Complex clauses
Linguistics 460/560 - The Structure of Itunyoso Triqui
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I. Introduction

(1) The default word order for Itunyoso Triqui is VSO with adverbial phrases appearing preverbally or adverbs appearing post-verbally before a subject. Locative phrases occur after objects in the clause.

(2) There are many types of complex clauses that we can distinguish in Triqui:

a. **Clausal coordination**, e.g. *I saw Fred and I read him a story.*

b. **Relative clauses**, e.g. *I read the book (that) you recommended.*

c. **Subordinate-first constructions**

d. **Subordinate-final constructions and others**

II. Clausal coordination

(3) There are two coordinators in Itunyoso Triqui: *nga¹* and *ni²*. The former coordinates elements in noun phrases and is properly translated as 'with' instead of 'and.' The latter only coordinates larger phrasal units - or forces a reading where the coordinated elements must belong to larger phrasal units.

(4a) *chu³be³ ni² chu³che³²* (4b) *nih² chu³be³ ni² chu³che³²*

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dog and chicken
'dog(s) and chicken(s)'
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PL dog and chicken
'PL dogs and chickens'
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(4c) *nih² chu³be³ ni² nih² chu³che³²*

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PL dog and PL chicken
'the dogs and the chickens'
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(4d) *nih² chu³be³ nga¹ chu³che³²*

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PL dog with chicken
'the dogs and chickens'
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(5) You cannot use *ni²* to coordinate possessors or grammatical relations like subjects/objects/recipients. You must use *nga¹* for these.

(6) *Tan⁴=sij³ chu³be³ ni² chu³che³²*

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ANIM.POSS=3M dog and chicken
'His dog and the chicken'
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*His dog and chicken'*
Examples are shown in (8). The enclitics and endoclitics both pass the non-selectivity criterion for clitic-hood. The 3.2.1 Non-selectivity

3.2 Properties of clitic pronouns

(10)

(11)

(12)

(13)

(14)

(15)

Another of my brothers, his five kids, and their pair of spouses make eight (of us).’ (from Line 13; Testimonio de su familia grande; 06/10/2015; Carmen López González)
III. Relative clauses

(16) Relative clauses are fairly simple in Triqui. They are immediately post-nominal and they seldom involve any overt relativizer - they are **headless**.

(17) A short pause (sp) is often possible between subjects and objects in Triqui. Here, we observe a **resumptive** pronoun being used after the verb 'grab.' While resumption is required in certain Mixtec varieties, it is not strictly required in Itunyoso Triqui.

\[
\text{K-u}^4\text{nanj}^4 \text{ chu}^3\text{be}^3 \text{ ki}^3\text{-ta}^3\text{ha}^{32}=\text{chuj}^3 \ (\text{sp}) \text{ cha}^3\text{to}^3 \\
\text{PERF-run dog PERF-grab=ANIM (sp) rabbit} \\
\text{‘The dog that caught the rabbit ran.’}
\]

(18) The same speaker produced the following sentence as well and omitted the final resumptive pronoun.

\[
\text{K-u}^4\text{nanj}^4 \text{ chu}^3\text{be}^3 \text{ ki}^3\text{-ta}^3\text{ha}^{32}=\text{chuj}^3 \text{ cha}^3\text{to}^3 \text{ cha}^{43}(=\text{chuj}^3) \text{ chi}^4\text{naj}^4 \\
\text{PERF-run dog PERF-grab=ANIM rabbit PERF.eat(=ANIM) milpa.1s} \\
\text{‘The dog ran that caught the rabbit that ate my milpa.’}
\]

(19) \[
\text{ni}^4\text{hin}^4=\text{reh}1 \text{ un}^3 \text{ sinj}^5 \text{ bin}^1 \text{ sinj}^5 \text{ ki}^3\text{-ranj}^4 \text{ si}^2\text{ni}^2\text{yan}^2 \\
\text{know=2s which person be person PERF-buy first} \\
\text{ngo}^2 \text{ ka}^2\text{min}^{43} \text{ chru}^4\text{ba}^{43} \text{ chi}^3\text{yunh}^4 \text{ nan}^3 \text{ ni}^2 \text{ ta}^2\text{hnunh}^4 \\
\text{one car inside town.1p here and uncle.Q}
\]

'Do you know which person was the person that first bought a car in our town here, uncle?'

Line 4, *El primer camioneta en San Martín Itunyoso*, 10-7-14, Crescencio de la Cruz Ramírez and Pedro González Martínez

(20) Note that in (19), we do not observe a resumptive pronoun - the relative clause here is simply post-nominal.

(21) Since Triqui is VSO, relative clauses are not going to ever occur between a subject and a verb. They are most frequently clause-final.

(22) Another text example - a subject relative clause.

\[
\text{Ni}^4\text{hin}^4 \text{ ngo}^2 \text{ nej}^3 \text{ sinj}^5 \text{ bin}^1 \text{ me}^4\text{stru}^{43} \text{ nej}^3 \\
\text{know one pl person be teacher also} \\
\text{‘One of those people (who) is a teacher knows (it) as well.’}
\]

(23) Since Triqui can omit inanimate direct objects, you can still get a relative clause formed with them.

\[ \text{Ka}^3\text{han}^3 \ \text{ni}^3\text{kaj}^3=\text{unj}^3 \ \text{cha}^{43} \ \text{chu}^3\text{taj}^3 \ \text{ta}^3 \ \text{ni}^2 \ \text{PERF.go} \ \text{carry}=3\text{F} \ \text{PERF.eat} \ \text{deer} \ \text{DEM} \ \text{and} \]

'She went to bring (something that) this deer ate.'

Line 57, *El cuento del sol y la luna*, 7-2-13, Rosa Martínez Santiago

(24) If (21) seems wild to you, I also believe it is!

**IV. Subordinate-first constructions**

(25) These constructions involve a rather different syntactic structure - the subordinate clause comes *before* the main verb. This is true for several Triqui main verbs.

a. \[ \text{ra}^{43} \] 'want to'

b. all essence predicates (which also involve \( \text{ra}^{43} \))

c. \[ \text{ba}^{32} \] 'to be' (cleft construction)

d. \[ \text{bin}^{3} \] 'to be' (clausal focus)

e. \[ \text{a}^{3}\text{taj}^{2} \] 'to say'

f. \[ \text{si}^{3}\text{raj}^{3} \] 'to seem that'

g. \[ \text{hyaj}^{3} \] 'to do/make' (causative constructions)

(26) *'Want to'* constructions all involve an initial subordinate clause.

(27) \[ \text{Ka}^{1}\text{han}^{1} \ \text{ya}^{3}\text{kwej}^{3} \ \text{raj}^{4} \ \text{sa}^{3}\text{ni}^{2} \ \text{nun}^{3} \ \text{ka}^{3}\text{hbe}^{3} \ \text{ka}^{1}\text{han}^{1} \ \text{POT.go.1S} \ \text{Oaxaca} \ \text{want.1S} \ \text{but} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{POT.be.able} \ \text{POT.go.1S} \]

'I wanted to go to Oaxaca, but I couldn't go.'

(28) ...\[ \text{si}^{2} \ \text{cha}^{2}=\text{chuj}^{3} \ \text{ma}^{2}\text{han}^{3} \ \text{ra}^{43}=\text{chuj}^{3} \ \text{COMP already PERF.arrive}=3\text{M} \ \text{say}=3\text{M} \]

'...because the animal (owl) wants to eat the boy.'

(29) \[ \text{Bbe}^{4} \ \text{ku}^{2}\text{tinh}^{2}=\text{unj}^{3} \ \text{ra}^{43}=\text{unj}^{3} \ (\text{Contrastive focus construction}) \]

\[ \text{hair POT.cut}=3\text{F} \ \text{want}=3\text{F} \]

'(Her) hair she wants to cut (not the paper).'</n

(30) Other examples of constructions involving an initial subordinate clause. Some of them require the complementizer *si*.

(31) \[ \text{Si}^{3} \ \text{ba}^{1} \ \text{ku}^{3}\text{-chu}^{4}\text{man}^{43}=\text{sij}^{3} \ \text{a}^{3}\text{taj}^{2}=\text{sij}^{3} \ \text{COMP already PERF.arrive}=3\text{M} \ \text{say}=3\text{M} \]

'He’s saying that he already arrived.'

(32) \[ \text{Si}^{3} \ \text{ba}^{1} \ \text{ku}^{3}\text{-chu}^{4}\text{man}^{43}=\text{sij}^{3} \ \text{baj}^{3} \ \text{COMP already PERF.arrive}=3\text{M} \ \text{be.TOP} \]

'It’s that he already arrived.' ~ 'That he already arrived, it is.'
(33) Sa₃ni² si³ niᵗaj² ni² baj² toj³ bin³
but COMP NEG.exist and/then exist.TOP more be

k-a'chin⁴³ cchej³² ka¹han¹ si'raj³
PERF-pass road POT.go seem

'But if not, then it was later (more) than when the highway passed (was built), it seems.'
(Speaker is theorizing out-loud about when an event occurred.)

(34) But the complementizer seems to be optional for these types of sentences.

(35) Ngwi³¹ k-a'nin⁴³+ra⁴³ bin³ nej³ ngwi³¹
people PERF-stop+want be 3p people
'They were the ones (who) were thinking (that).'

(36) kweⁿta⁴³ aᵗah³ nne³²=sij³ bin³
for put.atop water=3M be
'It is for baptizing him.'

(37) be⁴ sun³² k-uᵗa³ chaᵗan³ ba³²
top work POT-cut pineapple be
'This is the work of cutting (harvesting) pineapple.'

(38) What seems to tie all of these types of verbs together? They all seem to be attitudinal predicates - they express some attitude about the actions that appear in the subordinate clause

It's that I can't finish it on time.
I want to go later on.
It seems (to me) that this is a good idea.
I think this is the right choice.

(39) But how does a verb like 'to do' fit here? Are causatives attitude predicates?

(40) Aᵗo⁴³ niⁿanj² ka³ cchih² hyaj³ che⁴³
sleep.1s always be.at 10 do/make father.1s
'My father makes me always go to sleep at 10 o'clock.'

(41) If you elicit the sentence in (40), you might get a calque of the Spanish word order. This is also grammatical.

che⁴³ hyaj³ Aᵗo⁴³ niⁿanj² ka³ cchih²
father.1s do/make sleep.1s always be.at 10
'My father makes me always go to sleep at 10 o'clock.'
The subordinate-first construction only occurs with the verb for 'want' in Copala Triqui (Broadwell, p.c.). One possibility is that this construction has extended to additional verbs in Itunyoso Triqui.

V. Subordinate-final constructions

Certain verbs require a subordinate-final construction - most of these involve a main verb of motion, but 'to ought to' also falls into this category.

(44) Ta₃hbij⁵ tu₃ku₄'minj⁴ chu₃ku³ ought.to.1s care.for.1s animal
'I should care for the animals.'

(45) Ka₃hanj¹=reh¹ ki²-ranj⁴=reh¹ ngo² chu²'che³²
PERF.go=2S POT-buy=2S one chicken
'You went to buy a chicken.'

(46) A³kinj⁵=sij³=yunj¹ ka¹han¹ tu³'kwa⁴=sij³
call=3S.OBJ POT.go.1s house=3S
'He is calling me to go to his house.' ~ 'He is inviting me to his house.'

(47) Several constructions involve verbs which just appear adjacent to one another. These seem to encode simultaneous or sequential actions.

(48) A³kwaj⁴=chuj³ ni² u⁴'nanj¹ nu¹'kwej¹=sij³ chu¹'ba⁴³ ru³'chan³ nun²²
yell=ANIM and run both=3M inside hammock be.inside

'Ve were yelling and both of the (boys) were running inside the hammock. They were both in the hammock.'

(49) A³yu³ ta³'hninj⁵ ni³'yaj² tu³'hba³ nne³², nga¹'ni² na³'ra³'hanj³,
fall little.ones cooked.corn mouth water, then PERF.collect.TOP

na³'ra³'hanj³ chaj³ ya³'hyoj³ ni²
PERF.collect.TOP PERF.eat.TOP daily and

'The grains of the boiled corn were falling into the spring and so they collected and collected them to eat every day.'

Line 44, El cuento del sol y la luna, Rosario Guzmán Flores and Nieves Lopez Guzmán

Line 23, El cuento del sol y la luna, Rosario Guzmán Flores and Nieves Lopez Guzmán
The use of multiple identical verbs in (49) - the strategy of repetition - is often used to indicate that an event has kept happening over an extended period.

However, collecting must logically precede eating. So, the events can be sequential.

'And as for these women, they were sitting and were thinking.'
~ 'And as for these women, they were sitting to think.'

DISJ = disjoint reference marking (another endoclitic)

But it appears that simultaneous states can also be marked with ni².

'Speculation: It is perhaps the case that if a single verb is the entire clause and has the same subject, speakers might prefer to avoid ni². Yet, if the clauses involve different subjects and objects, then perhaps the coordinator is used.'