

**Verbal morphology: derivational prefixes**  
 Linguistics 460/560 - The structure of Itunyoso Triqui  
 Week 5  
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- (1) Triqui has two (possibly 3) derivational prefixes that can also apply to verb roots. These prefixes interact in nuanced ways with the use of tone as a marker of verb aspect.

**I. The Iterative prefix**

- (2) The iterative prefix (or repeated action, e.g. re- in English re-consider, re-analyze) can be applied to many Triqui verbs. It is productive and has the shape /n(a)/-. The allomorphy associated with the prefix is similar to that of the aspectual prefixes: /n-/ for vowel-initial roots but /na-/ for consonant-initial ones.

Root	Gloss	Iterative stem	Gloss
a <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'to fill'	na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'to refill'
a <sup>3</sup> tʃãɾ <sup>3</sup>	'to be folded'	na <sup>3</sup> tʃãɾ <sup>3</sup>	'to be/get refolded'
a <sup>4</sup> tʃɪ <sup>43</sup>	'to pass by'	na <sup>4</sup> tʃɪ <sup>43</sup>	'to move (to a new home)'
a <sup>4?</sup> nĩh <sup>4</sup>	'to open something up'	na <sup>4?</sup> nĩh <sup>4</sup>	'to revive someone'
a <sup>3</sup> kĩh <sup>5</sup> + nneh <sup>3</sup>	'to ask for' + 'dream'	na <sup>3</sup> kĩh <sup>5</sup> nneh <sup>3</sup>	'to yawn (to re-ask for a dream)'
k-u <sup>3</sup> tĩɾ <sup>3</sup>	'PERF-slice'	na <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> tĩɾ <sup>3</sup>	'to re-slice'
tu <sup>4?</sup> βeh <sup>4</sup>	'to sell'	na <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>4?</sup> βeh <sup>4</sup>	'to resell'
nĩ <sup>3</sup> ɾĩ <sup>3</sup>	'to know, see'	na <sup>3</sup> nĩ <sup>3</sup> ɾĩ <sup>3</sup>	'to recognize'

- (3) This prefix usually attaches to verbs which are aspectually unmarked, but in some cases it seems to apply to verbs which already are marked for aspect, e.g. k-u<sup>3</sup>tĩɾ<sup>3</sup> 'have sliced'. I am not sure of the conditions on this, but my suspicion is that it has to do with these types of verbs being achievement predicates (and thus requiring overt aspect marking?)

- (4) riã<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>?</sup>1 nĩh<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>3</sup>-<sup>?</sup>na<sup>?</sup>3 ta<sup>2</sup>mãh<sup>3</sup> ?na<sup>?</sup>3 ttʃeh<sup>32</sup>  
 place iter-follow steep perf-come upto.there come path  
 'Where it re-descends, having come up to there, (so) the path went.'  
 (Speaker describing the location of a person who died.)

- (5) On imperfective verbs (aspectually-unmarked), the prefix /n(a)<sup>3</sup>-/ has tone /3/, but this changes with the potential aspect (see IV below).
- (6) The iterative is fairly productive - it seems to apply to all sorts of verbs and speakers will use it regularly.

## II. The historical prefix /n(a)-/

(7) Not all prefixes with /n(a)-/ are iteratively-marked verbs. Instead, it seems like a set of words have a /n(a)-/ prefix that reflects a historical stative.

(8) Historical stative or causative? morphology

Root	Gloss	Stative stem	Gloss
tʃi <sup>4?</sup> nĩh <sup>4</sup>	‘to be clear, cloudless’	na <sup>3</sup> tʃi <sup>4?</sup> nĩh <sup>4</sup>	‘to open’
βi <sup>3</sup>	‘to be (equative)’	na <sup>3</sup> βi <sup>3</sup>	‘to become’
βāh <sup>4</sup>	‘to dig (in soil)’	na <sup>3?</sup> mā <sup>4</sup>	‘to sink (intr)’
a <sup>3</sup> tʃeh <sup>5</sup>	‘to walk’	na <sup>3</sup> tʃeh <sup>5</sup>	‘to be displaced’ (a bone, a thorn)
ni <sup>1</sup> aʔ <sup>1</sup>	‘pretty’	na <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>3</sup> aʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to be washed (one’s body)’
ra <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup>	‘hand’	na <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup>	‘to get married (in a church)’

(9) It is likely that this prefix is cognate with the historical Mixtecan causative prefix \*nda-, c.f. forms /ðá-/ in Tezoatlán Mixtec (Ferguson de Williams, 2007), /sa<sup>4</sup>-/ in Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (Castillo García, 2007; Palancar et al., 2016), /sá-/ in Alcozauca Mixtec (Mendoza Ruiz, 2016), /sa-/ in Alacatlazala Mixtec (Zylstra, 2012), /ðá-/ and /s<sup>(H)</sup>-/ in Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec (McKendry, 2013).

(10) The provenance of words with this prefix is unclear.

## III. The causative prefix /tu<sup>3</sup>-/

(11) My grammar chapter discusses the causative prefix as a historical prefix, but some more recent work with my consultant resulted in me adding like 75 new causative verbs to the lexicon. He had very clear senses of what each one meant.

(12) So, perhaps this is semi-productive? It's not clear to me.

(13) Causative-marked verbs

Root	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
a <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> kah <sup>1</sup>	‘to be spinning’	ta <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> kah <sup>1</sup>	‘to spin’
a <sup>3</sup> tʃāʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to be folded’	ta <sup>3</sup> tʃāʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to fold’
si <sup>3</sup> kiʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to move (intr)’	tu <sup>3</sup> si <sup>3</sup> kiʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to move (tr)’
reʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to lose’	ta <sup>3</sup> reʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to erase’
k-a <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	‘PERF-be.filled’	tu <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	‘to fill’
k-a <sup>3</sup> rāʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘PERF-be.broken’	tu <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> a <sup>3</sup> rāʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to break’
k-a <sup>3</sup> βiʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘PERF-die’	tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> βiʔ <sup>3</sup> ~ti <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> βiʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to kill’
k-a <sup>3</sup> māʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘PERF-rain’	tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> māʔ <sup>3</sup> ~ti <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> māʔ <sup>3</sup>	‘to water’

- (14) In some cases, it appears that the causative applies just to the aspectually-unmarked verb, but in others it requires the aspectual marking on the verb.
- (15) Note that the vowel in the prefix can vary. It's a very short vowel usually, so speakers sometimes lenite it quite a bit and it can then be interpreted as [i] instead of [u].

#### IV. Tone, potential aspect, and derivational prefixes

- (16) We generally assume that aspectual prefixes apply to verbs after derivational morphology has applied, but there is a tendency for the tone on the derivational prefix itself to indicate the verbal aspect.
- (17) When the derivational prefix is /n(a)<sup>3</sup>-/ or /tu<sup>3</sup>-/, the verb is interpreted as *perfective*.
- (18) When the derivational prefix is /n(a)<sup>2</sup>-/ or /tu<sup>2</sup>-/, the verb is interpreted as *potential*. Just as in the aspectual prefixes, tone /2/ indicates potential aspect.
- (19) The aspectual prefixes in parentheses are optional here (taken from texts). Though I have to check, I think that overt aspectual prefixation here is probably optional for most verbs.

Iterative stem	Gloss	Perfect form(s)	Potential form(s)
na <sup>2</sup> -ru <sup>3</sup> ʔβe <sup>32</sup>	'to repay'	ki <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> -ru <sup>3</sup> ʔβe <sup>32</sup>	(ki <sup>2</sup> -)na <sup>2</sup> -ru <sup>3</sup> ʔβe <sup>32</sup>
n-a <sup>3</sup> rãʔ <sup>3</sup>	'to collect'	(ki <sup>3</sup> -)n-a <sup>3</sup> rãʔ <sup>3</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -n-a <sup>2</sup> rãʔ <sup>3</sup>
n-a <sup>4</sup> tuh <sup>4</sup>	'to re-enter'	(ki <sup>3</sup> -)n-a <sup>4</sup> tuh <sup>4</sup>	(ki <sup>2</sup> -)n-a <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>2</sup>
na <sup>3</sup> taʔ <sup>3</sup>	'to recount/tell'	ki <sup>3</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> taʔ <sup>3</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -na <sup>3</sup> taʔ <sup>3</sup>
(< a <sup>3</sup> tah <sup>2</sup> 'say')			na <sup>2</sup> taʔ <sup>2</sup>
n-a <sup>3</sup> βi <sup>32</sup>	'to re-appear'	ki <sup>3</sup> -n-a <sup>3</sup> βi <sup>32</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -n-a <sup>2</sup> βi <sup>32</sup>
			n-a <sup>2</sup> βi <sup>2</sup>

- (20) On causative stems, you can also get this optionality! This means that you can actually apply an aspectual prefix *twice*!

Causative stem	Gloss	Perfect form(s)	Potential form(s)
tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>4</sup> mĩ <sup>43</sup>	'to care for'	ki <sup>3</sup> -tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>4</sup> mĩ <sup>43</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -tu <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>4</sup> mĩ <sup>43</sup>
tu <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> nah <sup>4</sup>	'to name'	ku <sup>3</sup> -tu <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> nah <sup>4</sup>	(ku <sup>2</sup> )-tu <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> nah <sup>4</sup>
tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> mãʔ <sup>3</sup>	'to water, toss water'	(ku <sup>3</sup> -)tu <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> mãʔ <sup>3</sup>	ku <sup>2</sup> -tu <sup>2</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> mãʔ <sup>3</sup>
ta <sup>3</sup> mĩh <sup>3</sup>	'to fatten'	ki <sup>3</sup> -ta <sup>3</sup> mĩh <sup>3</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -ta <sup>3</sup> mĩh <sup>3</sup>
(< na <sup>3</sup> mĩh <sup>3</sup> )	('to get fat')		
ti <sup>3</sup> kjũ <sup>43</sup>	'to study'	ki <sup>3</sup> -ti <sup>3</sup> kjũ <sup>43</sup>	ki <sup>2</sup> -ti <sup>2</sup> kjũ <sup>43</sup>

- (21) Verbs like /tu<sup>3</sup>ka<sup>4</sup>mĩ<sup>43</sup>/ 'to care for' and /ti<sup>3</sup>kjũ<sup>43</sup>/ 'to study' lack a non-causative counterpart. Verbs like /a<sup>3</sup>mã<sup>3</sup>/ 'to rain' are perhaps semantically distant from 'to water a field' in use and are just listed forms. In other words, perhaps these are interpreted as unmarked stems?
- (22) There are many verbs in the lexicon that appear to have iterative or causative prefixes but for which there is no un-prefixed version.

ITER	n-a <sup>3</sup> tʃã <sup>3</sup>	na <sup>3</sup> -ru <sup>3</sup> βi <sup>3</sup>	n-a <sup>3</sup> tʃeh <sup>3</sup>
	'to turn (self) over again'	'to wash'	'to be mixed / mixed'
CAUS	t-a <sup>3</sup> tʃã <sup>3</sup>	??	t-a <sup>3</sup> tʃeh <sup>3</sup>
	'to turn (something) over'		'to mix (something)'
BASE	a <sup>3</sup> tʃã <sup>3</sup>	??	??
	'to turn (self) over'		

- (23) The lack of an apparent "partner" to the derived forms suggests that many verbs marked with derivational prefixes may be lexicalized.
- (24) Apart from the clitic morphophonology (next week), that's it for Triqui morphology!