The Typology of Tupi-Guarani as Reflected in the Grammars of Four Jesuit Missionaries

Anchieta (1595), Aragona (c.1625), Montoya (1640) and Restivo (1729)*

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1. *Introduction*

Missionary linguistics holds a twofold interest: empirically, it provides factual knowledge about a vast array of non-European languages all over the world [not just synchronically but also in terms of language history: grammars written in the 16th century allow us to gain information on language change]; and theoretically, it offers abundant material for meta-linguistic and methodological reflections on language description, its concepts and its terminology. Let us start with a few general remarks on the second point.

The missionaries, Jesuits and others, were the first Europeans who took up the challenge of analyzing and describing, and also of learning and teaching, languages whose structure differed profoundly from what they were accustomed to. The intellectual background they drew upon was essentially Latin school grammar: every schoolboy in Western Europe from late Antiquity until the 19th and even the 20th century had to study Latin grammar according to the rules established by Donatus and Priscian. Experiencing foreign languages meant first and foremost experiencing Latin. The minds of countless generations were, so to speak, formatted according to the patterns of this tradition. The Jesuits were no exception to this rule. As a result, we would have to ask the following questions: How did the minds formed and trained in this mould react when facing truly 'exotic' language structures? How did they adapt this conceptual framework, established in the middle of the first millennium to transmit knowledge of classical Latin, to the languages they encountered in the jungles of America, or in the highly developed

civilizations of the Far East? And further: Did they employ the same terminology and give new meanings to existing concepts? Or did they invent new terms for hitherto unknown categories? Did they realize how different some foreign language structures really were, or did the established categorizations of Latin school grammar prevent a deeper understanding of linguistic diversity? Conversely, what was the role of new descriptions of vernacular languages inside Europe, which were much in vogue throughout the 16th century, beginning with Antonio de Nebrija's (1441/44?–1522) famous Castilian grammar? Did the liberties Nebrija (and others) had taken with the classical parts-of-speech model open avenues for establishing new conceptual categories for newly found linguistic structures? These are the kinds of questions that the study of missionary linguistics poses and may answer. It thus constitutes a central chapter in the history of linguistic epistemology.

Missionary linguistics is also important for the reconstruction of earlier stages of languages that are spoken today, or of their extinct relatives. It gives a history to languages not documented in writing by autochthonous writing systems. Although missionary linguistic cannot provide a temporal perspective that could be compared to that of Indo-European, Semitic, or Sino-Tibetan languages, historically documented over millennia, its four or four-and-a-half centuries of study are by no means negligible. Countless languages have only been described in the 20th century, or never at all, or have died out before becoming known in a written form. Languages that have been documented in linguistic works by missionaries over several centuries, can be subjected to more accurate evolutionary analyses and their genealogical parenthood can be reconstructed with a greater degree of certainty. Even for languages with a long written history of their own, linguistic description may be of invaluable help. This is most notably the case with the Far-Eastern languages with logographic scripts, namely Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese So thanks to the indefatigable efforts of hundreds of Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and others, our knowledge of the world's languages has gained enormously in depth as well as in breadth. To recover this rich tradition from oblivion is an important task for general linguistics today. The systematic use of these still somewhat hidden treasures for diachronic and typological studies proves extremely rewarding.

In this paper, missionary descriptions of earlier stages of Guarani will be presented and analyzed from this twofold perspective: as a contribution to a better understanding of Guarani itself and as a contribution to understanding the difficulties missionaries faced when trying to cope with exotic language structures. The case of Guarani is particularly instructive in both respects. The main typological peculiarities of Guarani are well-known (although not always sufficiently understood), and the main sources have all been edited and philologically studied, some of them several times.

Let us start with a general remark on the language and its names. The subject under study here will be simply termed 'Guarani'. This is a cover term for what is usually called Guarani (for Paraguay) and Tupi (for Brazil). The name 'Tupi' is of relatively recent origin. The initial name given by the earliest missionaries was simply "lingoa geral" or more explicitly "a lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil". The difference between Paraguayan Guarani and Brazilian Tupi is vaguely comparable to that between Spanish and Portuguese. Both varieties belong to one and the same diasystem, and can be considered as dialects according to all generally recognized standards. As for the typological questions this study focuses on, dialectal differences do not play any role. They may be of some relevance with regard to phonetics and the lexicon, and perhaps also to some minor points of morphology. However, they are completely irrelevant for the basic typological properties of the language. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, Guarani and Tupi will be treated as two varieties of one and the same basic language system.

The language varieties described here are representatives of what may be called 'Missionary Guarani'. This language is different both from modern Guarani, the national language of Paraguay that has been deeply influenced by Spanish, and from modern tribal languages still spoken in Paraguay and in Brasil, such as Mby'a or Avanheẽ. The comparison of Missionary Guarani (henceforth: MG) with Paraguayan Guarani (PG) and the surviving 'tribal varieties' is of particular interest for the study of Guarani in diachronic and historical-comparative perspective. In present-day Paraguay, the documentation of MG is sometimes used for political purposes. Purists that are concerned about the Spanish influence in PG hold up MG, as particularly reflected in Montoya's works, as their model for what modern written Guarani should be: a language free of the profound impact of Spanish on all linguistic levels, particularly in the lexicon. The present paper is not meant as a contribution to this ongoing political debate. It is intended to be purely descriptive.

A brief characterization of the main missionary descriptions follows; short biographies of the missionaries themselves are provided in the footnotes.

The first grammar is a small volume written by the Jesuit Joseph de Anchieta (1534–1597),[1] *Arte de grammatica da lingoa mais vsada na costa do Brasil*. It was published in Coimbra by Antonio de Mariz in 1595, and was the first European

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1. José de Anchieta was born on the Canary Islands in 1534. In 1553, the year of his ordination as a Jesuit, he arrived in Brazil, where he participated in the founding of the Colêgio de São Paulo a year later. In 1578 he travelled the whole coast, and eventually settled down in Reritiba (nowadays Anchieta, province of Espírito Santo) where he died in 1597. He has left an inmense literary work in prose and verse, written in Latin, Portuguese and Guarani. In Brazil he is considered as one of the founding fathers of the national culture.

grammar that described a language of this family. Anchieta's work thus reflects the very first encounter of profoundly different conceptual worlds.

The next grammar was written by the Jesuit Alonso de Aragona (1585–1629),[2] *Breve introducción para aprender la lengua Guaraní*, between 1620 and 1629. Aragona, an Italian professor of Hebrew, had assimilated the Guarani language to a point where he allegedly spoke it better than Spanish. This small work was written with a didactic intent, as a manual for learning the language. The manuscript was not printed until a modern edition appeared in 1979. Apparently, Aragona was acquainted with Anchieta's work.

The main body of work on classical MG is by the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652),[3] commonly referred to as 'Montoya' in the literature. The grammar appeared together with a Spanish–Guarani dictionary under the title *Arte, y bocabvlario de la lengva gvarani*; it was published in Madrid by Juan Sánchez in 1640. One year earlier, Montoya's extensive Guarani–Spanish dictionary, entitled *Tesoro de la lengva gvarani*, had appeared in the same publishing house. Montoya's work is the most important written source on MG, and indeed of any language of the Tupi-Guarani family.

2. Alonso de Aragona was born in Naples in 1585. After being ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1603, he taught Latin and Hebrew. However, he insisted on being sent to Paraguay, where he finally arrived in 1617 via Buenos Aires. In Asunción, he started to learn the Guarani language. From 1620 to 1627 he was in the Reduction of la Concepción, in the western part of Uruguay, as a friend of Father Roque González de Santa Cruz, a Creole from Asunción who spoke Guarani perfectly. In 1626 he was appointed head of the Reduction of San Nicolás del Piratiní, on the eastern side of the Uruguay river, and taught the indigenous language to future missionaries. He died in Asunción in 1629.

3. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya was born in Lima in 1585 to a Sevillan gentleman and a Creole lady. After becoming an orphan at the age of eight, he grew up in the Royal College headed by the Jesuits. As a youth he was characterized by "the instinct of the adventurer", but "the Jesuits forgave him his misbehaviour". In 1606 he began the novitiate, was educated in Tucumán, and from 1612 onwards lived in the Guairá where he learned the Guarani language so perfectly that he was soon able to preach in it. He travelled all across Paraguay and, as he said himself, "speaking and hearing continuously the language, I managed to reach a certain eloquence in it". He arduously opposed the institutionalized abuse of Indians which won him the Guarani honorary title "resplendent sun and Tupá Eté (the true God)". In 1620 he was appointed "Superior de todas las Misiones" (Superior of all the missions) and led the College at Asunción. Montoya organized the retreat of the Jesuits together with 10,000 Indians going down the river, establishing new Reductions in the south of Paraguay. Montoya had authored his main works in Paraguay and had them printed in Spain. After trying to convince the King of Spain to adopt a more favorable attitude towards the Indians he retired in his native town of Lima in 1640 where he died twelve years later.

Three generations later the Jesuit Pablo Restivo[4] published a new edition of Montoya's grammar, with considerable enlargements and numerous annotations. These were partly his own, partly a compilation of notes by other missionaries. The work was published in 1724 in S. Maria Mayor under the title *Arte de la Lengua Guaraní, por el P. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya de la Compañía de Jesús, Con los Escolios Anotaciones y Apendices del P. Paulo Restivo de la misma Compañía, Sacados de los Papeles del P. Simón Bandini y otros*. This compilation shows that Montoya's grammar was intensely used for the linguistic training of missionaries and that subsequent users made their own observations and improved or updated the original work.

In the following pages, I will present a certain number of typological peculiarities of Guarani and discuss the manner in which they are described by the missionaries. Again, my aim is twofold: to contribute to a better understanding of the history and internal variation of Guarani; and to analyze how the European Jesuits coped with profoundly different linguistic structures, how they adapted the conceptual framework of Latin grammar to these newly discovered structures.

2.   *The inclusive-exclusive distinction*

Let us start with a feature of Guarani that is easy to describe: the distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. This distinction, unknown in Indo-European but very widespread among the world's languages, had been encountered already in Quechua by Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás Navarrete, S.J. (1499–1567/70), who was probably the first author to have used the verbs *incluir* and *excluir* (not yet the adjectives *inclusivo* and *exclusivo*) in order to describe this peculiarity of the Quechua pronouns and the corresponding forms of conjugation, which was taken up be Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Santo Tomás 1992 [1560]: 28–29, 39). It is interesting to note how our four grammarians treat this feature, trying to make it clear by concrete didactic examples as they intended to provide manuals for learners of the language.

Anchieta describes this feature through the verbal forms *exclue* and *inclue* (exactly like Santo Tomás), adding the pronoun of the 2nd person in negative and positive form in order to clarify this category. However, he does not add concrete examples; this category works in verbs and nouns alike, being found not only with the verb *ço* 'go' but also with the noun *mbaê* 'thing'. For him, the plural has one person more than found in Latin; he explicitly states that there are 'two plural persons':

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4. Pablo Restivo was born in 1658 in Mazzarino (Sicily) and was ordained as Jesuit priest in 1688. He arrived at Buenos Aires in 1698 where he served as rector of the colleges of Salta and Asunción as well as Superior General of the Guaranitic Missions. He died in 1741 in Candelaria, Argentine.

Orê, yandê [...] differem nisto, assaber que Orê, exclue a segunda pessoa cõ q falamos da quelle acto, de q se trata, vt *orê oroçô*, nos imos, & tu não, *orêmbaê*, nossas cousas & não tuas, porem, *yandê* inclue a segunda pessoa vt *yandêyaçô*, nos imos, & tu tambem *yandêmbaê*, nossas cousas, & tuas tambem. E assi fazem no verbo duas pesso[a]s pluraes, vt *oroçô, yaçô*. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 12r)

[Orê, yandê [...] differ in the fact that Orê excludes the second person whom we talk to about a certain action, for example *orê oroçô*, "we go & not you", *orêmbaê*, "our things & not yours", but, *yandê* includes the second person, for example *yandêyaçô*, "we go & you also", *yandêmbaê*, "our things & yours also". And thus there are two personal plural forms in the verbal paradigm, for example *oroçô, yaçô*.]

Aragona employs — in addition to the verbal forms — the adjectives *exclusivo* and *inclusivo*, and the substantive *exclusion*. He illustrates the category by the verb *caru* 'eat' and the noun *t/retâ* "land". He also uses a collective meal as a concrete example, to make it more accessible to the intended reader, the learner of Guarani:

Diximos de ore exclusivo, y Ñande Inclusivo exclusion se entiende quando uno hablando con otro, a otros dice algo en que no comprehende aquellos con quien habla. Vg. Orecaru, nosotros comemos, Orereta nuestra tierra de los que hablan excluyendo a los que escuchan. Mas si todos juntos comiesen de una misma mesa o Pueblo incluyendolos, dixera Ñande iacaru Ñane retâ. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 34)

[We call ore exclusive and ñande inclusive. Exclusion refers to the situation when one, speaking to somebody else, says something to others not including the person he is talking to. For example Orecaru "we eat", Orereta "our land", i.e. the land of those speaking excluding those listening. But if everybody was eating at the same table or village including them, you would say Ñande iacaru Ñane retâ.]

Montoya does not add any concrete examples and is brief about this category; he uses the adjectives *exclusiua* and *inclusiua* when treating the verb, and the verbal forms *excluye* and *incluye* when speaking about the pronoun, which he treats separately. He explicitly states that the conjugational paradigm has seven persons, thus clearly stating that Guarani does not fit the categories of Latin grammar. His description is short, but provides an accurate semantic analysis, insofar as he states that the first plural always contains the first singular:

Pronominal
En el plural del Pronombre: (che) la primera persona, (ore) excluye la persona con quien se habla, el (ñânde) la incluye. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 5)

[In the plural of the pronoun: (che) the first person, (ore) excludes the person you talk to, (ñande) includes the person.]

Verbal

Los verbos [[...]] se conjugaō con siete notas, tres para singular, y quatro para el plural. Las del singular son estas, A. Ere. O. Las del plural son estas, Oró, exclusiva, Yâ, inclusiua, pê, O. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 13)

[The verbs [[...]] are conjugated with seven affixes, three for the singular, and four for the plural. The singular ones are A. Ere. O. The plural ones are Oró, exclusive, Yâ, inclusive, pê, O.]

The inclusive/exclusive distinction is a universal and stable feature of the Tupi-Guarani languages; its description is not particularly difficult. Each of the missionaries described it in his own manner: with or without examples, with or without the explicit statement that the resulting paradigm is different from Latin, with or without the inclusion of the noun.

3. Transnumerality

'Transnumerality' means that the plural is not obligatorily marked, but is only used if the speaker wants to highlight plurality in a given communicative context. Like the inclusive/exclusive distinction, this feature is unknown in Indo-European, but fairly widespread among other languages of the world. In Indo-European languages, the marking of plurality is not only obligatory under all circumstances, it is also 'obstinate'. That is, it needs to be applied to each word, be it noun, adjective, or verb, that can take on the plural marking. In a sentence like Spanish *vinieron tres hombres blancos* "three white men came", the plural is marked obligatorily four times. In a great many languages all over the world, plural marking is neither obligatory nor 'obstinate'; nouns and verbs are used 'transnumerally', as it were. Whereas certain categories of Tupi-Guarani, such as the exclusive/inclusive distinction or the dual alignment (discussed below) are impermeable to European influence, transnumerality tends, if not to disappear altogether, at least to diminish under the influence of Spanish in modern Guarani. Thus, missionary grammars are a precious testimony of the state of native grammatical categories before the influence of Indo-European linguistic structure. In MG, and likewise in PG, the verb does not have any form for marking the plural in the 3rd person. In the noun, MG and PG differ: in MG the plural is normally left unmarked, though when it is emphasized, the ending -*eta* (*heta/ ceta*), meaning "many", is added. In PG, another ending, namely -*kuera*, without any meaning other than plurality, is used to mark the plural in the noun; this ending is not yet as fully grammaticalized as the Spanish plural ending -*s*, but it is on such a trajectory, being used much more frequently than in MG. This is a clear case of Spanish influence on the grammatical structure of PG.

Anchieta explicitly mentions the connection between transnumerality in the noun and the verb. For him, the verb does not have a proper 3rd person plural because the noun does not have one either. Plurality is usually implicitly understood through context (*se entende pello que se trata*). His resulting analysis of the verbal paradigm contains six persons in total, 1st sg, 2nd sg, 3rd sg+pl; 1st pl excl, 1st pl incl, 2nd pl. There are six persons as in Latin, but with a different categorization.

Nominal
O plural se entende pello que se trata, ou tambem acrecentandolhe algũs nomes que significão multidão, como todos, tantos, quantos, muitos &c. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 8v)

[The plural is understood according to the context, or also by adding some nouns that designate multitude, like "all", "so many", "how many", "many", etc.]

Verbal
As pessoas que varião os verbos são seis, a terceira he a mesma no singular, & plural, porque os nomes não tem numeros vt supra. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 20r).

[The persons that vary are six in number, the third person is the same in singular and plural, since nouns do not have numbers cf. above.]

Aragona states that there is no "obligatory marking" (*no ... en rigor*). He only mentions nominal, not verbal transnumerality:

No ay en esta lengua numero plural en rigor de declinacion porque con una misma voz se dicen ambos dos numeros. Mas el que quisiera distinguir, para hacer plural, ponga esta particula heta. Tupâheta muchos dioses. Aba, Indio. Abaheta muchos Indios. Mbaè, cosas, Mbaèheta, muchas cosas. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 35)

[In this language there is no obligatory plural number in the declension because both numbers are expressed by one and the same word. But whoever wants to distinguish plural, in order to express plural, he has to add the particle heta. Tupâheta "many gods". Aba Indio. Abaheta "many Indians". Mbaè, "things", Mbaèheta, "many things".]

Montoya is very short about this peculiarity of Guarani grammar; he simply states that nouns have "the same way for singular and plural", without mentioning the corresponding structure of the verb:

El singular, y plural son de vna misma manera, y porque este no tiene distintas notas del singular: vsan de la particula (Hetá.) que dize muchos, ò de los nombres numerales, que se ponen en el capitulo tercero. (Montoya 1994 [1640]:2)

[The singular and the plural are of the same manner, and because the latter one does not have affixes different from the singular: they make use of the particle

(Hetá) which means 'many', or of numerals, which will be dealt with in the third chapter.]

In sum, all missionaries recognised that this category differs from Latin. However, only Anchieta treats it as a general principle of the language, affecting the nominal and the verbal systems alike. And only Anchieta draws conclusions concerning the verbal paradigm as a whole, and states that in the absence of an overt plural marking, the context helps to clarify plurality. All three authors agree in that -(h/s)eta is used as an optional plural marker, in contrast to modern PG where -kuera has taken over this function.

4. Nominal tense

The inclusive/exclusive distinction and transnumerality are very common in the world's languages; in contrast, nominal tense is typologically rare. It is one of the most striking features of Guarani, present in all varieties and stable over time, although its formal realization differs between MG and PG. In Guarani, nouns have to be marked by grammaticalized endings for tense when speaking about 'former' and/or 'future' states of being. The combination of past and future forms results in what the modern Jesuit grammarian Guasch has termed the *futuro frustrado* "frustrated future", referring to something which should have happened but did not. This latter category is comparable with the conditional of the Romance languages, where the combination of future and past morphemes results in the irrealis mood (Latin *cantare* + *habebam* → Spanish *canta-ría*). A well-known example from contemporary PG is the following: *pa'i* "priest"; past *pa'i-kue* "former priest"; future *pa'i-rã* "seminarist"; frustrated future *pa'i-ran-gue* "seminarist who did not become a priest". Another example would be: *che rembireko* "my wife"/ *che rembireko-kue* "my ex-wife"/ *che rembireko-rã* "my fiancée"/ *che rembireko-rangue* "my ex-fiancée" (Lustig 1996: 24). In present day colloquial PG, nominal tense is a fully grammaticalized feature, which has to be used accurately in all circumstances. For instance, you have to say "Where can I buy my (future) ticket (*boleto-rã*)?", because in the moment of asking it does not yet exist as *your* ticket. On the other hand, if you ask "Where can I buy meat (*so'o*)?", the ending of the future is not necessary, because the meat exists before you buy it (see Lustig 1996: 85, 110). Or you must say *ka'a rogue-kue-gui ojejapo hay'u porã-rã* "From (former) mate leaves one makes a good (future) beverage" (Guasch 1976: 53; cf. Bossong 1983: 42).

The missionaries were fully aware that this feature was truly 'exotic'; it aroused their interest and they treated it in a relatively detailed manner. Their testimony is important for two reasons: it shows their degree of consciousness of typologically unusual features; and it provides information about morphological differences

in Tupi-Guarani varieties which have disappeared by now. The different authors present this grammatical category in the following form:

	Anchieta	Aragona	Montoya
Past	ôera, vera (poèra, poêr)	cuera, cue	cuê, cuêra
Future	âma (rama, am)	râma, râ	râmâ, râ
Frustrated future	–	ranguera[5]	rangue/ cuerâ[6]

Past forms ending in -ra are no longer usual in the modern language. The same holds true for the 'long' future forms ending in -ma. Present day PG is more regular, having generalized the 'short' forms of MG. The Tupi forms differ considerably from Guarani. The main element Tupi and MG have in common is -ra for the past, and -ma for the future — in other words, exactly those morphological elements which have disappeared from modern PG! It is also noteworthy that Anchieta does not mention the futuro frustrado. One might ask whether this omission is due to the absence of this category in Tupi, or to its rareness. In fact, whereas past and future occur frequently, the combination of both is not very common. It may be that Anchieta did not come across this special form and, thus, remained unaware of its existence, whereas the later grammarians not only knew of it, but displayed a particular interest in it. Upon reading the descriptions of Aragona and especially Montoya, one gets the impression that their minds, trained by Jesuit schooling, were fascinated by such an almost mathematical combination of forms. We will come back to this point later.

Anchieta first insists that all nouns have two tenses; and he does not consider classifying the present as a zero-form:

> Em todos os nomes ha præterito, q̃ he, ôera, vel vera, & futuro, âma. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 33r)

> [All nouns have a past tense form, which is ôera, or vera, and a future tense form, âma.]

He then explains the use of the future in detail, giving several examples. However, he is not interested in morphological combination, but in semantic analysis, whereby one and the same form has two different meanings according to context. The point of reference (as we would say today) can be the present of the speech act, or any point in the past. In the first case, the future form simply has a future

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5. 'Futuro imperfecto'.

6. Futurum praeteritum mixtum.

meaning. In the second case, it denotes a future of the past. Anchieta betrays his amazement at such a mental structure. He tries to make this "exotic" feature comprehensible to his readership, namely future missionaries that seek a deep and systematic understanding of the language, as they had done before with Latin. Here are his explanations:

> Estes futuros significão, o que ha de ser, & o que auia de ser. A primeira he clara *xejáráma*, meu sñor que ha de ser. Para a segunda ainda que se fale de cousas passadas não se tem respeito senão ao tempo em que auião de ser, & não ao presente, ou præterito, vt, se Pedro ontem não hera meu sñor, & fez algũa cousa, não digo eu, oje Pedro meu sñor fez isto, senão Pedro meu sñor que auia de ser, porque quando o fez, não hera meu sñor, Pedro *xejaráma*. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 33v).

> [These future tenses mean either what will be, or what would have been. The former is clear *xejáráma*, "my future boss". As for the latter, even if you talk about things of the past, reference is only made to the time when they had to happen, neither to the present, nor to the past. For example, if Peter was not my boss yesterday and he did something, I do not say "today Peter did this or that", but "Peter my future boss", because when he did it, he was not my boss, Pedro *xejaráma*.]

It is clear from this passage that Anchieta does not treat nominal tenses by adapting them to the categories of Latin (and thereby distorting them), but follows their inherent logic. The intense intellectual training he had undergone when learning Latin served him well when trying to grasp the logical structure of Tupi. If Pedro is now my master but was not so in the past, any event referring to the past before he became my master triggers the future morpheme in the noun. The internal logic of Tupi is crystal clear in this respect, although absolutely different from Latin or other European languages. Anchieta discovered and described such subtleties of the Tupi language for the first time ever.

The last illustrative example given by Anchieta recalls the aforementioned case of *boleto-rã* in modern PG, where "ticket" must bear the future mark because it is not yet "mine" in the moment of speaking, although it physically already exists. Anchieta takes fish-hooks as an example:

> Dame anzois, simpliciter, falase pello presente *eimeêng pinday xèbe*, se quero por o posessiuo primeiro, por força ey de falar pello futuro, porque ainda não são meus, vt, *eimeêng xepindârãma*, dame meus anzois que hão de ser, Pedro *oimeêng, xepindârãma*, Pedro me deu meus anzois que hão de ser, ou os que auião de ser meus anzois. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 34r).

> ["Give me fish-hooks", simply, is expressed by the present *eimeêng pinday xèbe*; but if I want to put the possessive first, I must express it by the future, because they are not yet mine, for example, *eimeêng xepindârãma*, "give me my fish-hooks that will

be mine", Pedro *oimeêng xepindârāma*, "Peter gave me my fish-hooks that will be mine", or "those that would be my fish-hooks".]

The possessive of the first person triggers the future ending in the noun: although the fish-hooks exist already, they become "mine" only in the future, namely in the moment of giving. And the reference point of this future perspective may be the present, as in "give me my (future) fish-hooks!", or in the past, as in "he gave me (what had to be) my fish-hooks".

On the one hand, Anchieta, as the pioneer in describing a Tupi-Guarani language, has discovered the category of nominal tense. He describes it in relatively great detail, and according to its own inherent logic. His semantic analysis is keen and clear, and it is uninfluenced by Latin school grammar. On the other hand, he did not yet coin a term for this category, and he did not come across the morphological combination of past and future morphemes. Nevertheless, his description is pioneering in every respect.

Aragona must have known Anchieta's description, because he quotes his fish-hook example literally: "chepindarâ el anzuelo que sera mio" (1990 [1595]: 42), quoted from "*xepindârāma* [...] meus anzois que hão de ser" (1990 [1595] f. 34r). Yet he is less explicit and does not provide an in-depth analysis of this category. Moreover, he seems to be less impressed than Anchieta by the fact that nouns take tense morphemes. He simply states that nouns, verbs, and adverbs take tense morphemes, without distinguishing between these word classes:

> [Los tiempos] Formanse con unas particulas posponiendolas comunmente a nombres, verbos y adverbios (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 42)

> [[The tenses] are formed with some particles which are commonly put behind nouns, verbs and adverbs.]

In contrast to Anchieta, he provides illustrative example not only for the future but also for the past:

> tuguï, tuguïc[u]era sangre que fue como de Animal muerto, Acâng, Acânguera cabeza que fue [...] chemarângatucuera, voluntad pasada (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 42)

> [tuguï, tuguïc[u]era "blood that was like from a dead animal", Acâng, Acânguera "a head that used to be one" [...] chemarângatucuera, "past will".]

The last example is semantically odd, because *marangatu* does not mean "voluntad" ("will" would be *temimbota* both in MG and PG), but "virtud, santidad, honra", palabra importante en la enseñanza del cristianismo. *Chemarangatu* means "soy honrado" according to Montoya's *Tesoro* (1876 [1639]: 209).

Aragona is the first author to have described the combination of future and past morphemes. For him, the number of tenses is three — or four, not two as for Anchieta. He coins the term "futuro imperfecto, o no cumplido" for this particular tense. This neologism shows that he was not dependent on Latin grammar, but tried to describe the peculiarities of Guarani in categories of their own right. His term, however, was not adopted by later writers and fell into oblivion. Here is how he defines tense in Guarani:

> Los tiempos son tres Presente, pasado y futuro y otro quando una cosa avia de ser, y no fue, o se avia de hacer y no se hizo que llaman futuro imperfecto. o no cumplido. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 42)

> [There are three tenses, Present, Past and Future, and another one when something had to happen, but did not, or if it should have been done and was not done, which is called imperfect future, or not fulfilled.]

In the following example, he gives all tenses (three for himself, four if we count the unmarked present) for one and the same noun:

> Cherembia mi presa mi parte. Cherembiacue lo que prendi cherembiarâ lo que coxere cherembiaranguera lo que avia de ser mi presa. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 42)

> [Cherembia "my booty, my loot". Cherembiacue "what I captured" cherembiarâ "what I will capture" cherembiaranguera "what was going to be my booty".]

The noun *t(/r-)embia* "loot, booty" does not exist anymore in PG. In MG it was the common expression of the concept "presa (de caza o de guerra)" (Montoya 1876 [1639]: 377, *Vocabulario* 1994 [1640]: 329). The variation in the Spanish terms when describing three different tenses of the same word (*presa, parte, prender, coxer*) is remarkable; it shows that the description was formulated with care.

Montoya quotes Aragona in his opening statement that "every noun has three tenses", but he goes further by saying that for the present the bare noun is used. Thus, he recognizes implicitly that the zero form has its own value in the system. Here is his definition:

> Todo nombre tiene tres tiempos, Cue, preterito, Râmâ, futuro. Rangue, preterito, y futuro misto, para el presente sirue el nombre solo. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 29)

> [Each noun has three tenses, Cue, past tense, Râmâ, future tense. Rangue, past and future tense mixed, for the present tense the bare noun is used.]

He then gives various details about morphological rules, which will not be analyzed here. But his observations about the semantic structure and some special uses of the tenses are of interest. First of all, let us consider the 'futuro frustrado'.

When defining the tense forms in general, he calls it 'futuro misto'. Later on, he translates his Spanish term into Latin in the following form:

> Ragué, se compone de las dos particulas, Rāmā, y cuêra, de suerte que es preterito, y futuro, y conforme a la Gramatica Latina es, futurum præteritum mixtū. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 30)

> [Ragué is composed by the two particles Rāmā and cuêra, thus being past and future tense, and according to the Latin grammar it is futurum præteritum mixtum.]

As far as I know, the term *futurum praeteritum mixtum* did not exist in Classical Latin grammar.[7] This term is simply a summary of the form of this tense, an adequate description of its composition: a mixture of past and future morphemes. Montoya uses Latin as a meta-language, but not the terms of Latin grammar themselves; instead he creates a new concept expressed with Latin components. Guarani is not subjected to traditional school grammar, but is described by categories that were specially designed for that purpose. Latin is simply used as a language, not as a universal model of grammar.

The following discussion goes beyond what had been discovered in the grammars of Anchieta and Aragona. Montoya describes a permutation of elements which does not appear anywhere else, and which does not exist, as far as I know, in PG or in any other modern variety of Guarani. Instead of the canonical form FUT+PST → *-rangue* we also may use the form PST+FUT → *-kuerã*, which yields the opposite meaning. Whereas *-rangue* is a true 'frustrated future', i.e., something which should have happened and did not, *-kuerã* is used for something which should not have happened, but did. The description Montoya gives of these two permutations reads as follows:

> Si este tiempo muda esta colocacion destos dos tiempos muda el sentido en contrario, vt Abáranguê, el que auia de auer sido hombre, y no lo fue, Abacuerã, el que no auia de auer sido hombre, y lo fue. Omāmôbaeranguê, el que auia de auer muerto, y no murió, Omānôbaecuêrã, el que no auia de auer muerto, y murió. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 30)

> [If this tense changes the position of the two tenses, the meaning is inverted, for example Abáranguê "the one who should have been a man, but was not", Abacuerã, "the one who should not have been a man, but turned out to be one". Omāmôbaeranguê "the one who should have died, but did not", Omānôbaecuêrã, "the one who should not have died, but died".]

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7. Although the term was used in the 16th century by Manuel Álvares (1526–1582), see Zwartjes (2000: 240). Whether or not Montoya was aware of this remains an open question.

Further research of older texts and other languages of the Tupi-Guarani family is necessary to establish whether this combination of past + future morphemes really occurs in the living colloquial language, or whether it is a result of the grammarian's elicitation. Such a structure, with its clear inherent logic, must have fascinated the mind of a Jesuit! We find many examples of the 'futuro frustrado' not only in his grammar, but also in the Guarani-Spanish dictionary (Montoya 1876 [1639]: 102–104, 335), although the opposite combination PST+FUT does not seem to appear in the *Tesoro*. This might be an indication that this latter combination was somewhat artificial, comprehensible but not really in active use.

Be this as it may, the description of the 'futuro frustrado' stands out as an example of creative adaptation of Latin terminology and concepts to a truly 'exotic' linguistic structure.

Montoya also describes a special use of the past morpheme *-kue*. This morpheme can have a present and limitative/ exclusive value, best translated by "only". Here are the examples from the grammar:

> Cuê, denota presente, y las cosas de vn genero. Cûñângué tohó, las que son mugeres vayan. Abacué topītá, los varones solos se queden. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 29)

> [Cuê marks the present tense, and the objects of one kind. Cûñângué tohó, "those which are women should go". Abacué topītá, "only men should stay".]

I add some of the examples given in the *Tesoro*:

> Orocûera orohó, solos nosotros vamos. Cunûmîn gûera oñẽmoçaraî, solos los que son muchachos juegan. ... Cuñâguê ñô oỹmẽ, solas mugeres ay. ... Yñẽmōỹ rôngûera ñô, no hizo mas que enojarse. Ymōmbeú cûera ñô, no huuo mas que dezirlo. (Montoya (1876 [1639]: 103)

> [Orocûera orohó, "only we go". Cunûmîn gûera oñẽmoçaraî, "only those who are boys play". ... Cuñâguê ñô oỹmẽ, "there are only women". ... Yñẽmōỹ rôngûera ñô, "he did nothing else but getting angry". Ymōmbeú cûera ñô, "it only had to be said".]

It is unclear whether this *kue* is identical with the morpheme of the past, or if it has a different etymology. If it has the same origin, the semantic bridge between 'past' and 'only' could perhaps be imagined in the following way: all those which have been {women/ boys/ men ...} in the past and continue to be so in the present (should do this and that). In modern Guarani, this special use survives in certain expressions where *-kue* expresses "nombres de clase, especie o grupo determinado", as in *mitāngue tosēmi ko'agui* "all children have to go out from here" (Guasch 1976: 57). More research is needed before anything definitive can be ascertained.

5.   *The non-distinction of subjects and objects*

The next point is fundamental for the syntax of the language. It also provides a clear example of the changes which took place when Guarani came into contact with Spanish. MG reflects the earlier stages of the language, uncontaminated by European influence. The question is how to distinguish objects from subjects in the noun (for the distinction of the basic grammatical relations in the verb, see the following section). All grammars agree that there is no formal means to distinguish the two. They insist on the ambiguities which may arise from this formal impossibility and sometimes adduce examples where the context, or the inherent semantics, clarifies which noun is subject and which is object. With respect to this feature, MG differs sharply from PG. In the modern colloquial language, the postposition *pe* is used extensively to mark definite and/or animate objects. Although this can be analyzed as an instantiation of the universal principles of what I have termed Differential Object Marking (DOM), it seems obvious that in this specific case the prolonged contact between Guarani and Spanish has lead to the imitation of the Spanish structure (use of the preposition *a* 'to' before animate and/ or definite objects) in Guarani. In other words, modern Guarani followed a universal pathway of change in a particular historical context; a potential universal of human language, namely the formation of DOM with all its semantic properties, has actually come into being through language contact.

No trace of DOM can be found in any of the varieties of MG described by the missionaries. Modern Tribal Guarani, such as Mby'a or Apopokuva, only have it in an incipient and still very limited form (see Bossong 1985, for details), whereas in PG it is fully developed. Missionary grammars thus allow us to better understand this historical process. They permit to attest an earlier stage of the language, where postpositional marking of definite/ animate objects was still completely unknown.

In his groundbreaking work published in 1595, Anchieta states that in the combination of 1st and 2nd persons with 3rd persons, the subject-object relationship is clear, whereas in the combination of two 3rd persons there might be 'amphibologia' ("ambiguity"). But he immediately goes on to say that in most instances the meaning of nouns makes it clear which is subject and which is object. He had a clear idea about what we nowadays refer to as "Animacy Hierarchy" when stating that nouns higher on this scale[8] are to be interpreted as subjects, whereas the lower ones usually perform as objects. This becomes evident not only in the case of relations between humans and plants or lower animals like fish, but also with respect to big predators like jaguars. I quote the corresponding passage in full:

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8. Which I prefer to call 'Inherency Scale' (see, e.g., Bossong 1998:203).

Sendo a terceira pessoa accusatiuo falase direitamēte pelos articulos sē nhũa mu-
dãça, vt, *aiucà* Pedro, mato a Pedro, *erejucà, ojucà,* & sic in plurali, *orojucá, yacucá,
ojucá,* sēpre Pedro he o accusatiuo, porq̃ não se perdē os articulos, & está claro.
Sendo a terceira nominatiuo, & accusatiuo, ainda q̃ pode auer algũa amphibolo-
gia, cōtudo pella materia q̃ se trata cōmumēte fica claro, comõ de cousa| animata
com inanimata, ou de mayor qualidade con menor vt. Pedro come pão, bebe,
pranta, derruba aruores, &c. claro esta que Pedro ha de ser nominatiuo de qual-
quer maneira que se ponha, vt Pedro *oû miapê,* Pedro *miapê oû, miapê* Pedro *oû,
oû* Pedro *miapê.* E por aqui se entendera o mais. Pedro *pirâ oû.* Pedro come peixe,
Pedro *jagoára ojucâ,* Pedro matou a onça. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 36 v)

[If the third person is accusative, you say it directly with the "articles" [verbal
prefixes, see below] without any change, for example, *aiucà* Pedro, "I kill Peter",
erejucà, ojucà, etc.; likewise in the plural, *orojucá, yacucá, ojucá,* Peter is always
the accusative, because the "articles" are not lost, and it is clear [what is meant].
If the third [person] is nominative and accusative, although there can be some
ambiguity, it is generally clear according to the context, from an animate being to
an inanimate one, or from something of higher to lesser quality, for example, Peter
eats bread, drinks, plants, fells trees, etc., it is clear that Peter has to be nominative
in whatever order we put it, for example, Peter *oû miapê,* Peter *miapê oû, miapê*
Peter *oû, oû* Peter *miapê.* And in the same way the rest can be understood. Peter
pirâ oû, "Peter eats fish". Peter *jagoára ojucâ,* "Peter killed the jaguar".]

As far as food or plants are concerned, it is obvious that breads do not eat men; but
it is less evident in the case of *pirá* "fish", the Tupi word that *piranha* comes from
— piranhas may well be able to eat a man! And it remains absolutely ambiguous
in the case of the "jaguar" (note that Anchieta does not use this Tupi word in his
Portuguese, but that he translates it by *onça*). Of course, a jaguar may kill a man
as easily as a man a jaguar. Anchieta does not ask himself the question of how to
express the opposite relationship "a onça matou (a) Pedro". Nor does he discuss
whether or not the position of elements helps to disambiguate the meaning, al-
though the fact that he quotes the permutations SVO, SOV, OSV, VSO in case of
"eating bread" but not in case of "killing predators" might indicate that position is,
indeed, an important clue. Be this as it may, it is clear that there is not the slightest
trace of the postposition *pe,* characteristic of modern PG. Subjects and objects are
totally indistinguishable.

Aragona seems to have copied the above quoted passage from Anchieta; his
wording is almost the same. However, he insists a bit more on the ambiguity which
arises if both nouns are on an equal footing with respect to the Animacy Hierar-
chy:

Si la 3ª persona es Acusativo hace la oracion derecham[te]. Amboè Anto, yo enseño
a Anto Eremboè Anto tu enseñas a Anto. et[a]

Quando agente, y pasiente [sic] son terceras personas ai alguna duda; pero por la materia se conocen como quando es cosa animada a inanimada ó de mayor calidad a menor, quando ay total igualdad es la duda. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 53)

[If the third person is accusative the sentence is straight. Amboè Anto, "I teach Anto", Eremboè Anto "you teach Anto", etc. When agent and patient are third persons there are some doubts; but through the matter it becomes clear, if it is from an animate thing to an inanimate being, or from something of higher to lesser quality. If there is total equality, doubts arise.]

As for disambiguation, an active or a passive participle may be used; this construction will not be discussed any further here. In Aragona's grammatical sketch, there is no trace of a postposition either.

Montoya takes up Aragona's formulations, but develops them by quoting more examples. The main focus of Montoya's argument is not on disambiguation by the meaning, as was the case in Anchieta, but on the ambiguity which arises when two nouns of equal strength are combined in one sentence.

Si la tercera persona es acusatiuo, y la primera, ò segunda la que haze, no ay duda en la oracion, vt amboé Peru, enseñò à Pedro. Eremboé Peru &c. En las terceras personas ay duda entre si, y esta se quita por las circunstancias, ò materia de que se trata, vt Peru oú çoo Pedro comio carne, cla[ra]ro es que Pedro, es nominatiuo de qualquiera manera que se ponga antes, ò despues, aunque lo ordinario es poner primero la agente, y luego la paciente, y luego el verbo, vt Peru çoó oú.
Quando ay igualdad entre agente, y paciente, y se muda la colocacion dicha, quedando el verbo en medio de ambas personas, siempre ay duda, vt Peru omboe Chua, dudase quien es el agente. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 34–35)

[If the third person is accusative, and the first or second the one in action, there is no doubt in the sentence, for example, amboé Peru, "I teach Peter". Eremboé Peru etc. In the third persons there is doubt about them, which is eliminated by the circumstances or by the matter dealt with, for example, Peru oú çoo "Peter ate meet", it is clear that Peter is nominative no matter if you put him before or after, although normally you put the agent person first, and the patient thereafter, and then the verb, for example, Peru çoó oú. When there is a state of equality between the agent and the patient, and the aforementioned [normal] order is changed, with the verb being amidst both persons, there are always doubts, for example, Peru omboe Chua, there are doubts about who is the agent.]

Apart from the participial construction already mentioned by Aragona, there is no way to disambiguate the subject-object relationship: *Peru omboe Chua* can mean "Peter teaches John", but it can also mean "John teaches Peter", regardless of the preverbal or postverbal position of the nouns.

This syntactic structure stands in sharp contrast to modern PG. The postposition *pe*, originally meaning "in, at", has taken over the role the preposition *a*

plays in Spanish. In PG, the object in a sentence like "the fox saw the jaguar" is obligatorily marked by the postposition, both nouns being of equal strength on the animacy hierarchy: *aguara ohexa jaguarete pe*. The missionary grammars are a precious testimony to the original state of affairs, where no such disambiguating device existed.

6. *Duality*

The Tupi-Guarani language family is considered a classical representative of what has been termed the 'active type' (Klimov 1973). This term can lead to misunderstandings. More recently, 'active-stative type' has sometimes been used instead, but such a double term is clumsy and difficult to manage. Gilbert Lazard has proposed the term 'dual type', which seems to me a felicitous coinage. In this contribution, 'dual type' and 'duality' will be used throughout. The dual type differs from both the accusative and the ergative one. Duality is a structure *sui generis*. Languages belonging to this type are particularly frequent in the New World, but all in all they form a minority among the world's languages.

Schematically, the essential differences between accusativity, ergativity, and duality can be represented in the following way:

Accusativity — Ergativity — Duality (diagrams showing Agt 1 / Pat 1 / Agt 2 / Pat 2 groupings)
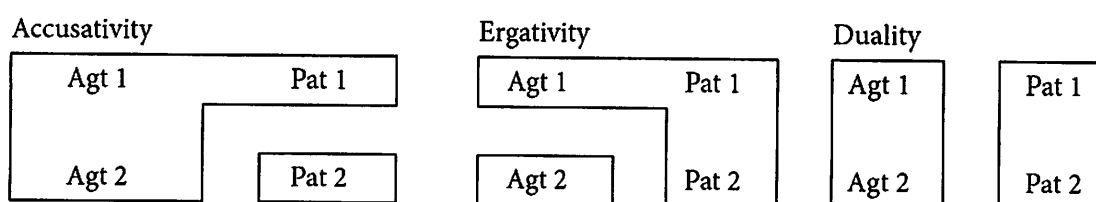
In the accusative as well as in the ergative type, the basic semantic case roles of Agent and Patient are neutralized in connection with monovalent verbs; "I walk" is expressed in the same way as "I suffer" (sometimes represented as /S/ = intransitive subject). The difference between accusativity and ergativity becomes evident when passing from monovalent to bivalent verbs: in the accusative type, the function /S/ is identified with the transitive Agent, whereas in the ergative type, this same function is identified with the transitive Patient. The dual type does not neutralize the semantic difference between Agent and Patient in connection with monovalent verbs; the distinction is explicitly expressed even in a context where no ambiguity can arise since there is only one nominal argument in the sentence. In other words: although it is functionally unnecessary to differentiate between the case roles of "I walk" and "I suffer", in some languages this differentiation is formally marked. This is the defining feature of duality. All these facts are well-known and are basic in what I have termed 'configurational typology' (sometimes also called 'alignment typology').

In Guarani, Agents and Patients are not distinguished by markers in the noun itself; the marking of basic case roles is exclusively verbal in MG (the use of the nominal postposition *pe* in PG, which was briefly mentioned in the preceding chapter, has arisen under the influence of Spanish). The verbal system shows a basic split according to the rules of duality. In this paper the semantics of this distinction cannot be analyzed in depth. Suffice it to state here that in Guarani, and in the Tupi-Guarani family as a whole, the basic feature is best described in terms such as 'active-inactive' or still better 'active-stative', not precisely in terms such as 'agentive-patientive'. The semantic distinction is more abstract than the one between prototypical nominal subjects and objects. Moreover, there are numerous irregularities and even incongruities, as in every natural human language. However, it seems that the differentiation between the case roles 'active' and 'stative' can cope with most concrete valency frames.

The basic distinction in Guarani is between active and stative verbs. It is both semantic (namely, between the roles Act and Stat) and morphological: both classes of verbs have different conjugations (the so-called *verbos areales* and *verbos xendales*, according to the 1st and 2nd person prefixes which are *a-/re-* for active and *xe-/nde-* for inactive verbs, see especially Guasch 1976). Both conjugations are prefixal, but there are fundamental differences with respect to morphological fusion and etymological transparency. Active verb prefixes form a paradigm entirely of their own, without etymological connections to other parts of speech, completely bound to the verbal root. Stative verb prefixes are partly identical to the respective pronouns, and they are less tightly bound to the verb; it makes sense to classify them as proclitics rather than true prefixes. However, the stative proclitics are more directly connected with the verb than the corresponding free pronouns, since they participate in nasal harmony: they take the nasal form when preceding a nasal verb root (*nde* → *ne* etc.), whereas free pronouns do not change their form in accordance with the nasal or non-nasal character of the verb. The stative paradigm is transparently related to the pronoun paradigm in the 1st and 2nd person, but not in the 3rd person where an unanalyzable prefix is used (as in many languages all over the world, there is no real pronoun of the 3rd person, demonstratives being used instead). The structure of the Guarani verb with its dual split may become clearer when illustrated by concrete examples from modern PG (the masculine forms in the English translations represent both masculine and feminine human beings; 3rd person singular in the English translations always means singular or plural):

- conjugational paradigm for Active verbs:
  (che) a-juka   (I) I-kill [him]
  (nde) re-juhu   (you$_{sg}$) you-meet [him]

(ha'e(-kuera)) o-pytyvõ	(he (they)) he/they-help [him]
(ñande) ja-hecha	(we$_{incl}$) we$_{incl}$-see [him]
(ore) ro-hendu	(we$_{excl}$) we$_{excl}$-hear [him]
	(*and also* I-hear-you, we$_{exl}$-hear-you)
(peẽ) pe-heja	(you$_{pl}$) you$_{pl}$-leave [him]

- proclitic paradigm (partially related to the pronoun) for Stative verbs:

(che) che rory	(I) I+rejoice
(nde) ne koẽ	(you$_{sg}$) you$_{sg}$+wake up
(ha'e(-kuera)) i-hu'u	(he (they)) he (they)+cough/s/
(ñande) ñane mandu'a	(we$_{incl}$) we$_{incl}$+remember
(ore) ore poxy	(we$_{excl}$) we$_{excl}$+get angry
(peẽ) pende pojái	(we$_{excl}$) we$_{excl}$+be able

As can be seen, the 3rd person singular has a prefix of its own, unrelated to the pronominal paradigm; in this way, there exists a morphologically simple opposition between active (*o-*) and inactive (*i-*) for this person. The cliticized pronominal forms are assimilated to the verbal root by undergoing nasal harmony (*nde → ne/ ñande → ñane/ peẽ → pene*), whereas free pronouns remain independent. The dual character of the whole system becomes evident when considering 1st and 2nd person object forms of transitive verbs: while 3rd person objects remain unmarked (see above), in the other persons the stative proclitics used for intransitive subjects are used for transitive objects. In most cases, the subject is implicitly understood as being a 3rd person. Examples are:

- Stative proclitics marking objects with transitive verbs:

xe juka	[he] kills+me
nde pete	[he] beats+you$_{sg}$
ñande api	[he] hurts+us$_{incl}$
ore guta	[he] pleases+us$_{excl}$
pende rayhu	[he] loves+you$_{pl}$

There are three morphological complications:

- The Active prefix of the 1st person pl$_{exl}$ also stands for the combination 1st person subject + 2nd person object (*ro-hero* "we$_{excl}$ call him" also means "I call you$_{sg}$" and "we$_{excl}$ call you$_{sg}$").
- The Stative proclitic of the 1st person sg also stands for the combination 2nd person subject + 1 person sg object (*xe juka* also means "you$_{sg/pl}$ kill+me").
- There is an opaque portmanteau prefix *po-* for the combination 1st person sg subject + 2nd person pl object (*po-heja* "I leave you$_{pl}$").

To further clarify the basic structure of this system, the concrete example of the 2nd person singular can serve as an illustration:

nde	free pronoun "you$_{sg}$":
	stressed pronoun (+ predicative + possessive)
nde~ne	proclitic "you$_{sg}$":
	subject of Stative verbs + object of Active verbs
re-	prefix "you$_{sg}$":
	subject of Active verbs

As can be seen, the semantic distinction between Active and Stative overruns the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive, thus fulfilling exactly the definitional criterion for duality.

This is what we know today, in the light of intense typological research, including the systematic comparison of different alignment systems in many languages of the world. What did the missionaries do when they were first confronted with a system so different to everything they knew? How did they cope with such exotic structures, considering that their only analytical tools were Latin school grammar and, perhaps, Nebrija's grammar of Spanish?

The missionary descriptions show little or no awareness of the semantic specificity of Active and Stative verbs. Their main concern is a morphological one: how does the 'conjugation' in Guarani work? What seems to have puzzled them most are conjugational prefixes: Latin, as well as Spanish, has a suffixal conjugation, so prefixes cannot be treated as conjugational morphemes. Yet they are distinct from the proclitic series, obviously related to the pronouns and simply classified as such (namely 'pronouns') by the missionaries. The question remains how to classify these apparently unclassifiable prefixes. Two different solutions were adopted, one by Anchieta, the other one by Aragona, Montoya and Restivo.

Anchieta's terminological proposal is ingenious. It should be remembered that, although he wrote in Portuguese, he was a Spaniard and possibly knew Nebrija's grammar. Nebrija takes the traditional schema of eight "parts of speech" (*partes orationis*, a term coined according to the model of the Greek μέρη τοῦ λόγου) as his starting point, but recognizes that this classification is by no means universally valid. He notes that at least one class of words resists classification in Spanish because it is absent in Latin, but does exist in Greek: the article. Nebrija postulates a part of speech of his own, adopting the Greek term into Spanish by creating the Latin form *artículo* instead of the inherited *artejo*. The passage in Nebrija's grammar where he introduces this terminological innovation for the first time reads as follows:

Todas las lenguas, cuantas e oído, tienen una parte de la oración, la cual no siente ni conoce la lengua latina. Los Griegos llaman la 'arzron'; los que la bolvieron de griego en latín llamaron le 'artículo', que en nuestra lengua quiere dezir artejo; el cual, en el castellano, no significa lo que algunos piensan, que es una coiuntura o ñudo de los dedos; antes se an de llamar artejos aquellos uessos de que se componen los dedos; los cuales son unos pequeños miembros a semejança de los cuales se llamaron aquellos artículos, que añadimos al nombre para demostrar de qué género es. (Nebrija 1984 [1492]: 182, cited in Bossong 1990: 77)

[All languages I have heard about, possess a part of a sentence, which does not exist in Latin. The Greek call it 'arzron' [ἄρθρον]; those who translated it from Greek into Latin called it the 'article', which means "knuckle" in our language; which in Castilian does not mean, as some think, that it is a connector or a knot of the fingers; rather those bones are called knuckles which the fingers are composed of; which are some small members similar to those that are called articles, which we adjoin to the noun in order to show its gender.]

At this point of his otherwise rather traditional work, Nebrija consciously went beyond the limits of Latin school grammar in order to be able to describe adequately his native Spanish. The model to be followed was ready at hand: Classical Greek. It seems to me that Anchieta, when confronted with the task of describing the peculiarities of the Tupi verb system, took Nebrija's grammar (or any other work where the term *artículo* was used) as a model and simply transferred the notion of *artículo* from the nominal to the verbal domain. The term *artículo* could be considered as appropriate by Anchieta, since formally the Tupi morphemes are prefixes, just as the Greek or Spanish article, and since semantically and functionally they perform as 'finger joints' or small 'phalanxes' uniting the greater 'members' of the sentence. Accordingly, for Anchieta the prefixes of the active verb, which serve as markers of transitive subjects, are termed *artículos*. Note that Anchieta, like Nebrija before him, uses this Latin form, and not the semi-popular form *artigo*. (By the way, in modern Portuguese, the grammatical term "article" is indeed *artigo*, in contrast to Spanish where the latinism *artículo* has prevailed.)

Anchieta first presents what he must have considered the true 'conjugation', that is, tenses and modes; these are expressed by suffixes in Tupi, and therefore recognizable as 'conjugation' in the Latin sense of the word. Then he briefly presents the personal conjugation by prefixes, using the term *artículo*:

Todos os ver. Actiuos, & muitos neutros se conjugão com estas pessoas, as quaes chamamos articulos á differença das pessoas expressas, que são os pronomes, com os quaes se conjugão muitos verbos neutros, & não com os articulos, mas na mudança, & variação do fim seguem a conjugação por que não ha mais que hũa. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 20v)

[All active verbs and many neutral ones are conjugated with these persons, which we call 'articles', in contrast to the persons expressed by personal pronouns, which many neutral verbs are conjugated with, and not with the 'articles', but with change and variation at the end of the word, they follow the conjugation because there is no more than one.]

Anchieta takes the division into 'active' and 'neutral' verbs for granted, in contrast to his followers. He sees the essential points, although he expresses his insights in a somewhat cryptic manner. First, he clearly states the formal difference between prefixes and proclitics.

> morphological level:
> prefixes   →   *articulos*
> proclitics   →   *pronomes*

Second, he is also more or less aware of the semantic difference between Active and Stative, although in the just quoted passage he does not mention any semantic criterion. He simply says that some 'neutral' (i.e., intransitive) verbs take proclitics, some prefixes, whereas all 'active' (i.e., transitive) verbs take prefixes. This is indeed a possible definition of duality in the Tupi-Guarani verbal system, although a very rudimentary one. Here is what Anchieta is saying, translated into modern terms.

> syntactico(-semantic) level:
> Transitive verbs   →   all conjugated with prefixes
> Intransitive verbs   →   some conjugated with prefixes, some with
>   proclitics

The semantic difference between Active and Stative intransitive subjects is not discussed in this passage. We shall see below, however, that Anchieta was aware of this difference.

The object function of proclitics is mentioned passingly in another place, in the chapter dedicated to the pronoun, under the heading "Construição, mais particular dos Pronomes, & Nomes". There we read:

> Na construição ... sempre se praepoem o pronome, siue substantiuo, siue adiectiuo, vt *xéjucâ*, a mi matão. *orê, yandê, ndè, pè, jucâ, xèjára*, meus dominus, *xérecê*, me propter & sic de cæteris, vt *yjucâ*, eum occidere, *yjára*, eius dominus. (Anchieta 1990 [1595]: f. 12v)

> [In the 'construction' [...] the pronoun is always put in front, be it of the substantive be it of the adjective, for example, *xéjucâ*, "they killed me". *orê, yandê, ndè, pè, jucâ, xèjára*, "my lord", *xérecê*, "because of me", and so of the rest, for example *yjucâ*, "to kill him", *yjára*, "his lord".]

A preposed 'pronoun' (proclitic) can be a verbal object, a genitive, or the antecedent of a postposition. For Anchieta, all these different relationships fall under the heading of *construição*. The meaning of this term seems to be, accordingly, 'determinative relationship'. Anchieta describes in a uniform manner what is uniformly expressed in Tupi, thus doing justice to the peculiarity of this language. The object of a transitive verb, be it a noun or a pronoun (transformed into a proclitic) is treated in the same way as a nominal determinant in a genitive construction.

The semantic difference between Active (→ prefixes) and Stative (→ proclitics) verb forms is clearly recognized by Anchieta. He provides a series of examples where the Active verb form expresses a real act, whereas the Stative verb form designates the ability or capability of doing something. The scholastic distinction of actuality vs. virtuality, deeply rooted in the mind of every pupil of a Jesuit school from his very boyhood, is of great help for describing the semantic difference between Active and Stative. Anchieta gives the following explanation and ensuing list of examples for the missionary Tupi language of his time:

> Nestes actiuos ... & noutros neutros que tem articulo, se soe muitas vezes perder o articulo com esta differença que com o articulo significão acto, & sem elle, potencia, ou sciencia, ou inclinação & custume vt,

âmbaêcuâb,	sey actu algūa cousa,	*xembaêcuâb*,	sou entendido.
âmbaêpotar,	quero actu aliquid.	*Xembaêpotâr*,	sou querençoso.
Ambaêmoacî,	doome de algūa cousa actu.	*xembaêmoacî*,	sou dorido.
Anbeêng,	falo.	*Xenbeêng*,	sey, ou posso falar.
Aitâb,	nado actu.|	*Xeitâb*,	sey nadar.
Aporonupã,	castigado.	*Xeporonupã*	costumo a castigar.

(Anchieta 1990 [1595] f. 51r-v)

> [In these actives [...] and other neutrals which have the "article", it is commonplace to lose the "article" with the difference that with the "article" it means action (actuality), and without it potentiality or knowledge or affinity and custom, for example,

âmbaêcuâb,	"I know something"	*xembaêcuâb*,	"I am knowlegeable"
âmbaêpotar,	"I desire something"	*Xembaêpotâr*,	"I am desirous"
Ambaêmoacî,	"something aches me"	*xembaêmoacî*,	"I am sensitive to pain"
Anbeêng,	"I am speaking"	*Xenbeêng*,	"I can speak"
Aitâb,	"I am swimming"	*Xeitâb*,	"I can swim"
Aporonupã,	"I castigate"	*Xeporonupã*	"it is my custom to castigate".]

The formal difference between the two is described in a rather mechanical way: The "articles" are "lost", but the formal equivalence between two types of conjugation (Active → prefix, Stative → proclitic) is not fully recognized. All in all, we may conclude that Anchieta had an incipient, but incomplete understanding of how a

dual language works. His description remains sketchy in this respect. However, it must not be forgotten that he was an absolute pioneer. The degree of his semantic insight is remarkable, as becomes evident from the last quoted example. None of his followers provided such an analysis.

Aragona, Montoya, and Restivo do not use the term *articulo*, but simply *nota*. They use this term in the same sense as the modern French typological school uses *indice actanciel*.

Aragona's analysis is very scanty on this point. He simply states that some verbs are conjugated by "pronouns" (proclitics) alone. He is not aware of any semantic difference between normal Active verbs and the Stative verbs conjugated with proclitics alone. Here is his definition:

> a todos los verbos se les pueden añadir los Pronombres y conjugarlos con ellos, como. Che amboè, ... etª. Aunque ai algunos verbos que se conjugan con Pronombres sin notas, y son chemaênduà Yo me acuerdo Ore l. Ñandemaênduà nosotros, Ndemaênduà tu te acuerdas. Pemaênduà vosotros Ymaênduà, Aquel se acuerda, Ymaênduà aquellos. (Aragona 1979 [c.1625]: 46)

> [the pronouns can be added to all the verbs thus conjugating them, as Che amboè, [...] etc. Although there are some verbs that can be conjugated with pronouns without 'notes', which are chemaênduà "I remember" Ore respectively Ñandemaênduà "we (remember)", Ndemaênduà "you remember". Pemaênduà "you$_{pl}$ (remember)" Ymaênduà, "he remembers", Ymaênduà "they".]

He makes no difference between free pronouns and pronominal proclitics and does not even notice that in the 3rd person there is no pronoun at all, but a prefix formally resembling the prefixes of the Active verb, namely *y-* (MG: *i-*). Instead of a deepened semantic analysis, or at least a series of illustrating examples, he provides just one case of a Stative verb, namely *xe-maendua* "I remember" (PG: *xe-mendua*). For the Tupi-Guarani speaker, remembrance is an involuntary, and therefore inactive, stative event. Therefore, the root *mendua* has to be conjugated with the proclitics of the Stative series.

In Montoya we find an echo of Anchieta's classification. He presents the division of 'active', 'passive', 'neutral' and 'absolute' as his main classification of verbs. But in what follows, passive and absolute are no longer taken into consideration, and with respect to 'neutral' (i.e. intransitive) verbs, three different types are distinguished: first, intransitives with Active prefixes; second, intransitives with Stative proclitics; and third, nouns and adjectives where the Stative proclitics have a predicative function. These distinctions are developed in several different places of his grammar. The whole picture emerges when these different passages are brought together:

Los verbos se diuiden en Actiuos, Passiuos, Neutros, y absolutos. Todos los quales tienen sus negaciones, y se conjugã con siete notas, tres para singular, y quatro para el plural. Las del singular son estas, A. Ere. O. Las del plural son estas, Oró, exclusiua, Yâ, inclusiua, Pê, O. (Montoya 1994 [1640]: 13)

Tres diferencias ay de verbos neutros. La primera conjugados con notas de actiuos A. Ere. O. &c. Los quales se conocen ser neutros por no tener acusatiuo paciente, sino algun caso con posposicion, y tienen los mismos tiempos, que el verbo actiuo. (Montoya 1994 [1640]:45)

La segunda manera de verbos neutros se haze con pronombres en lugar de las notas del verbo actiuo A. Ere. O. &c. Y tienen todos los tiempos que se pusieron en la conjugacion general. (Montoya 1994 [1640]:46)

La tercera manera de verbos neutros es de los que se hazen de nombres sustantiuos, vt Abá, hombre, Che abá, soy hombre, ó de nombres adjectos, vt mârângatu, bueno, Chemârâgatú yo soy bueno. (Montoya 1994 [1640]:47)

[The verbs are divided in actives, passives, neutrals and absolutes. All of which have their negations and are conjugated with seven affixes, three for the singular, and four for the plural. The singular ones are A. ERE. O. The plural ones are Oró, exclusive, Yâ, inclusive, Pê, O. (13)

There are three variants of neutral verbs. The first ones are conjugated with 'notes' of the active verbs A. Ere. O. etc. Which are known to be neutral for not having an accusative patient, but some case with postposition, and they have the same tenses as the active verb. (45)

The second kind of neutral verbs is made with pronouns instead of 'notes' of the active verb A. Ere. O. etc. And they have all the tenses which have been put in the general conjugation. (46)

The third kind of neutral verbs is made from substantive nous, for example, Abá, "man", Che abá, "I am a man", or from adjective nouns, for example, mârângatu, "good", Chemârâgatú "I am good" (47).]

The distinction between Active and Stative intransitives is given in a purely formal, mechanical way: "the first manner is with *a-/ ere-/ o-*", i.e. with the series of prefixes which are called *notas* by Montoya; and "the second manner is with pronouns instead of *a-/ ere-/ o-*", i.e. with the series of proclitics related to the pronouns, notwithstanding the fact that 3rd person *i-* does not show any relationship to any part of the pronominal paradigm. In fact, neither Aragona nor Montoya have made any substantial progress when compared to Anchieta. There is no semantic reasoning whatsoever, and not even an illustrative example. The intended reader, namely the learner of Guarani, is left in the dark which verbs are conjugated with *notas* and which ones with *pronombres*.

Restivo must have felt that the description given by Montoya was neither convincing nor systematic. He makes a serious attempt to remedy the shortcomings

of the work of his illustrious predecessor. Let us quote the description given by Restivo in full:

> Tres divisiones de verbos se hallan en esta lengua: activos, absolutos y neutros. ...
> Activos son los que tienen caso paciente; absolutos los que no tienen caso, y llamo neutros los que ni son absolutos, porque tienen sus casos, ni son activos, porque no admiten caso paciente, sino los solos casos de posposición.
> Las conjugaciones son dos; una se hace por los pronombres che, nde, etc., de la que hablaremos en el Cap. siguiente, y otra por notas.
> Las notas con las cuales se conjuga todo verbo activo y muchos verbos absolutos y neutros, son siete: a-, ere-, o- para el Singular; oro- exclusiva, ja inclusiva, que con narigales o empezados por m es ña-, pe-, o- para el plural. (Restivo 1996 [1729]:22)

> Dos géneros hay de verbos: absolutos y neutros; uno conjugado por la notas a-, ere-, o, como queda dicho en el § antecedente...
> El otro género es de absoluto o neutros conjugados por los pronombres che, nde, etc. Esta conjugación en todo rigor es de nombres que conjugados por pronombres se hacen verbos, los cuales incluyen regularmente el verbo "ser" o "tener".
> [...]
> A este género de verbos se reducen los demás absolutos o neutros de pronombres, aunque no expresen claramente en romance el verbo "ser" o "tener", E.G. chemaēndu'a dice: "yo me acuerdo"; sale del nombre maēndu'a que significa "memoria", y dice: chemaēdu'a hese, "tengo memoria de él", y es lo mismo que "me acuerdo", et sic de caeteris. (Restivo 1996 [1729]:35)

[Three divisions of verbs are found in this language: active, absolute and neutral ones. [...] Active verbs are those which have the patient case; absolute verbs do not have a case, and I call neutral those verbs which are neither absolute, because they have their cases, nor active, because they do not permit a patient case, but only the 'cases of postposition'.
There are two conjugations; one is done with the pronouns che, nde, etc., which will be dealt with in the following chapter, and another one with 'notes'.
The 'notes' which are used to conjugate each active verb and many absolute and neutral verbs are seven: a-, ere-, o- for the singular; oro- exclusive, ja- inclusive, which with nasals or words beginning with m is ña-, pe-, o- for the plural. (22)
There are two types of verbs: absolute and neutral ones; one conjugated with the prefixes a-, ere-, o, as has been said in the preceding paragraph...
The other type consists of absolute verbs or of neutral verbs conjugated with the pronouns che, nde, etc. This conjugation is clearly applied to nouns which, conjugated with pronouns, become verbs; they regularly include the verb "to be" or "to have". ...
The rest of the absolute and neutral verbs [conjugated] with pronouns, can be attributed to this type of verbs, although they do not express overtly the Romance verb "to be" or "to have", for example, chemaēndu'a means "I remember"; it derives

from the noun maẽndu'a which means "memory", and you say: chemaẽdu'a hese "I have memory of him", and it is the same as "I remember", and so of the rest (35).]

Restivo makes an effort to unite the best elements of the works of his predecessors and to systematize them in a coherent way. First of all, he defines the three basic classes 'active', 'absolute' and 'neutral' in a rigorous and unambiguous manner; 'active' clearly means "transitive" ("los que tienen caso paciente"), whereas 'absolute' and 'neutral' are two subtypes of 'intransitive': 'absolute' verbs do not have any complement, 'neutral' do have complements other than direct objects ("no admiten caso paciente"). Second, he makes it clear that the distinction of an Active and a Stative conjugation is fundamental, although he does not use such semantic terms. For Restivo, there are two types of conjugation, one with *notas*, the other one with *pronombres*; the conjugation with *notas* is found with all 'active' (= transitive) verbs and many 'neutral' (= intransitive) ones, while the conjugation with *pronombres* is limited to intransitive verbs. These formulations seem to stem directly from Anchieta's description of Tupi; compare the following quotations:

Todos os ver. Actiuos, & muitos neutros se conjugão com estas pessoas, as quaes chamamos articulos (Anchieta)
→
Las notas con las cuales se conjuga todo verbo activo y muchos verbos absolutos y neutros (Restivo)

[All active verbs and many neutral ones are conjugated with these persons, which we call 'articles' (Anchieta)
→
The 'notes' with the help of which all active verbs and many absolute and neutral verbs are conjugated (Restivo)]

Third and perhaps most importantly, Restivo postulates that Stative verbs can be considered in reality as nouns. It is evident that the noun-verb distinction works differently in Guarani from the noun-verb distinction in Indo-European languages. Nevertheless, it would go too far to say that it does not exist. Nouns and verbs are distinct, even though they may overlap in some domains. Stative verbs have many features which can be interpreted as "nouny". Montoya had an intuition of the nouniness of Stative verbs, but this is manifest only in his dictionaries, not in the grammar. In the *Tesoro*, we find many entries like *mârã* "enfermedad... aflición"/ *che mârã* "estoy enfermo... afligido" (1876 [1639]:207) or *teça raî* "oluido"/ *chereçaraî* "yo me oluido" (1876 [1639]:374) where the root itself is translated by a Spanish noun, whereas the Stative verb forms are rendered by the corresponding verb. Restivo considers such roots as basically nouny. In his view, they become verbs by the addition of the proclitic pronouns. Since these proclitic pronouns

also have the function of a genitive, it is clear to him that a form like *chemaēndu'a* originally means "my memory" or predicatively "I have memory". The explicit treatment of such a fundamental point goes much further than the work of Montoya, which Restivo modestly pretends to complement with some comments and remarks. In the generations following Montoya, the knowledge of Guarani — or more precisely, the theoretical reflection on its grammatical structure — had made substantial progress. Restivo's work, which integrates observations made by Simone Bandini and others, represents the final result of this process.

As a testimony of the original state of the Tupi-Guarani languages, the missionaries' grammatical descriptions clearly show that the distinction of Active and Stative verbs has been historically stable. No substantial differences can be observed in this grammatical domain between MG and PG. Duality is a deeply rooted, fundamental feature of this language family.

7.   Concluding remarks

None of the Jesuit priests arrived at a clear understanding of the dual character of Tupi-Guarani. In particular, none of them commented on the fundamental fact that the pronominal proclitics not only express the subject function with some intransitive verbs (the "inactive" ones), but also the object function with all transitive ones. Nevertheless, they made substantial efforts to adequately describe the unusual features of this language family. Encouraged by the model of Nebrija, they consciously went beyond the framework of Latin school grammar.

One also needs to recall that up to the present day some essential points of Tupi-Guarani grammar remain poorly understood. In particular, the noun-verb distinction is extremely difficult to grasp in this language family (see Nordhoff 2004). In many respects, we have not really advanced further than the missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries. Their pioneering work was more than honorable, it deserves the greatest respect. Future research on the history of the Tupi-Guarani languages as well as on the manifold difficulties that had to be overcome when describing truly 'exotic' language structures will greatly benefit from the *Corpus Guaraniticum* of the Jesuit fathers. They contain hidden treasures still to be discovered.

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SUMMARY

Some fundamental typological peculiarities of Guarani, namely the inclusive-exclusive distinction, transnumerality, the nominal tense, the (non)-distinction of subjects and objects, and duality (active-stative alignment) are presented and analyzed from both a modern and a historical perspective: first, to better understand the features of Guarani; second, to illuminate the difficulties missionaries faced when trying to cope with language structures that drastically differed from their training in Latin grammar. Using the missionaries' grammars as first-hand testimony, the conclusion is reached that we have not significantly advanced beyond these works from the 17th and 18th centuries. Although none of the Jesuit *padres* arrived at a clear understanding of all the peculiarities of Tupi-Guarani that are dealt with in this paper, they made substantial contributions to describing the unusual features of this language family adequately, and thus went deliberately beyond the framework of Latin school grammar.

RÉSUMÉ

Nous présentons et analysons quelques traits typologiques fondamentaux de la langue Guarani, à savoir la distinction entre "nous" inclusif et exclusif, la transnumeralité, le temps nominal, la (non)-distinction des sujets et des objets et la dualité (configuration activo-stative) : Cette analyse adopte d'une part un point de vue moderne afin de comprendre mieux les traits caratéristiques de la langue Guarani; d'autre part nous adoptonns une perspective historique utilisant les grammaires missionaires pour une réconstruction de l'histoire du Guarani et pour mesurer les difficultés des missionaires confrontés pour la première fois à des structures "exotiques" avec pour seul bagage intellectuel leur formation latine. Comme résultat on peut constater qu'en réalité nous ne sommes pas vraiment plus avancés que les missionaires des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Bien qu'aucun père n'ait compris entièrement tous les traits inhabituels du Guarani présentés dans cet article, on doit reconnaître l'effort énorme des missionaires qui se sont efforcés à décrire adéquatement les particularités de cette famille linguistique en sortant consciemment du cadre de la grammaire latine.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Einige typologische Basismerkmale des Guarani, nämlich die Inklusiv-Exklusiv-Unterscheidung, die Transnumeralität, das nominale Tempus, die (nicht)-Unterscheidung von Subjekten und Objekten und die Dualität (aktiv-stative Konfiguration) werden aus zweierlei Perspektiven analysiert: zum einen von einem modernen Standpunkt aus, um zu einem besseren Verständnis dieser Merkmale zu gelangen; zum anderen aus einer historischen Perspektive. Dabei werden die Missionargrammatiken einerseits für die Rekontruktion der Geschichte des Guarani genutzt; andererseits werden die Schwierigkeiten aufgezeigt, mit denen die Missionare zu kämpfen hatten, als sie sich erstmals mit völllig "exotischen" Sprachstrukturen konfrontiert sahen, mit keinem anderen Rüstzeug als ihrer lateinischen Bildung. Man kann den Schluss ziehen, dass wir heute nicht wirklich viel weiter fortgeschritten sind als die Missionare des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Obwohl es keinem

der *padres* gelang, alle in diesem Beitrag behandelten typologischen Charakteristika des Tupi-Guarani vollständig zu erfassen, waren sie doch sehr bemüht, die Besonderheiten dieser Sprachfamilie adäquat zu beschreiben, indem sie bewusst den vorgegebenen Rahmen der lateinischen Schulgrammatik überschritten.

RESUMEN

Se presentan y se analizan algunos rasgos tipológicos fundamentales del guarani, es decir la distinción entre inclusivo y exclusivo, la transnumeralidad, el tiempo nominal, la (no)-distinción de subjetos y objetos y la dualidad (configuración activo-estativa). El análisis se hace desde dos puntos de vista: de un lado desde una perspectiva moderna para comprender mejor las propiedades del guarani; de otro lado desde una perspectiva histórica, utilizando las gramáticas misioneras para la reconstrucción de la historia del guarani y exponiendo las dificultades a las que los misioneros se vieron enfrentados cuando tuvieron que describir por primera vez estructuras realmente "exóticas", con su educación latina como único bagaje intelectual. Como resultado nos damos cuenta que hoy, en realidad, no estamos mucho más avanzados que los misioneros de los siglos XVII y XVIII. A pesar del hecho de que ninguno de los *padres* lograra entender y exponer por completo todos los rasgos del guarani presentados en este artículo, hay que reconocer el gran esfuerzo por parte de los misioneros en describir las peculiaridades de esta familia lingüística de una manera adecuada, saliendo conscientemente del marco de la gramática latina escolar.

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