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 pre-
        verbally 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
        dog   and   chicken   PL   dog   and   chicken
        'dog(s) and chicken(s)'   'the dog**s** and the chicken'
                                                              'the dogs and the chickens'

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

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

(5)   You can not use *ni²* to coordinate possessors or grammatical relations like
        subjects/objects/recipients. You must use *nga¹* for these.

(6)   Tan⁴=sij³   chu³be³   ni²   chu³che³²
        ANIM.POSS=3M   dog   and   chicken
        'His dog and <u>the</u> chicken'
        'His dog and chicken'

(7)   Tan⁴=sij³   chu³be³   nga¹ chu³che³²
        ANIM.POSS=3M   dog   with   chicken
        'His dog and chicken'

(8)   At the most basic level, strings of clauses can just be coordinated together with *ni²*.
        Incidentally, it also means that *ni²* has the function of marking clausal continuation in
        discourse, e.g. *"I saw them coming and..."*

(9)   Sa³ni² nga¹³ bin³+ra⁴³   ni²hinj³   cchra³ **ni²** baj³   nga¹   ni²hinj³
        but   when   be.worried pl.top   tortilla and   go   with   pl.top

        ni²   "kwi²hij²   ni³kaj¹=reh¹   tu³kwa⁴=nej³ **ni²**   ki¹-rih¹=reh¹"
        and   early   carry=2s   house.of=3p   and   pot-take=2s

        'But when they wanted (were worried about) tortillas, they would go with them and "you
        would go early to carry (them) from their house and (in order to) take them."

        Line 23, *Cómo vivieron antes*, 6-9-15, Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán

(11)   Note that here, we have a context and resulting consequence, e.g. "when you do x, then y
        happens", but they are just connected with *ni²*. This is followed by the use of *ni²* as a
        loose clausal connective. There is a looser relationship between 'go with them' and 'go
        early' here.

(12)   You can interpret *ni²* as something like 'then' or 'and.' It is the most common word in the
        Triqui corpus since it both connects phrases and marks a continuation in the discourse.
        However, as we see, it can not coordinate within noun phrases.

(13)   *Ni²* can also be used to separate a pre-verbal topic from the following verb. This may
        highlight the entity as the topic.

(14)   Sinh³ nan³ **ni²** ka³han³   ngo² ya³koh³   nga¹   tanj³   chu³be³
        child this and   PERF.go.TOP one   forest   with   ANIM.TOP   dog
        'So this child, he went to a forest with his dog.

        Line 28, *Rana, dónde estás?*, 6-4-17, Adolfo López Martínez

(15)   It can also be used with lists of many entities, but I do not understand how these fit into
        the syntax given the restriction on using *ni²* within noun phrases.

        a⁴ŋgo⁴³ tʃi²ko³ʔo³² ni²   ũ¹ʔũʔ¹ ta³ʔnĩh⁵=sih³ ni²   nu¹kʷeh¹ ni³ka³²=sih³ βĩ³ ttũh²
        another brother.1s and   five   child.of=3M   and   pair.of   spouse=3M   be   eight

        '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.

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

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

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

(19)

ni^{3}hin^4=reh1	un^3	sinj^5	bin^3	sinj^5	ki^3-ranj^4	si^{2}ni^{2}yan^2
know=2S	which	person	be	person	PERF-buy	first

ngo^2	ka^{3}min^{43}	chru^{4}ba^{43}	chi^{3}yunh^4	nan^3	ni^2	ta^{3}hnunh^4
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.

Ni^{3}hin^3	ngo^2	nej^3	sinj^5	bin^3	me^{4}stru^{43}	nej^3
know	one	pl	person	be	teacher	also

'One of those people (who) is a teacher knows (it) as well.'

Line 105, *El partido Morena,* 6-9-15, Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán

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

Ka³hanj³	ni³kaj³=unj³	cha⁴³	chu³taj³	ta³	ni²
PERF.go	carry=3F	PERF.eat	deer	DEM	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. ra⁴³ *'want to'*
b. all essence predicates (which also involve ra⁴³)
c. ba³² *'to be'* (cleft construction)
d. bin³ *'to be'* (clausal focus)
e. a³taj² *'to say'*
f. si³raj³ *'to seem that'*
g. hyaj³ *'to do/make'* (causative constructions)

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

(27)

Ka¹han¹	ya³kwej³	raj⁴	sa³ni²	nun³	ka²hbe³	ka¹han¹
POT.go.1S	Oaxaca	want.1S	but	NEG	POT.be.able	POT.go.1S

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

(28)

...si²	cha²=chuj³	ma²han³	ra⁴³=chuj³
because	POT.eat=ANIM	self	want=ANIM

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

(29)

Bbe⁴	ku²tinh²=unj³	ra⁴³=unj³	(Contrastive focus construction)
hair	POT.cut=3F	want=3F	

'(Her) *hair* she wants to cut (not the paper).'

(30) Other examples of constructions involving an initial subordinate clause. Some of them require the complementizer *si³*.

(31)

Si³	ba¹	ku³-chu⁴man⁴³=sij³	a³taj²=sij³
COMP	already	PERF-arrive=3M	say=3M

'He's saying that he already arrived.'

(32)

Si³	ba¹	ku³-chu⁴man⁴³=sij³	baj³
COMP	already	PERF-arrive=3M	be.TOP

'It's that he already arrived.' ~ 'That he already arrived, it is.'

(33)

Sa³ni²	si³	ni³taj²	ni²	baj²	toj³	bin³
but	COMP	NEG.exist	and/then	exist.TOP	more	be

k-a⁴chin⁴³	cchej³²	ka¹han¹	si³raj³
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-a⁴nin⁴³+ra⁴³	bin³	nej³	ngwi³¹
people	PERF-stop+want	be	3P	people

'They were the ones (who) were thinking (that).'

(36)

kwe⁴nta⁴³	a³tah³	nne³²=sij³	bin³
for	put.atop	water=3M	be

'It is for baptizing him.'

(37)

be⁴	sun³²	k-u²ta³	cha³tan³	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)

A⁴to⁴³	ni²nanj²	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	A⁴to⁴³	ni²nanj²	ka³	cchih²
father.1s	do/make	sleep.1S	always	be.at	10

'My father makes me always go to sleep at 10 o'clock.'

(42)   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

(43)   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   tu³ku⁴minj⁴   chu³ku³
        ought.to.1s   care.for.1s   animal
        'I should care for the animals.'

(45)   Ka³hanj¹=reh¹   ki²-ranj⁴=reh¹   ngo²   chu³che³²
        PERF.go=2S   POT-buy=2S   one   chicken
        'You went to buy a chicken.'

(46)   A³kinj⁵=sij³=yunj¹   ka¹han¹   tu³kwa⁴=sij³
        call=3S=1S.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   u⁴nanj⁴ nu¹kwej¹=sij³ chu⁴ba⁴³   ru³chan³   nun³²
        yell=ANIM   and   run   both=3M   inside   hammock   be.inside

        nun³²   nu¹kwej¹=sij³ ni²
        be.inside   both=3M   and

        'The rooster was yelling and both of the (boys) *were running inside and getting into* the hammock. They were both in the hammock.'

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

(49)   A³yu³ ta³hninj⁵   ni³yaj²   tu³hba³ nne³², nga¹³ni²   na³ra³hanj³,
        fall   little.ones   cooked.corn   mouth water, then   PERF.collect.TOP

        na³ra³hanj³   chaj³   ya³hyoj³   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 23, *El cuento del sol y la luna*, Rosario Guzmán Flores and Nieves Lopez Guzmán

(50)   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.

(51)   However, *collecting* must logically precede *eating*. So, the events can be sequential.

(52)   Ni²   yu³hunj²   ta³   nneh⁴   ka²nin²+roh⁴
       And   women   these   sit.DISJ   POT.stop+want.DISJ
       '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)

(53)   But it appears that simultaneous states can also be marked with *ni²*.

(54)   Na⁴nin⁴³+ra⁴³=sij³   ni²   ni³hyaj³=sij³   rian³²   tan⁴=sij³   chu³be³
       retell+want=3M   and   look.at=3M   face   ANIM.OF=3M   dog
       'He is sad and he is looking at his dog.'

(55)   So, the distinction between verbs being strung together without a coordinator and verbs being strung together without one is not so clear.

(56)   *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.