DIFFERENT-LEVEL TENSE MARKERS IN GUARANÍ

HARRY ROSBOTTOM
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. In Bolivian Guaraní[1] there are four tense markers, each occurring on a different level of the hierarchical structuring of the verb and verb phrase. The habitual tense morpheme is a suffix occurring within the verb stem on the derivational level. The past tense morpheme is a suffix occurring within the verb on the inflectional level. The future tense morpheme is an enclitic occurring on the verb phrase level. The continuative is a word occurring on the complex verb phrase level.

In this paper the distribution of the tense markers is presented along with a background study of the structure of the verb phrase.

1. There are two classes of verb bases: transitive and intransitive. Transitive base occurs as head of transitive verbs. Intransitive base occurs as head of intransitive verbs.

Transitive and intransitive verbs are differentiated by internal and external distribution. Internally they differ (1) in the class which occupies the head slot (except for a very small sub-class of roots which are members of both classes), (2) in that transitive person prefixes have double semantic components of subject and object whereas intransitive person prefixes have a single semantic component of subject, and (3) in that certain person prefixes occur only with transitives, others only with intransitives. Externally, transitive verbs occur in transitive clauses, which have optional object, whereas intransitive verbs occur in intransitive clauses, which never contain object.

A verb base may be comprised of: in minimum form, a root. -ñuka[2] *kill*, oñuka *he killed him*; -gʷata *walk*, ogʷata *he walks/walked*,[3] in non-minimum form, (1) a stem: -nąmipoka *twist ear* (-nąmi *ear*, -poka *twist*), oinamipoka *he twisted his ear*, (2) a total base (consisting of root or stem + prefix Pr I, prefix Pr II and Su I occurring singly or in combination): -ñeñuka *kill oneself* (-ñe- *reflexive*), oñeñuka *he killed himself*; -ñęnąmipoka *twist one's own ear*, ǫñęñąmipoka *he*

[1] Bolivian Guaraní is spoken by 15,000 Indians living mainly between the Grande and Pilcomayo Rivers in the south-eastern part of Bolivia, South America. There are three main dialect areas. The linguistic data on which this paper is based were gathered during a residence of a year and a half, between October 1957 and March 1960, in a village located in the geographically central dialect area.

Bolivian Guaraní is a member of the Tupi-Guaraní language family. Comparison of lexicon by Sarah Gudschinsky of the Summer Institute of Linguistics indicates that the dialect of Guaraní which is the subject of this paper is more widely divergent from the Guaraní which is spoken in Paraguay than is Portuguese from Spanish.

This paper was written during the 1960 Linguistic Workshop at Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma, Norman. The writer wishes to express his thanks to Viola Waterhouse for her many helpful suggestions concerning the presentation of the material.

[2] The following are the tentative phonemes of Guaraní: p, t, k, ʔ, gʷ, s, h, β, č, m, n, ñ, ŋ, ř, i, e, a, o, u, ɪ̄, i̧, ę, ą, ǫ, ų, ɪ̨. When m, n, ñ, ŋ occur before non-nasal vowels they are phonetically mb, nd, ǰ, ŋg. Stress usually occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word except when the final syllable contains a diphthong, in which case stress occurs on it. Otherwise stress is marked v́.

[3] The form ogʷata means either *he walked* or *he walks*. That is, the tense of a verb when no tense marker occurs is neither only *past* nor only present: it is *non-future*. When, however, a verb is imperative, its tense is inherently *future* and none of the tense markers occur with it.

twisted his own ear, -ñukauka *cause someone to kill someone* (-uka *causative*), oñukauka *he caused (him) to kill him.*

The stem is obtained by derivation; the total base by inflection with or without derivation. Thus a minimum stem, a root, is a minimum verb base; a non-minimum stem is a derived verb base; a total base is an inflected verb base. The obligatory inflectional person prefix occurs prefixed to the verb base; the optional past tense suffix (Su II) may occur suffixed to the verb base. Thus verb = person prefix + verb base ± Su II. Minimum verb base: -ñeapa *be folded*, oñeapa *it is folded.* Derived verb base: -ñeapañeře *roll over* (-ñeře *go around*), oñeapañeře *he rolled over.* Inflected verb base: -moñeapañere *cause to roll over* (-mo- *causative*), ǫmoñeapañeře *he rolled it over.*

1.1. Stems are derived from roots in nine ways. In one of these the habitual tense suffix -se occurs with an intransitive verb root to form an intransitive stem. -g^{w}atase *habitually walk* (-g^{w}ata *walk*), ig^{w}atase *he habitually walks.* -se may also occur with an intransitive total base to form a complex intransitive stem (complex in having more than two morphemes), in which case a higher level structure (a total base) occurs within a lower level structure (a stem), just as, in syntactic analysis, it is possible for a clause to occur within a phrase. -ñęmǫąkį̈se *habitually wet oneself* (speaking of a child) (-ñe-[4] *reflexive*, -mo- *causative*, -ąkį̈ *be wet*), į̈ñęmǫąkį̈se *he habitually wets himself.*

Other types of stem derivation are:

(1) Verb root + verb root -ñeapañeře *roll over* (-ñeapa *be folded*, -ñeře *go around* -kařupoi *finish eating* (-kařu *eat*, -poi *let go*).

(2) Noun root + verb root -nąmipoka *twist ear* (-nąmi *ear*, -poka *twist*); -ñuřupïte *kiss* (-ñuřu *mouth*, -pïte *suck*).

(3) Morpheme -mo- + Spanish verb.[5] -mokueta *cost* (Sp. cuesta *it costs*); -mǫŋana *earn* (Sp. gana *he earns*).

(4) Reduplication -pǫβąpǫβą *spin from time to time* (-pǫβą *spin*); -g^{w}atag^{w}ata *walk to and fro* (-g^{w}ata *walk*).

(5) Inflectional prefix + noun[6] -ñoapï *join together* (-ño- + -apï, iñapï *its end*); -moapï *come to the end* (-mo- + -apï).

(6) Possessed noun -čekïse *my knife* (če- *my* kïse *knife*) tačekïse *I shall have a knife*; -čeïke *my side* (če- *my* -ïke *side*) tačeïke *I will turn on my side.*

(7) Noun -kuimae (kuimae *man*) ikuimae (ñae) *he is (very) manly.*

(8) Morpheme -mae- + verb[7] -maeřasï *be sick* (-asï *hurt*).

1.2. Transitive roots and stems are subclassified according to the sets of person prefixes with which they occur. Transitive roots and stems of subclass 1 (TS1) occur with person prefix sets Ia and Ib: oñuka(o- +-ñuka) *he killed him.* Transitive roots and stems of subclass 2 (TS2) occur with person prefix sets IIa and IIb: ǫ̈nųpą (oi- + -nupą) *he hit him.*

Intransitive roots and stems are subclassified according to the sets of person

[4] All prefixes have phonologically conditioned allomorphs: an allomorph containing nasal vowel occurs preceding a verb base of which the first syllable is nasal; one with oral vowel occurs preceding a verb base of which the first syllable is non-nasal (a syllable is nasal if it begins with nasal consonant or contains nasal vowel). For simplicity, in the morpheme breakdowns (within parenthesis) and in listing the prefixes, only the allomorph with oral vowel is written. Person prefixes of sets Ia, Ib, A, B which terminate in -o- have phonologically conditioned allomorphs occurring before verb bases which begin with -ř- and -n-. For simplicity these are not listed.

[5] Some Spanish roots are borrowed directly: -kosina *cook*, but the majority occur with -mo- prefix. -mo- is the morpheme which usually signifies CAUSATIVE, occurring as an inflectional prefix. When occurring as a derivational prefix with a Spanish root it does not have causative meaning.

[6] Types (5) (6) and (7) occur rarely. Types (6) (7) and the stems which include the habitual tense suffix do not occur with inflectional affixes.

[7] This is the unique example of derivation type (8). The morpheme -mae- usually occurs as an inflectional prefix with meaning *non-human object generalizer*. As such it occurs with a transitive verb base resulting in an intransitive. In type (8) it occurs with an intransitive verb base resulting in an intransitive.

prefixes with which they occur. Intransitive roots and stems of subclass 1 (IS1) occur with person prefix sets Ia and Ib: og^{w}ata (o- + -g^{w}ata) *he walked.* Intransitive roots and stems of subclass 2 (IS2) occur with person prefix sets IIa and IIb: oikoβe (oi- + -koβe) *he awoke.* Intransitive roots and stems of subclass 3 (IS3) occur with person prefix sets IIIa and IIIb: ipiřu (i- + -piřu) *he is thin.*

Transitive verbs may be further cross-classified according to whether or not they can occur with a human object. -aïu *love* occurs with a human object; -putuka *wash* (clothes) does not. Verb bases occurring in the head slot of human object transitive verbs may occur with person prefix sets A and B.

Both transitive and intransitive roots and stems may occur as nuclei of transitive and intransitive verbs. Both prefixes and suffixes may occur with the roots and stems (with exceptions noted in footnote 6), resulting in transitive and intransitive verb bases. The verb bases together with the obligatory person prefix result in transitive and intransitive verbs.

Lists 1 and 2 show the inflectional affix systems of transitive and intransitive verbs. The past tense marker occurs as unique member of suffix order II in each of the formulas.

List 1. Transitive Verb: 1. +P pre(a) ±(+PrII: Caus1 +PrI: Mod) +Stem: TS1, SuI: Caus2, SuII: Past; 2. +P pre (b)/[+P pre(a) +(+PrII: Caus1 +PrI: Mod)] +Stem: TS2, SuI: Caus2, SuII: Past; 3. +P pre(a) +PrI: Caus1/Com +Stem:IS, SuI: Caus2, SuII: Past.

List 2. Intransitive Verb: 1. +P pre(a1) ±*(+PrII: Mod + PrI: Caus1) +Stem: IS1, SuI: Caus2*, SuII: Past; 2. +P pre(b1)/[+P pre(a1) +(+PrII: Mod +PrI: Caus1)]* +Stem: IS2, SuI: Caus2*, SuII: Past; 3. +P pre(c)/[+P pre(a1) +(+PrII: Mod + PrI: Caus1)]* +Stem: IS3, SuI: Caus2*, SuII: Past; 4. +P pre(a1) +Mod +TS, SuI: Caus2, SuII: Past.

Explanation of lists: + signifies obligatory occurrence; ± signifies optional occurrence; , signifies order of occurrence. The formulas are a mixture of occurrence and order types. As far as, and including, the stem slot they are occurrence formulas; after the stem slot (suffix sections of the formulas) they are order formulas. This is because all orders of prefixes occur with the stem, but not all orders of prefixes and suffixes. Both orders of suffix occur optionally.

TS = transitive root or stem; IS = intransitive root or stem; P pre = person prefix; Caus1 = causative prefix; Mod = modal prefix; Com = comitative prefix; Caus2 = causative suffix; Past = past tense suffix; / signifies either/or; the asterisks after Caus2 and the + of ± in formula 1 of list 2 indicates that Caus2 occurs only if the contents of the parenthesis occur. Similarly in formulas 2 and 3 of list 2, Caus2 occurs only if the second alternative of the either/or occurs.

Formulas 1 and 2 of list 1 show transitive stems as nuclei of transitive verb base. Transitive verb base may consist of either transitive stem or transitive stem with two prefixes, Causative 1 and Modal (together with possible occurrence of Causative 2). With stem class TS1 member as nucleus, the person prefix occurring with the base is P pre(a). With stem class TS2 member as nucleus, when Causative 1 and Modal occur, P pre(a) occurs; when Causative 1 and Modal do not occur, P pre(b) occurs.

Formula 3 of list 1 shows intransitive stem as nucleus of transitive verb base. Transitive verb base consists of intransitive stem with obligatory prefix Causative 1 or Comitative (together with possible occurrence of Causative 2 and occurs with person prefix P pre(a)).

Formulas 1, 2 and 3 of list 2 show intransitive stems as nuclei of intransitive verb base. Intransitive verb base may consist of either intransitive stem or intransitive stem with two prefixes, Modal and Causative 1

(together with optional suffixes, Causative 2 and Past). With stem class IS1 member as nucleus, the person prefix occurring with the base is P pre(a1). With stem class IS2 member as nucleus, when Modal and Causative 1 occur, P pre(a1) occurs; when Modal and Causative 1 do not occur, P pre(b1) occurs. With stem class IS3 member as nucleus, when Modal and Causative 1 occur, P pre(a1) occurs; when Modal and Causative 1 do not occur, P pre(c) occurs.

Formula 4 of list 2 shows transitive stem as nucleus of intransitive verb base. Intransitive verb base consists of transitive stem with obligatory prefix Modal (together with possible occurrence of Causative 2), and occurs with person prefix P pre(a1).

Person prefixes P pre(a) include person prefix sets Ia, Ib, A, B (A and B restricted to human object verbs). Person prefixes P pre(b) include person prefix sets IIa, IIb, A, B. Person prefixes P pre(a1) include person prefix sets Ia, Ib. Person prefixes P pre(b1) include person prefix sets IIa, IIb. Person prefixes P pre(c) include person prefix sets IIIa, IIIb. All sets containing a/A have INDICATIVE meaning; all sets containing b/B have SUBJUNCTIVE meaning.

In the following lists of person prefix sets, the meanings of the prefixes when they occur with transitive verb base are listed preceding diagonal (/) (subject meaning precedes hyphen (-), object meaning follows hyphen); when they occur with intransitive verb base they are listed following diagonal. Prefix sets IIIa and IIIb occur only with intransitive verb base of type 3 and therefore have only subject meanings. Prefix sets A and B occur only with transitive verb base and therefore have only subject-object meanings. 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; s = singular; p = plural; i = inclusive; e = exclusive.

Person prefix set Ia includes: a- *1s-3/1s*, ře- *2s-3/2s*, ña- *1pi-3/1pi*, řo- *1pe-3/1pe*, pe- *2p-3/2p*, o- *3-3/3*.

Person prefix set Ib[8] includes: ta- *1s-3/1s*, e- *2s-3/2s*, ña- *1pi-3/1pi*, tořo, *1pe-3/1pe*, pe- *2p-3/2p*, to- *3-3/3*.

Person prefix sets IIa and IIb are the same forms as sets Ia and Ib with the addition of -i-: ai- *1s-3/1s*, řei- 2*s*-3/2*s*, etc. It does not seem possible to assign any meaning to the -i-.

Person prefix set IIIa[9] includes: če- *1s*, ne- *2s*, ñąne- *1pi*, oře- *1pe*, pe- *2p*, i- *3*.

Person prefix set IIIb includes: tače- *1s*, ne- *2s*, ñąne- *1pi*, oře- *1pe*, pe- *2p*, ti- *3*.

Person prefix set A includes: če- *2,3-1s*, řo- *1-2s*, ne- *3-2s*, ñąne- *3-1pi*, oře- *2,3-1pe*, pe- *3-2p*.

Person prefix set B includes: če- *2-1s*, tače- *3-1s*, tořo- *1-2s*, tane- *3-2s*, tįñąne- *3-1pi*, oře- *2-1pe*, toře- *3-1 pe*, topo- *1-2p*, tape- *3-2p*.

The inflectional prefixes and suffixes which occur with the root or stem are now discussed.

Within the verb base each added order of prefix causes a change from transitive to intransitive or from intransitive to transitive. Thus transitive verb bases result from either transitive stem + two prefixes or intransitive stem + one prefix. Intransitive verb bases result from either intransitive stem + two prefixes or transitive stem + one prefix. Person prefix and suffixes do not cause a change in transitivity. -kařu *eat*, okařu (P pre + -kařu) *he ate* (intransitive), ǫmǫŋařu (P pre +Caus1 + -ŋařu) *he fed him* (transitive), ǫñęmǫŋařu (P pre +Mod

[8] In the majority of the subjunctive person prefixes there occurs an apparent t-/tV- (the allo-forms being phonologically conditioned) addition to the indicative person prefixes. It does not, however, seem possible to assign to this phenomenon morphemic status, i.e. morpheme meaning SUBJUNCTIVE, since in some cases there is no difference between subjunctive and indicative prefixes, and in the case of the subjunctive second singular person (e-) SUBJUNCTIVE would be marked by a subtractive morpheme.

[9] The members of person prefix sets IIIa and IIIb have morphologically conditioned allomorphs, but not being pertinent to this paper their description has been omitted.

+Caus1 + -ŋařu) *he fed himself* (intransitive); -mo?e *teach*, ǫmo?e (P pre + -mo?e) *he taught him* (transitive), ǫñęmo?e (P pre +Mod + -mo?e) *he learned* (intransitive), ǫmǫñęmo?e (P pre +Caus1 +Mod + -mo?e) *he caused him to learn* (transitive).

Lists 1 and 2 show that prefix order I (PrI) occurring with transitive stems is the same as prefix order II occurring with intransitive stems, and vice versa.

Prefix order I occurring with transitive stem or base resulting in an intransitive verb base as in list 2, formula 4, contains four members:

-ñe- *passive/reflexive*: oñeñuka (o-ñe-ñuka) *he killed himself*; oñeputuka (o-ñe-putuka) *it is washed*; oñeñukauka (o-ñe-ñuka-uka) *he was killed (by him)*.

-ño- *reciprocate*: oñoñuka (o-ño-ñuka) *they killed one another*.

-pořo- *human object generalizer*: opořoñuka (o-pořo-ñuka) *he kills* (humans), *he is a killer*.

-mae- *non-human object generalizer*: ǫmae-ñuka (o-mae-ñuka) *he kills* (non-humans), *he is a butcher or hunter*.

Prefix order I occurring with intransitive stem resulting in a transitive verb base as in list 1, formula 3, contains two members:

-mo- *causative*: ǫmogʷata (o-mo-gʷata) *he caused him to walk*.

-řo- *comitative*: gʷïřósïi (gʷï-řo-sïi) *he ran along with him*.

Examples showing occurrence of inflectional prefixes in other formulas of lists 1 and 2 follow. List 1, formula 1: ǫmǫmaeputuka (o-mo-mae-putuka) *she caused her to wash clothes*. List 1, formula 2: ǫmǫñęnųpą (o-mo-ñe-nųpą) *he caused him to hit himself*. List 2, formula 1: ǫñęmoñao (o-ñe-mo-ñao) *they are separated*. List 2, formula 2: ǫñęmǫiŋoβe (o-ñe-moi-ŋoβe) *he wakened himself up*. List 2, formula 3: ǫñęmǫąkï (o-ñe-mo-ąkï) *he wet himself*.

Suffix order I contains one member: -uka *causative*: oñukauka (o-ñuka-uka) *he caused (him) to kill him*; ǫmoñoñukauka (o-mo-ño-ñuka-uka) *he caused them to kill one another*.

Suffix order II contains one member: -se *past tense*: ogʷatase (o-gʷata-se) *he used to walk*.

Caus1 vs. Caus2: The essential difference between the causative prefix and the causative suffix is that the prefix occurs with intransitive stem, the resulting verb base being transitive; the suffix occurs with transitive stem, the resulting verb base remaining transitive. ogʷata (o-gʷata) *he walked*, ǫmogʷata (o-mo-gʷata) *he caused him to walk* (*him* is object); oñuka (o-ñuka) *he killed him*, oñukauka (o-ñuka-uka) *he caused (him) to kill him* (the final *him* is object).

-se *habitual tense* vs.-se *past tense*: That these differ structurally, occurring at different levels of analysis within the verb, may be seen by considering the immediate constituent analysis of the two verbs igʷatase *he habitually walks (he is a walker)*, and ogʷatase *he used to walk*. ogʷatase = ogʷata *he walks* + optional -se *past tense*, ogʷata = o- *he* + -gʷata *walk*; igʷatase = i- *he* + -gʷatase *habitually walk*, gʷatase = gʷata *walk* + -se *habitual tense*. (*igʷata does not occur).

2. The verb phrase consists of nucleus + satellites. The nucleus slot is filled by the verb. Satellite slots are filled by: (1) Pre-peripherals, which are free words; (2) Peripherals I, which are free words; (3) Enclitics which are phonologically joined to the words which they follow; (4) Peripherals II, which are free words.

The future tense marker is an enclitic.

The habitual, past, and future tense markers may be illustrated by their occurrence with the verb root -pąřąnu *ask questions*: ipąřąnuse *he habitually asks questions*, ǫpąřąnuse *he used to ask questions*, ǫpąřąnuta *he will ask questions*.

The pre-peripherals always precede the verb, and include three members, each of which expresses some measure of negativity: maeti/agʷïñe/ŋařaa *negative*, añete *almost*, gʷřl̃ąmǫi *perhaps*. Maeti is the non-future

negative; agʷïñe the imperative negative; ŋařaa the future negative. maeti aha *I did not go*, agʷïñe ecua *do not go*, ŋařaa ahi *I will not go*; añete oʔa *he almost fell*; gʷį̈řąmǫį ahata *perhaps I will go.*

There are five orders of peripherals I (listed in usual order of occurrence): 1, Intensifier; 2, Mode; 3, Plural; 4, Iterative; 5, Frustrative.

Peripherals I order 1 contains several members all with similar meaning: ñae, ete, katu, asï, gʷasu *very* or *much*. The particular member of the intensifier class which occurs depends on the verb with which it occurs, the choice apparently being arbitrary. For extra intensity, however, two or three of the intensifier morphemes may occur together. oipota ñae *he wanted it much*, okï ete *it rained heavily*, ñį̈mïaï ñae ete katu *he was very very very hungry.*

Peripherals I order 2 contains several members: gʷïřae *quickly*, βoi *immediately*, seři *almost*, řaiβi *suddenly* βïari *secretly*. oasa gʷïřae *he passed by quickly*, oho βoi *he went immediately*, okï seři *it almost rained.*

Peripherals I order 3 contains a single member řeta *plural*. ogʷata řeta *they walked.*

Peripherals I order 4 contains a single member ñe *again*. oho ñe *he went again.*

Peripherals I order 5 contains a single member tęį *in vain*. oho tęį *he went in vain* (that is, he did not accomplish that for which he went).

Examples of combinations[10] of peripherals I are: 1 + 2, oñaeʔo ñao βoi *she cried a lot immediately*; 1 + 3, ǫįnųpą ñae řeta *they hit him a lot*; 1 + 5, oipota ñae tęį *she wanted it a lot in vain*; 2 + 3, oʔa seři řeta *they almost fell*; 2 + 4, okï řaiβi ñe *it rained again suddenly.*

There are five orders of enclitics (listed in usual order of occurrence):[11] I, Exclusivizer; II, Limiter; III, Future; IV, Determinative; V, Negative.

Enclitic order I contains a single member -i- *exclusivizer*. This occurs only if enclitic order II occurs, though order II can occur without order I. ogʷata-iñǫ (o-gʷata -i- -ñǫ) *he just walks* (that is, he does not work, go anywhere, nor visit, etc.)

Enclitic order II contains a single member -ñǫ *limiter*. ogʷata-ñǫ (o-gʷata -ñǫ) *he just walks* (that is, he may have been sick and cannot yet run, nor jump, etc.)

Enclitic order III contains a single member -ta *future*. oho-ta (o-ho -ta) *he will go.*

Enclitic order IV contains a single member -i *determinative*. oipota-i (oi-pota -i) *it definitely wanted to.*

Enclitic order V contains two forms of the *negative* enclitic -ʔą, n- --i. The second form is a morpheme the two parts of which are discontinuous; the n- is preposed to the verb and the --i is enclitic. oipota-ʔą (oi-pota -ʔą)/noipóta-i (n-oi-pota --i) *he did not want to.*[12]

Examples of combinations of enclitics are: II + III, aha-ñǫ-ta (a-ha -ñǫ -ta) *I will just go*; II + IV, ogʷata-ñǫ-į (o-gʷata -ñǫ -i) *he purposely walks* (that is, it is his job to walk), or *he walks notwithstanding* (that is, even though something may tend to prevent him) (Cf. ogʷata-iñǫ above); III + IV, oho-ta-i (o-ho -ta -i) *he will go notwithstanding*; III + V, nořohó-ta-i (no-řo-ho -ta --i) *we will not go*; I + II + III, ogʷapï-iñǫ-ta (o-gʷapï -i- -ñǫ -ta) *he will just sit*; II + III + IV, agʷata-ñǫ-ta-i (a-gʷata -ñǫ -ta -i) *I will walk notwithstanding*; II + IV + III, okï-

[10] Many combinations of peripherals and enclitics occur, the only apparent restrictions being semantics and length. The maximum number which have been found to occur together within a verb phrase in texts of stories and general conversation is four. The orders were determined by the criteria of relative order of occurrence, mutual exclusivity, and semantic similarity.

[11] Shift of stress shows these to be enclitic. óho, ohó-ta; ogʷáta, ogʷatá-iñǫ, ogʷatá-ñǫ; oipóta, oipotá-i. The negative n- --i does not cause shift of stress but --i always unites with the preceding vowel resulting in a diphthong.

Enclitics usually follow peripherals I and precede peripherals II.

[12] Non-future negative, therefore, may be manifested in one of three ways: (1) Enclitic -ʔą (2) Discontinuous enclitic n- --i (3) pre-peripheral maeti.

ñǫ-į-ta (o-kï -ñǫ -i -ta) *it will definitely (or continuously) rain*; II + III + IV + V, oipořaŕa-ñǫ-ta-i-ʔą (oi-pořaŕa -ñǫ -ta -i -ʔą) (pa) *should he not definitely just have suffered*

There are five orders of peripherals II (listed in usual order of occurrence): A, Temporal; B, Additive; C, Attitude; O, Probability; E, Manner.

Peripherals II order A contains three members: mą *already*, řąnį *first*, řąmǫ *recently*. oho mą *he went already*, akařu řąnį *I ate first* (that is, before doing something else), añu řąmǫ *I came recently*.

Peripherals II order B contains a single member βi *also*. ohi βi *he went also*.

Peripherals II order C contains three members: ko *definitely*, nipo *perhaps*, ñepe *even*. oha-ta ko *he will definitely go*, oho-ta nipo *he will perhaps go*, ǫįnųpą ñepe *he hit her even*.

Peripherals II order D contains a single member aipo *probably*. This usually occurs in combination with one of the members of peripherals II order C, ko or nipo. oho nipo aipo *he perhaps probably went*.

Peripherals II order E contains several members: heta *much*, tątą *hard*, tuiča *largely*. ǫįnųpą heta *he hit her much*, ogʷapï tątą *she sat hard* (on the horse), okï-ta tuiča *it will rain in a big way*.

Examples of combinations of peripherals II are: A + B, oho mą βi *he also has already gone*; A + C, okaru řąnį nipo *perhaps he ate first*; A + E, ǫįnųpą mą heta *he has already hit her a lot*; C + D, oho nipo aipo *he perhaps probably went*; A + C + D, oho mą ko aipo *he has already definitely probably gone*; A + C + D + E, ǫįnųpą mą ko aipo heta *he has already definitely probably beaten her a lot*.

Examples of combinations of peripherals I and peripherals II are: 1 + A, čęñį̈mïaï ñae mą *I am already very hungry*; 2 + A, okï seři mą *it already almost rained*; 3 + A, ñį̈mïaï řeta mą *they are already hungry*; 4 + A, ou ñe mą *he already returned*; 2 + A + C, ipu seři mą ko (ǫį kampana) (the bell is) *definitely already almost ringing*; 3 + 4 + A, okařu řeta ñe mą *they are already eating again*; 2 + A + C + D, oñï seři mą co aipo *it is definitely probably almost already cooked*; 4 + A + C + D, ou ñe mą co apio *he has definitely probably already returned*.

Examples of combinations of peripherals I and enclitics are: 1 + III, oñae$^{?}$o ñae-ta *she will cry a lot*; 2 + III, aha βïaři-ta *I will go secretly*; 3 + III, oñapo řeta-ta *they will do it*; 4 + III, ou ñe-ta *he will return*; 2 + II, oñapo βïaři-ñǫ *he just did it secretly*; III + 5, oho-ta tęį *he would have gone* (contrary-to-fact sentence); 5 + III oho tęį-ta *he will go in vain* (that is, he will not accomplish his purpose).

Examples of combinations of enclitics and peripherals II are: III + A, aha-ta mą *I will just now go;* III + B, aha-ta βi *I will go also*; III + C, aha-ta ko *I will definitely go*; III + E, ǫįnųpą-ta heta *he will hit her a lot*; V + E/E + V, nogʷápï-i tątą/nogʷapï tątą-į *she did not sit hard* (on the horse).

Peripherals II often occur preceding the verb, in which case some other word often occurs between the peripheral(s) and the verb, thus making the verb phrase discontinuous. heta nañe okařu (E + reportative + verb) *much, it is said, he ate*. Discontinuity of the verb phrase, when the verb occurs first, is possible, but not usual. The only case observed is when both *plural* (3) and referent word (equivalent to indirect object) occur. osapúkai čupe řeta (verb + referent + 3) *they called to him*.

Pre-peripherals precede peripherals which occur before the verb. maeti heta ou (negative + E + verb) *not many came*.

When more than one order of peripherals II precede the verb, they do so in reverse order (with the exception of ko aipo). aipo nipo ho$^{?}$u (ǫį) (D + C + verb) *probably perhaps he (is) eating it*, heta mą ǫįnųpą (E + A + verb) *much already he hit her*.

When peripherals II precede the verb, peripherals I still follow the verb except *iterative* (4) which may precede the verb if *future* (III) occurs. Enclitics occurring with the peripherals may either precede the verb

or follow it. heta ñe-ta ǫi̯nųpą řeta (E + 4 + III + verb + 3) *they will hit him a lot again*, heta-ta řǫi̯nųpą ñe/heta řǫi̯nųpą ñe-ta (E + III + verb + 4)/(E + verb + 4 + III) *you will hit him a lot again.*

Discontinuity of the verb phrase occurs when some other word occurs between the pre-peripheral and the verb. maeti tata ąβąę (negative + object + verb) *I did not find fire.*

3. A complex verb phrase is defined as one that has a complex verb nucleus. The complex verb nucleus consists of one principal and one or more auxiliary verbs or two or more principal verbs with or without auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs usually occur preceding the principal verb(s) and express ability, desire, movement, etc. Together with the principal verb(s) they form a hypotactic construction. ipueře oñapo (Aux. + Prin.) *he can do it*, oipota oñapo (Aux. + Prin.) *he wants to do it*, oho oeka (Aux. + Prin.) *he goes to seek it.* The two or more principal verbs form a paratactic construction. mǫmïrï gʷïřaha ǫñǫtï oeña (E + Prin. + Prin. + Prin.) *far he carried it he planted it he left it.*

The only auxiliary verb which follows the final principal verb is the verb -į which marks the continuative tense. ogʷata ǫį (Prin. + Aux.) *he is walking.*

Note now the contrast in the way of marking each of the four tenses: -kaʔu *drink* (intoxicants) (intransitive), habitual—ikaʔuse *he habitually drinks*, past—okaʔuse *he used to drink*, future—okaʔu-ta *he will drink*, continuative—okaʔu ǫį *he is drinking.*

Of the four tense markers only future and continuative may occur together. okaʔu-ta ǫį *he will be drinking.*

Auxiliary verbs may occur as heads of verb phrases,[13] in which case they act as principal verbs. oipota oho (Aux. + Aux.-Prin.) *he wanted to go*, oipota (Aux.-Prin.) *he wanted it.*

Other words often occur within the complex verb phrase, thus making it discontinuous. The discontinuity usually occurs between auxiliary and principal verbs, between principal verbs (when not preceded by auxiliary verbs), and between principal and following auxiliary verbs. opa mįčįąę řeta ǫmǫmo oeña (Aux. + object + Prin. + Prin.) *he completely threw out left the children* (mįčįąę řeta = *children*), oho heinï gʷeřu (Aux. + object + Prin.) *he went to bring his sister*, gʷïřaha ñąną řupi ǫmotaβï (Prin. + locational phrase + Prin.) *he took them deceived them in the woods*, čęñĩmïaï ñae mą kuae ïβïkua pe ąį (Prin. + 1 + A + locational phrase + Aux.) *I am already very hungry in this cave.*

When enclitics occur in a complex verb phrase, they are attached to the first verb in the series, or to maeti *negative* or peripherals II order E if either occurs first. When peripherals occur they usually follow either the first verb or the final principal verb. (When hekuae *it continues* occurs as first verb it is followed immediately only by the enclitic II -ñǫ. hekuae-ñǫ oho *he just continued going.* The other enclitics and the peripherals follow the next verb.) When both enclitics and peripherals occur, they do so in the order described in **2.** aha-ta ąmąę (Aux. + III + Prin.) *I will go look*, hekuae oho ñe Pedro oeka tata (Aux. + Aux. + 4 + subject + Prin. + object) *Peter continued to go again to seek fire*, aha ñe-ta pea kotï ąmąę (Aux. + 4 + III + locational phrase + Prin.) *I will go again in that direction to look.*

[13] Except for one impersonal auxiliary verb hekuae *it continues.*