

# A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.2.draft

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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 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'
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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.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  
*wirë yaruwarijra###*  
*wirë 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 tëwī waijtatomo nwajtëri*  
*irëjpë tëwī waijta-tomo nwajtë-ri*  
 then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV  
 ‘Then the mice were dancing.’
- (19) Yawarana  
*¿ kwase ejnë yaruwari?*  
*kwase ejnë yaruwa-ri*  
 how 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV  
 ‘How will we laugh?’
- (20) Yawarana  
*wirë yaruwarijra###*  
*wirë yaruwa-ri-jra*  
 1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG  
 ‘I don’t laugh.’
- (21) Yawarana  
*uyiwij yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama*  
*u-y-üwij 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

### 6.1 Deriving verbs

- denominal verbalizers: *-ta*, *-jtě?*
- detransitivizers: *s-*, *ěj-*





## Chapter 7

# Adverbs

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### 7.1 Inflection

- presumably no prefixation
- negation:

(28) Yawarana  
; tari%<sub>i</sub> 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

TBD





## **Chapter 11**

# **Nonverbal predications**



## **Chapter 12**

### **Simple verbal clauses**



## Chapter 13

# Negation

Probably relevant morphemes:

- *-ja*
- *-jra*
- *-jnari*
- *-kempinirë*
- *pīnirë*
- *pīrarë*



## **Chapter 14**

## **Questions**





## **Chapter 15**

# **Multiclausal**



## **Chapter 16**

### **Word order variation**



## **Chapter 17**

# **Pragmatically marked constructions**



## Chapter 18

### For testing and demonstration purposes

#### 18.1 here's what an ignorant parser couldn't handle:

- combination of verb with *-kempinirë* results in what? always used as predicate

(30) Yawarana

wirë yaruwakempinirë, mēkisantomo a-ja-ja tajtane

wirë yaruwakempinirë mēkisantomo ajaja taj-tane

1PRO \*\*\* DIST.ANIM.PL hahaha say-CNCS

'I don't laugh, but they are saying "hahaha".'

- deverbal from *tunami* to an adverb, right?

(31) Yawarana

tëwī neke ne, tajne yakarama pokono nwarë tajne iri mintë, tunampe

tëwī neke ne ta-jne yakarama-Ø pokono nwarë ta-jne i-ri mintë tunampe

3PRO CONTRAST INTS 3-PL tell-IPFV on.surface-NMLZ thus 3-PL do-IPFV there.LOC \*\*\*

'Yes indeed, they tell what they are doing there on the down-low.'

- deverbal nominalizer:

(32) Yawarana

pīrarë, seneja ejnë yarikatopo

pīrarë sene-Ø-ja ejnë yarikatopo

nothing see.self-IPFV-NEG 1+2PRO \*\*\*

'Nothing, there's nothing for us to laugh.'

- probably special handling needed (copula + *pëkë* + ? 'because of that')

- (33) Yawarana  
 nope seneja chipokono ejnë pana nope seneja chipokono ejnë yaruwatopo pîrärë  
*nope sene-Ø-ja chipokono ejnë pana nope sene-Ø-ja chipokono ejnë yaruwatopo*  
 good see.self-IPFV-NEG \*\*\* 1+2PRO DAT good see.self-IPFV-NEG \*\*\* 1+2PRO \*\*\*  
*pîrärë*  
 \*\*\*  
 ‘We don’t see anything good, so we don’t laugh.’

- MCMM has *narë* as emphatic particle... is this a adverbialization?

- (34) Yawarana  
 aniki narëpe yakërë ejnë përemekîrî, ejnë pëkëpene, wanene  
*aniki narëpe yakërë ejnë përemekî-rî ejnë pëkëpene wanene*  
 who \*\*\* \*\*\* 1+2PRO talk-IPFV 1+2PRO alone aunt  
 ‘Who are we gonna talk to? We’re alone, aunt.’

## 18.2 Inline linked entities

### 18.2.1 Single

1. morph: *-jne*
2. morpheme: *-jnë*
3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg)
4. text: “Historia personal por AnFo”

### 18.2.2 Multiple

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

## 18.3 Examples

### 18.3.1 Interlinear



- (35) Yawarana  
 ëkëtë mërë ëkï  
*ëkëtë mërë ëkï*  
 where MED.INAN manioc.beer  
 ‘Where is the chicha?’
- (36) a. Yawarana  
 ëkï ta rë pïrarë wenarujpë ta rë pïrarë  
*ëkï ta rë pïrarë wena-ru-jpë ta rë pïrarë*  
 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 tëwï  
*ta-Ø ti wej-saj ti tëwï*  
 say-IPFV HSY COP-PFV HSY 3PRO  
 ‘...he said.’

### 18.3.2 Other

- (37) *yaka* root  
 -*se* suffix
- (38) a. Hello -*se* ‘PST’  
 b. World  
*and* more

### 18.3.3 Example references

- (35)  
 (??) or (36b) or even (??a-b)  
 (37)  
 (38)  
 (37-38)