

the category of person and associated semantico-grammar of the karaja pro-nominal system

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The verbal prefix.

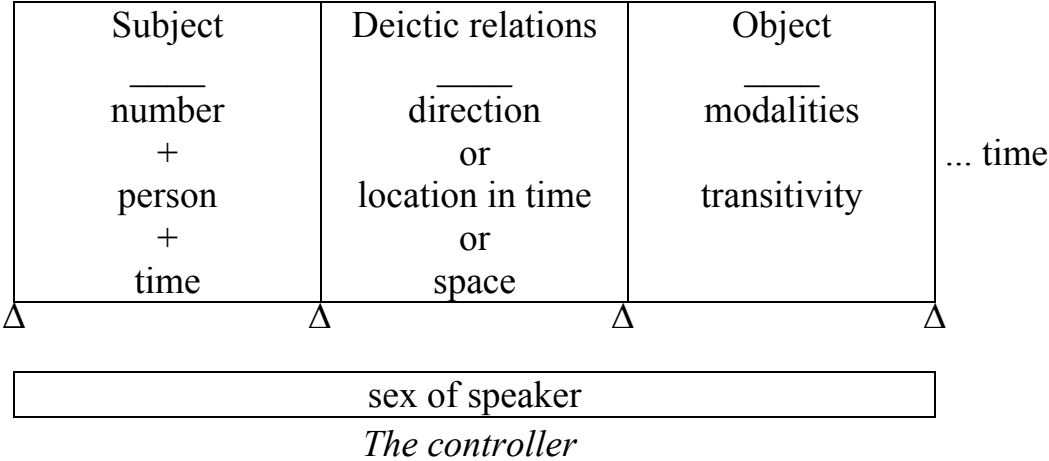
There are various semantic meanings associated with the recalcitrant prefixal system of the Karaja language of Brazil. On the one hand, the string of different aspects related to person, number, sex-of-speaker, deixis, etc. can almost be segmented into a neat string of sequential morphemes suggesting various featural or polar meanings of the categories mentioned above. On the other hand, these morphemes blend and merge to such a degree that the analysis begs for a more elegant solution than seems to be possible through syntactic or morphological sub-analysis, that is, trying to divide the morphemes into discreet chunks of meaning on a string.

It has recently been observed that the meaning categories expressed by this prefix are related semantically in a wide range of other languages. This paper suggests some of the universals that may obtain through a more generic consideration of person. Perhaps a more general cover term is needed to express the inter-relationships of participants in discourse than those in current use i.e. person, number, case, demonstrative, interrogative, adverbial, deictic, and so forth. I suggest the term controller. The term control in linguistics has previously been used to refer to the responsibility the speaker takes for the veracity of the information he or she is citing or giving but now seems to be referred to most

often as evidential or verification systems. The symbolism in the term controller seems most appropriate for the wide range of meaning covered by deictics, for example, since these attempt to control the information available to the hearers as to location in time or space of the various participants, events and actions in the discourse, or more broadly, their proxemic orientation. The pronominal parts of the prefix and the sex-of-speaker markers control the inter-action and inclusion of various participants and non-participants in the events to which the speaker refers. There are often other auxiliary and modal aspects signalled in this prefix in the Karaja language. The problem, as I see it is that there is often a mixture here of purely linguistic (the vocal-auditory mode) and socio-semiotic modes of patterned human communication. It is rapidly becoming necessary to include within descriptive linguistics, not only a componential analysis type semantics but also higher level semiotic considerations which have previously been excluded as outside the scope of linguistics.

The illustrative text for this paper consists of a composite version of one Karaja tale as written or told by three indigenous writers of different sex. This narrative was specifically selected to illustrate this research problem and all sentences were also framed by the writers in the appropriate speech of the opposite sex from the original writer.

One unique semantic category indicated in this composite verbal prefix is the sex of the speaker. There are also many other categories marked cryptically in the bound prefix such as: time/space deixis, subject and object reference, tense and temporal aspects and transitivity indicators. A fundamental challenge for the linguist is the decipherment of the socio-semiotic relationships, expectation clusters, and discourse participant relationships being carried by this prefix in the absence of free nominals, pro-forms, or other marked or implicit cues to the hearer.



Tiger and Turtle Story

HĀLÒKÒÈ KÒTU WANA IJYKY (women's speech)

HĀLÒÈ ÒTU WANA IJYY (men's speech)

by Uriana

1. Summary or Moral of the Story (comes last)

Timybo juhuutyhy raumynyre.

Lahina heka òtu juhuu rare.

Idi ta heka hālòè riroreki heka, iumy rayjamy ratximyhỹ.

It is said that in the beginning the tracaja and tartaruga turtles were exactly the same size. After the accident with the tiger, however, in which, the tracaja was broken into pieces, the tracaja was forever after smaller.

2. *F.* **Kòròbi kòtu ridyre biku-txi kywano ritòkemy. Idi ta taihykyle ririre kòròbi kòtu ririre. Taita taile rahinymy rononymy raremyhy**

M. **Òròbi òtu ridyre biu-txi ywaõ ritòkemy. Idi ta taihykyle ririre. Òròbi òtu ririre. Taita taile rahinymy rononymy raremyhy.**

E. The monkey put the turtle up in the tree to eat a certain fruit (kywaõ/ywano). Then he went away and left the turtle. After a while the turtle sitting up in the tree began to cry.

3. *F.* **Idi ta hālòkòè ihira-txi tamy dehemynyde. (-Anohebo tatỹkỹnyteri? -Anokòre, kòròbile bikukihikỹ riwarimỹ ramyhỹre. Taita karobehekemy watxiwỹhỹre, timyhe waberesekõna).**

M. **Idi ta hālòè ihira-txi tamy dehemynyde. -Aõhebo tatỹỹnyteri? -Aõkòre, òròbile biukihikỹ riwarimỹ ramyhỹre. Taita arobehekemy watxiwỹhỹre, timyhe wabereseõna.**

E. Then a tiger heard his cry and went to where he was and asked: - What are you doing up there? - The monkey left me way up here in the tree. I would like to come down, but I do not know how.

4. *F.* - **Bedese watxile, (jikaỹ ka karamykre bikukòle).**

M. - **Bedese watxile, jiaỹ ka aramykre biuòle.**

E. Jump down and I will catch you in mid air.

Another version has it thus: (male writer, Ijeseberi)

5. *F.* **Biri Biri ijkymy karelykykre timykibo inymy releremy.**

M. **Biri Biri ijyymy arelyykre timykibo inymy releremy.**

E. I will tell the story of how the perikeets became people.

6. *F.* **Wekyryno riki heka juremy ralore itxoina-kò.**
M. **Weryryõ riki heka juremy ralore ijoina-ò.**
E. An adolescent boy had just entered the men's house as an initiate.
7. *F.* **Tai tahe tai raremyhỹ.**
M. **Tai tahe tai raremyhỹ.**
E. So there he had been.
8. *F.* **Irahudi tahe nalode tadiboho-kò.**
M. **Irahudi tahe nalode tadiboho-ò.**
E. When it was over, he returned to his mother's.
9. *F.* **Tai tarikihe ise ritỹkỹraxinymyhỹre timybo wakuràsỹ rirakoxi myhỹremy.**
M. **Tai tarikihe ise ritỹỹ**raxinymyhỹre timybo woràsỹ riroximyhỹremy.
E. She then questioned him about how the spirit dancers ate.
- 10.*F.* **Idi tai tahe tadiki rexirare.**
M. **Idi tai tahe tadiki rexirare.**
E. So he finally told the secret.

Different version - female narrative.

11. *F.* **Timybo wedò woràsỹ rebònnymyhỹre?**
M. **Timybo wedò wakurasỹ rebònnymyhỹre?**
E. How does the spirit dancer pick up his food?
12. *M.* **-Aõmyta woràsỹ debò tadisỹnymytenyte?**
-Anomyta wakuràsỹ debò tadisỹnymytenyte?
E. - He does it like this (gesturing).
13. *M.* **- Aõhekremybo? Tamy ràki iriòre rarybere, jyre ràki.**
F. **- Aõhekremybo? Tamy ràki iritxòre rarybere, jyre ràki.**
E. The initiate told (the secret) to his mother.
14. *F.* **Taita ràki tamy ràkỹraximyhỹre tàky ky ky ky ràki ràkỹraxirerimy ihymyhỹ.**
M. **Taita ràki tamy rỹỹraximyhỹre tàky ky ky ky ràki rỹỹraxirerimy ihỹmyhỹ.**
E. It must have been because she asked and asked him so many times. He told.

15. *F.* **Jyre r̀aki heka tadikoku relykyre wakuras̄ deb̀omy relykyre teb̀o r̀aki heka wityretyremy r̀yiramy r̀aki.**

M. **Jyre r̀aki heka tadiko relyyre wor̄ys̄ deb̀omy relyyre teb̀o r̀aki heka wityretyremy r̀yiramy r̀aki.**

E. The young initiate boy told his mother about the spirit dancers hand. It was twisted with part of the fingers on top of the others.

Different episode by diff̀erent story teller: (female writer, Kunawanaru)

16. *F.* **Taita r̀aki ilabikele rohokujare ijk̄y-k̀o.**

M. **Taita r̀aki ilabiele roholare ijyy-̀o.**

E. However, the grandfather heard the conversation.

17. *F.* **Taita r̀aki heka matukari rak̀okunyre ijk̄k̄my itxoikoku.**

M. **Taita r̀aki heka matuari r̀oh̀onyre ijyymy ijoiko.**

E. Then the old man went to tell the story to the men's group.

18. *F.* **Taita r̀aki urile H̀arab̀ob̀ole matukari rirak̀ar̀ore irak̀are reakare ix̄kykydi r̀aki reakare r̀aki.**

M. **Taita r̀aki urile h̀arab̀ob̀ole matuari rir̀oare irayredi reare ix̄ky-di r̀aki reare r̀aki.**

E. Because of this, Harabobole cut the old man's head off and ran through the village.

19. *F.* **Irahudi tar̀aki kuladu riarimyh̄ ijk̄ydu (ix̄kykydi) tar̀aki tahetokureny wokukile h̀aluku riwinyre r̀aki irahudi.**

M. **Irahudi tar̀aki kuladu riarimyh̄ ijk̄ydu (ix̄yky) tar̀aki tahetokureny wokile h̀aluu riwinyre r̀aki irahudi.**

E. When that was over, the boy ran to his house and dug a hole in the floor.

20. *F.* **Tar̀aki herinale rit̀adire h̀aluku tyre riteterenyre.**

M. **Tar̀aki herinale rit̀adire h̀aluu tyre riteterenyre.**

E. After this he covered the hole with a very large mat.

21. *F.* **Iwoku-k̀o tar̀aki rexit̀adirenyre.**

M. **Iwo-̀o tar̀aki rexit̀adirenyre.**

E. He put himself into it.

22. *F.* **Uritere riijemy r̀yimyh̄ tar̀aki itxi rahak̀oh̄ykylere.**

M. **Uritere riijemy r̀yimyh̄ tar̀aki itxi rahàoh̄ykylere.**

E. Even though they looked and looked, they never found him.

23. *F.* **Ibutumy kuladu ikumy-wana ituere inytyhytyhyle ràki heka wakuràsỹwanale rexisõmyhỹre.**
- M.* **Ibutumy uladu iumy-wana ituere inytyhytyhyle ràki heka woràsỹwanale rexisõmyhỹre.**
- E.* All the adults and children were thrown in a big hole and burnt.
24. *F.* **Ikumysõna hitxi kuladusõny hitxi myraki heka ixỹ rexihure.**
- M.* **Iumysõna hitxi uladusõny hitxi myraki heka ixỹ rexihure.**
- E.* All the people were finished off to the last one (they thought).
25. *F.* **Taràki tikiboho rikòkunyre hãlukuwoku-ràbi.**
- M.* **Taràki tikiboho riòlònnyre hãloowo-ràbi.**
- E.* Then they came out of the hole.
26. *F.* **Ixỹ rexihure sỹtybymy,**
- M.* **Ixỹ rexihure sỹtybymy,**
- E.* After the people were destroyed,
27. *F.* **taràki retehemy rutamanymyhỹreny.**
- M.* **taràki retehemy rutamanymyhỹreny.**
- E.* then they looked and came up out of the hole.
28. *F.* **Taràki wideke raryberenyre: -Waixi ixỹ rexihura ibutumy.**
- M.* **Taràki widee raryberenyre: -Waixi ixỹ rexihura ibutumy.**
- E.* Then they said to each other: little brother, all the people are gone.
29. *F.* **Inysohõjile rasiranyra. Taràki roiremyhỹ rarybere.**
- M.* **Inysohõjile rasiranyra. Taràki roiremyhỹ rarybere.**
- E.* Just us alone are left. Then they spoke of traveling.
30. *F.* **Taràki roire wyhymy ixitòenarenymy roire.**
- M.* **Taràki roire wyhymy ixitòenarenymy roire.**
- E.* So they went fishing to console themselves.
31. *F.* **Iròkòrenykile taràki hirihiri raiwerunyrenyre. Taràki dìtehemynydenyde.**
- M.* **Iròòrenykile taràki hirihiri raiwerunyrenyre. Taràki dìtehemynydenyde.**
- E.* While they were gone, the Hirihiri left soup for them. Then they arrived.

32. *F.* **Taràki retehemy rotàmanyrenyre hekòty ràki tokodihikỹle ràki roire.**
M. **Taràki retehemy rotàmanyrenyre heòty ràki toodihikỹle ràki roire.**
E. They saw the fire when they arrived and marveled because the fire was lit.
33. *F.* **Iweru ràki riratòbònomy rỹire taràki iratòbòna rirakynyre.**
M. **Iweru ràki riratòbònomy rỹire taràki iratòbòna riraynyre.**
E. The soup was covered so they raised the lid.
34. *F.* **Taita ràki wideke raryberenyre: -Waixi, inyõ kàna ihỹre.**
M. **Taita ràki widee raryberenyre: -Waixi, inyõ kàna ihỹre.**
E. Then he said: - Older brother, there is a Karaja here.
35. *F.* **Taita ràki iexi tamy rarybere: - Aõkõre, iny rarekiele ihỹre.**
M. **Taita ràki iexi tamy rarybere: - Aõkõre, iny rarekiele ihỹre.**
E. Then he said to his brother: - No, we are the only ones left.
36. *F.* **Taràki ixàby roire wyhymy taràki tòsỹwokudàkỹ-kò rohokujareny.**
M. **Taràki ixàby roire wyhymy taràki tòsỹwodỹỹ-ò roholareny.**
E. When they went another time to fish, they heard a noise:
37. *F.* **Taita ràki ixàbyle diòkòdesedenyde waximy ràki tamy doidenyde.**
M. **Taita ràki ixàbyle diòòdesedenyde waximy ràki tamy doidenyde.**
E. So they returned from fishing.
38. *F.* **Taràki tamy rironyrenyre.**
M. **Taràki tamy rironyrenyre.**
E. This time they came out to them.
39. *F.* **Mowexe kaiboho ahãmyhỹtenyde.**
M. **Mowexe kaiboho ahãmyhỹtenyde.**
E. Who are you all?
40. *F.* **Hirihiri dikarỹbohohole roire.**
M. **Hirihiri diarỹbohohole roire.**
E. We are the Hirihiri.
41. *F.* **Hetoku dorỹsỹnawoku-ki nanakurukumyhỹdele. Kiale boheka toite.**
M. **Heto dorỹsỹnawo-ki nanaurumyhỹdele. Kiale boheka toite.**
E. We are the ones who lived in your houses as your pets.

42. *F.* **Taràki iny tamyreny rarybere:**
M. **Taràki iny tamyreny rarybere:**
E. Then the Karajà said to them:
43. *F.* **-Iny karekekere. Waixi tasỹ aesoru-wana rarekekere.**
M. **-Iny ariekere. Waexi tasỹ aesoru-wana ariekere.**
E. -I will look for the people.
44. *F.* **Iny ràkiixijuranyrenykremy. Tamyreny rarybere.**
M. **Iny ràkiixijuranyrenykremy. Tamyreny rarybere.**
E. They said: - We will each shoot the other with an arrow.
45. *F.* **Taita hirihiri rarybere: - Awire risỹnyre.**
M. **Taita hirihiri rarybere: - Awire risỹnyre.**
E. Then Hirihiri spoke: - Well done.
46. *F.* **Taita wiwana rakòdònyrenyreny. Riixijuranyrenykremy ràki.**
M. **Taita wiwana raòdònyrenyreny. Riixijuranyrenykremy ràki.**
E. So they shot at each other in order that they both should die.
47. *F.* **Kie ijyky.**
M. **Kie ijyy.**
E. That's the story.

Note: The Karajà language is spoken by approximately 2 400 people who live on or relatively near the Bananal Island, the largest fluvial island in the world, of the Araguaia River in central Brazil. The linguistic family is Macro-Gê. There are three dialects in the Karajà language: Karajà, Xambioa and Javaé and there are differences in each dialect of men's and women's speech: It is interesting to note "Xambiowa and Karajà dialects have the same basic men's and women's speech rules as noted in the Karajà section except for the use of /tx/, /k/ and /k^y/. Note that the phenomenon arose from a simple dialectical change at a time when these were apparently one phoneme" (Fortune 1984). For example:

Karajà	ijòròsa	itxòròsa
Javae	iòròsa	ik^yòròsa
Xambioa	ijòròsa	ik^yòròsa.