

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE STROPHE: ORIGINS OF THE CANTIGAS D'AMIGO REVEALED!

RIP COHEN

Johns Hopkins University

For António Resende de Oliveira

My title is meant to be like a street-cry, such as the old “Extra! Extra! Read all about it!”, used by vendors to sell extra editions of newspapers when there was a late-breaking story. And I do have a bit of news. But my main aim is to take on a much debated question related to the evolution of the *cantiga d' amigo* during the 13th century: was this genre rooted in a native tradition of popular song?

The origins of the *cantiga d' amigo* have been discussed for more than a century, and to summarize the history of the question would fill a hefty volume, so I will limit myself to comparing just two positions, one old and much adhered to, the other recent and surprising. The first, argued in 1894 by Henry Roseman Lang, holds that the *cantigas d' amigo*, though composed mainly by professional poets for performance at courts, had their roots in a native song tradition.¹ The second, advanced cautiously at first and then with zeal by the historian António Resende de Oliveira, maintains that the genre was invented by a handful of poets in the 1220's.² These two views are radically at odds.

Lang thought all the evidence pointed to a native tradition of folksong. Some of the strophic forms, like aaB, their not infrequently assonant rhymes, the presence in certain rhyme words of linguistic archaisms (like *louçana* with intervocalic *-n-* intact or *loir* [Pero

¹ Henry Roseman Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1894, pp. lxiii-ciii (esp. pp. xcvi and ciii). This view is shared by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1904, vol. II, pp. 836-940.

² Cautiously in António Resende de Oliveira, “A Galiza e a cultura trovadoresca peninsular,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 11 (1989): 36; with zeal in later articles, reprinted in António Resende de Oliveira, *O Trovador galego-português e o seu mundo*, Lisboa, Notícias Editorial, 2001 (see esp. pp. 10, 11, 108-110 [J. C. Ribeiro Miranda], 147-151). Also in António Resende de Oliveira, *Trovadores e Xogares. Contexto histórico*, Edicións Xerais de Galicia, Vigo, 1995, pp. 90-92. Resende's view is shared by (and, one suspects, was developed partly in complicity with) J. C. Ribeiro Miranda, but in the jointly authored article, António Resende de Oliveira & José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda, “A segunda geração de trovadores galego-portugueses: temas, formas e realidades”, in *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1995, vol. III, pp. 499-512, the section on the *cantigas d' amigo* (pp. 510-512 [= Oliveira, *O Trovador*, pp. 108-110]), manifestly the work of the second author, is unpersuasive. The same holds for José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda, “Calheiros, Sandim e Bonaval: Uma Rapsódia de Amigo”, Porto, [no publisher] 1994. To get an idea how flimsy this part of the foundation is, compare the glib dismissal of the *Sanhuda* (in Calheiros 5) in the latter article (p. 17 — just after the author recognizes that the *Sanhuda* “surge [...] a desdizer tudo o que acabámos de expor” on p. 16) with the treatment of this same *persona* in Rip Cohen, “Dança Jurídica: I. A poética da *Sanhuda* nas cantigas d' amigo; II. 22 cantigas d' amigo de Johan Garcia de Guilhade: vingança de uma *Sanhuda* virtuosa”, *Colóquio-Letras* 142 (1996): 5-50. Throughout the present article, numbering and texts of the *cantigas d' amigo* are taken from Rip Cohen, *500 Cantigas d' Amigo. Edição Crítica*, Porto, Campo das Letras, 2003.

Meogo 8], the only genuine survival of Latin *ludere*), the constant use of repetition and parallelism, and not least the pragmatics of the *cantigas d' amigo*, all convinced Lang (who was a positivist, not a Romantic) that the roots of the genre did not lie in French or Provençal poetry or in the *cantigas d' amor* (though he called attention to similarities³) but in an oral tradition from the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula.

In addition, Lang took into account the already impressive comparative evidence available then⁴, and among other things cites examples of Hispanic and Portuguese folksongs that are remarkably similar in their form to parallelistic *cantigas* with *cobras alternantes* rhyming in *i-a / a-a* or *i-o / a-o*. Similarities in content can be accounted accidental by sceptics and dismissed as insufficient proof of a genetic relation, but identity of form is more difficult to argue with. To see why comparative evidence can be compelling, let us consider a folksong that Lang could not have known: a version of a Sephardic *cantar de boda* published by Manuel Alvar in 1955.⁵

Fuérame a bañar a orías del río,
aí encontrí, madre, a mi lindo amigo:
él me dio un abrasso, yo le di sinco

Fuérame a bañar a orías del claro,
aí encontrí, madre, a mi lindo amado:
él me dio un abrasso, yo le di cuatro.

Alvar mistook the strophic form of this song and layed it out in half-verses. Correctly analyzed, the strophes consist of three long verses with mid-verse pauses and final assonant rhymes, *i-o* in the first strophe and *a-o* in the second. Now, it so happens that the overall strophic form is the same as that found in a *cantiga d' amigo* by Bernal de Bonaval. Here are the first two strophes (Bonaval 1, vv. 1-6):

Fremosas, a Deus grado, tan bon dia comigo
ca novas mi disseron ca ven o meu amigo;
ca ven o meu amigo, tan bon dia comigo.

Tan bon dia comigo, fremosas, a Deus grado,
ca novas mi disseron ca ven o meu amado;
fremosas, a Deus grado, ca ven o meu amado.

José Joaquim Nunes misrepresents the strophic form of this *cantiga*,⁶ and presumably for that reason, and because he himself misread the strophic form of his Sephardic song, Alvar did not note the similarity between the two texts. Neither for that matter did Maria

³ Lang, *Das Liederbuch*, pp. lxxii and lxxiii. The observation on p. lxxiii, "Nicht wenige unserer lieder scheinen im grunde nichts zu sein als variationen der *cantigas d' amor*, gleichsam das weibliche widerspiel dieser letztern", is often repeated, but the real source is rarely if ever cited.

⁴ Lang, *Das Liederbuch*, pp. xcii-ciii.

⁵ Manuel Alvar, *Cantos de boda judeo-españoles*, Madrid, Instituto Airas Montano, 1971, p. 237.

⁶ José Joaquim Nunes, *Cantigas d' Amigo dos trovadores galego-portugueses*, Coimbra, 1926, vol. II, pp. 326-327.

Luisa Indini, who prints the poem as Nunes had, in short verses with a wholly implausible rhyme-system.⁷

Both texts are composed in the strophic form aaa. And the assonant rhymes *i-o / a-o* in the Sephardic song are found in a score of *cantigas d' amigo*, though not this one of Bonaval.⁸ *Fuêrame a bañar* is like many *cantigas d' amigo* also in its use of strict parallelism and of synonyms as rhyme words: *rio / claro*, *amigo / amado*, *cinco / quatro* (this last pair being equivalent to synonyms).

Beyond these formal similarities, the song reflects a general pragmatics like that of many *cantigas* (79, or 16% of the corpus) in that the girl speaks to her mother. She tells her mother she has met her boyfriend at the riverside — which can be a trysting-place in the *cantigas* too, as in the song of Johan Zorro that begins *Pela ribeira do rio salido / trebelhei, madre, con meu amigo* (Zorro 9). But while closely akin to the Galego-Portuguese tradition, the Sephardic song also differs significantly on one point: kisses and embraces are nowhere explicitly mentioned in the *cantigas d' amigo*.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the comparison is that aaa is not found anywhere else in the *cantigas d' amigo*.⁹ Only one other song in the corpus of Galego-Portuguese lyric has the same strophic form, a *cantiga d' escarnho* by Alfonso X, and that poem does not use *cobras alternantes*.¹⁰ So while we might have thought that Bonaval composed his *cantiga* in a form unique in archaic Iberian female-voiced monody, the Sephardic *cantar de boda* provides evidence for another view: that in the Iberian Peninsula in the middle ages aaa with *cobras alternantes* was already a formal model for female-voiced love song and that Bonaval used it precisely for that reason.

I have given just one example of one kind of corroborating evidence used by Lang. Proof is cumulative in this game, and parallels from other Iberian literatures are important, but the main evidence for a pre-existing tradition is to be found in the form, language and pragmatics of the *cantigas d' amigo* themselves. Evaluating this corpus in its entirety in a way that few scholars in his day could do, Lang believed the *cantigas d' amigo* were rooted in native folksong.

On what basis, then, does Resende de Oliveira disagree? He does not dispute the facts and arguments presented by Lang. In fact, he never mentions them. Instead, he bases himself partly on his own work, excellent to be sure, but none of it on the *cantigas d' amigo* themselves, and partly on a 'psychoanalytical' reading in which the demographics of the period, the politics of heredity, and the resulting sexual frustration of males not marked for inheritance are invoked to explain both the origins and development of poetic genres.

Make no mistake: Resende de Oliveira is a formidable scholar. His 1994 book on the relation between the internal structure of the manuscript tradition and the chronology and

⁷ Maria Luisa Indini, *Bernal de Bonaval*, Bari, Adriatica, 1979, pp. 147-150 and p. 84, note 11.

⁸ The verses scan 13' in Bonaval, and the same in *at encontri, madre, a mi lindo amigo*. Both songs seem to be built on an underlying pattern of 6' + 6' = 13' — which is what we find throughout Bonaval's *cantiga* and in v. 2 in each strophe of the Sephardic song.

⁹ A possible exception is Johan Airas 41, which can be taken either as a single strophe aaabbb or as two strophes of aaa.

¹⁰ Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d' escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Vigo, Galaxia, 1970, no. 35 *Don Gonçalo, pois queredes ir daqui pera Sevilha*.

geography of the poets and the courts they frequented marks a kind of revolution.¹¹ This was preceded by several extremely valuable articles and has been followed by a series of equally important contributions, including three books.¹² All in all, Resende has done as much as anyone in recent times to contribute to the advancement of studies of Galego-Portuguese lyric.

Yet when it comes to the question of origins, he holds that since the first examples of songs in this genre (for which we can give even approximate dates) are from the 1220's, we must assume that the genre could not have existed before then. He also claims that since only in the 1240's or thereabouts do we find in the texts a metapoetic distinction between *Amor* and *Amigo*, there were not two separate genres before that period. Finally, he believes that the *cantigas d'amigo* were generated out of the thematics of the *cantigas d'amor*.¹³

These hypotheses, phrased tentatively in 1989, hardened in the early 1990's and have now turned into dogma ("inegável," he tells us).¹⁴ True, Resende has called for a study of the genre and its evolution,¹⁵ but only after he has assured us that there are no origins, just an act of rhetorical invention that produced the *cantiga d'amigo* out of the *cantiga d'amor*. And he names as the inventors Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros, Vaasco Praga de Sandin and Bernal de Bonaval.¹⁶

A few years ago I pointed out to him that Calheiros, apparently the leader of the gang, uses entirely different strophic forms in his *cantigas d'amor*. "How," I asked him, "can you derive *Amigo* from *Amor* when Calheiros in his *cantigas d'amigo* does not use a single one of the forms he uses in his *cantigas d'amor*? Doesn't this suggest that a genre of female-voiced love lyric already existed, and that *that* is why poets used those simpler forms right from the start of the *trovador* period?" He brushed aside both the evidence and the argument.

So the question becomes: what will he accept as evidence or argument? Would he accept anything? If everything so far adduced and argued by linguists and philologists cannot persuade him, what will? Can he really think that comparative evidence is irrelevant? If neither the form nor the pragmatics of the genre can be derived from *Amor*, since neither is present there, how can he go insisting? I am afraid that in his revolutionary zeal Resende overlooks all evidence that contradicts his hypothesis.

Still, I would yet like to persuade him, since as long as he remains unconvinced he is likely to continue in his wicked ways. So I dedicate to António Resende de Oliveira, scholar and friend, my bit of news, my "Extra! Extra! Read all about it!"

If we accept Resende's data on the chronology of the poets and his analysis of the manuscript tradition, and then perform a simple computation, we come up with evidence that may hold a key to answering the question at hand. Resende has told us that the first zone of *Amigo* can be broken down into two main parts: the first and second *cancioneiros de cavaleiros*. In the first of these *cancioneiros*, Calheiros and Sandin are the first poets,

¹¹ António Resende de Oliveira, *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 1994.

¹² See Cohen, *500 Cantigas d'Amigo*, pp. 25-26 for a fairly full list.

¹³ Oliveira, *O Trovador*, pp. 10, 147, 151.

¹⁴ Oliveira, *O Trovador*, p. 147.

¹⁵ Oliveira, *O Trovador*, p. 152.

¹⁶ A view advocated also by José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda. See note 2 above.

and Resende assumes that they were active in the 1220's. Accepting the rearrangements he suggests in the poets that follow, we have a basically chronological order (albeit with some overlap), with the second *cancioneiro* later than the first.

Now, the forms aaB and aaBB occur far more frequently in *Amigo* than in either of the other genres and are widely held to be archaic forms within the Galego-Portuguese tradition.¹⁷ What happens if we put this supposition to the test? Does the evidence confirm the relative antiquity of aaB and aaBB in our corpus of *cantigas d' amigo* from the 13th century? Or, to put it another way: is there evidence that the *cantiga d' amigo* evolved from aaB and aaBB to more complex forms? The answer is a resounding 'yes'.

What we find (see *Appendix*) is that 56% of the songs in the first *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* are in the forms aaB and aaBB, but only 12% in the second. This shows that these two forms dominate initially, and that their early dominance is followed by a swift decline and by the corresponding rise of other forms. Chief among these is abbaCC. But what is especially striking is that in the opening and presumably oldest 38 songs of the first *cancioneiro*, from Calheiros to Carpancho, more than 80% of the *cantigas* are composed using the forms aaB and aaBB. Since these same poets nearly always use more complex strophes in their *cantigas d'amor*, the frequency of aaB and aaBB in this section of the *cancioneiros* is, I think, compelling evidence that these forms were closely associated with female-voiced love lyric in Galicia and the north of Portugal before the first recorded *cantigas d' amigo*.

To support his own view, Resende quotes the title of a famous article by Cesare de Lollis, "Dalle *cantigas de amor* a quelle *de amigo*".¹⁸ De Lollis, however, was convinced that a popular genre *did* exist before Bernal de Bonaval composed his *cantigas d' amigo*, and also that the distinction between male and female voiced love lyric pre-dates our earliest texts. He argued that the earliest *cantigas d'amor* copied down in our corpus come before the earliest *cantigas d' amigo* that were committed to writing and survived. On that he was right and nobody disagrees, especially in light of Resende de Oliveira's work. De Lollis did *not* argue, as Resende does, that the dating of the earliest texts is proof of the relative antiquity of the two genres. Much less did he think the *cantigas d' amigo* were generated out of the *cantigas d'amor*.

It is telling that Resende makes no use of evidence from the *cantigas d' amigo* themselves. The entire hypothesis hangs on the genre's tardy entry into the written record. Yet back in 1989 Resende thought this might merely mean they were not received (that is, copied down) at court until a somewhat later date than the *cantigas d'amor*.¹⁹ Then, what had at first been a tentative hypothesis became an all-out theory of parthenogenesis. This theory assumes that a female-voiced genre must have been born directly out of a male-voiced one, without the benefit of conception or gestation.²⁰

¹⁷ Their basic construction is similar (and, at a higher level of abstraction, identical) to some of the oldest strophic forms in the history of European poetry (Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon). See note 27 below.

¹⁸ Cesare de Lollis, "Dalle *cantigas de amor* a quelle *de amigo*", in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, Librería y Editorial Hernando, 1925, vol. I, pp. 617-626.

¹⁹ Oliveira, "A Galiza...", p. 28.

²⁰ But Resende had taken a much more measured view in 1989 ("A Galiza...", p. 36): "Não estão em causa, naturalmente, as possíveis influências de localismos poéticos anteriores à implantação da canção cortês".

By combining Resende's data and his analysis of the *cancioneiros* with the data that I have compiled on strophic forms, we find clear evidence against his hypothesis and in favor of Lang's position. This analysis of the historical evolution of strophic forms points to a formal model for this genre, one *not* shared by the earliest compositions in other genres — one, in other words, that was appropriate (if not particular) to the *cantiga d' amigo*.²¹

Now at this point someone could well ask me: "If you are so sure there was a pre-existing tradition, tell us about those songs that existed before our earliest texts?" One cannot of course speak about individual songs that do not exist, but if I may summarize my views on the subject in terms of models, I would say that, working backwards in time from evidence provided by the corpus itself, the following are fairly safe assumptions:

There were formal and pragmatic models for female-voiced monody before the age of the *trovadores*. The formal models were mainly aaB and aaBB. The pragmatic model assigned roles as speaker or addressee to four personae — the girl, her mother, the girl's girl friend, and the boy — and also provided for kinds of speech, such as: the girl says hello or goodbye to the boy, asks the mother for permission to go see him, tells the boy off, takes him back; or the mother refuses to let the girl speak with the boy, or lets the girl go speak with the boy; or the girlfriend asks the girl to make peace with the boy... (and perhaps a few dozen others, depending on how we distinguish these speech-acts or *Sprachspiele*).²² In addition, there were many verbal formulas and at least one main stylistic trait: parallelistic repetition and variation. There was also an appropriate register: a conservative local norm, such as is often associated with women's speech in traditional, non-urban communities.²³ And there was a basic social institution: not feudal relationships but *fala*, which I would gloss as "an act or series of acts of negotiation for a nuptial or prenuptial contact."²⁴

The form, the pragmatics, the kinds of speech-act, the repetition, the register and the overall social logic of the *cantigas d' amigo* could hardly have been invented by one or two or three poets in the 1220's.

Lang says it is obviously not possible to know *zur vollen gewissheit* ("with complete certainty") if the *cantigas d' amigo* were rooted in local popular song.²⁵ All he means is that we are obliged here to evaluate indirect evidence. But it is possible to induce from indirect evidence. If we catch sight of an object 25 meters above ground-level moving swiftly in an upward trajectory, we assume that some force set it in motion. We do not

²¹ This does not mean that aaB and aaBB would not have been used for male-voiced love poetry and for songs of insult and mockery. But if they had been commonly employed in those genres, they were almost never used for *cantigas d' amor* and rarely for *cantigas d' escarnho e maldizer*.

²² For a comparison of these concepts and their applicability to the theory of erotic-poetic genres, see Rip Cohen, "Speech-acts and *Sprachspiele*: Making Peace in Plautus", in *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, Irene J. F. de Jong & J. P. Sullivan, eds., Leiden-New York-Köln, E. J. Brill, 1994, pp. 171-205. We still need a pragmatics (Wittgenstein would have said 'a philosophical grammar') for the *cantigas d' amigo*.

²³ For an introduction to this topic, see Pilar García Mouton, *Cómo hablan las mujeres*, Madrid, Arco/Libris, 1999. Cicero's observation (*De oratore* 3.45) is still worth remembering: *Facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod multorum sermonis expertes ea tenent semper quae prima didicerunt*. Archaisms aside, the *cantigas d' amigo* display a far purer Galego-Portuguese than any of the other main genres, i.e. there are far fewer borrowings from other languages.

²⁴ See Cohen, "Dança Jurídica", pp. 6-7. Lang, *Das Liederbuch*, pp. lxxxvii and xcvi, note 4, had already seen that the verb *falar* is of fundamental importance.

²⁵ Lang, *Das Liederbuch*, p. lxxxviii.

normally wonder if its movement might have begun at the moment when we first saw it. We catch sight of the *cantigas d' amigo* when they are already in full flight. Though we cannot see precisely where they came from, it makes little sense to doubt that they were in motion before we saw them.

Strophic form is an observable object. Since their invention in prehistory, simple strophic forms were a fundamental human technology. Used in the transmission of language and social logic, and passed on from person to person and from generation to generation, they were during thousands of years instruments of replication, or perhaps I should say *replicating tools*, and as such were subject to variation and change, not wholly unlike evolving organisms.²⁶ Yet in the history of European song it is extremely rare to find simple archaic strophic forms documented at the beginning of the written record of a language.²⁷ Resende's own work has helped us to see hard evidence that the *cantigas d' amigo*, in the first period of the historical record, were tightly bound to the strophic forms aaB and aaBB. As far as the evolution of forms is concerned, those are the origins.

[Lisbon, 5765]

Appendix

This is a list of strophic forms in the first and second *cancioneiros de cavaleiros* as identified by António Resende de Oliveira, *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 1994). The strophic form is given here without attention to verse-length or rhyme-systems (*cobras alternantes, unissonans*, etc.), and *fiindas* are not mentioned. Alternative analyses of the same strophic form are given to the right. When aaBB is analyzed as aa**B** there is a mid-verse rhyme in the refrain, represented by **B** in bold. When there is internal rhyme in the verses of the body of the strophe, this is also represented by bold. Thus **aaB** can also be analyzed as **aaBB** or ababCC (see, for example, Taveiros 3). In Vinhal 2 the letter *x* is used to indicate *palavra perduda unissonans*. The strophic forms in the first column are those printed in Rip Cohen, *500 Cantigas d' Amigo. Edição Crítica* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2003), except for Taveiros 3, Burgales 2 and Carpancho 5.

²⁶ I take the analogy from António Bracinha Vieira, "Utensílios líticos e organismos vivos: analogias evolutivas", in António Bracinha Vieira, *Ensaio sobre a evolução do homem e da linguagem*, Lisboa, Fim do Século, 1995, pp. 113-125.

²⁷ This happens in archaic Greek lyric, where we find strophes with *internal respension* of the pattern aab (the strophe is composed of a member *a*, which is repeated once and then followed by a member *b*, which is not equal to *a*). This was pointed out by Paul Maas, *Greek Metre*, Translated by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, pp. 49-50. Most curiously, Maas observes that "only in the earliest strophes can we often clearly discern the pattern aab".

PRIMEIRO CANCIONEIRO DE CAVALEIROS

Calheiros

1. aaBB
2. aaBB
3. aaBB
4. aaBB aaB
5. aaBB
6. aaBB aaB
7. aaBBBBB
8. aaBB aaB

250

Sandin

1. aaBB
2. aaBB aaB
3. aaBB
4. aaBB

Taveiros

1. aaB
2. aaaB
3. **aaB** aaBB ababCC

Torneol

1. aaB
2. aaB
3. aaB
4. aaB
5. aaB
6. aaB
7. aaB
8. aaB

Burgales

1. aaB
2. **aaBB** aaB ababCC

Camanes

1. **aaBB** **aaB** ababCC
2. abbacca
3. aaB
4. aaB
5. abbac(c?)

Carpancho

1. aaBB
2. aaB
3. aaBBB
4. abbaCC
5. aaBaB
6. aaBBB
7. aaB
8. aaB

F.Velho

1. abbaCC

Pardal

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC
3. abbccA
4. abbaCC
5. abbaCCA (I) / abbaCCD (II-III)

Coton

1. aaaBaB
2. ababCC **aaBB** **aaB**
3. (= Pae Soares 3)

Solaz

1. aaB
2. aBaB
3. abbaCC

Ponte

1. aaBCB
2. ababcABC
3. aaabAB/aaabCB (II-III)
4. abbaCC
5. abbaCC
6. abbaCC
7. abbaCAC/abbaCDC (II-III)

252

Calvelo

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC

SEGUNDO CANCIONEIRO DE CAVALEIROS

Gil

1. aaB aaBB

Avoín

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC
3. aaB
4. abbaCC
5. abbaCC
6. abbaCC
7. abbaCC
8. abbaCC
9. ababCC aaBB aaB
10. abbaCC
11. abbaCC

J.S. Coelho

1. abbaC
2. aaaB
3. abbaCC
4. abbaCC
5. abbaC
6. abbaCC
7. abbaCC
8. ababCCD

9. abbaCC
10. abbaC
11. aaB
12. aaB
13. aaB
14. aab
15. abbaCC

Ulhoa

1. abbaCDD
2. **aaBB** **aaB**
3. aaBB **aaB**
4. abbaCC
5. aaBB
6. aaBB **aaB**
7. aaBaB

Vinhal

1. ababCCCC **aaBBBB** **aaBB**
2. abbacxcb
3. aaabaB
4. abbccac
5. aaaBaB
6. abbcaC
7. abbaC

Queimado

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC
3. abbaCC
4. abbaCC

Tenoiro

1. abbaCCDD
2. abbaCC
3. abbaCC
4. abbaCC

Travanca

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC

3. abbaCC
4. abbaCC

Barroso

1. abbaCC
2. aaBaB?
3. abbaCC

Seavra

1. abbaCC

Baian

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC
3. aaBC
4. aaBC

Guilhade

1. abbaCC
2. abbacca
3. abbaCC
4. abbaCC
5. abbaCC
6. abbaa
7. aaBB aaB ababCC
8. abbaCC
9. abbaCC
10. aaBB aaB
11. abbaCC
12. aaaBaB
13. abbaCC
14. abbaCC
15. abbaCC
16. abbaaC
17. abbacca
18. abbaCC
19. abbaCC
20. abbaaCCC
21. abbacca
22. abbaaCC

Talaveira

1. abbaCC
2. abbaCC
3. ababCC
4. abbaCC
5. abbaCC
6. abbaCC
7. abbaCC
8. ababCC

255

Charinho

1. aaBBB
2. abbaCC
3. ababCC
4. abbaCC
5. abbcac
6. aaBB

TOTALS

number of aaB(B)/total number of texts = %

PRIMEIRO CANCIONEIRO 33/59 = 56%

Calheiros to Carpancho 31/38 = 82%

F. Velho to Calvelo 2/21 = 10%

SEGUNDO CANCIONEIRO 12/97 = 12%