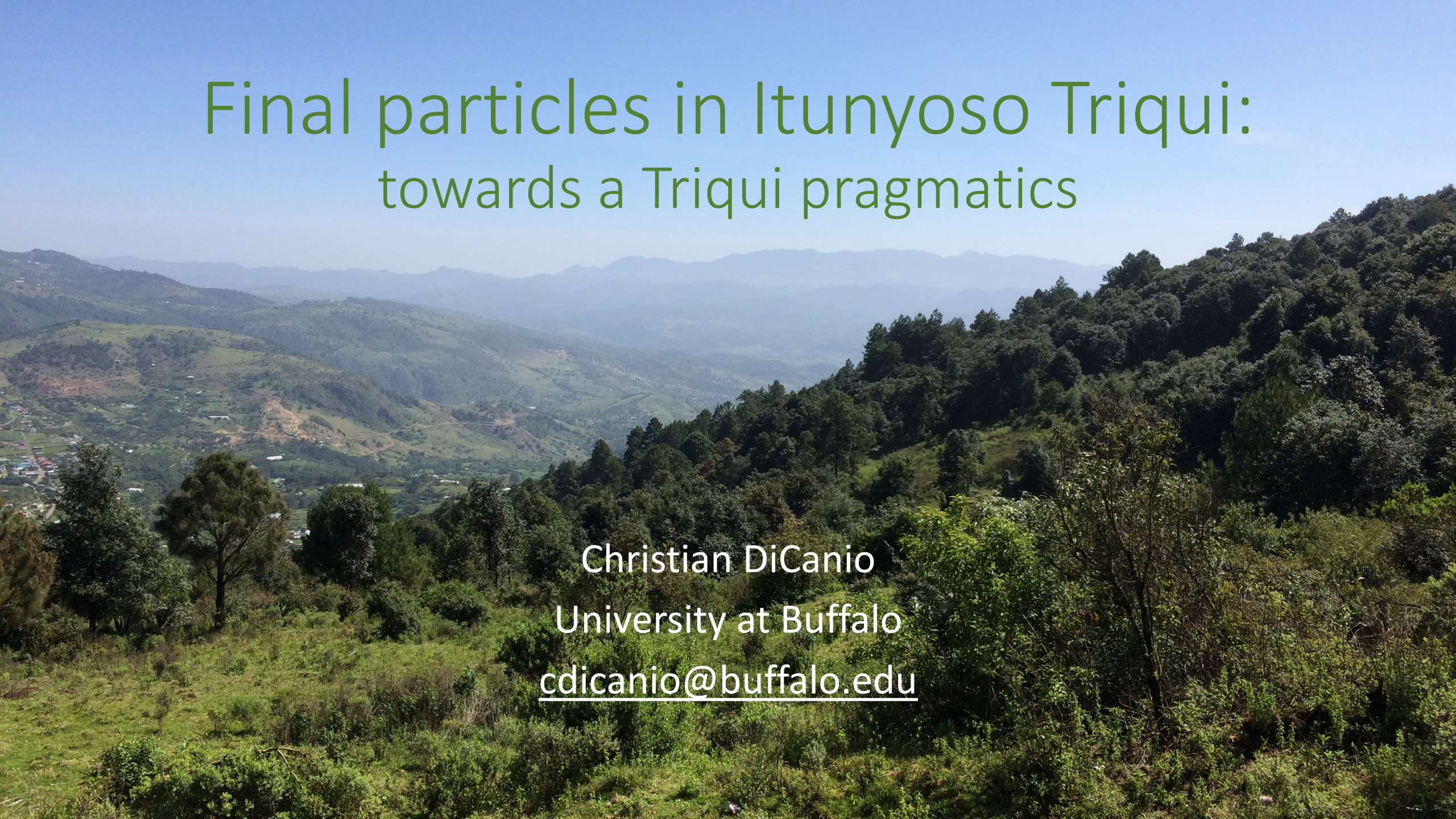
Final particles in Itunyoso Triqui:
towards a Triqui pragmatics



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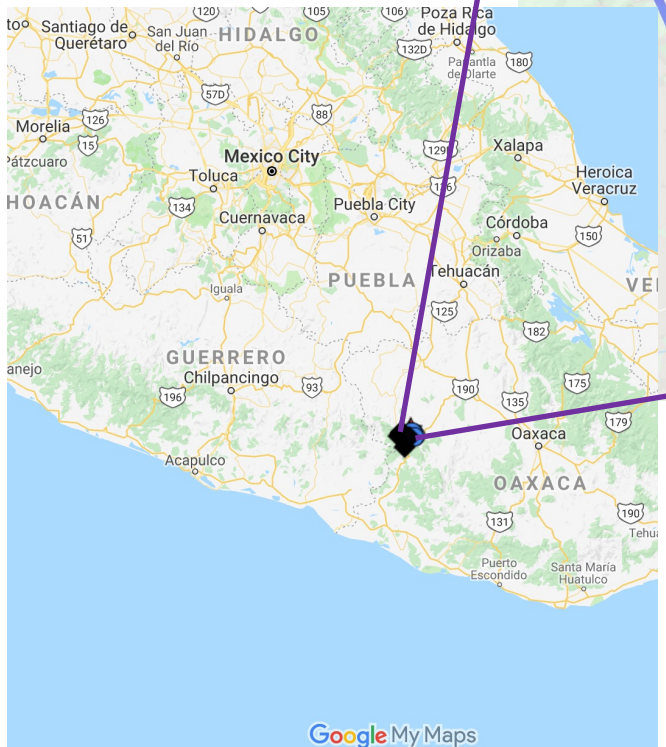
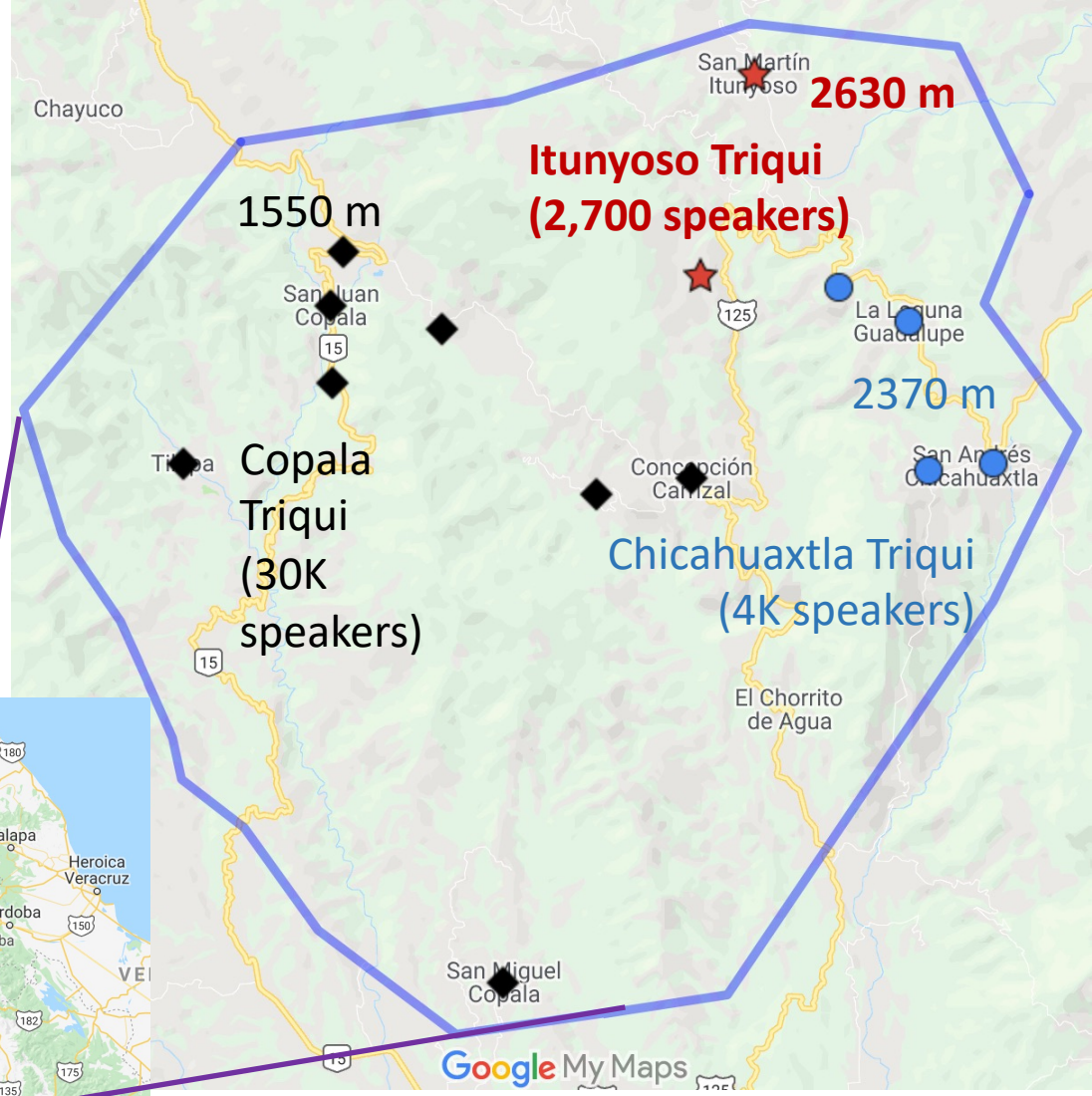
Triqui languages

- Three varieties with some intelligibility between Chicahuaxtla and Itunyoso Triqui. Copala Triqui is recognizably ”different” by speakers and not intelligible.

- All tonally complex in terms of tonal inventories and the use of tone in the morphology and grammatical constructions.

- **General inquiry for grammar: what does Triqui pragmatics look like?**





My scholarship on the language

- 2004 – 2008 Dissertation work on the phonetics and phonology of tone and consonant types.
- 2009 – 2014 Post-doctoral research in France on the perception of tone and phonation; studies on tonal coarticulation.
- 2014 – 2019 NSF grant on language documentation; collection and transcription of texts; work on morphophonology and the phonetics of prosody.
- 2020 – 2022 Translation and transcription research focusing on discussions of women's rights via a UB Humanities Grant.
- 2023 – present **A reference grammar of Itunyoso Triqui** via an NEH fellowship; Language Sciences Press
- 2004 – present *Triqui-Spanish dictionary* (on the web)


bbej nù chataj
béndáa ahyoj kahaan bëndáaj
ccháj
ccháj chi enetan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What does a reference grammar include?

1. Introduction and overview

2. How this grammar is structured

3. The phonetics and phonology of consonants

4. The phonetics and phonology of glottalization and vowels

5. The phonetics and phonology of tone

6. Prosody

7. Nominal morphology

8. Verbal morphology

9. The morphosyntax of clitics

10. The morphophonology of clitics

11. Compound words

12. Parts of speech and basic constituents

13. The syntax of basic sentences

14. The syntax of complex sentences

15. Pragmatics: information structure

16. Pragmatics: final particles

Pragmatics in tonal and non-tonal languages

- In non-tonal languages, intonation can be used to mark speech acts (Ladd 2008).

- Tonal and non-tonal languages alike can use grammatical means for indicating speech acts (c.f. Kalinowski 2015) but, statistically, tonal languages are more likely to use grammatical means to mark things like questions (Torreira et al 2014).

- Intonational pitch accents or boundary tones are exceedingly rare in tone languages.

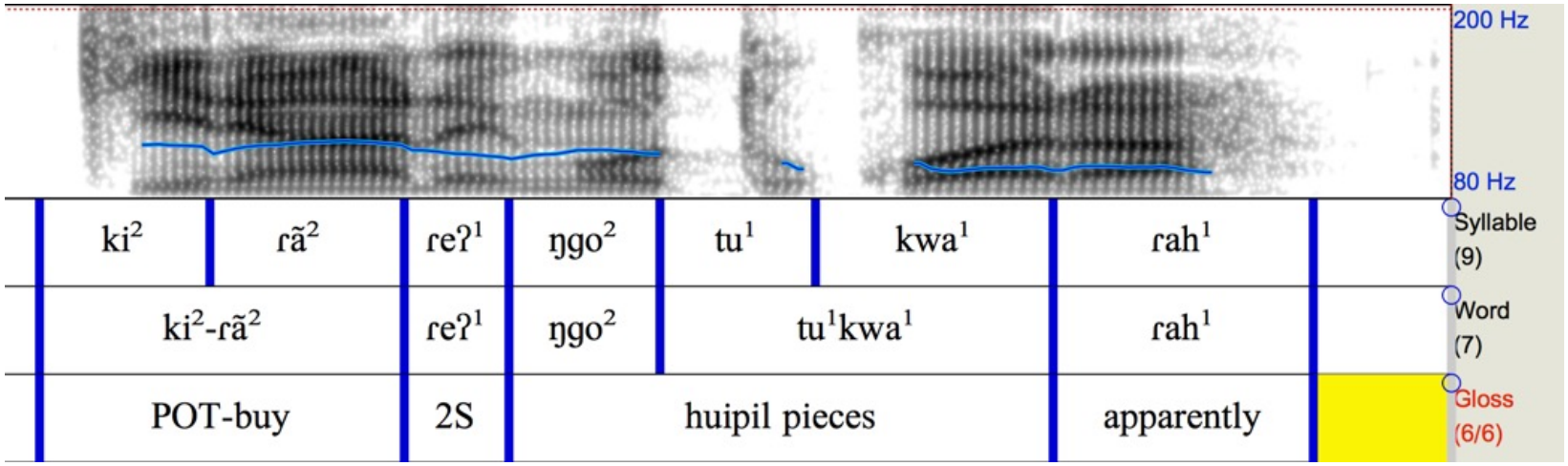
What about in a complex tone language?

- In complex tone languages there may be no intonational strategies within the pragmatic system (DiCanio y Hatcher 2018, DiCanio et al. 2018, 2021).

- Grammatical strategies, like word order or pragmatic particles, are used instead.

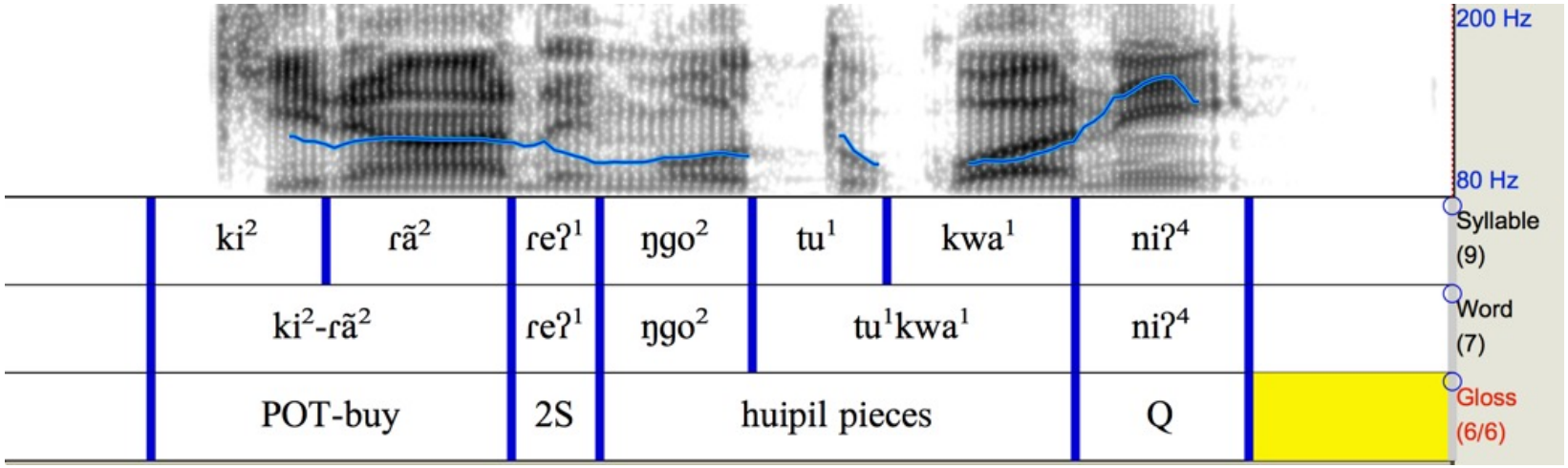
- Triqui has a set of 39 final particles that are used to distinguish parts of speech, shared information, relations between speakers, and more.

Example – question vs. expression of uncertainty



Ki²ran²=reh¹ ngo² tu¹kwa¹ rah¹

You are going to buy huipil pieces, apparently.



Ki²ran²=reh¹ ngo² tu¹kwa¹ nih⁴

You are going to buy huipil pieces?

Outline

1. Language description
2. Final particles in languages of the world
3. Methods/data on final particles
4. A review of question SFPs
5. Discussion

II. Phonological background: tone

bbej^{5}	‘straw mat’	chi^{3}hyoj^{5}	‘swamp’
bbe^{4}	‘hair’	ka^{3}to^{4}	‘shirt’
nne^{3}	‘plough’	na^{3}ra^{3}	‘to refill’
nne^{2}	‘to lie’	a^{2}man^{2}	‘when (Q)’
nne^{1}	‘naked’	na^{1}ka^{1}	‘new’
nne^{32}	‘water’	a^{3}bi^{32}	‘to leave’
nne^{31}	‘meat’	a^{3}nin^{1}	‘to explode’
che^{43}	‘my father’	a^{4}ne^{43}	‘to chew’
nga^{13}	‘when’	ka^{1}han^{3}	‘four (nominal)'

II. Morphological background: tone

Tone is used in nominal derivation, verbal inflection for aspect, in syntactic constructions, and in information structure.

oh³ [oʔ³]	‘to hit’	k-oh¹	‘POT-hit’
oj⁵ [oh⁵]	‘I hit’	koj¹	‘I am going to hit’
oh⁴	‘we hit’	koh¹	‘we are going to hit’
oj³	‘*aforementioned* hits’	koj¹³	‘the *aforementioned* is going to hit’

Is there space to use tone pragmatically? No.

- Tone has a very high functional load in Itunyoso Triqui. How is pragmatics marked without tone?
- Information structure is primarily marked via word order.

(1)	Ka³hanj² Ku³se⁴³ ya³kwej³ ku³ki³ PERF.go José Oaxaca yesterday	‘José went to Oaxaca yesterday.’	**Statement**
(2)	Ku³se⁴³ ka³hanj² ya³kwej³ ku³ki³ José PERF.go Oaxaca yesterday	‘**José** went to Oaxaca yesterday.’ (response to ‘who went to Oaxaca yesterday?’)	**Subject Focus**

Final particles in languages of the world

- Sentence-final particles are a sub-type of **discourse marker.** Discourse markers are used to indicate speech acts, illocutionary force, evidentiality, strategies to control turn-taking, and other categories like speaker engagement (Evans et al. 2018).

- All languages have discourse markers but there is a strong tendency for pragmatic meaning to be marked at the beginning or end of the phrase.

“A fundamental characteristic of discourse markers is that they function beyond the propositional content of the communication.” (Fox Tree 2010)

"... discourse markers focus on the way communication is negotiated rather than on its content" (ibid)

- There is a preponderance of sentence-final particles (SFPs) found in languages of East and Southeast Asia (Panov 2020).

- The complexity and presence of SFPs in these languages is connected to the lack of intonational systems marking utterance-level pragmatics in many of the languages; (Brunelle et al 2012, Sybesma and Li 2007).

- Though descriptions and surveys have focused on SFPs in E/SE Asian languages like Vietnamese (Brunelle et al 2012, Brunelle 2016) and Cantonese (Symesma and Li 2007), they are equally found in in Mande languages (Sherwood 2020), in Niger-Congo more generally (Hyman and Monaka 2011), and in Otomanguean languages like Isthmus Zapotec (Bueno Holle 2019).

Isthmus Zapotec (Bueno Holle 2019)

¿(ñée)	biiyalu	laabe	lá?
ñee^{H}	bi-uuya=lu’	laa=be^{LH}	la^{H}
Q	COMPL-see=2SG	BASE=3.HUM	LA

‘Did you see him/her?’

This question is ungrammatical without the SFP *lá^{H}*.

Mandarin (Sino-Tinetan; China):
tā *mǎi* *fángzi* ***le*** ***ma***[2]
3SG buy house **FP** **FP**
'Did (s)he buy a house?'
(Li & Thompson 1989 [1981]: 239)

Japanese (Japonic; Japan):
Sore *dake* ***ka*** ***ne***
only it **FP** **FP**
'Only it, right?'
(Alpatov et al.: 464)

Thai (Tai-Kadai; Thailand):
pay *nây* ***khrâp***
go where **FP**
'Where are you going?' (a male asking)'
klàp *bâan* ***khâ***
go home **FP**
(Smyth 2002: 126)
'I am going home.' (a female responding)

SFPs encode a range of meanings

The final particle *ma* in Mandarin marks **questions**.

The particles *ka ne* in Japanese marks **tag questions**.

The particles *khrâp/khâ* in Thai are markers of **politeness** used by men/women (respetively).

Pragmatic dimensions to consider

- **Speech acts**: assertions, hopes, demands, questions, quoted speech, etc.
- **Relations between speakers**: politeness/familiarity, gender, age.
- **Information perspective:** new, old, surprising, expected, etc.
- **Polarity**: positive, negative, neutral
- **Evidentiality**: the source of information; from personal experience, general knowledge, reported speech, personal beliefs

- **Engagement:** grammaticalised systems for monitoring and adjusting intersubjective settings; *grammaticalized intersubjectivity* (Evans et al 2018a, 2018b).

III. Methods and data

- The basis for much of this work is 29 hours of archived, transcribed, and translated Triqui speech from the NSF documentation project. The bulk of these recordings are dialogues. There are 290 distinct recordings from 34 speakers.

- This corpus includes about 400K words and includes conversations and shared narratives on Triqui culture, ethnobotany, history, traditional stories, and personal testimonies.

- From this corpus, we look for examples with targeted SFPs. Further elicitation with targeted contexts allow us to figure out the specific meaning that is encoded. It's otherwise *quite* hard to figure out specific meanings.

39 unique SFPs have been identified in Triqui speech

ah^{3}/anh^{3}	**negative focus question**	**nej^{3}**	‘also’, additionally	**sah^{1}**	**question when considering alternatives**
aj^{3}/aj^{5}	**tag question w/perfective verbs**	**nej^{5}**	negative commands	**sa^{3}yoj^{3}**	counter expectations
bej^{1}	strong commands, ‘already!’	**nun^{2} ne^{43}**	expression of anger	**staj^{3}**	‘at all!’
kah^{13}	‘neither’, negative option	**oh^{1}**	**content question**	**stej^{3}**	already, used w/commands
kaj^{34}	more than presumed	**oj^{3}**	demand for action	**stinh^{4}**	**negative tag question**
kaj^{1}	**tag question w/potential verbs**	**oj^{1}**	**question used as a response**	**stoj^{3}**	expresses obligation
koh^{1}	**manner question**	**nih^{4}**	**polar question**	**toj^{1}**	expresses lack of understanding
manj^{5}	negative focus statement	**noh^{1}**	**repeated question**	**trunj^{5}**	used when suggesting prohibited options
manh^{3}	negative quotation	**raj^{1}**	lack of certainty	**un^{43}**	**emphatic questions**
minh^{3}	surely, expression of certainty	**rej^{3}**	reported speech	**yoj^{32}**	expresses common speaker belief w/out certainty
nanh^{13}	personal belief of speaker	**riaj^{5}**	used w/giving advice	**yu^{3}be^{32}**	confirmation of truthhood
nanj^{13}	distinguishing between quantities	**runj^{3}**	**partial question**	**(ya)hnej^{5}**	SFP between men
nanj^{5}	expression of finality	**saj^{5}**	counter expectations	**ya^{3}rij^{5}**	SFP between women

Observations and grammatical status

- The languages with the *most* final particles in the typological survey of Panov (2020) have just 6-7. Triqui is apparently a *huge* outlier.
- While the semantic distinction between adverbs and SFPs is not always clear, SFPs have the following properties in Triqui:

1. They obligatorily occur sentence-finally (but before terms of address)
2. Only <u>one</u> SFP is possible within a phrase.
3. Adverbs occur pre-verbally, but SFPs may not.
4. Many have multiple senses (truer for those not used for questions)

Adverbs and SFPs

(1) Cha¹ngah¹ k-a³hmin³²=sij³ ku³ki³ **Preverbal adverb**

really PERF-speak=3M yesterday

‘He really/actually spoke yesterday.’

(2) K-a³hmin³² cha¹ngah¹=sij³ ku³ki³ **Post-verbal adverb**

PERF-speak really=3M yesterday

‘He really/actually spoke yesterday.’

(3) K-a³hmin³²=sij³ ku³ki³ **bej¹**

PERF-speak=3M yesterday **SFP.necessarily**

‘He spoke yesterday by/out.of necessity.’

(4) ***Bej¹** k-a³hmin³²=sij³ ku³ki³

SFP.necessarily PERF-SPEAK=3M yesterday

‘He spoke yesterday by/out.of necessity.’

A large project for the grammar

- The analysis of all SFPs in the language is a rather large project for the grammar and *too large* for a single talk.

- The focus here will be on the pragmatic dimensions that are used to distinguish the 12 different types of questions, along with some particles used with other speech acts.

IV. There are 12 SFPs for questions

There is a distinction between polar (yes/no) and content questions in Itunyoso Triqui. They require different SFPs.

(5)	Ki^{3}-ranj^{4}=reh^{1}	ngo^{2}	ka^{3}min^{43} **nih^{4}**/*oh^{1}		***nih^{4}***	*polar question*
	PERF-buy=2S	one	car	SFP.POLAR.Q		
	‘Did you buy a car?’					
(6)	Un^{3}sin^{3}	ki^{3}-ranj^{4}=reh^{1}	**oh^{1}**/*nih^{4}		***oh^{1}***	*content question*
	what	PERF-buy=2S	SFP.CONTENT.Q			
	‘What did you buy?’					

This particular dimension is not so novel – English and Spanish both distinguish polar vs. content questions with unique intonational strategies.

Tag questions are also distinguished, p.g. eh?, but in Triqui tag question SFPs have *allomorphs* based on the tone and nasality of the preceding syllable. Are they clitics?

(7) ka³hanj²=nih²=sij³ nga¹=nej³ **aj³**?
PERF.go=PL=3S with=3P SFP.TAG
'They went with them, eh?'

(8) ni² chanh¹ u²rua⁴³ baj³ a⁴nanj⁴=neh⁴ **aj⁵**?
and pretty very be.3TOP weave=1P.INCL TAG.Q
'It's very pretty what we weave, eh?'

Allomorphy by tone and nasalization:

aj⁵	after the higher tones (43, 4, 5)
aj³	after the lower tones (1, 2, 3, 32, 31, 13)
anj⁵/anj³	after words which end with a nasal vowel

(9)

Ta³	bin³	ngo²	kkan³	**anj³**?
that	be	one	squash	TAG.Q?

'That's one squash, right?'

Verbal aspect and SFPs

- In the previous examples, the SFP is used for marking a tag question. In turns out that this form can *only* be used with imperfective or perfective verbs (realis). If the verb has potential aspect marking, a different SFP must be used – *kaj¹.*

(10)	ka³hanj¹=reh¹	ni³gyanj⁵	ku³ki³	**aj⁵**/*kaj¹
	PERF.go=2S	Tlaxiaco	yesterday	SFP.TAG.Q/IRR.TAG.Q
	'You went to Tlaxiaco yesterday, eh?'			
(11)	ka²hanj²=reh¹	ni³gyanj⁵	a³hyoj³	**kaj¹**/*aj⁵
	POT.go=2S	Tlaxiaco	tomorrow	SFP.IRR.TAG.Q/TAG.Q
	'You will go to Tlaxiaco tomorrow, eh?'			

Negation, aspect, and SFPs

- Itunyoso Triqui has a peculiar pattern where negation *requires* that aspect “flip”, e.g. a negated potential reading ‘will not go’ requires you use a perfective verb and vice-versa.
- Tag question SFPs must match *the negated aspect.*

(12) Un³sin³ ni² nun³ ku²nanj²=reh¹ kaj¹/*aj³?
what/why and/that NEG POT.run=2S SFP.IRR.TAG.Q/TAG.Q
‘Why didn’t you run?’

(13) Un³sin³ ku⁴nanj⁴=reh¹ aj³/*kaj¹?
what/why PERF.run=2S TAG.Q/SFP.IRR.TAG.Q
‘Why did you run?’

Repetition and questions

- **Repetition** is an important dimension that SFPs are sensitive to as well. I'm not sure how to think of this in other ways at the moment.

- There is an SFP used for **follow-up questions** – an initial question gets its own SFP, but following questions requires ***noh¹***.

- If you repeat the same question in your response (a "meta"-question), there is a separate SFP for this - ***oj¹*.**

(14) **Juan:** Ki¹-ran¹ ngo² ka³min⁴³ xi³
POT-buy.1S one car large
‘I am going to buy a big car.’

Tú: Taj¹ tu²hbe³ oh¹/***noh¹**? Un³taj² sa³hanj²
how expensive SFP.CONTENT.Q/REP.Q how.much money

ni³kaj¹=reh¹ **noh¹**/*oh¹?
carry=2S REP.Q/SFP.CONTENT.Q

‘How expensive is it? How much money do you have?’

Juan: Ni¹ka¹ sa³hanj².
carry.1S dinero
‘I have (the) money.'

- The SFP **oj1** is used when questioning a question in an answer. What is the pragmatic dimension for metapropositions?

(15) Speaker 1: ka3hanj1=reh1 ya3kwej3 **nih4**?
PERF.go=2S Oaxaca SFP.POLAR.Q
Did you go to Oaxaca?

Speaker 2: Ka4han43 ya3kwej3 **oj1**?
PERF.go.1S Oaxaca SFP.REP.Q
Did I go to Oaxaca?

- But the same SFP *oj¹* can be used when the speaker knows the answer to their own question – even at the beginning of an exchange. In (17), the speaker need not follow another question - (17) is not a response to (16).

(16) Ki³-ranj⁴=sij³ cha³chunj⁵ **nih⁴**?
PERF-buy=3M bread SFP.POLAR.Q
'Did he buy bread?'
(Speaker does not know the answer.)

(17) Ki³-ranj⁴=sij³ cha³chunj⁵ **oj¹**? Ki³-ni³ʔih⁵ si³
PERF-buy=3M bread SFP.REP.Q PERF-see.1S COMP

ki³-ranj⁴=sij³ cha³chunj⁵
PERF-buy=3M bread

'Did he buy bread? I saw that he bought bread.'

Another example – extension to politeness?

(18)	Nih^{4}	u^{3}sin^{3}	a^{3}nin^{1}	yyaj^{32}	ta^{3}	roh^{4}-hya^{3}	raj^{4}
	who.knows	what	bloom	flower	DEM	seem	feel.1S
	oj^{1}		o^{4}neh^{4}.				
	SFP.SHARED.INFO.Q		comadre.Q				

‘Who knows in what (month) these flowers bloom, it seems, comadre.’

In this text, the speaker is guiding their comadre in an ethnobotanical description. The speaker knows the answer to the question, but wants to elicit the specific response from their comadre – this is about shared attention (and perhaps respect). So, is *oj^{1}* glossed as marking shared knowledge? repetition? or what?

Negation and information structure

Various SFPs occur only in the context of negation. Questions involving positive focus just use the polar SFP *nih⁴*, questions involving negative focus involve a separate SFP – *ah³/anh³*.

(19a)	se⁴	xwan⁴³	ki³-ranj⁴	**anh³**?
	not	Juan	PERF-buy	SFP.NEG.FOC.Q
	'It wasn't *Juan* who bought it?'			

This contrasts with the declarative negative focus SFP *manj⁵*.

(19b)	se⁴	xwan⁴³	ki³-ranj⁴	**manj⁵**
	not	Juan	PERF-buy	SFP.NEG.FOC
	'It wasn't *Juan* who bought it.'			

Extended use – expressions of doubt

(20a)	ttaj^{5}	ni^{1}ko^{3}	ngo^{2}	ma^{3}ka^{2}ra^{2},	ttaj^{5}	toj^{3}
	be.on.top	much	one	hand.length	be.on.top	more
	ttaj^{5}	rianj^{3}		si^{3}raj^{3}	**ah^{3}**	
	be.on.top	face.3TOP		seem	SFP.NEG.FOC.Q	

'There are perhaps more hand lengths/measures more on top of this, it seems, eh?'

(By using **ah^{3}**, the speaker expresses doubt and seeks confirmation from an elder.)

(20b)	ngo^{2}	ma^{3}ka^{2}ra^{2}	ni^{2}	ya^{4}kwa^{4}han^{4}	ra^{3}ha^{3}	ba^{32}	rian^{32}	ru^{3}hnun^{4}
	one	hand.length	and	another.four	hand	be	face	huipil
	che^{1}he^{1}	ta^{3}	**yu^{3}be^{32}**					
	long	DEM	SFP.CONF.					

'One hand length and another four hands are on (are needed) for this long huipil.)
(The use of *yu^{3}be^{32}* expresses confidence in the truth of responses.)

Alternative questions

The SFP *sah¹* is used when the speaker offers possible responses.

(21)	Taj¹	k-a¹toh¹	**beh¹**	Un³	kwi³	ka³-bin³		nunh³
	how	POT-say.1DU	SFP.UNCERTAIN	which	day	PERF-be		dressed.1DU
	ma²han³	nan²	**nih⁴**?	A³si²	ta¹	ba³²	ngo²	ki³hyanj
	this	DIR	SFP.POLAR.Q	or	until	exist	one	party
	nun³²	cha¹ngoh¹	ma²han³	**sah¹?**				
	be.dressed	really.1DU	this	SFP.ALTERNATIVE.Q				

'How might we say it? On which day was it that we dress up in this (long huipil)? Or is it until there is a party that we actually wear this?

Manner and surprisal

- The SFP ***koh¹*** is used when either (a) when it is a question regarding manner or (b) when the speaker is indicating that the question (or answer) is surprising.

(22)

Ni²	nga¹³	hyaj³	sun³²=j⁵reh¹	sun³²	na³sin³	raj¹
and	when	do	work=2P	work	tomato	SFP.UNCERTAIN
o³nej³,	taj¹	hyaj³=j⁵reh¹		sinh³	ta³	a³hbe³
comadre,	how	do=2P		child	dem	be.able
u³nu²kwaj³=j⁵reh¹		hyaj³	sun³²=j⁵reh¹	koh¹,		o⁴neh⁴?
accomplish=2P		do	work=2P	SFP.SURPRISE		comadre.Q

‘And when you (all) were working with tomato, comadre? how were you able to manage these children while working?

Partial questions

- There is a specific SFP *runj³* used only for *partial questions*.

(23) Speaker 1: Un³cchej³² ku⁴ta¹=reh¹ ko³ho³ **oh¹**?
where PERF.put=2S plate SFP.POLAR.Q
Where did you put the plates?

Speaker 2: Be⁴ ttaj⁵ rian³² me⁴sa⁴³
TOP be.on.top face table.
They are there on the table.

Speaker 1: Ni² nih¹ ba⁴su⁴³ **runj³**/*aj⁵ ?
and PL glass SFP.PARTIAL.Q/TAG
And the glasses?

Dimensions of meaning

SFP	Speech act (sub-type)	Aspect	Information perspective	Polarity	Description
nih^{4}	polar:neutral	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know
oh^{1}	content	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know
oj^{1}	polar:neutral	any	neutral	positive	speaker knows and listener (may) know
noh^{1}	content	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know, repeated
koh^{1}	content	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know, surprise
aj^{3}/aj^{5}	tag	realis	neutral	positive	listener confirms
kaj^{1}	tag	irrealis	neutral	positive	listener confirms
ah^{3}	tag	any	focus-sensitive	negative	listener confirms
runj^{3}	content	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know, partial
un^{43}	polar:emphatic	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know, surprise
sah^{1}	content	any	neutral	positive	listener (may) know, alternative
stinh^{4} oj^{1}	tag	any	neutral	positive	listener confirms what *only* the speaker believes

V. Discussion

- We've only reviewed 10 of 39 particles!

- Apart from their primary uses, it is clear that many of the SFPs have extended uses that might be associated with politeness or to elicit specific types of information from the interlocutor.

- These particles are *very* common. For instance, out of the corpus of 400K words, the SFP *yoj*^{32}, reflecting lack of certainty, occurs 1,700 times.

On our pragmatic dimensions

- Many of the SFPs are not neatly defined along the dimensions we list.

- Apart from one particle used with reported speech, *none* of the 39 SFPs encode the source of information at all (personal witness, visual, auditory, etc). Evidentiality is not so important here, though mirativity appears to be relevant (c.f. DeLancey 1997).

- Rather, it seems like many of the particles indicate if knowledge is shared or not shared, presumed, surprising, obvious, and so on. Certainty and speaker engagement seems to be relevant (Evans et al 2018a, 2018b).

Engagement: The two most common SFPs

- The two most common SFPs are *yu³be³²* and *yoj³²*. The former is used to express confidence in the assertion, the latter to indicate less confidence.

(24a) Taj¹ ki³-hyaj³=sij³ oh¹?
how PERF-do=3M SFP.CONTENT
'How did they do?'

(24b) Ba¹ na³-ki³-hyaj³ sah¹=sij³ estufa yu³be³²/*yoj³².
already ITER-PERF-do good=3M stove SFP.CONFIDENT
'They fixed the stove.'

Context: A repairman comes to your house when you are away. You come home and ask your housemate what happened in the kitchen. You know that your housemate has knowledge that you do not possess.

Use of *yoj³²* and *yu³be³²* in a teaching context

(25a)	Beni:	Ni²	ka²hbe³	ka²runj²		le⁴cha⁴³	"a”	nga¹
		and	POT.able	POT.write.1S		letter	“a”	with
		nej³	le⁴cha⁴³	"b”	nan²	yoj³².		
		PL	letter	“b”	DIR	SFP.BELIEF		

‘And I can write the letter ‘a’ with ‘b’ letters then.’

(25b)	Christian:	Ka²hbe³	yu³be³²
		POT.able	SFP.CONFIDENT
		‘(You) can.’	

Ni² yoj³²(?) / and yoj³²?

- It is infelicitous to use the SFP **yoj³²** in contexts where the interlocutor would *not* have knowledge of the event.

- This is a good hint that the particles involve **symmetrical access** to the speech event, but the interaction requires a hierarchy of authority.

- The way in which the knowledge is observed is unimportant. This is not evidentiality.

(Benigno, my consultant): "A clear example would be students using *yoj³²* when stating something to their teacher. The teacher responds only with *yu³be³²*."

Problems

- Presented here are SFPs which encode “questions,” but the notion of what exactly comprises a question is rather complicated.

- Triqui speakers use the pairs *yoj³²* - *yu³be³²* a lot in discourse and this involves differences in speaker authority. What does it mean to use an SFP reflecting less confidence?

- Since it is only felicitous to use *yoj³²* - *yu³be³²* when an exchange is present, is *yoj³²* a question SFP?

Final points

- There is a ***lot*** to explore here. The findings here are the result of 2-3 years of fieldwork on SFPs. We've scratched the surface.

- There is a strong relationship between the use of pitch to mark pragmatic dimensions and the richness of the SFP system in human languages (Brunelle et al 2012, Sybesma y Li 2007).

- Since tone has such strikingly high functional load in Triqui, the SFP system is also perhaps strikingly rich.

- Little work on SFPs in Otomanguean, but see Bueno Holle (2019).

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Pragmatics

Pragmatics refers to the way in which...

a) we organize linguistic information, e.g. focus, topic, **shared information, new information**

b) we indicate speech acts, e.g. questions, demands, assertions, etc.

c) we organize the flow of information in conversation, including the relations between speakers, e.g. how we might indicate mutual comprehension or incomprehension

Managing listener expectations

- How does ‘more than you think’ get encoded in the pragmatic dimensions we list? The speaker must have beliefs/expectations about what the listener (or others) believe to be true.

(26) Ki³-ranj⁴ Maria toj³ **kaj³⁴**
PERF-buy Maria more SFP.UNEXP.EVID
'Maria bought more than (you’d) think’

(27) K-oh¹ ku³man¹ **kaj³⁴**
POT-hit rain SFP.UNEXP.EVID
‘It is going to rain more than we’re thinking’

(28) Ngo⁴³ rian³² la³riaj³=soh¹ **kaj34**
EXP.ANGER face asshole=2S.ACC SFP.UNEXP.EVID
‘You’re an even bigger asshole than we thought’