki, Ladino	6.4.8
<i>prenizmo</i>	Ottoman JS, Thessaloniki Ladino	6.4.28
<i>fijo, fablar, fambre, fartar, fecha, ferir, filo</i>	Port., Old Sp. JS Dialects, Italian	6.1.2.2
<i>gueso (=vueso)</i>	JS dialects, JS Balkans	6.2.2 (2)
Sp. <i>juicio, juez...</i>	unique	6.1.2.7
<i>romaġġa</i>	unique	6.4.32
<i>manifestansa</i>	unique	6.4.21
<i>nilguna</i>	unique	6.4.25
<i>santiudar/ santiudad</i>	unique	6.4.33
<i>alongramento</i>	Old Sp., Port. (?), unique	6.4.6
<i>palpados</i>	Ottoman JS	6.3.3 (b)
<i>ruvlo</i>	unique	6.4.22
<i>Rey para siempre</i>	unique	4, 6.4.31
<i>aylo~ayelo 'angel'</i>	Unique, Greek (?)	6.4.9
<i>afeitar</i>	Ottoman JS	6.4.2
<i>aquedar</i>	Old Sp., JS	6.4.7
<i>escarnidor</i>	Old Sp.	6.4.16
<i>niev</i>	Old Sp.	6.4.24
š (Heb. <i>tsadi</i>)	Italian, medieval JS, North Africa?	6.1.2.8
<i>Aġifto/ Aġipto</i>	Italian (Ladino translations)	6.4.4
<i>abiviguar</i>	Italian (Ladino translations)	6.4.1
<i>fortenza</i>	Italy, Ottoman Ladino	6.4.1.8
<i>cumo es dicho, cumo dize el pasuk</i>	Italian, Venice (Ladino translations)	6.3.2
<i>chamar</i> (Sp. <i>llamar</i>)	Port., Venice, Galician	6.1.2.7 (3)
<i>lampo</i>	Italian, Port., Old Sp., Ḥaketía	6.4.20

Linguistic forms	Possible source	Section
<i>oġe</i> (Sp. <i>hoy</i>)	Port., Italian (?)	6.4.26
<i>tanġer</i> (Sp. <i>tañer</i>)	Port.	6.1.2.7 (4)
<i>seġa, seġan, seġa</i> (Sp. <i>ser</i>)	Port.	6.1.2.7 (4)
<i>ġa</i> (Sp. <i>ya</i>)	Port.	6.1.2.7 (4)
<i>deledir</i>	Port.	6.4.13
<i>entro(m)pesar</i>	Port., Ottoman JS,	6.4.15
<i>conecer</i>	Port. Catalan, Venice, Haketia	6.4.11
<i>sequiyozo</i>	Port., Ottoman JS	6.4.34
<i>yaġiġa</i>	Port.	6.4.38
<i>-mento</i>	Port., Old Sp.	6.2.3
<i>conusco</i>	Port., Rare Old Sp.,	6.2.2 (3)
<i>enfalsar</i>	Port., Old Sp.	6.4.14
<i>chuvia</i> (Sp. <i>lluvia</i>)	Port., Galician	6.4.19
<i>buraco</i>	JS, Port., Galician, Leon,	6.4.10
<i>fer</i> (Sp. <i>hacer</i>)	Aragon, Asturia-Leon, Catalan, Old Port.	6.1.2.2 (3)
<i>-emos</i> in preterit of <i>-ar</i> verbs	Aragon, JS development	6.2.6

Table 2. The list of the linguistic phenomena.

If the writer of the Siddur were a Jew from Morocco, one would expect a greater influence of Arabic on the language used in the Siddur. However, the most compelling evidence is found in the consistent spelling of *het* in *alhad*, and occasionally in *alhoriya* 'freedom' (Sp. *alhorria*) and *hasta* 'until' (Sp. *hasta*). The presence of *het* in *alhad* aligns with the standard JS usage, thus not providing substantial proof. Additionally, the frequent use of *he* or *fe* in these words as alternatives to the others weakens the influence of Arabic¹²⁷. Considering that *het* is common in many JS words derived from other languages¹²⁸, its sporadic occurrence in these words hints that the author was aware of this variety, as found in other texts from other locations.

The word *alarze* 'cedar tree' cannot serve as definitive proof that it is an Arabic term used in JS; on the contrary, it is analyzed as a JS source in Arabic. Moreover, in Arabic it has a different meaning as shown above.

The word *boladia* means either 'fowl' or 'pestilence; destruction'. The first meaning appears in Italian JS sources. The second meaning hints towards a use in the Haketia, spoken in Morocco.

The significant influence of JS is noteworthy. The spelling of *gimel* with a diacritic representing *f* is also observed in other JS texts (Bunis 2005, 111-171; Schwarzwald 2004, 173-185; Alonso 1976, vol. 2). The fricative pronunciation of *g* is well documented in various JS dialects. The metathesis of *l-d* and *r-l* is typical in JS, as is the use of initial *m* instead of *n* in the pronouns *mos*, *moestro* and *moesa*. Despite the prevalence of pronouns with the initial *n*, the appearance of the *m* suggests that it was commonly used by the translator.

¹²⁷ The word *rincones* (45v) or *arrincones* (62r, 207v) 'corners' are also of Hispano-Arabic source, but they are already part of the Spanish inventory.

¹²⁸ E.g., *haragan* 'lazy' (Sp. *haragan*), *ahenarse* 'beatify oneself' (from Hebrew *hen* 'grace').

The omission of the final *d* in certain commonly used words (*verda*, *velunta*) is indicative of natural features found in the spoken language. This phenomenon can also be observed in printed texts, emphasizing its presence in the language.

The extensive use of preterit forms like *alegaste* (260r) 'you sacrificed' throughout the text is prevalent and reflects the common usage of the time. However, the infrequent occurrence of forms like *alegastes* (187r) and other verbs with the *-stes* ending suggests that, despite the author's attempt to employ standard forms, the habitual verb form used in everyday life could not be entirely avoided. The transition of the preterit ending from *-ste* to *-stes*, which eventually became unified in JS as *-tes*, is evident in other JS texts prior to 1800.

Words such as *regmir*, *muncho*, *delantre*, *veluntad*, *preva*, *pelegrino*, and *afreir*, in addition to *alarze*, exemplify the typical usage of words in JS in the Ottoman Empire as well as in the Haketía¹²⁹. The word *arnasio* 'generation' in the Siddur is attested in a medieval Jewish text and is part of the Thessaloniki tradition. Similarly, the word *prenizmo* 'naïve' in the Siddur is exclusively found in Ladino translations from Thessaloniki but it is also common in other dialects of JS.

Several phenomena observed in the Siddur can be attributed to JS dialects, although they can also be found in other language traditions. For example, the frequent use of the initial *f* in words like *fijo*, *fablar*, *fambre*, *fartar*, *fecha*, *ferir*, *filo*, as well as the transformation of *gue*, *gua* to *we*, *wa*, respectively, are characteristics shared with other languages. Additionally, the realization of *vueso* as *goeso* 'your.PL' reflects variation found in JS Ottoman dialects, but it is not exclusive to the Siddur.

Several phonetic phenomena, words, and expressions found in this Siddur are unique and have been extensively discussed above. The spellings of the words *juicio* 'justice', *juez* 'judge' and *yağığa* 'bed, rest' reveal a lack of spelling uniformity; the occurrence of close sibilant consonants next to each other was perhaps difficult and confusing for the author hence the variations in spelling. Words like *romağığa*, *manifestansa*, *nilguna~nelguna*, *santiudad*, *alongramento*, *palpados* and *ruvlo* could hardly be found in other available sources. The special expression *Rey para siempre* 'King forever' deviates from any known Ladino translation of the Hebrew blessings *melek hā'ōlām* 'king of the Universe'.

I have put forward some speculations concerning the uncertain origins of the word *aylo/ayelo* 'angel' which could potentially be of Judeo-Greek origin.

Four words in the Siddur, namely *afeitar* 'decorate', *aquedar* 'become calm', *escarnidor* 'mocked', and *niev* 'snow', can be traced back to Old Spanish. The word *afeitar* is attested also in a medieval Jewish text and in JS; *aquedar* exists in JS as well.

The influence of the Italian tradition can be detected in the use of the letter *şadi* in some words, although it occurred in some other JS sources. Additionally, the translation of Egypt as *Ağifto/Ağipto* as well as the utilization of the verb *abiviguar* 'revive' are both typical of Ladino translations from Italy, not from other locations. *Fortenza* is attested in a Jewish text from Venice and in an Ottoman Ladino text. Also, the formulaic expressions of Bible citations: *cumo es dicho* or *cumo dize el pasuk*, are typical of Ladino translations from Italy, especially from Venice, as shown above.

It is possible to identify influences from Italian or Portuguese in various linguistic aspects. The presence of *chamar* 'call' which is commonly used in Portuguese and Galician, also reflects the Venetian pronunciation of the verb. The intensive use of the initial *f* in words like *fijo* and *fambre* mentioned above, serve as further indicators of these influences. As recalled, the term *lampo* meaning 'lightening', also exists in Italian and Portuguese, although its origin could be traced to medieval Jewish Spanish and attested in Haketía usage.

The Portuguese influence surpasses the other languages that could have had an impact on the translator's language, as demonstrated by the list in Table 2, e.g., *oşe* 'today', *tanđer* 'play', *şeja* 'be', *ja* 'already', *deletar* (*deledir*) 'disappear, delete', *entro(m)pezar* 'stumble', *conecer* 'know', *sequiyozos* 'thirsty', and *yağığa* 'rest, bed', the latter being used regularly in Ottoman JS. The extensive use of the suffix *-mento* can also be attributed to Portuguese, like the usage of *conusco* 'with us', and *enfalsar*

¹²⁹ The word *afermoziguar* can be added to this list, see 6.4.17.

'elevate'. Some of the phenomena are common to Portuguese, Galician, Catalan, and other dialects of Spain (e.g., *chuvia* 'rain', *buraco* 'hole', *fer* 'do', *noeso* 'ours', *coneser* 'know').

The conjugation of *-ar* verbs in the preterit with the first-person plural suffix *-emos* might indeed be considered an Aragonese influence. However, in my opinion, due to their widespread use in the Siddur, it can also be seen as evidence of the intermediate stage of development in JS of conjugating all verb types (*-ar*, *-er*, *-ir*) into *-imos* suffix.

Based on the information provided, it can be inferred that the translator has knowledge of Hebrew prayers. However, due to being unfamiliar with either Spanish spelling or Ladino orthography, the translator tends to write words inconsistently, reflecting the spoken language as the translator heard it¹³⁰. The variations in some cases reflect the author's difficulty to transfer the heard words into spelling in the Hebrew alphabet. From the data, it is evident that the translator was a speaker of JS, but the linguistic inventory, the substratum, was strongly influenced by Italian and Portuguese as well.

The linguistic study of JS indicates that in the 16th century, the language had not yet fully developed as a *Koiné* (Minervini 2002, 497-512; Quintana 2009, *221-*255; Quintana 2012b, 697-714; Penny 1996, 54-58; Penny 2000; Wagner 1990). It is only from the 17th century onwards that one can observe the emergence of a more unified JS, with distinct dialectal varieties. In this context, the translation of the Siddur aligns with the amalgamation of languages within the speech of an individual situated between various languages and cultural influences.

It is plausible to suggest that the translator of the Siddur originated from Italy, influenced by various factors. Firstly, during the 16th century, Italy housed three distinct Jewish communities: Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish, and the ex-Converso Portuguese community. The Judeo-Italian community predated the Expulsion from Spain in 1492 and persisted in Italy thereafter. Following the Expulsion, many expelled Jews sought refuge in Italy, maintaining strong connections with their counterparts who settled in the Ottoman Empire and possibly in North Africa. This close association likely led to the preservation of similar Judeo-Spanish features.

Moreover, throughout the 16th century, numerous Converso Jews, primarily from Portugal, fled the Iberian Peninsula and established a significant ex-Converso Portuguese community in various Italian cities, with Venice being a notable destination for these exiles.

The coexistence and close interaction of the Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish, and ex-Converso Portuguese communities in Italy fostered a linguistic environment where elements from each language could merge and influence one another. Consequently, the author of the Siddur likely drew upon their knowledge and exposure to spoken Portuguese, Italian, and Judeo-Spanish, resulting in a unique language reflecting this multilingual influence.

Based on the linguistic evidence presented, it is highly probable that the Siddur's author was an ex-Converso Jew from Portugal who settled in Venice. Linguistic choices, such as Venetian formulaic citations from the Bible (e.g., *como es dicho* and *como dize el pasuk*) and the use of *chamar* (also found in Portuguese), strongly indicate a connection to the Venetian context. Furthermore, specific translations of words like *Agipto* (instead of *Aifto*) and *abiviguar* (instead of *abediguar*) align with linguistic features found in Italy. The linguistic features in the Siddur translation indicate a blending of spoken Judeo-Spanish with Portuguese and Italian influences, likely stemming from the linguistic environment in Italy during the 16th century when various Jewish communities coexisted and interacted closely.

While it remains unclear whether the translation was written in Italy or Morocco, it is highly likely that the Siddur's translator was an Italian Jew with a Judeo-Spanish-Portuguese background. It is plausible that the manuscript traveled with the author or someone else from Italy, eventually reaching the Portuguese community in Morocco before ending up in the French National Library, as previously described.

¹³⁰ I also suspect the translator had some hearing problems regarding the sibilant consonants, based on the spellings of words with *dž*, *ž*, *tf*, or *f* (see the spelling of *juizio*, *juez* and the like in 6.1.1.3, 6.1.2.7 above).

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

The author of this article declares that they have no financial, professional or personal conflicts of interest that could have inappropriately influenced this work.

AUTHORSHIP CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald: conceptualization, investigation, writing – original draft, writing – review & edition.

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