Person auxiliaries in Wayampi

Auxiliares de pessoa em Wayampi

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Abstract: This article describes person auxiliaries in Wayampi, a language of the Tupi-Guarani family. These elements are syntagmatic forms consisting of a person index and a non-verbal stem that cannot be related to any lexical stem in the contemporary language. Person auxiliaries, cannot function as predicates on their own, always accompany a verbal form with which they constitute a complex predicate. Depending on their role within the predicative verb form in which they appear, they can be either obligatory or optional. The purpose of this paper is to provide an in-depth analysis of these elements and, in particular, to show the essential role they play in the indexation of the transitive verbs in the language. By showing how the concept of person auxiliary is integrated into the Wayampi verbal system, this study contributes to the description of non-hierarchical marking in the Tupi-Guarani family and, more broadly , to the typology of person indexing.

Keywords: Person indexing. Complex predicates. Periphrastic forms. Serial verbs. Tupi-Guarani family.

Resumo: Este artigo descreve os auxiliares de pessoa em Wayampi (família Tupi-Guarani). Esses elementos são formas sintagmáticas que consistem em um índice de pessoa e um radical não verbal que não podem ser relacionados a nenhum radical lexical na língua de hoje. Os auxiliares de pessoa, que não podem predicar por si mesmos, sempre acompanham uma palavra verbal com a qual formam um predicado complexo. Dependendo de sua função na forma verbal predicativa em que aparecem, eles podem ser obrigatórios ou opcionais. O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar uma análise aprofundada desses elementos e, em particular, mostrar o papel essencial que eles desempenham na indexação de verbos transitivos nessa língua. Ao ilustrar como o conceito de auxiliar de pessoa está integrado ao sistema verbal do Wayampi, este estudo contribui para a descrição da marcação não hierárquica na família Tupi-Guarani e, de modo mais geral, para a tipologia da indexação de pessoas.

Palavras-chave: Indexação de pessoa. Predicado complexo. Formas perifrásticas. Verbos seriais. Familia Tupi-Guarani.

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INTRODUCTION

Wayampi is one of the three northern languages of the Tupi-Guarani family, along with Teko and Zo'e. It is spoken by approximately 2,000 people in the Brazilian state of Amapá and in southeastern French Guiana. Most of the data presented in this study come from Amapari Wayampi (AW), a subdialect of Southern/Brazilian Wayampi. However, some examples from Trois Sauts Wayampi (TW), a subdialect Northern/Guianese Wayampi, are also included. The AW data are primarily drawn from a freely available, non-literal translation of the New Testament, which poses certain analytical challenges (Wycliffe Bible Translators, 2013). All English translations from this material are my own, and any remaining errors of fact or interpretation are solely my responsibility. The TW data, by contrast, were all obtained during three field trips I conducted to the Wayampi village of Zidoc (Trois Sauts) in the late 2000s.

In Copin (2012, p. 240–241), I brought to light the verb forms used in Wayampi to express the person configuration 2→1, whose encoding is unique within the Tupi-Guarani family. A first distinctive feature of these forms is their periphrastic nature: they consist of two elements. One is what is typically referred to as a "verb" in Tupi-Guarani studies. The other is a separate morphosyntactic word that, in the person configurations where it occurs, indexes the participant not marked on the so-called 'verb.' This second element—which, as will be shown, also fulfills an additional function—forms the primary focus of this article. In the absence of an established term in the typological literature for this unusual word type, I propose the label 'person auxiliary'[1]. The following example offers a brief illustration of this concept in the TW dialect with the form ***e-ipa***. As will be demonstrated, ***e-ipa*** and ***ere-ika*** together form a complex construction—specifically, a particular form within the indexation paradigm of the transitive verb ***ika*** 'to kill.'

(1) ***Ere-ika*** ***so*** ***e-ipa,*** ***e'i*** ***jawa*** ***tamõ-pè.***
IND:2SG.A-kill PROH 1SG.P-AUX$_1$ IND:3.A:say jaguar elder-DAT
'"Don't kill me," said the jaguar to the elder.' [TW]

The purpose of this study is to provide a detailed account of the person auxiliaries in Wayampi and, in particular, to examine the various roles they play within the verbal system of this Amazonian language. It also explores how these elements combine with 'verbs' (or 'verb words,' in the alternative terminology introduced below) to form complex predicates. Since person auxiliaries challenge hierarchical argument indexing—a general principle guiding the conjugation of transitive verbs in Wayampi—this study includes at least a concise overview of the language's hierarchical indexing system. In sum, this paper aims to present an overview of argument indexing in Wayampi transitive verbs, with a particular focus on person auxiliaries.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows. The first section outlines the verb structure in Wayampi and presents verb forms that follow a hierarchical indexing pattern. The next section introduces the concept of person auxiliaries and describes the two functions they fulfill in Wayampi. It also provides a detailed examination of the different

[1] Here I follow Rose (2015, p. 360), who uses the term 'auxiliaries' for elements in Teko that are quite similar to those discussed here. That said, given their somewhat particular nature compared to what linguists typically refer to as 'auxiliaries,' I add the qualifier 'person' to the term. The so-called 'person auxiliaries'—which, as will be shown, are non-verbal in nature—represent one of the two auxiliary types attested in Wayampi. The other type of auxiliary—beyond the scope of this study and exhibiting completely different behavior—comprises the auxiliary verbs.

types of finite transitive verb forms that employ person auxiliaries. Finally, the paper concludes with a summary and some general reflections.

OUTLINE OF THE WAYAMPI VERB

The following subsections define the finite verb forms in Wayampi and provide a brief overview of their internal structure.

PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

In Wayampi, the verb is a lexical category whose members have at least two distinct forms capable of expressing a state of affairs: full finite forms and verbal nouns. Syntactically, full finite verb forms function exclusively as the main predicate—the absolute governor of the clause—whereas verbal nouns behave like nominals in their distribution. Morphosyntactically, full finite verb forms are marked for grammatical mood, either indicative or optative. Conversely, verbal nouns exhibit the properties typical of nouns and, more broadly, of nominals. This difference is illustrated in example (2).

(2a) *O-ji-apisi=ta* *o-jeeve* *kupa*.[2]
IND:3.A-MID-fight=FUT 3SS.PSR-one.with.another 3PL.SBJ
'They're going to fight each other.' [AW; Mark 24:7]

(2b) *Sota* *kõ* *o-o* *ji-apisi-a-pè* *remẽ*,
soldier PL IND:3.A-go MID-fight-NMLZ.EVT:REF-LOC when

i-raparapa *te* *o-o* *kupa* *ipi*.
IND:3.P-REDUP:weapon FOC 3.A-go 3PL.SBJ HAB
'When soldiers go to war, they go with weapons.' [AW; 2 Corinthians 10:4]

In (2a), the verb ***ji-apisi*** 'to fight' appears as a full finite form (***o-ji-apisi***), functioning as the main predicate. In (2b), however, the same verb occurs in a nominal position—as an oblique complement marked by the locative case marker ***-pè***. Here, the verbal lexical unit ***ji-apisi*** is converted into a verbal noun—a particular type of nominal—through the addition the event nominalizer ***-a(w)***. Lexically, the form ***ji-apisi-a*** remains a verb (a specific lexical class), but syntactically it functions as a nominal (a particular syntactic class). In Wayampi, only verbs, as a lexical class, can be instantiated nominally by means of a form in ***-a(w)***[3].

[2] In Wayampi, the initial slot of the verb word in a finite verb form serves as the morphosyntactic locus of grammatical mood (see Figure 1). I argue that in this language, the indicative mood—whose marking is obligatory on all verb forms functioning as main predicates—has two conditioned allomorphs: ***n-*** (or one of its phonologically conditioned variants) when a sentential negation enclitic (***=i***, ***=ãi***, ***=tari***) is present, and Ø when such a particle is absent. The zero morph expressing 'positive indicative' is theoretically justified on paradigmatic grounds, as it is mutually exclusive with both ***n-*** 'negative indicative' and ***t-*** 'optative' (see Copin, 2026 for further discussion). Note that all optative forms exhibit positive polarity; a negative optative may be formed periphrastically through the addition of the special sentential negator ***=e'ỹ***.

[3] This represents a crucial difference from nouns. Although nouns, like verbs, can function as main predicates, they do not require the event nominalizer ***-a(w)*** to occur in nominal positions. The noun–verb distinction in Wayampi is therefore clear-cut.

In addition to full finite forms and the nominal form (verbal noun), I propose that Wayampi verbs possess two additional non-finite forms: the converb and what I suggest calling the 'copredicate'[4]. The converb is characteristic of transitive verbs, whereas the copredicate is exclusive to active intransitive verbs. For the purposes of this study, only the copredicate will be discussed.

A copredicate (or copredicative verb form) is characterized by several distinct properties. First, it is a finite verb form marked for person-number but not for mood, making it less finite than a full finite verb form. Second, it lacks full autonomy, exhibiting structural dependence on the main predicate—a feature I attribute to the fact that the copredicate is unmarked for mood. Third, like the converb, a copredicate shares the same TAM and polarity values as the main predicate, which can make the two difficult to distinguish and even call this distinction into question. Finally, as will be shown, a copredicate occurs only within a specific zone in the linear representation of the clause[5].

Example (3) below illustrates the difference between an intransitive verb form functioning as a main predicate and as a copredicate. The verb form ***t-o-o*** is a main predicate because it is marked for mood; in this case, it contains the overt optative marker ***t-***. In contrast, the verb form ***o-jawa*** lacks the expected optative marker ***t-***, indicating its status as a copredicate in this context (although the form ***t-o-jawa*** is grammatical, it cannot appear here).

(3) ***T-o-o*** ***o-jawa.***
OPT-3.A-go 3.A-run.away
'Let him/her run away.' [TW]

By comparing examples (1) and (3) above, we observe that both the person auxiliary ***e-ipa*** in (1) and the copredicate ***o-jawa*** in (3) are marked for person-number 'but not for mood.' The form ****t-e-ipa*** is ungrammatical in Wayampi and while ***t-o-jawa*** is grammatical, it cannot appear in the copredicate context illustrated in (3)[6]. This pattern holds true for both copredicates and person auxiliaries (as well for converbs). Therefore, additional formal criteria are needed to distinguish between them and prevent potential confusion. These criteria will be introduced shortly.

THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF THE FINITE VERB FORMS

Each verb form—whether a full finite form, copredicate, converb, or verbal noun—is constructed from a verb word composed of several structurally ordered components: stem, base, and word[7]. The 'verb stem', which may be internally complex, conveys the core meaning of the verb. The 'verb base' consists of the verb stem combined with any derivational affixes, if present, and serves as the common denominator across all forms of a given verb. The 'verb word' consists

[4] In this paper, I adopt the distinction made by Rose (2009a) for Teko between the converb (more commonly referred to as the 'gerund' in Tupi-Guarani linguistics) and the V2 of a serial verb construction. The very term 'copredicate' that I employ here refers to the verb form, and by extension the syntactic function it fulfills, which occupies this V2 position.

[5] Anticipating what follows, a copredicate appears—like a converb—to the left of the slot that hosts the subject plural index ***kupa***.

[6] This is precisely why, in Wayampi, the absence of any mood marking—whether overt or covert—in a form that is an integral part of a predicative construction can serve as a diagnostic criterion revealing the syntactic dependency linking this form to its syntactic governor (*i.e.*, the verb word functioning as the main predicate).

[7] I argue that the morphosyntactic structure of the Wayampi verb word is multidimensional, comprising several layers, each characterized by distinct formal properties, as demonstrated in Copin (2026). The term 'verb word' is borrowed from the descriptive tradition of the Dene languages (see Rice, 1998, among others), which, together with a few other traditions, provides as an important source of inspiration for my analysis of Wayampi verb structure.

of the verb base inflected for mood and potentially other grammatical categories, such as person-number and plurality. Its internal structure is illustrated in Figure 1. Naturally, not all slots need to be overtly filled in every verb form.

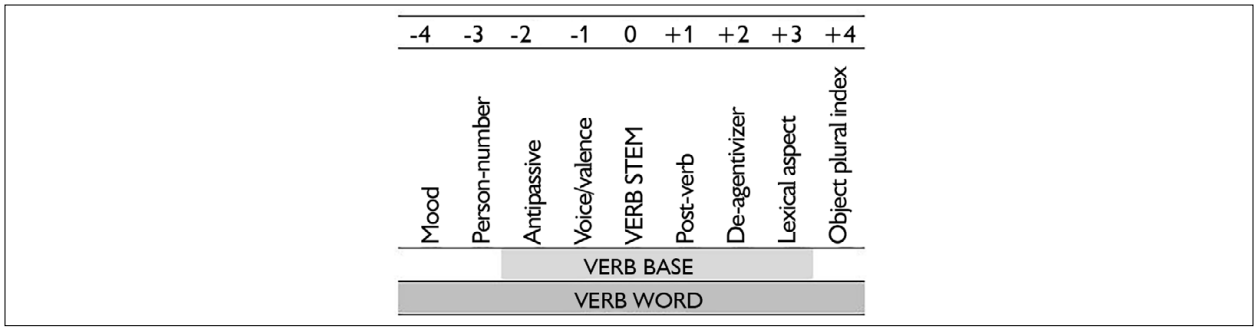

Figure 1. The Wayampi verb word template. Source: Copin (2026, p. 19).

For example, in (4) below, the form ***t-o-porijauesa*** is both a full finite verb form and a verb word. Syntactically, it functions independently as the main predicate—that is, it is a full finite verb form—and morphosyntactically, it is marked for mood (and person-number), making it a verb word.

(4) *Ãmõ, i-moma'e ywete ipe mã'ẽ sõ*
and IND:3.P-thing very.much CNTF REL EXCLM

o-mã'ẽ i-porijau mã'ẽ re remẽ,
IND:3.A-look.at IND:3.P-be.lacking REL ADESS when

t-o-porijauesa.
OPT-3.A-have.mercy
'And, when a rich man sees a poor man, he should pity him.' [AW; 1 John 3:17]
(lit., 'And, [one] who has things in abundance sees [one] who lacks [things]', may he have mercy [on him].)

A verb form that consists of only a verb word is a 'synthetic' verb form. The form ***t-o-porijauesa*** in (4) exemplifies this type of form. In Tupi-Guarani linguistics, the term 'verb,' when referring to a form, typically denotes this specific category of verb form.

Under certain circumstances—discussed further below—a verb word may be insufficient to form a particular full finite verb form. More precisely, a given verb word on its own does not carry the same meaning as when combined with another element. In such cases, the element in question is typically a person auxiliary, and its combination with the verb word results in a 'periphrastic' verb form. This paper primarily focuses on full finite verb forms that include a person auxiliary. The following example illustrates this type of construction.

(5) *N-e-porijauesa=i pe-kupa ipi.*
IND-1SG.P-have.mercy=NEG.IND 2PL.A-AUX$_2$ HAB
'You$_{(PL)}$ had no pity for me.' [AW; Matthew 25:42]

In (5), the combination of the verb word ***n-e-porijauesa***, necessarily accompanied by a sentential negator (here ***=i***), and the person auxiliary ***pe-kupa*** encodes the person configuration 2PL→1SG. The form ***n-e-porijauesa... pe-kupa*** is a periphrastic verb form. Although the absence of any person auxiliary is possible (the utterance ***n-e-porijauesa=i ipi*** 's/he had no pity for me' is grammatical), it expresses a distinct person configuration: 3→1SG. The form ***n-e-porijauesa***, when not accompanied by a person auxiliary, is a synthetic verb form. Examples such as (5) justify the inclusion of person auxiliaries within verb forms.

PERSON AND NUMBER MARKING IN THE VERBAL PREDICATE

In Wayampi, the grammatical categories of person and number on predicates are expressed syncretically through two types of morphs: argument indexes and plural indexes. This section provides a brief overview of both.

PERSON INDEXATION

The person indexation paradigm in Wayampi resembles that of many other Tupi-Guarani languages. Verbs encode their core arguments (S, A, P) using two sets of prefixal argument indexes: agentive (Set A) and patientive (Set P). Table 1 presents all of these forms[8].

Table 1. Wayampi argument indexes.

Person-value category	Set A		Set P	
	Forms	Glossing	Forms	Glossing
1·2	***ja-*** (INTR.V) / ***si-*** (TR.V.)	INCL.A	***jane-***	INCL.P
1	***a-***	1SG.A	***e-***	1SG.P
	oro-	1.A	***ore-***	1PL.P
2	***ere-*** (TW) / ***ne-*** (AW)	2SG.A	***ene-***	2SG.P
	e-	2SG.A.IMP		
	pe-	2PL.A	***pe-***	2PL.P
3	***o-*** ~ ***w-***	3.A	***i-*** / ***Ø***	3.P

In finite verb forms, the Set A and Set P argument indexes, occupying slot -3 of the verb base template (see Figure 1), function as what Haspelmath (2013, p. 219) terms "cross-indexes," meaning they may co-occur with an

[8] Following Daniel (2005) and Nichols (2017), I argue that in inclusive languages, the inclusive person functions as a full-fledged fourth person category. Consequently, what is commonly referred to as the 'first person exclusive plural' should be understood simply as 'first person plural'. This is reflected in Table 1, where the argument indexes are 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).

optional conominal in the clause[9]. These prefixes primarily differ in their morphosyntactic distribution. Specifically, Set A markers index the S argument of active intransitive verbs and the A argument of transitive verbs, whereas Set P markers predominantly index the S argument of stative intransitive verbs and the P argument of transitive verbs.

Thus, for intransitive verbs, the selection of either a Set A or Set P marker to index the S participant is lexically determined; each intransitive verb is categorized as either active—marked with a Set A marker—or stative—marked with a Set P marker. In transitive verbs, only a single morphosyntactic slot within the verb word is available to encode both core arguments (A and P), resulting in competition for access to this slot. In Wayampi, this competition is resolved through two distinct strategies, conceptualized as two types of indexing systems: hierarchical and non-hierarchical.

The person indexation paradigm for finite forms of transitive verbs adhering to a hierarchical pattern is presented in Table 2 below. For comparison, this table also includes the paradigms of the two categories of intransitive verbs: active verbs (rightmost column) and stative verbs (bottom row). Consistent with a widely accepted convention in the literature on the inverse (see, among others, Jacques & Antonov, 2014), the uppercase sigma symbol (**Σ**) denotes the verb base. To maintain simplicity, the table presents only verb forms in the indicative mood with positive polarity.

Table 2. The person indexation paradigms for transitive verbs (partial representation) and intransitive verbs in Wayampi.

TR.V.		(1·2)P	1P		2P		3P		INTR.V.
	A\P	INCL	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3		S_A
(1·2)A	INCL						*si-Σ*		*ja-Σ*
1A	1SG				*oro-Σ*		*a-Σ*		*a-Σ*
	1PL				*oro-Σ*		*oro-Σ*		*oro-Σ*
2A	2SG						*ne-Σ* (AW) *ere-Σ* (TW)		*ne-Σ* (AW) *ere-Σ* (TW)
	2SG.IMP						*e-Σ*		*e-Σ*
	2PL						*pe-Σ*		*pe-Σ*
3A	3	*jane-Σ*	*e-Σ*	*ore-Σ*	*ne-Σ*	*pe-Σ*	*o-Σ*		*o-Σ*
INTR.V.	S_P	*jane-Σ*	*e-Σ*	*ore-Σ*	*ne-Σ*	*pe-Σ*	*i-Σ*		

In the upper-left section of Table 2—which presents the hierarchical transitive indexation paradigm—the columns and rows correspond to the grammatical roles of the participants in the canonical transitive construction. Each cell in the grid represents a specific configuration of the two participants involved[10]. The light gray cells indicate the direct

[9] Following Haspelmath (2013, p. 201), I define a 'conominal' as a free nominal that may co-occur in the same clause with a coreferential argument index. A 'cross-index' is an argument index (*i.e.*, a person-number marker encoding an argument) whose conominal is optional (Haspelmath, 2013, p. 219).

[10] From Zúñiga (2006, pp. 47–54) onward, it has become standard practice in the literature on both hierarchical and inverse indexing systems to categorize the various combinations of speech-act participants and non-speech-act participants—*i.e.*, semantically 'transitive configurations'—into three directional domains. 'Non-local' configurations involve exclusively non-speech-act participants; 'local' configurations involve only speech-act participants; and 'mixed' configurations involve both a speech-act participant and a non-speech-act participant. Additionally, it is common to employ tables such as Table 2 to provide a synoptic presentation of transitive verb paradigms.

configurations (1→2, 1→3, 2→3, 3A→3P), while the dark gray cells correspond to the inverse configurations (2→1, 3→1, 3→2)[11]. The black cells represent the reflexive configurations, which are excluded from the present discussion.

For now, only synthetic verb forms are displayed in the transitive section of the grid in Table 2. Periphrastic verb forms—specifically, those requiring a person auxiliary—are omitted and indicated by crossed-out cells. These forms will be introduced and examined in subsequent sections.

PLURAL INDEXATION

Unlike some other Tupi-Guarani languages, Wayampi has developed a plural category within its verbal indexing system. Two third-person markers express plural indexation, and their syntactic behavior differs from that of both argument indexes and strong personal pronouns. These two forms—namely ***kupa*** '3PL.SBJ' and ***-kõ*** '3PL.OBJ'—share the property of being in complementary distribution with a conominal explicitly marked by the plural nominal particle ***kõ***[12].

However, these markers differ both in their placement and in their syntactic function (see below). Specifically, the marker ***kupa*** substitutes for a 'subject' conominal (either the A or S core argument), as illustrated in (6), whereas ***-kõ*** substitutes for an 'object' conominal (the P core argument), as shown in (7).

(6a) *Tamõ kõ karamae w-ero-porai.*
elder PL in.the.past IND:3.A-SOC-dance
'In the past, the elders used to dance with it.'
(with a dancing mask made of maú tree (*Couratari guianensis*)) [TW]

(6b) *Owaso w-ero-porai kupa.*
IND:3.P:be.magnificent 3.A-SOC-dance 3PL.SBJ
'They were magnificent when they danced with it.'
(lit., 'It was magnificent [how] they danced with it.') [TW]

(7a) *E-jimorypa kõ a-(a)poi=ta parepy-ry pupe.*
1SG.PSR-friend.of PL IND:1SG.A-serve=FUT peach.palm.fruit-juice.of INESS
'I am going to serve this cassava beer made from the fruit of the peach palm tree to my friends.' [TW]

(7b) *A-(a)poi-kõ'ẽ-kõ=ta.*
IND:1SG.A-serve-spend.the.night-PL.OBJ=FUT
'I am going to serve it to them all night long.' [TW]

[11] In the analysis of argument indexing systems, it is useful to distinguish participants involved in the speech act—namely, the speaker and the addressee—from those participants who are not part of the speech act. It is also helpful to introduce a notation that identifies the grammatical roles of the two participants involved in the various forms comprising a semantically transitive paradigm. In this study, the notation 'X→Y' is employed to indicate that the referent of an A participant acts upon the referent of a P participant. For instance, a configuration such as '2→1' denotes a scenario in which the referent of an A participant, with focal reference 2 (*i.e.*, an addressee of whatever number value) acts upon the referent of a P participant, with focal reference 1 (*i.e.*, either the speaker, or a plural entity including the speaker and a non-speech act participant). Put more simply (though less precisely), it describes a situation in which a second person acts upon a first person.

[12] This complementary distribution is crucial to the definition of these forms and distinguishes them from pluralizing particles, in which both the pluralizer and the nominal it modifies can co-occur in the clause (not necessarily adjacently). A pertinent example of a nominal pluralizer in Tupi-Guarani is the particle ***awỹ ~ wỹ*** 'PL.SBJ' in Guajá (Magalhães, 2007, pp. 89–90). Although ***kupa*** in Wayampi occupies a roughly analogous syntactic position to ***awỹ*** in Guajá, their syntactic behavior diverges significantly, reflecting their distinct functions: the former operates as a weak pronoun, while the latter functions as a pluralizer.

As demonstrated, these two markers replace plural nominals and can therefore be classified as 'plural pronouns.' However, their distribution within the clause differs markedly from that of strong personal pronouns (and nominals more generally). Free pronouns are a specific subclass of nominals, characterized by their ability to form independent elliptical utterances—such as responses to questions—and to occupy the same linear positions as other nominals in the clause. In this respect, the plural pronouns ***kupa*** '3PL.SBJ' and ***-kõ*** '3PL.OBJ' differ. Beyond their functional specialization, ***kupa*** is dependent on another word, whereas ***-kõ*** is an integral part of a word. Moreover, each occupies a distinct peripheral position: ***kupa*** appears in a dedicated slot at the end of the clause, as illustrated in (8), while ***-kõ*** occurs in slot +4 of the verb word template, as shown in (9). For these reasons, I do not classify them as strong pronouns but rather as a particular type of weak pronoun. However, since weak pronouns are typically regarded in typological literature as a diminished form of strong pronouns—a characterization that does not apply to ***kupa*** and ***-kõ***—I will instead refer to them as 'plural indexes'[13].

(8) *Ajawyi* *aepo* *e'i* *Jesu-pè* *kupa,*
then PRO.AUD IND:3.A:say Jesus-DAT 3PL.SBJ

o-ji-mo-aty *eeve* *kupa* *upa* *remẽ.*
IND:3.A-MID-CAUS-be.many 3DS.PSR:COM 3PL.SBJ 3.A:AUX$_1$ when

'That is why they said this to Jesus when they were gathered with him.'
[AW; Acts of the Apostles 1:6]

(9) *Ti-ja-aka-kõ=e'ỹ* *i-mo-sĩ-oka-kõ* *ipi*[14].
OPT-INCL.A-insult-3PL.OBJ=NEG.OPT 3.P-CAUS-feel.ashamed-DEAGTZ-3PL.OBJ HAB

'We (including you) must not insult or offend them. [AW; Romans 14:1]'

Of the two plural indexes attested in Wayampi, ***kupa*** is particularly crucial for this study because, as will be demonstrated, person auxiliaries and copredicates do not occupy the same linear position in the clause as this marker. Consequently, a positional criterion based on ***kupa*** is entirely reliable, since—unlike ***-kõ*** (see (9))—no more than one ***kupa*** can appear per clause in Wayampi. This point is illustrated in the following example, which features a serial verb construction: a single ***kupa*** indexes both the main predicate (***o-ji-moane'e***) and its dependent copredicate (***o-ji-mo-aiwe***). Were a second ***kupa*** to appear between ***tite*** and ***o-ji-mo-aiwe***, the utterance would be interpreted as comprising two clauses.

(10) *O-ji-moane'e* $_{V1}$ *jẽ* *ywe'e* *tite* *o-ji-mo-aiwe* $_{V2}$
IND:3.A-MID-foster PTCL not.too.much FRUST 3.A-MID-CAUS-be.evil

karakuri *mo-aty-a* *re* *kupa* *ipi* *mijã.*
money CAUS-be.many-NMLZ.EVT:REF ADESS 3PL.SBJ HAB PTCL

'As they accumulate money, they indulge in a life of debauchery.' [AW; Revelation 18:3]

[13] The term 'plural index' is adopted here from DeLancey (2023). It is also worth noting that plural indexes in Wayampi may bear stress.

[14] In this example, the object plural index ***-kõ*** appears twice: once within a full finite verb form (***ti-ja-aka-kõ***), and once within a converbal form (***i-mo-sĩ-oka-kõ***). As this illustrates, Wayampi non-finite verb forms of the converb type can be inflected for both person-number and plurality. However, as previously noted, such forms lack grammatical mood (the artificial optative form ****t-i-mo-sĩ-oka-kõ*** is ungrammatical in Wayampi).

THE NON-PERIPHRASTIC FINITE FORMS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Hierarchical indexation constitutes a relatively well-established domain within Tupi-Guarani linguistics (for comparative studies, see Rose, 2015, 2018). Moreover, the hierarchical indexing system of Wayampi closely parallels that of Teko (Rose, 2009b). Consequently, I will limit myself here to outlining its principal features. For the purposes of this discussion, I also incorporate my own analysis of two verb forms that encode a first-person A (singular or plural) acting on a second-person singular P. As will be demonstrated, although these forms are not hierarchical, they share with hierarchical forms the structural characteristic of being synthetic. The paradigmatic synthetic finite forms of transitive verbs are presented in Table 3 below. Once again, the crossed-out cells indicate the periphrastic verb forms involving a person auxiliary.

Table 3. The Wayampi transitive verb paradigm: the non-periphrastic forms.

TR.V.		(1·2)P	1P		2P		3P
	A\P	INCL	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
(1·2)A	INCL						*si-Σ*
1A	1SG				*oro-Σ*		*a-Σ*
	1PL				*oro-Σ*		*oro-Σ*
2A	2SG						*ne-Σ* (AW) *ere-Σ* (TW)
	2SG.IMP						*e-Σ*
	2PL						*pe-Σ*
3A	3	*jane-Σ*	*e-Σ*	*ore-Σ*	*ne-Σ*	*pe-Σ*	*o-Σ*

As this table illustrates, although these verb forms are transitive, they bear only a single cross-index, which may be either agentive (as shown in the right-hand column and ***oro-Σ*** in the two central cells) or patientive (as shown in the bottom row). The choice of participant indexed within the verb word is governed by a prominence hierarchy of the form (1·2,1,2) > 3(A > P)[15], which can be interpreted as follows. An inclusive- (1·2), first- (1), or second person (2) participant ranks higher hierarchically than a third person (3) participant (leftmost component), and among third persons, an agentive (3A) participant outranks a patientive (3P) participant (rightmost component). In any given configuration involving two participants—an agent (A) and a patient (P)—the participant higher in this hierarchy is the one indexed in the verb word, appearing immediately before the verb base (slot -3).

The (1·2,1,2) > 3 sub-hierarchy accounts for the forms found in the right-hand column and bottom row in Table 3 (mixed configurations), with the exception of ***o-Σ***. Regardless of the directionality of the person configuration—whether 'direct' (1·2,1,2)→3 or 'inverse' 3→(1·2,1,2)—participants designated as 1·2, 1, or 2 consistently take precedence over 3. In other words, the indexed participant is always one of 1·2, 1, or 2. The 3 (A > P) sub-hierarchy explains the form ***o-Σ*** in Table 3: when a third person A acts upon a third person P (non-local configuration), the indexed participant in the verb word is the A.

[15] If the inclusive-person value is disregarded, or more precisely, if it is subsumed under the first-person value, this hierarchy then corresponds to that proposed by Rose (2009b, p. 72) for Teko, namely: (1,2) > 3(A > P) (here, the comma denotes an exclusive-or operator).

A special case arises with the systematic homonymy (*i.e.*, syncretism) of the two ***oro-Σ*** forms located at the center of the grid, which correspond to the two local direct configurations: 1SG→2SG and 1PL→2SG. Assuming that, as with ***oro-*** in the 1PL→3 configuration, ***oro-*** here functions as a Set A marker encoding only one of the two participants in the person configuration—namely, the A—it is reasonable to conclude that this cross-index encodes a first person 'unmarked for number'. Accordingly, I have glossed this inflectional marker simply as '1.A' throughout this paper[16].

This analysis is not only theoretically economical but also offers a plausible hypothesis for why the two 'local direct' ***oro-Σ*** forms should be excluded from the scope of the hierarchical system. If ***oro-*** signifies '1.A' in these two forms, then the sub-hierarchy (1·2,1,2) > 3 cannot be applied, since 1 and 2 occupy the same leftmost position in the hierarchy and are thus indistinguishable. Furthermore, it is important to note that the presence of the explicitly singular ***a-*** '1SG.A' cross-index does not undermine the number neutrality of ***oro-***. In the 1→3 configurations—contexts where ***a-*** contrasts with ***oro-***—if ***a-*** is inherently singular, then ***oro-***, despite being underspecified for number, can function to encode a 'passing' first-person 'plural' agentive participant. From this perspective, the apparently plural reference of ***oro-*** is merely an epiphenomenon arising from specific grammatical contexts.

PERSON AUXILIARIES

This section defines the concept of person auxiliaries, delineates their inflectional paradigms in the two Wayampi dialects examined here, and describes the two functions these elements perform.

DEFINITION

Full finite verb forms are capable of constituting complete sentences independently. This characteristic generally facilitates their identification, particularly when they bear a Set A cross-index, as illustrated in (11). In this example, the verb form ***o-kui*** is unequivocally a full finite verb form, as it alone constitutes a complete sentence.

(11) ***O-kui.***
IND:3.A-fall
'It has fallen [to the ground].' (for fruits, seeds, leaves, crumbs) [TW]

Such a property cannot be exhibited by person auxiliaries. Although they inflect for person-number similarly to full finite verb forms, they cannot alone constitute a complete sentence and, therefore, cannot be considered capable of functioning as main predicates, as demonstrated in (12)[17]. This single characteristic, attributable to the incompatibility of person auxiliaries with grammatical mood, suffices to demonstrate that person auxiliaries are not synchronically verbs.

[16] The inflectional properties '1SG.A' and '1PL.A' form a natural class and can thus be subsumed under the numberless feature '1.A'. This analysis of ***oro-*** from the perspective of 'cumulative homonymy' (Carstairs-McCarthy, 1987, p. 204), also referred to as 'underspecification' (see, among others, Haspelmath, 2002, pp. 202–206), should not be regarded as 'exotic.' It parallels the reasoning commonly adopted by Tupi-Guarani scholars who treat a single ***o-*** '3.A' rather than two homophonous forms *o-* '3SG.A' and ***o-*** '3PL.A'. Alternative analyses of ***oro-*** are presented in Jensen (1998, p. 498), and Rose (2015, pp. 355–357). My analysis aligns closely with Rose's, though it is not identical.

[17] All of my TW consultants consistently rejected attempts to elicit utterances composed solely of a person auxiliary. Such attempts were typically met with puzzled expressions or laughter, followed by a uniform response: "It doesn't mean anything." While this may seem self-evident, it is nonetheless worth emphasizing that, among more than one thousand occurrences in my AW working corpus, not a single person auxiliary appears as a complete sentence on its own.

(12a) * *A-jupa.*
1SG.A-AUX$_1$
no meaning [TW; elicited]

(12b) * *Oro-kupa.*
1.A-AUX$_2$
no meaning [TW; elicited]

Given that person auxiliaries do not meet the criteria to be classified as verbs, it is necessary to explore alternative categories to which they might belong.

One plausible hypothesis is that they constitute a distinct syntactic class whose members function exclusively as copredicates—that is, a class of what might be termed 'copredicatives'. Indeed, a person auxiliary invariably co-occurs with the full finite form of a lexical unit—typically a verb—and, like a copredicate (V2 in a serial verb construction), consistently follows this form within the clause. To evaluate this hypothesis, consider the four examples in (13) and (14) below. Examples (13a–b) present two forms of the active intransitive verb ***iko*** 'to be, to exist, to act as, to become', while (14a–b) illustrate two forms of a single person auxiliary.

(13a) *Ajamã'ẽ* *pe-ja'a-katu* *jẽ* *ee-kõ* *ipi.*
however IND:2PL.A-think-well PTCL 3DS.PSR:ADESS-PL.PSR HAB

Ãwĩvo *ve* *mir-à* *kõ* *re*
IND:be.similarly too human.being-REF PL ADESS

ywesõ *ti-ja-ja'a-katu* $_{V1}$ *ja-iko* $_{V2}$ *ipi.*
above.all OPT-INCL.A-think-well INCL.A-BE HAB
'We (you$_{(PL)}$ too) must take great care of people in the same way you$_{(PL)}$ take care of them (*i.e.* of animals).' [AW; Luke 13:16]

(13b) *A'e* *kõ-pè* *rõmõ'ĩte* *o-poregeta* *iko,*
PRO.ANA PL-DAT exclusively IND:3.A-talk PTCL

o-o $_{V1}$ *o-iko* $_{V2}$ *kupa* *remẽ.*
IND:3.A-go 3.A-BE 3PL.SBJ when
'He spoke only to them when they were on their way.' [AW; Matthew 20:17]

(14a) *T-e-rã'ã* $_{V}$*=e'ỹ* *ikõ* *re-jupa* $_{PAux}$ *nẽ,*
OPT-1SG.P-test=NEG.OPT PTCL 2SG.A-AUX$_1$ OBLG

e'i *Janejare'e* *jane.*
IND:3.A:say God PRO.INCL
'"You$_{(SG)}$ must not put me to the test," God said to us.' [AW; Luke 4:12]

(14b) *Kõ'ẽkõ'ẽve* *ore-juka* $_{V}$*=tarà* *'ejẽ* *kupa* *upa* $_{PAux}$ *ipi.*
everyday IND:1PL.A-kill=FUT altogether 3PL.SBJ 3.A:AUX$_1$ HAB
'They will kill us for days and days.' [AW; Romans 8:36]

In (13a), the verb form ***ja-iko*** follows the verb form ***ti-ja-ja'a-katu***. Unlike the latter, ***ja-iko*** does not undergo inflection for the optative mood; consequently, the use of the optative form ***ti-ja-iko*** is deemed unacceptable in this context. Accordingly, ***ja-iko*** is unmarked for mood, indicating that it functions as a copredicate of ***ti-ja-ja'a-katu***. Moreover, ***ja-iko*** specifies the manner in which the state of affairs is realized, signaling that the subject referent of the main predicate carries out the action by means of movement[18]. In this respect, ***ja-iko*** also functions as an auxiliary verb. More precisely, using standard typological terminology, it constitutes an auxiliary-serialized verb form.

The same applies to the form ***o-iko*** in (13b), whose structure and meaning closely parallel those in (13a). However, in this case, additional morphosyntactic material is present: the subject plural index ***kupa*** '3PL.SBJ'. Notably, the copredicate ***o-iko*** occurs to the left of ***kupa***. This specific linear order is characteristic of all finite forms of lexical units, regardless of whether they function as main predicates (*i.e.*, full finite verb forms) or as copredicates, as in this instance. Consequently, any form inflected for person-number that follows ***kupa*** cannot be interpreted as a copredicate.

Logically, if person auxiliaries functioned as copredicates, they would appear to the left of ***kupa***. However, this is not the case. This point is illustrated in (14), specifically in (14b), which should be compared with (13b). In (14a), similarly to the verb form ***ja-iko*** in (13a), the form ***re-jupa*** is not marked for the optative mood—the artificial optative form ****te-re-jupa*** is ungrammatical in Wayampi—even though the governing verb form ***t-e-rã'ã*** does contain the optative marker ***t-***. One might therefore provisionally assume that ***re-jupa*** functions as a copredicate of ***t-e-rã'ã***.

However, the distinction between a person auxiliary and a copredicative verb form becomes clear in (14b). In this example, the form ***upa*** does not occur to the left of the plural index ***kupa*** '3PL.SBJ,' but to its right. As such, neither ***upa*** nor ***re-jupa*** can be analyzed as copredicates. Instead, they represent a distinct category: person auxiliaries.

Because copredicative verb forms and person auxiliaries occupy distinct positions relative to the subject plural index ***kupa***—the former appearing to its left and the latter to its right—they can co-occur within the same clause without conflict. This is illustrated in the example below.

(15)	*Amẽ*	*o-jimonyi* $_{V1}$	*o-kyje* $_{V2}$	*kupa*	*upa* $_{PAux}$.
	then	IND:3.A-be.surprised	3.A-be.scared	3PL.SBJ	3.A:AUX$_1$

'But they were amazed and frightened.' [AW; Luke 8:25]

Example (15) consists of a single, extended monoclausal construction. With the exception of ***amẽ*** 'then', it contains two verb words (***o-jimonyi*** and ***o-kyje***), a subject plural index (***kupa***), and a person auxiliary (***upa***). Just as only one instance of the plural index ***kupa*** may appear per clause, only one person auxiliary—here, the form ***upa***—is permitted per clause.

Although this is not overtly visible in its form—since the positive indicative in Wayampi is marked by a zero morph—the verb word ***o-jimonyi*** is nevertheless inflected for mood, as the negative indicative form ***n-o-ji-monyi***

[18] Wayampi can specify whether a state of affairs is carried out dynamically—by using the verb ***iko*** 'to be' as a copredicate—or statically, through the use of the person auxiliary ***upa***. This basic opposition, sometimes accompanied by additional specifications related to the spatial orientation of the subject referent, is also attested in other Tupi-Guarani languages. See, for example, Dobson (1997, pp. 35–36) for Kayabi. Interestingly, in Guajá—a language closely related to Wayampi—the elements *iko* and *upa*, in this usage, have developed into true particles (Magalhães, 2019).

(accompanied by a sentential negator) and the optative form ***t-o-ji-monyi*** are equally possible in the same position[19]. Consequently, ***o-jimonyi*** constitutes the verb word of a full finite verb form. By contrast, the verb word ***o-kyje*** is not inflected for mood, as the forms ***n-o-kyje*** and ***t-o-kyje*** are unacceptable in this context. Thus, ***o-kyje*** functions as a copredicate of ***o-jimonyi***, and together they constitute what is generally regarded in Tupi-Guarani linguistics as a serial verb construction. The plural index ***kupa*** and the person auxiliary ***upa***, for their part, provide additional information relevant to the entire construction.

Returning to the question of the syntactic status of person auxiliaries: if they are neither verbs nor members of a syntactic class of copredicatives, how should they be classified? The hypothesis put forward here is that person auxiliaries constitute a distinct syntactic class in their own right. This assumption underlies the use of a dedicated term for these forms in the present study.

As demonstrated above, the classification proposed here is motivated by two key features. First, person auxiliaries cannot function as main predicates. Second, they consistently appear after the subject plural index ***kupa***. The first feature follows directly from the fact that person auxiliaries lack forms marked for mood that could otherwise serve as main predicates. Their morphosyntactic paradigm is restricted to a single functional type, characterized by the following properties: (i) they are inflected for person-number, and (ii) they are unmarked for grammatical mood. The first property is shared with both main predicates and copredicates, whereas the second is shared exclusively with copredicates.

This is where the positional criterion becomes crucial. The post-***kupa*** position of person auxiliaries is unique to this class, as copredicates—including those grammaticalized as auxiliaries (*i.e.*, auxiliary-serialized verb forms)—must precede ***kupa***. Therefore, although they function as auxiliaries, person auxiliaries do not qualify as auxiliary-serialized verb forms.

With this in mind, the next question arises: although person auxiliaries constitute a syntactic class in their own right, do they also form a lexical class distinct from verbs? The answer appears to be negative. Person auxiliaries do not influence the selection of the core arguments of the verb word(s) with which they co-occur, nor do they affect the assignment of semantic roles. In other words, they do not alter the valency of the auxiliary construction. This characteristic further explains why person auxiliaries cannot function either as main predicates or as copredicates.

On the other hand, since a person auxiliary can—at least occasionally, as will be demonstrated—express a core argument of a verb (or verb series) through its own argument index, it may be regarded as part of the syntactic predicate of the clause. Thus, a person auxiliary and the verb word(s) it accompanies together constitute a 'complex predicate.'

To conclude, person auxiliaries can be defined as a distinct syntactic class characterized by three key properties. First, their forms are marked for person-number (*i.e.*, they bear an argument index) but remain unmarked for grammatical mood. Second, they occupy a unique linear position within the clause, occurring immediately after the slot occupied by the subject plural index ***kupa***. Third, they form a complex predicate in conjunction with a verb word or a series of verb words within a monoclausal syntactic construction.

[19] In Wayampi, the position occupied by a full finite verb form—and, correspondingly, the full finite verb form itself—is defined by its capacity to bear 'any mood value.' If a verb form occurring in a given position (i) does not bear any overt mood marker and (ii) cannot accommodate one, it does not qualify as a full finite verb form.

INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS AND FUNCTIONS

Wayampi has two person auxiliaries: ***upa*** and ***kupa***. Tables 4 and 5 below present their paradigms in TW and AW, respectively.

Table 4. The inflectional paradigms for person auxiliaries in TW.

			-jupa 'AUX$_1$'			***-kupa*** 'AUX$_2$'	
			Set A forms	Set P forms		Set A forms	Set P forms
1·2	INCL		***ja-ipa***	-		***ja-kupa***	-
1	1SG		***a-ipa***	***e-ipa***		-	-
	1PL		***oro-ipa***	-		***oro-kupa***	***ore-kupa***
2	2SG		***ere-ipa***	-		-	-
	2SG.IMP		***e-ipa***	-		-	-
	2PL		***pe-ipa***	-		***pe-kupa***	-
3	3		***upa***	-		-	-

Table 5. The inflectional paradigms for person auxiliaries in AW.

			-jupa 'AUX$_1$'			***-kupa*** 'AUX$_2$'	
			Set A forms	Set P forms		Set A forms	Set P forms
1·2	INCL		***ja-jupa***	-		***ja-kupa***	-
1	1SG		***a-jupa***	-		-	-
	1PL		***oro-jupa***	-		***oro-kupa***	-
2	2SG		***re-jupa ~ ne-jupa***	-		-	-
	2SG.IMP		***e-jupa***	-		-	-
	2PL		***pe-jupa***	-		***pe-kupa***	-
3	3		***upa***	-		-	-

The three contrasting shades (white, light gray, and dark gray) used to characterize the cells indicate two functions these forms can fulfill. These functions are introduced in the following two sections. The function of the forms in the light gray and dark gray cells is discussed in the next section. All forms, whether shaded or unshaded, also serve an additional purpose, which is addressed in the section immediately following the next one.

PERSON AUXILIARIES USED AS 'INDEXATION WORDS' IN SOME PERSON CONFIGURATIONS

The primary function of person auxiliaries is to serve as a morphosyntactic medium for expressing the core argument of a transitive verb 'that is not indexed in the verb word' itself. In such cases, the combination of an inflected person auxiliary with a verb word compensates for a gap in the verb's indexation paradigm. When used in this way, the person auxiliary and the verb word do not agree in person and number. Moreover, the argument index on the person auxiliary functions as a cross-index. This observation is crucial, as it enables the identification of when a person auxiliary serves this function in a given sentence. Two distinct scenarios arise: either the verb word is inflected for person-number (the polypersonal strategy), or it is not (the antipassive strategy). These cases are presented sequentially below.

THE POLYPERSONAL STRATEGY (2→1 CONFIGURATIONS)

Finite forms of transitive verbs exhibiting the polypersonal indexation pattern simultaneously encode their two core arguments: one within the verb word and the other via a person auxiliary, as the term implies. In this construction, the presence of the person auxiliary is mandatory, and the resulting periphrastic verb form is syntactically transitive. In Wayampi, this morphosyntactic strategy is employed to mark the four local inverse person configurations (*i.e.*, 2SG→1SG, 2SG→1PL, 2PL→1SG, and 2PL→1PL). The corresponding verb forms, consisting of the verb word combined with the person auxiliary, are presented in Tables 6 and 7 below for TW and AW, respectively.

Table 6. Encoding of the local configurations 2→1 in TW: indexation of 1 and 2.

TR.V.		1P	
	A\P	1SG	1PL
	2SG	*ere-Σ e-ipa*	*ere-Σ ore-kupa*
2A	2SG.IMP	*e-Σ e-ipa*	*e-Σ ore-kupa*
	2PL	*pe-Σ e-ipa*	*pe-Σ ore-kupa*

Table 7. Encoding of the local configurations 2→1 in AW: indexation of 1 and 2.

TR.V.		1P	
	A\P	1SG	1PL
2A	2SG	*e-Σ re-jupa*	*ore-Σ re-jupa*
	2PL	*e-Σ pe-kupa*	*ore-Σ pe-kupa*

As illustrated in these tables, the verb forms differ markedly between the two Wayampi dialects. In AW (see Table 7), the verb word indexes the P through a Set P marker (*e-* '1SG.P' or ***ore-*** '1PL.P'), while the person auxiliary marks the A using a Set A marker (***re-*** '2SG.A' or ***pe-*** '2PL.A'). By contrast, TW (see Table 6) exhibits the inverse pattern: the verb word indexes the A with a Set A marker (***ere-*** '2SG.A', ***e-*** '2SG.A.IMP', or ***pe-*** '2PL.A'), and the person auxiliary marks the P, employing a single Set P marker (***e-*** '1SG.P' or ***ore-*** '1PL.P'). Furthermore, TW features two special imperative forms when the A is second person singular: ***e-Σ e-ipa*** and ***e-Σ ore-kupa***—a distinction absent in AW. Finally, person auxiliaries vary accross paradigm cells depending on the dialect. In this regard, ***upa*** functions as the singular auxiliary, while ***kupa*** serves as its plural counterpart. The following examples illustrate the individual cells of the sub-paradigm presented in Table 6.

(16) 2SG→1SG

Ere-pokyri ***so*** ***e-ipa.***

IND:2SG.A-tickle PROH 1SG.P-AUX$_1$

'Don't [you$_{(SG)}$] tickle me.' [TW]

(17) 2SG→1PL

Ere-moma ***so*** ***ore-kupa.***

IND:2SG.A-wake.up PROH 1PL.P-AUX$_2$

'Don't [you$_{(SG)}$] wake us up.' [TW]

(18) 2SG.IMP→1SG

E-'u	*e-pota*	*mõ.*	*E-pytywõ-miti*	*e-ipa*[20].
IND:2SG.A.IMP-ingest	1SG.PSR-manioc.beer.of	INDF	IND:2SG.A.IMP-help-a.little	1SG.P-AUX$_1$

'Drink the cachiri in my calabash. Help me a little [to finish it].' [TW]

(19) 2SG.IMP→1PL

E-pytywõ	*ore-kupa.*
IND:2SG.A.IMP-help	1PL.P-AUX$_2$

'Help us.' [TW]

(20) 2PL→1SG

Je'iwe-ay	*pe-moma*	*e-ipa.*
at.daybreak-INTS	IND:2PL.A-wake.up	1SG.P-AUX$_1$

'Wake me at dawn.' [TW]

(21) 2PL→1PL

Pe-poãnõ=ta	*pũwĩ*	*ore-kupa.*
IND:2PL.A-cure=FUT	Q	1PL.P-AUX$_2$

'Are you$_{(SG)}$ going to treat us?' [TW]

The following are illustrative examples from the sub-paradigm shown in Table 7.

(22) 2SG→1SG

N-e-reity='ãi

IND-1SG.P-abandon=FUT:NEG.IND

o-manõ	*mã'ẽ*	*kõ*	*rena-pè*	*re-jupa.*
IND:3.A-die	REL	PL	place.of-LOC	2SG.A-AUX$_1$

'You$_{(SG)}$ will not abandon me in the realm of the dead.' [AW; Acts of the Apostles 2:27]

(23) 2SG→1PL

T-ore-mo-isyry-oka=e'ỹ	*ike*	*wyi*	*re-jupa,*
OPT-1PL.P-CAUS-move.away-DEAGTZ=NEG.OPT	here	ABL	2SG.A-AUX$_1$

a-'e	*ene,*	*e'i*	*Jesu-pè.*
IND:1SG.A-say	PRO.2SG	IND:3.A:say	Jesus-DAT

'"Don't [you$_{(SG)}$] drive us away from here, I am asking you$_{(SG)}$," he said to Jesus.'
[AW; Mark 5:10]

[20] The final section of this paper provides a justification for analyzing the imperative form ***e-*** '2SG.A.IMP' as a mere allomorph of ***ere-*** '2SG.A.'

(24) 2SG→1SG

Ava	*mõ,*	*"Papa,*	*e-pãtavõ*	*re-jupa",*	*e'i*	*remẽ,*
person	INDF	father	IND:1SG.P-help	2SG.A-AUX$_1$	IND:3.A:say	when

aje-ywete *Janejare'e* *o-pãtavõ=ta.*
true-very.much God IND:3.A-help=FUT
'When someone says, "Father, help me," God will surely help.' [AW; Matthew 7:8]

(25) 2SG→1PL

Ore-porijauesa	*re-jupa,*	*e'i*	*w-apukai*	*kupa.*
IND:1PL.P-have.mercy	1SG.A-AUX$_1$	IND:3.A:say	3.A-shout	3PL.SBJ

'"Have mercy on us," they shouted.' [AW; Matthew 9:27]

(26) 2PL→1SG

T-e-rarõ=e'ỹ	*rã'ĩ*	*ikõ*	*pe-kupa*	*nẽ.*
OPT-1SG.P-wait.for=NEG.OPT	ATTN	PTCL	2PL.A-AUX$_2$	OBLG

'You$_{(PL)}$ must not wait for me [to do this].' [AW; 1 Corinthians 16:2]

(27) 2PL→1PL

Manyvo	*põ*	*n-ore-pota=i*	*pe-kupa.*
how	Q	IND-1PL.P-like=NEG.IND	2PL.A-AUX$_2$

'Is it conceivable that you$_{(PL)}$ do not like us?' [AW; Luke 7:32]

As mentioned earlier, the mood value of a finite verb form is expressed solely within the verb word. This is illustrated in examples (22–23) and (26–27) above, where the verb word of each full finite form contains a phonologically overt mood marker (***t-*** or ***n-***).

Another noteworthy point is that the finite verb forms in (22–23) and in (24–25) exhibit the same indexation pattern when considered in pairs. This is unexpected, given that (22–23) are assertive sentences, whereas (24–25) convey commands addressed to a second-person singular addressee, rather than statements or questions. One might therefore anticipate the presence of dedicated imperative forms in (24–25), similar to those found in TW. However, this is not the case[21]. Accordingly, Table 7 does not include dedicated imperative verb forms for second-person commands, in contrast to Table 6.

Finally, it should be noted that in AW, the person auxiliary form ***re-jupa*** has a free variant, ***ne-jupa***. This alternative form is extremely rare in the biblical corpus, with only five occurrences of ***ne-jupa*** compared to approximately 200 instances of ***re-jupa***. This distribution may suggest an emerging tendency in this dialect to blur entirely the distinction

[21] Logically, these artificial imperative verb forms would be ****e-Σ… e-jupa*** <1SG.P-**Σ** 2SG.A.IMP-AUX$_1$> and ****ore-Σ… e-jupa*** <1PL.P-**Σ** 2SG.A.IMP-AUX$_1$>. However, neither of these forms appears in the New Testament in AW, nor in the extensive—though challenging—texts in AW published by the *Instituto de Pesquisa e Formação Indígena*.

between agentive and patientive addressees—at least in terms of phonological realization. The following example illustrates a periphrastic verb form containing ***ne-jupa***.

(28) ***Manyvoremẽ*** ***ywete*** ***sipõ*** ***ore-repy=ta*** ***ne-jupa,***
when very.much Q.EXCLM IND:1PL.P-estimate=FUT 2SG.A-AUX$_1$

Manyvoremẽ ***ywete*** ***sipõ*** ***ne-mo-morijau=ta***
when very.much Q.EXCLM IND:2SG.A-CAUS-be.lacking=FUT

ore-apisi-ar-er-à,
1PL.PSR-kill-NMLZ.AGT-RETR-REF
'When will you$_{(SG)}$ make an assessment of our value? When will you$_{(SG)}$ make our murderers suffer?'
[AW; Revelation 6:10]

THE ANTIPASSIVE STRATEGY

Wayampi lacks finite verb forms dedicated specifically to encoding the local direct person configurations 1SG→2PL and 1PL→2PL. To compensate for this gap in the transitive verb indexation paradigm, the language employs a specific type of finite verb form characterized by two main features.

First, it is a periphrastic construction consisting of a verb word and an auxiliary. Unlike other periphrastic verb forms discussed earlier, this auxiliary can be either a person auxiliary or a serialized-auxiliary verb—in this case, a copredicative form of the verb *iko* 'to be, to exist, to act as, to become.' Only the strategy involving a person auxiliary will be presented here.

Second, the verb word is marked for mood but, unlike in the polypersonal strategy, it is not for person-number, and it carries the antipassive prefix ***poro-***[22]. In this context, the person auxiliary serves as the sole morphosyntactic locus for encoding a participant, thereby making its syntactic correlate a single core argument (S). In other words, Wayampi employs syntactically 'intransitive' periphrastic verb forms to encode the person configurations 1SG→2PL and 1PL→2PL. These verb forms are presented in Table 8 for both dialects.

Table 8. Encoding of the local scenarios 1→2PL in TW and in AW: antipassive + indexation of 1.

TR.V.	A\P	2P
		2PL
1A	1SG	***poro-Σ a-ipa*** (TW) / ***poro-Σ a-jupa*** (AW)
	1PL	***poro-Σ oro-kupa***

Examples (29) and (30) below each illustrate one of these forms in AW.

[22] For a multi-criteria justification of the non-reference and antipassive value of ***poro-*** in Wayampi (and in a number of other Tupi-Guarani languages), see Copin (2024).

(29) *A'e* *a'evo-a* *kõ* *re*
PRO.ANA be.likewise-NMLZ.EVT:REF PL ADESS

poro-mo-tekokuwa *a-jupa* *e-kareta* *rupi* *ta-pe-kuwa.*
IND:ANTP-CAUS-be.wise 1SG.A-AUX$_1$ 1SG.PSR-book PROL OPT-2PL.A-know
'I proclaim these things through my book so that you$_{(PL)}$ may know them.'
[AW; Romans 2:16]

(30) *Ajawyi* *aepo* *jaa* *re* *poro-mo-tekokuwa*
then PRO.AUD news ADESS IND:ANTP-CAUS-be.wise

oro-kupa *ta-pe-enu,* *e'i.*
1.A-AUX$_2$ OPT-2PL.A-listen IND:3.A:say
'"That is why we (you excluded) have announced this news, so you$_{(PL)}$ can understand what it is all about," he said.'
[AW; Acts of the Apostles 2:32]

As a final observation, it should be noted that, owing to their inherent intransitivity, periphrastic verb forms of this type do not permit the expression of the P argument of the basic transitive verb from which they are derived. Only the former A argument corresponds to a core argument in the valence pattern of these forms—reinterpreted as an S argument. Consequently, contrary to what the translations of the two examples above might suggest, these verb forms do not explicitly refer to a plural addressee; such reference is inferred solely from the discourse context.

PERSON AUXILIARIES USED AS TAM OPERATORS

In addition to its role in expressing the core argument of a transitive verb that is not indexed within the verb word itself, a person auxiliary serves a second, equally common function. This other function involves conveying additional information about the state of affairs denoted by the verb word it accompanies. In contrast to the former use, when a person auxiliary functions in this way, its argument index no longer operates as a cross-index but instead as an agreement marker. In such instances, a person auxiliary agrees in person and number with the subject core argument (A/S) of the verb word.

Each of the two person auxiliaries conveys a distinct semantic nuance of its own. The person auxiliary ***upa*** carries a static-progressive meaning: it indicates that the state of affairs expressed by the verb word is concomitant with a specific temporal reference point (progressive value), and that the referent of the subject participant remains in a stable location throughout the execution of this state of affairs (static value)[23]. This particular usage of ***upa*** is exemplified below with a transitive verb (31a), an active intransitive verb (31b), and a stative intransitive verb (31c).

[23] Jensen (1984, p. 98) hypothesizes that *upa* is derived from an old lexical verb she reconstructs in Proto-Tupi-Guarani as ***ŧúß/júß*** 'to be lying down'. This etymology appears plausible, as cognates of this reconstructed form are attested as lexical verbs with precisely this meaning in several present-day Tupi-Guarani languages—***up/jup*** in Urubu-Kaapor (Kakumasu, 1986, p. 386), ***'up/jup*** in Kayabi (Dobson, 1997, p. 35), ***upy/jupy*** in Mbya Guarani (Dooley, 1998, p. 55), among others. It is important to note that this old lexical verb is not attested in Wayampi; instead, its semantic equivalent is the active intransitive verb ***'au*** (see example (33b) below).

(31a) *A'evo-a-rã* *a-mome'u* *amãtejẽ* *a-jupa,*
be.likewise-NMLZ.EVT:REF-PROJ IND:1SG.A-tell certainly 1SG.A-AUX$_1$

ta-pe-kuwa, *e'i* *ij-upe-kõ.*
OPT-2PL.A-know IND:3.A:say 3DS.PSR-DAT-PL.PSR
'"I am telling you this in advance so that you$_{(SG)}$ will know about it," he said to them.'
[AW; Matthew 24:25]

(31b) *Kwee* *ere-jy* *ere-ipa,* *remẽ*
yesterday IND:2SG.A-be.located 2SG.A-AUX$_1$ when

a-jo *kuwa* *ne-koty* *mijẽ.*
IND:1SG.A-come COND 2SG.PSR-ALL PTCL
'If I had been here yesterday, I would have come to your place.' [TW]

(31c) *Ajawyi* *te* *e-rory* *jẽ* *a-jupa.*
then FOC IND:1SG.P-be.joyful PTCL 1SG.A-AUX$_1$

N-o-pa='ãi *e-rory-a.*
IND-3.A-finish=FUT:NEG.IND 1SG.PSR-be.joyful-NMLZ.EVT:REF

'That is why I am still rejoicing [at his coming]. My joy will not fade.'
[AW; Philippians 1:18]

It is important to note that the static-progressive auxiliary ***upa*** may also appear in conjunction with a verb word in utterances conveying commands directed to a single addressee. In such contexts, ***upa*** is marked by the special imperative ***e-*** prefix, here designated as '2SG.A.IMP' (see Table 1). The following pair of examples illustrates this imperative function of ***upa***.

(32a) *E-jy* *ra'i* *e-ipa.*
IND:2SG.A.IMP-be.located ATTN 2SG.A.IMP-AUX$_1$
'Stick around.' [TW]

(32b) *Mokope* *korijõ* *e-po'ã* *e-jupa,* *pejẽ* *korijõ* *kuwa.*
over.there only IND:2SG.A.IMP-get.up 2SG.A.IMP-AUX$_1$ IND:2PL:say only COND
'"Just stand there," you$_{(PL)}$ might say' [AW; James 2:3]

The two examples in (32) are especially significant, as they demonstrate that the imperative ***e-*** prefix cannot be analyzed as a portmanteau morph encoding both person-number and grammatical mood. As previously noted, person auxiliaries—like copredicative verb forms—are not marked for mood; they are incompatible with the negative indicative ***n-*** and the optative ***t-***, and the covert positive indicative Ø. Consequently, if a given person auxiliary can be marked with ***e-***, as is the case with ***upa*** in (32), this indicates that the prefix cannot be construed as a morphosyntactic exponent of grammatical mood.

More specifically, the existence of forms such as ***e-ipa*** (TW) and ***e-jupa*** (AW) in (32) demonstrates that, despite its dedicated use in positive imperative sentences, the *e-* prefix itself does not encode imperative mood. Furthermore, since ***e-*** is the sole imperative argument index in Wayampi,[24] it follows that the language lacks a dedicated imperative mood. Consequently, the periphrastic finite verb forms in (32) are, counterintuitively, indicative.

In sum, the ***e-*** prefix is simply an allomorph of ***ere-*** (TW) and ***ne-*** (AW). That is, the Set A second person singular argument index has two minimal forms that differ by dialect: ***e-*** and ***ere-*** in TW, and ***e-*** and ***ne-*** in AW. Positive imperative sentences use ***e-***, while declarative, interrogative, and negative imperative sentences employ ***ere-*** / ***ne-***.

Concerning the person auxiliary ***kupa***, when employed as a TAM operator, it represents one of the strategies available for expressing universal quantification over the referent of a plural subject core argument. Specifically, the presence of this person auxiliary within a clause signals that the subject referent is interpreted as a homogeneous collection of entities—that is, it carries a group-homogenizing value. In most contexts, this construction may be rendered as 'to be together', 'to form a whole', or 'to constitute a consistent whole'. This usage of ***kupa*** is illustrated below with a transitive verb (33a), an active intransitive verb (33b), and a stative intransitive verb (33c).

(33a) *Ãwitõ* *ja-jau* *yy-pè* *remẽ*
just.as IND:INCL.A-bathe water-LOC when

ja-ji-pikusu-katu *ja-kupa* *ipi,*
IND:INCL.A-MID-wash.one's.body-well INCL.A-AUX$_2$ HAB

ãwĩvo *ve* *Jesu* *jane-py'a-ky'a'o-pa* *ky'y*
IND:be.similarly.to too Jesus INCL.P-inner.self.of-cleanse-CMPL ASS

'When we bathe together in water, we cleanse our bodies. Similarly, Jesus completely purifies our hearts.'
[AW; Hebrew 10:22]

(33b) *E-ykyrỹ-gwer-à* *kõ* *reve* *oro-'au-pa* *oro-kupa.*
1SG.PSR-child-COLL-REF PL COM IND:1.A-be.lying.down-CMPL 1.A-AUX$_2$

'My children and I are in bed, all of us.' [AW; Luke 11:7]

(33c) *Pe-aepo* *so* *pe-kupa.*
IND:2PL.P-be.drunk PROH 2PL.A-AUX$_2$

'You$_{(PL)}$ there, do not get drunk all at once.' [TW]

[24] Tupi-Guarani studies rarely argue that there is 'only one' imperative cross-index. However, at least Gregores and Suárez (1967, p. 132) and Estigarribia (2020, p. 170) on Paraguayan Guarani share a similar perspective to mine on Wayampi. Jensen (1998, p. 525) considers instead that Proto-Tupi-Guarani has second person "singular *and plural* [emphasis added] imperative prefixes: ***†e-*** and ***†pe-***." While this position is prevalent in Tupi-Guarani linguistics, it is highly questionable (and even untrue) because, strictly speaking, any indicative verb form with a second person subject (S/A), except for those using *†ere-* '2SG.A' (Jensen, 1998, p. 498), can have either an indicative or an imperative reading. For example, in Kayabi, the periphrastic finite verb form ***je-poar ape*** <1SG.P-help 2SG→1> can mean either 'you helped me' or 'help me!' depending on the discourse context (personal knowledge from a corpus study). For a similar observation on Paraguayan Guarani, see Estigarribia (2020).

It is evident that the person auxiliary ***kupa*** shares a common origin with the subject plural index ***kupa***[25]. However, in the contemporary language, these forms function as distinct morphemes. First, as demonstrated earlier with ***upa***, a person auxiliary does not occupy the same clausal position as the plural index ***kupa,*** as evidenced by the possible sequence ***kupa upa***. Second, the syntactic behavior of ***kupa*** as a person auxiliary differs from that of ***kupa*** as a plural index: the former can co-occur with a conominal, as illustrated in (34), whereas the latter is in complementary distribution with a nominal, as shown previously.

(34) ***Pejẽ*** ***ajamã'ẽ*** ***n-e-rerovija=i*** ***pe-kupa.***
PRO.2PL however IND-1SG.P-believe=NEG.IND 2PL.A-AUX$_2$

Na-pe-enu=i ***teve*** ***e-ayvu*** ***ipi,*** ***e'i.***
IND-2PL.A-listen=NEG.IND also 1SG.PSR-word HAB IND:3.A:say

'"But you$_{(PL)}$ [who are here] do not know me, nor do you$_{(PL)}$ listen to my words," he said.'
[AW; John 8:43]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this article has been to shed light on a particular type of syntactic class in Wayampi: the person auxiliary. This class comprises two members (***upa*** and ***kupa***), which do not conform to the typical definition of verbs in the language. Moreover, although at least five Tupi-Guarani languages have been identified as possessing historically related morphemes,[26] these elements function in a highly particular manner in Wayampi.

Person auxiliaries have been shown here to fulfill two distinct functions, which are never realized together within a single clause. One of these functions is exclusive of transitive verbs and involves encoding one of the two participants in the 2→1 and 1→2PL person configurations (see the periphrastic forms in Tables 9 and 10 below). The other function applies to all verb types and contributes to the expression of aspect and modality in verb forms.

Table 9. The person indexing system of transitive verbs in Wayampi (TW dialect).

A\P		(1·2).P	1P		2P		3P
		INCL	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
(1·2)A	INCL						*si-Σ*
1A	1SG				*oro-Σ*	*poro-Σ... a-ipa*	*a-Σ*
	1PL				*oro-Σ*	*poro-Σ... oro-kupa*	*oro-Σ*
2A	2SG		*ere-Σ... e-ipa*	*ere-Σ... ore-kupa*			*ere-Σ*
	2SG.IMP		*e-Σ... e-ipa*	*e-Σ... ore-kupa*			*e-Σ*
	2PL		*pe-Σ... e-ipa*	*pe-Σ... ore-kupa*			*pe-Σ*
3A	3	*jane-Σ*	*e-Σ*	*ore-Σ*	*ne-Σ*	*pe-Σ*	*o-Σ*

[25] Jensen (1984, p. 98), who does not distinguish between the plural index ***kupa*** and the person auxiliary ***kupa*** as I do, hypothesizes that "***kupa***" derives from an old lexical verb she reconstructs in Proto-Tupi-Guarani ***ꝑkúß***, meaning either 'to be together' or 'to be (many)' (Jensen, 2001, p. 170). This etymology is plausible, although further evidence is needed, and the proposed phonological form may require some adjustment. For reference, Mbya Guarani has an active intransitive verb ***-kuapy*** with a collective meaning (Dooley, 1998, p. 60). Whether this verb is a cognate of ***ꝑkúß*** remains an open question.

[26] Namely: Tupinambá (Rodrigues, 1953, p. 132), Kayabi (Dobson, 1997, p. 53), Tapirapé (Praça, 2007, pp. 103–104), Tenetehára (Bendor-Samuel, 1972, p. 91), and Tocantins Asurini (Harrison, 1975, p. 73).

Table 10. The person indexing system of transitive verbs in Wayampi (AW dialect).

A\P		(1·2).P	1P		2P		3P
		INCL	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
(1·2)A	INCL						*si-Σ*
1A	1SG				*oro-Σ*	*poro-Σ... a-jupa*	*a-Σ*
	1PL				*oro-Σ*	*poro-Σ... oro-kupa*	*oro-Σ*
2A	2SG		*e-Σ... re-jupa*	*ore-Σ... re-jupa*			*ne-Σ*
	2SG.IMP						*e-Σ*
	2PL		*e-Σ... pe-kupa*	*ore-Σ... pe-kupa*			*pe-Σ*
3A	3	*jane-Σ*	*e-Σ*	*ore-Σ*	*ne-Σ*	*pe-Σ*	*o-Σ*

Although the literature lacks consistent definitions of auxiliary constructions, the most influential specialists in the field generally converge on a narrow definition (Heine, 1993; Kuteva, 2001; Krug, 2012), which can be formulated as follows.

> [Auxiliary verb constructions are] compound verbal forms in which one of the two fragments (the auxiliary) has at least partially the morphological characteristics of an independent verbal form but does not manifest predicative behavior (*i.e.* does not intervene in the selection of this or that formal type of complement and the assignment of semantic roles to the subject and complements), while the other fragment (the auxiliated) is formally presented as a dependent verbal form (infinitive, participle, etc.) and constitutes the predicative element in the sense given above to this term (Creissels, 1998, pp. 251–252)[27].

Two points of divergence can be observed between auxiliary verbs and person auxiliaries. First, an auxiliary, as generally understood in linguistics, is a form that can function as the main predicate of a clause in certain contexts—that is, not merely as an auxiliary. In other words, an auxiliary is more accurately characterized as a specific syntactic function rather than a distinct syntactic class. Moreover, many linguists consider auxiliaries to be exclusively verb forms, which accounts for the widespread use of the term 'auxiliary verb' in the literature. However, as demonstrated, the Wayampi person auxiliaries diverge from these assumptions in that they are neither capable of functioning as the main predicate nor do they qualify as verbs.

Second, an auxiliary, as understood in linguistics, is generally defined as a finite verb form that carries all the morphosyntactic information associated with the syntactic predicate—such as mood and person-number—while co-occurring with a content verb (also called a lexical verb) that is non-finite, typically a participle or a converb. In Wayampi person auxiliary constructions, however, the situation is quite different. Person-number marking may appear on both the content verb and the auxiliary—except when the content verb is in the antipassive, in which case only the person auxiliary bears this marking. Another point of divergence is that mood is not marked on the auxiliary, but rather on the content verb, regardless of whether the latter is marked for person-number or not. This peculiarity leads to the rather unusual situation—at least for an auxiliary construction—where, when both the content verb and the auxiliary (here, a person auxiliary) are marked for person-number, the former appears in a more finite form than the latter.

[27] My translation for: "formes verbales composées dont un des deux fragments (l'auxiliaire) a au moins partiellement les caractéristiques morphologiques d'une forme verbale indépendante mais ne manifeste pas de comportement prédicatif (c'est-à-dire n'intervient pas dans la sélection de tel ou tel type formel de complément et l'assignation de rôles sémantiques au sujet et aux compléments), tandis que l'autre fragment (l'auxilié) se présente formellement comme une forme verbale dépendante (infinitif, participe, etc.) et constitue l'élément prédicatif au sens donné ci-dessus à ce terme".

This second feature suggests that, although the content verb is the semantic head of the entire person auxiliary construction, it also functions as an inflectional head. Indeed, a person auxiliary is always marked for person-number, while the verb word (*i.e.*, the content verb) is minimally marked for mood and, possibly, for person-number. Thus, from a syntactic perspective, a person auxiliary construction appears to consist of two inflectional co-heads: one that is both syntactic and semantic (the verb word) and one that is purely syntactic (the person auxiliary). This differs significantly from the typical definition of an auxiliary verb construction.

Another notable feature of Wayampi is its lack of specific finite verb forms for the 1→2PL person configurations. To compensate, this Amazonian language employs auxiliarization and antipassivization as a syntactic workaround to express these configurations. This workaround, however, does not really allow for the expression of the demoted P of the base transitive verb. This demoted P can be expressed obliquely through the adessive postposition, but it is extremely rare (roughly once for every 1,000 occurrences of *poro-*). So, it can legitimately be considered that the Wayampi antipassive is mainly a P-suppressing antipassive.

Much remains to be explored regarding the person auxiliaries. Specifically, whereas the origin and meaning of ***upa*** are relatively well understood, the same cannot be said for ***kupa***. Furthermore, the reasons underlying the obligatory positioning of person auxiliaries at the end of the clause remain unclear. As Jensen (2001, p. 170) suggests, a promising line of inquiry involves investigating non-finite verb forms (such as converbs) that function as auxiliaries both in Wayampi and in other Tupi-Guarani languages. The Wayampi person auxiliaries may, in fact, be fossilized remnants of these forms, constrained to the outer clause, whereas in other languages they may have shifted leftward toward the verb word. Finally, it would be typologically valuable to examine how and why antipassive verb forms—such as those discussed here—come to serve as approximate substitutes for missing cells in the indexation paradigms of transitive verbs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
*	ungrammatical form
†	reconstructed form
A	agent or agent-like
ABL	ablative postposition
ADESS	adessive postposition
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
ANA	anaphoric
ANTP	antipassive
ASS	assertive
ATTN	attenuative
AUD	auditive
AUX	person auxiliary
BE	auxiliary verb 'to be'
CAUS	direct causative
CMPL	completive
CNTF	counterfactual
COLL	collective

COM	comitative postposition
COND	conditional
DAT	dative case or postposition
DEAGTZ	de-agentivizer
DS	different referent from the subject
EVT	event
EXCLM	exclamative
FOC	focus
FRUST	frustrative
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative (sentence type)
INCL	inclusive ('I, you, and possibly others')
IND	indicative mood
INTR.V	intransitive verbs
NDF	indefinite article
INESS	inessive postposition
INTS	intensive
LOC	locative case
MID	middle
NEG	sentential negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBLG	obligative
OPT	optative mood
P	patient or patient-like
PL	plural
PRO	free-standing pronoun
PROH	prohibitive
PROJ	projective ("nominal future")
PROL	prolative postposition
PSR	possessor
PTCL	modal particle
Q	question particle
REDUP	reduplicant
REF	referrer
REL	relativizer
RETR	retrospective ('nominal past')
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
SOC	sociative causative
SS	same referent as the subject
TR.V.	transitive verb

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PREPRINT
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PEER REVIEW
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