AN EMPHATIC AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTION FOR EMOTIONS IN COPALA TRIQUI

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Abstract

Many verbs of emotion in Copala Triqui occur in a construction in which an auxiliary verb and copy of the subject appear after the initial Verb-Subj of the clause. This paper sketches an implementation in term of the constructional analysis formalism of Asudeh, Dalrymple, and Toivonen (2008).

1 Orientation and word order¹

Copala Triqui is an Otomanguean language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico and by immigrants to other parts of Mexico and the United States.

Like most other Otomanguean and Mesoamerican languages, it is a head-initial language. VSO is the most basic word order and most adverbs of manner and quantity appear after the verb:

Copala Triqui has eight phonemic tones: three low-register tones (1, 2, 12) and five high-register tones (3, 32, 31, 4, 5). The practical orthography does not show all the phonemic distinctions, but marks low register tones with an underscore and tones 4 and 5 with an acute accent. See Hollenbach (1984) for more details of the tonal system.

I extend my sincere thanks to three Copala Triqui speakers – Román Vidal López, José Fuentes, and Irma Fuentes – who have helped me in in learning about this language. I thank Steve Wechsler, Ashwini Deo, Mary Dalrymple, and Louisa Sadler for helpful comments on this paper.

(1) A'níí ndo'o Mariá chraa rá voó a^{32} a'nii⁵ ndo'o³² Maria⁴ chraa³ ra4 yoo^4 much Maria tortilla tenate decl 'Maria puts a lot of tortillas in the tenate (straw container).'

In addition to simple verbs like *a'níi* 'put', there are also many verbs that are made up of more than one word:

(2) Ru'maan che'e Mariá man nij xcuaa. ru'maan³ che'e1 Maria⁴ man³ nij³ xcuaa³ stomp stomp Maria ACC pl ant 'Maria stomped on the ants.'

In the example (2), $ru'man\ che'\underline{e}$ 'stomp on' is made up of two parts. The first part ru'man means 'press down on' and the second part $che'\underline{e}$ means 'foot'. The combination of these two parts yields a single compound verb with the meaning 'stomp'.

Many emotion verbs in Copala Triqui belong to the class of compound verbs, and the second part of the compound is often the particle $r\acute{a}$. In order to understand many of the textual examples that follow, it is necessary to account for the fact that the two parts of a compound verb are frequently separated by adverbial material. For example, the verb $me\ r\acute{a}$ 'want' appears in the following example with the adverb ndo'o 'much, many times' between the two parts:

Glosses use the following abbreviations: caus = causative, com = completive aspect, decl = declarative, du = dual, emph = emphatic, indef = indefinite, m = masculine gender, n = neutral gender (used for inanimates and deities), neg = negative, p = possessed form, pl = plural, poss = possessed, POT = potential aspect, q = question particle, rel = relative marker, rep = repetitive, sg = singular, wh = interrogative.

² Historically, $r\acute{a}$ comes from a body part term meaning 'heart, interior'. Synchronically, compounds with $r\acute{a}$ must be listed in the lexicon.

'Maria wants a tortilla very much.'

I treat the first word of such compounds as V and the second part as a non-projecting N^0 .

The problem of getting the adverb in the correct position in such sentences motivates an analysis of Copala Triqui c-structure which uses the idea of extended heads (Bresnan 2001, Sells 2001). The following phrase structure rules posit a simple S has the following structure:³

(4) S --> V (N⁰) NP ({CaseP|NP})

$$\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow SUBJ) = \downarrow (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow$$
PP* (CP)
$$(\uparrow OBL_{\theta}) = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow COMP) = \downarrow$$

In addition, the following two additional PS-rules will allow us to account for the position of adverbs. Here Aspect acts as an extended head of V. ⁴ *Illoc* is the position for sentence-final particles of illocutionary force.

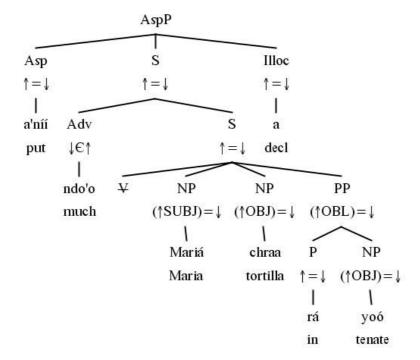
(5) AspP --> Asp S (Illoc)
$$\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$$
S --> (Adv) S
$$\downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ) \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$$

The trees shown below illustrate the c-structures that are posited for examples (1) and (3), and the position shown as \forall in the tree is the

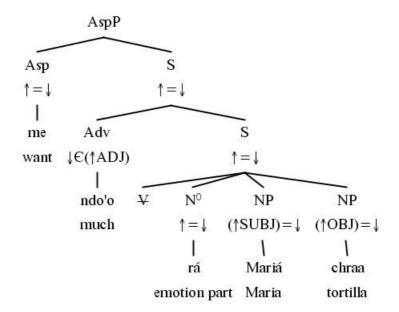
³ Accusative case is introduced by a case particle *man*, which is argued to head a CaseP in Broadwell (2008).

⁴ The head position could also be called Infl(ection), as in many LFG works. Inflection is a cover term for whatever inflectional categories are relevant for language under investigation. Since aspect is the only overt inflectional category for verbs in Copala Triqui, the label Aspect is intended to convey the morphological content of this category with more specificity.

unrealized head position for the S.



1: C-structure for (1)



C-structure for (3)

2 The Emotion Auxiliary Construction

2.1 Basic overview

Emotion predicates may appear with the ordinary syntax of transitive clauses, as in (3) above or (6) below:

There are some people who like money ... (1 Timothy 6:10)

```
(7) tzaj ne
                   nachri'
                                                   chrej
                                                              chi'ii
                                uxrá
                                          so'
                                                                          ei
      tzaj² ne²
                                          zo'^1
                                                   chrej<sup>32</sup>
                                                              chi'ii31
                                                                          ei^{32}
                    nachri'3
                                uxra4
                                very
      but
                   hate
                                                  path
                                                              bad
                                          you
                                                                          EMPH
```

However, in addition to the standard syntax of a transitive clause, Copala Triqui also has an unusual construction in which many verbs and adjectives with meanings like 'love', 'hate', and 'envy' are followed by an additional verb meaning 'see' or 'look at'. I will refer to this as the Emotion Auxiliary Construction. Consider the following examples, where the relevant lexical items are highlighted:

Moisés

Moises⁴

Moses

[&]quot;..but you have hated the path of wickedness very much." (Hebrews 1:9)

[&]quot;People hate us' (1 Corinthians 4:12)

^{&#}x27;And God liked (favored) Moses.' (Acts 7:20)

(8) shows a simple verb *nachri'* 'hate', while (9) and (10) show the compound emotion verb *aran'* rá 'like'. In (10) the two portions of the emotion verb are separated by adverbial material. Additionally, these examples show the auxiliary is also followed by a pronominal copy of the subject. The comparison of (8, 9, 10) with (6, 7) shows that the same verbs can appear either with or without the auxiliaries.

2.2 The meaning of the emotion auxiliary construction

What is the difference between the regular transitive construction and the construction that uses the look'/see' auxiliary? Our principal language consultant finds it hard to explain the difference between the two, other than to say that a person who uses the auxiliary is speaking the language 'very fluently, the way people really used to do it.' Thus it seems that the potential semantic or rhetorical effect of the auxiliary is subtle, and not easily accessible to intuition.

Nearly all of our examples are from older texts in our corpus, but this construction is fully productive for our speaker as well. In his dialect, however, *ne'en* 'see' is the basic auxiliary used with all emotion verbs; he recognizes *ni'yaj* 'look' as another possibility, but does not volunteer sentences with this verb as auxiliary. In this respect, the Copala Triqui of these texts seems to represent the language of an older generation, where there was a predominance of *ni'yaj* 'look' as the auxiliary used in emotion constructions has changed to a preference for *ne'en 'see'* as the basic auxiliary.

^{&#}x27; I like the music very much.'

⁵ There is one additional phonological difference; the dialect represented in the New Testament translation has *ne'en* for 'see', while in our consultant's dialect, it is pronounced *ne'e*.

Although speaker intuitions were not able to identify the meaning of the construction, a corpus search revealed the following patterns:

- When verbs of emotion have specific human or divine objects, the auxiliary is nearly always used.
- When verbs of emotion have inanimate objects, they typically do not use the auxiliary. Use of an auxiliary in this situation appears to have an emphatic function.⁶
- When verbs of emotion have generic objects (e.g. *people, one's brother*) they are typically used without the auxiliary.
- Our corpus does not have enough examples of non-human animate objects with verbs of emotion to make a generalization about the use of the auxiliary.

A tentative conclusion is that the auxiliary plays (or played) some role in indicating emphasis, but that this has become conventionalized for most animate objects. The likely semantic process is *inflation*, whereby conventionalization works to diminish the emphatic value of linguistic expressions over time (Dahl 2001).

Dahl (2001) discusses a potentially parallel case in Mandarin. In Mandarin, scalar predicates such as $ku\grave{a}i$ 'fast', now conventionally occur with the modifier $h\check{e}n$, whose traditional meaning is 'very'. Use of such scalar predicates with $h\check{e}n$ has become conventionalized and quasi-obligatory, and thus it is felt to be odd when omitted, signalling some special distinction.

In the same way, the Copala Triqui auxiliary appears to be conventional with specific human objects of emotion predicates, more notable for its rare absences. The auxiliary is conventionally omitted for emotion verbs with inanimate objects, and its presence in such contexts seems to mark a special emphasis.

Although the semantic value of the construction is still under investigation, there are many clear syntactic restrictions of the use of the auxiliaries with emotion verbs, and these restrictions are the focus of this paper.

⁶ The volunteered example in (10) shows the auxiliary with 'music' as its object, accompanied by the adverb *ndo'o* 'very much'.

2.3 Predicates which appear in the emotion auxiliary construction

The following is a list of the verbs and adjectives that may appear with the emotion auxiliary construction:

Triqui	Category	Gloss			
'anj rá	verb	be startled, be surprised by			
'ee rá	adj	love, hold in esteem, take care of			
a'maan rá	verb	be angry, upset about			
a'nga' nacoo	verb	mock			
amán rá	verb	believe in, have faith in			
aran' rá	verb	like			
aráya' <u>a</u> nj	verb	be amazed with, worried about, preoccupied with			
chu'vi'	verb	be worried about			
chumán rá	verb	believe in, have confidence in			
me rá	verb	want, love ⁷			
na'aj	adj	be embarrassed about			
nachri'	verb	hate, disrespect			
nih <u>a</u> ' rá	verb	be happy about			
nucuaj rá	verb	have confidence in			
táá ri'yunj	verb	hate, oppose, be in disagreement with			
uun rá	verb	love, desire			
uun xcoj rá	verb	be envious			
xcoj ruvaa rá	adj	be envious, be hateful			

⁷ The Triqui verb includes both a sense close to English 'love' as well as senses more like 'want (to have)' and 'want (to do)'. Only the first sense occurs with the auxiliary construction.

Many of the emotion words contain the particle $r\acute{a}$, approximately 'heart, center of emotions, self'. $R\acute{a}$ is not exclusive to the emotions, however, since it is used in a wide range of mental states, including thinking, permitting, suspecting, and allowing.

2.4 Restrictions on parts of the emotion construction

2.4.1 The special syntax of emotion constructions

Predicates of emotion which occur with the auxiliaries *look'* and *see'* show an unusual set of restrictions which are not characteristic of other clauses in Copala Triqui. In order to capture these restrictions, I will suggest that they are part of an emotion construction, and that this emotion construction is licensed by a special PS-rule. The PS-rule for sentences with the emotion construction contains restrictions on the initial predicate, the auxiliary, and the subject which follows the auxiliary.

2.4.2 The initial emotion predicate — lexical and transitivity restrictions

The initial emotion predicate has to come from the set of verbs and adjectives listed above. To be used in the emotion auxiliary construction, the predicate must also be used in the subcategorization in which it takes a NP object.

For example, chumán rá 'believe' is a verb with a few different options for complement type. When used with no object (as in nij síí chumán rá 'the ones who believed') or with a clausal object (as in chumán rá nij so' se vaa Diose me so' 'they believed that he was God'), the auxiliary never appears. Only cases where the predicate takes a NP object occur with the auxiliary.

2.4.3 The initial subject can be any size

There is no constraint on the subject of the first emotion verb; it can be arbitrarily large, as in the following example:

(11) Gaa ne Herodes nachri' do' nij tanuu gaa¹³ ne² $tanuu^3 \\$ nachri'3 do'1 Herodes nij_1^3 then hate, disrespect Herod soldier and PLrihaan so' do' nij so' nuu ni'yaj man nuu^{31} riaan³²₁ zo'3 do'1 ni³yaj² nij³ zo'³ maa^3 belong to 3sgMlook' they ACC and Jesucristó ca'nga' nacoo neౖ nij so' ni'yaj Jesucristo⁴ a'nga'³ nacoo¹ nij³ zo'³ ne^{2} C-1 ni³yaj² Jesus Christ and сом mock they look' nij so' Jesucristó man nij³ zo'³ a^{32} maa^{3}_{1} Jesucristo⁴ they Jesus Christ ACC part.

'Then Herod and the soldiers that belonged to him hated Jesus and they mocked him.' (Luke 23:11)

2.4.4 The auxiliary

The auxiliary is subject to extensive constraints on its aspect, which are the subject of section 5 below.

2.4.5 The subject after the auxiliary

The subject after the auxiliary has only two options. It is usually a pronoun, as in the example above. In a few examples, it is a repetition of the preceding proper noun, usually *Diose* 'God'. The pronoun has to match the preceding subject in person, number, and gender. Proper nouns match exactly.

2.5 The morphosyntax of the ni'yaj and ne'en auxiliaries.

Although *ni'yaj* and *ne'en* have lost their usual semantics as perception verbs, they are still verbs. This is shown by a characteristic morphosyntactic property — the aspectual and tonal morphology of verbs. The aspect and tonal morphology is important to the nature of the agreement between the verb of emotion and the 'look' or 'see' auxiliary that follows it.

2.5.1 High and low register stems

Copala Triqui has a complex morphophonological system. (See Hollenbach 1984, 2004 for a complete overview of the system.)

Copala Triqui verbs do not show very much productive segmental morphology but have some rather complex tonal changes. Each verb has two tonal stems, one in the high-register and one in the low-register. In the practical orthography used here, the low-toned stem is shown with an underscore on the final syllable of the verb stem. In the gloss line, I have indicated the lowered stem with the gloss Low.

2.5.2 Aspectual affixes; full and defective paradigms

The primary aspectual affix is a /k(V)-/ prefix which signals completive aspect when used with the high-register (HR) stem. The /k(V)-/ prefix signals potential aspect when it is used with low-register (LR) stem. The verb stem with no prefix is the continuous aspect:

- (12) a. Ne'en Juán man so'. $Continuous = \emptyset + HR$ ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

 see Juan ACC him

 Juan sees him.
- b. Que-ne'en Juán man so'. Completive = kV + HR que-ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³ com-see Juan ACC him 'Juan saw him.'
- c. Que-ne'en Juán man so'. Potential = kV + LR que-ne'en¹³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

 POT-see:Low Juan ACC him

 'Juan will see him.'

About two-thirds of the verbs in Copala Triqui show a pattern like ne'en,

⁸ The vowel after /k/ is not predictable, and must be listed in the lexical entry of the verb. For vowel-initial monosyllabic stems, the prefix is /g-/ instead of /k-/. /K/ is <c> or <qu> in practical orthography.

with use of the /kV-/ prefix plus the shift of tone register to signal change of aspect. These verbs show the *full paradigm*. The remainder of the verbs show the *defective paradigm*, which does not use the prefix, but shows aspect change only through the tone change. *Chá* 'eat', is a verb like this:

```
(13) a. Chá
                   Juán.
                                      Continous/Completive = HR
         cha4
                   Juan<sup>4</sup>
         eat
                   Juan
         'Juan eats/ate.'
b.
                   Juan.
                                      Potential = LR
         Cha
         cha<sup>2</sup>
                   Juan<sup>4</sup>
         eat:Low Juan
         'Juan will eat.'
```

Of the two verbs which function as auxiliaries, *ne'en* shows the full paradigm, while *ni'yaj* has the defective paradigm. It shows its potential aspect solely through its low register form, *ni'yaj*.

2.5.3 Negatives

Use of a negative particle — ne (for completive or continous aspect) or se (for potential aspect) triggers an unusual toggle effect on the register of the following verb. As Hollenbach (1976) showed, the relationship between high and low register stems and aspect is reversed after these particles. Thus we can compare the affirmative statements above with their negative counterparts, observing the effect on the tone register of the verb stem:

(14)

a.Ne'en Juán man so'.

ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

see Juan ACC him

'Juan sees him.'

b.Que-ne'en Juán man so'.

que-ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

com-see Juan ACC him

'Juan saw him.'

c.Que-ne'en Juán man so'.

que-ne'en¹³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

POT-see:Low Juan ACC him

'Juan will see him.'

Ne ne'en Juán man so'.

ne³ ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

neg see Juan ACC him

'Juan does not see him.'

Ne que-ne'en Juán man so'.

ne³ que-ne'en¹³ Juan⁴man³ zo'³

neg COM-see:LOW JuanACC him

'Juan did not see him.'

Se que-ne'en Juán man so'.

ze² que-ne'en³ Juan⁴ man³ zo'³

neg:POT POT-see Juan ACC him

'Juan will not see him.'

2.5.4 Aspect matching in auxiliaries

When either of these verbs functions as an auxiliary, it continues to show aspect inflection which matches the aspect of the emotion verb. The first example shows *ne'en* in the completive aspect. This is triggered by the occurrence of the preceding verb *chumán rá* which is in the completive.

(15) ... ne cuchumán rá ta'aj nij so' quene'en
$$ne^2_1$$
 cu- chuman⁴ ra⁴ ta'aj² nij³ zo'³ que- ne'e³ and com believe:in PART some they com- look' nij so' man so' a . nij^3 zo'³ maa^3_1 zo'³ a^{32} they acc 3sM part.

'... and some of them believed in him.' (1 Timothy 3:16)

The next example shows *ne'en* in the potential aspect:

'... and you are reconciled with him, so just as you love me, think of him (in the same way).' (Philemon 1:17)

In this example, the second emotion verb is *uun rá*, appearing in the potential form as *guun rá*. The potential form on this verb then triggers the potential on the corresponding auxiliary, *quene'én*.

Example (16) shows *ni'yaj* in the potential aspect while functioning as an auxiliary and example (17) also shows the low-register form of the auxiliary *ni'yaj*, this time in a negative context:

```
qui'yaj
(16) ... ne
                     nano'
                                    ní'
                                                       daj
                                    ni'4
                     nano'3
           ne_{1}^{2}
                                                       daj<sup>1</sup>
                                                                  qui-2 'yaj<sup>13</sup>
                     look for
           and
                                     we (incl.)
                                                      how
                                                                  POT
                                                                          make, do:Low
                                         ca'm<u>a</u>an rá
ní'
                                                                         Diose
                       gaa ne
ni'4
                       gaa^{13} ne^2
                                         c-1 a'maan<sup>13</sup> ra<sup>4</sup>
                                                                         Dio<sup>3</sup>se<sup>1</sup>
we (incl.)
                       then
                                         POT angry:LOW PART
                                                                         God
n<u>i</u>'yaj
                 Diose 2
                                 man
                                             ní'
                  Diose
n<u>i</u>'yaj
                                 man
                                              ní'
                                                                na'
ni'^2yaj^{32}
                                              ni'4
                                                                na'3
                 Dio<sup>3</sup>se<sup>1</sup>
                                 maa<sup>3</sup><sub>1</sub>
look':low
                  God
                                 ACC
                                              we (incl.)
                                                                yes/no part
```

'...are we looking for a way to make God angry at us?' (1 Corinthians 10:22)

(17) Tzaj	n <u>e</u>	ne		<u>gu</u> un	<mark>l</mark>		nihg	ı'	uxrá		rá
tzaj ²	ne^2	ni^3		g-	uun ¹³		nia'	l	uxra	ļ	ra ⁴ 1
but		negat	ive	COM	become:	LOW	hapj	ру	very		PART
Diose	n <u>i</u> 'ya	<mark>j</mark>	Dios	se	man	que's	<u>e</u>	nij s	o'	ma	a'
Dio^3se^1	ni'2y	aj ³² 1	Dio ³	3 se 1	maa ³ 1	que'e	ee^1	nij^3	zo¹³	ma	a' ³
God	look	:LOW	God		ACC	many	y	they		NE	G

'But God was not happy with most of them ...' (1 Corinthians 10:5)

Notice that in this last case the first verb in the emotion sequence *guun niha'*.. rá has become low register not due to any semantics of the aspect of the event, but purely due to the morphological requirement that a verb following the negative particle ne must appear in low register tone.

Nevertheless, the auxiliary appears in the same low-register tone, suggesting that the aspect matching requirement is a morphological property of the auxiliary construction.

3 The syntax of the emotion auxiliary construction

The Copala Triqui sentences seem to show a sentence that has the following surface properties:

(18)								
Verb _i or	Full NP _j	Aux _i	Det _j	NP or CaseP				
Adjective _i	[can be	<mark>[must</mark>	[Pronominal	[the verb must have				
[from a	conjoined,	<mark>match</mark>	copy or	an object]				
particular set	negated,	aspect of	repeated					
of predicates]	etc.]	Vor Adj]	Proper N]					

To license the S shown in this tree, we will need a special phrase structure rule, which we can write as follows:

(19) S--> (V|Adj) (N°) NP Aux
$$\uparrow = \downarrow \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow \qquad (\uparrow SUBJ) = \downarrow \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow$$
[EMOTION +]
$$@TRIQ-EMOT(\uparrow PRED FN)$$

$$Det \qquad \qquad \{CaseP | NP\}$$

$$(\downarrow INDEX) = (\uparrow SUBJ INDEX) (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow$$

This contrasts with the ordinary rule for S in the language which is as follows:

(20) S --> V (N⁰) NP ({CaseP|NP})

$$\uparrow = \downarrow \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow SUBJ) = \downarrow (\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow$$
PP* (CP)
$$(\uparrow OBL_{\theta}) = \downarrow \quad (\uparrow COMP) = \downarrow$$

This rule describes a special kind of S, not licensed by the usual PS-rules of the language. In contrast to most PS-rules, nearly all of the

items on the right side of the rule are obligatory. The V or Adj will typically be realized in the Asp higher in the tree, and the appearance of the particle is dependent on the main verb.

The S must be headed by a Verb or Adjective with a special feature [EMOTION +], and in this construction, the verb is obligatorily transitive. The first element has the notation @TRIQ-EMOT(\PRED FN). This is a convention from Asudeh, Dalrymple, and Toivonen (2008) which is intended to treat special semantic and pragmatic effects associated with constructions. TRIQUI-EMOTION is the name of the template associated with this construction, and the @ symbol calls on a template of special interpretation for the elements named in this rule.

As it stands, this analysis accounts for the special syntax of emotion predicates associated with 'look' and 'see' auxiliaries. But because the semantics and pragmatics of the construction are not completely understood, this part of the template is not fully specified. However, it should include the special pragmatic and rhetorical associations of fluency and possibly emphasis discussed above.

After the verb and subject, there must be an auxiliary, and its aspect must be equal to the aspect of the main verb. After the auxiliary, there must be a pronoun or proper noun (Det), and its INDEX must be equal to that of the SUBJ. The pronoun must satisfy this constraint on its index value, but otherwise does not contribute to the feature structure of the sentence.

4 Conclusion

Clauses with the Emotion Auxiliary Construction display a syntax quite unlike that of other clauses in Copala Triqui, with several construction-specific properties. An approach such as that of Asudeh, Dalrymple, and Toivonen (2008) which allows construction-specific rules and templates, allows LFG to successfully account for the grammar of this construction.

5 References

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