

# The Wayampi verb: Structure, form, and function

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## Abstract

This article presents a systematic, corpus-based analysis of Wayampi verb morphology and morphosyntax, offering new insights for Tupi-Guarani studies. Two complementary goals guide the work. First, I document the range and clause-level distribution of verb forms—main verbs, general converbs, manner converbs, and verbal nouns—and show that many formal distinctions follow from differences in syntactic function. Second, I reconstruct the internal architecture of verbal forms by proposing a three-tier model: the verb stem, the verb base (a structural unit shared by all types of verb forms), and the fully inflected verb word. Empirical diagnostics support a multi-slot analysis in which derivational and inflectional material occupy distinct positions. A key theoretical contribution is the recognition of mood as an inflectional category for main predicates: the paradigm  $\emptyset \sim n- \sim t-$  corresponds to positive indicative, negative indicative, and subjunctive, respectively, with *n-* selected by co-occurring sentential negators, showing a discontinuous mood-polarity dependency. The paper also identifies several open problems and outlines directions for comparative and elicitation work. Rather than claiming that prior accounts of Tupi-Guarani verbs are incorrect, the results point to several morphosyntactic areas—most notably the layered interaction of derivation and inflection within the verb—that remain understudied and warrant renewed investigation.

## 1 Introduction

This paper examines the verb structure of Wayampi (ISO 639-3: *oym*), also written *Wajãpi*, a Tupi-Guarani (TG) language spoken in northeastern Amazonia. While anthropological and ethnographic research on the Wayampi people is relatively extensive (e.g., Grenand 1972; Gallois 1988; Cabral de Oliveira 2012; Galan de Paula 2015), linguistic studies of the language remain limited. Previous work on present-day Wayampi based on firsthand data includes two sketch grammars (Grenand 1980; Copin 2012), as well as several studies focusing on some specific aspects of its morphosyntax (Olson 1978; Ch. Jensen 1978, 2001; A. Jensen 1994). Scholars of TG languages may view Wayampi as relatively well documented, given the numerous—mostly basic—examples found in some historical and comparative works (e.g., Jensen 1984, 1990, 1998; Rose 2015), as well as the availability of a Wayampi–French ethnographic dictionary (Grenand 1989). However, this impression is deceptive. The grammar of Wayampi remains largely unexplored. In particular, the verb is under-described.<sup>1</sup> To date, no publication has offered a detailed position-class analysis of its structure, and existing discussions typically focus only on finite-marked forms.

This article advances the analytical treatment of the language beyond previous studies, including my own earlier work. In particular, I propose a verbal morphosyntactic structure developed strictly on formal grounds to account accurately for Wayampi data. In my view, this approach provides the most appropriate means of uncovering the *structural layers* of verb forms and delineating the boundaries of their *morphosyntactic organization*. I also aim to demonstrate the relevance of this structure step by step. Carrying out such an analysis requires a substantial dataset. The corpus is drawn from two dia-

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<sup>1</sup> Although Grenand (1980) and Jensen (1994) briefly address certain elements that can appear in Wayampi verb forms, their analyses remain limited. I propose three primary reasons for these limitations. First, these works lack a clear descriptive framework for identifying the formal components of verb forms at each stage of word formation. Technical labels such as *verb*, *verb stem*, and *verb phrase* are employed inconsistently or ambiguously, thereby obscuring their intended meanings and hinders detailed analysis. Second, the distinction between synchronic and diachronic perspectives is often blurred, likely due to the analyses being grounded exclusively in a strictly root-based model of morphology. Third, these studies primarily focus on the morphemic inventory, with little attention given to distributional analysis—hence the absence of a structural model of the verb.

lectal variants: Northern/Guianese Wayampi (Trois Sauts subdialect, hereafter TW) and Southern/Brazilian Wayampi (Amapari subdialect, hereafter AW). These dialects differ mainly in vocabulary and phonology, exhibiting only minor grammatical distinctions.

The TW data come exclusively from my own fieldwork involving approximately a dozen Wayampi collaborators.<sup>2</sup> This dataset was collected during three field trips to Zidoc in French Guiana, spanning roughly eight months between 2007 and 2011. The field data fall into four categories: personal narratives (50 audio-recorded and transcribed texts, half of which have been fully translated); unelicited utterances collected on various occasions (approximately 2,000); sentences elicited through French-to-Wayampi translation (approximately 4,000); and artificially constructed sentences used to test grammaticality. Of these four types of data, only the first three provide the sources for the illustrative examples of this dialect used in this article.

The AW data originate from a publicly available online translation of the New Testament (WBT 2013). This textual dataset contains over 1.56 million characters (excluding spaces). Analyzing this secondary corpus is—and will remain—particularly challenging, given its significant divergence from the English versions of the New Testament commonly used in Evangelical Protestant contexts.<sup>3</sup> Strictly speaking, this text is more of a complete rewrite than a direct translation. For example, an entire paragraph in Wayampi may correspond to a single sentence in commonly used English versions of the New Testament. As a result, coming to grasp the meaning of the text proved to be a daunting task that required a significant investment of time in preparatory work before being able to use this material for scientific analysis. In light of these difficulties, any remaining errors are, of course, my own.

A final note on the use of examples in this study is appropriate here: I generally prefer to avoid constructed sentences for illustrating basic morphological or syntactic patterns, opting instead for authentic utterances drawn from texts or conversational data.<sup>4</sup> Although such examples are often longer and more complex than strictly necessary, I believe there are valid reasons to embrace this added complexity in the description. First, incorporating real examples—that is, fully natural utterances—increases the overall amount of data presented, allowing specialists to conduct further analyses. Second, carefully selected examples can offer insights into the language of a community that are often absent from purely theoretical linguistic descriptions.

The remainder of this article is organized as follows. §2 defines the verb in Wayampi and provides an overview of the various verb forms found in the language, including both predicative and non-predicative types. §3 presents the structure of the syntactic unit I call the *verb complex* and of each of its components. Finally, §4 offers a summary of the paper and draws general conclusions.

## 2 A sketch of the paradigmatic verb forms in Wayampi

In Wayampi, the verb may be defined as a lexical class whose members—verbal lexical units or verb lexemes (hereafter, verbs)—occur in at least two form types, both capable of denoting a state of affairs: predicative verb forms (§2.1) and verbal nouns (§2.2). These two form types are unique to verbs, regardless of their morphosyntactic classification. Most verbs also have additional forms, with certain restrictions, namely: the general converb (§2.3) and the manner converb (§2.4).

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<sup>2</sup> A small number of narrative texts in the TW dialect have been published by another Grenand (1977, 1980, 1987). Yet this secondary corpus—and most of my own collected narrative texts—offers limited utility for the present study, as the verb forms it contains are morphosyntactically simple.

<sup>3</sup> A second publicly accessible AW corpus is published by the *Instituto de Pesquisa e Formação Indígena* within the Programa Wajãpi, in the form of booklets written by Wayampi authors themselves. This growing collection covers a wide range of culturally grounded topics and is of considerable anthropological interest; many grammatical phenomena discussed in this article also appear there. However, because the texts lack translation and exhibit considerable orthographic variation, my analysis of this material remains preliminary, and I therefore do not draw on it here.

<sup>4</sup> From a purely descriptive perspective, the Wayampi verb complex (§3) consists of two types of elements: obvious and non-obvious. The obvious elements either appear in every verb conjugation—such as inflectional markers—or occur frequently enough to be readily identified, including future markers, bound negators, and valence-changing affixes. Non-obvious elements are subject to various restrictions on their occurrence, resulting in their much rarer appearance. Based on my fieldwork experience, relying on native speakers' judgments about out-of-context constructed forms containing these elements is counterproductive. This aligns with Jensen's (1994: 347) remark that speakers "prefer not to overload the verb" and "prefer to spread out the information load among several sentences". Nonetheless, the language system clearly permits more complex verb forms, whose consideration reveals their internal structure.



- (4) *amē w-arō-puku jē erekwa=ta mā'ē kupa upa.*  
 then IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-wait-long PTCL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P:wife.of=FUT REL 3PL.SBJ 3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘They waited a long time for the groom.’ (AW – Matthew 25:5)  
 (*lit.*, ‘They waited a long time the one that will [have a] wife.’)

Although the subject plural index *kupa* resembles a free personal pronoun, it is not one. Free pronouns behave like nominals in that they can occur in a wide range of specific structural positions.<sup>7</sup> The distribution of *kupa*, however, is different. This marker can appear only in the clause-final field. It is also in complementary distribution only with a *plural* nominal (i.e., a nominal explicitly marked for plurality via the plural nominal particle *kō*) that would occur anywhere else in the clause. For example, in 2 the “missing” nominal—present in the broader context—is *jawa kō* ‘the jaguars’, while in 4 it is *kojāmuku kō* ‘the young women’. Since this behavior mirrors that of the object plural index *-kō* (§3.3.3), which forms part of the verb word, it becomes difficult to rule out the possibility that *kupa*, although a word on its own, is likewise integrated into the verb form.

## 2.2 The verbal noun

A *verbal noun* (also called an *event* or *action noun*), as the name suggests, has the syntactic distribution of nominals; that is, its external syntax functions like that of a nominal. Morphologically, a verbal noun is formed from the verb stem designated here as *Stem 1*, with nominalization marked by the suffix *-aw*.<sup>8</sup> Like other nouns, verbal nouns can be inflected for possession. As with other nominals, they are compatible with case markers and with the retrospective marker *-kwer* ‘RETR’, also called nominal past. In AW only, verbal nouns can also take the referring suffix *-à* ‘REF’ (Queixalós 2001, 2006; Silva 2016). The contrast between a main verb and its corresponding verbal noun is illustrated below.

- (5) *karamō o-vaē jovijā ky'y.*<sup>9</sup> predicative verb form  
 soon IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-arrive ABS\chief.of ASS  
 ‘The chief is coming soon.’ (AW – Matthew 25:19)
- (6) *ava n-o-kuwa amātejē='āi* verbal noun  
 person IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-know confidently=FUT:NEG.IND  
*e-vaē-a* 'ar-à-rā.  
 1SG.PSR-arrive-NMLZ.EVT:REF day-REF-PROJ  
 ‘No one knows with certainty when the day of my coming will be.’  
 (*lit.*, ‘No one knows the future day of my coming.’) (AW – Mark 13:32)

In 5, the verb *vaē* ‘to arrive, to come’ is realized as a predicative form (*o-vaē*). This form functions as a main predicate (*o-vaē* is a main verb). In 6, however, the same verb appears as a verbal

<sup>7</sup> Here, the term *nominal* refers to a syntactic unit with lexical content that “can be used to refer to an entity or entities in some world” (Dik 1997: 127). (A state of affairs is a second-order entity.) In Wayampi, the syntactic class of nominals includes free pronouns, nominal forms of lexemes (noun forms and nominalized forms), noun phrases (i.e., nominal forms of lexemes along with their syntactic dependents), and free relative clauses. In this language, nominals can serve as the subject (S/A) or the object (P) of a predicative form of lexeme (typically a main verb), as a postpositional complement, as an adnominal complement (i.e., a possessor), and as a predicative complement of an optional copula. Note also that, as defined here, the nominal contrasts with another key type of syntactic unit: the (syntactic) predicate. The nominal, as a syntactic class (“word-form word-class” in Haspelmath’s 1996: 52 terms), should not be confused with the noun, which is a lexical class (“lexeme word-class”).

<sup>8</sup> The segment /w/ surfaces only when the nominalizing suffix *-aw* is followed by another suffix beginning with a vowel other than /a/. Note also that in AW, the referrer *-à* is fused with the event nominalizer *-a*, yielding the complex form *-a*, glossed as “NMLZ.EVT:REF” in the examples.

<sup>9</sup> In this example, the gloss “ABS” stands for *absolutizer*, a term I borrow from Salanova & Nikulin (2025), used here in place of the term *deobjective marker* that I employ in other publications. Absolutization is a valence-changing derivational mechanism that suppresses the inherent possessor role of obligatorily possessed nouns, thereby rendering them non-possessible. This valence-reducing process can be understood as the nominal counterpart of a depatientivizing marker (see footnote 45 on *poro-* as a potential depatientivizer for Wayampi). In Wayampi, the morphological exponent of absolutization is attested for nouns with an alternating stem, a subset of obligatorily possessed nouns. The process is realized through stem-initial alternations such as /t/ ~ /tʰ/, /p/ ~ /m/, and /k/ ~ /ŋ/. There is also some indication that the prefix *jo-* may perform a similar function with other possessible nouns as well as with postpositions, although further research is needed.

noun (*vaẽ-a*), with nominalization marked by the suffix *-aw*. In this example, the verbal noun serves as an adnominal complement to the noun form *'ar-à-rã* ‘the day to come, the future day’.

In Wayampi, a verbal noun can be formed from any type of verb: from intransitive active verbs such as *vaẽ* ‘to arrive’ (6); from intransitive stative verbs like *agyo* ‘to be filled with emotion, to be stunned, to be sad’ (7); and from transitive verbs such as *apisi* ‘to kill’ (8).

- (7) *ayay* *tesõ* *e-agyo-a*  
 REDUP:IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P:hurt exceedingly 1SG.PSR-be.filled.with.emotion-NMLZ.EVT:REF

*e-py'a* *pupe.*  
 1SG.PSR-inner.self.of INESS  
 ‘My heart is overwhelmed with sadness.’ (AW – Matthew 26:38)  
 (*lit.*, ‘My sadness hurts deep inside my heart.’)

- (8) *amẽ* *emĩgwai* *kõ* *apisi-aw-er-à*  
 then 3DS.PSR:servant.of PL kill-NMLZ.EVT-RETR-REF

*o-j-enu* *jovijã-pè* *remẽ,* *o-jimõarõ* *ky'y.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-hear ABS\chief.of-DAT when IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-get.angry ASS  
 ‘But when the chief heard about his servants being killed, he got angry.’  
 (AW – Matthew 22:7)

A comparable pattern is found in TW as well. For instance, the stative verb *°akuw* ‘to be hot’ appears as a verbal noun in the form *rakuw-a* (9), functioning in the same way as its AW counterpart. This example shows that event nominalization with *-aw* is not restricted to AW, but is also attested in TW, albeit with dialect-specific morphological details.<sup>10</sup>

- (9) *a-jipe'e* *kwaray* *rakuw-a* *re* *a-ipa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-keep.warm sun be.hot-NMLZ.EVT ADESS 1SG.A-AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘I am keeping warm in the warmth of the sun.’ (TW)

The type of event nominalization illustrated here does not involve a change in lexical meaning. The forms *o-vaẽ* and *vaẽ-a* represent two syntactic realizations of the same lexical verb ‘to arrive’. In this sense, the process is not a case of word-class-changing derivation, which typically alters the meaning of the base. Rather, it corresponds to what Haspelmath (1996) and Bauer (2004) describe as transposition: a morphological operation that shifts a lexeme into a different syntactic class while preserving its lexical semantics. Lexically, *vaẽ-a* remains a verb lexeme—belonging to the same lexical class as *vaẽ*. Syntactically, however, it functions as a nominal, here inflected for possession (see below) and serving as an adnominal complement. This understanding aligns with Tesnière’s (1959) notion of transfer (Fr. *translation*), although transposition is a narrower concept, referring specifically to cases where word-class change is achieved through morphological means only.

It is important to note that when a verbal noun bears a person marker, this marker does not belong to Set P (§3.3.2), the series used to index core arguments of main predicates.<sup>11</sup> Instead, it belongs to a distinct series that I refer to as *Set Poss*. The bound forms in Set Poss are those that encode what many descriptive traditions call a *possessor*, that is, the privileged syntactic dependent of a noun or postposition, forming a single unit with it.<sup>12</sup> This possessor function is fundamentally different from that fulfilled by Set P markers, which encode the core arguments of main predicates. Although many TG descriptions group these two series together under a single “Set 2” (e.g., Jensen 1998: 498), such a classification obscures their synchronic divergence: Set Poss markers are mutually exclusive with an

<sup>10</sup> Notably, the referrer *-à* no longer exists in TW.

<sup>11</sup> In this study, the term *argument* exclusively refers to the syntactic entity (or set of entities) that represents, in a clause, a participant in the semantic structure of a lexeme, i.e., a participant required by the very meaning of the lexeme. A *core argument* is the argument of predicative form of lexeme that exhibits the features of an S-, A-, or P-argument, as defined in the language under investigation.

<sup>12</sup> In linguistic traditions such as North Eurasian and Athabaskan, this distinction between possessor indexing and predicate-argument indexing is made explicit through separate glossing conventions, and there is no principled reason why the same distinction should not be applied to Wayampi as well.

overt nominal, whereas Set P markers may freely co-occur with a conominal.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Set Poss markers encode a core argument only in the context of obligatorily possessed nouns or postpositions; with optionally possessed or non-possessible nouns, they pattern instead as what Queixalós (2016: 148) aptly describes as “some kind of modifier”. For these reasons, the person markers found on verbal nouns must be analyzed as Set Poss rather than Set P.

## 2.3 The general converb

The verb forms referred to here as general converbs correspond to what most TG scholars—dating back to Anchieta (1595) and, more recently, Rodrigues (1953: 129–31)—have consistently described as “gerunds” or “gerundives”.<sup>14</sup>

In typological terms, converbs constitute a cross-linguistically attested class of non-finite verb forms that typically—but not exclusively—encode “adverbial” relations. They are often divided into specialized and non-specialized types. Specialized converbs tend to express one—or occasionally two or three—stable, conventionalized meanings (Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 1987: 76). Non-specialized converbs, by contrast, cover a broader semantic range and are commonly subdivided into contextual and general converbs: the former primarily convey adverbial meanings, while the latter may additionally encode temporal sequencing. This broader functional potential is precisely what motivates the use of the label general converb for Wayampi, rather than the traditional term gerund. The latter is typically associated with more narrowly specialized or strictly adverbial uses, whereas Wayampi forms of this type can also encode temporal sequencing, aligning them with the cross-linguistic category of general converbs.<sup>15</sup>

Wayampi general converbs exhibit four primary characteristics. First, they lack the capacity to function as heads of independent clauses. Nonetheless, they can perform three distinct syntactic functions (§2.3.2): adjunct, coordinate-dependent, and auxiliary. The adjunct function is shared with other adverbials, including manner converbs (§2.4), whereas both the coordinate-dependent and auxiliary functions are exclusive to general converbs. Second, general converbs are unmarked for mood (§3.3.1), a feature they share with manner converbs and, naturally also, with the verbal noun (§2.2). Third, they are morphologically built from a specific verb stem, which I designate as *Stem 2*. As with the previous feature, however, this formal property has limited diagnostic value, as *Stem 2* is often phonologically identical to *Stem 1* and also occurs in manner converbs. Fourth, a general converb obligatorily shares the reference of its S/A core argument with the S/A core argument of the governing verb. Taken together, these properties—discussed in detail below—distinguish general converbs from main verbs, manner converbs, and the verbal noun.

### 2.3.1 Forms

#### 2.3.1.1 Intransitive general converbs

These converbs are derived from intransitive active verbs—that is, intransitive verbs that take Set A markers (§3.3.2) when functioning as main predicates—and obligatorily bear person-number marking. Like their fully predicative counterparts, they take Set A indexing. Because converbs are unmarked for mood, intransitive general converbs may be mistaken for main verbs covertly marked for positive indicative mood (§3.3.1). Three properties, however, allow for the unambiguous identification of these forms as general converbs.

The first of these is that certain intransitive active verbs may exhibit, in free variation, a *Stem 2* that is formally distinct from *Stem 1*. This pattern is found with two phonologically defined verb types: those whose *Stem 1* ends in /j/, and those whose *Stem 1* ends in a final latent consonant. In the

<sup>13</sup> Following Haspelmath (2013: 201), I define a *conominal* as a free nominal that may co-occur in the same clause with a coreferential argument index.

<sup>14</sup> Some TG scholars overlook the fact that the forms traditionally labeled “gerunds” may contain an overt special marker—whether a dedicated suffix or a specific stem. As a result, they analyze these forms as instances of core-layered verb serialization (Jensen 1990: 124, 1998: 529; Velázquez-Castillo 2004; Martins 2003: 142–3; Vieira & Barranger 2021). Following Seki (2000: 313–4), Rose (2009a: 665), and Magalhães (2021: 37), I reject this interpretation and do not treat these forms as serialized verbs.

<sup>15</sup> The conceptualization of the converb adopted here follows van der Auwera (1998). For a comprehensive overview of converbs and the diversity of definitions proposed in the literature, see Rapold (2007).

first case, Stem 2 differs from Stem 1 by taking a final, unstressed augment /ta/, which surfaces as [ta] or [na] depending on whether nasal harmony is absent or present. In the second case, Stem 2 differs from Stem 1 by taking a final, unstressed augment /a/. In both verb types, the contrast between Stem 2 and Stem 1 provides a clear diagnostic for identifying intransitive general converbs.<sup>16</sup> Examples 10 and 11 illustrate these two verb types and their corresponding Stem 2 forms.

- (10) *ma'e...* *t-o-o* *w-apukaità* *o-pary* *kõ*  
 HESIT SBJV-3.A-go 3.A-shout.CVB 3SS.PSR-grandchild.of PL  
*t-o-enu,* *e'i* *tamõ* *ij-upe.*<sup>17</sup>  
 SBJV-3.A-hear IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say elder 3DS.PSR-DAT  
 'Uh... let him go shout so my grandchildren can hear him, an elder said to him.'  
 (TW)

- (11) *t-o-ityypyiyi-pa* *tepe'yte* *o-ma'e* *kõ*  
 SBJV-3.A-renounce-overly in.principle 3SS.PSR-thing.of PL  
*o-jãná* *o-o.*  
 3.A-run.CVB 3.A-go.CVB  
 'In principle, he must give up his own affairs and run off.' (AW – Luke 17:31)

Example 10 illustrates the first verb type, in which Stem 1 ends in /j/. The verb *apukai* 'to shout, to cry out' shows a Stem 2 formed by adding the final, unstressed augment /ta/. In absence of the application of nasal harmony, this augment surfaces here as [ta]. The form *apukaita* in 10 thus displays the expected Stem 2 morphology characteristic of this phonological class. Example 11 illustrates the second verb type, in which Stem 1 ends in a final latent consonant, here /n/ in *jãn* 'to run'. Verbs of this class build their Stem 2 with the final, unstressed augment /a/. The converb *jãná* in 11 exemplifies this pattern, showing the regular Stem 2 formation triggered by a latent consonant.

A second property of intransitive general converbs further supports the view that they are not morphosyntactically equivalent to main verbs. Put simply, they do not "agree" in mood with the governing verb of the clause. When a main verb bears the subjunctive *t-* or the negative indicative *n-* prefix (§3.3.1), any dependent converb obligatorily lacks these prefixes. This contrast is illustrated in the two examples below.

- (12) *aepo* *ere* *rewarãmõ,*  
 PRO.AUD IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A:say because  
*ta-ne-piryvypy-katu* *ne-jivy* *ne-o.*  
 SBJV-2SG.P-be.quiet-well 2SG.A-go.back.CVB 2SG.A-go.CVB  
 'Because you<sub>(SG)</sub> said that, you can go back home.' (AW – Mark 7:29)
- (13) *ajawyí* *n-o-o='ãi* *i-pyri*  
 then IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-go=FUT:NEG.IND 3DS.PSR-APUD  
*o-iko-karuaru,* *e'i.*  
 3.A-live.CVB-forever IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 "He will then not be able to live eternally beside Him," he said.'  
 (AW – Matthew 7:21)

<sup>16</sup> A parallel may be drawn with Portuguese, where the phonological identity of most verbs' personal infinitive and future subjunctive forms does not entail morphosyntactic equivalence. Several verbs display distinct stems in the two paradigms—for instance *dizer* ∞ *disser* 'to say', *haver* ∞ *houver* 'to have', *poder* ∞ *puder* 'to be able', *por* ∞ *puser* 'to put', *querer* ∞ *quiser* 'to want', *saber* ∞ *souber* 'to know', *trazer* ∞ *trouxer* 'to bring'. This illustrates a broader methodological point: the absence of a formal contrast (even in most forms) does not guarantee the absence of a morphosyntactic distinction. A comparable situation arises in Wayampi, where distinctions between main verbs and general converbs may be obscured when Stem 2 happens to be phonologically identical to Stem 1.

<sup>17</sup> For ease of reading, I mark general-converb stems with the gloss ".CVB" in the examples.

Example 12 shows a clause whose main verb bears the subjunctive prefix *t-*, here surfacing as the allomorph [ta]. As expected, the intransitive general converb (*ne-jivy*) dependent on it appears without *t-*. Example 13 presents the same configuration with a main verb marked by the negative indicative prefix *n-*. Again, a converb (*o-iko-karuaru*) obligatorily lacks this prefix, confirming that intransitive general converbs are unmarked for mood.

A third piece of evidence is that intransitive general converbs, unlike main verbs, cannot be followed by a post-verbal particle. In particular, they do not host particles expressing future tense (§3.4.1) or sentential negation (§3.4.2). Although these particles take semantic scope over both the main verb and its dependent converb(s), they occur exclusively in the post-verbal domain of the main verb. This distributional restriction provides an additional diagnostic showing that intransitive general converbs do not behave like main verbs. The two examples below illustrate this with, respectively, the future particle =*ta*, which appears only with the positive indicative, and the sentential negator =*e'y*, which occurs only with the subjunctive. As shown, the converbs are not accompanied by a copy of either particle. This follows from the fact that a converb, regardless of its type, does not project a verb complex (§3) and therefore lacks a post-verbal domain.

- (14) *amẽ te o-poera=ta o-põ'ã*  
 then FOC IND:3.A-get.well=FUT 3.A-stand.up.CVB
- o-ẽ o-yvy-pè-wyi kupa ky'y, e'i.*  
 3.A-come.out.CVB 3SS.PSR-grave.of-LOC-ABL 3PL.SBJ ASS IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 "Then they will be brought back to life, and they will stand up, and they will come out of their graves," he said.' (AW – John 5:29)  
 (*lit.*, '... they will be brought back to life stand up come out...')
- (15) *temi-mo-pa'ã-gwer-à kõ si-apisi=ta rã'i*  
 ABS\PERM.NMLZ-CAUS-be.stuck-COLL-REF PL IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.A-kill=FUT ATTN
- t-o-'yta=e'y o-java jane-wyi o-o*  
 SBJV-3.A-swim=NEG.SBJV 3.A-run.away.CVB INCL.PSR-ABL 3.A-go.CVB
- kupa, e'i tite kupa.*  
 3PL.SBJ IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say FRUST 3PL.SBJ  
 "We (you too) will kill the prisoners so that none of them can swim away from us," they said.' (AW – Acts of the Apostles 27:42)

In 14, the main verb *o-poera* carries the future marker =*ta*, while the intransitive general converb that follows it (*o-põ'ã*) is not followed by it. This shows that even when the future particle takes scope over the entire event, it attaches only to the main verb and never to the converb. Similarly, in 15, the main verb *t-o-'yta* bears the sentential negator =*e'y*, but the converbs that follow it (*o-java* and *o-o*) appear without =*e'y*. Again, the negator scopes over the whole clause, yet it surfaces exclusively in the post-verbal domain of the main verb, never on the converb.

A final point concerns previous analyses that have treated these intransitive forms as instances of core-layer serialization. This line of interpretation—exemplified by Rose's (2009a) account of Teko, and potentially extendable to Wayampi—rests on the assumption that person-number indexing alone suffices to establish the structural equivalence of verbal forms. Under such a framework, where mood is not recognized as a relevant inflectional category, any verb that co-occurs with another verb in the same clause is taken to be capable of functioning as an autonomous predicate, and the construction is accordingly analyzed as serialization. The evidence presented above, however, shows that this assumption cannot be maintained for Wayampi. Once mood is acknowledged as an inflectional category, fully predicative intransitive verbs—covertly marked for positive indicative mood—and their corresponding general converbs, which lack mood marking, are no longer structurally comparable. The additional diagnostics discussed here, including the presence of optional Stem 2 allomorphy restricted to converbal forms and the impossibility for converbs to host post-verbal particles, further underscore their syntactic dependency on the governing verb. Taken together, these facts demonstrate that the resemblance between intransitive general converbs and main verbs is only superficial and limited to

person-number indexing, and that these forms do not meet the formal criteria required for an analysis in terms of core-layer serialization.<sup>18</sup>

### 2.3.1.2 Transitive general converbs

Transitive general converbs, as the name suggests, are derived from transitive verbs—that is, verbs that may index their core arguments with either Set A or Set P markers when functioning as main predicates (§3.3.2). Unlike their intransitive counterparts, however, transitive general converbs do not obligatorily bear person-number marking. This property gives rise to two distinct modes of occurrence, which I treat separately below. In the personal use (§2.3.1.2.1), the P-argument is encoded by a Set P marker, whereas in the non-personal use (§2.3.1.2.2), it is expressed by a nominal forming a syntactic unit with the converb. Despite this structural split, transitive general converbs share with intransitives the same three characteristic formal properties. For reasons of space, I simply recall these properties here without illustrating them with natural-language examples.

As with intransitive verbs, most transitive verbs show no formal distinction between Stem 1 and Stem 2. Yet a subset of verbs exhibits a Stem 2 that is segmentally distinct from Stem 1. Two patterns are attested. First, some verbs allow free alternation between a Stem 2 identical to Stem 1 and a formally augmented Stem 2 (e.g., *°ekyi* ‘to take’, *mimōi* ‘to simmer’). Second, a small group of verbs consistently select a specific, non-identical Stem 2 (e.g., *’u* → *wa* ‘to ingest’, *mome’u* → *momewa* ‘to tell’, *’i* → *javo* ‘to say’). This latter pattern constitutes the main morphological difference between transitive and intransitive general converbs, since the corresponding intransitive verbs do not show such lexically fixed alternations.

A second diagnostic property of transitive general converbs is that, like intransitives, they are unmarked for mood. When the main verb bears the subjunctive prefix *t-* or the negative indicative prefix *n-*, any dependent transitive converb obligatorily lacks these prefixes. This confirms that transitive general converbs, too, do not participate in the mood-marking domain of the clause and cannot be mistaken for finite predicates.

A third property concerns the distribution of post-verbal particles. As with intransitive general converbs, transitive ones cannot host future =*ta*, sentential negation =*e’ỹ*, or any other post-verbal particle (§3.4). Even when such particles take semantic scope over the entire event, they attach exclusively to the main verb. The converbs that follow it remain bare, reflecting the fact that they do not project a verb complex and therefore lack a post-verbal domain.

#### 2.3.1.2.1 Personal use

Transitive general converbs in their personal use obligatorily encode their P-argument, minimally through a Set P marker (§3.3.2). The three examples below illustrate this configuration with a first-person singular P (16), a second-person singular P (17), and a third-person singular P (18).

- (16) *a-jo*                      *e’ỹve*,      *e-mogeta-pa*              *e-muu*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-come    before      1SG.P-talk-overly      1SG.P-make.come.CVB  
 ‘Before I came, he gave me his instructions and then asked me to come [here].’  
 (AW – John 12:49)

<sup>18</sup> For a verb form to qualify as a core-layer serialized verb, it must itself be able to function as a main predicate (Rapold 2007: 8; Dixon 2011: 188; Cleary-Kemp 2015: 102–15). Core-layer serialized verbs are therefore formally identical to main verbs: if main verbs obligatorily inflect for person-number and mood, serialized verbs must display the same person-number inflection *and the same mood marking*. Paamese provides a clear illustration: mood is obligatorily marked on verbs, and in core serialization “the second verb has [also] mood marking”; crucially, “the first verb requires [the same] mood marking on the second, if there is to be a serial interpretation” (Durie 1997: 292–93). Otherwise, the second verb is not serialized but a distinct dependent form. In Wayampi, dependent forms of this type lack mood marking altogether and therefore cannot be analyzed as serialized verbs.

- (17) *t-oro-jivy*                      *ne-momewa*                      *ore-mur-okar-er-à-pe*  
 SBJV-1.A-go.back                      2SG.P-tell.CVB                      1PL.PSR-make.come-DEAGTZ-RETR-REF-DAT
- amě,*                      *e'i*                      *kupa.*  
 then                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say                      3PL.SBJ
- ‘“Indeed, we must return and report to those who sent us about you<sub>(SG)</sub>,” they said.’  
 (AW – John 1:22)
- (18) *o-jisyry=ta*    *kupa*                      *remě,*                      *ja'umã'ě*                      *mõ*                      *si-me'ě*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-leave=FUT.POSS                      3PL.SBJ                      when                      food                      ART.INDF                      SBJV:INCL.A-give
- ij-upe-kõ*    *t-o-eraa*    *i-wa*    *kupa*                      *ipi.*  
 3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR                      SBJV-3.A-bring                      3.P-eat.CVB                      3PL.SBJ                      HAB
- ‘When they leave, we give them food to take away and eat [later].’  
 (*lit.*, ‘... so that they bring [it and/to] eat it.’) (AW – 3 John 1:8)

This indexing pattern differs from that found with their finite counterparts. In addition to the three formal properties that transitive general converbs share with intransitive ones, it therefore constitutes an additional point of divergence between transitive converbs and transitive main verbs.

A further important property of transitive general converbs in personal use—one that follows directly from the obligatory Set P indexing just described—is that their P-argument may nonetheless also be expressed by a free nominal. Descriptively, this means that the P-argument of a personal general converb may appear as a Set P marker alone or as a Set P marker accompanied by a nominal. The two examples below illustrate this contrast with the same transitive verb, *moe'e-okar* ‘to make s.o. worship’, used in its converbal form: in 19, the P-argument is encoded only by the Set P marker, whereas in 20 it is additionally expressed by a free nominal (the form *w-emi-muur-er-à*).

- (19) *o-manõ*                      *jane-upe*                      *rewarãmõ,*                      *tuu*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-die                      INCL.PSR-DAT                      because                      3DS.PSR:father.of
- o-mo-jovijã-oka*    *i-moe'e-oka*    *ky'y.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-VBLZ-ABS\chief.of-DEAGTZ                      3.P-worship.CVB-DEAGTZ                      ASS
- ‘Since he died for us, his Father has commissioned him to command us to worship him.’ (AW – Hebrews 2:9)
- (20) *Janejare'e*                      *t-o-mory*  
 God                      SBJV-3.A-bless
- w-emi-muur-er-à*    *i-moe'e-oka.*  
 3SS.PSR-PERM.NMLZ-send-RETR-REF                      3.P-worship.CVB-DEAGTZ
- ‘God bless the one who makes us give glory to the one He sent!’  
 (AW – Matthew 21:9)

Crucially, as 20 shows, the presence of such a nominal does not replace the Set P marker: the two do co-occur, with the nominal functioning as a conominal rather than as an alternative means of encoding the P-argument. Interestingly, the P nominal need not be adjacent to the converb either, as illustrated in 21, where the nominal *emi'õ kõ* is separated from the transitive general converb *i-me'ě* by a postpositional phrase. This shows that the nominal and the converb do not form a single syntactic constituent, despite their possible adjacency—a pattern that is typical of the personal use of such converbs.

- (21) *o-jimi'u jě kupa upa remě ni-ja-ekyi*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-eat PTCL 3PL.SBJ 3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub> when IND<sup>-</sup>:NEG-INCL.A-take:NEG.IND
- amātejě emi'ō kō i-wyi-kō i-me'ě*  
 confidently 3DS.PSR:food.of PL 3DS.PSR-ABL-PL.PSR 3.P-give.CVB
- jane-rima jawar-à-pe ipi.*  
 INCL.PSR-creature.of dog-REF-DAT HAB  
 'When they are still eating, we (you too) do not take their food from them and give it to our dogs.' (AW – Matthew 15:27)

The behavior of the nominal corresponding to the lexical instantiation of the P-argument of general converbs parallels that of the P conominal of a main verb. Likewise, the behavior of the Set P marker on the converb mirrors that of the person marker on a fully finite-marked verb form. Beyond these parallels, however, the resemblance stops there: as noted above, the two form types diverge in several respects, which close descriptive examination brings to light.

A final property—one that sets transitive general converbs apart from their intransitive counterparts—concerns their behavior under focalization. Intransitive general converbs are strictly post-verbal in Wayampi and never appear to the left of the main predicate. By contrast, personal transitive general converbs may exceptionally undergo leftward displacement when placed in focus. Although this configuration is exceedingly rare in the corpus, it is nonetheless securely attested. In such cases, the focalized converb precedes the main verb on which it depends, as illustrated in both an independent clause (22) and a paratactic subordinate clause (23).

- (22) [*e-reka te si pōkō pe-jo amě*], *e'i.*  
 1SG.P-search.CVB FOC EXCLM EXCLM IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-come then IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 '“So if it is me you<sub>(PL)</sub> are looking for, then come,” he said.’ (AW – John 18:8)  
 (*lit.*, ‘Then come [in order to] see me.’)
- (23) *ajawyi [n-a-pota=i [i-mo-jimi'u-e'ỹ-kō ve*  
 then IND<sup>-</sup>-1SG.A-want=NEG.IND 3.P-CAUS-eat.CVB-REVS-3PL.OBJ too
- a-mo-jivy-kō i-mono]].*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-CAUS-go.back-3PL.OBJ 3.P-SEND.CVB  
 'That's why I don't want to send them back without giving them something to eat first.' (AW – Matthew 15:32)  
 (*lit.*, ‘I don't want I send them away not making them eat either.’)

In 22, the general converb *e-reka* does not occur in its expected post-verbal position following the main predicate *pe-jo*. Instead, it surfaces to the left of the clause, in sentence-initial position—precisely the structural slot normally reserved in Wayampi for focalized constituents that do not function as main predicates. A comparable configuration is found in 23, where the general converb *i-mo-jimi'u-e'ỹ-kō* likewise precedes its governing verb, appearing at the left edge of the paratactic subordinate clause.<sup>19</sup> These two examples thus illustrate the exceptional but attested possibility for personal transitive general converbs to undergo leftward displacement under focus, in contrast to their intransitive counterparts, which remain strictly post-verbal.

### 2.3.1.2.2 Non-personal use

Transitive general converbs in their non-personal use, as in their personal use, obligatorily express their P-argument. However, unlike in personal use, the argument is encoded nominally. A crucial

<sup>19</sup> In contrast to the transitive general converb *i-mo-jimi'u-e'ỹ-kō*, the transitive general converb *i-mono* in 23 does not take the object plural index *-kō*, indicating that its Set P marker *i-* is not referential in this context. Here, *i-mono* functions as an auxiliary general converb (glossed in small capitals in the example) with an andative meaning ('away'). Because of its auxiliary status, *i-mono* remains in situ and does not participate in the focalization-driven fronting pattern available to fully lexical transitive general converbs. Wayampi has a sizeable set of such auxiliary general converbs, whose distribution and semantics remain largely unexplored. A comparable grammaticalization pathway is reported for Guajá, where cognate forms are less transparent and can be analyzed as verbal particles (Magalhães 2019).

difference concerns the syntactic relation between this nominal and the converb: whereas in personal use the P nominal behaves as a conominal and may be separated from the converb by intervening material, the P nominal of a non-personal general converb forms a tight syntactic unit with the verb. No intervening constituent may appear between the two. In other words, the nominal and the converb together constitute an integrated phrase—commonly referred to in the typological literature as a *converb phrase*, a term I adopt here. This structural cohesion does not, however, make the construction a postpositional phrase or a noun phrase, since the converb is neither a postposition nor a noun. Rather, its distribution closely parallels that of adverbials (§2.3.2).

Similar to other syntactic phrases whose dependent is nominal—such as postpositional phrases or noun phrases with an adnominal possessor—the nominal within a converb phrase may take various forms. In non-personal use, this nominal can be a simple noun (24), a full noun phrase (25), a free pronoun (26), or even a free relative clause (27).

- (24) [[*paje*] *reka*] *e-kwa*, *e'i* *jawa* *tamō-pè*.  
shaman search.CVB IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-go.away IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say jaguar elder-DAT  
‘“Go get me the shaman,” said the jaguar to the elder.’ (TW)

- (25) *amē* *jane* *kō* *mō* *uu* *mijē* *i-pyri*  
then people PL ART.INDF IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:come HYP 3DS.PSR-APUD

[*kwaima'e mō*] *reru* *i-koty*.  
man ART.INDF take.away.CVB 3DS.PSR-ALL  
‘Some people approached him, bringing a man along.’ (AW – Matthew 9:32)

- (26) [[*aepo*] *momewa*] *o-o* *Jesu-pè* *amē* *kupa*.  
PRO.AUD tell.CVB IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go Jesus-DAT then 3PL.SBJ  
‘So they approached Jesus to speak with him.’ (AW – John 12:22)

- (27) *amē* *pe'ig-à* *sō* *o-pa* *o-o* *tite*  
then one-REF EXCLM IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-disappear 3.A-go.CVB PTCL

*yvytyry* *kō* *rupi* *remē*, *i-jar-à* *o-ity=ta* *rā'ĩ*  
hill PL PERL when 3DS.PSR-master.of-REF IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-leave=FUT ATTN

*amō* *kō* *o-o* [[*o-pa* *o-o* *rā'ĩ* *mā'ē*] *reka*],  
other PL 3.A-go.CVB IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-disappear 3.A-go.CVB ATTN REL search.CVB

*ajaate* *w-esa*.  
until IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-find

‘If there is one that has gotten lost in the hills, its owner will leave the others to go look for the one that got lost, until he finds it.’ (AW – Matthew 18:12)

These examples illustrate the range of nominal types that may serve as the P-argument in a converb phrase, while also highlighting the structural tightness of the construction: regardless of its internal complexity, the nominal must appear immediately to the left of the converb, forming with it a single syntactic unit.

Crucially, the non-personal use of transitive general converbs is semantically much more restricted than the personal one: in this role, converb phrases are limited to expressing purpose (and only marginally, manner). Syntactically, they behave as adjuncts, in contrast to personal general converbs, which may also fulfill other functions. As we will see in §2.3.2, these adjunct uses of non-personal converbs constitute only one part of the broader functional landscape of general converbs in Wayampi, which also includes copredicative and coordinate-dependent uses.

### 2.3.2 Functions

General converbs in Wayampi encode four major types of semantic relations: purpose, manner, direction, and temporal sequencing. These relations correlate with three distinct syntactic functions. Con-

verbs expressing purpose or manner behave as adjuncts, patterning with other adverbial modifiers. Converbs expressing temporal sequencing operate as coordinate-dependents, forming part of a monoclausal chain headed by a single finite predicate. Finally, converbs expressing direction function as auxiliaries, contributing a secondary predication that specifies the spatial orientation of the event.

In their purposive use, general converbs denote a state of affairs construed as the intended outcome of the event expressed by the main verb. This is one of the most frequent functions of converbs in Wayampi, and it is attested with both intransitive (28) and transitive (29) forms. In this function, converbs behave syntactically as adjuncts.

- (28) *a'evo-remẽ*      *mir-à*      *kõ*      *o-kwa=ta*  
 likewise-when      human.being-REF      PL      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go.away =FUT
- eã-gwer-à*      *kõ*      *re*      *o-mãjã*.  
 3DS.PSR:life.energy.of-RETR-REF      PL      ADESS      3.A-observe.CVB  
 ‘At that moment, people will come to see their corpses.’ (AW – Revelation 11:9)
- (29) *amõ-remẽ*      *pe-juka=tar*      *epe*      *tesõ*  
 other-when      IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-kill=FUT      NGE      exceedingly
- mir-à*      *mõ*      [*i-ma'e*      *mõ*      *rekyità*].  
 human.being-REF      ART.INDF      3DS.PSR-thing.of      ART.INDF      take.CVB  
 ‘At times, you<sub>(PL)</sub> might even try to kill a human being to take certain of his or her belongings.’ (AW – James 4:2)

General converbs may also specify the manner in which the event of the main verb is carried out. In this use as well, the converb modifies the predicate in the same way as other adverbial expressions. As with purpose, manner converbs function syntactically as adjuncts. This use is attested with both intransitive (30) and transitive (31) general converbs, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (30) *amẽ*      *o-jimonyi*      *o-kyje*      *kupa*      *upa*.  
 however      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-be.amazed      3.A-be.scared.CVB      3PL.SBJ      3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘But they were seized with fear and amazement.’ (AW – Luke 8:25)
- (31) *n-a-javy*      *ekojẽ=i*      [*ij-ayvu*      *momewa*]      *ipi*.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:NEG-1SG.A-infringe      plenty=NEG.IND      3DS.PSR-word      tell.CVB      HAB  
 ‘I am absolutely not distorting his words by repeating them.’ (AW – John 16:10)  
 (*lit.*, ‘I am not infringing on [anything] by telling His words.’)

In these two functions (purpose and manner), transitive general converbs occur exclusively in the non-personal use, with the P-argument encoded nominally.

A third function of general converbs is to express temporal succession, indicating that the event they encode occurs after the event of the main verb. In Wayampi, converbs with this function do not behave as adjuncts: unlike adjuncts, whose position is syntactically flexible, temporal-succession converbs occupy a fixed position following the main verb. Nor do they behave like auxiliaries (see below), since—unlike auxiliaries—the P-argument of a transitive converb in sequential use is always referential. Rather, they operate as coordinate-dependents,<sup>20</sup> remaining structurally dependent on a single main verb while contributing to the linear organization of events. Examples 32 and 33 illustrate this use with an intransitive and a transitive converb, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> The term coordinate-dependent is adopted from Foley (1986: 177), who uses it in his analysis of the “medial verbs” of Papuan languages (Davis 1970). Haspelmath (1995: 20–7) subsequently introduced the term into the typological literature on converbs. Within that literature, converbs capable of fulfilling this function are more commonly labeled “narrative converbs” (Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 1987: 76) or “coordinative converbs” (Nedjalkov 1995: 98), labels that highlight their role in organizing events into a linear temporal sequence, indicating which events precede or follow others. As Johanson (1995: 329) observes, their ability to “build up texts linearly, suggesting which events come earlier” makes them especially well suited to the discourse function of narrative chaining. Analytically, these constructions can also be understood in terms of cosubordination, in which the dependent verb is neither embedded nor fully autonomous but forms a subclausal unit sharing key grammatical properties with the main predicate. For the theoretical development of cosubordination as a category accommodating such non-embedded, head-dependent structures, see van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 454).

- (32) *ene ve e-jo*  
 PRO.2SG too IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-come  
*ti-ja-ji-m-ory ja-jimiwa, e'i=ta.*  
 SBJV-INCL.A-MID-CAUS-be.happy INCL.A-eat.CVB IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say=FUT  
 ‘He will say, “You<sub>(SG)</sub> too, come so that we may rejoice and eat.”’ (AW – Luke 14:8)
- (33) *pe-ja'o sō e-re, e'i.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-weep PROH 1SG.PSR-ADESS IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
*e-rapirō sō e-mo-agyo pe-kupa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.P-wail PROH 1SG.P-CAUS-be.filled.with.emotion.CVB 2PL.A-AUX<sub>2</sub>  
 “Do not weep because of me!” he said. “You<sub>(PL)</sub> must not shed tears for me nor grieve on my account!” (AW – John 5:23)

Unlike the other functions of general converbs, temporal-succession converbs are not restricted to a single occurrence per clause: several may appear in sequence within the same monoclausal chain. This is shown in 34, which contains two temporal-succession converbs, and in 35, where three such converbs occur in succession.

- (34) *wyĩ o-ika i-mimōinā i-wa.*  
 then IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-kill 3.P-simmer.CVB 3.P-ingest.CVB  
 ‘Then he killed him, simmered him, and ate him.’ (TW)
- (35) *ameve kuise'ē Jesu o-pojai*  
 straight.away quickly Jesus IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-reach.out.one's.hand  
*i-po-pyy i-muu javo ij-upe...*  
 3.P-hand.of-hold.CVB 3.P-make.come.CVB 3.P:say.CVB 3DS.PSR-DAT  
 ‘Immediately, Jesus reached out quickly, grabbed her hand, drew her close, and said [something] to her...’ (AW – Matthew 14:31)

Finally, general converbs may encode directional orientation, typically andative or venitive.<sup>21</sup> In this use, the converb indicates that the event of the main verb is spatially oriented toward or away from a reference point, often the deictic center. Like temporal-sequencing converbs, directional converbs occur in a fixed position after the main verb. However, they differ from sequential converbs—and from adjunct uses more generally—in that the P-argument of a transitive converb in this function is not referential. Directional converbs thus function as auxiliaries, contributing an additional predicational layer that specifies the spatial configuration of the event. This function is demonstrated in 36 and 37, which feature an intransitive and a transitive converb, respectively.

- (36) *wyĩ o-jā o-o w-erekwa kyty.*  
 then IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-run 3.A-GO.CVB 3SS.PSR-wife.of ALL  
 ‘And so he ran toward his wife.’ (TW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘And so he ran [and went away] toward his wife.’)

<sup>21</sup> Directional meanings are rarely reported for general converbs in the typological literature, which is heavily based on North Eurasian languages. This absence is unsurprising: although spatially oriented converbs do occur in some languages of the area, they are exceptional and typically limited to specific relations such as location (see Sheyanova 2015: 247–8 on locative converbs in Mehweb). The directional uses attested in Wayampi therefore stand out typologically, illustrating a functional extension that is only marginally represented in the better-documented Eurasian domain.

- (37) *ajawyi pe-kwa ero-jivy-kō eru,*  
 then IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-leave 3.P:SOC-come.back-3PL.OBJ 3.P:BRING.CVB  
*e'i.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘“Now go and lead them back [to God],” he said.’ (AW – Matthew 10:7)

In both temporal-sequencing and directional uses, transitive general converbs occur exclusively in the personal use, with the P-argument encoded by a Set P marker—referential in temporal-sequencing uses, but non-referential (dummy) in directional uses.

These four semantic functions—purpose, manner, direction, and temporal sequencing—thus map onto three distinct syntactic behaviors. Adjunct uses (purpose, manner) pattern with other adverbial modifiers. Coordinate-dependent uses (temporal sequencing) participate in monoclausal event-chaining structures. Auxiliary uses (direction) contribute a secondary predication specifying spatial orientation. Together, they define the functional versatility of general converbs in Wayampi and motivate their treatment as a unified but internally differentiated category.

These functions are not mutually exclusive: a single clause may combine more than one type of converb. This is illustrated in 38, which contains both a purposive converb (*e-resa*) and a temporal-sequencing converb (*e-pytyvō*).

- (38) *uuuu ji-mo-pa'ā-ga-pè*  
 REDUP:IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:come MID-CAUS-be.stuck-NMLZ.CIRC-LOC  
*e-resa e-pytyvō kupa ipi.*  
 1SG.P-see.CVB 1SG.P-help.CVB 3PL.SBJ HAB  
 ‘They came to see me in prison and helped me.’ (AW – 2 Timothy 1:16)

## 2.4 The manner converb

Wayampi has a fourth type of verb form, referred to here as the *manner converb*. Like general converbs, it is formed from Stem 2, but it bears an additional suffix, *-ròmō*. As its name suggests, a manner converb typically indicates the manner in which the state of affairs described by the main verb is carried out. Less frequently, it may also convey a purposive meaning.<sup>22</sup> Unlike general converbs, manner converbs can be formed from any personal verb, including stative intransitives. With transitive verbs, manner converbs are attested in both personal and non-personal uses (39–40), whereas with active and stative intransitives they occur only in personal use (41–2).

- (39) *ore-pokwa-ròmō te uu.*  
 1PL.P-tie.one's.hands.CVB-CVB.MNR FOC IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:come  
 ‘He came to tie our hands.’ (AW – Acts of the Apostles 9:14)
- (40) *ajawyi n-a-jinōsĩ='āi ije,*  
 then IND<sup>-</sup>-1SG.A-be.ashamed=FUT:NEG.IND PRO.1SG  
 [*aepo momewa-ròmō a-iko ipi.*]  
 PRO.AUD tell.CVB-CVB.MNR 1SG.A-be HAB  
 ‘So I will not be ashamed of what I preach (i.e., the Gospel).’ (AW – Romans 1:16)  
 (*lit.*, ‘So I will not be ashamed [while] I am telling this.’)
- (41) *manyvo-re pō pe-kyje pe-jimopirai-ròmō.*  
 how-ADNESS Q IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-be.scared 2PL.A-worry.CVB-CVB.MNR  
 ‘What is causing such concern in you?’ (AW – Luke 24:38)

<sup>22</sup> The use of manner converbs to convey purposive meanings is well attested in the typological literature; for example, see the specialized converbs in *-wal* in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 392–3).

- (42) *ore-wari-ròmō*                      *rowã*      *oro-jo*.  
 IPL.P-tell.lies.CVB-CVB.MNR    NGT      IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-come  
 ‘We didn’t come [here] to spread falsehoods.’ (AW – 1 Thesalonians 2:3)

As these examples show, what crucially differs across manner converbs is the morphosyntactic status of the argument index they may take. With transitive manner converbs (39–40), the index is mutually exclusive with an overt nominal within the domain governed by the converb, indicating that it expresses the P-argument and thus behaves as a pro-index, in Haspelmath’s (2013: 220) sense. In contrast, with intransitive manner converbs (41–2), the argument index is obligatory and patterns straightforwardly as an agreement marker, since it must be coreferential with (and formally identical to) the S/A argument of the governing main verb.

The position of a manner converb is also flexible: as 39, 40, and 42 show, it may precede the governing verb, while 41 illustrates the reverse order. Such positional freedom is typical of adjunct expressions in Wayampi. This might suggest that the manner converb itself functions as an adjunct. However, the facts are more complex. As shown in 40, a transitive manner converb may be preceded by a nominal with which it forms a constituent, indicating that the converb does not constitute an independent syntactic unit. One might therefore hypothesize that the relevant unit is not the converb alone, but a larger converb phrase headed by it, much as with transitive general converbs in non-personal use (§2.3.1.2.2).

Yet this hypothesis must also be rejected. When the base verb of a manner converb selects an obliquely-coded argument, that argument can still be overtly expressed, and when it is, its expression must immediately precede the manner converb. This requirement shows that the oblique argument and the converb belong to a single syntactic domain—one that is larger than the converb alone and cannot be reduced to a simple converb phrase, since it may encode more than one argument. Although such cases are relatively rare, they are fully attested. In 43, for instance, the intransitive active verb *jirovija* ‘to believe’ appears as a manner converb and expresses both its S-argument (via *ja-*) and its oblique argument (*Jesu*), the latter introduced by the adessive postposition.

- (43) *ajawyi*      *ja-ji-mo-kasi=ta*,                      [*Jesu*    *re*  
 then              IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.A-MID-CAUS-be.strong=FUT      Jesus    ADESS  
  
*ja-jirovija-ròmō*]                      *ja-iko*.  
 INCL.A-believe.CVB-CVB.MNR    IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.A-be  
 ‘Thus, by believing in Jesus, we become stronger.’ (AW – 1 Corinthians 14:13)

The expression of an oblique argument clarifies the syntactic status of the construction. Since oblique arguments can only be expressed within clauses,<sup>23</sup> the domain in question must be a clause. This clause, through its head (the manner converb), depends on a main verb and functions as an adjunct, making it an adverbial subordinate clause. As a specialized converb in the typological sense, the Wayampi manner converb serves as the predicate of this clause; and because its predicate is a converb rather than a main verb, the resulting adverbial subordinate clause is a converbal clause.

A further property emerges with manner converbs formed from intransitive verbs. In addition to the agreement behavior described for them, intransitive manner converbs display a special pattern when their core argument is third person—a configuration that can arise only when the manner converb depends on a main verb whose subject is likewise third person. In such cases, the expected *i-‘3.P’* is categorically replaced by a dedicated prefix *o- ~ w-*, glossed here as “3COR.P”. This special marker is illustrated in 44 and 45 with manner converbs of stative verbs.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> In Wayampi, a structure qualifies as a clausal domain insofar as all the arguments of a predicate—core and oblique—may be expressed within it. Subclausal domains (e.g., converb phrases) do not allow the expression of oblique arguments.

<sup>24</sup> I have so far found no instances of intransitive active verbs forming manner converbs with the prefix *o- ~ w-* in the available corpus. This absence, however, should not be taken as evidence that such forms do not exist: I see no principled reason why the distribution of this marker would be restricted to stative verbs. Further work, based on a more exhaustive examination of the corpus and possibly additional textual sources, will be needed to clarify this point.

- (44) *aje ywete, na-pe-kuwa=i manyvoe'i*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.truely INTS IND<sup>-</sup>-2PL.A-know=NEG.IND by.what.means
- o-katu-pa-ròmõ, e'i.*  
 3COR.P-be.good.CVB-overly-CVB.MNR IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘“It’s true. You<sub>(PL)</sub> don’t know by what means this man was healed,” he said.’  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 4:9)
- (45) *ajawyi kee e'i w-ago-ròmõ...*  
 then PRO.CATA IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say 3COR.P-be.filled.with.emotion.CVB-CVB.MNR  
 ‘He then uttered the following with sadness...’ (AW – Matthew 23:37)  
 (*lit.*, ‘He then uttered the following by his own being filled with emotion.’)

This prefix does not belong to Set Poss introduced in §2.2, although it is homophonous with the reflexive possessor marker *o-* ‘3SS.PSR’.<sup>25</sup> Rather, it is a Set P agreement marker, and its distribution is strikingly restricted: it appears only on stative intransitive manner converbs whose S-argument, within the adverbial subordinate clause, is coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause. Outside this specific converbal environment, the form is unattested. Its function is therefore not possessive but purely syntactic, encoding a special type of cross-clausal agreement triggered by the dependency relation between the converbal clause and the governing predicate of the matrix clause.

## 2.5 Interim synthesis

The preceding sections have shown that Wayampi verbal morphology does not form a homogeneous domain but instead organizes into a small set of structurally distinct paradigmatic forms. These forms differ not only in their external syntactic distribution but also in the degree to which they participate in the inflectional categories that define the verbal domain. Tables 1 and 2 summarize these contrasts; the discussion below highlights the main generalizations that emerge from them.

type of verb form	type of syntactic function						inflectional category		verb stem	
	main predicate	adjunct	coordinate-dependent	auxiliary	converb-clause predicate	nominal	mood	person-number		
main verb	+	–	–		–	–	+	+	1	
general converb	(intr. v.)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	2
	(tr. v.)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	±	2
manner converb (-ròmõ)	(intr. v.)	–	–		–	+	–	–	+	2
	(tr. v.)	–	–		–	+	–	–	±	2
verbal noun (-aw)	–	–	–		–	+	–	–	1	

Table 1: The types of paradigmatic verb forms in Wayampi (delineating criteria)

<sup>25</sup> The recurrent confusion between these two homophonous prefixes in the TG literature reflects their historical origin in what Jensen (1990) terms Set 3, a heterogeneous series used across nouns, postpositions, and various types of dependent verbs. Because Set 3 forms surface in both possessive contexts and in the indexing patterns of dependent predicates (including what Jensen elsewhere calls serial, subordinate, or dependent verbs), the descriptive tradition has tended to treat all instances of *o-* as a single morpheme. This conflation obscures the synchronic situation in Wayampi, where the reflexive possessor prefix belongs to Set Poss, while the third-person coreferential prefix is a Set P argument index restricted to intransitive manner converbs.

type of verb form		type of use	intransitive		transitive
			active	stative	
main verb		personal	Set A	Set P	Set A or Set P
general converb	(intr. v.)	personal	Set A		
	(tr. v.)	personal			Set P
		non-personal			(co)nominal
manner converb (-ròmõ)	(intr. v.)	personal	Set A	Set P	Set P
	(tr. v.)	personal			Set P
		non-personal			nominal
verbal noun (-aw)		n/a	Set Poss or nominal	Set Poss or nominal	Set Poss or nominal

Table 2: The distribution of person-number markers, possessor markers and nominals according to the verb form types

The description of Wayampi verb forms reveals a system organized around three degrees of finiteness. Fully finite forms are represented exclusively by main verbs, which are the only forms marked for mood and which obligatorily index person-number. This combination of inflectional categories uniquely identifies the form type that functions as the main predicate of a clause. At the opposite end of the spectrum are non-finite forms—non-personal converbs and verbal nouns—which lack both mood marking and person-number indexing. Their argument structure is expressed through nominal means, either by Set Poss markers or by nominals. Between these two poles lie the minimally finite forms, namely personal converbs, both intransitive and transitive. These forms index person-number but do not bear mood, placing them in an intermediate, syntactically dependent position. This tripartite distinction makes clear that person-number indexing alone cannot diagnose main predicates, contrary to the traditional view in TG descriptions; only mood reliably distinguishes fully finite forms.

Within this system, the forms traditionally labeled “gerunds” in the TG literature correspond, in Wayampi, to what are more accurately described as general converbs. Their behavior extends far beyond the narrow—and ultimately vague—adverbial characterization usually associated with “gerunds.” They do function as adjuncts, but they also appear as coordinate-dependent forms that help advance the discourse, and in certain configurations they may even be grammaticalized as auxiliaries. This range of functions shows that these forms are not merely optional modifiers but occupy a structurally integrated position within the clause. Their versatility aligns them squarely with the typological category of general converbs, rather than with a strictly adverbial or marginal form class.

Alongside these, the forms in *-ròmõ* constitute a second class of dependent verb forms, characterized by a specialized semantic function (manner modification) and a restricted syntactic distribution, limited to serving as predicates of subordinate adverbial clauses. Their properties correspond to those of specialized converbs, a category not previously recognized in descriptions of TG languages. Similar distinctions are attested in other TG languages, where dedicated suffixes mark specific types of dependent verb forms, even though these are not explicitly analyzed as a separate class.<sup>26</sup>

The verbal noun in *-aw* likewise requires reinterpretation. It does not behave like a lexical noun derived from a verb; instead, it preserves the lexical semantics of the verb and differs only in its syntactic class and in the way it encodes its participants, using Set Poss markers or nominals. For this reason, it is best analyzed as a transferred form of the verb lexeme—a nominal realization of the same lexical item—rather than as a derived noun in the usual sense.

<sup>26</sup> Although not identified under this label, comparable distinctions are in fact acknowledged for other TG languages. Several authors describe dependent verb forms marked by dedicated suffixes that encode specific semantic or functional subtypes—for example, the suffix *-vo* for “motion” converbs in Avañe’ẽ (Velázquez-Castillo 2004); the Kamaiurá suffixes *-ramuẽ* and *-rire*, which mark what I analyze as simultaneous and anterior converbs, respectively (Seki 2000: 127); or the Kayabi suffixes *-ramũ*, *-ire*, *-rauwe*, *-renune*, and *-renunewe*, all of which mark forms that may likewise be viewed as specialized converbs (Dobson 2005: 74–7). The category nevertheless remains difficult to isolate in the TG literature. Jensen (1998: 528–9), for instance, uses the label “subordinate verbs” both for fully finite main verbs heading adverbial subordinate clauses introduced by a subordinator—a configuration also attested in Wayampi—and for what I analyze as specialized converbs heading adverbial subordinate clauses. This conflation suggests that, although the category is present in the data, it has not yet been analytically distinguished as such.

Finally, the distribution of the two verb stems—Stem 1 and Stem 2—provides an additional morphological cue correlated with finiteness. Main verbs and verbal nouns consistently use Stem 1, whereas converbs rely on Stem 2, sometimes with dedicated morphological augmentation. This alternation reinforces the formal distinction between finite and non-finite forms.

Taken together, these observations show that the Wayampi verb is not defined by a single morphological template but by a network of form types, each with its own inflectional profile and syntactic domain. The next section examines how these forms are internally structured—how mood, person-number, and other morphosyntactic elements interact to form the Wayampi verb complex.

### 3 The verb complex

In Wayampi, verb forms exhibit varying degrees of morphosyntactic complexity. Four distinct levels of elaboration can be identified. At the first level stands the *verb stem* (§3.1), which may be internally complex, especially when not directly derived from a verb root. The second level, the *verb base* (§3.2), consists of the verb stem combined with derivational affixes. This unit is fundamental, as it is the broadest structural element shared by all verb forms, whether predicative or not, and whether synthetic or analytic. The third level is the *verb word* (§3.3), a particular type of word form. It consists of the verb base inflected for mood (§3.3.1) and, when applicable, person-number (§3.3.2) and other grammatical categories. It represents the minimal unit from which main verbs are formed. The highest level is the *verb complex*,<sup>27</sup> comprising the verb word along with one or more word-like or clitic-like elements occurring post-verbally within the so-called *post-verbal area* (§3.4). Only main verbs may be included in a verb complex.

The overall organization of the Wayampi verb complex is illustrated in Figure 2. This structure is intended not as a theoretical model, but as a descriptive framework for clarifying the positions and relationships of (morpho)syntactic elements within verb forms and their immediate context.

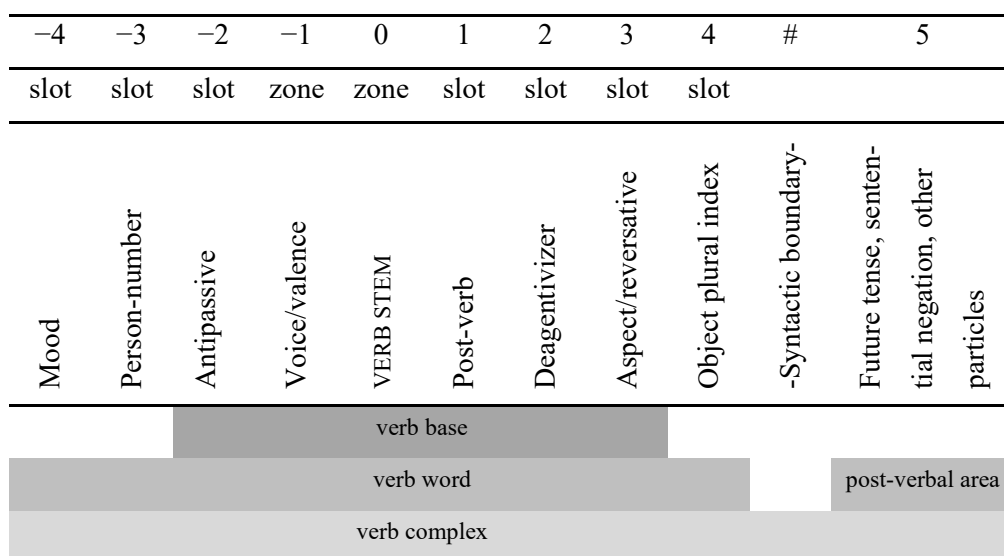


Figure 2: The Wayampi verb complex structure

A brief discussion follows. As illustrated in Figure 2, I identify ten positional classes centered on the verb stem, designated as slot 0. Positions preceding the stem are assigned negative values, while those following it receive positive values. Superscript numbers in the examples throughout this section correspond to these positional assignments. The symbol <#> marks the boundary between the syntactic domains referred to here as the verb word and the post-verbal area. The verb base, and more broadly the verb word, demonstrates strong morphological cohesion: most internal elements occur in

<sup>27</sup> It might be tempting to refer to such a syntactic domain as a *verb phrase* (VP). However, I prefer not to adopt this label because, for many linguists, a VP is understood as a structure consisting of a verb form and a nominal functioning as its object, which is clearly not the case for the so-called verb complex. The verb complex is, of course, a verb phrase, but one composed of a verb word and, possibly, one or more post-verbal elements that are not nominal in nature.

a fixed order and are lexically specified for their respective positions. By contrast, the post-verbal area contains more loosely integrated elements of various types. This study will address only two of these: future tense particles (§3.4.1) and sentential negation particles (§3.4.2).

The verb word, as a complex word form, has an internal organization. In Wayampi, two types of organizational principles characterize this morphosyntactic unit, resulting in a hybrid structure: templatic and, to a lesser extent, layered. The following paragraphs briefly recall the characteristics typically attributed to these two types of systems.<sup>28</sup>

In a templatic or slot-and-filler system, the organization of morphemes follows a fixed template. Morphemes, when segmental (roots, stems, affixes), are arranged in specific, predetermined *slots* within the structure, forming what is called a *position class*. These position classes typically have a specific order, and the morphemes that fit into each position are in a disjunctive relation, meaning that the presence of one morpheme from a given set excludes the possibility of any other morpheme from the same set appearing within the same layer of stem derivation. Position classes in templatic systems are relatively ordered, but the ordering of morphemes is often independent of constituent structure. A given position may also feature ordered subpositions, which are generally functionally coherent, though exceptions exist. Templatic systems are often, though not always, marked by various “exotic” features. These include affix homophony, discontinuous dependency, disunity in affix positions, spanned ordering, interrupted synthesis, and radically discontinuous exponence, among others.

In a layered or hierarchical structure, on the other hand, morphemes are added sequentially in distinct *layers* rather than being arranged in fixed slots, offering greater flexibility in their combination (as in polysynthesis). Each layer can accommodate multiple morphemes, which may interact both within the same layer and with morphemes in adjacent layers. This interaction, or overlap, between layers facilitates complex functional, syntactic, and phonological relationships, as well as intricate morphological processes, making the system highly dynamic. Typically, the layers are organized in a way that reflects the syntactic or functional hierarchy of the morphemes (for instance, aspect is added before tense). As a result, the constituent structure tends to be more transparent, with the meaning of the word derived compositionally from the meanings of its individual morphemes.

As previously mentioned, the Wayampi verb word is structured using both templatic and layered strategies. Overall, the structure is primarily of the slot-and-filler type, which allows the verb word template shown in Figure 2 to be established. However, not every position within this template adheres to the typical pattern found in templatic systems. While the elements referred to here as *slots* behave in the expected templatic way, those referred to as *zones* do not.

Slots form position classes (also called paradigmatic sets). For example, position 4, the object plural index slot, can either host the morph *-kō* (§3.3.3) or remain empty, while position -3, the person-number slot, can accommodate any available cross-index (§3.3.2) depending on the specific morphosyntactic class of the verb form. In contrast, the two zones of the verb word—positions 0 and -1—represent “islands” of layered structure within the otherwise templatic organization. Position 0 may contain either a single form (a verb root) or multiple forms (§3.1.2), position -1 can hold zero, one, or several forms, potentially in varying orders, with the same form sometimes appearing more than once (§3.2.1.4).

The mixed nature of the Wayampi verb word is what makes it especially challenging to analyze. The following subsections aim to provide a largely illustrated, step-by-step demonstration of the structure depicted in Figure 2, accompanied by a discussion of the majority of forms hosted within the identified positions. As previously mentioned, a few post-verbal elements will also be discussed.

The upcoming presentation reflects the results of a thorough investigation based on a substantial corpus of Wayampi data, using methods specifically developed for position-class analysis in previously undescribed languages, primarily those of Nida (1949: 205–7) and Grimes (1967). The following paragraph outlines several key principles from their work, borrowed and adapted from Kari (1989), which provide the analytical foundation for the description that follows.

First, if two forms co-occur, they must occupy distinct slots (*ibid.*: 435) or subpositions within a zone. Conversely, if two forms never co-occur yet appear in the same environments, they must occupy the same slot; in other words, they are mutually exclusive. Second, if two forms never co-occur and appear in different sequences relative to a third form, the two forms must occupy three distinct slots (*ibid.*: 442). Third, if two identical sound forms occur in different positions within a cohesive unit (i.e., morphosyntactic word), they must be analyzed as instances of two distinct homophonous forms (*ibid.*: 436). Fourth, functional or semantic similarity among a group of forms does not, by it-

<sup>28</sup> This overview draws primarily on Spencer (1991: 208–14), Mithun (2000), Rice (2000), and Melnar (2004: 10–20).

self, justify grouping them into a single substitution class (*ibid.*: 435). Put differently, functional or semantic similarity should not determine positional classification; rather, such classification must rely exclusively on the combinatorial properties of the forms.

The detailed analysis proceeds from the innermost layer of verbal structure outward. It begins with the verb stem (§3.1), then considers the derivationally expanded verb base (§3.2), and subsequently the fully inflected verb word (§3.3). A brief examination of selected elements occurring beyond the verb word, in the post-verbal area (§3.4), concludes the section.

### 3.1 The verb stem

The verb stem (slot 0) is the most prominent component of a verb word and, more broadly, of a verb form. It represents the smallest unit within the verb word that qualifies as verbal in the lexicon and can be subcategorized for inherent transitivity. In essence, the verb stem is the core lexical unit of any verb form, encapsulating its notional content and serving as an anchor around which the remaining morphology is organized. Once identified within verb forms, verb stems can be formally characterized according to a set of diagnostic properties that distinguish them from other elements of the verb word. For clarity, in the examples of this section, verb stems are shown in square brackets to mark them off from the surrounding material.

#### 3.1.1 Formal characterization

Like any stem from which a predicative form can be built, the verb stem is potentially predicative—that is, capable of functioning as a main predicate when inflected for mood and person-number. In 46, *mii* illustrates this property: it is a directly inflected stem that can serve as a main predicate on its own. Its compatibility with Set A person markers further supports its classification as verbal.

- (46) *jakami pepo a-pyku=ta t-ere-[mii]<sup>0</sup>.*  
 bird.sp wing.of IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-pierce=FUT SBJV-2SG.A-roast  
 ‘I’ll skewer an agami heron wing [on a spit for you<sub>(SG)</sub>], so you can roast it.’ (TW)

The predicate capability of a stem alone is not sufficient to classify it as verbal in Wayampi, since this feature is also found in most noun stems. Nevertheless, verb stems clearly exhibit this feature.

In addition, verb stems serve as the basis for a regular, general, and productive reduplication process that conveys iterative, distributive, or intensive meanings. In Wayampi, verb-stem reduplication follows a template of two monomoraic syllables (CVCV). It targets the two rightmost syllables of the stem’s phonological form, which are then copied to the left. This is illustrated by the verb *apukai* ‘to shout, to cry out’ in 47.

- (47) *w-[apukapukai]<sup>0</sup>-puku<sup>1</sup> tesõ kupa upa,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-REDUP:shout-long exceedingly 3PL.SBJ 3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
*morijõ ora "duas horas" tesõ.*  
 two hour two hours exceedingly  
 ‘They’ve been shouting for hours, now—for two hours, in fact.’  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 19:34)

As illustrated, the reduplicated verb stem *apukapukai* is formed by copying the reduplicant /puka/ to the left of the segment /pukai/. Importantly, the post-verb *puku* ‘long’, which lies outside the verb stem, is not part of the base for reduplication. This pattern is typical of verb-stem reduplication in Wayampi: only the verb stem itself, along with any material to its left—as shown in 48—can undergo reduplication. For this reason, reduplication may serve as a formal criterion for identifying the right boundary of verb stems in the language.

- (48) *mote=pe ooo-[o]<sup>0</sup> owyi re kupa ky’y.*  
 engine=INESS REDUP:IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go palm.sp. ADESS 3PL.SBJ ASS  
 ‘They keep going with the engine to collect *Geonoma deversa* leaves.’ (TW)

Stem reduplication can apply to the verb stem in various types of verb form: a main verb, as in the previous two examples; an intransitive general converb (49); a transitive general converb, whether in personal (50) or non-personal use (51); or a verbal noun (52).

- (49) *pya rupi tyvy rena rupi*  
 night PERL ABS\tomb.of exact.location.of PERL  
*o-po'ã o-[jivvyjivy]<sup>0</sup> ipi.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-rise.up 3.A-REDUP:go.back.CVB HAB  
 ‘At night, he roamed among the tombs.’ (AW – Mark 5:5)
- (50) *o-pyy i-[nupãnupã]<sup>0</sup> kupa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-grab 3.P-REDUP:beat.CVB 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘They grabbed him and pummeled him.’ (AW – Luke 20:12)
- (51) *ere-kuwa po kaitẽ [rasarasa]<sup>0</sup>.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-know Q mosquito.net REDUP:sew.CVB  
 ‘Do you<sub>(SG)</sub> know how to repair a mosquito net?’ (TW)
- (52) *ajawyi pirujẽ pe-aiwer-er-à ta-pe-itypypyi-pa...*  
 then all 2PL.PSR-bad.thing-COLL-REF SBJV-2PL.A-renounce-overly  
*ayvu-teitete-a, [wariwari]<sup>0</sup>-a kõ,*  
 speech-bad-NMLZ.EVT:REF REDUP:lie-NMLZ.EVT:REF PL  
*jitupi-a kõ... wÿiwÿi sõ o-o.*  
 be.obsessed-NMLZ.EVT:REF PL REDUP:PRO.ANA EXCLM IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go  
 ‘So, you<sub>(PL)</sub> all have to give up the bad things: the offense[s], the lies, and the obses-  
 sions. All of these must disappear.’ (AW – James 1:21)

As with predicativity, reduplication alone is not a sufficient criterion for identifying a stem as verbal, since the stem of a predicative noun form can also undergo reduplication. However, reduplication remains an effective diagnostic tool for identifying the right boundary of verb stems in forms whose verbal status is already established.

### 3.1.2 Verb stem types

Verb stems are the smallest lexical units recognized as verbs by native speakers. They can be divided into three main types: verb roots (§3.1.2.1), verbalized stems (§3.1.2.2), and compound verb stems (§3.1.2.3).

#### 3.1.2.1 Verb roots

A *simple verb stem*, or *verb root*, consists of a single lexical element that is, by definition, categorized as verbal and specified for transitivity. Native speakers recognize verb roots as unanalyzable units. Wayampi has a large number of such roots. One such verb root is *ja'ar* ‘to think; to remember’, which functions as a predicate-capable stem and can be directly inflected for both mood and person-number, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (53) *kee jaa re ta<sup>-4</sup>-pe<sup>-3</sup>-[ja'a]<sup>0</sup>.<sup>29</sup>*  
 PRO.CATA piece.of.news ADESS SBJV-2PL.A-think  
 ‘You<sub>(PL)</sub> must consider the following information.’ (AW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘May you<sub>(PL)</sub> think about the following piece of news.’)

<sup>29</sup> The verb *ja'ar* is realized as /jaʔa/ because, as is typical in Wayampi, a final latent consonant is not phonetically realized when the morph it belongs to is not followed by another morph.

- (54) *amũ 'a remẽ a<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[ja'a]<sup>0</sup> ne-re.*  
 other day when IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-think 2SG.PSR-ADESS  
 'I was thinking about you<sub>(SG)</sub> the other day.' (TW)

At first glance, certain Wayampi verb roots might appear segmentable into noun–verb compound stems (§3.1.2.3), but native speakers do not perceive these verb stems as structurally complex. From a strictly synchronic perspective, they are therefore treated as simple. This is illustrated in 55 by the stem of the intransitive active verb *ka'u* 'to drink an alcoholic fermented beverage (and, by extension, any alcoholic beverage)'.

- (55) *e-jo kara-ry re sa<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[ka'u]<sup>0</sup>.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-come yam-juice.of ADESS SBJV:INCL.A-drink.alcohol  
 'Come and have some yam beer with me.' (TW)

Etymologically, the verb stem *ka'u* can be analyzed as follows:  $\sqrt{ka-u} < \dagger kawĩ-u < \text{alcoholic fermented beverage-ingest}$ . The verb *'u* 'to ingest' is still attested in Wayampi. However, the noun *kawĩ* 'fermented beverage' (or a possible variant *ka*), although widely attested across TG languages (Proto-Tupi-Guarani  $\dagger kawĩ$ ; Mello 2000:171) and also borrowed into Portuguese as *cauim*, is no longer used in Wayampi. In synchrony, the stem is therefore clearly monomorphemic. This example underscores the importance of maintaining a clear separation between diachronic considerations and the analysis of the language as spoken today.

### 3.1.2.2 Verbalized stems

Verbalized stems are verb stems derived from non-verbal stems, mostly roots, through the addition of the verbalizing prefix *mo-*.<sup>30</sup> The non-verbal stems involved in this process are either nominal (56) or adverbial (57).

- (56) *e-papy a<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[mo-jany]<sup>0</sup> a-ipa.*  
 1SG.PSR-forearm.of IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-VBLZ-carapa.oil 1SG.A-AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 'I'm applying carapa oil to my forearms.' (TW)
- (57) *o-katu-aywete-a wyi o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[mo-kuipe'e]<sup>0</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>*  
 3SS.PSR-be.good-much-NMLZ.EVT:REF ABL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-VBLZ-far]-3PL.OBJ=FUT  
*ãmõ o-kasi-aywete-a wyi.*  
 and 3SS.PSR-be.strong-much-NMLZ.EVT:REF ABL  
 'He will remove them from His great goodness and His glorious power.'  
 (AW – Thessalonians 1:9)

This type of morphologically complex verb stem, which is always transitive in Wayampi, expresses the prototypical action associated with the non-verbal stem from which it is derived. In other words, *mo-* forms a verb meaning 'to act upon X' or 'to perform the characteristic action involving X', where X is the nominal or adverbial stem. A sample of these formations is shown in Table 3.

<sup>30</sup> Although the verbalizing prefix *mo-* and the direct causative marker *mo-* (§3.2.1.2) share a common diachronic origin, they occupy distinct positional slots within the verb base. This is a case of affix homophony typical of templatic systems: the verbalizer *mo-* forms a transitive verb stem from a non-verb stem, whereas the direct causativizer *mo-* increases the valence of an existing intransitive verb base.

<i>mo-atyr</i>	‘to bring sb. together, to gather sth. together’	<	<i>atyr</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘group of’
<i>mo-ām</i>	‘to card sth. for spinning’	<	<i>ām</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘thread’
<i>mo-’āgai</i>	‘to possess sb.’	<	<i>’āgai</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘evil soul of’
<i>mo-ena(w)e</i>	‘to empty, to clean out; to destroy’	<	<i>°ena(w)e</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘empty place of’
<i>mo-epy</i>	‘to pay for sth., to reward sb.’	<	<i>°epy</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘value of’
<i>mo-gwar</i>	‘to sift sth.’	<	<i>kwar</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘hole’
<i>mo-jany</i>	‘to coat sb. with carapa oil’	<	<i>jany</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘carapa oil’
<i>mo-jovijã</i>	‘to serve sb.’ (AW)	<	<i>jovijã</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘chief’ (AW)
<i>mo-kanunu</i>	‘to give sb. a rash’	<	<i>kanunu</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘spot of’
<i>mo-ku’iku’i</i>	‘to grind sth.’	<	<i>ku’i</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘manioc flour’
<i>mo-kuipe’e</i>	‘to move sth. away’	<	<i>kuipe’e</i> <sub>Adv</sub>	‘far’
<i>mo-memy</i>	‘to get sb. pregnant’	<	<i>memy</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘child of (for a woman)’
<i>mo-mewe</i>	‘to make sth. slow down’	<	<i>mewe</i> <sub>Adv</sub>	‘slowly’
<i>mo-pari</i>	‘to enclose sth.’	<	<i>pari</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘enclosure, dam, wall’
<i>mo-putuputuri</i>	‘to nail sth.’	<	<i>putuputuri</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘nail’
<i>mo-savi</i>	‘to lock sth.’ (AW)	<	<i>savi</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘key’ (AW) < Port. <i>chave</i>
<i>mo-sawõ</i>	‘to wash sth./sb. with soap’ (TW)	<	<i>sawõ</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘soap’ (TW) < Fr. <i>savon</i>
<i>mo-susu</i>	‘to suck sth., to suck at sb., to kiss sb.’	<	<i>susu</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘breast of’
<i>mo-tekorã</i>	‘to make sb. sick’	<	<i>tekorã</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘disease, sickness’
<i>mo-ypytũ</i>	‘to darken sth.’	<	<i>ypytũ</i> <sub>N</sub>	‘darkness’

Table 3: Some typical verbalized denominal, deadjectival, and deadverbial verb stems

### 3.1.2.3 Lexical compound verb stems

A *lexical compound verb stem* is a combination of two lexical roots, at least the rightmost of which is verbal, and which, as a whole, functions as a single verb root. In Wayampi, such synthetic compounds are limited in number, and the processes that once generated them are no longer productive in the modern language. Although these complex verb stems remain semantically transparent—at least to linguists—their lack of productivity strongly suggests that they have become fully lexicalized.

Compound verb stems consist of two stems, most of which are *compound noun–verb stems*. These verb stems, all instances of Mithun’s (1984) “Type I noun incorporation”, share the following properties. They are vestiges of an archaic valence-decreasing noun-incorporation mechanism that is no longer active in Wayampi. Specifically, they are formed from a transitive verb stem and a non-obligatorily possessed noun stem, yet they function as intransitive verb stems. These stems denote institutionalized or habitual activities within the Wayampi language community. To illustrate, the verb stem *pina-ity*—formed from the transitive verb stem *ity* ‘to drop, to deliberately cause to fall’ and the noun stem *pina* ‘hook’—is one such compound that remains fully segmentable in present-day Wayampi (58).<sup>31</sup>

- (58) *ere*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*pina-ity*]<sup>0</sup>      ‘yy    *rupi*    *remẽ*,    *ere-poro*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-hook-drop    river    PERL    when    IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-catch  
 ‘You<sub>(SG)</sub> caught [a lot of fish] when you were angling.’ (TW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘... when you were dropping the hook.’)

The unproductivity of this type of compounding indicates that these verb stems are best analyzed as lexicalized forms. Table 4 below provides a small sample of such noun–verb compound stems.

<sup>31</sup> Like many verbs in Wayampi, *ity* is polysemous. In addition to meaning ‘to drop, to deliberately cause to fall’, it can also mean ‘to leave behind, to abandon’, ‘to cut down (e.g., a tree)’, or ‘to bale out (e.g., a canoe)’.

<i>amanyju-poãñ</i>	<cotton-spin>	‘to spin cotton’
<i>ka'a-nupã</i>	<forest-beat>	‘to clearcut the forest’
<i>kamy-'u</i>	<milk-ingest>	‘to be breastfed’
<i>mani'o-kyry</i>	<cassava-grate>	‘to grate cassava’
<i>meju-miir</i>	<cassava.bread-spread>	‘to cook cassava cake’
<i>petỹ-mosu</i>	<cigar-suck>	‘to smoke the cigar, to be a smoker’
<i>pina-ity</i>	<hook-drop>	‘to angle, to drop a line’
<i>pitã-ity</i>	<fetus-drop>	‘to have a miscarriage, to lose the baby’
<i>pota-mosõ</i>	<bait-wet>	‘to wet the bait’
<i>teko-kuwa</i>	<ABS\way.of.life.of-know>	‘to act properly, to follow the rules, to be wise’
<i>'y-asa</i>	<river-cross>	‘to cross a river’
<i>'y-'u</i>	<water-ingest>	‘to quench one’s thirst’
<i>yvy-tywei</i>	<ground-sweep>	‘to sweep the ground’

Table 4: Some typical compound noun–verb stems

Besides these compound noun–verb stems, some rare data suggest the existence of *compound verb–verb stems*, in which both stems—and the resulting stem—are transitive. Several examples are provided below.

- (59) *koo-jar-à*                      *yvyra*    *ra'ỹi-gwer-à*                      *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*pyy-ity*]<sup>0</sup>  
 field-master.of-REF            tree            seed.of-COLL-REF            IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-take-sow  
*o-koo-pè.*  
 3SS.PSR-field-LOC  
 ‘The farmer sows tree seeds in his field.’ (AW – Luke 13:19)
- (60) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*ovapy-ãtã*]<sup>0</sup>                      *ta-tui*                      *a'e-pè*                      *upa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-close-be.hard            SBJV-3.A:be.located            PRO.ANA-LOC            3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘He sealed it so that it would stay in place.’ (AW – Revelation 20:3)
- (61) *a'e*                      *t*<sup>-4</sup>-*o*<sup>-3</sup>-[*ereko-katu*]<sup>0</sup>                      *i-manõ-a*                      *wyi*                      *ajawyi,*  
 PRO.ANA            SBJV-3.A-have-be.good            3DS.PSR-die-NMLZ.EVT:REF            ABL            then  
*o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*porijau-esa*]<sup>0</sup>                      *remẽ.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-be.missing-see            if  
 ‘If He has pity on him, let Him deliver him from death.’ (AW – Matthew 27:43)
- (62) *w*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*aka-wasu*]<sup>0</sup>                      *amẽ*                      *ky'y.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-mock-be.big            however            ASS  
 ‘But he berated him.’ (AW – Matthew 18:32)

Although often semantically transparent, these compound verb stems are clearly lexicalized; the first element may end in a consonant that is no longer possible as a (latent) final consonant in present-day Wayampi. Example 63 illustrates this with /k/.

- (63) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*pyyk-ãtã*]<sup>0</sup>                      *yvytu-ai*                      *kupa*                      *upa,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-hold-be.hard            wind-bad            3PL.SBJ            3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
*ajawyi*                      *n-o-nur=i*                      *yvytu-ai.*<sup>32</sup>  
 then                      IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-IND<sup>-</sup>:come=NEG.IND            wind-bad  
 ‘They held back the storm, so the storm did not come.’  
 (AW – Revelation 7:1)

<sup>32</sup> The predicative verb form *n-o-nur* illustrates mood multiple exponence. The third-person stem *nur* of the (irregular) intransitive active verb *jo* ‘to come’ occurs only in the indicative negative mood.

In sum, the structural organization of Wayampi verb stems—whether simple, verbalized, or compounded—reflects a mixture of productive synchronic patterns and fossilized formations inherited from earlier stages of the language. This complex morphology provides the foundation upon which verb bases are built, a level to which we now turn.

## 3.2 The verb base

The next level in the internal structure of Wayampi verbs is the *verb base*. Like verb stems, verb bases are built from a lexical core, in this case a verb stem. A minimal verb base is simply a verb stem, whereas a non-minimal one consists of a verb stem expanded by additional morphologically bound material. At this level, derivational morphology typically modifies the verb’s argument structure or basic conceptual meaning, and may also encode lexical aspect. These derivational elements occur in positions –1, 1, 2, and 3. For expository clarity, they are discussed in this order, although the construction of a complex verb base does not necessarily proceed in a fixed direction (e.g., right to left). Throughout the examples in this section, verb bases are enclosed in square brackets with the superscript “β” to distinguish them from other elements of verb words (with β standing for *base*).

### 3.2.1 Position –1: The voice/valence zone

The elements that occur immediately to the left of the verb stem (position –1) form the most structurally flexible part of the verb base. Unlike the templatic slots elsewhere in the verb word, this region lacks a stable or predictable morphological skeleton. Its internal organization is only partially constrained: elements may appear singly or in combination, and although certain relative ordering tendencies can be observed, no fixed sequence can be established.

Because of this structural fluidity, position –1 is best analyzed as a structural *zone* rather than as a clearly delimited slot. The elements found here contribute, to varying degrees, to modifying the valence pattern or semantic profile of the verb base.<sup>33</sup> In Wayampi, these include the middle marker (§3.2.1.1), the direct and sociative causatives (§3.2.1.2), valence-preserving noun incorporation (§3.2.1.3), as well as combinations of these formal means (§3.2.1.4). The following subsections provide a concise overview of their functions and combinatorial properties.

#### 3.2.1.1 The middle *ji-*

There are two productive grammatical processes that reduce a verb’s valence in Wayampi: middle formation and antipassive formation. Both apply exclusively to transitive verb bases and share the property of demoting a participant from its status as a core argument, without necessarily removing it from the verb’s valence pattern. The middle is realized by the prefix *j(e)-* (TW) / *ji-* (AW) in position –1, while the antipassive occurs in slot –2. The former is examined in this section; the latter is addressed in §3.2.2.

The middle prefix can convey different readings depending on the semantic class of the verb base. These include anticausative (64), resultative (65), or impersonal passive (66).

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<sup>33</sup> The *valence pattern*—also referred to as *argument structure*, *predicate frame*, *coding frame*, or *diathesis*—of a lexeme refers to the systematic correspondence between the participant roles specified by its lexical meaning and the structural positions these participants occupy, as defined by language-specific grammatical properties. Valence patterns are often represented through linking diagrams mapping participant roles onto syntactic functions. A lexeme’s basic valence pattern may change. When the number of participant roles remains constant, the change is a voice alternation (e.g., passive, antipassive), affecting only the syntactic realization of roles. When the number of participant roles is modified, the process is a valence-changing derivation (e.g., reflexive, causative, anticausative, depatientive), which alters the semantic frame and typically the syntactic frame as well. As used here, valence-changing derivation is therefore a deeper, semantically based process, whereas voice alternations operate at the syntactic level. In some frameworks, the term “voice” is used more broadly to cover both syntactic alternations and semantic valence changes (see, e.g., Haspelmath 2022).

- (64) *amě sōsi yy pupe-wyi Jesu o-ě remeve,*  
 however EXCLM water INESS-ABL Jesus IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go.out while  
*yvag o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[j<sup>i</sup>-<sup>1</sup>-ovapyjavo<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>.*  
 sky IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-open  
 ‘But as soon as Jesus stepped out of the water, the heavens opened.’  
 (AW – Matthew 3:16)
- (65) *okapy o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[je<sup>-1</sup>-‘u<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>.*  
 roof IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-erode  
 ‘The roof has rusted.’ (*lit.*, ‘The roof has been eroded by its own decay.’) (TW)
- (66) *amě py’awarāmō tyapu o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[j<sup>-1</sup>-enu<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> ij-upe-kō.*  
 then suddenly ABS\sound.of IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-hear 3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR  
 ‘Suddenly, they heard a sound.’ (*lit.*, ‘Suddenly, a sound was heard by them.’)  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 2:2)

The middle *ji-* is also attested with direct reflexive (67) and reciprocal (68) readings. However, this is limited to a small set of verbs, each allowing only one of these two interpretations in its middle form.<sup>34</sup> For example:

- (67) *o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[je<sup>-1</sup>-ika<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> kupa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-kill 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘They killed themselves.’ (TW)  
 (\*‘They killed each other.’)
- (68) *koi te ja<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[j<sup>-1</sup>-esa<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>.*  
 tomorrow FOC IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.A-MID-see  
 ‘See you tomorrow!’ (TW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘We see each other tomorrow.’)  
 (\*‘We see ourselves tomorrow.’)

There are also several verbs that exhibit middle marking but lack synchronically unmarked counterparts. These verbs constitute *media tantum* forms. Table 5 provides some examples. Their transitive counterparts are formed exclusively with a transitivizer (§3.2.1.2).

<sup>34</sup> *je-ika* (TW) / *ji-juka* (AW) ‘to kill oneself’, *j(i)-kusu* (TW) / *ji-kusu* (AW) ‘to wash oneself’ are exclusively reflexive verbs. *j-apisi* (TW) / *ji-apisi* (AW) ‘to fight one another’, *j-esa* (TW) / *j(i)-esa* (AW) ‘to see each other’ are exclusively reciprocal verbs. Most reflexive and reciprocal verbs in English do not have direct equivalents in Wayampi. The language employs various strategies to express reflexive and reciprocal situations. The most common strategies include, for reflexivization, explicitly mentioning the body part within a transitive construction (*e-rowa re a-mā’ē warua pupe* <1SG.PSR-face.of ADESS IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-look.at mirror INESS> ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’) and incorporating a noun into an intransitive active verb, often resulting in stativization of this verb (*e-po-kysi marija re* <IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.P-hand.of-cut knife ADESS> ‘I cut my hand with a knife.’). For reciprocalization, the two most frequent strategies are using a reciprocalized postposition (*o-j-mory o-j-eewe kupa* <IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-calm.down 3SS.PSR-RECP-COM> ‘They became friends.’) and the adverb *ojeewejĩ* (TW) / *ojeewejē* (AW) ‘willingly each other’ (*ojeewejĩ o-je-ika kupa* <willingly.each.other IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-kill 3PL.SBJ> ‘They willingly killed each other.’).

<i>jemĩm</i>	‘to hide’		
<i>je’o</i>	‘to disappear’	< [je-’o v] v	<MID-take.out> <sup>35</sup>
<i>jerar</i>	‘to get loose’		
<i>jika</i>	‘to break’		
<i>jikotevẽ</i>	‘to hasten, to hurry, to move fast’		
<i>jikõ’õ</i>	‘to get angry, to fall out’		
<i>jikurakura</i>	‘to growl, to grumble; to argue’		
<i>jikwa</i>	‘to proliferate’		
<i>jimarara</i>	‘to joke, to fool around’		
<i>jimi’u</i>	‘to eat, to have a meal’	< [°emi-’u v] N	<PERM.NMLZ-ingest>
<i>jimitỹm</i>	‘to sow seeds’	< [°emi-otỹm v] N	<PERM.NMLZ-sow>
<i>jimiwa</i>	‘to eat, to have lunch’	< [°emi-wa v] N	<PERM.NMLZ-ingest.CVB>
<i>jimoava</i>	‘to rest’		
<i>jimoearai</i>	‘to get rid of’		
<i>jimomyu</i>	‘to dance’		
<i>jipe’e</i>	‘to warm up, to keep warm’		
<i>jipy</i>	‘to touch, to feel with one’s hand’		
<i>jirova</i>	‘to turn around; to set (for the sun)’	< °ova N	<face.of> <sup>36</sup>
<i>jisyry</i>	‘to go away, to deviate; to move away’		
<i>jupir</i>	‘to go up, to ascend, to climb’		

Table 5: Some typical media tantum verbs

### 3.2.1.2 The direct causative *mo-* and the sociative causative °*ero-*

Alongside valence-decreasing processes, Wayampi has two mechanisms for increasing the valence of a verb base. These consist of two types of causativization: one marked by the direct causative prefix *mo-*, and the other by the sociative causative prefix °*ero-*. Each of these prefixes can only attach to intransitive verb bases. They introduce a new participant—the direct causer—into the verb’s valence pattern, assigning it the role of an A-argument. The S-argument of the verb base (the causee, i.e. the participant involved in the caused event) is also demoted to P. Because a new participant is added, the conceptual meaning of the derived verb base necessarily differs from that of the verb base.

The key difference between the two valence-increasing mechanisms lies in how they assign semantic roles. As shown in 69, the direct causative prefix *mo-* assigns each participant a clearly defined semantic role: A is the direct causer, and P is the causee.

- (69) *koivo kõ* *pe*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ai*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *remẽ*,  
 someone PL IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.P-CAUS-be.bad when
- “*awɣjepa*” *pejẽ-korijõ* *ij-upe-kõ*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.over IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A:say-succeedingly 3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR
- ta-pe-ji-mo-earai-korijõ* *amẽ*  
 SBJV-2PL.A-MID-CAUS-forget-succeedingly then
- pe*-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ai*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-*aw-er-à* *wyi*.  
 2PL.PSR-CAUS-be.bad-NMLZ.EVT-RETR-REF ABL  
 ‘If some people hurt you<sub>(PL)</sub>, all you have to do is tell them "it’s over". You need to let go of the things that have caused you pain.’ (AW – Matthew 6:14)

<sup>35</sup> The stem ‘o exists solely as an incorporating verb.

<sup>36</sup> This example, along with many others (e.g., *ji-rapa-rekyi* <MID-arrow.of-take> ‘to take one’s weapon with oneself’ with °*apar* ‘arrow of’), shows that the initial /t/ of the stem of an oscillating noun (/rova/ of °*ova* ‘face of’ in this case) is part of the stem in Wayampi. If this /t/ were not a thematic consonant but rather the phonological form of what Rodrigues (1953: 124) calls a “relational prefix”, it would appear whenever preceded by *ji-*. However, this is not the case (*ji-ova-kusu* <MID-face.of-wash> ‘to wash one’s face’; *ji-eta-e’e* <MID-cut.off-truly> ‘to self-harm’ with °*eta* ‘to cut off, to slice’).

There are also several verbs that exhibit causative marking but lack unmarked counterparts in the modern language. These verbs constitute *causativa tantum* forms. Table 6 provides some examples. Their intransitive counterparts are formed exclusively with an intransitivizer.

<i>mo'au</i>	'to make sb. lie down'	<	†'au <sub>v</sub>	'to lie down' <sup>37</sup>
<i>moãkwa'ã</i>	'to deceive, to betray'			
<i>mogeta</i>	'to talk, to chat'	<	†geta <sub>v</sub>	(see <i>poregeta</i> 'to talk' < †poro-geta)
<i>mosa'ãga</i>	'to talk, to chat; to judge; to measure'			
<i>mosõ</i>	'to wet'	<	su'ũ <sub>v</sub>	'to be wet' (stative verb)
<i>mosu</i>	'to suck, to suckle; to kiss'			

Table 6: Some typical causativa tantum verbs

On the other hand, the sociative causative prefix <sup>o</sup>ero- assigns the A-argument a dual role. While the P is the sole causee, the A functions as the direct causer and also participates as a co-agent in the caused event. This construction is often described in the literature as a causative comitative or a co-agentive causative, highlighting the agent's dual role in causing and participating in the event. The following two examples illustrate this pattern.

- (70) *apija* something.similar.to.this      *oro*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*ro*<sup>-1</sup>-*waẽ*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>  
IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-SOC-come.back
- ore-ykyrỹ-ge-pè,*      *e'i*      *kupa*      *ipi.*  
1PL.PSR-child.of-COLL-DAT      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say      3PL.SBJ      HAB  
"It is something like this that we have brought back to our children," they used to say [whenever they brought home game]. (TW)
- (71) *a'e*      *o-o*      *waĩwĩ*      *pyi*      *o-'a,*      [...]  
PRO.ANA      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go      woman      APUD      3.A-lie.down.CVB
- o-o*      *tapy'ỹi*      *e*<sup>-3</sup>-[*re-ro*<sup>-1</sup>-*'a*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>,      *e'i*      *waĩwĩ*<sup>38</sup>  
IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-go      Namikwan      1SG.P-SOC-lie.down.CVB      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say      woman  
"He lied down next to a woman [in her hammock]. [...] A Namikwan lay down next to me," said the woman. (TW)

### 3.2.1.3 Valence-preserving noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is relatively common in Wayampi. Verb bases may incorporate one noun stem, which must be an obligatorily possessed noun stem. Similar to intransitivization and transitivization, noun incorporation serves as a frequent strategy for creating new verb bases to meet communicative needs, while maintaining a manageable lexicon size. Complex verb bases formed through noun incorporation are best analyzed as *ad hoc* noun-verb formations.<sup>39</sup> This process is distinct from the lexical N-V compounds discussed in §3.1.2.3, which are not productive verb-forming constructions.

Noun incorporation in Wayampi is valence-preserving. That is, the number of core arguments of the verb base remains unchanged. In other words, the transitivity of the verb is preserved: a transitive verb remains transitive, and an intransitive verb remains intransitive. The core conceptual meaning of the verb itself likewise remains unchanged. However, participant roles are redistributed, as an oblique argument is promoted to the core argument position (A/S) vacated by the incorporated noun. In typological literature, this type of noun incorporation is commonly referred to as "Type II" (Mithun

<sup>37</sup> The verb stem *'au* is attested in Kayabi. Its cognate in Wayampi is *'a* (not to be confused with *'ar* 'to fall').

<sup>38</sup> The noun *tapy'ỹi* refers to any kind of unlucky charm, person, or spirit considered hostile and extremely dangerous. In this example, it specifically refers to the now-extinct Namikwan ethnic group, whom the Wayampi used to fight. Pi'amisi returned to his village without his sister Majamajari, and lay down next to a woman, who is his mother. She believes that he and his sister have been eaten by the Namikwan and does not expect them back, mistaking him for a Namikwan.

<sup>39</sup> In this context, *ad hoc* refers to productive, non-lexicalized forms created in discourse, as opposed to lexicalized ones stored as independent dictionary entries.

1984).<sup>40</sup> In Wayampi, any morphosyntactic type of verb can incorporate a noun stem: a transitive verb (72), an intransitive active verb (73), or an intransitive stative verb (74).

- (72)  $o^{-4/-3}$ -[ $ku'a^{-1}$ - $eta^0$ ] $^{\beta}$ - $k\ddot{o}^4$       *teve*      *i-juka*      *kupa*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-waist.of-cut.off-3PL.OBJ    also      3.P-kill.CVB      3PL.SBJ  
 ‘They also killed [some of] them by cutting them in half at the waist.’  
 (AW – Hebrew 11:37)
- (73)  $a^{-4/-3}$ -[ $po^{-1}$ - $kai^0$ ] $^{\beta}$       *tata re*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-hand.of-burn    fire    ADESS  
 ‘I have burned my hand on fire.’ (TW)
- (74)  $n^{-4}$ - $i^{-3}$ -[ $pi^{-1}$ - $kasi^0$ ] $^{\beta}$       *'eteay*.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:3.P-body.of-be.strong:NEG.IND      extremely
- o-tekorãn-à=pe*      *ik\ddot{o}*      *am\ddot{e}*      *ky'y*.  
 3SS.PSR-disease-REF=INESS      PTCL      then      ASS  
 ‘But she is completely out of shape because of her disease.’ (AW – Mark 5:26)  
 (*lit.*, ‘But she is not strong-bodied in her disease.’)

### 3.2.1.4 Combinations

The previous sections discussed verb bases formed by applying intransivization, transitivity, or noun incorporation once to a minimal verb base, that is, a verb stem. For ease of reference, I refer to these as *first-order* verb bases. In Wayampi, some of these processes can be applied recursively, leading to *higher-order* verb bases. This section provides a brief overview of all types of higher-order verb bases attested in my corpus; these are shown in Table 7.<sup>41</sup> (In this table,  $V_{tr}$  denotes a transitive verb stem,  $V_{intr}$  denotes an intransitive verb stem, and N denotes a noun stem.)

	-1	0		-1	0		
	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
1		N	<i>mo-</i>	$V_{intr}$ .	(75)		
2	<i>ji-</i>		<i>mo-</i>	$V_{intr}$ .	(76)	5	<i>ji-</i> N $V_{tr}$ .    (79)
3	<i>ji-</i>		$^{\circ}$ <i>ero-</i>	$V_{intr}$ .	(77)	6	<i>mo-</i> <i>ji-</i> $V_{tr}$ .    (80)
4	<i>ji-</i>	N	<i>mo-</i>	$V_{intr}$ .	(78)	7	<i>ji-</i> <i>mo-</i> <i>ji-</i> $V_{tr}$ .    (81)

Table 7: Attested types of second- and third-order verb stems

Each of these types is illustrated by a single example below.

- (75)  $pe^{-4/-3}$ -[ $n\ddot{a}\ddot{i}^{-1}$ - $mo^{-1}$ - $toro^0$ ] $^{\beta}$       *rem\ddot{e}*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.P-tooth.of-CAUS-be.pulled.out    when
- pe-ovajarĩ*      [ $\ddot{a}\ddot{i}^{-1}$ - $mo^{-1}$ - $toro^0$ ] $^{\beta}$ .  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.P-do.the.same.with      3.P:tooth.of-CAUS-be.pulled.out.CVB  
 ‘If he pulls one of your<sub>(SG)</sub> teeth, you [must] do the same and pull one of his.’  
 (AW – Matthew 5:38)

<sup>40</sup> Queixalós (2008: 67) coined the more transparent term “redistributive incorporation”.

<sup>41</sup> The combination types with the antipassive prefix *poro-* will be covered in §3.2.2.

- (76) *pira*  $o^{-4/-3}$ -[ $j^{-1}$ -**mo**<sup>-1</sup>- $'a$ <sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *tyramai* *pupe*.  
 fish IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-CAUS-fall casting.net INESS  
 ‘The fish have been caught with a casting net.’ (TW)
- (77) *ajawyi* *pe-neko-aiwer-à* *ta-pe-itypypyi-pa* *ikeně*,  
 then 2PL.PSR-way.of.life.of-wicked-REF SBJV-2PL.A-renounce-overly OBLG  
*a-'e-pa* *pejě*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-say-overly PRO.2PL:DAT  
*ta*<sup>-4</sup>-*pe*<sup>-3</sup>-[ $ji^{-1}$ -**ro**<sup>-1</sup>-*jivy*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*e'y*<sup>5</sup> *ae-kwer-à* *kyty*.  
 SBJV-2PL.A-MID-SOC-go.back=NEG.SBJV PRO.ANA-COLL-REF ALL  
 ‘‘You<sub>(PL)</sub> must renounce your evil deeds, I tell you. Do not return to them.’’  
 (AW – Ephesians 4:22)
- (78)  $a^{-4/-3}$ -[ $j^{-1}$ -**akā**<sup>-1</sup>-**mo**<sup>-1</sup>-*kutakuta*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-MID-head.of-CAUS-REDUP:dodder  
 ‘I gave a nod in approval.’ (TW)
- (79) *amě* *a'e* *rākā* *re* *wyra* *kō*  
 then PRO.ANA branch.of ADESS bird PL  
*uu*  $o^{-3}$ -[ $ji^{-1}$ -**owaity**<sup>-1</sup>-*nō*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>, *e'i*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:come 3.A-MID-nest.of-make.CVB IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘‘Birds flock here to build their nests,’’ he said.’ (AW – Luke 13:19)
- (80)  $o^{-4/-3}$ -[**mo**<sup>-1</sup>- $ji^{-1}$ -*sa*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *raparina* *tena*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-MID-see lamp ABS\room.of  
*oro-ji-mo-aty* *mā'ě-pè* *oro-ku*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-MID-VBLZ-group.of REL-LOC 1.A-be.located  
*a'e* *tetā* *yvate'e-sa'u* *mā'ě-pè*.  
 PRO.ANA ABS\room.of IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P:be.high.up-INCR REL-LOC  
 ‘The lamps lit up the entire room where we had gathered, the room at the very top of the house.’ (AW – Acts of the Apostles 20:8)
- (81) *āwitō* *o-ji-mojāmori-a* *rupi* *o-ji-kuwa*  
 just.as IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-immersed-NMLZ.EVT:REF PERL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-know  
*Janejare'e* *ra'yry-ròmō*, *āwīvo* *ve*  
 God son.of-ATTR IND<sup>+</sup>:be.similarly too  
*o-manō-a* *rupi*  $o^{-4/-3}$ -[ $ji^{-1}$ -**mo**<sup>-1</sup>- $ji^{-1}$ -*kuwa*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *teve*.  
 3SS.PSR-die-NMLZ.EVT:REF PERL 3.A-MID-CAUS-MID-know.CVB also  
 ‘Just as he revealed himself as the Son of God at his baptism, he also made himself known as such through his death.’ (AW – 1 John 5:6)

Higher-order verb bases can also be derived from verbalized verb stems (82), compound noun-verb stems (83), or verb-verb stems (84).

- (82) *ajãg-aiw-er-à*      *pe-mo-ẽ*      *i-mono*  
 spirit-bad-COLL-REF      IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-CAUS-take.out      3.P-SEND.CVB
- o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-[*mo-emija*]<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>      *ee*      *mã'ẽ*      *kõ*      *wyi*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-VBLZ-prey.of      3DS.PSR:ADESS      REL      PL      ABL
- e-ayvu*      *rupi,*      *e'i*      *ij-upe-kõ.*  
 1SG.PSR-speech      PERL      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say      3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR
- ‘“Through my word, you<sub>(PL)</sub> can drive out evil spirits from those who are possessed,”  
 he told them.’ (AW – Luke 9:1)
- (83) *pe-pota*      *sõ*      *pe*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-[*teko-kuwa*]<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>      *remẽ,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-want      EXCLM      IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-MID-CAUS-ABS\way.of.life.of-know      if
- pe-enu-katu*      *kuwa*      *e-ayvu*      *mijã.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-hear-well      COND      1SG.PSR-speech      HYP
- ‘If you<sub>(PL)</sub> want to understand, you must listen carefully to my word.’  
 (AW – Matthew 13:15)
- (84) *moma'e*      *ra'yĩ-gwer-à*      *sirikwer-à*  
 thing      seed.of-COLL-REF      tiny.thing-REF
- o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-[*pepei-itỹ*]<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>      *o-koo*      *rupi*      *ero-kwa*.<sup>42</sup>  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-scatter-sow      3SS.PSR-field      PERL      3.P:SOC-GO.AWAY.CVB
- ‘He scattered small seeds, tossing them across his field.’ (AW – Luke 8:5)

As shown, the position –1 elements that form a verb base follow a specific internal logic, summarized as follows. A valence/voice prefix combines with a verb base such that the transitivity of the verb contrasts with that of the prefix. A noun stem can be incorporated into the verb base, regardless of its transitivity, without changing this value. These processes are applied sequentially in a right-to-left direction relative to the verb base.

At first glance, the sequence types in Table 7 suggest a template-like structure (Table 8). However, numerous combinatorial restrictions—starting with the transitive value of verb stems—cast doubt on this template. The ability of *ji-* and *mo-* to appear in either order (configurations 2 and 6 in Table 7) and to form mixed prefix sequences (configuration 7) shows the internal layering of position –1. Therefore, I consider position –1 elements as subpositions within a macro-position (zone), rather than fixed slots.

-1				0
A	B	C	D	
∅	∅	N	∅	V
<i>ji-</i>	<i>ji-</i>		<i>ji-</i>	
	<i>mo-</i>		<i>mo-</i>	
			<i>°ero-</i>	

Table 8: Hypothetical combinatorial possibilities of position –1 elements with a verb stem

Taken together, the processes described in §3.2.1 show that position –1 forms a morphologically coherent zone, within which valence- and voice-related prefixes interact productively with verb stems and with each other. Their ordering is flexible, their combinability is constrained by the transitivity of the base, and noun incorporation can intervene without altering valence. Beyond this zone, however,

<sup>42</sup> When used as an auxiliary, the transitive general converb *erokwa* carries a distributive meaning and can therefore be translated as ‘all over’.

Wayampi exhibits additional prefixal morphology whose behavior cannot be accounted for by the internal logic of position –1. The most prominent of these is the antipassivizer *poro-*, which occupies a distinct position in the verbal template and displays a different set of combinatorial properties.

### 3.2.2 Position slot –2: The antipassivizer *poro-*

The prefix *poro-* applies only to transitive verb bases, transforming them into intransitive verb bases. It occupies a distinct, dedicated position within the verb structure—namely, position –2. Two independent observations support this analysis.

First, *poro-* can be followed by the direct causative *mo-* and the sociative causative  $^{\circ}$ *ero-* markers, but it cannot be preceded by them or by the middle *ji-* marker. When two or more position –1 prefixes are present, their relative order can vary: both *ji-mo-* and *mo-ji-* are attested. The sequence  $^{\circ}$ *ero-ji-* is not productive, unlike *ji-(e)ro-*, but it occurs in some *media tantum* verb stems, suggesting this ordering may once have been possible. No such bidirectional pattern is found with *poro-* in Wayampi.<sup>43</sup> This positional asymmetry suggests that, unlike *mo-*,  $^{\circ}$ *ero-*, and *ji-*, *poro-* cannot occupy position –1 (§3.2.1). Examples 85–6 illustrate the sequences *poro-mo-* and *poro-ero-*.

- (85) *ij-agyo* *ywete* *i-kasi-a* *re*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P-be.filled.with.emotion INTS 3DS.PSR-be.strong-NMLZ.EVT:REF ADESS

*o-mājā* *kupa,* [*poro*<sup>-2</sup>-*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*katu*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *remě.*  
 3.A-observe.CVB 3PL.SBJ IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-CAUS-be.good when  
 ‘They are amazed by the power he shows while performing healings.’  
 (AW – Matthew 21:15)

- (86) *ije* *korijō* *te* [*poro*<sup>-2</sup>-*ero*<sup>-1</sup>-*vaē*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *kuwa*  
 PRO.1SG only FOC IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-SOC-arrive COND

*papa pyri* *ta-pe-iko-karuaru,* *e'i.*  
 dad APUD SBJV-2PL.A-be-forever IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘‘I am the only one who can bring [you<sub>(PL)</sub>] to my Father so that you may live by His side for eternity,’’ he said.’ (AW – John 14:6)

A second indication that *poro-* occupies position –2 is that in AW, the verb word of a main verb marked with *poro-* may be preceded by cross-index. This co-occurrence is restricted to first-person subjects, as illustrated by the Set A person markers *a-* and *oro-* in the following three examples.

- (87) *kewe* *a-jo* *t<sup>4</sup>-a<sup>-3</sup>-[poro<sup>-2</sup>-ika<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>,* *e'i*  
 here IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-come SBJV-1SG.A-ANTP-kill IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘‘I came here to kill [you<sub>(PL)</sub>] / people,’’ he said (i.e., the evil spirit).’ (TW)

- (88) *kewe* *a<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[poro<sup>-2</sup>-arō<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>* *ra'i* *a-ipa,*  
 here IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-ANTP-wait=FUT ATTN 1SG.A-AUX<sub>1</sub>

*e'i* *ije.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say PRO.1SG:DAT  
 ‘‘I’m going to wait [for you<sub>(PL)</sub>] here,’’ he told me.’ (TW)

- (89) *oro<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[poro<sup>-2</sup>-mo<sup>-1</sup>-katu<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>,* *e'i* *kupa* *ipi.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-ANTP-CAUS-be.good=FUT IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say 3PL.SBJ HAB  
 ‘‘We’re going to treat [you<sub>(PL)</sub>] / people,’’ they usually say.’ (TW)

Example 89 is particularly revealing, as it presents a fully expanded sequence in which a cross-index (*oro-*) precedes *poro-*, which itself is followed by a position –1 element (*mo-*). This configuration

<sup>43</sup> This pattern is attested in Tupinambá, where—unlike in Wayampi—both the sequences *mo-poro-* and *poro-mo-* are found (Ferraz Gerardi 2022: 154).

makes the relative ordering of these three morphological positions explicit and provides direct evidence for the placement of *poro-* in position –2.

Although seemingly straightforward, this positioning is not without issues, since in TW, main verbs marked with *poro-* and featuring a first-person subject may also occur without the Set A first-person cross-index, as shown in 90.

- (90) [poro<sup>-4/-2</sup>-arδ<sup>0</sup>]β=ta<sup>5</sup>    ra'i    ta-pe-kane'ōmi    ra'i.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-wait=FUT    ATTN    SBJV-2PL.P-catch.one's.breath    ATTN  
 'I'm going to wait [for you<sub>(PL)</sub>] so that you can catch your breath.' (TW)

Moreover, in this dialect, main verbs marked with *poro-* and bearing a non-third-person subject never take a cross-index, as illustrated in 91.

- (91) a'evo    tewē    arakausa    jane-juka    we    nĩ,  
 likewise also    rifle    IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.P-kill too ASS  
 ivove    ore-rapa-'y    [poro<sup>-4/-2</sup>-juka<sup>0</sup>]β we    nĩ.  
 identically 1PL.PSR-arrow-traditional IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-kill too ASS  
 'With the rifle, people got themselves killed that way too. It was the same with our arrows, they were just as deadly.' (TW)

In AW, this tendency is even stronger. Unlike in TW, main verbs marked with *poro-* systematically omit the cross-index that would otherwise precede them. Consequently, inflectional encoding of the subject within the verb word is impossible, irrespective of person-number features. This is clearly illustrated by all the examples of main verbs marked with *poro-* that lack a cross-index. However, the participant corresponding to this argument is not eliminated from the lexical meaning of the verb base, as it can still appear within the clause either as a nominal (92) or as a Set A cross-index in an auxiliary, such as a general converb (93).

- (92) ije    poro-pyteporo,  
 PRO.1SG    IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-choose  
 e-remi-mo'e-ar-à    kō-ròmō  
 1SG.PSR-PERM.NMLZ-teach-NMLZ.AGT-REF    PL-ATTR  
 ta-pe-iko,    e'i.<sup>44</sup>  
 SBJV-2PL.A-be    IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 '“I will choose you<sub>(PL)</sub> to be my disciples," he said.' (AW – Matthew 10:1)  
 (lit., 'I will make a choice so that you<sub>(PL)</sub> may be my disciples.')
- (93) aepo    ayvu-katu    re    te  
 PRO.AUD    word-good    ADESS    FOC  
 poro-mo-tekokuwa    a-iko    ipi.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-CAUS-be.wise    1SG.A-BE.CVB    HAB  
 'This is the good news I bring, as a matter of course.' (AW – 1 Corinthians 15:11)

The near-systematic absence of a cross-index in main verbs marked with *poro-* suggests that this prefix may stand in a disjunctive relation with cross-indexes. In other words, it may behave like a cross-index, as previously suggested by Couchili *et al.* (2002: 179) in relation to its cognate in Teko. These authors proposed that *poro-* might function as a Set P second-person cross-index. This hypothe-

<sup>44</sup> In TG linguistics, the prefix <sup>o</sup>emi- is traditionally described as a patient deverbal nominalizer (Rodrigues 1953: 144; Jensen 1998: 541–2). Its co-occurrence with the agent nominalizer -ar in the nominal e-remi-mo'e-ar-à suggests that this interpretation does not apply to Wayampi. Indeed, it would be inconsistent for a single verb base to undergo nominal derivation through both an agent and a patient marker simultaneously. Alternatively, if <sup>o</sup>emi- is interpreted as a permutative voice marker (A becomes P and P becomes A) that obligatorily nominalizes the verb base (with P becoming a possessor and A an adnominal adjunct), and -ar as an agentivizer that may either nominalize a verb base or simply agentivize a nominalized verb base, then the observed co-occurrence within a single nominal form becomes meaningful.

sis was later taken up by Rose (2009b: 64, 69) who, however, reanalyzed *poro-* as encoding a fourth person, referring to a generic human P-argument.

Although this hypothesis may appear plausible at first glance, it seems unlikely for Wayampi. One major reason for rejecting this hypothesis is that, in contexts requiring transitivity harmony, a main verb marked with *poro-* triggers the appearance of the intransitive generic verb *iko* ‘to be, to exist, to act as’, a behavior analogous to that observed with intransitive main verbs. If the verb form marked by *poro-* were truly transitive in this context, one would expect the transitive generic verb *°ereko* ‘to have, to possess, to hold, to do’ to appear instead. The example below illustrates this phenomenon: as the main verb *o-ji-rovija-oka*, marked as intransitive by the middle *ji-*, prompts the appearance of *iko* in the main clause, so too does the main verb *poro-auvay-oka*. If *poro-auvay-oka* is indeed intransitive, then *poro-* cannot function as a cross-index.

- (94) *Kiristu Jesu o-ji-rovija-oka jane rewarãmõ,*  
 Jesus Christ IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-believe-DEAGTZ PRO.INCL because
- ãwĩvo t-ere-iko ipi... ãmõ, [poro<sup>-2</sup>-auvay<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup>*  
 similarly SBJV-2SG.A-act.as HAB and IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-love-DEAGTZ
- Janejare'e ipi rewarãmõ, a'evo t-ere-iko ipi.*  
 God HAB because likewise SBJV-2SG.A-act.as HAB  
 ‘Since Jesus Christ provokes faith in us, you<sub>(SG)</sub> must do the same. And since God  
 inspires love, you must do the same.’ (AW – 2 Timothy 1:13)

A second problem with interpreting *poro-* as a cross-index is that it can appear naturally in verbal nouns. This use is frequent in Wayampi. Below is one illustrative example, selected from many others:

- (95) *Janejare'e ayvu re [poro<sup>-2</sup>-mo'e<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-a*  
 God word ADESS ANTP-teach-NMLZ.EVT:REF
- a'evo ve jimitỹ-a ipi.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.likewise too sow.seeds-NMLZ.EVT:REF HAB  
 ‘Teaching the Word of God is just like sowing seeds.’ (AW – Luke 8:5)

The possibility that *poro-* appears in a verbal noun could, however, be compatible—if one overlooks its other properties—with the hypothesis proposed by Jensen (1998: 536), according to which this element would be an incorporated noun meaning ‘person’. Nevertheless, this analysis does not account for, among other empirical facts, the observation, illustrated in 96, that *poro-* can be followed by an incorporated noun stem.

- (96) *nuve=i 'ete [poro<sup>-2</sup>-ayvu<sup>-1</sup>-vaja<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup> mã'ẽ kõ.*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:exist=NEG.IND extremely IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-word-provoke=FUT REL PL  
 ‘There will be absolutely no one who will quibble.’ (AW – 1 Corinthians 1:20)  
 (*lit.*, ‘Those whose will make provocations through words do not exist at all.’)

Taken together, these features indicate that *poro-* is a derivational prefix belonging to the same semantic-functional class as the middle *ji-*, the direct causative *mo-*, the sociative causative *°ero-* markers, but occupying a different positional class (position –2 vs. position –1). This peculiarity may reflect a relatively recent grammaticalization of *poro-*, compared with *ji-*, *mo-*, and *°ero-*.

Given these properties, *poro-* is best analyzed as an antipassive marker (Copin 2024), demoting the P-argument of a transitive verb base to an oblique role while promoting the A-argument to S. In the absence of a discourse context specifying its referent, as in 87 above, the non-expressed downgraded P is typically interpreted as unspecified or generic, which aligns fully with the behavior of a P-suppressing antipassive. Nevertheless, other readings remain possible, the most common of which is a second-person plural participant, as in 88 above. Sometimes, both readings are equally plausible for a single utterance, as in 89 above, while in other cases neither applies. A use of *poro-* that fully suppresses the P is illustrated in 97.

- (97) *ãwĩvo*                    *ve*                    *Janejare'e*   *remi-mo-morijau*                    *kõ*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.similarly too                    God                    PERM.NMLZ-CAUS-be.missing PL
- ruwy-kwer-à*                    *o-ty'oty'o*                    *'ete,*  
 blood.of-RETR-REF                    IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-REDUP:drain                    extremely
- w-aty-pa*                    *'ete*                    *amẽ*                    *yvy,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-cover-overly                    extremely                    then                    earth
- typy*                    *tesõ*                    [*poro*<sup>-4/-2</sup>-*ero*<sup>-1</sup>-*ike*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>]<sup>β</sup>                    *amẽ,*  
 deeply                    exceedingly                    IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-SOC-enter-overly                    then
- yyporu*                    *vo*                    *tesõ*                    *o-ji-nõ.*  
 thundery.shower                    SIMIL                    exceedingly                    IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-make  
 ‘Similarly, he (i.e., the angel of extermination) drains all the blood from those punished by God. It (i.e., the blood) then completely covers the earth. It is absorbed deeply, down to the last drop. It pours forth as a deluge.’ (AW – Revelation 14:20)

In this example, starting from the second clause onward, the referent of all subjects is blood. In the third clause, the downgraded P of the verb base in the general converb cannot be interpreted as an unexpressed demoted P. Hence, translating it as “everybody” or “everything” is impossible. The core meaning of this clause is that blood *mixes with* the earth (*ero*-), *enters* the ground (*ike*), *completely* (*-pa*), and *deeply* (*typy*). There is no demoted P here; the P is entirely suppressed and, for this reason, is unrecoverable. In short, the verb form *poro-ero-ike-pa* is clearly intransitive, but its status is better captured as a monovalent verb, reflecting the antipassive suppression of the P-argument.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, main verbs with antipassivizing morphology, like other main verbs, also bear a mood marker. This fact was not explicitly demonstrated in the previous examples, since the positive indicative mood remains unmarked in Wayampi (§3.3.1). However, it becomes apparent in forms expressing the negative indicative mood (98) and the subjunctive (99), where the mood marking is overtly realized.

- (98) *anĩ,*                    *ije*                    *no*<sup>-4</sup>-[*poro*<sup>-2</sup>-*kuwa*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup>,                    *ava*   *põ*                    *pejẽ,*  
 no                    PRO.1SG                    IND<sup>-</sup>-ANTP-know=NEG.IND                    who   Q                    PRO.2PL
- e'i*                    *ij-upe-kõ.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say                    3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR  
 ‘“No, I have no knowledge of who you<sub>(PL)</sub> are,” he said to them.’  
 (AW – Matthew 25:12)
- (99) *to*<sup>-4</sup>-[*poro*<sup>-2</sup>-*erõarõ*<sup>0</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*e'ĩ*<sup>5</sup>                    *teve*                    *ikõ*                    *pe-iko*                    *nẽ.*  
 SBJV-ANTP-despise=NEG.SBJV                    also                    PTCL                    2PL.A-BE.CVB                    OBLG  
 ‘Nor should you<sub>(PL)</sub> feel contempt.’ (AW – 1 Corinthians 4:7)

This completes the description of the derivational prefixes that precede the verb stem. We now turn to the elements that follow it.

### 3.2.3 Position slot 1: The post-verbs

*Post-verbs* form a closed class of stem-like forms in slot 1 that convey meanings typically expressed by adverbials in European languages. They do not affect the verb base’s valence pattern. At present,

<sup>45</sup> An example like 97 suggests another possible interpretation of *poro-* in Wayampi. Rather than functioning solely as an antipassivizer—a voice marker that backgrounds the P-argument of a transitive verb—it might function as a depatientivizer, a marker that causes the verb base to no longer entail a participant corresponding to the P-argument. In both cases, the verb base becomes intransitive, though for different reasons. An antipassivizer changes the syntactic status of the P-argument, which is no longer treated as a core argument. By contrast, a depatientivizing marker removes a participant role from the lexical meaning of the verb base. While antipassivization is a syntactic process, depatientivization—like causativization—operates at the interface of syntax and semantics. Demonstrating this effect for *poro-* would require more in-depth investigation; here, I adopt the more cautious hypothesis that *poro-* functions as an antipassivizer.

only the four forms listed in Table 9 have been identified as post-verbs; all are highly productive and can combine with any verb base compatible with their meanings. Further members may emerge as more data become available.

-ay	‘very, exceedingly’	<	°ay <sub>v</sub>	‘to be hurting, to be aching, to be sore’
-katu ~ -gatu <sup>46</sup>	‘properly, appropriately, willingly’	<	katu <sub>v</sub>	‘to be good, to be fine’
-pa ~ -ma <sup>47</sup>	‘overly, immoderately, to excess’	<	pa <sub>v</sub>	‘to finish, to end’
-puku	‘long, for a long time’	<	puku <sub>v</sub>	‘to be far away, to be a long way off’

Table 9: Some post-verbs

The next four examples illustrate how these components are positioned between the verb stem (slot 0) and the deagentivizing suffix *-okar* (slot 2).

- (100) *ene ywesō Janejare'e*  
 PRO.2SG above.all God  
*ne*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*moe'e*<sup>0</sup>-*ay*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *e-wyi.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.P-pay.tribute-very-DEAGTZ 1SG.PSR-ABL  
 ‘You<sub>(SG)</sub> have been blessed by God more than I have been.’ (AW – Luke 1:43)
- (101) *a*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-*mo'e*<sup>0</sup>-*katu*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup> *ij-upe-kō*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-MID-teach-properly-DEAGTZ=FUT 3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR  
*t-a-kuwa ij-ayvu.*  
 SBJV-1SG.A-know 3DS.PSR-word  
 ‘To know His Word, I will learn properly from them.’ (AW – Luke 1:3)
- (102) *ajawyi pirujē w*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*apisi*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *ja'yr-er-à kō.*  
 then all IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-kill-overly-DEAGTZ child-COLL-REF PL  
 ‘Then he ordered all the children to be killed off.’ (AW – Matthew 2:16)
- (103) *t*<sup>-4</sup>-*ere*<sup>-3</sup>-[*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-*arō*<sup>0</sup>-*puku*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*e'y*<sup>5</sup> *ikō ore ky'y nē.*  
 SBJV-2SG.A-MID-wait-long-DEAGTZ=NEG.SBJV PTCL PRO.1PL ASS OBLG  
 ‘You<sub>(SG)</sub> mustn't make us wait for long.’ (AW – John 10:24)

Examples 101 and 103 are noteworthy in that they show a post-verb having scope over a complex verb base—a minimal verb stem (i.e., a bare verb root) preceded by the middle marker *ji-* in these cases. The next two examples illustrate the same post-verbs taking scope over a simple verb base consisting solely of a verb root, without the deagentivizing suffix *-okar*.

- (104) *e-pyta jē rā'ĩ ore-pyri, e'i kupa,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-IMP-stay PTCL ATTN 1PL.PSR-APUD IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say 3PL.SBJ  
*ore*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo'e*<sup>0</sup>-*katu*<sup>1</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *rā'ĩ re-jupa,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1PL.P-teach-properly ATTN 2SG.A-AUX<sub>1</sub>  
*e'i epe ij-upe kupa.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say NGE 3DS.PSR-DAT 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘“Then stay with us,” they said. “Teach us properly,” they added.’ (AW – Luke 4:42)

<sup>46</sup> The form *-gatu* arises when nasal harmony is triggered by a nasal phoneme in the verb stem.

<sup>47</sup> The form *-ma* arises when nasal harmony is triggered by a nasal phoneme in the verb stem.

- (105) *a'e-pè*                      *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*pyta*<sup>0</sup>-*puku*<sup>1</sup>]<sup>β</sup>                      *rãĩ*                      *Jesu*.  
 PRO.ANA-LOC                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-stay-long                      ATTN                      Jesus  
 ‘Jesus stayed there for a while.’ (AW – John 3:22)

Like other components of the verb base, a post-verb can occur in various types of verb forms: in a main verb, as shown in the six examples above, as well as in general converbs (106) and in manner converbs (107).

- (106) *ajaire*                      *yva-ratãsi*                      *o-wyji*                      *ij*<sup>-3</sup>-[*aty*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>.  
 afterwards                      sky-smoke.of                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-come.down                      3.P-cover.CVB-overly-3PL.OBJ  
 ‘Then a cloud descended [and] enveloped them [in its shadow].’ (AW – Mark 9:7)

- (107) *mõa'ãrõwã*                      *apykã-kõ*                      *re*                      *o-ji-kusiwa-pa*  
 many                      3DS.PSR:forehead.of-PL.PSR                      ADESS                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-write-overly

*i*<sup>-3</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-*kuwa*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>-*ròmõ*.  
 3.P-CAUS-MID-know.CVB-overly-3PL.OBJ-CVB.MNR  
 ‘Many were marked on the forehead to identify them.’ (AW – Revelation 7:4)

Post-verbs are homophonous with verb roots and immediately follow the verb stem, which can sometimes make them difficult to distinguish from the second elements of compound verb–verb stems (§3.1.2.3). Unlike these compounds, however, post-verbs may take scope over larger domains and are never reduplicated, unlike compound second elements. Unfortunately, the absence of reduplicated compound verb–verb stems in my corpus makes it impossible to determine whether the second elements of these complex stems can be reduplicated. If reduplication is possible, these elements likely occupy a position distinct from post-verbs. If not, these forms would appear in the post-verb slot, suggesting that some sequences previously analyzed as compound verb–verb stems are actually lexicalized sequences of a verb root plus a post-verb. Thus, the issue is not the existence of the post-verb position, but whether verb–verb compounds exist as independent stems.

I tentatively propose the following hypothesis, pending further research: the post-verb position in Wayampi likely once hosted the second verb in a verb-root serialization construction.<sup>48</sup> As this process waned, the slot was reanalyzed as a derivational position, now reserved for a limited set of verbal suffixes.

### 3.2.4 Position slot 2: The deagentivizer *-okar*

Position 2 in the verb structure is occupied by a single marker: the deagentivizing suffix *-okar*. The following examples illustrate this placement. In 108, *-okar* is preceded by a position 1 suffix (*-pa* ‘immoderately’), and in 109, by a position 3 suffix (*-ra'ãga* ‘simulative’).

- (108) *tapuru=pè*                      *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*'u*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>                      *t-o-mãnõ*.  
 maggot=INESS                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-ingest-overly-DEAGTZ                      SBJV-3.A-die  
 ‘He let the maggots consume him so that he could die.’  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 12:23)

<sup>48</sup> In the typological literature, verb root serialization is often termed *nuclear-layer serialization*, as defined by Foley & Olson (1985). Among TG languages, this construction is attested in Avañe'ẽ, where it is occasionally referred to as “concomitant manner serialization” (Velázquez-Castillo 2004).

- (109) *o-inð-ma kupa remẽ,*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-make-CMPL 3PL.SBJ when
- o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ji*<sup>-1</sup>-[*'ãg-ekyi*]<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>-*ra'ãga*<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup>  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-MID-breath.of-take-DEAGTZ-SIMUL
- ovake-kõ o-kasi-a rupi.*  
 3DS.PSR:front.of-PL.PSR 3SS.PSR-be.strong-NMLZ.EVT:REF PERL  
 ‘Once they had finished making it<sub>i</sub> (i.e., the statue), it<sub>j</sub> (i.e., the second beast) endowed it<sub>i</sub> with life through its<sub>j</sub> power, creating the illusion that it<sub>i</sub> was breathing before them.’ (AW – Revelation 13:15)

The derivative *-okar* applies to transitive verb bases and yields transitive verb bases. Examples like 110 have led TG scholars to analyze this marker—or its cognates in other languages—as a valence-increasing morpheme that introduces an additional argument, thereby transforming a bivalent verb base into a trivalent one.<sup>49</sup> More precisely, this new argument corresponds to a participant who is caused to perform the action (the causee, or mediator). Thus, in 110, taken from the Lord’s Prayer, the participant expressed by the dative-marked complement *ne-upe* (God Himself) is, according to this analysis, an (oblique) argument.

- (110) *oro*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*itypypyi*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *ore-aiwer-er-à*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-renounce-overly-DEAGTZ 1PL.PSR-bad.thing-COLL-REF
- ne-upe remẽ, “awyjepa” ere*  
 2SG.PSR-DAT when IND<sup>+</sup>:be.over IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A:say
- ore-aiwer-er-à-pe.*  
 1PL.PSR-bad.thing-COLL-REF-DAT  
 ‘When we ask You<sub>(SG)</sub> to forgive all our sins, You say of them, “It is finished.”’  
 (AW – Matthew 6:12)

Crucially, apart from what the translation suggests, there is no clear evidence that the dative-marked complement truly functions as an argument in Wayampi. It may instead be an adjunct whose argumental interpretation is imposed by its English “equivalent”. The marker *-okar* often allows the addition of a causee. However, three observations suggest that this participant is better analyzed as a non-argument.

First, in this construction, a dative-marked complement can be interpreted as a recipient rather than a causee, and the causee may be left unexpressed if the speaker considers it non-essential. Both points appear in the following example.

- (111) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*me'ẽ*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *eã-gwer-à ij-upe amẽ.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-give-DEAGTZ 3DS.PSR:life.energy.of-RETR-REF 3DS.PSR-DAT then  
 ‘He (i.e., Pontius Pilate) then ordered that his body (i.e., Jesus’) be delivered.’  
 (AW – Matthew 27:58)

Second, the causee may be expressed by a non-dative complement, such as the perlocative complement in 112.

- (112) *ja-otỹ maire, ejõtĩ ipi, Janejare'e te*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-sow after IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P:sprout HAB God FOC
- o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ejõtĩ*<sup>0</sup>]-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> *w-emi-mota rupi.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-sprout-DEAGTZ 3SS.PSR-PERM.NMLZ-want PERL  
 ‘Once we sow it, it sprouts[, for] God causes it to sprout by His will alone.’  
 (AW – 1 Corinthians 15:38)

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, Velázquez-Castillo’s (2002) analysis of *-uka* in Avañeẽ.

Third, in some contexts a causee cannot be added. For instance, in 112, the participant performing the action is the causal agent himself, God. In such cases, the A-argument simultaneously fulfills the roles of both causal agent and causee, leaving no argument position available for a distinct causee.

- (113) *a'e te jane<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[reinō<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> pirujē.<sup>50</sup>*  
 PRO.ANA FOC IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.P-create-DEAGTZ all  
 ‘He (i.e., God) took the necessary steps to be the one who creates us all.’  
 (*lit.*, ‘He made sure that it was himself who created us all.’) (AW – Corinthians 8:6)

Overall, *-okar* encodes a notion of indirect causation. It reduces the agentivity of the A-argument, recasting it as an effector or instigator. However, unlike a prototypical indirect causative marker, it does not necessarily imply that another participant (a causee) carries out the action under the causer’s influence. The causee may indeed remain implicit or entirely absent, suggesting that—when present—this participant occupies a *peripheral* syntactic role. In other words, *-okar* does not change the valence of the verb base—the construction still involves only A and P core arguments—but affects only its lexical-semantic representation, modifying not the number of participant roles but the semantic role of the participant encoded as A-argument.<sup>51</sup>

As with other elements of the verb base, the suffix *-okar* can appear in various syntactic types of verb forms: in a main verb, as demonstrated in the preceding examples; in intransitive converbs (114) as well as transitive general converbs (115); and in verbal nouns (116).

- (114) *a'e kō w-apukai o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[ji<sup>-1</sup>-porijauesa<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>*  
 PRO.ANA PL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P-shout 3.A-MID-have.mercy.CVB-DEAGTZ  
*Jesu-pè kupa.*  
 Jesus-DAT 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘They begged Jesus, shouting out.’ (AW – Matthew 9:27)
- (115) *ajawyi i-tekorã mã'ẽ kō w-erueru Jesu kyty*  
 then IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P-disease REL PL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-REDUP:bring Jesus ALL  
*i<sup>-3</sup>-[mo<sup>-1</sup>-katu<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup> ij-upe kupa ipi.*  
 3.P-CAUS-be.good.CVB-DEAGTZ 3DS.PSR-DAT 3PL.SBJ HAB  
 ‘Then, they brought the sick to Jesus to be healed.’ (AW – Matthew 24:4)  
 (*lit.*, ‘... they brought those who had a disease to Jesus and made them heal by him.’)
- (116) *ãmō, Janejare'e [mory<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-a*  
 and God calm.down-DEAGTZ-NMLZ.EVT:REF  
*pe-kuwa=tar yve.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-know=FUT too  
 ‘And you<sub>(PL)</sub> will also know what makes it pleasing to God.’ (AW – Romans 12:2)

### 3.2.5 Position slot 3: The lexical aspect suffixes

Wayampi has at least six verbal suffixes that encode lexical aspect, listed in alphabetical order in Table 10.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Because of the person hierarchy, the verb cross-indexes the P-argument rather than the A-argument in this example. This is why only the inclusive-plural P appears on the verb (via a Set P marker).

<sup>51</sup> This description of *-okar* closely parallels one function of the Ancient Greek middle voice—namely, cases in which the referent of the A-argument both initiates and benefits from the action (οἰκοδομῶ οἰκίαν *oikodomō oiki-an* <build-PRES.IND.ACT.1SG house-ACC.SG> ‘I am building a house.’ vs. οἰκίαν οἰκοδομέομαι *oiki-an oikodomeomai* <house-ACC.SG build:PRES.IND.MID.1SG> ‘I am having a house built *for myself*.’). Although further research is needed, this parallel suggests that *-okar* may encode not only valence-preserving indirect causation but also a benefactive nuance.

<sup>52</sup> Lexical aspect (Aktionsart, actionality, or situation type) is understood here, following Kortmann (1991: 19), as a non-deictic lexical category relating to the internal temporal characteristics of a state of affairs. More specifically, it refers to how these inherent temporal characteristics are encoded in the verb’s meaning, independently of external temporal reference.

<i>-e'e</i>	irreversive	'to make permanent'	< <i>-e'e</i> Adj 'true'
<i>-e'ỹ</i> (AW) / <i>-ỹ</i> (TW)	reversative	'to undo, counteract, or reverse'	(transitive verb bases only)
<i>-pa</i> / <i>-ma</i>	completive	'to finish, end, or complete'	< <i>pa</i> V 'to finish, to end'
<i>-ra'ãga</i>	simulative	'to pretend to, act like, or feign'	< ° <i>a'ãga</i> N 'copy of'
<i>-sa'u</i>	incrementative	'to do more, intensify, or gradually do'	
<i>-ypy</i>	inceptive	'to begin to'	< <i>ypy</i> Adv 'at first'

Table 10: The lexical aspect suffixes

The following examples show the reversative *-e'ỹ*, simulative *-ra'ãga*, and inceptive *-ypy* appearing after the deagentivizing suffix *-okar* (slot 2), suggesting the existence of slot 3.

- (117) *ajaire mir-à kō w-eko kō*  
 afterwards human.being PL 3SS.PSR-way.of.life.of PL  
*o-mo-teetejē ereko, [...] ãmō, n-o-enu=i*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-be.different 3.P:HAVE.CVB and IND<sup>-</sup>:3.A-hear=NEG.IND  
*w-ovijã-gwer-à ayvu i<sup>-3</sup>-[momojy<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>-e'ỹ<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup> mã'ẽ.<sup>53</sup>*  
 3SS.PSR-chief.of-COLL-REF word 3.P-respect.CVB-DEAGTZ-REVS REL  
 'And in the end, human beings always end up changing their lifestyles. [...]  
 [They are people] who neither listen to the word of their chiefs nor submit to it.'  
 (AW – Romans 1:26–30)
- (118) *a'e kō-pè o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[ji<sup>-1</sup>-mo<sup>-1</sup>-tekokuwa<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>-ra'ãga<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>*  
 PRO.ANA PL-DAT IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-CAUS-be.wise-DEAGTZ-SIMUL=FUT  
*amẽ kupa.*  
 then 3PL.SBJ  
 'Then they will act as if they had good advice to give to them.'  
 (AW – 2 Timothy 4:3)
- (119) *a'e 'ary-pè-remẽ o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[mo<sup>-1</sup>-morijau<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>-ypy<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup>*  
 PRO.ANA time-LOC-when IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-be.missing-DEAGTZ-INCEP  
*Jesu koty-re-war-à kō mō.*  
 Jesus ALL-ADESS-NMLZ.ADV-REF PL ART.INDF  
 'At that time, they began to persecute some of Jesus' companions.'  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 12:1)

These markers—reversative *-e'ỹ*, simulative *-ra'ãga*, and inceptive *-ypy*—appear immediately before the object plural index *-kō* (slot 4), providing strong evidence for positing slot 3. The following examples illustrate this.

- (120) *ajawyi n-a-pota=i i<sup>-3</sup>-[mo<sup>-1</sup>-jimi'u<sup>0</sup>-e'ỹ<sup>3</sup>-kō<sup>4</sup>]<sup>β</sup> ve*  
 then IND<sup>-</sup>:1SG.A-want=NEG.IND 3.P-CAUS-eat.CVB-REVS-3PL.OBJ too  
*a-mo-jivy-kō i-mono.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-CAUS-go.back-3PL.OBJ 3.P-SEND.CVB  
 'Then, I don't want to send them back home without allowing them to eat first  
 as well.' (AW – Matthew 15:32)

<sup>53</sup> The presence of the relative marker *mã'ẽ* at the end of the second clause shows that it functions as a large free relative clause—a nominal expression—serving as the predicate of an omitted subject (*mirà kō*, in this case).

- (121) *peope-o*                      *ipe*                      *Janejare'e*    *ayvu*  
 REDUP:IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-go    NGE                      God                      word
- mo-j-enu-ar-à*    *karamoe-remẽ-war-à*                      *kõ*  
 CAUS-MID-hear-NMLZ.AGT-REF                      formerly-when-NMLZ.ADV-REF    PL
- ryvy*                      *kyty*                      *i*<sup>-3</sup>-[*moe'e*<sup>0</sup>-*ra'ãga*<sup>3</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>]<sup>β</sup>    *ipi*.  
 grave.of                      ALL                      3.P-pay.tribute.CVB-SIMUL-3PL.OBJ    HAB  
 ‘Even if you<sub>(PL)</sub> visit the tombs of the prophets from ancient times, you will only be pretending to pay tribute to them.’ (AW – Matthew 23:29)
- (122) *ajaire*                      *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo'e*<sup>0</sup>-*ypy*<sup>3</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>]<sup>β</sup>    *ky'y*  
 afterwards                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-teach-INCEP-3PL.OBJ                      ASS  
 ‘Then he began his teaching to them.’ (AW – Matthew 5:1)

The remaining three lexical aspect suffixes are not attested in my corpus as occupying slot 3. However, they occur either left of the object plural index *-kõ*, as with *-e'e* (123), or right of the de-agentivizer *-okar*, as with *-pa* (124) and *-sa'u* (125). Given their shared semantic domain and their partial overlap in distribution with the previous three, a unified slot-3 analysis is therefore well-motivated.

- (123) *w*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*eraa*<sup>0</sup>-*e'e*<sup>3?</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>    *kupa*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-bring-IRRV-3PL.OBJ=FUT                      ASS  
 ‘They will bring them and leave them once and for all.’ (TW)
- (124) *ajawyi*    *nivoi*                      *sikaepo*    *ekoi*    *tite*    *remẽ*,    *tovijã*  
 then                      dishonestly                      PTCL                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:act.as    PTCL    if                      3DS.PSR:chief.of
- o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*morijau*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>-*sa'u*<sup>3?</sup>]<sup>β</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>    *te*    *amẽ*    *ipi*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-be.missing-DEAGTZ-INCR=FUT                      FOC                      then                      HAB  
 ‘However, if he acts deceitfully, his chief will punish him even more severely.’  
 (AW – Luke 12:48)
- (125) *kee*                      *e'i*    *Janejare'e*                      *i*<sup>-3</sup>-[*kusiwa*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>-*pa*<sup>3?</sup>]<sup>β</sup>  
 here.is                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say                      God    3.P-write.CVB-DEAGTZ-CMPL
- tamõ*    *Moisesi-pè*    *karamoe-remeve...*  
 elder                      Moses-DAT    formerly-while  
 ‘Here is what God said and what He had Moses write down in full long ago...’  
 (AW – John 10:34)

As shown, lexical aspect suffixes alter the inherent meaning of the state of affairs encoded by the verb base. The data suggest that these suffixes are mutually exclusive. For example, a single verb form cannot simultaneously bear both reversative and completive aspect. This mutual exclusivity suggests the presence of a distinct category within the morphosyntactic system that encodes how actions are viewed aspectually. However, these suffixes do not appear to influence how the verb form syntactically interacts with other sentence elements, particularly in terms of temporal framing or aspectual modification. This feature calls into question their status as inflectional markers.

Like any element of the verb base, lexical aspect suffixes can appear in various types of verb forms, including main verbs and transitive general converbs, as demonstrated in the examples above. The corpus also attests to their occurrence in verbal nouns, as shown in 126.

- (126) *āwitō* *moi* *poro-su'u* *remē*, *poro-oupa* *aykwer-à*,  
 just.as snake IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-bite when IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-spread venom-REF
- āwīvo* *ve* *poro-mo'e-ra'āga* *mā'ē* *kō*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.similarly too IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-teach-SIMUL REL PL
- jane-py'a* *kō* *rupi*  
 INCL.PSR-inner.self.of PL PERL
- poro-oupa* [*poro*<sup>-2</sup>-[*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*kasi*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-*e'ȳ*<sup>3</sup>]<sup>β</sup>-*a*.<sup>54</sup>  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:ANTP-spread ANTP-CAUS-be.strong-DEAGTZ-REVS-NMLZ.EVT:REF  
 'When a snake bites, its venom spreads. Similarly, those who teach nonsense spread  
 in our hearts things that make [us] weak.' (AW – 2 Timothy 2:17)

### 3.3 The verb word

The verb base is a functional linguistic unit that serves as the foundation for word-class changes, such as adverbialization (via converbs) and event nominalization (through verbal nouns). However, the verb base cannot, on its own, function as a main predicate. To serve that purpose, it must be equipped with the inflectional markers relevant at this level of grammatical organization, that is, the morphemes that anchor the clause within interpretive domains such as person, number, polarity, and propositional factuality.

These markers do more than simply add a superficial morphological layer. They reshape the verb base into a form capable of serving as the clause's predicative nucleus, embedding it within a network of syntactic and pragmatic relations. This predicative nucleus is what I refer to, in verbal clauses, as a *verb word*. In short, a verb word is the syntactic unit consisting of the verb base together with the inflectional markers that make it suitable for predication.<sup>55</sup> In Wayampi, three inflectional categories contribute to building predicatively usable forms: mood (§3.3.1), person-number (§3.3.2), and plural indexation (§3.3.3). Of these categories, mood is the only one that must appear on the verb word of every main verb.

#### 3.3.1 Position slot –4: Mood

Verb words in Wayampi are obligatorily specified for mood.<sup>56</sup> Mood is marked by a prefix in position –4 of the verb complex structure:  $\emptyset$  or *n-* for the indicative and *t-* for the subjunctive (§3.3.1.1). These markers are mutually exclusive, which supports their analysis as exponents of a single inflectional category. Semantically, this category reflects a basic realis–irrealis distinction (§3.3.1.2). However, because framing this opposition as a realis–irrealis contrast would be somewhat unconventional within the framework of TG linguistics, I retain the more familiar labels indicative and subjunctive.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Complex verb bases are constructed incrementally, and full analysis lies beyond the scope of this preliminary study. That said, the following derivational sequence can be proposed for the verbal noun in this case. First, the reversative suffix *-e'ȳ* is applied to the transitive (complex) verb base *mo-kasi-oka*, as *-e'ȳ* is restricted to transitive bases. Next, the antipassive prefix *poro-* is added, since *poro-* is likewise compatible only with transitive bases. Finally, the resulting intransitive base (*poro-kasi-oka-e'ȳ*) is nominalized to yield the verbal noun *poro-kasi-oka-e'ȳ-a*.

<sup>55</sup> Note that in this descriptive framework, the term *verb word* refers to a morphological domain distinct from the syntactic notion of *main verb*. A main verb is a fully predicative verb form, which may be either synthetic—consisting solely of a verb word—or analytic (§2.1), combining a verb word with one or both clause-final elements that can also encode person-number (the person auxiliary and the subject plural index *kupa*). In other words, while every main verb contains a verb word, not every verb word constitutes a full main verb. Converbs, for instance, are also verb words but do not carry mood, despite being able—under specific conditions—to host a person-number marker (§3.3.2) or the object plural index (§3.3.3).

<sup>56</sup> The inflectional category identified here as *mood* corresponds to what other linguistic traditions—following Whorf (1938: 280)—refer to as *status*, and occasionally as *reality status* (see, e.g., Cleary-Kemp 2014) or simply *reality* (see, e.g., Melnar 2004: 49).

<sup>57</sup> The label *subjunctive* is used here for convenience. In the TG literature, the category described in the text is referred to by a wide range of terms (e.g. optative, exhortative, purposive, intentional, subjunctive), reflecting the absence of terminological consensus across descriptions. In some of my own publications, I have used the label *optative*, which further illustrates the variability of terminology in the field. Since a detailed discussion of these divergences would take us too far afield, I retain *subjunctive* here as a practical and transparent choice.

Mood in Wayampi is closely intertwined with polarity.<sup>58</sup> Post-verbal negation particles (§3.4) can in fact influence how mood is marked on verb words. Figure 3 illustrates the possible combinations of mood and polarity—whether or not a sentential negator is present—together with the terminology and glossing conventions adopted in this article. Given how tightly these two categories interact, a more precise label might be *mood-polarity*. For the sake of simplicity, however, I continue to use the term *mood*.

	-4	-3	4	...	5	
	Mood	Person-number	VERB BASE	Object plural index	Polarity	
Positive indicative (IND <sup>+</sup> )	∅ <sup>59</sup>					
Negative indicative (IND <sup>-</sup> )	<i>n-</i>				<i>=i</i>	Indicative sentential negation (NEG.IND)
Subjunctive (SBJV)	<i>t-</i>					
Subjunctive (SBJV)	<i>t-</i>				<i>=e'ỹ</i>	Subjunctive sentential negation (NEG.SBJV)

Figure 3: Mood and polarity marking within the Wayampi verb complex structure

As noted since Anchieta (1595), many TG scholars analyse the marker *n-* (or *n=*, depending on the language and, in some cases, on the author’s segmentation choices) as the first element of a discontinuous negation marker, the second element being *=i* (or *-i*). However, the paradigm in Figure 3 shows that this traditional analysis obscures a crucial fact: *n-* is mutually exclusive with both ∅ and *t-*. In other words, *n-* patterns distributionally with the other mood prefixes, not with the post-verbal negators. Moreover, the view that *=i* is the obligatory second part of a bipartite negation marker does not hold for Wayampi, where additional particles—such as the negative future *=’ãi* and the negative desiderative *=tari* (§3.4.1)—also combine with *n-*.

A similar paradigm has been proposed for Kamaiurá by Seki (2000:127), although in a slightly different form. While Seki recognizes that the markers she glosses as “∅” and “*n=*” are structurally indicative-specific, she does not make this explicit in the glossing of her examples. As a result, she ultimately maintains the standard TG view: (i) a main verb in the positive indicative is said to lack a mood marker (despite being marked by a zero morph), and (ii) a main verb in the negative indicative is said to be negated by a discontinuous marker (despite being marked by a phonologically overt prefix containing /n/). In other words, Seki identifies the relevant distributional facts but does not fully explore their theoretical implications.

The analysis proposed here is less conservative in that it takes the distributional evidence at face value. If *t-* is mutually exclusive with both *n-* and ∅, then all three must be mood markers. This conclusion has two consequences. First, the indicative must be treated as a fully inflectional mood category, not as a “default” or “absence of mood”. Second, this category must be made explicit in the glosses, even when the marker is covert.

For completeness, it is worth noting that both Seki’s analysis and the one proposed here differ from the approach found in Rodrigues (1953: 126) for Tupinambá and Dietrich (1986: 93–4) for Chiriguano. These authors acknowledge a mood category and refer to an indicative—Rodrigues even distinguishes an “indicative 1”—but do not posit a zero morph (let alone an *n-* prefix) to mark this

<sup>58</sup> Frawley (1992: 390–2) draws a direct connection between sentential negation and epistemic modality. In line with this, Tournadre (2004: 56–8) proposes that sentential negation represents the negative pole of the epistemic scale—a framework for assessing the factuality or likelihood of propositional content.

<sup>59</sup> In all the verb forms shown in this section, I adopt an Item-and-Arrangement morphological framework to highlight the specific morphosyntactic slot where, according to the approach presented here, a covert indicative marker appears in the verb word of main verbs. This means that, unlike other examples in this paper, the covert indicative marker is represented as zero and separated by a hyphen.

value. In studies adopting this perspective (e.g. Magalhães 2007 on Guajá), the indicative is effectively treated as a unmarked, non-mood form, which is then contrasted with explicitly mood-marked forms. This creates a theoretical inconsistency: a paradigm in which some forms bear a mood feature while others are analysed as lacking any feature at all. Such an analysis violates basic principles of distributional morphology and helps explain why mood has long remained under-recognized as a fully articulated inflectional category for main verbs—and, more broadly, for main predicates—in TG languages.

The following sections detail the formal properties of these markers (§3.3.1.1) and their functional distribution (§3.3.1.2), which together substantiate this analysis.

### 3.3.1.1 Forms

In Wayampi, the mood system is fundamentally binary: verb words of main predicates appear either in the indicative or in the subjunctive.

The subjunctive is expressed by a set of morphemes that consistently begin with /t/. These forms are invariant with respect to polarity and combine regularly with the person-number cross-indexes. Their formal coherence makes the subjunctive an uncontroversial inflectional category. The full set of subjunctive forms is presented in Table 11.<sup>60</sup>

Person-value category	with Set A cross-indexes	with Set P cross-indexes
1·2	<i>ti-ja-</i> (intr.v.) ∞ <i>ti-si-</i> (tr.v.) SBJV-INCL.A	<i>ti-jane-</i> (AW) / <i>sane-</i> (TW) SBJV-INCL.P
1	<i>t-a-</i> SBJV-1SG.A <i>t-oro-</i> SBJV-1.A	<i>t-e-</i> SBJV-1SG.P <i>t-ore-</i> SBJV-1PL.P
2	<i>t-ere-</i> SBJV-2SG.A <i>ta-pe-</i> SBJV-2PL.A	<i>ta-ne-</i> SBJV-2SG.P <i>ta-pe-</i> SBJV-2PL.P
3	<i>t-o-</i> SBJV-3.A	<i>t-i-</i> ∞ <i>ta-∅</i> SBJV-3.P

Table 11: Wayampi subjunctive markers (in combination with person-number)

The indicative behaves differently. Its exponence depends on the presence of a post-verbal negator (§3.4). In positive clauses, the indicative is marked by a zero morph ( $\emptyset$ ); in negative clauses, it is expressed by an overt prefix beginning with /n/. Thus, the appearance of a post-verbal negator (=i, =*ãi*, or =*tari*) triggers the selection of an *n*-initial form in the verb word. This dependency between a preverbal prefix and a post-verbal particle is a classic case of non-contiguous conditioning, often referred to as a *discontinuous dependency* in morphological theory (see, e.g., Spencer 1991: 210; Mithun 2000: 5; Melnar 2004: 16–7). The various negative indicative forms are listed in Table 12.

<sup>60</sup> Following Daniel (2005), I consider the inclusive person in inclusive languages to be a full-fledged fourth person—that is, a person whose focal referent comprises both the speaker and the addressee. Furthermore, what is commonly referred to as a first-person *exclusive plural* person is better understood as simply the first-person *plural* person. This is reflected in Tables 11, 12, and 13, where cross-indexes are thus grouped into four person-value categories (rather than three): the inclusive-person set (1·2), the first-person set (1), the second-person set (2), and the third-person set (3).

Person-value category	with Set A cross-indexes	with Set P cross-indexes
1·2	<i>ni-ja-</i> (intr.v.) ∞ <i>ni-si-</i> (tr.v.) IND <sup>-</sup> -INCL.A	<i>ni-jane-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -INCL.P
1	<i>n-a-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -1SG.A	<i>n-e-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -1SG.P
	<i>n-oro-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -1.A	<i>n-ore-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -1PL.P
2	<i>n-ere-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -2SG.A	<i>na-ne-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -2SG.P
	<i>na-pe-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -2PL.A	<i>na-pe-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -2PL.P
3	<i>n-o-</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -3.A	<i>n-i-</i> ∞ <i>na-∅</i> IND <sup>-</sup> -3.P

Table 12: Wayampi negative indicative markers (in combination with person-number)

A crucial observation emerges from comparing Tables 11 and 12: the negative indicative forms are segmentally almost identical to the subjunctive ones, differing only in their initial consonant.<sup>61</sup> Their parallel structure, combined with the mutual exclusivity of that  $\emptyset$ , *n-*, and *t-* strongly supports the view that these markers realize a single inflectional category—mood—rather than a combination of mood and negation.

Additional evidence reinforces this conclusion. First, mood exponence can affect the verb stem itself. As shown in examples 127–9, the verb *yor* ‘to come’ displays three distinct stems in the third person, depending on mood and polarity: *uu* in the positive indicative (127), *tuu* in the subjunctive (128), and *nu* in the negative indicative (129). This constitutes a clear case of multiple exponence, whereby a single morphosyntactic feature is realized simultaneously at several loci—namely through the mood prefix and the modified stem.

- (127) *amě kwaima'e mō ∅<sup>-4</sup>-uu<sup>-3/0</sup> i-pyri,*  
 then man ART.INDF IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A:come 3DS.PSR-APUD  
*∅-i-pisĩsĩ-ma mǎ'ě.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>-3.P-pustule.of-overly REL  
 ‘A man then approached him, one who was covered in pustules.’ (Matthew 8:2)

- (128) *Eriasi t<sup>-4</sup>-o<sup>-3</sup>-tuu<sup>0</sup> poro-ero-jivy*  
 Elijah SBJV-3.A-SBJV:come ANTP-SOC-go.back.CVB

*Janejare'e kty.*  
 God ALL  
 ‘Elijah must return to restore [everything] to God.’ (AW – Matthew 17:11)

- (129) *amě n<sup>-4</sup>-o<sup>-3</sup>-nu<sup>0</sup>=i<sup>5</sup> ore-resa remě si,*  
 however IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-IND<sup>-</sup>:come=NEG.IND 1PL.P-see.CVB if EXCLM

*n-i-katu=i amě.*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-3.P-be.good=NEG.IND then  
 ‘On the other hand, if he doesn’t come to visit us, it won’t be good.’ (TW)

In some verbs, this fusion goes even further. Example 130 shows that the verb *iko* ‘to be, to exist’ forms a portmanteau form (*naiko*) in the third-person negative indicative—a degree of morphological integration expected only for robust inflectional categories.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> This observation is not new. Seki (2000: 232) makes precisely the same point for the cognate *t-* and *n-* forms in Kamairá.

<sup>62</sup> The verb word *n-o-iko* does exist, but it belongs to the etymologically related verb *iko* ‘to live’. This underscores the importance of keeping diachrony and synchrony strictly apart: although historically connected, *iko* ‘to live’ and *iko* ‘to be, to

- (130) *naiko*<sup>-4/-3/0=i<sup>5</sup></sup>      *po*      *jety*      *mō*      *t-a-'u*.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:3.A:be=NEG.IND      Q      sweet.potato      ART.INDF      SBJV-1SG.A-ingest  
 ‘Is there [really] no sweet potato I can eat?’ (TW)

Second, as noted above, the  $\emptyset \sim n- \sim t-$  alternation is restricted to verb words. Verb bases never participate in this pattern and may even display stem alternations of their own—such as the Stem 2 forms found with converbs (§2.3)—that are specific to non-main-predicate environments. This distributional contrast is exactly what one expects if mood marking is a property of predicative verb forms only.

Taken together, these facts undermine the traditional analysis of /n.../i/ as a bipartite negation marker. Treating *n-* as part of a circumfix obscures the systematic parallels between *n-* and *t-*, and fails to account for the stem-level effects associated with both. A distributional analysis is more straightforward: *t-*, *n-*, and  $\emptyset$  are all exponents of a single inflectional category—mood. The zero morph is not an absence of marking but the covert exponent of the positive indicative.

This has direct consequences for the analysis of forms such as *o-'a* ‘he falls’. Rather than <3-fall>, as Jensen’s (1998: 527) gloss of her example 195, the form must be analyzed as <IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A-fall> (131). The reason is empirical: when functioning as a main predicate, *o-'a* participates in a three-way alternation with *n-o-'a* (132) and *t-o-'a* (133), corresponding respectively to the negative indicative and the subjunctive. Only main predicates exhibit this alternation, and its very existence confirms that  $\emptyset$ , *n-*, and *t-* are mood markers.

- (131) *kwee*       $\emptyset$ <sup>-4-o<sup>-3</sup>-a<sup>0</sup></sup>.  
 yesterday      IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A-fall  
 ‘Yesterday he fell.’ (Jensen’s 1998: 527 example 195; my analysis)

- (132) *ameve*      *jaytata-wasu*       $\emptyset$ -*o-'a*      *mijě*      *yvy*      *kyty*      *o-o*, [...]  
 straight.away      star-big      IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A-fall HYP      earth      ALL      3.A-go.CVB

*i-pěgwer-à*      *te*      *ajamăě*      *a'evo*       $\emptyset$ -*w-ereko*,  
 3DS.PSR-piece.of-REF      FOC      however      likewise      IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A-do

*pe'ĩ* *yy*      *pupe*       $\emptyset$ -*o-'a*      *o-o*      *remě*,  
 one river      INESS      IND<sup>+</sup>-3.A-fall 3.A-go.CVB      when

*morijō* *yy*      *pupe*      *n*<sup>-4-o<sup>-3</sup>-a<sup>0</sup>=i<sup>5</sup></sup>.  
 two river INESS      IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-fall=NEG.IND  
 ‘Immediately a great star would have fallen to the earth. [...] But it did so in pieces. When [one of the pieces] fell into a river, [another] did not fall into a second.’  
 (AW – Revelation 8:10)

- (133) *e-jamĩ*      *ne-memy*      *t*<sup>-4-o<sup>-3</sup>-a<sup>0</sup></sup>      *ne-wyi*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-push      2SG.PSR-child.of      SBJV-3.A-fall      2SG.PSR-ABL  
 ‘Push to deliver your baby.’ (encouragement given a mother during childbirth) (TW)

In sum, the formal evidence—distributional exclusivity, stem alternations, portmanteau formation, and restriction to main verbs—converges on a single conclusion: Wayampi has a fully inflectional mood category whose exponents are  $\emptyset$  (positive indicative), *n-* (negative indicative), and *t-* (subjunctive).<sup>63</sup>

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exist, to act as’ do not conjugate in the same way and therefore cannot be treated as a single verb lexeme in the modern language.

<sup>63</sup> Although rare, negative indicative mood markers—or more precisely, allomorphs of the indicative mood restricted to negative polarity contexts—are attested in a few unrelated languages. The co-encoding of polarity with tense–aspect inside inflectional morphology is well documented (see, e.g., François 2025), and the co-encoding of mood with person-number is likewise attested (see, e.g., Melnar 2004: 22–56; Exter 2012: 178). By contrast, the co-encoding of polarity with mood and/or person-number within a single inflectional slot is only seldom discussed in the typological literature.

One of the clearest parallels comes from Araráhíh (Karuk or Karok), a Hokan language of northwestern California. As described by Bright (1957: 58–68) and later by Macaulay (1992), Araráhíh exhibits person-number markers on main verbs

### 3.3.1.2 Meaning

Mood encodes how the speaker construes a state of affairs—whether it is complete, incomplete, unrealized, or desired. In Wayampi, the indicative is primarily used for statements of fact or for questions.<sup>64</sup> A verb in the indicative mood can serve as the main predicate of a clause, whether the clause is independent or embedded. Examples 134 and 135 illustrate this distribution: each contains an indicative verb in a main clause and another in a subordinate clause, with 134 showing positive polarity and 135 negative polarity.

- (134)  $\emptyset^{-4}$ -ere<sup>-3</sup>-[pota-mosō]<sup>0</sup> remě,  $\emptyset^{-4}$ -ere<sup>-3</sup>-apisi<sup>0</sup> tare'y.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>-2SG.A-bait-wet when IND<sup>+</sup>-2SG.A-kill fish.sp  
 ‘When you<sub>(SG)</sub> wetted the bait, you caught wolf fish.’ (TW)
- (135)  $n^{-4}$ -o<sup>-3</sup>-ji<sup>-1</sup>-rovija=i<sup>5</sup> ee mǎ'ě kō amě  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-MID-believe=NEG.IND 3DS.PSR:ADESS REL PL however  
 $n^{-4}$ -o<sup>-3</sup>-iko='ăi<sup>5</sup> i-pyri.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-live=FUT:NEG.IND 3DS.PSR-APUD  
 ‘But those who do not believe will not dwell with Him.’ (AW – John 3:36)

The subjunctive expresses meanings typically associated with cross-linguistic irrealis, in clear contrast with the realis interpretations conveyed by the indicative. Its core function is to denote states of affairs that have not yet occurred. Beyond this primary role, the subjunctive can also express wishes or intentions, as in 136.

- (136) ajawyi, epy-kwer-à  $t^{-4}$ -a<sup>-3</sup>-mo<sup>-1</sup>-jivvy<sup>0</sup>,  
 then 3DS.PSR:reward.of-COLL-REF SBJV-1SG.A-CAUS-go.back  
 $t$ -o-juka=e'y kupa, e'i tite o-upe.  
 SBJV-3.A-kill=NEG.SBJV 3PL.SBJ IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say FRUST 3SS.PSR-DAT  
 ‘Then he said to himself: “I want to return the reward, because I don’t want them to kill him.”’ (AW – Matthew 27:3)

The subjunctive also extends to suggestions, proposals, polite requests, indirect commands, and exhortations. In these contexts, it appears in certain imperative-like constructions that encode desired or expected outcomes, as illustrated in 137.

- (137) yvytyry kō gyty  $t^{-4}$ -o<sup>-3</sup>-o<sup>0</sup> o-jemĩ ãpã kō wyi kupa.  
 hill PL ALL SBJV-3.A-go 3.A-hide.CVB enemy PL ABL 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘Let them go and seek shelter in the hills from their foes.’ (AW – Luke 21:21)

whose forms vary systematically according to both mood and polarity. Crucially, negative indicative allomorphs are selected specifically in the presence of a sentential negator.

Bright’s description makes the structure explicit. Araráhíh main verbs distinguish what he calls “indicative vs. imperative mood”, though the latter is more accurately characterized as subjunctive or optative. Importantly, “the indicative morphemes”—that is, the cross-indexes encoding the indicative feature—“have positive and negative allomorphs” (Bright 1957: 58), meaning that they also encode polarity. Furthermore, “[t]he negative allomorphs of the indicative personal [a]ffixes are conditioned by the presence of” a sentential negator (*ibid.*: 61). In other words, the appearance of a negation marker triggers the selection of the negative indicative allomorphs of the cross-indexes.

A single example suffices to illustrate the point. The second-person object marker appears as *nú-* when the verb is in the “imperative” (i.e., subjunctive), *nu-* in positive indicative contexts, and *kín-* in negative indicative contexts—that is, when the sentential negator is present. These markers are, naturally, mutually exclusive. The close structural and functional parallel with Wayampi is unmistakable: the Araráhíh series *nú-* / *nu-* / *kín-* corresponds directly to the Wayampi sequences *ta-ne-* / *Ø-ne-* / *na-ne-*, respectively.

<sup>64</sup> The indicative is also used for direct commands, both affirmative and negative. This use involves additional complexities that I do not address here.

Finally, the subjunctive is common in subordinate clauses expressing purpose. In such contexts, it encodes a non-asserted, prospective situation whose realization depends on the event in the main clause. Example 138 illustrates this use.

- (138) *e-kwa* *t<sup>-4</sup>-ere<sup>-3</sup>-j<sup>-1</sup>-ãi<sup>-1</sup>-kusu<sup>0</sup>*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-go.away SBJV-2SG.A-MID-tooth.of-wash
- ne-rãi-ky'a* *rewàmõ*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.P-tooth.of-be.dirty because  
 ‘Go brush your teeth, because they’re dirty.’ (TW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘Go away so that you<sub>(SG)</sub> may wash your own teeth because you are teeth-dirty.’)

### 3.3.2 Position slot -3: Person-number

Predicative verb forms of Wayampi personal verb lexemes—i.e., fully finite-marked forms—generally encode in their verb word at most one core argument (S, A, or P) by means of a bound argument index.<sup>65</sup> Certain antipassive forms may not take a person marker, but these are exceptional. In this section, I focus exclusively on person-number marking within the verb word; person auxiliaries and converbal forms that may also carry these markers are not discussed here.

In the verb word, the bound argument index occupies position -3 and functions as a cross-index (Haspelmath 2013: 219), i.e. a person marker that may co-occur with an optional conominal. These markers fall into two morphological sets: agent markers (Set A) and patient markers (Set P). Table 13 below lists all corresponding forms.

Person-value category	Set A	Set P
1:2	<i>ja-</i> (intr.v.) ∞ <i>si-</i> (tr.v.) INCL.A	<i>jane-</i> INCL.P
1	<i>a-</i> 1SG.A <i>oro-</i> 1.A	<i>e-</i> 1SG.P <i>ore-</i> 1PL.P
2	<i>ne- / ere- / re-</i> 2SG.A <i>e-</i> 2SG.A.IMP <i>pe-</i> 2PL.A	<i>ne-</i> 2SG.P <i>pe-</i> 2PL.P
3	<i>o- ~ w-</i> 3.A	<i>i- ∅</i> 3.P

Table 13: Wayampi cross-indexes

The main distinction between the two sets concerns their morphosyntactic distribution, in both main verbs and converbs. Set A cross-indexes encode the S<sub>A</sub> of *intransitive active verbs* and, though not consistently, the A of *transitive verbs*.<sup>66</sup> Set P cross-indexes typically encode the P of *transitive verbs* and the S<sub>P</sub> of *intransitive stative verbs*.

As shown in Table 9, Wayampi distinguishes four persons—inclusive, first, second, and third—as well as two numbers: singular and plural. Additionally, several noteworthy patterns emerge, particularly concerning certain Set A cross-indexes. These are briefly discussed below.

<sup>65</sup> Wayampi also has a small but typologically noteworthy class of non-personal verbs, which inflect for mood but, as the label suggests, not for person-number. These non-personal verbs can also be described as adverbial verbs—a notion comparable to Dixon’s (2011: 186) “adverbals” in Dyirbal—since they may function either as main predicates or as adjuncts. In their adjunct use, they are not inflected for mood. The following forms illustrate this class: *a’evo* ‘to be likewise, alike; to do X how’; *apeĩ* ‘to be laboriously, effortfully, hard’; *(a)typy* ‘to be deeply’; *awyjepa* ‘to be over; to stop doing’; *ãwĩvo* ‘to be similarly’; *ivo* ‘to be honestly, uprightly’; *nivoi* ‘to be wickedly, mischievously’.

<sup>66</sup> In Wayampi, only a single morphosyntactic slot within the verb word is available for indexing core arguments, a fact with significant consequences for the indexation patterns of transitive verbs. A full account—including the person hierarchy 1:2, 1, 2 > 3 and a grammatical role hierarchy A > P—is provided in Copin (in press).

In TG linguistics, the Set A cross-index *oro-* and its cognates in related languages are typically analyzed as first-person (exclusive) plural markers. However, this analysis does not fully account for the Wayampi data, where the same cross-index can also refer to the speaker ('I'), as illustrated in 139 below.

- (139)  $n^{-4}$ -*oro*<sup>-3</sup>-*ity*<sup>0</sup>=*'äi*<sup>5</sup>                      *ije*                      *amẽ*                       $a^{-4}$ - $a^0$ ,  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:1.A-leave.behind=FUT:NEG.IND    PRO.1SG                      however                      1SG.A-go.CVB
- e'i*                      *mijẽ*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say    HYP  
 'But I won't leave you<sub>(SG)</sub>, he might have said.' (AW – Matthew 26:35)

In example 139, where Peter addresses Jesus, the first-person singular A-argument is marked in three ways—by *oro-* in the main verb, by the free personal pronoun *ije* 'PRO.1SG', and by *a-* '1SG.A' in an intransitive general converb—indicating that *oro-* cannot function as a first-person plural marker, since the speaker is simultaneously indexed by a first-person singular marker (*a-* '1SG.A').<sup>67</sup> The most coherent analysis is to treat *oro-* as a number-neutral first person marker, supporting its gloss as "1.A". In fact, if *oro-* functions as a number-neutral first-person cross-index, its occurrence in a syntactic construction where another verb form—specifically an intransitive general converb—carries a Set A first-person singular marker is unproblematic. This is because, in such constructions, verbal agreement encodes person only, rather than both person and number.

In AW, the Set A second person singular cross-index {'2SG.A'} appears as *ne-* in the verb word of positive indicative main verbs, and in intransitive converbs. In person auxiliaries, it is realized as *re-*. In the verb word of main verbs in the negative indicative and in the subjunctive, it appears as *ere-*. In contrast, in TW, the situation is simpler: the cross-index has a single form, *re-*, across all these contexts.

In this paper, the Set A cross-index {'2SG.A'} is analyzed as having an additional allomorph, *e-*, which is specific to positive polarity sentences expressing direct commands.<sup>68</sup> This implies that the marker is *not* treated as a portmanteau morph combining '2SG.A' with an imperative mood value—a tempting assumption given how imperatives are typically handled in school grammars of Western languages. Three arguments support this analysis.

First, intransitive general converbs, which lack mood marking, allow this prefix, as demonstrated in 140.

- (140) *ajawyi*                       $e^{-4/-3}$ -*jivy*<sup>0</sup>                       $e^{-3}$ - $o^0$   
 then                      IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-go.back    2SG.A.IMP-go.CVB
- ne-retã*                      *gyty*    *ky'y*,                      *e'i*                      *tovijã-pè*.  
 2SG.PSR-house.of    ALL    ASS                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say    3DS.PSR:chief.of-DAT  
 "Then go back home," he said to his chief.' (AW – Matthew 8:13)

Second, person auxiliaries, which also lack mood marking (Copin, in press), likewise admit this prefix, as shown in 141.

- (141) *kewe*    *ra'i*                       $e^{-4/-3}$ -*jy*<sup>0</sup>                      *e-ipa*.  
 here    ATTN                      IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-be.located    2SG.A.IMP-AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 'Stay here.' (TW)

Third, if *e-* is interpreted as a portmanteau morph meaning 'IMP:2SG.A', then any cross-index appearing in a positive polarity sentence expressing a direct command should likewise correspond to a homophonous portmanteau form. Thus, alongside the Set A *pe-* '2PL.A', it is necessary to posit a portmanteau morph *pe-* 'IMP:2PL.A', which is homophonous with the former, as proposed by Jensen

<sup>67</sup> This example also rules out interpreting *oro-* as a royal or modest plural. The intransitive general converb indexes the A-argument with *a-*, an unambiguously first-person singular marker, rather than with *oro-*.

<sup>68</sup> In Table 13, the imperative form *e-* is presented in a separate row from the other exponents of the morpheme {'2SG.A'}, since in this study it receives the distinct gloss "2SG.A.IMP". This is purely an expository choice: the morph *e-* is treated here as an allomorph of *ne-*, *ere-*, *re-* in AW, and of *re-* in TW.

(1998: 525). Nonetheless, this account remains incomplete, as any main verb expressing a person configuration with a second-person A-argument can also appear in direct command sentences. For example, in 142 not only should *e-* be analyzed as a cumulative “imperative mood-person-number” marker, but so too would the combination *e-... re-*.

- (142) *e-py*                    *kõ*                    *e*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*kusu*<sup>0</sup>,                    *e-po*                    *kõ*,  
 1SG.PSR-foot.of PL                    IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-wash                    1SG.PSR-hand.of PL
- e-ākāg*                    *teve*,                    *e*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-[*mo-jau*]<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>                    '*ejē*  
 1SG.PSR-head.of also                    IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.P-CAUS-bathe-overly                    altogether
- ajawyi*                    *re-jupa*,                    *e'i*                    *amē*                    *Jesu-pè*                    *ky'y*.  
 then                    2SG.A-AUX<sub>1</sub>                    IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say then                    Jesus-DAT                    ASS  
 ‘“Wash my feet—my hands, my head too. Cleanse me completely,” he then said to Jesus.’ (AW – John 13:9)

This complicates the analysis, since cross-indexes with *e-* also exhibit homophonous imperative forms. Following Occam’s razor, Wayampi appears to lack a distinct imperative mood. The prefix *e-* is best analyzed as a specialized allomorph of {‘2SG.A’} used in positive-polarity imperative contexts. In this analysis, main verbs with *e-* remain (positive) indicative.

### 3.3.3 Position slot 4: The object plural index

Position 4 of the verb complex is reserved for a single suffix: the object plural index *-kõ*. It follows the lexical aspect suffix (143) and defines the right boundary of the verb word. It can only be followed by post-verbal elements (§3.4), such as the intensive modal particle *ywete* or the future enclitic *=ta*, as in 144.

- (143) *ajaire*                    *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*mo'e*<sup>0</sup>-*ypy*<sup>3</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>                    *ky'y*.  
 afterwards                    IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-teach-INCEP-3PL.OBJ                    ASS  
 ‘Then He began His teaching to them.’ (AW – Matthew 5:1)
- (144) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*morijau*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>2</sup>-*kõ*<sup>4</sup>                    *ywete*<sup>5</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>                    *karamõ*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-be.missing-DEAGTZ-3PL.OBJ                    INTS=FUT                    soon  
 ‘Soon, He will make them suffer greatly.’ (AW – Luke 20:47)

Both plural markers, *-kõ* and the subject plural index *kupa*, share a key property: they appear at the right edge of a specific domain. The latter, an independent word used only for subjects (S/A arguments), occurs clause-finally, whereas *-kõ*, a suffix limited to objects (P arguments), attaches to the final position of transitive verb words.<sup>69</sup>

They are triggered by the same condition: when a third-person nominal is explicitly marked as plural (with *kõ* ‘PL’), the plurality of that participant may be marked in a subsequent clause with a plural index. When the participant is an object (P) in the next clause, *-kõ* marks its plurality. In 145, *o-mono-kõ* carries *-kõ* because neither the plural nominal *w-emi-pyteporo-kwer-à* *kõ* nor any coreferential free pronoun functions as the object.

<sup>69</sup> This illustrates the absence of positional unity within the semantic-functional category of plural indexation: the two plural markers occupy distinct morphological domains, with *kupa* occurring clause-finally and *-kõ* attaching at the right edge of the verb word.

- (145) *ajaire*      *Jesu*      *o-mono=ta*      *rãĩ*  
 afterwards      Jesus      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-send=FUT      ATTN
- w-emi-pyteporo-kwer-à*      ***kõ***      *taataa*      *kõ*      *rupi*  
 3SS.PSR-PERM.NMLZ-choose-COLL-REF      PL      REDUP:village      PL      PERL
- w-enone*      *rupi,*      *ij-ayvu*      *t-o-mo-j-enu*      *amãtejẽ*  
 3SS.PSR-front.of      PERL      3DS.PSR-word      SBJV-3.A-CAUS-MID-hear      confidently
- kupa,*      “doze”-*ròmõ*      *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*mono*<sup>0</sup>-***kõ***<sup>4</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>.  
 3PL.SBJ      twelve-ATTR      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-send-3PL.OBJ=FUT  
 ‘Then Jesus decided to send those he had chosen ahead of him into the villages, so that they could faithfully proclaim his word. He chose twelve to send.’  
 (*lit.*, ‘... He will send them as twelve.’ (AW – Matthew 10:5))

The suffix *-kõ* occurs not only on main verbs but also on transitive general converbs (146) and in transitive manner converbs (147).

- (146) *ajaire*      *yva-ratãsi*      *o-wyjy*      *i*<sup>-4</sup>-*jaty*<sup>0</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>-***kõ***<sup>4</sup>.  
 afterwards      sky-smoke.of      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-come.down      3.P-cover.CVB-overly-3PL.OBJ  
 ‘Then a cloud descended [and] enveloped them [in its shadow].’ (AW – Mark 9:7)
- (147) *Janejare’e*      *o-porijauesa-kõ=tarà*      *mijẽ*  
 God      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-have.mercy-3PL.OBJ=FUT      HYP
- erekokatu*<sup>-4/0</sup>-***kõ***<sup>4</sup>-*ròmõ*,      *eako’i*      *ee*      *kupa*      *remẽ*.  
 3.P:save.CVB-3PL.OBJ-CVB.MNR      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P:trust      3DS.PSR:ADESS      3PL.SBJ      when  
 ‘God will have mercy on them by saving them, when they entrust themselves to Him.’ (AW – Romans 11:26)

As expected, *-kõ* is restricted to verb words of transitive forms. For straightforward syntactic reasons, it never appears in intransitive forms—whether active or stative—since their sole argument cannot function as an object. This suffix is likewise excluded from verbal nouns, which cannot function as syntactic predicates and therefore do not license verbal objects; dedicated verb forms (main verbs, general converbs, manner converbs) exist for that purpose.

The ability of transitive converbs to host *-kõ* confirms that converbal forms—whether transitive or intransitive—belong to the same morphological domain as verb words of main predicates, even though, when they function as predicates, they do so only in a dependent capacity. In other words, converbs are verb words morphologically, but they lack the mood marking that characterizes fully independent predicative forms (§3.3.1). Their capacity to host person-number markers (§3.3.2) and the object plural index reflects this shared morphological domain (verb word), while their absence of mood marking reflects their dependent syntactic status. Mood marking thus emerges as the decisive criterion distinguishing fully independent main predicates from other predicative forms.

### 3.4 The post-verbal area

Wayampi possesses a substantial number of particles—around one hundred in total.<sup>70</sup> A significant portion of these occurs in the post-verbal area (position 5 in Figure 2). Among these post-verbal particles, some may appear outside the verb complex, and certain adverbs may also occur in this region. Taken together, these facts illustrate the structural organization of this domain. Given its complexity, I limit my discussion to two key subsets of particles: those indicating future tense (§3.4.1) and those expressing sentential negation (§3.4.2). This selection is justified because these particles represent the

<sup>70</sup> I use the term *particle* to refer to forms that neither function as independent utterances nor contribute to the propositional content of a clause. These forms are nonetheless syntactically integrated through loose attachment to a major constituent (e.g., a nominal, an adverbial, the main predicate) or to a subpart of it (such as the verb word or the subject plural index). Particles may occur in clusters, with either fixed or variable ordering. In Wayampi, they typically appear in three regions of the clause: the clause-final field, the post-verbal area, and the position following a clause-initial constituent.

most frequently occurring post-verbal elements in my corpus, and their semantic interpretations are comparatively straightforward.

Even though cognates of these particles in other TG languages are typically analyzed as suffixes when attested, I treat the Wayampi forms as enclitics for descriptive convenience and mark them with a preceding equal sign to facilitate their identification in the examples. This is merely a descriptive convention: current knowledge of Wayampi does not yet permit a definitive assignment of clitic status to any particle, pending further phonological and syntactic analysis.

### 3.4.1 Future tense

The future tense—or future modality, as the distinction is subtle in the domain of futurity—refers to an event or state expected to occur after the time of speaking. It denotes a situation that has not yet taken place but is anticipated to occur. In Wayampi, future time reference is expressed by four stressed particles.<sup>71</sup> These forms occur only with a main verb in the indicative mood and vary according to clause polarity. Most, if not all, also carry modal nuances in addition to marking future time reference. They are presented in Table 14. Because negative future particles are incompatible with sentential negation particles, they are best analyzed as portmanteau forms combining both future and negation features.

Positive polarity:

= <i>tar</i> ~ = <i>tarà</i> <sup>72</sup>	possibility future (FUT)	‘be going to... without certainty; be able to’
= <i>taray</i>	immediate future (FUT.IMM)	‘be about to; have an uncontrollable desire to’

Negative polarity (portmanteau with sentential negation):

= <i>’āi</i>	negative future (FUT:NEG.IND)	‘not be going to, not be about to’
= <i>tari</i>	negative desiderative (DESID:NEG.IND)	‘not want to’

Table 14: Future tense particles

Examples for each are provided below:

- (148) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*juka*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>3</sup>=*tar*<sup>5</sup> *yve*<sup>5</sup> *w-ykyrỹ* *kõ* *kupa*, *e’i*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-kill-DEAGTZ=FUT too 3SS.PSR-child.of PL 3PL.SBJ IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 ‘‘They will let their own children be killed too,’’ he said.’ (AW – Matthew 10:21)

- (149) *e-rajyry* *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*kajỹ*<sup>0</sup>=*taray*<sup>5</sup>.  
 1SG.PSR-daughter.of IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-disappear=FUT.IMM  
 {Jairus said to Jesus:} ‘My daughter is about to die.’ (AW – Luke 8:42)

- (150) *n*<sup>-4</sup>-*ere*<sup>-3</sup>-*sa*<sup>0</sup>=*’āi*<sup>5</sup> *moma’e* *mõ*,  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-2SG.A-find=FUT:NEG.IND thing ART.INDF  
*ere-o* *te* *ere-iko*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-go FOC 2SG.A-BE.CVB  
 ‘If you<sub>(SG)</sub> don’t find anything (i.e., any animals), you just keep walking.’ (TW)

<sup>71</sup> Gordon & Rose (2006) refer to the Teko ‘‘future suffix -*ta*’’—the cognate of the Wayampi possibility future enclitic =*tar*—as ‘‘lexically stressed’’.

<sup>72</sup> The unstressed /a/ in the variant =*tarà* may reflect a residual element of the nominal referrer suffix -*à*, although this remains uncertain.

- (151) *amě* *e-ayvu* *n<sup>-4</sup>-o<sup>-3</sup>-enu<sup>0</sup>=tari<sup>5</sup>* *mă'ě,*  
 however 1SG.PSR-word IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-listen=DESID:NEG.IND REL
- a'evo* *ve* *tetã* *reinõg-ar-à*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:be.likewise too ABS\house.of make-NMLZ.AGT-REF
- n-o-tekokuwa=i* *mă'ě.*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-be.wise=NEG.IND REL  
 ‘But the one who refuses to listen to my word is like a foolish man who builds his house.’ (AW – Matthew 7:26)  
 (*lit.*, ‘But as for the one who doesn’t want to listen to my word, it is like a builder of a house who does not act appropriately.’)

The four examples above do not explicitly show the precise position of future markers within the verb complex. However, these forms consistently occur after the verb word, as shown in the examples below, where they appear immediately after the plural object marker *-kõ* or, at minimum, after the deagentivizing suffix *-okar*.<sup>73</sup>

- (152) *i-katusa* *rupi* *o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-mogeta<sup>0</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>.*  
 3DS.PSR-kindness.of PERL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-talk.to-3PL.OBJ=FUT  
 ‘He will speak to them with kindness.’ (AW – Matthew 12:19)
- (153) *ja'yr-e* *kõ,* *o<sup>-4/-3</sup>-u<sup>0</sup> pa<sup>1</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>=taray<sup>5</sup>* *jawa.*  
 child-COLL PL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-ingest-overly-3PL.OBJ=FUT.IMM jaguar  
 ‘As for the children, the jaguar has an irresistible urge to eat them.’ (TW)
- (154) *n<sup>-4</sup>-a<sup>-3</sup>-arõ<sup>0</sup>-puku<sup>1</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>=ai<sup>5</sup>.*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-1SG.A-wait-long-3PL.OBJ=FUT:NEG.IND  
 ‘I’m not going to wait for them long.’ (TW)
- (155) *ajawyi* *n<sup>-4</sup>-o<sup>-3</sup>-ji<sup>-1</sup>-mojãmorĩ<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>3</sup>=tari<sup>5</sup>*  
 then IND<sup>-</sup>-3.A-MID-immersed-DEAGTZ=DESID:NEG.IND
- Juwão-pè* *kupa* *ipi.*  
 John-DAT 3PL.SBJ HAB  
 ‘They therefore refused to be baptized by John.’ (AW – Luke 7:30)

Although most future markers appear immediately after the verb word—suggesting a possible analysis as inflectional suffixes—I treat them as independent words for two main reasons. First, a tense marker can be separated from the verb word by one or more post-verbal particles. This is illustrated in the six examples that follow.

- (156) *karamoe* *ipõ* *i-tekorã* *upa,*  
 formerly PTCL IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P-disease 3.P:AUX<sub>1</sub>
- “trinta e oito”* *kwaray-ròmõ* *tesõ* *a'evo* *ekoi.*  
 thirty.eight year-ATTR exceedingly likewise IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:be  
 ‘He had been persistently sick until now. He had been like that for no less than thirty-eight years.’ (AW – John 5:5)

<sup>73</sup> Regrettably, my corpus contains no attested instances of *=tari* occurring immediately after *-kõ*. However, given that *=tari* belongs to the same semantic-functional class as *=tar*, *=taray*, and *=ai*, and occupies the same region of the verb complex, there is little reason to assume that such a co-occurrence would be impossible. It is therefore reasonable to treat *=tari* as another post-verbal particle.

- (157) *age'e-war-à*                      *re*                      *teve*                      *a-mono=ta*  
 now-NMLZ.ADV-REF    ADESS                      also                      IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-announce=FUT
- t-ere-mã'ê,*                      *karamõ-war-à-rã*                      *re*                      *teve.*  
 SBJV-2SG.A-look.at    soon-NMLZ.ADV-REF-PROJ    ADESS                      also  
 'I will reveal the present so that you<sub>(SG)</sub> can see it, and also the future.'  
 (AW – Revelation 1:19)
- (158) *o<sup>-5/-4</sup>-porijauesa<sup>0</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>*                      *tesõ<sup>5</sup>*                      *amẽ.*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-have.mercy-3PL.OBJ    exceedingly                      however  
 'Yet, he felt pity for them.' (AW – Matthew 14:14)
- (159) *o<sup>-5/-4</sup>-mo<sup>-1</sup>-morijau<sup>0</sup>-oka<sup>2</sup>-kõ<sup>4</sup>*                      *teve<sup>5</sup>*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-CAUS-be.missing-DEAGTZ-3PL.OBJ    also
- i-moisyr-y-oka-kõ*                      *a'e*                      *yvy-pè-wyi*                      *kupa.*  
 3.P-drive.out.CVB-DEAGTZ-3PL.OBJ    PRO.ANA    land-LOC-ABL                      3PL.SBJ  
 'They also made sure to inflict suffering on them and to drive them out of this land.'  
 (AW – Acts of the Apostles 13:50)
- (160) *a'e*                      *kõ*                      *ve*                      *o<sup>-5/-4</sup>-ja'o<sup>0</sup>*                      *tesõ<sup>5</sup>=tar<sup>5</sup>*                      *yve<sup>5</sup>*  
 PRO.ANA    PL                      too                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-cry    exceedingly=FUT                      too
- ee*                      *o-mãjã.*  
 3DS:PSR:ADESS    3.A-observe.CVB  
 'They will weep bitterly upon seeing her.' (AW – Revelation 18:11)
- (161) *o<sup>-5/-4</sup>-ji<sup>-1</sup>-ãpi<sup>-1</sup>-kãkãi<sup>0</sup>*                      *tesõ<sup>5</sup>*                      *teve<sup>5</sup>=ta<sup>5</sup>*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-MID-gum.of-scrape    exceedingly                      also=FUT
- o-jawa*                      *upa.*  
 3.A-leave.CVB                      3.A:AUX<sub>1</sub>  
 'He will also gnash his teeth loudly.' (AW – Matthew 25:30)

Examples 156–61 show that *tesõ* 'exceedingly' and *teve* 'also' behave as floating particles, occurring after non-predicate constituents or following verb complex suffixes. Examples 156–7 demonstrate that these particles can appear after a non-predicate constituent, while 158–9 illustrate that they can also occur post-verbally, following the suffix *-kõ* '3PL.OBJ'. In 160 the future particle *=tar* follows *tesõ*, indicating that *=tar* operates as a particle as well. Example 161 further confirms this by showing that another particle, *teve* 'also', can be inserted between *tesõ* and *=tar*. All these forms, when occurring after a verb word, function as post-verbal particles.

Another argument for analyzing *=tar* as a particle is its ability to appear outside the verb complex. It typically follows the predicate complement of an (optionally omitted) copula when this complement occupies clause-initial position. This particular syntactic positioning suggests that *=tar* may function here as a second-position enclitic, as illustrated in the three examples below.

- (162) *o-mo'e-ar-à*                      *'ar-à*                      *kyty*                      *rowã=ta*                      *ekoi.*  
 3SS.PSR-teach-NMLZ.AGT-REF    top.of-REF    ALL                      NGT=FUT                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:be  
 'He will not surpass his own teacher.' (AW – Matthew 10:24)  
 (*lit.*, 'He will be not above his own teacher.')
- (163) *mir-e'eay-ròmõ=ta*                      *ne-memyry,*                      *e'i.<sup>74</sup>*  
 human.being-authentic-ATTR=FUT    2SG.PSR-child.of                      IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:say  
 '"Your<sub>(SG)</sub> son will be a true and remarkable person," he said.' (AW – Luke 1:32)

<sup>74</sup> In this example, the indicative main verb *ekoi* <IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A:be>, functioning as a copula, is omitted.

- (164) *karamoe-war-à*                      *kõ*    *vo=ta*                      *pejẽ*.<sup>75</sup>  
 formerly-NMLZ.ADV-REF PL    SIMIL=FUT                      PRO.2PL  
 ‘You<sub>(PL)</sub> will be like those of the past.’ (AW – Matthew 23:35)

Taken together, these observations support analyzing *=tar* as a particle. Moreover, since *=tar* is mutually exclusive with other future markers (*=taray*, *=’ãi*, *=tari*), it becomes difficult to maintain that the other future markers—despite also restricted to the post-verbal area—are not particles as well. I take this as sufficient justification to analyze all future markers as particles rather than suffixes. Naturally, this assumption remains open to subsequent revision, should future evidence indicate otherwise.

Notably, some future markers frequently co-occur with other post-verbal particles. This is especially evident with the possibility future marker *=tar*, which frequently co-occurs with the negated event marker *ipe* ~ *epe* and the hypothetical particle *mijẽ* ~ *mijã*.<sup>76</sup> These forms can either precede or follow *=tar*, with no clear difference in meaning at this stage of the research.

The combination of *=tar* with *ipe* conveys that the event denoted by the main verb, though unrealized, is characterized by failure or thwarted realization (frustrative meaning), as shown in example 165. Often, as illustrated in 166, this inherent sense of unsuccessful completion encoded by *ipe* is paired with the implication of an attempt or effort to carry out the action (conative meaning).

- (165) *pe-enu*                      *e-ayvu*                      *remẽ*,    *pe*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*enu*<sup>0</sup>                      *ipe*<sup>5</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-listen 1SG.PSR-word when IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-listen NGE=FUT  
 ‘You<sub>(PL)</sub> will hear my words but, unfortunately, will not understand them.’  
 (AW – Matthew 13:14)

- (166) *o*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*poregeta*<sup>0</sup>=*tar*<sup>5</sup>    *epe*<sup>5</sup>                      *w-etãrã*                      *kõ-pe*,  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-talk=FUT                      NGE                      3SS.PSR-blood.relative.of PL-DAT  
  
*n-i-pu=i*    *ajamã’ẽ*.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>:3.P-make.a.sound=NEG.IND                      however  
 ‘He tried to talk to his parents, but no sound came out.’ (AW – Luke 1:2)

The combination of *=tar* with *mijẽ* expresses a hypothetical future meaning, indicating that an event could or would occur, but with some degree of uncertainty, conditionality, or speculation. The example below illustrates this, showing both possible orders of *=tar* and *mijẽ*. (For optimal clarity in reading this example, both matrix and subordinate clauses have been bracketed.)

- (167) *ãmõ*                      [[*ne*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*vaẽ*<sup>0</sup>=*tarã*<sup>5</sup>    *mijẽ*<sup>5</sup>                      *ne-ji-kuwa*  
 and                      IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-arrive=FUT    HYP                      2SG.A-MID-know.CVB  
  
*jovijã-wasu-ròmõ*    *remẽ]-war-à*    *e-mome’u*                      *ore-upe]*...  
 chief-big-ATTR                      when-NMLZ.ADV-REF    IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A.IMP-tell                      1PL.PSR-DAT  
  
 [manyvo *põ*                      *oro-ereko*                      *kuwa*  
 how                      Q                      IND<sup>+</sup>:1.A-do                      COND  
  
 [*ne*<sup>-4/-3</sup>-*jo*<sup>0</sup>                      *mijẽ*<sup>5</sup>=*ta*<sup>5</sup>                      *mã’ẽ]*                      *i-kuwa.*]  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:2SG.A-come    HYP=FUT                      CPLT                      3.P-know.CVB  
 ‘And speak to us of the time when you<sub>(SG)</sub> shall return in the form of a great chief...  
 What should we do when we learn you might be coming?’ (AW – Matthew 24:3)  
 (*lit.*, ‘And tell us the time when you might arrive [and] appear as a great chief... How  
 are we to act upon learning that you might be coming?’)

<sup>75</sup> In this example, the indicative main verb *pe-iko* <IND<sup>+</sup>:2PL.A-be>, functioning as a copula, is missing.

<sup>76</sup> In other contexts, *ipe* can also convey a concessive meaning. For this reason, I do not treat it exclusively as a frustrative or conative marker.

### 3.4.2 Sentential negation

Sentential (or propositional) negation corresponds to logical denial, following the principle of double negation: two negations cancel each other out, yielding an affirmative interpretation. In other words, sentential negation reverses the truth value of a proposition, indicating that the state of affairs expressed by the predicate does not hold. As a clausal operator, sentential negation typically targets main predicates, including main verbs. Wayampi marks sentential negation with two post-verbal particles. The choice of negator depends on the mood feature of the main verb, with =*i* used in the indicative and =*eʔ* (AW) / =*ʔ* (TW) in the subjunctive. I begin with =*eʔ* / =*ʔ*, which is the simpler of the two to describe.

As expected, the subjunctive negator =*eʔ* follows a main verb obligatorily marked for the subjunctive. As a post-verbal particle, it may occur immediately after the verb word (168) or be separated from it by other post-verbal particles (169–70).

- (168) *ti*<sup>-4</sup>-*ja*<sup>-3</sup>-*aka*<sup>0</sup>-*kō*<sup>4</sup>=*eʔ*<sup>5</sup>  
 SBJV-INCL.A-abuse-3PL.OBJ=NEG.SBJV
- i-mo-sĩ-oka-kō* *ipi.*  
 3.P-CAUS-be.ashame.CVB-DEAGTZ-3PL.OBJ HAB  
 ‘We (you too) must not abuse or offend them.’ (AW – Romans 14:1)
- (169) *t*<sup>-4</sup>-*o*<sup>-3</sup>-*jivy*<sup>0</sup> *rãʔ*<sup>5</sup>=*eʔ*<sup>5</sup> *ikō* *w-etã* *gyty*  
 SBJV-3.A-go.back ATTN=NEG.SBJV PTCL 3SS.PSR-house.of ALL
- o-moma'e* *kō* *pijarãmō* *nẽ.*  
 3SS.PSR-thing PL PET OBLG  
 ‘He must not return home to look for his belongings.’ (AW – Matthew 24:18)  
 (*lit.*, ‘May he return for a short time to his own house in search of his belongings.’)
- (170) *ajawyi* *ta*<sup>-4</sup>-*pe*<sup>-3</sup>-*rovija*<sup>0</sup> *ywe'e*<sup>5</sup> *tite*<sup>5</sup>=*eʔ*<sup>5</sup> *ij-ayvu* *kō.*  
 then SBJV-2PL.A-believe ATTN FRUST=NEG.SBJV 3DS.PSR-word PL  
 ‘Consequently, you<sub>(PL)</sub> must not believe too easily their words.’  
 (AW – 2 Thesalonians 2:2)

Likewise, the indicative sentential negator =*i* follows the verb word associated with the main verb marked for the indicative. As with =*eʔ*, it may appear immediately to the right of the verb word (171), or it may be separated from it by one (172) or more (173) post-verbal particles.

- (171) *na*<sup>-4</sup>-*pe*<sup>-3</sup>-*rovija*<sup>0</sup>-*kō*<sup>4</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup> *sō* *remẽ,*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-2PL.A-obey-3PL.OBJ=NEG.IND EXCLM when
- ij-agyo* *korijō=ta* *o-posiko*  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:3.P-be.filled.with.emotion FIN=FUT IND<sup>+</sup>:3.A-work
- pe-ne* *amẽ* *kupa.*  
 2PL.PSR-ADESS then 3PL.SBJ  
 ‘If you<sub>(PL)</sub> do not obey them, they may then end up working unwillingly for you.’  
 (AW – Hebrews 13:17)
- (172) *n*<sup>-4</sup>-*a'evo*<sup>0</sup> *we'e*<sup>5</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup> *tepsi* *ja-mojã* *ipi.*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-be.likewise ATTN=NEG.IND cassava.press IND<sup>+</sup>:INCL.A-weave HAB  
 ‘The cassava press isn’t woven the same way at all.’ (TW)  
 (*lit.*, ‘It is not very much in the same way [that] we weave the cassava press.’)

- (173) *n-a-posiko*      *panē*<sup>5</sup>      *teywete*<sup>5</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup>      *sikō*  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-1SG.A-work      in.vain      INTS=NEG.IND      EXCLM
- Piripu*      *wān-à*      *kō*      *pyter-à*      *rupi*      *a-iko*,<sup>77</sup>  
 Philippi      inhabitant.of-REF      PL      middle.of-REF      PERL      1SG.A-BE.CVB
- a-'e=ta*      *amē*      *ij-upe*.  
 IND<sup>+</sup>:1SG.A-say=FUT      then      3DS.PSR-DAT  
 ‘Then shall I say to him, “I didn’t work completely in vain among the people of  
 Philippi”.’ (AW – Philippians 2:16)

A small number of attestations suggest that the possibility-future particle =*tar* can co-occur with the indicative negator =*i*, as shown in 174. This supports the analysis of the post-verbal area as a domain structured into distinct subpositions, with particles ordered according to their scope. It also reinforces the analysis of the negative desiderative particle =*tari* as a fusion of =*tar* and =*i*.

- (174) *n-a-ke=ta*<sup>5</sup>      *we'e*<sup>5</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup>.  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-1SG.A-sleep=FUT      ATTN=NEG.IND  
 ‘I won’t get enough sleep.’ (TW)

Further evidence for the internal structuring of position 5 comes from the phenomenon of negation doubling, illustrated in 175.

- (175) *pejē*      *amē*      *na-pe-ike='āi*      *i-pyri*,  
 PRO.2PL      however      IND<sup>-</sup>-2PL.A-enter=FUT:NEG.IND      3DS.PSR-APUD
- na*<sup>-4</sup>-*pe*<sup>-3</sup>-*mo*<sup>-1</sup>-*ē*<sup>0</sup>-*oka*<sup>3</sup>=*i*<sup>5</sup>      *amātejē=i*<sup>5</sup>  
 IND<sup>-</sup>-2PL.A-CAUS-come.out-DEAGTZ=NEG.IND      really=NEG.IND
- pe-'ar-à*      *kyty*      *rewarāmō*.  
 2PL.PSR-top.of-REF      ALL      because  
 ‘You<sub>(PL)</sub>, however, will not be able to enter beside Him, because you did not make  
 sure He emerged above you.’ (AW – Luke 13:29)

## 4 Conclusion

This study brings together corpus evidence to describe Wayampi verbal morphology and morphosyntax. It combines an inventory of clause-level verb forms with a step-by-step analysis of internal verb structure, and argues that a three-tier model—verb stem, verb base, and verb word—best captures how derivation and inflection interact in Wayampi.

Several diagnostics support this architecture. Right-edge reduplication consistently diagnoses stemhood. The ordering of *ji-* (middle), *mo-* (direct causative), and <sup>o</sup>*ero-* (sociative causative) shows that valence is organized in layers rather than in a single slot. The antipassive prefix *poro-* differs sharply from the voice markers in position –1, both in co-occurrence and in argument indexing, which supports its analysis as a dedicated antipassivizer occupying a distinct positional class. The deagentivizing suffix *-okar* modifies the A role and encodes indirect causation, but its syntactic effects vary across contexts, suggesting that it does not introduce a stable additional participant. The mood paradigm (*Ø* ~ *n-* ~ *t-*) and its dependency on post-verbal sentential negators provide strong evidence that mood is an inflectional category in Wayampi whose surface form is conditioned by polarity. The presence of a right-edge object plural index (*-kō*) and a rich set of post-verbal particles (future markers, negators, modal and evaluative particles) further supports a multi-slot organization in which derivation, lexical aspect, inflection, and clitic-like particles occupy adjacent but distinct zones.

<sup>77</sup> The form *panē* ‘in vain, to no avail, unsuccessfully’ is one of the few adverbs that may also occur in the post-verbal area. In contrast, *teywete* ‘completely’ is only attested as a post-verbal particle.

At the same time, several issues remain open. Person indexing in Wayampi shows a functional diversity that goes beyond the traditional two-series analysis; future work should systematize this distribution and assess how far similar patterns extend across the TG family. The syntactic status of the participant licensed by *-okar* (i.e., the putative causee) is not uniform and requires targeted diagnostics to determine whether it patterns as an argument or a peripheral participant. The prosodic and morphophonological status of post-verbal particles is still unclear: some behave like enclitics, others like independent particles, and their ordering and scope are only partly understood. The grammaticalization path of *poro-* and the diachronic development of multi-verb constructions call for comparative and historical data from other TG varieties.

These limitations outline a clear research agenda. Systematic analysis of attested forms, supported by contextualized elicitation, will help clarify combinatorial constraints among prefixes and suffixes. Comparative work within the TG family can determine whether the Wayampi patterns reflect retentions or innovations. Prosodic and phonological investigation of post-verbal enclitics will show how tightly they integrate into the verb word. Expanded corpus collection—especially controlled discourse elicitation—will illuminate how argument indexing and particle distribution respond to pragmatic factors. Fieldwork combining elicitation, narrative data, and experimental tasks will be crucial for testing hypotheses about argument realization and the productivity of derivational processes.

In sum, the Wayampi verb system is richly stratified: derivational and inflectional layers interact in systematic ways, and several non-local dependencies shape surface exponence. Rather than claiming that existing descriptions of TG verbs are fundamentally flawed, the evidence presented here suggests that some morphosyntactic dimensions—especially the layered interaction of derivation and inflection within the verb—have been under-investigated and deserve renewed comparative attention. By making the diagnostics and open questions explicit, this study aims to provide a basis for further descriptive, comparative, and theoretical work on Wayampi and related languages, and to encourage a more fine-grained approach to verb morphology in the TG family.

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## 6 Abbreviations

\ = morphophonological change

° = alternating stem

\* = ungrammatical form

† = reconstructed form

√ = etymological root

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

+ = positive polarity

– = negative polarity

n/a = not applicable

A = agentive or agent-like

ABL = ablative postposition or case

ABS = absolutizer

ACC = accusative case

ACT = active voice

ADESS = adessive postposition

ADV = adverbial

AGT = agent

ALL = allative postposition

ANA = anaphoric

ANTP = antipassive

APUD = apudessive postposition

ART = article

ASS = assertive

ATTN = attenuative

ATTR = attributive case

AUD = auditive

AUX = person auxiliary

CATA = cataphoric

CAUS = direct causative

CIRC = circumstantial

CMPL = completive

COLL = collective

COM = comitative

COND = conditional

COR = coreferential with the subject

CVB = converb

DAT = dative case

DEAGTZ = deagentivizer

DESID = desiderative

DS = different from the subject

EVT = event

EXCLM = exclamative

FIN = final transition

FOC = focus

FRUST = frustrative

FUT = future

HAB = habitual

HESIT = hesitative

HYP = hypothetical

IMM = immediate

IMP = imperative

INCEP = inceptive

INCL = inclusive person

INCR = incrementative

IND = indicative mood

INDF = indefinite

INESS = inessive postposition

INTS = intensive

IRRV = irreversible

LOC = locative case

MID = middle voice

MNR = manner

NEG = sentential negation

NGE = negated event

NGT = constituent negation

NMLZ = nominalizer

OBJ = object

OBLG = obligative

P = patientive or patient-like

PERL = perlativ postposition

PERM = permutative voice

PET = petitive postposition

PL = plural

PRO = free pronoun

PROJ = projective (“nominal future”)

PROH = prohibitive

PSR = possessor

PTCL = modal particle

Q = question

REDUP = reduplicant

REF = referrer

REL = relativizer

RETR = retrospective (“nominal past”)

REVS = reversative

SBJ = subject

SBJV = subjunctive mood

SG = singular

SIMIL = similitive postposition

SIMUL = simulative

SOC = sociative causative

SS = same as the subject

VBLZ = verbalizer

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