

COMPARATIVE WORK: TERMS FOR BIRDS IN TRUMAI AND KUIKURO (preliminary results)

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 postpositions (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* (canindé 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:

- there is a big category that includes birds and some mammals: *kodetl*
- birds constitute a class 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* indicates that the animal looks like another one, but it has bigger size and bigger features. It might be that *yuraw* is similar to the Kuikuro modifier *kuegü*, indicating that an animal is deviant from a normal and sufficient state of being. Examples:

malatsitsik 'armadillo'
malatsitsik yuraw 'giant armadillo' (very big armadillo, with big claws)

kiririxe

'rat' (rat that has a black area around its eyes)

kiririxe yuraw

'rat' (rat that has a black area around its eyes. It has big size)

Observe that *yuraw* is found only in terms for animals. The word for 'big' in Trumai is another one: *iyē*. For example: *xop iyē* 'big mouth'