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Nominal Morphology Aspects of the Kỳikatêjê Language

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- ¹ The data used in this research make up the indigenous language database of the Laboratory of Indigenous Languages, Literatures and Cultures "Aryon Rodrigues" (LALLIAR), at the Federal University of South and Southeast Pará and were collected between 2017 and 2019, in Kojakati village.

Abstract:

In this article, we present some aspects of the nominal morphology of the Kỳikatêjê language¹. Initially, we present an overview of the Kỳikatêjê language and people form Kôjakati village. Next, we describe the types of names in the language and their grammatical properties, such as number and gender. Finally, we discuss some aspects of the derivational morphology of names in Kỳikatêjê, namely, attenuation, intensification and composition. We aim to contribute to Jê languages studies, to a greater and better understanding of word class and to the study of the language in the school environment, since the current state of the language is obsolescence, being spoken only by the elderly and in contexts each time more restricted in the social domains in the Kôjakati village.

Keywords:

Kỳikatêjê language. Names. Morphology.

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THE KYIKATÊJÊ PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

The Kỳikatêjê inhabit the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land (Terra Indígena Mãe Maria - TIMM), located in the municipality of Bom Jesus do Tocantins, in the southeast of the state of Pará. TIMM has been impacted by major developmental projects in the region, such as the installation of the Eletronorte power line, the construction of BR 222 and the railway by the mining company Vale, all of which pass through TIMM and leave environmental and socio-cultural impacts for the indigenous people. In addition to the Kỳikatêjê, the Parkatêjê and the Akrātikatêjê also live in TIMM. Currently, the population is estimated at 1,000 inhabitants, divided into twenty villages, which are located along BR 222. These three groups speak varieties of a language from the Timbira² complex, belonging to the Jê Family, Macro-Jê Trunk.

1. The Types of Names

Names are used to encode a wide variety of concepts of concrete and abstract entities, which represent the entire sociocultural universe of a people (MIRANDA, 2014). Considering morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria, we evidenced three types of nouns in the Kỳikatêjê language: (i) relative nouns, (ii) descriptive nouns and (iii) absolute nouns. Below, we present each of these subtypes of names.

1.1. Relative names

Relative names are defined based on semantic and morphosyntactic criteria. Semantically, these nouns encode referents whose existence is relative to something or someone. This is clearly evidenced in the morphosyntax of the language, when a relative noun enters into a dependency relationship with another nominal (MIRANDA, 2014; COSTA, 2015). This subclass includes names that refer to (i) parts of the human body, (ii) parts of animals and plants and (iii) kinship relationships.

Parts of the human body

01) i j-arkwa 02) ropre j-arkwa
1PS R¹-mouth Ropre R¹-mouth
'my mouth' 'Ropre's mouth''

Parts of animals and plants

03) kokoj i-arkwa 04)kaprãn Ø-kapro 05) tere Ø-tei monkey R¹-mouth jabuti R1-blood açaí R¹-seedling 'mouth of the monkey' 'jabuti blood' 'açaí seedling'

² Timbira is the name given to one of the four language groups of the Jê Family, which includes, according to Rodrigues (1986, p. 47), the languages of the Canela (Ramkókamekra and Apâniekra), Krinkati, Pukobyé (Gavião do Maranhão) and Krenjé (Kreyé); Parkatêjê, Kỳikatêjê and Akrātikatêjê and the Krahô.

Kinship relations

- 06) h-anare 07) i Ø-pjen 08) a Ø-pjen R²-aunt 1PS R¹-husband 2PS R¹-husband 'her aunt' 'my husband' 'your husband'
- 09) Ø-pjen

 R²-husband

 'her husband'

Phrases that do not have a determiner, such as h-anare (06) and \emptyset -pjen (09), translated into Portuguese by the pronominal form her, refer to someone not expressed in the dependency phrase, because she is identified anaphorically by the interlocutor. Thus, relative nouns form a syntactic unit with other nominals through relational inflection.

1.2. Descriptive names

Descriptive names, in Kỳikatêjê, are those that express quality, physical sensation, mental state and dynamism (COSTA, 2015). These nouns always follow their determinants, mediated by relational inflection and function as modifiers and core of nominal predicates, as can be seen in the examples below:

Quality

- 10) pɨka j-akrɨt 11) krĩ ʒ-ihɛ soil r²-fluffy village r³-round 'the fluffy of the soil' 'the round of the village'
- 12) i Ø-mpej 13) ajkre Ø-irepte

 1PS R¹-well house R¹-bigness

 'the well of me' 'the bigness of the house'

Physical sensations

- 14) ko j-akri 15) ko \emptyset -kakro water R^1 -coldness water R^1 -warmth 'the coldness of the water' 'the warmth of the water'
- 16) rə i Ø-tiktʃʌti
 already 1PS R¹-tiredness
 'my tiredness already exists' (I'm already tired)

'My tiredness already exists' would be the literal translation of 16, that is, it would express the existence of a feeling – which in this case is tiredness –, regardless of the desire or will of the speaker who enunciates it. The lack of control over this sensation is evidenced by the use of the pronoun *i*, which can function as a possessive, postposition object, direct object, subject of nominal predicates, but never as a subject of transitive predicates, a situation in which the subject plays the thematic role as an agent of the verbal process. Thus, we can visualize the semantic-pragmatic peculiarities of the discursive practices of the Kỳikatêjê people reflected

in the morphosyntax of the language, especially when we compare it with languages like Portuguese. The same can be said for the following example.

17) i j-õtõtfwati 1PS R¹-sleepiness 'there is my sleepiness'

Now, example 17 makes it clear that the sentence subject is not an agent of the process, but is affected by "sleep", or experiences the feeling of being sleepy.

Mental states

18)	mẽ	ntia	Ø-kaprîre	19)	mẽ	mpi	Ø-kĩ
	PL	woman	R ¹ -sadness		PL	man	R ¹ -joy
	'there	is the sadne	ess of women'		'there	is the joy	of men'
20)	mẽ	ntia	ĩ-nkrik	21)	mẽ	mpi	ĩ-nkrit
	PL	woman	R ¹ -anger		PL	man	R¹-anger
	'there	is the anger	of women'		'there	is the an	ger of men'

Dynamism

The core of dynamic predicates is composed of nominal themes or nominalized themes, because their arguments, when pronominal, are expressed by the forms i and a and not by the pronominal forms wa and ka – these are used as arguments of the core of verbal predicates. Thus, in 22, the meaning of the sentence for the Kỳikatêjê speaker is not in the process, but in the result of the process.

22) i Ø-katər 1PS R¹-arrival 'there was my arrival' (I arrived)

Thus, while in Portuguese the emphasis or focus is on the 'cheguei' process, in Kỳikatêjê the focus is on the result of the process, that is, on the dynamic name. The same can be said for the following examples:

23) a j-akjei 24) i Ø-krarɛ j-ĩntɔj
2PS R¹-running PL R¹-child R¹-jump
'there was your running' 'there was my son's jump'

25) i Ø-karArA 26) a Ø-kakok

1PS R¹-screaming 2PS R¹-speech

'there was my screaming' there was your speech'

1.3. Absolute names

All themes that exist by themselves belong to the subclass of absolute names, that is, that do not need another entity to exist and, therefore, are independent in terms of both morphosyntactic and semantics. Included in this subclass of nouns are themes that refer to fauna, flora, natural phenomena and proper names, as shown in the following examples:

Names referring to fauna

27)		
a.	kokoj	'monkey'
b.	kukenere	ʻagouti'
C.	heti	'spider'
d.	kaprãn	ʻjabuti'
e.	kukrit	'tapir'
f.	jaţi	'deer'

Names referring to flora

28)		
a.	jʌt	'potato'
b.	krero	ʻyam'
c.	puroti	'genipap'
d.	kõnhлk	'pumpkim'
e.	rõhi	'peanuts'
f.	krowaho	'buriti'

Names referring to natural phenomena

29)		
a.	kok	'wind'
b.	pje	'sand'
c.	pika	'soil'
d.	kojkwa	'sky'
e.	pɨt	'sun'
f.	katfere	'moon'

Regarding names that designate manufactures, objects of material culture, non-Kỳikatêjê referential names that are used in the community and absolute names, when, in a dependency relationship, it is mediated by the morpheme $\{-\tilde{o}\}$, which means 'belongs' and if matches relational prefixes, as the examples below illustrate:

- 30) i j-õ parkre 31) mẽ ntia j-õ katʃat
 1PS R¹-belonging canoe PL woman R¹-belonging clothing
 'my belonging, the canoe' 'women's belongings, clothing'
- profesoh 32) ropre j-õ kruwa 33) mẽ krare j-õ R¹-belonging child R¹-belonging teacher Ropre arrow 'Ropre's belonging, the arrow' 'the children's belonging, the teacher'

2. Grammatical Properties of Nouns

Nouns are one of the main lexical categories of natural languages and are universally present in the languages of the world (TRASK, 1994). They not only express entities such as people and things, but also notions related to events, places, time, among others (ANWARD, 2000). Number and gender are the most common grammatical categories attributed to nouns and, in many languages, the formal expression of the notions of singular/plural and masculine and feminine is carried out through the inflectional mechanism (ANDERSON, 1995).

Similar to what Rodrigues (1999) points out for the languages of the Jê family, in Kỳikatêjê, the formal expression of the grammatical categories of number and gender occurs through syntactic and lexical mechanisms, as we see below.

Number

The formal expression of the plural grammatical category is not morphologically expressed in the languages of the Jê family (RODRIGUES, 1999). In Kỳikatêjê, the category of number is formally expressed by the morphemes mẽ 'pluralizer' and kwo 'collectivizer'.

Pluralizer më

In Kỳikatêjê, the grammatical category of number is expressed by the 'pluralizing' morpheme $m\tilde{e}$, while the singular is unmarked. The morpheme $m\tilde{e}$ occurs before dependent personal pronouns and names with the semantic feature [+ human], as the following examples illustrate.

- 34) ntia mẽ nkre-r woman GH singing-NLZ 'there was the singing of the woman'
- 35) **me** ntia me nkrε-r

 PL woman GH singing-NLZ

 'there was the singing of the women'
- 36) nõkām wa **a** Ø-mã i Ø-kakok yesterday 1PS.ENF 2PS.ABS R¹-to 1SG.ABS R¹-speech 'yesterday there was my speech to you (sing.)' (yesterday I spoke to you (sing.))
- 37) nõkãm wa **mẽ a** Ø-mã i Ø-kakok yesterday 1PS.ENF PL 2PS.ABS R¹-to 1PS.ABS R¹-speech 'yesterday there was my speech to you (pl.)' (yesterday I spoke to you (pl.))'

Partitive kwa

The kmo morpheme is used to pluralize nouns with [- human] semantic features. This morpheme is postponed to the noun it pluralizes, as shown in the examples below:

38) kupẽ Ø-tε i Ø-mã pendrive **kw**ə Ø-kwə-rə non-indigenous R¹-GEN 1PS.ABS R¹-BEN pendrive PART R¹-give-NLZ 'there was the giving of some pendrives by the non-indigenous to me'

39) mẽ mpi Ø-te kro **kwə** Ø-pa

PL man R¹-GEN pig PART R¹-kill

'there was the killing of some pigs by men'

Gender

Gender distinction is not manifested morphologically in Kỳikatêjê names, but through lexical items that refer to kinship terms. This distinction takes place in two ways: (i) according to the interlocutor's biological gender and (ii) according to the speaker's biological gender. Below, we show two illustrative freme of gender distinction in Kỳikatêjê.

Frame 1 - Distinct names according to the interlocutor's biological gender.

Male		Female	
Reference	Relationship	Reference	Relationship
ĩnʧu	'father'	ĩnʧe	'mother'
atõ	'brother'	tõj	'sister'
ĩnʧuti	'uncle' (brother of ego's mother)	anãre	'aunt'
pjen	'husband'	prõ	'wife'
tuahũm	'brother-in-law'	tuaremetji	'sister-in-law'

Source: Author.

Frame 2 - Distinct names according to the speaker's biological gender.

Male speaker		Female speaker	
Reference	Relationship	Reference	Relationship
ipanare	'mother-in-law' (wife's mother)	iprere	'mother-in-law' (husband's mother)
piajõ	'brother-in-law' (wife's brother)	pjen	'brother-in-law' (husband's brother)
ibtete	'brother-in-law' (sister's husband)	pjen	'brother-in-law' (sister's husband)
prõ	'sister-in-law' (wife's sister or brother's wife)	ibiele	'sister-in-law' (husband's sister)

Source: Author.

There is, in Kỳikatêjê, the use of syntactic strategies to express the biological gender of certain animals and birds. It is the use of the nominal themes $\tilde{u}m$ 'male' and $kah\tilde{a}j$ 'female', which receive the relational prefixes to indicate the relationship of syntactic constituency with another determining nominal theme, immediately to their left, as the following examples illustrate.

40) tſ-ũmti 41) jatji Ø-kahãire jatsi R1-female deer R¹-male deer 'male deer' 'female deer' Ø-kahãire 42) tſ-ũmti 43) qen qeı R¹-male R1-female dog dog 'male dog' 'female dog'

2.1. Derivational morphology

Derivation is a morphological mechanism used in the formation of new lexical items by adding affixes to a basic form. In Kỳikatêjê, derivation, alongside composition, is one of the main processes used to create new words. We present below the mechanisms used in Kỳikatêjê for the formation of new words.

2.1.1. Attenuation and intensification

In Kỳikatêjê, nouns, in general, receive the derivational suffixes {-re} 'attenuative' and {-ti} 'intensive', which attenuate and intensify forms referring to physical and abstract entities, such as feelings, states of mind, between others (COSTA, 2015).

Attenuation and intensification

44)	mĩ	'alligator'
a.	mĩ-rɛ	'small alligator'
b.	mĩ-ti	'big alligator'

45)	qen	'dog'
a.	an-den	'small dog'
b.	rəp-ti	'big dog'

46)	kaprek	'red'
a.	kaprek-re	'little red'
b.	kaprek-ti	'very red'

47)	треј	'pretty'
a.	треј-се	'little pretty'
b.	mpej-ti	'very pretty'

48)	kakrə	'hot'
a.	kakro-re	'little hot'
b.	kakro-ti	'very hot'

2.1.2. Composition

Composition is a word formation process using two or more existing words (TRASK, 1994). According to Bybee (1985), composition differs from other word formation processes because it is constituted by lexical units that already exist and are independent forms in the language, both from a phonological and semantic point of view, and the union of these words results in a form compound lexical whose meaning has nothing to

do with the sum of the meanings of the parts that compose it. In Kỳikatêjê, the creation of new lexical items is done through the juxtaposition of themes from different classes, as shown in the examples below.

Noun + noun

49)	mpə	ko-ti
a.	thing	horn-AUM
	'OX'	

50)	bvt	kre
a.	wood	hole
	'canoe'	

51)	bvt	kupu-¶л
a.	foot	blanket-NLZ.CIRC
	'foot blanket' (shoe)	

Noun + verb

52)	pa	fe
a.	arm	strip
	'armlet' or 'bracelet'	

53)	tu	рге
a.	belly	tie
	'female belt'	

Another process of lexical composition is known as *Class Terms* (COSTA, 2015; MIRANDA, 2014). This process of lexical composition is similar to derivational processes and is relatively productive in languages and very frequent, especially with regard to the semantic field related to human occupations and the plant world (GRINEVALD, 2002, p. 261 *apud* COSTA, 2015, p. 73). In Kỳikatêjê, there are class terms related to the plant world, which combine with nominal themes to denote (i) names of trees, (ii) names of plants and trees in vertical position, (iii) names of plants and trees in horizontal position, (iv) tree fruit and (v) fruit seed. The following examples illustrate the types of class terms presented above.

2.1.3. Class term par

The class term *par* corresponds to trees such as bacaba tree, cupu tree, banana tree, genipap tree, chestnut tree, pequi tree, bacuri tree, among others, used to refer to plants in an upright position, as seen below:

54)	Composed	Translation
a.	кареге рлг	'bacaba tree'
b.	kotaj par	'cupu tree'
C.	pipip par	'banana tree'
d.	rõnhakuparati par	'papaya tree'
e.	porəti par	'genipap tree'
f.	butto bu	'chestnut tree'
g.	kokjaĩnti рлг	'ingá tree'
h.	pñti par	'pequi tree'
i.	kũmʧе рлгл	'bacuri tree'

2.1.4. Class term ko

The class term ko is used to indicate the place where there is a group of plants of the same species and in an upright position. Below are examples with this class term.

55)	Composed	Translation
a.	кареге ко	'bacaba grove'
Ъ.	kotaj ko	'cupu grove'
C.	p i p i p ko	'banana grove'
d.	rõnhakti ko	'papaya grove'
e.	porati ko	'genipap grove'
f.	krowa ko	'buriti grove'

As Costa (2015) shows, there is a tendency to consider some names as class terms (FERREIRA, 2003; MIRANDA, 2014). In Kỳikatêjê, the nouns *ff-o*, -*hi* and -*krã* should not be considered as such because they can have a relational or a deictic prefix as determinants. Below are some examples where these names occur.

56)	· ·	-o ¹-fruit	57)	awara inajá ʻinajá fru	∬-O R¹-fruit it'
58)	partso chestnut 'chestnut se	Ø-hi R ¹ -seed eed'	59)	pɨ annatto ʻannatto	Ø-hi R ¹ -seed seed'
60)	hokohotfo mango 'mango see	Ø-krã ^{R1} -seed ď			

In Kỳikatêjê, nouns that designate liquid are usually accompanied by the class term *kako*. The following are examples of names used with this class term, which indicates that the name refers to a liquid entity.

61)		
a.	трокотікл како	'cattle milk' (liquid from cattle skin)
b.	ĩnto kako	'tear' (eye fluid)
C.	ikrət kako	'run' (fluid from the nose)

3. Nominalization

Nominalization is the mechanism by which lexical items belonging to other word classes are transformed into nouns (COSTA 2003, 2015; MIRANDA, 2014). In Kỳikatêjê, agent, patient and circumstance names (place, instrument and event) are derived, respectively, from the addition of suffixes -kate, -ti and -f/\(\text{1}\) to verb noun themes.

3.1. Agent names

There are four agent name formation strategies in Kỳikatêjê. The first consists of the use of the noun mpo followed by the nominalized verb form, to which the action noun suffix -kate is adjoined (examples 62a). In the second strategy, a name resulting from the activity expressed by a nominalized transitive verb is used, to which the suffix -kate is associated (example 62b). The third strategy occurs with nominalized intransitive verb forms, to which the suffix -kate attaches (example 62c). The last strategy is done with a nominal theme that expresses the patient of the verbal action, to which -kate is added. It is worth noting, in this last strategy, the nominalized verbal theme dispensed, which is easily retrieved by the interlocutor through the discursive context (example 62d).

62)	Agent name	Translation
a.	mpo j-arẽ-j-kate	'storyteller'
b.	tep pro-kate	'fisherman'
c.	iprar-kate	'runner'
d.	kokoj-kate	'monkey killer'

3.2. Patient names

Patient names are formed by adding the suffix -ti added to a base noun or an action name. The meaning constructed after joining the base theme + -ti³ is "someone in the state of or who is characterized by a specific or customary quality" (MIRANDA, 2014, p. 104). The following are examples of patient names.

63)	Patient name	Translation
a.	hʌ-ti	'sick'
b.	hej-ti	'lier'
c.	hapaktu-ti	'forgetful'
d.	ĩnʧu-ti	'smiling'
e.	ikлr prãm-ti	'screamer'
f.	h-amã-ti	'curious'

³ In Krahô, there is the suffix -tsi, which in Kỳikatêjê corresponds, according to our analysis, to the suffix -tsi, which forms patient names.

3.3. Circumstance names

Circumstance names are formed by combining a verb name with the suffix -t/a. These names refer to location and instrument, as the examples below illustrate.

64)	Circumstance name	Translation
a.	kapõ-n-¶∧ sweep-NLZ-NLZ	'instrument used for sweeping' 'broom'
b.	kajpe-r-¶n fan-NLZ-NLZ	'tool for waving' 'waver'; 'fan'
c.	mẽ kãm kwə-r-ʧa PL loc defecate-NLZ-NLZ	'people's defecation place' 'restroom'
d.	mẽ kãm tajho-ø-ʧ⁄л PL loc draw-NLZ-NLZ	'people's drawing place' 'school'
e.	amjī pupu-n-¶⁄\u00e1 refl see-NLZ-NLZ	'instrument for seeing oneself' 'mirror'
f.	to amjî kra-¶a instr refl dry-NLZ	'drying tool' 'towel'

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study we described the morphology of names in the Kỳikatêjê language, showing the existence of relative, descriptive and absolute names. We have seen that both relative and descriptive names express possession relations and, from the morphosyntactic point of view, are identical, as they receive relational reflection. However, they differ semantically: while descriptive names express quality, physical sensation, mental state and dynamism, relative names refer to parts of a whole.

We have seen that absolute nouns are independent of other nouns to be updated in discourse, as they are not related to other nouns and, therefore, do not receive relational prefixes. When absolute names come to constitute some kind of ownership relationship for something or someone, they need to be accompanied by a generic name to indicate such a relationship. In these cases, we understand that what someone has taken possession of becomes their property, and this relationship is marked in the morphosyntax of the Kỳikatêjê language. Thus, an absolute name can become "a relative" to something or someone, but it is a different relative, because, in this case, it is a de facto possession. For example, the phrases *my arm* and *branch of the tree* express parts of a whole, so they establish a dependency relationship with their respective determinants. In the same way, in the phrase *my father*, the kinship relationship will never cease to exist, however much someone eventually wants to disown their own father. On the other hand, we can say that themes such as *monkey*, *dog, tapir* are absolute, but when someone in the community appropriates one of these animals and starts raising it as domestic animals, the community knows, tacitly, that the ownership relationship, in this context, is semantically different from that of relative nouns, and this is expressed in the morphosyntax of the language.

We also saw some grammatical properties of nouns regarding number and gender. In the Portuguese language, singular and plural, feminine and masculine are morphologically marked. In Kỳikatêjê, there are no morphological mechanisms to indicate the plural, nor is the singular marked. The notion of plural is given syntactically through the 'pluralizing' morpheme $m\tilde{e}$, which occurs in front of nouns with features [+ human], that is, those that refer to animals and plants, for example, do not fall into this category. Nouns with [- human] semantic features are pluralized with the morpheme $kw\bar{e}$.

Gender does not manifest itself morphologically, but through lexical items that refer to kinship terms – according to the gender of the interlocutor and the speaker. There are even morphemes that suggest the biological gender of birds and animals.

We noted that names in Kỳikatêjê are also derived as in Portuguese. What we call augmentative and diminutive can be seen in the Kỳikatêjê language as attenuation and intensification, through the morphemes {-re} and {-ti}, respectively. In the composition, there are at least two terms to form a third. Furthermore, in the process of lexical composition, we found the following class terms: par, used for plants in an upright position (trees); ko, to identify the place where there are many trees of the same type, and kako, which designates liquid referents. The study ends with the nominalization. Through this mechanism, language speakers transform lexical items from other word classes into nouns. For agent names add kate to verbal themes. To form patient names that express the state in which someone is, the suffix -ti is added to the nominal theme. The latter are formed from the combination of a verb name with the morpheme ta, which designates circumstantial names, as they refer to places, instruments and events.

We hope with this research to contribute to the grammatical knowledge of the Kỳikatêjê language, still incipiently described, if we compare it with the Parkatêjê variety, for example, for which there are quite a number of articles, dissertations and theses already published. We also hope that this research will be a tool for the scientific knowledge of some aspects of the Kỳikatêjê language – since it is the first linguistic description study of the language – and encourage others, always aiming to contribute inside and outside the school with the application of its results in teaching to promote the strengthening of the Kỳikatêjê language and culture and the practice of that language by and in the community.

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