

## TONE-LARYNGEAL-MORPHOLOGY IN CHICAHUAXTLA TRIQUI

Triqui is an endangered member of the Oto-manguean family, Mixtecan branch, which has three varieties: Chichahuaxtla, Copala, and Itunyoso. Of the three Chichahuaxtla is tonally the most complex, as it has five-level tone 5-1, the greatest number of tone combinations, such as 45, 43, etc. as well as has tones with final glottals /ʔ h/, e.g. 2h, 4ʔ, and even floating tones. It also has another tone-laryngeal combination 3<sup>h</sup>3 and 3<sup>ʔ</sup>3, in which the glottal element is manifested mid-syllable, Longacre 1952 & 1958, DiCano 2008, 2009, 2010, & 2012, and DiCano & Cruz-Martinez 2010. Triqui is a language which is syllabically strongest on the right, as only the last syllable shows the richest assembly of tone shapes. The non-final syllables generally appear with tone 3, which is the default tone. This paper will discuss the tone-laryngeal elements that signify the morphological categories for person, number, possession, adjectives, tense & aspect. The examples below illustrate these features

- |          |  |   |  |   |  |
|----------|--|---|--|---|--|
| (1) Free | a. <i>achin</i> <sup>45</sup> <i>ni</i> <sup>3h</sup><br>ask 3P<br>'They ask.'                               | b. <i>achin</i> <sup>45</sup> <i>re</i> <sup>1ʔ</sup><br>ask 2S Formal<br>'You ask.'                        | c. <i>achin</i> <sup>43</sup><br>ask-1S<br>'I ask.'                                  | d. <i>achin</i> <sup>4ʔ</sup><br>ask-1P<br>'We ask'                               | e. <i>achin</i> <sup>3</sup><br>ask-3S<br>'She asks.'                              |
| (2)      | a. <i>go</i> <sup>3ʔ</sup> <i>o</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>ni</i> <sup>3h</sup><br>drink 3P<br>'They drink.'       | b. <i>go</i> <sup>3ʔ</sup> <i>o</i> <sup>32</sup> <i>re</i> <sup>1ʔ</sup><br>drink 2S<br>'You drink.'       | c. <i>go</i> <sup>3ʔ</sup> <i>o</i> <sup>43</sup><br>drink-1S<br>'I drink.'          | d. <i>go</i> <sup>3ʔ</sup> <i>o</i> <sup>4ʔ</sup><br>drink-1P<br>'We drink.'      | e. <i>go</i> <sup>3ʔ</sup> <i>o</i> <sup>3h</sup><br>drink-3S<br>'She drinks.'     |
| (3) ANT  | a. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>32h</sup> <i>ni</i> <sup>3h</sup><br>ANT-say 3P<br>'They will say.' | b. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>32h</sup> <i>re</i> <sup>1ʔ</sup><br>ANT-say 2S<br>'You will say.' | c. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>43</sup> ___<br>ANT-say-1S<br>'I will say.' | d. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>to</i> <sup>2ʔ</sup><br>ANT-say-1P<br>'We will say.' | e. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>3h</sup><br>ANT-say-3S<br>'She will say.' |

The underlying tone base values are exhibited in the second and third person free forms, cf. (1), (2), and (3) a & b. The fused forms are displayed in c, d, & e of each example. The stems can be divided in **Class I**, which includes stems with the values 45/1<sup>h</sup>, 4<sup>h</sup>, 3<sup>h</sup>, 23<sup>h</sup>, 32<sup>h</sup>, 2<sup>h</sup>, 21<sup>h</sup>, and in Class II includes stems with the values 3<sup>ʔ</sup>, 32<sup>ʔ</sup>, 31<sup>ʔ</sup>, and 1<sup>ʔ</sup>. The examples above exemplify how the regular tone-laryngeal morphology changes for Class I in 1, for **Class II** in 2, and in the *Anticipatory Mode* in 3 (similar to English future), which we will now consider.

For Class I the base form in (1) 'ask', is *achin*<sup>45</sup>, which is found in the free forms for 3P and 2S. 'Ask' for 1S has the value 43, and for the 3P the form is 4ʔ, and finally the 3S uses the default form, i.e. 3.

For Class II, the morphology is not as regular. The base for *drink*, in (2) is 32. The value for 3P and 2S is 32. And, for the 1S the values is 43, and 1P has a raised form of 4ʔ.

The example (3) shows the how the morphological categories for *say* in the *anticipatory mode*; something like the English future. The verb *say* in the ANT form is 32h. For 1S it changes to 43 and for 1P it changes to 2ʔ. As usual then the 3S is 3h.

The data show that tone-laryngeal morphology employs laryngeal elements in parallel with the tones. And herein lies a problem for theory, how to incorporate laryngeal elements, breathy, creaky, etc. into a tone geometry, Hyman (2010:4). has said, we ought in principle to be able to capture the relation of tones to laryngeal features, e.g. voicing, breathiness, creakiness.