

THE PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF NASAL CONSONANTS IN ARCHAIC PORTUGUESE

Débora Aparecida dos Reis Justo Barreto*
 Gladis Massini-Cagliari**

- **ABSTRACT:** This paper aims to study phonological phenomena from the archaic period of Portuguese, specifically analysing nasal consonants in 250 medieval Galician-Portuguese cantigas. The methodology is based on the observation of the possibility (or not) of variation in the graphic representation of these elements in that historical period. This study also focuses on the position occupied by these consonants inside the syllable and the word, in order to verify: 1) the status of nasal consonants in syllabic onset and coda; 2) vowel/diphthongs nasalization. Phonological analysis is based on non-linear phonological models. The collected data show that the alternance between the graphic representation of nasals in coda as <m>, <n> or tilde do not correspond to a modification in word meaning. This means that, in phonological level, there is neutralization of the opposition verified in onset position between the sounds represented by <m>, <n> or tilde in coda.
- **KEYWORDS:** Nasal consonants; Phonological status; Archaic Portuguese; Medieval Galician-Portuguese cantigas.

Introduction and goal

This study aims to conduct a phonological analysis of the consonants represented in writing as <n> and <m> (and abbreviated using the tilde) from the archaic stage of Portuguese (i.e., the medieval ancestor of Portuguese). It seeks to investigate the phonological behavior of these segments in two syllabic contexts: onset and coda. To this end, 250 Galician-Portuguese cantigas were selected: the first 100 *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM) by King Alfonso X, belonging to the religious tradition, and 150 poems from the secular lyrical tradition, 50 from each of the canonical genres (love, friend, and satire).

* Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (Unesp), Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Araraquara, SP, Brasil. Pós-doutoranda. debi_barreto@hotmail.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3788-7429>

** Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (Unesp), Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Araraquara, SP, Brasil. Professora Titular. gladis.massini-cagliari@unesp.br. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4050-7645>

The selection criteria for the 150 secular cantigas were based on three aspects following the work of Massini-Cagliari (2015): 1) representativeness, choosing texts from authors of different periods; 2) environment, as Galician, Portuguese, and Castilian poets interacted within the same geographical space; 3) social position, considering that troubadours belonged both to the upper echelons of society (kings, nobles, and clerics) and to the lower classes (jongleurs).

It is important to emphasize that this article focuses on a synchronic analysis, addressing the phonological behavior of the nasals represented by *<n>* and *<m>* in the writing of Archaic Portuguese (hereafter AP). Although it entails a historical study, as describing these elements requires examining the Latin past of the language and its current stage (Modern Brazilian Portuguese, hereafter BP), our aim is not to conduct a diachronic study but rather to characterize a specific phase of the past synchronically (Mattos e Silva, 1989).

Castro (1991) argues that studying a language's past relies on reconstruction methods, as linguists cannot directly experience and analyze the language in question. Such methods involve comparing the language's current varieties with the target language of the study and examining written sources from the historical period under analysis. Mattos e Silva (2006) notes that, during the Middle Ages, the language lacked a standard orthography established by law, resulting in significant variation in graphic representation during that period. Huber (1986[1933]) discusses that the language was uniform as a whole, despite the graphical multiplicity characteristic of medieval Portuguese.

According to Mattos e Silva (2006), the inconsistency in the written representation of the archaic language caused its documents to resemble the oral variety more closely compared to compositions produced after the establishment of a standard orthography. As variation dominated the works of that time, nasal segments were represented in diverse ways. Thus, it was common to find alternations such as:

- *m* and *n* (*tempo/tenpo* [time]; *com/con*) [with];
- Presence and absence of the tilde (*angeo/angẽo* [angel]; *bōas/boas* [good ones]);
- Presence and absence of nasals (*iferno/inferno* [hell]; *tantos/tatos* [many]);
- Nasal element and tilde (*enquanto/enquāto* [while]; *comunal/comūal* [commonal]).

These cases, along with other occurrences found in the corpus, will be the focus of this study to understand how nasal segments, represented in writing as *<m>* and *<n>*, behaved during the archaic stage of the language. There are numerous unresolved questions in the literature regarding nasal consonants in syllabic onset and coda positions, including in the stage examined in this research. One such question concerns the alternation in the graphic records of the period between *<n>* and the tilde symbol *<~>*, as exemplified above. Was the tilde merely an abbreviation for the nasal element

<n> in the graphic representation, or did it already symbolize the nasalization of the preceding vowel/diphthong?

Thus, this article aims to clarify significant questions about nasal segments while contributing to understanding their phonological status in medieval Portuguese when located in syllabic onset and coda contexts—a challenging topic that encompasses the nasalization of vowels and diphthongs in the archaic stage of the Portuguese language.

Poetic corpus: Galician-Portuguese medieval songs

As previously stated, this study focuses on cantigas belonging to the two types of troubadour lyric poetry. Massini-Cagliari (2015, pp. 22–23) notes that, while the language used in both dimensions of medieval poetry is considered from the palaces, corresponding to a variant spoken in court and restricted to this feudal societal stratum, there is a significant geographical and functional divide between the two types of troubadour poetry.

Secular poems from Portugal and Galicia artistically adopt the native speech of the population. In contrast, in religious poetry, the language employed is Galician-Portuguese, a cultural language in a foreign kingdom and commonly used in Galicia, a region farther from Castile. By the order of King Alfonso X¹ of León and Castile, this language was used to extol the Virgin Mary grandly. The choice of the archaic language was motivated by the belief that it was more appropriate for literary purposes (Massini-Cagliari, 2015).

The *Cantigas de Santa María* (CSM) were composed in the second half of the 13th century, a historical period marked by narratives of miracles and saints' marvels. As Fidalgo (2002) explains, this period is renowned for its deep religiosity, reflecting the strong belief of the feudal population in the vitality of God during a time when heresies were part of the Church's structure.

The religious collection comprises 427 cantigas in praise of the Mother of God, attributed to King Alfonso X (Mettmann, 1986). Mettmann (1986) clarifies that seven of the 427 CSM are repeated texts. Excluding the introduction and the two prologues, there are: 356 miracle cantigas (which narrate the Virgin's miraculous interventions in various places for the benefit of different devotees) and the remaining poems consist of praises (more personal and subjective ones, in which King Alfonso X exalts the Virgin's virtues and beauty) or narrations of Christian festivals (Mongelli, 2009).

According to Parkinson (1989), four troubadour songbooks contain the religious lyric corpus:

¹ Leão (2007) mentions that the king himself wrote and translated a large portion of the *cantigas*. However, he merely supervised other cantigas, entrusting their execution to his collaborators. Parkinson (1998) points out that the collaborators of King Alfonso X could only have been the well-known troubadours of the medieval period, although it is still unclear exactly which of them, among so many, were part of this team.

- Toledo (To): The oldest and smallest songbook, containing 100 poems.
- Rico (T): Created out of King Alfonso X's desire to expand the initial codex (To), it is regarded as the most artistically rich codex.
- Escorial Músicos (E): Considered a less ornate copy of the T codex but the most complete of the four songbooks.
- Florence (F): Notable for being highly incomplete and having an imprecise order, forming, along with T, what is known as the *Códices das Histórias*.

Regarding the secular strand, Massini-Cagliari (2007) states that the secular corpus consists of over 1,700 poems attributed to about 160 troubadours. These songs are categorized into three distinct and unique genres: *cantigas de amor* ('songs of love'), *cantigas de amigo* ('songs of a friend'), and *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* ('songs of mockery and slander').

Generally, *cantigas de amor* are characterized by their portrayal of the troubadour addressing his beloved directly, revealing his complete submission to her. These texts depict an idealized lady rather than a real woman (Lanciani, 1993). In contrast, *cantigas de amigo*, according to Bueno (1968), oppose the *cantigas de amor* as the female figure now takes the initiative, no longer being an object of distant veneration. These songs are voiced by a woman, although written by men. Massini-Cagliari (2007) argues that, compared to *cantigas de amor*, *cantigas de amigo* are more popular and national in nature. Lastly, *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* include moral, political, and literary satires, *tenções* (lyrical debates), parodies, laments, and personal invectives. Mongelli (2009) points out that these poems primarily aimed to entertain their audience rather than denounce social issues. However, she discusses that humor always carries a reformative purpose, addressing perceived societal flaws.

Massini-Cagliari (2007) explains that very little of the secular production from Archaic Portuguese has survived to the present day, with only three songbooks containing general compilations and five individual folios (with one or more works). Regarding these codices, Massini-Cagliari (2007) states:

- Cancioneiro da Ajuda (A or CA): The most contemporary codex to the troubadours, containing only *cantigas de amor*. It includes 310 poems by 38 writers, none of which are accompanied by musical notation.
- Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (B, CB, or CBN): Distinguished as the most complete codex of the three, it houses about 1,560 poems spanning the three canonical genres and authored by over 150 troubadours.
- Cancioneiro da Vaticana (V or CV): A copy of the CBN codex, containing 1,200 texts. It has a large gap at the beginning, omitting 390 songs found in the CBN.

Analysis Method

The study method employed in this paper is based on the analysis of the graphic representations of words containing nasal segments <m> and <n>, collected from the works comprising our corpus, and on the analysis of the context in which these consonants occur within the syllable and the word. This approach aims to investigate the behavior of these segments within the syllabic unit. Initially, all words written with <m> and <n> in the poetic works were collected. This first collection utilized critical editions² of the compositions to facilitate the comprehension of all vocabulary items and the organization of the collected data.

In a subsequent stage, after collecting all instances of words containing nasal <m> and <n> from the 250 medieval *cantigas*, a verification of all collected terms was conducted using facsimile editions. This step is among the most significant since, by examining the data in medieval facsimiles, researchers gain access to photographic reproductions of the documents in their original size. Facsimiles thus provide the researcher with the actual writing that was recorded by the scribes of the time.

For this analysis, the use of facsimile editions—or primary sources—is considered of vital importance for research involving syllabic structure. As Massini-Cagliari (2015) explains, crucial features of the original version, such as graphic variations, may be erased in an updated version after the application of modern orthographic conventions. The use of facsimiles represents the best alternative for the study at hand. Therefore, this work views facsimile editions as indispensable, as their purpose is not to interpret the compositions but to present them in their entirety.

Following the mapping of the 250 archaic poems, the collected data were qualitatively analyzed based on non-linear phonological theories. Data on graphic variation, poetic rhymes, and the syllabic and word-level contexts of the nasal segments provide clues regarding the phonetic realization and phonological function of the nasals in the troubadours' language. Thus, to determine the phonological behavior of nasals in that historical period, it is essential to analyze not only the contexts in which these elements occur, but also the data on graphic variation and the rhymes within the cantigas.

Theoretical Framework: The Syllabic Unit

According to Camara Jr. (1985[1970]), the syllable is a unit that is challenging to delineate and define adequately. The author adopts a structuralist perspective, assuming that segments are organized linearly within the syllabic structure of all languages. From a phonetic standpoint, Camara Jr. (1985[1970]) argues that the syllable consists of an ascending phase, culminating in a peak (nucleus), followed by a descending phase. The ascent may be occupied by one or two consonantal segments, the peak is exclusively filled by vowels in Portuguese, and the descent may comprise /S/, /l/, /R/, /N/, /y/, or /w/.

² For the CSM, we used Mettmann (1986), and for the secular poems, we adopted Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-).

Mori (2001) highlights that the syllable is at the core of phonological representations, serving as the basic unit that informs the structure of a given speech pattern. Nespor and Vogel (1986) regard the syllable as a fundamental unit present in the Phonology of all languages, functioning as the domain of phonological rules. Silva (1999) clarifies that vowels and consonants are distributed across syllables in ways that determine which words are considered well-formed. Thus, the sequence of these elements establishes acceptable structures within a language.

In Metrical Phonology, the consonantal and vocalic segments forming the syllable are hierarchically organized. Consequently, a syllable consists of an onset (O) and a rhyme (R); the rhyme is further divided into a nucleus (Nu) and a coda (Co). All categories, except for the nucleus, can be empty. This proposal, based on Selkirk's (1982) analysis, posits a closer relationship between the vowel in the nucleus position and the consonant in coda than between the nuclear vowel and the consonant in onset position. This representation ensures stronger interrelations among segments occupying the rhyme.

Selkirk (1982) defines the syllable as a hierarchical unit whose structure is governed by general principles within the prosodic domain. The structure postulated by the researcher enables the application of phonological rules to specific syllabic constituents without encompassing the entire syllable. The connection between the nucleus and the coda, forming the rhyme, is considered a universal aspect by Selkirk (1982), encompassing the composition of all languages regardless of their syllabic templates. Consequently, syllabic composition rules are principles expressible through a binary branching tree, in which only the rhyme is obligatory. Silva (1999) explains that if a syllable contains only a vowel, this element will fill all parts of the syllabic structure, as observed in the initial syllable of the word *ética*. Thus, the other components of a syllable are optional. The onset may consist of one or more consonants, appearing at the beginning or middle of a word. Meanwhile, the coda may appear in the middle or end of a word.

Regarding the onset context in Archaic Portuguese, Biagioni (2002) notes that this position can be occupied by a simple segment, formed by a single element, or by a complex one, consisting of two successive elements. Syllables with complex onsets are only formed by sequences of plosives and labiodental fricatives followed by taps and laterals. Accordingly, only /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /f/, and /v/ occur in the first onset position in the archaic language; in the second position, only lateral liquids /l/ and rhotics /r/ are permitted.

Massini-Cagliari (2015, p. 88) observes that, although open syllables (CV or V) predominate in Archaic Portuguese (AP), syllabic closure is allowed. However, the coda position is highly restricted, as only /r/, /l/, /S/, and /N/ are permitted. Furthermore, codas are never branched, as evidence suggests a strong prohibition against forming complex codas in the troubadours' language.

Data collection and analysis

Below, we present in tables 1 to 4, respectively, the quantification of occurrences of nasals in secular and religious songs according to the context occupied by *m* and *n* within the syllable and word.

Table 1 – Mapping of <*m*> according to the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in secular *cantigas*.

< <i>m</i> >	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	2,417	798	---	3,215
Syllable coda	---	97	2,677	2,774
Subtotal	2,417	895	2,677	5,989

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2 – Mapping of <*n*> according to the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in secular *cantigas*.

< <i>n</i> >	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	1,164	210	---	1,374
Syllable coda	---	1,199	10	1,209
Subtotal	1,164	1,409	10	2,583

Source: Own elaboration

Table 3 – Mapping of <*m*> according to the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in CSM.

< <i>m</i> >	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	4,089	2,174	---	6,263
Syllable coda	---	269	4	273
Subtotal	4,089	2,443	4	6,536

Source: Own elaboration

³ The symbol “---”, present in Tables 1 to 6, represents the impossibility of data occurrence in the referenced contexts. For example, the onset constitutes the initial context of the syllable, preceding the nucleus (formed, in Archaic Portuguese and Modern Portuguese, by a vowel); therefore, onsets do not exist at the end of a word (a position occupied by elements that compose the coda).

Table 4 – Mapping of <n> according to the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in CSM.

<n>	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	1,674	688	---	2,362
Syllable coda	---	4,328	5,399	9,727
Subtotal	1,674	5,016	5,399	12,089

Source: Own elaboration

To provide a comprehensive visualization of the data, we now present Tables 5 and 6, which include all occurrences of **m** and **n** in the 250 cantigas comprising our corpus. Table 5 represents the sum of Tables 1 and 3 (data related to the consonant **m**), while Table 6 consists of the sum of Tables 2 and 4 (data related to the consonant **n**).

Table 5 – Mapping of <m> regarding the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in religious and secular *cantigas*.

<m>	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	6,506	2,972	---	9,478
Syllable coda	---	366	2,681	3,047
Subtotal	6,506	3,338	2,681	12,525

Source: Own elaboration

Table 6 – Mapping of <n> according to the position in which it is located in the syllable and in the word in religious and secular *cantigas*.

<n>	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	2,838	898	---	3,736
Syllable coda	---	5,527	5,409	10,936
Subtotal	2,838	6,425	5,409	14,672

Source: Own elaboration

The tables reveal that, in the archaic stage of Portuguese, the nasal consonant *n* was far more frequently employed in syllabic coda positions, both in internal codas within words and in final codas. While *m* appeared 366 times in internal codas and

2,681 times in word-final positions across religious and secular *cantigas*, *n* occurred 5,527 times in medial codas and 5,409 times in final codas.

An interesting observation regarding coda contexts is the limited number of words ending in *m* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM), with only 4 occurrences. In secular *cantigas*, however, this consonantal element appeared much more frequently in word-final positions, with 2,677 occurrences of *m*. Secular poems, being less ancient than the CSM, occasionally reflect more modern graphic conventions, such as the preference in Portuguese for ending words with *m* rather than *n*.

As described in the methodology, all data were verified against facsimile editions of the religious and secular works comprising the corpus. This analysis uncovered various types of graphic variation characteristic of a writing system lacking an orthographic standard imposed by law. The following types of variation involving nasal consonants **m** and **n** were identified in the texts:

1. Alternation between *m* and *n* (*quem/quen* [*who*]; *sempre/sempre* [*always*]; *onbros/ombros* [*shoulders*]; *con/com* [*with*]).
2. Variation between nasal and tilde (*non/nõ* [*no*]; *cantares/câtares* [*songs*]; *nembrar/nẽbrar* [*to remember*]; *comunal/comūal* [*communal*]).

Variation 1 was particularly prominent, especially in secular songbooks. The alternation between *m* and *n*, and vice versa, appeared 1,392 times in secular texts and 158 times in the CSM. Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix provide a detailed list of the occurrences of Variation 1.

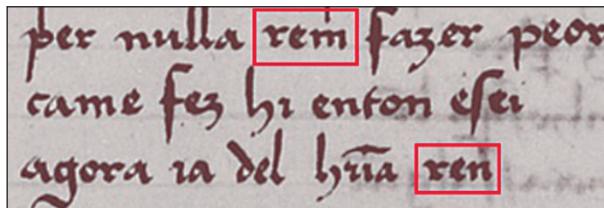
As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2, Variation 1 predominantly affects the syllabic coda context, whether internal or final. Among all cases of variation identified in the religious and secular works, only one instance occurred in a syllabic onset: *quenas/quemas* [*who+them fem.*]. This case belongs to CSM 76 and does not change in the word's meaning, which, according to Mettmann (1972, p. 255), represents the combination of *quen* [*who*] + a definite article or personal pronoun *o/a*⁴ [*him/her*]. The absence of semantic change is evident as the word appears in the first line of the refrain, which is repeated throughout the composition at the end of each stanza. Thus, the spellings *quenas* and *quemas* are alternated within the cantiga without altering the meaning of the line. Therefore, there is no phonological opposition between *n* and *m* in this instance, as it merely represents a case of graphic variation.

Furthermore, since *quenas/quemas* represents the combination of *quen* + article or pronoun *o/a*, the fact that the word is written as one unit is either coincidental or reflects the troubadour's intent to mark the prosodic subordination of *o/a* to *quen*. Consequently, it is not a single word but two written together, with the nasal consonant undoubtedly positioned in the coda.

⁴ Mettmann (1972) originally states that *quenas/quemas* represents the union of *quen* + definite article or personal pronoun "lo/la"; however, the author writes in Spanish. Therefore, in this article, we adopt the corresponding pronoun in Portuguese, "o/a."

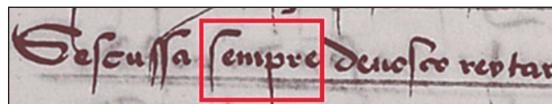
The other occurrences listed in Tables 1 and 2 pertain to cases where the nasal element is situated in coda environments. As shown, the variation between *m/n* in Archaic Portuguese texts affected both internal codas (*sempre* > *senpre* [always] and *senpre* > *semprē*) and final codas (*em* > *en* and *en* > *em*). Words could appear written differently within the same work in the same codex or could be spelled differently within the same cantiga but in different codices. Examples of both scenarios are provided below. In Figure 1, the term *ren*⁵ appears spelled with *n* and *m* within the same stanza of a cantiga. In Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5, the variation between *n* and *m* occurs within the same verse but in different songbooks.

Figure 1 – *Rem/ren* [thing] (*cantiga de amor* by João Soares de Somesso, *Já foi sazom que eu cuidei*)⁶



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the National Library of Lisbon – Colocci-Branuti (1982, p. 121).

Figure 2 – *Sempre* [always] (*cantiga de escárnio e maldizer* by Estêvão da Guarda, *Vós, Dom Josep, venho eu preguntar*)⁷



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the National Library of Lisbon – Colocci-Branuti (1982, p. 1315).

Figure 3 – *Senpre* [always] (*cantiga de escárnio e maldizer* by Estêvão da Guarda, *Vós, Dom Josep, venho eu preguntar*)



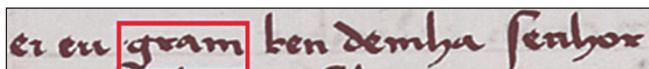
Source: Facsimile edition of the Portuguese Songbook of the Vatican Library (1973, p. 920).

⁵ According to Mettmann (1972, p. 263), *ren* is an indefinite pronoun that can mean, in poetry, *thing*, *nothing*, *despite that*, *everything*, *something*, *anything*, *in any way*, etc.

⁶ Transcription of the verses, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *per nulha rem fazer peor / ca me fazí'entom, e sei / agora já del h̄ua rem.* [For no thing to do worse / than it did to me then, and I know / now already of it one thing.]

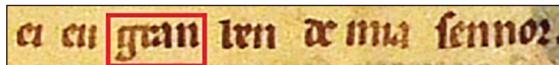
⁷ Transcription of the verse, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *s'escusa sempre de vosco reitar?* [Does he always excuse themselves from going with you?]

Figure 4 – Gram [big] (cantiga de amor by João Soares de Somesso, *Muitas vezes em meu cuidar*)⁸



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the National Library of Lisbon – Colocci-Brancuti (1982, p. 109).

Figure 5 – Gran [big] (cantiga de amor by João Soares de Somesso, *Muitas vezes em meu cuidar*)



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the Library of Ajuda (1994, p. 16).

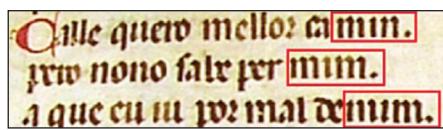
The graphical variation between the nasal consonants <m> and <n> in syllabic coda positions was highly recurrent in medieval songbooks. Instances of this variation were found in all the codices examined, and, as demonstrated, it occurred even within the same stanza of a *cantiga*. Given that the codices available today are either first-generation copies or copies of copies (Massini-Cagliari, 2007), it is highly likely that medieval scribes, when transcribing a *cantiga* from one manuscript to another, made modifications they deemed appropriate based on their linguistic knowledge and reflections.

Due to the frequency of this type of variation, observed across different contexts within the analyzed *cantigas*, it can be argued that, during the archaic stage, the nasals *m* and *n* did not present a phonological opposition in syllabic coda positions. This is analogous to modern Portuguese, where, as noted by Camara Jr. (1970[1985]), neutralization occurs, meaning the loss of opposition in the onset position between [n] and [m] in the coda, represented by the archiphoneme /N/ in Brazilian Portuguese. This interpretation is further supported by the rhymes in medieval *cantigas*, as scribes did not necessarily match words ending in *m* exclusively with other words ending in *m*, nor words ending in *n* exclusively with others ending in *n*. While certain poems exhibit this pattern—rhymes composed solely of *m* or *n* in coda—this is not a strict rule in the *cantigas*, which display considerable heterogeneity.

In Figures 6 and 7 there are examples of verses where rhymes occur due to the nasal endings of the words. It is worth noting that **Variation 1** is not the only type present in these verses. Some *cantigas* also feature rhymes encompassing **Variation 2** (substitution of the nasal segment with a tilde), a topic that will be discussed in more detail later.

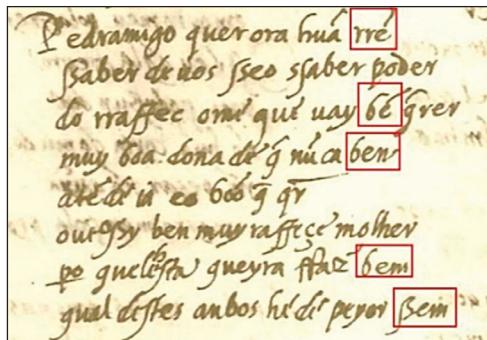
⁸ Transcription of the verse, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *hei eu gram bem de mia senhor*. [I have great love for my lady.]

Figure 6 – Min/mim [me] (cantiga de amor by Pero Garcia Burgalês, *Ai eu coitad’! e por que vi*)⁹



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the Library of Ajuda (1994, p. 87).

Figure 7 – Graphical variations in rhymes (cantiga de escárnio e maldizer by João Baveca, *Pedr’Amigo, quer’ora ùa rem*)



Source: Facsimile edition of the Portuguese Songbook of the Vatican Library (1973, p. 826).

As seen in Figures 6 and 7, the same word could be represented in writing in several different ways. For instance, in Figure 7, the term *bem* [wellness] is spelled in three forms: *bê*, *ben*, and *bem*. Similarly, in Figure 6, the word *mim* appears three times at the end of a verse: once written with *n* and twice with *m*. Below is the transcription from Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-) of Figure 7, which is analyzed to examine the rhymes in the excerpt.

(1)

Pedr’Amigo, quer’ora ùa rem A

(Pedro friend, I now want to ask something)

saber de vós, se o saber pudер: B

(to know from you, if you can answer)

do rafeç’home que vai bem querer B

(of the lowly man who truly loves)

⁹ Transcription of the verses, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *Ca lhe quero melhor ca mim, / pero non o’ sabe per mim / a que eu vi por mal de mim.* [For I love her more than myself, / yet she does not know it through me, / as I have seen to my own detriment.]

mui boa dona, de quem nunca bem **A**
 (a very noble woman, from whom he never receives kindness)
atende já, e [d]o bōo, que quer **B**
 (who hopes for kindness, and of the noble one who loves)
outrossi bem mui rafece molher **B**
 (also, a very lowly woman)
pero que lh'esta queira fazer bem, **A**
 (but to whom I want to do good)
qual destes ambos é de peior sem? **A**
 (which of these two is the more foolish?)

The stanza presented in (1) is the opening stanza of João Baveca's *cantiga de escárnio e maldizer*. The rhyme scheme depicted repeats in the second stanza of the song, which has six stanzas with eight verses each and two final stanzas with four verses each. The poem features rhymes in all stanzas: the first and second stanzas follow the ABBABBA scheme (as shown earlier); the third and fourth stanzas follow CDDCEECC; the fifth and sixth stanzas follow FGGFHHFF; and the last two stanzas, with four verses each, follow the HHFF scheme.

Thus, there is a clear concern by the troubadour with the rhyme structure of the *cantiga*, which categorically repeats across two consecutive stanzas. Upon analyzing Figure 7, it becomes evident that the word endings do not follow a consistent pattern, but the rhyme remains intact. Therefore, the words *rrē*, *ben*, *bem*, and *ssem* rhyme with each other regardless of being spelled with *m*, *n*, or a tilde.

Numerous instances were identified where, in rhyming contexts, words with nasals alternated between *m* and *n* (in addition to nasal segments being replaced by a tilde), which reinforces our interpretation of the neutralization of the opposition between *m* and *n* in syllabic codas in medieval Portuguese, similar to what is observed in modern Portuguese phonology. However, it is important to note that the phonological opposition between the nasal consonants *m* and *n* was preserved at that time in syllabic onset contexts. Based on the data, it is possible to infer that the scribes were fully aware of the distinction between these consonants at the beginning of the syllable, as no other instances of substitution were found aside from the variation *quenas/quemas*. In syllabic onset, whether internal or at the beginning of the word, the scribes consistently chose the same nasal segment. For instance, the word *non* often appeared as *nõ*, but never as *mon*.

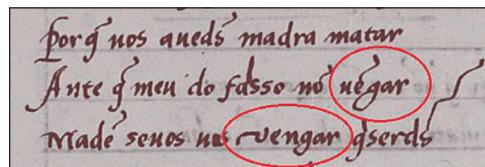
The other type of variation identified was Variation 2, which involves the alternation between the nasal consonants *m* or *n* and a tilde over the preceding vowel. In this case, the nasal segment is not graphically recorded, but the nasal quality is retained in the form of a diacritical mark over the vowel preceding the “missing” nasal. This type of variation was extremely frequent in the material: 4,266 occurrences in the CSM and 1,749 in the secular *cantigas*. Data for Variation 2 are listed in Table 3 in the Appendix.

As illustrated in Table 3, Variation 2, besides being very frequent across all codices from both the religious and secular traditions of archaic lyric poetry, exhibits a wide

range of positional occurrences within words. Thus, the same word could appear spelled in different ways in medieval songbooks, especially if it contained more than one nasal consonant in coda position. There was no rule or specific context governing the occurrence of this variation in the analyzed texts. The graphic representation of the nasals *m* and *n* through a tilde over the preceding vowel, as previously explained, also varied alongside forms written with *m* and *n* in the rhyming contexts of the verses.

Variation 2 appeared in the investigated facsimiles within the same *cantiga* in the same songbook and within the same poem in different codices. Examples of each occurrence, drawn from the songs in our corpus, are presented below:

Figure 8 – Vêgar/Vengar [to avenge] (*cantiga de amigo* by Estêvão Fernandes d’Elvas, *Farei eu, filha, que vos nom veja*)¹⁰



Source: Facsimile edition of the codex from the National Library of Lisbon – Colocci-Brancuti (1982, p. 1092).

Figure 9 – Pregútando [asking] (CSM 6 in *To*)



Source: Facsimile edition of the Toledo codex (2003, p. 14r).

Figure 10 – Pguntâdo [asking] (CSM 6 in *T*)



Source: Microfilm of the Escorial Rico codex, provided by the Library of the Monastery of El Escorial. The microfilm is part of the archive of the research group “Phonology of Portuguese: Archaic & Brazilian.”

As shown in Figures 9 and 10, it was very common for a word with more than one nasal consonant in coda position to be represented in multiple ways in the songbooks. Some words, like *manten* [to keep], exhibit four different spellings in the codices: *manten*, *mãten*, *mãtē*, and *mantē*. It is important to emphasize that these spellings vary within the same composition. For example, in CSM 30, within the same verse, the word is spelled *manten* in *To*, *mãtē* in *T*, and *mantē* in *E*. Due to the frequency of

¹⁰ Transcription of the verses, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *por que vos havedes, madr', a matar? / Ante que m'eu do falso nom vengar / Madre, se vós vos vengar quiserdes.* [Why do you intend, mother, to kill yourself? / Before I avenge myself against the deceiver, / Mother, if you wish to take vengeance yourself.]

this phenomenon in the analyzed material, we argue that these variations were likely considered by the scribes as acceptable representations of the same word.

Thus, in coda contexts, nasalization in Archaic Portuguese could be graphically represented as <m>, <n>, and <~>. Furthermore, in this environment (internal or final coda), there was neutralization of the phonological opposition between these elements. The rhymes of archaic poems were built with this neutralization in mind, as scribes would rhyme words written with <m>, <n>, and <~> in coda positions.

The existence of the tilde mark in the words of troubadour Portuguese is a highly complex issue, as the mark at the time served various functions,¹¹ including abbreviation. Massini-Cagliari (2015) explains that the tilde in medieval texts can be interpreted in two ways: the radical hypothesis, which assumes that every occurrence of the tilde in Archaic Portuguese represents an abbreviation, and the less radical hypothesis, which we support, which posits that not all cases of the tilde symbolize an abbreviation. According to the researcher, in words where the tilde appears over a vowel, it can be considered a marker of nasalization. Even when adopting the radical hypothesis (that the tilde in the archaic period was merely an abbreviation), it must be acknowledged that such cases eventually evolved into phonetically nasalized vowels. Therefore, the widespread use of the tilde to represent nasalization in coda positions may already indicate a spreading of the nasal quality from the coda nasal consonant to the vowel supporting it in the nucleus.

The occurrences mapped in this study, which demonstrate that scribes rhymed words written with <m>, <n>, and <~> in coda, reinforce Massini-Cagliari's (2015) interpretation of the tilde over vowels. According to the researcher, within a derivational model, it is possible to interpret cases of the tilde allocation over vowels as evidence of nasalization as a floating feature that, depending on the context, may be realized as an onset (when that position is not occupied) or as vowel nasalization (through the spreading of the nasal feature to the vowel). The author notes in her studies that the optimal realization for the nasal would be in the syllable onset rather than as a nasal feature of the vowel. In the cases we analyzed, the onset position was not empty; that is, when unable to occupy the onset of the next syllable, the nasal segment remained in the coda, a position already filled by such an element before the consonant's suppression and the addition of <~>. Therefore, in none of the mapped cases did the nasal consonant change its position within the syllable, remaining in the context of internal or external coda.

In addition to Variation 2 data located in coda, five cases were identified in which the suppressed nasal consonant, represented in writing by a tilde, was in an onset context. These cases are highlighted in Table 3 and, for clarity, are repeated below in example (2):

¹¹ Regarding the functions of the tilde in medieval texts, see Massini-Cagliari (1998).

(2)

Enadendo – **Ēadendo** (T/E) [adding]
Minerva – **Mīerva** (E) [Minerva]
Comunal – **Comūal** (T) [communal]
Demoniados – **Demōyados** (E) [possessed]
Dona – **Doā** (CV) [Dame]

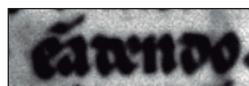
As expressed in (2), although Variation 2 appears predominantly in coda positions, this is not the only context in which it occurs in archaic codices. The alternation between a nasal *n* in an onset environment and a tilde over a nearby vowel strongly supports the hypothesis we have maintained thus far: scribes of that historical period very likely understood the allocation of the tilde over vowels as representing (at least) a spreading of the nasalization from the coda nasal to the surrounding vowel. To illustrate the occurrences in (2), we present the following examples, taken from *CSM 20*.

Figure 11 – Enadendo (*CSM 20 in To*)¹²



Source: Facsimile edition of the Toledo codex (2003, p. 30r).

Figure 12 – ēadendo (*CSM 20 in T*)



Source: Microfilm of the Escorial Rico codex, provided by the Library of the Monastery of El Escorial. The microfilm is part of the archive of the research group “Phonology of Portuguese: Archaic & Brazilian.”

All the data listed in (2) involve the nasal *n* in an onset position, and there is no consistent pattern among the mapped occurrences in the works: in *ēadendo*, *n* appeared in the second syllable of the word, following a syllable composed only of the vowel *e*; in the word *mīerva*, *n* was located in the second syllable, following a CV syllable ending in the vowel *i*; in *comūal*, *n* occupied the third syllable of the word, after a CV syllable ending in the vowel *u*; in *demōyados*, *n* was in the third syllable, following a CV syllable ending in the vowel *o*; and finally, in the word *doā*, *n* was situated in the last syllable, after a CV syllable ending in *o*. Moreover, in the word *doā* [lady], the tilde appears in the profane songbook over the following vowel rather than the preceding vowel, as in other cases. In documents from that period, the tilde mark was not precisely placed over a single letter; the scribe may have unintentionally placed the tilde over the vowel *a* or extended the diacritic over both vowels. It is also possible that

¹² *Enadendo*, according to Mettmann (1972, p. 116-117), comes from the verb *enader*, which means to add.

the scribe intentionally placed the tilde over the vowel *a* to represent the nasalization previously present near the vowel.

As shown, the occurrences in (2) demonstrate that Variation 2 is not related to the vowel preceding the nasal, as the phenomenon occurred with four different vowels. Nor is it tied to the syllable in which the nasal was found before disappearing and being replaced by the tilde, as data from both CV syllables (*enadendo*) and CVC syllables (*Minerva*) are present. Thus, based on the arguments presented so far, we argue that this data reinforces our hypothesis: the substitution of a nasal consonant with a tilde over the vowel in the remaining documents indicates that nasalization at the time was understood as a floating feature. Furthermore, when recording medieval poems, scribes considered the addition of the tilde over vowels as one of the ways to represent nasalization in writing.

Therefore, as demonstrated throughout this study, in the archaic stage of the language, nasalization in syllable codas (both internal and word-final) was represented by *m*, *n*, and tilde, a context in which the phonological opposition between these nasal elements was neutralized. In syllable onset positions (at the beginning or middle of a word), however, *m* and *n* remained phonologically distinct, and *n* could appear graphically represented by a tilde over a nearby vowel. No data were found showing a substitution between *m* and tilde in onset positions, suggesting that scribes selected only one of the possible nasals for the onset (*m* or *n*), which had different phonological values, to avoid confusion.

Final considerations

The analysis of the graphic variation data found in the corpus revealed significant insights into the phonological behavior of the nasal elements in troubadour Portuguese. The chosen methodology was based on verifying recurring graphic variations in medieval codices and analyzing the nasal elements within the syllable and the word.

Through the analysis of words containing nasals collected from the 250 cantigas in our corpus, it was concluded that, in the context of syllable codas, the phonological opposition between nasals *m*, *n*, and tilde is neutralized. This conclusion was supported by the two types of graphic variation mapped and by the analysis of poetic rhymes. In the onset context, *m* and *n* remain phonologically distinct, and *n* could be symbolized in the facsimiles by a tilde over a nearby vowel.

In the religious and secular *cantigas* analyzed, no occurrence was found where the variation between *m* and *n*, or vice versa, resulted in a change in the word's meaning. This finding supports our interpretation, as demonstrated in this article. Additionally, words written with *m*, *n*, and tilde in syllable codas rhyme with each other in the analyzed poetic compositions, further reinforcing our interpretation that medieval scribes likely viewed these forms as possible representations of the nasal element.

This article aims to highlight the significant discoveries observed in archaic poems and the great potential of these texts as a basis for studying the phonology of the archaic stage of the Portuguese ancestor. Finally, it is worth noting that these reflections were only possible through considering the syllable as a hierarchically structured constituent.

Acknowledgments

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BARRETO, Débora Aparecida dos Reis Justo; MASSINI-CAGLIARI, Gladis. O estatuto fonológico das consoantes nasais do português arcaico. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v. 69, 2025.

- *RESUMO: O objetivo deste trabalho consiste em estudar os fenômenos fonológicos do ancestral medieval do português, analisando, de maneira específica, as consoantes nasais em 250 cantigas medievais galego-portuguesas. A metodologia adotada se baseia na observação da possibilidade (ou não) de variação na representação escrita desses elementos da etapa arcaica, assim como na posição preenchida pelas consoantes nasais na sílaba e na palavra, a fim de verificar os seguintes pontos: 1) o estatuto das nasais em ambiente de ataque e coda da sílaba; 2) a nasalização de vogais/ditongos. Todos os casos coletados serão analisados à luz das teorias fonológicas não-lineares. As ocorrências encontradas mostram que, em posição de coda, a alternância entre as representações gráficas <m>, <n> e til não representa uma alteração no significado da palavra, isto é, no nível fonológico, há neutralização da oposição entre os sons representados por <m>, <n> e til. Já em ataque de sílaba, a oposição se mantém.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Consoantes nasais; Estatuto fonológico; Português arcaico; Cantigas medievais galego-portuguesas.*

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APPENDIX

Panel 1 – Variation between *<m>* and *<n>* in CSM¹³

Word in Mettmann (1986)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Acompanhada (accompanied by)	Acompanhada	Escorial Rico
Ambos (both)	Anbos	Escorial Rico/Toledo
Ampara (protects/supports)	Anpara	Toledo
Anparando (protecting/supporting)	Amparando	Escorial Rico
Assembrados (gathered/assembled)	Assenbrados	Toledo
Cambiar/Cambiava (to change/changed)	Canbiar/Cambiava	Toledo
Campâa (campaign)	Canpâa	Toledo
Comba (fight/battle)	Conba	Toledo
Combater (to fight)	Conbater	Toledo
Combatudo (fought)	Conbatudo	Toledo
Combooça (uproar/confusion)	Conbooça	Toledo
Companha (company)	Companha	Escorial Rico
Comprido (long)	Conprido	Escorial Rico/Toledo
Compri-lo (to fulfill it)	Conprilo	Toledo
Comprar (to fulfill)	Conpr	Escorial Rico
Compõer (to compose)	Conpõer	Toledo
Canbiar (to change)	Cambiar	Escorial Rico
Canbiou (changed)	Cambiou	Escorial Rico
Con (with)	Com	Escorial Músicos
Conbooças (confusions/uproars)	Combooças	Escorial Rico
Companha (company)	Companha	Escorial Rico
Compania (company)	Compania	Escorial Rico
Comprada (purchased)	Comprada	Escorial Rico
Compramos (we purchased)	Compramos	Escorial Rico
Comprian (they fulfilled)	Comprian	Escorial Rico
Desanparada (abandoned)	Desamparada	Escorial Rico
Dizian (they said)	Diziam	Escorial Músicos

¹³ Due to the amount of data found in the manuscripts, all repetitions were removed.

Word in Mettmann (1986)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Dominum (lord/master)	Dominun	Toledo
Dun (of one/from one)	Dum	Escorial Músicos
Emperador (emperor)	Enperador	Toledo
Emperadriz (empress)	Enpadriz	Escorial Rico
Emperadriz (empress)	Emperadriz	Escorial Rico
Eran (they were)	Eram	Escorial Músicos
Façan (they do/make)	Façam	Escorial Músicos
Lomba (hill)	Lonba	Toledo
Nenbra (he/she/it remembers)	Nembra	Escorial Rico
Niun (none/not any)	Nium	Escorial Músicos
Onbros (shoulders)	Ombros	Escorial Rico
Podian (they could)	Podiam	Escorial Músicos
Quen (who)	Quem	Escorial Músicos
Quenas (who + the [as in “who are the ones”])	Quemas	Escorial Músicos
Renenbramento (remembrance)	Renembramento	Escorial Rico
Sempre (always)	Senpre	Escorial Rico/Escorial Músicos/ Toledo
Senbrança (look)	Sembrança	Escorial Rico
Senpre (always)	Sempre	Escorial Rico/Escorial Músicos
Servian (they served)	Serviam	Escorial Músicos
Seyan (they were)	Seyam	Escorial Músicos
Tempestades (storms)	Tenpestades	Escorial Rico/Toledo
Tempo (time)	Tenpo	Escorial Rico/Toledo
Tempo (time)	Tempo	Escorial Rico
Tonbar (to fall over)	Tombar	Escorial Rico

Source: Own elaboration

Panel 2 – Variation between <m> and <n> in cantigas profanas

Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Acham (they find)	Achan	CBN
Algodom (cotton)	Algodon	CV
Alguém (someone)	Alguen	CA/CBN
Algum (some)	Algun	CA/CBN

Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Almazém (warehouse)	Almazen	CV
Ambia (Proper Noun/Locative)	Anbia	CBN/CV
Ambos (both)	Anbos	CBN/CV
Ampararei (I will protect)	Anpararey	CBN
Arçom (arch)	Arçon	CBN/CV
Argem (silver)	Argen	CBN/CV
Artom (bearer/holder)	Açon	CBN/CV
Apartarom (they separated)	Apartaron	CV
Avém (they have)	Aven	CA
Avoim (grandparent)	Avoyn	CV
Atambor (drum)	Atanbor	CBN
Atambores (drums)	Atanbores	CBN
Bem (well/good)	Ben	CA/CBN/CV
Bom (good)	Bon	CA/CBN/CV
Busquem (they seek)	Busquen	CBN/CV
Cambiei (I changed)	Canbey	CBN/CV
Capelam (chaplain)	Capelan	CBN/CV
Capom (cape/cloak)	Capon	CBN/CV
Carriom (cart)	Carrión	CV
Carvom (coal)	Carvon	CBN/CV
Citolom (citron/citadel)	Citolon	CV
Cochom (pig/swine)	Cochon	CV
Coidam (they take care of)	Coidan	CA
Coita'm (care in)	Coitan	CA
Com (with)	Con	CA/CBN/CV
Comerom (they ate)	Comeron	CV
Comeriam (they would eat)	Comerian	CV
Companhom (companion)	Conpanhon	CV
Comprastes (you pl. bought)	Conprastes	CBN/CV
Compria (he/she/it would fulfill)	Conpria	CV
Convém (it is suitable)	Conven	CA
Coraçom (heart)	Coraçon	CA/CBN/CV
Dam (they give)	Dan	CA/CBN/CV
Daquém (from this side)	Daquen	CA
Dem (they give)	Den	CBN/CV
Derom (they gave)	Deron	CBN/CV

Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Desamparado (abandoned)	Desenpado	CBN
Desdém (disdain)	Desden	CBN/CV
Desejam (they desire)	Desejan	CA
Desemparado (unprotected)	Desenparado	CA/CBN/CV
Desemparar (to abandon)	Desenparar	CA/CBN
Detém (he/she/it holds back)	De ten	CA
Detém (he/she/it holds back)	Deten	CV
Digam (they say)	Digan	CV
Disserom (they said)	Disseron	CBN/CV
Dizem (they say)	Dizen	CA/CBN/CV
Dom (lord)	Don	CA/CBN/CV
Dormem (they sleep)	Dormen	CA/CBN/CV
Em (in)	En	CA/CBN/CV
Embaratado (organized)	Enbaratado	CA/CBN
Emparar (to support)	Enparar	CBN/CV
Emperador (emperor)	Enperador	CV
Empregar (to employ)	Enpgar	CBN/CV
Emprenhasse (he/she impregnated)	Enphasse	CV
En (in/on)	Em	CBN/CV
Entençom (intention)	En tençon	CBN/CV
Entom (then)	Enton	CA/CBN/CV
Escantaçom (enchantment)	Escantaçon	CBN
Fam (hunger)	Fan	CBN/CV
Farám (they will do)	Faran	CA/CV
Farazom (Proper Noun)	Farazon	CBN/CV
Fazem (they do/make)	Fazen	CA/CBN/CV
Fernam (Fernando/Ferdinand)	Ffernan	CBN
Fezerem (they did)	Fezeren	CBN
Fossem (they were/went)	Fossen	CBN/CV
Gastom (Proper Noun)	Gaston	CV
Gram (great)	Gran	CA/CBN/CV
Ham (they have)	Han/An	CA/CV
Homem (man)	Omen	CA
Infançom (childhood)	Infançon	CBN
Joam (John)	Johan	CBN/CV
Lidarom (they dealt)	Lidaron	CBN

Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Mandarom (they sent)	Mandaron	CBN/CV
Meem (Proper Noun)	Meen	CBN/CV
Mim (me/myself)	Min	CA/CBN/CV
Monçom (monsoon)	Monçon	CBN/CV
Nem (nor)	Nen	CA/CBN/CV
Nembrar (to remember)	Nenbrar	CA/CBN/CV
Nembre (he/she remember)	Nembre	CA
Nom (not/no)	Non	CA/CBN/CV
Oraçom (prayer)	Oraçon	CBN/CV
Peom (peasant/laborer)	Peon	CBN/CV
Pendom (hanging)	Pendon	CV
Perdom (forgiveness)	Perdon	CA/CBN/CV
Perdem (they lose)	Perden	CA
Perderom (they lost)	Perderon	CV
Podem (they can)	Poden	CA
Por en (but)	Porem	CBN
Pram (surely)	Pran	CA
Preguntarám (they will ask)	Pguntaran	CA
Prisom (prison)	Prison	CBN/CV
Quam (who)	Quan	CA/CBN/CV
Quem (who)	Quen	CA/CBN/CV
Querem (they want)	Queren	CA/CBN/CV
Querriam (they would want)	Querrian	CBN/CV
Razom (reason)	Razon	CA/CBN/CV
Rem (thing/object)	Ren	CA/CBN/CV
Sabem (they know)	Saben	CV
Sabia'm (I knew myself)	Sabian	CV
Sam (they are)	San	CBN/CV
Sandeu (foolish)	Samdeu	CBN/CV
Sarmom (sermon)	Sarmon	CBN/CV
Sazom (season/time)	Sazon	CA/CBN/CV
Sem (without)	Sen	CA/CBN/CV
Sempre (always)	Senpre	CA/CBN/CV
Senom (but rather)	Senon	CA/CBN/CV
Serám (they will be)	Seran	CA
Sisom (system/structure)	Sison	CBN

Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Som (sound)	Son	CA/CBN/CV
Tam (so much)	Tan	CA/CBN/CV
Tem (he/she/it has)	Ten	CA/CBN/CV
Temperar (to temper/season)	Tenperar	CBN/CV
Temperou (he/she tempered/seasoned)	Tenpou	CBN/CV
Tempo (time)	Tenpo	CA/CBN/CV
Tençom (intention)	Tençon	CV
Terram (land/earth)	Terran	CA
Tragem (they bring)	Tragen	CBN/CV
Trombas (trunks/proboscises)	Tronbas	CBN/CV
Trompeiros (trumpeters)	Tronpeyros	CBN
Um (one)	Um/Hun	CA/CBN/CV
Vejam (they see)	Veján	CA
Vem (he/she comes)	Ven	CA/CBN/CV
Veerám (they will see)	Veeran	CA
Vim (I came)	Vin	CA/CBN/CV
Virem (they come)	Viren	CA
Zarelhom (a type of small item or object)	Zarelhon	CBN/CV

Source: Own elaboration

Panel 3 – Variation 2 in Religious and Secular Cantigas¹⁴

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Abran (Proper Noun)	Abrã	E
Abranger (to encompass)	Abräger	E
Acham/Achavan/Acharon/Acharen (they find/found)	Achã/Achavã/Acharõ/Acharẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Acomendedes/Acomendo/Acomendados (you entrust/I entrust/entrusted)	Acomẽdedes/A comẽdo/Acomẽdados	To/E
Acordança (remembrance)	Acordãça	To/T
Acorrimentos (rescues)	Acorrimẽtos	T/E

¹⁴ Due to the amount of mapped data, we removed repetitions and combined the cases found in religious and secular poetry.

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Adaman (manner)	Adamã	T
Afan/Affan (hardship/struggle)	Afã/Affã	To/T/E
Afondar (to sink)	Afõdar	E
Aguillon (spur)	Aguillõ	To/E
Ajan (they find)	Ajã	To
Alçaron (they lifted)	Alçarõ	E
Algodom (cotton)	Algodõ	CBN
Alguém/Alguen (someone)	Alguẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Algum/Algun (some)	Algũ	To/E/CA/CBN/CV
Alifonso (Alfonso)	Alifõssso	To
Almançor (Almanzor)	Almâçor	To/E
Alongar/Alongou (to extend/extended)	Alõgar/Alõgou	To/T/E
Amba-las/Ambos (both)	Ãabalas/Ãabos	To
Amen (amen)	Amẽ	T
Amparança (protection)	Amparãça	T
Amparar/Anparar/Anparados/Anparando (to protect/protected/protecting)	Ãaparar/Ãaparados/Anparãdo	T/E/CBN
Andar/Andarei/Andou/Andades/Andasse/Andado/Andando/Andaram/Andavan (to walk/I will walk/walked/you walk/would walk/walked/walking/they walked/they used to walk)	Ãadar/Ãadarei/Ãdou/Ãdades/Ãdasse/Ãdado/ Andãdo/Ãdãdo/Andarã/Andavã/Andãvã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Anfaz (veil)	Ãfaz	T
Angeo/Angeos (angel/angels)	Ãgeo/Ãgeos	To
Ante (before)	Ãte	To/T/E/CBN
Antollança (vision/sight)	Antollãça	To/E
Antollos (desires)	Ãtollos	E
Aparelhan (they prepare)	Aparelhã	CBN/CV
Apoinham (they support)	Apoynhã	CBN/CV
Apousentar (to lodge)	Apousẽtar	To
Aprendi (I learned)	Aprẽdi	To/E
Aragom/Aragon (Aragon)	Aragõ	To/CBN/CV
Arçom (arch)	Arçõ	CBN/CV
Arento (greedy)	Arẽto	E
Argen (silver)	Argẽ	E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Armenteira (pastoral woman)	Arměteira	To
Arrepentiu (he/she repented)	Arrepětiu	To/T
Arriban (they rise)	Arribā	T
Asconder (to hide)	Ascōder	To/T/ECV
Asperança/Desasperança/Esperança (hope/despair/hope)	Asperāça/Desasperāça/ Esperāça	To/E
Assanhem (they rage)	Assanhē	CV
Assavan (they baked)	Assavā	E
Atam/Atan (much)	Atā/A tā	To/T/E/CBN
Atambor/Atambores (drum/drums)	Atābor/Atābores	CV
Atanto (as much)	Atātō	To/E/CBN/CV
Ataron (they tied)	Atarō	E
Atender/Atende/Atendia/Atendede/ Atendemos/Atenden/Atendendo (to attend/he attends/was attending/ attend/we attend/they attend/ attending)	Atēder/Atēde/Atēdia/ Atēdede/Atēdemos/ Atēden/ Atēdēdo	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Atrevemento (boldness)	Atrevemēto	E
Auçom (elevation)	Aucō	CBN/CV
Avam (they go forward)	Avā	CBN/CV
Avantalla/Avanto (advance)	Avātalla/Avāto	To/E
Avém (they have)	Avē	CBN/CV
Avian (they had)	Aviā	To/T/E
Avondança/Avondamento (abundance/abundance)	Avondāça/Avōdança/ Avondamēto/Avōdamento	To/T/E
Balança (scale)	Balāça	T
Bardom (saddle)	Bardō	CBN/CV
Baron (baron)	Barō	To/T
Bastimentos (supplies)	Bastimētos	To/E
Baston (stick/staff)	Bastō	To/T/E
Bem/Ben (well/good)	Bē	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Berengenza (eggplant)	Berēgenha	CBN/CV
Bevam/Beviam (they drink/they used to drink)	Bevā/Beviā	CBN/CV
Bevend' (drinking)	Bevēd	To
Bocin (small mouth)	Bocī	To
Bom/Bon (good)	Bō	To/T/E/CBN/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Bondade/Bondades (goodness/kindnesses)	Bõdade/Bõdades	To/E
Branco/Brancos/Brancura (white/whites/whiteness)	Brâco/Brâcos/Brâcura	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Brandind' (brandishing)	Brâdíd	To
Branqu' (white)	Brâqu	To/T/E
Brevement' (briefly)	Brevemẽt	To
Bucando (seeking)	Buscâdo	To
Cabian (they fit)	Cabiã	To/E
Caentura (heat)	Caêtura	CBN
Cam/Can (path/can)	Cã	To/T/E/CBN
Cambrai/Cambiador/Cambiou (changed/exchanger/changed)	Câbray/Câbiador/Câbiou	To/CBN
Candeia/Candeias (candle/candles)	Câdea/Câdeas	To/T/E/CBN
Campo (field)	Câpo	CBN/CV
Canpãa (campaign)	Câpãa	To/E
Cansada (tired)	Câssada	To
Cantar/Cantara/Cantava/Cantada/ Cantos/Cantou/Cantares/Cantaron/ Cantarán/Cantavam/Cantavan/ Cantando/Cantan (to sing/he will sing/sang/sung/songs/sang/songs/ they sang/they will sing/they were singing/singing/they sing)	Câtar/Câtarâ/Câtava/Câtada/ Câtos/Câtou/ Câtares/ Cantarõ/Câtarõ/Cantarã/ Câtavã/ Cantavã/Câtavan/ Cantâdo/Cantã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Cantiga (song)	Câtiga	CBN
Capelam/Capelan (chaplain)	Capelâ	E/CBN/CV
Capeyron (cape)	Capeirõ	To/T
Carriom/Carrión (cart)	Carriõ/Cairhõ	CBN
Carvon (coal)	Carvõ	T/E
Çen (hundred)	Çě	E
Cendal (veil)	Cêdal	E
Cento/Çento (hundred)	Cêto/Çêto	To/T/E
Chamam/Chaman/Chamavam/ Chamavan/Chamando/Chamaron (they call/called/used to call/calling/ they called)	Chamâ/Chamavâ/Chamâdo/ Chamarõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Chanto (cry)	Châto	To/T/E
Chegando/Chegaron (arriving/they arrived)	Chegâdo/Chegarõ	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira et al. (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Cheiravan (they used to smell)	Cheiravā	To/T/E
Chorando (crying)	Chorādo	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Chorarám (they will cry)	Chorarā	CBN/CV
Cinco/Cinque (five)	Cīco/Cīque	To/T
Cint' (belt)	Cīt	CBN
Clemenço (Clemency)	Clemēto	CBN
Cochom (pig/swine)	Cochō	CBN
Cofojon (coward)	Cofojō	E
Cofondudo (confounded)	Cofōdudo	To
Coidando/Cuidando/Cuidavan/ Cuidaron (caring/caring/they used to care/they cared)	Coydādo/Cuidādo/Cuidavā/ Cuidarō	To/T/E/CBN
Com/Con (with/with)	Cō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Comendador/Comenda/Comendado/ Comendou/Comendo/Comenda (commander/commendation/ commended/commended/eating/ commendation)	Comēdador/Comēda/ Comēdado/Comēdou/ Comēdo/Comēda	To/T/E/CV
Començaron/Começaron (they began)	Começarō	To/E
Confortada (comforted)	Cōfortada/Cōffortada	To
Comian (they ate)	Comyā	E
Companhom (companion)	Cōpanhon	CBN
Conpania (company)	Cōpania/Ōpānia/Cōpānia	To/T
Companha/Conpann' (company)	Cōpanha/Cōpann	To/TCV
Completas (complete)	Cōpretas	To
Compōer (to compose)	Cōpōer	To
Comprar/Comprei/Compr'o/ Comprados/Compramos/Comprou/ Conprada/Conpra (to buy/I bought/ bought/bought/we bought/bought/ purchased/purchase)	Cōprar/Cōprei/Cōpro/ Cōprados/Cōpramos/ Cōprou/ Cōprada/Cōpra	To/E/CBN/CV
Conpridamente (completely)	Conpdamēte	T
Comprimento (length)	Cōprimto	To
Comprar/Comprir/Comprido/ Comprisse/Comprida/Comprida/ Conpria/Conprian/Conpriron/ Conprindo (to fulfill/fulfilled/long/ fulfilled/fulfilled/fulfilled/they fulfilled/fulfilling)	Cōprir/Cōprido/Cōprisse/ Cōprida/Cōprian/ Cōpriā/ Conprirō/Conprido/Cōprindo	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Comunal (communal)	Com <u>ñ</u> al	T
Combatian/Combatian/Combater (they fought/to fight)	Cõbatiã/Conbatiã/Cõbater	To
Conbooças (uproars)	Cõbooças	To/E
Conca (shell)	Cõca	CBN/CV
Conceber/Concebiste (to conceive/you conceived)	Cõceber/Cõcebiste	To/E
Concelho/Conselho/Conselhado/Conselhar/Conselho/Consselho/Consello/Conçello/Consellou/Consellada/Conçelas (council/advice/advised/to advise/council/advice/advised/advised/advice)	Cõcelho/Cõselho/Cõsselho/Cõselhado/ Cõsellar/ Cõsselho/Cõsell/ Cõssello/ Cõcello/ Cõsellou/ Cõsellada/ Cõçelas	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Conde (count)	Cõde	To/E
Confiando (trusting)	Cõfiãdo	To
Confessor/Confisson (confessor/confession)	Cõfessor/Cõfisson/ɔfissõ/ Cõfissõ	To/T/E
Congeyto (concept)	Cõgeyto	To/E
Conjur/Conjurar (oath/to swear)	Cõjur/Cõjurar	To/E
Conmigo (with me)	Cõmigo	CBN/CV
Compostela (Compostela)	Cõpostela	T/E
Conqueiro (quarrier)	Cõqueiro	T
Conquerer/Querian/Queren (to conquer/they wanted/they want)	Cõquerer/Queria/Querẽ	To/E/CV
Consagrando (consecrating)	Consagrâdo	To
Consentir (to consent)	Cõsentir/Cõsêitir/Cõssentiu	To/T/E/CA
Consigo/Conssigo (with him/her/with oneself)	Cõssigo	To/T
Conta/Contar/Contarei/Contado/Contada/Contou/Contei/Contando/Contaron (account/to count/I will count/count/count/counting/they counted)	Cõda/Cõtar/Cõtarei/Cõtado/ Cõtada/Cõtou/Cõtei/ Contão/Cõtão/Contarõ/ Cõtaron	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Contangem (counting)	Cõtangẽ	CBN/CV
Conceceu/Conteceu (happened)	Cõteceu/Cõteceu	To
Contenda/Contende/Contender (contention/contend/to contend)	Cõtêda/Cõtêde/Cõtender	To/T
Contenente (continent)	Contenẽte/Cõtenẽte	To/T/E
Contigo (with you)	Cõtigo	E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Contra (against)	Cõtra	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Contreitos (contracts)	Cõtreitos	E
Convém/Conven (suits/they agree)	Cõvẽ/Gvẽ/Cõven/Convẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Convento (convent)	Convõto/Cõvento/Cõvõto	To/T/E
Converteu (he/she converted)	Cõver teu	To
Converria (would convert)	Cõverria	E
Convidei (I invited)	Cõvidey	CBN
Convosco (with you all)	Cõvosco/Cõ vosco	To/CBN/CV
Coraçom/Coraçon (heart)	Coraçõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Cordovan (Cordoba leather)	Cordovã	To/E
Correndo (running)	Corrẽdo	To/T/E
Corriam-nos (they ran from us)	Corriãnos	CBN/CV
Costantinoble (Constantinople)	Costätinoble	To
Cousimentos (sewings/stitchings)	Cousimẽtos	E
Cozian (they cooked)	Coziã	E
Crerizon (belief)	Crerizõ	To/T/E
Creveron (they believed)	Creverõ	To
Crian (they create)	Criã	To
Crucifigavan (they crucified)	Crucifigavã	E
Dalend'e (going up/from above)	Dalẽde	T
Dam/Dan (they give)	Dã	E/CBN
Dand' (giving)	Dãd	To
Daquém (from here)	Daquẽ	CBN
Daren (they gave)	Darẽ	To/E
Davam/Davan (they gave/they used to give)	Davã	To/T/E/CBN
Dayan (they give)	Dayã	E
Decende/Decender (descends/to descend)	Decẽde/Decẽder	To/T/E
Defender/Defender/Defendendo/Defende/Defendeu/Defendudas/Defendia/Defenda/Deffende (to defend/defending/defends/defended/defended/defending/defend)	Defẽder/Defendẽdo/Defẽde/Defẽdeu/Defẽdudas/Defẽdia/Defẽda/Defẽde	To/T/E
Deitavam/Deitaron (they laid down/they threw down)	Deitavã/Deitarõ	To/T/CBN/CV
Dem (they give)	Dẽ	CBN
Demandado (demanded)	Demãdado	CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Demandar/Demandas/Demandei/ Demandaredes/Demandades/ Demande/Demandava (to demand/ demands/I demanded/you will demand/you demand/demanded/was demanding)	Demādar/Demādas/Demādey/ Demādaredes/ Demādades/ Demāde/Demādava	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Demoniados (possessed by demons)	Demōyados	E
Demorança (delay)	Demorāça	To/T/E
Demostrança (demonstration)	Demostrāça	To/E
Denteira (toothache)	Dēteira	To
Dentes (teeth)	Dētes	To/T/E
Dentro (inside)	Dētro	To/T/E
Dēostavan (they distanced themselves)	Dēostavā	E
Departiment' (division)	Departimēt	To/E
Derranjaron (they damaged)	Derrājaron	To
Derom/Deron (they gave)	Derō	To/E/CBN/CV
Desamparado/Desamparar/ Desanpara (abandoned/to abandon/ abandons)	Desāpado/Desāparar/ Desāpara	To/CA
Desavém (it disagrees)	Desavē	CBN
Descomungou/Escumungado/ Comungar/Escumungou/ Comungada/Comungue/ Comungó/Comungou/Comuyon (excommunicated/excommunicated/ to commune/communed/ communed)	Descomūgou/Scomūgado/ Comūgar/Escomūgou/ Comūgada/Comūgue/ Comūgo/Comūgou/ Comūyō/ Comuyō	To/T/E
Desdém/Desden (disdain)	Desdē	To/E/CBN/CV
Despende/Despendudo/Despender/ Despenda (spends/spent/to spend/ spend)	Despēde/Despēdudo/ Despēder/Despēda	To/T/E
Detém (he/she/it holds)	Detē	CBN
Deven (they owe)	Devē	To/E
Devoçon (devotion)	Devoçō	To/T/E
Digam/Disserom/Disseron (they say/they said/they said)	Digā/Diserō/Disserō	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Dizem/Dizen/Dizendo/Diziam/ Dizian/Dirán (they say/saying/they were saying/will say)	Dizē/Dizēdo/Diziā/Dirā	To/T/E/CBN/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira et al. (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Doaçom (donation)	Doacõ	CBN
Doente (sick person)	Doëte	To
Dom/Don (lord/master)	Dõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Dona (lady)	Doã	CV
Donzela/Donzelas/Donzel (maiden/ maidens/youth)	Dõçela/Dõzelas/Dõzel	To/T/E
Dormian/Dormindo (they slept/ sleeping)	Dormiã/Dormido	To/E
Dultança (sadness)	Dultâça	To/T/E
Dun (from one/of one)	Dü	To/T/E
Duzentas/Duzentos (two hundred)	Duzêtas/Duzêtos	To/E
Em/En (in/on)	Ê	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Embiigo (navel)	Ê biigo	CBN
Emenda/Emende (amendment/ amend)	Emëda/Emëde	To/E
Emente/Ementades/Ementando (thinking/thoughts/thinking)	Emëte/Emëtades/Emëtando/ Êmëtando	To/T/E
Emperador (emperor)	Êperador	CBN
Enadendo (adding)	Êadendo	T/E
Encantador (enchanter/charming)	Encâtador	To/T/E
Encender/Encendudo (to light/lit)	Encëder/Encëdudo	To/T/E
Enchara/M'enchal (he/she entered/I entered)	Êchara/Mëchal	To/T/E
Encolleran (they shrank)	Êcollerã	E
Encomendado/Encomendedes/ Encomendar (entrusted/you entrust/ to entrust)	Êcomëdado/ Êcomendado/ Encomëdedes/Encomëdar	To/CBN
Encreus (they crucified)	Êcreus	T/E
Ende (from there)	Êde	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Enfadado (angry)	Êffadado	CBN
Enfermidade (illness)	Êfermidade	To
Esfurtando (exerting/forcing)	Esfurtädo	T
Enganada/Enganador/Enganar (deceived/deceiver/to deceive)	Êganada/Êganador/Êganr	E/CBN/CV
Enmanguados (weakened)	Êmanguados	CBN/CV
Enmendo (I amend)	Enmëdo	CV
Enmentar (to remind)	Enmëtar/Êmentar	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Enmentavam (they were remembering)	Enmētavā	CBN/CV
Enpeençer (to hinder)	Êpeençer	To
Enquanto (while)	Enqāto/Êquant/Enquāto	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ensandeceu (he/she went mad)	Ensādeceu	T/E
Ensserrar (to enclose)	Êsserrar	E
Enssinamento (teaching)	Enssinamēto	T
Entanto (meanwhile)	Entāto	CBN
Entençar (to intend)	Êtenzar	CV
Entençom (intention)	Entēçō/Entēçon	CBN/CV
Entendem (they understand)	Êtendem	CBN
Entender/Entende/Entendeu/ Entendia/Entendo/Entendede/ Entendedes/Entendudo/Entendiste/ Entendedor/Entendendo (to understand/ understands/understood/was understanding/I understand/ understand/you understand/ understood/you understood/ understander/understanding)	Entēder/Entēde/Êtēde/Êtēnd/ Entēdeu/Entēdia/ Entēdo/ Entēdede/Êtēdedes/Entēdudo/ Entēdis te/ Entēdedor/ Entēdendo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Entendiment' em/Entendimento (understanding)	Entēdimētē/Etēdimēten/ Entendimēto	To/CBN/CV
Entom/Enton/Entonçē (then/then/therefore)	Entō/Êtō/Êton	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Entra/Entrada/Entrara/Entrar/ Entrou/Entraron (enters/entrance/entered/to enter/entered/they entered)	Êtra/Êtrada/Êtrara/Êtrar/ Êtrou/Entrarō/Êtraron	To/T/E/CBN
Entravan (they were entering)	Entravā	E
Envejas (envies)	Êvejas	To/T/E
Envergonnada (ashamed)	Êvergonnada	To
Eran (they were)	Erā	To/E
Errança (wandering)	Errāça	To/T
Erraran (they wandered)	Errarā	E
Escanta/Escantaçōn (enchants/enchantment)	Escāta/Escātaçō/Escantaçō	To/T/E/CBN
Escarmento/Escarmentarām (punishment/they will punish)	Escarmēto/Escarmētarān/ Escarmentarā	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Espadarrom (sword strike)	Espadarrō	CBN/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Espanto/Espantar/Espantosa/ Espantado/Espantados/Espantedes/ Espantosos (fear/to frighten/fearful/ frightened/frightened/frighten/ fearful)	Espāto/Espātar/Espātosa/ Espātado/Espātados/ Espātedes/Espātosos	To/T/E
Estando/Estan (being/they are)	Estādo/Estā	To/T/E
Estavan (they were)	Estavā	To/T/E/CB/CV
Estevan/Estēvam (Proper Noun)	Estevā/Stevā	To/T/E/CB/CV
Estendudo (extended)	Estēdudo	To/T
Estrebeirando (shaking)	Estrebeirādo	CV
Evangelisteiro (evangelist)	Evāglisteiro	E
Faiçon (fashion/style)	Faiçō	To
Falarám (they will speak)	Falarā	CB/CV
Falimento (failure)	Falimēto	E
Falssament' (untruly)	Falssamēt	To/T/E
Farcilhom (easiness)	Farcilhō	CB/CV
Fazem/Fazen/Fazian/Façan/Faram (they do/they make/they were doing/they do/they did)	Fazē/Faziā/Façā/Farā	To/E/CB/CV
Fazenda/Fazendo/Afazendada (estate/doing/furnished)	Fazēda/Fazēdo/Afazēdada	To/T/E/CB/CV
Felon (traitor/villain)	Felō	To/E
Femença (faith)	Femēça	E
Fende/Fendudas (splits/split)	Fēde/Fēdudas	To/E
Feramente (gravely, seriously)	Fera mēte	To/T/E
Fernam (Fernando/Ferdinand)	Ffernā	CV
Fernand' (Fernando/Ferdinand)	Ffnād	CB/CV
Fezerem/Fezerom/Fezeron/ Fezessen/Fezeran/Desfezeron (they made/they did/they did/they had done/they would do/they undid)	Fezerē/Fezerō/Fezessē/ Fezerā/Desfezeron	To/T/E/CB/CV
Fiança (trust)	Fiāça	To
Fillaron (they filled)	Fillarō	To
Fin (end)	Fī	To
Foam (Proper Noun)	Foā	CB
Folgaren (they enjoyed)	Folgarē	To/E
Fondas/Fond'/Fondamentos (foundations/bases)	Fōdas/Fōd/Fondamētos/ Fōdamtos	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Fonte (fountain)	Fõte	To/E
Foram/Foran/Foron/Forom/Forem (they were/they were/they were/they went)	Forã/Forõ/Forẽ	To/T/E/CA/CV
Fossen (they were)	Fossẽ	To/T/E
Fran (France)	Frã	To/E
França (France)	Frãça	To
Francamente (frankly)	Francamẽte/Frãcamente	To/T/E
Frangisti (you broke)	Frãgisti	To/E
Franqu' (free)	Frãqu	To
Fremosament' (beautifully)	Fremosamẽt	CBN
Froiam (Proper Name)	Froiã	CBN/CV
Fronte (forehead)	Frõte	To
Gabança (boast)	Gabãça	To
Gafeen (leprosy)	Gafeẽ	E
Garçon (servant)	Garçõ	T
Garganta (throat)	Gargãta	To
Garvança (pride/arrogance)	Garvãca	To/T/E
Gemendo (moaning)	Gemẽdo	T/E
Gente/Gentes (people)	Gẽte/Gẽtes	To/T/E/CBN/CV
German (German)	Germã	To
Governavan (they governed)	Governavã	To/T/E
Gram/Gran (great)	Grã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Grande/Grandes (great/greats)	Grãde/Grãdes	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Gualardon/Galardon (reward)	Gualardõ/Galardõ	To/E
Guardavan/Guardando (they kept/keeping)	Guardavã/Guardãdo	To/E
Guareçessen (they would protect)	Greçessẽ	E
Ham/An (they have)	Ã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Hermitan (hermit)	Hmitã	E
Homem (man)	Homẽ	CBN
Iguança (likeness)	Iguãça	T
Infançom/Infançon (child)	Infãçõ/Infançõ/Ifançõ/Ifãçon	To/T/E/CV
Iram (they will go)	Irã	CBN/CV
Jaiam (they lie down)	Jaiã	CBN/CV
Jantar/Jante/Jantaren (to dine/dines/they will dine)	Jãtar/Jãte/Jantarẽ/Jãtarẽ	To/E/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Jazendo (lying down/resting)	Jazēdo	To/E
Jherusalen (Jerusalem)	Jherusalē	E
Joam (John)	Joā/Johā	CBN/CV
Jogavan/Jogaren (they played/they will play)	Jogavā/Jogarē	To/T/E
Julguem/Julgando (they judge/judging)	Julguē/Julgādo	To/CBN/CV
Juntados/Juntar/Juntou/Juntada/Juntassen/Juntam-s' (gathered/to gather/gathered/gathered/would gather/gather themselves)	Jūtados/Jūtar/Jūtou/Jūtada/Jūtassē/Jūtas	To/E/CV
Ladron (thief)	Ladrō	To/T/E
Lança/Lançar/Lançada/Lançadas (spear/to throw/thrown/thrown (plural))	Lâça/Lâçar/Lâçada/Lâçadas	To/T/E/CBN
Latin (Latin)	Latī	To
Leixaron (they left)	Leixarō	E
Leon (Lion/Leon)	Leō	To/T
Levam/Levavan/Levaron/Levarán (they take/they were taking/they took/they will take)	Levā/Levavā/Levarō/Levarā	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Levantei/Levantou/Levantava/Levantar/Levantarás (I raised/raised/was raising/to raise/you will raise)	Levātey/Levātou/Levātava/Levātar/Levātaras	To/T/E/CA
Lidarom/Lidando (they struggled/struggling)	Lidarō/Lidādo	To/CV
Lijon (Logroño)	Lijō	T/E
Lingua (language/tongue)	Līgua	To
Loavan (they praised)	Loavā	To/E
Longe/Perlongada/Delongada (far/elongated/delayed)	Lōge/Plōgada/Delōgada	To/T/E
Longos (long (plural))	Lōgos	CV
Lorigom (armor/cuirass)	Lorigō	CBN/CV
Maenfestada/Maenfesto (manifested/manifest)	Maēfestada/Māesto	T
Maison (mansion/household)	Maisō	CBN
Malandança (bad luck/misfortune)	Malandāça	To/T
Malestança (illness/misfortune)	Malestāça	To

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Man (hand)	Mã	T/E
Manaman (they command)	Manamã	E
Manceba/Mancebas/Mancebos (mistress/mistresses/young men)	Mâceba/Mâcebas/Mâcebos	To/CBN
Mandado/Mandados (order/orders)	Mâdado/Mâdados	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Mandamentos/Mandamento (commandments/commandment)	Mâdamëtos/Mâdamento	To/E
Mandasse/Manda/Mandou/ Mandade/Mandastes/Mando/ Mandó/Mandar/Mandava/ Mandara/Mandaron (would command/commands/commanded/ commanded/you commanded/I command/to command/was commanding/commanded/they commanded)	Mâdasse/Mâda/Mâdou/ Mâdade/Mâdastes/Mâdo/ Mâdar/Mâdava/Mâdara/ Mâdarð/Mandarð	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Manga (sleeve)	Mâga	E
M'anpar (protect me)	Mâpar	To/T/E
Mans'/Manss' (gentle)	Mâs/Mâss	To/E
Manten/Mantëer/Mantëendo (maintain/to maintain/maintaining)	Mâten/Mâtë/Mantë/Mâtëer/ Mâteendo	To/T/E
Mantenente (maintainer)	Mâtenëte/Mantenëte	To/T/E
M'ant'eu (I have myself)	Mâteu/Mâdeu	CBN/CV
Manto (cloak)	Mâto	To
Martin (Martin)	Martî	To
Matarom/Mataron/Mataren (they killed/they killed/they will kill)	Matarð/Matarë	To/T/E/CV
Menç' (I measure)	Mëte	CBN/CV
Medorentos (frightened)	Medorëtos	To/T/E
M'end'ir/M'end'eu (I go/I go myself)	Mëdir/Mëdeu	CA/CV
Mêngua/Mingua/Menguar/ Menguada/Menguass' (lack/to lack/ lacking/diminished/lacked)	Mëgu/Mîgu/Mëguar/ Mëgda/Mëguas	To/E/CBN/CV
Mente/Mentes/Mentir/Mentira/ Mentiss'a/Mentiria/Mentiral/ Mentirosa (mind/minds/to lie/lie/ lied/would lie/lied/liar (feminine))	Mëte/Mëtes/Mëtir/Mëtira/ Mëtissa/Mëtiria/ Mëtiral/ Mëtirosa	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ment'haviam (they had lied)	Mëtavyã	CBN/CV
Mentir (to lie)	Mëtir	E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Mentr'/Mentre (while)	Mētr	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
M'enviou/Enviou/Enviava/Enviada/Envian (he sent me/sent/was sending/sent/they send)	Mēviou/Ēviou/Ēviava/Ēviada/Enviā	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Merchandias (merchandise)	Merchādias	To/T
Merecimentos (merits)	Merecimētos	E
Merende (I snack)	Merēde	To/T
Meteron/Meteran/Metendo (they put/will put/putting)	Meterō/Meterā/Metēdo	To/T/E
Mezcraron (they mixed)	Mezcrarō	To/T/E
M'ham (they have me)	Mā	CBN/CV
Mim/Min (me)	Mī	E/CA/CBN/CV
Minerva (Minerva)	Mīerva	E
Monge/Monge/Monger/Monja/ Monjas/Monje/Monjes (monk/nun/nuns/monk/monks)	Mōge/Mōges/Mōger/Mōja/ Mōjas/Mōje/Mōjes	To/T/E
Monpisler (Montpellier)	Mōpisler	To/E
Monssarrad/Montsarrat (Montserrat)	Mōssarrad/Mōssarrat	To/E
Monte/Montes/Montesas (mountain/mountains/mountainous)	Mōte/Mōtes/Mōtesas	To/T/E
Morança/Morand' (dwelling/living)	Morāça/Morād	To/T
Morressen/Morreron (they will die/they died)	Morressē/Morrerō	T/E
Mostraron (they showed)	Mostrarō	E
Moveron/Movian (they moved/they were moving)	Moverō/Moviā	E
Mugindo (mooing)	Mugīdo	To
Mundo (world)	Mūdo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nenllur (neither there)	Nēllur	To/T/E
Nem/Nen (nor)	Nē	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nembrar/Nembrar/Nembra/Nenbra/ Nembre/Nembro/Nembros/ Nenbrou/Nembrasse/Nembrardes (to remember/remembered/ remembrance/memories/they remembered/you remembered)	Nēbrar/Nēbra/Nēbre/Nēbro/ Nēbros/Nēbrou/ Nēbrasse/ Nēbrardes	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nen'as/Neno (nor the/nor one)	Nē as/Nēo	T/CBN
Niente (nothing)	Miēte	To/E
Niun (none)	Niū	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Ningūa (none)	Nīgūa	E
Nom/Non (not/no)	Nō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Num (in a)	Nū	CBN
Nunca (never)	Nūca	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Obediente (obedient)	Obediēte	To
Obrando/Obridança (working/work)	Obrādo/Obridāça	To/E
Ocajon (occasion)	Ocajō	To/T
Offerenda/Offereçon/Offereran/ Offrendas (offering/offered/they offered/offerings)	Offerēda/Ofereçō/Offererā/ Ofrēdas	To/E
Oitocentos (eight hundred)	Oitocētos	To/E
Omagen (image)	Omagē	To/T/E
Omildança (humility)	Omildāça	To/E
Onde (where)	Ōde	To/CBN
Onguento (ointment)	Onguēto	To/E
Onrrada/Desonrra/Onrradamente/ Onrra (honored/dishonor/honorably/ honor)	Ōrrada/Dessōra/Onrradamēte/ Ōrra	To/T/E
Oraçon (prayer)	Oraçō	To/E
Orden/Ordin (order/ordinance)	Ordē/Ordī	To/E
Osmança (arrogance)	Osmāça	To
Ouriēt' (Orient)	Ouriēt	To
Ousavan/Ousaron (they dared/they dared)	Ousavā/Ousarō	To/T/E
Ouveran/Ouveron/Ouvessen/ Jouvessen/Houveram (they had/they had/they would have/they would have/they had)	Ouverā/Ouverō/Ouvessē/ Jouvessē	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Outrem (another)	Outrē	CBN/CV
Oyron/Oiron (they heard)	Oyrō/Oirō	To/T/E
Pam/Pan (bread)	Pā	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Pança (belly)	Pāça	To
Paravan (they stopped)	Paravā	To
Parentes (relatives)	Parētes	To/T/E
Partiron (they departed)	Partirō	E
Passavan (they were passing)	Passavā	To/T/E
Paxon (passion)	Paxō	T/E
Peagem (toll)	Peagē	CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira et al. (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Peavan (they asked)	Peavã	E
Peccando (sinning)	Pecâdo	To
Pediron (they asked)	Pedirõ	E
Pêedença (repentance)	Pêedêça	To/E
Pende (hangs)	Pêde	CBN
Pendom (hanging)	Pêdon	CBN
Pensando/Pensamos/Pensastes/ Pensamentos/Pensesdes/Pensava (thinking/we think/you thought/ thoughts/you think/were thinking)	Pêssâdo/Pêssamos/Pêssastes/ Penssamëtos/ Pêssamt/ Pêsedes/Pêsvava	To/T/E
Peom/Peon (laborer/peasant)	Peõ	To/CV
Perderom (they lost)	Perderõ	CBN
Perdian'a (they lost her/it)	Perdiâna	CBN/CV
Perdimento (loss)	Perdimëto	E
Perdom/Perdon (forgiveness/ pardon)	Pdõ/Perdõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Pintada/Pintar/Pintor/Pintava/ Pintando (painted/to paint/painter/ was painting/painting)	Pítada/Pítar/Pítor/Pítava/ Pítando	To/T/E
Pinzel (brush)	Pízel	To
Poderon/Podian/Podessen/Pode-l-an (they could/they could/would be able/they can have it)	Poderõ/Podiã/Podessõ/Podelã	To/T/E
Ponç' (Proper Noun)	Põçê	To/E
Ponto (point)	Põto	To
Por em/Por en/Poren/Porende (to put in/to put in/therefore/henceforth)	Porẽ/Porëde	To/T/E/CA/CV
Porrám (they will put)	Porrã	CBN
Poseron/Poseran (they placed/they will place)	Poserõ/Poserã	To
Pousavam/Pousavan (they rested/ they rested)	Pousavã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Pram/Pran (for me/for him/her/it)	Prã	T/E/CBN/CV
Prazen (pleases)	Prazê	To
Prazenteares (offerings/presents)	Pzëteares	CV
Prebenda (benefice)	Pbëda	E
Preguntar/Preguntei/Preguntou/ Preguntaron/Preguntando/ Preguntarám (to ask/I asked/asked/ they asked/asking/they will ask)	Pregütar/Pgütæi/Pregütou/ Pregütarõ/Preguntarõ/ Preguntädo/Pregütando/ Pgütarã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Prender/Prendia/Prende/Prenderias/ Prendades/Prendian (to take/was taking/takes/you would take/you take/they take)	Prēder/Prēdia/Prēde/ Prēderias/Prēdades/Prēdian	To/T/E
Prijon (prison)	Prijō	To
Provaron (they proved)	Pvarō	To/E
Provezendo (providing)	Provezēdo	To
Punnavan (they put)	Punnāvā	E
Quando (when)	Quādo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quanto/Quantos/Quantas/Quanta (how much/how many (masculine/feminine)/how much (feminine singular))	Quāto/Quātos/Quātas/Quāta	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quaraenta (forty)	Quaraēta	To
Quebranto/Quebranta (curse)	Quebrāto/Quebrāta	To/T/E
Quedavan (they stayed)	Quedavā	E
Queimaron/Queimando (they burned/burning)	Queimarō/Qimādo	To/E
Quem/Quen (who/who)	Quē	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quintāa (manor)	Quītāa	T
Quiseran/Quiseron (they would want/they wanted)	Quiserā/Quiserō	T/E
Quitassen (they would take away)	Qtasē	E
Rança (lineage)	Rāça	To/E
Randon (random)	Randō	To
Razom/Razon/Raçon (reason)	Razō/Rrazō/Raçō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Recende (sends back/spreads)	Recēde	T/E
Recessiundo (Proper Noun)	Recessiūdo	To
Reimund' (Raymond)	Reimūd	To
Rem/Ren (thing/object)	Rē/Rrē	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Render/Rendesse/Rende/Rendudas (to yield/would yield/yields/yielded)	Rēder/Rēdesse/Rēde/Rēdudas	To/T/E
Renenbrança (remembrance)	Renēbrāça/Renēbraça/ Renenbrāça/Renēbrança	To/T
Repentiu/Repentindo/Repentuda/ Repentiron (he repented/repenting/repented/they repented)	Repētiu/Repētīdo/Repentīdo/ Repētuda/ Repentirō	To/T/E
Resprandecer (to shine)	Resprādecer	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Responder/Respondia/Responderán/ Responderon (to answer/was answering/they will answer/they answered)	Respôder/Respôdia/ Responderã/Respôderõ	To/T/E
Revolvendo (turning around)	Revolvêdo	To/T
Rezôaron (they prayed)	Rezôarõ	To
Roam (Proper Noun)	Roã	CBN/CV
Rogan/Rogaran/Rogaron/Rogando (they pray/they will pray/they prayed/praying)	Rogã/Rogarã/Rogarõ/Rogão	To/T/E
Ronper (to break)	Rõper	E
Roubaran/Roubassen (they stole/ they would steal)	Roubarã/Roubasẽ	To/E
Saberám/Saberan/Sabiam/Sabem/ Saben (they will know/they will know/they knew/they know)	Ssaberã/Saberã/Sabiã/Sabẽ	T/E/CBN/CV
Sacam (they take out)	Sacã	CBN
Sam/San (Saint)	Sã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Sairom/Sayron (they left)	Sairõ	T/CBN/CV
Salvaçon (salvation)	Salvaçõ	E
Salvamento (rescue)	Salvamẽte	To/E
Sancristan (sacristan)	Sacristã	T
Sandeu/Sandeus/Sandece/Sandeces/ Sandias/Sandez (foolish/fools/ foolishness)	Sâdeu/Sâdeus/Sâdece/ Sâdeces/Sâdias/Sâdez	To/T/E
Sangui (blood)	Sâgue/Sâgui	To
Santa/Santos/Santidade (saint/ saints/holiness)	Sâta/Sâtos/Sâtidade	To/T/E
Sangoet' (bloody)	Sangoët	To
Sazom/Sazon (season/time)	Sazõ/Ssazõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Seendo/Seeren (being)	Seëdo/Seerẽ	To/T
Segundo (second/according to)	Segûdo	To/T/E
Seixon/Seixons (Proper Noun)	Seixõ/Seixõs	To/E
Sejan (they are)	Sejã	To/E
Selegom (selection)	Selegõ	CBN/CV
Sem/Sen (without/without)	Sẽ/Ssẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Semellança (resemblance)	Semellãça	To
Semelharám (they will resemble)	Ssemalharã	CBN

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Sempre/Senpre (always)	Sēpre	To/T/E/CBN
Senbrança (similarity)	Senbrāça	To/E
Senlleira/Senlleiro (unique/singular)	Sēlleira/Sēlleiro	T/E
Senom/Senon/Se non (but/except/not only)	Senō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ssenor (lord/master)	Sēnor	To/E
Sentença (sentence/judgment)	Sentēça	T/E
Sentiron/Sentiu/Sentian/Sente/Sentia (they felt/felt/they were feeling/feels/was feeling)	Sentirō/Sētiu/Sentiā/Sētiā/Sēte/Sētia	To/T/E
Sergente/Sergentes (sergeant/sergeants)	Sergēte/Sergētes	To/E
Sermon (sermon)	Sermō	To/T/E
Servand' (Proper Noun)	Servād	CBN
Servente (servant)	Servēte	To
Servian (they served)	Serviā	E
Siian (they were)	Siiā	To/E
Simiom (Proper Noun)	Sunhō	CBN
Singravan/Singraron (they sailed/they sailed)	Singravā/Singrarō/Sīgrōn	To/T/E
Sofrian/Sofrendo/Soffreron (they suffered/suffering/they suffered)	Sofriā/Sofrēdo/Sofrerō	To/E
Soíam/Soyan (they used to be)	Soyā	To/CBN/CV
Solament' (only/solely)	Solamēt	To
Soldan (sultan)	Soldā	To/T/E
Som/Son/Soon (they are)	Sō/Soō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Soterrassen (they buried)	Soterrassē	To
Souberem/Soubessen/Souberon (they knew/they would know/they knew)	Souberē/Soubessē/Souberō	To/T/E/CA
Syon (Zion)	Siō	To
Talan (body shape)	Talā	To/T/E
Talente (desire/will)	Talēte	T
Tam/Tan (so much/such)	Tā	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Também (also)	Tam bē/Tā bē	CBN/CV
Tanger/Tangeu (to play/played (an instrument))	Tāger/Tāgeu	To/T/E

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Tanto/Tantos/Tantas (so much/so many (masculine/feminine))	Tāto/Tātos/Tātas	To/T/CA/CBN/CV
Tardança (delay)	Tardāça	T
Tem/Tem/Têm (he has/they have)	Tē/Teē	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Tempo/Tenpo	Tēpo	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Tempestades (time/storms)	Tēpestades	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Tençom (intention)	Tençō/Tēçom/Tēçō	CBN/CV
Tenham (they have)	Tenhā	CBN/CV
Tentaçōn/Tentaçōes (temptation/temptations)	Tentaçō/Tēptacōes	To/E
Tentada/Tentando (tempted/tempting)	Tētada/Tēdando	To
Tentanda/Tendudo/Tendudas/ Tendeu (being tempted/extended/ extended/planted)	Tētada/Tēdudo/Tēdudas/ Tēdeu	To/T/E
Terram/Terrám (they will have)	Terrā/Derrā	CBN/CV
Testamento (testament)	Testamēto	To/T
Teveron/Deteveron (they had/they detained)	Teverō/Deteverō	To/E
Tinham-nos (they had us)	Tinhānos	CBN/CV
Tintor (dyer)	Tītor	T
Tomaran (they took)	Tomarā	T/E
Tomba (tomb)	Tōba	To
Tormenta/Atormentada (storm/ tormented)	Tormēta/Atormētada	To/E
Tornarom/Tornaron/Tornado (they returned/they returned/returning)	Tornarō/Tornādo	To/T/CBN/CV
Tosquiavam (they sheared)	Toquiavā	CBN
Tragiam/Tragian (they brought)	Tragiā	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Trayçon (treason)	Trayçō/Tiçō	To/E
Tremendo (trembling)	Tremēdo	To/E/CV
Trezentos (three hundred)	Trezētos	E
Trinta (thirty)	Trīta	To
Trompeiros (trumpeters)	Trōpeyros	CV
Trouxeron/Trouxeran (they brought/ they will bring)	Trouxerō/Trouxerā	To/T/E
Um/Un (one)	Hū/Ū/Huū/Ūu/Uū	T/E/CBN/CV
Valem (they are worth)	Valē	CBN/CV

Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)	Variation	Codices in which the variation was found
Vam/Van (they go)	Vã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Veerám/Veerom/Véeron/Véessen/Véeran/Veend'/Veen/Víian (they will see/they saw/they saw/they would see/they will see/seeing/they saw/they saw)	Veerã/Veherõ/Véerõ/Véessẽ/Véerã/Veđd/Veě/Víiā	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vem/Ven (he/she comes)	Vẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vence/Vencedor/Vencer/Vençer/Venceu/Vencisti/Vençudos/Vencia (wins/winner/to win/wins/won/you won/defeated/was winning)	Vêce/Vêcedor/Vêcer/Vêceu/Vêcisti/Vêçudos/ Vêcia	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vender/Venda/Vendudas/Vendera/Revende/Vendant (to sell/sale/sold/would sell/resell/they sold)	Vêder/Vêda/Vêdudas/Vêderá/Revêde/Vêdian	To/T/E/CBN
Vento/Ventos (wind/winds)	Vêto/Vêtos	To/T/E
Ventura/Desaventurado/Benaventurada/Aventuradas/Aventuram (fortune/unfortunate/blessed/adventurous/they adventure)	Vêitura/Desavêturado/Bêavêtada/Bêavê turada/Avêturadas/Avêtãm	To/E/CBN/CV
Verdadeiramente (truly)	Vẽ dadeyramẽte	CBN/CV
Vermen (vermillion)	Vmẽ	To/T/E
Verram/Viran/Viron (they will see/they saw/they turned/they saw)	Verrã/Virã/Virõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vijon/Vyon (vision)	Vijõ/Vyjõ	To/T/E
Viltança (villainy)	Viltãça	To/E
Vim (I came)	Ví	CBN/CV
Vingar/Vingada/Vengar/Vingador/Vingado (to avenge/avenged/avenge/avenger/avenged)	Vigar/Vígada/Vêgar/Vígador/Vêgador/Vígado	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Vingança/Vengança (vengeance)	Vêgãça/Vígãça/Vêgança/Vengãça	To/T/E
Virem (they come)	Virẽ	CBN
Virgen (virgin)	Virgẽ/Vgẽ	To/T/E
Vison/Vision (vision)	Visõ/Visiõ	To/T/E
Vivend'/Vivessen (living/would live)	Vivêd/Vivessẽ	To/E
Voontade/Voontades (will/wills)	Voõtade/Voõtades	To/T/E
Vuitorom (Proper Noun)	Vuytorõ	CV
Xermentos (germs/shoots)	Xermẽtos	To/E
Yan (they went)	Yã	To/E

Source: Own elaboration