## A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

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### 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

### 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 f.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

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

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
close mid	/i/ /e/	/ɨ/ /ə/	/u/ /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

Distinguishing parts of speech in Yawarana

### Nouns

#### 4.1 Pronouns

- · person pronouns
  - full forms
  - reduced forms

Short forms of the first and second person pronouns can only occur as proclitics attaching to nouns to indicate possessor (described below in this chapter), 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 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.'

### (2) Yawarana mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë më-nai-⊘ wëjka-se chi-jpë ? ? ? ? ?

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	wirë	
1+2		ejnë
1+3		ana
2	mërë	mokontomo
3	tëwï	tëwïsantomo

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	ANIM		INAN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROX	kërë	kërësantomo	eni	eni-santomo
medial? near?	michi		mërë	mërë-santomo
DIST	mëkï	mëkïsantomo	mënï	mënï-santomo

Table 4.2: Demonstrative pronouns / articles

- (3) Yawarana mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene më-yaruwa-ri më-pëkëpene 2-laugh-IPFV 2-alone 'You just laugh.'
  - · Demonstrative pronouns / articles
    - 4-way distinction? (cf. Ye'kwana?)

None of the demonstrative pronouns become shortened forms or prefixes.

- · Nominal Interrogative pronouns:
  - aniki 'who? anim'
  - ati 'what? inan'
  - ëjkë 'which? inan'
- · No plural forms for any of these?

#### 4.2 Inflected nouns

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 -ri/-ru 'pos' or -ti/-tï 'pos'. Unpossessed nouns generally are unmarked, but some 15 nouns bear the suffix -të 'npos' when they appear without a possessor. Examples (??)unsuffixednouns]onlypossessed illustrate the possible patterns of markedness for nouns when possessed and unpossessed. In the first category, which contains

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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'
                                              'bow'
                                    akajra
                                              'yucca'
y-amaka-ri
               'X's yucca'
                                    amaka
y-ántë-ri
               'X's fishhook'
                                              'fishhook'
                                    antë
y-ateri-ri
               'X's garden/field'
                                    ateri
                                              'garden/field'
               'X's eye'
                                              'eye'
ënu-ru
                                    ënu
               'X's medicine'
                                    ëpi
y-ëpi-ri
                                              '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-ti '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 three plural suffixes that can occur on nouns, apparently freely interchangeable. What conditions the choice of suffix is not clear as of yet.

(8) Yawarana

```
ti waijtaton nwajtë wejsapë

ti waijta-ton nwajtë-⊘ wej-sapë

QUOT mouse-PL dance-IPFV COP-PFV

'The mice were dancing.'
```

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#### (9) Yawarana

tipapëjsejne waijtajne

tipa-pëj-se-jne waijta-jne
go.group-PLUR-PST-PL mouse-PL
'the mice went away.'

(10) Yawarana

waijtatomo ëjwenakase
waijta-tomo ëj-wenaka-se
mouse-PL DETRZ-vomit-PST
'The mice vomited.'

#### 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  $m\ddot{e}$ -. On V-initial nouns, third person is marked by t-, and first and second person combine with the linker y-. Here are some examples:

(11) Yawarana

aaa usukuru morone ta wirë usujta ta ne aaa u-suku-ru morone ta wirë u-suj-ta- $\oslash$  ta ne ah 1-urine-pert painful like 1SG 1-urine-vbz-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*1-LK-house LOC 1-remain-IPFV quietly \*\*\*

'I silently stay in my house.'

(13) Yawarana

mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë më-nai-⊘ wëjka-se chi-jpë ??? ? ? 'se cayó tu cosa'

(14) Yawarana

tïwïj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë

t-ïwïj yaka waraijtokomo maniki-jpë

3-house ALL man ?-PST

'He went to his house.'

Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	и-	и-у-
2	më-	тё-у-
3	i-	t-

Table 4.4: Archaic possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	и-	и-у-
2	<i>a</i> -	а-у-
3	i-	t-

(15) Yawarana

pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë pïrarë ti i-wena-ru wej-sapë nothing QUOT 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV

'Their vomit was not there.'

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

(16) 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 -> 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'

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\* n-V-ri 'nonpast?'

\* ?? n-V-jpë 'past?'

- -sapë 'abs.nzr' (contrast with -jpë )

- -topo 'circ.nzr'

- -pini 'privative.nzr' ?

· Adv -> N

- -mi 'nzr'

· Postp -> N

- -ano 'nzr'

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

### **Verbal inflection**

#### 5.1 Personal prefixation(?)

- · Absolutive proclitics
  - (Check: appears that they are reduced forms, with long vowel?)
  - $w\ddot{i} = /u = '1S/O'$
  - $-m\ddot{e}=/mo='2S/O'$ 
    - \* 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- '30' 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='30' attested on one V in the pan-Cariban "progressive" construction w/ 2nd person A
- $\cdot$  Note that all transitive verbs are consonant-initial, whether etymologically or not because y- 'rel' is added to all vowel-initial roots
  - the *γ* 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 tënëse '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'
- (17) Yawarana
  waijtatomo ëjwenakase
  waijta-tomo ëj-wenaka-se
  mouse-PL DETRZ-vomit-PST
  'The mice vomited.'
  - · -sapë "perfi?"
  - · -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'
  - $\cdot$  - $k\ddot{e}$ - $t\ddot{e}$ - $k\ddot{e}$  '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'

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- -sarë 'converb'
- yawë 'simult'
- -yapo 'neg.purp'
- others?

### 5.5 Number

- · -rï=komtomo
- · -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

Verbal roots and stems

### Adverbs

### **Postpositions**

#### 8.1 Defining the category

#### **8.2** Locative Postpositions

- $\cdot\,$  Clear bipartite Ground+Path
- · Unproductive Bipartite X+Path?
- · Other forms

#### 8.3 Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- · ya 'erg'
- · ke 'instr'
- · wanai
- · etc.

#### **8.4** Propositional Postpositions

- · =se 'desiderative'
- · others?

**Particles and Ideophones** 

### **Phrases**

Nonverbal predications

Simple verbal clauses

Negation

Questions

### Multiclausal

Word order variation

Pragmatically marked constructions

### For testing purposes

#### 18.1 Inline linked entities

#### 18.1.1 Single

- 1. morph: -jne
- 2. morpheme: -jnë
- 3. wordform: asamo-ri-jra
- 4. text: "Historia personal por AnFo"

#### 18.1.2 Multiple

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

#### 18.2 Examples

#### 18.2.1 Interlinear

(18) Yawarana ëkëtë mërë ëkï ëkëtë mërë ëkï where 3IN:MD manioc.beer 'Where is the chicha?' (19) a. Yawarana

ëkï ta rë pïrarë wenarujpë ta rë pïrarë

ëkï ta rë pïrarë wena-ru-jpë ta rë pïrarë manioc.beer like емр nothing vomit-рект-рsт like емр nothing 'The chicha was gone and so was the vomit.'

b. Yawarana

ta ti wejsaj ti tëwï

ta- $\oslash$  ti wej-saj ti  $t\ddot{e}w\ddot{i}$  say-IPFV QUOT COP-PFV QUOT 3SG '...he said.'

#### 18.2.2 Other

- (20) konopo root -se suffix
- (21) a. Hello -se 'PST'
  - b. World *and* more

#### 18.2.3 Example references

(18)

- $(\ref{eq:constraint})$  or  $(\ref{eq:constraint})$  or even  $(\ref{eq:constraint})$
- (20)
- (21)
- (??)multiparttest]test1