

## 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: Kaingâng, Jê, spoken in Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul (data by Ursula Wiesemann), Xoklêng, Jê, spoken in Santa Catarina, closely related to Kaingâng (data by Paul Mullen and U. Wiesemann), Xerente, Jê, spoken in Goiás (data by Rinaldo de Mattos) Kayapó, Jê, spoken in Goiás (data by Mickey Stout), Karajá, Macro-Jê, spoken on the Ilha do Bananal, Goiás (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 interrogatives 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. Kaingâng and Xoklêng distinguish between masculine (unmarked) and feminine (marked) in third person. Kaingâng in both singular and plural, Xoklêng 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) kmādâkâ 'seeing (non-plural action, generic action)'  
 kmânôpre 'seeing many times, or many things individually'
- (3) nôtō '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	ēg
2	ã	ājag
3m	ti	ag
3f	fi	fag

Xerente (emphatic set)

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

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

Xoklêng (nominative set)

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

Kayapó (nominative set)

	s	few	p
1	ba	bar	mē ba
2	gã	gar	mē ga
3	∅	ra	mē
1+2	gu	gwaj	gu mē

Rikbaktsa (emphatic set)

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

## 2. SETS ACCORDING TO GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> 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 absence 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 gār 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 jê tīg  
3ms int. go -- 'let him go' (nominative)
- (7) ti tỹ gār ko vē  
3ms by-3ms eat is -- 'he is eating it' (ergative, explanatory)
- (8) ti tỹ-n ko vē  
3ms by-3ms eat is -- 'he is eating it' (ergative)
- (9) ti tīg vē  
3ms go is -- 'he is going' (ergative: S absolutive)
- (10) ti tỹ ra tīg vē  
3ms by to go is -- 'he is going there' (ergative: S ergative)
- (11) ti ĩn vē  
3ms house is -- 'it is in his house' (POS)
- (12) ti tỹ fi mỹ gār nĩm vē  
3ms by 3fs to corn give is -- 'he is giving her corn' (IO;  
ergative)
- (13) ti tỹ fi to tīg vē  
3ms by 3fs to go is -- 'he is going to her' (CIR; ergative)

## 2.2 Xoklêng

In Xoklêng 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 tũ 'by'.

Table II Xoklêng

	nominative		non-nominative	
	s	p	s	p
1	nũ	nã	e - ěnh	ag - āg
2	mã	mã mẽ	a - ă	mẽ a - mẽ ă
3m	ta - tã	óg - õg	ti	óg - õg
3f	ei	óg - õg	ei	óg - õg

Taking into consideration the regular sound correspondences between Kaingáng and Xoklêng (Wiesemann, 1978) some of the Xoklêng 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, Xoklêng 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 Xoklêng are:

Table III

<u>Kaingáng</u>	<u>Xokléng</u>
inh + n̄y → nh̄y '1s topic'	n̄u '1s nominative'
ēg + n̄y → ēg n̄y '1p topic'	n̄ā '1p nominative'
ā + m̄y → ā m̄y '2s question'	m̄ā '2s nominative'

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

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

### 2.3 Xerente

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 absolute, 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	absolutive O	POS	IO, CIR	IO (fused)
1s	wa-	ĩt	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩ-	ĩm
2s	te-, bā-	at	a- -ñi	a-	a-	a-	am
			ai-	ai-	ai-	ai-	aim
3s	te, mā-, nā-, ∅	dat	ta- -ñi	da-	da-	da-	dam
		tê	ti--t--∅	∅	ã-	ã-	tmā
					rom-	ĩ-	
1p	wa-	wat	wa- -ñi	wa-	wa-	wa-, ∅	wam
2p	te-, bā-	∅	ai- -kwa	ai- -kwa	ai- -kwa	ai- -kba	aim -kwa
3p	te, mā-, nā-, ∅	tê	ti--t--∅	∅	∅	ai-	tmā

honorific

non-honorific

human

non-hon.

non-human

generic

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	∅	te	nâ-	mâ-

These pronoun forms combine with the following aspect morphemes:

Table VI

-t	'action has begun'
-nâ	'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. -nâ 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	-nā	-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	
nā-	x			x		x
mā-	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-kmādākā  
1s-FUT 2s-see 'I'll see you'
- (15) intr wa-za ĩ- mōrĩ  
1s-FUT 1s hab-see 'I'll go'
- (16) nom HAB tra wa-za ĩt kr-kmādākā  
1s-FUT 1s hab-1s-go 'I'll always go'
- (17) intr wa-za kr- ĩ- nē  
1s-FUT hab-1s-go 'I'll always go'

- (18) NEG non-HAB tra ãt kmãdkã-kõdi  
1s see- not 'I don't see it'
- (19) intr ã- mör-kõdi  
1s-go- not 'I don't go'
- (20) NEG HAB tra ãt kr- kmãdkã-mnõ-kõdi  
1s-hab-see- hab-not  
'I don't ever see it'
- (21) intr kr- ã- nẽm-mnõ-kõdi  
hab-1s-go- hab-not 'I don't ever go'
- (22) erg non-HAB tra wa-za ã- mörĩ / ãt kmãdkã-da  
1s-FUT 1s-go / 1s see- to  
'I'll go to see'
- (23) intr " ã- ntõ- da  
1s-sleep-to  
'I'll go to sleep'
- (24) erg HAB tra " ãt kr- kmãdkã-mnõ-da  
1s hab-see- hab-to  
'I'll go in order to always see it'
- (25) intr " kr- ã- ntõ- mnõ-da  
hab-1s-sleep-hab-to  
'I'll go in order to always sleep'

#### 2.4 Kayapó

In Kayapó there is a nominative 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	∅	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	∅	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!'  
bây jare 'tell about corn!'
- (28) nh- verbs: ipêx 'make!'  
kikre nhípêx 'make a house!'
- (29) pu- verbs: omũ 'see!'  
ipumũ 'see me!'
- (30) ku- verbs: krē 'eat!'  
bây krē  
corn eat 'eat corn!'  
ba kukrē  
1s 1,3S-30-eat 'I eat'  
kukrē 'he eats' (only used in context)  
ga akrē  
2 2S-30-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 1-pumũ  
2s few 1-see 'you see us few'

(32)	nom	intr	ba i- prōt 1s 1s-run		'I run'
(33)	erg	tra	ga aje ar i-pumūnh kêt 2s 2s few 1-see not		'you don't see us few'
(34)	erg	intr	ba i- prōt kêt 1s 1s-run not		'I don't run'

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

## 2.5 Karajā

In Karajā 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 Karajā

### Action Contemplated

A+S	transitives						intransitives		Verb stem
	egressive			ingressive			egressive	ingressive	
0	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
<b>Action Begun</b>									
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 section 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:

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'

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:

-e 'remote past'  
 -a 'recent past'  
 -eri 'present'  
 kre 'future'  
 ke 'imperative'

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 kōr-ōhōk- 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, Xoklêng, 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 Xoklêng 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 je means 'subject intends to do the action, future', such pairs of indicators as v̄y and n̄y 'subject as topic' differ as to focus: v̄y is far more frequent than n̄y, and n̄y can be used to contrast a subject marked by v̄y in two sentences. n̄y is also used in questions of the type ū n̄y k̄ati '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

	Kaingáng	Jê Languages			Macro-Jê	
		Xoklêng	Xerente	Kayapó	Karajá	Maxakalí
ergative	A	A	A	A	A+O	A+IO
F O N C T I O N S	nominative (aspect)  (focus)	A+S	A+S	A+S	S	
				+ aspect  + inten.	+ aspect  + direction	
absolutive	S+O	S+O	S, O,	S, O,		S+O
	+IO+CIR  +POS	+IO+CIR  +POS	IO+CIR,  POS	IO+CIR  +POS	POS	+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/ /d/ → /d'/	devoicing of /j/ /j/ → /tx/	i-
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). gār 'corn' falls into this category:

- (37) ti t̄y gār but not \*ti gār  
 3ms by corn 3ms corn 'his corn'  
 'the corn provided (planted) by him'

In Kayapó the alienable items in a sense are not possessed at all, but are in opposition to a possessed noun ō 'possession, thing'; examples from Kayapó:

- (38) ō kikre 'his thing house'  
 inhō kikre 'my thing house'
- (39) kra 'his head'  
 ikra 'my head'

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

- (40) Kaingāng v̄nh krī 'someone's head, a head'  
 (41) Xoklêng v̄nh krī 'someone's head, a head'  
 (42) Xerente ī-krā 'someone's head'  
 (43) Kayapó mē 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 mine stands for my thing. Instead they use an obligatorily possessed generic noun meaning 'possession, thing' with the appropriate possessor:

- (44) Kaingang ti tū 'his thing' isū 'my thing'  
 (45) Xokleng ti tū 'his thing'  
 (46) Xerente ā-tê 'his thing' wa ī-tê 'my thing'  
 (47) Kayapo ō 'his thing' inhō 'my thing'  
 (48) Karaja i-hōro 'his thing' wa-hōro 'my thing'

#### 4. EMPHATICS

The nominative pronouns are also used to indicate emphasis of subject. In Kaingāng, Xoklêng and Xerente the pronoun is followed by the emphasis indicator hā or ha, in Karajá by -le which follows the free pronouns listed in Table I. In Kaingāng 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 Xoklêng and in Kayapó the emphatic construction contains a reduplication of the person indicator; in Xoklêng the emphasis particle hā comes between the two person indicators, in Kayapó the same position is occupied by the particle nē 'and'. The forms in Xoklêng and Kayapó will be listed here:

Table XIII

	Xoklêng		Kayapó	
	s	p	s	few
1	ēnh ha nū	āg ha nā	ba nē ba	ar ba nē ba
2	ā ha mā	mē ā ha mā	ga nē ga	ar ga nē ga
3m	ē ha ta	ē ha óg	ta nē	ar ta nē
3f	ē ha di	ē 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 hā tóg tī mū  
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, Xoklêng 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
<u>Kaingáng</u>	jagnē	vēnh	ā (s) ājag (p)	3 only
<u>Xoklêng</u>	jag (vānhó)	yānh	ē	3 only
<u>Xerente</u>	i-si	i-si	si	3 only
<u>Kayapó</u>	aben	ami	ami	any person
<u>Karajá</u>	wii	-exi	d'a-	3 only, except for reflexive

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

- (50) jagnē ven ag tóg  
RECIP show 3mp agent 'they show each other (to someone)'
- (51) vēnh ven tóg  
REFL. show 3ms-agent 'he shows himself'
- (52) jagnē tū 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 Karajá 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 vēnh is used for this. Examples from Xerente:

- (55) ta-hã za s- rōwa ku mō  
3s-emph FUT REFL-house to go 'he will go home'
- (56) ta-hã nã-t knĩ si- mā kmãnã  
3s-emph 3- past lance REFL-for make  
'he made a lance for himself'

Examples from Kaingáng:

- (57) ā ĩn ra tōg tĩ mū  
REFL house to 3ms-agent go narrative 'he is going home'
- (58) vēnh mĩ tōg sãpe han  
REFL for 3ms-agent hat make 'he made a hat for himself'

## 5.2 Coreference across Clause Boundary.

Kaingáng, Xokléng and Kayapō also mark coreference relationships across clause boundary. In Kaingáng and Xokléng 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 Kaingáng:

- (59)a. ti ĩn b. ti jēn  
3ms house 'his house' 3ms eat 'his eating, his food'
- (60) ā tĩg kĩ tōg ā kōsin vėg mū  
REFL<sub>i</sub> go as 3ms-agent<sub>i</sub> REFL<sub>i</sub> child see narrative  
'as he<sub>i</sub> went he<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i</sub> child' (tōg 'agent' stands for  
\*tĩ tōg '3ms agent')
- (61) ti tĩg kĩ tōg ā kōsin vėg mū  
3ms<sub>j</sub> go as 3ms-agent<sub>i</sub> REFL<sub>i</sub> child see narrative  
'as he<sub>j</sub> went he<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i</sub> child'
- (62) ā tĩ ā ĩn ra tĩg kĩ tōg ā kōsin vėg mū  
REFL<sub>i</sub> erg REFL<sub>i</sub> house to go when 3ms-agt<sub>i</sub> REFL<sub>i</sub> child see nar  
'as he<sub>i</sub> went home he<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i</sub> child'

- (63) ti tỹ ā ĩn ra tĩg kỹ tóg ā kósin vég mũ  
 3ms<sub>j</sub> erg REFL<sub>j</sub> house to go when 3ms-agt<sub>i</sub> REFL<sub>i</sub> child see nar  
 'as' he<sub>j</sub> went home he<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i</sub> child'

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

Kavapó 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 ně 'and' links two clauses with the same subject; in that case the second subject is not repeated. Ně 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 nhỹm which substitutes ně. Ně and nhỹm can also be combined with certain postpositions such as nhỹm kãm 'and then, different 3 subject', ně kãm 'and then, same subject or different 1 or 2 subject'. Some Kavapó examples:

- (64) ba kuga nhỹm ku- krē  
 1 bake 3DS 1/3-eat 'I baked it and he ate it'
- (65) ba kuga ně ku- krē  
 1 bake SS 1/3-eat 'I baked it and ate it'
- (66) ba kuga (ně) ga a-krē  
 1 bake 2 2-eat 'I baked it and you ate it'

In the last example ně is optional.

## 6. GENERIC PRONOUNS

Some of the languages have special forms to refer to 'people in general'. In Kaingáng 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 Xerente general statements are made by using nókwa 'someone'. In Karajá the word iny 'people' is used.

In Kaingáng and in Xoklêng the third person pronouns may follow a noun or a noun phrase to determine gender and number, especially when talking about humans. Examples from Kaingáng:

- (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 matrilocality 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) Vēnhkág ag 'Vēnhkág and his group'

In Xokleng the third person pronouns are used just like in Kaingáng. In this use a further category distinction has been observed:

tē is used to identify a human being

ti 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	ēn	tag	tā (followed by a CIR ind.)
Xokleng	ān ta	tōg	
Xerente	ta (hā)	ka (hā)	ku (hā)
Kayapó	ta	jā	wā 'close to hearer'
Karajá	kia	kaa	kowa

Examples from Kaingáng:

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

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

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

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

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

(74) sỹ ā mỹ tag tō- nh ke vē, ha mē...  
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?
Kaingâng	ũ	ne	hẽ
Xoklêng	ũ	ne	hã
Xerente	nõkwa	mãri	mmãhã
Kayapõ	nhỹm	mỹj	nhỹj 'egr.' / jỹm 'ingr.'
Karajã	mõbo	ãõbo	d'ibo
Rikbaktsa	aty	amo	hã-

In Kaingâng hẽ is used to ask about CIR as in hẽ tá 'where?'. In Kayapõ there are four forms, two of which have to do with direction. nhỹj means 'from where?' (a meaning similar to the Karajã egressive) and jỹm means 'to where?' (like the Karajã ingressive). In Karajã the suffix -bo 'question' follows whatever is being questioned, be it person, thing or abstract. In Rikbaktsa ã- 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 Kaingâng:

- (75) ũ nẽ? 'who is it?'  
 (76) ne nẽ? 'what is it?'  
 (77) ũ tỹ hẽ nỹ? 'which one is it?'  
 (78) ũ kõsin nẽ? 'whose son is he?'

Some examples from Xoklêng:

- (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 Kayapõ:

- (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) mỹj nã 'what is it?'  
 (86) mỹj ja'õ 'which of those?'

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

- (87) ũ tĩ 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.