Basic syntax - verbs and arguments
Week 8 - 3/12 - 3/14/24
Linguistics 460/560 - The Structure of Itunyoso Triqui
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1. Basic word order

(1) The word order of Itunyoso Triqui is VSO, but this is mediated by information structural constraints. When the NP is the question under discussion, it must occur in the preverbal position and not post-verbally.
   a. Ki³-ranj⁴ sinh³ ngo² cha³tan³
      perf-buy child one pineapple.
      ‘The child bought a pineapple’
   b. Sinh³ ki³-ranj⁴ ngo² cha³tan³
      child perf-buy one pineapple.
      ‘The child bought a pineapple’
      (answer to ‘Who bought a pineapple?’)
   c. Ngo² cha³tan³ ki³-ranj⁴ sinh³
      one pineapple perf-buy child
      ‘The child bought a pineapple’
      (answer to ‘What did the child buy?’)

(2) VS(O) word order is very common in Otomanguean languages and so is pre-verbal focus.

(3) Pre-verbal focus appears to be a feature in every Mixtecan language that has been studied, e.g. in Copala Triqui (Hollenbach, 1992), Chalcatongo Mixtec (Macaulay, 1996), Alacatlatzala Mixtec (Zylstra, 1991), Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (DiCanio et al., 2018).

(4) General pattern of word order in Itunyoso Triqui simple clauses. Bold = required.

(Adv₁) (Focus/Topical NP) Verb (Adv₂) Subj.NP (Obj.NP) (Addressee/Recipient) (Locative)

(5) While certain types of adverbs may occur between the verb and the subject, nothing else is permitted to intercede between the verb and the subject, both of which are minimally required in a Triqui clause.

(6) There is one exception to a subject being required - the verb to rain does not require one.

Ta³ nga¹³ k-a³chihì¹ k-a³mauh³
This when perf-begin perf-rain
‘Because of this, it began to rain.’

(Line 22, Cuento de San Isidro y la lluvia; 6/15/2015; Marcelina Cruz Merino and Nieves López González)
(7) Some examples of sentences with intransitive verbs - note that all require a subject.

a. K-a³hnaj³ ra³haj⁵.
   PERF-burn hand.1S
   'My hand got burned.'

b. A³ch³
   walk.1S
   'I am walking.'

c. Na³ranh³ ngwi³
   gather.together person
   'The people are gathering.'

d. Ra⁴hyan⁴³
   be.in.hurry.1S
   'I am in a hurry.'

2. Non-finite verb constructions

(8) Most verbs in Itunyoso Triqui are finite - they must occur with subject marking. This even applies to multi-verb constructions. Note that 'begin to buy' in the example below requires a subject for both verbs ~ "they began they bought."

K-a³ch³hi¹ nu¹kwej¹=sij³ ki³-ranj¹=sij³
PERF-begin pair=3M PERF-buy=3M
'They (two male) began to buy (votes).'

(Line 49, El Partido Morena; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

(9) There are a few exceptions to this - the verbs 'go' and 'come' can be unmarked for person in purposive constructions, e.g. 'went to see', 'came to tell you.'

(10) Ka⁴hanj² ki²-nunh² tu³hba³ nne³ ta³ nga³ni² na²-sih²
    PERF-go POT-wash.1P mouth water DEM then ITER.POT-arrive.1P
    'We went to wash ourselves at this spring, and then we will come back.'

    Line 81, Derechos de mujeres triqui, 6-9-15; Nieves López Guzmán and Carmen López González.

(11) Ki³-hyaj³=sij³. Ka³-hnah¹ koh¹=sij³ be⁴ta³ni².
    PERF-do=3M PERF-come POT.hit=3M then
    'He did it. He came to fight/hit then.'

    Line 81, Sobre la guerra de San Martín y Chicahuaxtla, 6-16-15; Crispin Celestino Martínez
It is noteworthy that several Otomanguean languages (Zapotecan) have explicit andative (go to do) and venitive (come to do) prefixes on verbs which derive from historical verbs of 'go' and 'come' (Beam de Azcona 2022).

It is perhaps noteworthy that we find the loss of subject-marking in precisely the same contexts.

3. Transitive verbs and pronominal case

Itunyoso Triqui has three object pronouns that differ from the subject pronouns - only the speech act participants have pronouns with default and objective case. For all other pronouns, there is no case distinction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Default pronouns</th>
<th>Object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S.SUBJ toggling endoclitic</td>
<td>1S.OBJ =yunj¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S.SUBJ =reh¹ (w/tone changes)</td>
<td>2S.OBJ =soh¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P.SUBJ =h (w/tone change)</td>
<td>1P.OBJ =yunh¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The object pronouns are usually only used for direct objects - they are not used to mark recipients or anything else. So object pronoun ≠ accusative.

K-a⁴taj²=sij³ rianj⁴
PERF-say=3M face.1S
'He talked to me.'

Ba¹ na³-ru⁴hbej⁴ rian³=reh¹
already ITER-pay.1S face=2S
'I already paid you.'

Be⁴ toj³ ta³ bin³ ni³ya³² riunh³
TOP little.of DEM be food face.1P
'This is a little of that (which) is the food for us.'

Line 60, Comida típica en la Concepción Itunyoso, 6-14-15, Elena Eugenía Martínez

Object pronouns in use.
Kaj³
ka²min³²=yunj¹
PERF.run.over car=1S.OBJ
'The car ran over me.'

Ki³-ni³hya³²=soh¹
PERF-look.at.1S=2S.OBJ
'I looked at you.'
(20) Whereas animate entities must have an overt pronoun specified in Itunyoso Triqui (\(=\text{chuj}^3\) for animals or other pronouns for people), inanimate entities that are objects of transitive verbs are obligatorily omitted.

\[\text{Ngo}^2\text{yun}^1 \text{ki}^2\text{-ta}^3\text{ha}^3\text{=}\text{chuj}^3 \text{ni}^2 \text{a}^3\text{ta}^3\text{=}\text{chuj}^3 \text{ba}^3\text{hanj}^3\text{=}\text{chuj}^3 \text{rej}^3\]

\text{At.once POT-grab=ANIM and carry=ANIM go=ANIM PART.hearsay}

‘All at once it will grab (the food) and carry (it) away, they say.’

\text{(Line 23, Cuento de águila de Cuquila; 10/6/2014; Crescencio de la Cruz Ramírez and Wilfrido Cruz Martínez)}

(21) There is no pronoun for \(it\). These are all omitted in Triqui.

(22) \text{Ki}^3\text{-hya}^{43} \text{ngo}^2 \text{beh}^3.

\text{PERF-do.1S one house.}

'I made/constructed a house.'

\text{yyej}^{13}, \text{ba}^1 \text{ki}^2\text{-ni’hinj}^4

\text{yes, already PERF-see/know.1S}

'Yes, I saw it.'

(23) An animate entity \textit{can} be omitted as an object if the gender is unknown to the speaker.

\text{Ni}^2 \text{na}^3\text{-k-a}^3\text{hanj}^3\text{=}\text{sij}^3 \text{na}^3\text{-k-a}^3\text{hanj}^3\text{=}\text{sij}^3 \text{sa}^3\text{ni}^2, \text{nga}^1 \text{toj}^{13} \text{num}^3

\text{And ITER-PERF-spy=3M ITER-PERF-spy=3M but, and little NEG}

\text{ki}^2\text{-ni}^2\text{hinj}^3\text{=}\text{sij}^3 \text{ni}^2

\text{POT-see=3M and}

‘And he spied and he spied, but he never saw them (the mysterious tortilla maker).’

\text{(Line 33, Cuento del hombre y perro; 6/15/2015; Concepción Martínez Cruz and Nieves López Guzmán)}

(24) Here, a man is secretly looking for the person who is making tortillas for him (a mystical dog, as it turns out).

4. \textbf{Verbs with more than two arguments}

(25) Recipients and benefactives are both marked with oblique arguments in Triqui, by use of a relational noun or preposition. In other words, there are no true indirect objects.

(26) Recipients are marked with \textit{rian}^{32} ‘face’. This extends both to \textit{speak} and \textit{give} verbs. Benefactives are usually marked with \textit{kwe’nta}^{43} ‘for’ (from Spanish \textit{cuenta}).
(27) Recipient marking (lit. to all of us)

Be⁴ ta³ bin³ si³ ri⁴ki⁴₃=sij³ rian⁴₃=neh⁴
TOP this be COMP give=3M face=1P.INCL
'This is what they give us.'

(Line 71, El Partido Morena; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

Yyaj¹³ ni² ki³-ni³hin³ ta³hjin⁴₃ sto³²=nej³ nej³ ta³hjin³⁴₃ cha¹na¹=nej³
When and PERF-know POSS'D.child masculine=3P also POSS'D.child feminine=3P
nej³ cchej⁵=nej³-sij³ norte man³ ni² n-a³hjin⁵=nej³=sij³ toj³ sa³hanj²
also walk=PL=3M north there then ITER-send=PL=3M some money
rian⁴₃=nej³ ni² rih³=nej³
face=3P and get=3P.
'Then their boys and their girls learned to walk to the north there, they sent them
a little bit of money again and they received (it).

(Line 134; Cómo vivieron antes; 06/09/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

(28) Benefactive marking

Sa³ni² yunh¹, ni² k-a²hminh² kwe'nta⁴₃ yunh¹ tu³koh⁴
But 1P.OBJ, and POT-speak.1P for/purpose 1P.OBJ POSS'D.house.1P
'But us, we will speak for us/ourselves in our (own) houses.'

(Line 190, El Partido Morena; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

Ki³-ran⁴₃ ngo² ra³sun³² kwe'nta¹=reh¹
PERF-buy.1S one thing for/purpose=2S
'I bought something for you.'

(29) Some verbs take nga‘ with.

K-a¹hmin³²=sij³ nga¹=unj³
PERF-speak=3M with=3F
'He spoke with her.'
5. "Reflexive" pronouns

(29) Itunyoso Triqui does not have an actual reflexive pronoun. There is a word ma²han³ 'self' that is used in contexts where you expect a reflexive, but it is also used for any pronoun under focus.

(30) Reflexive/focal pronouns (endoclitics in bold)

ma²hanj⁵ 'myself'  mu²hunh⁴ 'ourselves (dual)'
ma²han²=reh¹ 'yourself'  ma²han³=unj⁴ 'ourselves (exclusive)'
ma²han³=sij³ 'himself'  ma²han³=neh⁴ 'ourselves (inclusive)'
ma²han³=unj³ 'herself'
ma²han³=chu³ 'itself (animal)'  .... (and all others are just ma²han³=clitic)

(31) Contexts with a reflexive reading.

a. K-oh³=sij³  ma²han³=sij³
   PERF-hit=3M self=3M
   'He hit himself.'

b. Ni⁴hya⁴³ ma²hanj⁵
   see.1S self.1S
   'I see myself.'

c. K-a³ma²han² Li⁴nan⁴³ ma²han³=unj³
   PERF-hug Marcelina self=3F
   'Marcelina hugged herself.'

(32) Contexts with contrastive focus on the pronoun (note fronting of focused constituent)

a. Se⁴ ma²hanj⁵ ki³-ranj³, Jwan⁴³ ki³-ranj³ chu³che³²
   NEG.EXIST self.1S PERF-buy, Juan PERF-buy chicken
   'It wasn’t me who bought (it), Juan bought the chicken.'

b. Se⁴ ma²hanj⁵ kwej³ rian³² chi³nga⁴, ma²han⁴=reh¹ kwej³
   NEG.EXIST self.1S PERF.jump face fence, self=2S PERF.jump
   rian³² chi³nga⁴
   face fence
   'It wasn’t me who jumped over the fence, you jumped over the fence.'

c. “Tinj⁵ ka²-ne⁴=reh¹ si² k-a²hmin⁲ ma²hanj⁵ oj³.
   Si² Quietly POT-sit=2S because POT-speak self.1S PART.command. Because
   ma²hanj⁵ k-a²hmin⁲ nga¹=sij³ aj⁵" a³taj²=sij³ ni².
   self.1S POT-speak with=3M PART.TAG, say=3M and.
   ‘ “Sit quietly because I will speak. Because I will speak with him, eh?”, he says.’

(Line 126, Derechos de mujeres triquis; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)
(33) Meaning "same"

Ka₃hanj² ma²han³=chuj³ nan² yu³be³₂. Ka₃hanj² ma²han³=chuj³
PERF.go same=ANIM DIR then. PERF.go same=ANIM
ku³-naj⁴=chuj³.
PERF-stay=ANIM
'The same animal (as mentioned) went, then. The same animal went and stayed
there.'

(Line 103, Cuento del arco iris; 06/15/2015; Marcelina Cruz Merino and Nieves López González)

(34) So, rather than interpret ma²han³ as a reflexive marker of sorts, it seems fairer to analyze
it as a word that foregrounds a referent in discourse, e.g. English "I, myself believe this."

6. Locative adjuncts

(35) Large, geographic locations (cities, towns, hillsides) do not require prepositions or
relational nouns in Triqui, while smaller places (houses, cars, town squares) do.

a. Chaj⁴ ne³nij¹ chi³yunh⁴
   PERF.eat.1S ground.bean town.1P
   'I ate ground beans in San Martín Itunyoso.'

b. Ku³-tu⁴hbej⁴ cha³taj³ ni³kyanj⁵
   PERF-sell.1S bird Tlaxiaco
   'I sold birds in Tlaxiaco.'

c. Ka³hanj²=sij³ kkij³
   PERF.go=3M mountainside
   'He went to the mountainside.'

(36) Locative phrases usually follow all arguments in the Triqui clause.

Cha⁴₃ cha³kaj⁵ cha³tan³ chu⁴ba⁴₃ tu³kwa⁴=chuj³
PERF.eat pig pineapple inside POSS'D.house=ANIM
'The pig ate the pineapple in its house.'
As mentioned in our discussion on parts of speech, motion verbs require a prepositional/locative phrase to be included.

a. Ttaj\(^5\) ba\(^4\)su\(^3\) rian\(^2\) me\(^4\)sa\(^4\)
    Be.on.top glass face table
    ‘The glass is on top of the table.’

b. Nne\(^3\) ba\(^4\)su\(^3\) ri\(^3\)ki\(^3\) me\(^4\)sa\(^4\)
    Be.sitting glass stomach table
    ‘The glass is sitting under the table.’

c. K-a\(^4\)chinj\(^4\) ri\(^3\)ku\(^4\) beh\(^3\)
    PERF-pass.1S behind house
    ‘I passed behind the house.’

d. Ka\(^3\)hanj\(^2\)=sij\(^3\) che\(^3\)cheh\(^2\) chi\(^3\)yunh\(^4\)
    PERF.go=3M outside.of town.1P
    ‘He went outside of our town.’ ~ ‘He went away from our town.’

Locative phrases are pre-verbal when they are under focus, just as we observe with noun phrases.

a. Chu\(^4\)ba\(^4\) chun\(^3\) chi\(^3\)yanj\(^5\)=neh\(^4\) roh\(^4\) ba\(^3\) be\(^4\) ta\(^3\) bin\(^3\).
    Inside.of residence town=1P.INCL seem exist TOP this be.EQUIVATIVE
    ‘It seems like this is inside of our town.’ ~ ‘Inside of our town, it seems like this is.’

    (Line 164; Cómo vivieron antes; 06/09/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

b. Chu\(^4\)ba\(^4\) chi\(^3\)yanj\(^5\)=neh\(^4\) k-u\(^3\)chih\(^3\)=sij\(^3\) oj\(^1\)
    Inside.of town=1P.INCL PERF-travel=3M PART.POLAR.RHET
    ‘Did he (López Obrador) travel inside our town?’

    (Line 104, El Partido Morena; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán)

c. Ri\(^3\)ki\(^3\) a\(^4\)sij\(^4\), ri\(^3\)ki\(^3\) re\(^3\)to\(^3\) ngaj\(^2\)=unj\(^3\)
    Stomach clothing, stomach blanket be.lying=3F
    ‘Under clothes, under blankets she is lying.’

    (Line 6, Cuento de la señora floja; 06/14/2015; Rosario Guzmán Flores and Nieves López Guzmán)
7. **Adverbial phrases**

(39) Adverbs and adverbial phrases usually occur in the pre-verbal position.

\[ \text{Ba}^2 \text{ ta}^2 \text{haj}^2 \text{ a}^3 \text{kin}^{43} = \text{sij}^3 \]
be/exist times call.1s=3s

‘Sometimes I call him.’ ~ ‘There are times (that) I call him.’

(40) Some adverbial phrases appear to be small clauses themselves. These still either delimit the temporal dynamics of the clause or its manner.

a. \[ \text{Ku}^3 \text{ki}^3 \text{ ka}^3 \text{ha}^{32} \text{ ya}^3 \text{kwej}^3 \]
yesterday PERF.go.1s Oaxaca

‘Yesterday I went to Oaxaca.’

b. \[ \text{Na}^2 \text{naj}^2 \text{ a}^3 \text{hminj}^1 = \text{reh}^1 \]
Quietly speak.2s=2s

‘You are speaking quietly.’

c. \[ \text{Kwe}^2 \text{sa}^2 \text{ ni}^2 \text{hrua}^{43} \text{ ka}^1 \text{han}^1 \text{ nih}^4 \]
Forcibly very POT.go.1s PART.polar

‘Am I strongly obliged to go?’

d. \[ \text{Toj}^3 + \text{raj}^3 \text{ ki}^2 - \text{na}^2 \text{bih}^4 \]
Some.NOM+want.3TOP POT-finish.1P

‘We are almost finished.’

(41) Adverbial modifiers may also occur after subjects (before objects).

a. \[ \text{Be}^4 \text{ tu}^3 \text{ku}^3 \text{se}^{43} \text{ bin}^3 \text{ a}^3 \text{kwaj}^4 = \text{sij}^3 \text{ a}^1 \text{si}^1 \text{ ni}^2 \text{kanh}^3 \text{ taj}^3 \]
TOP San.\text{José.Xochixtlán be yell=3M since early.morning this.\text{NOM}}

‘It’s that in San José Xochixtlán they’ve been announcing this since early this morning.’

*(Line 110; Historia de cuatro muertos de San Martín Itunyoso; 06/16/2015; Crispín Celestino Martínez)*

b. \[ \text{Ta}^4 \text{ta}^{43} \text{ be}^3 \text{lu}^3 \text{ San.\text{Martín} nan}^3 \text{ nne}^3 = \text{sij}^3 \text{ a}^3 \text{kwanh}^3 \text{ chr}^4 \text{ba}^{43} \text{ chi}^3 \text{yunh}^3 \]
Father.FAM elder San.\text{Martín here sit=3M now inside.of town.1P}

‘Our father, the elder San Martín here, sits now inside our town here.’

*(Line 38; Historia de San Martín Caballero; 10/10/2014; Marcelino Hernández Bautista)*
(42) Much like other languages, the positioning of adverbs and adverbial phrases is quite flexible in Itunyoso Triqui.

References