Parts of speech and the Triqui lexicon
Part 1: Nouns and Verbs
Linguistics 460/560 - The Structure of Itunyoso Triqui
3/5/24 - 3/7/24
Christian DiCanio

A.   Preliminaries: The Transcriptional Orthography

(1)   We have adopted two writing systems for Itunyoso Triqui. So far, we've used just the IPA because it has been important to emphasize phonological patterns and the different morphophonological processes for nominal stem formation, verbal aspect/derivation, and the endoclitic system.

(2)   Yet, it's very cumbersome to transcribe everything this way, especially when we wish to just quickly focus on larger types of units like phrases.

(3)   I introduced the transcriptional orthography early in the semester, but we haven't been using it. Now that we're focusing on syntax other parts of the grammar, we're going to adopt it.

(4)   **Consonants:**

IPA	p	t	tt	k	kk	k^w	kk^w	tʃ	ttʃ	m	mm	n	nn
Orthography	**p**	**t**	**tt**	**k**	**kk**	**kw**	**kkw**	**ch**	**cch**	**m**	**mm**	**n**	**nn**
IPA	^cn	nd	^ŋg	$^ŋg^w$	s	ʃ	ɾ	l	ll	j	jj	β	ββ
Orthography	**cn**	**nd**	**ng**	**ngw**	**s**	**x**	**r**	**l**	**ll**	**y**	**yy**	**b**	**bb**
IPA	^ʔm	^ʔn	^ʔr	^ʔl	$^ʔβ$	^ʔj	^ʔnd	^ʔŋg	ʔ	h			
Orthography	**hm**	**hn**	**hr**	**hl**	**hb**	**hy**	**hnd**	**hng**	**h**	**j**			

Vowels:

IPA	i	e	a	o	u	ĩ	ã/ɔ̃	ũ
Orthography	**i**	**e**	**a**	**o**	**u**	**in**	**an**	**un**

(5)   Note that we do not use superscripts anymore here (except for tone, see below). Importantly, [ʔ] is now **"h"** and [h] is now **"j."** This might confuse you for a bit, but it works for both Itunyoso and Copala Triqui speakers, so we use it. Since the transcriptional orthography is close to the practical orthography for speakers, it's convenient.

(6)   Tones are still transcribed with superscript numbers, as before.

(7) ta^3 $βĩ^3$ $^ŋgo^2$ $nu^3k^wã^ʔ^3$ $snã^3ʔãh^3$ $ni^ʔ^1$
       ta^3 bin^3 ngo^2 nu^3kwanh^3 sna^3hanj^3 nih^1
       this be one word/sentence   language of.us
       'This is a sentence in Triqui.'

(8)   Since vowel nasalization is now marked with a final "n", this means that we have "n", "nh", and "nj" as final graphs/digraphs, e.g. yanj³ 'leaf' [jãh³].

B.   Very very basic Triqui syntax (more to come later)

(9)   The basic word order of Triqui sentences is VSO (verb-subject-object). Exceptions to this all involve narrow/contrastive focus on the subject or object, which we'll discuss later.

(10)   Examples with intransitive verbs.

    a. $\text{K-a}^3\text{hngaj}^3$ ra^3haj^5.
        PERF-burn hand.1S
        'My hand got burned.'
    b. $\text{A}^3\text{che}^{43}$
        walk.1S
        'I am walking.'
    c. Na^3ranh^3 ngwi^{31}
        gather.together person
        'The people are gathering.'
    d. $\text{Ra}^4\text{hyan}^{43}$
        be.in.hurry.1S
        'I am in a hurry.'

(10)   Examples with transitive verbs.

    $\text{Ki}^3\text{-riah}^3\text{=sij}^3$ cha^3to^3
    PERF-shoot=3M rabbit
    'He shot the rabbit.'

    Ko^4hoj^4 ne^3sih^1
    PERF.drink.1S soda
    'I drank soda.'

    Kaj^3 $\text{ka}^2\text{min}^{32}\text{=yunj}^1$
    PERF.run.over car=1S.OBJ
    'The car ran over me.'

    $\text{Ki}^3\text{-ni}^3\text{hya}^{32}\text{=soh}^1$
    PERF-look.at.1S=2S.OBJ
    'I looked at you.'

(11)   What are the parts of speech in the language and how do we establish them based on their linguistic properties?

C.   Parts of speech

(12)   I do not assume any universal principles for parts of speech, but rather it is my goal to establish, based on their linguistic behavior, that there are several types of categories in Itunyoso Triqui that behave differently in terms of their morphology and syntax.

(13)   *Categories:*   What falls into each group? Why?

Nouns (many sub-types)
Verbs (a few sub-types)
Prepositions (two sub-types)
Adjectives (two types)
Adverbs
Conjunctions
Final discourse particles

(14)   *Are there nouns and are there verbs?*   **Yes.**

(15)   We can establish morphological criteria to distinguish nouns from verbs already. We know that only nouns may take possessed prefixes and only verbs may take aspectual prefixes, for instance.

(a)   si^3-ka^{3}to^4=sij^3 (b)   ki^3-ranj^4=sij^3 ngo^2 ka^{3}to^4
        POSS'D-shirt=3M   PERF-buy=3M one shirt
        'his shirt'   'He bought a shirt.'

(16)   We observe something else here too though - only nouns may co-occur with a quantifier, as in (15b). So, there's at least (for now) two criteria distinguishing them apart from other syntactic properties.

D.   Types of nouns

(17)   The set of nouns in Itunyoso Triqui comprises inanimate objects, animals, kinship relations, body parts, and nominalized quantifiers (discussed later).

(18)   What's missing here? Abstract nouns!

(19)   Words like 'independence', 'justice', 'sadness', 'anger', 'ineptitude', 'churlishness', etc. do not exist in Triqui. All these things have to be expressed with a verbal expression.

(20)   It's is very hard to translate things like Spanish poems or the national anthem into Triqui for this reason. Or even official documents with lots of abstract nouns. For some reason Indo-European languages love abstract nouns.

*Ciña ¡Oh, Patria! tus **sienes** de oliva*   *Oh nation, your olive temples*
*de **la paz** el arcángel **divino**,*   *from the peace of the divine archangel*
*que en el cielo tu eterno **destino***   *that in heaven your eternal destiny*
por el dedo de Dios se escribió.   *by the finger of god was written.*

-becomes-

Nàkìhyaj sàh rèh si tabí rèh
Ajústense sus sombreros   *Adjust/make right your sombreros*
Dyosì oh ngò si sàh   *(symbol of respect)*
y los angeles les ofrece la paz   *The angels offer you that which is good*
Ta bin ti ccheej rèh
que también es su camino   *that is also your path/road*
Tàaj ataj yahànj chàtàh.
que escribió dios en el cielo   *that god wrote in heaven.*

(21)   We've already seen a morphological distinction between inalienably-possessed nouns, alienably-possessed nouns, and animals, but there is an orthogonal distinction between simplex nouns, compound nouns, and pseudo-nominal relative clauses.

(22)   Three types of nouns in Itunyoso Triqui

Simple	Compound	Pseudo-nominal relative clause
chu^3be^3 'dog'	$kkwej^{32}$ cha^3kaj^5 'quelite (of the) pig' *Medicago polymorpha*	si^3 baj^4 ya^3haj^3 'blender' (COMP finely.grind chile)
cha^3kaj^5 'pig'	na^3kinj^2 ru^2ne^2 'bean atole' (atole + bean)	si^3 ri^{32} yu^3hbeh^3 'refrigerator' (COMP take.out ice)
ni^3ya^{32} 'food'	ni^3ya^{32} sta^1hanj^1 'mestizo food' (lit. food of liars)	si^3 $cchej^5$ cha^1tah^1 'plane' (COMP walk sky)
$nnin^3$ 'mother'	$nnij^3$ tu^3hba^3 'lips' (skin + mouth)	$sinj^5$ a^4raj^4 beh^3 'builder/albañil' (man construct house)

(23)   Simple nouns are uncontroversial, but are all of these things nouns? If they are, they should be quantifiable and modifiable (with something like an adjective).

(24) All these nominal types are quantifiable.
   (1) Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 ni^{3}ya^{32}
       PERF-fall PL   food
       'The foods fell.'
   (2) Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 ni^{3}ya^{32} sta^{1}hanj^1
       PERF-fall PL   food   liar
       'The mestizo foods fell.'
   (3) Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 si^3 baj^4 ya^{3}haj^3
       PERF-fall PL   COMP finely.grind chile
       'The blenders fell.'

(25) But note that the reading of (23c) could perhaps something like *"those (things) that finely grind chiles."* Pluralization is not a foolproof way to distinguish nominals.

(26) What about adjectival modification?
   (4) Ki^3-ninj^2 ni^{3}ya^{32} xi^3
       PERF-fall food   big
       'The big (plate of) food fell.'
   (5) Ki^3-ninj^2 ni^{3}ya^{32} sta^{1}hanj^1 xi^3
       PERF-fall food   liar   big
       'The big mestizo food fell.'[3]
   (6) *Ki^3-ninj^2 si^3 baj^4 ya^{3}haj^3 xi^3
       PERF-fall COMP grind chile   big
       'The big blender fell.'
   (7) Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 na^{3}hbi^{32} cha^{3}kaj^5 xi^3
       PERF-fall PL   citrus.fruit pig   big
       'The big limes fell.' (*'The citrus fruits of the big pig fell.')

(27) The word *xi^3* 'big' is only used post-nominally in Triqui (not as an adjectival predicate or a stative predicate 'be big'). The fact that it can not co-occur with the pseudo-nominal relative clause means that this class of items is perhaps *not* nominal.

(28) So, how do Triqui speakers talk about *big blenders*? The adjective can occur after the nominal head.

   a. *Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 ko^{3}ho^3 a^{4}hbi^{43} ya^{3}haj^3 xi^3
      PERF-fall PL   plate/dish grind   chile   big
      'The big mortars fell.'
   b. Ki^3-ninj^2 nih^2 ko^{3}ho^3 xi^3 a^{4}hbi^{43} ya^{3}haj^3
      PERF-fall PL   plate/dish big grind   chile
      'The big mortars fell.' ~ 'The big dishes that grind chiles fell.'

(29) If we translate 'mortars' or 'blenders' as single words and we want to think of these pseudo-nominals as fairly closed constructions, then this solution would seem to break this notion. Perhaps these are still compositional.

(30) Are locations nominal? It's unclear. There are two classes of *toponyms*: local terms within the Triqui area and econynms (names of towns/cities).

Local term		Econym	
chi^{3}hi^4 ku^{2}re^{3}tanj^3	'foot of ku^{2}re^{3}tanj^3'	chi^{3}hyaj^3	'Tezoatlán de Segura'
chi^{3}nej^5 ru^{2}ku^2	'the low river'	chi^{3}yanj^5 xa^{3}tan^3	'San Juan Piñas'
(river + underneath)		(town + pineapple)	
cchaj^5 chi^{3}hi^4 ri^{2}e^{3}ni^{32}	'the southern orange foot'	ka^{3}ni^{1}hya^1	'Putla'
(southern.part foot orange)			
ta^{3}kan^3 ku^{3}ruh^3	'Loma del Puño'	ni^{3}kyanj^5	'Tlaxiaco'
(hill + fist)	(Hill of the fist)		

(31) Some toponyms are compounds that contain bound roots, e.g. *chi³hi⁴ ku²re³tanj³*, or they have bound roots that undergo compound tonal lowering, as in *chi³nej⁵ ru²ku²* 'the low river.' The word for 'behind/below' is *ru³ku⁴*. There are over 170 toponyms.

(32) Mapping out the local toponyms remains an outstanding project that would require use of detailed maps via INEGI, redrawing to focus mainly on local landmarks, and substantial discussion with elders or community members who are aware of all the locations.

E. What's a verb?

(33) We have already seen morphological evidence for *verbhood*, but we can distinguish between simple verbs (uncontroversial), compound verbs, and *essence predicates*.

(34) Compound verbs are mostly verb+object compounds, e.g. "to pan-fry"

	Compound verbs	Essence predicates
	na^{3}bin^3 ra^{2}ha^3	na^{3}han^3 ra^{43}
Interlinearization	become hand.of	to.burn DESID
Gloss	'to receive'	'to be angry'
	n-a^{4}rij^4 sun^{32}	sij^4 ra^{43}
Interlinearization	ITER-plant work	to.arrive DESID
Gloss	'to elect (someone)'	'to dare (to do something)'
	ri^{32} kwe^{4}sa^{43}	u^{3}tinh^3 ra^{43}
Interlinearization	take.out force/fuerza	to.slice DESID
Gloss	'to overwork oneself'	'to tax one's memory' –or–
		'to rack one's brain'

(35)   Both types involve aspect marking on the initial stem and person marking on the latter.

(a)   ki³-hyaj³ sun³²=sij3   (b)   k-u³tinh³ ra⁴³=sij³
      PERF-do work=3M   PERF-slice DESID=3M
      'he worked'   'he taxed his memory'

E1.   Essence predicates

(36)   Why make a distinction between compound verbs and essence predicates? The former are mostly verb + noun compounds, but essence predicates all involve the word *ra⁴³~ru⁴a⁴³*, meaning 'core of' or 'to want.' They also all involve emotion, cognition, and perception verbs.

(37)   Essence predicates all have unpredictable semantics, like exocentric compounds might. Also, the initial word here may be a motion verb or a stative predicate. It may even be a compound or verb phrase!

Predicate	Literal meaning	Meaning
a⁴chin⁴³ ra⁴³	to pass/fall + want	to be fed up, pissed off
a³hninh³ ra⁴³	to cut up/order + want	to withstand things in life; to pardon others
a³ya³² ra⁴³	to read/count + want	to count in your head; to reflect on one's words
ri³yun³² ra⁴³	measure + want	to ask someone for a favor
sij⁴ ra⁴³	arrive + want	to dare to do something
sno³ho³² ra⁴³	be.macho + want	to be useful for someone
ya²han² ra⁴³	be.important + want	to be united
ya²nih² ra⁴³	be.disgusting + want	to be disgusted by
i¹ rih³ ra⁴³	dearly + get + want	to have difficulty understanding
na⁴raj⁴ ta³hngah³ ra⁴³	fix + distribute + want	to feel sorry or sympathize with someone
bin³ ki²si³ ra⁴³	be + be.demanding + want	to think twice before doing; to doubt
bin³ ni²ka² ra⁴³	be + straight + want	to be in agreement with

(38)   Why do we translate *ra⁴³* as 'want'? It has another, common use, as shown below.

K-a²bi²   raj⁴
pot-leave   want.1s
'I want to leave'

(39)   What complicates things? You can place adjectival modifiers within the essence predicates themselves, breaking up the predicate. Yet, meaning is somehow retained.

Si³ k-oh⁴ cchej³² rian³² nej³ si⁴sto⁴³ ta³ si² nnanj²³
NEG PERF-give.1P.EXCL path/idea face PL man this/that because so.that
nga¹ **ni¹yah¹** u²rua⁴³ **ra⁴³=sij³** ni² toj³ nga¹ ti³ka³hyunj³=sij³=yunh³
then be.nice very DESID=3M and even.more then cheat=3M=1P.OBJ
'We won't tell the men these ideas because they'll get clever and they'll try to cheat us even more.'

(Line 46; Derechos de mujeres triquis; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López González)

(40) In the example above, the essence predicate *ni¹yah¹ ra⁴³* 'to be clever' is broken up by the adverb 'very.' It now means 'to be very clever.' We don't see this with other verb compounds - they can not be broken up with adverbs.

a. Na³-bin³ sah¹ si³-ka²minj⁴ na³bin³ sah¹ 'become good'
   ITER-be good POSS'D-car.1S = 'get fixed'
   'My car got fixed'

b. Na³-bin³ sah¹ ni²hrua⁴³ si³-ka²minj⁴
   ITER-be good well POSS'D-car.1S
   'My car got fixed really well.'

c. *Na³-bin³ ni²hrua⁴³ sah¹ si³-ka²minj⁴
   ITER-be well good POSS'D-car.1S
   'My car got fixed really well.'

E2. Copulas and positional verbs

(41) The position of an object in space and its orientation are encoded in Triqui with a set of positional verbs. The basic ones encoding the object's orientation are:

ni³kinh³ 'to stand or be standing'
nne³ 'to sit or be sitting'
ngaj²³ 'to lie or be lying'

(42) What this means is that you can never just talk about an object *being* somewhere. You do not use a copula verb 'be' to say *"I am in the other room"* or *"The ball is on the floor."* Instead, you must encode the orientation of the object, e.g. *"I am standing in the other room"* or *"The ball is lying on the floor."* We'll get to them shortly.

(43) In addition to these distinctions, there are five copulas in Triqui.

ba² + adjective 'to be ADJ'
ba³² 'to be/exist' used with singular count nouns
mman¹ 'to be/exist' used with plural count nouns or mass nouns
ni³taj² negative existential
bin³ 'to be (equative)' e.g. A dog is an animal.

(44)   The equative verb is used for identity relations between NPs; as a two-place predicate.
a.   Si⁴sno⁴³   bin³=sij³
         man   be=3m
         'He is a man'

b.   Bbi¹³   ni²   bbi¹³   bin³   ka¹han³
         two.NOM   and   two.NOM   be   four.NOM
         'Two and two are four.'

(45)   The existential verbs are used as one-place predicates, e.g. 'there is/are.'
a.   Mman¹   ccha³   chu⁴ba⁴³   chunj⁵
         exist   tortilla   inside.of   box
         'There are tortillas inside the box.'

b.   Ba³²   ta³koj⁵ bbej³² ru¹ku¹ nan³
         exist   foot   cave   behind here
         '(The place) is at the foot of the cave, behind here.'

(46)   There is no verb *'to have'* in Triqui, so *ba³²* is used with a possessive construction instead.

Ba³²   si³-ka³toj⁵
exist   POSS'D-shirt.1S
'I have a shirt' ~ 'My shirt exists'

(46)   A variant of *ba³²* is used with adjectives - *ba²*. Here, we get a verb+adjective construction.
a.   Ba²   kanj¹=sij³
         be   naked=3M
         'He is naked.'

b.   Ba²   be²hej³   yyej³²
         be   colorful   stone
         'The stone is colorful'

(47)   The negative existential is used instead of the regular verbal negators for 'be'
a.   Ni³taj²   li⁴bru⁴³ nan³
         neg.exist   book   here
         'There are no books here.'

b.   Ni³taj²   si³-ka²hanj⁵
         neg.exist   POSS'D-clothes.1S
         'I have no clothes.'

(48)   Positional verbs are used to encode the orientation of animate and inanimate entities in
         space. There are both stative predicates (on the left) and associated motion verbs which
         encode the spatial orientation of the object that is moved.

Position verb	Gloss	Motion verb	Gloss
ngaj^{23}	'to be lying'	u^{3}ruj^2	'to put something lying down'
nne^3	'to be sitting'	u^{3}neh^3	'to put something sitting down'
ni^{3}kinh^3	'to be standing'		
nnun^1	'to be stuck to something'		
nun^{32}	'to be inside of something'	a^{3}hninj^5	'to put something inside of something'
ttaj^5	'to be on top of something'	a^{3}tah^3	'to put something on top of something else'
		u^{3}tah^3	'to put something on top of a flat surface'

(49a) K-u^{3}ruj^2=unj^3 ta^{3}ni^{32} cchej^{32}=sij^3
PERF-put.lying.down=3F   middle.of   street=3M
'She put him down in the middle of the street.'

(49b) Ki^3-na^{3}rih^3=sij^3=chuj^3 ni^{3}kinh^3=chuj^3 cchej^{32}
PERF-find=3M=3ANIM   stand=3ANIM   street
'He/they found it (the animal) standing in the street.'

(49c) K-u^{2}tah^2=reh^1 ccha^3 rian^{32} cho^{32}
POT-put.flat.surface=2S   face   comal/griddle
'Put the tortilla on the comal.'

(50) The position of entities is encoded either with the stative or motion verbs here. The verb choice may change depending on the spatial orientation of the object. For instance, petates are flat, so they 'lie', as in (51), but apparently huipiles 'sit', as in (52). Large locations (towns, hills) 'lie' in Triqui.

(51) Ngaj^{23} bbej^5 chu^{4}ba^{43} beh^3
lie   petate inside.of   house
'The petate is (lying) inside the house.'

(52) Nne^3 ba^{1}tanh^1 ya^{3}bi^{32} ngo^1=ke^1 tu^{3}kwa^3 yoj^{32}
sit   six   month   one=entire   huipil.center   EVID.BELIEF
'The center of a huipil takes six months (to create).'

(53) Ne^{3}sih^1 ttaj^5 rian^{32} me^{4}sa^{43}
soda   be.on.top   face   table
'The soda is on top of the table.'
(No orientation specified, but understood to be standing.)

(54) Nne^3 nnin^{43} tu^{3}kwa^4=unj^3 Animate entities *must* have their
sit   mother.1S   house.of=3F   spatial orientation specified.
'My mother is in/at her house.'