

## THE PHONOLOGICAL STATUS OF NASAL CONSONANTS IN ARCHAIC PORTUGUESE

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- **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).

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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/angêo* [angel]; *bôas/boas* [good ones]);
- Presence and absence of nasals (*iferno/inferno* [hell]; *tantos/tatos* [many]);
- Nasal element and tilde (*enquanto/enquãto* [while]; *comunal/comũal* [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 X<sup>1</sup> 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 Maria* (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:

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<sup>1</sup> 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 reformatory 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 editions<sup>2</sup> 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/.

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<sup>2</sup> 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*.

<m>	Beginning of word	Middle of word	End of word	Subtotal
Syllable onset	2,417	798	--- <sup>3</sup>	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*.

<n>	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.

<m>	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

<sup>3</sup> 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
<b>Subtotal</b>	1,674	5,016	5,399	<b>12,089</b>

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
<b>Subtotal</b>	6,506	3,338	2,681	<b>12,525</b>

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
<b>Subtotal</b>	2,838	6,425	5,409	<b>14,672</b>

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/senpre* [always]; *ombros/ombros* [shoulders]; *con/com* [with]).
2. Variation between nasal and tilde (*non/nõ* [no]; *cantares/cãtares* [songs]; *nembrar/nẽbrar* [to remember]; *comunal/comiãl* [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*<sup>4</sup> [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.

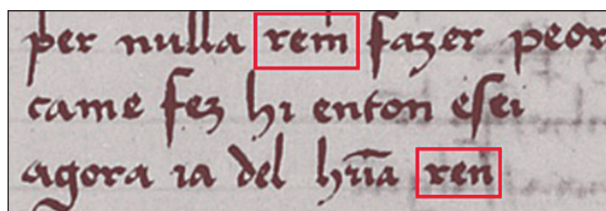
Furthermore, since *quenas/quemas* represents the combination of *quen* + article or pronoun *o/a*, the fact that the word is written as one unit is either coincidental or reflects the troubadour's intent to mark the prosodic subordination of *o/a* to *quen*. Consequently, it is not a single word but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

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<sup>4</sup> 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."

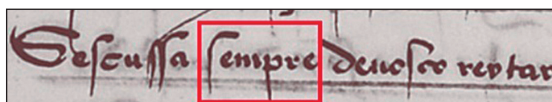
The other occurrences listed in Tables 1 and 2 pertain to cases where the nasal element is situated in coda environments. As shown, the variation between *m/n* in Archaic Portuguese texts affected both internal codas (*sempre* > *senpre* [always] and *senpre* > *sempre*) and final codas (*em* > *en* 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*<sup>5</sup> 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/rem* [thing] (*cantiga de amor* by João Soares de Somesso, *Já foi sazom que eu cuidei*)<sup>6</sup>



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

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



**Source:** Facsimile edition of the codex from the National Library of Lisbon – Colocci-Brancuti (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).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

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

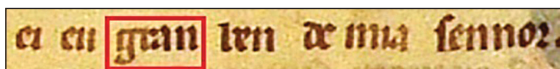
<sup>7</sup> Transcription of the verse, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *s'escusa sempre de vosco reitar?* [Does he always excuse themselves from going with you?]

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



**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).

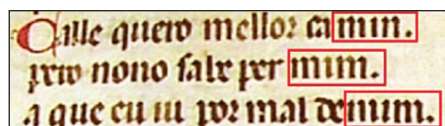
The graphical variation between the nasal consonants <m> and <n> in syllabic coda positions was highly recurrent in medieval songbooks. Instances of this variation were found in all the codices examined, and, as demonstrated, it occurred even within the same stanza of a *cantiga*. Given that the codices 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.

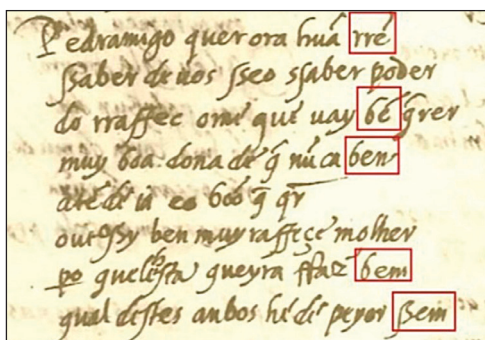
<sup>8</sup> Transcription of the verse, according to Lopes and Ferreira *et al.* (2011-): *hei eu gram bem de mia senhor*. [I have great love for my lady.]

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



**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 ãa 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 ãa rem* **A**  
(Pedro friend, I now want to ask something)  
*saber de vós, se o saber poder* **B**  
(to know from you, if you can answer)  
*do rafeç'home que vai bem querer* **B**  
(of the lowly man who truly loves)

<sup>9</sup> 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 bõo, 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 peor 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 *rrẽ*, *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*.

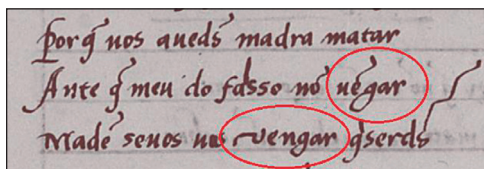
The other type of variation identified was Variation 2, which involves the alternation between the nasal consonants *m* or *n* and a tilde over the preceding vowel. In this case, the nasal segment is not graphically recorded, but the nasal quality is retained in the form of a diacritical mark over the 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*)<sup>10</sup>



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

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



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

**Figure 10** – Pguntãdo [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*, *mâtẽ*, and *mantẽ*. 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, *mâtẽ* in T, and *mantẽ* in E. Due to the frequency of

<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> 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):

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

(2)

Enadendo – Êadendo (T/E) [adding]  
Minerva – Mîerva (E) [Minerva]  
Comunal – Comũal (T) [communal]  
Demoniados – Demõyados (E) [possessed]  
Dona – Doã (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*)<sup>12</sup>



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

**Figure 12** – êadendo (*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 *êadendo*, *n* appeared in the second syllable of the word, following a syllable composed only of the vowel *e*; in the word *mîerva*, *n* was located in the second syllable, following a CV syllable ending in the vowel *i*; in *comũal*, *n* occupied the third syllable of the word, after a CV syllable ending in the vowel *u*; in *demõyados*, *n* was in the third syllable, following a CV syllable ending in the vowel *o*; and finally, in the word *doã*, *n* was situated in the last syllable, after a CV syllable ending in *o*. Moreover, in the word *doã* [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

<sup>12</sup> *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.

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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 CSM<sup>13</sup>

<b>Word in Mettmann (1986)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Aconpannada (accompanied by)	Acompannada	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/Canbiava	Toledo
Campãa (campaign)	Canpãa	Toledo
Comba (fight/battle)	Conba	Toledo
Combater (to fight)	Conbater	Toledo
Combatudo (fought)	Conbatudo	Toledo
Combooça (uproar/confusion)	Conbooça	Toledo
Companna (company)	Conpanna	Escorial Rico
Comprido (long)	Conprido	Escorial Rico/Toledo
Compri-lo (to fulfill it)	Conprilo	Toledo
Comprir (to fulfill)	Conpr	Escorial Rico
Compôer (to compose)	Conpôer	Toledo
Canbiar (to change)	Cambiar	Escorial Rico
Canbiou (changed)	Cambiou	Escorial Rico
Con (with)	Com	Escorial Músicos
Conbooças (confusions/uproars)	Combooças	Escorial Rico
Conpanna (company)	Companna	Escorial Rico
Conpania (company)	Compania	Escorial Rico
Conprada (purchased)	Comprada	Escorial Rico
Conpramos (we purchased)	Compramos	Escorial Rico
Conprian (they fulfilled)	Comprian	Escorial Rico
Desanparada (abandoned)	Desamparada	Escorial Rico
Dizian (they said)	Diziam	Escorial Músicos

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

<b>Word in Mettmann (1986)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Dominum (lord/master)	Dominun	Toledo
Dun (of one/from one)	Dum	Escorial Músicos
Emperador (emperor)	Enperador	Toledo
Emperadriz (empress)	Enpadriz	Escorial Rico
Enperadriz (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
Tenpo (time)	Tempo	Escorial Rico
Tonbar (to fall over)	Tombar	Escorial Rico

**Source:** Own elaboration

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

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

<b>Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Almazém (warehouse)	Almazén	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)	Carrion	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

<b>Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
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)	Enpnhasse	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



<b>Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
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)	Nenbre	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

<b>Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
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 Cantigas<sup>14</sup>**

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

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

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Adaman (manner)	Adamã	T
Afan/Affan (hardship/struggle)	Afã/Affã	To/T/E
Afondar (to sink)	Afôdar	E
Aguillon (spur)	Aguillô	To/E
Ajan (they find)	Ajã	To
Alçaron (they lifted)	Alçarô	E
Algodom (cotton)	Algodo	CBN
Alguém/Alguen (someone)	Alguê	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Algum/Algun (some)	Algü	To/E/CA/CBN/CV
Alifonso (Alfonso)	Alifôso	To
Almançor (Almanzor)	Almãçor	To/E
Alongar/Alongou (to extend/extended)	Alôgar/Alôgou	To/T/E
Amba-las/Ambos (both)	Ãbalas/Ãbos	To
Amen (amen)	Amê	T
Amparança (protection)	Amparãça	T
Amparar/Anparar/Anparados/Anparando (to protect/protected/protecting)	Ãparar/Âparados/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)	Ãdar/Ãdarei/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
Apoynham (they support)	Apoynhã	CBN/CV
Apousentar (to lodge)	Apousêtar	To
Aprendi (I learned)	Aprêdi	To/E
Aragom/Aragon (Aragon)	Aragô	To/CBN/CV
Arçom (arch)	Arçô	CBN/CV
Arento (greedy)	Arêto	E
Argen (silver)	Argê	E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Armenteira (pastoral woman)	Armêteira	To
Arrepentiu (he/she repented)	Arrepêtiu	To/T
Arriban (they rise)	Arribã	T
Asconder (to hide)	Ascôder	To/T/ECV
Asperança/Desasperança/Esperança (hope/despair/hope)	Asperãça/Desasperãça/Esperãça	To/E
Assanhem (they rage)	Assanhê	CV
Assavan (they baked)	Assavã	E
Atam/Atan (much)	Atã/A tã	To/T/E/CBN
Atambor/Atambores (drum/drums)	Atãbor/Atãbores	CV
Atanto (as much)	Atãto	To/E/CBN/CV
Ataron (they tied)	Atarõ	E
Atender/Atende/Atendia/Atendede/Atendemos/Atenden/Atendendo (to attend/he attends/was attending/attend/we attend/they attend/attending)	Atêder/Atêde/Atêdia/Atêdede/Atêdemos/ Atêden/Atêdêdo	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Atrevemento (boldness)	Atrevemêto	E
Auçom (elevation)	Aucõ	CBN/CV
Avam (they go forward)	Avã	CBN/CV
Avantalla/Avanto (advance)	Avâtalla/Avãto	To/E
Avém (they have)	Avê	CBN/CV
Avian (they had)	Aviã	To/T/E
Avondança/Avondamento (abundance/abundance)	Avondãça/Avõdança/Avondamêto/Avõdamento	To/T/E
Balança (scale)	Balãça	T
Bardom (saddle)	Bardõ	CBN/CV
Baron (baron)	Barõ	To/T
Bastimentos (supplies)	Bastimêtos	To/E
Baston (stick/staff)	Bastõ	To/T/E
Bem/Ben (well/good)	Bê	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Berengenha (eggplant)	Berêgenha	CBN/CV
Bevam/Beviam (they drink/they used to drink)	Bevã/Beviã	CBN/CV
Bevend' (drinking)	Bevêd	To
Bocin (small mouth)	Bocĩ	To
Bom/Bon (good)	Bõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Bondade/Bondades (goodness/kindnesses)	Bôdade/Bôdades	To/E
Branco/Branços/Brancura (white/whites/whiteness)	Brâco/Brâcos/Brâcura	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Brandind' (brandishing)	Brădîd	To
Branqu' (white)	Brâqu	To/T/E
Brevement' (briefly)	Brevemêť	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/Canbiou (changed/exchanger/changed)	Câbray/Câbiador/Câbiou	To/CBN
Candea/Candeads (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/Câtara/Câtava/Câtada/Câtos/Câtou/ Câtares/Cantarô/Câtarô/Cantarã/Câtavã/ Cantavã/Câtavan/Cantâdo/Cantã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Cantiga (song)	Câtiga	CBN
Capelam/Capelan (chaplain)	Capelã	E/CBN/CV
Capeyron (cape)	Capeirô	To/T
Carriom/Carrion (cart)	Carriô/Cairhõ	CBN
Carvon (coal)	Carvõ	T/E
Çen (hundred)	Çê	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)	Chamã/Chamavã/Chamãdo/Chamarô	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Chanto (cry)	Châto	To/T/E
Chegando/Chegaron (arriving/they arrived)	Chegãdo/Chegarô	To/T/E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Cheiravan (they used to smell)	Cheiravã	To/T/E
Chorando (crying)	Chorãdo	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Chorarám (they will cry)	Chorarã	CBN/CV
Cinco/Cinque (five)	Cïco/Cïque	To/T
Cint' (belt)	Cït	CBN
Clemenço (Clemency)	Clemêto	CBN
Cochom (pig/swine)	Cochô	CBN
Cofojon (coward)	Cofojô	E
Cofondudo (confounded)	Cofôdudo	To
Coidando/Cuidando/Cuidavan/ Cuidaron (caring/caring/they used to care/they cared)	Coydãdo/Cuidãdo/Cuidavã/ Cuidarô	To/T/E/CBN
Com/Con (with/with)	Cô	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Comendador/Comenda/Comendado/ Comendou/Comendo/Comenda (commander/commendation/ commended/commended/eating/ commendation)	Comêdador/Comêda/ Comêdado/Comêdou/ Comêdo/Comêda	To/T/E/CV
Començaron/Começaron (they began)	Começarô	To/E
Confortada (comforted)	Côfortada/Côffortada	To
Comian (they ate)	Comyã	E
Companhom (companion)	Côpanhon	CBN
Conpania (company)	Côpania/Opânia/Côpânia	To/T
Companha/Conpann' (company)	Côpanha/Côpann	To/TCV
Completas (complete)	Côpretas	To
Compõer (to compose)	Côpõer	To
Comprar/Comprei/Compr'o/ Comprados/Compramos/Comprou/ Conprada/Conpra (to buy/I bought/ bought/bought/we bought/bought/ purchased/purchase)	Côprar/Côprei/Côpro/ Côprados/Côpramos/ Côprou/ Côprada/Côpra	To/E/CBN/CV
Conpridamente (completely)	Conpdamête	T
Comprimento (length)	Côprimto	To
Comprir/Conprir/Comprido/ Comprisse/Comprida/Conprida/ Conpria/Conprian/Conpriron/ Conprindo (to fulfill/fulfilled/long/ fulfilled/fulfilled/fulfilled/they fulfilled/fulfilling)	Côprir/Côprido/Côprisse/ Côprida/Côprian/ Côpriã/ Conprirô/Conprîdo/Côprindo	To/T/E



<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Contra (against)	Côtra	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Contreitos (contracts)	Côtreitos	E
Convém/Conven (suits/they agree)	Cõvê/Gvê/Cõven/Convê	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Convento (convent)	Convêto/Cõvento/Cõvêto	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
Coração/Coraçon (heart)	Coraçõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Cordovan (Cordoba leather)	Cordovã	To/E
Correndo (running)	Corrêdo	To/T/E
Corriam-nos (they ran from us)	Corriãnos	CBN/CV
Constantinoble (Constantinople)	Costâtinoble	To
Cousimentos (sewings/stitchings)	Cousimêtos	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)	Dalêde	T
Dam/Dan (they give)	Dã	E/CBN
Dand' (giving)	Dãd	To
Daquém (from here)	Daquê	CBN
Daren (they gave)	Darê	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)	Decêde/Decêder	To/T/E
Defender/Deffender/Defendendo/Defende/Defendeu/Defendudas/Defendia/Defenda/Deffende (to defend/defending/defends/defended/defended/defending/defend)	Defêder/Defendêdo/Defêde/Defêdeu/Defêdudas/Defêdia/Defêda/Deffêde	To/T/E
Deitavam/Deitaron (they laid down/they threw down)	Deitavã/Deitarõ	To/T/CBN/CV
Dem (they give)	Dê	CBN
Demandado (demanded)	Demãdado	CV



<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Demandar/Demandas/Demandei/ Demandaredes/Demandades/ Demande/Demandava (to demand/ demands/I demanded/you will demand/you demand/demanded/was demanding)	Demãdar/Demãdas/Demãdey/ Demãdaredes/ Demãdades/ Demãde/Demãdava	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Demoniados (possessed by demons)	Demõyados	E
Demorança (delay)	Demorãça	To/T/E
Demostrança (demonstration)	Demostrãça	To/E
Denteira (toothache)	Dêteira	To
Dentes (teeth)	Dêtes	To/T/E
Dentro (inside)	Dêtro	To/T/E
Dêostavan (they distanced themselves)	Dêostavã	E
Departiment* (division)	Departimêt	To/E
Derranjaron (they damaged)	Derrãjaron	To
Derom/Deron (they gave)	Derõ	To/E/CBN/CV
Desamparado/Desamparar/ Desanpara (abandoned/to abandon/ abandons)	Desãpado/Desãparar/ Desãpara	To/CA
Desavém (it disagrees)	Desavê	CBN
Descomungou/Escomungado/ Comungar/Escomungou/ Comungada/Comungue/ Comungó/Comungou/Comuyon (excommunicated/excommunicated/ to commune/communed/ communed)	Descomũgou/Scomũgado/ Comũgar/Escomũgou/ Comũgada/Comũgue/ Comũgo/Comũgou/ Comũyõ/ Comuyõ	To/T/E
Desdém/Desden (disdain)	Desdê	To/E/CBN/CV
Despende/Despendudo/Despender/ Despenda (spends/spent/to spend/ spend)	Despêde/Despêdudo/ Despêder/Despêda	To/T/E
Detém (he/she/it holds)	Detê	CBN
Deven (they owe)	Devê	To/E
Devoçon (devotion)	Devoçõ	To/T/E
Digam/Disserom/Disseron (they say/they said/they said)	Digã/Diserõ/Disserõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Dizem/Dizen/Dizendo/Diziam/ Dizian/Dirân (they say/saying/they were saying/will say)	Dizê/Dizêdo/Diziã/Dirã	To/T/E/CBN/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Doaçom (donation)	Doacô	CBN
Doente (sick person)	Doête	To
Dom/Don (lord/master)	Dô	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Dona (lady)	Doã	CV
Donzela/Donzelas/Donzel (maiden/maidens/youth)	Dôçela/Dôzelas/Dôzel	To/T/E
Dormian/Dormindo (they slept/sleeping)	Dormiã/Dormîdo	To/E
Dultança (sadness)	Dultãça	To/T/E
Dun (from one/of one)	Dû	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)	Emêda/Emêde	To/E
Emente/Ementades/Ementando (thinking/thoughts/thinking)	Emête/Emêtades/Emêtando/Êmêtando	To/T/E
Emperador (emperor)	Êperador	CBN
Enadendo (adding)	Êadendo	T/E
Encantador (enchanter/charming)	Encâtador	To/T/E
Encender/Encendido (to light/lit)	Encêder/Encêdudo	To/T/E
Enchara/M'enchal (he/she entered/I entered)	Êchara/Mêchal	To/T/E
Encolleran (they shrank)	Êcollerã	E
Encomendado/Encomendedes/Encomendar (entrusted/you entrust/to entrust)	Êcomêdado/ Êcomendado/ Encomêdedes/Encomêdar	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)	Esfurtâdo	T
Enganada/Enganador/Enganar (deceived/deceiver/to deceive)	Êganada/Êganador/Êganr	E/CBN/CV
Enmanguados (weakened)	Êmanguados	CBN/CV
Enmendo (I amend)	Enmêdo	CV
Enmentar (to remind)	Enmêtar/Êmentar	To/T/E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Enmentavam (they were remembering)	Enmêtavã	CBN/CV
Enpeençer (to hinder)	Êpeençer	To
Enquanto (while)	Enqâto/Êquant/Enquâto	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ensandeceu (he/she went mad)	Ensâdeceu	T/E
Ensserrar (to enclose)	Êsserrar	E
Enssinamento (teaching)	Enssinamêto	T
Entanto (meanwhile)	Entâto	CBN
Entençar (to intend)	Êtenzar	CV
Entençom (intention)	Entêçô/Entêçon	CBN/CV
Entendem (they understand)	Êtendem	CBN
Entender/Entende/Entendeu/Entendia/Entendo/Entendede/Entededes/Entendudo/Entendiste/Entendedor/Entendendo (to understand/understands/understood/was understanding/I understand/understand/you understand/understood/you understood/understander/understanding)	Entêder/Entêde/Êtêde/Êtend/Entêdeu/Entêdia/ Entêdo/Entêdede/Êtêdedes/Entêdudo/Entêdis te/ Entêdedor/Entêdendo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Entendiment'em/Entendimento (understanding)	Entêdimêtê/Etendimêten/Entendimêto	To/CBN/CV
Entom/Enton/Entonçe (then/then/therefore)	Entô/Êtô/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/Entrarô/Êtraron	To/T/E/CBN
Entravan (they were entering)	Entravã	E
Envejas (envies)	Êvejas	To/T/E
Envergonnada (ashamed)	Êvergonnada	To
Eran (they were)	Erã	To/E
Errança (wandering)	Errâça	To/T
Erraran (they wandered)	Errarã	E
Escanta/Escantaçon (enchants/enchantment)	Escâta/Escâtaçô/Escantaçô	To/T/E/CBN
Escarmento/Escarmentarám (punishment/they will punish)	Escarmêto/Escarmêtaran/Escarmentarã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Espadarrom (sword strike)	Espadarrô	CBN/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Espanto/Espantar/Espantosa/ Espantado/Espantados/Espantados/ Espantosos (fear/to frighten/fearful/ frightened/frightened/frighten/ fearful)	Espãto/Espãtar/Espãtosa/ Espãtado/Espãtados/ Espãtedes/Espãtosos	To/T/E
Estando/Estan (being/they are)	Estãdo/Estã	To/T/E
Estavan (they were)	Estavã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Estevan/Estêvam (Proper Noun)	Estevã/Stevã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Estendudo (extended)	Estêdudo	To/T
Estrebeirando (shaking)	Estrebeirãdo	CV
Evangelisteiro (evangelist)	Evãglisteiro	E
Faiçon (fashion/style)	Faiçõ	To
Falarám (they will speak)	Falarã	CBN/CV
Falimento (failure)	Falimêto	E
Falssament' (untrue)	Falssamêt	To/T/E
Farcilhom (easiness)	Farcilhõ	CBN/CV
Fazem/Fazen/Fazian/Façan/Faram (they do/they make/they were doing/they do/they did)	Fazê/Faziã/Façã/Farã	To/E/CBN/CV
Fazenda/Fazendo/Afazendada (estate/doing/furnished)	Fazêda/Fazêdo/Afazêdada	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Felon (traitor/villain)	Felõ	To/E
Femença (faith)	Femêça	E
Fende/Fendudas (splits/split)	Fêde/Fêdudas	To/E
Feramente (gravely, seriously)	Fera mête	To/T/E
Fernam (Fernando/Ferdinand)	Ffernã	CV
Fernand' (Fernando/Ferdinand)	Ffnãd	CBN/CV
Fezerem/Fezerom/Fezeron/ Fezessen/Fezeran/Desfezeron (they made/they did/they did/they had done/they would do/they undid)	Fezerê/Fezerô/Fezessê/ Fezerã/Desfezeron	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Fiança (trust)	Fiãça	To
Fillaron (they filled)	Fillarõ	To
Fin (end)	Fĩ	To
Foam (Proper Noun)	Foã	CBN
Folgaren (they enjoyed)	Folgarê	To/E
Fondas/Fond'/Fondamentos (foundations/bases)	Fôdas/Fôd/Fondamêtos/ Fôdamtos	To/T/E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Fonte (fountain)	Fôte	To/E
Foram/Foran/Foron/Forom/Forem (they were/they were/they were/they went)	Forã/Forô/Forê	To/T/E/CA/CV
Fossen (they were)	Fossê	To/T/E
Fran (France)	Frã	To/E
França (France)	Frãça	To
Francamente (frankly)	Francamête/Frâcamente	To/T/E
Frangisti (you broke)	Frâgisti	To/E
Franqu' (free)	Frâqu	To
Fremosament' (beautifully)	Fremosamêt	CBN
Froiam (Proper Name)	Froiã	CBN/CV
Fronte (forehead)	Frôte	To
Gabança (boast)	Gabãça	To
Gafeen (leprosy)	Gafeê	E
Garçon (servant)	Garçô	T
Garganta (throat)	Gargãta	To
Garvança (pride/arrogance)	Garvãça	To/T/E
Gemendo (moaning)	Gemêdo	T/E
Gente/Gentes (people)	Gête/Gêtes	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)	Gualardô/Galardô	To/E
Guardavan/Guardando (they kept/keeping)	Guardavã/Guardãdo	To/E
Guareçessen (they would protect)	Greçessê	E
Ham/An (they have)	Ã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Hermitan (hermit)	Hmitã	E
Homem (man)	Homê	CBN
Iguança (likeness)	Iguãça	T
Infançom/Infançon (child)	Infãçô/Infançô/Ifançô/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/Jantarê/Jãtarê	To/E/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Jazendo (lying down/resting)	Jazêdo	To/E
Jherusalen (Jerusalem)	Jherusalê	E
Joam (John)	Joã/Johã	CBN/CV
Jogavan/Jogaren (they played/they will play)	Jogavã/Jogarê	To/T/E
Julguem/Julgando (they judge/judging)	Julguê/Julgãdo	To/CBN/CV
Juntados/Juntar/Juntou/Juntada/Juntassen/Juntam-s' (gathered/to gather/gathered/gathered/would gather/gather themselves)	Jûtados/Jûtar/Jûtou/Jûtada/Jûtassê/Jûtas	To/E/CV
Ladron (thief)	Ladrô	To/T/E
Lança/Lançar/Lançada/Lançadas (spear/to throw/thrown/throw (plural))	Lâça/Lâçar/Lâçada/Lâçadas	To/T/E/CBN
Latin (Latin)	Latî	To
Leixaron (they left)	Leixarô	E
Leon (Lion/Leon)	Leô	To/T
Levam/Levavan/Levaron/Levarán (they take/they were taking/they took/they will take)	Levã/Levavã/Levarô/Levarã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Levantei/Levantou/Levantava/Levantar/Levantará (I raised/raised/was raising/to raise/you will raise)	Levãtey/Levâtou/Levâtava/Levâtar/Levâtaras	To/T/E/CA
Lidarom/Lidando (they struggled/struggling)	Lidarô/Lidãdo	To/CV
Lijon (Logroño)	Lijô	T/E
Língua (language/tongue)	Lîgua	To
Loavan (they praised)	Loavã	To/E
Longe/Perlongada/Delongada (far/elongated/delayed)	Lôge/Plôgada/Delôgada	To/T/E
Longos (long (plural))	Lôgos	CV
Lorigom (armor/cuirass)	Lorigô	CBN/CV
Maenfestada/Maenfestô (manifested/manifest)	Maêfestada/Mãesto	T
Maison (mansion/household)	Maisô	CBN
Malandança (bad luck/misfortune)	Malandãça	To/T
Malestança (illness/misfortune)	Malestãça	To

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
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)	Mådado/Mådados	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Mandamentos/Mandamento (commandments/commandment)	Mådamêtos/Mådamento	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)	Mådasse/Måda/Mådou/Mådade/Mådastes/Mådo/Mådar/Mådava/Mådara/Mådarô/Mandarô	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Manga (sleeve)	Måga	E
M'anpar (protect me)	Måpar	To/T/E
Mans'/Manss' (gentle)	Mås/Måss	To/E
Manten/Mantêr/Mantêendo (maintain/to maintain/maintaining)	Måten/Mâtê/Mantê/Mâtêr/Mâteendo	To/T/E
Mantenente (maintainer)	Måtenête/Mantenête	To/T/E
M'ant'eu (I have myself)	Måteu/Mådeu	CBN/CV
Manto (cloak)	Måto	To
Martin (Martin)	Martĩ	To
Matarom/Mataron/Mataren (they killed/they killed/they will kill)	Matarô/Matarê	To/T/E/CV
Menç' (I measure)	Mête	CBN/CV
Medorentos (frightened)	Medorêtos	To/T/E
M'end'ir/M'end'eu (I go/I go myself)	Mêdir/Mêdeu	CA/CV
Mêngua/Míngua/Menguar/Menguada/Menguass' (lack/to lack/lacking/diminished/lacked)	Mêgua/Mígua/Mêguar/Mêgda/Mêguas	To/E/CBN/CV
Mente/Mentes/Mentir/Mentira/Mentiss'a/Mentiria/Mentiral/Mentirosa (mind/minds/to lie/lie/lie/would lie/lie/liar (feminine))	Mête/Mêtes/Mêtir/Mêtira/Mêtissa/Mêtiria/Mêtiral/Mêtirosa	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ment'haviam (they had lied)	Mêtavyã	CBN/CV
Mentir (to lie)	Mêtir	E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Mentr’/Mentre (while)	Mêtr	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
M’enviou/Enviou/Enviava/Enviada/ Envian (he sent me/sent/was sending/sent/they send)	Mêviou/Êviou/Êviava/ Êviada/Enviã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Merchandias (merchandise)	Merchâdias	To/T
Merecimentos (merits)	Merecimêtos	E
Merende (I snack)	Merêde	To/T
Meteron/Meteran/Metendo (they put/will put/putting)	Meterô/Meterã/Metêdo	To/T/E
Mezcraron (they mixed)	Mezcrarô	To/T/E
M’ham (they have me)	Mã	CBN/CV
Mim/Min (me)	Mĩ	E/CA/CBN/CV
Minerva (Minerva)	Mierva	E
Monge/Monge/Monger/Monja/ Monjas/Monje/Monjes (monk/nun/ nuns/monk/monks)	Môge/Môges/Môger/Môja/ Môjas/Môje/Môjes	To/T/E
Monpisler (Montpellier)	Môpisler	To/E
Monssarrad/Montsarrat (Montserrat)	Môssarrad/Môssarrat	To/E
Monte/Montes/Montesas (mountain/ mountains/mountainous)	Môte/Môtes/Môtesas	To/T/E
Morança/Morand’ (dwelling/living)	Morâça/Moråd	To/T
Morressen/Morreron (they will die/ they died)	Morressê/Morrerô	T/E
Mostraron (they showed)	Mostrarô	E
Moveron/Movian (they moved/they were moving)	Moverô/Moviã	E
Mugindo (mooing)	Mugido	To
Mundo (world)	Múdo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nenllur (neither there)	Nêllur	To/T/E
Nem/Nen (nor)	Nê	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nembrar/Nenbrar/Nembra/Nenbra/ Nembre/Nembro/Nembros/ Nenbrou/Nembrasse/Nembrades (to remember/remembered/ remembrance/memories/they remembered/you remembered)	Nêbrar/Nêbra/Nêbre/Nêbro/ Nêbros/Nêbrou/ Nêbrasse/ Nêbrades	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Nen’as/Neno (nor the/nor one)	Nê as/Nêo	T/CBN
Niente (nothing)	Miête	To/E
Niun (none)	Niũ	To/T/E



<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Ningũa (none)	Nĩgũa	E
Nom/Non (not/no)	Nõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Num (in a)	Nũ	CBN
Nunca (never)	Nũca	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Obediente (obedient)	Obediête	To
Obrando/Obridança (working/work)	Obrãdo/Obridança	To/E
Ocajon (occasion)	Ocajõ	To/T
Offerenda/Offereçon/Offereran/ Offrendas (offering/offered/they offered/offerings)	Offerêda/Ofereçõ/Offererã/ Ofrêdas	To/E
Oitocentos (eight hundred)	Oitocêtos	To/E
Omagen (image)	Omagê	To/T/E
Omildança (humility)	Omildança	To/E
Onde (where)	Õde	To/CBN
Onguento (ointment)	Onguêto	To/E
Onrrada/Desonrra/Onrradamente/ Onrra (honored/dishonor/honorably/ honor)	Õrrada/Dessõra/Onrradamête/ Õrra	To/T/E
Oraçon (prayer)	Oraçõ	To/E
Orden/Ordin (order/ordinance)	Ordê/Ordĩ	To/E
Osmança (arrogance)	Osmãça	To
Ourient' (Orient)	Ouriêt	To
Ousavan/Ousaron (they dared/they dared)	Ousavã/Ousarõ	To/T/E
Ouveran/Ouveron/Ouvenen/ Jouvenen/Houveram (they had/they had/they would have/they would have/they had)	Ouverã/Ouverõ/Ouvenẽ/ Jouvenẽ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Outrem (another)	Outrê	CBN/CV
Oyron/Oiron (they heard)	Oyrõ/Oirõ	To/T/E
Pam/Pan (bread)	Pã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Pança (belly)	Pãça	To
Paravan (they stopped)	Paravã	To
Parentes (relatives)	Parêtes	To/T/E
Partiron (they departed)	Partirõ	E
Passavan (they were passing)	Passavã	To/T/E
Paxon (passion)	Paxõ	T/E
Peagem (toll)	Peagê	CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Peavan (they asked)	Peavã	E
Peccando (sinning)	Pecãdo	To
Pediron (they asked)	Pedirõ	E
Pêedença (repentance)	Pêedêça	To/E
Pende (hangs)	Pêde	CBN
Pendom (hanging)	Pêdon	CBN
Penssando/Penssamós/Penssastes/ Penssamentos/Pensedes/Pensava (thinking/we think/you thought/ thoughts/you think/were thinking)	Pêssãdo/Pêssamos/Pêssastes/ Penssamêtos/ Pêssamt/ Pêsedes/Pêsave	To/T/E
Peom/Peon (laborer/peasant)	Peõ	To/CV
Perderom (they lost)	Perderõ	CBN
Perdian'a (they lost her/it)	Perdiãna	CBN/CV
Perdimento (loss)	Perdimêto	E
Perdom/Perdon (forgiveness/ pardon)	Pdõ/Perdõ	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Pintada/Pintar/Pintor/Pintava/ Pintando (painted/to paint/painter/ was painting/painting)	Pîtada/Pîtar/Pîtor/Pîtava/ Pîtando	To/T/E
Pinzel (brush)	Pîzel	To
Poderon/Podian/Podessen/Pode-l- an (they could/they could/would be able/they can have it)	Poderõ/Podiã/Podessê/Podelã	To/T/E
Ponç' (Proper Noun)	Põçe	To/E
Ponto (point)	Põto	To
Por em/Por en/Poren/Porende (to put in/to put in/therefore/henceforth)	Porê/Porêde	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)	Pzêteares	CV
Prebenda (benefice)	Pbêda	E
Preguntar/Preguntei/Preguntou/ Preguntaron/Preguntando/ Preguntarâm (to ask/I asked/asked/ they asked/asking/they will ask)	Pregûtar/Pgûtei/Pregûtou/ Pregûtarõ/Preguntarõ/ Preguntãdo/Pregûtando/ Pgûtarã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Prender/Prendia/Prende/Prenderias/ Prendades/Prendian (to take/was taking/takes/you would take/you take/they take)	Prêder/Prêdia/Prêde/ Prêderias/Prêdades/Prêdian	To/T/E
Prijon (prison)	Prijô	To
Provaron (they proved)	Pvarô	To/E
Provezendo (providing)	Provezêdo	To
Punnavan (they put)	Punnâvã	E
Quando (when)	Quãdo	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quanto/Quantos/Quantas/Quanta (how much/how many (masculine/ feminine)/how much (feminine singular))	Quãto/Quãtos/Quãtas/Quãta	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quaraenta (forty)	Quaraêta	To
Quebranto/Quebranta (curse)	Quebrãto/Quebrãta	To/T/E
Quedavan (they stayed)	Quedavã	E
Queimaron/Queimando (they burned/burning)	Queimarô/Qimãdo	To/E
Quem/Quen (who/who)	Quê	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Quintãa (manor)	Quitãa	T
Quiseran/Quiseron (they would want/they wanted)	Quiserã/Quiserô	T/E
Quitassen (they would take away)	Qtasê	E
Rança (lineage)	Rãça	To/E
Randon (random)	Randô	To
Razom/Razon/Raçon (reason)	Razô/Rrazô/Raçô	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Recende (sends back/spreads)	Recêde	T/E
Recessiundo (Proper Noun)	Recessiũdo	To
Reimund' (Raymond)	Reimũd	To
Rem/Ren (thing/object)	Rê/Rrê	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Render/Rendesse/Rende/Rendudas (to yield/would yield/yields/yielded)	Rêder/Rêdesse/Rêde/Rêdudas	To/T/E
Renenbrança (remembrance)	Renêbrãça/Renêbraça/ Renenbrãça/Renêbrança	To/T
Repentiu/Repentindo/Repentuda/ Repentiron (he repented/repenting/ repented/they repented)	Repêtiu/Repêtido/Repentido/ Repêtida/ Repentirô	To/T/E
Resprandecer (to shine)	Resprãdecêr	To/T/E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Responder/Respondia/Responderán/Responderon (to answer/was answering/they will answer/they answered)	Respöder/Respōdia/Responderã/Respöderō	To/T/E
Revolvendo (turning around)	Revolvêdo	To/T
Rezōaron (they prayed)	Rezōarō	To
Roam (Proper Noun)	Roã	CBN/CV
Rogan/Rogaran/Rogaron/Rogando (they pray/they will pray/they prayed/praying)	Rogã/Rogarã/Rogarō/Rogãdo	To/T/E
Ronper (to break)	Rōper	E
Roubaran/Roubassen (they stole/they would steal)	Roubarã/Roubasê	To/E
Saberám/Saberan/Sabiam/Sabem/Saben (they will know/they will know/they knew/they know)	Ssaberã/Saberã/Sabiã/Sabê	T/E/CBN/CV
Sacam (they take out)	Sacã	CBN
Sam/San (Saint)	Sã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Sairom/Sayron (they left)	Sairō	T/CBN/CV
Salvaçon (salvation)	Salvaçō	E
Salvamento (rescue)	Salvamête	To/E
Sancristan (sacristan)	Sacristã	T
Sandeu/Sandeus/Sandeece/Sandeces/Sandias/Sandez (foolish/fools/foolishness)	Sãdeu/Sãdeus/Sãdece/Sãdeces/Sãdias/Sãdez	To/T/E
Sangui (blood)	Sãgue/Sãgui	To
Santa/Santos/Santidade (saint/saints/holiness)	Sãta/Sãtos/Sãtidade	To/T/E
Sangoent' (bloody)	Sangoët	To
Sazom/Sazon (season/time)	Sazō/Ssazō	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Seendo/Seeren (being)	Seêdo/Seerê	To/T
Segundo (second/according to)	Segũdo	To/T/E
Seixon/Seixons (Proper Noun)	Seixō/Seixōs	To/E
Sejan (they are)	Sejã	To/E
Selegom (selection)	Selegō	CBN/CV
Sem/Sen (without/without)	Sê/Ssê	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Semellança (resemblance)	Semellãça	To
Semelharám (they will resemble)	Ssemalharã	CBN

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Sempre/Senpre (always)	Sêpre	To/T/E/CBN
Senbrança (similarity)	Senbrãça	To/E
Senlleira/Senlleiro (unique/singular)	Sêlleira/Sêlleiro	T/E
Senom/Senon/Se non (but/except/not only)	Senõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Ssenor (lord/master)	Sênor	To/E
Sentença (sentence/judgment)	Sentêça	T/E
Sentiron/Sentiu/Sentian/Sente/Sentia (they felt/felt/they were feeling/feels/was feeling)	Sentirõ/Sêtiu/Sentiã/Sêtiã/Sête/Sêtia	To/T/E
Sergente/Sergentes (sergeant/sergeants)	Sergête/Sergêtes	To/E
Sermon (sermon)	Sermõ	To/T/E
Servand' (Proper Noun)	Servåd	CBN
Servente (servant)	Servête	To
Servian (they served)	Serviã	E
Siian (they were)	Siiã	To/E
Simiom (Proper Noun)	Sunhõ	CBN
Singravan/Singraron (they sailed/they sailed)	Singravã/Singrarõ/Sîgrôn	To/T/E
Sofrian/Sofrendo/Soffreron (they suffered/suffering/they suffered)	Sofriã/Sofrêdo/Sofrerõ	To/E
Soíam/Soyan (they used to be)	Soyã	To/CBN/CV
Solament' (only/solely)	Solamêt	To
Soldan (sultan)	Soldã	To/T/E
Som/Son/Soon (they are)	Sõ/Soõ	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Soterrassen (they buried)	Soterrassê	To
Souberem/Soubessen/Souberon (they knew/they would know/they knew)	Souberê/Soubessê/Souberõ	To/T/E/CA
Syon (Zion)	Siõ	To
Talan (body shape)	Talã	To/T/E
Talente (desire/will)	Talête	T
Tam/Tan (so much/such)	Tã	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Também (also)	Tam bê/Tã bê	CBN/CV
Tanger/Tangeu (to play/played (an instrument))	Tãger/Tãgeu	To/T/E

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Tanto/Tantos/Tantas (so much/so many (masculine/feminine))	Tâto/Tâtos/Tâtas	To/T/E/CA/CBN/CV
Tardança (delay)	Tardança	T
Tem/Tem/Têm (he has/they have)	Tê/Teê	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Tempo/Tenpo	Têpo	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Tempestades (time/storms)	Têpestades	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Tençom (intention)	Tençô/Têçom/Têçô	CBN/CV
Tenham (they have)	Tenhã	CBN/CV
Tentaçon/Tentações (temptation/temptations)	Tentaçô/Têptações	To/E
Tentada/Tentando (tempted/tempting)	Têtada/Têdando	To
Tentanda/Tendudo/Tendudas/Tendeu (being tempted/extended/extended/planted)	Têtada/Têdudo/Têdudas/Têdeu	To/T/E
Terram/Terrám (they will have)	Terrã/Derrã	CBN/CV
Testamento (testament)	Testamêto	To/T
Teveron/Deteveron (they had/they detained)	Teverô/Deteverô	To/E
Tinham-nos (they had us)	Tinhânos	CBN/CV
Tintor (dyer)	Tîtor	T
Tomaran (they took)	Tomarã	T/E
Tomba (tomb)	Tôba	To
Tormenta/Atormentada (storm/tormented)	Tormêta/Atormêtida	To/E
Tornarom/Tornaron/Tornando (they returned/they returned/returning)	Tornarô/Tornâdo	To/T/CBN/CV
Tosquiavam (they sheared)	Toqiavã	CBN
Tragiam/Tragian (they brought)	Tragiã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Trayçon (treason)	Trayçô/Tiçô	To/E
Tremendo (trembling)	Tremêdo	To/E/CV
Trezentos (three hundred)	Trezêtos	E
Trinta (thirty)	Trîta	To
Trompeiros (trumpeters)	Trôpeyros	CV
Trouxeron/Trouxeran (they brought/they will bring)	Trouxerô/Trouxerã	To/T/E
Um/Un (one)	Hû/Û/Huû/Ûu/Uû	T/E/CBN/CV
Valem (they are worth)	Valê	CBN/CV

<b>Mettmann (1986) and Lopes and Ferreira <i>et al.</i> (2011-)</b>	<b>Variation</b>	<b>Codices in which the variation was found</b>
Vam/Van (they go)	Vã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Veerám/Veerom/Vëeron/Vëessen/ Vëeran/Veend'/Veen/Vïian (they will see/they saw/they saw/they would see/they will see/seeing/they saw/they saw)	Veerã/Veherô/Vëerô/Vëessê/ Vëerã/Veêd/Veê/ Vïiã	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vem/Ven (he/she comes)	Vê	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/Vendian (to sell/sale/sold/ would sell/resell/they sold)	Vêder/Vêda/Vêdudas/Vêdera/ 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)	Vêtura/Desavêturado/ Bêavêtada/Bêavê turada/ Avêturadas/Avêtâm	To/E/CBN/CV
Verdadeiramente (truly)	Vê dadeyramête	CBN/CV
Vermen (vermilion)	Vmê	To/T/E
Verram/Viran/Viron (they will see/ they saw/they turned/they saw)	Verrã/Virã/Virô	To/T/E/CBN/CV
Vijon/Vyjon (vision)	Vijô/Vyjô	To/T/E
Viltança (villainy)	Viltâça	To/E
Vim (I came)	Vĩ	CBN/CV
Vingar/Vingada/Vengar/Vingador/ Vingado (to avenge/avenged/ avenge/avenger/avenged)	Vîgar/Vîgada/Vêgar/Vîgador/ Vêgador/Vîgado	To/T/E/CA/CBN
Vingança/Vengança (vengeance)	Vêgãça/Vîgãça/Vêgança/ Vengãça	To/T/E
Virem (they come)	Virê	CBN
Virgen (virgin)	Virgê/Vgê	To/T/E
Vison/Vision (vision)	Visô/Visiô	To/T/E
Vivend'/Vivessen (living/would live)	Vivêd/Vivessê	To/E
Voontade/Voontades (will/wills)	Voôtade/Voôtades	To/T/E
Vuitorom (Proper Noun)	Vuytorô	CV
Xermentos (germs/shoots)	Xermêtos	To/E
Yan (they went)	Yã	To/E

**Source:** Own elaboration