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THE LINGUISTIC ISSUE IN THE AGE OF GREAT DISCOVERIES

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a synthesis of the linguistic issues of the 15th and 16th centuries, when grammars of hundreds of languages of the world were written and one of the most important civilizing processes in history began.

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INTRODUCTION

The 15th and 16th centuries saw one of the most important civilizing processes in the world, which initiated the globalization of humanity. It was the beginning of the Modern Age, the time of the Renaissance. The Renaissance was a confused diversity of several elements: scientific discoveries, new historical and geographical horizons, the encounter with the new peoples and continents discovered, demanding a reworking of European mental frames, the Protestant Reformation, which split the Christian West into antagonistic factions, the rise of the mercantile bourgeoisie. Despite the differences that this great intellectual and social movement took on in Italy, France, the Netherlands or in the Iberian Peninsula, it had an omnipresent aspect that gave it homogeneity: the spectacular character that the linguistic problem then assumes. It was the "era of grammars", the time when grammars of the most diverse languages in the world were written. For Auroux (1992, p. 35), the Renaissance was the axis of a technical-linguistic revolution that, beginning in the 5th century, would extend until the end of the 19th century. According to him, "this grammar elaboration constitutes, after the advent of writing before the third millennium B.C., the second technical-linguistic revolution. Its practical consequences for the organization of human societies are considerable." The linguistic issue of the 15th and 16th centuries had three main aspects:

- The appreciation of ancient languages of great importance for European civilization, that is, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They would confer intellectual distinction to Renaissance scholars, allowing them direct access to the sources of Western culture and had a greater interest in the exegesis of the Bible.
- The emergence of European vernacular and national languages, which would begin to receive grammatical formalization and standardization.
- The discovery of the so-called "exotic languages", spoken in continents and lands previously unknown.

The study of ancient languages: The humanist of the 15th and 16th centuries ardently seeks to know Greek, Latin and Hebrew, the languages that allowed a return to the texts of Sacred Scripture and Christian and pagan antiquity. Thus, the human value of ancient languages is recognized, which would give man greater dignity, according to the principle of *hominem humaniorem facere*, that is, to make man more human. Kukenheim (1951, p. 1) reminds us that "the sage, without an intermediary, penetrates Greek thought, expresses himself in the language of Cicero, comes into contact with his God through holy Scripture: he is a man endowed with a triplex tongue, *"triumlinguarumgnarus"* or *"homo trilinguis"*. Several humanists reached this erudite ideal: Erasmus, Nebrija, Reuchlin, Clenardo, Munster, João de Barros and others. With regard to Latin, a return to its pure forms was sought, without the jargon that Latin authors of the Middle Ages had created for their own use.

Renaissance Latin was a language of scholars who insisted on eliminating from their texts what was not adopted by the best authors of antiquity. In the second half of the Middle Ages, there was a complete subordination of grammar to Logic. Thus, the contact with the realities of the language was lost. The terminology of Logic and grammar was identical. The scholastic spirit permeated the grammars, which even resorted to "pious" allegories, such as those found in the work by Gerson, a medieval grammarian (apud Kuckenheim, 1951, p. 50): "... three people focus on verbs. What I believe to be divinely inspired"¹. The versification of the grammatical text as a pedagogical practice was common. The *Grécisme* de Everardo de Béthune is made up of 4,440 hexameters. Villadei's *Doctrinale Puerorum*, the most famous grammar of the late Middle Ages, written around 1200, consisted of 2,645 hexameters that should be memorized by the apprentice. The "*Rules for shaping boys in latin*", a Portuguese manuscript from the 14th century, inspired by Villadei, also displays those verses that pupils should know by heart. For instance: "*Three similar cases always give you the neutral: the first with the fourth and fifth in one word will give*"² (apud Nascimento, 1989, p. 230). The Renaissance would see, as a consequence of this search for purification of Latin, according to the best authors of Antiquity, a large number of Latin grammars. While in Portugal, in the entire 16th century, only two Portuguese grammars were published (those by João de Barros and Fernão Oliveira), the number of editions of Latin grammars reached around twenty.

Thus, Latin, given a multi-century tradition of studies that spanned the Middle Ages, was the mainspring of Renaissance humanism. Greek, on the other hand, was little known in the Middle Ages. The treasures of Greek culture reached the Middle Ages in Latin translations. In a few places Greek works could be read, translated or copied. Many were lost or their whereabouts were unknown. The age-old Portuguese expression "he seems to be speaking Greek" shows his unintelligible character. *Graecum est, non legitur* (It is Greek, it cannot be read), used to be affirmed in the Middle Ages and this was a rule throughout Europe. In addition to being ignored, Greek was seen in the Middle Ages, in many ways, as a suspicious language, vehicle of all kinds of heresy. In the 15th century, as a result of the rapprochement between Europe and the Byzantine Empire, engendered by the Crusades, Byzantine scholars, such as Chrysoloras, Gaza and Chalcondyle went to Italy to teach Greek there and get ancient manuscripts. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, under Turkish rule, many sages left and went to Italy. After 1456, some of them were in France. Greek chairs began to appear in universities and also European masters of that classical language: Erasmus, in Oxford, Nebrija, in Spain, Clenardo, in Portugal, Reuchlin, in Germany, Budé, in France. In opposition to a Middle Ages deeply marked by philosophical and theological research, thenceforth there was a taste for pagan literature and its intrinsic values, in which Renaissance humanists saw the very prefiguration of the Christian ideal. In this perspective, Greek was once again studied fervently. But, in addition to literary ideals, theological ones were also sought by humanists, given that there was a Greek Christian antiquity that they aspired to know and, mainly, because Greek is the language of the New Testament.

Greek grammars did not have, in the 16th century, a number of editions comparable to that of Latin ones. Reuchlin, Melancton, Erasmo, Budé and Clenardo are worth mentioning. The latter was the author of a Greek grammar which enjoyed the best critical fortune in Europe, including Portugal. Finally, the Renaissance rescued the study of the Hebrew language in non-Jewish circles, although this study aroused deep suspicions and fears in the milieu most identified with the decadent Scholastics, because Hebrew was taught, initially, by Jewish teachers, and these lived, in many countries in 16th century Europe, on the margins of society. The search for the exegesis of biblical texts, the search for the conversion of Jews, the interest in

Kabbalah, at a time marked by mysticism and occultism, all of this led to the so-called "Hebrew Renaissance", along with a Greek-Latin Renaissance. Thus, a language of a very different nature from that of the classical languages was brought to European academic circles.

Hebrew, in fact, does not know the notion of time, but only that of aspect. It presents the absolute and the construct of names. On the other hand, in Hebrew there are no cases. Thus, before receiving the impact of the exotic languages of America, Asia and Africa, Renaissance Europe was already studying Hebrew and other Semitic languages, such as Arabic, Chaldean and Syriac, whose nature was very different from that of the western classical languages. Hebrew grammars had been published in Europe since the 9th century by Jewish scholars, with the primary purpose of serving Jewish communities, and they were influenced by Arabic grammatical tradition in their making. The great novelty of the Renaissance, in this regard, was the fact that Hebrew grammars began to be written by Christians and also their subordination to the Latin model. Hebrew grammar, at least in the way it arrived in Renaissance Europe, through its most modern manuals, such as Nicolau Clenardo's, was inserted into a pre-conceived structure, that of Greek-Latin grammar. The most popular Hebrew grammars of the Renaissance were those of Pellican, Septemius, Reuchlin, Munster and Clenardo. In Renaissance Portugal, Clenardo's grammar was undoubtedly the most used.

The emergence of vernacular and national languages: European popular cultures, since the Middle Ages, would find an opportunity to develop and find rich and authentic forms of expression. The dignity of common languages, which had been formed for centuries (among which were the *rusticae romanae linguae*, of which the Strasbourg Oaths are the first existing document) will finally be achieved with their use in major literary works, one of the largest being Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*. Thus, the vulgar language begins to be dignified and accepted as a literary language, although Dante asserts that its use should not be granted to anyone, but only to excellent poets. There are documents written in most of the great European languages since the 9th century. The vernacular literature developed centuries before the grammar elaboration of the so-called *rusticae linguae* was carried out. It is true that the first grammars of Icelandic, Irish, Provençal and Gallic date from well before the 16th century, with the aim of organizing and standardizing literary languages. However, it was only in the Renaissance that the languages would be expression of the emerging nationalities: their grammars were made for the new mercantile classes, to serve the colonial enterprise, to put the Bible in the vernacular in the hands of the people (according to the Lutheran principle of the universal priesthood) etc.

Thus, several grammars of vernacular languages were the fruit, in their genesis and formalization in the 15th and 16th centuries, of political imperatives. In fact, the Spanish and Portuguese conquests in the newly discovered lands were accompanied by the elaboration of vernacular grammars: that of Nebrija, in 1492 (the same year of the discovery of America), that of João de Barros, in 1540. It is interesting, in fact, to observe that the *Grammar of the Portuguese Language* was written by João de Barros, an important personality of the colonial administration, the great defender of Portuguese imperialism. The year 1540, when his work was published, Portugal was under the government of King John III, a fruitful period for the Portuguese overseas expansion. In the introduction of his *Grammar of the Castilian Language*, Nebrija (1980, p.97) affirms that "*the language has always been the companion of the empire*". However, not only in the service of an imperialist project was the grammar elaboration of European national languages. The newly unified European national states also needed a cohesion factor, a guarantee of the nation's unity. The language would be that factor. It is known, in fact, that many European nations presented situations of great linguistic complexity, with many different dialects and languages. This was the case in Spain, Germany, France, Italy. The grammar elaboration of national languages was an answer for that search for unity in diversity. In Spain, for example, languages such as Basque, Catalan, and dialects such as Asturian, Valencian, Galician are spoken together with Castilian, which has imposed itself since the end

¹Personae autem verbis accidunt III. Quod credo divinitus esse inspiratum.

²Tres casus similes donat semper tibi neutrum: primum cum quarto quintoque sono dabit uno.

of the 15th century as the national language. In France, Gascon, Breton, Provençal are spoken regionally, together with French, which since the 16th century, with the Villers-Cotterêts edict (1539), began to be used in all court proceedings, replacing Latin, which was then deleted from such official documents. According to Bec (1986, p. 81), "Except for many members of the public, who continue to ignore French, the cultivated people know and practice both languages. French is no longer a foreign language, to be sure, but it is still only an adoptive language; it is the language of books, the language of culture, but nothing more: it does not reach the popular strata (...). This bilingualism will continue until the Revolution, after which it will be contested. Indeed, the rationalist and universalist vision of man, which was the ideological basis of the Revolution, was not conducive to an ambiguity corresponding to a plurality of languages within the same nation" (p. 81).

It was, in fact, during the Enlightenment that bilingualism would be tenaciously combated not only in Europe, but also in other continents, and the languages of European empires would be imposed with more drastic measures. Let us remember, by the way, the Directory of 1758 of Portuguese prime minister Pombal, to prohibit the use of the general language in Brazil and its prohibition of 1754, which ended the printing in India (where many books were published in the native languages). Thus, the emergence of national languages in the Renaissance was the most strong expression of the desire for national unity, for political unification, but they did not eliminate the regional languages and dialects, which have remained today in many European countries. With the emergence of national languages, in the 16th century, bilingualism would, since then, become part of Europe's linguistic reality. Portugal and Spain were the first countries to engage in the Atlantic adventure. It was in the Iberian Peninsula, then, that the idea arose of associating languages and imperialist project. On the other hand, the grammatical systematization of the German was the result of an event that had undoubted political implications, which was the Protestant Reformation. It led to the publication in Germany of *Ein Teutsche Grammatica*, in 1534. Thus, the intimate connection between vernacular grammars and the political framework in Europe in the 16th century is notorious. It is the result, to a large extent, of nationalism, engendered by the consolidation of the centralized national states, of imperialism, in whose context the language could be the expression of the "new empires", or of Protestantism, which advocated the principle of free examination of the Bible and put it in the hands of the people, by translating the sacred book into the vernacular languages. Thus, *Lutherbibel* is one of the classics of the German language. Furthermore, in the case of Protestants, the valorization of the vernacular corresponded to a search for their own identity in the face of the post-Nicene tradition, rejected by the Reformation, and which consolidated and universalized Latin as the official language of the Catholic Church.

If Rome, when advancing on Europe, took Latin to the most distant places, a factor of adhesion of the territories conquered to the Roman Empire, it was also imperative to Portugal, Spain and then to the other European nations, which followed them in the overseas colonial project, to impose their own languages on their colonies. The teaching of the first letters would then gradually be done in the mother tongues. In 16th century Europe, big names fought for this ideal: Montaigne, Lutero, Mulcaster. In Portugal, the exponents of such a pedagogical turnaround were D. Diogo Ortiz, bishop of Viseu, who had published booklets to teach Africans to read, João de Barros, who made his booklets to teach Portuguese language to the princes of the Orient, and also Frei João Soares, among others. Latin and Greek were the common basis of communication for scholars, considered at the supranational and cosmopolitan levels, as an index of intellectual distinction. The vernacular languages would express the national soul in its particular aspirations. This was only possible due to the emergence of centralized national states, a result of the Renaissance era, when the language first appeared "as the spirit and soul of each nation". (Buescu, 1971 p. XXXIX)

The discovery of exotic languages: The term "exotic" here has a distinctly Eurocentric meaning. Ordinarily it is said of what is extra-

European and, more especially, of the distant tropical lands. The term is used, nowadays, more in its figurative sense of "strange, weird, stupid".

It comes from the Latin "exoticus" and this one from the Greek *exotikós*, "from outside", "external". In French, the term was used by Rabelais in *Le Quart Livre*, Chapter II, p. 272, already in the 16th century: "*Marchandises exotiques et peregrines...*". Medieval Europe had not ignored the Orient. On the contrary, the Orient was, interestingly, within it, if we remember that the Arabs dominated the Iberian Peninsula from the 8th to the 15th century. Marco Polo went to China in the 13th century, establishing commercial contacts that the Genoese and Venetian merchants would intensify in later centuries. However, the relationships between Europeans and Asia and Africa were mediated, until the 15th century, by the Arabs. These were such a constant presence, so strong in the Mediterranean basin for centuries, that the Arabic language would not be called an "exotic" language, and this also because of the similarity between it and Hebrew, the language of Bible. Arabic, in fact, assumes the condition of a classical language in the Iberian Peninsula, in which important literature was expressed in the Middle Ages. With the Great Navigations, in the 15th and 16th centuries, Europe was confronted, this time, with a huge number of languages, not only Asian ones, but also African and American languages, which overturned the old conception of the universality of Arabic and created new questions about an alleged Hebrew origin of the languages of the world. Without knowledge of the newly-known exotic languages, European domination over the newly discovered lands would be extremely difficult or even hampered.

If this was true regarding the political sphere of colonization, the same is true of the expansion of Catholicism, which acquired a political dimension, given that European 16th century imperialism was considered an act of expansion of the Christian faith. Indeed, only the knowledge of languages would enable missionary action in the newly discovered lands. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, understood this well and wrote in the Constitutions of 1540 (apud Araújo, 1952, Prologue): "...*For the greater union of those who live in society with others, each learn the language of the region in which they reside.*" If knowledge and use of exotic languages was necessary for European political and economic expansion, allowing adaptation to totally different natural realities and relations with local potentates, by the other hand they were necessary for catechesis to be successful. In effect, there was an urgent need to translate catechisms into exotic languages and provide the missionaries with a linguistic domain sufficient to preach, to hear confessions, in short, for them to carry out their apostolic duties.

In this way, it was necessary to make grammars of exotic languages and this was the task assumed by the great religious orders: the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Jesuits, who endowed many of those languages with written literature, a fact previously unknown to many non-literate societies. The Europeans then began to produce literature in exotic languages, aimed at the overseas peoples, as purely listeners or as readers of the texts produced. In the case of the production of texts to be read by the overseas peoples, they should, with regard to literate societies, be translated into their own languages or in their own graphic system or in the Latin alphabet. In the latter case, the literacy of exotic peoples in the Latin graphic system was necessary. In the event that there is the production of texts intended for non-literary societies, only literacy would be necessary. In America, many indigenous languages would become the most used by almost all members of the colonial system. Thousands of children would grow up in bilingual environments. In this way, publishing texts in indigenous languages started to make sense in two aspects: to endow literate Indians or colonists with texts that they could read (in languages that were much more widely spoken than Spanish and Portuguese) or to offer missionaries what they should read, either to educate themselves or to instruct Indians or bilingual settlers. The former category included booklets, catechisms, biographies of saints etc. The latter included grammars, confessionals, homiletics etc. In 1554, under the auspices of King John III, the publication of didactic works began, not only for

teaching overseas peoples Portuguese, but also for their literacy in the exotic languages themselves. It is the first time that books are printed in an Asian language within Europe and at the initiative of Europeans. Thus, texts were produced for the natives of the land to read in the indigenous languages. Thus, contrary to what many people suppose, not all catechetical literature produced by Europeans was intended only to be heard by exotic peoples and read by Europeans themselves. Once they learned to read, texts would be destined for them, without their reading being mediated by the missionaries. Grammatical works, however, constituted literature (in its broadest sense, of course) made by missionaries and for missionaries. Developing grammars for speakers of a language only makes sense if the objective is to preserve and teach a written literary heritage or to strength a nationality. According to João de Barros (op. cit., p. 293), grammar is “a right and fair way of speaking and writing, taken from the use and authority of learned men”. Then, this was not the missionaries' objective when elaborating grammars of exotic languages. They were not interested in preserving any written literary heritage (and, in the case of the Amerindian languages, it did not exist), but in bringing the evangelical message to the overseas peoples. Catechesis, in effect, was the ultimate goal of dictionary and grammatical work. Thus, in the triad vocabulary, grammar and catechetical literature were exhausted the demands of producing texts that faced the religious orders and their devoted missionaries. Such catechetical literature in Latin America included:

- The Roman Catechism itself (containing Christian doctrine) translated into indigenous languages
- Sermons and homilies
- Booklets followed by prayers, for the teaching of indigenous languages to children together with the teaching of religion
- Confessionals
- Daily spiritual exercises
- Christian psalmody and religious songs
- Translation of the Epistles and the Gospels
- Translation of papal bulls into indigenous languages
- Biography of pious Indians
- Pastoral manuals (Missals)
- Biographies of saints
- Works on the life of Jesus
- Manual of the sacraments
- Religious records and poems

Viñaza's catalog (1892, p. 96) also includes a profane work in the indigenous language: it is a version for the Nahuatl of three comedies by Lope de Vega, made by Bartolomé Alba, in 1641. However, it does not appear that it was published. However, this was not always the case for languages with a purely oral tradition. In the 16th century, Europeans also faced complex societies that already knew writing and that already had written literature that was more than a thousand years old, as, for instance, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians, who even had religious books as old or more even older than the Bible (for instance, the Rg Veda and the Tao Te King). In this case, the demands of linguistic study on the part of the missionaries went beyond the mere production of catechetical texts. Illustrative of this situation faced by missionaries in Asia was the work of Jesuit Matteo Ricci in China, who arrived in Macau in 1582. Ricci produced Chinese literature of a non-catechetical nature, with the explicit aim of drawing China's attention to European culture, intending to make it interested in his God. To face the challenge of learning Chinese, Matteo Ricci created a mnemonic method that left the Chinese aristocracy stunned. Some said that he could remember any book he had read in passing only once (Spence, 1986, p. 155). Ricci wrote in Chinese *Ten Speeches by a Paradoxical Man* (1608), *About a Friendship* (1559), where he quoted classic authors, *Twenty-Five Sentences* (1605), selection of thoughts by Epictetus. Ricci, on the other hand, translated the Elements of Euclid's geometry into Chinese and performed work in optics, astronomy, geography, topographic

surveys, horology. Ricci sought to involve the Chinese in their scientific achievements so that they would become more receptive to the Christian faith.

In the catechetical field, Matteo Ricci printed in Chinese the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (TianzhuShiyi), a summary of Christian doctrine in which a Chinese and a Christian scholar dialogue and where Ricci presents famous ethical arguments from the classical Greco-Roman tradition. In Ming Dynasty China, Catholic missionaries faced a complex and literate society with a language written with an ideographic alphabet and ancient literature. Very different challenges existed for the missionaries of America, who would give an alphabet to the American languages, since they had only an oral tradition. If in certain regions the needs for text production were not limited to the “vocabulary-grammar-catechism” triad, but also extended to the field of Ethics, Sciences and Apologetics, this was yet an exception. In America and Africa it was exactly that triad that predominated, with rare deviations to related fields, as is the case with Tupi poetry by Father Anchieta and even his theater in that language.

CONCLUSION

If the term “grammar”, until then, was not used in the West to designate more than a body of systematization of classical languages, the 16th century began to witness the massive grammar elaboration of the languages of the world, dead or alive, European, American and Asian languages. The 16th century, in effect, made all languages worthy of having a written grammar. Thus, in addition to being a period of expansion of geographical boundaries, the 16th century would also be a period of expansion of linguistic borders. However, if the grammar elaboration of vernacular and exotic languages were a new and unprecedented fact, the grammars of classical languages in the Renaissance would be reformed only, in a more or less original way, since they had existed since antiquity. In this way, the weight of the classical heritage of many centuries, of a grammatical tradition rooted in the soil of classical and medieval times, would inevitably be felt in the grammars of vernacular and exotic languages.

However, if the grammar elaboration of the vernacular languages and the renewal of the grammars of the ancient languages were a Renaissance characteristic, the work of grammar elaboration of the so-called “exotic languages” would be the result of missionary work which accompanied the Renaissance expansion in the 16th century, but did not identify itself with it. On the contrary, it denied its fundamental postulates. Why was Europe the continent that took on the task of massive elaboration of grammars of world's languages? According to Auroux (1992, p. 40), “other civilizations - Indian, Chinese, Greek-Latin - had the practical and theoretical means and, probably, also the multilingual contacts necessary to do so. It turns out that, without a doubt, multilingual contacts are not enough to constitute a determining causality”.

Several factors, in our view, determined Europe's preeminence in the grammar elaboration of languages around the world:

- -The missionary character of the Christian religion, which deepened itself with the Protestant Reformation. As the Catholic Church lost its unity in the West, there was an urgent need to prevent the spread of Protestantism throughout the world. Missionary work was therefore necessary to prevent followers of Calvin or Luther from converting the pagan peoples. In this sense, neither the Hindus, nor the Chinese, nor the ancient Greeks and Romans had motivations of a religious order to undertake that task. The Arabs, on the other hand, although they had become a cosmopolitan people and although they had expanded their presence on three continents, they did not have a missionary religion, nor did they conceive the idea that the truths of the Quran were transmitted in a

language other than Arabic. In addition, under Arab domination, the cultures of the subjugated peoples did not usually disappear, but they had the opportunity to survive, given that the Muslim religion was not imposed on them, but only the Muslim political domain. The main objective of the Holy War was to subdue the infidel and his territories, instead of converting him to Islam.

- Only in Europe would there be a social class with a strong revolutionary potential such as the bourgeoisie that would undermine the feudal system, leading to the formation of centralized national states. Together with national states, there was the issue of the emergence of national languages as "*companions of the Empire*". Meanwhile, the Orient was divided into immense empires (Ottoman, Chinese), consolidated for centuries and with languages with a strong literary tradition. In Europe, on the other hand, the sense of nationality was diluted during the Middle Ages in that of "Latin Christianity". The language of coalescing strength, of the cohesion of peoples, of the Church, was not the language of those same peoples.
- Nowhere has this occurred outside Europe. Latin would hover, at the supranational level, as a factor of unification, alongside phenomena of dispersion and fragmentation represented by the neo-Latin and vernacular languages. These were spoken daily, but only Latin would be studied in schools, so that "studying grammar" meant "studying Latin", to allow access to written culture. Grammar becomes "a general learning technique, applicable to any language, including the mother tongue" (Auroux, 1992, p. 42). This is because Latin was a second language in medieval Europe and its grammar was used extensively for the purposes of linguistic pedagogy, that is, to learn a language that was not the mother tongue. Once the medieval political balance was broken and with the formation of the new national states, the vernacular languages would be brought to the forefront, but Latin grammar would be behind their grammars, which then became formalized and would be the model of any grammar that was written.
- Only in Europe was a dichotomy established between the languages of expression of classical and religious knowledge and the language of worship. In fact, ecclesiastical Latin has moved away from classical Latin. Hebrew and Greek, although the languages in which the truths of faith were expressed, were little known. Thus, Renaissance humanism was, according to Rico (1978), often a struggle against medieval Latin and its "barbarism".

This dichotomy would not take place outside Europe. In China, India, in the Arab world, classical knowledge was at the center of religious and cultural practices. In addition, unlike the phenomenon of language mobility in the West, one can observe its static character in the East, where the written language and the intensity of the culture of the texts delay the change of the spoken language.

- In this way, certain conditions were established in Europe that would lead, in the sixteenth century, to the eclosion of grammars, fact of important consequences for the hegemonic role that Europe would play in the coming centuries over the world.

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