

6. COMMENTARY

f. 1r.

2 אדיבדאמינטוש קי אדיבדאן אש פראניטאש

adibdamentos ke adibdan as pranetas

'events that the planets preside (over)'. As noted in § 2.1, the verb *adivdar* is probably the most recurrent word in the text but is unknown in any medieval Portuguese reference I have consulted. It is used to describe the domain of the planets and zodiac signs on the groups and actions mentioned in the text, often followed by the preposition *sobre* 'over'. The nominal form used here, which occurs less frequently, seems to refer to dominions or 'occurrences' in general. The spelling of both forms is for the most part consistent, though on rare occasion a vocalic *ᵛ* *i/e* does appear after **ב** *b*, and **ו** *w* is occasionally used in lieu of **ב** (on which a diacritic *rafeh*, used on other words in the text, almost never occurs). Both could suggest a pronunciation akin to the diphthong in the likely Spanish cognate *adeudar*; although this spelling is on occasion attested in other Judeo-Romance writing (cf. chapter 2 § 3.2.4), it is not found elsewhere in Judeo-Portuguese.

4 אפרובייטאר

aprobeitar

'learn' (lit. 'profit'). ModPg. retains the noun *proveito* 'advantage' < PRŌFĒCTU, but the verb has disappeared from the modern language. This form, with prosthetic *a-* < AD-, occurs as early as the thirteenth century (da Cunha 1982).

אישטרולוגיאה

astrologiah

'astrology'. This term occurs throughout the text alternating between forms with initial *a-* and *e-*, the latter indicated here by the *ᵛ* *y* following initial **א** *ʾ*. This particular alternation may be due to contamination from *estrela* (Williams 1962: 108), itself contaminated by the /r/ in ASTRU (cf. It. *stella*, Fr. *étoile* < STELLA).

איאו נון פֿאַלייאַ

eu non falyei

'I did not find'. The negative adverb (ModPg. *não*) is always spelled נון *non* in this text. Indeed, orthographic indications of nasalization are few and far between in the text, with nasal consonants generally preserved (cf. chapter 7 § 2.2.2). The verb appears to be a semi-Castilianism modeled on Sp. *hallar* < A(F)FLARE, rather than normally-evolved form (ModPg. *achar*), including perhaps the use of an *f*-letter for an unpronounced segment, like <h> in Castilian orthography (cf. chapter 7 § 4.3).

6 אינפּולֿאיסיאַש

infulaiçias

'influences'. Variant forms of this word occur throughout the text: אינפּולֿינסיאַש *infulençias* (line 144), אינפּולֿוניסיאַש *infoluneçias* (line 193), אינפּולֿיבֿינסיאַש *infoleneçias* (line 194), אינפּולֿינסיאַש *infl^uneçias* (line 207), אינפּולֿינסיאַש *infulneçias* (line 215), אינפּאָלֿינסיאַה *infalensiah* (line 351), but in no case does the word fully resemble modern *influência* < INFLUENTIA, or medieval *infruencia* (cf. de Faria Paiva 1988: 28).

7 אַקומֿיסיאַי די קונפּואַר

akomeçei de konpoer

'I began to compose'. ModPg. *compôr* < COMPŌNERE, here showing the hiatus left by the deleted /n/. Note the prefixed *a-*, which is found frequently on verbs in *As kores* as well (cf. chapter 4 § 5, note line 4).

12 אַלימֿינטוש

amentos

'elements'. This frequent term is consistently spelled with initial *a-*, or else the scribe has consistently forgotten the *y* as the second letter. Note the variants אימֿינטוש *ementos* (e.g. line 14), with the regular deletion of intervocalic /l/, and a single occurrence of the expected form אַלימֿינטוש *elementos* (line 191).

15 אינפּרֿולֿינסיאַש

enprolençias

'influences'. The term in this case may be built around *prol* 'advantage' (cf. note line 6).

- 19 פודיריאן
poderio
 'power'. This is the normal word for 'power' in the text, which derives from *POTERIU, as opposed to the more common modern forms *poder* < *POTERE or *potência* < POTENTIA.
- 23 אישקונדודוש
eskondudos
 'hidden'. ModPg. *esconder* has as its participle *escondido*, but the form here shows the Late Latin predilection for participles in -UTU (cf. שאבדודוש *sabudos* 'known' in line 41 for modern *sabido*).
- 25 אינפירו
enpero
 'and so' < IN PER HOC, an alternative to פויש *pois* (see note line 46).
- 26 פיטואש
petoas
 This word would fit perfectly in context meaning 'reasons' (ModPg. *razoes*), yet its consonant letters make this reading impossible, and they do not suggest any more plausible interpretation.
- 28 ראזון אומאנאל
razon umanal
 'human reason'. This form derived from *HUMANALE has been replaced by ModPg. *humano* < HUMANU.
- 29 אלקאנסאו אוש סינקו שישוש
alkançao os çinko sesos
 'the five senses achieve'. Note the orthographic indication of the verb desinence without a nasal consonant (ModPg. *-ão* < -ANT), which is rare in this text. ModPg. *senso* < SENSUM has restored the /n/ that was deleted, as illustrated here, in the regular development of the *-ns-* cluster.

f. 1v.

- 32 אַנְיָאוּשׁ
 an̄geos
 'angels'. ModPg. *anjo* < ANGELU, ultimately a Greek loanword. The plural form here shows the vowel hiatus left by the deleted /l/, which has coalesced in the modern form.
- 33 פּוֹדֵרְלָאָשׁ אִימוֹשׁ אִינְטִינְדִיר
 poderlas emos entender
 'we may understand them'. Note the interposed object pronoun, with the desinence actually written as a free-standing morpheme. This spelling occurs several other times in the text, indeed whenever an object pronoun is interposed in this fashion, though clitic pronouns in general occur less frequently than in *As kores*.
- 36 גֹּמְטְרִיָּאָה
 ḡom^etriah
 'geometry'. Note the coalesced vowel in the initial syllable (which is regular in this text) and a rare implicit /e/ following the ג, unless the form is more correctly read as *ḡomatriah*, with the unexpected /a/ in the second syllable.
- 39 וִירָאָאוּשׁ אִי אִינְבִירְנוֹשׁ אִי אִישְׁטִיָּאוּשׁ אִי אֹאוּטוֹנוֹשׁ
 veraos e inbernos e esteos e autonomos
 'springs and winters and summers and autumns'. Although *verão* is the modern term for 'summer', it is used here in an archaic sense for 'spring', which is expressed in the modern language by the (historically) compound form *primavera*. The term for 'summer' here is *esteo* < AESTIVU, based on AESTĀS, -ĀTIS (cf. Fr. *été, estival*).
- 40 שאַבּוּדוֹשׁ
 sabudos
 'known'. ModPg. *sabido*, past participle of *saber*. The form used here illustrates another reflex of the Late Latin -UTU participle formation.
- 41 קאַינטוּרָא
 kaentura
 'heat'. ModPg. *calentura*, which is probably borrowed from Castilian, contrasts with the native *quentura* (though the normal term for 'heat' in

the modern language is *calor*). The form here shows an intermediate stage of development, with intervocalic /l/ deleted but the hiatus preserved. Note that no second **ס** is used to indicate the vocalic value of ם when this digraph follows a consonant, since the **ס** is not diacritic in that context.

46 פוייש

poys

'and so'. Although the modern language retains this word in *após* and *depois*, this recurrent form (< POST) has not been preserved as such. The text contains several variant spellings, both shorter (פוייש *pois*) and longer (פואייש *poeys*), the latter slightly more suggestive of a Castilian influence (cf. Sp. *pues*).

49 שאבייש

sabyos

'sages'. ModPg. *sabio* < SAPIDU. This word alternates throughout the text between forms one and two ם *y*, which could reflect a phonological variation: the two would indicate a bi-syllabic pronunciation with a semi-vowel, while a single ם would indicate a full middle syllable.

54 אואוטבא

out^aba

'eighth'. ModPg. *oitava* < OCTĀVA. Note that the /v/ is spelled by an "unetymological" ב *b*, perhaps for the grapho-tactic reason that the word already contains two ם *v* (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.1). In comparison to the modern form, this adjective shows the same variation in its diphthong as that seen in the frequent קואוּשׂא *kousa* 'thing' (ModPg. *coisa*; cf. chapter 7 § 2.5)).

57 קריפשטייש

kripsteis

'eclipses'. As opposed to the restored cluster in ModPg. *eclipse*, the form here shows the regular development of CL- > *kr-*. The term also occurs in line 64 as קריפשיש *kripses*, with no intrusive /t/.

- 59 **קומיואש**
komeoas / komevas
 'comets'? Among the objects listed as appearing around luminous bodies and above the Earth.
- סינשילדאסואיש**
çintil^adaçoes
 'scintillations'. ModPg. *cintilação* < SCINTILLATIŌNE. The form used here appears to show the reflex of additional morphology, perhaps based on *SCINTILLATATIONE.
- 60 **לומיאריש**
lumiaries
 'lights'. This form is the more archaic doublet of the relatinized ModPg. *luminar* 'light-giving' < LUMINARIS, which occurs here with the regular deletion of intervocalic /n/.
- קרימאש**
krimas
 'climates'. ModPg. *clima*, ultimately of Greek origin, has restored the /l/ in the initial cluster, seen here in its normally-evolved form. As opposed to other words in the text that vary with respect to this sound change (e.g. *krerigo~klerigo* 'clergyman', *praneta~planeta* 'planet'), this term occurs consistently with /r/.
- 61 **קדה אואה**
kadah uah
 'each one'. This phrase offers a good illustration of the conventions of the writing system: the first term (ModPg. *cada*) is spelled with only the final-position ך allograph of /a/ and no other vowel letter, while *ua* requires a diacritic א on both of its vowel letters, which represent the word's only phonemes.
- f. 2r.
- 65 **אופיגוסואיש**
ofegoçoes
 'oppositions'. Compare this occurrence to **אופיגיסואיש** *opegiçoes* (line 188), where there is no *rafeh* over the פ *p* but one is placed over the ג *g*,

probably indicating the voiced sibilant-type sound that underwent deaffrication in late medieval Portuguese.

- 65 דא(ו)ש אישטאדוש
da(o)s estados
 'the states'. This is one of many supralinear corrections by a later hand, many of which, like this one, correct the gender of an article or adjective. Many gender and number disaccords nonetheless remain.
- 72 קי לייש אן די ויאיר
ke lyes an de veer
 'that have to do with them'. The dative pronoun refers to the revolutions of the sun.
- 74 לידיש
lides
 'quarrels'. ModPg. *lide* 'chores; (court) case' < LĪS, LĪTIS.
- פאס(ז)יש
paç(z)es
 'pacts' (lit. 'peaces'). A later hand has corrected the spelling of the sibilant in this word, illustrating the hesitation seen throughout the Judeo-Portuguese corpus in this aspect of the orthography. The letter ך is nonetheless used less frequently in this text than in *As kores*, where sibilant spelling varies more widely.
- 78 טרימודאסואיש
tremudações
 'changes'. This word normally occurs in the text as טראשמודאסואיש *trasmudações* < TRANSMUTATIONES (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6; see also note line 484).
- 79 פובראמינטוש
pobramentos
 'populatings'. Modern Portuguese does not preserve a non-latinizing reflex of any form of POPULUS, which is illustrated here by the *-br-* cluster that developed after syncope in the penultimate syllable.

- 80 **איִשְׁטְרוֹסוּאִישׁ**
estruções
 'destructions'. The scribe appears to have omitted the initial *d-* (cf. איִשְׁקוֹבֵרְטוֹ *eskoberto* 'uncovered' line 276, though דֵּיִקוֹבֵרְטָא *deskoberta* also occurs in line 270), which may be due to the influence of other words beginning with the prefix *es-* < EX- (if not an outright error).
- 81 **אוֹשׁ פִּילִיגְאָנְסוּאִישׁ**
os peleganços
 'pilgrimages'. ModPg. *peregrinação* < PEREGRINATIONE. The form used here appears to have syncopated a syllable, in addition to containing an /l/ that arose through dissimilation (cf. Eng. *pilgrimage*), presumably prior to the deletion of the second /r/. Note the incorrect gender of the article.
- 83 **טְרוֹטְאֵרִיאִי אִין טִירוֹנְאָסוּאִישׁ**
trotarey in terogaços
 'I will treat questions'. ModPg. *tratar* < TRACTĀRE, with an unexpected vocalism that recurs in this word throughout this portion of the text (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6). Note the use of final ך indicating that the prefix *in-* was intended to be spelled as a free-standing word. Its use here may be haplological, serving as both the preposition *in* following the verb (which is the phrase used elsewhere) and as the first syllable of the following word.
- 90 **אֲבוֹנִיגָאֵר**
abonegar
 'fix (up)'. ModPg. *abonecar* < ABONICARE has restored the voiceless velar consonant, which is spelled by the voiced ג *g* in the form here (cf. chapter 7 § 2.2.3).
- קוֹנְפְּרִישׁוּאִישׁ**
konpresoes
 'understanding(s)'. ModPg. *compreensão* < CUM+PREHENDENTIONE. Note that there is no indication of a vowel hiatus in the form as spelled here, although it is so spelled in the modern language by the two <ee>. Note also that the /n/ in the root, which is restored in the modern form, has also been deleted here (cf. chapter 7 § 2.2.2).

- 91 **מטאר א לאגוסטא**
m^atar a laguçta
 'kill locust[s]'. ModPg. *locusta* has restored the voiceless velar segment (cf. *abonegar* above), as well as the expected vowel in the initial syllable. Note the unexpected use of ס ç for a sibilant derived from simple Latin /s/, a deviation from the writing system's convention that is generally less common than in *As kores*.
- f. 2v.
- 93 **איאו פור פוש די טרוטאר**
eu por pos de trotar
 'I proposed to treat'. Preterite form of *propor* < PROPŌNERE. The *r*-metathesis here is also seen in other words in the text, e.g. *pernetas* 'planets' immediately below (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).
- 94 **פירניטש**
pernetas
 'planets'. ModPg. *planeta* has restored the cluster that normally occurs in the text as the evolved *pr-*, though it does alternate throughout the text with the latinizing form. Note the unexpected vocalism and *r*-migration, which recur in this word elsewhere in the text (e.g. line 217).
- 96 **איסינסיאליש**
eçñçiales
 'essential'. The form occurs here with the /l/ that is normally deleted (ModPg. *essençiais* < ESSENTIALES). Also note ס ç spelling of both sibilants, neither of which derive from simple Latin /s/.
- 97 **וונטאדי**
vontade
 'will'. ModPg. *vontade* < VOLUNTĀTE. In comparison to *As kores*, the use of double-וו to spell /v/ is less frequent in this text, though like that text it is especially rare to find it representing a CV syllable. The hiatus from deleted /l/ is occasionally spelled out in other occurrences of this word (e.g. **בֹּואִונטאדי** *boontade* line 379).

- 98 פֶּאזָאנוֹשׁ
fazanos
 'before us'. This prepositional phrase (akin to Fr. *face à nous*) does not occur in the modern language.
- 99 אִי אֵינִילֵאשׁ
ay enelas
 'there are in them'. The modern language uses *há* for existential 'be', but the spelling clearly indicates a Castilian-style (*h*)*ay* with a diphthong created by the agglutinated locative pronoun *y* < IBI (cf. note line 136).
- 103 נִישִׁסָאָרִיָא
neseçarya
 'necessary'. ModPg. *necessário*, written with the sibilant orthography "reversed," i.e. ס ç for Latin <ss> and װ s for the segment resulting from palatalization of Latin /k/ (but without the characteristic *r*-migration in the suffix derived from -ARIUM; cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).
- 105 ופּוֹר נאַטוראַו
opor naturao
 'or by nature'. This is the only occurrence, certainly in these first 27 pages of the text, of an initial vowel other than /a/ spelled without a supporting aleph.
- 107 אסִירֵטִי פֹּקָאמוֹשׁ נִיוֹשׁ
açerte fokamos neos
 'we remain certain of them'. The vowel in the verb is probably a scribal error for פִּיקָאָר *fikar* < *FIGICARE, a frequentative of FIGERE. Though the third word might resemble the modern contraction *nos* (*en+os*), it is more likely due to the scribe having mistakenly omitted the initial װ *e* (cf. chapter 7 § 3.4).
- 108 פּאַלִיסִיר
faleçer
 'lack' < *FALLESCERE, an inchoative based on FALLERE. While ModPg. *falecer* now generally means 'die', in the sense used here it has been replaced by *faltar*, derived from a noun based on *FALLITU, a regularized participle that replaced classical FALSUM as the participle of FALLERE.

שאלבו

salbo

'except'. ModPg. *exeto* has replaced this form, which is preserved in Fr. *sauf* 'except for'. In the Portuguese it occurs with a following *por* (cf. Eng. *save for*).

112 קונפרידא מינטי

konprida mente

'comprehensively'. The modern form *completamente* has restored the etymological cluster in the regularly-evolved form that occurs here. Note the orthographic separation of the *-mente*, a recurrent feature of adverbs throughout the corpus.

116 איסינסאש (שושטאנסיאש)

eçenças (sustançias)

'essences (substances)'. One of several cases of outright correction (or perhaps glossing) by later hand. Note that this other writer does not level the diphthong in the final syllable (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1).

122 גִּיראַסון

gēraçon

'growth'. While the intervocalic /n/ has been deleted, with no hiatus spelled, final *n* is still spelled (cf. note line 130).

124 נטורא נטוראנטי נטורא נטוראדא

n^atura n^aturante ... n^atura n^aturada

The author divides the natural world into two categories: *naturing* nature, or everything associated with God, and *natured* nature, or the heavenly bodies, the elements, and everything created from them.

f. 3r.

130 אה גִּירינאַסון אי אה קורונפיסון

ah gērenaçon e ah koronpeçon

'generation and corruption (i.e. 'growth and decay')'. Note the *r-n* metathesis in *gerenaçon* < GENERATIÖNE (ModPg. *geração*). *koronpeçon* < CORRUPTIÖNE (ModPg. *corrupção*) shows an intrusive nasal segment, possibly under the influence of related forms based on the infinitive

romper 'break' < RUMPERE (but cf. קורופיסון *koropeçon* in line 175 without the intrusive /n/).

135 קונטראירו

kontrayro

'contrary'. ModPg. *contrário* < CONTRĀRIU. This same *yod*-migration is seen throughout in most but not all words with this suffix, e.g. נישטאירא *neseçayra* < NECESSĀRIA, but פרימיירו *primeiro* < PRIMĀRIU (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

136 נון איי קואושא

non ay kousa

'there is no thing'. Although the modern language uses a the normal reflex of HABET > *há* as its existential verb, the form here, which occurs throughout this section and the text as a whole, resembles the Spanish *hay* (it is also seen occasionally in *As kores*). Note that the simple form אה (ModPg. *há*) does occur with the lexical sense of possession (e.g. line 137) or in an idiomatic construction in the sense of 'must' (e.g. line 146; cf. ModPg. *haver de* 'must').

145 סיליסטריאאיש

çeleçtriais

'heavenly'. Although it is tempting to consider this form (with *l-r* dissimilation) as the expected outcome, *celestial* occurs early enough to be considered the normal non-latinizing outcome (da Cunha 1982 cites it from the thirteenth century). The /r/ in the form here may in fact be due to contamination from *terrestre* (Williams 1962: 108), or a form of the same suffix in *silvestre* 'of the forest'.

146 אה די אקאעסיר

ah de akaeçer

'must happen'. This verb, akin to ModSp. *acaecer*, occurs throughout the text in the sense of '(be)fall, happen'. It is based on an inchoative *CADESCERE, derived from CADERE 'fall' (> ModPg. *cair*), but with a prosthetic *a-* perhaps deriving from a prefixed AD-. It has been replaced in the modern language, and in the Bodleian Passover text, by *acontecer* < *CONTIGESCERE (also an inchoative, derived from CONTINGERE 'reach'), and as such may represent a Castilian influence.

- 149 **שאבימולו**
sabemolo
 'we know this'. The enclitic pronoun illustrates the rule whereby the *-s* of the first-person plural desinence drops and the masculine object pronoun *o* is augmented by *l-*.
- 150 **ארישמטיקא**
erism^etika
 'arithmetic'. Da Cunha (1982) cites forms with <s> such as this one from the fourteenth century (ModPg. *aritmética* should thus be considered a more recent latinization). Note that the scribe consistently uses the simple sibilant letter ש rather than ס, despite the *-th-* of the Latin spelling for a segment ultimately deriving from Greek [ϕ].
- 151 **אידידאש די גומיטריאה**
edidas de gometriah
 'rules of geometry' (lit. 'edicts'). ModPg. *edital* < Late Latin EDICTALIS (da Cunha 1982); the term used here appears to derive from a more basic EDICTA, a form of the past participle of DICERE 'say' prefixed with EX-.
- 154 **שואוש קולוריש**
suos kolores
 'its colors'. Another instance of the scribe using the incorrect gender of an article or adjective. Note also that 'color(s)' appears consistently with its ל *l* intact (or restored), in contrast to *As kores* (קוריש).
- f. 3v.
- 156 **וירמילאש**
vermelas
 'red'. ModPg. *vermelho* < VERMICULU. This color term appears in *As kores* in a variety of guises, in all but one case with a palatal /l/ indicated by a following (י). This is its only occurrence without a palatal spelling in this text.
- 159 **שימיליא**
semelia
 'resembles'. ModPg. *semelhar* < *SIMILIĀRE (based on SIMILIS) has the expected palatal /l/, and most occurrences of this word in the text use

two ם *y* to indicate this. With only a single ם *y*, no real variant in pronunciation is being indicated. A similar orthographic variation occurs throughout the text in שאבי(י)וש *sabios/sabyos* 'sages' (see note line 49), which may reflect a bi- vs. tri-syllabic alternation (as opposed to a segmental variation).

- 162 אָגאָסמאָנטוש
aģegasmentos
 'collections'. ModPg. *achegar* 'join, gather' < APPLICĀRE, which occurs here with an intrusive /s/.
- 177 נִינְנוֹן אַנִּימאַל
ningun animal
 'no animal'. Note the Castilian-like negative pronoun, as opposed to those more clearly spelled with a Portuguese-like palatal segment elsewhere in the text, e.g. נִינִיּוֹן *nenyun* or נִינִיּוֹאִי *nenyuo*.
- 180 שׁוֹן אַפּראַסאַדשׁ אִי אַןאַפּראַסאַמִּינְטוֹ
son apraçad^s e an apraçamento
 'are placed and have placements'. Although ModPg. *praça* < PLATEA is restricted to the sense of '(town) square', here it seems to carry the more general meaning of 'located/location'. In lines 185 and 191 *apraçamentos* is glossed above in another hand by קוֹנוֹינִיאַ(י)נְסִיאַשׁ *konoine(e)nçias*.
- f. 4r.
- 187 מַאַיִשׁ סִרְקאַאַה
mais çerkaah
 'closer'. ModPg. *cercão* is an early loanword from Castilian *cercano* < CIRCANU. Note that the hiatus from the deleted /n/ in the form used here is spelled as explicitly as the orthography allows, with a double-א in addition to a final ה.
- 189 אוֹשׁ קוואַרטוֹשׁ דאַשׁ לוֹנאַסוֹאַישׁ
os kuartos das lunações
 'quarters of the moon' (lit. 'lunations'). Given that *lua(h)* 'moon' is the normal form throughout the text, the /n/ in this term should be considered a restoration under Latin influence.

- 190 **יילוש אי שולאנוש**
yelos e solanos
 'ice and sun'. The first word illustrates the only systematic exception to the rule that requires vowel-initial words to begin with א –[unless this is in itself proof that the scribe considered this semivowel, spelled with two ך *yy*, a full-fledged consonant. The second term is ModPg. *solão* 'sandy terrain' (cf. Sp. *solano* 'warm wind').
- 192 **אובידינטיש**
obedentes
 'obedient'. ModPg. *obediente* < OBEDIENTE. The vocalism in this form could be considered a hypercorrection, in that the scribe appears to be attempting to avoid the Castilian-like diphthong (cf. Pg. *dente* 'tooth' vs. Sp. *diente*).
- 198 **קונפוזיטיאויש**
konpoḡiçoes
 'compositions'. Note the use of ḡ *g* to indicate a sibilant, which is significantly rarer in this text than in *As kores*.
- 212 **אפריליאדוש**
ap^arilyados
 'equipped'. This word is probably related to Fr. *appareil*, It. *apparecchio* 'device' (< *APPARICULU), in this instance a participial form derived from *APPARICULATU.
- 213 **מאש אַנייא**
mas aḡinya
 'more rapidly'. ModPg. *asinha*, one of only a few instances where the text uses ḡ *g* in a word spelled with modern <s>. Houaiss (2001) notes *aginha* as a variant and suggests it derives from AGĪNA 'opening in which the bar of a scale moves'. He also cites AD SIGNA as a possible source (cf. OSp. *ahina*, It. *aggina*, Rom. *aina*). Yet the word may in fact be related to ModPg. *azo* 'ease', a loanword from Pr. *aize*, which, though found elsewhere in Romance (Fr. *aize*, It. *agio*), is of obscure origin. Interestingly, the OED notes that the earliest use of the French cognate (in the sense of 'elbow-room') occurs in the form of an eleventh-century gloss in Hebrew script.

f. 4v.

- 221 פּרסאַריאַש
pr^açerias
 'pleasures'. ModPg. *prazer* < PLACERE. This and several other feminine nouns alternate between the expected plural form (in this case *-es*) and an "extended" one plural in *-ias* (see chapter 7 § 3.1.2), e.g. אַנימאַליאַש *animalias*, which alternates with אַנימאַיש *animais* and אַנימאַליש *animales*.
- 228 אָו שײשטן סאַיו
o seisto çeo
 'the sixth heaven'. The modern etymological spelling of *sexto* belies the fact that the word is usually pronounced with a diphthong in modern Portuguese, as it is indeed spelled here. The now-archaic form שײשנאַ *sesena* occurs throughout the text as well (e.g. line 83).
- 231 אָו נױבנאַו סאַיו
o nobeo çeo
 'the ninth heaven'. This form derives from NOVĒNUS, with the /n/ deleted as expected (although the latinizing form occurs elsewhere in the text, e.g. נױבנאַ *nobena* line 248). It has been replaced in the modern language by *nono* < NŌNUS.
- 232 בײביל
bebel
 This unknown term is the name given to the ninth heaven.
- 233 אַמאַניסיר
amanecer
 'become morning'. The palatalization of the /n/ in ModPg. *amanhecer* is most likely attributable to contamination from *manhã* < *MANEĀNAM (Williams 1962: 108). If the lack of palatal spelling is not simply scribal error (cf. *vermelo* above, ModPg. *vermelho*), then the form here either derives from *AD+MANESCĒRE or else has been borrowed from Castilian (cf. ModSp. *amanecer*).

- 235 נון פודימוש טראוטאר
non podemos trautar
 'we cannot treat'. As opposed to earlier *trotar* (e.g. line 93), this form shows the diphthong that Williams (1962: 85) cites as a possible outcome of a -CT- cluster when preceded by /a/ or /o/, e.g. TRACTĀTU > *trautado*, OCTĀVU > *outavo* (cf. ModPg. *oitavo*; see note line 54).
- 237 אן דיזינו סאיו
o dezeno çeo
 'the tenth heaven'. ModPg. *décimo* < DECIMUS has replaced this form derived from *DECĒNUS, an adjective unattested in classical Latin but perfectly parallel to NOVĒNUS > *noñe(n)o* (see note line 231). Thus da Cunha's (1982) account, which derives it from a substantivization of the neuter form of the distributive DECĒNI, -AE, -A 'ten by ten', seems unnecessary (Ferreira 1999 does not give an etymon for *dezeno*).
- אוש איישיש
os ayses
 'the axes'. ModPg. *eixo* < AXIS. Note that in this case the modern form is spelled with a diphthong (cf. note line 228), though ModPg. <ex> is often realized as such.
- 238 קואגו סינטרו
koagō çentro
 'with the central zenith'. Although rarer in this text than in *As kores*, the preposition קון *kon* does on occasion fuse with the word that follows (cf. chapter 7 § 3.4), in this case *auḡo* 'zenith' (ModPg. *auge* < Ar. *awḡ*).
- 239 נובי סאיוש מוביבליש
nobe çeos mobibles
 'nine mobile heavens'. As opposed to the simpler ModPg. *móvel* < MOBILE, this adjective appears to be a longer form built on the verb *mover* with the addition of the suffix *-ível* < -IBILIS, or perhaps does go back to *MOVIBILE, a suffixed form of MOVERE.

f. 5r.

- 254 דיריבולוירשי
de.rebolverse
 'by revolving'. One of many instances of separate words written as conjoined (cf. note line 277).
- 258 טודא לוז אי קאינטי
toda luz e kaente
 'all light is warm'. ModPg. *quente* < CALENTEM, here showing the hiatus still spelled after deletion of /l/.
- 261 או לונאר מאש אלונגאדו
o lugar mas alungado
 'farthest place'. ModPg. *mais* < MAGIS occurs on occasion without a ם to indicate the diphthong, resulting in a homograph of מאש *mas* 'but'.
- 268 (אישסינטריקו) אינסינטרו
(eşcentriko) ençentro
 '(centrifugal) centripetal'. The first term is a supralinear addition in a different hand. Note that the prefix on this word is still spelled as a distinct entity – with ן for historical /ks/ – despite the possibility of fusing it orthographically with initial the ן ç of the root word.
- 272 אואובישין
oubesen
 'had'. A contrary-to-fact conditional statement, which requires the past subjunctive form of *aver*, ModPg. *houvessen* < Latin pluperfect subjunctive HABUISSENT. A similar form of ModPg. *chover* 'rain' (< *PLOVERE < PLUERE), occurs in the following line. Note the use of ן rather than ן for Pg. *v* < Lat. *w* to avoid double-ן representing a VC syllable (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.1).
- 275 פֶּאלֶאדו
falado
 'is found'. This is another occurrence of this semi-castilianized verb (see note line 4), an orthographic cross between the past participles of Pg. *achar* and Sp. *hallar* (cf. chapter 7 § 4.3).

- 276 קעב גראאוש די שואה רידונדיזא
172 graos de suah redondeza
 '172 degrees around'. This is the only occurrence of the letter ע^c in these 27 pages of *O libro de maḡika*, used for its numerical value of 70.
- 277 מאייר שופורפיאסיון
mayor su.porpeeçion
 'greater its proportion'. ModPg. *proporção* < PROPORCIONE, though the form here shows the *r*-metathesis (as well as an unexpected long /e/ in its second syllable) also seen in forms such as פירניטש *pernet*'s 'planets' (line 94).
- f. 5v.
- 282 די שירון
diseron
 '(they) said' < DIXERUNT, spelled with the simple sibilant letter despite the segment not deriving from simple Latin /s/.
- 284 אווא פיניניון
ou pininyon
 'the opinion'. ModPg. *opinião* < OPINIONE. The extra syllable is most likely the same scribal error that occurs sporadically elsewhere (e.g. ארינימראר *arenememrar* 'remember' line 737).
- 285 טאן פוקו
tan poko
 'as small (as)'. This apocopated form of *tanto*, like *muy* (an apocopated form of *muito*), has become the standard form of the adverb in Spanish, but has disappeared from Modern Portuguese, except in such forms as *também* 'also'.
- 295 נומיאריון
nomeareon
 'named'. ModPg. *nomear* < NOMINĀRE alternates in the text with the doublet נומברארון *nombraron* (e.g. line 292). This latter form is most likely a Castilianism, since *-mn-* clusters (in this case resulting from syncope) were not subject to epenthesis as they were in Spanish, e.g.

SEMINARE 'sow' > Pg. *semear*, Sp. *sembrar*; HOMINES 'men' > JPg. אומיאיש *omees*, ModPg. *homens*, ModSp. *hombres*.

- 299 דישי טולומיאן אינו סינטילִוֹגִיאן
dise tolomeo eno çentilōgio
 'Ptolemy said in the *Centiloquium*'. Note that neither the astrologer's name nor the name of his treatise is spelled in a classicizing fashion (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.3), in contrast to the usual form of Aristotle's name, which is repeatedly cited further on in the text (see note line 672).
- 301 נומיארון אה אישטש דווי פארטיש
nomearon ah est^as doze partes
 'named these twelve parts'. Although the presence of the preposition *a* could be due to the semantics of the verb *nomear* being used in the sense of 'gave name to', this is more likely a prepositional accusative (cf. note line 503).
- דיש דא רואודא אוקינסאל
des da rouda okençal
 'from the western wheel'. Although forms of the more expected אוקסידִינְטאל *okçidental* do occur elsewhere (e.g. line 314), this appears to be a miswritten form of the same word meaning 'western', indicating a clockwise motion toward the north. Note the use of a form akin to ModPg. *desde* 'from' (here contracted with the definite article *a*), which normally occurs in the corpus as דישקי *deske* or דיש *des* alone.
- 302 קונטרא פארטי די שיטרינטיאון
kontra parte de sentrention
 'towards the north(ern part)'. Note the intrusive /n/ and *r*-metathesis in this term derived from SEPTENTRIONE (see note line 316).
- 304 אקאיררו
akayro
 'Aquarius'. The author presents the first listing of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, with this term occurring next-to-last. ModPg. *Aquário* has restored the labiovelar /kw/, which is not represented in the spelling of this word anywhere in the first twenty-seven pages of the text. An even more simplified אקארו *akaro* occurs in line 315, although the lack of

diphthong in the final syllable may simply be scribal error. Note also the *yod*-migration seen in other -ARIU words (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

פיסיש

peçes

'Pisces'. ModPg. *peixes* < PISCIS preserves (or has restored) the -s of the Latin form, but is otherwise a regular outcome. In this text, however, it never appears with a diphthong spelling similar to the modern form (cf. note line 228).

305 **אין פילינסאש דיורשאש**

in felenças deversas

'various influences'. This is the only occurrence of this highly variable word in which the prefix is graphically separated, although this practice does occur with several other terms (cf. note line 83).

306 **דיידאן**

dividan

'preside'. This is the only occurrence of this recurrent verb (cf § 2.1 and note line 2) without the initial *a*-. Note also the rare use of the etymologically-justified ם for the bilabial consonant.

f. 6r.

309 **אורינטאאיש**

orientais

'eastern'. ModPg. *oriental* < ORIENTĀLIS. As in **אובידינטי** *obedente* above (see note line 192), the diphthong that appears in both the Latin and the modern form is here leveled, probably in a hypercorrect attempt to avoid a Castilianism (cf. chapter 7 § 4.3.1).

טריפיליסידאשדי דו שול

tripeleçidasde do sol

'triplicity of the sun'. ModPg. *triplidade*. The term normally occurs without the intrusive /s/, e.g. line 312 (cf. **אגינאשמנטוש** *ağegasmentos* line 162).

- 310 **פרופיאה מינטי**
propiah mente
 'properly'. Although it is almost the norm to see the *-mente* of adverbs written separately, the use of ה on *propia*, a graphy reserved for final positions (cf. chapter 3 § 2.2.1), illustrates the degree to which the scribe considered these to be graphically-independent words.
- 313 **גֵיִמִינִי**
gēemeni
 'Gemini'. ModPg. *Gêmeos* or *Gêminis*, although in the text this sign of the Zodiac is always vowel-final. It is, however, usually spelled with a graphically long vowel – that is, two vowel graphemes (ֵ followed by אֵ) – in the first syllable, which corresponds to the circumflex accent in the modern spelling. There are other words in the corpus with a hiatus whose modern orthographic reflex is a single circumflex-bearing vowel: **קונפואיר** *konpoer* (ModPg. *compôr*) 'compose' in line 7, **פואוש** *poos* (ModPg. *pôs*) 'placed' in the Brotherton Passover text, and the variant **קואור** *koor* (ModPg. *côr* 'colour') in *As kores* (cf. chapter 7 § 2.1, 2.2). Of course the uses of the circumflex accent in Portuguese orthography extend to contexts beyond historical vowel coalescence, and the different standards followed in Europe and Brazil have been subject to repeated revisions (see Castro, Duarte, and Leiria 1987).
- 316 **שיטריטינוואיש**
setretentinoais
 'northern'. Although ModPg. *setentrional* < SEPTENTRIONALE has been relatinized (apart from the simplified -PT- cluster), forms of this word show various degrees of vowel metathesis, *r*-migration, and *n*-intrusion in other instances, e.g. **שיטריטרינואל** *setretinoal* (line 463), **שיטריטיאון** *setreteon* (line 693), **שנטריטיאון** *s^entreteon* (line 815). On top of that, the scribe appears to have repeated a syllable in this occurrence.
- 319 **איראש**
ayras
 'Aries'. This term appears consistently in this text with /a/, sometimes implicit (i.e. with no (י) following), in the second syllable. The apparent *r*-yod metathesis (ModPg. *Áries* is a relatinization) is perhaps due to contamination from a similar phenomenon in forms containing a suffix derived from -ARIU (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

324 דיארנו אי אורינאל

diurno e orenal

'diurnal and eastern'. The scribe has presumably forgotten the ט *t* for *oriental*, but still hypercorrects a putative Castilianism by levelling the diphthong in the second syllable (ModPg. *oriental*).

326 אסידינטי

açedente

'ascendant'. ModPg. *ascendente* has restored the /n/ that remains deleted in words such as *começar* < CUM+INITIARE and in the form used here (though אסינדינטי *açendente* does occur elsewhere in the text).

שאניודו

sanyudo

'grim, terrible'. Both Ferreira (1999) and Houaiss (2001) claim that ModPg. *sanhudo* (as well as its synonym *sanhoso*) derive ultimately from adjectives based on INSANIA 'madness', perhaps a Late Latin -UTU participle of *(IN)SANIARE. In noting other words the have lost initial syllables, however, Williams (1963: 104) mentions that the development of *sanha* from INSANIA may have been influenced by SANIĒS 'gore, diseased blood'. Machado (1967-73) less subtly suggests that a Vulgar Latin *SANIA replaced the classical term.

לידאדור אי בראלייאדור

lidador e bralyador

'quarreller and fighter'. ModPg. *lidar* 'struggle, deal with' < LITIGARE. ModPg. *b(a)ralhar* 'confuse' is of uncertain origin, although the word used here is probably related to Fr. *brouiller* 'blur, scramble' or It. *imbroglio*.

327 קוביסושו די אויירו

kobiçoso de oyro

'covetous of gold'. ModPg. *cobiçoso*, an adjective derived from the noun *cobiça* < CUPIDITIA.

- 328 אוריבֿיז
oribez
 'goldware'. ModPg. *ourives* < *ourivezes* < AURIFICES (Williams 1962: 111) based on the agent noun AURIFIEX 'goldsmith', used here in a collective sense.
- 331 פרלאדוּש
pr^elados
 'pearled ones'. The lack of explicit vowel in the first syllable in fact makes the *r*-migration uncertain (i.e. whether it has moved to the onset cluster or remained in coda position).
- 333 מארגנאריטאש פריסאדאש
margaritas preçadas
 'precious pearls'. ModPg. *margarida* shows a further lenition in the final syllable than the ט *ṭ* here. ModPg. *preciosa* < PRETIOSA, but the form used here is a participial adjective derived from *preço* < PRETIU.
- 335 טאנגיר אישטורמינטוש די גֿוגראיש
tanger istormentos de ḡograis
 'play instruments of jesters'. Note the initial syllable and *r*-migration in comparison to ModPg. *instrumento* (cf. line 401 טאנגירדור די אישטורמינטוש *tanḡedor de istormentos* 'player of instruments'). ModPg. *jogral* is a loanword from Pr. *joglar* < IOCLĀTÖRE with *r-l* metathesis.
- סינסירוש
çençeros
 'bells'. This word, which does not survive in the modern language, is related to (if not borrowed from) Sp. *cencerro* 'cowbell', *cencerreo* 'jangle, rattle', an onomatopaeic formation possibly based on Basque *zinzerrí* (Corominas 1980).
- גאאדוש באקונוש
gaados bakunos
 'cattle', lit. 'bovine herds'. ModPg. *gado* < **ganado*, the past participle of **ganar*, a verb of uncertain origin. Houaiss (2001) cites derivations of the related ModPg. *ganhar* from Frankish **waidanjan* 'gather, harvest', while Corominas (1980) derives OPg. *gāar* and ModSp. *ganar* from a Gothic verb **ganan* 'covet' (Nascentes 1932 considers *ganado* itself, like

the related nouns *gana* and *ganância*, as outright Castilian borrowings). The modern spelling does not contain any indication of the hiatus from the deleted /n/ (cf. ModSp. *ganado*), indicated here by the presence of consecutive א. The second word is an adjective based on *vaca* 'cow', since *gaado* may have had a more general sense of 'assets, (live)stock'.

336 פִּרְטֵעֵן

perteçen

'pertain'. ModPg. *pertenecer* < *PERTINESCERE, an inchoative derived from PERTINĒRE. The form occurs here with its intervocalic /n/ deleted and the resulting hiatus eliminated.

340 פֶּרִישׁוֹ

p^oreso

'lazy'. ModPg. *preguiçoso* < *pegritiosu, based on PIGRITIA (the source of ModPg. *preguiça* 'laziness') and ultimately derived from the adjective PIGER (cf. It. *pigro*). The form used here appears to be a back-formation based on an archaic or perhaps borrowed form (cf. ModSp. *perezoso*), though it may be more directly related to the noun פֶּרִישִׁיָּא *p^oresiah* that occurs later in the text (cf. note line 428). Note that based on orthographic grounds alone the implicit vowel is more likely /a/ (cf. OPr. *pareza*, Fr. *parese*).

f. 6v.

343 קְבִילְדוֹשׁ אִי אִירְמָאנְדָּאדִישׁ אִי קוֹפְרָאדִיאַשׁ

k^abildos e ermandades e konfrarias

'chapters, brotherhoods, and fraternities'. The first term, probably a Castilianism (Sp. *cabildo* < *cabid'lo < CAPITULU), recurs twice in the text lacking an ל, as per the native development of intervocalic /l/ (see note line 793).

344 פֶּרִירִיאַשׁ אִי פֶּרָאדִישׁ

freirias e frades

'friaries and friars'. ModPg. *frade* < FRATRE, whose general sense of 'brother' was replaced by *irmão* < GERMANU. ModPg. *freiria* is probably based on a related Provençal loanword (Ferreira 1999).

- 345 מִרְגָּנְדִּיאַשׁ
mergāndias
 'merchandise'. Although replaced by ModPg. *mercadorias*, this noun appears to derive from the present participle of a verb *MERCATARE, based on MERCĀTUS 'market' (the OED cites this Vulgar Latin verb as a frequentative based on MERCĀRĪ 'trade'). The unexpected fricative (spelled ך) may point to OFr. *marchandise* (based on *marchëant* < *MERCATANTE) as the immediate source.
- 346 פִּיאֹאִישׁ אִי סִרְבוֹשׁ
peoes e çerbos
 'pawns and stags'. ModPg. *peão* < *PEDONE. Note the use of ך *b* to spell the /v/ < Lat. /w/ in *çerbo* < CERVU, versus the double-וּ used for the same word in *As kores*. These terms do seem very much out of context in the listings of Gemini's dominions.
- 350 אִישְׁקִרִיבָּאֹא
eskriḃao
 'scribe'. ModPg. *escriba* has replaced this form derived from *SCRIBANU (cf. Fr. *écrivain*). It is one of the rare cases in this text of a nasalized final syllable spelled without the nasal consonant.
- 351 אוֹפִּיִסְיֹא פּוּבְרִיקוֹ
ofício pubriko
 'public office'. ModPg. *publico* is a relatinized spelling, as shown by the restored *-bl-* cluster versus the *-br-* in the form used here.
- 353 אִישְׁפִּיטְאֵלִידְאֵדִישׁ
espetalidades
 'hospitalities'. ModPg. *hospitalidade* has restored the vowel that appears as /e/ in the form here, as seen in other words beginning with vowel-s (e.g. אִישְׁטְרוֹלוֹגְיָה *astrologia*), perhaps due to the influence of *es-*initial words (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).
- 359 אִישְׁפְּרִיטוֹשׁ
espritos
 'spirits'. ModPg. *espíritu*, appearing here in a slightly more evolved form with the syncope of the vowel in the second syllable. The stress position in the modern form (as opposed to ModSp. *espíritu*) may have

been influenced by words containing a *-tude* < -TUTE suffix (e.g. וירטורי *virtude*, which occurs frequently in the text).

362 לינסואואוש

lençouos

'(bed)sheets'. ModPg. *lençó* < LINTEOLU. Although the many letters used to spell the vowels in this form do suggest that the hiatus left by the deleted /l/ is still very much present in either the scribe's pronunciation or perception of this word, it is also possible to see this spelling as a repeated syllable due to scribal error.

אלגופאר

alḡofar

'pearl'. ModPg. *aljôfar* < Ar. al-ḡauhar, although this item is also expressed in the modern language by *pérola*.

363 אקאטיקו

akatiko

'aquatic'. As in *akario* 'Aquarius' above, there is no indication of the labiovelar found in ModPg. *aquático*, though ו *w* is indeed used for this purpose in other contexts (cf. line 365 גואנייאר *guanyara*).

365 ליגירו די אינשאניאר

ligeiro de ensanyar

'easy to teach'. ModPg. *ligeiro* < Fr. *léger* < *LEVIARIU, based on LEVIS (Ferreira 1999). ModPg. *ensinar* < INSIGNARE does not show the palatal *n* that appears in the form used here, as was the normal outcome of Latin /gn/ clusters.

גואנייאר

guanyara

'will earn'. Note the initial גו- <gw-> and palatal *n*, in contrast to the related noun גאנאנסא *ganança* used elsewhere (e.g. line 74).

369 אלקידיש

alkeides

'prefects'. According to da Cunha (1982), the modern term *alcaide* in fact represents two distinct loanwords whose meaning were already confused in medieval Portuguese: *alcaide* < Ar. al-qā'id denoted the

ruler of a castle or province, while *alcalde* < Ar. al-qāḏī denoted an officer of the court (the Pg. /l/ is the same as that in אלוֹיִיאַלְדִי *alv^ayalde* < *al-bayād*, a reflex of the so-called "emphatic lateral"; cf. chapter 4 § 5, note line 130). In the sense intended by the usage here, the modern language uses *prefeito* < PRAEFECTU (except in reference to Modern Spain, where the term persists as the name for this administrative post).

f. 7r.

371 אינרִינַאשׁ

enreḡas

'energies'. ModPg. *energia*, ultimately a Greek loanword, occurs here with the *r*-migration seen in other forms throughout the text. The word also occurs in line 381 with an "extended" plural יאַשׁ -*ias* (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1.2).

373 מוי באַלינטישׁ

mui balentes

'very fierce.' ModPg. *valente* is a present participle based on VALĒRE 'prevail; be worth'. The apocopated adverb has been replaced in the modern language by *muito* < MULTUM.

377 לומיאר

lumiār

'light, luminary'. ModPg. *luminar* < LUMINARIS has restored the /n/ that has been deleted in the form used here.

378 אורנאדו

ornado

'honoured'. ModPg. *honrado* is a participle based on HONŌRĀRE, though the form used here is another victim of the *r*-migration seen elsewhere (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

379 בֹּאוּנְטאַדִי

bountade

'will'. The ambiguities in the spelling of vowels makes it possible to read this as ModPg. *bondade* 'kindness' < BONITATE. However, the diacritic on the initial segment, as well as the *-tade* ending, make this

and other occurrences more likely to be forms of ModPg. *vontade* 'will, volition' < VOLUNTATE (cf. אינימיזטאדי *enemiztade* line 417).

אפֿינקאָדו אין שװאַש אױבראַש

afinkado en suas obras

'persevering in his works'. ModPg. *fincar* < *FIGICARE, based on FIGERE 'fasten' (also the source of the doublet *ficar* 'remain', as well as Fr. *ficher*, It. *ficare*). Most Portuguese etymologists simply cite nasalization as the source of the unetymological /n/. For the Spanish cognate, however, which does not have the *n*-less doublet (ModSp. *hincar* 'sink, kneel'), Corominas (1980) suggests that it arose by analogy with Asturian *finsar* 'delimit with landmarks', a semi-learned derivative of the related FIXARE.

384 שיאינסאַש דיויניאַליש

seenças divinyales

'divinational sciences'. ModPg. *divinal* does not have the palatal as it is spelled here, but the form used here may be influenced by *adivinhar* < DĪVĪNĀRE, where a palatalized nasal did develop (Williams 1962: 72), or else it may reflect the development of a *-IARE verb-forming suffix.

386 פאַרדאַ אױאַן קמיליינאַדאַ

parda ou k^ameleinada

'brown or camel-colored'. ModPg. *pardo* may also indicate a grey or drab colour (the word ultimately comes through Latin from Greek *pardoi* 'panther', and in Spanish may still on its own denote 'leopard'). A form more similar to ModPg. *camelino* 'camel' occurs in line 428.

388 מוריר לייאַן

morir lyan

'(they) will die on him'. Note that the verb ending and indirect object pronoun, which is interposed between the desinence and the verb stem, are orthographically separated from the stem (cf. chapter 7 § 1.2).

389 אַגורירר

agoreiro

'foreboder, presager'. ModPg. *agoureiro* has the diphthong resulting from *yod*-metathesis (cf. *agoiros* elsewhere), though it has been leveled to a simple vowel here.

- 393 **קירישאטיקוש אי שיגולאריש**
keresatikos e segulares
 'ecclesiastics and laypeople'. While ModPg. *eclesiástico* has been relatinized, this form shows a development similar to **קריפשיש** *kripsēs* < ECLIPSIS (cf. note line 57), with an additional vowel epenthesis. ModPg. *secular* < SAECULARIS has restored the voiceless velar that appears voiced in the evolved form here (cf. note line 90).
- 395 **בונשאש**
bonsas
 'purses'. This term, preceded by 'jewels and belts', seems to denote an item of women's clothing, perhaps related to ModPg. *bolsa* < BURSA (ultimately from Greek).
- 399 **גושטיסושו אי דיריטיירו**
gostiçoso e dereitero
 'spendthrift and wasteful'. ModPg. *gostoso* 'tasty, pleasant' < GUSTU+ŌSU. The form used here may be formed by analogy with adjectives like *precioso* < PRETIOSU. ModPg. *derreter* is based on *reter* < *RETERERE < TERERE 'rub (out), polish'.
- 400 **לויטאדור אי טריבילייאדור קון ארמאש**
luitador e trebelyador kon armas
 'fighter and worker with weapons'. ModPg. *lutador* < LUCTATŌRE has leveled the diphthong that resulted from the palatalization of the /kt/ cluster. Note the odd vocalism in the second term (ModPg. *travahador*, which also occurs just above; cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).
- f. 7v.
- 405 **אוש קי באשטיסין אש טריאיסואיש**
os ke bastęen as treeçoes
 'those who plot treasons'. ModPg. *bastecer* 'conceive (a plan), conspire' is based on a loanword from OFr. *bastir* (ModFr. *bâtir* 'build'), itself borrowed from Low Frankish **bastjan* 'weave'. The French word is first attested in a twelfth-century gloss by Rashi, in the sense of 'sew' (TLF).

- 408 שירנגרינקוש
ser^angrinkos
 '???' The lack of overt vowel letters intervening in the sequence of four consonants makes it unclear whether this is four- or five-syllable word, and where those syllable divisions fall.
- 409 מיסישטראאיש די פונג קון אגואה
meçestrais de fogo kon aguah
 'artisans of fire with water'. The first term appears to be related to *meester* < MINISTERIU, perhaps with interference from *maestria*.
- 411 לישאריאש
lesarias
 'lusts'. This is probably a variant of the word that usually occurs in the text as לישוריאש *lesurias* (ModPg. *luxúria*).
- 412 טראשאַיגוש
trasaiḡos
 'disorders'. This is probably based on a form prefixed by TRANS-, perhaps related to Sp. *trasiago* 'switch; upset'.
- פוזוש אי טושיקוש
pozos e tosikos
 'wells and poisons'. ModPg. *poço* < PUTEU. ModPg. *toxicidade* contains an additional nominal suffix not found in the more basic term used here.
- 415 גאנאדור אי טריאידור
ganador e treedor
 'deceiver and traitor'. The first term is an agent noun related to *engano* 'deceit', which occurs elsewhere in the text. ModPg. *traidor* < TRADITORE, spelled with an unexpected long vowel instead of the modern diphthong.
- 415 פובאאו
pobao
 'population'. ModPg. *poovo* < POPULU. The form used here, which does not survive in the modern language, is derived from *POPOLANU, with deletion of both /l/ and /n/.

- 416 **אין פֿורמיזן**
en formezo
 'sickly'. This term is probably related to Sp. *enfermizo*. Note the use of the final form ן *n* on what the scribe has construed as a graphically-independent word.
- 417 **אינימיזטאדיש**
enemiztades
 'enmities'. ModPg. *inimizade* < *INIMICITATE. The identity of the first three vowels is, apart from their frontness, ambiguous between /e/ and /i/. Note the /t/ (cf. **בֿואונטאדי** *ḥoontade* line 379), which has been assimilated to the /z/ in the modern form.
- 418 **די בינדיזיש**
de bendezēs
 'vendettas'. ModPg. *vingança* 'vengeance' is based on *vingar* 'avenge' < VINDICĀRE. The ך *d* in the consonant cluster here may in fact be influenced by *vendeta* itself, a related noun borrowed from Italian and attested in Portuguese as early as the fourteenth century (Houaiss 2001). The די that precedes the word, though it is written separately, may in fact be a prefix akin to those in Sp. *revancha* or Eng. *revenge*, particularly as none of the other nouns that surround it in the list of Scorpio's domains are preceded by a preposition. As such it is possible that the scribe has misread the initial ך (or <ɾ>) in his source and miswritten it here.
- 419 **איסקינדאדיש אי קורוסואמינטוש**
eçkindades e koroçoamentos
 'avarices and wraths'. The first term recurs in line 554 with initial *m*-, which is the expected form (ModPg. *mesquinhez* 'stinginess, narrow-mindedness', based on Ar. *miskīn*; cf. note line 677). The second word is probably akin to Fr. *courroucement*, an archaic noun based on *courroucer* 'anger' < *CORRUPTIARE, a derivative of CORRUPŦUM, past participle of CORRUMPERE 'destroy' (TLF).

אן שיאש אי קריאניש

an seas e krianes

'anxieties and fears'. ModPg. *ânsia* < ANXIA, spelled with the final form ן *n* (mistakenly) indicating an orthographically separate word. The second term is probably related to OFr. *crieme* (ModFr. *crainte*, based on *craindre* < *CREMERE, a variant of TREMERE 'tremble').

420 קארטיליש אי פרישיוניש

karteles e prisiones

'jails and prisons'. The ט is no doubt a scribal error for ס in *karçel* (ModPg. *cárcere* < CARCER, -ERIS), which shows the dissimilation seen in ModSp. *cárcel* as well as other words in Portuguese, e.g. *solar*. ModPg. *prisão* < PREHĒNSIŌNE, here spelled conservatively with ן *n*.

424 גאגאדו אינא קאביסא אי אינוש לונבוס

gagado ena kabeça e enos lonbos

'wounded in the head and in the loins'. ModPg. *chaga* 'wound' < PLAGA, with the initial sibilant spelled using the letter ן *g*. ModPg. *lombo* < LUMBU, spelled with the letter ן *n* to indicate nasalization.

425 אדונאר שיליאן בישטאש די קבאלגאר

adonar selean bestas de k^abalgar

'riding animals will be given to him'. ModPg. *cavalgar* < CABALLICĀRE. Note again the orthographic separation of the object pronouns שילי- *sele-* and verb desinence אן *-an* (cf. note line 388).

427 קנבאדור

k^anbador

This term, which follows *vinyador*, seems to be related to a function in wine-making, perhaps akin to Fr. *caviste* 'wine merchant' (in which case the /n/ is intrusive). Since the context is not certain, however, it could be another word related to Sp. *campeador* 'warrior'.

פאנוש אינדיאוש אי קמילינוש

panos indios e k^amelinos

'indigo and camel-colored cloths'. Note the preservation of an original geminate in *pano* < PANNU but the deletion of the consonant in *indio* < INDICUS, restored in ModPg. (*côr-de-*)*indigo* (cf. ModPg. *indio* 'indium').

- 428 פרישיאה
p^aresiah
 'laziness'. Although this term resembles ModPg. *paresia* 'paralysis' (ultimately from Greek *páresis*), the normal term in the modern language is *preguiça* < PIGRITIA (showing the *r*-migration seen more broadly in this text). Perhaps, then, this is not the native form of a PIGRU-derivative, but a loanword based on Pr. *pareza* or Fr. *parasse*, which are ultimately based on PIGRITIA as well but with the suffix shifted to *-icia* and a later vowel change in the first syllable (TLF).
- 429 אלדיאיש
aldeeos
 'villages'. ModPg. *aldeia* < Ar. *aḏ-ḏay^ca* is feminine. Note that the final syllable, though it follows a vowel as is itself vowel-initial, does not require diacritic א.
- 430 שאייואיש
sayoes
 'pages'. ModPg. *saião* 'executioner' < Gothic *sayo* (cf. Latin SAGIO).
- מיריניירוש
merenyeros
 'sailors'. Note the unexpected /e/ (ModPg. *marinheiro*) in the initial syllable (cf. note line 400).
- f. 8r.
- 433 נאאדוש קאברונוש
gaados kabronos
 'goat chattel'. As in line 322, *gaados* indicates 'assets' or 'wealth' in general, and so it is qualified by an adjective derived from *CAPRUNU < CAPRĪNUS 'goat-related' (ModPg. *cabrum*) to specify the type of livestock.
- 437 אינגיניוש
ingēnoso
 'smart, ingenious'. ModPg. *ingenhoso* < IN+GENIU+ŌSU, occurring here without the palatalized nasal indicated, perhaps as another instance of hypercorrection to avoid what the scribe took to be a Castilianism.

- 438 לייביאאו
leibeiao
 'frivolous'. Probably based on *leve* 'light'.
- 439 קבאלוש רוביאאוש
k^abalos robeaos
 '??? horses'. This adjective may be related to ModPg. *ruivo* 'red(head)' < RUBEU (Sp. *rubio*, Fr. *rouge*), perhaps used figuratively in the sense of 'wild' or 'untamed'.
- 441 פֶּאָרְהַ
far^ah
 'will make'. Note the use of "unsupported" ה, i.e. without a preceding א, which is relatively rare in this text (cf. chapter 3 § 2.2.1).
- 442 טיראש אלייאש
teras alyas
 'remote lands'. *alya* < ALIA 'other'.
- אישאלסאמינטו
esalçamento
 'exaltation.' ModPg. *exaltacão* < EXALTĀTIŌNE. This deverbial noun is based on *EXALTIĀRE, the putative hybrid of EXALTĀRE and *ALTIĀRE (da Cunha 1982). Note the "simple" sibilant letter ש used in the reflex of the EX- prefix (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.2).
- 445 אישקורידאדיש
eskuridades
 'obscurities'. ModPg. *obscuridade* is a more recent formation than this form derived from OBSCŪRITĀTE. The initial vowel may be due to contamination from other words containing *es-* < EX- (cf. note line 353).
- 446 גֹּדֵיאוּשׁ
gudeos
 'Jews'. ModPg. *judeu* < IŪDAEU, mentioned here for the first time on the fifteenth page of the manuscript, with no special phonological or orthographic treatment apparent.

- 447 פִּישׁוּאֵשׁ וִיאִישׁ
pesoas vees
 'old people'. ModPg. *velho* < VET(U)LU, based on VETUS. The form here may be another hypercorrect attempt to avoid what the scribe perceives to be a Castilian-like palatal. It may also be a pre-nominal form of *velho*, i.e. *vel(h)*, an alternation akin to *santo/são* 'saint' (de Acosta, p.c.).
- 452 קוֹיטאַשׁ
koytas
 'disgraces, miseries'. Although this word itself does not exist in the modern language, ModPg. *coitado* 'poor, wretched' is the participle of OPg. *coitar* < *COCTĀRE, a participle formed from *CŌCTU, itself a development of COACTUS, the participle of CŌGERE 'obligate' (da Cunha 1982).
- 461 מִלּוּזִינִיאָדוֹרִישׁ
meluzenyadores
 'medicinal'. It is possible that the scribe has written this word with ל as a hypercorrect way to indicate the hiatus from the deleted /d/ (the normal form elsewhere is מִיאִיזִינִיאָ meezinya < MEDECĪNA). It could also be related to *Melusine* 'half-woman half-serpent (Celtic) fairy' (Machado 1967-73).
- 463 קְרִירִיגוֹ
krerigo
 'clergyman'. ModPg. *clérigo* < CLĒRICU has restored the /l/ which in the regular development of the cluster became /r/, as seen here.
- f. 8v.
- 466 לִיאָגִין
liāgen
 'lineage'. ModPg. *linhagem* is borrowed from OPr. *linhatge*, via French *lignage*. The deletion of the intervocalic nasal, however, shows this to be either an analogical formation or else the native outcome of *LINEAGINE (cf. לִאָבִאגִין *albaāgen* 'egg white' < *ALBAGINE in *As kores*, replaced by ModPg. *alburne* < ALBUMEN).

- 469 **אוי אינסאש**
ave enças
 'holdings', oddly divided by the scribe. This term (based on a present participle) alternates throughout the text with the substantivized infinitive **אוייריש** *averes*. Note that both exhibit an orthographic ambiguity in that the initial letters could be read as "diacritic-א plus ן" spelling /o/ or /u/.
- 471 **אנטיגואאיש**
antigouos
 '(the) ancients'. ModPg. *antigo* < ANTIQUUS has leveled the (labio-)velar variation that appeared in Late Latin and is seen in the form here, probably due to influence from the feminine form ANTIQUA (da Cunha 1982).
- 474 **איסטומוגו**
estomogo
 'stomach'. ModPg. *estomago* < STOMACHU. Note the unexpected vocalism in the penultimate syllable.
- 475 **קאדייראש**
kadeiras
 'hips'. The modern term *cadeira* < CATHEDRA, a Greek loanword whose primary sense in the singular is 'chair', alternates with *quadril*.
- 476 **מושאלוש**
musalos
 'thighs'. This term may refer to a specific muscle of the thigh, since *coxa* also occurs a few words further on (cf. Sp. *muslo* 'thigh; drumstick').
- 477 **קושאש**
kosas
 'thighs'. Although the modern spelling is *coxa* < COXA, the scribe has not used the letter ס, which normally serves to spell sibilants that derive from sources other than Latin /s/.

גָּאָרֵיטֵישׁ

gāretes

'backs of the knees'. ModPg. *jarrete* < Fr. *jarret*, based on Gaulish **garra* 'leg' (Houaiss 2001).

483 אָדִיבְדָּאוֹ

adibdao

'preside (over)'. This is another rare case of nasalized ending spelled without a nasal consonant, one of the only instances with this all-pervasive verb.

484 שֵׁי טִישְׁטֹרְנָאן

se testornan

'rotate'. Although the related form טראשטורנאדוּשׁ *trastornados* occurs with the more expected prefix in line 483, this variation is similar to that seen in טרימודאסואישׁ *tremudações* (line 78) for the more frequent טראשמודאסואישׁ *trasmudações*.

487 טֹלֹמֵאוֹ קֹנְפֹּשׁוֹ שֵׁישׁ אֹרְדֵיִישׁ

tolomeo konposo seis ordees

'Ptolemy composed six orders'. The consonant-final preterite of *pôr* 'put' (ModPg. *pos* < POSUIT) is still vowel-final here. The singular form of ModPg. *ordem* does occur a bit further on, spelled with the final *n* as is characteristic of the Judeo-Portuguese corpus.

490 נֹמֵיִאוֹ

nomeeo

'named'. ModPg. *nomear* still contains a hiatus from the deletion of intervocalic /n/, and as a result may in fact be a more recent formation or borrowing, since such hiatuses have generally coalesced in the modern language. In the form used here the hiatus is clearly indicated by the three *matres lectionis*.

f. 9r.

- 503 דירון אה קאפיקורניו אי אה אקאריו אה שטורנו פור קאשש
deron ah kapikornio e ah akario ah s^aturno
 'assigned Capricorn and Aquarius to Saturn'. In this and the statements that follow, a prepositional accusative is used to assign two of the signs of the Zodiac to each of the planets "as houses."
- 508 דיאירון
deeron
 'gave'. 3rd plural preterite (ModPg. *deram* < DEDERUNT). In this section the verb has occurred with a simple *ɨ* /e/ vowel, as well as the short diphthong *ɨi* /ei/, in addition to the orthographically long one here (as signaled by the intervening א).
- 510 שימילייאבליאה
semelyabeliah
 'resembles'. This appears to be a verb based on the adjective שימילייאביל *semelyabel* 'similar' (though a more expected שימיליי(א)ן *semeli(y)an* < *SIMILIAN < SIMILANT does occur in line 519).
- 511 אלילש
alel^s
 'to them'. This is probably a scribal error for אאילש *a.el^s*, referring to the planets.
- 517 אננוש אינדיאנוש
angunos indianos
 'some Indians'. The scribe has apparently written נ *n* in the place of the ל *l* in what should be *algunos*.
- 520 אורדיניארון
ordenyaron
 'ordered'. Presumably to account for the unexpected palatal (ModPg. *ordernar*), da Cunha (1982) derives this form from the Latin passive infinitive ORDINĀRI. Not only are original passives rarely the immediate source for Romance developments, however, this word surely falls within the variation seen elsewhere between verbs with and without a

palatal in stem-final position (cf. אורדינארון *ordenaron* line 545; also cf. chapter 7 § 2.4).

521 אינסאלשאסון

ençalsaçon

'exaltation'. This form shows the same intrusive /n/ seen in אינשוטו *enšuto* 'dry' < *EXSUCTU < EXSŪCCATU from *O livro de komo se fazen as kores*, which has persisted in other words as well (e.g. ModPg. *ensaio* < EXAGIU). Its spelling varies quite a bit in this section, including a form with the *en-* orthographically separated (as indicated by the final ן *n*) in line 525 and one with all sibilants spelled with ס ç in line 526.

522 טו גראאוש

15 graos

'15 degrees'. As is customary for this scribe, the *rafeh* over the letters indicate that they are being used as numerical values, though on occasion he uses an intervening apostrophe instead.

527 טובירון אין אישטו מינטיש

tuberon en esto mentes

'(they) set their minds upon this'. The idiomatic meaning of *têr* 'have' may be a function of its preterite form.

פאלארון קי

falaron ke

'said that'. ModPg. *falar* < *FABULĀRE, like its ModSp. cognate *hablar*, means 'speak', but is here used in the sense of (ModPg.) *dizer* 'say'.

f. 9v.

531 אישלסואיש קי אדיבדאן אינשאלסאמינטוש

es^alçoes ke adibdan ensalçamentos

'exaltations that affect exaltations'. The intrusive /n/ does not seem to appear in this word in any predictable way.

- 536 **טריפּיסידאדי**
trepeçidade
 'triplicity'. Written across a line break in the manuscript, this word, which occurs elsewhere (cf. note line 309) as **טריפּיליסידאדי** *trepeleçidade*, occurs here with the *-le-* syllable missing.
- 548 **טאַבלאַש**
tablas
 'tables'. ModPg. *tábu*a 'board' < TABULA is semi-learned, although this word could also be related to ModPg. *tabela* < TABELLA.
- 557 **אַאַן אױש לױמאַריש**
aun os lumiares
 'have lights'. This appears to be a form of *aver* (ModPg. *hã*o < HABENT) written using the scribe's best strategy for spelling the hiatus left from the deleted consonant. The final consonant, whether it was fully pronounced or not, serves to disambiguate this word from what would otherwise be its homograph **אַאַן** *ao* 'to the'.
- ױנין אפּױגאַמינטױ**
venen apogamento
 'come (to their) apogee'. This may be a nominal form with the *-mento* suffix characteristic of nouns in the text related to ModPg. *apogeu* < Gk. *apógeion*.
- 558 **בייש אײטראַניױש**
bees aytranyos
 'foreign goods'. ModPg. *estranho* 'strange' < EXTRANEU. The initial vowel shows the opposite of the usual unexpected vocalism (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6), in that the *es-* prefix itself is avoided.
- 560 **דישוונטאַראַדױש**
desvontarados
 'unfortunate'. This appears to be a synonym of the term that normally appears *infortunas* (modifying *graos* 'degrees'). Note the rare use of double-ױ to represent a CV syllable.

- 561 גראדוש לימברושוש אי גראדוש לובריגוש
grados lembrosos e grados lubrigos
 'light degrees and dark degrees'. The first adjective is probably an error for *lumbroso* 'luminous' < LUMINOSU, a Castilianism as revealed by the epenthesized cluster (cf. Sp. *lumbre* vs. Pg. *lume* < LŪMINE; see also note line 295). Although the second adjective might appear to be a form of LUBRICU 'slippery, polished' (with the voiceless stop restored in ModPg. *lúbrico*), it more likely derives from LUGUBRIS 'of mourning' (based on LUGERE), with an "expanded" *r*-migration in which the /g/ and /br/ cluster have metathesized (ModPg. *lúgubre* is relatinized).
- 562 אַנאַלושאש אינו אלקאַביסי
aḡa-los-as eno alkaḇeḥ
 'you will find them in the ???' The noun is no doubt an Arabic loanword, referring perhaps to an appendix or almanac.
- f. 10r.
- 567 אינש טאַבלש אַנאַרידיש
en^as tabl^as aḡaredes
 'you will find them in the tables'. This is the only occurrence of a verb in the 2nd plural in this portion of the text.
- 568 טריש האזיש
tres hazes
 'three phases'. ModPg. *fase*, ultimately from Greek *phásis*. The form here, spelled with the initial letter ה *h*, may be an orthographic Castilianism (ModSp. *fase*) that the scribe has not avoided.
- 574 גראנדיש דואיש
grandes does
 'large pains'. ModPg. *dor* < **dolore* < DOLŌR, -ŌRIS. The scribe has effectively syncopated a syllable as though the word derived from *DOLES, perhaps confusing it with the form of the root in the related דואינסא *doença* < DOLENTIA.

- 578 רודא איסיליפטיקא
roda eçelipitika
 'ecliptic wheel'. This term occurs in line 587 as the more expected איקיליפטיקא *ekeliptika*, where the vowel epenthesis may have prevented the /kl/ cluster from shifting to /kr/ (cf. note line 57).
- 582 דיריריאיי
dirirey
 'I will say'. The repeated syllable in the stem is probably due to scribal error (cf. note line 284).
- 583 מיאור וינטורא
meor ventura
 'better luck'. ModPg. *melhor* < MELIORE, although like *vees* 'old' above, the scribe may have attempted to avoid what he perceived to be a Castilian-like palatal.
- 584 אדייידאמינטוש
adividamentos
 'dominions'. A rare instance of the nominal form of this word spelled with ן *v* and a vocalic ם *y* following.
- 585 שי אדיבדאן
se adibdan
 'are made to preside'. This is the only pronominal occurrence of the all-pervasive verb.
- 588 פרוביזא
probeza
 'poverty'. ModPg. *pobreza*. Note the *r*-migration, exactly the opposite of that seen in פידריקאר *pedrikar* < PRAEDICERE (line 785).
- 589 אוימוש אקאטאר
avemos akatar
 'we must examine'. ModPg. *haver de* 'must' occurs here with the preposition *a* instead.

- 591 י"ן
 '16'. Although most numbers between 10 and 19 are formed using the tenth letter of the alphabet י as '10' and one of the previous letters in the ones column, this form (which recurs in line 591) is usually avoided in favor of ט"ז, lit. '9+7' (cf. ט"ו '15', lit. '9+6' in line 522).
- 592 אלדבארן
ald^abaran
 'Aldebaran' (also known as OCULUS TAURI 'bull's eye'). Based on Ar. *al-dabaran* 'follower', one of the sixteen principal fixed stars.
- 593 פוש אוריוניש
pos oriones
 'then Orion'. Scribal error for פו(א)יש *poes*; in the next line the scribe has written אואוש *uos* for this same word. Also cf. line 597 קאניש מאיור *kanis maior*, another star/constellation whose name is given a latinizing form.
- 594 אלוייוט
alv^ayot
 The fourth in a suite of names that refer to the great stars or constellations.
- 595 ואיל
vail
 The fifth of the sixteen great stars/constellations.
- f. 10v.
- 596 אבואור
abour
 Another star/constellation.
- 598 קור די ליאון
 'lion heart'. Given ModPg. *coração* and Latin COR, this form appears to be another Latinism in the name of a constellation.
- 600 אראמינו
aramino
 Another star/constellation.

- 606 **פִּיסַאשׁ**
fiças
 'fixed'. This is the only instance of this frequent word spelled with ס, despite the sibilant not deriving from inherited Latin /s/. It is possibly influenced orthographically by the occurrence of פִּיסישׁ *piçes* 'Pisces' nearby.
- 607 **קאפוד אלגול**
kapod algol
 'caput algol' ('The Demon's head'). ModPg. (*a cabeça do*) *algol* < Ar. (*ras*) *al-gūl*. 'Algol' is one of the fixed stars in the constellation Perseus. Note the Latinism used here for 'head' (versus vernacular קאביסא *kabeça*), several of which occur in relation to the names of constellations. It is unclear whether the ך should be construed as the final consonant in 'head' or the preposition *de* (mis-segmented by the scribe).
- 608 **קואוס שיאישרו**
kouç seestro
 'left heel'. ModPg. *coice* < CALCE (note the *ou* diphthong characteristic of the text, e.g. *kousa* 'thing', ModPg. *coisa*; cf. קוייסי *koyçe* in chapter 6 § 4.3). ModPg. *sinistro* 'sinister' < SINISTRU has been replaced in the modern language as a term for handedness by *esquerdo* 'left'.
- 609 **או טואון דיאישרו**
o toun deestro
 'right heel'. ModPg. *talão* is borrowed from Spanish, yet this form illustrates the native outcome of TALONE. This second term, based on DEXTERU (cf. Sp. *diestra* 'right hand') has been replaced in the modern language by *direito* < DIRECTU. The unetymological double-vowel spelling may be influenced by the hiatus in *seestro* just above.
- 610 **לזינטי דא שרפי**
luzente da serpe
 'light of the serpent'. Ferreira (1999) lists *serpe* as a poetic form of *serpente*, derived from the nominative SERPES.

- 611 **טריי דא נאבי**
treo da nabe
 'sail of the ship'. The first term is most likely related to Sp. *treo* 'cross-jack sail', a loanword from Cat. *treu*, itself based on OFr. *tref* 'tent' (Corominas 1980). It is possible that the single final ן is in fact an etymological spelling, though as such it would represent the only word-final labiodental in the corpus. ModPg. *navio* < NAVIGU replaced a shorter form based on NAVIS, whose reference became restricted to its figurative application to church architecture (cf. ModE. *nave*).
- 612 **אלאסיל**
alaçel
 'harvest'. ModPg. *alacir* < Ar. *al-^caṣīr*, for which both Corriente (1999) and Ferreira (1999) list a variant *alacil*.
- 613 **אקוראנא**
akorana
 'the crown'. Given the presence of intervocalic /n/, this could be a semi-vernacular form, albeit with unexpected vocalism. Note also **אקונוא מירידינואל** *akonoa meredenoal* 'the southern crown' further on in the same line, which may be the result of metathesis or else scribal error.
- 615 **קופא שיטריטינואל**
kofa setretinoal
 'northern headdress'. ModPg. *coifa* < Late Latin *CUFFIA (the OED cites COFEA and CUPHIA as attested variants), based on OHG **kupphja*, a derivative of *chuppha* (> MHG *kupfe* 'cap').
- 616 **אינגו די שאַגֶטאַריו**
enoḡo de saḡetario
 'in the zenith of Sagittarius'. ModPg. *auge* < Ar. *awḡ*. Note the optionality of א in the ending of 'Sagittarius' (versus the immediately preceding **שאַגֶטאַריו** *saḡetario*), which is not reflected in my Romanization (cf. chapter 3 § 2.2.2).
- 620 **פאלמא ריקיניש**
palma rikenes
 Another star/constellation.

- 626 טושיקאש אי ברומוש אי אובינוש
tusikas e brumos e obinos
 'poisons and fogs and sheep' The first term is masculine in line 412, though perhaps there is an implied *kousas* 'things' here. Note the use of ם to avoid double-וו standing for a VC syllable in *ovino* < OVINU.
- f. 11r.
- 636 אינפרישיו(נ)ואיש
inpresio(n)es
 'influences', lit. 'impressions'. ModPg. *impressoes* (sg. *impressão*). A later hand has inserted the *n* in an attempt to rectify its omission, as per the normal development.
- 640 גראנדיש באליאש
grandes balias
 'great authorities'. ModPg. *valia* 'value', but cf. Eng. *bail(iff)* < OFr. *bailli* < BAIULUS.
- 645 באלדאדור אי אנובלאדור
baldador e anublador
 'impeder and confuser'. ModPg. *baldar* 'prevent', based on *baldo* 'bare, lacking' < Ar. *bāṭil* 'vain, useless'. The second term is related to ModPg. *nublar* 'blur, darken' < NŪBILĀRE 'become cloudy'; note that because the inter-tonic /i/ in the Latin verb did not fall before the shift of BL > br (cf. גוברי *nobre* < NOBILE, where the post-tonic /i/ fell earlier), this /bl/ cluster does not constitute a Latinism.
- 648 דואוש אי גאנטוש
doos e gantos
 'griefs and weepings'. In connection with ModPg. *dó* 'pain' < DOLU, Houaiss (2001) notes that the use of DOLUS (a deverbal noun based on DOLĒRE 'suffer, be in pain') for classical DOLOR (itself the source of the Latin verb), criticized by St. Augustine as contrary to proper usage, occurs frequently in inscriptions and Vulgar Latin texts (cf. note line 574). The second term is ModPg. *chanto* < PLANCTU, participle of PLANGERE 'beat, strike'.

649 אינבארגוש

enbargos

'impediments'. ModPg. *embargo* is a deverbal noun based on *embargar* < Late Latin *IMBARRICĀRE.

אולבירוש אי פירדאש אי דישאמיטוש

olberos e perdas e desamitos

'forgettings and losses and de-friendings'. The first term seems to be a noun based on *olvidar* < *OBLITĀRE, based on OBLĪTUS, the past participle of the deponent OBLIVĪSCI. It may be a back-formation of some kind or else a substantivized form of the infinitive with an analogical deletion of the intervocalic /d/. The third term may also be a back-formed noun, in this case related to the Spanish loanword *desamistar(se)*, a derivative of *amistad* < AMĪCITATE.

651 ניגוסיוש אלייוש

negócios alyos

'various commerces'. *alyo* < ALIUM (cf. note line 442).

פיליגיראסואיש

pelegrações

'peregrinations'. ModPg. *peregrinações* < PEREGRINĀTIŌNES, with the *l-r* dissimilation seen elsewhere in the text, e.g. קארסיל *karçel* 'jail' < CARCERE, סיליברו *çelebro* 'brain' < CEREBRU (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3)

652 דישפריסאמינטוש

despreçamentos

'scorns'. ModPg. *desprezo*, a deverbal noun based on *desprezar* < DIS+PRETIĀRE. Note the *-mento* suffix as compared to the modern derivative (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1).

653 שושאנוש אי שאניאש

susanos e sanias

'???' and angers'. The first term may be related to Pg. *insôssu* 'insipid; dull; containing little salt' < INSULSU (cf. Sp. *soso*), or else a form related to Sp. *suso* 'above' < SŪRSU, for which Corominas (1980) cites an archaic derivative *susano*.

- 660 קואושש באלדיאש אי אש באאש אי אש דישאַגאָרדש
kousas baldias e as baas e as desaiḡad^as
 'useless and empty and ruined things'. The first adjective is related to ModPg. *baldo* < Ar. *bāṭil* 'useless, vain', while the second is ModPg. *vā* < VĀNA. The third adjective may be related to Sp. *ajar(se)* 'abuse, waste away', which Corominas (1980) cites as of uncertain origin (though he suggests VLat. *FALLIA 'defect', based on FALLERE).

f. 11v.

- 661 אוש מאיש דיליש אי אוש מאיש אפרימיאָרדוש
os mais deles e os mais apremyados
 'the most weak and the most oppressed'. The first term may be related to ModPg. *débil* < DEBILE. The yod in the second adjective may be a Castilianism (cf. ModSp. *apremiar*) or else the native reflex of VLat. APPREMIĀRE (cf. ModPg. *apremier* < APPRIMERE).

- 664 אנימאליאש
animalias
 'animals'. This form alternates with the more regular plural *animales* (eg. line 695), as well as one occurrence of the more evolved form *animais* (line 836). A similar variation is seen in other words such as *prazerias~prazeres* 'pleasures', as well as other nouns already ending in *-ia*, e.g. *çeenç(i)as* 'sciences', *gananç(i)as* 'earnings', and *enreḡ(i)as* 'energies' (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1.2).

- 665 ויליאשוש אומיאיש
omees veleesos
 'old men'. ModPg. *velho* < **veclu* < VET(U)LU (cf. note line 447). The lack of a palatal could be a hypercorrect spelling to avoid a Castilianism.

אוש קי פֿאלאן מוי פירלונגאָרדו אין פירנוסיאר אש פלאבראש
os ke falan mui perlungado en pernuçiar as p^alabras
 'those who speak at length in pronouncing words'. Note the *r*-migration and unexpected vocalism (ModPg. *pronunciar* < PRONUNTIARE) also seen in *perneta* (vs. *praneta*) in line 94, as well as the lack of /n/ in the coda of the second syllable (cf. *komeçar* < CUM+INITIARE). The vowel in the prefix may be influenced by the *perlungado* that immediately precedes it.

- 668 **אגויירוש אי שורטיש**
agoyros e sortes
 'auguries and lots'. ModPg. *agouro* shows a vowel variation opposite to that seen in **קואישא** *kousa* 'thing' (ModPg. *coisa*). ModPg. *sorte* 'luck'.
- 671 **אגורא**
agora
 'bitter'. The second vowel is probably a scribal error for *agra* < ĀCRA, though as with **גאלוטון** *galuton* 'glutton' it is difficult to see what might have motivated the vowel epenthesis (cf. note line 702).
- אואו די מאסו אואו די פורא**
ou de maço ou de fora
 'either by mace or by fork'. ModPg. *maça* < *MATEA is, like its other Romance cognates, feminine, though the form here appears to be considered masculine. The second word is probably lacking a *q̄* due to scribal error.
- 672 **אריסטוטיליס**
ariçtototeleç
 'Aristotle'. The philosopher's name occurs elsewhere without final -s, as well as one instance of a more curious form **אריסטיל** *eriçotel* in line 746. Note here that the rule calling for ס to be used for any borrowed sibilant applies even to this Greek name, despite the fact that its final segment could be construed as "simple" /s/ (and thus spellable with ש).
- 675 **אוש פאבורושוש**
os paborosos
 'fearsome (places)'. ModPg. *pavoroso*, a derivative of PAVÖRE 'fear'. Note the use of כ to avoid an ambiguous double-וו spelling.
- אישקבליאש**
esk^ab^alias
 'dungeons'. A deverbal noun based on *escavar* 'dig', augmented by the same collective-noun suffix seen in **אישקיבראלייא** *eskebral^aya* 'break (off)' from *As kores*.

677 סינדאריש

çegedades

'blindnesses'. As opposed to ModPg. *cegueira(s)* < CAECARIA, this form takes the suffix *-dade* more typical of nouns in this text.

מאלקוניאה

malkuniah

'nickname'. ModPg. *alcunha* < Ar. *al-kunya(t)*. Initial *m-* seems to be unstable Arabic loanwords (cf. note line 419), perhaps attributable in this case to accretion of the indefinite article *ואה/אונה uah/un^ah*, suggesting that there was still some consonantal realization (the <m> in ModPg. *uma* is strictly graphic). Note a similar effect from a different source in *As kores*, מארפיל *marfil* 'ivory' < *ʿazm al-fil* 'elephant bones'.

679 דינדאריש

dinidades

'dignities'. ModPg. *dignidade(s)*, though it never appears with ג g in this text. The fact that ג is used to spell בינינדאריש *benignidades* in line 681 and throughout the text in שינגו *signo* is not evidence that the historical /gn/ cluster was preserved (cf. פוניאדו *punyado* 'fistful' < PUGNATU in *As kores*) or even already restored (as in their modern relatinized forms). Rather the scribe has in all likelihood simply reproduced a Latinate spelling, though it is unclear whether, like the text as a whole, this was following a Hebrew- or Roman-letter model.

680 מישיקורדיאש

misekordias

'mercies'. This appears to be a syncopated form of *misericórdia*.

682 סרטידומיש

çertidumes

'certainties'. ModPg. *certidão* < CERTITŪDINE (cf. ModSp. *certidumbre*), also ModPg. *certeza* < *CERTITIA. The form here appears to be based on *CERTITUMINE.

פֹּלגורא

folgura

'leisure'. ModPg. *folga* 'rest, inactivity' is based on FOLLICĀRE (cf. Sp. *huelga* 'idleness, strike'), derived from FOLLIS 'bellows'.

- 685 פִּדְרָאשׁ פִּרִּי־סוּשָׂאשׁ
pedras pereçosas
 'precious stones'. ModPg. *precioso* < PRETIŌSU. This form shows an extra syllable and no diphthong, perhaps in a hypercorrect attempt to avoid a Castilianism (cf. אובִּידִינְטִישׁ *obedentes* line 192, אורִינְטִאִישׁ *orientais* line 309).
- 687 פֶּרְלָאגוּ
pr^alago
 'prelate'. ModPg. *prelado* 'prelate', church official' < PRAELATU. If the vowel in the first syllable is in fact /e/, it is rare that it not be represented by an overt letter. Although it is normal for /a/ to be implicit, Latin AE would not normally emerge as Pg. /a/. The /g/ in the final syllable may be due to contamination from *-adego* < -ATICU.
- 690 שׂוּאֵשׁ לִוְגָאֵרִישׁ
suas lugares
 'its places'. Unless the scribe has simply not written the second ן in שׂוּאֵשׁ *suos*, this is another instance of incorrect gender.
- f. 12r.
- 692 אִי פֹרְטוֹנָשׁ
e fortun^as
 '(it) is fortunate'. Scribal error for what should no doubt be פֹּרְטוֹנָאֵרָא *fortunada*.
- 694 אֶלְאֲטוֹן
alatun
 'brass'. ModPg. *latão* was probably borrowed from French *laton* (ModFr. *laiton*), a loanword from Arabic *lātūn* 'copper' (cf. same word in *As kores*, where it occurs without the accreted article).
- 698 נוֹבִּי־סִיאֵאִישׁ
noḃeçiais
 '(things pertaining to) novices'. ModPg. *noviciário* is based on *noviço* < NOVICIU, though the form used here seems to derive from a different suffix, i.e. *NOVICIALE (with /l/ deleted in the plural form).

- 700 גראסא אין פֿאלאר אי אין אובראר
graça en falar e en obrar
 'grace in speech and work'. Although this is likely the last item in a list of Jupiter's domains, it may in fact be a verb parallel to *adivida* (which occurs immediately following), *graçar* 'take pleasure in'.
- 702 גאלוטון
galuton
 'glutton'. ModPg. *glutão* < GLUTTŌNE. The unlenited /t/ is the normal reflex of the original geminate, yet the initial cluster (which has been epenthesized here by an overtly-spelled vowel) would normally shift to /gr/ (Houaiss 2001 does cite a fourteenth-century variant *grodō*), e.g. גרודי *grude* 'glue' < GLŪTE in *As kores*.
- 703 גיריאדור
gereador
 'warmonger.' ModPg. *guerreiro* 'warrior', although the form here makes use of the suffix *-ador* that is more typical of agent nouns in this text.
- 704 אפרישוראמינטו
apresuramento
 'urgency'. ModPg. *apresuramento* is the noun based on the verb *apressurar*, borrowed from Spanish (Ferreira 1999).
- ריבאטוש
rebatos
 'repellings'. ModPg. *rebate, rebatimento*.
- 705 שפארנאמינטוש
spargamentos
 'scatterings'. ModPg. *espargimento* (based on *espargir* < SPARGERE) occurs here without the prosthetic vowel and with a lowered /a/ vowel in the second syllable.
- פֿורטירבאסואיש
forterbaços
 'perturbations'. For this reading the *rafeh* over the פ *p*, which indicates /f/, must be considered a scribal error.

- 706 מורטיש שוביטאדיש
mortes subitades
 'sudden deaths'. ModPg. *súbito* has replaced this form, which may be based on something more akin to SUBITANEU (> ModFr. *soudain*).
- 707 אומיזיאוש
omizios
 'concealments'. ModPg. *homizio* < HOMICIDIU did originally refer to 'homicide' (Ferreira 1999).
- 711 אלביטיריאה
albeteriah
 'animal healing' or 'horseshoe maker'. cf. ModPg. *alveitaria*, based on *alveitar* < Ar. *al-baiṭār*, ultimately from Gr. *hippiatrós* 'horse doctor' (Houaiss 2001).
- 712 מישטיריש לאזירושוש
mesteres lazerosos
 'humble trades'. ModPg. *lazeira* 'misery' (but cf. *lacerioso* 'poor').
- 714 אלמוקאדיאיש
almokadees
 'captains'. ModPg. *almocadém* < Ar. *al-muqaddam*.
- 715 שאייואיש
sayvais
 This adjective may be based on *saivá* '(not too dense) woodland'.
- 720 אואו לאבראן אש ארמש
ou labran as arm^as
 '(places) where weapons are worked (on)'. The locative pronoun *ou* < UBI (cf. ModFr. *où*), also seen in *As kores*, has generally been replaced by *onde*.

f. 12v.

- 724 פֵּיִאֵל
feel
 'bile'. The Latinism *bilis* has replaced this term found in other Romance languages, e.g. Sp. *hiel*, It. *fiele* < FEL, FELLIS.
- 725 לֶאֱוֶרָדוֹרִישׁ
lavradores
 'laborers'. Note the relatively rare use of ם for Pg. /v/ < Lat. /b/.
- 726 גּוֹלֵיִנִישׁ
goleines
 'wanderings'. ModPg. *colear*. Note intervocalic /l/ preserved, perhaps from an original geminate or via borrowing.
- 727 קַאִמִינִיּוֹשׁ אִי שׁוֹבְרֵי קַאִמִינִירוֹשׁ
kaminyos e sobre kamineiros
 'chimneys and chimney-sweeps'. This native form (based on CAMĪNU 'furnace, forge') has been replaced in the modern language by *chaminé*, probably borrowed from Fr. *cheminée*. It is distinct from ModPg. *caminho* 'road, path' < *CAMMINU, a Celtic loanword.
- 729 קוֹאוֹשׁשׁ אִינְקוֹאֶרָאשׁ
kous^as inkuadas
 'things hammered (on a anvil)'. This term derived from INCUDINE has been replaced by ModPg. *bigorna* 'anvil'.
- 730 דִּי דַאֶרְדּוֹ אִי דִּי שַׁיטָא
de dardo e de saita
 'by dart and by arrow'. ModPg. *dardo* is probably borrowed from French (mod. *dard*), itself a Germanic loanword (da Cunha 1982: 239). ModPg. *seta* < SAGITTA occurs here with its diphthong (after lenition of the velar consonant) not yet leveled.
- 731 אֲבֵנִיגוֹאֶדוֹר
aĕniguador
 'benefactor'. An agent noun based on a verb ultimately derived from AD+BENEFICĀRE. Williams (1962: 89) claims that other such verbs that

developed a post-Latin labiovelar (eg. ModPg. *averiguar* 'investigate' < AD+VERIFICĀRE) are borrowed from the Spanish evolution of -IFICĀRE > *-evgar > *-eugar > -iguar, replacing the native unsyncopated forms in -evgar/-ivigar that occur in Old Portuguese.

734 וואנטאדי

vountade

'will'. cf. *וולונטאירש* *voluntayr^s* in line 741, with the same rare use of double-vav for a CV syllable but with the etymological /l/ restored.

736 אלקונפרימינטו אי אלארניא

alkonprimento e alargya

'fulfillment and happiness'. The first noun seems to be a form of *cumprimento* < COMPLĒMENTU with an unetymological prefix, perhaps influenced by the initial syllable of the following word. That noun is based on *alegre* < ALACRE, with *r*-migration from the onset cluster to the coda of the preceding syllable (cf. ModPg. *alegria*).

737 ארינימיראר

arenememrar

'remember'. ModPg. *lembrar* < *nembrar* < MEMORĀRE (Williams 1962: 106). A similar form occurs in line 786, where another hand has actually added the ני *ne* above the shorter ארימינבראר *aremenbrar*.

738 פרינסיפאדיגו

prinçipadego

'princedom'. This form shows the native outcome of the -ATICU suffix, which also yields the Provençal words in *-atge* that are the immediate source of MoldPg. words in *-agem* (e.g. ModPg. *viagem* < Pr. *viatge* < VIATICU).

747 אדווי

aduze

'establish'. ModPg. *aduzir* 'adduce' < AD+DUCERE, though its usage here seems less figurative than the modern term.

749 דו שומיר אין אגואה
do sumer en aguah
 'submerge in water'. The verb is likely a non-latinizing form based on SUBMERGERE.

753 שיאו גירו בואון
seu gero boun
 'its class (is) good'. ModPg. *gênero* is a relatinized form of the word used here. The form of 'good' (ModPg. *bom* < BONU) as written here shows the relatively rare co-occurrence in spelling of both the hiatus from a deleted /n/ along with the final consonant.

f. 13r.

756 שוברי אין שואה אאוני
sobre en suah auḡe
 'rises in its zenith'. ModPg. *auge* < Ar. *awḡ*. Based on the parallelism with 'descend' just below, *sobre* appears to be an *r*-migrated form of fut. subj. *subir* < *SUB+IERIT (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

קריסי פרוטוש אי אש פרניטאש

kreḡe os frutos e as pr^anetas

'fruits and plants grow'. Unless the subject of this verb is in fact 'the sun' (which immediately precedes it), the scribe has forgotten the final consonant on what should be a plural verb. In addition, both here and in the following line he has (mis)written the word for 'planets' instead of the intended 'plant' (ModPg. *planta*) by adding the ם between ך and ן.

דיסי די שואה אאוני

deḡe de suah auḡe

'descends from its zenith'. The *de* may be a haplology, functioning as both the final syllable in *deḡende* and as the preposition 'from'. But since *deḡe* is not followed by *de* in line 825, both verbs are more likely abbreviated forms similar to שומיר *sumer* 'submerge' above.

757 מאדוראן

maduran

'ripen'. This form, showing the expected development of MĀTŪRĀRE, does not occur per se in the modern language. ModPg. *maturar* is a

more recent Latinism (as evidenced by the unvoiced /t/), while *amadurecer* is a later formation based on the normal development of MĀTŪRU and the inchoative verb-forming suffix -ESCERE.

759 לומרושׁוּשׁ

lumrosos

'bright, luminous'. This form appears to be a semi-Castilianism based on LUMINOSU, where the -MN- cluster produced by syncope of the second syllable has dissimilated, but no epenthetic /b/ is spelled (cf. note line 295). Indeed -mr- clusters appear to be tolerated in this text (cf. אַרְיִנִימִמְרָר *arenememrar* 'remember' line 737, נִמְרוֹשׁ *nemros* 'members' line 778).

760 אֵין גֵּרֶאמִינְטוּ

en g̃eramento

'growth, fertility'. ModPg. *geração* < GENERĀTIŌNE. This form uses the alternative nominal suffix -MENTU, but the lack of /n/ shows that it is not a Latinism. The prefix *en-* < IN- is written as a separate word, indeed with a final-form ן *n*.

761 בֹּדַאשׁ

bodas

'weddings'. This term, which probably refers here to the event rather than the institution, has been generally replaced in the modern language, and indeed in all but this instance in this text, by קַאשֶׁאמִינְטוֹשׁ *kasamentos*.

762 פֶּאַנּוֹשׁ מֶאַרְגֹּמֶאַדוֹשׁ אֶוֶאַ וִיאַדוֹשׁ

panos margomados ou veados

'??? or veined cloths'. These terms probably refer to patterns of cloth. ModPg. *viado* may derive from *VENA 'vein' + -ATU, or else it may be based on VIA 'road, path'.

763 אִישְׁטוֹרמִינְטוֹשׁ דִּי טִינְנֹר

estormentos de ten̄ger

'musical instruments' (lit. 'of play'). Along with *tocar* 'touch', ModPg. *tanger* < TANGERE 'touch' is used in the sense of 'play (a musical instrument)', which appears here with an unexpected non-low vowel in the first syllable.

- 764 **טריבילייוש אי שאלטוש אי גוזוש**
trebelyos e saltos e g̃uzos
 '[a dance] and jumps and [another dance]'. Occurring between 'musical instruments' and 'loves', all three terms seem to indicate a form of joy or entertainment. The first term may be based on something akin to TRIPEDAL-, perhaps referring to some kind of three-step dance, though it may also be related to **טריביליידור** *trebelyador* 'laborer' in line 400 (showing the same unexpected **א a**). The third term may be related to Sp. *gozo* 'joy' < GAUDIUM with an incorrect diacritic on the **ג g**, perhaps due to contamination from Pg. *jogo* 'game' < IOCU.
- 765 **פלאגוש אי ליסונגיש**
f^alagos e lesongēs
 'compliments and flatteries'. The first noun is akin to Cat. *afalagar*, Sp. *halagar* 'flatter', borrowed from Arabic *ḥālaq* 'polish, flatten; treat kindly' (Corominas 1980). Houaiss (2001) derives ModPg. *lisonja* from Sp. *lesonja*, a loanword (with vowel metathesis) based on Pr. *lauzenja* < LAUDĒMIA, a derivative of LAUDĀRE. Yet while Fr. *louange* 'praise' has similar origins, the TLF derives OFr. *losange* 'flattery, deception' (as distinct from ModFr. *losange* 'blazon, diamond shape') from Old Low Frankish **lausinga* (cf. It. *lusinga* 'flattery').
- ארגוליאש**
argolyas
 'hooped jewels'. ModPg. *argola* < Ar. *al-ḡulla*, with *r-l* dissimilation preserved in the modern form.
- 766 **פירמושוראש**
fermosuras
 'beauties'. Given ModPg. *formosura*, the initial syllable in the form here may be considered a Castilianism (ModSp. *hermosura*), or else just another instance of unexpected vocalism (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).
- קוביסא דו אינגיראר**
kobiça do engerar
 'desire to breed' (lit. 'covetousness of generating'). ModPg. *cobiça* < CUPIDITIA. While the modern form *gerar* < GENERĀRE is unprefixed, ModPg. *engendrar* is most likely borrowed, since this intertonic vowel

did not normally fall and give rise to epenthesis in Portuguese (cf. NOMINARE > Pg. *nomear*, Sp. *nombrar*).

767 ריאנייאש

reenyas

'queens'. ModPg. *rainha* < RĒGĪNA, though the form here does not have the odd /aj/ of the modern form, which Williams (1962: 96) cryptically attributes to "some disturbing outside influence."

דונאש אי דונזילאש

donas e donzelas

'dames and damsels'. ModPg. *dona* < DOMINA, ModPg. *donzela* < DOMINICELLA (via Provençal). Much like Eng. *dame*, the first term no longer has a strictly aristocratic connotation.

768 אדיידא

adivida

'presides'. A rare instance of the all-pervasive verb spelled with both ך ן and a vocalic ם following.

769 ריזין

rezen

'recently'. This apocopated form of ModPg. *recente* < RECENS, -ENTIS has disappeared from the modern language (cf. ModSp. *recién*).

772 גרילאנדאש אי אורופרישיש

grel^andas e orofreses

'garlands and goldwares'. These items occur in a list of "things that pertain to women." Note the *r*-migration in the first term (ModPg. *guirlanda*) similar to that seen below in אישפרימא *esprema* 'seed' (line 779). The second term is akin to אוריביז *oribez* in line 328 but shows the maintenance of the syllable deleted by haplology (ModPg. *ourives* < AURIFICES; cf. Williams 1962: 111). It occurs here with an intrusive *r* and with a second-syllable vowel probably influenced by אויירו *oyro* 'gold'. It is also spelled with a more etymological unvoiced ף *f* as well as a stem-final consonant spelled with the default sibilant letter, probably influenced by the same letter used to spell the plural morpheme.

- 773 סרסיליוש אי קולאריש אי אלגולאש
çerçelios e kolares e algolas
 'earrings and necklaces and hooped jewels'. ModPg. *cercilho* is a loanword from Spanish *zarcillo* (Ferreira 1999). ModPg. *colar* < COLLARE, with the original geminate /l/ preserved. The last term is probably ModPg. *argola* 'hooped jewel', without the *l > r* dissimilation (cf. note line 765).
- 775 קאמארש אינקורטינאדאש
kamar^as enkortinadas
 'curtained bedrooms'. ModPg. *câmara* is ultimately a Greek loanword. The second term is presumably based on a verb *enkortinar*, akin to ModPg. *cortina*.
- 778 אירמאטיקו קון דולסורא
ermatiko kon dolçura
 'aromatic with sweetness'. The initial vowel could be influenced by other forms in which initial *a-* occurs as א e-, e.g. *erismatika* 'arithmetic' (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).
- נימרוש די אינגירא
nemros de enğera
 'reproductive organs', lit. 'members for generating.'" This phrase recurs in line 830 with the same apparent dissimilation in the initial consonant of *nemros*. Since the scribe appears to tolerate *-mr-* clusters (see note line 759), he has perhaps perceived the *b* as a low-level phonetic feature that need not be spelled out (ModPg. *membros*).
- 779 אישפרימא
esprema
 'seed'. Another instance of *r*-migration vis-à-vis the modern form (ModPg. *esperma* < SPERMA).
- 781 קוביסאדייראש
kobiçadeiras
 'appealing'. This adjective is based on קוביסא *kobiça* 'covetousness' < CUPIDITIA.

פֹּרְנִיטְיָאוּשׁ לִישׁוּרִיאוּשׁ אִי

forneçios e lesurias

'fornications and lusts'. As opposed to ModPg. *fornicação* (borrowed from ecclesiastical Latin), this noun probably derives from *FORNICIU, based on classical FORNIX, -ICIS 'arch, vault; brothel'. The second term is probably a misspelling for לִישׁוּרִיאוּשׁ *lusurias* < LUXURIAS (ModPg. *luxúria*).

782 דוּזִיאוּשׁ

doziad^s

'dewfall'. Probably akin to (or borrowed from) It. *doccia* 'shower, water pipe' (cf. Sp. *ducha*, Fr. *douche*), a back-formation based on *duccione* < DUCTIÖNE, a deverbal noun derived from DŪCERE 'lead'. Replaced by ModPg. *orvalho*.

f. 13v.

785 פִּדְרִיקָאָר

pedrikar

'predict'. Although it usually comes to mean 'preach' (ModPg. *pregar* < *PREDICĀRE), in its context this semi-learned doublet appears to indicate a more scientific or pragmatic discourse. Note the *r*-migration similar to that in פְּרִיבִיזָא *probeza* (ModPg. *pobreza*).

786 רֶאזוּאָר

razoar

'reasoning'. Possibly in reference to 'accounting' (cf. It. *ragioneria*). This verb is based on the noun *razon* < RATIONE (ModPg. *razão*), with the regular deletion of intervocalic /n/. It has generally been replaced by ModPg. *raciocinar* < *RATIOCINARE, for RATIOCINARI (Ferreira 1999).

793 קַאבִּידוּשׁ

kabidos

'chapters (of an assembly)'. Although a Castilian-like קַאבִּילִדוּ *kabildo* occurs elsewhere, Williams (1962: 53) claims that this *l*-less form is the normal outcome of *l*-deletion where the post-tonic vowel did not fall (i.e. CAPITULU > *cabidoo* > *cabido*), as opposed to syncope-induced metathesis in the Spanish form (see note line 343).

- 795 ארְגִּינְטִי בִּיבּוֹ
arģente biġo
 'quicksilver'. This same term occurs as *arģen vivo* in *As kores*, without the final syllable on the first word.
- 801 קאמִיִאדוֹרִישׁ
kamyadores
 '(money-)changers'. This appears to be a form of the verb *cambiar* in which the scribe has perceived the /b/ to be the result of a low-level epenthesis that need not be spelled out (cf. note line 778).
- 802 נוטאִירוֹשׁ
notayros
 'notaries'. ModPg. *notário*, cf. others with אִירוֹ -*ayro* for modern <ário> (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).
- 805 אִינְגִּינְטוֹשׁ אִי מֵאִישְׁטְרִיאַשׁ אִי אִינְבִּינְאַשׁ
inģentos e maestrias e inbeģas
 'strengths and skills and envies'. ModPg. *ingente* < INGĒNS, -ĒNTIS. ModPg. *maestria* < *MAGISTERIA. ModPg. *inveja* < INVIDIA, based on INVIDUS.
- 806 וִינְטוֹ סִרִּיֶסוֹ
vento çereço
 'cold wind'. Perhaps 'northern', this adjective of unknown origin is associated with ice, hail, and snow.
- 808 אִינְטִימִינְטוֹ
entemento
 'understanding'. The scribe has apparently forgotten one of the middle syllables of what should be *entendemento*.
- f. 14r.
- 818 לִיגוֹמִיִאֶשׁ
legumyas
 'vegetables'. ModPg. *legume* < LEGUMEN, here showing same plural variant seen in other forms, e.g. *animales~animalias* (see note line 664).

- 822 פּוֹסוֹשׁ
poços
 'wells'. Though normally spelled in this text with פּ (i.e. *pozo* < PUTEU), the spelling here is perfectly in keeping with the rule calling for פּ צ for sibilants that do not derive from Latin /s/, and so need not reflect a voicing variation in the pronunciation.
- 826 אַקאַריאַמינטוֹשׁ
akareamentos
 'conveyances'. ModPg. *acarrear*, based on *carro* 'car'.
- 828 סִלִּיבְרוֹ
çelebro
 'brain'. ModPg. *cérebro* < CEREBRU, occurring here with *l-r* dissimilation (cf. note line 651).
- 829 רֵינִיּוֹאִישׁ
renyoes
 'kidneys'. ModPg. *rins* < RĒNES, from which the singular *rim* was back-formed (Houaiss 2001). The plural form used here probably derives from an augmentative RĒNIŌNE that also yields Fr. *rognon*, the culinary term for 'kidney'.
- 831 קאַביסאַ דוֹ דראַגאָן
kabeça do dragon
 'dragon's head', probably a constellation.
- 835 קוֹלַאשׁ דאַש אַנימאַאִישׁ
kolas das animais
 'tails of animals'. This is the only occurrence of the "modern" plural, with /l/ deleted (cf. note line 664). Note *cola* vs. ModPg. *cauda*.
- 836 אַוֹ שֵׁשׁוֹ
o seso
 The only item with *niqqud* in the first 27 pages, apparently in reference to genitalia.

Toward the end of this 27-page excerpt, the author begins to insert quotations that he attributes to Aristotle. These quotations seem to reflect an attempt to cite the Greek philosopher in Latin (the Greek original likely being inaccessible to this fifteenth-century scribe, not to mention the text's original author). Nevertheless, these are far from straightforward Hebraicizations of a Latin-language text, with some clearly vernacular spellings (e.g. **אי** *e* for ET, **קון** *kon* for CUM, **לואה** *luah* for LUNA, **נוברי** *nobre* for NOBILE) and assorted other "errors" (e.g. **אישטי** *este* for EST, **וירטוד** *virtud* for VIRTUTE). In fact many of the words, though assembled with plausible units of Latin morphology, appear to be invented. The overall effect is a nonsensical sequence of Latin-esque verbiage, which nonetheless attests to the prestige of Latin language for either the writer or his (envisioned) audience, as well as to his unfamiliarity with authentic Latin prose. Note that quotations from other astronomers such as Ptolemy (which occur in sections beyond the twenty-seven pages presented in this chapter) are cited in the normal Portuguese of the text.

- 672 **שאַטורנוש אישטי באנוש אינפֿונטיניור אין נוברי פראניטאש מישריאן
אנאלדאטור אינימיקיש אוקסידיור**
saturnus este banus infontinior in nobre pranetas mesrian analdatur
inimikus okçidiur
- 689 **נֹפִיטִיר אישטי פרושפיריוש אי דיגנוש פֿירטיל אמיטיוש פיר נוש דיניש
ביניגוש**
ḡupiter este prosperius e dignus fertil amitius per nos dines benignus
- 717 **מאריש אישטי מאלִיגונוש קארינאטור לאטורנוש נִיטרי־פֿיטור ראבטור
איראטוש ביליאטור**
mares este maligonus kariantur latornos ḡetrifeitor rabor eratos
beleatur
- 746 **שול אישטי פוטיסטאש טרינו פאטור ראיי וירטוד ויראוש אונור אמאטור**
sol este potestas treno patur rey virtud vereus onor amatur

- 773 וינוש אישטי קונפֿידיאורא גיניריאיש לוסידורא דולסיאירא נודירוש
פראנטירא
venus este confedeura generies luçidiura feamina dolçiera ġuridos
prantera
- 791 מירקוריוש אישטי פרונדינוש אישקריטוריוש אינטרימידיאטור קון גוטאטור
ליטריאטיאוש אי טרימידיאטור לוקטוריוש
mercurius este prendenus eskriturius intremediatur kon gutator
letriatius e tremediatur lukturius
- 812 לואה אישטי פובלוש אולונטאש קורפוש פֿאמיליא שיריוש איניסאה
מוטיאוש
luah este poblos olontas korpus familya sirius eneçiah muteus
- 836 קאפור אניגואי שובלימינטי אי קאורא מינינו שיטרימיטאטי
kapor anegue soblemente e kaura meninu setremetate