

A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.i.draft

Florian Matter
Natalia Cáceres Arandia
Spike Gildea

2022
pylingdocs

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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 Chapter 8):

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

- (2) Yawarana
 mēnai wējkaŋe chipjē wararē
mē-nai-Ø wējka-se chi-jpē ?
 ? ? ? ?
 ‘se cayó tu cosa’

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	<i>wīrē</i>	
1+2		<i>ejnē</i>
1+3		<i>ana</i>
2	<i>mērē</i>	<i>mokontomo</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>eni-santomo</i>
medial? near?	<i>michi</i>		<i>mërë</i>	<i>mërë-santomo</i>
DIST	<i>mëkî</i>	<i>mëkîsantomo</i>	<i>mëni</i>	<i>mëni-santomo</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 *tëwî*.

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:

<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'
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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.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 (10-14).

- (10) Yawarana
 aaa usukuru morone ta wërë usujta ta ne
aaa u-suku-ru morone ta wërë u-suj-ta-Ø ta ne
 ah 1-urine-PERT painful like 1SG 1-urine-VBZ-IPFV like INTS
 ‘My urine hurts, I will urinate.’
- (11) Yawarana
 uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-ïwïj yawë u-senejka-ri sukuri jwama
 1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV quietly ***
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’
- (12) Yawarana
 mënai wëjkase chipjë wararë
më-nai-Ø wëjka-se chi-jpë ?
 ? ? ? ?
 ‘se cayó tu cosa’
- (13) Yawarana
 tiwïj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë
t-ïwïj yaka waraijtokomo maniki-jpë
 3-house ALL man ?-PST
 ‘He went to his house.’
- (14) Yawarana
 pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
pïrarë ti i-wena-ru wej-sapë
 nothing QUOT 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 ‘Their vomit was not there.’

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>

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

- (15) Yawarana
 ejnë yemekunu
ejnë y-emekunu
 1+2 LK-hand
 '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'?

• $Adv \rightarrow N$

- *-mü* 'nzr'

• $Postp \rightarrow N$

- *-ano* 'nzr'

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

Chapter 5

Verbal inflection

5.1 Personal prefixation(?)

- Absolutive proclitics
 - (Check: appears that they are reduced forms, with long vowel?)
 - *wĩ*= /*u*= ‘1S/O’
 - *mě*= /*mo*= ‘2S/O’
 - * one example of (*mě*=) ‘2A’ on imperative verb
- Third person
 - Ø- ‘3S’ with intransitive verbs
 - · exception: *ij-tě-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

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

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

5.3 Tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes

- *-ri* ‘imperf’
- *-se* ‘PST’

- (16) Yawarana
 waijtatomo ejwenakase
waijta-tomo ej-wenaka-se
 mouse-PL DETRZ-vomit-PST
 ‘The mice vomited.’

- *-sapë* ‘perf?’
- *-jpë* ‘perf2? remote.past?’
- *-sarë* ‘imminent future’
- *-se=pano* ‘past=concl’
- *-saj=pano* ‘perf=concl’
- *-ja* ‘neg’
- *-ri=-jra* ‘ipfv=neg’
- *-se=-jra* ‘past=neg’
- *-jrama* ‘prohibitive’
- *-kë -të-kë* ‘imper / imper.pl’
- *-ta / -tantë-kë* ‘imper.mot / imper.mot.pl’
- *-tojpano* ‘future’
- *-tëpëkë / -pëkë* ‘prog.intr / prog.tr’

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

- *-rī*=kontomo
- *-se=jne*=kontomo
- *-se=jne=pano* (*-se=jne=kotom=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

Chapter 8

Postpositions

8.1 Defining the category

8.2 Locative Postpositions

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

8.3 Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- ya ‘erg’
- ke ‘instr’
- wanaï
- etc.

8.4 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: *-jně*
3. wordform: *asamo-ri-jra*
4. text: “Historia personal por AnFo”

18.1.2 Multiple

1. morph: *-jne*, and *-i*
2. morpheme: *-jně*, and *-ru*
3. wordform:
4. text:

18.2 Examples

18.2.1 Interlinear

- (17) Yawarana
 ëkětë mërë ëkī
 ëkětë mërë ëkī
 where 3IN:MD manioc.beer
 ‘Where is the chicha?’

- (18) 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 QUOT COP-PFV QUOT 3SG
 ‘...he said.’

18.2.2 Other

- (19) *konopo* root
 -se suffix
- (20) a. Hello -se ‘PST’
 b. World
 and more

18.2.3 Example references

- (17)
 (??) or (18b) or even (??a-b)
 (19)
 (20)
 (19-20)