

VOCABULARIO DA LINGOA DE IAPAM AND PORTUGUESE DICTIONARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

『日葡辞書』と17世紀のポルトガル語辞書

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Abstract: There are few studies on the relationships between the “Vocabulario” (1603-04), which was edited and printed by anonymous Jesuits in Japan, and several Portuguese dictionaries printed in Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Jeronimo Cardoso’s Portuguese-Latin (P-L) (1562) and Latin-Portuguese dictionary (L-P) (1569), Agostinho Barbosa’s P-L (1611), and Bento Pereira’s L-P (1634) and P-L (1647). This study aimed to clarify two points. First, building on Kishimoto (2020), the study highlights that the “Vocabulario” is an important source for not only today’s Portuguese vocabulary but also that of the seventeenth century. This is evidenced by several dictionaries. The Portuguese Jesuit Manoel Barreto referred to the “Vocabulario” when he compiled his P-L dictionary in 1606-1607 in Japan. Although he did not finish his work, the unfinished manuscript was sent to Portugal and consulted by Bento Pereira, a Jesuit lexicographer. Pereira listed both the “Vocabulario” and Barreto’s manuscript in the Portuguese references of his P-L dictionary. Several Portuguese words in the “Vocabulario”, which are not seen in Cardoso or Barbosa, are found in Barreto’s manuscript and Pereira’s P-L, possibly showing that the “Vocabulario” was one of the sources of Pereira’s dictionary, in most cases via Barreto’s P-L. Second, the “Vocabulario” was an important source for the Portuguese vocabulary of that time, as it includes several rare words that are not seen in Pereira and other following dictionaries.

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要旨：16世紀から17世紀にかけて、印刷されたポルトガル語の辞書としては『日葡辞書』（1603-04）以前にジェロニモ・カルドーズの葡羅辞書（1562）・羅葡辞書（1569）があり、『日葡』のあとにアゴスティーニョ・バルボーザの葡羅辞書（1611）、ベント・ペレイラの羅葡辞書（1634）・葡羅辞書（1647）があったが、これらと『日葡』との関係はこれまでほとんど知られていなかった。本稿ではまず岸本（2020）をもとに、『日葡』が17世紀のポルトガル語辞書の情報源になっていたことを示す。『日葡』刊行後まもない1606-07年、イエズス会士マノエル・バレットは日本で葡羅辞書を編纂した。その自筆写本には、ポルトガル語資料の一つとして『日葡』も使ったことが明記されている。バレットの辞書はポルトガルに送られ、同じイエズス会士であったベント・ペレイラの辞書編纂に『日葡』とともに使われたことが、ペレイラの葡羅辞書（1647）に記されている。『日葡』の語釈に用いられているポルトガル語のうち、カルドーズやバルボーザの辞書、羅葡日対訳辞書（1595）には未掲載の語を調査したところ、そのようなやや稀であったり新しかったりした語を、バレットやペレイラが見出しに採用した可能性のある例が複数見出される。さらに本稿では、『日葡』に見られる珍しいポルトガル語には、後の辞書に採録されなかったものもあることを指摘した。

キーワード：マノエル・バレット，ベント・ペレイラ，葡羅辞書，ポルトガル語辞書史

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to show that the “Vocabulario da lingua de Iapam” (1603-1604) became an important source of Portuguese vocabulary in the later Portuguese dictionaries, especially those of Manoel Barreto and Bento Pereira, based on Kishimoto (2020). Additionally, the study also shows that “Vocabulario” includes several Portuguese words that are not seen in the following dictionaries.

First, let us introduce the Portuguese dictionaries used in this paper (after TOYOSHIMA, 2007; CAMERON, 2018; VERDELHO; SILVESTRE, 2007).

Table 1 – Chronology of Portuguese dictionaries used in this paper

	Japan	Portugal
		1562 Cardoso P-L (12,000)
		1569-70 Cardoso P-L & L-P
1595	L-P-J (26,000)	
1603-04	Vocabulario J-P (33,000)	
1606-07	Barreto P-L	
		1611 Barbosa P-L (15,000)
		1634 Pereira L-P (50,000)
		1647 Pereira P-L (24,000)
		1721-28 Bluteau P-L (42,000)

Note. Numbers in parentheses show the approximate number of entries in each dictionary².

Regarding the Portuguese dictionaries by the missionaries, there are two more printed works from the seventeenth century by the Jesuits: one is the Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary by Alexandre de Rhodes, “*Dictionarium Annamiticum, Lusitanum et Latinum*” (1651), and the other is the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary by Antão de Proença, “*Vocabulario tamulico com a significação portugueza*” (1679). From this information and the information in Table 1, it is clear that the L-P-J and the “*Vocabulario*” were printed in the very early period in the history of the Portuguese dictionaries.

Next, I will show there are several Portuguese words that were possibly chosen from the “*Vocabulario*” by Manoel Barreto in his P-L dictionary, and which Bento Pereira further chose in his P-L dictionary, based on Kishimoto (2020).

² Throughout the paper, English translations and the author’s comments appear in parentheses. Names of languages are abbreviated as follows: Latin = L, Portuguese = P, and Japanese = J.

2. FROM VOCABULARIO TO PEREIRA'S DICTIONARY VIA BARRETO'S MANUSCRIPT

2.1 Barreto and Pereira

As shown elsewhere (KISHIMOTO; TOYOSHIMA, 2005), the Portuguese Jesuit Manoel Barreto (1564-1620) cites the “Vocabulario” in the P-L dictionary manuscript that he compiled at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Japan. Barreto seemed to use four main dictionaries to compile his dictionary: Cardoso’s P-L, Cardoso’s L-P-J dictionary printed in Japan, Nizzoli’s Latin dictionary selected from Cicero’s works, and Calepino’s Latin dictionary. Basically, he chose the Portuguese entries and Latin translations from Cardoso’s P-L and L-P-J, and then added examples in Latin from Calepino and Nizzoli. Moreover, he listed other titles in Portuguese and Latin for his reference, and the “Vocabulario” is the one of these. It is quite possible that he selected unusual Portuguese words from the “Vocabulario”, which were not found in other books.

Manoel Barreto was a Portuguese Jesuit engaged in missionary work in Japan from 1590 to 1613. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, he became a secretary to Bishop of Japan Luis de Cerqueira after several years of teaching Latin in a college in Japan. He clearly indicated the motivation for compiling a P-L dictionary in its preface: He wished to help the Bishop and other Portuguese colleagues write documents in Latin. At the time, Cardoso’s P-L dictionary was available in Japan as well as in Europe; however, its Portuguese vocabulary was insufficient, as Barreto mentioned in the preface. He referred to more than twenty-three Portuguese titles including “Vocabulario” and twelve Latin ones to collect Portuguese words and phrases. Although Barreto listed entries from A to Z in three volumes, he could not complete the dictionary; consequently, there are many entries without their Latin translation. The unfinished manuscript was sent to the college of St. Antonio in Lisbon in 1619, according to a handwritten note on the title page. The three volumes of the manuscript are now in the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.

Bento Pereira, a compiler of multiple Portuguese dictionaries, is considered an important intermediary between the primitive bilingual dictionaries of Cardoso and Barbosa and the more encyclopedic work of Bluteau³. Although he spent his entire life in Europe, he had access to various non-European sources of information, one of which was Barreto’s dictionary that was sent to Portugal.

The earlier dictionaries of Cardoso (1562, 1569-70) and Barbosa (1611) do not cite their sources, but Pereira takes the novel step of listing 314 Latin sources in his 1634 L-P-S dictionary, the

3 See Verdelho (1987). On Bento Pereira and his work, see Verdelho (1992) and Cameron (2018).

“Prosodia”, and 24 Portuguese sources in his 1647 P-L dictionary, the “Thesouro”. In the latter, we find Barreto’s manuscript dictionary, as well as the “Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam”. Below is the reference list from Pereira’s “Thesouro” (1647). Sources *not* mentioned in Barreto’s reference list are underlined.

AVTHORES PORTVGVSES, OS QVAES TODOS SE LERAM pera se fazer este Vocabulario.

(Portuguese authors, all of whom were read in order to make this dictionary.)

1. _____ Flos Sanctorum de Frey do Rosario.

(Collection of saints’ lives by the Dominican Diego do Rosario.)

2. _____ Martyrologio em Portugues por alguns da Companhia de IESVS.

(Martyrology in Portuguese by some Jesuits.)

3. _____ Catechismo em Portugues, pelo Padre D. Christouão de Mattos.

(Tridentine catechism in Portuguese by Fr. D. Christovão de Matos.)

4. _____ Catechismo do Arcebispo Dom Bertholameu dos Martyres.

(Catechism of St. Bartholomew of Braga.)

5. _____ Constituições do Arcebispado de Goa.

(Constitutions of the Archbishop of Goa, concerning the sacraments and the church calendar.)

6. _____ M.Marullo em Portugues, por Frey Marcos.

(Lives of the Saints, by Marko Marulić, translated into Portuguese by Br. Marcus of Lisbon.)

7. _____ Tratado da payxaõ, por Frey Nicolau Dias.

(Treatise on the Passion of the Christ by the Dominican Br. Nicolão Dias.)

8. _____ Itinerario de Frey Pantalião de Aveiro.

(Record of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the Franciscan Br. Pantalião de Aveiro.)

9. _____ Vida de Sam francisco Xauier, pelo Padre João de Lucena.

(Life of St. Francis Xavier by the Jesuit Fr. John of Lucena.)

10. _____ Dialogos de Frey Eitor Pinto.

(Dialogues on the Life of Christ by the Dominican Br. Eitor Pinto.)

11. _____ Asia de João de Barros.

(History of the Portuguese empire in Asia by João de Barros.)

12. _____ Ordenações de Portugal.

(A collection of the laws of Portugal.)

13. _____ Primeira parte da Monarchia Lusitana, por Frey Bernardo de Brito.

(Part One of the History of the Lusitanian Kingdom by the Cistercian Br. Bernardo de Brito.)

14. Laguna sobre Dioscorides.

(Laguna on Pedanius Dioscorides' "De Materia Medica".)

15. Dialogos de Pedro de Maris.

(Dialogues on Spanish history by Pedro de Maris.)

16. O Vacabulario de Ieronymo Cardoso.

(Cardoso's dictionary.)

17. O Vacabulario de Agostinho Barbosa.

(Barbosa's dictionary.)

18. O Vacabulario Iaponico Lusitano, feyto pelos Padres do Iapão.

(The Japanese-Portuguese dictionary made by the Priests of Japan [i.e., our "Vocabulario"].)

19. Os contos de Trancoso.

(The stories of Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso [presumably the chivalric romances of Sagrador].)

20. Primeira parte das Chronicas, por Duarte Nunes de Lião.

(Part One of the Chronicles of the Portuguese Kings, by Duarte Nunes de Lião.)

21. As obras de Luis de Camões.

(The works of Luís de Camões.)

22. As obras de Diogo Bernardes.

(The works of Diogo Bernardes.)

23. Cerco de Dio, por Francisco de Andrade.

(The Siege of Diu, an epic poem by Francisco de Andrade.)

24. As grandes diligencias de mão, que nesta materia fez o Padre Manoel Barreto de nossa Companhia. (The great handiwork which Fr. Manoel Barreto of our Society made from the above materials.)

Tambem se aproueitou muito o author da industria, estudo, & erudiçam do senhor Manoel Seuerim de Faria Chantre da Sancta Sè de Evora, pessoa bem conhecida nestes Reynos em todo genero de letras, assi diuinas como humanas. (The author also benefited much from the work, studies, and erudition of Sir Manuel Severim de Faria, Chancellor of the Bishopric of Évora, a person well known in these Kingdoms to all people of letters, both divine and human.)

Surprisingly, Pereira's list of references is identical to Barreto's right down to the order in which the books are listed, with only three exceptions: books 14, 17, and 24, the last of which is Barreto's dictionary itself. However, the spellings and descriptions of the books are different. For source number 1, for example, while Barreto wrote, "Flos sanctorum compost por Frey Diogo do

Rosairo religioso da ordem de S. Domingos”, Pereira has reduced this to, “Flos Sanctorum de Frey do Rosario”.

Number 14 is a Portuguese translation of André Laguna’s Spanish translation of the “De Materia Medica” by the Greek physician Pedanius Dioscorides. Number 17 is Barbosa’s P-L dictionary that was printed after the compilation of Barreto’s manuscript. The only book that Barreto lists but Pereira does not is the Jesuits’ L-P-J dictionary printed in 1595. Thus, Pereira referred to the same books Barreto to referred before; furthermore, it is also possible that Pereira did not study all the books himself but cited a part of them from Barreto’s dictionary. I have not yet found clear evidence whether Pereira consulted the “Vocabulario” or used it indirectly via Barreto.

2.2 Pereira’s Use of the “Vocabulario”

In this section, we examine two types of headwords that Pereira has apparently borrowed from the “Vocabulario”, perhaps via Barreto’s dictionary. For this research, I used Toyoshima Masayuki’s Latin Glossaries with vernacular sources (LGR, <https://joao-roiz.jp/LGR/>), which includes Cardoso’s L-P & P-L (1592), “Vocabulario”, Barbosa (1611), and Pereira’s P-L & L-P (1697), to search mainly for Portuguese loanwords from Asian languages that Pereira uses, and which also appear in the glosses of the “Vocabulario”, but not in Cardoso or Barbosa. I also used DICIweb of *Corpus Lexicográfico do Português* (<http://clp.dlc.ua.pt/DICIweb/>) to search Cardoso, Barbosa, Pereira, and Bluteau; and Catálogo Eletrônico IEB/USP (http://200.144.255.59/catalogo_eletronico/consultaDicionarios.asp) for Bluteau and Moraes Silva (1789). I mainly consulted Ikegami, eds. (2014), Houaiss (2001), and Ferreira (2010) to confirm the usage in modern Portuguese. I also referred to Dalgado (1919-1921) for Portuguese loanwords from Asian languages.

Unfortunately, I have not found specific words clearly showing that Barreto and Pereira selected from the “Vocabulario”, because they listed many other sources. However, the following are some examples of words that Barreto likely found in the glosses in the “Vocabulario”, inserted in his dictionary as headwords, and failed to add corresponding Latin translations, and which Pereira included in his dictionary with their Latin translation.

Example 1. *bambu* (bamboo) and *bambual* (of bamboo, having bamboo)

These words are not rare in Portuguese today, but the plant originally was not seen in Europe. Dalgado (1919-1921) indicates that this loanword is likely of Marathi origin and cites the early

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example of *bambu* by Duarte Barbosa in 1516 and *bambual* by Manuel G. de Erédia in 1613. *Bambu* had already been used by the Portuguese in Asia in the sixteenth century, but according to LGR, neither *bambu* nor *bambual* can be found in the L-P-J, Cardoso, or Barbosa. However, the “Vocabulario” has more than a hundred examples of *bambu* and five examples of *bambual*. We have no clear evidence that Barreto chose these words from the “Vocabulario” rather than from other sources, but he made entries for both words. Though Barreto did not provide a Latin translation, Pereira added Latin translations, whose sources are unknown.

Vocabulario:

Taqe. (J. bamboo) *Bambu*. (P. bamboo)

Taqueara. (J. bamboo grove) *Bambual*. (P. bamboo grove)

Riocuchicu. (J. green bamboo) Midorino taqe. i, Auoi taqe. (J. green bamboo, new bamboo) *Bambus verdes*. (P. green bamboos)

Barreto:

Bambu. (P. bamboo) [no gloss given]

Bambual. (P. bamboo grove) [no gloss given]

Pereira:

Bambu. *Arundo Indica*. (L. An Indian reed)

Bambual. *Arundinetum Indicum*. (L. a thicket of Indian reeds)

Example 2. *combalenga* (P. a kind of gourd)

This word no longer appears in contemporary Portuguese dictionaries. Dalgado (1919-1920) says the word is of Dravidian origin. The LGR *corpus* includes only three examples from the “Vocabulario” and one from Pereira. This is similar to the case of *bamboo* and *bambual*, where Barreto probably chose the word from the “Vocabulario” but did not translate it into Latin, and then Pereira took it on as a headword and added a Latin gloss.

Vocabulario:

Camouri. (J. “duck” gourd) *Combalengas*. (P. gourd, squash)

Canpiô. (J. dried gourd) Fosu fisago. (J. dried gourd) *Abobaras, ou cõbalengas secas de que fazem depois xiru, & outras iguarias*. (P. dried pumpkin or gourd, which is used for soup or other dishes)

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Tôgua. (J. winter gourd) *Abobora, ou combalenga*. (P. Pumpkin or gourd)

Barreto:

Combalengas (P. melon) [no gloss given]

Pereira:

Combalengas. *curcubita Indica*. (L. an Indian cucumber)

Example 3. *panicale* (a disease causing swollen legs)

The word *panicale* also has disappeared from the Portuguese dictionaries today. According to Dalgado (1919-1921), P. *panicale* comes from Malay *perikkāl*, which means “big legs” and in the LGR database, the word can be seen in only two examples: one in “Vocabulario” and the other in Pereira. Barreto probably picked it up from the supplement of the “Vocabulario” and never added a gloss; then, Pereira added one. From the fact that the word *panicale* is only seen in the supplement, it is assumed that Barreto referred to the copy that has the supplement; that is, not copies of Rio de Janeiro and Paris, but can be those of Evora and Oxford.

Vocabulario:

Coyeaxi. (J. swollen leg) *Panicale que tem hũa, ou ambas as pernas inchadas*. (P. a *panicale* which makes one or both the legs swell up.)

Barreto:

Panicale. (P. leg-swelling disease) [no gloss given]

Pereira:

Panicale. *morbus Indicus, quo tumescunt pedes*. (L. An Indian disease, in which the legs swell.)

In prefaces to volumes one and two of his dictionary manuscript, Barreto expresses his wish of Latin glosses being added by his successors where they are missing. Based on the examples above, we may conclude that Pereira fulfilled Barreto’s wish around forty years later, using many other sources that Barreto could not refer.

In the eighteenth century, when Rafael Bluteau (1638-1734) compiled his voluminous P-L dictionary, he referred to many Portuguese books that were listed in the first volume. It includes neither Barreto’s P-L nor the “Vocabulario” but Barbosa’s P-L and Pereira’s P-L⁴. Indeed, he often

4 Bluteau’s dictionary includes some information of Japan but his main source seems to be Vida de S. Francisco Xavier edited by João de Lucena, as indicated by Mito (2010).

cited Pereira in the body of his dictionary. Among the three examples above, Bluteau referred to Pereira in the entry for *panicale*. It is almost clear that the word originated from “Vocabulário” and entered Bluteau’s P-L via Barreto and Pereira.

Bluteau:

PANICÂLE. Doença da India. (P. An Indian disease.) O P. Bento Per. no Thesouro da lingua Portuguesa, lhe chama em Latim, *Morbus Indicus, quo tumescunt pedes*. (P. Father Bento Pereira in the “Thesouro da lingua Portuguesa” said in Latin, *Morbus Indicus, quo tumescunt pedes*.)

3. RARE PORTUGUESE WORDS IN THE VOCABULARIO THAT CANNOT BE SEEN IN THE SUCCEEDING DICTIONARIES

The “Vocabulário” includes several Portuguese words that are not seen in other Portuguese dictionaries including those by Pereira and Bluteau, which were used in Japan at that time but became rare and obsolete later. These words are many even if I exclude proper nouns (e.g., *Miaco*, which means a capital city, Kyoto) and words with different spellings (e.g., *lingoa*, the same as *lingua*). Most of them seem to be loanwords, or coinage using loanwords. Let us see some examples.

Example 4. *chayal*

Vocabulário:

Chayen. (J. tea plantation) Chano sono. (J. tea plantation) Chayal lugar onde esta plantado o Cha. (P. tea plantation where tea is planted)

The word *chayal* has the only one example in the “Vocabulário” as well as other dictionaries. Doi, Morita, and Chonan (1980, p. 118) note that the word was made from *cha* in reference to *trigo* and *trigal*, *ameixa* and *ameixial*, and *bamboo* and *bambual*. I have never encountered it in other Portuguese documents; however, the word is considered to have been understood easily by the Jesuits in Japan, where there were many tea gardens.

Next, let us see the word *combalamas/combalamaz*, which was used to mean *katsuo* in Japanese, or a skipjack tuna or bonito in the “Vocabulário”. I have not found the word in any other dictionaries except for six entries in the “Vocabulário”: *catçuuo* (skipjack tuna), *catçuuomuxi* (an insect which eats skipjack), *daxi* (broth), *nidaxi, su, ita*. (to boil something to bring out the flavor), *Caca* (skipjack tuna), and *fitofuxi* (a piece of dried skipjack tuna). Barreto wrote the word as an entry, but gave it no gloss.

It seems that the word was understood among the Jesuits in Japan at that time but disappeared afterward.

Example 5. *combalamas/combalamaz*

Vocabulário:

Catçuuu. (J. skipjack tuna) *Combalamaz peixe*. (P. skipjack tuna)

Daxi. (J. broth) *Certo peixe seco, que na Índia chamão combalamaz*. (P. A kind of dried fish, which is called *combalamaz* in India)

Barreto:

Combalamas peixe. (P. skipjack tuna) [no gloss given]

We will see another example of *comballas/combalas*, which was thought to mean the hair of a tail of yak in the “Vocabulário”, and was also seen in the “Arte da Lingoa de Iapam” by João Rodrigues.

Example 6. *comballas/combalas*

Vocabulário:

Xaguma. (J. decoration made of a red-dyed tail of yak) *Combalas de que vsão os soldados por ornato na cabeça*. (P. a tail of yak which soldiers wear as a decoration of head)

Arte vol. 3, 227:

Tambem huns rabos de uacas que trazem da China, aque chamam comballas, & os Iapoens Xaguma, se contam por Fitocaxira, &c. (P. When the Japanese count tails of oxen imported from China which we call *comballa* and they call *xaguma* in Japanese, they use *fitocaxira*, etc.)

In the “Vocabulário”, the word is seen in the three entries of *acagaxira*, *acaxaguma* and *xirogaxira*, all of which are armor ornaments on the head. However, we cannot find the Portuguese word in Barreto’s, Pereira’s, Bluteau’s, and today’s dictionaries. It is interesting to that Rodrigues gave a short explanation of the word in his “Arte da Lingoa de Iapam”, as it implies that he thought the word was unfamiliar to many of his colleagues.

According to the preface of the “Vocabulário”, there were several manuscripts of Japanese dictionaries written by Jesuits in Japan before the “Vocabulário” was printed. It is possible that these

manuscripts included such rare words; however, we do not have evidence because these manuscripts are unavailable today.

4. CONCLUSION

The “Vocabulario” directly influenced the compilation of Portuguese dictionaries in the seventeenth century, such as those by Barreto and Pereira; however, I have only shown a few examples and there remain two issues for future research. First is the manner of compilation by Barreto and Pereira. As mentioned earlier, we know their references, but how they actually used the “Vocabulario” and other references is still a mystery. Second, there remain rare Portuguese words that are not found in the dictionaries by Barreto and Pereira. For both issues, we need to not only study dictionaries but also words in other books listed by Barreto and Pereira. Furthermore, it is necessary to search for Portuguese words in many letters and reports written by the missionaries, both hand-written and printed, which has not been done rarely after Dalgado (1919-1921).

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