A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF THE LÍNGUA GERAL AMAZÔNICA

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- ABSTRACT: This paper demonstrates that the changes undergone by Língua Geral Amazônica over 300 years, although it had been exposed to external interference from the Portuguese language and a number of indigenous languages, its development has been gradual without a breakdown on its transmission. This accounts for its genetic origin, according to the principles underlying the Comparative Method and the theoretical model proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). This approach brings evidence against the claim that Língua Geral Geral Amazônica is a creole language neither a language developed by the seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries. Therefore, this paper contributes to the viewing of Língua Geral Amazônica is a version of the Tupinambá language which developed outside the Tupinambá villages but maintaining its genetic relations with the subbranch III of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, together with Tupinambá, Tupí Antigo and the Língua Geral Paulista, as proposed by Rodrigues (1985), in his internal classification of that family.

- KEYWORDS: Língua Geral Amazônica. Historical changes. Normal transmission. External interferences. Tupí-Guaraní family.

Introduction[1]

The Amazonian Língua Geral (LGA) compared to Tupinambá, of which it is the only surviving variety, reveals itself very simplified in all of its dialects recorded since the 18th century, with respect to its phonology and morphosyntax. This simplification, added to lexical and syntactic borrowings from Portuguese, has induced several scholars to consider it a language of non-genetic origin, either artificially created by the Jesuits on the basis of Tupinambá, or a result of a mixture of Portuguese and Tupinambá, or yet of imperfect learning of Tupinambá by speakers of Portuguese and other genetically distinct languages. However, if we consider linguistic data corresponding to different moments of the history of LGA, we observe that the reductions of the Tupinambá linguistic subsystems in

LGA did not occur suddenly, but in different proportions in the areas where this language was spoken during the last four hundred years. The present paper focus on some important morphosyntactic changes underwent by LGA throughout its history, taking into account a relevant amount of data, which provide evidence against the view that the origin of LGA was non-genetic. It also seeks to contribute to understanding the role of the Jesuit missionaries in the consolidation of LGA in their missions and its expansion during the colonial period.

The later 17th century and 18th century LGA

We have examined four of the published documents of 18th century LGA: *Doutrina Cristã em Língua Geral dos Indios do Estado do Brasil e Maranhão, composta pelo P. Philippe Bettendorf, traduzida em língua irregular, e vulgar uzada nestes tempos* (DOUTRINA..., 16--)[2], *Dicionário Português-Brasiliano* (ONOFRE, 1934), *Caderno da Língua* (CL) (CADERNO..., 1937), and *Vocabulário Português-Brasílico* (VPB) (VOCABULÁRIO..., 1951). These documents, that correspond approximately to the phase called *Brasiliano* by F. Edelweiss (1969), reveal varieties already differentiated from the Tupinambá described by Anchieta (1933), and Figueira (1878), and present in Antonio de Araujo's catechism (1618), and in the second editions of both by J. F. Bettendorf with a revision by Bertolameu de Leão (1687 and 1686, respectively), as well as in the catechism written by Bettendorf (1687) himself in the 17th century. Some of the differences between the written data of 18th century LGA and the language attested in the sources mentioned consist in the replacement of some original Tupinambá morphological devices by syntactic ones and in some light reductions in its morphological systems – relational, casual, personal, modal, and of voice. These changes, as attested in the 18th century documents, are indications of the nature and directions of the main posterior changes that came to be established in LGA, when the Jesuit missionaries no more acted in the villages of Amazonia (their expulsion from Brazil was in 1759).

The data examined here[3] also highlight important indications that, after approximately one hundred years of use out of its natural social context – the

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[2]   Differently from F. Edelweiss (1969, p.138) we consider this manuscript a work by Bettendorf' copied by another missionary some years after the publication of that work. In favor of our interpretation speak not only the expression "translated into the irregular and vulgar language used in these times", but also the information by the historian of the Jesuits in Brazil, F. Serafim Leite, who states that the letter of this manuscript reveals a foreign (i. e. non-Portuguese) writer, but is not that of Bettendorf. Indeed, the language of this manuscript reveals a light differentiation from the Tupinambá as documented previously, and that it probably represents the LGA spoken at the end of the 16th century and beginning of 17th. However, we will consider it provisorialsly an undate anonymos work.

[3]   Abbreviations: ARG = argument; CAUS = causative; C.COM = commitative causative; DAT = dative; DOUBT = dubitative aletic particle; GER = gerund; IND.II = indicative II mood; NOM = nominalizer; Q = question; R¹ = relational prefix

Tupinambá villages – LGA, although presenting various signs of structural changes in process, was still conserving strong characteristics of the Tupinambá original inflexional morphology. The results of the contrastive analysis developed here favor the vision that LGA is not a language whose origin is non-genetic. Instead, they constitute indications that LGA is a modified version of the Tupinambá language, which has undergone gradual changes since the time it came to be used as the first language of children born in the mestizo social contexts developed during the first decades of Portuguese colonization in Maranhão and Grão Pará (RODRIGUES, 1996).

Stem classes

The first set of grammatical features considered here is the system of **relational prefixes** present in Tupinambá, which constitute one of the most intricate inflectional devices of the Tupí-Guaraní grammar. The **relational prefixes** have been so called by Rodrigues since his early studies on the Tupinambá language (RODRIGUES, 1952, 1953), because their fundamental function is to relate a dependent stem – noun, postposition or verb – to its determiner, enabling it to occur in the syntax. The **relational prefixes** are also among the grammatical marks that have shown strong resistance in the history of any individual Tupí-Guaraní language.

Rodrigues (2000) has identified four relational prefixes in Tupinambá, represented here by R^1, R^2, R^3, and R^4. R^1 prefix, which has two allomorphs *r-* and *∅-*, signals that the dependent theme forms a syntactic constituent with its determiner, which is the immediate preceding expression. R^2 prefix, whose allomorphs are *s- ~ jos- ∞ t- ∞ i- ~ jo- ∞ ∅-*, signals that the dependent stem and its determiner are not contiguous, the latter being expressed elsewhere or going unexpressed. R^3 prefix signals that the determiner is generic and human and its allomorphs are *t- ∞ m- ∞ ʔ- ∞ V- → ∅*. Finally, R^4 prefix *o- (o- ~ w-)* relates the dependent stem to its determiner, signing that it is co-referent to the subject of the main clause. Rodrigues (1981) has proposed the division of the Tupinambá relative stems into three main classes. Those combining with the allomorph *∅-* of R^1 prefix were included into Class I, those combining with the allomorph *r-* of this same prefix were included into Class II, and those stems which do not combine with any relational prefix, into Class III. Each of the two first stem classes was divided into subclasses according to the allomorphs of the R^2 and R^3 prefixes. The following charter adapted from Rodrigues (1981) shows the organization of such a division:

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marking the contiguity of a determiner; R^2 = relational prefix marking the non-contiguity of a determiner; R^3 = relational prefix marking a co-reference whit the subject of an intransitive verb; R^4 = relational prefix marking a generic determiner; LP = punctual locative; NEG = negation; OPT = optative; REC = reciprocal; REF = reflexive; REL = relational; SUB = subjunctive.

	Class I		Class II				Class III
	Ia	Ib	IIa	IIb	IIc	Iid	
R^1	∅-	∅-	r-	r-	r-	r-	--
R^2	i- ~ jo-	i-	s- ~ jos-	t-	s-	s-	--
R^3	∅-	m-	t-	t-	∅-	V- → ∅	--
R^4	o-	o-	o-	o-	o-	o-	--

Chart 1 – Tupinambá relational prefixes

Source: Author himself.

Relational prefixes in nouns

18th century LGA conserved systematically the relational prefixes R^1, R^2 and R^3 in nouns, although R^4 prefix was unsystematically replaced by R^2 prefix (example 8), in situations that originally required the former(as in 9):[4]

Class Ia

R^1
1)
Tupã nhëénga rupí
Tupã ∅-je'éŋ-a   r-upí
GOD R^1-speak -ARG R^1-by.means.OF
'..by means of God's speech' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -]p. 5v).

R^2
2)
Marátäé tipé   inhëénga poracaraçába reraçóu?
marã ta'é tipé   i-je'éŋ-a   ∅-porakara-sáβ-a   r-era-só-w?
how   Q   DOUBT R^2-speak-ARG R^1-accomplish-NOM-ARG R^1-C.COM-go-IND.II
'how to accomplish his words?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p. 27).

R^3
3)
 opacatú nhëenga cuapára
opá-katú   ∅-je'éŋ-a   ∅-kuáp-ár-a
all-well R^3-speak-ARG R^1-know-NOM-ARG
'one who knows all languages...' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.45v).

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4   Edelweiss (1969, p.141) offers an additional example from DCLG, which shows the replacement of R^4 by R^2.

R^4

4)

onhëénga pupé nhóte

o-je'éɲ-a　　　*∅-pupé*　　　*jõte*

R^4-speak-ARG　　R^2-with　　only

'... only with his (own) words' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.11).

Class IIb

R^1

5)

oré　　　　rúba

oré　　　*r-úβ-a*

WE.EXCL.　R^1-father-arg

'our father' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p. 77).

R^2

6)

túba

t-úβ-a

R^2-father-arg

'his father' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.77).

R^3

7)

Tupã　Túba

Tupã　***t-úβ-a***

god　R^3-father-ARG

'God father' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.9).

8)

omomytá　cerá erimbäé ojoecé ipý ipó ipyá cutucagöera

o-mo-mɨtá　　　*será*　　　*erima'é*　*o-jo-esé*

3-CAUS-remain　　DOUBT　　once　　R^3-REC-in.relation.to

i-pɨ́-∅　　　*i-pó-∅*　　　*i-pɨ'á-∅*　　　*∅-kutúk-á-wér-a*

R^2-foot-ARG　R^2-hand-ARG　R^2-entrails-ARG　r^1-pierce-NOM-RET-ARG

'did he make remain with himself his feet, hands and entrails wound
marks?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.30).

The presence of the postposition o-jo-esé 'with himself' in the example above indicates that the possessor of *-pý, -pó* and *-py'á* is co-referential with the subject of the verb -momytá. In this case, these nouns should receive the co-referential o- (R4) (as in 9), not the non co-referential i- (R2) (example 8).

9)

o-mo-mɨtá	*será*	*erima'é*
3-CAUS-remain	doubt	once

o-jo-esé	*o-pɨ́-Ø*	*o-pó-Ø*
R^3-REF- in.relation.to	R^4-foot-ARG	R^4-hand-ARG

o-pɨ'á-Ø	*Ø-kutúk-á-wér-a*
R^4-entrail-ARG	R^1-pierce-NOM-RET-ARG

'did he make remain with himself his own feet, hands and entrails wound marks?'

Data like 8 show that in the 18th century the relational prefix R4 started loosing its functionality, a process that was accomplished in the 19th century, as seen in the examples below from the dialect spoken on the Rio Negro:

10)

Çuaçú oikuénte	oruíári	reçé	ce ṭimãn	reçé
suasú o-ikuénte	*o-ruíári*	*r-esé*	*s-etɨmã*	*r-esé*
3-calm	3-trust	R^1-for	R^2-leg	R^1-for

'The deer was calm for he was confident of his own legs' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.88).

11)

Cunhã-mucú,	çóca	upé,	onhehẽ	i ména	çupé:
kuñãmukú	*s-óka*	*upé*	*o-ñeʔẽ*	*i-ména*	*supé*
young.girl	R^2-house	at	3-speak	R^2-husband	to

'At home the young girl said to her husband...' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.168).

By the 19th century, the original relational system of Tupinambá was already reduced in LGA to two morphemes, R1- and R2-, as illustrated by examples 12 (from the Negro River) and 13 (from the Juruá River):

12)

pirakaçára	oierẹo	i igára	irúmo	ipéca	arãma	i akãnga
pirakasára	*o-jeréw*	*i-igára*	*irúmo*	*ipéka*	*arama*	*i-akáŋga*
FISHER	3-CHANGE	R²-CANOE	WITH	DUCK	INTO	R²-HEAD

ipéca- akãnga	arãma
ipéka-akáŋga	*aráma*
DUCK-HEAD	INTO

'The fisher changed with his canoe into a duck, his head into a duck's head'
(MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.168).

13)

Çuaçú	oikuénte	oruiári	rẹçé	cẹ ṭimãn	recé
suasú	*o-ikuẽte*	*o-rujári*	*r-esé*	*s-etɨmã*	*resé*
DEER	3-BE.CALM	3-TRUST	R¹-IN	R²-LEG	R¹-IN

'The deer was calm because he trusted his legs' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.212).

It is important to observe that the same kind of reduction also took place in the individual history of other Tupí-Guaraní languages, such as Urubú-Ka'apór and Guajá. Although this change may have occurred in these languages under the influence of LGA, the reduction underwent by LGA itself was not the result of missionary interference, as shown by the inspection of linguistic material produced by the Jesuits in the 16th and 17th centuries.[5] Further examples of relational prefixes in verbs and postpositions will be given in the following sections, when other aspects of the LGA will be considered.

The case system

Rodrigues (1981, 2000) has described six morphological cases for Tupinambá: four locative cases – punctual, diffuse, situational and translative –, one dative case (exclusively in independent pronouns), and one argumentive case. This latter inflects nominal and verbal roots or stems allowing them to have a syntactic argument function:

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[5]   Some Tupí-Guaraní languages also have reduced the number of allomorphs of the R³ relational prefix or have changed the morphological class of certain lexical items (CABRAL, 2001).

	after V	after Vⁿ	after C	after N
Locative				
Punctual	*-pe*	*-me*	*-ɨpe*	*-ɨme*
Diffuse	*-βo*	*-βo*	*-iβo*	*-iβo*
Situational	*-j*	*-j*	*-i*	*-i*
Translative	*-ramo*	*-namo*	*-amo*	*-amo*
Dative	*-βe ~ -βo*	*-me ~ -mo*	*-*	*-*
Argumentive	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-a*	*-a* (RODRIGUES, 1994).

LGA in the 18th century preserved intact the punctual locative (14-15) and the dative (16):

14)
Coýr   ybýpe   peicó   nitío   ybypóramo
koýr   iβɨ-pe   pe-ikó   nitíw   iβɨ-pór-amo
now   earth-PL   23-be   NEG   earth-inhabitant-TRANS
'you are now on the earth (but) not as its (permanent) inhabitants' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.2).

15)
perapé cycába ybakype cecóu
pé   r-apé   Ø-sɨ́k-áβ-a   iβák-ɨpe   s-ekó-w
23   R¹-path-ARG   R¹-arrive-NOM-ARG   heaven-PL   R²-be-IND.II
'the arrival of your path is in the heaven' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.2).

16)
Mbäéráma recé Tupã imëéng jandébo?
ma'é-rám-a   r-esé   tupã-Ø   i-me'éŋ   jané-βo
thing-FUT-ARG   R¹-in.relation.to   god-ARG   R²-give   12(3)-DAT
'for what did God give it to us?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.102).

Some varieties of LGA attested during the 19th century were still preserving those two cases, as for example the variety spoken in Santarém:

17)
ixé   ñúnté   kuri   xasó   kaápe.
iʃé   ñũ   té   kurí   ʃa-só   ka'á-pe
1   only   realy   FUT   1-go   forest-LOC
'I go by myself to the forest' (HARTT, 1938, p.348).

18)
emukytan se renimú ixéu
e-mukɨtã sé r-enimú iʃé-w
2-tie 1 R¹-string 1-DAT
'tie my string down for me!' (HARTT, 1938, p.333).

19)
maá taá rerúr yanéu
maá taá re-rúr jané-w
what Q 2-bring 1pl-DAT
'what did you bring to us?' (HARTT, 1938, p.337).

In this variety of LGA as well as in that of Rio Negro the punctual locative suffix also had become a new postposition *opé* or *upé*:

20)
xasó rañé amú óka *opé*
ʃa-só rañẽ amũ óka Ø-opé
1-go IMPERF other house R¹-to
'let me go to another house!' (HARTT, 1938, p.365).

In one of the varieties of the LGA spoken in the lower Rio Negro, the dative case was replaced by the particle *aráma*, as illustrated by the example below:

21)
xa uácẽmo ndé; xá mehẽ curí indé arãma
ʃa-wasémo ndé ʃa-meʔẽ kurí indé aráma
1-find 2 1-give FUT 2 to
'I will find you and I will give it to you' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.177).

22)
Iautí onhehẽ: - Xa putári: rẹmunúca iépe
jautí o-jeʔẽ ʃa-putári re-munúka jepé
tortoise 3-speak 1-want 2-cut one

çuaxára inẹ arãma; amũ, ixé arãma.
suaʃára iné aráma amũ iʃé aráma.
portion 2 to other 1 to
'the tortoise said: I want to separate a portion for you and another one for me' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.184).

In other varieties of the LGA, such as the one spoken at the Juruá River, the locative case came to be manifested after nouns exclusively by the postposition *opé*:

23)

Iautí	oikí	įuį́	quára	úpe,	opęiú	cę	męmĩ,
Jautí	*o-ikí*	*ɨwɨ́*	*kwára*	*Ø-upé*	*o-pejú*	*s-*	*ememí*
tortoise	3-enter	ground	hole	R¹-at	3-blow	R²-	flute

opuraçáin	oikǫ́:	fin, fin, fin, …
(opuraçaĩ)		
o-purasãj	*o-ikó*	*fin, fin, fin*
3-to.dance	3-be	fin, fin, fin

'the tortoise entered the land hole, blew up its flute and was dancing: fin fin fin …' (MAGALHÃES 1876, I, p.204).

As to the translative case, it was still functional in 18th century LGA (24 and 26), but was already superimposed to the argumentive form (as in 25) and replaced by the particle *ráma* as shown in 27-29:

24)

Coýr ybýpe peicó nitío ybypóramo
Koýr ɨβɨ́-pe   pe-ikó   nitíw   ɨβɨ́-pór-amo
now earth-LOC   23-to.be   NEG   arth-inhabitant-TRANS
'now you are in the earth not as its (permanent) inhabitants' (DOUTRINA...,
[16 -], p.2).

25)

mbae rece Tupã Täýra jandé jabé apyabáramo onhemonháng
ma'é   r-esé   Tupã-Ø   t-a'ýr-a   jandé
thing   R¹-in.relation.to god-ARG   R⁴-son-ARG   12(3)

jaβé   apyaβ-á-ramo   o-je-mojáŋ
like   man-ARG-TRANS   3-REF-make
'why God's Son made himself a human being like us? (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.22v).

26)

Abá irúnamo túri?
aβá   Ø-irũ-namo   t-úr-i
person   R¹-companion-TRANS   R²-to.come
'he came as companion of whom?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.24v).

27)

Aba pe erimbäe Tupána omonháng ypý ybypóra ráma?

aβá   pe   erima'é   Tupán-a   o-mojáŋ-ɨpɨ́ iβɨ́-pór-a ráma?

who   Q   once   god-ARG   3-make-begining-earth-inhabitant-ARG as

'who did God make once as the first earth's inhabitants?'

(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.15v).

29)

Mbäe täe oimonháng ceteráma?

ma'é   ta'é   o-i-mojáŋ   s-eté   ráma

what   doubt   3-R^2-to.make   R^2-body   as

'what has he made as his body?' (DOUTRINA,..., [16 -], p.14v).

Finally, with regard to the argumentative case -a, this was still functional in all nouns ending in a consonant, including borrowings from Portuguese:

30)

Tupana papéra äé eté ocuatiár

tupán-a   Ø-papér-a   a'é   eté   o-k^{w}atiár

god-ARG   R^1-paper-ARG   this   genuine   3-draw

'he really wrote the book of God' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.48).

The grammar of 18th century LGA was still distinguishing nouns functioning as argument from nouns functioning as predicates by means of the argumentive case, as it can be illustrated by the contrastive pair *t-orýb* 'is happy' and *oré r-orýb-a* 'our happiness' (DOUTRINA..., [1--], p.121v).[6]

With respect to the diffuse and situational locatives, only examples of the former are found in the data available in 18th century LGA: "ary-bo 'on' " and "kupé-bo 'behind' " (VOCABULÁRIO..., 1951, p.50). These two cases disappeared from the 19th century LGA.

The reduction of the Tupí-Guaraní morphological case system occurred also in other languages of the family, such as Urubú-Ka'apór, Wayampí, Emérillon (branch VIII of the family), Araweté and Anambé (branch V), Mbyá and Xetá (branch I), among others.

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[6] However, some morphemes which had the grammatical status of suffixes in Tupinambá started functioning as independent words, preserving an unstressed final **a** in the phonological form of the preceding noun, but already no more analyzable.

Verb inflectional morphology

Tupinambá verbs combined with the following inflectional morphemes: (a) personal prefixes; b) relational prefixes; c) modal suffixes; d) voice prefixes – reciprocal and reflexive; and f) a negation suffix.

Indicative mood

According to Rodrigues (1953), the Tupinambá language distinguished morphologically two varieties of the indicative mood: indicative I and indicative II. Indicative II was triggered when an adverbial expression was preceding the predicate, and indicative I occurred elsewhere, inclusive when an adverbial expression, if present in the sentence, followed the predicate. In indicative I verbs inflected for subject (prefixes *a-* '1', *ere-* '2', ja- '12(3)', *oro-* '13', *pe-* '23' e *o-* '3') (*a-sém* /1-leave/ 'I left'). In transitive verbs these person markers occurred only when the object was a third person. In this case, the verb also combined with the relational prefix R2 (*a-i-nupã* /1-R2-beat/ 'I beat it').

As observed by Edelweiss (1969, p.139), the 18th century LGA already presented an oscillation in the use of R2 with transitive verbs (examples 20-21):

31)
Mbäétäé oimonháng ceteráma?

ma'é	*ta'é*	*o-i-mojáŋ*	*s-eté*	*ráma*
what	Q	3-R²-make	R²-body	as
'what	has	he made	as	his	body?'

(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.15v).

32)
Abápe erimbäé Tupána omonháng ypý ybýpóra ráma

aβá-ø	*pe*	*erima'é*	*Tupán-a*	*o-mojáŋ*
who-ARG	Q	distant.PAST	god-ARG	3-make

ɨpɨ́	*iβɨ-pór-a*	*ráma*
beginning	earth-NOM-ARG	as

'who did God make as the first earth's inhabitants?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.15v).

Another relevant fact which is observable in the 18th century variety of the LGA recorded in the DPB is the alternation of the original first person subject *a-* with the innovative form *ʃa-*. This is a fundamental indication that the definitive substitution of the former by the latter in various dialects of LGA attested in the

19th century was processual. A recurrent example of ʃa- found in found is: *Nitío xacoáub* (NEG 1-know/can) "I do not know" or "I cannot" (ONOFRE, 1934, p.99). The data reccorded by Hartt from the 19th century LGA dialects spoken at Ereré and among the Mawé Indians show the form *ha-* for the first person, while the form *a-* is found in the Rio Negro dialect and the form ʃa- in dialects of other geographic areas, such as the Solimões River.

Ereré
33)
hasó	hamopyryrik	se	mantéga
ha-só	*ha-mopɨrɨrik*	*se*	*mantéga*
1-go	1-fry	1	butter

'I will fry my butter' (HARTT, 1929, p.319).

34)
ixé	hakéri	yuype
iʃé	*ha-kéri*	*ɨwɨ-pe*
1	**1**-sleep	ground-LOC

'I will sleep on the ground' (HARTT, 1929, p.348).

Mawé dialect
35a)
ixé	intí	haroyar	sesé
iʃé	*intí*	*ha-rojár*	*s-esé*
1	NEG	**1**-to.believe	R^2-in.relation.to

'I do not believe it' (HARTT, 1929, p.362).

Santarém dialect
35b)
xasó	xamuí	ymyrá	yí	irúm
ʃa-só	*ʃa-muí*	*ɨmɨrá*	*jí*	*irúm*
1-GO	**1**-SPLIT	WOOD	AX	WITH

'I will split the wood with the ax' (HARTT, 1929, p.319).

Monte Alegre dialect
35c)
intí	xarekó	maá	puʃí	uaé
intí	*ʃa-rekó*	*maá*	*puʃí*	*waé*
NEG	**1**-have	thing	bed	REL

'I do not have bad things' (HARTT, 1929, p.338).

Lower Rio Negro dialect
35d)

Rẹtịrị́ca,	iautí	curumú	xa-pirú	indẹ́.
retɨ́rɨ́ka	*jautí*	*Kurumú*	*ʃa-pirú*	*indé*
2.go.away	land turtle	otherwise	**1**-step.on	2

 'Go out, tortoise, otherwise I step on you!' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.177).

Stradelli (1928, p.357) observes that in some areas of the Rio Negro and the Solimões, the first person prefix had the phonological form a-. This is the form used today in the Upper Rio Negro, as illustrated by the following data:

36)

a-maá	a-purungitá	a-mundú	a-mburi
1-see	1-speak	1-send	1-throw
'I see'	'I speak'	'I send (it)'	'I throw (it) away' (TAYLOR, 1991, p.8).

37)
a-maã
1-see
'I see (it)' (TAYLOR, 1991, p.69).

However Tastevin (1923, p.99, emphasis added) has recorded ʃa- in the Solimões: "*Cet **a** n´est autre en effet que le pronom personnel "je" qu'ici l'on prononce **ša** et qui ne fait point partie du verbe*

The linguistic data collected by Cabral in 1986 from one of the last speakers of the dialect of the LGA spoken at the Solimões River shows the retention of the form ʃa- in the LGA spoken in that region in the 20th century:

38)

i ʃé	*ʃa-goxtári*	*ʃa-mãã*	*jaã*	*kuñãmukú*	*r-esé*
1	**1**-tlike	**1**-see	that	young.girl	R^1-in.relation.to

'I liked to see that young girl' (CABRAL, 1986).

39)

xa-naséri	*Sacambú*	*Ø-opé*
1-be.born	Sacambú	R^1-in

'I was born in Sacambú' (CABRAL, 1986).

The LGA linguistic data "collected" by Magalhães (1876), Stradelli (1928), Hartt (1929), Taylor (1991), and Cabral (1986) offer indications that during the 19th and

20th centuries there were at least three distinct forms for the first person prefix accross the dialectal variants of LGA, an evidence that this change cannot be attributed to Jesuit interference.

Yet in Tupinambá, in the indicative mood, when the subject was '1' or '13' and the object '2' or '23', the verb did not receive subject prefixes, but object prefixes (*oro-* '2' or *opo-* '23', as for example in *oro-nupã* /('1/13') 2-hit/ 'I/we (excl.) hit you'*; opo-nupã* /('1/13') 23-hit/ 'I/we (excl.) hit you (plur.)). These combinations of agent and patient were expressed in this way no matter the variety of the indicative mood. However such a pattern is not found in the LGA documents examined here.

The last observations to be made on the Tupinambá indicative I are that, when a first or second person was the patient and a third person was the agent, the subject was not marked on the verb. On the other hand the verb was inflected with the relational prefix R^1 and the patient was expressed by an absolute personal pronoun (*sjé r-epják* /1 R^1-to.see/ 'he saw me'; *oré r-epják* /13 R^1-to.see/ 'he saw us (excl.)'. The same pattern was found whith a patient of the first person and an agent of the second person. In this particular case, the agent was manifested by a post-verbal ergative pronoun (*jepé* '2' or *pejepé* '23') (RODRIGUES, 1998). Of these combinations, only those with the subject in a third or second person were found in the documents of 18th century LGA examined here:

40)
Tupána pemonháng
Tupán-a   pé   Ø-mojáŋ
god-ARG   **23**   R^2-make
'God has made you (pl)' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.1v).

41)
mbäeráma Tupána jandé monháng?
ma'é   ráma   tupán-a   jané   Ø-mojáŋ
what   for   god-ARG   12   R^1-to.make
'for what has God made us?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.1v).

An interesting fact to be remarked here is the unsystematic presence of an unstressed final vowel in verbal stems ending in a consonant, a proof that the generalization of this pattern for the verb stems in most dialects of the 18th century LGA had developed gradually.

42)

a)
mondoçóca
mo-nó-sóka
CAUS-break-break.up
'to break into pieces' (ONOFRE, 1934, p.83).

b)
mocanhémo
mo-kajémo
CAUS-get.lost
'to frighten' (ONOFRE, 1934, p.62).

The other variety of the indicative mood in Tupinambá, the indicative II, was triggered when an adverbial expression preceded the predicate (RODRIGUES, 1953). In this case, the verb did not combine with personal prefixes, but with relational prefixes. The verb stems were also inflected for the modal suffix -i (after consonant) ~ -w (after vowel). In the 17th century LGA, the indicative II was still active (44-45), although there were instances of constructions with the indicative I in situations that originally required the indicative II (46-48):[7]

43)

crúza	recé	imojári
cruz-a	*r-esé*	*i-mojár-i*
cross-ARG	R^1-in.relation.to	R^2-nail-IND.II

'they nailed him on the cross' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.23v).

44)

pe rapé cycába ybakype **c**ekou			
pé	*r-apé-Ø*	*Ø-sŧk-áb-a*	*ɨbák-ɨpe*	*s-ekó-w*
23	R^1-path-ARG	R^1-arrive-NOM-ARG	heaven-LP	R^2-be-IND.II

'the end of your path is in the heaven' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.2).

45)

abá	recé	omanó	cruza	recé?
aβá-Ø	*r-esé*	*o-manõ*	*krúz-a*	*r-esé*
person-ARG	R^1-in.relation.to	3-die	cross-ARG	R^1-on

'for whom did he die on the cross?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.24v).

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[7] Edelweiss (1969) has called the attention to the absence of the final *i* corresponding to the modal suffix marking the indicative II.

46)

mbäétaé çüí omonhang çeté?

mba'é ta'é ∅-suí o-mojáŋ s-eté

thing int R^2-from 3-make R^2-body

'from what did he (God) make his body?' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.15v).

47)

ndébo oronheángerúr ore poacémbäé oré jacëõbäébé

né-βo oro-je-áŋ-erúr oré ∅-poasém-βa'é oré ∅-jase'õ-βa'é βé

2-DAT 13-REF-soul-bring 13 R^1-wail -REL 13 R^1-weep-REL too

'to you we sigh, we who wail, we who cry too'(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.60v).

Besides this oscillation in the use of the indicative II in some varieties of LGA, verbal stems with a final vowel were also inflected either with the allomorph *-i*, which originally combined with verbal stems ending in a consonant, or with the allomorph *-w,* which originally occurred with stems ending in a vowel: "*ko sekói* ou *ko sekóu*" 'here it is' (VPB, p. 49). This oscillation shows that the phonological conditioning of the allomorphy of the indicative II suffix started to be lost.

In 19th century LGA the indicative II had completely disappeared, except for some expressions such as *kuçukúi ãna* 'here it is' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, p.165), *cuçucui meiú* 'here is the food' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, p.146), *sucúe*, *misucui* 'here it is' (STRADELLI, 1928, p.186). However this lost was not exclusive of LGA, other Tupí-Guaraní languages have also lost this mood, as it is the case of Wayampí, Zo'é, Emérillon, Urubú-Ka'apór, all belonging to the branch VIII of the family.

The gerundial mood

In Tupinambá, the condition for a verbal stem to occur in the gerundial mood was the co-reference of its subject with the main clause subject. Transitive verbs combined with relational prefixes and the intransitive ones with the co-referential personal prefixes, and both transitive and intransitive verbs were inflected by the gerundial suffix: *-áβo* ~ *-ámo* (after high vowels, respectively oral and nasal) ~ *-βo* ~ *-mo* (after low vowels, respectively oral and nasal) and *-a* (after consonants). The data from 17th century LGA reveal that at that time the gerundial mood was still productive:

48)
… oapixára pixápixápa icutucutúca inupánupámo jamotarëÿma

o-apiʃár-a	*Ø-piʃá-piʃáp-a*	*i-kutú-kutúk-a*
R³-fellow-ARG	R¹-wound-wound-GER	R²-stab-stab-GER

i-nupã-nupã-mo	*i-amotár-e'ɨ́m-a*
R²-hit-hit-GER	R²-love-NEG-GER

'... wounding (in the head) his fellow, stabbing him, beating him, hating him'

(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.71).

49)
cunhã buruá moçangäíba üúbäé opuruá jucápotá

kujã-puruá	*m-posáŋ-a'íb-a*	*u-'ú-βa'é*
woman-pregnancy	R⁴medicine-bad-ARG	3-ingest-NOM

50)

o-puruá-Ø	*Ø-juká-potá-Ø*
R³-pregnancy-ARG	R¹-kill-wish-GER

'the woman who drinks a bad potion, wishing to kill her own pregnancy,

51)
coipó cunhã apyába recé oicó riré opuruápotárëÿma

koipó	*kujã-Ø*	*apɨáβ-a*	*r-esé*	*o-ikó*
or	woman-ARG	man-ARG	R²-with	3-be

52)

riré	*o-puruá-potár-e'ɨ́m-a*
after	3CORR-pregnancy-wish-NEG-GER

or the woman not wishing to get pregnant after having been with a man'
(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.71).

In the 19th century LGA had already lost the gerundial mood. However, most languages of branch VII and a language of branch V have also lost the gerundial suffix.

The subjunctive mood

In Tupinambá a dependent clause occurs in the subjunctive mood when its subject is not co-referential with the subject of the main clause. A verbal stem in the subjunctive mood is inflected with the relational prefixes and with the modal suffix *-ame* ~ *-name* (after oral and nasal vowels, respectively) ~ *-me* (after a labial consonant or *j̃*) and *-eme* (after other consonants). Even though the subjunctive mood was still used in 17th century LGA (32), the original restriction of non-correference of subjects between main and subordinate clauses was no more systematically observed (33):

53)
Ore pacárame okaçüí orecémrame, Tupã ókype Oreikérame, oré kéra janondébé

oré	Ø-páka-rame	'-ók-a	Ø-su'í	oré	Ø-sém-rame	Tupã-ók-ɨpe
13	R1- wake-SUB	R^4-house-ARG	R1-de	13	R^1-go.out-SUB	god-house-LP

ore iké-rame	oré	Ø-kér-a	janoné	βé
13 go.into-SUB	13	R^1-sleep-ARG	before	too

'When we wake, when we leave the house, when we enter the church, also before our sleeping' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.5).

54)
Xamanopotárame, tamanõ ndé graça pupé, xe mombëúcatúriré

ʃa	Ø-manõ-potá-rame	t	a-manõ	né	Ø-graça	Ø-pupé
1	R^1-die-wish-SUB	OPT	1-die	2	R^1-grace	R^1-inside

ʃe	Ø-mome'ú-katú	riré
1	R^2-tell-well	after

'when I will die, let me die in your grace, after having confessed' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.77).

There is also evidence from the LGA data recorded in the VPB of a fluctuation of *-reme* and *-rame*, as in *amôramê* and *amôremê* "sometimes" (VOCABULÁRIO..., 1951, p.25). A fact of interest here is that some Tupí-Guaraní languages have the form *-rame*, while others have the form *-reme*, and still others have *-ramo*.

By the 19th century, the suffix of the subjunctive mood was reanalysed in LGA as a particle. In some dialects such as those registered by Hartt (1929), Magalhães (1876), and Stradelli (1928), the form *ramé* had been fixed following not only stems ending in a vowel, but also stems ending in a consonant:

Dialect of the lower Rio Negro River

55)

pitúna	pucú	ramé,	coẽma	piranga	ramé**.**
pitúna	*pukú*	*ramé*	*ko'éma*	*piránga*	*ramé*
night	long	when	morning	red	when

'quando for noite alta, quando for madrugada' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.170).

Dialect of the Tocantins River

56)

aitá	ocýka	ramé
aitá	*o-sɨ́ka*	*ramé*
they	3-arrive	when

'when they arrive' (HARTT, 1929, p.367).

Mundurukú dialect (Tapajós)

57)

anirá	oké**r**	ára	ramé
anɨ́rá	*o-ké**r***	*ára*	*ramé*
bat	3-sleep	day	when

'bats sleep during the day' (HARTT, 1929, p.367).

Dialect of the lower Rio Negro River

58)

Pẹpirári	ramé	pecanhịma	curí.
pe-pirári	*ramé*	*pe-kañɨ́ma*	*kurí*
2PL-open	when	2PL-be.lost	FUT

'if you open it, you will be lost' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.165).

It is important to observe that other Tupí-Guaraní languages also have replaced the original subjunctive suffix by a particle, as it is the case of Tembé, Urubu-Ka'apór, Guajá, among others.

Voice

The inflectional prefixes *je-* 'reflexive' and *jo-* 'reciprocal' continued to occur in the 18th century LGA, although the reciprocal suffix was also used with a reflexive meaning in verbs (59-61) and postpositions (62):

59)
joausuba
jo-ausúβ-a
REC-love-ARG
'friendship'
(VOCABULÁRIO...,1951, p.20).

60)
A**io**cyty
a-**jo**-kytý
1-REF-rub
'I rub myself' (ONOFRE, 1934, p.196).

61)
A**io**cuê
a-**jo**-ku'é
1-REF-move.the.body
'move, look for'
(ONOFRE, 1934, p.196).

61)
Omomytá cerá erimbäe o**jo**ecé ipý i-pó i-pyá cutucagöera
*o-mom**ɨ**tá será erima'é o-**jo**-esé i-p**ɨ**-Ø*
3-CAUS- doubt once 3-REF- R¹-foot-ARG
stay in.rel.to

*i-pó-Ø i-p**ɨ**'á-Ø kutúk-á-wér-a*
R¹-hand-ARG R¹-heart- furar-NOM-RET-ARG
ARG
'he kept with himself the marks of the wounds in his feet, hands, and
entrails' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.30).

It is interesting to observe that the reciprocal prefix *jo-* was used in Tupinambá combined with postpositions with a reflexive meaning (ANCHIETA, 1933, p.15-16). Some Tupí-Guaraní languages of the septentrional branch have merged the two forms, as it is the case of Zo'é, Guajá, and Urubú-Ka'apór, a change that also took place in LGA during the XIX century.

Negation

In Tupinambá, predicates in the indicative mood were negated by means of the particle *n(a)* preceding the predicate nucleus, which in turn was inflected with the suffix *-i* (after consoannts) ~ *-j* (after vowels). In 19th century LGA, the particle *nitíw* and its reduced variants *ĩtí*, *nti* and *ti*, developed from Tupinambá *n i-týb-i* / NEG R2-exist-NEG/ 'do not exist'), had been fixed as the general negation device. In fact, *nitíw* had developed as a particle since the 18th century:

62)
nitíu   acepiac
nitíw   a-s-epják
NEG   1-R^2-see
'I don't see it' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.7).

63)
nitíu   abáramo   oicobo
nitíw aβá-ramo   o-ikó-bo
NEG   person-TRANS   3-be.in.movement-GER
'he does not live as a man' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.53v).

64)
Buopé paa nti osuaixara
Buopépaá   nti   o-suaixára
buopé QUOT NEG 3-answer
"It's said that Buopé did not answer." (AMORIM, 1987, p.26).

65)
ti   kwáw
NEG   know
"I don't know." (STRADELLI, 1928, p.674).

66)
cęręmiręcó intí okęri putári cę irúmo *se irúmo*
se r-emirekó   ĩtí   o-kéri-putári
1   REL-wife   NEG 3-sleep-   wish 1 with
'My wife does not wish to sleep with me.' (MAGALHÃES, 1876, I, p.164).

The 18th century LGA particle *nitíuxoéri* has a temporal indication of future, probably influenced by the Tupinambá -*swér* 'instative'. However, the *nitíuxoéri* particle of LGA was by that time no more segmented as it also happened with the particle *nitíu*.

67)
Nitíuxoéri opáb
nitíwxoéri   o-páb
NEG.FUT   3-end
'it will not end up' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.32).

On the other hand, the negation device of dependent predicates in the gerundial and subjunctive moods, which were both realized in Tupinambá by means of the suffix -e'ɨm, a device also used to negate nouns, was still very productive in the 18th century LGA:

68)
oçopotar bäé c-epiácäym
o-só-potár-βa'é   s-epiák-a'ɨm
3-ir-querer-NOM   R²-ver-NEG
'one which wishes to go without seeing him' (DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.72).

69)
coipó cunhã apyába recé oicó riré opuruápotárëyma
koipó   kujã-Ø   apɨáβ-a   r-esé   o-ikó
or   woman-ARG   man-ARG   R²-in.rel.to   3-be.in.movment

riré   o-puruá-potár-e'ɨm-a
after   3CORR-pregnancy-wish-NEG-
            GER
'or the woman that, after having been with a man, will not get pregnant'
(DOUTRINA..., [16 -], p.71).

Some comments on the results of the constrastive analysis

In this study evidence has been presented that the Amazonian Língua Geral (LGA) recorded during the 18th century represents an intermediate stage between the Tupinambá spoken in the North of Brazil during the 17th century and the LGA recorded during the 19th and 20th centuries. This evidence consists of the unsystematic use of inflexional affixes such as the relational prefix R³, the indicative II suffix, the reciprocal and reflexive prefixes, the gerundial suffix, and the translative suffix. The 17th and 18th century LGA documents examined also reveal other changes in progress, such as the use of some original inflectional suffixes realized sometimes as suffixes and sometimes as particles, and the development of new particles such as *nitíw* and *aráma*. All of these changes in process in the LGA of the 17th century have consolidated in the 19th century. However, in spite of all the grammatical reductions suffered by LGA between the 17th and 19th centuries, after more than two hundred years of development in a mestizo social context, under various kinds of external interference, it was still reflecting important aspects of the Tupinambá grammar.[8]

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[8] As observed in this study, many linguistic changes underwent by LGA since the 18th century are not exclusive of LGA, having also occurred in other languages of the Tupí-Guaraní family. Araweté and

The LGA and the Jesuits

It is uncontestable that the Jesuits had an important role in the consolidation and diffusion of LGA during the first 150 years of the Portuguese colonization of Maranhão and Grão Pará. However, the information that can be gathered in the linguistic documents does not provide any basis for the view that the Jesuits were the main agents in the simplification of the Tupinambá language. The information available in the missionary documents offers various indications contrary to this view. It rather suggests that the Jesuit priests were very conservative in the use of the Tupinambá language in their missionary work, naturally more inclined to observe the written form established by their precursors of the 16th and first half ot the 17th century.

Additional remarks

Finally, the results of the contrastive analysis involving the LGA attested during the 18th century, the Tupinambá registered during the 17th century, and the linguistic data of LGA recorded during the 19th and 20th centuries reveal, among other things, that the differentiation of LGA from the Tupinambá language has occurred processually. They also show that various changes observed in modern varieties of LGA started developing during the first hundred years of its history, when the language started to be spoken outside the original Tupinambá social contexts. The results of the present study match Thomason and Kaufman observation that

> [...] a claim of genetic relationship entails systematic correspondences in all parts of the languages, because that is what result from normal transmission: what is transmitted is an entire language – that is, a complex set of interrelated lexical, phonological morphosyntactic, and semantic structure. (THOMASON; KAUFMAN, 1988, p.11).

CABRAL, A. S. A. C.; RODRIGUES, A. D. Uma contribuição à história linguística da língua geral amazônica.

Zo'é are good examples of languages that, far from having been influenced by the Portuguese language, underwent changes similar to those observed in LGA. Araweté has lost the Tupí-Guaraní modal suffixes, the negation suffix of predicates, the accusative personal prefix '2', the argumentive case, as well as it has developed a first person plural inclusive pronoun which replaced the original Tupí-Guaraní form and has developed a new negative particle (VIEIRA; LEITE, 1998). Zo'é also has lost the gerund and indicative II modal suffixes; it has developed two negative particles and lost some personal prefixes and pronouns (CABRAL, 2001). Urubú-Ka'apór has lost the negation suffix of predicates as well as the contrast between inclusive and exclusive first person, and has developed an associative particle (CORRÊA DA SILVA, 1997). However, all of these languages keep regular correspondences with the other languages of the family, as does LGA.

■ RESUMO: Este artigo mostra que as mudanças ocorridas na Língua Geral Amazônica durante 300 anos, embora esta língua tenha sido exposta a interferências externas do Português e de inúmeras línguas indígenas, foram graduais, sem que tenha havido interrupção em sua transmissão. Isso demonstra que sua origem foi genética, de acordo com os princípios que subjazem ao Método Histórico comparativo e de acordo com o modelo teórico proposto por Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Esta abordagem reúne evidências contra as visões de que a Língua Geral Geral Amazônica é uma língua crioula ou uma língua desenvolvida no século XVII pelos missionários jesuítas. Dessa forma, este artigo contribui para a visão de que a Língua Geral Amazônica é uma versão do Tupinambá, que se desenvolveu fora das aldeias Tupinambás, mas mantendo suas relações genéticas com o subramo III da família linguística Tupí-Guaraní, junto com o Tupinambá, com o Tupí Antigo e com a Língua Geral Paulista, como proposto por Rodrigues (1985) na sua classificação interna desta família linguística.

■ PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Língua Geral Amazônica. Mudanças históricas. Transmissão normal. Interferências externas. Família Tupí-Guaraní.

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