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. Ki^3-ranj^4 sinh^3 ngo^2 cha^{3}tan^3
       PERF-buy child one pineapple.
       'The child bought a pineapple'

    b. Sinh^3 ki^3-ranj^4 ngo^2 cha^{3}tan^3
       child PERF-buy one   pineapple.
       '*The child* bought a pineapple'
       (answer to 'Who bought a pineapple?')

    c. Ngo^2 cha^{3}tan^3 ki^3-ranj^4 sinh^3
       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.

(Adv$_1$) (Focus/Topical NP) **Verb** (Adv$_2$) **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.

    Ta^3 nga^{13} k-a^{3}chi^{1}hi^1 k-a^{3}manh^3
    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-a^{3}hngaj^3 ra^{3}haj^5.
　　　 PERF-burn hand.1S
　　　 'My hand got burned.'

　　b. A^{3}che^{43}
　　　 walk.1S
　　　 'I am walking.'

　　c. Na^{3}ranh^3　　ngwi^{31}
　　　 gather.together person
　　　 'The people are gathering.'

　　d. Ra^{4}hyan^{43}
　　　 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-a^{3}chi^{1}hi^1 nu^{1}kwej^1=sij^3 ki^3-ranj^4=sij^3
　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)   Ka^{3}hanj^2　　ki^2-nunh^2　　tu^{3}hba^3 nne^{32} ta^3　nga^{13}ni^2　　na^2-sih^2
　　　 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)   Ki^3-hyaj^3=sij^3. Ka^3-hnah^3　　koh^1=sij^3　　be^{4}ta^{3}ni^2.
　　　 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

(12)   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).

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

3.   Transitive verbs and pronominal case

(14)   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.

Default pronouns		**Object pronouns**	
1S.SUBJ	toggling endoclitic	1S.OBJ	=yunj¹
2S.SUBJ	=reh¹ (w/tone changes)	2S.OBJ	=soh¹
		(also the 2S.RESP.SUBJ)	
1P.SUBJ	=h (w/tone change)	1P.OBJ	=yunh¹

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

(16)   K-a³taj²=sij³   rianj⁴
PERF-say=3M   face.1S
'He talked to me.'

(17)   Ba¹   na³-ru⁴hbej⁴   rian³¹=reh¹
already   ITER-pay.1S   face=2S
'I already paid you.'

(18)   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 Eugenia Martínez

(19)   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 (=*chuj³* for animals or other pronouns for people), inanimate entities that are objects of transitive verbs are <u>obligatorily omitted.</u>

Ngo²yun¹ ki²-ta³ha³²=chuj³ ni² a³ta³=chuj³ ba³hanj³=chuj³ rej³
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.'

(*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)   Ki³-hya⁴³   ngo²   beh³.
        PERF-do.1S   one   house.
        'I made/constructed a house.'

yyej¹³,   ba¹   ki³-ni³hinj⁵
yes,   already   PERF-see/know.1S
'Yes, I saw it.'

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

Ni² na³-k-a³hnaj³=sij³ na³-k-a³hnaj³=sij³ sa³ni², nga¹ toj¹³ nun³
And ITER-PERF-spy=3M ITER-PERF-spy=3M but,   and little NEG
ki²-ni²hin³=sij³ ni²
POT-see=3M   and
'And he spied and he spied, but he never saw them (the mysterious tortilla maker).'

(*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.   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 *rian³²* 'face'. This extends both to *speak* and *give* verbs. Benefactives are usually marked with *kwe⁴nta⁴³* 'for' (from Spanish *cuenta*).

(27)   Recipient marking (lit. to all of us)

Be^4 ta^3 bin^3 si^3 ri^{4}ki^{43}=sij^3 **rian^{32}**=neh^4
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*)

Yyaj^{13} ni^2 ki^3-ni^{3}hin^3 ta^{3}hnin^{32} sto^{32}=nej^3 nej^3 ta^{3}hnin^{32} cha^{1}na^1=nej^3
When and PERF-know POSS'D.child masculine=3P also POSS'D.child feminine=3P
nej^3 cchej^5=nej^3=sij^3 *norte* man^3 ni^2 n-a^{3}hninj^5=nej^3=sij^3 toj^3 sa^{3}hanj^2
also walk=PL=3M   north there then ITER-send=PL=3M   some money
rian^{32}=nej^3 ni^2 rih^3=nej^3
face=3P   and get=3P.
'When 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

Sa^{3}ni^2 yunh^1, ni^2 k-a^{2}hminh^2 **kwe^{4}nta^{43}** yunh^1 tu^{3}koh^4
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*)

Ki^3-ran^{43} ngo^2 ra^{3}sun^{32} **kwe^{4}nta^1**=reh^1
PERF-buy.1S one thing   for/purpose=2S
'I bought something for you.'

(29)   Some verbs take *nga¹* 'with.'

K-a^{3}hmin^{32}=sij^3 nga^1=unj^3
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)'
ma²han⁴=reh¹	'yourself'	ma²han³=unj⁴	'ourselves (exclusive)'
ma²han³=sij³	'himself'	ma²han³=neh⁴	'ourselves (inclusive)'
ma²han³=unj³	'herself'		
ma²han³=chuj³	'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-a³na²han² 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-a²hmin² ma²hanj⁵ oj³.   Si²
      Quietly POT-sit=2S   because POT-speak self.1S   PART.command. Because
      ma²hanj⁵ k-a²hmin² 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.'

(37) 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^{43} rian^{32} me^{4}sa^{43}
     Be.on.top glass   face   table
     'The glass is on top of the table.'

   b. Nne^3 ba^{4}su^{43} ri^{3}ki^3 me^{4}sa^{43}
     Be.sitting glass   stomach table
     'The glass is sitting under the table.'

   c. K-a^{4}chinj^4 ru^{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.'

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

   a. Chu^{4}ba^{43} chu^{3}manh^3 chi^{3}yanj^5=neh^4 roh^4 ba^{32} be^4 ta^3 bin^3.
     Inside.of residence   town=1P.INCL seem exist TOP this be.EQUATIVE
     '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^{43} 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^{32} ngaj^{23}=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.

Ba^2 ta^{2}haj^2 a^{3}kin^{43}=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. Ku^{3}ki^3 ka^{3}ha^{32} ya^{3}kwej^3
yesterday PERF.go.1s Oaxaca
'Yesterday I went to Oaxaca.'

b. Na^{2}naj^2 a^{3}hminj^1=reh^1
Quietly speak.2s=2s
'You are speaking quietly.'

c. Kwe^{2}sa^2 ni^{2}hrua^{43} ka^{1}han^1 nih^4
Forcibly very   POT.go.1s PART.polar
'Am I strongly obliged to go?'

d. Toj^3+raj^3 ki^2-na^{2}bih^4
Some.NOM+want.3TOP POT-finish.1P
'We are almost finished.'

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

a. Be^4 tu^{3}ku^{3}se^{43} bin^3 a^{3}kwaj^4=sij^3 a^{1}sij^1 ni^{2}kanh^3 taj^3
TOP San.José.Xochixtlán be   yell=3M   since early.morning this.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; Crispin Celestino Martínez*)

b. Ta^{4}ta^{43} be^{3}lu^3 *San.Martín* nan^3 nne^3=sij^3 a^{3}kwanh^3 chru^{4}ba^{43} chi^{3}yunh^3 nan^3
Father.FAM elder San.Martín here sit=3M   now   inside.of town.1P here
'Our father, the elder San Martín here, sits now inside our town here.'

(*Line 38; Historia de San Martín Caballero; 10/10/2014; Marcelino Hernńdez Bautista*)

(42)   Much like other languages, the positioning of adverbs and adverbial phrases is quite flexible in Itunyoso Triqui.

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