Week 4
The morphosyntax of pronominal clitics

Linguistics 460/560
Structure of Itunyoso Triqui
Professor DiCanio
I. What’s a clitic?

• An affix is usually sensitive to the part of speech onto which it attaches.

  happen-*ed*   verbal tense suffix
  sing-*er-s*    agentive suffix (applies to verbs)
                 and plural suffix (applies to nouns)

• A clitic, on the other hand, is usually more promiscuous in where it attaches.

  the [child]’s book = book of child
  the [man with the yellow hat]’s monkey ≠ monkey of hat
Classic work on clitics

- Classic work on clitics examined how English negation functions as a clitic (Zwicky & Pullum 1983).

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I can’t go} = \quad \text{I can not go} \\
& \text{Can’t you go?} = \quad \ast \text{Can not you go?} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quan
Other types of clitics

Romance clitics in Spanish

(1) \([\text{Da]}=\text{me}=\text{lo}\)  
    *\([\text{Da}\ a\ \text{Juan}=\text{lo}\)  
    \([\text{Dálo\ a\ Juan}]\)  
    \(\text{give.INDIC}=1\text{S.IO}=3\text{S.DO}\)  
    \(\text{give.INDIC\ to\ Juan}=3\text{S.DO}\)  
    ‘give it to me’  
    ‘give it to Juan’

(2) \([\text{Te}=\text{lo}]=[\text{iba\ a\ decir}]\ \text{antes.}\)  
    \(2\text{S.IO}=3\text{S.DO}=\text{go.IMP\ to\ tell\ before}\)  
    ‘I was going to tell it to you before.’
What do these things have in common?

• They need to attach to a word – they **can not occur in isolation**  
  *syntax/morphology*

• They are mostly **prosodically-deficient** (non stress-bearing)  
  *phonology*

• The ordering of the stem and clitic might be different than the ordering found with the matching non-clitic form.  
  *morphology/syntax*

• Unlike affixes, they are **non-selective** in what they attach to.  
  *morphology/syntax*
Is it about their syntax or their phonology?

• Phonologists

  Oh, I don’t know how you would characterize these. Ask the syntacticians. Oh look! There’s neat assimilation and tone and...

• Syntacticians

  It boils down to the phonology.
  (Haspelmath 2023, J.P. Koenig, last week)
Clitics in Otomanguean languages

• Pronominal clitics are a huge topic in Otomanguean phonology, morphology, and syntax. They are clitics or clitic-like in most Otomanguean languages and often cause phonological changes on stems.

• Macaulay argues that the Chalcatongo Mixtec pronouns are clitics (or phrasal affixes), contra earlier descriptions by Pike (1944, 1949) who argued that they were simply phonologically-reduced versions of full pronouns (Macaulay 1987).

• Her analysis is based on the observation that the bound pronouns attach either to verbs or to post-verbal adverbial modifiers (non-selectivity).
• Marlett (1993) argues that one must distinguish between *prosodic* and *syntactic independence* in the categorization of Zapotec pronouns.

• Those which are prosodically independent may appear in several positions, such as in isolation. Prosodically independent pronouns are always syntactically-independent.

• Those which are syntactically independent are permitted to occur after non-pronominal subjects.

• Hollenbach’s work on Copala Trique (1984) is more inconclusive as to the status of bound pronouns. Phrase-final pronouns are argued to be simple clitics that apply late in the stages of word derivation, but appear similar to affixes.
So, it’s morphosyntax?

Morphosyntactic arguments for clitic-hood appear in work on Tataltepec Chatino (Sullivant, 2015), Zacatepec Eastern Chatino (Villard, 2015), Teotepec Eastern Chatino (McIntosh, 2016), Zenzontecpec Chatino (Campbell, 2014), Betaza Zapotec (Teodocio Olivares, 2009), Guienagati Zapotec (Benn, 2021), Zoochina Zapotec (López Nicolas, 2016), and Chocho (Mock, 1982).

Yet, it is the prosodic criteria for clitic-hood that are highlit in many other sources on Otomanguean languages.
Or phonology?

• All else being equal, we expect stems with affixes to comprise a prosodic domain smaller than that of the cliticized word (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Vogel, 2009).

• The prosodic word can be iterative and the clitic group comprises the largest grouping here (Anderson 2005).
Two types of iterative prosodic words

PrWd’=CW

PrWd

σ

Ft

σ

CV

σ

σ

CV

CV

CV

Concatenative iterative prosodic word

PrWd’=CW

PrWd

(T)

Ft

σ

CV

σ

σ

CV

CV

Non-concatenative iterative prosodic word (b/c tone)

CW = cliticized word
For Zingler, it is **non-selectivity** (morphosyntax) that is the crucial criterion for clitic-hood.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Anti-clitic</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Weak word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent phonological word</td>
<td>Partly</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound to a domain</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound to a specific word class</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

“‘Clitics’ will be defined as morphemes that can occur with hosts from different word classes but that are dependent on that host domain in terms of at least one parameter of phonological wordhood.”

(Zingler 2022)
Haspelmath (2023)

• Zingler leaves open the range of patterns that could comprise a clitic, including morphemes that alter the phonological shape of their host.
  • **Pro/enclitics** which attach to their hosts without conditioning changes.
  • **Endoclitic** which are hard to phonologically separate from a host.

• Haspelmath argues...

  “**Forms are continuous segment sequences**, which excludes the possibility of “tonal morphs” (Haspelmath 2020: §4). This also means that there can be no tonal clitics, as has occasionally been suggested (e.g. Van de Velde 2009).”
What’s a **form**?

- For Haspelmath, all true clitics must be **morphs**. These are **forms**.

- All morphs are separable from each other – they must be interpreted as concatenative (c.f. Haspelmath 2020).

- "roots by definition are segment sequences”

- This means that there are *no endoclitics* by Haspelmath’s definition, since clitics must be analyzeable as sequences.
So... it’s phonology?

- A lot of these arguments here rest on looking at non-fusional morphology, but fusional processes can be analyzed concatenatively.

---

“Now that’s a clitic, Christian.”

“That’s not a clitic, Christian.”

---

\[ \text{PrWd}' = \text{CW} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{PrWd} \\
\text{Ft} \\
\sigma \sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{CV} \\
\text{CV}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{PrWd} \\
\text{Ft} \\
\sigma \sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{CV} \\
\text{CV}
\end{array} \]

---

\[ \text{PrWd}' = \text{CW} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{PrWd} \\
\text{Ft} \\
\sigma \sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\sigma
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{CV} \\
\text{CV}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[feature]} \\
\end{array} \]

---

“That’s not a clitic, Christian.”

“Now that’s a clitic, Christian.”
Where does that leave us?

• In many contexts where authors have argued that it is the phonological criteria for clitic-hood that defines them, they demonstrate that endoclitics do not have non-selectivity.

• In other words, they draw a close link between the fact that a clitic has “fused” to a stem and its now affixal behavior.

• That means we should minimally show distinct morphosyntactic and phonological properties of Triqui pronouns to demonstrate how they fit.

(or maybe just show how they work)
Some “criteria” for clitics (Zwicky & Pullum)

1. Clitics are non-selective in the part of speech they attach to, whereas affixes are sensitive to part of speech.
2. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have accidental or paradigmatic gaps.
3. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have idiosyncratic phonological shapes.
4. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have idiosyncratic semantics.
5. Syntactic rules affect affixed words, but not clitic+host combinations.
6. Only clitics may attach to material already containing clitics.
II. Triqui pronouns

Triqui pronouns comprise different types

1. All speech-act participant pronouns (1s, 2s, 1DU) modify the shape of the stem in some way. These are called **endoclitics**.

2. Remaining pronouns (1P.INCL, 1P.EXCL, 3M, 3F, 3ANIM) do not modify the shape of the stem. These are called **enclitics**.

3. Plural pronouns are somewhat compositional (clitic-doubling) and are also **enclitics**.
There should be no assumption that all pronominal elements in Otomanguean languages behave uniformly as a type. Some are clitics, some are independent pronouns, and some straddle the line between enclitic and endoclitic, all within the same language. Itunyoso Triqui is no different in this regard. There is a well-motivated distinction between two types of dependent pronouns: those marking speech act participants (1s, 2s, 1du) and those marking 3rd person and other plural referents. The former class consists of endoclitics which change the tonal and phonological properties of the stems they attach to, while the latter class consists entirely of enclitics which do not change the stem’s phonological shape. The speech act participant class also has several additional grammatical properties distinct from the class of enclitics. In her dissertation, Hollenbach describes what we might call the “endoclitic class” in Copala Triqui as a class of enclitics which condition word-external morphology, but does not mention that these target a distinct prosodic constituent from the normal enclitics (Hollenbach, 1984).

Separate from these two morphological classes, there is a distinction between aforementioned, topical, and topically-contrastive 3rd person pronouns marked via tone on stems or existing enclitics. We discuss this more in-depth in the chapter on information structure, though it has a complex morphophonology. Unlike the enclitics, which are dependent pronouns, the objective case and generic plural pronouns are independent.

### 3.1 Grammatical distinctions in pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²</td>
<td>‘to bathe (oneself)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a⁴neh⁴</td>
<td>‘I am bathing myself’</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>endoclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne¹³</td>
<td>‘we (DU) bathe ourselves’</td>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>endoclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²=ũh⁴</td>
<td>‘we (EXCL) bathe ourselves’</td>
<td>1.EXCL</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²=neʔ⁴</td>
<td>‘we (INCL) bathe ourselves’</td>
<td>1.INCL</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne¹=reʔ¹</td>
<td>‘you bathe yourself’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>endoclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²=sih³</td>
<td>‘he bathes himself’</td>
<td>3.MASC</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²=ũh³</td>
<td>‘she bathes herself’</td>
<td>3.FEM</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³²=tʃuh³</td>
<td>‘it bathes itself’</td>
<td>3.ANIM</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³² (a³)ni²ʔi³⁴=reʔ¹</td>
<td>‘you (pl) bathe yourselves’</td>
<td>PL=2</td>
<td>compositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ a³ne⁵=ḥreʔ¹</td>
<td>‘you (pl) bathe yourselves’</td>
<td>PL=2</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³² (a³)ni²ʔi³⁴=sih³</td>
<td>‘they (masc) bathe themselves’</td>
<td>PL=MASC</td>
<td>compositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³² (a³)ni²ʔi³⁴=ũh³</td>
<td>‘they (fem) bathe themselves’</td>
<td>PL=FEM</td>
<td>compositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³ne³² (a³)ni²ʔi³⁴=tʃuh³</td>
<td>‘they (anim) bathe themselves’</td>
<td>PL=ANIM</td>
<td>compositional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1 Forms of the plural

- Several types of indefinite quantifiers can occur where “plural” occurs.

- neh³: plural/generic, occurs in isolation or w/clitic
- (a³)niʔ²: plural, occurs w/clitic
- nu¹kʷeh¹: dual/‘pair of’, occurs w/clitic
- ni²ʔrua⁴³: many/much, occurs in isolation or w/clitic
Are plural pronouns clitics or independent pronouns?

(3)  \[
K\text{"ã³ʔã³h}^2 = \text{neh}^3 = \text{sih}^3 \\
\text{PERF.} \text{leave} = \text{PL} = 3\text{M} \\
\text{‘They left’} \sim \text{‘They have left.’}
\]

(4a)  \[
*\text{Neh}^3 = \text{sih}^3 \text{ k\text{"ã³ʔã³h}^2} \\
\text{PL} = 3\text{M} \quad \text{PERF.} \text{leave} \\
\text{‘They left’}
\]

(4b)  \[
\text{Juan k\text{"ã³ʔã³h}^2} \\
\text{Juan PERF.} \text{leave} \\
\text{‘Juan left.’}
\]
Or are they pro-clitics?

(5)  neh³ sᵢʔ³ kã³ʔah²
     3P   child   PERF.go

‘The children left’ ~ ‘(It was) the children (who) left.’

(6)  *neh³ kã³ʔah²
     3P   PERF.go

‘They left’ ~ ‘(It was) they (who) left.’
2.2 Non-selectivity in pronouns

- To demonstrate non-selectivity in the pronoun system, we will want to both look at
  - how pronouns attach to different parts of speech
  - how so-called clitics differ from other full noun phrases

- The second sub-criterion is important if we want to claim that a clitic is essentially a syntactic element just like a full NP is.
Both endoclitics and enclitic apply at the right edge.

(7) $ki^3$-$nĩ^3ʔĩh^5$
    PERF-know/see.1S
    ‘I knew (it)’

(8) $ki^3$-$nĩ^3ʔi^3 = sih^3$
    PERF-know/see = 3M
    ‘He knew (it)’
But an adverb can intervene after the verb!

(9) \( \text{ki}^3-\text{nī}^3\text{rī}^3 \quad \text{ni}^2\text{rua}^{43} = \text{sih}^3 \)
    \begin{align*}
    &\text{PERF-know/see} \quad \text{much} = 3\text{M} \\
    &\text{‘He knew/saw a lot’}
    \end{align*}

(10) \( \text{ki}^3-\text{nī}^3\text{rī}^3 \quad \text{ni}^2\text{ruah}^4 \)
    \begin{align*}
    &\text{PERF-know/see} \quad \text{much}.1\text{s} \quad \text{The adverb now has the} \\
    &\text{endoclitic.} \\
    &\text{‘I knew/saw a lot’}
    \end{align*}
These are all verbs though...

The same exact pronouns apply to nouns.

(11) ra³ʔah⁵
hand.1s
‘my hand’

(12) ra³ʔa³ = sih³
hand = 3M
‘his hand’

(13) si³-ku⁴³
POSS’D-bone.1s
‘my bone’

(14) si³-kuh⁵ = sih³
POSS’D-bone = 3M
‘his bone’
...and to prepositions

(15) tʃi³ʔih⁵  
    about.1s  
    ‘about me’

(16) tʃi³ʔi⁴ = sih³  
    about = 3M  
    ‘about him’

(17) ⁿgah¹  
    with.1s  
    ‘with me’

(18) ⁿga¹ = sih³  
    with = 3M  
    ‘with him’

N.B. All 3rd person pronouns look identical to 3M here.
...and even to numbers

(19) \( \eta \text{go}^2 = \tilde{\text{u}}h^3 \)  
one = 3\text{F}  
‘one of them (fem)’

(20) \( \eta \text{go}^2 \)  
one = 1\text{DU}  
‘one of us two’

(21) \( \eta \text{go}^2 = \tilde{\text{u}}h^4 \)  
one = 1.\text{EXCL}  
‘one of us (not including you)’
2.3 Independence in pronouns

• None of the pronouns are permitted to occur in isolation, but we can only determine this if we look at fronted noun phrases.

• When an entity is *under focus*, it occurs in the pre-verbal position. Instead of the typical VSO word order in Triqui, we get SVO or OVS.

\[(22)\quad \text{Ku}^3-\text{tʃu}^4\text{mā}^43 \text{ Basi ni}^3\text{kjā}^5\]
\[
\text{PERF-arrive Basi Tlaxiaco}
\]
\[
\text{‘Basileo arrived in Tlaxiaco.’}
\]

\[
\text{VSO – normal word order}
\]

\[
(23) \quad \text{Basi ku}^3-\text{tʃu}^4\text{mā}^43 \text{ ni}^3\text{kjā}^5
\]
\[
\text{Basi PERF-arrive Tlaxiaco}
\]
\[
\text{‘Basi arrived in Tlaxiaco.’}
\]

\[
\text{SVO – answer to ‘who arrived?’}
\]
What’s an independent pronoun?

• In certain languages with *clitic* pronouns, there may be separate independent words that are free morphemes and not clitics, e.g. Zacatepec Mixtec (Towne et al 2011).

(24)  
\[ \text{Ndē'o ra. vimos:nosotros él Lo vimos.} \]

Rakan ndē'o. ése vimos:nosotros Vimos a ese señor.

(25)  
\[ \text{Ndē'e ra yo. vio él nosotros Él nos vio.} \]

Rakan ndē'e yo. ése vio nosotros Ese señor nos vio.

• **Itunyoso does not have independent pronouns.** If you wish to place the pronoun under focus, the clitics must attach to the word for ‘self’ /māʔa³/, e.g. māʔa³=sih³ ‘He ~ he, himself.’
Any attempt to make the clitic independent results in the mā²ʔā³ construction being used, as these examples show.

(26)  se⁴ mā²ʔāh⁵ ki³-rāh³, xwā⁴³ ki³-rāh³ tʃu³tʃe³²
    NEG.EXIST self.1s PERF-buy, Juan PERF-buy chicken

‘It wasn’t me who bought (it), Juan bought the chicken.’

(27)  se⁴ mā²ʔāh⁵ kʷeh³ rī³² tʃi³ŋa⁴, mā²ʔā⁴=re⁷¹ kʷeh³ rī³²
    NEG.EXIST self.1s PERF.jump face fence, self=2s PERF.jump face
    tʃi³ŋa⁴
    fence

‘It wasn’t me who jumped over the fence, you jumped over the fence.’
3.2.2 Clitic pronouns under focus

Clitic pronouns may not occur in isolation. One context pertinent for this is informational focus. Both argument/narrow focus and contrastive focus in Itunyoso Triqui require that the argument occur in the pre-verbal position. Importantly, neither endoclitics and enclitics may occur in this position. When these occur under focus, they must attach to the Triqui word for ‘self’ /\m̃\a P\̃ a/32, as we observe in examples (26) and (27). The initial example also demonstrates that full NPs may appear under focus pre-verbally without this word. Under no circumstances may a clitic occur in pre-verbal position without a preceding stem, i.e. sentences like (28) are impossible, but (29) is permitted.

(26) \se\4 neg.exist \m̃\a P\̃ a \ki\3 \ji\4 \ka\5 \ki\3 \mi\2 \t\̃ \ka\5 \ka\5 .

‘It wasn’t me who bought (it), Juan bought the chicken.’

(27) \se\4 neg.exist \m̃\a P\̃ a \ki\3 \ka\5 \ka\5 \pe\4 \hi\4 \t\̃ \ka\5 \ka\5 ,

‘It wasn’t me who jumped over the fence, you jumped over the fence.’

(28) *\s\i\h\3 \ki\3 \ji\4 \t\tu\2 \t\ja\3 \ka\5 3\s \PERF\-do \thievery \pig

‘He stole the pig.’

(29) \m\a\2 \a\3 \= \s\i\h\3 \ki\3 \ji\4 \t\tu\2 \t\ja\3 \ka\5 \s\elf=3\s \PERF\-do \thievery \pig

‘He stole the pig.’
Clitics can attach to topic markers too

(30) \( \betaeh^5 \, kā^2ʔāh^2 \, ka^2-ʔna^2 \)
TOP.1S POT.go POT-come

‘As for me, I will go and return.’

(31) \( \betae^4=sih^3 \, ki^3-ʔjah^3 \, ttu^2 \, tʃa^3kah^5 \)
TOP=3S PERF-do thievery pig

‘It was him who stole the pig.’
Pronouns are always dependent and non-selective

- The examples here demonstrate that pronouns are always dependent on a host in Triqui, regardless of where they occur.

- They are also always non-selective – there are no constraint on the type of constituent which they may apply to.

- What other criteria might be important for “clitic-hood”? 34
Other criteria

2. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have accidental or paradigmatic gaps. OK
3. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have idiosyncratic phonological shapes. OK
4. Affixes are more likely than clitic+host combinations to have idiosyncratic semantics. WEIRD
5. Syntactic rules affect affixed words, but not clitic+host combinations. UNCLEAR (prefix vs “suffix”)
6. Only clitics may attach to material already containing clitics. OK
On the weird criteria

• Since the only other affixes in Triqui are possessed prefixes on nouns and verbal prefixes, it is rather odd to compare prefixal morphology with what might be suffixal.

• The clitics do not appear to have any idiosyncratic semantics – they are always just marking person.

• This differs a little from the causative/iterative derivational prefixes on verbs, but the inflectional (aspect) or possessed (nominal) prefixation also lacks idiosyncratic semantics.
Some idiosyncratic derivational morphology

- Some of the derivational prefixes (/tu-/ for causatives, /n(a)-/ for iteratives) result in idiosyncratic meanings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underived verb</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a₄ⁿ₁ⁿ₄</td>
<td>n-a₄ⁿ₁ⁿ₄</td>
<td>‘to open, uncover’</td>
<td>‘to revive (a person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri₃²</td>
<td>na₃ᵻ₃ᵻ₄</td>
<td>‘to take out, to get’</td>
<td>‘to draw or print’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃi₃ⁿ₁ⁿ₄</td>
<td>tu₃ᵗʃi₃ⁿ₁ⁿ₄</td>
<td>‘to reproduce, have sex’</td>
<td>‘to overplay/copy (music, forms)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a₄ᵗₙ₄</td>
<td>tu₃k₳₄ᵗₙ₄</td>
<td>‘to enter’</td>
<td>‘to sneak someone in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a₃kʷₙ₄</td>
<td>tu₃k₳₃kʷₙ₄</td>
<td>‘to yell’</td>
<td>‘to honk at (in a car)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What about clitic doubling?

Only pronouns appear to be able to attach to words with clitics.

This would suggest that these are indeed clitics instead of affixes.
And idiosyncratic phonology?

• There is a *lot* of idiosyncratic phonology associated with the endoclitics in Itunyoso Triqui (to come next week).

• At least for the things labelled “enclitic”, they seem to pass the “clitic test” and would be considered proper clitics.

• The category of *endoclitic* is tougher though.
# Summary of criteria for clitic-hood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Endoclitics</th>
<th>Enclitics</th>
<th>Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-selectivity</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosodic independence</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntactic independence</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradigmatic gaps</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiosyncratic phonology</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clitic doubling</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idiosyncratic semantics</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensitive to syntactic rules</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


