
The *Cantigas* of Pero Meogo
Edited with Introduction and Commentary

Rip Cohen
The John Hopkins University

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Preliminary Note

This new edition of the *cantigas d'amigo* of Pero Meogo presents for the first time a full philological commentary on these poems.¹ The text and critical apparatus, as well as the metrical analysis and translation, have been revised somewhat since Cohen 2013c.

In the text of Meogo (but not in the citation of other texts) instances of elision and aphaeresis are marked by an underline: *fonte_u* (= *font' u*); *sanhuda_estou* (= *sanhuda 'stou*). All inter-verbal vocalic encounters not marked in this way are cases of hiatus. Angle brackets are used for additions and for refrains copied incompletely after the first strophe. In the analysis of verses with cola, the inner colon boundary is signaled by the sign |.

¹ *Cantares d'amigo* is equally valid. On philological method, see Stegagno Picchio 1982. Texts (sometimes modified) and numbering of other *cantigas d'amigo*, as well as the poets' names, are taken from Cohen 2003 (but Martin de *Gïzo* [for *Giinzo*]). Punctuation has been altered and tils have been added where historical phonology predicts them and 13th century manuscripts of the lyric provide them. Given Mettmann's odd numeration, references to CSM are to strophes, not verses. [This project was carried out under the aegis of The Johns Hopkins University with a research grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Thanks to Mariña Arbor Aldea, Rachele Fassanelli, Manuel Ferreiro, Yara Frateschi Vieira, Robert A. Kaster, Pär Larson, Harvey Sharrer, Djordjina Trubarac and Michael Weiss for corrections and comments.]

Photographs of the manuscripts are furnished by Canettieri and Longo (with transcriptions and other materials) and by Lopes and Ferreira. Bibliography can be found at the *BITAGAP* site. Other electronic resources are mentioned in the commentary.

The texts of Meogo begin in *B* on folio 252r (no. 1184) and end on folio 253v (no. 1192); in *V* they begin on folio 124r (no. 789) and continue to folio 125v (no. 797). They are preceded by the *cantigas d'amigo* of Juião Bolseiro and Martin Campina and followed by texts in the same genre by Martin de Caldas and Nuno Treez, appearing in a compilation of Galician *jograres* (Oliveira 1994: 199-205) whose internal structure remains unclear. These nine *cantigas* were published in the paleographic edition of the Vatican codex by Monaci (1875) and subsequently edited by Braga (1878), Bell (1922), Nunes (1926-1928), Machado and Machado (1949-1964), Mendez Ferrín (1966), Azevedo Filho (1974) and Cohen (2003, 2013). For information and bibliography on the manuscript tradition and previous editions, see Cohen 2003: 31-37.

Almost nothing can be said about the life of Meogo (or Moogo). Recently Souto Cabo (2012: 280-281, 291) published a document from the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela dated 1260, where “Petrus Moogus, clericus de Sancto Simeone” is a witness along with, apparently, another poet-clericus, Sancho Sanchez. If, as seems likely, this is our poet, he was a priest in the parish of San Simón de Ons de Cacheira, near Compostela. But he would have been active well before 1260—perhaps by the 1230s, if Johan Soarez Coelho imitates him.²

In relation to these songs, a word on methods of interpretation is in order. Aiming to elucidate “the methodological assumptions that structure the discourse of philology,” Glenn Most (1994: 133) says that “at least three principles and two canons of evidence tend to guide interpretation.” The first and most important principle is: “*Economy of consumption*: of two interpretations, the one that makes thriftier use of the text at hand, subsuming more of it as argumentative evidence and wasting less of it as irrelevant or counterproductive, is preferable.” The second principle Most calls “*Economy of expense*: of two interpretations, the one that adds fewer *ad hoc* hypotheses to the necessary minimum is preferable.” And the third is labeled the “*Economy of scope*: of two interpretations, the one that can be applied to a wider range of texts or problems beyond the one in question without producing trivial results is preferable. A coherent interpretation of a text which results in that text’s becoming anomalous within its author’s oeuvre, or an author anomalous within his culture, is suspect.” The two canons of evidence are: “*Parallelism*: a hypothesis’ plausibility is thought to be strengthened by parallels and weakened by their lack;” and “*Centripetality*: The closer to the text the parallel or other supportive evidence is, the greater its explanatory power is thought to

² See notes on *fremosa* and *sanhuda* at 2.1; on *del rei* at 3.2, 4; on *velida* at 4.3, 6; and at 5.2 *lavar*; 6.7 *elos*; 6.11 *garçetas*. Johan Soarez Coelho is documented from 1235 (Ron Fernández 2005: 154-158).

be..." The ranking would be: a text by the same author in the same genre; by another author in the same genre; by the same author in another genre; by another author in another genre; and so forth. A parallel from another language, period or culture would carry less weight. And what Most says about Classical philology should hold for medieval Romance philology as well.

The application of these principles and canons does not (Most concedes) guarantee the correctness of an interpretation, but one that ignores them is more likely to go astray. And this is what sometimes occurs in studies on Pero Meogo.³ With their focus on symbolism, they use select parts of the text, leaving the rest largely out of the discussion.⁴ Some readings supply numerous *ad hoc* suppositions for which there is no warrant in the text and they have little bearing on other *cantigas d'amigo*, since are no stags elsewhere in the genre and a fountain appears in only two other poems. Still, the motif of a girl who tells her mother, as an alibi for a tryst, that a stag stirred up the water is such an extreme rarity in European poetry and folklore (Meogo 9 is one of two examples) that philologists and anthropologists have naturally sought parallels in other languages, periods and cultures.

Some of that work is unquestionably relevant to the interpretation of these texts and has been taken into account, but here the songs of Pero Meogo are handled as *cantigas d'amigo*. I summarize scholarly consensus on symbols, argue the case for ritual language (but not for any magical, religious, mythical, or cosmological meaning), and cite two extraordinary parallels from Serbian oral poetry (one, from a ballad, is the *only* other example of the motif mentioned above; the other, a ritual song, clarifies the language of the ballad and is a close match for Meogo 5; see Appendix 1). But with those exceptions, parallel passages are drawn almost entirely from the *cantigas d'amigo* and few are taken from outside Galician-Portuguese lyric. My aim here is to elucidate the poetics of these songs in the context of this genre.

³ The thorough review of bibliography on the poems of Pero Meogo (and on diverse interpretations of their symbolism) by Trubarac (2011: 30-167) has spared me this task. References here to the secondary literature are selective. Some interpretations and positions are accepted or refuted *en passant*; others are explored at length.

⁴ Tellingly, *BITAGAP* registers far more bibliographical items for Meogo 5 and 9 (where a stag stirs the water) than for any of the other seven texts.

Introduction

The Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'amigo* are 500 texts of female-voiced love lyric composed between (roughly) the early 13th century and the middle of the 14th by a total of 88 male authors, mainly Galician and Portuguese, from kings and nobles to clerics and jograres. The poems survive in two large manuscripts, V (in the Vatican Library) and B (in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon), both copied in Italy in the early 16th century for the great humanist Angelo Colocci and both rediscovered there in the 19th century (the seven songs of Martin Codax also survive in N, a 13th century parchment in the Morgan Library, New York). The *cantigas d'amigo* are characterized by a tendency towards brief strophic forms, a rhetoric of repetition with variation, the female voice, and a limited but flexible set of erotic speech-actions. Although the history of this poetry has yet to be written, it seems clear that *aaB* and related strophic forms, with their characteristic rhetoric and actions, dominated the earliest historical period, but toward the mid 13th century the genre changed to adapt to new venues and audience expectations. Larger strophic forms were favored, male-voiced rhetoric was adapted from the *cantigas d'amor*, and novel actions were introduced. Yet the poetic matrix, though evolving in response to pressures in the cultural ecosystem, endured and even enjoyed a revival with King Denis (reigned 1279-1325). The genre appears to have reached its zenith by the middle of the 13th century with the development of the sequence of songs organized for performance, an artform that can justly be called lyric theater. The nine *cantigas d'amigo* of Pero Meogo seem a prime example of this artform.⁵

1. Strophic design

In Galician-Portuguese lyric the most basic principle of composition is the *principle of external responsion* (I borrow the term from Paul Maas): within a *cantiga* strophes should correspond to one another *formally* (Cohen 2003: 44-47; 2010b: 12-13, 20-22). They should have the same shape and therefore the same number of verses and *cola* (metrical units smaller than a verse) and the same—or a metrically equivalent—number of syllables per verse and per colon *in verses and cola that correspond to one another interstrophically*. The design of a strophe can be understood only in relation to other strophes; the design of a verse or colon can only be ascertained by comparing verses and cola in the same position in the rest of the poem.⁶ Comprehension of strophic design depends on the analysis of interstrophic correspondence.

The refrain (found in around 90% of the *cantigas d'amigo*) is not, strictly speaking, a metrical phenomenon, although it conforms to the principle of external responsion and normally occupies the second period of the strophe. Even where the refrain differs

⁵ See Appendix 2. On the poetic matrix, see Cohen 2009b: 37-39. Hereinafter I will use the spelling *Dinis*.

⁶ Verses, cola, and strophes that violate the principle of external responsion are suspect and should probably be emended—unless, as in Meogo 8, external responsion holds for each pair of strophes.

metrically from the rest of the strophe (as in some aaB forms) this difference alone cannot make it a refrain.⁷ To verify the existence of a refrain we must also check to see that the *words* are identical at each repetition (variation is rare), and this is rhetorical analysis, however simple it may be. A refrain is the most salient para-metrical phenomenon where language in a fixed position remains constant throughout a song.

The principle of external resposion can be mirrored in para-metrical phenomena such as rhyme systems and in rhetorical techniques such as interstrophic repetition of rhyme words and phrases. When such phenomena are symmetrical in relation to the design of the strophe and the song they reflect the workings of that principle.

The strophes in Meogo's songs, except for 3, consist of two periods: the body of the strophe, with two verses (notated *aa*); and the refrain, with one, two, or three verses (notated *B*, *BB*, and *BBB*, respectively). The verse design in the two periods is metrically different in 1, 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9, but equal in 5 and 7. In each period there is one verse-final rhyme sound and this rhyme sound is not shared by the other period.⁸ The variations of strophic design are: 1) simplex, without internal cola; 2) two cola per verse in the first period; 3) two cola per verse in both periods; 4) a single period, with verses made up of two cola. These variations correspond to the early phase of the *cantiga d'amigo*, which is characterized by aaB strophes (and kindred strophic designs, such as aaBB, aaBBB) whose verses are often divided into cola, either in the refrain (where they are usually marked by internal rhyme) or in the body of the strophe (where they need not rhyme) or in both periods (with or without internal rhyme in either; Cohen 2005; 2013e; 2013f; 2014).

In Meogo the strophic form aaB is used five times: 1, 4, 5, 6, and 9. The form aaBB is employed twice: 2 and 7. And aaBBB occurs once, in 8. The form aa in 3 is unique in the genre (strophes of a single period are extremely rare in Galician-Portuguese lyric).⁹ Poems 1-4 and 9 deploy verses of two cola in the first period; poem 5 (and maybe 8) uses two cola in both periods (the only other aaB poems with two cola in both periods but no internal rhyme are Lopo 6 and 7).¹⁰ The second verse of the refrain in 2 also has

⁷ Judging from the extant corpus, in the oldest stratum of *cantigas d'amigo* the refrain in an aaB strophe may have differed from the first period in meter as well as rhyme.

⁸ See Correia 2005 for refrains bound by rhyme to the body of the strophe. In the *cantigas d'amigo* there are some special cases in compositions with shifting rhyme schemes, e.g., aaA in Martin Codax 2.I, III, V, where strophes II, IV and VI present a regular aaB schema (see Appendix 2 in Cohen 2009a).

⁹ The only other *cantigas d'amigo* with a single period are Bernal de Bonaval 1 and Johan Airas 41, both with aaa. See Afonso X, B 466 (= CEM 35) *Don Gonçalo, pois queredes ir daqui pera Sevilha*, also with aaa.

¹⁰ The overall strophic form is not in doubt in any of Meogo's songs. Although the verses of Meogo 3 (with one exception) are divided into short lines in *B* and *V*, this was due to the need to copy long verses in narrow columns (as we can see from the treatment of 5 in *V*). The colometry in 1, 2 and 4 is not as clear as in 3, 5, 8 and 9. One sign of a colon boundary is that hiatus can occur there even though it would normally not be permitted: 3.5 *E se el vai ferido, | irá morrer al mar* (not *ferid' irá*); 5.14 *o cervo do monte | a*

two cola. The only internal rhymes are those in 2.III and the *assonant* rhymes at the inner colon boundary in 3.I-III (*Roman numerals refer to strophes*).

The overall syllable count of a verse is indicated by a number, such as 6, meaning there are six syllables and the final syllable is accented (masculine cadence), or by a number with an apostrophe mark following, such as 6', meaning the verse has seven syllables but the final accented syllable is the sixth (feminine cadence). In Meogo, verses in the first period range from five syllables (6.V, VII) to 13 (poem 3; or for a poem with two periods, 11', in 5). The refrain has as few as four syllables (3', in 6) and as many as twelve (11', in 5).

Normally, verses that correspond from strophe to strophe match perfectly in the number of syllables, the position of the final accent, and the kind of cadence (masculine or feminine). But there are two types of alternatives to this norm. The first type occurs in Meogo 2, where there is an interstrophic equivalence of 9'=10: *Affeito me ten | ja por sandia* (III.1) = *Non faç' eu torto | de mi lh' assanhar* (II.1). The syllable count is equal but the cadence and the position of the final accent differ. This type, which can be represented as $n'=n+1$ (e.g., 9'=10), appears in 63 *cantigas d'amigo* (12% of the corpus).¹¹ The other type occurs in 6, where 5'=5. The position of the cadence and final accent are identical, but syllable count differs: *des que los lavara* (VI.1) = *des que los lavei* (V.1). This type, which can be conceived of as $n'=n$ (e.g., 5'=5), is found in 15 texts (3% of the corpus).¹² In Meogo 6 this equivalence belongs to an alternation by pairs of strophes in the second half of the poem (5 in V and VII; 5' in VI and VIII).

The hierarchy of metrical units is thus: strophe, period, verse, colon. The metrical template appears to be an alternation of strong and weak positions determined by counting backwards from the nearest cadence (at the end of the colon or verse). Stressed and unstressed syllables then *coincide* (by definition) with strong and weak positions, respectively, at that cadence. All other positions are free, but there is a tendency for such coincidence to increase towards the end of the strophe and the *cantiga*.

agua volvia (not *mont' a*); 8.3 *poilo cervo | i ven* (not *cerv' i*); 9.8 *cervos do monte | a agua volv<i>an*. Since there are no examples of hiatus at that position in 1, 2 or 4, *regular word-break* rather than *colon boundary* might be a more accurate term in those cases. Here, for practical purposes, the two phenomena are treated as equivalent.

¹¹ This type is referred to as "Mussafia's Law," after Adolfo Mussafia's 1895 article, "Sull'antica metrica portoghese." It is often mistakenly thought to include mixtures like 9'/10 in the same strophe in texts where the same mixture, in the same positions, occurs in every strophe (cf. Fassanelli 2012). This "law" also operates at the level of the colon—as in Meogo 2, where 4' corresponds interstrophically to 5.

¹² See Cohen 2003: 44-47 (add Johan Airas 6 and Dinis 7 to the list on pp. 45-46).

2. Rhyme systems; *leixa-pren*

In *cobras singulares* there is a new rhyme sound in the first period of each strophe. This system is used in 1 (but the rhyme sound of I recurs in IV), 2, 3, 4, 6 (I-IV) and 7. In *cobras alternantes* the rhyme sound alternates with each pair of strophes. This system is employed in 5, 6 (V-VIII), 8 and 9 (I-IV). In assonant rhyme, which seems to be traditionally linked to the formal responses of *cobras alternantes* in aaB forms, the tonic and post-tonic vowels of the rhyme must be identical but the intervening obstruent must differ. We find assonant rhyme in 3 (IV-V); 5 (I-II, IV, VI); 6 (II, IV, VIII); 7 (I); 8 (I, III-IV); and 9 (I, III-VI).

Leixa-pren (nearly always used with *cobras alternantes*) is a technique where strophic design, para-metrics, and rhetoric intersect. When mechanical *leixa-pren* runs throughout an entire text, as in 5 and 8, rhetorical repetition with variation, rhyme-system and rhyme words all proceed by pairs of strophes. From the third strophe on, verses in second position in the first period shift to first position while new material is introduced in the second verse. But there are less mechanical varieties, and *leixa-pren* is only one kind of repetition with variation (cf. the headnotes to 3 and 9; and see below, on Rhetoric).

3. Notation

For analysis, the strophe is divided into two periods (body of strophe and refrain) separated by ||. This symbol is not used when the metrical analysis of both periods is identical (5 and 7). Cola are indicated by square brackets following the overall syllable count for verses in the period, e.g., 10' [4'+5']. Cola are only marked in the first period—unless at least one colon of the second period is equal to a colon in the first period (2, 5 and 8). For assonant rhymes a hyphen is used, e.g., *e-o*. For rhymes in *cobras alternantes* two slashes indicate alternation from the first strophe to the second within each pair of strophes, for instance: *i-o // a-o*. For metrical analysis a single slash indicates that a given verse or colon varies in different strophes: 5/5'.

4. Rhetoric

The lexicon of the *cantigas d'amigo*, the smallest and etymologically the purest of the three secular genres, represents a conservative local norm with some unusual archaic elements and may attempt to imitate a linguistic register historically associated with female speech (Cohen 2013a: 2-3). Openly sexual words are taboo (as they are in the *cantigas d'amor*). Code-words, symbols, euphemisms, periphrases, and the overall logic of an utterance express sexuality indirectly (Cohen 2012b). In Meogo we find archaic

phonology in *fontana* (5, 9), an archaic lexical item in *loir* (8), and archaic meaning in *alto* (9) and maybe also *seguida* (8). Sexuality appears in code words like *falar* and *veer* and in symbols like *cervo* and *fonte*.

The poetic language used in this genre is largely oral-formulaic. The lexical and morpho-syntactic components of formulas are flexible and can adapt to different metrical contexts. Some formulas contain the kernel of a pragmatic schema or *script* (Cohen 2009b: 37-39; see below), such as *irei*, *madre* or *falade migo*. There are also formulas of politeness and request, of rebuke, insult and threat, and so on. Some variants of these formulas constitute a whole colon or verse. The use of formulaic language is related, synchronically and diachronically, to the general phenomenon of repetition with variation.

Repetition with variation is the most widespread rhetorical technique in the genre, but systematic repetition is not common. In *cantigas d'amigo* with aaB strophes (or aaBB, aaBBB) repetition is regular only in the refrain. Many poems exhibit tight patterns and some deploy the tightest pattern—*leixa-pren* with *cobras alternantes*, but others are more linear and some use little or no repetition in the first period. Among the songs of Meogo, poem 7 displays no repetition in the first period; poem 2 repeats two items (including *sanhuda* [I.1] > *assanhar* [II.1]); and there is unsystematic repetition with variation in poem 1. Poems 5 and 8 display mechanical repetition with variation in *cobras alternantes* and stand at the extreme towards which the series 7, 2, 1 points. The *leixa-pren* in 9 is less mechanical than that in 5 and 8. Poems 3, 4 and 6, which are not composed in *cobras alternantes* but use *leixa-pren* (6. V-VIII) or embryonic *leixa-pren* (3, 4), are closer to the repetitions of 5, 8 and 9 than to the linearity of 7. In the poems of Meogo we see gradations between a linear rhetoric in the first period and mechanical repetition with variation.

Language is released in synchrony with the temporal units of the strophe, especially in aaB and kindred forms, and in the distribution of syntax words and phrases that occupy the end of metrical units tend to bear a rhetorical stress. In mechanical *leixa-pren* with *cobras alternantes* repetition with variation is mapped onto interstrophic responsion, producing a double spiral of rhetoric and form.

5. Pragmatics

In the *cantigas d'amigo* action is the drama of rhetoric in strophic form. Strophic design organizes poetic performance into metrical units, each with temporal duration. Action is revealed by a rhetoric divided into cognitive chunks that correspond to these metrical units. The properties of strophic design provide a formal base for the timed release of language and action.

In 98% of the poems, the speaker is a girl, her mother, the girl's girlfriend, or a boy (who is given a voice only in dialogues with the girl—which she begins). The girl

can speak to any of the other three personae, but they can only address her (there is no directly represented communication between the other three personae: mother, girlfriend and boy do not speak with one another *onstage*). There are a dozen *cantigas* with an outside narrative voice, but most of them include words from a girl's song.

Speaker and addressee are the poles between which a communicative act occurs, and that act may seem to be the utterance which is the text, but successful communication, including the performance and comprehension of a speech-action, depends on many factors and contexts outside the utterance: situation, setting, the identity and relationship of the personae, their customs, beliefs, powers of inference and *poiesis*, and the rules and conventions of the genre.

The background and new information and the main action (or *move*) expressed by a speaker enact a script.¹³ The genre comprises numerous *Sprachspiele* (language-games) articulated as families of scripts, each script representing an action performed by one of the personae during a relationship between girl and boy (Cohen 2011a: 95-101, 105). These scripts describe a restricted social world in a limited physical space, modestly urban, whose spatial references, from the girl's point of view, are mainly deictic: *here* (*aquí*), near her mother; *elsewhere* (*alhur*), where the boy disappears; and *there* (*alá*), where the boy goes, but also where the two can meet alone.¹⁴ The locations of their trysts (except *romaria* sites, which are Christian substitutes; see on 1.5) are rarely mentioned: *longi de vila* (Bernal de Bonaval 3), *no monte* (Roi Fernandiz 2), or by the river or the sea (see on *mar* 3.5, *rio* 9.14)—places beyond the reach of law and custom. In Meogo that place is the spring (*fonte* or *fontana*). The basis of this world, for the girl and the other personae, is wooing, or *fala* ("talking;" Cohen 2012b: 10-11). Wooing, its language, actions and customs, is the fundamental social institution of the genre. And since wooing potentially effects the girl's transition to marriage, it is linked to sexuality, child-bearing, inheritance, and the honor of the family, though these are never mentioned outright.

6. Ritual

Do some of the texts of Pero Meogo reflect *ritual* performances marking a girl's transition to marriage? Does the symbol system belong to a myth (a *tale* of gods and

¹³ The move can be *deflected* by rhetoric (some would call this *indirect illocutionary force*; cf. Cohen 2011a: 100). See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 9.1, on tropes and figures: *quod utraque res a directa et simplici ratione cum aliqua dicendi virtute deflectitur* ("because each [trope and figure] is deflected from a straightforward and simple logic in the presence of some stylistic enhancement").

¹⁴ Neither *aquí* nor *alhur* appears in Meogo. *Alá* occurs at 4.2.

heroes)?¹⁵ And if some of the songs *are* ritual, what is the relation between these and the secular songs?

A pivotal step in a rite of passage from one social condition to another is that the initiand goes away and loses identity (Van Gennep). This is the marginal or liminal phase, or *liminality*. Then the initiand returns and takes on a new role. During liminality “the ritual subjects are given new names to denote their ‘no longer/not yet’ status” (Deflem 1991: 13). In Meogo, personae, concepts and activities acquire new names. The girl and her girlfriends become female deer, *does*. The boy turns into a *stag*. Female sexuality is a *fountain*. Amorous conversation and erotic activities are *going to the fountain*. The girl’s preparations for union are represented by *washing her hair* and the union itself is symbolized by *binding her hair with gold*. A *stag stirring up the water* refers to sexual relations between boy and girl.

During the liminal phase the initiands are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial” (Turner 1969a: 95). *Sacra*—sacred objects—are used, instructions are given, symbols are employed, actions performed. There is a “ludic deconstruction.” The familiar is distorted to stimulate magical, religious or cosmological conceptions.¹⁶ “Since liminal time is not controlled by the clock it is a time of enchantment when anything *might*, even should, happen” (Turner 1969b: 465).

In the songs of Meogo the identities of boy and girl are suspended. Caught in an “interstructural period,” they hover between human (*amigo* and *filha*) and animal (*cervo* and *cerva*) and perform these roles in a ludic re-creation—or a ritual drama—with magical overtones. Some symbols—fountain, hair, gold, and perhaps the stag—may correspond to *sacra*. If these personae and symbols did belong to a rite, the tale in which they figured could be called a myth. The texts provide enough information to sketch out this tale: at the beginning of Spring (*verdes ervas; verdes prados*) a girl gets up at dawn, goes to the fountain, washes her hair, binds it with gold, and dances with (or encounters) a stag.¹⁷ The specifications—time of day (dawn), time of year (Spring), place (fountain)—suggest a ritual that must be performed in precise and propitious circumstances. And the central drama (5-6) represents sexuality with symbolic language and ritual actions.

Symbols are employed to control the marginal phase by manipulating conceptual frames. The initiand should be fixated on the symbols in the ritual, as the girl is on the stag. When she comes back from the spring, it is with ritual symbolic language that she describes to her mother what happened: *the stags stirred up the water*.

¹⁵ On ritual-magical origins, see Hatto (cf. Trubarac 2014), Asensio, Reckert, Morales Blouin. Here I am trying to build on the contributions of Trubarac (2010, 2011, 2012), on whom I rely for the Slavic material.

¹⁶ Deflem (1991: 14), synthesizing the views of Victor Turner.

¹⁷ I distinguish between *spring* (= *fonte, fontana*) and the season *Spring* by capitalizing the latter.

Most scripts in Meogo represent speech-actions between the girl and her mother in what seems a domestic setting (1-3 and 7-9). In 4 the girl complains to her girlfriends (*cervas*) that the boy has gone. And two texts (5-6) narrate the girl's actions. Throughout the set, however, the drama focuses directly or indirectly on the ritual at the fountain, whose enactment varies from poem to poem in context and detail.

In 5 an unidentified voice narrates the ritual: the girl gets up at dawn, goes to wash her hair in the fountain, her boy comes by; the stag stirs the water. In 6 the girl, speaking to the boy within the ritual itself, says she saw deer running, washed her hair, tied it with gold, and waited for him. In 8 the mother, warning her daughter, says she danced at the fountain and tore her clothes. And in 9 mother and girl give contrasting versions: the girl's excuse, that "the stags of the hills muddied the water," is rejected by her mother: "You're lying for your boyfriend; a stag can't muddy that stream." When the mother rejects the symbols the liminal phase appears to be ending.

But where does the ritual begin? And where does it end? It is not easy to draw a boundary between the domestic and the ritual drama. The personae appear to enter successive stages of ritual, but at what point do they leave their everyday world and when do they return to it? Does the ritual drama begin with 4, which except for the vocative *ai cervas do monte* is like other similar scripts? Or before that? Does 8 take place after the ritual? And if not 8, then does 9 mark the end of the ritual? Or does the mother's reproach in 9 also belong to a series of ritual enactments? Do we need different methods to interpret the inner and the outer drama?

In a ritual, symbols signify together in their specific linguistic, social, and historical context. The personae, symbols, words and actions make up a system. They depend on social structures and aim to inculcate them. The institution represented in the ritual language of Meogo seems to be marriage—or female-male union. And marriage is the issue in the Serbian ballad "For three years I asked for a maiden's hand," studied by Trubarac (2010: 29–42, 2011: 99–110), which contains a dialogue that is by far the best parallel for Meogo 9 yet found in any language (see Appendix 1).

Serbian Ballad (transcribed xviii c.e.)

"You bitch, no daughter of mine,
What were you doing at the cold water
From midnight until noon?"

"Don't scold me, my dear mother.
The stag was standing at the cold water,
With his horn he was stirring the freezing water.
With his horn he stirred it, with his eyes he made it clear;
I waited until it got clear."

Pero Meogo 9 (xiii c.e.)

Tell me, daughter, my lovely daughter,
Why did you tarry at the cold fountain?

I tarried, mother, at the cold fountain;
Stags from the hills muddied the water.

"Don't lie, bitch, no daughter of mine,
You bitch, that wasn't the stag of the hills,
It was a stout man from the fort."

Daughter, you're lying for your lover!
I never saw a stag that muddied the pool.

In both texts: (1) a mother greets her daughter and asks why she is returning so late; (2) the daughter says she took a long time because a stag stirred up the water (and she had to wait for it to clear again); (3) the mother accuses the girl of lying, saying it was a man, not a deer, that delayed her.

Despite the distance in time, geography and language, the pragmatic match (a mother/daughter dialogue in three perfectly corresponding parts) and the rhetorical match (the use, by a daughter speaking to her mother, of a stag stirring spring water as an alibi for an erotic encounter) point to a common model. The main differences between the texts are that in the ballad the mother insults the daughter; the daughter was gone *from midnight until noon*; the stag stirred the water *with his horn* and then *with his eyes made it clear*; the man is *from the fort* (or "town"). The mother/daughter dialogue in the ballad is framed by a narrative told by the "man from the fort," who has decided to abduct the bride with her consent, since otherwise he could not marry her. This recalls the medieval Iberian custom of *rapto nupcial*, where the bride was often kidnapped with her own consent and sometimes with the tacit complicity of her family.¹⁸

Trubarac (2010: 47–49; 2011: 184–186) shows the close affinities between this ballad and a ritual song belonging to a custom called the *ranilo* (see Appendix 1). At the start of Spring nubile girls rise after midnight, go to a water source and remain until dawn. The focus of the ritual is dance, especially the *kolo* (literally, "wheel"), and song. At dawn the girls draw water and go home. The magical-ritual "Early arose the maidens," sung during the *ranilo*, tells how the girls got up early and went to the water, but *a stag stirred the water with its horn and then made it clear with his eyes* (an indivisible formula—neither half appears alone). In the *ranilo* this refers to a myth in which a female figure representing virginity and fertility is kidnapped by a stag-hero with attributes of a solar deity. In the ballad the same imagery refers to a *human* marriage by kidnap.

We should not think the symbol system in the songs of Meogo invoked a myth of cosmic marriage. But the symbolic language in Meogo's songs must come from ritual—nuptial and prenuptial. A girl who *arises at dawn, goes to the spring, washes her hair, binds it with gold, dances with a stag, and returns with torn clothes* is in the process of being wed.

The form and meaning of a myth are variable. Myths are adapted to different ritual purposes, which may be magical, religious, political, or literary. And although the words, symbols and acts of a ritual may endure long after they have become detached

¹⁸ *Rapto nupcial* is the subject of CEM 285 (B 172; Martin Soares) *Pois boas donas son desemparradas*. See Oliveira 1990.

from a myth, over time their meaning will alter or fade altogether. Even if some songs of Meogo were rooted in a rite linked to a myth and reproduce ritual language (which we must strive to understand), they are in the end *cantigas d'amigo*.

The *cantigas d'amigo* are female-voiced lyric-dramatic love poems. They are lyric because they are strophic songs, and dramatic because each poem enacts a script. And a set of songs sketches out a drama of social and erotic action. The technology of a *cantiga d'amigo* can be seen as a ritual choreography of sound, words and movement: the rhetoric of repetition maps itself onto external responsion, measuring out an utterance and the action that it represents. In the poems of Meogo a ritual symbolic dimension is added—or restored—to this matrix. Now, the social matrix of the genre had, evidently, always been based on wooing or, more accurately, mating: ritual behavior stemming from a (pre-historic) *socio-biological program of action* (W. Burkert; see Versnel 1990: 59-62). So in this the texts of Meogo are no different. Nor is it the mere use of symbols that sets them apart. Symbolism is found in a few dozen other *cantigas d'amigo*. What distinguishes the songs of Pero Meogo—beyond their exceptional formal and rhetorical mastery—is the open representation of pagan rites through ritual symbolic language and action.

Synopses

1. Cadence

[*M, m* = masculine; *F, f* = feminine. An upper case letter indicates a period; a lower case letter, a strophe. A single upper case letter is used if both periods employ the same cadence.]

1 <i>M</i>	4 <i>M</i> <i>F</i>	7 <i>F</i>
2 <i>M</i>	5 <i>F</i>	8 <i>M</i>
3 <i>M</i>	6 <i>ffff mfmf</i> <i>F</i>	9 <i>F</i> <i>M</i>

2. Colometry, Meter, and Rhyme

1 aaB (x4): 10 [4'+5] 8	ei er or ei á
2 aaBB (x3): 10/9' [4'/5+5/4'] 6 10 [4'+5]	ou ar (en) ia er
3 aa (x5): 13 [6'+6]	(i-o) ei (i-o) or (i-o) ar i/in al/ar
4 aaB (x2): 11 [5'+5] 5'	ar er ida
5 aaB (x6): 11' [5'+5']	i-a // a-a ęda
6 aaB (x8): 5'/5 3'	ervas a-os elos e-as ei ara ei a-a igo
7 aaBB (x3): 7'	a-e ado onte igo
8 aaBBB (x4): 8/9 [3'+4/5] 6 [3'+2] 9 [3'+5] 6 [3'+2]	ar ir al in en
9 aaB (x6): 10' [4'+5'] 5	i-a // a-a (I-IV); i-o / a-o (V-VI) ei

3. Speaker–addressee combinations and pragmatic scripts

[Here a slash / indicates a dialogue; Ø = unidentified addressee.]

Speaker–Addressee Background and Present Information; Main Action or Emotion

1 Girl–Mother	<i>I promised to meet him, but for you I'll break my word. If I don't go, he'll be angry.</i>
2 Girl–Ø	<i>I'm angry: he doesn't come, yet he asks me to go to the spring.</i>
3 Girl/Mother	<i>He's dying of love! I must be kind to him. / Be careful! I knew someone like that.</i>
4 Girl–cervas	<i>He left. What will I do if he lingers?</i>
5 Narrator	<i>She got up, washed her hair, her boy came by; the stag stirred the water.</i>
6 Girl–Boy	<i>I saw the deer, washed my hair, tied it with gold, and was waiting for you.</i>
7 Girl–Mother	<i>Will he dare to talk with me in front of you? I'll go to the spring.</i>
8 Mother–Girl	<i>You tore your clothes at the dance! Beware the stag at that spring!</i>
9 Mother/Girl	<i>Why did you linger at the fountain? / Stags stirred the water. / You're lying for your boy!</i>

The *Cantigas* of Pero Meogo

Text and Commentary

– *Que hasés, mi novia garrida?*
– *Asperando a vos, mi vida.*

PERO MEOGO – 1

O meu amig', a que preito talhei,
con vosso medo, madre, mentir lh' ei,
e se non for, assanhar s' á.

Talhei lh' eu preito de o ir veer
 ena fonte_u os cervos van bever,
e se non for, assanhar <s' á>.

E non ei eu de lhi mentir sabor,
mais mentir lh' ei <eu> con vosso pavor,
e se non for, <assanhar s' á>.

De lhi mentir nen un sabor non ei, 10
con vosso med' a mentir lh' averei,
e se non for, <assanhar s' á>.

B 1184 f. 252r-v *V* 789 f. 124r-v

8 uosso *V*: uossa *B* <eu> *supplevi*; cf. v. 7
10 nẽ hũ *BV*

For fear of you, mother, I'll break my word
To my friend, with whom I made a pact,
And if I don't go, he will get angry.

I made a pact to go to see him
At the spring where the stags go to drink,
And if I don't go, he will get angry.

I have no desire to break my word,
But break it I will, for fear of you,
And if I don't go, he will get angry.

To break my word is not what I desire,
But, for fear of you, I'll have to break it,
And if I don't go, he will get angry.

aaB (x4): 10 [4'+5] || 8
 ei er or ei || á

The girl tells her mother that although she agreed to meet the boy at the spring she will break her word and not go out of fear of her mother. But if she does not go, he will be angry.

“Let me go.” The girl *seems* to let her mother force her to break her promise. But though she fears her mother’s authority she wants to see the boy—who will get angry if she does not go. So the thrust of her utterance is not *I will break my word* but rather *he will get angry*. She still wants to persuade her mother to allow her to go. “Mother, let me go” is the move (main action) of a common script. See, for instance, Johan Servando 6.1-5 *A San Servand’, u ora van todas orar, / madre velida, por Deus vin volo rogar / que me leixedes alá ir / a San Servand’ e, se o meu amigo vir, / leda serei, por non mentir*; Afonso Meendez de Beesteiros 2.1-4 *Mha madre, venho vos rogar / como roga filh’ a senhor: / o que morre por mi d’ amor, / leixade m’ ir co<n> el falar*; Martin de Caldas 2.1-2 *Madr’ e senhor, leixade m’ ir veer / aquel que eu por meu mal dia vi* and 14 *madre, leixade mho veer, por Deus*. Here the move is deflected far from its “straightforward and simple logic” (see note 13, above; compare Johan Servando 4-9 for variations on this move). In Meogo, the “spring where the stags go to drink” is associated with sexual initiation and is—at least symbolically—the site of a ritual.

The closest formal parallel among aaB strophes is Pero de Veer 1: 10 [4'+5] || 8' where the cola in the first period are identical. See also Johan Servando 7: 10/10' || 8.

1 o meu amigo anticipates the indirect object of *mentir*, the pronoun *lh'* (v. 2). See Johan Soares Coelho 4.1-2 *Ai madr’, o que eu quero ben / non lh’ ous’ eu ante vós falar* and Vaasco Perez Pardal 3.1-2 *provad’ un dia / o voss’ amigo de vo-lh’ assanhar* (“try sometime getting angry at your boyfriend”). (It would therefore be misguided to emend the article *o* to the preposition *a*. Nor is *o* likely to be a contraction of *ao*. Such a contraction is found in this genre only in Pae Gomez Charinho 1.21 and 26 [cf. Pero d’Ambroa 1.6] and *ao* is bisyllabic at Meogo 8.12; see note). *Amigo*, the genre’s key word, occurs 23 times in the set. The number of occurrences in each poem is: 1, 1, 3; 2, 4, 8; 3, 0, 1.

preito talhei: “I made a pact.” This phrase, found in this genre here and in Dinis 37, was associated with the *cantiga d’amigo* during the 13th century, as evidenced by the parody in CEM 385.6-7 *pois eu tanto por voss’ amor ei feito / ali u vós migo talhastes preito* (Pero Garcia Burgalês). Cf. CEM 423.26-27 *e meus preitos talhei / con Frei Rodrigu’ / e mentiu-mi-os* (Vaasco Gil). The expression is not found in the *cantigas d’amor* or registered in CSM, DVPM or Lorenzo. (It appears in Castilian in Berceo [880c] *como con el diablo hobo pleito talado*; Alixandre [1286/1266b] *pleito tajado*; General Estoria [7.XXII] *Finco Jacob por pleito tajado*).

preito with the meaning “agreement,” “pact” is an important concept in the relationship between boy and girl, or *fala*, where progress depends partly on keeping agreements (Cohen 1996a: 6-7; 2011a: 102-103; 2012b: 10-11). *Placitum* (the source of *preito*) has a broad range of meanings in medieval Latin (see Niermeyer, s.v.) and *preito* is nearly as versatile (see the glossaries of CA, CEM, CSM). Here *preito talhei* does not correspond to “I made a date.” Rather, “I made a promise,” or “I made a solemn pact.” By extension, the word can mean “rendezvous,” as in CEM 412.2 (Roi Paez de Ribela) *ainda mh a preito saia* (“let her come out to meet me for a tryst”). It can also refer to the whole relationship between boy and girl: Juião Bolseiro 6.19 *Non mi á mais vosso preito mester* (“I don’t need this whole *business* of yours anymore”). For *preito* with sexual connotations, see Cohen 2012b: 12-13.

2 vosso medo: *Vosso* is objective here: “fear of you.” Cf. Juião Bolseiro 7.1-2 *Mal me tragedes, ai filha, por que quer’ aver amigo, / e, pois eu, con vosso medo, non o ei nen é comigo*. See v. 11 and cf. v. 8 *vosso pavor*. Similarly *meu amor* (Meogo 3.3) = “love of me” (and *voss’ amor* = “love of you:” Pero Mafaldo 1.4; Dinis 55.19). But in such phrases the pronominal adjective can be possessive: Bernal de Bonaval 8.4 *E se vós, filha, meu amor queredes*.

mentir: For the social logic, see Pero da Ponte 1.2 *menti lh’ e vai mi sanhudo* (“I broke my word to him and he’s angry with me”) and 6-7 *Madre, vós que me mandastes que mentiss’ a meu amigo, / que conselho mi daredes ora, poilo non ei migo?* (“Mother, since you told me to break my word to my friend, what advice will you give me, now that he’s no longer mine?”) *Mentir* has two meanings: 1) “to lie” (as in 9.13 and 16): Johan Perez d’Avoin 10 (refrain) *ca mi mentiu o que mi soía / dizer ver Paid’ e nunca mentia* (cf. vv. 19-20); Pedr’Amigo de Sevilha 10.14-16 *maila que vos disser / que ama tant<o> om’ outra molher / mentir vos á*; Pero d’Ambroa 1.9-10 *quanto lhis mais ides en min falando, / atant’ en<ten>den mais que lhis mentides*; and 2) “to break one’s word” (as here): Pae Soarez de Taveirós 3.7-9 *Quando se foi, fez me preito que se verria mui cedo, / e mentiu m’ e tort’ á feito*; Pero Garcia Burgalês 1.2 and 11; Burgalês 2.7-10 *Jurastes que toda via verriades de bon grado / ante que saíss’ o dia* [“before the day ended”]; */ mentistes mi, ai perjurado*; Pero de Veer 3.1-4 *A Santa Maria fiz ir meu amigo / e non lh’ atendi o que pos comigo: / con el me perdi / por que lhi menti*.

3 assanhar s’ á: A member of the lexical group *Sanha* (*sanha*, *assanhar* and *sanhudo*) occurs in eleven incipits and 16 refrains (Cohen 1996a: 9-11). Here we find the verb in the refrain; in 2 *sanhuda* appears in the incipit, the verb in v. 4 (see note *ad loc.*). The boy will get angry (which could signify the end) if the girl breaks her word—since this would violate the rules of *fala*. In each strophe the girl concedes that she must obey her mother, but then in the refrain obedience to her family is overruled by desire to see the boy.

4 de o ir veer: Hiatus is regular between an unaccented final vowel and a monosyllabic object pronoun. Hence, for example, *de o*, *de os*, *de a*, *de as*, always with hiatus. See 8.4 *seguide a* (Nobiling 1907b: 349; Cunha 1982: 14, 25, 81).

ir veer: Cf. Roi Fernandiz 5 (refrain) *mandade mho ir veer*; 7.1-2 *Madre, quer' oj eu ir veer / meu amigo*; Martin de Caldas 2.1-2 *Madr' e senhor, leixade m' ir veer / aquel que eu por meu mal dia vi*; Johan de Cangas 1 (refrain) *leixedes mho ir veer*; Johan de Requeixo 3.1-2 *Pois vós, filha, queredes mui gran ben / voss' amigo, mando vol' ir veer*. The expression *ir veer* is picked up at 2.3 *que o foss' eu veer*.

Forms of *ir* are commonly used with an infinitive, often implying physical motion. See Estevan Coelho 2 (refrain) *e<u> al rio me vou banhar<e>*; Nuno Treez 3.1 *Non vou eu a San Clemenco orar*; Golparro 1.1-2 *Mal faç' eu velida, que ora non vou / veer meu amigo*. But in the same construction *ir* can function as an auxiliary verb, without referring to movement: Johan Perez d'Avoín 2.9-10 *ides cuidar / mal sen*; Johan Servando 13 (refrain) *e ides vós ben querer / a quen vos non quer veer?* Dinis 25.7-9 *Non creo que tamanho ben / mi vós podessedes querer / camanh' a mi ides dizer*. Here, as in all cases in Meogo, motion is implied. Cf. 2.3 *foss' eu veer* and 4 *van beber*; 3.5 *irá morrer*; 5.2 *vai lavar*.

veer: For the girl and boy to see one another is a significant act and *veer* is often equivalent to *falar* as a code word for erotic conversation and activities (see note on *falar* at 7.4). For instance, in Johan Airas 21 *ca des enton non vos ar quis veer* (v. 15) corresponds to *ca des enton non vos ar quis falar* (v. 9). Cf. Nuno Fernandez Torneol 4, where *por amar amig' e non lhi falar* (v. 5) corresponds to *por amar amig' e non o veer* (v. 2). This sense of *veer* is common. See, for example, Nuno Porco 1.1 *Irei a lo mar vee-lo meu amigo* (Cohen 2013d: 3-6); Johan Servando 4.5 *Se o vir, madre, serei cobrado*; Servando 7.3 *i-lo quer' eu, madre, veer*; Servando 13 (refrain) *e ides vós ben querer / a quen vos non quer veer*. But *veer* and *falar* are sometimes distinguished, as in Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 1.2 *macar m' el viu, sol non quis falar migo* and Airas Carpancho 3.1-2 *Madre velida, meu amigo vi, / non lhi falei e con el me perdi*.

5 ena fonte_u os cervos van beber: This verse reappears, with the variation *a la* for *ena*, as the second verse of the refrain in 2. This is the first appearance of *cervo*, a widespread pagan phallic symbol (Asensio), and *fonte*, a symbol of fertility, female sexuality and life-giving force. *Cervo*, singular or plural, occurs 22 times in the set (and *cervas* three times) but nowhere else in this genre, while *fonte* appears in the refrain of 2, at 7.9, and in the refrain of 8: a total of nine times. The formation *fontana* (from Latin *fontana aqua*) is found in 5 (I-IV) and 9 (I-IV), a total of eight times. In all, 17 lexical occurrences of the spring. Taken merely as the place where boy and girl meet, the fountain is functionally equivalent to the site of a *romaria* in other sets and reflects a pagan tradition which has been appropriated for Christian purposes in the *cantigas de romaria* (cf. Ferreira 2010: 218-219). *Fonte* is also found in Torneol 1 (see next note) and Johan Soares Coelho 12.

(There have been attempts to trace the stag to the Hebrew Bible, Roman literature, Christian traditions, and bestiaries, and to link the spring to fountain fairies in romances; see note 2 [add Ferreira 1999].)

bever: In *Amigo* this verb occurs only in Meogo (see 2.4) and in Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1: *Vós lhis tolhestes os ramos en que sián / e lhis secastes as fontes en que bevian* (vv. 19-20).

7, 10: *Aver sabor* means “to have the desire” [to do something], “to take pleasure” [in something, in doing something]. Here, “I take no pleasure in lying to him.” Cf. Fernan do Lago 1.1 *D’ ir a Santa Maria do Lag’ ei gran sabor*; Galisteu Fernandiz 3.2-3 *voss’ amigo que morre d’ amor / e de morrer á ja mui gran sabor*; Johan Zorro 3.1-3 *Per ribeira do rio / vi remar o navio / e sabor ei da ribeira*; Airas Nunes 4.28 (*pastorela*) *ca de a nojar non ouve sabor*.

8 ei <eu>: The verse lacks a syllable. The repetition of *eu* would be in keeping with *ei eu* in the preceding verse. See Pae Soares de Taveirós 2.7 *Sofrer lh’ ei eu de me chamar senhor*; Johan Soares Coelho 10.5 *Madre, creer vos ei eu d’ al*; Afonso Meendez de Beesteiros 2.13 *Vee-lo ei eu, per bõa fe*. Another pleonastic *eu* with a future indicative appears emphatically in rhyme in the *fiinda* of CEM 158 (Gil Perez Conde) *E, se non, ficar-m’ ei eu / na mia pousada*.

One might think of scanning *mais* as two syllables, the scansion called for in a *tençon* between Johan Soares Coelho and Lourenço (V 1022) *ben podia fazer tenções quaes / fossen ben feitas; e direi-vos mais* (vv. 12-13), but Lourenço probably uses that pronunciation for comic effect (cf. Cohen 2010b: 13-17). I find no evidence for a bisyllabic pronunciation of *mais* in the *cantigas d’amigo*. (Arbor Aldea [2012], in an exhaustive study of *mais* in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* [= A], finds that the word is always monosyllabic there.)

pavor, a Latinism, belongs to a higher register than *medo* (see TMILG).

11 a mentir lh’ averei: “I will *have to* break my word to him.” This common construction, which stresses likelihood, obligation or propriety, consists of an inflected form of *aver* plus the preposition *a* and an infinitive (see Ferreira 2014, s.v. *a* 1 [*perifr. verbais*; *aver + a + inf.*]). The future occurs in Gonçal’ Eanes do Vinhal 2.25-26 *E á tan gran coita de me veer / que lh’ averán este preit’ a saber* (“He is so eager to see me that they will surely find out about this business”). Here the construction is not merely equivalent to the future *mentir lh’ ei* (although the future can express obligation). In the sequence leading up to this phrase, the girl’s resolution not to go alternates with her displeasure at the prospect: *mentir lh’ ei* (I.2); *non ei eu de lhi mentir sabor* (III.1); *mentir lh’ ei* (III.2); *de lhi mentir nen un sabor non ei* (IV.1). The force of obligation, which is emphasized in *a mentir lh’ averei*, caps the sequence—only to be capped in turn by the refrain.

PERO MEOGO – 2

Por mui fremosa, que sanhuda_estou
 a meu amigo, que me demandou
que o foss' eu veer
a la font' u os cervos van beber.

Non faç' eu torto de mi lh' assanhar 5
 por s' atrever el de me demandar
que o foss' eu veer
<a la font' u os cervos van beber>.

Afeito me ten ja por sandia,
 que el<e> non ven, mas <ar> envia 10
que o foss' eu veer
<a la font' u os cervos van beber>.

B 1185 f. 252v *V* 790 f. 124v

4 fontuos *B* : fonte os *V*

6 demãdar *V* : demander *B*

9 sandia *Nunes* : seu dia *BV* : sendia *Grüzmacher*

10 el<e> *supplevi* mas *BV* : ma<i>s *Nunes* <ar> *supplevi* <mandad'> envia *Montero Santalha*

11 o] 9 *B*

Lovely though I am, I'm very angry
 With my boyfriend, who asked that I
 Go to see him
 At the spring where the stags go to drink.

I do no wrong to get angry with him
 For having the nerve to ask that I
 Go to see him
 At the spring where the stags go to drink.

He must now really think I'm crazy,
 Since he doesn't come but sends word that I
 Go to see him
 At the spring where the stags go to drink.

aaBB (x3): 10/9' [4'/5+5/4'] || 6 10 [4'+5]
 ou ar (en) ia || er

The girl says she is angry because the boy has not come and yet has asked her to go to see him at the fountain.

A declaration of anger: “*I am furious!*” The girl expected the boy to come and he did not (see on *non ven*, v. 10). Failing to come to a tryst is a violation of the rules and can cause a girl to end the *fala*. That this boy who failed to appear should now ask the girl to go meet him infuriates her even more. Those who seek sequential action (or a narrative) in 1 and 2 try to explain the girl’s mood, but the *sanhuda* (“angry girl”) is a persona in the repertory theater of this genre and appears here for theatrical reasons: her anger brings variety in tone and action (Cohen 1994: 141-142). The only psychological explanation for her wrath resides in the script: {*non ven* → *sanhuda*}. In all the other poems the girl is eager to see the boy (1, 3, 4, 7), sees him (6), or has seen him (5, 8, 9). The *sanhuda* is parodied in Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 5 and Vaasco Praga de Sandin 3 (cf. Cohen 1996: 23-24.)

In Pero de Veer 4 the verse design is identical in the first period: 10/9' [4'/5+5/4']. The design of the second verse of the refrain here is the same as those in the first period in 1: 10 [4'+5]. In the last strophe there is an isolated internal rhyme at the colon break: *ten / ven*. Internal rhyme, perfect or assonant, which is not regular throughout a *cantiga* but used in one or two strophes at the internal colon boundary, occurs in: Airas Carpancho 8.1-2 (ia) *Por fazer romaria | puj' en meu coraçon / a Santiag' un dia | ir fazer oraçon*; Pero de Veer 4.10-11 (eu-en) *Nen o viss' eu nen | o tant' amasse, / pois mi Deus deu quen | me non leixasse*; Bernal de Bonaval 3.1-2 (i-a) *Ai fremosinha, | se ben ajades, / longi de vila, | quen asperades* and 4-5; Bonaval 6.10-11 (i-eu) *Pois m' aqui seu | mandado non chegou, / muito vin eu | mais leda ca me vou*; Bonaval 8.7-8 (ide) *E al á i de | que vos non guardades: / perdedes i de | quanto lhi falades*; Nuno Treez 3.13-14 (ade) *Pois eu e<n> mha voontade | de o non veer son ben fis, / que porrei par caridade | ant' el candeas de Paris?* and 16-17 (igo) *En mi tolher meu amigo | filhou comigo perfia, / por end' arderá, vos digo, | ant' el lume de bogia*; Fernan do Lago 1.7-8 (ia) *Gran sabor averia | <e>no meu coraçon / d' ir a Santa Maria, | se i achass' enton* and 10-11 (i-a) *Ja jurei noutro dia, | quando m' ende parti, / que non foss' a la ermida, | se ante non foss' i* (cf. Cohen 2013e). The use of such rhymes can hardly be coincidental: three of the eight *cantigas d'amigo* of Bonaval deploy them; in Pero de Veer 4 and two songs of Bonaval (6 and 8) there is feminine internal rhyme involving two different words; and in Bonaval 3, Treez 3, and Lago 1 the technique occurs in two successive strophes. All the examples cited above except one (Pero de Veer 4.10-11) appear at the beginning or end of the composition—in the first or last strophe or pair of strophes. That these are preferred locations is confirmed by the cases in Meogo: in this

text internal rhyme occurs in the final strophe, while in 3 it is found in the three opening strophes.

1 por mui fremosa: This is equivalent to a concessive clause: “No matter how lovely I may be.” There is an exact parallel in Johan de Cangas 2.3 *por mui fremosa, que triste m’ én parti* (“Although I am very lovely, how sad I was when I went away from there”). In both cases we find an elliptical version of the construction *por X [= adjective] que seja*. See *Cronica Troiana* 273 (TMILG) *ante que fogir pera nossa terra, por muy bõa nẽ por uiçossa que ela sseia* (“however fine and lush it may be”). The girl is pretty by convention. When she identifies herself at the beginning of a song as *fremosa* (*velida*, *louçana*, etc.) she is telling the audience who is speaking. Here, by qualifying that, she says in effect, “Although I am that pretty girl [with whom you are all familiar], now I am *angry*.” These lexical markers, which are oral formulaic and appear in a score of incipits, characterize the girl’s mood (*leda*, *triste*, *coitada*, *sanhuda*) and so help to contextualize the utterance, letting the audience know which emotional mask the girl is wearing. Since there are few words describing emotion, nuances must be inferred from overall rhetoric and action.

fremosa modifies the girl as speaking subject in the incipit of five other texts: Johan Soares Coelho 1 *Per bõa fe mui fremosa sanhuda*; Afonso Lopez de Baian 1 *Fui eu fremosa fazer oraçon*; Baian 3 *Ir quer’ oj’ eu fremosa de coraçõ*; Pero d’Armea 1 *Sej’ eu fremosa con mui gran pesar*; Lopo 3 *And’ ora trist’ e fremosa*.

sanhuda: The protagonist sometimes puts on the mask of the *sanhuda*, judges the boy’s misdeeds and—with a rhetoric of blame and sometimes of insult—threatens, punishes or rejects him (Cohen 1996a: 12-20). *Sanhuda* appears in one other incipit: Johan Soares Coelho 1. And among sets of five or more *cantigas d’amigo* only those of Meogo and Soares Coelho feature members of the lexical group *Sanha* (cf. on 1.3) in each of the first two poems. There are similarities between some of their other songs: compare Meogo 5-6 and Soares Coelho 12 (see notes at 1.5; at 5.2, 5 *lavar* and *cabelos*; and 6.11 *garcetas*).

fremosa...sanhuda: For the combination of adjectives the girl uses to describe herself in the incipit, see Johan Soares Coelho 1.1-2 *Per bõa fe mui fremosa, sanhuda / sej’ eu e trist’ e coitada por en*; Johan Servando 9.1 *Triste and’ eu velida, e ben volo digo*; Pero d’Armea 1.1-2 *Sej’ eu fremosa con mui gran pesar / e mui coitada no meu coraçõ*; Lopo 3.1 *And’ ora trist’ e fremosa*.

2-3 demandou / que o foss’ eu veer: The sequence of tenses is regular in strophe I, since *foss’* depends on *demandou*. *Demandar* in II and *envia* in III refer to the immediate past (cf. the historical presents in 5: *vai lavar*, *passa*) and are treated as equivalent to past tenses in the *consecutio temporum*. But even without extenuating circumstances a verb in the present can introduce a past subjunctive in the subordinate clause: Johan de Requeixo

2.4-5 *Muito per desej' eu | que vëesse meu amigo / que m' estas penas deu | e que falasse comigo*; Lourenço 6.19-20 *E jura ben que nunca mi dissesse / de lh' eu fazer ren que mal m' estevesse*.

2 demandou: Compare Johan Servando 7.4-6 *E se el for, como me demandou, / a San Servando, u m' outra vez buscou, / i-lo quer' eu, madre, veer*. The verb *demandar* can mean “ask” (Garcia Soares 2 [refrain] *demandar lh' ei que se veja migo*), “ask for” (Johan Garcia de Guilhade 6.15 *mais el demanda m' outra torpidade*), or “look for,” “seek” (Johan Zorro 1 [refrain] *e depois treides vos migo meu amigo demandar*).

3 que o foss' eu veer: See note above on 1.4 *ir veer*. This is one of several echoes of the first song in the second (see note above on v. 1, *sanhuda*, and next note).

4 a la font' u os | cervos van beber: Identical, with only slight variation, to 1.5. The use of the verse in the *refrain* serves to bind the first two poems together and reinforces the significance of the stags and the fountain. The forms *lo*, *los*, *la*, *las* (article or pronoun) are sometimes used even where (as here) there is no phonological basis (see Ferreiro 2014: 12-17).

5 non faç' eu torto: “I do no wrong.” The girl thinks the punishment (*her anger*) fitting. Compare Johan Lopez d'Ulhoa 5.5 *E tenho que lhi fiz torto de me lh' assanhar dōado* (“I think I was wrong to get angry at him for no reason”).

torto: “Wrong,” injustice.” In this genre *torto* occurs in several constructions: 1) *fazer torto*: Pae Soarez de Taveirós 3.9 *e mentiu m' e tort' á feito*; Johan Servando 14.7 *torto mi fez que m' agora mentiu*; 2) *têr torto* (“be wrong,” “be in the wrong”): Martin Campina 2 (refrain) *se m' el ten torto en mho dizer*; 3) *prender torto* (“suffer wrong”): Johan Servando 1.10 *e dixi lh' o gran torto que sempre dele prix*; 4) *a torto* (“wrongly”): Nuno Porco 1.11 *a tort<o> endōado*; 5) *con torto* (“wrongly”): Johan Vaazquiz de Talaveira 1.7-8 *E, se el queixume quiser perder / que de min con tort' á, gracir vo-lho ei*.

mi lh' assanhar: In the *cantigas d'amigo* the verb *assanhar* is reflexive (cf. 1.3 *assanhar s' á*) and regularly takes an indirect object. See Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 5 *Assanhei m' eu muit' a meu amigo* (v. 1); *assanho me lhi* (refrain); *a el m' assanh'* (v. 6); Pero de Veer 5 *Assanhei me vos, amigo, per bōa fe, con sandece / como se molher assanha a quen lho nunca merece, / mais, se mi vos assanhei, desassanhar mi vos ei*. It can also be construed with *contra*: Johan Perez d'Avoin 2 (refrain) *ca poder ei de m' assanhar assi / eu contra vós come vós contra mi*; Lopo 8.1-2 *Assanhou se, madr<e>, o que mi quer gran ben / contra mi endōad' e foi s' ora daquen*.

6 atrever occurs in four other *cantigas d'amigo*: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 8.8 *e direi vol' eu en que s' atrevia* (“and I'll tell you what made him so bold” [Cohen 2013d: 11-14]); Martin Campina 1 (refrain) *e non s' atreve sen mi a guarir* (“and he doesn't have the nerve to live

without me"); Dinis 7.4 *ca m' atrevo tanto no feito seu* ("because I am so bold in what concerns him"); Dinis 20.7-8 *Amiga, ou como s' atreverá / de m' ousar sol dos seus olhos catar* ("Or how, friend, will he have the courage to even dare to look at me with his eyes?").

9 afeito (BV), meaning "surely," "certainly," comes from *ad + factum* (cf. Italian *affatto*); it does not derive from *adfectum*, participle of *adficere* (phonologically, both etyma yield the same result, since both *-act-* and *-ect-* > *-eit-*, so the question is semantic). Found only here in this genre, the word appears once in the *cantigas d'amor*: Airas Moniz d'Asma 1.15-16 *ja chus seu nome non direi, / ca afeito mh a nomeei* ("I will not say her name again, since surely I've already named her;" Cohen 2010c: 14). It is registered four times in CSM, where Mettmann (s.v. *afeito*) glosses "efectivamente, na verdade, realmente." (The new *Glosario* of the secular lyric [Ferreiro 2014] splits *afeito* into *a feito* [s.v. *a* 2] and labels it a *temporal* adverb, glossed as "sen interrupción, decote." But neither "constantly," nor "often" fits the contexts where *afeito* occurs.) In CEM 116.15-16 (Estevan da Guarda) *teno / seu coraçõ en se parar afeito* ("he has his heart set on being ready") the word seems to be not *afeito* < *ad + factum* but *afeito* < *affectum* (Lapa, CEM, s.v. *afeito*, glosses "exercitado, habituado").

me ten ja por sandia: See Estevan Fernandez d'Elvas 1.4-5 *mais ben creio, se me vissen, que non / terrian meu amigo por sandeu* ("But I really believe that if they saw me they wouldn't think my friend is crazy"). For the construction, cf. Johan Servando 12.3-4 *eu por ben tenho de que lh' aqui vin / polo veer, mais el assi non ten* ("I consider 'good' the fact that I came here to see him, but he does not consider it so"); Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha 6.18 *non fazer ren que mi tenhan por mal* ("not to do anything that people might consider wrong"); Johan Airas 5.19-21 *E por amigo non tenho / o que non sabe quando vou / nen sabe quando me venho*.

ja: "Now." Cf. Johan Perez d'Avoín 4.7-8 *Ca lhi direi ca mui melhor ca mi / lhi quer' eu ja* ("Because I'll tell him that now I love him much more than myself"); Johan Lopez d'Ulhoa 4.15-16 *e ja será / mal pera mi* ("and now it will be bad for me"); Lourenço 6 (refrain) *e ja filharia, se m' eu quisesse, / de falar mig', e nunca lh' al fizesse* ("and now he'd accept—if I wanted to—just talking with me, even though I'd never do anything else for him").

sandia: *seu dia* (BV) was emended by Grützmacher to *sendia*, a form not registered by TMILG. Nunes prints *sandia*. The word is common in the secular lyric and CSM with the meanings "foolish," "crazy," "madly in love." In this genre the feminine *sandia* appears in Johan Garcia de Guilhade 20.11 *Sodes, amiga, sandia* ("You're being silly, my friend") and Johan Garcia 2 (refrain) *mais eu, sandia...* ("And me, crazy me..."). The boy must think the girl is *crazy* if he expects her to meet him at the spring after he has failed to come to a tryst (on her home ground; see next note). For the masculine *sandeu*, see, for example, Johan Garcia de Guilhade 15.7-9 *El chora muito e filha s' a jurar / que é sandeu e*

quer me fazer fis / que por mi morr' ("He cries a lot and starts swearing that he's losing his mind and wants to make me believe that he's dying for me").

10 que el<e> non ven, mas <ar> envia: "He does not come" implies the girl was expecting him. Now he has sent word. Nothing suggests that she is out in the open at a place where she and the boy were supposed to meet (Mendez Ferrín 1966: 27-28). But neither can we say she is *home* (Trubarac 2010: 34). There are very few references, direct or indirect, to this home which is often presumed to be the site of so many discourses. A clear reference occurs in Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha 11.11 *sacade me, madre, destas paredes*. In Johan Garcia de Guilhade 10.6 *e vós ide vos chegando lá todas per ess' estrado*, the word *estrado* apparently refers to a raised platform used as women's quarters (but cf. Cohen 2013d: 12 n20). And Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1 arguably takes place indoors. Other references have to do with where the girl sleeps. In Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2 the girl is at home. The girl in Johan Airas 29 is "here" where she sleeps (Cohen 2012b: 27-33). In Juião Bolseiro 1 and 2 the girl recalls her nights with and without the boy. But in these poems that refer to sleeping it is not clear (except in Solaz 2.V-VI) that the girl is home at the moment of speaking. In our text, we can suppose she is *near* where she lives—in a vaguely defined but narrowly circumscribed physical and social space (Cohen 2012b: 78-80).

Except for the lacunae in 5. 1 and 4, there are few missing syllables elsewhere in the set and they are rather easily supplied: 1.8 <eu>; 3.8 and 10 *fez<o>*; 5.10 *que <a> muit' a<ma>va*; 5.17 <a> *agua*; 9.8 and 11 *volv<i>an*. Here there are two syllables missing in one verse and they cannot be consecutive. The verse is divided into two cola of five syllables each, with a masculine cadence in the first colon and a feminine cadence in the second (the reverse of I-II): 9' [5+4']: *Affeito me ten | ja por sandia*. And in this strophe internal rhyme (*ten / ven*) seems to mark the end of the first colon, so there is no room for two syllables in either colon: *que el non ven [4] | mas envia [3']*. Each colon should therefore be lacking one syllable. (This analysis, if correct, rules out <mandad'> *envia* [Montero Santalha]).

el<e>: In more than a dozen verses in this genre alone a needed syllable can be supplied by emending *el* to *ele*. See Johan Soarez Coelho 1.4, 12.11; Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 5.25; Pero da Ponte 3.20; Juião Bolseiro 1.21; Nuno Treez 3.7 and 10; Pero d'Armea 3.3; Johan de Requeixo 1.10, 4.11; Johan Airas 6.13, 7.8, 15.13, 29.19. Cf. Lopo 3.5, 11, 17: *ele* is copied correctly in the refrain of strophe I, but in II and III the manuscripts have *el*. There is nothing problematic about having *el* in one verse (v. 6) and *ele* in another (here). For example, in Johan Garcia de Guilhade 3 we find *el* in vv. 6, 12, 16, 18 but *ele* in v. 20; in Guilhade 15 *el* appears in v. 7 while *ele* is used in v. 10. (In Afonso Lopez de Baian 2.7 *Des que s' el foi, per bõa fe* and Galisteu Fernandiz 2.20 the manuscripts offer the unmetrical *ele*, which must be corrected to *el*.) Compare *fez<o>* at 3.8 and 10 (with note). Whenever a verse or colon is unmetrical and a variant form produces a metrically correct unit, that variant should be read (thus Lapa 1982: 142-143)—unless there is a

better correction. Sometimes there is more than one possibility in the same verse. In Johan Servando 4.10 a syllable is missing in the manuscripts *mais, por que m' el fez tan gran torto* and there are three options: *el<e>*; *fez<o>*; and *<a>tan* (Cohen 2003: 372 reads *fez<o>*).

non ven: “He does not come,” or “He has not come.” The boy’s failure (real, anticipated or imagined) to come (or to come *back*) is sometimes the narrated move and often the background of a script. As background, it can provoke emotion (sorrow, fear, jealousy, anger) or action (rejection of the boy). The formula appears in other moods and tenses but the exact phrase *non ven* occurs in: Pae Soares de Taveirós 3.3 *mais, pois non ven falar migo*; Johan Perez d’Avoin 1 (refrain) *que nunca Deus lhi desse de mi ben / se non vëesse mui ced’, e non ven* and 13-14 *Non sei que x’ ést’ ou que pode seer / por que non ven*; Estevan Travanca 1.1-2 *Por Deus, amiga, que preguntedes / por meu amigo que aqui non ven*; Afonso Lopez de Baian 2.13-14 *De mha mort’ ei mui gran pavor, / mha madre, se cedo non ven*; Johan Garcia de Guilhade 14.7-9 *Quand’ el ouv’ a fazer a romaria, / pos m’ un dia talhado / que vëesse, <e> non ven, mal pecado*; Afonso Sanchez 2.11 *non ven o que ben queria* and 15 *non ven o que muito amava*; Johan Vaazquiz Talaveira 7 (refrain) *quando lh’ eu poderia fazer ben / el non ven i, e u non poss’ eu, ven*; Pero da Ponte 3.15-16 *por que mi tarda e non ven / faz sobre mi gran traïçon*; Ponte 4 (refrain) *que, pois m’ el tarda e non ven, / el rei o faz, que mho deten*; Johan Meendiz de Briteiros 3.19-20 *E, pois se foi meu amig’ e non ven, / meu sonh’, amiga, non é mal nen ben*; Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1.1-3 *Par Deus, coitada vivo / pois non ven meu amigo; / pois non ven, que farei?* and 6 *Pois non ven de Castela*; Martin de Caldas 4 (refrain) *non vi depois prazer de nulha ren / nen veerei ja mais, se m’ el non ven*; Pero d’Armea 1 (refrain) *por meu amig’ e meu lum’ e meu ben, / que se foi daqui, ai madr’, e non ven*; Martin Padrozelos 7.1-3 *Amigas, seja cuidando / no meu amigo, por que non / ven* and refrain *que me non pode guarir ren / de morte, se cedo non ven*; Johan de Cangas 2 (refrain) *Pois i non ven, sei ùa ren: / por mi se perdeu, que nunca lhi fiz ben*; Martin de Giizo 6.11-12 *Se el non ven i, madre, sei que farei: / el será sen verdad’ e eu morrerei*; Fernan do Lago 1.5-6 *e pero non irei alá, se ant<e> i non ven, / irmana, o meu amigo*; Johan Airas 37.13-14 *Dizen, amiga, que non ven o meu / amigo, mailo vosso cedo ven*; Dinis 5.19-20 (*fiinda*) *Mais, pois non ven nen envia / mandad’, é mort’ ou mentia*. In Pero Garcia Burgalês 1, where a girl says *non vëestes* directly to the boy, she ends the relationship: *Non vos nembra, meu amigo, o torto que mi fezeistes? / posestes de falar migo, fui eu e vós non vëestes; / e queredes falar migo, e non querrei eu, amigo*.

mas <ar> stresses the contrast between clauses (“He doesn’t come; *but yet* he wants me to go!”). *Mais ar* follows a negated clause in Nuno Fernandez Torneol (A 70 / B 183) *Non poderei eu mais viver, / se me Deus contra vós non val, / mais ar dize de me vós al* (vv. 8-12); Roi Queimado (A 132 / B 253): *E, se m’ eu ei de mi a loar sabor, / non an por en por que se mi assannar, / mais ar ajan de seu quen-nas loar / e a quen ajan por en desamor*; Dinis (B 498 / V 81) *ca sei mui ben que nunca poss’ achar / nenhũa cousa ond’ aja sabor / se non da morte, mais*

ar ei pavor / de mh a non querer Deus tan cedo dar (vv. 9-11); Roi Queimado (B 1338 / V 997) *Qual desden lhi vós fostes <i> fazer / nunca outr' om' a seu amigo fez, / mais ar fará vol' <ele> outra vez* (vv. 8-10).

That *ar* is easily lost can be seen by comparing the versions in B and A of a verse of Roi Queimado: B 251 *delhi falar nẽ dea ueer*; A 130 *Dellar falar nen sol de auer* (v. 17). B offers *lhi* where A has *lh' ar*—which is clearly superior. Reading with A and correcting *ver* to *veer* (with B), Michaëlis (1904: I, 264) prints *de lh' ar falar, nen sol de a veer*: “to speak with her again [= *ar*] or even to see her.”

<ar>: This adverb, or particle, has a wide and sometimes elusive semantic range (see the glossaries of CA, CEM, CSM, and Martins Filipe 2007: 102-150). It can mean “again” (*ar veer* = “see again”) or “also,” but often acts as a particle, linking its phrase or clause to the preceding phrase(s) or clause(s) and bearing emphatic, accumulative or contrastive force. With remarkable regularity *ar* precedes a verb (or a verbal phrase or clause, or an implied verb; it rarely occurs in other constructions).

The origin of *ar* has been much disputed (see Martins Filipe 2007: 52). Of the etymologies on offer, the most plausible phonologically, proposed by Diez (1887: 227) and approved by Huber (1933: 33; §40), derives *ar* and its variant *er* from Occitan *ara(s)*, *era(s)*, meaning “now,” also found as *ar*, *er*. (*Ara* is derived from *há(c) hōra* by Schultz-Gora 1907: 20 [§31]; Diez derives it directly from *hōra*.) There are two objections to this etymology: (1) it does not account for the regular location of *ar* before a verb, which points to an original prefix; (2) in Galician-Portuguese lyric no adverb borrowed from another language occurs with anything like the frequency of *ar* (around 400 times). The origin of *ar* should be a *native verbal prefix*. This was clear to Cornu, who proposed Latin *re-* (adding a prosthetic *a-* to explain the unlikely change *re-* > *ar*; 1882: 78-79). My proposal is that *ar* comes from *ad-*, which in Old Latin often became *ar-* in proclisis before an initial labial (Cohen 2010c: 29; 2010d: 47; Weiss 2009: 475-476). This change is registered in archaic inscriptions: ARFVISE = *adfuisse* (OLD s.v. *adsum*); ARVORSUM = *aduorsum* (OLD s.v. *aduorsus*). Says Priscian (Keil 2.35): *antiquissimi uero pro ad frequentissime ar ponebant: aruenas, aruentores, aruocatos, arfines, aruolare, arfari dicentes pro aduenas, aduentores, aduocatos, adfines, aduolare, adfari* (“The oldest authors very often used *ar* instead of *ad*, saying *aruenas, aruentores, aruocatos, arfines, aruolare, arfari* instead of *aduenas, aduentores, aduocatos, adfines, aduolare, adfari*”). Weiss (2009-2011) notes that “The so-called Glossary of Placidus (*Corpus Glossarum Latinarum* 5.7.34 and 5.48.29) gives *arueniet* : *adueniet* [he will come].” So *aduēnīre* (“arrive,” and by extension, “come back”) yielded a variant *aruēnīre*. Forms like *avīir* and *ar vīir* would have coexisted without competing since *aruēnīre* would have been reanalyzed and the prefix *debonded* when *ar* began to take on new grammatical functions as an adverb (*ar vīir* means “come back”) and a particle. If this is right, *ar ven*—in a *vero’ antigo* in Pero de

Berdia 5 *quen leve vai, leve x' ar ven*—is a descendant of *aduēnit* but *aven* is its true morphological heir. (The variant *er* seems to be a fusion of *e + ar*; Martins Filipe 2007: 94, 155).

One might be tempted to emend *mas* to *mais* and scan the word as bisyllabic (see on 1.8).

envia: *enviar* here means “to send word” (through a messenger). The constructions *enviar mandado* and *enviar dizer* are common, but the verb can govern a clause directly, as here. See Pero de Berdia 4.9-12 *Enviar quer' eu velida a meu amigo que seja / en Santa Marta na ermida migo led' e i me veja*.

PERO MEOGO – 3

– Tal vai o meu amigo, con amor que lh’ eu dei,
come cervo ferido de monteiro del rei.

Tal vai o meu amigo, madre, con meu amor,
come cervo ferido de monteiro maior.

E se el vai ferido, irá morrer al mar; 5
si fará meu amigo, se eu del non pensar.

– E guardade vos, filha, ca ja m’ eu atal vi
que se fez<o> coitado por guaanhhar de min.

E guardade vos, filha, ca ja m’ eu vi atal 10
que se fez<o> coitado por de min guaanhhar.

B 1186 f. 252v *V* 791 f. 124v

1 que *V* : q *B*

4 at the top of *B* f. 252v Colocci has written Come cervo

8, 10 fez<o> *Lapa*

– My boyfriend goes fleeing, he’s so in love with me,
Like a wounded stag from the huntsman of the king.

My friend goes fleeing, mother, he loves me so much,
Like a wounded stag from the king’s own hunter.

And if it goes off wounded, it will go to the sea to die,
And so will my boyfriend do, if I’m not good to him.

– Be careful, daughter, for I once knew a boy like that,
Who made out that he was sad, so he could win me over.

Be careful, daughter, for I once knew that kind of boy,
Who made out that he was sad, to win over me.

aa (x5): 13 [6'+6]

(i-o) ei (i-o) or (i-o) ar i/in al/ar

The girl tells her mother that her boyfriend will die if she does not think kindly on him. The mother tells her daughter to be careful, because she knew someone who feigned love-sorrow to win her over.

"I will yield." / "Don't." This is not the phallic stag that appears in the rest of the set but a pathetic suitor ready to kill himself because the girl has rejected him (gotten angry—if 2 and 3 are sequential). She uses the image of a wounded stag—a wooing strategy found in two *cantigas d'amor*—to persuade her mother that she must act to save the boy's life. She must *be kind* to him (a euphemism). The mother responds with a warning: "I know that line." This is an old rhetorical technique: to support an argument, the speaker gives an example from personal experience. What is surprising is that a mother in a *cantiga d'amigo* cites her own sexual past as an example (no other mother in this genre has *any* kind of past). Johan Airas 21.19-20 invokes a relevant proverb: <En> *bon dia naceu, com' eu oí, / que<n> se doutro castiga e non de si* ("She was born on a lucky day, so I've heard say, that learns from another's errors, not from her own"). This is one of ten dialogues between daughter and mother where the girl speaks first (against 15 that the mother begins).

A strophe consisting of a distich is unique in this genre. The schema 13 [6'+6] occurs in the first period of aaB strophes in Vaasco Praga de Sandin 1, Airas Carpancho 8, Juião Bolserio 4, Martin Padrozelos 9, and Fernan do Lago 1. The use of internal assonant rhyme in three successive strophes (I-III) is also without parallel (see 2, headnote). Scholars of the *kharjas* have discovered a proto-*zajal*, a rhyming couplet which preceded—and provided the base for—the first rhymed strophic songs in Andalusi Arabic (Corriente 2009: 118). Yet this composition, whose form corresponds to a proto-*zajal*, is labeled a *cantiga de maestria* merely because it has no refrain.

Azevedo-Filho insists that a strophe is missing after our III (there is no trace of a lacuna in the manuscripts). This claim supposes that the poem should conform to a pattern often considered a norm by scholars—"perfect parallelism" with *cobras alternantes* and a mechanically replicating rhetoric of *leixa-pren*. But this poem is not composed in *cobras alternantes* and does not employ mechanical *leixa-pren*. *Leixa-pren* can be used without *cobras alternantes* (Nuno Fernandez Torneol 8, with *cobras unissonans*). And *leixa-pren* need not be mechanical (Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 8, Airas Carpancho 7, Pedr'Eanes Solaz 1, Meendinho 1, Nuno Porco 1, Lopo 5, Martin de Güzio 4). *Leixa-pren* can stop with a change in rhetoric (as in Solaz 2 where only strophes I-IV have *leixa-pren* while V-VIII do not). Or it can stop and begin again with a new speaker (Dinis 16; cf. Estevan Coelho 1). In our text strophe III does not fully replicate the language of II.

Although *vai ferido* in III.1 picks up *vai* from I.2 and II.2 and *ferido* from I.I and II.1, mechanical *leixa-pren* would require the exact repetition of I.2 in III.1. So even though the kind of selective repetition seen here belongs to the range of techniques used in *leixa-pren* (see headnote to 9), there is not compelling *rhetorical* evidence to reject the transmitted text and assume that the third strophe was followed by a lost twin. (A rhetorical structure like that of strophes I-III occurs in Nuno Treez 2, where II corresponds to I and the pair of strophes forms an embryonic *leixa-pren*, but the third strophe ends the poem, even though III.1 picks up II. 2.) Nor can it be argued on *formal* criteria that a strophe is missing, since these are not *cobras alternantes* but a succession of different rhymes: *ei, or, ar, i/in, al/ar*. There is no clear pattern in this sequence of rhyme sounds and therefore no discernible break in the rhyme system (contrast the formal break in Nuno Fernandez Torneol 5, where six strophes of *cobras alternantes* in *ar // er* with *leixa-pren* are followed by a lone final strophe rhyming in *i*). Nor is the *pragmatic* structure anomalous. The uneven distribution of speaking turns (a ratio of 3:2) is paralleled by other dialogues where the portions spoken by the personae are unequal to each other and asymmetrical within the form of the *cantiga*—not counting *fiindas* (Johan Soares Coelho 10; Vaasco Perez Pardal 1; Pero da Ponte 7; Roi Fernandiz 4; Estevan Fernandez d'Elvas 3; Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha 8, 9, 11; Lopo 5; Pero Meogo 9). And even if the girl's discourse *had* continued into a fourth strophe, the distribution would be unequal (a ratio of 4:2). So formal, rhetorical and pragmatic analysis can lend little weight to the claim that a strophe is missing. (By contrast, in Dinis 13 and 40 we can tell one strophe is missing, because there are *seven* strophes of *cobras alternantes* with mechanical *leixa-pren* and the missing strophe is located in the middle of clear formal and rhetorical patterns—and so can be easily reconstructed.)

In both manuscripts v. 9 is written on a single long line, while vv. 1-8 and 10 are copied on two short lines for each verse. In *B*, to the right of each pair of lines (except those that make up our v. 3), Angelo Colocci put a mark to indicate that every pair forms a whole verse. Cf. Lapa 1982: 187.

1-2, 3-4 Tal vai.../ come cervo: This is the only formal simile in the *cantigas d'amigo* and its use confirms the literary nature of the stag in this text. Some have seen an allusion to Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.68-69 *uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta* ("wretched Dido is on fire and wanders raving through the whole city, like a deer struck by an arrow"), but Virgil is probably not the source. No certain echoes of ancient Roman literature have been found in this genre (but cf. Cohen 2011b: 649-650).

1 con amor que lh' eu dei: *Dar amor* means "to cause [or inspire] love." Cf. Dinis 15.2 *Madre, moiro d' amores que mi deu meu amigo*. See also Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 7 (refrain) *ai madre, os seus amores ei; / se me los ei, ca mhos busquei, outros me lhe dei* ("Oh mother, I am in love with him; and if I am—since that is what I was after—I made him

fall just as much in love with me"). The absence of an article for *amor* (and also for *morte*, *demo*, etc.; cf. Lang 1894: 115-116) is regular, even when a qualifying relative clause follows. See Dinis 53.5 (*pastorela*) *con amor que a forçava*; Johan Baveca (B 1108 / V 699) *Juran que morren con amor que an* (v. 23).

2, 4 cervo ferido: The image of the wounded stag in flight is found in two *cantigas d'amor*: Vidal, *Judeu d'Elvas* 1.1-4 *Faz m' agora por si morrer e tras me mui coitado / mha senhor do bon parecer e do cos bem talhado, / a por que ei mort' a prender come cervo lançado, / que se vai do mund' a perder da companhia das cervas* (Cohen 2010e); and Johan Mendez de Briteiros (B 861 / V 447) *pois mh assi faz o voss' amor ir ja, / como vai cervo lançad' a fugir* (vv. 20-21). These passages were first compared by Lang (1894: lxii): "Der lieberkranke wird einem verwundeten hirschen vergleichen" ("The love-sick man is compared to a wounded stag"). The same wooing ploy, but with a wounded *cavaleiro* in need of care, appears in Johan Garcia de Guilhade 1.1-3 *Treides todas, ai amigas, comigo / veer un ome muito namorado / que aqui jaz cabo nós mal chagado* where the message is spelled out: *Ja x' ora el das chagas morreria, / se non foss' o grand' amor verdadeiro; / preçade sempr' amor de cavaleiro* (vv. 7-9).

ferido: As a participle referring to a girl who has been physically punished, *ferida* means "struck," "beaten" (cf. Nobiling 1907a: 37): Airas Carpancho 7.8 *<e mui> pouc' á que fui mal ferida*; Johan Soarez Coelho 3.7-10 *nen de com' ameaçada / fui un dia pola ida / que a vós fui e ferida, / non sabedes vós en nada*; Nuno Perez Sandeu 3.7-8 *Pola coita que mi destes / foi ferida e mal treita*; Lopo 3.13-15 *Pois que m' eu del muito queixo / e fui por el mal ferida / de vós, mha madre velida*. It refers metaphorically to being wounded by love in Afonso Sanchez 2.3 and 9 *com' estou d' amor ferida*. Only here is it used of a wounded animal—albeit in a simile. (The archaic substantive *ferido*, in semantic parallelism with *fossado*, refers to military service: Pae Gomez Charinho 1.12 and 21; Martin de Gïizo 1.2 and 7.)

de monteiro: *de* should be construed with *vai*: the stag flees *from* the hunter (*de* has been taken as indicating agent ["wounded *by*"] and as possessive ["the stag *of* the hunter"]). *Monteiro* is found only here in the love lyric. It also occurs in CEM 324.1 (D. Pedro) *Alvarez Rodriguez, monteiro maior* and several times in CSM.

del rei: The article in *el rei* may be native (Ferreiro 1999: I, §160) or may be a linguistic holdover from the kingdom of Leon. Here the mention of the king could signal the poet's desire for royal patronage. Imitations of his work by Johan Soarez Coelho (12, modeled on Meogo 5 and 6) and Dinis (17, modeled on Meogo 5) show that his songs reached the Portuguese court.

3 madre: When there is an explicit addressee (signaled by one or more vocatives), the first vocative usually appears in the opening verses; rarely is it postponed until after the first strophe, as here. The closest parallels are Johan Servando 4 (II.1 *madre*); Lopo 3 (II.1

madre); Johan de Requeixo 4 (II.1 *madre*). See also Estevan Travanca 3 (II.3 *amiga*); Lopo 7 (III.2 *madr'*); Johan Airas de Santiago 4 (III.4 *amigas*). See below on *filha* (vv. 7, 9).

4 meu amor: “His love for me” (see 1.2 and note).

5 al mar: *al* < *a* + *el*, as in Estevan Coelho 2.3-4 *e<u> al rio me vou banhar<e>, / al mare*. But compare Nuno Porco 1.1 *irei a lo mar vee-lo meu amigo*; Johan Zorro 8.1 *Jus' a lo mar e o rio*; Martin Codax 5.2 *treides comig' a lo mar de Vigo* (see note at 2.4). No parallel has been found for the wounded stag that goes to the sea to die (Trubarac 2011: 37). The stag's death-wish may be related to the girl's rejection in 2. But although flight is a form of renunciation in medieval literature, it is far-fetched to imagine that the boy has gone to sea to escape from love (Azevedo-Filho 1995: 56-57; Ferreiro Alemparte 1991: 377). The stag's escape is *death*, and throughout the secular love lyric the suitor will die if the beloved is not kind. Compare the mockery in Johan Garcia de Guilhade 15.15 *Non morrestes d' amor?*

mar: The sea (real or symbolic) appears in Nuno Fernandez Torneol 5.1-2 *Vi eu, mha madr', andar / as barcas eno mar* (cf. v. 7); Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 3.1 *Quand' eu sobi nas torres sobelo mar*; Pae Gomez Charinho 2.2 *almirante do mar* and 5 (refrain) *o que do mar meu amigo sacou*; Charinho 6 (refrain) *sobre mar ven quen frores d' amor ten*; Meendinho 1.5 *<e> cercaron mh as ondas grandes do mar* (cf. vv. 10, 14, 17); Nuno Porco 1.1 *Irei a lo mar vee-lo meu amigo* (cf. v. 4); Johan Zorro 4.9-10 *Barcas mandou lavrare / e no mar as deitare* (cf. vv. 13-14); Zorro 8.1-2 *Jus' a lo mar e o rio / eu namorada irei* (cf. v. 5); Juião Bolseiro 5.1-2 *Vej' eu, mha filha, quant' é meu cuidar, / as barcas novas vñir pelo mar* (cf. v. 12); Nuno Treez 2.1 *San Clemenço do mar*; Lopo 2.1-2 *Polo meu mal filhou <s' ora> el rei / de mar a mar*; Johan de Cangas 2.7-10 *Quand' eu a San Momedo fui e non vi / meu amigo con que quisera falar / a mui gran sabor nas ribeiras do mar*; Cangas 3.7-8 *Serei vosc' en San Momedo do mar / na ermida*; Martin Codax 1, 3, 5. (See note at 9.14 on *rio*.)

6 si (Ssy B : ssy V) comes from Latin *sīc* (“thus, so”). It occurs in archaic oath formulas (for instance, “So may I see pleasure”) where it is equivalent to *assi*, *asse*, *se*: Martin Campina 1.3 *si veja prazer*; Galisteu Fernandiz 1.2 *si mi venha ben*; Dinis 2.9 *si veja prazer*. And it is also the word for “Yes.” See Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 7.14 *si, se lh' outra non acorre*; Reimon Gonçalves 1.5 *e quant' é esto, pass' agora, si*; Johan Baveca 3.12 *Si, filhará, ai amiga, ja quando*; Dinis 24.2 *Si, mha senhor*; Dinis 25.4, 10, 16 *Si, senhor*.

pensar: In erotic discourse *pensar de alguen* means “think kindly [of a suitor],” and hence “yield [to someone].” We find this in early *cantigas d'amor*: Airas Moniz d'Asma 2.1-3 *Mha senhor, vin vos rogar, / por Deus, que ar pensedes / de mi*; Diego Moniz 1.5-6 *por que non pensava / de min*; Osoir'Eanes 3.15 *viver ei, se de min pensar*; Osoir'Eanes 5.18 *se mais de min non pensades* (Cohen 2010c). The sense “care for” is also invoked, since the stag is

wounded (so Nunes, s.v. *pensar*: “tratar um ferido”). Here the two senses, “be [erotically] kind to” and “take care of,” converge.

7-10: This is the only time that a mother refers to her own past erotic experience (in Juião Bolseiro 7, a parody, the mother, playing the role of daughter, mentions an amorous relationship which her daughter, playing the mother’s role, has blocked). This reference has led Alemparte (1991: 378) to speculate that she is a single mother, and that the girl’s father was a noble or cleric—speculation for which there is no evidence in the text and which goes against the pragmatic grammar of the genre (Cohen 2010a). Although the word “father” appears once, for rhetorical emphasis, in an oath in Lopo 3.10-11 *non fui filha de meu padre / se s’ el<e> foi polo seu ben*, the father is not a persona in the *cantigas d’amigo*, on stage or off, and this absence suggests an underlying taboo. (The word *padre* is not found in the *cantigas d’amor* but occurs in CEM and CSM).

7, 9 guardade vos: The mother understands that the girl is thinking of having relations with the boy and warns her to be on her guard. That the expression can have sexual connotations is clear from a sequence of two *cantigas d’escarnho* by Johan Garcia de Guilhade where *guardar-se* is used of a woman who should *watch out for herself*—that is, defend herself against a man who wants to have sex with her: CEM 205 *Elvira Lopez, que mal vos sabedes / vós guardar sempre daqueste peon* (vv. 1-2); *e non vos sabedes dele guardar / siquer* (vv. 9-10); CEM 206 *Ante lh’ eu dixi que mal sen faria / que se non queria dele guardar* (vv. 8-9); *Mal se guardou* (v. 15).

filha: Changes of speaker in dialogues are regularly marked, so the audience can follow. Compare 9.I-II *filha, mha filha*; III-IV *mha madre*; V-VI *mha filha*.

ja m’ eu vi atal // ja m’eu atal vi: As in law and custom, direct sight of a person or action can be cited as evidence: Afonso Meendez de Beesteiros 1.13-15 *E quando vos eu vi falar / con outra, log’ i ben vi eu / que seu erades, ca non meu*; Sevilha 8.1-2 *Amiga, voss’ amigo vi falar / oje con outra*.

ja: Here *ja* = “once” [at some time in the past]: “I once knew one like that.” Cf. Estevan Travanca 3.1-3 *Se eu a meu amigo dissesse / quant’ eu ja por el quisera fazer / ãa vez quando m’ el vëo veer* (“If I told my boyfriend what I once wanted to do for him one time when he came to see me”).

8, 10 que se fez<o> coitado: “who got all sad,” implying “who pretended he was in love.” The reflexive *fazer-se* here means “to become,” as in Johan Baveca 3.20 *mais non vos façades maravillhada* (“But don’t you get amazed”); Dinis 22.1 *faço me maravillhada* (“I grow amazed”). *Fazer-se* can also mean “be done,” “happen.” See Johan Perez d’Avoin 11.16 *fazed’ aquest’, e depois fará s’ al* (“Do this, and then something else will get done”) and Dinis 22.17-18 *cuidand’ en como se pode fazer / que non é ja comigo de tornada* (“Thinking how it can happen that he is not already back with me”).

fez<o>: Lapa's correction is easily justified. The correction of *fez* to *fezo* produces a metrical verse in Johan Lopez d'Ulhoa 7.11; Johan Servando 4.10; Pedro d'Armea 1.8, 14. In Vaasco Rodrigues de Calvelo 2 *fezo* is copied correctly in the refrain of the first strophe, but is reduced to the unmetrical *fez* in II and III. (See note on *el<e>* at 2.10.)

coitado, frequently used of both boy and girl, can mean (among other things) "sad," "love-sick." The love-sick boy is often close to death or certain to die. See Nuno Fernandez Torneol 6.4 *E morrerá por mi, tant' é coitado*; Johan Nunez Camanêz 4.4 *Tan coitad' é que morrerá, se me non vir*; Sancho Sanchez 5.7-8 *El é por mi tan coitado d' amor / que morrerá, se meu ben non ouver*; Johan Baveca 1.7-9 *E tan coitad' é, com' aprendi eu, / que o non pode guarir nulha ren / de morte ja, se lh' eu non faço ben*; Johan Airas 27.13-15 *Diz que tan muito é coitado d' amor / que ren de morte non o tornará / por que non ouve ben de min nen á*; Dinis 6.3-6 *e aquel que falou migo / diz mi que é tan coitado / que per quanta poss' avedes / ja o guarir non podedes*.

8 guaanhar de: Construed with a direct object plus *de*, *guaanhar* means "gain [something] from [someone]." See CSM 21.I *del gaannou / vertude*; 84.IV *mas per ti creo gaannar deles perdon*. Here, without a direct object, the sense may be: "take advantage of [me]." Compare *Et porque son muchos omes que por gran uolontad de ganar de los otros por una debda que les deuen, fazen scripto que lles deuen otras muytas* (López Ferreiro 1975, cited by TMILG) where *ganar de los otros* appears to mean "take advantage of others."

PERO MEOGO – 4

Ai cervas do monte, vin vos preguntar:
 foi s' o meu amig' e se alá tardar,
que farei velida?

Ai cervas do monte, vin volo dizer:
 foi s' o meu amig' e querria saber 5
que farei velida?

B 1187 f. 252v *V* 792 f. 124v

1 cervas *Braga, Nunes (probante Stegagno Picchio)* : ceruos *BV* do *Braga* : de *BV*; cf. v. 4

3, 6 velida *Lapa* : uelidas *BV* : velidas *Braga*

4 ceruos *BV* cf. v. 1

6 farey *Braga, Nunes (probante Lapa; cf. v. 3)* : faria *BV*

Oh does from the hills, I have come to ask you:
 My boyfriend went away, and if he lingers there,
 What will I do, pretty me?

Oh does from the hills, I've come to tell you this:
 My boyfriend went away, and I wanted to ask
 What will I do, pretty me?

aaB (x2): 11 [5'+5] || 5'
 ar er || ida

The girl asks the does (other girls) what she will do if her boyfriend, who has gone away, should tarry.

"He's gone. What now?" The boy's departure is a very common action in this genre—mainly as background but sometimes as the principal (narrated) move in a script (cf. Ron Fernández 1994). It can be used in conjunction with *non ven*, as in Johan Meendiz de Briteiros 3.19 *E, pois se foi meu amig' e non ven* (see note at 2.10). The girl often refers to the boy's delay in returning (Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 8, Pae Soares de Taveirós 3, Johan Perez d'Avoin 1 and 3, Martin Codax 7, Fernand' Esquio 4, Afonso X 1, Dinis 2 and 14) and his tarrying can provoke suspicion. Here the present action/emotion appears to be uncertainty (*que farei?*) or sadness. By speaking to other girls (*cervas*) the girl performs a broader move: consulting her peer group about the boy. With the appearance of her girlfriends, the girl's social world now includes all four *personae dramatis* allowed by convention: the girl, the boy, the girl's mother and the girl's female friend(s). The girlfriends reappear in 6.2 *vi anda-las cervas*. Here, in the vocative *cervas*, the language of ritual replaces the traditional lexicon. The girl usually addresses her peers in the plural as *amigas* (sometimes as *donas*).

The only *cantiga d'amigo* with an aaB strophe where verses in the first period scan 11 syllables and consist of two cola is Meendinho 1: 11 [6'+4]. The first period here 11 [5'+5] is similar to 11' [5'+5'] in Meogo 5, the only difference being the cadence of the second colon. Among *cantigas d'amigo* with aaB strophes, a refrain of 5' occurs in Johan Soares Coelho 12, Estevan Coelho 1, Johan Servando 8, and Martin Codax 4. The rhymes *er // ar* are used in *cobras alternantes* in Nuno Fernandez Torneol 4 and Roi Martins do Casal 3 (see also Martin Codax 7). The same pair of rhyme sounds is found in reverse order in Torneol 5 and Martin de Gizo 8.

1, 4 ai: There are 25 other incipits in this genre that begin with *ai*, usually followed by a vocative (*amiga, amigas, filha, madre, amigo*; see Cohen 2003: 91-92). Of the four other texts that are addressed to non-human addressees (other than God or a saint), three begin with *ai*: Martin de Gizo 5 *Ai vertudes*; Martin Codax 7 *Ai ondas*; Dinis 16 *Ai flores* (the exception is Codax 1 *Ondas*).

cervas: *cervas* (BV) is suspect. In the *cantigas d'amigo*, when (in about 50 texts) the girl speaks to more than one persona, her addressees are always female: *amigas* (mainly); *donas*; also *irmanas* (Airas Nunes 2), *donzelas* (Pero Gonçalvez de Porto Carreiro 1). On the rare occasions when the girl speaks to non-human addressees, the grammatical gender is feminine: *vertudes de Santa Cecilia* (Martin de Gizo 5); *ondas* (Martin Codax 1,

7); *flores do verde pino* (Dinis 16). The masculine *cervos* would be an anomaly in the pragmatics of the genre (Cohen 2010a). And in traditional societies a girl would not normally talk with a group of boys—especially if she is alone—but she would speak with her female peers, who may play a role in mate selection (as they do in the *cantigas d'amigo*). Moreover a scribe would have already have copied *cervos* several times (1.4; 2, refrain; 3.2 and 4). And the reading *uelidas* (BV) in the refrain, whether wrong or right, suggests that the text originally had *cervas* (see below on *velida*). The appearance of *cervas* in 6.2 (*vi anda-las cervas*) also supports the change here.

monte can refer to a region of hills with woods and shrubs, a hill (CSM 48.II *encima dun monte*), or a forest (CSM 5.X). The word occurs also in 5.V-VI, 7.10, 9.III-IV, a total of seven times. Elsewhere in this genre it appears only in Roi Fernandiz 2 (refrain; see note on *irei* at 7.9). In medieval Iberia the *monte* is a wilderness beyond the limits of human settlement, where law and custom do not obtain. *Cervo* and *monte* appear together in CSM 277.II *E poren de ssũu todos / foron correr, e ouveron // d' achar un cervo no monte*.

1 vin vos preguntar: As part of a polite formula, *vũir* is often used with verbs of speaking, asking, etc. See Johan Servando 6.2 *madre velida, por Deus vin volo rogar* and 12 *madre velida, por Deus venho volo dizer*; Afonso Meendez de Briteiros 2.1 *Mha madre, venho vos rogar*; Pero de Veer 6.3 *e venho vos por esto preguntar*. This formula is quite flexible (e.g., Johan Soares Coelho 8.17 *e venho mi vos én loar*). Cf. 7.4.

2, 5 foi s' o meu amig': The same variant of this common formula appears in Johan Soares Coelho 2.1; Johan Lopez d'Ulhoa 3.2, 6, 10, 14; Pero da Ponte 4.1; Pero de Berdia 5.1; Juião Bolseiro 4.1; Johan Airas 40.1.

2 se alá tardar: Cf. Pero de Berdia 3.5 *se alá tardasse*; Pae Calvo 1.14 *e quant' alá tarda é por seu mal dia*; Fernand' Esquio 4.11 *lá u avedes tardado*. *Alá* can refer to a place beyond the girl's reach where the boy may sometimes go and linger too long (either in *alá* or in *alhur* the boy may be unfaithful; cf. Cohen 2012c: 16-19 on tarrying and infidelity). Used of the boy, *tardar* is equivalent to *non vũir* (see note on *non ven* at 2.10).

3, 6 que farei: Cf. Fernand Rodriguez de Calheiros 2.1 *Que farei agor', amigo?* 3.10 *mais que farei?* 6.6 *mais que farei eu?* Johan Soares Coelho 2 (refrain; see next note); Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 4.8 *E a tal om', amigas, que farei?* Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1.3 *pois non ven, que farei?* and 13 *amigas, que farei?* Sancho Sanchez 1.14 *Eu que farei, se vos non vir?* and 3.8 *mais eu que farei?* Johan Zorro 5 (refrain) *<ai> madre, que lhis farei?* Lourenço 1.20 (the boy is speaking) *e que farei?* The formula is common in Galician-Portuguese lyric (and in the Romance languages generally).

velida: The plural *uelidas* (BV) can be supported by the vocative *ai velidas* in Johan Zorro 10.1 (and 3?) and Airas Nunes 2.3, and the phrase is similar to *amigas, que farei* in Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1.13 (cf. Gonçal' Eanes do Vinhal 4.8). But the closest

parallel is the refrain of Johan Soarez Coelho 2 *e que farei eu louçana* (louçãa BV), which supports the singular *velida* (cf. Soarez Coelho 13 [refrain] *e se o verei velida?*). Perhaps a scribe early in the manuscript tradition altered *uelida* to *uelidas* to agree with *ceruas* before the latter was changed to *ceruos*. If so, *uelidas* backs up *ceruas*, but *velida* should still be preferred here (cf. next note). See 5.1 and 9.1.

Velida is used to refer to the girl, her mother or her girlfriends. Referring to the girl, it appears in the first verse of: Meogo 5; Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2 *Eu velida non dormia*; Johan Servando 9 *Triste and' eu velida, e ben volo digo*; Golparro 1 *Mal faç' eu velida, que ora non vou*; Dinis 17 *Levantou s' a velida*. It qualifies the girl in two refrains: Johan Soarez Coelho 13 *e se o verei velida?* and Afonso Lopez de Baian 4 *a Santa Maria das Leiras irei velida, / se i ven meu amigo*. Similar adjectives (*leda*, *delgada*, *louçana*, *fremosa*, *namorada*, *bela*, *ben talhada*) occur in a score of refrains, sometimes (as here) modifying the girl as subject of a verb in the first person: Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 3 *e chor' eu bela*; Martin de Gïzo 8 *Louçana d' amores moir' eu*; Dinis 44 *que sofr' eu ben talhada*.

4 vin volo dizer: See v. 1 *vin vos preguntar* and note.

6 farei: *faria* (BV) has to be a corruption. The explanation that the refrain *varies* carries no weight. When there is variation in the refrain of a *cantiga d'amigo* (about ten texts, 2% of the corpus), what varies are words, not meter. See Martin de Gïzo 4, where the refrain varies by pairs of strophes: I-II *do meu amigo*; III-IV *por meu amigo*; V-VI *con meu amigo* (Cohen 2009a: 133). With *faria* the refrain in II would violate the principle of external responsion. What is needed is *farey*, the reading of BV in the refrain of I. See note on *namorado* at 8.3, 5. (Another—although secondary—reason to reject *faria* is grammatical. In II the refrain depends syntactically on *querria saber*, which is regularly followed by a simple indicative [not necessarily future], as in Meogo 7.6-7 *querria saber de grado / se ousará*. Cf. Dinis 4.2-3 *amiga, querria saber / se se verrán tard' ou toste*.)

PERO MEOGO – 5

<Levou s' aa alva>, levou s' a velida,
vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,
leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

<Levou s' aa alva>, levou s' a louçana,
vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana, 5
leda dos amores, dos <amores leda>.

Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,
passa seu amigo, que lhi ben queria;
leda dos <amores, dos amores leda>.

Vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana, 10
passa seu amigo, que <a> muit' a<ma>va;
leda dos a<mores, dos amores leda>.

Passa seu amigo, que lhi ben queria,
o cervo do monte a agua volvia;
leda dos a<mores, dos amores leda>. 15

Passa seu amigo, que a muit' amava,
o cervo do monte volvia <a> agua;
leda <dos amores, dos amores leda>.

B 1188 ff. 252v-253r V 793 ff. 124v-125r

1, 4 <Levou s' aa alva> Cohen (*ex Dinis* 17, v. 2 levantou s' <aa> alva)

1 <Levou-s'a louçana> Nunes <Leda dos amores> Bell uelida B : uenda V

4 <Levou-s'a velida> Nunes <Dos amores leda> Bell

8 passa Nunes (*probante Cunha*) : passou BV

10-12 copied at the end of the text in BV

11 <a> Nunes muit' a<ma>va Monaci (*cf. v. 16*) : q' muytaua B : q' muytau9 V

14, 17 agua *correx*i : augua BV, *editores omnes*

15 dos a] d9 a V : do a B

16-18 *om. V*

16 amana B

17 volvia] noluya B <a> *cf. v. 14*

<She arose at dawn>, the pretty girl arose
And goes to wash her hair in the cold fountain,
Happy in love, in love and happy.

<She arose at dawn>, the lovely girl arose
And goes to wash her hair in the fountain so cold.
Happy in love, in love and happy.

She goes to wash her hair in the cold fountain
And along comes her boy, who really loved her
Happy in love, in love and happy.

She goes to wash her hair in the fountain so cold.
And along comes her boy, who truly desired her
Happy in love, in love and happy.

And along comes her boy, who really loved her;
The stag from the hills was stirring the water up.
Happy in love, in love and happy.

And along comes her boy, who truly desired her;
The stag from the hills was stirring up the water
Happy in love, in love and happy.

aaB (x6): 11' [5'+5']

i-a // a-a || eða cobras alternantes

leixa-pren

The girl got up at dawn, went to wash her hair in the fountain; her boyfriend came by; a stag stirred the water.

This song is the numerical center of the set and the centerpiece of the sequence, constituting one of the two main formal, rhetorical and pragmatic climaxes (the other climax, coupled to this poem by several prominent features, is 9; see headnote). An unidentified voice narrates an encounter between girl and boy, but without citing any female speech—a highly unusual discursive structure for a *cantiga d'amigo*. There are a dozen poems with an outside narrator and only this one and Dinis 17 do not include a girl's voice. (The others are Estevan Coelho 1 *Sedia la fremosa seu sirgo torcendo*; Afonso Sanchez 2 *Dizia la fremosinha*; Pedr'Eanes Solaz 1 *Dizia la ben talhada*; Bernal de Bonaval 6 *Diss' a fremosa en Bonaval assi*; Johan Zorro 1 *Quen visse andar fremosia*; Johan Zorro 6 *Pela ribeira do rio*; Lourenço 2 *ũa moça namorada*; Lourenço 3 *Tres moças cantavan d' amor*; Martin de Gĩizo 8 *A do mui bon parecer*; Martin Codax 6 *Eno sagrado en Vigo*. It is possible that the girl is telling her own tale in the third person but in the refrain shifts to the first person. A similar possibility arises with Codax 6 *Eno sagrado en Vigo / bailava corpo velido. / Amor ei* and Gĩizo 8 *A do mui bon parecer / mandou lo aduffe tanger. / Louçana d' amores moir' eu.*) The encounter narrated here comes laden with the symbolism of a ritual: it takes place in Spring (see note on *alva*, vv. 1, 4), at dawn, at the fountain, after the girl has washed her hair, as a stag stirs the water. The import of this ritual symbolic language is erotic but *indeterminate*. Is this a tryst represented as a ritual? Or a ritual—prenuptial (*vai lavar cabelos*) or nuptial (*o cervo do monte a agua volvia*)? Trubarac compares this *cantiga* to a ritual song from Serbia which is strikingly similar (see Introduction, 6; Appendix 1).

Only here in Meogo does a period consists of two identical cola: 11' [5'+5']. This schema is found in the first period of aaB strophes in Estevan Coelho 1 and Johan Servando 8 (where the refrain is *morrerei d' amores*). Lopo 7 is similar: 11'/12 [5'/6+5'/6]; and the first strophe is identical to the schema here.

1, 4 <Levou s' aa alva>: The initial hemistich of the first two strophes is missing in both manuscripts with no sign of a lacuna. (Such a pattern of missing text is unique in the *cantigas d'amigo*.) Bell suggests <*Leda dos amores*> in strophe I and <*Dos amores leda*> in II, recycling the two halves of the refrain and failing to see that the same verb should appear at the beginning of both cola: *levou* (see next note). Nunes, venturing <*Levou-s'a louçana*> in v. 1 and <*Levou-s'a velida*> in v. 4, realizes the colon should begin *Levou-s'*, but the rest of his supplement is dubious, since nowhere else in the body of the strophe

does repetition with variation consist of the inversion of the two halves of a verse from one strophe to another (an extremely rare technique; see Pero de Veer 3.1 and 4). Michaëlis (1904: II, 60) recognizes that a reference to dawn is lacking and proposes <Levou-se mui cedo>. The missing colon can be restored by recourse to verses that were modeled on the opening of this poem, the first two verses of Dinis 17 *Levantou's a velida*, / *levantou s' <aa> alva*. Scholars agree that Dinis 17 imitates Meogo 5 and that the beginning of the one closely follows that of the other (Beltrán 1984: 8-10). Working backwards from the imitation to the model, the supplement assumes that Dinis split Meogo's long verse into two short ones, switched the order of clauses, and used *levantar* instead of the older *levar*. Thus, Meogo's first hemistich <Levou s' aa alva> becomes the second verse in Dinis *levantou s' <aa> alva*; and Meogo's second hemistich *levou s' a velida* becomes Dinis' first verse *Levantou s' a velida*. The text missing in II should be the same as in the first strophe: initial cola in pairs of strophes are identical in the rest of this poem and in 4, 8 and 9. (This supplement was first proposed in Cohen 1996a: 45, n41; cf. Vallín 1997; Lorenzo 1993: 550; Ferreira 1999: 105-106. On metrical and grammatical problems in Dinis 17, see Cohen 2006: 175.) The mention of dawn has implications for the ritual and for our reading of this song and the set (cf. note on *alva*, v. 1). If the hemistich was censored, that may have been because *dawn* signaled too clearly the nature of the ritual performed at that hour.

<Levou s'>... | *levou s'*: For the use of the same verb at the beginning of both cola, see 9.13 and 16 *Mentir... | mentir*. Similarly, Fernand'Esquio 3.1 *Vaiamos, irmana*, | *vaiamos dormir* and 3 *Vaiamos, irmana*, | *vaiamos folgar*. Compare the refrain of Guilhade 7 *amigas*, *ten meu amigo | amiga na terra sigo*. (The same word occurs twice in the incipit of Dinis 16 *Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino* but not in the same metrical positions. Cf. Dinis 18.1 *Amig' e meu amigo*—often [wrongly] changed to *Amad' e meu amigo*). *Levar-se* means “to get up,” “to wake up,” “to arise.” Cf. CSM 6.XV-XVI *Leva-t'ende, // ca muito per ás dormido* (“Get up out of there, for you've slept long enough”); 32.VI *O Bispo levou-sse mui de madurgada*.

<alva>: Elsewhere in this genre the word occurs only in Dinis 15 *Alva é, vai liero* and Dinis 17 (refrain) *levantou s' <aa> alva*. The dawn setting probably applies to Meogo 6 (the girl washes her hair at dawn, as here), 8 (the dance takes place at dawn), and 9 (the girl goes to the fountain at dawn), although no time of day is mentioned in those texts. And the reference in 6 to Spring (6.1 *verdes ervas*, 6.4 *verdes prados*) is probably applicable to this poem, 8 and 9, so that the scenario in all four texts is the same: Spring, dawn, at the fountain. These three elements suggest a ritual that must be performed at a given time of year, at a given time of day, and in a given place.

velida: This picks up the last word of the refrain in the preceding text: *que farei velida?*

2, 5 vai lavar: The present is used here as a narrative tense, so there is no grammatical dissonance with the imperfect forms *queria*, *amava*, *volvia*. This mixture of the historical present and the imperfect tense may have triggered an error in v. 8 where the manuscripts have *passou* for *passa*.

lavar: See 6.7-24. Outside Meogo this verb appears in the *cantigas d'amigo* only in Johan Soares Coelho 12.1-2 *Fui eu, madre, lavar meus cabelos / a la fonte* and 4-5 *Fui eu, madre, lavar mhas garcetas / a la fonte*; Dinis 17.3-5 *e vai lavar camisas / eno alto, / vai las lavar <a> alva* (cf. vv. 8, 11, 16). Both those poems appear to draw on this one.

cabelos: Washing the hair is a prenuptial ritual (cf. Reckert 1976: 106-107, 119). In 6.III-VIII the girl washes and binds her hair. The word is rarely used in the *cantigas d'amigo*. See Johan Soares Coelho 12 (see previous note); Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1.4-5 *meus cabelos, con sirgo / eu non vos liarei*; Johan Zorro 5.1-2 *Cabelos, los meus cabelos, / el rei me enviou por elos*. In the *cantigas d'amor* there is only one mention of a woman's hair: Osoir' Anes 4.12-16 *mais forçaron mh os olhos meus / e o bon parecer dos seus, / e o seu preç' e un cantar / que lh' oi u a vi estar / en cabelos, dizend' un son* (Cohen 2010c). CSM 212.VI touches on the local custom of prenuptial baths: *Ela deu-o a sa filla e levou-a a bannar, / com' é costum' en Toledo de quantas queren casar*.

2 fontana fria: Compare Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1.I-II: *manhanas frias / frias manhanas*. In both cases *fria* is an adjective bound to a noun in an invertible formula, either member of which can stand in rhyme in *cobras alternantes* with the pattern *i-a // a-a*. Here adjective and noun alliterate as well.

fontana: Only in Meogo, though eight times (in this text and 9). The native form would be *fontãa* (but only *fontaa* is found in *TMILG*). The retention of intervocalic *n*, which had fallen much earlier, appears to violate the most basic law of sound change—that the change be universal across all grammatical categories, provided the same phonetic conditions obtain (excepting loan-words that entered the language late enough to escape the change and analogical formations). Nearly all examples of this phenomenon are found in the *cantigas d'amigo* and most occur in the refrain, incipit or at verse-end, often in aaB songs with assonant rhyme. These forms were concurrently available diachronic variants and continued to be used in traditional pairs of rhyme words throughout the 13th century (see Ferreiro 2008, 2013; Cohen 2013b). See also 1.5 *fonte* and note.

3 leda dos amores, dos amores leda: This is the only refrain in the genre formed by the inversion of a phrase. Each variant is equal to a colon. The use of a symmetrical refrain may emphasize the song's position at the center of the set (see headnote).

leda dos amores: *Leda*, meaning “joyous,” “happy,” “glad,” is used in the *cantigas d’amigo* to mark the girl’s mood (see note at 2.1 *por mui fremosa*). Here *de* expresses cause: “Happy because of love” or “rejoicing at love.” For the construction, cf. Johan Airas 14.7-8 (girl to mother) *Ca fostes vós mui leda do meu mal / quando s’ el foi* (“Because you were very happy about my suffering when he went away”).

amores: With the sense “love,” *amores* is found in the refrains of Johan Servando 8 *morrerei d’ amores*; Lopo 5 *Non mi dan amores vagar* (“Love gives me no rest”); Martin de Gūizo 8 *Louçana d’ amores moir’ eu*. With the same sense, *amores* occurs in the refrain of an included song in the *pastorela* of Airas Nunes 4.16 *e d’ amores ei mal* (“And I feel the pain of love”) and in the same text (vv. 33-35) in another included song *quen amores á / como dormirá?* (“Whoever is in love, how will she sleep?”). See the cited song in a *pastorela* of Dinis 54.13-15 *que faria por amores, / pois m’ errastes tan en vaõ* (“What should I do about love, since you wronged me so unjustly?”). *Amores* also appears—maybe with another sense—in the refrain of 9 *os amores ei* (see note at 9.3).

8 passa: Nunes changes *passou* (BV) to *passa* in view of *passa* in vv. 11, 13, 16 (compare 8 and 9, where there is no verbal variation in initial cola within each pair of strophes). The emendation also restores the coincidence of strong positions and stressed syllables that characterizes III-IV. (See note on v. 2, above.)

8, 11, 13, 16: *queria* and *amava* were apparently a traditional pair of synonymous rhyme words. They appear together in paired strophes in poems of Dinis (40.V-VIII) and his son Afonso Sanchez (2.III-IV).

14, 17 agua is a correction for *augua* (BV), a variant form well-attested in the 13th century (TMILG) but wrong here. The rules of assonant rhyme, as they can be induced from the *cantigas d’amigo*, require that the identical tonic (and post-tonic) vowel be used in words that rhyme with one another at verse-end. Discounting this text and 9 (*augua* BV), this holds for all *cantigas d’amigo* where assonance occurs (Cohen, forthcoming). Diphthongs are not used (twice diphthongs are used in internal rhyme, but *not* a diphthong and a pure vowel; see headnote to 2). The problem was corrected by Braga in 9.11, the only place the word is found in rhyme in V, which was his only source. (Nowhere else in the secular lyric is there a descendant of Latin *aqua*, but *agua* is common in CSM.)

volvia: The verb here means “stir,” “stir up,” “muddy.” In this genre *volver* is found only in this poem and 9 (III-VI). The verb is used transitively in various senses in CSM: 25.XIV *poi-los foi contar e volver* “turn over [coins];” 214.VI *volveu na mão os dados* “shake up [dice];” 35.XVI *un vento... que as galeas volver // Fez* “turn around [ships].” In CEM *volver* is found several times with the meaning “stir up [a quarrel],” for instance, in Airas Perez Vuitoron (CEM 83.19) *e quen quiser a peleja volver, / logu’ entrad’ i*. See the glossaries of CEM and CSM. Commentators agree that this action symbolizes sexual

activity here and in 9.III-IV. The simultaneity and syntactic parallelism of “her boyfriend comes along” and “the stag was stirring the water” generate an equivalence (but not a strict set of correspondences; see note at 9.14). This image occurs only here and in 9.III-VI.

PERO MEOGO – 6

Enas verdes ervas
vi anda-las cervas,
meu amigo.

Enos verdes prados
vi os cervos bravos, 5
meu amigo.

E con sabor delos
lavei meus cabelos,
meu amigo.

E con sabor delas 10
lavei mhas garcetas,
meu amigo.

Des que los lavei,
d' ouro los liei,
meu amigo. 15

Des que las lavara,
d' ouro las liara,
meu amigo.

D' ouro los liei
e vos aspereï, 20
meu amigo.

D' ouro las liara
e vos asperava,
meu amigo.

B 1189 f. 253r V 794 f. 125r

6 in V, Colocci's + in the left-hand margin indicates that vv. 7-12 appear below, after VIII, where there is another +
7-12 these strophes appear in inverse order in V; cf. Johan Soarez Coelho 12. I-II; Johan Zorro 5. I-II

7 delh9 B : delhos V

8 Lauey B: auëy V

9, 18, 24 amigo om. B

10 delhas *BV*

13 que los] q'(u)l9 ? *B* : q'u9 *V*

15 amigo] a *B*

16 lavara *Braga* : lauera *B* : laura *V*

19, 22 Douro *B* : Doutro *V*

21 ami *B*

23 asperaua *B* : aspaua *V* : asperara *Nunes*

In the green grasses
I saw the deer running,
My friend.

In the green fields
I saw the wild stags,
My friend.

And gladdened by these,
I washed my hair,
My friend.

And gladdened by those,
I washed my braids,
My friend.

After I washed it
I tied it with gold,
My friend.

After I'd washed them
I'd tied them with gold,
My friend.

I tied it with gold
And waited for you,
My friend.

I'd tied them with gold
And was waiting for you,
My friend.

aaB (x8): 5'/5 || 3'

ervas a-os elos e-as ei ara ei a-a || igo *cobras alternantes* V-VIII

leixa-pren V-VIII

The girl tells the boy that (with pleasure at seeing the deer running in the grassy meadows) she washed her hair, tied it with gold, and waited for him.

"Hello, Honey." The girl addresses her boyfriend only here. With the vocative *meu amigo* as a refrain, she greets him and narrates what happened before his arrival. This narrative seems a second version of the encounter in 5. The girl saw deer in the grass and (as in 5) washed her hair. Then she bound her hair—signifying the passage from virginity to marriage. She would have come to the fountain (as in 5 and 9) to wash her hair and meet the boy. The probable time for this encounter is dawn (as in 5).

There are five other *cantigas d'amigo* with eight strophes: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1, Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2, Dinis 13, 16 and 40. Dinis 40 uses an almost identical aaB schema 5' || 3. The second half of this text is marked by rhetorical, metrical, para-metrical, and syntactic features. Strophes V-VIII feature regular *leixa-pren*; an interstrophic alternation between verses of five syllables with masculine cadence (V, VII) and verses of six syllables with feminine cadence (VI, VIII); and a 100% coincidence between strong positions and stressed syllables. Strophes V-VI are the only ones with a complex sentence (subordinate and main clause). And strophes VII-VIII are the only ones with two independent clauses (*liei / ...asperiei; liara / ...asperava*).

1, 3 verdes: Green is the only color mentioned in the *cantigas d'amigo*. See Johan Garcia de Guilhade 2.12 *si quer meus olhos verdes son* ("I even have green eyes"). In Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 3 and Dinis 16 we find *verde pino* and *verde ramo*. Compare the included song in Airas Nunes 4.6-8 (*pastorela*) *So lo ramo verd' e frofido / vodas fazem a meu amigo / e choram olhos d'amor*.

1 ervas: Only here in *Amigo*. *Ervas* refers to magical plants in Vidal 1.1-2 *Moir', e faço dereito, por ãa dona d'Elvas / que me trage tolheito, com' a quen dan as ervas* and 2.5 *E mal dia non ensandeci e pasesse das ervas* (Cohen 2010e). In Vidal 2.4-5 *cervas* rhymes with *ervas*.

2 vi anda-las cervas: There are 18 *cantigas d'amigo* that begin with a form of *veer* (*veja, vi, vedes* or *vistes*; see Cohen 2003: 102) and numerous others that contain a form of *veer* somewhere in the incipit. Here the verb appears not in the first verse but at the beginning of the second, after an initial adverbial phrase. The combination *veer andar* figures in the incipit of four poems: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 5.1-2 *Vi eu, mha madr', andar / as barcas eno mar*; Johan Zorro 1 *Quen visse andar fremosã*; Dinis 23 *O voss' amig', amiga, vi andar*; Martin Campina 1.1 *O meu amig', amiga, vej' andar*. Compare Fernad' Esquio 3.1-3 *Vaiamos, irmana, vaiamos dormir / nas ribas do lago u eu andar vi / a las aves meu*

amigo (cf. vv. 5, 7, 10). See also Johan Airas 46.1-2 (*pastorela*) *Pelo soute de Crexente / ùa pastor vi andar*.

andar: The does are pictured *running* through the grass. Cf. CSM 69.XIII *corrend' o monge como cerva*. For the meanings *andar* can assume, see Ferreiro 2014, s.v. *andar* 1 and DDGM.

cervas: This appearance of the feminine form supports the emendation *cervas* in 4.1 and 4. The presence of other girls and boys (*cervos*, v. 5) may imply that they take part in a collective rite at dawn.

3 meu amigo: Vocatives (including *meu amigo*) appear often in refrains, but a vocative constitutes an entire refrain only here and in Nuno Fernandez Torneol 2 *delgada* (cf. the lone adjective *namorada* in Johan Servando 11 and Lourenço 5). The refrain consists of a vocative and a grammatical subject in Juião Bolseiro 4 *mha madre, o meu amigo* and Fernan do Lago 1 *irmana, o meu amigo*.

4 prados: The word is found only here in *Amigo*, once in *Amor*, and four times in CSM.

5 bravos: “Wild.” Cf. CSM 47.VII *pareceu-ll’enton / o demo en figura de mui bravo leon*. In its only other occurrence in *Amigo* this word is applied to a husband (the only husband in the genre): *ca ei mui gran medo do mal bravo* (Dinis 33.9). For other examples in the secular lyric, see Ferreiro 2014, s.v. *bravo*.

7 con sabor delos: “And with the pleasure of seeing them...” Not cause and effect, but simultaneity. (Compare the use of *non aver sabor* in 1.7 and 10.)

elos: Cf. Johan Soares Coelho 12.2. The form *elos* represents the regular outcome of Latin accusative plural *illōs* (whereas *eles* < **illes*; Williams 1938 [§140.1]).

In *V* after this verse Colocci left a small cross in the left-hand margin which indicates that vv. 7-12 are copied below after strophe VIII, where there is a corresponding cross. It is not clear if Colocci knew this from the exemplar or from *B* (his own manuscript), where strophes III-IV appear in their proper place. On such crosses and their meaning, see Cohen 2012d: 171-172.

8 lavei meus cabelos: See notes at 5.2 on *lavar* and *cabelos*. The washing of the hair may take place at dawn, as in 5.I-IV.

8, 11 cabelos > garcetas: Paired synonymous rhyme words with feminine endings usually occur in the same order, since the order of tonic vowels is normally *i* > *a*: *amigo* > *amado*; *rio* > *alto*; *ferido* > *fossado*; *velida* > *louçana*. But here, since the tonic vowel is identical and only the post-tonic vowel differs (without a contrast of front vs. back vowel), we need other criteria. *B* has *cabelos* > *garcetas* and this matches the order in which the same two words appear in paired strophes in Johan Soares Coelho 12 and

Johan Zorro 5. But V presents these two strophes in inverse order. The order of strophes and references in V-VIII appears to require that we follow B, but then III.1 picks up II.2 while IV.1 picks up I.2—an unusual phenomenon. (Following V, however, V.1 takes up IV.2, while VI.1 takes up III.2—the same odd criss-cross, merely delayed by a pair of strophes.)

11 garcetas, meaning “tresses,” “braids,” appears in two other *cantigas d’amigo* (Johan Soares Coelho 12.I-II and Johan Zorro 5.I-II) and nowhere else. In all cases it is paired with *cabelos* in *cobras alternantes* with assonant rhyme. The word is a diminutive of *garça* (“heron”) = Spanish *garza*, which Corominas derives from a pre-Latin Celtic form **karkia*.

13-14, 16-17 ...lavei /...liei //...lavara /...liara: There is little semantic difference here between pluperfect and perfect (preterite) in the subordinate or the main clauses.

14-15, 16-17, 19, 22: See note at 2.4 on *a la fonte*.

14, 17, 19, 22 ouro: An ornament used to bind the hair. These are the only mentions of gold in the genre. Metal objects are rarely mentioned and in each case they seem to be gifts that the boy has given to the girl: Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1 (*espelho, fivela*) and 3 (*anel* [of gold?]); Pero Gomez Barroso 3 (*espelho*). A *cinta* (“belt”), which could have a metal buckle, figures in Gonçal’Eanes do Vinhal 3; Johan Garcia de Guilhade 4, 5, 6, 8, 17; Porto Carreiro 1 (*mhas cintas das fivelas*; v. 19); Dinis 16. Cf. Cohen 2012b: 14 n11, 56.

14 liei: The verb also occurs in Pero Gonçalves de Porto Carreiro 1.4-5 *meus cabelos, con sirgo / eu non vos liarei*. Binding the hair signified married status in Germanic and Iberian law and custom (Michaëlis 1904: II, 921 and n2; Cohen 2012b: 9 and n3). The gold would be a gift from the boy (like the silk—and other gifts—in Porto Carreiro 1). By tying her hair the girl symbolically becomes his bride. (On lovers’ gifts, see Cohen 2012b: 9-17).

17, 22 liara: “I had tied” or “I tied.” Of the 50 pluperfect forms in the *cantigas d’amigo*, around 20 have temporal force, about 30 are modal (some are uncertain). *Liara* has been taken as a modal pluperfect, but “I would have tied my tresses” makes no sense here.

23 asperava: A switch in verbal aspect from aorist (seeing the act as a complete whole) to progressive (here stressing the duration of her waiting): “I washed my hair...I tied it...and *I was waiting* for you.” Elsewhere in this genre *asperar* occurs in Bernal de Bonaval 3.2 and 7 *quen asperades* and Juião Bolseiro 3.10 *u me estava asperando*.

Nunes’ emends *asperava* (BV) to the pluperfect *asperara*, partly to match the rhyme system established in V-VII, where rhymes are perfect—as opposed to I-IV, where they are assonant; and partly to fit the system of tenses. The form *asperava* provides two surprises: a return to assonance in the last verse and a change in the tense system that

begins in V (perfect in V and VII; pluperfect in VI and VIII.1). But these surprises are better taken as reasons to consider *asperava* sound rather than as evidence for a corruption

PERO MEOGO – 7

Preguntar vos quer' eu, madre,
 que mi digades verdade:
se ousará meu amigo
ante vós falar comigo.

Pois eu mig' ei seu mandado, 5
 querria saber de grado
se ousará meu amigo
<ante vós falar comigo>.

Irei, mha madre, _a la fonte
 u van os cervos do monte, 10
se ousará meu <amigo
ante vós falar comigo>.

B 1190 f. 253r-v *V* 795 f. 125r

7 amigo] ami *B*

I want to ask you, mother,
 To tell me the truth,
 If my boyfriend will dare
 To talk with me in front of you.

Since I have word from him,
 I'd really like to know
 If my boyfriend will dare
 To talk with me in front of you.

I'll go, mother, to the spring
 Where the stags from the hills go, to see
 If my boyfriend will dare
 To talk with me in front of you.

aaBB (x3): 7'

a-e ado onte || igo

The girl asks her mother if she thinks the boy will dare to talk with her in front of the mother and says she will go see him at the fountain.

"I'm going." By involving her mother in talks with the boy, the girl would legitimize the *fala* (see Bernal de Bonaval 8.1-3 *Filha fremosa, vedes que vos digo: / que non faledes ao voss' amigo / sen mi, ai filha fremosa*). In III she says she is going to the fountain to see him. Said by the girl to her mother or girlfriend(s), *irei* (or its equivalent) constitutes the move of a common script. Although the girl often asks her mother for permission to go see the boy, sometimes (as here) she merely says she is going—and is not afraid to tell her mother. See Martin Codax 2.1-3 *Mandad' ei comigo / ca ven meu amigo, / e irei, madr', a Vigo*. Cf. Roi Fernandiz 7.1-2 *Madre, quer' oj' eu ir veer / meu amigo* and 7.4 *ai madre, ir lo ei veer*, where the mother says (in the refrain) that she will accompany her daughter: *Filha, id' e eu vosc' irei*. (Compare the wording of Johan Servando 7.1-3 *Se meu amig' a San Servando for / e lho Deus guisa polo seu amor, / i-lo quer' eu, madre, veer*, although there the mother is opposed to the encounter). Sometimes the girl adds a politely deferential clause, such as "If you don't mind" or "If you please:" Bernal de Bonaval 7.4-6 *Se vos non pesar, mha madre, rogar vos ei, / por Deus, que mi non digades mal, e irei / a Bonaval, pois meu amig' i ven*; Juião Bolseiro 5.4-5 *Non vos pes, madre, se Deus vos empar, / irei veer se ven meu amig' i*; Martin de Gíizo 2.1-2 *Se vos prouguer, madr', oj' este dia / irei*.

1 preguntar vos quer' eu: A formula. Cf. Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha 6.1-2 *Por meu amig', amiga, preguntar / vos quer' eu ora*; Johan Airas 12.1 *quero vos preguntar* and 7 *Preguntar vos quero*.

2 que mi digades verdade: "That you tell me the truth." The article is regularly omitted (cf. Lang 1894: 115-116): Johan Perez d'Avoín 10 (refrain) *ca mi mentiu o que mi soía / dizer verdad' e nunca mentia*; Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 6.5 *e non sei eu se el diz verdad' i*; Pero Gomez Barroso 3.1 *Direi verdade*; Johan Airas 37.4 *Amiga, verdade ben vos direi*; Johan Airas 41.3 *saberedes, amigo, que vos digo verdade*.

3-4 Non ousar falar is far less common than *non poder falar*. The reasons why boy or girl does not dare to talk differ. See Galisteu Fernandiz 1.3 and 15 (friend to girl) *por que non ousou vosco falar ren* (he was afraid); Johan Airas 17.15 (girl to boy) *ca vos non ous' a falar nen veer* (she is guarded); Dinis 33, refrain (married woman to lover) *mais non ous' oj' eu con vosc' a falar* (her husband might find out). In Nuno Fernandez Torneol 7.7-8 (girl to mother) *Foi s' el daqui e non m' ousou falar / nen eu a el* the reason is unclear. Here the boy's intentions are the issue.

3 meu amigo, which also appears in the refrain of 6, is common in refrains throughout the genre, but here it may serve to link the two poems together. (See note on *velida* at 5.1.)

4 ante vós falar comigo: By speaking with the girl in her mother's presence, the boy would show that he is serious. By custom a girl cannot be married without her parents' approval (Mattoso 1980). In Dinis 32.12-14 *e ora ven // aqui, u eu con el falei / per ante vós, madr' e senhor* the mother's presence lends gravity to the girl's rejection of the boy. In Johan Garcia de Guilhade 10 the girl wants her girlfriends to distance themselves when the boy arrives *ca muitas cousas diremos que ante vós non diremos*. The girl in Johan Soares Coelho 4.1-2 prefers that her mother not be present *Ai madr,' o que eu quero ben / non lh'ous' eu ante vós falar*.

falar: In Meogo this verb occurs only in this text. In the *cantigas d'amigo* it appears in around 120 texts (more than 30 refrains), mainly referring to wooing (amorous talk and activities between boy and girl), which is the fundamental program of action in this genre. But *falar* rarely occurs in poems with nature symbolism. The only other examples are Nuno Fernandez Torneol 4 (where it appears with *avelanal*), Juião Bolseiro 2 (with *noite*), Johan de Cangas 2 (*mar*), and Dinis 16 (*flores do verde pino/ramo*). See Cohen 2012b: 10-11, 20-21).

5 pois eu mig' ei seu mandado: In this common formula *mandado* means "message," "news." See Bernal de Bonaval 1.8 (and 9) *pois tal mandad' ei migo* and 11 (and 12) *pois mig' e<i> tal mandado*; Bonaval 6.7 *Pois eu migo seu mandado non ei*; Martin de Caldas 3.1 *Mandad' ei migo qual eu desejei*; Martin Codax 2.1-2 *Mandad' ei comigo / ca ven meu amigo* and 4-5 *Comig' ei mandado / ca ven meu amado*; Dinis 13.2 *pois seu mandad' ei migo* and 5 *pois mig' ei seu mandado*. (*Mandado* can also mean "command," "consent," "permission.")

6 querria saber de grado: Formulaic. Cf. Afonso'Eanes do Coton 2.10 *queria saber de grado*; Johan Baveca 6.1 *Filha, de grado queria saber*.

de grado means "gladly," "eagerly." See, for example, Pero da Ponte 5.16 *e falarei con vosco mui de grado*; Johan Servando 6.11 *pois todas i van de grado oraçon fazer*; Johan Zorro 3.16-17 *i vai o meu amado, / quer me levar de grado*; Johan Airas 32.1-2 *Que mui de grado eu faria / prazer ao meu amigo*.

9 irei occurs in the first verse of Nuno Porco 1 *Irei a lo mar vee-lo meu amigo*; Martin de Gũizo 6 *Non mi digades, madre, mal e irei*; Johan de Requeixo 2 *A Far<o> un dia irei, madre, se vos prouguer*. But the closest parallel is Roy Fernandiz 2.1-6 *Se vos non pesar ende, / madr', irei u m' atende / meu amigo no monte. // Irei, se Deus vos valha, / por non meter en falha / meu amigo no monte*.

9-10 fonte / monte: These words appear together in notorial texts in the formula *a montes e a fontes*, meaning *everything there is* on a given piece of land (see M. C. Barreiro *apud* DDGM).

10 u van os cervos do monte: It is only here that this *cantiga* makes use of the symbolic language which figures in much of the set. Compare 1.5 and see 2, refrain; 4.1 and 4; 5.14 and 17; 8, refrain; 9.14 and 17.

11 For the ellipsis before an indirect question ("*to see if...*"), cf. Johan Servando 9.6 *fui a San Servando, se o ve<e>ria* ("I went to San Servando *to see* if I would see him").

PERO MEOGO – 8

Fostes, filha, eno bailar
 e rompestes i o brial,
poilo cervo i ven
esta fonte seguide a ben
poilo cervo i ven. 5

Fostes, filha, eno loir
 e rompestes i o vestir,
poilo cervo i ven
<esta fonte seguide a ben
poilo cervo i ven>. 10

E rompestes i o brial,
 que fezeastes ao meu pesar,
poilo cervo i ven
<esta fonte seguide a ben
poilo cervo i ven>. 15

E rompestes i o vestir,
 que fezeastes a pesar de min,
poilo cervo i ven
<esta fonte seguide a ben
poilo cervo i ven>. 20

B 1191 f. 253v *V* 796 f. 125r

3, 5 *poilo cervo Nunes (ex vv. 8, 13, 18) : poys ona morado B : poys o namorado V*

6 *loyr BV hapax legomenon*

12 *ao V : no B : a Michaëlis, probante Lapa*

13 *ceruo B : ceru9 V*

17 *pesar de mi Lapa (a deleteo)*

Daughter, you went to the dance
And there you tore your dress
Since the stag comes there
Watch this spring well
Since the stag comes there.

Daughter, you went to the ball
And there you tore your clothes
Since the stag comes there
Watch this spring well
Since the stag comes there.

And there you tore your dress
Much to my regret
Since the stag comes there
Watch this spring well
Since the stag comes there.

And there you tore your clothes
Much to my distress
Since the stag comes there
Watch this spring well
Since the stag comes there.

aaBBB (x4): I-II: 8 [3'+4]; III-IV: 9 [3'+5] || 6 [3'+2] 9 [3'+5] 6 [3'+2]
 ar ir al in || en *cobras alternantes*
leixa-pren

The mother upbraids her daughter for having torn her clothes at a dance, warns her to be wary of the fountain, and expresses her grief.

"You tore your dress!" The girl has just returned. (At the end of 7 she was going to see the boy, but we cannot be certain the two actions are sequential.) Her mother greets her with reproaches: she tore her clothes; she must be alert to the risks of these goings-on at the spring (compare the mother's rebuke in Johan Airas 21.1-3 *Ai mha filha, de vós saber quer' eu / por que fezeistes quanto vos mandou / voss' amigo*). Some scholars (beginning with Lang 1894: lxxxv n4) see a disjunction between the two periods. Some think there is another speaker or addressee in the refrain. Others believe the girl went to the fountain and is lying to her mother in saying she was at a dance (Mendez Ferrín, Azevedo Filho). It is more economical to assume that the mother speaks to her daughter throughout and that the dance took place at the fountain. (Reckert 1976: 114 notes that *bailar* and *fuelle* are interchangeable variants in traditional Hispanic song). The mother is sole speaker only here. (There are eleven other instances in the genre: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 2, Johan Nunez Camanêz 2; Pai Gomez Charinho 4; Bernal de Bonaval 8; Johan Servando 13; Johan Zorro 4; Juião Bolseiro 7 [parody]; Johan de Requeixo 3; Johan Airas 2 and 6; Dinis 10.)

This is the only poem in the set with a three-verse refrain. Its closest formal and rhetorical match is Martin de Gũizo 3. There are six other *cantigas d'amigo* with the general form aaBBB where the middle verse of the refrain scans longer than the outer ones but equal to verses in the first period: Airas Carpancho 6 (delete *vós* in the second verse of the refrain); Pae Gomez Charinho 1; Johan Servando 6; Juião Bolseiro 7; Martin de Gũizo 3 and 6 (see note in Cohen 2003: 405; the same overall form is also found in a parody of a *cantiga d'amigo* in CEM 385 [Pero Garcia Burgalês]). The repetition of the first verse of the refrain in the third—a traditional rhetorical technique in songs with three-verse refrains, independent of metrics and rhyme scheme—occurs in: Airas Carpancho 3; Estevan Reimondo 1; Johan Garcia de Guilhade 20; Pero da Ponte 1; Garcia Soares 1 and 2; Johan Servando 3 and 14; Martin Padrozelos 1; Martin de Gũizo 3, 5 and 6. A comparison of these two lists shows that the poems whose refrains most resemble that of Meogo 8 are Martin de Gũizo 3 and 6 (both also composed with *cobras alternantes*). Of these two, the closer match is Gũizo 3, with identical overall scansion in the refrain (6 9 6) and *leixa-pren*.

Masculine rhymes are used in seven other poems with *cobras alternantes*: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 4 *er // ar*; Torneol 5 *ar // er*; Meendinho 1 *on/or // ar*; Rui Martiiz do Casal 3 *ar // er*; Martin de Gïizo 6 *ei // or*; Gïizo 8 *er // ar*; Fernand' Esquio 3 *ir/i // ar*.

If the colometry proposed here is correct, the first and third verses of the refrain 6 [3'+2] contain a colon of two syllables, the shortest in the genre, equalled only by the initial colon in two *cantigas* with internal rhyme in the refrain (where the second colon is equal to the verses of the first period): Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 2: 10 [2+8] and Calheiros 3: 11 [2+9]. The first colon [3'] in both periods is rare. In aaB forms a colon of 3' occurs the first period of Airas Carpancho 7: 9' [3'/4+5']; Johan Soarez Coelho 12: 9' [3'+5']; Bernal de Bonaval 6: 10 [4/3'+6].

1 Fostes...eno bailar: "You went to the dance." *En* here means "to," indicating *direction towards which* (a common sense of Latin *in* with the accusative). See Golparro 1.2-3 *pois que me mandou / que foss' eu con el ena sagraçon*; CSM 328.X *de pousada en pousada*; 331.IX *andando dñus en outros*. The theme of going or not going to see the boy appears (lexically) in 1.3 *e se non for*; 1.4 *ir veer*; 2.3 *que o foss' eu veer*; 7.9 *irei*.

bailar connotes erotic behavior, or outright sexual ostentation, in all texts in which it occurs in this genre: Pero Viviae 1.7-9 *Nossos amigos todos lá irán / por nos veer e andaremos nós / bailand' ant' eles fremosas en cos*; Airas Nunes 2; Airas Nunes 3.1-6 – *Bailade oje, ai filha, que prazer vejades, / ant' o voss' amigo, que vós moit' amades. / – Bailarei eu, madre, pois me vós mandades, / mais pero entendo de vós ãa ren: / de viver el pouco moito vos pagades, / pois me vós mandades que baile ant' el ben*; Johan Zorro 10-1-6 *Bailemos agora, por Deus, ai velidas, / so aquestas avelaneiras frolidas, / e quen for velida, come nós velidas, / se amigo amar, / so aquestas avelaneiras frolidas / verrá bailar*; Martin Codax 6.10-13 *Bailava corpo velido / que nunca ouvera amigo. / Amor ei*; Dinis 40.4-6 *Mha madre loada, / vou m' a la bailada / do amor*.

2 rompestes: "You tore." *Romper* occurs only here in the love lyric. It appears with the meaning "tear" in CSM 5.XXIV *con pesar seus panos se fillou a romper*; 172.II *o masto foi britado / e a vea toda rota*. A girl's torn clothing symbolizes the loss of virginity in the Hispanic tradition—and many others (Reckert 1976: 114).

brial: a full length outer garment (like a tunic) made of silk or other fine cloth. Only here in *Amigo*. See the glossaries of CEM, CSM, and Ferreiro 2014; cf. Tormo 1991 (s.v. *brial*).

3, 5 poilo cervo i ven: Compare the refrains of Bernal de Bonaval 7 *a Bonaval, pois meu amig' i ven*; Johan Servando 5 *por que ven i meu amigo*; Juião Bolseiro 5 *irei veer se ven meu amig' i*. The first verse of the refrain can be taken with the verse that precedes or the one

that follows or both. This overlapping syntax ties the second period to the first and binds together the three verses of the refrain.

namorado (BV): Both manuscripts have *poys o namorado y uẽ*, which smacks of a gloss: this is the only poem of Meogo where *amigo* does not appear, and *namorado* is its equivalent (see below). Or it could be a misguided metrical correction, since it would make the outer lines of the refrain scan equal to those in the body of the strophe (in strophes I-II; see note on vv. 12 and 17). But however it got into the text, *namorado* cannot stand. There is no problem with variation in a refrain (see note on *faria* at 4.6) or with the fact that *namorado* is not found elsewhere in Meogo. The problem is that *namorado* violates the principle of external responsion, since the outer verses of the refrain in the first strophe would not be metrically equal to those in the other strophes. (It would also break the symbolic code by making explicit the equivalence between stag and boy—an illusory banality that has delighted some critics). In II-IV, with only graphic differences from strophe to strophe and between the manuscripts, we have *poylo ceruo hy uen* (copied only the first time in those strophes, as is customary for a three-verse refrain) and this is the right reading here. (Ferreiro [2008: 9] notes that while II-IV have *poylo* the first strophe has *poys o*—another sign that *poys o namorado* is wrong.)

Namorado and *namorada* (as participle, adjective or substantive) appear mainly in early poets, Galician *jograres*, and Dinis. ***Namorado*** occurs in Pae Soares de Taveirós 3.14 *andava namorado*; Johan Garcia de Guilhade 1.2 *un ome muito namorado*; Sancho Sanchez 2.2-4 *í eu oje recado / que é viv' e namorado / doutra dona*; Pae Calvo 1 (refrain) *torto mi ten ora o meu namorado*; Lopo 7.1 *Disseron m' agora do meu namorado*; Airas Paez 1.2 *e verrá o namorado*; Airas Paez 2.1 and 7 *Por vee-lo namorado*; Fernand' Esquio 4.12 *ou qual é essa fremosa de que sodes namorado?* Johan Airas 30.13 *El é por mi atan namorado*; Dinis 8.10 *quand' eu vir o namorado*; Dinis 13.17 and 22 *por aquel namorado*; Dinis 33.2 *ai meu amig' e meu namorado*; Dinis 38.20 *des que foi meu namorado*; Dinis 46.4 *des que foi namorado*. ***Namorada*** is found in Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 7.2 *leixou me namorad'*; Pero da Ponte 1 (refrain) *madre, namorada me leixou, / madre, namorada mh á leixada, / madre, namorada me leixou*; Ponte 7.4 *ca namorada me leixou*; Nuno Porco 1 (refrain) *e vou m' eu namorada*; Pero de Veer 1 (refrain) *pequena e del namorada*; Johan Servando 11 (refrain) *namorada*; Johan Zorro 1.3 *e tan moito namorada*; Zorro 8 (refrain) *eu namorada irei*; Lourenço 2.1 *ũa moça namorada*; Lourenço 3.8 *come moças namoradas*; Lourenço 5 (refrain) *namorada*; Martin Codax 4 (refrain) *e vou namorada*; Johan de Requeixo 1.2 *e venho del namorada*; Requeixo 2.9 *como fiquei namorada*. All told, *namorada* occurs in seven refrains, *namorado* in one.

i ven may harken back to 2.1 *non ven*.

4, 9, 14, 19 seguide: *Seguir* occurs only here in *Amigo* and its meaning is unclear. “Follow the spring” is meaningless (springs do not move). Neither “percurar, buscar”

(Mendez Ferrín 1966: 234) nor “procurar ou buscar com certo cuidado ou cautela” (Azevedo Filho 1974: 118) fits the context (the mother is not sending her daughter to the spring). To follow a moving object implies to *watch* it. See CSM 424.V, where the Magi see the star and follow: *Eles foron-sse logu’ enton / e viron a estrela ir / ante ssi de mui gran randon, / e começarona seguyr*. Here, *seguide...ben* should mean “watch...well,” implying “be wary of” (compare the warning in 3.7 and 9 *e guardade vos, filha*). But this meaning is unattested. There may be relevant evidence in the history of *seguir*, which comes from Vulgar Latin **sequire*, for Classical *sequi* “follow,” from the Indo-European root 1. **sek^w* (LIV, 526). “See,” “watch,” are among the glosses given for the root and this usage occurs in Latin. OLD (s.v. *sequor* 1c) mentions the idiom *oculis sequi* “to follow (a receding object) with eyes, gaze after,” citing *stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur pulueream nubem* (“frightened mothers stand on the walls and watch [follow with their eyes] the dust-cloud;” Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.592). Michael Weiss writes (email, 2013): “The theory is that the original meaning ‘follow’ which is found in Greek, Latin, and Indo-Iranian developed to ‘see’ in Germanic via ‘follow with the eyes’” (cf. German *sehen*, English *see*). The semantic development is not difficult: “follow” > “watch a moving object” > “watch an object.” But if correct the usage is unique.

6 loir: *hapax legomenon*, this appears to be a substantival infinitive from Latin *lūdere* (via **ludire*), an etymology proposed by Michaëlis (*Revista Lusitana* 13: 336). No other genuine descendant of *lūdere* is documented in REW (5153a; but cf. Castilian *ludir*, Galician *luir* [“rub”]). Evidently, *loir* survived—after it disappeared from the spoken language—because it belonged to a traditional pair of synonymous rhyme words with contrasting vowels appropriate for *cobras alternantes* (cf. 9.17 *alto* and note). *Loir* may not be an exact synonym of *bailar*, but rather more generally mean “playing.” *Bailar* carries erotic connotations (see note on *bailar*, v. 1) and so too could *loir* (*ludere* had such connotations; see Catullus 61.203-204 *ludite ut lubet, et brevi / liberos date* [“play all you like, and quickly produce children”]). The other *hapax legomena* in this genre are *liero* (Dinis 15), *lirias* (Bolseiro 9; maybe only a unique *form*), and *tristen* (Johan de Cangas 2). See Cohen 2013a.

7 vestir: Loosely, “clothes;” or perhaps “garment.” In the lyric the substantive is found only here. Lorenzo 1977, s.v. *vestir*, cites a document from 1061: *uestire et calcar et pane et carne et uino et at meo debito que me uestias bene*. There is a late example (1348) in TMILG: *It. mando a affonso perez meu capellan un par de panos dos de meu uistir qual teueren por ben meus compridores*. The noun also occurs in Castilian, Occitan and Italian (*vestire*).

11-12, 16-17: *rompestes*, a weak verb with close *e* in the stem vowel, does not rhyme with *fezestes*, a strong verb with open *e*. Still, there is something close to internal rhyme here.

12, 17: *ao meu pesar* and *a pesar de min* express the mother’s opposition. Although III.2 and IV.2 scan a syllable longer than I.2 and II.2, strophes III-IV maintain external

responsion as a *pair*, since corresponding cola match (see Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1.1-II; Roi Martiiz do Casal 2.I-II; Dinis 16.V-VIII; Cohen 2003: 126, 397, 601). Editors have nevertheless sought to smooth out this apparent irregularity. In v. 12 Michaëlis emends to *a meu pesar* and Lapa suggests *pesar de mi* in v. 17. In both verses the extra syllable occurs at the beginning of the second colon, so two unaccented syllables precede the first accent: *ao méu pesár; a pesár de mín.*

PERO MEOGO – 9

– Digades, filha, mha filha velida,
por que tardastes na fontana fria?
– (Os amores ei.)

– Digades, filha, mha filha louçana,
por que tardastes na fria fontana? 5
– (Os amores ei.)

Tardei, mha madre, na fontana fria,
cervos do monte a agua volv<i>an.
(Os amores ei.)

Tardei, mha madre, na fria fontana, 10
cervos do monte volv<i>an a agua.
(Os amores ei.)

– Mentir, mha filha, mentir por amigo!
nunca vi cervo que volvesse_o rio.
– (Os amores ei.) 15

– Mentir, mha filha, mentir por amado!
nunca vi cervo que volvess' o alto.
– (Os amores ei.)

B 1192 f. 253v *V* 797 f. 125r-v

1 uelida *B* : ne naa *V*

8 do monte a augua *Varnhagen* : do monte a augua do môte *BV*

8, 11 augua *correx*i (*iam Braga in v. 11*) : augua *BV* volv<i>am *Varnhagen* : uoluã *BV*

9 amores ey *V* : om. *B*

– Tell me, daughter, my pretty daughter,
Why did you linger at the cold fountain?
– (I am in love.)

– Tell me daughter, my lovely daughter,
Why did you linger at the fountain so cold?
– (I am in love.)

I lingered, mother, at the cold fountain,
Stags from the hills were stirring up the water.
(I am in love.)

I lingered, mother, at the fountain so cold,
Stags from the hills were stirring the water up.
(I am in love.)

– You're lying, my daughter, lying for your friend!
I never saw a stag that stirred up the stream.
– (I am in love.)

– You're lying, my daughter, lying for your lover!
I never saw a stag that stirred up the pool.
– (I am in love.)

aaB (x6) 10' [4'+5'] || 5
 i-a // a-a (I-IV); i-o / a-o (V-VI) || ei *cobras alternantes* I-IV
leixa-pren

The mother asked her daughter why she took so long at the fountain. The girl says a stag muddied the water. The mother tells her daughter she is lying to protect her lover.

This dialogue represents an exchange between someone who greets and someone who is greeted, but it also functions as an accusation and defense (Cohen 2012a). And it is related to a script where the mother asks the daughter if she is in love, or what is wrong. See Pero de Veer 6 (cf. below on vv. 13, 15), Johan Baveca 6, Lopo 5, and Dinis 15. Several other sets of five or more *cantigas d'amigo* end with a dialogue between girl and mother: Nuno Fernandez Torneol 8, Pero da Ponte 7, Roi Fernandiz 7, Pero de Veer 6, and Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha 11. In Torneol 8 and Veer 6 the mother speaks first (as here). This text and 5 are linked by numerous elements: the length (six strophes); the use of *cobras alternantes* with *leixa-pren*; the appearance of *velida* in the first verse; the rhyme-pair *fontana fria / fria fontana*; the repetition of the same verb at the beginning of the second colon (*Levou s'* in 5.1 and 4; *mentir* 9.13 and 16); the image of a stag (or stags) stirring the water; and the word *amores* in the refrain. Just as 6 seems a second version of the episode narrated in 5, this text reads like a variation on the harsh greeting represented in 8. Trubarac studies the unique match, in rhetoric, action, and pragmatic structure, between this poem and the mother/daughter dialogue at the end of a Serbian ballad (see Introduction, 6, and Appendix 1).

In aaB strophes we find the schema 10' [4'+5'] in the first period of Bonaval 8 (and the second verse of the first period of Afonso X 1). Refrains scanning 5 syllables appear in Pero Garcia Burgalês 1, Pedr'Eanes Solaz 1, Pae Calvo 2, and Dinis 16. The only other dialogues with aaB forms are Nuno Fernandez Torneol 8, Bernal de Bonaval 3, Lopo 5, Dinis 15 and Dinis 16 (all but Lopo 5 use *leixa-pren*). Of these, Torneol 8, Lopo 5 and Dinis 15 are dialogues between mother and daughter which the mother begins.

This composition displays a non-mechanical *leixa-pren* (see 3, headnote). It is not merely the *kind* of repetition and variation from one strophe to another that defines *leixa-pren* with *cobras assonantes*; the replication of rhetoric must occur *in successive pairs of strophes*. So we can only verify *leixa-pren* in *cobras alternantes* if there are at least four strophes. (Meogo 4, with two strophes, cannot be called *leixa-pren* although it displays this technique in embryo—as do numerous *cantigas* with two strophes, like Martin Codax 7). Here there is a change of speaker in III and again in V, and neither time does the second verse in one pair of strophes become the first verse in the next (with the same variation at verse-end, and a new second verse). But this text does deploy a variety of *leixa-pren*: key lexical items, including rhyme words, are picked up from one pair of strophes and

repeated in the next in a methodical way (*tardastes* [I.2, II.2] is picked up by *tardei* [III.1, IV.1]; the invertible pair *fontana fria / fria fontana* is repeated in rhyme [I-II > III-IV]; *cervo* [III. 2, IV.2] remains *cervo* [V.2, VI.2]; *volvia* [III. 2, IV.2] is picked up by *volvesse* [V.2, VI.2]). The shift from *cobras alternantes* with *i-a // a-a* (I-IV) to *i-o / a-o* (V-VI), which precludes the repetition in strophes V-VI of rhyme words from III-IV but still maintains *leixa-pren*, is unparalleled (but see Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2; cf. Cohen 2009a: 128-129; 2011a: 117-119). This unique display of formal and rhetorical virtuosity marks the end of the set (see Appendix 2, Sequences).

1 Digades: A rare use of the second person subjunctive as an imperative—in a non-negated independent clause (as opposed to its regular use in negated or subordinate clauses). Cf. Pae Gomez Charinho 6.1-2 *Ai Santiago, padron sabido, / vós mh adugades o meu amigo* and 5-6 *Ai Santiago, padron provado, / vós mh adugades o meu amado*.

velida: Cf. 4 (refrain) *que farei velida?* 5.1 *levou s' a velida*. The word qualifies as an epithet, whether used of the girl, her girlfriends, or her mother, but its use in Meogo in privileged positions in three poems (a refrain and two incipits) is yet another unifying element in the set.

2 por que tardastes: In this genre *tardar* is often used of the boy (as in 4.2); only in this poem is the girl the subject. A girl asks a boy the same question in Martin de Caldas 5.1-3 *Ai meu amig' e lume destes meus / olhos e coita do meu coração, / por que tardastes, á mui gran sazon?* Compare Fernand' Esquio 4.6-7 *Que adubastes, amigo, u tardastes noutro dia, / ou qual é essa fremosa que vos tan ben parecia?* A male speaker asks a similar question in B 1439 / V 1049 (Roi Paez de Ribela), vv. 1-2: *Maria, Maria genta, da saia cintada, / u masestes esta noite, ou quen pos cevada?*

fontana fria: This formula also appears in 5.I-IV, one of several elements that link the two texts.

3 os amores ei: Compare the refrain of Martin Codax 6 *amor ei*. But here *os amores ei* may mean “I have a lover” and not merely “I am in love” (see note at 5.3). We find this sense in the refrains of Johan Zorro 8 *amores, con vusco m' irei* (“Darling, I’ll go with you”) and Pae Gomez Charinho 1 *e van s<e> as frores / daqui ben con meus amores* (“And the flowers are going away from here, along with my beloved”). [In Latin *mei amores* could have the same meaning; see Catullus 15.1, 21.4, 40.7, 45.1.] *Amores* also appears in the refrain of 5 (see note on 5.3). Here the refrain is spoken as an aside (Reckert and Macedo 1996: 122-123). Other asides occur in the refrains of Dinis 15 *Alva é, vai liero* (“It’s dawn: go quickly”) and—until the last strophe—Lopo 5 *Non mi dan amores vagar* (“Love gives me no rest”). There is a different phenomenon in Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2 *lelia doura // ed oi lelia doura* (“It’s my turn // and today it’s my turn”), where two discourses—one in the body

of the strophe, the other in the intercalated refrain—interweave in varying ways (see Cohen and Corriente 2002).

7, 10: From her mother's question the girl repeats the verb *tardar* (*tardastes* > *tardei*) and the pair of rhyme words *fontana fria* / *fria fontana*. This initiates *leixa-pren*, since the first verse of the second pair of strophes repeats elements from the second verse of the first pair and introduces new material in the second verse, which is itself parallel between III and IV (see headnote).

7-8: Note the rhymes *ia* / *ian*. In assonant rhyme with a feminine ending it is extremely rare for words that rhyme together to have different final consonants in the post-tonic syllable, or for one word to have a final consonant and the other to have none. See Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1 *frias* / *dizian* and Dinis 17 *velida* / *camisas*.

8, 11, 14, 17: On *volver* see note at 5.14, 17.

8, 11: These verses are almost identical to 5.14 and 17. Paradoxically, the girl reveals the truth through transparent symbolic language and yet expects her mother to accept her excuse at the literal level.

8: It is in v. 11 that Braga corrects *augua* to *agua* to recover the rhyme (in 5 the strophe where the word stands in rhyme is missing in V, which was Braga's only source). See note on *agua* at 5.14, 17. The correction of *uoluã* to *volvian* was made by Varnhagen.

13-14, 16-17: Here the rhyme-system switches, preventing the repetition of rhyme words, but the mother repeats key elements from the girl's rhetoric: *cervo* and *volver* along with the synonyms *rio* and *alto* instead of *agua*. Strophes III-IV pick up material from the second verse of I-II and repeat it in the *first* verse, while V-VI take elements from the second verse of III-IV and replicate it in the *second* verse. Verbal repetition is nevertheless symmetrical within each pair of strophes and methodical from pair to pair (see headnote).

13, 15 mentir por amigo // mentir por amado: "Lying to protect your lover!" Compare Lopo 5.1-6 where the mother asks her daughter what is wrong and warns her not to lie: – *Filha, se gradoedes, / dizede que avedes. / – Non mi dan amores vagar. // – Filha, se ben ajades, / dized' e non mençades. / – Non mi dan amores vagar*. There is a similar exchange in Pero de Veer 6.5-9, where the girl is evasive but the mother calls her bluff: – *Por que mh andades tan trist' e chorando? / – Non poss' eu, madre, sempr' andar cantando. // – Non vos vej' eu, filha, sempre cantar, / mais chorar muit' e creo que por en / algun amigo queredes gran ben*. In another context the mother accuses the girl of delivering the boy's lines on his behalf: Roi Martiiz d'Ulveira 2.8-9 *Ai mha filha, entenderá quen quer / que vós tēedes por el sa razon* ("Oh my daughter, anyone can see that you are arguing his case").

The mother says the girl is lying *por amigo*—which could mean “for,” “because of,” or “on behalf of” her boyfriend. She may mean merely that the girl wants to keep the encounter secret, but she may be insinuating that the boy is potentially in grave danger for having consummated a marriage *de facto* without the consent of the girl’s family. Customs and laws differed, but some reflect quite archaic structures of kinship. The offended party is the clan, so the whole clan is expected to take part in the revenge (Mattoso 1980, esp. 396-397). For instance, according to the the *Foro de Castelo Rodrigo* if a man marries a woman without her family’s consent she is disinherited and he becomes an enemy: *Moller que sola tomar marido, sin seus parentes, seia desheredada, e quen a tomar, seia inimigo*. He should be hunted down or expelled by her male relatives on both sides: *Todos los parentes que inimigo segudaren, seguden parentes d’ambas partes* (Cintra 1985: 48, 60). According to some customs, the man could be killed (and his goods appropriated). Juião Bolseiro 14.10 may refer to such a custom: the girl informs the boy that her mother said she will be alone if they marry without her family’s consent: arrayed against her (and against him) will be her mother and *quantos outros parentes ei*. Here the boy has deflowered the girl (5-6 and 8-9). In such a situation, if the girl’s family does not accept a *de facto* union (tacitly before hand or reluctantly afterwards), they could seek revenge.

mentir: This is a survival of the Latin exclamatory infinitive (there may be another example in *B* 1494 / *V* 1105 [Johan Garcia de Guilhade] = *CEM* 219.35 where *B* reads *chufar*, *Don Lourenço, chufar* [“Bluffing, Don Lourenço, bluffing!”], but text, grammar and meter are uncertain; cf. Nobiling 1907a: 57-58). Hale and Buck (1903: 321; §596) write: “The Infinitive, generally with a Subject Accusative, may be used in Exclamations of *surprise, indignation, or regret*” (see Melzani 1975). In his treatment of the exclamatory infinitive in Portuguese, Dias (1918: 241; §309.2) provides late examples, omitting our passage (since Braga prints *mentis*—a much later form of *mentides* which Varnhagen substituted for *mentir*). On the exclamatory infinitive in the Romance languages, cf. Meyer-Lübke 1900: III, 591; §528 (and in Brazilian Portuguese, Schnerr 1966: 70-71). Given the regular practice in dialogues of using vocatives to mark each speaking turn we should take *mha filha* as vocative and not as subject of the infinitive. Compare the Hispanic parallel *Mentir, hija* (Frenk 2003: II, 1175; no. 1651).

For the use of the verb at the beginning of both cola (*Mentir... | mentir...*) compare 5.1 and 4 <*Levou*>... | *levou...* (and note). The appearance of *mentir* in the first and last songs seems deliberate. The audience probably did not distinguish two different senses (in 1 the girl says she is willing to *break her word* to the boy; the mother in 9 says her daughter is *lying* to her).

14 nunca vi cervo que volvesse_o rio: This verse and v. 17 have been taken to mean that the mother never saw a stag stir water. What she means is that the water emanating

from the spring is too deep, wide, or quick-moving to be muddied by a stag. The mother thus rejects her daughter's excuse at the literal level. (She is *not* implying that she never knew a man who stimulated her before sex [as Deyermond 1979 suggests]).

nunca vi: Cf. 3.7 *ja m' eu atal vi* and 3.9 *ja m' eu vi atal*; 6.2 *vi anda-las cervas* and 6.5 *vi os cervos bravos*.

14 rio is not common in the *cantigas d'amigo*. Apart from Meogo and Estevan Coelho 2 (refrain) *e<u> al rio me vou banhar<e>*, / *al mare* all the examples are found in Johan Zorro: 3.1-3 *Per ribeira do rio / vi remar o navio / e sabor ei da ribeira*; 6.1-5 *Pela ribeira do rio / cantando ia la dona virgo / d' amor: / "Venhan-nas barcas polo rio / a sabor;"* 7.1-2 *Mete el rei barcas no rio forte; / quen amigo á, que Deus lho amostre*; 8.1-2 *Jus' a lo mar e o rio / eu namorada irei*; 9.1-2 *Pela ribeira do rio salido / trebelhei, madre, con meu amigo* and 5-6 *Pela ribeira do rio levado / trebelhei, madre, con meu amado*. Cf. the included song in the *pastorela* of Airas Nunes 4.30-32 *Pela ribeira do rio / cantando ia la virgo / d' amor*, which closely resembles Zorro 6.1-3.

16 amado (only here in Meogo). The word appears mainly in the Galician poets and Dinis (see Ferreiro 2014, s.v. *amado* 2). In a score of songs *amado* is matched in rhyme with *amigo* in *cobras alternantes*: Pai Gomez Charinho 1 and 6; Pero Gonçalvez de Porto Carreiro 3; Nuno Porco 1; Bernal de Bonaval 1; Johan Zorro 3 and 9; Martin de Giizo 1; Martin Codax 1-6; Dinis 13-16, 18, 37. Here, at the end of the mother's rebuke, the word may be accusatory.

17 alto: An archaic substantive meaning "stream," "river," found only in *Amigo* and always at verse-end (here the last word—save the refrain—in the set). It occurs in parallelistic alternation with *rio* here and in three songs of Johan Zorro (3, 6 [Cohen 2012c: 1-12], 8); and without *rio* in Dinis 17 (refrain). In Latin the substantive *altum* meant "the high seas" or "the sea" (Ennius, Plautus, Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, etc.) and the sense "moving body of water" may have given rise to the meaning "river." (In Meendinho 1.10 and 17 *alto* is an adjective: *alto mar* "the high sea" or "the deep sea"). Here, *agua*, *rio*, and *alto* all refer to a stream or pool produced by a spring.

Appendix 1: Serbian material.

Trubarac (2010: 29-42, 2011: 99-110) analyzes the correspondences between Meogo 9 and a Serbian ballad transcribed in the early 18th century, arguing that the image of a stag muddying springwater, used by a girl as an excuse in a dialogue with her mother, derives from an ancient stratum of European ritual and song. Here is an English version of the final section of that ballad, based on Trubarac's Spanish translation (with the incipit "Por tres años pretendí a una doncella") of the Serbian text (the original Serbian text with Spanish translation can be found in Trubarac 2011).¹⁹

The mother was scolding the girl: <i>"You bitch, no daughter of mine, What were you doing at the cold water From midnight until noon?"</i>	35
In a low voice the girl said to her mother: <i>"Don't scold me, my dear mother. The stag was standing at the cold water, With his horn he was stirring the freezing water. With his horn he stirred it, with his eyes he made it clear; I waited until it got clear."</i>	40
The mother in a low voice told the girl: <i>"Don't lie, bitch, no daughter of mine, You bitch, that wasn't the stag of the hills, It was a stout man from the fort."</i>	45
You might as well tell me which man Was stirring the water with his horn And was kissing you, you bitch. Let him take you, let him kiss you! He's asked for your hand so many times, But I didn't want to give you to him. And now, on your own, you have married him, Because, on your own, you have loved him."	50

Trubarac (2010: 47-53; 2011: 181-184; 2012: 731-734) compares Meogo 5 to a Serbian ritual song that is sung during the *ranilo*, a rural custom performed by nubile girls down to the 20th century. The girls gather after midnight and go to a water source where they stay until dawn singing and dancing. The objective is to propitiate a cosmic power (solar and associated with springtime) which promotes fertility and growth in the community and the fields. Here is Trubarac's English translation (2014):

¹⁹ I am grateful to Djordjina Trubarac, of The Institute of Ethnography, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Peter Steiner, of the University of Pennsylvania, for help with this rendering.

Early arose the maidens
Jela le, Jela, good maiden!
 Early arose [to go] to the water,
Jela le, Jela, good maiden!
 By the water, there was a young stag, 5
Jela le, Jela, good maiden!
 Stirring the water with his horn,
Jela le, Jela, good maiden!
 Clearing it up with his eyes,
Jela le, Jela, good maiden! 10

Appendix 2: Origins and Development of the *Cantiga d'amigo*; Sequences.

Scholars have often sought to find the origins of the *cantiga d'amigo* in a single dimension.²⁰ For instance, a *geographical* origin in France or Al-Andalus; a *sociological* origin in the *Volkgeist* or in the worldview of the Iberian aristocracy; *formal* origins in church music or in a proto-Romance versification; a *conceptual* origin in the Provençal notion of *fin amors* (rebranded as *courtly love*). Sometimes the origins slide down the social ladder from the aristocracy or glide up from popular performers. Looking at these ideas, it seems the genre usually comes from *elsewhere* and from a specific dimension of elsewhere. The origins are taken to be alien to the place, time and society where most of the poets were born and learned their craft: the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 12th century to the beginning of the 14th, with its culture and concepts. Yet the only thesis supported by the evidence is that the *cantiga d'amigo* arose from a local tradition of female-voiced love lyric. Some aspects of “high tech” *cantigas d'amigo* do emulate foreign style (Cohen 2011b: 638). But the genre is unique in medieval Romance poetry. It is a cultural archaism that survived in a marginal area. The characteristic early strophic forms and their distinctive rhetoric and pragmatics had to be rooted in the language, society and culture of what is today western Galicia and northwestern Portugal. So thought Henry R. Lang (1894: lxiii-ciii) and Carolina Michaëlis (1904: II, 836-940).

Lang, after refuting Alfred Jeanroy's contention that the genre came from France at a much earlier period, concluded that it was reasonable to suppose the *cantiga d'amigo* developed from a song tradition native to the region (“aus einer heimischen volkslyrik”)—unless evidence to the contrary could be found (1894: lxxxviii). No such evidence has appeared. And the thesis of native origins can now be demonstrated with new data and more precise methods. Form provides the most compelling proof. The underlying design of aaB and its variants, which may well mirror phases of historical development (compare Corriente 2009: 110-113 with Cohen 2013e: 56), the dominance of aaB forms in the earliest period (see below), and the language and

²⁰ For the history of the genre, I draw on Cohen 2005; 2009b; 2011b: 637-641, 646-647; 2013a: 2-3; 2013b; 2013e; 2014. Lapa (1982: 7-51) summarizes early scholarship.

actions that are linked to those forms offer keys to understanding the origins and evolution of the genre.²¹

Confirmation that this tradition was transmitted orally over a long period of time may be seen in the interrelation between strophic form, para-metrical phenomena, rhetoric, and cognition. In aaB forms preprogrammed elements, especially in the latter part of the verse—cadence, rhyme, predictable rhyme sounds, traditional pairs of rhyme words and formulaic phrasing—and at the end of the strophe (the refrain) would have acted as *energy saving operators* that free the working memory to process the earlier part of the verse and the strophe more efficiently. These operators and the use, in aaB and related forms, of cognitive chunks (in this case, metrical *cola*) would have facilitated reception by making strophic song easier for the brain to process (Cohen 2013f). Scripts may have evolved as they did—with simple rules on speaker-addressee combinations and a small and familiar set of recurrent actions—because *non-unique non-personal occurrences require only the lowest level of memory* (Damásio 2010: 179). The formal, rhetorical and pragmatic techniques of aaB were *friendly* to composer, performer and audience. Listeners used to the compositional procedures of aaB would have reacted to its technology with feelings of familiarity and pleasure (cf. Fabb 2014).

To find facts about the historical development of the genre, we can look at the relation between the use of different kinds of strophic forms and the chronology of the poets, known or inferred. Since no chronological order has been discerned in the *cancioneiro de jograres galegos*, let us examine the initial section of *cantigas d'amigo* where the order of texts may be more or less chronological (Oliveira 1994). We find that 56% of the *cantigas* in the first collection of *cavaleiros* display aaB and kindred forms (mainly aaBB), while these forms occur in only 12% of the texts in the second collection. And in the oldest segment, from Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros to Airas Carpancho, which contains 38 songs, 80% of the texts use aaB and kin. It is licit to infer that *these forms were associated with this genre before our earliest poems*.²² If we consider the whole stretch from Calheiros to Pai Gomez Charinho (ignoring Oliveira's division into first and second collections) and count by groups of 40 texts, we again see a steep drop in the percentage of songs with aaB, aaBB and aaBBB: from 80% to 35% to 10%. Clearly, abbaCC and other more spacious strophes quickly displace the earlier aaB forms and by the middle of the 13th century the larger forms appear to have won out. The new high tech has triumphed over the old low tech.

But decades later (the chronology is far from clear) aaB and its low tech kin seem still to be thriving among Galician *jograres* (e.g., Martin de Giizo, Martin Codax, Johan de Requeixo). The explanation may be that by the 1240s the center of *recorded* activity had moved from the courts of Galicia and the North of Portugal to the court of Alfonso X (Oliveira, 2001: 113-122). The more cosmopolitan venue could account for the apparent evolution of strophic technology, since in Alfonso's court the expectations of audiences would have been oriented more towards forms and rhetoric that they considered high tech. Strophic form adapted itself to a different cultural ecosystem. Meanwhile, older forms remained popular at home, where the genre was

²¹ aaB may have been a stem-strophe whence arose the *muwashshah*, which extends each period by a verse, yielding something like Galician-Portuguese aaaBB with internal rhymes throughout (Cohen 2014).

²² All told, aaB strophes occur in about 1% of the *cantigas d'amor*, 6% of *CEM*, and 20% of the *cantigas d'amigo*. The figure of 80% for the first 38 *cantigas d'amigo* is therefore all the more striking.

largely unaffected by techno-poetic competition in the Castilian court (excepting Galician poets who went there, such as Lourenço, Juião Bolseiro and Johan Baveca, and fell under its influence).

The pragmatics of the genre remain constant, bespeaking a deep poetic matrix. There are always only four speaking personae: the girl, the girl's mother, the girl's girlfriend(s), and the girl's boyfriend.²³ The combinations are fixed: the girl can address any of the other personae (or speak without an identifiable addressee); the other three personae speak (onstage) only to the girl; and the boy only speaks in dialogue with the girl.²⁴ Nearly every *cantiga* performs a traditional *script* with a kind of action related to wooing. But abbaCC and larger strophes allow for more elaborate situations and actions, and some original scripts are found in high tech poets like Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal, Johan Garcia de Guilhade and Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha. To get a better grasp on the historical pragmatics we would need to compare the handling of scripts in synchronic cross-sections—which is not yet possible.²⁵

Rhetoric evolves along with form. The lexicon, though still limited and local, is extended to include a few more loanwords from Occitan and French. Repetition with variation is still the most common technique in the higher tech strophes of the 1240s and 1250s, but the oral formulaic language of early *cantigas d'amigo* is often embedded in a more expansive rhetoric. About 90% of the poems have a refrain, but now a typical refrain will have two verses (especially in the forms ababCC and abbaCC). The main novelties are courtly language taken from male voiced love lyric (including longer syntactic periods, more complex constructions and enjambment) and shows of technical virtuosity rarely or never seen in earlier texts: *cantigas de maestria*, *cobras unissonans*, *cobras doblas*, *dobre*, *palavra rima*, *palavra perduda*, and *cantigas ateudas até a fiinda*. Virtuosity in form and rhetoric abounds in aaB forms—which are not really low tech—but judging from our corpus the poets and audiences (or the compilers) of mid 13th century lyric tend to prefer the new high tech forms with their more flashy rhetoric.

Sequences

If there are sets of *cantigas d'amigo* organized for performance they would be the oldest sequences of love poetry in any medieval European vernacular language.²⁶ But are there really *sets* that we can call *sequences*? When a method has been proposed—which is rare—it has been applied to a single set. We need methods that can be used to analyze all sets that might qualify as candidates (let us say, the roughly thirty sets of five or more *cantigas*).

Scholars have mainly looked for *dramatic* or *narrative* coherence. But this approach can be dismissed as subjective. We should begin with form, since the analysis of formal features is

²³ A messenger speaks in Nuno Treez 4 and Johan Airas 39, and there are unidentified voices in Bernal de Bonaval 3 and Dinis 16.V-VIII.

²⁴ Johan Garcia de Guilhade 9, a *cantiga d'amor* in a set of *cantigas d'amigo* (Cohen 1996a: 27-33), is not an exception.

²⁵ But it is easy to measure the stylistic distance between, say, Meogo 4 and Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 2.

²⁶ Here I draw on Cohen 1987; 1996a: 27-36; 2010f; 2011b: 641-646, 648-656. For a review of earlier bibliography on sequences, see J. Weiss 1988. Sets should be considered only in the order in which they appear in the manuscripts, allowing for an obvious interruption (such as occurs in the set of Johan Garcia de Guilhade; cf. Cohen 1996b, *Nota Introdutória*).

usually objective (unless colometry is seriously in doubt). It appears that in numerous cases the *beginning* and *end* of a set are marked—and sometimes the middle. Sequences would have developed from performance sets where songs with special formal characteristics were placed first and last, to impress a live audience.

No phenomenon is marked in and of itself. A form (including para-metric phenomena) is normally marked in relation to other forms in the set—and sometimes in relation to all texts in the genre (or the secular lyric). So the frequency of a given phenomenon in the set and the genre is usually significant.

If there are formal markers at the beginning and end of a set, we can admit that set as a candidate and then analyze pragmatics and rhetoric. To determine if the middle is marked there must either be a numerical middle, which only occurs in sets with an odd number of texts, or if a set has an even number of texts, such as eight, we can see if the poems on either side of the center are marked—thus, for example, the fourth and fifth texts in a set of eight. Sets by nine poets have between nine and 16 poems and where possible these should be divided evenly into groups, for instance 16=4+4+4+4 (Johan Servando); 15=5+5+5 (Johan Soares Coelho, Juião Bolseiro).²⁷

To decide if the *cantigas* of Pero Meogo are a sequence, we should divide the set into groups of three: 9=3+3+3. Then we can look at the beginning, middle and end to see if they are formally marked (see Synopses, above). The first and last songs and the whole central group of three use the form aaB:

1 aaB

4 aaB

5 aaB

6 aaB

9 aaB

Here aaB functions as a marker not due to its rarity but by virtue of its precise distribution in the set. It would be easy to find other formal markers and patterns but the placement of aaB forms in symmetrical positions renders further formal proof superfluous. (For instance, looking at the final rhyme sound of all nine texts, we see that only the first and the last end in a tonic vowel or diphthong; *á* in 1; *ei* in 9.)²⁸

Once we have shown that the beginning, middle and end are marked, we can look at pragmatics and rhetoric. Let us first observe patterns in the placement of combinations of speaker and addressee. The first and last groups of three begin with a text where the daughter addresses her mother and end with a dialogue between mother and daughter. And although the mother figures prominently in the first and last groups of three, she is not mentioned in the

²⁷ Cohen 2010f: 6. A sequence would thus mimic the form of a *cantiga*, with groups corresponding roughly to strophes. The high tech set of *cantigas d'amigo* by Johan Baveca can be divided 13=4+4+4+1, where the last text is equivalent to a *finda*.

²⁸ Compare the final rhymes in the first, middle and last poems in Lourenço's set of seven: *ei—eu—á*.

middle group. The central poem is spoken by an outside narrator and contains no female-voiced speech—an extremely rare phenomenon. Poems 5 and 9—the central and final songs—are connected by *seven* features of form and language (see headnote to 9). Less salient—and perhaps less significant—patterns in rhetoric bind other texts, such as the use of a verse from 1 as part of the refrain of 2, or the link between the last verse of 4 and the first verse of 5, both of which end on the word *velida*. Other formal and rhetorical elements are interwoven throughout (and these are noted in the commentary). The shift in rhyme sounds in 9.V-VI, which nevertheless maintains *leixa-pren*, is a display of virtuosity unparalleled in Galician-Portuguese lyric.²⁹ The use of this unique formal, para-metric and rhetorical technique in the last pair of strophes of the final song emphatically marks the end of the set.

The distribution—in relation to the whole set and to the form of each *cantiga* in which it occurs—of the image of the stag at the fountain provides compelling evidence of an overall design. This distribution can be represented schematically:³⁰

Figure 1: *Distribution of the Image of the Stag at the Fountain*

<i>cantiga</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
strophe									
I		Refrain						Refrain	
II	X	Refrain						Refrain	
III		Refrain					X	Refrain	X
IV								Refrain	X
V					X				X
VI					X				X
VII									
VIII									

We can observe the following facts about the distribution of this image:

- 1) The image appears in the first two poems, in the last three, and in the center poem.
- 2) The image occurs in the refrain only in the second poem and the penultimate poem, in symmetrical positions (in relation to the center and to the beginning and end of the set).³¹

²⁹ See headnote to 9, and note on 9.13-14. The only parallel for the shift occurs in Pedr'Eanes Solaz 2, but there *leixa-pren* does not continue when the rhyme sounds change from *ia // ava* (I-IV) to *igo / ado* (V-VI). The rhyme sound changes again in VII-VIII, where all verses in the first period end in *leli*.

³⁰ Here the image is regarded as occurring only where it is lexically present (explicit). Hence, it is not present in 6 although the girl sees *cervos* as she washes her hair and the boy is a *cervo*.

- 3) Except for the first poem, the image is placed in *final* positions: in the *refrain* (2 and 8); in the *last* strophe (7); in the last *two* strophes (5); in the last *four* strophes (9).
- 4) The image is most heavily concentrated in 8 and 9, with eight occurrences (more than in all the other poems combined).

These facts are independent of any interpretation of the image in erotic or ritual terms. They show the image is used in positions that are *cadential* with respect to form.³² With one exception, it occurs in the refrain, the last strophe, or the final pair or pairs of strophes of a *cantiga*. And it marks the beginning (1-2), the middle (5), and the end (8-9) of the set.

The stag at the fountain, insofar as it is an image or symbol system, belongs to rhetoric. It also belongs to pragmatics, since it represents human activity. So the distribution of this image within the set is part of an architecture of form, language and action. And in 5 and 9 the image appears in climaxes—formal, rhetorical and pragmatic—within that architecture.

To defend fully the thesis that the *cantigas* of Meogo were organized for performance requires another forum. The kind of analysis suggested here should, however, provide a sounder basis for further work than the affirmation that the story line *makes sense*. (How do we measure the logic of a set of lyric poems? What are the criteria for making dramatic or narrative sense?). Although there is not as yet any accepted method to determine objectively—or to the satisfaction of scholars—if a given set is a sequence, the songs of Pero Meogo should occupy a privileged place in future discussions of the problem.

³¹ Similarly, the second and the penultimate poems in Johan Garcia de Guilhade's set of 22 are *cantigas de maestria*. There are two other *cantigas de maestria* in that set and they also occur in symmetrical positions: no. 6—six poems from the beginning; and no. 17—six poems from the end.

³² On cadential positions, see Cohen 1987: iv-v.

Appendix 3: Words Not Found Elsewhere in the Genre

This is a list of 14 words that occur in the text of Pero Meogo but are not found elsewhere in the *cantigas d'amigo*—or, in the case of *loir*, in Galician-Portuguese. One word is borrowed: *brial*, from Occitan; the rest are native (Cohen 2013a).

These words occur disproportionately in poems 5, 6, 8 and 9. This confirms from a lexical perspective the distinctiveness of those texts (see Introduction, 6; Appendix 2, Sequences).

[Words that occur at least once in rhyme appear in *italics*; those in **bold** are found at least once in a refrain; 5, 6, 8 and 9 are marked in red.]

affeito	2
<i>agua</i>	5, 9
<i>brial</i>	8
<i>cervas</i>	4, 6
cervo	1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; in refrain: 2, 8
<i>ervas</i>	6
<i>fontana</i>	5, 9
<i>loir</i>	8
monteiro	3
ouro	6
<i>prados</i>	6
seguir	8
<i>vestir</i>	8
<i>volver</i>	5, 9

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