

## An emphatic auxiliary construction for emotions in Copala Triqui

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Copala Triqui is an Otomanguean language of Mexico, with a basic head-initial word order. Many clauses are headed by compound verbs made up of two or three parts. Thus in (2) *anó ra'á* means 'touch with the hand' and includes the noun *ra'á* 'hand'. (1) and (2) also illustrate the differential object marking; accusative is optional with non-pronominal objects, but frequent for animate objects and infrequent for inanimate objects.

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| <p>(1) <i>A'níí ta'nii Mariá neę rá chruún a.</i><br/>         put daughter Maria meat in oven decl<br/>         'Maria's daughter puts the meat in the oven.'</p> | <p>(2) <i>C-anó ra'á Mariá man Juán a.</i><br/>         COM-touch Maria acc Juan decl<br/>         'Maria touched Juan.'</p> |
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Transitive emotion and psychological predicates like 'love, hate, believe in, be upset with, be worried about' may appear as ordinary transitives. But when the object of such a predicate is human, it is very common for an emphatic auxiliary construction (3, 4, 5) to appear.<sup>1</sup> Because the construction has become somewhat conventionalised for human objects, speakers find it hard to explain its semantics. However, when used with inanimates (5), the auxiliary is only appropriate in emphatic contexts. Thus emphasis seems to be part of the underlying semantics of the emotion + auxiliary construction.<sup>2</sup>

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| <p>(3) <i>C-aran' rá Diose ni'yaj so' man Moisés</i><br/>         COM like God look' 3SGM ACC Moses<br/>         V Subj Aux Pro Acc Obj<br/>         'God liked (favored) Moses.'</p> | <p>(4) <i>Nachri' nii ni'yaj nii man núj</i><br/>         hate INDEF look' INDEF ACC we (excl)<br/>         V Subj Aux Pro Acc Obj<br/>         'People hate us'</p> |
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- (5) *unj aran' ndo'o rá=j ne'e=j chra'* 'I like the music very much.'  
 I like much (part) = 1sg see' = 1sg music  
 Subj V (Adv) Part = Subj Aux = Pro Obj

**The emphatic auxiliary construction.** The construction shows a number of morphosyntactic features which need to be specified. The key element of the emphatic construction is the appearance of an auxiliary verb (glossed look' or see') after the emotion predicate. In examples (3) and (4) above, this is the verb *ni'yaj*, which in ordinary sentences means 'look'. (5) shows the verb *ne'e* 'see' used as the auxiliary.<sup>3</sup> As (5) shows, these verbs have undergone semantic bleaching and do not have their regular semantics in this environment. Instead they have become auxiliaries whose use is restricted to this construction only.

**Constraints on the auxiliary.** The auxiliary is constrained to match the initial emotion predicate in its aspect feature. Copala Triqui verbs inflect for aspect via a prefix and shift of tone register. The basic tone register for a verb is its high register form; it shifts into low register to show potential aspect.<sup>4</sup> A negative particle before the verb also triggers a shift to the low register form.

In the emphatic auxiliary construction we find that any environment which triggers low register on the initial

1 Many of the predicates (like *ęę rá* 'love') which participate in the construction are compounds with the word *rá*, a particle meaning something like 'heart, emotional center'.

2 Note that the auxiliaries do not add arguments to the emotion predicates, thus they do not form complex predicates with them by generally accepted definitions (Butt 1995).

3 The difference appears to be diachronic. The examples with *ni'yaj* come from the 1960s, and those with *ne'e* from 2012. Current speakers call the *ni'yaj* versions 'eloquent' but not something that most people would now say.

4 The rules for deriving the low register from the high register form are detailed in Hollenbach (1984).

emotion predicate will trigger a corresponding low register tone on the auxiliary. Thus the ASPECT feature of the Aux must match the ASPECT feature of the emotion predicate. In (6), the low register form of the auxiliary must be used because the emotion predicate *a'maan rá* 'be angry' is in the potential aspect.

6. ... *nē nano' ní' daj qui-'yaj ní'* , *gaa nē c-a'maan rá*  
 and look for we (incl.) how pot- **make:LOW** we (incl.) then pot **be angry:LOW**  
*Dioṣe ní'yaj Dioṣe man ní' na' ?*  
 God look':LOW God acc we (incl.) q  
 Are we looking for a way to make God angry at us?

**Constraints on the repeated subject.** The auxiliary is followed by either 1.) a pronominal repetition of the subject or 2) a repetition of a proper noun. If the subject of the previous emotion predicate was a pronoun, then the subject of the auxiliary is an exact repetition (as in 4, 5). If the subject of the emotion predicate is a proper noun (such as *Dioṣe* 'God'), then there may be a pronoun which matches the person and number features of the subject (as in 3) or a repetition of the proper noun (as in 6).

**Transitivity restriction** The emphatic auxiliary construction is only found with transitive versions of the emotion predicates. It is ungrammatical to use it with intransitive versions of the emotion predicates (7) vs (8):

(7) *Chumán rá nij so' ní'yaj nij so' man so'* (8) *Chumán rá nij so'' (\*ní'yaj nij so')*  
 believe 3PL look' 3PL ACC 3sgM hate 3PL look' 3PL  
 'They believe in him' 'They believe'

### Licensing the construction

To license this construction, I will adopt the conventions of Asudeh, Dalrymple, and Toivonen (2008), who allow PS-rules to invoke template call via the @ variable. The template which is relevant here I will call the TRIQUI EMOTION template. The template call is on the head:

S --> (V|Adj) (Part<sup>0</sup>) NP Aux Det NP  
 ↑=↓ ↑=↓ (↑SUBJ)=↓ ↑=↓ ↓INDEX=↑SUBJ INDEX (↑OBJ)=↓  
 @TRIQ-EMOT(↑PRED FN) ↓ASP=↑ASP

A verb which invokes this template call will obligatorily use this PS-rule, which must include the auxiliary and the Det matching the SUBJ index. The ↓ASP = ↑ASP specification on the Aux in the rule will ensure that its aspect always matches that of the main PRED. The Det in the rule does not supply any features to f-structure, but merely has its INDEX feature checked against the INDEX feature of the SUBJ.<sup>5</sup>

The template specifies the semantic contribution of the emphatic auxiliary to the construction.<sup>6</sup> It is worth mentioning that within this special phrase structure rule, the italicized nodes merely constraint matching information between the verb and subject without providing any new information. This portion of the rule models the way in which the Triqui construction parallels tag-like constructions such as English *John loves Manchester, he does*. While the English tag is clause final, the Triqui tag is clause-internal, positioned between the SUBJ and OBJ.

5 Note that to interpret this rule correctly, we must interpret the non-parenthesized portions as obligatory, contra the idea that all nodes in PS-rules are optional (Bresnan 2001). V|Adj is optional, since it is often realized in a higher functional head (as in Swedish, cf. Sells 2001).

6 The template calls in Asudeh, Dalrymple, and Toivonen (2008) also have the effect of altering the subcategorization, but that effect is not seen in the Triqui data.