A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

o.o.3.draft

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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.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
occlusive	/p/	/t/	/fʃ/	/k/	
nasal	/m/	/n/	/n/		
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/	

- 2.1.1 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

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

```
uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama

u-y-ïwïj 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 chijpë wararë m\ddot{e}-nai-\oslash wëjkase chi-jpë wararë 2-do-IPFV *** COP-PST *** 'se cayó tu cosa'
```

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	wïrë	
1+2		ejnë
1+3		ana
2	mërë	monkontomo
3	tëwï	tëwïsantomo

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	ANIM		INAN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROX	kërë	kërësantomo	eni	enijne
medial? near?	michi		misi mërë	michisantomo michitomo
DIST	mëjkï	mëkïsantomo	mëjnï	mëjnijne

Table 4.2: Demonstrative pronouns / articles

- (3) Yawarana mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene *më-yaruwa-ri më-pëkëpene* 2-laugh-IPFV 2-alone 'You just laugh.'
- (4) Yawarana moyochi moyochi ***

An open question is whether *ta-* on verbs is a reduction of *tëwi*. 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 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 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

4.2. NOMINAL INFLECTION 11

-të 'NPERT' when they appear without a possessor. Examples (5-8) 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 (5). A handful of nouns is marked with -ri/-ti 'pos' when possessed and with -të 'npos' when not possessed (6). Another handful is unmarked when possessed and marked with -të when not possessed (7). 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 (8).

(5) Nouns that take a suffix only when possessed:

```
akajra-ri
               'X's bow'
                                    akajra
                                              'bow'
y-amaka-ri
               'X's yucca'
                                    amaka
                                              'yucca'
               'X's fishhook'
ν-ántë-ri
                                    antë
                                              'fishhook'
y-ateri-ri
               'X's garden/field'
                                              'garden/field'
                                    ateri
ënu-ru
               'X's eye'
                                    ënu
                                              'eye'
               'X's medicine'
                                              'medicine'
y-ëpi-ri
                                    ëpi
```

(6) 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'
```

(7) 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'
```

(8) Nouns that never take a suffix, whether possessed or unpossessed:

```
i-jmëy 'his egg' ëjmëy 'egg'
```

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.

(9) Yawarana

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

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Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	и-	и-у-
2	më-	më-y-
3	i-	t-

(10) Yawarana

tipapëjsejne waijtajne

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

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-. Some examples are shown in (11-15).

(11) Yawarana

aaa usukuru morone ta wirë usujta ta ne aaa u-suku-ru morone ta wirë u-suj-ta- \varnothing ta ne *** 1-urine-pert hurting like 1PRO 1-urine-vbz-1PFV like INTS 'My urine hurts, I will urinate.'

(12) Yawarana

uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama *u-y-ïwïj yawë u-senejka-ri suku-ri jwama*1-lk-house loc 1-remain-IPFV urine-PERT ***

'I silently stay in my house.'

(13) Yawarana

mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë
më-nai-∅ wëjkase chi-jpë wararë
2-do-IPFV *** COP-PST ***

'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 4.4: 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 HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV

'Their vomit was not there.'

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

(16) Yawarana

ejnë yemekunu ejnë yemekunu 1+2PRO *** 'la mano de uno'

There are some nouns (kinship terms?) that take an apparently older old second person a- (Table 4.4).

4.2.3.1 irregularly inflected nouns:

- · 'father':
 - 1 рара
 - 2 ëmë | omo | ëmo (?)
 - 3 *imu*
 - NP yümü

4.3 Nominal Derivational Morphology

- $\cdot V \rightarrow N$
 - -ri 'action NMLZ'
 - − -jpë
 - * 'PST.ABS.NMLZ'
 - * 'PST.ACT.NMLZ?'
 - ?-në 'INF / generic action nominalizer'
 - * Not only on intransitive verbs? see wanumanë 'gossip, lie' and wajtënë 'dance'

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```
- -ni 'A.NMLZ'
- n- 'P.NMLZ'

* n-V-ri 'nonpast?'

* ?? n-V-jpë 'past?'

- -sapë 'ABS.NMLZ' (contrast with -jpë )

- -topo 'CIRC.NMLZ'

- -pïnï 'PRIV.NMLZ'?

· Adv → N

- -mï 'NMLZ'

· Postp → N
```

- -ano 'nmlz'

· What about - $jp\ddot{e}$ on AD forms? Does it derive a noun?

Verbal inflection

5.1 Person prefixes

Verbs are inflected for person with a set of prefixes, shown in Table 5.1. First and second person prefixes show accusative alignment, expressing s and P. Intransitive verbs are not overtly inflected for third person, while transitive verbs show an optional ta- in 3>3 scenarios. An exception to this is the verb $t\ddot{e}$ 'to go', which shows an idiosyncratic prefix $i\dot{j}$ -.

- · ta-'3P' attested on one V in the pan-Cariban "progressive" construction w/ 2nd person A
- \cdot Ø- '3P' with transitive verbs with 1A or 2A; also sometimes 3A
- · one example of $(m\ddot{e}$ -) '2A' on imperative verb
- · 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

5.2 Non-personal inflectional prefixation

- · *t-V-se is no more the t- is gone (except with t-ënë-se 'eat' and t-eni-se 'drink')
- · Any divergent forms with the negative?
 - -i- with intransitive negatives?
 - *an* with transitive negatives?

Table 5.1: Person marking prefixes on verbs

	INTR	TR
1	и-	и-
2	më-	më-
3	Ø	ta-

Table 5.2: Verbal TAM suffixes

Suffix	Function
-ri	imperfective
-jpë	past
-se	past 2?
-sapë	perfective?
-sarë	imminent future
-tëpëkë	PROG.INTR
pëkë	PROG.TR

5.3 Tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes

Verbs in main clauses are inflected for TAMP with a set of suffixes, shown in Table 5.2. They are discussed in Sections 5.3.1 to 5.3.5.

- · -*ja* 'NEG'
- · -jrama 'ркон'
- · -tojpano 'FUT'
- · -se=pano 'PST=CONCL'
- · -saj=pano 'PFV=CONCL'
- · imperatives:
 - -*kë | -të-kë* 'IMP / IMP.PL'
 - *− -ta | -tantё-kё* 'імр.мот / імр.мот.р∟'

5.3.1 -ri

- \cdot allomorphy:
 - − -Ø, phonetic loss
 - *-ru*, assimilation
 - what about -ri? Looks like the original one...
- · diachrony: from the nominalizer -ri
- · combines with -jra:
- (17) Yawarana

wïrë yaruwarijra###
wïrë yaruwa-ri-jra
1PRO laugh-1PFV-NEG
'I don't laugh.'

5.3.1.1 Semantics

- · not specified for tense, just imperfective aspect:
 - past (18)
 - future (19)
 - gnomic/present? (20)
- (18) Yawarana

irëjpë tëwï waijtatomo nwajtëri irëjpë tëwï 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-1PFV 'How will we laugh?'

(20) a. Yawarana

wïrë yaruwarijra###
wïrë yaruwa-ri-jra
1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
'I don't laugh.'

b. Yawarana

uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama *u-y-ïwïj 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 nominalizer -jpë

5.3.3 -se

- · allomorphy: -se/-che
- · diachrony: from participle -se

5.3.4 -sapë

- · diachrony: from nominalizer -sapë
- · distribution: only occurs on the copula?
- · allomorphy: -sapë and -saj
- negation: with -ja on lexical verb (21-23)
- (21) Yawarana

irë wejtane mujyampe patakaja wejsapë irë wej-tane mujyampe patakaja wej-sapë DEM COP-CNCS *** *** COP-PFV 'a pesar de eso no salió embarazada'

- (22) Yawarana
 apatakaja pïnïka wejsapë
 apatakaja pïnïka wej-sapë
 *** PROB COP-PFV
 - 'tal vez no salió (embarazada)'
- (23) Yawarana
 tayakijtëja pinika wejsapë
 tayakijtëja pinika wej-sapë
 *** PROB COP-PFV
 'tal vez no se acostó con ella'
 - what about (24)? is that existential negation?
- (24) Yawarana
 pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
 pïrarë ti i-wena-ru wej-sapë
 nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
 'Their vomit was not there.'

5.3.5 -sarë

· once a converb, now 'imminent future'

(25) Yawarana

irëjpë ta ti ta konopo wejsarë konopo wejsarë irëjpë ta- \varnothing ti ta konopo wej-sarë to0 ti0 to0 to0

(26) Yawarana

moyochi tasarë, moyochi chipokono kojpaye pïnika warotari moyochi ta-sarë moyochi chipokono kojpaye pïnika warotari *** say-IMN *** *** *** PROB *** '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 desiderative -po?

5.5 Number

- · -rï=kontomo
- · -se=jne=kontomo
- · -se=jne=pano (-se=jne=kontom=pano?)

5.6 Copula / Auxiliary

· there is stem allomorphy: chi , wej

Verbal roots and stems

6.1 Deriving verbs

- · denominal verbalizers: -ta, -jtë?
- · detransitivizers: s-, ëj-

Adverbs

- 7.1 Inflection
- 7.2 Simple adverbs
- 7.3 Derived adverbs

-tojpe can be inflected:

- (27) Yawarana *ijtëtojpe* 'para que fuera'
- (28) Yawarana tayëntojpe 'para que tome'
- (29) Yawarana *uyepematojpe pïrarë wïrë inawë*'yo no tengo para pagar'

Postpositions

8.1 Defining the category

8.2 Inflectional morphology

Postpositions take the same inflectional prefixes as nouns (Section 4.2.1).

- 1 *u*-
- $2 m\ddot{e}$
- 3 *i-/t-*?

8.3 Locative Postpositions

- \cdot clear bipartite Ground+Path
- · unproductive Bipartite X+Path?
- \cdot other forms
- · poye 'above'
- · po 'locative'
- · yatë 'locative'
- · yapo 'negation'?

Table 8.1: Locative postpositions

	ALL	LOC
inside	yaka	yawë
aquatic	?	?

- · allative:
- (30) Yawarana

```
tichikimuru, peti warë patakasapë Yakucho pana tichikimuru peti warë patakasapë yakucho pana *** thus *** *** DAT 'su rodilla, su pierna, salió (llaga) hacia Ayacucho'
```

8.4 Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- · ya 'ERG'
- · ke 'ins'
- · wanai

8.5 Propositional Postpositions

· =se 'DES'

8.6 Misc

· copular *chi* combines with *yawë*, sometimes spelled *chi yawë*, sometimes *chawë*.

Particles and Ideophones

Negation

- $\boldsymbol{\cdot}$ probably relevant morphemes:
 - *-ja*
 - -jra
 - -jnari
 - -kempïnirë
 - pïnirë
 - pïrarë

For testing and demonstration purposes

11.1 Some unparsable forms with derivational morphology

· combination of verb with -kempinire results in what? always used as predicate

(31) Yawarana

wïrë yaruwakempïnirë, mëkïsantomo a-ja-ja tajtane
wïrë yaruwakempïnirë mëkïsantomo 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?

(32) Yawarana

tëwï neke ne, tajne yakarama pokono nwarë tajne iri mïntë, tunampe tëwï neke ne ta-jne yakarama- \oslash poko-no nwarë ta-jne i-ri mïntë tunam-pe 3PRO CONTRAST INTS 3-PL tell-IPFV on.surface-NMLZ thus 3-PL do-IPFV there.LOC hide-ESS 'Yes indeed, they tell what they are doing there on the down-low.'

· two more pe:

(33) Yawarana

· deverbal nominalizer:

(34) Yawarana

pïrarë, seneja ejnë yarikatopo përarë sene- \oslash -ja ejnë yarika-topo nothing see.self-ipfv-neg 1+2pro laugh-circ.nmlz 'Nothing, there's nothing for us to laugh.'

· nope + -ano:

(35) Yawarana

nopano wejsaj ta waraijtokomo
nopano wej-saj ta waraijtokomo
*** COP-PFV like man
'He was a good man.'

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

(36) Yawarana

nope seneja chipokono ejnë pana nope seneja chipokono ejnë yaruwatopo pirërë

nope sene-∅-ja chipokono ejnë pana nope seneja chipokono ejnë yaruwatopo pirërë
good see.self-IPFV-NEG *** 1+2PRO DAT good see.self-IPFV-NEG *** 1+2PRO

yaruwa-topo pirërë
laugh-CIRC.NMLZ ***

'We don't see anything good, so we don't laugh.'

· how productive are verbalizers?

(37) Yawarana

tëwï ya papa kampra pana tase ta, kaimotata tëwï ya papa kampra pana ta-se ta kaimo-ta-ta $_3$ PRO ERG father big DAT say-PST like game-VBZ-MOTIMP 'She said to my uncle: "go hunt!":

· what does -tane do?

(38) Yawarana

makë yakërë ma wejtane, tëijpë rë pijkë ana yiwiti makë y-akërë ma wej-tane tëijpë rë pijkë ana y-ïwiti mother lk-with rst cop-cncs far emp dim 1+3pro lk-house 'Although I was with my mother, our house was a little further.'

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

(39) Yawarana aniki narëpe yakërë ejnë përemekïrï, ejnë pëkëpene, wanene aniki narëpe yakërë ejnë përemekï-rï ejnë pëkëpene wanene who *** *** 1+2PRO talk-IPFV 1+2PRO alone aunt 'Who are we gonna talk to? We're alone, aunt.'

11.2 Inline linked entities

11.2.1 Single

1. morph: -jne1

2. morpheme: -jnë

3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg)

4. text: "Conversación sobre la risa entre GrMe y ElPe"

11.2.2 Multiple

1. morph: -jne, and -i

2. morpheme: -jnë, and -ru

3. wordform: (asamo-o-ri-jraneg,asamo-o-ri-zero)

4. text:

11.3 Examples

11.3.1 Interlinear

single:

(40) Yawarana
ëkëtë mërë ëkï
ëkëtë mërë ëkï
where MED.INAN manioc.beer
'Where is the chicha?'

multiple:

¹This is what a footnote looks like.

(41) a. Yawarana

ëkï ta rë pïrarë wenarujpë ta rë pïrarë

 $\ddot{e}k\ddot{i}$ ta $r\ddot{e}$ $p\ddot{i}rar\ddot{e}$ $wena-ru-jp\ddot{e}$ ta $r\ddot{e}$ $p\ddot{i}rar\ddot{e}$ 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- \varnothing ti wej-saj ti $t\ddot{e}w\ddot{i}$ say-IPFV HSY COP-PFV HSY 3PRO '...he said.'

11.3.2 Other

single:

(42) yaka root -se suffix

double:

- (43) a. Hello -se 'PST'
 - b. World and more

You can even mix them:

- (44) a. Some random text in combination with an example from the corpus.
 - b. Yawarana

wenaru pïrarë

wena-ru pïrarë
vomit-pert nothing

'There was no vomit.'

11.3.3 Example references

(40)

(41) or (41b) or even (41a-b)

(42)

(43)

(42-43)