Arbeitspapier Nr. 24

Time distinctions in Kaingáng

Ursula Wiesemann

(September 1974)

Time distinctions in Kaingáng

1. Introduction

The Kaingáng-Indians live in the four southern states of
Brazil in scattered groups.There are approximately 6 000
speakers of the language who speak five dialects.These are
mutually intelligeable,although some of the groups have been
separated from each other since before the conquest.The lan-
guage is a member of the Jê family though it forms a subgroup
within that family together with a very closely related lan-
guage,the Laklãnõ or Xokléng language in Santa Catarina (1).
The speakers of the Paraná dialect of Kaingáng,from whom
the data of this study were gathered,have lived in close con-
tactwith the Brazilians since before the turn of the century.
Although many members of this group are still monolingual and
Kaingáng is spoken in all the homes,the influence of Portugu-
ese is making an impact on the language.This can be seen not
only in isolated loan words,but it is slowly changing the time
dimension of the language and the thinking of the Indians.The
change seems to have come about first through loan words,but
it is now also affecting the semantic structure of the langu-
age and is beginning to affect the grammatical structure as
well.The study here presented deals with this change as it can
be seen in relation to time expressions such as yesterday-- to
day -- tomorrow; units of time such as day --month -- year;
kinship terms;and finally aspect particles.In considering the
time expressions the meaning of various paradigms will be dis-
cussed.The paradigms are related to the time when events took

place,to sequence of events,and to the point of the action.No
Brazilian influence can be observed here.In the discussion of
the units of time the semantic area of these units before and
after Brazilian influence will be explored.Through Brazilian
influence vocabulary has been developed with which it is pos-
sible to accurately pinpoint events in time which was not pos-
sible before this.The time distinctions within the kinship
system will be discussed,and how they change with the influ-
ence of Brazilian terms.Awhole new generation distinction is
added in the modified kinship system.Similary several new as-
pect particles are being created through contractions,which now
contain a time element.The whole development shows an emphasis
on fine distinctions in time depth which came about through
the contact with Portuguese and which can be observed in seve-
ral points of the structure of Kaingáng.

2. Time distinctions in relation to:
2.1 Time expressions

Before contact with Brazilian culture the Kaingáng Indi-
ans do not seem to have been concerned with accurately pla-
cing events in time.History was not one of their interests.
This is reflected in the semantic structure of various time
expressions where the main distinction is that of past --
present -- future.There are several paradigms of time expres-
sions which all reflect this distinction.These are chosen out
of various grammatical categories,disregarding their gramma-
tical class membership and focussing only on semantic content.
Some paradigms represent a subgroup out of a larger grammati-
cal category,some cut across such categories.

One of these paradigms refers to specific time.The members
of this paradigm are rãkè tà 'yesterday',ũ-ri 'today',vaj kỹ
'tomorrow'.The point of reference for the members of this para-
digm can be actual time (i.e. the day on which it is being
said) or it can be the time of the event referred to.So rãkè
tà,which literally means 'in late afternoon' (2) can mean'the
day before today' or 'the day before the event referred to'.
The same is true for ũ-ri and vaj kỹ which literally means

'when day dawns'.

The members of this paradigm have an emphasized form each of
which adds a further distinction in the time depth,rāke-ũ tà
'day before yesterday',ũn-ri 'now',yaj-ũn ka 'day after tomor-
row' (3).This adds to the past and future distinctions the dif-
ferences of far distant versus close distant;to the present it
adds the difference of general time versus specific time.This
is the only paradigm of time expressions that has this further
distinction.

Another paradigm refers to general time.The members are vãsỹ
'long ago',ũ-ri 'now',kejẽn 'some time later',kãnhmar 'some
time soon',and vãhã 'some time later suddenly'.Vãsỹ can refer
to from a little while past to many centuries past.The context
has to supply any further pinpointing in time.Vãsỹ always
gives the information that the speaker thinks the event took
place a long time ago,although it actually may have been only
a few hours ago.Kejẽn,kãnhmar and vãhã are just as unspecific
in relation to a future event.Vãhã carries an additional ele-
ment of surprise when the event does take place and is often
used to indicate an immediately following event that takes
place suddenly.

The members of this paradigm have an emphasized form
vã...sỹ... 'very long ago',ũn-ri 'this very moment',
ke...jẽ...n 'at some time',kãnhma...r 'quite soon',and vãhã...
'quite suddenly' which does not change their meaning in rela-
tion to the signalled time depth.

Two paradigms indicate the sequence of events.The members of
one of these are to hã 'before', mrè hã 'with', kar kỹ 'after'
or tũg kỹ 'when...finished'.This paradigm puts the event into
focus.

The particle kỹ can almost be counted a paradigm in itself
similar to the above.Depending on the context it can mean 'be-
cause', indicating that the event it relates already occurred,
or it can mean'as,when', indicating that two events occur si-
multaneously,or it can mean 'because,so that'indicating that
the event will follow after the main event.Used as a conjunc-
tion linking sentences within a paragraph it usually indicates
that the events follow each other in a sequence without being

dependent upon each other. There are other particles similar to
kỹ which relate events,showing their dependence upon each other.
Depending on the relationship expressed these may also contain
time elements,which are,however,not in focus and therefore
will not be discussed here.

The other paradigm linking events expresses the attitude of
the speaker to the events in addition to linking them.Members
of this paradigm are huri 'already', ha 'now', sir 'then',
'after the preceding'.These can be combined with members of
the other paradigms within their semantic limitations.

Two further paradigms have to do with the point of action in
relation to time.Members of one of these paradigms are ja 'al-
ready,action (event) completed (though results may continue)'
mũ 'action in progress', and ke in combinations like -nh ke
or -nh ke jè or ke jè...mũ (4) 'action contemplated'.The pri-
mary meaning of this paradigm is not the relation to time as
much as pinpointing the participant's view in relation to the
action,a meaning traditionally covered by the term aspect.Not
all the members of this paradigm are members of the grammati-
cal category 'aspects'which wi$_1$l be discussed in section 2.4.

A reference to time can also be found in the imperative as-
pects rỹ 'do it right now' and -mnĩ 'do it any time (now or
later)'.

One set of verb stems has a reference to time,tĩg 'go singu-
lar' -- vyr 'gone singular',mũ 'go plural' -- kagàv 'gone plu-
ral'.Tĩg and mũ have no reference to time and can be used in
combination with any of the time expressions.Where they are
combined with time expressions indicating past time they can
be replaced by vyr and kagàv respectively.This is a unique set
without any parallel in the language:
The other paradigm with reference to the point of action con-
tains members of the grammatical category 'subject indicators'
which gives information about the attitude of the subject in
relation to the event.Ne means 'subject has taken the initia-
tive,has made the decision' and can be equated with past time.
Tòg and vỹ indicate that the subject is the actor or is being
described in some way.They can be equated with present time.
Jè and nỹ indicate that the suject is taking the decision and

can be equated with future time.The reference to time in these
last two paradigms is not as clear as that of the other para-
digms discussed.Their members can be combined with each other
and with the members of the other paradigms within their seman-
tic limits.

The paradigms of time expressions and expressions vaguely
relating to time can be summarized in a matrix (see page 6).
From this matrix it can be seen that although time depth can
be expressed from many points of view the depth is always the
same.There is vague reference to 'now' or 'at the moment of the
main or stated event','previous to this','after this'.Only spe-
cific time adds a further device for pinpointing events in
time more accurately in all three distinctions of past,present
and future.

2.2 Units of time

Further pinpointing in time can be achieved by using the
units of time that exist in Kaingáng.The smallest units are
kurã 'daylight' -- kuty 'night,dark' (5).Kurã refers to the
cycle of the sun as long as it can be seen,from sunrise to
sunset;kuty refers too from sunset to sunrise.The status of
twilight is somewhat uncertain as to where it belongs.Certain
points during these two units can be referred to such as'when
the sun rises','when the sun hangs over the middle of our
heads','as the sun descends','as the sun sets','as it gets
dark','as the moon rises','as the moon sets','as day dawns'.
these are not units of time within themselves but rather ori-
entation points during kurã and kuty.In addition the position
of the sun can be pointed to indicate the hour.There is no
time orientation possible on moonless nights except the dawn-
ing of day.

The next larger unit of time is kysã 'moon,month'which re-
fers to the moon cycle.Points of reference within this unit in
relation to the shape of the moon seəm to have been used be-
fore Brazilian influence,but they were not codified in the same
way as the reference points during kura.

The largest time unit is prỹg 'year,famine'.Originally prỹg
seems to have referred to at least two seasons,the dry and
the rainy seasons or the hot and the cold seasons.

Matrix of time expression paradigms

		Time		Sequence of events		Point of action	
		specific	general	event focus	speaker focus	action focus	subject focus
past	far	rãkè-ũ tà day before yesterday	vãsỹ long ago	to hã before	huri already	ja finished, accomplished	ne subject is initiator
	close	rãkè tà yesterday					
present	general	ũ-ri today	ũ-ri now	mrè hã with	ha now	mũ, rỹ action in progress, do it now	tòg, vỹ subject is actor / subject is being described
	specific	ũn-ri now					
future	close	vaj ky tomorrow	kejẽn, vãhã kar kỹ, tũg kỹ same day / suddenly / after when finished		sir then following	ke, do (in future) / -mni do it some time	jè subject is making decision / nỹ, subject made decision
	far	vaj-ũn kã day after tomorrow	kãnhmar soon				

6

During the cold season food is scarce,particulary toward the
end of the cold and the beginning of the hot season.From this
the meaning 'famine' may have developed.There is no linguistic
device for referring to points within this time unit except
by naming such events as 'when the corn is green' (November
till January),'during the heat' (October through February),
'during the cold' (April through August) etc.

Combining these time units with the numerals in common use
in Kaingáng gives considerable possibility to distinguish time
depth beyond the time expressions discussed above.The Kaingáng
system of numerals used to go up to 80,though not all the num-
bers were represented,and this rather complicated system may
not have been in general use.Today it is replaced by the Bra-
zilian number system.Numbers from 1 to 1 000 and combinations
of these can be handled by most Kaingáng men.Before these loans
came in the most common numerals seem to have been pir 'one,
few' (6),règre 'two',tãgtũg 'three',pipir 'few'(plural from of
pir),ũ-tỹ-hẽn-ri-ke 'many',ve 'first',rèn 'last'.Another device
for indicating time depth is the specifying one of the time
units with ...tag kã 'in this ...', ..-ũn kã 'in the other...'
referring to past or future events one time unit removed.
By adopting Brazilian names for time units considerable detail
has been added to the system.The smallest time unit now in use
by Kaingáng men is minuto 'minute',though it is only useful to
those who have clocks or watches.The concept of òra 'hour',on
the other hand,has been completely absorbed into Kaingáng and
is being used by men and women.This unit not only serves those
having watches.Many men have learned to tell time in terms of
hours by watching the sun.

Kurã and kuty are used inter changeably with dia and noite
respectively.When the sun hangs over the middle of our heads'
is being replaced by the shorter meio dia which has a counter-
part meia noite,though no Indian without a watch can locate
this point.The keeping of chicken adds a further point in time
during the night:'when the cock crows' indicates some time be-
fore daylight.This is not very reliable,however,since the cocks
seem to crow all night long.Inspite of all these innovations
the most efficient way of telling time still is to point to the
position of the sun for the particular hour,a very important de-

vice when giving out medicine.

There are basically two types of days in Kaingáng,"good"days which are working days and"bad" days which are Sundays and holy days (7).The Portuguese names of the days have been assimilated into Kaingáng,and so has the time unit simỹnỹ 'week'.

Kysã and mẽnh 'month' are used interchangeably.The Portuguese names of the months are generally known.Prỹg and ỹnṵ are also used interchangeably (except where prỹg has the meaning 'famine') The Kaingáng men have learned to distinguish years by their num- bers,making available the tools for relating events in as much time depth and with as much accuracy as needed.This has become important for work arrangements with Brazilians,determining the birth date and age of children and other important events.This knowledge is a speciality of the men and few women can handle it with ease.Only very slowly a sense of historic developments is growing in Kaingáng thinking.Any event further removed than personal experience allows is still related to the very origin of things,particularly if it is removed not only in time but al- so in geography and culture.This is one of the main difficul- ties in relating events spoken about in the Bible.

2.3 Kinship terms

Time depth is also reflected in the kinship system.The fol- lowing is not a full discussion of these terms since only the time depth is in focus,and mainly the simple descriptive terms will be discussed.An exhaustive study of all the possible rela- tionships with the help of genealogies remains to be made (8).

Three kinship generations have seperate terms:the contempories of ego,those of the older generation and those of the younger generation.A further division of terms is rooted in the divi- sion of the tribe into patrilinear moieties(9).In the genera- tion of ego a further time distinction is made:the older sib- lings and parallel cousins of ego have a different term from his younger siblings and parallel cousins.There is also one dis- tinction dependent on the sex of ego:a woman uses the same terms for male and female siblings and parallel cousins whereas a man uses a special term for his female siblings and parallel cousins whithout differentiating them as to age.The term reflects his

responsibilities for them,in other contexts it means 'the first one'.

The actual terms are presented in three matrices(see page 10). Matrix 1 contains the terms used by female ego,matrix 2 those used by male ego.In addition to the differences described above matrix 1 contains the term mèn 'husband'which refers to him only in the Paraná dialect but to any jāmrè of a female ego in the other dialects since they are all potential husbands.Matrix 2 contains the term prũ 'wife' which applies to her only in the Paraná dialect but to all his jāmrè-fag since they are potential wives.

-fi 'she' and -fag 'they fem.'indicate the sex of the person referred to (male is usually unmarked).Since the ideal marriage is between members of opposite moieties jòg and nỹ may be husband and wife,so also kakrã and mà.Actual marriage patterns,however,do not always conform to this rather simplified representation of the relationships.Kòsin 'child'is the singular to krẽ 'offspring'.Broken lines indicate that the term in brackets applies to a small group in this category wheras the non-bracketed term describes all other members in this category.When jāmrè is bracketed it means 'son-in-law'.

Time depth in relation to kinship terms,then,is very similar to that differentiated by the time expressions.All terms contain the distinction past --present --future;some terms in the present category make a further past --future distinction in the same generation as ego.Taking into consideration the complex descriptive kinship terms more time distinctions can be made. Jòg sĩ 'small jòg' is a man (or boy) in jòg relationship to ego but actually younger than ego, or the expression can be used to designate someone in jãvy relationship to ego's father or other jòg. Jòg si 'old jòg' is sometimes applied to the jòg of ego's jòg, i.e. to ego's grandfather and his male parallel siblings. The same qualifiers can be used with nỹ but are not ordinarily combined with kakrã or mà. Kòsin can be further qualified as kòsin ve 'first child' ,kòsin sanh 'oldest grown up child', kòsin sĩ 'little child', kòsin tỹ ẽgno 'last child'. The simple kinship terms can also be combined with each other to give a more detailed description of the relationships

Matrices of kinship terms

Matrix 1

ego female	member of the same moiety — male	female	member of opposite moiety — male	female
past	jòg	mà	kakrã	nỹ
present — older	kãke (-fi)		(mèn)	jãmrè (-fi)
present — younger	javy (-fi)			
future	(jãmrè)	kòsin (-fi)-krẽ (-fag)		

Matrix 2

ego male	member of the same moiety — male	female	member of opposite moiety — male	female
past	jàg	mà	Kakrã	nỹ
present — older	kãke	ve	jãmrè (-fi)	(prũ)
present — younger	jãvy			
future	kòsin (-fi)-krẽ (-fag)	(jamre)		

Matrix 3

ego male	same moiety male — blood	relation	same moiety female — blood	relation	marriage rel.	marriage rel.	opposite moiety male — blood	relation	opposite moiety female — blood	relation	marriage rel.
past 2 generations	vovo		vòvò		∅	∅	vovo		vòvò		∅
past 1 generation	panh		titija		mà	kakrã	titiju		mỹnh		∅
present — older	kãke		ve		cunhada	cunhado	primo-irmão(-fi)				(prũ) cunhada
present — younger	javy										
future	kòsin(-fi)	- krẽ(-fag)				jãmrè	sobrinho(-fi)				jãmrè-fi

between any person and ego such as i jòg kãke 'the kãke of my
jòg' etc. There is a further device for distinguishing close
blood relationship from more distant relationship. ijòg pẽ
'my real jòg' is in closer blood relationship to me than
ijòg-ũ 'my other jòg. This does not necessarily mean, however,
that he is ego's real father, he might be one of his brothers
and usually applies to ego's closest jòg living. To distinguish
the actual parent from all other jòg and nỹ various descrip-
tions can be used such as "those who made me" for parents, "he
who made me" for father, "she who breast-fed me" for mother,
"those who suckled with me" for actual brothers and sisters,etc.

The influence of Portuguese has considerably changed the
system described above. Bringing in new terms meant bringing
in new categories which changed the whole time depth as well as
changing the area of meaning of various terms. Matrix 3 (see
page 10) shows these changes which apply to the Paraná dialect
only.The other dialects show a different matrix not discussed
here.The martix is presented from the point of view of male
ego, since the differences between male and female ego are no
other than those described in matrix 1 and 2. The new system
makes a rigorous difference between blood relationship and re-
lationship through marriage. This results in a narrowing of the
meaning of kakrã -- mã, terms which now apply only to parents-
-in-law. Jãmrè is reserved for son-in-law and may even be used
for daughter-in-law. Cunhado 'brother-in-law', cunhada 'sister-
-in-law', primo-irmão 'parallel cousin' are sometimes used,
though the more usual description is to state the blood rela-
tionship ego has to the persons.Primo-irmão can also be used
for kãke -- jãvy -- ve which are not the actual brothers or
sisters, but this is rare.

The terms for people one generation older than ego have be-
come diversified. Jòg is usually replaced by panh, but the
area of meaning remains unchanged. Jòg is taking on the meaning
'he who is over us in authority, he who provides for us' and
is applied to the official in charge of the reservation and to
God. Similary nỹ is replaced by mỹnh without change in meaning.
Nỹ is taking on a similar meaning to jòg. titija 'aunt' and
titiju 'uncle' have taken part of the area of meaning previously

covered by m̰à and k̰akr̃á respectively. A whole new distinction
in time is added by the terms vovo -- vòvò. These terms apply
to the actual grandparents, i.e. the parents of both father
and mother, and can also be used for the brothers and sisters
of these and sometimes of their close parallel cousins. The
terms are not used for wider relationships than that . There
are no comparable terms for in-laws. When it is desirable to
state a relationship to parents of in-laws this is done by
describing their relationship to ego's spouse or children, or
by describing ego's blood relationship to them which usually
exists through some chanell. Stating the blood relationship
of ego's in-laws gives added protection to the marriage.

The terms for people of the generation younger than ego al-
so are diversified. Kòsin -- kr̃ẽ are often (though not always)
substituted by sobrinho -- sobrinha-fi for children belonging
to the opposite moiety. Sometimes these terms are even used
for any children that are not of direct descent (i.e. own chil-
dren or grandchildren), but this is rare. Occasionally the term
neto is used for grandchildren, but this is equally rare.

Brazilian influence, then, has resulted in a complete new
time distinction in relation to the kinship system, the diffe-
rence between one and two generations past, and a similar
distinction might be developing in the future time depth.

2.4 Aspect particles

Parallel to the observed new focus on time depth in the
units of time and kinship terms runs a similar development in
the grammatical category of aspect particles where no direct
influence from Portuguese can be observed. Some of the aspect
particles have already been discussed (see 2.1). A time ele-
ment is somewhat present in mũ 'action in Progress' and r̃ã
'slowly beginning to do something'. It is not present in t̃i
which denotes an action done habitually, nor in ñi which de-
notes a state of being (10). Ve 'it is really so' and nẽ 'it
is so for the time being but not necessarily continuously'
contain a semantic component related to time in the contrast
passing state -- coninuous state. When vẽ modifies another
particle it indicates that the action should have taken place

but did not, or that the state continued up to a certain point
and then changed. So "I will go muve" means 'I was going to go
but didn't, and"fire small veve" means that the fire started out
small but then blazed up (and consumed the house).

The Paraná dialect is now creating new aspect particles con-
taining a time element by fusing aspect particles with each other
or with other morphemes. The intention clitic -nh is combined with
mũ to make a new aspect nhũ 'intended action'. This new morpheme
is not yet accepted by all members of the speech community, but
it is widely used by people unter 3o years of age. Nhũ is used by
the whole community as a contraction, but the younger people use
it as a morpheme where the contraction cannot occur for phonolo-
gical reasons (11).

Mu can also be contracted with ha 'now' to ma 'action is about
to take place now'. Tĩ is contracted with ha to ta 'habitual action
with reference to an end point'; or it is contracted with vẽ to
tẽ ' habitual action with reference to an end point, action should
have taken place but did not'. Ma, ta, and tẽ are used freely by
all menbers of the speech community, but only the older people still
recognize them as contractions even though the non-contracted
forms exist along-side of the contracted ones with very little
difference in meaning.

The other dialects do not contract as easily as the Paraná di-
alect and are not participating in this development. It goes right
along, however, with general trend of the language to focus on
time depth and to provide linguistic tools for further precision
in talking about points in time than was possible before con-
tact with Brazilian society.

3. Conclusion

Before the conquest, then, the Kaingáng did not seem particu-
larly interested in pinpointing events in time. This is the rea-
son why they had not developed a detailed terminology for this.
Once the need arose, the terminology was developed, partly by
adopting words from the contact language and partly by developing
new words by fusion. This once more confirms the universal trait
of languages that anything can be clearly expressed that the spea-
kers of any speech community want to say. Although to a certain
degree the semantic categories of a language influence the think-
ing of the speaker of this language, the speech community also

influences the semantic categories of the language, changing them according to need and interest. Language has no life apart from what the community of speakers gives it and is continually subject to the changes they want to subject it to. The influence the structure of a language has on the thinking of an individual speaker goes hand in hand with the influence this same speaker has on the speech community through which the structure of the language is being maintained and changed.

Footnotes

(1) See the discussion in Davis, Irvine, "Some Macro-Jê rela-
tionships in: <u>IJAL</u> 34, No. 1, pp. 42-47, Baltimore, 1968, and
by the same author "Comparative Jê phonology", in: <u>Estudos Lin-</u>
<u>guisticos</u> 1.2 pp. 10-25, São Paulo, 1966. A detailed study of
the relationship of the five Kaingáng dialects to each other
and to Laklãno or Xokléng is in preparation. The data in Kain-
gáng are given in the current practical orthography in use
among the members of the Kaingáng speech community. It was de-
veloped on the basis of the phonlogical structure of the lan-
guage as described in Wiesemann, U. DIE PHONOLOGISCHE UND GRAM-
MATISCHE STRUKTUR DER KAINGÁNG-SPRACHE, Mouton, The Hague 1972,
S.P. 90. Symbols and their approximate phonetic values are:
vowels: a [a], ã [ã], à [ə], e [e], ẽ [ɛ̃,æ̃], è [ɛ], i [i],
ĩ [ĩ], o [o], ò [ɔ], u [u], ũ [ũ,õ], y [ɨ], ỹ [ə̃];

consonants:

f -- bilabial voiceless fricative

g -- velar nasal, sometimes with closure of oral cavity

h -- pharyngeal voiceless fricative

j -- palatal voiced fricative with little friction, syllable
final with vocalic offglide

k -- velar voiceless stop

m -- bilabial nasal, sometimes with closure of oral cavity

n -- alveolar nasal, sometimes with closure of oral cavity

nh -- palatal nasal, sometimes with closure of oral cavity,some-
times with fricative offglide

p -- bilabial voiceless stop

r -- alveolar flap, syllable final with vocalic offglide

s -- palatal voiceless fricative

t -- alveolar voiceless stop

v -- bilabial voiced fricative, syllable with vocalic offglide

' -- glottal stop

(2) rãkè is a verb meaning 'to become late afternoon'. It
seems to contain the morpheme rã 'sun'. Tã indicates location
in space or time. Ũ-ri seems to be composed of two morphemes
also, though the meaning of ũ is not clear in this combination.

Ri occurs in many combinations, but it is difficult to assign a meaning to it. Vaj is a verb meaning 'day dawns' kỹ means 'when, as'.

(3) Ũ in rãkè-ũ tã is a pronoun meaning 'someone, another one'. Since it occurs proceeding the phoneme /t/ it is difficult to determine whether this is perhaps an occurrence of the pronoun un with similar meaning and which occurs in vaj-ũn kã. In this expression kã 'in' replaces kỹ for structural reasons. Ũn in ũn-ri may be a contraction of ũ and ti 'he, it' which frequently contracts to -n following vowels and occurs in this type of construction.

(4) Ke is an intransitive verb meaning 'do, say' which can replace most verbs as a pro-verb. Added after another verb, in which case it is usually preceded by the intentive clitic -nh, it places the action into the future: ti 'go' tĩg ke or tĩnhke 'will go'; tĩg jè or tĩg ke jè 'in order to go'. In a different kind of construction jè precedes ke to indicate future action: tĩg jèn ke mũ 'he will go, he will be going' where -n is an allomorph of ti 'he'. In this construction ke is not used in some dialects and the subject has to be followed by a subject indicator: tĩg jè tòg mũ 'he will go'.

(5) Kurã contains the morpheme rã 'sun'. Ku- cannot be assigned a meaning. Ty means 'dead, quiet' in Xokléng and other Gê languages, in Kaingáng it refers to numb limbs, and also occurs in the combination katy 'quiet'. Kurã has a verb form kurãg 'to become day'; kuty has a verb form kutyg 'to become dark'.

(6) The difference between 'one' and 'a few' can be expressed by pir -- pipir or by combining pir with the singular form of the verb to indicate 'one' and with the plural form of the verb to indicate 'several'.

(7) See Wiesemann, Ursula, "Semantic categories of "good" and "bad" in relation to Kaingáng personal names", in: Revista do Museu Paulista N.S. 12.pp 177-184, São Paulo, 1960

(8) For a first attempt at describing the kinship system see Baldus, Herbert, "Terminologia de parentesco kaingang", in: Sociologia, 14, no. 1, pp. 76-79, São Paulo, 1952.

(9) For the description of the moieties see Baldus, Herbert, "Das Dualsystem der Kaingáng-Indianer", in: <u>Actes du IV Con-grés International des Sciences Anthropologiques</u> (Vienne 1952), pp. 376-378,Vienne, 1955, Wiesemann,op.cit. 1960, and Wiesemann, Ursula, "Children of mixed marriages in relation to Kaingáng society", in <u>Revista do Museu Paulista</u> N.S. 15, pp. 315-317, São Paulo, 1964.

(10) <u>Nĩ</u> is here representative of a whole group of aspect par-ticles which indicate the state of being. For a full description see Wiesemann, op.cit. 1972.

(11) <u>-nh</u> has an allomorph ∅ after closed syllables. In such en-vironments it is covertly present. It is in just these environ-ments that the young people use the morpheme <u>nhũ</u>. <u>Venhũ</u> can be contracted from <u>ve</u> 'see', <u>-nh</u> 'intention', and <u>mũ</u> 'action in progress'.
Similary the young people say <u>kym nhũ</u> 'will cut' which is rejec-ted by the older people.