



# AWETI IN RELATION WITH KAMAYURÁ

## THE TWO TUPIAN LANGUAGES OF THE UPPER XINGU

SEBASTIAN DRUDE

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### INTRODUCTION

The Aweti and the Kamayurá are the two peoples speaking Tupian languages within the Upper Xingu system in focus in this volume. This article explores the relationship between the two groups and their languages at various levels, as far as space and our current knowledge allow. The global aim is to answer a question that frequently surfaces: how closely related are these two languages? This question has several answers depending on the kind and level of ‘relationship’ between the two languages one wishes to examine. I shall attempt to answer the question at the major (socio-)linguistic levels.

I have worked with (the) Aweti for more than ten years now, meaning that most of the information about the people and, in particular, about their language has been obtained (or at least confirmed) first-hand through direct work with Aweti speakers in their villages or in the city of Belém. Information about the Ka-

mayurá and their language has been taken from the literature, or obtained from multilingual Aweti speakers, or was kindly provided by Lucy Seki.<sup>1</sup>

The following three sections deal with the two peoples and specifically with their languages as historical entities, that is, analyzed from a historical-comparative or sociolinguistic viewpoint. Section 2 summarizes the diachronic relationship between the languages, while section 3 describes the more recent history of the groups and their internal varieties, and section 4 discusses the current political relations and contacts between the two groups and their languages. The final two sections focus on the linguistic systems, demonstrating the degree of distance and similarity based on regular sound changes from the (reconstructed) common ancestor (section 5) , and comparing some prominent basic features of each language's morphology, syntax and lexicon (section 6).

## 1. DEEP HISTORICAL-LINGUISTIC RELATION

The languages of both the Aweti and the Kamayurá belong to the large Tupi family (or, according to some terminologies, 'stock,' a translation of the Portuguese term *tronco*), which provides the rationale for selecting the two languages examined in this paper. However, the two languages are situated in different locations within this large family.

Kamayurá is a member of the Tupi-Guaranian (TG) branch, the largest and best known subfamily of Tupi. Various proposals exist for the internal sub-grouping of the TG subfamily. Rodrigues and Cabral (2002), for instance, identify Kamayurá on its own as one of their ten numbered branches (number VIII), which in turn belongs to a large group of Amazonian TG languages (together with, on the one hand, Kayabí, the Kawahíb-dialect cluster, Tapirapé, and Araweté, and, on the other, the Tenetehara dialects and the most northern languages such as Waiãpi). According to these authors, this large Amazonian group stands alongside another two major branches: a group including Tupinambá, Guarayo and Siriono, on one hand, and the Guarani varieties / languages, on the other.

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful for her help and our cooperation in our presentation in the meeting in Rio de Janeiro. Responsibility for any shortcomings and flaws in this paper is, however, entirely my own.

Another proposal advanced by Mello (2000) places Kamayurá in the major branch of Amazonian TG languages, similarly to the grouping proposed by Rodrigues and Cabral (2002). However the inner structuring of this branch differs considerably: here Kamayurá is most closely related to Kayabí (the two together forming Mello's group V), which in turn is grouped together with the Kawahíb-cluster (group IV).<sup>2</sup>

These divergences have been graphically represented by Galúcio (2004, originally created by Sérgio Meira), as reproduced in Figure 1.

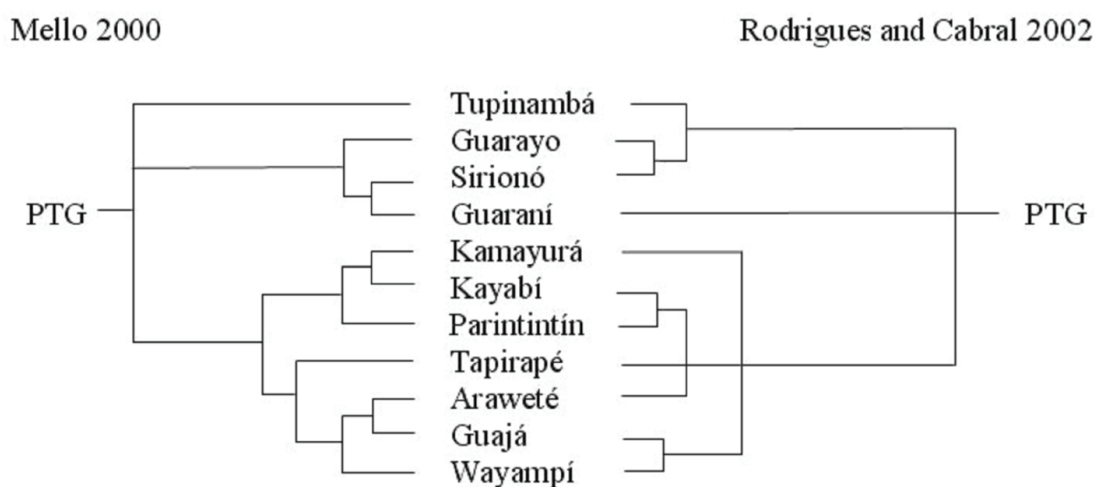


Figure 1: Different internal groupings of Tupi-Guarani

Other proposals exist, for instance that of Schleicher (1998). In sum, the exact position of Kamayurá inside TG has yet to be settled conclusively.

Since Rodrigues' (1984/85) classification, Aweti has been taken to constitute its own branch or subfamily within the Tupian family, rather than belonging to TG as had been assumed previously on the basis of insufficient data (cf. Rodrigues 1964). It is, however, unanimously accepted that Aweti, along with Sateré-Mawé, is more closely related to the TG subfamily than other Tupian languages. As a result of the Tupi Comparative Project, and in particular my collaborative work with Sérgio Meira, we have been able to confirm this more inclusive Tupian branch (Drude

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2006) and, in the absence of a more practical term, we have proposed the short designation ‘Maweti-Guarani’ (abbreviated to MATG, standing for ‘Mawé-Aweti-Tupi-Guarani’). In the course of our ongoing investigation of MATG, aiming in particular at the reconstruction of its postulated proto-language proto-Maweti-Guarani (pMATG), we have found some evidence that Aweti and TG are more closely related to each other than either language is to Sateré-Mawé (Meira and Drude in prep.). The resulting, though still preliminary, genealogical tree is shown in Figure 2.

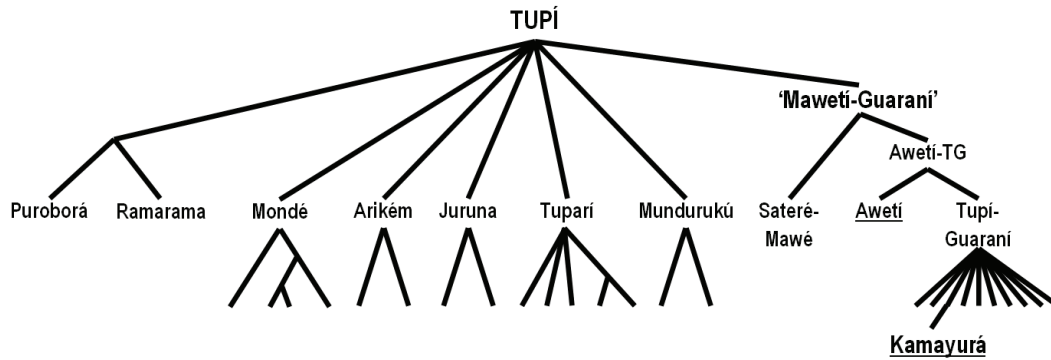


Figure 2: Major Tupian branches (Tupi Comparative Project, 2006)

In short, within the Tupian languages, Kamayurá belongs to the large Tupi-Guarani sub-family, to which Aweti is the closest external relative. Together with Sateré-Mawé, both TG and Aweti belong to the major group ‘Maweti-Guarani,’ the most inclusive top-level Tupian branch so far established. It is difficult to estimate the time-depth of the separation between these branches. Impressionistically, variation among the TG languages seems to resemble that of the Romance languages, suggesting a time span of some 1400 to 1700 years since the common ancestor. Aweti is closely related to but not part of the TG language family, so we could estimate a period of 2000 years or more of separate development for the present-day Kamayurá and Aweti languages. The lexicostatistic value of around 50 cognates among the different branches of MATG in the 100-word Swadesh-list would, using the default glottochronological interpretation, indicate around 4850 years of separation. However, this value appears too high, given the apparent structural proximity of the two languages.

## 2. HISTORICAL ORIGINS, INTERNAL LINGUISTIC VARIATION

The two groups, Aweti and Kamayurá, today live in the central part of the Upper Xingu region, with both populations having recently split into two villages. The main part of the Kamayurá group lives at their traditional location south of lake Ipavu. The second, more recent village is located close to the confluence of the three major headwaters forming the Xingu, at a site regionally known as Myrená or Morená. The main Aweti village is also located at their traditional site between the lower Kurisevo and Tuatuari rivers, near to their ‘port’ called Tsuepelu (apparently the same as 120 years ago mentioned by von den Steinen (1894)). The second village was established about 5 years ago. It also lies between these two rivers, some 20 km downriver (northwards), closer to the FUNAI Leonardo Indigenous Post.

For both groups, the establishment of a second village evinces a demographic recovery after a series of catastrophic epidemics lasting until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, when both populations were reduced to a small number of individuals (the Aweti were reduced to 23 people in 1954, and the Kamayurá to 94 that same year; cf. the demographic numbers compiled by Heckenberger (2001)).

Historically, both peoples seem to have resulted from the merging of several distinct groups that may have entered the region from different directions at different points in time. The original linguistic configuration of these groups is very uncertain and may well have been fairly complex. The linguistic origins of what today are the Kamayurá and Aweti may have involved several different varieties, or even separate languages, from the TG subfamily and/or languages similar to modern Aweti.

### THE ORIGINS AND VARIETIES OF KAMAYURÁ

Several authors have described the history of the Kamayurá, primarily based on the people’s own account. In her grammar, Seki (2000a) states that this people originated from several groups that arrived from the north-east, possibly living together with the *Tapirapé*. During the period when these groups were migrating up the Xingu river, they were known by Xinguan groups as *Jamyra*, but when they arrived at Myrená, they became known by the name of one prominent composite group, the *Apyap*,

still the basis for the group's designation in several Xinguano languages. (In Aweti, for instance, they are called *Apyawaza*, the final *-za* comprising a collective suffix found in most ethnonyms in Aweti). After they settled close to the location of the current Diauarum Indigenous Post, on the lower Culuene, the Waurá invited them to live in their territory. This is how they arrived at Lake Ipavú, initially at a site called Jamutukuri on the western shore of the lake. We know of at least five different named subgroups, the *Apyap*, *Karaia'i(p)* (= *Kara'i'a'i*, *Karayaya*), *Ka'atyp*, *Arupatsi*, and *Mangatyp*, possibly speaking different TG varieties. Later, at the latest during the dramatic demographic decline in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, these subgroups merged into one village, Jawaratymap.

Other authors relate similar histories, although the details about the composite groups and first origins vary. Galvão (1953) speculates that they came from further north, coming up the Tapajós river. Münzel (1971: 9–10) states that they arrived from the north via the Tocantins–Araguaia basin. Samain (1980) postulates that their original lands were even further away, suggesting that they came from the northern Brazilian coast, passing via the Araguaia river through the Karajá territories and entering the Xingu basin via the Suyá-Missú river. This latter information is consistent with other accounts, for instance that of Heckenberger (2005) who recounts the Kuikuro version of this episode.

Overall, the historical account given by Bastos (2000) is fairly consistent with that provided by Seki, as described above (also see the succinct overview in Franchetto 2001). In footnote 3 to his 2000 article, he writes about the group's names and the linguistic configuration:

The available evidence suggests that all the Tupi invaders (not only the proto-Kamayurá but also the proto-Aweti) were generically called Kamajúla by the Arawak and Karib peoples already living in the region (Bastos 1990 [sic., reference is missing, possibly referring to his Bastos 1989b. SD], 1995a [sic., should probably be “b” (here Bastos 1995). SD]). As I recorded in 1990 (p.xiv) and 1995a (p.230, note 4), what is usually named in the literature as the Kamayurá language refers to an Apyap language (which Harrison (n.p.) in fact expressly notes) rather than the language of the Arupatsi or any other group from those forming the present-day Kamayurá population. The latter today (1997) is composed of two villages, totalling around 450 inhabitants, where even a non-specialist in linguistics can observe the co-existence of different forms of speech (dialects?).

It is notable, however, that, despite Bastos's latter comment on a saliency of Kamayurá varieties, I have been unable to find any reference to different Kamayurá varieties in Seki's work on the language, other than some hints at particles used only by men or women, indicating the existence of genderlects (as in Aweti). Despite its title, her paper 'Observações sobre Variação Sociolinguística em Kamayurá' (Seki 1983) does not deal with varieties, let alone dialects, but describes different linguistic reflexes of the social distance and avoidance rules applicable in particular among in-laws. For the time being, the existence of clear dialects and the precise linguistic distance separating the different groups that merged into the Kamayurá must remain open to question.

As for an estimate of the period when the proto-Kamayurá entered the area, Bastos suggests the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century, which seems to be broadly compatible with other accounts, such as that of Heckenberger (2005: 154).

According to Kuikuro oral history, the groups ancestral to the Kamayurá first entered into contact with them when they were living on Lake Tafununu (prior to c. 1750). The next concrete identification of the Kamayurá ancestors places them in the area of Diauarum, apparently having descended down the Suiá-Missú from its headwaters near Tafununu, and records their progressive migration from Diauarum to Ipavú, likely during the late 1700s to early 1800s. [...] The Aweti were also present, in approximately the same area they have occupied throughout historic times, when the Caribs occupied Tafununu.

## THE ORIGINS AND VARIETIES OF AWETI

Elsewhere Bastos (e.g. 1989b: 524-67) lists the '*Anumani'á*' among the Tupian contingents that played a role in forming the latter-day Kamayurá, although this group is probably rather the main antecessor of the contemporary Aweti. Indeed, by their own account,<sup>3</sup> today's Aweti are the result of a prehistoric fusion of at least two groups: the Aweti 'proper' (*Awytyza 'ytoto*, in their own language, henceforth '*Awytyza*'),

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<sup>3</sup> Here I summarize a succinct narrative given by Kaluanã Aweti in 1998, details of which he and Talakwaj Aweti have repeated on several occasions since. For another detailed account of the Aweti historical tradition, see Souza (2001).

and the *Enumaniá*.<sup>4</sup> The *Awytyza* were culturally integrated into the Upper Xingu network first, but remained allied with the ‘wild’ *Enumaniá* (‘wild’ from the point of view of the Upper Xingu peoples). When almost all the *Awytyza*, especially the men, were killed by the *Tonoly* (a non-Xinguano tribe, possibly a subgroup of the Kayabí, though Bastos (2001: 337) identifies them as the Ikpeng), the *Enumaniá* took revenge, absorbed the remaining women and children, and occupied the *Awytyza*’s place in the Upper Xingu system, ‘becoming civilized,’ i.e. accepting / adopting the cultural patterns and ethos of Xinguano society.

According to the Aweti, therefore, they are indeed the descendants of the *Enumaniá* rather than the *Awytyza*, and their language is that of the *Enumaniá*. However, the little that can be recalled of the *Awytyza* *’ytoto* language indicates that there were no more than dialectal differences between the two. In particular, I see no clear signs that Aweti resulted from intensive contact between languages from different linguistic families, nor even from different branches of Tupi. Remarkably, the Aweti lexicon has few Tupi-Guaranian loan words, despite their close contact with TG (see below). Rather, as will be shown in later sections, most words show regular sound correspondences with Tupi-Guaranian cognates, suggesting that Aweti is indeed a genuinely independent Tupian language.

Aweti has two marked major varieties, one used by men and the other by women (Drude 2002). The existence of these two genderlects could, perhaps, be taken to suggest language contact or even a language merger similar, for instance, to the Kokama / Omagua case. At first glance, such a hypothesis would seem to fit with the narratives concerning the *Awytyza* and *Enumaniá*. However it cannot be substantiated. For one thing, the Aweti themselves do not associate properties of the female variety with the language of the *Awytyza* (nor elements of the male variety with the language of the *Enumaniá*).

More importantly, the formal differences between the two varieties are not located at the phonetic/phonological level, or in different lexical items in the case of content words, but rather: (a) in the deictic

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<sup>4</sup> Both were allies of the (Karib-speaking) Bakairí who entered the region together with them and participated in the cultural system but today are located outside the Upper Xingu. Another ethnic group mentioned in the same context are the ‘Warawara’ (Wyrawat?), about whom nothing else is known.



pronouns and related topicalization particles; and (b) in the first person singular and third person singular and plural pronouns and the partly related third person nominal prefixes. Looking for a possible explanation in terms of different substrata or adstrata, we should note that the male variety forms for (a) – namely, *jatã*, *kitã*, *kujtã* – are clearly derived from the female forms, *uja*, *akij*, *akoj*, having apparently first added an extra morpheme *-tã* and then lost the first, weak syllables and modified the second, now penultimate and unstressed syllable. Thus both varieties seem to have the same source. The forms in (b), in turn, provide contradictory evidence: On one hand, the women’s form for ‘I’, *ito*, is closer to Mawé (*uito*) than to TG (*\*itfe*) (the men’s form, *atit*, is not clearly relatable to either). However, the women’s third person prefixes (*i-*, *t-*) more closely resemble the Tupi-Guaranian forms (*\*i-*, *\*t-*) than those of Mawé (*\*i-*, *\*h-*) – at least much more so than the male prefixes (*n-*, *nã-*). Finally, the independent third person pronouns (women: sg. *ĩ*, pl. *ta’i*; men: sg. *nã*, pl. *tsã*) have no counterpart either in Mawé or in TG. So although the divergent forms have a high text frequency, making the differences between the two genderlects fairly salient, they do not seem to support any concrete hypothesis of a genetically distinct origin for one of the two varieties.

If other languages or varieties closely related to Aweti exist or existed, we have no evidence of them. Nevertheless, in several places, in particular in SIL’s Ethnologue language catalogue, ‘*Arawine*’ and/or ‘*Arawite*,’ or similar terms, are given as a designation of the Aweti or of related ethnic groups or languages.<sup>5</sup> The *Arawine*, however, were clearly a distinct group, and the few words reported for *Arawine* indicate that they spoke a Tupi-Guaranian language (Baldus 1970; Krause 1936). In particular, the reported first person possessive prefix *ie-*, or *nie-*, in nasal contexts, (in IPA notation possibly [jɛ-] and [ɲɛ-], respectively) indicate a closer relationship between *Arawine* and the languages spoken by the Asuriní of the Xingu, Kamayurá and Kayabí. ‘*Arawiti*’ in turn was the ethnonym-like designation for two families resulting from intermarriages

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<sup>5</sup> This probably goes back to Mason (1950) who listed these names together with Aweti, probably for geographical reasons and because it was the Aweti who first informed Meyer about the Arawine.

between Aweti men and Yawalapiti women, dwelling close to the Aweti village in 1887 (Steinen 1894). Nothing else is known about this emergent group, but it seems improbable that they spoke any language other than Aweti and Yawalapiti.

In sum, all the evidence at our disposal suggests that there is only one language of the Awetian branch of Tupi –namely, Aweti itself–with two major varieties, the male and female genderlects, but no signs of any related major influence from substrata or adstrata of other linguistic families or branches. Dialectal varieties of Aweti may have existed in the past, though (Awytyza vs. Enumaniá, perhaps also that of the Wyrawat/Warawara, sporadically mentioned as Aweti allies, too).

### 3. POLITICS, LANGUAGE CONTACT, BILINGUALISM

The two Tupian groups of the Upper Xingu occupy quite different positions in the political configuration of the regional system. The Kamayurá are one of the most numerous groups and have a high prestige among the Xinguano groups, although they arrived somewhat later and so are considered ‘newcomers,’ at least by the Waurá, Mehinaku and the Karib-speaking groups. The Aweti, in turn, are one of the smallest groups in the area and for several reasons have occupied a political position of low prestige for decades, though this has recently been changing.

This difference is also reflected in the attention the two groups have received from researchers from Brazil and abroad. While several researchers (e.g. E. Galvão, E. Samain, M. Münzel, L. Seki, R. Bastos, C. Junqueira, among others) have spent considerable time with the Kamayurá (aided by the fact that their village is easy to reach by air and from FUNAI’s central Leonardo Indigenous Post), the Aweti have only been visited more than once by G. Zarur (cf. 1975), R. Monserrat (cf. 1976), the present author and his colleague, S. Reiter. Several researchers visited the village once, for instance K. von den Steinen (cf. 1894), H. Meyer (cf. 1897c), M. Schmidt (Schmidt 1902; 1904), C. Emmerich (cf. Emmerich and Monserrat 1972), C. Borella (cf. 2000), and M. Souza. In his 1984 expedition to the Xingu, Hartman (cf. 1986) visited almost all the villages, except that of the Aweti.

The difference in prestige and population size has led to somewhat asymmetric relations between the two groups. This is reflected in the patterns of bilingualism found among the two communities. Generally speaking, many more Aweti understand and even speak Kamayurá than the other way round. But in contrast to well-known language pairs in Europe where apparently similar situations developed (e.g. Spanish–Portuguese, German–Dutch), this is *not* due to linguistic proximity on the border between language and dialect (see section 2, above).

For the Aweti, the Kamayurá are certainly the group with whom they maintain the closest relations (albeit not always without conflicts), including frequent intermarriage. Almost all members of the two Aweti villages who are not identified as Aweti are Kamayurá, and the majority of the Aweti living outside their villages with their respective spouses live among the Kamayurá. This close relationship is particularly evident in the newer village, which is, in fact, a genuine mixture of Kamayurá and Aweti. It was founded by an Aweti–Kamayurá couple and the two largest families in the village are headed by a son and a daughter of this couple, both married to a Kamayurá spouse.

Consequently, the vast majority of the Aweti have at least a good passive command of Kamayurá, and most people also speak the language to some degree, especially those partly of Kamayurá origin or with Kamayurá in-laws. It is remarkable that the Aweti managed to maintain their identity as a separate group despite these close ties and many intermarriages. In the case of the Yawalapiti, for instance, similar circumstances lead to a situation where the traditional Yawalapiti language is no longer the main language spoken in their village – in fact, only a few older Yawalapiti still speak it fluently. The same could easily have happened to (the) Aweti.

Alliances between the Aweti and other peoples have arisen due to geographical proximity (e.g. the Mehinaku live close to the same river, which provides opportunities for logistical cooperation) or their attempts to establish ties with other smaller and less prestigious Xinguano groups (such as the Nahukwa, the partners invited to the Jawarí bilateral intertribal ritual in 2003). The once central position and role of the Aweti as intermediaries and hosts for travellers (as reported by von den Steinen)

was lost, probably during the catastrophic demographic collapse and reorganization experienced by the Upper Xingu groups during the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, their traditionally good relationship with the Yawalapiti was severely damaged by political conflicts, culminating in the death of an important Yawalapiti leader for which the Aweti were held responsible (cf. Bastos 1989a).

Sabine Reiter has recently produced an exhaustive survey of the sociolinguistic situation in both Aweti villages, based on a detailed questionnaire and much additional observation (Reiter, to appear). The reader is referred to this paper for more detailed information on the co-existence of Aweti and Kamayurá (and other languages, in particular, Portuguese) among the Aweti.

Occupying a central position in the Upper Xingu political system, the Kamayurá have strong alliances with several other Xinguano groups, in particular with the Yawalapiti and the Wauja. The Aweti do not even feature prominently among their allies and the Kamayurá have in fact intermarried more with other groups (Trumai, Yawalapiti, Mehinaku) than with the Aweti. Although the Kamayurá recognize their linguistic relatedness to Aweti, few have actually learned their language, which is generally said to be difficult and unintelligible (hence their nickname ‘*Alemanha*,’ ‘Germany’ in Portuguese).

Some people hypothesize that Kamayurá could develop into a lingua franca in the Upper Xingu region, given that members of several other groups have at least passive command of the language and that Kamayurá – together with Kuikuiro – is one of the main languages replacing Yawalapiti in the Yawalapiti village. Additionally, many of the employees at FUNAI’s central Leonardo Indigenous Post are themselves Kamayurá or speak the language and much of the communication across language borders, for instance using long-distance radio transceivers, is undertaken in Kamayurá. More recent evidence, however, indicates that Portuguese is taking over this role.

In the remaining sections I compare the linguistic systems of the two languages, focusing on shared properties that may have been retained from their common origin.

## 4. THE LANGUAGES: PHONOLOGY AND SOUND CHANGES

### CURRENT PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

The phonological systems of the two languages are similar and appear to be typical to Tupian languages in general. To begin with, their vowels are virtually identical. These are shown in Table 1.<sup>6</sup>

		+ FRONTAL	– FRONTAL	
			– ROUNDED	+ ROUNDED
CLOSED	ORAL	i	ɨ	u
	NASAL	ĩ	ĩ	ũ
OPEN	ORAL	e	a	o
	NASAL	ẽ	ã	õ

Table 1: Aweti and Kamayurá vowels

The consonantal systems of both languages are also similar; see Tables 2 and 3.

	LABIAL	APICAL	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
OCCLUSIVE	p	t	k, k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
AFFR. / FRICATIVE		ts		h, h <sup>w</sup>
NASAL	m	n	ŋ	
TAP		r		
SEMI-VOWELS	w	j		

Table 2: Kamayurá consonants

<sup>6</sup> One possible way of taking nasal harmony (which exists in both Aweti and Kamayurá) into account is by proposing a third class of vowels besides the inherently oral and inherently nasal vowels in table 1. This third class would consist of vowels which are unspecified for orality / nasality (similar to arquiphonemes). We do not cover any arquiphonemes in this comparison. A preliminary study suggests that doing so would be consistent with our analysis.

	LABIAL	APICAL	RETROFLEX	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
OCCLUSIVE	p	t		k	ʔ
AFFR. / FRICATIVE		ts	ẓ	(ɣ)	(h)
NASAL	m	n		ŋ	
TAP, LATERAL		r, l			
SEMI-VOWELS	w	j			

Table 3: Aweti consonants

Comparing Tables 2 and 3, the differences become clear: Kamayurá has two labialized back consonants (a dorsal stop /k<sup>w</sup>/ and a glottal fricative /h<sup>w</sup>/), which Aweti lacks. Aweti in turn shows one retroflex fricative /ẓ/, a lateral /l/, and the dorsal fricative /ɣ/ (albeit an incipient phoneme), which are all lacking in Kamayurá.

### CHANGES FROM PROTO-MAWETI-GUARANI TO THE CURRENT LANGUAGES

In this section, I trace the development of the two languages from the system of the common ancestor pMATG.<sup>7</sup> The vowels seem to have remained more or less stable. For the consonants, we propose the system for pMATG summarized in table 4.

	LABIAL	APICAL	PALAT.	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
OCCLUSIVE	p	t	tʲ	k, k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ
AFFRICATA		ts			
NASAL	m	n		ŋ	
FRIC., TAP, LAT.	β	r, l			
SEMI-VOWELS	w	j			

Table 4: Consonants reconstructed for Proto-Maweti-Guarani (pMATG)

<sup>7</sup> If the internal grouping of Maweti-Guarani (MATG) indicated in Figure 2 is correct, the closest common ancestor of Kamayurá and Aweti is, of course, Proto-Aweti-Tupi-Guarani (to which Mawé is a sister-language, not a daughter-language). However, I have not attempted any specific reconstruction of this hypothetical intermediate proto-language. The reconstruction of Proto-Maweti-Guarani was worked out in 2004–2006 by Sérgio Meira and the author (Meira and Drude, in prep.).

I propose the following regular sound changes from pMATG to Aweti:<sup>8</sup>

1.	$\beta > w$	( $\beta$ disappears as a phoneme)	b, x, y, z, ax
2.	$ts > t$		ao, ap, aq
3.	$ti > z\ddot{t}$		a, e, f, g, h, ad
4.	$r(i) > z\ddot{t}(i)$	( $i$ changes if present, some $r$ remain in A or are reintroduced from other sources)	b, c, av, aw, ax
5.	$t^j > t$	/ ... _ ... (no / $t^j$ / remain word-internally in A)	u, v, bg, bh, bi, bj
6.	$t^j > \emptyset$	/ ...- _... (all $t^j$ disappear stem-initially in A; ‘relational prefix’ in TG: only as in $it-$ in A)	d, j, n, x, z, aa, ac, ag, am?, an?, be, bf, bl
7.	$k > t$	/ _ i,e	bk, bl, bm
8.	$k^w > k$	/ _ i ( $k^w$ disappears as a phoneme)	y, bq, br
9.	$k^w > t$	/ _ a,e,i,o,u ( $k^w$ disappears as a phoneme, perhaps now re-emerging from / $ku$ /)	d, e, s, ab, ad, bd, bs
10.	$n > j$	/ _ [ $\tilde{V}$ ] (except for $\tilde{V} = \tilde{i}$ ; phonetically is /j/ = [ɲ] before [ $\tilde{V}$ ])	l, ar, as (cf. at, au)
11.		$ts$ reappears with high token but low type frequency, e.g. in loans and men’s speech	
12.		$h$ occurs marginally, e.g. in loans	
13.		[ $\gamma$ ], still allophone of word-final /k/, i.e., /K/, starts to develop into a phoneme	

<sup>8</sup> In this and the following lists (non-consecutive numbering from 1 to 40), the last column lists examples referring to the list (from a to bs) in the Appendix to this paper.

I have omitted sounds that do not change (such as \*p > p) from both the above list and the following lists of sound changes from pMATG to Kamayurá. Examples abound anyway in the cognates given in the appendix below.

There are two phases in the development from pMATG to Kamayurá: step (a) involving the changes from proto-Maweti-Guarani to proto-Tupi-Guarani, followed by step (b) involving the changes from proto-Tupi-Guarani to Kamayurá.

I propose the following regular changes for step (a), pMATG > pTG:

21.	p > m	/ $\tilde{V}$ _V (phonetically no change: [mp~mb])	l, m, n
22.	t > n	/ $\tilde{V}$ _V (phonetically no change: [nt~nd])	ae, af, ag
23.	k > ŋ	/ $\tilde{V}$ _V (phonetically no change: [ŋk~ŋg])	bn
24.	r > t	/ __i	b, c
25.	t > ts/tʃ	/ __a,e,ɨ,o,u	p, ah, ai, aj, ak, al, bp
26.	l > r	( <b>l</b> disappears completely)	ay, az, ba
27.	tʲ > t	( <b>tʲ</b> disappears, merges with <b>t</b> before <b>i</b> )	u, v, bg, bh, bi, bj
28.	tʲ > ∅	/ ...- __... ( <b>tʲ</b> disappears stem-initially, ‘relational prefix’ /r-/ in TG instead, may be related)	d, j, n, x, z, aa, ac, ag, be, bf, bl
29.	kʷ > j	( <b>kʷ</b> possibly disappears as phoneme)	b, d, e, s, y, ab, ad, bd, bq, br, bs



The first three ‘changes’ are a phonological reinterpretation/rearrangement rather than a material sound change: in other words, the phonetic form remained the same. Similarly, the usual proposals for pTG reconstruct morpheme-final consonants  $\beta$  and  $r$ , rather than  $p$  and  $t$ . Both are allophones of the final consonants for Mawé, Aweti and many TG languages, and I postulate that a similar allophony may have already existed in pMATG. Hence the decision to represent the respective phonemes by their lenis variants in pTG does not imply that a sound change occurred at either the phonological or phonetic level. Accordingly, I do not list these as ‘changes,’ though I present the final consonants in their lenis form in the TG examples below.

Our reconstruction of pMATG does not require various additional phonemes that have been proposed for pTG, in particular,  $/p^w, k^w, p^j, k^j, tʃ/$ . Or at least, none of these postulated phonemes is relevant for the cognates I was able to identify and reconstruct.<sup>9</sup> I provide the phonological consonantal chart reconstructed for pTG in Table 5, marking the additional phonemes not supported by (or needed for) my reconstruction in italics.

	LABIAL	APICAL	PALAT.	DORSAL	GLOTTAL
OCCLUSIVE	$p, p^w$	$t$		$k, k^w$	$ʔ$
AFFR. / FRICATIVE	$p^j$	$ts$	$tʃ$	$k^j$	
NASAL	$m$	$n$		$\eta$	
LENIS (SONORANTS)	$\beta$	$r$			
SEMI-VOWELS	$w$	$j$			

Table 5: reconstructed consonants for proto-Tupi-Guarani (pTG)

<sup>9</sup> I tend to agree with Schleicher’s argument (1998: 18ff) that the differences between supposed reflexes of two distinct proto-phonemes,  $/ts/$  and  $/tʃ/$  in pTG, do not provide a strong enough case to reconstruct it for pTG (the picture is chaotic, based mostly on distinctions in some Guaranian varieties).

Lucy Seki starts from an even more expanded pTG system –as proposed by Rodrigues and Dietrich (1997: 268)– in her analysis of the diachronic development of Kamayurá (Seki 2000b). I summarize the relevant changes for step **(b)** as follows:

31.	tʃ > h, Ø	(tʃ disappears)	v, amʔ, anʔ, ao, ap, bp, bs
32.	ts > h, Ø, (ts)	(some <b>ts</b> remain in K, others are reintroduced from other sources)	p, v, ah, ai, aj, ak, ao, ap, aq, bp, bs
33.	p > h	/ __u,(o)	o, p, q
34.	p <sup>w</sup> > h <sup>w</sup>		oʔ
35.	p <sup>j</sup> > ts		
36.	β > w	(β disappears phonologically)	b, x, y, z, ax, bb
37.	t > ts	/ __i	a, b, c, f, ad, bg, bh
38.	k <sup>j</sup> > ts		
39.	i > i	/ __k# (not totally clear)	d, e, g, h
40.	i,u > i	/ __Ci(C)#, __Cu(C)# (in other TG lgs.)	f, g, h, ac, ax

Besides these phonological rules, a substantial but merely phonetic sound change occurred in relation to the pTG pre-nasalized stops [mb, nt, ŋk] (cf. rules 21–23). These changed to [m, n, ŋ] in Kamayurá (phonologically these units are /m, n, ŋ/ in pTG and in Kamayurá).

The last two rules, 39 and 40, are not given by Seki (2000b) but have been added by myself. Seki was unable to recognize these because the usual reconstructions of pTG (for instance, Mello 2000) already have /i/ for pTG in the relevant reconstructed words. But as a closer look reveals, several TG languages still possess /i/, as do Mawé and Aweti: consequently, I propose that these changes from /i/ to /i/ actually occurred (in many TG languages, independently or not) at a later stage than pTG.<sup>10</sup> It seems that Kamayurá also preserved the older /i/, but this hypothesis requires further investigation.

## 5. THE LANGUAGES: MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND LEXICON

For reasons of space, I limit my analysis here to some basic or salient features that are either similar or distinct in Aweti and Kamayurá. I provide a more detailed description of the person systems and discuss the question of ‘relational prefixes,’ as well as listing some common syntactic features and briefly addressing the question of loan words.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND PERSON MARKING

The following table summarizes and contrasts the person systems of Kamayurá (upper part) and Aweti (lower part). Abbreviations and explanations appear after the table, while Seki (2000a: 61, 65) provides a more detailed description of Kamayurá.

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<sup>10</sup> The same holds for deletion of one consonant in the case of ambisyllabic consonant encounters, where the glottal stop is usually said to have been lost, though it occurs before glides at least in Parintintin and Kayabi (and probably also in Tupinambá, where Rodrigues (2001: 113) transcribes /jaʔwar/). In these cases, therefore, it seems the glottal stop should have been present still in pTG.

	PPR		NOUN		ST.	OBJ.	S (ITR)	S (TR)	IMP	GER	PTM
	♂	♀	♂	♀							
1	ije		je = (r-)				a-		-	we-	-
2	ene		ne = (r-)				ere-		e(re)-	e-	oro-
3	(a'e/pe)		i-/t-/h-			-	o-		-	o-	-
12	jene		jene = (r-)				ja-		-	jere-	-
13	ore		ore = (r-)				oro-		-	ore-	-
23	pehẽ		pe = (r-)				pe-		pe-	peje-	opo-
1	atit	ito	i(t)-				a-	a(t)-	-		
2	en		e-				e-	e(t)-	i-/jo(t)-	-	
3	nã	ĩ	n(ã)-	i-/t-		-	o-	wej(t)-	-		
12	kajã		kaj-				kaj-	ti(t)-	-		
13	ozoza		ozo-				ozo-	ozoj(t)-	-		
23	e'ipe		e'i-				e'i-	pej(t)-	pej(t)-	-	
3pl	tsã	ta'i	-								

Table 6: Person systems of Kamayurá (top) and Aweti (bottom)

Aweti has genuine third person pronouns ('PPr'), differently from most TG languages, including Kamayurá, where deictic pronouns are used instead. Aweti even distinguishes between third-person singular and plural (only person pronouns), which does not occur in Kamayurá (and rarely in Tupi languages in general). In the pronominal system, Aweti also possesses different forms according to the genderlect (♂: male, ♀: female variety) in the third-person and also for the first person singular. Although the data is still unclear, one or both of the first person singular pronouns may be related to the TG forms or to each other.

Both languages employ the same set of forms for nouns and stative verbs ('St'), as well as for marking the object on transitive verbs ('Obj': here the third person cannot occur due to the hierarchy of reference operating in both languages). In the case of Kamayurá, these forms are analyzed as proclitic pronouns except for third person (where 'relational prefixes' occur), while in Aweti the forms are identified as prefixes, although most are also clearly related to the independent pronouns. As for third person noun forms, in Aweti the female variety uses the same prefixes employed with stative verbs (as does Kamayurá), while the male variety has different forms related to the third person singular pronoun.

The subject-marking prefixes ('S') on active verbs are the same for intransitive ('itr') and transitive ('tr') verbs in Kamayurá, while in Aweti most subject prefixes on intransitive verbs are the same as those for stative verbs and for object prefixes on transitive verbs ('absolutive' in ergativity theory). Even the first person prefix, which instead follows a nominative(-accusative) pattern in Aweti, receives an additional *t* before vowel-initial stems of transitive verbs, as do all subject prefixes. This also applies to the prefix for second person singular, which is otherwise consistently *e-* for all functions mentioned so far.

Both languages have imperative ('Imp') prefixes which in some cases resemble the usual subject prefixes on (transitive) verbs. In the singular, Aweti again distinguishes the form for intransitive verbs (*i-*) from that for transitive verbs (*jo(t)-*). In the plural, the prefix is always *pej(t)-*, even in the case of intransitive verbs.

Kamayurá has two more series, one for the 'gerund' ('Ger') and one with two portmanteau-forms ('Ptm'), the latter simultaneously expressing first person subject and second person singular (*oro-*) respectively plural (*opo-*) object, a feature typical to TG languages. Neither series exists in Aweti: the gerund uses the 'nominal' series, as does the subjunctive; and, in Aweti, the person hierarchy also holds in cases where first person acts on second-person.

Some of the forms may well be cognates: 1 (1<sup>st</sup> sg): *a-*; 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> sg): the pronouns and the *e-* part of the prefixes; 3 (3<sup>rd</sup> person) the *t-* and *i-* prefixes, and the *o-* prefix (in Aweti only in active intransitive).

sitive verbs). In the first person plural inclusive ('12'), the *j* and neighbouring segments may be related, and the same certainly applies to Aweti *oz(o)*- and Kamayurá *or(o)*- in the first person plural exclusive ('13'), and for the *pe*- parts of the second person plural ('23') forms.

### **MORPHOLOGY: 'RELATIONAL' PREFIXES, AFFIXES IN GENERAL**

Aweti completely lacks a feature typically found in TG languages, including Kamayurá: the linking prefix (*r*-), often analyzed to be one of the so-called 'relational prefixes.' Nonetheless, some Aweti elements are functionally and/or formally related to other 'relational prefixes.' Seki (2000a: 55ff) distinguishes four relational prefixes, some of them possessing various allomorphs. The person of each of the following examples Table 7 has been selected arbitrarily or for didactic purposes.

When Seki introduces the four sets of forms (op.cit., p.55), she initially uses the designations given in the first column; later she glosses the affixes as indicated in double quotes after the slash. In arranging all four sets of forms in one series of 'relational prefixes,' Seki follows a practice widespread among scholars of Tupian languages. Indeed, in many TG languages the prefixes for the (non-reflexive) third person are quite different from the proclitics marking the possessor for first and second persons: they are not related to a person pronoun (there usually is none for third person) and the linking-prefix *r*- does not occur with them. This has prompted several researchers to align the third person prefixes with the linking prefix (often called 'Relational Prefix,' 'Rel,' and attributed even to those nouns that do not show an *r*- – here a null-allomorph is therefore assumed). Some authors also add other person-related prefixes with which *r*- does not co-occur: the third person reflexive prefix *o*- ('Poss=S,' possessor is identical to the third person subject of the phrase) and the forms that are used generically without specifying any possessor (Seki: 'Indefinite Possessor'). Under this arrangement, the usual third person prefixes are glossed 'Poss≠S.'

FUNCTION / GLOSS KAM.	FORM KAM.	KAMAYURÁ EXAMPLE	GLOSS AWETI	FORM AWETI	AWETI ♀ EXAMPLE
POSS=S / “3REFL”	o- w-	<b>w-a’yt</b> his own son	3Refl	o- w-	<b>w-a’yt</b> his own son
POSSESSOR EXPRESSED IN PHRASE / “REL”	r-	<b>ere = r-up</b> your father	–	–	<b>e-up</b> your father
		<b>kunu’uma r-up</b> father of boy	Poss		<b>kaminu’at up</b> father of boy
	∅	<b>je = akang</b> my head	–	–	<b>it-atupy</b> my mouth
		<b>kunu’uma akang</b> head of boy	Poss		<b>mo’at atupy</b> mouth of person
POSS≠S / “3”	i-	<b>i-pyr</b> his house	3	i-	<b>i-ty</b> his mother
	t-	<b>t-a’yt</b> his son		t-	<b>t-up</b> his father
	h-	<b>h-etymakang</b> his leg			<b>t-etyma</b> his leg
POSSESSOR INDEFINITE / “3INDEF”	t-	<b>t-et</b> , cf. <b>je = r-et</b> (a) name, my name	Abs	–	<b>et</b> , cf. <b>it-et</b> (a) name, my name
	∅	<b>y’ywa</b> , cf. <b>h-y’ywa</b> arrow(s), his arrow(s)			<b>u’wyp</b> , cf. <b>t-u’wyp</b> arrow(s), his arrow(s)
	#V>∅	<b>mijar</b> , cf. <b>h-emijar</b> animal, his animal			#V>∅ <b>ta</b> , cf. <b>it-eta</b> eye, my eye
	#p,h>m	<b>motaw</b> , cf. <b>i-potaw</b> food, his food			#p>m <b>me</b> , cf. <b>i-pe</b> way, my way

Table 7: Kamayurá ‘Relational Prefixes’ and their Aweti correspondences

In Aweti, however, all person markers can be analyzed as prefixes and precede the stem immediately, so the third-person prefixes are simply members of that series. Also, the generic forms (I call these ‘absolute forms’) do not have any specific prefix in Aweti, although with some nouns they show the same processes of dropping the first vowel or a change from **p** (in the relational forms) to **m** (in the absolute forms). Most importantly, Aweti has no linking prefix **r-** (neither with person prefixes nor with nominals), unless one proposed a morpheme which is *always* represented by the zero-allomorph.<sup>11</sup>

For all these reasons, we do not postulate any series of ‘relational prefixes’ at all in Aweti, but nominal third person forms (“3”, marked by **t-** or **i-** in female speech; or by **n-** or **nā-**, in male speech – not illustrated in table 7), third person reflexive forms (“3Refl”, marked by **o-**/**w-**), possessed forms (“Poss”, preceded by a ‘possessor’ nominal, no prefix) and absolute forms (“Abs”, often identical to the possessed forms).

On the other hand, Aweti has a prefix indicating possession in the case of *alienable* nouns, and occurring in similar constructions to those with **r-** in Kamayurá. Like several other prefixes, this prefix has two allomorphs, one before vowels (**e’-**, where ‘’ stands for the glottal stop) and one before consonants (**e-**). Such a prefix is unknown in Kamayurá and has not been reconstructed for pTG, although it may be cognate with, for instance, the initial **e** of the object-nominalizing prefix **emi-**. Compare the following forms (Aweti male speech):

	CONSONANT-INITIAL	VOWEL-INITIAL
INALIENABLE	<b>ty, i-ty, nā-ty</b> mother, my m., his/her m. <b>Mopot ty</b> – Mopot’s mother	<b>up, it-up, n-up</b> father, my father, his/her f. <b>Mopot up</b> – Mopot’s father
ALIENABLE	<b>ky, it-e-ky, n-e-ky</b> ax, my ax, his/her ax <b>Mopot e-ky</b> – Mopot’s ax	<b>inĩ, it-e’-inĩ, n-e’-inĩ</b> hammock, my h., his/her h. <b>Mopot e’-inĩ</b> – Mopot’s h.

<sup>11</sup> Diachronically, it is probable that the **t** in the allomorph **it-** of the first person prefix (before vowels: **it-up** ‘my father’ but **i-ty** ‘my mother’) has the same source as the linking **r-** and possibly other ‘relational prefixes’, which, in an earlier stage, may have been a stem-initial consonant that suffered different processes according to the morphological and phonological environment. It probably has then been reanalyzed as a prefix which, in Aweti, has been abandoned altogether.



There is another major difference in the nominal domain: Aweti lacks the ‘nominal’ or ‘nuclear’ case suffix *-a* typical to several TG languages, including Kamayurá (*jawat* vs. *jawara* ‘jaguar’). In Kamayurá, the ‘nuclear’ case is used when the noun occurs at least in the following functions (cf. Seki 2000a: 107ff): (a) subject of verbal and non-verbal predicates; (b) object of verbs and postpositions; (c) modifier of nouns (possessor in ‘genitive’ constructions); (d) complement of copula; (e) nominal predicate; and (f) modified noun (followed by modifier). In all these situations in Aweti, the bare substantive occurs without any suffix.

Besides these differences, Aweti and Kamayurá share much of their morphology, such as the possibility of forming complex nouns by joining two nouns (the line between complex nouns and genitive constructions is difficult to draw in Aweti). They also share a wide range of affixes. In the following list, where two forms are specified, the first form is Kamayurá and the second Aweti.

*mo-* ‘causative,’ *je-/te-* ‘reflexive,’ *jo-/to-* ‘reciprocal,’ *emi-/mi-* ‘nominalization of object,’ *-at* ‘nominalization of subject,’ *-ap* ‘nominalization of place, manner,...,’ *-ukat* ‘causative,’ *ero-/ezo-* ‘concomitant causative,’ *-e’ym* ‘nominal negation’.

Other affixes function in an analogous manner but diverge in their form, for instance the negation suffix: *-ite* in Kamayurá, *-(y)ka* in Aweti. To complete the comparison of verbal negation, in Kamayurá (Seki 2000a: 329ff), *-ite* comprises the second part of a discontinuous morpheme; the first part is a proclitic, *n(a)=*. In Aweti, negated verb forms usually co-occur with the negation particle *an*, which is, however, a distinct constituent, though possibly cognate with *n(a)=*.

## SYNTAX AND LEXICON

Syntactically, Aweti and Kamayurá share many features, which gives the impression that simply exchanging the lexical and grammatical items in a sentence of one language is enough to render at least an intelligible, if not grammatical sentence in the other.

Among the features that are parallel in both languages (and between Aweti and TG languages in general) are:

- analogous major word classes; for instance: no adjectives; a distinction between stative verbs (similar to nominal predicates) and active verbs (Split-S ergativity); salient formal differences between intransitive and transitive verbs;
- person marking on transitive verbs is governed by a hierarchy of reference;
- postpositions rather than prepositions; most are inflectable for person like nouns;
- complex clauses are rare; subordination is achieved through nominalization or similar processes;
- frequent nominal predication for topicalization and other constructions;
- nominal phrases are often formed by a ‘genitive’ possessor-possessed juxtaposition;
- an abundance of particles, some grammatical (tense, aspect, modal particles/clitics) and many pragmatic; a few of these are reserved for men, others for women.

As for the lexicon, Aweti is often said to have been heavily influenced by Kamayurá (e.g. Fabre 2001: 1088, s.v. ‘Aweti’). And indeed, the sociolinguistic situation would seem to favour such an influence (see section 4).

However, my study of the Aweti lexicon did not reveal many loans from Kamayurá. There are loans from other Xinguano languages, in particular from Waurá/Mehinaku, but only a few candidates for loans from Kamayurá (or TG in general). The few words that show not matching correspondences and which may be a result of borrowing (though direction has to be clarified) include *morekwat* ‘chief, leader’ (Kam. *morerekwat*), *pira’yt* ‘fish’ (Kam. *pirá*), *jawari* (Kam. *jawari*), *kara’iwa* (not only in Kam.), *karáj* ‘to scratch’ (Kam. *karáj*), and a few others (many are Aweti words containing an ‘r’).

But generally, if words are similar or identical in Aweti and Kamayurá, the sound correspondences are usually regular and other cognates are found in Tupian and TG languages outside the Upper

Xingu, suggesting the development of genuine cognates rather than borrowing (cf. section 5 and, for examples, the appendix below). In my view, the virtual absence of Kamayurá loans in Aweti supports the hypothesis that the ancestors of the Aweti arrived independently of the Kamayurá ancestors, and possibly somewhat earlier than the latter.

Among the closed word classes, Aweti and Kamayurá share several particles that have similar or identical function, some of which are also similar in form, possibly cognates, such as *an/anite* ‘no’ and *ehē/he’ē* ‘yes’. Some even seem to be pan-Xinguano, such as *kol/kō* ‘no idea, who knows?’. Here is no space to present or discuss the many Aweti particles, or any of those of Kamayurá (see Drude 2008 for a detailed description of Aweti grammatical particles).

Comparing the pragmatic distinctions (expressed, for instance, grammatical categories marked by particles or affixes) between all the Xinguano languages would help identify loans or analogous creations, which could be quite significant for a culturally-oriented interpretation of indigenous cognitive categories. The same holds for idiophones and interjections.

In sum, Aweti and Kamayurá are not close enough to enable communication between speakers of these languages without prior knowledge of the other’s language. At the same time, the languages are close enough, structurally and phonologically, for knowledge of one language to facilitate learning the other. For social and demographic reasons, many Aweti learn Kamayurá, but far fewer Kamayurá know Aweti. Although both languages live side-by-side in the same complex society and frequently interact, I have so far been unable to identify many borrowings or other indications of linguistic convergence. This probably indicates, in accordance with oral history and archaeological findings, that their proximity dates back to just 200 or perhaps 250 years at most.

## APPENDIX: COGNATES AND RECONSTRUCTED FORMS

I provide examples of the changes listed in section 5 with the following cognates between Aweti and Kamayurá. I also list the reconstructed proto-forms for pTG and pMATG. Unchanged vowels are not mentioned. Abbreviations in the column ‘Rules:’ p, m, n, k, ŋ, j, w, ʔ: these phonemes remained unchanged in all languages considered; β, r: spurious lenis in pTG. A ‘+’ in the columns pTG and Kamayurá indicates the occurrence of ‘relational prefixes’ (cf. sec. 5.2).

	GLOSS	pMATG	AWETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
a	breast	potiʔa	pozɨʔa	potiʔa	potsiʔa	3, 37, p
b	turtle	k <sup>w</sup> aβori	tawozɨ	jaβoti	jawotsi	1, 4, 9, 24, 29, 36, 37
c	agouti	akuri	akuzɨ	akuti	akutsi	4, 24, 37, k
d	nerve / vein	tʔak <sup>w</sup> ik	atik	+ ajik	+ ajik	6, 9, 28, 29, 39, k
e	sweet potato	k <sup>w</sup> etik	tezɨk	jetik	jetik	3, 9, 29, 39, k
f	shoulder	atiʔip	azɨʔip	atiʔiβ	atsiʔip	3, 37, (40?), ʔ, β
g	throw	itik	izɨk	itik	itik	3, 39(?), (40?), k
h	reach	upitik	upizɨk	upitik	upitɨk	3, 39(?), (40?), k, p (not attested in Kam.?)
i	tree	ʔip	ʔip	ʔiβ	ʔip	ʔ, β
j	leaf	tʔop	op	+ oβ	+ op	6, 28, β

	GLOSS	pMATG	AWETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
k	fat	kap	kap	kaβ	kap	k, β
l	ear	nāpi [nāmpi]	jāpi [jāmpi]	nami [nāmpi]	nami [nāmi]	10, 21
m	child (o. wo- man)	mēpit [mēmpit]	mēpit [mēmpit]	memir [mēmpit]	memit [mēmit]	21, m, r
n	lip	tʰēpe [tʰēmpe]	ēpe [ēmpe]	+ eme [ēmpe]	+ eme [ēme]	6, 21, 28
o	(nominal past)	puet	put	pwer	het	33/34?, r (ressylla- bific.)
p	medicine	po <sup>(p)</sup> taŋ	potan	potsan	hoan	25, 32, 33, ŋ
q	long	puku	puku	puku	huku	33, k
r	back (body)	(?)ape	?ape	ape	ape	p (? unclear)
s	blow	pek <sup>w</sup> u	petu	peju	peju	9, 29, p
t	burn	api	api	api	api	p
u	curassow	mitʰũ	mitũ	mitũ	mitũ	5, 27, m
v	leave (outside)	tem	tem	tsem / tʃem	em	5, 27, 31/32, m
w	husband	men	men	men	meni	m, n
x	men's y. brother	tʰiβiit	iwit	+ iβir	+ iwit	1, 6, 28, 36, r
y	arm	k <sup>w</sup> iβa	kiwa	jiβa	jiwa	1, 8, 29, 36
z	face	tʰoβa	owa	+ oβa	+ owa	1, 6, 28, 36
aa	tail	tʰuwaj	uwaj	+ uwaj	+ uwaj	6, 28, w

	GLOSS	pMATG	AWETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
ab	jaguar	k <sup>w</sup> aʔwat	taʔwat	jaʔwar	jawat	9, 29, w, r, (see fn. 10)
ac	blood	t <sup>h</sup> uwik	uwik	+ uwi	+ iwi	6, 28, 40, w (k elided in pTG)
ad	mosquito	k <sup>w</sup> atiʔũ	tazɨʔũ	jatiʔũ	jatsiʔũ	3, 9, 29, 37, ʔ
ae	hear / listen	ētup [ēntup]	ētup [ēntup]	enuβ [ēntup]	anup [ānup]	22, β (e > a in Kamayurá)
af	fishhook	pīta [pīnta]	mīta [mīnta]	pina [pīnta]	pina [pīna]	22 (p > m in Aweti)
ag	shine	(t <sup>h</sup> )ēti [t <sup>h</sup> ēnti]	ētimine [ēntimiŋe]	+ eni [ēnti]	+ enimaʔe [ēnimaʔe]	6, 22, 28 (composition in A + Kam)
ah	new, young	pītatu	mītatu	pitsatsu	piau	25, 32 (p > m in Aweti)
ai	grasp	pītik	pītik	pitsik	pīhik	25, 32, p, k
aj	rope	tam	tam	tʃam	ham	25, 32, m
ak	grind	(wa)tok	watok	tʃok	hok	25, 32, k (first ele- ment wa in A + Mawé unclear)
al	bite	tuʔu	tuʔu	tʃuʔu	uʔu	25, 32, ʔ

	GLOSS	pMATG	AWETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
am	actor nominalizer	ʔat / tʰat / tsat	°at	ar / tar / tʃar	at	6?, 25?~28?, 31, r (related, details unclear)
an	circumstances nominalizer	ʔap / tʰap / tsap	°ap	aβ / taβ / tʃaβ	ap	6?, 25?~28?, 31, β (related, details unclear)
ao	eye	etsa	(e)ta	ets/ʃa	ea	2, 31/32
ap	toe, claw	pi-etsã	pitã	pitsã	piã(pẽ)	2, 31/32, p
aq	sweet	tseʔẽ	teʔẽ	tseʔẽ	tseʔẽ	2, 32 (ts remains in K)
ar	die	manõ	majõ	manõ	manõ	10, m
as	put	nuɲ	juɲ	nuɲ (ruɲ)	nuɲ	10, ɲ
at	hammock	i/ini	inĩ	inĩ	inĩ	n (cf. 10; Mawé: ini)
au	mandioca	maniʔok	manĩʔok	maniʔok	maniʔok	m, n, ʔ, k (cf. 10)
av	bring	eruut	ezut	erur	erut	4, r
aw	1 <sup>st</sup> . PL.EXCL	oro-	ozo-	oro-	oro-	4
ax	vulture	uruβu	uzuwu	uruβu	iriwu	1, 4, 36 (40? unclear)

	GLOSS	pMATG	AWETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
ay	navel	pilup-ʔã	pilup	píruʔã	píruʔã	26, p (second element missing in A, elision in TG)
az	red	pilaŋ	pilaŋ	píraŋ	píraŋ	26, p, ŋ
ba	urinate	koaluk	kwaluk	koaruk	kuruk	26, k
bb	dig / plant	koj	koj	íβi-koj	íwíkoj	36, k, j (first element 'earth' introduced in TG)
bc	feed	poj	ʔíwi-poj	poj	poj	p, j (first element 'stomach' introduced in A)
bd	port	k <sup>w</sup> āj	tāj-pe	jāj	jāj	9, 29, j (second element 'way' intro- duced in A)
be	branch	tʰakā	akā	+ akā	+ akā	6, 28, k
bf	egg	tʰupiʔa	upiʔa	+ upiʔa	+ upiʔa	6, 28, p, ʔ
bg	white	tʰiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ	tsiŋ	5, 27, 37, ŋ



	GLOSS	pMATG	AwETI	pTG	KAMAYURÁ	RULES (CF. SEC. 5)
bh	1 <sup>st</sup> .PL.INCL	tʰi-	ti-	ti-	(tsi-)	5, 27, 37 (exists in K?)
bi	flower	potʰiit	potit	potir	potit	5, 27, p, r
bj	good	katʰu	katu	katu	katu	5, 27, k
bk	sleep	ket	tet	ker	ket	7, r
bl	men's o. brother	tʰikeʔit	itiʔit	+ ikeʔir	+ ikeʔit	6, 7, 28, r, ʔ (e > i in A)
bm	pequiá (fruit)	pekiʔa	petiʔa	pekiʔa	pekiʔa	7, p, ʔ
bn	mortar	(w)ěkuʔa	ěkuʔa	ĩɲuʔa	ĩɲuʔa	23, ʔ (ě > ĩ in TG)
bo	bone	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	k, ŋ
bp	knife	kite	kite	kits/ʃe	kie	25, 31/32, k
bq	ax	kʷi	ki	ji	ji	8, 29
br	go down	(w)ekʷip	ekip	(w)ejip	jip	8, 29, β (unclear (w)e-)
bs	mother- in-law	akʷito	atito ʒa	(ajitso > ) aitso	(aio > ) aijo	9, 25, 29, 31/32 (elision of j in TG, epenthetic j in K)

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## RESUMO

O trabalho analisa a relação entre Aweti e Kamayurá em diferentes níveis. As duas línguas pertencem a dois ramos diferentes da subfamília “Maweti-Guarani” do grande tronco linguístico Tupi. Os dois povos chegaram mais recentemente na sociedade complexa do Alto Xingu, mas provavelmente independentemente e de direções diferentes. Os dois resultaram da fusão de diferentes grupos e sofreram um declínio demográfico dramático na primeira metade do século passado. Não há evidências concretas que estes grupos tenham falado mais do que variedades de duas línguas diferentes (Pré-Aweti e Pré-Kamayurá). Hoje, muitos Aweti são bilíngues, pelo menos passivos, do Kamayurá, que são seus aliados mais importantes, mas não vale o oposto. O trabalho também discute as relações das línguas nos principais níveis estruturais. Na fonologia, comparam-se os inventários de fonemas e as mudanças regulares de sons são listadas que ocorreram desde a proto-língua hipotética “Proto-Maweti-Guarani” para o Aweti, de um lado, e para o Proto-Tupi-Guarani e em seguida para o Kamayurá, de outro. Na morfo-sintaxe, o trabalho oferece a comparação dos sistemas pessoais e dos afixos em geral, tratando em particular dos chamados ‘prefixos relacionais’ que não existem em Aweti. As propriedades sintáticas mais importantes são listadas também. Aparentemente houve poucos empréstimos lexicais mútuos. No anexo há uma lista de mais de 60 cognatos com as proto-formas reconstruídas.

Palavras-chave: Aweti; Kamayurá; Sociolinguística; História; Fonologia.

## ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the relation between Aweti and Kamayurá on different levels. Both languages belong to different branches of the subfamily “Maweti-Guarani” within the large Tupi ‘stock’. Both peoples have arrived rather late to the complex Upper Xinguan society, but probably independently and from different directions. Both resulted from mergers of different groups and suffered a dramatic demographic decline in the first half of last century. There is no concrete evidence that these groups spoke varieties of more than 2 different languages (Pre-Aweti and Pre-Kamayurá). Today, many Aweti are at least passive bilinguals with Kamayurá, their most important allies, but the opposite does not hold. The article also discusses the relations between the languages on the main structural levels. In phonology, the phoneme inventories are compared and the sound changes are listed that occurred from the hypothetical proto-language “Proto-Maweti-Guarani” to Aweti, on the one hand, and to Proto-Tupi-Guarani and further to Kamayurá, on the other. In morpho-syntax, the article offers a comparison of the person systems and of affixes in general, treating in particular the so-called ‘relational prefixes’, which do not exist in Aweti. The most important syntactic shared properties are also listed. There seem to be very little mutual lexical borrowing. In the appendix, a list of more than 60 cognates with reconstructed proto-forms is given.

Key-words: Aweti; Kamayurá; Sociolinguistics; History; Phonology.