

**Parts of speech and the Triqui lexicon**  
**Part 2: Prepositions, Adjectives, and Adverbs**  
 Linguistics 460/560 - The Structure of Itunyoso Triqui  
 3/5/24 - 3/7/24  
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**I. Prepositions**

(1) In many Mesoamerican languages, including Otomanguean more generally, location is marked by the use of positional verbs and *body-part locatives*, or relational nouns.

(2) *Body-part locatives* - use of body parts to encode spatial dimensions

<b>Body part</b>	<b>Common interpretations</b>
face	'on the surface of'
head	'on top of (something tall/narrow)'
back	'on top of (something flat)'
stomach	'under'
insides/heart	'inside'
hips	'to the side of, next to'
butt	'at the bottom of'
foot	'at the base of'

(3) One can not simply use semantic criteria to distinguish relational nouns from prepositions. In Alcozauca Mixtec, the words *ini* and *nùú* are also nominal - 'the insides of' and 'face', respectively. So, one could conceivably translate these as "the inner part of the river" or "the surface of the chair."

(a)    ndàkava      ini                      ìtia                      *Alcozauca Mixtec*  
          COMP.fall.1S    inside                      river                      (Mendoza Ruiz, 2016, p.33)  
          'I fell in the river.'

(b)    nùú      tiàyù      índu'ú                      tikachi=ún  
          face    chair    PROG.be                      blanket=2S  
          'Your blanket is on the chair.'

(4) What distinguishes these from regular nouns though? What defines *preposition* as a class?

(5) In several Zapotec languages, there is evidence that body-part locatives are indeed prepositions and not nominal. Lillehaugen and Foreman summarize three major criteria for evaluating this class of words in Zapotec languages:

- (a) only PPs (not NPs) can function as locative adjuncts
- (b) positional verbs can only select for PP (not NP) complements
- (c) body-part locatives can not be modified by quantifiers or adjectives, but nouns can.

- (6) Our goal is to evaluate Triqui in relation to these criteria to see how the words encoding spatial relations fit.

Body-part locatives	Gloss	Non-body-part locatives	Gloss
rian <sup>32</sup> [riã <sup>32</sup> ]	'face' 'to, toward, in front of' 'on top of (standing obj)'	chu <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>43</sup> [tʃu <sup>4</sup> βa <sup>43</sup> ]	'seed, insides' 'inside of'
ri <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> [ri <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> ]	'stomach'	che <sup>3</sup> cheh <sup>2</sup> [tʃe <sup>3</sup> tʃe <sup>2</sup> ]	(no nominal meaning) 'outside of'
ka <sup>3</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> [ka <sup>3</sup> tĩ <sup>1</sup> ]	'below, beneath, between' 'hip, waist'	chi <sup>3</sup> hninj <sup>5</sup> [tʃi <sup>3</sup> niñ <sup>5</sup> ]	'side' 'next to'
chi <sup>3</sup> raj <sup>5</sup> [tʃi <sup>3</sup> rañ <sup>5</sup> ]	'back' 'on top of (lying object)'	ru <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> [ru <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> ]	(no nominal meaning) 'behind, after'
chi <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>4</sup> [tʃi <sup>3</sup> ʔi <sup>4</sup> ]	(no nominal) 'about'	ska <sup>4</sup> nij <sup>4</sup> [ska <sup>4</sup> niñ <sup>4</sup> ]	'gap (in house, wall)' 'between (obj w/gap)' (no nominal meaning) 'in the middle of'
		ta <sup>2</sup> nin <sup>2</sup>	

- (7) Itunyoso Triqui has both body-part locatives (on the left) and non-body-part locatives (on the right). The existence of the latter group might already lead us towards an analysis where there are relational nouns that are distinct from another class. Though, might the non-body-parts also be nominal?

- (8) For body-part locatives, nominal and non-nominal readings are possible in Itunyoso Triqui.

a.	rian <sup>32</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup> face=3M 'to him' ~ 'his face'	b.	ri <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> stomach 'under Juan' ~ 'Juan's stomach'	Juan Juan
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- (9) What about the non-body-part locatives? Some are nominal, but not all.

a.	chu <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>43</sup> inside 'inside the house' ~ 'the insides of the house'	b.	chi <sup>3</sup> hninj <sup>5</sup> side 'next to the house' ~ 'the side of the house'	beh <sup>3</sup> house
c.	ska <sup>4</sup> ninj <sup>4</sup> gap 'between the houses' ~ 'the gap of the house'	d.	che <sup>3</sup> cheh <sup>2</sup> outside 'outside of the house' *'the outer part of the house'	beh <sup>3</sup> house

- |    |                                 |                  |    |                                  |                  |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------|----|----------------------------------|------------------|
| e. | ru <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> | beh <sup>3</sup> | f. | ta <sup>2</sup> nin <sup>2</sup> | beh <sup>3</sup> |
|    | behind                          | house            |    | middle.of                        | house            |
|    | 'behind the house'              |                  |    | 'in the middle of the house'     |                  |
|    | * 'the back part of the house'  |                  |    | * 'the middle part of the house' |                  |

(10) It is possible to quantify all those that are interpreted nominally here.

- |                    |                                     |                    |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| bbij <sup>1</sup>  | rian <sup>32</sup>                  | 'two faces'        |
| bbij <sup>1</sup>  | ri <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup>     | 'two stomachs'     |
| bbij <sup>1</sup>  | chu <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>43</sup>   | 'two insides'      |
| bbij <sup>1</sup>  | chi <sup>3</sup> hninj <sup>5</sup> | 'two sides'        |
| bbij <sup>1</sup>  | ska <sup>4</sup> ninj <sup>4</sup>  | 'two gaps'         |
| *bbij <sup>1</sup> | che <sup>3</sup> cheh <sup>2</sup>  | 'two outer parts'  |
| *bbij <sup>1</sup> | ru <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup>     | 'two backs'        |
| *bbij <sup>1</sup> | ta <sup>2</sup> nin <sup>2</sup>    | 'two middle parts' |

(11) What about the *locative adjunct* criterion? The criteria are not so clear. Locative adjuncts do not require an overt locative marker at all. In fact, it is ungrammatical with 'go.'

- (12) a. Ka<sup>3</sup>hanj<sup>2</sup> nih<sup>2</sup> sinh<sup>3</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>kwej<sup>3</sup>  
 perf.go pl child Oaxaca  
 'The children went to Oaxaca.'
- b. \*Ka<sup>3</sup>hanj<sup>2</sup> nih<sup>2</sup> sinh<sup>3</sup> rian<sup>32</sup> ya<sup>3</sup>kwej<sup>3</sup>  
 perf.go pl child to/face Oaxaca  
 'The children went to Oaxaca.'
- c. Nne<sup>3</sup> nih<sup>2</sup> sinh<sup>3</sup> (chu<sup>4</sup>ba<sup>43</sup>) ya<sup>3</sup>kwej<sup>3</sup>  
 be.sitting pl child (inside.of) Oaxaca  
 'The children are in (inside of) Oaxaca.'

(13) Though, Triqui distinguishes between toponyms and smaller containers - you do not say "in Oaxaca", but you have to say "in my car."

- (14) a. A<sup>3</sup>raj<sup>5</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> chu<sup>4</sup>ba<sup>43</sup> si<sup>3</sup>-ka<sup>2</sup>min<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
 sing=3m inside poss'd-car=3m  
 'He is singing in his car.'
- b. \*A<sup>3</sup>raj<sup>5</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> si<sup>3</sup>-ka<sup>2</sup>min<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
 sing=3m poss'd-car=3m  
 'He is singing in his car.'

(15) What about the *positional verbs requiring locative (PP) adjuncts* criterion?

- (16) Examples - the verb *ttaj*<sup>5</sup> requires a locative adjunct.
- a. Ttaj<sup>5</sup> ba<sup>4</sup>su<sup>43</sup> rian<sup>32</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 be.on.top glass face table  
 ‘The glass is on (the surface of) the table.’
- b. \*Ttaj<sup>5</sup> ba<sup>4</sup>su<sup>43</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 be.on.top glass table  
 ‘The glass is on (the surface of) the table.’
- (17) So does the verb *nne*<sup>3</sup>, but recall that it depends on the size of the location.
- a. Nne<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>4</sup>su<sup>43</sup> ri<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 be.sitting glass stomach table  
 ‘The glass is sitting under the table.’
- b. \*Nne<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>4</sup>su<sup>43</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 be.sitting glass table  
 ‘The glass is sitting under the table.’
- (18) We can check off Itunyoso Triqui as satisfying this criterion, clearly. Though, we have a caveat that it is semantically incongruent to place an object on a toponym, but smaller objects with clear physical orientations (tables, houses, shovels, trees, etc) require overt locative adjuncts with positional verbs.
- (20) What about *quantifier or adjectival manipulation* as our last criterion? We expect this with nouns, but not prepositions.
- (21) With *‘put on top of’*, the quantifier can not precede the word ‘face.’ There is no possible nominal interpretation of this body-part locative.
- a. K-u<sup>4</sup>taj<sup>4</sup> yyaj<sup>32</sup> rian<sup>32</sup> bbij<sup>1</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 PERF-put.on.top.1S flower face two table  
 ‘I put the flowers on top of (the surface of) the two tables.’
- b. \*K-u<sup>4</sup>taj<sup>4</sup> yyaj<sup>32</sup> bbij<sup>1</sup> rian<sup>32</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 PERF-put.on.top.1S flower two face table  
 ‘I put the flowers on top of (the surface of) the two tables.’
- (22) We have a similar finding with the word *‘outside of’*, though note that this is already not considered a noun.

- a. Ka<sup>3</sup>han<sup>32</sup> che<sup>3</sup>ch<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>kwa<sup>4</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
 PERF.go.1s outside three house.of=3M  
 ‘I went outside of his three houses.’
- b. \*Ka<sup>3</sup>han<sup>32</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> che<sup>3</sup>ch<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>kwa<sup>4</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
 PERF.go.1s three outside house.of=3M  
 ‘I went outside of his three houses.’

(23) However, it seems like we *can* put a quantifier before or after the other nominal locatives here, with a slightly poetic reading in the (b) examples.

- a. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> ri<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup> bbij<sup>1</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S stomach two house  
 ‘I passed under two houses.’
- b. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> bbij<sup>1</sup> ri<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S two stomach house  
 ‘I passed under two houses.’
- a. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>raj<sup>5</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S back three house  
 ‘I passed behind three houses.’
- b. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>raj<sup>5</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S three back house  
 ‘I passed behind three houses.’

(24) But the problem is that you can *also* do this with the non-body-part locatives that have no nominal reading. So, perhaps this word order change is not targeting nominals.

- a. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> ru<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>4</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S behind three house  
 ‘I passed behind three houses.’
- b. K-a<sup>4</sup>chinj<sup>4</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> ru<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>4</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF-pass.1S three behind house  
 ‘I passed behind three houses.’
- a. Nne<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>nin<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 sit=3M middle.of three house  
 ‘He is sitting in the middle of three houses.’
- b. Nne<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>hninj<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>nin<sup>2</sup> beh<sup>3</sup>.  
 sit=3M three middle.of house  
 ‘He is sitting in the middle of three houses.’

- (25) Perhaps there is just a cline of *adpositionality*? Some things like 'face' are clearly prepositions - body-parts that, when used in locative expressions, change their part of speech. Others remain more or less nominal.

Preposition	Denominal preposition	Some prepositional characteristics	Locative noun
che <sup>3</sup> ch <sup>2</sup> 'outside of'	rian <sup>32</sup> 'face; to, toward, on'	ri <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> 'stomach; under'	ka <sup>3</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> 'hip, waist; next to'
ru <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>4</sup> 'behind'			chi <sup>3</sup> raj <sup>5</sup> 'back; behind'
ta <sup>2</sup> nin <sup>2</sup> 'in the middle of'			chi <sup>3</sup> hninj <sup>5</sup> 'side; next to'
			chu <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>43</sup> 'insides; inside of'
			ska <sup>4</sup> ninj <sup>4</sup> 'gap; between'

- (26) We also perhaps need better criteria. For now, it seems like Triqui has things that are more prototypically prepositional and things that remain locative nouns.

## II. Adjectives

- (27) Itunyoso Triqui has three types of things that one might call "adjectives" and two overlapping types of things that one might "adverbs."
- (28) Adjectival types
- There are post-nominal words that appear in noun phrases and which appear to be adjective-like.
  - There are post-nominal words that *resemble* the group in (a) but which are stative predicates.
  - There are words that appear after the auxiliary *ba<sup>2</sup>* 'be' which, together, function as a stative predicate, but independently might be adjectives.
- (29) What about the first set in (a)?
- |                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| cchej <sup>32</sup> | ka <sup>1</sup> tin <sup>1</sup> |
| road                | narrow                           |
| 'the narrow road'   |                                  |
  - |                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| sinh <sup>3</sup> | li <sup>43</sup> |
| child             | small            |
| 'the small child' |                  |
  - |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| beh <sup>3</sup> | xi <sup>3</sup> |
| house            | big             |
| 'the big house'  |                 |

- (30) This class of words can appear in expressions with quantifiers, suggesting that they are within a noun phrase.

Chah<sup>4</sup> si<sup>3</sup> hnah<sup>2</sup> ngo<sup>2</sup> cchej<sup>32</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>tin<sup>1</sup> li<sup>43</sup> rian<sup>32</sup> tu<sup>3</sup>kwa<sup>4</sup>=nej<sup>3</sup>  
 Actually that POT.come one road narrow small face house.of=3P  
 ‘Actually, a small, narrow road would come out in front of their house.’

(Line 46; *Cuento de señora que engaño a su esposo*; 06/10/2015; Marcelino Hernández Pérez and Wilfrido Cruz Martínez)

- (31) Within class (b), we have stative predicates. These appear before *or* after the noun if the noun is fronted due to focus.

(a) Na<sup>3</sup>chanh<sup>3</sup> re<sup>3</sup>to<sup>32</sup>  
 be.folded blanket  
 'the blanket is folded'

(b) **re<sup>3</sup>to<sup>32</sup>** na<sup>3</sup>chanh<sup>3</sup> **Focus construction**  
**blanket** be.folded  
 'the folded blanket' = 'the blanket (that) is folded'

- (32) Now, (31b) looks an awful lot like the examples in (29). Yet, if this set of stative predicates were *truly* adjectives, we'd expect them to appear in larger phrases with quantifiers, like we get in (30).

(33) A<sup>3</sup>roj<sup>2</sup> nih<sup>2</sup> ttanj<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup>hbij<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>  
 grab.1s pl thorn be.prickly dem  
 'I am grabbing those prickly thorns.' ~ 'I am grabbing those thorns (that) are prickly.'

- (34) They do appear in such phrases, but as relative clauses (most probably). Note that words like 'be.folded' or 'be.prickly' also take aspectual prefixes, so there is stronger evidence to consider them verbal.

- (35) Moreover, this class of stative predicates can *not* take the auxiliary when used predicatively. This means that these are verbal.

\*Ba<sup>32</sup> na<sup>3</sup>chanh<sup>3</sup> re<sup>3</sup>to<sup>32</sup>  
 be be.folded blanket  
 'the blanket is folded'

- (36) The class in (a) usually appear with *ba<sup>2</sup>/ba<sup>32</sup>*, 'to be', as adjectival predicates. Though, complicating matters is that, in the imperfective, you can omit the auxiliary altogether. Why does this complicate things? Compare (29a) to (36a). It looks like we shift from a stative verb to an adjective just based on the relative ordering.

- a. (Ba<sup>32</sup>) ka<sup>1</sup>tin<sup>1</sup> cchej<sup>32</sup>  
 (be) narrow road  
 'The road **is** narrow.'
- b. Ka<sup>32</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>tin<sup>1</sup> cchej<sup>32</sup>  
 PERF.be narrow road  
 'The road **was** narrow.'
- c. Ba<sup>32</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>tinj<sup>1</sup>.  
 be narrow.1S  
 'I am skinny.'
- d. Ka<sup>32</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>tin<sup>1</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>.  
 PERF.be narrow=3M  
 'He was skinny.'

(37) Auxiliary dropping is not possible when a perfective/potential reading is required though, so I believe this is something that just makes it *appear* that the part of speech is determined by a simple word order shift.

(38) The examples like we see in (36) illustrate the group in (28c). More examples are given here. Is there a rhyme or reason to the auxiliary omission? There does not appear to be.

<i>Ba</i> <sup>2</sup> is optional	Gloss	<i>Ba</i> <sup>2</sup> is required	Gloss
cha <sup>1</sup> kan <sup>2</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is tall'	ba <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>1</sup> ko <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is poor'
ya <sup>1</sup> hyi <sup>1</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is heavy'	ba <sup>2</sup> na <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup> sun <sup>32</sup>	'the thing is new'
ccheh <sup>2</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is short'	ba <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>3</sup> hmanh <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is fat'
sah <sup>1</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is good'	ba <sup>2</sup> me <sup>3</sup> te <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is skinny'
si <sup>1</sup> kah <sup>1</sup> cchrun <sup>3</sup>	'the wood is hard'	ba <sup>2</sup> hbi <sup>1</sup> kkan <sup>3</sup>	'the squash is raw'
so <sup>2</sup> ho <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is deaf'	ba <sup>2</sup> cha <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> ne <sup>3</sup> hej <sup>3</sup>	'the baby is cute'
bi <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is light-haired'	ba <sup>2</sup> xi <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is big'
bba <sup>1</sup> chi <sup>4</sup> lu <sup>43</sup>	'the knife is sharp'	ba <sup>2</sup> li <sup>43</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is small'
bbe <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is brave'	ba <sup>2</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> re <sup>3</sup> =chuj <sup>3</sup>	'the animal is red'
ka <sup>1</sup> rah <sup>1</sup> cchej <sup>32</sup>	'the road is wide'	ba <sup>2</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> re <sup>31</sup> =chuj <sup>3</sup>	'the animal is green'
ku <sup>1</sup> nun <sup>1</sup> bbej <sup>32</sup>	'the cave is deep'	ba <sup>2</sup> ttaj <sup>3</sup> =chuj <sup>3</sup>	'the animal is blue'
na <sup>1</sup> ko <sup>1</sup> a <sup>4</sup> sij <sup>4</sup>	'the clothes are dry'		
ni <sup>2</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is poor'		
nne <sup>1</sup> =sij <sup>3</sup>	'he is naked'		

- (39) **Adjectives** (a) There are post-nominal words that appear in noun phrases and which appear to be adjective-like.
- Verbs** (b) There are post-nominal words that *resemble* the group in (a) but which are stative predicates.
- Adjectives** (c) There are words that appear after the auxiliary *ba*<sup>2</sup> 'be' which, together, function as a stative predicate, but independently might be adjectives.



(40) So, it seems like we have a good analysis here so far, but it's worth noting that many adjectives in group (c) above can *never* appear in contexts like (a), post-nominally.

a. Ki<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>3</sup>hinj<sup>5</sup>          ngwi<sup>31</sup> cha<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>  
 PERF-see/know.1S person female be drunk  
 'I saw the woman (who) was drunk.'

b. \*Ki<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>3</sup>hinj<sup>5</sup>          ngwi<sup>31</sup> cha<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> chi<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>  
 PERF-see/know.1S person female drunk  
 'I saw the drunk woman.'

c. Ki<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>3</sup>hinj<sup>5</sup>          ngwi<sup>31</sup> cha<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> li<sup>43</sup>  
 PERF-see/know.1S person female small  
 'I saw the short woman.'

(41) But there's an overlap here - note that *li<sup>43</sup>* can occur with *ba<sup>2</sup>* in the table in (38), meaning that it is in group (a) and group (c). Is this usage in (40c) just another example of *ba<sup>2</sup>* omission? If so, everything is a verb and perhaps there are no adjectives at all!

(42) You might also notice that there is a *strong* tendency for many post-nominal modifiers to be tone /1/! Historically, in Mixtecan, there was a process of forming adjectives via tone change. We do not observe many pairs in the Triqui lexicon, but a few.

mmin <sup>1</sup>	'unbaptized'	(adjective)
mmin <sup>4</sup>	'unbaptized person'	(noun)
na <sup>1</sup> ko <sup>1</sup>	'dry'	(adjective)
na <sup>3</sup> ko <sup>1</sup>	'to get dry (intr)'	(verb)

### III. Adverbs (and also, more adjectives)

(41) Just like with adjectives, there are a few types of things that could be interpreted as adverbs in Itunyoso Triqui.

- (a) Pre-verbal elements that are external to the main clause.
- (b) Post-verbal elements that modify the verb in some way.
- (c) Things that fall into both (a) and (b)

(42) Considering (a), there are many words which appear to modify the clause in some way and which may consist of a phrase as well with a conventionalized meaning.

Ba<sup>2</sup>          ta<sup>2</sup>haj<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>kin<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
 be/exist times call.1S=3S  
 'Sometimes I call him.' ~ 'There are times (that) I call him.'

(43) There are several words which appear *only* in the pre-verbal position; group (a)

a <sup>3</sup> baj <sup>3</sup>	rápidamente	quickly
a <sup>3</sup> kwanh <sup>3</sup>	ahora	now
ba <sup>1</sup>	ya	already
ba <sup>2</sup> nga <sup>1</sup>	todavía	still
be <sup>4</sup> cche <sup>3</sup>	cómodamente	comfortably
che <sup>3</sup>	muy	very
kkaj <sup>13</sup>	perfectamente	perfectly
kwih <sup>3</sup>	tempranamente	early
ngo <sup>2</sup>	completamente	completely
ra <sup>3</sup> ran <sup>32</sup>	fuertemente	strongly
ta <sup>2</sup> haj <sup>2</sup>	a veces	sometimes
ta <sup>3</sup> neh <sup>3</sup>	simplemente	simply
ta <sup>3</sup> ru <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup>	últimamente	lastly
ta <sup>3</sup> yun <sup>1</sup>	necesariamente	necessarily
taj <sup>13</sup>	apenas	just (temporal)
ti <sup>4</sup> tin <sup>4</sup>	quietamente	quietly
to <sup>1</sup> toh <sup>1</sup>	poco a poco	little by little

(44) Example, line 6 from *Cuento de la lagartija y la hierba*; Mario Hernández Pérez and Wilfrido Cruz Martínez, 6/10/15.

"ra<sup>3</sup>ran<sup>32</sup>      ku<sup>2</sup>-nun<sup>32</sup>=reh<sup>1</sup>      ni<sup>2</sup>      si<sup>2</sup>      ki<sup>1</sup>-rih<sup>1</sup>      nu<sup>3</sup>kwaj<sup>3</sup>..."  
 strongly      POT-be.inside=2S      and      NEG.CMD      POT-lose      be.strong

a<sup>3</sup>taj<sup>3</sup>    kkoj<sup>3</sup>    rej<sup>3</sup>      mmah<sup>4</sup>  
 say    herb    PART.think    compadre.Q

"Vigilantly stay inside and don't lose hope", says the herb, supposedly, compadre.

(45) There are also many words, in group (b), which modify the meaning of the verb and appear post-verbally before subject marking.

(46) a.      A<sup>3</sup>kinj<sup>5</sup> nu<sup>2</sup>kwi<sup>23</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>=yunj<sup>1</sup>      b.      A<sup>3</sup>kinj<sup>5</sup> nu<sup>2</sup>kwih<sup>5</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
           call    all.day=3M=1S.OBJ                    call    all.day.1S=3M  
           'He calls me all day long.'                    'I call him all day long.'

(47) Note that endoclitics apply to the post-verbal modifier here, not to the verb. So, speakers/listeners must also know tonal derivations for these.

(48) Complicating things is the observation that many of these post-verbal modifiers may *also* occur pre-verbally with no apparent change in meaning.

- (49) a. Nu<sup>2</sup>kwi<sup>23</sup>      a<sup>3</sup>kin<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>      b.      A<sup>3</sup>kinj<sup>5</sup> nu<sup>2</sup>kwi<sup>5</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
all.day      call.1s=3s      call      all.day.1s=3m  
'I call him all day long.'      'I call him all day long.'

(50) A few from this set obligatorily only occur in post-verbal position: *ke*<sup>1</sup> 'keep doing', *yun*<sup>1</sup> 'only, just', *nun*<sup>32</sup> 'for a while.' These can *not* occur pre-verbally.

- a. Nne<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>1</sup> Juan      b.      Cha<sup>43</sup>      yun<sup>1</sup>=unj<sup>3</sup>  
sit      keep      Juan      PERF.eat      only=3F  
'Juan keeps sitting.'      'She only ate (nothing else)'
- \*ke<sup>1</sup>      nne<sup>3</sup>      Juan      \*yun<sup>1</sup>      cha<sup>43</sup>=unj<sup>3</sup>
- c. Nne<sup>3</sup>      nun<sup>32</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>      ni<sup>3</sup>kyanj<sup>5</sup>  
sit      a.while=3m      Tlaxiaco  
'He is staying a while in Tlaxiaco.'
- \*nun<sup>32</sup>      nne<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>      ni<sup>3</sup>kyanj<sup>5</sup>

(51) Complicating matters is the fact that some of the same words appear in all types of contexts.

- a. ngo<sup>2</sup>      sinj<sup>5</sup>      sah<sup>1</sup>      b.      sah<sup>1</sup>      ki<sup>3</sup>-hyaj<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
one      man      good      good/well      PERF-do=3M  
'a good person/man'      'He did well.'
- c.      ki<sup>3</sup>-hyaj<sup>3</sup>      sah<sup>1</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>      d.      Ba<sup>2</sup>      sah<sup>1</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>  
PERF-do      good/well=3M      be      good=3M  
'He did well'      'He is good.'

(52) Are words like *sah*<sup>1</sup> just adjectives that can be used adverbially?

(53) *Positional hypothesis*: Words which appear pre-verbally or post-verbally are **adverbs** which have sentential scope/meaning. Both post-nominal modifiers and words appearing with an auxiliary are **adjectives**. Some words fall into both categories.

(54) This hypothesis does not help us to distinguish between those modifiers that appear *only* pre-verbally or *only* post-verbally though. Both would be types of adverbs.

(55) Another hypothesis is that there are no true adjectives in the language - all adjectives are stative predicates, but some do not require the auxiliary when used in nominal expressions.

(56) What might be the argument for this? Note that you *mostly* can not include more than one adjective in a noun phrase.

(57) a. Sinj<sup>5</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>-chu<sup>4</sup>man<sup>43</sup>  
man poor PERF-arrive  
'The poor man arrived.'

b. Sinj<sup>5</sup> li<sup>43</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>-chu<sup>4</sup>man<sup>43</sup>  
man poor PERF-arrive  
'The small man arrived.'

c. \*sinj<sup>5</sup> li<sup>43</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>-sij<sup>4</sup>  
man small and poor PERF-arrive  
'The poor, small man arrived.'

d. \*sinj<sup>5</sup> li<sup>43</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>-sij<sup>4</sup>  
man small poor PERF-arrive

e. Sinj<sup>5</sup> li<sup>43</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>-chu<sup>4</sup>man<sup>43</sup>  
man small be poor PERF-arrive  
'The small man, who is poor, arrived.'

f. Sinj<sup>5</sup> li<sup>43</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>32</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>, ku<sup>3</sup>-chu<sup>4</sup>man<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup>.  
man small and poor be=3M, PERF-arrive=3M.  
'The man who is small and poor, he arrived.'

(58) So, there is no way to say "*the small, yellow dog*" in Triqui except to say "*the big dog that is yellow*." Is this a behavior we expect with adjectives? Or something we expect with stative predicates (verbs)?

(59) For some words like *xi*<sup>3</sup> 'big', you can in fact string two modifiers together. However, it seems to only be possible with a few modifiers.

(60) Chu<sup>3</sup>be<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ru<sup>31</sup>xi<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>3</sup>-chi<sup>4</sup>hyanj<sup>4</sup>  
dog black big PERF-bark  
'The big black dog barked.'

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