A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

0.0.2.draft

Florian Matter
Natalia Cáceres Arandia
Spike Gildea

2022

pylingdocs

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

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. This is a fairly standard Cariban phoneme inventory, only departing from the mainstream by the addition of /ʧ/.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
occlusive	/p/	/t/	/ʧ/	/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/	

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
   uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
   'yo me quedo en mi casa tranquila'

(2) Yawarana
   mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë
   'se cayó tu cosa'

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	sg	pl
1	wïrë	
1+2		ejnë
1+3		ana
2	mërë	mokontomo
3	tëwï	tëwïsantomo

Table 4.2: Demonstrative pronouns / articles

	anim		inan	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
prox	*kërë*	*kërësantomo*	*eni*	*eni-santomo*
medial? near?	*michi*		*mërë*	*mërë-santomo*
dist	*mëkï*	*mëkïsantomo*	*mënï*	*mënï-santomo*

(3) Yawarana

mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene

më-yaruwa-ri më-pëkëpene

2-laugh-IPFV   2-alone

'You just laugh.'

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

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? anim'

– *ati* 'what? inan'

– *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 (poss) and non-possessed (nposs) 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 (4-7) 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 (4). A handful of nouns is marked with -ri/-ti 'pos' when possessed and with -të 'npos' when not possessed (5). Another handful is unmarked when possessed and marked with -të when not possessed (6). 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 (7).

(4)   Nouns that take a suffix only when possessed:

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

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

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

(6)   Nouns that take a suffix only when unpossessed:

yëjpë	'X's bone'	*yëjpë-të*	'bone'
petï	'X's thigh'	*petï-të* / *pej-të*	'thigh'
y-aponi	'X's stool'	*apon-të*	'stool'

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

i-jmëy	'his egg'	*ëjmëy*	'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.

(8)   Yawarana
  waijtatomo ëjwenakase
  'se vomitaron las ratas'

(9)   Yawarana
  tipapëjsejne waijtajne
  'las ratas se fueron'

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 *më-*. 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 (10-25).

Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	*u-*	*u-y-*
2	*më-*	*më-y-*
3	*i-*	*t-*

Table 4.4: Archaic possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	*u-*	*u-y-*
2	*a-*	*a-y-*
3	*i-*	*t-*

(10)   Yawarana
         aaa usukuru morone ta wïrë usujta ta ne
         'me duele mis orines, voy a orinar'

(11)   Yawarana
         uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
         'yo me quedo en mi casa tranquila'

(12)   Yawarana
         mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë
         'se cayó tu cosa'

(13)   Yawarana
         tïwïj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë
         'se fue el hombre para su casa (porque ya amaneció)'

(14)   Yawarana
         pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
         'no había su vómito'

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

(15)   Yawarana
         ejnë yemekunu
         'la mano de uno'

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

4.3 Nominal Derivational Morphology

- V → N

    – *-ri* 'act.nzr'
    – *-jpë*
        * 'past.abs.nzr'
            · 'past.act.nzr?'
    – ?-*në* 'infinitive / generic action nominalizer'
        * Only intransitive verbs? no also *wanumanë* 'gossip, lie' and *wajtënë* 'dance'
    – *-ni* 'a.nzr'
    – *n-* 'o.nzr'
        * *n*-V-*ri* 'nonpast?'
        * ?? *n*-V-*jpë* 'past?'
    – *-sapë* 'abs.nzr' (contrast with -jpë)
    – *-topo* 'circ.nzr'
    – *-pïnï* 'privative.nzr' ?

- Adv → N

    – *-mï* 'nzr'

- Postp → N

    – *-ano* 'nzr'

- What about *-jpë* on AD forms? Does it derive a noun?

4.3.1 Misc

predicative negation of nominalized verb:

(16)   Yawarana
        tari yarikasemïjra
        'uy! no hay como para reir'

Chapter 5

Verbal inflection

5.1 Person prefixes

- Absolutive proclitics

    -
    - *u-* '1S/O'
    - *më-* '2S/O'
        - one example of (më=) '2A' on imperative verb

- Third person

    - Ø- '3S' with intransitive verbs
    - exception: *ij-të-ri* 'he goes' plus 2 more
    - Ø- '3O' with transitive verbs with 1A or 2A; also sometimes 3A
    - *ta-* '3A3O'
        - Not required, but possible
            - Check: not in alternation with preceding O NP?
        - *ta-* '3O' attested on one V in the pan-Cariban "progressive" construction w/ 2nd person A

- 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

Table 5.1: Person marking prefixes on verbs

	intr	tr
1	*u-*	*u-*
2	*më-*	*më-*
3	Ø	*ta-*

Table 5.2: Verbal TAM suffixes

Suffix	Function
-ri	imperfective
-jpë	past
-se	past 2?
-sapë	perfective?
-sarë	imminent future
-tëpëkë	prog.intr
pëkë	prog.tr
-sarë	imminent future

5.2   Non-personal inflectional prefixation — is there any? Probably not?

- t-V-se is no more — the t- is gone (except with tënëse 'eat' and tenise '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:

    – *-kë / -të-kë* 'imp / imp.pl'
    – *-ta / -tantë-kë* 'imp.mot / imp.mot.pl'

5.3.1   *-ri*

- allomorphy:

    – *-∅*, phonetic loss
    – *-ru*, assimilation
    – what about *-ri*? Looks like the original one...

- diachrony: related to other *-ri*

· combines with *-jra*:

(17) Yawarana
      wirë yaruwarijra
      '!'yo no me río'

5.3.1.1   Semantics

not specified for tense, just imperfective aspect:

(18) Yawarana
      irëjpë tëwï waijtatomo nwajtëri
      'después las ratas estaban bailando'

(19) Yawarana
      kwase ejnë yaruwari
      '¿cómo vamos a reir?'

(20) Yawarana
      wïrë yaruwarijra
      '!'yo no me río'

(21) Yawarana
      uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
      'yo me quedo en mi casa tranquila'

5.3.2   *-jpë*

· allomorphy: none?

· diachrony: from other *-jpë*

5.3.3   *-se*

· allomorphy: *-se/-che*

· diachrony: from participle

5.3.4   *-sapë*

- diachrony and distribution: only occurs on the copula?

- allomorphy: *-sapë* and *-saj*

- negation: with *-ja* on lexical verb (22-24)

(22)   Yawarana
   irë wejtane mujyampe patakaja wejsapë
   'a pesar de eso no salió embarazada'

(23)   Yawarana
   apatakaja pïnïka wejsapë
   'tal vez no salió (embarazada)'

(24)   Yawarana
   tayakïjtëja pïnika wejsapë
   'tal vez no se acostó con ella'

- what about (25)? is that existential negation?

(25)   Yawarana
   pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
   'no había su vómito'

5.3.5   *-sarë*

(26)   Yawarana
   irëjpë ta ti ta konopo wejsarë konopo wejsarë
   'después dijo, está lloviendo, está lloviendo!'

(27)   Yawarana
   moyochi tasarë moyochi chipokono kojpaye pïnika warotari
   'le dicen araña, tal vez porque la araña trabaja de noche'

5.4 Subordinate Clause markers

· Nominalizations

· Adverbial Clauses

  – *-se* 'supine'
  – *-tojpe* 'purpose'
  – (-jpë)=tërë 'after'
  – *-tane* 'concessive'
  – *-sarë* 'converb'
  – *yawë* 'simult'
  – *-yapo* 'neg.purp'
  – others?

5.5 Number

· *-rï=kontomo*

· *-se=jne=kontomo*

· *-se=jne=pano* (*-se=jne=kontom=pano*?)

5.6 Copula / Auxiliary

· Paradigm

· Any particles? Man, wai, manai, etc?

· Past/Perfect particles? nahkë, etc.

· chijpë, wejsapë

Chapter 6

Verbal roots and stems

Chapter 7

Adverbs

7.1 Inflection

· presumably no prefixation

· negation:

(28) Yawarana
   tari yarikasemïjra
   'uy! no hay como para reir'

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   *më-*
   3   *i-/t-?*

8.3 Locative Postpositions

- Clear bipartite Ground+Path
- Unproductive Bipartite X+Path?
- Other forms

- *poye*
- *po*
- *yatë*
- *yapo*

Table 8.1: Locative postpositions

	all	loc
inside	*yaka*	*yawë*
aquatic	*jwaka*	*jwawë*

(29)   Yawarana
         tichikimuru peti warë patakasapë yakucho pana
         'su rodilla, su pierna, salió (llaga) hacia Ayacucho'

8.4   Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- ya 'erg'

- ke 'instr'

- wanai

- etc.

8.5   Propositional Postpositions

- =se 'desiderative'

- others?

Chapter 9

Particles and Ideophones

Chapter 10

Phrases

Chapter 11

Nonverbal predications

Chapter 12

Simple verbal clauses

Chapter 13

Negation

Chapter 14

Questions

Chapter 15

Multiclausal

Chapter 16

Word order variation

Chapter 17

Pragmatically marked constructions

Chapter 18

For testing purposes

18.1   Inline linked entities

18.1.1   Single

1. morph: *-jne*

2. morpheme: *-jnë*

3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg)

4. text: "Historia personal por AnFo"

18.1.2   Multiple

1. morph: *-jne,* and *-i*

2. morpheme: *-jnë,* and *-ru*

3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg,asamo-o-ri-zero)

4. text:

18.2   Examples

18.2.1   Interlinear

(30)   Yawarana
        ëkëtë mërë ëkï
        ëkëtë   më-rë   ëkï
        where 2-EMP manioc.beer
        'Where is the chicha?'

(31)   a.   Yawarana
            ëkï ta rë pïrarë wenarujpë ta rë pïrarë
            'el yaraki no había y tampoco el vómito'

       b.   Yawarana
            ta ti wejsaj ti tëwï
            'dijo él'

18.2.2   Other

(32)   *konopo*   root
        -se   suffix

(33)   a.   Hello *-se* 'PST'

       b.   World
            and more

18.2.3   Example references

(30)
       (**??**) or (31b) or even (**??**a-b)
       (32)
       (33)
       (32-33)