A Phonological Analysis of a Brazilian Portuguese Interior Dialect.

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A Phonological Analysis of a Brazilian Portuguese Interior Dialect

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the Doctor of Philosophy in The Program in Linguistics

by

Giles Lother Istre
B.A., Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1955
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1966
May, 1971
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V. THE BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE PHONOLOGICAL GRAMMAR

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ABSTRACT

A phonological analysis was made of the speech of the interior rural folk—the caipira—in the Municipality of São Paulo, Brazil. A participant in the westward expansion of coffee plantations during the nineteenth century, the municipal seat has since become what could be called a "dead city," in the terms used by a Brazilian writer, Monteiro Lobato, to describe those decadent towns which remained after the coffee planters abandoned the region at the end of that century.

Cattle raisers took the place of the coffee planters, but the caipiras, who had been there before the invasion of coffee, continue to populate some of the more remote regions of the municipality. The speech of these people still show the substratal influence of earlier Indian languages.

By devising a basic phonological grammar for the Portuguese language, it was possible to present transformation rules which could relate the dialects of the language to a sound system common to all. In this way, the caipira dialect could be related not only to the language phonological grammar but to the other dialects as well, a method which could be a clue to comprehension between two dialects in short-term contact.

Each phone in the caipira phonological system was presented as the result of transformation rules applied to the basic language phonological system. The corpus which served
as a basis for the study were recordings made in the munici-
pality, augmented by reports of dialect scholars and by writers
who used dialect for literary effect.
Plate I. A Caipira Family
PART I. THE MAN AND THE LAND
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Type and Purpose of Study

As Portuguese has been classified by the U. S. Office of Education and the Center of Applied Linguistics as one of the "neglected languages" of the world, this study is primarily designed to add to the knowledge of that language through the presentation of a phonemic analysis of the caipira dialect in the Municipality (município) of São Luís do Paraitinga in the eastern region of the State of São Paulo. The people who use this dialect are rural and are for the most part illiterate.

This study is not a linguistic atlas project; no attempt has been made to establish isoglosses of dialect areas, the large urban concentrations in the selected area have been ignored, and lexical items have not been collected. Many features of the dialect can be found in other regions of the State of São Paulo and, seemingly, in other regions of Brazil, but much time and effort will be required to determine its spatial extension.

The amount of work done in dialect study and linguistic geography in Brazil has been negligible despite the urgent appeals made in the past for more linguistic pursuits, espe-
cially for the organization of a Brazilian Linguistic Atlas.\textsuperscript{1} In only one Brazilian state, Bahia, has a regional atlas been published and work is in progress for another regional endeavor only in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. In the central region of the country, phonemic studies have been made in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but, otherwise, the vast rural and urban areas outside of these two cities have not been studied.\textsuperscript{2}

Linguistic studies in the past tended to be oriented more to the collection of lexical items for the purpose of tracing them to either the indigenous languages of Brazil or to older forms of European Portuguese. The guide for dialect study prepared by Silva Neto\textsuperscript{3} shows this orientation in its emphasis of vestiges of the languages of the Indians of the country and of African tribes. Emphasis is placed on phonetic transcriptions but phonemic analysis is ignored. It is hoped, therefore, that this study will not only provide a phonemic analysis of one dialect but will also serve as a

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{2}Information on the progress of linguistic studies in Brazil was obtained from Dr. Ayron D. Rodrigues of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Rodrigues, although dedicated to the study of Brazilian indigenous languages, is very active as a member of a number of linguistic committees and conferences both in Brazil and abroad.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
basis for further dialect study.

**Location of Area**

The study area is located in the eastern part of the state of São Paulo in a municipality which lies in the valleys of the Paraitinga and Paraibuna rivers. According to Cunha and Silva Neto, the area would fall in the Center-East coffee zone.

... constituted by the expansion of coffee plantations of the 19th century which developed human occupation from Rio de Janeiro, through the Paraíba valley and reaching Minas Gerais and São Paulo; the plantations and their characteristic nuclei from which social and political influence spread.

In a geographical classification of the state of São Paulo made by the French geographer, Pierre Mombieg, the study area would fall into the Atlantic Plateau region, in the sub-region Highlands, and in the Upper Paraíba zone (see Fig. 1).

The eastern part of the state of São Paulo played an important role in the formation of Brazil during the nineteenth century when the coffee boom was so instrumental in shifting the area of economic importance from the northern sugar producing states to the central states of the country, especially...

---

4 Until the 20th century, the area was referred to as the "north" of São Paulo by most writers.

5 Cunha and Silva Neto, op. cit., 410.


7 "Mas o que sobretudo favoreceu o Sul em contraste com o norte é que nêle se aclimatóu admiravelmente a cultura de um genêro que se tornaria no correr do séc. XIX de particular
Figure 1. Regional Division of São Paulo
cially in the Paraíba Valley. After the nineteenth century, the coffee plantations moved to the western and northern parts of the State of São Paulo, and into the states of Mato Grosso and Paraná. The Paraíba River valley, and the neighboring valleys of the Paraitinga and Paraibuna Rivers, rapidly declined in importance and most of their once prosperous cities became stagnant. In 1906, the plight of these cities was briefly described by the Brazilian author, Monteiro Lobato, as being "dead cities" living in the past.8

Today, many of the cities of the upper and middle Paraíba Valley are enjoying a new surge of prosperity as the area is rapidly becoming industrialized. Much of the migration from the northeastern states of Brazil which formerly went to the city of São Paulo veered to the Paraíba Valley towns, increasing their populations and, consequently, causing change in the language of the area. Increasing public education and the news media are also contributing towards the standardization of the Portuguese spoken there. Yet, there still exist areas which, because of poor terrestrial communication, are still relatively isolated today. In those areas, one can encounter rural dialects which sound strange even to Brazilian ears. The municipalities which lie along the Paraitinga River valley, representing an archaic Brazil, stand in

---

stark contrast to the bustling metropolis of São Paulo, and even to the towns in the Paraíba Valley.

An examination of maps during the years 1960/64 showed that the valley seemed to lack good roads which would facilitate contact with other areas. There were a number of towns there which seemed to correspond closely to the description given by Lobato. Assuming that the Paraitinga River valley was indeed isolated, plans were accordingly made to undertake a phonemic study of the Portuguese dialect in that area.

Reconnaissance Trips

No specific area was selected beforehand as information about the towns and folk in the Paraitinga Valley was scarce. Therefore, in the first months of 1969, preliminary trips were made to three municipalities in the valley: Cunha, São Luís do Paraitinga, and Redenção da Serra.

The first trip was made by bus to the town of Cunha and to the coastal town of Parati. Both towns are reached by a road which begins near the city of Guaratinguetá in the Paraíba Valley. Although Cunha has linguistic interest, it was rejected as a study area because there were no hotels there and the distance from São José dos Campos (where this writer was residing) was too great. Parati is interesting as a tourist spot but, as all coastal towns, its inhabitants are much more mobile than those inland and would require a separate linguistic study.

On the second trip the towns of São Luís do Paraitinga and Redenção da Serra were visited. The latter town
is reached only with difficulty by bus over a stony mountain road. That town is also without an hotel. The municipalities of Redenção da Serra and Natividade da Serra would have made excellent locations for linguistic study9 but time, shelter and transportation were factors which led to their elimination.

Choice of Study Area

The choice of study area narrowed down to the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga for the following reasons:

(1) The towns are not all linked by good roads longitudinally along the river valley and rapid access to all of them was not possible. The municipal seat of São Luís do Paraitinga was easily reached by bus along an asphalted road which began in Taubaté. When hotel rooms were not available in São Luís, the trip could be made by bus from São José dos Campos in four hours.

(2) The total area of the Paraitinga is too vast to be covered by one person in a short period of time.

(3) São Luís was a focal point for many religious festivals which attracted the rural folk of the municipality to town.

(4) The dryfit batteries which were to activate the tape recorder in the field proved to be faulty, requiring the frequent use of electric energy for their recharging. Except

9Information received from Professor Alceu Maynard Araújo who made folklore studies in all the municipalities along the Paraitinga River.
for the towns, there were no places in the rural areas where one could find room, board, and electric energy. São Luís furnished all of these.

(5) The rural folk of the region are a timid lot and any attempt to approach them alone would have been frustrated. Contact with the rural folk was accomplished only by friendships made in town with people who had their confidence.

During a trip to São Luís on April 4, 1969, free speech recordings were made of some rural dwellers who had gone to town to participate in the festivals of the Holy Week. These recordings, though not well suited for linguistic analysis, convinced everyone who heard them that the dialect was truly unique. Some even thought the voices to be those of foreigners!

A decision was made to concentrate only on the rural dialect of the municipality, leaving the town speech for further study. The speech of the urban population of São Luís does not differ from the speech in the Paraíba valley, probably because of the educational opportunities offered there, the amount of persons who moved there from other regions of Brazil (especially from Minas Gerais), and the economic contacts between it and other regions.
CHAPTER II

THE PARAITINGA VALLEY

Cross Section of the General Area

If a cross section were made in a northwesterly di­
rection from the coastal town of Ubatuba (see Fig. 1), the
profile would first show the gneiss and granite spine of the
Serra do Mar, a mountain range which tends to isolate the
narrow coastal zone from the upper plateaus because of its
steep slopes. These crystalline terranes reach altitudes
ranging from 2600 to 3300 feet and are of Archean formation.
Many parts of the range are still covered by virgin forests
and are largely unsuited for agriculture.

Landward, the Serra do Mar descends more gently into
the valley of the Paraibuna River, a stream destined to be
harnessed by the Caraguatatuba Dam. This project is expected
to add 750,000 kws to the electric energy of São Paulo, open
up 148,260 acres of land for agricultural production, and
guarantee a supply of water to Rio de Janeiro.¹⁰

Beyond the Paraibuna lies the ridge of the Divino
Mestre (or Menino Mestre which divides the waters of the
Paraibuna from those of the Paraitinga. Once entirely covered

¹⁰Djalma Castro, "Natividade, um Cromo Estilizado," Pagulhas, A Revista do Vale do Paraiba, 113 (December, 1968-
January, 1969, 22.
Figure 2. Cross Section from Ubatuba to the Mantiqueiras
by dense forests, these "half orange" hills are now devoid of any vegetation other than scrub growth and the occasional line of trees which used to serve as land boundary markers. Even these lines are slowly disappearing.

The Paraitinga River valley comes next with hills skirting the meandering clear-water stream which begins in the Serra da Bocaina in the State of Rio de Janeiro. Both the Paraitinga and the Paraibuna run in a southwesterly direction. Beyond the Paraitinga are the low hills of the Serra Quebra Cangalhas, mostly schistose gneiss intercalated by layers of saccharoidal dolomite and, further, the valley of the Paraíba do Sul River. Through this valley run the four-laned Federal Highway BR-2 (the via Dutra) and the rails of the Brasil Central Railroad, both important land links between the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, following or paralleling trails blazed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the famous Bandeirantes of São Paulo in their expeditions into the interior in search of Indian slaves and mineral wealth. Now rapidly industrializing, the valley has earned the sobriquet of "Valley of the Chimneys."

Finally, continuing to the northwest, one encounters the Serra da Mantiqueira, a range of mountains approximately equal in height to the Serra do Mar. The Mantiqueira serves as the boundary between the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais in this area.

The Paraibuna and the Paraitinga join to form the waters of the Paraíba do Sul near the town of Paraibuna.
The Paráiba slowly curves until it elbows near the town of Guararema in a northeasterly direction, running parallel to the Paraitinga, to empty into the Atlantic Ocean hundreds of miles away (see Fig. 3).

The Paraitinga River valley has an area of approximately 1800 square miles and runs through seven municipalities (Cunha, Lageinha, São Luís do Paraitinga, Redenção da Serra, Natividade da Serra, Jambeiro, and Paraibuna). Having a total course of 124.3 miles, it is fed by the Lagoa Preta (alt. 5906 feet) on the schistose gneiss plateau of the Serra da Bocaina.\(^\text{11}\)

No attempt has been made here to describe the geomorphologic structure of the region as the whole of this zone is rather complicated and poorly studied.

The most significant example of the structural problem is the zone of the Paráiba Valley in the state of São Paulo where eminent scientists have not reached complete accord on the origin of the geographic formations.\(^\text{12}\)

**History**

Historically, the Paraitinga Valley can be divided into the following periods:

1700 - 1778 — Rest stops on the roads to the sea. Economy based on supplies sold and services furnished to the pack trains which came from the gold mines of Minas Gerais.

---

\(^{11}\) A superficial geographical description of the Serra da Bocaina has been given by Francis Ruellan and Aroldo de Azevedo, "Excursão à Região de Lorena e à Serra da Bocaina," Anais da Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros, I (1946), 22.

Figure 3. Portion of the Paraíba Basin
1778 - 1836 — Small sugarcane plantations and other small properties. Local subsistence economy.

1836 - 1900 — Coffee plantations. Polycultural farms producing food for other monocultural areas and urban centers in the Paraíba Valley. Slavery.

1900 - 1940 — Polycultural farms. Fairly large production of agricultural products.

1940 — Cattle raising.

The first period, corresponding to the discovery of gold at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the present State of Minas Gerais, had no great effect on most of the valley. However, an old Goianá Indian trail which began in Parati gained in importance. Scaling the Serra do Mar through the Cunha gorge, it led to a small settlement named Facão, a rest stop, where it bifurcated, one trail going on to Guaratinguetá and the other to Lagoinha and thence to Pindamonhangaba or Taubaté. One Brazilian author seems to think that the split in the trail determined the site of the rest stop rather than the point at which the setting of the sun stopped the travelers who left Parati at the break of day.13 From rest

Plate II. The Municipal Seat of São Luís do Paraitinga
stop to a furnish of supplies, Facão grew rapidly into a
town of importance and was renamed Cunha in 1785 when it
became the seat of the Municipality of Cunha.\textsuperscript{14}

Because of the length of the route,\textsuperscript{15} of the piratical
activities along the coast from Parati to Rio de Janeiro, and
of the difficulties of supervising the amount of gold coming
from the mines,\textsuperscript{16} this enormous detour became incompatible
with the administrative needs of Rio de Janeiro. It was re­
placed by a shorter terrestrial route from Rio to the mines.
Cunha and its port sister, Parati, began to decline.

The paved road which crossed the Serra do Mar was no
longer conserved as before and Cunha, before an important
stage on one of the largest communication routes of Central
Brazil, was left aside and finally forgotten.\textsuperscript{17}

Another minor trail also existed in the region before
the gold cycle, a penetration

\ldots also opened by the Goianás which, via Ubatuba,

\textsuperscript{14}Emílio Willems, Cunha, Tradição e Transição em uma
Cultura Rural do Brasil (São Paulo: Secretaria da Agricultura

\textsuperscript{15}Although a forced march from Rio de Janeiro to the
mines could be made in thirty days, the average trip was more
usually forty-three days. André João Antonil [Giovanni Antonio
Andreoni], Cultura e Opulência do Brasil (São Paulo: Companhia

\textsuperscript{16}"E o pior é que a maior parte do ouro que se tira
das minas passa em pó e em moedas para os reinos estranhos e
a menor é que fica em Portugal e nas cidades do Brasil . . . ."
Ibid., p. 304. "Much of the gold that was so laboriously
mined in Minas Gerais, quickly found its way to foreign
countries . . . ." C. R. Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil -
1695-1750 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962),
p. 42.

\textsuperscript{17}Willems, op. cit., p. 16.
Natividade, Paraíbuna, and Mogi das Cruzes, was the shortest of land links between Rio de Janeiro and the city of São Paulo.  

A trail which led from Ubatuba to Taubaté was widened for commerce in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Taxes were collected on all agricultural products bound for Rio which went out along this route, a burden which prompted the citizens of São Luís do Paraitinga to protest to the Governor-General of São Paulo, as much of the products of both the Paraíba and the Paraitinga valleys were exiting through the tax free port of Paratí and farmers in the São Luís area were beginning to migrate out of the area. It is quite possible that this trail was also used as a route from the gold mines of Minas Gerais to the sea.

With the building of new routes to the mines, the region entered a state of isolation which was not ended until the nineteenth century. Although the region of the middle Paraíba Valley, centering around the town of Vassouras, is more intimately connected with the planting of coffee, the plantations were not long in spilling over the Quebra Cangalhas into the Paraitinga Valley. As early as 1836, according to Schmidt, the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga had three coffee plantations "producing about 200 tons of coffee."
no great surprise considering that

... in the year of 1832, coffee occupied first place on the agenda of (Brazil's) exportations, and as early as the year 1837/38, this value, relative to coffee, reached 53.2 per cent, that is, more than the sum of values of all the other exported products.21

At the time of the American Civil War, the production of coffee in the valley was at 350 tons, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, "the number of farms on which there was a reasonable number of coffee trees reached 120 and the total production 400 tons."22

Coffee from both the Paraitinga and the upper Paraíba valleys was transported on the backs of an annual average of between 60 and 70 thousand burros over the road which led from Taubaté to Ubatuba, "considered second in importance in the province of São Paulo."23 This road fell into disuse after 1877 when the Brasil Central Railroad was completed between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Ubatuba, like Parati before it, entered a period of isolation which was broken only in the early 1960s when an asphalt road was built linking it to Caraguatatuba.

For many reasons, Brazilian historians have always


22 Schmidt, loc. cit.

23 Ibid., p. 182.
had a problem in estimating the number of slaves which entered the country. Exactly how many were in the Paraitinga Valley is unknown. According to an estimate given on a slave density map by Valverde, the number of slaves was approximately 5,100. However, the relative scarcity of Negroes or mulattoes compared to other genetic stocks which inhabit the area today seems to indicate that (1) racial mixture was minimum, (2) the slave had a high mortality, or (3) Negroes abandoned the region after the abolition of slavery. Evidence can be found for all three reasons. That social restrictions on racial mixture existed, and still exist, in the valley has been documented by Willems in Cunha:

Matrimonial restrictions related to color exist. One generally hears that "whites should marry with whites and blacks with blacks." With reference to the rural population, it is common to hear the affirmation that "the Negro widow tries to mate with a white man even though he may be old or infirm, rejecting even younger and better placed black men." The truth is that the opposition to mixed marriages is less among the lower class and among the country people. Even so, interracial marriages represent a minority of the unions found in the Civil Registry of Cunha. Araújo reports that, in São Luís do Paraitinga, the spectators of the jongo, a Negro dance which has its roots in Africa, refrain from joining the frolic "for fear of losing their social status . . . ."

24 Valverde, op. cit., 76.
25 Willems, Cunha, p. 43.
It should be mentioned, however, that most of the social barriers which exist concerning Negroes are based on the economic status of the individuals, and racial hatred such as is found in some parts of the United States is practically nonexistent in Brasil. The closed cultural circle existing among the rural population of both races in the valley can probably account for the lack of interracial marriages. If, after his liberation, the Negro did not conform to the cultural patterns of the rural folk, he was most probably rejected as a member of that circle. By the same token, many Africans came from more culturally advanced cultures than that of the Brazilian rural folk and perhaps felt no social affinity with them.

A reduced Negro population could have been caused by the high mortality rate of slaves during slavery days. According to Stein, the aging and high mortality of slave labor were key factors in a society based entirely on the slave.

The period of maximum productivity in the life of a slave was relatively short, from eighteen to thirty years of age, and fazendeiros (plantation owners) had never enjoyed what they considered an adequate labor force even during the busiest days of the slave trade.27

Infant mortality ranged between 75 and 88 per cent depending upon the type of treatment which the slaves received.28

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28 Sergio Buarque de Holanda (ed.), História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. II (São Paulo: Difusão Europeia do
The first demographic census taken in 1872 indicates that approximately 1.5 million slaves existed in Brazil in that year. Taking into account that, at the beginning of the century, the number of slaves was something more than a million and that, in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, more than a half million more were probably imported, one can deduce that the rate of mortality was superior to the birth rate.\(^{29}\)

One can only assume that the situation in the Paraitinga Valley was no different.

Before 1888, coffee had spread to the westward regions of the State of São Paulo where the soils proved to be more suitable for that crop, resulting in a production in the new regions that far surpassed that in the Paraíba and Paraitinga valleys. Rather than continue the costly practice of slavery, the plantation owners in the western regions found it more economical to hire European immigrants, especially from Italy, on contract bases. The economics of the decision was simple: the services rendered by the slave was low in comparison to his initial cost and the cost of his maintenance. Thus, the abolition of slavery was supported not only by the urban populations but also by the plantation owners of the western regions of São Paulo; resistance was offered only by the conservatives of the eastern region who had heavy investments in slaves. Despite the fact that one municipality in the Paraitinga Valley, Redenção da Serra, was the first in the

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state to eliminate slavery voluntarily before its legal abolition, the wording of the document that was issued suggests that they were interested in making a conversion from slavery to a salary system.30

The coffee plantations ceased to exist in the valley only when the soil had been exhausted. A succession of economic crises and the freeze of 1918 sounded the death knell. The region then fell back on its other form of revenue, poly-culture, providing corn, beans, sugarcane, potatoes, rice, and tomatoes, as well as tobacco and pork, to towns in the Paraíba Valley. Even during the height of the coffee boom, the farmers of the valley had continued to produce enough food to export to other regions. The reasons for this could be numerous but two factors were probably dominant. First, coffee trees were usually grown on the sides of hills. The devastating effect on the soil wreaked by coffee did not affect the entire area but left the valleys free for other plants. Second, the high cost of slaves probably reduced the amount of land dedicated to coffee culture, as those land owners who could not afford to buy slaves concentrated their efforts on other crops which could be produced more inexpensively.

The cycle that started in 1940, however, was quite a different matter. The agricultural activity in the valley was stunted when cattle raisers from Minas Gerais (mineiros) began to buy land there, finding the large areas of cheap pasture land preferable to the expensive real estate of their own state. As cattle require vast areas for pasturage, most of the land formerly devoted to farming were converted to cattle ranges. Agricultural pursuits were reduced to the point that the towns of the Paraitinga Valley now have to buy much of their alimentary needs from outside. Areas which were once the symbols of abundance now produce relatively little and there is a lack of practically everything.^[31

As a producer of milk and meat, the valley has some importance. Unfortunately, the profits are restricted in distribution and employment is reduced. Towns in the region are being depopulated as the inhabitants leave for larger cities elsewhere where more opportunities exist for employment. The transition from an agricultural state to that of cattle raising has not been without its social and cultural effects. Little of the products of this new industry is destined for the local populace. Many of the local customs are on the verge of disappearance as they lose the agricultural foundations upon which they were based.

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^[31"A pecuária leiteira, mais recentemente, outra vez os expulsou das terras que sobraram do café. O resultado é que, nos velhos mercados das cidades antigas do Brasil sudeste há falta de quase tudo, não se vende aquela variada produção dos roceiros caipiras que até certo ponto foram símbolo de fartura." Holanda, História Geral, II, p. 181."
To date, no study of attitudes towards the intruding mineiro has been made in the valley. Willems reported that, in the Municipality of Cunha, the urban population expressed ill will towards the pastoral activities there because they feared a reduction in municipal revenues, as local taxes were collected on agricultural produce sold in the local market.

In interviews we heard suggestions and plans which reveal the degree of preoccupation of the urban populace. One individual of political influence suggested that the government should oblige the rural proprietors to cultivate certain parts of their lands. One local civil servant affirmed that he would "prohibit," if he could, the emigration of mineiros.32

The rural folk suffering the reduction of farming areas caused by the need for grazing land must have similar feelings although they may not always be so openly articulated. Persons in the town of São Luís say that resentment towards the mineiro was quite strong in some parts of the municipality.

32 Willems, Cunha, p. 88.
CHAPTER III

SÃO LUÍS DO PARAITINGA

History

In the eastern region of the State of São Paulo, many settlements (some of them Jesuit missions) gradually and naturally grew into municipal seats as the area prospered. The older towns of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are readily recognized as they have their original Tupi-Guarani names: Paratí, Ubatuba, Caraguatatuba, Paraibuna, Jacareí, Caçapava, Taubaté, Pindamonhangaba, and Guaratinguetá. Cities which were created after the sixteenth century have Portuguese names. It is evident from the name that São Luís do Paraitinga\textsuperscript{33} had a later origin than the above mentioned cities.

In 1765, the Captain-General of São Paulo, Dom Luís Antônio de Sousa Botelho de Mourão, became alarmed at the dispersion of the small population into the 5,540 square miles of the province. By order of Dom José I of Portugal, he was instructed to concentrate this population into new villages which were to be created in several places in the

\textsuperscript{33}Reference is made to the first part of the name, "Saint Louis," not to the qualifier "of the Paraitinga" which is of Tupi origin: \textit{para}, fish; \textit{i}, water; \textit{tinga}, clear. Para is a dialectal variant of \textit{pira}; \textit{i} is the modern graphic version of the older \textit{hy}. The word \textit{paraitinga} or \textit{pirahytinga} means \textit{clear water fish}. 

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interior of the province. In 1769, he issued a proclamation which called for the establishment of a new settlement at the stopping point on the Paraitinga River between Taubaté and Ubatuba. Settlers who wished to transfer to the new settlement would receive land, implements, and the usual privileges granted to settlers. He further stipulated that those who went there would be exempt from military duty for a period of ten years and would not be pressed into services or jobs against their wills. In 1771, another order was issued "forbidding creditors from preventing agriculturists from leaving their lands in order to move to São Luís," and obliging the new settlers to "plant cotton and all kinds of fruit trees." Enough official attention must have been paid to the new settlement in its beginning because, by 1773, the village of "São Luís e Santo Antonio do Paraitinga" boasted fifty-two houses.

The site was probably not indiscriminately chosen and may have been previously settled by indigenous tribes. The men who founded the settlement of Paraibuna passed through a settlement at the present site of São Luís in 1666, al-

34 Schmidt, op. cit., p. 169.


36 "Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo," Publicações do Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, XXXIII (1900), 1.

37 Aguiar, op. cit., 57-58.
though its size and the nature of its inhabitants was not given. It is doubtful an official of the province would pick a site in the midst of wilderness to establish an official settlement unless the site had previously been proven to be habitable.

Expectations that the village would develop, after its settlement, into a large, prosperous community capable of attracting more settlers did not correspond to the true state of events for many years, although the population of the city at the beginning of the nineteenth century was 2,357.

São Luís was not raised to the category of cidade (municipal seat) until 1857, demonstrating that until the introduction of coffee plantations on a large scale, it remained stagnant. In 1851, its population was 8,161, a considerable size when compared to the populations of some towns in the Paraíba Valley in the same year: Lorena (6479), Caçapava (4607), Jacareí (6109), São José dos Campos (6939). The cultural level of the urban population was quite high as the town "boasted a Literary Institute with a library of about three thousand volumes, and the city hall maintained a night

38"Segundo os crônicas da época, eram 'sete ou oito homens — entre eles vinham, também, vários portugueses de nascimento, há pouco chegados de São Paulo, que fugiam às índios tupiniquins' os quais, atingindo a povoação de São Luís desceram pelo rio Paraítinga até a sua confluência com o Paraibuna." O Valeparaibano [São José dos Campos], June 12, 1969, p. 4, col. 2.

39Aguiar, op. cit., 65.

Plate III. The Mother Church of São Luís do Paraitinga
school in the same building.  

Documents in the municipal archives of São Luís give evidence that the town had become politically conscious along with its new wealth. In a suit filed against a local citizen for conspiracy, it becomes clear that the Revolution of 1842 in Minas Gerais and São Paulo, headed by Brigadier Rafael Tobias, had its followers in the region, or outsiders were trying to incite the local population in its cause. By 1873, the town was important enough to have been renamed "Imperial Cidade de São Luís do Paraitinga," a title which was lost with the proclamation of the Republic.

Attempts to establish a cotton industry in 1880 failed after two years. Situated in the bairro of Fábrica, the industry was powered by a water turbine which had been installed by one of the coffee planters, Colonel José Domingues de Castro. Other than this, the spinning and weaving of cotton and wool in the municipality had been, and still is, prac-

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Aguiar, op. cit., 16. In a recent search for the library books, about 500 were found, mostly in the basement of the city hall. Among them were two large leather bound books containing ordinances of the Portuguese court which were printed in Lisbon in 1668. Many old handwritten documents were also found.

Ibid., 48-50.

The bairro is a place--any area whatsoever--with characteristics more or less of its own. A valley, the headwaters of a stream, a beach, or any other place may be a bairro. The people give it its name and determine, within rather indefinite limits, the area included within the same." Schmidt, "Rural Life," 171.

Aguiar, op. cit., 20.
by the local inhabitants strictly for local use.45

Noteworthy among documents recently found in the city hall basement is a letter written by the coffee planters of the municipality in 1887, complaining about the activities of the abolitionists of São Luís who were attempting to lure slaves away from their owners by promising them asylum and freedom in the city of São Paulo.46 It is a testament to the resistance to the abolition of slavery presented by the conservatives who had too heavy a stake in human slaves. Many of the signers were of the de Castro family, a group which controlled most of the land in the Paraitinga Valley. Although slavery was abolished by law in the following year, social pressure in the municipality forced the abolitionists to leave town.

São Luís' final hope for prosperity came with the commencement of a railroad line between Taubaté and Ubatuba in 1892.47


46 Document in the Municipal Archives of São Luís do Paraitinga (see Appendix, document 2). Among the signers of the document was the Baron do Paraitinga, a man who always signed documents with his title, never with his name. A rumor, which is probably factual, states that he was a person from Minas Gerais who had killed a priest and was forced to flee. Arriving in the Paraitinga Valley with a price on his head, he married into the de Castro family and adopted their name to remain anonymous.

47 Pelo decreto 10.150 de 5 de janeiro de 1889, concedia o governo imperial ao dr. Francisco de Moura Escobar e Eugânio Marcondes Varella, privilégio por 60 anos para a
The works of the railroad enthusiastically continued not only in this year but in the following year as well, at which time a large part of the line was already complete and ready to be turned over to traffic when the uprising of the Armed Forces and the consequent civil war interrupted it.48

The construction never resumed as the "Companhia Estrada de Ferro Norte de São Paulo" went into bankruptcy.

Geography and Climate

The municipality is mountainous, cut by narrow valleys and covered with scrub growth. There are still insignificant and very rare stretches of woods which escaped the destructive system of farming. In its center, flanked by the Paraitinga River and by the Chapêu riverlet, the small Serra do Chapêu extends, its length entirely within the municipality and ending on the Pico Agudo mount.

Stone adaptable for sculpture and construction abound in the region. At the municipal boundary with Ubatuba, in a bairro called Perobas, limestone deposits exist. It is said that gold veins can also be found in some spots of the Serra do Mar. Outcrops of granite are fairly common throughout the municipality.

In the argilo-siliceous and ferruginous soils of the municipality, the coffee trees fared quite well. Despite an...
average annual temperature ranging between eighty-eight and ninety degrees Fahrenheit, the worst enemy of the coffee plantations were the cold and humid winter fogs which spilled over the Serra do Mar and settled in the valley. One such winter season virtually wiped out coffee in the valley: "As a consequence of the 1918 freeze, a large part of the coffee plantations of the municipality were abandoned."

São Luís do Paraitinga Today

The paved road from Taubaté does not pass through the town. Although this asphalted via stops near São Luís, it will eventually be paved all the way to the coastal town of Ubatuba. To reach São Luís from the paved road, one has to use a narrow dirt road which slowly climbs and encircles one of the many hills around the town. As one nears it, a glimpse of the city is caught in spots through the bamboo stalks which line the side of the road. Finally, the knoll having been descended, one passes near the symbol of the municipality's new industry, the cooperative dairy. Further on is a narrow concrete bridge which crosses the Paraitinga River and leads immediately to the main square of the city.

In the center of this gardened praça is a musical band stand surrounded by walks, benches, flower gardens, and trees. The praça is the parlor of the city; it is here that most of the town festivals begin and end. At one end of the

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square are the steps of the Mother Church of São Luís, easily the most dominant structure of the city. In the square, facing the church, is a bust of Osvaldo Cruz (1872-1917), the founder of Brazilian experimental medicine, who was born in São Luís.

Flanking the streets which circle the main square are two-story mansions, all built in the architectural style of the mid-nineteenth century. These were the holiday homes of the wealthy coffee planters who used them on rare visits to town. Formerly, the second story floors of these buildings had small porches jutting out about four feet from their fronts and running along their lengths. These porches had wrought iron balconies about three feet high, the designs of which varied from building to building. However, due to the ravages of time, these porches were removed and now the doors which led to them are fronted by parts of the original iron work. From these balconies, bedecked with flowers and ribbons, coffee planters and their families could watch the festivities in the town square without being forced to mingle with the mass below.

The ground floor of these buildings were used as storehouses, servant quarters or stables, or leased as stores and shops. The residence was on the second floor. Stone pillars about three feet square ran from the ground up to support the foot square beams of the second floor and roof. Both floors were about fifteen feet high. The walls were made of interlaced bamboo and daubed clay, were about eight inches
thick, and painted over with whitewash. Examination of these walls reveal the bamboo framework to be just as hard and strong as they were when first put in. The outside surfaces of the walls are painted in pastel colors—blue, rose, yellow, gray—which contrast with the stronger colors of the windows and doors.

The rooms of these homes, which were used only a few times a year by their owners, were very large, with the exception of the bedrooms which were so small that no furniture besides the bed could be put into them. Windowless, these evidently served a strictly functional purpose in contrast to those rooms where visitors were apt to enter. Each building had a small garden area in the rear and a small alley which led to a side street exit.

Over many of the doors are semicircular transoms which have wrought iron decorations, some bearing the year in which the buildings were constructed (1858, 1860, 1862, etc.), others spelling the initials of the original owners.

Unfortunately, the harmony of the architectural style has been broken on one end of the square by two buildings built along more modern lines, but a city ordinance was afterwards passed obliging that any further restorations should follow the older style. Three buildings on the square which were restored afterwards show the wisdom of this act.

The streets around the square are paved with a mixture of malachite and a white clay common to the area, whereas the other streets of the town are covered with either dirt or
cobblestones. Two streets have some stretches paved with rough, asymmetrical flagstones. In general, the few streets in the town are wide and regular.

Behind the Mother Church, a narrow stone-studded path runs up a steep knoll upon which can be seen the cruzeiro, the cross, a concrete structure decorated with electric lamps on its arms and body. The cruzeiro is typical of many towns in the interior regions of Brazil and can usually be found in a public square or on the highest elevation immediate to the town. In São Luís, the original wooden cross was erected in 1881 at the beginning of the old road to Ubatuba. The hill upon which the cross is now situated is covered with small houses made of stick and bamboo frames, daubed with clay or mud, and covered with tile roofs. Most have irregular, dirt floors. These houses shelter the poorer elements of the community and it is in them that the people who come from the rural sections for the town festivals are housed.

There are three Catholic temples in São Luís, the Mother Church, the Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, and the Merces Chapel. Situated on the main square, the Mother Church is an impressive old colonial style temple with two high bell towers and thick taipa walls. Built during the 1840s, it is a spacious building, sixty-five feet wide and 125 feet long, easily accommodating the faithful of the city.

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50Aguiar, op. cit., 9.

51Walls made of rammed earth (see Fig. 4).
Figure 4. Wood Mold for Making Taipa Walls
Besides its main altar, made of marbles from Europe and Brazil, the church possesses several side altars, each dedicated to and adorned with a statue of a saint. Above the side wings on either side of the church are rooms in which the old aristocracy used to attend mass, completely isolated from the tile-covered, main floor where the less economically fortunate worshipped.

The capela-mor, the first church ever erected in São Luís, was demolished in the first quarter of this century to make way for the construction of a new edifice. Monsignor Inácio Giòia, a priest from Italy who apparently had more liking for the north European types of temples, built the present gothic Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário on one of the highest elevations within the city. Despite its being a pleasing building to view, its architectural style is completely incongruous to that of the town. Behind it, surrounded by a taipa wall, is a small, private cemetery, a resting place of some interest because it holds the gravestones of those of importance during the coffee epoch, including that of the Baron of Paraitinga.

In an acute angle formed by the meeting of two streets near the Ubatuba exit of town is the Chapel of Merces, a small temple built in 1814 and clearly the oldest existing structure in São Luís. Ignored by the church fathers for ages, except for occasional repairs, it has only one very old, rough-wood altar, no pews or windows, and is lit by a single dim light. The bell tower, which is beneath the roof
of the church, holds two ancient bells with remarkably pure tones. This chapel formerly had an old table on which, according to legend, the footprints of a great orator of São Paulo, Brother Galvão, were imprinted. However, the table is no longer there and no one in town seemed to know what happened to it.

Up a hilly side street from the Merces Chapel is another building of historical importance, the birthplace of Osvaldo Cruz, the Brazilian physician who was responsible for the eradication of yellow fever in Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century. Today, the building is the property of the state which houses public health offices in its front rooms. Ironically, the town had no resident physician in 1969, as the only doctor had taken an indefinite leave of absence, and the only medical attention available to the citizens was furnished by a doctor from the Municipality of Lagoinha who went there two days a week. The Cruz household is now being considered by the city as a possible site to house a library which will contain the historical documents of the city.

A social center for the rural populace who come to town to sell their produce is the town market. Built in 1902, undoubtedly replacing an older structure, the building follows the architectural style previously established. On each side of the quadrangular structure are large doors which

52Aguiar, op. cit., 14.
lead into covered arcades which surround a large, central, open patio. In the arcades are the shops and stalls which buy and sell produce. The patio is free of any buildings, giving a refreshing look to the market, especially if one is accustomed to other markets which have their patios filled with small, ramshackle stalls.

Saturdays and Sundays are usually the days on which the local small farmers come to market to sell their produce. Here, they exchange news of their respective bairros while drinking straight doses of cachaca, or cane brandy. Thus, the market place replaces the newspaper because news circulates rapidly from one person to another. It is also an excellent place to buy articles made of wood--trays, bowls, spoons, etc.--at a reasonable price. Baskets of all sizes and purposes are also sold there.

The Festivals of São Luís

Like many small towns in interior Brazil, São Luís is a storehouse of traditions, although the change in the economical structure of the municipality has had the tendency to modify and even obliterate some of them. There are dances which are of both Portuguese and African origin, those of the latter usually modified by an overlay of Christianity. Recreational spectacles such as the Cavalhada, or tourney, have their stems in the Middle Ages of Europe. There are festivals which cannot be neatly classified as either religious or profane since these two categories overlap. Some are more profane than others but one would be hard put to find
purely secular events. Some festivals are strictly urban; the rural citizens have little or no participation in them.

A calendar of secular and religious holidays has been compiled in Cunha by Willems,53 and the same list can be repeated for São Luís with a few modifications. There are some days which are mobile, i.e. having no fixed date. These are indicated by an X instead of the date in the month in which they generally, but not necessarily, occur.

**January**

1 — New Year's Day  
6 — Feast of the Magi  
20 — St. Sebastian  
25 — St. Paul

**February**

3 — St. Blaise  
X — Carnival (three days preceding Ash Wednesday; not celebrated in the rural areas and weak in town)  
X — Ash Wednesday

**March**

15 — St. Vincent  
19 — St. Joseph  
25 — Annunciation  
X — Holy Week (including Saint Benedict which is normally celebrated elsewhere on March 13)

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53Willems, *Cunha*, p. 137.
April
21 — Tiradentes (celebrated only in town)

May
1 — Labor Day (celebrated only in town)
2 — Holy Cross
8 — Foundation of São Luís do Paraitinga
X — Ascension

June
13 — St. Anthony
24 — St. John
29 — St. Peter
X — Feast of the Holy Ghost

July
16 — Our Lady of Carmel

August
15 — Assumption of the Virgin Mary
16 — St. Roch
24 — St. Audoen

September
1 — All Saints’ Day
2 — All Souls’ Day
15 — Proclamation of the Republic (celebrated only in town)

December
8 — Feast of the Immaculate Conception
25 — Christmas
31 — New Year’s Eve
Among the above listed holidays, Holy Week, the feast days of Saints Anthony, John, and Peter, and the Feast of the Holy Ghost are the most important since they involve both the rural and urban populations of the municipality.

The Holy Week. During the week preceding Easter, the people from the rural areas begin to make their way to town, some on mules, burros, and horses, but most of them on foot. They usually are boarded in the homes of relatives and friends during their stay in the city. Good Friday is the climax of the week for on that day thousands go to the Mother Church to kiss the feet of the images of Our Lady of Sorrow and the Crucified Christ. Each one who enters the temple to kiss the images leaves money or objects of value in a collection plate, "some . . . exchanging them for smaller coins to keep as souvenirs, or because of the belief that whoever has one of these coins will not lack for money throughout the year." At night, after evening services, the solemn Procession of the Burial takes place as the multitude, carrying torches and candles, accompanies the two images through the city streets.

On the following day, Saturday, Lent ends at noon with the ringing of the church bells and the deafening bursts of fireworks which fill the air with the acrid smell of gunpowder. One of the most interesting events connected with this day seems to have been discontinued: the Mauling of the

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Aguiar, op. cit., 42.
Judas. One of the principal causes appears to have been the
death of Benedito de Sousa Pinto, a lovable town character
who gave this ancient tradition extra original touches in
São Luís.

The custom of the mistreatment of the Judas, until
1968, was fairly widespread throughout the State of São Paulo.
In most places, the Judas was hung and burned but, because
of the custom of putting signs on the dummy which ridiculed
the politicians and military men in power, the practice was
outlawed, a measure of doubtful value since the act was a
good cathartic, an escape valve for the pent-up frustrations
of the people.

Castigation of an effigy is thoroughly rooted in the
ancient European fire festivals where straw-men were dragged
through the streets, beaten, and burned. With the transfer­
ence of the rites to the southern hemisphere, the bonfires,
which were the mainstays of the festivals, were discontinued
during the Easter season, but the castigation of an effigy
remained. That the figure is still used as a representative
of a human scapegoat illustrates the thread which binds the
custom to Europe, where human sacrifice occurred in the past.
The name of Judas given to the effigy is nothing more than
a Christian veneer applied to a much older custom.

In São Luís, there were times when a large number of
Judases were hung to provide entertainment for the large
number of children in town during the Holy Week. Usually,
however, a single Judas was hung from a pole either in front
of the Rosário Church or in the main square on Resurrection Saturday. Benedito de Sousa Pinto would fill the pockets of the dummy with money and sweets before it was hung. At noon, when the bells and chimes of the churches rang as a sign of the expiry of Lent, the doll was lowered so that the children could tear it apart in a frenzy to get the prizes which it contained. Occasionally a hornet nest would be placed in the head of the dummy so that, at the moment it was broken, the adults watching the spectacle could have their laughs as the gamin flew in all directions to escape the poisonous stings of the insects.

Prior to the lowering of the effigy, there was a mock trial to condemn the Judas. After passing sentence, Pinto would read the last testament in which fun was made of the public servants and the local politicians. The verses were written by Pinto himself and many of them can still be read as they are preserved in a recently created folklore museum.

São Luís do Paraitinga
a terra de Osvaldo Cruz,
de dia não tem agua,
de noite não tem luz.
(São Luís do Paraitinga,
The land of Osvaldo Cruz,
During the day there is no water,
During the night there is no light).

Although the thirteenth of March is traditionally
the day dedicated to Saint Benedict, this feast has now been linked to the Holy Week in São Luís. They now call it the "Feast of the Negroes," principally because few whites participate actively in its celebration (although nobody works in town on this day) and because of its close ties to the customs which existed during the time of slavery. For the large land owners of the nineteenth century, Easter Sunday was the day of large banquets to which friends and relatives were invited. A large number of animals were slaughtered for the feast, usually more that could be consumed by the guests. On the following day, Monday, the remains were distributed to the slaves who were exempted from field work on that day. Thus, the Monday after Easter began to take on a religious flavor.

Closely supervised by the priests, they would engage in modified versions of their traditional dances around the evening bonfires. As St. Benedict, the patron saint of the destitute, had been assigned to the Negroes by the clergy, it was only natural that their special protector be honored on the day of their greatest abundance.

On Resurrection Saturday, a procession of the faithful begins at the Merces Chapel and goes to the small square in front of the Rosário Church where a decorated pole bearing the banner of the saint is erected. That night, the old slave dances are performed in the open air. The celebrations continue until the following Monday when a mass is held at ten in the morning, terminating the religious observance.
The most common dance of the Negroes is the *jango*. In it there are usually four musicians who play and sing, each making riddles in verse which the others must solve. At the sound of the band, a large circle is formed and songs of greeting are directed to the musicians. A cadenced dance resembling a quadrille follows as the circle begins to turn. When the riddles are made, the circle stops only to begin again once the solution has been given. On they go, all night long, until the bells of the church announce the first mass of the day.

**Feasts of the Winter Solstice.** The festivals of June (*as festas juninas*) are comprised of the feast days of Saint Anthony, Saint John, and Saint Peter, and are observed in all of Brazil. The Feast of Saint Anthony has declined in importance, probably because of its falling so early in the month, although many rural areas still observe this day with the firing of pyrotechnics and by processions to rural chapels. With time, the Feast of Saint John has come to be the most important of the three. These feasts are echoes of the old pagan fire festivals which existed throughout Europe since before the dawn of Christianity. Because of the inversion of seasons in the southern hemisphere, the midsummer fires have taken on added importance in Brazil, especially the eve of St. John's, traditionally mid-summer (now mid-winter) eve. It was the signal of solar change. To paraphrase Frazer, it was a great turning-point in the sun's career, when, after descending lower and lower day by day in the sky, the lumi-
nary stops and thenceforth retraces his steps down the heavenly road. 

In Brazil, the December 25th winter solstice has been shifted to the 23rd of June; the Christ child has given way to a youthful St. John the Baptist carrying a lamb in his arms. This has led to a corresponding shift of the agricultural cycle in which the meaningful year begins there on St. John's Day, as Araújo so aptly noted. However, the rituals normally associated with Midsummer Eve have been retained; they were not replaced by a June Yule log. The dentrolatric May-pole reappears in the poles--stripped of bark, brightly colored, and sometimes decked with ribbons--used to support the banners of the June saints. The bonfires which sparkled and flared in the European summer darkness now crackle in the chilly nights of the land of the Holy Cross. As lovers leaped over the fires in Switzerland, France, Sweden, and Germany, the sexes in Brazil do likewise. As the European peasant feared the witches, the Brazilian caipira fears the "bad spirits," the werewolf, and the goblins of the night.

The June festivals in the Paraitinga Valley are not different from those in other rural sectors in the eastern


56 Araújo, *Folclore Nacional*, I, p. 118. See also his *Ciclo Agrícola, Calendario Religioso e Magias Ligadas As Plantações* (São Paulo: Grafica Municipal de São Paulo, 1957), an entire monograph devoted to this subject.

57 A term applied to the rural dwellers of Brazil. This term will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter IV.
part of São Paulo. The principal features are these:

1. Three trees are planted on the 13th, 24th, and 29th of June, respectively. A hole is dug in front of the home. Once the tree is placed in it, the dirt, together with eggs, corn and beans, is replaced. These plants are not meant to be permanent; they are uprooted a few days before Christmas. This resembles a Swedish custom in which young firs are raised before the doorways on the Eve of St. John's.

2. At the setting of the sun, the festival patron summons his family, relatives, and friends to his home by means of pyrotechnics. The use of fireworks and deafening noises for such festivities are not uncommon in Brazil.

3. A pole bearing the banner of the honored saint is raised, accompanied by prayers and song.

4. A huge bonfire is lit. When the fire has reached a low level, the persons at the feast leap over the flames so that they may be blessed for the rest of the year. An interesting Brazilian innovation is the custom of walking barefooted over live coals spread over the ground. Usually done on the Eve of St. John's, the belief here is that if one has faith in the saint, the soles of the feet will not be burned. "Quem tem fé, não queima o pé."

5. Carbonized brands are removed from the dying fire to be saved in the homes. During storms, the brands are lit to protect the crops. Others are placed in the fields for the same purpose. Similar charred sticks were removed from bonfires in France "to protect the houses against lightning,"
Plate V. Holiday Homes of the Coffee Lords
conflagrations, and spells.\textsuperscript{58}

6. Torches are lit in paper balloons which are lifted up into the air by the smoke.

7. Certain rituals, such as planting garlic, are practiced by the unmarried girls in an attempt to divine the names of their future husbands. Three garlic teeth, each given a name of a prospective suitor, are planted near the bonfire; the one which takes root before sunrise reveals the future spouse.

Many of the rituals of St. John's Eve correspond to those purification rites practiced by European peasants to prevent misfortune to crops while they were growing, the only major difference being that the Brazilian rural dweller has his rites after the crops are harvested.

The Feasts of the Holy Ghost. Until the sixteenth century, the Feast of the Holy Ghost was a fairly common festival celebrated in Portugal, centering around Pentecost Sunday, when food was distributed to the paupers. This festival, seemingly a manner of redistributing food or wealth, has been described in a very comprehensive article by Willems\textsuperscript{59} and consists of the following traits:

1. Vodos: the distribution of bread, meat, and cheese to the poor by the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost on Pente-

\textsuperscript{58}Frazer, op. cit., p. 628.

cost Sunday.

2. **Folia**: the procession of the *mordomos*, the men who contributed money to the feast, accompanied by musicians and led by a standard bearer carrying the banner of the Holy Ghost. The *folia* would make trips into the Portuguese rural areas to collect gifts of food which would later be distributed to the poor. The *folia* had a protective function as it was believed that their appearance would drive away evil spirits from people, animals, and fields.

3. **Emperors**: the men who contributed money for the festival were honored by being crowned with this title.

4. **Bullfights**: held on the Friday before Pentecost Sunday, the profits of these went to the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost. Seven or eight bulls were run and their meat was afterwards distributed to the poor.

5. **Material symbols**: these consisted of the crowns with which the Emperors were crowned and the banner showing the symbol of the Holy Ghost, the dove.

After the sixteenth century, this celebration disappeared from Portugal, but not before it was transferred to Brazil where it continues in the old rural sections of São Paulo. São Luís do Paraitinga is one of the municipalities where this Portuguese heritage continues although the name has been changed to that of the "Feast of the Divine One" (*Festa do Divino*) and its celebration is geared to the agricultural cycle of the area. Its characteristic traits have been modified but, with the exception of the bullfights, all
of the elements remain.

No longer is the feast fixed to Pentecost Sunday; it is now a mobile holiday usually, but not necessarily, falling in the month of June.\(^{60}\) At that time a festival patron, or festeiro, is selected from among the richer and more respectable men of the community to serve for an entire year.\(^{61}\) The selection is made in the Mother Church by drawing names from a hat. As soon as the selected name is known, the bells ring and fireworks shake the air. The new festeiro is then convoked for the ceremonies which take place in the afternoon during which he is crowned "emperor" while the old festeiro looks on, pretending to be very sad at having to relinquish his title.

One of the first tasks of the patron is to select the folia, a group of musicians and persons of confidence who will go through the countryside collecting "promises" of gifts (usually food and drink) for the following year. Besides that, he is obliged to go in the evening to the casa de festa where all the food and drink which had been collected during the previous year is stored.

The casa de festa, or festival house, is a kind of

\(^{60}\)In 1969, the Festa do Divino was celebrated in São Luís do Paraitinga during the first half of July at the request of the parish priest so that it would not fall in the same month as the anniversary of the city.

\(^{61}\)The festeiro for the year 1958-59 was Sebastião Pereira Coelho, aided by a folia from Cunha. An interesting addition to the Festa do Divino in São Luís is a female adjutant who accompanies the festeiro. During the above year, this adjutant was Idalina Vaz de Campos.
communal potlatch restaurant which remains open to the public as long as the food and drink last. Located in the market, it is the obligatory stop for all who come from the rural areas. Beneath the alcoves of the market, large kettles and cauldrons boil and bubble, filling the air with the sharp odor of everything which will form the meal: beans, rice, beef, potatoes, mandioca. Behind the market, near the banks of the river where the vultures sit waiting for the remains, slaughtered beeves are skinned and cut for the pots.

In the casa de festa, the straw-hatted rural folk can satisfy their organic needs with that of which they are deprived throughout the year: meat. As they receive the food, usually in tin plates, they sit on their haunches and enjoy the food. They fill their stomachs to the point that they can take no more. Aguiar reports a case of abuse in which

When they were finally glutted, but still willing to bid their farewells to the abundance, they found some dark corner, stuck their fingers in their throats and, after emptying themselves, entered the line again to fill their stomachs for the last time. 62

There is nothing more necessary for the successful functioning of the festivals than the folia, whose job is to collect the promises of food for the potlatch of the coming year. The festeiro selects a mestre, or chief, to head the group, a man who knows every nook and cranny in the municipality. The mestre is a professional; he makes his living

Plate VI. Rosário, Site of the First Church in São Luís
in this way. It is he who selects the other members of the folia and bargains with the festeiro for their salaries. The other members of the group are all persons who have the absolute confidence of the mestre and are usually his sons and relatives. With the exception of the standard bearer and the person charged with taking care of the troupe's baggage, all members of the folia play instruments (guitar, fiddle, drum, triangle, etc.) and have different singing voices. The standard bearer carries the Divino, the banner of the Holy Ghost.

The folia spends months in the country, going from farm to farm, requesting the gifts for the festival. These gifts are not given to the troupe but paid in the form of "promises." A member of the folia carefully notes the name of the doner and the type of gift (beans, rice, chickens, etc.) in a book and appoints a man in the area to collect these gifts in the weeks immediately preceding the festival. At each house visited, the folia makes its requests and thanks through songs. An example of a song of thanks was collected in 1951 in the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga by Araújo:

"Deus le pague meu sinhô.
(May God pay you, sir,)
Deus le ha de agardecê,
(God has to thank you)
sempre cum vida e saúde
(always with life and health)
pra no mundo vive.*63
(to live in the world.)

The mestre knows in advance how many houses can be visited before night fall, so he sends the baggage porter ahead to the house or farmstead where the group is to spend the night with a verbal request for shelter. As the owners of these houses consider it an honor to house the group, the request is never refused.

With the arrival of the folia at the place where it will spend the night, fireworks are set off to advise the other residents of the area. Everyone turns out in their Sunday best to receive the group. Piglets, calves, chickens, and goats are killed for the banquet to be held that night. Upon entering the house, the folia forms a circle around the family and sing songs. Following the evening banquet, there is a prayer preceding dances which last late into the night. On the following morning the folia leaves for another bairro.

For the persons in the rural areas, the folia represents the same protective value that it originally did in Portugal. In cases of disease striking his domestic animals, a person will usually promise to give a donation to the folia in the hopes that the sickness will stop. The housing of the folia is usually done in payment of a promise made to a saint.

The prevalent propitiatory device Brazilian rural people resort to is the promessa (compact) with a saint.

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People promise services or goods to the saints in order to recover health or to avoid illness, to increase crops and cattle, or to avoid plagues. Since the Holy Ghost is a powerful saint, promessas made to him are expected to produce good results. Therefore, the participation of the people in the principle festival given in honor of the Holy Spirit may be interpreted in terms of promessas. 64

Finally, the folia arrives in town where it is met by the festeiro who receives the banner which he will keep as a souvenir. Ahead of a cortège, it goes to the casa do Império, a special room in a house on the main square prepared by the town people to house the banner (and the instruments of the folia) during the festival. The room, decorated with red velvet, has a semi-religious air and the people go there to pray for special favors as they kiss the ribbons suspended on the banner staff. Once the banner is housed, the potlatch can begin. On the last day of the festivals, a new festeiro is selected and the cycle begins anew.

Connected with the festival in town are other activities such as auctions which enable the festeiro to recover some of the money he has spent during the year, and dances and entertainments for the children and adults. Made by a local amateur artist are two giant dolls, each about twelve feet high: a moustached João Paulino, wearing striped canvas pants and coat and complete with top hat and carnation, and Maria Angé in a calico dress and sporting lamp bulbs for earrings. Inside of the dolls are hampers made in such a

way that men can support these figures on their shoulders. Accompanied by the deafening roars of hundreds of children, the two roam the streets, nodding compliments and swatting their free-swinging arms at the gamin that approach them too closely.

One of the highlights of the festival is the **Cavalhada de Carlos Magno**, a theater on horseback which echoes in this Brazilian hinterland all the glories of Charlemagne and his douzepers in their clashes against the Saracens in the Valley of Roncesvalles, and the tourneys of the knights of the Middle Ages. During the mid-nineteenth century, this spectacle was held in the main square of the city since it was not gardened at that time. The participants of the **Cavalhada** were the sons of the best families in the municipality. They wore clothes made of silk and velvet, sported swords plated with silver, and rode breed horses which were equally bedecked.

Today, the **Cavalhada** does not have the splendor of old but, what they lack in luster, they more than make up for in spirit. In São Luís, its celebration usually takes place on the Saturday in the week in which are held the festivities of the Holy Ghost. It is composed of two teams of twelve riders each (the twelve peers of France and their opponents), one team dressed in blue, called the Christians, and headed by a general, the other vested in red and called the Moors, captained by a king. Each side has its spy (also called the clown because of his bizarre dress) and its am-
Plate VII. Cooking Rice at the Casa de Festa
After a parade through town, the riders cross the bridge and take positions on the opposite ends of a soccer field near the right descending bank of the Paraitinga River. The play starts when a Moor spy goes to the center of the field where he is "discovered" by a Christian knight, the adjutant to the General, and is "killed" with a sword. The King's ambassador approaches and a dialogue between the two ensues after which the Christian ambassador goes to the Moorish king to tell him that the Christians are there to either convert the heathens or to kill them. The Moorish king beligerantly refuses to be baptised and expresses his intention to enter into battle.

A mock battle follows, resulting in the defeat of the Moors and their swearing allegiance to the Christian General. They then join forces and the second part of the Cavalhada takes place. This is an exhibition of riding skill in which various maneuvers are made on horseback (see Fig. 5). These maneuvers are followed by the jousts, another exhibition of riding skill in which riders spear paper masks on the ground with their swords while riding at full gallop, and throw lances through small rings. Ending the jousts, the riders recross the bridge and make a final parade through town.

Foundation Day of São Luís. In 1969, São Luís do Paraitinga celebrated the bicentennial anniversary of its foundation, during which many of the dances and various spec-
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Figure 5. Horseback Maneuvers of the Cavalarada
tacles which normally take place on other feast days were repeated. The order of the events of the four-day celebra-
tion was as follows:

May 8th

5:00 — Reveille by the "São Luís de Tolosa" Drum and Bugle Corps, festive ringing of all the bells of all the churches of the city, and a salvo of 21 shots.

10:00 — Thanksgiving mass celebrated by His Excellence, the Diocesan Bishop, Francisco Borja do Amaral, assisted by several priests.

14:00 — Solemn session in the City Hall.

15:00 — Opening of the regional Folklore Motifs exposition.

16:00 — Parade of the young students through the principal streets of the city.

19:00 — Retreat by the "São Luís de Tolosa" Drum and Bugle Corps.

May 9th

19:00 — Festive mass with songs by the students.

20:00 — Serenade.

May 10th

15:00 — Cavalhada.

20:00 — Folklore presentations:

João Paulino and Maria Angú.

Mock Bullfight.

Moçambique.
Guitar Competition.
Dance of the Calango.
Dance of the Ribbons.

23:00 — II Centennial Ball.

May 11th

16:00 — Parade of allegorical floats and coronation of the Centennial Queen.
19:00 — The giving of flowers by the mothers to Our Lady of Prazeres, the first image venerated in São Luís do Paraitinga

The main purpose of such a heavy schedule of events was to draw the attention of outsiders to the town, as the town fathers realized that tourism would be one of the only ways of bringing money into the town. However, the lack of sufficient hotel rooms in the city will probably frustrate most overnight visits. It was admittedly a town festival, not one in which the rural folk would take much part, the probable reason being that it was not part of the agricultural cycle of the municipal rural areas, i.e. it had no significance for the rural dweller. Their attitude was probably reflected in that of a town employee washing the lamp posts in the main square in preparation for the bicentennial. He expressed no interest in this latter celebration but became quite enthusiastic when questioned about the Festa do Divino.
Plate VIII. Vamú Cumé, Gente
CHAPTER IV

THE CAIPIRA

Definition

Despite the outward semblance of being an interior city which never advanced out of the nineteenth century, São Luís do Paraitinga has made the headlong plunge into the twentieth century; television antennas above the tile-roofed homes attest to that. However, just a few miles into the interior of the municipality, it is still easy to find a way of life which echoes the life of the first colonists of the country, perhaps not as much as in some frontier areas of Brazil, but still primitive enough to present a stark contrast to the bustling cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

In these remote areas live a type of Brazilian who is called a caboclo, a general name for

... the Brazilian approximation of the mestizo of certain parts of South America, a lower-class country person, a peasant, or rural subsistence producer.65

In a further attempt to distinguish between the various types of caboclos in Brazil, the same author assigned the name of

circum-urban to those rural dwellers who are socially, economically, or politically linked to villages or cities. Even though this distinction corresponds very closely to the rural dwellers of the Municipality of São Luís, the word caipira will be used in its stead in view of the fact that caipira has often been used as a synonym for caboclo. According to Marcondes and Smith,

**Caipira** is a term widely used in São Paulo to designate the humble rural folk who inhabit the less advanced sections of the state. It usually has a depreciative connotation... The designation is sufficient to indicate a predominance of Indian blood.

The derogatory sense of the word was also noted by Pierson both in the city of São Paulo and in the interior village of Cruz das Almas. Araújo states that caipira "is the term used, not rarely in a pejorative manner, to designate the dweller of the highland," but he adds,

**Caipira** is the designation of a genuine Paulista. The author, for example, considers himself to be a caipira piracicabano, i.e. a Paulista of Piracicaba.

Confusion in the use of caboclo and caipira apparently stems from the fact that both terms were borrowed from Tupi-Guarani and have undergone semantic change. **Caipira** appears to have a more restricted currency; it is fairly

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66 Ibid., p. 21.


68 Donald Pierson, "Caipira Versus 'Cidadão' in Cruz das Almas," Sociologia, XII (October, 1950), 312-22.

69 Araújo, Folclore Nacional, I, p. 36.
widespread in the State of São Paulo although, in earlier writings, the term caboclo seems to have been the word most often used in the same state.

Monteiro Lobato made caboclo a household word in the form of his immortal Jeca Tatú, and the stereotype of the shiftless, nomadic arsonist has continued to the present. The same author also derided the pride with which

... respectable figures beat their chests, exclaiming with haughtiness: I am of the caboclo race!?

His statement (written in 1918) shows that the term caboclo was gaining a new meaning in precisely the same way that caipira is undergoing a semantic change today, as attested by Araújo's definition.

There is no intention here to add to semantic confusion. The term caipira as a designation for the marginal folk who inhabit the remote and isolated rural sections of the municipality has been chosen for the following reasons:

1) It is the term most frequently used in the municipality to refer to these people,

2) The original Tupi-Guarani meaning of the word as "the shy one, the timid one, the bashful one, the individual full of shame" still represents some of the character traits of these folk, and

3) Many other authors have used the term.

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Usage of the term does not indicate subscription to the presence or absence of Indian blood, as indicated by the Marcondes and Smith definition. Any person who lives a life in the manner which will shortly be described is a *caipira*, regardless of his ancestral stock. Aguiar notes, for example, the presence of a number of persons of French ancestry in the municipality who

... can be found in the marketplace selling potatoes, tomatoes, or bananas; grandsons and great-grandsons of Frenchmen, tall thin, blond, green-eyed men with their skins darkened by the rigors of the sun. Their speech is that of the *caipira*, their having perfectly assimilated that soft dialect, substituting the *r* for the *l*.72

**Historical Background**

That many *caipiras* possess Indian blood in one degree or another cannot be denied. Throughout the early colonial days of the present State of São Paulo, there was constant interbreeding between the white colonizers, who had brought few women with them to the New World, and the Indian maids. The result of the mixture was the creation of a new breed of man, the *mamaluco* who

... other than an adventurous spirit, the boldness, audaciousness, and mobility of the father, received from his maternal side the love of liberty, the restless and nomadic disposition, and the frontier inclinations of the Amerindian who was also endowed with extreme mobility.73

The term *mamaluco* was not the only designation used in colonial Brazil. Preceding it was the name mazombo which,

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72 Aguiar, op. cit., 21.

Plate IX. TÔ Lôco por um Pedago de Vaca
according to Moog, was used to designate a person born in Brazil and employed "when the term Brazilian as an expression and affirmation of a nationality was practically non-existent." Although the Negro was rare in sixteenth century São Paulo, the term *mulato* was applied equally to the offspring of the white and the Amerindian as to the white and the negro.75 Another designation, according to Holanda, for the *mamaluco* was *bastardo* (bastard).76

The Amerindians in their native state practiced a rudimentary and semi-nomadic slash-and-burn agriculture, using techniques which were quickly adopted by many of the Lusitanian colonizers. Slash-and-burn agriculture consists of the felling of trees to form a large clearing in the forest, the drying and burning of the trunks and branches, and the planting of a small variety of crops (mandioca, corn, squash, tubers, etc.) while the ground was still warm. This technique had the advantage of clearing a large area of land in a short period of time, the killing in the area of all insects

74Holanda, História Geral, I, p. 280.

75"De passagem convem notar que a palavra 'mulato' se aplicava em São Paulo a mestigos de índios tanto como de negros, e aqueles naturalmente mais do que estes por ser então diminuta ali a escravidão africana; mesmo durante a primeira metade do século XVIII, os registros de batizados de carijós falam em 'molatos' com tal acepção, e só raramente aludem a 'mamalucos.'" Ibid., II, p. 264.

76"E certo que nas épocas coloniais foram os mamalucos reputados constantemente como gente sem sombra de sujeição ou polícia, o que se verificou particularmente em São Paulo, terra em que os bastardos, como então se chamavam, compuseram por largo tempo, o grosso das classes populares." Holanda, Fronteiras e Caminhos, p. 144.
which could prove damaging to the cultivated plants, and the elimination of bulky agricultural implements other than the axe and the hoe. Its disadvantages lay in the dissipation of good topsoil, requiring the periodic removal of the tribes to new sites. Before the advent of the white man, this advantage was balanced by the lack of large concentrated populations of Indians, and the rapid recovery of used lands by the tropical forests. Those mamalucos who applied their energies to agriculture continued to follow faithfully the same practices of slash-and-burn.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they had gone into every section of the Province of São Paulo, continuing the same nomadic existence as their Indian forebears, always living on the margin of civilization. The mestizos, later to be called caboclos, and then caipiras, produced their own food, made their own clothes and farming equipment, and built their own homes, the latter out of trees, sticks and bamboo, daubed irregularly with clay, and covered with dry straw.

In the eighteenth century, the Paraíba Valley zone of São Paulo, in which the Paraitinga Valley can be included, was composed of small urban nuclei located along the courses of the rivers, all surrounded by small properties dedicated to policulture: corn, manioc, rice, beans, etc. As the whole area had been the passageway for the men of São Paulo, first in their hunt for Indian slaves, and later in their rush to the gold mines of Minas Gerais, the zone was well populated
by mamalucos. Their number was augmented by "domesticated" Indians after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil in 1759, since those fathers had established Indian missions in the upper valley.

St. Hilaire, in his travels through the area in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, noted the Indian characteristics in the population between Taubaté and Jacareí:

The inhabitants on the side of the road are of white appearance, but typical traces of the indigenous race stand out in them. Blond hair and blue eyes are not rare . . . Their mien often manifests mildness and grace, but they are always inexpressive. The men of this region, do not show the least curiosity, speak very little, and are less educated than those of Minas.76

Spix and Martius met a similar type people in the vicinity of Areias in 1817:

. . . these Indians, now partly exterminated, or mixed with Negroes and mulattos, live half wild, scattered among the colonists. They are also noted for the indolence and almost invincible pigheadedness of their ancestors, maintaining little relations with the colonists whose fields and cattle have to suffer the depredations of these bad neighbors. The inhabitants designate these Indians with the general name of caboclos, and make a distinction between them and the other uncivilized and savage gentios, bugres, or índios brabos.77

There were generally two classes of individuals inhabiting the Paraíba River valley at the time the coffee plantations were on the move, the people who had settled along the


roads in the river valley, engaged mostly in small farming, and the propertyless squatters who lived in the forest, practicing slash-and-burn agriculture and moving on when the soil was exhausted. The plantation owners found that they were able to use the skills of the latter to advantage. In the dangerous work of felling the forests to make way for coffee trees,

... the fazendeiros often substituted the labor of valuable slaves with that of the landless squatters of heterogenous racial origin, who lived in tiny clearings in the forest and who were skilled woodsmen. In the early period of settlement they were usually called caboclos. As unclaimed land diminished, the propertyless forest dweller was joined by the dispossessed settlers who had squatted along the roads, and later by escaped slaves.78

These squatters were evidently occupying lands which were coveted by the coffee planters, and since most of them did not have legal title to the properties, it was relatively easy to get rid of them. Those who

... did not want to subordinate themselves to the new economic and social order had to retreat ... or they were expelled by the threats and arbitrariness of the hired thugs of the fazendeiro. There were even cases in which the squatters were assassinated and little or no justice done.79

In the middle Paraíba Valley, the big coffee plantations practically wiped out the small farmers who produced most of the foodstocks. Having the best lands denied to them and deprived of forest lands to cut, they were reduced to dependents of the large planters, or forced to retreat to

78 Stein, op. cit., 68.
79 Valverde, op. cit., 44.
Plate X. Fumano no Sor
ever more remote mountainous areas where coffee could not be grown, and where a subsistence level livelihood could be eked out of the unfriendly soil. The result was a rise in the price of basic foods in the area. The same may have happened in the Paraitinga Valley, although to a less extreme degree. Just as the coffee planters learned from experience how to grow their coffee trees, they may have benefited from the lesson of the Paraiba Valley. All information on the municipalities of the Paraitinga seems to indicate that policulture continued throughout the coffee cycle although there is nothing written on how the rural folk fared.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, after coffee had begun to desert the Paraiba Valley, the caboclo was still very much in evidence. His way of life at that time was described quite pejoratively by Monteiro Lobato in two short stories, "Velha Praga" and "Urupês," both included in his book Urupês. Angered by the destructive system of farming practiced by the caboclo, Lobato compared him to the teutonic war which swept the European continent. To him they were "hairless parasites" of a "negative quantity" who

... ravaged fifty alqueires of land to extract just enough to be hungry and cold for the rest of the year. Lobato, who had inherited quite a sizable farm from his grand-

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80 Between 1852 and 1859, the price of basic foods more than doubled, while from the United States, Brazil imported bacon and lard cheaper than that produced locally. Stein, op. cit., 89.

81 Lobato, Urupês, p. 275.
father, the Visconde of Tremembé, José Francisco Monteiro, had little or no love for those individuals who were destroying the remaining stands of trees on his property. However, despite his popularity as an author in Brazil, his words were useless against a tradition which was older than his nation. The caboclo continued living as his ancestors had before him, until the valleys were bare of all forests other than those which were protected by the government. If ire should have been directed at anyone, perhaps the coffee planters were as responsible as any for the elimination of the forests in the eastern part of São Paulo.

Caipira Life

As one travels away from the municipal seat of São Luís do Paraitinga into the interior, the degree of westernization decreases; the primitiveness of caipira life increases as the infrastructure decreases. In some parts of the municipality there are individuals who will flee at the sight of any stranger. In such areas the influence of Indian tradition is strongest, especially in technology and subsistence. In other areas the western mode of life is becoming more apparent, especially in increasing economic dependence upon the municipal seat, or to land owners. Some caipiras have progressed materially; they have either moved to town where they have become assimilated to the mainstream of Brazil or have managed to legally accumulate enough land and/or cattle to become small "fazendeiros." It is therefore difficult to give an exact picture of caipira life that will apply to
every rural dweller. What will be presented here is a superficial conglomerate portrait that leans more toward the primitive areas.

**Habitation.** The *caipira* home, about fifteen feet long and twelve feet wide, is not much better than the Indian *ocas*. Except for the ones which have tile roofs, almost everything used in the construction comes directly from the land. They make the walls with bamboo and sticks, cross-hatched and tied with liana vines, and braced by corner posts. No nails are used. "The nail is a culture trait that is too advanced for the *caipira.*"82 This weave is caulked over with mud or clay by hand but never plastered or whitewashed. It is not uncommon for chunks of this wall to fall with the passage of time, exposing the bamboo framework. If so, it is not often repaired; the resulting holes are used to store some article or other. The roofs formerly were covered with thick layers of *sape* grass but, due to the increasing scarcity of this plant, it is being replaced by tile.

These houses are normally divided into three rooms, a living room (*sala*), a bedroom (*quarto*), and a kitchen (*cozinha*), all having pounded earth floors. The *sala* serves as both living room and parlor and is luxurious if it possesses a table and chairs. Three legged stools or kerosene cans are more common as they do not require the leveling of the

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82Marcondes and Smith, op. cit., 49.
floor. On the walls of this room are hung religious pictures or shelves bearing the images of saints. The sala will double as a bedroom if the family is large.

The bedroom is windowless, its only furnishing being the bed, a rude frame bunk covered with a mattress of dry straw, or simply a reed mat rolled out on the bare floor.

The caipiras sleep in the greatest promiscuity. In the Município of São Luís do Paratinga, we found one family consisting of the parents and seven children, the oldest 15 and the youngest 3, all sleeping in the one room.83

There are no closets; some have storage boxes or trunks to store the little that they have.

As bare of furniture as the other rooms, the kitchen has nothing more than a stove or earth oven in a corner; a window serves as a chimney. Food is stored in another corner. Household utensils consist of baked clay bowls, an iron pot or two, gourd or tin cups, sieves, baskets, and spoons, plates and pestles carved of wood.

A bare yard, called the terreiro, surrounds the house to keep the brush away from the door. It may be sometimes circled by a rude fence. Other buildings may include a shed for keeping tools, saddles, and farming equipment, and a pigpen. The caipira purposefully avoids the accumulation of immovable goods since he may move to another place to work and he carries his belongings with him. Another reason is that he usually lacks legal title to the land; he is a squatter.

83Ibid.
and any improvement to the property would be the same as offering it to the first person who coveted it.

**Food.** For one living in an agricultural environment, the caipira has a surprisingly unvaried diet because his food habits have not changed very much since the fifteenth century. He lives by what he produces: corn, manioc, beans, potatoes, creole rice, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts. He raises pigs but these are destined for the market and rarely find their way to the caipira table except on special occasions. Meat is more usually in the form of scrawny chickens and ducks which fend for themselves around the house area. More often than not, his meal consists of watered, badly cooked beans, seasoned with garlic and mixed with manioc flour or with fuba, a dumpling-like mass made from finely ground corn. His luxury is a cup of cheap-grade weak coffee sweetened by sugar cane juice.

The hunger of the Brazilian is not that of an underdeveloped country but that of the primitive.

The force of culture is nowhere as evident as here in the Brazilian rural area. The caipira's food habits are fixed by tradition to the point that he will scorn products which are at hand. Being almost entirely dependent upon what he produces, he knows hunger. Trapped in a restricted economy, when the crops fail he is unable to buy what he lacks from outside except on credit, another form of slavery.

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The domestic animals that he raises are sold in the São Luís market place rather than eaten in order to gain the money he needs to buy supplies at the country store. The local consumption of milk is generally low as the fazendeiros sell this product to cooperative dairies which in turn sell to other regions. The same is true for beef, a delicacy for the caipira.

Labor. Most of the caipiras of the municipality are engaged in agriculture although some do some work on the cattle farms. Their labor can be divided into two categories: self-employment and employment by others. The rural farmer generally does both as the fruits of self-employment are not always enough to sustain him and his family throughout the year. On his farm he has two main crops, corn and beans, both of which determine the agricultural cycle, i.e. there are strict rules concerning the planting, weeding and harvesting of these two crops and all other agricultural chores, to say nothing of life itself, are relegated to them.

Prior to any planting, the land is cleared of old stubble and brush by firing. After making the necessary fire lines, the farmer selects a site away from the wind and spreads the flames by means of dry bamboo tapers. The land cleared, he begins his planting on the following day. He is usually limited, however, in his choice of sites.

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\(^{85}\) A distinction is made in the municipality between the **caipira** and the **caipira mineiro**, the latter being cowboys who were imported from Minas Gerais to work the cattle.
The narrow valley bottoms, the land at the foot of hills, and the narrow strips along the banks of the streams, when they present favorable conditions, naturally are selected.\textsuperscript{86}

The caipira raises two types of corn, a white variety which he consumes, and a red corn which is fed to the animals. Both are planted in September, holes opened in the ground a few feet apart with a hoe, and a few grains dropped into each.\textsuperscript{87}

The fields are normally weeded in December and February, after which they are left untended for the rest of the growth of the corn. In May or June, sometimes July, the corn is harvested, shucked and shelled. Corn is planted for about three years on the same plot, after which the land is left to rest for one or two years. No fertilizer is used and the land is never turned over. The plow is unknown.

Preparation of corn after it is dried varies. A fine meal, \textit{farinha}, is made by crushing the grains, soaking the meal for a few days, toasting the mass in a large shallow pan and then passing the meal through large mesh sieves. \textit{Canjica} is made by removing the eye by beating the corn in a wooden mortar but leaving the grain almost intact. Intermediate in size between \textit{farinha} and \textit{canjica} is \textit{canjiquinha}.

\textsuperscript{86} Schmidt, op. cit., 177.

\textsuperscript{87} "While the men work up the hillside, opening a hole every six palms with a single stroke, the women who aid greatly in this work, and the children as well, are dropping four or five grains of corn in each of the holes. At the same time, with a semicircular movement of the foot, they cover the loose dirt over the seed, pressing it down with the foot." Ibid., 178.
or papa de milho, corn also broken in a wooden mortar. Those who engage in producing corn in large amounts to sell usually have the grain crushed in a monjolo, a wood pounder operated either by water or manually.

Beans are usually planted two times a year, once in September, during the rainy season, and again in February, at the beginning of the dry season. From September to January, the beans are usually planted between the corn stalks; during the dry season they are planted by themselves. The latter planting, called feijão de seca (dry season beans), yields very little in comparison with the former. Harvesting takes place in the morning after which the beans are spread out on a rectangular patch of bare ground in the field and sacked in the afternoon. Large scale harvesting of both corn and beans is often effected by means of the mutirão, to be discussed later.

The number of independent caipira farmers is growing less mainly because the area in which he can produce is diminishing. The reasons for this are: (1) the depletion of valuable topsoil through years of cultivation without fertilizer or suitable crop rotation, and (2) the loss of these lands to cattle raisers. The legal acquisition of these lands by the newcomers to the municipality was relatively easy, according to Schmidt:

By the legislation in force, when a fence was constructed along the line between two properties, its cost was shared by the two parties. The small farmer lacked the resources to pay for such undertakings. Whatever the sum levied by the courts, they had no alternative.
but to enter into agreements with the cattlemen and sell their lands, or to hand them over merely in payment for the fence that had been built.88

So it is that most caipira farmers either work on the larger farms which have been able to withstand the economic pressures of the cattlemen, or migrate to urban regions where they work as street cleaners, garbage collectors, or any job which requires no formal education. Those who choose to stay on with the large farms work either as tenant farmers on a salary basis, or have some arrangement with the land owners.

A very common arrangement is where a tenant farmer makes a verbal contract with a large land holder in which he promises to give a quarter or a fifth of his crop to the patrão, or employer. Thus, he maintains a certain independence and his choice of working hours. This is called working de arrendo.

Others work in one of two ways: salaried or contracted. In the former, the caipira receives a straight salary, about two Cruzeiros Novos (fifty cents) a day. His hours are set by the patrão and generally adds up to about ten hours a day. A variation of this is a molhado, a deal whereby he receives less money but gets his board free. In the contract work (empreitada) the

... employer contracts with the caipira to perform a stated job in return for a specified sum. This is popular because all members of the family may partici-

88Ibid.
Some *caipiras* are permitted to squat on owned but unused lands, usually acting as a guard against other encroachments, or working in the proprietor's fields for a few days a year.

A complaint which is voiced by small landowners who hire three or four persons is that the minimum salary set up by the government does not take the bad years into account. A crop failure may financially bankrupt such a person since he has to pay the wages regardless. These persons feel that the government should provide loans for farming equipment, such as tractors, to reduce their dependency on manual labor.

Any description of agricultural activities in São Luís do Paraitinga would be incomplete if another activity were not mentioned: the *mutirão*. A Tupi-Guarani word meaning "work together," it has various pronunciations throughout Brazil, the most common dialectal compounds in São Paulo being *mutirão*, *putirão*, *puxirão*, *muxirão*, and *multidão.*

Broadly defined, *mutirão* is the term used to describe that activity whereby various persons unite to help a friend or neighbor to accomplish a piece of work in a short period.

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89Marcondes and Smith, op. cit., 50.

90These are terms which are familiar to this writer and compare favorably with the list given by one Brazilian author: "Ajuda, Muchirão, Mutirão, Puchirão, Putirão, Putirão (sic)." J. V. Freitas Marcondes, "Mutirão or Mutual Aid," *Rural Sociology*, XIII (December, 1948), 377. Another author gives the words *butirão*, *adjutorio*, and *juntamento* as being synonymous with *mutirão* in the Cunha region. Willems, *Cunha*, p. 35.
of time. Outsiders are apt to confuse mutirão with another mutual aid activity called serão, or soiree. Araújo was quite accurate in making the distinction between the two.91

The mutirão has the following characteristics: (1) it is a festive grouping, (2) it is held during the day, (3) a large number of persons, not necessarily specialized, take part in it, (4) it takes place outdoors, (5) the participants compete against one another, and (6) a dance almost always follows the termination of the work.

By contrast, the serão is not a festive occasion, is held indoors at night, and is composed of a few specialized persons doing a specified type of work: basket making, shelling corn, preparing bacon, etc. Seldom is it characterized by dances or songs, and the participants do not compete against each other.

Both the mutirão and the serão have one important thing in common: the participants are not paid in money or goods for their services, but the organizer of these occasions is morally and traditionally bound to repay in like services, an exchange of days (dias trocados).

The reasons for which the mutirão may be organized are several, the most common reasons being the preparation of the soil for planting, weeding, harvesting, and the con-

struction of houses. In other parts of Brazil, this act of solidarity is employed for other purposes depending upon the type of economic activity in which they are engaged. In the Municipality of São Luís, its practice is still very strong since that area has not been introduced to the use of the tractor or plow, and the tenant farmers are obliged to accomplish a great amount of work as quickly as possible. Not possessing the money to hire laborers to help them in their work, the mutirão is the most logical solution to their problems.

Inhabitants of a bairro are invited (usually on a Saturday) to take part in a task which must be accomplished. When all are present, the organizer of the mutirão (patrão) divides the work into tarefas, or tasks; each task is divided into smaller units, called quadros, in which one individual works, competing against others in similar quadros. The person who finishes his work first is termed the salmoreiro and it is he who starts a braço, a song in which he makes a riddle which the others try to solve. Often the braço takes the form of poking fun at the person who is behind in his work, the caldeirão. Upon the completion of the tasks, braços are sung while the ones who have finished their tasks help the patrão in his.

It is not all work; in the early morning, coffee is served to all and, at ten in the morning, they eat their first meal, accompanied by a plentiful supply of cachaca. At one o'clock in the afternoon, coffee and aguardente are
again served, the latter *prá limpá a garganta* (to clean the throat). When the work is completed, supper is served, an abundant meal followed by dances, usually the *cateratâ* or *bate-pé*, and more *cachaga*. At the end of the *mutirão*, the group sings one more *brão* to the *patrão*, thanking him for the party:

"Vô cantá êste meu verso
pro meu amigo patrão
eu dispeço do senhô
com dô no coração."

(I will sing this my verse
to my patron friend;
I take your leave
with pain in my heart)

There is one very pronounced cultural trait in the Paraíba Valley which is completely absent in the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga, professional begging. Despite the evident poverty which exists there, no professional beggars are found to annoy the visitor to the area. Although no attempt was made to solicit attitudes on mendicancy, it soon became apparent that there was a certain cultural taboo against the practice. The fact that Willems observed the same phenomenon in Cunha\(^{92}\) seems to indicate that mendicancy is not

\(^{92}\)Em Cunha, o número de indigentes a pedirem esmola pelas ruas é insignificante a ponto de justificar a conclusão de que a mendicância como meio habitual de ganhar a subsistência, ainda não se introduziu na comunidade. Willems, *Cunha*, p. 96.
a cultural trait in the Paraitinga Valley.

Health. Life is reduced to the survival of the fittest in the rural areas of the municipality as there are no physicians to attend to the needs of these folk. Even if there were, it is doubtful if the caipira would make much use of them. Here the curandeiro, or medicine man, rules supreme. Infant mortality is high, due partly to the poor diet of the pregnant mother, and to the extremely poor environment into which the child is born. A parteira, or midwife, makes the delivery following practices more magical than clinical.

In contrast to the urban Brazilian who practically has a mania for daily ablutions, the caipira does not bathe. He believes that baths weaken the body, therefore his use of water is restricted to washing his feet before retiring and to the baths which curandeiros prescribe for certain illnesses. This is an example where the mamalucos followed the habits of their European forebears. The Indian was given to cleanliness in opposition to the European colonizer who rarely took a bath.93 The washing of the feet before retiring, however, was universally practiced during colonial days to remove chigoes (bicho-de-pé) from the skin. Holanda tells that

93"Ungodly by European standards the Amerindians may have been, but there is no doubt that in cleanliness and personal hygiene they were vastly superior to the newcomers. They bathed frequently whenever they had the chance, whereas most good Christians dreaded washing in water almost as much as the proverbial burnt child dreads the fire. The fact is that the European was a filthy animal . . ." C. R. Boxer, op. cit., p. 19.
In the first years of the eighteenth century, according to an old testimony, it was a current custom among the Paulistas of all social classes to wash their feet every day at the hour of retiring and, once in bed, have someone pick their feet with scissors or a pin for the purpose of extracting the parasites.94

Most caipiras have two changes of clothing, the one which they are wearing and the one which is being washed. Rarely are the clothes taken off upon retiring; the caipira simply rolls a thin blanket around himself and goes to sleep, clothes and all. Because of the cold, mountainous climate and his poor attire, he suffers from bronchitis, rheumatism, earaches, and deafness.

Shoes are reserved for the rare visits to church where they are put on at the entrance to the temple.95 The rest of the year he is barefooted, subject to the bicho-de-pé which lays its eggs in the sole of the foot. The larvae of this insect begin to grow underneath the skin and the result is quite painful, but a common occurrence for the caipira who cuts them out with his knife, the same instrument which he uses to pry out rotten teeth. He is also the carrier of

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94Holanda, Caminhos e Fronteiros, p. 121. Araújo found the same habit of foot washing before going to bed in the State of Alagoas: "In some cases it is the habit to wash the feet before retiring, this among the families of better economic condition." Alceu Maynard Araújo, Medicina Rustica (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1961), p. 333.

95The custom of using shoes only in the cities is an old custom in São Paulo. In the sixteenth century, "the wayfarer was careful to put on his shoes upon entering the villages after having carefully cleaned his feet to rid them of insects and dust." Holanda, Caminhos e Fronteiros, p. 26.
hookworms and other internal parasites. He often receives cuts on his hands and feet during the course of his work. If blood is drawn, he makes a simple cataplast of fresh cow dung, a treatment which is replacing the older one of covering the wound with a mixture of spider webs and sugar.

As there is no privy in his house, a trip to bushes is necessary. Somehow he understands that the water of his region is his best friend and he does not pollute the streams with excrement. He even possesses a proverb: Mijar na água dá azar; nunca se deve urinar em um rio. A água é nossa madrinha (Urinating in water brings bad luck; one should never urinate in a river. Water is our godmother).

The caipira's vices are limited to smoking corn straw cigarettes and drinking cachaca. Both sexes smoke, a habit started in early childhood. The consumption of alcohol, while large, is not of a nature to prevent a person from working. It is all too clear to the caipira that a drunkard could not survive in his environment; heavy drinking is reserved for Saturdays and holidays, or for special occasions.

When the caipira is ill he goes to a curandeiro, the Brazilian equivalent of the medicine man. The curandeiro is probably one of the most respected figures in the rural area and his "medical" advice is followed religiously. Even when a physician was available in the municipality, the caipira would not give him preference over the curandeiro. His visits to a patient are marked by prayers, blessings, advice on which taboos should be observed, and the prescriptions and
remedies that the person should take. Many of the herbs which he prescribes have been handed down through the centuries, many forming part of any pharmacist's wares. Most are of indigenous origin, although some African influence is present in some instances.

Araújo, who has made excellent studies of rustic medicine, both in the Municipality of São Luís and in other places, divides the subject into caipira medicine (herbs, teas, cataplasts, bottled concoctions, poultices, topicals, purges, baths, sudorifics, emetics, incenses, excretotherapy, etc.), preventive medicine (amulets, talismans), and incantations.96

**Education.** There are few rural schools in the municipality. This fact does not disturb the caipira since he believes that such institutions serve only to rob him of valuable farm hands. After nine years of age, the child is expected to do a full day's work in the field. If there is resistance on the part of parents to the institution, it is probably deserving as the rural schools serve only to prepare the youngsters for an urban environment and contribute nothing to the betterment of the rural milieu.

Universities have been remiss in not preparing future teachers for the necessities of rural cultures:

The training of the teacher, exclusively urban in character, is actually a negative factor in the preparation of future agriculturists. For this and other reasons, 

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96Araújo, *Folclore Nacional*, III, p. 112.
the rural school, teaching merely reading and writing, has been an efficient factor in rural depopulation. It has prepared the child for the so-called "civilized" life and has created in him, to a certain extent, a distaste for the soil. Unconsciously, the teacher helps drive the people from the farms to the urban centers.97

There would be those who would argue against this reasoning on the basis that, because of the lack of land available to the caipira for agriculture, this way of life is on the wane. Therefore, education of an academic type is valid as the caipira will eventually find himself in an urban environment.

Religion. Over ninety-five per cent of the population of the municipality profess to be Roman Catholics, a faith kept alive not as much by the local priests as by the people themselves. Many bairros are accessible only on foot, or on horseback, and it is impossible for the two priests in São Luís to minister to all of the people more than one or two times a year. Throughout the countryside are found small chapels (capelinhas), some containing nothing more than an altar and an image of a saint. Here the caipira holds religious feasts, processions, and novenas without the assistance of a priest, and sometimes without even his knowledge. Most of these activities are directed by a capelão, a lay chaplain who specializes in leading prayers on religious occasions. Thus, it is not surprising that the faith of these simple folk is heavily laced with the beliefs in the supernatural, in magic formulas, and in charms.

97Schmidt, op. cit., 173.
Religion in the interior is completely centered around the saints and could be termed a "cult of propitiation" intimately tied to the agricultural cycle of the area. Prayers are directed to these saints throughout the life cycle of the population. Some saints are believed to possess special powers to cure certain maladies. St. Sebastian is prayed to for the cure of wounds; St. Roch has powers to combat plagues; St. Audoen is able to neutralize the poisons of snakes and insects; St. Laurence eliminates toothaches and the effect of burns. Other saints protect the fields and the animals. Some saints are more powerful than others and can be relied upon to perform all sorts of services. The Holy Ghost and Our Lady of Aparecida\textsuperscript{98} appear to be the strongest for the caipira of São Luís.

As mentioned earlier in connection with the Feast of the Holy Ghost, promessas, or promises, are the vehicles by which favors are sought. The faithful, to protect his crops or effect a cure, makes a promise to a saint to either do something for him, or offer something to him, in return for a favor. Once the favor is granted, the caipira is obliged to fulfill his promise and rarely does he fail to do so. One type of offering is an artistic piece of work, called an ex-voto, made of wax, wood or clay, which is placed on an altar at some religious shrine or some holy place (terra do

\textsuperscript{98}To the caipira all are saints (santos): Jesus, the Virgin Mary, Saint Peter, Saint John, the Holy Ghost, etc., plus some which are not included in the Catholic Calender.
There are other types of ex-votos. The food or drink which the caipira promises for the Feast of the Holy Ghost are forms of protective ex-votos. A curious type of ex-voto is one which is offered for the cure of a specific malady, e.g. if a person has a wound on his leg which does not cure readily, he will place a sculpted wood leg on the altar of a saint, perhaps because he believes that the saint will concentrate his efforts on the affected member and not waste his time blessing the rest of the body which is evidently healthy.

Belief in the supernatural is common to every dweller of the interior and any attempt to segregate these beliefs from orthodox Roman Catholic beliefs can be rather frustrating. Some legends, such as the werewolf, the seventh boy born in a family of all males and transformed into half wolf, half man, are European. Others, such as the one legged, dark skinned, red-eyed Saci which ties knots in the tails of farm animals and the mula-sem-cabeça (headless mule) which attacks persons only on Friday nights, are vestiges of the Amerindian beliefs.

Walking near the cemetery is an invitation to be chased by the boitata, the ball of fire. There is the witch in the shape of a giant white chicken looking for newborn babies to devour, and the black pig that lives near the

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99Originally boiguacu, large snake, according to the folklorist Basílio de Magalhães, O Folclore no Brasil (Edições O Cruzeiro, 1960), p. 101.
bridge in São Luís and which no one has yet been able to catch. But these are nothing confronted with the innumerable evil spirits which abound in the region, unnamed beings of the dark against which one must always be on guard lest some misfortune befall. Against all of these are rituals to be followed and prayers to be said. "Don't leave an empty chair near the bed because a soul from another world could come to rest there at night."

As visits by priests are rare in the rural areas, the capelão\(^{100}\) has a special role in the life of the caipira. He specializes in directing prayers, sometimes in distorted Latin, during feast days, at funeral processions, or at any rite practiced by the rural folk. Most of these priest substitutes also double as curandeiros and their prayers are believed to have more power than those of ordinary persons. Prayers are also dispensed by the benzadeira, the female counterpart to the capelão-curandeiro, who also doubles as a midwife. The benzadeira specializes in prayers for curative purposes and she is a lodestone for all the taboos which are related to childbirth.

A demonstration of the syncretism of Christian and other beliefs is in baptism, a sacrament of the Church which is universally practiced in São Luís. When the child is born, a lamp is lit in the room and, until the child is

\(^{100}\)Araújo states that in the State of São Paulo, the more common name is capelão-caipira. *Folclore Nacional*, II, p. 399.
baptised, this light is not extinguished. "The pagans need light." Since most bairros lie at large distances from the town, it is practically impossible for the baby to be baptised early by the priest. In this case, tradition calls for the child to be baptised by his grandfathers who use a cup of water and a hue branch. The parents cannot baptise their own child; it is a sin. Once the child is baptised the lamp can be extinguished. Should the lamp go out before the newborn baby is christianed, there is danger of the child being kidnapped by the Saci-pererê.101 The child is later rebaptised by the priest.

The most powerful testament of the caipiras' faith are the annual pilgramages which they make to the city of Aparecida do Norte in the Paraíba Valley, a modern Brazilian religious mecca where the image of Our Lady of Aparecida is enshrined. Although roads and busses now make this trek easy, there are still many who make the journey on foot, recreating the scene which made such an impression on Aguiar:

The appearance of these caravans was very curious and aroused great interest. They were accustomed to making ample provisions for everything that was indispensable, not only for the duration of the two or three day trip, but also for the time which they spent in the city of Aparecida, which they know by the name of Capela. Saddle mounts were not lacking, although these were reserved only for the men, as the women, carrying small children, covered the route on foot. Infallibly, the mats, the kettle, firewood, ground coffee, and corn meal were emphasized in their equipment. Also not lacking

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101 There are three types of Saci: trique, saçurê, and pererê. The first two are harmless pranksters whereas the last is dangerous.
were the old hampers in which they carried their best clothes, the triangular kerchiefs that, along with stockings and shoes, completed their dress, articles used only in the city. They never forgot their "memórias" which the men carried around their necks, amulets which superstitiously believed would ward off any evil.

The women conversed, smoking their straw cigarettes; the men solemn, their bodies jiggling sluggishly, their movements in cadence with the joggings of the saddle animals.

There were two routes taken, the first being São Luís-Lagoinha-Cunha-Guaratinguetá-Aparecida, and the other from São Luís to Taubaté where a special train brings them directly to Aparecida. The latter route is little used by the rural folk as few can afford the fare of the "express."

Aparecida has replaced the town of Tremembé as a mecca in the valley. The latter lay on the road leading from Taubaté to Minas Gerais, a link built by the Bandeirantes during the seventeenth century. According to legend, fishermen found an image of the "Good Jesus" floating in the Paraíba River. It was retrieved and housed in a small chapel which soon gained renown for miracles which occurred there. The theme of an image found floating in a river is widespread in Brazil and was repeated in 1712 when a statue of the Virgin Mary was fished out of the Paraíba River. Is it only coincidence that the discovery was made when traffic began to decline on the mining route which passed through Tremembé?

The Feast of Our Lady of Aparecida falls on the seventh of September and it is then that the pilgramages take place. Thousands descend upon the city every year to partake of the

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102 Aguiar, op. cit., 15.
"miraculous waters" in the city of the patron saint of Brazil. A new basilica is nearing completion and is expected to be more than ample for the faithful multitude.

Other aspects of life. Adulthood begins early for the caipira. The symbol of initiation into manhood for all boys in the rural area is the hunting knife which their fathers present to them around the age of eight or nine, after which they are expected to participate fully in the field work. The whole family works in the fields on the occasions when work has to be completed rapidly.

Courtship begins early in life, usually about the age of eleven or twelve. The usual meeting place for young couples are at feast day assemblies where shy glances are exchanged, always under the careful eye of a chaperon. The ambit in which mates are chosen is not very large, the tendency being for one to marry within an already known group, although many unions have been made as a result of visits to São Luís during the Holy Week, or for the Feast of the Holy Ghost.

Belief that the religious ceremony was the only legitimate one has led many caipiras to avoid the legal ceremony in the past. However, as churches now are required by law to perform marriages only after proof of legal union has been given, the number of common law marriages has without doubt increased. The costs of legal marriage and the legal sanctions imposed in case of separation would contribute most to that particular form of union. As Watson noted:
Thus, if the marriage has not been recognized officially, theoretically he may find it easy, in this country of no legal divorce, to break off his relationship with a given woman. 103

Most caipiras are monogamous and common law marriage is not to be construed as a sign of loose morals. Premarital relations are frowned upon as "a single girl who has had sexual relations before marriage will most certainly turn into a headless mule." The same fate awaits a godfather who has relations with a godmother, and a married woman who seduces a priest.

Once married, the couple's social life is vastly reduced. They will go out only for important festivals or to the ever present funeral. The woman plays a secondary role in the family, no matter how much she helps her husband in the field work. When walking indian file 104 to town or to another bairro, the wife always takes second place in line behind the head of the family. Females disappear from sight whenever a male visitor, especially if he is a stranger, visits the caipira home. However, the husband rarely interferes in the running of the household, the wife having full authority in deciding what is to be bought, what plants to raise in her small garden, or what will be cooked at meals.

103 Watson, op. cit., 17.

104 According to Holanda, the habit of walking indian file is an old habit in São Paulo: "The custom (of walking in a simple line), traditional among the natives of the country, had the advantage of proportioning more safety to the traveler in places which were dangerous and infested with wild Indians." Caminhos e Fronteiras, p. 24.
The husband goes out more frequently than the wife. He will often visit the country store on Saturdays to buy supplies, certain of meeting friends with whom he can talk and joke over a few drinks of cachaca. Otherwise, he is a taciturn individual, suspicious of strangers, and very humble in the presence of those whom he considers to be his betters. His mamaluco forebears were not always so humble. Belligerence was one of the traits of the Brazilian mestizos who composed the larger part of the popular class of colonial São Paulo, and to whom all crimes were attributed. The European portion of the province feared them. Don Luís Antônio de Sousa Mourão, the Governor-General of São Paulo in the latter half of the eighteenth century, wrote of the dangers of the trail for the traveler who had the misfortune of meeting one of these solitary figures. As a result of their animosity, they were badly treated and often conscripted into military service in the following centuries. This explains in part the attitude which the caipira has for the government and especially the law today. Willems noted this fear for the law in Cunha and Lobato recorded the dread of recruitment

105 "If someone on a trip happens to meet one of these," wrote the Morgado of Mateus at the end of the eighteenth century, "or flees from him, or becomes so startled and preoccupied that one does not tip his hat to him, and does not say the slightest word to him, he becomes suspicious and kills quickly." Ibid., p. 144.

106 "Government signifies for them, a mysterious, malefic and, because of this, appalling power from whose contact one should flee. From that stems, for example, the dread which they have of being called into military service and of
in earlier days.107

If the caipira can manage to learn to sign his name, he lands on the local voting rolls and delivers his vote according to the dictates of some large planter. The late Ademar de Barros, former governor of São Paulo, was the most popular political figure in the municipality, the reasons being that he was one of the few politicians of importance ever to appear in the municipality, he always sprinkled his speeches with references to Our Lady of Aparecida and, more important, he had the support of the wealthy fazendeiros of the municipality who could deliver a large number of votes. The caipiras still speak of him in reverent terms.

As over sixty-five per cent of the persons in the municipality are under the age of thirty,108 it is fairly evident that life is no easy matter, and death comes early to the caipira. As soon as a man dies, the doors and windows of his home are opened to let the spirit of the dead escape. They must remain open for seven days. The corpse is then washed completely with aguardente and dressed. After the wake, the body is placed in a gross, sheet-sized cloth and,

police action. "The biggest braggart becomes a lamb when he sees a policeman," affirmed the local chief of police." Willems, Cunha, p. 34.

107"War, national defense, administrative action, everything that smells of government is resumed in one dreadful word for the caboclo: recruitment." Lobato, "Urupês," p. 278.

108Percentage based on the 1940 national census. The present figures are probably not very different.
suspended from a bamboo pole borne on the shoulders of two men, is brought to town.

Formerly, he went straight to the cemetery in this way but, due to the complaints of the urban citizens against the sight of a bobbing body being borne through the streets, an ambulance containing a communal coffin now meets the procession at the edge of town. The corpse is transferred from this "hammock" to the coffin and the last journey to the cemetery continues. Only the wealthy citizens are buried in their own coffin as the average caipira could never afford such a luxury. They are taken from the coffin and placed directly into the ground.

Prayers are said throughout the process by the capelão. After the grave is filled with earth, the "cloth hearse" is carefully folded to be returned to the bairro for the next funeral cortège, the ambulance drives off with its coffin, and all members of the cortège go to some home in town to drink a glass of aguardente and a cup of coffee before the trek back to the bairro.

The Agricultural Cycle

As mentioned earlier, the agricultural activities of the municipality follow a cycle which is the reversal of the Roman calendar, the winter solstice of June assuming the importance in Brazil that Christmas retains in the northern hemisphere. It is the interval between the old and the new year, a time when promises made during the preceding year are paid and rituals for a successful coming year are begun.
This agricultural year is divided into two main sub-cycles: the winter cycle and the summer cycle, both further subdivided into festival cycles which coincide with the holidays of certain saints of the Roman Catholic hagiology.

Within the two seasonal cycles, time is further divided into lunar phases, positions of the moon which decide whether certain activities will be done or not. Lunar days and months are used not only in agriculture but for other activities as well. For example, cutting the hair in the new moon will make it break; hair cut in the fourth quarter of the moon will not grow fast, and become fine and silky; but hair cut during the crescent moon will become thick and grow rapidly. Certain plants (rice, potatoes, peanuts, manioc) should be planted only during the crescent moon, others can be planted during the waning moon. Wood cut during the full moon will rot. Even moonlight is believed to have certain effects. If diapers are exposed to the light of the moon, the child will defecate green. If a child has a stomach ache due to exposure to the moon, he should be turned so that his buttocks face the moon while the mother says, "Moon and moonlight, take the stomach ache from the child and help me raise him."

Planting, weeding, and harvesting of crops have specific periods in which they can be done, dates which are coincidental with the holidays of certain saints. The mutirão has its greatest importance by being the manner certain things can be accomplished by a certain time. Although the days of
the week are known and used by the caipira, they are apt to be merely successive rather than being parts of the calender month.

Most significant of all is that the life of the rural dweller is not expanded beyond the agricultural cycle. His conception of time seems to be limited to that one year. This may account for the reputation which the caipira has for being lazy. He is not lazy; he simply does not plan for a period longer than an agricultural year, and never accumulates more material goods beyond that which he has needed in the past. He naturally has a concept of a day, but it is never broken down into hours and minutes. If asked how much time is needed to reach a certain place, he is likely to say "five minutes" when the time actually needed is much longer.

It is doubtful that much change has been made to the agricultural cycle or the cyclic concept of time by the introduction of cattle raising in the municipality, however there are indications that traditions will undergo modifications. The Feast of the Holy Ghost will probably survive but will be geared more to pastoral pursuits rather than agriculture. If this happens, then one can expect the feast day to cease to be mobile and become a fixed holiday. Much of the folklore of the municipality will probably disappear when they lose the agricultural bases on which they are founded. But then, what happened to coffee may happen to cattle. The area may revert to the days of old when the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga was the granary for the eastern sector.
Conclusion

If any linguistic study has to be made in any rural section of Brazil, it seems that the task would be made much harder if one were to enter the region without any preliminary studies of the area or without trying to understand the way people live and survive in their culture. If one is able to see the value of sitting on one's haunches in a market place, of eating a primitive meal in a house little made for comfort, or of drinking a hot cup of *quentão* on a cold winter night with pleasure as the fog rolls in through the valleys, then the toils of collecting data will come easier, or will be at least possible.
PART II. THE LANGUAGE
CHAPTER V

THE BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE
PHONOLOGICAL GRAMMAR

Introduction

One possible approach to analysis of any dialect is to examine it as a unique system, systematically classifying phones into phonemic inventories, independent of any other dialect in the same language. Whenever reference is made to another dialect, especially if the other is more accepted as a standard, it is a comparative process. This has been the procedure followed by the editors of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, and Hans Kurath has even warned that dialectologists should not "accept an 'over-all' phonemic scheme for all varieties of American English as a scientific statement."\textsuperscript{109} The advantage of this procedure is the resulting simplicity of the presentation, having no multitude of dialectal variants to account for. Its disadvantage lies in its limited function, that is, little insight is given to the logical relationship between the studied dialect and any unifying phonemic pattern which may exist in the language, and little light is shed on bidialectal comprehension. Furthermore, it places the dialectologist in

\textsuperscript{109}Hans Kurath, "Phonemics and Phonics in Historical Phonology," \textit{American Speech}, XXXVI (May, 1961), 100.
the position of having to state that differences between and changes in dialects are phonemic.

An alternative approach is to ignore Kurath's warning and view all dialects of a language as being different allophonic manifestations of that language's basic phonemic system. Such a system relates to dialect by means of ordered rules which specify the types of variants used in each dialect, and indicates the allophonic changes which have been introduced into the language. A specific example which shows the advantage of such an approach is the case of the dialects of modern Brazilian Portuguese which have evolved from fifteenth century Portuguese, underlain by indigenous language systems. In the process of learning Portuguese, the Indians substituted phones of their own language for those of Portuguese which were difficult for them to pronounce. In this case, ordered rules can be formulated to state the changes which were made.

This second approach will be used for this study. First, a basic phonemic system, called the phonological component, is introduced. This component consists of rules which specify the accepted environments of each phoneme in the language. A second set of rules, which could be called the change (or transformation) component, produces the dialectal allophonic variants and accounts for the vestiges of diachronic allophonic change. The two components comprise the phonological grammar.

No attempt is made here to relate these "phonemo-
phonetic" rules to a higher stratum of morphophonemics, although it could possibly be done by restating the basic phonemic system in a distinctive feature matrix as developed by Halle\(^\text{110}\) and Chomsky.\(^\text{111}\) It is recognized that the transformationalists' resistance to phonemo-phonetic rules, for what they consider to be an extra complication in the grammar, is justified, but the rules can be defended, as Bach pointed out:

If there are independent reasons for doing so that seem to override the considerations of economy, then a phonemic level can easily be built in.\(^\text{112}\)

It can be contended that dialectal differences are sufficient reason for overriding the objections without affecting the merits of the transformationalists. Furthermore, this study is not oriented to providing another demonstration of the universals of morphophonemics, but rather proposes to show the logical relationship of a dialect to other dialects in the same language through their mutual correspondence to a basic phonemic system.

**Preliminary Problems**

Before the phonological grammar can be presented, some vestigial problems (nasality, the /r/ phoneme) and the


\(^{111}\) Noam Chomsky, "Current Issues in Linguistic Theory," Ibid., pp. 50-118.

problem of interconsonantal inserted /i/ which have to be resolved, all of which have been previously discussed by phonemic analyzers.

**Nasality.** There was a question as to whether nasality could be treated as a distinctive feature of five vowel phonemes (/i, e, a, o, u/) which conditioned homorganic nasal consonants before stops, or whether it concerned a non-distinctive, suprasegmental archiphoneme conditioned by a nasal phoneme in the same syllable.

Robert Hall, Jr., in a phonemic study made of an informant from Vitória, Espírito Santo, chose the former solution. In an editor's note to the article, George Trager questioned the analysis:

The phonetic description here given, together with the fact that all stops are prenasalized after nasal vowels, suggests a different analysis of nasalization, thus: there (are) these nasal phonemes: /m, n, n, n/. All four occur before vowels; the first three occur also before homorganic stops (/mp, mb; nt, nd; nk, ng/), and /n/ occurs syllable-final before other phonemes or pause. All vowels are nasalized before a nasal phoneme in the same syllable, which must be /m, n, n/; /n/ goes with a following vowel.

A similar phonemic solution to that suggested by Trager was given by David Reed in a phonemic analysis made of a São Paulo informant where:


114 Ibid., 6.

Ill

/m/ voiced, bilabial nasal

→ [m] an extremely brief closure before one of the homorganic stops /p/ or /b/ in the following syllable of the same word.

Example: lembrar, /lem'bra/, [lēm-'bra].

/n/ voiced, alveolar nasal

→ [n] an extremely brief closure before one of the homorganic stops /t/ or /d/ in the following syllable of the same word.

Example: entre, /'entri/, ['en-tri].

/ŋ/ voiced, alveo-palatal nasal

→ [ŋ] an extremely brief closure at alveo-palatal position when final in the syllable medial in the word after a front vowel and not followed immediately by /k/ or /ɡ/.

Example: tem, /'teM/, ['tem].

→ [ŋ] a nasal closure at velar position when final in a syllable medial in the word before one of the homorganic stops /k/ or /ɡ/ or when final in the syllable following a central or back vowel, and nasalization without closure when final in a word.

Example: um, /uŋ/, [ūŋ].

Answering Trager's objection, Hall argued that assuming "a final /n/ for every syllable containing a nasal vowel

---

and not ending in /n/ or /m/ was, in his opinion,

... a highly artificial way of stating what can be summarized much more efficiently by setting up the non-linear phoneme of nasalization... 116

He further argued that the three morpheme alternants which would have to be set up for um before punho, dente, or selo could be set up more easily as /u/ in all positions.

This study contends that the loss of clearly defined nasals must be accounted for, being that the vestige of nasalization of a preceding vowel is still present. Had nasalization disappeared, the problem could have been resolved entirely synchronically. Since /m/, /n/, and /p/ still exist as clearly defined phonemes in positions other than before homorganic stops, the loss of nasals, as well as weakening of nasal strength before homorganic stops, can be indicated in a rule. Thus, this position is similar, if not equal, to the archiphonemic stand taken by Trager and Reed.

The /r/ phoneme. The second problem is the treatment of the /r/ phoneme to account for the intervocalic contrast of caro-carro. The contrast can be viewed as being two phonemes, /r/ and /rr/, or as a single archiphoneme which results from the neutralization of a lenis [r] when followed by another fortis [r]. Wattoso Camara adopts this latter position, basing his decision on both diachronic (lenis /r/ is an allophone of the fortis /r/) which was present in the Latin phonemic

system) and synchronic (an absence of lenis /r/ in initial or non-intervocalic, medial position) observations.\textsuperscript{117}

Initial \( r \) can be pronounced as either \([r]\), a multiple voiceless, alveolar trill; \([\mathbf{r}]\), an uvular trill; or \([x]\), a voiceless, dorso-velar fricative. The presence of all three variants is found in both Brazil\textsuperscript{118} and Portugal.\textsuperscript{119}

However, in non-intervocalic, medial position before a consonant, both \([r]\) and \([\mathbf{r}]\), this last a single alveolar tap, seem to be interchangeable, if one takes European Portuguese into account. Both Reed and Wise report the first whereas Hall and Barker\textsuperscript{120} show the second. It thus seems that if all observations are combined, \([r]\) and \([\mathbf{r}]\) would be variants of the same phoneme in non-intervocalic medial position preceding a consonant.

But two other positions remain for \( r \) before a final decision can be made: non-intervocalic, medial position fol-


\textsuperscript{120}J. W. Barker, \textit{Teach Yourself Portuguese} (London: English Universities Press, Ltd., 1956), p. 28. All of the transcriptions in this book are based on European Portuguese pronunciation.
lowing a consonant and word-final position. In the former, \[r\] seems to be present only after the phonemes /l, n, z/ in the preceding syllable, \[r\] occupying this position after a consonant in the same syllable. Wise transcribes honra and milreis with [x], a variant of \[r\], as we have said, but brando, abrir, tratar, and frio with [r]. Likewise, for European Portuguese, Barker gives [r] to bilro, honra, and Israel, and [r] to the other combinations. Hall gives only three examples with which a judgement can be made and in those enrâdo is given the [r], but genro and bilro have the [r]. The combination of /l, n, z/ plus \(r\) was not found at all in the Reed transcriptions. Judging on these observations, plus this writer's own experience in Brazil, it can almost conclusively be said that, in some dialects, the \(r\) in bilro, honro, and Israel word types can be pronounced \[r\], and that \(r\) can be used in all other combinations of consonant plus \(r\) in the same syllable.

In word final position, Wise and Reed give [r], while Hall and Barker give [r]. As with the case of non-intervocalic, medial-position \(r\) plus consonant, the two seem to be interchangeable. But again the same authors are paired.

121 Wise, loc. cit.

122 Barker, op. cit., p. 27.

123 The word bilro was included in Hall's article, "Occurrences," op. cit., 7, whereas enrâdo and genro were found in the vocabulary section of a grammar which he transcribed: Maria de Lourdes Sá Pereira, Brazilian Portuguese Grammar (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1948), pp. 357 and 360.
a fact which leads one to conclude that there could be a pattern in some dialects: if a certain allophonic variant is used in one specified position, then that same variant is used in another specified position. Thus, what seems to be phonetic confusion at the onset may well be explained by a simple rule.

Summing up all that has been said about the \( r \), \([r]\) is present in word-initial and in syllable-initial position after the consonant phonemes /l, n, s/. \([r]\) is present in all other positions, interchangeable with \([r]\) in non-intervocalic medial position preceding a consonant and in word-final position. Knowing this, we can thus set up a phone type \([r]\) in syllable-final position which is neutralized before the \([r]\) in the following syllable, i.e. \( Xr + rY \rightarrow X + rY \). In this way, \textit{carro}, originally \( [kər-ruˈ] \), is now \( [kə-ruˈ] \), but still represented phonemically as \( /ˈkarru/ \).

\textbf{Interconsonantal inserted /i/}. A final decision to be made is whether the vowel which is inserted between consonant clusters of bilabial and dental stops and other consonants can be classified as an allophone of /i/. Such words as \textit{apto}, \textit{obisto}, \textit{ritmico}, and \textit{advogado} will frequently be rendered as \textit{apito}, \textit{obisto}, \textit{ritimico}, and \textit{adivogado}, especially in the rural areas of São Paulo. Hall decided against its inclusion as an allophone of /i/.

In Miss Reno's pronunciation, the groups consisting of /p, b, d, k/ + C are pronounced as true clusters. In other dialects, however, according to her, an alternative type of pronunciation exists, with a short whispered \( [ɪ] \) between the two consonants, /aptu/ \( [ˈapɪtuˈ] \); /astratu/
[abstrato]. These variants could easily be included under the heading of consonant clusters, however, by including this short whispered [i] under juncture phenomena, as a positional variant of close juncture, occurring only in consonant clusters of stop + C; the differences in length and voicing, the effect on syllabification, and the distribution, all preclude identification of this short whispered [i] with /i/.124

It is difficult to say what Hall meant by length unless his informant used an extremely brief vowel sound in this position to illustrate how it sounded in another dialect. Certainly, in the Paraíba Valley area of São Paulo, there is no noticeable difference in length between this vowel and other unstressed vowels. The two examples which he gave, abstrato and apto, are both transcribed with an unvoiced [i] after the stop in the first syllable. Again, this may be due to the unfamiliarity of the informant with the dialect she professed to quote. An unvoiced /i/, which could be transcribed as [e], [i], or [i], depending upon dialectal differences, will usually be found between two unvoiced consonants and, sometimes, but not necessarily, between an unvoiced consonant and a voiced consonant. Between two voiced consonants, the [i] is voiced. This is similar to what happens to final unstressed vowels after voiced or voiceless consonants. Thus, length and voicing do not appear to be factors for precluding [i] from the roster of /i/ allophones.

With regard to stressing, Hall might have objected to three unstressed syllables after a stressed syllable, which is admittedly rare in Portuguese. This fact, however, is not

taken seriously by Mattoso Camara who decided that it had to be admitted "as an innovation for word structure in Portuguese."\textsuperscript{125} This same author definitely believed that it should be admitted as a variant of /i/ in unstressed position.

There is a decisive argument against our ignoring the inserted reduced /i/ of Brazilian formal style of speech. The reduction of the vowel is the same as in the case of the inserted /i/ after the accent and of /i/ in the penultimate syllable of proparoxytones. In Brazilian formal speech, \textit{raptar}, \textit{rapto}, and \textit{rapido} have the same reduced phonetic vowel. To ignore it before the stress forces us to have the same attitude in the other two instances. Now, for \textit{rapido} and equivalent words we would rule out in this way the phonemic status of a whole type of proparoxytones (those with /i/ in the penultimate syllable). Such a solution would be evidently too unrealistic and would be incongruent in the face of other proparoxytones (\textit{cúpula} [kúp̩¹l¹], \textit{figado} [fig¹d¹] and so on).\textsuperscript{126}

This inserted vowel between consonants is similar to the diachronic change which occurred with Latin \textit{stare} which became \textit{estar} in Portuguese. Stated in a rule which could account for historical change:

\[ #sc \Rightarrow #esC. \]

A similar rule could be stated for the inserted vowel. Therefore, this study will accept Mattoso Camara's version and preclude this reduced /i/ as a variant of close juncture.

\textbf{The Phonological Grammar}

The phonological grammar (PG) of Portuguese consists of a phonological component comprised of seven phonological \textit{structure} (PS) rules, and of a phonological transformation

\textsuperscript{125}J. Mattoso Câmaras, Jr., "'Muta Cum Muta' in Portuguese," \textit{Word}, XXIV (1968), 288.

\textsuperscript{126}Ibid., 289.
component with six phonological transformation (PT) rules. The PS rules give the basic phonemes\textsuperscript{127} of the language, and the environments in which they occur, in such a manner that descriptive redundancy is eliminated. Dialectal variants are indicated by the addition of rules to the PT rules. Thus, the PT rules, when applied to PS rules, may show (1) the changes which have occurred diachronically in the language, and have to be accounted for in synchronic analysis, and (2) the allophonic variants in the dialects of the language. The basic phonemes and all variants of all dialects are described in a dictionary.

**Phonological structure rules.** The seven PS rules in Portuguese are these (word = \textit{W}; syllable = \textit{Syl}):

1) \textit{W} \rightarrow \textit{Syl}(\textit{Syl})(\textit{Syl}) \ldots \textit{(Syl)}

2) \textit{Syl} \rightarrow (\textit{C}_1)(\textit{C}_2)(\textit{V})\textit{(C}_3)(\textit{C}_4)

3) \textit{V} \rightarrow \textit{i, e, e, a, o, o, u}

4) \textit{C}_1 \rightarrow \textit{p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, s, z, s, z, m, n, n, I, l, x, r}

\[
\begin{cases}
\{p, b\} \\
\{k, g\} \\
\{f, v\}
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\{p, b\} \\
\{t, d\} \\
\{k, g\} \\
\{f, v\}
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\{p, b\} \\
\{k, g\} \\
\{f, v\}
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\{p, b\} \\
\{t, d\} \\
\{k, g\} \\
\{f, v\}
\end{cases}
\]

\[\textit{L}^27\] Phonemes are accepted here as psychological
Phonetically, the two semivowels (i, y) are fronting and retracting off-gusts which would ordinarily be classified as allophones of /i/ and /u/, did they not form minimal pairs with those vowels, e.g. vou, /*vou/, and vo8, /*vou/; sois, /*sois/, and soes, /*soes/.

There are also gusts which occur in medial sequences of vowel phonemes, i.e. there is often a [Y] glide between two vowels if the first is [i] ([e] + [Y] + Vw has not been verified but probably occurs occasionally). Likewise, after the vowels [u] and [o], there is a [W] glide between those vowels and a following vowel ([a] ordinarily, but others could be added with it).

Since these gusts are entirely dependent on the sur-

realities despite evidence in Marshallese that appears to "militate" against such acceptance (Charles-James N. Bailey, Review of J. W. F. Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Language, XXXVI (1970), 672).
rounding vowels, and are the result of a quick vowel transition between syllabic vowels, they cannot be classified as allophones of any one phoneme, and can be ignored in the phonemic system. Mattoso Camara also dismissed these glides rather quickly:

Oiticica includes a consonantal /i/ or /u/ (or /y/ and /w/) in his set of phonemes because there is "articular friction." What he had in mind, however, was the case of pre-vocalic semivowels which in reality are mere glides of no distinctive value between vowels. Nascentes interprets the same phenomenon similarly, phonetically inferring a pronunciation /xeiyu/ for cheio and /tu'wa/ for tua, which is exact from the naturalistic point of view, but phonemically irrelevant.¹²⁸

The term "word" in PSR is used to cover all lexical items, whether they be base words, or base words plus inflectional and/or derivational morphemes, e.g., pau is an example of C₁VC₄ and paus (morphologically {pau} + {plural}) is an example of C₁VC₂C₄. Proper names are also included, e.g., Vladimir provides an example of C₁C₂ (v + l).

In addition to specifying the environments in which the basic phonemes can occur, the PSR also (1) give those phonemic combinations which are phonologically correct, although unattested to in the language, and (2) serve as restrictions on the sequence of phonemes which are not accepted. The first function is similar to the case of English /blik/ which, although accepted as a word which could be used, is not found in the lexicon of currently used words. The second function eliminates such words as /tlaku/ which

¹²⁸ Mattoso Camara, "Para o Estudo," 8.
are decidedly un-Portuguese.

Morphophonemic rules are not repeated in the PS rules. Thus, the latter rules do not specify that the ad- in advogado can occur in initial word position only.

**Phonological transformation rules.** As stated before, the PT rules are those which explain the changes which were made in the past history of the language, and those which relate the dialectal variants to the basic phonemic system. There will naturally be obligatory rules which are common to all dialects of the language, and optional rules which pertain to part of the dialectal range of the language. A tentative set of obligatory rules is given below; it is a set which may be augmented when all dialects of Portuguese have been examined.

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \{e, \ddot{e}\} + \text{Wd} \rightarrow \emptyset + \text{Wd} \\
(2) & \quad \{i, e, a, o, u\} \rightarrow \{\ddot{e}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u}\} \\
(3) & \quad \{f, v\}, \{s, z\}, \{\ddot{s}, \ddot{z}\}, \text{Wd} \rightarrow \{f, v\}, \{s, z\}, \{\ddot{s}, \ddot{z}\}, \text{Wd}
\end{align*}
\]
Dialectal Phonological Grammars

As each dialect of Portuguese is studied, extra rules, applicable to the dialect under study, are added to the PT rules of the language. If, after all dialects of the language have been studied, a rule is found (1) to be applicable to all dialects, or (2) to be applicable to a majority of the dialects and its deviants can be illustrated by a second simple rule, then that rule can be placed permanently with the PT rules of the language. As each allophonic variant is discovered, it is added to the dictionary.

A partial ordering of the PT rules of the prestige dialects of the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are presented below to illustrate their relationship to the basic phonemic system. These rules are not complete, nor are they intended to be, but the illustration will not suffer for this lack.

The Rio de Janeiro PT rules. To the language PT rules are added the following rules applicable to the prestige dialect of Rio de Janeiro: 129

\[(4) \; V + \begin{bmatrix} \text{i} \\ u \end{bmatrix} + \text{y} \Rightarrow \tilde{V} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{y} \\ \text{u} \end{bmatrix} + \text{y} \]

\[(5) \; V + r \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} r \\ V \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow V + r \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} r \\ V \end{bmatrix} \]

\[(6) \; V + r \rightarrow r \Rightarrow V \rightarrow r \]

129 Often erroneously presented as the "standard" pronunciation for Brazil. For a retort to those who would present it as such, see Francisco Gomes de Matos, "On the
The São Paulo PT rules. To the language PT and Rio PT rules are added the following PT rules for the prestige dialect of the city of São Paulo. As is the case in the Rio dialect, the São Paulo dialectal variants are more numerous.

than presented here.

1. Same as Rio PT rule 1.
2. Same as Rio PT rule 2.
3. \( X + a + \{1\} \Rightarrow X + a + \{1\} \)
4. Same as Rio PT rule 3.
5. \( \left[ \begin{array}{c} k \\ g \end{array} \right] + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ e \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} k' \\ g' \end{array} \right] + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ e \end{array} \right\} \)
7. Same as Rio PT rule 7.

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\{Wd\} \\
\{Syl\}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
v \\
w_d
\end{bmatrix}
\Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\{Wd\} \\
\{Syl\}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
r \\
\{x, p\}
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix}
v \\
w_d
\end{bmatrix}
\]

The Dictionary

In the dictionary are listed the descriptions of the basic phonemes and of the variants which are produced in the dialects. It, like the PT rules, can be augmented as each new dialect is studied. The allophonic variants of the Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo dialects are included in the dictionary which follows.

/p/ voiceless, bilabial stop.
/b/ voiced, bilabial stop.
/t/ voiceless, apico-alveolar stop.
[\(\psi\)] voiceless, fronted, apico-alveolar affricate.
/d/ voiced, apico-alveolar stop.
[dʒ] voiced, fronted, apico-alveolar affricate.
/k/ voiceless, dorso-velar stop.
[k] voiceless, fronted, dorso-velar stop.
[g] voiced, dorso-velar stop.
[g] voiced, fronted, dorso-velar stop.
/f/ voiceless, labio-dental spirant.
/v/ voiced, labio-dental spirant.
/s/ voiceless, apico-alveolar rill spirant.
[z] voiceless, fronted, lamino-alveolar spirant.
/z/ voiced, apico-alveolar rill spirant.
[g] voiced, fronted, lamino-alveolar spirant.
/g/ voiceless, lamino-dormal spirant.
/z/ voiced, lamino-dormal spirant.
/m/ voiced, bilabial nasal stop.
[m] voiced, weak, bilabial nasal stop.
/n/ voiced, apico-alveolar nasal stop.
[ŋ] nasalization with a very brief apico-alveolar closure.
[ŋ] nasalization with a very brief lamino-dormal closure.
[ŋ] nasalization without closure.
[n] voiced, weak, apico-alveolar nasal stop.
/n/ voiced, lamino-alveolar nasal stop.
[j] voiced, weak, lamino-alveolar nasal stop.
/l/ voiced, apico-alveolar lateral spirant.
[t] voiced, apico-dormal lateral spirant.
[l] voiced, backed, apico-alveolar spirant.
/λ/ voiced, lamino-alveolar lateral.
/r/ voiced, apico-alveolar multiple trill.
[ɛ] voiced, apico-alveolar one tap trill.
[ɾ] unvoiced, apico-alveolar multiple trill.
[ɾ] voiced, slightly retroflexed, apico-alveolar multiple trill.
[ɾ] unvoiced, slightly retroflexed, apico-alveolar multiple trill.
[x] voiceless, dorso-velar spirant.
[n] voiceless, uvular multiple trill.
/i/ high-front, off-glide semivowel.
[ɪ] nasalized, high-front, off-glide semivowel.
/u/ high-back, off-glide semivowel.
[u] nasalized, high-back, off-glide semivowel.
/i/ high-front vowel.
[ι] nasalized, high-front.
[i] lowered, less tense, high front.
/e/ mid-front vowel.
[ɛ] nasalized, mid-front.
[e] raised, less tense, mid-front.
/e/ low-front vowel.
/a/ low-central vowel.
[ą] nasalized, low-central.
[e] raised, less tense, low-central.
[ɛ] lax, mid-central.
[α] backed, low-central.
/e/ low-back vowel.
/o/ mid-back vowel.
[ð] nasalized, mid-back.
[oʰ] raised, less tense, mid-back.
/u/ high-back vowel.
[ʊ] nasalized, high-back.
[uʰ] lowered, less tense, high-back.

Conclusion

The language PT rules are combined with those of a dialect and the resulting surface phonetic structure illustrated on a branching tree diagram, e.g. beginning from the initial word node, the phonetic output for irmão in the Rio de Janeiro dialect is as follows:

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Basic phonemes: i r m á u n
Language PT rule 3: i r m á u ŋ
Language PT rule 4: i r m á ŋ ŋ
Rio PT rule 1: i' x m á ŋ ŋ
Rio PT rule 8: i' x m á ŋ ŋ
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CHAPTER VI

PRELIMINARY PREPARATION TOWARDS
THE STUDY OF THE CAIPIRA DIALECT

Introduction

One of the first Brazilian scholars ever to begin a
dialect study in the rural areas of his state, Amadeu Amaral,
published his classic work, O Dialeto Caipira, in 1920.130
Although strictly phonetic in approach and leaning more to
an exposition of unusual lexical items, it nevertheless is
one of the most important sources for an introduction to that
dialect. Restricted almost solely to a small area to the
west of the state capital of São Paulo (Capivari, Piracicaba,
Tietê, Itu, Sorocaba, São Carlos), Amadeu's study gave no
indication of the extent of the dialect, nor did it hazard a
guess as to how many people used it.

Based solely on the comments about the pronunciation
of the word carne, it would seems that the dialect area might
extend far beyond the borders of the state, extending into
Paraná, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Pará, Goiás,
and Mato Grosso. It is known to be spoken by rural dwellers
near Itaperuna, Rio de Janeiro and therefore probably extends
throughout the Paraíba River valley. It may also be that it

130 Amadeu Amaral, O Dialeto Caipira, Gramática,

128
is the dialect with the most speakers in Brazil.

Despite this importance, few people besides Amaral have touched upon the subject. Pierson devoted an article to it in a series of sociological studies made in a Brazilian village in São Paulo, but the information was superficial and definitely not a phonemic analysis. An article by Fausto Teixeira dealt mostly with lexical items that he gathered, but he did not give any information about where the items were gathered.

There are absolutely no phonemic studies made of the caipira dialect, at least not in the State of São Paulo. No serious attempt has ever been made to relate the dialect to other dialects of Portuguese in all its aspects, syntactically, morphologically, or phonemically. Although a study of the caipira dialect in the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga does not begin to answer all of the questions about the dialect throughout the country, it is at least a beginning.

The Informant

In the selection of informants for a phonemic study, certain criteria had to be established beforehand in order to keep the study free from contamination from other dialects. They were as follows: (1) they must have acceptable articu-

131Donald Pierson, "O Dialeto Caipira Empregado em Cruz das Almas," Sociologia, XIV (December, 1952).

lation, (2) they must be natives of the area, (3) if married, their wives must also be natives of the area, (4) they must be illiterate, (5) they must not have traveled or served with the military, (6) they must be actively engaged in rural work or, at least, know rural vocabulary with fluency, (7) they must be fairly intelligent, and (8) they must be between the ages of thirty and fifty.

These criteria were fairly easy to follow with the exception of the eighth. It was quickly discovered that informants over the age of forty were rare in the municipality. Approximately eighty per cent of the population were below that age span. One of the informants chosen was twenty-seven, not overly young, considering the circumstances.

Two of the informants could read a little and could be considered semi-literate. However, this fact did not seem to be an impediment as many of the educated people of Sao Luis had many traces of the caipira dialect, clearly the dominant speech pattern of the community.

There were three formal informants, i.e. persons who answered specific questions read from a questionnaire. Informal informants were those who were engaged in free conversation and those whose conversations were overheard. In the formal atmosphere, voices were recorded on tape, using a Uher 4000 Report-L tape recorder. Tape recordings were also made of free conversation cases, but none of the overheard conversations. Written notations were made on the spot whenever possible, or later during the same day.
Formal informants. The first of the three formal informants was Vicente A. da Silva, age forty, a resident of the Vila of Catugaba, but born in Lagoinha, at one time a part of the municipality. He was interviewed one morning in June, 1969 after funeral services which were held for one of the local residents of Catugaba. Da Silva was described as being a vivo, or "live wire," a term applied to those who are considered shrewd and intelligent. He certainly merited the term as he had once moved to Taubaté where he managed to acquire a driving license despite his being illiterate. His stay in Taubaté was no longer than three months. Since he had a driving license, he gave his occupation as "driver and farmer." He was unmarried.

José Francisco de Sousa was the second of the formal informants. Born in the bairro of Damião where he lived for most of his life working as a farmhand, he left the bairro which had made a change from agriculture to cattle raising. At the time of the interview, the subject was living in São Luís do Paratinga, earning his livelihood as the church sacristan, or vestry keeper. The subject was thirty-seven years old and married. Asked if he could read, he answered, "very, very little."

Born in the bairro of Rio Abaixo, Pedro Bento Clara was, at twenty-seven, the youngest of the three formal informants. He had lived most of his life in that bairro until he overstrained himself in his fields, causing a blood vessel to rupture in his body, an event which eventually deprived
him of most of his land and cattle, and left him incapacitated for further field work. At the time of the interview, he was employed as a watchman for the São Luís Folklore Museum, a job which did not offer much future for himself and his family.

Informal informants. During the Holy Week, when the rural dwellers had arrived in town for those religious festivities, an informal interview was held in a humble home on one of the hills overlooking the town. Unfortunately, the names of the subjects were not gotten except for the first name of one, a male of approximately thirty years of age named Adão. Both he and his mother were recorded on tape. A questionnaire had not been prepared at the time, therefore the interview had no plan or order.

Other informal informants were those anonymous individuals who were in town on various occasions. Listened to while they held conversations in the market place, in the main square, or any other gathering place, the proved to be very good sources of the dialect. It was in this way that some of the more marginal aspects of their speech were noted. These were folk who would have quit talking immediately had a tape recorder been in sight.

The Questionnaire

A questionnaire designed for linguistic atlas work is different from one which is organized for the study of the phonemic structure of a dialect. In the latter, no consideration is given to semantics, no attempt is made to discover
if a word in one region is the same in another area, and no deliberate attempt is made to deal with the diachronic aspects of the language. Because of basic differences, previously prepared questionnaires, or outlines of questionnaires, such as that proposed by Silva Neto\(^{133}\) were not given serious consideration for this study.

To elicit words which contained all the phonemes of the dialect, a questionnaire had to be designed with questions that could be easily understood by the informants, and answers which were words contained in the dialect. To attain this goal, the questions had to be phrased as a speaker of the dialect would phrase them.

Several weeks were spent in the design of a questionnaire which would meet those requirements in studying the caipira dialect. Before it was ever brought into the field, the work was tested on urban citizens of different social and economic levels. The result was not perfect but still adequate for the study. The questions and answers contained in the questionnaire are as follows:

1. Qual é aquêle que é tocado no torre da igreja quando a missa é pra começar? SINO.
2. Que é o contrário de 'preso'? LIVRE.
3. Quando a gente trabalha a meia, depois da colheita cada um recebe a sua . . . ? PARTE.
4. A filha mulher de minha mãe és minha irmã e o

\(^{133}\)Silva Neto, Guia para Estudos, pp. 47-70.
filho homem é meu ... ? IRMÃO.

5. As mendigas, quando queram dinheiro, precisam fazer o que? PEDIR.

6. Qual é o nome dêste país? BRASIL.

7. Que número é êste? MIL.

8. Qual é o nome daquêle animal que tem chifres, puxa carroça e é o mesmo que trouro castrado? BOI.

9. Se há muita gente dançando num lugar, nós disemos que está havendo um que? BAILE.

10. Como se chama isto aqui? CAIXA.

11. Numa cidade a gente morra em diferentes lugares, chamados que? BAIRRO.

12. As rodas da carroça são colocadas nas pontas do que? EIXO.

13. O contrário de 'a começa' é o ... ? FIM.

14. Uma moça muito bonita, a gente pode dizer que é uma moça ... ? LINDA.

15. A gente bebe água quando a gente tem ... ? SEDE.

16. Que é o contrário de 'esquecer'? LEMBRAR.

17. Quando a gente está doente a gente sente mal, mas quando a gente não está doente a gente sente ... ? BEM.

18. Uma mulher que dá a luz, dá a luz um filho mulher ou um filho ... ? HOMEM.

19. Isto se chama como? PÉ.

20. Quando vai meses sem chover, e tem falta d'água,
podemos dizer que tem uma ... ? SECA.

21. O contrário de 'molhado' é ... ? SECA.

22. Quando a gente está doente a gente sente ... ? MAL.

23. Quando a criança vai à escola, ela deve frequentar a aula, ela não deve ... ? FALTAR.

24. Como se chama aquele móvel de quatro pés que usamos pra dormir? CAMA.

25. Esta (mesa, porta, etc.) está aqui mas aquela (mesa, porta, etc.) está ... ? LÁ.

26. Qual é o nome daquela fruta que dá em cachos, amarelas quando estão maduras, e que os macacos gostam muito? BANANA.

27. Doze meses faz um ... ? ANO.

28. Numa casa a gente não entra pela janela mas pela ... ? PORTA.

29. Quando o relógio da igreja bate nove vezes, que horas são? NOVE HORAS.

30. Nossa língua se acha dentro da ... ? BÔCA.

31. A gente corta a crina do cavalo. Do carneiro, a gente corta a ... ? LÁ.

32. Se o tempo não está ruim, ele está ... ? BOM.

33. Quando a feijão está duro a gente diz que ele está (Quando o arroz não está cozinhas ele está) ... ? CRU.

34. A mãe de seu pai é sua ... ? AVÓ.

35. O pai de seu pai é seu ... ? AVÔ.
36. Toda pessoa precisa fazer alguma coisa. Toda pessoa que não se ocupa, é vadia. Por tanto toda pessoa precisa se ... ? OCUPAR.

37. A lua está no ... ? CEU.

38. Se a noite não está clara, a gente diz que a noite está ... ? ESCURA.

39. O homem que tira toda a roupa fica ... ? NÚ.

40. O desenho de um país chama-se ... ? MAPA.

41. A gente joga futebol num ... ? CAMPO.

42. Uma verdura branca, parecida com cenoura, chama-se ... ? NABO.

43. Qual é aquêle lugar na cidade em que a gente deposita dinheiro? BANCO.

44. Nós mastigamos com os (O dentista trata dos) ... ? DENTES.

45. A gente se afoga se não souber ... ? NADAR.

46. Pra ser um bom patrão é preciso saber ... ? MANDAR.

47. Quando uma pessoa diz 'obrigado' a outra responde ... ? DE NADA.

48. Quando a gente tem dor aqui a gente diz que tem dor de ... ? CABEÇA.

49. Este parte da camisa chama-se ... ? MANGA.

50. O fio de uma faca chama-se ... ? GUME.

51. Uma pessoa que trabalha à noite, tomando conta da cidade pra protege-lo contra os ladrões chama-se ... ? GUARDA.
52. A gente come na . . . ? MESA.
53. Se a colheita de milho não foi nem muita boa e nem muito ruim, a gente diz que foi mais ou . . . ? MENOS.
54. Quando um amigo bate na porta da casa, a gente responde . . . ? ENTRE.
55. Conte de um a dez. UM, DOIS, TRÊS, QUATRO, CINCO, SEIS, SETE, OITO, NOVE, DEZ.
56. A gente corta carne com a . . . ? FACA.
57. A gente pesca . . . ? PEIXE.
58. Como se chama o lugar onde a gente vive, come, bebe, e dorma? CASA.
59. O primeiro mês do ano se chama . . . ? JANEIRO.
60. Uma porção de água chama-se lagoa ou . . . ? LAGO.
61. Com que é que a gente pinta a parede? CAL.
62. O homem se casa com . . . ? MULHER.
63. Qual é o inseto que produz mel? ABELHA.
64. Como se chama o passarinho que vive no mato e se parece com peru? MUTUM.
65. Qual é o nome daquela caixa parecida com mala onde colocamos roupas e outras coisas? BAÚ.
66. Como se chama o homem que caça? CAÇADOR.
67. Na mão nós temos cinco . . . ? DEDOS.
68. Quando a gente quer que uma coisa fica bem clara pra outras pessoas, a gente precisa . . . ? EXPLICAR.
69. Pai, mãe, e filhos formam uma . . . ? FAMÍLIA.
70. Quando a gente fica com muito medo, dizemos que
o sangue fica . . . ? GELADA.

71. A água dura chama-se . . . ? GÊLO.

72. A Bíblia diz que Eva comeu uma . . . ? MAÇÃ.

73. Qual é o nome do animal rei de todos? LEÃO.

74. E quando é mais de um? LEÕES.

75. O marido de minha mãe é meu . . . ? PAI.

76. Quando a gente quer saber o preço duma coisa, que perguntamos? QUANTO.

77. Onde é que a gente pesca dourado? RIO.

78. Quando alguém é bondoso, caridoso, religioso, costuma-se dizer que é um . . . ? SANTO.

79. Para a gente ganhar o pão de cada dia e sustentar a família precisa . . . ? TRABALHAR.

80. Que é o instrumento que é feito de madeira, tem cordas e braço, que a gente toca muito nas festas? VIOLA.

81. Quando as comadres brigam, o que costumam fazer? XINGAR.

82. Como se chama aquêle animal que parece boi e que tem um pelote nas costas? ZEBU.

83. Quando a gente fecha uma porta, ela está fechada. Quando a gente abre uma porta, ela está como? ABERTA.

84. Como se chama aquilo que se parece com cebola, cheio de dentes que serve pra temperar a comida? ALHO.

85. A gente 'gosta' de alguém. Deus, a gente deve . . . ? AMAR.

86. Eu amo, ãle ama, ãles . . . ? AMAM.

87. Como se chama o filho mais novo da casa? CAÇULA.
88. O açogueiro corta carne num tronco de madeira chamado como? CÉPO.

89. Uma doença que dá feridas em todo o corpo chama-se doença de (Jesus Cristo recebeu vários ferimentos. Essas feridas se chamam) ... ? CHAGAS.

90. A gente come com garfo e ... ? COLHER.

91. Quando um animal corre muito, solto, sem freio, a gente diz que corre como? DESENFREADO.

92. Pra o homem beber café a mulher deve levantar cedo pra ... ? FAZER.

93. O sol é bonito quando nasce? É.

94. O cabelo do pescoço de um cavalo chama-se ... ? CRINA.

95. Meu pai é casado com minha ... ? MÃE.

96. Um bichinho que não é pulga que chupa o sangue da gente na cama chama-se ... ? PERCEVEJO.

97. Uma agulha de cozer é feita de que? AÇO.

98. Quando a gente está com sede, a gente bebe ... ? ÁGUA.

99. Quando a gente quer saber o que lugar uma pessoa foi, como é que a gente pergunta? AONDE, ONDE.

100. Quando o fogão de lenha está apagado, contêm o que? CINZA.

101. Quando uma fruta está madura, ela está no ponto de ... ? CAIR.

102. Quando a gente vem para a cidade, a gente não vem pelo mato. A gente vem pelo ... ? CAMINHO.
103. Como se chama aquêle papel em que a gente escreve, põe dentro de um envelope, sela, e põe no correio? CARTA.

104. Qual é o nome daquêle lugar onde os animais vão beber água? BEBEDOURO.

105. Quando uma notícia fica espalhada pelo povo, e o povo não sabe se é verdade ou não, nos dizemos que está correndo um . . . ? BOATO.

106. Como se chama aquêle móvel de quatro pés que usamos pra dormir? CAMA.

107. O que é que a gente usa para arrumar o cabelo? PENTE.

108. Quando uma moça corta os cabelos, e corta mais na frente, ela passa a usar . . . ? FRANJA.

109. Se uma cidade fica numa terra alta e plana, não em cima de uma serra, a gente diz que essa cidade fica num . . . ? PLANALT0.

110. O que é isto . . . ? MÃO.

111. O que é aquela coisa vermelha que o galó tem na cabeça? CRISTA.

112. A gente trabalha pra ganhar . . . ? DINHEIRO.

113. Geralmente, o que é que a gente come nas festas de casamento? DOCE.

114. Pra elas ficarem bem quentes, as roupas das crainçás devem ser feitas de . . . ? FLANELA.

115. Antes da espiga o que é que nasce no pé de milho? FLOR.
116. Cristo morreu crucificado na ...? CRUZ.
117. O trabalho na roça é feito de vez em quando, ou e feito ...? DIÁRIO.
118. Como se chama aquela planta com que se faz açúcar e rapadura? CANA.
119. Se alguém cair na água e não souber nadar, que acontece? AFOGA.
120. Como se chama aquele lugar onde o padre reza missa na igreja? ALTAR.
121. Qual é o nome daquela peça de vestido de mulher que se parece como camisa de homem? BLUSA.
122. Qual é o nome daquele inseto que faz teia e come moscas? ARANHA.
123. Como se chama aquele bichinho que aborrece os gatos e cachorros? PULGA.
124. Nós podemos chamar um filho mulher uma menina e um filho homem um ...? MENINO.
125. Uma pessoa que manca a gente diz que âle é ...? COXO.
126. O que a gente pôe no lombo do cavalo? ARREIO.
127. Como se chama aquilo que a gente pôe dentro da espingarda para atirar? BALA.
128. Uma vasilha feita de taquara, com alça, chama-se ...? CESTA.
129. Como se chama aquele monstro que aparece debaixo de cavalo de São Jorge? DRAGÃO.
130. A ferramenta pra gente carpir chama-se ...?
ENXADA.

131. Como se chama aquela pequena tranqueta de ferro que a gente usa pra trancar as portas e as janelas? FERRÔLHO

132. O contrário de fino é . . . ? GROSSO.

133. As filhas mulheres de minha mãe são minhas . . . ? IRMÃS.

134. As pessoas na cidade tomam três refeições: café de manhã, almoço, e . . . ? JANTA.

135. Um chapéu que não é barato é um chapéu . . . ? CARO.

136. Quando a gente se sente mal e usa o dedo na garganta, que acontece? LANÇA.

137. Fubá é feito de que? MILHO.

138. Guaraná é uma bebida artificial. Água é uma bebida . . . ? NATURAL.

139. Como se chama isto? OLHO

140. Quando nós moemos o café, nós temos café em . . . ? PÓ.

141. Quando a gente carrega espingarda, a gente põe pólvora, bucha, e . . . ? CHUMBO.

142. Uma outra palavra para 'barulho' é . . . ? RUÍDO.

143. Quando uma pessoa morre ela é enterrada debaixo da . . . ? TERRA.

144. O contrário de 'primeiro' é . . . ? ÚLTIMO.

145. O homem que toca viola se chama um . . . ? VIOLEIRO.
146. Aquêle que não tem pernas não pode fazer o que? ANDAR.
147. A gente joga futebol com uma ... ? BOLA.
148. Como se chama aquela bola de fogo no céu? SOL.
149. A gente tem duas mãos: a esquerda e a ... ? DIREITA.
150. Uma coisa que não é redonda é ... ? QUADRADO.
151. Diga o nome de um instrumento que a gente toca assim. FLAUTA.
152. Uma pessoa que serve pra mostrar a outras onde cagar se chama um ... ? GUIA.
153. Uma porção de terra cercada de água chama-se ... ? ILHA.
154. A Bíblia manda a gente não comer carne nas sextas-feiras santas, isto é, manda a gente ... ? JEJUAR.
155. Os irmãos de minha mulher são meus ... ? CUNHADOS.
156. De dia a gente vê o sol. De noite a gente vê as estrelas e a ... ? LUA.
157. Dentro da cabeça tem ... ? MIOLO.
158. Qual é o contrário de 'não'? SIM.
159. Se hoje é (domingo), (sábado) foi ... ? ONTEM.
160. O contrário de 'último' é ... ? PRIMEIRO.
161. Como se chama aquelas pessoas que vão para a guerra lutar? SOLDADOS.
162. Como é o nome daquela cor que se parece com vermelho e que ao mesmo tempo é o nome de uma flor? ROSA.
163. O que é isto? UNHA.
164. Se a noite não está escura a gente diz que a noite está . . . ? CLARA.
165. O contrário de 'mentira' é . . . ? VERDADE.
166. A gente não pode respirar dentro da água porque não há . . . ? AR.
167. Uma porção de folhas, de papel, grampeados, chama-se . . . ? BLOCO.
168. Aquêle buraco que tem na viola serve para melhorar o . . . ? SOM.
169. Quando a gente não paga a conta, a gente tem . . . ? DÍVIDAS.
170. O cavaleiro caiu de cavalo. Se a gente quiser saber por que ele caiu a gente pergunta qual foi a . . . ? CAUSA.
171. Os índios caçavam com arco e . . . ? FLECHA.
172. Como se chama aquelas coisas debaixo do braço e debaixo do queixo que ficam imflamadas quando a gente tem feridas? GLÂNDULA.
173. Aquêle bicho que anda com uma casa nas costas chama-se . . . ? CARACOL.
174. Como se chama esses cabelos aqui? SOBRANCELHAS.
175. Sapato é feito de . . . ? COURO.
176. Quando alguém foi esquecido, a gente diz que ele foi deixado de . . . ? LADO.
177. Uma pessoa que não é boa é ... ? MÂ.
178. Qual é o outro nome que a gente dá pra o automóvel? CARRO.
179. Uma região que é boa pra saúde a gente diz que tem um bom ... ? CLIMA.
180. Para a gente responder alguma coisa, alguém precisa fazer uma ... ? PERGUNTA.
181. A mulher do rei se chama a ... ? RAINHA.
182. Geralmente, o animal de selo chama-se ... ? CAVALO.
183. Como se chama aquela coisa branca que se parece com açúcar que a gente põe no arroz pra temperar? SAL.
184. Quando falamos com os compadres não usamos a palavra 'o senhor', usamos ... ? VOCÊ.
185. Quando a gente comete um crime e é condenado a gente diz que foi ... ? CULPADO.
186. O que os pássaros usam para voar? ASAS.
187. O contrário de 'forte' é ... ? FRACO.
188. Uma outra palavra para 'barrigueira' é ... ? CILHA.
189. Eu dava, ela dava, eles ... ? DAVAM.
190. De um modo geral, um príncipe mora num ... ? CASTELO.
191. Um gallo novo chama-se ... ? FRANGO.
192. Um pontapé de burro chama-se ... ? COICE.
193. Como se chama o fruto do mamoeiro? MAMÃO.
194. A pessoa que escreve versos chama-se ... ?
POETA.

195. O homem que trabalha na roça se chama um . . . ?

ROÇEIRO.

196. Quando a gente vem da roça pra participar numa festa na cidade, não podemos ficar muito tempo, precisamos . . . ? VOLTAR.

197. Como se chama aquelas plantas grandes onde os raios costumam cair e onde os pássaros fazem seus ninhos? ARVORES.

198. Tudo o que pertence a uma pessoa se chama os seus . . . ? BENS.

199. Uma bebida que faz bastante espuma, parecida com chopp, chama-se . . . ? CERVEJA.

200. Quando a gente está muito doente a gente precisa consultar um . . . ? DOUTOR.

201. Como se chama isso aqui? BRAÇO.

202. Onde fica o fogão? COZINHA.

203. O contrário de 'pouco' é . . . ? MUITO.

204. Usamos sementes pra . . . ? PLANTAR.

205. Qual é o bicho que quando coaxa muito, está chamando chuva? RÃ.

206. O que a gente usa pra costurar as roupas? AGULHA.

207. Qual é a cor de sal? BRANCO.

208. Jesus morreu na Cruz para nós . . . ? SALVAR.

209. Onde é que a gente põe lavagem para os porcos? COCHO.
210. A abelha pica com o ... ? FERRÃO.
211. Quando a gente se decide, a gente diz que chegou a uma ... ? CONCLUSÃO.
212. Quando o tempo fica muito seco, um carro passando numa estrada de terra levanta muita ... ? POEIRA.
213. O roqueiro trabalha na ... ? ROÇA.
214. Quando uma montanha não é baixa ela é ... ? ALTA.
215. Quando falamos com uma pessoa velha, nos não a tratamos por 'você', tratamos por ... ? SENHOR.
216. Quando a gente não sabe o nome de um objeto, a gente diz: como se chama esta ... ? COISA.
217. Quando alguém morre, o que é que vai pra o céu ou para o inferno? ALMA.
218. A gente vai à Aparecida pra ver a imagem de Nossa ... ? SENHORA.
219. Quando alguma coisa está perdido dentro de casa, a gente diz que está em algum ... ? CANTO.
220. Aquela porta está lá e esta mesa está ... ? AQUI.
221. Na sexta-feira santa não se come ... ? CARNE.
222. Quais são os dias da semana? DOMINGO, SEGUNDO, TERÇA, QUARTA, QUINTA, SEXTA, SABADO.
223. Quando os vizinhos vem à casa num grupo pra ajudar-nós fazer um trabalho mais depressa, isso se chama ... ? MUTIRÃO.

As could be expected, some of the questions drew
blanks. At times, a word was unknown to the informant, e.g. *gume, mutum, cilho, nabo*; or the word was used in another sense, e.g. *guia* was elicited as a synonym for *dirige*, "drives;" *médico* and *espirito* were given when *doutor* and *alma*, respectively, were wanted. The most serious obstacle was probably the length of the questionnaire, as the informants tended to tire after a while and answers became increasingly more difficult to elicit. There was, however, no solution to this problem.
CHAPTER VII

THE CORPUS

An anecdote heard in São Luís do Paraitinga concerns the caipira who went to the pharmacy and asked the young counter clerk for "pô patapatáio." Unable to understand the request, the clerk went to the rear and called the pharmacist who, after hearing the request repeated, promptly gave the caipira some sulfa powder. To the bewildered clerk, he explained that the farmer only wanted "pô para tapar talho," or "powder to close a cut."

This anecdote illustrates some of the features that usually draw comment from those who attempt some kind of description of caipira speech. The elision of sounds in rapid speech (para > pa), the lack of final r in verbs (tapar), and the presence of a jod glide instead of the voiced, lamino-alveolar lateral (táio = talho) represent some of the characteristics of this dialect that are immediately noted.

In the corpus that follows, most of the main features of caipira phonetics will be exposed. In the course of recording the answers to the questionnaire, it was decided best to allow the informants to speak uninhibitedly at times, as long as they could be controlled within the basic framework of the questionnaire. All of the words said by the informants
under these circumstances were transcribed and are presented below. In addition to these words, there are those utterances gotten from informal speakers.

The corpus is presented in alphabetical order, each word followed by a part-of-speech label, its English equivalent, and the pronunciation given to it. The formal informants are indicated by the initials of their names: VAS, JFS, and PBC. Other speakers are indicated by the letter O. The pronunciations are enclosed in brackets:

A. /a/, definite article, the:
[ə], VAS, JFS, PBC, O.

Abacateiro. /abakatẽjɾu/, noun, avocado-pear tree:
[ɐ-bə-kə-ˈte-ɾu], JFS.

Abaixo, /abaiʃu/, adverb, below:
[ɐ-ˈbaju], PBC.

Abandona, /abandona/, verb, (he) abandons:
[ɐ-bənd-ə-ˈdənə], JFS.

Abelha. /abɛlɐ/, noun, honey bee:
[ɐ-ˈbe-ɬɐ], VAS, JFS.
[ɐ-ˈbej-je], PBC.

Aberta, /abɛɾta/, adjective, open:
[ɐ-ˈbeɾ-ˈteɾa], JFS.

Aberto, /abɛɾtu/, adjective, open:
[ɐ-ˈbeɾ-ˈtuɾ], VAS.
[ɐ-ˈbeɾ-ˈtuɾ], PBC.

Abobora. /abɔbora/, noun, pumpkin:
[ɐ-ˈbɔ-bɔɾa], JFS.
Abrir, /abr̥ir/, verb, to open:
\[v-'bri̯\], 0.

Acaba, /akaba/, verb, (he) finishes:
\[v-'ka-bo\], JFS.

Acabou, /akabou/, verb, (he) finished:
\[v-'ka-bo\], JFS.
\[ka-\text{'bo}\], 0.

Acho, /aʃu/, verb, (I) think, believe:
\[a-ʃu\], JFS.

Acima, /aʃima/, adverb, above:
\[v-'aʃm-\text{a}\], VAS.

Aço, /aʃu/, noun, steel:
\[a-ʃu\], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Aconteceu, /akontesu/, verb, happened:
\[v-kən-te-\text{'se-uv}\], JFS.

Acreditar, /akreditər/, verb, to believe:
\[kre-d\text{e}-'ta\], 0.

Águcar, /asúkar/, noun, sugar:
\[e-'sú-ka\], PBC.

Adorar, /adorar/, verb, to adore:
\[e-do-'ra\], JFS.
\[e-do-'ra\], PBC.

Afoga, /afsga/, verb, (he) drowns:
\[e-'fo-ga\], JFS.

Afogado, /afogadu/, adjective, drowned:
\[fo-\text{'ga-du}\], VAS,
\[fo-\text{'ga-du}\], PBC.
Agora, /agɔra/, adverb, now: 
  [e-'go-ra], PBC.
Água, /aˈgu̯a/, noun, water: 
  [a-ˈgwa], VAS, JFS, PBC, 0.
Agudo, /agudu/, adjective, pointed: 
  [e-ˈgu-du], VAS.
Agulha, /aɡu̯la/, noun, needle: 
  [e-ˈgu-la], VAS, JFS.  
  [e-ˈgu-ja], PBC.
Ai, /af/, adverb, there: 
  [e-ˈi], JFS.
Ajudar, /aˈzudar/, verb, to help: 
  [e-ˈju-v-'da], JFS, 0.
Ajudaram, /aˈzudarəm/, (they) helped: 
  [e-ˈju-v-'da-rəm], VAS, JFS.
Alguém, /aˈlɡiəm/, indefinite pronoun, somebody: 
  [a-ˈɡe-jəm], 0.
Alguém, /aˈlɡiəm/, indefinite adjective, some: 
  [a-ˈɡe-jə], JFS. 
  [a-ˈɡən], 0.
Alguema, /aˈlɡiəma/, indefinite adjective, some: 
  [a-ˈɡe-jə-mə], JFS, PBC.
Alho, /aˈlu̯/, noun, garlic: 
  [a-ˈlu̯], VAS, JFS. 
  [a-ˈju̯], PBC, 0.
Ali, /aˈli/, adverb, there: 
  [e-ˈli], JFS, PBC.
Alma, /ˈɑlma/, noun, soul:
[ˈɑl-mə], JFS, PBC.

Almôço, /ˈalmôso/, noun, lunch:
[əlˈmoʊsu], 0.

Alta, /ˈɑltə/, adjective, high:
[ˈɑl-tə], VAS.
[ˈɑltə], JFS.

Altar, /ˈɑltər/, noun, altar:
[əlˈtɑr], VAS.
[əlˈtɑr], JFS.
[əlˈtɑr], PBC.

Alto, /ˈɑltu/, adjective, high:
[ˈɑl-tu], JFS.
[ˈɑl-tu], PBC.

Amam, /ˈɑmæm/, verb, (they) love:
[ˈɑm-əm], JFS.

Amar, /ˈɑmər/, verb, to love:
[ˈɑm-ər], VAS, PBC.
[ˈɑm-ər], JFS.

Amarela, /ˈɑmərələ/, adjective, yellow:
[ˈɑm-ərələ], PBC.

Amendoim, /ˌɑməndooˈm/, noun, peanut:
[ˈɑm-ɛn-duʊˈm], JFS.

Amizade, /ˌɑmɪzəˈd/ı/, noun, friendship:
[ˈɑm-ɪzəˈdɪv], JFS.

Amora, /ˈɑmərə/, noun, mulberry:
[ˈɑm-ərə], JFS.
**Anarquia.** /anarkías/, noun, confusion:

[ˈanərˈkiːʒə], VAS, JFS.

**Anda.** /ˈanda/, verb, he walks:

[ˈændə], JFS.

**Andar.** /ˈandr/, verb, to walk:

[ˈændər], VAS.
[ˈændər], JFS, PBC.

**Animal.** /ˈanimál/, noun, animal:

[ˈɛnˈiməl], JFS.

**Ano.** /ˈano/, noun, year:

[ˈændə], VAS, JFS, PBC.

**Anos.** /ˈanos/, noun, years:

[ˈændəs], VAS, JFS.
[ˈændə], PBC.

**Antes.** /ˈantis/, adverb, before:

[ˈɛntɪs], 0.

**Antonio.** /ˈanteiνi/, proper noun, Anthony:

[ˈændəniˈtoʊniˈjuː], JFS, PBC.

**Ansol.** /ˈansol/, noun, fishhook:

[ˈænˈsol], VAS, PBC.

**Aonde.** /ˈaʊndə/, adverb, where:

[ˈounˈdə], PBC.

**Apanhar.** /ˈapɐnha/, verb, to get a sound beating:

[ˈɛpɐˈnɾʒa], PBC.

**Aparecida.** /ˈapɐɾɐˈsidə/, adjective, emerged:

[ˈɛpɐɾəˈsiɾˈdiɾə], JFS.

**Apelido.** /ˈapelidu/, noun, nickname:
Aquele, /ak'le/, pronoun, that one:
[ε-'ke-le:], JFS.

Aquêle, /ak'lei/, pronoun, that one:
[ε-'ke-li'], JFS.

Aquí, /ak'/, adverb, here:
[ε-'ki'], PFS, PBC, O.

Aquilo, /ak'lu/, demonstrative pronoun, that:
[ε-'ki-lu'], JFS.

Ar, /ár/, noun, air:
['a:], VAS, JFS, PBC, O.
['a], O.

Arame, /ar'am/., noun, wire:
[ε-'ra-mi'], JFS.

Aranha, /ar'na/, noun, spider:
[ε-'ra-ni'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Arrelo, /ar'liu/, noun, harness:
[ε-'xe-juv'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Arroz, /arr'oz/, noun, rice:
[ε-'xo-z'], JFS.
[ε-'xe-is'], JFS.
[ε-'he-i'], PBC.
[ε-'xe-'], O.

Arvore, /ár'vori/, noun, tree:
['ag'-vai'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Asa, /áza/, noun, wing:
['a-za'], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Assim, /asim/, adverb, thus:
[ε-'sin], JFS.

Até, /até/, preposition, until, up to:
[ε-'te], VAS, PBC.
[‘te], 0.

Atender, /atênder/, verb, to attend:
[ε-'tênder], JFS.

Atirou, /atiróu/, verb, (he) shot:
[ε-'tiɾ'o], JFS.

Atrás, /atrás/, adverb, behind:
[ε-'trais], JFS, 0.
[ε-'trai], 0.

Aulas, /aulas/, noun, classes:
[‘au-las], JFS.

Automóvel, /automÓvel/, noun, automobile:
[o^-to^-'mc-vel], JFS.

Avô, /avô/, noun, grandfather:
[ε-'vo], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[‘vo], 0.

Avó, /avó/, noun, grandmother:
[ε-'vo], PBC.
[‘vo], VAS, JFS, 0.

Azul, /azul/, noun, blue:
[ε-'zuɾ], JFS.
[ε-'zuɾ], 0.

Baile, /baili/, noun, festive dance reunion:
[‘bai-ˈli'], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Balro, /bâirru/, noun, neighborhood settlement:
[ˈbaj-xux], VAS, JFS.
[ˈbaɪ-ru], PBC.
Baixo, /bâiʃu/, adjective, low:
[ˈba-ʃu], JFS.
Bala, /bâla/, noun, bullet:
[ˈba-la], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Balajó, /bálajʊ/, noun, straw hamper:
[ba-ˈlaɪ-ju], VAS, JFS.
Bambu, /bambu/, noun, bamboo:
[ˈbam-ˈbu], JFS.
Banana, /banâna/, noun, banana:
[ˈba-ˈnæn-næ], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Banco, /banku/, noun, bank:
[ˈbæŋ-ˈko], VAS, JFS.
[ˈbæŋ-ˈku], PBC.
Bandeira, /bandeira/, noun, banner, flag:
[ˈbæn-ˈde-re], 0.
Bar, /bâr/, noun, bar:
[ˈbaːr], JFS.
Barata, /barâta/, noun, cockroach:
[ˈba-ˈra-tæ], JFS.
Barriga, /barriga/, noun, belly:
[ˈba-ˈxi-gə], JFS.
Barrigueira, /barrigêira/, noun, bellyband:
[ˈba-ˈxi-ˈge-re], JFS.
Barro, /bárru/, noun, clay:
[ˈba-xu], JPS.

Barulho, /baɾdu/, noun, noise:
[ˈbe-ɾu-xu], JPS.

Bastante, /basta/ti/, adjective, enough:
[ˈbe-taɾ-ti'], VAS, JPS.

Batata, /batata/, noun, potato:
[ˈbe-ta-ta'], JPS, PBC.

Bate, /baɾi/, verb, (he) strikes:
[ˈba-ti'], JPS.

Batendo, /batando/, verb, striking, knocking:
[ˈbe-ti-no-u'], JPS, PBC.

Bate-pé, /batipe/, noun, rustic dance:
[ˈbe-ti-pə'], JPS.

Bater, /batər/, verb, to strike:
[ˈbe-te'], JPS.

Batido, /batidu/, adjective, worn out:
[ˈbe-ti-du'], VAS.

Bag, /baɾ/, noun, chest, trunk:
[ˈbe-u'], VAS, JPS, PBC.

Bebe, /bebi/, verb, (he) drinks:
[ˈbe-be'], JPS.

Bebedouro, /bebeduɾo/, noun, watering place:
[ˈbe-ɾe-ɾo'], PBC.

Ban, /bəɾ/, adjective, well:
[ˈbeɾi'], VAS, JPS, PBC.

Bens, /bəɾns/, noun, personal estate:
Bento, /bɛntu/, proper noun, holy:
[ˈbɛntuː], PBC.

Bicho, /biʃu/, noun, any animal except fowl or fish:
[ˈbiʃuː], JFS, PBC.
[ˈbiʃuː], O.

Bloco, /blɔku/, noun, writing pad:
[ˈblɔko], VAS, JFS.
[ˈblɔkʊ], PBC.

Blusa, /bluzə/, noun, blouse:
[ˈbluzə], VAS, PBC.
[ˈbruːzə], JFS.

Boa, /bɔa/, adjective, good:
[ˈboːə], JFS.

Boato, /bɔato/, noun, rumor:
[ˈbɔa-tuː], VAS, JFS.
[ˈbɔa-tuː], PBC.

Boca, /bɔka/, noun, mouth:
[ˈbo-kə], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Boi, /bɔi/, noun, ox:
[ˈbɔi], VAS.
[ˈbei], PBC, JFS.

Bola, /bɔla/, noun, ball:
[ˈbɔla], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Bolacha, /boləʃa/, noun, biscuit:
[ˈboʃəˈlaʃə], PBC.
Bolo, /bôlu/, noun, cake:
[ˈbo-luˈ], PBC.

Bom, /bôn/, adjective, good:
[ˈbôn], VAS, JFS, O.
[ˈbôn], PBC.

Boneca, /bonɛka/, noun, ungranulated corn-cob:
[bu-ˈne-kɔ], VAS, JFS.

Bonita, /bonita/, adjective, pretty:
[bu-ˈni-tə], PBC.
[bu-ˈni-ˈtə], JFS, O.

Borracha, /borráʃa/, noun, rubber:
[bo-ˈxa-ʃə], JFS.

Braco, /brásu/, noun, arm:
[ˈbra-suˈ], VAS, JFS.
[ˈbra-ˈsuˈ], PBC.

Branco, /brânku/, adjective, white:
[ˈbraŋguˈ], VAS, JFS.

Brasil, /brazil/, proper noun, Brazil:
[ˈbraziˈ], VAS.
[ˈbraziˈ], JFS.
[ˈbraziˈ], PBC.

Brasileiro, /brazilɛjru/, proper noun, Brazilian:
[braziˈ-ˈleɾ], PBC.

Bravo, /brávu/, adjective, furious:
[ˈbrâvuˈ], JFS.

Bruaca, /bruäka/, noun, a rawhide traveling bag used on horseback.
Bucha, /búša/, noun, gun wadding:  
[ˈbu-ʃə], VAS, JFS.  
[ˈbu-tʃə]. 0.  

Buchinha, /buʃina/, noun, small wadding:  
[ˈbu-ʃinə], JFS.  

Buraco, /buráku/, noun, hole:  
[ˈbu-ˈka-kuˈ], JFS.  

Burro, /burrro/, noun, burro:  
[ˈbu-ˈxoʊ], JFS.  
[ˈbu-ˈruʊ], JFS.  

Buscar, /buskár/, verb, to fetch:  
[ˈbuʃə-ˈka], 0.  

Cá, /ká/, adverb, here:  
[ˈka], JFS.  

Cabeça, /kabésa/, noun, head:  
[ˈkə-ˈbe-sə], VAS, JFS, PBC.  

Cagador, /kasadör/, noun, hunter:  
[ˈka-ˈsə-ˈdo], JFS, PBC.  
[ˈka-ˈsə-ˈdoʊ], VAS.  

Cachinho, /kaʃinó/, noun, bangs (hair):  
[ˈka-ʃi-ˈno], JFS.  

Cachorro, /kaʃórru/, noun, puppy:  
[ˈka-ʃo-ˈroʊ], JFS.  

Caçula, /kasulá/, noun, the youngest child of a family:  
[ˈka-ˈsʊ-ˈlə], VAS, JFS, PBC.  

Cada, /káda/, adjective, every, each:
Cadeia, /kadʒia/, noun, jail:
[ku-'de-jə], VAS.
Café, /kafɛ/, noun, coffee:
[ku-'fe], PBC.
Cafezinha, /kafɛzina/, noun, small coffee:
[ku-fe-'zỹ-nə], JFS.
Cai, /kɑi/, verb, (he) falls:
['ka-i'], JFS.
Cair, /kɑ̃r/, verb, to fall:
[ku-'ɾə], PBC.
[ku-'i], JFS.
Caifu, /kafu/, verb, (he) fell:
[ku-'ju], JFS.
Caixa, /kai̯sa/, noun, box:
['ka-ʃə], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Cal, /kɑl/, noun, whitewash:
['kaʃ], VAS.
['kaʈ], JFS.
['kaɾ], PBC, O.
Calibre, /kalfbru/, noun, caliber:
[ku-'li-brə], JFS.
Cama, /kama/, noun, bed:
['kã-mə], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Camarada, /kamaradə/, noun, fellow worker:
[ku-mə-'ɾa-de], JFS.
Camas, /kamas/, noun, beds:
Camarada, /kamarāda/, noun, farmhand:
[kə-mu-'ra-de], JFS

Cambota, /kambōta/, noun, wheel rim:
[kām-'bo-te], PBC.

Caminho, /kamin̩u/, noun, trail:
[kə-'mɪ́n̩-nu̯], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Campainha, /kampaɪna/, noun, small bell:
[kām-pei-'t̩-ne], JFS.

Campo, /kämpu/, noun, field:
[ˈkām-pu̯], VAS, PBC.
[ˈkām-po], JFS.

Campos, /kämpus/, noun, fields:
[ˈkām-pu̯s], VAS.

Cana, /kāna/, noun, sugar-cane:
[ˈkā-ˈne], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Canastra, /kanəstra/, noun, big basket made from thin and flexible strips of wood:
[kə-'nas-trə], VAS.

Cangalha, /kang̩ala/, noun, wooden frame of a pack-saddle:
[kaŋ-ˈga-jə], JFS.

Cantando, /kantandu/, verb, singing:
[kən-ˈt̩ən-uv], JFS, O.

Canto, /kantu/, noun, corner:
[ˈkən-tu̯], JFS, PBC.

Capa, /kápa/, noun, cover:
[\text{'ka-pə}], JFS.

\textbf{Capaz}, /\text{kapáz}/, adjective, \textit{capable};

[\text{kw-'paǐs}], 0.

[\text{kw-'paǐ}], 0.

\textbf{Capim}, /\text{kapín}/, noun, \textit{common name of several species of gramineous and ciperaceous plants};

[\text{kw-'pǐn}], JFS.

\textbf{Capoeira}, /\text{kapoēra}/, noun, \textit{brushwood};

[\text{kw-pu-'we-ɾə}], JFS.

\textbf{Caracu}, /\text{karakǔ}/, noun, \textit{a crossbreed of Brazilian cattle};

[\text{kw-ɾe-'ku}], PBC.

\textbf{Caramujo}, /\text{karamujo}/, noun, \textit{any of various small marine univalve mollusks};

[\text{kw-ɾe-'mu-ʒu}], JFS.

\textbf{Carne}, /\text{karni}/, noun, \textit{meat};

[\text{'ka-ɾi-ni}], JFS, PBC, 0.

\textbf{Carneiro}, /\text{karnērů}/, noun, \textit{sheep};

[\text{ka-ɾi-ne-rů}], JFS.

\textbf{Caro}, /\text{karu}/, adjective, \textit{expensive};

[\text{'ka-ɾu}], VAS, JFS, PBC.

\textbf{Carpir}, /\text{karpir}/, verb, \textit{to hoe, to weed};

[\text{ka-ɾi-pi}], JFS, 0.

\textbf{Carrega}, /\text{karrēga}/, verb, \textit{(he) transports};

[\text{kw-ɾe-ɾe-gɔ}], JFS.

\textbf{Carregar}, /\text{karregar}/, verb, \textit{to transport};

[\text{kw-ɾe-ɾe-'ɡa}], JFS.
Carro. /kárru/, noun, car:
[*ka-xu*], JFS.
[*ka-xu*], PBC.

Carroça. /karrósa/, noun, wagon:
[*ka-xo-se*], JFS.

Carta. /kárta/, noun, letter:
[*ka-g-te*], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Cartucho. /kártojó/, noun, cartridge:
[*ka-g-'tu-ju*], JFS.

Carvalho. /karrvalu/, noun, oak tree:
[*ka-g-'va-ju*], JFS.

Carvão. /karrvón/, noun, coal:
[*ka-g-'va-jo*], PBC.

Casa. /káza/, noun, house:
[*ka-zo*], VAS, JFS, PBC, O.

Casinha. /kazinjá/, noun, little house:
[*ka-zo*], JFS.

Castelo. /kastéliu/, noun, castle:
[*kaw-'te-lo*], JFS.
[*kaw-'te-ju*], PBC.

Castilho. /kastiliú/, proper noun:
[*kaw-'te-ju*], PBC.

Catuquaba. /katuruaba/, proper noun, vila in São Luís:
[*ka-tu-'sa-bo*], VAS.
[*ka-tu-'sa-bo*], PBC.

Causa. /káuzá/, noun, cause:
[*ka-y-zo*], JFS, PBC.
Cavalo. /kava'lu/, noun, horse:
["ku-’va-’lu"], VAS, JFS, PBC, O.
Cavaquinho. /kavakjnu/, noun, small guitar:
["ku-ve-’kĩ-’nu"], PBC.
Cebola. /se'bo'la/, noun, onion:
["si-’bo-le"], VAS.
Cedo. /se'du/, adverb, early:
["se-du"], JFS.
Cepa. /se'pa/, noun, stump:
["se-pa"], VAS.
Cepo. /se'pu/, noun, chopping block:
["se-pu"], JFS, PBC.
Certo. /se'rtu/, adjective, certain:
["se§-tu"], JFS.
Cerveja. /serves'a/, noun, beer:
["seγ-’ve-’jo"], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Cervejinha. /servej'i'na/, noun, small beer:
["seγ-ve-’’jo"], JFS.
Cesta. /ses'ta/, noun, basket:
["ses-to"], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Céu. /se'u/, noun, heaven:
["se-’u"], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Chaga. /s'aga/, noun, festering wound:
["sa-go"], VAS, JFS.
["sa-ga"], PBC.
Chagas. /s'agas/, noun, festering wounds:
["sa-gas"], JFS.
Chamir. /dámá/. verb, (he) calls:
[\'fá\-má], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Chamir. /dámí/. verb, to call:
[fa\-'ma], JFS.
[\'u\-'ma], O.

Chao. /dámín/. noun, ground:
[\'u\-'már], O.

Chapo. /dámpe/. noun, lamina:
[\'fa\-p\-e], PBC.

Chapó. /dámpe/. noun, hat:
[fe\-'pe-u\-v], VAS.
[\'u\-'pe-u\-v], O.

Chave. /dávi/. noun, key:
[\'fa\-'vi\-v], VAS.

Chega. /dégá/. verb, (we) arrived:
[\'fa\-'go\-e], JFS.

Chegamos. /dégámu/. verb, (we) arrived:
[\'fa\-'go-mu\-v], O.

Chegou. /dégöu/. verb, (he) arrived:
[\'fa\-'go\-e], JFS.

Cheguei. /dégéi/. verb, (I) arrived:
[\'fa\-'go\-e], JFS.

Cheio. /dêiu/. adjective, full:
[\'fa\-'iu\-v], JFS.

Chino. /sins/. noun, chignon:
[fi\-'i\-v], VAS.

Chumbo. /dâmbu/. noun, lead:
Cidade, /sidádi/, noun, city, town; [si'-'da-di\'], JFS.

Cilha, /sɪla/, noun, cinch; ['si-\w'], JFS.
['si-jə'], JFS.

Cilhão, /sih\w\n/, noun, big cinch; [si'-'j\w\n\'], JFS.

Cima, /sima/, noun, top; ['si-mə'], JFS.

Cinco, /s\w\nku/, noun, five; ['s\w\n-k\w\'], JAS, PBC.
['s\w\n-k\w\'], JFS.
['s\w\n-k\w'], VAS.

Cinta, /s\w\nta/, noun, waist band; ['s\w\n-tə'], JFS.

Cinza, /s\w\nza/, noun, ash; ['s\w\n-zə'], JAS, JFS, PBC.

Clara, /kl\w\ra/, adjective, clear; ['kla-\w\'], JAS, PBC.
['kla-\w\'], JFS.
['kla-\w\'], PBC.

Claro, /kl\w\ru/, adjective, clear; ['kla-\w\ru'], JAS.
['kra-\w\ru'], O.

Clima, /kl\w\ma/, noun, climate;
Coar, /koar/, verb, to percolate:
[kuv-*wa], PBC.

Cobertor, /kobertor/, noun, blanket:
[kuv-*be-^-*tow], JFS.
[kuv-*be-^-*to], JFS.

Cobra, /kobra/, noun, snake:
['ko-*bxa], VAS.

Côcho, /ko chu/, noun, trough:
['ko-*jo-^], VAS, PBC.
['ko-*jo-^], JFS.

Côco, /koko/, noun, coconut:
['ko-*ku^], PBC.

Coira, /koisi/, noun, backward kick:
['ko-*is^], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Coisa, /koiza/, noun, thing:
['ko-*iz^], JFS, PBC.

Coisas, /koizas/, noun, things:
['ko-*izas], JFS.
['ko-*izas], JFS.

Colheita, /kollheita/, noun, harvest:
[ko-*le-^O], JFS.

Colher, /koller/, noun, spoon:
[kuv-*le], VAS.
[kuv-*je], PBC.
[kuv-*le-^O], JFS.
[ko^-'jẽ], 0.

**Com.** /kôn/, preposition, with:

[*'kõn*], VAS, JFS, PBC.

[*'ko*], JFS, 0.

**Come.** /kômi/, verb, (he) eats:

[*'kôm-mi*], JFS, PBC.

**Começa.** /kômeça/, noun, beginning:

[*'ko^-'me-su*], JFS, PBC.

**Começar.** /kômesáar/, verb, to start:

[*'ko^-me^-sa*], JFS.

**Comer.** /komér/, verb, to eat:

[*'ko^-meg*], VAS.

[*'ko^-me*], JFS, PBC, 0.

**Comida.** /komída/, noun, food:

[*'ku^-mi-de*], JFS.

**Como.** /kômu/, adverb, how:

[*'ko-mu*], JFS, PBC.

[*'ko-mo*], JPS.

**Compadre.** /kompádri/, noun, godfather:

[*'küm^-pa-drí*], JFS, 0.

**Compositor.** /kompózítôr/, noun, composer:

[*'küm-po^-zi^-tô*], JFS.

**Comprido.** /komprídô/, adjective, long:

[*'küm^-pri-du*], JFS.

**Compromissas.** /kômpromîsas/, noun, responsibilities:

[*'küm-pro^-mi-sa*], JFS.

**Conclusão.** /kônkluzâun/, noun, conclusion:
Condenada, /kondenáda/, adjective, condemned: [kön-ˈde-ˈna-da], VAS, JFS.

Conheço, /konɛs/, verb, (I) know: [kön-ˈne-su], JFS, PBC.

Conta, /kõnta/, noun, bill: ['kön-tə], JFS.

Contar, /kontár/, verb, to count: [kön-ˈta], JFS.

Continua, /kontinua/, noun, (he) continues: [kön-ˈti-ˈnu-ə], JFS.

Contrário, /kontraɾi/, noun, opposite: [kön-ˈtra-ɾi-ʊ], JFS.

Cor, /kõr/, noun, color: ['koɾ̥'], JFS.

Coração, /korasã̃o/, noun, heart: [koɾ̥-ˈsã̃o], JFS.

Coreia, /koɾeia/, noun, colors: ['koɾ̥-ɾi-a], JFS.

Corpo, /kõrpʊ/, noun, body: ['kõɾ̥-pu̯], JFS.

Corre, /kõrrĩ/, verb, (he) runs: ['koɾ̥-ɾi̯], PBC.

Correr, /korrẽr/, verb, to run: [koɾ̥-ˈxe], JFS.

Cortar, /korrẽr/, verb, to cut: ['koɾ̥-ˈtaɾ'], JFS.
Corte. /kɔrti/, noun, cutting edge of knife:
["kɔɾ-ti"], JFS, PBC.

Costura. /kostûra/, noun, seam:
[kuv-'tu-rə], JFS.

Cozinha. /kosîña/, noun, kitchen:
[kuv-'zînh-ə], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Cozinhar. /kosînãr/, verb, to cook:
[kuv-'zînh-'na], JFS.

Cresceu. /kresçu/, verb, (he) grew:
[kres'-'se-uv], JFS.

Cria. /kriã/, verb, (he) raises:
["kri-ja"], JFS.

Criança. /kriãnsã/, noun, child:
[kri-'ãn-sə], JFS.

Criar. /kriãr/, verb, to cultivate:
[kri-'a'], JFS.

Criminosa. /kriminôsa/, adjective, criminal:
[kri-'mi-'no-zə], JFS.

Crina. /krista/, noun, cockcomb:
["krista"], VAS, PBC.
["kris-ta"], JFS.
Cru, /krů/, adjective, uncooked:

["kzu"], VAS, JFS.
["kru"], PBC.
Cruz, /krúz/, noun, cross:

["kruiz"], VAS, O.
["kauiz"], PBC, O.
["kruz"], JFS.
Cruzeiro, /kruzeïruf/, noun, Brazilian Monetary unit:
[kauv-\text{e}-ruv\text{]}, JFS.
Cruzeiros, /kruzeïrus/, noun, Brazilian monetary units:
[kauv-\text{e}-ruv\text{]}, JFS.
Culpa, /kulpa/, noun, guilt:
[ku\text{z}-pe\text{}, O.
Culpado, /kulpádu/, adjective, guilty:
[ku\text{v}l-\text{e}-pa-du\text{}], JFS.
Cunhado, /kunádu/, noun, brother-in-law:
[ku\text{n}-\text{ya}-du\text{}], VAS, PBC.
Cunhados, /kunádu:s/, noun, brothers-in-law:
[ku\text{n}-\text{ya}-du\text{]}, JFS.
Custa, /kústa/, verb, (it) costs:
[kus-ta\text{]}, VAS, PBC.
Da, /dá/, contraction of the preposition de with the feminine article a, of the:
[da\text{}], VAS, JFS, PBC.
DÁ, /dá/, verb, (he) gives:
Daf, /dafa/, contraction of the preposition de with the adverb af, thence, from there:

[Dw-*i], JFS.

Danga, /dansa/, verb, (he) dances:

['dany-so], JFS.

Dando, /dando/, verb, giving:

['dany-uv], JFS.

Dao, /dajo/, verb, (they) give:

['danyj], JFS.

Daquilo, /dakflu/, contraction of the preposition de and the pronoun aquilo, from that, of that:

[Dw-*ki-lu], JFS.

Das, /dass/, contraction of the preposition de and the plural article as, from the, of the:

['das], JFS.

Davam, /davan/, verb, (they) gave:

['davə], VAS, PBC.

De, /di/, preposition, of:

[di'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Decidido, /desidido/, adjective, decided:

[div-siv-''di-duv], JFS.

Declarar, /deklarar/, verb, to state:

[div-kle-''ra], JFS.

Dedo, /dejdu/, noun, finger:

['de-duv], JFS.

Dedos, /dejdos/, noun, fingers:
Deixando, /deiˈʃandu/, verb, leaving:
[deˈʃan-u], O.

Deixar, /deiˈʃar/, verb, to leave:
[deˈʃa], JFS.

Deixe, /deiˈʃi/, verb, (he) leaves:
[ˈdeʃi], JFS.

Dele, /deˈli/, contraction of the preposition de and the pronoun ele, his:
[ˈde-li], VAS, JFS.

Dente, /dẽˈti/, noun, tooth:
[ˈdẽ-ti], JFS.

Dentes, /dẽˈtiʃ/, noun, teeth:
[ˈdẽ-tiʃ], PBC.

Dentro, /dẽˈtru/, adverb, inside:
[ˈdẽ-tru], VAS.
[ˈdẽ-tru], JFS.

Depende, /deˈpendi/, verb, (it) depends:
[deˈpẽ-di], JFS.

Depois, /deˈpɔiʃ/, adverb, after, afterwards:
[deˈpẽiʃ], JFS, PBC.
[deˈpẽiʃ], PBC.
[diˈpẽiʃ], JFS, O.
[diˈpẽi], PBC.

Depressa, /depreˈsa/, verb, hurry up:
[diˈpre-sa], JFS.

Desacatar, /dezakatɐr/, verb, to insult.
Desafio, /dezafiu/, noun, a musical competition between two or more singers:

Desenfreado, /dezenfreádu/, adjective, unbridled:

Desenfreou, /dezenfreóu/, verb, threw off the bridle:

Desse, /desi/, contraction of de and esse, from that:

Deu, /déu/, verb, (he) gave:

Deus, /deus/, noun, God:

Deve, /dévi/, verb, (one) should:

Devendo, /devendu/, verb, owing:

Dez, /dés/, noun, ten:

Dia, /dia/, noun, day:

Diario, /diário/, adjective, daily:
Diferente, /diferentɛ/, adjective, different:
   [di'ver-tɛ'ɾi-'tiv], PBC.
Dinheiro, /dinpɛɾu/, noun, money:
   [di'ne-'su'], VAS, PBC.
   [di'ne-'su'], JFS.
Direita, /diɾeɾita/, noun, right side:
   [di'vei-'tɛ], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Dirigir, /diriɾiɾ/, verb, to drive:
   [di've-ɾi-'ɾi], VAS, JFS.
Disparada, /disparadɛ/, noun, stampede:
   [di's-par-'ɾa-dɛ], VAS, PBC.
Disso, /diɾsu/, contraction of the preposition de and the pronoun isso, of that:
   ['di-su'], JFS.
Divida, /divida/, noun, debt:
   ['di-vi-'ɾa], JFS.
Dividas, /dividas/, noun, debts:
   ['di-vi-'ɾa], PBC.
Diz, /dzi/, verb, (he) said:
   ['dzi], JFS, PBC.
   ['di'], JFS.
Dizendo, /dziɾɛndu/, verb, saying:
   [di've-'ɾi-'ɾi-'ɾi], JFS.
Dizer, /dziɾɛɾ/, verb, to say:
   [di've-'ɾi], JFS, PBC.
Do, /dɔ/, contraction of the preposition de and the article o, of the, from the:
Doce, /dôsi/, noun, sweets;
[*do-siv*], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Doendo, /doẽndu/, verb, hurting;
[du'-wĩn-u*], JFS.

Dos, /dôs/, noun, two;
[*deis*], VAS, JFS.
[*dei*], PBC, 0.

Domingos, /domĩngus/, noun, Sundays;
[do'-mĩn-gos*], JFS.

Dor, /dôr/, noun, pain;
[*do*], 0.

Dos, /dôs/, contraction of the preposition de and the plural article os, of the, from the;
[*dos*], JFS.

Dourado, /dourãdu/, noun, type of fresh water fish;
[do'-'ra-du*], JFS.

Doutor, /doutôr/, noun, doctor;
[do'-'to*], JFS, PBC.
[do'-'to*], 0.

Doze, /dôzi/, noun, twelve;
[*do-zi*], JFS, PBC.

Dragão, /dragãun/, noun, dragon;
[drw- 'gãun*], VAS.
[drw- 'gãun*], JFS.

Dura, /dûra/, adjective, hard;
['du-xe], PBC.

E, /ê/, verb, (it) is:

['e], VAS, JFS, PBC.

E, /ê/, conjunction, and:

['i], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Eixo, /ê-išu/, noun, axie:

['e-juv'], VAS, PBC.

Eixo, /ê-išus/, noun, axles:

['e-juvs], JFS.

Ela, /ê-la/, pronoun, she:

['e-la], JFS, PBC.

Ele, /ê-li/, pronoun, he:

['e-liy], JFS, PBC.

Em, /ên/, preposition, in:

['en], JFS, PBC.

Embora, /em-bôra/, adverb, auspiciously:

[em-'bo-re], VAS.

Encontrar, /enkontrár/, verb, to meet:

[en-kôn-'tra], JFS.

Enfim, /enfiin/, adverb, finally:

[en-'fiin], JFS.

Engolir, /en-golir/, verb, to swallow:

[en-go-'li], JFS.

Enrola, /enrôla/, verb, (he) rolls:

[en-'ro-la], JFS.

Ensainando, /ensainându/, verb, teaching:

[en-si-'nän-duv], JFS.
Ensinar. /ensinar/, verb, to teach:

[ens-ina-], JFS.

Então, /entau/, adverb, then:

[entau], JFS.

Entendendo, /entendendo/, verb, understanding:

[ent-endo-dun], JFS.

Entender, /entender/, verb, to understand:

[ent-ende], PBC.

Entrar, /entrar/, verb, to enter:

[ent-tra], JFS.

Entre, /entre/, verb, come in:

[ent-ri], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Enxada, /enxada/, noun, hoe:

[en-xada], VAS, PBC, JFS.

Enxuto, /enxuto/, adjective, dry:

[en-xtu], PBC.

Escolhido, /escolhido/, adjective, chosen:

[es-kvli-du], JFS.

Escrever, /escrever/, verb, to write:

[es-kve], PBC.

Escura, /escura/, adjective, dark:

[es-kva], VAS.

[es-kv], JFS.

Escuro, /escuro/, adjective, dark:

[es-kv], PBC.

Escutar, /escutar/, verb, to listen:

[esk-ta], O.
Esmola. /ezmōla/, noun, alms:
\[i\text{'}z\text{'}-\text{'mō-le}\], VAS.
\[i\text{'}z\text{'}-\text{'mō-le}\], PBC.

Espiga. /espi-ga/, noun, ear of corn:
\['\text{spi-ge}\], PBC.

Espigãozinho. /espi-gā-osin-zhī-nu/, noun, little ridge:
\[\text{spi-gā}\text{-zī-nu'}\], JFS.

Espingarda. /espi-ngārd̥a/, noun, shot-gun:
\[\text{spī-ngā}\text{-d̥a}\], VAS.
\[\text{ī-spī-ngā}\text{-d̥a}\], JFS.

Espírito. /espi-rīt̥o/, noun, soul:
\[\text{ī-spī-rī-tu'}\], JFS.

Espolêta. /espolē-ta/, noun, gun fuse:
\[\text{s̥pō-\text{-le-t̥a}\], VAS.

Esquecer. /eskē-sēr̥/, verb, to forget:
\[\text{ī-spē-\text{-sē'g̥\']}, JFS.
\[\text{ī-spē-\text{-sē'}}\], PBC.

Esqueci. /eskē-sē/, verb, (I) forgot:
\[\text{ī-spē-\text{-sē'}}\], PBC.

Esquecido. /eskē-sī-du/, adjective, forgotten:
\[\text{ī-spē-kī\text{-sī-du'}}\], JFS.

Essa. /ēsā/, demonstrative pronoun, that:
\['\text{ē-sā}\], JFS.

Êsse. /ēsī/, demonstrative pronoun, that:
\['\text{ē-sī'}\], JFS, PBC.

Está. /ēstā/, verb, (he) is:
\['\text{ē-tā}\], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Estão, /está̃̃n/, verb, (they) are:
[ˈsta], JFS, PBC.

Estava, /estávâ/, verb, (he) was:
[ˈta-va], 0.

Estrêira, /estícra/, noun, mat made of woven straw:
[ˈste-rə], JFS.

Estou, /estou/, verb, (I) am:
[ˈsto], 0.

Estrada, /estráda/, noun, road:
[iˈs-tra-da], VAS, PBC.

Estrelas, /estrelas/, noun, stars:
[iˈs-tre-ləs], JFS.

Eu, /éu/, pronoun, I:
[ˈe-uv], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Exemplo, /ezemplu/, noun, example:
[iˈz-ˈem-plu], JFS.

Explica, /esplika/, verb, explains:
[eˈs-ˈpli-kə], JFS.

Explicar, /esplikâr/, verb, to explain:
[ˈspli-ˈka], VAS.

Explicação, /esplikasâyn/, noun, explanation:
[ˈspli-ˈka-ˈsâyn], JFS.
Fábrica, /fábrika/, noun, factory:
[ˈfa-bris-ka], VAS.

Faca, /faka/, noun, knife:
[ˈfa-kə], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Facão, /fakão/, noun, large, heavy knife:
[ˈfa-ˈkaʊ], PBC.

Fácil, /fácil/, adjective, easy:
[ˈfa-siˈkəl], JFS.
[ˈfa-siˈkə], 0.

Fala, /fala/, verb, (he) speaks:
[ˈfa-lə], JFS.

Falando, /falando/, verb, talking:
[ˈfa-lən-دو], JFS, 0.

Falar, /falar/, verb, to talk:
[ˈfa-lə], 0.

Falou, /falou/, verb, (he) spoke:
[ˈfa-ˈlou], PBC.

Falta, /falta/, noun, lack:
[ˈfa-tə], 0.

Faltar, /faltar/, verb, to lack:
[ˈfa-tər], VAS, JFS.
[ˈfa-tər], PBC.

Família, /família/, noun, family:
[ˈfam-i-lja], VAS, JFS.
[ˈfam-i-jə], PBC, 0.
[ˈfam-i-ə], 0.

Faz, /faz/, verb, (he) does:
Fazendeiro, /fazendêjru/, noun, large landholder:
[fe-zên-‘de-ruv], JFS.

Fazendinha, /fazendjna/, proper noun, bairro in Sao

Fazendo, /fazêndu/, verb, doing:
[fe-‘zên-duv], JFS.
[fe-‘zên-yuv], JFS.

Fazer, /fazêr/, verb, to do:
[fe-‘zeu], JFS.
[fe-‘ze], JFS, PBC.

Feijão, /feiSjau/, noun, bean:
[fe-‘jâu], JFS, PBC.

Feita, /féita/, adjective, done:
['feją-te], JFS.

Feito, /féiitu/, adjective, done:
['fei-tuv], JFS.

Ferido, /feridu/, noun, sore:
[fiy-‘ri-duv], JFS.

Ferradura, /ferradûra/, noun, horseshoe:
[fe-xa-‘du-xa], JFS.

Ferrão, /ferrâo/, noun, bee sting:
[fe-‘xaû], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Ferro. /fɛrru/, noun, iron:
[ˈfe-χɾ], PBC.
Ferrolo, /ferrolu/, noun, door bolt:
[fe-'χo-λu], JFS.
Fevereiro, /fɛvereiru/, noun, February:
[fe'-'ve-'fe-ru'], PBC.
Fica, /fika/, verb, remain:
[ˈfi-ka], JFS, PBC.
Ficando, /fikându/, verb, remaining:
[fi'-'kän-uv], JFS, 0.
Ficar, /fikáɭ/, verb, to remain:
[fi'-'ka], 0.
Ficou, /fikóu/, verb, (he) remained:
[fi'-'ko], JFS.
Filha, /fl̩la/, noun, daughter:
[ˈfi-λa], JFS.
[ˈfi-ə], 0.
Filho, /fl̩lu/, noun, son:
[ˈfi-λu], JFS, PBC.
[ˈfi-ju], PBC.
[ˈfi-u], 0.
Fim, /fim/, noun, end:
[ˈfim], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Fio, /flu/, noun, thread:
[ˈfi-u], JFS.
Flanela, /flan̩la/, noun, flannel:
[fl̩n-'ne-ᵻ], VAS, PBC.
Flauta, /flauta/, noun, flute:
[ˈfɾaʊ-ta], JFS.
[ˈflaut-a], PBC.

Flecha, /fleʃa/, noun, arrow:
[ˈfɾeʃa], VAS.
[ˈfɾeʃa], PBC.

Flechas, /fleʃas/, noun, arrows:
[ˈfɾeʃas], JFS.

Flor, /flɔr/, noun, flower:
[ˈfɾor], VAS. PBC.
[ˈfɾor], JFS.
[ˈfɾo], O.

Floresta, /flɔresta/, noun, forest:
[ˈfɾoɾes-ta], JFS.

Foguete, /fogutʃi/, noun, rocket:
[ˈfoɾe-tʃi], VAS.

Foi, /fɔi/, verb, (he) went:
[ˈfɾi], JFS. PBC.

For, /för/, verb, would be:
[ˈfɾi], JFS.

Fosforo, /fɔsforo/, noun, match:
[ˈfɾos-fɾoɾu], VAS.
[ˈfɾos-fɾoɾu], JFS.

Fosforos, /fɔsforos/, noun, matches:
[ˈfɾos-fɾoɾos], PBC.
Fraco, /fráku/, adjective, weak:
[ˈfɾa-kʊ], VAS.
[ˈfɾa-kʊ], JFS.
[ˈfɾa-kʊ], PBC.

Fralda, /frálda/, noun, diaper:
[ˈfɾa-də], JFS.

Francisco, /fransǐsku/, proper noun, Frank:
[ˈfɾaŋ-siŋ-kʊ], JFS.

Frango, /frǎngu/, noun, chicken:
[ˈfɾaŋ-gʊ], VAS, PBC.
[ˈfɾaŋ-gʊ], JFS.

Franja, /franʒa/, noun, bangs (hair):
[ˈfɾaŋ-ʒə], JFS.

Franjinha, /franʒiŋa/, noun, bangs (hair):
[ˈfɾaŋ-ʒɪŋ-ɲa], VAS.
[ˈfɾaŋ-ʒɪŋ-ɲa], PBC.

Freio, /fréju/, noun, brake:
[ˈfɾe-jʊ], JFS.

Frente, /frénti/, adverb, front:
[ˈfɾeŋ-tiŋ], JFS.

Frio, /frú/, adjective, cold:
[ˈfɾi-oʊ], JFS, PBC.
[ˈʃəi-oʊ], PBC.

Fruta, /frúta/, noun, fruit:
[ˈfɾu-tə], VAS.
[ˈfɾu-tə], JFS.
[ˈʃuŋ-tə], O.
Fugir, /fu'fr/, verb, to flee:  
[ 'fu'-'8i], JFS.

Fundo, /fùndu/, noun, rear:  
['fündu'], JFS.

Gado, /gådu/, noun, cattle:  
['ga-du'], PBC.

Gaita, /gàita/, noun, shepherd's pipe:  
['gài-te], VAS.

Gamela, /gàmela/, noun, wooden trough:  
[ 'ga-mel-a], JFS.

Gancho, /gånu/, noun, hook:  
['gàny-fu'], JFS.

Ganhar, /gañar/, verb, to win:  
[ 'gañ-a], JFS, PBC.

Garrafa, /garràfa/, noun, bottle:  
[ 'gu-xa-fa], JFS.

Gâs, /gåz/, noun, gas:  
['gaz], JFS.

Gelada, /'zela-da/, adjective, iced:  
[ 'ze-la-da], VAS.

Geladinha, /'zela-dina/, adjective, iced:  
[ 'ze-la-'di-ni], JFS.

Gelado, /'zela-du/, adjective, iced:  
[ 'ji-la-du'], PBC.

Gêlo, /'zelu/, noun, ice:  
['ze-lu'], VAS, PBC.  
['ze-lo'], JFS.
Gente, /ˈdɛnti/, noun, people:
[ˈdɛnti], JFS.

Geral, /ˈdɛrəl/, adjective, general:
[ʒiˈraʁ], JFS.

Glandula, /glændula/, noun, gland:
[ˈglænd-duˌlə], VAS.
[ˈgraˌnə], JFS.

Glória, /ˈdʒlɔrja/, noun, glory:
[ˈɡɔrʒaˌdʒə], O.

Goiaba, /ɡoîaba/, noun, guava:
[goˈjaˌbə], PBC.

Costa, /ˈkɔsta/, verb, (he) likes:
[ˈɡɔstə], PBC.

Graminha, /ɡraminya/, proper noun, bairro in Sao Luís:
[ɡraminya], VAS.

Grandão, /ˈɡɾaŋdâʊ̯n/, adjective, huge:
[ɡɾaŋˈdãj], JFS.

Grande, /ˈɡɾaŋdi/, adjective, large:
[ˈɡɾaŋdi], VAS.

Grão, /ɡɾaʊ̯n/, noun, grain:
[ɡɾaʊ̯n], JFS.

Grossa, /ɡɾɔsा/, adjective, gross:
[ˈɡɾɔsə], VAS.

Grosso, /ɡɾɔsʊ/, adjective, gross:
[ˈɡɾɔsu], JFS.

Guaraná, /ɡwaraˈna/, noun, soft drink flavored with guarana:
Guarda, /guärda/, noun, guard:
['gwa^-da], VAS, JFS.
['gwar-de], PBC.
Guia, /gía/, noun, guide:
['gi-ja], JFS.
['gi-a], PBC.
Guiar, /giår/, verb, to drive:
[gi'-'a], JFS.
Gume, /gûmi/, noun, knife edge:
['gûy-miv], VAS.
Há, /á/, verb, there is:
['a], JFS.
Hoje, /ôzi/, adverb, today:
['o-ziy], JFS.
Homem, /ômen/, noun, man:
['ômi-va], VAS, PBC, JFS.
Homene, /ômens/, noun, men:
['ômi-veys], VAS.
['ôm-veys], JFS, O.
Horas, /ôras/, noun, hours:
['ô-va], VAS, JFS.
['ô-ras], JFS.
['ô-va], PBC.
Hortelã, /ôrtalân/, proper noun, bairro in Sao Luís:
['ô-va-tw-'lân], VAS.
Ia, /ia/, verb, (I) would go:
Idade, /idádi/, noun, age.

Igreja, /igréja/, noun, church.

Ilha, /ilha/, noun, island.

Imagens, /imážens/, noun, images.

Inferno, /inférnu/, noun, hell.

Informar, /informár/, verb, to inform.

Inteiro, /inteíru/, adjective, entire.

Ir, /ir/, verb, to go.

Irmã, /irmán/, noun, sister.

Irmão, /irmáwn/, noun, brother.

Irmãos, /irmáuns/, noun, brothers.

Irmãs, /irmáns/, noun, sisters.
Ibo, /i-su/, demonstrative pronoun, that:
[
'\{i-su\}'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Isto, /i-stu/, demonstrative pronoun, this:
[
'\{i-stu\}'], PBC.

Já, /já/, conjunction, already:
[
'\{já\}'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Jaca, /já-ka/, noun, jack: a species of breadfruit:
[
'\{já-ka\}'], JFS.

Jacá, /já-ká/, noun, pair of baskets used as a pack-saddle:
[
'\{já-ká\}'], JFS.

Jacaranda, /já-ka-randá/, noun, a tall tropical tree:
[
'\{já-ke-rán-da\}'], JFS.

Janeiro, /já-ne-ér-u/, noun, January:
[
'\{já-ne-ér-u\}'], VAS.
[
'\{já-ne-ru\}'], JFS.
[
'\{já-nei-ru\}'], PBC.

Jangada, /jángá-da/, noun, a sailing raft used for fishing:
[
'\{jángá-da\}'], JFS.

Janta, /ján-ta/, noun, dinner:
[
'\{ján-ta\}'], VAS, JFS.

Jeito, /jéi-tu/, noun, way, manner:
[
'\{jéi-tu\}'], JFS.

Jejuar, /jéju-ær/, verb, to fast:
[
'\{jéju-ær\}'], VAS, PBC.
[
'\{jí-jo-ær\}'], JFS.
João, /ʒoˈaɲ/, proper noun, John;
[ʒu-ˈaɲ], JFS.
José, /ʒozɛ/, proper noun, Joseph;
[ʒuˈze], JFS.
Jovem, /ʒɨvem/, noun, young person;
[ˈjo-vem], JFS.
Junto, /ʒũntu/, adverb, together;
[ˈʒũntu], JFS.
Justamente, /ʒuʃtamẽnti/, adverb, precisely;
[ʒuˈs-te-ˈmĩn-ti], JFS.
Lá, /lá/, adverb, there;
['la], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Lã, /lã/, noun, wool;
[ˈlã], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Lado, /lado/, noun, side;
['la-du]\), VAS, JFS, PBC.
Lados, /lados/, noun, sides;
[ˈla-du], JFS.
Lago, /lago/, noun, lake;
['la-gu], PBC.
Lagoas, /lagoas/, noun, ponds;
[laˈ-go-as], JFS.
Lagoinha, /lagoiɲa/, proper noun, a municipality near São Luís;
[laˈ-goiɲ-ˈaɲ], VAS, PBC.
Lança, /lansa/, verb, (he) vomits;
[ˈlãj-ʃe], VAS, PBC.
Lancar, /lansár/, verb, to vomit:
[ˈlɑŋ-sə], JFS.

Lavoura, /lavóura/, noun, farming:
[ˈla-vo-rə], JFS.

Lavrador, /lavradór/, noun, agricultural worker:
[ˈla-və-ˈdoɾ], VAS, PBC.
[ˈla-və-ˈdoɾ], JFS.
[ˈla-və-ˈdoɾ], JFS.

Lázaro, /lázaru/, noun, leper:
[ˈla-ˈzaɾ], PBC.

Leão, /leəu/, noun, lion:
[leˈo̞-ˈaʊ̞], VAS, PBC.
[leˈo̞-ˈaʊ̞], JFS.

Leões, /leəens/, noun, lions:
[liˈe̞-ˈaʊ̞n̩s], PBC.

Leitão/ leitdo/, noun, female sucking-pig:
[leˈtɔ-ˈo̞], JFS, PBC.

Lembrar, /lembrár/, verb, to remember:
[ˈlembɾaɾ], VAS, PBC.

Lhe, /lhe/, personal pronoun, to him, her, or it:
[li], o.

Liga, /liga/, verb, to deal with:
[ˈli-gə], PBC.

Limpando, /limpându/, verb, cleaning:
[ˈlimpəndu], JFS.

Limpar, /limpər/, verb, to clean:
Limpou, /limpou/, verb, (he) cleaned;

[L1m-'po], JFS.

Linda, /linda/, adjective, beautiful;

[L1n-da], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Linha, /linha/, noun, thread;

[L1n-θa], JFS.

Livre, /livre/, adjective, free;

[L1-vri], PBC.

Logo, /logo/, adverb, soon;

[L1-gu], JFS.

Lombilho, /lombilho/, noun, a kind of saddle;

[L6m-bi-ju], PBC.

Lombo, /lombo/, noun, back of an animal;

[L6m-bu], JFS, PBC.

Lua, /lua/, noun, moon;

[L1u-θa], VAS.

[L1u-θa], JFS, PBC.

[L1u-θa], JFS.

Lugar, /lugar/, noun, place;

[Luv-'ga], 0.

Lugares, /lugares/, noun, places;

[Luv-'gaθ], JFS.

Luz, /luz/, noun, light;

[Luθ], 0.

Má, /ma/, adjective, bad;

[Ma], PBC.
Macã, /masán/, noun, *apple*:
[mas-'sũ̃̃n], JFS.

Macaco, /makáku/, noun, *monkey*:
[ma-'ka-kuv], PBC.

Madura, /madúra/, adjective, *ripe*:
[ma-'du-ɾɔ], PBC.

Mãe, /máĩn/, noun, *mother*:
[*mãĩj], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Mais, /máiz/, adverb, *more*:
[*maiz], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Mal, /mál/, adjective, *bad*:
[*mau̯], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Mala, /mála/, noun, *suitcase*:
[*ma-ɾa], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Maltratar, /maltratár/, verb, *to mistreat*:
[mai-'tra-'ta], PBC.

Mamão, /mamáũ/, noun, *papaya*:
[ma-'mãũ̃], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Mamoeiro, /mamóẽru/, noun, *papaya tree*:
[ma-'mãũ̃-zẽ-ɾu̯], JFS.

Mancando, /mankándu/, verb, *limping*:
[maŋ-'kã̃-ɾu̯], VAS.

Mandar, /mandár/, verb, *to send*:
[maŋ-'da̯], JFS, PBC.

Mandioca, /mandiška/, noun, *manioc*:
[maŋ-di'-'ɾ-kɔ̃], PBC.

Manga, /mangã/, noun, *sleeve*:
Manquita, /mɐŋkɨt̪a/, noun, cripple;
[ˈmaŋ̃-kɨ-ˈt̪a], PBC.

Mantimentos, /mɐnˈtĩmẽntuʃ/, noun, supplies;
[ˈmɐñ-tɨ-ˈmɐñ-tuv], JFS.

Mão, /mɐjn/, noun, hand;
[ˈmɐĳ̃], VAS, PBC.

Mãos, /mɐjns/, noun, hands;
[ˈmɐj̃n], JFS.

Mapa, /mɐpa/, noun, map;
[ˈma-ˈpɐ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Maravilha, /mɐɾɐviʎɐ/, noun, marvel;
[maɾɐ-ˈvi-ʃə], 0.

Maria, /mɐɾiʃa/, proper noun, Mary;
[maɾɐ-ˈɾi-ʃə], JFS.

Marido, /mɐɾidu/, noun, husband;
[maɾɐ-ˈɾi-du], JFS.

Marimbondo, /mɐɾimbɔnˈdu/, noun, a variety of wasp;
[maɾɨm̥-ˈbɔn-duv], JFS.

Mas, /mɐs/, conjunction, but;
[ˈmɐs], JFS.

Me, /mɐ/, personal pronoun, me, to me;
[mi], JFS.

Médico, /mɐdiku/, noun, physician;
Meia, /mɛja/, noun, half share:

Meio, /mɛju/, noun, half:

Melhor, /meolr/, adjective, better:

Menina, /menina/, noun, young girl:

Meninas, /meninas/, noun, young girls:

Menino, /menino/, noun, young boy:

Meninos, /meninos/, noun, young boys:

Menor, /menor/, adjective, smaller:

Mens, /mens/, noun, month:

Mesa, /mesa/, noun, table:

Meses, /meses/, noun, months:

Mêmo, /memu/, adjective, same:
Mestre, /mɛstrɪ/, noun, instructor:
[mes-ˈtrɪ], VAS.
Meu, /mɛu/, adjective, my:
[ˈme-u̯], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Miguel, /migɛɫ/, proper noun:
[miˈ-ʒɛɫ], JFS.
Mil, /mɪl/, noun, thousand:
[ˈmiːl], JFS.
[ˈmɪl], VAS.
[ˈmiɫ], PBC.
Milho, /mɪlho/, noun, corn:
[ˈmi-λho], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[ˈmi-ju̯], JFS, PBC.
Mim, /mɪm/, personal pronoun, me:
[ˈmɪm], PBC.
Minha, /mɪnha/, personal pronoun, my:
[ˈmɪn-ɲa], JFS, PBC.
[ˈmi-ə], PBC.
Minhoca, /mɪnhoˈka/, noun, earthworm:
[miˈ-ɲɔ-ka], PBC.
Miolo, /miˈoɫu/, noun, brain:
[miˈ-o-ˈlu̯], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Missa, /mɪsə/, noun, mass:
[ˈmi-sə], JFS.
Moça, /mɔsə/, noun, young woman:
mo-se, VAS, JFS, PBC.
Mole, /móli/, adjective, soft:
[ˈmɔ-li'], PBC.
Molhado, /molhado/, adjective, wet:
[moˈ-ɫa-də], JFS.
Montanha, /montanha/, noun, mountain:
[moˈ-tɐ̃-nɐ], JFS.
Morada, /morada/, noun, residence:
[muˈ-ra-də], PBC.
Morais, /morais/, proper noun:
[moˈ-uais], PBC.
Mora, /mõra/, verb, (he) lives:
[ˈmɔ-ra], JFS.
Morra, /mõrra/, verb, (he) dies:
[ˈmɔ-xə], PBC.
Morre, /mõrrri/, verb, dies:
[ˈmɔ-xiɾ], VAS.
Morreu, /morrêu/, verb, (he) died:
[moˈ-xe-u], JFS.
Mostrar, /mostrar/, verb, to show:
[moˈs-tɾa], JFS.
Motorista, /motorista/, noun, motorist:
[moˈ-toɾ-iṣ-tə], VAS.
Muito, /muitu/, adjective, much, many:
[ˈmũi̯tu], JFS, PBC.
[ˈmũtu], O
Mulher, /mulher/, noun, woman, wife:
Mulheres, /muléris/, noun, women, wives:

[muv-'le-riv], JFS.

Munheca, /munéka/, noun, wrist:

[muň-'ne-ke], JFS.

Municipal, /munisipáli/, adjective, municipal:

[muv-ni-siv-'pa], PBC.

Município, /munisipió/, noun, municipality:

[muv-ni-si-pjuv], JFS.

Música, /músika/, noun, music:

[′mu-si-v-kə], JFS.

Mutirão, /mutiráv/, noun, collective aid:

[muv-tiv-'ra], PBC.

Na, /ná/, contraction of the preposition em with the article a, in the:

[′na], JFS, PBC.

Nabo, /nábu/, noun, turnip:

[′na-bu], VAS, JFS.

Nação, /nasáy/, noun, nation:

[ne-'say], PBC.

Nada, /náda/, noun, nothing:

[′na-de], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Nadar, /nadár/, verb, to swim:

[muv-'da], VAS, JFS.

[′mu-də], PBC.
Nagãosinha, /nagãônsinha/, noun, variety of wasp:
[ne-ga-gi-\'si-jô], JFS.
Nãa, /nãun/, adjective, no:
[\'nãu\'], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Nãa é, /nãun é/, interjection, is it not:
[\'nãj\'], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Naguêle, /nakfli/, contraction of the preposition em and the adjective aquêle, at that, in that:
[ne-\'ke-li\'], PBC.
Nãa, /nã\', contraction of the preposition em and the article as, in the:
[\'nas], JFS.
Nasce, /näs\', verb, (he) is born:
[\'na-si\'], JFS, PBC.
Nasceu, /nasêu/, verb, (he) was born:
[ne-\'se-u\'], VAS, PBC.
[ne-\'si\'], JFS.
Nasci, /nasf\', verb, (I) was born:
[ne-\'si\'], VAS, JFS.
Natural, /naturál/, adjective, natural:
[ne-tu\'-\'raç], VAS, JFS.
[ne-tu\'-\'raç], PBC.
Negocinhos, /negôs\'inhas/, noun, little affairs:
[ni\'-\'ga-\'si-\'nuv], JFS.
Negôcio, /negôsiu/, noun, affair:
[ni\'-\'ga-\'siuv], JFS.
Negôcios, /negôsius/, noun, affairs:
Nêle, /néli/, contraction of em plus êle, in him, in it:
[\text{'ne-li\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}}], JFS.

Nem, /nên/, adverb plus conjunction, neither, nor:
[\text{'nên}], PBC.

Nervoso, /nèrvôsu/, adjective, nervous:
[\text{nèr-'vo-su\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}], PBC.

Neve, /névi/, noun, snow:
[\text{'nz-vi\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}], PBC.

Nevea, /nèvis/, proper noun:
[\text{'nê-vi\textsuperscript{\textregistered}s}], JFS.

No, /nô/, contraction of the preposition em and the article o, in the, on the:
[\text{nô\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}], JFS, PBC.

Noite, /nôiti/, noun, night:
[\text{'nôi-ti\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}], JFS.

Nome, /nômi/, noun, name:
[\text{'nô-mi\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}], JFS.

Nôs, /nôs/, pronoun, we, us:
[\text{'nos}], JFS.
[\text{'nôs}], O.
[\text{'nei}], PBC, O.

Nota, /nôta/, noun, tune:
[\text{'nô-ta}], JFS.

Noiturno, /nôiturnô/, adjective, nocturnal:
[\text{no\textsuperscript{\textregistered}-'tu-g-nôv}], JFS.
Nova, /nɔvə/, adjective, new:
[ˈnɔˌvə], VAS.

Nova, /nɔvi/, noun, nine:
[ˈnɔˌvi], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Novo, /nɔvʊ/, adjective, new:
[ˈnɔˌvu], JFS.

Nu, /nʊ/, adjective, nude:
[ˈnu], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Num, /nʊn/, contraction of the preposition em and um, at a, in a:
[ˈnʊn], JFS, PBC.

Numa, /nʊma/, contraction of the preposition em and um, at a, in a:
[ˈnʊmə], JFS.

O, /ɔ/, article, the:
[uə], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[ɔ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Obedecer, /oˈbedesɝ/, verb, to obey:
[əˈbiˌdeəˈse], JFS.

Obrigada, /oˈbrigədə/, interjection, thank you:
[əˈbɾiˌˌgaˈdə], JFS.

Obrigado, /oˈbrigədʊ/, interjection, thank you:
[uˈbɾiˌˌgaˈdu], JFS.

Ocupar, /oˈkupər/, verb, to occupy:
[əˈkuˌpə], PBC.

Oito, /oˈi tu/, noun, eight:
[ˈoɪˌtu], JFS, PBC.
Olho, /δλυ/, noun, eye:
[ˈc-λυ], JFS, PBC.
[ˈc-λυ], VAS.
[ˈcο-ju], JFS, 0.
[ˈc-ju], 0.

Olhos, /δλυς/, noun, eyes:
[ˈc-λυ], VAS.
[ˈcο-ju], JFS.

Onça, /δνςα/, noun, jaguar:
[ˈδς-ςε], PBC.

Onde, /δνδι/, adverb, where:
[ˈθν-διν], VAS, JFS.
[ˈθν-διν], PBC.

Ontem, /δντεν/, adverb, yesterday:
[ˈθν-τεν], VAS.
[ˈθν-τεν], JFS.
[ˈθν-τεν], PBC.

Onze, /δνζι/, noun, nine:
[ˈθν-ζιν], JFS, PBC.

Orelha, /ορελα/, noun, ear:
[zuν-ˈre-je ], 0.

Oriente, /οριεντι/, proper noun, a bairro in São Luís:
[uv-ˈri-n-ˈθν-τιν], VAS.

Os, /δς/, article, the:
[uνς], VAS.
[ος], JFS.
ou, /ð/, conjunction, either, or:
[uv], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[əʊ], JFS.
Outra, /ˈʊtra/, adjective, other:
[ˈo-tra], JFS, PBC, 0.
Outras, /ˈʊtras/, adjective, others:
[ˈo-trəs], JFS.
Outro, /ˈʊtru/, adjective, other:
[ˈo-tro], JFS.
[ˈo-tru], JFS.
Padre, /ˈpádri/, noun, priest:
[ˈpa-dri], JFS.
Paga, /ˈpága/, verb, (he) pays:
[ˈpa-gə], JFS.
Pagar, /ˈpagar/, verb, to pay:
[ˈpa-gəɾ], JFS.
Pai, /ˈpáj/, noun, father:
[ˈpaj], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Pais, /ˈpajs/, noun, country:
[ˈpɛ-ˈizə], JFS.
Paisagem, /ˈpaizəɡəm/, noun, landscape:
[ˈpaiz-ə-ʒəm], JFS.
Palácio, /ˈpalásjʊ/, noun, palace:
[ˈpə-ˈla-sju], JFS.
Palavra, /ˈpalavrə/, noun, word:
[ˈpə-ˈlavrə], PBC, JFS.
[ˈpə-ˈlavrə], JFS.
Palmanã, /palmanã/, proper noun, bairro in São Luís:
[pa-ˈmã-ˈnã], VAS.

Palma, /pálma/, noun, palms of hands:
[ˈpa-ˈmã], JFS.

Palmeira, /pálmeira/, noun, palm tree:
[pa-ˈmẽ-ˈɾa], PBC.

Pão, /páu/, noun, bread:
[ˈpaʊ], VAS, JFS.

Para, /pára/, preposition, for, to, towards, at:
[pa], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[pra], JFS.
[paː], JFS.
[ˈpa-ɾa], JFS.

Pára, /pára/, verb, stop:
[ˈpa-ɾa], JFS.

Parado, /parádu/, verb, stopped:
[pr-ˈa-du], JFS.

Paraitinga, /paraitinga/, proper noun:
[pr-ˈɾi-ˈtɨ-ˈɾa], JFS.

Parar, /parár/, verb, to stop:
[pr-ˈɾaɾ], JFS.

Parada, /parádi/, noun, wall:
[pr-ˈɾe-di], JFS.

Parte, /párti/, noun, part:
[ˈpaɾ-ˈɾi], JFS, PBC.

Partes, /pártis/, noun, parts:
[ˈpaɾ-ˈɾiʃ], JFS.
Passa, /pásā/, verb, (he) passes:
['pa-sə'], JFS.
Passando, /pasándu/, verb, passing:
[pe-'sän-u'], O.
Passar, /pasár/, verb, to pass:
[pe-'sa'], VAS, JFS.
Pasto, /pástu/, noun, pasture:
['pas-to'], JFS.
Patrão, /patráun/, noun, employer:
[pe-'trãuʃ], JFS.
Pau, /páu/, noun, stick:
[ 'pau'], JFS, PBC.
Paulo, /páulu/, proper noun, Paul:
[ 'pau-1ə], JFS.
Pavão, /paváun/, noun, peacock:
[pe-'vãuʃ], VAS.
Pé, /pé/, noun, foot:
['pe'], VAS, PBC.
['pe'], JFS.
Pecuarista, /pekuarista/, noun, person skilled in

cattle raising:
[pi'-ku'-ɾ-'ris-tə], PBC.
Pedir, /pedir/, verb, to ask:
[pi-'diɾ'], VAS.
[pe-'diʃ], PBC.
Pedro, /pédru/, proper noun, Peter:
[ 'pe-dru'], PBC.
Pega. /pêga/, verb, (he) catches:
    ['pe-ge], JFS.

Pegar, /pegar/, verb, to catch:
    [pe-'ga], JFS, PBC.

Peixe, /pêiʃi/, noun, fish:
    ['pe-xi'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Pela, /pêla/, contraction of the preposition per with the archaic article la, by, through, at, in the, for the:
    ['pe-le], VAS, PBC.

Pelado, /pelâdu/, adjective, naked:
    [pe-'la-du'], JFS.

Pelas, /pelâs/, contraction of the preposition per with the archaic article las, by, through, in the, at, for the:
    ['pe-les], JFS.

Pele, /pêli/, noun, skin:
    ['pe-li'], PBC.

Pendão, /pendâun/, noun, corn blossom:
    [pên-'dâũ], PBC.

Peneira, /penêira/, noun, sieve:
    [pe-'nê-re], JFS.

Penitência, /penitênsia/, noun, penitence:
    [pên-ti-'nê-sje], JFS.

Pensão, /pensâun/, noun, boarding house:
    [pên-'sâũ], JFS.

Pente, /pênti/, noun, comb:
    ['pênti], VAS.
Péntimo. /penulti\-mu/, adjective, penultimate:
[pën-\-'u\-t\-i\-v\-m\-u\], JFS.
Pequeñina. /pe\-ken\-\-n\-a/, adjective, very little:
[pe\-ke\-\-n\-i\-\-n\-a], JFS.
Percevejó. /perse\-ve\-ju\-, noun, bedbug:
[pe\-se\-\-'ve\-ju\], VAS.
[pe\-se\-\-'ve\-ju\], JFS.
[pe\-se\-\-'ve\-ju\], PBC.
Pereira. /per\-\-\-e\-ri\-, noun, pear-tree:
[pe\-\-'re\-\-\-re\], PBC.
Pergunta. /per\-\-\-g\-\-\-n\-ta\-, noun, question:
[pe\-\-'g\-\-\-n\-ta\], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Perguntamos. /per\-\-\-g\-\-\-n\-\-\-t\-a\-m\-u\-, verb, (we) ask:
[pe\-\-'g\-\-\-n\-\-\-t\-a\-m\-u\], JFS.
Perna. /pe\-\-\-n\-\-\-\-na\-, noun, leg:
['pe\-\-\-n\-\-\-\-na\], JFS.
Pessoa. /pe\-\-\-s\-\-\-a\-, noun, person:
[pe\-'so\-\-\-\-a\], JFS, PBC.
Pessoal. /pe\-\-\-s\-\-\-o\-\-\-\-\-\-\-al\-, noun, folks:
[pe\-\-\-s\-\-\-o\-\-\-\-\-\-\-a\], JFS.
Pestana. /pe\-\-\-s\-\-t\-a\-n\-a\-, noun, eyelash:
[pe\-'s\-\-t\-a\-n\-a\], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Piaba. /pi\-\-\-a\-\-\-ba\-, noun, a small, freshwater fish:
[piv\-'a\-\-ba\], PBC.
Pico. /pi\-\-\-ku\-, noun, peak:
['pi\-'ku\], VAS.
Pincel, /pinsel/, noun, brush:
   [pɪnˈsɛl], VAS.

Pinos, /pinos/, noun, pega:
   [ˈpɪnəs], JFS.

Pinte, /pint/, verb, (he) paints:
   [ˈpɪnt], PBC.

Pistão, /pistão/, noun, corne:
   [piʃˈtɐ̃w], VAS.

Planalto, /planálu/, noun, plateau:
   [pluˈnaɫtu], JFS.

Planeta, /planéta/, noun, planet:
   [pluˈne-te], JFS.

Planta, /plánta/, verb, (he) plants:
   [ˈplʌnt], PBC.

Planta, /plánta/, noun, plant:
   [ˈplʌнт], PBC.

Plantação, /plantasção/, noun, planting:
   [prʌntaˈçaw], JFS.

Plantar, /plantar/, verb, to plant:
   [plʌntər], VAS.
   [plʌntə], JFS.

Plantou, /plantou/, verb, (he) planted:
   [plʌnt], JFS.
   [plʌnt], PBC.

Pó, /pó/, noun, powder:
   [ˈpɔ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Pouso, /pɔsu/, noun, well:
['po-su'], PBC.

Pode, /pôdi/, verb, (he) is able to:
['po-di'], JFS.
['po'], PBC.

Põe, /põin/, verb, (he) puts:
['põi'], JFS, PBC.

Poeira, /poëira/, noun, dust:
[puv-'we-ra], VAS, JFS.
[puv-'e-ra], PBC.

Poesia, /poezia/, noun, poetry:
[po-i-'zi-a], JFS.

Poeta, /poëta/, noun, poet:
[puv-'we-tə], VAS, JFS.
[puv-'e-tə], PBC.

Polvora, /pôlvora/, noun, gunpowder:
['poç-ve'], VAS, JFS.

Ponta, /pônta/, noun, point:
['pônta], PBC.

Pontas, /pôntas/, noun, points:
['pôntas], JFS.

Ponte, /pônti/, noun, bridge:
['pônti'], VAS.

Por, /pôr/, preposition, at, by, for, from:
['por'], JFS.
['po'], JFS, PBC.

Por, /pôr/, verb, to put:
['pôr'], JFS.
Porgão, /pərsəˈʊn/, noun, portion:
   [pərˈsəʊn], JFS.
Porque, /pɔrˈkɛ/, conjunction, because:
   [pɔrˈkɛ], JFS.
   [pərˈkɛ], JFS, PBC.
   [pɔrˈkɛ], JFS.
Porta, /pɔrˈtə/, noun, door:
   [ˈpɔɾtə], VAS.
   [ˈpɔɾtə], JFS, PBC.
Pórtico, /pɔɾˈtikə/, noun:
   [ˈpɔɾtiko], JFS.
Pouco, /pøˈku/, adjective, little:
   [ˈpουˈkuv], JFS.
Pouquinho, /poˈkĩn/, noun, a little bit:
   [poˈkĩn], JFS.
Precisa, /pɾɛˈsiʒa/, verb, (he) needs:
   [preˈsiʒɐ], JFS.
   [pɾeˈsiʒɐ], PBC.
Prende, /prɛndə/, verb, (it) holds:
   [ˈprɛndə], JFS.
Preparar, /pɾɐˈparaɾ/, verb, to prepare:
   [pɾɐˈparaɾ], JFS.
Prêgo, /pɾeˈzuo/, adjective, captive:
   [ˈpɾeʒu], JFS.
Primeira, /primɨˈɾɐ/, adjective, first:
   [priˈmɐˈɾɐ], JFS.
Primeiro, /primɨˈɾiɾu/, adjective, first:
Principe, /prinsip/, noun, prince:
[prinSi-pi\], JFS.

Processado, /prosesado/, verb, sued:
[pro-se-~sa-du\], VAS.

Professoras, /professoras/, noun, teachers:
[pro-fe~so-res], JFS.

Pulga, /pulga/, noun, flea:
[pul-ga\], VAS.
[pul-ga\], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Pura, /pura/, adjective, pure:
[pur-a\], JFS.

Putirão, /putirão/, noun, collective help:
[pu-ri~ro\], JFS.

Quadrado, /quadrado/, adjective, square:
[kwe~dra-du\], VAS.
[kwe~dra-du\], JFS, PBC.

Qual, /qual/, pronoun, which:
[kwai\], JFS.

Qualquer, /qualquer/, adjective, any:
[kwaI~ke\], JFS.
[kwe~ke\], JFS.

Quando, /quando/, adverb, when:
[kwan-du\], JFS.
Quantias, /kuantias/, noun, amount:
['kwān-ʊv], JFS, PBC.
['kwān], JFS.
Quanto, /kuāntu/, adjective, how much:
['kwān-tʊv], VAS.
['kwān-tʊv], JFS, PBC.
Quarenta, /kuarənta/, noun, forty:
[kwe-'rfn-tə], VAS.
Quarta, /kuərta/, noun, fourth:
['kwɑ(--tə], JFS.
Quatro, /kuətru/, noun, four:
['kwa-(tcuv], VAS, PBC.
['kwa-tcuv], JFS.
Que, /kê/, adjective, what:
['kê], JFS.
Que, /kê/, conjunction, as, for, than:
[ki\v], JFS, PBC.
Quebrôu, /kebrôu/, verb, (it) broke:
[ke-{'bɾo], JFS.
Queijo, /keiʒu/, noun, cheese:
['kei-ʒuv], PBC.
Queixo, /keiʃu/, noun, chin:
['ke-ʃuv], JFS.
Quem, /kên/, pronoun, who:
['kên], PBC.
Quente, /kentı/, adjective, hot:
Quer, /kɛɾ/, verb, to want:
[ˈkɛɾ], JFS.

Quieto, /kɪɛtu/, adjective, quiet:
[ˈkɪtʊˈtʊ], JFS.

Quinta, /kɪnta/, noun, fifth:
[ˈkɪnto], JFS.

Rã, /rán/, noun, frog:
[ˈɾã], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Raça, /rásα/, noun, race:
[ˈrɑz̪a], PBC.

Rainha, /rɛiɲa/, noun, queen:
[ˈɾɐiɲa], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Rapadura, /rapaduɾa/, noun, block of raw brown sugar:
[ˈɾapaduɾa], PBC.

Rapaz, /rapaɾ/, noun, boy, lad:
[ˈɾapaz], PBC.

[ˈɾapaz], JFS, PBC, O.

[ˈɾapaz], O.

Recebe, /reseˈbi/, verb, receives:
[ˈɾeˈseˈbi], JFS.

Recheado, /reseˈdaɾ/, adjective, stuffed:
[ˈɾeˈseˈdaɾ], JFS.

Rédea, /ɾeˈdeɾ/, noun, reins:
[ˈɾeˈdeɾ], JFS.

Redenção, /ɾeˈdensɐ̃w/, proper noun, a municipality

in São Paulo,
Reprêsa, /repréza/, noun, artificial lake formed by dammed up water:
[xe^-'päe-ze], PBC.

Requesiçao, /rekeizäyn/, noun, cottage cheese:
[xi'-ke^-''zäyn], PBC.

Responde, /respändi/, verb, (he) answers:
[xe's-'pöñ-di], JFS.

Responder, /respondér/, verb, to answer:
[xe's-pöñ-'de'], JFS.

Resposta, /respôsta/, noun, answer:
[xe's-'pos-ta], JFS.

Resto, /réstu/, noun, remainder:
[xe's-tu], JFS.

Revólver, /revölver/, noun, revolver:
[xe^-'vöñ-vä], JFS.

Riacho, /riåsu/, noun, creek:
[xi'-'a-ju], VAS.

Ribeirão, /ribeiräyn/, noun, large stream:
[xi'-be^-'zäyn], VAS.

Rio, /riu/, noun, river:
[xi-'yu]. VAS, JFS, PBC.

Roga, /rösa/, noun, rural regions:
[xc-'sa], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Rogar, /rosär/, verb, to clear land for farming:
[xc-'sa], JFS.

Roceiro, /rosäriru/, noun, farmer:
Rolamento, /rálaméntu/, noun, bearing:
[xo-1e-’mín-tu'], VAS.
Rosa, /róza/, noun, rose:
[’xo-za'], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Roupa, /röupa/, noun, clothes:
[’xo-pe'], JFS.
Rua, /rúa/, noun, street:
[’xu-a'], JFS.
Rugido, /rubídud/, noun, bellow:
[xo-’ji-do'], JFS.
Ruido, /rubidu/, noun, noise:
[xu-’i-du'], JFS, PBC.
[xu-’i-do'], 0.
Ruim, /rubin/, adjective, bad:
[xu-’iñ'], VAS,
[’xüiñ'], JFS.
Sabado, /sábadu/, noun, Saturday:
[’sa-ba-du'], JFS.
[’sa-ba-do'], 0.
Sabed, /sábi/, verb, (you) know:
[’sa-bi'], JFS, PBC.
Sabem, /sáben/, verb, (they) know:
[’sa-biñ'], JFS.
Sabed, /sabér/, verb, to know:
[se-’be'], JFS.
Sacos, /sakus/, noun, sack
['sa-ko'], JFS.
Sai, /sai/, verb, (he) exits
['sa-i'], JFS.
Safa, /safa/, (he) would exit
['sa-i-te'], JFS.
Salmos, /salmus/, verb, (we) exit
['se-i-mus'], JFS.
Sali, /sali/, verb, (he) exited
['se-i-juv'], BC.
Sal, /sal/, noun, salt
['sau'], VAS, JFS.
['sak'], JFS, PBC.
Saladinha, /saladinha/, noun, small salad
['se-la-dinha'], JFS.
Salvacao, /salvacao/, noun, salvation
['sau-vu-sau'], 0.
Salvador, /salvador/, adjective, saving
['sau-vu-dor'], JFS.
Salvar, /salvar/, verb, to save
['sau-vu'], VAS, PBC.
['sau-vu'], PBC.
Salve, /salvi/, interjection, hail
['sau-vi'], 0.
Sanfona, /sanfona/, noun, accordion
['sau-fon-ia'], VAS.
Santo, /sântu/, noun, saint.
['sæntu:], VAS, PBC.
['sæntu:], JFS.

Santos, /sântu:s/, noun, saints.
['sæntos], JFS.

São, /sâu/, adjective, saint.
['sæu], JFS.
['sæu], JFS, PBC.

São, /sâu/, verb, (they) are.
['sãu], JFS.

Sapo, /säpu/, noun, toad.
['sa-pu:], VAS.
['sa-po:], JFS.

Saúde, /saddi/, noun, health.
[sa-'u-div], VAS, JFS.
[sa- 'u-divs], VAS.

Se, /si/, reflective personal pronoun, -self.
[si:], JFS, PBC.

Se, /si/, conjunction, if, whether.
[si:], JFS.

Sebastião, /sebastiãu/, proper noun, Sebastian.
[si-ves-ti'-jãu], JFS.

Sêca, /sêka/, noun, drought.
['se-kә], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Sêca, /sêka/, adjective, dry.
['se-kә], VAS, JFS.

Sêco, /sêku/, adjective, dry.
['se-ku'], PBC.

Seca, /sêka/, verb, (it) dries;

['se-kə'], JFS.

Sêde, /sêdi/, noun, thirst;

['se-div'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Segunda, /segûnda/, noun, second;

[si'-'gûn-da], JFS.

Segundo, /segûndo/, noun, second;

[si'-'gûn-duv], VAS.

Segura, /segûra/, verb, (it) holds;

[si'-'gu-ra], JFS.

Sei, /sêi/, verb, (I) know;

['se-i'], VAS, JFS, PBC.

['se'], 0.

Seis, /sêis/, noun, six;

['seis], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Seja, /sêja/, verb, be it;

['se-ja'], JFS.

Sela, /sêla/, noun, saddle;

['se-la'], JFS.

Selado, /selâdu/, noun, saddle back;

[si'-'la-duv], VAS.

Semana, /semána/, noun, week;

[se'-'mâ-nə], JFS.

Semente, /semẽnti/, noun, seed;

[se'-'mẽn-ti'], JFS.

Senhor, /sênhor/, noun, mister;
Senhora, /seuˈɾa/, noun, Mrs.

Sentar, /sentˈaɾ/, verb, to sit:

Sente, /sentˈi/, verb, (I) feel:

Ser, /sɜɾ/, verb, to be:

Sereia, /sɛrˈeiə/, noun, siren:

Seroente, /sɛɾˈo̞nti/, noun, serpentine:

Serra, /sɛrˈra/, noun, mountain range:

Sertãozinho, /sɛtɐ̃w̃zinˈtu/, proper noun, bairro in São Luís do Paraitinga:
Servico. /sɛrvɪsʊ/, noun, performance:
[ sɛrv- 'vi-su/, JFS.

Sete. /sɛtɪ/, noun, seven:
[ 'sɛ-tɪv], VAS.
[ 'sɛ-tɪv], JFS, PBC.
[ 'sɛ-tɪv], PBC.

Sexta. /sɛstə/, noun, sixth:
[ 'sɛs-te], JFS.

Silva. /silvə/, proper noun:
[ 'sɪlv-ə], VAS.
[ 'sɪl-ə], JFS.

Sim. /sɪm/, adverb, yes:
[ 'sɪm], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Sinal. /sɪnəl/, noun, signal:
[ sɪv- 'nag], O.

Sino. /sɪnu/, noun, bell:
[ 'sɪnu-,nuv], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Situação. /sɪtuəsən/, noun, situation:
[ sɪv- 'tʊv-ə-'sɑtɨn], JFS.

Só. /sɔ/, adverb, only:
[ 'sɔ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Soalho. /sɔalhə/, noun, ground:
[ suv- 'wa-le], JFS.

Sobrancelhas. /sɔbrənsəlhas/, noun, eyebrows:
[ suv- 'biɐn- 'se-jo], VAS.
[ so- 'biɐn- 'se-jo], JFS.
Sobrinho, /sobˈɾɪŋuo/, noun, *nephews; [suˈv-ˈbɾĩ-ˈʒu̯ə], JFS.

Sol, /sɔl/, noun, *son; ['sɔʁ̩], VAS, PBC. ['sɔl], JFS, PBC.

Soldado, /sɔldaˈdu/., noun, *soldier; [sɔt-ˈda-duv], VAS. [sɔt-ˈda-duv], JFS. [soˈt-′da-duv], PBC. [sɔt-ˈda-duv], O.

Sóltuo, /sɔltuo/, adjective, *free; ['sɔl-ˌtu], JFS. ['sɔl-ˌto], JFS.

Som, /sɔm/, noun, *sound; ['sɔm], VAS. ['sɔm], JFS, PBC.

Sou, /sɔu/, verb, (I) am; ['sɔ], VAS.

Sousa, /soʊza/, proper noun; ['soʊ-ˈzə], JFS.

Sua, /sɔˈuə/, possessive pronoun, *your; ['su-ə], PBC.

Sul, /sʊl/, noun, *south; ['sʊl], VAS. ['sʊr], O.

Suponha, /suˈpɔnɐ/, verb, (you) *suppose; [suˈv-ˈpɔs-ŋe], JFS.
Tal, /tál/, noun, a certain person:
['taːl], JFS.
['taʃ], 0.

Também, /tanbén/, adverb, also:
[tam-ẽ̞], VAS, JFS, PBC, 0.
[tam-ẽ̞], JFS, PBC.

Tânque, /tánki/, noun, tank:
['tɐ̃-ki'], PBC.

Taquara, /takuará/, noun, a variety of small bamboos:
[te-ku-'wa-se], VAS, JFS.

Tartaruga, /tartarúga/, noun, turtle:
[tar-te-'cu-gə], JFS.

Tatu, /tatú/, noun, armadillo:
[te-'tu], VAS.

Taubaté, /taubaté/, proper noun, city in the Paraíba Valley:
[tw-ba-'te], PBC.

Tem, /tən/, verb, (he) has:
['tən], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Temos, /temos/, verb, (we) have:
['tən], JFS.

Tempo, /tempo/, noun, time, weather:
['tɪm-pu], JFS, PBC.

Ter, /tər/, verb, to have:
['te], JFS.

Térqa, /tərqa/, noun, third:
Terminar, /terminar/, verb, (it) ends;
[tense-'miu-no], JFS, PBC.
Termino, /termino/, noun, end;
[tense-'miu-no], JFS, PBC.
Terminou, /terminou/, verb, (it) ended;
[tense-'miu-no], JFS, PBC.
Terra, /terra/, noun, earth;
[tense-xe], VAS, JFS, PBC.
Terreno, /terreno/, noun, terrain;
[te-xe-nu], JFS.
Tio, /tio/, noun, uncle;
[ti-u], VAS.
[ti-o], JFS.
Tipo, /tipo/, noun, type;
[ti-pu], JFS.
Tira, /tira/, verb, (he) takes away;
[ti-re], JFS.
Tirar, /tirar/, verb, to take away;
[ti-re], 0.
Tiro, /tiru/, noun, shot;
[ti-fu], JFS.
Tocando, /tocando/, verb, touching, playing an instrument;
[to-'kân-uv], JFS.
Tóco, /toku/, noun, stump;
[to-'ku], PBC.
Todo, /tôdu/, noun, the entirety:
   ['to-du\], VAS.
   ['to-do\], JFS, PBC.
Todos, /tôdus/, noun, everyone:
   ['to-du\s], JFS.
   ['to-do\s], JFS.
Toma, /tôma/, verb, (he) takes:
   ['tô\-me], JFS.
   ['tô\-me], JFS.
Tomar, /tomár/, verb, to take:
   [to\-'ma], JFS.
Tornar, /tornár/, verb, to become:
   ['to\-\-'na], JFS.
Torneiral, /torneirál/, noun, water from a faucet:
   [to\-ne\-'ra\], JFS.
Tôrre, /tôrri/, noun, tower:
   ['to\-xi\], JFS.
Trabalha, /trabalha/, verb, (he) works:
   [tre\-'ba\-ja\], JFS.
Trabalhador, /trabalhador/, noun, worker:
   [tre\-'ba\-\-'dO\], JFS.
Trabalhar, /trabalhar/, verb, to work:
   [tre\-'ba\-'la\], VAS, JFS.
   [tre\-'ba\-'ja\], VAS, PBC.
   [tre\-'ba\-'la\], JFS.
Trabalho, /trabalho/, noun, work:
   [tre\-'ba\-'lu\], JFS.
Traira, /traira/, noun, a species of voracious freshwater fish:

[trɐ-'ba-juv], JFS.

Transporte, /transpɔɾt/, noun, transport:

[trɐ̃sa-'pəɾ-tʃi], PBC.

Travesseiro, /travesjir/, noun, pillow:

[trav-ve-'se-ruv], JFS.

Trepadeira, /trepadɐjɾɐ/, noun, climbing plant:

[tae-ɐ-pə-'de-ɾɐ], JFS.

Tres, /trəʃ/, noun, three:

[*treis], VAS, JFS, O.

[*trei], PBC, O.

Trinco, /trĩku/, noun, door latch:

[*trĩ-ku:], VAS, JFS.

Trinta, /trĩnta/, noun, thirty:

[*trĩn-τa], JFS.

Trocar, /tɾɔkãr/, verb, to change:

[tɾɔkɔ-'ka], JFS.

Tronco, /tronku/, noun, trunk:

[*tɾɔŋ-kuv], JFS, PBC.

Tu, /t̥u/, personal pronoun, thee:

[*t̥u], JFS.

Tudo, /t̥udu/, noun, everything:

[*tũduv], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Ubatuba, /ubatũba/, proper noun, a city on the São
Paulo coast:

[uv-bu-*tu-be], JPS.
[be-*tu-be], PBC.
[uv-bu-*tu-be], O.

Último. /últimu/, noun, last:
['uł-ti-*mu'], VAS.
['uɣi-ti-*mu'], JFS, PBC.

Um. /闰/, noun, one:
['ũŋ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Um. /闰/, indefinite article, a:
['ũŋ], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Uma, /úma/, indefinite article, a:
['ũŋ-ma], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Unha, /úna/, noun, fingernail:
['ũŋ-ne], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Uns, /úns/, indefinite article, some, a few:
['ũŋs], JFS.
['ũŋ], JFS.

Urso, /úrsu/, noun, bear:
['uɣ-fu'], PBC.

Usa, /úza/, verb, (one) uses:
['u-ze'], JFS, PBC.

Usado, /uzádu/, verb, (it) is used:
[uv-*za-ðu], JFS.

Usar, /uzar/, verb, (they) use:
['u-zan], JFS.

Usina, /uzina/, noun, mill:
Uso, /úzu/, noun, use:
["u-zu"], JFS.

Vai, /vai/, verb, (he) goes:
["va-i"], VAS, JFS.
["va"], JFS.

Vaidosa, /vaidóza/, adjective, vain:
[vaid-"dó-ze"], VAS.

Vale, /váli/, verb, (it) is worth:
["va-li"], JFS.

Vamos, /vámons/, interjection, come:
["vámu"], JFS.

Vasilha, /vazilha/, noun, vessel:
[vas-"zi-jo"], JFS.

Velha, /vēla/, adjective, old:
["vē-ə"], JFS.
["vē-jo"], 0.

Velho, /vēlu/, adjective, old:
["vē-ju"], 0.

Vem, /vēn/, verb, (he) comes:
["vēmu"], JFS, PBC.

Veneno, /venēnu/, noun, poison:
[vene-"nē-no"], JFS.

Verdade, /verdádi/, noun, truth:
[verd-"da-di"], VAS, JFS, PBC.

Verde, /vērdi/, adjective, green:
Vermelha. /vermēlā/, adjective, red:
[ve̞r- me- lɐ], JFS.
[ve̞r- me- jɐ], 0.

Vez. /vēs/, noun, time:
[‘veiʃ], JFS, 0.

Vezes. /vēzis/, noun, times:
[‘veiʃ], JFS, 0.

Viajando. /viaژāndu/, verb, traveling:
[via̞-e- ʒān-uv], 0.

Viajei. /viajejer/, verb, (I) traveled:
[via̞-e- ʒe], JFS.

Vicente. /visẽnti/, proper noun, Vincent:
[viv- 'sẽnti], VAS.

Vila. /vila/, noun, borough:
[‘vi-ле], JFS.

Vinho. /vĩnu/, noun, wine:
[‘vĩ- ɲu], JFS.

Vinte. /vinti/, noun, twenty:
[‘vĩnti], PBC.

Viola. /viola/, noun, violin:
[vio̞-o̞- ɫɐ], VAS, JFS.
[vio̞-o̞- jo̞-le], PBC.

Violão. /violáun/, noun, guitar:
[vio̞-jo̞- ɫɐũ], PBC.

Violheiro. /violẽiru/, noun, violin player:
[vio̞-o̞- ɫɐ-ru], VAS.
Virado, /virádu/, adjective, turned:
[viv-'ca-du'], JFS.

Virar, /virár/, verb, to turn:
[viv-'ca], JFS.

Visitar, /vizitár/, verb, to visit:
[viv-'ziv-ťa], 0.

Viver, /vivér/, verb, to live:
[viv-'ve], VAS, 0.

Vizinho, /vizinhu/, noun, neighbor:
[viv-'zIN-hu], JFS.

Vôce, /vose/, pronoun, you:
[vo-'se], VAS, JFS, PBC.
[о-'se], JFS, PBC, 0.

Volta, /völtə/, verb, (he) returns:
['vog-tə], 0.

Voltar, /voltár/, verb, to return:
[vo-'la-tar], JFS, PBC.
[vo-'la-ta], 0.

Voltava, /voltáva/, verb, (I) would return:
[vog-'ta-ve], VAS.

Vomitar, /vomitar/, verb, to vomit:
[vo-'mi-'ta], VAS, JFS.

Vou, /vöu/, verb, (I) go:
['vo], JFS, 0.

Xingando, /xingându/, verb, to curse:
Xinger, /ˈʃɪŋɡər/, verb, to curse:
[ʃɪŋˈɡaː], PBC.

Zebu, /ˈzebʊ/, noun, zebu, the humped Indian ox or cow:
[zebʊ], JFS, VAS, PBC.
CHAPTER VIII

THE CAIPIRA PHONOLOGICAL GRAMMAR

Introduction

After each dialect of a language is studied, the language PS and PT rules must be re-examined in the light of the new evidence presented. If the evidence in the dialect warrants the change or modification of these rules, then it must be done. Given the corpus from the caipira dialect, therefore, the rules are studied anew and PT rules for the dialect formulated.

In making these rules, one must constantly keep in mind that the phonological features of the caipira dialect could, in part, be the result of languages in contact. This becomes evident when the /r/ and /l/ sounds are examined as these two phones show the greatest instability in the caipira dialect of São Luís do Paraitinga. The influence of the Tupi Indian languages can plainly be heard in the articulation of these two sounds.

"Lingua sem fé, sem lei, sem rei," generalized Pero de Magalhães Gandavo in the sixteenth century,\(^{134}\) referring to the sounds (f, l, r) which the Tupi languages lacked. Obser-

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vations like this are not lacking among the historians in their descriptions of the Indian languages. Varnhagen made the following notes:

Faltavam as seguintes: fê, lê, rê, vê, e zê (fortes), de tal modo que os índios tupis, ao aprenderem a música, em lugar de rê, fâ e lâ, pronunciaram râ (brando), pâ e râ (também brando).135

Use of terms like "brando," which can mean 'soft' or 'muffled,' contributes to imprecision in phonetic description. Rather than rely too heavily upon such observations, or even giving an extended treatment of the Tupi phonetic system, this study will refer to such sources only when the occasion merits it.

The Caipira PT Rules

Since certain consonants are usually singled out as distinctive features of the dialect, not only in their articulation but by their effects upon other sounds in their environment as well, the PT rules of the caipira dialect could logically begin with them.

The Caipira /r/. If any one feature of the dialect has caught the attention of those who heard it, whether they be dialect scholars or simply novices, it is the treatment of /r/. And only one man, Amadeu Amaral, has ever come close to describing it sufficiently. His description merits repetition and translation:

Inter- and post-vocalic r (arara, carta) has a peculiar value: it is linguo-palatal and gutturalized. In its pronunciation, instead of projecting the tongue tip

against the upper dental arch, a movement which produces the Portuguese form, the lateral borders of the tongue is raised approximately to the small molars of the upper arch and the tip is turned upwards without touching the palatal roof. There is hardly any fluttering vibration. To the ear, this caipira £ very much resembles the English post-vocalic £. It is very probably the same soft £ of the autochthons. These did not possess the strong or vibrant ££; it must be noted that with the manner of production described above, it is impossible to obtain the vibration of this latter sound.136

Summed up, Amaral gave a very good description of a retroflex /r/, a sound very similar to the post-vocalic /r/ in American English. Before this, the sound was always described as being a "soft" £, especially by historians.

In the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga, the population can be said to be bi-dialectal, that is, at least two dialects operate side by side. This is evidenced by the optional use of two types of /r/ sounds in the same environment.

In initial position, the /r/ is an aspirated, voiceless, velar fricative [x], with the tongue tip slightly raised toward the alveolar ridge. This immediately brings to mind the h phone of the Tupi languages as described by Fernandes:

O h é aspirado, forte e surdo, dito de um jato, na garganta, (rr).137

His inclusion of the double £ in parentheses could indicate that there was either a similarity between this sound and some dialectal pronunciation of initial /r/, or that the Indians


used the $h$ as a substitute for $r$ in certain positions. Initial
/r/ in São Luís, however, does not have exceptionally hard
aspiration in this position. In fact, it could be described
as being lightly aspirated and was, on one occasion, substi-
tuted by the voiceless, fricative, glottal continuant [h].
Adam's description of Tupi $h$ is nearer to the pronunciation
of initial /r/ in the municipality:

Dans quelques dialectes, la voyelle initiale est fré-
quemment affectée d'une légère aspiration représentée par
le signe $H$.138

This initial /r/ in São Luís, assigned the symbol [x], is
found both in word-initial and syllable-initial position.

In syllable-final position after a vowel, it has the
sound described by Amaral. It is a mid-center off-glide from
the preceding vowel and is symbolized as [e']. In word-final
position it is optional with null, that is, a word like amar
may be pronounced as either [u-'maγ] or [u-'ma]. An amusing
note is that one grammarian has attributed the lack of final
$γ$ to the hot climate of Brazil:

... o calor intenso da zona tórrida faz ... desa-
parecer o $γ$ final das palavras ... 139

Dialect writers, unable to show the off-glide graphi-
cally, are prone to use the lack of final $γ$ as a feature of
rural speech. Luís Martins, in transcribing the speech of the

138 Lucian Adam, Materiaux pour servir à l'establissememt
d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille Tupi

139 José Marques da Cruz, Português Prático (São Paulo:
old coffee zones of São Paulo, was one such writer as these bits of dialogue show:

Isto é mió que lida com argodão.  
... tá cuma de nas costa ...
Vamo comê?  

An idea of the area which this particular feature covers can be gotten by studying the writings of such dialect writers from other states. The following lines demonstrate that the lack of final /r/ ranges over a large area:

Ceará: Pra tomar cria.
Rio Grande do Norte: Seus pes vai ficar assim.
Pernambuco: Vamo vê, cumpade.
Amazonas: Que casa cum eu, minha?
Goias: Vo conta tudo pro meu marido.

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141 Ibid.
142 Ibid.
144 José Mauro de Vasconcelos, "As Salinas," ibid., p. 302.
147 Bernardo Ellis, "Pai Norato," Histórias e Paisagens
Minas Gerais: ... pode conta comigo pro camarada.148

The retroflex sound also occurs after consonants where it interchanges with [ɾ], the one-tap flap. In such cases, it is a fairly rapid transition between the consonant and the following vowel. Since it is really not an off-glide from a vowel yet still retains the retroflex feature, it is symbolized as [ɾ].

Interchange is also possible between [ɾ] and [ɾ̃] in intervocalic position. The ability to use the one-tap flap as a substitute for [ɾ̃] or [ɾ] is the main evidence for municipal bi-dialectism. Thus, it has to be included in the PT rules as optional in the municipality although it may be entirely lacking in the same dialect in other zones.

Rules for /r/ in the dialect can be stated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Null is not included as an optional choice with [ɾ̃] in the above rule because it is not present after } C_1 \text{ in the same word. Although it may be the result of a morphemic rule,}
\end{align*}
\]

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i.e. [ʁ] may be transformed to ʃ when the first consonant in
the following word is a C₁, it would have to be proven before
it could be stricken from the phonological rules. Therefore,
the rule reads as follows:

\[ \text{x} \quad \text{Wd} \rightarrow ʃ \quad \text{Wd} \]

**The caipira ʃ/1/.** A second consonant which shows a
marked instability is the voiced, bilateral consonant /l/.
In syllable-initial position it is a stable, clear, dental
continuant but in syllable- or word-final position it under­
goes transformations which make it indistinguishable from [ʁ]
or [a].

Amaral was not one to neglect this phenomenon as he
noted that:

**Em final da sílaba, muda-se em ɾ: qualquer, papel, mer. arma.**

He went on to say:

As palavras terminadas em al, el, il . . . frequentemente
aparecem apocopadas: mág. el, jornal = mal, sol, jornal.
Não inferir daí que houve queda de l. Esse l mudou-se
primeiro em ɾ, e depois caiu este fenômeno . . .

There would seem to be some basis for the belief that
l changed to ɾ before being apocopated if we note the frequent
appearance of the off-glise [ʁ] before [i] in such words as
alta ['aqi-tə], soldado [soxî-‘da-duv'], and pulsa ['pux1-gə].
One could conceivably set up a rule whereby ɾ \(\rightarrow\) ɹ \(\rightarrow\) ɾ
and then, in the case of word-final, ɾ \(\rightarrow\) ʃ.

\[149\text{Amaral, op. cit., p. 52.}\]

\[150\text{Ibid.}\]
In the preface to Amaral's work, Duarte disagreed with that analysis. He believed that the loss of final $l$ was the general rule and that the appearance of $r$ was the result of dialect contact:

Na realidade, não é frequentemente mas geralmente apa-recem apocopados. O erro vem de que a sua observação o levou a encontrar em alguns pontos mais penetrados de gente culta esse pronúncia com $r$ final.\footnote{Duarte, op. cit., p. 25.}

This reasoning fails on two important counts. First, it is more likely that $l$ would have been adopted rather than $r$. Second, the phenomenon is not limited to a small area but is spread throughout the state of São Paulo. Those who have dealt with dialect study treat [ʁ] and $\phi$ as options for $l$. Teixeira gave an optional $a_r$ or $a$ for al endings (mal = mar, ma), $a_r$ or $a$ for el endings (coronel = coroner, coronê), and $6_r$ or $6$ for ol endings (pael = paiør, paí6).\footnote{Teixeira, "Vocabulário do Caipira Paulista, p. 62.} Pierson registered it also, giving Brasir, mar, meter, pasor, passar, guar, sar, and simar as examples.\footnote{Pierson, "O Dialeto Caipira Empregada," p. 313.}

Examples from different parts of the State of São Paulo can be found in songs collected by Araújo:

Nasaré Paulista: . . . espírio de Portugar.\footnote{Araújo, Folclore Nacional, II, p. 63.}

Tatui: . . . que mar les fizero elas?

Tietê: . . . do Brasir vale um tesoro . . . \footnote{Ibid., p. 70.}
It can thus be readily seen that the phenomenon is not as isolated as Duarte would have it and that there is an optional choice of [ɣ] or null in word-final position where the standard dialects use /l/. It is safe to assume that there was a tendency to exchange ɬ (a phone lacking in the Tupi dialects) by [ɣ] (a sound which the Indian dialects possessed) during the early period of Brazilian colonization and, once [ɣ] had been established in the place of /l/, it could be deleted according to the rule given on page 240.

Where [ɣ] is not substituted for /l/ in syllable- or word-final position, the dark [ɬ] or an off-glide [u] is used. Both of these are quite common articulations in the prestige dialects used near the study area. A word like sal, therefore, can be pronounced as [*səl], [*soy], [*səq], or [*sa].

In non-final position following a consonant, /l/ can be changed to [ɣ] or [ʃ]. Pierson gave examples of this: crarão, craridade, crare, praca, and it was not passed unnoticed by Amaral.

Quando subjuntivo de um grupo, igualmente se muda em ɬ: crare, cumprato, cramô(r), frem(r). This transformation was found in the Municipality of São Luís do Paraitinga in the words [manela] [ʃam-'nc-ла].

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157 Ibid., p. 125. 158 Ibid., p. 158.
159 Pierson, op. cit., 314.
160 Amaral, op. cit., p. 52.
It is difficult to say how far this exchange goes beyond the borders of São Paulo. Dialect writers shed no light on the subject. It seems fairly widespread within the state. Again, Araújo's collection of folk songs from different municipalities show the range:

Cunha: . . . o glorioso Bom Jesus . . . 161
Itanhaém: . . . minha fró de melancia . . . 162
Itapeva: . . . pô nois e pô reino da glória . . . 163
Itaquaquecetuba: . . . Glorioso Santa Cruz . . . 164
Piracicaba: . . . quem quisê a cana prante . . . 165
Taubaté: . . . entre os frêres e Botão . . . 166
Tietê: . . . que fizesse crêes . . . 167
Ubatuba: . . . mas deixê bem decharado . . . 168

Because of the limitations of the alphabet, however, it is impossible to say whether [ʃ] or [ç] is being used in these cases.

Four rules have to be given to account for the caipira /ʃ/ in the municipality:

161 Araújo, Folclore Nacional, II, p. 56.
162 Ibid., p. 155.
163 Ibid., p. 64.
164 Ibid., p. 21.
165 Ibid., p. 183.
166 Ibid., p. 41.
167 Ibid., p. 95.
168 Ibid., p. 70.
Também. The bilabial plosives, /p/ and /b/, are very stable in the municipality with the exception of the loss of /b/ in the word também. This word often has the pronunciation [tâm-'ên]. This particular pronunciation (spelled tamém) has been noted in various places in the State of São Paulo by Araújo: Itaquaquecetuba, Taubaté, Tietê, and Itanhaém. It was used to represent Paraná interior speech by Muricy:

Nhê Pedro e os home também ...

and by Vasconcelos in Rio Grande do Norte:

Nem também aquelas casa é casa.

Teixeira listed tamém in his collection of lexical

169Ibid., p. 16. 170Ibid., p. 40. 171Ibid., p. 98.
172Ibid., p. 155.


items\textsuperscript{175} and Pierson caught it in Cruz das Almas.\textsuperscript{176} It is surprisingly absent in Amaral's work. Since it seems that this loss of /b/ is restricted to this one word, a rule can be formulated especially for it:

\[ t\overline{m}-'b\overline{e}n \rightarrow t\overline{m}-'\overline{e}n \]

**Interchange of /b/ and /v/**. Although there were no items in the corpus which suggested that /b/ and /v/ could be interchanged freely, this phenomenon has received so much comment that it should be given some consideration here. Its absence in the corpus does not mean that it does not exist in the municipality. If questions had been especially prepared to study this lack of contrast, perhaps it would have been found.

It would appear that this interchange can occur in word-initial position and intervocally. Amaral gave examples of both: *burbúia-vevúia* (borbulha), *bassôra-vassôra* (vassoura), *berruga-verruga* (verruga), *biêste-viêste* (bilhete), *cabortôro-cavortôro* (cavorteiro), *Piracicaba-Pricicava* (Piracicaba), *mangava-mangaba* (mangaba), *bespa-vespa* (vespa), *bagágo-vagágo* (bagágo), and *bamo-vamo* (vamos).\textsuperscript{177}

On another occasion he comments upon the preference of the caipira for \( \mathbf{y} \) in words of indigenous origin:

Na terminação vogal + b + vogal, geralmente usada

\textsuperscript{175}Teixeira, op. cit., 102.
\textsuperscript{176}Pierson, op. cit., 313.
\textsuperscript{177}Amaral, op. cit., p. 51.
pelo gente culta, o caipira prefere quase sempre v a b: jabetucava, mangava, berêva, tiriva, taíóva, saíva. 178

He excludes brabo from the intervocalic category for he believes that word to be derived from bárbaro:

Esta forma não parece mere variante de "bravo", que é de importação francesa por um lado, e italiana por outro. Tirou-a talvez a língua, diretamente, de bárbaro, através da forma bárboro, com dissimilação do segundo a, que facilitou o encurtamento do vocáb. 178

The interchange of the sounds in both positions was also noted by Pierson:

Os sons b e v são às vezes trocados um pelo outro; por exemplo: brabo ao invés de bravo; veleza ao invés de beleza; e povre ao invés de pobre. 179

According to Marques da Cruz, the interchange was not restricted to caipira speech:

Em Ubatuba, São Sebastião, Vila Bela e outras terras à beira-mar do B. de São Paulo, troca-se o b pelo v e vice-versa, fato observado também em várias regiões do Brasil, onde o caipira diz por ex.: povre em vez de pobre. Na cidade de São Paulo só se troca nestes palavras: berruga, bagem, birote e bassoura; as palavras berruga e birote são ditas até por pessoas cultas. 180

There is disagreement as to the origins of this interchange. Neistean attributed it to African slaves who spoke dialects of Bantu:

Após a fase bilingue, desenvolveram os negros um dialeto crioulo, no qual as trocas do d pelo r, e v pelo b eram muito frequentes... 181

178Ibid., p. 102.
179Pierson, op. cit., 315.
180Marques da Cruz, op. cit., p. 480.
However, there is evidence that Tupi dialectal differences could have been equally influential. In his study of the Tupi language group, Adam found that:

Dans plusiers dialectes, B initial e B médial sont assez fréquemment substitués par v, w.182

In all probability, the interchange began with those words borrowed from various Indian dialects so that different pronunciations of a word flourished side by side. Later, Negro dialects might have contributed to the reinforcement of the interchange.

Based upon the examples cited above, a tentative optional rule can be made which may or may not apply to the caipira dialect of São Luís do Paraitinga. Since the b forms are those most used in the standard dialects, /b/ will be transformed to /v/:

| V | + b + X | => | V | + v + X |

Loss of /d/. A very widespread caipira feature is the loss of /d/ in the final syllable of a word when preceded by homorganic /n/ and followed by a vowel. The progressive forms of Portuguese verbs are affected by this loss, although it can be found in other words. Amaral was more specific than most dialect scholars when he noted that d:

Cai, quase sempre, na sílaba final das formas verbais

182Adam, op. cit., p. 10.
em ando, endo, indo; andano = andando, veno = vendo, caíno, pôno, e também no adverbio quando, às vezes.  

It is a widespread feature in the rural areas of São Paulo. Araújo recorded songs with this feature in Nazaré Paulista, Piracicaba, Eldorado Paulista, Tietê, Cunha, Caraguatatuba, Taubaté, and São Luís do Paraitinga. Some examples which he recorded were guano, chegano, vino, tremeno, gritano, cantano, marchano, seguino, lembrano, rezano, experimentano, ganhano, dango, and falano.  

Examples which were collected by this study in São Luís are cantano, dano, deixano, devevo, doeno, falano, limpano, bancano, passano, guano, tocano, viajano, and xingano. Based on all of these examples, a rule can be made to state:

\[ V + n \rightarrow d + V \rightarrow Wd \rightarrow V + n \rightarrow V \rightarrow Wd \]

Loss of medial /z/. As with the case of tyyyAn (see p. 244), a special rule is necessary for mesmo (or mesma) as it loses its medial /z/ in the municipality. The lack of /z/ in this position has not caught the attention of many dialect writers or students, but this may be because it is not widespread.

Of the two cases found where this pronunciation was noted, both were in the State of São Paulo. Pierson included it in his study of caipira speech in Cruz das Almas, 185 and Luis Martins, a writer who used dialect to establish character.

183Amaral, op. cit., p. 51.
185Pierson, op. cit., 313.
in his stories, also employed it.186

Other dialect writers have transcribed an exchange of \( r \) (probably \( [r] \)) for this \( z \). It was used by Taborda for the rural pronunciation of Paraná (Tô livre, mas acho que o troço exeste de mermo)187 and by Varejão (Só tem mermo a pele e o osso).188

However, the pronunciation of *mermo* in São Luís do Paraitinga showed no such exchange, but it did have regressive nasalization, a feature which will be discussed later. For the moment, a rule for this single word is as follows:

\[ 'mez-mu' \rightarrow 'me-mu' \]

The caipira /z/ and /s/. In word-final position in a stressed syllable, /z/ and /s/ are reduced to /s/ with a concomitant insertion of the off-glide /i/ before it. Examples which were collected in the municipality (*arrois, cruís, feis, capais, lôis, deis, veis, nôis, treis, atrais*) are fairly common in caipira speech in other parts of the State of São Paulo. Examination of prayers and songs collected by Araújo in various regions produced these examples: *feis, vois, cruís, veis, lôis, feis, arrois, deis, veis, nôis, Jesus, atrais, treis, nôis, voceis.*189

186Martins, op. cit., p. 283.


188Varejão, op. cit., p. 165.

Dialect writers have used this feature to advantage in their attempts to establish character in stories, as attested by these examples:

São Paulo: Não vai caçá no domingo? 190

Uma vâng pai mandou eu no mato. 191

Ceará: Mais, homem, quem jura que o tal ... 192

Minas Gerais: Arengou, arengou, mais porém ... 193

Amazonas: Mas assim o padre não casa não ... 194

Rio Grande do Norte: Com não foi a mesma coisa. 195

Mas num faia mal, não. 196

Estranhou a Luiz, camarada? 197

A vâng mudou tudo. 198

Paraná: Sem eles não mesmo goso sem dono. 199

P'otra vâng tu me pega polaco ... 200

... que já faia bem tempo ... 201

... andá de atraia de um graxaim. 202

Mais tá ficando tarde ... 203

---

190 Martins, op. cit., p. 283. 191 Ibid.
192 Oliveira Paiva, op. cit., p. 162.
195 Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 302. 196 Ibid.
197 Ibid., p. 307. 198 Ibid., p. 308.
199 Taborda, op. cit., p. 29. 200 Ibid.
201 Muricy, op. cit., p. 84. 202 Ibid., p. 85.
203 Ibid., p. 86.
De veia em quando se enxergava . . .

A valid question can be raised as to whether /i/ is inserted before /s/ changes to /s/. There were no examples of this found in the study, but it still could be part of the development. At times, words like rapas will be transcribed as rapais by some dialect writers. Amaral did not note the change of /s/ to /s/ nor did he comment on the off-glide despite the fact that he transcribed some words with it: crãois, retrôis, nóis (nós), nóis (noz), veias (vez), deias, trêias, daia, raias, paias (paz).

It will be assumed that the off-glide appeared first before both /z/ and /s/, and that /z/ was then transformed to /s/. Two rules, therefore, will have to account for this:

\[
\begin{align*}
\delta + \{z\} & \quad \text{Wd} =\Rightarrow \quad \delta + \frac{1}{2} + \{s\} & \quad \text{Wd} \\
\delta & \quad \text{Wd} =\Rightarrow \quad \delta + \frac{1}{2} + s & \quad \text{Wd}
\end{align*}
\]

Loss of word-final /s/. Word-final /s/ disappears when the stress falls on the penultimate or the final syllable, except where the phone is necessary to maintain plural-
ity. For example, *três* will be pronounced as ['tɾeʃ] ordinarily, but as ['tɾeʃ] when before a noun, e.g. *três home*. The recovery of /s/, in this case, is a morphemic event and need not concern us here.

Examples of words found in the municipality with the stress on the final syllable are: *arroll, atrai, capai, crói, depói, dái, dói, fái, nós, trói*. Words with the stress on the penultimate syllable include the first person plural of verbs (*chegamô and perguntamô*), and such words as *ante* and *menô*.

It is difficult to find examples in writing about the loss in stressed syllables. However, an examination of stanzas like the following, collected by Araújo, may disclose something:

Meu senhor qui istão dangaño,  
arrepai no que fai,  
São Gongalo no céu,  
ai que éle & o nosso pai.206

Here, *faí* is supposed to rhyme with *pai*. Did the transcriber unconsciously supply the *g* in *faí*?

Teixeira furnished items like *mas grande, mas maior, mas miô, and mas bão*207 where *mas* is analytical *mais*. And, except for one example by Vasconcelos (*Munto de nós fica cego . . . *)208 the dialect writers are silent.

The case for the loss of *g* in words with stress on

206Araujo, *Folclore Nacional*. I, p. 64.
207Teixeira, op. cit., 89.
208Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 304.
the penultimate syllable is stronger. Amaral was quite specific about it:

O plural da primeira pessoa perde o s: bambô, fomo, fazêmo. 209

Pierson gave suramo and yamo as examples. 210 Teixeira provided figuêmo and tratêmo. 211 Aradjo had examples from many places in the State of São Paulo: vamu, percizamu, queremu, savemu, tivemo, ganhamo, pedimo, agardecemo, estamo, passemo, semo, merecemmo. 212 It is also a favorite technique for dialect writers.

The rule for the loss of /s/ is:

\[
\{ V \} + s \quad \text{Wd} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \{ V \} + \emptyset \quad \text{Wd}
\]

Prothetic /z/ and /s/. There were a few cases of prothetic /z/ and /s/ found in the municipality. Formerly, this could have been treated in a morphemic rule but now they fall into the category of lexical items. All of the cases found originated from the attachment of the final /z/ or /s/ of os or as to the following noun, e.g. os pente > spente, as porta > sporta, os homem > zome, os olho > sóio, as orelha > sorêia. These consonant sounds are now considered as part of the noun by some.

209 Amaral, op. cit., p. 72.
210 Pierson, op. cit., 312.
211 Teixeira, op. cit., 67.
212 Aradjo, Folclore Nacional, I, pp. 39-409 passim.
Examples of prothesis were given by Amaral (gêio and zarreio), Teixeira (gêio and gorgia), and by Pierson, whose example shows a later development: os porte > sporte > esporte. Cases of prothesis are attributed to African influence by Mendonça.

Na morfologia o negro deixou apenas vestígios que é explicável pela diferença profunda entre as línguas indo-europeias e africanas.

Um g prostético, nascido da ligação na frase perde este caráter e agrega-se à palavra: os ôio → pron. u-zô-io e aparece a palavra gôio.

Care must be taken, however, with such pronouncements. That same author attributed many other features to African influence that are too widely spread in the interior of Brazil. One would expect a certain amount of African influence along the coastal areas where slavery flourished but not in the interior of the country which was the province of the mestizo.

Since these prothetic cases are lexical items, there is no rule necessary for them in the phonological grammar.

Você. Another special rule must be made for the loss of word-initial /v/ in the word você. The pronunciation of this word as [o^*-'se] is fairly common in rapid speech and is one of the pronominal variants listed by Amaral:

---

213 Amaral, op. cit., p. 71.
214 Teixeira, op. cit., 68.
215 Pierson, op. cit., 311.
... você e suas variantes, todas muito usadas, vaca, vancã, vossuncã, vassuncã, meça, ocã.\textsuperscript{217}

This pronunciation has been recorded in writing in Paraná,\textsuperscript{218} Goiás,\textsuperscript{219} Rio Grãnde do Norte,\textsuperscript{220} and São Paulo.\textsuperscript{221} The rule is:

\[
\text{vo}-\text{se} \rightarrow \text{o}-\text{se}
\]

The affrication of /s/. It would be easy to believe that a vestige of sixteenth century Portuguese survives in the interior regions of Brazil because of the caipira's pronunciation of /s/ as [ʃʃ]. Silva Neto, who made a study of this phone, cited two authors who made that error because of the survival of [ʃʃ] in parts of Portugal. The first was Júlio Ribeiro, who wrote in his \textit{Gramática Portuguesa} (1884):

\begin{quote}
Os caipiras de S. Paulo pronunciam diente, diego. Os mesmos e também os Minhotos e Transmontanos dizem tchapeo, tchave.
\end{quote}

A existência de ambas, estas formas no falar do interior do Brasil prova que estavam elas em uso entre os colonos portugueses do século XVI.\textsuperscript{222}

The second to make the error was Eduardo Carlos Pereira in a passage from his \textit{Gramática Histórica} (1919):

\begin{quote}
Este novo fonema romântico (x = ch) soava na Idade
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{217}Amaral, op. cit., p. 73.

\textsuperscript{218}Taborda, op. cit., p. 69.

\textsuperscript{219}Ellis, op. cit., p. 231.

\textsuperscript{220}Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 302.

\textsuperscript{221}Pierson, op. cit., 311.

However, as Silva Nato pointed out, this [\textipa{tʃʰ}] is a vestige of the contact of the consonant system of Portuguese with that of the "general tongue" (língua geral) spoken by the Indians of Brazil,\textsuperscript{224} i.e. [\textipa{tʃʰ}] is the sound which the Indians (and later the mestizo population) substituted for /ʃ/.

Although it still survives in Brazil, this substitution is rapidly disappearing, and its use in São Luís do Paraitinga may be indicative of its strength. In that municipality, a majority of the population lives in towns or hamlets. However, in some of the elevated areas, there are folk who live relatively isolated lives and seldom have contact with others during the year. When they do leave their mountain perches, it is to attend a major religious festival in town. Only these folk still retain the [\textipa{tʃʰ}]. Words which had this phone were heard during the Holy Week and during the Feast of the Holy Ghost.

One word which was easy to catch was \textit{chapéu}. A pronunciation of [\textipa{tʃʰ-ˈpe-u}] was frequently heard in different places in São Luís among these folk as they gathered to exchange news and stories. Other words were more difficult to catch as they were uttered in conversations which were apt to be discontinued at the sight of a stranger.

\textsuperscript{223}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{224}Ibid., p. 296.
On the possibility that an error could have been made in hearing this sound, several persons from town who had some contact with these people were asked about particular words. They confirmed the first impression that a [tʃʰ] sound was indeed employed. Many of these town people would laughingly say that it was a bad form of Portuguese, a sentiment which they also attached to the whole being of the persons who used it. So, social prestige must militate against the continued use of the sound. One young man, who had spent his entire childhood among these folk, said that he used to pronounce chumbo as [tʃʰʊm-buv] but that he had completely eliminated its use in the small number of years that he was in town.

Silva Neto estimated the phonetic area of [tʃʰ] to be São Paulo, the coastline of Paraná, and the Rio de Madeiros area of Mato Grosso. However, the area may be much larger for, in a recent study of Maxakalí phonology in the northeastern part of the state of Minas Gerais, it was found that the monolingual Indian speakers of that language pronounced chapéu as /ca.pe.o/, with tließlich being an allophone of q in initial position.

In Silva Neto's first citation given above, it was stated that a similar thing happened with the voiced counterpart of the fricative /ʂ/. Pronunciations of [dyən-'ta] and

225Ibid., p. 293.

[\text{\textipa{\textdgr\texte}n-tiv}] for jantar and gente were not heard in the municipality, although they may exist. Araújo recorded the pronunciation in Mogi das Cruzes:

Quem pede o pôso ao senhor
que na sua mão tá sentado,
pede pôso, pede dianta,
trata de seus camarada.227

It might happen that both /\textipa{\textv}z/ and /\textipa{\texts}/ are pronounced [\textipa{\textv}s]. Guimaraes Rosa transcribed interior Baiano speech in this fashion:

Eh, mano velhio! Bâmo pro São Paulo, tchente!... Ganhá monto denheiro... Tchente! La tchove denheiro no tchão...228

Whatever be the case of /\textipa{\textv}z/, a rule which changes /\textipa{\texts}/ to [\textipa{\textv}s] can be made but can be applied only to the speech of the more isolated regions of the municipality:

\textipa{\texts} \Rightarrow \textipa{\textv}s

Change of /\textipa{\textl}/ to /\textipa{\texti}/. Words like abelha, alho, filho, and mulher were regularly pronounced without the lamino-alveolar lateral /\textipa{\textl}/. At first hearing, it would seem that this sound was replaced by [\textipa{j}], but on second hearing it becomes apparent that the replacement is actually /\textipa{\texti}/ and that [\textipa{j}] is the consequent impression made by the glide between that /\textipa{\texti}/ and the following vowel. This was apparent to dialect writers who added an i to the words: muie, trabalhe, etc. Examples of this are numerous in dialect writing:

\begin{itemize}
\item 227Amiral, Folklore Nacional, I, p. 86.
\item 228Joao Guimarães Rosa, Sagarana (Rio: Livraria José Olympio Editôra, 1970, p. 159.
\end{itemize}
Amazonas: Que casá cum eu, "mufa?" 229

Ceará: Tá bebo! a minha "mufa" a minha "fia"? 230

Rio Grande do Norte: "Trabalho" aqui, tem de ficá . . . 231

Pernambuco: Que orgulho! 232

São Paulo: Que tempo "fia" da mãe? 233

Paraná: . . . tem que "trabalhar" aminhã . . . 234

Fiio estudando pra dotê . . . 235

Mecê dê que moda a-toa . . . 236

Goiás: Qual "cangaja" qual "carapuça"? 237

Sua "mufa" num que a gente em casa. 238

As can be seen, this feature covers a vast territory and can be considered a main feature of the caipira dialect not only in the municipality but throughout Brasil. It was considered thus by Pierson (Em geral o som "le" é substituído

229 Peregrino Júnior, op. cit., p. 284.

230 Oliveira Paiva, op. cit., p. 162.

231 Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 302.

232 Varejão, op. cit., p. 160.

233 Martins, op. cit., p. 280.


236 Muricy, op. cit., p. 84.


238 Elis, op. cit., p. 229.
Mendonga attributed this lack of /ʌ/ to the influence of the African and added that an identical phenomenon could be found in other creole dialects. He could be supported by Amaral who stated:

```
A consonância palatal molhada lh não existe no dialeto, como na maioria dos dialetos port. de África e Ásia, e como em vários dialetos castelhanos da América.
```

However, the mere range of this phenomenon into the Brazilian interior would exclude it from African influence. If one is to rely upon the absence of /ʌ/ in African languages as a responsible factor for its lack in the caipira dialect, then the Tupi dialects could be equally relied upon. As Neistein pointed out, Tupi lacked the lh also:

```
Os aspectos básicos da fonética tupi são: ausência de l, l, lh e x duplo.
```

In any case, a rule can be made for this phenomenon stating that /ʌ/ is transformed to /ɨ/ in syllable-initial position. Thus, [muv-'ʌɛ] will be transformed to [muv-'ɨɛ]. The consequent jod glide between the off-glide and the following vowel will be treated later.

\[
V \quad \lambda + V \Rightarrow V \quad ɨ + V
\]

---

239 Pierson, op. cit., 314.
240 Amaral, op. cit., p. 53.
241 Mendonga, op. cit., p. 117.
242 Amaral, op. cit., p. 48.
243 Neistein, op. cit., 360.
Regressive nasalization. There is systematic regressive nasalization of stressed vowels which are followed by /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/ in the following syllable, e.g. *azina, *ãnos, and arãnhã. This nasalization is also found with unstressed vowels before /p/ in the following syllable, e.g. cosinhār. This vowel nasalization is the opposite of that discussed on pages 110–112. In this case, we do not have a situation where a nasal consonant disappears while leaving a vestige of vowel nasalization. It now calls for the introduction of a previously non-existing nasal consonant to accompany vowel nasalization.

In all three cases, we can use a previously described (p. 125) nasalization without closure, $\bar{N}_3$, and write two rules for these cases.

$$\hat{V} \quad \{^m\} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \hat{V} + \bar{N}_3 \quad \{^m\}$$

$$V \quad \{\bar{n}\} \quad \Rightarrow \quad V + \bar{N}_3 \quad \bar{n}$$

This done, language phonological transformation rule number four (p. 122) can be applied for the nasalization of the preceding vowel. It must be noted that *meismo*, which lost the $i$ in an earlier caipira transformation, is also affected by this rule: "mez-mu" $\Rightarrow$ 'mez-mu' $\Rightarrow$ 'mẽ-mu'

Loss of final /ŋ/. There were two words in the corpus which were pronounced without the usual nasalization without closure, /ŋ/, com and homem. Amaral noted this for words of the latter type:

$$ei^n (em) \quad \text{Final de vocabulo, reduz-se a a grave;}$$
Pierson had similar examples and included oô (probably pronounced [ko^]), for com as well. These examples plus some gleaned from dialect writing seem to indicate that Portuguese words ending in -em and stressed on the penult syllable will show this reduction:

Fui batô nas margem do rio Assu.

... que nem tem coragem de andar...

... parece lobisôma.

É bobagei eu não acredito...

Com has to be considered as a special case because the reduction always occurs when it occupies an unstressed position in a sentence; morphemic rules have priority over phonological rules for its explanation. It is similar to what occurs with vamos when pronounced without the final /s/. This word in unstressed sentence position will have the pronunciation [vâmô].

A rule for the loss of nasalization without closure and the subsequent, concomitant removal of nasalization from the preceding vowel can be stated as:

Syl ___ e + N => Syl ___ e

The final /e/ in this case will be further reduced to [iv] as

\[^{244}\text{Amaral, op. cit., p. 51.}\]
\[^{245}\text{Pierson, op. cit., 312.}\]
\[^{246}\text{Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 308.}\]
\[^{247}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{248}\text{Pernetta, op. cit., p. 139.}\]
\[^{249}\text{Ibid., p. 140.}\]
shall be shown later.

The caipira vowels. Because some of the vowels in the caipira phonological system undergo transformations which are contingent upon previous transformations on consonants, all discussion of vowels have been deferred until now. For example, the introduction of the phone [ʁ] had to be accomplished before consideration could be given to the contingent changes of the vowels preceding it.

The caipira unstressed vowels. Unstressing of vowels in the dialect are essentially the same as that of the Rio and São Paulo dialects. The same rule, as well as the rule for the unstressed word-final /a/ in those dialects can be repeated here:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{stress} + & \text{stress} - \\
\hline
i & i^v \\
ɛ & ɛ^v \\
ə & ə^v \\
o & o^v \\
u & u^v \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\varepsilon \_ \_ \_ \text{Wd} \Rightarrow \varepsilon \_ \_ \_ \text{Wd}\]

Options for unstressed /i/ and /u/. The appearance of [ɛ^v] and [o^v] as options for [i^v] and [u^v], respectively, in unstressed word-final position is a feature of the caipira dialect which does not appear in the PT rules of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. A word such as grande, /grândi/, can be pronounced as either ['grän-div] or ['grän-de^v] and lago, /lagu/, as either ['la-guv] or ['la-go^v].

This dualism seems to be the product of bidialectal
mixture where the [i] and [u] of a neighboring dialect has been adopted as variants of [e] and [o]. Although there was no attempt to obtain an exact count of the persons who used the latter, it seems to be the most used by the more primitive elements of the municipality. Some authors seem to believe that /e/ and /o/ changed to /i/ and /u/ in word-final position in most of the Portuguese speaking world but remained static in the interior speech of Brazil. This seems to be Amaral's position:

Não se operou aqui a permuta de e final por i, que se observa em outras regiões do país (aquêli, Sati), como não se operou a de o por u (povu, digu), fenômeno este que se manifestou em Portugal, ao que parece, a partir do séc. XVIII.250

Except for the questionable date of change, that there was a change in Continental Portuguese is not in doubt. Hart places the change two centuries earlier:

As for the unstressed vowels, it is fairly safe to say that final -a, -e, and -o were, in the sixteenth century, pronounced [e], [i], and [u], respectively.251

There is no conclusive evidence, however, that the caipira pronunciation of word-final /e/ and /o/ stems directly from an earlier form of Continental Portuguese. It may be due to the influence of the Tupi Indian language early in Brazilian history, although Tupi is not characterized as a language with many vowel endings. The true history of the changes could probably be ascertained by a study of the effects wrought by


Indians in learning Portuguese, together with a thorough study of interior speech throughout the country.

For the moment, a decision as to whether Language PT Rule 1 (p. 121) should be modified or not has to be made. An alternative would be to place constraints on the rule by reducing the number of vowels which are eliminated in word-final position:

\[
\begin{cases}
\varepsilon \\
\varnothing
\end{cases}
\rightarrow Wd \Rightarrow \varnothing \rightarrow Wd
\]

In this case a rule would have to be introduced into the Rio and São Paulo PT rules to further eliminate /e/ and /o/, and an optional rule would have to be added to the caipira rules stating that:

\[
\begin{cases}
e^a \\
o^a
\end{cases}
\rightarrow Wd \Rightarrow \begin{cases}
e^a \\
i^v
\end{cases} \rightarrow Wd
\]

This rule would assume that word-final /e/ and /o/ entered Brazilian Portuguese where it was retained by caipira speech, but changed to /i/ and /u/, respectively, by other dialects in a later stage of the language. It would seem that a better rule would be one which stated that /i/ and /u/ were interpreted acoustically as /e/ and /o/, respectively, by the indigenous population and this pronunciation was retained in the caipira dialect until /i/ and /u/ were reintroduced by an adjacent dialect which had them. This would seem to be the case of the Maxakali speaking Amerindians in Minas Gerais who
interpret Portuguese *chapéu* as /ca.pe.o/.\(^{252}\)

Such a rule for word-final vowels could be stated as follows with the intermediate stage in the middle:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[i^\prime]} \\
u^\prime
\end{array}
\text{ Wd } \rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
e^\prime \\
o^\prime
\end{array}
\text{ Wd } \rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\{e^\prime\} \\
\{o^\prime\}
\end{array}
\text{ Wd}
\]

**Unstressed /e/ and /o/ options.** The variants [i^\prime] and [u^\prime], interchangeable with /e/ and /o/ in syllable-medial position, have a similar behavior to that of the word-final vowels. However, in derivitive words such as *pretinho*, *preitura*, and *medrosa*, the shift of stress away from the first syllable will not result in the interchange, probably because these words are recognized as being base words plus adjective forming derivational morphemes. As such, they can best be dealt with in morphological rules which will simplify phonological rules.

Words such as *esqueci*, /eskezi/, can be pronounced in four ways: \([e^\prime s-ke^\prime -’si]\), \([i^\prime s-ke^\prime -’si]\), \([e^\prime s-kiv-’si]\), or \([i^\prime s-kiv-’si]\). All options can be expressed in two rules, one with a constraint placed on the unstressed /o/ in the infinitives of *-ar* and *-er* verbs so that it will not change to [uv], e.g. *cortar*, \([ko^\prime -’ta]\), and *poder*, \([po^\prime -’de]\). The first of these rules deals only with /e/, and the constraint on /o/ is stated in the second:

\(^{252}\)Gudchinsky et al., *op. cit.*, 79.
\[ e^\nu \implies \left\{ e^\nu \right\} \]

\[ o^\nu + (C_4) \implies X \implies \left\{ o^\nu \right\} + (C_4) \implies X \]

where \( X \neq \left\{ a \right\} + r \implies Wd \)

**Loss of word-final */i/* and */u/*. When */i/* or */u/* is alone in the last syllable of a word, it is frequently omitted, especially if the penultimate syllable is stressed. Many dialect writers have indicated the loss of these vowels as a sign of rural speech and it appears to be a widespread occurrence. Araújo noted the loss of */u/* in the State of Alagoas:

São João dormiu
São Pedro acordô
vamo sê cumpadre
que São João mandô. \(^{253}\)

and in Tietê, São Paulo:

O meu sinhô i sua famia
di saúde cumo vão?
O nobre reis aqui chegô
nesta hora di alagria. \(^{254}\)

Elis noted its absence when writing in the caipira dialect of the State of Goiás:

Hum, tô forte ainda. \(^{255}\)

And Mauro de Vasconcelos used it to indicate interior speech in the State of Rio Grande do Norte:

\(^{253}\)Araújo, *Folclore Nacional*, I, p. 103.

\(^{254}\)Ibid., p. 145

\(^{255}\)Elis, op. cit., p. 226.
Instances where [i⁵] is indicated as being absent is a little more difficult to find in dialect writing, although vai is usually transcribed as vâ.

Examples of the loss of final /u/ in the municipality are acabô, atirô, chega, desenfra, falô, ficô, limpô, plantô, and quebrô; those words which did not have final /i/ are chegô, sê, vá, and viajô.

A rule which would account for the absence of these vowels in that environment would be:

\[
\text{Syl} \begin{cases} [i^5] \\ [u^5] \end{cases} \text{Wd} \Rightarrow \text{Syl} \emptyset \text{Wd}
\]

**Vowel apheresis.** Cases of unstressed vowel apheresis occur in the dialect under certain conditions. Examples found in the municipality under study were (a)cabou, (a)creditar, (a)fogado, (a)parquia, (a)te, (a)gô, (U)patuba, (a)vô, (e)ntão, (e)mbora, (e)(e)cou, (e)(e)te, (e)(e)dão, (e)(e)媛, (e)(e)spiga, (e)spingarda, (e)spôleta, (e)steira, (e)xpliçar, and (e)xpliçião.

Pierson noted the loss of what he called the "sound of one or more initial letters" and gave as examples the words (a)cabou, (a)garrado, (o)peração, (ar)repêndimento, (a)te, and (a)vô.\(^{257}\) Amaral conceived of these as being "accidental modifications," giving (a)parece, (i)magina, (ar)repêndeau.

\(^{256}\)Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 304.

\(^{257}\)Pierson, op. cit., 311.
(ar)ranca, and (a)lambique as examples.\textsuperscript{258}

One quick category can be made of those examples where an unstressed vowel-only syllable is absent in word-initial position. This category cannot include words such as arrox or amar, i.e. the stressed vowel cannot be followed by a consonant in a two-syllable word.

A second category is composed of those words where the unstressed vowel is followed by a consonant in the same syllable. Inspection shows that the consonant is either /s/, /m/, or /n/. Based on this information, two rules can be devised:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wd} & \quad V \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(Syln) + Syl + (Syl) \\
(C_1 + (C_2) + V \quad \text{Wd}
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{Wd} & \quad \emptyset \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(Syln) + Syl + (Syl) \\
(C_1 + (C_2) + V \quad \text{Wd}
\end{array} \right\}
\end{align*}
\]

where $\text{Syln}$ = one or more unstressed syllables

$Syl$ = stressed syllable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wd} & \quad V + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
s \\
m \\
n
\end{array} \right\} \quad X \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{Wd} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
s \\
m \\
n
\end{array} \right\} \quad X
\end{align*}
\]

Vowel epenthesis. Features of the caipira dialect have often been borrowed by speakers of the more prestigious dialects, especially lexical items which did not exist in the latter. However, pronunciation features are not so easily borrowed. One exception is the case of vowels which are in-

\textsuperscript{258}Amaral, op. cit., p. 53.
asserted between consonants. Educated persons in large urban centers have been heard to say *adegovado* instead of *advogado*, and some have even expressed surprise when informed that such cases were considered vices by purists.

Wise commented upon the grammaticalness of the epenthetic vowel:

Colloquially, *[i]* is inserted to break up the consonant clusters *bs, bz, bi [bʒ]*, *di [dʒ]*, as in *absoluto* [abisoˈluto], *objeto* [ɔbʒiˈʒe.tu], *adjetivo* [ədʒeˈtivu]. This insertion is, however, considered a "vice" ("vício de linguagem") by grammarians.259

Such a grammarian, Marques da Cruz, listed as "prosodic vices" such words as *ademitir* for *admitir*, *adevir* for *advir*, *substantivo* for *substantivo*, *adegovado* for *advogado*, *absolutamente* for *absolutamente*, and *adrequirir* for *adquirir*.260

Other examples of epenthesis were given by Amaral, although of a slightly different nature than those given above: *reculuta* for *recruta*, *Inglaterra* for *Inglaterra*, and *garampo* for *grampo*.261 The one case of vowel epenthesis in the São Luís do Paraitinga corpus was of this type: *faranela* instead of *flanela*. There is every reason to believe, however, that examples of both kinds could be found in the municipality.

In the first group of words, an epenthetic vowel is present between a syllable-final stop consonant and any syllable-initial consonant, especially if the latter is also a

259Wise, op. cit., p. 515.
260Marques da Cruz, op. cit., p. 213.
261Amaral, op. cit., p. 54.
stop. In the second, the vowel is present between a syllable-initial consonant and a liquid. The rules for both cases are:

$$X + C_4 \quad C_1 \Rightarrow X \quad C_4 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{v} \\ \text{w} \end{array} \right\} \quad C_1$$

where $C_4 = p, b, t, d$.

$$C_1 + C_2 + V \Rightarrow C_1 + V' \quad C_2 + V$$

where $V' = V$

**Vowel syncope.** There is frequent syncopation of a vowel when it follows any consonant that can precede /r/ in the same syllable. Examples collected in the municipality were ab(o)ra, arv(o)ra, and polv(o)(r)a. A similar word was collected by Teixeira: chac(a)ra. Since every word is a proparoxytone, the loss of the penult vowel seems to be intimately related to stress, a process which is not foreign in the history of Portuguese ( spécra > obra, vateria > vedra, regula > regra, lôpere > lêbre) and can be expressed by this rule:

$$\text{Syl} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p, b \\ t, d \\ k, g \\ f, v \end{array} \right\} + V \quad r + V \Rightarrow \text{Syl} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p, b \\ t, d \\ k, g \\ x, v \end{array} \right\} + r + V$$

**Fronting of /o/.** Unfortunately, dialect writers are often unable to indicate pronunciation because there are no letters in the alphabet to indicate a deviant sound. Such is the case of the fronted, slightly unrounded [o] which is /o/ when followed by the semivowel /½/, e.g. boi [‘boi], dois

---

262 Teixeira, op. cit., 78.
The pronunciation of /oi/ or /ɔi/, with this phone is undoubtedly due to an interpretation of /i/ as /ɪ/. Since this is the only vowel affected in this way, the rule is simple:
\[ o + i \rightarrow e + i \]

Environmental effects upon /a/ and /i/. It must be borne in mind that the rules of the phonological grammar can be simplified, and thereby made more efficient, by combining rules which are similar. Such is the case of /a/ and /i/ in the identical environment of [k], [ɣ], and [ɯ] being pronounced as [a] and [ɛ], respectively. Examples of [a] are cal, ['kaɫ], pau, ['pau], and ak, ['aŋ']. This is equally true when /l/ is pronounced as [u] or [ɣ]: sal, ['sal], and cal, ['kaɫ]. There were cases where this [a] was used before an /r/ in the following syllable ([kla-ɾə] and ['kla-ɾə]) but more examples would have to be found before this could be included in the regular rule. Examples of /i/ being pronounced as [i] are cair, [kɐ-'ɾə], and mil, ['mɪɫ] and ['mɪɯ]. The rule is:
\[
\begin{cases}
\text{(')} & \begin{pmatrix}
    a \\
    i \\
    u
\end{pmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix}
    1 \\
    a \\
    i
\end{pmatrix} \\
\text{('')} & \begin{pmatrix}
    u
\end{pmatrix}
\end{cases}
\]

Lowered and lax /u/. The above rule might well have included /u/ in addition to /a/ and /i/ if any examples had been found where this phone was affected by /l/ or /u/. As no cases were encountered, a rule has to be made separately for the lowering and relaxation of /u/ to [u] when followed in the same syllable by [ɣ]. All of the examples which might
have had an /1/ following /u/ showed either a transformation of the /1/ to [ɔ] or to [³] + [1], e.g. azul, [a-'zug], sul, ['sug], culpa, ['kuug-pe], pulga, ['puug-ga]. Because of this fact, the rule has to be written separately:

\[u + 9 \rightarrow u + 9\]

/e/ before ə or a nasal. Another case where a vowel is affected by a following consonant is illustrated by /e/ when followed by [ə] or a nasal. In the first case, it is lowered to [ɛ] in such words as bater, [be-'teə], and perguntar, [pə-'gün-teə].

In the second case, it is raised to [ı] in such words as dente, ['dɛnt-tiv], ingolir, [iŋ-o-'li], sabem, ['sa-bɛm], and senhor, [sən-'noə]. Although he used the letter ı, it is perhaps [ı] that Amaral intended when he wrote that en was changed to in:

en (en, em) — Inicial, muda-se em in; imprego, incurtá(r), ingino, imborná(r), insil(he)á(r). 263

Although he said that this occurred only in initial position, he nevertheless transcribed senhor as sinhôr. 264 The rule for the municipality is:

\[e + \left[ \begin{array}{c} 9 \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} ɛ \\ ₁ \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} 9 \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \right]\]

Lowering of /o/. A stressed /o/ is transformed to [ɔ] when followed in the same syllable by /1/ or a nasal. Stressed or unstressed, the same thing occurs when it is followed by [ə] in the same syllable. Amaral stated that őu

This lowering of õ to ão was also noted by Pierson and by several dialect writers already cited. Since [ɔ] could be shown graphically by the acute accent ('), it is conceivable that [ã] is really meant. However, the diphthongization presents a problem; som becomes unrecognizable when transcribed as sôo. So there is the possibility that ão actually represents [5u]. Whatever the case, it is definitely [ɔ] in the municipality. The off-glide /u/ will be discussed later so the rule will be stated without it:

\[
\begin{align*}
\delta + \{\text{naso}\} & \rightarrow 5 + \{\text{naso}\} \\
(\prime) 0 + \{\text{nasal}\} & \rightarrow (\prime) 0 + \{\text{nasal}\}
\end{align*}
\]

Presence or absence of /i/. The semivowel /i/ will be present or absent in words depending upon the environment. Following /e/ and preceding /r/ in the following syllable, it is almost always absent. This is most apparent in the large number of -eiro and -eira endings in Portuguese which are reduced to -êro and -êra: dinhêro, estêra, janêro, rocêro, traveçêro. When followed by /s/ and /z/, the same thing occurs: deixar and feijão are pronounced [de^-'ʃa] and [fe^-'ʃa], respectively. Amaral commented on what he called the si diphthong:

Reduz-se a ê quando seguido de r, x, ou i: isquêro.

He went on to say that this reduction also occurred when /\i/ was followed by /o/ or /a/.

Nos vocábulos em que é seguido de ə ou a, como ceia, chão, vela, também aparece às vezes representado por ə; cheio, vêa, cêa.

Three words in the São Luís corpus, however, seem to suggest a different approach; the off-glide /\i/ is transformed to an unstressed [iv] in a syllable by itself:

\text{kə-'de^\i-ə} \Rightarrow \text{kə-'de-i'v-ə}

This reasoning is based on the appearance of the jod transition between a vowel, which is not /e/, and the final unstressed [ə]. Since the stressed /e/ betrays no part in the appearance of the jod and does not blend into an off-glide, it must be assumed that the vowel which conditions the jod is [iv].

One thing that Amaral did not mention was the absence of /\i/ following /e/ and before /t/ in the following syllable. Colheita and leitoa were pronounced without the off-glide in the municipality: [ko^-'le-to] and [le^-'to-ə].

The rule for the absence of this off-glide in São Luís, therefore, is:

\begin{align*}
\begin{cases}
\hat{s} \\
\hat{z} \\
r \\
t
\end{cases}
\Rightarrow
\begin{cases}
\hat{s} \\
\hat{z} \\
r \\
t
\end{cases}
\end{align*}

It was previously mentioned that word-final /z/ and

\text{267} Amaral, op. cit., p. 50. \text{268} Ibid.
/s/ in a stressed syllable are represented by only the [s] phone in the municipality, and that there was a concomitant appearance of the off-glide /i/ before it (see p. 249). It may be that the dialect in other regions still have both /s/ and /z/ in this position, if Amaral is to be taken as authority:

Other places where /i/ is generated are medially between /e/ and word-final /n/, and after /u/ and before /t/ in the following syllable. Examples of the first are alguém [aˈɣʁ-ˈɡɐ̃iɲ], bem [ˈbɐ̃iɲ], ontem [ˈɔntɐ̃-ˈɡɐ̃iɲ], quem [ˈkɐ̃iɲ], tem [ˈtɐ̃iɲ], também [tɐ̃-ˈɡɐ̃iɲ], and vem [ˈvɐ̃iɲ]. Examples of the second are escutar [eˈs-kui-ˈta], and fruta [ˈfruĩ-te]. The appearance of /i/ can thus be presented in two rules:

\[
\begin{align*}
\left[ \tilde{v} \right] + \left[ s \right] \quad \text{Wd} \implies \left[ \tilde{v} \right] + \frac{1}{xy} + \left[ s \right] \quad \text{Wd} \\
\text{u} \implies u + \frac{1}{\text{t}} \implies \text{t}
\end{align*}
\]

Presence and absence of /u/. The semivowel /u/ does not occur in some environments and will appear in others where

269Ibid., p. 48.
270Pierson, op. cit., p. 315.
there is none in other dialects of Brazilian Portuguese. What is often referred to as the ou diphthong is simply /o/ in the caipira dialect. Outro, doutor, pouco, and roupa have the simplified pronunciation of ôtro, dotô, pôco, and rôpa.

Amaral also found this reduction in his study of caipira speech:

Acentuado ou não, contrai-se ... em ô: pôco, tôro, locura, rôpa.271

Dialect writers have used this feature to advantage as these examples show:

Pião estudando pra dotô ... 272
Locô pra minfiá nos purguero.273
... e ôtro ... 274
... tôro e vacas escoido ... 275
... pra demorá um pôco ... 276
... um par de botina de rôro vivo.277

Between /o/ and word-final /n/, /u/ is used. e.g. hom ['bôûn'], som ['sôûn']. As said before (p. 274), the /o/ is lowered to [ɔ] in these cases.

Two rules are necessary for the presence or absence of /u/:

\[
\text{o + u \quad \text{Syl}} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{o \quad \text{Syl}}
\]

271Amaral, op. cit., p. 50.
274Muricy, op. cit., p. 85. 275Ibid., p. 86.
276Ibid., p. 90.
277Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 304.
Whenever a vowel is adjacent to another, there is apt to be a transitional sound (either [j] or [w]) as the vocal organs make the adjustments from one to the other. [w] occurs when there is a transition from [u] to another vowel, e.g. *quarenta* [kw-ɐ-ɾɐn-tɐ]; [j] occurs when the transition is from [i] to another vowel, e.g. *cria* [kɾi-jo]. These transitional sounds have no significance as they are produced almost automatically. They do not fall into the list of selective phones in the dialect.

**Conclusion**

What has been presented here probably composes the bulk of the rules of the *caipira* dialect. No doubt, there have been a few overlooked because they were not captured in the São Luís do Paraitinga corpus. Considering this, it is modestly admitted that this study is not a definitive work. However, considering the fact that this dialect has never been properly described, it is hoped that this will be a stepping stone towards a future overall grammatical study of the most significant interior dialects of Brazil.

* * *

*Eita! Namopadrospritossantamôin!*
CHAPTER IX

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

If Chapters seven and nine do anything, they prove the old adage that there is nothing new under the sun. After a brief, exhilarating period of believing that new ground had been broken, it was discovered that not only had phonological grammars been devised before but they had been criticized for being irrelevant as well.

About half-way through the final draft of the above mentioned chapters, it was discovered that Saporta and Contreras had published a grammar which had similar phonological and generative rules.\(^{278}\) It differed from this one in that it did not establish a relation between dialect and language concepts, nor did it attempt to do so. That method of analysis was argued against by Bach who considered it redundant in the framework of a transformational-generative grammar of the language:

That is, the morpheme-structure rules are introduced into a grammar in the interests of economy, form a natural part of a grammatical theory, and in addition provide

an explanation for the facts of phonotactics.\textsuperscript{279}

The attack was pressed further by Halle who maintained that a characterization of the distinction between admissible and inadmissible segment sequences did not satisfy a simplicity criterion which was already present in every complete grammar.\textsuperscript{280} Halle later combined with Noam Chomsky to introduce their theory of a phonological component whereby categorized, surface structure formatives serve as input, and are acted upon by (1) phonological rules organized in a transformational cycle and by (2) rules of word-level phonology that apply in the cycle whenever the level of word boundary has been reached.\textsuperscript{281}

With the passage of time, however, questions were to be raised. Sampson argued that an autonomous phonological base did not duplicate the morpheme-structure rules and phonological rules presented by Chomsky and Halle.\textsuperscript{282} One of his disappointments with their system was that it offered no formalism to capture the concept 'syllable.'

If one admits a phonological base into linguistic theory, the concept 'syllable' will receive a very natural interpretation: the syllable will be a high-level node of structures generated by the phonological base,

\textsuperscript{279}Bach, op. cit., p. 136.


and, just as syntactic rules re-arrange sentence structure but do not interfere with sentence boundaries, so phonological rules will alter the feature make-up of the syllable but not destroy its unity. 283

Perhaps, when all sides have fired their shots, some moves will be made to reconcile all the existing differences but, until the truce, a dialectologist has to confront the nagging problems that are only of marginal interest to the theorists. The concept of dialect to language is one of those problems. Macaulay expressed this concern when he stated:

\[\text{... discussion of the relations between two dialects is likely to be fruitless until there is some clear notion of the status of the concepts LANGUAGE and DIALECT. In particular, it is important to establish whether all dialects of a language share phonological representations for lexical items, and differ only in the rules that convert these representations into phonetic strings; or whether dialects can be distinguished by different underlying phonological representatives for the 'same' lexical items.} 284\]

Although this study leans toward the first concept, that is, the phonological system of a dialect is viewed as being units obtained by applying generative rules to an overall pattern common to all dialects of the language, it may well be that a pinch of the other is thrown into the phonological soup.

Trolke discussed a related problem—receptive and productive competence—based on experimental work with speakers of nonstandard dialects in Texas who re-encode stimuli presented in the standard dialect into their own nonstandard

283Ibid., 603-4.

He seemed to imply that the speakers of the nonstandard dialects had acquired the receptive competence of the standard dialect although they had not the productive competence to produce the standard forms.

According to this reasoning, the caipira who says ['əɾ-mə] for both alma (soul) and arma (firearm) would have the receptive competence to understand alma when he heard it but would re-encode it into his own phonological system. Similarly, the speaker who had both ['al-mə] and ['əɾ-mə] for alma and arma, respectively, would have the same receptive competence to understand ['əɾ-mə] as being both arma and alma. However, it is probable that the sentence Eu tenho uma arma heard out of conversational context would be phonetically ambiguous to the speaker of the standard dialect, providing he had no previous experience with the caipira dialect, i.e. there are other factors (morphological, syntactical, or semantic) which may lead to competent re-encoding.

Meanwhile, it is gratifying to note that interest is being re-awakened in the fields of phonology and dialectology, and that these disciplines (especially the last) are no longer to be the collection of stray and exotic items to be thrown on the midden pile of poorly classified human behavior.

Syntactical and Morphological Notes

It was mentioned in the last chapter that some pheno-

mena were best treated in morphological rules. This must be expanded to include syntactical rules because stress, traditionally treated on a phonemic level by structuralists, is best incorporated into the phrase-structure rules of a TG grammar, as Stockwell demonstrated.\textsuperscript{286} Stress, in turn, will interplay with pitch and vowel reduction in ways that were outlined by the Chomsky and Halle theory on the principle of the transformational cycle and its application to English stress contours.\textsuperscript{287} It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the change of \textit{para} to \textit{pra}, and ultimately to \textit{pa}, in the \textit{caipira} dialect is intimately related to the stress contours in the sentence.

There were certain things which appeared in the corpus which were morphological in nature. One of these was the lack of plurality shown in nouns following a definite plural article. Attempts to devise a phonological rule for this would result in having to introduce the term 'noun' in the phonological system. It readily became apparent that a morphological rule applied to surface structure could easily delete the plural affix which is optional with the noun in Portuguese, leaving the plural affix attached to the determiner where it was placed by a previous transformation rule. Thus, $o + \text{homem} + \text{pl} \Rightarrow o + \text{pl} + \text{homem} + \text{pl} \Rightarrow o + \text{pl} + \text{homem} + \emptyset$.


\textsuperscript{287}Chomsky and Hall, op. cit., p. 59-162.
Another event is the faulty separation of the final /z/ of the determiner before a noun beginning with a vowel. The basis for the anecdote about the caipira child's answer that three nouns which began with z were zélio, zoréio, and zumbigo, the /z/ is attached to the noun and is thereafter considered to be part of the formative: um zélio.

Future Study

The token morphological and syntactical examples given above serve to illustrate the need for a thorough study of the caipira dialect. Amaral took care to explain that what he discovered in the field of syntax alone was a mere collection of isolated facts:

A complexidade dos fenômenos sintáticos, ainda pouco estudados no dialeto, — apenas enumerados às vezes, — não permite por ora sequer tentativas de sistematização. Só depois de acumulado muito material e depois de este bem verificado e bem apurado é que se poderão ir procurando as linhas gerais da evolução realizada, e tentando dividi-lo em classes.288

In phonology, Postal posed a number of crucial questions about investigation.289 These questions should be taken seriously in order to provide a complete phonological theory. A very pressing need, of course, is a grammar of standard Brazilian-Portuguese, preferably a TG grammar, to which the rules of the dialects can be integrated, including the work done in this study.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that the study

288Amaral, op. cit., p. 74.

of the caipira dialect is not a mere exercise in phonological research. We are dealing with a viable, living dialect that is spoken by at least fifty million people living in the rural regions of Brazil. It is a dialect that has, and will continue to have, an influence on the standard dialects of the country. The practical applications of such a study are not obscure as Brazil needs a knowledge of its national language for the education of her children. This study has more than served its purpose if it makes a contribution to such a task.
1. Single-Volume Books


Egas, Eugenio (ed.). *Os Municípios Paulistas.* São Paulo: Secção de Obras d’O Estado de S. Paulo, 1925.


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2. Multivolume Books


3. Encyclopedia

4. Document

"Letter of complaint about slave runners in the Municipality." Municipal Archives of São Luís do Paraitinga.

5. Periodicals


"Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo." Publicações do Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, XXXIII (1900).


Marcondes, J. V. "Mutirão or Mutual Aid," Rural Sociology, XIII (December, 1948), 374-84.


Watson, James B. "Way Station to Westernization. The Brazilian Caboclo," Brazil: Papers Presented in the Institute for Brazilian Studies, Vanderbilt University, (1953), 9-55.

6. Newspaper

O Valeparaibano [São José dos Campos], June 12, 1969.

7. Interviews


APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE MUNICIPALITY

1. Letter of protest from the citizens of São Luís do Paraitinga against port taxes.

Illmo. e Exmo. Senhor.

Representamos a V. Exa. q' sendo este país, e o das villas vizinhas a esta, e nos portos de mar das mais fertis desta Capa., e mais pe. as plantaçãoens de Canas, Algodons, fumos, milho, feijão, e dos mais generos desta e da ida Se, comtudo não podem adecuirir hua aperpucionada ventagem q' as pudesse distinguir das outras mais distante dos dos. portos comServando-qe os Lavradores com menos ativide. na cultura das terras, no q'serão talvez excesivos se a boa atragão dos generos os convidaçê pa. seus intereces. Em cujo pois q' descubrimos mais eficas pe. fervorar os animos a tam justos fins he mayor facilide. da mutua coResponsencia dos comercian- tes do mar e terra pr. hum disinbraSado Camo. desta pa. a Va. de Ubatuba porto desta Capitania o mais proximo a esta por onde se farião com mais comonide. os transportes de todos os generos vendaveis preferindo por esta forma aquella Va. a de Parathy no Comercio q' a tem enriquiSido. Pa. podermos com- Seguir este beneficio suplicamos a V. Exa. se digne atendo ao q' fica ponderado mandar franquear o do. Camo. pellos mor- adores de cada respective destrito e q' a este se juntam alguns de Thabatê e Pinaminhangava q' são sujeitos a esta

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Plate XI. João Paulino, Maria Angú, and Fans
frega. pos q' o não sejão pella justiSSa e igooalmte. os auxi-
liares pella grande falta de gente q' há nas ordenangas visto q' como pois annos vão estes intereçes relativos tambem a
 e Comandados por hum Xefre nomeado por V. Exa. afim de evitar
desordens. Suplicamos mais a V. Exa. q. as caregaçons q. de-
Seram de Serra aSiama com o destino de irem pa. o R.° de Janró,
sejão exzentos das contribuigons impostas aos generos direi-
tantmes. se encaminharem a vender naquella Va. de Ubatuba, e
que passem como pella Va. de Paraty livre de algum tributo, e
porq. será inutil a fatura do Cam°, e sertantme, continuarão a
seguir pela estrada da Va. de Paraty. Ficamos esperangados a
de q. V. Exa. por sua grandeza hade atender a tão justa suplica
pello que desde já agradesidos beijamos as mans a V. Exa. Ds.
Ge. a V. Exa. mtos. annos. SmLuis 20 de 8ubró de 1798. De v.
Exa. Omildes Suditos, Salvador Gomes da Gouvea Sa., Jozé Ramos
de Olivra., Joachim Rodrigues de Carvalho, Antonio José das
Neves, Francisco Marianno Veigas.
2. Letter of protest against slave running in the municipal-
ity.
"... assignados, lavradores, domiciliados no munici-
pício e termo desta cidade, tendo juntas razões para recearem
graveis prejuizos na sua propriedade por lhes constar de fonte
muito pura que Manoel Garcia Braga tem em sua caza de negocio
procurado persuadir aos escravos que ali vão para se abaste-
cerem de generos de que consta a mesma caza de negocio, para
abandonarem e fugirem dos suas senhores, e para se dirigem em
procura dos abolicionistas rezidentes em São Paulo, logrando
por esse modo a sua completa liberdade, o que é um elemento
de dezordem e ruina para a lavcura e trará grave danno a so-
ciedade em geral, se as autoridades não tratar imediatamente
de por côbro a semelhantes abuzos, que constituem verdadeiros
crimes, vêm perante Vossa Senhoria representar sobre a urgan-
te necessidade do emprego de medidas adequados a fim de que
contar o estado de cousas que põe em sobre salto não só a la-
voura, como toda a população sensata deste município, que in-
felizmente conta em seu seio não só esse como também o nego-
ciante João Eloy de Castro Guimarães ou talvez mais alguns
poucos desordeiros com pretensão a humanitarios. Os suppli-
ciantes certos do espirito de ordem e de justiça da parte de
Vossa Senhoria, vem pedir as providencias que julgar acerta-
das para tranquilidade e soqego deste população que se julga
ameagada de graves desordens e assim pedem a Vossa Senhoria
de digne providenciar como lhe pareger de Justiça. Esperão
receber mercê. São Luís. Vinte de setembro de mil oito centos
e oitenta e sete. Barão do Parahytinga e filho, Manoel Bento
Domingues de Castro, José Lopes Pereira de Toledo, Luiz Pereira
de Campos, Laurindo Pereira de Castro, Joaquim Pereira de
Campos, José Antonio Bueno, Manoel Pereira de Almeida, Luiz
Thimotheo de Moura, José Maria de Gouveia Castro, Antonio
José de Gouveia Castro, Pedro Gabriel Parret, José Maria
Gomes de Gouveia, Egydio Pereira Gomes de Gouveia, Benedicto
Antunes de Moura Marcondes, José Maria da Silveira, Pedro
Pereira de Campos, José Aleixo Perreira de Campos, Benedicto
Pereira de Campos, José Figueira Ornellos, Francisco da Silva

3. Letter sent to the Secretary of State about the difficulties of founding settlements in the year 1768.

Nao há cousa tão útil, e necessária, como as povoas-
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gões, principalmente nesta Capitania, que a muito falta; não há coisa ao mesmo tempo tão difícil. Não falo das dificuldades de mover os novos habitadores, que uns não queram, outras pedem o que não há, outras choram, outras se escondem, que tudo isto se vence; falo das muitas vontades que é preciso conciliar para uma coisa tão justa, e necessária, e com as quais não podem as minhas forças, nem me é possível obrigá-las.


Dom Luiz Antonio, Porquanto tendo mandado fazer público nas Villas de Taubaté e Ubatuba, que a todos o moradores das ditas Villas, que quiserem hir povoar a paragem ao pé do Rio Parahytinga, além de lhes dar as terras de que necessitarem, segundo as suas possibilidades, e a ferramenta necessária para cultivarem as ditas terras, lhes facultaria todos os privilégios que S. Mage. concede aos povoadores de terras, té o presente se não tem deliberado pessoa alguma a hir estabelecer a dita Povoação, pelo que: Faço saber a todos os referidos moradores das ditas villas de Taubaté e Ubatuba, que toda a pessoa que quiser hir povoar a dita Povoação, lhes concedo os privilégios de que dentro em dez annos não serão chamados para soldados assim desta Praça, como de Auxiliares ou Ordenanças, nem serão ocupados em outro algum serviço ou emprego alheyos da sua vontade, além de serem lhes permitidos os privilégios que S. Mage. manda se concedão aos Povoadores
de terras. E para que chegue a notícia de todos mandar lançar este Bando nas ditas Villas, que se affixará na parte mais publica da mesma, depois de Regdo. nos livros da Secretaria deste Governo, e mais partes a que tocar. Dado nesta Villa de Santos aos 7 de Maio de 1769. Thomaz Pinto da Silva Secretario do Governo o fez escrever. Dom Luiz Antonio de Souza.

5. Letter from Dom Luiz Antonio de Souza to Manoel Antonio de Carvalho, the founder of São Luís do Paraitinga.

Vejo o q' V. Mce. me diz de estar pronto a partir pa. a Povoação de Parahybuna, pa. onde parte a 25 recomendo-lhe mto., q' como pratico q' hé na arrumação desses Povos nas novas Povoações, faça toda a deligencia pa. q' com brevidade se estabeleção, e vam em aumto, emqto eu por aqui estou pa. poder dar as providencias necessarias, porq' também sou experiente do que nestes materias se precisa: abra V. Mce. a picada na Frega. q' me diz: Também lhe louvo muito lançar o caminho de Ubatuba de forma q' fique vedado com o actual Rego. q' ali há, pa. q' não possa haver extravios. Os seus Povoadores nao se queixaram a mim porq. eu já conheço as gentes desta Terra, mas sim foram queixarse ao Sr. Bispo q' ainda a pouco veyo de novo, porem V. Mce faça mto. para que elles nam tenham razão de queixa. Vai o Provimto. de Escrivão pa. Joam Teixeira Chaves, e nam tenho tempo de responder a sua carta, e V. Mce. lhe diga, q' em tudo o desejo mto. ajudar. Emqto. ao que requer Antonio Ferrão de Carvalho, hé precizo q' elle faça petiçam pa. se mandarem ouvir e aos Juizes para lhes deferirem. Emqto. a Franco Matheus Christiane me parece q' já
estes dias deferi aos seus requerimentos. Pelo que toca aos Juizes V. Mce. lhes diga, q' governem a terra depois de feita, porq' ao q' respeita a arrumaçam das gentes, e disposiçam dos Povoadores pertence a V. Mce., q' hê imediato a mim. E finalmente. como essa terra hé nova, qto. menos a governarem melhor serê, porq. assim ensina a natureza, porq. hum homem suposto o seja de pequeno, nem por isso exercita todas as faculdades, senam depois de grande. Com isto digo tudo a V. Mce. e rogo a Ds. o gde. mtos. ans.

São Paulo a 5 de Outubro de 1774. Dom Luiz Antonio de Souza.
VITA

Giles Lother Istre was born in Rayne, Louisiana on September 21, 1927. He attended St. Joseph Grammar and High School until the ninth grade, at which time he moved to Kaplan, Louisiana where he graduated from Kaplan High School in 1945. In the same year, he entered the United States Army for three years and served in the Occupation Forces in Belgium and Germany.

He graduated from Southwestern Louisiana Institute in 1955 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Art Education. From 1952 to 1959, he worked as a commercial artist for an advertising agency, as a cartographer for oil companies, and as an engineering aide for the Louisiana State Highway Department.

From 1960 to 1964, he taught English as a Foreign Language at the Instituto Tecnológico de Aeronáutica in São José dos Campos, São Paulo, Brazil, an engineering school on the university level started for the Brazilian Ministry of Aeronautics by professors of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He further taught English transformational grammar at Abbeville Junior High School in Abbeville, Louisiana and at Notre Dame High School in Crowley, Louisiana.

Mr. Istre is married and has one child.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Giles Lother Istre

Major Field: Linguistics

Title of Thesis: A Phonological Analysis of a Brazilian-Portuguese Interior Dialect

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Mary S. Dietz

William W. Evans

[Signatures]

Richard T. Wood

Date of Examination:

May 13, 1971