

Hello, Honey: The Pragmatics of Greeting in the *Cantigas d' Amigo*

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*To establish a praxis, rules are not enough; we need examples.
Our rules leave backdoors open, and the praxis must speak for itself.*
—Wittgenstein

Some believe that the *cantigas d' amigo* are “static,” that nothing much happens in them and that, at most, they represent states of emotion, or a girl and her moods.¹ But I would say (adapting what Aristotle wrote about tragedy) that in a *cantiga d' amigo* what is represented is not primarily persons or emotions, but rather *praxis* and *bios*: action and life.

Logically enough, actions are related to the story and to the speaking actor and the addressee, who are taken (almost always) from the same set. This set consists of a *girl*, her *mother*, the girl's female friend(s), whom I shall call the *girlfriend*, and a *boy*. There is another persona in this drama: an other girl, often called simply *outra*—a rival for the boy's affections; but though she is mentioned in nearly forty texts, she does not appear “onstage” as speaker or addressee.²

Though the set of speaking personae might seem small, it is larger by a factor of four than what we find in the *cantigas d' amor*. And it is this plurality of speakers and of possible combinations of speaker and addressee that is partly responsible for the

¹ This paper, given during the Study Day on the Galician-Portuguese Lyric at the University of Oxford on 19 November 2004 (my thanks to Dr. Stephen Parkinson), had been scheduled for publication in the *Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, but that did not materialize. Numbering and texts of *cantigas d' amigo* are from Cohen 2003 (in Guilhade 18, v. 8 *que <ant'> ouvesse* is a new proposal). Angle brackets have been removed from refrains and punctuation altered. Tils have been added where historical phonology expects them and thirteenth century manuscripts provide them. Translations are from Cohen 2010. The bibliography has *not* been updated. Just to have included my own subsequent publications on pragmatics in this genre would have required rewriting this essay, which was in many ways the seed of what followed.

² On the other girl, see Cohen and Corriente 2002, where all her textual occurrences are given in appendix. In two songs (Nuno Treez 4 and Johan Airas 39) we hear the words of a messenger and in about 30 *cantigas* there is cited discourse in which the speaker is usually boy or girl.

“dramatic” quality that some have seen in the *cantigas d' amigo* (beginning with Lang 1894: xcvi).

The girl can speak to (or with) the girlfriend(s), her mother, or the boy (or to nobody in particular). If the girl is not the speaker, she is the addressee, and either her mother or her girlfriend speaks to (or with) her. The boy speaks only in dialogues with the girl. And there are in addition a dozen texts with a narrative voice, which nearly always introduces a girl speaker.

So some possibilities are not used, at least not onstage. Neither the girl's girlfriend nor the boy speaks to the girl's mother, and the mother does not speak to either of them. The girl's girlfriend does not speak to the boy, and vice-versa (although the girlfriend in Dinis 23 cites what the boy said to her: *Ai senhor, id' a mha senhor rogar*, etc.). Why are these combinations not found? Well, since the girl is always either speaker or addressee, there is no room onstage for the girlfriend or the boy to speak to the mother (or vice-versa), or for the girlfriend to speak to the boy, since any of these combinations would leave the girl out, and she (like the protagonist of early Tragedy) must always be onstage.

So what kinds of action are represented? Those performed by any of the speaking personae during the course of an amorous relationship between girl and boy. All told, there are a few dozen kinds of action, depending on what criteria we use, and where we draw the lines, which are sometimes difficult to draw (Wittgenstein 1992: 116-21 [§73-76]). I think it may be possible, eventually, to describe all the actions represented and work out the rules and customs of social interaction. In the meantime, by analyzing kinds of action, we can resolve old problems and also turn up new ones. To show what I mean, I shall take as an example the act of greeting someone who is arriving.

Greeting tends to be mutual, and can take place on neutral turf, but if someone comes to somebody else's “space” (as anthropologists and Californians say), there are two different acts of greeting, one spoken by the welcomer and the other by the person who is arriving. Naturally, the manner of greeting varies as a function of numerous factors in the situation, and every situation has its story.

In ancient Greek and Roman love poetry, a greeting to an arriving traveler is called a *prosphonetikon* (Cairns), and this is a well-known kind of speech, a genre in the sense in which the word is used in classical studies. But since the *cantiga d' amigo* is itself regularly called a “genre” by scholars of medieval Galician-Portuguese lyric, we need another term, which nevertheless corresponds to “genre” in this narrow sense. I shall use the expression *speech-action*, a compromise between speech-act (coined by J. L. Austin 1986) and *language-game* (a translation of *Sprachspiel* [Wittgenstein 1992: 11-13 [§23-27] 29-51 [§60-133]). Both these terms are meant to stress that speech performs action, that *words do things*. Neither concept has an exact definition, because the subject does not allow for too much exactitude. Wittgenstein insisted that the kinds of *Sprachspiele* in natural language are innumerable and can only be described, not defined. Austin observed that certain speech-acts are highly formulaic, and tried to determine the kind of speech-act in an utterance according to its force (*illocutionary force*). He looked for the force in key words and specific features of morphology and syntax, and also attempted to specify what conditions must obtain for everything to work right.

For instance, in welcoming someone I would not normally say “I would have welcomed you,” or “I will have welcomed you,” whereas “Welcome” works just fine. But it is not enough to use the right words with the right grammar; I also need to say them in the right circumstances. If I arrive in Oxford, and Dr. Parkinson walks up to me, and before he can speak I say “Stephen, welcome to Oxford,” that would be odd, it could only be taken as a joke or perhaps as proof that I am insane, but Dr. Parkinson would likely infer that I meant to say “Hello” and was just doing it in a strange way. So it is easy to see that a speech-act, such as welcoming, depends for its successful execution not just on the meaning of words, phrases and sentences, but on situation and setting, social customs, the identity and roles of participants and the relationship between them, their expectations and powers of poesis and of inference.

At any rate, Wittgenstein and Austin agree that greeting is a kind of language-game or speech-act. Here I shall consider the greeting addressed to someone who is arriving, the *prosphonetikon*. This term, though it may not trip off the tongue, is more

'Cause for so long I saw nothing to calm my desire
Since you went away from me
Until now when you saw me.

From now on don't go away, if you want my love,
Because my heart was never happy again, my friend,
Since you went away from me
Until just now when you saw me.

The fact that he has just arrived is written into the text (as it must be, for us to identify an utterance as a prosophonetikon). And so too is her despair during his absence and her joy at seeing him. But how do we read *Des oi mais non vos vaades, se amor queredes migo* (v. 9)? Although it might seem a hyperbolic complaint and so an expression of love, she says that if he leaves again their relationship will be over. Taking her at her word, we have a conditioned threat within the greeting.

The girl may also extend an even less warm welcome to her boy, as in this dialogue by Esquio (4):

–Que adubastes, amigo, alá en Lug' u andastes
ou qual é essa fremosa de que vós vos namorastes?
–Direi volo eu, senhora, pois m' én tan ben preguntastes:
**o amor que eu levei de Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo.**

5

Que adubastes, amigo, u tardastes noutro dia,
ou qual é essa fremosa que vos tan ben parecia?
–Direi volo eu, senhora, pois i tomades perfia:
**o amor que eu levei de Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo.**

10

Que adubastes, amigo, lá u avedes tardado,
ou qual é essa fremosa de que sodes namorado?
–Direi volo eu, senhora, pois me avedes preguntado:

**o amor que eu levei de Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo.**

15

–What did you get done, friend, there in Lugo where you wandered,
Or who's that gorgeous girl that you fell in love with?
–I'll tell you, lady, since you've asked me so kindly:
The love that I took from Santiago to Lugo,
Its that love that I brought and that I bring.

–What did you get done, friend, the other day when you tarried,
Or who's that gorgeous girl that seemed to you so pretty?
–I'll tell you, lady, since you're insisting:
The love that I took from Santiago to Lugo,
It's that love that I brought and that I bring.

–What did you get done, friend, there where you tarried,
Or who's that gorgeous girl for whom you've fallen?
–I'll tell you, lady, since you've asked me:
The love that I took from Santiago to Lugo,
It's that love that I brought and that I bring.

The girl either has direct evidence or else takes the boy's tarrying as proof that he is in love with an other girl in Lugo. She greets him with an accusation of infidelity. He defends himself, although somewhat enigmatically, implying that it is her he loves and that he has been true.³ His is both the speech of an arriving traveler, an *epibaterion*, and a defense against the charges, a *defensio*.⁴ “The love I took from Santiago to Lugo, that is

³ Two marginal glosses: (1) *Essa fremosa*, which is mockery in the guise of praise, is the only time a girl “praises” her rival's appearance; (2) When Propertius (3.23.12-16) imagines what Cynthia might have written on his lost writing-tablets, one of the messages is: *Irascor quoniam es, lente, moratus heri. An tibi nescio quae visa est formosior?* (“I am angry at you; you took your time and arrived late yesterday. Did some girl strike you as lovelier than me?”). She too asks if her boy's delay was caused by some *fremosa*. Is she just teasing? And what about the girl in Fernand' Esquio 4?

⁴ Or *escondit*; see Brea and Gradín 1998: 239-46.

the love that I have brought and that I bring.” (Nothing like a straight talker!).⁵ And what variety of welcome does the girl in this song by Martin de Caldas give her boy (5, vv. 1-4)?

Ai meu amig' e lume destes meus
olhos e coita do meu coração,
por que tardastes á mui gran sazón?
non mho neguedes, se vos valha Deus

O my friend and the light of these eyes
Of mine, and the sorrow of my heart,
Why did you tarry for so long?
Don't hide it from me, so help you God

After a series of amorous vocatives, she demands to know why the boy has taken so long. She goes on to insinuate that an other girl has detained him (v. 6): *Dizede mi quen mi vos fez tardar*. Then she warns that he will lose her if hides the truth (vv. 15-16): *e, se mi vos negardes esta vez, / perder vos edes comigo poren*. This greeting, which includes both an accusation and a threat, straddles the border between friendly and unfriendly, between what we might call positively and negatively charged.

A girl can greet her boy by renouncing him. Here is the last strophe from a *cantiga* by Bolseiro (6, vv. 19-24):

Non mi á mais vosso preito mester
e ide vos ja, par nostro senhor,
e non venhades nunca u eu for
pois começastes con outra molher;
**com<o> ousastes viir ant' os meus
olhos, amigo, por amor de Deus?!**

I don't want your pledges any more.
Just go away right now, by Our Lord!
And wherever I am, never come there again!

⁵ But the last verse is corrupt in the manuscripts and both text and meaning are uncertain.

Since you've taken up with another woman,
How do you dare to come before
My eyes, friend, for the love of God?

The girl tells the boy, who has just arrived, to go away and never come back, since he has taken up with another girl. This greeting is turned upside down: this is an *inverse prosphonetikon*. At the same time it constitutes a *renuntiatio amoris*, the kind of speech-action in which someone renounces love or rejects a particular beloved or both.⁶

If a girl has already renounced her boy, and then he returns, asking to be taken back, the greeting occurs in different circumstances. The girl can, if she so chooses, forgive him in and through the act of greeting, as she does in this dialogue between girl and boy by Martin de Padrozelos (3)⁷

–Amig', avia queixume
de vós, e quero mho perder,
pois vëestes a meu poder.
–Ai mha senhor e meu lume,
se de min queixum' avedes, 5
por Deus, que o melhoredes.

–Tant' era vossa queixosa
que jurei en San Salvador
que nunca vos fezes' amor.
–Ai mha senhor mui fremosa, 10
se de min queixum' avedes,
por Deus, que o melhoredes.

–Amig', en poder sodes meu,

⁶ See Cohen 1987. Reali 1964: 36-37, editor of Bolseiro, says the whole composition is about the boy's treason and unworthiness; but though this may be the girl's reason for renouncing, it is not the kind of action represented. Reali recognizes, however, that the boy wants to be reinstated: “desideroso di ristablire i legami già solti;” and says that the girl “si difende dal ritorno di fiamma.” This is true, but Reali misses both the “greeting” and the renunciation, even going so far as to say that the climax in strophe IV “denuncia una certa stanchezza nella vena poetica di Bolseyro.”

⁷ Cf. Reimon Gonçalves 1 (on which see Cohen 1991).

se m' eu de vós quiser vingar,
mais quero mi vos perdõar. 15

–Ai senhor, por al vos rog' eu:

**se de min queixum' avedes,
por Deus, que o melhoredes**

de min, que mal dia naci,
senhor, se volo mereci. 20

–Friend I had a complaint
About you, and I want to end it,
Since you've come into my power.

–Oh my lady and my light,
If you have a complaint about me,
By God, may you resolve it!

–I had such a complaint about you
That I swore in San Salvador
That I'd never grant you love.

–Oh my very lovely lady,
If you have a complaint about me,
By God, may you resolve it!

–Friend, you are in my power
If I want to get back at you,
But I want to forgive you.

–Oh lady, I ask you something else:
If you have a complaint about me,
By God, may you resolve it!

Poor me, what a bad day I was born,
Lady, if I deserved that of you!

Here, to welcome is to forgive, and to forgive is to say “yes” to a plea for reconciliation. In greeting the boy, the girl reverses a decision that she had made (vv. 8-9): *jurei en San Salvador / que nunca vos fezees' amor*. Had she wished to, she could have taken vengeance (v. 14): *se m' eu de vos quiser vingar*; but she chooses to have mercy (v. 15): *quero mi vos perdõar*. The boy protests his innocence; he has done nothing wrong (refrain and *fiinda*).⁸

But what if the girl has already renounced the boy and does not welcome him back and forgive him? In Johan Baveca 8 a girl greets her boy like this:

Amig', entendo que non ouvestes
poder d' alhur viver, e vëestes
a mha mesura, e non vos val ren,
ca tamanho pesar mi fezeestes
que jurei de vos nunca fazer ben. 5

Quisera m' eu non aver jurado,
tanto vos vejo vïir coitado
a mha mesura, e que prol vos ten?
ca, u vos fostes sen meu mandado,
jurei que nunca vos fezesse ben. 10

Por sempre sodes de mi partido
e non vos á prol de seer vïido
a mha mesura, e gran mal m' é én,
ca jurei, tanto que fostes ido,
que nunca ja mais vos fezesse ben. 15

Friend, I understand that you could not
Live somewhere else and you have come
To my mercy, and it does you no good,
Because you made me so angry
That I swore I would never grant you a favor.

⁸ See Cohen 1994 on the reconciliation as a *Sprachspiel*.

e el quis oj' os seus olhos m' erger
e dixi lh' eu: "Olhos de traedor, 10
vĩide ja, ca ja vos perdõei,
mais pero nunca vos ja ben quererri"

Este perdon foi de guisa, de pran,
que ja mais nunca mig' ouvess' amor,
e non ousava vñir con pavor, 15
e dixi lh' eu: "Ai cabeça de can,
vĩide ja, ca ja vos perdõei,
mais pero nunca vos ja ben quererri"

My boyfriend made me suffer very much
And though he caused me such great suffering
You made me forgive him, friends,
And he got here today and I told him this:
"Come here, 'cause I've already forgiven you,
But I'll never love you ever again."

I forgave him, but no longer with the pleasure
That I might have felt in doing him a favor,
And he wanted to raise his eyes to me,
And I told him, "You eyes of a traitor,
Come here, 'cause I've already forgiven you,
But I'll never love you ever again."

This forgiveness was clearly on the condition
That there would be no more love between us,
And he didn't dare come near me, out of fear,
And I told him, "You dog-brain,
Come here, 'cause I've already forgiven you,
But I'll never love you ever again."

This girl, in direct speech that she quotes to her girlfriends, calls the boy to her (*vĩide ca*) and pardons him (*ja vos perdõei*), but says she will never love him ever again,

–Tell me, daughter, my pretty daughter,
Why did you tarry at the cool fountain?
–(I'm in love!)

–Tell me daughter, my lovely daughter,
Why did you tarry at the fountain's cool?
–(I'm in love!)

The greeting is formulated as a question that rings out with reproach. The mother employs the same formula that the girl in *Caldas 5* (v. 3) uses, *por que tardastes?*—although this phrase, which in both cases insinuates that amorous activities have caused the delay, does not carry the same force when spoken by a mother to her daughter. The daughter understands the accusation and responds:

–Tardei, mha madre, na fontana fria:
cervos do monte a augua volvian.
(Os amores ei.)

Tardei, mha madre, na fria fontana: 10
cervos do monte volvian a augua.
(Os amores ei.)

–I tarried, mother, at the cool fountain,
Stags of the hills were stirring the waters.
(I'm in love!)

I tarried, mother, at the fountain's cool,
Stags of the hills were stirring the waters up.
(I'm in love!)

Her speech, like that of the boy in the song of Fernand' Esquio, is an *epibaterion* doubling as a *defensio*: she protests her innocence, though her account admits the truth at a symbolic level.¹¹

Another exception is to be found in Airas Carpancho 1. Here a girl greets her girlfriend.

Chegades vós, ai amiga, du é meu amigo
e con el falastes, mais eu ben vos digo
que falarei vosco tod' aqeste dia,
pois falastes con quen eu falar queria.

Du é meu amigo ben sei que chegades 5
e con el falastes, mais per mi creades
que falarei vosco tod' aqeste dia,
pois falastes con quen eu falar queria.

Gran ben m' é convosco, muit' ei que vos diga,
pois con el falastes, creades, amiga, 10
que falarei vosco tod' aqeste dia,
pois falastes con quen eu falar queria.

Oh my friend, you've come from where my boyfriend is
And you talked with him, but I'm telling you
I'll talk with you all day long today
Since you talked with the boy I wanted to talk with.

I know it's from where my boy is that you've come
And you talked with him, but you can believe me,
I'll talk with you all day long today
Since you talked with the boy I wanted to talk with.

¹¹ Azevedo Filho, who tries to analyze the world of action, does not bother to mention that this is a greeting. On the stag(s) in Pero Meogo see the discussion and bibliography in Ferreira 2000: 94-105. The refrain must be an aside not heard by the mother (so Reckert, in Reckert and Macedo 1996: 122-23); otherwise it would contradict the girl's defense.

I'm so happy for you, there's a lot to say about that,
Since you talked with him, you can believe it, my friend
I'll talk with you all day long today
Since you talked with the boy I wanted to talk with.

The girl is in her space and evidently cannot get to where the boy is. The girlfriend has just come from there: *chegades ... du é meu amigo* (v. 1; cf. v. 5); and she has talked with him: *con el falastes* (vv. 2, 6, 10). The girl, instead of reacting with jealousy, is happy (*gran ben m' é convosco*; v. 9)—and eager to hear news of her boy—or so the song has been read by Vincenzo Minervini, editor of a monographic edition of Carpancho.

I confess, however, that I am struck by the stress placed on the form *falastes*, which occurs in the body of each strophe and in the refrain, a total of six times in twelve verses. The noun *fala* means something like “amorous conversation and activities” and the verb *falar* is almost always used of speech between girl and boy.¹²

No girl, in requesting news, or asking to get a message through to her boy, says to her girlfriend: **falade con meu amigo*.¹³ And when a girlfriend reports to the girl news of the boy, she avoids any hint of intimacy, sometimes distancing herself from the source of information. Nowhere does a girlfriend tell the girl: **falei con voss' amigo*. As a general rule, no girl wants any other girl to talk with her boy. This would either be proof that she has lost him, as in Afonso Meendiz de Beesteiros 1 (vv. 13-15): *e quando vos eu vi falar / con outra, log' i ben vi eu / ca seu erades, ca non meu* (“and when I saw you talk with another I knew at once that you were hers, not mine”) or reason to renounce him, as in

¹² Talk between boy and girlfriend is mentioned in Baveca 3: *Ai amiga, oje falou comigo / o voss' amigo* (vv. 1-2); *u estava mig' en vos falando* (v. 9); and Pero d' Ornelas 1, vv. 1-4: *Avedes vós, amiga, guisado / de falar vosc' o meu amigo / que ven aqui [...] / por falar vosc'*; between mother and boy in Dinis 10, v. 6: *E u m' estava en vós falando* and Dinis 34, vv. 1-2: *Vi vos, madre, con meu amig' aqui / oje falar* and *fiinda: E pero m' eu da fala non sei ren*; between girl and girlfriend here in Carpancho 1 *falarei vosco*; in Fernan Fernandez Cogominho 3, v. 7: *En quanto falardes migo*; Pero Vivieaz 2, v. 9: *falemos en al*; Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha 4, vv. 2-6: *e vós no vosso / mi falades e non posso / estar sempr' en esto falando / mais queredes falar migo? / falemos no meu amigo*; vv. 8-9: *eno voss' amigo fale / vosco*; vv. 14-15: *que fale vosc' e falades / no voss' amig'*.

¹³ We find *dizede-lhi* several times. In Dinis 45 *punhades de veerdes meu / amigo*.

–Direi vol' eu, poilo non sabedes:

vin atender meu amigo.

–Oh lovely girl, so may you have pleasure!

Whom are you expecting, far from the town?

–I came to wait for my boy.

–Oh lovely girl, so may you be happy!

Whom are you waiting for, far from the town?

–I came to wait for my boy.

–Whom are you expecting, far from the town?

–I will tell you, since you ask me:

I came to wait for my boy.

–Whom are you waiting for, far from the town?

–I will tell you, since you don't know:

I came to wait for my boy.

To interpret this text, it would be useful to know if the first voice is a she or a he. Mercedes Brea and Pilar Lorenzo Gradín argue that it ought to be female, based on a rule in the fragmentary *arte de trovar*, probably a fourteenth century text, which states that the voice that speaks first in a dialogue must be female for the dialogue to qualify as a *cantiga d' amigo*.¹⁶

Stephen Reckert (in Reckert and Macedo 1996: 75) sees a male speaker, and also detects the “deep structure of a *pastorela*,” a male-voiced narrative of an encounter with a *pastor* in a rustic setting. That may be going a bit too far, but the vocative *fremosinha* supports his view that the first speaker is male, because no female—mother, girl or girlfriend—ever employs this word in any of our 500 poems, whereas in a mere dozen texts among the *cantigas d' amigo* with male narrators we find it three times, and each time in the opening verses: Johan Zorro 1, vv. 1-2: *Quen viss' andar fremosinha / com' eu*

¹⁶ “Segundo as normas dadas polo tratadista de B, debería ter identidade feminina” Brea and Gradín 1998: 44.

vi, d' amor coitada; Lourenço 3, vv. 1-2: *Tres moças cantavan d' amor / mui fremosinhas pastores*; Afonso Sanchez 2, v. 1: *Dizia la fremosinha*. Judging by this evidence, the word's use is limited to male speakers, so by employing it, the first persona in the dialogue reveals his gender.

The girl has gone far from the *vila*, and so left the protective space of her mother, family and *amigas*, and has gone to meet her boy. She is thus doubly vulnerable, being both exposed and immobile (Indini suggests she may be “out there” somewhere¹⁷) and so a potential prey to male predators, when someone speaks to her. His greeting begins with an exclamation and a vocative, *ai fremosinha*, praising the girl's appearance. He asks who she is waiting for, so far from town. The phrases *se ben ajades* and *se gradoedes*, which accompany his question, are formulas of politeness designed to predispose the addressee to give a response or accede to the speaker's wishes (Lopo 5, Afonso Eanes do Coton 2, Roi Martiis do Casal 1, Estevan Reimondo 1). The girl seems not to know her interlocutor, and uses no vocative to address him. In refusing him this sign of politeness, she declines to recognize him any more than she must. Now in dialogues, normally, each speaker addresses the other with a vocative at every turn of speech (but see Estevan Coelho 1, v. 13; cf. Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha 3 and Lopo 5). This infringement of social and pragmatic rules can be read as a defensive strategy.¹⁸

But then why does she answer his question? Not, I would argue, to be informative or polite, but to preempt any further advances, verbal or otherwise, as if to say, “No, forget about that: I already have a boyfriend and I'm waiting for him right now.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Indini (1978: 156) says “lungo la strada.”

¹⁸ In the second half of Dinis 16 there is no vocative and we do not know who is speaking, but that voice, which could be the *flores do verde pino*, speaks about the boy, just as does the *papagai* of Dinis' *pastorela*; see Stegagno Picchio 1982: 23-25 and on Dinis 16 cf. Cohen 1987: 50-52).

¹⁹ Reckert (Reckert and Macedo 1996: 72-75) correctly sees no physical intimidation, and the girl does not say “my boy is coming,” but his imminent arrival could serve as an additional deterrent, if any were needed. In Meen Rodriguez Tenreiro 4 a girl describes an encounter with a *cavaleiro* (vv. 1-3): *Quiso m' oj' un cavaleiro dizer, / amigas, ca me queria gran ben, / e defendi lho eu...* and *Falava mig' e quisso me falar / no mui gran ben que m' el diz ca mi quer, / e dixi lh' eu que non era mester / de falar i* (vv. 13-16). In other words, “A cavaleiro tried to talk to me today, but I fended him off. He wanted to speak to me of his love, and I told him not to bother.” Attempts to seduce a girl in a rustic setting are typical of *pastorelas*. In that of Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha (12), the boy begins at once (vv. 7-8): *fremosa poncela, / queredes vós min por entendedor*. Cf. Calheiros 7, v. 1: *Madre, passou per aqui un cavaleiro*; Pero da Ponte 1, v. 1: *Vistes, madr', o escudeiro que m' ouvera levar sigo*; Guilhade 1, v. 9: *preçade sempr' amor de cavaleiro*.

In this light, the stranger's question can be read as a *pre-request*, a term that refers to a preliminary sounding-out such as we might use in inviting someone to do something.²⁰ For instance, in the exchange “Are you busy Friday night?” / “No.” / “Would you like to have dinner?”, the first question is a pre-request, the second the request itself. By asking the girl who she is waiting for, the stranger is checking out the scene to see if he can proceed further. Here it is conversation analysis, rather than speech-act theory, that provides an intention to a question that would otherwise be unmotivated.

The editor of the songs of Bonaval, Indini discerns no action and no complexity, but instead an “extreme simplicity of content,” just a girl waiting for her boy.²¹ Miranda, in a study of the poetic discourse of Bonaval, agrees with Reckert that the song suggests a *pastorela*, but also thinks that the girl's waiting is the only salient feature.²²

What we are witnessing, however, is not her waiting, even though the girl says (and we believe her) that she has come to wait for her boy. What happens onstage is that the stranger greets the girl, tries to begin an amorous conversation, an act of *fala*, with a pre-request, and the girl fends his *fala* off. There is no “Honey,” since she doesn't know him, and not even a “Hello,” since she wants no conversation.

* * *

All the songs we have looked at contain greetings, but each greeting is different. In the *cantiga* of Calheiros the welcome is warm, though it includes a conditioned threat (*non vos vaades, se amor queredes migo*). In the dialogue by Fernand' Esquio, the girl's greeting is accusatory and jealous (*que adubastes ... qual é essa fremosa?*). In the song of Martin de Caldas, she threatens to renounce the boy (*perder vos edes migo poren*) and in Juião Bolseiro's poem she does just that (*por sempre sodes de mi partido*). The girl in the dialogue of Martin de Padrozelos forgives the boy as she greets him (*quero mi vos perdõar*), while in Bolseiro she sends him packing (*ide vos ja ... / e non venhades nunca u*

²⁰ Levinson 1983: 356-64.

²¹ She notes an “estrema semplicità contenutistica” and sees “un unico motivo: la fanciulla si é allontanata dal villaggio per andare incontro all'innamorato.” Indini 1978: 58.

²² Miranda 1985: 123.

eu for). The girl in Guilhade 18 plays with distinctions between kinds of speech-action and registers, opposing forgiveness (*ja vos perdõei*) and renunciation (*nunca vos ja ben querrei*) and calls him a name (*cabeça de can*) that exceeds the rhetorical norms for insults in this genre. In the song of Pero Meogo, a mother greets her daughter with a reproachful *Por que tardastes?* A girl welcomes her girlfriend in the *cantiga* of Airas Carpancho and doesn't mind at all—or does she?—that the girlfriend has talked with her boy. And in the dialogue by Bernal de Bonaval, a stranger tries to strike up some *fala* with a girl *longi da vila*, but she puts him off.

So it is not enough merely to say, in any given case, that the kind of speech-action is a greeting. It matters who speaks to whom, how, in what circumstances and setting, with what intention, to what end, with what tone (and yes, even emotion). As we have seen, greetings are used to welcome (Calheiros 4), to woo (Bonaval 3), to warn (Caldas 5), to reproach (Esquio 4, Meogo 9), to renounce (Bolseiro 6), to forgive (Padrozelos 3) or not to forgive (Baveca 8), and to pardon and renounce at the same time (Guilhade 18). So this kind of speech-action varies considerably, can be inverted, and can perform acts other than, and even opposite to, that of greeting.

To interpret the *cantigas d' amigo* we need to pay attention to form and rhetoric, but we must also find the action, and that will not always be easy. Once we have done our best to identify the main speech-action in every *cantiga*, we can begin to describe the pragmatics of the whole corpus, and then use *that* to reexamine individual poems. In this way, our pragmatics will feed off the interpretation of all texts and then feed the results back into each of them. The result will be a clearer vision of what is going on in these songs.

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