

Apparent discontinuous NPs in the Cariban family from the perspective of diachronic typology

1 Tiriyo (501 records)

1.1 Good examples

- note the absence of commas in the Tiriyo line as opposed to the translation – other records have plenty of them

- mëe=ja* and *entupisi=ja* (“Frog story”):

(1) Tiriyo

Mëe=ja titomekae entupisi=ja përeru titomekae
mëe ja ti-tomeka-e 0-entu-pisi ja përeru ti-tomeka-e
 3AnPx Agt Pst-get?-Pst 3-owner-Dim Agt toad.sp Pst-get?-Pst
 ‘He took it, his little owner took the frog’

- mëerë* and *tamutupë* (“Këreramakë”):

(2) Tiriyo

(Ape) Wëën... mëerë teetainkae tamutupë.
Ape wëën mëerë t-V:-etainka-e tamutupë
Ape run 3AnMd Pst-Sa-run-Pst old.man
 ‘(Ape) /wëën/... that one ran, the old man (= i.e. Përepërëwa).’

- mëe* and *okomo aweküton* (an NP itself? “Frog story”):

(3) Tiriyo

mëe nütën okomo awekü=ton, ir=apo.
mëe nütë-0-n okomo awekü ton irë apo
 3AnPx 3Sa-go-Pres-Dbt wasp bee.sp Col 3InAna like
 ‘they went, the bees, like that.’

- taripi* and *mëerë* (not too certain about this one):

(4) Tiriyo

(Ape) mëerë=se=manan, tükäe, taripi=se=manan mëerë tükäe.
Ape mëerë se man-a-n ti-V:-ka-e taripi se man-a-n mëerë
Ape 3AnMd Desid 2Sa-Cop-Dbt Pst-Sa-say-Pst prego Desid 2Sa-Cop-Dbt 3AnMd
ti-V:-ka-e
Pst-Sa-say-Pst
 ‘(Ape) ‘Do you want that one?’ he said, ‘do you want some monkey, that one?’ he said.’

1.2 Unclear examples

- these touch on a larger issue: commas in the Tiriyo transcription are often an important criterion; how reliable are they?
- if there were no commas between *mëerë ja* and *werekeru ja*, I would classify them as a single NP:

(5) Tiriyo

(Ape) Irë=mao tēnepiitae, mëerë=ja turëe, werekeru=ja.
Ape irë mao t-ēnepiita-e mëerë ja t-urë-e werekeru ja
Ape 3InAna at.time Pst-be.bored-Pst 3AnMd Agt Pst-talk.to-Pst parakeet.sp Agt
 ‘(Ape) Then he became tired of it, and that one talked to him, werekeru.’

- conversely, in this example the morphosyntax suggests to me that there are two clauses in the first part: 1) ‘leave this one here’ and ‘your son would disturb you’

(6) Tiriyo

(Ape) Mëe inë ënmuku ëenuumane=npa tükäe, mërë innapï apëhkë irëme, tirëe iija, toron.
Ape mëe 0-inë-0 ë-nmuku-0 ë-enuuma-ne npa ti-V:-ka-e mërë
Ape 3AnPx 3-abandon-Imper 2-son-Psfx 2-disturb-A ? Pst-Sa-say-Pst 3InMd
i-innapï 0-apëh-kë irëme ti-rë-e i-ja toron
3-fruit.food 3-get-Imper so Pst-make-Pst 3-Agt put
 ‘(Ape) ‘Leave this one here, your son, he would disturb you,’ he said, ‘get that, his food’, then, he put it (down), /toron/’

1.3 Weird examples

- pïtai* ‘shoe’ is repeated:

(7) Tiriyo

Ati=hpe sen, tahken, pïtai tahken menen pïtai=rë, pïtai, boota sen.
atï hpe senï tahkene pïtai tahkene m-ene-0-n pïtai rë pïtai boota
wh.In Indef 3InPx maybe shoe maybe 2A-see-Pres-Dbt shoe Idtf shoe boot
senï
3InPx
 ‘What is that, maybe, a shoe maybe, do you see, it’s really a shoe, a shoe, it’s a boot.’

- this looks like 3 coreferential NPs in a row? (not counting *Përepërëwa*)

- (8) Tiriyó
 (Ape) *iwētirihpē nērē kītamuu=kōn, Pērēpērēwa.*
 Ape i-w-ētī-rī-0-lpē nērē kī-tamu-V: kōn Pērēpērēwa
 Ape 3-Sa-Detr-make-G-P.pst 3AnAna 1+2-grandpa-Psfx p.col Pērēpērēwa
 ‘(Ape) he is the one who made himself, our ancestor, Pērēpērēwa. ’
- ‘this one her son they’?
- (9) Tiriyó
 (Ape) *sera=taa=san=nai jipitī anpo=nai mēe in mukuru mēesan=nai ijapo=taike.*
 Ape sera taa san n-ai jī-pitī anpo n-ai mēe i-nmuku-ru
 Ape like.this Neg ? 3Sa-Cop 1-wife where 3Sa-Cop 3AnPx 3-son-Psfx
 mēesan n-ai i-japo taikē
 3AnPxCl 3Sa-Cop 3-like Neg
 ‘(Ape) ’they are not like this, my wife, where is she, this one, her son, they aren’t like this’ ’

1.4 Some well-behaved NPs

- I just came across these, might be useful
 - DEM N:
- (10) a. Tiriyó
irēme mēe kaikui sōkanme nee=neejan, eekaa=se.
 irēme mēe kaikui sōkanme E.RD-n-ee-ja-n 0-eeka-0 se
 so 3AnPx dog standing Iter-3Sa-Cop-Pres-Dbt 3-bite-G Desid
 ‘then this one, the dog, stood up, (he) wanted to bite it (= the beehive).’
- b. Tiriyó
Mēesamo=inēērē pērēru=ton tīwētakaase=ken,
 mēesamo inēērē pērēru ton tī-w-ēt-akaa-se ken
 3AnPxCl really toad.sp Col Pst-Sa-Detr-put.in.order-Pst Cont
 ‘It’s them, the frogs, they’re forming a line, ’
- c. Tiriyó
 (Ape) *Nka anpo=na aakoron tīikae, nēērē tamutupē, anpo=na aakoron?*
 Ape nka anpo n-a V:-akoron tī-V:-ka-e nērē rē tamutupē
 Ape ? where 3Sa-Cop 2-companion Pst-Sa-say-Pst 3AnAna Idtf old.man
 anpo n-a V:-akoron
 where 3Sa-Cop 2-companion
 ‘(Ape) ’So, where is your companion?’ (he) said, he, the old man, ’where is your companion?’

- d. Tiriyó
 (Ape) *Ohkē tīikae ohkē nari=ke=ta ehkē ētamūsewa serē wēitapi tīikae.*
 Ape oh-kē tī-V:-ka-e oh-kē nari ke ta eh-kē
 Ape come-Imper Pst-Sa-say-Pst come-Imper fear Inst Neg Cop-Imper
 ēt-amū-sewa serē wēitapi tī-V:-ka-e
 Detr-break-Neg 3InPx hammock Pst-Sa-say-Pst
 ‘(Ape) ’Come,’ (she) said, ’come, don’t be afraid, this won’t break/snap, the hammock,’ (she) said. ’
- e. Tiriyó
 (Ape) *Eeke=nai mēe jipitī? tīikae sera, atitoome=nai mīra ijomirī? tīikae.*
 Ape eeke n-ai mēe jī-pitī tī-V:-ka-e sera atitoome n-ai
 Ape how 3Sa-Cop 3AnPx 1-wife Pst-Sa-say-Pst like.this why 3Sa-Cop
 mīra i-jomī-rī tī-V:-ka-e
 like.that 3-talk-Psfx Pst-Sa-say-Pst
 ‘(Ape) ’How is my wife?’ (= ’What’s with her?’) he said, like this, ’why is her talk like that?’ (= ’why is she talking funny?’), he said. ’

- N DEM N:

- (11) a. Tiriyó
Oota ene=marē tīwēnaanuu se wewe serē mono tootake teese.
 oota 0-ene-0 marē tī-w-ēnaanuu-se wewe serē mono t-oota-ke
 hole 3o-see-Sup too Pst-Sa-go.up-Pst tree 3InPx big t-hole-Having
 t-0-ee-se
 Pst-Sa-Cop-Pst
 ‘He climbed up to see the hole, this big tree had a hole. ’
- b. Tiriyó
 (Ape) *Nērē, ma, menjatoro, serē=rē wei...*
 Ape nērē ma menjatoro serē rē wei
 Ape 3AnAna Attn one.from.now 3InPx Idtf day
 ‘(Ape) He, well, today’s people, this day...’
- c. Tiriyó
 (Ape) *Nērē=ja tēnētoo=me mēērē wērīnpē.*
 Ape nērē ja t-ēnē-too me mēērē wērī-npē
 Ape 3AnAna Agt Gen-eat.meat-Circ Ess 3AnMd woman-Pst
 ‘(Ape) The woman (is to) be eaten by him.’

- N N:

- (12) a. Tiriyó
Irēnpē=pēe wewe tootaken=pēe teepatakae, jeepurutu
 irē-npē pēe wewe t-oota-ke-n pēe t-V:-e-pataka-e
 3InAna-Pst from tree t-hole-Having-Ent from Pst-Sa-Detr-take.out-Pst
 jeepurutu
 owl.sp
 ‘Then from the tree with a whole came, an owl,’
- b. Tiriyó
(Ape) Ma, kiiponoojati Pērēpērēwa kītamuu=kon,
 Ape ma kii-ponoo-ja-ti Pērēpērēwa kī-tamu-V: kon
 Ape Attn 1+2A-tell-Pres-Col Pērēpērēwa 1+2-grandpa-Psfx p.col
 ‘(Ape) Well, we are telling (the story of) Pērēpērēwa our ancestor,’
- c. Tiriyó
(Ape) Neejan mono kanawa tīkae, irē=hkaasan kurano,
 Ape n-ee-ja-n mono kanawa tī-V:-ka-e irē hkaasan
 Ape 3Sa-come-Pres-Dbt big canoe Pst-Sa-say-Pst 3InAna instead
 kura-no
 good-Ent
 ‘(Ape) ‘A big canoe is coming’, (she) said, ‘that is good (= i.e. not the one you have),’
- d. Tiriyó
(Ape) sen=nai... tuna mono juuwē iitēn=mahtao, nemanakan tīkae.
 Ape sen n-ai tuna mono juuwē i-V:-tē-0-n mahtao
 Ape 3InPx 3Sa-Cop water big on 3-Sa-go-G-? when
 n-e-manaka-0-n tī-V:-ka-e
 3Sa-Detr-roll-Pres-Dbt Pst-Sa-say-Pst
 ‘(Ape) ‘This one is... when it’s on a big river, it turns,’ (she) said.’

• N ja N ja:

- (13) Tiriyó
(Ape) Ēwē aamuurētoo=me mēērē=ja kaikē=ja.
 Ape ēwē 0-aamuurē-too me mēērē ja kaikē ja
 Ape later 3-harass-Circ Ess 3AnMd Agt fox Agt
 ‘(Ape) (They were) later to be harassed by the fox.’