

# A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

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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
- 1.7 Variation

Some corners of Yawarana grammar are subject to variation:

- vowel system (Section 2.1.2)
- plural marking (Chapter 10)
- constituent order (Chapter 16)
- presence or absence of the ergative marker *ya* ‘ERG’ (Chapter 13)





## 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

##### 2.1.1.1 /h/

- glottal fricative insertion after diphthongs
- glottal fricative insertion before occlusives
  - a Venezuelan trait?

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/   | /i/     | /u/  |
| mid   | /e/   | /ə/     | /o/  |
| open  |       | /a/     |      |

### 2.1.2 Vowels

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

## 2.2 Morphophonological Processes

### 2.2.1 Syllable Reduction

#### 2.2.1.1 Types

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

#### 2.2.1.2 Contexts

- postpositions
- verbal suffixes
- non-alternating reduced syllables, e.g. *wajto* ‘fire’
- comparative note: no final nominal reduction

### 2.2.2 Vowel harmony

- progressive: *-ru* ‘PERT’
- regressive: /*ě*/ > /*o*/ (e.g. *o-* ‘2’)

### 2.2.3 Palatalization

- *-chaj* ‘ABS.NMLZ’
- *-che* ‘PST’; *-che* ‘PTCP / SUP’
- *-charě* ‘IMN’
  - not consistent (2c)

- (1) *irě nwa chipěkě usamori uyipi incharě*  
*irě nwa chipěkě u=samo-ri u=yipi-Ø in-charě*  
 3ANA.INAN thus because 1=cry-IPFV 1=mountain-PERT see-IMN  
 ‘That’s why I’m crying seeing my hills.’ ()

## **2.3 Prosody**

### **2.3.1 Lexical stress**

### **2.3.2 Intonational Phrases**

### **2.3.3 Intonational Melodies**

## **2.4 Historical Considerations**



## Chapter 3

# Parts of speech in Yawarana

TBD: Introduction

### 3.1 Distinguishing parts of speech

- E. Koehn and S. Koehn (1986, p. 111) on Apalaí: “Particles follow words of any class other than the ideophone, and never occur as free forms or in isolation.”

#### 3.1.1 Verbs

TBD

#### 3.1.2 Nouns

TBD

#### 3.1.3 Adverbs

- copredicative function
- no person inflection
- deriving adverbs: *-ke* ‘PROP’

#### 3.1.4 Postpositions

TBD

### 3.2 Shared morphology

- third person prefixes & linker are (partially) shared between nouns and postpositions
- *-jpě* ‘PST’ on nouns, pronouns & verbs

### 3.3 Pronominal clitics

Transitive and verbs, nouns, and postpositions share preposed SAP person markers. The occurrence of bound first person *u=* on members of all four parts of speech is illustrated in (2); (3) illustrates the same distribution for second person *mě=*. The 1+2 form *ej=* is very rare compared to the first and second person forms.

- (2) a. *uyarë wërë përemekiri*  
*u=yarë wërë përemeki-ri*  
 1=alone 1PRO talk-IPFV  
 ‘I just talk.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 46)
- b. *aniki ta uyeremari*  
*aniki ta u=yerema-ri*  
 who like 1=feed-IPFV  
 ‘Who was going to feed me then?’ ()
- c. *irë nwa chipëkë usamori uyipi incharë*  
*irë nwa chipëkë u=samo-ri u=yipi-Ø in-charë*  
 3ANA.INAN thus because 1=cry-IPFV 1=mountain-PERT see-IMN  
 ‘That’s why I’m crying seeing my hills.’ ()
- (3) a. *ǰmëpana ma tataja wejsapë?*  
*mě=pana ma ta-ta-ja wej-sapë*  
 2=DAT RST 3P-say-NEG COP-PST  
 ‘Didn’t he say it directly to you?’ ()
- b. *mëtojpa wërë*  
*mě=tojpa-Ø wërë*  
 2=hit-IPFV 1PRO  
 ‘I will beat you to death.’ ()
- c. *weroro wëra këyetari mëmukuru*  
*weroro wëra këyeta-ri më=muku-ru*  
 dog like grow-IPFV 2=child-PERT  
 ‘Your children grow up like dogs.’ ()
- d. *nwarë mëtëpëtiri, tëpëtijra sejkë*  
*nwa=rë më=tëpëti-ri tëpëti-Ø=jra sejkë*  
 thus=EMP 2=go(PLUR)-IPFV go(PLUR)-IPFV=NEG be.IMP  
 ‘You’re going to go like this? Don’t go like this.’ ()

When occurring on nouns and adpositions, these elements behave identically to a free pronoun by triggering the linker *y-*. An alternative analysis in which the person markers are prefixes would require the *y* occurring on nouns and postpositions to be part of the prefix, so e.g. *mě-* / *\_C*, *mëy-* / *\_V*. However, no such *y* occurs on verbs (4). Such an analysis would therefore need to postulate that there are phonologically conditioned allomorphs on nouns and postpositions, but not on verbs. An analysis as cliticized pronominal forms does not face that issue, since the absence of *y* on verbs is expected by the absence of a linker on verbs.

Table 3.1: Comparison of phonologically bound person markers.

| Person | Form       | Parts of speech | Free counterpart | y-? | Stem-based allomorphy? |
|--------|------------|-----------------|------------------|-----|------------------------|
| 1      | <i>u-</i>  | Vt/Vi/N/Postp   | <i>wirë</i>      | +   | -                      |
| 2      | <i>më-</i> | Vt/Vi/N/Postp   | <i>mërë</i>      | +   | -                      |
| 2      | <i>a-</i>  | N               | -                | +   | +                      |
| 3      | <i>ta-</i> | Vt              | <i>tëwi?</i>     | -   | -                      |
| 3      | <i>i-</i>  | N/Postp         | -                | -   | +                      |
| 3      | <i>t-</i>  | N/Postp         | -                | -   | +                      |
| 3      | <i>të-</i> | Postp           | <i>tëwi</i>      | -   | +                      |

Table 3.2: Ratio of bound person markers compared to free pronouns.

|       | 1               | 2               | 1+2           |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Vt    | 5.04% (7/139)   | 93.10% (27/29)  | 0.00% (0/35)  |
| Vi    | 5.60% (7/125)   | 97.06% (33/34)  | 3.33% (2/60)  |
| N     | 14.61% (58/397) | 95.40% (83/87)  | 2.35% (5/213) |
| Postp | 9.38% (3/32)    | 100.00% (90/90) | 0.00% (0/22)  |

Table 3.3: Ratio of bound person markers compared to free pronouns, split by initial segment.

|            | 1              | 2               | 1+2           |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Vt / _C    | 7.53% (7/93)   | 100.00% (27/27) | 0.00% (0/29)  |
| Vt / _V    | 0.00% (0/46)   | 0.00% (0/2)     | 0.00% (0/6)   |
| Vi / _C    | 0.00% (0/109)  | 97.06% (33/34)  | 0.00% (0/54)  |
| Vi / _V    | 43.75% (7/16)  |                 | 33.33% (2/6)  |
| N / _C     | 2.91% (9/309)  | 96.51% (83/86)  | 0.00% (0/170) |
| N / _V     | 55.68% (49/88) | 0.00% (0/1)     | 11.63% (5/43) |
| Postp / _C | 0.00% (0/25)   | 100.00% (90/90) | 0.00% (0/21)  |
| Postp / _V | 42.86% (3/7)   |                 | 0.00% (0/1)   |

- (4) a. *mëini wirë ya*  
*më=ini-Ø wirë ya*  
 2=see-IPFV 1PRO ERG  
 'I will see you.' ( )
- b. *kwase mëëmpamijpë ejnë waimu yaye*  
*kwase më=ëmpamijpë ejnë waimu-Ø yaye*  
 how 2=learn-PST 1+2PRO language-PERT LOC  
 'How you learned our language.' ( )

Other applicable criteria point to a clitic analysis, too (Table 3.1).

Interestingly, second person is much more frequently expressed by a bound form (Table 3.2).

### 3.4 Derivation and productivity

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



## Chapter 4

# Nouns

TBD: Introduction

### 4.1 Noun roots

TBD: Introduction

#### 4.1.1 Root suppletion in nominal possession

- ‘father’:

- 1 *papa*
- 2 *ě-mě* / *o-mo* / *ě-mo* (?)
- 3 *i-mu*
- NP *y-imi*

- often suppletive in Cariban languages:

- ‘arrow’
- ‘house’
- ‘poop’
- ‘mother’
- ‘hammock string’

### 4.2 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, though the 1+2 pronoun *ejně* does not have the /k/ found elsewhere in the family. There are plural forms of the second and third person pronouns, which are composed of the respective singular form and the plural marker *kontomo* for second, *-santomo* for third person. An alternative strategy for pluralizing *těwĩ*

Table 4.1: Pronouns

|     | SG                         | PL                 |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1   | <i>wirë</i> ( <i>u=</i> )  |                    |
| 1+2 | <i>ejnë</i> ( <i>ej=</i> ) |                    |
| 1+3 | <i>ana</i>                 |                    |
| 2   | <i>mërë</i> ( <i>më=</i> ) | <i>monkontomo</i>  |
| 3   | <i>tëwī</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>seni</i> | <i>eni=jne</i> / <i>seni=jne</i> |
| medial/near? | <i>michi</i> / <i>misi</i> | <i>michisantomo</i> / <i>michitomo</i> | <i>mërë</i>              | <i>mërë=jne</i>                  |
| DIST         | <i>mëjki</i>               | <i>mëkisantomo</i>                     | <i>mëjni</i>             | <i>mëni=jne</i>                  |

is by using *jne* ‘PL’. This results in *tëwī=jne*, which usually simply becomes *ta=jne*. Singular speech act participant pronouns can procliticize to nouns (see Section 4.4), verbs (see Chapter 13) and postpositions (see Section 7.4).

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

- nominal interrogative pronouns:

- *aniki* ‘who’ (PL with *-santomo*)
- *ati* ‘what’ (no PL)

### 4.3 Nominal inflection

Nouns in Yawarana may bear suffixes marking their possession status (Section 4.3.1), number (Section 4.3.2), and nominal past tense (Section 4.3.3). Possessed nouns can carry second and third person prefixes, as well as the linker *y-* (Section 4.3.4).

#### 4.3.1 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* (Dixon 2010). 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).

- (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>ántë</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’ |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|-------|

#### 4.3.2 Nominal number

The suffix *-tomo* (*-tom*, *-ton*) occurs on both possessed and unpossessed nouns (9).

- (9) a. *wurijyantomo rë wejsapë ijtë*  
*wurijyan-tomo rë wej-sapë ijtë*  
 woman-PL EMP COP-PST there  
 ‘There were only women there.’ ()
- b. *tajne nankase takerejtomo ya*  
*ta=jne nanka-se t-akere-j-tomo ya*  
 3PRO=PL find-PST 3-relative-PERT-PL ERG  
 ‘His relatives found him.’ ()

Table 4.3: Inflectional prefixes on nouns

|    | _C                    | _V         |
|----|-----------------------|------------|
| 2  | <i>a-</i> / <i>ě-</i> | <i>ay-</i> |
| 3  | <i>i-</i>             | <i>t-</i>  |
| NP |                       | <i>y-</i>  |

Table 4.4: Nouns taking second person *a(y)-*.

| Stem          | Meaning                   |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>saně</i>   | 'mother'                  |
| <i>awo</i>    | 'uncle, father in law'    |
| <i>najmo</i>  | 'grandmother'             |
| <i>ya'ra</i>  | 'grandchild'              |
| <i>akono</i>  | 'younger sister of woman' |
| <i>wanene</i> | 'aunt'                    |

### 4.3.3 Nominal tense

TBD: Describe *-jpě* 'PST'.

### 4.3.4 Inflectional prefixes

There are three inflectional prefixal morphemes on nouns (Table 4.3); only two of them are possessive prefixes, the third being the linker. Prefix allomorphy is mainly conditioned by the initial segment of the noun root.

Second person *a(y)-* only occurs on a small number of nouns, all of them kinship terms (Table 4.4). With other nouns (and for all first and first person inclusive possessors), a pronominal form is used (see Section 4.4). None of the stems in Table 4.4 is attested with a pronominal second person possessor.

The third person prefix has the allomorphs *i-* and *t-*:

- (10) mmm, imukuru ma  
       mmm *i-muku-ru* ma  
       yes 3-child-PERT RST  
       'Yes, his son.' ()

- (11) tapëri  
       *t-apě-ri*  
       3-arm\_wing-PERT  
       'Her arm?' ()

The linking prefix *y-* only occurs on V-initial nouns. It marks them as being preceded by their possessor (12). C-initial (and *i-*-initial) nouns do not show a prefix in this context (13). This pattern is shared by postpositions (see Chapter 7).

- (12) ati ke ejnë yoti yamanë wejsapë tëwī  
 ati ke ejnë y-oti-Ø yamanë-Ø wej-sapë tëwī  
 what INS 1+2PRO LK-meat-PERT make-IPFV COP-PST 3PRO  
 ‘With that we used to prepare the meat.’ ()

- (13) a. muku pana yënënijpë ti  
 muku pana-Ø yënë-ni-jpë ti  
 child ear-PERT eat(meat)-AGTNMLZ-PST HSY  
 ‘The one who ate a child’s ear, so they say.’ ()
- b. mëinta yaka  
 më=inta-Ø yaka  
 2=mouth-PERT ALL  
 ‘into your mouth’ ()

#### 4.4 The noun phrase

A constituent we call the noun phrase is identifiable in the genitive construction in which one noun (or pronoun) possesses another noun. For instance, *pana* ‘ear-PERT’ in (14) is possessed by *muku* ‘child’. The possessor obligatorily precedes the possessum, the two parts of the constituent only being interruptible by certain particles (15). Possessor SAP pronouns can occur as proclitics (16). On V-initial nouns, the linker *y-* appears in the genitive construction.

- (14) muku pana yënënijpë ti  
 muku pana-Ø yënë-ni-jpë ti  
 child ear-PERT eat(meat)-AGTNMLZ-PST HSY  
 ‘The one who ate a child’s ear, so they say.’ ()

- (15) takonojpë rë yapijontomo ya, najpïtom pan yakono wërë ini-jpë chipëkën takī wërë taro  
 takono-jpë rë yapijon-tomo ya najpï-tom pan y-akono-Ø wërë ini-jpë  
 other-PST EMP old-PL ? grandfather-PL FMR LK-younger\_sister\_of\_woman-PERT IPRO see-PST  
 chipëkën takī wërë taro-Ø  
 because CNFRM IPRO say-IPFV  
 ‘The last old ones, the younger brother of my grandparents, because I saw them, I say so.’ ()

- (16) a. mëwajjtë yaka wëjkase  
 më=wajjtë-Ø yaka wëjka-se  
 2=head-PERT ALL fall-PST  
 ‘It went into your head.’ ()

- b. ɰkëë! uyejwetunu, ɰkëë! wërë waijtëri, ɰkëë! uyapëri, wërë poreri, wërë chikimuru  
*këë u=y-eywetunu-Ø këë wërë waijtë-ri këë u=y-apë-ri wërë pore-ri wërë*  
 ugh 1=LK-sick-PERT ugh 1PRO head-PERT ugh 1=LK-arm\_wing-PERT 1PRO leg-PERT 1PRO  
*chikimu-ru*  
 knee-PERT  
 ‘Ugh! I’m sick, ugh, my head, ugh, my arm, my leg, my knee.’ ()

- (17) uyiwij yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama  
*u=y-iyij-Ø yawë u=senejka-ri sukuri jwama*  
 1=LK-house-PERT LOC 1=stay-IPFV silently \*\*\*  
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 28)

- (18) tüwiy yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë  
*t-iyij-Ø yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë*  
 3-house-PERT ALL man \*\*\*  
 ‘The man went to his house.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 46)

- (19) marë wërë sëmpinukuja rë wejtane mokontomo unono, wërë nono yenekapëkë pako  
*marë wërë sëmpinuku-ja rë wej-tane mokontomo u=nono-Ø wërë nono-Ø*  
 still 1PRO close\_eyes-NEG EMP COP-CNCS 2PL.PRO 1=earth-PERT 1PRO earth-PERT  
*yeneka-pëkë pako*  
 take\_away-PROG.TR \*\*\*  
 ‘Though I haven’t closed my eyes yet, you are already taking my land from me.’ ()

- (20) yapijtompe wërë wejtane, ɰkë! wiyapë moroni  
*yapijtom=pe wërë wej-tane kë wiy=y-apë-Ø moroni*  
 old=ESS 1PRO COP-CNCS ugh 1=LK-arm\_wing-PERT pain  
 ‘Although I am old, ugh, my arms hurt.’ ()

- (21) ëë, mëyakereti  
*ëë më=y-akere-ti*  
 yes 2=LK-relative-PERT  
 ‘Yes, your family.’ ()

- (22) kwase neke wejsapë tëwī ma anajmori ya yakarama wejsapë  
*kwase neke wej-sapë tëwī ma a-najmo-ri ya yakarama-Ø wej-sapë*  
 how CNTR COP-PST 3PRO RST 2-grandmother-PERT ERG tell-IPFV COP-PST  
 ‘what it was like, that’s all your grandmother said.’ ()

- (23) pīrarē ti iwenaru wejsapē  
*pīrarē ti i-wena-ru wej-sapē*  
 NEG.EXIST HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PST  
 ‘their vomit was not there.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 19)
- (24) wīrē yapēri moronta chi taji  
*wīrē y-apē-ri moronta-Ø chi-Ø taji*  
 1PRO LK-arm\_wing-PERT hurt-IPFV COP-IPFV FOC  
 ‘My arms hurt.’ ()
- (25) ¡kēē! uyejwetunu, ¡kēē! wīrē waijtēri, ¡kēē! uyapēri, wīrē poreri, wīrē chikimuru  
*kēē u=y-eywetunu-Ø kēē wīrē waijtē-ri kēē u=y-apē-ri wīrē pore-ri wīrē chikimu-ru*  
 ugh 1=LK-sick-PERT ugh 1PRO head-PERT ugh 1=LK-arm\_wing-PERT 1PRO leg-PERT 1PRO knee-PERT  
 ‘Ugh! I’m sick, ugh, my head, ugh, my arm, ugh, my leg, my knee.’ ()
- (26) asakērēre mēyawajkē, asakē mēyumukunu  
*asakērē=re mē=yawaj-kē asakē mē=y-umukunu-Ø*  
 two=EMP 2=grate-IMP two 2=LK-hand-PERT  
 ‘Scrape with both, two hands.’ ()
- (27) aaa, mēyakerej sēmase, ¡aj! inche utērijra  
*aaa mē=y-akere-j sēma-se aj in-che u=tē-ri=jra*  
 ah 2=LK-relative-PERT die-PST ah see-SUP 1=go-IPFV=NEG  
 ‘Ah, your family is dead, ah, I will not go see.’ ()

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

- (28) toto yoti tajtoj mare  
*toto y-oti-Ø taj-toj mare*  
 non\_Indian LK-meat-PERT say-CIRC.NMLZ REL.INAN  
 ‘What they call the food of the criollos.’ ()

## 4.5 Nominal Derivational Morphology

- $V \rightarrow N$ 
  - *-ri* ‘action NMLZ’
  - *-jpē* ‘PST.ACNNMLZ’
  - \* also ‘PST.ABS.NMLZ’

- *-në* ‘INF’ or ‘generic action nominalizer’
  - \* *wënkej-në* from transitive *wënkepï* ‘forget’
- *-ni* ‘AGTNMLZ’
- *n-V-ri* only with *yeme* ‘eat (fruits, eggs, soup)’
- *-sapë* ‘ABS.NMLZ’ (contrast with *-jpë* ‘PST.ACNNMLZ’)
- *-topo* ‘CIRC.NMLZ’
- *-pini* ‘PRIV.NMLZ’
- Adv → N
  - *-mï* ‘NMLZ’
  - *-ano* ‘NMLZ’
- Postp → N
  - *-ano* ‘NMLZ’
- N → N
  - discuss *pïjkë* and *sere-kë* ‘manioc-DIM’, reference sections
  - *-imë*: e.g., *wara* ‘woman’ *waraimë* ‘married woman’ (from dictionary)

#### 4.5.1 The action nominalizer *-ri*

TBD

#### 4.5.2 The past nominalizer *-jpë*

TBD

#### 4.5.3 The absolutive nominalizer *-sapë*

TBD



## 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 only occurs (optionally, see Section 6.1) on transitive stems. Thus, transitive *yawanka* ‘kill’ takes *ta-* (29b), but intransitive *yaruwa* ‘laugh’ does not (29a).

- (29) a. *yaruwakontomo yatum ponoko*  
*yaruwa-Ø=kontomo yatum ponoko*  
laugh-IPFV=PL day \*\*\*  
‘They laugh every day.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 42)
- b. *iyawë chipëkë, tayawankase*  
*i-yawë chipëkë ta-yawanka-se*  
3-LOC because 3P-kill-PST  
‘Because of this, he killed her.’ ( )

- potential additional verb classes:
  - detransitive
  - ditransitive
  - “n-adding”
  - accidental lability
  - irregular ‘to go’
- all transitive verbs are C- or *i*-initial because of the fossilization of *y-* ‘LK’
- said *y-* disappears when preceded by the detransitivizer

### 5.2 Verbalizing suffixes

None of these are productive, although there are many lexemes derived with them.

Table 5.1: Lexemes derived with *-ta*

| Base                           | Derivation                                  |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>suku</i> ‘urine’            | <i>sujta</i> ‘urinate’                      |
| <i>kaimo</i> ‘game’            | <i>kaimota</i> ‘hunt’                       |
| <i>yoko</i> ‘pimple’           | <i>yokota</i> ‘grow pimple’                 |
| <i>wereyi</i> ‘cloud’          | <i>wereyta</i> ‘cloud over’                 |
| <i>wanapu</i> ‘savannah’       | <i>wanaputa</i> ‘grow savannah grass’       |
| <i>sakau</i> ‘sand’            | <i>sakauta</i> ‘get sandy’                  |
| <i>roko</i> ‘crazy’            | <i>rokota</i> ‘become crazy’                |
| <i>punu</i> ‘flesh’            | <i>punta</i> ‘form pulp’                    |
| <i>pikē</i> ‘fart’             | <i>pikēta</i> ‘fart’                        |
| <i>pichipichi</i> ‘whitebait’  | <i>pichipichita</i> ‘form whitebait’        |
| <i>naki</i> ‘thirst’           | <i>nakita</i> ‘be thirsty’                  |
| <i>muku</i> ‘child’            | <i>mukuta</i> ‘have son’                    |
| <i>moto</i> ‘worm’             | <i>motota</i> ‘fill with worms’             |
| <i>moroni</i> ‘pain’           | <i>moronta</i> ‘hurt’                       |
| <i>mesuku</i> ‘blood’          | <i>mesujta</i> ‘bleed’                      |
| <i>kēmu</i> ‘pus’              | <i>kēmuta</i> ‘emit pus’                    |
| <i>konopo</i> ‘rain’           | <i>konopota</i> ‘start rainy season’        |
| <i>kawono</i> ‘high’           | <i>kawonota</i> ‘get high’                  |
| <i>chēkēy</i> ‘nit’            | <i>chēkēyta</i> ‘fill with nits’            |
| <i>chimichimi</i> ‘worm (dog)’ | <i>chimichimita</i> ‘fill with worms (dog)’ |
| <i>chikē</i> ‘chigger’         | <i>chikēta</i> ‘get chiggers’               |
| <i>awochi</i> ‘tumor’          | <i>awochita</i> ‘form tumor’                |
| <i>asere</i> ‘dry cough’       | <i>asereta</i> ‘have dry cough’             |
| <i>aijkorono</i> ‘recovered’   | <i>aijkoronota</i> ‘recover’                |
| <i>ajpachi</i> ‘undergrowth’   | <i>ajpachita</i> ‘overgrows’                |
| <i>aki</i> ‘worm / maggot’     | <i>akita</i> ‘fill with worms’              |

### 5.2.1 Intransitive

TBD: Introduction

#### 5.2.1.1 *-ta* / *-na*

*-ta* ‘VBZ.INTR’ derives intransitive verbs (Table 5.1).

#### 5.2.1.2 *-pamĩ* / *-mamĩ*

### 5.2.2 Transitive

TBD: Introduction

#### 5.2.2.1 *-ka*

*-ka* ‘VBZ.TR’ derives transitive verbs.

**5.2.2.2 -jtě / -tě**

- -jtě 'VBZ.TR'

**5.2.2.3 -ma / -pa**

- -ma 'CAUS'

**5.3 Valency-changing affixes**

TBD: Introduction

**5.3.1 Detransitivizing prefixes**

- ěj-
- s-
- at-

**5.3.2 Transitivity suffixes**

- -ma 'CAUS'
- does -ka 'VBZ.TR' go on intransitive verb stems?

**5.3.3 Ditransitivizing suffixes**

- -po 'CAUS'

**5.4 Meaning-changing suffixes**

- -po 'DES' (only occurs with -ri 'IPFV' and jra 'NEG')
- -pěti 'PLUR'



## Chapter 6

# Verbal inflection

There is a range of TAM suffixes, as well as one third person prefix.

### 6.1 The third person prefix *ta-*

The only inflectional morphology is a third person prefix *ta-*. It only occurs on transitive verbs, and seems to be restricted to 3>3 scenarios, i.e. when a third person referent is acting on another third person referent (30b). However, it is not obligatory (30a). Also, it can cooccur with free noun phrases referencing either the A or the P (30c). The conditioning factors for its (non-)occurrence in 3>3 scenarios are unknown. Note that the free pronouns *wirë*, *mërë* and *ejnë* (Section 4.2) can occur in the same location as *ta-*, but also on intransitive verbs (see Chapter 13).

- (30) a. *inijpë tawara, inijpë*  
*ini-jpë tawara ini-jpë*  
see-PST too see-PST  
'They saw it too, they saw it.' ()
- b. *tainiri*  
*ta-ini-ri*  
3P-see-IPFV  
'He saw it.' ()
- c. *asanë tanëmëse mërë nono mokontomo warotatojpe*  
*a-sanë-Ø ta-nëmë-se mërë nono-Ø mokontomo warota-tojpe*  
2-mother-PERT 3P-leave-PST 2PRO earth-PERT 2PL.PRO work-PURP  
'Your mother left your land for you to work on.' ()

### 6.2 Main clause tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes

Verbs in main clauses are inflected for TAMP with a set of suffixes, shown in Table 6.1. They are discussed in Sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5; for a detailed overview of past markers see Cáceres & Gildea (2022).

Table 6.1: Verbal TAM suffixes

| Suffix          | Function           |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>-ri</i>      | imperfective       |
| <i>-jpě</i>     | past               |
| <i>-se</i>      | past perfective    |
| <i>-sapě</i>    | perfect            |
| <i>-sarě</i>    | imminent future    |
| <i>-něpěkě</i>  | progressive (INTR) |
| <i>pěkě</i>     | progressive (TR)   |
| <i>-tojpano</i> | future             |
| <i>(-tojpe)</i> | future             |
| <i>-ja</i>      | negation           |
| <i>-se-mü</i>   | obligation         |
| <i>-ně</i>      | impersonal S       |
| <i>-topo</i>    | ?                  |

Table 6.2: Non-declarative suffixes

| Suffix        | Function          |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>-jrama</i> | prohibitive       |
| <i>-i</i>     | jussive           |
| <i>-kě</i>    | imperative        |
| <i>-ta</i>    | motion imperative |

### 6.2.1 The imperfective *-ri*

- allomorphy:
  - most conservative form: *-rĭ* ‘IPFV’
  - /i/ > /i/ (Section 2.1.2): *-ri* ‘IPFV’
  - phonetic loss:  $-\emptyset$  ‘IPFV’ (Section 2.2.1)
    - \* inconsistent zero before *jra* ‘NEG’, see Chapter 9
    - \* consistent zero before *kontomo* ‘PL’
  - assimilation: *-ru* ‘IPFV’ (Section 2.2.2)
- diachrony: from *-ri* ‘ACNNMLZ’ (Section 4.5.1)
- plural: *kontomo* ‘PL’
- negation: *jra* ‘NEG’ (78), but potentially two distinct etymologies
- semantics:
  - not specified for tense, only imperfective aspect:

- \* past (82)
- \* future (32)
- \* gnomic/present? (33)

- (31) *irëjpë tēwī waijtatomo nwajtëri*  
*irëjpë tēwī waijta-tomo nwajtë-ri*  
 then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV  
 ‘Then the mice were dancing.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 16)

- (32) *kwase ejnë yaruwari?*  
*kwase ejnë yaruwa-ri*  
 how 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV  
 ‘How will we laugh?’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 6)

- (33) a. *wirë yaruwarijra*  
*wirë yaruwa-ri=jra*  
 1PRO laugh-IPFV=NEG  
 ‘I don’t laugh.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 4)
- b. *uyiwij yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama*  
*u=y-ïwij-Ø yawë u=senejka-ri sukuri jwama*  
 1=LK-house-PERT LOC 1=stay-IPFV silently \*\*\*  
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 28)

### 6.2.2 *-jpë*

- allomorphy: none?
- semantics: unclear
- diachrony: from *-jpë* ‘PST.ACNNMLZ’ (Section 4.5.2)
- negated with *jra* (34)
- plural: *kontomo* (35)

- (34) *tëwisantomo wirë wejyatë këyetajpëjra*  
*tëwī-santomo wirë wejyatë këyeta-jpë=jra*  
 3PRO-PL 1PRO in\_house\_of grow-PST=NEG  
 ‘They did not grow up with me.’ ( )

- (35) *ɬkwase ne wepijpəkonton ti? ta*  
*kwase=ne wepi-jpë=konton ti ta-Ø*  
 how=INTS come-PST=PL HSY say-IPFV  
 ‘How did they come?’, s/he says.’ ()

### 6.2.3 -se

- allomorphy: *-se/-che* ‘PTCP / SUP’ (Section 2.2.3)
- diachrony: from *-se* ‘PTCP / SUP’
- negation: replaced with *-ja* ‘NEG’ (36) (see also Section 9.1.1)
- plural: *kontomo* ‘PL’ and *jne* ‘PL’
- semantics: unclear

- (36) *wëjkaja, ana tëse neke ne*  
*wëjka-ja ana të-se neke=ne*  
 fall-NEG 1+3PRO go-PST CNTR=INTS  
 ‘We didn’t fall, we went away.’ ()

- (37) *tipapëjsejne waijtajne*  
*tipa-pëj-se=jne waijta=jne*  
 go\_in\_group-PLUR-PST=PL mouse=PL  
 ‘The mice went away.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 40)

- (38) *tipasekontomo warë irëjpë pïrarë*  
*tipa-se=kontomo wa=rë irëjpë pïrarë*  
 go\_in\_group-PST=PL thus=EMP then NEG.EXIST  
 ‘They left and were gone.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 30)

### 6.2.4 -sapë

- diachrony: from *-sapë* ‘ABS.NMLZ’ (Section 4.5.3)
- allomorphy: *-sapë* and *-saj* (Section 2.2.1)
- negation: with *-ja* ‘NEG’ on lexical verb (39-41)
- plural: *kontomo* ‘PL’ (42)



- (39) *irë wejtane mujyampe patakaja wejsapë*  
*irë wej-tane mujyam=pe pataka-ja wej-sapë*  
 3ANA.INAN COP-CNCS pregnancy=ESS take\_out-NEG COP-PST  
 ‘Despite this, she did not get pregnant.’ ()

- (40) *apatakaja pînika wejsapë*  
*apataka-ja pînika wej-sapë*  
 come\_out-NEG PROB COP-PST  
 ‘Maybe she did not come out (pregnant).’ ()

- (41) *tayakijtēja pînika wejsapë*  
*ta-yakijtë-ja pînika wej-sapë*  
 3P-sleep\_with-NEG PROB COP-PST  
 ‘Maybe he didn’t sleep with her.’ ()

- (42) *ësëpëkë ka wejsapëkontomo?*  
*ësë-pëkë ka wej-sapë=kontomo*  
 DETRZ-about Q COP-PST=PL  
 ‘Were they always arguing?’ ()

### 6.2.5 -sarë

- once a converb, now ‘imminent future’
- allomorphy: -*charë* (Section 2.2.3)
- negation: ?
- semantics: ?
- plural: ?

- (43) *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 come-IMN rain come-IMN  
 ‘Then they said: “it’s raining, it’s raining.”’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 25)

- (44) *ejnë waimu wintikasarë ta rë*  
*ejnë waimu-Ø wintika-sarë ta rë*  
 1+2PRO language-PERT disappear-IMN like EMP  
 ‘Our language is disappearing.’ ()

### 6.3 Subordinate Clause markers

- Nominalizations

- *-ri* ‘ACNNMLZ’
- *-jpě* ‘PST.ACNNMLZ’
- *-topo* ‘CIRC.NMLZ’

- Adverbial Clauses (S/A)

- *-se* ‘supine’
- *-tane* ‘concessive’
- *-sarě* ‘converb’
- *-yapo* ‘neg.purp’
- others?

- Nominalization + postposition (S/P)

- $\emptyset$  ‘IPFV’yawě ‘when’
- $\emptyset$  ‘IPFV’ *pe* ‘ESS’ ‘when’
- *-saj* ‘ABS.NMLZ’yawě ‘simult’
- *-tojpe* ‘purpose’
- $(-jpě)=tërě$  ‘after’
- on auxiliary: *-ri + po* ‘CTRF’

- not attested:

- *se* ‘DES’
- *-ajtawĩ* ‘if when’

### 6.4 Number

The main number marking strategy for verbs uses the particle *kontomo* ‘PL’, which usually encliticizes to the verb. It occurs with all major TAM suffixes (45).

- (45) a. *yajtëpe neke n ti warotakontomo wejsapë*  
*yajtëpe neke=n ti warota-Ø=kontomo wej-sapë*  
 before CNTR=INTS HSY work-IPFV=PL COP-PST  
 ‘At the beginning they worked.’ ()
- b. *žepesekontomo?*  
*epe-se=kontomo*  
 escape-PST=PL  
 ‘Did they escape?’ ()
- c. *žirëjpë, wepijpëkontomo?*  
*irëjpë wepi-jpë=kontomo*  
 then come-PST=PL  
 ‘Then they came?’ ()
- d. *irë wa chipëkë tapojtëja wejsapë, irë wa chipëkë tajne wëpëjse tëwī, sukase winijsajkonton yawë*  
*irë wa chipëkë ta-pojtë-ja wej-sapë irë wa chipëkë ta=jne wë-pëj-se*  
 3ANA.INAN thus because 3P-want-NEG COP-PST 3ANA.INAN thus because 3PRO=PL kill-PLUR-PST  
*tëwī sukase winij-saj=konton yawë*  
 3PRO all sleep-PFV=PL LOC  
 ‘That’s why I didn’t want it, that’s why they killed them all when they were asleep.’ ()

· verbal plural patterns:

- *-ri=kontomo*
- *-sapë=kontomo*
- *-saj-se=jne*
- *-se=jne=kontomo*
- *-të-kë* for the imperative
- what about *-i* ‘Juss’?

## 6.5 Copula / Auxiliary

· there is (synchronically suppletive) stem allomorphy: *chi* and *wej*

TBD:

1. add a paradigm of the copula
2. find potential particles developed from inflected forms: *man*, *wai*, *manai*, etc
3. are there irregular past/perfect participles? *nahkë*, etc?
4. *ejnë* may come from an inflected form of the copula



## Chapter 7

# Postpositions

postposition

### 7.1 Defining the category

- monomorphemic vs bipartite (vs ‘stacked’)

### 7.2 Inflectional morphology

Postpositions take the same inflectional prefixes as nouns (Section 4.3.1), in addition to a third person prefix *tě-*:

- (46) tawara wĩrě tase tẽpana  
*tawara wĩrě ta-se tẽ-pana*  
 too 1PRO say-PST 3-DAT  
 ‘So I told her.’ ( )

- (47) takẽrẽ ana wejsapẽ ìmparẽjra  
*t-akẽrẽ ana wej-sapẽ ìmparẽ=jra*  
 3-with 1+3PRO COP-PST already=NEG  
 ‘We were with him for a long time.’ (Historia personal por AnFo: 48)

Table 7.1: Person marking prefixes on postpositions

|    | <hr/>     |                 |
|----|-----------|-----------------|
|    | <i>_C</i> | <i>_V</i>       |
|    | 3         | <i>t-</i>       |
| NP | Ø         | <i>tẽ- / i-</i> |
|    |           | <i>y-</i>       |
|    | <hr/>     |                 |

Table 7.2: Locative postpositions

|         | ALL         | LOC         |
|---------|-------------|-------------|
| inside  | <i>yaka</i> | <i>yawë</i> |
| aquatic | ?           | ?           |

- (48) *tějrama sejkë upëkëpene wirë tëri*  
*těj-rama sejkë u=pëkëpene wirë të-ri*  
 go-PROH be.IMP 1=alone 1PRO go-IPFV  
 ‘Don’t go, I will go alone.’ ()

- (49) *wirë tëtojpe mëyakërë*  
*wirë të-tojpe më=y-akërë*  
 1PRO go-FUT 2=LK-with  
 ‘None’ ()

### 7.3 Derivational morphology

- *ësë-* ‘DETRZ’

### 7.4 The postpositional phrase

TBD

- particles can intervene
  - *pano* ‘FMR’
  - *-pïjkë* ‘DIM’
  - *rë* ‘EMP’
  - *ma* ‘RESTR’

### 7.5 Locative Postpositions

- clear bipartite Ground+Path
- unproductive Bipartite X+Path?
- other forms
- further postpositions:
  - *poye* ‘above’

- *po* ‘locative’
- *yatë* ‘locative’
- *yapo* ‘negation’?

- (50) tichikimuru, peti warë patakasapë Yakucho pana  
*t-ichikimu-ru peti wa=rë pataka-sapë yakucho pana*  
 3-knee-PERT ? thus=EMP take\_out-PFV P.A. DAT  
 ‘His knee, his leg went out towards Ayacucho.’ ()

## 7.6 Nonlocative oblique postpositions

- *pana* ‘DAT’
- *ke* ‘INS’
- *wanai*

## 7.7 Misc

- *chi* ‘COP’ combines with *yawë* ‘LOC’, sometimes spelled *chi yawë*, sometimes *chawë*.
- postpositions on bare verbs? (e.g. *wejtawë*)
- plural: *kotomo*

- (51) chayi, muku tase ta makë pano ya  
*chayi muku ta-se ta makë pano ya*  
 son child say-PST like mom FMR ERG  
 ‘Sons, daughters’ said my late mother.’ ()

- (52) aniki narëpe yakërë ejnë përemekiri, ejnë pëkëpene, wanene  
*aniki narëpe y-akërë ejnë përemekiri ejnë pëkëpene wanene*  
 who PART LK-with 1+2PRO talk-IPFV 1+2PRO alone aunt  
 ‘Who are we gonna talk to? We’re alone, aunt.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 47)





## Chapter 8

# Particles, ideophones and interjections

- E. Koehn and S. Koehn (1986, p. 111) on Apalaí: “Particles follow words of any class other than the ideophone, and never occur as free forms or in isolation.”

### 8.1 Particles

Three kinds of particles elsewhere in the family:

1. second position (modals, focus)
  2. phrasal (focus)
  3. clause boundary
- prosodic effects?

### 8.2 Ideophones

- a construction with *nwa* ‘thus’?

- (53) pītīpējsapē chipē ke, pītī, pītī, pītī, warē  
*pītī-pēj-sapē chipē ke pītī pītī pītī wa=rē*  
paint-PLUR-PFV caranna INS paint paint paint thus=EMP  
‘Painted with caranna, painted all over.’ ()

- (54) ta-ta ta-ta, nwarē ejnē weseyu wēra rē, ejnē tapa ta  
*ta-ta ta-ta nwa=rē ejnē weseyu-Ø wēra rē ejnē tapa-Ø ta*  
\*\*\* \*\*\* thus=EMP 1+2PRO be\_angry-ACNNMLZ like EMP 1+2PRO beat-IPFV like  
‘ta-ta-ta, like that he rubbed us as if he was angry with us.’ ()

### 8.3 Interjections

- can occur in isolation

## Chapter 9

# Negation

There are a number of negation strategies in Yawarana. The most general negator is the particle *=jra* ‘NEG’, which can negate a number of constructions. It occurs encliticized to transitive and intransitive verbs (55a-b), nouns (55d), adverbs (55a), and postpositions (55c).

- (55) a. *entë ma teijpojra wejtane*  
*entë ma teijpo=jra wej-tane*  
here.LOC RST far=NEG COP-CNCS  
‘Although it is close to here.’ ()
- b. *uyarë wirë winikirijra*  
*u=yarë wirë winiki-ri=jra*  
1=alone 1PRO sleep-IPFV=NEG  
‘I did not sleep apart.’ ()
- c. *toto waimu yajejra*  
*toto waimu-Ø yaje=jra*  
non\_Indian language-PERT LOC=NEG  
‘Not in Spanish.’ ()
- d. *aaa, ijtarijra ta*  
*aaa i-jta-ri=jra ta*  
ah 3-foot-PERT=NEG like  
‘Ah, without his legs.’ ()
- e. *kukurujra tēwī*  
*kuku-ru=jra tēwī*  
answer-IPFV=NEG 3PRO  
‘They didn’t answer.’ ()

On verbs, it sometimes occurs with an overt allomorph of *-ri* ‘IPFV’ (55b), sometimes its zero allomorph, shown in (56).

- (56) *wirë wajyakiti=jra taro wirë ta wirë ya*  
*wirë wajyakiti-Ø=jra taro-Ø wirë ta-Ø wirë ya*  
 1PRO be\_happy-IPFV=NEG say-IPFV 1PRO say-IPFV 1PRO ERG  
 ‘I’m saying I am not happy.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 24)

This variation is found in other contexts as well, but the conditioning factors of the deletion are currently unknown (see Section 6.2.1). However, in the case of *jra* ‘NEG’, it may occur for a different reason entirely. Historically, a verb suffixed with *\*-ri* and followed by a particle *\*pira* was a distinct construction from a verb with an adverbializing negative suffix *\*-pira* and followed by a copula (Gildea and Meira 2016; Cáceres 2016).

## 9.1 Verbal negation

### 9.1.1 *-ja*

*-ja* ‘NEG’ is pluralized with the postverbal particle *kotomo* ‘PL’. It is the negative counterpart to *-se* ‘PST’.

### 9.1.2 *-jnari*

- very rare
- etymology unknown
- occurs on verbs
- never preceded by TAM (?)
- occurs with *-po* ‘DES’
- likely cognate in Tamanaku

### 9.1.3 *-jrama*

- prohibitive
- coexists with *V=jra* ‘NEG’ *COP-kë* ‘IMP’ (57)

- (57) *nwarë mëtëpëtiri, tëtëtijra sejkë*  
*nwa=rë më=tëpëti-ri tëtëti-Ø=jra sejkë*  
 thus=EMP 2=go(PLUR)-IPFV go(PLUR)-IPFV=NEG be.IMP  
 ‘You’re going to go like this? Don’t go like this.’ ()

### 9.1.4 Others

- *-kempinirë* ‘PTCP.NZR.GNO:NEG’
  - can this be analyzed as something other than a single suffix?
- *-yapo* ‘NEG.PURP’

## 9.2 Nominal negation

- =*jra* ‘NEG’

## 9.3 Negative nonverbal predication

- *pīnirē* ‘NEG’
- *pīrarē* ‘NEG.EXIST’
- *pīni* ‘NEG’

- (58) *pīrarē ti iwenaru wejsapē*  
*pīrarē ti i-wena-ru wej-sapē*  
 NEG.EXIST HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PST  
 ‘their vomit was not there.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 19)

## 9.4 Other negation



## Chapter 10

# Number

There are several pluralization strategies for nouns, the only inflectional one using the suffix *-tomo*. It can be combined with the plural particle *jne* (59); this particle can also be the only exponent of plural (60).

- (59) *wirë najpõtomojne, wuriyyantomojne sënka wara rë*  
*wirë najpî-Ø-tomo=jne wuriyyan-tomo=jne sënka-Ø wara rë*  
IPRO grandfather-PERT-PL=PL woman-PL=PL finish-ACNNMLZ thus EMP  
'My grandfathers, the women disappeared.' ( )

- (60) *tipapëjsejne waijtajne*  
*tipa-pëj-se=jne waijta=jne*  
go\_in\_group-PLUR-PST=PL mouse=PL  
'The mice went away.' (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 40)

There is also the particle *kontomo*, which marks plurality of the possessor (61). Etymologically, it consists of an earlier *\*komo* suffixed with *-tomo* 'PL'.

- (61) *chimakontomo*  
*chima=kontomo*  
path=PL  
'their path' ( )

In many nouns, old plural markers have become lexicalized, like in *wiriyamo* 'woman' or *waraijtokomo* 'man', which show former *\*yamë* and *\*komo*.

### 10.1 Plural marking in pronouns

TBD





## Chapter 11

# Auxiliarized constructions

Claim: everything can take an auxiliary, except imperative constructions with *-kë* 'IMP'.  
TBD:

1. look at frequency and distributional possibilities for various forms with auxiliaries
2. are there limits on what form of AUX can occur?
3. conventionalized meanings of combinations?
4. where is person marking? also alignment

### 11.1 Defining auxiliaries

### 11.2 Main clauses

- multiple auxiliaries

### 11.3 Subordinate clauses

- *chi=pëkë*
- *chi=yawë/chawë*
- *chi-ripo*
- *wej-tojpe*



## **Chapter 12**

# **Nonverbal predication**

TBD



## Chapter 13

### Simple verbal clauses

- the minimal verbal clause consists of a single verb (62)
- only inflectional morphology is (optional) *ta*- ‘3P’ (Section 6.1), compare (63) with (62a)
- personal proclitics can occur on verb (64-66); no transitive 1+2 attested
  - usually express P, 2A attested
  - *wirë* ‘1PRO’ and *ejnë* ‘1+2PRO’ rarely cliticized
- arguments can be expressed by pronouns or nouns / noun phrases
- “free” order
- clausal particles?

- (62) a. yakaramaja  
      *yakarama-ja*  
      tell-NEG  
      ‘They didn’t tell.’ ()
- b. epese  
      *epe-se*  
      escape-PST  
      ‘They got away.’ ()

- (63) tayakaramaja  
      *ta-yakarama-ja*  
      3P-tell-NEG  
      ‘They didn’t tell it.’ ()

- (64) a. uyīwīj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama  
*u=y-īwīj-Ø yawë u=senejka-ri sukuri jwama*  
 1=LK-house-PERT LOC 1=stay-IPFV silently \*\*\*  
 ‘I silently stay in my house.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 28)
- b. aniki ta uyeremari  
*aniki ta u=yerema-ri*  
 who like 1=feed-IPFV  
 ‘Who was going to feed me then?’ ()
- (65) a. tototomo pata yaka mëtēja  
*toto-tomo pata-Ø yaka mē=tē-ja*  
 non\_Indian-PL village-PERT ALL 2=go-NEG  
 ‘You don’t go to the creoles’ village.’ ()
- b. mēwë wirë ya  
*mē=wë-Ø wirë ya*  
 2=kill-IPFV 1PRO ERG  
 ‘I will kill you.’ ()
- (66) ejwintikatojpano, moneka  
*ej=wintika-tojpano moneka*  
 1+2=disappear-FUT.CONCL girl.VOC  
 ‘We will be finished, daughter.’ ()
- 13.1 Person proclitics**
- Second person A
    - *mē* ‘2’ marking A in (67)
    - subordinate clauses (69) and (73)
    - is ‘learn’ transitive? (70)
- (67) a. tēwī ma takī mēyakarama chipjē wararē kwa ta sēnkatoj mētē  
*tēwī ma takī mē=yakarama-Ø chi-jpē wara=rē kwa ta sēnka-toj mētē*  
 3PRO RST CNFRM 2=tell-IPFV COP-PST.ACNNMLZ thus=EMP how like finish-CIRC.NMLZ ?  
 ‘Tell us again how they ended up there.’ ()
- b. michi ma mēyapējirama  
*michi ma mē=yapēj-jrama*  
 MED.ANIM RST 2=grab-PROH  
 ‘Do not touch this.’ ()

- c. mēinija ka, aniki pinchi, tēnēsem warai yichapē, okonotojpe  
*mē=ini-ja ka aniki pinchi tēnēsem warai yichapē okonotojpe*  
 2=see-NEG Q who HES fish like \*\*\* \*\*\*  
 ‘You have not seen a fish that is put on to dry.’ ()

- (68) mēwē wīrē ya

*mē=wē-Ø wīrē ya*  
 2=kill-IPFV 1PRO ERG  
 ‘I will kill you.’ ()

- (69) a. mērē warē mēyēnētojpāno ka uyakērē mērē wēpīrī

*mērē wa=rē mē=yēnē-tojpāno ka u=y-akērē mērē wēpī-rī*  
 MED.INAN thus=EMP 2=eat(meat)-FUT.CONCL ? 1=LK-with 2PRO come-IPFV  
 ‘So for you to eat you came with me?’ ()

- b. mēyakarama mare

*mē=yakarama-Ø mare*  
 2=tell-IPFV REL.INAN  
 ‘What you are talking about.’ ()

- (70) a. kwase mēēmpamījpē ejnē waimu yaye

*kwase mē=ēmpamī-jpē ejnē waimu-Ø yaye*  
 how 2=learn-PST 1+2PRO language-PERT LOC  
 ‘How you learned our language.’ ()

- b. irējpē, kwaraijyawē rē mēēmpamījpē tajto marē ti?

*irējpē kwaraijyawē rē mē=ēmpamī-jpē taj-to marē ti*  
 then \*\*\* EMP 2=learn-PST say-CIRC.NMLZ REL.INAN HSY  
 ‘Afterwards, when did you learn what you say?’ ()

- (71) mērē ya wīrē inija wejtane

*mērē ya wīrē ini-ja wej-tane*  
 2PRO ERG 1PRO see-NEG COP-CNCS  
 ‘Although you won’t see me.’ ()

- (72) mērē ma ejnē waimu yaye mēwaimuru

*mērē ma ejnē waimu-Ø yaye mē=waimu-ru*  
 2PRO RST 1+2PRO language-PERT LOC 2=speak-IPFV  
 ‘Only your speak in our language.’ ()

- First person A (73)

- (73) uyepematojpe pīrarē wīrē inawē  
*u=yepema-tojpe pīrarē wīrē inawē*  
 1=pay-PURP NEG.EXIST 1PRO have  
 ‘I can’t afford to pay.’ ()

- Transitive local scenarios

- (74) a. entē mēinpojra wīrē ya  
*entē mē=in-po-Ø=jra wīrē ya*  
 here.LOC 2=see-DES-IPFV=NEG 1PRO ERG  
 ‘I don’t want to see you here.’ ()
- b. mēini wīrē ya  
*mē=ini-Ø wīrē ya*  
 2=see-IPFV 1PRO ERG  
 ‘I will see you.’ ()
- c. tēwī ke ma mēyepema wīrē ya, ta ti ta  
*tēwī ke ma mē=yepema-Ø wīrē ya ta-Ø ti ta*  
 3PRO INS RST 2=pay-IPFV 1PRO ERG say-IPFV HSY like  
 ‘I’ll pay you only this,’ he said.’ ()

- one attested case of *ta-* ‘3>3’ on the lexical verb of a *-pēkē* construction w/ 2nd person A on AUX
  - zero-marked third person on transitive verbs with 1A or 2A
- one example of *mē* ‘2A’ on imperative verb
- \**t-V-se* is no more — the *t-* is gone, except in lexicalized items
- only free first person pronouns with V-initial verbs:

- (75) tēwī wīrē inija  
*tēwī wīrē ini-ja*  
 3PRO 1PRO see-NEG  
 ‘I didn’t see that.’ ()

- (76) tawara chipēkē takī wīrē ėmpamīja wejsapē tase wīrē  
*tawara chipēkē takī wīrē ėmpamī-ja wej-sapē ta-se wīrē*  
 too because CNFRM 1PRO learn-NEG COP-PST say-PST 1PRO  
 ‘Since it was like that, I did not learn, I said.’ ()



- unmarked third person:

- (77) *yajtëpe neke n ti warotakontomo wejsapë*  
*yajtëpe neke=n ti warota-Ø=kontomo wej-sapë*  
 before CNTR=INTS HSY work-IPFV=PL COP-PST  
 ‘At the beginning they worked.’ ( )

## 13.2 Intransitive clauses

### 13.2.1 First person

- (78) Preverbal pronoun  
*wirë yaruwarijra*  
*wirë yaruwa-ri=jra*  
 1PRO laugh-IPFV=NEG  
 ‘I don’t laugh.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 4)

- (79) Postverbal pronoun  
*këyaja wirë*  
*këya-ja wirë*  
 think-NEG 1PRO  
 ‘I don’t know.’ ( )

- (80) Preverbal pronoun and prefix  
*aaa usukuru morone ta, wirë usujta ta ne*  
*aaa u=suku-ru morone ta wirë u=sujta-Ø ta=ne*  
 ah 1=urine-PERT hurting like 1PRO 1=urinate-IPFV like=INTS  
 ‘My urine hurts, I will urinate.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 23)

- not attested: prefixed verb followed by pronoun

### 13.2.2 Second person

- not attested: pronoun

## 13.2.3 Third person

- (81) Zero  
 wĩnĩjse  
*wĩnĩj-se*  
 sleep-PST  
 ‘He slept.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 6)
- (82) Preverbal NP  
 irějpe tẽwĩ waijtatomo nwajtẽri  
*irějpe tẽwĩ waijta-tomo nwajtẽ-ri*  
 then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV  
 ‘Then the mice were dancing.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 16)
- (83) Postverbal NP  
 wepĩri makẽ  
*wepĩ-ri makẽ*  
 come-IPFV mom  
 ‘My mother is coming.’ ( )
- (84) Preverbal pronoun  
 tẽwĩ nwajtẽnẽpẽkẽ  
*tẽwĩ nwajtẽ-nẽpẽkẽ*  
 3PRO dance-PROG.INTR  
 ‘He was dancing.’ ( )
- (85) Postverbal pronoun  
 ẽẽ, tawara takĩ chapětiri tẽwĩ  
*ẽẽ tawara takĩ chapėti-ri tẽwĩ*  
 yes too CNFRM squeal-IPFV 3PRO  
 ‘Yes, he also shouts that.’ ( )
- *tẽ* ‘go’ has an irregular third person marker *ij-* ‘3’:
- (86) waraijtokon maniki irějpe ijtẽse  
*waraijtokon maniki irějpe ij-tẽ-se*  
 man REL.ANIM then 3-go-PST  
 ‘Then the man went.’ (Cuento de las ratas por AnFo: 45)

### 13.3 Transitive clauses

There are several factors that play a role here:

1. presence or absence of prefix
2. presence or absence of pronouns and NPs
3. order of free arguments
4. presence or absence of *ya* 'ERG'

#### 13.3.1 Third on third

- (87) preverbal pronoun with *ya*  
*tëwĩ ya nepĩ-jpě wej-sapě*  
*tëwĩ ya nepĩ-jpě wej-sapě*  
 3PRO ERG bring-PST COP-PST  
 'He brought it.' ( )



## **Chapter 14**

# **Questions**

TBD



## Chapter 15

# Multiclausal

Historically, the function of subordinate clauses was covered by nominalizations and adverbializations. For instance, a meaning like ‘after I slept, I ate’ was expressed as ‘after my sleeping’, the verb being a noun syntactically, followed by a postposition.

- status in matrix clause:
  - argument of the matrix clause
  - adverbial adjunct
  - relative clause
- differences & similarities to simple verb clauses?
- order of arguments re: the verb (and each other)
- case marking patterns
- indexation
- clausal particles
- +mapping between matrix and subordinate

### 15.1 Relative clauses

- inanimate relativizer *marě*
- also *marě* ‘still’
- occurrence with nominalizations? (89)
- correlation with clause-initial *měřě*?

- (88) toto yoti tajtoj mare

*toto y-oti-Ø taj-toj mare*  
 non\_Indian LK-meat-PERT say-CIRC.NMLZ REL.INAN  
 ‘What they call the food of the criollos.’ ()

- (89) mëyakarama mare

*më=yakarama-Ø mare*  
 2=tell-IPFV REL.INAN  
 ‘What you are talking about.’ ()

- (90) pata penarëjpe mëtë ta, mërë Cerro Muñeca tajtoj mare toto ya

*pata penarë-jpë mëtë ta mërë cerro muñeca taj-toj mare toto ya*  
 village ancestor-PST here like MED.INAN \*\*\* \*\*\* say-CIRC.NMLZ still non\_Indian ERG  
 ‘Here you can see the village where they lived, what the Criollos call Cerro Muñeca.’ ()



## Chapter 16

# Word order variation

### 16.1 Transitive clauses

- clear tendency for VCop (as opposed to CopV)

- (91) *wirë inija tēwī*  
*wirë ini-ja tēwī*  
1PRO see-NEG 3PRO  
'I did not see that.' ( )

### 16.2 Nonverbal predication



## Chapter 17

# Pragmatically marked constructions

- participant nominalizations for pseudo-clefts



## Chapter 18

### Detransitive voice

- functions of DETRZ:
  - antipassive
  - passive
  - reflexive
  - reciprocal
  - anticausative
- other strategies for removing participant:
  - *-se-mi* ‘gnomic’
  - *-në* ‘INF’
- what is not used for voice?
  - *-sapë*
  - participle

#### 18.1 Issues with transitivity

- *ya* ‘ERG’ occurs with intransitives
- some transitive verbs occur with oblique-marked P arguments:

- (92) *ati rë warai mërë iniri, irëjpë mëyarika ti*  
*ati rë warai mërë ini-ri irëjpë më=yarika-Ø ti*  
what EMP like 2PRO see-IPFV then 2=laugh-IPFV HSY  
‘You see something and then you laugh.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 1)

- some intransitive verbs can look like transitives:

(93) *ɟati ejnɛ yaruwari?*

*ati ejnɛ yaruwa-ri*

what 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV

‘What are we going to laugh about?’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 12)

- not all transitive verbs take identifiable objects:

(94) *wirɛ inija ta rɛ*

*wirɛ ini-ja ta rɛ*

1PRO see-NEG like EMP

‘I haven’t seen.’ (Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe: 44)

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