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TuLeD (Tupían lexical database): introducing a database of a South American language family

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Abstract The last two decades witnessed a rapid growth of publicly accessible online language resources. This has allowed for valuable data on lesser known languages to become available. Such resources provide linguists with opportunities for advancing their research. Yet despite the proliferation of lexical and morphological databases, the ca. 456 languages spoken in South America are poorly represented, particularly the Tupían family, which is the largest on the continent. This paper therefore introduces and discusses TuLeD, a lexical database exclusively devoted to a South American language family. It provides a comprehensive list of lexical items presented in a unified transcription for all languages with cognacy assignment and relevant (cultural or linguistic) notes. One of the main goals of TuLeD is to become a full-fledged database and a benchmark for linguistic studies on South American languages in general and the Tupían family in particular.

Keywords Lexical database · Tupían · South American languages · Tupí-Guaraní · Linguistics

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1 Introduction

Linguistic and ethnographic databases have served as a benchmark for a wide range of studies, and thus contributed to the understanding of both the prehistory of languages and the dynamics of language itself. They have allowed for the formulation of hypotheses and inferences about speakers of past languages, their culture (also material), their location, their migratory processes and their relation with other groups (Galucio 2010; Eriksen and Galucio 2014). Language data plays a significant role in ethnological studies (Walker et al. 2012; Berlin 1992; Berlin et al. 2013; Balée 2013) in general.

In response to the need for large quantities of tidily organized data and owing to the appearance of an open source software framework, the rising number of databases has immensely contributed to the progress of linguistic research since the last decade. Among the online databases one could mention: TransNewGuinea (Greenhill 2015), IELex (Dunn 2015), ASJP (Wichmann et al. 2018), ABVD (Greenhill et al. 2008), CHIRILA (Bowern 2016), LexiRumah (Kaiping and Klamer 2018) and NorthEuraLex (Dellert et al. 2019); others accounting for syntax, morphology or other language aspects, such as SAILS (Muysken et al. 2016), WOLD (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013), AfBo (Seifart 2013), and HG (Bowern et al. 2020).

The CLLD (Cross-Linguistic Linked Data) framework (Forkel et al. 2019) upon which most of the above mentioned databases are built, has allowed uniform access to and exchange of cross-linguistic data. This development goes hand in hand with the refinement of algorithms capable of identifying and extracting patterns from data. The standardized data format both within individual projects and across the various already published databases (Forkel et al. 2018; Rzymski et al. 2020; Wu et al. 2020) plays a fundamental role.

To our knowledge, among the available databases only CSD (Rankin et al. 2015) and SAILS (Muysken et al. 2016) deal with languages of the Americas so that the main bottleneck for TuLeD is the nearly total absence of lexical databases dedicated to South-American languages. The scarcity of available data is perhaps best explained by the fact that building up sizeable collections requires intensive manual labour and expert judgement for cognacy assignment, more easily found for well-studied languages (Jäger 2018).

The Tupían Lexical Database (TuLeD) here presented in its pre-release (v0.9) is the first online database exclusively devoted to a South-American language family. The database is open source¹ and includes references to all consulted sources, including unpublished materials used in the data collection.

¹ The data is available under Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0) license, and can be shared, copied, adapted and distributed as long as it is cited. The database itself is available online at: https://tuled.org/.

2 Languages

The seventy-four languages² in TuLeD (see Fig. 1) belong to the Tupían family, the largest language family in South America. All subfamilies are represented in the dataset (Galucio et al. 2015; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012). We have also included extinct languages with different degrees of attestation, since they can be relevant for studying the geographical spread of Tupían languages and for the internal history of the family. A further criterion employed in order to distinguish language from dialect is the lexical distance measure between words for each language pair, as suggested by Wichmann (2020). The results obtained can be seen in Reichert and Gerardi (2021).

Tupi Austral, or 'Língua Geral Paulista' (which is a direct descendant of Tupinambá, like Nheengatu) was still spoken until the first half of the nineteenth century (Nobre 2011; Leite et al. 2013), and is mentioned in numerous historical sources, but only known through a list of words in Martius (2009) and a few other sources (Leite et al. 2013; Rodrigues 2010; Lagorio and Freire 2014), the main one anonymously compiled (Leite et al. 2013; d'Oliveira 1936). Similarly, Anambé of Ehrenreich (Ehrenreich 1895) is only known through a short list of ca. hundred words collected in the 19th century. The poorly attested Apapokuva, an extinct variety of Ava'-Guarani described by Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú 1914) (cf. Dietrich 2014), is also part of the dataset.

Two languages, for which there is insufficient information available, appear to belong to Ramarama-Puruborá group (Rodrigues and Cabral 2012; Gabas Jr. 2000): Ntogapíd (Itogapúk) is mentioned by Schultz (1925) who also provides a short wordlist (Nimuendajú 1955); Ramarama is mentioned with a wordlist by Lévi-Strauss (1950) and (Rondon and Horta Barbosa 1922). These have been included in Ramarana-Puruborá group due to the number of shared cognates between these languages and Karo and Puruborá.

TuLeD is the first publication to include words from the languages Kabanae (Natterer 1829a) and Matanau (Natterer 1829b). Their inclusion is of a special interest as these languages almost certainly belong to the Mondé subfamily, given the similarity of the words collected by Natterer with words in other Mondé languages (see Fig. 2). This would, in turn, attest to the presence of Mondé groups on the banks of the Madeira River (da Silva and Costa 2014), quite apart from the historically attested Mondé languages³.

Little is known about Turiwara and Amanaye [(Loukotka 1968), pp. 110–113] except for the wordlists compiled by Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú 1914) and by a few mentions of these peoples (Nimuendaju 1948). The location of both tribes is known and despite the short wordlists, we can state with some degree of certainty which languages they are more closely related to (Rodrigues 1984). On the other hand,

 $^{^2}$ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, there is indeed an issue with the term language in contrast to dialects. One could be skeptical regarding, for example, the languages of the Mondé subfamily, the Kawahiv subfamily, or Asuriní do Tocantins and Parakanã. We follow the literature consulted, which is up-to-date, as can be seen from the resources in the database, and additionally provide ISO and Glotto-codes when available.

³ The locations in our map correspond to the locations of languages with similar names given by Nimuendajú in his map (do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional 2017).

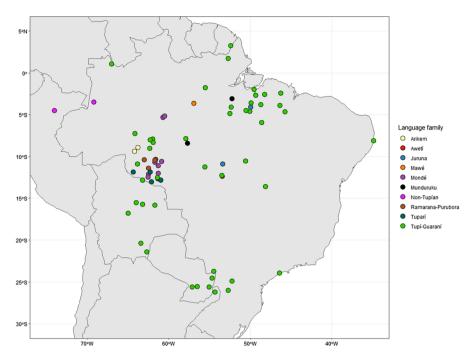


Fig. 1 Map of languages in TuLed 0.9. Each Tupían subfamily is encoded by a different color. (Color figure online)

Doculect	Matanau	Kabanae
Monde	0.76	0.88
Arikem	0.35	0.37
Juruna	0.28	0.27
Mawe	0.37	0.34
Munduruku	0.35	0.41
Ramarana-Purubora	0.47	0.29
Tupari	0.54	0.46
Non-Tupian	0.32	0.27
Tupi-Guarani	0.64	0.68
Kabanae	0.33	1.00
Matanau	1.00	0.63

Fig. 2 Amount, given in percentage, of cognates between Matanau and Kabanae, and each subfamily in the database

although extinct for centuries, Tupinambá and Old Guaraní are relatively well documented and have a large coverage—Tupinambá with a coverage of 97% of the concepts in the database.

status		
Language	Coverage (%)	Status
Xipaya	86	Dormant
Juruna	74	Endangered
Karo (Arara)	77	Endangered
Puruborá	68	Critically endangered
Ntogapíd (Itogapúk)*	30	Extinct
Ramarama*	30	Extinct
Akuntsu	79	Critically endangered
Wayoró	75	Critically endangered
Makurap	72	Everely endangered
Mekens (Sakurabiat)	66	Critically endangered
Tuparí	80	Endangered
Mundurukú	99	Threatened
Kuruaya	70	Dormant
Cinta-Larga	12	Endangered
Gavião	74	Endangered
Aruá	52	Critically endangered
Matanau*	40	Extinct
Kabanae*	15	Extinct
Mondé	10	Dormant
Zoró	54	Endangered
Suruí-Paiter	82	Endangered
Karitiana	79	Endangered
Arikem*	56	Extinct
Sateré-Mawé	89	Threatened
Awetí	76	Endangered
Asurini Tocantins	68	Endangered
Parakanã	95	Threatened
Suruí	69	Endangered
Tapirapé (Apyãwa)	67	Endangered
Tembé	82	Severely endangered
Apiaká	72	Dormant
Guajajara	95	Vulnerable
Amondawa*	69	Threatened
Tenharim	73	Endangered
Jiahoi	28	Critically endangered
Parintintin*	93	Threatened

12

60

30

63

76

Juma

Kayabí

Urueuwauwau

Asurini Xingu

Tupi do Machado (Wirafed)*

 Table 1
 Languages in the database with percentage of concepts in each of these and their respective status

Critically endangered

Endangered Extinct

Threatened

Endangered

Language	Coverage (%)	Status
Araweté	61	Endangered
Kamayurá	81	Endangered
Anambé of Ehrenreich*	21	Extinct
Guajá	58	Endangered
Amanayé	28	Dormant
Zo'e	52	Endangered
Emerillon (Tekó)	88	Endangered
Wayampi	79	Threatened
(Urubu) Ka'apor	93	Endangered
Anambé	50	Nearly extinct
Turiwara*	28	Extinct
Avá-Canoeiro	64	Severely endangered
Tupinambá*	98	Extinct
Nheengatu	98	Endangered
Língua Geral Paulista (Tupi austral)*	5	Extinct
Yuki	61	Endangered
Guarayo	89	Threatened
Sirionó	79	Critically endangered
Warazu (Pauserna)	73	Critically endangered
Chiriguano	78	Endangered
Jorá*	17	Extinct
Mbyá	88	Vulnerable
Guarani Paraguay*	92	Official
Old Guaraní*	70	Extinct
Guayaki (Aché)	71	Severely endangered
Xetá	37	Critically endangered
Kaiowá	62	Vulnerable
Tapiete	85	Endangered
Chiripá	31	Endangered
Apapokuva of Nimuendajú*	30	extinct
Omagua	65	Critically endangered
Cocama-Cocamilla	72	Critically endangered

Table 1 continued

As far as living languages are concerned, few things are worth mentioning. Within the Mondé languages, Gavião (Digüt/Ikólóéhj) and Zoró, are assigned the same Glottocode (Hammarström et al. 2020) and ISO-code (Eberhard et al. 2020), but there is enough evidence indicating that these are, in fact, two distinct languages (Moore 2005).

The picture is clearer in case of Kawahiv which is divided into two dialect groups: Northern and Southern. The former is formed by Parintintin, Juma, Jiahui

Semantic field	Quantity (%)	Total		
Agriculture and vegetation	30	7.44		
Animals	80	19.85		
Basic actions and technology	18	4.47		
Body	60	14.89		
Cognition	5	1.24		
Clothing and grooming	5	1		
Emotions and value	16	3.97		
Food and drink	29	7.2		
House	3	0.74		
Kinship	31	7.69		
Miscellaneous				
Function words	9	2.23		
Motion	20	4.96		
Physical world	25	6.2		
Possession	3	0.74		
Quantity	8	1.99		
Religion and belief	1	0.25		
Sense perception	19	4.71		
Social and political relation	4	0.99		
Spatial relation	19	4.71		
Speech and language	5	1.24		
Time	9	2.23		
Warfare and hunting	5	1.24		

Table 2 Presence of semantic fields for items in the dataset

and Tenharim, the latter by Urueuwauwau and Amondawa (others are not included in the database). Both these languages and their division seem to be consensual among specialists (Sampaio 1997, 2001; Aguilar 2015; Marçoli et al. 2018).

The database also includes Cocama-Cocamilla and Omagua two languages apparently of non Tupí-Guaraní origin, but whose lexicon is predominantly Tupí-Guaraní. The former has been said to be genetically unrelated to the Tupían languages despite the clearly Tupí-Guaraní lexicon (Cabral 1995; Michael 2014). The inclusion of the above mentioned extinct languages as well as Cocama-Cocamilla and Omagua is important in so far as they are extremely useful, among other venues of research, such as comparative work inferring contact and population movements.

Table 1 shows all of the languages in the database with the percentage of concepts for each language and their current version which, except for the extinct languages, is based on the Endangered Languages Project (ELP) (Languages Project 2020). Languages marked with a star (*) are not referenced in ELP, therefore their status is based on the authors' knowledge and/or literature.

45.4	AARVA	MAKURAP	ZABOTT	ARIKAPO	TUPARI
AMARILLO	erer	paratijiat .	eleva	tögtör	untry bilt
AZUL	timoañ	naramtijat	pajai.	a superior	aramira
ABUELO	garkan/m)	abatú	hoton	čontá	touto
ABUELA	gaikan (m) gaite (m)	tití	kuré	kine	ñá
Aquí	antega	čoombé	nédjoré		aredia
	arakoi	vieri	meeninen		eterá
ARBOL	iib	köb	1eprin 1		100 födiri
ARROZ	pasabikob	arvi	aroi		putration.
ARCO	batje	epermber	tena	here	pen
ANTA	foasat	ügadj	hua'		takará
A MIGO	umbagap	anne	imedioa		öröm
AquA	ií	00	bzini		iniza.
	paagan "	opitens oroturiga	djehoro		1070
ANZVELO	burimatam.	timoan	kuta	kuñi	nin
	niminga	paran	hördamtanie		Hoge
ARAÑA	gurupa	bolevog	niberchan		akurapaba
ARANAR	ambityaga	ekrepinaam	khumi		pussinia
	ter	angara	meric		wap
. ARRANCAR		diriva	burepiiri		ikija
		plote	čeure		eret

Fig. 3 Page of Tibor Sekelj notebook containing words in five languages, three of them Tupían: Aruá, Makurap, and Tupari

marito (umän (u; ä-, ä-) pamän, mämä mulhe (enroa) Unzaid fittaid (änzaid) (panzaid) Sogro (m.n.) mänsaid) - (f.n) mänsaid Sogra (m.n.) önzaitt - (f.n) umäntiit ti Senso (m. g.) wai (awai...) " (Pitrog mend. v. solvi-lia) Mora (m. p.) wai " (f. p.) wai

Fig. 4 Original data collected by Franz Caspar in 1955 containing words in Aruá

Fig. 5 Fragment of Natterer's Matanau–German wordlist (Natterer 1829b)

 Table 3
 Fragment of cognate class assignment from TuLeD, showing modern languages and one extinct language (Anambé of Ehrenreich). In spite of the probably imprecise transcription, cognates are recognizable

	Arrow	Bad/Evil	Big	Banana
Guajá	u?i	minihi	hu	pako
Ka'apor	u?i	ai	ut∫u	pako
Anambé of Ehrenreich	wira	pu∫i	${f towih}$ ã	pareri
Wayampí	wilapa	ai	ta?i-luwã	pako
Anambé (Carairi)	marara		uhu / tuwihauhu	pariri

3 The data

TuLeD in its actual pre-release version (0.9) includes 404 concepts. While databases vary considerably in their size: 40 items in ASJP (Wichmann et al. 2018) to 1310 in IDS (Key and Comrie 2015), the rationale determining the amount of concepts in TuLeD is to begin with the traditional Swadesh list (Swadesh 1950, 1952), the Leipzig-Jakarta list (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009) and then to expand this list with items that are relevant to the Tupían culture (Heggarty 2010): cultivation, flora, fauna, food, housing, handicraft, hunting, kinship, spatial relations, social relations, and others (Rodrigues 2010; Galucio et al. 2015). The semantic fields according to which words are classified, are taken from World Loanword Database (WOLD) (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). Semantic fields in the database are given in Table 2.

Flora items have been shown to provide relevant information for language comparison and for inferring contact between and movements of populations (Balée 1994, 2013). As for the fauna, the basic ethnobiological terms in smaller societies with close link to nature tend to develop names for different species, often leaving gaps where one would expect more general terms (Berlin 1992; Atran 1993; Atran and Medin 2008). For this reason, some of the languages in the database lack, e.g. a general term for 'monkey' (Karitiana), while having names for individual species; many of the languages lack a hyperonym for the species of 'ant', having only words for single species. Since access to specific fauna and flora items is difficult—they are rarely if ever mentioned in the sources consulted—we are investigating ways to

present them more thoroughly. Therefore, although the current amount of the diverse fauna and flora items in TuLeD is modest when compared to the overall number of concepts, the collection of relevant terms is ongoing and given high priority for the official release. It is important to note here that since TuLeD is not intended to be used exclusively for linguistic reconstruction or classification, we are not primarily guided by the argument according to which the size of the concept list would not necessarily improve classification (Holman et al. 2008).

The dataset also contains most of the *semantic primes* from (Wierzbicka 1996), and we made sure that all 56 oppositional concepts in Johansson (2017) are included. We consider these criteria of concept inclusion to be essential for search patterns or various inferences.

4 Data collection

Besides the literature previously known to us, we are searching the repositories of Brazilian universities for new references, in particular the repositories of the university of Brasília (UnB) and the university of Campinas (UNICAMP), due to their long tradition of research in native Brazilian languages (master's or doctoral theses from these universities comprise more than 17% of our bibliography). Another known source of research in native Brazilian languages consulted are the publications (bulletins and theses) of Emílio Goeldi Museum (13% of the sources). TuLeD has greatly benefited from these sources and from sources cited therein.

An evident shortcoming of the database stems from the poor quality of transcriptions provided by some of the sources collected by non-linguists. In this respect, Aruá is an illustrative case. Unpublished handwritten work accounts for most of the available data. Difficulties that arise when transcribing this type of data can be gleaned from Figs. 3, 4 and 5. Another illustrative examples are Kabanae (Natterer 1829a) and Matanau (Natterer 1829b), for which words have been compiled in 1830 by a native German speaker.

Poorly transcribed sources should not be used for tasks like phonological comparison or analyses involving distance methods. Yes despite the difficulties posed by the transcription, it is worth pointing out that it still allows, at least in the majority of cases, for cognate class assignment. This fact is illustrated in Table 3, where in spite of the transcription's precision, cognate class can—most of the times —be clearly identified.

4.1 Additional features of TuLeD

In the Parameters environment of the database, each of the 404 concepts is related to a semantic field taken from the WOLD (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009), a link to the corresponding item in the Concepticon database (List et al. 2016a) which is a useful resource linking crosslinguistic lists. Flora and fauna items are each linked to the

respective entries in the Encyclopedia of Life (EoL) (Parr et al. 2014)⁴, providing valuable information about the species in question. All this can be seen in Fig. 6.

5 Transcription, segmentation, and alignment

All the data has been converted to the CLDF (cross-linguistic data format) using the CLTS (Cross-Linguistic Transcription Systems) (List et al. 2019) as a way of standardizing the data and making it easily shareable.

The tonal languages in the database have tones marked. In the case of Mondé languages, tones are marked according to the sources for each concept. Gavião has a more precise and complete marking of tones since most of the concepts have been retrieved from (Gavião 2019). The author is a native speaker who also provided us with concepts not present in the written work. For Mundurukú and Kuruaya, where available, the tones have been taken from (Picanço 2020). For languages without tones, the accents indicate where the stress falls.

Transcription of each concept is given in the "orthographic form" column. This column is followed by the "tokens" column which contains segments. In this column, "tokens", when the etymology of the word is known, the segments of each part of the compound word are separated by a "+" sign. The meaning of each part of the compound can then be seen in the "morphemes" column where parts of the compound are separated by a single space. Figure 7 illustrates this using the concept COMB. The "notes" column generally includes information on borrowing, kinship terms, polysemy, and other relevant information. For the two languages Matanau and Kabanae, the "notes" column includes the original transcriptions of the words⁵.

The whole workflow described in this section closely follows (Wu et al. 2020).

5.1 Simple cognacy, partial cognacy, and alignment

Simple and partial cognates had initially been automatically assigned using (List 2016; Hill and List 2017; List et al. 2016b; Wu et al. 2020), following automated detection. We have since manually improved simple and partial cognacy (expert judgement), and as of this writing (September 2020) 14% of entries have been manually improved. Cognacy assignment benefited from the following sources: (Galucio et al. 2015; Silva 2011; Kamaiurá 2012; Drude 2011; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012)) and is illustrated in Table 4. In order to visualize the data and align simple and partial cognates we have used the EDICTOR tool (List 2017). Partial cognacy is particularly useful due to the composite character of Tupían lexicon. They are useful in avoiding the transitivity issue, as illustrated in Table 5. The word for 'cloud' is presented in four languages and if cognate classes are based on the presence of *twak*- 'sky', then Guajajara and Emerillon can be considered cognates. If instead, the presence of *tsin* 'white' is what defines the cognate class, then Suruí,

⁴ Available online at: https://eol.org/.

⁵ For Matanau and Kabanae we are working on making the transcriptions from the original documents visible online for each of the words. This feature will be available in version 1.0 of the database.

arameter				Previous 1 2 3 4 6 Novit	L-
ie.	A Name	Portaguese	Semantic field	Gancepticon	0 Eol
Search	Search	Search	-any-	Search	Search
	1 ABOVE	EM CIMA (DE)	SPATIAL, RELATIONS	@ 1741	
	2 AFTER	DEPOIS (DE)	SPATIAL RELATIONS	G 1665	
	a AGOUTI	CUTIA	ANIMALS	C 315	C 42029
	4 ALL	TODOS / TUDO	QUANTITY	C 98	
	5 ALONE	90 / SOZINHO	QUANTITY	C 1964	
	6 ANACONDA	SUCUR	ANIMALS	C 890	C 794641
	7 ANAITO	URUCU	AGRICULTURE_AND_VEGETATION		C 184439
	8 ANT	FORMGA	ANIMALS	C 587	
	9 ANTEATER	TAMANDUÁ	ANIMALS	C 181	CT 1991
	18 MOUNTAIN SOURSOP	ARATICUM / JACA DE POBRE	FOOD_AND_DRINK		G 1054865
	11 ARM	BRAÇO	800Y	C 1673	
	12 ARMADILLO	TATU	ANIMALS	G 1865	
	13 ARRVE	CHEGAR	MOTION	G 1987	
	14 ARROW	FLEDHA	WARFARE, AND, HUNTING	G 177	
	15 ASH	ONZA (S)	PHYSICAL_WORLD	C 646	
	16 AVENOE	VINGAR (-SID)	ENOTIONS_AND_VALUES	C 405	
	17 ANE	MACHADO	WARFARE, AND, HUNTING	C 677	
	18 ADALPRUM	AÇAİ	AGRICULTURE_AND_VEGETATION	C 2437	Ct 1100375
	19 BACK	COSTAS	800Y	C 1291	
	20 BADAQU	BABAÇU	AGRICULTURE_AND_VEGETATION		C 1131651
	21 BAD/EVIL	MAU / MAL / PUIM	ENOTIONS, AND, VALUES	C 3764	
	22 BAMBOO	TAQUAVIA./ BAMBU	ADRICULTURE, AND, VEGETATION	G 1627	
	23 BANANA	BANANA	FOOD_AND_DRINK	C 800	C1 44527
	24 BAGHET	CESTO / CESTA	BASIC_ACTIONS_AND_TECHNOLOGY	C 1539	
	25 GAT	MORCEGO	ANIMALS	C 1793	C 7601
	26 BATHE	BANKAR-SE	BODY	C 120	
	27 BEADS	MIQANGAS / CONTRS	CLOTHING, AND_GROOMING_	C 1000	
	28 BE WRONG	ERRAR / ESTAR ERRADO	ENOTIONS_AND_VALUES	C 1990	
	29 BEANS	FEUÃO	FOOD AND DRINK	Ct 2574	0 477

Fig. 6 Screenshot of TuLeD's Parameters environment

Language	 Orthographic form 	1 Tokens	Simple Cognate	I Partial Cognate		Notes	1 Morphemes
Search	Search	Search	Search	Search		Search	Search
Auriteu	ápe -	äpe		529	2688		_00M8
knondawa	kißewa	ki+β+awa		528	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
içiska	ziowar	2 lu + w + a v		525	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
ipiaka	kawap	ke+w+ap		528	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
vavete	1944	4193		528	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
laurini, do, Tocentine	kiwaw	k i + w + g w		528	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
laurini_do_Xingu	kiwaw	k i + w + a w		525	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
wa_Canceiro	kiwaw	k i + w + a w		528	3689 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
lived	7akiwap	7akiw+ap		529	3089 21 22		LICE EAT INSTRUMENT
ziriguano	kiwa	kiwa		528	3689 21 22		COMB
Cocama_Cocamilia	kiwa	kiwa		525	3689 21 22		COMB
merilion_Tako	khun	kiwa		528	0609 21 22		COMB
avlao_likoloshi	ajja	g ii j Ma		528	3689 21 22		COMB
kaga -	kiwa	kiwa		528	3089 21 22		COMB
Lugigera .	kiwaw	k i w + a w		528	3689 21 22		LICE_EAT INSTRUMENT
karani Paraguay	khuta	kiwa		528	3689		COMB
karayo	krigra	krigta.		528	3689		COMB
iahoi	kijlawa	kip + awa		529	3009 21 22		LICE _GAT INSTRUMENT
una	kiwabm	k i w + = a b m		528	3689 21 22		_UCEEAT INSTRUMENT
uruna_Yudja	pina	pina		531	3690		COMB
la_apor_Undou	khun	kiwa		528	3689		COMB
lamajura	kiwap	kiw+ap		520	3689 21 22		LICE _GAT INSTRUMENT
lartiane	okimo	okimo		528	3689 21 22		COMB
Cariflana	hirana	hinana		531	3690		COMB
aro, Arara	nip	näp		529	3688		COMB
ayabi	ki?wap	ki?wap		529	3669 21 22		LUCE _GAT INSTRUMENT
inaya	with	with		532	3691		COMB
akurap	103	x18		528	3689		COMB
bye	kigʻa	kig'a		525	3689		COMB
londe	dytea	dgits a		530	5692		COMB
Anduraku	a,mu,sem,mu,sem,ap	a+mu+sem+mu+sem+ap		529	3093 23 0 23 0 22		HEAD _CAUGATIVE ? CAUGATIVE ? INSTRUMENT

Fig. 7 Screenshot of TuLeD's Concepts environment showing the some of the words for the concept $\ensuremath{\mathsf{COMB}}$

Language	Concept	Phonetic form	Cognate class
Satere-Mawé	tapir	wewato	0
Avá-Canoeiro	tapir	tapir	1
Tupinambá	tapir	tapi?ir	1
Sirionó	tapir	eãk ^w ãtoj	2
Chiriguano	tapir	mboréwi	3
Mbyá	tapir	mbore	3

Table 4 Fragment of a cognate class assignment from TuLeD

the same slot							
	1	2	3	4	5		
Suruí				t∫i	ron		
Guajajára			iwa	∫ig			
Emerillon		arata		$ ext{tsin}$			
Asuriní Xingu	amin		iwak				

 Table 5
 The word for 'cloud' in four TG languages. Corresponding elements of the compounds occupy the same slot

Datei au	swählen Keine Dateu	sgewählt	select remote file	<tuled> (195</tuled>	62 rows, 397 cone	•	Anambe	CLOUD+ (COGIDS: 3416	3417)						
Select D	oculects - Select Con	cepts - Sek	et Columns - 0		add oc	DOCULECTS Kayabi Arawete Guaja Emerillon_Teko	CLOUD CLOUD CLOUD CLOUD CLOUD	i D: 3416 i p a · · · i p a · · · i w a k ·							
tuled>	Showing 1 - 58 of 58 e	ntries STAR	CLOUD (%	k/397) →		Wayampi Zo_e	CLOUD								٥
ID	DOCULECT	CONCEPT	VALUE	FORM	TOKENS	Anambe Kamajura	CLOUD	i w a · · ·	- 11 - 1 - 15 - 1	0 -	COGID	COGIDS	MORPHEMES	NOTE	
937	Akuntsu	CLOUD	topka	topka	top	Asurini_do_Xingu Ava_Canoeiro	CLOUD	twaka twa-	1	0 0	487	3415	CLOUD		
225	Amondawa	CLOUD	iβaka	iβaka	+ B a l	Tupinamba Warazu_Pauserna	CLOUD			n	484	3416	CLOUD		
12611	Anambe	CLOUD	iwa-t/ī	iwa-tfi	t w a	Old_Guarani Omagua	CLOUD	1 🔛 1 🗌 1		0.0.	484	3416 3417	SKY . WHETE		
8616	Apiaka	CLOUD	ivag	ivag	t v a	Cocama_Cocamilla Monde	CLOUD	+ w +	- t - 1 -		484	3416	CLOUD		
10584	Arawete	CLOUD	ißä-tsi	iβā-tsi	I B A	Arua Satere_Mawe	CLOUD	- Bako	t 0 0 0 0 ·	0 0	484	3416 3417	SKY . WHETE		
19277	Arikem	CLOUD	esira	esira	05+	Aweti Parakana	CLOUD	+ w +		n -	486	3420	CLOUD		
3429	Arua	CLOUD	βakot / gati	ßakot	Bak	Asurini_do_Tocantir Surui_Aikewara	CLOUD	twa	 1 i r o	2 1	484	3416	CLOUD		
3430	Arua	CLOUD	βakot / gati	gati	gat	Tembe Guajajara	CLOUD	+ w a k u + w a		0 0	488	3419	CLOUD		
7099	Asurini_do_Tocantins	CLOUD	iwan	fwag	t w a	Apiaka Makurap	CLOUD	+ v = g -	- 0 0 0 0 0 1	0 0	484	3416 3417	SKY . Mer		
	Asurini_do_Xingu	CLOUD	aminiwaka	aminiwaka		Parintintin Amondawa	CLOUD	1 B a k a 1 B a k a	0000	00	490	18 3416	CLOUD		
	Ava Canceiro	CLOUD	iwa-tin	iwa-tin		Tenharim Urueuwauwau	CLOUD	1 0 a k a 1 0 a k a	- 0 0 0 0	0 0	484		SKY . wer		
	Aweti	CLOUD	iwi-tin	iwi-tin				CLOSE			484		SKY		
	Chiriguano	CLOUD	āma	āma							490	3418	CLOUD		
	Cocama Cocamila	CLOUD	iwi-tini	iwi-tini			w t -				484		SKY		
										11.15					
	Emerillon_Teko	CLOUD	arata-tsirj	arata-tsiŋ			a r =		s 1) -		485	3419 3417			
	Gaviao_lkoloehj	CLOUD	βakoraa	βakoraa	ßako			akora:			486	3420	CLOUD		
10941	Guaja	CLOUD	hwak-ü	iwak-G	iwak	0 1	wak		û		484	3416 3421	SKY . WHETE		

Fig. 8 Screenshot of EDICTOR's GUI available online at http://lingulist.de/edictor/

Guajajara, and Emerillon are cognates, etc. Assigning numerical slots to each element of a compound (from left to right in Table 5) gives 245 (Suruí), 34 (Guajajara), 24 (Emerillon) and 13 (Asuriní Xingu). We have temporarily assigned cognate sets based on one of the units (mostly the head) of the compound. Thus, Suruí and Guajajara can be considered cognates due to the presence of 4, Suruí and Emerillon due to 2 and 4, Guajajara and Asuriní Xingu due to 3. Asuriní Xingu, although cognate with Guajajara, cannot be considered a cognate with Suruí.

Partial cognates are being assigned to each concept at a slower pace. Cognates are assigned according to the number of elements in the compound, which are separated by a dash (–), while cognate classes are separated by a single whitespace character. This is illustrated in Table 5, showing the word for 'cloud' and its cognate classes in some of the languages:

The use of EDICTOR for automatic alignment is useful but requires expert knowledge. Besides offering an initial alignment that saves time, it also provides good visualization for manual alignment improvement and cognacy correction if necessary. Figure 8 illustrates the way data is displayed and handled by the EDICTOR.

6 Future challenges and outlook

This paper introduced the pre-release version of the lexical database exclusively dedicated to a South American language family. TuLeD has already proven its utility in the field of historical linguistics supporting a novel classification of Tupí-Guaraní languages (Ferraz Gerardi and Reichert 2021) based on a subset of the data. The results suggest promising new venues to apply the database, e.g. to provide the much needed data for further research.

Data expansion, specifically the addition of fauna and flora items, goes hand in hand with the refinement of simple cognacy and the assignment of partial cognacy, and requires correction (mainly the unification of the transcription across the sources) on a constant basis. The case of Tupían languages illustrates the need to combine the expertise of the researchers based on insights from multiple disciplines with the evolving computational approaches called for in Wu et al. (2020).

TuLeD is the first available part of TuLaR (Tupían Language Resources), which will include syntactical and typological data. We also plan to expand TuLeD without losing sight of the possibility of integrating it with still evolving (computational) tools.

TuLeD is a project that is being constantly updated and expanded. We expect it to become a benchmark for work on the Tupían family. Meanwhile we face several challenges of varying difficulty, ranging from data correction and improvement of simple and partial cognacy assignment to the inclusion of other relevant features and linking the entries to relevant online databases as described above.

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A list of semantic fields and concepts

Agriculture and vegetation:

açaí palm, anatto, bamboo, branch, bush, cará root, cocoa, corn, flower, genipa, grass, leaf, manioc, papaya, peach palm, peanut, root, seed, shell/bark, thorn, timbo liana, tobacco, tree, tucuma palm.

Animals:

anaconda, ant, anteater, armadillo, bat, bird, butterfly, capuchinmonkey, capybara, chameleon, cicada, coati, cockroach, crab, cricket (zool), curassow, deer, electriceel, firefly / glowworm,,fish, flea / chigger, fly (n), frog, gnat/pium, guan/jacu, hawk, hedgehog, hen/chicken, howlermonkey, hummingbird, jacaré/caiman/crocodile, jaguar, kingfisher, largeant (tocandira), large mandi fish, lizard, louse, macaco preto, macaw, monkey, mosquito, opossum, owl, paca, pacufish, parrot, peccary (collared), peccary (white-lipped). piranha, rat, scorpion, sloth, snail, snake, spider, squirrel, stingray, surubim fish, tapir, tayra, termite, tick, tinamou, toucan, trahirafish, turtle, vulture, wasp, wildcat, wilddog, woodpecker, worm, bee, dog, nest.

Basic actions and technology:

basket, break, cut, do/make, draw/paint, dry, hit, knife, pierce, rope, sweep, tie, untie, wash.

Body:

arm, back, bathe, beard, belly, bite, blood, bone, breast, breathe, bury, claw, defecate, die, ear, eye, face, feather, finger, foot, hand, hair, head, heal, heart, horn, kill, knee, leg, liver, liver, medicine, moustache, mouth, nail/claw, neck, nose, penis, saliva, sick/ill, skin, sleep, snore, stand, stomach, strong, tail, testicles, throat, tired, tongue, tooth, urinate, vein, vomit, wing, wing (2).

Clothing and grooming:

comb, cotton, dress up.

Cognition:

because, feel, know, learn, teach, think1

Emotions and values:

be wrong, cry, fear/be afraid, good//well, happy, laugh, pain/hurt, play, play (2) (cause to jump), sad(ness), scare, ugly, want.

Food and drink:

banana, beans, Brazil nut, cashew, drink (v), eat, egg, fat/grease, flesh/meat, flour, food, fruit, pepper, pineapple, porridge, pumpkin, raw, ripe, salt, suck, sweet potato.

Kinship:

boy, brother, father, girl, grand father, husband, man, mother, mother-in-law (of men), mother-in-law (of women), person/human being/someone, sister, son, uncle (MoBr), we (excl), we (incl), wife, woman, you (sg).

Miscellaneous function words:

here, not, other/some, same, that, this, what, who.

Motion:

arrive, blow, canoe, come, motion, enter, fall, fly, go, go up, move, path/way, return/come back, run, send, swim, walk.

Physical world:

ash, burn (intr), burn (tr), cloud, earth/land, fire, firewood, lake, moon, mountain, mould, rain, river, sand, sky, smoke, star, stone, sun, thunder, water, wind.

Quantity:

all/every, four, full, many, more, one, part, three, two.

Sense and perception:

black, blue, cold, dirty, dry (state), green, hear/listen, heavy, hot, look at, red, see, sharpen, sour/acid, sweet, wet, white, yellow.

Speech and language:

name, say, speak, tell/narrate, word.

Spatial relations:

above, after, before, big, far, flat, gather, grow, hide, hole, inside, lay down, near, put, round, side, sit, small, thick, under.

Time:

day, new, night, now, old, terminate/finish, tomorrow.

Warfare and hunting:

arrow, axe, bow, hunt.

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