

THE STRESSED MID VOWELS OF 17TH CENTURY PORTUGUESE FROM THE RHYMES OF THE BAROQUE CANCIONEIRO *A FÉNIX RENASCIDA*

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- **ABSTRACT:** This research investigates the pronunciation of the stressed mid vowels in Portuguese of the 17th century, through the observation of the rhymes of the poetry from that period. The corpus of this research comprises the poems of the book *A Fénix Renascida ou obras poéticas dos melhores engenhos portugueses*. The methodology adopted in this study was based, essentially, on mapping and analysing all the rhymes with stressed mid vowels in these literary texts. Data from this study were compared to data from 13th, 15th and 16th centuries (in FONTE, 2010, 2014). The results of this research suggest that there was, until the 17th century (at least) constant phonetic variation in the pronunciation of the Portuguese language's stressed mid vowels. Throughout history, some of these variations have resulted in change. In these cases, the variant fixed in the current pronunciation does not correspond to the etymological form. In other cases, however, the earliest pronunciation of the language was fixed.
- **KEYWORDS:** Stressed mid vowels. Modern Portuguese. Rhymes. Variation. Change.

Introduction

The objective of this work is to investigate the pronunciation of stressed mid vowels in 17th century Portuguese, based on the analysis of the rhymes used in the Portuguese cancionero *A Fénix Renascida ou obras poéticas dos melhores engenhos portugueses* [The reborn Phoenix or Poetic work of the best Portuguese minds], first published between 1715 and 1728, under the command of Matias Pereira da Silva.

By analysing the rhymes of the remaining poetry from the 17th century, this work proposes to continue and expand the results of research previously developed by the first author of this article. Fonte (2010a, 2010b), for example, presents a phonological

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framework of 13th century vowels, based on the analysis of the rhymes and spellings used in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM) of Alfonso X, also known as the Wise, king of Leon and Castile. In a more recent study, Fonte (2014) compares these results from the 13th century to data from the 15th and 16th centuries, obtained from the observation of the rhymes and the spelling in *Cancioneiro Geral* (CG), by Garcia de Resende, and *Os Lusíadas*, by Camões, and traces the historical path of the tonic, pretonic and posttonic vowels of the language, from Galician-Portuguese to the beginning of modern Portuguese (16th century), passing through Middle Portuguese.¹

Particularly in regard to stressed vowels, the research developed by Fonte (2010a, 2010b, 2014) shows the importance of poetic rhymes in the study of the difference in timbre (open/close) between the mid vowels of the past, once the old spelling, like the current one, only had two symbols, <e> and <o>, to represent four phonemes: /e/ and /ɛ/, in the front vowel series, and /o/ and /ɔ/, in the back vowel series. By analysing rhyme possibilities and impossibilities between (stressed) mid vowels represented by identical graphemes, in the corpora addressed, Fonte (2010a, 2010b, 2014) obtained significant data that not only confirm the timbre distinction between the Ancient Portuguese mid vowels, but also suggest several cases of variation and change, throughout the language's history, involving the pronunciation of these mid vowels, in the stressed syllable.

In the case of 13th century mid vowels, for example, Fonte (2010a, 2010b) shows the rhymes in the CSM attest to the occurrence of four phonemes (/e, ɛ, o, ɔ/), in stressed position, in the Galician-Portuguese vowel system. While investigating, in medieval religious songs, rhyme possibilities and impossibilities between mid vowels represented by identical graphemes, the author found that some of the endings mapped could be clearly divided into two rhyming groups (eg: second conjugation verbs in the infinitive, such *viver* 'to live', *morrer* 'to die', *vencer* 'to win' etc, rhyme in the Alfonsoan songs, but they are never seen rhyming with irregular verbal forms such as *quiser* 'to want, Subjunctive Future' and *disser* 'to say' Subjunctive Future', for example). Bearing in mind that CSM rhymes are all *perfect rhymes*², Fonte (2010a, 2010b) interpreted this data as indication that there were, in each ending, identical graphemes representing different phonemes (eg: /e/, in *morrer* 'to die', and /ɛ/, in *quiser* 'to want Subjunctive Future' - exactly like in current Portuguese). In other words, to the author, results evidence the timbre distinction between mid vowels

¹ Galician-Portuguese or troubadour Portuguese corresponds to the first phase of the period traditionally known as archaic, between late-12th and mid-14th centuries (MICHAELIS DE VASCONCELOS, 1946). Middle Portuguese corresponds to the second phase of the archaic period, characterised, according to Michaelis de Vasconcelos (1946), by the separation between Galician and Portuguese: from 1350 to the early 16th century. Modern Portuguese, in turn, corresponds to the last period postulated by language scholars and began, according to Vasconcelos' proposal (1959), in the mid-16th century.

² According to Goldstein (1985), in perfect rhymes, from the stressed vowel onwards, all vowels and consonants present the same quality, whereas in vowel rhymes only the stressed vowels are similar (eg: *pinno/amigo* 'pine'/'friend' and *ramo/amado* 'branch'/'loved one' in the *cantigas de amigo*). Fonte's work (2010a, 2010b) shows that, in the CSM, there are no *toante* rhymes.

in Galician-Portuguese in stressed syllables, and imply a similarity between the 13th century vowel system and the current phonological frame, at least as far as the language's (stressed) mid vowels are concerned.

On the other hand, Fonte's data (2010a, 2010b) also suggest a pronunciation different from the current one for the mid vowel of some Galician-Portuguese words (eg: *inveja* 'envy', *essa* 'this', *promessa* 'promise', *eu* 'I', *meu* 'my', *teu* 'your', *seu* 'your', *Deus* 'God', *fogo* 'fire', *jogo* 'game', *gloriosa* 'glorious', *maior* 'major', *melhor* 'better' etc). When referring to the historical origin of the mid vowel of each of these lexical items, Fonte (2010a, 2010b) found that the stressed vowel's timbre, in the current pronunciation, does not correspond, in these specific cases, to the quantity of the Latin etymon. In other words, knowing that classic Latin's short mid vowels (/ĕ, ě/) originated, in Portuguese, mid open vowels (eg: *pĕtram* > *p/ĕ/dra* 'stone', *lŏcum* > *l/ɔ/go* 'soon') in stressed syllables, and that classical Latin's long mid (/ē, ē/) and short high vowels (/ī, ū/) gave rise to close-mid vowels (eg: *bĕstiam* > *b/e/sta* 'animal', *vīridem* > *verde* 'green', *tŏtum* > *t/o/do* 'all', **tŭrrem* > *torre* 'tower') the author concluded, based on rhymes such as *enveja/seja/deseja* 'envy/be/wish' (CSM 241), *essa/abadessa/condessa/promessa* 'this/abbess/countess/promise' (CSM 195), *logo/jogo* 'soon/game' (CSM 422), *groriosa/esposa/preciosa* 'glorious/wife/precious' (CSM 340), *mayor/mellor/Sennor* 'major/better/Sir' (CSM 70), among others, that in the 13th century the pronunciation of the stressed vowels (at least in the case of these words) still corresponded to the timbre inherited from the etymological vowel (eg: *invīdiam* > **env/e/ja* 'envy', *īpsam* > **/e/ssa* 'this', *promīssam* > **prom/e/ssa* 'promise', *jocum* > **j/ɔ/go* 'game', *gloriosam* > **glorio/o/sa* 'glorious', *maiozem* > **mai/o/r* 'major' etc).³

Incidentally, it is important to note that previous studies had already considered the hypothesis that the stressed vowel of some of these words had, in Old Portuguese, a different timbre from the current one (see WILLIAMS, 1975[1938]; SILVA NETO, 1952; NUNES, 1960; COUTINHO, 1974; RAMOS, 1985; CUNHA, 1985, 1991). Fonte's data (2010a, 2010b), therefore, confirm the preceding studies' proposition and suggest that, through the history of the language, there was a linguistic change that originated the current vowel timbre.

According to Fonte (2014), this linguistic change originated, most likely, in phonetic variations in force in the 15th and 16th centuries, between open and close-mid vowels. The author reached this conclusion by identifying, in verses from CG and *Os Lusíadas*, a considerable number of rhymes between open and close-mid vowels (according to current standards) which, contrary to what was observed for the data of the 13th century, cannot be justified from the historical origin of the stressed vowel in question (eg: *velho/conselho* 'old/advice', from latin *vĕtulum* and *consīlium*). Based on these data, the author considered the hypothesis that, in the 15th and 16th centuries,

³ All information in this text regarding the words' historical origin is based on the dictionaries by Corominas (1961), Cunha (2010) and Saraiva (2006).

there was variation in the pronunciation of Portuguese mid vowels, in the stressed syllable (hence the rhyme possibilities).⁴

Fonte's hypothesis (2014) is supported by the fact that the timbre difference between Portuguese mid vowels is subtle and, often, fragile, susceptible to variation. Some terms, even today, vary as to the pronunciation of the stressed mid vowel, that is, they do not have a single established timbre yet (eg: *ff[ɛ]cha ~ ff[e]cha* '(s)he closes', *sap[e] ~ sap[ɛ]* 'thatch', *T[e]jo ~ T[ɛ]jo* 'Tejo, name of a Portuguese river', *p[o]ça ~ p[ɔ]ça* 'puddle' etc).⁵

The change, throughout the history of the language, in the pronunciation of the stressed vowel of adjectives such as *maior* 'bigger' and *formosa* 'bonny', for example, recognised and disseminated by the historical grammars and philology manuals of Portuguese, also constitutes an argument in favour of Fonte's hypothesis (2014). Starting from the assumption that not all variation implies change, but "every change implies variability and heterogeneity" (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2006, p. 126), we are led to recognise that, before changing (permanently), the words to which we referred went through a period of variation.

Another fact to be considered is the fact that, in present-day Galician, there is variation in the pronunciation of the stressed mid vowel in words like *l[ɛ]da ~ l[e]da* 'joyful', *quer[e]la ~ quer[e]la* 'quarrel', *aqu[e]la ~ aqu[e]la* 'that', *[e]la ~ [ɛ]la* 'she', *cap[e]lo ~ cap[e]lo* 'hat', *def[e]nsa ~ def[ɛ]nsa* 'defence', *av[ɛ]sa ~ av[e]sa* 'averse', *av[ɛ]so ~ av[e]so* 'averse', *proc[ɛ]so ~ proc[e]so* 'process', *[e]u ~ [ɛ]u* 'I', *m[e]u ~ m[ɛ]u* 'my', *s[e]u ~ s[ɛ]u* 'his', *t[e]u ~ t[ɛ]u* 'your', *ff[ɔ]go ~ ff[o]go* 'fire', *x[ɔ]go ~ x[o]go* (*jogo*) 'game', *n[ɔ]vo ~ n[o]vo* 'new' (see. *Dicionario de pronuncia da lingua galega*),⁶ all involved in rhymes between mid-open and mid-close vowels (based on current Portuguese pronunciations) from CG or *Os Lusíadas*, as shown by Fonte's work (2014).

Moreover, in current Portuguese, there are few examples of minimal pairs involving the phonemes /e/ and /ɛ/, just like /o/ and /ɔ/ (WETZELS, 2011). To Fonte (2014), 15th and 16th century rhymes may also be revealing that Portuguese was on the verge of acquiring a phonology similar to that of Spanish, in which timbre distinction, between

⁴ By assuming this position, Fonte (2014) goes against previous studies that, based on a present-day perspective, classified 15th and 16th-century rhymes as imperfect, between mid vowels that, in today's Portuguese, present different timbres. Cunha (1985, 1991), for example, argues that, due to a versification practice introduced by Gil Vicente, in the mid-15th century, it would have become common, in Portuguese poetry at the time, to rhyme mid-open and mid-close vowels. Fonte (2014), on the other hand, believes that this explanation greatly reduces the interpretation possibilities provided by the data from this period. To the author, it is necessary, first, to translate the clues that this type of rhyme may be revealing about the mid vowels of the time.

⁵ In these examples, we only consider Brazilian Portuguese pronunciations – more precisely, São Paulo standard variety.

⁶ Examples from the present-day Galician will be shown frequently throughout this text, to attest to the pronunciations proposed for the Portuguese of the past. The pronunciations (presented in this study) referring to Galician non-verbs were taken from the aforementioned *Dicionario de pronuncia da lingua galega*. On the other hand, the pronunciations of inflected verb forms were obtained online by referring to the *Dicionario da academia galega* and Prof. Dr. Xosé Luís Regueira, director of the *Dicionario de pronuncia da lingua galega*, who very kindly answered, by email, to all our questions related to current Galician's stressed mid vowels. Dictionary available at: <http://ilg.usc.es/pronuncia/?q=&l=1>. Access on: 9 abr. 2021.

mid vowels, is not phonological. In this case, the fact that Portuguese speakers had frequent contact with the Spanish language at the time cannot be overlooked.

Considering these factors, Fonte (2014) not only suggests that the rhymes of the 15th and 16th centuries show the occurrence of variation in the pronunciation of the stressed mid vowels of that period, but also proposes a possible reason for this variation: the action of phonetic-phonological processes of assimilatory nature, such as metaphony and vowel harmony, for example.⁷

Particularly regarding CG and *Os Lusíadas* rhymes involving Portuguese names, Fonte (2014) draws attention to the fact that a big share of the rhyming words ends in *-a*, *-o* or *-e* (eg: *festa/besta* 'party/beast', *zelo/amarelo* 'diligence/yellow', *ele/pele* 'he/skin'). To the author, such data allow us to suspect the influence of these final vowels on the pronunciation of stressed vowels in words like (**b[e]sta*) 'beast', *amarelo* (**amar[e]lo*) 'yellow' and *pele* (**p[e]le*) 'skin' in Old Portuguese. In other words, Fonte (2014) believes that the final unstressed vowels *-a*, *-o* and *-e* constituted productive triggers in the metaphony processes of Old Portuguese. Incidentally, this hypothesis is supported by other data, already mentioned in this text, regarding changes in vowel timbre, in the diachrony of the language, under influence, it seems, of the final unstressed vowel *-a* and *-o*: *gloriosa* 'glorious', *formosa* 'bonny', *essa* 'this', *promessa* 'promise', *jogo* 'game', *fogo* 'fire', among other examples (WILLIAMS, 1975 [1938]; COUTINHO, 1974; NUNES, 1960; RAMOS, 1985). In view of this conjuncture, Fonte (2014) defends the possibility that the variation in the pronunciation of stressed mid vowels may have been conditioned, at first, by assimilatory processes. Little by little, however, the variation would have extended to other items of the lexicon, thus encompassing words that do not necessarily have a specific phonetic-phonological context that favours raising or lowering of the mid vowel.

Regarding the rhymes of CG and *Os Lusíadas* involving verbs of the language, Fonte (2014) also proposes an explanation based on the hypothesis of phonetic variation conditioned by assimilatory processes. The author suggests, for example, that the vowel harmonisation and lowering rules, responsible for the (current) pronunciation of the stressed vowel of some verb forms of the present, began to operate in Portuguese, most likely, in the middle of the 15th century.⁸ Observing the

⁷ Scholars classify metaphony as the assimilation process responsible for changing the timbre of the stressed vowel due to the influence of an unstressed, usually final vowel (XAVIER; MATEUS, 1990). Regarding the process of vowel harmony, it corresponds, according to Xavier and Mateus (1990, p. 200), "to the way in which the articulation of one vowel is influenced by the properties of (an) other vowel(s) in the same word or in the same group of words".

⁸ According to Mateus (1975, 2003), in the first person singular of the present (indicative and subjunctive), there is harmonisation between the stressed mid vowel and the verbs' theme vowel, in the three conjugations (*-ar*, *-er*, *-ir*). According to the author, the theme vowel, before being suppressed, leaves its streak of floating height, which is linked to the underspecified vowel (which occurs before the stress placement). Thus, in the first conjugation, the mid vowel remains open (*levo* 'take', *leve* 'light'), due to the influence of the theme vowel *a*; in the second conjugation, the mid vowel is closed (*devo* 'I must', *deva* 'I/he/she must' subjunctive, *movo* 'I move', *mova* 'I/he/she move' subjunctive), due to the influence of the theme vowel *e*; and in the third conjugation, the stressed vowel becomes high (*firo* 'I hurt', *fira* 'I/he/she hurt' subjunctive, *durmo* 'I sleep', *durma* 'I sleep' subjunctive), due to the influence of the theme vowel *i*. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule: *chego* 'I arrive', *quero* 'I want', *peço* 'I ask' and *impeço* 'I prevent', for example. Regarding the mid vowel lowering, in the second and third person singular and in the third

rhymes from CG and *Os Lusíadas* (eg: *deve* ‘must’/teve ‘had’, *chega* ‘arrive’/nega ‘deny’/rega ‘water’), Fonte (2014) proposes that, before this period, pronunciations with the etymological mid vowel (eg: *d[e]ve ‘must’, from latin *dēbēre*, *ch[e]ga ‘arrive’, from latin *plicare*) prevailed.⁹

From the second half of the 14th century onwards, the aforementioned phonetic-phonological processes (especially that of harmony) would have started to interfere with the pronunciation of these mid vowels, thus causing variation between etymological and phonetic forms (eg: *d[e]ve ~ *d[ɛ]ve ‘must’, *ch[e]ga ~ *ch[ɛ]ga ‘arrive’). In some cases, this variation resulted in change (eg: d[ɛ]ve ‘must’). In others, the etymological variant was kept (eg: ch[e]ga ‘arrive’). In general, the forms that constitute, in present-day Portuguese, an exception to the rules of vowel harmony and lowering (such as the verb *chegar* ‘arrive’, for example) belong to the latter case.

In short, Fonte (2014), when comparing the rhymes of the CSM, CG and *Os Lusíadas*, argues that, in the 13th century, there was a phonological distinction, in the stressed syllable, between open-mid and close-mid vowels of Portuguese - and these mid vowels were pronounced, according to the author, according to the timbre inherited from the Latin etymon (eg: *[e]ssa ‘this’, *prom[e]ssa ‘promise’, *env[e]ja ‘envy’, *ferm[o]sa ‘bonny’, *glori[o]sa ‘glorious’, *f[ɔ]go ‘fire’, *j[ɔ]go ‘game’ etc). In the 15th and 16th centuries, according to Fonte (2014), assimilation processes such as metaphony and vowel harmonisation started to operate (more often, perhaps) in the language, causing variation in the pronunciation of these vowels. In some cases, these variations resulted in a change, so that the variant fixed in the current pronunciation does not correspond to the etymological form (eg: [ɛ]ssa ‘this’, prom[ɛ]ssa ‘promise’, inv[ɛ]ja ‘envy’, av[ɛ]sso ‘averse’, form[ɔ]sa ‘bonny’, glori[ɔ]sa ‘glorious’, f[o]go ‘fire’, j[o]go ‘game’). In other cases, however, the language’s older pronunciation was fixed (eg: b[e]sta ‘beast’, trist[e]za ‘sadness’, r[ɛ]to ‘straight’, v[ɛ]lho ‘old’, l[ɔ]go ‘soon’, m[ɔ]do ‘manner’).

Based on these results achieved by Fonte (2010a, 2010b, 2014), regarding stressed mid vowels of the 13th, 15th, and 16th centuries, this paper comes about with the intention of expanding and complementing previous studies, based on analysis of data from the 17th century. This study aims, therefore, to verify if the data from the 17th century point to a similar picture to that obtained by Fonte (2014) for the 15th and 16th centuries. In other words, the purpose of this research is to investigate whether, in the 17th century,

person plural, also in the present indicative and subjunctive, Mateus (1975, 2003) explains that, in cases where the theme vowel is not suppressed, after the stress is placed, the mid vowel receives the [+ low] feature (eg: *levas* ‘you sg. take’, *moras* ‘you sg. dwell’, *deves* ‘you sg. must’, *moves* ‘you sg. move’, *feres* ‘you sg. hurt’, *dormes* ‘you sg. sleep’). It should be noted that this rule only applies to vowels that do not have the feature [+ high] (i, u). There are, however, exceptions involving the back vowel: *fugir* ‘I flee’ and *subir* ‘I climb’, for example. To learn about other proposals for phonological analysis of alternating vowels involving certain verb forms of Portuguese, see the work of Battisti and Vieira (2005).

⁹ It should be referred that Williams (1975 [1938]) also advocates a different pronunciation from the current one for some verb forms of Old Portuguese. To the author, the stressed mid vowels originating from Latin *ē* and *ō* were open, in the 2nd conjugation (eg: *v[ɛ]rto ‘I change’, *v[ɔ]lvo ‘I roll’), and close in the 3rd conjugation (eg: *s[e]rvo ‘serve’, *d[o]rmo ‘I sleep’), due to the influence of the Latin semivowel *i* (*serviō* ‘I serve’, *dormiō* ‘I sleep’).

the poets of the cancionero *A Fênix Renascida* still rhymed mid vowels that, in present-day Portuguese, are pronounced with different timbres. From these results, it will be possible to verify whether the variation hypothesis, suggested by Fonte (2014) for the 15th and 16th century vowels, can be extended to the later period.

Stressed mid vowels in 17th century rhymes

The Portuguese cancionero *A Fênix Renascida ou obras poéticas dos melhores engenheiros portugueses* comprises, in five volumes, poems written during the 17th century, by different poets of the time and on the most varied themes. Due to its breadth, this 17th century cancionero is considered the greatest propagator of Portuguese baroque poetry.

In this section of the article, rhymes of this cancionero containing mid vowels (front or back) in stressed syllables are presented and discussed. As there are no rhyming dictionaries of this baroque cancionero, the rhymes were collected directly from the work, through Silva's (1746) reissue, published in five volumes (each containing about 500 pages), all available for checking or downloading, in scanned version, on the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal's website.¹⁰

Once this survey was made, the possibilities and impossibilities of rhyme between the words with the same ending were analysed. At this point in the research, a similarity was found, as shown in the following examples, between the rhymes of the baroque cancionero and those (mentioned in the introduction to this article) remaining from the 15th and 16th centuries:¹¹

(01)

-er

mulher/poder 'woman'/'power' (T 3, p. 89)

poder/mulher 'power'/'woman' (T 4, p. 150)

der/florecer 'give' Future/'blossom' (T 4, p. 147)

poder/fizer 'power'/'do' Future (T 5, p. 238)

¹⁰ The first edition of the cancionero *A Fênix Renascida*, also organised by Matias Pereira da Silva (who was also responsible for the 1746 reprint), was published, in five volumes, between 1715 and 1728. In this study, we chose to work with the 1746 reprint, once it is an expanded version of the first edition, as well as being available for browsing on the internet.

¹¹ In order to make data interpretation easier, we highlighted in blue all words that are, in present-day Portuguese, pronounced with an open-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable.

-era

- podera/respondera* ‘can’ Past/‘answer’ Past (T 1, p. 29)
- tivera/padecera/espera* ‘had’ Past/‘suffer’ Past/‘wait’ (T 1, p. 111)
- era/padecera/cera* ‘be’ Past/‘suffer’ Past/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 158)
- fera/cera* ‘beast’/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 220)
- espera/cera* ‘wait’/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 223)
- cedera/Primavera/esfêra* ‘indulge’ Past/‘Spring’/‘sphere’ (T 2, p. 2)
- espera/cera/era* ‘wait’/‘wax’/‘be’ Past (T 2, p. 12)
- podera/esfêra/cera* ‘can’ Past/‘sphere’/‘wax’ (T 2, p. 23)
- merecera/dera* ‘deserve’ Past/‘give’ Past (T 2, p. 428)
- florecece/pospuzera/morrera* ‘blossom’ Past/‘postpone’ Past/‘die’ Past (T 3, p. 28)
- vencera/era* ‘win’/‘be’ Past (T 3, p. 95)
- atrevera/podera/quizera* ‘dare’ Past/‘can’ Past/‘want’ Past (T 3, p. 281)
- fera/cera* ‘beast’/‘wax’ (T 4, p. 50)
- devera/padecera/tivera/quizera* ‘must’ Past/‘suffer’ Past/ ‘have’ Past/‘want’ Past (T 4, p. 339)
- primavera/viera/perdera* ‘spring’/‘come’ Past/‘lose’ Past (T 5, p. 179)
- considera/perdera/espera* ‘consider’ Present/‘lose’ Past/‘wait’ (T 1, p. 105)
- podêra/morrera* ‘can’ Past/‘die’ Past (T 1, p. 138)
- era/pera/cera* ‘be’ Past/‘pear’/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 217)
- era/cera* ‘be’ Past/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 223)
- podêra/cera* ‘can’ Past/‘wax’ (T 1, p. 231)
- cera/fêra* ‘wax’/‘beast’ (T 2, p. 5)
- perdera/fêra* ‘lose’ Past/‘beast’ (T 2, p. 14)
- dissera/encarecera/considera/fizera* ‘say’ Past/‘endear’ Past/ ‘consider’ Past/‘do’ Past (T 2, p. 29)
- quizera/cera/derretera* ‘want’ Past/‘wax’/‘melt’ Past (T 3, p. 3)
- esfêra/encarecera/primavera* ‘sphere’/‘endear’ Past/‘spring’ (T 3, p. 48-49)
- primavera/fêra/cera* ‘spring’/‘beast’/‘wax’ (T 3, p. 207)
- syncera/cera/considera* ‘sincere’/‘wax’/‘consider’ Present (T 3, p. 309)
- esquecera/commetera/fizera* ‘forget’ Past/‘commit’ Past /‘do’ Past (T 4, p. 298)
- dissera/valera* ‘say’ Past/‘value’ Past (T 5, p. 57)

-erão

- renderão/retiverão/estremecerão* ‘conquer’ Past/‘retain’ Past/‘shake’ Past (T 2, p. 77)
- puzerão/vierão/responderão* ‘put’ Past/‘come’ Past/‘answer’ Past (T 5, p. 35)
- proverão/puzerão/temerão* ‘provide’ Past/‘put’ Past/‘fear’ Past (T 5, p. 24)
- disseram/crerão* ‘say’ Past/‘believe’ Past (T 5, p. 251)

-erem

fazerem/esperem/verem ‘do’/‘wait’/‘see’ (T 5, p. 17)

-eres

- veres/fêres/prazeres* ‘you see’ Future/‘you hurt’ Present/ ‘pleasures’ (T 2, p. 9)
- pareceres/mulheres/colheres* ‘you seem’ Present/‘women’/‘spoons’ (T 5, p. 11)
- leres/deres* ‘you read’ Future/‘you give’ Future (T 5, p. 39)
- poderes/podêres* ‘powers’/‘you can’ Future (T 4, p. 77)
- quizeres/prazeres/fizeres* ‘you want’ Future/‘pleasures’/‘you do’ Future (T 5, p. 37)
- dizeres/quizeres* ‘you say’ Future/‘you want’ Future (T 5, p. 227)

-esse/-ece

- tivesse/pertendesse* ‘have’ Past/‘intend’ Past
(T 1, p. 26)
- doesse/fizesse/conhece* ‘hurt’ Past/‘do’ Past/‘know’
Past (T 5, p. 2)
- quizesse/crece* ‘want’ Past/‘grow’ Present
(T 5, p. 59)
- houvesse/perdesse* ‘exist’ Past/‘lose’ Past
(T 5, p. 257)
- désse/estremece/interesse* ‘give’ Past/‘shake’
Present/‘interest’ (T 2, p. 284)
- soubesse/houvesse/perdesse* ‘know’ Past/‘exist’
Past/‘lose’ Past (T 5, p. 23)
- nascesse/désse* ‘be born’ Past/‘give’ Past
(T 5, p. 220)

-essem

- disessem/viessem/convertessem* ‘you (pl.) say’
Past/‘you (pl.)come’ Past/ ‘you (pl.)convert’ Past
(T 5, p. 31)
- trouxessem/viessem/enchessem* ‘you (pl.)bring’
Past/‘you (pl.)come’ Past/ ‘you (pl.)fill’ Past
(T 5, p. 22)

-este(s)

- quizeste/atreveste/mereceste* ‘you want’ Past/‘you
dare’ Past/ ‘you deserve’ Past (T 1, p. 30)
- podeste/celeste/adormeceste* ‘you can’
Past/‘heavenly’/ ‘you fall asleep’ Past (T 2, p. 89)
- deste/cipreste* ‘give’ Past/‘cypress’ (T 3, p. 30-31)
- rendeste/escreveste/coubeste* ‘you conquer’
Past/‘you write’ Past/ ‘you fit’ Past (T 3, p. 278)
- rendeste/offereceste/deste* ‘you conquer’ Past/‘you
offer’ Past/ ‘you give’ Past (T 5, p. 161)
- celestes/perdestes* ‘heavenly’/‘you lose’ Past
(T 2, p. 295)
- compuzestes/vencestes/recebestes/fizestes* ‘you
compose’ Past/‘you win’ Past/ ‘you receive’
Past/‘you do’ Past (T 3, p. 201)
- destes/celestes/acometestes/fizestes* ‘you give’
Past/‘heavenly’/‘you attack’ Past/ ‘you do’ Past
(T 4, p. 400)
- soubestes/escrevestes/tecestes* ‘you know’
Past/‘you write’ Past/ ‘you thread’ Past
(T 5, p. 336)
- déste/perdeste/obedeceste* ‘you give’ Past/‘you
lose’ Past/ ‘you obey’ Past (T 1, p. 77)
- este/celeste* ‘this’/‘heavenly’ (T 3, p. 18)
- neste/celeste* ‘in this’/‘heavenly’ (T 3, p. 44)
- recolheste/enfureceste/déste* ‘you collect’
Past/‘you infuriate’ Past/ ‘you give’ Past
(T 5, p. 148)
- podeste/nasceste/celeste* ‘you can’ Past/‘you were
born’ Past/ ‘heavenly’ (T 5, p. 229)
- ofrecestes/fizestes/merecestes* ‘you offer’ Past/‘you
do’ Past/ ‘you deserve’ Past (T 3, p. 196)
- escolhestes/celestes/destes* ‘you chose’
Past/‘heavenly’/ ‘you give’ Past (T 4, p. 50)
- enchestes/déstes/suspendestes/excedestes* ‘you
fill’ Past/‘you give’ Past/ ‘you suspend’ Past/‘you
exceed’ Past (T 5, p. 128)
- esquecestes/déstes* ‘you forget’ Past/‘you give’
Past (T 5, p. 357)

-e

- porque/pé* ‘because’/‘foot’ (T 2, p. 350; T 3, p. 82)
- vê/fê/he* ‘see’/‘faith’/‘is’ (T 4, p. 315)
- mercê/Thomé/fê* ‘mercy’/Thomé/‘faith’
(T 5, p. 255)
- dê/he* ‘give’ Imperative/‘is’ (T 4, p. 144)
- he/merce* ‘is’/‘mercy’ (T 5, p. 253)

-eca(s)

- Meca/caneca/seca* ‘Mecca’/‘mug’/‘dry’
(T 5, p. 26)
- bonecas/fanecas/secas* ‘dolls’/‘eelpouts’/‘dry’
(T 5, p. 10)

-eca(s)/-essa

- começa/cabeça* ‘begin’ Present/‘head’
(T 1, p. 198; T 5, p. 175)
- guarneça/confessa* ‘garnish’ Subjunctive/‘confess’
Present (T 3, p. 27)
- peça/cabeça/reconheça* ‘piece’/‘head’/‘recognise’
Imperative (T 4, p. 299)
- peça/cabeça/começa* ‘ask’
Imperative/‘head’/‘start’ Present (T 5, p. 37)
- cabeça/atravessa/tropessa* “*tropeça*”
‘head’/‘cross’ Present/‘stumble’ Present
(T 2, p. 279)
- pressa/cabeça/arremessa* ‘rush’/‘head’/‘throw’
Present (T 3, p. 279)
- peças* “*pressas*”/“*aveças*” “*avessas*”/“*peças*”
‘rush’/‘reversed’/‘pieces’ (T 4, p. 289)
- peças/mereças/começas* ‘pieces’/‘deserve’/‘start’
Present (T 4, p. 410)
- peça/cabeça* ‘piece’/‘head’ (T 2, p. 366)
- começa/cabeça/favoreça* ‘start’
Present/‘head’/‘favour’ Imperative (T 3, p. 298)
- preça* “*pressa*”/“*peça/cabeça*” ‘rush’/‘piece’/‘head’
(T 4, p. 287)
- fenece/cabeça/preça* “*pressa*” ‘terminate’
Present/‘head’/‘rush’ (T 4, p. 302)
- cabeça/tropessa* “*tropeça*”/“*atravessa*” ‘head’/
‘stumble’ Present/‘cross’ Present (T 2, p. 264)
- atravessa/cabeça/depressa* ‘cross’
Present/‘head’/‘fast’ (T 3, p. 275)
- peças/cabeças* ‘pieces’/‘heads’ (T 2, p. 290)
- mereças/preças* “*pressas*” ‘deserve’ Present/‘rush’
(T 4, p. 293)

-eces/-ezes

- aborreces/vezes/vezes* ‘you bother’
Present/‘times’/‘times’ (T 1, p. 82)
- appeteces/vezes/reconheces* ‘you please’
Present/‘times’/ ‘you recognise’ Present
(T 1, p. 44)

-ec(c)o(s)

- eco/seco* ‘echo’/‘dry’ (T 3, p. 44)
- pecco/Seco* ‘I sin’/‘Seco’ (T 5, p. 190)
- seco/eco* ‘dry/echo’ (T 5, p. 51)
- secos/eccos* ‘dry’/‘echoes’ (T 2, p. 12)

-eco(s)/-esso(s)

- confesso/padeço/reconheço* ‘I confess’ Present/‘I
suffer’ Present/ ‘I recognise’ Present (T 1, p. 110)
- preço/successo* ‘price’/‘success’ (T 2, p. 47)
- progreço/padeço* ‘progress’/‘I suffer’ Present
(T 2, p. 110)
- excesso/preço* ‘excess’/‘price’ (T 4, p. 143)
- espesso/excesso/impresso*
‘thick’/‘excess’/‘printed’ (T 4, p. 387)
- mereço/confesso* ‘I deserve’ Present/‘I confess’
Present (T 5, p. 174)
- preço/progresso/processo*
‘price’/‘progress’/‘process’ (T 2, p. 269)
- preços/excessos* ‘prices’/‘excesses’ (T 3, p. 47)
- desvaneço/excesso/conheço* ‘I fade away’
Present/‘excess’/ ‘I know’ Present (T 2, p. 11)
- successo/preço/excesso* ‘success’/‘price’/‘excess’
(T 2, p. 48)
- preço/excesso* ‘price’/‘excess’ (T 3, p. 48)
- peço/preço/padeço* ‘I ask’ Present/‘price’/‘I suffer’
Present (T 4, p. 330)
- succeço/tropeço/preço* ‘success’/‘I stumble’
Present/‘price’ (T 5, p. 154)
- obedeço/começo* ‘I obey’ Present/‘start’
(T 5, p. 176)
- excesso/preço* ‘excess’/‘price’ (T 3, p. 1)
- confesso/preço* ‘I confess’ Present/‘price’
(T 3, p. 79)

-edas

sedas/moedas/concedas ‘silk’/‘coins’/‘you concede’ Subjunctive (T 4, p. 291)

-ede

mede/sede ‘measures’/‘thirst’ (T 1, p. 212)

excede/sede ‘exceeds’/‘thirst’ (T 2, p. 298;
T 3, p. 19, 50; T 4, p. 59)

concede/parede ‘concedes’/‘wall’ (T 5, p. 59)

sede/vede/mede ‘be’ Imperative/‘see’
Imperative/‘measures’ (T 2, p. 287-288)

pede/excede/vede ‘asks’/‘exceeds’/‘see’
Imperative (T 5, p. 36)

cede/Catanhede/mede
‘concedes’/‘Catanhede’/‘measures’ (T 5, p. 164)

-edro

Pedro/cedro ‘Pedro’/‘cedar’ (T 3, p. 11, 12)

Pedro/desempedro ‘Pedro’/‘de-stone’ (T 3, p. 21)

-ega

entrega/nega/chega ‘delivery’/‘denies’/‘arrives’
(T 1, p. 132)

entrega/chega ‘delivery’/‘arrives’ (T 3, p. 19;
T 4, p. 54)

esfrega/mantega/chega ‘rubs’/‘butter’/‘arrives’
(T 3, p. 311)

chega/navega/segga ‘arrives’/‘sails’/‘harvest’
(T 4, p. 393)

Ortega/chega/Gallega ‘Ortega’/‘arrives’/‘Gallega’
(T 5, p. 8)

chega/cega ‘arrives’/‘blind’ (T 2, p. 21)

entrega/cega/chega ‘delivery’/‘blind’/‘arrives’
(T 3, p. 253)

socega/chega/nega ‘calms
down’/‘arrives’/‘denies’ (T 4, p. 300)

cega/entrega/chega ‘blind’/‘delivers’/‘arrives’
(T 4, p. 404)

chega/esfrega ‘arrives’/‘rubs’ (T 5, p. 51)

-ego

Mondego/cego/socego
‘Mondego’/‘blind’/‘tranquility’ (T 1, p. 19)

cego/socego/emprego
‘blind’/‘tranquility’/‘employ’ (T 1, p. 133)

emprego/cego/socego
‘employ’/‘blind’/‘tranquility’ (T 1, p. 157)

nego/cego/emprego ‘I deny’/‘blind’/‘employ’
(T 2, p. 11)

emprego/cego/desassocego
‘employ’/‘blind’/‘unease’ (T 2, p. 38)

chego/cego ‘I arrive’/‘blind’ (T 2, p. 206, 207)

chego/emprego/cego ‘I arrive’/‘employ’/‘blind’
(T 4, p. 51)

pégo/morcego ‘I catch’/‘bat’ (T 5, p. 40)

socego/emprego/cego
‘tranquility’/‘employ’/‘blind’ (T 1, p. 36, 61)

emprego/cego ‘employ’/‘blind’ (T 1, p. 141, 199;
T 3, p. 24)

desassocego/cego ‘unease’/‘blind’ (T 1, p. 203)

emprego/cego/despego
‘employ’/‘blind’/‘detachment’ (T 2, p. 21)

desassocego/cego/emprego/socego
‘unease’/‘blind’/‘employ’/‘tranquility’ (T 2, p. 93)

socego/nego/despego ‘tranquility’/‘I
deny’/‘detachment’ (T 2, p. 270)

socego/cego ‘tranquility’/‘blind’ (T 4, p. 309)

socego/emprego/rego ‘I rest’/
‘employ’/‘I water’
(T 5, p. 153)

-egue

chega/negue ‘arrive’ Imperative/‘deny’ Subjunctive (T 2, p. 217)

-eja

peleja/inveja 'feud'/'envy' (T 1, p. 12)

seja/inveja 'be' Imperative/'envy' (T 4, p. 334;
T 5, p. 189)

sobeja/seja/inveja 'leftover'/'be'
Imperative/'envy' (T 2, p. 439)

-ejo

vejo/desejo/invejo 'I see'/'desire'/'I envy'
(T 1, p. 51)

desejo/Tejo/vejo 'desire'/'Tejo'/'I see'
(T 1, p. 144)

vejo/Tejo/desejo 'I see'/'Tejo'/'desire'
(T 1, p. 155)

desejo/vejo/invejo 'desire'/'I see'/'envy'
(T 2, p. 51)

Tejo/desejo 'Tejo'/'desire' (T 3, p. 28)

ensejo/Alemejo/Tejo
'opportunity'/'Alentejo'/'Tejo' (T 3, p. 292)

invejo/desejo/desejo 'envy'/'desire'/'desire'
(T 4, p. 330)

veja/inveja 'see' Subjunctive/'envy' (T 1, p. 120;
T 2, p. 435)

inveja/veja/deseja 'envy'/'see'
Subjunctive/'desire' Present (T 2, p. 279)

desejo/invejo/vejo 'desire'/'I envy'/'I see'
(T 1, p. 69)

Tejo/invejo/vejo 'Tejo'/'I envy'/'I see'
(T 1, p. 146)

invejo/desejo 'I envy'/'desire'
(T 1, p. 199)

pejo/Tejo/sobejo 'coyness'/'Tejo'/'leftover'
(T 3, p. 10)

vejo/Tejo 'I see'/'Tejo' (T 3, p. 38)

desejo/Alentejo 'desire'/'Alentejo' (T 4, p. 75)

-el(l)a(s)

- estrellas/ella* ‘stars’/‘she’ (T 1, p. 1)
- bella/estrella/atropella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘run over’ Present (T 1, p. 25)
- bella/estrella/anella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘gasp’ (T 1, p. 107)
- merecella* “*merecê-la*”/ *querella* “*querê-la*”/ *della* ‘deserve her’/ ‘want her’ Infinitive/‘(of) her’ (T 1, p. 168)
- sentinella/ella/vella* “*vê-la*” ‘sentinel’/‘she’/‘see her’ Infinitive (T 1, p. 172)
- bella/ella/vella* “*vê-la*”/ *merecella* “*merecê-la*” ‘beautiful’/‘she’/‘see her’ Present/ ‘deserve her’ Infinitive (T 1, p. 175)
- sofrella* “*sofrê-la*”/ *della* ‘suffer (it)’ Infinitive/‘(of) it’ (T 1, p. 191)
- bella/Estrella/aquella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘that’ (T 2, p. 65; T 3, p. 40)
- estrella/Castella* ‘star’/‘Castella’ (T 2, p. 298; T 4, p. 44)
- estrella/bella/Castella* ‘star’/‘beautiful’/‘Castella’ (T 3, p. 30-31)
- estrella/ella* ‘star’/‘she’ (T 3, p. 48; T 5, p. 224)
- Estella/ella/Estrella* ‘Estella’/‘she’/‘star’ (T 3, p. 185)
- bella/estrella/esparrella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘trap’ (T 3, p. 296)
- estrella/sedella/donzella* ‘star’/‘silk line’/‘damsel’ (T 3, p. 307)
- Estrella/daquella/Estrella* ‘star’/‘(of) that’/‘star’ (T 4, p. 40)
- estrella/donzella/bella* ‘star’/‘damsel’/‘beautiful’ (T 5, p. 19)
- bella/ella/vencella* “*vencê-la*” ‘beautiful’/‘she’/ ‘win (it)’ Infinitive (T 5, p. 148)
- aquella/bella/estrella* ‘that’/‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 5, p. 171)
- bellas/estrellas/daquellas* ‘beautiful’/‘stars’/‘(of) those’ (T 1, p. 33)
- estrellas/bellas/aquellas* ‘stars’/‘beautiful’/‘those’ (T 1, p. 54)
- estrellas/bellas* ‘stars’/‘beautiful’ (T 1, p. 76; T 2, p. 209, 218; T 4, p. 225; T 5, p. 193, 197)
- bellas/aquellas/estrellas* ‘beautiful’/‘those’/‘stars’ (T 1, p. 148)
- bellas/estrellas/aquellas* ‘beautiful’/‘stars’/‘those’ (T 2, p. 41)
- bellas/estrellas/cautellas* ‘beautiful’/‘stars’/‘precautions’ (T 3, p. 276)
- estrellas/ellas* ‘stars’/‘them’ (T 4, p. 21)
- estrellas/bellas/tellas* ‘stars’/‘beautiful’/‘canvas’ (T 4, p. 210)
- bellas/desvanecellas* “*desvanecê-las*”/ *padecellas* “*padecê-las*”/ *dellas* ‘beautiful’/‘suffer’ ‘suffer them’ Infinitive (T 5, p. 109)
- estrella/della* ‘star’/‘(of) her’ (T 1, p. 99; T 2, p. 229; T 3, p. 42)
- bella/ella/vella* “*vê-la*”/ *cautella* ‘beautiful’/‘she’/‘see her’ Infinitive/ ‘precaution’ (T 2, p. 166)
- estrella/bella* ‘star’/‘beautiful’ (T 1, p. 172; T 2, p. 196, 229; T 3, p. 4, 55, 219)
- ella/vella* “*vê-la*” ‘she’/‘see her’ Infinitive (T 1, p. 173)
- bella/estrella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 1, p. 190, 197; T 3, p. 9, 47, 59, 60; T 4, p. 150)
- bella/filomella/estrella* ‘beautiful’/‘nightingale’/‘star’ (T 1, p. 317)
- nella/bella/estrella* ‘in (it)’/‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 2, p. 72)
- estrella/bella/naquilla* ‘star’/‘beautiful’/‘in that’ (T 3, p. 6)
- estrella/atropella* ‘star’/‘run over’ Present (T 3, p. 40)
- nella/estrella* ‘in (it)’/‘star’ (T 3, p. 63)
- zella/bella/estrella* ‘tend’/‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 3, p. 228)
- nella/estrella/esparrella* ‘in it’/‘star’/‘trap’ (T 3, p. 297)
- ella/bella/estrella* ‘she’/‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 4, p. 33)
- bella/estrella/donzella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘damsel’ (T 4, p. 282)
- cautella/bella/estrella* ‘precaution’/‘beautiful’/‘star’ (T 5, p. 146)
- bella/estrella/ella* ‘beautiful’/‘star’/‘she’ (T 5, p. 154)
- estrellas/vellas* ‘stars’/‘sails’ (T 1, p. 32)
- estrellas/dellas* ‘stars’/‘their’ (T 1, p. 36)
- vellas/cautellas/estrellas* ‘sails’/‘precautions’/‘stars’ (T 1, p. 65)
- vellas/estrellas* ‘sails’/‘stars’ (T 1, p. 95)
- bellas/estrellas* ‘beautiful’/‘stars’ (T 1, p. 189; T 2, p. 214; T 3, p. 7, 54, 62, 312; T 4, p. 57, 396; T 5, p. 71, 196)
- bellas/dellas/estrellas* ‘beautiful’/‘their’/‘stars’ (T 3, p. 45)
- bellas/estrellas/nellas* ‘beautiful’/‘stars’/‘in them’ (T 3, p. 277)
- ellas/estrelas* ‘they’/‘stars’ (T 4, p. 34)
- bellas/desvellas/estrellas* ‘beautiful’/‘you unveil’ Present/‘stars’ (T 4, p. 340)
- dellas/tellas* “*tê-las*”/ *vellas* ‘their’/‘have them’/‘sails’ (T 5, p. 276)

-elle(s)

pelle/nelle ‘skin’/‘in (it)’ (T 3, p. 85)
elle/pelle/delle ‘he’/‘skin’/‘his’ (T 5, p. 25)
pelles/delles/Velles ‘skins’/‘their’/‘Velles’ (T 5, p. 7)

elle/pelle ‘he’/‘skin’ (T 4, p. 300)
delle/pelle ‘his’/‘skin’ (T 5, p. 70)

-elha(s)

velha/caravelha/aconselha ‘old’/‘caravel’/‘advise’
Present (T 2, p. 364)
velhas/sombrancelhas/telhas
‘old’/‘eyebrows’/‘tiles’ (T 4, p. 277)
velhas/grelhas ‘old’/‘skewers’ (T 5, p. 252)

aparelha/velha/grelha ‘apparel’
Present/‘old’/‘skewer’ (T 4, p. 288)
velhas/orelhas/gadelhas ‘old’/‘ears’/‘shag’
(T 5, p. 29)

-elho

conselho/velho ‘advice’/‘old’ (T 1, p. 21;
T 5, p. 42)
conselho/velho/espelho ‘advice’/‘old’/‘mirror’
(T 2, p. 276)
conselho/velho/vermelho ‘advice’/‘old’/‘red’
(T 5, p. 36)

velho/espelho ‘old’/‘mirror’ (T 2, p. 124)
conselho/velho/Concelho ‘council’/‘old’/‘County’
(T 5, p. 32)
velho/Conselho ‘old’/‘council’ (T 5, p. 181)

-el(l)o(s)

paralelo/perdello “*perdê-lo*”/“*tê-lo*”
‘parallel’/ ‘lose (it)’ Infinitive/‘have (it)’ Infinitive
(T 1, p. 153)

bello/cabello ‘beautiful’/‘hair’ (T 2, p. 73)

apello/modello/capello ‘I appeal’/‘model’/‘hat’
(T 2, p. 366)

duello/Martello/desvello
‘duel’/‘hammer’/‘unveiling’ (T 3, p. 96)

bello/cabelo ‘beautiful’/‘hair’ (T 3, p. 284)

paralelo/modello/castello
‘parallel’/‘model’/‘castle’ (T 4, p. 223)

amarello/cabello ‘yellow’/‘hair’ (T 5, p. 220)

bellos/cabellos ‘beautiful’/‘hair’ (T 2, p. 207;
T 3, p. 275)

disvellos/Vasconcellos ‘care’/‘Vasconcellos’
(T 4, p. 331)

gelo/caramelo ‘ice’/‘caramel’ (T 2, p. 5)

cabello/paralelo/zelo ‘hair’/‘parallel’/‘diligence’
(T 2, p. 287-288)

desvelo/zelo/Castello ‘devotion’/‘diligence’/‘Cast
ello’ (T 3, p. 80)

bello/accendello “*acendê-lo*” ‘beautiful’/‘light it’
Infinitive (T 3, p. 212)

cutello/capello ‘cleaver’/‘hat’ (T 4, p. 77)

zêlo/encarecello “*encarecê-lo*”/“*appello*” ‘I
zeal’/‘endear (him)’/‘appeal’ (T 4, p. 293)

cabellos/bellos/guarnecellos “*guarnecê-los*”
‘hair’/‘beautiful’/‘garnish (it)’ (T 1, p. 12)

bellos/Vasconcellos/modelos
‘beautiful’/‘Vasconcellos’/‘models’ (T 4, p. 214)

-erda

Lacerda/perda ‘Lacerda’/‘loss’ (T 3, p. 25)

-erde

verde/perde/herde ‘green’/‘loses’/‘inherit’
(T 2, p. 20)

perde/verde ‘loses’/‘green’ (T 2, p. 296;
T 4, p. 146, 300)

verde/perde ‘green’/‘loses’ (T 2, p. 192, 194;
T 5, p. 280)

-erno

governo/inferno ‘government’/‘hell’ (T 3, p. 15)

governo/Inferno ‘government’/‘hell’ (T 5, p. 373)

-erro

erro/ferro/desterro ‘error’/‘iron’/‘banishment’
(T 1, p. 81)

perro/ferro/desterro ‘vile’/‘iron’/‘banishment’
(T 2, p. 10)

erro/ferro ‘error’/‘iron’ (T 1, p. 179; T 2, p. 9;
T 5, p. 49)

-erso/-erço

terso/Universo/berço ‘clear’/‘Universe’/‘cradle’
(T 3, p. 210)

Universo/berço/verso ‘Universe’/‘cradle’/‘verse’
(T 4, p. 56)

-erte

adverterte/verte “*ver-te*” ‘advert’/‘see you’ Infinitive
(T 3, p. 320-321)

-erto(s)

perto/concerto ‘near’/‘concert’ (T 4, p. 6)

aperto/perto ‘tightness’/‘near’ (T 4, p. 293)

certo/concerto/aperto ‘right’/‘concert’/‘tightness’
(T 4, p. 282)

concertos/abertos ‘concerts’/‘open’ (T 4, p. 147)

-es/-ez

vez “*vez*”/*pés* ‘time’/‘feet’ (T 2, p. 128)

pés/Portuguez ‘feet’/‘Portuguese’ (T 4, p. 75)

vez/Portuguez/revez ‘time’/‘Portuguese’/‘hardship’
(T 3, p. 77)

lebrês/tres ‘sighthound’/‘three’ (T 5, p. 203)

-esta

floresta/besta ‘forest’/‘beast’ (T 5, p. 42)

feira/besta ‘party’/‘beast’ (T 5, p. 199)

molesta/besta ‘bother’/‘beast’ (T 5, p. 50)

-eta(s)

Planeta/secreta/cometa ‘Planet’/‘secret’/‘comet’
(T 2, p. 65)

interpreta/gineta ‘interpret’ Present/‘way of riding
a horse’ (T 2, p. 357)

Poeta/greta/gineta ‘Poet’/‘crack’/‘way of riding a
horse’ (T 3, p. 295)

careta/Poeta/meta ‘grimace’/‘Poet’/‘aim’
(T 4, p. 275)

Poeta/dieta/baeta ‘Poet’/‘diet’/‘baize’ (T 5, p. 34)

baeta/Poeta ‘baize’/‘Poet’ (T 5, p. 41)

Poetas/discretas/mulletas

‘Poets’/‘discreet’/‘crutches’ (T 5, p. 3)

gazetas/Poetas ‘gazettes’/‘Poets’ (T 5, p. 40)

Poeta/roupeta ‘Poet’/‘robe’ (T 5, p. 59)

borboleta/Poeta/Planeta

‘Butterfly’/‘Poet’/‘Planet’ (T 5, p. 194)

discreta/inquieta/preta ‘discreet’/‘restless’/‘black’
(T 2, p. 355)

borboleta/seleta/cometa

‘butterfly’/‘selection’/‘comet’ (T 3, p. 195)

seta/gineta ‘arrow’/‘way of riding a horse’
(T 4, p. 73)

Poetas/muletas ‘Poets’/‘crutches’ (T 4, p. 281)

Poeta/anacoreta ‘Poet’/‘anchorite’ (T 5, p. 53)

inquieta/preta ‘restless’/‘black’ (T 5, p. 61)

Poetas/gorgoletas ‘Poets’/‘crocks’ (T 5, p. 49)

gazeta/Poeta ‘gazette’/‘Poet’ (T 5, p. 204)

tretas/settas ‘feuds’/‘arrows’ (T 5, p. 373)

-ete

somete/ginete ‘subjugates’/‘well-bred horse’
(T 3, p. 38)

palhete/mosquete/bofete ‘kind of
wine’/‘musket’/‘slap’ (T 3, p. 285)

promete/capacete ‘promise’/‘helmet’ (T 5, p. 49)

promete/cavalletra/traquete

‘promise’/‘easel’/‘trowel’ (T 3, p. 276)

ginete/acomete/martinete ‘well-bred
horse’/‘affect’/‘night heron’ (T 4, p. 394)

-et(t)o(s)

secreto/prometo ‘secret’/‘promise’ (T 1, p. 206)

discreto/Soneto/Decreto

‘discrete’/‘Sonnet’/‘Decree’ (T 3, p. 293)

quieto/Soneto ‘quiet’/‘Sonnet’ (T 5, p. 51, 373)

Sonetos/inquietos/pretos

‘Sonnets’/‘restless’/‘black’ (T 5, p. 17)

discreto/Soneto/prometto

‘discreet’/‘Sonnet’/‘promise’ (T 3, p. 287)

Soneto/quieto/espeto ‘Sonnet’/‘quiet’/‘skewer’
(T 5, p. 32)

indiscretos/espertos ‘indiscreet’/‘skewers’
(T 4, p. 279)

-etra

penetra/letra ‘penetrate’/‘letter’ (T 1, p. 203; T 2, p. 401-402; T 5, p. 261)

-eva(s)

leva/atreva/releva ‘takes’/‘dares’/‘acquits’
(T 5, p. 37)

atrevas/trevas ‘dare’/‘darkness’ (T 1, p. 29)

-eve

- teve/deve* ‘had’/‘must’ (T 1, p. 205) *leve/teve/breve/atreve* ‘light’/‘had’/‘brief’/‘dares’ (T 2, p. 105)
- breve/teve* ‘brief’/‘had’ (T 2, p. 200) *teve/neve/deve* ‘had’/‘snow’/‘must’ (T 3, p. 297)
- teve/leve/breve* ‘had’/‘light’/‘brief’ (T 3, p. 314) *teve/neve* ‘had’/‘snow’ (T 4, p. 61)
- teve/atreve* ‘had’/‘dares’ (T 4, p. 390) *esteve/leve/breve* ‘was’/‘light’/‘brief’ (T 5, p. 152)

-evo

- relevo/levo/atrevo* ‘acquit’/‘I take’/‘I dare’ (T 1, p. 37)

-eza(s)

- preza/empreza* ‘esteem’/‘enterprise’ (T 1, p. 20) *despreza/belleza/ligeireza* ‘despise’ Present/‘beauty’/‘nimbleness’ (T 1, p. 27)
- preza/dureza* ‘esteem’/‘hardship’ (T 1, p. 68) *natureza/fineza/preza* ‘nature’/‘finesse’/‘esteem’ Present (T 1, p. 109)
- grandeza/pobreza/despreza* ‘grandness’/‘poverty’/‘despise’ Present (T 2, p. 3) *belleza/gentileza/despreza* ‘beauty’/‘kindness’/‘despise’ Present (T 2, p. 6)
- preza/gentileza* ‘esteem’/‘kindness’ (T 2, p. 42) *empreza/presteza/preza* ‘enterprise’/‘promptness’/‘esteem’ Present (T 2, p. 47)
- firmeza/despreza* ‘firmness’/‘despise’ (T 2, p. 222) *despreza/belleza* ‘despise’ Present/‘beauty’ (T 2, p. 225)
- Portuguesa/preza/preza* ‘Portuguese’/‘esteem’/‘esteem’ (T 2, p. 283-284) *peza/belleza/dureza* ‘weigh’/‘beauty’/‘hardship’ (T 2, p. 384)
- despreza/gentileza/tristeza* ‘despise’ Present/‘kindness’/‘sadness’ (T 3, p. 59) *empreza/peza* ‘enterprise’/‘weigh’ (T 3, p. 438)
- preza/tristeza/gentileza* ‘esteem’ Present/‘sadness’/‘kindness’ (T 4, p. 38) *natureza/peza/empreza* ‘nature’/‘weigh’/‘enterprise’ (T 5, p. 276)
- empresas/prezas/desprezas* ‘enterprise’/‘you esteem’ Present/ ‘you despise’ Present (T 1, p. 41) *bravezas/ferozas/desprezas* ‘bravery’/‘ferocity’/‘you despise’ Present (T 1, p. 45)

-eze

- reze/treze* ‘pray’/‘thirteen’ (T 4, p. 77)

-ezo

- desprezo/pezo/contrapezo* ‘I disdain’/‘weight’/‘counterweight’ (T 2, p. 127)

(02)

-oca

- toca/boca* ‘touch’/‘mouth’ (T 1, p. 87)
- boca/provoca/troca*
‘mouth’/‘tease’ Present/‘change’ Present
(T 2, p. 265)
- troca/toca/boca* ‘change’
Present/‘touch’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 2, p. 277)
- provoca/boca* ‘tease’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 2, p. 318)
- toca/boca* ‘touch’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 2, p. 319)
- toca/boca* ‘touch’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 2, p. 322)
- provoca/boca* ‘tease’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 3, p. 217)
- provoca/roca/boca* ‘tease’ Present/‘rock’/‘mouth’
(T 3, p. 300)
- toca/boca/equivoca* ‘touch’
Present/‘mouth’/‘mistake’ Present (T 4, p. 277)
- boca/toca* ‘mouth’/‘touch’ Present (T 5, p. 44)
- toca/boca* ‘touch’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 5, p. 56)
- provoca/boca* ‘tease’ Present/‘mouth’ (T 5, p. 60)

-oça/-ossa

- possa/moça* ‘may’/‘lass’ (T 4, p. 286)
- possa/moça/grossa* ‘may’/‘lass’/‘thick’ (T 4, p. 295)
- grossa/nossa/moça* ‘thick’/‘our’/‘lass’ (T 4, p. 291)

-oço/-osso(s)

- grosso/vosso* ‘thick’/‘your’ (T 2, p. 291)
- vosso/colosso* ‘your’/‘colossi’ (T 3, p. 41)
- nosso/vosso/grosso* ‘our’/‘your’/‘thick’
(T 4, p. 30)
- moço/posso* ‘lad’/‘I can’ (T 5, p. 64)
- pescoço/posso* ‘neck’/‘I can’ (T 5, p. 70)
- destróço/moço* ‘wreck’/‘lad’ (T 5, p. 373)
- colossos/vossos* ‘colossi’/‘your’ (T 5, p. 260)

-oce(s)/-osse(s)

- doce/fosse/tosse* ‘sweet’/‘be’ Past/‘cough’ (T 4, p. 281)
- tosses/doces* ‘coughs’/‘sweets’ (T 3, p. 312)
- posse/dosse* “doce” ‘possession’/‘sweet’ (T 4, p. 295)

-o(u)co/-ocos

- toco/loco/pouco* ‘I touch’/‘crazy’/‘little’ (T 3, p. 241)
- Marrocos/cocos* ‘Morocco’/‘coconuts’ (T 5, p. 236)
- soco/poco/toco* ‘ponch’/‘little’/‘touch’ (T 4, p. 329)

-oda(s)

- acõmoda/toda* ‘accommodate’ Present/‘all’
(T 1, p. 98)
- moda/toda* ‘vogue’/‘all’ (T 3, p. 251)
- toda/roda* ‘all’/‘circle’ (T 4, p. 8, 28)
- toda/accommoda/roda*
‘all’/‘accommodate’/‘around’ (T 4, p. 280)
- toda/póda/roda* ‘all’/‘prune’/‘around’ (T 5, p. 8)
- roda/toda/acõmoda* ‘circle’/‘all’/‘accommodate’
(T 5, p. 154)
- rodas/todas* ‘circles’/‘all’ (T 4, p. 149)

-odo(s)

- acomodo/todo* 'I accommodate'/'all' (T 1, p. 63, 85, 231)
- modo/todo* 'manner'/'all' (T 1, p. 389; T 2, p. 127, 291, 410; T 3, p. 43-44; T 4, p. 53; T 5, p. 56, 186)
- lodo/modo* 'sludge'/'manner'/' (T 5, p. 220)
- modos/todos* 'manners'/'all' (T 1, p. 213; T 2, p. 412; T 4, p. 229; T 5, p. 48, 52, 187, 199)
- apódos/todos/modos* 'nicknames'/'all'/'manners' (T 4, p. 276)
- todo/modo* 'all'/'manner' (T 1, p. 184; T 3, p. 320; T 4, p. 383; T 5, p. 176)
- modo/todo/engodo* 'manner'/'all'/'trick' (T 4, p. 290)
- todos/modos* 'all'/'manners' (T 2, p. 379, 417; T 5, p. 157)
- todos/modos/apódos* 'all'/'manners'/'nicknames' (T 5, p. 23)

-ofre

sofre/enxofre/cofre/Onofre 'suffer' Present/'sulfur'/'safe'/'Onofre' (T 5, p. 228)

-oje/-oje

- foge/hoje* 'flee' Present/'today' (T 4, p. 52)
- enoje/hoje* 'disgust' Imperative/'today' (T 4, p. 53)
- arroje/hoje* 'throw' Imperative/'today' (T 4, p. 54)
- despoje/hoje/foge* 'loot' Subjunctive/'today'/'flee' Present (T 4, p. 411)
- despoje/hoje* 'loot' Subjunctive/'today' (T 4, p. 53)
- antoje/hoje* 'desire' Subjunctive/'today' (T 4, p. 54)
- hoje/foge* 'today'/'flee' Present (T 4, p. 292)

-ogo

- rogo/fogo/logo* 'I plea'/'fire'/'soon' (T 1, p. 38)
- logo/fogo/desafogo* 'soon'/'fire'/'relief' (T 1, p. 57)
- logo/rogo/fogo* 'soon'/'I beg'/'fire' (T 1, p. 83)
- rogo/fogo/logo* 'I beg'/'fire'/'soon' (T 2, p. 11)
- logo/fogo/rogo* 'soon'/'fire'/'I plea' (T 2, p. 43)
- logo/fogo* 'soon'/'fire' (T 2, p. 215)
- fogo/logo/jogo* 'fire'/'soon'/'game' (T 2, p. 272)
- logo/fogo* 'soon'/'fire' (T 3, p. 32)
- logo/jogo/rogo* 'soon'/'game'/'I beg' (T 3, p. 275)
- jogo/logo/rogo* 'game'/'soon'/'I beg' (T 4, p. 278)
- logo/Diogo/rogo* 'soon'/'Diogo'/'I plea' (T 5, p. 12)
- logo/fogo/rogo* 'soon'/'fire'/'I beg' (T 1, p. 50, 53)
- fogo/logo/rogo* 'fire'/'soon'/'I beg' (T 1, p. 78)
- desafogo/logo* 'relief'/'soon' (T 1, p. 184)
- desafogo/logo/fogo* 'relief'/'soon'/'fire' (T 2, p. 35)
- desafogo/logo/fogo* 'relief'/'soon'/'fire' (T 2, p. 127)
- fogo/logo* 'fire'/'soon' (T 2, p. 219)
- logo/fogo/rogo* 'soon'/'fire'/'I beg' (T 2, p. 349)
- logo/jogo/fogo* 'soon'/'I play'/'fire' (T 3, p. 78)
- jogo/fogo/logo* 'game'/'fire'/'soon' (T 3, p. 279)
- logo/fogo/jogo* 'soon'/'fire'/'game' (T 4, p. 301)
- logo/fogo* 'soon'/'fire' (T 5, p. 45, 200)

-olla

tolla/Carolla 'fool'/'Carolla' (T 5, p. 203)

-olha(s)

- escolha/folha/molha* 'choice'/'leaf'/'wet' Present (T 1, 105)
- molhas/folhas* 'you wet'/'leaves' (T 1, p. 112)
- colha/molha* 'reap'/'wet' Present (T 4, p. 21)
- olhas/folhas* 'you see'/'leaves' (T 5, p. 51)

-olho(s)

molhos/olhos ‘sheaves’/‘eyes’ (T 2, p. 22)

-olta

envolta/volta/solta ‘wrapped’/‘return’
Present/‘loose’ (T 1, p. 35)

solta/envolta/solta ‘loose’/‘wrapped’/‘loose’
(T 2, p. 284)

soltas/voltas ‘loose’/‘round’ (T 5, p. 357)

-or

mayor/valor ‘bigger’/‘value’ (T 1, p. 370)

amor/senhor/melhor ‘love’/‘mister’/‘better’
(T 2, p. 356)

menor/mayor/Author/aggressor ‘smaller’/‘bigger’
/‘author’/‘aggressor’ (T 2, p. 356)

louvor/melhor/Senhor ‘praise’/‘better’/‘mister’
(T 3, p. 79)

amor/mayor/valor ‘love’/‘bigger’/‘value’
(T 3, p. 437)

valor/amor/melhor ‘value’/‘love’/‘better’
(T 4, p. 212)

valor/mayor/melhor ‘value’/‘bigger’/‘better’
(T 4, p. 224)

mayor/amor/superior ‘bigger’/‘love’/‘superior’
(T 4, p. 227)

dor/mayor ‘pain’/‘bigger’ (T 4, p. 316)

flor/superior/menor ‘flower’/‘superior’/‘smaller’
(T 4, p. 320)

-ora(s)

- inventora/chora/Aurora* ‘inventor’/‘cry’/‘Aurora’
(T 1, p. 16)
- mora/adora/vencedora* ‘dwell’ Present/‘adore’
Present/‘winner’ (T 1, p. 40)
- roubadora/matadora/agora* ‘robber’/‘killer’/‘now’
(T 1, p. 132)
- pastora/fora* ‘shepherdess’/‘out’ (T 1, p. 166)
- agora/pastora* ‘now’/‘shepherdess’ (T 1, p. 170)
- Aurora/embaixadora* ‘Aurora’/‘ambassador’
(T 1, p. 191)
- agora/traidora* ‘now’/‘traitor’ (T 1, p. 211)
- sonora/vividora/canora*
‘sounding’/‘living’/‘canorous’ (T 2, p. 12)
- agora/Aurora/vencedora* ‘now’/‘Aurora’/‘winner’
(T 2, p. 269)
- agora/Senhora/vencedora*
‘now’/‘mistress’/‘winner’ (T 3, p. 47)
- embora/agora/inventora*
‘however’/‘now’/‘inventor’ (T 3, p. 274)
- Senhora/roubadora* ‘mistress’/‘robber’
(T 4, p. 145)
- mora/agora/fundadora* ‘dwell’/‘now’/‘founder’
(T 4, p. 288)
- traidora/chora/fôra* ‘traitor’/‘cry’ Present/‘out’
(T 5, p. 30)
- agora/vencedora/acredora/devedora*
‘now’/‘winner’/‘worthy’/‘debtor’ (T 5, p. 127)
- hora/fora* ‘hour’/‘out’ (T 5, p. 185)
- vencedora/melhora* ‘winner’/‘improvement’
(T 5, p. 192)
- agora/fora/fora* ‘now’/‘out’/‘were’ (T 5, p. 254)
- atroadoras/horas* ‘stupefying’/‘hours’ (T 5, p. 52)
- contendora/cortadora/ignora*
‘contender’/‘cutter’/‘ignore’ Present (T 1, p. 28)
- mora/vencedora/adora* ‘dwell’
Present/‘winner’/‘adore’ Present (T 1, p. 80)
- chora/adora/traidora* ‘cry’ Present/‘adore’
Present/‘traitor’ (T 1, p. 146)
- fôra/pastora/chora* ‘out’/‘shepherdess’/‘cry’
Present (T 1, p. 169)
- pastora/fora/chora* ‘shepherdess’/‘out’/‘cry’
Present (T 1, p. 174)
- mora/traidora/agora* ‘dwell’/‘traitor’/‘now’
(T 1, p. 201)
- Flora/dôra/chora* ‘Flora’/‘turn brown’/‘cry’
(T 2, p. 8)
- produzidora/vencedora/Aurora*
‘producer’/‘winner’/‘Auror’ (T 2, p. 267)
- Aurora/vencedora/Doutora*
‘Aurora’/‘winner’/‘Doctor’ (T 2, p. 286)
- enganadora/matadora/senhora*
‘deceptive’/‘killer’/‘mistress’ (T 3, p. 204)
- brilhadora/Aurora/mora*
‘shining’/‘Aurora’/‘dwell’ (T 4, p. 38)
- consultora/Aurora* ‘consultant’/‘Aurora’
(T 4, p. 145)
- adora/vencedora/roubadora* ‘adore’
Present/‘winner’/‘robber’ (T 4, p. 306)
- matadora/Pandora* ‘killer’/‘Pandora’ (T 5, p. 64)
- atégora/hora/vencedora* ‘hitherto’/‘hour’/‘winner’
(T 5, p. 164)
- fora/melhora* ‘were’/‘improvement’ (T 5, p. 190)
- abrazadora* “abrasadora”/agora ‘burning’/‘now’
(T 5, p. 203)
- habitadoras/Auroras* ‘dwellers’/‘Aurora’
(T 5, p. 197)

-orão

forão/morão/melhorão ‘were’/‘dwell’ Present/‘improve’ Present (T 2, p. 275)

-orem

forẽ/morem/chorem ‘be’ Future/‘dwell’ Future/‘cry’ Future (T 2, p. 276)

-ores

flores/cores/mayores ‘flowers’/‘colours’/‘bigger’
(T 1, p. 6)

chores/dores/temores ‘you cry’
Imperative/‘pains’/‘fears’ (T 1, p. 50)

dores/mayores ‘pains’/‘bigger’ (T 2, p. 220)

superiores/louvores/mayores
‘superior’/‘praise’/‘bigger’ (T 2, p. 437-438)
olores/louvores/melhores ‘scents’/‘praises’/‘better’
(T 3, p. 297)

flores/melhores/superiores
‘flowers’/‘better’/‘superior’ (T 4, p. 218)

vencedores/mayores ‘winners’/‘bigger’
(T 4, p. 391)

melhores/superiores ‘better’/‘superior’
(T 5, p. 181)

louvores/mayores/favores
‘praises’/‘bigger’/‘favours’ (T 1, p. 27)

favores/flores/mayores/amores ‘favours’/‘flowers’/
‘bigger’/‘loves’ (T 2, p. 79)

Senhores/progenitores/mayores ‘gentlemen’/‘prog
enitors’/‘bigger’ (T 2, p. 286)

melhores/desflores/flores ‘better’/‘de-flowers’/
‘flowers’ (T 3, p. 207)

Senhores/furores/mayores
‘gentlemen’/‘furores’/‘bigger’ (T 4, p. 7)

esplendores/mayores ‘splendours’/‘bigger’
(T 4, p. 385)

menores/dores ‘smaller’/‘pains’ (T 5, p. 142)

-ornos

cornos/Adornos/fornos ‘horns’/‘Adornments’/‘ovens’ (T 5, p. 12)

-oro(s)

adoro/choro/decoro ‘I adore’/‘I cry’/‘decorum’
(T 1, p. 61)

decoro/adoro/imploro ‘decorum’/‘I adore’/‘I
implore’ (T 3, p. 304)

canoros/coros ‘canorous’/‘choirs’ (T 4, p. 57)

-orre

corre/torre ‘run’ Present/‘tower’ (T 2, p. 18; T 5, p. 228)

-orta

absorta/morta ‘absorbed’/‘dead’ (T 3, p. 57)

-orte(s)

Corte/Norte/morte ‘Court’/‘North’/‘death’
(T 2, p. 268)

forte/Corte ‘strong’/‘Court’ (T 3, p. 29)

forte/Corte ‘strong’/‘Court’ (T 4, p. 8)

porte/Corte ‘presence’/‘Court’ (T 4, p. 74)

Corte/morte/forte ‘Court’/‘death’/‘strong’
(T 5, p. 279)

Corte/morte/norte ‘Court’/‘death’/‘North’
(T 2, p. 438-439)

Corte/Norte ‘Court’/‘North’ (T 3, p. 50)

morte/Corte ‘death’/‘Court’ (T 4, p. 59)

Corte/sorte ‘Court’/‘luck’ (T 5, p. 188)

Cortes/fortes/sortes ‘Court’/‘strong’/‘luck’
(T 5, p. 5)

-ortos

absortos/mortos ‘absorbed’/‘dead’ (T 2, p. 124)

-osa(s)

rosa/mariposa ‘rose’/‘moth’ (T 1, p. 118)
Esposa/medrosa ‘Wife’/‘fearful’ (T 3, p. 12)

reposa ‘*repousa*’/‘*rosa*’ ‘rest’ Present/‘rose’
(T 3, p. 232)

honrosa/esposa ‘honourable’/‘wife’ (T 4, p. 12)
saudosas/mariposas/piedosas
‘wistful’/‘moth’/‘merciful’ (T 1, p. 128)

mimosa/Esposa ‘tender’/‘Wife’ (T 3, p. 11)

ayrosa/rosa/ditosa/mariposa
‘graceful’/‘rose’/‘blissful’/‘moth’ (T 3, p. 195)

deleitosa/rosa/mariposa/frondosa ‘delightful’/‘rose’/‘moth’/‘leafy’ (T 3, p. 264)

calorosa/mariposa ‘warm’/‘moth’ (T 5, p. 194)
saudosas/mariposas/lustrosas
‘wistful’/‘moth’/‘sleek’ (T 2, p. 7)

-ostas

expostas/costas/lagostas ‘exposed’/‘back’/‘lobsters’ (T 2, p. 20)

-ostos

descompostos/rostos/postos
‘decomposed’/‘faces’/‘set’ (T 2, p. 266-267)

Agostos/póstos/rostos ‘August’/‘set’/‘faces’
(T 4, p. 293)

-ostra

prostra/ostra ‘prostrate’ Present/‘oyster’ (T 3, p. 40)

-oto(s)

immoto/terremoto/roto ‘motionless’/‘earthquake’/‘ruptured’ (T 1, p. 218)

devotos/Castriotos/rotos ‘devout’/‘Castriotos’/‘ruptured’ (T 5, p. 21)

votos/rotos ‘vows’/‘ruptured’ (T 4, p. 74)

rotos/terremotos ‘ruptured’/‘earthquakes’
(T 2, p. 294)

-ova

chova/prova/nova ‘rain’ Subjunctive/‘proof’/‘new’ (T 1, p. 79)

The examples listed in (01) and (02), referring respectively to mid front and mid back vowels, show the different cases of rhyme, in the baroque cancionero *A Fénix Renascida*, among stressed vowels that, in current Portuguese, present different timbres. The comparison between these rhymes and those from the 15th and 16th centuries (FONTE, 2014) reveals that, although data from the 17th century is presented in greater quantity (perhaps due to the work’s breadth), the rhyming endings are, in general, equivalent to those that appeared constituting rhymes strange to the current pronunciations, in the works by Resende or Camões.

In the examples listed in (01) and (02), the endings that also constituted rhymes between open and close-mid vowels (according to current standards) are also highlighted, in the 15th and 16th centuries verses (from CG or *Os Lusíadas*).

In this article’s introduction, we saw, for example, that in the 13th century regular verb forms never seemed to rhyme with irregular verb forms (and of the same ending). The rhyme between regular and irregular verb forms of the same ending began to be common, however, in the poetic works of the 15th and 16th centuries, for example, as

shown by the data from Fonte (2014), to whom the hypothesis of variation between the stressed mid vowels from the past allows us to recognise, for these cases, the simultaneous performance, in the 15th and 16th centuries, of the two pronunciations (with open and close mid vowel). This same interpretation can therefore be extended to some of the 17th century rhymes presented in (01), such as the following, for example: *der/florece* ‘give’ Future/‘blossom’, *poder/fizer* ‘can’/‘do’ Future, *podera/respondera* ‘can’ Past/‘answer’ Past, *tivera/padecera/espera* ‘have’ Past/‘suffer’ Past/‘wait’ Past, *devera/padecera/tivera/quizera* ‘should’ Past/‘suffer’ Past/‘have’ Past/‘want’ Past, *podéra/morrera* ‘can’ Past/‘die’ Past, *renderão/retiverão/estremecerão* ‘conquer’ Past/‘retain’ Past/‘shake’ Past, *puzerão/vierão/responderão* ‘put’ Past/‘come’ Past/‘answer’ Past, *leres/deres* ‘read’ Future/‘give’ Future, *dizeres/quizeres* ‘say’ Future/‘want’ Future, *soubesse/houvesse/perdesse* ‘know’ Past/‘exist’ Past/‘lose’ Past, *nascesse/desse* ‘was born’/‘give’ Past, *trouxessem/viessem/enchessem* ‘bring’ Past/‘come’ Past/‘fill’ Past, *ofrecestes/fizestes/merecestes* ‘you offer’ Past/‘you do’ Past/‘you deserve’ Past, *soubestes/escrevestes/tecestes* ‘you know’ Past/‘you write’ Past/‘you thread’ Past, among others.

The free variation hypothesis can also justify rhymes of the baroque cancionero ending in *-e* and *-es/ez*: *porque/pé* ‘because’/‘foot’, *dê/he* ‘give’ Imperative/‘is’, *vê/fê/he* ‘see’/‘faith’/‘is’, *he/merce* ‘is’/‘mercy’, *mercê/Thomé/fê* ‘mercy’/Thomé/‘faith’, *ves/pés* ‘time’/‘feet’, *pés/Portuguez* ‘feet’/‘Portuguese’, *vez/Portuguez/revéz* ‘time’/‘Portuguese’/‘hardship’ and *lebrés/tres* ‘hares’/‘three’. It is worth noticing that rhymes like these were also identified by Fonte (2014) in the 15th and 16th century corpora (eg: *fe/mercê* ‘faith’/‘mercy’, *quê/fe/é* ‘which/faith/is’, *fê/crê/dê* ‘faith’/‘believe’ Imperative/‘give’ Imperative, *fez/Fez* ‘do’/Fez and *vez/Fez* ‘time’/Fez). To the author, such rhymes can be considered perfect, if we recognise the possibility of, in the Portuguese of the past, both the open-mid vowel pronunciation (eg: *[ɛ], *merc[ɛ]; *p[ɛ]s, *rev[ɛ]z) as well as the close-mid vowel pronunciation (eg: *[e], *merc[e]; *p[e]s, rev[e]z) being common.¹²

Rhymes involving the *-elho*, *-erde*, *-eva*, *-eve*, *-eza*, *-oda*, *-odo* and *-osta* endings had also appeared in the CG and/or in *Os Lusíadas* and been interpreted by Fonte (2014) as evidence of free variation in Middle and Modern Portuguese, once these rhymes cannot be justified (like others had been, especially those registered in the CSM) based on the rhyming stressed vowels’ historical origin: *conselho* ‘advice’ (Lat. *consilium*), *vermelho* ‘red’ (Lat. *vermiculum*) and *velho* ‘old’ (Lat. *vētulum*); *verde* ‘green’ (Lat. *vīridem*) and *perde* ‘loses’ (Lat. *pērdere*)¹³; *atreva* ‘dare’ (Lat. *tribuat*, from *tribuēre*)

¹² It is worth remembering that the noun *mercê* ‘mercy’ (Lat. *mercedem*) was written with double vowel (*mercee*) in the CSM, and rhymed with the verb forms *cree* (Lat. *crede*) and *vee* (Lat. *vede*), which were, likewise, written with double vowel. These words, on the other hand, do not rhyme, in Alfonsoan cantigas, with the noun *fê* (Lat. *fidem*), already written with a single vowel in the 13th century. Such data lead us to consider the hypothesis of the (later) crasis of these (same) vowels, both in *mercê* as well as in *crê*, having resulted, at first, in an open timbre (**merc[ɛ]*, **cr[ɛ]*), **v[ɛ]*) that would in turn have closed in the course of the language’s history.

¹³ Cunha (2010) and Saraiva (2006) also disagree regarding the etymon’s vowel quantity that originated the verb *perder*: *pērdere* to the first author, but *pērdere* to the second. If Saraiva’s (2006) proposal were considered, the rhyme

and *leva* ‘take’ (Lat. *lĕvat*, from *levāre*); *breve* ‘brief’ (Lat. *brĕvem*), *leve* ‘light’ (Lat. *lĕvem*) and *deve* ‘must’ (*dĕbet*); *preza* ‘esteem’ (Lat. *prĕtiare* < *prĕtium*) and *empresa* ‘enterprise’ (it. *impresa*); *roda(s)* ‘spin’ (Lat. *rōtam*), *noda* “nódoa” ‘stain’ (Lat. *nōtulam*), *toda(s)* ‘all’ (Lat. *tōtam*) and *vodas* “bodas” ‘wedding’ (Lat. *vōtam*); *modo* ‘manner’ (Lat. *mōdum*) and *todo* ‘all’ (Lat. *tōtum*); *lagosta* ‘lobster’ (Lat. *locusta* > **lacusta*) and *posta* ‘set’ (Lat. *pōsitum* < *ponere*).

It is worth noting, however, that, although the etymology does not justify a different pronunciation from the current one for the stressed vowel of these words, there is data from other Romance languages or other varieties of Portuguese that may support the hypothesis that the mid vowel of some of these terms might have presented, in the past, a non-etymological timbre (most likely, in variation with etymological pronunciations) different from what we know today (in Portuguese). The verb forms *perde* ‘lose’ (in the imperative) and *preza*, for example, are pronounced with a close-mid vowel (*p[e]rde* and *pr[e]za*) in present-day Galician, according to the *Dicionario da academia galega*. The noun *vert* (*verde*, ‘green’), on the other hand, is pronounced with an open-mid vowel in (current) French. Finally, the pronunciations *t[ɔ]da* and *v[ɔ]das* (*bodas*, wedding) are common in the standard variety of Maputo Portuguese, according to the *Portal da Língua Portuguesa*.

There are, on the other hand, many rhymes in the cancionero *A Fénix Renascida* (as there were in the CSM, in the CG and in *Os Lusíadas*), that could be justified based on the etymology of rhyming words, once the stressed vowels involved present, in present-day Portuguese, a timbre that does not correspond to the one supposedly inherited from Latin. In other words, the origin of rhyming words, in these cases, would justify, in past-days Portuguese, a pronunciation different from the current one.

Particularly regarding nominal forms, aside from the words mentioned in this article’s introduction (*inveja* ‘envy’ < *invĭdiam*, *jogo* ‘game’ < *jōcum*, *fogo* ‘fire’ < *fōcum*, *melhor* ‘better’ < *meliōrem*, *maior* ‘bigger’ < *maiōrem*, *menor* ‘smaller’ < *minōrem* and adjectives ending in *-osa*, such as *piedosa* ‘merciful’ and *medrosa* ‘fearful’), would have gone through a change of vowel timbre in words like: *moeda* ‘coin’ (Lat. *monĕtam*), *ela* ‘she’ (Lat. *illam*), *aquela* ‘that’ (Lat. *eccu illa*), *donzela* ‘damsel’ (Lat. **domnicĭlla*), *bela* ‘beautiful’ (Lat. *bĕllum*), *pele* ‘skin’ (Lat.: *pĕllem*), *governo* ‘government’ (Lat. *gŭbĕrnāre*), *desterro* ‘banishment’ (Lat. *tĕrram*), *pressa* ‘rush’ (Lat. *prĕssam*), *festa* ‘party’ (Lat. *fĕstam*), *celeste* ‘heavenly’ (Lat. *caelĕstem*), *poeta* ‘poet’ (Lat. *poĕtam*), *secreta* ‘secret’ (Lat. *secrĕtum*), *quieta* ‘quiet’ (Lat. *quiĕtum*), *aurora* ‘dawn’ (Lat. *aurōram*), *senhora* ‘mistress’ (Lat. *seniōrem*), *flora* ‘flora’ (Lat. *Flōram*), *hora* ‘hour’ (Lat. *hōram*), *agora* ‘now’ (Lat. *hāc hōra*), *forte* ‘strong’ (Lat. *fōrtem*), *morte* ‘death’ (Lat. *mōrtem*), *mortos* ‘dead’ (Lat. *mōrtuum*) and *vosso* ‘your’ (Lat. *vestrum* > **vōstrum*, analogous to *nōstrum*).¹⁴

v[e]rde*/p[e]rde* could be justified based on the verb form’s etymology.

¹⁴ These etymologies, proposed by Saraiva (2006) diverge from the etymologies pointed out by Cunha (2010), in the following cases: *belo* ‘beautiful’, *pele* ‘skin’, *festa* ‘party’ and *morto* ‘dead’. While to Saraiva (2006) the stressed mid vowel in these nouns comes from a long mid vowel from Latin, to Cunha (2010), in classical Latin, the stressed mid

Present-day Galician, unlike Portuguese, still keeps, for some of these words, the pronunciation with the etymological stressed vowel: *gob[ɛ]rno* ‘government’, *dest[ɛ]rro* ‘banishment’, *secre[ɛ]ta* ‘secret’, *senh[o]ra* ‘mistress’, *ag[o]ra* ‘now’, *fl[o]ra* ‘flora’, *h[o]ra* ~ *h[ɔ]ra* ‘hour’, *Aur[o]ra* ~ *Aur[ɔ]ra* (proper name), according to the *Dicionario de pronuncia da lingua galega*.

In regard to verb forms, resorting to the historical origin can also be done to justify a possible timbre change in the pronunciation of present-day stressed mid vowels in: *começa* ‘start’ (Lat. **cominiare*), *navega* ‘sail’ Present (Lat. *navġari*), *aperto* ‘tightening’ (*apertar* < Lat. tard. *appēctorare*), *pesa* ‘weigh’ Present (Lat. *pēnsat*), *decreta* ‘decree’ Present (Lat. *decrētum*), *penetra* ‘penetrate’ Present (Lat. *penētrāre*), *adoro(a)* ‘I adore’ (Lat. *adōrāre*), *choro(a)* ‘I cry’ (Lat. *plōrāre*), *corre* ‘run’ Present (Lat. *currit*) and *posso* ‘I can’ (Lat. *pōssum*).

According to the *Dicionario da academia galega*, present-day Galician also keeps, for some of these verb forms, the pronunciations with the etymological stressed vowel: *com[ɛ]za* ~ *com[e]za* ‘start’, *nav[ɛ]ga* ~ *nav[e]ga* ‘sail’ and *pen[e]tra* ‘penetrate’.

If we consider that all these verbal and nominal forms presented, in the past, a stressed mid vowel with a timbre corresponding to that inherited from Latin, we shall interpret these rhymes from the baroque cancionero in the following way: **s[e]das/ *mo[e]das/ *conc[e]das*, **b[e]lla/ *estr[e]lla/ *donz[e]lla*, **estr[e]lla/ *e]lla*, **b[e]llas/ *estr[e]llas/ *aqu[e]llas*, **b[e]llo/ *cab[e]llo*, **[e]lle/ *p[e]lle*, **gov[ɛ]rno/ *inf[ɛ]rno*, **mer[e]ças/ *pr[e]ças* (*pressas*), **pen[e]tra/ *l[e]tra*, **f[e]sta/ *b[e]sta*, **[e]ste/ *cel[e]ste*, **Plan[e]ta/ *secre[e]ta/ *com[e]ta*, **borbol[e]ta/ *Po[e]ta/ *Plan[e]ta*, **inqui[e]ta/ *pr[e]ta*, **com[e]ça/ *cab[e]ça*, **pen[e]tra/ *l[e]tra*, **invent[o]ra/ *ch[o]ra/ *Aur[o]ra*, **ag[o]ra/ *Senh[o]ra/ *venced[o]ra*, **ad[o]ro/ *ch[o]ro/ *dec[o]ro*, **C[o]rte/ *m[o]rte/ *ff[o]rte*, **abs[o]rtos/ *m[o]rtos*, **c[o]rre/ *t[o]rre*, **n[o]sso/ *v[o]sso/ *gr[o]sso*, and **pesc[o]ço/ *p[o]sso*.

Thus, this proposal of interpretation of the rhymes considers the hypothesis of Portuguese having adopted, in the past, pronunciations, for the then stressed mid vowels, consistent with the original form. According to this interpretation, many of the etymological pronunciations were altered throughout the history of Portuguese – which would be preventing the (immediate) acceptance of the rhymes studied.

The hypothesis presented by this article is that the variation responsible for the aforementioned changes would already be operating in the 17th century (in fact, since the 15th century). Therefore, we believe that both pronunciations were common in this period of the Portuguese language, with an open-mid vowel and a close-mid vowel, not only among the words that made the change, but among all the words, in general. This

vowel in all these names was short: *bēllum* ‘beautiful’, *pēllem* ‘skin’, *fēstam* ‘party’ e *mōrtuum* ‘dead’. If, on one hand, Cunha’s (2010) proposals are buttressed by these vowels’ current manifestations in most Romance languages, on the other hand, the rhymes from past-day Portuguese buttress Saraiva’s (2006) proposals. A good way to overcome this impasse, once etymological dictionaries usually base their hypothesis regarding Latin vowel quality on results yielded from different Romance languages, would be to investigate, based on a work like this (that analyses rhymes from the past), for example, whether the current timbre of the other Romance languages (or whether the diphthong, in the case of Spanish), for these specific cases, is not the result of linguistic changes over the course of history.

proposal allows the acceptance, for the rhymes in question, of pronunciations opposed to those considered previously: *s[ɛ]das/*mo[ɛ]das/*conc[ɛ]das, *b[ɛ]lla/*estr[ɛ]lla/*donz[ɛ]lla, *estr[ɛ]lla/*[ɛ]lla, *b[ɛ]llas/*estr[ɛ]llas/*aqu[ɛ]llas, *b[ɛ]llo/*cab[ɛ]llo, *[ɛ]lle/*p[ɛ]lle, *gov[ɛ]rno/*inf[ɛ]rno, *mer[ɛ]ças/*pr[ɛ]ças (pressas), *pen[ɛ]tra/*l[ɛ]tra, *f[ɛ]sta/*b[ɛ]sta, *[ɛ]ste/*cel[ɛ]ste, *Plan[ɛ]ta/*secr[ɛ]ta/*com[ɛ]ta, *borbol[ɛ]ta/*Po[ɛ]ta/*Plan[ɛ]ta, *inqui[ɛ]ta/*pr[ɛ]ta, *com[ɛ]ça/*cab[ɛ]ça, *pen[ɛ]tra/*l[ɛ]tra, *invent[ɔ]ra/*ch[ɔ]ra/*Aur[ɔ]ra, *ag[ɔ]ra/*Senh[ɔ]ra/*venced[ɔ]ra, *ad[ɔ]ro/*ch[ɔ]ro/*dec[ɔ]ro, *C[ɔ]rte/*m[ɔ]rte/*f[ɔ]rte, *abs[ɔ]rtos/*m[ɔ]rtos, *c[ɔ]rre/*t[ɔ]rre, *n[ɔ]sso/*v[ɔ]sso/*gr[ɔ]sso, and *pesc[ɔ]ço/*p[ɔ]sso.

This interpretation encompasses, therefore, present-day non-etymological pronunciations (eg: *form[ɔ]sa, *preci[ɔ]sa, *senh[ɔ]ra, *ag[ɔ]ra, *h[ɔ]ra, *ad[ɔ]ra, *ch[ɔ]ra, *son[ɔ]ro, *p[ɔ]sse, *p[ɔ]sso, *m[o]va etc). On the other hand, it also recognises non-etymological pronunciations that might not have succeeded, in Portuguese diachrony, such as *esp[ɔ]sa(s), *venced[ɔ]ra, *roubad[ɔ]ra, *morad[ɔ]ra, *past[ɔ]ra, *b[o]rdo, *c[ɔ]ro, *f[ɔ]sse, *col[ɔ]sso, *n[o]va, *pr[o]va. In other words, this interpretation proposal suggests that variation (free or conditioned by the metaphony process) affected, if not all, a big share of the words in the language containing a mid vowel in the stressed syllable. Only in some cases, however, would this variation have resulted in change.

Some arguments can be considered in favour of this variation hypothesis. The first concerns rhymes ending in *-osa(s)*. The adjectives with this ending, besides rhyming with the noun *esposa* ‘wife’ (Lat. *spōnsam*) and *mariposa* ‘moth’ (*Maria posa*), in the baroque cancionero verses, also rhyme with *rosa* ‘rose’ (Lat. *rōsam*): *esposa/medrosa* ‘wife’/‘fearful’, *honrosa/esposa* ‘honourable’/‘wife’, *mimosa/esposa* ‘gracious’/‘wife’, *saudosas/mariposas/piedosas* ‘wistful’/‘moths’/‘merciful’, *calorosa/mariposa* ‘warm’/‘moth’, *saudosas/mariposas/lustrosas* ‘wistful’/‘moths’/‘glossy’, *ayrosa/rosa/ditosa/mariposa* ‘graceful’/‘rose’/‘blissful’/‘moth’, *deleitosa/rosa/mariposa/frondosa* ‘delightful’/‘rose’/‘moth’/‘leafy’. If the stressed vowel in *rosa* ‘rose’ indeed arises from Latin *ō* (which did not give rise to a diphthong in Spanish: *rosa*, not **ruesa*), these rhymes should be interpreted as evidence of variation, in the Portuguese of the past, involving the pronunciation of adjectives ending in *-osa*. It should be noted that the rhyme between these adjectives and the noun *rosa* had already occurred in the CG and *Os Lusíadas*. This data suggests that the variation, which would later result in the change of these adjectives stressed vowel (eg: **glori[o]sa*>*glori[ɔ]sa* ‘glorious’, **amor[o]sa*>*amor[ɔ]sa* ‘loving’), would already have begun taking action in Middle Portuguese. However, the hypothesis of the noun *rosa* having been pronounced, in Old Portuguese, with a close-mid vowel (perhaps etymological) in the stressed syllable is not negligible.

Another argument to be considered (in favour of the variation hypothesis) involves the rhymes ending in *-ora*. In the examples listed in (02) for the ending *-ora*, there are rhymes with words whose stressed vowel originates from *ue* (*fuerat* > *f[ɔ]ra* ‘was’) or the Latin *ō* (eg: *senhora* ‘mistress’, *pastora* ‘shepherdess’, *hora* ‘hour’, *agora* ‘now’ etc).

In these cases, the pronunciation with the close-mid vowel in the stressed syllable may be attributed to the etymology of the words. There are, however, rhymes between these words and the adverb *fora*, whose stressed vowel originates from the Latin *ō* (*fōras*, in Latin, and *fuera*, in Spanish). We can say that these rhymes, by bringing a legitimate representative of the (etymological) open-mid vowel, corroborate the hypothesis that, in modern Portuguese, the variation between open and close-mid vowels, which resulted in change, in the case of the words like *senhora*, *hora* and *agora*, for example, has also affected the pronunciation of words that keep, to this day, the timbre corresponding to the quantity of the etymological vowel (eg: *pastora* ‘shepherdess’, *matadora* ‘killer’, *roubadora* ‘robber’ etc). It should be added that, in the Portuguese from Maputo (standard and non-standard varieties, according to the Portal da Língua Portuguesa), these feminine nouns ending in *-ora* are pronounced with an open-mid vowel in the stressed syllable: *past[ɔ]ra*, *matad[ɔ]ra*, *pesquisad[ɔ]ra* etc.

All the rhymes of the baroque cancionero analysed so far had also been recorded in at least one (often in all) of the three poetic works (CSM, CG or *Os Lusíadas*) previously studied by Fonte (2010a, 2010b, 2014). There are, however, in the data listed in (01) and (02), rhymes that had not appeared in these poetic works from previous centuries. In the following pages, we shall see that most of these (new) rhymes can be justified based on the etymology of the rhyming words or the current pronunciations in Romance languages, in general.

If we take as a basis the etymologies proposed by Saraiva (2006), for example, we will say that the stressed vowel’s timbre, in current Portuguese, does not match the quantity of the Latin vowel in the pronunciation of the following words: *eco* ‘echo’ (Lat. *ēchum*), *universe* ‘universe’ (Lat. *univērsum*), *verso* ‘verse’ (Lat. *vērsum*), *Pedro* (gr. *pētra*, Lat. *pētram*), *cornos* ‘horns’ (Lat. *cōrnum*), *fornos* ‘ovens’ (Lat. *furnum*), *terremoto* ‘earthquake’ (Lat. *terrae mōtum*), *voto* ‘vow’ (Lat. *vōtum*), *devoto* ‘devout’ (Lat. *devōtum*), *hoje* ‘today’ (Lat. *hōdie*), *envolta* ‘wrapped’ (Lat. *vōlutum*) and *solta* ‘loose’ (Lat. *sōlutum*), among the nominal forms; and *peco* ‘I sin’ (Lat. *pēcco*), *molha* ‘wet’ Present (Lat. *mōlliat*) and *prostra* ‘prostrate’ Present (Lat. *prōstratum*), among the verbal forms. In this case, we would be led to admit the possibility of the Portuguese of the past having adopted, for these words, different pronunciations from the current ones and, consequently, we would also be led to recognise the perfect homophony between the stressed vowels of these rhymes: **[e]co/*s[e]co* ‘echo’/‘dry’, **s[e]co/*[e]co* ‘dry’/‘echo’, **p[e]cco/*S[e]co* ‘sin’/‘dry’, **s[e]cos/*[e]ccos* ‘dry’/‘echoes’, **t[e]rso/*Univ[e]rso/*b[e]rço* ‘clear’/‘universe’/‘cradle’, **Univ[e]rso/*b[e]rço/*v[e]rso* ‘universe/cradle/verse’, **P[ε]dro/*c[ε]dro* ‘cedar’, **P[ε]dro/*desemp[ε]dro* ‘de-stone’, **esc[o]lha/*f[o]lha/*m[o]lha* ‘choice’/‘leaf’/‘wet’, **c[o]lha/*m[o]lha* ‘reap’/‘wet’, **m[o]lhas/*f[o]lhas* ‘wet’/‘leaves’, **c[o]rnos/*Ad[o]rnos/*f[o]rnos* ‘horns’/‘adornments’/‘ovens’, **imm[o]to/*terrem[o]to/*r[o]to* ‘motionless’/‘earthquakes’/‘ruptured’, **v[o]tos/*r[o]tos* ‘vows’/‘ruptured’, **dev[o]tos/*Castr[o]tos/*r[o]tos* ‘devout’/‘Castritos’/‘ruptured’, **r[o]tos/*terrem[o]tos* ‘ruptured’/‘earthquakes’, **f[ɔ]ge/*h[ɔ]je* ‘flee’/‘today’, **desp[ɔ]je/*h[ɔ]je* ‘loot’/‘today’,

*en[ɔ]je/*h[ɔ]je ‘disgust’/‘today’, *ant[ɔ]je/*h[ɔ]je ‘desire’/‘today’, *arr[ɔ]je/*h[ɔ]je ‘throw’/‘today’, *h[ɔ]je/*f[ɔ]ge ‘today’/‘flee’, *desp[ɔ]je/*h[ɔ]je/*f[ɔ]ge ‘loot’/‘today’/‘flee’, *env[ɔ]lta/*v[ɔ]lta/*s[ɔ]lta ‘wrapped’/‘return’/‘loose’, *s[ɔ]lta/*env[ɔ]lta/*s[ɔ]lta ‘loose’/‘wrapped’/‘loose’, *s[ɔ]lta/*v[ɔ]lta ‘loose’/‘returns’, *pr[o]stra/* [o]stra ‘prostrated’/‘oyster’. Some of these pronunciations have correspondents in current Galician: *terrem[ɔ]to* ‘earthquake’, *s[ɔ]lto* ‘loose’ and *s[ɔ]lta* ‘loose’ (varying with *s[o]lto* ‘loose’ and *s[o]lta* ‘loose’), *m[o]lla* ‘molha’ ‘wet’ and *[o]lla* ‘olha’ ‘look’.

On the other hand, one should not overlook, especially in the case of the endings *-oje/-oge* and *-olha*, an interpretation that also admits, for the Portuguese of the past, pronunciations, regarding the stressed vowel timbre, inverse to those presented in the previous paragraph.

In the case of rhymes ending in *-oje/-oge*, for example, the proposal of a pronunciation with open-mid vowels, though respecting the pronunciation of the current verbs involved (eg *f[ɔ]ge* ‘flee’, *dep[ɔ]je* ‘loot’, *arr[ɔ]je* ‘throw’ etc) and the etymology indicated by Saraiva (2006) for the adverb. *hoje* ‘today’ (*hōdie*), agrees neither with the rhyming verbal forms origin (eg: from Latin *fūgit* and Spanish *desp[o]je* ‘loot’ and *arr[o]je* ‘throw’, once the verb forms *despojar* and *arrojar* came into Portuguese via Spanish, according to the dictionaries referred), nor with the etymology proposed by Cunha (2010) for the referred adverb (*hōdie* < *hōc die*), which diverges, in this specific case, from Saraiva’s proposal (2006). Therefore, if we adopt the etymology indicated by Cunha (2010), for the word *hoje* ‘today’, thus recognising a change of timbre throughout the history of the language, not in the mid vowel of the adverb in question, but between the verb forms *foge* ‘flee’, *arroje* ‘throw’, *despoje* ‘loot’ etc, we will interpret the rhymes ending in *-oje/-oge* as follows: *f[o]ge/*h[o]je, *desp[o]je/*h[o]je, *en[o]je/*h[o]je, *ant[o]je/*h[o]je, *arr[o]je/*h[o]je, *h[o]je/*f[o]ge, *desp[o]je/*h[o]je/*f[o]ge. In current Galician, according to the *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega*, verb forms *despoje* ‘loot’ and *anoje* ‘disgust’ present a close-mid vowel in the stressed syllable: *desp[o]xe* and *an[o]xe* (*arr[o]xe* and *ent[o]xe* also appear in present-day Galician, but Galician’s verbs *arroxar* ‘make purple’ and *entoxar* ‘cover with gorse’ derive from the nouns *roxo* ‘purple’ and *toxo* ‘gorse’ “*tojo*”, respectively, and therefore do not correspond to the verbs *arrojar* and *antojar* from Portuguese).

In regard to rhymes ending in *-olha(s)*, the hypothesis of an etymological pronunciation, in the past of the Portuguese language, to the verb form *molha* ‘wet’ *Present* (from the Latin verb *mōllire*) contributes to the interpretation of these rhymes only in part, once, despite the noun *folha* being pronounced, in current Portuguese, with close-mid vowel (therefore identical to the etymological stressed vowel of *m[o]lha*), this close-mid vowel, in the word *folha* ‘leaf’, does not conform to the Latin vowel quantity: *fōlia* (< *fōlium*). Therefore, this information allows us to suspect a pronunciation with open-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable of all words involved in the rhymes in question: *esc[ɔ]lha/*f[ɔ]lha/*m[ɔ]lha ‘choice’/‘leaf’/‘wet’, *c[ɔ]lha/*m[ɔ]lha ‘reap’/‘wet’, *m[ɔ]lhas/*f[ɔ]lhas ‘wet’/‘leaves’, *ɔ]lhas/*f[ɔ]lhas

'look'/'leaves'. As one can notice, the only pronunciations, in this interpretation proposal, that are equivalent to the current Portuguese pronunciations are $m[\text{ɔ}]lhas$ 'wet' and $[\text{ɔ}]lhas$ 'look' (both pronounced, in present-day Galician, with a close-mid vowel: $m[\text{o}]lhas$ and $[\text{o}]lhas$).

It is important to clarify, however, that the noun *folha*, according to the etymological dictionary of Cunha (2010), entered the Portuguese lexicon only in the 14th century (derived from the nominative plural of *fōlium*), that is, at a time when the quantity of the Latin vowel was no longer taken into account (also because Latin no longer existed as a spoken language). This fact leads us to suggest that the quantity of this Latin vowel never had any influence on the pronunciation of the stressed vowel of the noun *folha*, in Portuguese. In other words, if the noun *folha* did not follow the trajectory that led, over centuries of change, from Latin to Portuguese, one cannot say that the timbre of its stressed vowel is, in fact, (naturally) based on the Latin's pronunciation. In this case, there would be justification both for the pronunciation of this noun with a close-mid vowel, in the past and the present, and for the rhyme between this word and the previously mentioned verb forms, which, according to this interpretation, would have been pronounced, until at least the 17th century, with a close-mid vowel.

However, the possibility of variation in the pronunciation of these words, during the period in question, is not ruled out. The rhyme of the baroque cancionero between *folhas* 'leaves' and *olhas* 'you see' (Lat. *ōculum*), for example, can be interpreted based both on the hypothesis that the referred verbal form was pronounced, in the 17th century, with a stressed vowel different from the current one (but equivalent to that used in the present-day Galician), and on the hypothesis of the stressed vowel of the noun *folha* presenting, in Old Portuguese, a timbre different from the current one. This variation hypothesis can even be extended to the interpretation of the rhyme between *olhos* 'eyes' (Lat. *ōculum*) and *molhos* 'sheaves' (Lat. *mōllire*), in *A Fénix Renascida*. It should be added, by the way, that current Galician admits two pronunciations for the noun *olho*: with open-mid vowel ($[\text{ɔ}]llo$) and close-mid vowel ($[\text{o}]llo$).

Another rhyme from the cancionero *A Fénix Renascida* that admits two interpretations is the one involving the proper name Lacerda, pronounced, in present-day Portuguese, with open-mid vowel, and the noun *perda* 'loss', currently pronounced with close-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable. We have already mentioned, in this article, the disagreement between Saraiva (2006) and Cunha (2010) regarding the quantity of the Latin vowel in the etymon that originated the verb *perder*: *pĕrdere*, to Cunha (2010), and *pērdere*, to Saraiva (2006). If we adopt Cunha's (2010) proposal, we can suggest the hypothesis of, in the 17th century, the word *perda* (*pierda*, in Spanish, and $p[\text{ɛ}]rda$, in Galician) being pronounced with an etymological stressed vowel different from the current one: $*p[\text{ɛ}]rda$ – hence the possibility of rhyming with *Lacerda*, pronounced, both in the past and in the present, with open-mid vowel in the stressed syllable. On the other hand, if we admit Saraiva's proposal (2016), we will be led to recognise the pronunciation of the noun *perda* with close-mid vowel as etymological and propose a

pronunciation different from the current one to *Lacerda*. In this case, we would interpret the rhyme in question as follows: *p[e]rda/*Lac[e]rda.

The interpretation of rhymes containing proper names, like the one analysed in the previous paragraph, is always more complicated, because proper names tend to be more susceptible to variation (which makes it difficult to identify the current pronunciation) and, above all, because dictionaries, in general, do not provide information on the etymology of these names. In this work, the pronunciation of proper names arranged in rhyme was inferred, in most cases, from the pronunciation proposed for the other rhyming words. An example of such inference, in this work, regards the proper name *Onofre*, which appears rhyming, in the baroque cancionero, with *sofre* 'suffer' (Lat. *sūferre* > *sofrer*), *enxofre* 'sulfur' (Lat. *sūlphūr*), and *cofre* 'safe' (from French *c[o]ffre*). As can be seen, the origin of the stressed vowel, in all other rhyming words, corroborates the hypothesis of these words (including *Onofre*) being pronounced, in 17th century Portuguese, with a close-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable: *s[o]fre/*enx[o]fre/*c[o]fre/*On[o]fre.

Like proper names, the presence of words of obscure origin, originated from Vulgar Latin (without representatives in classical Latin) or linguistic loans, also makes it difficult to interpret a rhyme. When the rhyme contains more than one of these items, the interpretation becomes even more complicated, as is the case with the rhymes of the baroque cancionero ending in *-eca(s)*, *-ocos* and *-ola*.

Rhymes ending in *-eca(s)*, for example, are constituted of the proper name *Meca* 'Mecca' and the nouns *seca(s)* 'dry' (Lat. *sīccam*), *boneca* 'doll' (from Spanish *muñeca*), *caneca* 'mug' (*cano* + *eca*) and *faneca* 'eelpout' (*fanar* < fr. *fan[e]r*). From these data, it is possible to interpret the rhymes in question in two ways: *i.* either the stressed mid vowel of all these words was pronounced, in the 17th century, with close timbre - which would have been maintained, in the diachrony of Portuguese, only in the case of the noun *seca*; *ii.* or all of these names were pronounced, in the Portuguese of the time, with an open-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable. In this case, we would say that the non-etymological pronunciation for the noun *seca* most likely occurred in variation with the etymological pronunciation - throughout the history of the language, only the etymological variant survived.

The rhyme involving the ending *-ocos*, in *A Fénix Renascida*, is between *Marrocos* 'Morocco' and *cocos* 'coconuts' (controversial origin). We know that, in current Portuguese, the noun *coco* is pronounced with a close-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable. In Italian, however, this stressed mid vowel is pronounced with an open timbre. Galician, in turn, according to the *Dicionário de pronuncia da língua galega* and the *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega*, admits both pronunciations, with open-mid vowel and close-mid vowel, for the noun in question. This information makes acceptable the hypothesis that, in the Portuguese of the past, the stressed vowel of the noun *coco* had a different timbre from the current one - hence the possibility of a rhyme between this noun and the toponym Morocco, still pronounced today, in Portuguese, with an open-mid vowel in the stressed syllable.

The rhyme from the baroque cancionero ending in *-ola* is also constituted of a proper name and a word of obscure origin: *Carolla* (proper name) and *tolla* “*tola*” (obscure origin). If we consider the pronunciation of *tolo* ‘fool’, with close-mid vowel, in current Portuguese (*t[o]lo*), we will be led to admit to the possibility of the words in question also being pronounced, in the 17th century, with close-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable: **t[o]lla/*Car[o]lla*.

Finally, the rhymes from the cancionero ending in *-eces/-ezes* can be interpreted based not only on the rhyming words etymology, but also on the pronunciation of current Galician. The examples listed in (01) showed that these rhymes include the (plural) noun *vezes* ‘times’ (Lat. *vicem*), pronounced, in current Portuguese, with close-mid vowel, in the stressed syllable, and the verbal forms *aborreces* ‘you bother’ (Lat. *abhorrēscere*), *apeteces* ‘you please’ (Lat. *appetīssis* or *appētis*) and *conheces* ‘you know’ (Lat. *cognoscis*), all pronounced with open-mid vowel in the stressed syllable, under effect of the vowel lowering effect. According to the *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega*, the stressed vowel of these verb forms presents, in present-day Galician, closed timbre: *aborr[e]ces*, *apet[e]ces*, *coñ[e]ces*. These pronunciations of current Galician therefore corroborate the hypothesis of the Portuguese of the past having employed a close-mid vowel in the verb forms referred: **aborr[e]ces/*v[e]zes/*v[e]zes*, **appet[e]ces/*v[e]zes/*reconh[e]ces*. On the other hand, the possibility of a pronunciation, for these words, with an open-mid vowel (in variation with the pronunciation with a close-mid vowel) is not ruled out.

In view of the data presented and discussed throughout this section, it can be said that the rhymes of the baroque cancionero *A Fénix Renascida* not only support the proposals (of variation and change, in the diachrony of Portuguese, involving stressed vowels) presented in previous studies of this article’s first author, as well as provide new clues about past speech. We have seen in this section that, although a large part of the rhymes of the baroque cancionero coincide with those of the CG and *Os Lusíadas*, the data from the 17th century also brought rhymes that had not appeared in the works previously studied from the 13th, 15th and 16th centuries. These new data, like the others, were interpreted based on the etymology or the current pronunciation of the rhyming words, in current Portuguese (in its different varieties) and in the other Romance languages, once resorting to these sources made it possible to justify, for the Portuguese of the past, some pronunciations different from the current ones.

Final considerations

The data presented and discussed throughout this work provided significant clues about the pronunciation of the stressed mid vowels not only in 17th century Portuguese, but also in the Portuguese of the 13th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

The analysis of rhymes between (stressed) mid vowels represented by identical graphemes, in the baroque cancionero *A Fénix Renascida*, combined with the comparison

to rhymes of works from previous centuries (CSM, CG, *Os Lusíadas*), suggested that many of the verbal and non-verbal forms in Portuguese were pronounced, at least until the 17th century, with a vowel timbre different from the current one. Over the course of the language's history, linguistic variations conditioned, at first, by phonetic-phonological processes of assimilatory nature, such as metaphony and vowel harmony, for example, would most likely have caused the change of timbre of the stressed vowel in the lexical items in question. The rhymes of old poetry written in Portuguese addressed in this study suggested that these variations, involving the pronunciation of stressed mid vowels, began to manifest in the 15th century and were gaining strength in subsequent periods. Until the 17th century, however, according to the data analysed in this work, none of the changes brought up by this research was established.

It should be noted that this article, although essentially devoted to the history of the stressed mid vowels of Portuguese, is not restricted to data obtained through the mapping of 17th century rhymes, but goes further, encompassing information (and even discussions) about the stressed vowels of Latin and their vestiges in different Romance languages.

Concerning the stressed vowels of the other Romance languages, the data mentioned throughout this study showed that, although there is some regularity in the transposition of Latin vowels to the vowels of the Romance languages, there are many current pronunciations, in the different languages coming from Vulgar Latin, that do not fit this supposed substitution rule. This happens because all languages (in use) change over the course of history, causing many of their constituents to lose original features.

The comparison between Portuguese and Galician data, for example, revealed that current Galician preserves many of the etymological pronunciations (some in variation) that Portuguese did not maintain. Not all current Galician pronunciations, however, adopt stressed mid vowels equivalent to the vowels of the etymon. The nominal forms of Galician retain, in general, the pronunciations of Galician-Portuguese, whereas the timbre of the stressed mid vowels of verbal forms (especially those of the first conjugation) is determined, in most cases, not by the quantity of the Latin vowel, but because of the harmonisation and lowering rules, which also act on the verbal forms of current Portuguese.

Current Spanish data covered in this study, in turn, showed that not all the short mid vowels of Latin (according to the etymology proposed by the etymological and Latin dictionaries) originated diphthongs in that language (eg: *belo* 'beautiful', *rosa* 'rose', *modo* 'manner'). Likewise, not all diphthongs in current Spanish correspond to short mid vowels of classical Latin (eg: *fiesta* 'party', *grueso* 'thick', *muerte* 'death', *fuerte* 'strong' etc), according to the etymologies proposed by Saraiva (2006).

Thus, all these data indicate that regularity in languages, as in any other field, coexists with exceptions. In addition to the aforementioned linguistic changes, it is also necessary to consider the fact that not all the words that make up the Romance languages' lexicon come from the transformations of Vulgar Latin: there are lexical items that have more recently entered the vocabulary of languages by erudite means (as

a direct loan from Classical Latin) or as loans from other languages (Romance or not). In order to identify possible cases of linguistic change, among the Spanish, Galician and Italian data, for example, it would be interesting to undertake, for the other Romance languages, the same type of research (analysis of old rhymes) carried out in this study devoted to Portuguese vowels.

Finally, it is wise to point out that the hypotheses presented in this article are based on the analysis of written material, which has suffered, over time, interferences of various sorts, involving, for example, the transcription and editing of the poems studied. In this first phase of the research, the data were analysed based only on Diachronic and Historical Linguistics, but it will be important, in future works, to also take into consideration, in corpora analysis, the perspective of disciplines such as Discursive Tradition, Philology/Text Criticism and Etymology, which deal with the details related to the transcription and editing of texts dating from such distant times.

Acknowledgements

We thank the *Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa* (FAPESP) for the financial support granted to the Post-Doctorate research that originated this article (Process 2014/14516-1) and the *Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico* (CNPq - Process 302648/2019-4).

FONTE, J. S.; MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. As vogais médias tônicas do português do século XVII a partir das rimas do cancionero Barroco *A Fénix Renascida*. . *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.65, 2021.

- **RESUMO:** *Este artigo investiga a pronúncia das vogais médias tônicas no português do século XVII, a partir da observação das rimas da poesia de então. Como corpus para esta pesquisa foram considerados os poemas seiscentistas agrupados no cancionero português A Fénix Renascida ou obras poéticas dos melhores engenhos portugueses. A metodologia adotada neste estudo consistiu, essencialmente, no mapeamento e análise de todas as rimas, no corpus referido, envolvendo vogais médias, na sílaba acentuada. Essas rimas foram comparadas a rimas dos séculos XIII, XV e XVI, analisadas em estudos anteriores da primeira autora deste artigo. Os resultados desta pesquisa sugerem que havia, até o século XVII, pelo menos, intensa variação fonética na pronúncia das vogais médias tônicas da língua portuguesa. Ao longo da história, algumas dessas variações resultaram em mudança, de modo que a variante fixada na pronúncia atual não corresponde à forma etimológica. Em outros casos, no entanto, fixou-se a pronúncia mais antiga da língua.*
- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Vogais médias tônicas. Português Moderno. Rimas. Variação. Mudança.*

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Received on May 6, 2019

Approved on December 22, 2019