

**CONVERSING IN COLONY:
THE BRASÍLICA AND THE VULGAR IN PORTUGUESE AMERICA, 1500-1759**

**by
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Abstract

This dissertation casts light on a topic hitherto unstudied, of the colony-wide lingua francas of Portuguese America, the *Brasilica* and the *Vulgar*. It examines the first two hundred and fifty years of colonial history in the two administrative provinces of Portuguese America: the State of Brazil (Brazil) and the State of Maranhão and Pará (Amazônia).

In early phases of contact and trade, communication between native American Indians and Europeans took place in the Tupi-Guarani languages which had already been prevalent along the Atlantic coast since the start of colonization (1500). This language continued as an interlanguage that bridged communications between Indians, Europeans and Africans during the beginning of permanent settlement (1530s) in Brazil. By the 1550s, the *Brasilica*, based on the Tupi-Guarani coastal languages, gained a standard format, a written, alphabetic form and a Christian register through language translation projects spearheaded by Jesuit missionaries. It was taught in schools and catechesis and grew to sustain interlingual relations until the late seventeenth century.

In the early seventeenth century, the *Brasilica* expanded into Amazônia as an important interlanguage. Indian, European, African and American-born settlers who uprooted themselves and relocated to the northern colony brought the language with them. Jesuit missionaries trained in the *Brasilica*, Tupi-Guarani speaking Indian allies and crown policy were significant factors in maintaining the daily use of the language. In Amazônia, the *Brasilica* was named the official language of the colony (1686) but by 1722, its use was prohibited by

the crown and replaced by the Portuguese language. At the same time, however, a new language, called by sources “the Vulgar,” had emerged, replacing the Brasília’s historical dominance as colonial interlanguage and challenging efforts by the crown to introduce the Portuguese language as lingua franca.

Central to this dissertation is a view of the constituents of the colonies by language group, an approach which permits new ways of viewing inter- and intra-group dynamics. The identification and study of the Vulgar, previously unknown in the scholarship, points in new directions of research and calls for cross-disciplinary investigations rooted in history, linguistics and anthropology.

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Notes on Orthography

Many of the sources used in this dissertation were written before spelling reforms standardized the orthography. For this reason, in the text and bibliography, I have provided modern versions of the spellings of names and places but retain the titles in their original.

Table of Contents

	<i>page</i>
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Notes on Orthography	vii
Table of Contents	viii
Table of Maps and Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One First Encounters by the Sea: By Speech and by Signs	20
Chapter Two Moving in Masses: Migrants and their Languages	59
Chapter Three Creating the Brasília: The Jesuit Language Translation Projects	125
Chapter Four Eighteenth-Century Evolution of the Línguas Gerais Amazônicas	163
Chapter Five Updated Prosodia, Corrupted Prose: A Vulgar Language	204
Conclusion	242
Bibliography	247
Curriculum Vita	263

List of Maps and Illustrations

	<i>page</i>
 <i>Maps</i>	
1 Karib Languages, c. 1500-1759	67
2 Macro-Arawak Languages, c. 1500-1759	68
3 Macro-Tupi Languages, c. 1500-1759	70
4 Macro-Jê Languages, c. 1500-1759	71
5 Locations of Mentioned Indian Societies, c. 1500-1759	73
6 Portuguese America, c. 1750	106
 <i>Illustrations</i>	
1 Frontispiece. Title page, from fac-simile reproduction of José de Anchieta, <i>Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil</i> , (1595; reprint, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933)	134
2 Title page, from Bernardo de Nantes, <i>Katecismo Indico Da Lingva Kariris ...</i> (Lisboa: Valentim da Costa Deslandes, M.DCCIX [1709])	142
3 First page of vocabulary list of terms in the Brasília as spoken in the captaincies of Pernambuco, Pará, Maranhão, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, undated	145
4 First page of letter written in the Brasília from Potiguar headman Felipe Camarão, to his cousin Pedro Poti, another Potiguar headman living in the captaincy of Paraíba	150
5 Taken from the notebook of the Christian Doctrine in the language of the Manao Indians, or “Caderno da Doutrina pella Lingoa dos Manaos,” in the Gelboé Compendium, London, British Library, Manuscript Room, <i>Collection of South American Languages</i> , King George 223, folio 125f	192

Introduction

The history of the *Brasílica*, the major language of contact and colonization in Portuguese America in the sixteenth through mid-eighteenth centuries, unfolded well before Christopher Columbus' famous voyage to the island of Hispaniola, when Europeans encountered a new world they came to call, "America."

It began with the eastward expansion of native American Indians who spoke languages collectively known to modern linguists as the Tupi-Guarani language family. As warrior societies and horticulturalists exhibiting patterns of semi-sedentary settlement, Tupi-Guarani speaking tribes possessed a sense of migration and territorial expansion.¹ Although the exact details remain shrouded in the centuries gone by, evidence from excavated pottery shards suggest that Tupi-Guarani speakers had been expanding westwardly for several centuries previous to the arrival of the Portuguese.² The "most ancient" of Indian informants recalled in 1587 that at some point in the remote past, shortly before the arrival of the Portuguese, speakers of the Tupi-Guarani language family arrived on the coast of Brazil. Several principal movements have been noted as important factors in determining the dispersion of Indian languages at the time of the arrival of the Europeans. The Tupinaé were among the earliest Tupi-Guarani speaking migrants to conquer the coast of Bahia, moving in from their previous settlements in the *sertão* (hinterland) and ejecting the former

¹ Wolf Dietrich, "Las categorías verbales (partes de la oración) en tupi guarani," *Indiana* 4 (1977): 246.

² Karen Olsen Bruhns, ed, *Ancient South America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 350-351.

inhabitants, now believed to have been speakers of Jê languages, into the interior.³ After “many years” of coastal occupation, another group of Tupi-Guarani speaking Indians, the Tupinambá, attacked the Tupinaé and gained possession of the entire stretch of the littoral, organizing themselves into 100-150 independent villages along the coast from the Maranhão and Pará rivers south to the Parnaíba river.⁴ These new victors were probably the natives who met with the first Portuguese vessels anchoring in the harbors of Porto Seguro and the Bay of All Saints, and would continue to sustain relationships with arriving Europeans, rendering them among the major protagonists in colonial affairs. The Amoipira, who were are mentioned in sixteenth-century chronicles as inhabitants of the left bank of the São Francisco river, are believed to have been related to these invaders. The migrants, originating from the sertão beyond the São Francisco, divided into two bands. The one which detached themselves from their kinsmen, the Tupinambá, and settled by the river, eventually came to establish their own identity as Amoipira, so-named after one of their headmen.⁵ Other inland migrations of Tupi-Guarani speakers elsewhere in the South American continent are believed to have begun in the 1470s.⁶ They chased after “the Land without Evil,” a mythological kingdom and a beautiful land where fruits were plentiful, game abundant, and one did not have to labor to survive.⁷ It was into this recent history of the territorial and linguistic expansion that

³ Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil* (Lisboa: Alfa, [1587] 1989), 215, 216, 247.

⁴ Karen Olsen Bruhns, ed., *Ancient South America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 351.

⁵ Carlos Ott, “Pré-História da Bahia,” (Salvador: Aguiar & Souza, Ltda, 1958), 13-15, 30.

⁶ Wolf Dietrich, “Las categorías verbales (partes de la oración) en tupi guarani,” *Indiana* 4 (1977): 247-248.

⁷ Dietrich, “Las categorías verbales,” 247-248.

Europeans, and especially speakers of Romance languages, first set foot and began long relationships with the Tupi-Guarani languages and their speakers.

This dissertation is a study of two colony-wide lingua francas in colonial Portuguese America: the *Brasílica* and the *Vulgar*. Portuguese America is defined as the two colonial states, with distinct administrative bodies, known as the State of Brazil (herein, Brazil, 1549-1822) and the State of Maranhão and Pará (herein, *Amazônia*, 1621-1823) (Map 6). This study is delimited by the year 1500, when Pedro Álvares Cabral arrived on the south Atlantic shores near Porto Seguro and enacted a ceremony of possession on behalf of the Portuguese monarch, based on his discovery of the land he called the Land of the Holy Cross. My story finishes in 1759, when missionaries of the Society of Jesus were expelled from Portuguese America. Jesuit missionaries were among the most active representatives of the church involved in language translation projects rendering religious material in Portuguese and Latin into prayers, dialogues, songs and moral narratives in the *Brasílica* and, later, in the *Vulgar*. Their departure in the mid-eighteenth century heralded in a new mode for linguistic communication in the northern colony of Portuguese America, the State of Maranhão and Pará. The mid-eighteenth century was marked by two other crucial events. Long-standing disputes between the Portuguese crown and other competing European kingdoms became defined by the Treaties of Utrecht (1715), Madrid (1750) and San Ildefonso (1777). Each country was ceded the lands which it had effectively occupied and occupation, in this case, was defined by language.⁸ To protect the kingdom's

⁸ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004), 118-122.

American possessions, Portugal enacted a series of proscriptions on language use starting in the 1720s. The publication of the *Directorate of the Indians* (1757), which reorganized the Jesuit missions into villages, settlements, and towns under the supervision of secular directors, definitively prohibited use of the *Brasílica* and of the *Vulgar*. Its provisions provided for the establishment of schools taught in the Portuguese language. Classes in catechesis were also to be given in Portuguese.⁹

Previous to its legal proscription, the *Brasílica* had endured two and a half centuries of dynamic changes in the human demography, the extinction and appearance of native and non-native languages, word and sound borrowings from neighboring speakers of other Indian languages as well as linguistic influences from at least six language families exerted by speakers coming from other parts of the South American continent, Iberia, western and northern Europe, and West and Central Africa. In Brazil, the *Brasílica* was the unofficial language of colonization and remained uncontested in its role as mother tongue for many residents in the captaincy of São Paulo until the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Although the Portuguese language became increasingly important in the urban centers and plantations of Brazil, the *Brasílica* continued to exert domain in matters related to the church. It is at this point in the dissertation that the focus on the *Brasílica* in the State of Brazil blurs as Portuguese gained the status of the colonial *lingua franca* and shifts to the State of Maranhão and Pará.

⁹ "Diretorio que se deve observar nas povoações dos Índios do Pará e Maranhão enquanto Sua Magestade não mandar o Contrário." Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional - Torre de Tombo 1755, Manuscritos da Livraria, Livro 962, ff. 118-141.

¹⁰ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "Índios e mamelucos," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 13 (1949): 121-133.

The Brasília traveled to Amazônia with emigrants from the State of Brazil. These individuals and groups included Indian, white, black and mestizo native speakers, missionaries, interpreters and many Tupi-Guarani speaking Indians who had fled the southern colony in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for fear of enslavement. Following its early years of expansion (1616-1686), the Brasília was officially declared by the crown to be Amazônia's language of contact, education, colonization and catechesis (1686-1727). Despite the limitations the crown began to place on the instruction and use of the language starting in the early eighteenth century, the Brasília continued in its role mediating interlingual communication in all matters of the colony, religious and secular (1727-1757). During this period leading up to its prohibition by the *Directorate of the Indians*, its use became challenged by a new, hitherto unknown language, known in the sources as "the Vulgar [of the Brasília]." The last two chapters of this dissertation will explore the conditions surrounding the emergence of the Vulgar, use of the language in quotidian and religious matters, and identify key points in its evolution from the Brasília into its status as a new and different language.

Scholars writing the histories of the Americas focusing on the language component of inter-ethnic and intra-group relationships offer the invaluable contribution of filling in the lacuna that separates historical studies, which seldom consider the languages which historical players used to communicate with each other, from scholarship produced in the field of linguistics, which tends

to be atemporal in the colonial period are exceptional.¹¹ In the case of the literature being produced in area studies of Brazil, where language is targeted for study, three principal bodies of scholarship are produced. The first, focused on modern Brazilian Portuguese, recognizes its Iberian provenance and examines foreign historical influences from Indian, African and other European languages which have each contributed to give it its modern form.¹² The problem with these works is their static reading of interlingual dynamics through historical time, as if Portuguese had been spoken impervious to change or outside influences throughout the three-hundred-year colonial history (1500-1822) of a vast land in which territorial occupation developed as a result of sustained and close relations between Lusophone speakers and users of other European, native American and African languages.¹³ The second, on African languages, useful for its identification of the principal language families which traveled with Africans to

¹¹ Emanuel J Dreschel, *Mobilian Jargon. Linguistic and Sociohistorical Aspects of a Native American Pidgin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: a Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Language Encounters in the Americas, 1492-1800. A Collection of Essays* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000); Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 1991); Phillip D Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint : Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 560-580.

¹² Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares africanos na Bahia: um vocabulário afro-brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, Topbooks, 2001); Armando Levy Cardoso, *Amerigenismos* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1961); William W. Megenney, *A Bahian Heritage: an Ethnolinguistic Study of African influences on Bahian Portuguese* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1978); Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Presença/MEC, 1976), 67-144.

¹³ Cardoso, *Amerigenismos*; Castro, *Falares africanos*, chapter 2 and 3; Megenney, *A Bahian Heritage: an Ethnolinguistic Study of African influences on Bahian Portuguese*; Preston, *Perceptual Dialectology. Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics*. Cunha, *Dicionário Histórico das palavras portuguesas de origem tupi*.

Brazil during and after the slave trade, is primarily concerned with its domain in intralingual communication.¹⁴

The third body of work on language in Brazil can be divided further into three groups with different objects. One, based in the discipline of linguistics, looks at modern and historical Indian languages of Brazil for language origins, separation, change and classification.¹⁵ Within the languages studied by these scholars, more is known about Tupi-Guarani languages.¹⁶ The second, integrating sociology, education studies, anthropology and linguistics, is concerned with modern Indian peoples and issues relating to literacy, education and social identity.¹⁷ The third subdivision of scholarly monographs produced on language in Brazil also assumes inter-disciplinary approaches to explore the roles of Indian languages in colonial society and in inter-ethnic relationships and to emphasize the importance of polyglot cultural brokers who mediated between Indians, whites and blacks. Colonial surveys of the native American languages established the coastal dominance of languages termed by modern linguists as pertaining to

¹⁴ Castro, *Falares africanos*.

¹⁵ Doris L. Payne, "The Amazonian Languages [Book Review]," *Language* 77, 3 (2001); Antonio Tovar and Consuelo Larrucea de Tovar, *Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur: con clasificaciones, indicaciones tipológicas, bibliografía y mapas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1984).

¹⁶ Wolf Dietrich, *More Evidence for an Internal Classification of Tupi-Guarani Languages* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990); Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "Evidence for Tupi-Carib Relationships," in *South American Indian Languages*, ed. Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Marília Facó Soares and Yonne Leite, "Vowel Shift in the Tupi-Guarani Language Family: A Typological Approach," in *South American Indian Languages*, ed. Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Miriam Lemle, "Internal classification of the Tupi Guarani linguistic family," in *Tupi Studies*, ed. David Bendor-Samuel (Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1971); Francisco Silva Noelli, "The Tupi: explaining origin and expansions in terms of archaeology and of historical linguistics," *Antiquity* 72 (1998); Greg Urban, "A história da cultura brasileira segundo as línguas nativas," in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992), 91.

¹⁷ Yonne Leite, Marília Facó Soares, and Tania Clemente de Souza, "O papel do aluno na alfabetização de grupos indígenas: a realidade psicológica das descrições lingüísticas," in *Sociedades indígenas e indigenismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Marco Zero/Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1997); Luiz Borges, "O Nheengatú na construção de uma identidade amazônica," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Antropologia* 10, 2 (1994).

the Tupi-Guarani language family. Sixteenth through eighteenth century authors tended to form dichotomous categories intersected by axes of ethnicity, morality and language. Indigenous speech was divided into two groups: one side represented the acculturated Indian, loyal to the Portuguese crown, participant (by defending, working, settling and peopling the land) in the Portuguese project of colonization and absorbed into the fold of Christianity; the other side was expressed by the fierce “savage” who resisted colonization, religious conversion, enslavement and white occupation of their lands. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this relationship played itself out in classifications of Indian languages as either “Tupi” or “Tapuia.” Throughout the seventeenth century, the linguistic typology contrasted *língua geral* and *línguas travadas* (“broken” languages).

Nineteenth-century travelers to the Amazon River took down vocabularies and made analytical comparisons with colonial records of the *Brasílica*. Later in the same century, a proliferation of reprinted language manuals created a body of studies on the Tupi-Guarani languages in coastal Brazil and in Paraguay in the first two centuries of the colonial period and of nineteenth-century Nheengatú in the Amazon.¹⁸ The specialized literature in the twentieth century has tended to

¹⁸ Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, “Diário da Viagem Filosófica pela Capitania de São João do Rio Negro...” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 48-49 (1885-1886); José Vieira Couto de Magalhães, *O Selvagem; Curso de Língua-Geral segundo Ollendorff...* (Rio de Janeiro: Brasiliana, 1876); Francisco de N.S. dos Prazeres Maranhão, “Apendice,” in *Poranduba Marnhanse* (São Luís: 1947); Julio Platzmann, *Arte de Gramática da Língua mais usada na Costa do Brasil, feita pelo Pe. Joseph de Anchieta* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1876); *Catecismo Brasílico da Doutrina Cristã ... aperfeiçoado e dado à luz pelo padre Antônio de Araújo* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1898); *Gramática da Língua do Brasil, composta pelo P. Luiz Figueira* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1878); *Tesoro de Bocabulário de la Lengua Guarani* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1898); Paulo Restivo de, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Guarani; reimpressão de Cristiano Frederico Seybold*, (Stuttgardiae: s.n., 1893); Dr. Ernesto Ferreira França, ed., *Chrestomathia da Lingua Brazilica* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, Livreiro de S.M. o Imperador do Brazil, 1859); A. Gonçalves

focus on the prevalence of *língua geral* in Indian-white communications. Two generations of scholars between the 1930s and 1960s uncovered the use of Guarani dialects in the captaincy of São Paulo until the late seventeenth century, based on historical travel accounts and published in language manuals.¹⁹ These studies were important to informing scholarship on slaving expeditions (*bandeiras*) led by *bandeirantes*, who were often whites acculturated to Indian ways or offspring of Indian and European parentage.²⁰ The Indian language skills and cultural familiarity these individuals possessed made them particularly effective in manipulating native societies living far inland from the coastal settlements. At around the same time, transcriptions and translations of early Jesuit letters, published between the 1930s and 1950s by the indefatigable Jesuit historian Serafim Leite, S.J., have been important in the proliferation of monographs examining sixteenth-century strategies adopted by the Society of Jesus to bridge gaps in communication with the coastal Tupi-Guarani.²¹ These

Dias, *Dicionário da Língua Tupi, chamada Língua Geral dos Índigenas do Brasil* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1858); Charles Frederik Hartt, *Notes on the Língua-Geral or Modern Tupi of the Amazonas* (New York: s.n., 1872).

¹⁹ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "A Língua Geral em São Paulo," in *Raízes do Brasil*, ed. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (Lisbon: Gradiva, [1936] 2000), 121-132; Joaquim Mattoso Câmara, Jr., *Introdução às línguas indígenas brasileiras* (Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, 1965); A. Lemos Barbosa, *O "Vocabulário na Língua Brasileira"* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde Serviço de Documentação, 1948); *Pequeno Vocabulário Português-Tupi com um apêndice: nomenclatura de parentescos* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1970).

²⁰ Jaime Cortesão, *Raposo Tavares e a formação territorial do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1958); John Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994). See the special issue dedicated to the subject matter in *The Americas*, January, 2005, volume 61, number 3.

²¹ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, *Entre heterodoxos e ortodoxos: notas sobre catecismos dialogados na Europa e nas colônias no século XVI* (ANPOLL/GT - Historiografia da Linguística Brasileira. III Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais. A Trilogia Gramática-Catecismo-Dicionário, 19-23 August 2002 [accessed 19 August 2002]); available from <http://www.fllch.usp.br/dl/anpoll2/candidatexto2002.htm.htm>; *Notas sobre os catecismos em línguas vernáculas das colônias portuguesas (séculos XVI-XVII)* (II Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais: Políticas Linguísticas: A Questão Ortográfica ANPOLL/GT Historiografia da Linguística Brasileira, 2001 [accessed 1 August 2001]); available from <http://us.fl11.mail.yahoo.com/>

projects draw mainly on published language manuals mostly authored by Jesuits, Jesuit letters, and printed histories and chronicles.

Scholarship produced in the last two decades has opened new paths in the study of the historical Tupi-Guarani languages. Aryon Rodrigues' writings have revived academic interest within Brazil in historical Indian languages and particularly, in *língua geral*. Among a group of Brazilian professors and researchers, many former students of Rodrigues, reached the conclusion that "*língua geral*" had become an increasingly inadequate term. As it had appeared in the works of historical linguistics and monographs of colonial Brazilian history, the term *língua geral* described one language which was utilized fluidly and evenly throughout the vast territory throughout three centuries of colonial history.²² New lines of research and inquiry calling for delineation of the *língua franca* of coastal Brazil (*língua geral*), of the language used in the southeastern coast and interior of São Paulo (*Língua Geral Paulista*) and of the speech form used in the Amazon (*Língua Geral Amazônica*) led to a heightened awareness for

ymShowLett...3&order=down&sort+date&pos+0&ViewAttach; "O intérprete jesuíta na constituição de um tupi supraétnico," *Papia: Revista de crioulos de base ibérica* 3, 2 (1994); "The Office of *Língua*: a Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario* XXV, 2 (2001). John Monteiro, "Traduzindo Tradições: Gramáticas, Vocabulários e Catecismos em Línguas Nativas na América Portuguesa" (paper presented at the conference on XV Encontro Regional da História do ANPUH, São Paulo, 5 de Setembro de, 2000); Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "Descripción del tupinambá en el período colonial: el arte de José de Anchieta," in *La descripción de las lenguas amerindias en la época colonial*, ed. Klaus Zimmermann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, Madri Iberoamericana, 1997); Maria Carlota Rosa, "Descrições missionárias de *língua geral* nos séculos XVI-XVII: que descreveram?," *Papia: Revista de crioulos de base ibérica* 2, 1 (1992); "Para um estudo da situação lingüística no Brasil no século XVI: a *língua geral*," in *História pré-colonial do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Europa Editora, 1993?); O. Zwartjes, "The description of the indigenous languages of Portuguese America by the jesuits during the colonial period: The impact of the latin grammar of Manuel Álvares," *Historiographia Linguística* 29, 1 (2002). Maria Carlota Rosa, "A *língua mais geral* do Brasil nos séculos XVI e XVII" (paper presented at the conference on Colóquio sobre as línguas gerais do Brasil colonial, Rio de Janeiro, 2000).

²² Mathias C. Kieman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1954), 2.

the need for an alternative approach to conceptualizing the colonial-period *lingua francas*. In 2001, a group of scholars and former students of Rodrigues, organized a conference on the “linguistic politics” of the “*línguas gerais*.” These scholars, based mainly in the research institutions and universities in Belém, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, met with their colleagues and collaborators from the United States, Portugal, Norway and Germany and, in 2004, published selected papers presented at that conference.²³ Around the same time, and in response to what Rodrigues declared to be the least understood of the historical *línguas gerais*, his students, colleagues and collaborators initiated the study of what they collectively call “Língua Geral Amazônica,” or “Middle Tupi.”²⁴

Taking the literature produced in the last five centuries together, these works perpetuate imprecise understandings which create imbalances in the

²³ José Ribamar Bessa Freire and Maria Carlota Rosa, eds., *Línguas Gerais. Política Lingüística e Catequese na América do Sul no Período Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, 2003).

²⁴ Ruth Maria Fonini Monserrat, “Observações sobre a fonologia da língua geral amazônica nos três últimos séculos” (paper presented at the conference on “A Língua Geral Amazônica através do tempo,” Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência-Associação Brasileira de Lingüística, Salvador, July, 2001); M. Kittiya Lee, “Among the Vulgar, the Erudite and the Sacred: The Oral Life of Colonial Amazonia,” in *Harvard International Seminar on Atlantic History: Indigenous Cultures: Adaptation, Persistence, or Resistance (1626-1800), Working Paper 08-14* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2004); Antônio Luís Salem Lessa, “A situação da língua geral na Amazônia no período pombalino: uma análise preliminar” (paper presented at the conference on ANPOLL/GT - Historiografia da Lingüística Brasileira. III Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais. A Trilogia Gramática-Catecismo-Dicionário, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 19-23 August 2002); Denny Moore, Sidney Facundes, and Nádia Pires, “Survey of California and other Indian Languages, Report 8, Nheengatu (Língua Geral Amazônica), Its History and the Effects of Language Contact” (paper presented at the conference on Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, July 2-4, 1993 and the Hohan-Penutian Workshop, July 3, 1993, Columbus, Ohio, 1993); Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, “Panorama das línguas indígenas da Amazônia,” in *As línguas amazônicas de hoje*, ed. F. Queixalós and O. Renault-Lescure (São Paulo: IRD, ISA, MPEG, 2000); José Ribamar Bessa Freire, “Da ‘fala boa’ ao português na Amazônia brasileira,” *Ameríndia* 8 (1983); Freire, *Rio Babel*. For Rodrigues’ quote, see Freire, *Rio Babel*, 10. M. Kittiya Lee, “A representação escrita da oralidade: o dinamismo da língua geral amazônica, apreendida nos manuais bilíngues do século XVIII” (paper presented at the conference on II Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais: Políticas Lingüísticas: A Questão Ortográfica ANPOLL/GT Historiografia da Lingüística Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 20-24 de Agosto de, 2001).

historiography on colonial Brazil and in particular the indigenous history of Brazil. Because it is assumed that native languages were spoken only between and to Indians, scholarly exploration of *língua geral* is usually confined to study of bandeiras or of inter-ethnic contact in *aldeias* (Indian villages) organized by the state and the church. In these works, the linguistic dimension is usually addressed by study of interpreters who mediated interlingual communication.²⁵ Furthermore, the extensive paper trail left by the Society of Jesus, particularly in its first half century in Brazil (1549-1600), when projects for reducing the language gap were absorbing much of their missionary activities, has been so thoroughly mined by historians, anthropologists and sociolinguists that mention of *língua geral* is relegated to discussions on Indian-Jesuit relations.²⁶ In wrestling with these problems, I have turned directly to the colonial constituency to gain an understanding of the types of linguistic divisions and alliances which characterized colonial society. By categorizing the settlers who traveled to the colonies in terms of their language groups, I have been able to glimpse views of a colonial oral life peppered with small enclaves of diverse languages arriving to a land in which interlingual communication had already been dominated by trade languages based on Tupi-Guarani languages. In order to understand more fully the role that the *Brasilica* played in colonial society, I chose not to focus primarily on Indian-Jesuit interactions, but to begin there. This decision permitted me to

²⁵ Ângela Domingues, "Comunicação entre sociedades de fronteira: o papel do intérprete como intermediário nos contactos entre ibéro-americanos e ameríndios na Amazônia de finais do séc XVIII" (paper presented at the conference on Actas da VIII Reunião Internacional de História da Náutica, Viana do Castelo, 1994); Alida C. Metcalf, "The *Entradas* of Bahia of the Sixteenth Century," *The Americas* 61, 3 (2005).

²⁶ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40. Kiemann, *Indian Policy*, 88, 113, 121, 130, 170.

turn to the region where the Brasília took a most surprising turn and was replaced by the Vulgar, which grew out of it.

A final problem with scholarly treatments of language is the lack of consensus over terminology – in Brazil, this language is called variously, Tupi, Tupi-Guarani, Guarani, Tupinambá, língua geral and the Brasília and in the Amazon, it is referred to as Língua Geral Amazônica, Tupinambá, or Nheengatú. This imprecision in the terminology has created further ambiguities in identifying the language, even for professional linguists.²⁷ The same confusion also has informed descriptions of Indian ethnic groups from the sixteenth century to the present. Their conflation into the Tupinambá identity further contributed to the prevalent use of the term Tupinambá to describe a língua franca which, in fact, instead developed out of sustained interlingual exchange and cohabitation. The small, but growing body of research dedicated to Língua Geral Amazônica and to the dialect of the Tupinambá in the Amazon has inherited the problem of conflating an otherwise richer and more complex array of linguistic development in Amazônia.²⁸

In wrestling with this problem, I have found useful models for viewing language from studies of other parts of the world where European imperial powers confronted similar situations of linguistic diversity. Like the sixteenth-century Portuguese, British policy makers in the twentieth century assumed that

²⁷ Freire, “Da ‘fala boa’”; Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, “O sistema pessoal do Tupinambá,” *Ensaios de Linguística 1* (1978); Frederico G. Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis. Confrontos e revisões*. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Brasileira Editôra, 1969); Holanda, “A Língua Geral em São Paulo”; Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras para o conhecimento das línguas indígenas* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1986), 97-109.

²⁸ Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis*; Freire, *Rio Babel*; Lessa, “A situação da língua geral na Amazônia no período pombalino: uma análise preliminar” (paper presented at the conference on); Monserrat, “Observações” (paper presented at the conference on).

each African belonged in a tribe, or to a cultural unit characterized by a common language.²⁹ Historian Gregory Maddox has found problematic African historians' inheritance of this colonial British perspective, which reduced the plural communities Ugogo into one Gogo ethnicity, or "variants" of one language or culture. Instead, he proposed that "Gogo language and culture should perhaps be seen as a gradient that shades almost imperceptibly" into the adjacent speech communities.³⁰ Maddox's model is appropriate for this discussion on colonial Brazil's Tupi-Guarani speakers, who divided themselves into countless social groups linked by enmity or partnership, engaged in inter-tribal relations and lived encircled by communities speaking different languages. Rather than amalgamating the linguistic diversity of Tupi-Guarani speakers into one, fixed and stable Tupi-Guarani language, the Tupi-Guarani speech forms studied herein are considered as distinct and numerous oral forms ranging, at times imperceptibly, across a Tupi-Guarani palette of tints, or shades of colors which blend in and out of each other. This palette model, to be explored more fully in chapter two, better represents the full range of Tupi-Guarani languages since even closely-related speech forms imply difference. Applying the same model to what is called *Língua Geral Amazônica* also more adequately summarizes both the degrees of distinction and similarity exhibited by the *Brasílica* and the *Vulgar*, which I describe as Amazonian general languages, or "línguas gerais amazônicas."

²⁹ Robert H. Jackson and Gregory Maddox, "The Creation of Identity: Colonial Society in Bolivia and Tanzania (in Defining Difference)," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, 2 (1993): 274.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 275.

The first and main body of sources for this dissertation is comprised of documents written in the Brasília, the Vulgar and Portuguese. In all, they number twenty-seven dictionaries, vocabularies, catechisms, grammar studies, or compendiums of linguistic studies on the línguas gerais. Fifteen are unauthored eighteenth-century manuscripts of the Brasília and the Vulgar and one is an extensive vocabulary of Língua Geral Paulista. Several have been little studied or were previously unknown to linguists and historians prior to this dissertation. Some of these language manuscripts have been gathered into single volumes, probably by their authors, as corroborated by the same handwriting throughout the entire work. For example, the “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brazil” is composed of a grammar and a dictionary “of the vocabulary most usual for the intelligence of the said Language.”³¹ These two types of study are considered as one source. I refer to an untitled volume comprised of a dictionary, religious text, one collection of *cantigas* (profane songs) and two vocabularies as the “Gelboé Compendium,” a name taken from the third folio, identifying the work as pertaining to the Gelboé ranch in 1757, located in the captaincy of Goiás and which was at the time administered by Jesuit missionaries.³² I count each of the various works inserted into the “Gelboé Compendium” separately, except the two vocabularies which run on adjacent pages and appear to have been written by the same individual. The five texts on catechesis, profane songs, and religious

³¹ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil. Com hum Diccionario dos vocabulos mais uzuaes para a intelligencia da dita Lingua,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 69.

³² “[Gelboé Compendium],” s.d., King’s MSS, Collection of South American Languages, 223, British Library; Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Portugália, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1938-1950), VI, 211. The “Gelboé compendium” was transcribed and published by França, *Chrestomathia*.

prayers are counted separately owing to the discrete handwriting of their authors. Within these five, one contains a dialogue of Christian Doctrine, instructions for deathbed baptisms and three moral dialogues on the “Mystery of the Incarnation,” “Hope” and “Charity.”

Also forming part of this body of linguistic documents are twelve printed works, mostly authored by Jesuit missionaries carrying out their assignments in Portuguese America. The Jesuit language manuals include grammars and catechetical texts written in the *Brasilica* in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The works pertaining to the *Brasilica* as it was spoken and heard in Brazil include José de Anchieta’s *Arte De Gramática Da Lingua Mais Usada Na Costa Do Brasil* (1595), the first published grammar on a native language of Brazil, a vocabulary of the human anatomy by Pero de Castilho (1613), António de Araújo’s *Catecismo Na Lingoa Brasilica* (1618), and the same *Catecismo*, emended and reedited by Bartholomeu de Leam (1686).³³ Language manuals relating the *Brasilica* speech in *Amazônia* include Luís Figueira’s *Arte De Grammatica Da Lingua Brasilica* (1621) and João Felipe Bettendorff’s *Compendio Da Doutrina Christam Na Lingua Portugueza, & Brasilica* (1678).³⁴

³³ José de Anchieta, *Arte de Gramática da Lingua Mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933; reprint, based on fac-simile of 1595 original); Antonio de Araujo, S.J., et al., *Catecismo Brasilico Da Doutrina Christãa, Com o Ceremonial dos Sacramentos, & mais actos Parochiaes. Composto Por Padres Doutos da Companhia de JESUS, Aperfeiçoado, & dado a luz Pelo Padre Antonio de Araujo da mesma Companhia. Emendado nesta segunda impressão Pelo P. Bertholameu de Leam da mesma Companhia.* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, M. DC. LXXXVI [1686]); *Catecismo na Lingoa Brasilica, no qual se contem a svmmada doutrina christã. Com tudo o que pertence aos Mysterios de nossa sancta Fè & Bõs costumes. Composto a modo de Dialogos por Padres Doctos, & bons lingoas da Companhia de IESV. Agora nouamente concertado, ordenado, & acrescentado pello Padre Antonio d’Araujo Theologo, & lingoa da mesma Companhia* (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1618); Plínio Ayrosa, ed., *Os “Nomes das partes do corpo humano pella língua do Brasil” de Pero de Castilho*, vol. XIV (São Paulo: Empresa Grafica da Revista dos Tribunais, 1937).

³⁴ João Felipe Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christam Na lingua Portugueza, & Brasilica: Em que se comprehendem os principaes mysterios de nossa Santa Fe Catholica, & meios de*

Non-Jesuit published works are drawn from a variety of visitors to Portuguese America who kept vocabulary lists and transcribed dialogues heard in the Brasília between the 1530s and the 1650s.³⁵

Chronicles, general histories, accounts, treatises and travel narratives written by eye-witness visitors or residents of Portuguese America form another body of primary sources. Yet another corpus of information is in the colonial papers relating to the administrative apparatus of the States of Brazil and of Maranhão and Pará. Official correspondence, slave registries, commercial receipts, and records of the Overseas Council are drawn from various collections in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. I also have made extensive use of CD-Roms produced by “Projeto Resgate/Reencontro,” a collaborative effort starting in the late 1990s between Portugal and Brazil to catalogue and unite all material relating to the administrative apparatus of the colonies and housed in archives in Europe and South America, and make it available in digital format. Lastly,

nossa Salvação: ordenada à maneira de Dialogos accomodados para o ensino dos Indios, com duas breves Instruções: hua para bautizar em caso de extrema necessidade, os que ainda são Pagaões; & outra, para os ajudar a bem morrer, em falta de quem saiba fazerlhe esta charidade: Pelo P. Joam Phelippe Bettendorff da Companhia de Jesus, Missionario da Missão do Estado do Maranhão (Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1678); Luís Figueira, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingua Brasilica* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1687).

³⁵ Ivo d' Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D'Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques, *Bibliotheca de Escriptores Maranhenses* (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929); Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America, Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University California Press; Oxford University Press, 1990); Georg Marcgraf, *Georgii Marcgravii de Liebstad, tractatus topographicus & Meteorologicus Brasiliae, cum Eclipsi Solari; Quibus additi sunt Illius et Alirum: Commentarii De Brasiliensium & chilensium Indole & Lingua* (Amstelodami: Ludovicum et Danielem Elzevirios, [1658]); Antonio Pigafetta, “Capitolo VI. Alcune parole che vsano le genti ne la terra del Bresil,” in *Il Viaggio fatto da gli Spangivoli a Torno al Mondo* ([Veneza]: MD XXX VI [1536]).

research conducted in the central Jesuit archives in Rome, the Archivum Romanum Societatis Instituto, as well as published collections of their letters, sermons, dialogues, reports and chronicles will form the last major body of primary works.

Taken all together, my approaches and models form a dissertation with the objective of understanding the roles played by the *Brasílica* and the *Vulgar* in interlingual communication. Chapter one will introduce the *Brasílica* in its earliest role in the period from 1500 to 1530. A trade pidgin based on Tupi-Guarani languages was first spoken to mediate exchanges in barter between native communities and European merchants and sailors. Vocabulary lists of items being traded further suggest that all linguistic communication took place in this trade pidgin. Early histories left by Europeans who visited Brazil indicate that more complex exchanges were mediated by way of interpreters. The discussion will also refer to other languages, not oral and non-verbal, such as signs, gestures and facial expressions. This chapter will also introduce the main protagonists of this dissertation, Tupi-Guarani and Portuguese speakers.

Chapter two begins with a view of the early sixteenth-century linguistic panorama into which migrants arrived from other parts of the South American continent, Europe and African. The coastal prominence of Tupi-Guarani languages and early typologies of native languages, created through Tupi-Guarani and Indo-European will be explored. Following will be three discussions on the principal communities of Indo-European, native South American and West and Central African languages to enter the colonies.

The arrival of the Jesuits to Brazil in 1549 marked the birth of the *Brasílica* in its nomination, its linguistic properties, its social importance and its position as the language of the church. Three strategies, which I call collectively “language translation projects,” were designed, spearheaded and executed by the Society of Jesus to reduce the language gap experienced between missionary and neophyte. Chapter three will explore these strategies. The composition and use of language manuals, education of youth, and training of religious interpreters worked together to study, standardize and render the coastal Tupi-Guarani languages into one, uniform colony-wide *lingua franca*.

Chapters four and five are concerned with the eighteenth century evolution of the *linguas gerais amazônicas*. Chapter four will explore the conditions in which the *Vulgar* surfaced and replaced the *Brasílica* in daily speech and chapter five will compare the linguistic properties of the two languages and show some ways by which the *Vulgar* came to distinguish itself as a separate language from the *Brasílica*. Taken together, the intention is for these five chapters to introduce discussion of language during the colonial era of Portuguese America, while identifying paths for new research shedding light on the sorts of cross-cultural and trans-regional human interactions typical of history and ongoing in today’s contemporary world.

Chapter One

First Encounters by the Sea: By Speech and by Signs

“... our ship’s mate, who could stammer out a few words in their language ... went over to the shore ... [and] displayed for them knives, mirrors, combs ... and called out asking for food supplies in exchange ... upon hearing this [the Margaia Indians] did not wait to be asked again, but hurried off to get food ...”

“Their gestures and expressions are so completely different from ours that it is difficult, I confess, to represent them well...”

Jean de Léry, History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, 1578.¹

In the first decades of colonization in Portuguese America, the seaside commerce in brazilwood invited free flows of Portuguese, French, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, Irish and Italian sailors and merchants to its Atlantic harbors. Greeting the Europeans were native peoples who may have had fleeting encounters with previous shiploads of whites, or extended and intimate relationships with the European men, women and children whom they adopted into their tribes. One might suppose that considerable pointing, waving and gesturing accompanied the first encounters, and that extended contact led each side slowly to learn to reproduce the sounds heard from the other. This gave rise to the creation of a pidgin, or simplified “mixed” language drawing from Indian and European tongues, mostly constituted by lexicon and limited in grammatical

¹ Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America, Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University California Press; Oxford University Press, 1990), 26, 67.

scope. Certainly, historians interpreting other early Indian-white interactions have suggested similar schedules of communication whereby signs preceded speech.² In sixteenth-century Brazil, European authors vividly relate the ways in which body language and oral communication also acted in concert to convey messages between peoples from disparate parts of the world. More importantly, these early colonial sources show no indication that “mixed” languages played any role in inter-ethnic linguistic communication. Instead, local tongues, namely, mutually comprehensible tribal and regional dialects of the Tupi-Guarani language family, came to mediate early interlingual experiences. This chapter on the use of Tupi-Guarani languages as the major form of oral mediation in contact and trade between natives of Portuguese America and natives of Europe from 1500 through to the 1530s opens the discussion proposed by this dissertation on the Tupi-Guarani based colony-wide lingua franca, the *Brasílica*.³

The period of contact and trade under study is framed by the years 1500, when Pedro Álvares Cabral made the first recorded landfall on the Land of the Holy Cross, as Brazil was first known to Europe, and the decade of the 1530s, when the attempts at permanent settlement began. The time frame is meant to serve mainly as a reference for the history of colonial Portuguese America

² James Axtell, *Beyond 1492. Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 102; Lois M. Feister, “Linguistic Communication between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland, 1609-1664,” *Ethnohistory* 20, 1 (1973): 26.

³ “The *Brasílica*” will be used in this chapter to refer to the trade language which was based on the speech of coastal Tupi-Guarani speaking Indians, although during the period, the language was known as “the language of the Indians” or “the language of the land” in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. For early references to local speech, see Aires de Casal, ed., *Corografia Brasílica. Fac-simile da edicao de 1817*, 2 vols., *Coleção de Obras Raras III* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1945), I, 14; Damião de Góis, *Chronica d’el-rei D. Manuel* (Lisboa: 1909), 46; Antonio Pigafetta, “Capitolo VI. Alcune parole che vsano le genti ne la terra del Bresil,” in *Il Viaggio fatto da gli Spangivoli a Torno al Mondo* ([Veneza]: MD XXX VI [1536]).

because, in fact, contact and trade were ongoing experiences along its extensive coastline and vast interior. For example, because permanent settlement in Amazônia did not begin until 1621, French interlopers who sought to break Portugal's monopoly on the commerce in brazilwood were ejected from the central coastal zones of Brazil, where settlement began in the 1530s. Relocating further north into the Amazon, Francophone merchants and sailors struck alliances with local groups, opening up early phases of contact and trade in Amazônia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The events considered in this chapter fall between 1500 and the 1530s and limit the discussion to contact and trade on the seaboard of the State of Brazil. However, occurrences after 1539 and taking place along the coast as well as in the *sertão* (hinterland) are included to demonstrate the experiences which Indians, Europeans and Africans held in common in these early encounters and exchanges, despite being separated by historical time and geographic space.

Because most Europeans appearing in this chapter were recent arrivals in Portuguese America, the terms "local," "native" and "indigenous" refer specifically to Indians, who were born and raised by the coastal strip of the colony. General references to American-born *mamelucos* (of Indian and European parentage) make it known that they existed in the early days of the colony, but these persons are not discussed here. Little is known about Europeans born in Brazil. Africans do not appear in this chapter and naturals of Europe who were integrated into Indian societies are considered to belong to native and/or European groups, depending on circumstances, a perspective

which remains constant throughout the two and a half centuries under study in this dissertation.

The notable linguistic diversity of coastal Brazil which early chroniclers claimed to exist was, in part, illusory. On the one hand, a seemingly infinite variety of languages were heard. By modern classifications, these belonged mainly to Karib, Macro-Arawak, Macro-Tupi and Macro-Jê language groups, although speech forms of smaller and isolated language families also existed (see chapter two). On the other hand, Europeans' activities in trade were tied to the littoral and its immediate sertão during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, putting them into recurring contact with two major language families: the Tupi-Guarani of Macro-Tupi and the Jê of Macro-Jê. Communities of Tupi-Guarani and Jê alternated their occupation of the extensive coastal strip and its sertão from the Amazon River to the Lagoa dos Patos.⁴ But the Jê did not enter into extended relationships with Europeans until later in the sixteenth century, when permanent colonization began starting in the 1530s. Until that decade, trade alliances made between Tupi-Guarani speaking Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Karijó and Potiguar and Indo-European speaking Portuguese and French traders and sailors ended up determining that native users of the Indian languages were as the principals of Europe's experiences in early sixteenth-century Brazil.

Studies on late medieval and early modern Portuguese language policies have highlighted the extent to which captive interpreters were essential to interlingual contact, trade and intelligence in "Guinea," which the Portuguese

⁴ Greg Urban, "A história da cultura brasileira segundo as línguas nativas," in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992), 88, 89.

called West Africa. Forcibly seized from their native lands, taken to Portugal, baptized, inserted into the milieu of West African slave communities and acquiring skills in the Lusophone language through immersion, these captive interpreters were taken on subsequent voyages back to their people, with whom presumably they spoke their native tongues and translated messages into a Portuguese creole language back to their captors.⁵ Other scholarship on maritime commerce in the Portuguese empire has also discussed the development of Portuguese creoles as trade jargons in West Africa and western India.⁶ In the seventeenth century, for example, French was spoken “like natives” by Cape Verdeans and Senegalese on the coast of Guinea. A similar form of Lusophone creole also was heard in this region in the early seventeenth century.⁷ The case of the Cape Verde *krioula* serves as one excellent example of a Portuguese creole developed in inter-ethnic trade dating from the Age of Discoveries, as too, does it illustrate the extent to which Cape Verdean middlemen of mixed Portuguese and West African ancestry came to dominate regional commerce, spreading their speech forms as lingua franca between Africans along the Guinea coast.⁸

⁵ Jeanne Hein, “Portuguese Communication with Africa on the Searoute to India,” *Terrae Incognitae* 25 (1993); M. Kittiya Lee, “From Captive Interpreter to Classy Ladino. Mediating Trade in the early modern Portuguese Atlantic” (paper to be given at the Conference “Creolizations/Creolizações: The Portuguese Atlantic: Africa, Cape Verde and Brazil,” São Vicente, Cape Verde Islands, 2005); A.C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 2, 89, 98-102, 105, 111-112, 146, 168, 169, 203n66, 267.

⁶ Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc, [1933] 1967), 301; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 213-215.

⁷ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 215.

⁸ T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands; Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in 17th Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 195-238; Deirdre Meintel, *Race, Culture, and Portuguese Colonialism in Cabo Verde* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 35; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 to 1800*

Portuguese America provides a distinct case study in oral communication used in inter-ethnic trade. Far fewer Indians were seized and taken back to Europe to serve as slaves, learn Portuguese and provide intelligence about their homelands.⁹ Instead, it appears that linguistic communication took place mainly by way of local intermediaries who were already living on the land and could be Indian or white, or experienced sailors, merchants and members of the crew.

The Tupi-Guarani speech forms will appear in this chapter in their plural form, such as “Tupi-Guarani trade jargons” or “creole languages.” By doing so, I wish to recognize the linguistic differences that may have characterized each native group’s barter with each European group. For example, Portuguese communications with the Potiguar may have differed linguistically from those used with the Tupinikin, even though both groups spoke closely-related Tupi-Guarani languages and occupied adjacent regions near Porto Seguro. In addition, crews on vessels sailing forth from Portugal integrated Lusophone speakers with varying dialects from the many regions of the Portuguese empire. Crewmen from other parts of Europe on Portuguese vessels also represented, albeit in smaller numbers, the speech of other Indo-European languages (see chapter two). Furthermore, the trade jargon used by French traders with another group of Tupi-Guarani speakers, the Tupinambá, may have been distinctive. Because the classification of languages is not the objective of this dissertation and

(New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980; reprint, 1970), 174, and esp. 200-222; P.E. [Peter Edward] Russell, “Some Socio-Linguistic Problems Concerning the Fifteenth-Century Portuguese Discoveries in the African Atlantic,” in *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490: Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator and Beyond* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 13.

⁹ Lee, “From Captive Interpreter to Classy Ladino. Mediating Trade in the early modern Portuguese Atlantic.”

because the projects to standardize and nationalize speech were not pertinent to these early inter-lingual encounters, reference to interlingual “languages” of barter will more adequately represent the linguistic diversity of the times.

This chapter introduces the Brasilica by way of its predecessor, oral forms of the Tupi-Guarani language family, and their collective roles in early contact and commerce in coastal Brazil between natives of the land and seafaring Europeans. The trade in brazilwood opens the chapter. Next, it highlights the roles of the men and women who detached themselves from commercial expeditions, latched onto local native societies, and became crucial cultural and linguistic middle persons mediating between Indians and Europeans. Consideration of the circumstances in which the Tupi-Guarani trade jargon was employed will form the basis for a discussion on oral communication. Consideration of non-linguistic forms of communication such as sign language, reportedly effective in some cases, round out this chapter’s focus on communication in early Indian-white relations.

Trade in Brazilwood

Until 1532, Portuguese America was represented by eight tiny trading posts which dotted the litoral from Pernambuco to Santa Catarina. Although Portugal and other European crowns backed expeditions of trade, exploration and conquest through the country onward from the early years of the 1500s, for the most part, their interest was focused on maritime commerce in the dyewood derived from the tree they called “brazil” (*Caesalpinia sappan*). Previous to the circulation in Europe of Pero Vaz de Caminha’s 1500 letter to the King Dom

Manuel I, reporting dense patches of brazilwood along the eastern shores of Brazil, Venetian merchants had met European demand for red dyewoods from samples logged in the Levant, India, Sumatra, and Ceylon.¹⁰ The frequency of European ships stopping along the Atlantic coast increased from Paraíba and Pernambuco in the northeast to São Vicente and Santa Catarina in the southeast where the tree groves were abundant. In 1502, King Manuel agreed to contract a group of New Christian merchants to explore and claim 300 leagues of coast per year on behalf of the Portuguese crown, building and maintaining, along the way, one new fort every three years, as well as delivering loads of dyewood.¹¹ In return, the entrepreneurs adhered to a schedule of payments in brazilwood to the crown, keeping the remaining profits for themselves. In 1509 and 1510, French and German merchants agreed to similar terms with the Portuguese crown.¹² So long as Portugal received a share of the profit, contracts with other nations were regularly signed.¹³ Consequently, ships heavy with dyewood returned to European ports, leaving Rio de Janeiro before 1510, Bahia in 1510 and 1526, Cabo Frio in 1511 and Pernambuco in 1520, 1522, 1526, 1527 and 1531.¹⁴ Such recorded voyages probably do not represent more than a partial picture of what was a

¹⁰ João Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History 1500-1800*, trans. Arthur Brakel (New York: Oxford University, 1997), 28; Kax Wilson, *A History of Textiles* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 91. For Vaz de Caminha's letter, see Casal, ed., *Corografia Brasílica*, volume I.

¹¹ Scholars have calculated the quantity of brazilwood demanded by the crown from Noronha's men as ranging from 20,000 quintals to 30,000 logs (750 tons) annually between 1501 and 1505. Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery. The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942), 29; Prestage, *Portuguese Pioneers*, 290. 1 quintal is equal to approximately 120 pounds, according to Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 36.

¹² Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 29.

¹³ Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex. Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 49.

¹⁴ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 29-30.

burgeoning trade, accessed by the Portuguese and other European kingdoms. Already, by the first decade of the colony, Indian merchants began what were to be long-standing relationships with representatives from various Indo-European languages.

The *Bretôa* was typical of such commercial ventures. A consortium of Italian and Portuguese bankers and merchants underwrote the enterprise. The crew numbered a captain, a scribe, a boatswain and a pilot, who were responsible for a crew of thirteen seamen, fourteen grummetts, four servants and one supply officer of a variety of European nationalities.¹⁵ The *Bretôa* set sail on 22 February 1511 from Lisbon and arrived after two months at sea in the Bahia de Todos os Santos on 17 April, where it awaited deliveries of brazilwood until 12 May. Because draft animals were not used by local coastal societies, unwilling European sailors and captains aside, it is most likely in this instance, as in others reported throughout the century, that area inhabitants provided the hard labor of preparing and hauling the brazilwood.¹⁶ The one African slave aboard the *Bretôa* probably followed the Tupiniquim, Karijó, Potiguar and Tupinambá into the groves and worked alongside them, felling trees, shaving off bark, dividing large trunks into small sections, and rounding off the logs, all tasks greatly facilitated by the metal tools given by the Portuguese.¹⁷ The logs were carried, increasingly at greater distances as the groves of brazilwood by the littoral became depleted,

¹⁵ Taken from Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History*, 26-7. A different account is offered in Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 34.

¹⁶ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 101.

¹⁷ Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite & Cia., 1925), 179; Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 37.

and delivered to the factor (*feitor*), the crown-appointed official who took up residence in the trading post and acted as the local contact for the Portuguese.¹⁸

The Portuguese practice of maintaining trading posts, or factories (*feitorias*) at strategic harbors, an inheritance from their commercial endeavors on the coast of Guinea, ensured sustained relations between the factor who manned the post and local societies with which he bartered for goods. The on-site factor was charged with the duty of negotiating all affairs with locals on behalf of the king, particularly the commercial details. During the months when Portuguese traders were not anchored in the shallow waters of one of the Brazilian coastline's many excellent harbours, the factor was busy in barter among natives, who brought to his storage place brazilwood, cotton, native grains, and other items that piqued European interest.¹⁹ His sustenance was probably provided for by Indians bringing preserved meats, legumes and fruits of the land, manioc "flour and other necessities," in exchange for goods he had on offer, such as glass beads, rattles, scissors or mirrors.²⁰ In addition, native societies, as the only other human inhabitants on the land, provided help in times of need: they were important allies against other hostile Indians and applied local remedies for sicknesses and maladies. In some cases, Indians might have wished to seal agreements to trade with a foreigner by taking him into their residence and offering him a female companion, a sign of his acceptance and adoption into the group.²¹ The system also provided the Portuguese crown with a middleman

¹⁸ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 101; Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 34-41.

¹⁹ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 39.

²⁰ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 26, 54.

²¹ Claude d' Abbeville, *História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinos na Ilha do Maranhão em que se trata das singularidades admiráveis e dos costumes estranhos dos índios habitantes do país*

familiar with native languages and customs. Seamen desiring barter with locals were supposed to do so through the factor, who interpreted the transactions.²² The factor also made it his business to confirm that the brazilwood was properly loaded onto ships bound for points of commercial interest to the Portuguese.²³ Most likely, he was the one European with whom Indians interacted most and probably one of the few whites involved with the brazilwood trade who spoke Indian languages, and not simplified trade jargons.

Although the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) had given Portugal a claim over the lands which were to include the Brazil and Amazônia, the lure of profits which could be illegally gained from the lucrative trade in brazilwood was too much to resist for other European nations. Among the major early competitors of the Portuguese were the French, who had established friendly relations with coastal Indians since the start of the sixteenth century. Although it is thought that the French did not possess the same factory system as the Portuguese maintained in Brazil, there is evidence that they had at least one trading post at Pernambuco and it is likely that others had been built and served as landmarks for incoming ships and holding stations for trade items bartered locally and awaiting transport to Old World markets.²⁴ French sailors and merchants had been trading and some even “liv[ing] a long time in [Tupinambá] country,” since the early sixteenth century.²⁵ These men were known in the historical

(São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, [1614] 1945), 115; Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 43, 153; Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1955), 19, 79.

²² Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History*, 27.

²³ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 17.

²⁴ Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History*, 35.

²⁵ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, xix, 140, 235-236n3.

documentation as “Norman interpreters,” and their work has been often compared with that of the *coureurs de bois* of the fur trade in New France.²⁶ Like the fur traders, their integration into local societies – and particularly what became long-standing alliances with the Tupinambá – did much for French merchants, engaged in the commerce in brazilwood. They formed alliances of solidarity and friendship ranging from trade to marriage, adoption, and cohabitation and begat the first generation of mameluco offspring in Brazil.²⁷

Early Lançados, Shipwreck Survivors and Self-Exiles

In the early modern Atlantic world, Brazil not only offered lucrative dyewood for commerce. It had plentiful and attractive ports of call and safe harbors.²⁸ Local merchants eager to acquire Old World exotica also welcomed European fleets in search of information, bartered goods, and to replenish water and food supplies for their continued voyages to the Caribbean, India, or the Far East. In the early years of the sixteenth century, for example, on an expedition entirely unrelated with Portuguese America and the trade in brazilwood, the *São Hieronimo* checked in to what may have been the Bay of All Saints, to repair a rudder that had been destroyed in a storm and to take on food and water. The crew traded with locals, swapping fishhooks and pins for food and crafts.²⁹ These

²⁶ Barbara A. Sommer, “Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Indian Slave Trade,” *The Americas* 61, 3 (2005): 405.

²⁷ Francisco López de Gómara, “La História General de las Indias,” in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1852), 211; Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, xix, 140, 235-236 n3; Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 40-43; Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil, 1500-1627*, 6th ed. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1975), 143, 246, 248, 273.

²⁸ Gómara, “História General,” 211; Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia* (São Paulo: 1968); Alexander Marchant, “Colonial Brazil as a way station for the Portuguese India Fleets,” *The Geographical Review* 31 (1941).

²⁹ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 44.

forms of barter exchange might have been mediated by the factor of the trading post or by the few whites living on the land.

Countless undocumented men and women arriving on European ships forsook the arduous sea life of the continuing trip to Asia or Africa, as trade routes flowed, in favor of the inviting, verdant and abundant New World tropics. High rates of desertion were noticed when vessels stopped at Portugal's American ports in the South Atlantic.³⁰ Though the Portuguese were forbidden from carrying on board their vessels any free persons, going inland, or staying ashore among natives, men, women and children were able to slip into a new American life, as evidenced by their constant presence in early chronicles.³¹ In addition to two *degredados* (convicts) Cabral left among the Tupiniquim in May 1500, for example, two more deckhands jumped ship.³² In 1511, the *Bretôa* picked up Portuguese Joham de Braga, who had been living in Bahia.³³ Cristovão Jacques, another Portuguese who acted in multiple roles as soldier, factor, trader and interpreter and who probably maintained close relations with local societies, possibly marrying native women, is said to have lived in Brazil between 1516-1519 and 1528 and on two further occasions from the 1520s to the 1540s. On each stay, he remained for one to two years, acting in various capacities representing

³⁰ C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1969), 206, 219.

³¹ John Hemming, *Red Gold. The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500-1760* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 11.

³² Eduardo Bueno, *Náufragos, traficantes e degredados: as primeiras expedições ao Brasil, 1500-1531*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 1998), 34.

³³ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 35.

Indians in trade with other Indians and with Europeans and in serving the crown by driving away French interlopers.³⁴

Expeditions of trade, exploration and conquest along the rivers and into the forests of the country also left behind their share of human flotsam. With voyages outfitted with hundreds of soldiers and seamen, sometimes members of the crews strayed away or were lost. Lucky sailors survived shipwrecks. Conflicts with native societies or hunger may have led some travelers to be left behind, abandoned by their crewmen. Amazônia, for example, was host to 22 Spanish-led expeditions in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. The River Plate area also was the target for numerous voyages of exploration and conquest, leaving behind a trail of whites.³⁵ Also forming part of the small white communities of early colonial Brazil were *lançados* (from the cognate *lançar*, to throw), male and female sinners and convicts who were put ashore, instructed to interact with the locals, learn the languages of the land, acquire geographic, ethnographic and trade information, explain the Portuguese crown's intent, ascertain items available for trade, negotiate commerce, and help consolidate commercial and political alliances with coastal chiefs. The experiences of Spanish Francisco del Puerto in southeastern Brazil offer one concise view of the circumstances in which whites may have found themselves in the colony. As a *lançado* himself, del Puerto was left among the Indians near the River Plate around 1516. As a result of his friendship with area inhabitants and his knowledge of the land, he had assisted and saved the lives of many Europeans,

³⁴ Ibid, 43-44.

³⁵ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004), 110.

deserted, shipwrecked or lost along the coast.³⁶ Not all wayward souls found del Puerto's directions useful, however; three Spanish men remained lost for a decade after meeting him.³⁷

Hans Staden is one such adventurer who, resolved to see "India," or America, left his hometown of Hamburg in 1547 and arrived to the lands of the Tupinambá and Karijó in Pernambuco the following year. This first trip lasted sixteen months at sea and one sailing along the coast of northern Brazil, with orders to barter for brazilwood and attack any other European vessels seen doing the same.³⁸ Staden traveled again to Brazil in 1549 but this time, the stay was prolonged considerably, and against his will. The Tupinikin of Bertioga, sworn enemies of the Portuguese, mistook the German as a Pero, as the Portuguese were known along the coastal inhabitants, and seized him with the intention to kill, roast and eat him to avenge the deaths of their kinsmen by Portuguese settlers. Eyes bathed with tears, the devout Staden began to sing solemnly, probably in German, "From the depths of my mystery, I call out to You, my God!" To which the Tupinikin snickered, "Look how he cries! Listen to him lament!" Luckily for Staden, he was able to make contact with a French ship which took him back to Europe in 1554. By the time he left Brazil, he was completely fluent

³⁶ Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo [y Valdés], *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Madrid: [1851-1855] 1959), 355.

³⁷ Gómara, "História General," 212. For a comprehensive study of the Portuguese crown's use of exile as a cogent policy for populating its global empire, see Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans. Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

³⁸ Hans Staden, *Duas Viagens ao Brasil*, trans. Alberto Löfgren (São Paulo: Beca Produções Culturais, 2000), 33.

in Tupinikin speech. His six years among the Tupinikin improved the language skills he had already acquired on the previous trip.³⁹

The French commitment to cultivating generations of interpreters and cultural brokers was clear throughout the sixteenth century. Aside from the Norman interpreters linked with the commerce in brazilwood, the French had their practice of leaving behind *lançados* for gathering intelligence and building alliances. “Ten young boys ... and five young girls, with a woman to watch over the [girls],” left the port of Honfleur, in Normandy, France, in 1556 to be left behind in Brazil in order to acquire “the language of the savages.”⁴⁰ Around the Bahia de Todos os Santos, planter, sugar mill and slave owner and chronicler Gabriel Soares de Sousa recalled in 1587 that habitually, the French had left behind “young men” to learn the language and ways of the land with the Tupinambá and to be of service to French settlers anticipated in a future shipment.⁴¹ Even later, in the initial stages of colonization during which trade characterized Indian-white relations in Amazônia, friendly Franco-Indian relations predated early Portuguese attempts to establish ties with locals. The first Jesuits to Ceará learned in 1607 that the French had already been engaging in trade relations among tribes in Maranhão.⁴²

Fanning out along the long coastline, speakers of Romance languages, namely, Portuguese, Spanish and French, struggled to survive off the land. Individuals who managed to locate, or were dropped off near to one of the

³⁹ Ibid, 22, 26, 35, 56-63, 126.

⁴⁰ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 7.

⁴¹ Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil* (Lisboa: Alfa, [1587] 1989), 242.

⁴² Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), III, 6.

factories, may have received assistance from former fellow Old World denizens. About 800 leagues north from the Tupinambá of the Bay of All Saints, for example, 8 to 10 whites were living together by a trading post in the 1530s.⁴³ While waiting for the arrival of promised Portuguese armadas to populate the coast, this small group of individuals relied on Indians for survival, food, loading brazilwood, and protection.⁴⁴ Other less fortunate travelers or shipwreck survivors erected shelters of wood, leaves and adobe, probably with the counsel of friendly area inhabitants who taught them how to utilize the natural resources.⁴⁵ Stranded or deserting Europeans may have crossed paths serendipitously and probably banded together, forming tiny communities adjacent to larger Indian villages. Under such circumstances, Europeans were fortunate if they were accepted by their Indian neighbors, and had to comply with existing social structures and cultural norms. Their lot could be quite risky – bearing the brunt of natives’ fear, suspicion, or fury, with death always a possibility.

Those who survived married local men or women, and certain Portuguese men ended up as key protagonists in later Indian-white relations. The union between João Ramalho and Potira, daughter of Tupinikin headman Tibiriçá, serves as an example of how Indians and Europeans came to create the

⁴³ One league is between 5,555 and 6,000 meters. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xxiii.

⁴⁴ Oviedo [y Valdés], *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, 350.

⁴⁵ João Felipe Bettendorff, *Crônica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*, 2nd ed. (Belém: Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 19; Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), 435n4; Ivo d’ Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D’Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques, *Bibliotheca de Escriutores Maranhenses* (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929), 109.

relationships which would last into the early phases of colony building. By accepting and taking in Ramalho, the Tupinikin gained access to trade with Ramalho's "clan," the Portuguese who, in turn, knew they could count on Tupinikin for brazilwood, food, hospitality and friendship, and shelter. Moreover, the Tupinikin believed that the ranks of their warriors would swell with the backing of Portuguese soldiers, armed with powerful metal weapons and guns, rendering Tibiriçá all the more powerful in the internecine wars which characterized Tupi-Guarani societies. Santo André, the third colonial settlement in the captaincy of São Paulo (1553), was founded under Ramalho's leadership, which rallied the support of his Tupinikin kinsmen.⁴⁶ When the Jesuits chose to establish a mission in the region, Ramalho was essential to securing native support and willingness to receive the Fathers.⁴⁷ São Vicente was also the gateway into the sertão, which held promise of gold, infinite Indian slaves and new lands to conquer by following trails well-worn by Indian networks of trade, communication and migration.⁴⁸ For his part, Ramalho had proven himself as a capable warrior and village founder and headman. Ramalho's daughters were married to prominent Portuguese immigrants, contributing to the growing population of mamelucos of Indian and European ancestry.⁴⁹ In the mid-sixteenth century, the captaincy of São Paulo already had become reknown for its

⁴⁶ John Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994), 37-38.

⁴⁷ Serafim Leite, ed., *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas do Brasil*, III vols. (São Paulo: Comissão do Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo, 1956), 194r.

⁴⁸ Serafim Leite, "Jesuítas do Brasil na fundação da missão do Paraguai (11 Agosto 1588)," *Archivum historicum S.J.* VI (1937): 2.

⁴⁹ Francisco de Assis Carvalho Franco, *Dicionário de bandeirantes e sertanistas do Brasil: séculos XVI, XVII, XVIII* (São Paulo: Comissão do IV Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo, Serviço de Comemorações Culturais, 1954), 323-325; Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry. Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 33.

production of local interpreters so essential to all matters, from town-building to catechism and the administration of sacraments and expeditions of exploration, trade, enslavement and conquest into the sertão.⁵⁰ The early history of colonial São Paulo captaincy owed much to the Tupinikin-Portuguese partnerships initiated by Tibiriçá, carried out by Potira and Ramalho and given continuity by their mameluco offspring.⁵¹

Sharing similar personal trajectories were two other Portuguese men. Diogo Álvares and Jerônimo de Albuquerque both married the daughters of prominent local chiefs, becoming respected warriors in their own right. Both men were essential to colony-building in their respective regions of influence. Álvares and the Tupinambá helped the first Portuguese colonists with the foundation of Vila Velha; their support was also indispensable when the provincial government was established at Salvador and the first Jesuits began their programs of religious conversion among Indian communities around the Bay of All Saints (1549). Albuquerque's ties with his Tobajara kinsmen was also a great asset to the Portuguese at Recife and Olinda and it is little wonder that the captaincy of Pernambuco flourished in its first years of settlement, attributable to the strong Tobajara-Portuguese alliance which had been built.

Ramalho, Álvares and Albuquerque are representative of the many *lançados*, self-exiled men and women, and survivors of shipwrecks who remained blissfully nameless but were crucial first links to the creation of a shared lingua

⁵⁰ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, "The Office of Lingua: a Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario XXV*, 2 (2001): 123; Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente*, 195.

⁵¹ John M. Monteiro, "The Crisis and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 992.

franca. As vehicles for gathering intelligence, they expanded Portuguese access to new lands, peoples and trade goods; arrivals following in the footsteps of men like Ramalho, drifting inland at the anchoring of each ship and the penetration of each expedition and were the forerunners of subsequent waves of foreigners acculturating into native societies. These, in turn, came to help travelers, father mameluco offspring, and serve as Europe's informal emissaries to the native communities of Portuguese America.

The nature of Indian tribes' initial responses to their first meetings with Europeans individuals depended on the context of the encounter and also on the numbers and the standing (as perceived by the Indians) of the intruders. João Ramalho's acceptance by the Tupinikin headman Tibiriçá was one example of how Portuguese men married the daughters of local leaders. Half a century later and in the captaincy of Maranhão, Friars Claude d'Abbeville and Ivo d'Evreux, two French Capuchins provide vivid accounts of the welcome they received in their 1613-1614 visit to Tupinambá villages in Maranhão. At first sight, arrivals may have been acknowledged simply by the query: "Ere-iur Xetuassa-pe?" (Have you arrived, my compadre?).⁵² For the more auspicious visitors, a ceremony of cries and lamentations is invoked by the womenfolk, who

"arrive with [their] hands over the[ir] eyes and, taking one of the legs of the visitor, begin immediately to cry with marvellous shouts and exclamations. This is one of the most evident signs of courtesy that their friends are accustomed to witnessing. Upon crying, they add thousands of words of elogy, saying that [the visitor] is welcomed, confirming [his/her goodness] and lamenting that [he/she] had suffered such a difficult

⁵² Evreux, *Viagem*, 242.

journey in order to come visit them from so faraway.”⁵³

Among the Tupinambá of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro in the mid-sixteenth century, similar ceremonies of welcome were noted, suggesting these to be staple fare in Tupinambá patterns of welcome of freshly disembarked Europeans.⁵⁴ Two accounts by French men of religion, Friar Evreux and Calvinist pastor Jean de Léry, pay particular attention to capturing the orality heard in these instances, providing transcriptions of Tupinambá phrases, words, expressions, discourses and religious oration into French orthography. Each written with approximately half a century of Tupinambá-French trade relations and separated by four decades of history and half a continent, the transcriptions reflect very little change in the speech of the Tupinambá.

Following the women’s welcome, ensuing rounds of question and answer invariably began with the visitor’s introduction of himself or herself after the hosts ask, “Marapé derere?” (What do you call yourself?), followed by invitations to dine, smoke, converse about the local conditions in each speaker’s native lands, begin barter and ending with “Ere-y-potar kere-y-pé?” (Would you like to sleep?) after which the hammock is strung and the visitor left to deliberate his adventures and new experiences adapting to the local speech of the Tupinambá.⁵⁵

By Speech

The expected routine for Europeans limiting their interactions with coastal inhabitants to seaside commerce also seemed to take place in the Tupi-Guarani

⁵³ Abbeville, *História*, 227-228; Evreux, *Viagem*, 241-246.

⁵⁴ Evreux, *Viagem*, 242.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 243-246; Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 162-169, 178- 194.

languages. Upon arrival in a territory inhabited by a certain peoples, the established practice was to fire the cannon several times to warn area residents, in response to which “suddenly ... a great number of savage men and women [appeared] on the seashore.”⁵⁶ For early coastal Indian societies, there was probably little difference between the Portuguese, French, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, Irish, and Italian sailors and merchants who anchored in their harbors. Fair-skinned or ruddy-cheeked, clothed, sporting mustaches and beards, performing acts of possession involving the planting of large wooden crosses followed by solemn oratory, prostration on the ground and raised arms towards the sky, indeed, such similar signs of custom and culture were paralleled by what may have sounded to natives’ ears as closely-related speech forms, as were, indeed, the Indo-European languages.⁵⁷

What became increasingly clear to native inhabitants was the newcomers’ desires – insatiable, it may have seemed -- for their forest wood, particularly their *ibirapitanga*, or *araboutan*, common terms in Tupi-Guarani languages for brazilwood.⁵⁸ What appeared puzzling, to native peoples, were the extreme conditions Europeans were willing to endure in order to acquire its logs. The following dialogue, taken down by Léry on his mission to the nascent French colony in the Bay of Guanabara (1556-1558), represents this native curiosity with the European fever for brazilwood. An elder Tupinambá was recorded as having asked Léry, “What does it mean that you French and Portuguese come from so far for wood to warm yourselves? Is there none in your own country?” To which the

⁵⁶ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 25.

⁵⁷ Abbeville, *História*, 115.

⁵⁸ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 100; “Prosodia da Lingoa,” s.d., Série Azul, 569, Academia de Ciências, Lisbon.

pastor replied that the wood in France was fit for burning, but not for the purpose of creating a deep red dye, which araboutan offered, used to color garments and other articles. The elder continued his query, asking why such enormous quantities of the wood were needed. Léry described the merchants of his kingdom, so wealthy with “more knives, scissors, mirrors, and other merchandise than you have ever seen over here; one such merchant alone will buy all the wood that several ships bring back from your country.” When asked, with a sense of awe, if these merchants ever expired and if so, what would come of his belongings, Léry enumerated the children, siblings and kinsmen in line to inherit the goods. At this, the elder marveled at what he had just heard, exclaiming:

“Truly ... I see now that you Frenchmen are great fools; must you labor so hard to cross the sea, on which (as you told us) you endured so many hardships, just to amass riches for your children or for those who will survive you? Will not the earth that nourishes you suffice to nourish them? We have kinsmen and children, whom, as you see, we love and cherish; but because we are certain that after our death the earth which has nourished us will nourish them, we rest easy and do not trouble ourselves further about it.”⁵⁹

Léry’s transcription of the dialogue, which he presumably translated into French for his readership, was reconstructed from memory at intervals, and was variously lost, damaged, and rewritten again between 1563 and 1578. Although in this instance, he makes no mention of the interpreter, throughout the text, it is clear that he had to rely on interlingual mediators who accompanied him in his rounds through the Indian villages. During his visit to the solemn assemblies

⁵⁹ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 101-102.

said to occur among the Tupinambá every three or four years, for example, an anonymous interpreter, who claimed to have been “six or seven years ... in that country,” translated for Léry and his travel companion, Jacques Rousseau.⁶⁰ It appears that Léry eventually acquired sufficient proficiency in Tupi-Guarani languages to be able to put together an extensive “Colloquy” in Tupinikin and Tupinambá dialects.

André Thevet, French royal cosmographer and personal chaplain of Catherine de Medici, noted after his ten-week visit to the Bay of Guanabara that among the Tupinambá and other villagers, popular European trade pieces included scissors, needles, “certain hatchets, knives, daggers, swords, and other iron tools, beads of glasse, combs, looking glasses” (sic).⁶¹ Additional items offered by Europeans in initial encounters included rattles, bells, red felt hats, and pieces of cloth.⁶² Some of these things may have been valued for their exotic appeal. Glass beads were admired for their aesthetic value and bells, rattles and whistles may have been believed to contain and convey to their owners special powers reigned in from foreign lands.⁶³ Other goods may have been accepted as acts of goodwill. For example, some Margaia men and women, although enemies

⁶⁰ Ibid, 140.

⁶¹ André Thevet, “La Cosmographie Universelle,” in *Le Brésil et les Brésiliens par André Thevet*, ed. Suzanne Lussagnet (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, [1575] 1953), 225; Andrew Thevet, *The New found world, or Antarctike wherein is contained wōderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as beastes, fishes, foules, and serpents, trées, plants, mines of golde and siluer: garnished with many learned auctorities, traualled and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now newly translated into English, wherein is reformed the errors of the auncient Cosmographers*. (Amsterdam, New York: Da Capo Press, Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm Ltd., [1568]1971), 73v.

⁶² Casal, ed., *Corografia Brasílica*, I, 14-17.

⁶³ See Richter’s excellent discussion of the ways by which Amerindians in North America may have fit European goods into their own cultural patterns, for example, hammering kettles flat and using the metal to shape amulets, imbued with powerful forces as they originated from the other side of the sea. Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian country : a Native history of early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), especially chapters 1 and 2.

of the French, willingly traded with Léry's crew, when the time came for the French to depart, the Margaia men donned the shirts they had received in exchange for the manioc flour, hams, boar meat and fruits they provided for the hungry travelers. Perhaps as a sign of respect to the French, they waded in the glistening waist-high waters away from the ship, with their shirttails held high as to not drench their newly-acquired garments. As they neared the beach, with the water receding, the Margaia men strode, bare-bottomed and laden down with other gift items from the French, strode back onto the sandy beach.⁶⁴

Metal goods were also eagerly traded for by native communities. Accessories, necklaces and cuffs hammered out of metal adorning the necks of people of "Brasilica nations" were seen by Father Provincial Domingos Coelho, suggesting metal goods as common, daily household items for many Tupi-Guarani Indians by 1635.⁶⁵ In another form, metal, when made into tools such as machetes, saws and even scissors and knives forever altered the lifestyles of Indian peoples. Japi-açu, one of the most powerful Tupinambá headman on the Island of Maranhão in the early seventeenth century, made clear his people's dependency on the metal tools traded by the French and Portuguese.⁶⁶ Tasks which previously had required considerable manpower and investment in time, such as making weapons, felling trees, building a village and making canoes, could be completed more quickly and by far fewer people. Indians no longer content with scraps of metals, glass and cloths increasingly demanded scissors,

⁶⁴ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 26.

⁶⁵ Bras 8(2), 469f.

⁶⁶ Abbeville, *História*, 60.

fishhooks, knives, and machetes, all wares costly for Europeans to acquire.⁶⁷ That the *Bretôa* crew carried a surplus of these items suggests that Indians had already begun soliciting these as early as 1511. Europeans who wanted New World items had no choice but to acquiesce to local demands. The chapter entitled, “Instruction for those who go for the first time to [Maranhão],” in French Capuchin Friar Yves d’Evreux’s *Voyage* advised future colonists that trade was not necessarily cheap, and that they should be prepared to bring all that was deemed as necessary for living.⁶⁸ Especially in the pre-settlement period, commerce usually adhered to local rules, traditions and preferences.⁶⁹

On the other hand, exchanges in trade goods were mutual affairs. Indians, too, had to meet the demands of Europeans if they desired Old World novelties. Food was the trade item requested most by hungry sailors and merchants, who typically spent two months at sea surviving on scanty rations of preserved meats, breads and wine, making for a monotonous diet. Besides brazilwood, other trade pieces of local exotica included monkeys and parrots.⁷⁰ German artilleryman Hans Staden recalls having seen in the mid-sixteenth century many ships anchored in the Bahia da Guanabara in the southeast and Bahia de Todos os Santos in the northeast, where logs were being loaded and natives offered French traders food provisions, pepper, monkeys and parrots, all abundant and natural to the land and so, easy to acquire for the Indians.⁷¹ Indeed, coastal inhabitants gained handsomely in trading brazilwood, and they aggressively sought barter

⁶⁷ Bueno, *Náufragos*, 77.

⁶⁸ Evreux, *Viagem*, 240.

⁶⁹ Curtin, *The Rise and Fall*, 49.

⁷⁰ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 29; Prestage, *Portuguese Pioneers*, 290.

⁷¹ Staden, *Duas Viagens ao Brasil*, 22, 32-33, 101.

with Europeans. In 1531, coastal inhabitants took the initiative and propositioned Pero Lopes de Sousa, who was still on board his ship. Swimming speedily along with the vessel's swift pace, they queried his wish for trade, possibly by gestures or by yelling above the din of crashing waves, seagulls and the ship's groan, "ibirapitanga!" or "araboutan!"⁷²

Léry's Margaia Indians also seemed to value trade with whites. Despite enemy relations with the French, one of the acting leaders of a welcome group greeting Léry's men insisted that their araboutan was the best in the land and that his people would willingly offer food and provide manpower to fell trees and divide and carry the logs to the French ships.⁷³ Further north, near the swirling waters of the Amazon River in early 1542, news about exotic goods convinced Omagua Chief Aparia to dispatch four to five canoes laden with trade items to intercept Spanish Francisco Orellana's fleet.⁷⁴ Word spread quickly and Indians living far inland traversed well-worn trails to the coast to exchange in barter with the white men. Through the long-standing trade networks that crisscrossed South America, Old World goods and technologies penetrated into the societies and lands still not traversed by Europeans and villages in the remote hinterland, integrating strips of clothe, bells and mirrors into their daily lives, anticipated face-to-face encounters with the pale and bearded "others" whom they had yet to meet.

Most likely, conversation was limited to a minimum in the early phases of inter-ethnic trade. Thevet recounts that Indians' exclamation, "Look there! A

⁷² Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 33.

⁷³ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 27.

⁷⁴ David Sweet, "A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: the Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974), 7.

ship full of merchandise!” probably from the Tupinambá, opened up rounds of barter on the seacoast, which proceeded with “this maner [of speech]: ‘give me that, and I will give thee this,’ without any further talk (sic).”⁷⁵ Like many of the trade languages to spring up as a consequence of commercial interaction between peoples speaking mutually unintelligible languages, the Tupi-Guarani speech forms used in the early sixteenth century between European merchants and coastal Indians consisted of little more than a string of terms. A limited vocabulary restricted early Indian-white spoken communications to the immediate goals of the seaside exchanges: names for the commodities for trade, their physical traits (colors, sizes and weights), rudimentary greetings, and phrases for price haggling. One of the earliest known expositions of the trade jargon used between Indians and Europeans was published in Venice in 1536, authored by Antonio Pigafetta, scribe on board Magellan’s fleet (1519-1522), of which one vessel circumnavigated the globe. Duly recorded for posterity, Pigafetta’s short list gave the local terms for corn,⁷⁶ flour, fish hook, knife, comb, scissors, bells and the persuasive selling phrase, “a bit more than good.”⁷⁷ Léry’s “Colloquy” offers a similar laundry list of materials, items, colors, sizes, quantities and simple sentences.⁷⁸

It appears that if European merchants wished to trade with the coastal peoples, the newcomers had to learn to twist their tongues to identify, request, bargain for and announce the goods for barter. Pigafetta’s and Léry’s

⁷⁵ Thevet, “La Cosmographie Universelle,” 225; *The New found world*, 73v.

⁷⁶ “Mahiz,” in the Indian language, for what seemed to be described in Italian, “Il suo sormento che par ceci,” as a plant with seeds similar to chickpeas. Pigafetta, “Capitolo VI.”

⁷⁷ “Piu che buon,” Ibid.

⁷⁸ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 178-194.

vocabularies of the trade jargon were lined in two columns: on the left, items written in Italian and French orthography, respectively, corresponded with the right, where the Tupi-Guarani words were listed. These were presumably composed for the few literate arriving sailors and merchants, who might have read aloud the terms on the list for the benefit of their less educated shipmates to memorize or holler out, in the bustle and activity of trade, the words for others to hear and imitate. In no way do these early vocabularies indicate that any loan words, transliterations, or other linguistic properties were adopted from European languages. Indians' efforts to speak a European language would have been matters of noteworthy interest, yet whereas this aspect is absent from early sources, it is a recurring theme and preoccupation in later ones, suggesting that European languages, as with European institutions, cultures, ideas and material items, assumed more importance and expression in local affairs as European people, institutions and customs became more visible. That no mention is made of the use of French and Portuguese, the languages of the most active of European traders, leads one to suggest that verbal communication in Indian-white commerce drew principally, if not at times wholly, from Tupi-Guarani dialects. When and where Portuguese or French may have been spoken between natives and seafarers, scribes probably did not see the need to notate their own language. The exotic appeal of taking down "[s]ome words [used by] the people of the land of Brazil," for posterity, as Pigafetta's vocabulary announced, and their interest in compiling a language guide for reference in future trade might

have been reason enough to put ink-blotted feather to paper. The tradition of recording trade jargons used in faraway places was also established in Europe.⁷⁹

The trade pidgin, or trade jargon, of early colonial Brazil exhibited the typical qualities ascribed to oral forms growing out of interlingual commerce. The Tupi-Guarani trade jargons possessed limited ranges, being composed of little more than a string of vocabulary, void of grammatical structure and inadequate for expressions beyond simple identification of objects and perhaps, for the savvy merchant pitching a great sale, rudimentary adjectives highlighting an item's "much more than good" value.⁸⁰ Linguistic records documenting early Indian-white contacts in colonial Brazil reveal that inter-lingual communication, at its most base level, was little more than extended lists of vocabulary and phrases inquiring and identifying the names of flora, fauna, trade items, parts of the body, genealogy, numbers and making salutations.

The sheer imbalance in numerical representatives of Tupi-Guarani speakers as compared with Indo-European users also favored the prevalence of the local speech forms. It may be argued that only several Indians might appear to trade at any one time; these same Indians became native commercial emissaries to the white seamen and perhaps they learned to speak some European words and phrases, although these instances are as rare in the early sources as they are abundant in the later ones. Considering the territorial, political and cultural expansion and dominance of Tupi-Guarani speakers throughout eastern South America in the early sixteenth century, Europeans

⁷⁹ Examples include earlier works such as Eustache de la Fosse, "Voyage à la côte occidentale de l'Afrique ... 1479-89," *Revue hispanique* IV (1897): 174-201.

⁸⁰ David Crystal, ed., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 336, 439.

found it more effective and practical to acquire skills to solicit trade, to bargain and to make requests for specific items in Tupi-Guarani languages and applied these rudimentary language skills to their commerce with inhabitants living along the extension of the coast where groves of brazilwood abounded, practically the entire littoral from Paraíba to Santa Catarina. The existence of an intra-Indian interlanguage might also be suggested by sixteenth century chroniclers. Early European observers commonly remarked on the incomprehensibility of the speech of “other” Indian groups living adjacent to Tupi-Guarani speakers or in the immediate sertão.⁸¹ However, the sources of these early reports -- Tupi-Guarani speaking Indians -- never confirmed that the so-called “barbarous peoples,” or Tapuia, did not understand the speech of the informants. Intra-Indian relations enacted through trade, temporary alliances against a common cause, intermarriages, adoption and war indicate possibilities by which non-Tupi-Guarani speakers living in the region may have possessed varying levels of familiarity with the many dialects which were part of the Tupi-Guarani languages.

The use of Tupi-Guarani in commerce between Indians and Europeans and its continued importance in mediating interlingual contact during the period of settlement and colonization conform its function as a regional lingua franca among Indians. The existence of interlingual speech based on local languages and growing out of similar in situations of high linguistic diversity has been

⁸¹ Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente*, 194-206; Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 215, 216, 247, 248; Hans Staden, *Duas viagens ao Brasil. Arrojadadas aventuras no séculos XVI entre os antropófagos do Novo Mundo*, 3rd ed. (São Paulo: Publicações da sociedade Hans Staden São Paulo, [1557] 1942), 71.

common throughout the New World.⁸² At least by the mid-sixteenth century, it is clear that its languages had become the general language “most used on the coast of Brazil,” through which occurred interlingual communication, contact, commerce, colonization and Christianization in the State of Brazil.⁸³ Much less is known about the pre-settlement history of the State of Maranhão and Pará. Though sources were quick to enumerate the scores or hundreds of distinct tongues spoken among natives of Amazônia, and to map out where dense groupings of Karib and Arawak language families existed, they told little about the use of common languages. One wonders, for example, how Indians living in the Province of Machifaro, deep in the Upper Amazon River Valley in the sixteenth century traded dried fish with neighbors when neither side comprehended the other. Commercial and social contact was frequent in the early sixteenth century. The Portuguese Diogo Nunes, writing in the 1530s, recalled that so intense was the network of trade and exchange between villages that there was a network of heavily used trails which were so wide that they could have been rightly termed as roads.⁸⁴

⁸² Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xiii; Emanuel J Dreschel, *Mobilian Jargon. Linguistic and Sociohistorical Aspects of a Native American Pidgin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), PAGES; Feister, “Linguistic Communication,” 31; Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 14.

⁸³ José de Anchieta, *Arte de Gramática da Língua Mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933; reprint, based on fac-simile of 1595 original).

⁸⁴ Diogo Nunes in Nelson Papavero et al., eds., *O Novo Éden. A fauna da Amazônia brasileira nos relatos de viajantes e cronistas desde a descoberta do rio Amazonas por Pinzón (1500) até o Tratado de Santo Ildefonso (1777)* (Belém: Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, 2000), 3-4.

By Signs

Where a lingua franca did not develop to mediate interlingual contact, signs and gestures were adequate for communication involving barter and simple commercial engagements.⁸⁵ A Norman interpreter described to Léry how trade in the early sixteenth century unfolded between “Ouetaca ... Cara-ia,” (or Goitacá and Karajá) Margaiá, Tupinambá, and other coastal groups, all Tupi-Guarani groups. Because the bellicose Goitacá were feared and mistrusted by other tribes and clans, a willing merchant showed his offerings only from a distance, indicating desire to barter through gestures.

If the other agrees, he shows in turn a bit of featherwork, or some of the green stones that they set in their lips, or some other thing that they have in their region. Then they will agree on a place three or four hundred steps from there; the first, having carried the thing that he wants to exchange and set it on a stone or log, will then withdraw, either back or to one side. The Goitacá then comes to take it and leaves the object he had displayed at the same spot; then he too will retreat and will allow the [other] to come and get it; so that up to that point they keep their promises to each other. But as soon as each one has returned with his object of exchange, and gone past the boundaries of the place where had had first come to present himself, the truce is broken and it is then a question of which one can catch the other and take back from him what he was carrying away.” Considering the Goitacá’s remarkable swiftness, reputed even among the more agile Indians, the Huguenot missionary discouraged barter with them, lest “the lame, gouty, or otherwise slow-footed folk from over here want to lose their merchandise.”⁸⁶

⁸⁵ For example, accounts of sign language in early Indian-European encounters in North America are found in Richter, *Facing East*, 26. and Feister, “Linguistic Communication,” 26-28.

⁸⁶ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 29.

Although Europeans often managed to solicit the assistance of factors and other middlemen, where they were not available (nor effective, as is presumed in the case of Portuguese lançados trained in West African dialects aboard Cabral's fleet to Brazil in 1500), a form of trade sign language may have ensued. While at first Pedro Álvares Cabral and his crew judged the natives of the Land of the Holy Cross to be utterly "barbarian [in] that in addition to not having a language which we could understand, nor by scenes [signs] did they know how to give a signal of the thing which we asked them," persistence paid off and subsequent gestures were mutually comprehended.⁸⁷ In exchange for the clothing, bells, metal armbands, mirrors, paper and linen offered by the Portuguese, the Indians returned with corn, flour, beans, fruits and other legumes of the land.⁸⁸ In the first recorded encounter between Portuguese and probably Tupiniquim, Potiguar, Caeté or Tupinambá, during which 18-20 Indian men armed with bows and arrows moved robustly towards Cabral's ships – a scenario which appeared menacing to the Portuguese – signs seemed to help: Nicolau Coelho gestured to them "that they repose their bows," and sure enough, the armed men acquiesced.⁸⁹

Immediately, rounds of barter opened up with a spontaneous burst of colors in flight. Coelho tossed to the natives a red cap, another linen hat he was wearing and a black umbrella. In return, one of the Indians flung over a fan of long bird feathers decorated with a small cup formed by red and black feathers

⁸⁷ Góis, *Chronica*, 46.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Casal, ed., *Corografia Brasílica*, I, 14.

while another offered a chain of tiny, white shells.⁹⁰ Two days later, the Portuguese beckoned two Indians to board one of the ships. When the Indians entered, “one of them eyed the necklace of the Captain and began to act out with the hand [in the direction of] the land, and after, towards the necklace, as if telling us that there, gold [could be found. The two Indians] were shown a black parrot ... they took it immediately in the hand and gestured toward the land, as one says that there, they are found.” If Europeans suspected any coincidence or randomness in the Indians’ signing, their suspicions were allayed when, upon displaying a sheep, the natives did not react by gesturing towards land.⁹¹ Once commercial relations had been established between European and Indian merchants, exchange grew routine. Possibly, already familiar with previous trade with whites, natives ventured out in their canoes to meet ships at anchorage, and even went on board to take a closer look at the foreign visitors’ belongings. This occurred during Cabral’s 1500 stay in Porto Seguro and was reported also in other instances of interlingual trade.⁹² Although a trade sign language between English and Africans on the Guinea coast was to be observed later, in the mid-nineteenth century, the circumstances described nonetheless provide a glimpse of how Indian merchants may have climbed aboard European ships to advertise their goods, without uttering one word:

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid, I, 16.

⁹² Ibid, I, 16-17. See the example of the Micmacs trading with Frenchmen Jacques Cartier in sixteenth-century Newfoundland, in Richter, *Facing East*, 26-27. A considerable discussion to nineteenth-century English-West African coastal trade is offered in Joshua A. Carnes, *Journal of a Voyage from Boston to the West Coast of Africa with a full description of the Manner of Trading with the Natives on the Coast* (New York: Negro Universities Press, [1852] 1969), 85, 94-95, 285.

“articles of traffic ... [are placed] on the deck, and the business is conducted by signs between the parties... done by signs and gestures of the hands and fingers, and by placing a quantity of goods belonging to the vessel, opposite the ... articles the natives have to dispose of.”⁹³

Gestures, expressions and signing in interlingual contact were not exclusive from speech, although the tendency in the specialized literature is to call attention to oral language when it occurs, ignoring study of body language and relegating the latter to instances whereby conversation is limited or lacking. Léry’s account provides numerous examples of native speech and gestures acting in concert to convey messages to him – messages which the pastor misunderstood on several occasions, much to his own fretting and consternation (and the later amusement of his interpreters and Tupinambá hosts). Three weeks after Léry’s arrival, he was escorted by an interpreter to four or five villages around the Bay of Guanabara. When he entered a Yabouraci village, called “Pepin” by the French, he was immediately approached and asked for his name, “Mara-pé derere?” Before he could stammer out an answer,

“one of them took my hat, which he put on his head; another my sword and my belt, which he put around his naked body; yet another my tunic, which he donned. Deafening me with their yells, they ran through the village with my clothing. Not only did I think I had lost everything, but I didn’t know what would become of me. As experience has shown me several times they do the same thing to everyone who visits them, and especially those they haven’t seen before. After they have played around a little

⁹³ Carnes, *Journal of a Voyage from Boston to the West Coast of Africa with a full description of the Manner of Trading with the Natives on the Coast*, 210. On Indians going on board Portuguese and French ships, see Staden, *Duas viagens ao Brasil. Arroçadas aventuras no séculos XVI entre os antropófagos do Novo Mundo*, 93.

with one's belongings, they carry them all back and return them to their owners."⁹⁴

Startling as such a welcome might have been for Léry, a previous experience had caused him such a fright as to have him pass a fitful and sleepless night in his first visit the Tupinambá village of Euramirim. Léry and his interpreter entered Euramirim just as the Tupinambá were ending a rite of cannibalism, begun only six hours previously with the slaying of a prisoner taken in war. Distraught with the view of the pieces of the warrior's body cut up and roasting on a grill over a roaring fire, Léry sat numbly through the weeping ceremony of the women and a speech of welcome made by the village elder. Immediately thereafter, his interpreter, who "liked to drink and roast human flesh as much as" the Tupinambá, abandoned him to partake in the remainder of the eating, dancing and drinking of the anthropophagic ceremony. Léry stayed far from the festivities and tired, laid down to rest. Shortly after,

"one of [the Tupinambá] approached me with the victim's foot in hand, cooked and [roasted] ... His countenance filled me with such terror that you need hardly ask if I lost all desire to sleep. Indeed, I thought that by brandishing the human flesh he was eating, he was threatening me and wanted to make me understand that I was about to be similarly dealt with."⁹⁵

Léry persevered through the night, though not without great anxiety for his own life and anger at his deserting interpreter, who returned the next morning to find the pastor "not only ashen-faced and haggard but also feverish." Bearing no

⁹⁴ Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 160-161.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 163.

more, Léry unleashed his anger, calling the interpreter “a scoundrel to have left me among these people whom I couldn’t understand at all.” The interpreter, thinking the entire situation rather amusing,

“recounted the whole business to the savages – who, rejoicing at my coming [the previous day], and thinking to show me affection, had not budged from my side all night – they said that they had sensed that I had been somewhat frightened of them, for which they were very sorry. My one consolation was the hoot of laughter they sent up – for they are great jokers – at having (without meaning to) given me such a scare.”⁹⁶

The two occasions described here were not solitary instances of misunderstanding between Léry and the Tupi-Guarani speakers he met. Luckily for the pastor, whose skills in understanding the verbal and gesticulatory languages of the Tupinambá appeared rather limited in the early portion of his visit, numerous interpreters were available to bridge communication gaps.

As the sixteenth century wore on, the oral life of Portuguese America became more kaleidoscopic. Traders continued arriving on the shore to peddle their wares. Starting in the decade of the 1530s, migrants from Portugal moved in to settle the land. Throughout the century, men and women from all over the Old World, meaning both Europe and Africa, traveled to live out their lives in Brazil, flushing into the littoral six major groups of speakers of Indo-European and African language families. In addition to these speakers of Old World tongues, masses of Indians, foreign to coastal Brazil and coming from other parts of Portuguese America, converged into or near to colonial settlements which

⁹⁶ Ibid, 163-164.

continued to develop by the sea. Chapter two examines this linguistic diversity among the migrants – Indian, European and African -- who came to claim Brazil and Amazônia as their new homes.

Early settlements contained hundreds to thousands of Indians, mostly Tupi-Guarani speakers although Karib, Arawak and Jê figured prominently in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Few whites, among whom many were from Portugal, lived there, as did hundreds and, starting in the late sixteenth-century, thousands of Africans, the majority of whom originated from the western and central portions of the continent. Within this cornucopia of languages, the Brasília endured the dynamic changes occurring in the coastal linguistic demography and held their primacy in interlingual mediation from initial phases of permanent settlements until the close of the seventeenth century in Brazil. In Amazônia, the Brasília maintained a steady trajectory as colonial interlanguage in the history of oral Portuguese America, from the early days of contact and trade in the northern colony until the mid-eighteenth century. Particularly for non-native Tupi-Guarani speakers, it was only a matter of time before their adaptation to Portuguese America was accompanied by ever growing ease in enunciating, speaking and understanding the Brasília. Necessity and the passage of time resulted in fluency in the language declared as the language of the church throughout Portuguese America and pronounced by the Portuguese crown to be the official language of colonization in Amazônia.

Chapter Two

Moving in Masses: Migrants and their Languages

... at that [time shortly after my arrival,] I understood [Tupinambá speech] no better than High German.” Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 1578.¹

The city of Salvador and its environs has “over 3,000 Portuguese, 8,000 Christian Indians and 3-4,000 slaves from Guinea.” Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*, 1584.²

This chapter examines the major groups of people who left the lands of their birth or the countries where they had been living to establish new homes in and near colonial settlements of Portuguese America. By so doing, my objective is to gain a general understanding of the principal communities of speech constituting colonial society. I seek to show how peoples traditionally categorized in the historiography as “Indians,” “Europeans” and “Africans,” notwithstanding their sharing great likenesses in cultural, political and economic modes of living, did indeed experience intra-group divisions, namely in their abilities to speak to and understand each other. By bringing the question of language into the heart of this chapter’s focus on the largest groups of migrants into the Luso-American colonies, my approach employs new classifications by organizing arriving colonists by language family. Not only did Indian, European and African

¹ Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America, Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University California Press; Oxford University Press, 1990), 162.

² Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite & Cia., 1925), 288.

migrants share feelings of shock, awe, loneliness and fear at arriving in a country so far removed from kith and kin so, too, did they partake in the same experiences of finding new ways to be heard, to be spoken to, to be understood and to understand others. Among the experiences of Indians, native speakers of the Tupi-Guarani language family will be given greater scrutiny because their mother tongues gave birth to the *Brasílica*, the major lingua franca of the Luso-American colonies. Users of Karib, Arawak and Jê languages also require discussion since these became increasingly well represented in the colonial milieu throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A far smaller body of migrants represented the Indo-European language family. Among the Spanish, Italian, French, English, Dutch, German, Irish and Scottish Gaelic and perhaps some Hebrew speakers, native users of the Portuguese language formed the largest subset from the Indo-European family, even though they always paled in comparison with the masses of native users of Indian and African languages. Not only are white residents of Portugal counted as Lusophone, or persons who spoke the Portuguese language.³ In this dissertation, West African slaves or Portuguese-born black slaves typically unassociated with categories of “Portuguese” or “European” are considered as speakers of Indo-European languages. Regional dialects and Lusophone forms spoken by ethnic enclaves were another important means of division among Portuguese speakers and groups such as Roma peoples (Gypsies) and Jews will form a subset of the discussion on the Indo-European languages as, too, will

³ Lusophone, taken from “Lusitânia” and “Luso,” are terms indicating regions which are based in legend and historical fact. Luso and Lusitânia were used by the Romans to refer to the division of the Iberian peninsula (27A.D.) and part of white corresponds roughly to present-day Portugal.

representatives from the Romance, Germanic and Celtic language families also form part of my story.

Kwa, Akan, Ajan, Yoruba and Bantu language families were the most prominently represented among Africans in Portuguese America. The linguistic diversity of Western and Central Africans was bridged by the use of dominant regional languages which, like the *Brasílica*, came to command inter-lingual relations. And while the existence of African *lingua francas* in intra-group communications has been documented, these interlanguages did not integrate non-Africans and for that reason will not be subject to critical analysis.⁴

Although the focus of this dissertation does not permit exploration of minor *lingua francas* in regional colonial societies, this is a particularly fruitful area for future studies. Because of the dearth of scholarship on the influences of African languages on the *Brasílica*, nothing can be said on the matter at this time.

The discussion will be predominantly chronological in its treatment except in the few instances where the subject under consideration adopts a thematic approach. For example, even though many Arawak and Karib speakers were forced to migrate to the coastal settlements decades after the arrival of the first European colonists, all users of Native American languages are treated together in the first discussion in order to provide a clearer image of the linguistic panorama of South America. In general, European migrants during the earlier phases of colonization were mostly male, although specific crown policies targeting women and families for colonization campaigns will be delineated. One

⁴ Olabiyi Yai, "Texts of Enslavement: Fon and Yoruba Vocabularies from Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Brazil," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London, New York: Continuum, 2000), 105.

relevant consequence of the mostly male migration of Europeans will be taken up in chapter four, where the roles played by Indian women in caring for and raising colonial-born *mamelucos* (of Indian and European descent) and *mestizos* (of any combination of Indian, European and African parents) lent themselves to the spread of the *Brasílica*. In addition, intra-colonial movements and migrations sparked by economic booms and depressions, disease, war and forced relocation programs -- interesting as they were for how they permitted or caused speech forms to persist, gain or lose importance, or become extinct -- are not germane to the focus of this chapter and will not be studied. The only exception are the “foreign” Indians who entered colonial settlements, farms and Indian villages from other parts of the continent. Like the European and African migrants, they also represented major incoming language groups to the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhão and Pará. Were this a study purely focused on the linguistic profile of the colony, contributions of the Lusophone would be considered equally alongside those of Hispanophone, Francophone and Italophone peoples.

However, as this is primarily a dissertation rooted in the discipline of history and secondarily a sociolinguistic study, Lusophone settlers are given priority among the other users of Indo-European languages and examined against the backdrop of policies and strategies developed by the Portuguese crown in its overseas empire. Examination of representatives of other Indo-European speakers is restricted to the instances in which they played visible roles in colonial matters.

In addition to viewing migrants by their languages instead of region of provenance or ethnicity, this chapter also takes the traditional trilogy of Indians, Europeans and Africans and reassembles them into two distinct migrant groups.

The first were those coerced, seized or taken to Portuguese America against their will; these included Indian and African slaves and Portuguese, Jewish and Gypsy exiles from the Portuguese influenced world in Europe, Africa and Asia. The second group were those induced, by circumstances over which they had no control or, in the best of worlds, freely chose to migrate to avoid the environmental, religious, political and economic pressures back home. They included Indians fleeing from white encroachment, Jewish merchants, missionaries seeking to save souls or assigned to missions in the New World and families applying to crown-sponsored relocation programs. These individuals made deliberate decisions to move, purposefully left behind conditions they considered threatening, harbored hopes of finding opportunity, wealth and religious tolerance, or sought refuge from natural disasters in their native countries.

Working in tandem with chapters three and four, this chapter inaugurates a project which I hope will assume larger proportions and be developed in greater depth in future studies. Although this and the following two chapters refer to the same peoples and their occupation of the same places already analyzed by scholars of colonial Brazil, here, by taking the same peoples but examining them through a different lens, namely language, light will be cast on the hitherto overlooked theme of intra-group linguistic divisions. My examination of migrating language groups recognizes and utilizes the traditional categories of ethnicity, culture, geography and axis of volition (seen in the historiography as the discussion on statuses of slave and free), but my approach goes one step further to eschew divisions which have separated peoples into categories of

Indian, European and African and instead, to unite the same cast of characters by reassembling them into new classifications. Chapter four will pick up this thread in the discussion by establishing the ways by which the Brasília also became the lingua franca of Amazônia. Earlier, chapter three will take on the subject matter of the language translation projects spearheaded by missionaries of the Society of Jesus. These projects were fundamental to identifying as the regional lingua franca the local speech of coastal Tupi-Guarani, giving it a written form, standardizing its regional variances, introducing a religious Christian element to the language and disseminating its use to non-native speakers such as non-Tupi-Guarani Indians, Europeans and Africans. My discussion in this chapter of the major language communities informing the oral life of the colonies will set the foundation for an understanding of these later lines of inquiry.

Natives and Newcomers: Indians

By modern estimates, at the start of the sixteenth century, between two and four million Indians were living within the geographic limits of Portuguese America. This number is only slightly double the size of the population of Portugal at the time and highlights the degree to which the vastness of the American territory remained empty of human life, except in islands of highly-concentrated enclaves of settlement.⁵ According to Brazilian linguist Aryon

⁵ E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 15; John Hemming, *Amazon Frontier. The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians* (London: MacMillan, 1987), 5; *Red Gold. The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians, 1500-1760* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 487-501. For population of Portugal in the early modern period, see Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans. Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 5-6. For a concise summary comparing calculations and new research on the native population in sixteenth-century

Rodrigues, who has revived the study of historical and present-day Indian languages among scholars in Brazil over the last half century, roughly one thousand languages are thought to have been spoken in the early colonial period, a number Rodrigues calculated based on data provided by an eye-witness, the Jesuit Father Fernão Cardim.⁶ Another estimate proposes that all speech forms fell within a total of forty language families.⁷ Numbers differ, depending on the criteria used to determine a pidgin, creole, dialect and language. Although scholars dissent on classification schemes for historical native languages of South America, they concur on the four language groups – alternately called language trunks or stocks in the specialized literature – with broadest coverage in Brazil and Amazônia: Macro-Arawak, Karib, Macro-Tupi and Macro-Jê language groups.⁸ Each of these language groups is comprised of language families, such as Tupi-Guarani for Macro-Tupi and the language families are further divided into smaller sub-groupings, as in Guarani, Guarayú and Tupi for Tupi-Guarani.

Brazil, see John M. Monteiro, “The Crisis and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 979-980.

⁶ Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, Itatiaia, 1980), 101-106; Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, “Descripción del tupinambá en el período colonial: el arte de José de Anchieta,” in *La descripción de las lenguas amerindias en la época colonial*, ed. Klaus Zimmermann (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, Madri Iberoamericana, 1997), 372; “Línguas indígenas: 500 anos de descobertas e perdas,” *DELTA. Revista de Documentação em Lingüística* (1993): 90.

⁷ Monteiro, “Invaded Societies,” 976.

⁸ Among the classifications consulted for this work, see Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages. The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 170-205; Joseph H. Greenberg, *Language in the Americas* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 63-99; Miriam Lemle, “Internal classification of the Tupi Guarani linguistic family,” in *Tupi Studies*, ed. David Bendor-Samuel (Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1971); Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras para o conhecimento das línguas indígenas* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1986), 29-81; “Panorama das línguas indígenas da Amazônia,” in *As línguas amazônicas de hoje*, ed. F. Queixalós and O. Renault-Lescure (São Paulo: IRD, ISA, MPEG, 2000); Greg Urban, “A história da cultura brasileira segundo as línguas nativas,” in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992).

Languages and dialects are subsumed under these sub-groups, for example, Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Jeral, Potiguar, Kokama are all in the Tupi sub-group.⁹ Surrounding the major language groups are minor and reduced language families, as well as speech forms considered isolated languages or linguistic isolates, so termed as they display no apparent genetic affiliation with any other language.¹⁰ Whole language families can become minor, reduced, or isolates as a result of the extinction of their speakers, leaving uncertain the relationships between existing and obsolete language families and isolates.

North of the Amazon River, indigenous societies were mostly constituted by speakers of Karib and Arawak languages (Maps 1 and 2). The Karib language family is thought to have originated in the region between Venezuela and Guiana. Karib speakers are a group with more than three million years of history.¹¹ At least since the arrival of the Europeans, Karib speakers have settled throughout the territory north of the Amazon River, occupying portions of present-day French Guiana, Surinam and Guyana, although they also inhabited the eastern and western banks of the Xingu River south of the Amazon.¹² Apparently, their settlements in northwestern South America were erected late enough in

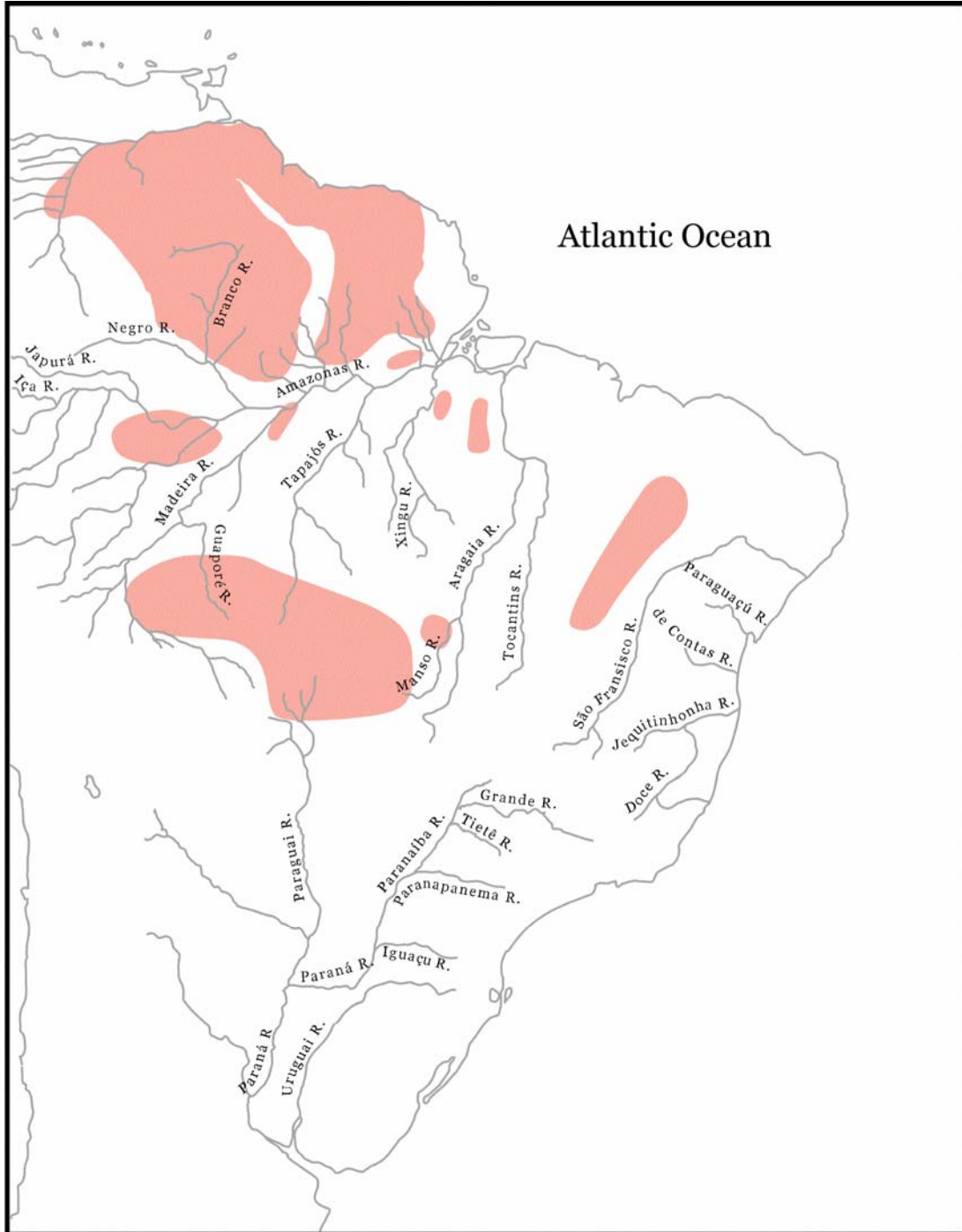
⁹ Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 200-201; Wolf Dietrich, *More Evidence for an Internal Classification of Tupi-Guarani Languages* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990), 9-11.

¹⁰ Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 18-19. For summarized discussions of these language groups, see Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, who tends to focus more on member speakers of the Tupi-Guarani language family and Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas;" Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, "The Linguistic Anthropology of Native South America," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17 (1988).

¹¹ See the theories of Karib origins as posed by linguists Marshall Durbin and Maria Eugenia Villalón in Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas," 93-94.

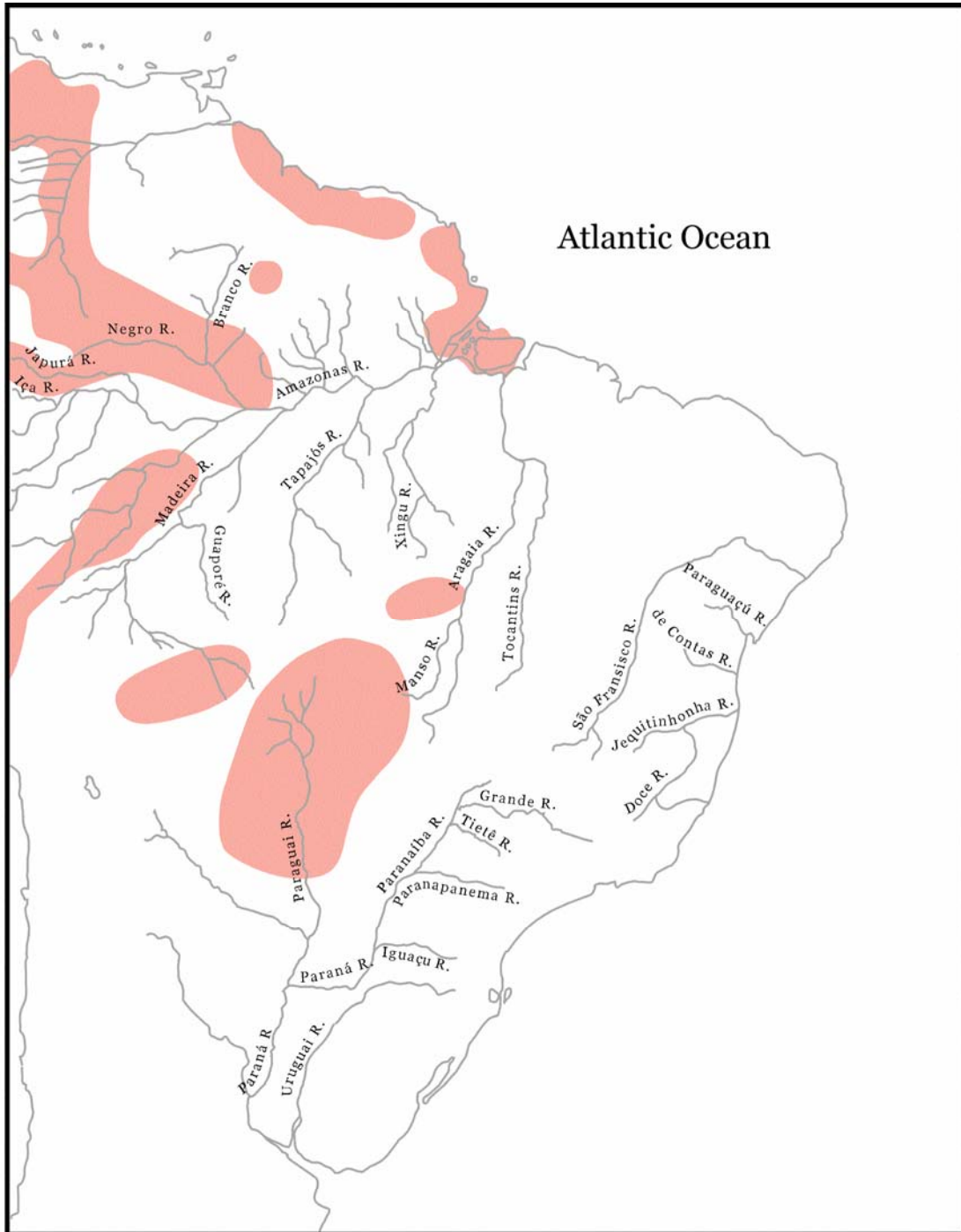
¹² Marshall Durbin, "A Survey of the Carib Language Family," in *South American Indian Languages*, ed. Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 345-356; Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 57-58; Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas," 93.

Map 1. Karib Languages, c. 1500-1759



Sources consulted: Urban, "A história ... as línguas nativas," 93; Tovar and Tovar, *Catálogo De Las Lenguas De América Del Sur : Con Clasificaciones, Indicaciones Tipológicas, Bibliografía Y Mapas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1984), 599. Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

Map 2. Macro-Arawak Languages, c. 1500-1759



Sources consulted: Urban, "A história ... as línguas nativas," 95; Hill and Santos-Granero, *Comparative Arawakan Histories*, 2. Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

prehistory to be included in reports by early European writers relating mass migrations which brought Karib speakers into the region.¹³

The origins of the Macro-Arawak language group have been a matter of uncertainty for linguists. It has been suggested that its affiliated languages, the Arawak language family, originated in the Amazon, either in the region of the upper Vaupés river, or in a site further southwest, such as central or northern Peru.¹⁴ In the last five hundred years, Arawak speakers have been located in prominent groups in the western part of the South American continent. Similar to Karib speakers, Macro-Arawak groups' far flung dispersion throughout the Amazon Basin in the early colonial period also suggests expansions as late as the fourteenth century.¹⁵

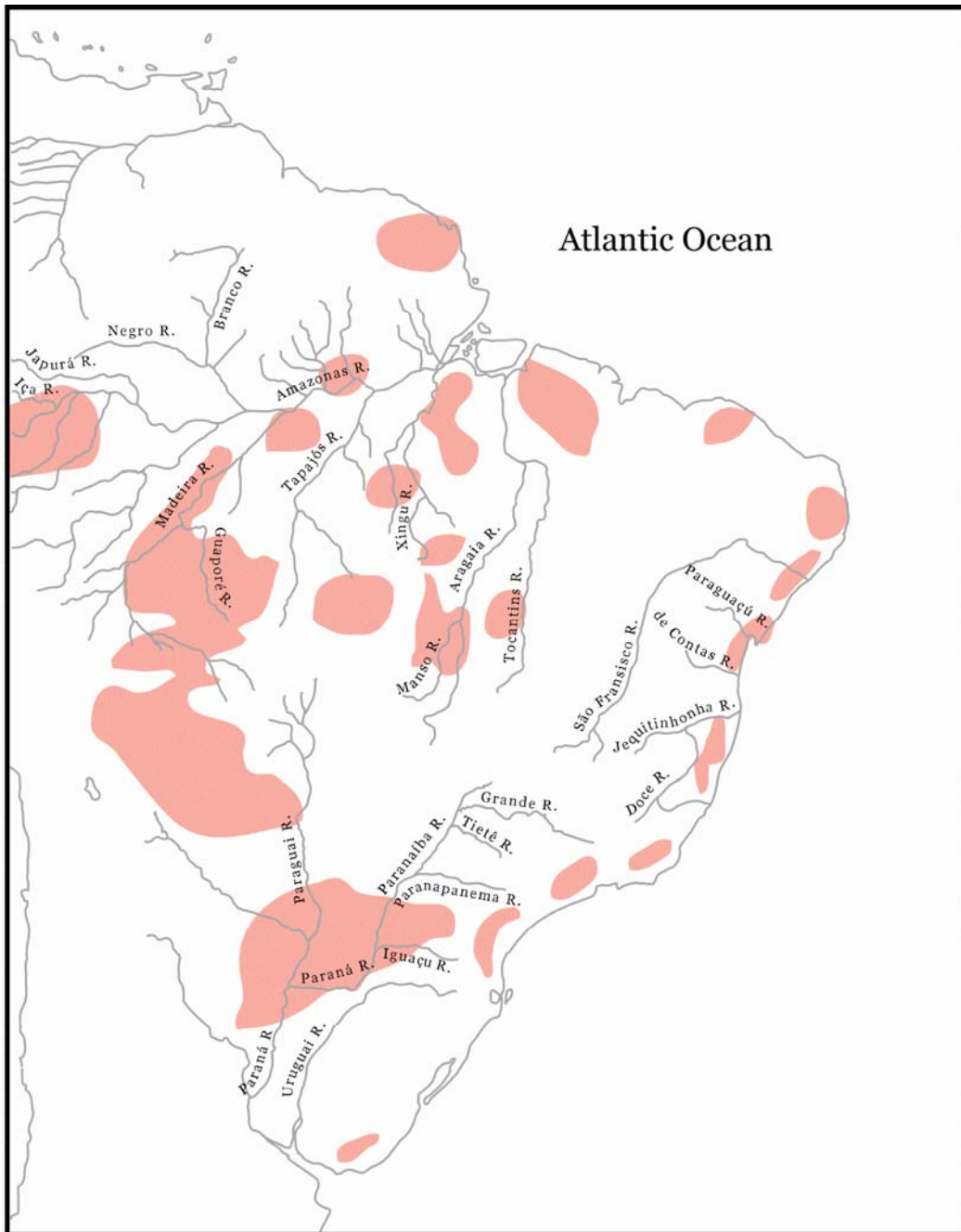
Tupi and Jê speech forms subsumed under the broader Macro-Tupi and Macro-Jê languages maintained representatives in eastern and central-west South America (Maps 3 and 4). Conglomerates of peoples settled at intervals along 4000 kilometers of the South Atlantic coast, who identified themselves as Tupinambá, Tupinikin, Tamoio, Carijó, Potiguar and Guarani, constituted member tribes belonging to the Tupi-Guarani language family. Their occupation of the Atlantic littoral was discontinuous, however, being interrupted by Jê dialectal groups of Charrua near the estuary of the Plate River, Goitacá at the source of the Paraíba river, Aimoré in on the coastal region between southern

¹³ Donald W. Lathrap, *The Upper Amazon* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 82.

¹⁴ Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas," 95.

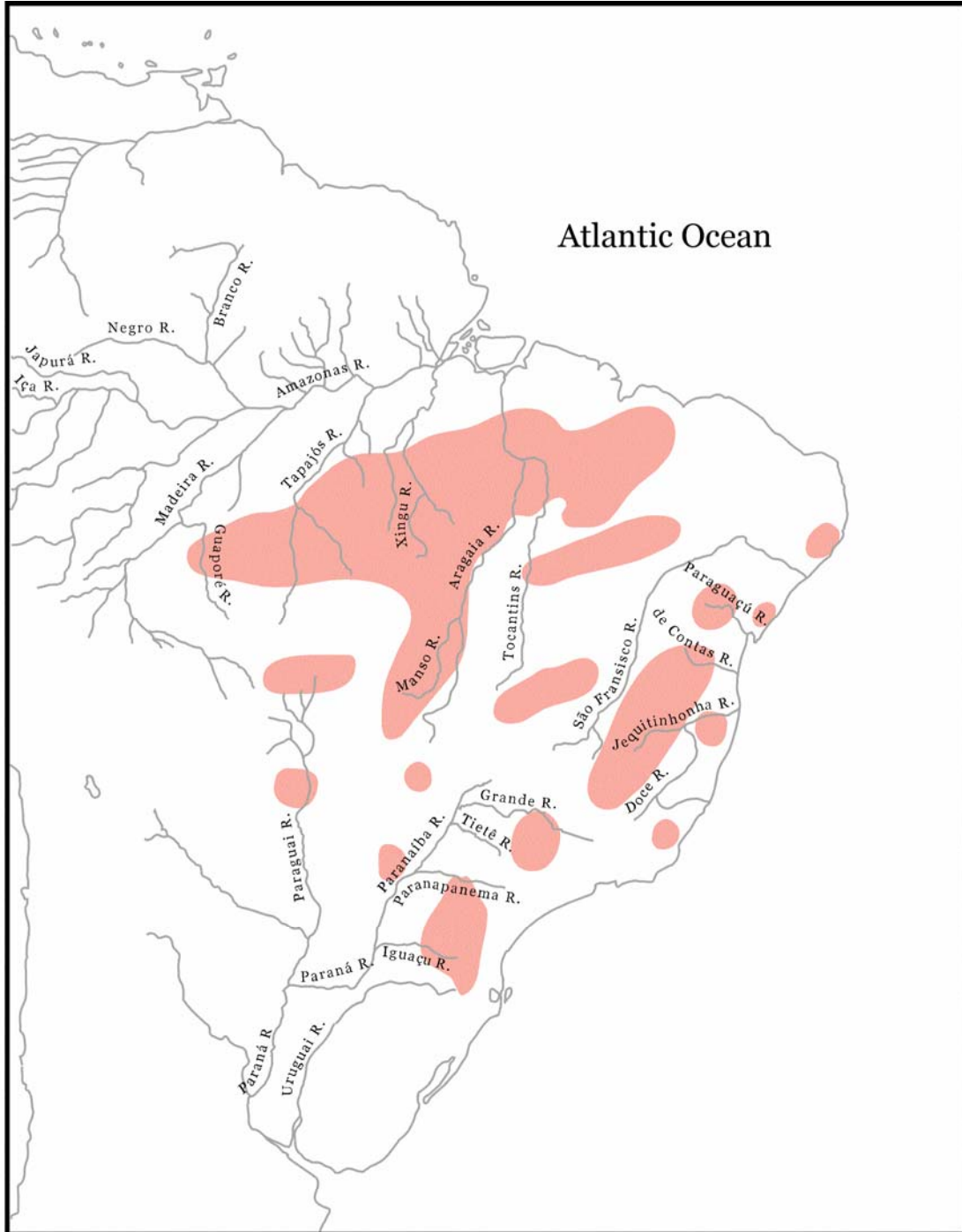
¹⁵ See Michael J Heckenberger, "Rethinking the Arawakan Diaspora: Hierarchy, Regionality, and the Amazonian Formative," in Jonathan D Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero, eds., *Comparative Arawakan Histories. Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazônia* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 100-122.; Fernando Santos-Granero, "The Arawakan Matrix: Ethos, Language, and History in Native South America," in Hill and Santos-Granero, eds., *Comparative Arawakan Histories*, 25-50. Listed in bibliography under Hill and Santos-Granero. See other articles in this work for excellent studies of the Arawakan diaspora.

Map 3. Macro-Tupi Languages, c. 1500-1759



Sources consulted: Urban, "A história ... as línguas nativas," 89; Tovar and Tovar, *Catálogo De Las Lenguas De América Del Sur : Con Clasificaciones, Indicaciones Tipológicas, Bibliografía Y Mapas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1984), 597. Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

Map 4. Macro-Jê Languages, c. 1500-1759



Source consulted: Urban, "A história ... as línguas nativas," 88. Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

Bahia and northern Espírito Santo, and Tremembé between Ceará and Maranhão (Map 5).¹⁶ The dispersal of Tupi and Jê throughout the eastern portions of the continent determined that early Indian-white contact occurred mainly between users of Tupi, Jê and Indo-European languages.

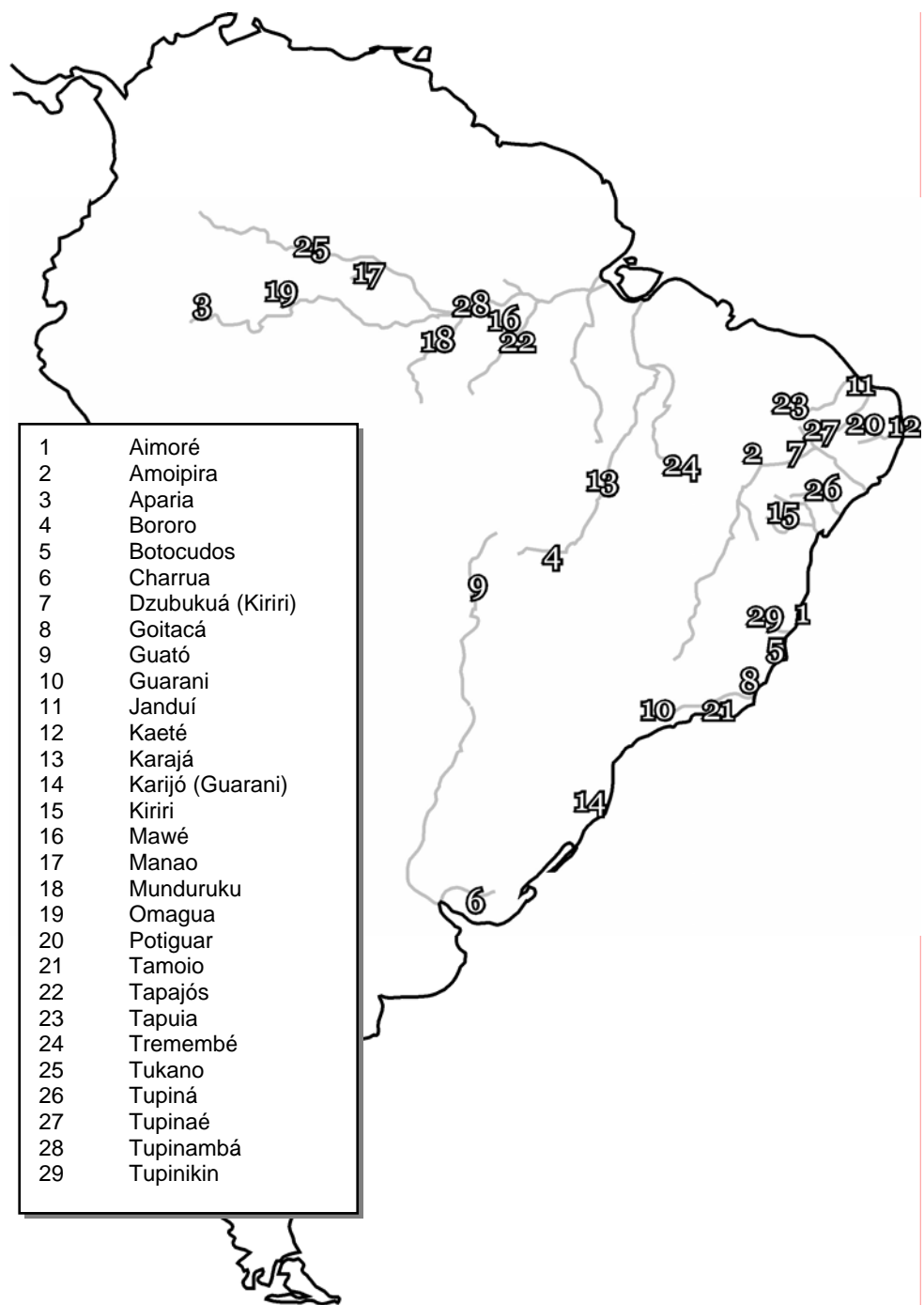
Tupi-Guarani languages are heard throughout all of South America but only the Tupi subset lies exclusively within the frontiers of Brazil.¹⁷ Although linguists have diverged on the most appropriate criteria for internal systems classifying the language families of Macro-Tupi, all have concurred on the close correspondence shown among its dialects, despite their extensive geographic dispersion.¹⁸ My approach to understanding degrees of differences between Tupi-Guarani languages views its speech forms as tints (Tupi-Guarani speech forms) comprising a color palette (Tupi-Guarani language family). This model is useful for considering the proximity in linguistic properties which permit mutual comprehension between speakers. For example, Tupinikin and Tupinambá can be represented respectively as two shades of color blending in and out of each other. Speakers of the languages can be thought of both as points comprising the hue and as points in motion, moving across the range of the two shades. The mobile points represent multilingual and multidialectal persons demonstrating dynamism with language use and able to understand and speak with a wider range of persons. As has been pointed out for Africa, closely-related languages

¹⁶ Carlos Fausto, "Fragmentos de história e cultural tupinambá. Da etnologia como instrumento crítico de conhecimento etno-histórico," in *História dos índios no Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras/Secretaria Municipal de Cultura/FAPESP, 1992), 382.

¹⁷ Wolf Dietrich, "Las categorías verbales (partes de la oración) en tupi guarani," *Indiana* 4 (1977): 245; Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 42.

¹⁸ Dietrich, "Las categorías verbales," 245; *More Evidence*; Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "Relações internas na família lingüística Tupi-Guarani," *Revista de Antropologia* 27/28 (1984/1985); Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas," 90-95.

Map 5. Locations of Mentioned Indian Societies, c. 1500-1759



Source consulted: Cunha, *História dos índios no Brasil*, page following title page.
Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

always imply a certain degree of difference, making the delimitations of any single form of speech “flexible and confus[ing],” especially before the “politics of language” were developed to give uniformity to spoken and written languages.¹⁹

Considering the extensive trade networks, exogamous marriages and intra-Indian alliances which characterized native societies, Tupi-Guarani speakers had cultivated the language skills to communicate despite dialectal and regional differences.²⁰ The palette model can also depict idiolects, persons whose unique patterns of speech distinguish their use of language from others with the same linguistic affiliation. It is likely, too, that two palettes may stand for two individuals’ abilities to speak and to understand dialects represented by the shades forming that palette. To the degree that the Tupi palette model adequately expresses historical evolution but not genetic affiliations between parent and daughter languages nor generational ties between daughter languages, language trees can summarize those relationships efficaciously.²¹

A recent and comprehensive study integrating phonetic, lexical, phonological and morphological criteria of the Tupi-Guarani languages has

¹⁹ John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 186. Papers presented at the II Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais: Políticas Lingüísticas in Rio de Janeiro (2002) have examined the “politics of language,” or *política lingüística*, wherein clergy and state initiatives combined to standardize a language and teach it to the Indians, Europeans and colony-born inhabitants of colonial Spanish and Portuguese America. For related discussions on other colonial and post-colonial regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1996).

²⁰ Claude d’ Abbeville, *História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinos na Ilha do Maranhão em que se trata das singularidades admiráveis e dos costumes estranhos dos índios habitantes do país* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, [1614] 1945), 151; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil* (Lisboa: Alfa, [1587] 1989), 16, 43-44, 237; David Sweet, “A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: the Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974), 11.

²¹ Genetic relationships indicate speech forms “sharing linguistic kinship by virtue of having developed from a common earlier ancestor,” as defined by Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 7.

found, not surprisingly, greater correspondence between its regional varieties wherein increased contact between users heightened the mutual exchange and adoption of linguistic properties.²² Rodrigues' classification, grounded in phonological and lexical elements, demonstrates the extent to which Tupi-Guarani speech forms blended into or grew from each other, sharing a number of sound and word properties and showed degrees of differences akin to those distinguishing the Romance languages.²³ Colonial observers corroborate his findings. Writing in 1587, explorer, planter and chronicler Gabriel Soares de Sousa described the languages of littoral resident Tupinambá and Tupiniquim as so minute in their differences that they might be considered simply regional variances of the same language, as was the case of languages spoken by inhabitants of Lisbon and the Beira.²⁴ Even groups living further apart spatially showed considerable linguistic convergence. Considerable geographic distance and historical evolutions dating over a millenium characterized the speech of Tupinambá and Guarani with discrete phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactical characteristics.²⁵ Notwithstanding these distinctive geographical, historical and linguistic qualities, both groups communicated effectively.²⁶ That spoken Tupinambá and Guarani, each subsumed under separate subgroups within the broader Tupi-Guarani family tree, were mutually intelligible underlines the ineffectiveness of language tree diagrams that specify genetic

²² Dietrich, *More Evidence*, 131, 135.

²³ Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 29; "Relações internas," 33, 35.

²⁴ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 44.

²⁵ Fausto, "Fragmentos de história," 382.

²⁶ Frank Roberts Brandon and Lucy Ferreira Seki, "Moving Interrogatives without an Initial +WH Node in Tupí," *The Syntax of Naitve American Languages* 16 (1984); Dietrich, "Las categorías verbales;" Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 30-33.

affiliations between speech forms but say far less about mutual comprehension among its users.

Arriving in Bahia in 1583 and writing later that century, Father Cardim observed that:

“many and diverse nations of different languages, however, one is the principle that some ten nations of Indians comprehend: these live on the sea coast, and in one great cord along the sertão, however, these are of one language even if in some words they have discrepancies and this is the one that the Portuguese understand.”²⁷

Indian groups identifying themselves as Tupinambá, Tamoio, Tupinikim, Kaeté, Potiguár and Tobajára all spoke similar forms and their language became known generically in colonial period documents as “Tupinambá,” probably owing to the important Indian-white partnerships which the Portuguese were able to rally through key Tupinambá allies in the start-up phases of the colonies in both sixteenth-century Brazil and in seventeenth-century Amazônia.²⁸ The primary position occupied by Tupinambá has led to what one scholar has identified as the “Tupinambization” of North and South American Indians. Images of Tupinambá by Flemish engraver Theodore de Bry, popularized in the third part of his *Grand Voyages* (1592), came to be included by other publishers in the histories of Indian societies of other parts of the Americas.²⁹ The prominence of Tupi-

²⁷ Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente*, 195. The term “nation,” or *nação* (pl. *nações*) was used by European observers of the colonial epoch to refer to villages or clans of Indians.

²⁸ Samuel Fritz, *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazonas between 1686 and 1723*, trans. Rev. Dr. George Edmundson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), 49; Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 43-44.

²⁹ Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest. A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*, trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 15-17, 21; William C. Sturtevant, “La tupinambisation des Indiens d’Amérique du Nord,” in *Les figures de l’Indien*, ed. Gilles Thérien (Montréal: Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988).

Guarani speakers in colonial sources and, consequently, in modern histories, also owes itself to their wide geographic dispersion. The first Europeans met Tupi-Guarani speakers on the coast in the early sixteenth century and reduced their complex identities to the prefix, “Tupi” so that they became known as “Tupis,” or “Tupi Indians” in histories of the New World and in letters written by Jesuits from Brazil, which circulated throughout Europe.³⁰ It was noted that, despite endo-warfare and seemingly distinct languages, coastal Tupi-Guarani intermarried and shared similarities in culture, diet, tattooing, cosmology and ritual.³¹ Tribes displaying similar linguistic diversity and cultural homogeneity were encountered again in concurrent and subsequent trips to other parts of Portuguese America. Sixteenth-century Spanish who went to the River Plate encountered Karijó and Guarani; those exploring the Amazon River met with Oyampí, Omagua and Kokama.³² Seventeenth-century French missionaries in Maranhão also befriended Tupinambá, as did the Portuguese who arrived in Amazônia later that century.³³ All these peoples were member tribes of the Tupi-Guarani language family.

³⁰ José de Anchieta, “Informação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias - 1584,” in *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Históricos e sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933), 1v; Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1955), 352-353.

³¹ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 273.

³² Philippe Erickson, “Uma singular pluralidade: a etno-história pano,” in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992), 248; Francisco López de Gómara, “La História General de las Indias,” in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1852), 210; Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo [y Valdés], *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Madrid: [1851-1855] 1959), 350; Sweet, “A Rich Realm,” 7, 8.

³³ Abbeville, *História*; João Felipe Bettendorff, *Crônica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*, 2nd ed. (Belém: Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 90; Ivo d' Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D'Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques,

From this “Tupi” pattern, the Portuguese perceived so-called “Tupi Indians” or “Tupis” as “the most domesticated pagan” allies, Catholics and vassals of the crown who spoke the Brasília and inhabited the accessible coasts European sailors and merchants knew well.³⁴ The “Tupi” nomenclature was purely a European invention, perhaps borrowing from the prefix attached to the self-appellation used by many groups of the language family (Tupina, Tupinambarana). For themselves, Tupi-Guarani tribes, like other native societies, preserved group names highlighting physical, cultural, or historical traits considered descriptive, such as the Tobajara (“lord of the village” or “village dweller”), unique, as in Potiguar (“shrimp-eater”), or admirable, in the case of the Tamoio (“ancestors”) Confederacy which united Tupi-Guarani villages and clans together against Portuguese encroachment and enslavement of native groups around the Bay of Guanabara and the northern littoral of the captaincy of São Paulo (1554-1567). Their appellation referred to the allies’ single origin and their self-perceived historical primacy.

But, in fact, the Tupi protagonists of early Portuguese reports on the local ethnography were recent arrivals on the coast, having driven out resident Tapuia, now believed to have been Jê speakers.³⁵ Oral histories acquired through “very old [Tupi-Guarani] Indians” by Sousa, who, in 1587, left behind one of the best descriptions of coastal Brazil’s native ethnic diversity, also claimed that the first

Bibliotheca de Escriutores Maranhenses (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929); Luís Figueira, “Relação de alguãs cousas ao Maranhão & Gram Pará Escrita pello Padre Luis Fig.ra da Comp.a de Jesus Superior da residencia q’ os Padres tem no dito Maranhão (1629 o 1630 o 1631)” c. 1629-1631, Documentação Rio Branco -- Documentação anterior a 1822, 340/1/4, Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro.

³⁴ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 44.

³⁵ Monteiro, “Invaded Societies,” 977.

inhabitants of Bahia were a “caste of very ancient heathens,” called “Tapuia.” A group of foreign migrants called the Tupinaé conquered the littoral from its former occupants, attracted to the stretch of fertile land by the sea and its abundance in natural resources so famed among prehistoric Indian societies. For “many years,” the Tupinaé were lords of the land, until the Tupinambá, eager to possess the abundant land, descended into the coastal territory from their settlements beyond the São Francisco River in the sertão of Bahia. The Tupinambá attacks on the Tupinaé changed the local ethnic landscape yet again. This time the Tupinaé were expelled to the sertão where they waged war on Tapuia residents who, in turn, were pushed deeper into the interior.³⁶ The term “Tapuia,” literally meant “barbarian” in the Tupi-Guarani languages but Europeans seem to have experienced ambiguity in their identification of Tapuia Indians.³⁷ Discrete models of kinship, social organization, ritual, and forms of speech notwithstanding, the Portuguese considered 76 non-Tupi-Guarani societies as Tapuia although one contemporary admitted that so numerous were the Tapuias and so differentiated into “bands, customs and language that in order to say more about the Tapuia, it is necessary to purposefully and slowly collect information about” them.³⁸ In sixteenth-century European observers’ efforts to classify the local ethnic diversity, Tupi allies of the Portuguese were contrasted with the Tapuia who, according to Portuguese stereotyping, resisted conversion,

³⁶ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 215, 216, 247.

³⁷ A. Lemos Barbosa, *Pequeno Vocabulário Português-Tupi com um apêndice: nomenclatura de parentes* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1970), 40; “Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 94.

³⁸ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 248. See Father Cardim’s calculation in John Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994), 19-20.

socialization, fought for French or Dutch interlopers, spoke crude languages which were difficult to comprehend, and lived in the rugged hinterlands yet unrevealed to European explorers.³⁹

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amazônia, the appellation expanded to include all Indians to such a degree that the equally indiscriminate misnomer *índio*, suggesting native inhabitants' provenances from South Asia, came to be interchangeable with the term "Tapuia." The Tupi-Tapuia dichotomy took on its seventeenth and eighteenth century forms in Brazil and Amazônia by way of another set of bi-polar opposition contrasting speakers of *língua geral* and *línguas travadas* (broken languages). *Língua geral* ("general language") began appearing in the colonial sources in the seventeenth century to refer to the Brasília. Whereas "the Brasília" was often written with an upper case "B," *língua geral* usually appeared in all lower case, or in the phrase "the *língua geral* of Brazil," suggesting that the phrase was employed to qualify and describe the Brasília as the common idiom of the colonies. Users of *línguas travadas* were identified all throughout Amazônia and in the northeastern and southeastern captaincies of the State of Brazil.⁴⁰ Embedded in the Ibiapaba mountains in the captaincy of Ceará in the early 1600s existed "nations of *língua travada*" which surrounded Potiguar villages.⁴¹ Speakers of *línguas travadas* may have belonged to the Jê or Pano language families, the latter being among the lesser groups in

³⁹ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 32-33; Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 36.

⁴⁰ João Daniel, "Tesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 95, 1-2 ([1757-1776] 1975): 224-227; Monteiro, *Negros da terra*, 19-21; Pedro Puntoni, *A Guerra dos Bárbaros: Povos Indígenas e a Colonização do Sertão Nordeste do Brasil, 1650-1720* (São Paulo: HUCITEC: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, FAPESP, 2002), 60-87.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the splitting of Tupinambá and Potiguar into separate factions in the Ibiapaba mountains, see Florestan Fernandes, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963), 46-47.

Brazil and noted for its close genetic affiliations with the former.⁴² Indian informants interviewed by Sousa explained the origins of speakers of the línguas travadas in their narrative of the competition between groups vying for settlement in the Porto Seguro area previous to 1587, when the Tapuia and Aimoré ousted the Tupinikin from their occupation of the region. The invaders were descendants of natives who “lived many years without seeing other people ... and came to lose [their] language and create a new one which no one nation of heathen understand in all of this state of Brazil.”⁴³

Modern linguists tend to find that Jê speech forms displayed great diversification in the language groups.⁴⁴ Considering the diversity found within its affiliated languages, Jê languages might have sounded nonsensical or “broken” to listeners accustomed to Tupi-Guarani languages. The insertion of peoples of línguas travadas into European views of Indian life gave yet another idiomatic expression to the perceived dichotomy between acculturated and unacculturated, between accommodating and resisting Indians, between Tupi and Tapuia and between speakers of língua geral and línguas travadas. That many whites came to consider users of non-Tupi-Guarani languages – including many from the Jê language family -- in terms of enmity reveals the degree to which early European perspectives of local matters were molded by bias formed by Tupi-Guarani clans. By so doing, the newcomers were unwittingly extending age-old rivalries between Indians, inserting themselves into expanding networks

⁴² Greenberg, *Language in the Americas*, 45-46, 50, 73-74.

⁴³ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 36.

⁴⁴ Urban, “A história ... segundo as línguas nativas,” 90.

of friend and foe, an opposition they would come to rely on and manipulate in their quest to extract profit from the land.

Tupi-Guarani speakers, as the first tribes to interact closely with white settlers, were also the first to experience the harshness which would characterize Indian-white relations. White communities, expanding with each arrival of ships carrying sailors, criminal exiles, adventurers, merchants, families, orphans, single women sponsored by the state to marry and settle in the colony, crown officials, and men of the church, from all parts of the Portuguese empire, formed increasingly mightier and more formidable groups of neighbors and competitors. Ever burgeoning and more threatening than the early scattered and sparse white enclaves, colonists radiated outwards from initial points of settlement which grew into towns and then cities, occupying greater tracts of land, equipping larger slaving razzias to acquire labor for working those lands, and roving the *sertão* ever more extensively, such that even those Amerindians inhabiting remote lands came into contact with Europeans and their Indian allies. As early as 1676, inhabitants of the interior of Piauí captaincy had already reported the appearance of “white men who went about on horses.”⁴⁵ As Indians began to suffer the effects of the growing white population, they probably sought to protect their own posterity by striking partnerships with neighbors, traders, and even ancestral enemies, and in their sometimes serial relocations to safer terrain.

⁴⁵ Antonio Machado, “Relação dos Gamelas, 1753,” in Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Portugália, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1938-1950), III, 160.

Linguists now accept Amazônia as the place of origin of Proto-Tupi in prehistoric times.⁴⁶ While speculations still posit other areas of genesis, what is known is that a series of mass migrations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries expanded speakers of Tupi-Guarani languages into Amazônia. Fleeing from conflicts both triggered and aggravated by a European presence, Old World diseases, novel trade items, and new forms of competition over land, bodies, and resources, Tupi-Guarani peoples and their speech forms penetrated the still uncolonized Amazon Basin in a series of mass migrations on foot and by canoe from the State of Brazil. These migrations originated principally where Indian-white cohabitation had been at its maximum. They involved inhabitants of Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and possibly São Vicente. Plunging into the rainforests around 1539, 300 Tupi-Guarani speakers left their homes on the northeastern coast to embark on a rigorous journey involving land and riverine travel. Those who survived the arduous journey arrived in Chachapoyas on the Peruvian side of the continent ten years later.⁴⁷ In 1562, and perhaps in an attempt to survive the severe epidemics sweeping through the captaincy of Bahia around that time, 3,000 Tupinambá attempted their escape but were stopped in mid-flight by Jesuits.⁴⁸ These were probably not the natives said to have made contact with the French between 1570-1572 in Maranhão and Pará, which

⁴⁶ Michael J. Heckenberger, Eduardo G. Neves, and James B. Peterson, *De onde surgem os modelos? As origens e expansões tupi na Amazônia central* (1998 [accessed 10 December 2004]); available from <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0034-77011998000100003&lng=en&nrm=iso>; Francisco Silva Noelli, "The Tupi: explaining origin and expansions in terms of archaeology and of historical linguistics," *Antiquity* 72 (1998); Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "A Classificação do Tronco Lingüístico Tupi," *Revista de Antropologia* 12 (1964); Urban, "A história ... segundo as línguas nativas;" Greg Urban, "On the Geographical Origins and Dispersion of Tupian Languages," *Revista de Antropologia* 39, 2 (1996).

⁴⁷ Hemming, *Red Gold*, 195.

⁴⁸ Hélène Clastres, *The Land-Without-Evil. Tupí-Guaraní Prophetism*, trans. Jacqueline Grenez Brovender (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 51-52.

suggests that there were later successive unrecorded migration movements.⁴⁹ At least four more trans-continental migrations were reported before the 1616 founding of Belém by the Portuguese. In one, at the turn of the century, 84 *aldeias*, or villages, of Tupinambá fled enslavement by settlers from Pernambuco.⁵⁰ In 1605, the migration of 8,000-10,000 Tupinambá, also allegedly from Pernambuco, set forth, possibly under the leadership of a *mameluco*, mestizo or mulatto *pajé*. Yet another mass migration occurred, probably around 1609 and involving 40,000-60,000 Potiguar, whose survivors were led to the island of São Luís by the French Huguenot captain Daniel de la Tousehe, known as La Ravardière.⁵¹ And, during the months between 1614 and 1615, a more modest gathering of 200 “índios da língua geral” followed headman Gregorio Migtagoaya and heeded the advice of the governor of Pernambuco to move into Maranhão.⁵² The reduced population of the 1614-1615 migration seems related to the fact that, by 1620, fewer Tupi-Guarani were living in Pernambuco.⁵³

Despite the large numbers and diverse groups of Indian peoples involved in these mass migrations, rarely are they referred to in historical population studies or viewed as forming impressive intra- and trans-continental Indian diasporas in the Americas. The term “foreign Indians” is a concept borrowed from a situation described in colonial Peru, where natives of Central America were introduced as slaves because of the dearth of African workers in the region

⁴⁹ Fernandes, *Organização social*, 43.

⁵⁰ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 57.

⁵¹ Clastres, *The Land Without Evil*, 51-54.

⁵² Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 43.

⁵³ Fernandes, *Organização social*, 49.

in the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ Although many of the migrants discussed in this chapter originated from parts of the continent falling within the present-day limits of Brazil, they were probably considered “others” or “foreigners” by locals – including Indians, Europeans, Africans and their American-born descendants -- of the regions to which the migrants moved and settled. Travelers leaving life in the tropical wet forests of the lower Amazon River valley encountered a distinctive natural and human environment. The lifestyles, modes of transportation, diets, housing structures and material cultures of Amazonian societies of riverine Arawak, Tupi-Guarani and Jê language families differed from those of the coastal inhabitants, who were accustomed to streams and bodies of freshwater but had always lived as companions of the sea. Particularly for Indians who were seized from their homes in the sertão and forcibly removed and inserted into a regime of long hours of back-breaking labor in colonial towns and plantations, a matter to be discussed later in this chapter, lifestyle changes were not only traumatic but also demoralizing. Although they may have passed by, heard of, or had experiences in colonial villages, either in their homelands or in their travels, such transplanted peoples were struck with amazement at viewing the urban centers of the colony, such as Recife, Bahia, Belém and São Luís, all situated on the coast.

These migrations were significant not only in the ways by which they transformed the dispersion of language groups throughout Portuguese America. The high numbers of individuals involved in the movements suggest that groups

⁵⁴ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 199.

in addition to the fleeing clans or villages migrated. As has been seen among the Kaeté in the São Francisco River valley in 1562, the Tamoio confederacy in the mid-sixteenth century in Rio de Janeiro, and local groups in Maranhão and Pará in the seventeenth centuries, Indian groups tended to unite when fighting against a common objective, even bringing together warring clans.⁵⁵ The journeys lasted over extended periods during which individuals initially speaking mutually comprehensible and non-comprehensible speech forms interacted on a daily basis. The upheaval experienced by Indians and Africans in Bahia in 1585 culminated in the movement known as the Santidade de Jaguaribe, viewed by one historian as propelled by millenarian ideas articulated by charismatic leaders who encouraged and inspired Indians, Africans, and mestizos to appropriate and combine Christian, native, and African cosmology into belief systems that incited perseverance, sympathized with their plight, and justified their hostility toward an abusive colonial environment.⁵⁶ Although little is known about the use of language in the Santidade de Jaguaribe, the presence of many Tupi-Guarani Indians, who were known to exhibit the same linguistic skills as the shaman, orators and preachers in the movement, suggests their speech was used as interlanguage among participants.

While the coastal inhabitants who spoke Tupi-Guarani dialects entered into early relationships with Europeans and Africans, Karib and Arawak and Jê speakers living further inland only were to enter into routine interactions with Europeans and Africans with colonial expansion in the seventeenth and

⁵⁵ Fernandes, *Organização social*, 44.

⁵⁶ Alida C. Metcalf, "Millenarian Slaves? The Santidade de Jaguaribe and Slave Resistance in the Americas," *American Historical Review* 104, 5 (1999): 1511.

eighteenth centuries. Pano-speaking groups inhabiting the wet forestlands by the Ucayali river first glimpsed a Spanish expedition in 1557, though a full century passed before sustained relations with Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries began.⁵⁷ Arawak-speaking Manao, the lords of the Negro river valley in the seventeenth century, fell from power after the 1730s, after half a century of intense contact with Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and English. Slaving reduced their once mighty clans to a handful of interpreters, canoeists and domestic slaves.⁵⁸ Previous encounters probably had brought European men and women into the folds of native societies as had been the case of Indian-white relations in the first half of the sixteenth century. In these parts considered remote from colonial occupation, where contact was in the demographic context of overwhelming numbers of Indians and few whites and blacks, native languages continued to be used. The Karib-speaking Galibí of Amazônia did not come into sustained contact with Europeans until colonization of the Lesser Antilles, Venezuela and the Guianas, in the early seventeenth century, and their case underlines the prevalence of multi-tiered levels of inter- and intra-ethnic exchanges between Karib, Spanish, French, Dutch and English languages.⁵⁹

Iberia Speaks

It was into this world of diverse, numerous and related speech forms that inhabitants from the Old World, black and white alike, set foot and began the process of putting down roots. Residents of European cities, towns, farms and

⁵⁷ Erickson, "Uma singular pluralidade," 248-249.

⁵⁸ David Sweet, "Francisca. A Slave," in *Struggle & Survival in Colonial America*, ed. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 279.

⁵⁹ Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 57.

villages arrived in Brazil, at first introducing small numbers of speakers of the Indo-European language family and minute numbers who spoke Basque and Uralic language families.⁶⁰ Natives of Portugal can be divided into four prehistoric groups: the Cynetes who lived in the zone that now is called the Algarve, and three cultural regions about which little is known: the area between the Guadiana and Tagus rivers, the territory bordered by the Tagus and the Douro rivers, and lands north of the Douro. These Iberian languages can be seen in Basque, their modern day survivor, in vestiges of the Portuguese language, and in the names of the peninsula's topography.⁶¹ Throughout prehistory, Iberians experienced centuries of language diversity, contact and exchange with Carthaginians, Greeks, Basque, and Germanic peoples such as the Swabians. Celtic groups coming into the Peninsula injected Indo-European languages into the oral landscape characterized by native Iberian tongues (700 B.C.), which was further exploited by the Romans (137 B.C.-5th century A.D.).⁶² Muslims from North Africa ruled over much of southern Iberia for several centuries (711) until their retreat from Portugal (1249) and from Granada (1492). Lusophone speech in the southern realms of the kingdom has been noted as characterized with Arabic loan words for farming tools, irrigation, technology, weights and measures, while in the north, speakers maintained the linguistic legacies left by the indigenous Iberians, Romans and Visigoths.⁶³

⁶⁰ Based on map of European language families in Lyle Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 110, 163-165, 167-169.

⁶¹ Serafim da Silva Neto, *História da Língua Portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal, 1952), 57-58.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 60, 67.

⁶³ C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1969), 12.

The general thesis that the extended North African occupation of Iberia left intact the local speech is a matter which has been disputed since the late medieval period.⁶⁴ In general terms, linguists concur that five principal dialectal groups heard on the peninsula at the time of the Moorish invasion included Galaico-Portuguese, Asturian Leonese, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan and Basque, which continued to dominate regional speech throughout the Muslim occupation.⁶⁵ Throughout the fourteenth century, the use of so-called “vulgar languages,” (vernacular and regional variances growing out of Latin and which gave form to modern-day Romance languages) began to appear together with Latin in written public announcements. In Spain, the Castilian dialect enjoyed increasing status as the language of administration and education although the other vernaculars still characterized local and regional orality.⁶⁶ Increasingly, the vulgar languages gained written form in official documents, in literary, scientific and administrative matters, and in the translation of classic texts, hitherto only accessible in Latin. The first text written in Italian, *Regole della lingua fiorentina*, appeared under anonymous authorship in 1495. António de Nebrija’s *Gramatica castellana*, the first of its kind in Europe, set forth a standard for Spanish grammar and syntax in 1492. From 1526-1558, Robert Étienne’s studies

⁶⁴ On late medieval perceptions of the degree of Arab influence in Romance languages, see observations of grammaticians and orthographers António Nebrija, João de Barros and Duarte Nunes de Leão, as discussed by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, “Introduction,” in Duarte Nunes do Leão [Lião], *Ortografia e origem da língua portuguesa*, trans. intro Notes, editing by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1983 [1576]), 32-33. Listed in bibliography under Leão.

⁶⁵ Clare Mar-Molinero, “The Iberian Peninsula: Conflicting Linguistic Nationalisms,” in *Language and Nationalism in Europe*, ed. Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 84.

⁶⁶ Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *A língua portuguesa, espaço de comunicação* (Oficinas Gráficas da Minerva do Comércio de Veiga & Antunes, Lda, 1984), 15; Mar-Molinero, “Iberian Peninsula,” 85.

and writings reducing theory and practice of the vernacular speech forms heard in France led a series of specialists to enunciate and standardize francophone speech. Their efforts were duly applauded in 1539 when François I decreed the replacement of Latin by the French vulgar.⁶⁷ All these efforts held in common a preoccupation with grammatical usages in language, as illustrated in Pedro Simón Abril's proposal to King Philip II that children be instructed in Spanish grammar before Latin grammar. The main issue debated by humanists in Spain, France and Italy seemed to question the use and divulgation of grammars of the vernaculars in place of, or alongside, Latin.⁶⁸

According to Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, the Lusophone language did not face the same concerns. The modern-day boundaries of Portugal were defined already in the eleventh century and within the kingdom, North Africans, Jews and Gypsies formed minority communities in the late medieval and early modern periods, living alongside larger “white” native communities, most of whom spoke the local vernacular of Latin, increasingly known as “Portuguese” in its earliest texts.⁶⁹ Earlier than other Romance languages, the Lusophone language united different resident ethnic communities. Moreover, notwithstanding the use of Latin in learned circles, it was never a literary language. Standing in contrast to other European kingdoms' disputes over Latin or vulgar grammar, the principal concern for Portuguese humanists in the late medieval period centered on orthography, or the rendering of speech into textual

⁶⁷ Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, “Introduction,” in Buescu, *A língua portuguesa*, 14-15; Leão [Lião], *Ortografia*, 10-12.

⁶⁸ Buescu, in Leão [Lião], *Ortografia*, 11.

⁶⁹ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 2-3, 11; Lou Charon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsies* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 17; Maria Helena Sánchez Ortega, *La Inquisición y los gitanos* (Madrid: Taurus, 1988), 13.

and alphabetic equivalents.⁷⁰ At the heart of the issue was the question of which regional dialect of Portuguese would be privileged and standardized, a question which returned later in the mid-sixteenth century as early modern Portuguese humanists faced the linguistic diversity of Brazil. The language of poet Luís Vaz de Camões and of Extremadura, the province of Lisbon, prevailed. The idea of one single language, spoken kingdom-wide and accessible to all by the invention of the printing press in the second half of the fifteenth century and the imagined communities of speakers it engendered, was still new for Portuguese migrating to the kingdom's colonies in America in the sixteenth century.⁷¹

Disembarking from Europe

Although colonists originated from all over Portugal and from the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores, many embarked in its capital. Sixteenth-century Lisbon was a cosmopolitan city of promise and diversity, nominated the “eighth marvel” of the world in 1552.⁷² As the center of maritime research and navigational technology, Catalans and Italians were among the avid men of the sea and of adventure to crowd into the city to teach and study nautical sciences and develop cartographic skills.⁷³ The merchant community was truly international and counted Dutch, Italians, French, Germans, Spanish and English. Jews were prominent as scientists, merchants and bankers. Their key

⁷⁰ Buescu, in Leão [Lião], *Ortografia*, 12. For discussion early modern Portuguese perspectives on regional Lusophone dialects appropriate for standardization, see Neto, *História da Língua*, 453-455, 547-548.

⁷¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Buescu, *A língua portuguesa*, 13-17.

⁷² Manoel da Silveira Cardozo, “António de Gouveia: Adventurer and Priest,” in *Struggle & Survival in Colonial America*, ed. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 144.

⁷³ João Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History 1500-1800*, trans. Arthur Brakel (New York: Oxford University, 1997), 20.

roles in European maritime trade since the late medieval period had already set the pace for their presence in the principal nodes of the Atlantic commercial network.⁷⁴ Their work in acquiring wealth for the crown was guarded by royal favor until the 1530s, the decade during which the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal.⁷⁵ Although Spanish, Portuguese, English, Irish, Dutch and Italian ships were making contact with the Brazilian coast, the contracts on the early trade in brazilwood were given to New Christians by King Manuel.⁷⁶

Jewish merchants living in Portugal, Spain, France, and Holland were also important in developing Atlantic commerce with Brazil.⁷⁷ Their diaspora throughout Europe meant that, as a community, Jews brought to the New World diverse European languages as well as Hebrew.⁷⁸ A partial listing of New Christians active in trans-Atlantic commerce in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries showed that of the 308 names, 137 maintained residences in Brazil in the seventeenth century.⁷⁹ Traveling from Portugal, Spain, England and Holland, they came to the American colony equipped with their experiences in language diversity and exchange.⁸⁰ Those identified as “New Christians” were forcibly exiled by the Inquisition in Portugal and for other misdemeanors by local

⁷⁴ José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os cristãos-novos e o comércio no Atlântico Meridional: com enfoque nas capitânicas do Sul, 1530-1680* (São Paulo, Brasília: Pioneira, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1978), 5-8.

⁷⁵ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 267; Salvador, *Cristãos-novos e o comércio*, 6-7.

⁷⁶ Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. [1933] 1967), 290-291.

⁷⁷ Salvador, *Cristãos-novos e o comércio*.

⁷⁸ J.F. de Almeida Prado, *As bandeiras* (São Paulo: Instituição Brasileira de Difusão Cultural, 1986), 64.

⁷⁹ Salvador, *Cristãos-novos e o comércio*, 6 unnumbered pages following p. 395, entitled, “Lista Parcial de Cristãos-Novos Mencionados Nesta Obra.”

⁸⁰ Gaspar Barleus, *História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil*, ed. Mario G. Ferri, *Reconquista do Brasil 15* (Belo Horizonte, São Paulo: Itatiaia, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1974), 327; José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os Cristãos-Novos: Povoamento e Conquista do Solo Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1976), 320.

justices and the high courts while others chose to flee to the safe American haven in the years 1580-1640.⁸¹ Especially during the period when the religiously tolerant Dutch controlled much of northeastern Brazil between 1630 and 1654, Jews relocated to the colony in order to be able to live aspects of their Jewish cultures unbothered.⁸²

The linguistic diversity of crews sailing under the Portuguese flag had always been considerable. Portuguese voyages of trade, exploration and conquest were characterized by their multi-ethnic, polyglot and pluricultural content. Complements were drawn from peoples with whom the Portuguese came into contact from the Maghreb to the Moluccas.⁸³ Africans, drawn from the sizeable population of captive interpreters and slaves taken from the Far East and West Africa, also made up the crews on Portuguese vessels.⁸⁴ By 1522, one-tenth of the inhabitants in Lisbon, Évora, and the Algarve was African or African-descended.⁸⁵ In the eighteenth-century, ten to twenty percent of the domestics working in households in the environs of Lisbon were drawn from Portugal's West African slave population.⁸⁶ Members of the community of "blacks from the kingdom," or *negros do Reino*, traveled in small contingents to parts of

⁸¹ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 270.

⁸² Ibid; Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex. Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 82.

⁸³ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 107.

⁸⁴ Prado, *As bandeiras*, 15; Eric Wolf, *Europe and People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1982] 1997), 111.

⁸⁵ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 10; Joan M. Fayer, "African Interpreters in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Anthropological Linguistics* 45, 3 (2003): 282.

⁸⁶ Renato Pinto Venâncio, "Cativos do Reino: a importância de escravos de Portugal para Minas Gerais colonial," in *Brasil: colonização e escravidão*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1999), 211.

Portuguese America.⁸⁷ Although negros do Reino constituted a minority of the African slaves arriving in Brazil and Amazônia through the nineteenth century, they were highly prized workers, since their time in Portuguese households had adequately trained them in the speech, religion, service and ways of Luso-Iberian living.⁸⁸ Slaves acculturated to Portuguese ways and dialects were called *ladinos*, a nomination which would later apply to Africans in Angola and Moçambique, to African slaves imported to Portuguese America, and to enslaved and free Indians.⁸⁹ Ladino Africans from Portugal usually belonged to the wealthiest of patrons and these often accompanied their masters to New World destinations.⁹⁰ Their mobility exposed them to different configurations of European and African oral landscapes: from their homes in Angola, transferred variously to London, Pôrto, the Atlantic islands and the New World, they might have switched masters several times, been integrated into crews of European and African sailors, accompanied merchants, worked alongside fellow slaves from other parts of Africa, and befriended working-class European men and women.⁹¹

Many negros do Reino traveled to the New World with considerable experience with West African Portuguese creole languages, spoken as trade languages along the coast of Guinea and in other parts where the slave trade was

⁸⁷ A.C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982); James H Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Venâncio, "Cativo do Reino;" Wolf, *Europe and People without History*, 195-196, 201.

⁸⁸ [Father] Rafael Bluteau, *Diccionario da lingua portugueza composto pelo padre D. Rafael Bluteau, reformado, e accrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva natural do Rio de Janeiro*, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, MDCCLXXXIX [1789]), [page beginning with "LAD"].

⁸⁹ Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 271, 272.

⁹⁰ Venâncio, "Cativo do Reino," 213-214.

⁹¹ Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 97-99.

most active. Portuguese creole was heard all over coastal Senegal in 1635 and on the island of São Tomé.⁹² Cape Verde *lançados* (forced exiles) and traders were active in this region throughout the period of the slave trade. They contributed significantly to the dissemination of Portuguese creole speech forms throughout the Guinea coast.⁹³ This language, called variously, “fala de Guiné” or “fala de preto” (“speech of Guinea” or “speech of [the] black”) was described as corrupted Portuguese and appeared even in its non-standard Lusophone form in literature produced by Castilian writers, such as poet Rodrigo de Reinosa even though fala de Guiné more closely resembled Portuguese.⁹⁴ The Portuguese playwright, Gil Vicente, characterized it in several of his dramas, including “Frágoa de Amor” and “O Clérigo da Beira” and often ridiculed it in his plays.⁹⁵ It was also considered a *meia-língua* (literally, “half language”), or a poorly pronounced and grammatically incorrect form of speaking and was thought to be used by non-native speakers or country folk, untrained in the standard registers of Portuguese.⁹⁶ Creoles based on other European languages were also heard in trade with coastal Africa, as French, English and Dutch also frequented West

⁹² Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 214, 215.

⁹³ T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands; Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in 17th Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), chapter 9 (195-238). Deirdre Meintel, *Race, Culture, and Portuguese Colonialism in Cabo Verde* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 35; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 to 1800* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970; reprint, 1980), 174, and esp. pp. 200-222.

⁹⁴ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 214, 215.

⁹⁵ Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares africanos na Bahia: um vocabulário afro-brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, Topbooks, 2001), 35; P.E. [Peter Edward] Russell, “Some Socio-Linguistic Problems Concerning the Fifteenth-Century Portuguese Discoveries in the African Atlantic,” in *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490: Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator and Beyond* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 10.

⁹⁶ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004), 80.

African ports.⁹⁷ Cape Verdeans and Senegalese in the early seventeenth century were heard to pronounce the French tongue “like natives,” for example.⁹⁸ In most cases, however, Africans spoke European creoles and languages with non-standard accents and grammar, retaining their mother tongues as their primary languages.⁹⁹

Ships whose crews and passengers included Europeans and West and Central Africans embarked from the smaller ports of Caminha, Viana, Aveiro, Peniche, Nazaré and Lagos as well as the two large ports of Porto and Lisbon. They also set sail from the Atlantic islands.¹⁰⁰ Disembarking in the harbors of the coastal captaincies, Portuguese and other Europeans met a diverse range of speakers coming from their own and neighboring kingdoms. Even passengers and crew not bound for Brazil might end up on its shores. Vessels traveling between Portugal and India sometimes made stops in Brazilian ports to make repairs, renew provisions, or pass winters in the Atlantic islands and Brazil, a season of difficult and dangerous sailing. Especially high rates of desertion in the lush American colony led the crown to discourage ships making those stops between 1500 and 1650.¹⁰¹ From 1650 onward, these stops became routine, especially at Bahia. During the gold rush, stops were almost required, and Oriental spices and cloths changed hands for Brazilian gold and tobacco.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Colin M. MacLachlan, “African Slave Trade and Economic Development in Amazônia 1700-1800,” in *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, ed. Robert Brent Toplin, *Contributions in Afro-American and African studies no. 17* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1974).

⁹⁸ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 215.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 320-323.

¹⁰⁰ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 221-222, 224.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 206, 219.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 206, 219, 220.

Reports in 1549 stated that white settlers in Brazil numbered 3500.¹⁰³ By 1584, eye-witnesses pegged white communities at around 25,000. In 1612, about 50,000 whites were said to live in the colony.¹⁰⁴ Factors, *lançados* and self-exiles formed the earliest of the white communities of Portuguese America.¹⁰⁵ Derived from a long-standing maritime protocol of taking captive interpreters or leaving behind *lançados* on new lands to interact with inhabitants, explore the land, trade, and learn local languages, the practice dated at least from the early fifteenth century among the Portuguese in their commercial activities on the West African coast. Following the first recorded European landfall onto the shores of Brazil, Pedro Álvares Cabral followed the example of Portuguese mariners by leaving two *degradados* (exiled convicts) near Porto Seguro in 1500. The crown did not include Brazil into the legal system of exile until 1535, however, when the American colony was substituted for the island of São Tomé.¹⁰⁶ On board the expedition carrying Tomé de Sousa to found the colonial seat of government at Salvador in 1549 were 400-600 hundred male *degradados*.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps these men were the same slave raiders living near Salvador in the 1550s and identified as exiled convicts.¹⁰⁸ In the sixteenth century, the State of Brazil reached its peak as the new overseas destination for convicts.¹⁰⁹

Throughout the seventeenth century, groups of women were increasingly arriving in the Luso-American colonies, many among them banished for alleged

¹⁰³ Gerald J Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese : the myth and the reality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 22.

¹⁰⁴ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 180.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter One.

¹⁰⁶ Bender, *Angola*, 60n5; Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 78.

¹⁰⁷ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 78; Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil, 1500-1627*, 6th ed. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1975), 143.

¹⁰⁸ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 80.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 79.

wrongdoings.¹¹⁰ Because white women tended to marry quickly in Portuguese America, the colonies also became favored places for women who may have erred in their pasts. In 1618, when Simão Estação da Silveira left Lisbon for Maranhão, he took with him “some 300 people, some of [these] ... young women, who all married [and received land] after we arrived and had a life there that would have been impossible” in Portugal. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition in Portugal turned to Brazil as its primary destination for female sinners found guilty of having given false testimony to the Holy Office, practiced heresy, Judaism, witchcraft, and bigamy. During this period, European tribunals of the Holy Office sent 62 per cent of the women found guilty to Brazil. The period between 1650 and 1690 were also years during which the central captaincies of Brazil were target regions for colonization, requiring a stronger female component that could be supplied by sentences of exile by the Inquisition.¹¹¹ In the first half of the seventeenth century, an estimated 10,000 convicts were living in the hinterlands of Brazil.¹¹²

That São Luís and Belém grew from settlements around forts signified a seventeenth-century European element largely composed of exiles and soldiers – many of whom were in fact convicts serving their time as soldiers -- from Europe and other parts of Brazil. When Bento Maciel Parente prepared to assume his position as governor of the State of Maranhão and Pará in 1636, he had orders to take with him “up to two hundred men of a suitable age .. from those whose

¹¹⁰ Although a small group of orphaned girls were sponsored by the crown and sent to Brazil to marry and help to produce and populate the land in the second half of the sixteenth-century Ibid, 85, 139, 144.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 85.

¹¹² Ibid, 106.

crimes do not merit a different punishment ... as we have done on a past occasion.”¹¹³ Throughout the eighteenth century, exiles to Amazônia continued to supply the colony with its white settlers. Wayward men of the church also received assignments there: the Overseas Council received a request from Father Francisco da Silva soliciting payment for the expenses to ship “men of religion who wandered loosely through [the streets of] Lisbon” to the State of Maranhão and Pará.¹¹⁴ Others, such as New Christians and Gypsies, were banished to the Luso-American colonies, too.

Crowded as they were on the periphery of Portugal’s early modern social milieu, Gypsies, or Roma, were targeted by a series of royal and legal measures forcibly banishing them to Portuguese America.¹¹⁵ Themselves recent arrivals in the Iberian peninsula, the first Gypsies are said to have begun arriving in the late fifteenth century in Spain, fanning out westward later into Portugal. They were soon targeted for persecution by the Catholic kings.¹¹⁶ During the reign of the Hapsburgs, many Roma were exiled to the New World, although the numbers are uncertain.¹¹⁷ Presumably, the same occurred to Roma communities in Portugal, which was ruled from Madrid under the Hapsburgs from 1580 to 1640. That the

¹¹³ Ibid, 83.

¹¹⁴ 1676 Julho 1, Lisboa Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao príncipe regente D. Pedro, Maranhão 1 cx 5 doc 604

¹¹⁵ In accordance with the standard established by the specialized literature, “Gypsy” refers to Roma peoples and Romani languages; “gypsy” applies generally to non-Roma peoples, a misnomer owing to outsiders’ conflation of vagabonds and nomads into the Roma/Romani ethnic and linguistic group.

¹¹⁶ Charnon-Deutsch, *Spanish Gypsies*, 17; Ortega, *La Inquisición y los gitanos*, 13. As has been pointed out by scholars, the term “Gypsy” did not differentiate between commercial nomads unrelated in origin and language and peripatetic bands who spoke forms of the Romani language, Charnon-Deutsch, *Spanish Gypsies*, 17-34. and Yaron Matras, “The Role of Language in Mystifying and Demystifying Gypsy Identity,” in *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-images of ‘Gypsies’/Romanies in European Cultures*, ed. Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 53-54.

¹¹⁷ Charnon-Deutsch, *Spanish Gypsies*, 21.

crown called for the remittance of convicts to cleanse Brazil of “Jesuits, Jews and Gypsies” attests to their visibility in the colony.¹¹⁸ Many of the Gypsy men recruited for the Portuguese army may have been sent later to Brazil for Luso-Dutch conflicts (1630-1654) in northeastern Brazil.¹¹⁹ Throughout the eighteenth century, the crown continued to seek to control their numbers, activities, residence and modes of living. Infringements of these laws resulted in their deportation to Brazil. In 1708, King D. João V limited their residence to two couples on any given street in Portugal and proscribed their dress and speech.¹²⁰ Despite the varieties of *romani chib*, or Romani, the languages spoken by Gypsies were linguistic isolates and therefore easy to identify. As the only South Asian language spoken amidst local dialects of the Romance languages, Romani stood out discretely in the oral life of early modern Portugal.¹²¹ Laws from 1718 to 1745 continued to forcibly remove Gypsies residing in Portugal to the overseas colonies.¹²² Once exiled to Brazil in the second half of the eighteenth century, the crown prescribed that Gypsy children become apprentices and that the men work as paid soldiers, indicating a large enough contingent to warrant the legal measures taken by the crown.¹²³

However, not all persons identified as “gypsies” and ejected from Portugal were Roma. It has been pointed out that “ordinary vagabonds ... groups of

¹¹⁸ Bender, *Angola*, 61.

¹¹⁹ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 6.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 46.

¹²¹ Matras, “The Role of Language in Mystifying and Demystifying Gypsy Identity,” 53. Romani is classified as belonging to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family.

¹²² Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 46; Luiz Diogo Lobo da Sylva and Dr. Miguel Carlos Caldeyra, “[Letter to the King],” Olinda, 12 July 1771, Seção dos Manuscritos, 466, 144f-v, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.

¹²³ A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 243.

returning soldiers, displaced foreigners, underemployed rural men who had lost their lands... career bandits and lesser regional nobles and their vassals who for one reason or another lived on the margins of societies” were often confused with Gypsies.¹²⁴ Other persecuted street people belonging to non-Roma groups included the Gorgios, Gadjés, Busnés and Payos whom the Roma did not consider as part of their own groups. It is impossible to ascertain the linguistic make-up of those targeted as “gypsies” and exiled to the New World, though the endogamous unions that Gypsies tended to form suggests that Romani speakers went to and lived in Portuguese America.¹²⁵ Although they generally spoke their native tongues, they probably spoke other European languages, as their peripatetic means of livelihood often depended on their success in commercial ventures requiring linguistic immersion in the milieux of markets and central squares. Young Gypsy children in North America in the early twentieth century were heard speaking five to six languages, acquired from their global travels; it can be safely assumed some of their historical predecessors were similarly polyglot.¹²⁶ Given their spatial mobility in the Americas and Europe, their exposure to diverse European languages might have made Roma key interpreters. Indeed, language training through “professional and private traveling,” an overlooked and significant aspect of sociolinguistic understandings of historical Europe, has directly influenced study of the rich and varied bodies of linguistic

¹²⁴ Charnon-Deutsch, *Spanish Gypsies*, 20.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 12.

¹²⁶ Irving Brown, *Gypsy Fires in America: A Narrative of Life Among the Romanies of the United States and Canada* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1924), 23.

wealth brought into American settlements and inter-group interactions between Indians, Europeans and Africans.¹²⁷

Examination of actions taken by the crown, Portuguese courts, the Overseas Council and the Inquisition has led historian Timothy Coates to argue cogently that manipulation of penal exile and state- and church-sponsored dowry and relocation programs was responsible for sustaining a small but constant white population in the Luso-American colonies, particularly where unfavorable or difficult conditions such as distance, disease or hostile relations with indigenous societies kept certain areas peripheral to colonial occupation. Degredados were drawn from all over the Portuguese empire. The high courts in Goa and Pôrto reserved exile to the American site for some of the most serious criminals. Banished persons were sent to Brazil from Angola regularly in the sixteenth century and less frequently in the seventeenth century.¹²⁸ In some cases, men and women deported to parts of the Portuguese empire were redirected to the Luso-American colonies. For example, when no ships were scheduled for Angola and São Tomé in 1662, degredados convicted to exile in those colonies instead boarded vessels heading to Brazil, suggesting, as Coates pointed out, that in place of Lisbon, the ports of Portuguese America served as the central transportation hubs for the empire.¹²⁹

Following the Luso-Dutch conflicts in the Northeast and restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, many poor Portuguese fled to Brazil and Portugal could hardly deal with so substantial a loss of its population. Starting in 1667, the

¹²⁷ Michael Richter, *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 1995), 77.

¹²⁸ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 80.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

crown passed four laws restricting emigration to Brazil.¹³⁰ At the same time, natural disasters in the Atlantic islands propelled a new flux of Lusophone migrants into the colonies. In 1647, for example, with seismic activity rumbling throughout the islands, an English ship was commissioned to transfer fifty couples from the island of Santa Maria in the Azores to Maranhão.¹³¹ In 1674, residents of the Azores and Madeira undertook a voyage to Maranhão while other Atlantic islanders boarded the *Nossa Senhora da Palma* and *São Rafael* bound for Pará.¹³² Throughout the seventeenth century, the Overseas Council closely followed the activities of families, couples, and young children being ferried from the Atlantic islands to Amazônia. Successful integration into the social and economic life of the colony prompted the Overseas Council to suggest the transference of Azorean families to the State of Maranhão and Pará as an answer to the crown's concern in colonizing the northern province. Campaigns encouraging emigration from the Azores and Madeira to Amazônia were organized by the crown in 1619, 1622, 1649, 1667, 1673, 1674, 1677 and throughout the eighteenth century.¹³³ The crown enticed emigrants by offering attractive resettlement packages for young married couples and single females between the ages of 12 and 25.¹³⁴ Luso-Iberians living around the fort of Mazagão in Morocco were relocated with state assistance in 1679, founding a settlement with the same name in Pará.¹³⁵ Speakers of the Portuguese language continued to

¹³⁰ Caio Prado Junior, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*, trans. Suzette Macedo (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 93-94.

¹³¹ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 176.

¹³² Maranhão1, cx 5 doc 590; Maranhão 1 cx 5 doc 592, 8ff.

¹³³ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 83, 85.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 176.

¹³⁵ Prado Junior, *Colonial Background*, 96.

arrive in the colonies from distinct regions of the empire. They came with their own dialects and experiences with language diversity and exchange. These early communities of whites formed a motley crew of Lusophone pronunciations.

Just as numbers of migrants settling along the coastal ports, villages, towns and cities began to taper off following the first cycle of the sugar boom, a second one touched off the most dramatic demographic shift from the Old World to Brazil experienced until then. From the 1690s onward, steady streams of Europeans rushed to the southern colony in hopes of finding their fortune in the gold fever which overtook the interior captaincies of Brazil. Alluvial deposits of the treasured metal first found in paying quantities in the Rio das Velhas in Minas Gerais (1693) and gold struck in Cuiabá (1718) and Guaporé (1734) in Mato Grosso, and in Goiás (1725), intensified the movements of peoples going to and moving within Portuguese American in the following decades.¹³⁶ Forced to take action to prevent the depopulation of the kingdom, the crown passed nine pieces of legislation between the late seventeenth century and the mid-eighteenth century, controlling the outbound flow of individuals to Brazil.¹³⁷ During the gold rush era, no foreigners were allowed into Brazil, although many willingly took the risks involved with the lure of great wealth promised by the mines.¹³⁸ Notwithstanding laws passed to keep out foreign interlopers and gold-diggers, in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, 5,000-6,000 European men,

¹³⁶ Ibid, 31.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 94.

¹³⁸ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 82.

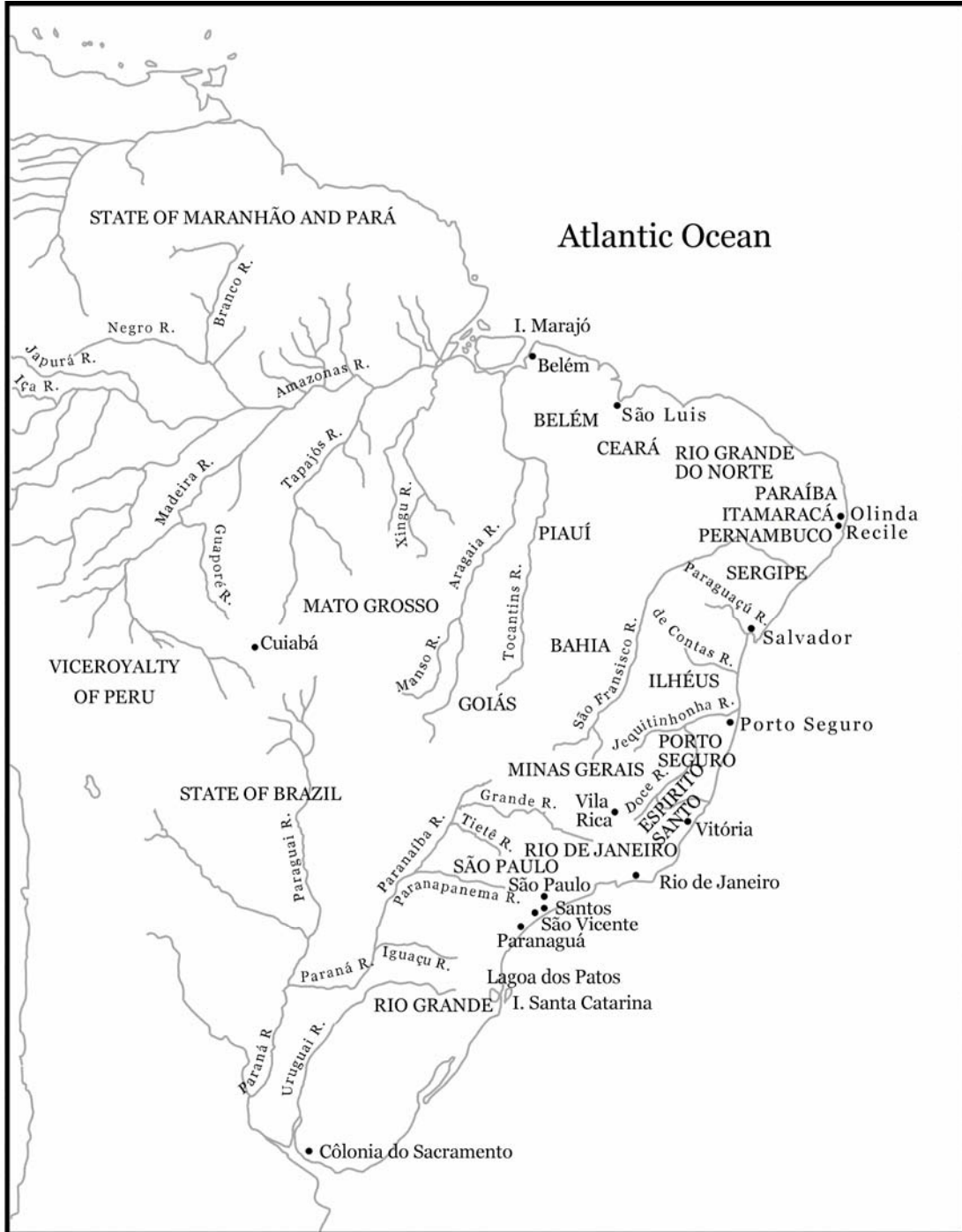
women and children disembarked at Brazilian ports annually, dipping to 3,000-4,000 arrivals in the leaner years.¹³⁹

The days of the gold rush marked the beginning of a transition in strategies of colonizing Portuguese America. Brazil began to disengage itself from the practice of forced colonization. With the exception of the Nova Colônia do Sacramento, which continued to receive shipments of degradedos, exiles to the State of Brasil were rerouted to captaincies in the State of Maranhão and Pará, such as the three hundred degradedos who arrived in Piauí in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Since its entry into the European mind in the early sixteenth century, Amazônia had been a fringe region, peripheral to colonial goings-ons in the State of Brazil. Two cities were established only in the early seventeenth century (Map 6), despite sixteenth-century voyages of exploration of its rivers and lands, news of its fertile river valley, of wealthy native empires, of

¹³⁹ A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (Manchester: Carcanet Press Limited, 1992), 61.

¹⁴⁰ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, xviii, 82, 83; Miridan Britto Knox Falei, "A escravidão nas áreas pecuaristas do Brasil," in *Brasil: colonização e escravidão*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1999), 257.

Map 6. Portuguese America, c. 1750



Sources consulted: A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (Manchester, Carcanet Press Limited, 1992), 142; Cunha, *História dos índios do Brasil*, 1-2 innum. Map drawn by Joshua T. Eyre.

rumored sightings of El Dorado and La Canela (the land of cinnamon), and of the Amazon River and its tributaries as a viable route to the silver mines of the Andes. São Luís was founded by the French (1612), and taken over by the Portuguese (1615) who established Belém (1616) and named the settlement the seat of the provincial government (1621). In 1672, the northern colony consisted of the 2 towns within 4 captaincies populated by 800 poor whites, all dependent on Indian labor.¹⁴¹ Intra-colonial trade and communications were hard to come by, or rather, as Brother Pero Rodrigues, one of the most important Jesuit missionary-linguists of the sixteenth century, clarified, traveling from Maranhão to Pernambuco was relatively tranquil but the rough waters at the Cape of São Roque made the return trip difficult.¹⁴² Instead of reporting to Salvador, the colonial administration and commercial ties in Amazônia were directed towards the seat of empire in Lisbon, a route made all the faster and more convenient by favorable currents and winds.¹⁴³

As Portugal struggled to people its vast Luso-American colonies through the exile of convicts and the sponsorship of relocation programs for families and dowries for single women, the kingdom also came to make use of other European interlopers. Italians, although they did not occupy colonial territories in the New World, were active in Portuguese America. Italo-speaking sailors, traders, settlers, clergy and artists were found in the colonial urban centers of Bahia and Recife, worked as engineers and artillerymen in the coastal forts, or traveled far

¹⁴¹ Mathias C. Kieman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1954), 131.

¹⁴² Pero Rodrigues, "Informação do Rio do Maranhão e do grãde Rio Pará (1618)," in *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, ed. Serafim Leite (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), III, 426.

¹⁴³ Maranhão 1, cx 1. doc 87.

inland and living among native societies on the Tocantins River, just beyond Cumaba, to list several examples.¹⁴⁴ By initially privileging religion over nationality, Catholic migrants from regions far and wide in the Old World could settle in the colony, bringing many polylingual and polydialectal speakers into Brazil during the decades between 1580 and 1640. During this period, many Spanish entered the Portuguese colonies.¹⁴⁵ They were also aggressive in organizing expeditions around the River Plate and the Amazon River Valley, although no known settlements were ever erected.¹⁴⁶ Spanish chronicler Francisco López de Gómara calculated, for example, that the Spanish made expeditions in 1512, 1515, 1526, 1535 and 1541 to the River Plate.¹⁴⁷ These voyages must have contributed their share of human flotsam left behind along the streams, mountains and forests of the country. Alonso Cabrera, who arrived in 1538 in the Porto dos Patos, met with three Spaniards who spoke “very well that language, as [they were] men who had been lost there since [the time of] Sebastian Gaboto” in 1526.¹⁴⁸

Known for its lucrative trade in brazilwood, an international presence of European merchants and crew had been established in Portuguese America. Englishman William Hawkins visited the coast from 1530 to 1532 and afterwards, taking brazilwood and perhaps trading elephant teeth bartered from Guinea. Throughout the following decade, merchants from Southampton and London

¹⁴⁴ Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 315; Fritz, *Journal ... in the River of the Amazonas, 1686-1723*, 69-70; Prado, *As bandeiras*, 52.

¹⁴⁵ C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1963), 19; Burns, *Colonial Background*, 91.

¹⁴⁶ Gómara, “História General,” 210-212.

¹⁴⁷ Eduardo Bueno, *Náufragos, traficantes e degredados: as primeiras expedições ao brasil, 1500-1531*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 1998), 21; Gómara, “História General,” 210-212.

¹⁴⁸ Gómara, “História General,” 212.

were frequently seen trading with the coastal inhabitants, despite royal prohibitions.¹⁴⁹ After 1550, ships from Flanders were constantly sighted in Brazilian harbors, especially in the 1570s and 1580s and Dutch captains were routinely commissioned by the Portuguese.¹⁵⁰ Among the better-known for their roles in the brazilwood trade, facilitated with alliances with the Tupinambá in Brazil and Amazônia, were French traders, sailors and lançados who were shipwrecked, cast away, or self-exiled in coastal Portuguese America. As early as 1503, their commercial activities and the presence of Norman interpreters had already begun to undermine Portuguese monopoly of the brazilwood trade.¹⁵¹ Later projects to colonize “France Antarctique” around Rio de Janeiro (1555-1567) and São Luís (1612-1615) pre-empted the Portuguese and required investments from the Portuguese to fight them off. Even though they did not settle permanently, the French continued to count as foremost in the cast of colonial characters in Brazil and Amazônia.

In addition to this varied panorama of European involvement in Brazil and Amazônia, one might argue for a Dutch Atlantic World. The Dutch occupation of Bahia (1624-1625), of Pernambuco (1630-1654) and decisive presence in regions as far as Maranhão established colonies of Dutch speakers, giving rise to the “War of Divine Liberty” (1645-1648). Finally, in 1654, the Dutch were ousted from Portuguese America.¹⁵² Following agreements of peace, Dutch traders were

¹⁴⁹ Salvador, *Os Cristãos-Novos*, 319-320.

¹⁵⁰ Prado, *As bandeiras*, 52; Salvador, *Os Cristãos-Novos*, 328.

¹⁵¹ Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, *Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil (Diálogo das grandezas do Brasil)*, Attributed to Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão., trans. Frederick Holden Hall, William F. Harrison, and Dorothy Winters Welker (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, [1618] 1987), 4.

¹⁵² Burns, *A History of Brazil*, 52-54; Russell-Wood, *World on the Move*, 25, 69.

commonly reported in Brazilian and Amazonian seaports and riverine trading posts.¹⁵³ They sought commercial and, in some cases, military alliances with local groups, such as the Tarairiu living in Maranhão in the 1640s.¹⁵⁴ In the late seventeenth century, many Dutch settled around the Essequibo River north of the lower Negro river basin.¹⁵⁵ Their presence continued through the eighteenth century and they were important protagonists in the Indian slave trade.¹⁵⁶ Pamphlets extolling Brazil as an earthly paradise circulated in the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the 1620s and translations of sixteenth-century accounts of Portuguese America were hugely popular among a Dutch readership.¹⁵⁷

Missionary zeal enjoyed a vast playing field in Brazil and Amazônia. The souls of the “infinite heathen” supposedly fit for salvation, announced to Europe by sixteenth-century chroniclers and eye-witnesses required direction towards salvation, a task undertaken by men of the church who pledged themselves to the religious salvation of Portuguese America. Carmelites and Franciscans, drawing their European members from throughout the Old World, were among the first religious orders to arrive in Brazil and dedicated themselves to the nascent white communities gathered in Pernambuco and Bahia.¹⁵⁸ Benedictines and Jesuits of different nationalities followed suit, injecting speakers of diverse European languages into the colonies. In 1721, a list of “foreigner” Jesuits included 16

¹⁵³ Maranhão 1, cx 2, doc 139; Maranhão 1, cx 2, doc 158.

¹⁵⁴ Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence abroad : the Dutch imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 286.

¹⁵⁵ Sweet, “Francisca,” 276. For more on Dutch occupation in Negro and Orinoco river valleys, see pp. 276-278.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 276-278.

¹⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Innocence abroad*, 34-35, 211.

¹⁵⁸ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 459.

arrivals from Italy, Sicily, Bohemia and France in Brazil and a further 9 newcomers from Italy, Germany and possibly Poland in Amazônia.¹⁵⁹ Jesuits were highly organized and pledged themselves to supervising the religious conversion of native societies in Brazil and later, in Amazônia. As will be seen in chapter three, experiences gained in previous ministry in Europe as well as in concurrent projects elsewhere in their farflung multicontinental mission empire, were crucial to Jesuit engagement in the Luso-American colonies, particularly with regard to the question of language.

Estimates place the number of white migrants to Brazil and Amazônia between 100,000 and 1,020,000 (1580-1760).¹⁶⁰ Coming from distinct linguistic backgrounds characterized by regional forms of speech and “half languages”, male and female exiles from all over the Portuguese empire, Jewish, Roma, Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, German, English and Irish sailors, merchants, single women, gold-diggers, planters, families and missionaries, and *negros do Reino* left Europe and converged in the colonial trading posts, forts, settlements, farms, ranches plantations and mines of Portuguese America. Added to this block of users of mostly Indo-European languages and the even larger populations of native and foreign Indians of Arawak, Karib, Tupi-Guarani and Jê language families, another considerable and populous group of Old World inhabitants began to arrive in increasing quantities from the 1580s onward.

These were from Africa. These two very disparate ethnic and linguistically diverse peoples – the Indian and the African – were victims and the products of

¹⁵⁹ *Fondo Gesuitico 721/I/1 Missioni nel Brasile. 1*, 29v.

¹⁶⁰ Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*, 179-180.

Portuguese success in the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhão and Pará. Increased urbanization, a larger European population, the development of a more viable colonial economy based on agriculture, and increased interest in settlement, and economic development in the far north and the strategically sensitive south of Portuguese America were increasingly dependent on labor. This inexorable demand placed Indian peoples on the front line as coerced or forced labor and Africans as the preferred slave labor force for the plantations of Brazil. The next two sections will examine how the Portuguese tapped into sources of Indian and Africa labor respectively and the linguistic ramifications of this sustained effort.

“Descending” Foreign Indians

With the introduction of the cultivation of sugar cane in the 1530s and its huge success as the colony’s number one export in the last half of the century, the need for manpower became evident. Generally, the historiography considers Portuguese America a patchwork quilt in terms of dependency on labor. Indigenous slavery dominated the crescent-shaped region lying in the western portion of Amazônia, starting from the captaincy of Pará and moving north and south westward to São Paulo.¹⁶¹ African slavery was predominant in the area occupying the eastern portion and coastal strip of the continent, from the captaincy of Maranhão down to Rio de Janeiro, although African slavery gained a

¹⁶¹ Kieman, *Indian Policy*; Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery. The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942); Monteiro, *Negros da terra*.

foothold in São Paulo towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁶² Amazônia is seen as mostly indigenous, and although studies of Indian slavery in the northern colony have included Maranhão, the tendency is to examine Pará.¹⁶³ São Paulo is also recognized as a region where the practice of bandeiras was initiated in the sixteenth century. Even though similar expeditions occurred earlier in Pernambuco, they were not to be so sustained as they were in São Paulo and its immediate hinterlands. Less often, São Paulo and Pará are viewed together, although scholars have attempted to make comparisons in the field of legislation on indigenous slavery.¹⁶⁴ For the rest of Portuguese America, voluminous and intense research has revealed the place Africans created for themselves in Brazil and their contributions to the formation of Portuguese America. Some few comparisons permit a bird's eye view of Africans in Brazil but most studies have been local and regional. More diachronic studies comparing the regions of Portuguese America which came to rely on Indian and African labor would do much in terms of providing a perspective of the general contours of the linguistic make up of local populations and how the ebbs and flows of human migrations within and to the colonies across time altered those general contours.

¹⁶² MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade;" Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry. Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 31.

¹⁶³ Dauril Alden, "Indian versus Black Slavery in the State of Maranhão During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Bibliotheca Americana* 1, 3 (1983); Barbara A. Sommer, "Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Indian Slave Trade," *The Americas* 61, 3 (2005).

¹⁶⁴ John Monteiro, "Escravidão indígena e despovoamento na América Portuguesa: S. Paulo e Maranhão," in *Brasil: nas vésperas do mundo moderno*, ed. Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1992); Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, "A legislação seiscentista portuguesa e os índios do Brasil," in *Brasil: colonização e escravidão*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000).

The history of Indians laboring on behalf of Europeans began as early as the first days of trans-Atlantic inter-ethnic commerce. At the sight of white traders waving handfuls of metal tools, necklaces of glass beads, European clothes and other novel goods, Indians threw their own labor in with their barter of brazilwood, offering their bodies for the felling, cutting, rounding off and delivering of logs to factories and ships on the littoral.¹⁶⁵ The period of barter (1500-1530s) ended with the inauguration of the donatary system. The crown granted proprietary privileges to Portuguese nobles and others of lesser social status and limited financial means, who agreed to develop their grants by defending, settling and cultivating the lands. Although barter could continue to provide local communities with Old World novel goods and metal tools and sustain donataries and colonists in return for brazilwood, food and short-term services provided by Indians for town building, barter could not provide the high labor demanded by the cultivation of sugar.¹⁶⁶ The enslavement of Indians persisted throughout and into the nineteenth century, despite its official abolition in 1570. Particularly in regions where African slave labor did not prevail, Indians provided working hands for the sixteenth and seventeenth century sugar economy of the north and northeast, seventeenth-century cattle ranching of the south and southeast, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century industry of collecting *drogas do sertão* in Pará, and gold fever in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais and elsewhere.

¹⁶⁵ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 34.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Although indigenous slavery endured a short life span in the legal history of the colonies (1500-1570), methods of coercion were developed to perpetrate the capture, trade and enslavement of Indians, even at the peak of the Atlantic slave trade with Africa. Legally, Indians could be enslaved through *guerra justa*, or “just war” (waged by Portuguese against aggressive Indians), *resgate* (ransom of internecine war captives who worked to “repay” their rescue from cannibalistic sacrifice) and voluntary enslavement by Indians (such as of abandoned, hunger-stricken or dispossessed Indians). In addition, *descimento*, *entrada*, *bandeira*, *tropas de resgate* and *cabos de tropas de guerra* -- the latter two particularly common in seventeenth and eighteenth century Amazônia -- were terms in the colonial period documentation to describe a range of activities in various periods and regions extending into the nineteenth century to describe the deliberate slaving, pacification and annihilation of indigenous societies in Brazil and Amazônia.¹⁶⁷ The consequences for native languages were devastating. Entire language families were reduced to single isolates or minor families. Although in 1833, the practice was abolished, colonists continued to evoke the system of just wars, resgates, and descimentos.¹⁶⁸

For the purposes of this discussion, the phrase “campaigns of descimento” will be used to refer to these methods of enslavement. Employed by colonists, missionaries and the state, campaigns of descimento literally “descended,” or brought thousands of Indians from their homes far inland in the sertão into white settlements and plantations by the coast or into one of two forms of *aldeias*

¹⁶⁷ For excellent summaries of these terms, see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, “New Directions in *Bandeirismo* Studies in Colonial Brazil,” *The Americas* 61, 3 (2005): 363-366.

¹⁶⁸ Prado Junior, *Colonial Background*, 102-103.

(Indian villages). In mission aldeias, administrated by lay clergy or missionaries, Indians were supposedly instructed in Christian Doctrine, educated in schools, and taught good moral living. Indians living in mission aldeias were supposed to be non-aggressive Indians, who requested under the spiritual and secular leadership of a missionary or were convinced to come and work. They were considered legally as free persons. Indians in *aldeias d'El-Rei*, also called *aldeias de repartição*, were marked as slaves. It was into these state-run aldeias d'El-Rei and de repartição that Indians ransomed or taken captive in just war were sent. They were considered legally as slaves of the state, and were placed on labor schedule which rotated a portion of the village out to work for settlers and the state for a stipulated period of months per annum, while the rest remained in residence, attending to their religious conversion and education, until it was their turn to be rotated out. The legally-stipulated ratio of villages and duration of their forced labor changed throughout the two hundred years of this study, a matter which almost seems to matter little considering the fact that in many cases colonists forbade Indians from returning to the aldeias at the end of their work term or Indians themselves fled from their captivity. In the language of the period, many campaigns of descimento declared the intentions of defending the colony and of civilizing, educating and saving the souls of Indians by permitting them opportunities to learn from the example of living near whites, working for the state, the church or colonists and thus to share in the offices and arts of Portuguese society, to learn to read, write and count, and to become upright, moral, God-fearing Christians. In truth, having Indians congregated near to colonial settlements facilitated colonists' access to labor. In the aldeias, Indians

learned to speak the Brasília and became more familiar with the types of services they were expected to provide for the Portuguese and their descendants.

The impact of the campaigns of descimento profoundly affected the human demography of the colonies. Recent studies have demonstrated both great breadth of time, space and local conditions in which such campaigns of descimento evolved.¹⁶⁹ Although reliable statistics are not available to clarify the consequences suffered by Indian societies, these regional studies provide some notion of the exaggerated extent to which communities of language users were decimated. Groups of language families were shifted around, divided and reconstituted with other seized Indians, if not outright annihilated. Until the mid-seventeenth century, Tupi-Guarani tribes living inland in the captaincy of São Paulo, and including the Guarani, Tememinó and Tupinaé, were introduced into the farms and settlements of São Paulo, making a case for the continued importance of the Brasília in the region.¹⁷⁰ Between 1627-1637, in a period lasting only ten years, 70-80,000 Indians were descended from the sertão of São Paulo, many gasping their last breaths upon arrival in the colonial settlements.¹⁷¹ Around the same time, in the late 1630s, one expedition enslaved 9,000 men and women, a dramatic departure from the hundred or so being taken decades earlier.¹⁷² Later in the same century, but further north, in the Amazon river valley, similar atrocities were being committed. From 1687 to 1690, close to two

¹⁶⁹ See special edition of bandeirismo studies in colonial Portuguese America in *The Americas* 61(2005): 3. Ângela Maria Vieira Domingues, "Quando os índios eram vassalos. Colonização e relações de poder no Norte do Brasil na segunda metade do século XVIII" (Doctoral Dissertation, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998); Monteiro, *Negros da terra*. For cogent analysis and summary of new directions uncovered by the studies, see article by Russell-Wood, "Bandeirismo Studies."

¹⁷⁰ Monteiro, *Negros da terra*, 61-62.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 68.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 57-58.

thousand natives of the Tocantins, Amazonas, and Negro rivers were removed and forced into the service of colonists, the church and the state.¹⁷³ From the upper Negro and upper Orinoco rivers, 20,000 Indians, many of whom were speakers of the Tukano, a minor language family, were descended between 1740 and 1755.¹⁷⁴ Tupi-Guarani and Jê speaking Indian “couples brought from the mountains of Ibiapaba” by João Velho do Vale in 1697 were disbanded and dispersed to colonists, thereby effectively isolating Tupi-Guarani and Jê bondsmen from previous experiences of linguistic unity.¹⁷⁵

However, despite the incoming masses of enslaved Africans in the late sixteenth century, it appears that even settlers with access to the African slave trade continued to rely on Indians as domestic servants, field hands, guides, and beasts of burden. For one matter, Indians were cheaper – taking them in war did not entail the same type of upfront payment required in the African slave trade. Participation alone guaranteed a portion of the Indians captured.¹⁷⁶ Even though the idea persisted among colonists that Indians were weaker than Africans -- who may have been considered more robust because of their previous exposure to Old World diseases – Indians were plentiful and kidnappings or wars could be waged to replenish labor supplies.¹⁷⁷ During the periods when disease struck the

¹⁷³ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, “Da ‘fala boa’ ao português na amazônia brasileira,” *Ameríndia* 8 (1983): 50.

¹⁷⁴ Fernando Santos-Granero, “The Arawakan Matrix: Ethos, Language, and History in Native South America,” in *Comparative Arawakan Histories. Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazônia*, ed. Jonathan D Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 33-34.

¹⁷⁵ Maranhão 1 cx 9 doc 948

¹⁷⁶ Muriel Nazzari, *Disappearance of the Dowry. Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

¹⁷⁷ Dauril Alden and Joseph C. Miller, “Out of Africa: The Slave Trade and the Transmission of Smallpox to Brazil, 1560-1831,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 2 (1987). For European

colonies, a corresponding increase has been observed in the numbers of slaving expeditions which embarked for the sertão.

African Arrivals, Slaves

Africans imported in the trans-Atlantic slave trade to Brazil and Amazônia began arriving in substantial numbers starting in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁷⁸ By the 1580s, Africans had come to constitute a notable presence in the local labor pools in Pernambuco, where previously Indians had been dominant. At the same time, indigenous workers continued to be more numerous in the captaincy of Bahia, although the labor demographics began to change in favor of African slaves, particularly in the first two decades of the seventeenth century in captaincies such as Bahia and Pernambuco, where the sugar industry was undergoing considerable growth and expansion.¹⁷⁹ In that decade, for example, the African population in Bahia was growing so steadily that Jesuits made routine visits to ships arriving from West and Central African ports, to administer baptisms and last unctions.¹⁸⁰ In 1586, Jesuit Father Cristóvão de Gouveia stated his intent to send priests to Angola to learn the language and return to Brazil with the appropriate skills for the religious care and conversion of the African slave population in Brazil.¹⁸¹

views of Indian slaves' ineffectiveness in agricultural work, see as an example Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 248.

¹⁷⁸ Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*, 15; Luís Palacin, *Sociedade Colonial, 1549-1599* (Goiânia: Universidade Federal de Goiânia, 1981), 82.

¹⁷⁹ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 66; Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 23.

¹⁸⁰ *Bras* 9, 375.

¹⁸¹ Leite, *HCJB*, II, 353; Palacin, *Sociedade Colonial*, 83.

For the seventeenth century, estimates claim that 560,000 Africans disembarked in Brazilian ports.¹⁸² Between 1701 and 1810, 1,891,400 slaves are said to have entered the colony. Africans and African-descended slaves working along the coast followed the rush of people inland with the 1690 discovery of gold and between 1698 and 1770, 341,000 slaves left the coastal towns for Minas Gerais.¹⁸³ Trans-Atlantic shipments also continued to climb. The wealth gained from successful mining of precious metals and minerals increased forced migrations of slaves to other landlocked regions, such as Mato Grosso and Goiás in the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁴ In Amazônia, African slavery was inconsiderable until the mid-eighteenth century, when the Directorate of the Indians legally freed all natives and made provisions for the delivery of African slaves to the port cities of São Luís and Belém. Until then, calls for exportation of African slaves to Amazônia were voiced by colonists, the provincial government and the Overseas Council, with little result. Records of the Overseas Council indicate requests in the early 1680s for African slaves to be delivered to the northern captaincies.¹⁸⁵ The Regimento das Missões (1689) reiterated the crown's commitment to replace indigenous with African slave labor, calling for creation of a company to import black slaves. In 1690, the crown finally had the capital to finance the creation of the Companhia de Cacheu e Cabo Verde. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, interregional trade between northern and southern colonies did little to direct Africans to the north, since those arriving in Pernambuco and Bahia were quickly purchased by sugar planters. At the time of the formation of

¹⁸² Curtin, *The Rise and Fall*, 119; Russell-Wood, *World on the Move*, 62.

¹⁸³ Russell-Wood, *World on the Move*, 62.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁸⁵ Maranhão 1 cx 6, doc 655; MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade," 115.

the Companhia Geral do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1755), charged with the responsibility of transporting imports of African slaves to the northern colony, Amazônia could not have had more than several thousand black slaves.¹⁸⁶

In all, scholars have estimated the total number of Africans trafficked to Brazil from the Atlantic slave trade as ranging from 3.3 to 5 million.¹⁸⁷ The major points of origin of Africans transported to Portuguese America to be slaves were along the West African coast, called “Guinea” by the Portuguese, and Central Africa. These territories were characterized by linguistically diverse areas occupied by speakers of fifty distinct languages, according to modern classifications.¹⁸⁸ The more populous of the emigrants have been divided into three “cultural zones” included African individuals from the Upper Guinea, Lower Guinea and Central African.¹⁸⁹

The Upper Guinea migrants were constituted by speakers of Wolof, Fula, Mandingo and Biafada. These were to be the dominant native languages of slave groups in Brazil. Fewer numbers of speakers, but still significant in the overall linguistic make-up of the slave population, were Kwa, Ewe-Fon and Yoruba, the latter two composed of many closely-related regional speech forms.¹⁹⁰ Kwa migration, relatively low among the major groups, may have peaked in the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 118.

¹⁸⁷ Curtin, *The Rise and Fall*, 87; Russell-Wood, *World on the Move*, 114. Curtin’s calculations are utilized here to provide a general understanding of the large quantities of incoming African immigrants to Portuguese America. For recent reevaluations to the numbers set forth by Curtin, see Ivana Elbl, “The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450-1521,” *Journal of African History* 38 (1997); Hendrik Kraay, “Transatlantic Ties: Recent Works on the Slave Trade, Slavery, and Abolition,” *Latin American Research Review* 39, 2 (2004); Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis,” *Journal of African History* 23, 4 (1982); Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 15-16, 18; Donald R. Wright, “The Atlantic Slave Trade (review),” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, 1 (2000).

¹⁸⁸ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 186.

¹⁸⁹ Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 3, 18.

¹⁹⁰ Castro, *Falares africanos*, 38.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the Portuguese fort at São Jorge da Mina erected amidst Kwa-speaking inhabitants became the central receiving station of all the traffic from the Bay of Benin (1481-1482).¹⁹¹ In the late seventeenth century, large and successive shipments of Ewe-Fon users docked in the ports of Brazil and Amazônia, making their way to settlements, plantations and ranches in the Recôncavo of Bahia, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, São Luis and Rio de Janeiro.¹⁹² Yoruba, perhaps in a creolized form, was said to be a common language among blacks at the end of the eighteenth century in Pernambuco.¹⁹³

Lower Guinea migrants were well-represented by Ajan speakers, who inhabited the littoral and interior lands between Cape Palmas in present-day Liberia to the Bight of Biafra, and minority Akan speakers living in the same vicinity who may have been incorporated among the Lower Guinea group. These West African languages are numerous, differentiated and spoken in territories which are geographically less extensive but more densely populated than the Bantu-dominated regions of the slave trade, which form the third, largest and latest “cultural stream” from Africa into Portuguese America.¹⁹⁴ The colonies’ ethnic landscape was flooded by massive quantities of Bantu speakers from Central Africa.¹⁹⁵ This third group demonstrated the greatest cultural and linguistic similarities in their homeland and it is believed that Kimbundu, otherwise described in the historical documentation as an “Angolan language” might have been the lingua franca of the region, extending its domain far into the

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 43.

¹⁹² Ibid, 39.

¹⁹³ Yai, “Texts of Enslavement,” 105, 112.

¹⁹⁴ Castro, *Falares africanos*, 37.

¹⁹⁵ Miller, *Way of Death*, 8.

interior of the continent.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, there is evidence that “Angola” served as a lingua franca for slaves in Portuguese America. In 1586, as the population of imported black captives began to swell, Jesuit Father Cristóvão de Gouveia made plans to send priests to Angola so that they could learn the language, perhaps Kimbundu, in order to return and serve in the indoctrination of the slave population in the northeast of Brazil.¹⁹⁷ Gouveia’s plan did not come to fruition. Although language manuals were produced in the African languages, few priests in the Recôncavo region of Bahia were able to speak African languages forty years later.¹⁹⁸

This chapter has been concerned mainly with the representatives of major language families coming to the colonial settlements of Portuguese America. They constituted native and foreign Indians, Europeans and Africans. Most migrants were propelled forcibly along their journeys, whether out of fear and self-preservation during escapes from disease, pollution, natural disasters, spinsterhood and abandonment, foreign encroachment of lands, war, enslavement, and threat to life if they not acquiesce to sentences of punishment and capture. Some traveled with eagerness and high hopes of free land, wealth, religious freedom, connubial bliss or to glimpse a paradisiacal new world. Even those who arrived empty handed, with only the clothes on their backs, were able to contribute directly to emerging ways of living, thinking and speaking which drew on the diverse backgrounds of the migrants. Confronting each other in daily interactions, residents of Portuguese America cobbled together a distinct

¹⁹⁶ Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 18-19; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 184-192.

¹⁹⁷ Leite, *HCJB*, II, 353; Palacin, *Sociedade Colonial*, 83.

¹⁹⁸ Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 37.

form of inter- and intra-ethnic communication, the *Brasílica*. One of the major *lingua francas* of the colony, the *Brasílica* was based on the sixteenth-century coastal speech of Indians of the Tupi-Guarani language family. Among the newly arrived in the land, Jesuit missionaries were to be pivotal in consolidating and standardizing the *Brasílica* for its use throughout the vast Luso-American colonies for over two hundred years.

Chapter Three

Creating the Brasília: The Jesuit Language Translation Projects

“Brother Vicente Rodrigues teaches the [Christian] doctrine to the children each day, and there is also a school for reading and writing; it appears to me to be a good manner of bringing the Indians of the land, who possess great desire to learn ... We have decided to go live in the villages [of the Indians] ... and learn with them the[ir] language.”

Manuel da Nóbrega, from Bahia, two weeks after arriving in Salvador, 1549.¹

On 29 March 1549, standing on the sandy beaches of the Bay of All Saints on the coast of northeastern Brazil, four Jesuit Fathers and two Brothers were received “with great joy” by the forty-five Portuguese settlers who had been living already in Vila Velha (1536), the colony founded by the first donatary of Bahia and Tupinambá kinsmen of Diogo “Caramuru” Álvares.² This was the first mission established by the Society of Jesus in the New World.³ Father Manuel da Nóbrega, the first Provincial of Brazil, offered a survey of the state of affairs in the colony to the Provincial of Portugal, Father Simão Rodrigues, in his first letter written two weeks after arrival. He found “a manner of a church ... and some houses of the same sort,” heard confessions, said mass on the first Sunday in Lent, and delivered sermons to the first settlers of Vila Velha, as well as to the first

¹ Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1955), 20-21.

² Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite & Cia., 1925), 214; Serafim Leite, *Breve História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, 1540-1760* (Braga: 1993), 39; Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 18, 72.

³ Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente*, 214; Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 18.

Governor General of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa, his officials and the colonists who all traveled together with the Jesuits to Salvador.⁴

Turning his attention to the Tupinambá, Nóbrega ascertained that “no knowledge do they have of God, nor idols; they do all they are told.”⁵ Indeed, Nóbrega found great potential in native Brazil as a future Christendom, because Indians showed themselves eager and ready to adopt the poses, postures, expressions and mannerisms of Jesuits when reading, writing, attending mass, singing and confessing.⁶ But, recognizing the great linguistic chasm which gaped emptily between Indians and their embrace of missionaries’ messages of deliverance and salvation, the Jesuits decided in their first two weeks in Brazil to go and live with the Indians in order to learn their languages and indoctrinate them by and by. Nóbrega had already begun to place “in their language the orations and some sermons about Our Lord,” but complained that “I cannot find any interpreter who can [help] me because they are all so barbarous that they don’t even have the vocabulary” for Christian concepts.⁷

Nóbrega immediately focused his energies on planning, executing and training the personnel to man the three-pronged strategy aimed to furthering mutual linguistic comprehension with local societies. This chapter takes these strategies as a collective group, calling them “the language translation projects.” These strategies set the pace for the two hundred year tenure of the Ignatians in Portuguese America (1549-1759). Obvious differences in the later colonial period resulted from policies introduced by successive secular and religious leadership

⁴ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 19.

⁵ *Ibid*, 21.

⁶ See first letters written by Nóbrega, *Ibid*, 17-67 and also later letters, 50-51.

⁷ *Ibid*, 21-22.

in Brazil, Lisbon and Rome. Moreover, the burgeoning population of native speakers of the *Brasilica* gave the language the critical mass it had lacked in the early years. Incoming migrants from six language families representing elsewhere in the South American continent, Europe and African posed similar challenges faced by the first Jesuits arriving in Portuguese America, however. Examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrate the extent to which the language translation projects continued to be relevant to creating and sustaining a communication of speakers of the *Brasílica*.

The composition and use of language manuals, instruction of children in the reading and writing arts, and training of interpreters worked in tandem to study, standardize and render closely-related Tupi-Guarani speech forms considered “the general language of the coast,” into one, uniform language.⁸ This newly ordered language assumed its lexical and grammatical structures in speech and writing in the 1550s. It was explicable by rules and precepts of grammar, given visual representation through alphabetical writing, and contained a register for addressing Christian matters. Although the nomenclature for the language still varied in the first years, and was known as “the language of the land,” or the “language of the Indians,” the term “the *Brasilica* language,” or in abbreviated form, “the *Brasílica*,” came in use in the 1550s.⁹

One discussion will be dedicated to each of the three strategies of the language translation projects. The first discussion introduces the main sources of

⁸ José de Anchieta, *José de Anchieta, Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais vsada na costa do Brasil, Feyta pelo padre Ioseph de Anchieta da Cõpanhia de IESV*. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, [1595] 1933).

⁹ Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Portugália, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1938-1950), II, 548.

this dissertation, the language manuals produced during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These texts were divided into three principal genres: lexical, including dictionaries and word lists, syntactical, namely, studies of the grammatical structure by the precepts of Latin, and religious, encompassing Christian dialogues, plays, orations, songs and recitations. Emphasis is placed on the manuals published in the seventeenth century. Study of the language manuals not only offers a schedule of relationships developing between Tupi-Guarani, Indo-European, Karib, Arawak and Jê speakers. It also reflects the territorial expansion of the Jesuit enterprise in Portuguese America, seen in the proliferation of texts of the coastal Tupi-Guarani speech in the last half of the sixteenth century. New missions and “flying missions” (*missões volantes*) that introduced the Jesuits to previously unknown language groups, dialects and peoples also expanded their networks of alliance and loyalty from Indian peoples.¹⁰

The second discussion is dedicated to Jesuit education in the colony, particularly the attention they paid to children as the next generation of native Christians and the degree to which these boys and girls became important linguistic intermediaries of colonial society. A short discussion addresses the matter of literate Indians, particularly those who learned to write and who are entirely dismissed in the historiography, despite archival sources testifying their existence. The third discussion looks at many of these children, as well as other Indian, European and American-born men and women who were identified and

¹⁰ Flying missions targeted unacculturated native societies, going to live with them in their villages for weeks or months. Missionaries often selected one neophyte who displayed special talents in leadership, intellectual or language and trained the neophyte to be able to lead his or her people after the missionary had left the village.

carefully trained under Jesuit tutelage to become religious *línguas*, or interpreters who helped administer the sacraments, hear confessions and preach.

Scripting Orality: the Language Manuals

Although the Jesuits had been in Brazil since the establishment of the provincial government at Salvador, their first publication in the *Brasília* did not occur until almost half a century later. Instead, the first two published Tupi-Guarani-language texts were actually written by two Frenchmen. In 1575, the *Cosmographie universelle* was published by the royal cosmographer of France and chaplain of Catherine de Medici, Franciscan Friar André Thevet, who had spent ten weeks in the fledgling French colony at the Bay of Guanabara.

Although not directly linked to the Jesuits, Thevet's publication in fact drew from the first efforts of the Jesuit language translation projects. The work contained "Our Father," "Hail Mary," and "the Apostle's Creed" in Tupinambá, thanks to the help of a "Christian" Indian slave who Thevet interviewed during his visit in the summer of 1555-1556. The French were not known to have introduced Christian Doctrine to Indians during this period, but the well-documented Jesuit mission present at around the same time recorded with praise that their Tupinambá and Tamoio neophytes sang Christian songs by heart "in their own languages."¹¹ In 1578, the second text, attributed to Huguenot missionary Jean de Léry, provided an account of his months passed among the same Tupinambá around the Bay of

¹¹ Paulo Castagna, "The Use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil," in *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, ed. T. Frank Kennedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 645. André Thevet, "La Cosmographie Universelle," in *Le Brésil et les Brésiliens par André Thevet*, ed. Suzanne Lussagnet (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, [1575] 1953), 94-95.

Guanabara, from 1556 to 1558. Chapter XX of the work, entitled “Colloquy upon the entry or arrival to Brazil, among people of the country,” represents an imaginary dialogue between Léry and “Tupinambá and Tupinikin.”¹² Although Thevet’s and Léry’s works attributed the language in question as the tribal speech of Tupinambá and Tupinikin Indians, by the end of the 1550s, the first generation of Jesuit missionary-linguists had already come to terms on the standard format for the *Brasílica*.

As early as April, 1549, João de Azpilcueta Navarro was able “to communicate with the Indians and preach to them in their language,” after only spending some “few days” in Tupinambá villages. Around the same time, Nóbrega had attempted to render a text of the Christian Doctrine into Tupi-Guarani, unsuccessfully, it seems, since Navarro was accredited with a version composed in 1550.¹³ Two years later, Father Jerónimo Doménech sent a version, possibly Navarro’s, of “Our Father” translated into the *Brasílica* to Father General and founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola, in Rome.¹⁴ Early Jesuit language manuals in the second half of the sixteenth century included works written by Fathers Navarro, Leonardo do Vale, Manuel do Couto and Brother Pedro Correia.¹⁵ A host of manuscript and published vocabularies, dictionaries, Christian Doctrine, catechisms and poetry followed, forming a body of literature

¹² Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America, Containing the Navigation and the Remarkable Things Seen on the Sea by the Author; the Behavior of Villegagnon in That Country; the Customs and Strange Ways of Life of the American Savages; Together with the Description of Various Animals, Trees, Plants, and Other Singular Things Completely Unknown over Here*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University California Press; Oxford University Press, 1990), 178-194.

¹³ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 72. Leite, *HCJB*, VIII, 83.

¹⁴ Castagna, “Use of Music,” 645.

¹⁵ Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1949), VIII (83, 175) and IX (169).

written in and about the major lingua franca of the Luso-American colonies. Their divulgation in handwritten form extended beyond local consumption, as happened in 1551 when Father António Pires brought to Pernambuco some prayers and sermons written in Tupi.¹⁶ Father General Juan Polanco requested in 1565 that vocabularies in the *Brasílica* be sent to Portugal, which would be integrated into the training texts for novices departing for Brazil.¹⁷ Vale's word lists, along with Anchieta's *Arte*, probably traveled as far as Tucuman in Argentina and (1587) the missions of Paraguay (1588).¹⁸ These missions included the famed Seven Missions among the Guarani, held to be the model mission society founded by the Jesuits, known for the high levels of artistic, cultural and intellectual achievements of its Guarani neophytes and heralded as the "Utopia" of the New World. It may even be argued that Jesuits' abilities to speak the *Brasílica* and their good relations with coastal Guarani kinsmen, the Karijó at São Vicente were crucial factors in their success in gaining the confidence of the Guarani.

These early works, many of them vocabulary lists, restricted their objectives to exploring the lexical range of Tupi-Guarani speech. Translated catechisms carried the added burden requiring that their authors and informants could work in concert to create prose both adhering to the syntactical structures of Tupi-Guarani and grasping terms which could adequately stand for Christian concepts otherwise alien to local cosmologies and confusing to Indian peoples.

¹⁶ "Cartas avulsas, 1550-1568," in *Cartas jesuíticas*, 2, ed. Afrânio Peixoto (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Industrial Graphica, 1931), 82.

¹⁷ José Eisenberg, *As missões jesuíticas e o pensamento político moderno: encontros culturais, aventuras teóricas* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2000), 71.

¹⁸ Leite, *HCJB*, 555-556.

Comparisons of sixteenth-century Brasília versions of “Our Father” have revealed that early missionaries considered the text nearly untranslatable.¹⁹ The early Christian texts were lengthy and awkward, indicating the possibility that they were fill-in-the-blank renderings cobbled together, it would seem, by rudimentary translations of each word of the Latin original.²⁰

The first Tupi-Guarani language text published by the Jesuits appeared at the end of the sixteenth century, although it had been circulating in manuscript form already for forty years.²¹ The work was composed within six months between the years 1555 and 1556, when the author, José de Anchieta, taught Latin grammar at the Jesuit mission *aldeia* (Indian village) and learned the speech of the Karijó and Tupinikin.²² It has also been suggested that Anchieta’s early exposure to Tupi-Guarani was influenced by the Guarani dialects which his mentor, Brother António Rodrigues, learned before acquiring the coastal speech forms.²³ Subsequent trips to the Jesuit aldeias in Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo led Anchieta to ascertain, by 1584, the dominant language of the coast. He wrote in that year his famous passage much circulated throughout Europe at the time and now, much quoted in history books, describing how, within certain variations,

¹⁹ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, *Notas sobre os catecismos em línguas vernáculas das colônias portuguesas (séculos XVI-XVII)* (II Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais: Políticas Lingüísticas: A Questão Ortográfica ANPOLL/GT Historiografia da Lingüística Brasileira, 2001 [accessed 1 August 2001]); available from <http://us.fl11.mail.yahoo.com/ymShowLett...3&order=down&sort+date&pos+0&ViewAttach>.

²⁰ For an excellent study of early phases of Franciscan translations of the Holy Trinity into Nahuatl, see David Tavárez, “Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahuatl Texts, 1547-1771,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, 1 (2000).

²¹ Leite, *HCJB*, II, 549.

²² Anchieta, *José de Anchieta, Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais vsada na costa do Brasil, Feyta pelo padre Ioseph de Anchieta da Cõpanhia de IESV.*, 1v.

²³ Serafim Leite, “António Rodrigues, primeiro Mestre-Escola de São Paulo (1553-1554),” *Revista Brotéria [separata]* LV, 4 (1952): 7.

“from the river of the Maranhão which is beyond Pernambuco to the North, to the land of the Karijó [Indians], which extends itself to the South from the Lagoa dos Patos until nearby to the river which we call Martim Afonso ... and going as far until the mountains of Peru, there is one single language.”²⁴

Anchieta entitled his grammar the *Arte de Gramática da Língua Mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* or the “Art of the Language Most Used on the Coast of Brazil,” to reflect the work’s utility in comprehending the grammatical structures of a regional language (Illustration 1). He was careful to notate regional differences where they were perceived, such as in pronunciation, since:

“The Tupis of São Vicente, who [live] beyond the Tamoios of Rio de Janeiro, never pronounce the last consonant of the verb in the affirmative ... for *Apâb*, they say *Apâ*, for *Acêm*, & *Apên*, they say *Ace* they say *Ap* [arching eyebrow]e, pronouncing the til only, for *Aiúr*, [they say] *Aiú*.”²⁵

The *Arte da Gramática* was the first printed grammar on any language spoken by native peoples of Brazil and the second linguistic study of New World languages.²⁶ Anchieta’s grammar stood out as an important reference guide for generations of missionaries. In its published format, it was a slim, light-weight and portable 60-page volume.

²⁴ José de Anchieta, “Informação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias - 1584,” in *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Históricos e sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933), 302.

²⁵ Anchieta, *José de Anchieta, Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais vsada na costa do Brasil, Feyta pelo padre Ioseph de Anchieta da Côpanhia de IESV*, 1v.

²⁶ The *Gramática do quechua* (1560) preceded Anchieta’s work. Yonne Leite, “A *Arte de gramática da língua mais usada na costa do Brasil* e as línguas indígenas brasileiras,” José Ribamar Bessa Freire and Maria Carlota Rosa, eds., *Línguas Gerais. Política Lingüística e Catequese na América do Sul no Período Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, 2003), 11. Listed in bibliography under Freire.

ARTE DE GRAM-
MATICA DA LINGOA
mais vfada na costa do Brazil.

Feyta pelo padre Ioseph de Anchieta da Cõpanhia de
I E S V.



Com licença do Ordinario & do Preposito geral
da Companhia de I E S V.
Em Coimbra per Antonio de Mariz. 1595.

Illustration 1. Frontispiece. Title page, from fac-simile reproduction of José de Anchieta, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil*, (1595; reprint, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933).

That Anchieta organized the coastal speech of the Tupi-Guarani into the categories of Latin grammar lent itself to Jesuits coming from Europe who were well versed in Latin. Anchieta's approach to systematizing Tupi-Guarani coastal speech has been observed as an innovation, whereby the creation of a "language format" into which the dialects spoken along the coast could fit. The rendering of spoken languages into one written form, using the Roman alphabet, has also been considered a "Latinization" of Tupi-Guarani orality.²⁷ Concurrently in Europe, the Latin grammar model was also being used in didactic works of the Romance languages.²⁸

The next text of the *Brasilica* was released in 1618. Father António Araújo, "newly fixed, ordered and added" to a catechism which had been compiled by "sage Fathers and good linguas of the Company of Jesus."²⁹ The edition also included four *cantigas*, or profane songs attributed to Father Cristóvão Valente, who composed the pieces "for the children of the Holy Doctrine."³⁰ Araújo added not only "all the exhortations necessary but a copious confessionary," all matters "belonging to the order of Baptism, matrimony, unction, and burial, according to the Roman Ceremony: with its declarations and inconveniences in the language,

²⁷ Eisenberg, *As missões jesuíticas*, 71; José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004), 13-14.

²⁸ Modern critics have argued that Anchieta's use of the Latin grammar to represent Tupi-Guarani speech forms in fact obfuscated and simplified the true grammatical patterns of the language. See Carlos Drummond's criticisms, summarized in Yonne Leite, "A *Arte de gramática da língua mais usada na costa do Brasil* e as línguas indígenas brasileiras," in Freire and Rosa, eds., *Línguas Gerais*, 12.

²⁹ Antonio de Araujo, S.J., et al., *Catecismo na Lingoa Brasilica, no qual se contem a svmmada doutrina christã. Com tudo o que pertence aos Mysterios de nossa sancta Fè & Bõs costumes. Composto a modo de Dialogos por Padres Doctos, & bons lingoas da Companhia de IESV. Agora nouamente concertado, ordenado, & acrescentado pello Padre Antonio d'Araujo Theologo, & lingoa da mesma Companhia* (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1618), 4 innum. of "Prologo."

³⁰ *Ibid*, "Cantigas na Lingoa."

all very important for those who occupy themselves in [religious] conversion.”³¹ Araújo’s catechism has been considered as the first work to offer standard format followed by subsequent language manuals. In an analysis of “Our Father” as it is transcribed in sixteenth through seventeenth century catechisms, Brazilian anthropologist and historian Candida Barros found the early version, as represented in Thevet’s publication, to be lengthy and excessive. Araújo’s treatment of “Our Father” shows more a shorter translation in the Brasília which introduced the terms for Christian concepts in the Portuguese language. Araújo disposed of the word-for-word translations utilized in early attempts at translation and returning to the original terms captured by the Portuguese and Latin words for temptation, kingdom and Amen.³² Although Araújo’s 1618 catechism was later revised in 1686, preliminary research indicates that the later edition mainly updated lexicon which had become obsolete, as well as revising orthographic standards.³³ Otherwise, Araújo’s 1618 translation of Christian

³¹ Ibid, 4-5 innum. of “Prologo.”

³² Barros, *Notas* ([accessed]). Elsewhere in the non-Christian world, similar choices were being made by missionary-linguists. Tavárez, “Naming the Trinity.”

³³ In 1686, Father Bertholameu de Leam “emended” Araújo’s 1618 work, owing, he explained in the introduction, to the exchange in “some vocabulary of that age, which already today are strange to the common idiom of the Brasis, and others, which are today [considered] vulgar,” or vernacular. He enumerated other updates, including revised orthography reflecting “Brasília locution” and the elimination of certain exhortations and practices contained in the previous catechism. Minimal changes were made to the text of the Christian Doctrine and accompanying dialogues, save some “sentences, of which so many years’ exercise noted as [being] less perceptive” to the mysteries of the Holy Faith. In the place of these said sentences were substituted additional terms “more necessary to the intelligence of the mysteries which are here inculcated.” Antonio de Araujo, S.J., et al., *Catecismo Brasílico Da Doutrina Christãa, Com o Ceremonial dos Sacramentos, & mais actos Parochiaes. Composto Por Padres Doutos da Companhia de JESUS, Aperfeiçoado, & dado a luz Pelo Padre Antonio de Araujo da mesma Companhia. Emendado nesta segunda impressão Pelo P. Bertholameu de Leam da mesma Companhia.* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, M. DC. LXXXVI [1686]), 1 innum. page of Introduction, entitled “Aos Religiosos da Companhia...”

prayers became part of the classical catechetical text reproduced in publications and manuscripts through 1800.³⁴

At around the time of the first publication of Araújo's catechism, the Jesuits initiated their fifth mission in Portuguese America. Their earliest attempt to establish a foothold in the captaincy of Maranhão ended disastrously and abruptly in 1607, when Indians living in the Ibiapaba mountains took the life of the superior of the mission, Father Francisco Pinto, perhaps an act avenging the Portuguese slaughter of their tribesmen in 1603.³⁵ Surviving Pinto on the trip was Father Luís Figueira, already a skilled interpreter who had acquired fluency in the Brasília in the aldeias of Bahia.³⁶ Figueira was able to make his way back to Pernambuco that same year, with news about the region, its inhabitants, and travel conditions. In 1615, several Jesuits, including Figueira, Lopo do Couto and Bento Amodei, all religious interpreters for the order, set out from Pernambuco with Governor Alexandre de Moura to take over the French fort at São Luís, traveling under the protection of 300 Tupinambá warriors.³⁷ Although the priests were ordered to return to Pernambuco, epidemics of smallpox and measles delayed their departure until 1618, around the time that four Franciscans set up the first missions among Indians of Amazônia.³⁸ On the third try, finally in

³⁴ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 560.

³⁵ Manoel Gomes, "Informação da Ilha de S. Domingos, Venezuela, Maranhão e Pará (1621)," in *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, ed. Serafim Leite (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), 425.

³⁶ João Felipe Bettendorff, *Crônica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*, 2nd ed. (Belém: Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 43.

³⁷ Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), III, 99.

³⁸ Mathias C. Kieman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1954), 16-17; Leite, *HCJB*, III, 100, 36.

1622 and under Figueira's leadership, the Society of Jesus established their first in Maranhão.

Coinciding with the official foundation of the State of Maranhão and Pará in 1621, Figueira's 1621 *Arte da Lingva Brasílica* was launched. It referred with deference to Anchieta's 1595 grammar but noted that, as a first attempt, it was "diminutive & confusing, as all have experienced."³⁹ By his own testimony, Figueira sought out rural Indians and great missionary-linguists born and raised among the Indians to consult and be informed of the rules of the language.⁴⁰ Five more texts were published in the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, reflecting the use of the Brasílica in Amazônia, but manuscript language manuals proliferated.⁴¹

³⁹ Luís Figueira, *Arte da Lingva Brasílica* (Lisboa: Manoel da Silva, MDCXXI [1621]), 2 innum. page of "Aprovaçam."

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 1-2 innum. pages of "Prologo."

⁴¹ [Friar] Claude d' Abbeville, O.F.M., *História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinos na Ilha do Maranhão em que se trata das singularidades admiráveis e dos costumes estranhos dos índios habitantes do país* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, [1614] 1945); João Felipe Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christam Na lingua Portugueza, & Brasílica: Em que se comprehendem os principaes mysterios de nossa Santa Fe Catholica, & meios de nossa Salvação: ordenada à maneira de Dialogos accomodados para o ensino dos Indios, com duas breves Instruções: hua para bautizar em caso de extrema necessidade, os que ainda são Pagaões; & outra, para os ajudar a bem morrer, em falta de quem saiba fazerlhe esta charidade: Pelo P. Joam Phelippe Bettendorff da Companhia de Jesus, Missionario da Missão do Estado do Maranhão* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1678); "Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica," Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 94; "Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil que se falla Em todas as Villas, Lugares, e Aldeas deste vastissimo Estado. Escrito na Cidade do Pará. Anno 1771." [1771], Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 81, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra; *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano, obra necessaria aos Ministros do Altar, que emprehenderem a conversão de tantos milhares de almas que ainda se achão dispersas pelos vastos certoes do Brasil, sem o lume da Fé, e Baptismo.*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Officina Patriarchal, [1795] MDCCXCV); Ivo d' Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D'Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques, *Bibliotheca de Escriptores Maranhenses* (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929); Luís Figueira, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingua Brasílica* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1687); "[Gelboé Compendium]," s.d., King's MSS, Collection of South American Languages, 223, British Library; "Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil. Com hum Diccionario dos vocabulos mais uzuaes para a intelligencia da dita Lingua," Coimbra,

In 1678, the office of Miguel Deslandes set into circulation published copies of a “compendium” of the Christian Doctrine

“ordered in the manner of Dialogues accommodated for the education of the Indians, with two brief Instructions: one for baptizing in case of extreme necessity, those who remain Pagans; & another, for helping them die well, in the absence of one who knows how to enact this charity: By Father João Felipe Bettendorff of the Company of Jesus, Missionary of the State of Maranhão” and Pará.”

Thanks to the efforts of missionary-linguists, the production and preservation of language manuals dedicated to studying Amazonian speech in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provide what no other extant body of historical sources have offered: the precious records detailing the dynamic evolution of *Língua Geral Amazônica*, considered until recently to be one of the least studied but most significant ramifications of the *Brasilica*.⁴² The *Brasilica* entered *Amazônia* with the Indians, settlers, soldiers, missionaries, merchants and statesmen migrating from the State of Brazil and became the northern colony’s *lingua franca* (see chapter four). Chapter one has identified the mass migrations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which shifted communities of Tupi-Guarani speaking Indians from coastal Brazil to Maranhão, the Amazon River Valley and parts of Colombia and Venezuela and chapter five shall complete the discussion on *Língua Geral Amazônica*, including study of language change as it moved from the *Brasilica* to its mid-eighteenth century

Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Seção dos Manuscritos, Cota 69; “Prosodia da Língua,” s.d., Série Azul, 569, Academia de Ciências, Lisbon.

⁴² Recent works growing out of a network of international scholars and former students of Aryon Rodrigues have begun to examine *Língua Geral Amazônica*. See the works of Freire, Barros and Monserrat cited in this dissertation.

form, a hitherto unknown language which contemporaries called, “the Vulgar.” What is relevant to this chapter is to show how missionaries came to note the newly “corrupted” forms of the *Brasilica*, re-evaluating the language in subsequent manuals. Jesuit João Felipe Bettendorff’s 1678 *Compendio* was rendered into a new translation. The anonymous authors took as a basis Bettendorff’s Christian Doctrine, written “in the *língua geral* of the Indians of the State of Brazil and Maranhão,” and “translated [it] into [the] irregular and vulgar language used in these times.”⁴³

Jesuit language manuals also represented other regional *lingua francas*. The speech of several non-Tupi-Guarani groups was relevant to mission life in the vast sertão.⁴⁴ Missionary activity among the Kiriri of the São Francisco Valley counted on the efforts of Jesuits and Capuchins, who created a small body of literature and studies in their languages. In 1698, Father Luis Vincencio Mamiani della Rovere published his catechism in the “*brasílica* language of the Kiriri nation,” a description which suggests that late seventeenth-century Europeans classified local forms of speech as offshoots of Tupi-Guarani languages in the same way that most speech forms from the Old Continent belonged to the Indo-European language family.⁴⁵ The following year, his *Arte*

⁴³ João Felipe Bettendorff, “Doutrina Christã Em lingua geral dos Indios do Estado do Brasil e Maranhão, composta pelo P. Philippe Bettendorff, traduzida em lingua irregular, e vulgar izada nestes tempos” s.d., Seção dos Manuscritos, 1089, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.

⁴⁴ Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, “Panorama das línguas indígenas da Amazônia,” in *As línguas amazônicas de hoje*, ed. O. Renault-Lescure (São Paulo: IRD, ISA, MPEG, 2000), 19. The Jesuits also wrote language manuals for African languages, such as Angola, believed to be the Kimbundu *lingua franca* among Bantu speakers. Leite, *HCJB*, VIII, 199.

⁴⁵ Luis Vincêncio Mamiani, *Catecismo da Doutrina Christã. Na lingua brasílica da nação Kiriri composto pelo P. Luis Vincencio Mamiani, da Companhia de JESUS, Missionario da Provincia do Brasil* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, Impressor de Sua Magestade, 1698).

circulated fresh off the press.⁴⁶ French Capuchins in late seventeenth century were also doing mission work among another group of speakers by the same name.⁴⁷ In 1709, Capuchin Friar Bernardo Nantes submitted for printing his catechism, written in another “Kariri language” (sic) of the people “called Dzubucua ... whose language is so different from the Kariris called Kippea, which are those from whom is composed the other catechism” published early by Mamiani (Illustration 2).⁴⁸

Missions undertaken to isolated Indian societies, the lack of sustained and large scale inter-ethnic contact permitted tribal languages, many non-Tupi-Guarani, to dominate. The list of these works is extensive. Manuel Viegas, considered the Father of the Maromomins, composed lexical and grammatical studies and religious text in their language (1585) with the help of Anchieta.⁴⁹ Viegas’ work seemed well timed, for later, around 1597, the Jesuits had begun their “flying missions” into Maromomin societies divided into 23 “castes” but sharing the same language.⁵⁰ In the seventeenth century, Father Manoel Nunes, praised by Vieira as “very practiced and eloquent in the Tupi language” also

⁴⁶ Lodovico Vincenzo Mamiani della Rovere, *Arte de grammatica da lingua brazilica da nação kiriri*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Central de Brown & Evaristo, [1699] 1877).

⁴⁷ “Relation de La Mission Des Indiens Kariris Du Brezil situes sur Le grand fleusse de S. francois du costé Du Sur a 7 degrés de La Signe Equinoxionale. Le 12 Septembre 1702. Par f. Bernard de Nantes capucin Predicateur Missionair applique [apostolique].” s.l., s.p. s.d. 77pp, 120p s.n. Manuscript, Biblioteca Guita e José Mindlin, São Paulo, S3f.

⁴⁸ Mamiani, *Catecismo da Doutrina Christãa. Na lingua brasilica da nação Kiriri composto pelo P. Luis Vincencio Mamiani, da Companhia de JESUS, Missionario da Provincia do Brasil;* [Friar] Bernardo de Nantes, O.F.M., *Katecismo Indico da Lingva Kariris, acrescentado de varias Praticas doutrinaes, & moraes, adaptadas ao genio, & capacidade dos Indios do Brasil, pelo Padre Fr. Bernardo de Nantes, Capuchinho, Pregador, & Missionario Apostolico; oferecido ao muy alto, e muy poderoso Rey de Portugal Dom Joaõ V. S.N. que Deus guarde.* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Valentim da Costa Deslandes, Impressor de Sua Magestade, M.DCCIX [1709]), a iiij.

⁴⁹ Leite, *HCJB*, IX, 192.

⁵⁰ Bras 15(2), 437.

KATECISMO
INDICO
DALINGVAKARIRIS,
ACRESCENTADO DE VARIAS
Praticas doutrinaes, & moraes, adapta-
das ao genio, & capacidade dos
Indios do Brasil,
PELO PADRE
Fr. BERNARDO DE NANTES,
Capuchinho, Prêgador, & Missionario
Apostolico;
OFFERECIDO
AO MUY ALTO, E MUY PODEROSO REY
de Portugal
DOM JOAÃO V.
S. N. QUE DEOS GUARDE.



LISBOA,
Na Officina de VALENTIM DA COSTA
Deslandes, Impressor de Sua Magestade.

M. DCCIX.

Com todas as licenças necessarias.

Illustration 2. Title page, from Luís Vincencio Mamiani della Rovere, *Arte de grammatica da lingua brasilica da nacam kiriri* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1699). Microfilm from the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.

composed a catechism in the language of the Nheengaiba, a term which approximated the early usages of “Tapuia” and “língua travada.”⁵¹ The great writer and linguist, Bettendorff, added to his 1678 compendium of the Christian Doctrine two more catechisms, one for the Tapajó and another for the Urucuçu, with assistance from the Tapajó, Urucuçu and Jesuit interpreter Alferes João Correia.⁵² Superior of the Maranhão mission, gifted orator, writer and champion of Indian liberty, Father António Vieira, in addition to skills in the Brasília, also authored catechetical texts in seven languages spoken by Indians in seventeenth-century Amazônia, none of which have survived.⁵³ An anonymous Manao Indian who “[con]verted” the Christian Doctrine from Tupinambá to his native speech was assisted by a scribe in leaving behind a “Notebook of the Doctrine in the Language of the Manao”.⁵⁴ But those who comprehended the Brasília which the Jesuits brought with them from Brazil probably communicated more widely, since the língua franca was spoken and understood by almost everyone, and knowledge of lesser languages only fell with the domain of those born within the tribes and few outsider specialists.⁵⁵

Language manuals tended to be bilingual, with Portuguese, French or Latin as the language of reference, elucidating, often with sample entries and phrases, linguistic properties, practices and rules of the Brasília. This was certainly the case with grammar studies. Dictionaries, vocabularies, dialogues,

⁵¹ Leite, *HCJB*, IX, 16, 311. Nheengaiba is a Tupi-Guarani phrase meaning, “poor,” “bad” or “wretched” speech.

⁵² *Ibid*, VIII, 100.

⁵³ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 71.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*; Leite, *HCJB*, IX, 16. “Caderno da Doutrina pella Lingoa dos Manaos,” in “[Gelboé Compendium].”

⁵⁵ Leite, *HCJB*, III, 102-03n1.

lyrical and catechetical material were organized into two vertical columns or alternating in rows, one containing translations into a European language, the other containing the text in the *Brasílica*. Poems and religious material to be memorized and recited could also appear, but often only in the *Brasílica*, as if context and habit had fixed the meanings of the words in the minds of the speaker, who may have only needed an *aide-mémoire* to remind him or her of pronunciation, order or phrases. These might also have been helpful to priests otherwise unfamiliar with the *Brasílica* when pronouncing the last rites, baptizing Indians on their deathbeds, or when undertaking “flying missions” into the *sertão*.

Two manuscripts provide some insight into the processes by which language manuals were compiled. The first, a manuscript entitled, “*Lingua geral of the índios das Americas*,” is a rare find in the archive (Illustration 3).⁵⁶ Perhaps its most distinguished feature is the combination of printed text and handwritten words which lined two columns of the vocabulary. Clues indicate that a later owner of the manual possessed French as his or her language of reference was French. Although all of the printed words and most of the written ones are in Portuguese, the final phrase, “*dans leur langue*,” probably referring to the translated word entries in the *Brasílica*, suggests that the work had changed hands between Lusophone and Francophone speakers.

⁵⁶ “*Lingua Geral dos Índios das Americas: Pernambuco, Pará, Maranhão, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, S. Paulo, Minas Gerais*,” *Manuscritos*, no. 10, 1, 10, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

*Vocabulário geral dos Índios das Américas. Do Pernambuco
de Maranhão, Bahia, Indaiana, e Paulo e Minas*

God	→	Deos	<i>supan quardoz</i>	Deos
Father	→	Pai	<i>ruvã g. dize</i>	Pai
Mother	→	Mãe	<i>su g. dize</i>	Mãe
Son	→	Filho	<i>raira g. dize</i>	Filho
Daughter	→	Filha	<i>ragira g. dize</i>	Filha
Brother	→	Irmão	<i>quairã g. dize</i>	Irmão
Sister	→	Irmã	<i>figuã g. dize</i>	Irmã
Husband	→	Marido	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	Marido
Woman, Wife	→	Mulher	<i>rombã g. dize</i>	Mulher
Girl	→	Rapariga	<i>Carhamã g. dize</i>	Rapariga
Boy	→	Rapaz	<i>Carumim g. dize</i>	Rapaz
Boy	→	Menino	<i>mitã g. dize</i>	Menino
Man	→	Homem	<i>a pãã g. dize</i>	Homem
Men	→	Homens	<i>apua g. dize</i>	Homens
Head	→	Cabeça	<i>a Langã g. dize</i>	Cabeça
Face	→	Cara	<i>raã g. dize</i>	Cara
Nose	→	Nariz	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	Nariz
Nostrils	→	Ventãs	<i>nhã pã g. dize</i>	ventãs
Eye	→	Olho	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	Olho
Eyebrows	→	Sobrancelhas	<i>putã g. dize</i>	Sobrancelhas
Eyelashes	→	Pestanas	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	pestanas
Ear	→	Orelha	<i>nanã g. dize</i>	Orelha
Forehead	→	Testa	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	Testa
Hair	→	Cabellos	<i>arã g. dize</i>	Cabellos
Surfaces	→	Faces	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	faces
Mouth	→	Boca	<i>Surã g. dize</i>	Boca
Throat	→	Garganta	<i>segã g. dize</i>	garganta
Lips	→	Beijos	<i>rambã g. dize</i>	beijos
Teeth	→	Dentes	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	dentes
Tongue	→	Lingua	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	lingua
Beard	→	Barba	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	barba
Neck	→	Collar	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	collar
Armpit	→	Sovaco	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	sovaco
Elbows	→	Cotovelos	<i>Uãnd g. dize</i>	cotovelos

Illustration 3. First page of vocabulary list of terms in the *Brasílica* as spoken in the captaincies of Pernambuco, Pará, Maranhão, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, undated. Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Manuscritos, 10, 1, 10.

The rest of the work leads one to speculate that this list was printed up in one of the printing houses in Lisbon, Coimbra, or Porto, handed to men of the cloth prior to embarkation to take sail for assignments in the Americas, Asia or Africa. Bound in leather, the thin volume numbers only seven sheets – portable and ideal for carrying in a pocket or rolled up and fitted in the corner of a travel bag for the itinerant missionary. These missionaries were expected to befriend local informants who might help fill in the empty right column with the local terms. The blank space above the column of printed terms further suggests the space was provided for the scribe to notate the language under study. For the users of this word list with limited contact with its native speakers, they probably comprehended a local language in a fragmented way. The left column runs through a typeset list of 434 terms and the right column comprises equivalents in Tupi-Guarani speech in handwritten entries. The writer appears to have discovered the appropriate translations for all but 20 of the words listed, which range from terms of genealogy, human anatomy, physical and emotional sensations, matrimonial status to action words, names of animals, personal pronouns and modes of transportation.

This manuscript vocabulary list suggests an early stage in interlingual contact, wherein linguistic mediation may have occurred through a pidgin, much like the vocabulary lists of the coastal trade jargons in the early colonial period. The second manuscript carries the title, “Diccionario da Lingua Brazilica.” This dictionary contains a short vocabulary of the human anatomy, in which *potiá* is defined erroneously as “chin.” *Potiá* actually refers to the human chest, a matter

confirmed in all other sources from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.⁵⁷

Although it is possible that the scribe erred in his or her transcription of the vocabulary, a more likely explanation suggests that the author compiled the lexicon by way of signs with a native speaker, who might have offered the term for chest when the author pointed to his chin.⁵⁸

Writing Indians

Extant and largely anonymous dictionaries, grammars, catechisms, prose and poetry written in tribal and interlingual languages are not forthcoming on the question of *ladino* (acculturated Indians and Africans) writers in Portuguese America, unlike their contemporaries in Spanish America. Considering the absence (as a matter of the crown) of a printing press in Brazil and Amazônia until the nineteenth century, the urgent need for tools and instruction manuals for training interpreters and the small numbers of clerics and friars, overcommitted in their administrative and religious obligations to the Indian missions, Portuguese settlers, the state and crown, much evidence substantiating the training of Indian scribes passed unrecorded in Brazil and Amazônia, or otherwise succumbed to boreworms, mold and fungus of the tropics. For example, no equivalent text is found for colonial Portuguese America corresponding to the delicate manuscript copy of António Ruiz de Montoya's

⁵⁷ Plínio Ayrosa, ed., *Os "Nomes das partes do corpo humano pella língua do Brasil" de Pero de Castilho*, vol. XIV (São Paulo: Empresa Grafica da Revista dos Tribunais, 1937). "Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica"; "[Gelboé Compendium]"; "Grãmatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil"; "Prosodia da Lingoa". "Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil"; *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano*.

⁵⁸ M. Kittiya Lee, "A representação escrita da oralidade: o dinamismo da língua geral amazônica, apreendida nos manuais bilíngues do século XVIII" (paper presented at the conference on II Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais: Políticas Lingüísticas: A Questão Ortográfica ANPOLL/GT Historiografia da Lingüística Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 20-24 de Agosto de, 2001), 10.

1640 “Catecismo de La Lengva Gvarani,” meticulously hand copied by Indian scribes in the reductions of Paraguay.⁵⁹ The small bound volume is truly a remarkable work of penmanship so flawless that only careful scrutiny belies its handwritten print.

Ladino writers did exist in Brazil and Amazônia, though their identities are difficult to discern. Although the comment has been made that sixteenth-century Brazil held no Indian or mestizo authors, at least one certain “Brother Diogo Tupinambá Piribira Mongeta Quatia” signed, if he did not actually help to write the letter dated 5 August 1552, which students at the Colégio dos Menino de Jesus in Bahia sent to Portugal.⁶⁰ Especially in the first years of the Jesuit mission to Brazil, reports to their superiors were aglow with praise for Indian industry in the language arts.⁶¹ Although the plan began auspiciously, two Indian boys who had been acting as preachers for the Jesuits in Bahia, died while attending the Jesuit College in Coimbra, after being sent there to complete advanced studies in religion and the humanities.⁶² One of these Indian boys was recorded by the Jesuit Father General as having introduced himself in 1561 or 1562, probably in Latin, “I call myself Cipriano. I am twenty years old. I am from São Vicente, bishopric of Bahia, of Brazil Father Leonardo Nunes received me [into the Company of Jesus] in São Vicente. It has been nine years since I

⁵⁹ António Ruiz de Montoya, “Catecismo de La Lengva Gvarani, Compvesto por el Padre Antonio Ruyz de la Compañia de Iefus. Dedicado a la purifsima Virgen Maria. Concebida fin mancha de pecado original. En Madrid, Por Diego Diaz de la Carrera,” São Paulo M.DC.XXXX [1640], B18a, Biblioteca Guita e José Mindlin, São Paulo.

⁶⁰ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, “The Office of Lingua: a Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century,” *Itinerario XXV*, 2 (2001): 125; Leite, *HCJB*, I, 37.

⁶¹ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 80.

⁶² Manuel da Nóbrega, to Padre Provincial de Portugal, Bahia, 1552 in *Ibid*, I, 81; Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560* (Belo Horizonte, São Paulo: Itatiaia, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1988), 131.

entered the Company... I have been to the College in Brazil [probably in Salvador], São Vicente and the College in Coimbra, Santo Antão and now, in São Roque,” located in Lisbon.⁶³ That Cipriano was considered to demonstrate extraordinary talent is evidenced by his sponsored advanced studies in the kingdom. Attendance at the Jesuit colleges further indicates that he wrote, probably well and extensively. Examples such as Cipriano were probably exceptional, as the Jesuit letters are virtually silent about his contemporaries.

Early known samples of writings by Indians include the missives exchanged in the mid-1640s between and among Potiguar kinsmen in northeastern Brazil, penned in the Brasília and Dutch (Illustration 4).⁶⁴ That Felipe and Diogo Pinheiro Camarão wrote letters in typical seventeenth-century Dutch manuscript suggests their ladino status, that is, their acculturation to Portuguese ways of speaking, thinking and acting, and which were further nurtured in the extensive schooling the Potiguar cousins received in the Netherlands. Indians in the sertão of Piauí were known to have communicated through letters in the same century.⁶⁵ Also, extant documents written in the *línguas gerais* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may signpost shifts in

⁶³ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 81n2.

⁶⁴ [Felipe or Diogo Pinheiro] Camarão, [Letter], to Pedro Poti, October 1645. National Archive of the Netherlands, The Hague. Manuscripts Room, 1.01.05.01, no. 56; Diogo Pinheiro Camarão, [Letter], to Pedro Poti, 21 October 1645. National Archive of the Netherlands, The Hague. Manuscripts Room, 1.01.05.01, no. 52; [Set of six letters, translated into Dutch], to 1640s. National Archive of the Netherlands, The Hague. Manuscripts Room; Felipe Camarão, [Letter], to Pedro Poti, 4 October 1645. National Archive of the Netherlands, The Hague. Manuscripts Room, 1.01.05.01, no. 53; [Letter], to Pedro Poti, 12 August 1646. National Archive of the Netherlands, The Hague. Manuscripts Room, 1.01.05.01, no. 59.

⁶⁵ Miridan Britto Knox Falei, “A escravidão nas áreas pecuaristas do Brasil,” in *Brasil: colonização e escravidão*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1999), 257.

4
 Saij tapana lo xepapera toqueroijabi demarancijma
 cupe xerribiguita xee l'xe aque vange pupe xerua
 pe Maxemaraninle l'ocoe mac montagapama xee x
 xemimotara xupiatu
 Nimidobenhie a xenhieja debe deonameterans qui
 tewbre l'ejuaucarbonhe e sera nhadu? debe lo xepa
 pera xeruaara Mae' ruc' ano' xejuaucanga' aboc a
 aind'gabigra lo Marana pupe te lo cuja parimo juita
 bre Na xepuligabi aigo Deruo xee Marana mo aicu
 jocatu apiabaiba pope Deruo l'ejuebe abe l'ede cau
 uba l'mou' a Denquira sapita' Diego Daltia venhe
 enquira xebe l'mobegub' (araba Derua' para ruc
 l'ocnhie'quera que ruc xupe l'mobegub' ac xupi
 he Denquira sapita' Diego Daltia ai modo l'ende
 be xepapera x'raubo uij a Denquira x'arjento
 mur Dom Diego l'inhie'ny ai modo l'boque l'itij
 opabenhie' perxee opabenhie' perubite raimo jui
 tucbo e l'ristad raimo nhaderipaguera nhade
 xee montagaguera l'edelle unka e anama pa
 raibigra'alu' p'agora' l'ora' l'ruburi' migora' jaterij
 j'jara' quira' l'ia' ni' jara' opabenhie' l'ua' l'ar' qu'ja
 ra' x'ij' iura' l'ed' l'uj' abigona' ruc' x'ij' p' de' ruc
 mome' x'ar'ja' l'ed' j' m' un' kima' ten' k' n' h' ar' uij
 e a xenhieja ai modo debe apiabaiba uij de
 l'magoma' ruc' l'moranomo' l'ed' l'io' ab' l'ib' ruc
 apiabaiba uij opabenhie' n' h' ad' e anama' ruc' l'ed'
 magoma' ni' jab' i' b' agui' l'ed' ag' ruc' r'ama' l'ed'

Illustration 4. First page of letter written in the Brasília from Potiguar headman Felipe Camarão, to his cousin Pedro Poti, another Potiguar headman living in the captaincy of Paraíba. [Felipe] Camarão to Pedro Poti, 4 October 1645, The Hague, National Archive of the Netherlands, 1.05.01.01, inventory number 62, document 53, folio 1. Courtesy of the National Archive.

practices which increasingly employed the use of text.⁶⁶ Or, they are reminders of the fragility of papers, particularly in the moist environments of the tropical lowlands of South America. The recent discovery of several dictionaries, catechisms and grammars of eighteenth century *línguas gerais amazônicas* in the archives of Portugal may encourage historians and archivist to proceed with care when rifling through uncatalogued, yellowed tomes and bundles of papers. These texts advance the case of literate Indians in colonial Amazônia. The moral narrative entitled, “the Handling of the Missionaries with the Sertanejos,” is written in the Vulgar, may have been left by an Indian, although the exact details of authorship are impossible to discern.⁶⁷ Lines of inquiry still need to be made on the case of literate Indians and, in particular, those with skills in the writing arts. The findings of preliminary research presented here suggest that Indian writers were a rare but skilled group, who helped to promote the written art of the Brasília among its readers and to reduce the communication gap between speakers of the Brasília and non-native speakers by way of language manuals. Interpreters formed one more group of persons essential to the language translation projects.

⁶⁶ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, *Entre heterodoxos e ortodoxos: notas sobre catecismos dialogados na Europa e nas colônias no século XVI* (ANPOLL/GT - Historiografia da Linguística Brasileira. III Colóquio sobre Línguas Gerais. A Trilogia Gramática-Catecismo-Dicionário, 19-23 August 2002 [accessed 19 August 2002]); available from <http://www.fflch.usp.br/dl/anpoll2/candidatexto2002.htm.htm>; Barros, *Notas* ([accessed]); “The office of lingua,” 125.

⁶⁷ “Prosodia da Língua”.

Religious Línguas

The presence of *línguas* (interpreters) remained constant in the historical sources of the Society of Jesus up until their expulsion from the Province of Brazil and the Vice-Province of Maranhão in 1759. Interpreters were essential to the order as confessors, mission frontiersmen, orators, scribes and writers.⁶⁸ Particularly during the administration of Nóbrega, Jesuit missionaries relied almost exclusively on religious interpreters. The two exceptions were Navarro, by 1551 and Anchieta by 1553, who was hearing confessions by 1551 without the assistance of a translator.⁶⁹ Most of Nóbrega's interpreters were selected from colonists of Portuguese birth living in Brazil before the arrival of the Jesuits. These already knew Tupi. Many had sugar mills and farms, some were soldiers, one had been a secular priest, and many had lived among Tupi-Guarani Indians.⁷⁰ That these colonists all spoke the Brasília suggests the primacy of the language in inter-ethnic relations in the early period of settlement.⁷¹ Early *línguas* included persons such as Pero Correia, who was probably one of the first colonists to settle São Vicente, arriving in 1534, or the "man, who was raised on this land as a boy," probably referring to Diogo "Caramuru" Álvares.⁷² Barro's study of sixteenth-century religious interpreters in the Brazilian Province of the Society of Jesus shows that of the 113 individuals classified as "*línguas*," 66 had

⁶⁸ Barros, "The office of lingua," 120, 123-125.

⁶⁹ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 72. Leite, *HCJB*, VIII, 83.

⁷⁰ Barros, "The office of lingua," 118.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Leite, *HCJB*, IX, 377-383; Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 21-22.

entered the order in Brazil, 22 had joined from Europe and the provenance of the remaining 19 as unstated.⁷³

Although the Jesuits had been working through interpreters – from the nameless Tupinambá who so frustrated Nóbrega with his “barbarous” language incapable of conveying Christian concepts to Caramuru and the Indian children being taught by Navarro – the institutionalization of religious Jesuit interpreters does not appear to have begun until the 1550s, when the Brasília was also consolidating into one standard written and spoken language, especially in its use as language of the church. As early as 1551, religious *línguas* were accompanying Jesuit Fathers in Pernambuco.⁷⁴ Priests inept in the Tupi-Guarani languages were paired with one or several *línguas*. The higher the rank of the priest, the more interpreters he had. Father Manoel de Chaves worked with only a boy aged between 15 and 18 known as “Fernando.”⁷⁵ Father Braz Lourenço was assisted by brother interpreters in his travels and sermons in 1553, as too, did Nóbrega always count on *línguas*.⁷⁶

That Nóbrega’s administration so heavily emphasized the role of the religious interpreter is not surprising, considering his own restricted versatility in language. By early April, 1549, Nóbrega had been working with Tupinambá Indians who knew some Portuguese and were attempting to help him translate Christian orations, thereby permitting the Provincial of Brazil to gain insight into the language of the Tupinambá. Despite such close encounters with the language,

⁷³ Barros, “The office of lingua,” 117, 131-140.

⁷⁴ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 87.

⁷⁵ Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549-1560, Cartas Jesuíticas I* (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Industrial Graphica, 1931), 92.

⁷⁶ Bras 3(1), 90.

Nóbrega seemed to believe that Tupinambá was related to Spanish, perhaps the Indo-European language most closely-related to Portuguese. In his first letter to the Provincial of Portugal, he suggested that “Master [Juan de Aragón] would enjoy it so much here, because his [Castilian] language is similar to the [Tupi-Guarani],” referring to the chaplain of the Queen of Spain.⁷⁷

The extent to which Nóbrega counted on male interpreters showed itself in the compromises and exemptions the order made on behalf of individuals whose profiles typically would not have earned them entry into the Society. Married men, men who had killed for profit and men with no knowledge of Latin (“idiots,” as they are called in the Jesuit’s historical documents) were able to assume membership in the Society based on their command of Tupinambá, considered to be “the Latin of the land.”⁷⁸ Correia is considered an excellent example of such a case. He entered the Society of Jesus in an atypical fashion. Having lived a former life in the colony as a *bandeirante* (Indian slaver), Correia was described as having known well “the evils of Brazil,” since his work as *bandeirante* involved enslaving Indians, killing resistors and pillaging their villages.⁷⁹ He had limited practice in reading and writing and was considered to be an “idiot” in the sense that he did not know Latin.⁸⁰ Correia was also allowed into the Society as a result of ecclesiastical dispensation, owing to his fluency with the Tupi-Guarani languages and the respect he commanded from the Tupinikin.

Despite their key roles to the Jesuit missions, religious interpreters occupied the lowest positions in the Company’s hierarchy. Many joined only for a

⁷⁷ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 24.

⁷⁸ Barros, “The office of lingua,” 122.

⁷⁹ Leite, *HCJB*, IX, 377-383.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, IX, 377-384.

stipulated number of years to serve as interpreters and some only managed to be admitted by way of ecclesiastical dispensations, in favor of their skills in Tupi.⁸¹ The policy to admit “idiot” members in favor of their skills in the Brasília continued to be observed in the Vice-Province of Maranhão. Amaro de Sousa, a natural of Maranhão, “of few letters and with some little bit of mameluco [Indian ancestry]” was dispensed from meeting the education prerequisites by the Father General, because he showed talents as a “grande língua” and “very curious with his hands for any labor.”⁸²

The arrival of Father Luís da Grã in 1560, Nóbrega’s successor as Father Provincial of Brazil, further accelerated language studies in the Province. He ordered that all Brothers learn the language and made plans for the slave population, comprised up until then mainly by Indians, to be obliged to attend the Jesuit church. Grã himself became highly-skilled in the language.⁸³ Although the policy of learning the local language persisted within the order, in practice, the rule was not always followed. Between 1580 and 1600, letters written between the Rome, Lisbon, and Salvador showed intense preoccupation with the dearth in interpreters and urgent calls for all Brothers in Europe to be trained in the Brasília before arrival.⁸⁴ The problem of insufficient numbers of interpreters was also felt two decades later in the northeast of Brazil. The municipal council of Porto Seguro wrote to the Father General in Rome in 1620, requesting that the superior send more missionaries apt in the “language of the land” and of the

⁸¹ Barros, “The office of lingua,” 125.

⁸² Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 88.

⁸³ Serafim Leite, ed., *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuitas do Brasil*, III vols. (São Paulo: Comissão do Centenário da Cidade de São Paulo, 1956), 310-311.

⁸⁴ Bras 2; Bras 8(2), 511; Bras 8(2), 507-508; Bras 3(2), 55-56v; Bras 3(2), 277-277v.

Angolan lingua franca, Kimbundu, not only indicating the city's desire to tend to the spiritual care of its slave population.⁸⁵ Complaints in the late seventeenth century accused the Jesuits of not educating the Portuguese and Portuguese-descended youth in the Brasília.⁸⁶ Despite these allegations, Jesuit colleges continued to be dedicated to instruction of the Brasília to its members. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Amazônia, high-ranked missionaries, such as Fathers Provincials or Jesuit college heads, were conducting their ministry in the Brasília and possibly, in the Vulgar.⁸⁷

Educating Youth

Within the first decade of arrival, the Jesuits saw clearly that the path to Christendom in the verdant tropics and sub-tropics could most effectively be cleared by the youth. In the 1540s in Portugal, as Nóbrega prepared to take his post as Father Provincial of Brazil, Simão de Rodrigues bade him to prioritize instruction of the young. Sympathetic reports by missionaries in other parts of the world lent credence to the indoctrination and education of the young. Nóbrega himself, in previous missions to the interior of Portugal, bore witness to the successes reaped in children's education.⁸⁸ Around the same time in Sicily and Rome, the Company was enjoying much praise for the opening of its first college for non-Jesuit attendees. In the year of Nóbrega's arrival in Brazil, Pedro

⁸⁵ Bras 8(2), 314f.

⁸⁶ Kieman, *Indian Policy*, 170.

⁸⁷ Eduardo Hoornaert, "O breve período profético das missões na Amazônia brasileira (1607-1661)," in *História da Igreja na Amazônia*, ed. Eduardo Hoornaert (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992), 130; Leite, ed., *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuitas do Brasil*, 348; *HCJB*. for the biographies for Antônio Vieira, Luiz Figueira, and João Felipe Bettendorff.

⁸⁸ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 6.

Doménech had founded a college in Lisbon for orphans, runaways and wayward youth.⁸⁹ Indeed, Jesuit focus on educating youngsters seemed central to the Father Provincial's strategies. When still at sea during the two-month voyage between Lisbon and Salvador, Nóbrega rehearsed with Brother Diogo Jácome the rudiments of catechism, which Jácome must have found useful when he was sent to Ilhéus with Father Leonardo Nunes to attend to the education of young Indian, European and mameluco boys and girls who had been living on the land.⁹⁰

The language translation projects directly benefited from this emphasis on educating youth. It was generally believed that language acquisition occurred more quickly among youngsters. By the second week of his arrival, the Father Provincial had already organized Indian and Portuguese children into recitations of the alphabet and learning to read and to hear mass. Vicente Rodrigues had begun instruction of school children in the rudiments of Christian Doctrine and Father Nunes made use of theatre, music, and dance as alternative means of entertainment and pedagogy.⁹¹ Native curiosity with European reading and writing arts, "of which they show great envy and desire to learn," became central to stimulating early Indian-Jesuit relations,⁹²

"These here are our speeches, wherever we find ourselves, [we invite] the boys to read and write, and in this manner we teach them the [Christian] doctrine and preach to them."⁹³

⁸⁹ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 32, 36.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*; Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 23-24.

⁹¹ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 20.

⁹² *Ibid*, 51.

⁹³ *Ibid*.

The Father's plans to live among the Tupinambá in their villages combined Jeuit interest in learning Tupinambá while gaining religious Indian converts.⁹⁴ It was suggested that "with these [children] speaking each day [while learning] the doctrine, [the Fathers also] learn the Brasília."⁹⁵

Exchanges between young native speakers of Tupi-Guarani and of Portuguese languages were encouraged. Nóbrega proposed to send some Indian boys "of the land" to Portugal to be educated in "letters, virtues and to return as men of confidence," which the Father General eagerly approved, adding the suggestion that the Colégio dos Meninos Órfãos, the royal orphanage in Lisbon, receive and board the Indian boys, and in return, should send some Portuguese orphans to Brazil.⁹⁶ Two boys were sent from Brazil in the 1550s, but these died at the college in Coimbra.⁹⁷ In 1557, the issue was brought up again by Father General Ignatius de Loyola and founder of the Society, who suggested that Nóbrega admit twenty boys between the ages of ten and eleven to study Latin grammar and be sent to Europe for advanced studies. The intention was to create "men of confidence" for the Jesuits. As mentioned in the discussion about writing Indians, two Indian boys were sent to study at the Jesuit college in Coimbra. One of them, by the name of Cipriano was interviewed by the Father General but both died at early ages.⁹⁸

The greatest success in terms of early Indian-Jesuit alliances was seen in the integration of Portuguese boys into Brazil. In 1550, seven orphan boys from

⁹⁴ Ibid, 20-21.

⁹⁵ Vasconcellos, pp. 29-30; *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas do Brasil*, II, pp. 51-52.

⁹⁶ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 44.

⁹⁷ Ibid, I, 81.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Portugal accompanied the second group of Jesuit missionaries to Brazil. Their religious and linguistic training at the Colégio dos Meninos Órfãos primed them as educators for their new playmates, the local youth. Pedro Doménech, founder of the royal orphanage in Lisbon, observed in 1551 that “as they are young, they learn quickly, in a manner that already our [orphans] understand things in [the Indians’] language.”⁹⁹ The young orphans were also thought to be at the right age for acquiring a new language because Nóbrega opined that “the children ... have less difficulty in learning the Portuguese language than their parents.”¹⁰⁰

Nóbrega combined the local with the Portuguese youth, thereby increasing class attendance and the potential for intercultural and interlingual contact. With this body of devout and avid young learners, Nóbrega opened the Colégio do Menino Jesus, what would become the future Jesuit college in Salvador (1556).¹⁰¹ More orphans continued to arrive, such as a shipment in 1555, when the regular attendance of 24 Indian and mameluco students at the Jesuit school increased by the arrival of 18-20 European boys from the Colégio dos Meninos Órfãos.¹⁰² In 1575, the order matriculated 70 students in the elementary classes and 50 in the upper level. Classes instructing Indian, white, and mameluco children in the same skills were also opened all along the coast in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente.

It soon became evident to Nóbrega that the children being trained in their schools and colleges were to be one of the Jesuits’ greatest assets in proselytizing

⁹⁹ “Epistolae mixtae, ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae,” in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (Madrid: excudebat A. Avrial, 1898-1901), II, 504.

¹⁰⁰ Vasconcellos, pp. 29-30; *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas do Brasil*, II, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰¹ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 16-17, 34-35.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, I, 40, 47. “Epistolae mixtae, ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae,” II, 504.

among native communities. In their recreational periods, Indian, Euro-Indian, and Portuguese children played out their own processes of cultural approximation, simultaneously and mutually converting and socializing each other. There was an intergenerational component which had not been anticipated but was very welcome. There was an intergenerational component which had not been anticipated but was very welcome. Indian children taught Indian adults Christian prayers.¹⁰³ Adults in daily contact with children studying with Jesuits sometimes learnt more quickly than their young. Nóbrega recounts Navarro's experience one day in teaching the children to read and, with even more difficulty, to bless themselves. The colorful stones which the boys and girls wore as lip plugs apparently kept the little ones from clear pronunciation. As Navarro explained, the children peered at him inquisitively until the mother of one of the young ones reached over and removed the lip plug from her son. All followed her actions and soon, with oral fluency, the young Tupinambá were blessing themselves and each other.¹⁰⁴

The Colégio do Menino Jesus was a successful first venture to the degree that it – and other Jesuit colleges in Portuguese America -- became “brokerage” institutions which familiarized and trained the colony's Indian, white, black and mixed residents. Members of other Catholic orders also studied at the Jesuit colleges.¹⁰⁵ Subsequent colleges and schools opened up and down the Atlantic coast, all modeled after the Colégio at Salvador.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do P. Manuel da Nóbrega*, 52.

¹⁰⁵ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Leite, *Breve História*, 40.

At the close of the sixteenth century, three colleges were functioning in the captaincies of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, with a total faculty of 12 professors, some of which were recent graduates, and offering courses in theology, rhetorical arts, and humanities.¹⁰⁷ Indians were among this population of European-educated students. Where Jesuits had friendly relations with local chiefs, the headmen sent their sons, daughters, nephews and nieces to study with the Jesuits.

In 1554, missionaries at the aldeia of São Paulo de Piratininga made note of the “good will” with which Indians were entrusting their children to the mentorship and instruction of the Jesuit fathers. In fact, the school had been moved from São Vicente to São Paulo that year in response to requests that Indian children who lived in the hills of the interior could more easily attend classes.¹⁰⁸ Attendees at the school in São Paulo seemed to have been intensely trained in linguistic, literary and artistic skills. In the previous year, the school adopted a rigorous curriculum, which was met with enthusiasm from students of the Latin classes, for example, who were named the most able of the colony.¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that attendance counted on the local population of mostly Indian and some few mameluco children, since no Europeans or white descendants had yet begun to live in the new settlement in 1554, and possibly some children secluded in the Confraria do Menino Jesus in need of remedial classes in reading.¹¹⁰ Until their final expulsion from the Portuguese American colonies in 1759, the Jesuits were schooling white, native, black and mestiço children. The

¹⁰⁷ Leite, *HCJB*, I, 88.

¹⁰⁸ Leite, *Breve História*, 42.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 41.

¹¹⁰ Leite, “Antônio Rodrigues,” 6.

next chapter examines the roles of the Brasília in the oral life of the State of Brazil from the mid-sixteenth through to the late seventeenth century.

Chapter Four Eighteenth-Century Evolution of the Línguas Gerais Amazônicas

It was in this [Brasílica] language that, in the beginning, the first Jesuit missionaries composed the catechism and doctrine; and reduced it into a [grammar] with rules and easy terms for learning it. However, since the first and true Tupinambá Indians are almost all extinct, and the missions were re-established with other very diverse nations and languages, the Tupinambá língua geral was being corrupted in such a manner that already, today, those who speak it in its native purity and vigor are rare.

João Daniel, *O tesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas*, 1757.¹

In the late seventeenth century, when catechists in the State of Brazil and in the State of Maranhão and Pará asked Indian neophytes to explain the ways by which a man in this world could redeem himself before God, a likely reply would still have been,

Tupã rerobiar inhe momgaraÿpa
Tupã nheenga rupí oicobo²

Believe in God by taking baptism
Heed the Word of God

Potential Indian converts throughout Portuguese America had been indoctrinated in the tenets of Christianity in the Brasílica, the general language of the land, or the *língua geral* into which, since the 1550's, religious materials and catechetical texts had been translated and written to communicate the secrets of the Faith. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, inhabitants of Portuguese America's northern colony, the State of Maranhão and Pará, took longer to

¹ João Daniel, "Tesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 95, 1-2 ([1757-1776] 1975): 225.

² "Dialogo da doutrina Christão pella Lingoa Brazilica" in "[Gelboé Compendium]," s.d., King's MSS, Collection of South American Languages, 223, British Library. "Dialogo da Doutrina Chris pella Lingoa Brazilica" in "[Gelboé Compendium]." "Dialogo da Doutrina Chistam pella lingoa Brazilica" in "[Gelboé Compendium]."

deliver the same message, adding words and phrases considered by speakers of the Brasília to be excessive, unnecessary, grammatically incorrect, or even aberrant to the formulaic dialogues of Christian Doctrine. Instead, catechumens in Amazônia of the 1740s intoned,

Tupã rerobia	Believe in God
Tupã rece jerobia	[I Believe in] the love of God
Tupã rauçúba, onhemongaraýpa	[Receive the love of] God by taking baptism
Tupã nheenga rupi oicobo ³	Heed the Word of God

Two hundred years after the Jesuits' entrance into Portuguese America in 1549, Indians in Amazônia no longer understood the Christian Doctrine as it had been taught to their ancestors.⁴ The two excerpts provided here do not demonstrate the full range of linguistic differences, some of which will be seen in chapter five's comparisons of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century religious material. But repetition of the first two phrases, creation of the term *rece* (for the love of God), and insertion of *çauçuba* (love), here rendered in its relational form *rauçúba*, to *Tupã*, the translation for "God," wherein earlier works omitted the excess verbiage are indications of the language change being experienced by the Brasília into a language contemporaries called "the Vulgar."⁵

From the establishment by the Portuguese of São Luís (1615) and Belém (1616) through to the eighteenth century, white adults and children were

³ "Compendio da Doutrina Christam, q~ semana em sinar compreleyto anno de 1740," in "[Gelboé Compendium]."

⁴ Daniel, "Tesouro descoberto," 225.

⁵ Manuscript copy of Eduardo Navarro, *Método moderno de Tupi Antigo. A língua do Brasil dos primeiros séculos*. 3rd edition. Petrópolis: Vozes, forthcoming, I, 91. Manuscript conceded by the author in 2003.

schooled in the Brasília, spoke it in daily matters, used it in worship, and relied on it to communicate with individuals who spoke distinct native tongues – which included essentially all non-native residents of the colony. Indians who did not understand the Brasília were taught the language in schools, catechism classes, and in routine everyday exchanges. Language manuals printed in 1621, 1678, 1686 and 1687, and dedicated to the good “of the residents, & especially of the Indians of the State of Maranhão,” passed through the hands of generations of missionaries stationed in the region.⁶ Indians, whites, blacks, mulattos and mestizos leaving their homes in Brazil to populate the northern colony brought the Brasília with them. Yet, one hundred years after the initial colonization of the State of Maranhão and Pará, the Brasília had become incomprehensible. With the near extinction of “Tupinambá” Indians, the term came to refer to all Tupi-Guarani speakers of diverse ethnic groups. At the same time, the missions of the state, where Tupi-Guarani speakers had previously dominated, had now become filled with peoples of Karib, Arawak, and Jê language groups and of minor language families, such as the Pano and Tukano. As a result of the severely reduced population of native users of the Brasília, its “purity and vigor” was being compromised or “corrupted” to the extent that it appeared to be a new kind of language, as Jesuit Father João Daniel had observed in three and a half

⁶ João Felipe Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christam Na lingua Portugueza, & Brasílica: Em que se comprehendem os principaes mysterios de nossa Santa Fe Catholica, & meios de nossa Salvação: ordenada à maneira de Dialogos accomodados para o ensino dos Indios, com duas breves Instruções: hua para bautizar em caso de extrema necessidade, os que ainda são Pagaões; & outra, para os ajudar a bem morrer, em falta de quem saiba fazerlhe esta charidade: Pelo P. Joam Phelippe Bettendorff da Companhia de Jesus, Missionario da Missão do Estado do Maranhão* (Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1678), [2] of “Dedicatório.”

decades of missionary work in Amazônia.⁷ While the Brasília had grown to dominate linguistic communication in the seventeenth century, it fell into irrelevancy in the eighteenth. In its place “the Vulgar” language had emerged.

Although linguists and historians have written about increasing influences in the eighteenth-century of the Portuguese language on Língua Geral Amazônica, they have not identified an intermediary language which served as a lingua franca after the dissolution of the Brasília and before the wide-spread use of Portuguese.⁸ Brazilian historian José Freire, who has dedicated the last twenty years to exhaustive research in the archives of Belém and Rio de Janeiro, has used the same secondary sources referenced in this chapter to study the conditions for language change identified in the specialized literature as “Língua Geral Amazônica.” He identifies the “Portugalization” of Língua Geral Amazônica, resulting from the influences exerted by the Portuguese language. His conclusions also propose two major lingua francas dominant in Amazônia, detailing the expansion and importance of the Brasília until the Directorate of the Indians (1757) proscribed its use, after which Freire understands as being a period of Portuguese “hegemony.”⁹

My own archival research, drawing from a body of language manuals produced in eighteenth-century Amazônia, sources which did not form part of Freire’s conclusions, leads me to posit that an intermediary language, the Vulgar, developed prior to Nheengatú in the mid-eighteenth century. Chapters four and five are dedicated to the study of this second colony-wide lingua franca in

⁷ Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 225.

⁸ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004).

⁹ *Ibid*, 123-139.

Amazônia. Because the *línguas gerais amazônicas* are among the least studied of the major colonial languages of Portuguese America, this chapter examines the demographic, social and political factors which created the conditions for the evolution of a new *língua franca* in the State of Maranhão and Pará in the eighteenth century. Doing so will provide a clearer understanding of the historical context for the final chapter, which will present linguistic analyses of the language in select moments of its evolution away from its predecessor, the *Brasílica* and into its crystallized form, called by contemporary sources “the *Vulgar*.”

By describing the general contours of Amazônia’s colonial settlements and Indian villages, I seek to demonstrate how demographic conditions favored the emergence of a *língua franca* drawing on diverse native American languages and molded by their speakers. Linguistic limitations at this time do not permit me to explore the ways by which Karib, Macro-Arawak, Macro-Tupi, Macro-Jê language groups and the smaller Pano and Tukano language families have contributed to the formation of the *Vulgar*. However, contemporary eye-witnesses, study of the historical and social conditions in which the *Vulgar* developed and comparative linguistic studies of language diversity, contact and exchange between speakers of native American languages lead me to suggest that for most of the colonial history of Amazônia, the determining factors in determining practices of linguistic mediation were reflected in the make-up of the population, which was primarily Indian and secondarily Portuguese.

My usage of the descriptive term, *línguas gerais amazônicas* (Amazonian general languages), proposes a new perspective on the history of the region’s

orality. The specialized literature identifies Língua Geral Amazônica as one language spoken throughout the State of Maranhão and Pará from the seventeenth century through to the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by its modern variant, Nheengatú.¹⁰ My own research has proposed that in fact, linguistic communication in the first century and a half of colonial Amazônia (1600-1759) occurred through two lingua francas, both of which were the general languages of the Amazon region. The Brasília dominated interlingual relations and activities in secular and religious spheres until the first half of the eighteenth century, when the emergence of the Vulgar monopolized quotidian affairs. During this period and until the end of the seventeenth century, the Brasília maintained its role as the language of the church. Although Nheengatú falls outside of the period under study in this dissertation, usage of the línguas gerais amazônicas as a socio-linguistic category permits future projects' viewing of Nheengatú, which played similar roles as a language of mediation in the nineteenth and twentieth century when increasing numbers of Amazonian residents gained skills in the Portuguese language, within the historical context of its interlingual predecessors.

The Brasília was brought into the state in the early seventeenth century by its native speakers (including Indians, whites and blacks, though these were relatively few) migrating from the State of Brazil and its colony-wide use to bridge interlingual communication raised it to the status of an official language of

¹⁰ Ruth Maria Fonini Monserrat, "Observações sobre a fonologia da língua geral amazônica nos três últimos séculos" (paper presented at the conference on "A Língua Geral Amazônica através do tempo," Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência-Associação Brasileira de Linguística, Salvador, July, 2001). Freire, *Rio Babel*. Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras para o conhecimento das línguas indígenas* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1986).

colonization in 1667 by the Portuguese crown. In its early Amazonian form, the Brasília exhibited minor differences in pronunciation and vocabulary but remained comprehensible to its speakers in the State of Brazil. By the eighteenth century, however, it had altered into the Vulgar, a language wholly unrecognizable to speakers of the Brasília. This chapter argues that the evolution of this distinct and unique speech form was a direct result of the Brasília's usage in colonial environments characterized by linguistic diversity, contact and exchange, high mobility and multilingualism and its expansion and proscription in the context of state and church language policies.

Three parts comprise this chapter. The first discussion identifies three principal forces that created conditions conducive to the dominance of one non-native language in Amazônia, namely, the linguistic influences felt by local communities when aggressive Tupi-Guarani speakers migrated en masse from Brazil to Maranhão in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, campaigns of *descimento* which took Indians away from their tribal societies to live near white settlements by the coast, and the absorption of tribes, reduced by war, famine, sickness and demoralization into colonial life. Conditions associated with the occurrence of voluntary and forced mass migrations brought about the reduction of indigenous populations, territorial redistribution of ethnic communities, and facilitated the mingling of native, white and black cultures and bodies in the region. The roles played by Tupi-Guarani speakers in these events were intensely significant. Their migration into the Amazon Basin suddenly heightened the use of their languages. As a warrior people, they dominated local social and political matters and became invaluable components of the campaigns of *descimento*,

organized by the state, fed by missionaries' fervor and propagated by settlers' greed. In these ways, their languages were carried far into the recesses of Amazônia.

Because Jesuit missionaries, as spiritual and sometimes secular caretakers of the Indians, tended to develop relations based on daily but also deeply intellectual and psychological exchanges with indigenous communities, the historical evolution of the línguas gerais amazônicas is directly linked to their language translation projects. The second section in this chapter looks at the extent to which men of the church were involved in dissemination of the language. Missionaries of the Society of Jesus were key promoters of the language and their strategies of indoctrination and conversion of Indians relied on making themselves comprehensible to their neophytes. Jesuit language translation projects aimed at the "reduction" of coastal Tupi-Guarani speech forms into published and manuscript grammars, vocabularies and religious texts written in the Brasília, the education of young Indians, whites and mamelucos, and the training of interpreters to mediate Indian-white contact in the Brasília. These language manuals became the reference works for missionaries ministering to native peoples and were important in developing local oral cultures.

The third part is a historical summary of the state's roles in regulating linguistic communication in the colony. That línguas gerais amazônicas were the main vehicles of communication for interlingual residents of the colony during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owed much to official advocacy. Named the language of colonization for much of the seventeenth century, the ban

placed on línguas gerais amazônicas in the subsequent century carried little effect for much of the eighteenth century. The three sections in this chapter provide the context for understanding language changes, which will be explored in chapter five.

With the decline in the population of the Tupinambá already being witnessed as early as the 1690s by Jesuit chronicler and Mission Superior Father João Felipe Bettendorff, other Tupi-Guarani peoples and kinsmen to the Tupinambá who had not considered themselves members of the ethnic group came to be known by the same name. The modern historiography reflected this misnomer established by the primary sources, including the eighteenth-century language manuals. This chapter will refer specifically to the Tupinambá as they are presented in the sources, but any discussions on language must bear in mind that definitive studies have yet to be conducted verifying the ethnic range of Tupi-Guarani speech forms spoken in colonial Amazônia.

Tupinambá in the Local Oral Landscape

The línguas gerais amazônicas can be considered truly colonial languages insofar as their implantation and development into Amazônia and their geographic relevance were products of the sustained and expanding occupation of the Amazon Basin by speakers of Tupi-Guarani, Indo-European and several African languages. Although archaeologists, ethnologists, anthropologists and linguists have yet to present conclusive studies on the expansion of the Tupi-Guarani language family into pre-Cabralian Amazônia, it seems safe to surmise

that, at the time of the first European records describing the region, member tribes of the Tupi-Guarani language family were dispersed into enclaves on the banks of the river networks which threaded through Amazônia in contrast to their dominance, seemingly continuous to early Europeans, of the Brazilian coastline.¹¹ Amazônia was a region dominated by Arawak speakers, with Karib and Tupi-Guarani in interspersed settlements along the Amazon river and its tributaries.¹² The key roles played by Tupi-Guarani speech forms in Amazônia's colonial societies can be attributed to three principal agents consequential of European colonization of the South American continent.

The mass migrations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of coastal inhabitants from the State of Brazil into Amazônia significantly increased the numbers of speakers of Tupi-Guarani languages. Within half a century of Amazonian history, the arrival of waves of aggressive, warrior peoples, organized and speaking mutually comprehensible languages, must have been profoundly affected by local communities. It is no wonder that the northern colony inherited the linguistic legacy of the Tupinambá. They proved efficient in adapting to their new social environment. They founded new homes on the islands of the northern coast, along the banks of the Amazon River network, in the mountainous regions in eastern Amazônia, in the serras de Ibiapaba, and on *terra firme* around

¹¹ Michael J. Heckenberger, Eduardo G. Neves, and James B. Peterson, "De onde surgem os modelos?: as origens e expansões tupi na Amazônia central," *Revista de Antropologia* 41, 1 (1998): 80.

¹² Tupi-Guarani speakers were represented by the Oyampí by the French Guiana border, the Omagua, Kokama and Kokamilla of the Napo and Solimões Rivers, and the Mawé, Munduruku and Juruna inhabiting the lands framed by the following rivers: the Amazon to the north, the Tapajós to the west and the Xingú to the east. Although recent scholarship has challenged the linguistic family of the Omagua and Kokama as being Tupi-Guarani, suggesting, instead, that it developed between a language such as Tupinambá and an Arawak language. Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "Panorama das línguas indígenas da Amazônia," in *As línguas amazônicas de hoje*, ed. O. Renault-Lescure (São Paulo: IRD, ISA, MPEG, 2000), 19.

Tapuitapera, Cumá and Kaeté. As a warrior tribe, the Tupinambá organized themselves in terms of enmity, establishing bellicose relations with neighboring natives and whites.¹³ In Maranhão and Pará, they fought against the Tapuia on the coast and principal rivers, and against the Tremembé and Tabajara on the terra firme.¹⁴ Their hostility towards the Portuguese, the root cause of their arduous migrations, led them to establish friendly relations with the French in Maranhão, pushed them deeper into the the interior, and was reason enough not to follow missionaries who promised to protect them if they descended to *aldeias* (state and/or church-run Indian villages).¹⁵ The inhabitants of the 84 aldeias displaced from Pernambuco to Maranhão and Pará settled first along the Madeira River, occupying the banks downstream for at least 900 leagues and extending their dominion throughout the Amazon Basin.¹⁶ The whip of an angry Spaniard who lashed out at one Tupinambá, apprehended for slaughtering a cow, set them in flight again, this time to the Ilha de Tupinambarana, located 28 leagues from the mouth of the Madeira River.¹⁷ There, the Tupinambá also inserted themselves into local politics, kin networks, and commerce of the island and forged alliances with the pacific “seven Provinces” of peoples to their north,

¹³ Florestan Fernandes, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963), 47-48.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ivo d' Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D'Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques, *Bibliotheca de Escriutores Maranhenses* (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929), 87.

¹⁶ João Felipe Bettendorff, *Crônica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*, 2nd ed. (Belém: Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1990), 57.

¹⁷ Ibid, 56-57.

with whom they traded for salt.¹⁸ They inter-married among locals, linking their own lineage with those of their neighbors.¹⁹ The so-called Mataieces were said to have paid tribute to the Tupinambá.²⁰ Where confrontations occurred, the warrior tribe, known for its “dignity” on the battlefield, gained the respect and fear of its neighbors.²¹ Based on the 1613-1614 experiences of the French Capuchin missionary Ivo d’Evreux in Amazônia, Caeté headman Arraia Grande expressed regret that his people might have fared better had the Tupinambá been their allies.²² Surrounded by non-Tupi-Guarani language families and few in number compared with the other tribes on the island, the river banks and the *terra firme*, the Tupinambá ejected those who resisted, demanded tribute, dominated social life, and influenced the rituals, material cultures, social organization, and local oral forms.

The Tupinambá were a people whose collective memories and histories played themselves out by avenging the deaths of their ancestors through war, the taking of prisoners and ritual cannibalism of the vanquished. The Tupinambá formed a string of societies which were still experiencing major territorial and social expansion at the precise time of arrival of Europeans in the early sixteenth century. Their aggressive characteristics had made them valuable allies for whites seeking a foothold on the land and access to native societies of the New World. Tupinambá warriors served in large numbers as bowmen, rowers, and intermediaries for the Portuguese in forays into the *sertão* (hinterlands) to

¹⁸ Ibid, 57. Francisco de N.S. dos Prazeres Maranhão, “Apendice,” in *Poranduba Maranhense* (São Luis: 1947), 196.

¹⁹ Fernandes, *Organização social*, 55.

²⁰ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 57.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Fernandes, *Organização social*, 47.

capture slaves. Their unified presence among whites served as an example to other Indians and symbolically represented the alliance with European colonial society by the aggressive tribe, which had grown to dominance in regional politics since their still recent arrival. The social and political expansion of the Tupinambá, occurring as the first Europeans were arriving in the sixteenth century, the centrality of warfare, enmity and domination in their relations with their neighbors and kin, the vengeance and ritual cannibalism that marked their passage through time and embedded the Tupinambá into the local history, had earned them reputations as valorous and bellicose peoples, both feared and admired among Indian and white communities alike. At the sight of the 1,200 Tupinambá descended by Jesuits in the early 1650s, the much smaller settler community of Portuguese anxiously called upon soldiers of the fort to make preparations, in the eventuality of any aggression from these “most war-like [peoples] in all of the conquests” of Brazil and Amazônia.²³ In addition, because the Tupinambá adapted well to regional social life, Indians and whites were related through exogamous marriages with Tupinambá. In this way, friendship with the Tupinambá worked to the advantage of the Portuguese, who had developed the strategy of bringing along on their entradas natives and mamelucos who were related to the tribes targeted for descimento.²⁴

Tupinambá also supplied the much sought-after corps of *línguas*, or interpreters, middlemen and cultural brokers so significant to the success of trading partnerships, military alliances, missions, settler-Indian relationships,

²³ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 111. Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), , III, 315-16.

²⁴ Fernandes, *Organização social*, 42.

expeditions and descimentos.²⁵ For example, João Cumarú, headman of one of the villages of the Ilha de Tupinambarana, was also appointed by the state to serve as capitão-mór of his aldeia because of his courage in battle.²⁶ In the State of Maranhão and Pará, no less than in the State of Brazil, wherever new settlers, missionaries, and state bureaucrats went, they seemed to encounter the Tupinambá, or Tupi-Guarani speakers who later came to be known as Tupinambá. Seventeenth-century accounts left by the first French Capuchins to Maranhão and letters written by English and Irishmen trading, living and visiting coastal Amazônia have revealed the varied and important roles played by multi-lingual Tupinambá interpreters.²⁷ Although these sources described different regions, periods and peoples in the colonial history of Portuguese America, all concurred on the extensive use of the language of the Tupinambá, or the Brasília, in communications between Indians and whites in the Amazon Basin. Far less is known about interlingual contact with recently arrived African slaves. It is assumed that for creole descendants of Africans, as for all other individuals raised in Amazônia, the primary lingua franca was the Brasília. The Tupinambá language expanded aggressively, making its way into the sertão of Amazônia with the campaigns of descimentos, inserting itself into local orality through warfare and by exterminating languages spoken by fewer peoples. Relations with the

²⁵ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, "The Office of Lingua: a Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario* XXV, 2 (2001). Ângela Domingues, "Comunicação entre sociedades de fronteira: o papel do intérprete como intermediário nos contactos entre ibéro-americanos e ameríndios na Amazônia de finais do séc XVIII" (paper presented at the conference on Actas da VIII Reunião Internacional de História da Náutica, Viana do Castelo, 1994). Freire, *Rio Babel*, 110-122.

²⁶ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 37.

²⁷ Claude d' Abbeville, *História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinos na Ilha do Maranhão em que se trata das singularidades admiráveis e dos costumes estranhos dos índios habitantes do país* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, [1614] 1945). Evreux, *Viagem*. Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon 1550-1646* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1989).

Tupinambá necessarily funneled whites and blacks into pre-existing native politics and, with this, the landscape of human activity expanded to encompass the actions, interests, motivations, and the victories and losses of Indians, whites, blacks, and those of culturally and biologically mixed heritages. Even after acculturated Tupinambá and Tupi-Guarani speakers no longer formed a critical mass in Amazônia, their speech forms persevered in the common life of the northern colony.

For the Indians of Amazônia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those who did not take flight were often absorbed into colonial society to live and work in *aldeias d'El-Rei* (also called *aldeias de repartição*), mission *aldeias*, sugar plantations, indigo factories and settlers' homes.²⁸ The first three of these were state- and church-sponsored Indian villages, located near to settlements and plantations offering settlers easy access to Indian laborers and slaves. Campaigns of descimento, resgate, and waging "just war" by the state against supposedly hostile tribes were not so different from the expeditions organized by religious orders insofar as the result was displacement of thousands of Indian peoples. Associated with such campaigns of descimento and which encompassed secular and religious efforts to gain access to Indians, were social demoralization, disease, physical and psychological injuries and tribal disintegration which all played their parts in altering the linguistic profile of the Amazon Basin. Less frequent in the sources are references to voluntary enslavement but we know that Indians suffering from famine or disease

²⁸ For a recent monograph on bandeirismo, Indian enslaving campaigns, well summarizes the diversity of individuals and institutions involved in the Indian slave trade in Amazônia, see Barbara A. Sommer, "Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Indian Slave Trade," *The Americas* 61, 3 (2005).

voluntarily became slaves to be able to count on shelter, food, trade goods and the companionship of other aldeia residents. Perhaps this was the case of the young Erebitena woman, a “non-slave” who entered the aldeia of the Arraial de Nossa Senhora do Carmo e Santa Ana and appeared in the 1727 registry with other Indian slaves who had been purchased.²⁹ Other Indians responded to hard times by taking refuge in mission aldeias, where missionaries strove to protect natives from the abusive behavior of colonial slave owners.³⁰ The Taramambé were certainly not the first Indian group in Amazônia to petition the governor of Maranhão in the early 1720s to be assigned a missionary for their protection.³¹ Where missionaries did not take advantage of the labor their neophytes could provide, aldeia residents could escape the depredations of *bandeirantes* (enslavers) and plantation owners. But even the most ardent ecclesiastic promoter of indigenous freedom could not always halt the seizure of his neophytes. Upon confronting the headman of an unnamed tribe living in a mission aldeia administered by one Padre Francisco, the priest discovered that Girana, a ironsmith, an unnamed sacristan, and Bastião, one of the village fishermen, had been abducted, probably in return for alcohol, by whites.³²

²⁹ Jozeph de Sousa e João Paes do Amaral, [Slave registry], Arraial de Nossa Senhora do Carmo e Santa Ana, 16 March 1727. Coleção Alberto Lamego, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, USP, São Paulo, Cod. 43.53, 1.

³⁰ One of the most visible proponents of Indian freedom in Amazônia was Jesuit Father Antônio Vieira. See Tomas M. Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues: Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

³¹ Maranhão CD 1, cx 13, doc 1350.

³² “Prosódia da Lingoa,” s.d., Série Azul, 569, Academia de Ciências, Lisbon. Although the historical veracity of this narrative, preserved in manuscript form, cannot be ascertained, the story it relates is not unique in Amazônia. This source is particularly valuable as it is the only known text written in the Vulgar, probably authored by a mission priest in the mid-eighteenth century.

While colonial officials described aldeia missions as being distinct from aldeias d'el-Rei, both were seen by settlers as pools of enslaved laborers. In 1658, Bettendorff reported that, although free and slave Indians accessible to the settlers of Pará had risen by some 2000, the number still failed to meet settlers' demand for labor.³³ Missions and campaigns of descimento to the aldeias disrupted existing territorial organization of Indian ethnic enclaves. For example, probably around 1662 the crown ordered Simão Lagoaigbuna, a Tobajara headman, again to relocate his people who originally had moved from the captaincy of Pernambuco to the Ibiapaba mountains, this time to the captaincy of Maranhão.³⁴ Acting to prevent the uprooting of his neophytes, in 1727, Father João Teixeira, the Jesuit General Procurator of the Missions of the Colleges of Maranhão and Pará asked the king that the governor return to the aldeias of Arucará and Murtigurá all Indian couples previously taken away.³⁵ Although the resulting actions are unknown, it is likely that the Jesuits' plea fell on deaf ears. But even if this request had been granted to the Jesuits, in many cases, mission aldeias were simply absorbed into aldeias d'El-Rei. Among the 779 Indians descended by Father Luís de Oliveira in 1730 into the aldeia de São Francisco Xavier, 326 had been trained as catechumens. Oliveira's efforts at producing so impressive a number of Christian Indians who also were capable of indoctrinating and converting tribesmen met with an unsatisfying end when the whole village was moved "into the service of the King."³⁶ Entire villages of Indians disappeared, too, at the rallying of charismatic local leaders. Although

³³ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 114.

³⁴ Ceará CD 1, cx 1, doc 46, 1.

³⁵ Maranhão CD 1, cx 15, doc 1561.

³⁶ Antonio Machado, "Relação dos Gamelas, 1753," in Leite, *HCJB*, III, 191.

the identity of the *língua* (interpreter) living in São Felipe was not revealed, around 1780, apprehensive of the rebukes and punishment levied upon him by the parish priest for living with his unbaptized Indian concubine, and taking advantage of the temporary absence of the village director, the interpreter convinced the residents of his village to join him in flight into the forest.³⁷ Notwithstanding the safe haven some mission aldeias offered natives, other so-called “missions” into the sertão, albeit touting their intent to proselytize were, in fact, no different from entradas and descimentos. Often, these “missions” were in reality one integrated components of state-sponsored and militarily-backed entradas. Carmelites, Franciscans, Capuchins, Mercedarians, Antonians and Jesuits alike descended native folk from remote regions nestled deep in the interior.³⁸ Although the Jesuit mission to the Tupinambá of the Tocantins in the early 1650s returned with 1,200 Indians, it was only half successful to the degree that roughly the same number of tribesmen refused to be persuaded to descend, wary that living in the mission aldeias would render them susceptible to enslavement by settlers.³⁹

Less systematic aggravations contributed to drastic reductions in the native population. Abuse and epidemics resulting from Indian-white relations contributed to major reconfigurations of the ethnographic landscape of Brazil and Amazônia. Physical and psychological harm suffered through violence and inhumane attitudes and actions of soldiers, settlers and even missionaries toward

³⁷ Ângela Maria Vieira Domingues, “Quando os índios eram vassalos. Colonização e relações de poder no Norte do Brasil na segunda metade do século XVIII” (Doctoral Dissertation, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998), 229.

³⁸ Maranhão CD 1, Cx 3, Doc 325, Maranhão 1 Cx 15, Doc 1496, Maranhão 1 Cx 15 Doc 1492

³⁹ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 109-14.

Indians were regular occurrences.⁴⁰ Maximization of work hours increased an Indian's work day from 14 to 16 hours.⁴¹ Disease also took a heavy toll on human life. Smallpox in 1662 reportedly took 2,000 lives in a matter of days.⁴² What had once been a land of plenty for Indians had become eroded and sullied by sugar mills, factories, prospectors and ranchers who burned and tore down trees, rendering the land infertile and exhausted by over cultivation. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the pollution of rivers, streams, and forests by colonists' indigo factories around the Ilha do Sol provided Indians with sufficient reason to move elsewhere.⁴³ The numerous tribes inhabiting the banks of the Amazon River and its tributaries, so exuberantly described in the earlier chronicles, had been extinguished by the mid-eighteenth century. Visitors to the region reported isolated and scattered villages, destitute of people. A report of 1749 found Macapá to be a lonely place: virulent infections, smallpox, and measles had wiped out the once thriving and healthy population.⁴⁴ The Canindé were said to have abandoned their aldeias in Rio Grande do Norte in 1699. Fevers, which had killed their headman, and other tribesmen, was cited as the culprit.⁴⁵ The loss of headmen, kinsmen and clansmen probably served as yet one more push towards the total tribal disintegration reportedly suffered by so many indigenous groups. Four choices, or a combination of four possible plans of action, were pursued by the survivors of war, mistreatment and disease; flight

⁴⁰ Maranhão 2, Cx 18, Doc 1862, Maranhão 2 Cx 16, Doc 1711.

⁴¹ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 75.

⁴² Fernandes, *Organização social*, 53.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ John Hemming, *Amazon Frontier. The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians* (London: MacMillan, 1987), 5.

⁴⁵ Rio Grande do Norte 1, cx 1, doc 47.

into the forests, far beyond the clutches of colonial laws, missionaries' zeal and settlers' labor intensive homes and farms, removed whole communities from the sphere of Indian-white relations. Incorporation into the colonial fold presented another option. Adoption by other marginal groups – other native communities or maroon societies, for example – presented yet another option. And the decision to resist, whose most aggressive manifestation took the form of assaults on settlements, or truculent responses to descimento and bandeira campaigns, continued to characterize colonial life as uncertain and dangerous.

The mass migrations of Tupi-Guarani speakers, campaigns of descimento, religious missions, abuse, and sickness acted together to dramatically reorder native dispersion throughout the Amazon Basin. The new circumstances into which descended, ransomed and captive Indians were thrown also promoted, in the beginning, acquisition and use of the Brasília. For example, upon discovery that the Tupinambá descended from the Tocantins River did not get along with the Pacajá living on the aldeia of Murticura, and despite the abundance and easy hunting of the locale, the Jesuits finally placed the Tupinambá with their own kin at Guajará aldeia.⁴⁶ As time passed, missionaries either became sloppier in their organization of aldeias, or perhaps lesser numbers of allied groups were being descended in the same regions. The effect was such that, by the eighteenth century, enemy tribes and peoples with no means of mutually intelligible communication ended up squeezed together, often for several months at a time, in the aldeias, before heading off to work for settlers and the crown. Part of the registry of Indians purchased as slaves for the Arraial de Nossa Senhora do

⁴⁶ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 111.

Carmo e Santa Ana in 1727-1728 shows that men, women and children from the Manao and eleven other tribes were living and working together.⁴⁷ As Tupinambá and other speakers of the *Brasílica* disappeared from colonial society, the appropriation of the language by non-Tupi-Guarani speakers did as much to preserve the *Brasílica* as it did to develop the *Vulgar*.⁴⁸ Writing between 1757 and 1779, the Jesuit missionary João Daniel observed aldeias in which 30 to 40 groups, each speaking different languages, lived side by side.⁴⁹ Although referring to the aldeias de repartição, his same comments were equally applicable to the mission aldeias. In the Jesuit aldeia “of the Tapuyas, Acoansûs and Tobajaras in the mountains of Ibiapaba,” for example, crown judge Cristóvão Soares Reimão found “400 married couples and 2,000 individuals, in addition to the Tapuyas [who number] 200.”⁵⁰ Further west, in the Jesuit residence of São João Baptista in the Xingû, “Juruna and Taquanhapéz” and probably tribesmen from other groups, coexisted under the spiritual and secular administration of Father Antônio Vaz.

Recurrent were the complaints among missionaries that Indians rarely remained long enough in the aldeias for their catechism, socialization, or language instruction to be effective.⁵¹ The Jesuit Visitor General to the missions, Father Jacinto de Carvalho, found that at best missionaries had access to their neophytes only two months out of the year – the remaining ten months being

⁴⁷ Coleção Alberto Lamego, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, cods. 43.50, 43.51, 43.52, 43.55, 43.56, 43.57, 43.58, 43.59, 43.61, 43.62, 43.63, 43.64, 43.65, 43.66, 43.67, 43.68, 43.69, 43.70, 43.71, 43.72, 43.73, 43.74.

⁴⁸ Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 225.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*: 227.

⁵⁰ Ceará 1, Cx 1, Doc 54.

⁵¹ Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 223-227.

passed in their toiling on behalf of the state and settlers.⁵² The energy and dedication expended in training Indians in the divine offices, European music theory, singing, musical instruments, reading and writing seemed hardly worth the outcome. Many were carted off to work for settlers or the crown, sometimes never to return.⁵³ Frequently, settlers refused to release the Indians at the end of their specified work period.⁵⁴ Some Indians opted not to return to the aldeias after their work and instead found increased autonomy living on the settlements, where they were not required to lead their lives in “Christian” fashion, as in the aldeias, where missionaries watched over them constantly.⁵⁵ No single factor contributed so decisively to the changing demography of Indian mission villages as did disease.

For many newly descended indigenous peoples, aldeias were dangerous breeding grounds of virulent Old World microbes and points of dissemination of European pathogens. Indians also ran away, were kidnapped, or sold as slaves. Especially during epidemics, many mission aldeias were seized, and new descimentos were commissioned to replenish the dwindling numbers of healthy workers. These conditions may have been propitious to the flourishing of the *Vulgar* in the eighteenth century, since a series of serious epidemics ravaged the local populations. In São Luís and Belém, smallpox, influenza, tuberculosis and famine in 1621, 1644, the 1690s, 1724-1725, 1730-32 and again in the 1750s brought the regional economy to a standstill as survivors wandered the streets,

⁵² Freire, *Rio Babel*, 115.

⁵³ Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 22.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*: 210, 213.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 22x.

their faces scarred and disfigured.⁵⁶ More than half of the Indian population of Pará died in the terrible epidemic of measles that swept the Amazon river valley in 1749.⁵⁷ If the 1722 royal provision giving private settlers in the captaincy of Caité the right to take by *resgate* 50 couples seemed representative of the usual ratio of Indian to white, namely 100:1, it would corroborate the veracity of the Visitor General's appraisal.⁵⁸

The linguistic diversity of the aldeias, constituted, for example, between 1687 and 1690, some 184,040 native speakers of Tukano, Arawak and Karib languages taken from their far-flung homelands along the Tocantins, Amazonas, and Negro rivers and squeezed into aldeias.⁵⁹ None were native to the Tupi-Guarani speech forms, were unfamiliar with the *Brasílica*, and attempts by missionaries to train them linguistically were constantly interrupted. The result was thousands of Indians speaking mutually-incomprehensible mother tongues who drew on their own oral traditions in their respective reproductions of the *línguas gerais amazônicas*. Precisely due to its appropriation by non-Tupi-Guarani communities, by the early eighteenth-century those versed in the *Brasílica* hardly recognized the *Vulgar* of *Amazônia*.

The known settlements and forests of *Amazônia* appeared almost lifeless in the early decades of the 1700s. The Basin's riverine networks, once

⁵⁶ Dauril Alden and Joseph C. Miller, "Out of Africa: The Slave Trade and the Transmission of Smallpox to Brazil, 1560-1831," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 2 (1987): 201-203, 205; David Sweet, "Francisca. A Slave," in *Struggle & Survival in Colonial America*, ed. Gary B. Nash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 286.

⁵⁷ Sweet, "Francisca," 289-290.

⁵⁸ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 115.

⁵⁹ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, "Da 'fala boa' ao português na Amazônia brasileira," *Amerindia* 8 (1983): 50. Greg Urban, "A história da cultura brasileira segundo as línguas nativas," in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992), 93, 95.

characterized by the bustle and activity of human cultures, were barren in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ The Jesuit Vice Provincial Father José Vidigal's 1734 report bemoaned a miserable state of Indian life in the mission aldeias and in those of repartição. He reported, for example, the complete extinction of two densely populated aldeias, one of the local Igaruanas and another of Tabajares, who had been descended from Ceará and once had settled near the Icatû. In ten aldeias of Tupinambá near Tapuitapera which were later agglomerated into one, only five or six Indians remained in 1734. In another aldeia, where the quantity of Tupinambá had appeared "innumerable [in the past], now they are reduced to the number of twenty Indians." Another aldeia, of the Pacajá, who had descended from Pará in great numbers, counted no more than enough men to row one canoe.⁶¹ The mass migrations of the early period that had brought Tupi-Guarani speakers from the State of Brazil to the State of Maranhão and Pará were far from isolated instances. Throughout Amazônia, natives were fleeing white encroachment on their lands and bodies. As for the Tupi-Guarani, however, notwithstanding the slaughter and acculturation into colonial society associated with their integration into the white settlements and aldeias since the early 1500s, their languages continued to be current and widely used in the sertão, even as late as the early eighteenth century, whereas at that time, in colonial circles, the Brasília had been supplanted by the Vulgar. Between the years 1662 and 1665, the Tocantins River was home to numerous groups of Tupinambá, still

⁶⁰ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 5.

⁶¹ José Vidigal, "Letter to D. João V," São Paulo, São Luís, 9 June 1734, Arquivo do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Coleção Alberto Lamego, Cod 43.1.

free of the colonial yoke.⁶² In 1720, an abundance of “Indians of *língua geral*” inhabited the interior of Pará, an indication of these groups’ success in fleeing far from the roving eyes and ready guns of sertanistas, bandeirantes, settlers and the provincial government.⁶³

Christian Doctrine in the Brasília

The arrival of the Jesuits coming from their Brazilian missions, with their tomes of grammatical studies and sheets of vocabulary, sung and chanted orations, and well-practiced and fluent in the Brasília, constituted a second wave grounding Tupi-Guarani orality in Amazônia. The first mission to Maranhão in 1607 had ended with the death of the mission superior, Father Francisco Pinto.⁶⁴ In 1615, Fathers Manuel Gomes and Diogo Nunes, a well-known *língua* from the State of Brazil, formed part of the governor’s entourage to assume control of the French fort at São Luís.⁶⁵ Owing to Jesuit influence, the expedition included 300 Indian warriors, probably mostly Tupinambá.⁶⁶ Although the priests were ordered to return to Pernambuco, epidemics of smallpox and measles delayed their departure until 1618.⁶⁷ Instead, two Carmelite friars who were also accompanying the expedition remained and founded convents in Maranhão and,

⁶² Fernandes, *Organização social*, 52.

⁶³ Domingos de Araujo, S.J., “Cap. 9 Missões da Companhia de Jesus pertencentes ao colégio de S. Alexandre do Grão Pará, especialmente deste rio’ In “Chronica da Companhia de Jesus da Missão do Maranhão,” Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Histórico Itamaraty 1720, Estante 340 Prateleira 1 Volume 6 Doc. 5.

⁶⁴ Manoel Gomes, “Informação da Ilha de S. Domingos, Venezuela, Maranhão e Pará (1621),” in *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, ed. Serafim Leite (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), 425.

⁶⁵ Leite, *HCJB*, III, 99.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 100, 36. Mathias C. Kieman, *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1954), 17.

later, in Pará, administering exclusively to Portuguese settlers.⁶⁸ Four Franciscans, arriving about the time of the departure of Fathers Gomes and Nunes, were the first missionaries to administer to native communities but their efforts concentrated on maintaining peace between Indians who were being enslaved by white settlers.⁶⁹ And, although French Capuchin missionaries assigned to São Luís before the Moura expedition, had baptized certain indigenous communities and their headmen, until the establishment of Jesuit missions programs of native proselytization were scattered and weak. As had been the case in so many other parts of the Portuguese seaborne empire, the arrival of the Jesuits in 1622 in Maranhão, under the leadership of Father Luís Figueira, edged the Indian worlds of the northern colony into the centralized mission systems characteristic of the Jesuit order.⁷⁰ That the first Jesuit mission to the region counted on the expertise and energies of three *línguas* upheld the order's practice elsewhere in their global missions. Accompanying Figueira were Padre Lopo do Couto, who had been in Brazil since 1609, where he learned the *língua Brasília* in the Tupinambá aldeias of Bahia, and Padre Benedito Amodei, who had been in Brazil since 1619 and identified himself as a "half *língua*."⁷¹ From the perspective of the inhabitants of Maranhão what distinguished the Jesuits were their efforts at learning local languages and their growing ability to communicate with many of the Indians they met. According to Jesuit Father Manuel Gomes, soon after entering the fort at São Luís and celebrating the Portuguese victory over the French in 1615, several headmen approached him to

⁶⁸ Kieman, *Indian Policy*, 17.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁷⁰ Leite, *HCJB*, III, 104.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III, 115.

invite him to their villages to set up “new crosses and churches, and to declare to them in their language the mysteries of our Holy faith, with more clarity than did the Reverend Barbadinho Fathers, who did not know [the Brasília].”⁷²

Speakers of the Brasília were recruited into residence in the mission aldeias, both for their own indoctrination but also for the assistance they could offer to the missionaries as interpreters and mediators. The aldeia of Uçaguaba, for example, at first comprised 300 residents, most of whom were the Tupinambá who had made the journey with Father Gomes, Nunes and Moura, along with local Indians, most of whom were bilingual. They communicated with the priests and other Indians in the Brasília, and with their own family members in their mother tongues.⁷³ In 1656, the Jesuit Father João do Souto Maior accompanied the entrada sent out to discover gold, authorized by D. João IV and accompanied by 190 Indians, 32 “whites with miners and a pilot ... all chosen people” for their linguistic acumen and survival skills in the sertão, resulting in the descent of Tupi-speaking Pacajás into five aldeias located near Cametá, [Belém] Pará, Serigipe, and Tapuytaperá.⁷⁴

Missões volantes, or “flying missions,” were visits made by traveling priests to indigenous communities who did not live in aldeias. These “flying missions” are believed to have been set in motion since the first days of the Jesuits in Maranhão in 1615.⁷⁵ The Jesuits were great promoters of the Brasília. In their mission aldeias and missões volantes, Jesuits instructed and preached to diverse societies in this language. During the administration of Mission Superior

⁷² Ibid, , III, 136.

⁷³ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 76.

⁷⁴ Bettendorff, *Crônica*, 306-07.

⁷⁵ Leite, *HCJB*, III, 143.

António Vieira, for example, notice was given that Father Ribeiro had been delayed in two aldeias, where he had been preaching “in the language of Brazil,” and hearing confessions, before continuing on to São Luís.⁷⁶ Jesuits also kept current their practice of identifying neophytes whom they judged to show exceptional skills or be particularly aspiring and training these to supervise the instruction of Christian Doctrine to their own peoples. By the mid-eighteenth century, the situation appeared deplorable. At best, Jesuits counted on the “less badly instructed” natives, in the words of one Jesuit chronicler, to continue the catechetical work formerly ministered by the Fathers themselves. Elements of Christian ritual, such as the practice of sacraments, had been discontinued.⁷⁷ Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, missions and campaigns of descimento targeted the still yet uncontacted societies living farther inland or upstream. In many cases, neither missionized nor missionary spoke the Brasília, or had only a rudimentary understanding of the language. Father Pero Fernandes Monteiro, Jesuit Procurator General of the Missions, complained in 1663 that few Franciscans in the northern missions knew língua geral.⁷⁸ Nor did many secular priests know the language, according to Father António Vieira in 1660.⁷⁹ As responsibility for the missions was being taken over by religious orders who did not hold as fundamental mutual linguistic comprehension between priest and neophyte, Brasília speech began to deviate from the norm.

⁷⁶ Joze de Moraes Fonseca Pinto, “Historia da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia do Maranhão e Pará, que ás Reaes Cinzas da Fidelissima Rainha e Senhora Nossa D. Mariana de Austria, oferece seu Author o P. Joze de Moraes Fonseca Pinto, filho da mesma Provincia,” 1759, Manuscritos do Brasil, 36, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Kieman, *Indian Policy*, 121.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 113.

The use of the Brasília by such non-native missionaries, many coming from their novitiate training in Europe or elsewhere in the Jesuit empire, may have been one more way in which the language suffered alterations. Indians and whites alike, unfamiliar with the Brasília but funneled into the system of the mission aldeias and aldeias de repartição, soldered together, sometimes clumsily, other times eloquently, their knowledge of the language. The case of the Manao translation of the Christian Doctrine was indicative of the general process whereby the Brasília merged into the línguas gerais amazônicas. Having learned the Christian Doctrine in the Brasília, a Manao “[con]verted it into his language, saying that some of the words were not very elegant, but that he composed them as best as he understood, and in this way may he be pardoned for the errors that are found in this [catechism], since they were put so without intent” (Illustration 5).⁸⁰ Such incidents suggest that elements of Christianity were not sufficiently passed on to Indians, at least insofar as the concepts could be rendered linguistically. The response given in 1740 by Amazonian Indians, printed at the start of this chapter, the excess of phrases and verbiage -- as if struggling to find the appropriate language to explain the fundamentals of Christianity -- was a far cry from the same text offered by the Brasília. Two short phrases expressed in the Brasília could encapsulate the complexity of Christian message for redemption and salvation of one’s soul.⁸¹

⁸⁰ “[Gelboé Compendium].”

⁸¹ For discussion of the sacralization of the Brasília in the face of the developing and dominating Vulgar, see M. Kittiya Lee, “Among the Vulgar, the Erudite and the Sacred: The Oral Life of Colonial Amazonia,” in *Harvard International Seminar on Atlantic History: Indigenous Cultures: Adaptation, Persistence, or Resistance (1626-1800), Working Paper 08-14* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2004).

Perguntas da Doutrina Christãa pela Lingoa
 Manoa, vertida, ou tirada da Lingoa Geral.
 Quem isto escreveu não sabe a dita Lingoa
 mas hu Manoa, q. aprendeo a Doutrina pela
 Lingoa Tupinambã, a verteo na sua Lingoa e dize.
 de q. algumas das palavras não hevam muy.
 a legantes, mas q. as compunha con forme me.
 he ay entendia, e assim se pode perdoar os erros
 q. nella se acharem; pois se puzeram sem que-
 rerem; mas so p. quem souber a dita Lingoa se
 puzeram, ou y creveram, e nuncificara sem
 fructo, quem a ensinar, q. assim como tomam
 o maõ, q. vem, tam bem tomam o bem se ancia
 digu se tomancia, e zelo da gloria de deos, tra-
 ensinam como se vera visto, ou experimenta-
 do. E quem isto escreveu, o nam fez, nem fez, einda com-
 dor de olhos; senam p. honra e gloria de deos, a que
 sempre seja dada p. todos os seculos dos seculos
 Amen.

Illustration 5. Taken from the notebook of the Christian Doctrine in the language of the Manao Indians, or “Caderno da Doutrina pella Lingoa dos Manaos” in the Gelboé Compendium, London, British Library, Manuscript Room, Collection of South American Languages, King George 223, folio 125f.

Questions of the Christian Doctrine by the Manao language, [con]verted or taken from the General Language. Whomever wrote this does not know the said language but one Manao who learned the [Christian] Doctrine by the Tupinambã Language, turned it into his language, saying that some of the words were not very elegant, but that he composed them as well as he understood, and in this way he may be pardoned for the errors which are found in [the words] since he put them [there] without meaning [to err]; but only for he who knows the said language are [the words] placed, or written, and never will this remain without fruit[. He] who teaches it, who in this way takes the bad, who comes to take the good, too, if [service,] I mean, if with service and zeal of the Glory of his [flock] they teach it as it would be seen, or experienced. And [he] whom wrote this did not make it, nor made it, and even so [remains with tired] eyes, if not for all the centuries of centuries. Amen.

By mid-century, sources had begun to call attention to the “corrupted” language spoken by aldeia Indians. Jesuit Father and 35-year resident of Amazônia João Daniel had noticed that a lingua franca similar to the Brasília had evolved to bridge communication gaps between peoples of mutually unintelligible languages.⁸² Jesuit priests studied in the language manuals and grammars of the Brasília were no longer able to make themselves understood, or to understand neophytes being brought into the aldeias. Works such as Luís Figueira’s 1687 grammar continued to be consulted by generations of missionaries in Maranhão and Pará, even after prohibitions on the use of the Brasília and the Vulgar had been imposed by the Pombaline administration.⁸³ As a result, whereas catechisms published in the seventeenth century were no longer comprehensible, new translations of the Vulgar were formulated, transcribed and circulated. Bettendorff’s 1687 *Compendio da Doutrina Cristã* was rendered into the “Vulgar language used in these times,” sections of which will be discussed in chapter five.⁸⁴ Other works were copied in manuscript or printed in 1757, 1771, and 1795, together with undated linguistic documentation, text formerly scripted in the Brasília and now reworked into the Vulgar.⁸⁵ One

⁸² Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 225.

⁸³ Eduardo Hoornaert, “O breve período profético das missões na Amazônia brasileira (1607-1661),” in *História da Igreja na Amazônia*, ed. Eduardo Hoornaert (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992), 125. Freire, “Da ‘fala boa,’” 51.

⁸⁴ João Felipe Bettendorff, “Doutrina Christã Em lingoa geral dos Indios do Estado do Brasil e Maranhão, composta pelo P. Philippe Bettendorff, traduzida em lingua irregular, e vulgar izada nestes tempos” s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, 1089, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.

⁸⁵ “[Gelboé Compendium].” “Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil que se falla Em todas as Villas, Lugares, e Aldeas deste vastissimo Estado. Escrito na Cidade do Pará. Anno 1771.” [1771], Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 81, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra. *Diccionario Portuguez, e Brasiliano, obra necessaria aos Ministros do Altar, que emprehenderem a conversão de tantos milhares de almas que ainda se achão dispersas pelos vastos certoes do Brasil, sem o lume da Fé, e Baptismo.*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Officina Patriarchal, [1795] MDCCXCV). “Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d.,

pronunciation key, also examined in chapter five, is focused on the graphic articulation of forms of pronunciation and vocabulary in the Vulgar.⁸⁶

The Brasília and the State

Throughout the seventeenth century, the state played an active role in the forming a colony of speakers of the Brasília. In 1757, however, the Diretório forbade all communication in the Lusophone language, disallowing the “language of [the Indians’] own nations, or of the so-called *geral*.”⁸⁷ The “so-called *geral*” was a reference to the *língua geral*, or general language of Amazônia and probably referred to the Brasília, since the earliest mention of the Vulgar is dated 1720.⁸⁸ The four decades during which colonial Amazônia lived under the *Diretório* were years during which the Brasília’s stronghold on local orality began to waver as the Portuguese language was systematically implanted into the region. When the commercial enterprise called the General Company of Great Pará and Maranhão was founded in 1755, its directors prohibited the use of the Brasília, setting up classes in the Portuguese language.⁸⁹ But the Lusophone language did not manage to replace the Brasília. Officials throughout the century complained about the general neglect in upholding sections 6, 7, and 8 of

Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 94. “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil. Com hum Diccionario dos vocabulos mais uzuaes para a intelligencia da dita Lingua,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 69. João Felipe Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christãa na lingua portugueza e brasílica, composto pelo P. João Filippe Betendorf, Antigo Missionario do Brasil, e reimpresso de ordem de S. Alteza real Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor por Fr. José Mariano da Conceição Vellozo* (Lisboa: M.DCCC [1800]).

⁸⁶ “Prosodia da Lingoa.”

⁸⁷ “Diretorio que se deve observar nas povoações dos Índios do Pará e Maranhão enquanto Sua Magestade não mandar o Contrário.” Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional - Torre de Tombo 1755, Manuscritos da Livraria, Livro 962, ff. 118-141.

⁸⁸ “[Gelboé Compendium].”

⁸⁹ Freire, “Da ‘fala boa,’” 61.

the *Directorate* which proscribed its use. Although the details of the case still remain unstudied, Mercedarian missionary Friar Rosário was called before the Inquisition in 1766 for preaching to his parishioners in the local vernacular, and not Portuguese. Writing in his own defense seven years later, the friar argued that his concern was salvation, and not the linguistic instruction, of his flock. To those ends, the Brasília proved much more efficient in the making of Christian Amazônia.

If firstly [priests] would instruct them [the parishioners] in the Portuguese language, and later explain to them in the Vulgar the significations of the doctrines that they expounded, being this manner of teaching more scholastic and grammatical than evangelical, Christian and ecclesiastical; and, being taught in this mode, imbue them first in the Portuguese language, constructing it for them, than in the matters of salvation, of which they need more than to be Portuguese grammarians, a matter which in the secular schools are managed, and not in those of the church...⁹⁰

Father Rosário was not alone in his opinion. Jesuit Fathers had been delivering their sermons in like manner to native, white and mestizo neophytes and Christians since their entry into Amazônia in 1607.⁹¹ The missionary stationed at mid-century at the aldeia at Cumamú had disregarded the instruction of Indian boys and girls in reading and writing Portuguese, too, but this priest even went as far as to punish those who insisted on using Portuguese.⁹² Francisco Xavier

⁹⁰ José Pereira da Silva, "Lingua Vulgar *versus* Lingua Portuguesa -- A defesa do Pe. Manuel da Penha do Rosário contra a imposição da língua portuguesa aos índios por meio de missionários e párocos (1773)," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 113 (1993) (1994): 22.

⁹¹ Domingos Antonio Raiol, "Catechese de Índios do Pará," *Annaes da Bibliotheca e Archivo Público do Pará-Belém* II (1902): 148. Kieman, *Indian Policy*, 10.

⁹² Carta de José António de Freitas Guimarães a [Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado], 13 February 1753, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Coleção Pombalina, cod. 622, f. 33.

Mendonça Furtado, the newly-appointed governor of the state, believed that some missionaries were reluctant to teach Portuguese to “the Indians that they bring from the sertões” in order to maintain their dependence on missionaries and settlers, and to keep them ignorant of what went on in the Portuguese language.⁹³ The case of Francisca, a non-Manao who had grown up among the tribe perhaps as a captive or slave, is indicative of what was happening. In 1718, Francisca is reported as being a domestic servant in the household of Dona Ana de Fonte in Belém. During almost half a century of service in the capital of the Portuguese colony, she forgot her Manao language and acquired the Brasília, or possibly an early form of the Vulgar, but not Portuguese.⁹⁴

Rui Vaz de Sequeira’s appraisal of the four captaincies which formed the northern colony in 1672 revealed only two towns, in which the white population of soldiers and poor folk averaged around 800, all of whom were desperately dependent on their Indian neighbors.⁹⁵ For most of the period under discussion, in any given location in Portuguese America, whites formed the numerical minority, even in the urban centers or older settlements of São Vicente, Salvador, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro. Immigration policies of the crown throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aimed to direct men, women, and children from the metropolis and other parts of the empire to the northern colony. Many arrived with the Lusophone language as their principal and sole means of linguistic communication, although Gypsies and vassals of other European

⁹³ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 65.

⁹⁴ Sweet, “Francisca,” 280, 281.

⁹⁵ Kiemann, *Indian Policy*, 131; David Sweet, “A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: the Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974), 26-27, 46.

crowns, equipped with their own linguistic diversity, were also numbered among the new arrivals.⁹⁶ In the early 1700s, for example, the high courts presiding over cases throughout the Portuguese empire deported criminals to Ceará.⁹⁷ Exiles served their time in the State of Brazil to Maranhão in 1722.⁹⁸ In the second half of that century, Maranhão became a key destination for the deportation of persons found guilty of committing serious wrongdoings.⁹⁹ Lusophone settlers arriving in Maranhão in the seventeenth century, while numerically buttressing the tiny population of Lusophone representatives in the northern colony, in fact did little to insert use of the Portuguese language into Amazônia. As it was spoken in the State of Maranhão and Pará during its first century and a half of Iberian colonization, Portuguese was considered a “meia-língua,” or half-language, by Father António Vieira, and composed of “many terms from the barbarous languages and many words from old Portuguese,” in the words of an observer in 1725.¹⁰⁰ “Meia-língua,” or speech that was poorly pronounced and grammatically incorrect, was considered the domain of non-native speakers or country folk, untrained in the standard registers of Portuguese.¹⁰¹ The concept of “meia-língua” was evoked in early modern Iberian literature, poetry and plays to ridicule and “to characterize the illegitimacy of [forms of] speech” considered to

⁹⁶ Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans. Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 6, 45, 46, 83, 85, 98, 102, 05, 39, 76.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁰⁰ Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *A língua portuguesa e a unidade do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1958), 80. Suzana Alice Marcelino Cardoso, “Brazilian dialectology: perspectives,” *DELTA* 15, Special Issue [no number] (1999): 233.

¹⁰¹ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 80.

have “detoured” from the norm,¹⁰² not unlike eighteenth-century writers’ perceptions of the Vulgar. Although in 1722 the Portuguese Crown recommended instruction in the Portuguese language for those already familiar with the fundamentals of Christian Doctrine in the Brasília, Domingos Antonio Raiol, the Baron of Guajar, reported the near extinction of the Portuguese language from Maranho.¹⁰³ The Brasília and Portuguese alternated as lingua francas of the northern colony and operated as mega languages which extinguished other languages, indigenous and European, spoken by minority groups.¹⁰⁴

The first official document issued by the crown to regulate use of the lnguas gerais appeared in 1667. Dated 23 January, this document recommended use of the language “of the Indians,” to be encouraged through the compiling, printing and circulation of instruction manuals.¹⁰⁵ The municipal council of So Lus suspended execution of the law in April of that year, because its articles gave administrative power over the Indians to ecclesiastics and threatened what provincial authorities claimed as their jurisdiction.¹⁰⁶ The clause on language manuals went into effect, however, and on a 1684 trip to Lisbon, Jesuit Father Felipe Bettendorff, missionary linguist and chronicler, was charged with the task of overseeing the publication of three manuals specifically written for the missions in Amaznia.¹⁰⁷ These were duly printed. Under the authorship of Antnio de Arajo’s, whose 1618 *Catecismo Na Lngua Braslica*, made years

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Sweet, “A Rich Realm,” 106.

¹⁰⁴ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 80.

¹⁰⁵ Jos Oscar Beozzo, *Leis e regimentos das misses. Poltica indigenista no Brasil* (So Paulo: Loyola, 1983), 93-98.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 90, 93-99.

¹⁰⁷ Leite, *HCJB*, III, 100.

earlier by “Knowledgeable Padres and good línguas of the Company of Jesus” and written for the missions of the State of Brazil was revised in a second edition in 1686 by Jesuit Father Bertholameu de Leam.¹⁰⁸ Luís Figueira’s 1621 grammar of the “common speech of the Indians of Brazil,” appeared in 1687 in a new edition entitled *Arte De Grammatica Da Língua Brasilica*.¹⁰⁹ Bettendorff’s own first published language manual, *Compendio da Doutrina Cristã Na lingua Portugueza, & Brasilica*, released by the printer Miguel Deslandes in Lisbon, was intended to provide the priestzsz “of the Cities, & Villas, as those of the Aldeias, & jointly [for] all the residents of the State of Maranhão, a summary of the mysterious principals of our Holy Catholic Faith.”¹¹⁰

The following years, from 1686-1727, are considered to be the period during which the Brasília expanded throughout the Amazon Basin with royal support.¹¹¹ Two years after Bettendorff’s last language manual was released, a royal letter dated 30 November 1689 declared the Brasília as the official language of the State of Maranhão and Pará. The letter required that

¹⁰⁸ Antonio de Araujo, S.J., et al., *Catecismo na Lingoa Brasilica, no qual se contem a svmmada doutrina christã. Com tudo o que pertence aos Mysterios de nossa sancta Fê & Bõs costumes. Composto a modo de Dialogos por Padres Doctos, & bons lingoas da Companhia de IESV. Agora nouamente concertado, ordenado, & acrescentado pello Padre Antonio d'Araujo Theologo, & lingoa da mesma Companhia* (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1618), 7 pages following XVII. Antonio de Araujo, S.J., et al., *Catecismo Brasilico Da Doutrina Christãa, Com o Ceremonial dos Sacramentos, & mais actos Parochiaes. Composto Por Padres Doutos da Companhia de JESUS, Aperfeçoado, & dado a luz Pelo Padre Antonio de Araujo da mesma Companhia. Emendado nesta segunda impressãõ Pelo P. Bertholameu de Leam da mesma Companhia.* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, M. DC. LXXXVI [1686]).

¹⁰⁹ Luís Figueira, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingua Brasilica* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1687), first unnumbered page of “Aprovacam,” by Manuel Cardoso.

¹¹⁰ Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christam Na lingua Portugueza, & Brasilica: Em que se comprehendem os principaes mysterios de nossa Santa Fe Catholica, & meios de nossa Salvação: ordenada à maneira de Dialogos accomodados para o ensino dos Indios, com duas breves Instrukções: hua para bautizar em caso de extrema necessidade, os que ainda são Pagaõs; & outra, para os ajudar a bem morrer, em falta de quem saiba fazerlhe esta charidade: Pelo P. Joam Phelippe Bettendorff da Companhia de Jesus, Missionario da Missãõ do Estado do Maranhão*, unnumbered page entitled “Ao Leitor.”

¹¹¹ Freire, “Da 'fala boa',” 40, 53-54.

missionaries teach the Brasília to Indians and whites, thereby serving the purpose of not only giving them access to comprehending the Christian faith but also permitting communication between Indians, plantation lords, and slave owners.¹¹² During this period, campaigns of descimento, missions, and life in the settlers' homes and plantations continued to operate with the Brasília as their major lingua franca. Through no specific means, the language floated upstream on the Amazon and into its tributaries. The expansion of the Brasília into the Amazon Basin resulted in the extermination of minor and tribal languages.¹¹³

By the eighteenth century, provincial authorities seemed willing to phase the Portuguese language into local orality. In 1722, the crown suggested that Portuguese be taught to Indians conversant in Christian Doctrine in the Brasília. Five years later, another provision issued from the metropolis proscribed the Brasília language and inserted Portuguese in its place.¹¹⁴ That these policies could ever have been implemented must be reconsidered in light of the fact that in 1720, in Pará, speakers of the línguas gerais amazônicas numbered 54,264 Indians, who resided in 63 clergy-administered villages. The 1,000 or so resident Portuguese probably spoke the language as well, and it is almost certain that the 20,000 mestizo and Indian slaves also did so.¹¹⁵ For thirty years following the last provision and in spite of its restrictions on the línguas gerais amazônicas and its advocacy of Portuguese, from 1727 to 1757 the Brasília survived throughout Maranhão and Pará, albeit covertly and perhaps in the early stages of its

¹¹² Ibid: 61. Kieman, *Indian Policy*, 170.

¹¹³ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 70-79.

¹¹⁴ Sweet, "A Rich Realm," 106. Beozzo, *Leis*.

¹¹⁵ Raiol, "Catechese," 132.

evolution into the Vulgar.¹¹⁶ A regulation of 3 May 1757 and a royal decree dated 7 November 1758 reinvigorated the 1722 promotion of Portuguese and forbade the use of any other language.¹¹⁷ It was precisely at this point that the *Directorate* prohibited the use of the línguas gerais amazônicas. Despite such official interventions, observers noted that the línguas gerais amazônicas were spoken by all peoples of the Amazon who were “integrate[d] into the colonial system[; it was] the language used in the village schools as well as in the schools of the administrative centers of the captaincies.”¹¹⁸

Evidently, the *Diretório* did not succeed, at least not in so far as its linguistic proscriptions were concerned. Freire analyses the weaknesses of Pombal’s plan as basically interlinked on the three levels of economic, demographic and scholastic. The Companhia Geral folded in 1778, and with it, Pombal’s plan to substitute the agriculture-based economy on the exploitation of forest products. In turn, these economic policies impacted the organization of the aldeias and schools which relied on the residence and attendance of Indians compliant to the colonial structure. Moreover, Amerindian parents did not approve of their young befriending white children for fear of enslavement and abuse.¹¹⁹ The *Directorate* was dissolved in 1798 by Queen D. Maria I. At least as regarded its linguistic proscriptions, the plan had failed to achieve its goal of eliminating the Brasília and the Vulgar from the province. In 1771, a contemporary wrote that the “Lingua geral of Brazil that is spoken in all the villas, lugares and aldeias of this most vast State” of Pará was carefully

¹¹⁶ Freire, “Da 'fala boa',” 40.

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 61.

¹¹⁸ Raiol, “Catechese,” 132.

¹¹⁹ Freire, “Da 'fala boa',” 62.

handwritten and bound into a lexicon of the Vulgar, providing Portuguese meanings for non-speakers.¹²⁰ Nor had the residents of Amazônia stopped using the línguas gerais amazônicas at the century's end. In 1795, printers at the Officina Patriarchal in Lisbon busily typeset the first volume of a dictionary of the language, the “work [considered] necessary to the ministry of the altar,” and intended for “those who administer the former missions, and [because of] the difficulty with which in [the missions] the Portuguese language is spoken, to assist in better understanding the interior state of their conscience.”¹²¹ The influences of the línguas gerais amazônicas on local “Brazilian vocabulary” have been extensive. In 1800, the compendium of the Christian Doctrine, written by a “former missionary of Brazil,” the Jesuit Father João Felipe Bettendorff, was reprinted with all religious materials in the Brasília, suggesting its perseverance as the preferred language of the church.¹²² In 1884, a little over half a century following integration of the State of Maranhão and Pará into the empire of Brazil, a dictionary of Portuguese, as it was spoken in the independent nation was published. This included a listing of 120 words “of Tupi origin in the Amazon.”¹²³ Today in the modern Brazilian state of Amazonas, the former captaincy of Rio Negro, one of the línguas gerais amazônicas, probably the Vulgar, continued as the regional lingua franca into the twenty-first century.¹²⁴ Throughout the nineteenth century and into the present day, studies continue to explore the ways

¹²⁰ “Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil.”

¹²¹ *Diccionario Portuquez, e Brasiliano*.

¹²² João Felipe Bettendorff, *Compendio da Doutrina Christã na lingua portuqueza e brasilica, composto pelo P. João Filippe Betendorf, Antigo Missionario do Brasil*, ed. Fr. José Mariano da Conceição Vellozo (Lisbon: S. Alteza Real Principe Regente Nosso Senhor, M.DCCC [1800]).

¹²³ Cardoso, “Brazilian dialectology,” 235.

¹²⁴ Freire, *Rio Babel*, 126.

in which Brazilian Portuguese inherited phonetic, lexical, and grammatical legacies bequeathed indelibly by languages supposedly spoken only by minority and oppressed groups of Portuguese America, such as Tupi-Guarani and Bantu.¹²⁵

This chapter has identified an important and overlooked colony-wide lingua franca, the Vulgar, and attributes its evolution to the high levels of language diversity, and to the intensity of sustained contact and exchange in the colonial settlements and aldeias of eighteenth century Amazônia. Although further lines of inquiry are necessary, the current research presented in this chapter supports the hypothesis that the Vulgar was a language spontaneously formed in response to the need for interlingual communication in Amazônia, at a time when no linguistic majority predominated. The survey of the demographic, social and political conditions present in the colonial settlements and aldeias at the time of the emergence of the Vulgar, provides the historical context for a more detailed description and examination of the Vulgar.

¹²⁵ Cardoso, "Brazilian dialectology," 234-40. Freire, *Rio Babel*, 81. Antônio Geraldo da Cunha, *Dicionário Histórico das palavras portuguesas de origem tupi*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1982). Freire also dedicates a substantial portion of his study of language in Amazônia to the expansion of the Portuguese language throughout the region and its eventual replacement of LGA. *O Rio Babel*, 127-255.

Chapter Five

Updated Prosodia, Corrupted Prose: A Vulgar Language

The Brasília “is ruined and corrupt in a way that it seems like another language; but, it is the one used in all the Portuguese missions in the Amazon, and it is what the new nations learn, upon leaving the forests, and it is what the white missionaries study ... not through rules and precepts of the grammar, but by use and experience with the same Indians.”

João Daniel, *O tesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas*, 1757.¹

This chapter will examine the linguistic properties of the Vulgar as these were contrasted with the phonetic, lexical and grammatical observances of the Brasília in language manuals produced in or for the use of residents of the State of Maranhão and Pará during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As such, this chapter will provide an analytical view of the linguistic components of the Brasília and the Vulgar. Because this dissertation is concerned with establishing the social importance of the Brasília and the Vulgar as colony-wide *língua francas* in Portuguese America – and not with language classification -- the linguistic analyses and examples offered here should be viewed as snapshots of the Vulgar and commentaries of its historical development at selective moments in its evolution from the Brasília, its base language, starting with the earliest extant document dated 1720.

Although contemporary usage of the term, “vulgar” also signified “vernacular,” sources are explicit in their description of the Vulgar as a

¹ João Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas,” *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 95, 1-2 ([1757-1776] 1975): 225.

“depraved” language. This is the eighteenth-century variation of the Tupi-Tapuia dichotomy, discussed earlier in chapter two. A class of persons highly gifted in oratory in the *Brasílica* will be examined contrasted with the speakers of the *Vulgar*. It appears that, with the emergence of the *Vulgar*, writers of language manuals became increasingly aware of style and eloquence, as best exhibited by the *ladinos*.

Vulgar Pronunciations: A New Colonial Language

The appearance of a corrupt and irregular spoken vernacular was duly remarked in eighteenth-century language manuals. The undated manuscript entitled, “*Doutrina Christã Em lingua geral dos Indios do Estado do Brasil e Maranhão*” probably produced in mid- to late eighteenth century, announced as its prime feature the translation of Bettendorff’s 1678 *Compêndio da Doutrina Cristã*, originally written in Portuguese and the *Brasílica*, “into the irregular and [V]ulgar language used in these times.”² Detailed examination of another dictionary, called the “*Prosodia da Lingoa*,” shows the attention given by the work to distinguishing between vocabulary in current and outdated usage. It appears that lexicon in the *Vulgar* had come to replace certain words in the *Brasílica*. For example, the “*Prosodia da Lingoa*” lists the phrase “*Aiár Tupá*” (“to commune with God”) but informs that a synonymous term, “*Atuparára*,” is “used more” in common speech. Speakers wishing to show concurrence on a matter might say “*Neí*” (“to concede word,”) but “vulgarly, in these lands [one should instead

² João Felipe Bettendorff, “*Doutrina Christã Em lingua geral dos Indios do Estado do Brasil e Maranhão*, composta pelo P. Philippe Bettendorff, traduzida em lingua irregular, e vulgar izada nestes tempos” s.d., *Secção dos Manuscritos*, 1089, *Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra*, Coimbra.

pronounce] Aujebéte.” Further down the page of the “Prosodia da Lingoa”, the text identifies the root word, “Apè,” as signifying any variety of shellfish. But, for the speaker who had already satisfied his or her hunger and consumed the animal inside, he or she could refer to the shell simply, by saying, “Apécoéra[, which the dictionary clarified by adding:] This is Tupinambá. [In the] Vulgar [the word for the shell is] pirèra.”³

Not all authors bothered to, or were able to include the vocabulary in use, however. Although in some instances, the *Chrestomathia da Lingua Brazilica* offers alternative vocabulary words that replaced terms of older usage, the text often supplies the notation that “all these words [listed] are not understood,”⁴ leaving the user with no idea how to communicate the terms he or she looked up. It appears however, that even with the best of intentions in compiling a reference work for current speech, some authors had difficulty in grasping the language in its dynamic evolution away from the so-called “speech of the Tupinambá,” as the Brasília had also grown to be considered in Amazônia around the time of the extinction of the Tupinambá.

These examples of the Vulgar are recurrent in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century language manuals. By contrast, sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century manuals infrequently turned their focus on the matter of language death or emerging vernacular speech forms. A look at the first published grammar of the Brasília, composed in the 1550s and published under the authorship of Jesuit José de Anchieta in 1595, reveals that, notwithstanding

³ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” s.d., Série Azul, 569, Academia de Ciências, Lisbon, 24v.

⁴ Dr. Ernesto Ferreira França, ed., *Chrestomathia da Lingua Brazilica* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, Livreiro de S.M. o Imperador do Brazil, 1859), 136.

few suggestions for rendering phrases “elegantly,” Anchieta seemed engaged more by regional variances of the coastal language. To illustrate this concern, Anchieta offered Karijó vocabulary as distinct from lexicon used by other coastal Indian groups such as the Tupis or Tamoio, the phonemes of *b* and *mb* which he observed to be interchangeable across dialects and the tendency shown by the Tupinikim of São Vicente to drop the last consonant in affirmative verbs.⁵ He also sought to clarify “the most universal way” of speaking the coastal languages.⁶ Language manuals, especially those in the later colonial period, scrutinized the Vulgar with unprecedented concern. The “Prosodia da Lingoa,” from which entries found on page 24v were just discussed, and the Gelboé compendium are both written with acute attention to changes occurring within the lexical range of the language. The two texts are listed alphabetically according to word entries in Portuguese, followed by their equivalents in the línguas gerais amazônicas. Unrivaled by any other language manual, these two works identify words no longer being pronounced and provide synonyms in the Vulgar.

Inadvertently, examples given for the terms being referenced suggest changes in the language’s word order and grammatical structure. Inclusion of an “L” may indicate that the corresponding word originated from the Brasília, língua geral, “the language of the Indians,” or simply, “the language,” an otherwise mysterious reference which eighteenth-century readers of Amazônia probably instantly recognized. Abbreviations such as “Topin.,” “Topin.^{ba},” and “Topinam.,” were typical of the period to denote Tupinambá vocabulary. Words

⁵ José de Anchieta, *Arte de Gramática da Língua Mais Usada na Costa do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1933; reprint, based on fac-simile of 1595 original), 43v, 2v, 1v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2f.

listed following an enigmatically abbreviated “t.,” probably also indicated that the terms listed were synonyms of the entry words in Tupinambá or in the language of other peoples whose names began with the letter *t*. These abbreviations raise the issue that the target region of the “Prosodia da Lingoa” was polydialectal, or polylingual, particularly where both “t.” and “Topin.,” are offered, each with discrete synonyms for the word in question. By the turn of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth, however, acculturated Tupinambá who in fact included other ethnicities of Tupi-Guarani stock had dwindled to near extinction. Of the survivors, some were absorbed into aldeias and cohabited in communities which incorporated distinct peoples, others lived in the domain of settlers and still others resided in one of three missions which housed the Tupinambá exclusively, located on the Ilha de São Luís, Tapuitapera and the Ilha do Sol.⁷ Although not as widely diffused as it had been in the previous century, the authors of the “Prosodia da Lingoa” and the Gelboé compendia found it advisable that users learn the language attributed to the warrior tribe, suggesting the continued importance of the Tupinambá in regional kin networks, politics, trade, material culture, technology, cosmology and knowledge.⁸ These two language manuals set forth the possibility that residents of Amazônia practiced diglossia, or that they were not fully intelligible in any one language or dialect but rather only in fragments culled from different speech forms. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Jesuits in the State of Brazil, native-born religious

⁷ Florestan Fernandes, *Organização social dos Tupinambá* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963), 54.

⁸ Admonitions in the “Prosodia” advise that despite the fact that some words, such as Çöá, which refers to “the corner of a house on the inside,” are not heard commonly anymore, “however, it is good to know how to say it by the Tupinambá language,” suggesting the continued importance of the Brasília, “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 20v.

interpreters, or those who arrived young in the colony and dominated the local dialects exhibited diglossia without bilingualism.⁹

Conversing in Colony: How to Speak the Vulgar

The best studied phonological distinction between the Vulgar and the Brasília has actually been misrepresented by linguists as dialectal differences in the speech of the Tupinambá in the State of Brazil and their kinsmen in the State of Maranhão and Pará. The alteration is characterized by the substitution of the semivowel *w* or *u*, which had been pronounced in Brazil with *b*.¹⁰ Brazilian linguist Aryon Rodrigues, for example, considers this *b/u* alteration as among one of the significant phonological changes suffered by the Tupinambá language in Amazônia.¹¹ He has also pointed out that this change confused the former *u* or *w* used by Tupinambá of Brazil. The phonological shift was not problematic for lexicon such as *kába* (hornet), pronounced in Amazônia was *káwa*. However, *iawára*, confused the jaguar with the dog for speakers in the northern colony.¹²

	“hornet”	“jaguar”	“dog”
Tupinambá	kába	iawára	
LGA	káwa		iawára

⁹ Maria Cândida Drumond Mendes Barros, “The Office of Lingua: a Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century,” *Itinerario* XXV, 2 (2001).

¹⁰ Frederico G. Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis. Confrontos e revisões*. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Brasileira Editôra, 1969), 281n1; Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras para o conhecimento das línguas indígenas* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1986), 104.

¹¹ Aryon Dall’Igna Rodrigues, “Diferenças fonéticas entre o Tupi e o Guarani,” *Arquivos do Museu Paraense* 4 (1945): 347.

¹² Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 104.

A recent study suggests that this *b* to *w/u* shift occurred during the mid-eighteenth century.¹³ One language manual corroborates the new usage in an opening discussion, introducing updated forms of pronunciation.¹⁴

“... all verbs that for just reason and rule should end in bá, presently they make end in uá, and other few words which should have o b in the middle also they make it u. *exempli gratia*. Monhangába. Mõetécába. Nupãçába, ta they make [as] Monhangáua. Moeteçáua. Nupãçáua...”¹⁵

Other linguists have also identified this change as consonant with Nheengatú, the língua geral amazônica of the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹⁶

Freire, basing himself on the analyses undertaken by Brazilian anthropologists Luís Borges and J. Nunes, identifies in what he calls Língua Geral Amazônica the appearance of a series of occlusive consonant sounds, such as /b/, /d/, and /g/. These sounds, he contends, were absent in the Brasília. The disappearance of certain patterns of nasalization in Língua Geral Amazônica corresponded with their use in the Brasília.¹⁷ As discussed by Rodrigues, the phonemes marked as *nh* or *ng*, which assume the /ñ/ sound, came to draw their nasalization from the immediately preceding vowel, similar to the sound

¹³ Ruth Maria Fonini Monserrat, “Observações sobre a fonologia da língua geral amazônica nos três últimos séculos” (paper presented at the conference on “A Língua Geral Amazônica através do tempo,” Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência-Associação Brasileira de Linguística, Salvador, July, 2001), 2, 3.

¹⁴ “[Gelboé Compendium],” s.d., King’s MSS, Collection of South American Languages, 223, British Library, page of “N ante A.”

¹⁵ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 1f.

¹⁶ Denny Moore, Sidney Facundes, and Nádia Pires, “Survey of California and other Indian Languages, Report 8, Nheengatu (Língua Geral Amazônica), Its History and the Effects of Language Contact” (paper presented at the conference on Meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, July 2-4, 1993 and the Hokan-Penutian Workshop, July 3, 1993, Columbus, Ohio, 1993).

¹⁷ L. Borges and J. Nunes, “Les langues générales et la grammatisation des langues indiennes,” *Langages* 130 (1998): 56 in José Ribamar Bessa Freire, *O Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Editora Atlântica, 2004), 67.

patterns observed in contemporaneous speakers of the Portuguese language. Similar phenomena have been described by other linguists in their writings about South American native languages, who claim that the adoption of nasalization could occur easily and did not necessarily accompany structural changes, particularly in situations of multilingualism and high contact.¹⁸

	“to experiment”		“to give”
the Brasília	a’áng		me’éng
LGA	sa’ã		me’e
	“also”	“frog”	“conversion”
Portuguese	também	rã	conversão

Rodrigues, in his classic study of the major languages indigenous to Brazil from the colonial period to the twentieth century, identified four prominent phonological alterations separating Tupinambá from Língua Geral Amazônica.¹⁹ The sound for *o* was replaced by the *u* phoneme, creating homonyms in Língua Geral Amazônica for “animal” and “to bite,” for example.

	“animal”	“to bite”
Tupinambá	so’ó	su’ú
LGA	su’ú	su’ú

Another tendency Rodrigues observed in Língua Geral Amazônica is the addition of a vowel, typically but not necessarily an *-a* suffix, to verbs terminating in consonants.²⁰

	“to find”	“to jump”	“to wake oneself”
Tupinambá	wasém	pór	pák

¹⁸ Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, “The Linguistic Anthropology of Native South America,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17 (1988): 291-293, 297-299.

¹⁹ Rodrigues, *Línguas brasileiras*, 104-105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

Study of the manuals has confirmed that the nasalization of preceding vowels, and consonant and vowel substitutions identified by Rodrigues and others were actually present in the Vulgar.

The anonymous author of the “Prosodia da Lingoa” declared that the language manual was composed with an ear to “understand[ing] the words as they are spoken by the Indians ordinarily, and [by] the greater part of them, and not according to the *Arte*, which circulates in print, nor following the *Catechism...*”²¹ Indeed, the work called attention to the transcriptions that guided pronunciation and the comments which indicated the ways by which the phonetic range of the language had been altered. The volume incorporates loan words from the Portuguese and an expanded lexicon. Along with the introduction of the material cultures and social and political institutions brought by Portuguese settlers came, too, colonists’ desire to “know” the novelties, conceptualize their functions, implement these items in daily use and communicate about them in common discourse. By the time of the writing of the “Prosodia da Lingoa,” for example, the word for “ring” in the Brasília, *möanhãã* or *moãnhâ*, had become *anéra*, from the Portuguese *anel*.²² Subsequent pages record “flag,” which had developed from *beraberapàba* into *banéra*, a derivative

²¹ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 1f.

²² Also found in “Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil que se falla Em todas as Villas, Lugares, e Aldeas deste vastissimo Estado. Escrito na Cidade do Pará. Anno 1771.” [1771], Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 81, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra, 5f; “Vocabulario da Lingua Brazil,” Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa s.d., Reservados, Cod. 3143, page of “A ante N.”

of the Portuguese *bandeira*.²³ Also, Portuguese words were imported wholesale and their pronunciation approximated. For example, Indians drew *papéra* from the Portuguese word for paper (*papel*) to refer to letters, documents, sheaves of loose paper, and books.²⁴ When not *papéra*, a book could also be *librú*, from the Portuguese *livro*.²⁵ Otherwise foreign mannerisms were descriptively rendered into the Vulgar. Thus, the act of reading was captured in the phrase “to look at paper.”²⁶ And, the priest was described as “progenitor/father-maker-of-mass.”²⁷

Pre-existing words in the sixteenth-century coastal Tupi-Guarani dialects acquired new meaning after sustained interaction with European ideas and customs. Taken from the page indexed as “A before n,” for the word “animal,” in Portuguese, are terms differentiating between creatures to be, or not to be, consumed.

English translation	Original, “Prosodia da Lingoa”
Animal, that is eaten. Çöö.	Animal, q se come. Çöö.
Animal, that is not eaten... Çööaíba.	Animal, q se naõ come. Çööaíba.
but vulgarly, all animals, even those not eaten, are called Çöö.	mas vul. todos os animaes, aínda os q se naõ comem chamaõ Çöö. ²⁸

The distinction delineated above was non-existent for pre-contact Tupi-Guarani speakers. In the coastal Tupi-Guarani dialects, all creatures of nature were indifferently called *çöö*. *Çöö* could not be possessed by any individual, so the

²³ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 15v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 91v, 92f.

²⁵ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil. Com hum Diccionario dos vocabulos mais uzuaes para a intelligencia da dita Lingua,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 69, 303; “[Gelboé Compendium],” page of “L ante E.”

²⁶ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 54v; “[Gelboé Compendium].”

²⁷ “Diccionario da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 53f

²⁸ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 9f.

Tupi-Guarani speaker might refer to “the animal” but never “my animal” or “his animal.” Although sixteenth-century European observers noted that Tupi-Guarani in the State of Brazil had domesticated animals, husbandry was not practiced on the level which was seen during the colonial period. Indians began raising livestock for farming, food, trade, transportation. The ranching industry which developed in the central interior captaincies of Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso and Goiás was a catalyst for creating the vocabulary to talk about these animals. In the “Prosodia da Lingoa,” beasts of burden might have been called *çööáiiba*. In the “Grámatica da lingua Geral do Brasil,” a pig by itself referred to the wild boar, translated into Portuguese by the author as a “pig of the forest.” The modifier, *-cembaba*, when attached to the word for “pig,” signified an animal with a distinct function, or, the “pig which I [the speaker] have raised.”²⁹ Perhaps the implied meaning of “Tapyypuya cembaba” indicated a pig raised for profit or commerce, and presumably, not for one’s own consumption. The table below reproduces one page from the “Prosodia da Lingoa” of (Portuguese) words beginning with “An” and is accompanied by an English translation for the Portuguese text.

**Words which begin with *An-* in Portuguese,
followed by its synonym in the Vulgar,
information on grammar, dialects, & other details³⁰**

Translation in English	AN
Male dwarf.	Anaõ homem. <i>Jatúc eté.</i> relat.
Buttock, hip	Anca. <i>Cebíra.</i> Relat.

²⁹ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 116.

³⁰ “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 9f.

Anchor	Ancora. <i>Aitýc ita çáma</i> . Vel composto. <i>Aitaçamityc</i> .
To walk, or to circle about like that of a sugar mill... Even if it is a person who walks so in circles	Andar, ou voltar à roda como a do engenho. <i>Anhatimán</i> . <i>É Aiatimán</i> . Ainda q seja pessoa q assi anda a roda.
To walk on all fours, like a cat	Andar de gatinhas. <i>Apunhé</i> .
To walk in a circle, like a peon.	Andar a roda como piaõ. <i>Apyryrym</i> .
A swallow.	Andorinha. <i>Taperà</i> .
Ring ... the Tupinambá say ...	Anel. <i>Anéra</i> . o Topin. diz <i>Möanhää</i> .
Anguish, or to be anguished.	Angustia, ou Angustiarse. Vide Affligirse.
See to be afflicted.	
Animal, that is eaten.	Animal, q se come. <i>Çöö</i> .
Animal, that is not eaten... but [in] the Vulgar all animals, even those not eaten, are called	Animal, q se não come. <i>Çööaíba</i> . mas vul. todos os animaes, ainda os q se não comem chamaõ <i>Çöö</i> .

Farm-life also rendered meaningful points of reference, such as the demeanor and posture one might assume if “walking about in a circle about like that of a sugar mill,” or walking “like a peon,” the image of a “peon” possibly being a newly-created colonial identity which had to be explained and described to speakers of the Vulgar, many who may have been new to the concept of sugar mill and peons. The Gelboé compendium, which in 1757 was found on the Jesuit ranch Gelboé in Goiás, also differentiates between animals to be eaten or not, and enumerates other useful terms for farm living, such as listing forms of livestock such as bulls, cows, four types of pigs, hen, rooster, reference to chicken feed and even a phrase describing the stealing of animals.³¹ While scholars have written about the relative resistance to change exhibited by pre-colonial Tupi-Guarani languages, the línguas gerais amazônicas showed themselves to be innovative and capable of accompanying the changes which took place in the State of Maranhão

³¹ Gelboé was probably the Jesuit’s Gilbue ranch in Goiás, mentioned in Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, X vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), VI, 211.

and Pará. As a result, residents of the colony came to develop and equip themselves with an expanded lexical range which could support speakers' psychological imagination and linguistic communication about the material culture, social roles, and institutions introduced by the Portuguese, rooted into the land and appropriated by area residents whose own points of reference drew from as far and wide as the Americas, Europe, the Atlantic islands and Africa.

Forms of negation in the línguas gerais amazônicas seem to have borrowed substantially from negation structures in the Portuguese language. The Portuguese *nem*, meaning “not even,” “nor” and “neither,” appears as a loan word in “Grámatica Da Lingua Geral Do Brasil.”³² Where specific and distinct forms of negating adjectives, nouns, gerunds, verbs, and simple and complex phrases were employed by Tupi-Guarani speakers, in the Vulgar, the influence of the Portuguese *não*, meaning “no,” simplified these into one single term of negation: *nitio*. Reliance on this single term, which was only one of the several forms by which tribal speakers of Tupi-Guarani dialects rendered negative phrases, has been understood by linguists and anthropologists as being representative of Língua Geral Amazônica's complete break from the coastal Tupi-Guarani dialects.³³

In fact, this conflation of terms of negation marked the turn from the Brasília to the Vulgar. Figueira's 1687 grammar, which circulated in Maranhão and Pará during the colonial period,³⁴ listed at least 9 forms equivalent to the Portuguese *não*, distinguishing between negative evocations exclusively

³² “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 316.

³³ Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis*, 283.

³⁴ José Ribamar Bessa Freire, “Da ‘fala boa’ ao português na amazônia brasileira,” *Amerindia* 8 (1983): 51.

permitted to men, or to women, respectively, along with those to be uttered regardless of the gender of the speaker.³⁵ Four more variations for terms of negation have also been added to the list enumerated by Figueira.³⁶ The simplification of these 13 seventeenth-century forms into one single *nitio* by the mid-eighteenth century conflated a rich spectrum of negative utterances. Language manuals reflected this change: one dictionary lists of 35 separate entries of *nitio* composite words that negate the verb or noun to follow and another contains similarly lengthy entries in the pages described to contain lexicon starting with “N before i.”³⁷ In the examples listed below, the entries in the language manuals appear in the left column. In the right column are English translations for the Portuguese originals and the compositions of the compound words are offered within square brackets.

1	Nítio	No
2	Nítio abá	No one [no + man]
3	Nítio arobiar	Obstinate, stubborn, incredulous [no + to believe]
4	Nítio epaya oae	Orphan [no + father + one who is]
5	Nítio epocy	Light, light-weight [no + heavy]
6	Nítio goatá oae	Immovel [no + to walk + one who is]
7	Nítio mâme	Nowhere, in no place [no + where]
8	Nítio mbae	Nothing [no + thing]
9	Nítio oker	To pass the night awake [no + sleep]
10	Nítio xacoaûb	I don't know how [no + I know] ³⁸

Referring to the example of *light-weight* in line 5 above, in the coastal Tupi-Guarani languages, the root word, *posy*, meaning “heavy,” is followed with the negation suffix, *-eyma*. In the coastal dialects, *posyeyma* means “not heavy.”

³⁵ Luís Figueira, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingua Brasilica* (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1687), 134.

³⁶ Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis*, 281-82.

³⁷ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil;” 315; “Prosodia da Lingoa;” “Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra s.d., Secção dos Manuscritos, Cota 94, 47v-48f.

³⁸ “Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” 47v-48f.

The substitution for this negation prefix by the universal term of negation in the Vulgar, *nitio*, preceding *posy*, mirrors the Portuguese equivalent: *não pesado* (“not” + “heavy”). Other language manuals of the Amazônian speech form reflect similar graphic variants, such as *nitiô epocý* or *mbaë bebuia* (“light thing”).³⁹ This usage seems to have also replaced other terms used by coastal speakers of the Brasília. Rather than taking the antonym and negating it, speakers of the Brasília had their own terms which positively reflected an object’s, person’s or creature’s lightness. The 1622 vocabulary of the Língua Geral Paulista, for example, defines “to be light, the contrary of heavy” as *abebuý*, *bebuýa*, or *bebuia*, lexicon which does not appear in the manuals of the Vulgar, suggesting their extinction before the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁰ It appears that the prevalent use of the Portuguese-influenced *nitio* came to substitute the syntactically-distinct forms of negation such as *-eyma* or *nd’a ... î*, thereby reducing the lexical richness and variety of Tupi-Guarani.

If a missionary practiced in the Brasília had demanded the attention and cooperation of an absent-minded neophyte in eighteenth-century Amazônia, otherwise engaged in deep thought and unaware of the catechetical lesson, the former might have blurted out in exasperation,

“Nd’éré senduí pe?! Ixe nde nheenga!”
Don’t you hear? I am speaking to you!

³⁹ “Grámatica Da Língua geral do Brasil,” 308.

⁴⁰ “Vocabulario da Língua Brazil;” page of “L ante I”; “[Gelboé Compendium],” page of “L ante E.”

It is likely that the cleric would have had greater likelihood of luck being understood by the daydreamer had he uttered,

“Nitio eré sendû!?! Ixe nheenga irunamo nde!”

The second rendering exhibited considerable influence from the Portuguese language. Whereas the construction of the question in the Brasília relied on the negation clause, *nd’a ... î*, such as the following:

“you hear”

nd’a eré sendu î pe

_____ / (interrogation enclitic)

(negation clause)

the question would have been rendered *nd’ere sendu-î*, still current in late seventeenth century *língua geral*.⁴¹ The comparison below shows how the Vulgar replaced this negation clause (*nd’a ... î*) with *nitio*, congruent with the syntactical and semantical usages of the Portuguese *não*. Moreover, the phrase assumed a recognizably Lusophone sentence word order of negation + pronoun + verb, as seen in the comparison below:

	negation	“you”	“hear”	question marker
in Tupi-Guarani, <i>nd’ere sendu-î pe</i>	nd’a...î	ere	sendu	-pe
in Portuguese, <i>não ouves?</i>	não	(tu)	ouviste	?
in the Vulgar, <i>nitio ere sendu?</i>	nitio	ere	sendu	?

⁴¹ Edelweiss, *Estudos tupis e tupi-guaranis*, 23-24.

In place of the *-pe* post-positional enclitic, which signifies that the phrase has been put in doubt and thus, formed a question and not a statement, the former being indicated in the language manuals by a question mark. It is assumed that speakers represented the inquiry audibly by a slight inflection of the voice, as one did in distinguishing the Portuguese

Não ouves?	vs.	Não ouves.
Don't you hear?	vs.	You don't hear.

The Vulgar as Language of Evangelization

Evidence suggests that the Vulgar was also replacing the *Brasílica*, which had become the language of the church since the arrival of the Jesuits in Brazil in 1549. Preliminary studies of religious texts indicates that although the classic Christian prayers such as “Our Father,” continued to be sung and recited in the *Brasílica*, catechetical dialogues, confessional manuals, and moral narratives also adopted the Vulgar.

Within one short, introductory paragraph on the first page of the “*Prosodia da Lingoa*,” transitive verbs do not appear “...put here with the said Ai but only with A, since in this way presently speak the Indians all; it is known that they do not say *Aimonhang*. *Aimöetè* ... but they say *Amonhang*. *Amoetè*...”⁴² In what might appear to be attributed to a shift in pronunciation from the diphthongal *ai-* to the straight vowel *a-*, in fact, the author had pinpointed one major change exhibited by the Vulgar: the loss of distinction between simple transitive and intransitive verbs. The scholarly literature examining points of

⁴² “*Prosodia da Lingoa*,” 1f. Underscore in original text.

departure between the Brasília and the Vulgar has remained silent about what appears to be a significant and uniform alteration in the language's grammar.⁴³ In the Brasília, the *a-* prefix indicated the first person singular subject, for all verbs. For transitive verbs, the direct object pronoun, indicated by an *-i-*, was inserted between the conjugation prefix *-a-* and the verb, forming the diphthongal prefix *ai-*.

In Portuguese
Honrar – to honor *o – it/him*
 Eu o/a honro – I honor it/him
 I it/him/her honor

In the Brasília
moëte– to honor [someone/thing] *i – it/him/her*
 Aimoëte – I honor it/him/her
 A i moëte
 1st-p conjugation d.o. to honor

In the Vulgar
moëte– to honor [someone/thing]
 Amoëte – I honor
 A moëte
 1st-p conjugation to honor

From the perspective of a grammarian of the Portuguese language, *moëte* is a transitive verb with an indispensable, direct pronominal object.⁴⁴ In the Vulgar, its pronominal object had become dispensable. Its equivalent, *honrar*, takes a direct object (o/a), which in vernacular speech may or may not be included, unlike in the Brasília, where without the direct object (*-i-*),

⁴³ Rodrigues' works have discussed personal pronouns in transitive and intransitive verbs, but with no commentary on the phenomenon.

⁴⁴ Frederico G. Edelweiss, *O caráter da segunda conjugação tupi e o desenvolvimento histórico do predicado nominal nos dialetos tupi-guaraní* (Bahia: Aguiar & Souza Ltda., Livraria Progresso Editora, 1958), 72.

pronominal conjugations of *moëte* could not stand alone. The speaker of the Brasília in the sixteenth and seventeenth century who once said “A-î-möete” (I honor it), when translated into the eighteenth-century Vulgar “A-möete” (I honor), became an evocation of *möete* once impossible and incorrect grammatically. Here, the Vulgar seems not only to exhibit loss of the syntactical distinction separating transitive and intransitive verbal phrases, but also the phenomenon that transitive verbs taking on this first conjugation could assume intransitive status. This action can be viewed as a simplification of the language’s numerous verbal conjugations, especially in light of the increasing numbers of non-native speakers of Tupi-Guarani dialects and languages.

Other eighteenth-century catechetical texts reveal additional examples of the same process in grammatical change, but inversely. In an example similar to the one provided in the last discussion on the simplification of negation clauses in the Brasília into the single *nitio* of the Vulgar, the second and third Commandments handwritten in one catechism applies *irunamo* (“in the company of,”) to *mongetá* (“to converse with”).⁴⁵ Previously, Tupi-Guarani speakers might describe a conversation with a priest in the following manner: *Xe abaré mongetá*, “I priest converse,” or “I converse [with] the priest.” *Mongetá*, a direct transitive verb whereby the action is received directly by the object with no other mediating part of speech. The same phrase in Portuguese, makes use of a linking preposition: *Eu converso com o padre* (“I converse with the priest”). Conversely to the Tupi-Guarani pattern, in the Romance languages, the linking preposition *com* (“with”) is necessary for the equivalent, *conversar*, which is an

⁴⁵ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 384-86.

indirect transitive verb. In the Vulgar, *mongetá* had assumed the same status as its Portuguese counterpart, namely becoming an indirect transitive verb. The phrase *irunamo* was reconfigured into a preposition and inserted into the clause, to produce *Xe mongetá irunamo abaré*: “I speak in the company of the priest.” Here the Vulgar verb not only functioned as it does in the Portuguese language, but also, the sentence had assumed a Lusophone word order.

In the Brasília

Mongeta – to converse with

Xe abaré mongeta

I priest converse

In Portuguese

Conversar – to converse com – with

Eu converso com ele/ela

I 1st-person (converse) with him/her

In the Vulgar

mongeta – to speak irunamo – in the company of [“with”]

Xe mongeta irumano abaré

I speak with [the] priest

That in 1740, catechumens were admonished, “Tupã rece jerobia,” suggests that missionary linguists had hit upon a solution for conveying the idea, “for the love of God.” Earlier versions did not use *recé*. Eighteenth-century texts clarify that its meaning “since, because of,” placed in the phrase *Tupã recé*, had come to mean, “for the love of God, or for God. In this way, one swears,”⁴⁶ hence introducing into Amazônia the idiomatic expression so common to global Christian cultures. Where confessioners spoke of “Yande Jara Jesu Christo”

⁴⁶ “Dicionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” s.d. Seção dos Manuscritos Cota 94 (Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra), 60; “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil. Com hum Diccionario dos vocabulos mais uzuaes para a intelligencia da dita Lingua.”

("Our Lord Jesus Christ") a concept which had begun to take meaning in 1618 Brazil and in 1678 Amazônia, the longer phrase, "Yande Jara Jesu Christo Tupá eté," (adding "the Great God") was introduced, perhaps to emphasize the universality and singularity of the Christian God. More research will have to be conducted in order to better comprehend the change. Speculation suggests that the missionary-linguists responsible for maintaining the consistency of the language of the church wished to preserve previous translations of "Yande Jara Jesu Christo." But before an audience of speakers of the Vulgar who did not understand what that phrase represented, missionary-linguists sought to add emphasis to the phrase by adding "Tupá eté," as if the redundancy would impress upon their neophytes the greatness of the son of God.

Examples displaying the Vulgar's departure from the Brasília come from confessional manuals intended for use in administering deathbed confessions, often among non-Christians requesting baptism. Such texts were probably used as guides for vernacular exchanges, and not for purposes of ritual, whereby mutual comprehension was sought but not crucial, since even participation limited to observation – such as sitting in on a sermon or mimicry – Indians had done so in a mass celebrated in 1549, by following the Portuguese and kneeling before the Cross with what appeared to be due solemnity – did not reduce the ritual's performance quotient. In fact, Tupi terms for ritual use, such as Tupã Tuba ("God the Father") and Portuguese loan words, such as *graça*, *Santo Espirito*, *Peccado Original*, *Santa Madre Igreja de Roma*, inherited from translations in the Brasília, remained consistent throughout eighteenth-century Amazônia.

Classy Ladinos, Elegant Speech

Portuguese America did not invent the notion of eloquence. Indian and European cultures alike valued the gift of oration and native eloquence in rhetoric and pronunciation had been praised by those early Europeans who engaged with autochthonous societies.⁴⁷ Tribal “lords of speech,” elders and shamans also cultivated such skills, since their power derived in part from their ability to convince, mobilize, empathize, remind or reflect on matters of concern in prosaic form. Headmen seeking to address an aldeia on important issues usually alerted “the most responsible Indians,” who sent word around for residents to meet, which the headman did in a select spot in the middle of the aldeia, designated by wooden pegs in the ground. Some tribesmen squatted and others hung their hammocks nearby, listening “very attentive[ly]” in silence as the headman began to speak, and “when his oration is finished, the oldest ones respond each one in their turn and when one speaks, all the others stay quiet until they come to conclude what is to be done, when they have some of their altercations often times.”⁴⁸ Among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, similar observations were made in the early seventeenth century and the mid-eighteenth century, about how Indians would “speak, sometimes, during two or three hours

⁴⁷ As noted by Jean de Léry, *A Viagem à Terra do Brasil*, trans. Sérgio Millet, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, [1579] 1941); Hans Staden, *Duas viagens ao Brasil. Arrojadadas aventuras no séculos XVI entre os antropófagos do Novo Mundo*, 3rd ed. (São Paulo: Publicações da sociedade Hans Staden São Paulo, [1557] 1942); Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil* (Lisboa: Alfa, [1587] 1989), esp. 223-231; Ivo d' Evreux, *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil feita no[s] annos de 1613 a 1614 pelo Padre Ivo D'Evreux religioso capuchinho. Publicada conforme o exemplar, unico, conservado, na Bibliotheca Imperial de Paris com introdução e notas por Mr. Ferdinand Diniz, Conservador da Bibliotheca Santa Genoveva.*, trans. Cezar Augusto Marques, *Bibliotheca de Escriptores Maranhenses* (Rio de Janeiro: Depositarios Freitas Bastos & Cia., [1874] 1929), 114.

⁴⁸ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 230.

in a row, without stopping, revealing themselves very able in extracting the necessary deductions of arguments which they present.”⁴⁹ Female talents in verbal exposition were also noted. Sixteenth-century authors judged the Tupinambá women in Bahia to speak “very compendiously in the[ir] form of language and very copiously in their oratory.”⁵⁰ Also admired was the reception of visitors to the villages. Such welcomes consisted of lamentations, cries, and great emotion evoked by “prose worthy of the troubadours” pronounced, chanted and wailed by women.⁵¹

In early colonial Brazil, the spectrum of oral eloquence was divided between Indians using the “Tupi” and “Tapuia” languages in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, speakers of *língua geral* (general language) and the *línguas travadas* (“broken” languages) in the seventeenth century (see chapter two). Observations on oral skills and talents in this period were the domain of contemporary descriptions of the local ethnic panorama, but did not appear in language manuals.⁵² The discernment in degrees in oral eloquence appears to have become pertinent to later authors. In the sixty pages of Anchieta’s 1595 *Arte de Gramática da Língua Mais Usada na Costa do Brasil*, he calls attention to no more than some five to ten examples of forms of speech considered “polished.” Figueira’s 1621 *Arte* is similarly uninterested on the question of elegant speech and is only concerned with it where it affected the standard pronunciation:

⁴⁹ Claude d’Abbeville, 1614, in Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, *Método moderno de Tupi Antigo. A língua do Brasil dos primeiros séculos* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1999), 74. Daniel, “Tesouro descoberto,” 199.

⁵⁰ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 218.

⁵¹ Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, Itatiaia, 1980), 108; Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 228-229.

⁵² Cardim, for example, describes the coastal dialects of the Tupi-Guarani languages as female “inventors of troubador prose,” *Ibid*, 176.

“Some línguas, and the Indians change sometimes some letters for delicacy, as to say A’aiúr, they say Aiút; in place of Coyr, they say Cogy; but this is not natural.”⁵³

In eighteenth century Amazônia, a new dichotomy was introduced. Although it purported to be comparisons of oral eloquence, in truth it reflected divisions between speakers of the Brasília and the Vulgar.

The language manuals indicate that, by the eighteenth century in the State of Maranhão and Pará, a new stratum of individuals had emerged. They were called ladinos, a term which contemporary dictionaries of the Iberian languages equated with astuteness and linguistic savvy -- “he that speaketh any tongue well and perfectly,” some even limiting “ladino” to apply to “a stranger” with the gift of a non-native language.⁵⁴ Raphael Bluteau’s 1789 dictionary of the Portuguese

⁵³ Figueira, *Arte*, 103.

⁵⁴ Pedro José da Fonseca, *Diccionario português e latino impresso por ordem delRei fidelissimo Dom Jose I...* (Lisbon: na Regia Officina Typografica, M.DCC.LXXI [1771]), 435; *Vocabularium hispanicolatinumet Anglicum copiosissimum, cum nonnullis vocum millibus locupletatum, ac cum Lingae Hispanicae Etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Derivationibus, ut sub Nomine, Naturam, Proprietatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam vel finem rerum rectè nosse queas, & relatvm in Minshaei Dictionarium Etymologicum undecim Linguarum, per numeros Arithmeticos, quorum prior Paginam, posterior numerum vocabulorum primitivorum in epso contentorum denotat, ut etiam Etymologias aliarum decim scire possis: Opera, Studio, Industria, labore & sumptibus Iohannis Minshae I in lucem editum & impressum. [London: John Brownes Shopp] found in *The Guide Into Tongues. Cum illarum harmonia, & Etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Derivationibus in omnibus his undecim Linguis, viz: 1. Anglica, 2. Cambro-Britanica, 3. Belgica, 4. Germanica, 5. Gallica, 6. Italica, 7. Hispanica, 8. Lusitanica seu Portugallica, 9. Latina, 10. Greca, 11. Hebraea, &c. Quae etiam ita ordine, & sono consentientes, collocatae sunt, ut facilimè et nullo labore, unusquisq; non folùm, Quatuor, Quinque, vel plures illarum, quàm optimè memória tenere, verum etiam (per earum Etymologias) sub Nomine, Naturam, Proprietatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam, vel finem rerum, rectè nosse queat; Discrepans ab alijs Dictionarijs unquam antehâc editis. Item explicatio vocabulorum forensium Iuris Anglicani, & Descriptio Magistratum, & Titulorum dignitatum, hac nota per totum Opus insignita. Opus omnibus humanioris literaturae amatoribus valdè necessarium & delectabile, imprimis Nostratibus qui nullo negotio ex Anglica, caeteras linguas cum earum Etymologys, ordine Alphabetico, invenire possunt, deniq; Extraneis, si ex his congestis, Alphabetum unius vel plurium aliarum linguarum, fibi cum numeris Arithmeticis concinnare voverunt. Opera, Studio, Industria, Albore & Sumptibus. Iohannis Minshaei in lucem editum & impressum, ([London]: [John Minsheu], 1617), [Lad]; Anthony Vieyra Transtagano, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages, in Two Parts, Portuguese and English Languages: And English and Portuguese. Wherein I. The Wrods are explained in their different Meanings by Examples from the best Portuguese and English***

language made the ladino known for what he or she is not: “not rude” but intelligent and refined. Another text printed in 1799 reminds readers that the term was used to describe all that was “legitimate, pure and without mixture,” an interesting choice in definitions since contemporary texts seemed to imply not singular but plural influences on the ladino, linguistic and otherwise.⁵⁵ In other parts of the Portuguese Atlantic World, the ladino was similarly regarded. In Angola throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the title included other forms of socialization, such as “employable” skills in domestic service, artisanal skills (as stone masons, smiths, carpenters) or financial acumen associated with the post of cashier at commercial houses.⁵⁶ And among West African slaves residing in Iberia, the ladino was represented to be well-versed in Portuguese customs and behaviors and thus commonly suited for domestic service.⁵⁷

Writers II. The Etymology of the Portuguese generally indicated from the Latin, Arabic, and other Languages. Throughout the whole are interspersed A Great Number of Phrases and Proverbs, 2 vols. (London: Printed for J. Nourse, Bookseller to His Majesty, MDCCLXXIII [1773]), I, [lad]; A.J., *A Compleat Account of the Portugueze Language. Being a Copious Dictionary of English with Portugueze, and Portugueze with English. Together with an Easy and Unerring Method of its Pronunciation, by a distinguishing Accent, and a Compendium of all the necessary Rules of Construction and Orthography digested into a Grammatical Form. To which is subjoined by way of Appendix Their usual Manner of Correspondence by Writing, being all suitable, as well to the Diversion and Curiosity of the Inquisitive Traveller, as to the Indispensible Use and Advantage of the more Industrious Trader and Navigator to most of the known Parts of the World* (London: Printed by R. Janeway, for the Author, M.DCC.I [1701]), [LAG].

⁵⁵ Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, *Elucidario das palavras, termos, e frases, que em Portugal antiguamente se usárão, que hoje regularmente se ignorão: obra indispensável para entender sem erro os documentos mais raros, e preciosos, que entre nós se conservão: publicado em beneficio da literatura portuguesa, e dedicado ao Principe N. Senhor por Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, dos menores observantes reformados da Real Província da Conceição*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Na Officina de Simao Thaddeo Ferreira, Na Typographia Regia Silviana, MDCC XCVIII-MDCC XCIX [1798-1799]), 83.

⁵⁶ Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 271, 272.

⁵⁷ Many thanks to Valeria Gauz at the John Carter Brown Library, who looked up the entires for ladino and “boçale”: [Father] Rafael Bluteau, *Diccionario da lingua portugueza composto pelo padre D. Rafael Bluteau, reformado, e accrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva natural do*

In colonial Portuguese America, *ladinos*, or *teocuaba*, continued to exhibit attributes of eloquence, sagacity and purity. Dictionaries of the *línguas gerais* show that the concept of the *teocuaba* was linked indefinitely to erudition, as its nominative in the colonial *lingua francas* was based on the root word for knowledge (*guaba* or *kuaba*).⁵⁸ One grammar is particularly explicit on the “very polished” and unadulterated speech of *ladinos*.⁵⁹ Use of the term seemed to apply only to those among whom one did not expect to find such a show of qualities: Indians, Africans and their offspring. It is noteworthy to mention that neither *ladino* nor *teocuaba* appear in colonial sources to refer to individuals of European descent proficient in Old or New World languages. They were simply identified as “Portuguese” or “children of the Portuguese settlers.” If they spoke the *línguas gerais*, they might “know” (*saber*) or be “skilled” (*perito*) in the language of the land, or be considered “mameluco” or “mestizo.”⁶⁰ The term *ladino* then, became a mark of distinction or exception to the rule as it applied to Indians and Africans. They were *aldeia* and mission Indians, native, black, mulatto and mestizo slaves, free persons and runaways in contact with colonial society who showed degrees of cultural adaptation, often in the form of fluency in

Rio de Janeiro, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, MDCCLXXXIX [1789]), page beginning with “LAD.”

⁵⁸ “Diccionario Da Lingua Brazilica,” 23v “Vocabulario da Lingua Brazil,” page of “L ante A;” “Prosodia da Lingoa,” 53v; A. Lemos Barbosa, *Pequeno Vocabulário Português-Tupi com um apêndice: nomenclatura de parentescos* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1970), 128; Plínio Ayrosa, ed., *Vocabulário na Lingua Brasilica. Manuscrito Português-Tupi do sec. XVII*, vol. XX (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1938), 270.

⁵⁹ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 117

⁶⁰ On Jesuit Father Antonio Bellavia as one who “knew” the *Brasilica*, *Bras.* 8(2), 425v. On Jesuit Father Manoel (last name illegible in document) as “mui perito na Língua Brasilica,” *ARSI Bras* 8(2), 526f.

Portuguese or Spanish and acceptance and adherence to Christianity.⁶¹ Teocuaba appears in one dictionary of the Vulgar as synonymous with one who “knows natural science.”⁶² Indeed, forms of showing ladino cultural fluency included knowledge of basic arithmetic and the ability to count or recall one’s age in years.⁶³ Food preferences also could be indicators of ladino status. Chronicler, planter and slaveowner Gabriel Soares de Sousa listed in 1587 the dietary differences between enslaved and non-enslaved natives (the latter probably referring to Indians living in resembling tribal autonomy). Olive oil, Soares opined, was relished only by ladinos.⁶⁴ Often, sources refer to ladinos as exemplary in their adhesion to colonial order, but they were also feared where their ability to read settlers’ unscrupulous intent may have rendered them undesirable and obstructive to those preying on otherwise unsuspecting Indians.⁶⁵ If carefully handled, however, ladinos could be great collaborators to

⁶¹ For Indians, see Domingos de Araújo, “[Cap. 9] Chronica da Companhia de Jesus da Missão do Maranhão” 1720, 340/1/6/5, Arquivo Histórico Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro; John Monteiro, *Negros da terra: índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994), 156; Pedro de Leon, *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucia. Testimonio de una Encrucijada Historica (1578-1616)*, trans., intro., ed., notes by Pedro Herrera Puga (Granada: Facultad de Teologia, 1981 [1615-1616]), 149; António Ruiz de Montoya, “Catecismo de La Lengua Gvarani, Compvesto por el Padre Antonio Ruyz de la Compañia de Iefus. Dedicado a la purissima Virgen Maria. Concebida fin mancha de pecado original. En Madrid, Por Diego Diaz de la Carrera,” São Paulo M.DC.XXXX [1640], B18a, Biblioteca Guita e José Mindlin, São Paulo. For blacks, see Robert Nelson Anderson, “The Quilombo of Palmares: A New Overview of a Maroon State in Seventeenth-Century Brazil,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, 3 (1996): 554; T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands; Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in 17th Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 212, 213; James H Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 27, 28, 199.

⁶² “[Gelboé Compendium],” page of “S ante A.”

⁶³ “LXVIII. Declaração do Padre Francisco Dias Taño,” Helio Vianna, *Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis IV; Jesuítas e bandeirantes no Uruguai (1611-1758)* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1970), 454. Coleção de Angelis, BNRJ, I-29,1,52 (doc. 6)

⁶⁴ Sousa, *Notícia do Brasil*, 225.

⁶⁵ Carlos de Araújo Moreira Neto, *Índios da Amazônia. De maioria a minoria (1750-1850)* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988), 52.

European crowns, clergy, merchants and colonists and for this alone, they were most valued.

The ladinos of eighteenth-century Amazônia acquired positions of respect and admiration in a manner distinct from their counterparts in the State of Brazil and Spanish America. Certainly, they were valued for their abilities to speak, and possibly to write, in Portuguese. But their key contributions appear to have derived from their exceptional eloquence in the Brasília. One manual sketches the profile of ladinos in late colonial Amazônia as the acme of proper, polished and sonorous oration and conversation. Ladinos provided missionary-linguists with unequivocal founts for language manuals and for speech in the Brasília.⁶⁶ In the discussion on pronouns, the author of the eighteenth-century “Grámatica da Lingua geral [Amazonica] do Brasil” offers the terms in Latin, Portuguese and the línguas gerais amazônicas. He continues to list pronouns “more gracious ... and dignified by finesse,” in use by ladinos, as well as those exclusive to women and to men.⁶⁷ He enumerates the grammatical properties used by “some línguas ... to make [words] more illustrious and graceful,” further exemplifying the subtle differences between two such particles of speech as they are employed by ladino speakers.

Rã also has the same meaning and explication [as racó], and sometimes manages itself alone to be more elegant than racó; and sometimes, both, together succeed to be elegantissimo like the ladinos do, [by their] delicateness.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 131-132.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 129.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 131-32.

Instructing the particularities of verb formation in the indicative tense, Figueira suggests that, “With respect to who brings [the vase, he is called]..., *Xerepurú*, *cepurú* [my vase, the/his/her vase]. With respect to the thing inside [the vase, the thing is] *xerurú*, *çurú* [my thing inside the vase, its/his/her thing inside the vase].”⁶⁹ In eighteenth-century Amazônia, these respective manners of referring to the person using the vase and the thing inside the vase continued in the oral practice of ladinos. For the less skilled, the distinction seemed to have become simplified. Both person and things related to the vase were equally called *xe[r]jurú*, what once only indicated “things carried by the vase”:

Urú means vase, and with respect to whom uses it, one says: xeremipurú, nderemipurú, &tc, although this mode of use, only those very polished [speakers], and ladinos know[. T] he others say xeurú, ndeurú, &tc, and often for those who know, it is necessary to speak in this barbarous way in this, as in other phrases, in order that those who do not know [would] understand what one says to them, for example, saying xeurú ou cembaé rerú.⁷⁰

Standing in opposition to ladino eloquence, conversation in a “brusque or rude” mode appeared to be the exclusive domain of certain other Indians.⁷¹ Not only did they speak unintelligibly to others, and they also did not comprehend the speech of ladinos nor standard Brasília. The author waves an apologetic hand in his dismissal of the

ways which the Indians have for explaining themselves, and in the rustic compositions of vocabulary that among themselves are used ... Almost

⁶⁹ Figueira, *Arte*, 79.

⁷⁰ “Grámatica Da Língua geral do Brasil,” 117.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

in all the phrases ... that they use seem so far from sense, and so far from what they want to say ... making admire those who consider it.⁷²

The sarcasm with which the author “admired” certain forms of Indian speech probably drew its inspiration straight from the same colonial rhetoric which opposed that which was inconvenient or different. It appeared that speakers of a rustic form of orality remained incommunicado, and only accessible to each other. Their distinct tongue represented other patterns of thinking – hence their nonsensical ways of rationalizing their speech – and, it can be assumed, alternative manners of living incompatible with colonial life. Their historical antecedents were the *boçal* of late medieval Iberia, a term applied specifically to Africans with rudimentary knowledge of Portuguese, or only those who knew the languages of their mother continent.⁷³ Defined in opposition to *ladinos*, *boçais* (plural) were “rude or rustick,” “ignorant.” Somewhat more benignly, they might also be considered neutrally as a “foreigner, said in general of black captives” in Portugal.⁷⁴ Even where African captive interpreters working as slaves and living in Iberia became conversant in Portuguese or Spanish, their non-native and non-

⁷² Ibid, 119.

⁷³ A.C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 99-100.

⁷⁴ A.J., *A Compleat Account of the Portugueze Language. Being a Copious Dictionary of English with Portugueze, and Portugueze with English. Together with an Easy and Unerring Method of its Pronunciation, by a distinguishing Accent, and a Compendium of all the necessary Rules of Construction and Orthography digested into a Grammatical Form. To which is subjoined by way of Appendix Their usual Manner of Correspondence by Writing, being all suitable, as well to the Diversion and Curiosity of the Inquisitive Traveller, as to the Indispensible Use and Advantage of the more Industrious Trader and Navigator to most of the known Parts of the World*, [bof]; Fonseca, *Diccionario português e latino*, 123. Thanks to Valeria Gauz at the JCBL for looking up the following reference: Bluteau, *Diccionario*, [page beginning with ‘LAD’].

standard usages of language were ridiculed and scorned as *meia línguas*, or imperfect “half languages.”⁷⁵

As it turned out, the “rustic coxpositions of vocabulary” used by certain Indians were actually descriptions of the Vulgar, as discussed in the previous chapter. Research has identified that, starting in the 1720s and continuing throughout the century, the division between ladinos and the others described as “rustic” speakers could also be framed by the contemporary dichotomy between Indians of *língua geral* and “Indians of the Vulgar.” This eighteenth-century Amazônian rhetoric replaced the polarity from sixteenth and seventeenth century Brazil, which contrasted Tupi -- embodied by the Christian, *língua geral*-speaking, acculturated, native vassal to the Portuguese king and ally to Portuguese colonists -- with its antithetical Tapuia. The appearance of the ladinos coincided with the evolution of the Vulgar and the elevation of the Brasília as the pure and eloquent antecedent of the Vulgar, showing the extent to which the biases of the early Indians, speakers of the Tupi-Guarani languages, who formed and sustained two and a half centuries of relations with Europeans and their American-born descendents, continued to be important to social constructions of colonial society, even after Tupi-Guarani descendants had died out of or escaped from that society and Portuguese settlers were becoming increasingly important in defining late colonial Amazônian culture until independence in 1822.

What is also remarkable was the acceptance, or at least the recognition of the ladino as representative of notions of purity alongside the mestizo elements of

⁷⁵ Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 100.

colonial culture which, in fact, was tantamount to equating ladinos to Portuguese *reinóis*, or those from the kingdom. Originally applied to non-native speakers of Latin who acquired the language, then used to reference West Africa slaves fluent in Portuguese, in Brazil, ladinos spoke both excellent Portuguese and the purest form of Brasília. Individuals who demonstrated a “Portuguese” way of speaking – seen in one’s use of the optative tense, which one language manual used to illustrate ladino speech -- were heralded approvingly as the “most ladino,” a contrast to whatever lower social status they may have had as a result of being a cultural, or biological mestizo. By referring to non-native and non-white colonists of Indian, European, African and mixed descents as ladinos, these individuals were essentially being redefined as Portuguese born in Portugal (*reinóis*) and not the colonies, as people regarded as honourable, morally upstanding, loyal and worthy of respect and trust.⁷⁶

As in Spanish America, ladinos of Brazil and Amazônia formed a heterogenous group of individuals who were linguistically, culturally and/or biologically mixed but always individuals who were the quintessential epitome of a colonial world in evolution. Although the discussion here has focused on the linguistic and oratorical capacity of ladinos, the term – and the range of stereotypes into which they were inserted – found its way into all spheres of colonial life. The ladino was favored by slave owners, for his or her linguistic fluency and cultural familiarity in Portuguese and Spanish ways of living over the boçal, ill-versed in the Iberian tongues and inexperienced in the manners and customs of colonial Ibero-America. For Africans and their descendents in the

⁷⁶ “Grámatica Da Lingua geral do Brasil,” 132.

New World, ladino and boçal came to circumscribe, define, reduce and simplify the broad spectrum of their experiences and lifestyles into two precise dichotomies.⁷⁷ From the start, native peoples of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Portuguese America were paired against European Christians as the “lesser” of the two types. In the pre-Enlightenment era of the eighteenth century, the Christian theme was still implicit in definitions of ladinos, who were held to be superior over uncontacted, pagan, resistant and aggressive Indians and represented the epitome of the pacific Christian vassal of the crown, much in the same way as the bi-polarization distinguishing Tupi from Tapuia in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For the Indians and their offspring in eighteenth-century colonial Amazônia, the ladino stood opposite to the “índios rústicos, charros,” and “toscos.” Whereas Tapuia came to be used in Amazônia to refer neutrally to Indians, or those perceived as belonging more to Indian than white societies, the Nheengaiba, literally meaning “to speak badly,” in the Tupi-Guarani languages, became the antithetical representation.

* * *

Freire’s “Portugalization” theory of Língua Geral Amazônica may perhaps be reviewed to be considered as a continuation of the language’s most dynamic period of exchange with local forms of speech.⁷⁸ Admittedly, this chapter has expended pages demonstrating the ways by which the Vulgar absorbed lexical and syntactical influences from the Portuguese language, and so may be

⁷⁷ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 198.

⁷⁸ Freire, “Da ‘fala boa’,” 59-65.

considered one more study corroborating Freire's "Portugalization" theory. In fact, it is not. Freire's research has provided a working model for the nineteenth century evolution of the language, although it seems that the development of the Brasília in the eighteenth century had not quite reached the levels of "Portugalization" he describes. Instead, this dissertation raises the question that other languages – Indian, European and African -- were mother tongues for the residents of colonial Amazônia. During the colonial period, and in some parts as recently as today, the term and concept of "Amazônia" did not correspond with a geopolitically defined area partitioned and absorbed into farflung European empires. It was not the domain of any single peoples nor of any one language. The State of Maranhão was as rich and varied for local natives and Indian peoples whose provenances lay beyond Amazônia -- with several hundred groups entrenched in intra-tribal and inter-ethnic struggle over resources -- as for the newcomer -- including the Portuguese, Spanish, English, Irish, Dutch, German, Italian, French, and natives of the African kingdoms and chiefdoms.

Linguists have insisted that genetic classifications of languages are valuable for revealing structural linkages but are not necessarily conditional.⁷⁹ In other words, if two languages display similarity in phonology and lexicon, thereby indicating possible common origins from one proto-language, their speakers do not necessarily share cultural history. These scholars have pointed out that the sorts of exchanges occurring on discourse-centered language properties (as contrasted with structural properties) are often missed in genealogical

⁷⁹ Genetic relationships indicate speech forms "sharing linguistic kinship by virtue of having developed from a common earlier ancestor," as defined by Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages. The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7.

classifications but may be useful to understanding both the oral and social histories of regions such as South America, where among its speakers of Amerindian languages, structural diversity as indicated by the quantities of languages and language families exists alongside speech communities displaying a broad spectrum of internal stylistic diversity.

In arguing that the challenges of reading a people's cultural history from genetic language reconstruction, particularly where multilingualism and language contact prevailed, linguists Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer anticipated the questions posed by this chapter.⁸⁰ Recognition that the *línguas gerais amazônicas* were adopted as a second or third language by speakers who may have referenced their mother tongues is an important first step in reviewing Freire's "Portugalization" theory. If studies on the hybridization of non-Tupi stock languages with Tupi-Guarani dialects serve as examples, the case of modern Kokama may prove one way by which other Indian speech forms – Rodrigues has suggested an Arawak language -- crossed with Tupinambá.⁸¹ It has been postulated that speakers of modern Kokama share a language very similar to that used by the missionized Kokama living with Spanish Jesuits in the seventeenth century. For the Kokama, historically and in the present day, their personal pronouns differ according to the sex of the speaker: men use non-Tupi forms while women use Tupinambá forms.⁸² Language exchange is also characterized by bilateral movements shown by the languages in contact. If the Mawé language

⁸⁰ Urban and Sherzer, "Linguistic Anthropology of Native South America," 296-298.

⁸¹ Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "Panorama das línguas indígenas da Amazônia," in *As línguas amazônicas de hoje*, ed. F. Queixalós and O. Renault-Lescure (São Paulo: IRD, ISA, MPEG, 2000), 19; "Relações internas na família lingüística Tupi-Guarani," *Revista de Antropologia* 27/28 (1984/1985): 43-44.

⁸² Rodrigues, "Relações internas," 43.

suffered alterations as a result of its speakers' bilingualism in *Língua Geral Amazônica*, it might be suggested that colonial *Amazônia's* lingua franca also incurred phonological, lexical, or syntactical innovations as a result of the contact with other languages, including the Mawé.⁸³ Although it is true that modern *Amazônia*, integrated into the Republic of Brazil, unofficially holds Portuguese as its national language, the country is far from monolingual. At the turn of the twenty-first century, close to 240 languages were classified in local speech.⁸⁴ At least insofar as *Língua Geral Amazônica* is concerned, *Nheengatú*, as it is known today, was the language of radio broadcasts as late as 2003. Plans to televise newscasts in *Nheengatú* in São Gabriel da Cachoeira were also proposed and accepted around the same time.⁸⁵ *Nheengatú*, along with *Tucano*, *Baniwa* and Portuguese, were all named the official languages of São Gabriel da Cachoeira in 2003.⁸⁶

Coinciding with the appearance of the *Vulgar* in colonial *Amazônia's* historical documents was the heyday of *Língua Geral Amazônica's* expansion throughout the Amazon Basin. While *Língua Geral Amazônica's* history in Maranhão and Pará shared much in common with that of the *Brasílica* in Brazil, its domain extended beyond inter-ethnic relations. It prevailed over the social consolidation and acculturation of whites, blacks, and Indians congregating in the colonial spheres of the towns and villas of the State of Maranhão and Grão-

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸⁴ Rodrigues, "Panorama," 20.

⁸⁵ "Bosco promete manter programa de rádio na língua *nheengatu*," *MS Notícias*, 20 July 2003.

⁸⁶ *Lei que oficializa línguas indígenas será apresentada no MEC* (13 March 2003 [accessed 22 July 2004]); available from http://www.catoliconet.com.br/noticias/noticias_integra.asp?cod=1&codigo_noticias=22793&editoria=1.

Pará. And, its expansion owed much to state and church promotion, from which the State of Brazil did not benefit.

The implications of the evolution of the Vulgar are also relevant to modern Amazônia. The depopulation of the river in the early eighteenth century and its subsequent repopulation in the middle decades of that century created a new linguistic system in the Basin. The expansion and hegemony of the Vulgar, growing out of a “linguistic amalgam,” has been associated with processes of “social disarticulation and intertribal and inter-ethnic acculturation ... to which heterogeneous groups were subjected” through the resettlement of native societies and the implantation of white communities and has been used to refer to the creation of a “neo-indigenous” culture which characterizes modern Amazônia’s *caboclo* society.⁸⁷

My discussions should be seen as a preliminary entrance into the complex and dynamic world of Amazônia’s oral life in the eighteenth-century. Modest command of other Tupi-Guarani languages, lack of training in Arawak, Karib, Jê and other native, European and African tongues, time, and the absolute dearth of linguistic documentation on historical and colonial languages make it a struggle to make meaningful their relationships with the innovations displayed by the Vulgar. The previous chapter examined the oral life of the colonies, highlighting the roles of other minor colony-wide *linguas francas*. It is my hope that the foundation provided by this dissertation will permit other scholars to take bolder and longer strides to discovering the ways by which inhabitants of the northern

⁸⁷ Antônio Porro, “História Indígena do Alto e Médio Amazonas, Séculos XVI a XVIII,” in *História dos Índios do Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultural, FAPESP, 1992), 193.

colony spoke to each other and how these interlingual means of communication informed and altered the ways with which they spoke in intralingual exchanges amongst themselves.

Conclusion

In my earliest days outlining the research plans for this dissertation, I proposed to study the use of music and theatre in programs of religious conversion by Jesuit missionaries among the Indian peoples of Portuguese America. Recurrent references in Jesuit letters consulted in the central archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome reminded me to look up the so-called “languages of the land” of colonial Brazil when I returned to Portugal. Those first months stepping into the world of the *Brasílica* were dizzying. Lingered over the fragile leaves of printed and manuscript how-to language manuals written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I committed myself to the project which is now closing its first phase of research and writing.

“*Conversing in Colony*” is a study driven by its sources. I recall three decisive moments. First, an unexpected and fruitful trip to rainy London in December, 2000, to set my eyes on the original manuscript of the “*Gelboé* compendium,” in the British Library, second, my “discovery” of the “*Prosodia da Lingoa*” until now, unstudied by the scholarly community, in the picturesque *Academia das Ciências*, just months before leaving Lisbon, and third, the moment when I realized that the *Vulgar* was what had been incorrectly equated in the specialized literature as the Tupinambá dialect of *Amazônia*. These are the key moments which have propelled the research and writing of this dissertation.

This dissertation has offered a general overview on several facets of oral life in colonial Portuguese America. It has shown that Tupi-Guarani dominance along the Atlantic coast of the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhão and Pará

created what were to become long-standing Tupi-Luso alliances. The moral-linguistic typologies created from these alliances extended from the early sixteenth century, when Tupi-Guarani societies were still intact and functioning in pre-colonial ways, to the mid-eighteenth century, when efforts to integrate Indians into Lusophone society were beginning to peak. At a point when the introduction of Portuguese could have returned the *ladino* to his sixteenth and seventeenth century standing, as a polished and skilled speaker of Portuguese, he did not and instead, represented the acme of Tupi-Guarani locution as an ever eloquent orator in the Brasília.

By addressing the historical development, use and expansion of the Brasília, this dissertation has responded to questions previously unasked and therefore, unanswered by the historiography on colonial Portuguese America. Although new studies are probing the use, social roles and linguistic characteristics of the *línguas gerais*, they have not ventured beyond the realm of Indian-white contact and certainly not Indian-Indian contact. This dissertation has shown that, in fact, Indian-Indian exchange was what led to the creation of a new language, the Vulgar, precisely at the time that Portugal was introducing projects to “civilize” and “Lusofy” its Amazonian colony. My identification of the Vulgar, developed by intra-group but interlingual efforts to communicate, contributes to studies of modern Amazonian caboclo identities by positing one more realm, namely language, as a line of inquiry holding great potential.

Traditionally, historians have examined, classified and addressed migration in terms of place of origins, of nationality, of religious affiliation and of ethnicity in the case of Europeans, of “nação” for Indians, and by culture zones

and ethnicity for persons of African birth or descent. By using language as a prism through which fragmented elements of a society can be viewed, I am able to find commonalities joining peoples usually separated by classification or observe intra-group divisions prying apart individuals who are usually viewed together and so, equally. By taking language groups as my point of reference, I am breaking new ground not only by referring to speech as a point of reference for Africans and Europeans alike, but also by applying it as a classification for Indian migrants within South America, a dimension rarely addressed in the historiography and even more rarely in the same breath as European or African migration.

Because this dissertation is first and foremost built from its use of primary sources hardly, if at all, studied by scholars, the new material it introduces, read against the existing body of *língua geral* texts and integrated into the research in the discipline of linguistics, offers a revision to the specialized literature, the historiography of colonial Brazil and studies in the field of linguistics. For scholarship on *línguas gerais* and, in particular, *línguas gerais amazônicas*, the emergence and importance of the Vulgar, uncovered by this dissertation, has opened a new field of research for linguists.

Finally, my dissertation has introduced the very subject matter of language itself into a historical discussion on the rich diversity constituting the population of the colonies. Accustomed to the modern nation states where the language of the people supposedly corresponds to the language of the ruling class or ethnic group, the historiography tends to assume that Portuguese was spoken from the moment of Cabral's enactment of possession for the Portuguese monarch. By

showing that in the sphere of language, Lusophone speech ended up waiting for several more centuries, especially in the Indian-dominated north, before it could exert domain, this dissertation identifies a new way of understanding colonial relationships of power, culture and exchange.

The driving force behind the questions posed during the research, analyses and writing of this work, in fact, centered around the matter of exchange between peoples. “Conversing in Colony” takes for its theme the example of oral communication between speakers of mutually-incomprehensible languages in their early encounters and follows the developments of these interlingual relationships throughout two and a half centuries of social, demographic, environmental and political change. Implicitly, however, this dissertation has been dedicated to uncovering the simple matter of exchange (in this case, linguistic) and to ruminating some of the ways that these exchanges came to define societies, identities and cultural practices.

The insights gained from the research and writing of this dissertation have provided me with a solid platform from which to begin new lines of inquiry. The predominantly male dimension of the European migrants throughout the early phases of the colonial period has led historians and linguists in other area and period specializations to study the ways by which Indian women exercised domain in matters of child raising and the passing on of one’s native tongue. Such a study has not been published for colonial Brazil and yet the sources used in this dissertation indicate that the subject matter holds great promise. Preliminary research into African migrants and their languages posit the existence of minor, intra-group lingua francas which existed peripheral to the

colony-wide lingua francas, as too, does this open up for discussion how Europeans, living far from the Lusophone-dominated urban centers and speaking mutually incomprehensible languages, were able to communicate with each other.

Comparative research agendas viewing the language translation projects in the Americas might offer additional insight into the ways by which different Indian and European groups addressed interlingual relations. Namely, the rise of the Vulgar in South America's largest river valley – second in the world – proposes much potential for lines of comparative investigation on language, exchange and identity in another major river culture – that of the Mississippi. My next project will pick up where this one finishes, to examine language, ritual and economic exchange in the two great American river cultures, the Amazon and the Mississippi. Although this project moves part of my focus further north into Indian territory controlled by Chinook, Choctaw, Natchez and other tribes and forming the history of colonial British, French and Spanish North America, I find that my new research questions actually springboard from the departing framework left by this dissertation: on the ways by which peoples from disparate parts of the world, carrying whatever divisions that separate them, have met, come together, formed lives which were strained by tension and conflict, patterned by oscillating alliances and adversaries, but lives which remained always inextricably linked.

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Vocabularium hispanicolatinumet Anglicum copiosissimum, cum nonnullis vocum millibus locupletatum, ac cum Lingae Hispanicae Etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Derivationibus, vt sub Nomine, Naturam, Proprietatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam vel finem rerum rectè nosse queas, & relatvm in Minshaei Dictionarium Etymologicum vndecim Linguarum, per numeros Arithmeticos, quorum prior Paginam, posterior numerum vocabulorum primitivorum in epso contentorum denotat, vt etiam Etymologias aliarum decim scire possis: Opera, Studio, Industria, labore & sumptibus Iohannis Minshae I in lucem editum & impressum. [London: John Brownes Shopp] found in The Guide Into Tongues. Cum illarum harmonia, & Etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Derivationibus in omnibus his undecim Linguis, viz: 1. Anglica, 2. Cambro-Britanica, 3. Belgica, 4. Germanica, 5. Gallica, 6. Italica, 7. Hispanica, 8. Lusitanica seu Portugallica, 9. Latina, 10. Graeca, 11. Hebraea, &c. Quae etiam ita ordine, & sono consentientes, collocatae sunt, vt facilimè et nullo labore, unusquisq; non folùm, Quatuor, Quinque, vel plures illarum, quàm optimè memòria tenere, verum etiam (per earum Etymologias) sub Nomine, Naturam, Proprietatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam, vel finem rerum, rectè nosse queat; Discrepans ab alijs Dictionarijs unquam antehac editis. Item explicatio vocabulorum forensium Iuris Anglicani, & Descriptio Magistratum, & Titulorum dignitatum, hac nota per totum Opus insignita. Opus omnibus humanioris literaturae amatoribus valdè necessarium & delectabile, imprimis Nostratibus qui nullo negotio ex Anglicana, caeteras linguas cum earum Etymologys, ordine Alphabetico, invenire possunt, deniq; Extraneis, si ex his congestis, Alphabetum unius vel plurium aliarum linguarum, fibi cum numeris Arithmeticis concinnare voverunt. Opera, Studio, Industria, Albore & Sumptibus. Iohannis Minshaei in lucem editum & impressum. [London]: [John Minsheu], 1617.

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Curriculum Vitae

M. Kittiya Lee was born in 1973 in Bangkok, Thailand, youngest daughter of a Chinese family. At age 3, she nearly died. Thanks to her enterprising and resourceful mother, who learned at Sukhumvit market about a mysterious local steel mill owner who possessed expert knowledge of medicinal forest herbs, Kittiya survived a deathly mosquito bite and was able to move to the US with her family in 1978, settling in Chicago and later, in Houston. She attended the University of Texas at Austin for her undergraduate degree in Humanities Honors, studying under the tutelage of Professors Sandra Lauderdale-Graham, Larry Carver and Norman Farmer (1991-1995). After graduation, Kittiya was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to conduct research on planter-class women in the nineteenth-century Paraíba Valley, Brazil, an experience which convinced her to begin graduate studies in History at the Johns Hopkins University. In September, Kittiya will begin her comparative project on exchange in the Amazon and Mississippi valleys as a Rockefeller Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Tulane University.