

A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.2.draft

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

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
uyiwij yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-iwij yawë u-senejka-ri suku-ri jwama
1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***
'I silently stay in my house.'

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

Table 4.1: Pronouns

| | sg | pl |
|-----|-------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <i>würë</i> | |
| 1+2 | | <i>ejnë</i> |
| 1+3 | | <i>ana</i> |
| 2 | <i>mëřë</i> | <i>monkontomo</i> |
| 3 | <i>tëwĩ</i> | <i>tëwisantomo</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>michí</i> | | <i>misi</i> / <i>mërë</i> | <i>michisantomo</i> / <i>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.’

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

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 (poss) and non-possessed (npos) 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:

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <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>antë</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' |

- (5) 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' |

- (6) 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' |

- (7) 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.

- (8) Yawarana

waijtatomo ëjwenakase

waijta-tomo ëj-wenaka-se

mouse-PL DETRZ-vomit-PST

'The mice vomited.'

- (9) Yawarana

tipapëjsejne waijtajne

tipa-pëj-se-jne waijta-jne

go.in.group-PLUR-PST-PL mouse-PL

'the mice went away.'

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> |

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 (10-25).

- (10) Yawarana
 aaa usukuru morone ta wĩrě usujta ta ne
aaa u-suku-ru morone ta wĩrě u-suj-ta-Ø ta ne
 *** 1-urine-PERT hurting like 1PRO 1-urine-VBZ-IPFV like INTS
 ‘My urine hurts, I will urinate.’
- (11) Yawarana
 uyĩwĩj yawě usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-ĩwĩj yawě u-senejka-ri suku-ri jwama
 1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’
- (12) Yawarana
měnai wějkase chipě wararě
 ‘se cayó tu cosa’
- (13) Yawarana
 tĩwĩj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpě
t-ĩwĩj yaka waraijtokomo maniki-jpě
 3-house ALL man ?-PST
 ‘He went to his house.’
- (14) Yawarana
 pĩrarě ti iwenaru wejsapě
pĩrarě ti i-wena-ru wej-sapě
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 ‘Their vomit was not there.’

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

Table 4.4: Archaic possessive prefixes on nouns

| | <u>_C</u> | <u>_V</u> |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| 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
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

• $V \rightarrow N$

- *-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'
- *-pini* 'privative.nzr' ?

• $Adv \rightarrow N$

- *-mi* 'nzr'

• $Postp \rightarrow N$

- *-ano* 'nzr'

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

4.3.1 Misc

predicative negation of nominalized verb:

- (16) Yawarana
 ɨ tari%ɨ yarikasemijra
ta-ri yarikasemijra
 say-IPFV ***
 ‘Oh, there’s nothing to laugh about.’

Chapter 5

Verbal inflection

5.1 Person prefixes

- Absolutive proclitics
 -
 - *u-* ‘1S/O’
 - *mě-* ‘2S/O’
 - * one example of (mē=) ‘2A’ on imperative verb
- Third person
 - \emptyset - ‘3S’ with intransitive verbs
 - • exception: *ij-tě-ri* ‘he goes’ plus 2 more
 - \emptyset - ‘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 | <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 |
| <i>-sarě</i> | 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 *těněse* ‘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:
 - *-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: related to other *-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:

- (18) Yawarana
 irëjpë tēwî wajtatomo nwajtëri
irëjpë tēwî wajta-tomo nwajtë-ri
 then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV
 ‘Then the mice were dancing.’
- (19) Yawarana
 ǂ kwase ejnë yaruwari?
kwase ejnë yaruwa-ri
 how 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV
 ‘How will we laugh?’
- (20) Yawarana
 wîrë yaruwarijra###
wîrë yaruwa-ri-jra
 1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
 ‘I don’t laugh.’
- (21) Yawarana
 uyîwîj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-yîwîj 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 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 pînika wejsapë
 ‘tal vez no salió (embarazada)’

- (24) Yawarana
tayakijtëja pînika wejsapë
 ‘tal vez no se acostó con ella’

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

- (25) Yawarana
pîrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
pîrarë ti i-wena-ru wej-sapë
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 ‘Their vomit was not there.’

5.3.5 -*sarë*

- (26) Yawarana
irëjpë ta ti ta konopo wejsarë konopo wejsarë
irëjpë ta-Ø ti ta konopo wej-sarë konopo wej-sarë
 then say-IPFV HSY like rain COP-IMN rain COP-IMN
 ‘Then they said: “it’s raining, it’s raining”.’

- (27) Yawarana
moyochi tasarë moyochi chipokono kojpaye pînika 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?

What about *-po*?

5.5 Number

- *-rî=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

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7.1 Inflection

- presumably no prefixation
- negation:

(28) Yawarana
; tari%ı yarikasemijra
ta-ri *yarikasemijra*
say-IPFV ***
'Oh, there's nothing to laugh about.'

7.2 Simple adverbs

7.3 Derived adverbs

Chapter 8

Postpositions

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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*
- *po*
- *yatě*

Table 8.1: Locative postpositions

| | all | loc |
|---------|-------------|-------------|
| inside | <i>yaka</i> | <i>yawě</i> |
| aquatic | ? | ? |

- *yapo*

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

8.4 Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- *ya ya* ‘erg’ ?)
- *ke* ‘instr’
- *wanai*

8.5 Propositional Postpositions

- =se ‘desiderative’
- others?

Chapter 9

Particles and Ideophones

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Chapter 10

Phrases

Chapter 11

Nonverbal predications

Chapter 12

Simple verbal clauses

Chapter 13

Negation

Relevant morphemes:

- *-ja*
- *-jra*
- *-jnari*
- *-kempinirë*
- *pïninrë*
- *pïrarë*

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: *-jně*
3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg)
4. text: “Historia personal por AnFo”

18.1.2 Multiple

1. morph: *-jne*, and *-i*
2. morpheme: *-jně*, and *-ru*
3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg,asamo-o-ri-zero)
4. text:

18.2 Examples

18.2.1 Interlinear

- (30) Yawarana
 ėkětė mērė ėkĩ
 ėkětė mērė ėkĩ
 where MED.INAN manioc.beer
 ‘Where is the chicha?’

- (31) a. Yawarana
 ëkĩ ta rë pĩrarë wenarujpë ta rë pĩrarë
 ëkĩ ta rë pĩrarë wena-ru-jpë ta rë pĩrarë
 manioc.beer like EMP nothing vomit-PERT-PST like EMP nothing
 ‘The chicha was gone and so was the vomit.’
- b. Yawarana
 ta ti wejsaj ti tẽwĩ
 ta-Ø ti wej-saj ti tẽwĩ
 say-IPFV HSY COP-PFV HSY 3PRO
 ‘...he said.’

18.2.2 Other

- (32) *yaka* 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)