

# *Contador de Argote: A dialectologist / sociolinguist avant la lettre?*

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## **Abstract:**

Although our early grammarians acknowledge the existence of different ways of speaking the Portuguese language, it seems to be Contador d'Argote the first to employ dialect and slang (about Portuguese varieties) words in a grammatical work. This occurred in the second impression of its *Rules of the Portuguese language*, to which he added informations to the first impression, necessities “for Portuguese idioms comprehension”, and the fourth part “for the most polite teaching and the noble people”. This part consists of a dialogue between **M**(aster) and **D**(iscipule), which begins with: “**M**. What does Dialect mean? Following this, the author begins to identify the main “castes of dialects”: *local dialects*, *of time* and *profession*. More than naming them, he points out their differences, characterizing them, to end the exhibition by speaking of the *Rustic Dialect* and the *Overseas Dialects*. In the latter (from *India*, *Branil*, &c), he points out that there are “many terms from Barbarian languages and many words from ancient Portuguese”. And, as a close to the “sociolinguistic lesson”, he speaks about *another genre of Dialect, which they call Giria* (slang) that, in Lisbon, men “what they call eventually workers... which sometimes they employ among themselves” and also of another *Giria*, that of the “Gypsies”.

## **Keywords:**

Contador de Argote. Dialects. Slang.

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# Contador de Argote: A dialectologist / sociolinguist *avant la lettre*?<sup>1, 2</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

An introduction to Contador de Argote,<sup>3</sup> which usually is not mentioned in Portuguese dialectology and sociolinguistic papers, can be justified by the fact that he depicts, in a very clear manner, about concepts — *dialecto* and *gíria*<sup>4</sup> — that are only going to become common in our Linguistics courses in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Aside from being a stranger in our field, he was not even one of the most prestigious grammarians of his time. The reason for that? Some hypotheses can be

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<sup>1</sup> The first version of this paper was presented, as a paper, in the *V CIDS – International Congress of Dialectology and Sociolinguistics*. Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> A note on the translation: the reader may find that *not all* the quotations in this paper were translated to English. The quotations that are not translated are explained inside the text. The parameters used to translate this paper were: for short quotations that are not explained in the text, a footnote containing the translation is present, and the same thing happens for specific terms used here referencing the ones from the original texts that were consulted; with the longer quotations, what is not explained in the text is summarized in footnotes.

<sup>3</sup> After the presentation, I have found on the internet the paper of Leite (2011). More recently, I came across Kemmler (2013), where details on the first printing, from 1721, can be found, and Marques (2017), among others. Those studies address the history of linguistics ideias (Linguistics historiography).

<sup>4</sup> In English, *dialect* and *slang*.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank the referee that pointed out the references I did not include. Due to the current quarantine imposed by the COVID-19, it is not possible for me to check the *História da Língua Portuguesa*, written by Serafim da Silva Neto (that I believe to be the pointed-out reference) in the college library, so I am going to transcribe the text written by the referee so that the references are registered: “Although I agree with the affirmation ‘Contador de Argote usually is not quoted in Portuguese Dialectology and Sociolinguistics papers’, besides the references from page 1, I missed:

a) SILVA NETO, S. (1979, p. 561-564). The first edition is from 1957. In this passage, Silva Neto quotes Jerônimo Contador de Argote’s ‘*Regras*’, comments on them and considers that, in there, there is ‘um razoável panorama da língua portuguesa’” (SILVA NETO, p. 561) (“a reasonable overview of the Portuguese language”).

b) CARDOSO, S. Sociedade pluridialetoal. Variação e ensino da língua materna. In: MENDES, Edleise; CASTRO, Maria L. S. (Orgs.). **Saberes em português: ensino e formação docente**. Campinas: Pontes Editores, 2008, p. 11-25. In this text, Cardoso references a previous lecture, from 1995, published in *Anais do I Seminário de Linguística e Língua Portuguesa*. Goiânia: Universidade Federal de Goiás, 1995".

I would like to point out that I did not know about the work mentioned in b), which I will look forward to acquiring it and using it on another occasion.

suggested, such as (i) the lack of patrons to sponsor posterior editions, (ii) the lack of comprehension by the pairs, who were more interested in orthographic rules and in prizing teaching norms and, (iii) for it to happen, the rising of grammars that were more focused on the correct use of the language, that ended up having more acceptance (suffice to see the variety of compendiums, as it happens a few decades later, like the one of Lobato,<sup>6</sup> with dozens of editions and further additions).

Although the existence of different ways of speaking the language can be referenced since the very first Portuguese grammarians, just like the contemporary speakers to the authors knew how to recognize, linguistically speaking, the person's place of origin, Contador d'Argote seems to be, if I am not mistaken, **the first** to use the words **dialeto** e **gíria** in grammar, in order to **name varieties of the Portuguese language**. That occurred in the second printing (1725) of his *Regras da lingua portugueza*, in which he added some information in some of the chapters of the first three parts of the first printing (1721),<sup>7</sup> needed “para a intelligencia dos Jdiotismos da Lingua Portugueza”,<sup>8</sup> e a quarta parte “para o ensino mais polido, e para a gente nobre”.<sup>9</sup>

Now, let's see how, half a century before Argote, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century author, João Franco Barreto (\*1600-†1674), in his *Ortographia da língua portugueza*, describes the dialectical differences (clearly without calling them by this name) of the Portuguese spoken in his time:

He eſta letra a. fatal para os de entre Douro, & //72// Minho, & Beyrões, ſiguindofelhe outro a. porque nã os pódem pronunciar ambos ã detras do outro, fẽ lhes meter de permeyo ã y, & affy havendo de dizer, **a agua, a alma**, infalivelmente hã de dizer **ay agua, ay alma**. Mãs **o meſmo vicio** tẽ [ſegundo Frey Regnialdo Acceto, ã o tefouro de ſua língua] algumas terras de Italia, como as do Brexiano, & Ariano do Rĩ, que por dizerem aqua, pane, cazo, barca, dizem, ayqua, payne, cayfo, bayrca, &c. (BARRETO, 1671, p. 72-73; bold added).<sup>10</sup>

Barreto makes a very wise remark while analyzing the relationship between pronunciation and writing, regarding the vowel /e/, describing his articulation:

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<sup>6</sup> See Assunção's (2000) study, regarding this author's grammar, that did not cease to be renewed and broadened, even long after his death.

<sup>7</sup> The 1721 edition was published under the pseudonymous of Caetano Maldona da Gama.

<sup>8</sup> The understanding of the idiotisms of the Portuguese Language.

<sup>9</sup> To most refined study and for the noble people.

<sup>10</sup> In here, the author describes how the people from Entre Douro e Minho, at that time, used to insert a **y** between the article **a** and the letter **a** of the beginning of the next word, as he shows in the examples.

*Do E.* E Segunda vogal he letra fimplez, & a mays viſinha, & ſemelhante na pronunciação ao a, que nenhuma das outras vogaes; porque havendoſe de pronunciar e, & continuandoſe a voz, ſe algũ tanto abrimos mays a boca, o ſeu fõ ſe converte **ẽ a**. E aſi **tẽ** melhor fõ que as outras vogaes, excepto o o, porque nã ſe formata tã prontamente ſeu eſpirito dos beyços, como o fõ do a.

Cuydam algũs que he de duas maneyras, porque aſi como dicemos do a, o pronunciamos ora longo, ora breve; como neſta palavra beſta; que tomandofe polo animal, tẽ o e breve; & tomandofe pola arma tẽ o e, longo, & ſe eſcreverá cõ acento agudo **ẽci- //75// ma.**<sup>[11]</sup> **Porẽ na pronunciaça deſta letra nã diſcrepamos dos Latinos, ſegundo o uſo de agora, porque do antigo nã podemos fazer reſoluto juifo, nã ſendo certos de como pronunciavam os eſcritos, os meſmos falladores delles** (BARRETO, 1671, p. 74-75, bold added).<sup>12</sup>

His reflection about how these words were — and if they could have been — pronounced by speakers of a different time can perfectly contemporary to us, when we work with written sources (before the existence of voice recorders) and we have (or want) to decide if what is written reflects, in some way, what would have been produced orally by the speakers of that language variety.

Barreto also references certain linguistic habits of the “vulgo circunviſinho”<sup>13</sup> from Lisbon:

õe

15. He da natureza do ditongo ãe: nelle devem de acabar todos os pluraes dos nomes, que nós acabamos **ẽ ã**, & os Caſtelhanos **ẽ on**, porque eſtas duas línguas, como originadas da Latina, faõ analogicas; & aſſi de coraçã, cordã, opiniã, roupã, quinhã, fermã, //105// que elles dizem coraçõ, cordon, opinion, ropon, quinhon, fermon, diremos corações, cordões, opiniões, roupoẽs, quinhões, fermões: & aſſi diremos calções, toſtões, porquanto elles dizem calçones, toſtones, **& nã calçães, toſtães, como o vulgo circunviſinho de Lisboa coſtuma, & o que ãode acabar ẽ aães, acabam ẽ oães, como Capitoẽs, Alemoẽs, ẽ vez de Capitaães, Alemaães,& ſemelhantes** (BARRETO, 1671, p. 104-105, bold added).

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<sup>11</sup> The etymological writing of **besta** (a weapon that shoots arrows) was **beesta** < **balesta** (with syncope of the intervocalic [l] and perfect regressive assimilation of the [e] over the [a]), just like it was written: **geeral** < **general**.

After that, there was the crasis of the **–ee–**, resulting in the open vowel (or long, as Franco Barreto names it) that, during some time, was marked by an acute accent: **bésta**.

<sup>12</sup> The author describes the pronunciation of the letter **e**, comparing it to the letter **a**, to which it has more resemblance, and to the letter **o**. He also remarks that it is not possible to be sure how the Latin speakers would pronounce these sounds.

<sup>13</sup> The people that lived around Lisbon, or what we would call today the Metropolitan Region of Lisbon.

Notice that **nós** (we) must refer to the Portuguese people, especially the ones from Lisbon. These people form the plural of the words ended in *-ão* in *-ões*, by analogy to what happens in Spanish, in which the plural of *-on* (= to the Portuguese *-ão* that, at the time, could have been pronounced *-ã*, as Barreto points out) is *-ones*. And the people — *vulgo* — that does not come from Lisbon had the habit of producing the plural *-ães*. Reversely, when they should produce *-ães*, they would produce *-ões*, as in *capitões*, *alemões*.

Barreto references again the inhabitants of the region of Entre Douro e Minho, regarding the shifts between **b** and **v**, stating that **b** “Tẽ muyta afinidade cõ o v confoante, a que os noffos ortografos modernos chama ve”.<sup>14</sup>

E affi muytos Portuguezes de entre Douro & Minho,nã advertindo o que vay de uma a outra, **as trocam ã a pronunciaçã; especialmente os que ficam mays chegados a Galiza, de tal maneyra, que a vento chamam bento, & em lugar de Bento dizem vento**; por vos,voffo; bos,boffo: por vida, bida; & quali todos os nomes, ã que há v, confoante, mudam o v ã b. & como lê o fizessẽ, por o fazer ás aveffas, o que nós pronunciamos per b, pronunciam eles per v de forte que tambẽ as letras,como nas partes da oraçã, & seus atributos ha Enaloge (*sic*) (BARRETO, 1671, p. 114; bold added).<sup>15</sup>

Again, we see a negative judgment attributed to this **nós** (= the ones that speak correctly), opposing the **pronunciation** of the other region, which should have been a very stressed marker, since many authors refer to it, even more with the addition of the geographical detail masking the discrimination: “mays chegados a Galiza”. The Galicians were already a laughing stock in Gil Vicent’s plays, either for having lower jobs in Lisbon (*e.g.* carrier of water or less noble things) or by their pronunciation that would reveal their origins to the listener.

Therefore, although he has made observations about pronunciation facts of regional and social varieties half a decade before Argote, Barreto did not use the term *dialecto*, in any moment, to referrer to Portuguese varieties. However, let us see what he writes in a reflection about the prescription of the use of doubled letters, in Portuguese, by other orthographers:

polo que confeço que nã poffo lintir effa mufica oculta & dilicada,que nas letras confideram alguns Ortografos noffos; linto fomite o do tambor,& da trôbeta, como elles dizem, nã o instrumento de cordas: porque ainda que alguns vocabulos, que dos Gregos ou Latinos tomamos, dobram acerca delles algumas confoantes, como noffas

<sup>14</sup> “Has a lot of similarity with the consonant **v**, to which our current orthographers call *ve*”.

<sup>15</sup> The author associates this change of **b** and **v** as characteristics of people from Entre Douro e Minho, especially those close to Galiza, and gives examples.

orelhas não compreendem a diferença, que vay das lingellas ás dobradas, não fomos (*sic*) obrigados a conservar a analogia deffes taes vocabulos, que **cada idioma tẽ** sua ortografia & **dialetos proprios** (BARRETO, 1671, 183; bold added).

It seems, then, that the denomination of *dialeto* for a variety of a language is not unknown to Barreto; however, he is only going to use this word as a more broad reference: “que [=pois] cada idioma tem sua ortografia e dialetos próprios”.<sup>16</sup> This could, nevertheless, include Portuguese, but this specification does not exist, from his point of view, regarding the native language.

### SOME RECOGNITION OF THE ARGOTE’S *OEUVRE*

The lack of diffusion of the Contador de Argote’s *oeuvre* could have presented a delay on the concepts of variation and change, in Portugal as much as in Brazil: we had to wait for a Frenchman to “create” the linguistic geography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for the concept of **dialeto**, used for referencing the spatial variation (extended, later, to time, social and stylistics), to enter in the academic preoccupations of both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>17</sup>

Proof of that is the mention made to Contador de Argote by Leite de Vasconcelos in his *Estudos de filologia mirandesa* (1900), and later in his doctoral thesis *Esquisse d’une dialectologie portugaise*, presented in the Université de Paris in 1901 (with a posthumous second edition, organized by Adelaide Valle Cintra in 1970, based on the personal copy and counting with the addition of his notes to it).

In *Estudos*, Leite de Vasconcellos (1900, p. 26) refers Contador d’Argote, quoting him about the Mirandês:

M – E há mais dialectos locais?

D – Ha alguns lugares de Tras os Montes, e Minho, nas rayas de Portugal, que são muito bárbaros, e quase que se não podem chamar português, mas só os usa a gente rustica d’aquelles lugares’.

Parece que Contador de Argote teria noticia do mirandês, e acaso dos outros idiomas raianos, como o riodonorês e o guadramilês, mas nem os nomes chega a mencionar.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> “Each language has its own orthography and dialects”.

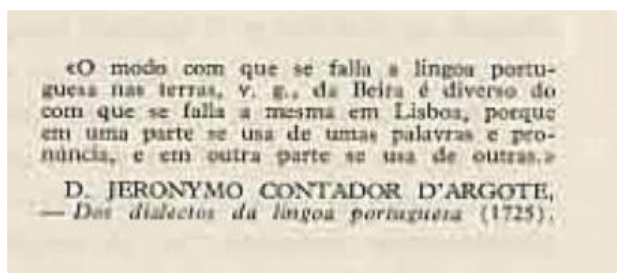
<sup>17</sup> It is important to remember that, in 1920, Amadeu Amaral — that was not even a philologist, nor linguist, but a journalist — published his *Dialecto Caipira*, a groundbreaking book in terms of approaching regional and social variation of the Brazilian Portuguese. After this publication, in 1922 the *Linguajar Carioca* came up by Antenor Nascentes, who, despite being a linguist, did not dare to call the *carioca* a dialect...

<sup>18</sup> “It seems that Contador de Argote knew about the Mirandês, and about other Raiano languages as the Riodonorês and the Guadramilês, but he does not even mention its names”.

Note: In this paper, all the transcriptions follow strictly what is present in the originals consulted. In this case, we have words written differently from those in Argote’s *Regras* (that is later transcribed), but here the spelling used by Leite de Vasconcelos was respected.

Notice that, although he mentions Contador de Argote, who uses the word *dialecto*, Leite de Vasconcellos avoids using this designation, immediately qualifying the Mirandês speaking and referencing the other varieties spoken as **idiomas**<sup>19</sup> (Riodonorês e Guadramilês). However, in his first paper about the Mirandês, in 1882, he named it *Dialecto mirandês*, published in Porto, using his first observations from his field research. In many other works (his and from others that approached the subject) there seems to have uncertainty in qualifying **Mirandês** as a Portuguese dialect or an autonomous language (or “*idiomas*”, as in the quotation above).

In the epigraph of *Esquise*, Leite de Vasconcelos (1970, p. 4, inside) quotes an excerpt from Contador de Argote:



“O modo com que se fala a lingua portuguesa, v.g. da Beira é diverso do com que se fala a mesma em Lisboa, porque em uma parte se usa de umas palavras e pronuncia, e em outra parte se usa de outras.”<sup>20</sup>

D. JERONYMO CONTADOR D'ARGOTE  
-- Dos dialectos da lingua portuguesa (1725).<sup>21</sup>

However, almost three decades later, he gave the primacy of the classification of the Portuguese dialects to Contador de Argote:

#### GIRIA PORTUGUESA I -- Lembranças curiosas

O artigo do S.<sup>or</sup> C. A. Landolt, publicado á pag. 54-55 da *Revista do Minho*, sugeriu-me as seguintes notas.

Com raro senso crítico, o P.<sup>e</sup> D. Jerónimo Contador de Argote, nas *Regras da Língua portuguesa* (conheço só a 2.<sup>a</sup> ed., que é de 1725, Lisboa: a 1.<sup>a</sup> ed. é de 1721) enumera, e até certo ponto caracteriza, pela primeira vez de modo tão extenso, creio eu, alguns dialectos portugueses (1);<sup>22</sup> ao lado dos dialectos pròpriamente ditos coloca a *giria*, e diz:

<sup>19</sup> “Languages”.

<sup>20</sup> In this section, the author states that there is a difference in the way of speaking the Portuguese language in different places of Portugal, regarding pronunciation and lexicon.

<sup>21</sup> See note 4.

<sup>22</sup> The author creates footnotes for references that are not transcribed here. The bold is from the original. The slashes are used to indicate a new line because the words listed by Monte Carmelo (50 in total) and its meaning are giving by Leite de Vasconcelos in a list, each one using a separated line, as entries in a dictionary. However, while consulting the *Vocabulário português e latino...*, I noticed that the words attributed to Monte Carmelo by Leite de Vasconcelos are practically the same as the ones in Bluteau (Vol. IV, 1713, p. 75).

‘Tambem em Lisboa, entre os homens a que chamão *de ganbar*, ha um gênero de dialecto a que chamão *gíria*, de que os taes usão algumas vezes entre si. E assim também os *Siganos* tem outra espécie de *gíria*, por que se entendem huns e outros’ (2). Argote infelizmente não menciona vocábulo algum; encarregou-se porém dessa tarefa Fr. Luís do Monte Carmelo no seu precioso Compendio de orthografia, Lisboa 1767. Dêle transcrevo o que traz:

‘Gíria ou *gira* he linguagem de marotos ou brejeiros. Os mais conhecidos termos da *gira* ou *gíria* são os seguintes: [...] **baiuca** he taberna. / **baiuqueira** he taberneira. [...] **calmar** he espancar ou dar pancadas. [...] **dez bofas** sam dez reis [...] **ganchorra** he mão [...] **safar** he sumir ou furtar (VASCONCELLOS, 1929, p. 585).

The term *gíria* should already be, therefore, incorporated among the linguistic notations with the variant *gira*, once Bluteau (\*1638-†1734) has registered it in his dictionary of the Portuguese, published in 1789.<sup>23</sup> Notice what is his definition for *gira* and *gíria*:

**GIRA**, f. f. linguagem dos garotos, figanos, e ladrões pela qual elles fe entendem, ufando de termos inventados, ou dando novo fentido aos ufuaes. [...]

**GIRIA** f.f. v. *gira*. § Circumlocução affectada. (BLUTEAU, 1789, p. 660).

As can be seen, both terms attributed a negative value to its use by socially marked groups: boys,<sup>24</sup> gypsies and thieves. The knowledge of the process of slang

<sup>23</sup> Rafael Bluteau wrote the *Vocabulário Português e Latino*, edited in 12 volumes in 1712. It was, later, “reformado, e acrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva, natural do Rio de Janeiro” as written in the 1789 cover. Because of that, although (due to the rarity of the work) the reference to Bluteau is usually to this reformed edition, a lot of entries could have been added, as states Moraes e Silva, in the prologue:

“[...] I joined this work with the help of Bluteau writings, that, many times, lacked entries and phrases; and very often would expatiate pointlessly, going off-topic, which is what makes his work so extensive.

This last repair excited me to choose everything he explained about Portuguese, keeping only Mythology, Old History, and Geography terms, just like in the best living language dictionaries. [...] Of what I could gather in my reading, I filled the blanks; and he who may have read Bluteau, and decides to compare both works, will discover that is not little what I did; and more I could have done, if my situation did not force me to engage in other more productive works. However, I will not sell to the public that I did a huge work. It is enough to know that I saved them from the price of buying 10 rare volumes; and that I gave what was best in them, and improved, and for a tenth of the original price, with the good side of not having to revolve so many books; and that is something, while nothing better comes along (BLUTEAU, 1789, p. vii-viii).

<sup>24</sup> Although he references “garotos”, in Bluteau there is not entry for this word: in p. 653, where it should be, there is nothing. Was it an exchange of **garotos** for **marotos**? The definition of the *Diccionario* is: “**MAROTO**, f. m. moço plebeo mal composto, e descortez. [...] § Ufa-fe adj. v.g., *andar á marota*, i. e. ao modo dos marotos.” (i.e., “a plebian, shabby, and rude boy [...] § Used as adj., e.g., *andar a maroto*, i.e., behave like a *maroto*.”)

This entry referring the feminine form has a much more eloquent meaning, regarding its negative meaning: “**MAROTA**, f. f. mulher vil, meretriz” (i.e., “vile woman, prostitute”) (BLUTEAU, Tomo II, 1789, p.60; bold and italic as in the original). Houaiss dates **garoto** from 1813; after Bluteau’s dictionary, reframed by Moraes e Silva (see the note above). **Maroto** dates to 1665, in Houaiss. (HOUAISS, p. 955 e 1250, respectively). I have consulted, later, the *Vocabulário*, by Bluteau (1712-1728), and the entry **garoto** is not there. Therefore, it can be deducted that it was an introduction by Moraes e Silva, once in his *Dicionário de língua portuguesa* (1813), there is the entry **garoto**, as mentioned by Romano & Seabra (2014).



formation can also be noticed: (i) invention, pure and simple, of a new term or (ii) attribution of a different meaning to a pre-existing term in the language.

Leite de Vasconcelos recognized the work of Argote as a pioneer one, not only for treating the “*dialetos propriamente ditos*” (*i.e.*, in its spatial sense), but for classifying slang as a dialect; for us, nowadays, slang is a social dialect. In the time of Argote, the workers — handymen — would be the ones to use it within their groups, besides having a different slang, the Gypsies’, with which they understood each other. Both of these groups were not very reputable. This way of thinking is also referred by Leite de Vasconcelos when (as he was a field researcher), regretting the fact that Argote did not give word examples, mentions Monte Carmelo, an author who not only presents the *gíria* ou *gira* as “language of *marotos* and *brejeiros*”, but also provides a list of examples.

## THE *DIALECTOS*, BY ARGOTE

In the introduction of the second **printing** (the term edition was not yet used) of his *Regras*, Contador de Argote names the new features presented on it, which would justify this new printing:

Ultimamente advirto que os Capitulos, que nesta<sup>[25]</sup> segunda impreffaõ vão accrecentados, que faõ muyta parte do quinto, e todo o fexto da terceyra parte, moítrou a experiencia que eraõ precisos para a intelligencia dos Idiotifmos da lingua Portugueza, e a quarta parte para o enfino mais polido, e para a gente nobre; como também o tratadinho<sup>[26]</sup> da Orthografia, que vay no fim<sup>[27]</sup> (ARGOTE, *Introduçam*, última página).

It is interesting to notice the author’s concern in justifying the new part introduced “para um ensino mais polido, e para a gente nobre”. A concern with the more refined formation, more *política*,<sup>28</sup> as it used to be said, to reference aspects from *polícia*, *i.e.*, from good manners [=politeness] in society? Notice that the target audience was “noble people”. It is fairly common to find references, in this time, to grammars destined to madams, to gentlemen or nobles: but do not even think that they would

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<sup>25</sup> The character **f** corresponds to what we call **esse longo (long s)** (that in the printed text is more evident when in italic: *f*), initially used in medieval manuscripts, still appears in the printing press up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It would occur only in the onset position of all syllables and coda of initial and medial syllables, never in coda of final syllable: in this last case, it is always the common S. In the absolute beginning of a sentence, it is always **S**; there is no special character.

<sup>26</sup> The *tratadinho* (in English, small treaty), as he calls it, goes from page 341 to 356.

<sup>27</sup> The author explains the new features of this second edition, as some important additions, in his opinion, that are meant to help the understanding of the specificities of the Portuguese language.

<sup>28</sup> Polite.

bring different considerations or approaches, based on different audiences. It was merely grammatical summaries, a type of *vademecum*, used only for clarifications. They were much reduced, possibly caused by the high cost of the printings of a larger book; with fewer pages, they would circulate and sell more, evidently.

This fourth part starts in the first chapter, “*Dos dialectos da lingua portuguesa*” (p. 291-292), with explanation, under the form of dialogues, between **M**(estre) and **D**(iscípulo).<sup>29</sup> The first chunk of question-answers (01) is used to define what a dialect is, identifying the Portuguese dialects (“Dizey exemplo”):

(01) **MESTRE**. Que quer dizer Dialecto?

**D.** Quer dizer modo de fallar.

**M.** Que coufa he Dialecto?

**D.** He o modo diverfo de fallar a mesma língua.

**M.** Dizey exemplo.

**D.** O modo, com que se falla a lingua Portugueza nas terras v.g. da Beyra, he diverfo do com que se fala a mef- //292// ma lingua Portugueza em Lisboa porque em huma parte se ufa de humas palavras, e pronuncia, e em outra parte se ufa de outras palavras, e outra pronuncia, não em todas as palavras, mas em algumas. Esta diversidade pois de fallar, que observa a gente da mesma língua, he que se chama Dialecto.

After these initial questions, the master questions about the types — *castas* — dialects, to which the disciple replies that there are many, being the three most important the following: the *dialectos locaes*, *de tempo* and *dialectos de profiſſão*.<sup>30</sup>

### ***DIALECTOS LOCAES***

Then comes the question about what would be the *dialecto local*, with a request for an example:

(02) **D.** Dialecto local he a diferença, com que se fala a mesma lingua em diversas terras da mesma nação.

**M.** Dizey exemplo.

**D.** A diversidade, com que se fala a lingua portuguesa nas terras da Beyra, e da Eftremadura, he Dialecto local [<sup>31</sup>] (p. 292).

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<sup>29</sup> The block, or dialogue parts, from the **Capítulo I** of the fourth part of Argote’s work is presented as numbered examples.

<sup>30</sup> Roughly: *local dialects*, *time dialects* and *profession dialects*.

<sup>31</sup> The disciple states that dialecto local is the difference that exists in the speaking of the same language within the grounds of a same nation. The examples are the differences of the Portuguese spoken in the lands of Beyra and Eftremadura.

Questioned about how many *dialectos locais* are there in Portuguese, the disciple answers that there are many, but mainly five: “o da Provincia da Eſtrema- //293// dura, o da Provincia de Entre Douro, e Minho, o da Beyra, o do Algarve, e o de Tras os Montes”.<sup>32</sup>

As an answer to the question of what the dialect of Extremadura would be, the disciple says that they are “a pronuncia, palavras, e modo de falar a lingua Portugueza ufado nas terras da Provincia da Eſtrema-”. The same answer is provided to characterize the dialect of Entre Douro, and Minho, and “o meſmo ſe deve de dizer competentemente dos demais”.<sup>33</sup>

To the question about the differences about the dialects of Entre Douro, Minho, and Extremadura, the disciple answers:

(03) Differe na pronuncia, porque a letra *V*, conſoante pronunciaõ como *B*, ao *Vinho* dizem *Binho*; a letra *B*, pronunciaõ como *V* conſoante, ao *Vento* dizem *Bento*. As letras *aõ* pronunciaõ *om*, ao *Naõ* dizem *Nom*, ao *Paõ* *Pom*. Differe nas palavras, porque à *Viração* chamaõ *Marè*, à *Alameda* chamaõ *Deveſa*. Differem no modo de fallar, porque fazem a al- //294// guns nomes maſculinos femininos, e aos femininos maſculinos, O *fim* dizem *Afim*. A *febre* dizem O *febre*, e também mudaõ em alguns Verbos as terminaçoens das peſſoas, *Eu eſtive* dizem *Eu eſteve*. *Eu fiz* dizem *Eu fez*.<sup>34</sup>

The differences pointed out concern the shift of [b] by [v], the pronunciation of the diphthong -ão, the use of different words to design things, the divergence of grammatical gender of a few words. What he would call a change in the verbs endings, has more to do with pronunciation than with morphology, once *esteve* e *fez* are archaic forms, closer to the Latin root-word: they would be a reminiscence of old forms, conserved into those dialects, but more developed in Lisbon.

After that, we see the characterization of the differences between the one from Beira and the one from Extremadura; in (04) we have examples of the shift in the pronunciation of the diphthong: between [ow] and [oj], with the remark that in Extremadura this pronunciation would be regular.

(04) Differe na pronuncia, porque ao ditongo *Ou* ſempre pronunciaõ *Oy*, a *Ouvir* dizem *Oyvir*, a *Couves* dizem *Coyves*. Eſta pronuncia ſe reteve no Dialecto da Eſtrema- em muytas palavras, porque ao *Couro* dizemos *Coyro*, ao *Mouro* *Moyro*, ao *Touro* *Toyro*, &c.

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<sup>32</sup> “The one in the province of Eſtrema- //293// dura, the one in the province of Entre Douro, and Minho, the one in Beyra, the one in the Algarve, and the one in Tras os Montes.”

<sup>33</sup> “The pronunciation, words, and way of speaking the Portuguese language used in the lands of the Province of Eſtrema-”. “The same applies to the others”.

<sup>34</sup> The disciple answers that it differs in the pronunciation, because they shift **b** for **v**, as in “binho” instead of “vinho”. Besides from this letters, they also do it with -ão for -om, gender, and verb conjugation. Other than that, they use different words for the same thing, shifting male and female.

Besides mentioning the difference in words to design things, the description that Argote presents in (05) is important to the history of Portuguese language, because it registers a linguistic phenomenon to which Leite de Vasconcelos is later going to devote time to study in many of his works, once, in his field researches, he found the same forms in some Portuguese regions still used in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the epenthesis of a [j] between the article **a** and the beginning of a word that starts with the letter **a**, as in *água* > *aiágua*, *alma* > *aialma*. However, this addition is no more than the use of an old rule from Portuguese: **avoid hiatus**, that had preponderance in the posterior alteration of words that have lost the intervocalic voiced consonant, in their passage from Latin to Portuguese: *arena* > *area* > *areia*; *pleno* > *cheo* > *cheio*.

(05) Differe outro fim o Dialecto da Beyra do da Estremadura, porque às palavras, que começam por *A*, accrecentaõ muytas vezes a letra *I*, *Agoa* dizem *Aiagoo*. *A alma* dizem *Aialma*. Differem nas palavras, porque aos *Canteyros* de flores, ou hortalica chamaõ *Leyras*, aos *Vagados Oyras*, aos *Rapazes Cachopos*, às *Raparigas Cachopas* (p. 294).

And the differences between the one from Trás os Montes and the ones from Extremadura “condizem muyto com as da Beyra, e Entre Douro, e Minho”.<sup>35</sup> As for Argave and Extremadura, they differ:

(06) na pronuncia, porque ao *E*, fechado pronunciaõ como *I*, assim como *Pedaço* dizem *Pidaço*, e ao *I*, pronunciaõ como *E* fechado, assim como *Dizer* pronunciaõ *Dezer*, e em outras coufas. *Men* dizem *Mey*, *Seis horas* dizem *Seis joras*.

Another pronunciation phenomenon relevant in the history of the language: the proof that the raising of the middle unstressed vowel [e] to [i] was already prevailing. And if he says that the opposite was true, the example is not good, once it is an archaism: *dezer* for *dizer*. The shifting of the diphthong [ew], in *Men*, to [ej], in *Mey* is another interesting data, just like the finding of palatalization in the merging of words — *Seis horas dizem Seis joras* — [‘sej’ʒoras], probably due to the presence of the palatal semivowel in the diphthong [ej], as it happens in words that this diphthong is going to develop when the initial **e** is followed by a fricative: *eijaminar* [ejʒami’nar] < *examinar* [ezami’nar] (to examine) in 16<sup>th</sup>-century texts.

When the Master questions about the non-inclusion of the Alentejo province dialect among the others, the Disciple justifies it, stating that it is little different from the one from Extremadura: “ao *Concertar* chama *Amanbar*, aos *Cafaes* chama *Montes*, &c. e dizem tem alguns defeytos da pronuncia do Algarve” (p. 295).

<sup>35</sup> “Are very similar to those of Beira and Entre Douro e Minho”.

In this last characterization, we see a negative judgment, by calling some pronunciation facts from Alentejo “defeitos”,<sup>36</sup> that would also occur in the dialect of Algarve. Another negative appreciation concerns some local dialects, “de alguns lugares de Tras os Montes, e Minho nas rayas de Portugal, que são muyto barbaros, e quasi que se não podem chamar //296// Portuguez, mas só os usa a gente ruística da quelles lugares”.<sup>37</sup> One may wonder what effect this cumulative use of the adjectives “**barbaros**” and “**ruística**”<sup>38</sup> would cause in the reader!

## **DIALECTOS DE TEMPO**

The next part of the dialogues verses about the **dialectos de tempo**, that are three: antiquíssimo, antigo and moderno<sup>39</sup> (this is one of the first periodizations of the Portuguese language).

The *Antiquíssimo* is defined by the author as the Portuguese used up to Dom Dinis, Portugal’s sixth king (in other words up to 1325). The *Antigo* is the one used until almost the death of Dom Sebastião (1580), and the *Moderno* “he o que actualmente se usa da perda de ElRey D. Sebastião para cá”<sup>40</sup> (it is important to remember that he refers the time the books were published: 1725).

About the difference between the first two periods and the *Moderno*, the disciple states that they differ between one another “em muytas cousas, principalmente o antiquíssimo, o que se vê nos livros, e doações antigas. Baste saber que tinham muyta parte do Dialecto actual do Minho, Beyra, e Tras os Montes”. The consideration is inverted, in the author: it was that *dialecto actual* (of the same period of the author) of the three regions that had conserved characteristics of the **dialecto antiquíssimo**!

Next, we find a question rather interesting, about whether it is necessary “to know them”, to what the disciple responds: “Para as pessoas curiosas, e doudas he //297// necessario saber muyta parte delles, mas isso aprende-se com mais vagar” (p. 296-297). Therefore, he thought that knowing the older dialects was not the objective of the boys’ studies, to whom his book was meant. Besides, a lot of time would be needed to know them.

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<sup>36</sup> In English, flaws.

<sup>37</sup> “From a few places from Tras os Montes, and Minho, in Portugal, that are very barbaric, and that almost can be called Portuguese, but it is only used by the rustic people of those places”.

<sup>38</sup> In English, barbarian and rustic.

<sup>39</sup> Very old, Old and Modern.

<sup>40</sup> “is the one that is currently used since the death of ElRey D. Sebastião.”

## DIALECTOS DE PROFISSÃO

About the spatial and temporal dialects, the dialogue begins to explain that, today, we would call them *social dialects*. The first question is about what would be a *dialecto de profissão*: “He a diferença de fallar a mesma língua, de q̄ usaõ os que exercitaõ diversa profiſſaõ de fallar”.<sup>41</sup> Notice that the author understands dialect as a variation, as we would name it today, of the same language and in the same period — **that people use** (in the Present Tense) with different jobs. After that, the disciple tries to clear the difference of the division in two, in this category, **verso** and **prosa**.<sup>42</sup>

(07) D. Quem fala, ou escreve hum successo em verso, conta-o com muyta diferença, do que quẽ o conta em prosa, e a esta diferença chamo Dialecto de profiſſaõ sem entrar na disputa se esta diviſaõ he própria, ou impropria. [...] Dous no sentido, em que aqui tomo a palavra Dialecto. [...] O da prosa, a que chamaremos Prosaico, e o do verso, a que chamamos Poetico<sup>[43]</sup> (p. 297).

It is interesting to observe how the classification of the **dialecto de profissão** is done by Argote: *Poetico* and *Prosaico*.<sup>44</sup> He does not refer to social dialects as we know them today, as the expression of each profession: there is only reference to two professions, of those that devote themselves to writing: poets and prose writers (even though he uses “fallar a mesma língua” or “profiſſaõ de fallar”, in the sense of “using”). Every following reflection is about both **styles**, as we would name them today.

First of all, one must remember that ever since Gil Vicente plays were written mostly in verse. Although there were plays written in prose, it seems that the text in verse helped the author, especially the comedy writer, the satiric one, or the writer of *entremeses*,<sup>45</sup> not only sends a message but also enables impossible verbal games in prose. In theater, there was also interspersed music. Besides that, it was possible, in theater, to give a line to a character, in a very close way to his real manner of speaking, among other verbal freedoms. This had already happened centuries before: suffice to see the language used in the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* of the first *cancioneiros*, that today still shocks some writers by their realistic character (saying things using the real words, not euphemisms).

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<sup>41</sup> “It is the difference in the way of speaking a same language, used by those who exercise different professions of speaking”.

<sup>42</sup> Verse and Prose.

<sup>43</sup> The disciple explains that he who writes in verse differs a lot with he who writes in prose, and that this is what he calls **dialecto de profissão**. The dialect of Prosa he names **prosaico**, and the one from Verso he names **poetico**.

<sup>44</sup> Poetic and Prosaic.

<sup>45</sup> A type of short comic play, usually played in-between the acts of the main play.

However, Argote seems to favor the most erudite verse, for he categorizes the poetic dialect as “the manner of speaking when we tell something that has happened, or we write in verse”, that is different from the *Prosaico* “in the words, and in the word order”, as can be seen in the answers (08) and (09):

(08) Porque ao que o Dialecto Profaico chama *Throno*, o Poetico muytas vezes chama *Solio*, ao *Sol* chama *Febo*, ao *Chegar* diz *Appropinquar*. Ao *Ceo* chama *Polo*, &c (p. 298).<sup>46</sup>

To the master’s question about why the word order is different, the disciple answers:

(09) Porque o Dialecto da profa sempre conserva a ordem natural das palavras, segundo deyxamos dito na Syntaxe. Porém o Dialecto Poetico muytas vezes não conserva a tal ordem, antes ufa da figura Hyperbaron, e Synchifis, que explicamos no Capitulo quarto da Syntaxe figurada (p. 298).<sup>47</sup>

He gives an example of this difference in (10):

(10) **D.** *O Sileno buscava*  
*Daquellas que a ferra deu bacantes*  
*Já que Ninfas as nega fer errantes*  
*O hombro fem aljava* (p. 299)

and explains the meaning of some words: *Sileno* = o *Guarda*; *Bacantes* = *Loucas*; *Ninfas* = *Mulheres*; *Errantes* = *Vagabundas*, stating that *the word order is all confuse* and that, if put in the *Dialecto Familiar* order, it should be as in (11):

(11) *Buscava ao guarda daquelas mulheres loucas, que vinhaõ pela ferra, pois o não trazerem aljava no hombro mostrava não serem mulheres vagabundas* (p. 299).<sup>48</sup>

Differentiating *Poetico* e *Prosaico*, Argote classifies the last one as being the one used when speaking “familiarmente” (familiarily): it seems to be a name to design what we call today a common language. In reality, the counterpoint is in the different styles of language use, that he classified as different dialects: one more formal that uses figures of speech, the *Poetico*; and another, more common, that conserves the natural word order, usually spoken in the common situations, the *Prosaico*.

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<sup>46</sup> Here, he shows differences in words to name the same things, both in prosaic and poetic dialect.

<sup>47</sup> In this part, he states as differences of both dialects the word order (that **prosaic** maintains and **poetico** does not) and the figures of speech used in to **poetic**.

<sup>48</sup> Sought for the guard those crazy women that came from the mountains, for the fact that they did not carry quivers on their shoulders meant that they were not vagabond women.

After finishing the first chapter, comes the second, *Da Construção da língua Portuguesa* (p. 301-311), with a clear pedagogical purpose. In it, ways of turning the *Dialecto Poetico* into *Profaico* are explained. The *Construção* has two parts: “Trocar as palavras, e mudar-lhe a ordem”<sup>49</sup> (p. 302):

D. Trocar as palavras he em lugar de humas palavras de huma lingua, ou Dialecto, pòr outras de outra lingua, ou Dialecto, que signifiquem o mesmo, como acima fica dito. Mudar a ordem das palavras he pòr na ordem natural as palavras, que na lingua Latina, ou no Dialecto Poetico estão confusas pela figura Hyperbaton, como difsemos no Capitulo antecedente (p. 302).

Argote states that the “confusa” (confuse) word order is a characteristic of the *Dialecto Poetico*. To reestablish the order (and the good understanding) of a text, one needs to: (i) use the *Vocabularios* (=dictionaries), in order to change the words from a language to the other, or from a dialect to the other; (ii) follow the *Construção* (construction) rules to change the words from the confusing order to the natural one:

São as regras, que ensinão a pòr em huma lingua na ordem natural as significações daquillo, que em outra lingua, ou Dialecto estava na ordem perturbada, e confusa. [...] Primeyra regra. Na Construção a primeyra palavra, que se deve buscar na Oração confusa, he o nome, que faz na Oração, e serve ao Verbo de nominativo ou claro, ou occulto, e esta se deve pòr primeyro na Oração feyta na ordem natural, e Dialecto da profa (p. 303).

In the sequence of this first section of the chapter, we see examples of this style transformation, shredding a morphosyntactic analysis, with the functions being named after their Latin cases (*nominative* for the subject; *accusative* for the direct object; *dative* for the indirect, etc.).

In the second section of chapter II, entitled *PRATICA da regencia da Grammatica Portuguesa conforme a regencia da Latina*, Argote uses a Vieira text (in prose, naturally), and applies on it the morphosyntactic analysis:

Para intelligencia clara do modo, com que se deve ensinar esta Grammatica, e **para que os meninos se facilitem pela regencia della** à regencia, e regras da lingua Latina, me **pareceo propor aqui o exercicio pratico das regras, que temos dado**, e delle ufaraõ os Meftres na fórma, que dizemos na Introducção, que vay no principio desta Grammatica.

Para **idèa** pois, e **exemplar deste exercicio, e regencia pratica**, escolhi huma Carta escrita pelo infligine Padre Antonio //311// Vieyra da companhia de Jesus ao Eminentíssimo Cardial (*sic*) de Lancastre, a qual não anda impressa atéqui, e ma participou hum amigo, e he a seguinte (ARGOTE, 1725, p. 310-311, bold added).

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<sup>49</sup> “Change the words and change their order”.



And stating that the *Carta* has four periods (the text has four periods, before *Deos guarde a Vossa Eminencia.* and the date, *Bahia 14. de Julho de 1690.*), begins the morphosyntactic analysis lesson: “M. [...] Dizey que coufa he *Eminentissimo?* / D. He nome adjectivo superlativo”. Further goes the analysis level: “M. Porque he nome? / D. Porque tem números, e se declina por casos”. The analytical process is applied to almost all the components in the *Carta*.

### ***DIALECTO RUSTICO***<sup>50</sup>

After this elegant distinction between the two styles, a question appears about the existence of more dialects. The disciple, then, describes the *dialecto rustico*:

(12) Ha hum modo de fallar a lingua Portugueza mao, e viciado, ao qual podemos chamar Dialecto rustico, e delle ufa a gente ignorante, rustica, e incivil, e delle he neccessario defviar aos meninos bem criados (p. 299).

In (12), we see an attack against the way of speaking of the uninstructed people, that he classifies as “ignorant, rustic and uncivil”, that speaks “badly and viciously” and that, for that reason, should not even be introduced to the “well-bred boys”: it is not proper.

The master, then, classifying it as *mao Dialecto* (“a bad dialect”) asks the disciple in what is the difference between this dialect and the *Dialecto verdadeyro* (“the true dialect”). The disciple states that the difference lies in the pronunciation, in words and in the way of speaking Portuguese. Asked to provide examples, the disciple says what we read in (13):

(13) Para dizerem os rusticos *Por certo*, dizem *Bofé*. Aos *Toftoens* dizem *Toftaens*, aos *Grãos Grães*, &c. A letra Z muytas vezes pronunciaõ como G, ao *Viçitar* dizem *Vigitar*, à *Viçita* *Vigita*. *Eu fizera* dizem *Eu figera*, *Eu trouxe* dizem *Eu trouve*, a *Ouvido* dizem *Ouvisito*. *Atreverfe* dizem *Estreverfe*. *Flores* dizem *Froles*, &c (p. 300).

In reality, the author is characterizing this dialect as outdated, because the examples provided by him are almost all felt as archaic by the 18<sup>th</sup>-century speakers. And, let’s face it, up to this date, at least one of the forms condemned by the author, of this *mao Dialecto*, is still part of the language: **ouvisto** (a mixture of **visto** (seen) and **ouvido** (heard)) is still part of the Portuguese language of the less (or more or less) instructed people. Most of the differences in the “modo de fallar a lingua portugueza” concerns

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<sup>50</sup> Rustic dialect.

different pronunciations; there are a few lexical cases: **por certo** (certainly) / **bofé** and a few morphological, like **ouvisto** and **estrever-se** (to dare).

### ***DIALECTOS ULTRAMARINOS***<sup>51</sup>

After the *Dialecto rústico*, it is time for the Portuguese from overseas:

(14) Ha os Dialectos ultramarinos, e conquistas de Portugal, como India, Brafil, &c. os quaes tem muytos termos das linguas barbaras, e muytos vocabulos do Portuguez antigo (p. 300).

The definition of the overseas dialects, in a nutshell, includes the observation that they incorporate terms from the *línguas bárbaras* — whatever that means —, because many languages from where those terms came were not from barbaric people, as the Portuguese recognized. This is proven by the admiration of the intrepid missionaries that adventured in the conquest of China to preach about Christ when they saw the temples, the paved streets, and the social and administrative organization of the Chinese, a lot superior to the recently not-medieval Portugal.

Besides that, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was possible to notice that in the metropolis, the Portuguese language transplanted to those faraway places had conserved a good deal of old words — but the author does not notice, or does not hint that he knows it — that would indicate values and references from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century (the golden age of the navigations and conquests), but which were not used anymore in continental Portugal, as attested by the author perception in (14), when describing the “Portuguez antigo”.

As a counterpoint, the oversea lands with their new material and cultural reality demanded new words, existing in many other languages: *banana*, *chá*, *coco*, *anfião* (opium), *benjoim*, *pedra bazar*, *ruibarbo*, *veniaga* (business), *teca* (light wood), *mandioca* and its *farinha de pau*, *abacaxi*, *jacaré*, *moleque*... that ended up being part of the language, some of them up to this date.

### ***GIRIA***

And finally, we see the spatial dialect: the **gíria**, that Argote defines:

(15) Tambem em Lisboa entre os homens, a que chamaõ de ganhar, ha hum genero de Dialecto, a que chamaõ Giria, de que os taes ufaõ algumas vezes entre si. E affim

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<sup>51</sup> Overseas dialect.

tambem os Siganos tem outra especie de Giria, porque se entendem huns com os outros (p. 300).

In (15), it is possible to observe a time frame of the Portuguese society, by mentioning the “homens de ganhar” — corresponding today, maybe, to the handymen — and the gypsies: both are marginal groups (in the sense of “in the margin of society”) and, due to that, they are seen negatively. Argote states that the *gírias* of “homens de ganhar” and the gypsies are different and that this special language is used internally by the members of each group, who understands it.

The gypsies were, since a long time, marked as a people constituted of thieves and rogues because they would always mislead buyers with their goods and animals (and also the gypsy women, with their palm reading) and, for a long time, of children traffickers since, every time a child disappeared in a village, people would blame it in the gypsy group that was in town: people believed that gypsies would steal the kids and sell them.

The “homens de ganhar” could also include those who would steal objects and sell them in the *Feira da Ladra* (it still exists today, and operates Tuesdays and Saturdays, right next to the São Vicente de Fora Church, as a trade market of old objects, and also new ones), that, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, was located in Ribeira or Rossio, as it can be seen in a few plays.<sup>52</sup>

Camões (2007, p. 18), organizer of the *Teatro português do século XVI*, says, in the characterization of the *Auto dos Escrivães do Pelourinho*:<sup>53</sup> “It is an *auto de atualidade*, that seems to match with the *Feira da Ladra* spot, as it can be seen in the verses 56-60 [...] or, at least, with a rumor about the transference of the spot”. After that, he adds a very relevant data, that is the fact of, already in 1552, João Brandão (de Buarcos), in his *Grandezza e Abastança de Lisboa em 1552*, “descrever a enor-//19//me Feira (da Ladra) que se realiza já no Rossio, às terças-feiras (§ 221): “It is said of the *Feira* that happens in the city, every 8 days, in Rossio, that is one of Earth’s greatness.” (CAMÕES, p. 18-19).

These are the verses of the *Auto dos Escrivães do Pelourinho*, about the transferring of the *Feira da Ladra* to Rossio

GONÇALO Cousa é de grande avio  
que a nós muito nos quadra  
de que eu me maravilho  
e que é a Feira da Ladra  
que se muda ao Rossio  
(*Escrivães*, v. 56-60, Camões, 2007, p. 107).

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<sup>52</sup> Moreover, it was the title of an *auto*, de Baltasar Dias, the *Auto da Feira da Ladra*, 1619, as Camões (2007, p.10) states.

<sup>53</sup> Published for the first time in 1625, by António Álvares, in Lisbon, as Camões (2007, p.105) states.

In the *Auto* there is also an explicit indication of the most lucrative activity of the Feira da Ladra (receiving and selling stolen objects): it is in the long dialog (verses 181-240) between the ESCRIVÃO PRIMEIRO<sup>54</sup> and the ESCRIVÃO SEGUNDO, about the PRIMEIRO's servant, that still had not brought the table to where the clerk would work writing the letters to whoever asked him. The SEGUNDO would also complain about the servant, to which the PRIMEIRO answers that maybe he "sold the table to go betting". But at this moment, the SEGUNDO sees the servant coming. Then the PRIMEIRO regrets:

ESCRIVÃO PRIMEIRO: **A minha mesa é vendida**

pois ela aqui não vem.

Nunca mais me hei de fiar

em moço que eu tiver //114//

sempre eu ouvi dizer

que é melhor só estar

que mal acompanhado viver.

Eu o vou logo buscar

**per i por esta Ribeira**

e hei-o bem de fustigar

(v. 224-233, p. 113-114, bold added).

The dialogue continues between them, in which there seems to be only two ways for the PRIMEIRO to find his servant: or he is still in the Feira selling his table, or he is betting the money he got selling the table in there:

ESCRIVÃO SEGUNDO **Havei-lo de achar na Feira da Ladra ou a jogar.**

ESCRIVÃO PRIMEIRO Lá o quero ir buscar.

Se ele aqui vier ter

fazei vós polo tomar.

ESCRIVÃO SEGUNDO Se ele aqui vier

eu o farei aqui estar.

(v. 234-240, p. 114, bold added).

In these dialogues, we have the information that the Feira da Ladra was still located in the Ribeira. That complements the rumor of the transfer to Rossio, indicated by Gonçalo, in the verses 56-60, above transcript. This is a good example of how,

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<sup>54</sup> In this original (as in others that use this typography), the words written in uppercase letters – ESCRIVÃO PRIMEIRO, SEGUNDO... (FIRST SCRIBE, SECOND...) – are represented in a font size smaller than the normal text, that here I copy, loyally to the original.

sometimes, a small indication lost inside a play can flag the possibility of dating events and documents.

In terms of date, the word **gíria** seems to be used since, at least, the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, once Bluteau (1713) recognized its existence, giving him the state of an entry in his dictionary, or rather entries, because it also includes the form **gira**:

GIRA. Segundo o P. Guadix, he nome Arabico, que val o mesmo, que comida, com galhofa, & abundancia; Entre nós Gira he o mesmo, que a Lingoagem dos marotos. Os termos mais fabidos da Gira são estes.

Artife, quer dizer Paõ, /<sup>[55]</sup> Avezar, Estar. / Baftos, os dedos. / Bola, a cabeça. / Bayuca, Taverna. / Bayunqueiro, Taverneiro. / Calcorrear, Correr. //coluna 2// Calcos, Sapatos. / Catropeo, Cavallo. / Cria, Carne de vaca. / Cachimbos, Os pés. / Casebre, Casa. / Criar, Ter alguma coufa. Criar minas de caroço, Ter, ou Possuir muito. / Cheta, Vintem. / Dez Bofas, Dez reis. / Encanhas, Meyas. / Falfo, O lenço. / Faxe, Pao. / Ganiços, Dados. / Giropa, Caldo. / Ganchorra, A mão. / Gaio, Piolho. / Gris, Feio. / Golpe, Algibeira. / Gubio, Chapeo. / Jorna, Vagar. Estou. / Jornando, Não quero fahir. / Jufta, Cafaca. / Lima, Camifa. / Marca. Puta. / Marco, que se aveza. Homem, que está presente. / Monteiro, Carapuça. / Pilra, Cama. / Purrio, Bebado. / Pio, Vinho. / Rata, fome. / Rede, Capa. / Roda, Toftão. / Ruftir, comer. / Surrar, furtar. / Tardar, O vestido. / Tiba, faca. Tirantes, Calçoens. / Hum pobre Ganifaro, quer dizer, hũ pobre tonante, ou manganaõ. Vai com os arames. Vai com espada, & daga. Calma-lhe com o faxe na bola, quer dizer Dalhe com o pao na cabeça, &c (BLUTEAU, 1713, v. IV, p. 75).

Afterward (p.77), we find the term GIRIA, in which the author remits the term GIRA:

GIRIA. *Vid.* Gira. os que tomaõ GIRIA por huma jocosa, ou affectada circũlocuçãõ, com que se diz em muitas palavras, o que se podèra declarar em poucas, o derivaõ de *Girar* ou *Giro*, por *Rodeo*. *Iocosa circumlocution*,<sup>[56]</sup> ou *circuitio, onis*. *Fem. Affectatus loquendi circuitus, us. Masc* (BLUTEAU, 1713, v. IV, p. 77).

### ***DIALECTO, ACCORDING TO BLUTEAU***

Since Bluteau was a contemporary of Argote, having both published his works in the first two decades of the 18th century (1712-1728 for the first and 1721 and 1725 for the second), they probably shared the same Portuguese-speaking state. Thus we see that

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<sup>55</sup> Here, the slash is used to indicate the end of each line, once this list, in the dictionary, occupies practically an entire column. Two slashes as used here to indicate the shift to another column: in other cases, indicates the shift to another page, with the number of the page following, and also inside double slashes.

<sup>56</sup> Bluteau's *Vocabulario* was *portuguez e latino* (Portuguese and Latin)...

both used the word *diale(c)to* which should already be in vogue in the sphere of discussions about language. As it was common knowledge, it was known that the language changed with time, once many grammarians had already talked about phases of the Portuguese language. What was new was the perception that it showed differences in physical space, in the same time frame. And, as can be seen in Argote, some divergence was also recognized concerning the way of communicating according to the profession performed. Besides, some specific social groups used a special type of language whose knowledge and mastery was unique to them.

Although Bluteau's work was published gradually, from 1712 to 1728, the first two volumes appeared in 1712; the third, which contains the entry DIALECTO (p. 205), and the fourth, where is GIRA (p. 75) e GIRIA (p. 77), in 1713; the fifth, which presents MARÔTO (p. 340) em 1716. MAROTO (and MAROTAGE) will be resumed in volume nine, Supplement (p. 20), in 1727. It can be assumed that Argote would have knowledge of and access to this work, on which he could have been based or inspired to reform and add the work that was published in 1721.

To assess how close the definitions are, I will reproduce the entry DIALECTO, as it appears in Bluteau (although it is a long quote, I believe it is worth reproducing for the reader to compare both authors):

DIALECTO. Modo de fallar proprio, & particular de huma lingoa nas diferentes partes do mefmo Reino; o que cõfifte no accento, ou na pronunciação. ou em certas palavras, ou no modo de declinar, & conjugar; & affim vemos, q̄ no mefmo Reino de Portugal os da Provincia da Beira, de Entredouro, & Minho &c. não fallaõ, nem pronunciação (*sic*)<sup>57</sup> o Portuguez do mefmo modo, que os filhos de Lisboa. *Dialectus, i. Fem.* Os noffos melhores Grammaticos não tẽ efcrupulo de tomar eſta palavra do Grego. Quintiliano lhe chama, *Loquendi genus*. Eſte orador fallando dos Gregos, no cap. 9. Do primeiro livro das fuas Inſt. diz *Plura illis loquendi genera, quae Dialectus vocant*. O mefmo no capitulo ſeguente chama o dialecto Eolico. *AEolica ratio. Sive illa (nomina) Ex Graecis orta tractemus, quae ſunt plurima, praecipuèque AEolicâ ratione, cui eſt fermo noſter ſimillimus, declinata*. O ſom, & aſſento da pronunciação, a que chamaõ *Dialecto, &c.* Affim, ſe falla a mefma lingoa Italiana em Napoles, & Veneza, mas com diferente cõſonancia da Romana. Vieira. Xavier //206// accordado, p. 448 (BLUTEAU, 1713, v. III, p. 205-206).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> It should have been: **pronunciação**...

<sup>58</sup> "DIALECTO: A particular way of speaking the same language in different parts of a same kingdom; it consists in the accent, or the pronunciation, or in certain words, or in the way of declining and conjugating, and thus we see that, in the same Reino de Portugal (Portugal's Kingdom) those from the *Provincia da Beira*, from *Entredouro*, & *Minho*, etc. don't speak, nor pronounce Portuguese in the same way as the *filhos de Lisboa* (sons of Lisbon). *Dialectus, i. Fem.* Our best grammarians have no doubts in taking this word from Greek. Quintilian calls it *Loquendi genus*. This rethorician, talking about the Greek people, in chapter 9 of the first book of his *Inst.* states that *Plura illis loquendi genera, quae Dialectus vocant*. In the next chapter, he calls the *Eolico* dialect. *AEolica ratio. Sive illa (nomina) Ex Graecis orta tractemus, quae ſunt plurima, praecipuèque AEolicâ ratione, cui eſt fermo noſter ſimillimus, declinata*. The sound and stress in pronunciation, to what is called *Dialecto*, etc. In this way, the same Italian language is spoken in Napoli and Venice, but with different consonance to Rome. Vieira. Xavier //206// accordado, p.448"

In the case of a dictionary, the dichotomy presented by Argote, **nós** (we) x **os outros** (the others), from Beira, Entre Douro e Minho, Extremadura e Algarve is not manifested: Bluteau employs “os filhos de Lisboa”, as opposed to other regions of the Kingdom. After the part of the definition of *dialecto* regarding Portuguese, the dictionary author’s inserts in Latin: *Dialectus, i. Fem. (sic)*, because the *Vocabulário* covers both languages. But, immediately, he observes “our best grammarians”, saying that they “have no doubts in taking this word from Greek”. As he does not mention anything else about it, there is a doubt if this is censorship or approval.

A note about Bluteau’s definitions: as mentioned above, he defines **gira** (slang) as the “linguagem dos marotos”. But what does it mean to be **maroto** (naughty, scallawag) in the 18th century? Let’s see what is in the entry, as it appears in volume V (1716, p. 340):

MARÔTO. poderá derivar-fe do Hebraico *Maroud*, que val o mesmo que *Pedinte*, que os que chamamos *Marotos*, são rapazes da ínfima plebe, mal compostos, & mal ensinados. *Infimus puer*, à imitação de Terencio, que chama à canalha, *Infimi homines. Puer, ex plebeia faete*.

In volume nine, a supplement to *Vocabulário* (1727, p.20, subsequent, therefore, to the second printing of the book of Argote), there is the entry MAROTAGE, or Marotage, before MAROTO (now without the caret that appeared in the fifth volume). Let’s see what has changed in a decade:

MAROTAGE, ou Marotagem. A fez do povo. *Plebecula, ae, Fem. Populi faex, aecis. Fem. Infima multitudo, dinis, Fem. Cic.*

*Saiba toda a Fidalguia,*

*Sabia toda a marotage.*

Oraç. Academ. De Fr. Simão, 219.

MAROTO. Dizem, que ElRey de Portugal, Dom Affonso VI. se servia com hum moço Francez, chamado *Marot*, donde passou o nome Maroto para os rapazes da plebe.

*Fez*, singular form of *fezes* means in the century. XVIII “(like) coffee grounds, that which is deposited at the end of an emulsion; that that remains”, corresponding perhaps to the modern **ralé**. However, the two verses of Fr. Simão, thus isolated, are ambiguous and do not allow deciding whether *fidalgua* is equal to *marotage*.

In **maroto**, the anecdote, which would explain a possible etymological alternative for the word, is about D. Afonso VI, the deposed king for not consummating his marriage to Maria Francisca de Sabóia, which would make it impossible to generate an heir to the throne. According to Natário (2008, p. 238-247), after the removal of the king, by the Cortes, in January 1668, the queen married his brother, the regent D. Pedro, then D. Pedro II, to quiet the kingdom (and, of course, for Portugal not having to return

the valuable dowry). As Afonso VI led a libertine life, it seems that there is a spicy allusion in the sense given to “Dom Afonso VI **se servia com** um moço francês chamado Marot”.

Thus, we can glimpse how much negative semantic load the definition of slang and rascals involved in the 18th century. But, even so, for Contador de Argote, the slang constituted a dialect of Portuguese and it was necessary to register it, although with restrictions of use.

## CONCLUSION

There is still much to be done in terms of word dating to compose the history of the Portuguese language... Remember that setting dates for the appearance of words is not just an insertion in a timeline: words reveal facts about peoples' social and cultural life, they tell us how people change, how they evolved. In our case, redoing the trajectory of the inclusion of the word **dialeto** represents a different attitude taken by the authors concerning variation and language change.

Alongside with the notion that languages change over time, a fact already admitted by the first grammarians, conceptions about varieties of language that coexist at the same time, in the same space – the kingdom of Portugal – begin to emerge, even though they are considered inadequate, bad, rustic and that phenomena considered as different ways of speaking the language are nothing more than ancient uses that remain in the mouth of the interior speakers. Or even the first impressions caused by the introduction of words from the barbarian languages (*loans*, we would say today) in the overseas dialects, in that somewhat different Portuguese, which also retained old words... or how to deal with innovation and preservation at the same time.

Regarding **dialetos** as varieties of the Portuguese language, we saw that Franco Barreto still uses the word only in a general sense, in 1671. Bluteau, in *Vocabulario*, in 1713, already exposes the word as a way of speaking the same language in different parts of the Kingdom, contrasting the Portuguese from the provinces of Beira, Entre Douro e Minho to that employed “pelos filhos de Lisboa”. Argote, in 1725, will define *dialeto* in a similar way to that of Bluteau, extending the name to the *dialeto de Extremadura*, Algarve, to the rustic, those of profession (poetic and prosaic), slang and overseas dialect.

Although dialecto is already part of the *Diccionario da lingua portugueza*, in the reformed edition added by Moraes e Silva (1789), it seems strange that in Houaiss dictionary (2009, p. 679) the word *dialeto* is dated from 1942, because it is in this entry that all the definitions of the word *dialeto* are described. A few lines above, there is the register of the word *dialecto*: “(1694). o m.q. **DIALETO**” (the same as *dialeto*). However, before this date, the spelling **dialeto** had already been used by Barreto in **1671** (p. 183, as



marked above, in the Introduction, and as it can be attested in [www.purl.pt/18](http://www.purl.pt/18), p. 201 of the pdf).

The concentration of the definitions of the word, in Houaiss, under the entry **dialeto**, states the fact that some of the meanings of the term had already been used before this date (1942), but with the spelling *dialecto*, as in Amadeu Amaral's *O Dialecto caipira*, published in 1920. Yet, before that, José de Alencar had already used **dialeto**,<sup>59</sup> in the novel *Til*, of 1872, to what it seems, in the context of the language, but with a negative evaluation:

Depois arrancou do peito cavernoso a mesma toada do acalanto, cujas palavras truncava por forma que somente se percebia delas a sonância confusa e estranha. **Dir-se-ia que ela cantava em algum dialeto africano, tão bárbara era a pronúncia com que se exprimia** (Zana, personagem do capítulo XVII; bold added).<sup>60</sup>

Speaking in a *dialeto caipira*, Leone (2013, p. 97) points out the fact that the word **caipira(s)** appears for the first time in the novel *Til*, by José de Alencar. Checking the pdf of the novel, I noticed that there were 22 occurrences of the word (but none associated with *dialeto*).

Thus, this paper concludes with an opening: for new researches, to shed more light on the use of words and their dates, to which we can go back to their dating. And it is always good to remember that the dates are only valid until a new, older document is found.

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<sup>59</sup> As I have consulted the public domain pdf, maybe in Alencar's original it was written *dialecto*.

<sup>60</sup> The character says she must be singing in an African dialect, due to how “barbaric” was the pronunciation used.

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