

# Nominalization as a Relativization Strategy in Yaminawa (Panoan, Peru)

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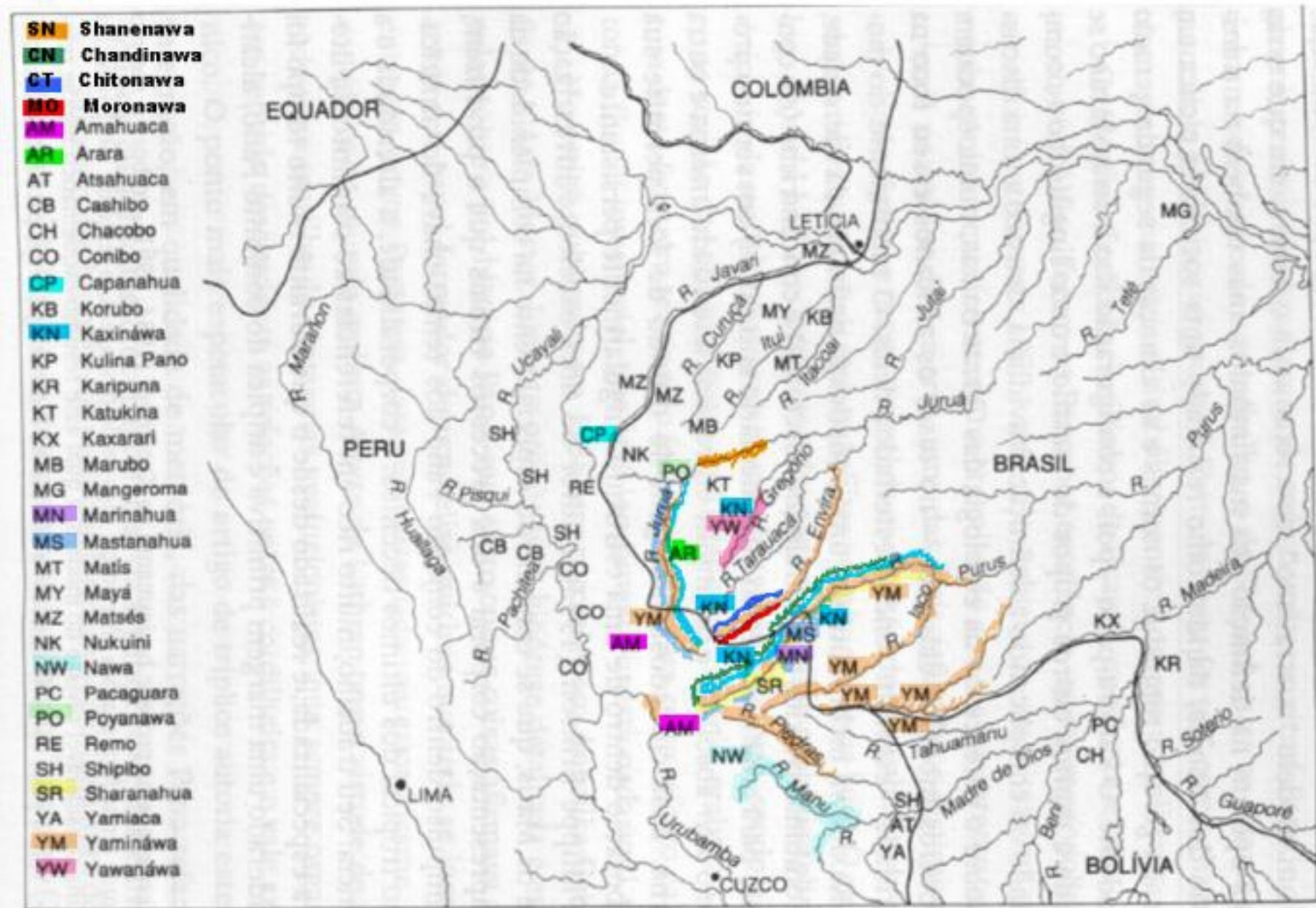
# Introduction – Outline of this talk

1. General introduction to Yaminawa
2. Overview of types of nominalization in Yaminawa
3. Case marking
4. Relativization
5. Referential role of nominalized clauses
6. Conclusions

# Introduction – About Yaminawa

- Data presented here comes from original fieldwork on Yaminawa and Nahua (two closely related, mutually intelligible dialects of a Panoan language which is referred to here simply as Yaminawa) carried out in Sepahua, on the Urubamba river in Ucayali department, Peru.
- Yaminawa and related dialects (Sharanahua, Mastanahua, and Yawanawa, among others) form part of the “Mainline” branch of Panoan (see Ribeiro 2006, Loos 1999, Fleck 2013).

# Introduction – About Yaminawa



# Introduction – About Yaminawa

- Previous published work on Yaminawa includes a grammar sketch (Faust and Loos 2002), a reader for learners of conversational Yaminawa (Eakin 1991), and a dictionary of Sharanahua (Scott 2004).

# Introduction – Typological profile

- SOV is the dominant word order (OSV, SVO, and OVS are also attested, but appear to be the result of pragmatic considerations)
- Morphosyntactic alignment is ergative-absolutive for full nouns, and nominative-accusative for pronouns
- At the clause level, the language is dependent marking.
- Almost exclusively suffixing (but there exists a small set of body part prefixes)

# Overview of nominalization in Yaminawa

- Zero-derivation objective nominalizations:
  - wada = 'song', wada- = 'sing'
  - daba = 'dream' (n), daba- = 'dream' (v)
  - tsãĩ = 'word, language', tsãĩ- = 'speak'
- This kind of derivation is not productive, and exists for only a few roots in the language.

# Overview of nominalization in Yaminawa

- Lexical nominalizations with *-ti*
  - Instrumental:
    - kedoti = 'lapiz, lapicero', kedo- = 'paint, draw'
    - tsaoti = 'seat, chair', tsao- = 'sit'
    - òĩti = 'heart', òĩ = 'see'
  - Objective:
    - ayati = 'beverage', aya- = 'drink'
    - teketi = 'shotgun', teke- = 'break'



# Overview of nominalization in Yaminawa

- Clausal nominalization

- a simple example: wadabis = 'singer, radio'

- a complex example:

yora      ãwĩ      wekax-wa-ka-bis

people      wife      trouble-make-go-HABIT.PST

'fastididor a las mujeres de gente' (T.JRR.0042)

'the one who goes around bothering people's wives'

# Case in Yaminawa

- Mostly ergative-absolutive:
  - Common nouns and proper names are either nasalized or take the suffix -nẽ in the ergative case.
    - pãxtã      yoa      pi-a  
dog.ERG    yuca    eat-PST  
'The dog ate the yuca.'
    - takara-nẽ      nõi      pi-a  
chicken-ERG    worm    eat-PST  
'The chicken ate the worm.'
  - Absolutive arguments are unmarked.

# Case in Yaminawa

- Case marking on pronouns patterns along nominative-accusative lines. Nominative arguments are marked with nasality, while accusative arguments end in *-a*.

– ãẽ            bia            be-a  
1SG.NOM    2SG.ACC    hit-PST

'I hit you.'

– mĩ            ea            be-a  
2SG.NOM    1SG.ACC    hit-PST

'You hit me.'

# Case in Yaminawa

- 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns are implicit.
- Because 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person arguments cannot felicitously head a relative clause in Yaminawa, they will not be considered further here.

## Case in Yaminawa

- The ergative marker in Yaminawa appears to be an enclitic on the noun phrase.
- Numerals are marked with *-tã*
  - *paxta rawe-tã yoa pia*  
'the two dogs ate yuca'
- Adjectives and clausal nominalizations are marked with *-tõ*
  - *paxta wisopa-tõ yoa pia*  
'the black dog ate yuca'

## Case in Yaminawa

- However, sometimes multiple elements of the noun phrase are marked for case:

– [nã                      pãxtã              wisopa = tã] yoa      pi-a  
DEM.PROX.ERG      dog.ERG      black=ERG      yuca      eat-PST

'This black dog ate yuca.' (E.LAW.0318)

## Case in Yaminawa

- And sometimes heavy object NPs get stranded to the right of the verb and optionally get marked with *=tõ* as well:
  - *ẽẽ* [kapemã takara pi-a] õĩ-a  
1SG.NOM alligator.ERG chicken eat-PST see-PST  
'I saw the alligator that ate the chicken.' (E.RGR.0323)
  - *ẽẽ* õĩ-a [kapemã takara pi-a-i] (=tõ)  
1SG.NOM see-PST alligator.ERG chicken eat-NOMZ?-PROG=ERG  
'I saw the alligator that is eating the chicken.' (E.RGR.0323)
- Language attrition may be a factor, as younger and older speakers exhibit different behavior.

# Relative clauses

- Accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977)

- Subjects (S and A):

[pãxtã            yoa    pi-a = tõ]        wake boko-a

dog.ERG    yuca    eat-PST=ERG        child bite-PST

'The dog that ate yuca bit the child.' (E.JnGR.0327)

- Objects

pãxtã        [takara            keo-tiro]    boko-a

dog.ERG    chicken            crow-POT bite-PST

'The dog bit the chicken that crows.' (E.JnGR.0327)



# Relative clauses

- Internal to the relative clause, all arguments are marked according to their relation to the relative verb.
- External to the relative clause, the entire NP (often consisting only of a clause without an overt head) is marked for case according to its relation to the verb of the main clause.
- That the structure of the clauses is not manipulated is evidence that they are internally headed.

# Relative clauses

- These constructions are freely given in elicitation, and are also frequently found in texts.
- The preferred head of the relative clause is the A or S relation, as seen on the previous slide.

# Relative clauses

- Objects as heads of relative clauses are not yet attested in texts, and result in word order manipulations in elicitation.

[ua kape dokuwēñē rete-a = tō] ea wichi-a

DEM alligator man.ERG kill-PST=ERG 1SG.ACC see-PST

'The alligator that the man killed saw me.' (E.RGR.0323)

- Or the relative clause may appear to the right of the verb

wāmã ea ñi-a [dokuwēñē Ø rete-a = tō]

alligator.ERG 1SG.ACC see-PST man.ERG kill-PST=ERG

'The alligator that the man killed saw me.' (E.LAW.0325)



# Relative clauses

- The verb in the relative clause often occurs alone, without any explicit head noun

[ Ø yura ãwĩ wekax-wa-ka-bis] ka-di  
people wife trouble-make-go-HABIT.PST go-DIST.PST

'He who went bothering peoples' wives left.' (T.JRR.0042)

# Relative clauses

- The verb in the relative clause does not bear any special morphology resembling a nominalizer, except after the vowel /i/ when progressive aspect (also *-i*) is present.

- pãxtã    nã    wãkẽ    yoa    pi-a-i    keyo-a  
dog.ERG DEM child.ERG yuca eat-NOMZ?-PROG bite-PST  
'The dog bit the child that is eating yuca.' (E.LAW.0251)

- This doesn't occur in assertive clauses:

pãxtã    yoa    pi-i  
dog.ERG yuca eat-PROG

## Further evidence for nominalization

- Relativizations in Yaminawa are referential, such as:
  - *wadabis* 'singer',
  - *kedobis* 'writer',
  - *tsãĩbis* 'communications radio',
  - and *ayabis* 'a drunk'.
- These can in turn be modified just as common nouns.

## Further evidence for nominalization

- They can be pluralized:

- *wadabiswo* 'singers'
- *bodotirowo* 'dancers'

(However, verbs can also take plural agreement with *-wo* or *-kadi*. The distinction between the two morphemes requires further study.)



## Further evidence of nominalization

- Nominalizations can also be modified by numerals:
  - wadabis-wo rawe shara-i  
singer-PL two be.beautiful-PROG  
'The two singers are beautiful.' (E.JnGR.0327)
- And adjectives:
  - wadabis oxopa shara-i  
singer white be.beautiful.PROG  
'The white singer is beautiful.' (E.JnGR.0327)

# Conclusions

- Relativizing constructions in Yaminawa involve clausal nominalization.
- Relative clauses have distinct behavior from complement clauses and temporal adjunct clauses, which take same/different subject markers and which do not appear to be nominalizations

# Further issues

- Many aspects of Yaminawa syntax and verbal morphology remain under-investigated.
- Because Yaminawa word order tends to be relatively free, and because speakers are shifting to Spanish, text corpus work will be of particular importance to further work on this topic.
- The motivations for word order manipulation in constructions involving relative clauses is still not well understood. It may be that complexity drives NPs to be stranded to the right of the verb, or it could be due to pragmatic considerations or the elicitation context.

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