

A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.3.draft

Florian Matter
Natalia Cáceres Arandia
Spike Gildea

2022
pylingdocs

Contents

Contents	1
1 Introduction	3
1.1 The Yawarana people and their language	3
1.2 Location, historical records	3
1.3 Current life	3
1.4 Sociolinguistic vitality	3
1.5 Previous studies on the Yawarana language	3
1.6 This project	3
2 Phonetics and phonology	5
2.1 Segmental phonetics and phonemes	5
2.2 Morphophonological Processes	6
2.3 Prosody	6
2.4 Historical Considerations	6
3 Distinguishing parts of speech in Yawarana	7
4 Nouns	9
4.1 Pronouns	9
4.2 Nominal inflection	10
4.3 Nominal Derivational Morphology	13
5 Verbal inflection	15
5.1 Person prefixes	15
5.2 Non-personal inflectional prefixation	16
5.3 Tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes	16
5.4 Subordinate Clause markers	19
5.5 Number	20
5.6 Copula / Auxiliary	20
6 Verbal roots and stems	21
6.1 Deriving verbs	21
7 Adverbs	23
7.1 Inflection	23

7.2	Simple adverbs	23
7.3	Derived adverbs	23
8	Postpositions	25
8.1	Defining the category	25
8.2	Inflectional morphology	25
8.3	Locative Postpositions	25
8.4	Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions	26
8.5	Propositional Postpositions	26
8.6	Misc	26
9	Particles and Ideophones	27
10	Negation	29

Chapter 1

Introduction

- 1.1 The Yawarana people and their language**
- 1.2 Location, historical records**
- 1.3 Current life**
- 1.4 Sociolinguistic vitality**
- 1.5 Previous studies on the Yawarana language**
- 1.6 This project**

Chapter 2

Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Segmental phonetics and phonemes

The consonant phonemes of Yawarana are shown in Table 2.1, and the vowels in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
occlusive	/p/	/t/	/tʃ/	/k/	
nasal	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/		
fricative		/s/			/h/
liquid		/r/			
glide	/w/		/j/		

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
close	/i/	/ɨ/	/u/
mid	/e/	/ə/	/o/
open		/a/	

2.1.1 Consonants**2.1.2 Vowels****2.2 Morphophonological Processes****2.2.1 Syllable Reduction****2.2.2 Vowel harmony?****2.3 Prosody****2.3.1 Lexical stress****2.3.2 Intonational Phrases****2.3.3 Intonational Melodies****2.4 Historical Considerations**

Chapter 3

Distinguishing parts of speech in Yawarana

Chapter 4

Nouns

4.1 Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Yawarana are shown in Table 4.1. It shows the usual Cariban inclusive/exclusive (1+2 and 1+3) distinction. Note that the plural marker *-kontomo* appears to usually be restricted to verbs, while *-santomo* is found with third person pronouns and demonstratives.

Short forms of the first and second person pronouns can occur as proclitics attaching to nouns to indicate possessor (Section 4.2.3), attached to verbs to indicate subject or object (described in Chapter 5), or attached to postpositions to indicate object of the postposition (described in Section 8.2):

- (1) Yawarana
 uyīwīj yawē usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-īwīj yawē u-senejka-ri suku-ri jwama
 1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’

- (2) Yawarana
 mēnai wējkase chipjē wararē
mē-nai-Ø wējkase chi-jpē wararē
 2-do-IPFV *** COP-PST ***
 ‘se cayó tu cosa’

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	<i>wūrē</i>	
1+2		<i>ejnē</i>
1+3		<i>ana</i>
2	<i>mērē</i>	<i>monkontomo</i>
3	<i>tēwī</i>	<i>tēwīsantomo</i>

Table 4.2: Demonstrative pronouns / articles

	ANIM		INAN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROX	<i>kërë</i>	<i>kërësantomo</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>enijne</i>
medial? near?	<i>michi</i>		<i>misi / mërë</i>	<i>michisantomo / michitomo</i>
DIST	<i>mëki?</i>	<i>mëkisantomo</i>	<i>mëjni</i>	<i>mëjniyne</i>

- (3) Yawarana
 mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene
më-yaruwa-ri më-pëkëpene
 2-laugh-IPFV 2-alone
 ‘You just laugh.’

- (4) Yawarana
 moyochi
moyochi

 ‘la araña’

An open question is whether *ta-* on verbs is a reduction of *tëwü*.

The third person demonstrative pronouns or articles are shown in Table 4.2.

None of the demonstrative pronouns have shortened, phonologically bound counterparts.

- Nominal Interrogative pronouns:

- *aniki* ‘who?’
- *ati* ‘what?’
- *ëjkë* ‘which? inan’

4.2 Nominal inflection

Nouns in Yawarana may bear suffixes for possession (Section 4.2.1) and number (Section 4.2.2), and possessed nouns may bear a third person prefix, indexing a third person possessor, or a first or second proclitic (a reduced form of the free pronoun), indexing a first or second person possessor (Section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 Suffixes for possessed and non-possessed nouns

In the possession construction in Yawarana, the possessor noun occurs immediately preceding the possessed noun, which is the head of the possession phrase. Alternatively, the possessor can appear as a bound pronominal clitic (first & second person) or a prefix (third person) on the possessed noun. The possessor noun is never marked (for instance, with genitive case), but the possessed noun (the head) is often marked by a lexically specified ‘possessed’ suffix, either *-ru* ‘PERT’ or *-ti* ‘pos’. Unpossessed nouns generally are unmarked, but some 15 nouns bear the suffix

-të 'NPert' when they appear without a possessor. Examples (5-8) illustrate the possible patterns of markedness for nouns when possessed and unpossessed. In the first category, which contains the vast majority of nouns in our corpus, the unpossessed noun is unmarked, but when possessed the suffix -ri 'pos' occurs (5). A handful of nouns is marked with -ri/-ti 'pos' when possessed and with -të 'npos' when not possessed (6). Another handful is unmarked when possessed and marked with -të when not possessed (7). The fourth logical possibility, in which the noun bears no marker of possession (or non-possession) whether possessed or unpossessed, contains very few members (only one attested so far); in this case, the difference is marked only by the presence or absence of a possessive prefix or free-form possessor (8).

- (5) Nouns that take a suffix only when possessed:

<i>akajra-ri</i>	'X's bow'	<i>akajra</i>	'bow'
<i>y-amaka-ri</i>	'X's yucca'	<i>amaka</i>	'yucca'
<i>y-ántë-ri</i>	'X's fishhook'	<i>ántë</i>	'fishhook'
<i>y-ateri-ri</i>	'X's garden/field'	<i>ateri</i>	'garden/field'
<i>ënu-ru</i>	'X's eye'	<i>ënu</i>	'eye'
<i>y-ëpi-ri</i>	'X's medicine'	<i>ëpi</i>	'medicine'

- (6) Nouns that take one suffix when possessed and another when unpossessed

<i>yë-ri</i>	'X's tooth'	<i>yë-të</i>	'tooth'
<i>pata-ri</i>	'X's place'	<i>pata-të</i>	'(part of name) San Juan de Manapiare'
<i>y-ese-ti</i>	'X's name'	<i>ese-të</i>	'name'
<i>y-ase-ti</i>	'X's cord'	<i>ase-të</i>	'cord'

- (7) Nouns that take a suffix only when unpossessed:

<i>yëjpë</i>	'X's bone'	<i>yëjpë-të</i>	'bone'
<i>peti</i>	'X's thigh'	<i>peti-të / pej-të</i>	'thigh'
<i>y-aponi</i>	'X's stool'	<i>apon-të</i>	'stool'

- (8) Nouns that never take a suffix, whether possessed or unpossessed:

<i>i-jmëy</i>	'his egg'	<i>ëjmëy</i>	'egg'
---------------	-----------	--------------	-------

4.2.2 Number suffixes

There are two plural suffixes that can occur on nouns, apparently freely interchangeable. What conditions the choice of suffix is not clear as of yet.

- (9) Yawarana

waijtatomo ëjwenakase

waijta-tomo ëj-wenaka-se

mouse-PL DETRZ-vomit-PST

'The mice vomited.'

Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-y-</i>
2	<i>mě-</i>	<i>mě-y-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>t-</i>

- (10) Yawarana
tipapějsejne waijtajne
tipa-pěj-se-jne *waijta-jne*
go.in.group-PLUR-PST-PL mouse-PL
‘the mice went away.’

4.2.3 Argument prefixes

Person prefixes on nouns are conditioned by the initial segment (Table 4.3). C-initial nouns take third person *i-*, and first and second person are bare *u-* and *mě-*. On V-initial nouns, third person is marked by *t-*, and first and second person combine with the linker *y-*. Some examples are shown in (11-15).

- (11) Yawarana
aaa usukuru morone ta wërë usuĵta ta ne
aaa u-suku-ru morone ta wërë u-suj-ta-Ø ta ne
*** 1-urine-PERT hurting like 1PRO 1-urine-VBZ-IPFV like INTS
‘My urine hurts, I will urinate.’

- (12) Yawarana
uyiwiĵ yawë useneĵkari sukuri jwama
u-y-iwiĵ yawë u-seneĵka-ri suku-ri jwama
1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***
‘I silently stay in my house.’

- (13) Yawarana
mënai wëĵkase chiĵpë wararë
më-nai-Ø wëĵkase chi-jpë wararë
2-do-IPFV *** COP-PST ***
‘se cayó tu cosa’

- (14) Yawarana
tiwiĵ yaka waraiĵtokomo manikiĵpë
t-iwiĵ yaka waraiĵtokomo maniki-jpë
3-house ALL man ?-PST
‘He went to his house.’

Table 4.4: Archaic possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-y-</i>
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-y-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>t-</i>

- (15) Yawarana
 pīrarē ti iwenaru wejsapē
pīrarē ti i-wena-ru wej-sapē
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 ‘Their vomit was not there.’

The linker also occurs with (pro-)nominal possessors:

- (16) Yawarana
 ejnē yemekunu
ejnē yemekunu
 1+2PRO ***
 ‘la mano de uno’

There are some nouns (kinship terms?) that take an apparently older old second person *a-* (Table 4.4).

4.2.3.1 irregularly inflected nouns:

- ‘father’:
 - 1 *papa*
 - 2 *ēmē* / *omo* / *ēmo* (?)
 - 3 *īmu*
 - NP *yīmī*

4.3 Nominal Derivational Morphology

- $V \rightarrow N$
 - *-ri* ‘action NMLZ’
 - *-jpē*
 - * ‘PST.ABS.NMLZ’
 - ‘PST.ACT.NMLZ?’
 - *?-nē* ‘INF / generic action nominalizer’
 - * Not only on intransitive verbs? see *wanumanē* ‘gossip, lie’ and *wajtēnē* ‘dance’

- *-ni* ‘A.NMLZ’
 - *n-* ‘P.NMLZ’
 - * *n-V-ri* ‘nonpast?’
 - * ?? *n-V-jpě* ‘past?’
 - *-sapě* ‘ABS.NMLZ’ (contrast with *-jpě*)
 - *-topo* ‘CIRC.NMLZ’
 - *-pĩnĩ* ‘PRIV.NMLZ’ ?
- Adv → N
 - *-mĩ* ‘NMLZ’
 - Postp → N
 - *-ano* ‘NMLZ’
 - What about *-jpě* on AD forms? Does it derive a noun?

Chapter 5

Verbal inflection

TBD: An introduction to this chapter.

5.1 Person prefixes

- Absolutive proclitics

–

– *u-* ‘1S/P’

– *mě-* ‘2S/P’

- * one example of (*mě-*) ‘2A’ on imperative verb

- Third person

– \emptyset - ‘3S’ with intransitive verbs

– · exception: *ij-tě-ri* ‘he goes’ plus 2 more

– \emptyset - ‘3P’ with transitive verbs with 1A or 2A; also sometimes 3A

– *ta-* ‘3>3’

- * Not required, but possible

- Check: not in alternation with preceding O NP?

- * *ta-* ‘3P’ attested on one V in the pan-Cariban “progressive” construction w/ 2nd person A

Table 5.1: Person marking prefixes on verbs

	INTR	TR
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
2	<i>mě-</i>	<i>mě-</i>
3	\emptyset	<i>ta-</i>

Table 5.2: Verbal TAM suffixes

Suffix	Function
<i>-ri</i>	imperfective
<i>-jpě</i>	past
<i>-se</i>	past 2?
<i>-sapě</i>	perfective?
<i>-sarě</i>	imminent future
<i>-těpěkě</i>	PROG.INTR
<i>pěkě</i>	PROG.TR

- Note that all transitive verbs are consonant-initial, whether etymologically or not because *y-* ‘rel’ is added to all vowel-initial roots
 - the *y-* disappears when preceded by the detransitivizer

5.2 Non-personal inflectional prefixation

- **t-V-se* is no more — the *t-* is gone (except with *t-ěně-se* ‘eat’ and *t-eni-se* ‘drink’)
 - Any divergent forms with the negative?
 - * *i-* with intransitive negatives?
 - * *an-* with transitive negatives?

5.3 Tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes

- *-ja* ‘NEG’
- *-jrama* ‘PROH’
- *-tojpano* ‘FUT’
- *-se=pano* ‘PST=CONCL’
- *-saj=pano* ‘PFV=CONCL’
- imperatives:
 - *-kě* / *-tě-kě* ‘IMP / IMP.PL’
 - *-ta* / *-tantě-kě* ‘IMP.MOT / IMP.MOT.PL’

5.3.1 *-ri*

- allomorphy:
 - \emptyset , phonetic loss
 - *-ru*, assimilation
 - what about *-ri*? Looks like the original one...
- diachrony: from the nominalizer *-ri*
- combines with *-jra*:

- (17) Yawarana
 wîrë yaruwarijra###
wîrë yaruwa-ri-jra
 1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
 ‘I don’t laugh.’

5.3.1.1 Semantics

- not specified for tense, just imperfective aspect:
 - past (18)
 - future (19)
 - gnomic/present? (20)

- (18) Yawarana
 irëjpë tëwî wajtatomo nwajtëri
irëjpë tëwî wajta-tomo nwajtë-ri
 then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV
 ‘Then the mice were dancing.’

- (19) Yawarana
 ǰ kwase ejnë yaruwari?
kwase ejnë yaruwa-ri
 how 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV
 ‘How will we laugh?’

- (20) a. Yawarana
 wirë yaruwarijra###
wirë yaruwa-ri-jra
 1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
 ‘I don’t laugh.’
- b. Yawarana
 uyiwiŋ yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-iwiŋ yawë u-senejka-ri suku-ri jwama
 1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’

5.3.2 *-jpë*

- allomorphy: none?
- diachrony: from nominalizer *-jpë*

5.3.3 *-se*

- allomorphy: *-se/-che*
- diachrony: from participle *-se*

5.3.4 *-sapë*

- diachrony: from nominalizer *-sapë*
- distribution: only occurs on the copula?
- allomorphy: *-sapë* and *-saj*
- negation: with *-ja* on lexical verb (21-23)

- (21) Yawarana
 irë wejtane mujyampe patakaja wejsapë
irë wej-tane mujyampe patakaja wej-sapë
 DEM COP-CNCS *** *** COP-PFV
 ‘a pesar de eso no salió embarazada’

- (22) Yawarana
 apatakaja piniŋa wejsapë
apatakaja piniŋa wej-sapë
 *** PROB COP-PFV
 ‘tal vez no salió (embarazada)’

- (23) Yawarana
 tayakijtēja pīnika wejsapē
tayakijtēja pīnika wej-sapē
 *** PROB COP-PFV
 ‘tal vez no se acostó con ella’

- what about (24)? is that existential negation?

- (24) Yawarana
 pīrarē ti iwenaru wejsapē
pīrarē ti i-wena-ru wej-sapē
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 ‘Their vomit was not there.’

5.3.5 -sarē

- once a converb, now ‘imminent future’

- (25) Yawarana
 irējpē ta ti ta konopo wejsarē konopo wejsarē
irējpē ta-Ø ti ta konopo wej-sarē konopo wej-sarē
 then say-IPFV HSY like rain COP-IMN rain COP-IMN
 ‘Then they said: “it’s raining, it’s raining.”’

- (26) Yawarana
 moyochi tasarē, moyochi chipokono kojpaye pīnika warotari
moyochi ta-sarē moyochi chipokono kojpaye pīnika warotari
 *** say-IMN *** *** *** PROB ***
 ‘le dicen araña, tal vez porque la araña trabaja de noche’

5.4 Subordinate Clause markers

- Nominalizations
- Adverbial Clauses
 - -se ‘supine’
 - -tojpe ‘purpose’
 - (-jpē)=tērē ‘after’
 - -tane ‘concessive’

- *-sarě* ‘converb’
- *yawě* ‘simult’
- *-yapo* ‘neg.purp’
- others?

What about desiderative *-po*?

5.5 Number

- *-rĩ=kontomo*
- *-se=jne=kontomo*
- *-se=jne=pano* (*-se=jne=kontom=pano?*)

5.6 Copula / Auxiliary

- there is stem allomorphy: *chi*, *wej*

Chapter 6

Verbal roots and stems

6.1 Deriving verbs

- denominal verbalizers: *-ta*, *-jtě?*
- detransitivizers: *s-*, *ěj-*

Chapter 7

Adverbs

7.1 Inflection

- presumably no prefixation

.

7.2 Simple adverbs

7.3 Derived adverbs

Chapter 8

Postpositions

8.1 Defining the category

8.2 Inflectional morphology

Postpositions take the same inflectional prefixes as nouns (Section 4.2.1).

- 1 *u-*
- 2 *mě-*
- 3 *i-/t-?*

8.3 Locative Postpositions

- clear bipartite Ground+Path
- unproductive Bipartite X+Path?
- other forms
- *poye* ‘above’
- *po* ‘locative’
- *yatě* ‘locative’
- *yapo* ‘negation’?

Table 8.1: Locative postpositions

	ALL	LOC
inside	<i>yaka</i>	<i>yawě</i>
aquatic	?	?

- allative:

- (27) Yawarana
 tichikimuru, peti warë patakasapë Yakucho pana
tichikimuru peti warë patakasapë yakucho pana
 *** *** thus *** *** DAT
 ‘su rodilla, su pierna, salió (llaga) hacia Ayacucho’

8.4 Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- *ya* ‘ERG’
- *ke* ‘INS’
- *wanai*

8.5 Propositional Postpositions

- =se ‘DES’

8.6 Misc

- copular *chi* combines with *yawë*, sometimes spelled *chi yawë*, sometimes *chawë*.

Chapter 9

Particles and Ideophones

Chapter 10

Negation

· probably relevant morphemes:

- *-ja*
- *-jra*
- *-jnari*
- *-kempinirë*
- *-pinirë*
- *-pirarë*