## Triqui phonetics and phonology

Linguistics 460/560
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Week 2
Professor DiCanio

## 1. Symmetry, stress, and the inventory

In languages like English, we tend not to think of phonemic contrasts in terms of stress, but in Triqui, we have to.

We talk about allophony in terms of stress though, e.g. aspiration in English.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'appear' } \\
& \text { 'paper' } \\
& \text { 'apple' } \\
& \text { ['ph }{ }^{\mathrm{h}} \text { aparri] [ } \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{\text {'thererou] }} \\
& \text { 'property' 'potato' }
\end{aligned}
$$

In Itunyoso Triqui, and in the Triqui languages more generally, all the major contrasts occur on the final syllable of roots/morphemes.

Table 3: Segments occurring in different positions in polysyllabic words

| Manner | Antepenultimate- $\sigma$ | Penultimate- $\sigma$ | Ultimate- $\sigma$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stops | t, k, k ${ }^{\text {w }}$ | $\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{n}}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$ | $\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$, ? |
| Pre-nasalized Stops |  |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d},{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{g},{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}}$ |
| Affricates | t 5 | $\mathrm{t} \int$, ( t S ${ }^{\text {S }}$ | $\mathrm{t} \int$, (ts) |
| Fricatives | S, $\int$ | S, $\int$ | (ð), s, $\mathrm{C}_{\text {, }}$, ¢ |
| Nasals | m, n | m, n | $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}$ |
| Approximants | 1, ¢ | $\beta, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{l}$, г | $\beta, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{l}$, ¢ |
| Pre-Stopped Nasals |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{n}$ |  |
| Glottalized Sonorants |  |  |  |
| Vowels | i, a, u, e ${ }^{*}, \mathrm{o}^{*}$ | i, a, u, e, o* | i, a, u, e, o, ì, ã, $\tilde{u}$ |

- We may call this type of patterning in Triqui "stress", but it differs somewhat from what some linguists may consider to be their prototype of a stress system.
"Depending on the language, stress is diagnosed in different ways: through a combination of physical properties, speaker intuitions, and phonological properties such as segmental constraints and processes. "
(p.66, Gordon and van der Hulst, 2020)
- In practice, many linguists think primarily of the physical properties and the speaker intuitions over segmental constraints and processes.
- In Triqui, since pitch is used for marking tone, pitch on the root-final syllable is not necessarily any different than on any other syllable. Pitch is not a cue for stress.
- There are additional languages motivating a perspective of stress primarily based on distributional properties rather than the physical ones.
- In Ibibio (Cross-River), Punu (Bantu), and Lulamogi (Bantu), the distribution of segmental and tonal contrasts are restricted to steminitial or word-penultimate positions, but other cues to word stress/accent are absent (Hyman, 2019).
- Hyman argues that these languages demonstrate prominence relations via distributional restrictions and patterns of reduction/assimilation.


## Phonetic patterns

In Triqui, final syllables are still longer than non-final syllables though. So, duration plays a role too. Observe the following from the chapter on Triqui prosody.


This syllable duration for disyllabic words with different coda types: /?/ $/ \mathrm{h} /$ - no coda in both utterance-final position (the right panel) and in utterance-non-final position (the left panel).

This is durational data averaged across 11 speakers and a number of different experimental trials.

Note that final syllables are about $50 \%$ longer than penults and even longer than penults in utterance-final position.

- There are both phonological and phonetic cues to stress in Triqui, but if we ignored stress, we would need to include many caveats whenever we discussed different segment types.
- If we just looked at the segmental inventory here, we might be misled to believe that everything was contrastive everywhere in the word.


## 2. The Triqui inventory

Table 1: Itunyoso Trique Consonant Inventory

|  | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Palatoalveolar | Palatal | Retroflex | Velar | Labiovelar | Glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stops | p | t, t: |  |  |  |  | k, k: | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$, $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$ : | ? |
| Pre-Nasalized |  |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d},{ }^{\text {n }} \mathrm{d}$ |  |  |  | ${ }^{7} \mathrm{~g},{ }^{\text {? }} \mathrm{g} \mathrm{g}$ | ${ }^{\text {y }} \mathrm{g}^{\text {w }}$ |  |
| Affricates |  |  |  | t $\int$, t $\int$ |  | (ts, tsp) |  |  |  |
| Fricatives |  | s, (ð) |  | ¢ |  |  |  |  | K |
| Nasals | $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{m}:$, ${ }^{\text { }} \mathrm{m}$ |  | $\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}:{ }^{\text { }}$ ? n |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pre-Stopped |  |  |  |  | ${ }^{\text {c }} \mathrm{n}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Approximants | $\beta, \beta:{ }^{3} \beta$ |  | l, le, ${ }^{1} 1$ |  | $\mathrm{j}, \mathrm{j},{ }^{\text {, }}{ }^{\text {j }}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Taps |  |  | r, ${ }^{\text {r }} \mathrm{r}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 2: Itunyoso Triqui Vowel Inventory

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Close | i, $\tilde{\mathrm{\imath}}$ |  | $\mathrm{u}, \tilde{\mathrm{u}}$ |
| Close-Mid | e | $\tilde{\rho} \sim \tilde{\partial}$ | o |
| Open |  | a |  |

## The stop system

The stop system includes $/ \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} /$. These are all voiceless stops. There are no voiced stops. In the onsets of stressed syllables, they are variably realized with some preaspiration.

| /p/ |  | /t/ |  | /k/ |  | $/ \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} /$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{pa}^{2} \mathrm{la}^{3}$ | 'lizard' | ta ${ }^{3} k{ }^{3}$ | 'hill' | $\mathrm{ka}^{3} \mathrm{si}^{3}$ | 'honey' | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{e}^{3 \mathrm{l}} \mathrm{le} \mathrm{P}^{3}$ | 'fragile' |
| pe ${ }^{3}$ Pef ${ }^{5}$ | 'infant' | $\mathrm{tij}^{3} \mathrm{ni}^{32}$ | 'nopal cactus' | $\mathrm{ku}^{3} \mathrm{t}$ ãf ${ }^{3}$ | 'porcupine' | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}{ }^{4}{ }^{\text {j }} \mathrm{juf}^{4}$ | 'raccoon' |
|  |  | ${ }_{n i}{ }^{3} \mathrm{tin}^{4}$ | 'to be roasted' | $n \mathrm{i}^{3} \mathrm{kin}^{\text {a }}{ }^{3}$ | 'to be standing' | $\mathrm{a}^{3} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{ai}^{4}$ | 'to yell' |
|  |  | $n u^{3} \mathrm{ta}^{1}$ | 'tamal' | $n e^{3} \mathrm{ka}^{3}$ | 'scissors' | $n u^{3} k^{w}$ วิ ${ }^{3}$ | 'word(s)' |

(1) $)(10)$ (2)) $(2)$ ) (2) (2) (7.) (1))

There are in fact some voiced stops and fricatives, but these occur in only a couple native words.

```
[ð] ru %ðaP }\mp@subsup{}{}{3
[y] ka }\mp@subsup{}{}{3}\mp@subsup{\textrm{aP}}{}{3
[\mp@subsup{\gamma}{}{w}] a a }\mp@subsup{}{}{\mathbf{w}}\mp@subsup{\textrm{ah}}{}{4
[yj] ni }\mp@subsup{}{}{3
ci}\mp@subsup{}{}{3}\mp@subsup{\textrm{yjai}}{}{3}~\mp@subsup{~}{i}{}\mp@subsup{}{}{3}\mp@subsup{}{}{3}\textrm{aP}\mp@subsup{}{}{3
```

'metate leg'
'1. metal 2. bottle'
'to yell'
'Tlaxiaco (town)'
'traditional stool'
'traditional stool

[ 8$] a^{3} \chi^{*} a h^{4}$
ri $^{3}{ }^{\mathbf{y} j \mathrm{P}^{3}} \sim \mathrm{ri}^{3}{ }^{3} \mathrm{ja}{ }^{3}$


Loanwords from Spanish include voiced stops and fricatives too.

| sna ${ }^{4}$ ðu ${ }^{43}$ | 'police' < estado | ${ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{da}^{4} ð \mathrm{u}^{43}$ | 'deputy of mayordomo' < diputado |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| djo ${ }^{3} \mathrm{Si}^{1}$ | 'angel' < dios | $\mathrm{pa}^{3} \mathrm{ya}^{3}$ ðo ${ }^{43}$ | 'embassador of mayordomo' < embajador |



## Affricates

- For most speakers, there is one phonemic affricate in Itunyoso Triqui - /t $\mathrm{f} /$. However, there are two additional affricate allophones.
- Older speakers distinguish a retroflex: /ts/ and a palatoalveolar /t $\mathrm{f} /$, e.g. /tseh ${ }^{32} /$ 'path' vs. /tSeh ${ }^{3} /$ 'his/their father.'
- Younger speakers have merged these two affricates to $/ \mathrm{t} \mathrm{f} /$, though you can hear a more retracted affricate sometimes before back vowels with speakers, e.g. $/ \mathrm{t} \mathrm{Jeh}^{32} /$ 'path' but /tsuñ3/ 'tree.'
- The post-dental affricate [ts] is an allophone of /t/ before /i/.


## Sonorants

- The sonorant series is rather simple: $/ \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \beta, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{j} /$.
- Note that the bilabial "fricative" is given here. It is normally produced with either no frication [ $\beta_{\mathrm{r}}$ ] or with some frication [ $\beta$ ]. However, it patterns with the sonorants.
- The "tap" actually varies quite a bit - it can be voiceless or voiced, a tap, trill, or retroflex flap: [ $\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{r}, \check{\mathrm{c}}, \stackrel{\circ}{\mathrm{c}}, \mathrm{r}]$ ].

|  | - | ()) | (0)) | (3) | -2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\beta \mathrm{e}{ }^{3}$ | $1 i^{43}$ | rã ${ }^{31}$ | $\mathrm{ju}^{3} \mathrm{Be}^{32}$ | mã ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | nã ${ }^{3}$ |
| 'house' | 'small' | 'lightning' | 'ice' | 'that (distal)' | 'this (proximal) |
| t $\mathrm{u}^{3} \mathrm{Be}^{3}$ | $\mathrm{ku}^{3} \mathrm{li}^{32}$ | $\mathrm{tfi}^{3}{ }^{\text {rah }}{ }^{5}$ | $\mathrm{ma}^{2} \mathrm{jah}{ }^{31}$ | t5u ${ }^{3} \mathrm{mã}{ }^{3}$ | $t \mathrm{t} \mathrm{i}^{3} \mathrm{neh}^{5}$ |
| 'dog' | 'magpie' | 'back, behind | 'yellow' | 'town, community' | 'cliff, precipice' |
| (2)) | 50 | (\%) | $5)^{2}$ |  |  |

## Pre-glottalization in sonorants

- There is a series of prenasalized stops in the language as well $/{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d},{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{g}$, ${ }^{\mathrm{y}} \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}} /$. These occur only in root-final syllables in native words. The velar prenasalized stop is much more common than the alveolar one.

| ${ }^{\text {n }}$ duh ${ }^{3}$ <br> 'pimple' | ${ }^{n} \mathrm{da}^{1}$ <br> 'until, up to' | $\begin{aligned} & { }^{\mathrm{n} \mathrm{go}^{2}} \\ & \text { 'one } \end{aligned}$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{ga}^{1}$ 'with' | $(0,0)$ | $\begin{aligned} & { }^{{ }^{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{w}_{\mathrm{w}}{ }^{31}} \\ & \text { 'person' } \end{aligned}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{ku}^{2 \mathrm{n}} \mathrm{du}^{3}$ | tfa ${ }^{3 n} \mathrm{go}^{4}$ | $t 5 i^{3 \mathrm{j}} \mathrm{ga}^{4}$ | tf $\mathrm{u}^{3 \mathrm{n}} \mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{w}}$ |  | $t u^{3 n} g^{w} a^{3}$ |  |
| 'short' | 'ground wasp' | 'garden' | 'world |  | 'San Jua | Mixtepec' |

## Glottalized sonorants

There are pre-glottalized sonorants in Itunyoso Triqui - all sonorants and the prenasalized stops can have a preceding glottal stop. This can occur for some consonants in word-initial position, though pre-glottalization only occurs in the root-final syllable.

| $\begin{aligned} & { }^{2} \text { nĩh } \\ & \text { 'corn' } \end{aligned}$ | ${ }^{2} n a P^{3}$ <br> 'to come' | ${ }^{3} \beta^{1}{ }^{1}$ <br> 'raw, uncooked' | $\begin{aligned} & { }^{?} \mathrm{ja}^{31} \\ & \text { 'scar } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & { }^{\text {? jah }}{ }^{3} \\ & \text { 'to do' } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{31}$ | $n a^{4} \mathrm{na}^{4}$ 「 $)$ ) | $\beta \mathrm{i}^{3} \quad$ ( $)$ ) | jã ${ }^{32}$ | jah ${ }^{32}$ |
| 'night' | 'long ago' | 'to be (equative)' | 'salt' | 'flowe |

- It can be hard to hear the contrast between plain and pre-glottalized in word-initial position when these words are in isolation. You can hear it when another word (or prefix) precedes these roots though.
- Glottalized sonorants most often occur in word-medial position - it is easier to hear the glottalization here for both Triqui speakers (and probably for the rest of us).

| $\mathrm{ta}^{3 i} n i ̃ h^{5}$ | $k a^{3}-{ }^{2} n a{ }^{3}$ | $\beta \mathrm{a}^{2}{ }^{2} \beta \mathrm{i}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{t} \mathrm{a}^{33} \mathrm{jã} \mathrm{~h}^{3}$ | $a^{3 ?} m \tilde{a}^{3}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'child of' | 'PERF-come' | 'to.be + raw' | 'coyote' | 'to heat up' |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{a}^{32 \mathrm{y}} \mathrm{ga}^{32} \\ & \text { 'to be born' } \end{aligned}$ | $\mathrm{ku}^{32 \mathrm{n}} \mathrm{diP}^{3}$ <br> 'prickly pear' | $\mathrm{to}^{3 ?} \mathrm{lo}^{3}$ <br> 'rooster' | $\text { ni }^{2 ?} \mathrm{rua}^{43}$ <br> 'much' |  |

- The IPA has not historically had a consistent practice for transcribing preglottalization or prenasalization. Linguists variably transcribe these as sequences or with superscripts, e.g. /nd/vs. $/{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{d} /, /$ nn/ vs. $/ /^{2} \mathrm{n} /$ (Keating et al. 2021).
- This variation in transcriptional practice is independent from whether the linguist is arguing that these are single segments are not.
- On the basis of many phonetic descriptions, including DiCanio (2010), Keating et al. (2021) propose superscripts for the IPA transcription of preaspiration, preglottalization, and prenasalization.
- When we're using IPA for Triqui, we'll be following this practice. However, in the transcriptional orthography, everything is written as a sequences. This is used in the dictionary and texts and later in the course.


## The marginal pre-stopped nasal

- Itunyoso Triqui has a pre-stopped nasal which begins as palatal and is released into an alveolar nasal $/ \mathrm{c} \mathrm{n} /$. It is found in a few common words, but it is undergoing loss/shift for many speakers, merging with $/ \mathrm{n} /$ or $/ \mathrm{t} /$.

```
cnãh}\mp@subsup{}{}{5
nãh
n:ãh}\mp@subsup{}{}{5
```

'brother'
(7)) nãh ${ }^{5}$
final particle expressing obligation
'to wash'

## 3. Consonant length

There is a contrast between short and long consonants, but only in the onset of monosyllabic roots. There are more contrasts among the sonorants than obstruents.

| Singleton onset | Geminate onset |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ta ${ }^{3}$ | 'this, that (discourse)' | t:a ${ }^{3}$ | 'field' |
| $\mathrm{koh}^{3}$ | 'last year' | k:oh ${ }^{32}$ | 'herb, medicinal plant' |
| $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{eh}^{4}$ | 'PERF.jump' | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}: \mathrm{eh}^{32}$ | 'edible green' |
| t $\mathrm{a}^{43}$ | 'PERF.eat' | tfini ${ }^{2}$ | 'ten' |
| tssa ${ }^{4}$ | 'neck' | ts:a ${ }^{3}$ | 'tortilla' |
| mã ${ }^{3}$ | 'this (proximate spatial)' | $\mathrm{m}: \tilde{\partial}^{4}$ | 'PERF.exist' |
| $\mathrm{nu}{ }^{32}$ | 'be.inside.of' | n: $\tilde{u}^{32}$ | 'epazote (herb)' |
| $1 i^{43}$ | 'small' | liif ${ }^{3}$ | 'a baby, small child' |
| $\beta e^{4}$ | 'TOP marker' | $\beta: e^{4}$ | 'hair' |
| jo ${ }^{3}$ | 'in front of' | j:o? ${ }^{3}$ | 'year' |




Fig. 2.—Acoustic differences between obstruents /t:/ (above) from the word [t: $\mathrm{a}^{3}$ ] 'field, plain' and $/ t /$ (below) from the word $\left[\mathrm{ta}^{3}\right]$ 'that'. Both spectrograms show windows of identical duration.

## The phonetics of length

It is hard to hear the contrast between long and short voiceless stops in Itunyoso Triqui, but when we put them in a sentence, we can hear and see the length difference.

We will normally transcribe the long consonants with a doubled consonant instead of IPA [:].

Example from DiCanio (2012a).

## Examples in context

| $\mathrm{ki}^{3}-\mathrm{ni}^{4} \mathrm{ka}^{43}$ | $\mathrm{t} f: \mathrm{i}^{2}$ | $\mathrm{tf}: \mathrm{eh}^{5} \mathrm{t}: \tilde{\mathrm{u}}^{3}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PERF-bring.1S | ten | load wood |

'I brought ten loads of wood.'

| $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{eh}^{4}$ | $\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{a}^{3} \mathrm{ta}^{32}$ | $\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{a}^{31} \mathrm{ra}^{3} \mathrm{Ra}^{3}$ | $\mathrm{tf}: \tilde{u}^{3}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PERF.jump | eagle | head arm | tree |


'The eagle flew/jumped to the tree branch.'

The length differences are robust in carrier sentences (ibid).


Fig. 3.-Fortis-lenis obstruent duration.


Fig. 4.-Fortis-lenis sonorant duration.

## Why is length only contrastive word-initially?

- Consonantal length contrasts tend to occur word-medially in languages of the world (Dmitrieva, 2012; Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996; Maddieson, 1985; Muller, 2001; Thurgood, 1993). Word-initial geminates are rare.
- Of 30 known languages with word-initial geminates, $24 / 30$ ( $80 \%$ ) also have a length contrast word-medially (Muller, 2001).
- 6/30 languages have word-initial geminates but not word-medial geminates: Pattani Malay, Sa’ban, Leti, Nhaheun, Yapese, and Itunyoso Triqui (DiCanio, 2008).


## The origin is pre-tonic vowel loss.

| Itunyoso | Chicahuaxtla | Copala | *Proto-Triqui | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\beta \beta \mathrm{e}^{32}$ | wwe ${ }^{32}$ | $\mathrm{ju}^{3} \mathrm{ve}{ }^{32}$ | */ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{we}^{32} /$ | maguey |
| $\beta \beta$ eh ${ }^{35}$ | wwe ${ }^{5}$ | $j u^{3} \mathrm{ve}^{5}$ | */ju ${ }^{3}$ weh $^{5} /$ | straw mat |
| $\beta \beta \mathrm{e}^{3}$ | wwe ${ }^{3}$ | $\mathrm{ju}^{3} \mathrm{va}^{31}$ | */ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{wa}^{31} /$ | brave |
| $\beta \beta$ eh ${ }^{3}$ | wwehe ${ }^{3}$ | ju ${ }^{3}$ vh $^{3}$ | */ju ${ }^{3}$ weh $^{3} /$ | boundary stone |
| $\beta \mathrm{I}^{3}$ | wwî ${ }^{3}$ | $a^{3} \mathrm{vi}^{32}$ | */a ${ }^{3}$ wi $^{32}$ / | to be |
| nnah ${ }^{2}$ | $n a^{2}$ nah ${ }^{2}$ | na ${ }^{2}$ nah ${ }^{2}$ | */na ${ }^{2} \mathrm{nah}^{2} /$ | slowly |
| $n n i i^{2}$ | $a^{2} n+{ }^{1}$ | ja ${ }^{3} \mathrm{ni} \mathrm{P}^{1}$ | */ja ${ }^{3} \mathrm{n}+\mathrm{P}^{1} /$ | ugly, gross |
| mmip ${ }^{3}$ | mmiri ${ }^{3}$ | ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{mi}^{3}$ | */ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{mip}{ }^{3} /$ | soap |
| $\mathrm{mmi}^{31}$ | mmi ${ }^{31}$ | $\mathrm{ju}^{3} \mathrm{mi}^{1}$ | */ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{mi}^{1} /$ | bridge |
| $\mathrm{mmi}{ }^{32}$ | $\mathrm{mmi}^{32}$ | $j u^{3} \mathrm{me}^{3}$ | */ju ${ }^{3} \mathrm{mi}^{3} /$ | sweet potato |
| ttah ${ }^{35}$ | ta ${ }^{5}$ | (u) $\operatorname{ta}^{3}$ | */ $\mathrm{u}^{3} \mathrm{ta}^{5} /$ | to be above |
| ttuh ${ }^{35}$ | $\mathrm{tu}^{5}$ | $i^{3} \mathrm{tu}^{5}$ | */i ${ }^{3}$ tuh $^{5} /$ | knot, goiter |
| ttu ${ }^{32}$ | $s i^{5} \mathrm{tu}^{2}$ | $i^{3} \mathrm{tu}^{32}$ | */i3 $\mathrm{tu}^{32} /$ | thief |
| $\mathrm{tt} \int \mathrm{ih}^{2}$ | $\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{ih}^{2}$ | (i) t i $\mathrm{ih}^{2}$ | */itsin ${ }^{2} /$ | seven |
| $\mathrm{tt} \mathrm{iP}^{2}$ | $\mathrm{t} \mathrm{i}^{2}{ }^{2}$ | (i) $\mathrm{t} \mathrm{i} \mathrm{i}^{2}$ | */itsip ${ }^{2}$ | ten |
| ttsoh ${ }^{3}$ | tsoho ${ }^{3}$ | $n i^{3} \mathrm{tsoh}^{3}$ | */ni ${ }^{3}$ ssoh $^{3} /$ | female's belt |

## But it also started pre-Triqui

| Itunyoso | Chicahuaxtla | Copala | *Proto-Triqui | *Proto-Mixtec | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nnãh ${ }^{3}$ | nnãh ${ }^{3}$ | nã ${ }^{3}$ | */nnãh ${ }^{3}$ | */jono?/ | bag |
| nnã ${ }^{32}$ | nnãhãh ${ }^{3}$ | nãh ${ }^{32}$ | */nnãh ${ }^{32}$ / | */ino?/ | cigarette |
| $\mathrm{kk}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{eh}^{3}$ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{eh}^{3}$ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{eh}^{1}$ | */kk ${ }^{\text {w }} \mathrm{eh}^{3} /$ | */lakwap/ | pus |
| $\mathrm{tta}^{3}$ | $\mathrm{ta}^{3}$ | ta ${ }^{32}$ | */tta ${ }^{32}$ / | */joðo?/ | field |
| $\beta \beta \mathrm{ih}^{2}$ | wwih ${ }^{2}$ | vih ${ }^{1}$ | */wwih ${ }^{\text {/ }}$ | */uwi/ | two |
| kkã ${ }^{3}$ | kã ${ }^{3}$ | kã ${ }^{32}$ | */kkã ${ }^{32}$ / | */jikípr / | squash |
| kka ${ }^{32}$ | $\mathrm{ka}^{32}$ | $\mathrm{ka}^{32}$ | */kka ${ }^{32}$ | */jokor/ | peg, pin |
| kkoh ${ }^{3}$ | koho ${ }^{3}$ | $\mathrm{koh}^{3}$ | */kkoh ${ }^{3}$ | */juku/ | herb |
| kkih ${ }^{3}$ | kiht ${ }^{3}$ | kih ${ }^{3}$ | */kkih ${ }^{3}$ / | */juku?/ | hill |

Note common historical */(j)V-/ on all Proto-Mixtec words from Josserand (1983).

## Similar changes in Sa'ban (Austronesian)

## TABLE 11

Syncope non-low penultimate vowels in reflexes of PKLD disyllables

| No. | PKLD | Sa'ban | English |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. | *bebhek | ppek | pounded fine |
| 2. | *bedhuk | ssuek | coconut monkey |
| 3. | *belih | bley | purchases |
| 4. | *melih | mley | to buy |
| 5. | *berat | bréet | heavy |
| 6. | *beti | ttay | calf of the leg |
| 7. | *bukuh | kkew | node, joint |
| 8. | *buyur | jjuel | too long (clothes) |
| 9. | *getimel | hmel | bedbug |
| 10. | *k-inih | hnay | this way; now |
| 11. | *me-keluk | plok | slack, as a rope |
| 12. | *lulun | lluen | roll something up |
| 13. | *muka | ngkoe | early |
| 14. | *muned | nnet | correct |
| 15. | *perek | prek | crowded, packed in |
| 16. | *pudut | dduet | way, manner; shape |
| 17. | *gerimer | mmel | to wrinkle |

- Proto-Kelabit-Lun-Dayeh (Northern Sarawakan; Austroniesian) had longer words.
- Stress shifted to final syllables and pre-tonic high vowels were lost, conditioning gemination in only monosyllables in the language (Blust 2001, p.288).
- Sound familiar?


## 4. Vowel contrasts and nasalization

- There are five oral vowels in Triqui: /i, e, a, o, $\mathbf{u} /$ and three nasal vowels /ĩ, ã, ũ/.
- The quality of the low nasal vowel is [乞̃], not [ã].
- Contrastive nasalization on vowels is restricted to... the final syllable of the root.

kkih ${ }^{3}$ 'mountainside'「 0 ) kkĩh ${ }^{3}$
'corn masa/dough'
$\mathrm{kka}^{32}$ 'espiga de maíz' $\longleftarrow$ ) $\mathrm{kk}^{3}{ }^{3} \quad$ 'sandal'


Nasalization is equally contrastive before a coda glottal consonant as it is in open syllables.

## Progressive and contrastive nasalization

- After nasal consonants, high vowels are obligatorily nasalized [ĩ, ũ], but this does not happen with low vowels [e, o, a].

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { nu } \tilde{u}^{32} \\
& \mathrm{a}^{3} n \tilde{1}^{3} \\
& \text { 'to be inside' }
\end{aligned}
$$

- There is a phonological contrast between a nasal and non-nasal low vowel after a nasal consonant.
nã ${ }^{4}$ 'sunbeam'
$\mathrm{na}^{4} \quad$ 'a long time ago'
$a^{4} n a ̃ h^{4}$
'to weave'
$a^{4}$ nah $^{4} \quad$ 'to work the field'


## Regressive nasalization spreading

- Nasalization spreads from a final vowel onto preceding syllables if the intervening consonants are glottal consonants or a glide.

| /jã ${ }^{32}$ / | 'salt' | $>$ | [ja $\left.{ }^{32} \sim \mathrm{nax}^{32}\right]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left(\beta \mathrm{r}^{3} /\right.$ | 'to be' | $>$ | $\left[\beta \mathrm{i}^{3} \sim \mathrm{mi}^{3}\right]$ |
| $/ \mathrm{ra}^{3} \uparrow \mathrm{a}^{3} /$ | 'mushroom' | $>$ | [ra่ ${ }^{3} \sim^{3}{ }^{3}$ ] |
| /tji ${ }^{3} \mathrm{j}^{\text {a }}{ }^{5} /$ | 'town, place' | $>$ |  |
| $/ \mathrm{ki}^{3} \mathrm{j} \mathrm{ja}^{3} /$ | 'party, festival' | > |  |

## 5. Glottal consonants

- The glottal stop occurs as an onset in final root syllables, e.g. $/ \mathrm{ra}^{3} \mathrm{Ra}^{3} /$ 'hand.' These are disyllabic words in Itunyoso Triqui since you can get sequences of different vowels and you observe syllable-final lengthening, $\left[\mathrm{ra}^{3} . \mathrm{aa}:^{3}\right]$.
- There is an important contrast among words which end with a $/ \mathrm{R} / \mathrm{/} / \mathrm{h} /$, and no coda. This distinguishes many words in the Triqui lexicon -about $\mathbf{5 0 \%}$ of all roots end with a glottal coda.
- Glottal codas are the only codas permitted in the language. It is typologically very rare for $/ \mathrm{h} /$ to only occur as a coda, not an onset.


## Final glottal contrasts

- Non-final syllables do not have codas and always have short vowels.
- Final syllables either have short vowels with a glottal coda, /ah, a?/, or a long vowel /a:/. Since the length is predictable (via the absence of a coda), it is not usually transcribed.


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{a}^{32 \mathrm{j} \mathrm{~g}} \mathrm{ga}^{32} \\
& \mathrm{a}^{33 \mathrm{j}} \mathrm{ga}^{3} \\
& \mathrm{a}^{33 \mathrm{j}} \mathrm{gah}^{3}
\end{aligned}
$$

'to be born'
$a^{3} \mathrm{ta}^{3}$
'to laugh'
'to be hurting'
$a^{3} \mathrm{ta}^{3}$
$a^{3} \operatorname{tah}^{2}$
'to carry/load'
'to lift up on top'
'to say'


## Lenited vs. non-lenited glottal stops


$n^{3}{ }^{2} e h^{3}$ 'child'
nne? ${ }^{3}$ 'straw rope'
Figures from DiCanio (2012a)

## Variation in glottal stops

Medial glottal stops can be realized with complete closure (above)
or without complete closure (below)
$/ t \cdot a^{3} \mathrm{Pu}^{1 /}$
'barn owl / tecolote'

Both sound like they have closure, right?



But medial glottal stops can also be realized with nonmodal phonation (creak, vocal fry, diplophonia)
or only very subtle visible changes in voice quality
$/ \mathrm{ni}^{3} \mathrm{il}^{3} /$
'to know / saber~conocer'

to know

The final /h/ also varies in its production - it can be variably realized as [h] or [ f$]$, with the latter being more common.

Aspiration starts here.
5.999146
~non-modifiable copy of sound
Voicing persists here.

$\left[a^{4} n \partial \tilde{} h^{4}=\tilde{u} h^{3}\right]$ 'she is weaving'


## Final glottal consonants and tone

- Final glottal consonants both restrict the range of tonal contrasts and influence the phonetics of tone production (DiCanio 2012b, DiCanio et al. 2020).

Table 4: The distribution of Itunyoso Triqui tones in relation to glottal consonants

| Tone | Open $\sigma$ |  | Coda /h/ |  | Coda / $/$ |  | /VPV(6)/ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /4/ | $\beta \beta e^{4}$ | 'hair' | yã ${ }^{4}$ | 'dirt' | t $\int \mathrm{i} \mathrm{P}^{4}$ | 'our ancestor' | гã ${ }^{4}$ Pã ${ }^{4}$ | 'to dance' |
| /3/ | nne: ${ }^{3}$ | 'plough | yã ${ }^{3}$ | 'paper' | tsip ${ }^{3}$ | 'pulque' | nã ${ }^{3}$ ã $\bigcap^{3}$ | 'limestone' |
| /2/ | nne: ${ }^{2}$ | 'to lie' | nã ${ }^{2}$ | `again' & \(\mathrm{tt} \int \mathrm{i} \mathrm{P}^{2}\) & '10' & \(t a^{2} \mathrm{~Pa}^{2}\) & 'some, half \\ \hline /1/ & nne: \({ }^{1}\) & 'naked' & kã \({ }^{1}\) & 'naked' & \(\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{i} \mathrm{P}^{1}\) & `sweet' | na ${ }^{1} a^{1}$ | 'shame' |  |  |
| /45/ |  |  | nã¢ ${ }^{45}$ | 'to wash' |  |  | nã ${ }^{3}$ Pã ${ }^{45}$ | 'I return' |
| /13/ | $\beta \beta \mathrm{i}^{13}$ | 'two of them' | nã¢ ${ }^{13}$ | 'this (one)' |  |  | kã ${ }^{1}$ ã $h^{3}$ | 'four of them' |
| /43/ | $\mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{e} \mathrm{s}^{43}$ | 'my father' | nnã ${ }^{43}$ | 'mother! (voc.)' |  |  | $\mathrm{ko}^{4} \mathrm{Po}{ }^{43}$ | 'to drink' |
| /32/ | nne: ${ }^{32}$ | 'water' | nnãfi ${ }^{32}$ | `cigarette' |  |  | sã ${ }^{3}$ Pã ${ }^{2}$ | 'money' |
| /31/ | nne: ${ }^{31}$ | 'meat' |  |  |  |  | $k \tilde{a}^{3}$ ?ã ${ }^{1}$ | 'wind, breath' |

## Final glottal contrasts and morphology

- This contrast is rather important in Triqui morphology.

```
a}\mp@subsup{a}{}{3}\mp@subsup{ta}{}{3}\quad\mathrm{ 'to carry/load'
a}\mp@subsup{\mathbf{3}}{}{3}\mp@subsup{\operatorname{ah}}{}{5}\quad'I carry'
a}\mp@subsup{}{}{3}\mp@subsup{\operatorname{tah}}{}{3}\quad\mathrm{ 'they (mentioned) carry'
a}\mp@subsup{}{}{3
```

Note that $/ \mathrm{a} />/ \mathrm{o} /$ with the $1^{\text {st }}$ person plural, but other vowels do not change.

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