THE PRONOUN SYSTEMS OF SOME JE AND MACRO-JE LANGUAGES

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0. INTRODUCTION

In this paper the pronoun systems of the following Jê and Macro-Jê languages from Brazil are described and compared:
Kaingáng, Jê, spoken in Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul (data by Ursula Wiesemann),
Xokléng, Jê, spoken in Santa Catarina, closely related to Kaingáng (data by Paul Mullen and U. Wiesemann),
Xerente, Jê, spoken in Goias (data by Rinaldo de Mattos)
Kayapó, Jê, spoken in Goias (data by Mickey Stout),
Karajá, Macro-Jê, spoken on the Ilha do Bananal, Goias (data by David Fortune),
Rikbaktsa, Macro-Jê, spoken in Mato Grosso (data by Joan Boswood).

The pronoun systems will be described as to Person-Number-Gender distinctions, as to sets in relation to grammatical function and in combination with aspect-intensity-directional morphemes, as to possessives, emphatics, coreference relations and generic meanings, as to demonstratives, and finally as to interogatives that form part of the pronoun systems.

Whenever a language is not mentioned in a section there is no data available on it with respect to the question being discussed.

1. PERSON-NUMBER-GENDER

All the languages included in this study distinguish between first, second, and third persons. In addition Kayapó has a category that links first and second person in an inclusive form.

Gender is marked in various ways. Xerente and Kayapó do not distinguish it at all, but they have a human-non-human distinction in third person instead. Xerente also has a honorific form in third person. Kaingáng and Xokléng distinguish between masculine (unmarked) and feminine (marked) in third person, Kaingáng in both singular and plural, Xokléng in singular only. Rikbaktsa expresses the distinction in all the persons in both singular and plural form--first plural and second singular have the same form each for masculine and feminine, but that seems of little significance in light of the whole system. So the masculine-feminine difference is marked both from the speaker perspective (first person) and in relation to the addressee (second person) and the person spoken about (third person). Karajá does not distinguish gender in terms of addressee or person spoken about, but it does in terms of the speaker on a much wider scale than Rikbaktsa. Women's speech is different from men's speech. Women's speech contains many /k/s that are dropped in men's speech, there are also other phonological changes (see Fortune, 1975).

Number is also marked differently in the languages compared. All have singular and plural verbs: singular verbs mark one action (usually the action of one agent for the intransitive, or on one patient for the transitive verbs), plural marks several actions (by one agent for intransitive, on several patients for transitive verbs). In addition, Xerente has some verbs that distinguish one action from two or a few actions from many actions, such as:

(1) watobra 'coming out once'
    pu   'coming out a few times'
    waire   'coming out many times'

(2) kmãdãkã 'seeing (non-plural action, generic action)'
    kmãnõpre 'seeing many times, or many things individually'

(3) nõtõ   'sleeping (not differentiated as to plurality)'

In the pronoun forms all languages distinguish between singular and plural. Xerente has a free form indicating plural. Kayapó has dual as well as plural forms, or, more precisely, forms that indicate a small group of people or things (dual) in contrast to a large group. These number distinctions are indicated by separate morphemes added to the pronouns (or nouns). In Karajá the plural is indicated at the end of a verbal construction by a morpheme cross-indexed to the verb as to Person-Tense-Direction (see Section 2.5).

The free subject forms will now be listed for the languages compared, showing the Person-Number-Gender distinctions discussed.

Table I

Kaingáng (unique set)

	s	p
1	inh	ẽg
2	ã	ãjag
3m	ti	ag
3f	fi	fag

Xokléng (nominative set)

	s	p
1	nũ	nã
2	mã	mã mẽ
3m	ta	óg
3f	di	óg

Xerente (emphatic set)

	s	p
1	wa	wa ñorĩ
2	ka	ka ñorĩ
3	ta	ta ñorĩ

Kayapó (nominative set)

	s	few	p
1	ba	bar	mẽ ba
2	gạ	gar	mẽ ga
3	Ø	ra	mẽ
1+2	gu	gwaj	gu mẽ

Karajá (emphatic set)

	s	p
1m	jiarỹ	jiarỹ boho
1f	jikarỹ	jikarỹ boho
2m	kai	kai boho
2f	kai	kai boho
3m	tii	tii boho
3f	tiki	tiki boho

Rikbaktsa (emphatic set)

	s	p
1m	uta	katsa
1f	ikiza	katsa
2m	ikia	ikiahatsa
2f	ikia	ikiahaka
3m	ta	kytsa
3f	tatsa	kykyry

2. SETS ACCORDING TO GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION[2] AND ASPECT-INTENSITY-DIRECTION COMBINATIONS

All the languages considered have SOV order, but they differ in the way they group together the basic nominal functions as far

as morphological markings are concerned. The nominal functions considered in this section are:

transitive subject -- A
intransitive subject -- S
direct object -- O
indirect object -- IO

circumstances -- CIR (under this heading are grouped many functions such as time, location, direction, beneficiary, instrument, etc.) possessor -- POS (see also Section 3)

2.1 Kaingáng

In Kaingáng there is only one set of pronouns for all functions, but there are additional postpositions to mark some of them; they are also marked by their position relative to the verb. A + S in nominative[3] clauses are obligatory; they are optionally marked by a series of nominative postpositions such as:

    tóg   'subject as agent'
    vỹ, nỹ   'subject as topic'
    jé   'subject intends to do the action' (for a complete
             list see Wiesemann, 1972);

A   in explanatory and subordinate clauses (both ergative) is followed by the ergative marker tỹ. This marker is also used for instrument and to mark preposed O for emphasis; it is also obligatory in equational clauses. The order of the elements in ergative clauses is: Ergative Circumstance Object Verb

S   is normally marked absolutive in ergative clauses, but whenever there is a CIR preposed to the verb S also is followed by the ergative tỹ, inasmuch as there is a complement present in the clause; the ergative is optional in these clauses: Ergative Circumstance Verb.

O   immediately precedes the verb in all clauses. Apart from its position it is marked by absense of morphological indication (absolutive marking). It is obligatory except for a deletion rule which operates when O is topic (of a sentence, by fronting and adding the postposition tỹ, of a paragraph or a whole text, in which case it is stated in the opening sentence only).

POS   is marked by the same unique set of pronouns; it immediately precedes the possessed item. There is no postposition for POS;

IO + CIR   are marked by circumstance postpositions which follow the unique set of pronouns (or nouns)--it does not appear that there is any structural difference between IO and CIR.

Some examples, Kaingáng:
 (4) ti jé   gãr kó
     3ms int. corn eat -- 'let him eat corn' (nominative)

 (5) ti jé-n   kó
     3ms int.-3ms eat --'let him eat it' (-n is a
     variant of ti '3ms')

(6) ti jé   tĩg
    3ms int. go -- 'let him go' (nominative)

(7) ti tỹ gãr ko vẽ
    3ms by-3ms eat is -- 'he is eating it' (ergative, explanatory)

(8) ti tỹ-n   ko vẽ
    3ms by-3ms eat is -- 'he is eating it' (ergative)

(9) ti tĩg vẽ
    3ms go is -- 'he is going' (ergative: S absolutive)

(10) ti tỹ ra tĩg vẽ
     3ms by to go is -- 'he is going there' (ergative: S ergative)

(11) ti ĩn   vẽ
     3ms house is -- 'it is in his house' (POS)

(12) ti tỹ fi mỹ gãr nĩm vẽ
     3ms by 3fs to corn give is -- 'he is giving her corn' (IO;
                                                  ergative)

(13) ti tỹ fi to tĩg vẽ
     3ms by 3fs to go is -- 'he is going to her' (CIR; ergative)

2.2 Xoklẽng

In Xoklẽng there is a special nominative set for A and S,
another set for all other functions. O immediately precedes the
verb and is not marked morphologically, CIR is marked by
postpositions. The ergative set is the same as in Kaingáng, marked
by _tŭ_ 'by'.

Table II Xoklẽng

| | nominative | | non-nominative | |
	s	p	s	p
1	nũ	nã	e ~ ẽnh	ag ~ ãg
2	mã	mã mẽ	a ~ ã	mẽ a ~ mẽ ã
3m	ta ~ tã	óg ~ õg	ti	óg ~ õg
3f	ɖi	óg ~ õg	ɖi	óg ~ õg

Taking into consideration the regular sound correspondences
between Kaingáng and Xoklẽng (Wiesemann, 1978) some of the Xoklẽng
forms look like a fusion between Kaingáng pronouns and the nominal
postpositions (except for 2p which looks similar to the plural
forms in Kavapó using the morpheme _mẽ_ 'also'). On the other hand,
Xoklẽng has many non-fused forms that occur fused in Kaingáng,
particularly in the question formations. Kaingáng has a tendency
to reduce the pronoun forms and fuse them with preceding elements.
Nevertheless, some possible correspondences between Kaingáng and
Xoklẽng are:

Table III

<u>Kaingáng</u>   <u>Xokléng</u>
inh + nỹ ⟶ nhỹ '1s topic'   nṳ '1s nominative'
ẽg + nỹ ⟶ ẽg nỹ '1p topic'   nã '1p nominative'
ã + mỹ ⟶ ã mỹ '2s question'   mã '2s nominative'

The <u>ta</u> form seems to be a free variant of <u>tóg</u> in some Kaingáng dialects, both meaning '3ms agent'.

The Xokléng forms <u>di</u> '3fs' and <u>óg</u> '3p' are simple pronouns without any fusions.

2.3 <u>Xerente</u>

In Xerente there is a nominative pronoun set for A and S in indicative clauses, different from the pronoun set for S in all intransitive clauses. The nominative set is not affixed to the verb but forms a unit with the aspect-intensity morphemes as described below. The S set is prefixed to the verb and is similar but not identical with other prefix sets, namely O (prefixed to the verb), IO (prefixed to the postposition; this set also has a special fused set which is not found with other postpositions and is therefore different from CIR) and CIR (prefixed to the CIR-postpositions). The prefixed sets will be called absolutive, with several subdivisions. There is also an ergative set used for A only in all ergative clauses (defined in Xerente as imperative, negative and subordinated) and in all habitual clauses (nominative or ergative) see Mattos, Forthcoming. The whole range of sets is as follows:

Table IV   Xerente

		nominative A + S	ergative A	absolutive S	O	POS	IO, CIR	IO (fused)
1s		wa-	ĩt	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩm
2s honorific		te-, bã-	at	a- -ñi	a-	a-	a-	am
2s non-honorific				ai-	ai-	ai-	ai-	aim
3s human hon.		te, mã-, nã-, Ø	dat	ta- -nĩ	da-	da-	da-	dam
3s human non-hon.			tê	ti--t--Ø	Ø	ã-	ã-	tmã
3s non-human						rom-		
3s generic						ĩ-	ĩ-	
1p		wa-	wat	wa- -nĩ	wa-	wa-	wa-, Ø	wam
2p		te-, bã-	Ø	ai- -kwa	ai- -kwa	ai- -kwa	ai- -kba	aim -kwa
3p		te, mã-, nã-, Ø	tê	ti--t--Ø	Ø	Ø	ai-	tmã

The A + S nominative forms combine with the aspect-intensity markers into several sets. There are several forms listed in this set which have not yet been explained. It appears that there may be a difference as to the degree of certainty with which the action has been or will be performed by the agent, giving a set of realis and irrealis forms. The realis forms are subdivided in the third person as to whether the action was witnessed by the narrator or deduced from evidence; a third realis form is neutral as to this difference. There is only one first person form for both irrealis and realis.

Table V   Xerente

A + S	irrealis	realis neutral	deduced	witnessed
1	wa-	wa-	wa-	wa-
2	te-	bâ-	bâ-	bâ-
3	Ø	te	nã-	mã-

These pronoun forms combine with the following aspect morphemes:

Table VI

-t	'action has begun'
-nã	'action precedes another action (?)'
-za	'action will begin'

There is also an intensity particle -tô which combines with these three aspect morphemes:

-t + -tô ⟶ -tô   'action has truly begun'
-za + -tô ⟶ -zatô 'action will truly begin'
-tô + -za ⟶ -tôza 'action will begin very shortly'

-t combines with the irrealis set to indicate present actions, with the realis set to indicate past action. -nã combines with realis pronouns only and indicates past actions. -za combines with the irrealis set to indicate simple future, with the realis set to indicate immediate future. -zatô combines with the irrealis set to make a strong assertion about the expectancy of the future action. -tôza combines with the realis set to indicate very immediate future. te '3 realis neutral' is the only form that occurs without any of the above and indicates an action in progress. The following combinations have been found:

Table VII Xerente

	-t	-nã	-za	-tô	-zatô	-tôza
1 wa-	x	x	x	x	x	x
2 te-	x		x	x	x	
bâ-	x	x		x		x
∅	x		x		x	
3 te	x		x	x	x	
nã-	x			x		x
mã-	x	x	x	x		x

Sometimes a pronoun-aspect combination is entirely lacking in a construction in which it otherwise would be expected. This may only happen in a text. The meaning is the same as when te '3 realis neutral' occurs without any aspect morpheme: it denotes an action in process, without a beginning or end point in focus.

The pronouns as listed in Table V work together in the various clause types. In non-habitual nominative clauses the nominatives precede the prefixed verb, transitive or intransitive. The transitive verb is prefixed by the O absolutive pronoun; the intransitive verb by the S absolutive pronoun with obligatory coreference with the nominative marker. Turning to the habitual nominative clauses, the intransitives differ from the non-habituals only in the addition of the habitual affix to the verb. Transitive habitual nominatives, on the other hand, add an ergative between the nominative and the O-prefixed verb, coreferent with the nominative. In other words, a habitual nominative always has a repeat of subject, nominative-absolutive for the intransitives, nominative-ergative for the transitives.

The ergative clauses do not contain a nominative. In the transitive ergatives the subject is indicated by an ergative, in the intransitives it is indicated by an S absolutive.

There is also a difference in the verb forms that parallels the occurrence of the ergatives. There are two verb forms in Xerente, a "short" form and a "long" form. The "short" form occurs in non-habitual nominatives only, the "long" form in all other clause types when in non-final position. Both transitive and intransitive verbs have such "short" and "long" forms.

Examples, Xerente:

(14) nom non-HAB   tra   wa-za   ai-kmãdâkâ
                          1s-FUT 2s-see   'I'll see you'

(15)   intr   wa-za   ĩ- mõrĩ
                          1s-FUT 1s hab-see 'I'll go'

(16) nom HAB   tra   wa-za   ĩt kr-kmãdâkã
                          1s-FUT 1s hab-1s-go   'I'll always go'

(17)   intr   wa-za   kr- ĩ- nẽ
                          1s-FUT hab-1s-go   'I'll always go'

(18) NEG non-HAB   tra   ĩt km̃adkâ-kõdi
                            1s see-   not   'I don't see it'

(19)   intr   ĩ- mõr-kõdi
                            1s-go- not   'I don't go'

(20) NEG HAB   tra   ĩt kr- km̃adkâ-mnõ-kõdi
                            1s-hab-see-   hab-not
                            'I don't ever see it'

(21)   intr   kr- ĩ- nẽm-mnõ-kõdi
                            hab-1s-go- hab-not   'I don't ever go'

(22) erg non-HAB   tra   wa-za ĩ- mõrĩ / ĩt km̃adkâ-da
                            1s-FUT 1s-go / 1s see-   to
                            'I'll go to see'

(23)   intr   "   ĩ- ntõ- da
                                              1s-sleep-to
                            'I'll go to sleep'

(24) erg HAB   tra   "   ĩt kr- km̃adkâ-mnõ-da
                                              1s hab-see-   hab-to
                            'I'll go in order to always see it'

(25)   intr   "   kr- ĩ- ntõ- mnõ-da
                                              hab-1s-sleep-hab-to
                            'I'll go in order to always sleep'

2.4 Kayapó

In Kayapó there is a nominaitve set for A + S which is used in
all nominative clauses. In Kayapó, these exclude the negative and
purpose clauses but include the imperative and other subordinated
clauses. There is also an ergative set for A only used in ergative
(negative and purpose) clauses. All the other functions are
covered by one further set, loosely termed absolutive, as it is the
same for S, O, IO, CIR and POS. This is a prefix set. The sets
are as follows:

Table VIII Kayapó

	nominative			ergative		
	s	few	p	s	few	p
1	ba	bar	mẽ ba	ije	ar ije	mẽ ije
2	ga	gar	mẽ ga	aje	ar aje	mẽ aje
3	Ø	ar	mẽ	kute	ar kute	mẽ kute
1+2	gu	gwaj	gu mẽ	gu baje	gwaj baje	mẽ baje

absolutive

	s	few	p
1	i-	ar i-	mẽ i-
2	a-	ar a-	mẽ a-
3	Ø	ar	mẽ
1+2	(gu) ba-	gwaj ba-	(gu) mẽ ba-

The absolutive third person forms need special discussion. In all but O function the form is simply Ø, the dual and plural forms are marked for number. O in transitive verbs is more complex. There are two kinds of transitive verbs, those with one form only, and those with two sets of forms. The first group is quite small. The second group has one form for specifically stated objects, and another form where the object is not specifically stated. It seems almost like an anti-passive. These forms are not true intransitives, however, and are used anaphorically when the object has already been stated. They still have all the syntactic characteristics of a transitive verb, i.e. they occur with the ergative in non-indicative clauses. Phonologically there are four different kinds of verbs with two forms, the j-, nh-, pu-, and ku- verbs. These last ones actually have a different anti-passive paradigm according to the subject of the verb. Examples from Kayapó:

(26) verbs with one form only: kupu   'wrap'

(27) j-verbs: are   'tell!'
                       bày jare   'tell about corn!'

(28) nh- verbs: ipêx   'make!'
                       kikre nhipêx 'make a house!'

(29) pu- verbs: omũ   'see!'
                       ipumũ   'see me!'

(30) ku- verbs: krẽ   'eat!'

                       bày krẽ
                       corn eat   'eat corn!'

                       ba kukrẽ
                       1s 1,3S-3O-eat 'I eat'

                       kukrẽ   'he eats' (only used in context)

                       ga akrẽ
                       2 2S-3O-eat 'you eat'

In transitive nominative clauses the nominative has the function of A and the absolutive the function of O, both are obligatory. In intransitive nominative clauses the nominative is optional in the first, second and third persons, but almost obligatory (can be deleted in sloppy speech) in 1+2 person--as indicated by (gu) in Table VIII; the absolutive in S function is obligatory and coreferent with the nominative. In the ergative clauses an optional nominative may occur, in transitive clauses with the ergative and coreferent with it, the absolutive occurs in O function.

The verbs also have a "short" and a "long" form in Kayapó, the "long" form occurs in ergative clauses, those clauses that have an obligatory ergative with transitive verbs. Some examples from Kayapó:

(31) nom   tra ga ar i-pumũ
                  2s few 1-see
                                        'you see us few'

(32) nom   intr   ba i- prõt
                         1s 1s-run   'I run'

(33) erg   tra   ga aje ar i-pumũnh kêt   'you don't see
                         2s 2s few 1-see   not   us few'

(34) erg   intr   ba i- prõt kêt
                         1s 1s-run not   'I don't run'

   (prõt has only one form, there is no difference between "long"
and "short")

2.5 Karajá

   In Karajá there is complete fusion of the following
categories: A, O, Aspect and Direction. Along the parameter of
direction, there are two inflexions, one indicates that the action
is moving towards a reference point in space, called ingressive;
the other indicates that it moves away from its reference point,
called egressive. Only two aspects are distinguished in the fused
pronouns, action contemplated and action begun. This fusion gives
four sets of pronouns each for transitive and intransitive verbs
(see Fortune, 1973).   Table   IX shows the forms, letters in
parenthesis are mainly used by women but occasionally occur in
men's speech.

Table IX Karajá

Action Contemplated

| A+S \ O | transitives | | | | | | intransitives | | Verb stem |
| | egressive | | | ingressive | | | egres-sive | ingres-sive | |
	1	2	3	1	2	3			
1	(k)arexi	ara	(k)ari	(k)edixi	ana	(k)idi	(k)Vr- (k)ara-	(k)Vd- (k)ada-	Vstem Cstem
2	biwa	bexi	bi	bidiwa	adexi	bidi	b- ba-	bVd- bada-	Vstem Cstem
3	riwa	ara	ri rexi	diwa	ana	di dexi	r- ra-	d- da-	Vstem Cstem

Action Begun

A+S	egr 1	egr 2	egr 3	ingr 1	ingr 2	ingr 3	egressive	ingressive	Verb stem
1	rexi	ara	re	adexi	ana	de	r- ra-	d- da-	Vstem Cstem
2	d'ewa	d'exi	d'e	d'adiwa	d'adexi	d'adi	d'- d'a-	d'Vd- d'ada-	Vstem Cstem
3	riwa	ara	ri rexi	diwa	ana	di dexi	r- ra-	d- da-	Vstem Cstem

   The forms ending in -exi are reflexives and will be discussed
in sectión 5.1. There are two entries in the transitive sets where
both A and O are third person: the second form is reflexive, the
other refers to two different entities. In the intransitive sets

there are two forms each: the first occurs before consonant initial stems. /b/ and /d/ before nasalized vowels are nasalized and are pronounced [m] and [n] respectively. V in the intransitive forms indicates a reduplication of the stem vowel.

The first and third person the A-O and S forms show great similarity; some forms being identical. In the third person the difference between action contemplated and action begun is neutralized.

The prefixed verb is optionally followed by the plural indicator -eny. This plural indicator is cross-referenced to the person-aspect-direction prefix of the verb. In this cross-referencing the difference between first and third person is completely neutralized. In the first and third person categories there is a further neutralization of the contrast between future/non-future. In the second person categories there is a neutralization of the egressive/ingressive contrast. This reduces the prefix set to four cross-referencing morphemes:

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r-  '1/3 action contemplated/begun  egressive'
d-  '1/3 action contemplated/begun  ingressive'
b-  '2   action contemplated        egressive/ingressive'
d'- '2   action begun               egressive/ingressive'
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The plural morpheme is followed by a tense morpheme. There are five tense morphemes; three of these also carry a person-tense-direction cross-reference morpheme. These are the tense morphemes:

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-e    'remote past'
-a    'recent past'
-eri  'present'
kre   'future'
ke    'imperative'
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The future and imperative morphemes are not cross-referenced. The past and present morphemes agree with the 'action begun' prefixes, the future and imperative ones with the 'action contemplated' forms.

The set of prefixed plural and tense indicators is as follows:

Table X Karajá

person aspect direction	1/3 cont/begun egressive	1/3 cont/begun ingressive	2 contempl. egr/ingr	2 begun egr/ingr
plural	reny	deny	beny	d'eny
remote past	re	de	be	d'e
recent past	ra	da	ba	d'a
present	reri	deri	beri	d'eri

Some examples from Karajá:

(35) tra   d'adiwa-hed'eny-deny-de
         2S/10- hit-   p- remote past 'you came to hit us'

(36) intr kõr-õhõk- kre
          leg-bathe-FUT   'I will go to bathe' (woman speaker)

There is a separate set of pronouns for possessives which will
be discussed in section 3.

2.6 Summary

In summary the systems discussed will be compared. The
Macro-Jê language Maxakali (Popovich, this volume) will also be
added to the comparison.

The Jê languages--Kaingáng, Xokléng, Xerente and Kayapó--all
seem to distinguish between a nominative, an ergative, and an
absolutive set--the last one is used for other functions beside S
and O. None of them have an accusative distinct from the
absolutive. In Xerente and Kayapó the absolutive is a set of
prefixes, whereas nominatives and ergatives are separate words; in
Kaingáng these two sets are indicated by postpositions added to the
unique set of pronouns. In Xokléng the ergative marking is similar
to Kaingáng.

Ergatives and nominatives can be combined in the same clause
in Xerente and in Kayapó, though the combination restrictions
differ. In Kaingáng they never cooccur. In this language they are
sometimes used, however, in intransitive constructions and in that
case replace the absolutive to mark S.

The fact that ergative and nominative can cooccur in Xerente
and in Kayapó may in part explain why the distinction between these
two is no longer found in the Macro-jê languages Karajá (with its
complete fusion of forms) and Maxakali (with its completely
ergative system). The fact that ergative and nominative are in
some cases used redundantly to mark A or S would predispose the one
or other marking to be disposed of to reduce the redundancy.

In Xerente aspect and intensity morphemes are combined with
the nominatives. This is also the case in Kaingáng.   The
nominative indicator jê means 'subject intends to do the action,
future', such pairs of indicators as vỹ and nỹ 'subject as topic'
differ as to focus: vỹ is far more frequent than nỹ, and nỹ can be
used to contrast a subject marked by vỹ in two sentences.   nỹ is
also used in questions of the type ũ nỹ kãtĩ 'who is coming?'

The Macro-Jê languages considered--Karajá and Maxakali--
divide these functions somewhat differently. Karajá has complete
fusion of A and O (plus aspect and direction; the latter category
is also relevant in Kayapó and in Maxakali, though it functions
somewhat differently)--which looks like a fusion of nominative plus
accusative. S markers have also fused with aspect and direction
indicators. Possessives show similarity with the Jê absolutive
markers and are prefixed to the possessed item, just like in the Jê
languages. Maxakali, on the other hand, in the morphology does not
have any nominative category at all but divides the functions into
ergative and absolutive. The striking feature of the ergative is
that it is also used to mark IO--a category that is clearly
distinct from CIR only in Xerente among the Jê languages included
in this study.

This shows clearly that the important nominal functions in the
clause for Jê and Macro Jê are A, S, O, IO, POS and CIR--though the

last category may be too inclusive and needs further subdivisions. The way these categories are grouped differ in Macro-Jê.

These findings are summarized in Table XI.

Table XI

| | | Jê Languages | | | | Macro-Jê | |
		Kaingáng	Xokléng	Xerente	Kayapó	Karajá	Maxakalí
F O N C T I O N S	ergative	A	A	A	A	A+O	A+IO
	nominative	A+S (aspect) (focus)	A+S	A+S + aspect + inten.	A+S	S + aspect + direction	
	absolutive	S+O +IO+CIR +POS	S+O +IO+CIR +POS	S, O, IO+CIR, POS	S, O, IO+CIR +POS	POS	S+O +CIR +POS

A plus sign indicates that the functions are marked alike (in the Karajá column it means that they are fused); a comma indicates that the paradigms are not completely identical though very similar. Parentheses in the Kaingáng column indicate that the categories are semantically contained within the nominative indicator.

3. POSSESSIVES

Possessives have been mentioned in the previous section but will be discussed in more detail now. The order in all the languages is Possessor--Possessed Item. In the Jê languages the possessor is indicated by using an absolute form. Xerente has more third person categories in the POS set than in any of the other sets.

In Karajá a separate set is used for POS (compare the Xerente forms, Table IV):

Table XII Karajá

	before /d/	before /j/	before other C
1	wa-	wa-	wa-
2	deletion of /d/	deletion of /j/	a-
3	implosion of /d/	devoicing of /j/	i-
	/d/ ⟶ /d'/	/j/ ⟶ /tx/	
reflexive	d'a-	d'a-	d'a-

This set is used for all nouns in Karajá, for the obligatorily possessed ones as well as for the optionally possessed. A distinction between alienable versus non-alienable possession is marked in all the Jê languages. Kaingáng makes a further distinction: there is a third category of non-possessable items such as foods (this is in the process of changing now). gãr 'corn' falls into this category:

(37) ti tỹ gãr   but not   *ti gãr
      3ms by corn   3ms corn 'his corn'
      'the corn provided (planted) by him'

In <u>Kayapó</u> the alienable items in a sense are not possessed at all, but are in opposition to a possessed noun o̱ 'possession, thing'; examples form <u>Kayapó</u>:

(38) o̱ kikre   'his thing house'
      inhõ kikre 'my thing house'

(39) ḵra   'his head'
      ikra   'my head'

In the Jê languages there is a special form for a non-specified body part:

(40) Kaingáng   vẽnh krĩ   'someone's head, a head'

(41) Xoklẽng   vãnh krĩ   'someone's head, a head'

(42) Xerente   ĩ-krã   'someone's head'

(43) Kayapó   mẽ kra   'heads, some head'

All the languages have a possessive reflexive form indicating that the possessor is the same as the subject (nominative or ergative) of the clause. This is the meaning of the reflexive form listed for Karajá in Table XII. Reflexive possessives will be discussed further in section 5.1.

The languages studied have no set of what is called possessive pronoun in English, a form which substitutes for the whole possessive phrase, where <u>mine</u> stands for <u>my thing</u>. Instead they use an obligatorily possessed generic noun meaning 'possession, thing' with the appropriate possessor:

(44) Kaingang   ti tũ   'his thing'   isũ   'my thing'

(45) Xokleng   ti tũ   'his thing'

(46) Xerente   ã-tê   'his thing'   wa ĩ-tê 'my thing'

(47) Kayapo   õ   'his thing'   inhõ   'my thing'

(48) Karaja   i-hõro   'his thing'   wa-hõro 'my thing'

4. EMPHATICS

The nominative pronouns are also used to indicate emphasis of subject. In Kaingáng, Xoklẽng and Xerente the pronoun is followed by the emphasis indicator <u>hã</u> or <u>ha</u>, in Karajá by <u>-le</u> which follows the free pronouns listed in Table I. In Kaingáng an emphatic construction can be used in any but POS function; in the other languages this use seems to be restricted to subject function. In Xoklẽng and in Kayapó the emphatic construction contains a reduplication of the person indicator; in Xoklẽng the emphasis particle <u>ha</u> comes between the two person indicators, in Kayapó the same position is occupied by the particle <u>nẽ</u> 'and'. The forms in Xoklẽng and Kayapó will be listed here:

Table XIII

| | Xoklẽng | | Kayapó | |
	s	p	s	few
1	ẽnh ha nũ	ãg ha nã	ba nẽ ba	ar ba nẽ ba
2	ã ha mã	mẽ ã ha mã	ga nẽ ga	ar ga nẽ ga
3m	ẽ ha ta	ẽ ha óg	ta nẽ	ar ta nẽ
3f	ẽ ha di	ẽ ha óg		

The 1+2 inclusive form in Kayapó is not used emphatically, nor are the plural forms used this way, since they have more a generic meaning (see section 3).

The emphatic forms are in the same position in the clause as the nonemphatic forms; in English they are best translated by a cleft construction. Example from Kaingáng:

(49) ti hã   tóg   tĩ mũ
     3ms EMPH   agent go narrative   'it is he who is going'

5. COREFERENCE

We will distinguish between coreference relationships within the same clause and those across clause boundaries.

5.1 Coreference within the Same Clause

In Kaingáng, Xoklẽng and Karajá there is a distinction between reciprocal, reflexive, and possessive forms; in Xerente the same form is used in all functions; Kayapó has one form for reflexive and POS reflexive.

Table XIV

	reciprocal	reflexive	POS reflexive	person
Kaingáng	jagnẽ	vẽnh	ã (s) ãjag (p)	3 only
Xoklẽng	jag (vãnhó)	yãnh	ẽ	3 only
Xerente	i-si	i-si	si	3 only
Kayapó	aben	ami	ami	any person
Karajá	wii	-exi	d'a-	3 only, except for reflexive

Reciprocals and reflexives are used in O function; in Kaingáng reciprocal can also be used in POS function. Some Kaingáng examples:

(50) jagnẽ   ven   ag   tóg
     RECIP   show 3mp agent   'they show each other (to someone)'

(51) vẽnh   ven   tóg
     REFL. show 3ms-agent   'he shows himself'

(52) jagnẽ   tũ   vóg   ag   tóg
     RECIP   thing touch 3mp agent   'they take each other's things'

In Karajá wii 'reciprocal' also means 'a pair' and does not belong to the pronoun system proper, it rather looks like the

special use of a noun. The Karajá reflexive forms, on the other
hand, are part of the fused pronoun sets as shown in Table IX
section 2.5. Some <u>Karajá</u> examples:

(53) wii ri-hed'eny-re
     pair 3- hit-   remote past   'they hit each other'

(54) rexi- hed'eny-re
     REFL.-hit-   remote past   'he hit himself'

     The POS reflexive in Xerente is used not only to show that the
possessor is coreferent with the subject, but also that there is
coreference between subject and CIR.   In Kaingáng <u>vẽnh</u> is used for
this. Examples from <u>Xerente</u>:

(55) ta-hã   za s-   rõwa ku mõ
     3s-emph FUT REFL-house to go   'he will go home'

(56) ta-hã   nã-t   knĩ   si- mã kmãnã
     3s-emph 3- past lance REFL-for make
     'he made a lance for himself'

Examples from <u>Kaingáng</u>:

(57) ã   ĩn   ra tóg   tĩ mũ
     REFL house to 3ms-agent go narrative 'he is going home'

(58) vẽnh mỹ tóg   sãpe han
     REFL for 3ms-agent hat make 'he made a hat for himself'

5.2 <u>Coreference across Clause Boundary</u>

     Kaingáng, Xokléng and Kayapó also mark coreference
relationships across clause boundary. In <u>Kaingáng</u> and <u>Xokléng</u> the
possessive reflexive form is used to indicate that the subject of
the subordinated clause is the same as that of the main clause
(with the appropriate ergative marking or in absolutive position).
When there is no coreference, the third person form is used. In
Kaingáng the transitive subject is marked with ergative case
subordinated clauses; the intransitive subject is marked in
absolutive case, just like the POS, so that the same construction
also serves as a nominalization. Some examples from <u>Kaingáng</u>:

(59)a. ti ĩn   b. ti jẽn
       3ms house 'his house'   3ms eat 'his eating, his food'

(60) ã   tĩg kỹ tóg   ã   kósin vég mũ
     REFL$_i$ go as 3ms-agent$_i$ REFL$_i$ child see narrative
     'as he$_i$ went he$_i$ saw his$_i$ child' (<u>tóg</u> 'agent' stands for
                                           *<u>ti tóg</u> '3ms agent')

(61) ti   tĩg kỹ tóg   ã   kósin vég mũ
     3ms$_j$ go as 3ms-agent$_i$ REFL$_i$ child see narrative
     'as he$_j$ went he$_i$ saw his$_i$ child'

(62) ã   tỹ ã   ĩn   ra tĩg kỹ   tóg   ã   kósin vég mũ
     REFL$_i$ erg REFL$_i$ house to go when 3ms-agt$_i$ REFL$_i$ child see nar
     'as he$_i$ went home he$_i$ saw his$_i$ child'

(63) ti   tỹ ā   ĩn   ra tĩg kỹ tóg   ā   kósin vég mũ
      3ms_j erg REFL_j house to go when 3ms-agt_i REFL_i child see nar
      'as he_j went home he_i saw his_i child'

This is a Switch Reference system with Same Subject as the marked member, in that it is marked by a special reflexive pronoun.

<u>Kayapó</u> also has a Switch Reference system which links two clauses not necessarily subordinate to each other in the same way as in Kaingáng. The conjunction <u>nẽ</u> 'and' links two clauses with the same subject; in that case the second subject is not repeated. <u>Nẽ</u> also is used when the subject of the second clause is different from the first but in first or second person. A different third person subject is marked by <u>nhỹm</u> which substitutes <u>nẽ</u>. <u>Nẽ</u> and <u>nhỹm</u> can also be combined with certain postpositions such as <u>nhỹm kam</u> 'and then, different 3 subject', <u>nẽ kam</u> 'and then, same subject or different 1 or 2 subject'. Some <u>Kayapó</u> examples:

(64) ba kuga nhỹm ku- krẽ
      1 bake 3DS 1/3-eat   'I baked it and he ate it'

(65) ba kuga nẽ ku- krẽ
      1 bake SS 1/3-eat   'I baked it and ate it'

(66) ba kuga (nẽ) ga a-krẽ
      1 bake   2 2-eat   'I baked it and you ate it'

In the last example <u>nẽ</u> is optional.

6. GENERIC PRONOUNS

Some of the languages have special forms to refer to 'people in general. In <u>Kaingáng</u> the first person plural form is used for all general statements; all the other forms are interpreted contrastively, particularly the singular pronouns. A statement such as 'God loves me' would be interpreted to mean that God loves only me and nobody else. In <u>Xerente</u> general statements are made by using <u>nõkwa</u> 'someone'. In <u>Karajá</u> the word <u>iny</u> 'people' is used.

In <u>Kaingáng</u> and in <u>Xokléng</u> the third person pronouns may follow a noun or a noun phrase to determine gender and number, expecially when talking about humans. Examples from <u>Kaingáng</u>:

(67) kanhgág (ti) 'a Kaingáng man' (masculine does not need to be
                                                      marked)
      kanhgág fi   'a Kaingáng woman'
      kanhgág ag   'Kaingáng men, a Kaingáng and his friends'
      kanhgág fag   'Kaingáng women, a Kaingáng family, a Kaingáng
                     and his family'

Kaingáng being a matrilocal society the family is identified by a man's name followed by the 3fp pronoun. Parents are called:

(68) ti mỹnh fag
      3ms mother 3fp 'his mothers' to mean father and mother.

A group is often identified by the leader's name, followed by the 3mp pronoun:

(69) Vẽnhkág ag   'Vẽnhkág and his group'

In <u>Xokléng</u> the third person pronouns are used just like in
Kaingáng. In this use a further category distinction has been
observed:

<u>tẽ</u> is used to identify a human being

<u>ti</u> is used to identify a masculine non-human; it is also used for
things, a kind of neuter.

7. DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstratives form part of the pronoun system. Each
language has a set of three, all restricted to third person: an
anaphoric form, and two basically exophoric forms, one meaning
'close to speaker' and another meaning 'away from speaker' (in
Kayapó it means 'close to hearer'). The forms are as follows:

Table XV

	anaphoric	close	far
Kaingáng	ẽn	tag	tã (followed by a CIR ind.)
Xokléng	ãn ta	tóg	
Xerente	ta (hã)	ka (hã)	ku (hã)
Kayapó	ta	jã	wã 'close to hearer'
Karajá	kia	kaa	kowa

Examples from <u>Kaingáng</u>:

(70) kanhgág ẽn (ti)   'the aforementioned Kaingáng'

(71) kanhgág tag fi   'this Kaingáng woman close by'

(72) kanhgág tỹ tag ki jẽ   ti
     Kaingáng by here in stand he 'the Kaingáng standing here'

(73) kanhgág tỹ tã-tá jẽ ti
     Kaingáng by there stand he   'the Kaingáng standing there'

The exophoric demonstratives meaning 'close to speaker' can also be
used cataphorically, as in <u>Kaingáng</u>:

(74) sỹ   ã mỹ tag tó- nh   ke vẽ, ha mẽ...
     1s-by 2s to this tell-int. FUT is, now listen
     'I'm going to tell you the following...'

8. INTERROGATIVES

There are at least three interrogative particles in each
language; these can enter into a number of interrogative
constructions. The three mean 'who?'--asking about a person,
'what?'--asking about a thing, and 'which?'--referring to places,
also used in giving choices.

Table XVI

	who?	what?	which?
Kaingáng	ũ	ne	hẽ
Xoklẽng	ũ	ne	hã
Xerente	nõkwa	mãrĩ	rmãhã
Kayapõ	nhỹm	mỳj	nhỹj 'egr.' / jỹm 'ingr.'
Karajá	mõbo	ãõbo	d'ibo
Rikbaktsa	aty	amo	hã-

In Kaingáng hẽ is used to ask about CIR as in hẽ tá 'where?'. In Kayapó there are four forms, two of which have to do with direction. nhỹj means 'from where?' (a meaning similar to the Karajá egressive) and jỹm means 'to where?' (like the Karajá ingressive). In Karajá the suffix -bo 'question' follows whatever is being questioned, be it person, thing or abstract. In Rikbaktsa a- enters into construction with -ty to mean 'who?', with -mo to mean 'what?' and with -my to mean 'which one?'. hã- enters into construction with such particles as -na to mean 'where?' and -wa to mean 'how?'. Some examples from Kaingáng:

(75) ũ nẽ?   'who is it?'

(76) ne nẽ?   'what is it?'

(77) ũ tỹ hẽ nỹ?   'which one is it?'

(78) ũ kósin nẽ?   'whose son is he?'

Some examples from Xoklẽng:

(79) ũ nũ vã?   'who is it?'

(80) ne nũ vã?   'what is it?'

(81) ũ ji nũ vã?   'whose son is it?'

Some examples from Kayapó:

(82) jỹm   nẽ ga tẽ?
     where   you go 'where to (it is) you go?'

(83) nhỹj nẽ ga tẽ?   'where from (it is) you come?'

(84) nhỹm nã   'who is it?'

(85) mỳj nã   'what is it?'

(86) mỳj ja'õ   'which of those?'

The interrogative pronouns are also used in relative clauses--with ergative marking in the Jê languages. Examples from Kaingáng:

(87) ũ   ti mũ ẽn
     who go nar that   'that one who is going'

(88) ũ   tỹ gãr ko mũ ẽn
     who erg corn eat nar that   'the one who is eating corn'

Footnotes

1. But see Kayapó anaphoric demonstrative _ta_ (section 7) also used
    in the emphatic set (section 4). See also Kaingáng _ta_ which
    seems to be a dialectical variant of _tóg_ '3ms subject as agent'
    (section 2.2).

2. See Seiler (1982) for an enlightening discussion on the
    relationship between S-O-POS in several North Amerindian
    languages.

3. In this paper the term nominative clause is used for
    constructions of the nominative-accusative type, ergative
    clause for those of the ergative-absolutive kind. Accusative
    and absolutive are identical in case marking.