

# A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.3.draft2

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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, vowel phonemes in Table 2.2.

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

- minimal pairs

##### 2.1.1.1 /h/

- glottal fricative insertion after diphthongs
- glottal fricative insertion before occlusives

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/	

### 2.1.2 Vowels

- minimal pairs
- vowel plots
- what about vowel length?
- variation in *ě/o/e* and *ĩ/i/u*
- diphthongs
  - /ai/, /aw/, /ei/... test combinations

## 2.2 Morphophonological Processes

### 2.2.1 Syllable Reduction

- V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> to V<sub>1</sub>:
- nasal assimilation

#### 2.2.1.1 Contexts

- POSTP
- verbal suffixes
- no final nominal reduction

#### 2.2.1.2 Non-alternating reduced syllables

e.g. *wajto* 'fire'

### 2.2.2 Vowel harmony

- progressive *-ri* 'PERT'
- regressive /*ě*/ > /*o*/

### 2.2.3 Palatalization

- *-sapě* 'PFV'
- *-se* 'PST'

## 2.3 Prosody

### 2.3.1 Lexical stress

### 2.3.2 Intonational Phrases

increase associ-  
w/ pitch reset,  
e boundaries?



**2.3.3 Intonational Melodies**

**2.4 Historical Considerations**



## Chapter 3

# Parts of speech in Yawarana

### 3.1 Distinguishing parts of speech

#### 3.1.1 Adverbs

- copredicative function
- no person inflection

### 3.2 Shared morphology

### 3.3 Derivation and productivity

- changing word classes
- semantic variation & non-compositional meanings
- productive class-changing process w/ lexically conditioned suffixes
- some constructions need a different word class, no meaning change per se



## Chapter 4

# Nouns

### 4.1 Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Yawarana are shown in Table 4.1. The system shows the usual Cariban inclusive/exclusive (1+2 and 1+3) distinction, although *ejnë* ‘1+2PRO’ does not have the /k/ found elsewhere in the family. Note that *kontomo* ‘PL’ appears to usually be restricted to verbs, while *-santomo* is found with third person pronouns and demonstratives.

Reduced forms of the first and second person pronouns occur as proclitics attaching to nouns to indicate possessor (Section 4.2.4), attached to verbs to indicate subject or object (described in ??), or attached to postpositions to indicate the object of the postposition (described in ??):

tajne, but not attested as an article

proclitics or prefixes?

- (1) Yawarana  
 uyīwīj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama  
*u-y-īwīj =yawë u-senejka-ri sukuri jwama*  
 1SG-REL-house =LOC 1SG-remain-IPFV quietly  
 “yo me quedo en mi casa tranquila”
- (2) Yawarana  
 mēnai wëjkase chipë wararë  
*më-nai-Ø wëjka-se chi-jpëwara=rë*  
 2-thing-POSS fall-PFV.PST COP-NZRlike=EMPH  
 “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>mërë</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>michi / misi</i>	<i>michisantomo / michitomo</i>	<i>mërë</i>	
DIST	<i>mëjki</i>	<i>mëkisantomo</i>	<i>mëjni</i>	<i>mëjniyne</i>

- (3) Yawarana  
 mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene  
*më-yaruwa-ri* *më*=*pëkëpene*  
 2-laugh-IPFV 2-=alone  
 “usted se rie sola”

- (4) Yawarana  
 moyochi  
*moyochi*  
 spider  
 ‘la araña’

The third person demonstrative pronouns or articles are shown in Table 4.2. None of them have shortened, phonologically bound counterparts.

- nominal interrogative pronouns:
  - *aniki* ‘who’ (with *-santomo*)
  - *ati* ‘what’ (no plural)
  - *ëjkë* ‘which?’ (INAN)

## 4.2 Nominal inflection

Nouns in Yawarana may bear suffixes marking their possession status (Section 4.2.1), number (Section 4.2.2), and nominal past tense (Section 4.2.3). Possessed nouns may bear a person prefix, or the linker *y-* (Section 4.2.4).

### 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 prefix on the possessed noun. The possessor noun is never marked (for instance, with genitive case), but the possessed noun (the head) is often marked for being possessed by a suffix; an unambiguous label for this counterpart of the genitive is *pertensive* (dixon2010basic). The choice of suffix is lexically conditioned; while most nouns take *-ri* ‘PERT’, some take *-ti*. 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. The vast majority of nouns in our corpus are unmarked when unpossessed, but when possessed the suffix *-ri* 'PERT' occurs (5). A handful of nouns is marked with *-ri/-ti* 'PERT' when possessed and with *-të* 'NPert' when not possessed (6). Another handful is unmarked when possessed and marked with *-të* 'NPert' when not possessed (7). The fourth logical category, where neither possession or non-possession is marked, contains very few members (only one attested so far). For these nouns, the difference is marked only by the presence or absence of a possessive prefix or free-form possessor (8).

i.e., the 15?

- (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>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'

- (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'
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#### 4.2.2 Number suffixes

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

· *-kontomo*

- (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*      *wajta-jne*  
 go.in.group-PLUR-PST-PL mouse-PL  
 ‘the mice went away.’

#### 4.2.3 Nominal tense

· *-jpě* ‘PST’

#### 4.2.4 Argument prefixes

Person prefixes on nouns are conditioned by the initial segment (Table 4.3). C-initial nouns take *i-* ‘3’, and first and second person are bare *u-* ‘1’ and *mě-* ‘2’. On V-initial nouns, third person is marked with *t-* ‘3’, and the first and second person prefixes combine with the linker *y-* ‘LK’. Some examples are shown in (11-15).

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

- (12) Yawarana  
 uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama  
*u-y-ïwïj*      =*yawë u-senejka-ri*      *sukuri jwama*  
 1SG-REL-house =LOC 1SG-remain-IPFV quietly  
 ‘yo me quedo en mi casa tranquila’

- (13) Yawarana  
 mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë  
*mě-nai-Ø*    *wëjka-se*    *chi-jpëwara=rë*  
 2-thing-POSS fall-PFV.PST COP-NZRlike=EMPH  
 ‘se cayó tu cosa’



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>

- (14) Yawarana  
 tīwīj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë  
*t-īwīj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë*  
 3-house ALL man \*\*\*  
 'He went to his house.'

- (15) Yawarana  
 pīrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë  
*pīrarë ti i-wena-ru wej-sapë*  
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV  
 'Their vomit was not there.'

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

- (16) Yawarana  
 tarine ma  
*tarine =ma*  
 fast =RESTR

There are some nouns that take an apparently older old second person *a-* '2' (Table 4.4).

presumably kinship terms

#### 4.2.5 Root suppletion in nominal possession

find examples for these

- 'father':
  - 1 *papa*
  - 2 *ëmë* / *omo* / *ëmo* (?)
  - 3 *imu*
  - NP *yimĩ*

candidates:

- 'arrow'
- 'house'
- 'poop'
- 'mother'
- 'hammock string'

### 4.3 Nominal Derivational Morphology

#### • $V \rightarrow N$

- initially A.NMLZ
  - *-ri* ‘action NMLZ’
  - *-jpě* ‘PST.AC NMLZ’
- uenmaj-47
  - \* also ‘PST.ABS.NMLZ’
- probably only  
s on intransi-  
verbs
  - *-ně* ‘INF’ or ‘generic action nominalizer’
  - \* *wěnkej-ně* from transitive *wěnkepī* ‘forget’
- cairdi-4,  
kigrme-53  
predicative use
  - *-ni* ‘AGTNMLZ’
  - *n-V-ri* only with *yeme* ‘eat (fruits, eggs, soup)’
  - *-sapě* ‘ABS.NMLZ’ (contrast with *-jpě* ‘PST.AC NMLZ’)
  - *-topo* ‘CIRC.NMLZ’
- found with  
ī, not attested  
nominalizer
  - *-pīnī* ‘PRIV.NMLZ’

#### • $Adv \rightarrow N$

- *-mī* ‘NMLZ’
- *-ano* ‘NMLZ’
- absence of *-ato* ‘NMLZ’

#### • $Postp \rightarrow N$

- *-ano* ‘NMLZ’

#### • $N \rightarrow N$

- discuss *pījkě* and *sere-kě* ‘manioc-DIM’, reference sections
- *-imě*: e.g., *wara* ‘woman’ *waraimě* ‘married woman’ (dictionary)

#### • What about *-jpě* ‘PST.AC NMLZ’ on AD forms? Does it derive a noun?

- histyarirdi-0592 *pata penarějpě*

## Chapter 5

# Verbal roots and stems

### 5.1 Classes of verbs

Yawarana verb roots can be divided into those yielding an intransitive stem, and those yielding a transitive stem. The only inflectional criterion distinguishing the two classes is the third person prefix *ta-*, which can only occur on transitive stems. Thus, transitive *yawanka* ‘kill’ can take *ta-* (17b), but intransitive *yaruwa* ‘laugh’ does not (17a).

- (17) a. Yawarana  
yaruwakontomo yatum ponoko  
*yaruwa-Ø-kontomo yatum*  
laugh-IPFV-PL day  
“se rien cada dia”
- b. Yawarana  
iyawë chipëkë, tayawankase  
*i=yawë chi-Ø=pëkë ta-yawanka-se*  
3-CTMP COP-IPFV=because 3-destroy-PFV.PST  
“por eso, la mató”

: -nëpëkë and -tëpëkë)

subclass of intransitive (?)

- detransitive
- ditransitive
- “n-adding”
- accidental lability
- ijteri
- Note that all transitive verbs are consonant-initial, whether etymologically or not because *y-* ‘LK’ is added to all vowel-initial roots
- the *y-* disappears when preceded by the detransitivizer

examples for detransitized verbs

what about V-initial intransitive verbs? how are they inflected?