

Material presented at: DoBeS Workshop - University of Bielefeld (Germany) - November 2001.

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COMPARATIVE WORK: TERMS FOR BIRDS IN TRUMAI AND KUIKURO

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Kuikuro

In the ethno-zoological classification there are four major categories: *tolo* (birds, small birds are called *tolónkgugu*), *ngene* (almost all the terrestrial mammals, or “those animals that we cannot eat”), *kanga* (fish, whose majority is of “those we can eat”), *eké* (snake). So birds constitute a category on their own. *Tolo* can be “possessed”; in this case the meaning is “pet” (*utologu*, my pet), a kind of “metaphorical extension”: birds are pets. Birds are present in many myths; they have their own villages in the sky, where there are chiefs, ritual specialists, shamans...and common bird-people. In short, birds have their own society.

Names for birds:

- 4 terminological types:
 1. Primitive term. Ex. (*i*)*tuga* (martin-pescador, scientific name: *Ceryle torquata* m.); *kuí* (japim, scient. *Cacicus cela cela*)
 2. Onomatopoeia. Ex. *tegutegu* (quero-quero, scient. *Vanellus chilensis*). The kuikuro define the onomatopoeic nature of the name saying *X tangoi*. Ex. *tegutegu*, *tangoi* (*ta-ngo-i*, speak-sub-COP, *tegutegu* is its speech). Not attested for categories other than birds.
 3. Compounds - 2 sub-types:
 - (i) Relational/possessive (genitive) construction [X of Y-REL suffix]. In most cases the name is associated to mythical narratives. 3 sub-subtypes:
 - A. Compound formed by an animal name + term for kinship relation. Ex. *kuí hametigü* (lit. the japim’s brother-in-law; scient. *Agelaius thilius*). *tihagi hitsü* (lit. the stingray’s wife; *rendeira*, scient. *Manacus manacus* m.). Mythical references.
 - B. Compound formed by proper name + a bird’s name. Ex. *tugumai ohongogu* (lit. duck of the Trumai; scient. *Phalacrocorax olivacens*); *ngihura tikugisü* (lit. *ngihuga*’s loro; saí andorinha, scient. *Tersina viridis*). Mythical references.
 - C. Compound formed by two common names (one can be a bird’s name). They can be associated to mythical references or not:
 - (a) Mythical references. Ex. *tolo ngohakegü* (lit. the black jaguar of the birds; gavião tauató, scient. *Accipiter poliogaster*); *giti tolopügü* (that who was the Sun pet; tico-tico-rei, scient. *Coryphospingas cucullatus coronata*); *ana unduhugu* (nduhe do milho; nduhe is a ritual. namechoca-de-peito-preto, scient. *Biatas nigripectus*). Mythical references.
 - (b) Ecosystem or environment. Ex. *oti akügü* (lit. the flea of the savanna; curriqueiro-dos-campos, scient. *Geobates poecilopterus*). No mythical references.

- (ii) Compound formed by a nominalized verb and its argument. Ex. *(i)silu mbotepügü* (lit. the one who was burned by Lightning; pica-pau, scient. *Piculus chrysoclorus*). Mythical references.

4. Primitive term + postpositions functioning as operators for sub-categorization. Attested, and productive for all the ethno-zoological categories. They are ontological categorizers in the Upper Xingu aruak and carib cosmologies (with some differences between them). In Kuikuro there are three of such pospositions (or modifiers):

- (i) *ekugu* "true". It refers to the "adequate member of a set".
Ex. *tikugi ekugu* (loro, scient. *Aratinga leucophthalmus*).

- (ii) *kegü* glossed as "hyper". It refers to "a special member of a set". The animal is somehow deviant from a normal and sufficient state of being (i.e., it is bigger, or smaller, or it is supernatural).
Ex. *kotugu* vs. *kotugu kegü* (*Saracura* vs. *Saracuraçu*; scient. *Rallus nigricans* vs. *Aramides ypecaha*). The second one is bigger and more salient than the first one.

kuí kegü (guaxe; scient. *Cacicus haemorrhous*). It is a "different *kuí* or *japim*", with different colors on the back.

tikugi kegü (periquito, scient. *Pyrrhura leucotis* and *Pionopsitta pileata*). Much smaller than the *tikugi ekugu*.

tahitse vs. *tahitse kegü* (caniné vs. red arara; scient. *Ara ararauna* vs. *Ara macao*). The red arara was created by the Sun and the Moon, so it has a supernatural origin.

tolo kegü (hyper-bird; harpia, scient. *harpia harpyja*). It is the biggest and more dangerous predator bird of the region and the chief of all birds.

Ekugu can be used to specify X when there is a X *kegü*. If there are three names, X, X *ekugu* and X *kegü*, the first one is used for a whole family, the other two identify specific species inside it: the "adequate" member and the "non-adequate" member. Ex. *napigi* (generic name for the Family Galbulidae); *napigi kegü* (ariramba, scient. *Galbula dea dea* and *Galbula dea phainopepla*); *napigi ekugu* (ariramba; scient. *Galbula ruficanda melanogenia*).

- (iii) *otohongo*. *Otohongo* means "the other same", as in *uhisuügü otohongo* (my classificatory brother). Ex. *kui hametigü otohongo* (like the *kui* brother-in-law).

Trumai

In the ethno-zoological classification these are the major categories:

- *kodeŋl* - a big category that includes birds and mammals. Inside this category, birds constitute a subclass on their own: *hura'* (small birds: *hura'i*)
- *k'ate* - fish
- *kodechich* - snakes
- there are other possible small categories. For example: *tar* "animals with a big belly", such as spider (*tar xunxunke*), ant (*tar tai*), cricket (*tar mok*).

Birds can be possessed in Trumai, but a special term has to be employed for that: *aton* 'pet'. For example: *ha aton asulu* 'my pigeon' (lit: my pet pigeon). Like in Kuikuro, birds are present in many Trumai myths and they have their own society.

- Names of birds: 4 main types of terms:

1. Primitive term. Ex: *chom* (in Portuguese: japim; scientific name: *Cacicus cela cela*)

2. Onomatopoeia. Ex: *karakaka* (in Portuguese: aracuã-do-pantanal; scientific name: *Ortalis canicollis*)

3. Compound - 2 subtypes:

- (i) Compound that describes physical characteristics of the bird:
kuch kirirak (in Portuguese: araçari-de-crista; scient. *Pteroglossus beauharnaesi*).
Kuch kirirak means literally: the one that has curly hair.
- (ii) Compound that refers to mythological facts: *atetla hid* (in Portuguese: guiraietapa; scient. *Yetapa risora*). *Atetla hid* means literally: arrow of the Sun. This name is linked to a myth.

4. Primitive term + modifier

(i) Primitive term + (a)nehene "it has some of the features of X"

Example: *chom anehene* (in Portuguese: guaxe; scient. *Cacicus haemorrhous affinis*). This bird has some of the features of the bird named *chom* (scient. *Cacicus cela cela*). Both birds have black head, black wings, and black tail. The colors on the back are different.

Example: *kupiana nehene* (in Portuguese: jacamarici; scient. *Urogalba dea dea*). This bird looks the bird named *kupiana* (in Portuguese: beija-flor-d'agua or jamamacira; scient. *Galbula rufoviridis rufoviridis*). Both have long beak, long tail, and white neck. The colors on the back and belly are different.

The modifier (*a*)*nehene* is found only in terms for animals (birds, mammals, fish). It is not a general word for comparison of entities. For comparison, another word is used: *nawan*. For example:

axos nawan hi chi. 'You are like a child'.
child similar.to 2 Cop

(ii) Primitive term + *yuraw*

For birds, the combination Primitive term + *yuraw* has not been attested so far, but for mammals and fish it has. *Yuraw* (or *ruyaw*, for some speakers) indicates that the animal looks like another one, but it has bigger size and bigger features. Examples:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>malatsitsik</i> | 'armadillo' |
| <i>malatsitsik yuraw</i> | 'giant armadillo' (very big armadillo, with big claws) |
| <i>kiririxe</i> | 'rat' (rat that has a black area around its eyes) |
| <i>kiririxe yuraw</i> | 'rat' (rat that has a black area around its eyes. It has a big size) |

Note that *yuraw* is not the word for 'big' in Trumai. The word is another one: *iye*. For example: *xop iye* 'big mouth'

Yuraw is a kind of modifier. Like the word *kuegü* of Kuikuro, *yuraw* indicates that the animal is somehow deviant from a normal state of being: it is bigger, or even supernatural. According to Trumai speakers, the "true" animals were created by the Sun (a mythological hero). These animals live in the Xingu region and are not very big. Animals that are larger and have exaggerated features are not the "true" animals; for this reason, they are called *yuraw*. In fact, any entity that is huge or deviant from the "normal" state can be classified as *yuraw*. For example, an ordinary whirlwind is called *emu*, while a strong, dangerous whirlwind (one that can destroy the roof of a house) is called *emu yuraw*.