

CHAPTER SEVEN  
 ARCHAISM AND VERNACULARISM  
 IN JUDEO-PORTUGUESE

1. INTRODUCTION

As noted in the preceding chapters, beyond its unconventional script the overall linguistic character of Judeo-Portuguese largely conforms to the profile of non-Hebraicized late medieval Portuguese. The orthographic variation in the texts, while unique in terms of manifesting the principles of its writing system, does not indicate a range of variation beyond that expected of Old Portuguese. The most conspicuous contribution of the Judeo-Portuguese corpus to the history of Portuguese is in fact in the form of archaism and vernacularism in the lexicon. Though these phenomena often intersect, the latter refers to words that show the normal effects of sound change but which have since been relatinized – that is, re-borrowed from Latin – while the former refers to lexical readjustment or replacement in general. In this chapter<sup>1</sup> I summarize the phonological and morphological features of the

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<sup>1</sup> The source of each item is indicated by a letter corresponding to the order of presentation in the previous chapters:

- A:** *O livro de como se fazem as kores* (Parma ms. 1959)
- B:** *O livro de maḡika* (Bodleian ms. Laud Or. 282)
- C:** Passover I (Bodleian ms. Can Or. 108)
- D:** Passover II (Brotherton ms. Roth 71)
- E:** Medical prescription (Cambridge ms. Add.639.5)

Not surprisingly, the majority of the examples cited below occur in **B** (chapter 5), the largest text in the corpus, with a significant minority from **A** (chapter 4). Given their much smaller size and more formulaic content, the three shorter texts (**C-E**, chapter 6) provide fewer illustrations of archaic and vernacular features.

Judeo-Portuguese lexicon that have since been relatinized or otherwise recalibrated in Portuguese. This survey is not intended as a comprehensive catalogue of archaism in the corpus, but rather a sample of vernacular developments and now-obsolete forms. Before examining these features, I will outline several characteristics that more broadly distinguish Portuguese among the Romance languages, and which are unproblematically attested in the corpus.

### 1.1. Nouns

Portuguese, both medieval and modern, is typical of the Romance languages in having reduced the three grammatical genders of Latin to two. Like other Ibero-Romance, gender is for the most part marked by nouns ending in *-o* (masculine) and *-a* (feminine), while the gender of other nouns cannot be determined on the basis of final segment alone. Portuguese has also eliminated the declensional system, and along with it any case-marking outside the realm of pronouns.

Due to the development of nasal vowels and the deletion of intervocalic nasal consonants, a large number of Portuguese nouns end in the nasal diphthong *-ão*. Plurals are universally marked by *-s* (pronounced [ʃ]/[z] in the modern language), yet nouns in *-ão* appear to form plurals in three different ways.<sup>2</sup> Though only one pattern is productive (*-ões*), handbooks often prescribe conflicting forms for existing nouns (e.g. *vilão* 'villain' > *vilãos*, *vilães*, *vilões*), and there is no definitive study of actual usage (Azevedo 2005: 63). An

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<sup>2</sup> Due to nasal-vowel allophony and the lack of a universally-accepted standard orthography, many singulars (especially loanwords) may themselves appear in more than one form, e.g. *garçom/garçã* 'waiter'. This allophony is also apparent in the verbal system, where nasalized 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. inflections are spelled with final *-m* in all but the future indicative.

earlier form of this variability, more directly linked to the phonological variability that gave rise to it, is manifested in Judeo-Portuguese as well, where different occurrences of words with syllables in the throes of nasalization and *n*-deletion are spelled unpredictably with the nasal consonant נ/ן or with a variety of vowel-letter combinations to indicate the hiatus from deleted /n/:<sup>3</sup>

**Table 7-1. Variation in word-final nasal spelling**

A:	נון	non	נאון	nao	<i>não</i>	'not'
	אֵינְטוֹן	enton	אֵינְטוֹא	entou	<i>então</i>	'then'
	אֶזְרָקוֹן	az <sup>a</sup> rkon	אֶזְרָקֶאָא	az <sup>a</sup> rkao	<i>zarcão</i>	'red lead'
	וֵירְמִילִיּוֹן	vermelyon	בֵּירְמִילֶאָא	bermelao	<i>vermelhão</i>	'vermilion'
	קֹנְפִּיאַס(וֹן)	konfaç(i)on	פִּיסֶאָא	feçao	<i>confeção</i>	'concoction'
B:	רֶאזוֹן	razon	רֶאזוֹאִשׁ	razoes	<i>razão</i>	'reason'
	אֵינְסַלְשֶׁאָסוֹן	ensçalsaçon	אֵישׁאֶלְסוֹאִשׁ	esalçoēs	<i>exaltação</i>	'exaltation'
	פְּרִישׁוֹנִישׁ	prisiones	קֹנְפִּרִישׁוֹאִשׁ	konpresoes <sup>4</sup>		

## 1.2. Verbs

In its verbal system, the Judeo-Portuguese corpus exhibits no categories not found in the Modern Portuguese arsenal, and no forms whose morphology (stem or inflection) differs substantially from their modern counterparts (beyond the expected phonological discrepancies). Perhaps not surprising in a corpus that consists of religious directives, astrological projections, and instructions for manuscript illumination, there are relatively few past-tense forms. In fact the modern periphrastic tenses (past-present-future perfect and their subjunctive/conditional counterparts) do not occur in

<sup>3</sup> Recall, however, that the Brotherton Passover text (chapter 6 § 3) completely avoids the conservative spelling with a final consonant.

<sup>4</sup> Both of these words, 'prisons' and 'understandings' respectively, derive ultimately from the same stem (ModPg. *prisão* < \*PREHENESIONE, ModPg. *compreensão* < CUM+PREHENDENTIONE).

the portions of the corpus I have examined,<sup>5</sup> nor does the periphrastic future with *ir* 'go' occur anywhere in the corpus.<sup>6</sup>

What is attested are several other developments unique to Portuguese among the modern Romance languages. The first is the future subjunctive, which resulted from the merger of two Latin tenses, the future perfect indicative and perfect subjunctive. It appears throughout the corpus, as in the modern language, after conjunctions that imply future action or circumstance:

A: דישקי אישטו פיזיריש  
deske esto **fizeres**  
'once you do this'

B: קואנדו איל פור ביאין טיור פֿורא דאש ראזואיש  
kuando el por been **tever** fora das razoes  
'when He considers it good beyond reasons'

C: קומו שאירין די בית הכנסת דירן  
komo **sairen** de *beit hakeneset*  
'when you leave synagogue'

D: אי דישפואיש קי קומיר שואה סעודה  
e despoes ke **komer** suah *se<sup>e</sup>uda*  
'and after you eat the meal'

The other major innovation in the Portuguese verbal system is the so-called inflected infinitive, derived ultimately from the Latin imperfect subjunctive.

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<sup>5</sup> Although past participles occur frequently, they are almost always used adjectivally or in a passive sense with forms or *ser* 'be'. Those that do occur with *aver* (never *ter*) are either in non-finite forms (e.g. אוינדו וישטו *avendo visto* 'having seen', the opening words of *O libro de maḡika*) or idiomatic phrases (e.g. אובריש נישארדו *uberes gisado* 'you need' (fut. subj.) in *As kores*).

<sup>6</sup> *As kores* does contain several instances of *ir* + present participle, e.g. וואיי קואנדו *vayo koando* 'continue straining it'.

Though much less frequent in the corpus than the future subjunctive, it does occur on several occasions in *As kores*:

A: פֶּאַרַא פֶּאַזִירִישׁ ווּרְמִילִיִּון  
 para **fazeres** vermelyon  
 'in order to make red...'

טוּ דוּאַוּ פֶּאַרַא אָו קוֹנוֹסִירִישׁ  
 te dou para o **konoçeres**  
 'I give you [this sign] so that you recognize it'

Another Portuguese characteristic well-attested in the corpus is the preference to place clitic object pronouns between the stem and desinence of the historically-periphrastic future tense (which often alternates with imperative forms in *As kores* and the Passover texts, though the latter contain no clitic pronouns):

A: קאַבִידאַרְטאַשׁ דוּ אַזוּל לױזִידִיאָו  
 kabidar-t-as do azul luzidio  
 'beware of shiny blue'

דײַטאַלױאַשׁ נאַ קוֹלִיאַר אַי פּוּאַילאַשׁ שׁוּבֵרִי אַשׁ בֵּרֶשַׁאשׁ  
 e deita-lo-as na kulyar e poe-l-as sobre as brasas  
 'and put it in the spoon and place it over the embers'

B: פּוּדִירֶלַאשׁ אַיִמוֹשׁ אַיִנְטִינְדִיר  
 poder-las emos entender  
 '[that] we may understand them'

אַדוֹנאַר סֵלִיאַן בִּישְׂטאַשׁ דִּי קֶבֶּאַלְגַּאַר  
 adonar se-le-an bestas de k<sup>a</sup>balgar  
 'riding animals will be given to him'

Note that the separation of the verb stem from its inflection in *O libro de maḡika* (with the clitic attached to each one in turn in the examples above) is consistent with the overall tendency in that text for less orthographic agglutination than the rest of the corpus.

Despite the lack of synchronic periphrastic tenses, it is worth noting other uses of *aver* < HABĒRE in Judeo-Portuguese. It occurs most frequently in the modern language as an existential verb *há* 'there is' (well-attested in the corpus, usually with accretion of a locative pronoun as א"י *ay*,) and in a number of idiomatic phrases (e.g. *haver de* 'must'), but is generally replaced as both an auxiliary and a lexical verb of possession by ModPg. *têr* < TENĒRE. While this latter verb occurs only rarely in the corpus, there are many examples in which *aver* is used in a variety of tenses and has clearly maintained a lexical meaning, as it would until at least the late sixteenth century (Azevedo 2005: 177):

A: דישפויש אביראש לימינאש דישינאליץ  
despois **a**beras liminas destinaliṣ  
'then take leaves of tin'

טומאראש אלאקאר קואנטו אוביריש מיאישטיר  
tomaras o alakar kuantu **u**beres meester  
'take lac, as much as you (will) need'

B: פור קי אומיאיש אוימוש אלמאש דא ראזון  
por ke os omees **a**veamos almas da razon  
'because [as] men we have souls of reason'

שי קונטראיירו אואובישי נון שריאה פודירושו  
si kontrayro **o**ubese non seriah poderoso  
'if [God] had contradiction[s] he would not be almighty'

## 2. PHONOLOGY

In terms of archaism and vernacularism, the corpus contains many words whose modern forms have "undone" an earlier sound change by restoring the etymological segments.

### 2.1. *l*-clusters

Many Modern Portuguese words contain consonant clusters whose second element /r/ derives from an etymological /l/. These sound changes are attested by many items in the Judeo-Portuguese corpus that also preserve the change in Modern Portuguese (e.g. פּראַזיר *prazer* < PLACERE). Yet the texts contain several instances of vernacular spellings whose etymological /l/ has been restored in the modern language:

**Table 7-2. Pg. pr < PL**

A:	רִישְׁפֶּראַנְדִּיסִינְטִי	resprandeçente < *RESPLEND-	<i>resplendente</i>	'resplendent'
B:	פּראַניטאַ	praneta < PLANETA	<i>planeta</i>	'planet'
	פּראַנטאַ	pranta < PLANTA	<i>planta</i>	'plant'
	קֹנפּרִידאַ מִינְטִי	konprida mente < COMPLET-	<i>completamente</i>	'completely'

Similarly, while some words both in the text and in their modern forms preserve the shift of BL > *br* (e.g. בְּראַנקִי *branko* < \*BLANCU, a Germanic loanword), others in the texts show a vernacular outcome whose modern form has been relatinized:

Table 7-3. Pg. br &lt; BL

B:	פּוֹבְרָאמֵינְטוֹשׁ	pobramentos < *POPULAMENTU	(população)	'populating'
	פּוֹבְרִיקוֹ	pubriko <sup>7</sup> < PUBLICU	público	'public'

Note that in the first case the /bl/ cluster is not strictly etymological, having developed after an earlier lenition and subsequent syncope had yielded \**poblamento*.

Another change restored in the modern forms of some words involves *l*-clusters whose initial element is /k/:

Table 7-4. Pg. kr &lt; CL

A:	קְרָארוֹ	kraro < CLĀRU	claro	'clear'
	קְרָאֲרִיפִיקָאֲר	krarifikar < *CLARIFICĀRE	clarificar	'clarify'
	מֵיִסְקָרָאֲר	meçkrar < MISCULĀRE	mesclar	'mix'
B:	קְרִיפְשִׁישׁ	kripšes < Gk. κριψης	eclipse	'eclipses'
	קְרִימָאֲשׁ	krimas < Gk. κριμας	clima	'climates'
	קְרִישׁאֲטִיקוֹשׁ	keresatikos < Gk. κρησατικος	eclesiástico	'ecclesiastics'
	קְרִירִיגוֹ	krerigo < Gk. κρηριγο	clérigo	'cleric'

Note in the last case that although the initial cluster has been restored in the modern form, the lenition of the final consonant has not (cf. § 2.2.3 below).

The texts also contain forms that show the parallel change of GL > *gr*, but these words preserve the vernacular development in their modern forms (e.g. גְּרוּדִי *grude* 'glue' < GLUTINE), as do words in the corpus with *fr* < FL (e.g.

<sup>7</sup> Countinho (1969: 122) cites both *púvrego* and *púbrego* as attested forms. It is possible in principle that the scribe has omitted the diacritic on בּ to indicate /v/, though there is no indication of lenition in the final consonant (cf. § 2.2.3).

פֿראַקא *fraka* 'weak' < FLACCA).<sup>8</sup> In both cases, of course, more recent formations based on the same roots have either restored the etymological clusters or else have not vernacularized them, e.g. *glutinoso*, *flácido*, etc.<sup>9</sup>

## 2.2. Deleted consonants

Though some of the texts contain the vernacular spellings noted above that have since been relatinized, there are no instances of the opposite pattern, that is, of conservative spellings in which one of the above clusters is spelled etymologically with ל *l* in the text but with <r> in its modern form (e.g. there is no פֿלאַטא\* *plata* for ModPg. *prata* 'silver'). Yet there are other phonological environments in which Judeo-Portuguese writers do appear to spell conservatively. In addition to the normal lenition of some intervocalic Latin consonants, Portuguese normally deletes a single intervocalic /l/ and /n/, resulting in a range of preserved consonants and vowel hiatuses indicated in medieval spellings.

### 2.2.1. /l/

The texts contain some words which in the modern forms show the evolved deletion of intervocalic /l/ but which occur in the text spelled conservatively with a letter ל:

<sup>8</sup> De Faria Paiva (1988: 28) describes the occurrence of *infruencia* 'influence' in the fourteenth-century *Leal conselheiro* as an early Latinism; although variant forms of this word abound in *O livro de maḡika*, none is spelled with ר *r* (see chapter 5, note line 6).

<sup>9</sup> In some cases, sound change involving *l*-clusters yields ModPg. /ʃ/ (spelled <ch>); words in the corpus that contain the reflex of this change (spelled ג *g* plus diacritic) also preserve it in their unaugmented modern forms, e.g. גֿיאה *ḡeah* < PLENA (ModPg. *cheia* 'full'), אַינגער *enḡer* < IMPLERE (ModPg. *encher*), גֿאמאדו *ḡamado* < CLAMATU (ModPg. *chamar* 'call').

**Table 7-5. Intervocalic /l/ spelled in JPg.**

A:	פאלו	palo < PĀLU	<i>pau</i>	'stake'
	שאל	sal < SALIT	<i>sair</i>	'come out'
	מולי	mole < MOLIT	<i>moer</i>	'grind'
	קולוריש	kolores <sup>10</sup> < COLĪRES	<i>cores</i>	'colors (n.)'
	קולוראר	kolorar < COLORĀRE	<i>corar</i>	'color (v.)'
B:	איסינסיאליש	eçençiales < ESSENTIĀLES	<i>essençiais</i>	'essential'
	אנימאליש	animales < ANIMĀLES	<i>animais</i>	'animals'

Note that these last two are the exceptions to the general pattern for plurals containing an etymological /l/ (such as adjectives based on -ALES), which are generally spelled without any letter ל (i.e. *אנימאליש animais*; cf. § 3.1.2).

Other words with an etymological /l/ are not spelled with ל in the text, but are spelled in such a way as to indicate the hiatus from the deleted /l/ that has since coalesced in the modern form:

**Table 7-6. Hiatus from deleted /l/ not spelled in ModPg.**

A:	פואוש	poos < *PULVOS	<i>pó</i>	'powder'
	קואור	koor <sup>11</sup> < COLĪRE	<i>côr</i>	'color'
B:	דואור	door < DOLORE	<i>dôr</i>	'pain'
	אנגיאוש	anġeos < ANGELOS	<i>anjo</i>	'angels'
	וואנטאדי	vountade < VOLUNTĀTE	<i>vontade</i>	'will'
	קאינטי	kaente < CALENTE	<i>quente</i>	'hot'
	קאינטורא	kaentura < CALENTURA	<i>quentura</i> <sup>12</sup>	'heat'
	לינסואואוש	lençouos < LINTEOLOS	<i>lençol</i>	'bedsheets'

<sup>10</sup> Although the singular form often contains a letter ל, this conservatively-spelled plural occurs only once (cf. the title of the text, *O libro de komo se fazen as קורישי kores*).

<sup>11</sup> This variant only occurs once.

<sup>12</sup> The doublet *caentura* is a Spanish loanword (Ferreira 1999).

In keeping with vernacularism seen in relation to *l*-clusters, however, other words whose etymological /l/ has been restored in the modern form occur in the text without this /l/ spelled:

**Table 7-7. Intervocalic /l/ restored in ModPg.**

A:	קבִּידוֹאָר	kabidoar < CAPITULĀRE	<i>capitular</i>	'capitalize'
	(א)אומי	(a)ume < ALUMINE	<i>alume</i>	'alum'
B:	קאבִּידוֹשׁ	kabidos < CAPITULŌS	<i>capitulo</i>	'chapters'
	אימִינטוֹשׁ	ementos < ELEMENTŌS	<i>elemento</i>	'elements'
	טואוֹן	toun < TALONE	<i>talão</i>	'heel'

Note that some spellings indicate the hiatus from the deleted /l/, while others indicate a coalesced vowel.

### 2.2.2. /n/

The most recurrent example of conservative spelling in Judeo-Portuguese is the persistence of nasal consonant letters in word-final position (e.g. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. verb inflections, nouns based on -TIONE, the preposition קוֹן *kon* 'with', etc.), which generally alternate with vowel-only spellings (cf. § 1.1). As was the case with /l/, then, there are some instances of words whose modern forms show the deletion of intervocalic /n/ (with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel) but which are spelled conservatively with a letter ך in the text:

Table 7-8. Deleted /n/ spelled in JPg.

A:	אונה	un <sup>a</sup> h <sup>13</sup> < UNA	<i>uma</i>	'a (f.)'
	מאנו	mano < MANU	<i>mão</i>	'hand'
	קומיינסא	komeinça <sup>14</sup> < CUM+INITIAT	<i>começar</i>	'begin'
B:	שולאנו	solano < SOLANU	<i>solão</i>	'hot sun'
	פרישיוניש	prisiones < PREHENSIONES	<i>prisão</i>	'prisons'
	באקונוש	bakunos < *VACCUNOS	<i>vacuum</i>	'bovine'
	קאברונוש	kabronos < *CAPRUNOS	<i>cabrum</i>	'goat-related'
	גִּימִינִי	gēmini < GEMINIS	<i>Gêmeos</i>	'Gemini'
	קוראנא	korana < CORŌNA	<i>coroa</i>	'crown'

Modern Portuguese has nonetheless restored the nasal consonant in a variety of contexts in which no letter appears in Judeo-Portuguese spelling. In many cases these are pre-consonantal coda nasals that were deleted early in Ibero-Romance and were not likely available as active orthographic variants:

Table 7-9. Deleted /n/ restored in ModPg.

A:	טיגיר	tīger < TINGERE	<i>tingir</i>	'dye'
B:	שישוש	sesos < SENSOS	<i>senso</i>	'senses'
	מִיאוֹשׁ	meos < MINUS	<i>menos</i>	'less'
	קונפרישוואיש	konpresoes < COMPREHENSIONE	<i>compreensão</i>	'understandings'
	שיטריטאון	setreteon < SEPTENTRIONE	<i>setentrion</i>	'northern'
	אסדינטי	açedente < ASCENDENTE	<i>ascendente</i>	'ascendant'
	פירנוסיאר	pernuçiar < PRONUNTIARE	<i>pronunciar</i>	'pronounce'

<sup>13</sup> The feminine indefinite article alternates throughout the corpus between forms with and without an overt ן *n*. Note that the <m> of the modern form is a restored spelling that serves the same diacritic purpose as this ן, namely to signal the nasalized vowel. The ן in *mano* no doubt has the same status, but modern conventions are such that nasalization is not indicated there by a restored consonant.

<sup>14</sup> This word does occur multiple times in *O livro de maḡika* with no letter ן.

Other cases involve an intervocalic /n/ that was deleted later, often leaving an overtly-spelled hiatus. In the following cases the /n/ has been restored in the modern spelling:

**Table 7-10. Hiatus from deleted /n/ spelled in JPg.**

B:	לומיאריש	lumiaries < LUMINARES	<i>luminar</i>	'lights'
	שיאיטרו	seetro < SINISTRU	<i>sinistro</i>	'left'
	שאידידי	saidade < SANITATE	<i>sanidade</i>	'health'
	טירמיו	termio < TERMINU	<i>término</i>	'limit'
	ראזואר	razoar < RATIONĀRE	<i>(raciocinar)</i>	'reason'
	ליאנין	liāgen < *LINEAGINE	<i>(linhagem)</i> <sup>15</sup>	'lineage'

Other words that contain a restored /n/ in their modern forms are spelled in Judeo-Portuguese with no indication of hiatus from the deleted consonant:

**Table 7-11. Restored /n/ not spelled in JPg.**

B:	פירטיסין	perteçen < *PERTINESCUNT	<i>pertenecer</i>	'pertain'
	גירו	gero < *GENERU	<i>gênero</i>	'type'

Still others that do show the hiatus from deleted in /n/ in their Judeo-Portuguese forms have coalesced to a monophthong in their modern spelling:

<sup>15</sup> This Provençal loanword replaced the native development.

**Table 7-12. Coalesced hiatus spelled out in JPg.**

A:	בואון	boun < BONU	<i>bom</i>	'good'
	ביאין	been < BENE	<i>bem</i>	'well'
	קואו	kou <sup>16</sup> < CUM	<i>com</i>	'with'
	מיאישטיר	meester < MINISTERIU	<i>mester</i>	'need'
B:	אואון	oun < UNU	<i>um</i>	'one'
	גאאדו	gaado < Sp. <i>ganado</i>	<i>gado</i>	'chattel'
	גיאיראל	gēyral < GENERAL	<i>geral</i>	'general'
D:	שאָה	saah < SANA	<i>sā</i>	'unbroken'
E:	פואיר	poer < PŌNERE	<i>pôr</i>	'put'

This spellings of 'one' and 'good' are especially interesting in that the hiatus from the deleted /n/ is indicated by the two vowel letters (plus diacritic **⸘**), but a final nasal consonant is written to indicate the nasalized vowel.

### 2.2.3. Other lenitions

In addition to deleted /l/ and /n/, there are several words whose relatinized modern forms have restored the voicelessness of a lenited consonant that is spelled with the corresponding voiced consonant in the texts:

**Table 7-13. Voiceless stop restored in ModPg.**

B:	אבויגאר	abonegar < *AD+BENEFICARE	<i>abonecar</i>	'fix up'
	לאגוסטא	laguṣta < LOCUSTA	<i>locusta</i>	'locust'
	שיגולאריש	segolares < SAECULARES	<i>secular</i>	'laypeople'
	מאדוראן	maduran < MĀTŪRANT	<i>maturar</i>	'mature (v.)'

<sup>16</sup> This preposition occurs more frequently in a conservative spelling קון *kon*, and occasionally with a simple vowel קו *kon*, even when no fusible article or pronoun follows (cf. § 3.5).

Similarly, there is a small number of words whose modern forms contain a voiced consonant that was lenited to Ø in the normal development as spelled in the corpus:

**Table 7-14. Deleted stop restored in ModPg.**

A:	אינדיאה	indiah < INDICA	<i>índiga</i>	'indigo'
B:	דיליש	deles < DĒBILES	<i>débil</i>	'weak'

By contrast, other words in the corpus that show a hiatus from a similar deletion have coalesced to a monophthong in the modern spelling (cf. tables 7-6 and 7-12):

A:	וואַי	<i>vae</i> < VĀDIT	<i>va</i>	'go'
B:	שאיטא	saita < SAGITTA	<i>seta</i>	'arrow'
	דיאירון	deeron < DEDERUNT	<i>deram</i>	'gave'
	מאישטריאש	maestrias < MAGISTERIAS	<i>(mestre)</i>	'skills'
D:	פואוש	poos < POSUIT	<i>pôs</i>	'placed'

In one instance, a Judeo-Portuguese spelling actually shows a vernacular pattern exactly opposite to that of a modern semi-learned form, with /b/ > /v/ lenition indicated by a diacritic but (originally) intervocalic /l/ preserved in writing:

A:	דיאַבֿלו	diab̃lo < DIABOLUM	<i>diabo</i>	'devil'
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### 2.3. *r*-migration

There is an assortment of words in Modern Portuguese whose normal form contains consonant clusters with /r/ in which this sound has "migrated,"

e.g. *preguiça* 'laziness' < PIGRITIA, *quebrar* 'break' < CREPARE, *alcrevite* 'sulphur' < Ar. *al-kibrit*. Along with forms of these words, the corpus features a profusion of other *r*-migrations that have been undone in the modern language. Some of these are the result of straightforward consonant metathesis:

**Table 7-15. *r*-metathesis**

A:	פְּרוֹל	frol < FLORE	( <i>flor</i> )	'powder' <sup>17</sup>
	פְּרוֹלִינ(ו)	frolin(o) < *FLORINE	<i>florim</i>	'florin'
B:	גֵּרִינָאסוֹן	ġerenaçon < GENERATIONE	<i>geração</i>	'growth'
	לוֹבְרִיגוֹשׁ	lubrigos < LŪGUBROS	<i>lúgubre</i>	'dark'

Note that this last form is distinct from the others in that the entire cluster containing the /r/ has metathesized with another consonant.

In other cases, the /r/ has metathesized with the other member of its own cluster, resulting in a new coda-onset sequence:

**Table 7-16. *r*-cluster metathesis**

A:	אִינְבִּירוֹ	invenro < HIBERNU	<i>inverno</i>	'winter'
	אוֹרְנָאדָא	onrada < ORNĀTA	<i>ornada</i>	'ornate'
B:	אוֹרְנָאדָא	ornada < HONŌRĀTA	<i>honrado</i>	'honored'
	אַלְאֲרִיָּא	alargya <sup>18</sup> < ALACR-	<i>alegria</i>	'happiness'

Note the contrast in the second and third words, where the effect of *r*-migration is such that each word appears to be spelled as the other.

<sup>17</sup> A figurative use taken over in the literal sense by ModPg. *farinha*.

<sup>18</sup> The unmetathesized form אִלְגִּרִּיאַשׁ *alegrías* occurs only in the plural.

In some instances, the /r/ has migrated from an onset cluster to create a cluster in the onset of the following or preceding syllable (cf. *preguiça* etc. above):

**Table 7-17. /r/ in onset clusters**

B:	פרוביזא	probeza < PAUPERITIA	<i>pobreza</i>	'poverty'
	שיטרינטיאון	setrention < SEPTENTRIŌNE	<i>setentrion</i>	'northern'
	פידריקאר	pedrikar < PREDICĀRE	( <i>predizer</i> )	'predict'

In other cases, the /r/ in a syllable coda has migrated backward to the onset, often creating a new cluster:

**Table 7-18. /r/ in coda**

A:	בראניץ	<i>braniš</i> <sup>19</sup> < MedL. VERONICE	<i>verniz</i>	'varnish'
B:	אישפרימא	esprema < SPERMA	<i>esperma</i>	'seed'
	גרילאנדאש	grelandas < OFr. <i>guerlande</i>	<i>guirlanda</i>	'garlands'
	אינריגאש	enreĝas < Gk. □□□□□□	<i>energia</i>	'energies'
	שוברי	sobre < *SUB+IERIT	<i>subir</i>	'rises' (fut. subj.)

By contrast, the /r/ (unetymological in the first case below) has migrated forward from an onset cluster to the syllable coda:

**Table 7-19. onset-coda r-migration**

B:	פירניטש	pernet <sup>a</sup> s <sup>20</sup> < PLANETAS	<i>planeta</i>	'planets'
	אישטורמינטוש	estormentos < ĪNSTRŪMENTOS	<i>instrumento</i>	'instruments'

<sup>19</sup> Variants without *r*-migration (בארניץ *barniš*, וירניץ *verniš*) also occur in the same text.

<sup>20</sup> The expected פראניטאש *pranetas* is in fact the more recurrent form.

Similarly, in some words with an etymological PRO- prefix the /r/ has shifted from the word-initial cluster to the syllable coda, in some cases with a further vowel change:

**Table 7-20. *r-migration in prefixed PRO-***

B:	פורפונדאדי	porfundade < PROFUNDITĀTE	<i>profundidade</i>	'profundity'
	פורפיאסיון	porpeçion < PRŌPORTIŌNE	<i>proporção</i>	'proportion'
	פור פוש	por pos < PROPOSUI	<i>propôs</i>	'proposed'
	פירנוסיאר	pernuçiar < PRŌNŪNTIĀRE	<i>pronunciar</i>	'pronounce'
	פירלונגאדו	perlungado < PRŌLONGĀTU	<i>prolongado</i>	'prolonged'

Another frequent pattern, particularly characteristic of *O libro de maḡika*, is a form of *r-migration* in words containing a suffix derived from -ARIU in which the /r/ and yod have metathesized. Although this is part of the normal development of this suffix (which does appear with other words in the text, e.g. פרימיירו *primeiro* < PRIMĀRIU, אגוריירו *agoreiro* < \*AUGURARIU), the vowel usually remains /a/, particularly in words that have restored the *r-yod* sequence in their modern forms:

**Table 7-21. *r-yod metathesis***

B:	נוטאיירוש	notayros < NOTĀRIOS	<i>notário</i>	'notaries'
	ניסשאיירא	neçesayra < NECESSĀRIA	<i>necessária</i>	'necessary'
	קונטראיירו	kontrayro < CONTRĀIRU	<i>contrário</i>	'contrary'
	וולונטאיירש	volontayr <sup>a</sup> s < VOLUNTARIAS	<i>voluntário</i>	'voluntary'
	אקאיירו	akayro <sup>21</sup> < AQUĀRIU	<i>Aquário</i>	'Aquarius'
	אייראש	ayras < ARIĒS	<i>Áries</i>	'Aries'

<sup>21</sup> Note that the would-be parallel שאַגֵיטאַיירו *saḡetayro* < SAGITTARIU (ModPg. *sagitário*) does not occur, but instead is consistently spelled שאַגֵיטאַרי(א)ו, with a classicizing suffix.

A final pattern, related to the *r-l* metatheses in table 7-15, involves *r-l* dissimilation:<sup>22</sup>

**Table 7-22. *r-l* dissimilation**

<i>r &gt; l</i>				
A:	רָאֵלוֹ	ralo < RĀRU	<i>raro</i>	'thin'
B:	פִּילִיגְנָאֲסוּאִישׁ	pelegançoes < PEREGRĪNĀTIŌNES	<i>peregrinação</i>	'peregrinations'
	פִּילִיגְנִירָאֲסוּאִישׁ	pelegrações < PEREGRĪNĀTIŌNES	<i>peregrinação</i>	'peregrinations'
	קָאֲרְטִילִישׁ	karteles <sup>23</sup> < CARCERES	<i>cárcere</i>	'jails'
	סִלִּיבְרוֹ	çelebro < CEREBRU	<i>cerebro</i>	'brain'
<i>l &gt; r</i>				
A:	מַאֲרָפִיל	marfil < Ar. ( <sup>c</sup> <i>azm</i> ) <i>al-fil</i>	<i>marfim</i>	'ivory'
	גַּאֲבָרִי	ḡabari < Ar. ḡabalī	<i>javali</i>	'peccary'
B:	שִׁנְאֲרָדָרִי	senardade < SENILITATE	<i>senilidade</i>	'senility'
	אֲרְגוּלִיָּאֵשׁ	argolyas < Ar. <i>al-ḡulla</i>	<i>argola</i>	'hooped jewels'
	אֲלְגוּלָּאֵשׁ	algolas	<i>argola</i>	'hooped jewels'

Note that in the *l > r* group, the sound change appears to be spontaneous in two instances (i.e. not conditioned by the presence of another /r/ or /l/<sup>24</sup>), while in the case of the *argol(y)as*, both the dissimilated and conservative spellings occur in the text, but the modern form has not restored the /l/.

## 2.4. Palatals

Along with the first series of yod-induced palatalizations in early Romance, Portuguese underwent other sound changes that yielded the palatal

<sup>22</sup> There is the occasional *r-l* assimilation as well, e.g. אֲלֶאֱסִיל *alaçel* < Ar. *al-<sup>c</sup>aṣīr* (ModPg. *alacir*), גֵּגְרֵרִיָּאֵשׁ *gegrerías* 'jesterliness', based on Pr. *joglar* < IOCULATORE, though perhaps this was influenced by other native words with /gr/ < GL or CL, e.g. *regra* < RĒGULA, OPg. *segre* < \*SECULE < SAECULU (ModPg. *século*).

<sup>23</sup> The ט *t* is a scribal error for what should be ס *ç*.

<sup>24</sup> In the case of *ḡabari* it is possible that the /l/ of the Arabic definite article (which, as in many other Arabic loanwords, may have been part of the borrowed form) played a role in this dissimilation.

phonemes /ʎ/ and /ɲ/, which are indicated by the trigraphs לײ and נײ in Judeo-Portuguese. In the corpus, some of these segments are not spelled as such when they are expected (based on the modern form), which in some cases simply correspond to a Castilian-esque spelling (cf. § 4.3.1):

**Table 7-23. Palatalization not spelled**

A:	בארילה	baril <sup>a</sup> h < Sp. <i>barilla</i>	<i>barrilha</i>	'lye'
	פירגאמינו	pergamino < PERGAMĪNU	<i>pergaminho</i>	'parchment'
B:	אמאניסיר	amanecer < *AD+MANESCĒRE	<i>amanhecer</i>	'become dawn'

In other cases the spelling indicates a palatal segment that, based on the modern form, is not expected:

**Table 7-24. Unexpected palatal spelling**

B:	אײנשאניאר	ensanyar < *INSIGNĀRE	<i>ensinar</i>	'teach'
	אורדיניארון	ordenyaron < ŌRDINĀRUNT	<i>ordenar</i>	'ordered'
	אפרימיאדוש	apremyados < *APPRIMIATOS	<i>apremido</i>	'oppressed'
	דיויניאליש	divinyales < *DIVINIALES	<i>divinal</i>	'divine'

Latin -GN- generally yields Pg. /ɲ/ (e.g. פוניאדו *punyado* 'fistful' < PUGNATU), and other forms in the corpus that involve this cluster either delete the /g/<sup>25</sup> (e.g. דינידאדי *dinidade* < DIGNITATE) or preserve the ɲ g as a conservative Latinate spelling (e.g. שיגנו *signo* < SIGNU; cf. the ModPg. doublet *sino* 'bell'). The first two verbs could, however, like the third one (JPg. אפרימיאר *apremyar* < \*APPRIMIĀRE vs. ModPg. *apremier* < APPRIMERE, simply represent the reflexes

<sup>25</sup> Williams (1962: 84) in fact cites *ensinar* as a "semi-learned" word and an example of this latter strategy.

of Vulgar Latin verbs in -IĀRE (as opposed to the classical forms in -ĀRE) that have been relatinized in the modern language.

## 2.5. *oi* vs. *ou*

Although these two diphthongs often have distinct etymological sources, they also represent different regional developments of an -OCT-sequence. Williams (1962: 85) suggests this as the origin of their confusion, which in the sixteenth century saw *oi* spread to words that originally had *ou* (e.g. *coisa* for *cousa* < CAUSA) and *ou* to words that originally had *oi* not from -OCT- (e.g. *couro* for *coiro* < CORIU). Even into the twentieth century, with some aspects of the orthography still in flux, the variants were largely interchangeable (though perhaps not for an individual writer). Judeo-Portuguese writers often wrote these words with vowels that differed from their modern and more or less standard spellings. The following are words with *yod*-migration resulting in *oi* (spelled םי) but that occur with <ou> in their modern forms:

**Table 7-25. םי -oy- for ModPg. <ou>**

A:	קויירו	koyro < CORIU	<i>cour</i>	'leather'
	טישויראש	tesoyras < TŌNSŌRIA	<i>tesoura</i>	'scissors'
B:	אגויירוש	agoyros < AUGURIU	<i>agouro</i>	'auguries'

Other words spelled "correctly" with modern <ou> do not contain a historical *yod* segment but are nonetheless spelled with the םי *oy* variant, further evidence of the orthographic confusion:

B:            אויירו   oyro < AURU                    ouro           'gold'

By contrast, some words whose modern forms have opted for the <oi> variant occur in Judeo-Portuguese with a spelling that indicates either a long /o/ or an /ow/ diphthong, which may or may not represent the correct etymological spelling:

**Table 7-26. וואו -ou- for ModPg. <oi>**

B:	קואושא	kousa < CAUSA	coisa	'thing'
	אואוטבא	out <sup>a</sup> ba < OCTAVA	oitava	'eighth'
	קואוס	kouç < CALCE	coice	'heel'

Note, however, that *kousa* is a frequent enough word throughout the corpus for the variant קויישא *koisa* to occur in several instances in both of the longer texts, including in *As kores* one occurrence of קוישא *kosa*, spelled Castilian-style with a single vowel letter (cf. § 4.3).

## 2.6. ם a vs. ם e

The Hebraicized writing system makes it impossible in principle to recognize *e~i* and *o~u* confusion in the Judeo-Portuguese corpus, since both pairs are spelled with one and the same letter. Yet there are many instances where ם occurs for a non-low vowel in the modern spelling (cf. de Faria Paiva 1988: 34):

Table 7-27. א for ModPg. e/i/o

A:	קולייאר	kulyar	<i>colher</i> < COCHLEARE	'spoon'
	סאראדא	çarada	<i>cerrada</i> < *SERATA	'sealed'
	טולייאר	tolyara	<i>tolher</i> < TOLLERE	'will remove'
	בארניץ	barniṣ <sup>26</sup>	<i>verniz</i> < MedL. VERONICE	'varnish'
B:	אייטראנייוש	ayntranyos	<i>estranho</i> < EXTRĀNEU	'foreign'
	אנשאניאר	ensanyar	<i>ensinar</i> < *INSIGNARE	'teach'
	שינארדאדי	senardade	<i>senilidade</i> < SENILITATE	'old-age'
	לאגוסטא	laguṣta	<i>locusta</i> < LOCUSTA	'locust'
	קוראנא	korana	<i>coroa</i> < CORONA	'crown'

By the same token, some words in the corpus are spelled with א where another vowel, usually *a*, occurs in the modern form. This pattern, though more frequent overall, is confined to *O libro de maḡika*:

Table 7-28. א e for ModPg. a/o

B:	איטרולוגיאה	astrologiah	<i>astrologia</i> < ASTROLOGIA	'astrology'
	טרימודאסואיש	tremudações	<i>trasmudação</i> < TRANSMUTATIÖNE	'movements'
	אירישמטיקא	erismatika	<i>aritmética</i> < Gk. □□□□□□□□	'arithmetic'
	טריאידור	treedor	<i>traidor</i> < TRADITORE	'traitor'
	טריאסואיש	treeções	<i>traição</i> < TRADITIÖNE	'treasons'
	מירינירוש	merineiros	<i>marinheiro</i> < *MARINARIU	'sailors'
	טישטורנאן	testornan	<i>trastornam</i> < *TRANSTORNANT	'revolve'
	ריאיניאש	reenyas	<i>rainha</i> < RĒGĪNA	'queen'
	אירמאטיקו	ermatiko	<i>aromático</i> < Gk. □□□□□□□□	'aromatic'
	טריבילייאדור	trebelyador	<i>travalhador</i>	'worker'
	גֵיגריאש	ḡegrerias	<i>jogral</i> < Pr. <i>joglar</i>	'jesterly'
	אישפיטאלידאדיש	espetalidades	<i>hospitalidade</i> < HOSPITĀLITĀTE	'hospitalities'

<sup>26</sup> As noted above, a variant with the expected vowel spelling, וירניץ *verniṣ*, does occur in the text as well.

## 2.7. Mono- vs. diphthong

As noted in the previous sections, many diphthongs and vowel hiatuses have been levelled and coalesced in Modern Portuguese. The corpus contains a number of words with diphthongs that developed from vocalization of a velar consonant which have since coalesced to a monophthong:

**Table 7-29. Diphthong from vocalized consonant**

B:	טראטאר	trautar < TRACTĀRE	<i>tratar</i>	'treat'
	לויטאדור	luitador < LŪCTĀTŌRE	<i>lutador</i>	'fighter'

Other words with no historical diphthong or vowel hiatus are spelled with multiple vowel letters in the corpus:

**Table 7-30. Unetymological double vowel**

A:	קומיינסא	komeinça < CUM+INITIAT	<i>começar</i>	'begin'
	אינטיאנדדי	enteende <sup>27</sup> < INTENDIT	<i>entender</i>	'understands'
B:	גיאמיני	gēemini < GEMINIS	<i>Gêmeos</i>	'Gemini'
E:	מאנדואו	mandou < MANDŌ	<i>mando</i>	'I send'

By the same token, there are several words spelled with single vowels in the corpus that appear with a diphthong in their modern forms:

<sup>27</sup> Since there is no etymological basis for the extra vowel letters, the form could actually be construed as a Castilianism, i.e. *entiende*. This is in fact how Blondheim (1929) interprets an analogous spelling of בִּיאִן in *As kores*, transliterating it as a Castilian-like *bien* – despite the long vowel no doubt simply reflecting the hiatus left from deleted /n/ in BENE > ModPg. *bem*.

**Table 7-31. Monophthong for ModPg. diphthong**

B:	פִּיֶּשׁ	peçess < PISCES	<i>Peixe</i>	'Pisces'
	קוֹפָּא	kofa < *CUFFIA	<i>coifa</i>	'headdress'
	אוריבִּיז	oribez < AURIFICES	<i>ourives</i>	'goldware'
	אגוריירו	agoreiro < AUGURARIU	<i>agoureiro</i>	'augury'
E:	גֹּלִיאַו	gūlio < GENUCULU	<i>joelho</i>	'knee'

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

In addition to the largely phonological discrepancies – as manifested in spelling – between forms in Judeo-Portuguese and Modern Portuguese, other phenomena occur more at a morphological level.

#### 3.1. Nouns

De Faria Paiva (1988: 23-24) notes the propensity in medieval Portuguese to form nouns with the suffix **מינטו** *-mento* < -MENTU. Many of those attested in the texts have since been replaced in the modern language by related forms derived with other suffixes:

**Table 7-32. מינטו -mento nouns with different forms in ModPg.**

<i>ModPg. -çã<sup>28</sup></i>				
	ריסיבימינטו	reçebemento < RECEPE-	<i>recepção</i>	'reception'
	אישאלסאמינטו	esalçamento < *EXALTIA-	<i>exaltação</i>	'exaltation'
	פובראמינטו	pobramento < POPULA-	<i>população</i>	'population'
	אין גִּיראמינטו	en gēramento < IN+GENERA-	<i>geração</i>	'fertility'
<i>ModPg. -nça</i>				
	דימודאמינטו	demudamento < DE+MUTA-	<i>mudança</i>	'change'

<sup>28</sup> Nouns ending in סון/ו(א) סא < -TIŌNE correspond for the most part to their modern counterparts in -çã (with occasional exceptions, e.g. טינפראסון *tenpraçon* 'tempering', לונאסואיש *lunações* 'moon-phases').

*ModPg. underived*

אישקוליימינטו	eskolyemento < EX+COLLIGE-	<i>escolha</i>	'choice'
אינדיריסימינטו	endereçemento < EN+DIRECTI-	<i>endereço</i>	'address'
דישפריסאמינטוש	despreçamentos < DIS+PRETIĀ-	<i>desprezo</i>	'scorns'
פאלימינטו	falemento < *FABULA-	<i>fala</i>	'speech'

*ModPg. replaced*

אפראסאמינטו	apraçamento < *AD+PLATEA-	<i>situação</i>	'position'
מיסקראמינטוש	meçkramento < *MISCUA-	<i>mistura</i>	'mixtures'

Conversely, some nouns that occur with *-mento* in their modern form appear in the text with a different suffix:

**Table 7-33. Other noun forms for ModPg. *-mento***

טראשמודאסון	trasmudaçon < *TRANSMUTATIONE	<i>transmudamento</i>	'transformation'
אבורינסיא	aboreñça < *ABHORRENTIA	<i>aborrecimento</i>	'abhorrence'
שופרינסא	sofrença < *SUFFERENTIA	<i>sofrimento</i>	'suffering'

In addition to *-mento* nouns, many nouns in אנסא *-ança* < -ANTIA differ in more subtle ways from their modern counterparts:

**Table 7-34. אנס(י)א *-anç(i)a* nouns with different form in ModPg.**

*No final diphthong*

סוסטאנסא	sustança < SUBSTANTIA	<i>sustância</i>	'substance'
איסינסא	eçença < ESSENTIA	<i>essência</i>	'essence'
סיאינסא	çeença < SCIENTIA	<i>ciência</i>	'science'

*ModPg. underived*

גאנאנסא	ganaça < Sp. <i>ganacia</i>	<i>ganho</i>	'gain'
טימינינסיא	temenença < *TIMENANTIA	<i>temor</i>	'fear'

*ModPg. replaced*

אוינסאש	avenças < *HABENTIAS	<i>posses</i>	'holdings'
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For another class of nouns, some of those ending in **דאדי** *-dade* < -TATE also occur in the corpus with slight variations compared to their modern form:

**Table 7-35.** **דאדי** *-dade nouns with different form in ModPg.*

<i>Cluster simplified</i>			
קונטידאדי	kontidade < QUANTITATE	<i>quantidade</i>	'quantity'
אנטיגידאדי	antigidade < ANTIQUITATE	<i>antiquidade</i>	'antiquity'
דינידאדי	dinidade < DIGNITATE	<i>dignidade</i>	'dignity'
אמיזדאדי	amizdade < *AMICITATE	<i>amizade</i>	'friendship'
<i>Diphthong leveled</i>			
פרופידאדי	propidade < PROPRIETATE	<i>propiedade</i>	'property'
שוטידאדי	soçidade < SOCIETATE	<i>sociedade</i>	'society'
<i>Other</i>			
קוידאדי	kuidade < *COGITATE	<i>cuidado</i>	'attention'

Others have been replaced by forms belonging to an alternate pattern of derivation, or have fallen out of use entirely:

**Table 7-36.** **דאדי** *-dade nouns with different suffix in ModPg.*

סיגידאדי	çegedade < *CAECITATE	<i>cegueira</i>	'blindness'
טורפידאדי	torpedade < *TURPITATE	<i>torpeza</i>	'torpidity'
אישקורידאדיש	eskuridades < OBSCURITATES <sup>29</sup>	<i>escuridão</i>	'darkness'
מיסקינדאדי	meçkindade < Ar. <i>miksīn</i>	<i>mesquinhez</i>	'meanness'
נייסידאדי	neiçidade < *NĒSCITATE	<i>(tolice)</i>	'foolishness'

### 3.1.1. Gender

It is quite common throughout the corpus to find what appears to be a mismatch between the gender of a determiner and the noun it governs. In

<sup>29</sup> This form does survive in the learned doublet *obscuridade*.

some cases, however, the morphology of the noun itself indicates that its grammatical gender differs from the modern form of the word:

**Table 7-37. Gender discrepancy**

A:	מאדירן	madero	<i>madeira</i> < MATERIA	'wood'
	מינאדוש	meḡados	<i>mijada</i> < *MEIATA	'urine'
B:	מאסו	maço	<i>maça</i> < *MATEA	'mace'
	אלדיאוש	aldeos	<i>aldeia</i> < Ar. <i>ad-ḏay<sup>c</sup>a</i>	'villages'
E:	בראסו	braço	<i>brasa</i> <sup>30</sup> < MedL. BRASA	'embers'

As Coutinho (1969) notes, the singular and plural forms of some Latin neuter nouns evolved into distinct masculine and feminine nouns in Portuguese (and elsewhere in Romance). In other cases the masculine and feminine forms are deployed as count versus mass nouns respectively, e.g. Sp. *madero* 'log, beam' vs. *madera* 'wood' (de Acosta, p.c.). Yet the occurrences of מאדירן *madero* in *As kores* seem to cover both of these uses, and the feminine does not appear in the text.

### 3.1.2. Plurals

*O libro de maḡika* features what appears to be an alternation in the plural form of several feminine nouns. In most cases, a form more closely resembling the modern plural appears elsewhere in the text:

<sup>30</sup> The word occurs as both a masculine and this "correct" feminine form in *As kores*.

**Table 7-38. Variant feminine plurals**

B:	פּרסיריאש	pr <sup>a</sup> çerias	prazeres	'pleasures'
	אַנימאַליאַש	animalias	animais	'animals'
	אָרטוריאש	orturias	horturas	'gardens'
	דישקורדיאַש	deskordias	desacordos	'disagreements'
	אַרגוליאש	argolyas	argolas	'hooped jewels'
	ליגומיאש	legumyas	legumes	'vegetables'

In the case of *argolyas*, the "extension" may in fact be the normal palatal reflex of the geminate /l:/ in the Arabic source (cf. Pg. /ʕ/ as the reflex of Latin -LL- via Spanish loanwords). It is also possible that these plurals contain the Greek-origin suffix that derives an abstract or collective noun (e.g. אַליגריאַש *alegrias* 'joys', שאַבידוריאש *sabedorias* 'knowledge'). Yet the would-be singulars of the words in the table above do not occur (e.g. אַנימאַליאַ\* *animalia*<sup>31</sup>), nor does there appear to be any difference in meaning among the occurrences of, for example, אַנימאַש *animais*, אַנימאַליש *animales*, and אַנימאַליאַש *animalias*.

### 3.1.3. Miscellaneous nouns

Beyond these patterns noted above, other nouns in the corpus differ in assorted other morphological ways from their modern counterparts:

**Table 7-39. ModPg. unaffixed**

B:	פּודיריאָ	poderio < *POTERIU	<i>poder</i>	'power'
	פּובאַאָ	pobao < *POPULANU	<i>povo</i>	'population'
	פּוֹלגוראַ	folgura < *FOLLICA-	<i>folga</i>	'leisure'
	פּריאָוראַ	friura < *FRĪGID-	<i>frio</i>	'cold'
	אַישקריבאַאָ	eskribao < *SCRIBANU	<i>escriba</i>	'writer'

<sup>31</sup> Coutinho (1969: 230) does cite ModPg. *alimaria* 'group of animals' as a derivative of ANIMALIA.

Table 7-40. *ModPg. different affix(es)*

A:	מוראדו	morado < *MORATU	<i>amora</i>	'mulberry'
	סינראדא	çinrada < CINERATA	<i>cinza</i>	'ash'
B:	נאבי	nabe < NAVE	<i>navio</i>	'ship'
	קויטאש	koytas < *COCTA-	<i>coitado</i>	'miseries'
	ויראאוש	veraos < *VERANU	<i>primavera</i>	'spring'
	גיריאדור	gereador < WGmc. <i>werra-</i>	<i>guerreiro</i>	'warrior'
	פֹרניסיאוש	forneçios < *FORNICIOS	<i>fornicação</i>	'fornications'
	אישקבליאש	esk <sup>a</sup> b <sup>a</sup> lias < EXCAVA-	<i>(escavar)</i>	'dungeons'
	סירטידומיש	çertidumes < *CERTIT-	<i>certidão</i>	'certainty'
	פרינסיפאדינו	prinçipadego < *PIRNCIPATICU	<i>principado</i>	'princedom'

### 3.2. Adjectives

Although less variable relative to the corresponding modern forms than noun morphology, there are several Judeo-Portuguese adjectives that appear with less morphology than their modern equivalents:

Table 7-41. *JPg. adjectives unaffixed*

A:	פודריש	putres < PUTRES	<i>pútridos</i>	'putrid'
	טיבא	teba < TEP-	<i>tépida</i>	'warm'
	קוגא	koğa < COQU-	<i>cozido</i>	'boiled'
B:	פרישו	p <sup>e</sup> reso < PIGR-	<i>preguiçoso</i>	'lazy'

By the same token, other adjectives in the corpus contain affixes that differ from the usual modern forms:

Table 7-42. *JPg. adjectives with alternate affixes*

B:	אומאנאל	umanal < HUMANALE	<i>humano</i>	'human'
	סליסטרי	çeleçtre < CAELEST-	<i>celestial</i>	'heavenly'
	שובירביו	soberbio < SUPERB-	<i>soberbo</i>	'arrogant'
	מוביבליש	mobibles < *MOVIBILE	<i>móvel</i>	'mobile'
	גושטיסושו	gostiçoso < *GUSTITIOSU	<i>gostoso</i>	'spendthrift'
	פריסאדאש	preçadas < PRETIA-	<i>preciosa</i>	'precious'
	אישקינטאדו	eskentado < *EX+CALENTĀTU	<i>aquecido</i>	'warmed'
	קאמיליינאדא	kameleinada < *CAMELINĀTU	<i>camelina</i>	'camel-colored'
	קוביסאדיראש	kobiçadeiras < CUPIDITIA-	<i>cobiçável</i>	'appealing'
	נוביסאיש	nobeçiais < *NOVICIALES	<i>novicária</i>	'novice-related'

*O libro de maḡika* in particular contains several ordinal adjectives that have since been replaced by related forms, some shorter some longer:

Table 7-43. *Ordinal numbers*

B:	טירסא	terça < TERTIA	<i>terceira</i>	third
	שישנא	sesena <sup>32</sup> < SESENA	<i>sexta</i>	sixth
	נוביאו	nobeo < NOVENU	<i>nono</i>	ninth
	דיזינו	dezeno < DECENU	<i>décimo</i>	tenth

### 3.2.1. *Past participles*

A common feature of Vulgar Latin is the replacement of many classical past participles by those formed with a suffix -UTU. Several that have been further regularized (but not necessarily relatinized) occur in the texts with the -udo reflex of this suffix, albeit in adjectival rather than verbal function:

<sup>32</sup> This form does alternate with שיסטא *sesta*.

**Table 7-44. JPg. participles < -UTU**

A:	דיריטודא	deretuda < *DE+RETRUTA	<i>derretido</i>	'melted'
B:	אינטינדרודו	entendudo < *INTENDUTU	<i>entendido</i>	'understood'
	אישקונדרודוש	eskondudos < ABSCONDUTOS	<i>escondido</i>	'hidden'
	שאבודוש	sabudos < *SAPUTOS	<i>sabido</i>	'known'

### 3.3. Verbs

Along with the nouns and adjectives that have been remodelled in Modern Portuguese, the corpus contain several verbs built around attested roots that nonetheless do not survive as such in the modern language:

**Table 7-45. Verbs with different morphology**

A:	אישקיבראלייאר	eskebralyar < *EX+CREPA-	<i>quebrar</i>	'break (off)'
	אפרובייטאר	aproveitar < *AD+PROFECTARE	( <i>proveito</i> )	'profit (from)'
B:	שימילייאביליאה	semlyabeliah < *SIMILIA-	<i>assemelhar</i>	'resemble'

Other verbs, though they occur in the modern language, generally bear a different meaning than their Judeo-Portuguese usage and have been replaced in the attested meaning by a related form:

**Table 7-46. Verbs replaced in the attested meaning**

A:	אלומינאר	aluminar <sup>33</sup> < *ALLUMINARE	<i>iluminar</i>	'illuminate'
	קולוראר	kolorar < COLORĀRE	<i>colorir</i> <sup>34</sup>	'color (v.)'
	שוטירא	sotera < *SUBTERRAT	<i>enterrar</i>	'bury'
B:	פאליסיר	faleçer <sup>35</sup> < FALLESCERE	<i>faltar</i>	'lack'

<sup>33</sup> ModPg. *alumiari* 'light (up), give off light'.

<sup>34</sup> The vernacular doublet *corar* is more restricted to the sense of 'paint' or 'blush'.

<sup>35</sup> ModPg. *falecer* 'die'.

### 3.4. Prepositions and conjunctions

The corpus also features a number of prepositions and conjunctions that no longer occur in the attested form in the modern language. In some cases they have been replaced outright, while in others only part has been changed:

**Table 7-47. Archaic prepositions/conjunctions**

A:	קא	ka < QUA RE	<i>porque</i>	'for'
	פירו	pero <sup>36</sup> < PER HOC	<i>mas</i>	'but'
	פריץ	pres < PRESSU	<i>pois</i>	'then'
	דיש	des < DE EX	<i>desde</i>	'from'
	דישקי	deske < DE EX QUE	<i>depuis que</i>	'when'
	די גזשו	de guso < DE ORSU	<i>debaixo</i>	'below'
B:	פֿאַזאַנאָש	fazanos < *FACIA AD...	<i>diante de</i>	'before (us)'
	אינפירו	enpero < IN PER HOC	<i>pois</i>	'thus'
C:	דיפונדו	defundo < DE FUNDU	<i>sob</i>	'under'
	אַטאַ	ata < Ar. <i>hatta</i>	<i>até</i>	'until'
D:	די שון	de son < DE SUB	<i>sob</i>	'under'
E:	די ריבה	de riba < DE RIPA	<i>arriba</i>	'over'
	פֿין קי	fin ke < FINE QUE	<i>até que</i>	'until'

Note, of course, that of the modern forms only *sob* can truly be considered a Latinism (the *-n* in the medieval form is due to analogy; see chapter 6 § 3.4).

Two very common prepositions also figure in a different form of archaism. As in the modern language, *en* normally fuses with a following article, pronoun, or demonstrative (e.g. אינו *eno* 'in the', אינישטא *enesta* 'in that') while *kon* does not. In the corpus this pattern is occasionally reversed: אין

<sup>36</sup> This conjunction (akin to Sp. *pero* < PER HOC) does occur elsewhere in the medieval language as a synonym of *porém* (ModPg. 'however') < PER INDE, both of which were also used in the more etymological sense of 'thus' (Mattos e Silva 1994: 260).

*en* is frequently written as an free-standing word, while קון less often loses its final consonant and fuses with the following pronoun:

**Table 7-48. Contracted קון *kon***

A:	קואה	koah	<i>com a</i>	'with the'
	קואילי	koele	<i>com ele</i>	'with it'
	קואישטה	koest <sup>a</sup> h	<i>com esta</i>	'with that'

**Table 7-49. Uncontracted אין *en***

A:	אין אואה	en uah	<i>numa</i>	'in a'
	אין אקיל	en akel	<i>naquele</i>	'in that'
B:	אין איל	en el	<i>nele</i>	'in it'
	אין אישטו	en esto	<i>nesto</i>	'in that'
	אין אקילאש	en akelas	<i>naquelas</i>	'in those'
E:	אין או	en o <sup>37</sup>	<i>no</i>	'in the'

Note also that even when it does fuse, *en* is always spelled with initial אֵ *e-*.

#### 4. LEXICON

As opposed to the morphological differences noted above, other gaps between words in the Judeo-Portuguese corpus and their usual modern forms can be considered more directly lexical in nature.

##### 4.1. Replacement

In a few rare cases, vernacular items attested in the text have been replaced in the modern language by an unadulterated Latinate form:

<sup>37</sup> Uncontracted *en* is much rarer with the definite articles (*o, a, os, as*): the first twenty-seven pages of *O libro de maḡika* contain only three instances, while *As kores* contains none at all.

**Table 7-50. Unmodified Latinisms in ModPg.**

A:	אלבאגין	albagen < *ALBAGINE	<i>albumen</i>	'egg white'
B:	פֵּיאל	feel < BĪLE	<i>bilis</i>	'bile'

Other words in the texts are simply archaisms that have been replaced by more or less vernacular forms based on other roots entirely:

**Table 7-51. Other lexical archaisms**

A:	קאבִידאר	kaḇidar < CAVITARE	<i>cuidar</i>	'(take) care'
B:	דיאשטרן	deestro < DEXTERU	<i>direito</i>	'right'
	אקאיסיר	akaeçer < *AD+CADESCERE	<i>acontecer</i>	'happen'
	אישטאוש	esteos < ESTIVOS	<i>verãos</i>	'summer'
	אפרייליאדוש	ap <sup>a</sup> rilyados < *APPARICULATOS	<i>equipados</i>	'equipped'

#### 4.2. Romance cognates

In a number of cases, items with a cognate in another modern Romance language (and that may in fact represent an earlier import from that language) have been replaced in Modern Portuguese by either a native form or a Latinism:

**Table 7-52. Obsolete cognates**

A:	קרי	kri < CRETA	<i>giz</i>	'chalk'
	וידוש	vidos (OFr. <i>vuide</i> )	<i>mijada</i>	'urine'
	גאלדי	galde (OFr. <i>jalne</i> )	<i>amarelo</i>	'yellow'
B:	בינדויזש	bendezes (It. <i>vendetta</i> )	<i>vingança</i>	'vendettas'
	קורוסואמינטוש	koroçoamentos (Fr. <i>courroucement</i> )	<i>ira</i>	'wraths'
	קראניש	krianes (OFr. <i>crieme</i> )	<i>preocupação</i>	'worries'
	דוויארש	doziad <sup>a</sup> s (It. <i>doccia</i> )	<i>orvalho</i>	'dewfall'
	ריניואיש	renyoes < RĒNIŌNES	<i>rim</i>	'kidneys'

On the other hand, there are several instances of more or less native forms that have since been replaced by a related loanword or remodelled under the influence of a cognate form (usually French):

**Table 7-53. Remodelled from cognate**

A:	ברוניאר	brunyar < Gmc. <i>brūn-</i>	<i>brunir</i>	'burnish'
	פייסאאו	feição < FACTIŌNE	<i>confecção</i>	'concoction'
B:	קאמיניוש	kaminyos < CAMĪNŌS	<i>chaminé</i>	'chimneys'
	ליאגין	liāgen < *LINEAGINE	<i>linhagem</i>	'lineage'

#### 4.3. Castilianisms

The history of Portuguese is replete with Spanish influence at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels (to say nothing of bilingualism and external influences). As might be expected, then, the Judeo-Portuguese corpus contains many forms that in one way or another suggest a Spanish influence on the author of the text or the scribe of the extant manuscript. In most cases these do not persist in the modern language and consist simply of a spelling that resembles the Spanish development of an otherwise Portuguese word (cf. § 2.4):

**Table 7-54. Phonological Castilianisms**

A:	קושא	kosa < CAUSA	<i>coisa</i>	'thing'
	פואינו	fuego < FOCU	<i>fogo</i>	'fire'
	אלונברי	alunbre < ALUMINE	<i>alume(n)</i>	'alum'
B:	ליני	leġe < LACTE	<i>leite</i>	'milk/sap'
	קבילרוש	k <sup>a</sup> bildos < CAPITULOS	<i>cabido</i>	'chapter'
	נומבראר	nombrar < NOMINARE	<i>nomear</i>	'name'
	לימברושוש	lembrosos < LUMINOSU	<i>luminoso</i>	'luminous'

Others differ more substantially and so seem to be more direct lexical imports (or available alternants that have since fallen out of use). Most of these occur only once or else alternate with the expected forms:

**Table 7-55. Lexical Castilianisms**

A:	אינא	eġa < IĀCTAT	<i>(jeito)</i>	'pour'
	דישאסי	desaçe < *DISFACIT	<i>desfaze</i>	'dissolve'
	קאדירא	kadeira < *CALDARIU	<i>chaleira</i>	'kettle'
B:	נינון	ningun < NEC ŪNU	<i>nenhum</i>	'no(ne)'
	האזיש	hazes < Gk. φάσεις	<i>fases</i>	'phases'

Regarding *hazes*, although the use of non-final ה is extremely rare in Judeo-Portuguese, there is no reason to expect it to serve as the initial /f/ of the Portuguese form,<sup>38</sup> and so the spelling is correctly considered a Castilianism. There is, however, another word whose spelling might appear to be modelled on the convention associated with OSp. initial <f>, which had lost its phonetic content but was maintained as a conservative spelling, later replaced by <h> (e.g. AFFLARE > OSp. *fallar*, ModSp. *hallar*, ModPg. *achar* 'find'):

<sup>38</sup> It would represent the only such hypercorrection I have encountered in the corpus, and Domincovich (1948) does not report any parallel usages of <h> in Roman-letter Portuguese.

B:	פֵּאַלִּיאַי	falye	<i>achei</i> < *AFLAVI	'I found'
	פֵּאַלֵּאַדוֹ	falado	<i>achado</i> < *AFLATU	'found' (past part.)

At first blush this might seem to be a Castilian loanword in which the scribe has also borrowed the convention of using the normal letter for /f/ to spell an aspirated or even silent initial consonant. Yet I have found no other instances in Judeo-Portuguese of initial פ spelling what might appear in Roman-letter writing as <h> or Ø, nor does Dominovich (1948) note any parallel uses of <f>. Moreover, native forms of ModPg. *achar* occur as expected in both *O libro de maḡika* (אַנְאַרִּירִישׁ *aḡaredes* 'you-PL. will find') and *As kores* (אַנְאַדוֹ *aḡado* 'found' and other conjugated forms). The verb thus appear to be a semi-Castilianizing doublet of אַנְאַר *aḡar*, preserving the initial fricative à la portugaise but spelling the medial consonant more à l'espagnole.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4.3.1. Hypercorrection

Distinct from Castilianisms themselves, however, are forms in the corpus that betray the scribe's awareness of Spanish practice through an error in his Portuguese. The words in the table below normally contain a diphthong, but since this is the feature that distinguishes some Spanish nouns from their Portuguese cognates (e.g. DENTE > Sp. *diente*, Pg. *dente*), the scribe has spelled each one with a simple vowel only:

<sup>39</sup> In fact, the word recalls the Judeo-Spanish form *fayar* cited by Penny (1991: 23). In the Judeo-Spanish texts compiled by Recuero (1988), forms of this verb appear as האַלִּיאַר *halyar* (1584), האַלִּיאַר *haliar* (1713), פֵּאַיִאַדוֹ *fayado* (1897), פֵּאַיִאַנְטִיס *fayantes* (1897), and פֵּאַיִ *fayi* (1909). In a curious twist of conventions, then, since Judeo-Spanish initial /f/ did not disappear as in Castilian, it is possible that the earlier occurrences do indeed use initial ה as a conservative spelling (albeit to reflect a more recent convention).

**Table 7-56. Avoidance of a diphthong**

B:	אובדינטיש	obedentes	<i>obedientes</i> < OBOEDIENTES	'obedient'
	אורינטאאיש	orientais	<i>orientais</i> < ORIENTALES	'eastern'
	פיריסושאש	pereçosas	<i>preciosas</i> < PRETIŌSAS	'precious'

In a similar context, while the scribe of *As kores* spells אינגיניי inġenyō 'method' as expected, the scribe of *O libro de maġika* seems to have considered the palatal segment in that word as a sign of a Spanish versus Portuguese form (e.g. ANNU 'year' > Sp. *año*, Pg. *ano*; CABALLU 'horse' > Sp. *caballo*, Pg. *cavalo*) and avoided it. In fact both texts contain would-be palatals where the spelling corresponds to neither Portuguese nor Spanish:

**Table 7-57. Avoidance of a palatal**

A:	וירמילאש	vermelas	<i>vermelha</i> < VERMICULA	'red'
	בירמילאא	bermelao	<i>vermelhão</i> < VERMICUL-	'vermilion'
	אזינאברי	azinabre	<i>azinhaore</i> < Ar. <i>az-zinġār</i>	'verdigris'
B:	אינגינושו	inġenoso	<i>engenhoso</i> < INGENIOSU	'ingenious'
	וויאיש	vees	<i>velho</i> < VET(U)LU	'old'
	מיאור	meor	<i>melhor</i> < MELIORE	'better'
D:	פילאארא	pilaara	<i>pilhar</i> < *PILIARE	'will take'

It is also possible that at least some of these forms lack (\*) for the same reasons as those in table 7-56, i.e. as a more general avoidance of diphthong-like sequences.

In the following cases, the scribe seems to have construed a /b/ as akin to the epenthetic /b/ than occurs in the Spanish but not Portuguese forms of other cognates (e.g. NOMINARE > Sp. *nombrar*, Pg. *nomear*), and has chosen not to spell it:

**Table 7-58. Avoidance of epenthetic /b/**

B:	נימרוש	nemros	<i>membro</i> < MEMBRU	'members'
	לומרוש	lumrosos	<i>luminoso</i> < LUMINOSU	'luminous'
	ארינימראר	arenememrar <sup>40</sup>	<i>lembrar</i> < MEMORĀRE	'remember'

#### 4.4. Arabisms

Both *As kores* and *O libro de m̄gika* contain many words of Arabic origin, some of which survive largely unchanged in the modern language. Others, however, differ from their modern forms in various ways, whether due to further phonological change, analogical adjustment, or recalibration with the source:

**Table 7-59. Phonological adjustment**

A:	אלויאלדי	alv <sup>a</sup> yalde < <i>al-bayāḍ</i>	<i>alvaiade</i>	'white lead'
	מארפיל	marfil < ( <sup>c</sup> <i>aẓm</i> ) <i>al-fil</i>	<i>marfim</i>	'ivory'
B:	אלאסיל	alaḥel < <i>al-<sup>c</sup>aṣīr</i>	<i>alacir</i>	'harvest'
	ארגוליאש	algolyas < <i>al-ḡulla</i>	<i>argola</i>	'hooped jewels'
	אלביטריאה	albeteriah < <i>al-baiṭār</i>	<i>alveitaria</i>	'animal healing'

In some cases, the definite article that is often integrated into the loanword has been de-accreted in the modern form:

<sup>40</sup> A form with the /b/ spelled, ארימינבראר *aremenbrar*, does occur in the same text.

**Table 7-60. Morphological adjustment**

A:	אשידרים	ašedreç < aš-šitranğ	<i>xadrez</i>	'chess'
	אלאקאר	alakar < al-lakk	<i>laca</i>	'lac'
	אזרקאון	azarkao < az-zarqūn	<i>zarcão</i>	'zircon'
	אנוש'טאר	anoštar < annušātar	<i>nochatro</i>	'sal ammoniac'

Other Arabic loanwords have simply been replaced by native forms with varying degree of Latinization, or even other Arabic loans:

**Table 7-61. Replaced Arabisms**

A:	אזארניפי	azarnefe < az-zirníx	<i>arsênico</i>	'arsenic'
	אלפאדידא	alfadida < al-ḥadída	<i>azinhavre</i>	'verdigris'
	אלקריביטי	alkrebite < al-kibrit	<i>enxofre</i>	'sulphur'
	אלמארטאקי	almartake < al-mártaq	<i>litargírio</i>	'litharge'
	אלגידאר	algidar < al-ğidār	<i>testo</i>	'bowl'
	אטאלמיאה	atalmiah < *ḥaltamíyya	<i>tigela</i>	'ceramic bowl'
B:	פלאגוש	f <sup>a</sup> l <sup>a</sup> gos < ḥálaq	<i>lisonja</i>	'flatteries'
	אלקידיש	alakeides <sup>41</sup> < al-qā'id	<i>prefeito</i>	'prefects'

Note that in the first case, the Greek source of the modern Portuguese is in fact a cognate of the Arabic source for the medieval loanword.<sup>42</sup>

## 5. SUMMARY

The drive to standardize and (re)classicize the Portuguese language, which began in earnest (and quite self-consciously) following the publication

<sup>41</sup> The modern reflex *alcaide* does survive with specific reference to the medieval ruler of a castle or province, or to the Spanish equivalent of a modern *prefeito*, still called *alcaide* in Castilian.

<sup>42</sup> Ferreira (1999) does list *arzenefe* as a variant of *azarnefe*, both archaic alternatives to *arsênico*. Assuming that both variants are based on the same Arabic source, in a rare reversal the Judeo-Portuguese spelling appears to be the more conservative.

of the first Portuguese grammars in 1536 and 1540, is described by modern grammarians as an endeavour "to ennoble the lexicon by substituting Latin or latinized forms for patrimonial words that had been considered rustic" (Azevedo 2005: 174). Yet in this fourteenth- and fifteenth-century corpus, bona fide Latinisms occur only sporadically – איטי *ite* 'item' and אידיש *ides* 'that is' from *As kores* spring to mind, and even these are written without pretension (or overt attempt, at any rate) to fully classicize the morpho-phonological form. While I have argued that Judeo-Portuguese writers did not approach their writing system as a transcription, they do seem to have been relatively uninhibited in disclosing, however inconsistently, the vernacular character of their language.