

STATEMENT OF CURRENT ORTHOGRAPHY

LANGUAGE: Trique (Triqui)

VARIANT: Copala

STATE: Oaxaca

TRANSLATORS: Bruce and Barbara Hollenbach

DATE: March, 2009

(A copy of this statement must be on file with the orthography consultant in order for you to obtain permission to publish. If it is tentative, indicate below with an asterisk all symbols which are considered tentative and are being tested in one way or another. On a separate sheet describe the orthographical alternatives you are considering. Your orthography consultant should send a copy to the permanent SFP file and notify the PubCoord, Literacy, Linguistics and FTS of approvals.)

Note: An orthography approval was granted for this language before the NT was published in 1987, and the handwritten paper form has been on file up to now. Since that time we have made some changes in the way we write tone (each change has been submitted to an orthography consultant), and we want those changes to be on record. I also think it is important to have the orthography statement in electronic form, now that it is possible to do so.

We have also updated the spelling of a number of words to use newer, more contracted forms instead of the older two-syllable forms. This contraction has created some new consonant clusters.

1. VOWELS

List all of the vowel phonemes of the language in phonetic chart order.

There are five vowels, the same ones that occur in Spanish.

	<i>Front</i>	<i>back unrounded</i>	<i>Back rounded</i>
<i>close</i>	i		u
<i>mid</i>	e (ɛ)		o (ɔ)
<i>open</i>		ɑ (ɜ)	

Major allophones of a phoneme are enclosed in parentheses following the phoneme.

List below the phonemes from the chart above with other information as indicated. For any phoneme which has more than one phonetic variant, use a separate line for each variant.

SYMBOLS			EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXPLANATIONS / COMMENTS
Phnm	Phnt	Orth			
/i/	[i]	i	ico chi' chij	'twenty' 'ten' 'seven'	This phoneme is written with a single vowel in nonfinal syllables; in final syllables it is written with a single vowel before /ʔ/ and /h/; and it is written with a double vowel in the absence of any laryngeal. This phoneme does not occur before the abstract laryngeal # because there is neutralization of high and mid vowels, and they are all considered to be instances of /e/.
		ii	güii	'sun'	
/e/	[e]	e	ne'ej ne' ne'ej	'baby' 'rope' 'baby'	This phoneme is written with a single vowel in nonfinal syllables; in final syllables it is written with a single vowel before /ʔ/ and /h/; and it is written with a double vowel in the absence of any laryngeal. This allophone does not occur before the abstract laryngeal #. This phoneme is infrequent in nonfinal syllables; it occurs mainly when the final syllable also has /e/
		ee	chéé	'to walk'	
/e/	[ɛ]	e	ane	'to bathe'	This allophone occurs word-final before the abstract laryngeal #.
/a/	[a]	a	atúj uta' caj na	'to enter' 'to place on top' 'log' 'water'	This phoneme is written with a single vowel in nonfinal syllables; in final syllables it is written with a single vowel before /ʔ/, /h/, and #; and it is written with a double vowel in the absence of any laryngeal
		aa	chraa	'tortilla'	
/a/	[ɜ]	a	ran' canj man	'to fare' 'sandal' 'to, object marker'	This allophone occurs when the vowel is nasalized. The vowel is somewhat less raised following /m/ than it is following /n/ or a nonnasal consonant.
		aa	caan	'squash'	
/o/	[o]	o	otoj rco' otoj	'to sleep' 'brushy land' 'to sleep'	This phoneme is written with a single vowel in nonfinal syllables; in final syllables it is written with a single vowel before /ʔ/ and /h/; and it is written with a double vowel in the absence of any laryngeal. This allophone does not occur before the abstract laryngeal #. This phoneme is infrequent in nonfinal syllables; it occurs mainly when the final syllable also has /o/.
		oo	rcoo	'custard apple'	
/o/	[ɔ]	o	to	'metate'	This allophone occurs word-final before the abstract laryngeal #.

/u/	[u]	u	uta' xru' chruj	'to place on top' 'anger' 'egg'	This phoneme is written with a single vowel in nonfinal syllables; in final syllables it is written with a single vowel before /ʔ/ and /h/; and it is written with a double vowel in the absence of any laryngeal. This phoneme does not occur before the abstract laryngeal # because there is neutralization of high and mid vowels, and they are all considered to be instances of /o/.
		uu	luu	'cat'	

See section 3. Prosodic Elements for explanations about nasalization and vowels checked by a laryngeal.

2. CONSONANTS

List all of the consonant phonemes of the language in phonetic chart order.

	Labial	Dental	Alveopal.	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Glottal
fortis stop	p	t				k		ʔ
lenis stop	b	d (ð)				g (ɣ)		
affricate		ts	tʃ	tʂ				
fortis fricative		s	ʃ	ʂ		((x))		
lenis fricative		z	ʒ	ʐ (r)				
nasal	m	n (ŋ)						
trill		((r))						
lateral		l						
glide					j (j)		w (β, w̃)	
laryngeal								ʔ, h, #

Major allophones of a phoneme are enclosed in parentheses following the phoneme.

Phonemes enclosed in double parentheses are found only in loans.

List below the phonemes from the chart above with other information as indicated.

For any phoneme which has more than one phonetic variant, use a separate line for each variant. Use another sheet if needed.

SYMBOLS			EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXPLANATIONS / COMMENTS
Phom	Phon	Orth			
			Stops		
/p/	[p]	p	pi' lapé	'very small toad' 'pencil'	This phoneme occurs in a few words that are probably onomatopoeic, and in loans from Spanish.
/t/	[t]	t	otoj	'to sleep'	

/k/	[k]	c qu	coj caquíí	'plant' 'nail'	
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	'	co'oo ta'yaa	'plate' 'door'	Glottal stop is considered to be a segmental phoneme when it occurs in the onset of the word-final syllable, either alone, or in cluster with a following sonorant consonant. It is considered to be a laryngeal, on the suprasegmental tier along with tone, when it occurs at the end of a word. See section 3. below.
/b/	[b]	b	ba' báj	'sound goats make' 'compadre'	This phoneme occurs only in a few onomatopoeic words, and in loans from Spanish.
/d/	[d]	d	doj	'a little bit'	The lenis phoneme /d/ occurs only in word-final syllables.
/d/	[ð]	d	cunudaj	'all'	This allophone occurs only in intervocalic position, as in Spanish.
/g/	[g]	g gu	goj guee	'last year' 'delicate'	The lenis phoneme /g/ occurs only in word-final syllables.
/g/	[ɣ]	g gu	aga' tiguíj	'metal' 'to poke'	This allophone occurs only in intervocalic position, as in Spanish.
			Affricates		
/t͡s/	[t͡s]	tz	catze'	'smoke'	This phoneme occurs only in word-final syllables.
/t͡ʃ/	[t͡ʃ]	ch	chéé	'to walk'	This phoneme occurs only in word-final syllables. See /ʃ/ below for use of ch in nonfinal syllables.
/t͡ʂ/	[t͡ʂ]	chr	chraa	'tortilla'	This phoneme occurs only in word-final syllables.
			Fricatives		
/s/	[s]	s	sij sin' mesá scaa saca'	'political boss' 'to be torn' 'table' 'basket' 'nest'	This phoneme is very fortis alone in the onset of a word-final syllable, though it is quite rare in that position. It is also fairly strong in cluster with another consonant. In the onset of a nonfinal syllable there is no contrast between fortis and lenis, and it is a much weaker sound.
/ʃ/	[ʃ]	x ch	xij xtuu naxagaa chuvee	'grande' 'mouse' 'to get up' 'dog'	This phoneme is very fortis alone in the onset of a word-final syllable, though it is quite rare in that position. It is also fairly strong in cluster with another consonant. In the onset of a nonfinal syllable there is no contrast between fortis and lenis, and it is a much weaker sound. When /ʃ/ occurs in the onset of a nonfinal syllable and is also word-initial, it varies with a weak /t͡ʃ/, and it is written ch.

/ʂ/	[ʂ]	xr	xroj	'pants'	This phoneme is very fortis. It occurs only in the onset of a word-final syllable.
/z/	[z]	s	síj	'to finish'	This phoneme is very lenis; it occurs only in the onset of a word-final syllable.
/ʒ/	[ʒ]	x	xaá	'squirrel'	This phoneme is very lenis; it occurs only in the onset of a word-final syllable.
/z̥/	[z̥]	r	ri' roto mee	'to get' 'blanket' 'beans'	The retroflex sibilant allophone occurs word initial, in both final and nonfinal syllables, and in cluster with a following consonant.
/z̥/	[r]	r	araa mestró	'to fill' 'teacher'	The flap allophone occurs intervocalically, and also in cluster following another consonant in loans.
			Nasals		
/m/	[m]	m	míi caan mba' mesá	'yellow' 'yellow squash' 'table'	This phoneme occurs in nasal morphemes, in cluster before /b/ (rare), and in loans.
/n/	[n]	n	anáñj anáñ ndaá sinté	'to weave' 'to hoe' 'until' 'mayor of agencia'	This phoneme occurs in nasal morphemes, in oral morphemes preceding /a/, in cluster with /d/, and in loans.
/n/	[ŋ]	n	ngaa	'cloud'	This allophone occurs in cluster preceding a velar stop.
			Lateral		
/l/	[l]	l	laruu la'mán laxguá	'soft' toothless 'lechuga'	This is a somewhat marginal phoneme in native words, which usually have a diminutive or pejorative meaning; it occurs freely in loans.
			Glides		
/j/	[j]	y i	yâj tió	'flower' 'season'	This phoneme does not occur before front vowels; it is written i when it follows another consonant.
/j/	[j̃]	y	yanj	'paper'	The nasalized allophone occurs in nasal words.
/w/	[w]	v u ü	ruva cuej sueté güii	'squash seed' 'pus' 'sweater' 'sun'	This phoneme does not occur before back vowels. The [w] allophone of the /w/ phoneme occurs before the vowel /a/. This phoneme also occurs in cluster with another consonant before the vowel /a/ or a front vowel, and it is written u in this position; /kw/ and /gw/ are very common in native words, and clusters with other consonants occur in loans. The u is written with the diéresis (ü) following /g/ and before a front vowel.
/w/	[w̃]	v	vaan	'to grind'	The nasalized allophone of the /w/ phoneme occurs in a few nasal words.

/w/	[β]	v	ve' avi'	'house' 'to die'	The [β] allophone of the /w/ phoneme occurs before the vowels /i/ and /e/.
			Loans		
			Fricative		
/x/	[x]	j	tejá	'tile'	This phoneme has very strong friction; it occurs only in syllable onsets in loans
			Trill		
/r/	[r]	r rr	yâj rosá chamarrá burró	'rose' 'jacket' 'donkey'	This phoneme occurs in loans; it is spelled r or rr according to the rules of Spanish.
			Other		
zero	zero	h	rihaan	'face'	This symbol marks syllable division between vowels; it is written to prevent readers from treating i as palatalization.

NOTE IN RETROSPECT ON CONSONANTS

At the time we chose these consonant symbols, we had very few literate Triques to consult with, and the few we talked to each seemed to react differently, which meant that we could not begin to get anything resembling a consensus. And so we did the best we could with what we had, which were largely Smalley's orthography principles. One of the ones we were told to focus on was to make the alphabet as much like Spanish as possible. Now, of course, styles have changed, and conformity to Spanish seems less important.

If we were starting now, we would almost certainly use k, rather than c and q(u), precisely for such "style" reasons, not because c and q cause problems for reading. .

One thing that has worked well is the use of xr and chr for retroflex sounds, and also ch for the alveopalatal affricate. The use of tz, however, has been less successful as an affricate symbol. Even though it does not cause any problems for reading, people write ts instead. We chose tz initially to conform to the Colonial written Aztec tradition with place names like Tehuitzingo. (How were we to know that Aztec would turn around and adopt a nontraditional alphabet later?) In any revision of the Copala alphabet, people are sure to prefer ts.

If I had it to do over again, I would probably try to write the fortis and lenis sibilants using different symbols. We used the same symbols (s and x) for both fortis and lenis because the contrast carries a low functional load, and because Spanish, which does not have this contrast, does not provide different symbols. For the dentals, we could use s (fortis) and z (lenis), and for the alveopalatals, x (fortis) and either ll or xy for lenis.

The use of h to mark syllable division is something else that has not worked well. Again, it causes no problems for reading, but no one thinks to write it. Also, the words in which we write it are continually being squished to shorter forms, and for many speakers at present, words like rihaan may well be only a single syllable, with a /zj/ cluster.

Something else to think about is the /j/ phoneme. In a nasal environment, this glide is nasalized, but it is not a palatal nasal; it remains a glide, and it is in complementary distribution with the oral /j/. Even though there is no phonetic or phonological reason for doing so, native speakers usually want to write ñ. I think it may be just because the letter ñ is available, and they would like to use it. (If the national language were English, this idea would probably never have occurred to them.)

3. PROSODIC ELEMENTS

List all contrastive features of this language that were not treated under the consonant or vowel section. For example, tone, stress, length, glottalization, aspiration, palatalization, labialization, nasalization. Include all symbols used for each feature and list all of the sounds with which that feature occurs. (Example: length: ii, ee, aa, oo, uu.) List below the features with other information as indicated. For any feature which has more than one phonetic variant, use a separate line for each variant.

FEATURE	SYMBOLS			EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXPLANATIONS / COMMENTS
	Phom	Phon	Orth			
Nasalization	Vn	[ã] [ẽ] [ĩ] [õ] [ũ] [ẽ] [ĩ] [õ] [ũ] [ã]	Vn NV nan	ran' tzen ratziin ton cunj me nii no' nuj anáñj	'to suffer' 'corn ear' 'tomato' 'blood' 'corn dough' 'is' 'mother' 'she' 'leather' 'to weave'	Nasalization is a feature of the morpheme. It is always heard on the final vowel, and it carries back through glottal stop, /j/, and /w/ until it hits a consonantal barrier. We write it with the letter n following the final vowel of the word, except where it is predictable from the presence of a nasal consonant. Note that the n precedes the ' or j that symbolize laryngeals. All words with /n/ preceding /e, i, o, u/ are nasal, and all words with m are nasal; in such words, the final n is not written. Words with /n/ preceding /a/ can be either oral or nasal, and the n is written on those that are nasal.
Labialization	CwV	[C ^w V]	CuV	cuej güéj juese sueté	'pus' 'to jump' 'judge' 'sweater'	Labialization is analyzed as the glide /w/ in cluster following another consonant. The sequences /kw/ and /gw/ are common in native words; other clusters occur in loans. See 4.6 below. In such clusters, the labialization is symbolized with the letter u (ü following g).
Laryngeals	/ʔ/	[ʔ]	a' e' i' o' u'	ca' ve' yati' no' xru'	'pitchpine' 'house' 'star' 'she' 'anger'	The [ʔ] that occurs at the end of a word forms part of the suprasegmental tier. Glottal stop also occurs in the onset of word-final syllables, where it forms part of the segmental tier. See section 2. above.
	/h/	[h]	aj ej ij oj uj	caj nej quij otoj chruj	'log' 'sleepiness' 'mountain' 'to sleep' 'egg'	The /h/ that occurs at the end of a word forms part of the suprasegmental tier. It is much softer than the velar fricative that occurs in loans and forms part of the segmental tier, which is also written with the letter j. See section 2. above.

	#	ǎ ě ǔ	a e o	na ne to	'water' 'gossipy' 'metate'	The abstract laryngeal that occurs at the end of a word and forms part of the suprasegmental tier is manifested by shortening the vowel and giving it a ballistic quality. This is accompanied by lengthening of preceding sonorant consonants, but not of obstruents. There is no contrast between high and mid vowels before the abstract laryngeal; only the mid vowels are written, and these have more open allophones. This laryngeal is symbolized by writing a single vowel.
	zero	a: e: i: o: u:	aa ee ii oo uu	taa nee quii too luu	'plain" 'plow' 'yesterday' 'milk' 'cat'	When there is no laryngeal at the end of a word, the vowel is lengthened. The absence of a laryngeal is written by doubling the vowel.

NOTE ON NASALIZATION IN RETROSPECT

We chose not to write a final n where it was predictable, but there is strong phonetic nasalization on the vowel, and native speakers usually try to write the n. If I were doing this over, I would probably write the n at the end of all nasal words, not just at the end of words where nasalization is not predictable.

NOTE ON LARYNGEALS IN RETROSPECT

We have found that native speakers are almost completely unaware of the four coda types that are in contrast in word-final position (/ʔ/, /h/, #, and zero), which makes it hard to work out a good way to write them. We used to think the problem was our choice of symbol, but the real problem is a lack of language awareness.

List below features that are not symbolized or that are symbolized only sporadically, and give a brief statement of why they are not symbolized.

3.1 Stress

The final syllable of a word always gets the primary stress, and so it is not necessary to mark it.

ca'chran' to break
cutu'véj sold

Secondary stress occurs on nonfinal syllables that bear tone 3 or tone 5. In the case of tone 5, the tone marking clarifies the stress:

ˌjá'nuj drum

A non-final tone 3 is not marked, however, and there are some ambiguous cases. These do not appear to cause much problem because context helps.

ra'ga' key

,ta'ga'	jail
,ani'caj	to turn
cutu'véj	to sell

3.2 Tone

There are eight tone patterns involving five levels. Tone carries a fairly heavy functional load. Not only does it mark many lexical sets, but replacement of one tone pattern by another also marks grammatical categories, especially future tense. Tone sandhi, on the other hand, is very restricted, and takes place only preceding certain pronouns. Most of the tone contrasts are found in the final syllable of the word, which is the syllable that gets primary stress. Tone also occurs on nonfinal syllables, mainly in compounds. Tone and laryngeals are interrelated, and the full range of eight tone patterns occurs only in words that have no laryngeal coda. The tone system has been described in detail in my dissertation.

The tone orthography uses only two symbols, acute accent and underline. All words are marked for tone on final syllables, which is where most of the contrast occurs, but sometimes two or three tone patterns are marked with the same symbol. Acute accent is used for the two highest levels (4 and 5), and underline is used for the two lowest levels (1 and 2), leaving tone 3 unmarked. There are also three tone sequences: 1-3, 3-1, and 3-2. 3-1 occurs mainly on vowels not checked by a laryngeal, and the second vowel is underlined. When 1-3 occurs on a syllable not checked by a laryngeal, the first vowel is underlined. On syllables checked by a laryngeal, 1-3 is marked by underlining the vowel. 3-2, like 3, is unmarked. In spite of the ambiguities, the system always marks future tense and some other grammatical categories with the underline.

Since the orthography was approved in the 1970's, we have made two changes in the tone orthography. One is that we used to use a macron for the lower tones, but we now use an underline, which was requested by teachers and others, probably because it conforms to what the Mixtec Academy recommends for Mixtec. Everyone seems happy with this change, which was made around 2004.

The second change was made in 2008, and it is a “patch” solution. The orthography does not differentiate the tone glide /32/ from tone level /3/. There are many pairs of words that differ only in these two tone patterns, and we decided to write a circumflex on about fifteen words with /32/ to differentiate them from a tone pair with /3/; some of these pairs are nouns and some are verbs. We considered marking all words with /32/, but this pattern is very common, and the page would be peppered with circumflexes.

There are still words with levels /1/ and /2/ and tone glide /13/ that are not differentiated in the orthography, but we decided not to try to fix those.

This system of tone marking is explained in more detail in the grammar (Hollenbach 2008).

Even though the tone orthography used is a compromise, and it leaves some ambiguities, it seems preferable to cluttering the page with more tone symbols. We have had very little success in teaching people to read tone, and we finally decided that the problem was not the orthography, but rather that speakers lack any conscious awareness of the tone and laryngeal system, even though they handle it with consummate skill in speaking and listening. Not only are they unaware of the tone, but they have on occasion resisted our attempts to help them bring their unconscious knowledge to conscious awareness. I believe that this is the main obstacle that we have faced in promoting literacy. Given this blindness to crucial features of their language that are not found in Spanish, and for which the Spanish alphabet provides no symbols, it does not seem to be worth any further effort to improve the tone orthography.

Also, we do not want to make changes that make the page look very different from the way it has looked in all our previous materials. The only reason to introduce a major change would be if some group of native

speakers were to agree on a different system. The political situation in Copala is so unstable and volatile, however, that there does not seem to be much possibility of getting any consensus in the near future.

If I were starting from scratch, I would probably try a very different system. I would write each of the three laryngeals with a different symbol, maybe ' , j, h, and the open vowels with just a single vowel. I would write doubled vowels only when there is a tone glide, and I would treat level 5, which is manifested as a phonetic 3-5 glide, as a glide. That would leave only four levels to mark, and only three symbols would be needed. Acute would mark level 4, zero would mark level 3 (mid), underline would mark level 1, and some other symbol (probably grave, but it could also be macron or circumflex) would mark level 2.

	PRESENT	NEW	MEANING
NO LARYNGEAL			
TONE PATTERN			
1	xca <u>an</u>	xca <u>n</u>	long
2	<u>u</u> u <u>n</u>	<u>u</u> n	nine
3	chraa	chra	tortilla
4	xaá	xá	squirrel
5 ([3-5])	xlúú	xluú	worm
13	ya'a <u>an</u>	ya'a <u>n</u>	caliente
31	chavii	chavii	butterfly
32	yaan	yaà <u>n</u>	salt
GLOTTAL STOP			
1	sca'	sca'	hard
2	chi'	chi'	ten
3	ne'	ne'	rope
4	ní'	ní'	we (inclusive)
5 ([3-5])	tzín'	tziín'	little bit
13	canoco'	canoco'o'	will follow
31	—		
32	—		
H (ASPIRATION)			
1	vij	vij	two
2	chij	chi <u>j</u>	seven
3	yaj	yaj	ashes
4	—		
5 ([3-5])	ya'a <u>anj</u>	ya'a <u>anj</u>	guitar
13	ca'a <u>anj</u>	ca'a <u>anj</u>	four

31	mayaạj	mayaạj	yellow
32	yaj	yaàj	flower
# (ABSTRACT LARYNGEAL)			
1	canọ	canọh	will grab
2	cunọ	cunọh	will sow
3	cuno	cunoh	heard
4	canó	canóh	grabbed
5 ([3-5])	—		
13	cunọ	cunọoh	will hear
31	—		
32	cuno	cunoòh	sowed

4. OTHER FEATURES

Answer the following questions adding pages as necessary.

4.1 *How do you decide where to place sentence breaks?*

The vast majority of sentences end with a modal particle, and we put a sentence break after the particle. See the text below.

4.2 *How do you decide where to place word breaks?*

Copala Trique words can have up to four syllables, but the final syllable is the nucleus of the word. Not only does it get primary stress, but it carries a number of contrasts not found in nonfinal syllables, including most of the tone contrasts, nasalization, and all of the laryngeals. All of these features provide multiple cues to word breaks, and it is never a problem to know where to write one, except in some compounds in the process of fusing to single words.

4.3 *Dividers*

Do you use any dividers other than word breaks, such as a hyphen?

We use a hyphen between the possession marker *se* and the following noun.

se-scạa no' her basket; cp. scaa 'basket'

We also use the mute letter *h* to show a syllable break, as in *rihaan* (face). The purpose of the *h* is to show that the preceding *i* is the nucleus of a full syllable and not just palatalization on the *r* [z]. This seemed like a good idea at the time, but it has not been a great success. Native speakers do not write it, and I think words like

rihaan are losing some of the syllabicity of the i. But then again, the h hasn't made it harder for anyone to read.

4.4 Loan Words

How do you treat loan words? What categories of loans do you recognize, and what principles do you apply to each category?

This is a difficult area. There are many old loans that have been heavily adapted to Trique phonology, and we write these as if they were native words.

nuví	church (from nave)
miskâ	band (to play music)
quexó	garlic

Other words show less adaptation and are more obviously from Spanish, but they take characteristic tone patterns. Up until the 1970s, Spanish words with penultimate stress entered Trique with tone /4/ and the abstract laryngeal. We used to follow a policy of writing the accent on these when they showed other adaptations to Trique phonology so that they would not otherwise be spelled as Spanish.

candó	broth
sinté	president

If they showed little or no adaptation to Spanish, and would be spelled as Spanish otherwise, we did not write the accent. Recently, at the request of our best reader, we decided to write the accent on these.

OLD	NEW	MEANING
mesa	mesá	table
peso	pesó	peso (money)

At the present time, bilingual speakers are incorporating many Spanish words into their speech, and they have a new way of adapting words with penultimate stress. Instead of using tone /4/ and the abstract laryngeal, they use /32/ and the laryngeal /h/. So far I have not seen much need for including such words in written material, and I would treat them as code switching and spell them as Spanish. Writing a j at the end of an obviously Spanish word does not seem like a good solution, especially since the Spanish j has such heavy friction, and the /h/ at the end of a Trique word is very soft.

There are many judgment calls, and, when in doubt, I write the word as it is spelled in Spanish.

4.5 Syllable structure

What kinds of syllable structure does the language have? (Give examples.)

The final syllable of a word always receives primary stress, and this syllable is the only one that can contain a laryngeal, or show the full range of tone patterns, and it is the only one where there is a contrast between fortis and lenis sounds, or where affricates and segmental glottal stop appear. Stressed syllables can contain only a vowel, or they can also have an onset with up to three consonants. There are no codas, other than the laryngeals that are considered to be part of the suprasegmental tier, along with tone.

V	ya.hij	stone
	ya.hu'	armadillo

	tiha'	to tease, deceive
CV	ta.na	goat
	ya.'aj	chile
CCV	a.guáj	to cry out
	ndaa	until
	to.'loo	rooster
CCCV	a.'nga'	to laugh

Non-final syllables usually have the same four forms: V, CV, CCV, and CCCV. The V pattern occurs only word-initial. Some of them contain a tone, and such syllables usually have secondary stress.

V	a.taa	lacks
	a.'ngaa	to be born
	i.no	different
CV	ta.na	goat
	cha.'nuj	thirteen
CCV	xca.'anj	fourteen
	xta.maʌn	June bug
CCCV	rcue.'é	peach

4.6 Clusters

What kinds of clusters occur (vocalic/consonantal)?

Vocalic clusters within a word

There are no vowel clusters within a syllable. There are, however, sequences of a nonsyllabic high vowel followed by a syllabic vowel; the nonsyllabic vowel is analyzed as a glide /w/ or /j/.

Within a word, but across syllable boundaries, there are some vowel sequences. These are written with an h to show the syllable division.

yahij	stone
yahu'	armadiillo
tiha'	to tease, deceive

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Consonant clusters occur in syllable onsets. The greatest variety occurs in the stressed word-final syllable, which may be either word-medial or, in the case of monosyllabic words, word-initial. There are several basic kinds of clusters.

Word-medial

Word-initial

Velar stop + w

CC	kw	acué	‘to roll up’	cuej	‘pus’
	gw	agüiin	‘to resonate’	güii	‘sun’

Nasal + lenis stop

CC	mb	—		caan mba'	‘furrowed squash’
	nd	—		ndāa	‘until’
	ng	ranga'	‘daytime’	ngaa	‘cloud’

Glottal stop + sonorant,

CC	ʔm	a'mii	‘to speak’	—	
	ʔn	ta'níí	‘child of’	'núú	‘corn’
	ʔl	to'loo	‘rooster’	—	
	ʔy	ta'yaa	‘door’	'yaj	‘to do
	ʔw	tu'vii	‘thunder’	'vaj	‘open (mouth)’

Glottal stop + n + g

CCC	ʔng	ca'nga'	‘laughed’	'ngo	‘one’ (~ 'o, yo'o)
-----	-----	---------	-----------	------	--------------------

Sibilant + obstruent

CC	st	—		staj	‘son-in-law’
	sk	rusca'	‘vault of heaven’	scaa	‘basket’
	ʃt	—		xtuu	‘mouse’
	ʃk	naxcaj	‘to raise’	xcaa	‘raven’
	zʃ	—		rtāa	‘tamale’
	zʃk	narqué	‘devolver’	rca'	‘twig’
	ʃtʃ	—		xchee	‘hen’ (~ xee, chuchee)
	ʃtʃ̄	—		xchri'	‘intestines’ (~ xri')

Sibilant + nasal or lateral

CC	sm	—		(smaná	‘week’)
	sn	asnīāan	‘first’ (~ asino yāan)	snúú	‘crazy’
	ʃm	—		xmuú	‘ancient race’
	ʃn	raxnéé	‘gulch’	xnii	‘child’

zm	narmii	‘form a ball’	rmii	‘ball’
zɲ	—		rnuj	‘husk tomato’
ʃl	rixlúú	‘kind of tree’	xlúú	‘worm’
zɭ	—		rlij	‘bubble’

Sibilant + stop + glide

CCC	skw	ascua'aa	‘earlier today’	scuaɲj	‘cross-eyed’
	ʃkw	—		xcuaj	‘fish’
	zkw	carcuíj	‘helped’	rcuíj	‘to help’

In addition, there are clusters of sibilant + glottal stop + nasal:

CCC	sʔn	tis'nó	‘to toast’	s'nuu	‘fruitfly’
	ʃʔn	nax'nanj	‘to multiply again’	x'núj	‘to be opened’

Occasionally, there is a cluster of a sibilant with a lenis stop (probably a recent development).

CC	zɖ	—	rda'	‘mano de metate’
----	----	---	------	------------------

Some of the above clusters occur in the onset of penultimate and antepenultimate syllables. The number of clusters is sharply constrained by the restriction of lenis obstruents and glottal stop to the word-final stressed syllable. One of the clusters that occurs is kw.

		<i>Penultimate</i>		<i>Antepenultimate</i>	
CC	kw	cua'aj	‘steambath’	tucuanicaj	‘to turn’

Some of the sibilant + nasal or obstruent clusters also occur in penultimate syllables.

CC	st	na sta'nga'	‘temple’
	ʃt	xtamaaɲ	‘June bug’
	ʃk	xcachra'	‘kingfisher’
	sn	sni'yó	‘jaguar’
	ʃn	xna'ánj	‘language’
		xnangá	‘corpse’
	ʃl	xlingué	‘devil’
CCC	ʃkw	xcu'a'an	‘tinamou’
	zgw	rcua'aɲ	‘together’

There are no closed syllables within a word, only syllables checked by laryngeals at the end of the word. There are therefore no consonant clusters that contain a coda plus an onset.

Many of the above clusters are found in loanwords:

CC	st	casté	‘oil’
	sk	miska	‘musical group’

	ʃt	caxté	‘crate’
		laxtoné	‘ribbon’
	ʃl	xlolo	‘Carnaval dancers’
	zʃ	cuartá	‘whip’
	zɲ	verné	‘Friday of Lent’
CCC	skw	ascuá	‘sugar’

Other clusters following similar patterns are also found in loanwords:

CC	xw	juese	‘judge’
	sw	sueté	‘sweater’
	nt	sinté	‘mayor of agencia’
	ʃp	xpií	‘gachupín’
	sm	smaná	‘week’
	sl	slenté	‘cedar waxwing’
	dj	dió	‘season’
CCC	stz	mestró	‘teacher’

4.7

Do you use one orthographic symbol to represent more than one phoneme or phonemic feature?

Yes, in all of the following cases, each of which has been explained and illustrated above.

The letter s represents both the fortis and the lenis dental sibilant, and the letters x represents both the fortis and the lenis alveopalatal sibilant.

The letter n represents a consonant phoneme when it occurs in a syllable onset, and it represents nasalization when it occurs after the last vowel of a word.

The letter ' represents a segmental phoneme in the onset of a final syllable, and a suprasegmental one when it occurs at the end of a word.

The letter j represents a segmental consonant phoneme /x/ found in loans in syllable onsets, and a suprasegmental laryngeal feature /h/ when it occurs at the end of a word.

The digraph ch represents an affricate phoneme /tʃ/ in word-final syllables, and it represents a sibilant phoneme /ʃ/word-initial in nonfinal syllables.

4.8

Are there some phonemes or phonemic features symbolized in one position in the word or phrase, but not elsewhere?

Nasalization is written with a final n only in words where the nasalization is not predictable from the presence of a nasal consonant. See section 3. above.

4.9

Are there some phonemes or phonemic features symbolized only sporadically? Examples: stress – written only where there is ambiguity, or tone – written only on certain words, or only certain tones written, etc.

No ___ Yes ___ (explain why you chose to do this)

Yes, tone. See explanation in section 3. above.

4.10 Text

Include a one-page glossed text using your orthography so your consultant can see orthographical choices in context. (Your orthography should follow Spanish punctuation conventions as much as possible.)

El zorro y las tunas

Este cuento fue narrado originalmente en 1972 por Manuel Camilo Ramírez Santiago, q. e. p. d., de San Miguel Copala, y fue publicado en 1973.

1. Chéé uún chunee; nano' xo' man tucuya,
camina otra:vez zorro busca él a conejo

ne nari' uún xo' man tucuya; táá tucuya
y encontró otra:vez él a conejo está:encima conejo

raa chruun tino; chá xo' quili' a.
cabeza:de palo nopal come él tuna (.)

El zorro caminaba otra vez buscando al conejo; y encontró otra vez al conejo, y el conejo estaba encima de un nopal comiendo tunas.

2. Gaa ne yaj me se cha ya
y entonces ahora es lo:que comerá verdaderamente

chunee man tucuya, rá xo',
zorro a conejo piensa él

gaa ne cataj tucuya rihaan chunee a.
y entonces dijo conejo cara:de zorro (.)

Entonces, en ese momento es que el zorro pensó que seguramente se iba a comer al conejo, y entonces el conejo le dijo al zorro:

3. —Tinuj, nanj raa chruun nihánj táj,
hermano nomás cabeza:de palo este estoy:encima-yo

ne chaj nij quili' a, tinuj.
y como-yo las tunas (.) hermano

—Hermano, estoy encima de este palo nomás, y estoy comiendo las tunas, hermano.

4. Taj chi'ii anó manj 'yaj quili' nihánj a mei.
no:hay enfermedad pega a-mí causa tuna esta ni (-!)

Estas tunas me protegen de todas las enfermedades.

5. Sa' ndo'o nihánj rihaan daj a' chi'ii,
buena muy ésta cara:de [toda clase de] enfermedad
ne chihán' ndo'o chá quili' nihánj adonj.
y sabrosa muy se:come tuna esta (!)

Éstas son muy buenas contra toda clase de enfermedad, y estas tunas se comen muy sabrosas, seguramente.

6. Cha so' yo'oj, rá so', tinu'.
comerás tú una-3 piensas tú hermano-(?)

¿Quieres comer una, hermano?

7. Nuxra' so' tu'vá so', ne tagüéj 'oj,
abrirás tú boca:de ti y tiraré-yo una-3
se me rá so' cha so' ei.
si [quieres] tú comerás tú (!)

Abre la boca, y voy a tirar una, si quieres comerla.

8. —Ca'vee —taj chunee, ne chá xo' 'o quili',
será:posible dice zorro y comió él una tuna
ne chihán' ndo'o chá yo', rá xo' a.
y sabrosa muy se:comió ella piensa él (.)

—Está bien —le dijo el zorro; y comió una tuna, y era muy sabrosa, pensó.

9. Ne taj uún tucuya rihaan chunee a.
y dice otra:vez conejo cara:de zorro (.)

Y el conejo le dijo al zorro otra vez:

10. —Tinuuj. Se me rá so',
hermano si [quieres] tú
se canó a 'ó chi'ii xráá so',
no pegará [ni una] enfermedad espalda:de ti
ne yaj caduun so',
y ahora cerrará:los:ojos tú
ne naxra' vaj uún so' tu'vá so',
y abrirás mueves otra:vez tú boca:de ti
ne taniij 'unj yo'ó quili' tu'vá so', tinuj.
y bajaré yo otra tuna boca:de ti hermano

—Hermano, si quieres, no te pegaré ninguna enfermedad; y ahora cierra los ojos y abre otra vez la boca, y dejaré caer otra tuna en tu boca, hermano.

11. —Ca'vee —taj uún chunee rihaan tucuya,
será:posible dice otra:vez zorro cara:de conejo

ne danj 'yaj uún xo' a.
y así hace otra:vez él (.)

—Está bien —el zorro le dijo otra vez al conejo, y así hizo también.

12. Veé dan ne maan quili' man ni'yó
[así pasó que] solamente tuna existe aguante

xráa ca'née tucuya rá tu'va chunee,
espalda:de metió conejo en boca:de zorro

ne caguáj ndo'o xo' a.
y gritó mucho él (.)

Así pasó que, nomás echó una tuna con aguante el conejo a la boca del zorro, y gritó muy fuerte.

13. Dan me se ca'nga' ndo'o tucuya; ni'yaj xo'
[entonces] rió mucho conejo miró él

man chunee, ne cunanj xo'; ca'anj xo' a.
a zorro y corrió él fue él (.)

Entonces el conejo se rió mucho del zorro, y se fue corriendo.

THE SAME STORY IN PARAGRAPH FORMAT

Chéé uún chunee; nano' xo' man tucuya, ne nari' uún xo' man tucuya; táá tucuya raā chruun tino; chá xo' quili' a. Gaa ne yaj me se chá ya chunee man tucuya, rá xo', gaa ne cataj tucuya rihaan chunee a.

—Tinuj, nanj raā chruun nihánj táj, ne chaj nij quili' a, tinuj. Taj chi'ii anó manj 'yaj quili' nihánj a mei. Sa' ndo'o nihánj rihaan daj a' chi'ii, ne chihan' ndo'o chá quili' nihánj adonj. Chá so' yo'oj, rá so', tinu'. Nuxra' so' tu'vá so', ne tagüéj 'oj, se me rá so' chá so' ei.

—Ca'vee —taj chunee, ne chá xo' 'o quili', ne chihan' ndo'o chá yo', rá xo' a.

Ne taj uún tucuya rihaan chunee a.

—Tinuj. Se me rá so', se canó a 'o chi'ii xráa so', ne yaj caduun so', ne naxra' vaj uún so' tu'vá so', ne tanij 'unj yo'ó quili' tu'vá so', tinuj.

—Ca'vee —taj uún chunee rihaan tucuya, ne danj 'yaj uún xo' a.

Veé dan ne maan quili' man ni'yó xráa ca'née tucuya rá tu'va chunee, ne caguáj ndo'o xo' a. Dan me se ca'nga' ndo'o tucuya; ni'yaj xo' man chunee, ne cunanj xo'; ca'anj xo' a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Further information about the sound system of Copala Trique is found in:

- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1977b. "Phonetic vs. phonemic correspondence in two Trique dialects", pp. 35–67 in *Studies in Otomanguean phonology (Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics 54)*. Ed. William R. Merrifield. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1984a. "The phonology and morphology of tone and laryngeals in Copala Trique", Doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona, xiv + 402 págs. Distributed by ProQuest. Online: : <http://www.barbaraelenahollenbach.com/PDFs/HollDiss84.pdf>.
- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1985. "Vowel length in Copala Trique: an abstract laryngeal analysis", *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51:455–57.
- Erickson de Hollenbach, Elena. 2008. *Gramática popular del triqui de Copala*. (Serie gramáticas de lenguas indígenas de México 11.) México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. Online: <http://www-01.sil.org/acpub/repository/GS11b-GramTriqCop-trc.pdf>.