



# First notes on prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese from the 16th and 17th centuries

## Primeiras notas à prefixação no português brasileiro colonial dos séculos XVI e XVII

Mailson LOPES\*

**ABSTRACT:** In the field of Portuguese historical morphology, works that focus on prefixal formatives is scarce, with those specific to suffixation being much more numerous. The study here synthesised, following those already conducted on prefixation in Old Portuguese (Lopes, 2021a, 2018, 2013), focuses on this morpholexical process in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese (Cardoso, Andrade; Carneiro, 2023), covering a period spanning from the 16th century to the first two decades of the 19th century. The investigation is part of a larger collective project, focused on the historical constitution of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese (PBC), being developed by the team of one of the most prominent research groups in Historical Linguistics within the Lusophone world, the *Programa para a História da Língua Portuguesa* (PROHPOR). We will discuss, as our focus in this article, the prefixal formations generated in the 16th and 17th centuries. Having as an empirical basis an initial and representative sample of data, extracted from fourteen philologically edited manuscripts from the period, and relying on the principles of descriptive morphology (Rio-Torto *et al.*, 2016; Real Academia Española; Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2009; Mattos e Silva, 2008; Bosque; Demonte, 1999) and historical morphology (Rio-Torto, 1998; Viaro, 2009, 2010, 2014; Martín García; Varela, 2012; Lopes, 2021b), our goal is to offer a description of how prefixation functioned in the generation of words in the Portuguese language of the two centuries considered, and to outline a semantic-morpholexical-functional characterization of this lexicogenic mechanism, its formatives, and the resulting lexical units.

**KEYWORDS:** Historical morphology. Prefixation. Colonial Brazilian Portuguese.

**RESUMO:** No domínio da morfologia histórica portuguesa, são escassos os trabalhos que incidem sobre os formativos prefixais, sendo bem mais numerosos aqueles voltados à sufixação. O estudo cuja síntese ora se apresenta, na esteira dos já realizados sobre a prefixação no português arcaico (LOPES, 2021a, 2018, 2013), tem como foco tal processo morfolexical no português do Brasil Colônia (Cardoso, Andrade; Carneiro, 2023), recobrando o arco temporal que vai do século XVI às duas primeiras décadas do século XIX. A investigação insere-se em um projeto coletivo de maior envergadura, voltado à constituição histórica do português brasileiro colonial (PBC), em desenvolvimento pela equipe de um dos mais destacados grupos de pesquisa em Linguística Histórica no âmbito da lusofonia, o Programa para a História da

---

\* PhD in Language and Culture (Historical Linguistics) from the Federal University of Bahia. Associate Professor of Spanish Language at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Salvador, BA – Brazil. [mailson.lopes@ufba.br](mailto:mailson.lopes@ufba.br)

Língua Portuguesa (PROHPOR). Como recorte específico para este artigo, discorrer-se-á sobre as formações prefixais geradas nos séculos XVI e XVII. Tendo como base empírica uma amostra inicial e representativa de dados, extraídos de catorze manuscritos — filologicamente editados — do período, apoiando-se nos princípios da morfologia descritiva (Rio-Torto *et al.*, 2016; Real Academia Española; Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2009; Mattos e Silva, 2008; Bosque; Demonte, 1999) e da morfologia histórica (Rio-Torto, 1998; Viaro, 2009, 2010, 2014; Martín García; Varela, 2012; Lopes, 2021b), almeja-se oferecer uma descrição do funcionamento da prefixação na geração de vocábulos na língua portuguesa dos dois séculos considerados, com o delineamento de uma caracterização semântico-morfolexical-funcional desse mecanismo lexicogênico, de seus formativos e das unidades lexicais resultantes.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Morfologia Histórica. Prefixação. Português Brasileiro Colonial.

Received on: 27 May 2024

Accepted on: 06 May 2026

## 1 Introduction

Prefixation is here defined, in general terms, as the process by which affixal morphological elements attach to the left periphery of a lexical base (free or bound) that serves as its lexico-grammatical support, normally giving the constituted derivative a general and complementary semantic value, which is more or less explicit and transparent, and which nuances or specifies its meaning, without causing, with rare exceptions, a process of grammatical class change (Lopes, 2018). The main features of prefixation can be condensed into two characteristic aspects, one of an *identifying* nature and the other of a *differentiating* nature, respectively: its exclusive action on the left margin of the word, with recurring manifestation; and the contribution of some semantic nuance of a general and complementary nature to the lexical base to which it is attached<sup>1</sup>.

If one looks at the set of investigations and publications carried out since the 1970s on the processes of word formation in Portuguese, it will be clear, without any difficulty, that the attention given to prefixation has always been less than that given

---

<sup>1</sup> For more details on the characterisation of prefixal derivation, readers should look at, among other texts, Rio-Torto (2016; 2019) and Lopes' doctoral dissertation (2018).

to suffixation (Basilio, 2009; Montero Curiel, 1999)<sup>2</sup>. In this context, however, we can see some important studies on prefixal phenomena, developed mainly in the last three decades, leading to a shift towards a more detailed description, analysis and theorisation about this formative process, such as those carried out by Dolinski (1993), Duarte (1999), Alves (2000), Schwindt (2000), Campos (2004), Albuquerque (2010), Santos (2016), Ganança (2017), Lopes (2018), Rio-Torto (2019) and Vale (2020).

From a historical-diachronic perspective, especially with the contributions of Lopes (2013, 2016, 2018, 2020a, 2020b, 2022b), prefixation has received a general description of its paradigm and semantic-morpholexical behaviour during the archaic period of Portuguese (12th to 16th centuries), thus answering to the appeals and desires of Vasconcelos (1911-1912) and Mattos e Silva (1993)<sup>3</sup>. Following this route of establishing a more detailed knowledge regarding this formative process in the history of the Portuguese language, we now propose to turn to another constitutive moment of the vernacular, for which, it seems, there has been no research on prefixation until now: its colonial period, which covers the time span that goes from the second quarter of the 16th century to the first two decades of the 19th century. The brief study presented here is therefore unprecedented, being a modest but pertinent set of notes and observations relating to the prefixed lexical units found in the first texts examined from the already mentioned synchrony.

It is necessary to point out that the aforementioned research proposal did not emerge independently, but rather embedded situated within two other strands of study: the first, as already indicated, a continuous research agenda focused on the

---

<sup>2</sup> Even less attention has been given to compounding, which only since a few years ago has been subject to substantive studies in Portuguese, such as those developed by Santos (2009a; 2009b; 2013; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; 2020; 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1911-1912) had pointed out that the history of Portuguese suffixation, prefixation, and compounding was still yet to be written — an observation that continued to resonate eighty years later, since Mattos e Silva (1993) protested that a systematic study of derivational processes in the archaic period was still awaiting an author. Only in the early 21st century did such general studies on lexicogenesis in the medieval stages of Portuguese begin to emerge: first on suffixation (Soledade, 2001, 2004), then on compounding (Santos, 2009), and only later on prefixation (Lopes, 2013, 2018).

formation of words via prefixation in the historical constitution of Portuguese and other Ibero-Romance languages, led by the author of these lines for more than a decade; the second, a large-scale collective project, concerning Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, recently initiated by the *Programa para a História da Língua Portuguesa* [Programme for the History of Portuguese language] (PROHPOR/UFBA), a project that will be discussed further below.

In addition to this introductory section, this article is composed of four other sections: Section 2, which presents the project *História do Português Brasileiro Colonial*; Section 3, which outlines the central aspects of the subproject dedicated to prefixation during this period; Section 4, which sets out the analysis of data from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, finally, Section 5, which brings together the concluding remarks, followed by the list of references used in the study and effectively cited in this article.

## **2 The History of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese project<sup>4</sup>**

This section, by offering a synthesis of the *História do Português Brasileiro Colonial* project, aims to clarify how the study conducted within this collective investigative proposal is presented. This project is responsible for establishing the main scientific and methodological guidelines for this and other studies currently being developed within *Programa para a História da Língua Portuguesa* (PROHPOR). A concise description of this macro-project is therefore relevant, since it created the epistemological conditions and the documentary corpus base for the morphological investigation focused on prefixation, which is the true focus of the research carried out and of this article that summarizes it.

---

<sup>4</sup> This section draws from and synthesises the project text itself (PROHPOR, 2023), restating its main points and condensing its fundamental aspects.

The *Programa para a História da Língua Portuguesa* (PROHPOR)<sup>5</sup>, created in 1990 and made official by CNPq [National Council of Scientific and Technological Development] the following year, is the oldest Brazilian research group still operating dedicated to investigating the historical constitution of Portuguese. It was founded by Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva (1940-2012), Emeritus Professor at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), and coordinated by her for three decades.

PROHPOR, founded at UFBA, but which has always brought together researchers from other academic institutions, currently has eighteen members with doctorates, linked to four universities in the Northeast region of the country: in addition to UFBA, the State University of Bahia (UNEB), the State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS) and Tiradentes University (UNIT). During more than three decades of fruitful and continuous activity, it has provided the academic community with a prolific list of scientific research in the field of historical linguistics, with an emphasis on the archaic period of Portuguese and, from there, turning its attention to the formation of Brazilian Portuguese. There are countless theses and dissertations produced by members of the programme over the 34 years of its existence,<sup>6</sup> in addition to seven collective research projects and nine collections organised and published during this period<sup>7</sup>.

The current PROHPOR project, the eighth in its historical trajectory, entitled History of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, has the scope of promoting a comprehensive study of the history of Portuguese in Colonial Brazil (dealing mainly, but not exclusively, with the State of Brazil and, in a more verticalized way, with the

---

<sup>5</sup> Official homepage: <https://www.prohpor.org>.

<sup>6</sup> See <https://www.prohpor.org/teses-cfv>.

<sup>7</sup> Those are: *A carta de Caminha: testemunho linguístico de 1500* (Mattos e Silva, 1996); *Cartas baianas setecentistas* (Lobo et al., 2001); *O português quinhentista: estudos linguísticos* (Mattos e Silva; Machado Filho, 2002); *Do português arcaico ao português brasileiro* (Costa; Machado Filho, 2004); *Do português arcaico ao português brasileiro: outras histórias* (Oliveira; Cunha e Souza; Soledade, 2009); *África à vista: dez estudos sobre o português escrito por africanos no Brasil do século XIX* (Lobo; Oliveira, 2009); *Novos tons de Rosa... para Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva* (Oliveira; Cunha e Souza; Gomes, 2009); *Rosae: linguística histórica, história das línguas e outras histórias* (Lobo et al., 2012); *Várias navegações: português arcaico, português brasileiro, cultura escrita no Brasil, outros estudos* (Mattos e Silva; Oliveira; Amarante, 2012).

Captaincies of Bahia, Ilhéus and Porto Seguro), focusing on the socio-history of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese and on changes that affected the lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics of the language in the period that extends from the 16th century to the first two decades of the 19th century. It is planned for six years (2024-2029) and was designed and put into development by 17 PhDs<sup>8</sup> (and their respective disciples), affiliated to the already mentioned four higher education institutions in the Northeast.

The theoretical framework adopted in the project is based on the central axis of a serious and careful description of the data, so that there can then be the emergence of strictly theoretical conclusions and analyses, with the adoption of different theoretical-methodological perspectives, depending on each PROHPOR researcher, thus respecting the heterodox character of this programme in terms of its theoretical orientations, always taking as a basis those considered most appropriate for the empirical object under analysis, as advocated and practised by the notable founder of the group.

The specific objectives of the ongoing collective project consist of carrying out archival research, surveying sources and constituting corpora of a diverse nature that will support the socio-historical and linguistic analyses aimed at; in an analysis of the linguistic social history of Brazil and the social history of Brazilian Portuguese; in the description and analysis of linguistic phenomena of lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic nature that shaped Portuguese in Colonial Brazil, with special attention to linguistic variation and change; and, finally, based on the studies carried out, rely on scientific resources to establish a periodization proposal for the history of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese.

---

<sup>8</sup> These are: professors Álvaro de Souza (UNIT), Ana Sartori (UFBA), André Moreno (UNEB), Antônia Vieira (UFBA), Ariadne Almeida (UFBA), Carlos Felipe Pinto (UFBA), Edivalda Araújo (UFBA), Elisângela Santana (UNEB), Huda Santiago (UEFS), Juliana Soledade (UFBA), Mailson Lopes (UFBA), Mariana Lacerda (UEFS), Nival Simões Neto (UEFS), Neila Santana (UNEB), Pedro Daniel Souza (UNEB), Tânia Lobo (UFBA), Zenaide Carneiro (UEFS). It should be stressed that the writing of the project was coordinated by a central group, constituted by professors Tânia Lobo, Ana Sartori and Pedro Daniel Souza.

The choice of the general linguistic corpus for the study of the historical constitution of Brazilian Portuguese is still being processed by the project team, which sees that it is ideally necessary that it encompasses texts that are part of sub-corpora that make it possible to understand the varieties of European Portuguese transplanted to Brazil, the varieties of Portuguese spoken as a second language by alloglots (Indigenous people and Africans) and the varieties of Brazilian Portuguese that were gradually being established (both the most socially prestigious and the most socially stigmatised). As preliminary sub-corpora already selected for the study, there are 194 letters edited in the *Post Scriptum* project (CLUL, 2014)<sup>9</sup> and 134 documents produced by 23 Bahian commissioners of the Portuguese Inquisition<sup>10</sup>. The main justification for proposing and developing the project lies in the fact that to date there has been no substantial investigation into the Portuguese language of the three centuries of the conquest and colonisation of Brazil, to enable a systematisation of the colonial linguistic reality of Portuguese America. Existing studies focus on the archaic period (12th to early 16th centuries) and on Brazilian Portuguese from the 19th to 21st centuries, and there is, therefore, a significant gap to be addressed: precisely that which covers the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Among all the phases in the historical constitution of the Portuguese language, it is the colonial period that has had the smallest number of investigations and studies, being, so to speak, practically unknown — under scientifically reliable and objective criteria, based on a wide range of empirical data — the intralinguistic structuring of the vernacular in that time.

---

<sup>9</sup> Available on: <http://teitok.clul.ul.pt/postscriptum/pt/index.php>. The 194 letters, written by 95 senders who resided in Brazil, of which 16 women and 79 men, were philologically edited in the project *Post Scriptum – Arquivo Digital de Escrita Quotidiana em Portugal e Espanha na Época Moderna* (CLUL, 2014) [Post Scriptum - Digital Archive of Daily Writing in Portugal and Spain in the Modern Age]. They are divided into 7 letters from the 16th century, 22 from the 17th century, 143 from the 18th century and 22 from the first two decades of the 19th century.

<sup>10</sup> Edited by Elane Santos (PPGEL/UEFS/PROHPOR) as part of her PhD research (2020-), supervised by Professor Mariana Lacerda (UEFS/PROHPOR). The collection of texts is composed of 122 correspondences, 10 receipts and 2 diligence lists, a total of 164 folios, produced by 23 Bahian writers, who had schooling, from the 17th century to the 19th century (1698-1809), all of them commissioners of the Portuguese Inquisition in Bahia.

The execution of the project has been organised from the beginning with the division of the team into two working groups: one dedicated to research into the social history of Colonial Portuguese; and another dedicated to analysing linguistic phenomena in the history of Colonial Portuguese, subdivided according to three of PROHPOR's subprogrammes: (i) Lexicon and Morphology, (ii) Syntax, and (iii) Semantics.

For the first working group, responsible, as previously stated, for investigating the linguistic social history of Brazil and the social history of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, the focus of the research falls on four central axes: (i) implementation and diffusion of the Portuguese language in Brazilian territory; (ii) language contact; (iii) distribution and social function of reading and writing; and (iv) linguistic policies and sociocultural transformations that manifest themselves in the common and onomastic lexicon. To develop an understanding of such general lines of research, a system of six guiding questions has been used: (i) how did the process of transplantation, implementation and diffusion of the Portuguese language occur on the American continent? (ii) what sociolinguistic changes occurred in the multiethnic and multilingual context during the territorial expansion of this language? (iii) how did the process of social diffusion of reading and writing in Portuguese occur in the colonised area? (iv) how was the history of schooling and, particularly, Portuguese language teaching characterised in different formal educational systems? (v) what were the linguistic policies drawn up by the Metropolis to impose the Portuguese language? (vi) what relationships can be established between the process of historical structuring of the common lexicon and the onomastic lexicon and this system of questions?

In turn, the second working group, responsible for describing and analysing variation and change in the history of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, is subdivided into three smaller groups, each composed of professors from three PROHPOR subprograms: historical lexicon and morphology, historical-diachronic syntax, and historical cognitive semantics, as indicated above.

As for the common lexicon, the project intends to investigate the flows of emergence, presence, diffusion or deactivation of items, phenomena and lexical processes recorded in Colonial Portuguese sources; in turn, in relation to the onomastic lexicon, it is proposed to carry out a survey of its collection in the documentation and understand its structure in the period, investigating its active elements and processes, the practices of its attribution, its constitutive sources, its influences, its norms of use (and possible deviations relating to them) and its socio-historical-cultural aspects.

Regarding the morphological level, the project focuses on examining word formation mechanisms active in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, namely compounding, prefixation and suffixation, with the outline of a general description of the behaviour of these lexicogenetic processes for the period, creating an interesting panoramic picture of its functioning in the aforementioned time frame, in contrast to the synchrony that preceded it (Old Portuguese) and the synchrony that followed it (Contemporary Portuguese), which will undoubtedly provide a better diachronic understanding of the formative processes, operations and morpholexical patterns of vocabulary creation active in the history of the Portuguese language.

For syntax, there is a focus on the comparison of syntactic constructions between linguistic productions from Portugal and Brazil in the period from the 16th to the 18th centuries, the identification of recurrent syntactic processes in linguistic productions, the evaluation of the contexts in which syntactic structures occur and differences based on the type of textual genre, the verification of possible similarities between the syntactic constructions in the linguistic productions of Brazil during the colonial period with those of Contemporary Brazilian Portuguese and, finally, the collaboration in the construction of a grammar of Portuguese with data from the 16th to 18th centuries, with the expansion of studies related to the historical-diachronic syntax of the Portuguese language. Aspects especially targeted for syntactic research in the context of the collective project in question are: the order of the constituents, the interference of morphological features in the syntax, wh- movement, the occurrences

of the subject, the pronoun resumptions, the left periphery of sentences (topic, focus), relative constructions, the occurrences of verbal complements, the pronominal system, clitics and syntactic redoubles.

Finally, with regard to semantics, the aim of the project is to seek to understand how meaning is generated and how new meanings emerge in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, as well as to discuss how the organisation of categorical meaning takes place, in order to verify its expansion or restriction, based on new perspectives and the interrelationship between cognition and socio-history and, mainly, how the cognitive processes of metaphor and metonymy act in generating the changes and variations identified.

The main results expected for the recently initiated research project are: the systematisation of aspects of the social history of Brazil relevant to the understanding of Brazilian linguistic social history and, specifically, the social history of Colonial Portuguese; and the description and analysis of Colonial Portuguese, considering the variations and changes that affected its lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics. These intended results will find their synthesis and culmination in the publication of the tenth collection of PROHPOR, which will consist of a book organised in two volumes, entitled, respectively, *História social do português brasileiro colonial* [Social History of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese] and *Variação e mudança no português brasileiro colonial* [Variation and Change in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese].

### **3 The Prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese subproject<sup>11</sup>**

Within the set of ideas for the research project described in the previous section, it was necessary, from the beginning, to establish the division of the work of description and analysis of linguistic phenomena into three groups, one of which would be responsible for studying the variations and changes that affected the lexicon

---

<sup>11</sup> This section draws from and synthesises the (sub)project text itself (Lopes, 2022a), restating its main points and condensing its fundamental aspects.

and morphology. It is within this macro-part that the research sub-project emerged, which will be condensed in the following paragraphs, relating to the phenomenon of prefixation. The subproject, based on the principles of descriptive morphology (Rio-Torto *et al.*, 2016; Bosque; Demonte, 1999; Mattos e Silva, 2008; Hualde *et al.*, 2010) and historical morphology (Rio-Torto, 1998; Viaro, 2009, 2010; Martín García; Varela, 2012) — as well as other theoretical contributions that are necessary, such as Construction Morphology (Booij, 2010) or Relational Morphology (Jackendoff; Audring, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020) —, has as its main scope, during the six-year period of its validity, the description of the functioning of prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, based on an empirical foundation consisting of a substantial body of data extracted from texts of the period, offering, at the very least, a general semantic-morpholexical-functional characterization regarding this process of word formation in the 16th, 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries.

The specific objectives of the subproject on prefixation are (i) the exhaustive inventory of the formatives that constitute the effectively active prefixal paradigm in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, according to their occurrence in the texts that make up the empirical corpus under investigation; (ii) the exhaustive listing, based on the textual corpus under consideration, of the vernacular words<sup>12</sup> in which such prefixes operate; (iii) the quantitative and qualitative examination of the vitality and productivity of the prefixal elements and the constructional patterns they activate; and (iv) the systematic tracking and description of the semantic nuances and polysemic networks that such prefixes establish in the set of lexical units inferred from the explored textual corpus.

The research subproject presented, which is characterised as a scientific investigation of descriptive and historical content on prefixation in Colonial Brazilian

---

<sup>12</sup> In this and other studies by the author, vernacular words are understood as those formed directly within the Portuguese language, being neither inherited lexemes (originating, for example, from Latin or Greek) nor loanwords.

Portuguese, is justified for several reasons, all of them relevant, substantiated and for which evidence can be provided.

The first reason, as already pointed out, is related to the manifest scarcity of investigative proposals and relevant publications on Portuguese in Colonial Brazil, which inevitably results in a situation of almost absolute ignorance of the constitution and characterisation of the Portuguese language from the 16th centuries to the beginning of the 19th century. It can be noted, therefore, that, unlike what happens with Old Portuguese (12th century to the end of the 15th/beginning of the 16th) and what happens with Contemporary Portuguese (from the 19th century to modern times), colonial Portuguese – especially that of the 17th and 18th centuries – is still an unknown synchrony, despite the great historical and social importance of the centuries in which it developed for the construction of Brazil.

The second reason that justifies the development of the proposal is that it aims to focus on lexical morphology from a descriptive-historical perspective, examining data from past synchronies, being, undoubtedly, one of the few investigations of this nature in the scope of Brazilian linguistics in contemporary times, not much inclined – except in a few institutional strongholds, such as UFBA's Institute of Letters – to develop studies in this field. Its execution is also justified by the fact that traditionally prefixation is always less discussed than suffixation (Basilio, 2009; Montero Curiel, 1999), causing a noticeable disconnect in the analysis and theorisations about these two classes of semantic-morpholexical operations (Lopes, 2018).

Furthermore (this is the third reason), given that studies on the lexical morphology of Portuguese seem to be particularising (incidents on a given affix, on a specific morphological scheme or on a value or bundle of semantic values conveyed by a given affixal unit), due to the fact that the subproject seeks to analyse a profuse (in fact, total) set of prefixal elements exhaustively deduced from a rich empirical corpus, it is linked to an analysis of a paradigmatic, general order, with the scope of

carrying out panoramic and globalising descriptions, which, with rare exceptions<sup>13</sup>, is not frequently encountered in research and publications in the area.

Finally, as a fourth and final reason to highlight the relevance of the study proposal, it should also be noted that this subproject is established in a series of investigative proposals, in a historical perspective, intended for prefixation, carried out, one after the other, without interruption, since 2011, which reveals the existence of a true research agenda outlined and implemented by the proponent, with the circulation of results in various national and international events and always with the recruitment and consequent scientific training of interested students in studying lexical morphology and prefixation in particular.

The next section, which is the most essential of this paper, will succinctly outline the first notes regarding the data and derived words collected so far in the development of the subproject on prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese.

#### **4 First notes on prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese from the 16th and 17th centuries**

The title of this article, as well as of this section, brings with it the indication of first notes since this is actually, as far as we know, the first proposal for tracing, describing and commenting on prefixal formations processed in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese. We do justice, therefore, to the unprecedented nature of the following observations, which are intended to be nothing more than an initial and small sample of the robust work that will be presented to the scientific community after the completion of the project, within six years of continuous dedication.

The textual corpus (so-called preliminary) from which the linguistic data for description and analysis in this investigation are being extracted is exactly the same one chosen by PROHPOR researchers when preparing the collective research project

---

<sup>13</sup> Some of them being, for example, the studies by Duarte (1999), Alves (2000), Soledade (2004), Santos (2009), Ganança (2017) and Lopes (2018, 2021a).

to approach the history of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, already duly explained in the previous section of this article.

Through the selected works, a gradual survey of words with a vernacular constitution derived via prefixation has been carried out, with the indispensable support of etymological-diachronic verification — through etymological dictionaries, glossaries in editions of ancient texts, in addition to Latin and Greek dictionaries —, selecting only the derived forms generated at the vernacular level (those adopted directly from the Greco-Latin matrix or as borrowings from other languages being excluded) and, within this group, dedicating more in-depth and systematic analyses to the prefixed lexical units properly generated in the period in question, the colonial period. Thus, all vernacular forms that have prefixal morphemes are selected, constituting the database for analysis. This lexical survey in the set of edited documents is carried out through a *verbo ad verbum* ocular reading, exhaustively tracing the prefixed formations one by one. The collected lexical items are inserted into pre-designed analysis tables (*morphemaries*), in which the segmented prefix of the lexical unit, the target class of the prefix and its semantic hue, the morphosyntactic class of the lexical base, the meaning and the etymon of the lexical unit, the corresponding citation and references to the manuscript in which the analysed words are registered<sup>14</sup>.

For this sample, data from the 16th and 17th centuries extracted from the *Post Scriptum* project will be considered, namely: for the 16th century, 7 letters, which constitute the totality of those produced by senders born or residing in Brazil; for the 17th century, also 7 letters, out of a total of 22 produced by senders born or residing in Brazil. Therefore, we will have an initial sample of data extracted from an equivalent

---

<sup>14</sup> The use of *morphemaries* allows us to observe, either in a panoramic and or individualised way (and under unified analysis guidelines), the morphological, semantic, etymological and functional characteristics of prefixes and the complex lexical units in which they participate, enabling the researcher to have a more refined and systematic understanding of the processes that constitute them and the phenomena in which they actively participate or by which they are effectively affected.

number of documents for each of the first two centuries in which Colonial Brazilian Portuguese developed. A total of 14 textual units, 7 for each century. The following table presents the 14 letters written in Brazil, made available by the *Post Scriptum* project, and taken as a preliminary corpus of analysis, the description of which will be summarised in this section.

Table 1 – Examined documents.

PRELIMINARY CORPUS (examined documents so far)	
16TH CENTURY	
Year	Document
1569	<i>Carta de Dom Pedro Leitão, bispo de S. Salvador, para o Pe. António de Gouveia</i>
1576	<i>Carta de Gonçalo Eanes, serrador, para Gregório Serrão, padre jesuíta</i>
1591	<i>Carta de Bartolomeu Fragoso, para Amador Fernandes, seu pai</i>
1592	<i>Carta de Diogo Nunes para o seu irmão, João Nunes, mercador</i>
1592	<i>Carta de António do Vale de Vasconcelos para Estêvão de Brito Freire</i>
1594	<i>Carta de Jerónimo Leitão, capitão da Capit. de S. Vicente, ao filho, Francisco Leitão</i>
1594	<i>Carta de Jerónimo Leitão, capitão da Capit. de S. Vicente, ao cunhado, Filipe de Aguiar Lobo</i>
17TH CENTURY	
Year	Document
1635	<i>Carta de Baltasar Dias para seu primo, Bartolomeu Dias, mercador</i>
1636	<i>Carta de Baltasar Dias para seu primo, Bartolomeu Dias, mercador</i>
1648	<i>Carta de frei Fabião para um padre provincial não identificado</i>
1654	<i>Carta de Sebastião de Andrade, noviço, para António da Fonseca, capitão</i>
1654	<i>Carta de Sebastião de Andrade, noviço, para António da Fonseca, capitão</i>
1657	<i>Carta de António Fernandes da Mata para as sobrinhas M.<sup>a</sup> Vicente e Isabel Vicente</i>
1657	<i>Carta de António Fernandes da Mata para a sua irmã Antónia Fernandes</i>

Source: author's own elaboration.

Although they are all documents from the inquisitorial sphere, there is no uniformity or formal rigidity in these fourteen texts read and examined, as they present different degrees of formality, content, extension, authorship, and recipients, not necessarily alluding to religious and spiritual themes. Most of them report or reflect aspects of daily life and private life, with some even touching on emotional or even intimate issues and themes.

As a way of illustrating the *morphemary*, which is the systematic description table of the prefixal derivatives found in each verified textual unit, below is an example

relating to document n. 4, *Carta de Diogo Nunes para o seu irmão, João Nunes, mercador* [Letter from Diogo Nunes to his brother, João Nunes, merchant], written in 1592:

Table 2 – Morphemary sample.

INHERITED PREFIXED FORMS (CREATED IN LATIN)								
<i>porsegir, perdidas, Remedio, deligencia, terladadas, pertendia, defendi.</i>								
ACTUAL VERNACULAR PREFIXED FORMS (CREATED IN OP)								
PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q / ETYMON / FORMATION	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
<b>des-</b>	privation	<i>desomRando</i>	V	V	V	12th century <sup>H</sup> ; from OP <i>des-</i> + <i>-honrar</i>	harm someone's honour or reputation, defame, degrade, dishonour	CARDS4006 [1592]
“...tenho pedido he Rogado muito a vm me deixe veio vm porsegir cõ sua teima afromtando me <b>desomRandome</b> aquanhandome fazêdo a cada quanto audiencias de mĩ asi cõ palavras como cõ cartas...”								
ACTUAL VERNACULAR FORMS (CREATED IN CBP)								
<b>a-</b>	expletive	<i>aquanhando</i>	N	V	V	c.1543 <sup>H</sup> /1592 <sup>L2023</sup> ; from MP <i>a-</i> + <i>canho-</i> + <i>-ar</i>	shame, intimidate, humiliate, insult	CARDS4006 [1592]
“...tenho pedido he Rogado muito a vm me deixe veio vm porsegir cõ sua teima afromtando me <b>desomRandome aquanhandome</b> fazêdo a cada quanto audiencias de mĩ asi cõ palavras como cõ cartas...”								
<p><b>Abbreviations and acronyms adopted in the morphemary:</b> A (adjective), c. (<i>circa</i>), C (Cunha, 2010), H (Houaiss; Villar, 2009), CBP (Colonial Brazilian Portuguese), MP (Modern Portuguese), N (noun), OP (Old Portuguese), PART (participle), PREF. (prefix), S.C. (source class, i.e., grammatical class of the lexical base), T.A.Q. (<i>terminus a quo</i>, i.e., earliest attested date), T.C. (target class, i.e., grammatical class of the derived word), O.C. (occurrence class, i.e., grammatical class of the prefixed word as recorded in the examined textual corpus), V (verb), L2023 (Lopes, 2023, i.e., underway research).</p>								

Source: author's own elaboration.

As pointed out in one of the notes in the previous section, the use of tables with semantic-morpholexical information regarding each vernacular formation found in the texts searched became necessary as an important resource for the systematic description and analysis of the derivatives obtained and, consequently, of the prefixal paradigm in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese. As an example, we can see, in Table 2, in its last part (concerning Portuguese from Colonial Brazil), the segmented prefix of the lexical unit in which it participates (*aquanhando*), its semantic hue (in this case,

asemantic), the source class of the lexical base (noun, as it is coupled with *canho*) and the target class (verb, as it originates *acanhá*), as well as the *terminus a quo* of the derivative (*i.e.*, the earliest dating registered for the prefixed lexical unit, which was c. 1543), its etymon and formative path (in this case, a formation generated in Modern Portuguese: *a-* + *canho-* + *-ar*), the meaning of the derivative learned in the text ('embarrass, intimidate, humiliate, affront'), the code and dating of the corresponding manuscript and, finally, the citation, taken from the edition consulted.

A general quantitative description of the formations inferred in the set of fourteen verified texts points to a total of 312 prefixed lexical units found. Of these, 256 (82%) are inherited Latin formations; 51 lexical units (16%) are vernacular formations generated in the archaic period of the language; and only 5 lexical units (2%) are vernacular formations that actually appeared in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese.

The prefixal elements participating in the formations inherited from Latin were: *a(d-)*, *bem-*, *com-*, *contra-*, *de-*, *di(s)-*, *en-*, *es-*, *in-*, *ob-*, *per-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *re-*, *trans-* and *sub-*; the prefixes participating in the vernacular formations that emerged in Medieval Portuguese were: *a-*, *bem-*, *des-*, *en-*, *es-*, *mal-*, *re-*, *sobre-*; and the prefix formatives active in vernacular lexical creations generated specifically in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese were solely *a-* and *re-*.

Since the focus of the research is not on the formations coined in Latin and present in colonial texts as inherited lexical units (such as those that appear in the first section of Table 2), we will stick to the commentary on the formations properly constructed in the vernacular, especially those structured in Portuguese from Colonial Brazil<sup>15</sup>.

The vernacular formations generated in Medieval Portuguese and present in the seven 16th century colonial texts examined were: *aCabados*, *acabar*, *acertei*,

---

<sup>15</sup> The determination of which lexical units are inherited and which are genuinely vernacular was based primarily on the indications provided by the etymological dictionaries or Portuguese dictionaries with etymological information consulted, namely: Cunha (2010), Corominas and Pascual (1980-1991), and Houaiss and Villar (2009).

*aconselhar, acudão, afinquadamente, afortunado, afromtando, agordando, alebrarẽ, apanhar, apartado, apregoam, apresentar, aproveitarão, aReçeu, aRequadey, aviar, bem aventurado, desaventurado, desaventuras, desconfio, descuidado, desembarquava, desembargador, desempero, desomRando, disgosto, ãcaRegarão, ãcobertas, ãconmmendar, embarquação, ãbarquava, emprestymo, ãfadamtos, enfadar, ãtrevado, interar ~ enterar, esforce.* As it can be seen, the prefixes involved in the formations (overwhelmingly, verbal derivatives) are *a-*, *bem-*, *des-*, *dis-*, *en-/in-* and *es-*, the most productive being the latives *a-* and *en-* and the privative-reversative *des-*.

The vernacular lexical creations that emerged in Medieval Portuguese and are present in the seven 17th century colonial texts examined were the following: *abafam, abraços, acabar, acudir, aContecido, aCostado, aCreditem, adientou, aguardava, agradar, agradecendo, agradecido, apanhar, apartarmos, aproveitado, arrependa, arriscados, asonbro, atalhar, dezabafei, desdita, desembargador, dezemparrarão, dezemparo, dezempenhando, dezenquietassão, desonrado, despedido, embarcassoos, embarquar, encaminhados, emCommendar, emfadamento, enfadar, engrandessẽ, enterrado, malquistado, rremate, rrepartissão, Retorno, sobreesCrito.* The prefix formatives acting on derivatives (which are mostly verbal) are *a-*, *des-*, *en-*, *mal-*, *re-* and *sobre-*, with a clear predominance of the latives *a-* and *en-* and the privative-reversative *des-*, in a situation similar, therefore, to that observed in texts from the previous century<sup>16</sup>.

Before presenting comments regarding the prefix formations coined in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, it is worth discussing three derivatives found in the documentation examined and generated in the archaic period of the language, due to interesting aspects that were revealed during the course of their analysis in the current study.

---

<sup>16</sup> In this article, the conciseness regarding the comments on vernacular derivatives that appeared in Medieval Portuguese is due to two reasons: first, because greater and due attention is given to formations constituted in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese; second, because there are robust studies already published that can be consulted about the prefix constellation present in Old Galician-Portuguese (Old Portuguese), such as those developed by López Viñas (2012, 2015) and Lopes (2013, 2018, 2021a).

The first derivative is the verb *acertar*, recorded in the form *acertei*, in the seventh document examined for the 16th century (1594)<sup>17</sup>, in the excerpt “...*heu fis tirar testas em auto e **acertei** a carta q me vm mandou.*”. Unlike the most common meanings for this verb today, it denoted, in the document in question, the meanings of ‘find, come across’, very seldomly used for the word in contemporary times, but attested in the history of the language since the its beginnings, for example, in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (14th century)<sup>18</sup>.

The second word that attracted great attention in the analysis was *arrecear*, detected in the form *aReçeu*, in the fragment “...*E asim estive agordando ate vir as novas que ele vinha mas como em amgola se dise o mesmo dele loguo se **aReçeu** e foy ao Rio de Janro.*”, also in the seventh document examined for the 16th century (1594), with the meaning of ‘to be afraid or to have fear, to fear, to dread’. This is a use of the expletive prefix *a-*, creating a situation of synonymy with the co-radical devoid of such an affixal element, *recear*. As the derivative *arrecear* was not recorded in the considerable set of data analysed by Lopes (2013, 2018, 2021a) nor by López Viñas (2012), it is also absent in the *Dicionario de dicionarios do galego medieval* – DDGM (González Seoane; Álvarez de la Granja; Boullón Agrelo, 2022), in Cunha (2010) and in Houaiss and Villar (2009), it was on the verge of considering it a neological formation from the colonial period, which would prove to be a mistake, which was only avoided due to care when consulting other historical databases for Portuguese. When checking the *Dicionário de verbos do português medieval* [Dictionary of Medieval Portuguese Verbs] – DVPM (Xavier; Crispim; Vicente, 2003-2024), the lexical unit *arrecear* (and inflections) was detected, with ten occurrences in Old Portuguese, since the 15th century. The discovery, which avoided an erroneous conclusion, serves to exemplify how laborious and complex the task of establishing (always provisionally) the first dating and first

---

<sup>17</sup> PSCR1146 [1594] – *Carta de Jerónimo Leitão, capitão da capitania de São Vicente, para o cunhado, Filipe de Aguiar Lobo.*

<sup>18</sup> See the entry ACERTAR/ACERTAR-SE in the *Dicionario de dicionarios do galego medieval* (DDGM): [https://ilg.usc.gal/ddgm/ddd\\_pescura.php?pescura=acertar&tipo\\_busca=lema](https://ilg.usc.gal/ddgm/ddd_pescura.php?pescura=acertar&tipo_busca=lema).

uses of any word is, which requires not only using etymological dictionaries, but also other sources, such as textual corpora and databases.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, the third word that proved to be interesting among the formations generated in Old Portuguese and present in the documentation examined was the verb *interar*, in the same letter mentioned above, in the “...*ele propyo se foy apresentar pesoalmente hũu estormto q tirou ẽ amgola de outras quatro testas falsas q Jurarão como ele hera viuvo e q lhe virão **interar** A molher e esta culpa confesava ele q tinha faserse viuvo digo faserse soltro sendo viuvo...*” In the interpretation offered by the *Post Scriptum* project in the modernised reading it makes of the document, it is pointed out (‘become well informed about something’) as its update in contemporary Portuguese<sup>20</sup>, which, admittedly, does not hold when one proceeds to a more detailed reading of the entire letter, since it is an allographic form — using the etymological feature of the prefix — for the verb *enterrar*, therefore having the meaning of ‘bury, inter’<sup>21</sup>. This situation comes in handy as a formidable demonstration of how complex the interpretation of lexical units in past synchronies is, which always requires redoubled attention and

---

<sup>19</sup> Besides several occurrences from the 16th and 17th centuries, in the *Corpus do Português* database (Davies, online).

<sup>20</sup> See <http://teitok.clul.ul.pt/postscriptum/index.php?action=edit&cid=PSCR1146&lang=pt>.

<sup>21</sup> The interpretation that the verb *interar*, recorded in a sixteenth-century document, would correspond to the modern Portuguese verb *inteirar*, meaning ‘to inform oneself well about something; to be aware of something’, presupposes a monophthongization of the diphthong *ei* (*inteirar* > *interar*). The only occurrence of this process that has been found dates from the twentieth century (1997), in the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online), and it is not attested in any other corpus or lexicographic-etymological repertory consulted, such as the DVPM (Xavier; Crispim; Vicente, 2003-2024), the DDGM (González Seoane; Álvarez de la Granja; Boullón Agrelo, 2022) and the *Vocabulário histórico-cronológico do Português Medieval* (Cunha, 2014). Houaiss and Villar (2009), in turn, record the verb in question only in the form *inteirar*, indicating 1589 as its *terminus a quo*. Cunha (2010), in a similar way, places the first occurrence of this verb in the sixteenth century, which he considers a divergent form of *integrar*. Among the databases consulted, only the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online) records the verbal form *inteirar*, in documents dating from the late sixteenth century onward, always with the meanings that this verb continues to display in contemporary Portuguese: ‘to complete, to total, to make whole or complete’ or ‘to become well informed about something, to become aware of something’. These data reinforce the interpretation adopted in this article that the lexeme *interar* in the sixteenth-century text under analysis bears exclusively the meaning ‘to bury, to inter’, and never ‘to become aware of something, to become well informed about something’, a sense that finds no support whatsoever in the co-text or context of the colonial document in question. Thanks are due to one of the article’s anonymous reviewers for having pointed out this important issue.

great care, and can generate mistaken readings even by experienced researchers and reputable research groups in the linguistic-philological field.

The next five subsections will discuss each of the prefixed words of activated generation specifically in the Portuguese of Colonial Brazil, three in the 16th century (*aquanhando*, *aRotoar*, *agolar*) and two in the following century (*Reeleger*, *assosterê*). The decision to devote specific subsections to the morphological-semantic-etymological examination of each of these five derived words is grounded in the understanding that they constitute the main formations relevant to this study, since they are prefixed lexical constructions that properly emerged within the synchronic stages pertaining to Colonial Brazilian Portuguese.

#### 4.1 *aquanhando*

Table 3 – Morphemary entry *aquanhando*.

PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q. / ETYMON / FORMATIO N	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
a-	expletive	<i>aquanhando</i>	N	V	V	c.1543 <sup>H</sup> /1592 <sup>L2023</sup> ; from MP <i>a-</i> + <i>-canho-</i> + <i>-a-</i> + <i>-r</i>	shame, humiliate, insult, intimidate	CARDS4006 [1592]
<p>“...tenho pedido he Rogado muito a vm me deixe veio vm porsegir cõ sua teima afromtando me desomRandome <b>aquanhando</b> me fazêdo a cada quanto audiencias de mĩ asi cõ palavras como cõ cartas...”</p>								

Source: author's own elaboration.

The lexical unit *acanhhar*, in the form *aquanhando*, occurs in document 4 from the 16th century: CARDS4006 [1592] – *Carta de Diogo Nunes para o seu irmão, João Nunes, mercador* [Letter from Diogo Nunes to his brother, João Nunes, merchant]. To structure the word, the prefixal element *a-* is added to the noun *canho*, thus constituting a verbal form derived through *lato sensu* parasynthesis<sup>22</sup>, with the meanings of ‘embarrassing, humiliating, affronting, intimidating’ in the consulted text. It appears, therefore, that

<sup>22</sup> For an explanation of the concepts of *lato* and *stricto sensu* parasynthesis, see Lopes (2015).

it denotes different meanings from what seems to be the most common nowadays for the word in question, namely: ‘become shy and irresolute, withdraw, embarrass oneself’. The prefix does not convey any semantic nuance, reflecting the general situation of expletivity verified in prefix particles acting in parasyntheticogenic processes (cf. Lopes, 2018, 2020c). As for the earliest dating of the derivative, even though it occurs in a document from 1592, it dates back to the year 1543, according to what Houaiss and Villar (2009) indicate. In the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online), the first record to date is limited to the year 1588.

## 4.2 *aRotoar*

Table 4 – Morphemary entry *aRotoar*.

PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q. / ETYMON / FORMATION	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
a-	expletive	<i>aRotoar</i>	A	V	V	c.1632 <sup>H</sup> / 16th century <sup>C</sup> ; from MP <i>a-</i> + <i>rot(o)-</i> + <i>-a-</i> + <i>-r</i>	fix, adjust, rectify, amend	CARDS4006 [1592]
<p>“...pa q de Relação diso ao sor desembargador q ele bem conhece este velhaquo do flores q qua o vyo e sabe quẽ he e se for neçecaryo <b>aRotoar</b> [...] no estromento faseyo con o mesmo atanasyo da mota...”</p>								

Source: author's own elaboration.

The verb *arrotear*, in the form *aRotoar*, is recorded in document 6 of the 16th century: PSCR1145 [1594] – *Carta de Jerónimo Leitão, capitão da capitania de São Vicente, para o filho, Francisco Leitão* [Letter from Jerónimo Leitão, captain of São Vicente Captaincy, to his son, Francisco Leitão]. It is also a case of parasynthesis *lato sensu*, in which the prefix *a-* (which appears to be asemantic) is attached to the adjective *roto*, therefore consisting of an occurrence of deadjectival verbalisation. The meaning of the word in the textual unit analysed is ‘fix, adjust, rectify, amend’, which seems to be a novelty, a case of emergence of a neological meaning from the original meaning of ‘clear, cultivate or plow uncultivated land’ conveyed by the aforementioned verb, which can also have the meaning of ‘educate, civilise, instruct’. Houaiss and Villar

(2009) place its *terminus a quo* at around the year 1632, while Cunha (2010) places it at the 16th century, which is consistent with the dating of the record found in this study (year 1594). In the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online), the first records for this lexical unit are from the 19th century<sup>23</sup>.

### 4.3 *agolar*

Table 5 – Morphemary entry *agolar*.

PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q. / ETYMON / FORMATION	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
a-	expletive	<i>agolar</i>	N	V	V	1594 <sup>L2023</sup> ; do PBC <i>a- + -gul(a)- + -a- + -r</i>	bite, spend, consume, dilapidate	PSCR1146 [1594]
<p>"...e tal estyve bemdito o sor q não foy servydo de me acabar este mal o q creo e confecho ser merce per fiqvar hua lembransa destes pobres filhos para q este demonyo não aquabara de <b>agolar</b> toda fazda e omRa E assim estive agordando ate vir as novas que ele vinha."</p>								

Source: author's own elaboration.

The verb *agolar* was detected in document 7 of the 16th century: PSCR1146 [1594] – *Carta de Jerónimo Leitão, capitão da capitania de São Vicente, para o cunhado, Filipe de Aguiar Lobo* [Letter from Jerónimo Leitão, captain of São Vicente Captaincy, to his brother-in-law, Filipe de Aguiar Lobo]. It is another derivative that is interpreted here as a denominal verbalisation, via *lato sensu* parasynthesis, with the addition of the prefix *a-* (expletive) to the noun *gola* (< lat. *gula*, 'throat'). The hypothetical meaning raised in this study for the lexical unit in the analysed document is that of 'swallow, consume, spend', thus refusing the semantic annotation presented by the *Post Scriptum* project in the modernised reading of the document, that of a verb *angolar*<sup>24</sup> – with the meaning of 'to go or send to Angola'? –. Although in the 16th century letter there are seven mentions of Angola, the phrasal-discursive context does not seem to authorise

<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, in the last database, there are several occurrences in two medieval texts (one from the 13th century and another from the 14th century) of what seems to be a toponym, *Arrotea*, perhaps related to (a regressive form?) *arrotear*.

<sup>24</sup> See <http://teitok.clul.ul.pt/postscriptum/index.php?action=edit&cid=PSCR1146>.

the hypothesis of an *angolar* verbal form, but actually that of the verb *agolar*, a co-radical variant synonymous with *engolir*, with the metaphorical sense of ‘consume, spend, dissipate, dilapidate’. This verb is not attested in the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online), nor in Houaiss and Villar (2009), Cunha (2010), Machado Filho (2019; 2014), in the DDGM (González Seoane; Álvarez de la Granja; Boullón Agrelo, 2022) or in the DVPM (Xavier; Crispim; Vicente, 2003-2024), which makes it, for now, a strong candidate for a *hapax legomenon*, whose first and only record so far is the one brought to light by this study, with its identification in a letter dated to 1594<sup>25</sup>.

#### 4.4 *reeleger*

Table 6 – Morphemary entry *reeleger*.

PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q. / ETYMON / FORMATION	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
re-	iteration	<i>reeleger</i>	V	V	V	1654 <sup>H</sup> /1813 <sup>C</sup> /1648 <sup>L2023</sup> ; from CBP <i>re-</i> + <i>-eleger</i>	elect again, reelect	PSCR1312 [1648]
“...todos o aclamã por futuro prior, he dizem que se Eu o não tornar a <b>reeleger</b> nã an de ficar em esta caza.”								

Source: author's own elaboration.

The word *reeleger*, present in document 3 from the 17th century: PSCR1312 [1648] – *Carta de frei Fabião para um padre provincial não identificado* [Letter from Friar Fabião to an unidentified provincial priest], is the result of the affixation of the formative *re-* to the verb *eleger*, in a case of canonical prefixal derivation. The meaning

<sup>25</sup> The meaning and etymology conjectured in this article for the verb *agolar* are hypothetical and, of course, open to revision. This lexeme is related to the nouns *gola*, *goela* and *gole*, a connection supported by morphological and semantic analysis but, above all, by etymology, which authorizes this interpretation, since, according to Corominas and Pascual (1980-1991), all these words go back to the Latin noun *gula*. The hypothesis of a morphological-semantic-etymological link between *agolar* and *engolir*, as co-radical synonyms formed on the same lexical base (*gola* < Lat. *gula*, ‘throat’) through different patterns of parasynthetic formation (*engolir* < Lat. *ingullare* or *ingullire*; *agolar* < *a-* + *gol(a)* + *-ar*), appears convincing. Another plausible hypothesis, suggested by one of this article’s anonymous reviewers (to whom heartfelt thanks are extended), is that *agolar* may be a variant of *golar/gorar*, a verb attested from the mid-sixteenth century onward (cf. Houaiss; Villar, 2009), in which the prefix *a-* might add a causative nuance: ‘to cause to spoil, to cause to rot, to cause to go bad’. It is indeed difficult to reach definitive analyses in cases of *hapax legomena* such as this, but what does seem evident is the inadmissibility of interpreting the verbal form *agolar* as *angolar*.

of the derivative in the text is ‘to elect again, to choose again’, which leads to the attribution of an iterative meaning to the mentioned prefix. The discovery of the verb *reeleger* in an inquisitorial text dated 1648 allows us to go back a few years to the first attestation of this lexical unit, which, for Cunha (2010), would be from 1813 and, for Houaiss and Villar (2009), from 1654. In the *Corpus do Português* (Davies, online), the first records for the word in question are only from the 19th century.

#### 4.5 *assosterẽ*

Table 7 – Morphemary entry *assosterẽ*.

PREF.	PREF. MEANING	LEXICAL UNIT	S.C.	T.C.	O.C.	T.A.Q. / ETYMON / FORMATION	OUTPUT WORD MEANING	SOURCE
a-	expletive	<i>assosterẽ</i>	V	V	V	1657 <sup>L2023</sup> ; from CBP <i>a-</i> + <i>suster</i>	sustain, support	CARDS1019 [1657]
“Esta muito agradecido <b>assosterẽ</b> Vms a cauza, sendo que o sobrinho não lhe escreveo sobre isso nada...”								

Source: author's own elaboration.

The lexical unit *assosterẽ*, present in document 7 from the 17th century: CARDS1019 [1657] – *Carta não autógrafa de António Fernandes da Mata para a sua irmã Antónia Fernandes* [Non-autograph letter from António Fernandes da Mata to his sister Antónia Fernandes], is the result of the adjunctive process of the expletive prefix *a-* to the verb *soster*, in a case of prefixal addition without semantic changes in the derivative, as in *alevantar* ‘get up’, *assoprar* ‘blow’, *avoar* ‘fly’, etc. The meaning of the derivative in the text is, therefore, identical to that conveyed by the unprefixal co-radical *suster*: ‘to sustain, support, support’. The only attestation found for the verb *assoster*, also considering possible graphic variants and inflections, was that of the document in question, with no mention of this derivative in the various dictionaries and databases consulted for this study. Thus, the year 1657 is provisionally established as the year in which the first record of the word *assoster* in the history of the Portuguese language is attested.

## 5 Concluding remarks

Dedicating time to investigate past textual records — whether from their originals or from edited versions —, a fundamental task for historians, philologists and historical linguists, is almost always an opportunity to come across discoveries, surprises and enigmas, which, in a kind of positive feedback, instigates and promotes the advancement of research into these historical testimonies themselves, their language, their temporality and their process of elaboration and transmission. If this happens with the medieval documentation, it is no less vibrant when it comes to subsequent periods of the temporal flow, as is the case with the texts referred to in this article, belonging to the modern period, more precisely, to the 16th and 17th centuries.

The History of Colonial Brazilian Portuguese project and, within it, the subproject Prefixation in Colonial Brazilian Portuguese, constitute a part of this search to encounter, observe, scrutinise and problematise the language of the past in order to construct credible interpretations about it, always well-founded on a large set of corroborating empirical data. The questions raised in the aforementioned project and subproject, as well as the first conclusions, hypotheses and answers that emerged, reveal the dynamics of this investigative endeavour recently begun within the scope of PROHPOR, which is proud to continue the proposal and purposes of its renowned founder.

The descriptions and analyses offered in this article are very incipient and specific, as they focus on a tiny sample of the textual corpora of hundreds of documents that will support the development of the aforementioned project and its subproject. Nevertheless, they already constitute a fruitful start, enabling, for example, the discovery of two *hapax legomena*, a retreat in the dating of the first occurrences of words derived via prefixation and, even, corrections and clarifications referring to notes in modernised philological readings of Portuguese Inquisitorial documentation.

The main contributions of this introductory study focused on prefixation in the Portuguese language as used in Colonial Brazil can be identified as follows: (i) the

detailed morphological-semantic-etymological analysis of five derivatives produced in the synchronic stages corresponding to the early period of colonial Brazilian Portuguese, in which only the formatives *a-* and *re-* participated; (ii) the recognition of the quantitative and qualitative robustness of derivatives and prefixal patterns inherited from Latin, in contrast with the modest presence of strictly vernacular prefixal lexicogenesis in the texts examined; (iii) and the predominant role played by prefixal elements in this corpus as constituents and generators of verbal forms, especially through their participation in parasynthetic processes.

It is hoped, without any unreasonable pretension, that the notes written on these pages may be of some use to the scientific community, especially to those researchers who focus on the texts and history of Portuguese in Colonial Brazil. And that progress should be steady in the execution of PROHPOR's eighth collective project, the results and fruits of which will certainly provide pertinent contributions to an unveiling and a clearer understanding of the social history of Brazil and the historical constitution of the Ibero-Romance language brought and established in this side of the Atlantic.

*This article was translated into English by Matheus Machado Pinto.*

### **Acknowledgements**

The research that supported the development of this article, entitled *A prefixação no português brasileiro colonial*, was funded with a research grant from the Pró-Reitoria de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação at the Universidade Federal da Bahia (PRPPG/UFBA), through the *Programa de Apoio a Jovens Pesquisadores* (JOVEMPESQ), in its first edition (2022–2023). Acknowledgment is extended to the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading, detailed critique, timely observations, and valuable suggestions for this article. Any remaining errors are the sole and exclusive responsibility of the author of this text.

## References

ALBUQUERQUE, A. **A prefixação no léxico da publicidade na mídia escrita**. 2010. 116 f. Thesis (Master's in Linguistics) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, 2010. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufpe.br/handle/123456789/7664>. Access on: 17 Feb. 2024.

ALVES, I. M. **Um estudo sobre a neologia lexical: os microssistemas prefixais do português contemporâneo**. 2000. 594 f. Thesis (Full Professor) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2000. Available at: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/livredocencia/8/tde-17072023-125209/pt-br.html>. Access on: 18 Feb. 2024.

BASILIO, M. Morfologia: uma entrevista com Margarida Basílio. **ReVEL**, v. 7, n. 12, p. 1-8, 2009. Available at: [https://www.revel.inf.br/files/entrevistas/revel\\_12\\_margarida\\_basilio.pdf](https://www.revel.inf.br/files/entrevistas/revel_12_margarida_basilio.pdf). Access on: 17 Feb. 2024.

BOSQUE, I.; DEMONTE, V. (dir.). **Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española**. Madrid: Espasa, 1999.

BOOIJ, G. **Construction morphology**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199695720.013.0010>

CAMPOS, L. S. **A negação prefixal na história da língua portuguesa**. 2004. 360 f. Dissertation (PhD in Letters and Linguistics) – Instituto de Letras, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2004. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/28698>. Access on: 17 Feb. 2024.

CARDOSO, L.; ANDRADE, A. L.; CARNEIRO, Z. N. O português colonial brasileiro: uma nova agenda de pesquisas entre o português clássico e o português brasileiro moderno. **D.E.L.T.A.**, São Paulo, v. 39, n. 2, p. 1-27, 2023. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1590/1678-460x202339253749>

CLUL – CENTRO DE LINGUÍSTICA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA (Ed.). **P.S. Post Scriptum**. Arquivo digital de escrita quotidiana em Portugal e Espanha na Época Moderna. 2014. Available at: <http://teitok.clul.ul.pt/postscriptum/pt/index.php>. Access on: 22 Oct. 2023.

COROMINAS, J.; PASCUAL, J. A. **Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico**. 6v. Madrid: Gredos, 1980-1991.

COSTA, S.; MACHADO FILHO, A. (org.). **Do português arcaico ao português brasileiro**. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2004. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ufba/135>. Access on: 18 Feb. 2024.

CUNHA, A. G. da. **Dicionário etimológico da língua portuguesa**. 4. ed. revista e atualizada de acordo com a nova ortografia. Rio de Janeiro: Lexicon, 2010.

CUNHA, A. G. da. **Vocabulário histórico-cronológico do português medieval**. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2014. Available at: <http://medieval.rb.gov.br/index.php>. Access on: 24 Sep. 2024.

DAVIES, M. **Corpus do Português**. Available at: <http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>. Access on: 17 Oct. 2023.

DOLINSKI, J. **Aspectos morfosintáticos, semânticos e estilísticos dos prefixos negativos na formação de palavras em português**. 1993. 152 f. Thesis (Master's in Letters) – Setor de Ciências Humanas, Letras e Artes, Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba, 1993. Available at: <https://acervodigital.ufpr.br/handle/1884/24384>. Access on: 16 Feb. 2024.

DUARTE, P. M. **A formação de palavras por prefixo em português**. Fortaleza: UFC Edições, 1999.

GANANÇA, J. **Um estudo da prefixação em unidades lexicais neológicas coletadas de blogs da internet**. 2017. 277 f. Thesis (Master's in Philology and Portuguese Language) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2017. Available at: <https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8142/tde-05072017-105742/pt-br.php>. Access on: 12 Sep. 2023.

GONZÁLEZ SEOANE, E.; ÁLVAREZ DE LA GRANJA, M.; BOULLÓN AGRELO, A. I. (org.). **DDGM – Dicionario de dicionarios do galego medieval**. 2022. Available at: <https://ilg.usc.gal/ddgm>. Access on: 17 Oct. 2023.

HOUAISS, A.; VILLAR, M. **Dicionário Houaiss da língua portuguesa**. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2009.

HUALDE, J. *et al.* **Introducción a la Lingüística Hispánica**. 2. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511808821>

JACKENDOFF, R.; AUDRING, J. Morphological schemas: theoretical and psycholinguistic issues. **The Mental Lexicon**, v. 11, n. 4, p. 467-493, 2016. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1075/ml.11.3.06jac>

JACKENDOFF, R.; AUDRING, J. Relational Morphology in the Parallel Architecture. In: AUDRING, J.; MASINI, F. (ed.). **The Oxford Handbook of Morphological Theory**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199668984.001.0001>

JACKENDOFF, R.; AUDRING, J. **The Texture of the Lexicon**. Relational Morphology and the Parallel Architecture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198827900.001.0001>

JACKENDOFF, R.; AUDRING, J. **Relational Morphology**: A Cousin of Construction Grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. DOI <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.02241>

LOBO, T. (coord.); FERREIRA, P.; OLIVEIRA, K.; GONÇALVES, U. (ed.). **Cartas baianas setecentistas**. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2001.

LOBO, T.; OLIVEIRA, K. (org.). **África à vista**: dez estudos sobre o português escrito por africanos no Brasil do século XIX. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009. DOI <https://doi.org/10.7476/9788523208882>

LOBO, T. *et al.* (org.). **Rosae**: linguística histórica, história das línguas e outras histórias. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2012. DOI <https://doi.org/10.7476/9788523212308>

LOPES, M. **A prefixação no português brasileiro colonial**. 2022. 17 f. Research Project – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2022a.

LOPES, M. Formações em *arqui-/archi-* no português e no castelhano: uma leitura em perspectiva histórica e construcional. In: SOLEDADE, J.; GONÇALVES, C. A.; SIMÕES NETO, N. A. (org.). **Morfologia construcional**: avanços em língua portuguesa. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2022b. p. 137-169. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/36058>. Access on: 12 Jan. 2024.

LOPES, M. A prefixação no Livro das Aves. In: ALMEIDA, A. A. D.; LOPES, M. (org.). **Livro do Livro das Aves**: estudos semânticos e morfológicos. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2021a. p. 227-261.

LOPES, M. Por uma morfologia histórico-construcional: primeiras reflexões. **A Cor das Letras**, Feira de Santana, v. 22, n. 1, p. 237-265, 2021b. DOI <https://doi.org/10.13102/cl.v22i1.5904>

LOPES, M. A combinação de prefixos no galego-português. **LaborHistórico**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 6, n. 1, p. 148-180, 2020a. DOI <https://doi.org/10.24206/lh.v6i1.31990>

LOPES, M. Compressão lexical: notas sobre um modelo semântico-histórico-construcional para análise de vocábulos derivados. **Gragoatá**, Niterói, v. 25, n. 52, p. 688-711, 2020b. DOI <https://doi.org/10.22409/gragoata.v25i52.40851>

LOPES, M. Tipologia e classificação semânticas dos elementos prefixais em perspectiva historicocêntrica. **Estudos Linguísticos e Literários**, Salvador, n. 68, p. 510-537, 2020c. DOI <https://doi.org/10.9771/ell.v0i68.41963>

LOPES, M. **Estudo histórico-comparativo da prefixação no galego-português e no castelhano arcaicos (séculos XIII a XVI): aspectos morfolexicais, semânticos e etimológicos**. 2018. 5 v. 2430 f. Dissertation (PhD in Historical Linguistics) – Instituto de Letras, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2018. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/29879>. Access on: 17 Dec. 2023.

LOPES, M. Um olhar semanticocêntrico sobre a prefixação em um documento português do século XIV. In: ALMEIDA, A. A. D.; SANTOS, E. S. dos (org.). **Linguagens e cognição**. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2016. p. 229-259. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/33312?mode=full>. Access on: 19 Dec. 2023.

LOPES, M. A parassíntese *lato e stricto sensu* na primeira fase do português arcaico. In: HORA, D. da *et al.* (org.). **ALFAL 50 anos: contribuições para os estudos linguísticos e filológicos**. João Pessoa: Ideia, 2015. p. 969-1012.

LOPES, M. **A prefixação na primeira fase do português arcaico: descrição e estudo semântico-morfolexical-etimológico do paradigma prefixal da língua portuguesa nos séculos XII, XIII e XIV**. 2013. 2 v. 943 f. Thesis (Master's in Historical Linguistics) – Instituto de Letras, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2013. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/15537?mode=full>. Access on: 19 Dec. 2023.

LÓPEZ-VIÑAS, X. **A formación de palabras no galego medieval: a afixación**. 2012. 597 f. Dissertation (PhD in Philology) – Facultade de Filoloxía, Universidade da Coruña, A Coruña, 2012. Available at: <https://ruc.udc.es/dspace/handle/2183/10079>. Access on: 9 Jan. 2024.

LÓPEZ-VIÑAS, X. Dicionario de afixos e voces afixadas do galego medieval. **Revista Galega de Filoloxía**, A Coruña, n. monográfico 8, 2015.

MACHADO FILHO, A. V. L. **Pequeno vocabulário do português arcaico**. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília; Salvador: EDUFBA, 2014.

MACHADO FILHO, A. V. L. **Novo dicionário do português arcaico ou medieval**. Salvador: DEPARC, 2019.

MARTÍN GARCÍA, J.; VARELA, S. La relevancia de la diacronía para la teoría morfológica. In: CAMPO SOUTO, M. *et al.* (ed.). **Assí como es de suso dicho**: estudos de morfoloxía y léxico en homenaje a Jesús Pena. San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2012. p. 323-336.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V. **O português arcaico**: morfologia e sintaxe. São Paulo: Contexto, 1993.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V. (org.). **A carta de Caminha**: testemunho linguístico de 1500. Salvador: EDUFBA, 1996.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V.; MACHADO FILHO, A. V. L. (org.). **O português quinhentista**: estudos linguísticos. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2002.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V. **O português arcaico**: uma aproximação. Vol. I. Lisboa: IN-CM, 2008.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V.; OLIVEIRA, K.; AMARANTE, J. (org.). **Várias navegações**: português arcaico, português brasileiro, cultura escrita no Brasil, outros estudos. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2012. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/17758>. Access on: 19 Dec. 2023.

MONTERO CUIRIEL, M. L. **La prefijación negativa en español**. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1999.

OLIVEIRA, K.; CUNHA E SOUZA, H.; GOMES, L. (org.). **Novos tons de Rosa... para Rosa Virgínia Mattos e Silva**. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ufba/198>. Access on: 19 Dec. 2023.

OLIVEIRA, K.; CUNHA E SOUZA, H.; SOLEDADE, J. (org.). **Do português arcaico ao português brasileiro**: outras histórias. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009. DOI <https://doi.org/10.7476/9788523211837>

PROHPOR – PROGRAMA PARA A HISTÓRIA DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA. **História do português brasileiro colonial**. 2023. 90 f. Research Project – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2023.

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA; ASOCIACIÓN DE ACADEMIAS DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA. **Nueva gramática de la lengua española**. Madrid: Espasa, 2009.

RIO-TORTO, G. **Morfologia derivacional: teoria e aplicação ao português**. Porto: Porto, 1998.

RIO-TORTO, G. *et al.* **Gramática derivacional do Português**. 2. ed. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016. DOI <https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-0864-8>

RIO-TORTO, G. **Prefixação na língua portuguesa contemporânea**. São Paulo: Cortez, 2019.

SANTOS, A. P. **Morfologia em diacronia – os caminhos e desvios de um afixo na história da língua: o percurso histórico-semântico do prefixo *des-* em bases sufixadas e em formações parassintéticas**. 2016. 318 f. Dissertation (PhD in Philology and Portuguese Language) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2016. Available at: <https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8142/tde-10052016-115122/pt-br.php>. Access on: 15 Jan. 2024.

SANTOS, A. V. **Compostos sintagmáticos nominais VN, NN, NA, AN e NPrepN no português arcaico (sécs. XIII-XV)**. 2009a. Dissertation (PhD in Letters and Linguistics) – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2009a. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/handle/ri/11221>. Access on: 15 Jan. 2024.

SANTOS, A. V. Processos de composição nas Cantigas de Santa Maria. *In*: REIDOVAL, G. (org.). **A Linguística Galega desde Além Mar**. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela; Servizo de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico, 2009b. p. 391-404.

SANTOS, A. V. A composição coordenativa no português arcaico: um primeiro estudo. **Cadernos do NEMP**, Rio de Janeiro, n. 4, v. 1, p. 93-103, 2013. Available at: <https://www.nemp-rj.com/cadernos-5-1>. Access on: 15 Jan. 2023.

SANTOS, A. V. Compostos criativos no período arcaico da língua portuguesa. *In*: ALMEIDA, A.; SANTOS, E. (org.). **Linguagens e cognição**. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2016a. p. 213-228. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/33312?mode=full>. Access on: 15 Jan. 2023.

SANTOS, A. V. Compostos NprepN no português arcaico: aspectos morfossintáticos. **Confluência**, Rio de Janeiro, n. 50, p. 191-214, 2016b. DOI

SANTOS, A. V. Padrões de composição de palavras na poesia medieval galego-portuguesa. In: SANTOS, E.; ALMEIDA, A.; SIMÕES NETO, N. (org.). **Olhares sobre o léxico**: perspectivas de estudo. Salvador: Eduneb, 2018. p. 111-138. DOI <https://doi.org/10.15304/cc.2017.1080.4>

SANTOS, A. V. Compostos [VN]N no *Vocabulário português, e latino* de Bluteau (séc. XVIII). **Todas as Letras – Revista de Língua e Literatura**, São Paulo, v. 22, n. 1, p. 1-17, jan./abr. 2020. DOI <https://doi.org/10.5935/1980-6914/eLETDO2012770>

SANTOS, A. V. Compostos e padrões de composição no Vocabulário histórico-cronológico do Português Medieval, de Antônio Geraldo da Cunha. **A cor das Letras**, Feira de Santana, v. 22, n. 1, p. 10-26, 2021. DOI <https://doi.org/10.13102/cl.v22i1.7310>

SCHWINDT, L. **O prefixo no português brasileiro**: análise morfofonológica. 2000. 191 f. Dissertation (PhD in Letters) – Faculdade de Letras, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, 2000.

SOLEDADE, J. **Semântica morfolexical**: contribuições para a descrição do paradigma sufixal do português arcaico. 2004. 2 v. 575 f. Dissertation (PhD in Letters and Linguistics) – Instituto de Letras, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2004. Available at: <https://www.prohpor.org/julianoledade>. Access on: 15 Jan. 2024.

VALE, R. S. **O processo de derivação prefixal do português**: um estudo semântico-histórico do formante *DIS-* e da variante *DI-*. 2020. 192 f. Dissertation (PhD in Philology and Portuguese Language) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2020. Available at: <https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8142/tde-27072020-183133/pt-br.php>. Access on: 17 Feb. 2024.

VASCONCELOS, C. M. de. **Lições de filologia portuguesa, seguidas das lições práticas de português arcaico**. Lisboa: Dinalivro, 1911-1912.

VIARO, M. Buscando um novo método para seleção e interpretação de dados em morfologia histórica. In: ALVES, I. M. *et al.* (org.). **Os estudos lexicais em diferentes perspectivas**. São Paulo: FFLCH/USP, 2009. p. 39-61.

VIARO, M. Sobre a inclusão do elemento diacrônico na teoria morfológica: uma abordagem epistemológica. **Estudos de lingüística galega**, n. 2, p. 173-190, 2010.

Available at: <https://revistas.usc.gal/index.php/elg/article/view/1513>. Access on: 6 Feb. 2023.

VIARO, M. (org.). **Morfologia histórica**. São Paulo: Cortez, 2014.

XAVIER, M. F.; CRISPIM, M. de L.; VICENTE, G. (org.). **Dicionário de verbos do português medieval (DVPM)**. 2003-2024. Available at: <http://cipm.fcsh.unl.pt/verbos/indiceverbos.jsp>. Access on: 22 Oct. 2023.