

## What's an adjective in Triqui?

Fieldwork Forum

2/28/25

Christian DiCanio

### I. Itunyoso Triqui - the language

- (1) Itunyoso Triqui is an Otomanguean language spoken in Southern Mexico spoken in San Martín Itunyoso and La Concepción Itunyoso, Oaxaca. There are approximately 2,500 speakers. It is also spoken in expatriate communities in Oaxaca City, Mexico City, and parts of the US.
- (2) Like all Otomanguean languages, it is heavily tonal. Tone has a large morphological load on top of being lexically contrastive.

cha <sup>43</sup>	'PERF.eat'	'ate'	cha <sup>31</sup>	'head'
chaj <sup>4</sup>	'PERF.eat.1S'	'I ate'	cha <sup>4</sup>	'neck'
chaj <sup>3</sup>	'PERF.eat.3TOP'	'someone ate'	cha <sup>1</sup>	'to be problematic'
cha <sup>2</sup>	'POT.eat'	'will eat'		
chaj <sup>1</sup>	'POT.eat.1S'	'I will eat'		
chaj <sup>23</sup>	'POT.eat.3TOP'	'someone will eat'		

- (3) Most words are disyllabic, but with aspectual and pronominal clitic morphology, you can have words with up to 6 syllables. These tend to be more exceptional than typical.

ra <sup>4</sup> hyanj <sup>4</sup>	hurry.up
tu <sup>3</sup> -ra <sup>4</sup> hyanj <sup>4</sup>	CAUS-hurry.up
ku <sup>3</sup> -tu <sup>3</sup> -ra <sup>4</sup> hyanj <sup>4</sup>	PERF-CAUS-hurry.up
ku <sup>3</sup> -tu <sup>3</sup> -ra <sup>4</sup> hyanj <sup>4</sup> =neh <sup>4</sup> =nej <sup>3</sup>	PERF-CAUS-hurry.up=1P=3P
	'We made them hurry up.'

### II. Parts of speech and basic syntax

- (4) Several parts of speech are clearly well-established.
- |    |                 |   |
|----|-----------------|---|
| a. | Nouns           | Canonically can occur with possessive stem forms  |
| b. | Verbs           | Canonically take aspectual prefixes, multiple arguments   |
| c. | Prepositions    | Location marked with relational nouns, but several locative markers lack nominal reflexes, so <i>preposition</i> exists as a class. |
| d. | Final particles | A large set of markers encoding information structure, speaker engagement, and accessibility; always utterance-final.               |
- (5) The basic word order of Triqui sentences is VSO (verb-subject-object). Exceptions to this all involve focus constructions. Note the heavy use of pronominal clitics in the examples.

(6) Examples with intransitive verbs.

- a. K-a<sup>3</sup>hngaj<sup>3</sup> ra<sup>3</sup>haj<sup>5</sup>.  
PERF-burn hand.1S  
'My hand got burned.'
- b. A<sup>3</sup>che<sup>43</sup>  
walk.1S  
'I am walking.'
- c. Na<sup>3</sup>ranh<sup>3</sup> ngwi<sup>31</sup>  
gather.together person  
'The people are gathering.'
- d. Ra<sup>4</sup>hyan<sup>43</sup>  
be.in.hurry.1S  
'I am in a hurry.'

(7) Examples with transitive verbs.

Ki<sup>3</sup>-riah<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> cha<sup>3</sup>to<sup>3</sup>  
PERF-shoot=3M rabbit  
'He shot the rabbit.'

Ko<sup>4</sup>hoj<sup>4</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>sih<sup>1</sup>  
PERF.drink.1S soda  
'I drank soda.'

Kaj<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>2</sup>min<sup>32</sup>=yunj<sup>1</sup>  
PERF.run.over car=1S.OBJ  
'The car ran over me.'

Ki<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>3</sup>hya<sup>32</sup>=soh<sup>1</sup>  
PERF-look.at.1S=2S.OBJ  
'I looked at you.'

### III. On adjectives

- (8) Itunyoso Triqui has three types of things that one might call "adjectives" and two overlapping types of things that one might call "adverbs."
- (9) Typically, one finds difficulty distinguishing adjectives from things like stative predicates in different languages, but this is not where the main difficulty lies for Triqui.

(10) Adjectival types

- (a) There are post-nominal words that are stative predicates, but which might just be translated as adjectives.
- (b) There are post-nominal words that appear in noun phrases and which appear adjective-like.
- (c) There are words that appear after the auxiliary *ba²* 'be' which, together, function as a stative predicate, but independently might be adjectives.

(11) The issue is not (a), but the distinction between (b) and (c). What things can appear in a nominal construction and what things can appear with an auxiliary?

(12) Considering (a), stative predicates occur before *or* after the noun if the noun is fronted due to focus.

- (a) Na³chanh³      re³to³²  
be.folded      blanket  
'the blanket is folded'

- (b) **re³to³²**      na³chanh³      **Focus construction**  
**blanket**      be.folded  
'the folded blanket' = 'the blanket (that) is folded'

(13) Now, (12b) looks adjective-like. Yet, if this set of stative predicates were *truly* adjectives, we'd expect them to appear in larger phrases with quantifiers, as in (14).

- (14) A³roj²      nih²      ttanj³      a³hbij²      ta³  
grab.1s      pl      thorn      be.prickly      dem  
'I am grabbing those prickly thorns.' ~ 'I am grabbing those thorns (that) are prickly.'

(15) They can appear here, but as relative clauses (most probably). The crucial thing appears to be that words like 'be.folded' or 'be.prickly' also take aspectual prefixes, so there is stronger evidence to consider them verbal. Note the potential prefix below.

- |               |                |                    |                                |
|---------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| na³ru³bi³²    | 'to be freed'  | na³ru³bi³²=sij³    | 'he is freed (from something)' |
| ki²-na²ru²bi² | 'POT.be.freed' | ki²-na²ru²bi²=sij³ | 'he will be freed'             |

(16) Moreover, unlike the categories in (b) and (c), stative predicates can *not* take an auxiliary when used predicatively. This also means that these are verbal.

- \*Ba³²      na³chanh³      re³to³²  
be      be.folded      blanket  
'the blanket is folded'

(17) So, stative predicates are clearly verbs in Triqui.

(18) What about set (b)?

a. cchej<sup>32</sup> ka'tin<sup>1</sup>  
road narrow  
'the narrow road'

b. sinh<sup>3</sup> li<sup>43</sup>  
child small  
'the small child'

c. beh<sup>3</sup> xi<sup>3</sup>  
house big  
'the big house'

(19) The words 'narrow', 'small', and 'big' can occur in nominal phrases, just like the stative predicates can, but there is no form of these words with aspectual prefixation.

(20) 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'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)

(21) The class in (b) usually appear with *ba*<sup>2</sup>, 'to be', as adjectival predicates. This is our class (c) - where an auxiliary verb is required.

(22) Compare (22a) to (18a). The auxiliary verb can be deleted here. If it is, it appears like we shift from a stative verb to an adjective just based on the relative ordering, but it's just that the imperfective auxiliary is often omitted.

a.	(Ba <sup>2</sup> )	ka'tin <sup>1</sup>	cchej <sup>32</sup>	c.	Ba <sup>2</sup>	ka'tinj <sup>1</sup>
	be	narrow	road		be	narrow.1s
	'The road is narrow'				'I am skinny'	

b.	Ka <sup>32</sup>	ka'tin <sup>1</sup>	cchej <sup>32</sup>	d.	Ka <sup>32</sup>	ka'tinj <sup>1</sup>
	PERF.be	narrow	road		PERF.be	narrow.1s
	'The road was narrow'				'I was skinny'	

(23) The choice to omit the auxiliary does not seem to be motivated on semantic grounds, but perhaps it's simply based on frequency of use. If it's a frequent predicate, you omit the auxiliary.

<b>Ba<sup>2</sup> is optional</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Ba<sup>2</sup> is required</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
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'		

- (24) One possibility here is that the auxiliary is undergoing some type of morphologization with certain adjectives. There is *tonal* evidence that some adjectives are realized differently here.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Ba<sup>2</sup> ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> be poor=3m<br/> 'He is poor'<br/> (ya<sup>1</sup>ko<sup>3</sup>)</p> | <p>c. Ba<sup>2</sup> li<sup>43</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> be small=3m<br/> 'He is small'<br/> (li<sup>43</sup>)</p>  |
| <p>b. Ba<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>kaj<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> be skinny=3m<br/> 'He is skinny'</p>                                | <p>d. <b>La<sup>3</sup>kaj<sup>3</sup></b> ba<sup>32</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> skinny be=3m<br/> 'He is skinny'</p> |

- (25) Note that we use a different form of the verb 'be' in (24d), one with tone /32/ instead of tone /2/. The adjective that is now fronted (a focus construction) and it has tone /3.3/ instead of /2.3/. Is this a case of fusion, e.g. /ba<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>kaj<sup>3</sup>/ as a new word?

- (26) What other evidence is there for this fusion? Sometimes the meanings change when it is verb + adjective instead of adjective + verb.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Ba<sup>2</sup> llij<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> be small=3m<br/> 'He is young'</p> | <p>b. Llij<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>32</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup><br/> small be=3m<br/> 'He is small'</p> |
|---|--|

- (27) And not all adjectives are front-able with focus constructions (27b).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Ba<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> ra<sup>3</sup>sun<sup>32</sup><br/> be new thing<br/> 'The thing is new.'</p> | <p>b. *na<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>32</sup> ra<sup>3</sup>sun<sup>32</sup><br/> new be thing<br/> 'The thing is new'</p> |
|---|--|

(28) Perhaps class (c) is a set of adjectives that are morphologizing with the auxiliary as a verbal modifier. They are becoming stative verbs.

(29) Based on the data so far, here's what we have.

- |                    |     |  |
|--------------------|-----|--|
| <b>Verbs</b>       | (a) | There are post-nominal words that <i>resemble</i> the group in (b) but which are stative predicates. No auxiliary is required.                                       |
| <b>Adjectives</b>  | (b) | There are post-nominal words that appear in noun phrases and which appear to be adjective-like.  |
| <b>Adjectives?</b> | (c) | There are words that appear after the auxiliary <i>ba</i> <sup>2</sup> 'be' which, together, function as a stative predicate, but independently might be adjectives. |

(30) It seems like we have a good analysis here so far. It's worth noting that many adjectives in group (c) above can *never* appear post-nominally, like those in (b) can. Compare 'be.drunk' (class c) to 'small' (class b).

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.'

(31) 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 (b) and group (c). Is this usage in (30c) just another example of *ba*<sup>2</sup> omission?

(32) If that is the case then everything would be a stative verb and perhaps there are no adjectives at all?

(33) 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)

- (34) So, at least morphologically (via tonal derivation), there is some process distinguishing class (b) from other parts of speech.
- (35) But the crucial issue here is that one class (b) is used freely in nominal expressions without an auxiliary while another (c) seems to require the auxiliary no matter where it occurs.

#### IV. Are adverbs different from adjectives?

- (36) 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)
- (37) 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.’

- (38) 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

- (39) 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	SFP.think	compadre.Q			

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

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

- (41) 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.'

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

- (43) Incidentally, this also really complicates a syntactic parser for Triqui, as the grammar requires that you determine that a subject exists by looking at tonal changes on an adverb!

- (44) Many of these post-verbal modifiers may *also* occur pre-verbally with no apparent change in meaning.

- (45) 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>kwih<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.'

- (46) A few from this set obligatorily only occur in post-verbal position: *ke'* 'keep doing', *yun'* '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.'  
\*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>

- (47) Some of the same words appear in all types of contexts. Is 'good' an adjective? an adverb? Where does it belong? (I suppose the same is true for English.)
- |    |                     |                   |                  |    |                  |  |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|----|------------------|--|
| 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.'   |                                    |
- (48) *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 "**adjectival**." Some words fall into both categories.
- (49) Yet, this hypothesis does not help us to distinguish between those modifiers that appear *only* pre-verbally or *only* post-verbally. Both would be types of adverbs. We need more than one type of adverb.
- (50) But, as above, maybe all adjectives are *stative predicates*, but some just do not require the auxiliary when used in nominal expressions.
- (51) What might be the argument for this? Note that you *mostly* can not include more than one adjective in a noun phrase.
- (52)
- |    |                         |                                 |   |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 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/that        | poor                            | be=3M,                               | PERF-arrive=3M.   |
|    | 'The small man who/that is poor, he arrived.' |                  |                 |                                 |                                      |   |

- (53) 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) that are relativized? Probably the latter.
- (54) Would this mean that there are now two classes of stative predicates instead? Perhaps there is a lexicalized class, e.g. 'be.folded' /na<sup>3</sup>chanh<sup>3</sup>/ and a morphologized class, e.g. /ba<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>/ 'be.new.'
- (55) But for some words in adjective class (b) like xi<sup>3</sup> 'big', you can in fact string two of them together. Are these adjectives or just stative predicates missing their auxiliary?
- (56) 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.'

## V. What about copulas? (extra)

- (58) There are three copulas in Itunyoso Triqui that perhaps are worth mentioning.
- (59) Ba<sup>32</sup> is used with statives like above, but it is also an existential for singular or countable entities.
- (60) Ba<sup>32</sup> ngo<sup>2</sup> chu<sup>3</sup>che<sup>32</sup> ri<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 exist one chicken stomach table  
 'There is a chicken under the table.'
- (61) Mman<sup>1</sup> is used for plural entities. Triqui has a plural word nih<sup>2</sup>, but number is often left unmarked/interpreted by the verb.
- (62) Mman<sup>1</sup> chu<sup>3</sup>che<sup>32</sup> ri<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup> me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 exist.PLUR chicken stomach table  
 'There are chickens under the table.'
- (63) Bin<sup>3</sup> is used as a nominal equative.
- (64) Bin<sup>3</sup>=sij<sup>3</sup> sinj<sup>5</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>hbi<sup>2</sup>  
 be=3m person mixteco  
 'He is a mixteco.'
- (65) Color adjectives can also occur with bin<sup>3</sup>, but this apparently is only because all colors require si<sup>3</sup> as a nominalizer.

si <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> re <sup>3</sup>	'red' ~ 'redness'	si <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> yaj <sup>32</sup>	'yellow' ~ 'yellowness'
si <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> re <sup>31</sup>	'green' ~ 'greenness'	si <sup>3</sup> ka <sup>1</sup> si <sup>1</sup>	'white' ~ 'whiteness'
si <sup>3</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> ru <sup>31</sup>	'black' ~ 'blackness'	si <sup>3</sup> rmau <sup>3</sup>	'pink' ~ 'pinkness'
si <sup>3</sup> ttaj <sup>3</sup>	'light blue' ~ 'light blueness'		

(66) Si<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup>      bin<sup>3</sup>      me<sup>4</sup>sa<sup>43</sup>  
 red                      be      table  
 'The table is red'

(67) a.      un<sup>3</sup> sin<sup>3</sup>              bin<sup>3</sup>      chu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>              ta<sup>3</sup>      oh<sup>1</sup>?  
             what                      be      animal              DEM      SFP.WHQ  
             'What is that animal?'

b.      Ngo<sup>2</sup>      chu<sup>3</sup>ku<sup>3</sup>              xi<sup>3</sup>      ma<sup>2</sup>re<sup>3</sup> bin<sup>3</sup>=(chuj<sup>3</sup>).  
             one      animal              big      red      be=ANIM  
             'It is a big, red animal'