The Role of the Vernacular in the First Two Editions of Manuel Álvares' *ars minor* (Lisbon, 1573 and 1578)

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1. Introduction

In September 1572, the Portuguese grammarian Manuel Álvares (1526–1583) published the first edition of his Latin grammar *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres*. While the printing process of his *ars maior* had not yet finished, the grammarian was already dedicating himself to preparing a compendious version without the author's grammatical, critical, or explanatory commentaries, commonly designed as *scholia*[1] (cf. Kemmler 2015: 9: 10). Having been licensed for publication by the inquisition on January 1, 1573, the first edition of Álvares' *ars minor* was published that year. As it is indeed devoid of most of the *scholia* that are so typical for the *ars maior*'s editions, the grammarian was able to considerably reduce the grammar's volume, thus offering a textbook to the grammar students of the Society of Jesus.

After this first edition, the *ars minor* was reprinted three times during the author's lifetime. The second edition of the grammar was printed five years after its first edition (Álvares 1578), substituting the Portuguese equivalents in the chapter on verb conjugation with Spanish ones (repeated in the 1579 Zaragoza edition).

As Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo (in press: 1) rightly points out, Manuel Álvares was not the first Latin-Portuguese grammarian to include vernacular equivalents in his paradigms of Latin verb conjugations. Similarly, as can be seen

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[1] The term, *scholion* (plural *scholia*), and its use in literary and linguistic tradition are of Greek origin. Dickey (2008: 11) explains the term's origins as follows: "The original meaning of σχόλια is 'notes', regardless of location [...], but while the ancients referred to their self-standing commentaries as ὑμομνήματα, the Byzantines called commentaries, σχόλια, irrespective of location or character. This usage is continued into modern Greek, where σχόλια is still the regular word for 'commentary'". As Nünlist (2009: 8) explains, such commentaries" [...] can consist of up to five basic elements: (i) the lemma (i.e., the verbatim quotation of the passage under discussion [...]); (ii) a translation of (part of) the passage; (iii) a paraphrase of (part of) the passage; (iv) quotation(s) (e.g., of parallel passages); (v) the commentator's own words (e.g., explanations)". Álvares clearly sees himself as following this classical tradition, as he quite frequently uses the Latin term, *scholium*, (plural *scholia*), along his 1572 *ars maior*.

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throughout the commentaries on the four Latin conjugations in the commented version of Nebrija's *Introductiones latinae* (1495), the occurrence of vernacular forms in Latin-Portuguese grammar has been a recurring feature since the second 16th century grammar by Máximo de Sousa (1535: fol. [xxxvj]).

In my paper, I offer a brief comparative analysis of the respective parts of the first two editions of the *ars minor* where the grammarian offers a number of considerations to the two vernacular languages.

2. The role of Portuguese and Spanish in Álvares' Latin grammars

With the exception of the paper by Barbara Schäfer (1993) – considerably augmented in the recent Portuguese version (Schäfer-Prieß 2010) – and despite the important papers presented by Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo (2000, 2003, 2007, in press), modern research seems to almost have ignored the vernacular equivalents that are so typical for Álvares' chapter "De Verborvm Conivgatione" (and which the rest of the grammar is devoid of). This seems curious, given that those vernacular elements are indeed one of the crucial aspects that permit the identification of different national traditions of Álvares' grammar, at least during the first centuries of its existence, that is, during a time when the grammar's metalanguage was mostly Latin.

Ever since the separate publication of the first two editions of the second book, *De constrvctione octo partivm orationis* ([1]1571),[2] in Venice, Álvares' grammar had at least some of the international impact that had been desired by his Jesuit superiors when they commissioned its elaboration. While the true dimension of this impact is not yet known due to the lack of a reliable bibliographic survey, there seems to be no doubt that, during the 1570s, the grammar's primitive versions (Álvares 1571, 1572) were the object of partial or complete editions printed in Dillingen (Germany); Roma and Venezia (Italy); Poznań (Poland); Burgos, Córdoba and Sevilla (Spain) and even in Ciudad de México (México).

It seems evident that since the *ars maior*'s 1572 edition, Manuel Álvares refrained from continuing work on his teacher's manual. Instead, not only did he publish the *ars minor*'s first edition in 1573 but also contributed actively to its diffusion by elaborating a version for the Spanish speaking market (Álvares 1578), which shortly thereafter was reprinted in the Aragonese city of Zaragoza (Álvares 1579). Finally, a new, revised, and slightly expanded edition was published in 1583, the year of the grammarian's death. Considering that the author might have been involved in at least four of these editions, I will take a look at some aspects of the role of the vernacular in the first two grammars.

[2] As the Spanish scholar Juan María Gómez Gómez has recently pointed out in the paper "Aproximación a la Sintaxis de Álvarez publicada en Nueva España en 1579" he presented on 4 September 2015 during the *X Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística* in Cáceres, the two Venetian editions of the 'libellus' without *scholia* (Álvares [1]1571) and the 'liber' with *scholia* (Álvares [2]1571) should in their own right be viewed as editions belonging to the *ars minor* vs. the *ars maior* tradition.

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2.1. Portuguese in the first *ars minor* (Álvares 1573)

The first occurrence of the Portuguese vernacular in Álvares' *ars minor* can be found right at the beginning of the verb paradigms of the *verbum substantiuum.*

For each conjugated form of the Latin irregular verb *sum, esse*, Álvares offers not only the Portuguese verb forms corresponding to the Portuguese infinitive 'ser' ('to be', in the permanent sense) but also 'estar' ('to be', in the transitory sense). Apart from the (quite irrelevant) occasional difference in 16th century spelling of some forms in relation to modern spelling ('he' for 'é', 'sam' for 'são', 'estaua' for 'estava', 'eramos' for 'éramos' but also 'Elle, Elles' for 'ele, eles'), the forms presented by Álvares are identical with those of modern Portuguese. It is, however, quite noteworthy that Álvares offers the complete set of personal pronouns that one would expect to find in a grammar of modern Portuguese[3].

Whereas Álvares generally tends to reduce the *scholia* that can be found in the *ars maior*'s editions, in the beginning of the chapter on the Latin subjunctive of the *verbum substantiuum* we find a small number of new *scholia* that are exclusive to the editions of the *ars minor* [4]:

> *In has voces exempli causa conuerterunt Præsens & Imperfectum verbi substantiui, accedentibus particulis Vt, Ne, & nonnullis alijs, interdum etiam Aduersatiuis coniunctionubus, vt Quanuis sim*, posto q[*ue*] seja. *Quanuis essem*, ainda que fosse. *Quod si particula, Cum, antecedat, non solùm Præteritum Perfectum, & plusquam perfectũ, sed etiam Præsens & Imperfectum necessariò ex Indicatiuo, aut Participijs ei supplenda sunt, qui Lusitanè velit loqui.* [...]
>
> *Qua de re cogor paulo copiosius agere, quòd sciam multos primu aspectu interpretationis nouitate perculsum iri: deinde, vbi rem diligentius expederint, nobiscum esse facturos speramus. Cum sis vir bonus, neminem existimas esse improbum:* Como sois bom, pareceuos que ninguem he mao. *Cum sis fur, omnes tui similes esse suspicaris.* Como es ladram, sospeitas q[*ue*] todos o sam. *Cum esses fur, omnes tui similes esse suspicabaris.* Como eras ladram, sospeitavas que todos o eram. [...] (Álvares 1573: fols. 10 v–11 r).

After explaining the Latin subjunctive, Álvares proceeds to describe how he prefers Latin subjunctive sentences to be translated into Portuguese, offering a considerable number of examples. Even if he is not quite as explicit as in the *ars maior*[5], he considers constructions of *cum* (with its equivalent 'como', which

[3] Compare also Ponce de León Romeo (2002: 230).

[4] While the first edition of the *ars minor* quite obviously tries to cut back on these kinds of texts in the beginning of the subchapters containing the other conjugations, the two subchapters dedicated to the moods of the *verbum substantiuum* begin with mostly quite elaborate *scholia*: "*De modo Coniunctivo*" (Álvares 1573: fols. 10 v–12 r); "*De modo Potẽtiali & Permissiuo*, siue Concessiuo" (Álvares 1573: fols. 10 v–12 r) – the latter *scholion* does not consider the Portuguese language. Additionally, the paradigm of the different Latin infinitives is followed by an entire folio of the author's considerations upon what should have been the translation of these forms.

[5] Compare the beginning of the *ars maior*'s *scholion* dedicated to the subchapter "*Modus Coniunctiuus*" where Álvares (1974: fol. 13 r) could not be any clearer: "S*I Coniunctiuo præponatur particula Cum, eum Lusitani indicatiuo explicãt, exempli causa, Cum sim pauper, nemo amicitiam meã expetit*, Como sou pobre, ninguem deseja minha amizade. *Cum essem pauper, nemo amicitiam meam expetebat*, Como era pobre, &c. [...]. *Locutiones illæ*, Como seja, como fosse, & *aliæ eiusdem generis ijs, qui Lusitanè sciunt, minime probantur*".

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requires no subjunctive but indicative in Portuguese). To make his point, he offers versions of his sample phrases in the Portuguese subjunctive, considering that anyone knowing this language would regard these constructions as anything else but what he considers a laughing stock. Further on, in the respective subchapter dedicated to the first conjugation, Álvares returns to the question of a vernacular equivalent of Latin sentences with *cum* (cf., Section 3.3).

Like its 1572 predecessor, the first *ars minor* consistently offers the Portuguese equivalent of all the verb forms in the paradigms of the *verbum substantivum* and the first conjugation (*amo, amare*). In the second (*doceo, docere*), third (*lego, legere*) and fourth conjugations (*audio, audire*) there are only short paradigms with an equivalent of the first person singular[6]:

> Indicatiui præsens,
> DOceo, *eu ensino*, Doces, docet. Pl. Docemus, docetis, docent (Álvares 1573: fol. 21 v).

Last but not least, both the irregular verbs ("*De verbis anomalis*"), namely, *possum* (*posse*), *fero* (*ferre*), *volo* (*velle*), *nolo* (*nolle*), *malo* (*malle*), *edo* (*edere*), *comedo* (*comedere*), *fio* (*fieri*) and *dic, duc, fac* as well as *eo* (*ire*) and the defective verbs (*coepi, memini, novi, inquam, aio*) are not accompanied by any vernacular form.

2.2. Spanish in the second *ars minor* (Álvares 1578)

Having been published in Lisbon to be used by the Colleges of the Society of Jesus in Spain (cf., Ponce de León Romeo 2003, 2007: 2979–2981; Kemmler 2012), the 1578 *ars minor* must be regarded simultaneously as the second *ars minor* (in the sense that it continues the evolution of the author's primitive text) as well as the first manifestation of a separate Spanish tradition. As has been shown by Ponce de León Romeo (2003), the importation of the copies of the 1578 edition from Portugal to the Kingdom of Castile was forbidden due to an existing copyright that established a monopoly in favor of Nebrija's *Introductiones latinae*. As a result, the Spanish Jesuits opted for an edition printed in Zaragoza (Kemmler 2012), in the Kingdom of Aragón (which, while being a part of the Spanish Monarchy, continued existing until 1707). Considering that the 1579 print closely follows the earlier edition, while offering a different typeset, I will be concentrating on the text of the latter edition whose publication undoubtedly had been organized by the grammarian himself. The chapter on verb conjugation in the Spanish *ars minor* begins with the following *scholion*:

> *COnuertimus Præteritum perfectum, Fui, in Hispanum duabus tantùm vocibus* Yo fui, o he sido, propterea quòd præteritum Vue, vuiste, vuo, vuimos, vuistes, vuieron, *non videtur vsitatum hîc cùm Esse significat, excerpta tertia persona numeri singularis, qua Hispani etiam cùm de pluribus est sermo, vtuntur*: No vuo en Grecia hombre mas eloquente que Demosthenes. No vuo en Europa hombres mas eloquentes

[6] During the first conjugation, Álvares (1974: fols. 15 r–21 v) offers marginal notes meant to exemplify the formation of the other tenses, as one can see in the case of the imperfect: "Amas, s, mutata in bam, fit amabam: sic Docebam" (Álvares 1974: fol. 15 r).

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> que Ciceron y Demosthenes. *Cum verò Impetrare significat, integrum est*, Yo vue, tu vuiste, &c. del Rey vna rica libreria, *Vsurrpantur etiam personæ omnes, cùm Debere, significat*, Finalmente vue yo de hazer por mi, lo que no he podido por mis amigos, *Præterea Participium* Sido, *quo Hispana lingua alioqui non parum & ornatur, & augetur, cum nulla harum significationum videtur locum habere aut certe raro: amat enim potius, cum iungitur huic verbo, tempus præsens, & imperfectum* He, has, &c. *præsens Indicatiui* Aya, ayas, &c. *præsens Coniuntiui:* Auer, *Infiniti:* Auia, auias, &c. *imperf. Indicatiui:* Vuiesse, o vuiera, *imperfectum Coniunctiui: item futurum Indicatiui*, Aure: *& Coniunctiui*, Como yo vuiere sido (Álvares 1578: fol. 13 v)[7].

Since the reality of the Spanish language knows not only one perfect tense in the indicative but two, namely, the perfect and the preterite (known in modern Spanish grammar as 'pretérito perfecto compuesto' and 'pretérito perfecto simple', cf., RAE / AALE 2010: 51), Álvares offers a quite elaborate explanation of what would be the equivalent of the Latin *Praeteritum perfectum*. In addition to the explanation of the use of 'haber' in conjugated or composite verb forms, Álvares considers the use of the third person singular with the existential meaning 'there was' (*vuo*, 'hubo'), a possessive meaning of the full verb, as well as its use in the periphrastic construction denoting obligation or necessity ('haber de' + infinitive). As a consequence of these considerations, Álvares (1578: fol. 14 r) regularly lists both Spanish tenses, as can be seen in "*Yo fui, o he sido*" as the equivalent of the Latin perfect tense form 'fvi'.

Without taking into account the understandable orthographic divergence between the 16th century grammar and modern Spanish orthography, the only observation of significance is the use of the demonstrative pronouns *Aquel, Aquellos* for the third person singular and plural instead of the forms 'él / ella / ello' and 'ellos / ellas' used by modern Spanish grammar.

Similar to what we have seen before, the subchapter on the subjunctive mood in the Spanish *ars minor* also has a preface meant to explain the Spanish subjunctive. This *scholion* occupies about three folios (Álvares 1578: fols. 16r–17 v). Next to some text that can be regarded as a reproduction of the earlier edition, most of this *scholion*'s text is new and entirely dedicated to the Spanish linguistic reality. While this text is quite important but cannot be reproduced in this paper for reasons of space, the introduction of the following, wholly new subchapter is particularly noteworthy, as the grammarian dedicates himself to explaining the Spanish solution of the Latin subjunctive in subordinate clauses following the conjunctions *ut, ne, quod, quamvis, licet, si, nisi* (and others):

> ¶De Coniunctivi propriis vocibus Hispanis,
>
> *Habent etiam tempora Coniunctiui voces suas Hispanas, vt paulò antè diximus, antecedentibus particulis Vt, Ne, Quòd, Quanuìs, Licèt, Si, & aliis nonnullis. Nunc te togo, vt sis liberalis: olim ne esses prodigus, rogabam:* Agora te ruego que no seas liberal, los años passados te rogaua que no fuesses prodigo. *Haud equidem miror,*

[7] In a normalized version, part of this prefatory commentary to the Álvares' chapter on verb conjugation is reproduced by Ponce de León Romeo (2000: 247). Quite obviously, the verb forms printed with an initial <vu-> in the Spanish *artes minores* are graphic variants of the auxiliar 'haber' ('hube, hubiste, hubo, hubimos, hubisteis, hubieron').

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quòd tandiu fueris agrotus, qui medicamenta respueris: No me marauillo que ayas estado tanto tiempo enfermo, pues del todo diste de mano a las medicinas. *Quas de me sumpsisset pœnas pædagogus, nisi illi anteà fuissem adeo familiaris!* Que castigo vuiera hecho en mi el ayo, sino vuiera sido antes tan su amigo. *Si fueris modestus, & summis & infimis eris gratissimus:* Si fueres modesto, contentarás mucho assi a grandes, como pequeños. *Quid respondeas patri, si hoc etiam tempore cessator, vt anteà fueris?* Que tienes de responder a tu padre, si tambien en este tiempo vuieres sido descuidado, como en el passado. *Selegimus Quanuìs coniunctionem præ cæteris, quòd omnia tempora recipiat, vno futuro excepto, in cuius locum* Si *substituimus. Illud tandem te admonitum velim, coniunctionem Hispanam* Aun, *etiam Indicatiuum postulare, idq*[ue] *ferè orationis initio. Qnanuis* [sic!] *sim pauper, nihil tamen, Deo gratia, mihi deest*: Aunque soy pobre, nada, a Dios gracias, me falta. *Quanuis essem pauper, nihil tamen, Deo gratia, mihi deerat:* Aunque era pobre, &c. *In medio verò orationis potiùs Subiunctiuum sibi uendicat.*
A nadie perdona, aunque sea su hermano.
A nadie perdonaua, aunque fuesse su hermano.
A nadie perdonara, aunque fuera su hermano (Álvares 1578: fols. 18 v–19 r).

With a considerable number of example sentences, Álvares shows the equivalent vernacular subjunctive for some Latin subordinate clauses, namely, purpose clauses (*ut, ne*), concessive clauses (*licet, quamvis*), causal clauses (*quod*) and conditional clauses (*si, nisi*). In this context, Álvares chooses to mention the term *subiunctiuum* as a synonym of the more frequent term *coniunctiuum*. Since he normally uses the latter term, one cannot help but notice that the Spanish term 'subiunctiuo' is already mentioned by Nebrija (1495: fol. 13 r) and later on as 'Subiunctiuo modo' in the Spanish Anonymous (1555: [XLVIII]) grammar, that is, similar to the way modern Spanish grammar prefers the term 'subjuntivo' to represent one of the three moods (RAE / AALE 2010: 7 *et passim*). Considering the sample equivalent "*Aunque yo aya sido*" for 'qvanuis fuerim' that can be found under the title "Coniunctiui propriæ voces Hispanæ", one cannot help but state that, again, it comes close to what one would expect in a modern Spanish grammar.

The 1578 edition offers a considerable number of smaller additions in relation to the primitive version of Álvares (1573). However, one of the most noteworthy changes is the treatment of the supines (Álvares 1578: fols. 50 v–51 r) and the deponent verbs to which he adds new content that might be regarded as new subchapters. In the subchapters "Declinatio verbi deponentis" (*uti*) and "Declinatio verbi communis" (*dimetior, dimetiri*), Álvares (1578: fols. 51 r-55 v) offers at least one Spanish equivalent of the respective first forms. Finally, among the irregular verbs, Álvares (1578: fols. 55 v-58 v) changes the sequence, beginning with *sum* (*esse*), followed by *comedo* (*comedere*), *eo* (*ire*) and the defective verbs with Spanish equivalents (*memini, novi, odi, coepi*). Under the subtitle "*De verbis anomalis*", he offers the equally irregular verbs, *possum* (*posse*), *fero* (*ferre*), *volo* (*velle*), *nolo* (*nolle*), *malo* (*malle*), *dic, duc, fac* and *fio* (*fieri*) as well as the defective verbs, *inquam* and *aio*. Like the earlier edition, the chapter on verb conjugation ends with the subchapter "De verborum Impersonalium declinatione". Here, the sole divergence taking place between the two editions is the substitution of the references to the Portuguese language by references to Spanish; consequently, the Portuguese examples are replaced by Spanish ones.

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2.3. Portuguese and Spanish compared in the two editions

Without considering this practical didactic question in the *ars maior*, Álvares first offers somewhat elaborate considerations upon the vernacular equivalent of the Latin *cum* clauses from the *ars minor*'s first edition and beyond. The changes occurring in the latter edition can be safely attributed to the author's desire to target a different public. To illustrate this point, I have opted to reproduce the initial paragraphs of the commentary, which serve to preface the list of occurrences and examples, while reproducing only one example in each category:

Álvares (1573: fols. 16 v–17 r)	Álvares (1578: fols. 25 v–26 v)
Suprà dictum est, quo pacto Cõniunctiuus, accedẽnte particula Cum, in Lusitanum conuerteretur: vbi præcipuè substãtiui verbi exemplis vsi sumus: nunc etiam aliorum verborum exẽpla ponenda sunt, vt voces Lusitanas, quæ è regione respondent, maximè Latinis temporibus conuenire ostendamus. Coniunctiuus aliorum verborum, accedẽte particula, Cum, in Lusitanum conuertitur, vel per indicatiuum, vel per Gerundium tantûm, vel per Gerundium & Verbum, vel per Gerũdium simul & Participium, vel per Indicatiuum & Participium, vel per solum Participium	S*Vpra dictum est, quo pacto Coniunctiuus, accedente particula Cum, in Hispanam conuerteretur: vbi præcipuè Substantiui verbi exemplis vsi sumus. Nunc etiam aliorum verborum exempla ponenda sunt: vt voces Hispanas, quæ è regione respondent, maxime Latinis temporibus couuenire* [sic!] *ostendamus.* *Coniunctiuus aliorum verborum, accedente particula Cum, in Hispanum conuertitur, vel per Indicatiuum, vel per Gerundium vnum tantùm, vel per duplex, vel per Gerundium simul & Participium, vel per Indicatiuum & Participium, vel per solum Participium*
Per Indicatiuum, *Cum te pater tuus vehementer amet, absentiam tui fert acerbissime:* Como vosso pay vos quer tanto, sente muyto vossa absencia.	*Per Indicatiuum,* *Cum te pater tuus vehementer amet, absentiam tui fert acerbissimè:* Como vuestro padre os queria tanto, sentia mucho vuestra ausencia.
Per Gerundium, *Patrẽ tuum fugis: cũ te vnice amet?* Fugijs de vosso pai, querendouos elle tanto como se não teuera outro.	*Per Gerundium vnum tantùm,* *Patrem tuum fugis: cùm te vnice amet?* Huys de vuestro padre, queriendo os el tanto, como si otro no tuuiera?
	Per Gerundium duplex; *Cùm has ad te literas exararem, redditæ mihi sunt tuæ:* Estando escriuiendo esta carta, recebi la tuya. *Mortuus est repentinò, cùm de morte disputaret:* Murio de repente, estando disputando de la muerte.

With the exception of insignificant changes in accentuation and punctuation, it seems evident that the only real change in the prefatory text is the substitution of the three words referring to the Portuguese language (*Lusitanum,* etc.) by those referring to Spanish (*Hispanam,* etc.).

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With these examples – and without entering into the theory of their formation – the grammarian makes an effort to describe the equivalents of the Latin *cum* clauses in Portuguese and Spanish. It is more noteworthy than in other *loci* that here his point of view is not merely that of a Latin grammarian, but that of a Latin teacher who is determined that his students gain an understanding of these clauses and how to translate them. By dividing the examples into 'solution classes', Álvares also separates the four types of cum clauses. Thus, he proposes the following translations:

1) '*cum* temporal' ― "Per Gerundium & Participium";
2) '*cum* circumstancial' ― "Per Gerundium & Verbum", "Per Indicatiuum & Participium", "Per Indicatiuum & Participium" and "Per solum Participium";
3) '*cum* causal' ― "Per Indicatiuum";
4) '*cum* concessive' or 'cum adversative' ― "Per Gerundium";

Belonging to the second of the above mentioned groups, the category "Per Gerundium duplex" is newly introduced by Álvares (1578). This is not at all surprising as sentences with a double gerund do occur in Spanish (and might have been even more frequent in the author's time). While in Portuguese such a construction may not be impossible (having even been suggested by the 18th century grammarian Jerónimo Soares Barbosa, cf., Coelho 2013: 458), the gerund is quite less often used in European Portuguese (whereas the Brazilian variant of the Portuguese language tends toward a regular use of the gerund).

3. Conclusion

Similar to what may be observed in previous Latin-Portuguese grammars, the Portuguese Renaissance grammarian Manuel Álvares consistently used Latin as the metalanguage of his grammars. Quite obviously, the use of Portuguese equivalents in Álvares' chapter "De Verborvm Conivgatione" ever since the publication of the first *ars maior* in 1572, cannot be regarded as an achievement of the Madeiran grammarian but, instead, should be understood as a reflex of a tradition which (in Portugal) goes back to Máximo de Sousa's *Institutiones* (1535).

The brief study of Portuguese in the first edition of the *ars minor* permits me to state that Álvares (1573) not only offers vernacular equivalents in some parts of the verb paradigms but also in some of his *scholia*. The Portuguese paradigms themselves offer purely 16th century Portuguese forms, which remains true, even if other constructions today might seem archaic. Contrary to previous Latin-Portuguese grammarians, Álvares spent considerable effort on the completion of the paradigms and the elaboration of new *scholia* for the *ars minor*. While some of these commentaries simply offer explanations of Latin linguistic questions, most of these *scholia* were elaborated explicitly for the *ars minor*.

Having been printed in Lisbon, the second *ars minor* (Álvares 1578) might seem like a paradox, as its vernacular equivalents and commentaries refer to Spanish and not Portuguese. Due to the research of Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo, it has become a well-known fact that this edition was produced for an exportation to Spain; this characteristic, after all, is not too surprising. With a considerable number

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of new commentaries and even new subchapters, this edition was, indeed, considerably revised by Manuel Álvares himself, who also oversaw its printing.[8]

The texts I have showed in the present paper clearly show Álvares' concerns about enabling the Portuguese and the Spanish students that were to use the respective grammars to understand some of the more peculiar topics of Latin grammar. The quite frequent use of the verb form *conuerterunt* one finds along these *scholia* indicates that especially his commentaries on the vernacular equivalents of Latin forms or constructions are linked to the scholarly practice of translating Latin text into the vernacular (which today still constitutes the classic approach to understanding and reading Latin texts).

While the nature of Álvares' Latin *scholia* (or commentaries) with or without Portuguese or Spanish example words or sentences is quite evident, the same cannot be said about the paradigms themselves. While Ponce León Romeo (in press) consistently prefers talking about 'translations' when referring to the paradigms of the early Latin-Portuguese grammarians, both the quality and the regularity of the paradigms in Álvares' *artes minores* (together with the aforementioned commentaries on vernacular solutions for Latin constructions) lead me to view Álvares' 'bilingual paradigms' and commentaries as an immediate precursor of the 17th century innovative tradition that firmly introduced Portuguese as a metalanguage of Latin-Portuguese grammars (cf. Sanches 2008).

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[8] As a matter of fact, the copy of Álvares (1578) I have been using happens to be his personal copy with autograph manuscript annotations (Biblioteca Pública de Évora, call number 'Século XVI 552').

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Abstract

Dedicated to the first two editions of the Jesuit pupil's Latin textbooks, titled *Emmanvelis Alvari è Societate Iesv de institvtione grammatica libri tres* (Lisbon, 1573) that were published by its author, the Portuguese grammarian Manuel Álvares (1526–1583), this paper focuses on the role of the vernacular in the chapter "De Verborvm Conivgatione". Whereas vernacular equivalents in Latin verb paradigms have been recurring in the Latin-Portuguese grammar tradition since Máximo de Sousa's *Institutiones* (1535), Álvares maintains Latin as the metalanguage of his grammar, while continuing and improving the presence of the Portuguese and Spanish vernacular in the paradigms of the grammar's respective editions. Additionally, the *ars minor* editions offer some new *scholia* with contrastive observations destined to allow Portuguese and Spanish students a better understanding of some of the more peculiar topics of Latin grammar.

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