

7926889

CROWELL, THOMAS HARRIS
A GRAMMAR OF BORDO.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1979

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

The negative microfilm copy of this dissertation was prepared and inspected by the school granting the degree. We are using this film without further inspection or change. If there are any questions about the film content, please write directly to the school.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

A GRAMMAR OF BORORO

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University
in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Thomas Harris Crowell

May, 1979

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Thomas Harris Crowell was born on October 19, 1941, in Crowell, Texas. He graduated from Midwest Christian College in Oklahoma City in 1965 with a Bachelor of Theology degree. During that same year he married Janet Bowman Crowell. The Crowells now have three sons, Jon, Dan, and Rob.

In 1967 Thomas received the M.A. degree in linguistics at the University of Michigan. In 1969, as a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, he began field work as a linguist and Bible translator among the Bororo Indians in the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil. This work continued until 1977. Since 1977 he has served as Director of Tribal Affairs for the Brazil Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Table of Contents

0	Introduction	1
0.1	Goals	1
0.2	A sketch of systemic grammar	2
0.3	Basic terminology and notation	6
0.4	Basic unit of description	8
0.5	Sample derivation of a Bororo clause	12
0.6	Bororo language and people	15
1	Clause Transitivity	20
1.1	Introductory sketch of clause composition	21
1.2	Nontransitive	25
1.2.1	Intransitive	25
1.2.2	Adjective	26
1.2.3	Mental transfer	30
1.2.4	Transitive mental transfer	32
1.2.5	Direct	34
1.2.6	Indirect	36
1.2.7	Copulative	37
1.2.8	Existential	37
1.2.9	Simple equative	38
1.2.10	Complex equative	40
1.2.11	Identificational	41
1.3	Transitive	43
1.3.1	Lexical	45
1.3.2	Causative	45
1.3.3	Imminent	51

1.3.4	Inceptive	53
1.3.5	Nonagentive	54
2	Independent Clause Mood	63
2.1	Independent	63
2.1.1	Imperative	63
2.1.2	Intransitive imperative	72
2.1.3	Hortatory	73
2.1.4	Declarative	74
2.1.5	Interrogative	74
2.1.6	Yes-no and explicit	75
2.1.7	Information questions	76
2.2	Aspect	85
2.2.1	Recent	87
2.2.2	Uncertainty	87
2.2.3	Neutral	88
2.2.4	Hypothetical	90
2.2.5	Stative	95
2.2.6	Order of aspects	99
2.2.7	Neutral aspect <u>-re</u> and fronting <u>-re</u>	99
2.2.8	Iterative	101
3	Dependent Clause Mood	103
3.1	Aspect in dependent clauses	104
3.1.1	Nonfinite	105
3.1.2	Purpose	107
3.2	Relative	108
3.3	Nominal	114

3.3.1	Short	116
3.4	Adverbial clauses	119
3.5	Bororo complementation in general	121
3.6	Dependent questions	124
4	Adverbs	127
4.1	Locative and time	127
4.2	Manner	128
4.2.1	Ideophonic	128
4.2.2	Intensifiers	132
4.2.3	General manner	132
4.3	Sentential	135
4.4	Negative	136
4.5	<u>Bokoa</u> 'lack' as a paraphrase for negative	138
4.6	Constituent negative	139
5	Postpositions	143
5.1	General description	144
5.2	Locative	147
5.2.1	Directional	147
5.2.2	Range	158
5.2.3	Specific place	163
5.2.4	Presence	169
5.3	Nonlocative	171
5.3.1	Reason	171
5.3.2	Benefactive	173
5.3.3	Instrument	175

5.3.4	Accompaniment	176
5.3.4.1	Simultaneous	176
5.3.4.2	Clausal	177
5.3.5	Change of state	179
5.3.6	Referent	183
6	Body Part Locationals	190
6.1	Overview	190
6.2	Description of individual body part locationals	192
7	Noun Phrase	201
7.1	Nominalized clause	202
7.2	Pronoun	202
7.2.1	Free pronoun	203
7.2.2	Bound pronoun	206
7.3	Noun	210
7.4	Noun modifiers	210
7.4.1	Relative	210
7.4.2	Demonstrative	211
7.4.3	Adverbial, postpositional, and clausal relatives	213
7.4.4	Possession	214
7.4.5	Indefinite	217
7.4.6	Numeral	218
7.4.7	Appropriate	219
7.4.8	Nounless	220
7.4.9	Diminutive	221
7.4.10	Equal	221

7.5	Plural	223
7.6	The general noun <u>boe</u>	226
7.7	Reciprocal and coreferential	228
7.7.1	Reciprocal	228
7.7.2	Coreferential	230
8	Hierarchy And Cohesion In Discourse	237
8.1	Hierarchical structure	237
8.1.1	Discourse	237
8.1.2	Paragraph	240
8.1.3	Sentence	240
8.2	Cohesion	241
8.2.1	Conjunctions	241
8.2.2	Anaphoric postpositional phrases	246
8.2.2.1	Temporal phrases	247
8.2.2.2	Nontemporal phrases	248
9	Fronting	250
9.1	The structure of Bororo fronting	253
9.2	Fronting and rhetorical relations	255
9.2.1	Temporal setting - transitional	256
9.2.2	Spacial setting - transitional	257
9.2.3	Question and answer	259
9.2.4	Cause and effect	261
9.2.5	Conditional	262
9.2.6	Contrast	262
9.2.7	Supplementary relations	267
	Bibliography	268

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Goals. The grammar presented here is based on the systemic model developed primarily by Halliday, and also by Hudson, Barnwell, McCord, Winograd, and others. It is a grammar in the restricted sense in that it does not cover phonology or semantics in any detail. The primary goal of the grammar is to describe clearly what the Bororo language is like and to tell what one needs to know about the language in order to communicate in it. For this reason there is a great amount of data given, most of which comes from tape recordings of actual speech use or else from things which I have heard and written down in field notebooks.

The grammar is not limited to the description of a circumscribed corpus. Instead it is a description of what Halliday (1974) calls the 'meaning potential' of a language. This includes not only all the utterances I have actually heard, the 'actualized meaning potential', but also the as yet unactualized meaning potential contained in the grammatical patterns by which the language permits the creation of new utterances.

The grammar given here is divided according to the rank of the unit described. Chapters 1 to 4 deal with units at the clause rank, chapters 5, 6, and 7 with noun phrases and postpositional phrases, and chapters 8 and 9 with units above the clause rank. Verb phrases are not

considered to be units in Bororo grammar because the description of verb phenomena is adequately handled at clause and word rank. Word rank is not treated separately, but some word information is found throughout the grammar.

0.2 A sketch of systemic grammar. Systemic grammar assumes that language is as it is because of what it has to do. Language is viewed as the potential for meaning which is available to the speaker in relation to the functions which language is made to serve. The organization of language, therefore, can best be explained in light of these functions.

The number of uses which language has is so great, however, that it is impossible to discern any direct representation of these within the language system. Nonetheless, it is possible to recognize a small set of what M. A. K. Halliday (1973) calls macrofunctions. These are only indirectly related to the specific uses of language but are still recognizable as abstract representations of the basic functions which language is made to serve.

These macrofunctions are the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual. Together they provide the input for grammar. Grammar therefore has a functional input and a structural output; it provides the mechanism for combining the expressions of the different functions in the ways required in order to convey the meanings desired.

The ideational component in language expresses content or meaning in the usual sense. In grammar the con-

tent function of language is seen primarily in the transitivity system, in which categories such as agent and intransitive are characteristically found. The transitivity system serves to give the interpretation and expression in language of the different types of processes found in the external world, including material, mental, and abstract processes.

The interpersonal macrofunction embodies all use of language to express social and personal relations, including all forms of the speaker's involvement in the speech situation and the speech act. In the clause, the interpersonal element is represented primarily by mood and modality. Mood has to do with the speaker's selection of a particular role in the speech situation and his choice of roles for the addressee; whereas modality relates to the expression of his judgements and predictions.

It is through the textual macrofunction that language makes links with itself and with the situation. In this way discourse becomes possible, because the speaker can produce a text and the listener can recognize one. In the clause the distinctions of theme (what is being talked about) and rheme (what is said about the theme) and given and new information are derived from the textual component.

Halliday (1973) states that the textual component of language must be regarded in a somewhat different light from the ideational (content) and interpersonal components in that it alone has an enabling function intrinsic to language. He also argues that the ideational component and the interpersonal component should be given equal status, rather

than assigning greater importance to the ideational part of language, as has frequently been done. However, as I explain in chapter 9 the study of Bororo text structure suggests that there are reasons for considering the ideational component as providing a basic organization for the language with other kinds of information added to this.

Each macrofunction expresses a different kind of meaning. Together they represent the entire meaning potential of the utterance. A clause, for example, is the simultaneous realization of ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings. These are realized in different parts of the grammar: ideational meanings in the transitivity network, interpersonal meanings in the mood network, and textual meanings in the theme network.

Meaning is encoded in a structure such as a clause by choosing to build it with certain syntactic features rather than others. Lexical choice also enters in here, inasmuch as no distinct separation is made in systemic grammar between grammar and lexicon; lexicon is considered to be only the most delicate grammar (Halliday 1973:18).¹ The clause is the end result of the lexico-grammatical choices made in its encoding. These choices come from limited and highly structured sets of possibilities in the transitivity, mood, and theme networks. Systemic

¹Hudson (1971) however, argues that lexis should be considered quite separate from the rest of grammar.

grammar places primary emphasis on analyzing these sets of choices.

After the meaningful choices required by the system networks have all been made a second set of rules, the realization rules, come into play. These result in features being realized in one or more of the following ways:

(1) by prosodic manifestations such as tone or intonation. For example, the clause feature Declarative is partially realized by the presence of declarative intonation.

(2) by particles such as conjunctions which do not have constituent status. Their function is to signal some syntactic relationship.

(3) by entry into another system network, usually at a lower rank. For example, the features of a transitive clause are realized in part by an entrance into the noun phrase network to produce the object. Features of a noun phrase are realized in part by entry into the noun network and sometimes by entry into the dependent clause network. The latter case represents embedding or what is called 'rank shift' in systemic grammar, when a feature at a lower rank is realized by entry into a system at a higher rank.

(4) by the specification of the selection of certain features on entry into another system network in the

realization of a constituent. For example, the realization of the clause feature Agentive includes not only an entry into the NP network, but the specification that the features Noun and Bound pronoun must be selected from it.

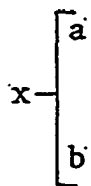
(5) by the linear ordering of grammatical constituents. For example, subjects precede direct objects.

Surface structures are thus completely determined by whether certain features are chosen or not chosen in the system networks. The features chosen trigger the operation of realization rules which produce surface forms having the structures called for by these features in one or more of the ways listed above.

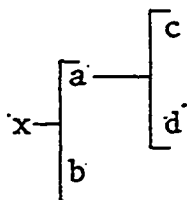
0.3 Basic terminology and notation. Systems are sets of mutually exclusive features. Every system has an entry condition which determines under what circumstances a choice from the system may be made. If the entry condition is satisfied, one and only one of the features may be selected.

Systems are related in a system network. They may be simultaneous, so that the selection of features is made from two or more systems at once, or a feature choice in one system may be the entry condition to another system, making the second system dependent on the first.

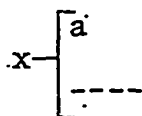
The following notation is used to show the interrelations of systems in a network:



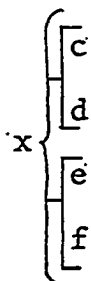
There is a system of features a/b with the entry condition x. If x is present either a or b must be selected.



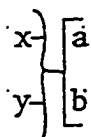
The choice of a from system a/b is the entry condition for another system c/d.



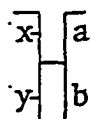
The presence or absence of a feature may also be a choice. The possible selection here is a or nothing.



Systems c/d and e/f have the same entry condition x, therefore if x is present one term must be selected from each of the systems. The possible selections are xce, xcf, xde, and xdf.



The system a/b has two simultaneous entry conditions. The choice between a and b can be made only if both x and y are present.



System a/b has two possible entry conditions, either x or y. The possible selections are xa, xb, ya, and yb.

Square left brackets [indicate that an alternate choice must be made; one or the other feature of the system must be selected. Square right brackets] indicate an alternative entry condition. Left facing curly brackets { indicate that the system connected by the brackets are simultaneous. Right facing curly brackets } indicate a compound entry condition, so that all the features so connected must be selected if the entry condition is to be fulfilled.

The names of features are capitalized throughout the text of the grammar but are not capitalized in glosses.

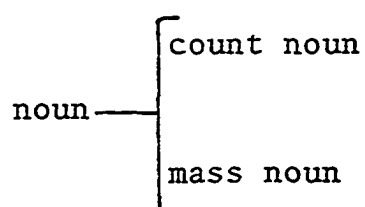
0.4 Basic units of description. The basic unit of this grammar is the feature. Hudson in his 1971 systemic grammar of English posits not only a feature for every grammatical constituent, but also a function. These functions are designed to account for all syntagmatic relations. However, using a function label to accompany every feature produces a cumbersome grammar, full of redundancy. About half of the time the names of the functions are either paraphrases of the feature labels or else are identical to them except for the function names being capitalized. This redundant use of an abstract function for every feature implies that the relation of semantics to surface structure is much less direct than I believe it to be.

In the Bororo grammar presented here syntagmatic relations are determined by the choice of features in the net-

work and stated in realization rules without resorting to an intermediate unit. For example, the selection of the feature Agentive results in the activation of an associated realization rule which places the NP realize of Agentive in clause initial position.

In his revised grammar Hudson (1976) also concludes that the grammar should not have functions for every feature. He does, however, maintain four functions: subject, topic, scene-setter, and relator. He sees these as necessary to account for certain syntactic phenomena occurring right at the beginning of clauses. I am not aware of anywhere in Bororo grammar where functions of this type are called for.

The grammar presented here is like Hudson's English grammar in that classes are not distinguished from features. Every paradigmatic category, i.e. every term in a system, may be thought of as both a feature and a class. So a system such as



can be expressed as either 'any item belonging to the class "noun" must also belong to one of the classes "count noun" or "mass noun"' or as 'any item which has the feature "noun" must also have one of the features "count noun" or "mass noun"'. .

I also follow Hudson in considering even the names of different ranks such as clause, phrase, and word as themselves features in one overall system with the entry condition 'grammatical item'. He says

What a grammar will contain then, is not a number of different system-networks, each for a different 'rank' (clause, phrase, etc.) or a different environment (subject, main verb, etc.) but a single network, which includes all the grammatical systems needed for the language. Treating the relation among "clauses", "phrases", etc. as a system which binds all the other systems together on the left is simply taking to its logical conclusion the principle that I have already stated: that the syntagmatic environment can predetermine the selection to be made from a system. Thus if some environment allows a word but not a clause or phrase then the only part of the total network which is thereafter available to be chosen from will be the part extending rightwards from "word". In this way, it seems to me, we keep the advantages of the Firthian "polysystemic" approach, but the grammar will be much more integrated than it would be if we left the various systems unconnected.

Realization rules in this Bororo grammar have the form of statements. They contain no formulas, symbols, or anything other than a straightforward statement describing how a feature is realized. For example, the realization statement

for Agentive is 'Agentive is realized by an entry into the NP system. Also associated with Agentive is the requirement that if Agentive is selected, aspect (when present) must follow it.'

This use of statements is different from Hudson's realization rules and those found in some other systemic grammars, in which elaborate formalisms are used to specify realization rules. My decision to use simple statements is a conscious one, done in keeping with my primary goal of writing a clear and understandable description of the Bororo language. I am aware, however, that this decision causes the loss of some generality in the grammar. There is, for example, no similarity of rule form to indicate similarities between question formation and topicalization. However, that they both involve fronting and both add a suffix to the questioned or topicalized element is stated as part of their description.

The primary contribution of systemic grammar to this grammar is in the concept of system network, the interdependent sets of choices available to the language user in the formation of a unit such as a clause. This has provided a way to mentally step back and see a fairly large portion of the grammar at one time, seeing not only the features involved (e.g. Transitive, Intransitive, etc.) but also the factors which permit their selection. The categories associated with the features found in the system networks are not at all unique to systemic grammar; they are, in fact, quite traditional.

Systemic grammar fits my purposes well in that it emphasizes the functional aspect of language -- language is as it is because of what it is used for. Even though I

recognize that there are other legitimate ways of approaching language, what interests me is an approach tied very closely with language use. I want the grammar to be understandable and useful for someone who would want to communicate in Bororo. Systemic grammar provides a framework in which this is possible.

Systemic grammar is a 'top down' model in which choices at a higher rank (e.g. clause) limit the possible choices in systems at lower ranks (e.g. phrase). There are, however, a few places in Bororo grammar where this does not really seem to fit. In these cases it seems more accurate to say that higher choices are constrained by choices made at lower ranks. One such case is found in 3.4 regarding the feature Short. One of the statements made there is 'In any noun clause which contains only a subject (of any type or size) and an intransitive verb, such as aregodire jawiji imedi maragodi (arrive-neutral yesterday-relative man work) '(that) the man who arrived yesterday works' or e-wogu (3pl-fish) 'they fish', neither Nominal nor Nonfinite is realized.' The selection of a certain kind of verb from the verb (word) network determines the shorter realization associated with an item at clause rank; this different realization potential is what motivates the positing of the feature Short in the first place. I do not know any convenient ways in systemic grammar to handle such cases of lower rank choices constraining higher choices.

0.5 Sample derivation of a Bororo clause. The following is a step by step explanation of the derivation of

the clause imedî u-tu-re it-abo (man 3sg-go-neutral 1sg-with) 'The man went with me' according to the grammar presented here.

Nontransitive and Intransitive are the features selected from the clause transitivity network in the derivation of this clause. From the mood network, the features selected are Independent, Declarative, Neutral aspect, Adverbial, and Postpositional phrase. Unmarked is the only feature selected from the theme network. The entire list of clause rank features represented in the clause above are, therefore, Nontransitive, Intransitive, Independent, Declarative, Neutral aspect, Adverbial, Postpositional phrase, and Unmarked, as well as the feature Clause itself.

After all the clause rank features have been selected these features trigger realization rules. The results of these are:

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Clause	Entry into NP network to produce the subject
Intransitive	Entry into the intransitive verb network where <u>tu</u> 'go' is selected Subject NP immediately precedes the verb Bound pronoun selected as part of subject NP Aspect follows the verb
Declarative	Declarative intonation
Neutral	Aspect suffix <u>-re</u>
Postpositional phrase	Entry into NP network to produce the head of the phrase

Bound pronoun selected as part of NP
 Entry into postpositional network where apo
 'with' results from the selection of Non-
 locative and Accompaniment
 Postverb position

Unmarked Normal order of elements

The remaining features, Nontransitive, Adverbial, and Independent, have no realization.

The realizations of the features Clause and Postpositional phrase include entries into the NP network. With the subject NP the features Noun, Pronoun, Singular, Third Person and Bound are selected. With the object of the postposition the features chosen are Pronoun, Singular, First Person, and Bound. The realization of these features is as follows:

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Realization</u>
Noun	Entry into noun network where <u>imedî</u> 'man' is selected
Pronoun, Singular, Third, Bound	<u>u-</u>
Pronoun, Singular, First, Bound	<u>i-</u>

When bound pronouns are prefixed to vowel initial stems, like apo 'with' in the clause under examination, a thematic consonant is inserted. The thematic consonants are t

and d, k and g, and n. Which occurs is determined by the shape of the prefix and the initial vowel of the stem. The thematic consonant called for with first singular and an a initial stem such as apo is t. There is one further morphophonemic change, p to b, to give it-abo 'with me'. The p to b change is accounted for by a consonantal strengthening rule which voices the first and second consonants following a prefix which contains a consonant. Consonantal strengthening also includes a glide formation rule in which a stem initial j becomes y and b becomes w when preceded by any pronominal prefix.

0.6 Bororo language and people. Bororo (also written Borôro and Borôro) is an unclassified language spoken by around 500 speakers in south central Mato Grosso, Brazil. It is part of the Macro-Jê stock, as suggested by Davis (1968) and others. Evidence for this is seen most clearly by comparing Bororo with the reconstructed Proto-Jê word list found in Davis 1966. The phonemes of the language are consonants p t k b d g ɕ j r m n w y and vowels i e a o u ɨ and ē. ɨ and ē are high and mid central vowels respectively. ɕ is written as x and y as i in accordance with the stated preferences of the Bororos themselves. There are two basic sets of intonation contours, declarative and interrogative, which are distinguished by pitch differences on their final two syllables. Declarative has a drop in pitch from penultimate to ultimate, while interrogative has a rise. The penultimate syllable is the loudest of the

contour (disregarding contrastive stress) with two exceptions, in which cases the final syllable is the loudest. The exceptions are when the final word of the contour is monosyllabic and when the final syllable contains a diphthong.

Field work on which this grammar is based was carried on from 1969 until 1972 and 1975-1976 at Posto Indígena Gômes Carneiro, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in cooperation with the Fundação Nacional do Índio and the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Valuable aid for data organization was provided by a concordance made on the IBM System/360 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistics Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, funded through National Science Foundation grant GS-1605.

The Bororos live on three reserves along the São Lourenço River administered by the Fundação Nacional do Índio and one at Meruri administered by the Missão Salesiana. They earn their living by fishing, subsistence farming, and by selling bows, arrows, and other such artefacts. They have been in regular contact with Brazilian society for all of the 20th century. Even so they have maintained their own language and culture to a surprising extent. Bororo is the language spoken in the homes of all the members of the tribe and is the only language of some of the old people. All younger men and a large majority of the younger women are

able to converse fluently in Portuguese on a fairly limited range of topics. Use of Portuguese among young people is increasing, especially among those who attend school. The amount of Portuguese used is especially great when they are engaged in activities associated with non-Indian culture, such as playing soccer or branding cattle.

There has been considerable borrowing from Portuguese into Bororo (and vice versa in a number of place names in Mato Grosso). In most borrowings the Portuguese phonology is not changed. Some commonly used borrowed words are dinheiro 'money', dois 'two', três 'three', quatro 'four', and other numerals, carro 'car', pôsto 'post', avião 'plane', ponte 'bridge', manga 'mango', mamão 'papaya', and colher 'spoon'. When words which are borrowed unchanged appear in the grammar, they are written in normal Portuguese orthography.

There are a few borrowings which have been adapted to Bororo phonology. Three which are used with considerable frequency are kowaru from Portuguese cavalo 'horse', kaxiworo from cachorro 'dog', and xuxu from sujo 'dirty'. There is sometimes a division between those who speak Portuguese with some ease and those who do not, with the former group using a Portuguese word in its Portuguese form and the latter group reprocessing it according to Bororo phonological patterns. A young man named Floriano, for example, is called Flor by the younger set and Poro by those who do not speak Portuguese well. The same is true for the name

Marcelino, which is sometimes pronounced Marcelino, sometimes Baxirino.

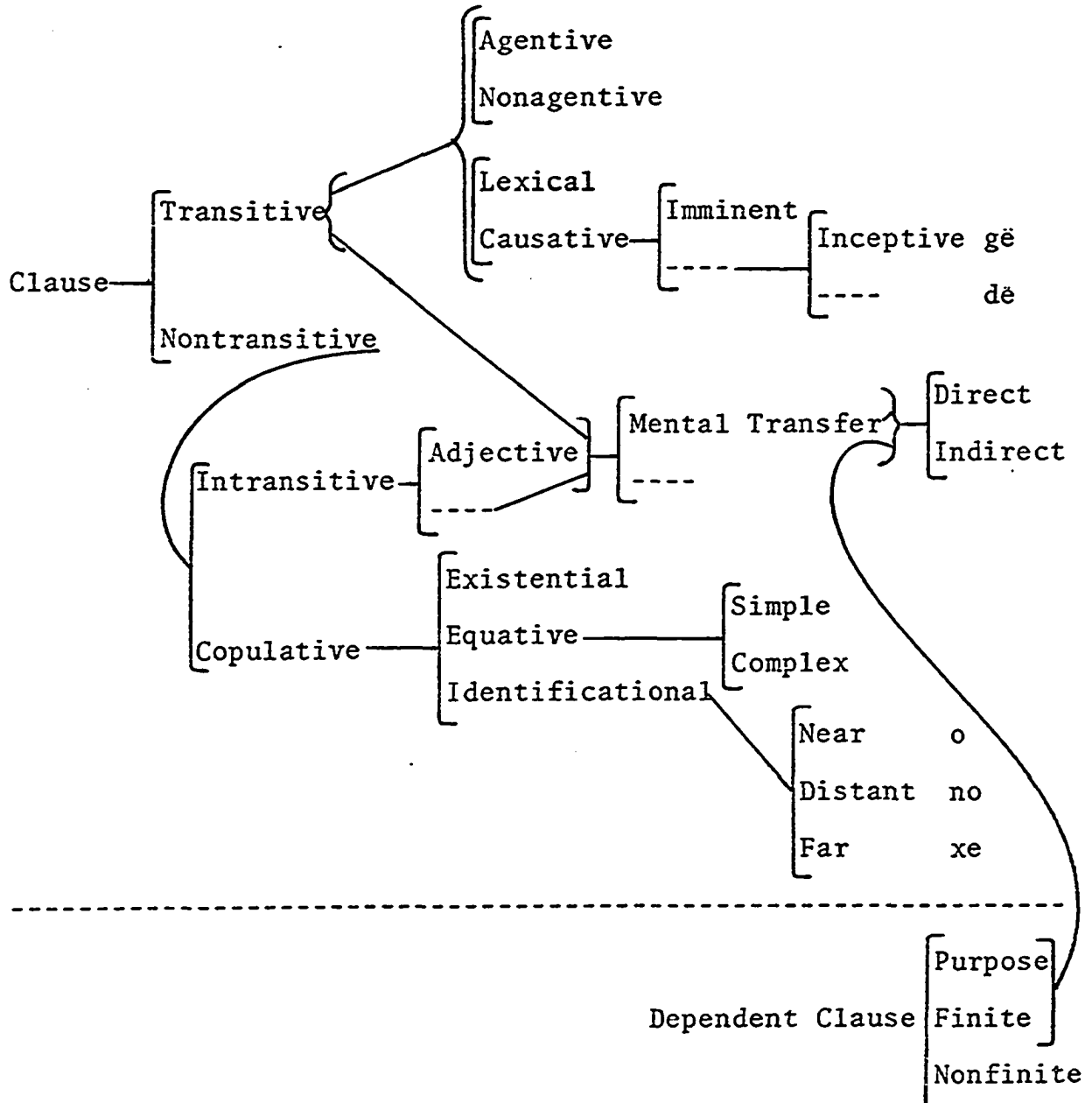
The Bororos have long been a favorite group for study by ethnographers, both amateur and professional. In the last decade dissertations have been written by Viertler, Lévak, and Crocker on various aspects of Bororo culture. Also the monumental Enciclopédia Bororo by Padres Albisetti and Venturelli has touched on a multitude of topics in Bororo culture.

This grammar represents the first description of a sizeable portion of the language. Small parts of the language have been described in the Enciclopédia Bororo, and in several brief, rather old sketches such as Rondon and Faria's 'Esbôço gramatical e vocabulário da língua dos índios Borôro', and 'Elementos de Grammaticá e Diccionario da Lingua dos Boróros-Coroados de Matto-Grosso' produced by the Missão Salesiana in 1908. More recently Huestis's 'Bororo clauses' and my own 'Cohesion in Bororo discourse' and 'The phonology of Bororo nouns, verbs, and postpositions' have contributed to the literature on Bororo.

The data on which this grammar is based were gathered both from listening, conversing, and writing down everything of interest in a hip pocket notebook and from systematically pursuing areas of interest with Bororo informants. During the first three months in the tribe I spoke Portuguese with the people; after that time all communication was done in Bororo.

I want to express my appreciation to the Bororos living at Pôsto Indígena Gômes Carneiro for their friendship and for the many hours of conversation and correction during which I have learned what I know about the Bororo language. Special thanks are due to Eduardo Koge and Garcia Aigoboeru who served as my primary informants.

CLAUSE TRANSITIVITY



(from dependent clause mood network)

1.1 Introductory sketch of clause composition.

Before entering into the discussion of the systems which represent Bororo grammar, I present here a brief sketch of the nuclear elements which compose Bororo clauses and how they are arranged.

All Bororo clauses except transitive agentives have the order of elements NP (Verb) Aspect. Copulative clauses, which include equative, existential, and identificational clauses, contain no verb, hence the parentheses. The NP which occurs previous to the verb position is the subject in all the clauses with this structure except equatives, in which the NP preceding the verb position is the complement and a NP following aspect is the subject. Clause types in which the preverbal NP is the subject include existential, identificational, intransitive, and nonagentive transitive clauses.

The following are examples of an existential clause and an intransitive clause.

(1) Existential

Pëbë-re wëe.

water-neutral here

There is water here.

(2) Intransitive

E-meru-re.

3pl-hunt-neutral

They hunted.

Transitive agentive clauses are like the other kinds of clauses in containing the sequence NP Verb. They differ from the others, however, in that they contain another NP, which occurs in sentence initial position and functions as the agentive subject of the clause. A further difference is that aspect follows immediately after the agentive subject, rather than after the verb position. The structure of transitive agentive clauses is, therefore, NP Aspect NP Verb.¹ The NP which immediately precedes the verb in these clauses is the direct object.

The subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses and direct objects all have the same internal structure. Each is realized by a NP in cross reference to a pronominal prefix or by a pronominal prefix alone. Third singular pronouns have zero realization in most cases (discussed more fully in chapter 7).

(3) Transitive Agentive

Ime e-re areme e-wiie.

men 3pl-neutral women 3pl-advise

The men advised the women.

¹Bororo indirect objects are always expressed by benefactive postpositional phrases and behave no differently from any other postpositional phrases. For this reason they are not mentioned in relation to nuclear clause elements.

- (4) E-re a-wiie.
 3pl-neutral 2sg-advise
 They advised you.
- (5) E-re karo kowije.
 3pl-neutral fish (3sg)eat
 They ate the fish.

All nonobligatory elements except the negative follow the clause nucleus unless one of them is fronted (chapter 9). All references in this section to the order of clause elements pertain to clauses without fronting.

The clauses below further illustrate the order in which nuclear clause elements occur. Number 6 is intransitive, 7 is a nonagentive clause, 8 and 9 are transitive agentive clauses.

- (6) A-tu-re toro.
 2sg-go-neutral there
 You went there.
- (7) Karo bo-di-re.
 fish (3sg)cut-nominal-neutral
 The fish was cut.
- (8) E-re karo bowije.
 3pl-neutral fish (3sg)cut
 They cut the fish.
- (9) I-re bola doge e-warigu.
 1sg-neutral ball plural 3pl-throw
 I threw the balls.

Throughout the rest of the grammar, third singular pronouns with zero realization are indicated in glosses only when it is important to do so for clarity.

Let us now consider how the facts presented thus far are expressed in the transitivity network of a systemic grammar of Bororo.

Every clause contains a NP. This fact is expressed by a realization rule which states that the realization of the feature Clause, the one feature shared by all clauses, has as its first step the selection of a NP. A further specification is made, that NP's which are realizations of Clause always occur immediately preceding the verb position except in equatives, in which they immediately follow it.

The syntactic function of the NP realized by Clause is determined by what other transitivity features are selected. In clauses which do not have an agentive subject NP, this NP is the subject. In transitive agentive clauses, in which the feature Agentive is selected, the NP realization of Clause functions as the direct object and the subject NP is a realization of the feature Agentive.

The placement of aspect is also determined by whether or not Agentive is selected. If Agentive is selected aspect follows the agentive subject NP. If Agentive is not selected aspect follows the verb position.

In every instance, which NP is subject and which is object, as well as their position in the clause is completely determined by the feature of which each NP is a realization and, in the case of NP's which are realizations of Clause, by

whether or not the clause also selects Agentive.

Let us now turn to an examination of the transitivity network itself.

1.2 Nontransitive. The first division found in the transitivity network is between Transitive and Nontransitive clauses. Nontransitive leads to a further selection of either Intransitive or Copulative.

1.2.1 Intransitive. Intransitive is realized by entrance into the intransitive systems in the verb network. The set of intransitive verbs is mutually exclusive with the set of transitive verbs.² The choice of Intransitive leads to a possible further selection of Adjective.

²Bororo has no ergative verbs, that is, verbs which can occur as the main verb of both intransitive and transitive clauses, such as English 'grow', 'open', 'close', 'break', 'split', etc. Most of these are transitive verbs in Bororo, but an effect equivalent to English intransitive usage is achieved by having a coreferential subject and object. For example, Bororo 'It broke itself' is equivalent to English 'It broke'. Langacker and Munro (1975) posit an explanation for passives, reflexives, and other types of coreferential nominals which is compatible with the Bororo data. They claim that coreference is a special case of non-

1.2.2 Adjective. Bororo adjectives take subjects, aspect, and negative just like any other intransitive verb.

(10) Ime e-kujagu-medi-ka-re.

men 3pl-red-hypothetical-negative-neutral

The men will not be red.

(11) I-kuri-re.

1sg-big-neutral.

I am big.

The one formal difference between adjectives and other intransitive verbs is that a relative clause may follow the noun it modifies only if the verb of the clause is an adjectival one. Otherwise it must precede the noun (see 3.2).

distinctness, so that two nominals can be regarded as non-distinct either if they are coreferential, as is the case in the Bororo example just cited, or if one is unspecified, as in passives. Babby (1975) and Cranmer (1975) discuss similar phenomena in Russian, French, and German.

The description of verbs given here is, of course, a synchronic one. They are described as to how they are used now. There is, however, considerable evidence of morphological processes which have gone on in the past. The most obvious of these are the presence of verb final -di or de, e.g. kade 'cut' or aregodi 'arrive'. Both di and de are important in processes which are productive now, the first as a nominalizer which often has the effect of making intransitives from transitives, and the second as a causative verb, which has the effect of making transitives from intransitives.

Subjects, objects of postpositions, and direct objects may be nouns or nominalized clauses. Adjectival clauses which have a nominalized clause for their subject are sometimes quite similar in meaning to English intransitive verbs plus an adverb of manner or extent, such as 'cut well' or 'walk far'. The nominalized clause is underlined in the two following examples. Nominalized clauses end with -di 'nominal', as in the first example, or with a verb stem in a clause which contains nothing more than a subject (of any length), and an intransitive verb, as in the second example.

(12) A-re-i-kadë-di pemega-re.

2sg-neutral-tree-cut-nominal good-neutral

You cut the tree well (literally, 'your cutting of the tree was good').

(13) A-meru jae-re.

3pl-walk far-neutral

They walked a long way (literally 'their walking was far').

Some other adjectives are xo 'black', kigadi 'white', biaga 'small', pega 'bad', piredi 'near', riri 'dirty', këgëdi 'sick', raka 'hard', kigidi 'soft', biaku 'cold', uru 'hot', bowa 'wide', jero 'agile', mae 'new', jetori 'stingy', bararu 'fat', raki 'thin', ja 'open', pego 'wet'.

If Adjective is not selected, a system is entered which contains the feature Mental Transfer, and null, the unmarked class. This system may also be entered from Transitive, but that option is not considered until later. Some of the intransitive verbs belonging to the unmarked class are okoari 'laugh', paga 'wait', rutu 'climb', tu 'go', kodu 'go, fly', meru 'walk, hunt', iru 'crawl', ra 'sing', maragodĩ 'work', mĩgĩ 'sit', rakoje 'stand', padi 'lie', barare 'hang', oragudu 'cry', wogu 'fish', bokoa 'lack', akedĩ 'end'.

- (14) Ime e-meru-re awara kae.
 men 3pl-walk-neutral road to
 The men walked to the road.
- (15) Et-ore e-ra-nĩre.
 3pl-children 3pl-sing-stative
 Their children were singing.

There is a small number of verbs, including jorĩdĩ 'see', maragodĩ 'work on', ra 'sing', aidĩ 'want', kiari 'dislike', rẽ 'do', and a few others which occur in clauses with the same order as other intransitives, but which an English speaker would expect to be transitive. For example,

- (16) Imedĩ jorĩdĩ-re karo-ji.
 man see-neutral fish-referent
 The man saw the fish.

However, Bororo clauses with these verbs are not essentially different from other intransitive clauses. Besides having intransitive word order, clauses in which they occur are like all other intransitive clauses in not occurring in nonagentive form. Furthermore, the postpositional phrases composed of NP-ji, which follow the verb in the clauses under consideration and which match the direct object in the English gloss, are no different from any other postpositional phrase, all of which are optional and follow the verb. The postposition -ji, rather than being a marker of direct object, is always a postposition of range or referent. The two examples below illustrate uses of -ji in clauses where clearly it has nothing to do with direct object. The first is identical to example (14) except for the substitution of -ji 'referent, range,' for kae 'to'.

(17) Ime e-meru-re awara=ji.

men 3pl-walk-neutral road=range

The men walked (along) the road.

(18) E-mago-re tori=ji.

3pl-talk-neutral mountain=referent

They talked about the mountains.

NP + -ji phrases which appear to an English speaker to match direct objects differ semantically from true direct objects in that no change is brought about in them by the action of the verb. In true transitive clauses, the verb

always effects a change in the position or makeup of the direct object.³

1.2.3 Mental transfer is a category which includes verbs of perception or speech. The choice of Mental Transfer along with Intransitive is realized by the set of intransitive perception and speech verbs including joridi 'see', joridiwa (in pedantic speech joridi iwa) 'know', mearidi 'hear, feel', mearidae 'think', mearitèri 'believe', mako 'speak', ako 'say', readodu 'announce, tell', batari keadi 'joke', ra 'sing', inègi 'counsel', nora 'ask', batari 'speak, word', atararodi 'lie', okoa magidi 'beg', okoa jeti 'announce, explain'. Several of these are morpho-

³There are, however, three intransitive verbs with which NP + -ji is semantically like a direct object in being directly affected by the action of the verb. These are rare 'have sexual intercourse', kudu 'drink', and okoage 'eat'. Okoage has an almost exact synonym ko, which is a transitive verb.

Okoage-re karo-ji.

3sg=eat-neutral fish-referent

He ate fish.

U-re karo ko.

3sg-neutral fish eat

He ate fish.

logically complex, containing okoa 'mouth' or batarî 'word'.⁴

(19) Io-ridiwa-re João-ji.

1sg-know-neutral João-referent

I know João.

(20) E-mearidae-re a-wogu-re-di-ji.

3pl-think-neutral 2sg-fish-neutral-nominal-
referent

They thought that you were fishing.

⁴Final di and the presence of okoa 'mouth' or batarî 'word' in direct object position indicate that these may have once been minimal nonagentive clauses (described later in this chapter) which are now treated as idiomatic intransitive verbs.

In the first five verbs listed -iwa is a suffix meaning 'to be able', which can follow jorîdi 'see', giving 'to be able to see' which is 'to know'. It also can follow ako 'speak' producing 'to be able to speak, to be eloquent' and rê 'do or make' producing a general 'to be able'.

The jo of jorîdi 'see' is related to joku 'eye'. Mea of 'hear', 'think', and 'believe' is probably related to biia 'ear', although the two are somewhat different in form. Mearîdae 'think' is a nominalized form of mearîdi 'hear' using a nominalization process 'add -ae' allowed with only about ten verbs. Mearîdae is 'that which is heard or thought'; jorîdae is 'that which is seen'.

(21) Boe e-imejera readodu-re aredi batari-ji e-wiagai.

Bororo 3pl-chief tell-neutral woman word-referent 3pl-in=the=sight=of

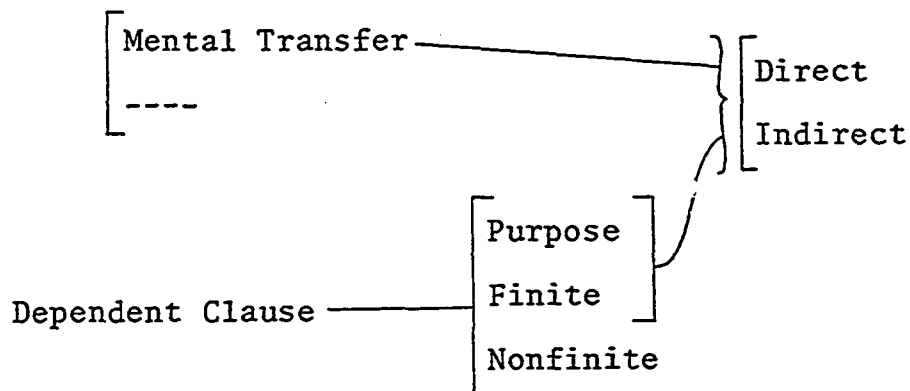
The Bororo chief told the woman's words to them.

(22) Guaracy ma₂ko-re betureboe bogai.

Guaracy speak-neutral sugar for

Guaracy asked for some sugar.

A choice of Mental Transfer leads to a system containing Direct and Indirect. This system is entered only if the referent of a speech or perception clause is itself a dependent clause. Furthermore this clause may not select Nonfinite from the aspect system. For this reason the selection of either Purpose or Finite is required as part of the entry condition for the Direct-Indirect system.



1.2.4 Direct. Direct is realized by an independent clause which follows the mental transfer verb selected. The selection of a speech verb and Direct result in a direct

quotation. Ako 'say' is almost always the speech verb used in direct quotations. The usual format is to identify the speaker and addressee in a clause with mako 'speak', followed by another clause with ako 'say' and the quotation. Ako can, however, be the only verb of speech. Aino 'like that' often follows the quotation.

(23) Dolor mako-re t-oreduje-ji; ako-re, 'Maki in-ai,'
aino.

Dolor speak-neutral coreferential-wife-referent;
say-neutral, 'give 1sg-benefactive,' like=
that

Dolor spoke to his wife; he said, 'Give it
to me.'

(24) Aredi ako-re, 'Kaiba a-kodu-mede?'
woman say-neutral, 'Where 2sg-go-hypothetical
+neutral?'

The woman said, 'Where are you going?'

The following two clauses are examples of Direct in clauses with main verbs which are not speech verbs. In the first the clause which is the realize of Direct is a direct quotation, just as with speech verbs. In the second it is not a quotation, but a statement of what was known.

- (25) E-mearīdae-re 'Boe et-aregodī-ka-re.'
 3pl-think-neutral 'People 3pl-arrive-negative-
 neutral.'
 They thought, 'People didn't come.'
- (26) E-rīdiwa-re boe et-aregodī-ka-re.
 3pl-know-neutral people 3pl-arrive-negative-
 neutral
 They knew the people didn't come.

1.2.5 Indirect. Indirect adds a component of uncertainty or lack of personal verification to the clause in which it occurs. Easily its most frequent use is in indirect quotations.

- (27) Imedī ako-re adugo_pegā-ie.
 man say-neutral jaguar_bad-neutral_+indirect
 The man said that the jaguar was mean.

Indirect has portmanteau realization with the aspect suffix of the clause in which it occurs. The suffixes as they appear with Indirect and with Direct are as follows:

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Indirect</u>	<u>Direct</u>
Neutral	-ie	-re
Stative	-iire	-nire
Purpose	-wēe	-wē

Examples of Indirect in speech clauses with Stative and Purpose aspects are:

(28) Joaquim okoa jetire e-maragodi-iire.

Joaquim explain-neutral 3pl-work-stative+
indirect

Joaquim explained that they were working.

(29) I-mago-re a-i e-maragodi-wëe.

1sg-speak-neutral 2sg-referent 3pl-work-purpose+
indirect

I told you that they were to work.

The content of the parentheses in the example below which has a Mental Transfer verb, is a necessary consequence of the selection of Indirect.

(30) I-mearidae-re a-migi-ie.

1sg-think-neutral you sit-neutral+indirect

I thought you were there (but I had no way
of really knowing).

The same sentence, but with the feature Direct rather than Indirect, would have -re in place of the sentence final -ie. A difference would be possible in the content of the parentheses, which could read either as it is above, or as '(and you were)'. Reported perception, even with the feature Direct does not imply anything about the presence or

absence of personal verification. The selection of Indirect, on the other hand, implies a lack of personal verification.

1.2.4 Transitive mental transfer. Up until this point, we have considered the features Mental Transfer, Direct, and Indirect-only in connection with intransitive verbs. They may also, however, be selected with transitive verbs. There are only two transitive mental transfer verbs, biie 'advise, teach', and pawije 'understand, discover'. Whether Transitive or Intransitive is selected along with Direct or Indirect makes no difference as to how the latter two features are realized. For this reason I prefer to give examples of Direct and Indirect with Transitive here rather than return to them only after transitive clauses have been introduced.

(31) Direct + Transitive

I-re are*di* biie 'u-tu-medi-ka-re.'

1sg-neutral woman advise '3sg-go-hypothetical
negative-neutral'

I advised the woman, 'He should not go.'

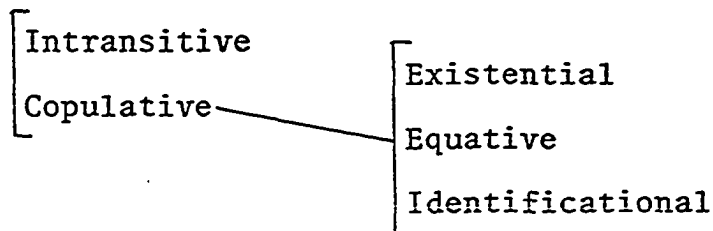
(32) Indirect + Transitive

I-re are*di* biie u-tu-medi-ka-ie.

1sg-neutral woman advise 3sg-go-hypothetical-
negative-neutral+indirect

I advised the woman that he should not go.

1.2.7 Copulative. If Intransitive is not selected, then Copulative must be. Copulative clauses are all alike in not having a verb.



1.2.8 Existential. The choice of Existential adds no further features to the clause. Existential clauses consist of only a NP subject followed by an aspect or these followed by some modifying element such as a postpositional phrase or adverb.

(33) Kare-re.

fish-neutral

There are fish.

(34) Kare-re pëbë tada.

fish-neutral water in

There are fish in the water.

(35) Kare mëde baragoato.

fish hypothetical+neutral tomorrow

There will be fish tomorrow.

Possession is signalled in Bororo by an existential clause that has a possessed NP as its subject. Adverbs or

postpositional phrase adjuncts are permitted here as well.⁵

(36) I-ke-re.

1-sg-food-neutral

I have food.

(37) I-ke-re i-wai tada.

1sg-food-neutral 1sg-house inside

I have food in my house.

1.2.9 Simple equative. Equative is realized by a NP complement which occurs in clause initial position.

⁵In English, 'have' is used in 'I have a headache', 'the world has no peace', etc. In clauses such as

It-aora kori-re.

1sg-head (3sg)pain-neutral

My head aches or I have a headache.

kori 'pain' may be analyzed as an intransitive verb with it-aora 'my head' as the subject as in the first gloss above. However, the clause could just as well be analyzed as an existential one, in which it-aora 'my head' is regarded as a possessive NP and kori 'pain' as a possessed noun as in the second gloss above. At this point the grammar is indeterminate and neither analysis is any better or worse than the other.

Equative leads to a choice of Simple or Complex. Simple equatives have the fixed order of elements Complement-Aspect-Subject. Only in equative clauses does the subject not come first in the clause in normal order. In equative clauses the subject is realized either by a noun phrase without a bound pronoun in cross reference with it or by a free pronoun. The subject and complement agree in number. The following are examples of simple equatives.⁶

- (38) Imedi-re imi.
 man-neutral 1sg=free=pronoun
 I am a man.
- (39) Areme nire ema-ge.
 women stative 3sg=free=pronoun-plural
 They are women.
- (40) Imedi-mède João ia meri keje.
 man-hypothetical+neutral João some day at
 João will be a man someday.

⁶In English, 'be' + Adjective shares many properties of 'be' + NP. Here, however, adjectives have the syntax of intransitives, with subject agreement, while equatives are not comparable to 'be' + NP or to adjectives.

The free pronouns are

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1	imi 'I'	pagi 'we (incl)' xegi 'we (excl)'
2	aki 'you'	tagi 'you pl'
3	ema 'he, she, it'	ema-ge 'they'
Reflexive (sg. or pl.)	pudumi 'himself, themselves'	
Reciprocal	pugi or pu 'each other'	

The glosses are given in their nominative form, but there is no corresponding nominative-accusative distinction in Bororo. Pagi and xegi 'we' may also be glossed 'us', ema 'he' may be 'him', etc.

1.2.10 Complex equative. Complex equatives add to the structure a clause final rema 'equative' or, if the subject of the clause is plural, rema plus -ge 'plural'.

(41) Kadagare onaregedi-re Creusa rema.

Kadagare child-neutral Creusa equative

Creusa is Kadagare's child.

(42) Aku kaxiworo doge e-pemega-re-wi-re aki rema.

3sg=domestic dog plural 3pl-good-neutral-

relative-neutral 2sg=free=pronoun equative

You are the one who has good dogs.

Complex equatives, but not simple ones, allow fronting of the subject to a position preceding the complement. The following clause is identical to 41 except that 41 does not have a fronted subject whereas 43 does.

- (43) Creusa-re Kadagare onaregedi rema.
 Creusa-neutral Kadagare child equative
 Creusa is Kadagare's child.

Complex equatives have no restrictions on their length. Simple equatives, on the other hand, are always short clauses, hence the name Simple. A clause such as 42, in which the complement is a relative clause, is unacceptable as a simple equative.

1.2.11 Identificational. Identificational clauses identify what or where something is.

- (44) Ema-re-o.
 3sg=free=pronoun-neutral-identificational+near
 Here it is or This is it.

Identificational clauses do not report identity, but rather perform the act of identifying, in a way comparable to how English 'I pronounce you man and wife' actually performs the act it refers to. Bororo identificational clauses are also similar to English performatives such as 'I pro-

nounce you man and wife' in that what can occur in the constructions is quite restricted. Identificational clauses have the structure NP + neutral aspect + an identificational suffix. The order of elements is fixed. No aspect other than neutral is permitted; negative is also not permitted. Locative or temporal elements may occur outside the nuclear structure, but nothing more may occur within the nucleus. Because they perform an identification on the spot rather than report it, the only way identificational clauses appear in narrative text is in quotations.

The feature Identificational leads to a system based on the relative distance from the speaker to the thing spoken of. The features of this system are realized by suffixes. Near the speaker is -o, Medium distance from the speaker is -no, and Distant from the speaker is -xe.

- (45) a. Imedi-re-o.
 man-neutral-identification+near
 Here is the man or This is the man.
- b. Imedi-re-no.
 man-neutral-identification+medium
 There is the man or That is the man.
- c. Imedi-ri-xe.
 man-neutral-identification+far
 Yonder is the man or The one over yonder
 is the man.

1.3 Transitive. The choice of Transitive leads to a selection from the system containing Agentive and Non-agentive. Active and Passive could be used for feature labels in place of these two, but Agentive and Nonagentive give a more straightforward picture for Bororo. The initial discussion of Transitive assumes that Agentive has been selected. Agentive is realized by an entry into the NP system. Also associated with Agentive is the requirement that if Agentive is selected, aspect (when it is present) must follow it.

Direct objects are realizes of the feature Clause. They are realized either by a bound pronoun, including zero for most third person singular forms, by a noun clause, or by a noun with optional modifiers and a cross reference pronoun. Direct objects are underlined in the three examples below.

(46) E-re ak-aimo.

3pl-neutral 2sg-bathe

They bathed you.

(47) E-re wëe-wi-ime-e-rego.

3pl-neutral here-relative-men-3pl-take

They took the men who were from here.

(48) I-re ipo-Ø-tawije moto piji.

1sg-neutral post-3sg-remove ground from

I removed the post from the ground.

Noun clauses differ from corresponding independent clauses in having -dĩ 'nominal' added to their final element. For example, the independent

- (49) a. Aidi-ka-re i-i.
 like-negative-neutral lsg-referent
 He does not like me.

is made into a noun clause by adding -dĩ to the end:

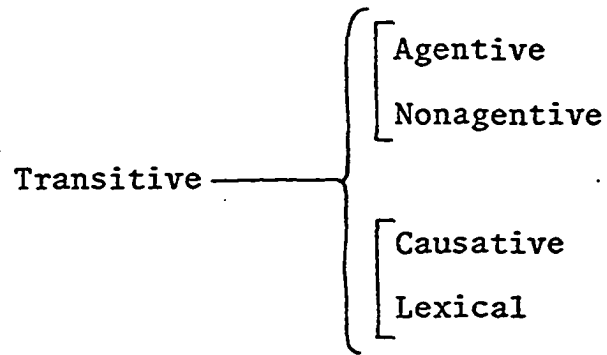
- b. aidi-ka-re i-i-dĩ
 like-negative-neutral lsg-referent-nominal
 that he does not like me

The example below shows the use of this clause as the object of the lexical transitive verb tawĩje.

- (50) I-re aidu-ka-re i-i-dĩ tawĩje it-aora piji.
 lsg-neutral like-negative-neutral lsg-
 referent-nominal remove lsg-head from
 I've removed from my head the fact that he
 doesn't like me.

Noun clauses are treated in detail in 2.3.2.

Transitive also leads to a selection of either Causative or Lexical.



1.3.1 Lexical. The selection of Lexical is realized by an entry into the Lexical verb system at word rank. Lexical transitive verbs include all transitive verbs except the causative verbs -dē 'causative', -gē 'causative+ inceptive', and -iagu 'imminent'. Some members of the lexical class are bowije 'break or cut lengthwise', kowije 'eat', tawije 'remove from below', rawije 'remove from above', pawije 'catch on, understand', kiwije 'untie',⁷ kadē 'cut or break across the width, stop', barigu 'throw', mi 'close', tugo 'put inside', bī 'put', kami 'sew', arī 'buy', maki 'give', aimo 'bathe', kirimi 'return', remo 'enter', biie 'advise, teach', reko 'take', keragu 'get', kuna 'share', iiado 'finish', remagi 'measure'.

1.3.2 Causative. If Lexical is not chosen in connection with Transitive, Causative must be. Causative is realized by -dē when only it is selected, by -gē when

⁷ These six verbs ending in wije may occur as listed here or in a short form without wije, giving bo, ko, ta, ra, pa, and ki. I have never succeeded in finding any meaning difference involved.

Inceptive is also selected. Causative means either 'cause' or 'allow', with disambiguation coming only from context. For a basic understanding of causative the distinction involving the feature Inceptive is not relevant, and is therefore ignored until causative is well introduced.

Causative verbs differ from lexical transitive verbs in that the object of causative verbs may only be an aspectless noun clause whereas the object of a lexical verb may be either a noun clause (finite or nonfinite) or (usually) a noun with optional modifiers. The noun clause object of a causative verb also may not have either -di 'nominal' or -wo 'adverbial'. In feature terminology, this means that the object NP of a causative clause selects the feature Dependent, and only this, from the Dependent mood network.

Causative verbs are also different from lexical verbs in two other points. First, they are always enclitics, never free forms. Second, causative verbs do not occur following the entire object clause, as lexical verbs do when they have a noun clause object. Instead, they occur in the position in the embedded clause normally occupied by an aspect. This position follows the verb in intransitive clauses and follows the first NP of the embedded object clause in other clauses. In all clause types except Equative the first NP is the subject.

The first of the following examples is a causative clause with a lexical transitive agentive clause for its object. The second is an independent clause corresponding

to the object clause. They differ only in that when it is independent the clause has an aspect suffix whereas when it serves as an object clause for a causative verb, the causative verb itself occurs in the aspect position.

- (51) I-re a-dē bola barigu imedi ae.
 1sg-neutral 2sg-causative ball throw man to
 I caused you to throw the ball to the man.
- (52) A-re bola barigu imedi ae.
 2sg-neutral ball throw man to
 You threw the ball to the man.

Example 53 below is a causative clause with an intransitive clause for an object: 54 is an independent clause corresponding to the object clause.

- (53) I-re a-tu-dē imedi ae.
 1sg-neutral 2sg-go-causative man to
 I caused you to go to the man.
- (54) A-tu-re imedi ae.
 2sg-go-neutral man-to
 You went to the man.

Placement of the causative enclitic within the object clause may be accounted for by raising and extraposition. Raising places the subject and verb of an intransitive object clause or the initial NP of any other clause type in front of the causative enclitic; extraposition moves the rest of the embedded clause to the right of the causative enclitic.

This accounts for nothing, however, which is not accounted for by simply stating that the causative enclitic is placed within the embedded clause in the slot normally occupied by aspect. A raising analysis, furthermore, obscures the fact that the position of the causative enclitic is exactly where aspect normally occurs. Raising implies multiple levels of structure, a view which is neither necessary nor enlightening for Bororo causatives. Causativization is better viewed as a kind of linear coalescence of a causative main clause and an object clause.

Clauses which are objects of causative clauses are restricted to only normal, subject initial order. Fronting is not allowed here. These object clauses may be transitive (with either a lexical or causative verb), intransitive, equative, or existential. Following are examples which have these features, first as independent clauses without Causative, then embedded in an independent matrix clause as object of a causative verb. When embedded as the object of a causative verb, clauses have no aspect. Independent clauses, on the other hand, all have aspect. I point this out to forestall a mistaken understanding that the aspect seen in the causative matrix clause has been moved or raised there from out of the dependent clause. For the same reason I sometimes use an aspect in the causative example which is different from the one used in the noun causative clause which precedes it.

- (55) a. Transitive, Lexical Verb
 U-re karo bowīje.
 3sg-neutral fish cut
 He cut the fish.
- b. Causative; Transitive, Lexical Verb in Complement
 A-nīre u-dē karo bowīje.
 2sg-stative 3sg-causative fish cut
 You were causing him to cut the fish.
- (56) a. Transitive, Causative Verb
 U-re karo xo-dē.
 3sg-neutral fish black-causative
 He blackened the fish.
- b. Causative; Transitive, Causative Verb in Complement
 A-re u-dē karo xo-dē.
 2sg-neutral 3sg-causative fish black-causative
 You caused him to blacken the fish.

Inasmuch as object clauses with causative verbs may themselves contain causative verbs, there is no limit, in principle, to how many embeddings may occur. Clauses like the following example are possible, but one does not

hear them every day, presumably because it is too hard to remember so many items.

(57) I-re a-dë u-dë e-dë karo bowäje.

1sg-neutral 2sg-causative 3sg-causative
3pl-causative fish cut

I caused you to cause him to cause them to cut the fish.

The following pairs of examples show an independent clause followed by the same clause embedded as the object of a causative verb.

(58) a. Intransitive

I-mago-re.

1sg-speak-neutral

I spoke.

b. Causative; Intransitive in complement

U-re i-mago-dë.

3sg-neutral 1sg-speak-causative

He caused me to speak.

(59) a. Equative

Boe-re ema.

Bororo-neutral 3sg=free=pronoun

He is a Bororo.

b. Causative; Equative in complementE-re boe-dē ema.3pl-neutral Bororo-causative 3sg=free=
pronounThey adopted him (literally: 'they caused
him to be a Bororo').(60) a. Existential

E-re pobe.

3pl-neutral two

There are two.

b. Causative; Existential in complementA-mēde e-dē pobe.2sg-hypothetical+neutral 3pl-causative two

You will cause there to be two.

1.3.3 Imminent. Selection of Causative leads to the possible choice of Imminent, realized by -iagu. -iagu seldom occurs whereas the other causative forms occur very frequently. -iagu is restricted in a way not shared by the other causative verbs in that the subject of the clausal object of -iagu must be only a bound pronoun, coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.

(61) A-re a-tu-iagu.2sg-neutral 2sg-go-imminent

You were about to go.

(62) Io-rîdî-re a-i a-tu-iagu-dî-ji.

1sg-see-neutral 2sg-nonfinite 2sg-go-imminent-
nominal-referent

I saw that you were about to go.

(63) A-nîre a-iagu karo kadê.

2sg-state 2sg-imminent fish cut

You were about to cut the fish.

In example 64 the proximity denoted by -iagu has to do with similarity and not time.

(64) E-re tî-iagu pu-reo-re.

3pl-neutral coreferential-imminent reciprocal-
like-neutral

They are almost alike.

Bororo -iagu lends support to Langacker and Munro's (1975) observations regarding nondistinct arguments. They observe that the nondistinctness of arguments may be shown either by not specifying one of the arguments or by making the arguments coreferential, as is done with -iagu. With -iagu the result of the noun phrases' being nondistinct is that the one in object position contributes nothing to the meaning. Furthermore nonagentive clauses in which -iagu is the verb are not allowed. This is to be expected inasmuch as the nondistinctness of arguments may be shown either by deleting one of them, as is done in nonagentives, or by making them coreferential, as is the case with -iagu, but not both.

1.3.4 Inceptive. If Imminent is not selected from the system entered from Causative, a further system is entered, one containing only a possible choice of Inceptive. The features Causative + Inceptive are realized by -gë. Inceptive adds a component of 'begin' to the causation, resulting in 'cause to begin', as illustrated in

- (65) A-re boe e-rîdiwa-gë.
 2sg-neutral people 3pl-know-causative+inceptive
 You caused people to begin to know or You
 taught people.

If Inceptive is not chosen, the clause is

- (66) A-re boe e-rîdiwa-dë.
 2sg-neutral people 3pl-know-causative
 You caused people to know or You taught
 people.

The examples below contain adjectival intransitives, the first with Inceptive, the second without.

- (67) a. I-re a-weiga pemega-gë.
 1sg-neutral 2sg-bow good-causative+inceptive
 I caused your bow to begin to be ready
 (but I haven't finished yet).

b. I-re a-wëiga pemega-dē.

1sg-neutral 2sg-bow good-causative

I caused your bow to be ready.

1.3.5 Nonagentive. Up until this point in the discussion of transitive clauses, we have assumed the selection of Agentive from the system containing Agentive vs. Nonagentive. Turning now to Nonagentive, its selection results in the realization of what could be called a passive rather than an active clause. Nonagentives occur in Bororo much less frequently than they do in English. Bororo nonagentives differ from agentives in three ways: 1) they have no agent in the nuclear part of the clause, 2) they have -dî 'nominal' after the verb, and 3) aspect occurs following the verb stem and -dî rather than following the agent. Nonagentives may have an agent in a by phrase at the end of the clause, but this is not relevant to the present discussion and so is ignored for the present. The occurrence of an agent in a by phrase is very rare.

(68) Agentive

E-re bola barigu.

3pl-neutral ball throw

They threw the ball.

(69) Nonagentive

Bola barigu-dî-re.

ball throw-nominal-neutral

The ball was thrown.

-dî 'nominal' is found in all nonagentive clauses and is evidence that all nonagentive clauses are a kind of existential clause. Reasons for believing that this is in fact the case are as follows. -dî is the final element in noun clauses in all environments where noun clauses are found except one, when they serve as objects of causative verbs. In fact it is only -dî which distinguishes noun clauses from independent clauses. Phonological identity provides good reason to believe that the -dî of nonagentive clauses is the same element as the -dî of noun clauses. An attractive hypothesis, therefore, is that all nonagentive clauses are themselves a kind of noun clause, different from other nonfinite noun clauses containing transitive verbs only in never having an agent.

That the -dî of nonagentive clauses is indeed the same element as found in other noun clauses is shown by comparing the following three examples. The first, 70, is made up of only two parts. The first part consists of an agentless noun clause; the second part consists of an aspect morpheme. This makes, as I explain more fully a few paragraphs below, an existential clause. In the second example, 71, the noun clause is unchanged, but this time an intransitive verb is added and the noun clause serves as the subject of an intransitive clause. The noun clause is underlined in the following examples.

(70) Bola_barigu-di-re.

ball throw-nominal-neutral

The ball was thrown.

(71) Bola_barigu-di pega-re.

ball throw-nominal bad-neutral

That the ball was thrown was bad.

The presence of -di here is not the result of the absence of an agent, i.e. caused by the selection of Nonagentive; -di is called for in all noun clauses. This is seen by adding an agent and an aspect morpheme to the noun clause of the previous example. All that changes is that an agent is added and aspect consequently is suffixed to it, as is always the case when a clause has an agent.

(72) E-re_bola_barigu-di pega-re.

3pl-neutral ball throw-nominal bad-
neutral

That they threw the ball was bad.

In summary, all the examples have -di 'nominal' for the same reason, because -di nominalizes the clause to which it is suffixed. What appears to be an independent nonagentive clause is actually an existential clause consisting of a subject NP, realized by an agentless noun clause, e.g. bola barigu-di (ball 3sg-throw-nominal), followed by an aspect, e.g. -re 'neutral'.

(73) [Bola barigu-dî]_N-re.

[ball throw-nominal]_N-neutral

The ball was thrown or There was a throwing
of the ball.

This corresponds exactly to other existential clauses, all of which have the structure NP + Aspect.⁸ If the subject is a noun rather than a noun clause, a clause such as the one below results.

(74) Bola-re.

ball-neutral

There was a ball or A ball existed.

Nonagentive noun clauses are not restricted to serving as subjects; they also occur as direct objects and

⁸Existential clauses in which the subject of the noun clause is an agent are also grammatical, if not very useful or nice sounding in English.

E-re bola barigu-dî-re.

3pl-neutral ball throw-nominal-neutral

Their throwing of the ball happened.

objects of postpositions. In the following example, the agentless noun clause is the object of the postposition -ji 'referent'.

- (75) It-aidu-re bola barigu-di-ji.
 1sg-like-neutral ball throw-nominal-
 referent
 I liked the ball's being thrown.

One further specification is necessary. With Nonagentive noun clauses just as with noun clauses which serve as the object of a causative verb no aspect is ever selected.

After concluding independently that nonagentive clauses are actually examples of existential clauses, it was brought to my attention that Langacker (1975) has put forward a similar hypothesis for English and some other languages, in which he claims that passives are a kind of existential. He argues that the presence of be verbs, or no verb at all, in both passive and existential clauses is not coincidental, but is because of a real similarity between the two.

The following are further pairs of examples of agentive clauses followed by corresponding nonagentive clauses.

(76) Causative; Existential in complement

a. A-re u-dē aino.

2sg-neutral 3sg-causative like=this

You caused it to be like this.

b. U-dē-dī-re aino.

3sg-causative-nominal-neutral like=this

It was caused to be like this.

(77) Causative; Equative in complement

a. E-re boe e-imejera-dē imi.

3pl-neutral people 3pl-chief-causative

1sg=free=pronoun

They caused me to be a chief.

b. Boe e-imejera-dē-dī-re imi.

people 3pl-chief-causative-nominal-neutral

1sg=free=pronoun

I was caused to be a chief.

(78) Causative; Intransitive in complement

a. Ta-nīre e-maragodī-dē awara-ji.

2pl-stative 3pl-work-causative road-on

You are causing them to work on the road.

b. E-maragodu-dē-dī-nīre awara-ji.

3pl-work-causative-nominal-stative road-on

They are being caused to work on the road.

(79) Transitive, Lexical

a. I-re bai oto kabi.

1sg-neutral house floor wash

I washed the floor.

b. Bai oto kabi-di-re.

house floor wash nominal-neutral

The floor was washed.

(80) Causative; Transitive, Lexical in complement

a. I-re a-dë bai poro mi.

1sg-neutral 2sg-causative house hole-close

I caused you to close the door.

b. A-dë-di-re bai poro mi.

2sg-causative-nominal-neutral door.hole close

You were caused to close the door.

(81) Causative + Inceptive; Intransitive in complement

a. I-re u-tu-gë.

1sg-neutral 3sg-go-causative+inceptive

I caused him to begin to go.

b. U-tu-gë-di-re.

3sg-go-causative+inceptive-nominal-neutral

He was caused to begin to go.

Clauses with the feature Nonagentive never have agentive subjects. They may have an agent in a by phrase, although this is rare. Usually the reason for employing an agentless clause is to avoid identifying the agent.

By phrases are postpositional phrases composed of a NP head and the postposition koia 'because, by' selected from the postposition network. It follows the clause nucleus, as is the case with all postpositional phrases in unmarked order.

- (82) Bola barigu-di-re a-igoia.
 ball throw-nominal-neutral 2sg-by
 The ball was thrown by you.

The object of koia need not be interpreted as an agent, however. The clause above can also mean 'The ball was thrown (by someone) because of you.' with the agent still unidentified. Koia is not limited to use in transitive clauses; but may occur with the meaning 'because' in any kind of clause. The example below is an intransitive clause.

- (83) U-tu-re a-igoia.
 3sg-go-neutral 2sg-because
 He went because of you.

However, even though koia phrases are not limited to by phrases in agentless clauses, this does not change the fact that a true passive construction can be simulated in Bororo from components that are not dedicated to preserving role relations.

As was mentioned in section 1.2.4 the choice of Transitive leads to a possible choice of Mental Transfer.

There are two lexical transitive mental transfer verbs, biie 'advise, teach', and pawije 'grasp, understand'.

Also mental transfer verbs may be part of a clause which is the object of a causative verb. All clauses with mental transfer verbs may choose either Direct, as in example 84 or Indirect, as in example 85.

(84) I-re a-mago-dē u-tu-re.

1sg-neutral 2sg-say-causative 3sg-go-neutral+
direct

I made you say 'He left'.

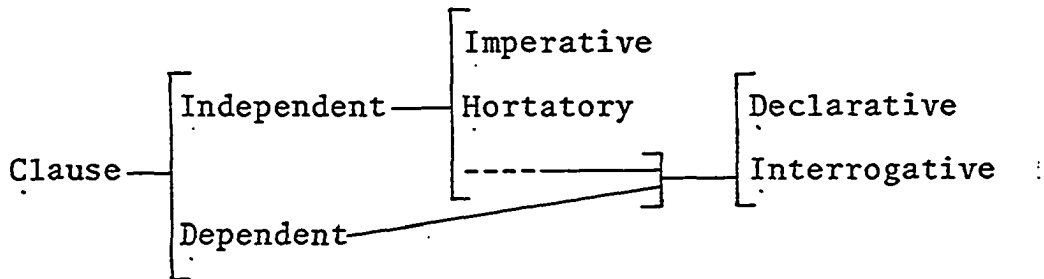
(85) I-re a-mago-dē u-tu-ie.

1sg-neutral 2sg-go-causative 3sg-go-neutral+
indirect

I made you say that he left.

INDEPENDENT CLAUSE MOOD

Mood Network



The first choice in the mood network is between Independent and Dependent. Every grammatical sentence contains an independent clause (see chapter 8). Dependent is selected when a feature of an independent clause, such as for example, Postpositional phrase, has as part of its realization a dependent clause.

2.1 The selection of Independent leads to a system containing Imperative, Hortatory, and null.

2.1.1 Imperative. Imperative is realized by imperative intonation, by imperative aspect -ba, and by the specification that the features Transitive, Agentive, and Second Person must be selected from the transitivity network. There is one restricted case in which Imperative may be selected with Intransitive; this is discussed at the end of the Imperative section.

In imperative clauses the features Agentive + Second person and also Imperative are realized only when Negative is also selected. Agentive + Second person is realized as a- '2sg' and ta- '2pl' just as it is everywhere else in the language. Imperative is realized by -ba.

In the following pairs of examples, the first is negative and declarative, the second negative and imperative.

(1) Lexical Transitive

- a. A-ka-re karo bowije.
 2sg-negative-neutral fish cut
 You did not cut the fish.
- b. A-ka-ba karo bowije!
 2sg-negative-imperative fish cut
 Don't cut the fish!

(2) Causative Transitive

- a. Ta-ga-re e-tu-dē.
 2pl-negative-neutral 3pl-go-causative
 You did not cause them to go.
- b. Ta-ga-ba e-tu-dē!
 2pl-negative-imperative 3pl-go-causative
 Don't cause them to go!

Bororo has two basic sets of intonation contours, declarative and interrogative, which are distinguished by pitch differences on their final two syllables. Declarative has a rise in pitch on the penultimate syllable, followed by a return on the final syllable to or slightly below the

level previous to the rise. Interrogative has a lowering of pitch on the penultimate syllable, followed by a return on the final syllable to the level previous to the lowering.

Imperative clauses sometimes have exactly the same intonation that declaratives have. Imperative intonation differs from declarative intonation only in frequently having contrastive stress on the penultimate syllable of the verb, if it is a lexical verb, or on the syllable previous to the verb if it is a causative enclitic. Monosyllabic lexical verbs are stressed on their one syllable. Contrastive stress is characterized here by a sharp rise in pitch, by extra loudness, and sometimes extra length. Imperative intonation is indicated graphically by an exclamation point.

In the following examples intonation contours are represented by lines. These clauses are not negative, consequently no agent or imperative morpheme is realized.¹ The first example of each pair is declarative, followed by the corresponding imperative clause.

¹The availability of the system containing Agentive and Agentless suggests that the presence or absence of agents in imperative clauses might be related to a selection from it. This is not true, however. The presence or absence of an agent with Imperative has to do only with whether or not a second person agent is expressed. Whether it is expressed or not is not a systemic choice, but is itself the result of another choice made in the Negative system. Agentive vs. Agentless, on the other hand, does represent a free choice.

(3) Lexical Transitive

a. A-re karo bowi^{je}.
2sg-neutral fish cut

You cut the fish.

b. Karo bowi^{je}!
fish cut

Cut the fish!

(4) Causative Transitive

a. A-re e-pemega-dē in-ai.
2sg-neutral 3pl-good-causative 1sg-benefactive

You made them be good for me.

b. E-pemega-dē in-ai!
3pl-good-causative 1sg-benefactive

Make them be good for me!

(5) a. A-re a-pemega-dē.
2sg-neutral 2sg-good-causative

You made yourself be good.

b. A-pemega-dē!
2sg-good-causative

Be good! literally, 'Make yourself be good!'

Higher than normal pitch, along with increased loudness and length may be used to signal contrast anywhere in clauses of any type. Besides imperative intonation, the following clause also has contrastive stress on a '2sg'. If it did not, the pitch would stay down through a-wai 'your

house' and there would be no special loudness or length on a '2sg'.

- (6) Karo bowijie a-wai tada!
 fish cut 2sg-house inside
 Cut the fish in your house! (not mine)

The requirement that Imperative clauses all be transitive rules out clauses equivalent in form to English 'Be good!', 'Be a man!', or 'Dance!'. In Bororo these meanings are expressed in transitive clauses in which both an unrealized subject and an object are second persons of the same number.² Such clauses are exemplified in 5b above and in the following two clauses.

- (7) Ta-bemega-dē!
 2pl-good-causative
 Make yourself be good! or Be good!
- (8) A-reru-dē!
 2sg-dance-causative
 Make yourself dance! or Dance!

The forms of the imperatives are the same regardless of whether the object NP of the clause is second person or

²As mentioned before with transitive declarative clauses, this fits with Langacker and Munro's (1975) claim that the nondistinctness of nominals may be shown either by coreferentiality, as it is here, or by the deletion of one of the nominals.

not. Example 9 is a first person example corresponding to example 8.

- (9) I-reru-dě!
 1sg-dance-causative
 Make me dance!

The following are examples of declarative clauses with second person subjects and their corresponding imperative clauses, some with lexical transitive verbs and some with causative transitive verbs. Different kinds of clauses serving as objects of causative verbs are also exemplified. These are identified following the semicolon in the list of features given. In clauses without negative, imperatives differ from declaratives with second person subjects in intonation and in that imperatives have no expressed aspect nor subject NP. Negative imperatives differ from corresponding declaratives in intonation and in having the imperative aspect morpheme -ba.

In the following sets of four examples, the first pair do not have negative, the second pair do. The first clause in each pair is declarative, the second imperative.

- (10) Lexical Transitive
 a. A-re karo bî.
 2sg-neutral fish put
 You put the fish down.

b. Karo bî!

fish put

Put the fish down!

c. A-ka-re karo bî.

2sg-negative-neutral fish put

You did not put the fish down.

d. A-ka-ba karo bî!

2sg-negative-imperative fish put

Don't put the fish down.

(11) Causative Transitive; Existential in complement

a. A-re i-dē ēinē.

2sg-neutral 1sg-causative like=that

You caused me to be like that.

b. I-dē ēinē!

1sg-causative like=that

Cause me to be like that!

c. A-ka-re i-dē ēinē.

2sg-negative-neutral 1sg-causative like=that

You did not cause me to be like that.

d. A-ka-ba i-dē ēinē!

2sg-negative-imperative 1sg-causative

like=that

Don't cause me to be like that!

The independent form of the complement clause is

(12) I-re einë.

1sg-neutral like=that

I am like that.

(13) Causative Transitive; Equative in complement

a. A-re bari-dë ema.

2sg-neutral shaman-causative 3sg=free=
pronoun

You caused him to be a shaman.

b. Bari-dë ema!

shaman-causative 3sg=free pronoun

Cause him to be a shaman!

c. A-ka-re bari-dë ema.

2sg-negative-neutral shaman-causative 3sg=
free=pronoun

You did not cause him to be a shaman.

d. A-ka-ba bari-dë ema!

2sg-negative-imperative shaman-causative
3sg=free=pronoun

Don't cause him to be a shaman!

The independent form of the complement clause is

(14) Bari-re ema.

shaman neutral 3sg=free=pronoun

He is a shaman.

(15) Causative Transitive; Causative Transitive in first complement; Intransitive in second complement

a. A-re u-dē e-tu-dē.

2sg-neutral 3sg-causative 3pl-go-causative

You caused him to cause them to go.

b. U-dē e-tu-dē!

3sg-causative 3pl-go-causative

Cause him to cause them to go!

c. A-ka-re u-dē e-tu-dē.

2sg-negative 3sg-causative 3pl-go-causative

You did not cause him to cause them to go.

d. A-ka-ba u-dē e-tu-dē!

2sg-negative-imperative 3sg-causative

3pl-go-causative

Don't cause him to cause them to go.

The independent form of the first complement clause is

(16) U-re e-tu-dē.

3sg-neutral 3pl-go-causative

He caused them to go.

The independent form of the second complement is

(17) E-tu-re.

3pl-go-neutral

They went.

Inceptive chosen with Causative is realized as -gë (rather than Causative -dë) regardless of whether Imperative is chosen or not.

- (18) a. A-re e-tu-gë.
 2sg-neutral 3pl-go-inceptive+causative
 You caused then to begin to go.
- b. E-tu-gë!
 3pl-go-inceptive+causative
 Cause them to begin to go!

2.1.2 Intransitive imperative. There is one type of imperative clause which is different from all others in that it is not a transitive clause. Intransitive imperatives are possible only when the features Negative, Intransitive and Second person are selected.

- (19) A-pega-ka-ba!
 2sg-bad-negative-imperative
 Don't be bad!
- (20) A-tu-ka-ba!
 2sg-go-negative-imperative
 Don't go!

Inasmuch as Transitive is not chosen, no transitive verb nor agent appears. All other imperatives have a transitive verb, all other negative imperatives have an expressed agent. In imperatives with Intransitive, Negative, and

Second person, negative ka followed by imperative ba occur where negative followed by aspect occur in non-Imperative clauses, i.e. following the verb stem.

If any one of the three necessary features is not selected, the only imperative possible is one which is a transitive clause. Note that the selection of these features does not eliminate the possibility of choosing Transitive and Causative with them. Doing so produces an imperative of the same type as all the other imperatives in the language, e.g.

(21) A-ka-ba a-tu-dē!

2sg-negative-imperative 2sg-go-causative

Don't make yourself go!

The difference in meaning between this clause and example 20 is, I think, comparable to that of the English glosses, although this has not been well checked with an informant.

2.1.3 Hortatory. If Imperative is not chosen, Hortatory may be. Hortatory calls for immediate action as expressed in English with 'Let's _____', e.g. 'Let's fish' or 'Let's go.' The feature Hortatory is realized by a selection of Purpose aspect, which is itself realized by -wē. Another part of the realization of Hortatory is a restriction to either a first person plural or first person singular subject. Plural subjects are often preceded by marigu 'soon, now'.

(22) Marigu pa-du-wë.

now ipī=incl-go-purpose

Let's go now.

(23) I-regodu-wë ba-të.

1sg-run-purpose village-to

Let me run over to the village.

Interrogative exhortations, such as seen in the next example, are milder and more polite than declaratives.

(24) Pa-wë karo kowije?

1pl=incl-purpose fish eat

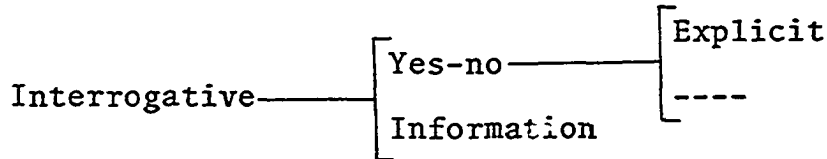
Shall we eat the fish?

2.1.4 Declarative. If neither Imperative nor Hortatory is selected or if Dependent is selected, then either Declarative or Interrogative must be. Declarative is realized by declarative intonation, which is characterized primarily by a raising of pitch on the clause's penultimate syllable, followed by a return on the following syllable to or slightly below the level previous to the raising. Declarative intonation is contrasted with imperative intonation at the beginning of the Imperative section. Declarative intonation is represented in writing by a period.

2.1.5 Interrogative. Part of the realization of all questions is an intonation pattern characterized by a distinct lowering of pitch on the clause's penultimate syllable followed by a return on the following syllable to

the level previous to the lowering. It is symbolized by a question mark.

2.1.6 Yes-no and Explicit. Interrogatives may be either yes-no or information questions. The choice of Yes-no leads to the possible selection of Explicit.



If Explicit is not chosen from the systems, then yes-no questions are distinguished from corresponding declarative sentences only by intonation.

- (25) a. A-tu-re?
 2sg-go-neutral
 Did you go?
- b. A-tu-re.
 2sg-go-neutral
 You went.

Yes-no questions may also have Explicit, realized as na placed immediately following the element questioned. Explicit is optional, chosen whenever the speaker judges that intonation alone is not sufficient to indicate that a question is being asked. The clause given in example 25a with the addition of Explicit is

- (26) A-tu-re na?
 2sg-go-neutral-explicit
 Did you go?

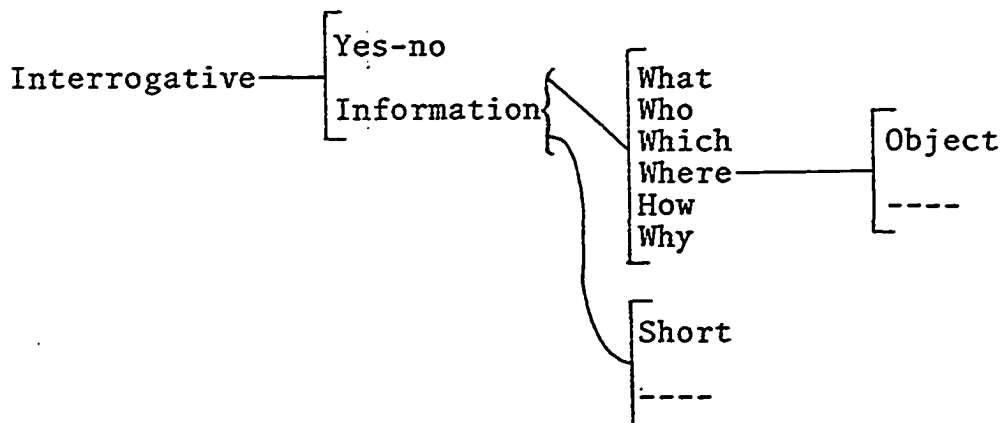
Explicit is always chosen when yes-no questions are composed of a single word or phrase. For example, when one thinks that he may have been called, he may respond with

- (27) Imi na?
 1sg=free=pronoun explicit
 Me?

Na follows immediately after the element questioned. This is usually the entire clause, as in the examples given thus far. The questioned element, however, may be a fronted clause constituent as in the following example.

- (28) João koia na u-mede imedi maragodi-de?
 João because explicit 3sg-hypothetical +
 neutral man work-causative
 Was it João who made the man work?

2.1.7 Information questions.



Information questions all contain a question word in clause initial position. All question words end with an interrogative morpheme ba.

- (29) Kai-ba kodu-re?
where go-neutral
 Where did he go?

The six Bororo question words are kabo-ba 'what', iogidi-ba 'who', kakodiwi-ba 'which', ino-ba 'how', kai-ba 'where' and kodi-ba 'why'. The last three are separable into ba and a preceding ino 'in this manner', kae 'to' (with e changed to i in the question word), and kodi 'because' respectively. From kakodiwi-ba 'which', the following morphemes can be identified: kodi 'because', wi 'relative' and ba 'interrogative morpheme'. I do not know any explanation for the initial syllable ka.

If the questioned element involves something more than a question word, such as, for example, a postpositional phrase, another ba 'interrogative morpheme' is placed after the final word in the element questioned. The separated ba is glossed simply as 'Q' in the examples.

- (30) Kabo-ba tabo ba imedi maragodi-re?
what with Q man work-neutral
 What did the man work with?

Kakodiwi-ba 'which' is like a demonstrative in that both end in wi 'relative' and modify nouns in noun phrases. This similarity may be seen by comparing example 33 with Awî imedi uture 'That man went.'

Iogidi-ba 'who' may optionally be accompanied by the interrogative morpheme ba even when the questioned element does not extend beyond the question word itself. In this case the ba is suffixed to the question word, as in example 31.

- (31) Iogidi-ba-ba aidu-re ji?
who want-neutral referent
 Who wants it?
- (32) Iogidi-ba aidu-re ji?
who want-neutral referent
 Who wants it?

Kakodiwi-ba 'which' may optionally occur without a final ba, as kakodiwi, whenever another ba is present later in the clause.

- (33) Kakodiwi imedi ba u-tu-re?
which man Q 3sg-go-neutral
 Which man went?
- (34) Kakodiwi-ba imedi ba u-tu-re?
which man Q 3sg-go-neutral
 Which man went?
- (35) Kakodiwi-ba u-tu-re?
which 3sg-go-neutral
 Which one went?

In both iogidi-ba 'who' and kakodiwi-ba 'which' the presence or absence of the ba creates no meaning difference which I can perceive.

The following are further examples of the six question words.

(36) Interrogative, Information, What

Kabo-ba u-re barigu?

what 3sg-neutral throw

What did he throw?

(37) Interrogative, Information, Who

Logibi-ba ji-ba a-ridi-re?

who referent-Q 2sg-see-neutral

Whom did you see?

(38) Interrogative, Information, Which

Kadodiwi-ba maragodi-re?

which work-neutral

Which one worked?

(39) Interrogative, Information, Where

Kai-ba piji-ba aredi aregodi-re?

where from-Q woman arrive-neutral

Where did the woman come from?

The choice of Where leads to a possible further choice of Object. Object questions ask nothing more than the location of a physical object. The realization of this feature is pa, which follows the noun naming the object. Neither a verb nor any mood features are allowed with Where + Object.

- (40) Aredi pa?
 woman object-where
 Where is the woman?

Questions regarding the location of a physical object do not obligatorily involve the selection of Object. The following question without the feature Object asks for the same information as the one given previously which does contain this feature. It uses a location verb migi which can specifically mean 'sit', but normally means only 'be in a place'.

- (41) Kai-ba aredi migi-re?
where woman sit-neutral
 Where is the woman?

- (42) Interrogative, Information, How
Ino-ba boe-re-di keje-ba a-tu-mede?
how thing-neutral-nominal at-Q 2sg-go-
 hypothetical
 How long will it be until you go?

- (43) Ino-ba u-re?
how 3sg-neutral
 How is it?

This last question is used in a great number of situations in which only the context makes clear the sense in which it is to be taken. Some possible English glosses are 'How big is it?', 'What color is it?', 'How many are there?', 'What.

happened?'. The answers to such questions are expressed by verbs, frequently adjectival ones, and adverbs.

(44) Interrogative, Information, Why

Kodi-ba ak-aidu-re i-tu-wě?

why 2sg-want-neutral 1sg-go-purpose

Why do you want me to go?

The feature Why may alternately be realized by a nominalized form of 'How is it?', which is Inoba ure + di 'nominal' followed by kodiba 'why'. I know of no meaning difference between the simple form and this longer form for asking 'why?'.
 .

(45) Ino-ba_u-re-di_kodi-ba ak-aidu-re i-tu-wě?

how_3sg-neutral-nominal_why 2sg-want-neutral

1sg-go-purpose

Why do you want me to go?

The Information question network has one further system, which contains only the feature Short. If this feature is selected the question is realized only by a question word, as in

(46) Kai-ba?

Where?

Questions as dependent clauses are discussed in section 3.6.

Structurally, question words are a subset of nouns. They require no nominalizer in places where everything except noun phrases do, such as in postpositional phrase heads.

- (47) Kai=ba_piii=ba ak-aregodĩ-re?
where_from-Q 2sg-arrive-neutral
 Where did you come from?

The three question words which identify things, kakodiwi-ba 'which', kabo-ba 'what', and iogidĩba 'who', can be the possessor in a phrase indicating possession, just as any other NP.

- (48) Iogidĩ=ba_aku_kowaru=ba rekodu-re?
who_3sg_horse_Q run-neutral
 Whose horse ran?

The declarative clause corresponding to the question of example 48 is

- (49) Josē aku kowaru rekodu-re.
 Josē 3sg horse run-neutral
 Josē's horse ran.

These same three question words also may be pluralized according to regular patterns. Kabo-ba 'what' adds dēge, producing kabo-ba dēge ba 'what pl'. Kakodiwi-ba 'which' adds -ge to produce kakodiwi-ge-ba 'which ones'.

Iogidiba 'who' adds mage 'ones' giving iogidiba mage ba 'who pl.'.

Bororo question formation is similar to fronting in declarative clauses in two ways.³ One is that both involve the fronting of a clause element. Both also add a morpheme immediately following the fronted element. In information questions the morpheme added is ba; in declarative clauses -re is added. Not all yes-no questions have a fronted element. When an element is fronted in a yes-no question it is followed by na. In the clauses below compare the fronting of the phrase ira keje (chair in) 'in the chair' in b and the position of the question word kabo-ba 'what' in c. The first clause is declarative with normal, nonfronted order.

- (50) a. Imedi migi-re ira keje. 'The man is sitting in the chair.'
 b. Ira keje-re imedi migi-re. 'In the chair the man is sitting.'

³Relativization does not involve fronting, as it does in many languages. In Bororo it is signaled by an enclitic -wi attached to the final element of the clause. The head noun follows -wi.

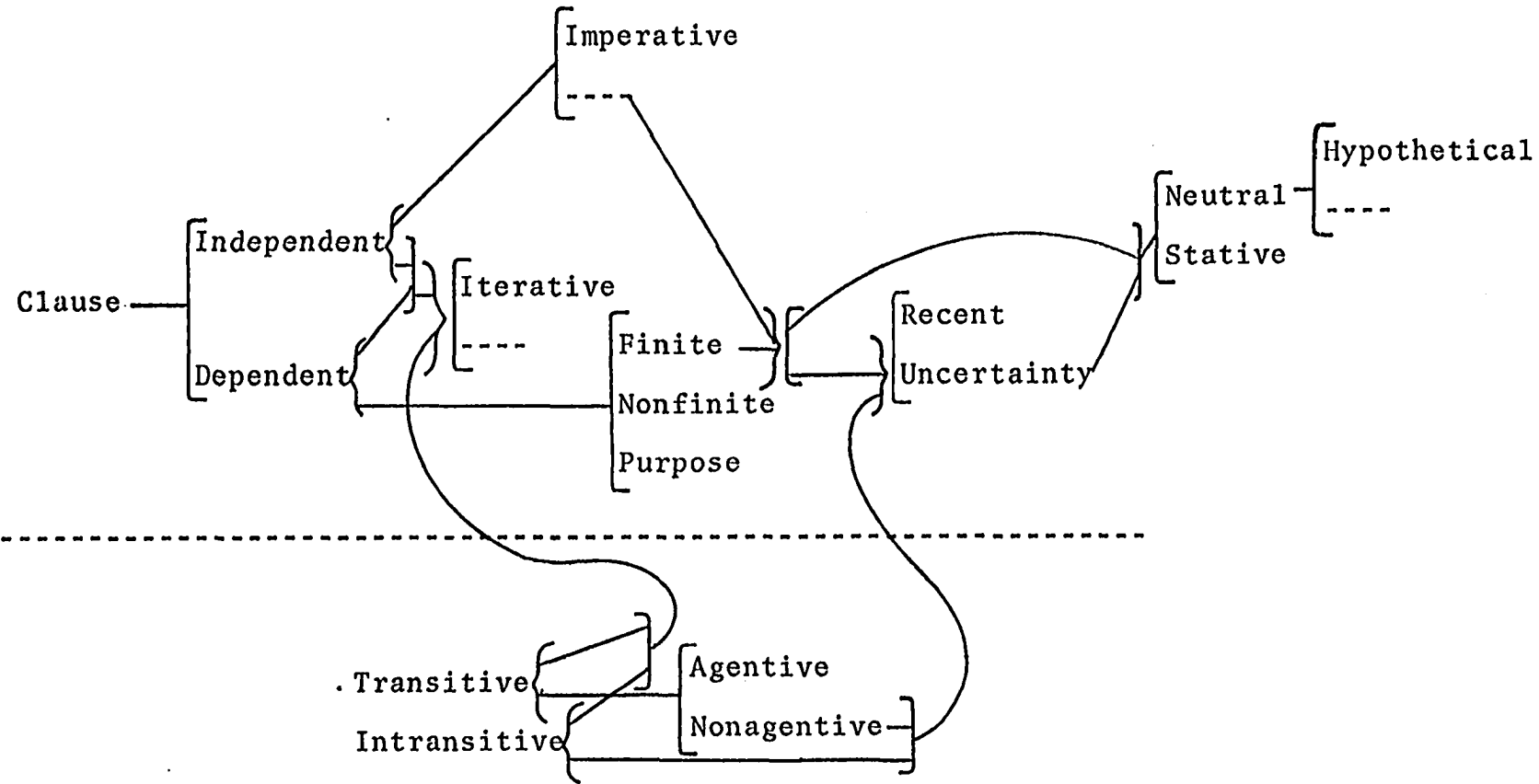
migi-re ira keje-wi imedi
 sit-neutral chair in-relative man
 the man who was sitting in the chair

- c. Kabo-ba-keje-ba imedī mīgī-re? 'What is
the man sitting in?'

Three of the four clauses below have longer fronted elements. The first clause, 51, is declarative and has normal, subject first order. The second, 52, is also declarative but has a fronted temporal phrase. The third, 53, asks for temporal information and the fourth, 54, asks a yes-no question about a stated time.

- (51) U-tu-mēde meri jetu-re wēe dī-keje.
3sg-go-hypothetical+neutral sun be-neutral
here nominal-at
He will go when the sun is here (indicating
a time of day).
- (52) Meri jetu-re wēe dī-keje-re u-tu-mēde.
sun be-neutral here nominal-at-fronted
3sg-go-hypothetical+neutral
When the sun is here he will go.
- (53) Kaiba meri jetu-re dī-keje-ba u-tu-mēde?
where sun be-neutral nominal-at-Q 3sg-go-
hypothetical+neutral
Where will the sun be when he goes?
- (54) Meri jetu-re wēe na u-tu-mēde?
sun be-neutral here explicit 3sg-go-hypotheti-
cal+neutral
Is it when the sun is here that he will go?

Aspect



(from transitivity network)

2.2 Aspect. Bororo has ten features which convey tense, aspect, and mode information. It is usually not possible to clearly distinguish what indicates tense, what indicates aspect, what indicates mode. For that reason I refer to all the features in this network as simply aspect features. This does not mean that tense and mode are any less involved than aspect, but just that I am using aspect to cover all three.

Aspect features are realized as suffixes. All occur following the agentive subject in clauses which have agents, and following the verb in clauses without agents. Ordering among the suffixes when more than one feature is selected is discussed after all the features have been introduced.

Imperative aspect is not discussed in this section since it was described already, in 2.1.1.

Bororo dependent clauses select from the aspect network either Purpose, Nonfinite, or Finite. If Finite is selected this leads to an entry into the same aspect systems from which aspect selections are made in independent declarative and interrogative clauses. I begin by describing these systems.

The first system entered presents a choice of either Recent or Uncertainty. Entrance into this system further requires the presence of either Intransitive or Nonagentive. Stated negatively, this means that neither Recent nor Uncertainty may occur in Transitive clauses

with the feature Agentive, nor may they occur in Existential or Equative clauses.

2.2.1 Recent. The feature Recent signals that the action or state of the verb is in present time or in the recent past. The failure to select Recent does not, however, indicate that the action or state is not in the recent past or present, but rather that nothing is asserted in the clause about whether it is recent or not. The same principle holds for all of the optional features in the aspect network.

Recent has no realization. This means that when Recent is selected the aspect suffix slot following the verb stem is left empty. The first example below has an intransitive verb and the second has a transitive verb in a nonagentive clause. Aspect position is underlined in both.

(55) Imedi meru ==.

man hunt recent

The man is hunting (or hunted recently).

(56) Karo kadë-dî ==.

fish cut-nominal recent

The fish was being cut (or was cut recently).

2.2.2 Uncertainty is realized as -rau when it immediately precedes Neutral -re, -ru elsewhere. The first example below is an intransitive clause, the second a non-

agentive clause with a transitive verb. The first two have stative aspect, the third has neutral.

(57) E-mago-ru-nāre.

3pl-talk-uncertainty-stative

They may be talking.

(58) Kare e-kadē-di-ru-nāre aino.

fish 3pl-cut-nominal-uncertainty-stative now

The fish may be getting cut up now.

(59) E-mago-rau-re.

3pl-talk-uncertainty-neutral

They may have talked.

2.2.3 Neutral. When neither Imperative nor Recent is selected, the system containing a choice of either Neutral or Stative must be entered. Neutral is realized by -re. Examples of Neutral -re are seen in the following two clauses.

(60) Imedī maragodī-re.

man work-neutral

The man is working (or worked).

(61) Kowaru kuri-re.

horse big-neutral

The horse is (or was) big.

A number of other examples of neutral aspect are given later in the chapter where clauses with stative aspect are contrasted with those containing neutral and in examples

illustrating the use of optional features. As the name neutral implies, this aspect gives little information itself except as contrasted with the other aspects.

The large majority of Bororo clauses select only Neutral from the aspect systems. This is true even in many hortatory and procedural texts in which one would expect one of the other aspects. Hortatory texts and procedural texts often begin with imperative clauses or with 'should' clauses containing hypothetical aspect. Once the tone is set for the discourse, however, speakers usually shift to neutral aspect alone for the major part of the arguments or the explanations of how things should be done. Great use is made of illustrative examples and of the formula 'People (i.e. Bororos) do like this...' in which all the material which completes the thought is to be taken not only as a description of how some people act, but also as a description of how the addressee should act. This is true regardless of whether neutral is the only aspect present or whether hypothetical aspect is also employed.

Whenever Neutral is chosen, Hypothetical may be also. If Neutral is chosen, but not Hypothetical, the clause has either present or past time, with distinctions between the two made by means of the context or temporal phrases.

In contexts which make it clear that a command and not a statement is intended, a declarative clause with neutral aspect may be used with the illocutionary force normally

expressed by an imperative. The temporal information normally carried by Neutral is irrelevant in such cases.

(62) Ak-aidu-mēde pa-maragodī-wē-dī keje, a-tu-re
i-wogai.

2sg-want-hypothetical+neutral 1pl=inclusive-
work-purpose-nominal when, 2sg-go-neutral
1sg-for

Whenever you want us to work, come get me.

2.2.4 Hypothetical. Hypothetical is realized by mēdī. It precedes Neutral. If nothing occurs between Hypothetical mēdī and Neutral -re the result of the two is a coalesced form -mēde.

(63) U-tu-mēde.

3sg-go-hypothetical+neutral

He probably went.

If, however, realizations of either or both of the two features which can intervene between Hypothetical and Neutral occur, then the forms are normal, i.e. -mēdī and -re, or -ie if Indirect is selected. The features whose realizations may occur between Hypothetical and Neutral are Indirect and Negative. The following is a display with u-tu-re (3sg-go-neutral) with either Negative, Indirect, or both, first with Hypothetical (+H), then without (-H).

with Negative -ka

- U-tu-mēdi-ka-re. 'He probably did not go.' (+H)
 U-tu-ka-re. 'He did not go.' (-H)

with Indirect

- U-tu-mēdi-ie. '(Someone reported that) he probably went.' (+H)
 U-tu-ie. '(Someone reported that) he went.' (-H)

with Indirect and Negative

- U-tu-mēdi-ka-ie. '(Someone reported that) he probably did not go.' (+H)
 U-tu-ka-ie. '(Someone reported that) he did not go.' (-H)

I have considered the possibility that Hypothetical should be part of the system which contains Neutral and Stative, since in nonnegative, nonindirect instances it appears to occupy the same slot and be mutually exclusive with the realizations of the other two features. However, the form with either Negative, Indirect or both show that Hypothetical is not mutually exclusive with other aspects, but that Neutral -re must occur with it in all but this one environment. Also, if -mēdi is considered to be a member of this system, then it is the only one which does not coalesce with Indirect and which has negative after it, rather than before it.

As to function, Hypothetical indicates a lack of factualness or of reality. It is used in expressions of future time, statements of probability or lack of certainty, and in admonitions. The two examples below illustrate its use with future time, first in an intransitive clause and second in a transitive clause.

(64) Imedi maragodi-mēde.
 man work-hypothetical+neutral
 The man will work.

(65) E-mēde kuiada kadē.
 3pl-hypothetical+neutral corn cut
 They will cut the corn.

The examples just above can also be interpreted as statements of probability, with no restriction whatever relative to time. For example,

(66) Imedi maragodi-mēde.
 man (3sg) work-hypothetical+neutral

may be interpreted as 'The man probably worked.'

or

is working'

or

will work.'

The choice of employing or not employing Hypothetical is one means with which Bororo speakers may express distinctions in viewpoint. An example of this came up in translating the biblical account of Jesus on the cross.

- (67) E-go-re, 'Israel keje-wi e-imejera kuri-re-wi
mēde aki-di keje, a-rawije nēwi i piji.'
 3pl-say-neutral, 'Israel in-relative 3pl-chief
 big-neutral-relative hypothetical+neutral
 2sg-nominal, if 2sg-come=down that wood from
 'They said, "If you are the king of the
 Israelis, come down from that cross."'

Hypothetical mēdi here indicates that the speakers did not believe that Jesus was indeed the king. Without Hypothetical the sentence would indicate that they did believe he was the king, and take the force almost of 'Since you are the king..'.⁴

Selecting both Hypothetical and Uncertainty results in greater uncertainty than would be the case if either of the two were chosen alone.

- (69) E-mago-ru-mēde.
 3pl-speak-uncertainty-hypothetical+neutral
 They may perhaps speak to him.

At the end of the gamut of lack of certainty lie contrary to fact affirmations, which assert that the situation they name is the opposite of the one that actually takes

⁴The meaning difference expressed here by Hypothetical as opposed to Neutral is similar to that conveyed in Greek by ἐξ vs. ἐι.

place. These always contain Hypothetical aspect in the if clause, frequently in the then clause.

(69) Boe e-mēde tado tî ae, boe e-meru-mēdî-ka-re.

people 3pl-hypothetical+neutral look just
at, people 3pl-hunt-hypothetical-negative-
neutral

If only people had looked at him, they would
not have hunted.

The aspect of the then clause is selected in accordance to the amount of certainty the speaker wants to express. Neutral aspect is often used here to express greater certainty of the consequence than would be expressed by hypothetical aspect. This produces a result similar to that of English present tense in the consequent of 'If you hunt jaguars with a stick, you're dead.'

Admonitions and statements of advisability of the type using should or It would be well if... in English are expressed with Hypothetical in Bororo.

(70) A-mēdî-ka-re bai poro mi.

2sg-hypothetical-negative-neutral house
hold close

You should not close the door.

With second person subjects, such clauses may have the force of a polite command. Such statements are not limited to only second person subjects, however. For instance,

the example above could have u- '3sg' or i- '1sg', as subject in place of a- '2sg', in which case it would be a statement only with no suggestion of a command.

2.2.5 Stative. If Neutral is not chosen Stative nîre must be.⁵ Clauses with Stative aspect go beyond a plain statement of the existence of an action or state to describe either a general situation in which a single action plays a part or the essential qualities of a thing. With verbs containing an inherent durative quality, such as fish and rain, Stative denotes a contemporaneous state while Neutral treats the event only as an event, without any qualities of a state. For example, to say simply that it is raining or that it did rain, as an event, -re 'neutral' is used.

- (71) Bîbîti-re.
 rain-neutral
 It is raining (or rained).

With Stative nîre the clause describes the general state involved; that is, to say that it is (or was) rainy.

⁵The final syllable of Stative -nîre is re, identical phonologically to Neutral -re. The first syllable, nî, never occurs separate from re. Therefore I see no need for nor advantage in considering the final syllable of -nîre to be the same grammatical unit as Neutral -re.

This sentence with stative aspect is appropriate on an overcast day several hours after the actual rain has stopped as well as any time during the rain. In the latter case, the clause could also be glossed by an English present participle, 'It is raining.' Stative -nĩre does not, however, extend to a description of anything which has not yet begun. English 'It is rainy.' may mean that it seems that it might rain, but it has not yet done so. Such a meaning is not possible with Bororo stative aspect. This is as one would expect inasmuch as Stative is mutually exclusive in the system with Hypothetical, the feature for things not yet begun.

With Stative aspect, beginning and end points of actions are not sharply delineated. For example

- (73) I-wogu-nĩre.
 1sg-fish-stative
 I am fishing.

is appropriate from the time a man picks up his pole and starts to leave for the river until after he has returned.

Stative does, however, promise an eventual end to an action, while with Neutral no end is implied. This is like English progressive 'he is eating' vs. 'he eats'.

- (74) Bĩbĩti-nĩre aino, mare baragoato pa-meru-mēde.
 rain-stative now, but tomorrow 1pl=inclusive-
 hunt-hypothetical
 It's raining now, but tomorrow we will hunt.

- (75) Bîbîti-re wêe meri jamedî-ji.
 rain-neutral here day also-referent
 It rains here every day.

With verbs which are inherently punctiliar, such as 'go' and 'throw' in the examples below, Stative may denote either a contemporaneous state or a resultant state. For example, with -re 'neutral' the sentence below states simply that the man is going or that he went to the city of Cuiabá.

- (76) Imedi u-tu-re Cuiabá-tê.
 man 3sg-go-neutral Cuiabá to
 The man went to Cuiabá.

With -nire 'stative' the verb describes the resultant state, i.e. 'moved'.

- (77) Imedi u-tu-nire Cuiabá-tê.
 man he-go-stative Cuiabá-to
 The man moved to Cuiabá.

Another possible reading for the same sentence is 'The man is (or was) going to Cuiabá.' in which case Stative carries the sense of contemporaneous state.

The question below with -re 'neutral' is a simple question about whether or not the addressee threw an object.

(78) A-re bola barigu?

2sg-neutral ball throw

Did you throw the ball?

With -nire 'stative' the question also has to do with the resultant state of the object, i.e. is the ball thrown away, in the sense of 'discarded'.

(79) A-nire bola barigu?

you-stative ball throw

Did you throw the ball away?

Neutral and Stative when used with adjectives and in copulative clauses contrast in meaning in a way corresponding to the contrasts found with actions. -nire 'stative' always brings with it an extension beyond a flat statement of fact. For example, the clause below, with -re 'neutral' states that the man in question is bad.

(80) Imedi pega-re.

man bad-neutral

The man is bad.

With -nire 'stative' the meaning of the clause is extended to a description of the man's general character. Often the insertion of 'essentially' into the gloss is required to capture the sense of stative with adjectives.

- (81) Imedi pega-nire.
 man bad-stative
 The man is (essentially) bad.

2.2.6 Order of aspects. The features Uncertainty and either Stative or Neutral may be chosen in the same clause. Whenever Neutral is selected, Hypothetical may also be. The order in which the realizes of these features occur is Uncertainty followed by Stative; or if Neutral is selected rather than Stative, the order is Uncertainty followed by Hypothetical, which is then followed by Neutral. Two clauses containing all of the aspect features which can cooccur are

- (82) E-mago-ru-mede.
 3pl-speak-uncertainty-hypothetical+neutral
 They may perhaps talk.
- (83) E-mago-ru-nire.
 3pl-speak-uncertainty-stative
 They may be talking.

2.2.7 Neutral aspect -re and fronting -re. Neutral aspect -re is homophonous with -re 'fronted', which accompanies fronted elements in declarative clauses, as in the example below.

- (84) Aw-i-tada-re kiogo migi-re.
that tree inside-fronted bird sit-neutral
 In that tree a bird is sitting.

Even though the two forms are homophonous, they are not realizations of the same systemic feature. There is, however, one other reason besides phonological identity to consider the possibility that neutral aspect -re and the fronting -re realize the same feature. This is that in a dependent clause following a verb of mental transfer, the feature Indirect coalesces either with Purpose, Stative or Neutral aspect or with -re 'fronted', whichever comes first. Indirect+Purpose is realized by wēe, Indirect+Stative by -iire while Indirect+Neutral and Indirect+Fronted are both realized by -ie.

In the first example below, Indirect combines with neutral aspect to produce -ie.

- (85) Ako-re kiogo migi-ie awi i tada.
 say-neutral bird sit-indirect+neutral that
 tree inside
 He said that a bird was sitting in that tree.

In the next example the postpositional phrase 'in that tree' is fronted within the complement clause. Indirect now combines with the fronting morpheme to produce -ie, while Neutral aspect -re is unchanged, inasmuch as it is not the first -re of the dependent clause.

- (86) Ako-re awi i tada-ie kiogo migi-re.
 say-neutral that tree inside-indirect+theme
 bird sit-neutral
 He said that in that tree a bird was sitting.

If neutral -re and fronting -re were realizations of the same feature, it would be easy to see why Indirect combines with either of them, as well as why they are identical phonologically. However, the two are very different in meaning and in where they occur. -re aspect conveys temporal information while fronting -re does not. -re aspect cooccurs with negatives and other aspects, while fronting -re does not. No other aspect ever occurs in place of fronting -re in fronted constructions.

One way in which the two -re morphemes might be seen as realizations of the same feature would be if Bororo fronted elements could be said to be part of pseudo-cleft sentences. In this case fronting -re might be considered as equivalent to aspect -re. However, Bororo clauses with fronted elements do not have the kind of structure characteristic of pseudo-clefting. All that is involved is the moving of a clause element to the front of the clause and adding -re to it.

For these reasons I do not equate fronting -re and neutral -re, even though this leaves unexplained why Indirect interacts with both of them in the same way.

2.2.8 Iterative. There is one more aspect feature, Iterative, which may be selected in either independent or dependent clauses. Iterative differs from any other aspect in that it may be selected in imperative as well as nonimperative clauses. It may be selected only in transitive or intransitive clauses, i.e., in any clauses contain-

ing a verb. Iterative is realized by doubling the verb stem and the pronoun bound to it. The first example below has an intransitive verb and the second a transitive verb.

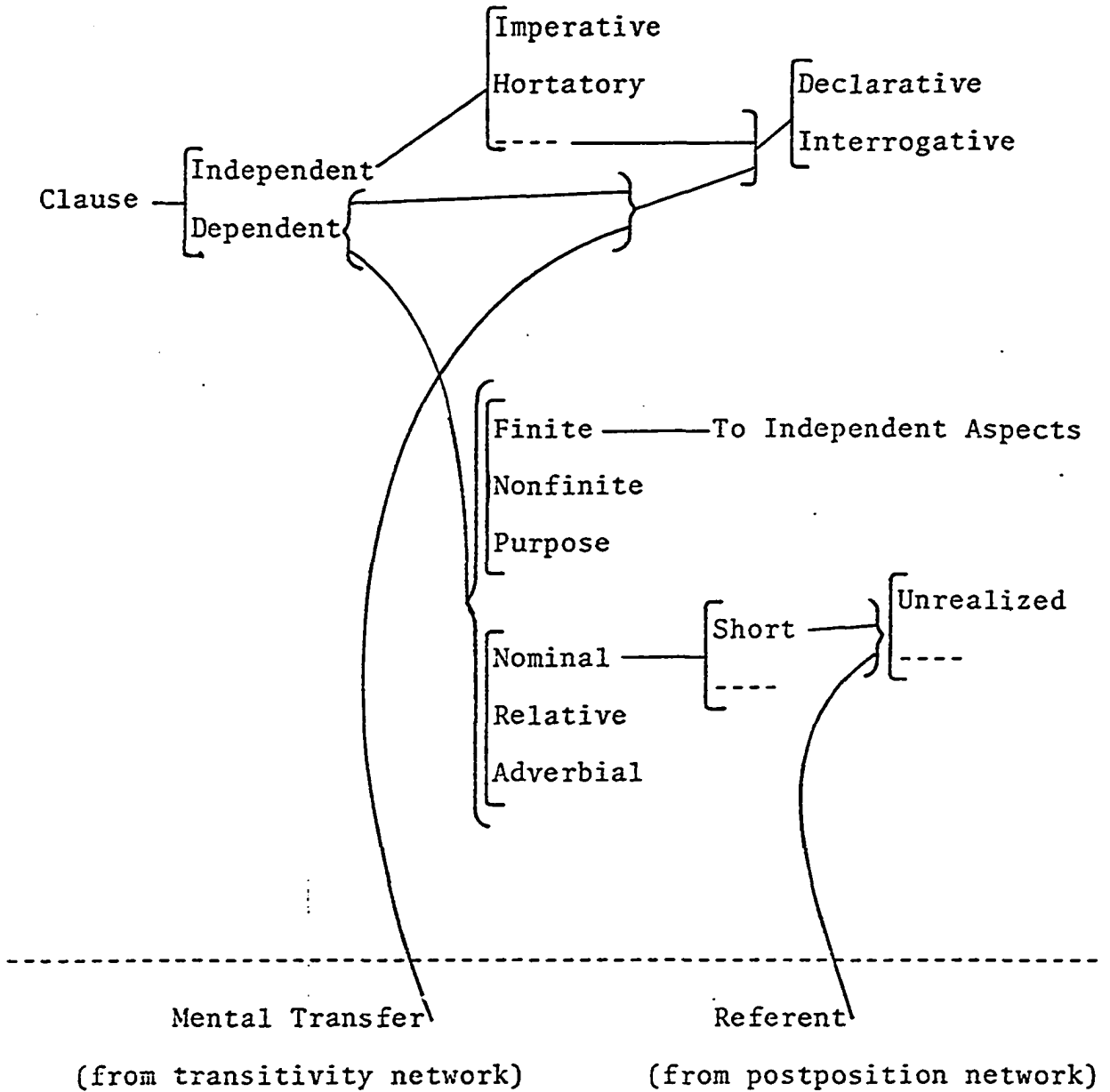
- (87) I-tu_i-tu-re toro, mare u-ka-re ia boe rogu
 makî in-ai.
1sg-go_1sg-go-neutral there, but 3sg-negative-
 neutral something diminutive give 1sg-
 benefactive
 I repeatedly went there, but he never gave
 me anything.
- (88) A-re bola dëge e-warigu_e-warigu.
 2sg-neutral ball plural 3pl-throw_3pl-throw
 You repeatedly threw the balls.

⋮

⋮

DEPENDENT CLAUSE MOOD

Dependent Clause Mood Network



3 Dependent. Dependent is selected whenever a feature of an independent clause has as part of its realization a dependent clause.

For example, the choice of Agentive from the transitivity network as part of an independent clause is realized by a selection of the feature NP, which leads to an entry into the NP network (chapter 7). Among other things, the NP network has a system containing Relative Clause. If Relative Clause is chosen the NP realizeate of Agentive is a noun with a preceding relative clause modifier, such as u-tu-re-wi imedi 'the man who went'. Relative Clause in the NP network is realized by a selection of Dependent and Relative from the dependent clause network. The selection of Dependent and Relative requires a pass through all the systems in the Dependent network compatible with Relative.

3.1 Aspect in dependent clauses. The choice of Dependent rather than Independent leads to a selection of either Nonfinite, Finite, or Purpose. Finite leads to an entrance into the same aspect network from which independent clauses select. The following two examples are examples of finite noun clauses. They are identified as nominal clauses by -di 'nominal' as the final element of the dependent clause. Without -di they are identical to well formed independent clauses.

(1) Finite, Stative, NominalE-ri~~di~~wa-re u-nire-ipo-kade-di-ji.3pl-know-neutral 3sg-stative_pole_cut-nominal-
referent

They know he was cutting the pole.

(2) Finite, Neutral, Negative, NominalIt-aidu-re e-ka-re-aroi-tigi-di-ji.1sg-like-neutral 3pl-hypothetical-negative-
neutral_rice_plant-nominal-referent

I like it that they did not plant rice.

3.1.1 Nonfinite. Nonfinite does not lead to a selection from the aspect network, but rather is realized by -i in aspect position. -i serves as a kind of place holder for aspect. It has significance only in that it signals that the clause contains no aspect information. The selection of Nonfinite is independent of what verb is selected in a clause. In this way it is quite different from the English possessive-ing complementizer with which Nonfinite is usually glossed.

The first two examples below differ from the previous two examples given (examples 1 and 2) only in that Nonfinite is selected rather than Finite.

(5) Nonfinite, NominalE-r̄idiwa-re u=i_ipo_kadē=di-ji.3pl-know-neutral 3sg=nonfinite=pole_cut-
nominal-referent

They know about his cutting the poles.

(4) Nonfinite, Negative, Nominal

It-aidu-re e-ka-i aroi t̄iḡi-di-j̄i.

1sg-like-neutral 3pl=negative=nonfinite rice
plant=nominal-referent

I like their not planting rice.

(5) Nonfinite, NominalI-mear̄idi-re e=tu=i_iaw̄ii=t̄idi-ji.1sg-hear-neutral 3pl=go=nonfinite_yesterday-
nominal-referent

I heard about their going yesterday.

The answer to why one uses nonfinite forms rather than finite forms is not clear to me. I have not been able to identify other grammatical considerations, including position in discourse, upon which the choice of one or the other is dependent. One statement which can be made, but which is not all that satisfying, is that nonfinite clauses are used when the clause is to have more of a nounlike quality than if aspect and mode were included. In such instances aspect and mode are either unnecessary or undesirable in terms of the message the speaker wishes to communicate.

3.1.2 Purpose. The third member of the dependent aspect system is Purpose. With the exception of Hortatory clauses, which are described in 2.1.3, Purpose aspect is selected only in noun clause heads of purpose postpositional phrases.

The postposition bogai 'purpose' may be selected from the postpositional system and occur in a clause such as

- (6) Maragodi-re dinheiro bogai.
 work-neutral money purpose
 He worked for money.

in which the head of the postpositional phrase is a noun.

If the head of the purpose postpositional phrase is a nominalized clause, the dependent clause must have -di 'nominal' as is the case in all nominalized clauses; it may select Purpose from the dependent aspect system. Purpose aspect is realized by -wë in aspect position.

- (7) Maragodi-re i-tu-wë Cuiabá-të-di bogai.
 work-neutral 1sg-go-purpose Cuiabá-to-
nominal purpose
 He worked in order that I might go to Cuiabá.
- (8) I-tu-re a-nudu-wë di-bogai.
 1sg-go-neutral 2sg-sleep-purpose nominal-
 purpose
 I left so you could sleep.

- (9) I-maragodi-re a-wē dinheiro maki in-ai-di
bogai.
 1sg-work-neutral 2sg-purpose money give 1sg-
benefactive-nominal purpose
 I worked so that you would give me money.

The one environment in which Purpose aspect is selected without the postposition bogai 'purpose', is in Hortatory clauses, as described in 2.1.3. Hortatory is realized by the selection of Purpose aspect and a restriction on the subject NP to first person.

- (10) Pa-goage-wē karo-ji.
 1pl=inclusive-eat-purpose fish-referent
 Let's eat the fish.
- (11) I-wē karo bi.
 1sg-purpose fish put=down
 Let me put the fish down.

3.2 Relative. Dependent clauses are either relative, nominal, or adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are dependent clause modifiers of noun phrases. Bororo relative clauses precede the NP they modify with one exception which is discussed later. All Bororo relative clauses contain -wī, an enclitic which corresponds to English WH words in that it serves as a kind of pronominal replacement in the syntax for a clause element coreferential with the NP modified by the relative clause. -wī differs from English WH words, however, in two ways. First, it does not

take the same position in the clause as the element it replaces in the syntax, instead it is always the final element of the relative clause. The position of the NP replaced by -wì is left empty. Second, there is no distinction made in form as to what kind of WH element is involved. The form is always -wì; the function is determined by the context.

The bound pronoun of the word following the position of the unrealized NP is always singular regardless of whether the unrealized noun with which it is in cross reference is singular or plural. In relative clauses number distinctions are neutralized in this position. The following examples first give an independent clause and then the corresponding relative clause as part of a NP in another independent clause.

(12) a. Aredi u-tu-re a-wai kae jawìji.

woman 3sg-go-neutral 2sg-house to yesterday

The woman went to your house yesterday.

b. U-tu-re a-wai kae jawìji-wì aredi motu-re.

3sg-go-neutral 2sg-house to yesterday-
relative woman pretty-neutral

The woman who went to your house yesterday
is pretty.

(13) a. Ime e-ridi-re tapira-ji.

men 3pl-see-neutral cow-referent

The men saw the cow.

- b. Jo-riḍi-re tapira-ji-wi ime e-tu-re toro.
 3sg-see-neutral cow-referent-relative
 men 3pl-go-neutral there
 The men who saw the cow went there.
- (14) a. A-re dinheiro maki in-ai.
 2sg-neutral money give 1sg-benefactive
 You gave me money.
- b. A-re maki in-ai-wi dinheiro jeti-re wee.
 2sg-neutral give 1sg-benefactive-relative
 money be-neutral here
 The money that you gave me is here.
- (15) a. Ime e-re areḍi u-ke kowiḵe.
 men 3pl-neutral woman 3sg-food eat
 The men ate the woman's food.
- b. U-re areḍi u-ke kowiḵe-wi ime e-pega-re.
 3sg-neutral woman 3sg-food eat-relative-
 men 3pl-bad-neutral
 The men who ate the woman's food are bad.
- (16) a. E-re bola barigu imedi rogu ae.
 3pl-neutral ball throw man diminutive to
 They threw the ball to the boy.
- b. E-re bola barigu ae-wi imedi rogu kuri-re.
 3pl-neutral ball throw to-relative man
 diminutive big-neutral
 The boy they threw the ball to is big.

- (17) a. Aregodĩ-re wēe sabado keje.
 arrive-neutral here Saturday on
 He arrived here on Saturday.
- b. E-tu-re aregodĩ-re wēe-wĩ sabado keje.
 3pl-leave-neutral arrive-neutral here-
 relative Saturday on
 They left on the Saturday when he arrived
 here.

Relative -wĩ may refer to an unrealized subject, object, or object of a postposition. Multiple NP positions in the relative clause filled only by third singular bound pronouns result in ambiguity with regard to -wĩ. The meaning of gloss b in example 18 below is admittedly a bit strange, but is quite normal grammatically and easily conceivable semantically.

- (18) U-re Ø-barigu Ø-ae-wĩ imedi Ø-pega-re.
 3sg-neutral 3sg-throw 3sg-to-relative
 man 3sg-bad-neutral
- a. The man who threw it to him was bad.
 or b. The man he threw to him was bad.
 or c. The man to whom he threw it was bad.

The modifier elements of Modifier-NP constructions such as 'the big man' are themselves full relative clauses. There are no reduced relatives in Bororo.

(19) Kuri-re-wi imedi aregodì-re jawìji.

big-neutral-relative man arrive-neutral
yesterday

The big man arrived yesterday.

In all relative clauses composed of only an adjective + aspect + -wi, such as in examples 19 and 20, adjective + -wi may precede the noun, as seen in 19, or follow it, as seen in 20, with no difference in meaning. The order with the adjective + -wi following the NP is the more common.

(20) Imedi kuri-re-wi aregodì-re jawìji.

man big-neutral-relative arrive-neutral
yesterday

The big man arrived yesterday.

A relative clause may follow the noun it modifies only when the verb of the clause is an adjectival one. A longer relative clause must precede the head of the phrase even if the verb is an adjectival one.

(21) Pega-re awi meri keje-wi imedi pemega-re aino.

bad-neutral that day at-relative man good-
neutral now

The man that was in bad shape that day is
well now.

A relative clause need not have an expressed NP head. This is the case when the feature Nounless is chosen in the NP network.

(22) It-aidu-re maragodi-re-wi-ji.

1sg-like-neutral work-neutral-relative-referent

I like the one who worked.

If no head is present, the meaning conveyed is like English 'the one' as in the example above. Relative clauses without noun heads, and only these, may be pluralized. This is done by adding -ge 'plural' to -wi 'relative', producing -wi-ge 'the ones'.

(23) It-aidu-re maragodi-re-wi-ge-e-i.

1sg-like-neutral work-neutral-relative-plural-3pl-referent

I like the ones who worked.

Schachter (1973) and others have noted that the grammatical processes involved with topicalization, question formation, and relativization are often quite similar within a given language and between languages in that fronting is usually involved. In Bororo, topicalization and question formation are alike in having fronting, but relativization is signalled not by fronting but by a clause final enclitic.

Note also that Bororo is unlike English in that the WH words found in questions are not found in relative clauses. Instead, an undifferentiated -wi 'relative' serves

the same function as English who, what, where, etc. When Bororo question words equivalent to English WH words occur in dependent clauses they do not have the sense of relative pronouns, but of question words. This is explained later on in this chapter.

3.3 Nominal. Besides Relative Clauses the NP network also contains, among other things, a choice of Nominalized Clause. Where noun clauses may occur depends on the selection of verbs or postpositions which allow them. Given the verbs, postpositions, or both which allow noun clauses rather than nouns, noun clauses may occur as any clause constituent realized by a NP. Nominalized Clause is realized by the selection of Nominal from the dependent clause network. Nominal -dĩ is attached to the final element of a dependent clause in the same place the relative enclitic -wĩ occurs. Without -dĩ the clause is identical to a well formed independent clause.

(24) E-meru-re e-wogu-re-dĩ keje.

3pl-hunt-neutral 3pl-fish-neutral-nominal

after

They hunted after they fished.

(25) Boe_e-meru-re_wëe-dĩ pega-ka-re.

people_3pl-walk-neutral_here-nominal bad-

negative-neutral

For people to walk here is not bad.

(26) A-re aidu-re a-i-di akedu-dē.

2sg-neutral like-neutral 2sg-referent-nominal
finish-causative

You caused him to stop liking you.

When it follows -ji 'referent or range', Nominal is realized as -ti or -tidi rather than -di. In the numerous cases in which I have asked, informants say that either -ti or -tidi is equally good, with no change in meaning. In actual use, however, -tidi is almost always the form which occurs.

(27) Tag-aidu-re en-ogogage-re ii-tidi bogai.

2pl-want-neutral they-eat-neutral referent-nominal for

You wanted them to eat it.

Two clauses which differ only in one's having Relative and the other Nominal are:

(28) U-re arigao bi-tē-wi pega-re.

3sg-neutral dog die-causative-relative bad-neutral

The one who killed the dog is bad.

(29) U-re arigao bi-tē-di pega-re.

3sg-neutral dog die-causative-nominal bad-neutral

The fact that he killed the dog is bad.

3.4 Short. In any noun clause which chooses Non-finite from the aspect systems and which contains only a subject (of any type or size) and an intransitive verb, such as aregodire jawiji imedi maragodi (arrive-neutral yesterday-relative man work) '(that) the man who arrived yesterday works' or e-wogu (3pl-fish) 'they fish', neither Nominal nor Nonfinite is realized.

(30) Et-aidu-re ime_e_wogu_ji.

3pl-like-neutral men_3pl_fish referent

They like the men to fish.

The presence of any adjunct, however, such as toro 'there' in example 31 calls for the normal realization of Nominal and Nonfinite.

(31) Et-aidu-re ime_e_wogu_i_toro_di_ji.

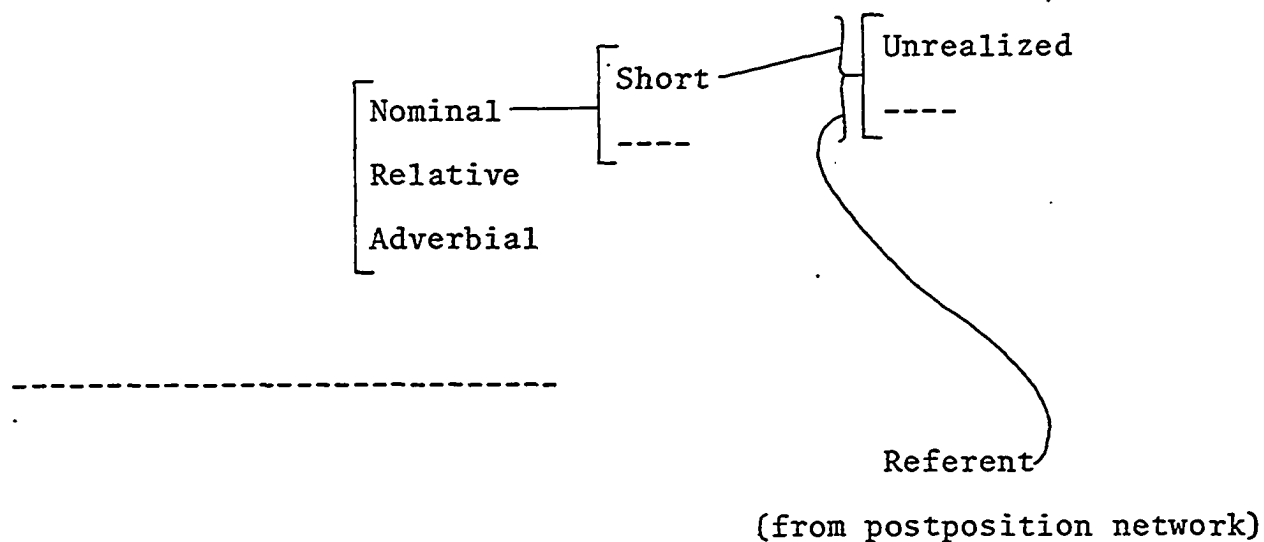
3pl-like-neutral men_3pl_fish-nonfinite_there-nominal-referent

They like the men to fish there. or They like the men's fishing there.

The presence of a transitive rather than an intransitive verb in the noun clause, as seen in example 32, also calls for the normal realization of both the features.

- (32) Et-aidu-re ime=e=i=karo=bo=di-ji.
 3pl-like-neutral men=3pl=nonfinite=fish=cut-
nominal-referent
 They like the men to cut the fish. or They
 like the men's cutting the fish.

Short noun clauses in which Referent is chosen from the postpositional network are different from corresponding longer noun clauses in that they may occur without -di 'nominal' and the referent postposition.



In feature terminology, if Short is selected with Nominal and Referent, the selection of the feature Unrealized is also possible.

I do not rigorously define what constitutes a short noun clause because it has no rigorous definition for the

speakers of the language. This is an area where speakers have considerable leeway in making a decision about whether or not these features should be realized. If a speaker judges that satisfactory communication can be achieved without realizing Nominal and Referent, then they are not realized. Similar things are seen in the short and full forms of English comparatives and in some of the constraints on Dative Movement.

The point at which this judgement is made is not sharply definable and the description of the language must not define it more sharply than the speakers of the language do. A general rule of thumb is that a clause is considered short enough to have these features unrealized when it has no more than one optional element of any kind and has no elements that are themselves very long. For instance, a transitive clause might have nothing but a subject, verb, and direct object. If, however, the subject and object are themselves realized by NP's which include relative clauses, the clause need not be considered short, in which case the system containing Unrealized is not entered.

The three clauses below have dependent clauses with the features Nominal and Referent. The first example is short and neither Nominal nor Referent is realized. If they were realized, -d̩-j̩ would follow the final element of the clause as shown in the parentheses. The second and third examples do not contain short clauses and therefore both Nominal and Referent are fully realized.

(33) E-ri^{di}-re a-meru-re (dⁱ-jⁱ).

3pl-see-neutral 2sg-walk-neutral (nominal-referent).

They saw you walk.

(34) E-ri^{di}-re a-meru-re toro are^{di} ae-dⁱ-jⁱ.

3pl-see-neutral 2sg-walk-neutral there woman
to-nominal-referent

They saw you walk there to the woman.

(35) I-paga-re imedi are^{godⁱ}-re wēe pēbē piji-dⁱ

bogai.

1sg-wait-neutral man arrive-neutral here

water from-nominal-referent+purpose

I waited for the man to arrive here from the
river.

-dⁱ-jⁱ could be realized in the first example, added to the final morpheme -re. In clauses as short as the first one, however, Nominal and Referent are rarely realized. In clauses the length of the second example these features are usually realized, but often not. In clauses of considerable length, they are always realized. Sometimes speakers conclude a clause containing Referent and Purpose without -dⁱ bogai 'nominal-referent+purpose', wait several seconds, and then, after apparently deciding that the clause really isn't quite complete, break the silence with a completing dⁱ-bogai.

3.5 Adverbial clause. The NP network contains one other clause alternative to a noun or pronoun, Adverbial

Clause. The selection of Adverbial Clause is realized by the choice of Adverbial from the dependent clause network. Adverbial is realized by -wo, which occurs in clause final position, the same place as -wi 'relative' and -di 'nominal'.

- (36) Boe e-readodu-re ti-ro-re-ii-wo-ii.
 people 3pl-tell-neutral coreferential-do-
neutral-referent-adverbial-referent
 People told about how they had done it.

The meaning of Adverbial is similar to English 'how' in that it may potentially have to do with one of a number of categories, such as location, time, manner, or instrument. In the previous example it could refer to any one of these. For instance -wo could be a substitute for 'they did it at the river', or 'they did it at night' or 'quickly', or 'with a gun'. In most cases, the surrounding context makes it plain in what sense the adverbial clause should be taken, as in the following where locative is the meaning conveyed.

- (37) E-meru-jae-re xare et-aregodi-re imedi-migi-
re-wo kae.
 3pl-walk-far-neutral then 3pl-arrive-neutral
man-live-neutral-adverbial to
 They had walked a long way when they arrived
 at the place where the man lived.

Three examples which differ only in their having the features Relative, Nominal or Adverbial, are given below.

(38) a. Io-rĩdĩ-re maragodi-re-wĩ-ji.

lsg-see-neutral work-neutral-relative-
referent

I saw the one who worked.

b. Io-rĩdĩ-re maragodi-re-dĩ-ji.

lsg-see-neutral work neutral-nominal-
referent

I saw that he worked.

c. Io-rĩdĩ-re maragodi-re-wo-ji.

lsg-see-neutral work-neutral-adverbial-
referent

I saw where he worked.

3.6 Bororo complementation in general. In the area of complementation, Bororo mappings from semantics to syntax are much more straightforward than English. For example, English has that complements, for-to complements, and possessive-ing complements, among others. Verbs must be subcategorized as to which of the complement types they take, because this is not predictable according to the meaning either of the verb or of the complement type. Bororo verbs must also be subcategorized as to the two kinds of complements, Nominal and Adverbial, but this is directly related to the meaning of the verb and the complement. The two

complement types themselves have distinctly different meanings in their own right, whereas the three English complement types mentioned above all have quite similar meanings.

The kind of distinctions which are shown by the three English complement types are handled in Bororo by choices of aspects. The choice of aspect is independent of other factors. There are no verbs which must be subcategorized according to what aspects they may or must occur with.

Some English verbs require complements rather than nouns, verbs such as seem, appear, happen, and turn out. Only the two Bororo causative verbs require a complement. There are no verbs very closely equivalent to the four listed above. Similar ideas are conveyed, but by means of well behaved verbs such as mearidae 'think' for seem and appear, or by 'be' constructions for English happen and turn out.

English complement structure also has complications stemming from passivization and the ability to form pseudo-cleft constructions. Pseudo-clefting does not exist in Bororo. Passive-like constructions involve only the deletion of the agent of a transitive clause. There are no verbs with special characteristics in regard to passivization.

In all transitive clauses, it is only the direct object which can become the subject of a nonagentive clause. This is of special importance in regard to verbs like give,

(39) I-re karo maki ak-ai.

1sg-neutral fish give 2sg-benefactive

I gave the fish to you.

(40) Karo maki-di-re ak-ai.

fish give-nominal-neutral 2sg-benefactive

The fish was given to you.

'You were given the fish' is not possible in Bororo since indirect objects are always the head of a benefactive postpositional phrase and postpositional phrases are unaffected by the nonagentive process.

There are only two transitive mental transfer verbs. In all others the referent of the mental transfer occurs only in a postpositional phrase at the end of the clause. Whether the object of the postposition is a noun or a noun clause is merely a matter of substituting one for the other; no other structural change takes place. This removes the possibility of a great amount of complication which English has in complements of mental transfer verbs.

All Bororo clauses, dependent as well as independent ones, have subjects. Therefore problems with the identity of NP's such as found in English I promised John to go and I forced John to go are nonexistent.

Bororo causative verbs are used with much greater frequency than English make or cause. If a causal component is present in the semantics of a verb, one can expect much more for Bororo than for English that a causative verb will in fact be present. The controversy over whether kill

should be derived from cause to die is impossible in Bororo; kill is transparently die + causative.

In weather and time expressions Bororo has boe 'people, thing' which in these cases is a very unspecific noun, rather like English it. Structurally, however, it acts like any other noun. It never is associated with an extraposition rule such as found in English.

All of these things added together mean that Bororo complementation is a great amount less complicated than English complementation.

3.7 Dependent questions. Part of the realization of the feature Dependent is an entry into the system containing Declarative and Interrogative. In all but one environment, Declarative must be the feature selected. The selection of Declarative with Dependent has been exemplified in all the dependent clauses given thus far. The one exception, in which either Declarative or Interrogative may be chosen, is in dependent clauses which are the complements of mental transfer verbs. This means that questions may be dependent clauses only when their matrix clause contains a mental transfer verb.

(41) Io-r̄idiwa-re kodiba ak-aidu-re bogai-di-ji.

I-know-neutral why 2sg-want-neutral referent +
purpose-nominal-referent

I know why you want it.

The underlined clause by itself minus -dî 'nominal' is an independent clause 'Why do you want it?'

Bororo dependent questions are not related to relative clauses as they are in English. Dependent questions are found only as part of predications concerning questions. For example, a speaker might respond to a question of location such as

- (42) Kaiba aredî kodu-re?
 where woman go-neutral
 Where did the woman go?

with a statement including the question as a dependent clause.

- (43) Io-rîdiwa-re kaiba_aredî_kodu-re-dî-ji.
 I-know-neutral where_woman_go-neutral-nominal
 referent
 I know where the woman went.

More usually, however, a sentence such as the above would not have a dependent question, but rather would have an adverbial clause, such as in

- (44) Io-rîdiwa-re aredî_kodu-re-wo-ji.
 lsg-know-neutral woman go-neutral adverbial-
 referent
 I know where the woman went.

This clause may also have the meaning 'I am familiar with the place where the woman went.' whereas the example with a dependent question may not.

Below are two more pairs of paraphrases, a. of each pair is a dependent interrogative, 45b is an adverbial clause and 46b is a relative clause. 45a and 46a are possible only as the answer to a question; the other two need not involve a question.

(45) a. E-r̄idiwa-re kodiba_aredi_kodu-re-di-ji.

3pl-know-neutral why_woman_go-neutral-
nominal-referent

They know why the woman went.

b. E-r̄idiwa-re aredi_kodu-re_kodi-wo-ji.

3pl-know-neutral woman_go-neutral_why
adverbial-referent

They know why the woman went.

(46) a. E-r̄idiwa-re kaboba_u-re_barigu-di-ji.

3pl-know-neutral what_3sg-neutral_throw-
nominal-referent

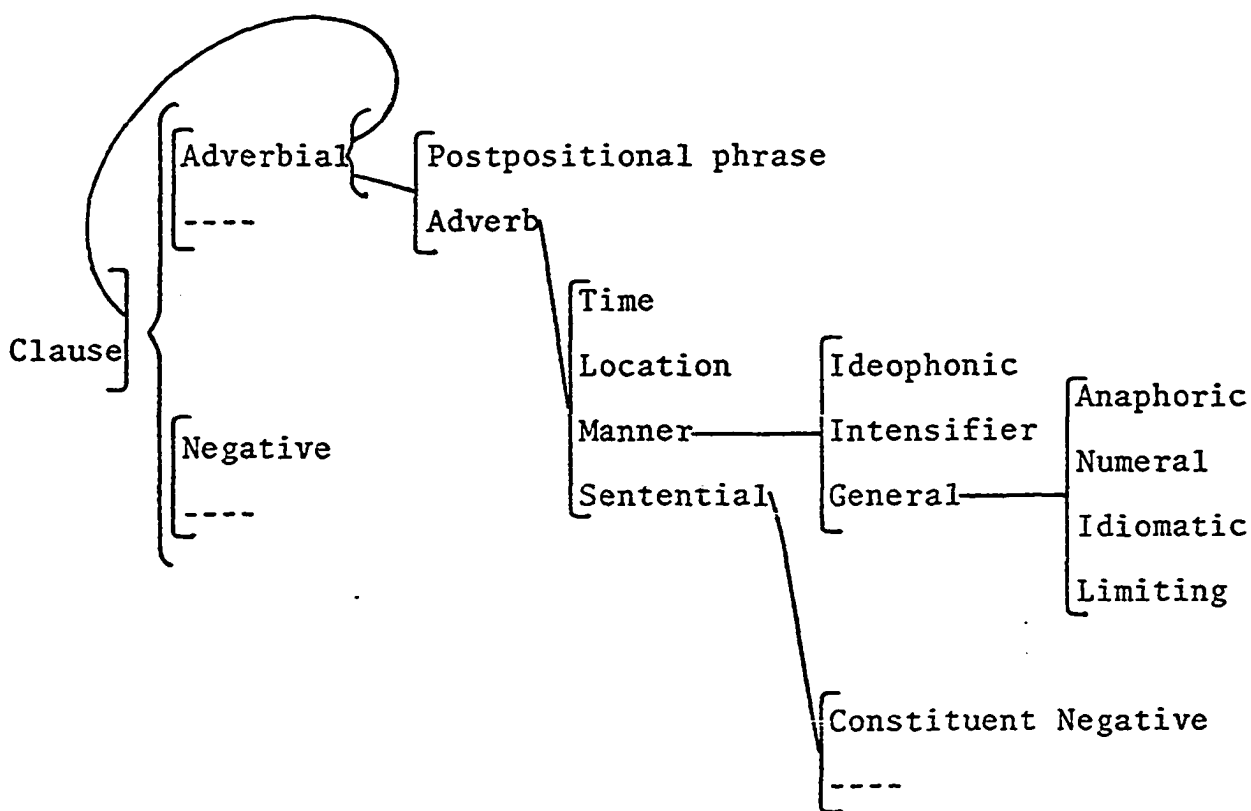
They know what he threw.

b. E-r̄idiwa-re u-re_barigu-wi-ji.

3pl-know-neutral 3sg-neutral_throw-relative
referent

They know what he threw.

ADVERBS



The mood network has systems containing optional choices of Negative and Adverbial. Adverbial may be chosen recursively. The selection of Adverbial leads to a choice of either Postpositional phrase, which is discussed in chapter 5, or Adverb. There are four major classes of adverbs in Bororo: Locative, Time, Sentential, and Manner.

4.1 Locative and Time. Locative and time adverbs normally occur following a verb phrase, but may be fronted. Locative adverbs include mate 'toward the speaker', jetì

'toward a location previously established in the discourse' (This location may be where the speaker is, but need not be.), toro 'there', jixe 'there' (I know no meaning difference between toro and jixe.), wēeje 'there, nearer than toro or jixe', wēe 'here', xebegi 'downriver', xobugi 'upriver', xemoroi 'on top', xeboji 'on bottom'.

(1) I-wogu-mēde xebegi.

1sg-fish-hypothetical+neutral downriver

I will fish downriver.

Time adverbs include ēinē 'now', mai 'at this moment', marigudu 'in the past', baragoato 'tomorrow, at dawn', jao 'early, first', and boi 'late'.

Locative precedes time when both occur in one clause, as in

(2) I-wogu-mēde xebegi_baragoato.

1sg-fish-hypothetical+neutral downriver_tomorrow

I will fish downriver tomorrow.

4.2 Manner. Manner adverbs are either ideophonic or intensifiers or general manner adverbs.

4.2.1 Ideophonic adverbs. Bororo speakers convey considerable information about how an action is carried out or about the characteristics of a state by means of ideophonic adverbs which occur in postverbal position. These may be on the spot inventions with the speaker giving his impression of a certain sound relating to the action he is

describing; or may draw from a fairly restricted set of frequently used ideophones, like English pow, crack, thump, etc. There is as well a subset of ideophones which have taken on fairly arbitrary meanings. In some of these, the sound of the word gives only small clues, if any, as to its meaning.

Ideophonic adverbs have several phonological characteristics which distinguish them from other words. Most may in certain contexts end in glottal stop, a consonant which does not occur elsewhere in the language. All contain one or two syllables, all are frequently repeated up to four times in succession, with the final repetition usually ending in a suffixed -je 'in this manner'. They are frequently adjusted iconically in length, loudness, or speed in order to convey duration or intensity. Many times no English gloss is adequate for them but when used by a skilled speaker they can make the difference in a colorless discourse and a lively one. In a story about a man being hunted by a jaguar, the narrator said

(3) Adugo meru podu-nāre giiiiiiiiiii.

jaguar walk-quiet-stative slow, continuous

action

The jaguar was walking quietly and slowly,

on, on, on.

Gì 'slowly' has its vowel greatly lengthened to convey the slow relentlessness of the jaguar's stalk.

Ti 'completed action' spoken once indicates that an action has been completed; the repetition of ti indicates that the action was done repeatedly. The number of repetitions gives some idea of how many times the action itself was repeated. In the following example taken from the Bible, the English 'one after another' is conveyed by titiije.

(4) E-ri^{di}-re ji, e-re ti-bujodo otogi titiije.

3pl-see-neutral referent, 3pl-neutral-core-ferential-kneel front completed-in-this-manner

Whenever they saw him, they knelt down in front of him, one after another.

A lengthened vowel in tiiiiii-je indicates that an action continued for some time but finally ended.

Other ideophonic adverbs are given below, with illustrative examples for some. The ones which can end in a glottal stop are written with it.

Taxe is 'suddenly, immediately'.

(5) Imedi aregodi-re di-keje-re trator okoa-re

taxe-je.

man arrive-neutral nominal-when-fronted

tractor lack-neutral suddenly-in-this-manner

No sooner had the man arrived but that the tractor was gone.

Guru?, pai?, and krai? are three adverbs which are all glossed 'quickly'.

Ideophonic adverbs sometimes supply information of an aspectual nature, such as punctiliar or durative, which the aspect system itself does not convey. Pai? and krai? for example are used with punctiliar actions and guru? with durative actions. In the following two examples, the verbs themselves do not provide any information as to whether the actions are punctiliar or durative.

(6) Et-onaregedi u-nudu-re krai? ti-wadu kajeje.

3pl-child 3sg-sleep-neutral quickly+punctiliar
coreferential-play middle

Their child fell asleep all at once while
he was playing.

(7) A-re a-ke kowije guru? guru? tabo.

2sg-neutral 2sg-food eat quickly+durative with
You ate your food quickly.

Guru? 'quickly' and gu 'slowly' when repeated may serve as the head of a postpositional phrase with tabo 'with, simultaneous'. I do not know any meaning distinctions involved in the choice of tabo or je 'in this manner' in these cases.

Other ideophonic adverbs are xuga or juga 'back and forth', xai? 'immediately', dege 'dividing into small pieces', tai? 'dividing into pieces (larger than dege)' or 'dividing horizontally'. Ipo tai? tai? (wood divided hori-

zontally) is the Bororo equivalent for 'ladder'. Others are kuri 'directly, quickly', tiki 'tightly', di? or diki 'a small amount more or less', gi? 'slowly, a small amount'. Gi? more than any other ideophonic adverb lends itself to meaning variations according to how it is pronounced. Spoken slowly with a lengthened vowel gi? means 'slowly, continuously'. When it means 'continuously' gi? usually has a glottal stop, is repeated, or both.

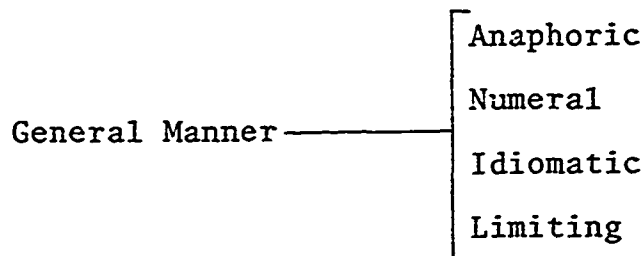
(8) A-tu-rogu kobori-dë gi? gi? tabo piğeje.

2sg-go-diminutive small-causative continuously
in=small=amounts with again

Do a little bit at a time.

4.2.2 Intensifiers. There are five members of the Intensifier class. All occur immediately after adjective stems and are glossed 'very'. They differ in which adjectives they may occur with: -gi occurs only with jae 'far'; -xigo with kuri 'big'; -jagu with pega 'bad'; and -guraga with raka 'strong', pemega 'good', and pega 'bad'. Kuri is a general intensifier which occurs with any adjective.

4.2.3 General Manner is a catchall class which takes in manner adverbs which are neither Ideophonic adverbs nor Intensifiers.



There are two Anaphoric adverbs, je and ëinē, both of which mean 'in this manner' or 'at this time'.

(9) Maquina ako-re 'ting' je.

ëinē.

machine say-neutral 'ting' in_this_manner

The typewriter goes 'ting' like that.

With ideophonic adverbs je occurs much more frequently than ëinē; elsewhere either may occur. There is, however, a definite distinction in most speakers' minds as to which should be used. This distinction is based on ideas of correctness and proper speech rather than on differences in meaning. For example, many speakers consistently use je in sentences such as

(10) E-tu-re ba-tē. Je-re xare e-re ti-ge kowije.

3pl-go-neutral village to. At_this_time-

fronted then 3pl-neutral coreferential-food

eat

They went to the village. At this time then

they ate their food.

However, the same speakers who use je rather than ëinē in such cases usually maintain steadfastly that they do not do so, nor should anyone else who wants to speak correctly.

There are two idiomatic adverbs which are used with some frequency in Bororo. Boxi kodi 'almost' (kodi 'because', boxi has no meaning alone) always occurs clause initially and obligatorily cooccurs with Negative.

(11) Boxikodi i-wi-ka-re.

almost I-die-negative-neutral

I almost died.

Kodi karega 'intensely, really' (kodi 'because', karega 'constituent negative') always occurs clause finally.

(12) Boe et-aidu-re betureboe-ji kodikarega.

Bororo 3pl-like-neutral sugar-referent

intensely

Bororos really like sugar.

Numerals such as mitë 'one, once', pobe 'two, twice', when used adverbially at the end of the clause, modify the entire clause. They may also be used adjectivally, in a different kind of construction, and modify NP's. This use is discussed in chapter 7.

(13) A-maragodi-re boepa-ji pobe.

2sg-work-neutral field-referent two

You worked in the field twice.

Limiting adverbs kimo 'still' and raga 'yet' occur only clause finally. Raga 'yet' occurs only with a negative, kimo 'still' never does.

(14) E-wogu-re kimo.

3pl-fish-neutral still

They are still fishing.

(15) E-wogu-ka-re raga.

3pl-fish-negative-neutral yet

They have not fished yet.

Adjectives are frequently used with noun clauses as subjects, resulting in meanings which are expressed in English by adverbs.

(16) E-re karo kadē-di pega-re.

3pl-neutral fish cut-nominal bad-neutral

They cut the fish incorrectly.

(17) E-ra kuri-re.

3pl-sing big-neutral

They sang a lot.

4.3 Sentential adverbs. Sentential adverbs most frequently occur in clause final position and have to do with the speaker's attitude toward what is predicated by the clause. Each may, however, modify any clause constituent. With the exception of tì 'only', all sentential adverbs follow the constituent they modify. These adverbs may not be fronted alone, although they may be part of a NP, postpositional phrase, locative, or time phrase that is fronted. The sentential adverbs are jamedì 'also', pigeje 'again', rakìdì or a short form ra 'perhaps', rade 'indeed', godu 'exactly', tì 'only', rabodu 'really', and karega 'constituent negative.' Constituent negative is described in 4.5.

- (18) Arigao kodu-re adugo piji rakidi.
 dog run-neutral jaguar from perhaps
 Perhaps the dog ran from the jaguar.

Rakidi 'perhaps' could also be made to modify any of the clause's other elements by placing it after them.

Ti 'only' is homophonous with ti 'completed action' but differs from it in that 'only' may precede any clause element, whereas 'completed action' only occurs following the verb. Also ti 'only' may not be repeated, nor may it have a following -je 'like that'.

- (19) Boe e-pega-re. Ti? imi, i-pemega-re.
 people 3pl-bad-neutral. Only lsg=free=pro-
 noun, lsg-good-neutral
 People are bad. Only I, I am good.

- (20) Maragodi-re ti? awiji, jawiji maragodi-ka-re.
 work-neutral only today, yesterday work-
 negative-neutral
 He only worked today, he did not work yesterday.

4.4 Negative. Bororo has two negatives: the first I call simply Negative and the second Constituent Negative. Negative is realized by -ka, which occurs immediately preceding aspect position.

An intransitive clause without Negative is

- (21) A-reru-re.
 2sg-dance-neutral
 You danced.

With Negative the clause is

- (22) A-reru-ka-re.
 2sg-dance-negative-neutral
 You did not dance.

A positive and negative pair of transitive clauses
 is

- (23) A-re bi-të.
 2sg-neutral die-causative
 You killed it.
- (24) A-ka-re bi-të.
 2sg-negative-neutral die-causative
 You did not kill it.

Negative may negate any or all of the affirmations implied by the clause in which it is selected. Bororo negative is like its English counterpart in that there is potential ambiguity in the interpretations of exactly what part or parts of a clause are being negated.

As in the English gloss 'you did not dance' the Bororo sentence affirms that at least one of the following is not true:

1. Someone danced.
2. The one who danced was you.

The addition of other clause elements such as time or location phrases adds to the number of things which may be included in what is negated by -ka, and to the potential ambiguity in interpretation.

4.5 The verb bokoa 'lack' may be used as a paraphrase for negative. I do not know any meaning distinctions dependent on the choice of bokoa 'lack' vs. negative -ka.

- (25) a. E-mearitēri-ka-re.
 3pl-believe-negative-neutral
 They did not believe.
- b. E-mearitēri-bokoa-re.
 3pl-believe-lack-neutral
 They did not believe.

Bokoa is used in transitive clauses only very infrequently.

- (26) a. A-ka-re joru tugu tē.
 2sg-negative-neutral fire put into
 You did not set fire to it.
- b. A-bokoa-re joru tugu tē.
 2sg-lack-neutral fire put into
 You did not set fire to it.

4.6 Bororo constituent negative is one of the members of the sentential adverb system. Constituent Negative, realized by karega, differs from Negative -ka in that it may negate any clause constituent, and in that it never negates all of the affirmations made in a clause, as is possible with Negative.

(27) Jawiji karega a-reru-re.

yesterday constituent=negative you-danced-
neutral

It was not yesterday that you danced.

The negated element often occurs clause finally, as a separate intonational unit, following mare 'but', as in

(28) E-maragodi-mēde, mare einē karega.

they-work-hypothetical+neutral, but now

constituent=negative

They will work, but not now.

The constituent negative karega follows immediately after the word or most inclusive phrase within which the negated constituent is found. Distinguishing the most inclusive phrase from phrases contained within these is important because of the way noun phrases may be part of more inclusive phrases, such as postpositional phrases.

There is potential ambiguity in the interpretation of constituent negatives occurring after phrases inasmuch as

karega must be placed at the end of the most inclusive phrase regardless of whether the whole phrase or some constituent in it is being negated. Only by verbal or situational context, or by increased loudness on the constituent being negated is it possible to know whether all of a phrase, such as the postpositional phrase below, is being negated, or whether the negative relates only to a certain one of the phrase's constituents.

(29) Ime e-miḡi-re i-wai tada karega.

men 3pl-sit-neutral lsg-house inside

constituent=negative

It isn't inside my house that they are sitting.

The clause above affirms that the men are sitting somewhere. Without verbal or situational context, and without any extra loudness being placed on any of the morphemes, what is being negated is ambiguous. It may be 'inside my house' or either 'inside' or 'my' or 'house'. Extra loudness placed on any one of these makes it plain that the element with this extra intonational prominence is the part being negated. The postpositional phrase and constituent negative are given below with capitalization to indicate loudness. Also a disambiguating English gloss is given in parenthesis.

(30) a. Ime e-miḡi-re I-wai 'It's not MY house
tada karega. they're inside (it's
your house.)'

- b. Ime e-mîgî-re I-WAI 'It's not my HOUSE
tada karega. they're inside (it's
my barn.)'
- c. Ime e-mîgî-re i-wai 'They're not INSIDE
TADA karega. my house (they're on
top of it.)'

The feature Constituent Negative can be selected with verbs just as with any other constituent. When followed by -re 'neutral aspect', as in the example below, or -wë 'purpose', the final a of karega becomes u in an elided karegu-re or karegu-wë. Final a remains when karega is followed by Hypothetical mëdâ or Stative nîre. I do not know the explanation for this difference.

(20) A-reru karegu-re.

2sg-dance constituent=negative-neutral

You did not really dance.

A more complete gloss in the example above would be 'Even though what you did may have seemed like dancing, it was not really that.'

Karega negates the verb, but not in a completely final way. It denies that an affirmation is completely true but leaves the door open for explanation or qualification. For example, a man building a house might say

(30) I-karegu-re i-wai mi.

lsg-constituent=negative-neutral my-house
close

I didn't really close in my house.

giving the idea that the walls were not all finished yet,
but that they were begun.

(31) I-tu-mēde jeti, mare it-aregodī karega mēde.

lsg-go-hypothetical+neutral here, but lsg-
arrive constituent=negative hypotheti-
cal+neutral

I will come here, but I won't really arrive
(i.e., 'I won't come to stay.')

Although it is not done frequently, both types of
negative may be selected in a single clause, as in the
denial of 'Yesterday was the day I did not dance.'

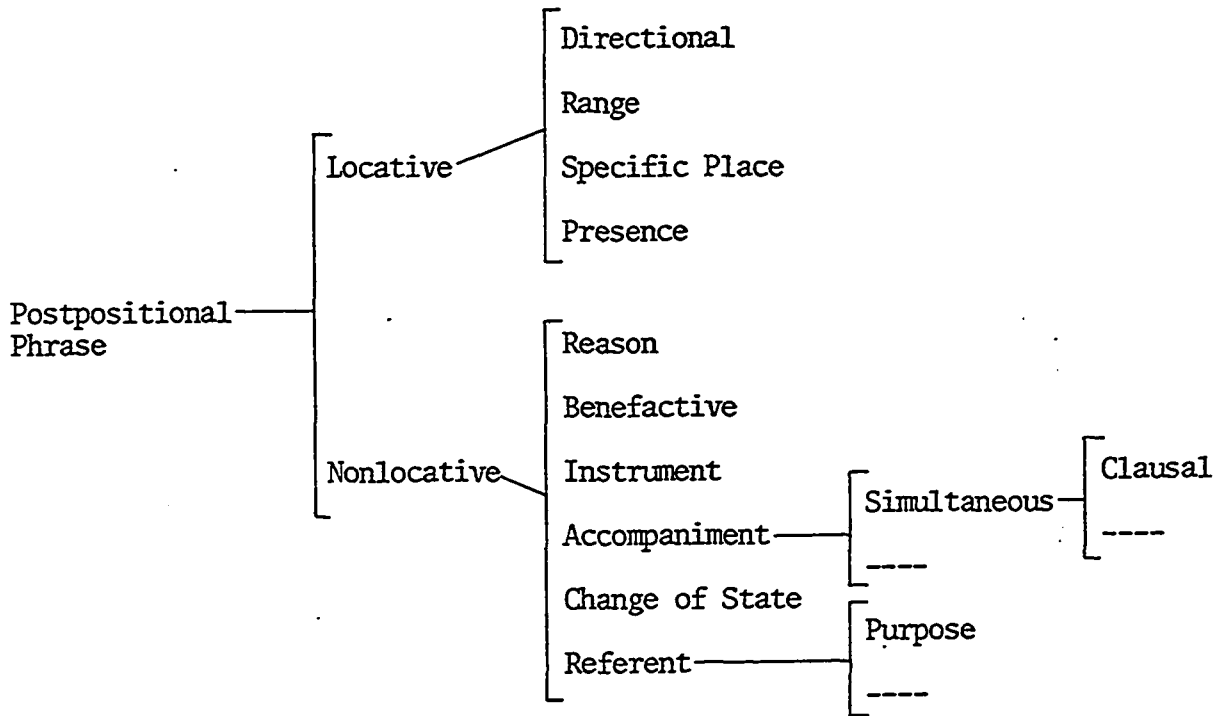
(32) Jawiji karega a-reru-ka-re.

yesterday constituent=negative 2sg-dance-
negative-neutral

It was not yesterday that you did not dance.

POSTPOSITIONS

Postposition Network



5.1 General description. All noun phrases with the exception of those which realize subjects, direct objects, or complements of equative clauses must be part of postpositional phrases. Postpositional phrases are composed of a NP and a following postposition and occur following the clause nucleus except when fronted. The minimal NP in postpositional phrases is a bound pronoun.

Postpositions are enclitics to which bound pronouns are prefixed, except in the case of all third singular pronouns in which the pronoun has zero realization in every postposition except u-iageje 'in his absence' and u-ki 'upward motion on'. There are four consonant initial positions with the shape CV: -të 'into', -ji 'referent', -ki 'upward on', and -gi 'along'. When these occur in phrases with heads containing nouns they are suffixed to the final element of the NP as in

- (1) Io-ri~~di~~-re imedi-ji.
 1sg-see-neutral man-referent
 I saw the man.

All other postpositions occur as free forms following a noun head

- (2) Io-ri~~di~~-re imedi-iaogoai.
 1sg-see-neutral man_toward
 I saw in the man's direction.

If only a third person pronoun is selected with any postposition, but no noun, then it is realized as a free form, as in

(3) Io-rîdî-re î.

1sg-see-neutral referent

I saw him.

In order to show illustrative full paradigms, I give the ones for -të 'into' and -rekodaji 'after'.

të 'into'

1sg	i-të	(1sg-into)	'into me'
2sg	a-të	(2sg-into)	'into you'
3sg	∅-të	(3sg-into)	'into him, her, it
coreferential	tî-dë	(coreferential-into)	'into him- self, herself, itself, or themselves'
reciprocal	pu-dë	(reciprocal-into)	'into each other'
1pl inclusive	pa-dë	(1pl=incl-into)	'into us in- clusive'
1pl exclusive	xe-dë	(1pl=excl-into)	'into us ex- clusive
2pl	ta-dë	(2pl-into)	'into you pl.'
3pl	e-të	(3pl-into)	'into them'

rekodaji 'after'

1sg	i-regodaji	(1sg-after)	'after me'
2sg	a-regodaji	(2sg-after)	'after you'
3sg	ǂ-regodaji	(3sg-after)	'after him, her, it'
coreferential	tǎ-regodaji	(coreferential-after)	'after himself, herself, itself'
reciprocal	pu-regodaji	(reciprocal-after)	'after each other'
1pl inclusive	pa-regodaji	(1pl=incl-after)	'after us in- clusive'
1pl exclusive	xe-regodaji	(1pl=excl-after)	'after us ex- clusive'
2pl	ta-regodaji	(2pl-after)	'after you' plural
3pl	e-regodaji	(3pl-after)	'after them'

Three postpositions, ai 'benefactive', ae 'to' and apo 'with', have an animate-inanimate distinction in third person singular. The animate forms are vowel initial ai, ae, and apo, while the inanimate ones are kai, kae, and tabo.

In all cases the name used here to refer to a postposition is its third singular animate form. The analysis of postpositions given here is very closely tied to their surface form. In a few cases where a semantic distinction of considerable importance is involved, I have postulated multiple features realized by a single form, as is the case with Instrumental and Accompaniment, both realized by apo. I have avoided doing this, however, as much as seemed possible. My

reason for following this course is that even though I have little hope of being able to prove it, I am convinced that for the Bororos themselves there are no sharp dividing lines between any of the uses of a single postposition.

The classes of postpositions which I have postulated are based on shared semantic characteristics, as may be seen from the labels of the features leading to them. In some cases information regarding the kind of predicate, NP, or both has been important in the description of individual postpositions and their extended meanings. There is not, however, sufficient regularity in cooccurrence restrictions to permit classification on this basis on a large scale.

5.2 Locative. The selection of Postposition leads to the choice of Locative or Nonlocative.

5.2.1 Directional. If Locative is chosen, then either Directional, Range, Specific Place, or Presence is selected. Directional leads to a lexical set of nine postpositions that indicate direction. The first of these is -tē 'into'. -tē usually collocates with nouns having an 'inside space' component.

- (4) E-re barigu ioru-tē.
 3pl-neutral throw fire-into
 They threw it into the fire.

(5) U-re taredo ika-tē.

3sg-neutral jump canoe-into

He jumped into the canoe.

(6) Ika tidi-re kugari-tē tiki-je.

canoe stick-neutral sand-into tightly-like=this

The canoe is stuck tightly in the sand bar.

The combination of -tē with a small number of nouns and verbs produces postpositional phrases with meanings somewhat different from 'into NP'. 'Onto' a body part rather than 'into' is the sense of -tē when used with the verb tigī 'put' when they are used with any item of clothing.

(7) E-re boe e-wire tada-wi tigī imedi bure-tē.

3pl-neutral people 3pl-feet inside-relative

put man-foot-onto

They put shoes on the man's feet.

With names of particular places as well as with pēbē 'river' and ba 'village' the distinction present elsewhere in the language between tē 'into' and kae 'to (but not into)' is not found. Only tē, never kae, is allowed with pēbē 'river' and ba 'village'.

(8) Pa-du-wē ba-tē.

3pl incl-go-purpose village-to or into

Let's go to (into) the village.

Some place names take only tē with any motion verbs while others take only kae, except with verbs like remo

'enter' which require tē regardless. In the case of some Portuguese names, speakers disagree as to which postposition should be used. The clauses below differ in meaning only in the noun selected.

(9)

I-tu-re Cuiabá-tē.	(I-go-neutral Cuiabá-to)	I went to Cuiabá.
" " " Fátima kae.		" " " Fátima.
" " " Estados Unidos kae.		" " " the USA.
" " " São Paulo kae or São Paulo-tē.		" " " São Paulo.

With bai 'house' and tori 'mountain' either tē or kae may be chosen, but the meaning difference involved is not the one elsewhere associated with these postpositions, 'to' vs. 'into'. With bai 'house' motion to or toward from a short distance is expressed with tē, from a longer distance with kae. However, the choice of tē or kae with tori 'mountain' is related to a difference in the object of the postposition. Tori-tē is 'to the mountain' whereas tori kae is 'to the mountain range'.

With verbs of knowing such as joridiwa 'know' what is known is treated as if it had inner space and tē is used metaphorically to produce the sense 'know in depth, understand'.

(10) Kuridogedi joridiwa-re bakari-tē.
 old one know-neutral legend-into
 The old one understood the legend.

The same sentence but with ji 'referent' in place of tē would be glossed as 'The old one knows the legend'.

Another metaphorical use of tē is with NP's referring to a situation in addition to which something more occurs, as in

- (11) Aredi rakixaru-re. Di-tē-re jorubo-re ji.
 woman frail-neutral. That-into-fronted cold-
 neutral referent
 The woman was frail. Then in addition to
 that, she caught a cold.

Ae is 'direction to, toward, or until'.

- (12) Boe e-kodu-re boku_kae.
 people 3pl-go-neutral plain_to
 The people went to the plain.
- (13) Bola barigu Jurekia_ae.
 ball throw Jurekia_to
 Throw the ball to Jurekia.
- (14) I-maragodi-re i-duru_akedi_kae.
 1sg-work-neutral 1sg-strength_finish_to
 I worked until my strength was finished.
- (15) Boe jamedī boe xo-re awi_kigadi_kae.
 thing also thing black-neutral that_white_to
 All of them were black until that white one
 came.

With speech and sight verbs aiwo 'look at', joku 'look at', mako 'speak' and ako 'say', the choice of either ae or ji 'referent' is based upon a distinction in distance from the speaker or seer to the thing spoken to or seen. Objects with ji are closer to the speaker or seer than with ae.

- (16) Mako-re imedī_āe.
 speak-neutral man_tō
 He spoke to the man.

With only a change from ae to ji the speaker would be known to be closer to the one spoken to than is the case in the sentence above.

Jaogoai 'toward' is specifically motion in the direction toward an object, but not necessarily arriving there. In this it differs from kae 'to', -tē 'into, to', and togi 'toward one another' which can have 'arrive to' as part of their meaning.

- (17) Lapi etē jeti-re i_iaogoai.
 pencil point be-neutral lsg_toward
 The pencil is pointing toward me.
- (18) A-meru-re postō_iaogoai.
 2sg-walk-neutral post_toward
 You walked toward the post.

Togi 'mutual' has a component of reciprocity which distinguishes it from other 'to' or 'toward' postpositions

such as ae and jaogoai. Instead of being merely a destination, the object of the postposition is pointing to, moving toward, or expecting the subject of the clause.

(19) Imedi rekodu-re aredi_togi.

man run-neutral woman_mutual

The man ran to meet the woman.

(20) Xed-aregodĩ-re Cuiabá-të, boekare tenente

migi-ka-re xe_dogi.

1pl=excl-arrive-neutral Cuiabá-to, however

Lieutenant sit-negative-neutral

1pl=excl_mutual

We arrived in Cuiabá, but the lieutenant was not there to meet us.

(21) Lapi etë jeti-re baiporo_togi.

pencil point be-neutral door_mutual

The pencil is pointing toward the door.

With the reciprocal pronoun pu-, pu-dogi 'toward one another' may take on an extended meaning of 'both' or 'equally'.

(22) I-re turaigo bowa-dë pu_dogi.

1sg-neutral oar flat-causative reciprocal-

mutual

I flattened both sides of the oar.

- (23) Et-aidu-re aredi-ji pu-dogi.
 3pl-like-neutral woman-referent reciprocal-
mutual
 They both like the woman.

Jipagi 'returning' occurs with directional verbs, with the meaning 'returning on the same route' by which the object of the postposition has come.

- (24) It-aregodĩ-re João u-wai kae. Ixare i-tu-re
i-ibagi pugeje.
 lsg-arrive-neutral João 3sg-house to. Then
 lsg-go-neutral lsg-route again
 I arrived at João's house. Then I returned
 on the same route by which I had come.

- (25) I-meru-re a-ibagi posto kae.
 lsg-walk-neutral 2sg-route post to
 I walked to the post on the route by which
 you came.

Jipagi is also used to mean 'substituting for' or 'in the place of' in which case it is not restricted to directional verbs.

- (26) I-maragodi-mēde João-jipagi.
 lsg-work hypothetical+neutral João-substi-
tuting_for
 I will work in place of João.

(27) I-re pemega-re-wi maki ak-ai awi_pegare-wi
ipagi.

1sg-neutral good-neutral-relative give 2sg-
 benefactive that_bad-neutral-relative
substituting_for

I gave you a good one in place of that bad
 one.

Rekodaji is 'after, following' in either location
 or time.

(28) Jurekia kodu-re Kogerogu_rekodaji.

Jurekia go-neutral Kogerogu_after

Jurekia went after Kogerogu.

The same example also may be interpreted temporally, 'Kogerogu is older than Jurekia'.

With some verbs such as 'speak', 'be lonesome for', 'be amazed at', the presence of rekodaji communicates that the object of the postposition has gone from the immediate presence of the actor as in English 'call after' in "she called after him."

(29) E-ku kidugodu-re imedi_rekodaji.

3pl-eyes amaze-neutral man_after

They were amazed at him (after he had gone).

The same clause, but with ji 'referent' in place of rekodaji would be glossed 'They were amazed at the man.' without the additional information that he had gone.

Otodai is 'before, in front' in either location or time.

(30) A-kodu-mēde ik-ododai; i-kodu-mēde a-regodaji.

2sg-go-hypothetical+neutral 1sg=in_front,

1sg-go-hypothetical+neutral 2sg-after

You go in front of me; I will follow you.

(31) I-mēde aroia kabi ak-ododai.

I-hypothetical+neutral clothes wash 2sg-

before

I will wash the clothes before you do.

Kori is 'beyond'. It is used only with directional verbs when used to describe a physical location.

(32) Ime e-kodu-re i-wai-kori.

men 3pl-go-neutral 1sg=house_beyond

The men went past my house.

Kori is also used in comparisons, with the meaning 'more than'.

(33) A-pemega-mēde i-pemega-kori.

2sg-good-hypothetical+neutral 1sg=good_beyond

You will be better than I.

In all 'more than' comparisons except those that compare adjectives, kodu 'go' must also occur following the first element of the comparison. Kodu is permitted in comparisons involving adjectives as well.

(34) A-wogu kodu-re i-wogu kori.

2sg-fish go-neutral 1sg-fish beyond

You fished more than I did.

(35) A-pemega kodu-mēde i-pemega kori.

2sg-good go-hypothetical+neutral 1sg-good

beyond

You will be better than I.

Piji is 'from'. The most common use of piji is to indicate locational source.

(36) Aredī rogu u-tu-re i-piji ba-tē.

woman diminutive 3sg-go-neutral 1sg-from

village-to

The girl left me and went to the village.

Piji is also used for locations 'away from', with no sense of source involved.

(37) I-miḡi-mēdi-ka-re e-piji, e-mago-re i-wogai
kodi.

1sg-sit-hypothetical-negative-neutral 3pl-
from, 3pl-speak-neutral 1sg-for because
I will not live away from them, since they
asked me to move there.

With six verbs, piji is used in a malefactive sense. With kowije 'eat', biadē 'hide', iwēḡi 'steal', and biagodu (bia 'ear', godu prefixed form of verb kodu 'go') 'forget', it is easy to see how closely this use is tied to the locative 'away from'. With kogodu 'be sick' and bi 'die', the connection to locative is not so obvious but is very possibly related to the idea of departure.

(38) E-re karo kēdi kowije i-piji.

3pl-neutral fish meat eat 1sg-from
They ate the fish up from me.

(39) Bi-re a-piji.

die-neutral 2sg-from
He dies to your detriment.

Piji is used temporally with the meaning 'before'.

(40) Sapatos akedi-mēde awi_aroia_kana_piji.

shoes wear-out-hypothetical+neutral that
cloth_arm_before
The shoes will wear out before that shirt
does.

Piji is also used as a verb, with the meaning 'abandon, want no longer'.

(41) Bai piji-nire.

house abandon-stative

The house is abandoned.

5.2.2 Range. The choice of Range leads to a selection from a set of five postpositions whose meanings fall into the general area of range. These are concerned with location along or throughout an area, not simply location at a single point. They are distinguished one from another by the specific location of the thing or action relative to the space. These postpositions, with their distinctive location are kajeje 'across, around, through', kao 'throughout', joki 'covering, all over', ki 'upward on', and ji 'on'.

Kajeje is 'around, through, across, middle, incomplete.'

(42) A-re meriri iku bi a-wai-kajeje.

2sg-neutral metal strand put your-house
around

You put up a fence around your house.

(43) U-re prego bi ira-kajeje.

3sg-neutral nail put wood-through

He drove a nail through the board.

- (44) Ime e-kurugodu-re pēbē_kajeje.
 men 3pl-swim-neutral water_across
 The men swam across the river.

Kajeje is also used to indicate that an action has not been completed, a goal not attained.

- (45) E-kuredu-re pāo_kajeje.
 3pl-satisfied-neutral bread_incomplete
 They were satisfied without finishing the
 bread.

- (46) Caminhão u-re ti-wiredo awara_kajeje.
 truck 3sg-neutral coreferential-stop road
incomplete
 The truck stopped in the middle of the road
 (i.e. short of its destination).

With awara keje ('road in') in the place of awara kajeje the sentence would say only 'The truck stopped in the road.' without any consideration of whether or not its destination had been reached.

With things which are normally measured or counted, kajeje often has a more specific meaning than 'incomplete', that is, 'half or middle'.

- (47) Awí rata padu-re kajeje jorukuru tabo.
 that can lie-neutral half kerosene with
 That can is half full of kerosene.

(48) I-tu-mēde awi ari_kajeie.

1sg-go-hypothetical+neutral this moon_middle

I will go in the middle of this month.

Kao is 'throughout', i.e. location at points distributed within a space.

(49) Adugo meru-re itura_kao.

jaguar walk-neutral jungle_throughout

The jaguar walked throughout the jungle.

(50) Pēbē oko-re iorukuru_kao.

water mix-neutral kerosene_throughout

Water is mixed with the kerosene.

(51) I-maragodi-re boe_gigudu_kao, tudureboe bogai.

1sg-work-neutral thing_weed_throughout, fruit

for

I worked in the weeds, looking for fruit.

Joki is 'covering all over, all around'.

(52) U-re jorubokuru maedē i_kana_joki.

3sg-neutral medicine rub 1sg_arm_over

He rubbed medicine over my arm.

(53) Bapera upo-re mea_joki.

paper wrap-neutral tobacco_around

Paper is wrapped around the tobacco (to make a cigarette).

Joki is frequently used in hyperbole, as in the Bororo description of my work area.

(54) Bapera kuri-xigo-re wée a-iog_i.

paper big-intensifier-neutral here 2sg-over

There is paper all over you here.

Ki is 'upward motion on'. The object of ki must be a NP on which there may be upward motion.

(55) Awara rutu-re tor_i-k_i, tori ao kae.

road climb-neutral mountain-upward-on,

mountain top to

The road climbed up the mountain, to the top.

(56) Mixegi u-tu-re u-k_i.

ant 3sg-go-neutral 3sg-upward-on

The ant went up him.

Ki is unusual phonologically inasmuch as the k never becomes g, as is predicted by consonant strengthening rules found with all other bound pronouns. For example, the rules (given in the introduction) predict pa-gi 'up us', but pa-ki is what actually occurs. A teleological explanation for this is that there is another postposition gi 'at, on, along,' with no upward component. If ki could be realized as gi then the contrast between the two postpositions would be neutralized at these places.

Ji 'general range' is the most frequently used of all Bororo postpositions. It is used locatively as General range or nonlocatively as referent. Grimes (1975) points

out that for many languages the range and referent relations are differentiated only by the presence in range of a locational component.

When ji is used locatively, the head of the postpositional phrase is treated as an area on or along which the clause's subject may exist or move.

(57) Imedi kodu-re awara-ji.

man go-neutral road-range

The man went on (along) the road.

(58) Imedi rutu-re awi-i-ji.

man climb-neutral that tree-range

The man climbed that tree.

(59) Kare-re pēbē-ji.

fishes-neutral water-range

There are fish in the river.

Some clauses, such as the one below, with 'be' type verbs and either ji 'range', or locative postpositions such as keje 'near, at' or tada 'inside', differ only in that the NP head of the phrase with ji is considered as an area rather than a point.

(60) Kowaru doge e-du-re itura-ji.

horse pl 3pl-be-neutral jungle-range

The horses are in (throughout) the jungle.

The same example, only with tada 'inside' instead of ji 'range', would also be glossed 'the horses are in the jungle'

but would not suggest the possibility of the horses being spread over an area. If the speaker wishes to leave no doubt that the horses are dispersed over an area he uses kao 'throughout'.

A similar distinction is made in postpositional phrases the head of which is a time word, such as joru 'dry season', butao 'rainy season', meri 'day', boexo 'night', or ari 'moon or month'. In such phrases either ji 'range' or keje 'at, near' may occur. The difference resulting from the choice of one or the other is quite small, rather like English 'on this day' vs. 'at some time during this day'. For example awì meri-ji (this day range) is 'today, at some time during this day' whereas awì meri keje (this day at) is 'today, on this day'. Ji is not allowed in temporal phrases containing nominalized clauses such as 'when he left', u-tu-re-dì keje (3sg-go-neutral-nominal at).

5.2.3 Specific Place. The postpositions in the Specific Place class locate things at a specific place, but with no directional or range characteristics.

Tada is 'inside'. Tada may not indicate motion from outside to inside as in English 'They put it inside the house.'

- (61) Aredì rogu mīgì-re boepa_tada.
 woman diminutive sit-neutral field_inside
 The girl is sitting in the field.

- (62) Boe e-reru-re a-wai-tada.
 people 3pl-dance-neutral 2sg-house-inside
 The people danced inside your house.

Kida is 'under'.

- (63) Bapera padu-re ira-kida.
 paper lie-neutral wood-under
 The paper is underneath the table.
- (64) A-meru-re bibiti-kida.
 2sg-walk-neutral rain-under
 You walked in the rain.

Kida is used in comparisons, with the meaning 'less, smaller'.

- (65) Imedi meru biaga-re aredi-meru-kida.
 man walk little-neutral woman-walk-under
 The man walked less than the woman.

Kida is also used in a number of idioms, such as tigi batarì kida (put word under) 'to reject counsel'.

- (66) A-re a-tigi-i-wadari-kida.
 2sg-neutral 2sg-put-1sg-word-under
 You rejected my counsel.

Keje is the most general of Bororo locative postpositions, taking in concepts expressed in English by 'in, at, on, near'. The entire paradigm is

i-wigeje	'on me'
a-wigeje	'on you'
bikeji or keje	'on him, her, it'
ti-wigeje	'on himself, herself, itself' themselves'
pu-wigeje	'on each other'
pa-wigeje	'on us (incl)'
xe-wigeje	'on us (excl)'
ta-wigeje	'on you (pl)'
e-wigeje	'on them'

Third singular has two alternants, bikeje, which is regular phonologically with the rest of the paradigm, and keje. Bikeje is almost never used. It is permitted only with nouns, not dependent clauses. There is no meaning difference between the two forms.

(67) Bapera padu-re ira_keje.

book lie-neutral wood_on

The book lay on the table.

(68) Rakoje-re wëe bororo_keje.

stand-neutral here dancing-area_in

He is standing here in the dancing area.

(69) I-migi-re wëe korogedi pari keje.

lsg-sit-neutral here korogedi_pari_at

I live at Corrego Grande (name of a Bororo village).

Some villages and cities take keje to express 'in or at village X', as in the previous example. Others take tada 'inside' as in tarigara tada 'at Perigara' (another Bororo village). The distinction of 'inside' vs. 'in' which is normally present in these postpositions is neutralized here.

For familiar locations only one or the other postposition is allowed. In most cases which is used is determined by the meaning of the place name. Korogedî parî, for example, is 'the delta of Korogedî creek and the São Lourenço River' as well as being the name of the Bororo village near that spot. Parî 'delta' never occurs with tada 'inside', while it does occur with keje 'at'. In the case of place names where either tada or keje is permissible the choice is arbitrary. With relatively unfamiliar locations, Bororo speakers are often divided as to which should be used. For example, São Paulo keje and São Paulo tada are both used.

Keje is also used temporally with great frequency, with the meanings 'at or after the time'. The head of the phrase may be a time word, as in example 70, or a nominalized clause, as in 71.

- (70) I-tu-mêde it-onaregedî bogai awî=meri=keje.
 lsg-go-hypothetical lsg-child for that=day=at
 I will go and get my child on that day.

- (71) Boe e-mīgī-mēdi-ka-re wēe a-tu-mēde-di-keje.
 people 3pl-sit-hypothetical-negative-neutral
 here 2sg-go-hypothetical+neutral-nominal-at
 People will not live here after you go.

Another use of keje is to signal a restricted kind of referent. Keje is here comparable to English over in 'they argued and fought over the salary figure'. This use is found only in sentences expressing some kind of hostility or antisocial action. The object of keje here is that in regard to which the hostility occurs.

- (72) E-rugodu-re pu-i aredi-keje.
 3pl-fight-neutral reciprocal-referent woman
over
 They fought over the woman.
- (73) Jeteri-re betureboe-keje.
 stingy-neutral sugar-over
 He is stingy with sugar.

-gi/-i is 'at or near'. With only four nouns 'at or near' is expressed by -gi, with three others, by -i. All of these are names of body parts. -gi or -i appears with this meaning only with these nouns. Phrases with the four nouns which take -gi are ja-gi (mouth-at) 'at the mouth (of a person)', pera-gi (rear-at) 'at the rear', me-gi (side-at) 'at the side', and ētē-gi (front-at) 'at the front'.

(74) A-migi-dē i-me-gi.

2sg-sit-causative 1sg-side-at

Sit down beside me.

(75) Arigao padu-re aredi-ētē-gi.

dog lie-neutral woman front-at

The dog was lying just in front of the
woman.

Phrases with the three nouns with which 'at or near' is expressed by -i are okoa-i (mouth-at) jokora-i (front-at) 'at the front', and kuje-i (back-at) 'at the back'. The differences between ētē 'front' and jokora 'front', and between ja 'mouth' and okoa 'mouth' are explained in the next chapter.

With these seven body part nouns, 'at or near' may be realized by keje, the postposition which normally carries this meaning as well as with -gi or -i. In some cases there is, to my knowledge, no meaning difference involved. In others, such as i-me-gi vs. i-me keje, there are potential differences in meaning. Both may mean 'at my side'. The latter, however, may also mean 'in comparison'. More details regarding body part nouns and their meanings in combination with various postpositions are found in the next chapter.

With three other body part nouns, kujia 'back', okea 'front' and oia 'middle', -gi has the meaning 'on or along'. Kujia-gi (back along) is 'along the back'; okea-gi (front-along) is 'along the front'; and oia-gi (middle-along) is 'along the middle'.

(76) Buke onaregedi padu-re kujiia-gi.
 anteater cub lie-neutral back_along
 The anteater's cub lay along her back.

(77) U-re pëbë re-dë togeaa-gi.
 3sg-neutral water run-causative
coreferential-front-along
 He poured water down his front (chest).

5.2.4 Presence. Another feature contained in the Locative system is Presence. Its selection leads to a choice of either iageje 'in the absence of', jakai 'in the sight of', or biagai 'in the hearing of'. These differ from the other locative postpositions in that they refer not to a specific location but to the presence or absence of a thing.

(78) Imedi aregodi-re wëe a-iageje.
 man arrive-neutral here 2sg-in-the-absence-of
 A man arrived here in your absence.

(79) U-tu-re a-tu-i pëbë-të-di u-iageje.
 3sg-go-neutral 2sg-to-nonfinite water-to-
 nominal. 3sg-in-the-absence-of
 He went while you were gone to the water.

(80) E-maragodi-re kowaru apo carro_u-iageje.
 3pl-work-neutral horse with car-3sg-in-
the-absence-of
 They worked with the horse in the absence
 of the car.

(81) Bi-re aredi-jakai.

die-neutral woman_sight

He died in the sight of the woman.

Jakai also has a non-physical sense, 'in the opinion of.'

(82) Boe ivairipo-re i-iagai.

things all=right-neutral lsg-sight

Things are all right in my opinion.

Biagai 'in the hearing of', occurs only in clauses containing references to sounds. The first half of biagai is bia 'ear'. The second half, gai, may come from kai 'third singular benefactive', but this is only a guess. Jakai 'in the sight of' bears a similarity to joku 'eye', although I do not know why the o of joku should become a in jakai.

(83) E-readodu-re boe jamedì boe-ji i-wiagai.

3pl-explain-neutral thing also thing-referent

lsg-hearing

They explained everything to me.

(84) A-meduia u-re ak-iegi i-wiagai.

2sg companion 3sg-neutral 2sg-named lsg-

hearing

Your companion told me your name.

Biagai also has an extended sense 'in the opinion of' which applies only in regard to sounds. Biagai is nor-

mally used in this sense only in cases of uncertainty, as in the following example.

(85) Kowaru ako-re e-wiagai, mare e-ridiwa
jökēdi-ka-re.

horse speak-neutral 3pl-hearing, but 3pl-
know really negative-neutral

It sounded like a horse to them, but they
didn't know for sure.

Opinions given with reference to sounds but containing no uncertainty may have biagai, but normally jakai 'in my sight or opinion' is the postposition employed.

5.3 Nonlocative. Returning to the first system of the postpositional phrase network, if Locative is not selected then a feature must be chosen from the nonlocative system.

5.3.1 Reason. One of the nonlocative features is Reason, realized by koia 'because'. Koia alone of the postpositions occurs with free pronoun heads as well as noun and bound pronoun heads. I do not know any meaning differences tied up in this choice.

Bound pronouns

i-igoia 'because of me'

a-igoia 'because of you'

koia 'because of him, her, it'

Free pronouns

- imi igoia 'because of me'
 aki igoia 'because of you'
 ema koia 'because of him, her, it'

Free pronouns are not used with the coreferential and reciprocal forms of koia.

- (86) Joridiwa-re boiga-ji ti-wo-koia.
 know-neutral bow-referent coreferential-
father_because
 He knows about bows because of his father.
- (87) I-meru-ka-re awiji boeru-koia.
 1sg-hunt-negative-neutral today heat_because
 I did not hunt today because of the heat.
- (88) E-tu-re imi-igoia.
 3pl-go-neutral 1sg=free=pronoun=because
 They left because of me.

Koia occurs with noun heads; an alternate form kodi occurs with independent clause heads. Changing from 'because of the heat' in the previous example to 'because I was hot' necessitates the use of kodi in the place of koia.

- (89) I-meru-ka-re awiji boeru-re-i-i-kodi.
 1sg-hunt-negative neutral today heat-neutral
1sg-referent_because
 I did not hunt today because I was hot.

Kodi is the only postposition allowed to follow anything except a NP without the insertion of -di 'nominal'.

Koia occurs in two kinds of constructions in which it is closely linked with an agentive function, similar to that signalled in English by 'by'. First, in nonagentive clauses the agent may be placed after the sentence nucleus in a phrase with koia.

(90) Barēgē bi-tē-di-re awī_īmedi_koia.

animal die-causative-nominal-neutral that
man_because

The animal was killed by that man.

Secondly, koia may occur with the subject of a transitive or causative clause as part of a marked topic construction.

(91) Sylvia_koia-re u-re jorādiwa-dē.

Sylvia_by-theme 3sg-neutral know-causative

It was Sylvia who taught him.

5.3.2 Benefactive. Benefactive is realized by ai 'benefactive animate' and kai 'benefactive inanimate'.

(92) E-re pāo makī boe et_āi.

3pl-neutral bread give Bororo 3pl-to

They gave bread to the Bororos.

(93) A-maragodi-mēde fazenda_kai.

2sg-work-hypothetical+neutral ranch_for

You are going to work for the ranch.

- (94) Boe pega-re-wi kuri-xigo-re in-ai.
 things bad-neutral-relative big-intensifier-
 neutral lsg-to
 I have lots of troubles (literally, 'there
 are many bad things for me').

One means of indicating possession is with ai in
 an existential clause.

- (95) Dinheiro-re in-ai.
 money-neutral lsg-to
 I have money (literally, 'there is money
 to me').

In clauses containing motion verbs in which the
 purpose of the subject's motion is to avoid or flee something
 or someone, ai is best glossed 'from'.

- (96) Adugo rekodu-re in-ai.
 jaguar run-neutral lsg-from
 The jaguar ran from me.
- (97) Paraguaio u-re ti-wiadē boe-et-ai.
 Paraguayan 3sg-neutral coreferential-hide
Bororo-3pl-from
 The Paraguayan hid from the Bororos.

Because of the very restricted context in which
 this use of ai may occur, because the forms employed are
 identical to those found in other, more obviously benefactive

cases, and because the meaning involved is not totally foreign to benefactive, I choose to group this use with the other benefactives. If only meaning and not form were considered, however, this use of ai would seem closer to cause than benefactive.

5.3.3 Instrument. Instrument is realized by apo. Third person singular of the postposition has an animate-inanimate distinction; apo is the animate form and tabo the inanimate.

- (98) U-re karo kadë tariga tabo.
 3sg-neutral fish cut knife with
 He cut the fish with a knife.

Instrument includes vehicle. The postpositional phrases of the following two examples, which could be called examples of vehicle, are no different grammatically from any other instrument phrases.

- (99) Et-aregodî-re meriri re-re-wi tabo.
 3pl-arrive-neutral metal run neutral-
relative with

They arrived by car.

- (100) It-aregodî-re kowaru apo.
 1sg-arrive-neutral horse with
 I arrived on a horse.

5.3.4 Accompaniment. If Accompaniment is chosen, then Simultaneous may be selected also. If Simultaneous is not selected, the realization of Accompaniment is apo, identical with Instrument.

(101) U-tu-re ak=apo.

3sg-go-neutral 2sg=with

He went with you.

If Simultaneous is chosen, Clausal may also be selected. If Clausal is not selected then Simultaneous is realized by onaji. Onaji 'at the same time' is similar to Accompaniment apo 'with' in that in both cases the object of the postposition has the same relationship to the rest of the clause as another NP of the clause. Onaji is different, however, in that its object is a participant not of the same action or state of which the other NP is a participant, but of another similar, simultaneous action or state. The contrast is like that of English as seen in 'John worked with me' vs. 'John worked at the same time as I worked'.

(102) João maragodî-re it=apo.

João work-neutral 1sg=with

João worked with me.

(103) João maragodî-re it=onaji.

João work-neutral 1sg=also

João worked at the same time as I worked.

(104) Awĩ dinheiro makĩ-di-re in-ai ak-onaji.

that money give-nominal-neutral lsg-to

2sg-also

That money was given to me at the same time
as you were given yours.

(105) Pag-aregodĩ-re puđ-onaji.

1pl=inclusive-arrive-neutral reciprocal-also

We arrived at the same time.

The object of onaji must be a NP, not a dependent clause.

5.3.4.2 Clausal. Clausal is realized by tabo, which can occur within a NP or a clause.

(106) I-re aroe kowije karo-kēdi-tabo.

1sg-neutral rice eat fish=meat=with

I ate rice with fish.

With a dependent clause as its head, a postpositional phrase with tabo signals an action (or state) performed simultaneously with the action of the sentence's independent clause. The subjects of the clauses must be coreferential. The result is similar to an English participial construction in that both actions are considered as part of one complete act.

(107) I-tu-re xebegi i-wogu-tabo.

1sg-go-neutral downriver 1sg=fish=with

I went downriver fishing.

(108) Aregodi-re ti-wi-re-di-tabo.

arrive-neutral coreferential-die-neutral-
nominal-with

He arrived dead (or dying).

(109) A-mago-ka-ba a-ri-di-wa-bokoa-tabo!

2sg-speak-negative-imperative 2sg-know_lack
with

Don't speak while lacking in knowledge!

There is one kind of dependent clause in which tabo occurs which has subjects which are not coreferential to the subject of the independent clause. These are clauses containing meri 'sun', ari 'moon' when these are used to indicate time.

(110) It-aregodi-re meri-rekodu-tabo.

1sg-arrive-neutral sun-run-with

I arrived in the afternoon (literally 'I arrived with the running of the sun').

In all other dependent clauses, actions or states which occur at the same time, near, to, or after a time, and which have subjects which are not coreferential with the subject of the independent clause, are signaled by keje 'at, near, after.'

(111) I-meru-re a-meru-re-di-keje.

1sg-hunt-neutral 2sg-hunt-neutral-nominal-at

I hunted when (or after) you hunted.

5.3.5 Change of state. Change of state is realized by xe. Xe signals a material, not locational, change of state. Xe occurs with either a NP which is a latter state, as in the following examples, or a NP which is a former state, but never both within one clause.

(112) Awî bapera pemega-re betureboe-ia-xe.

that paper good-neutral sugar-container-

latter=state

That paper sack is good for a sugar container.

(113) U-re 30 cruzeiros makî in-ai boiga-mori-xe.

3sg-neutral 30 cruzeiros give 1sg-to bow

payment-latter=state

He gave me 30 cruzeiros which became payment for the bow.

(114) I-re ira pemega-dê i-muga-xe.

1sg-neutral wood good-causative 1sg-chair-

latter=state

I made the wood into a chair.

In clauses expressing a change of material state which contain both the former and latter state NP's, such as the previous example, xe may occur either with the latter state as in examples 115 and 117 below, or with the former

state, as in examples 116 and 118, but not both. The one which does not occur with xe is the direct object of a verbal clause or subject of an existential clause. In all cases NP-xe occurs following the verb phrase in normal postpositional location.

- (115) I-re aigo biri pemega-dë a-kudawî-xe.
 1sg-neutral jaguar skin good-causative
2sg-garment-latter=state
 I made the jaguar skin into your garment.
- (116) I-re a-kudawî pemega-dë aigo-biri-xe.
 1sg-neutral 2sg-garment good-causative
jaguar-skin-former=state
 I made your garment from a jaguar skin.
- (117) Aigo biri-re a-kudawî-xe.
 jaguar skin-neutral 2sg-garment-latter=state
 A jaguar skin serves as your garment.
- (118) A-kudawî-re aigo-biri-xe.
 2sg-garment-neutral jaguar-skin-former=state
 Your garment is made from a jaguar skin.

The difference in the two sets of sentences in Boro-ro as well as English is not one of content but one of prominence, of treating one as somehow more important than the other. The speaker decides what prominence to give to the various elements and arranges them accordingly, with the more prominent NP being placed first.

At first glance it seems that the possibility that xe may signal either former or latter state might produce a great amount of ambiguity. However, I have never heard a use of xe in text or conversation in which the real world qualities of nouns or some feature of the context did not make it quite transparent which relation was intended. As in the examples just above, for example, garments may be made from jaguar skins but not vice versa.

I have, however, made up examples without any disambiguating context and in which the nouns did not make it clear what was signalled by xe. In examples with 'make' verbs, such as 119 below, informants invariably regard NP-xe as latter state. In clauses such as 120, without 'make' verbs, informants always regard NP-xe as former state.

- (119) A-re xo-re-wi pemega-dë kigadu-re-wi-xe.
 2sg-neutral black-neutral-relative good-causative white-neutral-relative-latter state

You made the black one into a white one.

- (120) I-wai mēde a-wai-xe.
 1sg-house hypothetical+neutral 2sg-house-former state

Your house will serve as my house (literally, 'my house will result from your house').

-xe signals former state in the sense of 'source' with the verbs pagidi 'be afraid of', poguru 'be ashamed of',

kuna 'include' and kudu 'drink', when the NP is not a nominalized clause. When the NP is a nominalized clause, however, as in examples 122 and 124, it takes -ji 'referent'. The realize of 'referent' everywhere else in the language is ji.

(121) E-pagidi-re imedi-xe.

3pl-afraid-neutral man-former=state

They are afraid of the man.

(122) E-pagidi-re imedi_u-tu-mede_a-piji-di-ii.

3pl-afraid-neutral man_3sg-go-hypothetical+

neutral_2sg-from-nominal-former=state

They were afraid the man was going to leave you.

(123) E-poguru-re imedi-xe.

3pl-ashamed-neutral man-former=state

They are ashamed of the man or They are made ashamed by the man.

(124) E-poguru-re imedi_mako-we_i-di-ii.

3pl-ashamed-neutral man-talk-purpose_1sg-

nominal-former=state

They were ashamed for the man to speak to me.

(125) E-re imedi kuna karo_kedi-xe.

3pl-neutral man include fish_meat-former

state

They included the man in regard to (the distribution of) the fish or They shared the fish with the man.

(126) E-kudu-re pēbē-xe.

3pl-drink-neutral water-former=state

They drank the water.

For each of these verbs which take -xe there are others which are very similar semantically, which take -ji 'referent'. For example, okoage 'eat', korigodu 'be angry', jakare 'be happy' all take only -ji, never -xe.

5.3.6 Referent. The choice of Referent leads to a possible further choice of Purpose. First, however, let us consider the outcome when Purpose is not selected. Referent Nonpurpose, henceforth referred to only as Referent, is realized by -ji. -ji has a number of possible meanings which no other postposition covers. English prepositions used to gloss Bororo referents include 'to', 'about', 'for,' 'with reference to', and in some cases no preposition at all.

Here is a representative sample of the uses of -ji 'referent' with little attempt at finer classifications of meaning.

(127) Aroia kuri-re i=i.

clothes big-neutral lsg=referent

The clothes are too big for me.

(128) Boe e-wire-tada-wi pemega-ka-re bibiti-ji.

people their-feet-inside-relative good-nega-

tive-neutral rain=referent

Shoes are not good for (being in) rain.

- (129) I-mēde rádio makî ak-ai kowaru=ji.
 lsg-hypothetical+neutral radio give 2sg-to
horse=referent
 I will give you the radio in exchange for
 the horse.
- (130) Jorubo-re i=i.
 sickness-neutral lsg=referent
 I have a cold (literally, 'there is sickness
 in regard to me').
- (131) Io-rîdî-re ji.
 lsg-see-neutral referent
 I saw it.
- (132) It-aidu-re a-wai=ji.
 lsg-like-neutral 2sg-house=referent
 I like your house.
- (133) I-re i-kidawî tîgî i=i.
 lsg-neutral lsg-garment put lsg=referent
 I put on my clothes.
- (134) I-mago-re João=ji.
 lsg-speak-neutral João=referent
 I spoke to João.

The same sentence as is found in example 134 may also have the meaning 'I spoke about João'. In case both the one spoken to and the one spoken about are included in the clause, as in the following example, the former always occurs first.

(135) I-mago-re João-ji aredi-ji.

lsg-speak-neutral João-referent woman-
referent

I spoke to João about the woman.

Simple 'he stole from me' is

(136) Iwëgi-re i=i.

steal-neutral lsg-referent

He stole from me.

However if the object stolen is also included, it becomes the referent, with the one from whom it was stolen appearing in a phrase with postposition piji 'from'.

(137) Iwëgi-re i-wëiga-ji i-piji.

steal-neutral lsg-gun-referent lsg-from

He stole my gun from me.

One clearly definable area of meaning taken in by Referent is extent in location or time.

(138) Rakoje jae-re ji.

stand far-neutral referent

He stood a long way from it.

(139) Joru-mëde pobe i=i ba kuri-re-wi tada.

year-hypothetical+neutral two lsg-referent

village-big-neutral-relative inside

I will be in the city for two years.

Referent and Purpose, henceforth called only Purpose, are realized by bogai.

Dependent clauses with purpose aspect -wē always are followed by bogai 'purpose' in all except very short clauses where the nominal dī- and the postposition may optionally be deleted.

(140) U-tu-re tī-nudu-wē ba tada, t-uje u-wai
tada-dī bogai.

3sg-go-neutral coreferential-sleep-purpose=
aspect village in, coreferential-mother
3sg-house inside-nominal purpose

He went in order to sleep in the village, at
his mother's house.

If this were shortened to only 'he went in order to sleep', bogai 'purpose' and -dī 'nominal' would normally be deleted.

(141) U-tu-re tu-nudu-wē.

3sg-go-neutral coreferential-sleep-purpose=
aspect

He went in order to sleep.

Nominal -dī and Referent -ji may also be deleted in short noun clauses, as explained in section 3.3.1.

Bogai 'purpose' is not restricted to clauses with -wē 'purpose aspect'. It also occurs with noun clause

heads having other aspects and with nonclausal objects, as in the following example.

(142) U-tu-re ba-të karo bogai.

3sg-go-neutral village-to fish purpose

He went to the village to get the fish.

Minimal pairs of clauses, differing only in postpositions bogai 'purpose' and ji 'referent', point out ways in which these postpositions convey meaning differences expressed in several different ways in English. The pairs of examples to follow differ in meaning in that bogai 'purpose' signals that something has not yet been attained while ji 'referent' signals that it has been attained.

(143) a. Kowaru u-re ti-wire-to imedi bogai.

horse 3sg-neutral coreferential-foot-

hit man purpose

The horse kicked at the man.

b. Kowaru u-re ti-wire-to imedi ji.

horse 3sg-neutral coreferential-foot-

hit man referent

The horse kicked the man.

(144) a. Bia paga-re Teodoro batari bogai.

listen-neutral Teodoro word purpose

He listened for Teodoro's words.

b. Bia paga-re Teodoro batari ji.

listen-neutral Teodoro word referent

He listened to Teodoro's words.

The difference found in the English verbs want and like is similar to that reflected in Bororo by the choice of either bogai 'purpose' or ji 'referent' with the verb aidu.

(145) a. It-aidu-re aroia_bogai.

1sg-want/like-neutral cloth_purpose

I want the cloth.

b. It-aidu-re aroia_ji.

1sg-want/like-neutral cloth-referent

I like the cloth.

The meaning of a noun or pronoun + bogai in a clause with a motion verb is usually 'to get NP', but, as illustrated by the gloss 'to' in the following example, there need not be any purpose more definite than 'to arrive at'. This usage of bogai is similar to that of ae 'to, toward', except that locations are not permitted as objects of bogai. In this it corresponds to English 'for'.

(146) Aredi u-tu-re ime_e_wogai.

woman 3sg-go-neutral man_3pl_purpose

The woman went for (to get) the men or The

woman went to the men.

A further related sense in which bogai is used is 'in expectation of the coming of'.

(147) I-maragodi-re ik-imejera bogai.

1sg-work-neutral 1sg-chief purpose

I worked in expectation of my chief's
coming.

(148) A-medugodi-re i-wogai?

2sg-tire-neutral 1sg-purpose

Did you get tired waiting for me?

BODY PART LOCATIONALS

6.1 Overview. Locational information is conveyed by locational adverbs such as wēe 'here' and jixi 'there' and postpositional phrases containing locative postpositions such as bai keje (house near) 'near the house'. Many locational postpositional phrases contain body part nouns as part of their NP heads. Below is an example with ao which, in isolation, is a noun meaning 'head'. With bai 'house' ao means 'top'.

- (1) Imedi meru-re i-wai-ao-ji.
 man walk-neutral 1sg-house head-range
 The man walked along the top of my house.

There are thirteen body part nouns which are frequently used in locational phrases. Also there are three nouns which are never used to name body parts, but which pattern in the same way as the body part nouns and are therefore included with them here. The sixteen nouns under consideration here are:

okoa 'mouth'
 pera 'rear'
 jocora 'cheekbone'
 okea 'chest'
 ëtë 'front, beak'
 je 'face'
 kuje 'back'

kujia 'back'
 pēri 'back'
 me 'side'
 jeke 'outside corners of the eyes'
 ao 'head'
 oia 'top of the head'
 pari 'base'
 opo 'back'
 upo 'bottom'

The last three words in the list are those which are never used to name an actual body part.

Locational phrases containing a body part noun as head may have a completely literal interpretation, i.e. using the meaning of the body part as a body part, such as it-ao-ji (my-head-range) 'along my head'. Or the meaning of the body part noun may be slightly extended, as above, with ao 'head' used in the sense of 'top'. In other cases the meaning of the body part is extended in ways which would not necessarily be expected from its literal meaning. For example, okoa 'mouth' also has the sense 'upstream'. In other cases the total postpositional phrase may have a meaning quite different from that expected from the adding together of the parts, in some cases with a nonlocative sense. An example of this is pari keje (base at) 'for the sake of'.

From a strictly grammatical point of view these phrases are uninteresting, but as lexical items for communicating locative information they are very important. In

structure they differ from any other postpositional phrase in only two points, neither of which is widespread nor functionally important. One is that they allow a few verb-postposition collocations which are not allowed elsewhere. For example, in any place except with a body part locational, the verb associated with tē 'into, to' must have a directional or motion component. In certain body part locationals, however, such as in the example below, tē collocates with a verb with no motion or directionality involved. In these cases tē may only be glossed 'near or at'.

(2) I-wai miḡi-re ba me-tē.

1sg-house sit-neutral village_side-at

My house is at the side of the village.

A further distinguishing characteristic of body part nouns is that only they occur with the postpositions -gi and -i 'on, along, at.'

6.2 Description of individual body part locationals.

The description found here gives representative combinations of sixteen widely used body part nouns along with postpositions and the meanings which result. It does not contain all the body part nouns used in locational phrases nor all the possible combinations of body part nouns and postpositions which can occur. The body part nouns are given below, grouped generally according to meaning, along with some of the postpositions which occur with them. The glosses for the nouns in isolation are given in parentheses, followed by some of the exten-

ded meanings they take when combined with postpositions in locational phrases. Where the postpositional phrases are listed I have not made any morphophonemic changes, in order to show the composition of the noun and postposition more clearly. In the example sentences I have made the morphophonemic changes actually made in speech.

okoa (mouth) 'upstream, edge, east'¹

okoa keje 'near the upstream area'

okoa kajeje 'across the upstream area'

okoa-i 'on the edge, on the riverbank'

(3) Ba padu-re ponte==okoa==keje.

village lie-neutral bridge==mouth==near

The village is a little upstream from the bridge.

The converse of okoa is pera. Pera cooccurs with the same postpositions as okoa.

pera (rear) 'downstream, west'

(4) Ponte padu-re ba==pera==keje.

bridge lie-neutral village rear near

The bridge is downstream from the village.

¹In the area where the Bororos live the upstream direction is generally east. The meaning 'east' as applied elsewhere is an extension from this real world situation.

There are several phrases with the general sense of 'front' and several meaning 'back'. The members of the sets are synonymous in some contexts, but have potential meaning differences in other places. The sentences given with them are examples of contexts in which the meaning given is possible only with the body part noun which is found in them.

jokora (cheekbone) 'near and in front'

jokora-i 'in front of'

jokora kajeje 'across the front'

(5) U-wai miḡi-re i-wai-jokora-i.

3sg-house sit-neutral 1sg-house front-at

His house is in front of my house.

okea (chest) 'front'

okea-gi 'along the front'

okea keje 'at the front'

okea-tē piji 'from the front'

Okea-tē piji is unusual in that two postpositions, i.e. tē 'into, to' and piji 'from' are used together in one postpositional phrase. One would expect the meaning 'from the front' to result from okea piji, but this does not exist. I do not know why this additional tē is used. In the example following, the initial consonants of both tē and piji are shown as voiced because of morphophonemic processes.

(6) U-tu-re pa-wai_okea-dë_biji.

3sg-go-neutral 3pl-incl-house_front-to_from

He went away from the front of our house.

Okea alone of the body part locationals has a temporal as well as locative use. Okea with the postposition keje 'near, at' means 'before'.

(7) It-aregodi-re wëe bibiti_okea_keje.

1sg-arrive-neutral here_rain_front_at

I arrived here before the rain.

ëtë (front, point, beak) 'point, front'

ëtë-ji 'on account of'

ëtë-gi 'at the point or front'

ëtë-kajeje 'along or across the front'. More specifically ëtë-kajeje collocates with actions toward an object moving at right angles to the actor.

(8) Boe e-mago-re motor_ëtë-gajeje.

people 3pl-speak-neutral motor=boat

front-across

People (on the bank) spoke to those in the boat (moving past them).

Je (face) 'front, top' occurs with the names of containers and large objects, the same set of nouns with which opo 'back' and upo 'bottom' occur. One term, je, takes in both 'front' and 'top'.

je keje 'at the front, top'

(9) Bapera padu-re rata_je_keje.

paper lie-neutral can_top_near

The paper is lying over the top of
the can.

Kuje (back) 'back, behind' and kujia 'back', differ from all other body parts in that they never occur without a following postposition. Their only uses are in locational phrases.

kuje-tě 'at the back, behind'

keje-i 'at the back, behind'

kuje piji 'from the back'

(10) Imedi u-wai migi-re ba_kuje-i.

man 3sg-house sit-neutral village_back-at

The man's house is behind the village.

kujia (back) 'back'

kujia-tě 'into the back'

kujia-gi 'on or along the back, covering'

kujia tada 'at the center of the back'

(11) E-re cobertor tigi ti_gidawi_aroia

kujia-gi pugeje.

3pl-neutral blanket put coreferential-

clothing_cloth_back-on again

They wrapped blankets over their other
clothes.

Përi (back) 'back, outside', as opposed to kuje and kujia, is used as a noun without accompanying locative postpositions as well as with them.

u-përi keje 'at the back, outside'

u-përi kae 'to the back'

(12) Boe bokoa-re barae_eno_moto_u-përi_keje.

Bororo lack-neutral Brazilians_3pl=

alienable_land_3sg-back_near

There are no Bororos outside of Brazil.

Two other nouns whose meanings are similar to përi are opo and upo. Opo refers to the back part of a large object, such as a truck or horse. Upo is used for the bottom part of containers such as cans, boxes, and barrels. Note that these two words, as well as je 'front' refer to parts of objects, not to locations separated from the objects.

opo keje 'at the back'

(13) Imedi migi-re ika_opo_keje.

man sit-neutral canoe_back_at

The man sat in the back part of the canoe.

upo keje 'at the bottom'

(14) Bapera padu-re balde_upo_keje.

paper lie-neutral bucket_bottom_at

The paper was lying on the bottom of
the bucket.

me (side) 'side, north or south side'

me keje 'on the side, compared to'

me-të 'at the side'

me-ki 'at the side'

In cases where directions are important, as in the first example below, me may refer either to the north or south side. If the speaker wishes to further specify one direction and not the other, he may add a phrase, such as 'in the direction of my house' which would eliminate one of the possibilities. If the speaker does not wish to be specific at all, me may mean simply 'side'. This is illustrated in the second example below.

(15) I-wai miġi-re ba-me-të (or me-gi).

1sg-house sit-neutral village_north=or=south=
side-at

My house is on the south side of the village.

(16) A-miġi-re i-me-të (or i-me-gi).

2sg sit-neutral 1sg-side-at

You sat beside me.

In the two previous examples, me-të and me-gi are both allowed, both with the meaning 'at the side'. In the first of the examples there is no meaning difference involved in the choice of one or the other. In the second, however, me-gi indicates that the two are sitting beside each other.

but not touching; whereas, me-të indicates that the bodies of those sitting together are touching one another.

jeke (outside corners of the eyes) 'end'

jeke keje 'at the end'

jeke-të 'to, toward, or at the end'

(17) A-wai miği-re bai managejewi jeke-të.

2sg-house sit-neutral house men's=

ceremonial end-at

Your house is at the end of the men's house.

ao (head) 'head, top'

ao kajeje 'along, across the top'

ao keje 'on top, above'

ao joki 'over the top'

(18) Awì aroia padu-re copo ao joki.

that cloth lie-neutral glass head over

That cloth is lying over the top of the glass.

oia (top of the head) 'middle'

oia-gi 'along the middle'

oia keje 'at the middle'

oia-tada 'inside the middle'

(19) Bai kuri-re-wi miği-re bai-doge et-oia-dada.

house big-neutral-relative sit-neutral

house-pl. 3pl middle inside

The big house is in the middle of the houses.

pari (base) 'base, edge'

pari keje 'at the base, for the sake of'

pari tabo 'on behalf of'

pari kae 'to the base'

(20) Et-aregodi-re Korogedi_pari_kae.

3pl-arrive-neutral Korogedu=creek_base_to

They arrived at the delta of Korogedu
creek.

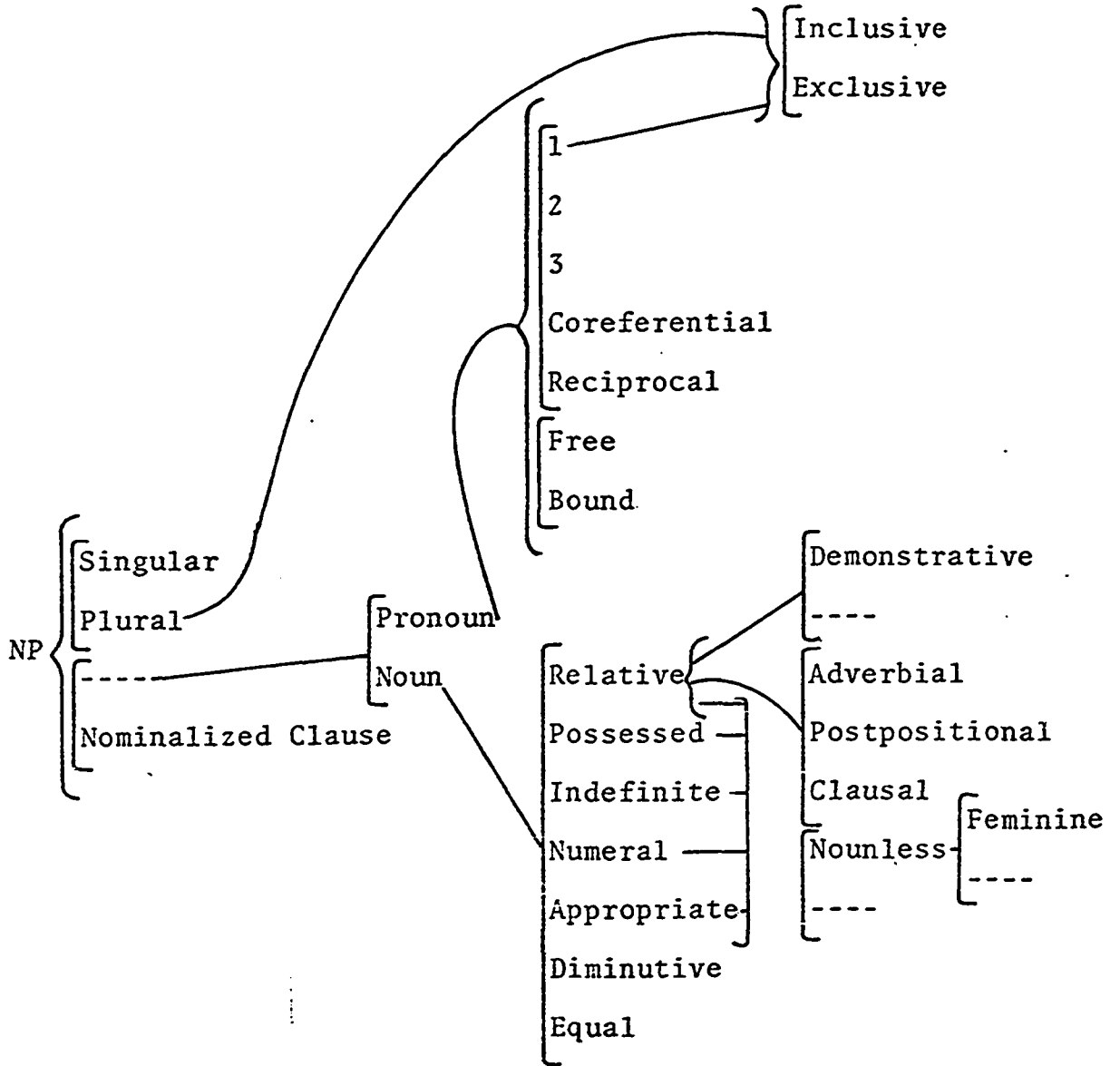
(21) I-mago-re imedi-ji it-onaregedi_pari_tabo.

1sg-speak-neutral man referent 1sg-child

base_with

I spoke to the man on behalf of my child.

NOUN PHRASE



7.1 Nominalized clause. Noun phrases may be nominalized clauses or nonclausal structures. The feature Nominalized Clause is realized by the selection of Dependent and Nominal -di from the dependent clause network. Nominalized clauses are more fully described in chapter 3.

- (1) Et-aidu-ka-re a-mago-re-di-ji.
 3pl-like-negative-neutral 2sg-speak-neutral-
nominal-referent
 They did not like it that you spoke.

7.2 Pronoun. If Nominalized Clause is not selected, either Noun or Pronoun must be. Pronoun leads to a selection of either Free or Bound. Bound has a much greater freedom of occurrence than does Free. Free pronouns occur only as the subject of a copulative clause (existential, equative, or identificational), as a marked topic or as the object of the postposition koia 'because'.

The selection of Pronoun also leads to a person system containing 1, 2, and 3, for speaker, addressee, and anything else, and also Coreferential and Reciprocal. The latter two are explained later on in this chapter.

7.2.1 Free pronoun. The free pronoun paradigm is as follows:

Singular	Plural
1 imi	pagi inclusive
	xegi exclusive
2 aki	tagi
3 ema	ema-ge
	Coreferential pudumi
	Reciprocal pugi or pu

Inclusive means 'including the addressee', exclusive 'excluding the addressee.'

Either Free or Bound pronoun may be selected as the NP realize of the subject of an existential clause or as the object of the postposition koia 'because'.

The following two pairs of examples are identical except that the first has a free pronoun and the second a bound pronoun. Examples 2 and 3 are existential clauses; 4 and 5 are examples of pronominal objects of koia 'because'.

- (2) Ema-re eine.
3sg=free=pronoun-neutral like=that
 He is like that.
- (3) U-re eine.
3sg=bound=pronoun-neutral like=that
 He is like that.

The form of koia is igoia except in third singular, from which the canonical form of all postpositions is taken.

(4) Korigodu-re aki-igoia.

angry-neutral 2sg=free=pronoun=because

He is angry because of you.

(5) Korigodu-re a-igoia.

angry-neutral 2sg=bound=pronoun=because

He is angry because of you.

Marked topics (chapter 9), subjects of identificational clauses and the subjects and complements of equative clauses select Free pronoun or Noun as part of their realization, but do not allow a choice of Bound pronoun. In the glosses to follow and throughout the grammar, free pronouns are glossed specifically as such while bound pronouns are called only 1sg, 2sg, etc.

The following are examples of environments in which Free may be selected but not Bound.

Marked Topic

(6) Imi-re i-tu-mēde.

1sg=free=pronoun=fronted 1sg-go-hypothetical+
neutral

(As for) me, I'm going.

(7) Imi-re, et-aidu-ka-re i-i.

1sg=free=pronoun=fronted 3pl-like-negative-
neutral 1sg-referent

Me, they don't like me.

Identificational

- (8) Ema-re-o.
3sg=free=pronoun-neutral-identification=near
 Here it is.
- (9) Xegi-re-o.
1pl=excl=free=pronoun-neutral-identifica-
 tional=near
 Here we are.

Equative

- (10) Imedi-re aki.
 man-neutral 2sg=free=pronoun
 You are a man.
- (11) Areme-re pagi.
 women-neutral 1pl=incl=free=pronoun
 We are women.

If the subject of an equative clause is a free pronoun (and only then), the complement NP may also be realized by a free pronoun.

- (12) Aki mēde imi.
2sg=free=pronoun hypothetical+neutral 1sg=
 :
free=pronoun
 I will be you.

One of the few contexts in which a clause like this might be used is in discussing rituals, where 'be' is used in the sense of 'impersonate'.

7.2.2 Bound Pronoun. If Free pronoun is not selected, Bound must be. Bound pronouns occur as direct objects, subjects of any kind of clause except identificational and equatives, object of postpositions, and as possession prefixes on inalienably possessed nouns. The bound pronoun paradigm is

	Singular	Plural
1	1-	pa- inclusive xe- exclusive
2	a-	ta-
3	∅ ~ u-	e-
	Coreferential	ti- ~ xi-
	Reciprocal	pu-

The third singular pronoun is always u- when it is part of the realization of an agentive subject, when it is part of the subject of the verbs tu 'go', nudu 'sleep', wogu 'fish', and when it signals the possession of bai 'house', biie 'younger brother', mana 'older brother', ke 'food', and a few other nouns. Third singular is realized as u- also when it is part of the object of the postpositions ki 'upwards' and iagege 'in the absence of'. Else-

where third singular has zero realization.¹ The third singular is the base form from which all phonological processes may most easily be explained.

Preceding a vowel initial word, a thematic consonant is inserted whenever a pronominal prefix is added. This breaks up the VV sequence brought about by adding the prefixes, all of which end with a vowel, to vowel initial stems. The thematic consonant is a k or its voiced counterpart g in all forms except first singular, first plural exclusive, and third plural (the prefixes of which end in i or e), in words where the first stem vowel is a or o. In

¹There are a few irregular words which do not have either u- or \emptyset for third singular. Some of these are wadu 'play' and wodu 'fish hook', which take bu- as in bu-wodu 'his fishhook', and rîdî 'see', which takes jo- as in jo-rîdî 'he sees'. The third singular subject of nudu 'sleep' may be either u- or \emptyset .

these cases the thematic consonant is t or its voiced counterpart d.²

Prefixation brings about the change of stem initial j to y and b to w. It also produces the voicing of all stem initial and second consonants whenever the prefix contains a consonant. The phonological processes involved here are discussed in more detail in Crowell 1977.

The following paradigms illustrate the results of thematic consonant insertion, glide formation, and consonantal strengthening.

²There are several irregularities still not well understood regarding words beginning with a or o. In nine of these the thematic consonant in first singular, first plural exclusive, and third plural is n rather than the t or d found in all other such words. In words beginning with o the coreferential form has no thematic consonant. In words beginning with a the coreferential prefix plus thematic consonant is pu-d, as in pu-d-abo 'with himself or themselves'; the reciprocal prefix is pu-, with no thematic consonant, as in pu-apo 'with each other.'

Thematic Consonant Insertion

	<u>iwēgi</u> 'steal'	<u>ore</u> 'children'
1	i-k-iwēgi 'I steal'	i-t-ore 'my children'
2	a-k-iwēgi	a-k-ore
3	iwēgi	ore
Coreferential	tī-g-iwēgi	tī-ore>t-ore
Reciprocal	pu-g-iwēgi	pu-g-ore
1 pl incl.	pa-g-iwēgi	pa-g-ore
1 pl excl.	xe-g-iwēgi	xe-d-ore
2pl	ta-g-iwēgi	ta-g-ore
3 pl	e-k-iwēgi	e-t-ore

Glide formation and Consonantal Strengthening

	<u>batari</u> 'word'	<u>mako</u> 'speak'
1	i-wadari 'my word'	i-mago 'I speak'
2	a-wadari	a-mago
3	batari	mako
Coreferential	tī-wadari	tī-mago
Reciprocal	pu-wadari	pu-mago
1 pl incl.	pa-wadari	pa-mago
1 pl excl.	xe-wadari	xe-mago
2 pl	ta-wadari	ta-mago
3 pl	e-wadari	a-mago

7.3 Noun. Noun is realized along with a bound pronominal prefix in cross reference with it everywhere except when the NP is the subject of a copulative clause, the complement of an equative clause, or a marked topic. In these places a noun is realized without an accompanying bound pronoun.

Noun + Bound Pronoun

- (13) Imediu-tu-re.
man_3sg-go-neutral
 The man left.
- (14) Ime_e-tu-re.
men_3pl-go-neutral
 The men left.
- (15) Imedi_Ø-migi-re hai_Ø-tada..
man_3sg-sit-neutral house_3sg-inside
 The man sat in the house.

7.4 Noun Modifiers. The selection of Noun leads to the possible selection of any of several kinds of modifiers.

7.4.1 Relative. The first of these modifiers is Relative, which is realized by -wi. Relative modifiers precede the nouns they modify. Relative leads to two further systems, one containing Demonstrative and null, the other containing Adverbial, Postpositional, and Clausal. Which of these is selected determines the kind of relative

construction formed. -wi 'relative' attaches to the end of the realize of the feature chosen with Relative.

7.4.2 Demonstrative. Demonstrative is realized by four morphemes a-, no-, xe-, and di. The first three are differentiated one from another on the basis of the relative distance of the noun they modify from the speaker.

Near	a-wi	'this'
Medium	no-wi	'that'
Distant	xe-wi	'that yonder'

(16) A-wi imedi raka-re.

near-relative man strong-neutral

This man is strong.

(17) No-wi imedi raka-ka-re.

medium-relative man strong-negative-neutral

That man is not strong.

These same morphemes are also used as identificational morphemes in identificational clauses (chapter 1). There is one difference, which is that Near is o in identificationals, as exemplified below, rather than a as it is with Relative.

(18) Imedi-re-o.

man-neutral-near

This is a man.

A-, no-, and xe- differ from the other demonstrative, dî, in that dî may refer only to a noun already introduced in the discourse whereas the other three may refer to things which have been previously introduced or to things being introduced into the discourse for the first time. Dî is more fully described and exemplified in chapter 8. It may occur as dî-wî, with a relative suffix, but almost always occurs only as dî. I do not know what the meaning difference involved here is. Demonstrative dî is homophonous with Nominal -dî. It differs from Nominal, however, in being chosen freely by itself, whereas Nominal -dî occurs only as part of the realization of the feature Nominalized clause. Also Demonstrative dî is never suffixed to anything, whereas Nominal is.

- (19) Io-rîdî-re Maria-ji jawîji. Dî aredî motu-re.
 lsg-see-neutral Maria-referent yesterday.
Demonstrative woman beautiful-neutral
 I saw Maria yesterday. That woman is
 beautiful.

Bororo has no articles. In text, demonstratives often serve to identify what has been previously mentioned, like English the. The Near form a-wî is used in text only in quotations, never as part of a narration. In narrative, therefore, there is only a two way distinction in demonstratives, with Medium no-wî being the nearer or most recently mentioned of the two, xe-wî the more remote in space or in the text.

- (20) Imedi u-tu-re José u-wai-të. Xare no-wi
 imedi jo-ridi-re xe-wi aredi-ji.
 man 3sg-go-neutral José-3sg-house-to. Then
medium-relative man 3sg-see-neutral
distant-relative woman=referent
 A man went to José's house. Then the man
 saw the woman (mentioned earlier in the
 text).

7.4.3 Relative also leads to a system containing Adverbial, Postpositional and Clausal. The first example below contains an Adverbial relative composed of a locative adverb + -wi, the second a temporal adverb + -wi.

- (21) Wëe-wi imedi nire ema.
here-relative man stative 3sg=free=pronoun
 He is a man from here.
- (22) Marigudu-wi imedi nire ema.
past-relative man stative 3sg=free=pronoun
 He is a man from long ago.

The following two examples contain Postpositional relatives composed of a postpositional phrase + -wi 'relative'.

- (23) Bai_tada-wi bëiga motu-re.
house_inside-relative bow beautiful-neutral
 The bow inside the house is beautiful.

- (24) Io-rĩdĩ-re ĩra_keje-wĩ bapera-ji.
 1sg-see-neutral wood_on-relative paper-
 referent
 I saw the paper on the table.

If Clausal is selected then Relative is chosen from the dependent clause mood network. Relative clauses are described in chapter three. Two examples of relative clauses are

- (25) Aregodĩ-re-wĩ kowaru rakixaru-re.
arrive-neutral-relative horse skinny-neutral
 The horse that arrived was skinny.
- (26) E-re ĩo-rĩdĩ-re-ji-wĩ ki bi-tē.
 3pl-neutral 3sg-see-neutral-referent-relative
 tapir die-causative
 They killed the tapir they saw.

The position in the clause which these features and the other noun modifiers take relative to one another is described after all the features have been introduced.

7.4.4 Possession. The choice of Possessed leads to the realization of a noun and a possessive morpheme in cross reference with it or a possessive morpheme alone from one of three paradigms. Which of the paradigms the possessive morpheme comes from depends on the nature of the noun: whether it is inalienably possessed, such as mana 'older brother', oreduje 'wife', tariga 'knife', or a body part;

alienably possessed, such as dinheiro 'money', meriri 'pan', or tori 'stone'; or a domesticated animal, such as arigao 'dog', or kowaru 'horse'.

Inalienable possession is signalled by the addition of a bound pronoun from the same set as is used for subjects, objects, and objects of postpositions.

Inalienable Possession

	<u>ke</u>	'food'
	1	i-ke 'my food'
	2	a-ke
	3	u-ke
Coreferential		t̃i-ge
Reciprocal		pu-ge
1 pl incl		pa-ge
1 pl excl		xe-ge
	2pl	ta-ge
	3pl	e-ke

- (27) Kuruedĩ u=mana aidu-re adugo doge-e-i.
 Kuruedĩ 3sg=older=brother like-neutral
 jaguar plural-3pl-referent
 Kuruedĩ's older brother likes jaguars.

Possession of alienably possessed nouns and domesticated animals is also signaled by the addition of a possessive morpheme preceding the noun. The two paradigms are given below.

Alienable Possession

	<u>tori</u> 'stone'
1	ino tori 'my stone'
2	ako tori
3	o tori
Coreferential	to-dori
Reciprocal	pu-dori
1 pl incl	pago tori
1 pl excl	xeno tori
2 pl	tago tori
3 pl	eno tori

Domesticated Animal

	<u>kogariga</u> 'chicken'
1	inagu kogariga 'my chicken'
2	akagu kogariga
3	aku kogariga
Coreferential	tagu kogariga
Reciprocal	pugagu kogariga
1 pl incl	pagagu kogariga
1 pl excl	xenagu kogariga
2 pl	tagagu kogariga
3 pl	enagu kogariga

- (28) E-ri¹di-re ako tori-ji.
 3pl-see-neutral 2sg=alienable stone-referent
 They saw your stone.
- (29) Akagu kogariga u-re inagu bi-të.
2sg=domestic chicken 3sg-neutral 1sg=domestic
 die-causative
 Your chicken killed mine.

When no noun occurs in the NP, such as in ino 'mine', ako 'yours', the pronoun may not come from the inalienably possessed set. When the possessor refers to an unrealized NP, even if the noun is of the inalienably possessed class, the form comes from the alienably possessed set, as illustrated in

- (30) Ino-ba a-wai-re? Ino kuri-re.
 how-Q 2sg=inalienable-house-neutral? 1sg=
alienable big-neutral
 Question: How (big) is your house?
 Answer: Mine is big.

The domesticated animal forms are used either with or without a noun.

7.4.5 Indefinite. Indefinite is realized by ia 'some, another'. Ia precedes the noun it modifies.

- (31) It-aidu-re ia lapi bogai.
 1sg-want-neutral indefinite pencil purpose
 I want another pencil.

- (32) Ia pemega-re, ia pega-re.
indefinite good-neutral, indefinite bad-
neutral
Some are good, some are bad.

7.4.6 Numeral. The feature Numeral is realized by an existential noun clause containing only a subject, aspect morpheme, and a number in postaspect position, followed by the nominalizer -di. The aspect of dependent numeral clauses is often Nonfinite, but may be another of the aspects.

- (33) U-re kogariga-re-mitë-di makì in-ai.
3sg-neutral chicken-neutral-one-nominal
give 1sg-benefactive

He gave me one chicken.

- (34) U-re kogariga-doge-i-pobe-ma-iewu-metuia
bokware-di makì in-ai.

3sg-neutral chicken-plural-nonfinite-three-
nominal give 1sg-benefactive

He gave me three chickens.

The native Bororo numeral scheme can go to twenty. It uses only two pure numbers, mitë 'one' and pobe 'two'. The rest of the numbers are made from expressions using these two words, such as in example 34 above, where the number three is literally 'two but that (other) one has no companion', or from expressions using hands, fingers, feet and toes. 'Ten', for example, is pa-gera pu-dogi (1pl=incl-hand reciprocal-meeting) 'both our hands'. For one and two,

Bororos usually use terms from their own language. For three, four, and five, Portuguese and Bororo numbers are used with about equal frequency. Anything above five is almost always expressed in Portuguese.

7.4.7 Appropriate. Appropriate is realized by epa. Epa relates one noun phrase to another in a NP epa NP construction. The first NP is that to or for which the second NP is appropriate, as in English 'jet fuel', 'headache medicine.'

(35) It-aidu-re boe-et-aora-kori-epa-iorubokuru
bogai.

1sg-want-neutral people-3pl-head-pain-for
medicine purpose

I want headache medicine.

(36) Awĩ-aroẽ-tigĩ-di-epa-makina kuri-re.
that-rice-plant-nominal-for-machine big-
neutral

That rice planting machine is big.

(37) Caminhão-epa-imedĩ aregodĩ-re.
truck-for-man arrive-neutral
The truck driver arrived.

Epa is productive in the formation of new lexical items such as:

bapera epa (paper for) 'student'

boeru epa (heat for) 'umbrella'

kare e-xeba (fish 3pl-for) 'fishermen'

bai e-xeba (house 3pl-for) 'carpenter'

When preceded by a bound pronoun, as in the two preceding phrases, the realization of the postposition is xeba rather than epa.

7.4.8 Nounless. The selection of one or more of the features Relative, Possessed, Indefinite, Numeral, or Appropriate leads to the possible choice of Nounless. When Nounless is selected the noun head of the NP is unrealized.

(38) Caminhão epa aregodĩ-re.

truck for arrive-neutral

The truck driver arrived.

(39) Ia aregodĩ-re

another arrive-neutral

Another one arrived.

(40) Inagu rekodu-re.

1sg=domestic run-neutral

Mine ran away.

(41) Kuri-re-wĩ maragodĩ-re.

big-neutral-relative work-neutral

The big one worked.

Whenever Nounless is chosen it is possible also to choose Feminine. This is the only place in the language where there is any kind of gender distinction. Feminine, realized by -do, is selected only when the unrealized NP head names a

female and when the speaker believes this information to be important enough to require comment. Most of the time Feminine is not selected even when the referent is female.

- (42) Jorubokuru epa-do maragodi-nire.
 medicine for-feminine work-stative
 The nurse is working.

7.4.9 Diminutive. Diminutive rogu is a noun modifier which is frequently used.

- (43) Betureboe rogu makì in-ai!
 sugar diminutive give lsg-benefactive
 Give me a little sugar!

- (44) Aredi rogu motu-re.
 woman diminutive beautiful-neutral
 The girl is beautiful.

7.4.10 Equal. Another noun modifier is Equal inodì 'like, equal'. Inodì is divisible into an adverb ino 'like this' and the nominal enclitic -dì. Inodì has to do only with nouns, never verbs, adverbs, nonnominalized clauses. It follows the noun it modifies.

- (45) A-wè inodì pega-ka-re.
 near-relative equal bad-negative-neutral
 One who is like this is not bad.

- (46) Nabìre ro-re kogariga inodì.
 macaw delicious-neutral chicken equal
 Macaw is delicious like chicken.

Very rarely are more than two modifiers chosen per noun phrase. Therefore, clauses containing several modifiers such as the two given below are better displays of the order in which noun modifiers occur than they are examples of clauses one is likely to hear. No permutations are allowed in the order given here.³ The features which are realized in this noun phrase are Demonstrative, Relative (two times), Indefinite, Clausal, Possessed Noun, Diminutive and Numeral.

- (47) No-wî ia u-tu-re-wî inagu kogariga rogu
 u-i mitë-dî pega-re.
 medium-relative indefinite 3sg-go-neutral-
 relative 1sg=possessor chicken diminutive
 3sg-nonfinite one=nominal 3sg=bad-neutral
 That other one small chicken of mine which
 left was a bad one.

If two or three of the types of Relative are all chosen, the order is Adverbial, Postpositional, Clausal, as in

³One exception is short relative clauses, which may optionally follow the head noun rather than precede it (chapter 3).

(48) Wēe-wī, i-wai tada-wī, maragodi-re-wī imedi
kogodu-re pugeje.

here-relative, 1sg-house inside-relative,
work-neutral-relative man sick-neutral
again

The man from here, from inside my house,
who was working is sick again.

7.5 Plural. Noun phrases are either singular or plural. Only animate nouns are regularly pluralized, but inanimate nouns may be if the speaker wishes to make it plain that more than one thing is involved. Inanimate nouns are made plural by adding doge following the noun.

bēiga(bow) 'bow'

bēiga doge (bow plural) 'bows'

i-tariga (1sg-knife) 'my knife, my knives'

i-tariga doge (1sg-knife plural) 'my knives'

Bound pronouns in cross reference with inanimate nouns agree with the nouns in syntactic number, not necessarily semantic number. Only if the noun is plural syntactically is the bound pronoun plural.

(49) I-tariga ∅-pega-re.

1sg-knife 3sg-bad-neutral

My knives are bad.

(50) I-tariga doge e-pega-re.

1sg-knife plural 3p1-bad-neutral

My knives are bad.

Animate nouns are made plural in one of three ways. Domestic animals and the names of groups of people are pluralized by adding doge, just as with inanimate nouns.

kogariga doge (chicken plural) 'chickens'

arigao doge (dog plural) 'dogs'

Americano doge (American plural) 'Americans'

Kaiamo doge (Xavante plural) 'Xavantes'

(the name of a neighboring tribe)

The names of undomesticated animals are pluralized by adding a final -e. This is sometimes accompanied by internal vowel changes in the noun.

juko 'monkey' juko-e (monkey-plural) 'monkeys'

pobu 'pacu fish' (Myletes species) pobu-e (pacu=
fish-plural) 'pacus'

jugo 'peccary' (Tayassu pecari) jugo-e
(peccary-plural) 'peccaries'

jui 'wild pig' (Dicotyles tayassu) jui-e (wild=
pig-plural) 'wild pigs'

barëgë 'animal' bareg-e (animal-plural) 'animals'

orari 'painted catfish' (Siluridae family)
orar-e (painted=catfish-plural) 'painted
catfishes'

Several singular nouns which name generic classes of people end in -edi. The plural form of these deletes the -di, leaving the final e.

<u>sg</u>	<u>pl</u>
<u>imedi</u> 'man'	<u>ime</u> 'men'
<u>iparedi</u> 'young man'	<u>ipare</u> 'young men'
<u>kuri-doge-di</u> (big-plu- ral- <u>di</u>) 'old one'	<u>kuri-doge</u> 'old ones'
<u>baraedi</u> 'non-Indian'	<u>barae</u> 'non-Indians'

The plural of aredi 'woman' is not are as expected, but areme 'women'. The plural of 'child' onaregedu is not onarege in keeping with the paradigm, but is a suppletive ore 'children'.

Words, phrases, or clauses ending in -wi 'relative' are pluralized by adding -ge, as are postpositional phrases with the postposition epa 'appropriate to', and also the third person free pronoun ema.

<u>sg</u>	<u>pl</u>
<u>a-wi</u> (near-relative) 'this'	<u>a-wi-ge</u> (near-relative- plural) 'these'
<u>wēe-wi</u> (here-relative) 'one from here'	<u>wēe-wi-ge</u> (here-relative- plural) 'ones from here'
<u>ira kida-wi</u> (wood under- relative) 'one under the table'	<u>ira kida-wi-ge</u> (wood under- relative-plural) 'ones under the table'

u-tu-re-wi (3sg-go-neutral-
relative) 'one who went'

u-tu-re-wi-ge (3sg-go-
neutral-relative-
plural) 'ones who
went'

jorobokuru epa (medicine-
appropriate) 'doctor,
nurse'

jorubokuru epa-ge (medi-
cine-appropriate-plu-
ral) 'doctors, nurses'⁴

ema '3sg=free=pronoun'

ema-ge '3sg=free=
pronoun-plural'

7.6 One noun which deserves special mention is boe, which is, among other things, the name the Bororos give to themselves. Boe occurs with great frequency, along a scale of specificity. In its most specific use it means 'Bororo' as opposed to any other people. It may also mean 'Indian' in general, or 'people' or 'thing'. Boe occurs in time and weather expressions where English has it.

(51) Boe uru-re.
it hot-neutral

It's hot.

(52) Boe xo-re.
it black-neutral

It's dark (or night).

⁴When the epa phrase refers to an inanimate rather than animate noun, epa is pluralized with -e rather than -ge. Bolo epa-e (cake appropriate-plural) is 'cake ingredients'.

- (53) Boe pega-re boe jamedì-ji.
thing bad-neutral thing-also-referent
 Things are bad all over.

Boe may be pluralized only when it is used to mean 'Bororo' and is usually not pluralized even then. Boe doge (Bororo plural) 'Bororos' is occasionally used, but usually the form is boe for either singular or plural. It may be regarded as either singular or plural in regard to agreement patterns with the bound pronoun following it, depending on its semantic referent.

- (54) Boe=e-tu-re.
Bororo=3pl-go-neutral
 The Bororos left.

- (55) Boe=u-tu-re.
Bororo=3sg-go-neutral
 The Bororo left.

When boe is the head of any relative construction except Demonstrative, the relative enclitic -wì may optionally be deleted, with no perceptible change in meaning.

- jo-rìdiwa-re-wì boe (3sg-know-neutral-relative
people) 'people who know'
 jo-rìdiwa-re boe (3sg-know-neutral people) 'people
 who know'

bai tada-wi-boe (house inside-relative_thing)
 'the thing inside the house'

bai tada boe (house inside thing) 'the thing
 inside the house'

7.7 Reciprocal and Coreferential. The first NP of a sentence, if it is a pronoun, may be a First, Second, or Third person. All other pronouns of the sentence may be one of these or Coreferential or Reciprocal. In order for Reciprocal 'each other' to be selected the antecedent NP must be plural. In order for Coreferential to be selected, the antecedent must be a third person NP. Reciprocal is realized by pu, which may either be a free or bound pronoun, and pugi, which is always a free pronoun.

7.6.1 Reciprocal pronouns are exemplified in the following four clauses.

(56) Et-uwobe-re pugi (or pu).

3pl-kinsman-neutral reciprocal=free=pronoun
 They are one another's kinsmen.

(57) E-re pu-dë ëinë.

3pl-neutral reciprocal-causative like=that
 They made each other be like that.

(58) Ta-gaiwo-re pu-regodaji.

2pl-look-neutral reciprocal-behind
 You looked behind each other.

- (59) Pa-re aroia bî pu-gîda.
 1pl=inclusive-neutral cloth put reciprocal-
 under
 We put the cloth under each other.

Reciprocal bound pronouns are prefixed to causative verbs just like any other bound object pronoun, as exemplified in example 57 above. The same is usually true when they are used as the head of a postpositional phrase, such as in examples 58 and 59.

With some postpositions, however, the reciprocal morpheme is optionally allowed to occur as a free form, unattached to the postposition. This is the only instance in which the syntax calls for a bound, not a free pronoun, but the bound pronoun is not, in fact, bound to anything. Example 59 has pu 'reciprocal' bound to kîda 'under' whereas example 60 has the pronoun preceding but not bound to the postposition.

- (60) E-re aroia bî pu-kîda.
 3pl-neutral cloth reciprocal under
 They put a blanket under each other.

Not being prefixed to the word following means that pu now receives primary word stress, that there may be a pause between pu and the following word, and that consonantal strengthening rules, which apply only when words have prefixes, are not applied in the word following pu.

Other postpositions with which pu occurs either joined together as one word or not are bogai 'purpose' and jaogoai 'toward'.

When pu 'reciprocal' precedes a noun as a possessive morpheme or precedes a verb as a subject or direct object of any verb except casuatives, it always occurs as a free form.

(61) E-ri^{di}-re pu tariga-ji.

3pl-see-neutral reciprocal knife-referent

They saw each other's knife.

(62) Ta-re pu iwëgi-dë.

2pl-neutral reciprocal steal-causative

You caused each other to steal.

(63) Xe-re pu barigu moto kae.

1pl=excl-neutral reciprocal throw ground

We threw each other to the ground.

7.6.2 Coreferential. Coreferential and Pronoun must be selected rather than Noun whenever a NP follows another NP with which it is coreferential, which is in the same sentence (with exceptions which are covered shortly), and which is other than the head of a postpositional phrase or a fronted topic NP.

Coreferential pronouns may refer either to singular or plural antecedents, but there is no number distinction in the coreferential forms themselves. The coreferential bound pronouns are pu- with a initial words, xi- or ti-

with i initial words, and tɨ- elsewhere. The coreferential free pronoun is pudumi.

The first two examples below contain coreferential bound forms following a subject with which they are coreferential. The subject is singular in the first example and plural in the second. The third example has a direct object with which the following possessive pronoun is coreferential.

(64) U-tu-re tɨ-wai kae.

3sg-go-neutral coreferential-house to
He went to his own house.

(65) E-tu-re tɨ-wai kae.

3pl-go-neutral coreferential-house to
They went to their own houses.

(66) A-re imedi reko tɨ-wai kae.

2sg-neutral man send coreferential-house to
You sent the man to his own house.

Changing the possessive pronouns in these examples to third person noncoreferential, the prefixes are u- 'singular' and e- 'plural' as in

(67) A-re imedi reko u-wai kae.

2sg-neutral man send 3sg-house to
You sent the man to his (someone else's) house.

(68) A-re imedi reko e-wai kae.

2sg-neutral man send 3pl-house to
You sent the man to their house.

Examples 69 and 70 below contain coreferential free pronouns in complement clauses.

(69) Batagaje ako-re pudumi-ie t-onagodu-mëde
awagi-ji.

Biguá bird say-neutral coreferential=free=
pronoun-secondary+fronted coreferential-
kill-hypothetical+neutral snake-referent

The biguá bird said that it was he who would
kill the snake.

(70) Ako-re boe iire pudumi.

say-neutral Bororo secondary+stative

coreferential free pronoun

He says that he is a Bororo.

The extent of the context in which Coreferential is a possibility is almost always a single sentence. It may, however, extend beyond sentence boundaries in case the content is very closely tied together as in the biblical quotation below.

(71) José-u-nudu-re. Di-keje-re Pa-o mako-re ji
ti-nuiao tabo.

José-3sg-sleep-neutral. That-at=time-
fronted 1pl=inc-Father speak-neutral
referent coreferential-dream during

José slept. Then God spoke to him during
his dream.

The signalling of coreferentiality across sentence boundaries sometimes serves to maintain the identity of a main character, as opposed to secondary characters in a text. The main character is referred to pronominally by t_i 'coreferential' throughout the text once he is introduced. This is discussed more fully in chapter 9.

In sentences with only two third person NP's the choice between Coreferential and Third person noncoreferential eliminates any possibility of ambiguity of pronominal reference.⁵ However, in sentences with more than two third person NP's, this choice alone does not guarantee that there will not be ambiguity. Disambiguation is not provided by intonation, as it often is in English.

⁵Pronominal heads of postpositional phrases with koia 'by, because' are never coreferential pronouns even when the pronoun is semantically coreferential with a previous NP. I do not know the reason for this restriction.

U-tu-re u-mana koia. (not t_i-mana koia.)

3sg-go-neutral 3sg-older brother 3sg=because

He went because of his (own) older brother.

One way to disambiguate such sentences is to add explanatory material, as in

(72) Coronel Ø-ako-re tĩ-mēdĩ-ie Aribo u-tu-dē
jetĩ tĩ-wadarĩ tabo, Coronel tĩ-wadarĩ
tabo.

Coronel 3sg-say-neutral coreferential-
hypothetical+indirect+neutral Aribo
3sg-go-causative here coreferential-word
The Coronel said he was going to send Aribo
here with his message, with the Coronel's
message.

Another resource for disambiguation which Bororo has is the possibility of selecting a third person form rather than Coreferential, even though the NP involved is coreferential with another NP of the sentence. Only when the potential for a real ambiguity exists is Coreferential not selected whenever such a relation is present.

Choosing third person rather than Coreferential can disambiguate in two ways. One of these is by providing number distinctions impossible with Coreferential.

The pronoun prefixed to -wē 'purpose' in the following example is plural and therefore must refer to the plural object rather than to the singular subject. If the pronoun were tĩ- 'coreferential', however, as it would be if no possibility of ambiguity existed, number would provide no clue.

(73) U-re e-tu-dë e-wë boe e-ri¹diwa-dë.

3sg-neutral 3pl-go-causative 3pl-purpose.

people 3pl-learn causative

He sent them in order that they should teach
people.

A choice between Third person and Coreferential can also provide disambiguation in that whenever there is potential ambiguity, the coreferential pronoun is taken as referring to the subject of the sentence. Therefore in the following example, one knows that his refers to the subject, José, not to the object, Paulo.

(74) José u-re Paulo reko tí-wai kae.

José 3sg-neutral Paulo send coreferential-

house to

José sent Paulo to his (José's) house.

Conversely, a third person pronoun in place of the coreferential tí- indicates that the reference is not to the subject, but to the object.

(75) José u-re Paulo reko u-wai kae.

José 3sg-neutral Paulo send 3sg-house to

José sent Paulo to his (Paulo's) house.

This interplay of coreferential and noncoreferential third person occurs only when there is the potential for real ambiguity. If, because of context or lexico-semantic

collocational restrictions there is no danger for ambiguity, Coreferential is selected any time it follows a NP with which it is coreferential regardless of whether the NP is the subject or not and regardless of number considerations. In the following example, the coreferential pronoun refers to the object noun.

(76) U-mode máquina tigi tí-ia-të.

3sg-hypothetical machine put coreferential-
container-into

He will put the machine into its container.

HIERARCHY AND COHESION IN DISCOURSE

Bororo discourse structure may be viewed as a hierarchy in which discourse is made up of paragraphs and paragraphs in turn made up of sentences.¹ This hierarchical structuring provides a kind of gross organization for the discourse. Bororo discourse, however, is also characterized by a linear organization independent of the hierarchy, which enables the listener to follow the theme of the discourse from one point to another. This is achieved by means of a cohesive system of linkages that includes connectives, anaphoric reference, pronominalization, and lexical choices. This chapter gives a brief sketch of the hierarchical structure and those parts of the cohesive system that are made up of connectives, which include conjunctions and anaphoric postpositional phrases.

8.1 Hierarchical structure

8.1.1 Discourse. Bororo discourses characteristically begin with a series of short sentences which introduce characters and provide the setting for what is to follow.

¹Much of the material found in this chapter is also covered in Crowell 1973.

The same information is often repeated in several sentences. For example, a tale about a monkey begins 'On a creek bank a monkey lived, on a creek bank. On a creek bank a monkey lived with his fish trap, there with his canoe. The rabbit was the monkey's friend.' Then the narrative proceeds to tell of a trip taken by the monkey and rabbit in the canoe. Another feature of introductions is the noticeable lack of any connectives.

Characters are introduced by the repeated use of noun forms rather than pronouns. In the introduction to the monkey discourse, part of which is given above, the word juko 'monkey' is used four times before pronominalization occurs. After this initial noun repetition, pronominalization takes over and operates more or less as it does in English.

There is, however, one other pronominalization pattern which is used infrequently. In it all characters are introduced with noun forms but the manner of referring to the main character of a narrative thereafter is different from the manner of referring to all other characters. The main character is referred to by a coreferential pronoun, either ti- or pud-, while all other characters are referred to by third person noncoreferential forms, either u- or ∅ '3sg' or e- '3pl'. Normally coreferential pronouns are used only when a NP is coreferential with a preceding NP within the same sentence. In this case, however, sentence boundaries are ignored.

The following sentences illustrating this pattern come from the middle of a text in which the narrator gives a second hand report of a man's fight with a snake in a dream. All coreferential forms are underlined.

- (1) Ako-re kuri-ie. U-ie taredo puḍ-ii mare
ti-iee kae-ie u-re tare taredo. Ti-ie
ti-gera-to ji, pa-je. Boekare u-ie
 taredo piḡeje ti-iee kae piḡeje.

say-neutral big-indirect+neutral. 3sg-
 indirect+neutral jump coreferential-
 referent but coreferential-face to-
 indirect+fronting 3sg-neutral jump
 jump. Coreferential-indirect+neutral
coreferential-hand-hit referent, pow.
 Suddenly 3sg-indirect+neutral jump again
coreferential face to again

He said it was big. It jumped at him,
 right at his face it jumped and jumped.
 He hit it, pow! Suddenly it jumped
 again, at his face again.

The end of a narrative discourse is often marked by a sentence stating 'This is the end of the story.'
 Another frequently observed marker designating the end of a discourse is a prolonged pause following the final sentence, then the word ixaa 'well' spoken very softly. In some cases there is no verbal signal marking the end of the discourse.

8.1.2 Paragraph. Discourse is made up of a series of paragraphs. Paragraphs are characterized by unity of content as well as, in many cases, a word or sentence signalling the onset of a new paragraph. Sentence initial use of the words ixaa 'well', pugeje 'again', uu 'yes', or boekimo 'to the contrary' followed by a pause sometimes mark the beginning of a new paragraph.

Paragraphs often begin with one sentence, usually short, which introduces a new time, place, cast of participants, or a combination of these. In a text about jaguars the narrator relates several occasions on which people had sighted jaguars. Then abruptly he introduces a new paragraph by the sentence 'John fished.' This provides a new location, the river, a new time, when he fished, and implies that it was John who reported the rest of the paragraph: how cattle had come running down to the river, pursued by jaguars. When the speaker wishes to emphasize that the paragraph is dealing with a new participant, he may state the name or a noun phrase referring to this participant, then repeat it as the subject of the first sentence. For example, 'That Hêlio, Hêlio came up to me.'

8.1.3 Sentence. A paragraph consists of one or more sentences. A sentence is usually one independent clause. Independent clauses may also be joined together by conjunctions to form compound sentences. Any sentence may optionally contain one or more dependent clauses.

8.2 Cohesion. To recapitulate, then, gross organization of a discourse is provided by a hierarchical system. Cohesion is not, however, provided by linking these hierarchical units. Instead, cohesion comes from a nonhierarchically oriented system of connectives that express linkage between clauses or constituents of clauses. Connectives keep the listener oriented as to sequential time, temporal setting, locational setting, logical connections, and nominal identity. This is done by relating new information to points that are already established in time, location, or nominal identity. All connectives occur clause initial.

8.2.1 Conjunctions. The conjunction ixare 'and then' links events, keeping them in temporal sequence with regard to a previously established point of reference. Events are narrated in three distinct patterns, each of which is clearly illustrated in the text about jaguars mentioned previously. In this text the narrator begins by telling how he travelled to the nearby village of Colônia, where he owned a few cattle. Upon arriving he is told that jaguars have mauled one of his cows. He then proceeds to describe how he saw the mauled cow, then tells of reports from other Indians and Brazilians of numerous jaguar sightings. On the basis of this evidence, he argues that the jaguar situation is indeed very bad, but that the Bororos do not have the good dogs necessary to hunt and kill them. A grand finale is reached with a plea for someone to send a good dog to Colônia.

The most frequently used pattern of telling events is, as might be expected, a simple listing of one event after another ordered with respect to chronological time. In this case ixare 'and then' links each event to the preceding event. This may be repeated a number of times with the chain ultimately leading back to an explicit temporal reference. In the Jaguar text the narrator begins, "i went there from Corrego Grande...I slept at Tapir Beach. And then (ixare) leaving from there I went to a clean lagoon. And then (ixare) birds began to make noise. And then (ixare) as a result of this the young men who had gone with me shot them. (No conjunction) We went there to the big rock. Then (ixare) we cooked them. (No conjunction) They really killed a lot of them. Then (ixare) we went to Colônia."

This flow of events from one to another may be interrupted at any time and a new point of reference established as the temporal setting of the initial event of the new series. This may be done either by reference to a specifically mentioned time such as last year or day before yesterday or by an implicit reference to the time of the initial event, such as in the previously mentioned sentence John fished, in which the implied temporal setting is when John fished.

A second pattern used in the narration of events is the successive retelling of the same event in what Grimes 1972 calls an overlay pattern. In the Jaguar text the same event, that of the narrator seeing his mauled cow, is told three times in succession and once again later, with the narrator varying the information and detail in each. These retellings are characterized by an obvious lack of temporal sequence ordering between them, along with the absence of the temporal sequence conjunction ixare. Semantic overlap of information given in one telling and in the following one provide the signal that a temporal sequence has been broken and that the same happening is indeed being described all over again.

The first and second tellings are as follows. The first sentence of each is the point of temporal departure. Each telling has the same spatial setting and a partially identical cast of participants. Pronominalization remains constant throughout and refers back to the first telling.

- (2) a. I arrived.
 b. At that time then (ixare) some Brazilians said, "A jaguar mauled your cow".
 c. The Bororos said this too.
 d. At that time then (ixare) early in the morning I saw her.

- (3) a. They said for me to go see her. (No
conjunction)
b. I went to her.
c. I looked at her lying by the side of the
rice machine.

The first two events of the second telling (3a,3b) occurred before the final event of the first telling (2d). The third event of the second telling (3c) is the same event as the final event of the first telling (2d), but gives some added information regarding the viewing of the mauled cow.

The third and fourth tellings report the same happening, adding information about the time of the cow's arrival from the jungle, about where she had been clawed, how her mother stood nearby, how the cow died, and the narrator's opinion about the whole situation. These retellings break and reestablish chronological order in the same way as the first and second tellings. The first event of the third retelling is

- (4) Those who went with me to see her ran to
get me.

and of retelling four,

- (5) On the day I arrived, she (the cow) arrived
in the village.

The third method of reporting incidents in Bororo discourse is simply to mention them without elaboration and

without stating any temporal sequence or logical relationships. Various sightings of jaguars are related in the same text as follows: "It was reported that Brazilians said that jaguars chased them. Bororos saw jaguars, two of them. There were just two jaguars. Another day Bororos saw a jaguar. Otaviano saw jaguars, two of them, with two cubs. Brazilians saw them. There were two again, with two cubs." These brief accounts are differentiated from connected narrative by the total lack of any conjunctions.

Another Bororo conjunction is boekare 'suddenly, unexpectedly'.

- (6) Ę padu-re ika kajeje boekare pēbē ro-re tē
 beaaa tiki.
 tooth lie-neutral canoe through suddenly
 water do-neutral into ideophone=for=
 water=entering
 His tooth pierced the canoe and suddenly
 water rushed in, slosh, slosh.

Mare 'but' signals logical covariance relations which are contrary to expectation.

- (7) Bībīti-re, mare pega-ka-re.
 rain-neutral, but bad-negative-neutral
 It rained, but that's all right.

Logical covariance relations which are according to expectation are not signaled by a conjunction but by the postposition kodi 'because'.

(8) Et-aidure ji raka-re kodi.

3pl-like referent strong-neutral because

They like him because he is strong.

8.2.2 Anaphoric postpositional phrases. Besides conjunctions, Bororo connectives include an extensive class of anaphoric postpositional phrases. These link clauses or constituents thereof as to temporal setting and nominal identity, the latter of which takes in a number of relationships including purpose, goal, referent, and locative. Anaphoric postpositional phrases relate elements across clause boundaries in the same ways that postpositions relate elements within clauses. These anaphoric postpositional phrases could also accurately be called interclausal postpositional phrases.

The members of this class are derived by combining the discourse oriented demonstrative particle d̄i with any postpositional enclitic and the suffix -re 'fronting', which occurs with any fronted element. The basic principle underlying all of these is that of a shared component at the bridge point between two clauses. An analogous example from English is

(9) I went to the house. From there (that is, from the house) I went to town.

where house is a location shared by both sentences. Bororo dî refers anaphorically to a previously mentioned clause or clause constituent which then becomes the temporal setting, location, goal, purpose, or whatever other constituent the postposition indicates, of the following clause. The choice of postposition determines whether the referent is temporal or nominal, and also determines the specific manner in which the shared unit relates to the rest of the following clause. Thus dî-rekodaji-re is 'after the previously mentioned time'. Dî- signals anaphoric reference to something previously mentioned in the discourse; the postposition rekodaji specifies that the relation is temporal, more specifically 'after', and -re closes the connective.

8.2.2.1 Temporal phrases. An anaphoric postpositional phrase formed from dî- 'the aforementioned', one of the four temporal postpositions, and the suffix -re takes the time of the previous clause as the basis for the time of the following clause. The choice of a temporal postposition such as keje 'at about the same time', tabo 'simultaneously', rekodaji 'after', or ētēdai 'before' specifies the manner in which the time of clause 1 is related to the time of clause 2. So for the sequence Clause 1 dî-rekodaji-re Clause 2, the temporal setting for Clause 2 is 'after the time of Clause 1'.

(10) Uture pēbētē. Dî-rekodaji-re merure.

He went to the river. Afterwards he hunted.

Conversely, for the sequence Clause 1 dî-ëtëdai-re Clause 2, the temporal setting for Clause 2 is 'before the time of Clause 1'.

8.2.2.2 Nontemporal phrases. A noun phrase in one clause may be linked to a noun phrase in a following clause by an anaphoric postpositional phrase consisting of dî, any nontemporal postposition, and -re. The content of this linkage is a shared nominal component. Dî refers to a previously stated noun phrase, which becomes the component shared by the two clauses. This noun phrase then functions in the following clause in the way specified by the postposition. The following example has an anaphoric postpositional phrase with the postposition ji 'referent'.

(11) Iture José bogai. Dî-ji-re itaidure.

I went to get José. Him (referent) I like.

The nontemporal anaphoric postpositional phrases are divided into two subsets, nonlocative and locative. The nonlocative members are derived from the combination of dî, nonlocative postpositions such as ji 'referent', bogai 'purpose', epa 'appropriate', tabo 'instrument', and the suffix -re.

An anaphoric postpositional phrase consisting of dî followed by one of the locative postpositions such as kae 'toward', të 'to', piji 'away from (directional)', tada 'inside', and the suffix -re refers to a nominal constituent of a previous clause. This referent is then the point of

locational departure for the following clause. The choice of tada 'inside', piji 'away from', or any other member of this set specifies the nature of the relationship between the point of departure and the location of the following clause. In the following example the postposition tada indicates that the NP referent is inside the location specified by the previous clause, that is 'your house'.

- (12) Ioridire awaiji. Di=tada=re Josē migāre.
I saw your house. Inside_it Josē sat.

The location referred to is usually stated in the clause just before the clause that contains the anaphoric postpositional phrase. An exception to this is found in the Monkey text in which is stated 'The canoe sank with them in it.' Then some thirteen sentences describe a battle involving the monkey, his friend the rabbit, and the big fish. Then the narrator says

- (13) Di-kae-re ixare adugo aregodire.
To that place (the location of the canoe
sinking) came the jaguar.

FRONTING

The grammar thus far has dealt with elements in what I have called their normal order. This chapter is concerned with an order of elements which differs from normal S O V (Adjunct) order in that it has a fronted element, that is, an element moved from its normal position and placed in clause initial position.¹ Fronting occurs in Bororo with considerable frequency, noticeably more so than in English. A literally translated Bororo text reads in many places like English sophomoreic prose, such as 'At that time we saw the jaguar. Him we thought gigantic. Of him we were terrified.'

What I would like to do is explain why fronting is used at the places where it is. This has proved to be beyond the limits of my present understanding, however. Therefore I have adopted as a weaker objective the description of the structure and distribution of clauses containing fronted elements along with comments wherever possible on reasons why they appear where they do.

¹Only fronting in declarative clauses is dealt with in this chapter. Question formation, which also involves placing a question word in clause initial position, is discussed in chapter 2.

Previously I followed Halliday in considering the initial element of each clause to be the theme of the clause, that which is being talked about. Fronted elements were treated as being marked themes since they replaced what was normally the first element in the clause, the subject in most cases. However, Jeannette Gundel (1974) argues convincingly against invariably treating the clause initial element as theme (her term is 'topic' rather than theme). She points out how implausible it is to consider that the clause initial element is really what the clause is about in examples like Close the door and Probably we'll sleep in tomorrow. Her conclusion, which I now follow, is that while there is a strong tendency in many languages for the clause initial element to be the theme (topic) of the clause, if the initial element is not what the clause is about it is not the theme.

In some cases, such as in Probably we'll sleep in tomorrow, what the clause is about ('we') is found somewhere besides in clause initial position. In others, such as It's raining the theme of the clause (in this case a specific place and time) is known from the context and consequently does not appear at all in surface structure.

Inasmuch as I no longer automatically equate the element in clause initial position with theme, I no longer consider every fronted element a marked theme. Not adding the label Theme to all elements which are fronted does not, of course, diminish the desirability of understanding the

phenomenon of fronting; it means simply that theme is not the key idea for understanding fronting in Bororo.

The basic concept used in this study of fronting is what Grimes (1975) calls staging. In every utterance we communicate not only content, but also perspective regarding that content. Staging is the part of language concerned with the communication of such perspective. By means of staging choices, such as those resulting in the use of normal order or the order with a fronted element the speaker communicates to his hearers the perspective from which he wishes them to consider what is said.

In answer to a question such as When did Joe go out? one might hear He went out at 8 o'clock or At 8 o'clock is when he went out. The difference in the two reflects different staging decisions; their content is identical.

Most discussion within linguistics of staging phenomena has been limited to clauses. Here, however, I consider the clause to have special importance only in that it is the structure within which fronting occurs. The staging decisions which result in the fronting of one or another element are always made at levels higher than the clause. Exactly where they are made, I contend, is in connection with rhetorical predicates, which relate clauses and larger units such as paragraphs and episodes to one another by relations such as cause and effect, setting, and contrast. In the context of rhetorical relations fronting can be explained in a much more satisfactory way than in the context

of isolated clauses. The relationship of fronting and rhetorical structure is discussed in detail in section 9.2.

Other studies in which staging has been treated at levels above the clause are Kroeker (1975), Miller (1973), Wrigglesworth (ms.), and Sheffler (1978).

9.1 The structure of Bororo fronting. In Bororo, as in English, the element which is normally first in a declarative clause is its subject. Bororo equatives provide the one exception to the rule, having their complement first in normal order. Fronting involves bringing an element other than the subject or, in the case of equatives, something other than the complement, to the front of the clause. In addition to moving an element to the front of the clause, the enclitic -re 'fronted' is suffixed to the final word of the fronted element in all except two cases. The first exception is when the word rade 'indeed' or rigadi 'really' is substituted for -re. This is done most frequently when the fronted element is being contrasted with something else. The other exception is in complex equatives when the subject is fronted. In this case neither -re nor a substitute is added to the fronted element.

The connective xare 'then' or 'well' is often placed after the fronted element. This sets the fronted constituent apart from the rest of the sentence with an effect comparable to that produced by English clefting or pseudo-clefting.

The following two examples illustrate the form of Bororo clauses, first with normal order and second with fronted order.

- (1) a. Imedi joriḍi-mēde juko-ji.
 man see-hypothetical+neutral monkey-referent
 The man will see the monkey.
- b. Juko-ji-re imedi joriḍi-mēde.
 monkey-referent-fronted man see-hypothetical+
 neutral
 The monkey the man will see.

There are two variations on this basic fronting pattern. One of these differs from the pattern just described only in that no nonsubject element is involved. Here the speaker adds -re to the subject, which is already in clause initial position. Usually the reason for doing this is to emphasize a contrast between the subject and some other element in the text. Contrasts are more fully discussed in 9.2.6.

Related to this is a reprise or left dislocated construction, in which a noun phrase or free pronoun subject without -re is the first element of a clause. This subject is followed by an intonation break and then is echoed at the normal free subject place by another noun or free pronoun with suffixed -re. Bound subject pronouns have nothing to do with fronting and are not considered here.

An example of reprise is

- (2) Awî Korôia keje-boe, emage-re e-pagîdi-re.
 those Colônia near-people, 3pl=free-pronoun-
fronted 3pl-afraid-neutral
 Those people from Colônia, they are afraid.

9.2 Fronting and rhetorical relations. Bororo fronting can best be described with regard to what Grimes (1975) calls rhetorical relations. (Also see Longacre 1972 and 1976, Fuller 1959, and Frederiksen 1975.) These relate clauses and larger units such as paragraphs and episodes to one another and in this way organize the content of discourse. Some rhetorical relations are cause and effect, purpose, condition, adversative, alternative, response, spatial setting, and temporal setting.

Rhetorical structure has to do with the organization of content, while fronted and normal word orders are part of the staging component of language. The choice of one of these orders in connection with a rhetorical predicate represents an intersection of staging and content. If such an intersection is truly representative of the relation of staging and content in language in general, it implies that the basic organization for language is provided by some kind of content network, with staging information added to nodes of this network.

There is no automatic way to predict with which Bororo rhetorical relations fronting will occur in a text.

There are no textual factors in Bororo which invariably call for fronting. At the same time, fronting certainly does not occur in a completely random, unpatterned fashion. There are certain rhetorical relations which have fronting as part of their realization much more frequently than others. The identification of these is of considerable importance for understanding Bororo discourse.

The rest of this chapter is concerned with exemplifying the intersection of staging and content found in fronting associated with rhetorical predicates. Singled out for description are those rhetorical relations with which fronting is most commonly associated in Bororo.

The description centers on a careful study of eight texts, seven of which are narratives. It is not, however, limited to these texts alone, but draws on observations gleaned from other texts and from listening in formal and informal contexts. My goal is to account not only for what is found in these texts but also for what might be found in any Bororo text.

9.2.1 Temporal setting - transitional. In Bororo narrative texts temporal settings frequently occur in fronted elements. Almost all of these occurrences signal a shift in orientation. They come at transition points, where there is a change in orientation due to a new time, location, set of participants, or topic. (The other instances in which temporal elements are fronted are discussed in 9.2.7.) Most Bororo texts explicitly have time as their main organizing

principle. For example, in a text about harvesting rice, one paragraph contains a discussion of who was going to work and how much they would be paid. Then a new paragraph begins with

(3) Xare barogoa kododu-re-dĩ keje-re xe-du-re
toro boepa-tē.

then dawn come-neutral-nominal at=the=time-
fronted lpl excl-go-neutral there field-to
When dawn came we went there to the field.

Note that the importance of fronting in a case like this one is not in relation to the clause in which the fronted element is found. Instead, its significance is related to a level of staging above the clause level. The significance of fronting in the example above is in signaling that the orientation for the next stretch of discourse is shifting from where it was previously to a new location and time, i.e. in the field rather than at the house and on the next day rather than on the day of the discussion. This is in keeping with the principle stated before, that all staging refers to the text structure and not to the structure of the clause itself.

9.2.2 Spatial setting - transitional. Most Bororo narratives are explicitly time oriented, as was mentioned previously. Temporal information is usually part of the introduction to a narrative text and of other transitions within it. Some texts, however, rely more on spatial transi-

tions than on temporal ones for their orientation. In these there is no explicit separation of time periods; that is, time is not mentioned in transitions. Instead temporal change is implied by spatial change. Events are taken as having occurred within the same time period as long as there is no spatial transition. In a story about a monkey, a rabbit, and a jaguar the introductory paragraph gives only spatial and identificational information. This is placed in first position followed by -re in each of the story's first three clauses. The first sentence of the text, given below, also repeats the location in a tag phrase following the verb:

(4) Kuio parĩ keje-re juko mĩgĩ-re, kuio parĩ
keje.

Kuio bank near-fronted monkey live-neutral,
Kuio bank near

On the bank of Kuio Creek lived a monkey,
on the bank of Kuio Creek.

The first part of the text deals with the sinking of a canoe in which the monkey and the rabbit were traveling and ends with a battle between them and a big fish in which the rabbit meets his demise. Immediately afterward a new paragraph begins with a spatial transition:

- (5) Di-kae-re xare adugo aregodì-re.
 that=place-to-fronted then jaguar arrive-
 neutral

To that place (where the last action took place) then a jaguar arrived.

The story continues from there with interaction between the monkey and the jaguar.

Temporal or locative information is either adverbial in form, such as jaegiri 'far away', marigudu 'in the past', or more usually, is given in a postpositional phrase. The postpositions occurring most frequently in such phrases ambiguously have either a temporal or a locative sense, with context providing the disambiguation. These postpositions are keje 'near in time or location', tabo 'at the same time or place', rekodaji 'after or behind', ètèdai 'before or in front of'.

9.2.3 Question and answer. Response sequences of the question and answer type provide the first of a number of examples of rhetorical relations which characteristically have fronting as part of their realization but differ from those discussed thus far in that they are not transitional.

Answers to WH- questions almost always front the constituent that matches the WH- word. This is exemplified by the answer in the question and answer sequence given below.

(6) Kaboba bogai-ba ae-maru-nire? I-wëiga bogai-
re ie-maru-nire.

what for-question 2sg-look for-stative lsg-
 gun for-fronted lsg-look for-stative

What are you looking for? My gun I'm look-
 ing for.

Both yes-no questions and their answers frequently have fronted elements, as in the following example:

(7) Ba kurirewi-të-re a-kodu-mëde? U, ba
 kurirewi-të-re i-kodu-mëde.

village big-to-fronted 2sg-go-hypothetical+
 neutral yes, village big-to-fronted lsg-
 go-hypothetical+neutral

To Cuiabá will you go? Yes, to Cuiabá I
 will go.

The parts of a question and answer sequence can be separated by some distance in text, although usually the answer follows closely after the question. In the text referred to before about harvesting rice, the owner of the field first asks the narrator how much he wants to contract for. Six sentences then follow, telling of more conversation and a change of time to the next morning. Then the narrator gives his reply:

- (8) In-ago-re 'U, uma quarta-ji-re i-mēde
 ikeragu.
 lsg-say-neutral oh, a quarter-referent-
fronted lsg-hypothetical+neutral
 'I said, "Oh, a quarter I'll take."'

9.2.4 Cause and effect. Fronting in a cause and effect sequence occurs frequently in both narrative and nonnarrative Bororo texts. Cause and effect sequences always contain either the postposition koia or kodi, both 'cause'. When the cause and effect elements occur in the order effect first, then cause, neither of the elements is realized by a fronted construction, as in the example below:

- (9) I-mēde karo bi-tē i-ke boi-re i-i kodi.
 lsg-hypothetical+neutral fish die-causative
 lsg-food lack-neutral lsg-referent cause
 I will kill a fish because I am hungry.

However, when the order is cause first, followed by effect, the cause element is always accompanied by -re 'fronting' as in

- (10) I-ke boi-re i-i, kodi-re i-mēde karo bi-tē.
 lsg-food lack-neutral lsg-referent, cause-
fronted lsg-hypothetical+neutral fish
 die-causative
 I am hungry, therefore I will kill a fish.

9.2.5 Conditional. The expression of the conditional relation is subject to the same restraints regarding fronting that cause and effect is. The normal order is consequent first then condition. No -re 'fronted' occurs in sentences with this order. Whenever the order is reversed, however, the condition always ends with a final -re 'fronted'.

The conditional relation has central importance in one hortatory text regarding how a person should speak. The text has three cycles. In each, the speaker exhorts his listeners in different ways to speak the truth and never to lie. After the exhortation in each cycle he states a condition and the result which will follow. In each case the condition is fronted. One of these sequences is

- (11) A-mago-mēde boe rīgadi-ji, boe jēkēdi-ji
 di-keje-re xare boe e-mearitēri-mēde
 a-mago-re ji-boe-ji.

2sg-speak-hypothetical+neutral thing indeed-
 referent, thing truth-referent it-near-
fronted then people 3pl-believe-hypothetical+neutral 2sg-speak-neutral referent-
 thing-referent

If you speak the real thing, the truth, then
 people will believe what you say.

9.2.6 Contrast. A text about tribal problems especially exemplifies the use of contrast. The entire plot is built on contrasts; how things used to be vs. how things

are now, Bororos vs. other Brazilians, people here vs. people in the far away village. There are seventeen occurrences of contrasts, each employing fronting. In all but three cases, both sides of the contrast have fronting. I do not know why these three are different. -ma 'but' is often added to the fronted element of the second clause of a contrastive pair to add strength to the contrast.

(12) Ia barae-re e-mearitëri-re xeg-imejera-ji.

Ia barae-re-ma e-mearitëri-ka-re.

some Brazilians-fronted 3pl-respect-neutral

1pl excl-chiefs-referent. Some Brazilians-

fronted-but 3pl-respect-negative-neutral

Some Brazilians respect our chiefs. Other

Brazilians, however, do not.

In most cases the contrasted units occur one following directly after the other. In some instances, however, several clauses add explanation about the first element of the contrast before the second element is presented.

9.2.7 Supplementary relations. Some 80% of the examples of fronting in the texts I have studied can be accounted for as either temporal or locative transitional or as instances of contrast, question and answer, condition, or cause and effect. The other 20% come under the heading of supplementary relations. These add detail, explain, or substantiate something or else give further staging information without affecting content. Supplementary relations are

expressed both in clauses with normal order and in clauses with fronting. Where in text fronting will occur with this kind of relation is much more difficult to predict than it is with the other relations mentioned so far. In example 13 below the fronted element adds detail to what was said just before.

- (13) Metiikoge u-re ia ika pemega-dē nowi
 Leobino o-xe. Kuri-re. Paewiarewi
 i-ji-re rēinē.

Metiikoge 3sg-neutral a canoe good-causa-
 tive that Leobino 3sg-result. big-neutral.
 tamboril tree-referent-fronted do=like=
 this

Metiikoge made a canoe for Leobino. It
 was big. A tamboril tree was what he
 made it from.

The fronted element in the next example is a repetition from the clause just before it. The clause with the fronted element offers no content information not contained in the first clause, but it presents this information in a different way as to staging.

(14) Meririku pari äki-re i-i ti-meduia keje.

Ti-meduia keje-re äki-re i-i.

wire base speak=harshly-neutral lsg-referent

coreferential-friend regarding. Core-

ferential-friend regarding-fronted

speak=harshly-neutral lsg-referent

The telegraph line guard spoke harshly to me regarding his friend. Regarding his friend he spoke harshly to me.

It is as if the speaker were saying 'I really want you to notice that it was regarding his friend that he spoke harshly to me.'

Most instances of the fronting of temporal or spatial elements express transitions within the text. There are, however, fronted temporal and spatial elements which are not part of transitions but of supplementary relations. In the absence of transitional signals, the postposition keje 'near in time', for example, holds the time constant in order that there may be further description of events occurring at that time. The following is from another travel text:

- (15) Xare i-ragoje-re tãije. Dã-keje-re
 xare ari rutu-godu-re. Ari u-re boe
 awadu-gẽ giije.

then 1sg-stand-neutral a=while. This-near=
 in=time-fronted then moon rise-begin-
 neutral. Moon 3sg-neutral things light-
 causative gradually

Then I stood there a while. At that time
 then the moon began to rise. The moon
 gradually made things light.

A phenomenon related to supplementary relations is the use of proforms ro 'do' and ëinë 'like this'. These usually occur joined together as rëinë 'do like this'. Frequently these proforms occur in clauses containing fronted elements, as in the following example, which is a repetition of example 13.

- (16) Metiikoge u-re ia ika pemega-dẽ nowi
 Leobino o-xe. Kuri-re. Paewiarewi
 i-ji-re rëinë.

Metiikoge 3sg-neutral a canoe good-causa-
 tive that Leobino 3sg-result. Big-neutral.
 Tamboril tree-referent-fronted do=like=
 this

Metiikoge made a canoe for Leobino. It
 was big. A tamboril tree was what he
 made it from.

In this way the same event is unambiguously referred to by the proform, but without repeating the verb, and some further supplementary information regarding the event is added in the fronted element.

A final question remains, which is, why use fronting to give supplementary information? In some cases the information contained in such fronted elements is important for some larger perspective, but not in all. In other cases fronting appears to signal a shift to a kind of parenthetical explanation, departing from the main flow of the discourse. At this time I am still searching for a general explanation for why fronting is associated with supplementary relations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBISETTI, CÉSAR, and ÂNGELO JAYME VENTURELLI. 1962.
Enciclopédia Bororo I. Campo Grande: Museu Regional
Dom Bosco.
- BABBY, L.H. and R.D. BRECHT. 1975. The syntax of voice in
Russian. *Language* 51:2.342-367.
- BARNWELL, KATHRYN GRACE LOWRY. 1969. A grammatical des-
cription of Mbembe (Adun dialect). (University of Lon-
don dissertation.)
- COLBACCHINI, ANTÔNIO, and CÉSAR ALBISETTI. 1942. Os Bororos
Orientais Orarimogodogue do Planalto Oriental de Mato
Grosso. São Paulo: Brasiliana.
- CRANMER, DAVID JOHN. 1975. Derived intransitivity: a con-
trastive analysis of certain reflexive verbs in German,
Russian, and English. (Cornell University dissertation.)
- CROCKER, JON CRISTOPHER. 1967. The social organization of
the eastern Bororo. (Harvard dissertation.)
- CROWELL, THOMAS H. 1973. Cohesion in Bororo discourse.
Linguistics 104:15-27.
- _____. 1977. The phonology of Bororo verb, postposition, and
noun paradigms. *Arquivos de Anatomia e Antropologia* 159-178.
- DAVIS, IRVINE. 1966. Comparative Je phonology. *Estudos
Linguísticos* 1.2.10-25.
- _____. 1968. Some Macro-Jê relationships. *IJAL* 34:1.41-47.
- FREDERIKSEN, CARL H. 1975. Representing logical and semantic
structure of knowledge acquired from discourse. *Cognitive
Psychology* 7.371-458.

- FULLER, DANIEL. 1959. The inductive method of Bible study, 3rd. ed. Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary. mimeo.
- GRIMES, JOSEPH E. 1972. Outlines and overlays. *Language* 48:3.513-524.
- . 1975. The thread of discourse. The Hague: Mouton.
- GUNDEL, JEANNETTE MARIE. 1974. The role of topic and comment in linguistic theory. (University of Texas dissertation.)
- HALLIDAY, M.A.K. 1973. Explorations in the functions of language. London: Edward Arnold.
- . 1974. M.A.K. Halliday. *Discussing language*, ed. by Herman Parret, 81-120. The Hague: Mouton.
- HUDSON, R.A. 1971. English complex sentences. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- . 1976. Arguments for a non-transformational grammar. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HUESTIS, GEORGE. 1963. Bororo clause structure. *IJAL* 29:3. 230-238.
- KROEKER, MENNO H. 1975. Thematic linkage in Nambiquara, Appendix of Grimes, *The thread of discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.
- LANGACKER, R.W., and PAMELA MUNRO. 1975. Passives and their meaning. *Language* 51:4.789-830.
- LÉVAK, ZARKO D. 1971. Kinship system and social structure of the Bororo of Pobojarí. (Yale dissertation.)
- LONGACRE, ROBERT E. 1972. Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

- _____. 1976. An anatomy of speech notions. Lisse: The Peter DeRidder Press.
- MCCORD, M.C. 1975. On the form of a systemic grammar. *Journal of Linguistics* 11:195-212.
- MILLER, HELEN. 1973. Thematization in Mamanwa. *Linguistics* 110:55-73.
- RONDON, C. MARIANO DA SILVA, and J. BARBOSA FARIA. 1948. *Esbôço gramatical e vocabulário da língua dos índios Borôro*. Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Publication 77.
- SALESIANOS, MISSIONÁRIOS. 1908. *Elementos de grammatica e dictionario da lingua dos Boróros-Coroados de Matto Grosso*. Cuiabá.
- SCHACHTER, PAUL. 1973. Focus and relativization. *Language* 49:1.19-46.
- SHEFFLER, MARGARET. 1978. Munduruku discourse. Joseph E. Grimes, ed. *Papers on discourse*. (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related fields.) Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- VIERTLER, RENATE BRIGITTE. 1976. *As aldeias Bororo: alguns aspectos de sua organização social*. São Paulo: Coleção Museu Paulista.
- WINOGRAD, TERRY. 1972. *Understanding natural language*. New York: Academic Press.
- WRIGGLESWORTH, HAZEL. ms. *Ilianen Manobo narrative discourse*.