

Words Formation with Adjectives of Tupi Origin in Amazonian Portuguese

Orlando da Silva **AZEVEDO***
Felício Wessling **MARGOTTI****
Ilna Kelly Ferreira dos **SANTOS*****

* PhD (2013) in Linguistics at Federal University of Santa Catarina – Florianópolis Campus. Professor at Federal University of Amazon (UFAM) – Manaus Campus. Contact: orsilva@gmail.com.

** PhD (2004) in Letters at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – Porto Alegre. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Linguistics at Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC). Contact: felicio.margotti@ufsc.br.

*** Student of Portuguese Language and Literature (2020) at Federal University of Amazon (UFAM) – Manaus Campus. Contact: ilnaufam@gmail.com.

Abstract:

This paper addresses word formation with adjectives from Tupi origin, *açu* and *mirim*, in Amazonian Portuguese. The corpus for the analysis was constituted by the reading of books, and dictionaries, which include the formations by composition with these adjectives. For the purposes of the research, our theoretical foundation is based on the Generative Morphology model (ARONOFF, 1976; BASÍLIO, 2009; ROCHA, 2008; SPENCER, 1991) in order to make it possible to construct rules applicable to the bases that these adjectives select. The results show the existence of formations by composition mainly and the application of Structural Analysis Rules (SARs) and Word Formation Rules (WFRs). In addition, some constructions do not have entries in dictionaries and others do not characterize the formation process by composition. We concluded that there is an extensive list of words formed with *-açu* and *mirim* incorporated in Brazilian Portuguese, showing that they are very productive in the formation of compound words and sometimes in derivative word formation.

Keywords:

Word formation. Amazonian Portuguese. Generative morphology.

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Orlando da Silva Azevedo; Felícip Wessling Margotti; Ina Kelly Ferreira dos Santos

INICIAL WORDS

In this work, we catalog words formed by the adjectives *açu*, which means *big*, and *mirim*, which means *small* (CUNHA, 1999), both of Tupi origin. The corpus is constituted by data from books and dictionaries about the Amazonian regional fauna and flora.

Our purpose was to verify whether words formed with adjectives of Tupi origin have entries in the dictionaries Aurélio (FERREIRA, 2009) and Houaiss (HOUAISS et al., 2009) and to analyze the bases that these suffixes select. We work with the Generative Morphology model (ARONOFF, 1976; BASÍLIO, 2009; ROCHA, 2008; SPENCER, 1991) that analyzes the morphological aspects from the speaker's linguistic competence, which, in turn, is capable of forming new words and to recognize the structure of words. In the analysis of formations by composition, we apply the concepts of Structural Analysis Rule (SAR) and Word Formation Rule (WFR), generally applied to the formation process by derivation, in which affixes (prefixes and suffixes) participate.

THE RESEARCH

In order to carry out this study, we have cataloged substantive formations involving the adjectives of Tupi origin, *açu*, and its variants, and *mirim*, and its variants. The investigated material, as previously described, were books on Amazonian literature, etymological dictionaries and the dictionaries Aurélio (FERREIRA, 2009) and Houaiss (HOUAISS et al., 2009). It is, therefore, a bibliographic search, from which there was the cataloging of word formations involving the adjectives *açu* and *mirim*. Thus, we constitute a sample in which it was possible to verify the existence of the Structural Analysis Rule and the application of the words.

This research has a qualitative character, because, according to Callado et al. (2013, p. 33),

The qualitative approach is also guided by significant areas or themes of research. However, unlike most quantitative studies, in which clarity about research questions and hypotheses must come before data collection and analysis, in qualitative studies it is possible to develop questions and hypotheses before, during and after collection and data analysis. Generally,

these activities serve to first find out what are the most important research questions, then to refine and answer them. The inquiring action moves dynamically in both directions: between the facts and their interpretation, and it is a more “circular” process in which the sequence is not always the same, it varies according to each specific study.

Still according to these authors, qualitative research is focused on the exploration, description and understanding of the phenomenon under study. One of its characteristics is the use of data without numerical measurement for the discovery and improvement of research questions in the process of interpreting the phenomenon under study.

In addition to the qualitative character, this study also has a quantitative focus, characterizing the method that “uses data collection to test hypotheses, based on numerical measurement and statistical analysis to establish standards and prove theories” (CALLADO et al., p. 30). For this reason, we counted all the formations found in the books on regional Amazonian flora and fauna, which were checked if they had entries in Portuguese-language dictionaries.

THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS RULE (SAR) AND WORD FORMATION RULE (WFR)

According to the Theoretical Model of Generativism (CHOMSKY, 1997), every speaker has linguistic competence to form new words in the language. According to this conception, the speaker is able, from a base, to derive, juxtapose or agglutinate new formations. This innate property, characterized as recursion, allows the speaker to perceive the existence of a standard base or a base word from which products such as nouns, adjectives or verbs can arise, thus characterizing the process as being derivational, through the addition of prefixes and suffixes, or compositional, by combining autonomous bases or not.

Upon recognizing the base and its additions, the speaker makes use of the Structural Analysis Rule (SAR) which, according to the theoretical model of Generative Morphology, is represented as follows: $[X] a > [X] a Y b$ (where “X” is the primitive base; “a” is the grammatical class of the base; “Y” is the affix that selects the base; and “b” is the product of joining the affix with the base to form a new word with change of grammatical class or form a new word without changing the grammatical class (ARONOFF, 1976; SPENCER, 1991).

The SAR is a precondition for the creation of a Word Formation Rule (WFR), which is defined by a unitary semantic-categorical relationship, but not necessarily uniconditional (RIO-TORTO, 1998). When the speaker produces new words by using, for example, a prefix or suffix, he is making use of an WFR.

We exemplify the application of the WFR with the Amazon lexicon, involving formations with the suffix *-rana*, also of Tupi origin, which was documented in Azevedo’s thesis (2013) whose study addressed dialectal aspects of Amazonian Portuguese. The

abacaxirana, *melanciarana* and *uixirana* formations refer to regional fruits found in the igapó forests, which are edible only for some animals such as regional fish. Thus, we have the following representation:

1. [X]S>[[X]S –rana]S

Example a: [abacaxi] S> [[abacaxi] S –rana] s = [abacaxirana] s

Example b: [melancia] S> [[melancia] S –rana] s = [melanciarana] s

Example c: [uixi] S> [[uixi] S –rana] s = [uixirana] s

In examples 1, the substantive bases *abacaxi*, *melancia* and *uixi* plus the suffix –rana form new nouns (AZEVEDO; MARGOTTI, 2012).

For Aronoff (1976), the RFP applies at the lexical level, making references to the phonetic, semantic and syntactic properties of words.

THE DERIVATIONAL PROCESS

In the formation of words by derivation in the Portuguese language, the parameters established from the combination of words and affixes already existing in the language are observed. From the perspective of Generative Morphology, the speaker, despite of being illiterate, knows the rules of word formation and, therefore, is able to create new words from the linguistic resources provided by the grammar of the language. This mechanism, by way of illustration, is used by children and adults in the use of forms such as “*morração*”¹ instead of *morte*²; “*desmorreu*”³ instead of “*ressuscitar*”⁴, “*descubrição*”⁵ instead of “*descobrimento*”⁶ etc. Or, in flexion, the use of forms such as “*reid*”⁷ for the feminine of *rei*⁸ is verified, instead of a *rainha*⁹; “*boia*”¹⁰ for the female of *boi*¹¹ instead of a *vaca*¹²; “*fazê*”¹³ instead of *faz*¹⁴ etc.

¹ The same as death (*deadation)

² death

³ The same as resurrect (*undie)

⁴ resurrect

⁵ The same as discovery (*discovery)

⁶ discovery

⁷ Feminine of king (*kingress)

⁸ king

⁹ queen

¹⁰ Feminine of ox (*oxess)

¹¹ ox

¹² cow

¹³ the same as *He does*

¹⁴ does

We consider that the most common bases to which the suffixes are attached are nouns, adjectives and verbs (BASÍLIO, 2009); most processes of word formation by suffixation change the grammatical class of the base word, and the productivity of each suffix has to do with the type of base(s) you select. For example, the suffix X-vel forms adjectives in combination with direct transitive verbs: amar (to love) + -vel = amável (lovable, lovely), estimar (to estimate)+ -vel = estimável (estimable), louvar (to celebrate) + -vel = louvável (laudable, commendable), and rejects other bases such as the noun homem + -vel = *homemvel (non-existent word, like *manable (from man + able) and the adjective beleza (beauty) + -vel = *belezável (non-existent word, like *beautiable). If the morphological structure is an X-izar verb (-ize), the suffix corresponding to the nominalized form will be -ção (-tion); on the other hand, if it is X-ecer, the suffix active in the formation of the new word will be -mento (-ment) (BASÍLIO, 2009).

In addition, depending on the context of use, the speaker can prioritize word formation based on the choice of bases and suffixes in the language. Therefore, the production conditions of each suffix have to do with the context in which it is used, that is, with the discursive, pragmatic or cultural environment that involves the user of the language (BASÍLIO, 1980). For example, let's take the achievements of the word *não* (not) in the informal language and in the formal language: in informal spoken language, the user makes the achievements as *não*, *não é* (isn't it?), *né* (contracted form of *não é*) and *ni* (contracted form of *não*) with adverbial function, as an emphatic particle to highlight the negation or to ask for confirmation from the interlocutor as in *-Ele foi pra festa?* (Did he go to the party?) *-Nuh foi não, né?* (he didn't, did he?) etc.; on the other hand, in formal spoken or written language, with the same word *não* (not), in addition to adverbial employment or in other discursive functions, there are constructions such as *não lucrativo* (non-profitable) *não didático* (non-didactic), *não jurídico* (non-judicial), *não escrito* (unwritten), in which the *não* (not) has the function of serving as a negative prefix when selecting adjective bases, participatory forms with an adjective function, and is constituted in a fixed and recurring form, already consolidated in Portuguese language as an element of word formation (ALVES, 2002, p. 91-97).

The adverb *não* (non) starts to exercise another grammatical function denying the meaning expressed by the base, selecting substantive, adjectives and verbal bases (ALVES, 2002, p. 99).

The suffixes, therefore, have specific characteristics and in general select specific bases, being able to change or not the grammatical class of the derived word. They are also more productive in certain discursive, pragmatic or cultural environments, where there is a need to appoint new referents.

THE COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS

Composition is another very productive word formation process in Portuguese, as it continuously contributes to the formation of new words and occurs when two or more radicals are joined or juxtaposed, forming new words with different meanings from the words that participated in the process. For Rio-Torto (1998), the composition is defined by the concatenation of at least two more or less autonomous bases. Examples of Azevedo (2013):

- 2. pau+de+bico=pau-de-bico¹⁵
- vai+quem+quer=vai-quem-quer¹⁶
- espanta+mole= espanta-mole¹⁷

As characterized above, composition is a process of forming new words by agglutinating or juxtaposing existing words or non-autonomous bases, or between an autonomous and a non-autonomous base and vice versa. This process characterizes the principle of linguistic economics, whose function is not to overload the linguistic system with an excess of new words. While in derivational processes by prefixing, suffixing and parasynthesis, in which a single semantema (root, also called primary radical, among other designations) is registered in composition processes, two more semantemas (two or more bases) occur.

In Portuguese language, in the composition of new words by agglutination or juxtaposition, preferentially free bases participate, which are formal words that can be pronounced in isolation and, even so, express dependent ideas and forms such as articles, prepositions, some unstressed oblique conjunctions and pronouns. The structure of the compounds is quite varied, as shown below:

- a) noun + noun: *tamanduá-bandeira* (giant anteater), *peixe-boi* (manatee), *papel-moeda* (paper Money);
- b) noun + preposition + noun: *pé-de-vento* (wind-foot), *pai-de-família* (father-of-family), *arroz-de-festa* (rice party);
- c) noun + adjective (or vice versa): *amor-perfeito* (pansy), *aguardente* (brandy), *belas-artes* (fine arts), *alto-forno* (blast furnace);
- d) adjective + adjective: *luso-brasileiro* (Portuguese-Brazilian), *trágico-cômico* (tragicomic), *surdo-mudo* (deaf and dumb);
- e) numeral + noun: *terça-feira* (Tuesday), *três-marias* (three sisters), *trigêmeo* (triplet);

¹⁵ Fishing instrument, which can be made with a wooden rod to be pointed at one end.

¹⁶ Name given to the place where the caboclo of Juruti-Velho (PA) produces manioc flour.

¹⁷ Another name for the place where flour is produced in Juruti-Velho.

- f) pronoun + noun: *meu bem* (honey), *Nosso Senhor* (Our Lord), *Vossa excelência* (Your Excellency);
- g) verb + noun: *lança-perfume* (perfume-throwing), *beija-flor* (hummingbird), *guarda-roupa* (wardrobe);
- h) verb + verb (or verb + conjunction + verb): *corre-corre* (rush), *vaivém* (shuttle), *leva-e-traz* (take-and-bring);
- i) adverb + noun (or + adjective, or + verb, or + pronoun + verb): *benquerença*, *sempre-viva* (evergreen), *não machadiana* (non-machadiana), *bem-querer* (well-being), *vangloriar-se* (boast), *malmequer* (marigold);
- j) verb + adverb: *pisa-mansinho* (*softfoot*), *ganha-pouco* (little gain);
- k) group of words and orational constructions: *Deus-nos-acuda* (all hell breaks loose), *Maria-vai-com-as-outras* (she is wishy-washy), *mama-na-égua* (fool).

Based on this, we will analyze the particularities of the forms *-açu* and *-mirim*, from Tupi language, which contributed significantly to the formation of words in regional Amazonian Portuguese mainly.

ADJECTIVES OF TUPI ORIGIN: *AÇU* AND *MIRIM*

In his first letter,¹⁸ dated November 21, 1751, Captain-General Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, from Pará, writes to his brother, Marquês de Pombal, in Portugal, about the problems that arose in the Portuguese Amazon. In this letter there is a record of the forms *Açu* and *Mirim*:

For Your Excellency to be able to understand this absurdity, which is actually incredible, it is necessary to know that the word Tupana in such a slang is God; the two *Açu* and *Mirim* is the same as big/great and small/little, and they are the so-called Indians educated to explain God by saying Tupana *Açu* Great God; and the saints, their images and veronica Tupana *Mirim* = Little God; and this they say is a way of explaining, since there is no word for Holy in the language, always given as an element of religion to a wild people, they form an idea of many gods, which is totally defended and opposed to the true faith that the Catholic Church teaches us (MENDONÇA 2005, p. 113, emphasis added).

The excerpt describes the difficulty in relating extralinguistic referents specific to the indigenous peoples with those of Portuguese origin, as they are different sociocultural and linguistic realities. Cunha (1999, p. 211), in his Historical Dictionary of Portuguese words of Tupi origin, presents excerpts from works of Brazilian literature, where there is a record of the *açu* and *mirim* forms:

¹⁸ It is the textual genre used at the time as a communication tool.

a1696 G. Matos Obras (ed.1969, II, 459): At the sight of this tailor, said Cabido in amazement, we are young cats that are still crawling now.

1868 J. M. Macedo *Memórias do meu tio* II, vii1868: [...] *mirim* is a Guarani adjective that does not enter the dictionary of the progressive genius of our age: all child entities are crushed by the locomotives of modern civilization. 1894 TAUNAY O *Encilhamento* I. xxix, 2012: [...] like rosy ham, half, without more Chopins and Chapecós, Pepirys and Santo Antônio mirins or guaçus, that wild territory, so many decades, litigious [...]

1946 GUIMARÃES ROSA *Sagarana* 226: Only that I light another cigarette, because of the thousand mosquitos, which are Bunch of little demons.

We noticed in these passages that *mirim* and *açu* forms were used as adjectives to quantify nouns without, however, forming compound words.

According to Dietrich and Noll (2010), Houaiss (HOUAISS et al., 2009) has 273 Brazilian formations with *açu* and 94 with *mirim*. In addition, the researchers consider these two forms sometimes as pseudo-suffixes, sometimes as suffixes and now as adjectives. Rocha (2008) uses the suffixoid terminology, or pseudo-suffixes, to characterize non-recurring phonic sequences, which select free bases changing the meaning of the primitive base.

To be a suffixoid, there must be no recursion, that is, having the ability to form new words, such as, for example, what happens with the phonic sequence *-ebre* in *casebre* (*casa* + *ebre* (house + ebre), hovel), as it does not appear in any other word in Portuguese. So, they are suffixoid: *bicho/bichano* (animal/cat), *urina/urinol* (urine/urinal), *pé/pedestre* (foot/pedestrian), *curso/cursilho* (course/little curse), *serra/serrota* (mountain/small mountain) (ROCHA, 2008, p. 121).

However, we will see that the adjectives *açu* and *mirim* behave as suffixes due to the range of formations in Portuguese, involving bases of Tupi origin.

WORDS OF TUPI ORIGIN WITH AÇU

Portuguese language borrowed from Tupi the *gwa'su* form, which means *big*, spelled *guaçu*. In 1928, the *guaçu* form was registered as *guasú* in the work Macunaíma, by Mário de Andrade. In the version of the 2017 work we can see the spelling *guaçu*:

- If ... if ... if the boboiuna appeared I ... I would kill her!

Then a guaçu roar was heard and Capei came out of the water. And Capei was the ox. Macunaíma lifted his bust with a gleam of heroism and advanced towards the monster (ANDRADE, 2017 p. 30)

As for the *açu* form, it has other variants: in Tupi it is *-wa'su*, and in Portuguese it is *-uaçu*, with a reduction of the group initiated by the sound velar consonant *-gw-* to the rounded posterior semivowel *-w-*, forming the diphthong *-wa-* in a pretonic position.

The form *-a'su*, from Tupi, corresponds to the form *-açu*, with a drop in the semivowel, in Portuguese.

The allomorphic variant of Tupi *-u'su*, corresponding to *-uçu* in Portuguese, is also registered, with a change from *-a-* to *-u-*, in relation to the differences in pretonic vowels, characterizing a kind of vocalic harmony or assimilation, which, in favorable formal contexts, tends to approximate the tone of the final tonic vowel.

It appears from the 16th century on, in words of Tupi origin, while its use as an adjective persists, which quantifies the base as being something *big*.

In the work *Ubirajara*, by José de Alencar, there is a record of *curumim-guassú* (2012), which means *big boy*. In *Iracema*, the character and indigenous chief is called Jaguaráçu (2018).

In sequence, formations involving **fish** names are listed: *acará-açu*, *acarauaçu*,¹⁹ *carauaçu*,²⁰ *acariaçu*, *aiaraçu*, *guaibicuaraçu*, *tatapuiacu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 285); **culinary**: *bejuacu*; **birds**: *ajuruacu*, *arapaçu*, *arataiaçu*, *attaçu*, *atinaçu*, *guirauaçú*²¹ (CUNHA, 1999, p. 143), *guiraguacu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 306), *guiraguaçuberaba*, *nambuaçu*, *picaçu*, *uraçu*, *sanbaçu*, *sanbaço-de-encontro*, *sanbaçuíra* and *sanbaçu-verde*, *sairaçu*, *curassow-açu*, *abijaguacu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 42); **mammals**: *acutipuruacu*, *aguaraçu* (GLOSSÁRIO..., 2018), *suaçu*; **reptiles**: *araracangaçu*, *iuracangaçu*, *jiboiaçu*, *teiuacu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 288), *boiaçu*,²² anteater; **worms or annelids**: *minhocaçu*, *minhocuçu*, *tungaçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 299); **plants**: *aguaçu*, *aguaraibá-guaçu*, *aguaraquiá-açu*, *anda-açu*, *anilaçu*, *aningaçu*, *anaçu*, *babaçu*,²³ *banaçu*, *buiuçu*, *canaçu*, *coaçu*,²⁴ *caá-açu*, *pixiricuçu*,²⁵ *samambaiaçu* *sambambaiaçu*, *uaçuçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 303), *carauaçú* (WITTMANN et al. 2010, p. 84), *apapaçu* (CARREIRA, 2004, p. 27); **fruits**: *cipuaçu*, *ingá-açu* (WITTMANN et al. 2010, p. 119), *tatararaçu* (CARREIRA, 2004, p. 146), *taperibá açu* (CARREIRA, 2004, p. 146), *tucum-açu*, *tucumã-açu* (BARBOSA et al., 2001, p. 13) *marajá-açu* (BARBOSA et al., 2001, p. 17), *bacaba-açu*, *bacabaçu*; **insects**: *aranbaçu*, *nhanduaçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 220); **river**: *Coaçu*,²⁶ **means of transport**: *Igaraçu*; **toponyms**: *Mogi-Guaçu*, *Itajaí Açu*, *Aracaçu*, *Coaçu*.²⁷

In addition, we found formations with the *uçu* variant in the name of: **plants**: *ubuçu*, *buçu*, *uxipuçu*, *viruçu*, *taquaruçu*, *copaibuçu* (BARBOSA, 2001, p. 113); **reptile**: *boiuçu*; **bird**: *tucanuçu*.

¹⁹ Colloquial variant of *acará-açu*, the regional fish.

²⁰ Colloquial variant of *acará-açu*, the regional fish

²¹ Variant of *guiaraguacu*.

²² It has the variants *boiaçu*, *boiçu*, *boioçu* and *boiuçu*.

²³ It has other variants: *baguaçu*, *agnaçu*, *anaçu*, *banaçu*.

²⁴ Variant of *canaçu* unregistered in dictionaries.

²⁵ Without registration in searched dictionaries.

²⁶ River of the Ceará State without registration in searched dictionaries.

²⁷ Neighborhood name of Fortaleza-CE.

The *aço* formation was used to form, for example, the following words in the semantic field **birds**: *sanhaço*, *sanhaço-amarão*, *sanhaço-amazon*, *sanhaço-da-serra*, *sanhaço-da-serra*, *sanhaço-de-coconut*, *sanhaço-fire*, *papaya sanhaço*, *field-sanhaço*, *basking-sanhaço*, *brown sanhaço*, *sanhaçotinga*.

Formations with the *guaçu* variant for **insects** were also found: *miringuaçu*; **for plants**: *auai-guaçu*, *caaguaçu*, *carandaguaçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 103), *carobaguaçu*, *jequiitiguaçu*, *tarumã-guaçu*, *tarumã-guaçu* (WITTMANN et al. 2010, p. 240); **for culinary**: *beijuguaçu*; **for wind instrument**: *membiguaçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 209); **for fishing**: *canapuguaçu*, *guacariguaçu*, *amoreguaçu* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 49), *guacariguaçu*; **for birds**: *nambuguaçu*, *inhambuguaçu*, *inambuguaçu*, *inamuguaçu*, *nambuguaçu*, *nhambuguaçu*, *nhanduaguaçu*, *saira-guaçu*, *atuaçu*, *tinguaçu*, *jacuguaçu*, *sabiá-guaçu*; **for fruits**: *carandá-guaçu*, *baguaçu*, *aguaçu*; **for reptile**: *boiguaçu*.

Some formations have no entry in Houaiss (HOUAISS et al., 2009) and Aurélio (FERREIRA, 2009) dictionaries, such as: *curumim-açu*, *curumim*, *guassú*, *apapaçu* etc.

WORDS OF TUPI ORIGIN WITH *MIRIM*

Mirim is an adjective of Tupi origin *mi'ri* which means *small*, sometimes being reduced to *-im* and *-i* (HOUAISS et al., 2009, p.1297). Based on the definition found in Houaiss (2009, p.1297) and in the Historical Dictionary of Portuguese words of Tupi origin (CUNHA, 1999, p. 211), the variable would be (*mi'ri*) → [mirim] → [rim or *mi'ri*] → [im] → [i], that is, the *mi'ri* form evolved to *mirim*, with the addition of *m*, paragoge or epithesis; then it suffers the loss of *mi*, a phenomenon known as apheresis, reaching the *rim* or *ri* forms; it undergoes new apheresis, resulting in *im*; and, finally, apocope of *m* occurs, fixing at *i*. Therefore, we can find formations with these four variants, being easier to identify in the words the shape [mirim] than the others, which are joined with the base they select.

We found different formations with the *im* variant for **means of transport**: *igaratim*; **for the same name**: *xarapim*; **for the name of an indigenous tribe**: *Tupiniquim*; **for termite mounds**: *tapecuim*; **for hair color**: *pixaim*; **for fish odor**: *pituim*; **to refer to boy**: *curumim*, *colomim*, *columim*; **to refer to the girl**: *cunbantaim*; **for culinary**: *cauim*, *caxirim*, *piracuim*; **for fish**: *camurim*, *camuripim*, *camurupim*, *camarupim*, *canjurupim*, *mandim*, *surubim*; **for plants**: *bogarim*, *cabuim*, *capim*, *catuquim*, *cumbarim*, *cunabim*, *japanim*, *jenipapim*, *juritubim*, *muritim*, *pixurim*, *sambacuim*, *ubim*, *xaxim*; **for insects**: *aratim*, *arancim*, *iratim*, *cabamoatim*, *camoatim*, *iraxim*, *itapecuim*, *itapicuim*, *catuquim*, *maringuim*, *maruim*, *meruim*, *miruú*, *miruim*, *muruim*, *micuim*, *mucuim*, *tapicuim*, *timicuim*; **for birds**: *apacanim*, *inapacanim*, *cajubim*, *cujubim*, *cutucurim*, *jacamim*, *japacanim*, *japiim*, *japim*, *mutumboicinim*, *nhapim*, *puxicaraim*, *tururim*, *tururuim*, *uiruucotim*; **for funerary instrument**: *camotim*, *camucim*; **for mammals**: *aguaraxaim*, *guaraxaim*, *graxaim*, *guaximim*, *buriquim*, *cuim*, *guaraparim*, *saguim*, *sauim*, *soim*, *sonhim*, *xauim*, *jurumim*, *anteater*; **for tubers**: *aipim*, *impim*, *ipim*; **for reptile**: *jabutim*; **for mollusc**: *maçunim*; **for boat**: *maracatim*.

The constructions involving the *mirim* variant form an **adjective**: *mirim-docense*; **name**: *curumim mirim*; **crustacean names**: *potimirim*, *rerimirim* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 252); **bird names**: *inhambumirim*, *ipecumirim*; **plant names**: *abatimirim*, *ibamirim*, *tarumã-mirim*, *guamirim* (CUNHA, 1999, p. 137), *guamirim-felpudo*, *irimirim*, *airimirim*, *itaubarana-mirim* (WITTMANN et al., 2010, p. 178), *juá-mirim*, *jutaí-mirim*, *ubi-mirim* (BARBOSA et al., 2001, p. 59), *cajá-mirim* (WITTMANN et al., 2010, p. 203); **insect names**: *cabamirim*, *tujumirim*, *mirim-guaçu*, *mirim-pintada*, *mirim-preguiça*, *mirim-rendeira*; **names of geographical accidents**: *Uxié-mirim* (MENDONÇA 2005, p. 348), *Paraná-mirim*, *Uxiemirim* (MENDONÇA 2005, p. 60); **toponyms**: *Guarijuba-mirim* (MENDONÇA, 2005 p. 98), *Parati Mirim*, *Lagoa Mirim*, *Itajaí Mirim*, *Gujará-Mirim*, *Mirim Doce* (FERREIRA, 2009, p. 1337), *Ibirajubamirim* (MENDONÇA 2005, p. 237); **name of fruits**: *ingá-mirim*, *buriti-mirim* (BARBOSA et al., 2001, p. 89), *buritimirim* (HOUAISS et al., 2009, p. 338), *bacaba-mirim* (BARBOSA et al., 2001, p. 102), *bacabamirim*, *araçá-mirim*; **mammal name**: *quatimirim*.

The adjective *mirim* can be placed before the base as it can be seen in: *mirim-guaçu* / *miringuaçu*, *mirim-pintada*, *mirim-preguiça*, *mirim-rendeira*, *Mirim Doce*, *mirim-docense*, etc.

The shape *-i* participates in the formation of some words of the English language, whose bases usually are from Tupi. This variant particularly expresses the notion of “small”, “diminutive”, equivalent to the suffix *-inbo*, *-inba*, *-xinbo*, *-xinba* in Portuguese. Mello (2003, p. 43; 53) states that *-i* is a contracted form of *miri*, *small*, which first contracted in *-ri* and then became *-i*.

Formations with *-i* involve **piece of kindling** names: *sacaí*; **fish odor**: *pituí*, *carataí*, *piratá*; **birds**: *inhambuú*, *nbanduú*, *tucunuú*, *araguaí*, *caracará*, *picuí*, *sai*, *socoí*; **fruit**: *cupuí* (AGUIAR; FREITAS, 2005, p. 39); **mammals**: *sauí*, *tatuí*; **culinary**: *cauí*, *juquirá*, *piracuí*; **plants**: *carandaí*, *caranaí*, *curuaí*, *tarumaí*, *araçá*, *cajú*, *açá*, *açá-da-várzea*, *açá-solitário*, *aguaí*, *agaí*, *ajará*, *apuí*, *apuí-da-folteira*, *apuruí*, *cambuú*, *cupuaí*, *cupaí*, *curupaí*, *curupicaí*, *embirataí*, *guajará*, *guapuú*, *japicaí*, *jataí*, *jataí-mondé*, *jutaí-café*, *jutaí-pororoca*, *puruí*, *seringaí*, *laurel-inamuí* (WITTMANN et al., 2010, p. 53), *inhamuí* (WITTMANN et al., 2010, p. 53), *jaraí* (WITTMANN et al., 2010, p. 221); **insects**: *nbanduú* (CUNHA, 199, p. 220), *enxuú*, *irai*, *maruí*, *muruí*, *tapiaí*; **tuber**: *mandiocaí*; **toponyms**: *Uraí*, *Mucajá*.

The production conditions of the adjectives *açu* and *mirim* are related to the Amazonian environment, mainly with words formed within the semantic domain *leguminouses*, *trees/shrubs*, animals and geographical accidents. And the conditions of productivity are related to the basis that these formations select, including adjectives, nouns and participial forms with an adjective function, whose product will always be a noun.

APPLICATION OF THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS RULE (SAR) AND THE WORD FORMATION RULE (WFR)

The Structural Analysis Rule with formations in *açu* and *mirim* can be formulated as follows: $[[X] s] \rightarrow [[X] s (açu) adj]$ if $[X] s \rightarrow [[X] s (mirim) adj] s$

When we form words with these structures, we are making use of the Word Formation Rule (BASÍLIO, 1980). Thus, we will have the WFR with *-açu*, involving substantive bases:

$$\begin{aligned} [X]s &\rightarrow [[X]_s (açu)_{adj}]_s \\ [jacaré]s &\rightarrow [[jacaré]_s (açu)_{adj}]_s = [jacaré-açu]_s \\ [cupu]s &\rightarrow [[cupu]_s (açu)_{adj}]_s = [cupu-açu]_s \\ [itapéua]s &\rightarrow [[itapéua]_s (açu)_{adj}]_s = [itapéuaçu]_s \\ [igarapé]s &\rightarrow [[igarapé]_s (açu)_{adj}]_s = [igarapé-açu]_s \end{aligned}$$

The training product, in these examples, is substantive. The adjective *açu* also selects verbal bases. For example:

$$\begin{aligned} [X]s &\rightarrow [[X]s (açu)_{adj}]_s \\ [aguar]v &\rightarrow [[X]v (açu)_{adj}]_s = [aguaraçu]_s \\ [andá]v &\rightarrow [[X]v (açu)_{adj}]_s = [andá-açu]_s \end{aligned}$$

Every WFR correlates with the SAR, and is therefore applicable to formations with *açu* and *mirim*.

In formation with *mirim*, we have for $[X] s$ '! $[[X] s (-mirim) adj] s$ the following Word Formation Rule (WFR):

$$\begin{aligned} [jacaré]s &\rightarrow [[jacaré]s (mirim)_{adj}]_s = [jacaré-mirim]s \\ [cupu]s &\rightarrow [[cupu]s -i]_s = [cupuí]s \\ [paraná]s &\rightarrow [[paraná]s (mirim)_{adj}]_s = [paraná-mirim]s \\ [igarapé]s &\rightarrow [[igarapé]s(mirim)_{adj}]_s = [igarapé-mirim]s \end{aligned}$$

In the case of *mirim*, there is also the inverted word formation rule, for example:

- a. $[mirim]_{adj} \rightarrow [[mirim]_{adj} (guaçu)_{adj}]_s = [mirim-guaçu/miringuaçu]_s$
- b. $[mirim]_{adj} \rightarrow [[mirim]_{adj} (preguiça)_{adj}]_s = [mirim-preguiça]_s$
- c. $[mirim]_{adj} \rightarrow [[mirim]_{adj} (pintada)_{part}]_s = [mirim-pintada]_s$
- d. $[mirim]_{adj} \rightarrow [[mirim]_{adj} (doce)_{adj}]_s = [Mirim Doce]_s$
- e. $[mirim]_{adj} \rightarrow [[mirim]_{adj} (docense)_{adj}]_{adj} = [mirim-docense]_{ADJ}$

In these examples, *mirim* selects the adjective *guaçu* in **a**, producing a compound noun: *mirim-guaçu*/*miringuaçu*; in **b**, the noun, *preguiça*, produces a composite noun *mirim-preguiça*; in **c**, the participle or nominal form *pintada*, producing a compound noun *mirim-pintada*; in **d**, the *doce* adjective produces a compound noun *Mirim Doce*; and in **e**, the adjective *docense*, producing a compound adjective *mirim-docense*, formed from two adjectives. The product involving the compounds formed with *mirim* will be substantive, except those related to toponymy, as they will be adjectives.

Rocha (2008, p. 42-43) states that three observations must be made about the SAR:

a) The concept of SAR is necessarily linked to the establishment of paradigmatic relationships, which occurs with formations with *açu* and *mirim*, respectively:

igarapé → igarapé-açu (river)
 itapéua → itapéuaçu (place)
 cupu → cupuaçu (fruit)
 jacaré → jacaré-açu (animal)
 acará → acará-açu (fish)
 paraná → paraná-mirim
 igarapé → igarapé-mirim (river)
 cupu → cupuí (fruit)
 acará → acarái (fish)

In the example list above, we changed the base, which has a different meaning, and the forms *açu*, *mirim* and *i* can be fitted into the paradigmatic axis, resulting in substantive formations by composition. We emphasize that the formations involving the *-i* variant will be suffixed, since they become stuck forms, attaching themselves to the base and characterizing the formation as being a derivational process. The same occurs with the *-im* variant, which merges with the base. In *caxirim*, for example, *-im* merges with the *caxiri* base, becoming a stuck form, and acquires suffix properties without the power to change the grammatical class of the base.

b) Even if there is a SAR, there may be no correspondence with an WFR. Rocha (2008, p. 132-142) quotes examples such as *florista* (florist), *maquinista* (machinist) and *artista* (artist), whose SAR is [[X] s] -ista] if WFR is [palestra] s '! [[palestra] s-ista] = [paletrista] s, [zapata] s '! [[zapata] s-ista] = [zapatista] s, forming new words with a substantive basis. The SARs of the words *momentâneo* (momentary), *celeste* (celestial), *campestre* (country), *róseo* (pink) and *natalício* (Christmas), however do not correspond to WFRs, because there is no creation of new words with the suffixes of these words. Some of these suffixes are also found in other words in past times, such as *terrestrial*, *marble* and *adventitious*, for example, but are no longer used today to form new words.

From the above, and considering the productivity of adjectives *açu* and *mirim* in the formation of new words, we conclude that, in this case, there is a correspondence between the Structural Analysis Rule (SAR) and the Word Formation Rule (WFR).

c) The task of fixing the SARs differs in several aspects from fixing the WFRs. There are formations in which it is no longer possible to perform a SAR, since the speaker cannot notice, in a synchronous perspective, the prefix as in *biscoito* (biscuit) and *objeto* (object), nor the suffix as in *coxinha* (kind of food), *caminhão* (truck), *cabresto* (halter) etc.

In general, the *açu* form selects, preferably, substantive bases related to regional flora and fauna. The *açu* product is always a substantive basis, with the exception of the formation of gentile adjectives, whose product will be an adjective. In some formations, the *açu* variant merges with the primitive base as in *cupuaçu*, which in turn forms *cupuaçuzeiro* (CUNHA, 199).

The productivity of the *mirim* form is more expressive with substantive bases, whose product will be a noun, except for formations involving toponymic bases, which result in gentile adjectives. The *-i* variant merges fully with the base, forming nouns with another meaning and acquiring totally suffix properties, but without the power to change the grammatical class of the base. For example, we have the junction of *tucumã* (noun) + *-i* is equal to *tucumãí* (noun).

In general, *açu* and *mirim* compete with the Portuguese forms, respectively *big/great*, analytical and adjective forms, and “-ão”, synthetic and suffix forms, and *small/little/short*, analytical and adjective forms, and “*zinho(a)*”, “*inho(a)*”, synthetic form and suffix. In different contexts, it is possible for the speaker to use either form or variant even if there are restrictions on use for each base. For example, with the *escoteiro* (scout) + *mirim* base forming *escoteiro-mirim* (boy scout), although the word *little scout* is possible in Portuguese, the one using the Tupi form is more accepted, although it was not found in the searched dictionaries.

In Houaiss (HOUAISS et al., 2009), Aurélio (FERREIRA, 2009) and etymological dictionaries, we verify the record of formations composed of *açu* and *mirim*, therefore being considered lexicalized entries, different from constructions such as *barco grande* (large boat), *barco pequeno* (small boat), *homem grande* (big man), *homem pequeno* (short man) which have no records as compound words.

Açu and *mirim* are analytical forms that participate, in most cases, in the characterization and quantification of substantive bases and act as elements in the formation of compound words. The *mirim* variants, *-im* and *-i*, act as suffixes, and in some formations it is difficult to separate them from the base, since they agglutinate to it.

The conditions of production of the *açu* and *mirim* forms are related to the Amazonian environment and in other spaces of the Brazilian territory with words formed

within the semantic domain of **leguminous**, such as *carandaí* and *acari açu*, or **geographical accidents** such as *paraná-mirim*, *Igarapé-açu*. And the conditions of productivity are related to the base that these formations select.

In compounds with *açu* and *mirim*, in principle, the base, in most cases, is substantive, contributing to the formation of new words with another semantic load, as it is a new referent that is being called. Most of the selected bases are of Tupi origin.

CONCLUSION

The adjectives *açu* and *mirim* characterize formations by the composition process and are part of the lexicon related to fauna, regional flora, geographical and toponymous accidents (DIETRICH; NOLL, 2010), but they can eventually represent suffixes and, as such, be part of derivational processes. In addition to the forms composed with the adjective *açu*, other variants were found such as *guaçu*, *uçu*, and in some books with the spelling *-ss-*. For the variable (*mirim*), the *mirim*, *miri*, *im* and *i* variants were identified, the last two forms, they form words through the derivational process, since they acquire suffix properties.

The meaning of *açu* is equivalent to the adjective *big*, and that of *mirim* to the adjective *small*. They are, therefore, antonyms. Not all formation with *mirim* select substantive bases. For example, the words *mirim-guaçu*, *mirim-pintada* are not constituted by substantive bases.

Unlike the *açu* form, *mirim* forms new words also with a preposition to the primitive base. In addition, we found that formations, involving *açu* and its variants, as well as *mirim* and its variants, have entry in the searched dictionaries.

We conclude that, if there is a wide range of words formed with *açu* and its variants, and also with *mirim* and its variants, that is, these adjectives of Tupi origin, incorporated into Brazilian Portuguese, are quite productive in the formation of compound words and, for sometimes in the formation of words by derivation using the variants *im* and *i*.

Although it is possible to construct new words with *açu* and *mirim*, the existence in Portuguese of the forms *grande* (big), *-ão* (augmentative suffix in Portuguese), *pequeno(a)* (small), *-zinho(a)* (diminutive suffix in Portuguese), *-inho(a)* (diminutive suffix in Portuguese) tend to block new formations with these adjectives of Tupi origin.

As it is about the formation of new words by the composition process, involving *açu* and *mirim*, in Portuguese, from pre-existing bases in the language, most of them of Tupi origin, it was possible to verify the existence of SARs and the application of WFRs. The same is valid for the word formation process by derivation, involving the *mirim* variants: *im* and *i*.

Formations by composition are lexicalized structures and most of them have entries in the searched dictionaries. Although the formations with *açu* and *mirim* are

popular names, that is, without the scientific name, the lexicon related to the semantic domains of flora and fauna are little used by most people.

There are formations that have not been cataloged, as we were unable to indicate the source. They are: *abati-timbaí, acurí, guai, gurai, ibiracui, jui, juiguaraigarai, pacui, parai, potiguaçu, sui, taciai, uratai, vapui, paumirim and itantim*. Therefore, these are lexical forms that require further research in order to be better analyzed.

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