

The Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Western Sephardic Settlements (16th-20th Centuries).

Second Part: The Pronunciation of the Consonant 'Ayin'*

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The purpose of this investigation was to ascertain when the Italian Jewish communities and the Western Portuguese "Nations" adopted the nasal-guttural pronunciation of the 'ayin, variously represented as *gn*, *ngh*, *hg*. In 16th century Ferrara and Venice, the phonetic value of this consonant was zero or close to zero. Only at the very end of the 16th century, some authors in Italy graphically represented it as *ng*. In the same period, an Amsterdam author introduced new graphemes and expressed the 'ayin as *gh* or *hg*, while a Hamburg scholar published a grammar-book where he gave the name of this consonant as *Hgain*. The new graphemes were not adopted by the majority of authors, who continued to represent it by a simple *h*, or left it without notation. Both in Italy and in Northern Europe, the *h > gn* shift was rather discontinuous.

KEYWORDS: Hebrew Pronunciation; Liturgy; Judeo-Spanish; Venice; Amsterdam; Ferrara.

LA PRONUNCIACIÓN DEL HEBREO ENTRE LOS JUDÍOS DE LAS «NACIONES» HISPANO-PORTUGUESAS DE OCIDENTE (SIGLOS XVI-XVII). SEGUNDA PARTE: LA PRONUNCIACIÓN DE LA CONSONANTE 'AYIN'.— Estudio de la adopción de la pronunciación naso-gutural de la consonante 'ayin y de su variada representación gráfica entre los judíos de Italia y de las «Naciones» judías hispano-portuguesas. Durante el siglo XVI, el valor fonético de esa consonante era o tendía a cero. A fines de ese siglo y a comienzos del XVII, algunos autores en Italia la representan como *ng*. Un autor coetáneo en Amsterdam introduce nuevos grafemas, tales como *gh* o *hg*, mientras que otro autor de Hamburgo publicaba una gramática en la que denomina *Hgain* esta consonante. Los nuevos grafemas no fueron adoptados por la mayoría de autores que continuaron representando dicha consonante por una *h*. Tanto en Italia como en el norte de Europa el cambio *h > gn* fue discontinuo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Pronunciación del hebreo; liturgia; judeoespañol; Venecia; Amsterdam; Ferrara.

Before World War II the letter 'ayin' was pronounced by the Italian Jews as a voiced velar nasal phoneme /y/ commonly transcribed as <*gn*>. Its sound was similar to the Spanish *ñ* in the word *España* and to the combination of the letters *g* and *n* in the Italian word *sognare* or in the French *agneau*.¹

The initial word of the Shema' prayer was pronounced as *Scemagn*² by the

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² See D. DISEGNI, *Preghiere dei Giorni Feriali e Sabati Secondo il Rito Italiano della Comunità Ebraica di Torino* (Torino 1949), p. 26.

ḥazzanim of the Italian synagogues, regardless of their rite with only minor regional variations.³ It is well known that before World War II, the ‘ayin was pronounced in an identical way in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam and in all the Western Sephardic settlements, from Hamburg to London and from Bayonne to New York and Curaçao. Owing to the lack of an analogous phoneme in the English language, the Western Sephardic pronunciation of the ‘ayin was described as identical with the sound of the pair *ng* in the English word *king*.⁴

According to popular belief, the so-called “Italo-Sephardic” pronunciation was introduced by the exiles who found shelter in Italy after the 1492 expulsions from Spain and the 1497 forced conversion in Portugal. As we have seen in the first part of this study, this opinion was groundless: in the early modern Sephardic communities of Ferrara and Venice, the phonetic value of ‘ayin was zero or close to zero.

Further research was carried on in order to find out when and where the new forms of pronunciation came into use. The results of these investigations are given in the following pages.

2. THE PRONUNCIATION OF ‘AYIN IN ITALY IN THE 17TH CENTURY

It is difficult to establish when and where in Italy the pronunciation of this consonant first shifted towards the nasal sound variously represented as <*n*>, <*ng*>, <*ngh*>, <*gn*>. This change followed a slow and gradual path. I tried to trace and find some of the progressive stages of this hitherto unexplored process.

In 1599 Guglielmo Franchi, a Roman neophyte (former Jewish name unknown), published a *Grammatica Hebreia*⁵ in which he named the ‘ayin as *Nghain*. He stated that its nasal-guttural pronunciation was produced “by twisting the deepest part of one’s throat almost to the point of strangling oneself, with the help of one’s nose,”⁶ and described the resulting sound as “between ‘g’ and

³ E. S. ARTOM, “La Pronuncia dell’Ebraico presso gli Ebrei d’Italia,” *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel [=RMI]* 28 (1962), pp. 26-30.

⁴ Sh. MORAG, “Pronunciations of Hebrew,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13 (Jerusalem 1978⁴), cols. 1120-1145: 1133.

⁵ שְׁמַע לְשׂוֹן הַקּוֹדֶשׁ, cioè sole della Lingua Santa nel quale brevemente e chiaramente si contiene la Grammatica Hebreia. Composto dal R[everendo] P[adre] D[ominicano] Guglielmo Franchi Romano, Neofita, Monaco della congregazione di Vall’Ombrosa con due tavole [...] con licenza de superiori (Bergamo 1599).

⁶ FRANCHI, *Sole della Lingua Santa*, p. 20: “si pronuncia con l’aiuto del naso, quasi che si strangola arrivando fino all’estrema parte della canna della gola.”

‘n’ as in *nghè* or *nghà*.” However he transliterated this letter as <ng>: *io de ang* [עָנָג], *i adu ang* [יְזַעַג], known].⁷

In 1608, Benedetto Blancuccio, a Catholic priest, published in Rome a *Grammar Book of the Holy Language* in which he called the ‘ayin, ain or ng-hain. However, when this author dealt with verb conjugations, he either transcribed the ‘ayin by <h> or completely ignored it as, for instance, *Niphal*, *Pihel*, *Pual*, *Hiphil*, *Hophal*, *Hithpahel*.⁸ Most probably Blancuccio copied these transcriptions from existing grammar-books.

In 1612 Leone Modena published a Hebrew-Italian dictionary with the addition of “Short Simple Grammar Rules.”⁹ The author did not deal with the sound of consonants. When he gave the names of the verb conjugations he transcribed the ‘ayin as <ng> or <ngh>, as follows: פָּגֵל, *Pangal*; פָּגֵל, *Pinghel*; נִפְגָּל, *Nifngal*; פָּגָל, *Pungal*; הַפְּעֵיל, *Hifngihil*; הַפְּעֵל, *Hofngal*;¹⁰ הַתְּפִעֵל, *Hithpanghel*.¹¹ Modena provided several examples as for instance, *ngavar* [עָבָר, past]; *negasè!* (sic) [עֲשָׂע, make!]; *nismang* [שָׁמָע, he was heard]; *midngasser* [מַתְּשַׁעַר, he becomes rich]; *shmu* as *Seman*.¹²

The use of the new graphemes did not spread out rapidly. In 1619, in Venice, Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadini reprinted Abraham Usque’s *Orden de Oraciones de mes*.¹³ The new edition was substantially identical with the original, even if the publishers claimed that they had added the *Osanod* [אָסָנוֹד] which, in truth, Usque had already printed in separate gatherings and inserted into his Siddur.¹⁴ The transliteration of Hebrew prayers and blessings was left unchanged.¹⁵

⁷ FRANCHI, *Sole della Lingua Santa*, Table of conjugations.

⁸ B. BLANCUCCIO, *Institutiones in Linguam Sanctam Hebraicam* (Romae 1608), p. 2.

גולות יהודא והוא פשר דבר מכל מה זהrica פתרון מכל המקרה וברכת המזון והגדת סח ופרקן אבות
בלשון איטליאנו
più difficili delle Scritture Hebreo nella volgar lingua italiana [...] Opera di Leon Modena Hebreo da Venetia (Padova 1640²) [1st ed., “Venetia, appresso Giacomo Sarzina, MDCXII”].

¹⁰ MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, pp. 32r and ff., 192r.,

¹¹ MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, unnumb. p. of gathering “A2”, bearing some “Brevi regolette di Grammatica.”

¹² MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, f. 109v.

¹³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*. s[aber] sin bolstar de vna à otra parte, y la orden de Hanucah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth, con mucha diligentia emendada. Y les añadimos enel las Osanod in Venetia MDCXIX. Estampado por orden delli Illustriss. Sig. Pietro e Lorenzo Bragadini. Con licenza de los Superiores.

¹⁴ On this addendum, see A. di Leone LEONI and S. HERZFELD, “The *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo* (Ferrara 1555) and a *Bakash* composed by Abraham Usque,” *Sef* 62 (2002), pp. 99-124.

¹⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo* (Venetia 1619), ff. 251r-252r.

As we have seen, in 1622, in Venice, Abraam Netto had Cavallero's *Orden de Oraciones* reprinted.¹⁶ In a special appendix, the compiler of the new edition gave the names of Hebrew consonants and vowels and called the 'ayin Ain.¹⁷ Furthermore, he took the transliterations of several prayers and blessings from the first translations produced in Venice and in Ferrara, and published them unmodified.

Even Leon Modena did not put the <ng> <ngh> graphemes into regular use. In the Italian edition of his *Historia de Riti Ebraici* (1638),¹⁸ the famous Rabbi did not embrace the methods adopted in his own grammar. On the contrary, he either rendered the 'ayin as <h> or gave no notation to it, e.g., *Nehila* [ニリラ, closing], *Harvid* [ערבית, evening prayer], *Osaana* [השענה, Osanna],¹⁹ *Scemonà Asre* [שמנה עשרה, Eighteen (Blessings)],²⁰ *Tisha beau* [תשעה באב, the Ninth Day of Av].²¹ However, Modena transcribed שמען [Shema' reading] as *Chiriad sceman*.²²

As a marginal remark, we note that he transcribed the soft (undotted) *taw* as <d>. The *t* > *d* shift was taking place more rapidly and uniformly than the change of pronunciation of the 'ayin.

In any case, the authority of this famous Rabbi was not sufficient to impose a uniform pronunciation of Hebrew in Italy. This country was divided into several states of different dimension and importance. In some of these political entities, the Jewish population was concentrated in a few large cities. In other states the Jewish settlement was fragmented and scattered through villages and small towns. The lack of central institutions made it impossible to adopt common organisational or cultural policies. For a long time, in the different Italian regions, individual Rabbis, teachers and scholars pronounced Hebrew according to their personal discretion in harmony –or in contrast– with the traditions of local Congregations.

¹⁶ סדור תפנות כמנהג הספרדים בלשון עברי ולשון ספרד נדפס בוינויציה שנה שפ"ב *Orden de Oraciones Segundo el uso Ebreo, en lengua Ebraica y en Español. In Venetia, 1622 Appreso gli Illus[tri] S[ignori] Piet[ro] e Lor[enzo] Bra[gadin].* [In the colophon:] “Estápado por endustria de Abraã Netto, hijo de Iosef Netto.”

¹⁷ NETTO, *Orden de Oraciones*. Appendix with the Hebrew Alphabet in Hebrew characters and the names of the consonants in Latin characters. See fig. 15 in the first part of this study (*Sef* 66, p. 404). Also, cf. A. di Leone LEONI, “La presenza Sefardita a Venezia intorno alla metà del Cinquecento. I Libri e gli Uomini,” *RMI* 67 (2002), pp. 35-110: 55-57.

¹⁸ *Historia de Riti Ebraici, Vita e speranza degl'Ebrei di questi tempi.* Leone da Modena Rabbi Hebreo da Venetia, già stampata a Parigi e ora corretta e riformata con licenza de Superiori. In Venezia 1638, appresso Gio. Colleoni.

¹⁹ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, p. 75.

²⁰ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, pp. 30-31.

²¹ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, p. 77.

²² MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, pp. 30-31.

Of revealing importance are the 17th century minute books (*Livros das Hordems*, ספַּרְיָה הַסְכָּמוֹת) of the Sephardic communities of Pisa,²³ Leghorn,²⁴ Reggio Emilia²⁵ and Venice²⁶ in which the 'ayin was either ignored or transcribed by *h*, e.g., *Vaad* [צָוָאֵד, Committee],²⁷ *Es Haim* [אֵשׁ חַיִּים, lit.: Tree of Life],²⁸ *Moadim* [מוּאָדִים, Holidays],²⁹ *Balthorà* [בָּלְתּוֹרָה, expert reader of the Torah],³⁰ *Tahanit* [תַּהֲנִית, fast].³¹

In the Registers of Pisa and Leghorn we find both *Maamad* and *Mahamad* [מעמד].³² In Venice the plural forms *Maamadot* or *Mahamadot* were used to designate the governing boards of the *Levantine* and *Ponentine* Nations, on the frequent occasions when they joined forces and acted together.³³ We find the same transcriptions in the regulations of the *Hebra de casar huerfanas y donzel-las* printed in Leghorn in 1706.³⁴

Of particular interest is the 17th century anonymous Portuguese *Ordem de Orasois* kept in the Municipal Library of Piacenza.³⁵ Its compiler attributed

²³ Publ. R. TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa* (Firenze 1990), pp. 493-554.

²⁴ TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 555-638.

²⁵ Published by LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese negli Stati Estensi* (Rimini 1992), pp. 252-416.

²⁶ ACE, Ve, Busta 2, *Libro delle Parti*, inedited MS.

²⁷ *Livro das Hordems of Reggio Emilia*, ff. 2r-4v and *passim*; see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, pp. 257-265 and *passim*.

²⁸ Expression designating the pole around which the Scroll of the Torah is rolled up. See *Livro das Hordem* (Reggio Emilia), f. 20r; see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, p. 297.

²⁹ *Livro das Hordem* (Reggio Emilia), f. 4r, see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, p. 261.

³⁰ *Escamot de Liorne* 1677, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, p. 605.

³¹ *Escamot de Liorne* 1677, § 5, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, p. 598.

³² See, for instance, *Libro Vecchio della Sinagoga di Pisa; Haskamot del Libro Nuovo di Pisa; Capitoli della Sinagoga di Pisa 1658-1662; Deliberazioni del Governo della Nazione Ebrea di Pisa 1599-1615; Deliberazioni [...] di Pisa 1658-1662; Deliberazioni [...] di Pisa 1657-1659*, publ. TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 493- 530; *Escamot of Leghorn*, 1677, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 594-616.

³³ Archivo di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi, b. 63, Ebrei Ponentini, Università, *passim*.

³⁴ *Capitulaciones del modo que se deve governar la Hebra de casar huerfanas y donzel-las*, Instituidas en esta Ciudad de Liorne. Reformadas en el año 5442 per los Señores H. Jacob Jesurun Lopez, Gabriel de Medina [...] Y de nuevo reformadas, y acresentadas este año 5466 [...] (Livorno 1706), p. 5 and *passim*.

³⁵ *Ordem de Orasois que se dizem en todo ho anno asaber: cotidiano, Sabat, Pascuas, Ros Sana, Quipur [...] Seliquod que se diz quarenta dias antes de Quipur todas as madrugadas e no ul-*

no phonetic value to the ‘ayin and omitted transcribing it as, for instance, in *Sema* [סֵמָה];³⁶ *Arvid* [עַרְבִּית];³⁷ *Amida* [עַמִּידָה], *Taanid* [תַּעֲנִיתָה];³⁸ *Tesabeav* [תַּשְׁעָה בָּאָבָה];³⁹ and *Moed* [מִועֵד, Holy Day].⁴⁰

This manuscript bears further evidence to the fact that the sound change *h* > *ng* had not yet taken place in all the Italian Communities, especially among the Sephardim. It is perhaps worth noting that the anonymous author transcribed the soft *taw* as <*d*>, e.g., *Matedia* [מַתְתִּיה, p.n.],⁴¹ *Taanid* [תַּעֲנִית, fast]. The sound shift of this undotted consonant from *t* to *d* was taking place also among the Sephardim.

3. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ‘AYIN IN EARLY NORTH-EUROPEAN REPRINTS OF FERRARA TRANSLATIONS AND IN OTHER WORKS

The first North-European re-edition of a Ferrara Spanish Siddur came out in Dordrecht in 1584.⁴² It was a faithful reprint of Abraham Usque’s Spanish *Mahazor*, with the addition of the Selihot,⁴³ from Yomtob Atias’ 1552 *Orden de Silioth*.

The text of the Spanish translation and the transliteration of some passages from the Hebrew ritual are almost identical with the Ferrara originals.⁴⁴ There are only minor typographical differences, especially in the vowel accents.

timo dia, que he Quipur descendé Mose do monte com a Lei, (formerly belonging to G. B. Rossi, who called it *Ordo precum iudaicarum lingua lusitana versus ab anonimo Judeo*). Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Piacenza (Italy), Ms. Landi 11.

³⁶ *Ordem de Orasois*, ff. 51v-52, 243.

³⁷ *Ordem de Orasois*, ff. 100r, 106v, 111v and *passim*.

³⁸ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 218v.

³⁹ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 219v.

⁴⁰ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 176r.

⁴¹ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 163v.

⁴² According to its colophon, the book was printed “in Maguntia.” However, S. SEELIGMAN, *Bibliographie en Historie, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1927), pp. 35-38, could identify the printer as Peeter Verhagen of Dordrecht. Cf. C. ROTH, *A History of the Marranos* (London 1932), p. 326. The complete title is מהזורה, *Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur*, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado y añadido el Selihoth, el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas. Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael à 20. de Adar año de 5344.

⁴³ *Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur*, pp. 90v-120r.

⁴⁴ See fig. 1.

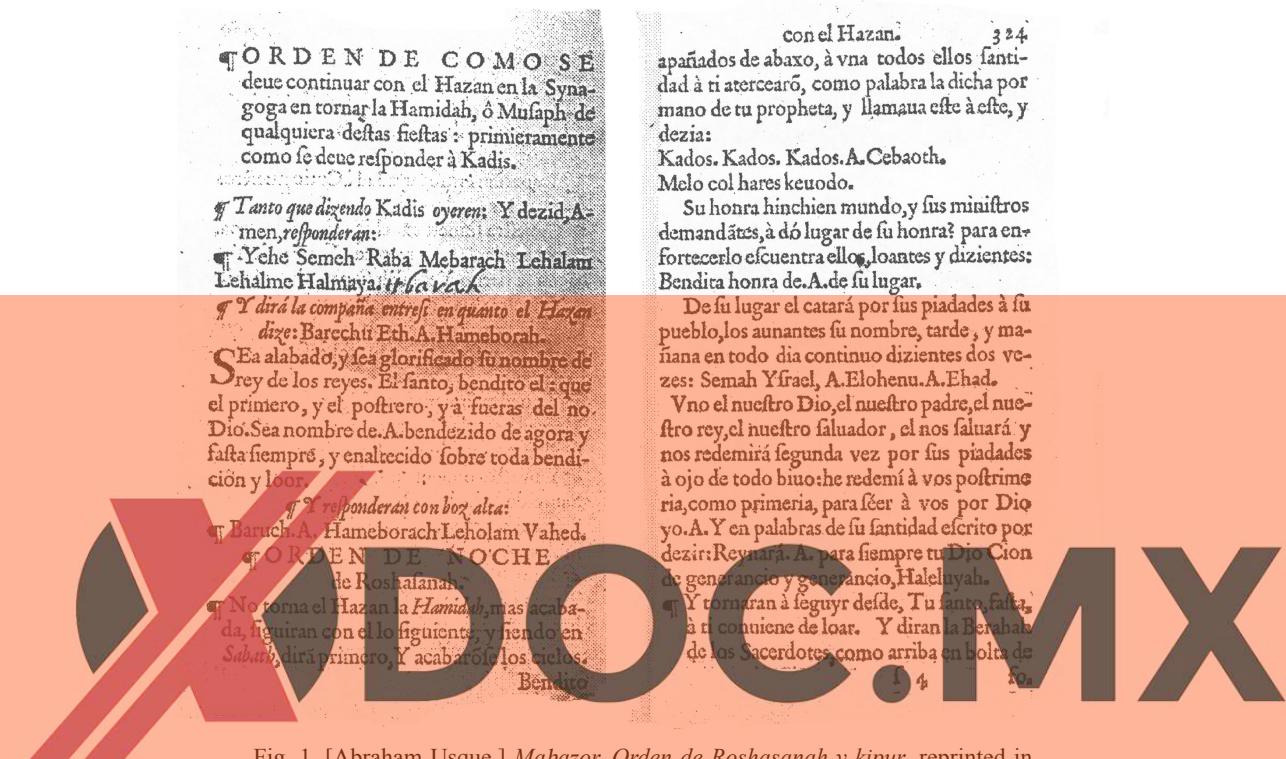


Fig. 1. [Abraham Usque,] *Mahazor, Orden de Roshasanah y kipur*, reprinted in Dordrecht in 1584, ff. 323v and 324r where the main congregational responses to the Kaddish are transliterated into Latin letters.

The title page of this reprint does not bear the names of the original authors, but only states that “Yahacob Israel” had sponsored it. This was a fictitious name representing a clandestine Congregation. The book was conceived for the Marranos living in Antwerp⁴⁵ and, perhaps, for the ones who had fled the Flemish city because of war events and had temporarily moved to Cologne.⁴⁶

In 1604 Isaac Franco had the same Mahazor printed again in Amsterdam, in an almost identical form. This was probably the first edition of a Ferrara prayer book for the use of the Portuguese Nation of the northern city.⁴⁷ In

⁴⁵ See ROTH, *A History of the Marranos*, p. 326.

⁴⁶ H. POHL, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerp (1567-1648)* (Wiesbaden 1977), p. 65 ff.

⁴⁷ See H. P. SALOMON, *Portrait of a new Christian, Fernão Álvares Melo (1569-1632)* (Paris 1982), pp. 149-153.

1611 the Spanish Bible of Ferrara was re-issued for the first time in the northern city.⁴⁸ Subsequently, in the course of a few years, the entire Sephardi liturgy was faithfully reprinted from the 1552-1555 Ferrara Spanish Siddurim. In or around 1617, David Abenatar built a printing-shop in his Amsterdam house in order to provide the Congregation Bet Yahakob with Spanish Siddurim. His first volume was a prayer book for High Holidays reprinted from Usque's *Mahazor*.⁵⁰

As we have already seen, in the Ferrara prototype the first verses of the *Shema'* and a few other Hebrew passages were transliterated into Latin characters. David Abenatar did not modify Usque's original transcriptions in which the 'ayin was represented as <h>. However, in the title page of his new edition, Abenatar stated that the book was meant for the Congregation "Bet Yaahkob." He transcribed the 'ayin with a <h> but placed the vowel before the consonant. This probably was the first attempt made in Amsterdam to represent the changing sound of the 'ayin.⁴⁹

One year later, in 1617-18, the same Congregation financed a new enlarged edition of Abraham Usque's *Orden de oraciones de mes*.⁵⁰ The new Siddur presented some important innovations: Several prayers were transliterated into Latin characters. Furthermore, the author(s)⁵¹ inserted an additional gathering at the beginning of the book. It comprised the 'Ladino' translation of various hymns and Bakashot with the Hebrew text transliterated into Latin characters in the facing page.

⁴⁸ *Biblia en lingua española traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebreya por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisición, con privilegio del yllustrissimo señor duque de Ferrara* (Amsterdam 1611). See J. C. WOLF, *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Amburgi 1715-1733, repr. Bologna 1967]), vol. 4, p. 17; M. KAYSERLING, *Biblioteca Española Portugueza Judaica. Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Auteurs Juifs, de leurs ouvrages espagnoles et portugaises* (Strasburg 1890), p. 29. On the Amsterdam editions of the *Biblia Española*, H. DEN BOER, "La Biblia de Ferrara y otras traducciones," in I. M. HASSÁN (edi.), *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara. Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre la Biblia de Ferrara*, Sevilla, 25-28 de noviembre de 1991 (Madrid 1994), pp. 279-296.

⁴⁹ As we have seen in the first part of this work (*Sef* 66, p. 128), in 1552 Yom Tob Atias called the 'ayin *hgain*, but he represented this consonant with a simple <h> and, in several instances, he attached no phonetic value to it and omitted to transcribe it.

⁵⁰ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo sin boltar de vna à otra parte. Y la orden de Hanvcah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Succoth; con mucha diligentia emendada. Y las Bakassoth al principio en ladino con la pronunciacion Hebreya escrita en Hespapol. Impresso a despesza de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob en Amstrandama: Anno 5378.* See fig. 2.

⁵¹ The title page does not bear their names.

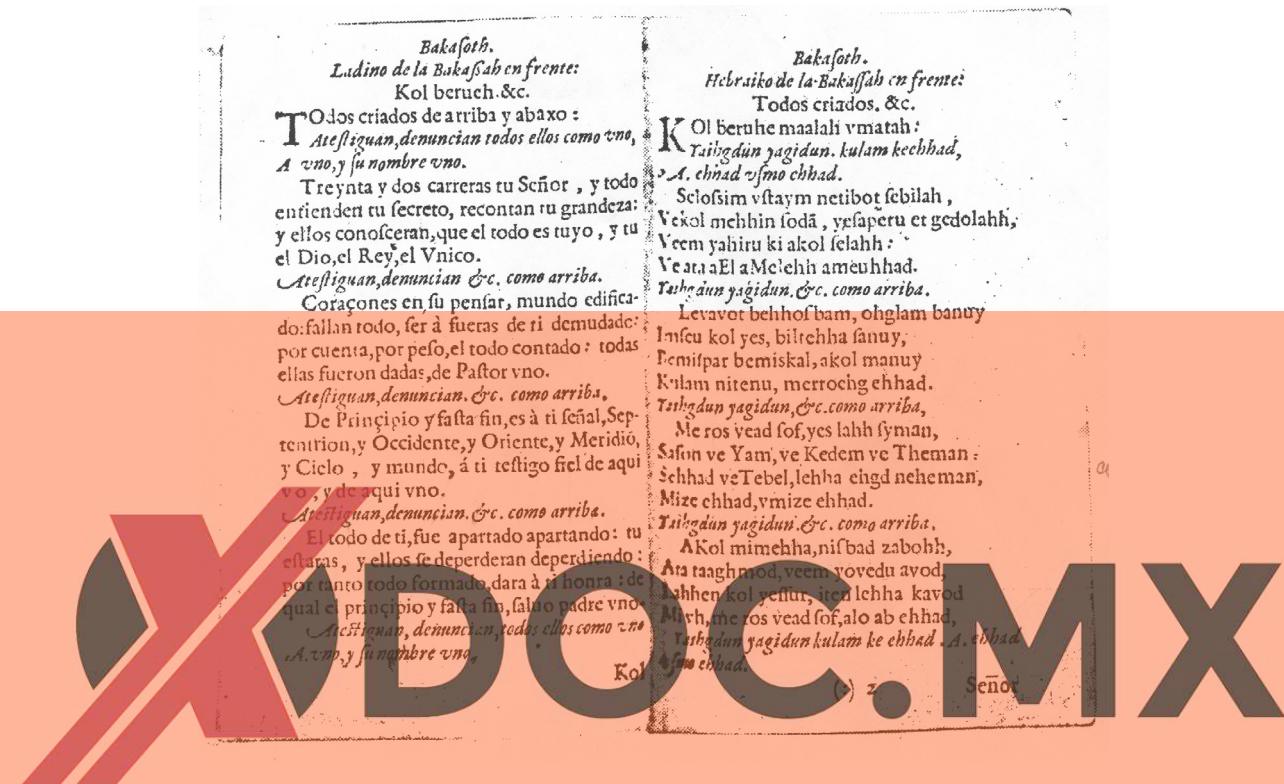


Fig. 2. [Abraham Usque's] *Orden de Oraciones de Mes Arreo* [Ferrara 1555], enlarged edition published by the Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah of the Congregation Bet Yahacob, Amsterdam 1618, unnumbered page of gathering “(:) 2” bearing on the left a “Ladino” vulgarization of the Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah umatah,” on the right a transliteration of the Hebrew text into Latin letters.

The author(s) adopted new graphemes and transcribed the ‘ayin by *<gh>* and/or *<hg>*, e.g., *Yaihgdu* [*יַהְגָדּוּ*, they attest];⁵² *saaghr* [*שַׁעַר*, gate];⁵³ *ahgde aghd* [*אַחֲדָה*,

⁵² *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, first (unnumb.) page of the gathering marked “(:)2” with the Bakashah “Kol Beruhe maalah” transliterated into Latin characters.

⁵³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “En dias de Reshodes” transliterated.

תְּעִ, until the eternity, forever];⁵⁴ *ohgz* [עַגֵּז, strength, power];⁵⁵ *ohgfat* [עֲוֹפָתָה, birds];⁵⁶ *aghm* [עַם, people];⁵⁷ *ogham*,⁵⁸ *ohglam* [עוֹלָם, world];⁵⁹ *igyaghnu* [הִגְיַעַנְתָּ, You let us arrive].⁶⁰ Curiously enough, the new grapheme was placed after, and not before, the corresponding vowel. Whatever their position these new forms give a clear indication that a shift in the pronunciation of the ‘ayin was already under way.

However, in many cases the ‘ayin was either left untranscribed or represented by *h*, e.g., *maalah* [מַעַלָּה, above, heaven], *vead* [עַדְעַ, and until];⁶¹ *ahl* [עַלְעַ, over, above];⁶² *leohlam vaehd* [לְעוֹלָם וְעַדְעַ, forever and ever];⁶³ *oz* [עַזְעַ, strength, power];⁶⁴ *leuhmatā* [לְעַמְתָּסָה, standing in front of them].⁶⁵

The translator used a new grapheme, <*hh*> to represent the fricative sound of *het* and *kaf*, thus enhancing the difference between these consonants and the letters *alef* and *he*, e.g., *ehhad* [אֶחָד, one];⁶⁶ *Ehhal* [הַיְכָל, Ark];⁶⁷ *islahh* [שְׁלַחְתָּ, He will send]; *ubhhohhmah* [וּבְחִכְמָה, and with wisdom]; *melahhot* [מְלָאכָות, works].⁶⁸

The anonymous compiler did not always comply with his own rules. In several cases he transcribed the final *kaf* and the *het* by a simple <*h*>, as in

⁵⁴ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the hymn “Ygdal Eloim Hay” transliterated.

⁵⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Syrū la El” transliterated.

⁵⁶ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Kamtī lealel” transliterated.

⁵⁷ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, pp. 34v., 35r, 55 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, pp. 33, 34v, 57v and *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with the hymn “Adon ohglam” transliterated. See doc. 1 in Appendix.

⁶⁰ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 57v.

⁶¹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah” transliterated.

⁶² *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 33.

⁶³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 55v.

⁶⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. pages with the transliteration of the Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah.”

⁶⁷ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, f. 54v.

⁶⁸ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the transliteration of the hymn “Ygdal Eloim hhay.”