6. COMMENTARY

f. 1r.

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 'i/e does appear after B b, and v w is occasionally used in lieu of B (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.

Aprobeitar
'learn' (lit. 'profit'). ModPg. retains the noun proveito 'advantage' < PROFECTU, 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).

Estrologiah
'astrology'. This term occurs throughout the text alternating between forms with initial a- and e-, the latter indicated here by the y following initial ə. 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).
eu non falyei

'I did not find'. The negative adverb (ModPg. *não*) is always spelled *
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. *halar* < 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).

infúliaçias

'influences'. Variant forms of this word occur throughout the text: *infoluencias* (line 144), *infólunecias* (line 193), *infollebenças* (line 194), *infléncias* (line 207), *infólunecias* (line 215), *infalensiah* (line 351), but in no case does the word fully resemble modern *influência* < INFLUENTIA, or medieval *infruencia* (cf. de Faria Paiva 1988: 28).

akomeçei de konpoer

'I began to compose'. ModPg. *compôr* < COMPÔNERE, 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).

alentemos

'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 *ementos* (e.g. line 14), with the regular deletion of intervocalic /l/, and a single occurrence of the expected form *alentemos* (line 191).

enprolençias

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

eskondudos
'hidden'. ModPg. esconder has as its participle escondido, but the form here shows the Late Latin predilection for participles in -UTU (cf. sabudos 'known' in line 41 for modern sabido).

enpero
'and so' < IN PER HOC, an alternative to pois (see note line 46).

petoas
This word would fit perfectly in context meaning 'reasons' (ModPg. razões), yet its consonant letters make this reading impossible, and they do not suggest any more plausible interpretation.

razon umanal
'human reason'. This form derived from *HUMANALE has been replaced by ModPg. humano < HUMANU.

alkançaos cinco sesos
'the five senses achieve'. Note the orthographic indication of the verb desinence without a nasal consonant (ModPg. -āo < -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.
32 anđeos

'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 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 ḡomṭriaḥ

'geometry'. Note the coalesced vowel in the initial syllable (which is regular in this text) and a rare implicit /e/ following the  Ember, unless the form is more correctly read as *ḡomatriaḥ*, with the unexpected /a/ in the second syllable.

39 veros e inbernos e esteos e autonos

'springs and winters and summers and autumns'. Although *verô* 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 sabudos

'known'. ModPg. *sabido*, past participle of *saber*. The form used here illustrates another reflex of the Late Latin -UTU participle formation.

41 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 ə is used to indicate the vocalic value of ə when this digraph follows a consonant, since the ə is not diacritic in that context.

46 *poys*

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

49 *sabyos*

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

54 *outsta*

'eighth'. ModPg. *oitava* < *OCTAVA*. Note that the /v/ is spelled by an "unetymological" ə b, perhaps for the grapho-tactic reason that the word already contains two ə 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 אוקראינית kousa 'thing' (ModPg. *coisa*; cf. chapter 7 § 2.5)).

57 *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 קripses, with no intrusive /t/.
komeas / komevas
'comets'? Among the objects listed as appearing around luminous bodies and above the Earth.

çintil'daçoes
'scintillations'. ModPg. *cintilação < SCINTILLATiONE. The form used here appears to show the reflex of additional morphology, perhaps based on *SCINTILLATiONE.

lumiares
'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/.

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/.

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 ่ allograph of /a/ and no other vowel letter, while ua requires a diacritic ้ on both of its vowel letters, which represent the word’s only phonemes.

ofegoçoes
'oppositions'. Compare this occurrence to ofegoçoes (line 188), where there is no rafeh over the usterity p but one is placed over the ้ g,
probably indicating the voiced sibilant-type sound that underwent deaffrication in late medieval Portuguese.

65 

**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 

**ke lyes an de veer**

'that have to do with them'. The dative pronoun refers to the revolutions of the sun.

74 

**lides**

'quarrels'. ModPg. *lide* 'chores; (court) case' < *lis*, *litis*.

78 

**tremudações**

'transformationes' < *transmutationes* (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6; see also note line 484).

79 

**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.
estruturas
'destruídas'. The scribe appears to have omitted the initial *d-* (cf. eskoberto 'uncovered' line 276, though 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).

os peleganços
'peregrinações'. 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.

trotarei in terogações
'I will treat questions'. ModPg. *tratar* < *TRACTĂRE*, 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 † indicating that the prefix *in-* was intended to be spelled as a free-standing word. Its use here may be haplographic, serving as both the preposition *in* following the verb (which is the phrase used elsewhere) and as the first syllable of the following word.

abonegar
'fix (up)'. ModPg. *abonecar* < *ABONICARE* has restored the voiceless velar consonant, which is spelled by the voiced †g in the form here (cf. chapter 7 § 2.2.3).

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).
m’tar a laguṣṭa
'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 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.

 eu por pos de trotar
'I proposed to treat'. Preterite form of *propor* < *PROPÔNERE*. The *r*-metathesis here is also seen in other words in the text, e.g. *pernetas* 'planets' immediately below (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

 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).

eçençiales
'essential'. The form occurs here with the /1/ that is normally deleted (ModPg. *essenciais* < *ESSENTIALES*). Also note ç spelling of both sibilants, neither of which derive from simple Latin /s/.

 vondade
'will'. ModPg. *vontade* < *VOLUNTÀTE*. In comparison to *As kores*, the use of double- ww 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 /1/ is occasionally spelled out in other occurrences of this word (e.g. *boontade* line 379).
98  פָּזָנֹנָה
fazanos
'before us'. This prepositional phrase (akin to Fr. face à nous) does not occur in the modern language.

99  אֵי אִניַלְאַשׁ
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  נִשְׁכָּרְיַה
neseçarya
'necessary'. ModPg. necessário, written with the sibilant orthography "reversed," i.e. ג ג for Latin <ss> and ג ג for the segment resulting from palatalization of Latin /k/ (but without the characteristic r-migration in the suffix derived from -ARIO; cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

105  אֵפֶּר נַאָמֹרָא
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  אַצְרֵטְרַה פֶּקָמָהָמָה נוֹרֵשׁ
acerte fokamos neos
'we remain certain of them'. The vowel in the verb is probably a scribal error for פֶּקָמָא, *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 נ e (cf. chapter 7 § 3.4).

108  פָּלִילְסַר
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.
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).

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.

eçenças (sustâncias)

'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).

geraçon

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

n³tura n³turante ... n³tura n³turada

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.

ah ĝerenaçon e ah koronpeçon

'generation and corruption (i.e. 'growth and decay'). Note the r-n metathesis in gerenaçon < GENERÂTÔNE (ModPg. geração). koronpeçon < CORRUPTÔNE (ModPg. corrupção) shows an intrusive nasal segment, possibly under the influence of related forms based on the infinitive
romper 'break' < RUMPERE (but cf. koropecón in line 175 without the intrusive /n/).

kontrayro
'contrary'. ModPg. contrário < CONTRÁRIU. This same yod-migration is seen throughout in most but not all words with this suffix, e.g. neseçayra < NECESSÁRIA, but primeiro < PRIMÁRIU (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

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 há (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').

celeçtriais
'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'.

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.
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-.

erism* tika

'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 ʿ rather than ʃ, despite the -th- of the Latin spelling for a segment ultimately deriving from Greek ʃ.

edidas de gowmetriah

'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-.

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 l l intact (or restored), in contrast to As kores (כְּרֵאָס).

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 (ך). This is its only occurrence without a palatal spelling in this text.

semelia

'resembles'. ModPg. semelhar < *SIMILIARE (based on SIMILIS) has the expected palatal /l/, and most occurrences of this word in the text use
two 'y to indicate this. With only a single 'y, no real variant in pronunciation is being indicated. A similar orthographic variation occurs throughout the text in sabios/sabyos 'sages' (see note line 49), which may reflect a bi- vs. tri-syllabic alternation (as opposed to a segmental variation).

162 ạlagasamentos
'ağegasamentos' 'collections'. ModPg. achegar 'join, gather' < APPLICARE, which occurs here with an intrusive /s/.

177 ningún 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. nenùn or nenyun.

180 son apraçad's e an apraçamento
'son apraçado'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 konoine(e)nçias.

f. 4r.

187 mais çerkaah
'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- in addition to a final η.

189 os kuartos das lunaçoes
'os kuartos das lunaçoes' '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.
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 \( S \) – unless this is in itself proof that the scribe considered this semivowel, spelled with two \( yy \), a full-fledged consonant. The second term is ModPg. solão 'sandy terrain' (cf. Sp. solano 'warm wind').

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).

konpoqições
'compositions'. Note the use of \( g \) to indicate a sibilant, which is significantly rarer in this text than in As kores.

aprilados
'equipped'. This word is probably related to Fr. appareil, It. apparecchio 'device' (< *APPARICULU), in this instance a participial form derived from *APPARICULATU.

mas áginya
'more rapidly'. ModPg. asinha, one of only a few instances where the text uses \( g \) in a word spelled with modern <s>. Houaiss (2001) notes aginha as a variant and suggests it derives from AGÎNA '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. aise, 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 **prazerias**

'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. *animalias*, which alternates with *animais* and *anismes*.

228 **o seisto ceo**

'o seismo ceo'

'ap seisto çeo'

'the sixth heaven'. The modern etymological spelling of *septo* 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 *sesena* occurs throughout the text as well (e.g. line 83).

231 **o nobeo ceo**

'o nobeo ceo'

'o nobeo çeo'

'ap nobeo çeo'

'ap nobeo ceo'

'the ninth heaven'. This form derives from *novenus*, with the /n/ deleted as expected (although the latinizing form occurs elsewhere in the text, e.g. *nobena* line 248). It has been replaced in the modern language by *nono < nonus*.

232 **bebel**

'bebel'

This unknown term is the name given to the ninth heaven.

233 **amanecer**

'amanecer'

'amancener'

'amancener'

'amancener'

'amancener'

'amancener'

'become morning'. The palatalization of the /n/ in ModPg. *amanhecer* is most likely attributable to contamination from *manhā < *māneānam* (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+manescere* or else has been borrowed from Castilian (cf. ModSp. *amanecer*).
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).

o dezeno çeo

'o dezeno çeo

'the tenth heaven'. ModPg. décimo < DECIMUS has replaced this form derived from *DECENUS, an adjective unattested in classical Latin but perfectly parallel to NOVENUS > no(b)e(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 DECÉNI, -AE, -A 'ten by ten', seems unnecessary (Ferreira 1999 does not give an etymon for dezeno).

os ayes

'several'. 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.

koaño centro

'with the central zenith'. Although rarer in this text than in As kores, the preposition §w kon does on occasion fuse with the word that follows (cf. chapter 7 § 3.4), in this case auño 'zenith' (ModPg. auge < Ar. auğa).

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 de.rebolverse
'by revolving’. One of many instances of separate words written as conjoined (cf. note line 277).

258 toda luz e kaente
'all light is warm’. ModPg. quente < CALENTEM, here showing the hiatus still spelled after deletion of /1/.

261 o lugar mas alungado
'farthest place’. ModPg. mais < MAGIS occurs on occasion without a ‘ to indicate the diphthong, resulting in a homograph of mais 'but’.

268 (esçentriko) 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 š for historical /ks/ – despite the possibility of fusing it orthographically with initial the ç of the root word.

272 oubesen
'had’. A contrary-to-fact conditional statement, which requires the past subjunctive form of aver, ModPg. houvesen < Latin pluperfect subjunctive HABUISSENT. A similar form of ModPg. chover 'rain' (< *PLOVERE < PLUERE), occurs in the following line. Note the use of ב rather than ת for Pg. v < Lat. w to avoid double-ו representing a VC syllable (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.1).

275 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).
172 graos de suah redondeza
'172 degrees around'. This is the only occurrence of the letter ז in these 27 pages of O libro de mağika, used for its numerical value of 70.

mayor su.porpeeçion
'greater its proportion'. ModPg. proporção < PROPORTIONE, 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 pernet’s 'planets' (line 94).

f. 5v.

diseron
'(they) said’ < DIXERUNT, spelled with the simple sibilant letter despite the segment not deriving from simple Latin /s/.

ou pininyon
'the opinion'. ModPg. opinião < OPINIONE. The extra syllable is most likely the same scribal error that occurs sporadically elsewhere (e.g. arenememrar 'remember' line 737).

tan pokok
'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'.

nomeareon
'named'. ModPg. nomear < NOMINARE alternates in the text with the doublet 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.
dise tolomeo eno çentiloqio
'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).

nomearon ah est’s 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).

des da rouda okençal
'from the western wheel'. Although forms of the more expected 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 desde or des alone.

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).

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 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).

**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).

**in feleças 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).

**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  for the bilabial consonant.

**orentais**

'eastern'. ModPg. *oriental* < *ORIENTĀLIS*. As in *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).

**tripeleçidasde do sol**

'triplicity of the sun'. ModPg. *triplicidade*. The term normally occurs without the intrusive /s/, e.g. line 312 (cf. chapter 7 § 4.3.1).
propia \*mente

'properly'. Although it is almost the norm to see the -mente of adverbs written separately, the use of \* 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.

\*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 \*A) – 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: \*compôr (ModPg. compôr) 'compose' in line 7, poos (ModPg. qos) 'placed' in the Brotherton Passover text, and the variant \*côr \*kôor (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).

\*northern

setretinoal

'setretinoal' (line 463), \*s\*ntreton (line 815). On top of that, the scribe appears to have repeated a syllable in this occurrence.

 '\Aries'. This term appears consistently in this text with /a/, sometimes implicit (i.e. with no (') following), in the second syllable. The apparent r-yod metathesis (ModPg. \*ries 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).
diurno e orenal
'diurnal and eastern'. The scribe has presumably forgotten the ſ t for orenal, but still hypercorrects a putative Castilianism by levelling the diphthong in the second syllable (ModPg. oriental).

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 açedente does occur elsewhere in the text).

sanhudo
'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 Saniés 'gore, diseased blood'. Machado (1967-73) less subtly suggests that a Vulgar Latin *SANIA replaced the classical term.

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

kobiçoso de oyro
'covetous of gold'. ModPg. cobiçoso, an adjective derived from the noun cobiça < CUPIDITIA.
oribez
'goldware'. ModPg. ourives < ourivezes < AURIFICES (Williams 1962: 111) based on the agent noun AURIFIEX 'goldsmith', used here in a collective sense.

pr'lados
'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).

diferentiações margaritas preça\d\adas
'precious pearls'. ModPg. margarida shows a further lenition in the final syllable than the m t here. ModPg. preciosa < PRETIOSA, but the form used here is a participial adjective derived from preço < PRETIU.

tanger istormentos de \gograis
'play instruments of jesters'. Note the initial syllable and r-migration in comparison to ModPg. instrumento (cf. line 401 tang
dor de istormentos 'player of instruments'). ModPg. jogral is a loanword from Pr. joglar < IOCULATORE with r-l metathesis.

cenceros
'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).

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. gãar 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 *k*. The second word is an adjective based on *vaca* 'cow', since *gaado* may have had a more general sense of 'assets, (live)stock'.

336

pertences

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

340

preso

'lazy'. ModPg. *preguiçoso < *pegritiosu*, based on PIGRITIA (the source of ModPg. *preguixa* '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 *presia* 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. *paresse*).

f. 6v.

343

k*bildos 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 _scheduler, as per the native development of intervocalic /1/ (see note line 793).

344

freirias e frades

'friaries and friars'. ModPg. *frade < FRATRE, whose general sense of 'brother' was replaced by *irmão < GERMANU. ModPg. *freira* is probably based on a related Provençal loanword (Ferreira 1999).
merçandias
'merchandise'. Although replaced by ModPg. mercadorias, this noun appears to derive from the present participle of a verb *MERCATARE, based on MERCATUS 'market' (the OED cites this Vulgar Latin verb as a frequentative based on MERCÆR 'trade'). The unexpected fricative (spelled 5) may point to OFr. marcheandise (based on marchëant < *MERCATANTE) as the immediate source.

peoes e çerbos
'pawns and stags'. ModPg. peão < *PEDONE. Note the use of ב b to spell the /v/ < Lat. /w/ in çerbo < CERVU, versus the double-ן used for the same word in As kores. These terms do seem very much out of context in the listings of Gemini's dominions.

eskribao
'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.

ofiçio pubriko
'public office'. ModPg. publico is a relatinized spelling, as shown by the restored -bl- cluster versus the -br- in the form used here.

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 estrológia), perhaps due to the influence of es-initial words (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).

espiritos
'spirits'. ModPg. espiritú, 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 -\textit{tude} < -TUTE suffix (e.g. \textit{virtude}, which occurs frequently in the text).

\textit{lençouos}

\textit{(bed)sheets}. \textit{ModPg. lençô < LINTEOLU.} Although the many letters used to spell the vowels in this form do suggest that the hiatus left by the deleted /1/ 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.

\textit{algôfar}

\textit{'pearl}. \textit{ModPg. aljôfar < Ar. al-\textit{gauhar}}, although this item is also expressed in the modern language by \textit{pêrola}.

\textit{akatiko}

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

\textit{li\textit{g}eiro de ensanyar}

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

\textit{guanyara}

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

\textit{alkeides}

\textit{'prefects'. According to da Cunha (1982), the modern term \textit{alcaide} in fact represents two distinct loanwords whose meaning were already confused in medieval Portuguese: \textit{alcaide} < Ar. al-qâ'id denoted the
ruler of a castle or province, while *alcalde* < Ar. al-qāḍī denoted an officer of the court (the Pg. /1/ is the same as that in *albaylīd* < *al-baylūd*, 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

enregas

'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 ِيِسَ -īas (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1.2).

373

mui balentes

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

377

lumiar

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

378

ornado

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

379

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. *enemiztade* line 417)).

**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. *ficcare*). 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*.

**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* < *DIVINARE*, where a palatalized nasal did develop (Williams 1962: 72), or else it may reflect the development of a *-IARE* verb-forming suffix.

**Parda ou k`meleinada**
'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.

**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).

**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.
keresatikos e segulares
'eclesiastics and laypeople'. While ModPg. eclesiástico has been relatinized, this form shows a development similar to kripse < 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).

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).

gostioso e dereitero
'spendthrift and wasteful'. ModPg. gostoso 'tasty, pleasant' < GUSTU+ÓSU. 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'.

luitador e trebelyador kon armas
'fighter and worker with weapons'. ModPg. lutador < LUCTATORE has leveled the diphthong that resulted from the palatalization of the /kt/ cluster. Note the odd vocalism in the second term (ModPg. trabalhador, which also occurs just above; cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).

os ke basteçen as treeçoes
'those who plot treasons'. ModPg. basteçer '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).
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.

'artisans of fire with water'. The first term appears to be related to meester < MINISTERIU, perhaps with interference from maestria.

'lusts'. This is probably a variant of the word that usually occurs in the text as lesurias (ModPg. luxúria).

'disorders'. This is probably based on a form prefixed by TRANS-, perhaps related to Sp. trasiego 'switch; upset'.

'wells and poisons'. ModPg, poço < PUTEU. ModPg. toxicidade contains an additional nominal suffix not found in the more basic term used here.

'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.

'population'. ModPg. povo < POPULU. The form used here, which does not survive in the modern language, is derived from *POPOLANU, with deletion of both /l/ and /n/.
en formezo
'sickly'. This term is probably related to Sp. *enfermizo*. Note the use of the final form *n* on what the scribe has construed as a graphically-independent word.

enemiztades
'enmites'. ModPg. *inimizade* < *INIMICITATE*. The identity of the first three vowels is, apart from their frontness, ambiguous between /e/ and /i/. Note the /t/ (cf. boontade line 379), which has been assimilated to the /z/ in the modern form.

de bendezes
'vendettas'. ModPg. *vingança* 'vengeance' is based on *vingar* 'avenge' < VINDICARE. The identity of the first 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 *d* that precedes the word, though it is written separately, may in fact be a prefix akin to those in Sp. *revencha* 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 *d* (or <r>) in his source and miswritten it here.

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. *miskîn*; cf. note line 677). The second word is probably akin to Fr. *courroucement*, an archaic noun based on *courroucer* 'anger' < *CORRUPTIARE*, a derivative of *CORRUPTUM*, past participle of *CORRUMPERE* 'destroy' (TLF).
an seas e krianes
'anxieties and fears'. ModPg. ânsia < ANXIA, spelled with the final form ın (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').

karteles e prisiones
'jails and prisons'. The ș is no doubt a scribal error for ś 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 < PREHENSIONE, here spelled conservatively with ın.

ğagado ena kabeça e enos lombos
'wounded in the head and in the loins'. ModPg. chaga 'wound' < PLACA, with the initial sibilant spelled using the letter ğ. ModPg. lombo < LUMBU, spelled with the letter ın to indicate nasalization.

adonar selean bestas de k'balgar
'riding animals will be given to him'. ModPg. cavalgar < CABALLICARE. Note again the orthographic separation of the object pronouns sele- and verb desinence ın-an (cf. note line 388).

k'nbador
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'.

panos indios e k'melinos
'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').
'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. *paresse*, 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).

'aldeos'
'villages'. ModPg. *aldeia* < Ar. ḏ-ḏay’a is feminine. Note that the final syllable, though it follows a vowel as is itself vowel-initial, does not require diacritic ꞣ.

'saião' 'executioner' < Gothic *sayo* (cf. Latin *SAGIO*).

'merenyeros'
'sailors'. Note the unexpected /e/ (ModPg. *marinheiro*) in the initial syllable (cf. note line 400).

'goat chattel'. As in line 322, *gaados* indicates 'assets' or 'wealth' in general, and so it is qualified by an adjective derived from *CAPRUNU* < *CAPRINUS* 'goat-related' (ModPg. *cabrum*) to specify the type of livestock.

'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.
leibeiao
'frivolous'. Probably based on leve 'light'.

k’halos robeaos
'???' horses'. This adjective may be related to ModPg. ruivo 'red(head)' < RUEBU (Sp. rubio, Fr. rouge), perhaps used figuratively in the sense of 'wild' or 'untamed'.

far’h
'will make'. Note the use of "unsupported" ה, i.e. without a preceding ס, which is relatively rare in this text (cf. chapter 3 § 2.2.1).

teras alyas
'remote lands'. alya < ALIA 'other'.

esalçamento
'exaltation.' ModPg. exaltação < EXALTÁTIÑE. This deverbal noun is based on *EXALTIARE, the putative hybrid of EXALTARE and *ALTIARE (da Cunha 1982). Note the "simple" sibilant letter ש used in the reflex of the EX- prefix (cf. chapter 3 § 2.3.2).

eskuridades
'obscurities'. ModPg. obscuridade is a more recent formation than this form derived from OBSCURITÄE. The initial vowel may be due to contamination from other words containing es- < EX- (cf. note line 353).

gudeos
'Jews'. ModPg. judeu < IUDAEU, mentioned here for the first time on the fifteenth page of the manuscript, with no special phonological or orthographic treatment apparent.
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.).

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).

meluzenyadores
'medicinal'. It is possible that the scribe has written this word with ḥ as a hypercorrect way to indicate the hiatus from the deleted /d/ (the normal form elsewhere is מזנייה < MEDECINA). It could also be related to Melusine 'half-woman half-serpent (Celtic) fairy' (Machado 1967-73).

krerigo
'clergyman'. ModPg. clérigo < CLERICU has restored the /l/ which in the regular development of the cluster became /r/, as seen here.

liagen
'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. אלבגין albağen 'egg white' < *ALBAGINE in As kores, replaced by ModPg. albume < ALBUMEN).
469

ave enças
'holdings', oddly divided by the scribe. This term (based on a present participle) alternates throughout the text with the substantivized infinitive averes. Note that both exhibit an orthographic ambiguity in that the initial letters could be read as "diacritic-x plus i" spelling /o/ or /u/.

471

antigouos
'(the) ancients'. ModPg. antigo < ANTìQUUS 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 ANTìQUA (da Cunha 1982).

474

estomogo
'stomach'. ModPg. estomago < STOMACHU. Note the unexpected vocalism in the penultimate syllable.

475

kadeiras
'hips'. The modern term cadeira < CATHEDRA, a Greek loanword whose primary sense in the singular is 'chair', alternates with quadril.

476

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

kosas
'thighs'. Although the modern spelling is coxa < COXA, the scribe has not used the letter ş, which normally serves to spell sibilants that derive from sources other than Latin /s/.
298

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

483
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
se testornan
'rotate'. Although the related form trastornados occurs with the more expected prefix in line 483, this variation is similar to that seen in tremudaçoes (line 78) for the more frequent trasmudaçoes.

487
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
nomeeoo
'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.

'deron ah kapikornio e ah akario ah sturno
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."

deer
'gave'. 3rd plural preterite (ModPg. *deram < DEDERUNT). In this section
the verb has occurred with a simple /e/ vowel, as well as the short
diphthong " /ei/, in addition to the orthographically long one here (as
signaled by the intervening §).

semelyabeliah
'resembles'. This appears to be a verb based on the adjective
semelyabel 'similar' (though a more expected §yliy">SIMILIANT < SIMILANT does occur in line 519).

a.el's
'to them'. This is probably a scribal error for a.el's, referring to
the planets.

angunos indianos
'some Indians'. The scribe has apparently written ġn in the place of the
l in what should be algunos.

ordenyaron
'ordered'. Presumably to account for the unexpected palatal (ModPg.
ordernar), da Cunha (1982) derives this form from the Latin passive
infinitive ORDINARI. 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. ordenaron line 545; also cf. chapter 7 § 2.4).

521

enêalsacon
'exaltation'. This form shows the same intrusive /n/ seen in enšuto 'dry' < *EXSUCTU < EXSÚCCATU 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 \n) in line 525 and one with all sibilants spelled with ç in line 526.

522

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

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

faloron 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

es'loes ke adibdan ensalçamentos
'exaltations that affect exaltations'. The intrusive /n/ does not seem to appear in this word in any predictable way.
trepeçidade
'triplicity'. Written across a line break in the manuscript, this word, which occurs elsewhere (cf. note line 309) as trepeleçidade, occurs here with the -le-syllable missing.

tablas
'tables'. ModPg. tábua 'board' < TABULA is semi-learned, although this word could also be related to ModPg. tabela < TABELLA.

aun os lumiares
'have lights'. This appears to be a form of aver (ModPg. hão < 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 ao ‘to the’.

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.

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.

desvontarados
'unfortunate'. This appears to be a synonym of the term that normally appears infortunas (modifying graos 'degrees'). Note the rare use of double-ך to represent a CV syllable.
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 < LUMINE; see also note line 295). Although the second adjective might appear to be a form of LUBRICO '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).

The noun is no doubt an Arabic loanword, referring perhaps to an appendix or almanac.

f. 10r.

en³'s tabl³'s aģaredes
'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.

tres hazes
'three phases'. ModPg. fase, ultimately from Greek phásis. The form here, spelled with the initial letter ḫ h, may be an orthographic Castilianism (ModSp. fase) that the scribe has not avoided.

grandes does
'large pains'. ModPg. dor < *dolore < DOLOR, -ORIS. 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 doença < DOLENTIA.
roda εκελιπτικά
'elliptical wheel'. This term occurs in line 587 as the more expected
ἐκελιπτικά, where the vowel epenthesis may have prevented
the /kl/ cluster from shifting to /kr/ (cf. note line 57).

dirirey
'I will say'. The repeated syllable in the stem is probably due to scribal
error (cf. note line 284).

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.

adividamentos
'dominions'. A rare instance of the nominal form of this word spelled
with ו and a vocalic י following.

se adibdan
'are made to preside'. This is the only pronominal occurrence of the all-
pervasive verb.

probeza
'poverty'. ModPg. *pobreza. Note the r-migration, exactly the opposite of
that seen in פדריקאר pedrikar < PRAEDICERE (line 785).

avemos akatar
'we must examine'. ModPg. *haver de 'must' occurs here with the
preposition a instead.
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 'י 'י, lit. '9+7' (cf. י '15', lit. '9+6' in line 522).

ם Debian

‘Aldebaran’ (also known as OCULUS TAURI 'bull’s eye'). Based on Ar. al-
dabaran 'follower', one of the sixteen principal fixed stars.

וכ אורוניס pos oriones

'then Orion'. Scribal error for פ(א)וש poes; in the next line the scribe has written ק(א)וש uos for this same word. Also cf. line 597 kanis maior, another star/constellation whose name is given a latinizing form.

איןワイ alv’yot

The fourth in a suite of names that refer to the great stars or constellations.

ויל vail

The fifth of the sixteen great stars/constellations.

f. 10v.

אביוא abour

Another star/constellation.

כיה ד ליאון 'lion heart'. Given ModPg. coração and Latin COR, this form appears to be another Latinism in the name of a constellation.

ארמינו aramino

Another star/constellation.
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 פיסות piçes 'Pisces' nearby.

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 קָבֶּץ kabeça), several of which occur in relation to the names of constellations. It is unclear whether the ת should be construed as the final consonant in 'head' or the preposition de (mis-segmented by the scribe).

kouç seestro
'left heel'. ModPg. coice < CALCE (note the ou diphthong characteristic of the text, e.g. kousa 'thing', ModPg. coisa; cf. קְיוֹץ 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'.

o toum 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.

luzente da serpe
'light of the serpent’. Ferreira (1999) lists serpe as a poetic form of serpente, derived from the nominative SERPES.
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 ġ 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).

alaçel
'harvest'. ModPg. alacir < Ar. al-qašir, for which both Corriente (1999) and Ferreira (1999) list a variant alacil.

akorana
'the crown'. Given the presence of intervocalic /n/, this could be a semi-vernacular form, albeit with unexpected vocalism. Note also akona meredenoal 'the southern crown' further on in the same line, which may be the result of metathesis or else scribal error.

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').

enogo de sagetario
'in the zenith of Sagittarius'. ModPg. auge < Ar. awāq. Note the optionality of š in the ending of 'Sagittarius' (versus the immediately preceding sağetario), which is not reflected in my Romanization (cf. chapter 3 § 2.2.2).

palma rikenes
Another star/constellation.
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 ב to avoid double-ת standing for a VC syllable in ovino < OVINU.

f. 11r.

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.

grandes balias
'great authorities'. ModPg. valia 'value', but cf. Eng. bail(iff) < OFr. bailli < BAIULUS.

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' < NUBILÆRE 'become cloudy'; note that because the inter-tonic /i/ in the Latin verb did not fall before the shift of BL > br (cf. ניבר nobre < NOBILE, where the post-tonic /i/ fell earlier), this /bl/ cluster does not constitute a Latinism.

doos e ġantos
'griefs and weepings'. In connection with ModPg. dó 'pain' < DOLU, Houaiss (2001) notes that the use of DOLUS (a deverbal noun based on DOLÆRE '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'.
enbargos
'impediments'. ModPg. embargo is a deverbal noun based on embargar < Late Latin *IMBARRICĀRE.

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 OBLĪVĪSCI. 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 < AMICTATE.

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

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

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).

susanos e sanias
'???' and angers'. The first term may be related to Pg. insósso '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.
ak'reçeda
'lack'. A nominal form related to ModPg. *carecer* prefixed by *a-*.  

neiçidade e torpidade
'foolishness and torpor'. The first noun is based on *nesciu* 'foolish'. ModPg. *torpor* has replaced the noun used here, formed with the *-dade* < -TATE (-TAS, -TATIS) suffix.

fame e veleza e senardade
'hunger and old age and senility'. ModPg. *fome* < *FAME*. ModPg. *velhice* < *VET(U)LU+ITIE* has replaced the form used here. ModPg. *senilidade* preserves the noun-forming suffix in the word used here, but has restored the etymological /l/ (unless it is more akin to MedL. *SENIORITAS*, based on *SENIOR, -ORIS* 'older').

porfundade
'profundity'. ModPg. *profundidade* has been relatinized compared to the form here, which shows the r-migration characteristic of similar forms in the text, e.g. *porpeçion* 'proportion' (line 277).

koğintaçoes
'cogitations' < *CÖGITÄTIONES*, with an intrusive /n/ (cf. notes line 130, 302, 521).

kostinaçioes
'constitutions'. Preceded by *ley's* 'laws'.

kous's veras
'true things'. This adjective has generally been replaced in the modern language by *verdadeiro*, an adjective based on *VERITÄTE+ARIU*, a form of which also occurs in the text (e.g. *verdadeiramente* line 684).
'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_).

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. _APPREMIARE_ (cf. ModPg. _apremer_ < _APPRIMER_).

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 _enregeh(i)as_ 'energies' (cf. chapter 7 § 3.1.2).

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.

os ke falan mui perlungado en pernuçiar as p'labras
'those who speak at length in pronouncing words'. Note the _r_-migration and unexpected vocalism (ModPg. _pronunciari_ < _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.
agoyros e sortes
'auguries and lots'. ModPg. agouro shows a vowel variation opposite to that seen in kousa 'thing' (ModPg. coisa). ModPg. sorte 'luck'.

agora
'bitter'. The second vowel is probably a scribal error for agra < ācra, though as with galuton 'glutton' it is difficult to see what might have motivated the vowel epenthesis (cf. note line 702).

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 ð due to scribal error.

ariçototeleç
'Aristotle'. The philosopher's name occurs elsewhere without final -s, as well as one instance of a more curious form eriçotel in line 746. Note here that the rule calling for ã 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 š).

os paborosos
'fearsome (places)'. ModPg. pavoroso, a derivative of PAVORE 'fear'. Note the use of ð to avoid an ambiguous double-n spelling.

eskablias
'dungeons'. A deverbal noun based on escavar 'dig', augmented by the same collective-noun suffix seen in eskebraliya 'break (off)' from As kores.
cegedades
'blindnesses'. As opposed to ModPg. *cegueira(s) < CAECARIA*, this form takes the suffix *-dade* more typical of nouns in this text.

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 *أَنْتَهَ/أَنْتَهُ* *uah/un*<h>, 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, *marfel* 'ivory' < 'ażm al-fil 'elephant bones'.

dinidades
'dignities'. ModPg. *dignidade(s)*, though it never appears with *g* in this text. The fact that *d* is used to spell *benignidades* in line 681 and throughout the text in *signo* is not evidence that the historical */gn/ cluster was preserved (cf. *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.

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

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

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

pedras perecossas
‘precious stones’. ModPg. *precioso* < *pretiosu*. This form shows an extra syllable and no diphthong, perhaps in a hypercorrect attempt to avoid a Castilianism (cf. *obedentes* line 192, *orentais* line 309).

pr’lago
‘prelate’. ModPg. *prelado* ‘prelate’, church official’ < *praeluatu*. 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*.

suas lugares
‘its places’. Unless the scribe has simply not written the second 1 in *suas*, this is another instance of incorrect gender.

f. 12r.

e fortun’s
‘(it) is fortunate’. Scribal error for what should no doubt be *fortunada*.

alatun
‘brass’. ModPg. *latão* was probably borrowed from French *laton* (ModFr. *laiton*), a loanword from Arabic *lāţūn* ‘copper’ (cf. same word in *As kores*, where it occurs without the accreted article).

nobeciais
‘(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 /1/ deleted in the plural form).
grácia en falar e 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’.

galuton
'glutton’. ModPg. glutão < GLUTÔNE. 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 grodô), e.g. grude 'glue' < GLUTE in As kores.

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.

apresuramento
'urgency'. ModPg. apresuramento is the noun based on the verb apressurar, borrowed from Spanish (Ferreira 1999).

rebatos
'repellings’. ModPg. rebate, rebatimento.

spargamentos
'scatterings’. ModPg. espargimento (based on espargir < SPARGERE) occurs here without the prosthetic vowel and with a lowered /a/ vowel in the second syllable.

forterbações
'perturbations’. For this reading the rafeh over the ב p, which indicates /f/, must be considered a scribal error.
mortes subitades
'sudden deaths'. ModPg. súbito has replaced this form, which may be based on something more akin to SUBITANEU (> ModFr. soudain).

omizios
'concealments'. ModPg. homizio < HOMICIDIU did originally refer to 'homicide' (Ferreira 1999).

albeteriah
'animal healing' or 'horseshoe maker'. cf. ModPg. alveitaria, based on alveitar < Ar. al-bai†‹ar, ultimately from Gr. hippiatrós 'horse doctor' (Houaiss 2001).

mesteres lazerosos
'humble trades'. ModPg. lazeira 'misery' (but cf. lacerioso 'poor').

almokadees
'captains'. ModPg. almocadém < Ar. al-muqaddam.

sayvais
This adjective may be based on saivá '(not too dense) woodland'.

ou labran as arm³s
'(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.
feel
'bile'. The Latinism bílis has replaced this term found in other Romance languages, e.g. Sp. hiel, It. fiele < FEL, FELLIS.

lavradores
'laborsers'. Note the relatively rare use of 1 for Pg. /v/ < Lat. /b/.

goleines
'wanderings'. ModPg. coleár. Note intervocalic /l/ preserved, perhaps from an original geminate or via borrowing.

kaminyos e sobre kamineiros
'chimneys and chimney-sweeps'. This native form (based on CAMÍNU '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.

kous's inkuadas
'things hammered (on a anvil)'. This term derived from INCUDINE has been replaced by ModPg. bigorna 'anvil'.

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.

abeniguador
'benefactor'. An agent noun based on a verb ultimately derived from AD+BENEFICARE. Williams (1962: 89) claims that other such verbs that
developed a post-Latin labiovelar (eg. ModPg. averiguar 'investigate' < AD+VERIFICARE) are borrowed from the Spanish evolution of -IFICARE > *-evgar > *-eugar > -iguár, replacing the native unsyncopated forms in -evegar/-ivigar that occur in Old Portuguese.

734
vountade
'will'. cf. voluntario's in line 741, with the same rare use of double-vav for a CV syllable but with the etymological /l/ restored.

736
alkonprimento e alargya
'fulfillment and happiness'. The first noun seems to be a form of cumprimento < COMPLEMENTU 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
arenememrar
'remember'. ModPg. leembrar < nembrar < MEMORARE (Williams 1962: 106). A similar form occurs in line 786, where another hand has actually added the न ne above the shorter न arenembrar.

738
principadego
'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
aduze
'establish'. ModPg. aduzir 'adduce' < AD+DUCERE, though its usage here seems less figurative than the modern term.
do sumer en aguah
'submerge in water'. The verb is likely a non-latinizing form based on SUBMERGERE.

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.

sobre en suah auge
'rises in its zenith'. ModPg. auge < Ar. awg. 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).

kreme frutes e as prênetas
'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 * between נ and ב.

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

maduran
'ripen'. This form, showing the expected development of MĀTURĀRE, 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

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. अर्णमिमरा निम्रेस nimirš 'members' line 778).

760

en geramento

'growth, fertility'. ModPg. geração < GENERATIONE. 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 † n.

761

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 कासमेंटोस kasamentos.

762

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

estormentos de tenger

'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.
trebelyos e saltos e ġuzos
'[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 trebelyador 'laborer' in line 400 (showing the same unexpected 8 a). The third term may be related to Sp. gozo 'joy' < GAUDIU with an incorrect diacritic on the g, perhaps due to contamination from Pg. jogo 'game' < IOCU.

f’lagos 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').

argolyas
'hooped jewels'. ModPg. argola < Ar. al-ġulla, with r-l dissimilation preserved in the modern form.

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).

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

reneyas
'queens'.  ModPg. rainha < REGINA, 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."

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

adivida
'presides'.  A rare instance of the all-pervasive verb spelled with both ɐv and a vocalic ɐ y following.

769

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

772

grel'ndas 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 esprema 'seed' (line 779). The second term is akin to 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 oyro 'gold'. It is also spelled with a more etymological unvoiced ɐ ʃ ʃ 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.
cerçelios 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).

kamar's enkortinadas
'curtained bedrooms'. ModPg. câmara is ultimately a Greek loanword. The second term is presumably based on a verb enkortinar, akin to ModPg. cortina.

ermatiko kon dolçura
'aromatic with sweetness'. The initial vowel could be influenced by other forms in which initial a- occurs as ɓ e-, e.g. erismatika 'arithmetic' (cf. chapter 7 § 2.6).

nemros de enêgra
'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).

esprema
'seed'. Another instance of r-migration vis-à-vis the modern form (ModPg. esperma < SPERMA).

kobiçadeiras
'appealing'. This adjective is based on kobiça 'covetousness' < CUPIDITIA.
fornecios e lesurias
'fornications and lusts'. As opposed to ModPg. forniceação (borrowed from ecclesiastical Latin), this noun probably derives from *Fornicio, based on classical Fornix, -icis 'arch, vault; brothel'. The second term is probably a misspelling for luxurias < Lúxurias (ModPg. luxúria).

782 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 < Ductione, a deverbal noun derived from dúcere 'lead'. Replaced by ModPg. orvalho.

f. 13v.

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

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

793 kabidos
'chapters (of an assembly).' Although a Castilian-like 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. capítulo > cabidoo > cabido), as opposed to syncope-induced metathesis in the Spanish form (see note line 343).
argente bibo
'quicksilver'. This same term occurs as argente vivo in As kores, without the final syllable on the first word.

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).

notayros
'notaries'. ModPg, notário, cf. others with -ayro for modern <ário> (cf. chapter 7 § 2.3).

ingentos e maestrias e inbegas
'strengths and skills and envies'. ModPg. ingente < INGENS, -ENTIS. ModPg. maestria < *MAGISTERIA. ModPg. inveja < INVIDIA, based on INVIDIA.

vento çerêco
'cold wind'. Perhaps 'northern', this adjective of unknown origin is associated with ice, hail, and snow.

entemento
'understanding'. The scribe has apparently forgotten one of the middle syllables of what should be entendemento.

f. 14r.

legumyas
'vegetables'. ModPg. legume < LEGUMEN, here showing same plural variant seen in other forms, e.g. animales~animalias (see note line 664).
822 **poços**
‘wells’. Though normally spelled in this text with ç (i.e. *pozo* < PUTEU), the spelling here is perfectly in keeping with the rule calling for ç for sibilants that do not derive from Latin /s/, and so need not reflect a voicing variation in the pronunciation.

826 **akareamentos**
'conveyances'. ModPg. *acarrear*, based on *carro* 'car'.

828 **cérebro**
'brain'. ModPg. *cérebro* < CEREBRU, occurring here with l-r dissimilation (cf. note line 651).

829 **renyoes**
'kidneys'. ModPg. *rins* < RENES, from which the singular *rim* was back-formed (Houaiss 2001). The plural form used here probably derives from an augmentative RÊNİÔNE that also yields Fr. *rognon*, the culinary term for 'kidney'.

831 **kabeça do dragon**
'dragon's head', probably a constellation.

835 **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 **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. א for ET, ק for CUM, لو for LUNA, נובר for NOBLE) and assorted other "errors" (e.g. este for EST, 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.
venus est confedera generies luçidiura feamina dolçiera ġuridos pranterar prantera

merkurius est prendenus eskriturium intremediatum kon gutator letriatius e tremediatum lukturium

luah est poblos olontas korpus familya sirius eneçiah muteus

kapor anegue soblemente e kaura meninu setremitate