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EARLY ITALIAN-PORTUGUESE LEXICOGRAPHIC TRADITION: EQUIVALENTS AND LOANS IN CAETANO DE LIMA'S DICTIONARY MANUSCRIPTS

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Abstract – The exhaustive comparison between Portuguese and the main modern languages is a late phenomenon. Only at the end of seventeenth century, did Portugal feel the need for a methodical learning of foreign languages and for didactic tools with a marked lexical component, in which we include the essential bilingual dictionaries. Nevertheless, it is in the first half of the eighteenth century that the first glossaries are published, while the first bilingual dictionaries with alphabetical order and an extensive nomenclature will appear only in the second half of the century. In order to overcome this lag, Vernacular-Latin dictionaries were imported and handwritten dictionaries were compiled and adapted according to the needs of each user. Research on the origins of Portuguese-Italian lexicography has provided important information on the development of the techniques used to compile dictionaries and the contrastive analysis of languages.

The first printed dictionary is an addition to Caetano de Lima's *Grammatica Italiana* (1734) and it contains an appendix of hard words (where semantic peculiarities and idiomatic expressions are explained) and an onomasiologic dictionary of common words. It has been described as a basic albeit functional lexicographic tool, suitable for beginners' needs.

Recently, a manuscript version of this dictionary has been identified (*Diccionario de Nomes Portuguezes e Italianos Dispostos por Materias*, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, CXIII-1-33), as well as the manuscript of a larger general dictionary (*Diccionario Italiano-Portuguez*, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cod. 3342). This impressive lexicographic corpus is compiled about fifty years before the first printed Italian-Portuguese dictionary. The analysis demonstrates that the author tried to compile a much wider dictionary than the version that was actually published. In the manuscript, we can identify problems in some areas, such as the definition of lexical domains (due to linguistic and cultural factors), the selection of nomenclature and the possibility of translation.

Keywords: Portuguese-Italian lexicography, Caetano de Lima, manuscript, grammar, dictionary

1. Introduction

The exhaustive comparison between Portuguese and the main modern languages is a late phenomenon. Only at the end of the seventeenth century, did Portugal feel the need for a methodical learning of foreign languages and for didactic tools with a marked lexical component, including some essential bilingual dictionaries. Nevertheless, it was in the first half of the eighteenth century that the first glossaries were published, while the first bilingual dictionaries with an alphabetical order and an extensive nomenclature appeared only in the second half of the century. In order to overcome this lag, Vernacular-Latin dictionaries were imported, and handwritten dictionaries were compiled and adapted to the needs of various users.

^{*} Although the paper results from a joint research of both authors, João Paulo Silvestre has written sections 2 and 4 and Monica Lupetti sections 1 and 3. Section 5 and the conclusion have been written jointly.



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2. Portuguese-Italian dictionary tradition

At the beginning of the 18th century, Portuguese is lacking monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, which cover the modern languages. Portuguese dictionaries and grammars were planned mainly for Latin learners, causing the import of French-Italian dictionaries or the compilation of handwritten phraseologies and glossaries, compiled and adapted to the needs of each user.

The first printed Italian grammars were published quite late, if compared to the French-Portuguese tradition, which goes back to the 17th century:

- Luís Caetano de Lima, Grammatica Italiana, e Arte para Apprender a Lingua Italiana por Meio da Portugueza, na Officina da Congregação do Oratorio, Lisboa, 1734;
- Antonio Michele, *Thesouro da Lingua Italiana*, Off. de João Rodrigues Neves, Lisboa, 1807;
- P. Paolo di G. M. G., Ristretto di Grammatica portoghese ad uso dei Missionari di Propaganda, S. di Propaganda Fide, Roma, 1846;
- Luigi Arcesi di Palermo, *Novo Systema Elementar da Pronuncia da Lingua Italiana*, Typ. Franco-Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1862;
- Victor Felicissimo Francesco Nabantino, Grammatica portoghese ad uso degl'italiani, Viuva J. P. Aillaud, Guillard & C.^a, Parigi, 1869.
- Giovanni Carciatto, *Grammatica da Lingua Italiana para Uso dos Portuguezes e Brasileiros*, Lisboa & C., Lisboa / Tip. Lalemant Fer., Porto, 1880.

The same delay is noticeable in the case of Italian-Portuguese dictionaries and vice versa, considering that the first pocket dictionary appears only in 1889:

- Joaquim José da Costa e Sá, *Diccionario Italiano e Portuguez*, Typografia Regia, Lisboa, 1773-1774;
- Antonio Prefumo, *Diccionario Italiano e Portuguez Extrahido dos Melhores Lexicografos Antigos e Modernos*, Typ. Antonio José da Rocha, Lisboa, 1853;



- Antonio Bordo, *Diccionario Italiano e Portuguez e Portuguez-Italiano*, Typ. Brasiliense de Maximiano Gomes Ribeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1853-1854;
- Raffaele Enrico Raqueni, Levindo Castro de La Fayette, *Novo Diccionario Italiano-Portuguez, Contendo Todos os Vocabulos da Lingua Usual, com a Pronuncia Figurada, e os Nomes Proprios*, Guillard Aillaud e C.^a, Paris-Lisboa, 1889 [pocket dictionary].

3. Italian language and culture in Portugal

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Italian language was not taught in schools and private tutors were rare, although there was a rise of the same cultural phenomena that fostered the spread of the Italian vocabulary in the main modern languages (music, rhetoric and literary theorization). Scholars went to Italy to complete their artistic studies, and the higher religious education was frequently accomplished in Rome.

Up to the beginning of the 18th century, most of the Italian borrowings in the Portuguese language were not the result of direct contacts (there were no wars or migratory cycles involving the two nations). The borrowings were admitted as a result of a process of internationalization and through the medium of the French language (Silvestre 2009: 210-214). Dictionaries did not specify which were the original languages and which were the intermediate languages, and they experienced a natural difficulty in distinguishing etymologically French and Italian due to lexical identity (both for the form and the content), which creates an opposition between the French-Italian group and the Iberian languages.

In the Portuguese dictionary entitled *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino* (Bluteau 1712-1728), the source of words such as SERENATA and OPERA is considered both Italian and French, and French is considered as the spread language.

SERENATA. Ajuntamento nocturno de Musicos no Paço. Deriva-se do Francez *Serenade*, ou do Italiano *Serenata*, que se póde derivar de Sera, porque no Italiano Sera he o principio da noite, e no idioma Italiano, *Serenata* he a Musica, que de noite os galanes fazem na porta de suas damas. (De noite haverà Serenata publica em Palacio. Gazeta de Lisboa, anno 1726. Lisboa 6. de Junho, fol. 184.)

OPERA. Dos Italianos aos Francezes, & dos Francezes a varias nações da Europa, se communicou esta palavra, & hoje he usada nesta Corte, quando se falla nas celebres Comedias, inventadas dos Venezianos, as quaes se recitaõ em tom musical, & se representaõ com deliciosas symphonias, notaveis maquinas, & admiraveis apparencias. No mez de Março do anno de 1672 se representou em Pariz o primeyro Opera, intitulado, Pomona.

For words that have not been adapted from French, the description seems to be different. Consider the following examples:

SALTIMBANCO [acrobat]. He tomado do Italiano Saltaimbanco, que he o charlatão, que nas Cidades de Italia Saltando em qualquer banco, que acha na rua, ou praça, vende varias drogas, unguentos, & medicamentos.

ARRELEQUIM [harlequin] He tomado do Francez, Harlequin, ou do Italiano, Harlequino, nome do bobo, ou gracioso das Comedias Italianas, cujo vestido he composto de remendos de varias cores. No reynado de Henrique III. Rey de França, passou a Pariz huma Companhia de Comediantes Italianos, hum dos quaes, moço, e esperto, frequentava tanto a casa de Monsieur Harlè de Chanvalon, que seus companheiros lhe chamavaõ por alcunha Harlequino, com se



disseramos Harlesinho, ou pequeno Harlè; e depois ficou ao bobo da comedia Italiana o nome de Harlequino. Os Francezes dizem, e escrevem Harlequin. Os moços dos Bolatins, também andaõ vestidos como Harlequins.

CORSO [main street] Corso. Assi chamaõ os Italianos o lugar, em que as pessoas de calidade andaõ passeando nos seus coches. *Rhedarium ambulacrum*, ou *Rhedarum ambulacrum*.

TRAMONTANA [North wind, Tramontana] He palavra usada no mar Mediterraneo, & em Italia, & val o mesmo que vento Norte; chamãolhe Tramontana, porque sopra da parte, que respectivamente a Roma, & Florença fica Tras os montes. Vid. Norte.

In Bluteau's dictionary, the words considered as Italianisms are given a low degree of integration and sometimes they are only used to identify historical and cultural facts concerning Italy.

4. Typological characteristics of the first grammar-dictionary

The author of the first Italian-Portuguese grammar, published in 1734, is the Portuguese Theatine priest Luís Caetano de Lima (1671-1757). The convent of the Theatines in Lisbon was a multicultural place supervised by Italian, Dutch and French clergymen. The Italian language was one of the ordinary communication languages between teachers and students, which were mainly members of the aristocracy. Caetano de Lima, who learned Italian and French, was one of the beneficiaries of such teaching activities.

Caetano became a diplomat and a language teacher abroad, and the composition of the Italian grammar was most likely composed during a diplomatic mission in Rome (1721-1722), at the same time at which the lexicographer was advancing his knowledge of Italian (Bem 1792-1794, p. 36). Caetano is also the author of a French grammar, published in 1710 and revised in 1733.

The Grammatica Italiana, e Arte para Apprender a Lingua Italiana por Meyo da Lingua Portugueza (Lisbon, 1734) aims to serve the receptive as well as the productive needs of language learners (see Reali 1963; Russo 2009; Lupetti 2009). It is a grammar with a topical word-list, designed for Portuguese speakers who want to learn the Italian vocabulary. It includes a "class glossary" – i.e., a specialised dictionary of paradigmatic relationships – entitled "Compendio de varios nomes proprios, e termos particulares de Artes e Ciencias" (pp. 351-407).

The selected nomenclature is rather conservative, clearly based on didactic dictionary models established and crystallized since the 17th century, such as the Jesuit handbook *Indiculus Universalis* (Pomey 1684). Consider the following list of lexical fields defined by the author, reported here with our English translation:

Hemisferio superior Hemisferio inferior Do tempo, e suas partes Mezes

Dias da semana
Festas do Anno
Estaçoens do Anno
Dignidades Ecclesiasticas
Dignidades Seculares
Portos do huma cidado

Partes de huma cidade Partes de hum edificio Upper hemisphere Lower hemisphere Time and his parts Months

Days of the week

Holidays Seasons

Ecclesiastic dignitaries Secular dignitaries Areas of a city Parts of a building



Ornato de huma caza Decorations of a house

Partes do corpo Body parts

Sentidos, qualidades do corpo, e seus Senses, qualities and defects of the body

Adorno de homem Man clothing and Accessories Ornato de mulher Woman clothing and Accessories Gráos de Parentesco Degrees of relationship

Idades, Estados, Condiçõens differentes Age, status, different conditions

Artes liberaes Liberal arts Mechanical work Officios mecanicos

Nomes de Naçoens Nations

Nomes de varios Estados, e suas Cortes, ou Countries, courts, capitals

Cidades Capitaes

Nomes de Cores

Metaes e Mineraes Metals and minerals

Nomes de Aves Birds Animaes quadrupedes Quadrupeds Fish and shellfish Peixes e Mariscos

Nomes de Insectos Insects Nomes de Arvores Trees Nomes de frutas Fruit

Arbustos, ou arvores menores Shrubs or small trees

Ortaliças, e outras Plantas, ou Ervas Vegetables, herbs or other plants

Nomes de legumes Legumes Ovos Eggs

Nomes pertencentes a Uvas, Vinha &c Grapes, vineyards, ect.

Nomes de flores **Flowers**

Termos pertencentes a estudo Terms related to studying

Termos de varios jogos Games Virtudes dos homens Human virtues Vicios dos homens Human vices

Termos pertencentes à medicina Terms belonging to medicine

Termos militares Military terms

Officiaes, postos, e mais praças do exercito Officers, ranks, and other soldiers

Armas e petrechos militares Weapons ad military equipment

Termos de fortificação, expugnação, e Terms related to fortification, siege and defensa defence

Numeros Numbers

Adverbios, e preposiçoens de tempo Adverbs and prepositions of time Adverbios, e preposiçoens de lugares Adverbs and prepositions of place

Adverbios de quantidade Adverbs of quantity Adverbios de qualidade Adverbs of quality

Acçoes de Movimento, e de Descanço Actions showing movement and rest Partes da Igreja, ornamentos, Parts of church, ornaments, sacred vessels

sagrados

Funçoens da Igreja

Functions of church Religioens e Seitas mais conhecidas no Religions and sects

tempo presente

A systematization of the lexical fields shows a quite conservative scheme as regards nouns (see column I, below), and very similar to the model that F. Pomey's dictionaries had spread all over Europe in the Jesuit colleges. The innovative aspects of this wprd-list are the inclusion of a short terminological section (see column II) and a list of adverbial phrases to support the discursive production (see column III).



I. NOUNS

II. TERMINOLOGY

III. LANGUAGE

A. Universe

- a.1. Heavens a.2. Hearth
- a.3. Time

2. game3. medicine4. morality

1. study

- 5. army
- 6. church and religion
- expressions of quantification
 location
 evaluation
- 4. action and movement

B. Man

- b.1. hierarchies
- b.2. city
- b.3. house
- b.4. body
- b.5. arts and crafts
- b.6. political and

administrative divisions

C. Rural world

- c.1. colours
- c.2. minerals
- c.3. animals
- c.4. plants

If we except the last lists, in which multiword expressions are presented as lexical units that must be learned by heart (ex: em outra parte / altrove, a hum lado / ad un canto, a mão direita / alla dritta, a mão esquerda / a man manca (p. 401)), the dictionary gives little information about collocations. The actual confrontation with the lexical diversity of the Italian language and its specific syntax would certainly surprise the Portuguese who used this manual.

5. Confronting the manuscript of the grammar: problems of definition and translation of lexical fields

A manuscript version of this grammar-dictionary has been identified at the Biblioteca Pública de Évora (Portugal) (Rivara, 1869, vol. II: 11). In the library catalogue this version is referred as *Diccionario de Nomes Portuguezes e Italianos Dispostos por Materias* (B.P.E. CXIII -1-33).

The manuscript grammar is an *in-quarto* volume, made up of 12 books of 24 pages, which includes notes for the above mentioned "Compendio de varios nomes proprios, e termos particulares de Artes e Ciencias da gramática italiana". The manuscript includes word lists that are present in the printed grammar, as well as other lists that did not get to be published or finished.

Comparing the two versions, it is possible to see that the number of entries is higher in the manuscript. The comparison between the printed version and the manuscript is not only meaningful for the information it provides about the lexicographic technique, but it is also linguistically relevant since it shows the translating problems experienced by the author.

It happens frequently that a correspondence is lacking, sometimes with non-translated Portuguese entries, sometimes with lists of Italian words without the relative Portuguese entry. It is certainly possible to exclude that the manuscript is a later copy with an increased nomenclature, because in the manuscript there are non-translated words which are translated in the printed version.



The analysis of this document demonstrates that the author tried to compile a much wider dictionary than the one actually printed. Aiming to an actual modernization of the vocabulary, he included words in the nomenclature that traditionally did not appear in the pedagogical textbooks that compared Latin and a vernacular.

In the manuscript, some classic categories of the pedagogical glossaries include a considerably higher number of entries – for example "Partes de uma cidade [Areas of a city]", "Partes de uma casa [Parts of a house]". This accounts for the fact that the author did not look just for nouns with Latin correspondences.

Similarly, this can explain how Caetano tried to compile original lexical domains where the impossibility to communicate with Latin was more pronounced. Examples can be found in core vocabulary lists such as housework, kitchen tools, beverages, cakes or seasoning.

5.1. A comparison of terminological nomenclatures: the musical instrument list

The manuscript includes a list of musical instruments, which is actually more various than announced in the title, as it takes into account both instruments and the terminology related to musical technique.

Caetano de Lima lives in an age when Portuguese scholars are given the possibility to attend Italian music schools and the performance of Italian plays is more frequent in Portugal. Consequently, Italian musical terminology is a socially valued field whose knowledge and decoding were desirable.

The dictionary seems to offer solutions both for coding and for decoding, showing that it was intended as a guide to support language learning, elaborated according to individual needs, and not under a method of teaching. This increases the value of this metalinguistic document. The author probably worked with two nomenclatures: a Portuguese one (inspired to existent lists in thematic dictionaries or based on empirical description of different domains) and an Italian one, partly gathered from Italian dictionaries and which it not always possible to translate into Portuguese. The analysis of the manuscript word list concerning music is revealing: in total there are 146 Portuguese entries, but in 38 of them a correspondence with Italian is lacking. In addition, there are two lists of thematically grouped Italian words, which do not have a Portuguese correspondent, as in the following examples (where "..." means lack of translation, and Italian is transcribed in italic):

Alfa - ...
Longa - ...
Simifuza - ...
Respiração - il sospiro
Simi respiração - ...
Gargantiador - ...
Solfiador - solfeggiatore
Baixo - basso
Contrabaixo - ...

Tempos - tempi
tempo perfeito - ...
tempo perfeito de permeyo - tempo a capella
tempo imperfeito - tempo ordinario
tempo imperfeito de permeyo - ...



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temperar - ...
Tanger, doce. Aspero - Sonare. Dolce. Aspro
— brando. Forte. - Piano. Forte.
... - Pianissimo.
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Taking the target language into account, there are word lists which create terminological sub-domains and which are not translated into Portuguese. Caetano writes down the title for a list of "Modos de cantar, *Modi di cantare* [how to sing]" but there is no Portuguese equivalent. But the way the Italian list is presented reveals that he consulted an Italian dictionary with a thematically organized word list.

Modos de cantar - Modi di cantare

- ... Cantare licio.
- ... Cantare variato.
- ... Cantare sostenuto.
- ... Cantare paseggiato.
- ... Cantare granito.
- ... Cantare bene.
- ... Cantare male.
- ... Cantare di buon gusto.
- ... Cantare mediocre.

The list of non-translated Italian nouns shows the incipient state of the metalinguistic comparison, but also the lack of confidence about the use of Italian loans in Portuguese. Some years later, we can find these names of instruments already defined or translated in an Italian-Portuguese dictionary (Sá, 1773-1774).

Examples of non-translated Italian words in the manuscript

Fagotto Basso Chiarino Basso di viola

Lira

Cornetto Zampogna Cornamusa

Cinfonia

Translations in a later Italian-Portuguese dictionary (Sá 1773-1774)

Fagotto - fagote Basso - baixo, rabecão Chiarino - clarim Basso di viola - rabecão Lira - lira, viola

Cornetto - buzina, corneta Zampogna - gaita de folle

Cornamusa - instrumento de musica pastoril

Cinfonia - concerto

Portuguese-Italian equivalences in the manuscript

bandura - il mandolino
viola - la ghitarra
machino - il ghitarrino
rabeca - il violino
violeta - la viola
rabeca com cordas - la viola d'amore
— de arame e das outras - ...
rabiquim - ...
Rabecão - il violone. violoncello.
— de quatro - ...
Rabecão de 6 - ...
Rabecão grande - il contrabasso

Equivalences in Italian-Portuguese dictionary (Sá 1773-1774)

Contrabbasso = Contrabaixo, rabecão Violino = violino, rebeca Chitarra = guitarra, Mandolino = mandolino Viola d'amore = viola de amore

The manuscript also demonstrates that when the equivalence was established very early, these Italian words tended to replace the Portuguese word a few years later. The growing influence of Italian language on Portuguese musical terminology emerged just after the publication of the grammar, and the lexical lists produced by Caetano de Lima reveal a group of words that were gradually replaced by Italian designations. In Sá's Italian-Portuguese dictionary published some years later (1773-1774) we find evidences of the borrowing process of words such as: it. *contrabasso* / pt. contrabaixo, it. *violoncello* / pt. violoncelo (replacing pt. *rabecão*), it. *violino* / pt. violino (replacing *rabeca*), it. *mandolino* /pt. Mandolino.

The divergence in terminology that occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century in this as well as in other specialized lexical fields, may explain why the dictionary was left incomplete.

6. The manuscript Diccionario Italiano-Portuguez: approaching the standard bilingual lexicography?

The *Diccionario Italiano-Portuguez* is a manuscript of a bilingual dictionary, restricted to a simple display of equivalents, without any other encyclopaedic information or literary authentication. In the codex BNP 3342 it occupies the folios from 183 to 233 (36 cm.). The text, in small handwriting, is arranged in three columns.

The manuscript represents a version of an unfinished dictionary, but the extant material reveals Caetano de Lima's skills in contrastive linguistic analysis. This is a further comparative element that demonstrates that Caetano was working to the amendment of his little grammar. The manuscript is the synthesis of a wide-ranging lexical research, of which he only exploited the most essential and certain data.

The lexicographic technique employed by Caetano de Lima for this stage of his compilation consisted of arranging in columns the sequences of the alphabet (up to the second letter), and copying for each section the entries collected in dictionary sources, albeit without a definitive ordering.

The significance of this manuscript lies in the fact that this first selection of the nomenclature represented the choice of a core vocabulary for language learning. We find the translation into Portuguese of this first list of words which, generally speaking, are neither cognate nor calques deriving from French or Castillan loans.



For this reason there is a choice of words on whose meaning or etymology Portuguese departs from Italian. This justifies their recording in a dictionary and their translation or definition. See the following examples (BNP, cod. 3342, fl. 207):

Inquieto v. Mexilhaõ inarenato v. parado indice v. pauta interrogazione v. pergunta Investigare v. pesquiza Infiamazione v. queimaçao. Intorno v. redor Inaffiare v. regado Inculcare v. repizar Intenzione v. Tençaõ Intercedere interporre v. Terzar Intopare v. Topar et Tropeçar Intornidore v. Torneiro Inundare v. Tresbordar

The manuscript suggests an intention to provide a substantive increase of the dictionary size. After this first selection, Caetano de Lima widened the nomenclature, probably through comparison with Italian dictionaries. The blank spaces were filled, adding lexical units of more transparent interpretation, inasmuch as they are formations marked by a movement of lexical relatinization that was common to Italian, French and Castillan, where the corresponding term is a calque with the necessary morphological adaptations. Some examples are the following (BNP, cod. 3342, fl. 207):

inacessibile, inavertenza inaugurazione, inca, instanca[bile] incendio, incensare, incerto, incestuoso, incidente, incirconciso, incisione, incitato, inclemenza, inclinazione incomodare, incomparabile, incompetenza incomprensibile, incongruente, inconsolabile, inconsutile, incoreggibile

We ignore whether this manuscript was ever copied. In a new version, the nomenclature would present a more correct ordering, the glosses would be filled and there would be more room for each alphabetical sequence. Nevertheless, the already collected material on the one hand exceeded the size of a pedagogical dictionary and, on the other hand, was far from the quantity of information required for a general dictionary similar to the Italian-French or Italian-Castillan bilingual dictionaries circulating at the beginning of the 18th century.

7. Conclusions

The translation problems identified in the manuscript confirm that the modern cross-linguistic comparison between Portuguese and contemporary languages was just emerging. This comparison had been delayed by the bilingual lexicographic tradition based almost exclusively on Portuguese and Latin. The Italian language was quickly developing in Portugal, but lexicographers could not take advantage of a lexicographic tradition that could mediate the intercommunication between Portuguese and the other modern languages.



The set of dictionaries and grammars composed by Caetano de Lima responds to a lack of support tools when the teaching of languages and the activity of translation takes a new route, bringing contemporary texts into the Portuguese language, within a wide range of literary production and scientific and technical information that gave value to an actualized practical utility. In these glossaries, the lacks of correspondence in the language of destination, the use of calques, and orthographic uncertainty are clues that testify the lexical availability of the Portuguese language in the first half of the 18th century.

The manuscript reveals the status of some Italian words that were considered foreignisms by the time Luís Caetano de Lima composed his grammar-dictionary, and few years later were included into dictionaries as perfectly integrated borrowings. From the standpoint of lexicographic description, specific lexical fields are completed in the second half of the century, relying on the dominance of Italian terminology among the Romance languages (Silvestre, 2012).

In any case, the date of publication of the first grammar-dictionary, that took place only in 1734, seems to underestimate the actual interest of the Portuguese cultural elite for the Italian language, and does not match the effective and early use of some Italian borrowings in specific domains, such as architecture, music and literary theorization.



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