

24. Adverbs

The class of adverbs is relatively small although interesting in many ways. Moreover, there is no regular word formation process to create more words of this class, although adverbs combine in some creative ways to give a variety of expressions, some of which must be listed in the lexicon due to their semantic idiosyncrasies. A few adverbs have obviously developed from a fusion of a noun and postposition, as discussed below (§24.3.2).

Some determiner phrases are used in ways reminiscent of adverbs. One is the phrase **iisax quihíih quih** (*extreme degree*, 3P-? SN-remain.behind the.FL) (which occurs as an oblique/indirect object, determining indirect object morphology (§17.1.2.4) on the verb of the clause (see §2.4.13). This phrase is rendered *extremely* in free translation.

- (1) **°iisax quihíih quih° cōtaacoj ma x, ...**
 extreme.degree 3IO-RL-big DS UT
 ‘Se vuelve extremadamente grande, ...’
It gets extremely big, ... (Mt 13:32) RMH_11-28p-07_193
- (2) **Cocsar ctam zo toc cōtij, °iisax quihíih quih° cōxaacoj.**
 non-Indian man a there 3IO-RL-sit extreme.degree 3IO-EM-big
 ‘Un hombre mexicano no indígena que estaba allí es mucho más grande.’
A non-Indian Mexican man who was there is much bigger. RMH_11-28p-07_194
- (3) **°iisax quihíih caha° consazíim aha.**
 extreme.degree 3IO-2SS-IR.ID-pretty AUX-DECL
 ‘Vas a estar muy bonita.’
You are going to be very pretty. RMH_11-28p-07_195

Another nominal phrase with an adverbial use is the invariant phrase **mos itácl oo** (also 3P-surface DL) *once again*. This phrase also determines third person indirect/oblique object inflection on the verb.

- (4) **°Mos itácl oo° ziiix zo cōjyóohit.**
 once.again thing a 3IO-3:3-DT-eat
 ‘Una vez más comió algo.’ / ‘Volvió a comer algo.’
Once again s/he ate something. RMH_11-28p-07_196
- (5) **He cmaax °mos itácl oo° ziiix zo cōsiihit caha.**
 IPRO now once.again thing a 3IO-IR.Id-eat AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Una vez más comeré algo.’
Once again I will eat something. RMH_11-28p-07_197

A noun that is used adverbially is **quipac** (US-3P-back), literally *one’s back*; it also determines third person oblique/indirect object inflection. Occurring primarily with scalar stative

predicates, it indicates the greatest degree that the predicate can have (i.e., a superlative).

- (6) **Tiix quipac cösmiipe caha.**
 DDS most 3IO-IR.ID-N-good AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Será el peor.’
That one will be the worst. (RMH_08-24-07_66a)
- (7) **Coocj coi quipac cöcaaixaj zo haa piij ta ...**
 SN-two the.PL US-3P-back 3IO-SN-strong a/one there IR.DP-sit DS
 ‘Cuál de los dos es el más fuerte ...’
Which of the two is the strongest ... (Viento_Norte_2)

See also: **quipac cöquiipe** (US-3P-back 3IO-SN-good) *the best*, **quipac cochéel** *the reddest* (US-3P-back 3IO-SN-red), **quipac coexátcaj** (US-3P-back 3IO-SN-thin) *the thinnest*, **quipac coha** (US-3P-back 3IO-SN-b_{eIrreg}) *the highest ranking*, **quipac iiha cöcapí^o** *the fattest*, **quipac cöcatxo** (US-3P-back 3IO-SN-many) *the most numerous*, **quipac panáal cöcapíi** *the most honey-flavored* (US-3P-back honey 3IO-SN-taste.like). The expression **panáal cöcapíi** *honey-flavored* (see §2.5) already has a predicate inflected for 3IO. The inclusion of **quipac** does not result in an extra occurrence of 3IO. There is no stacking of the inflectional morphology.

This noun is used in the form **ipac** in the following example in which it does not indicate a superlative.

- (8) **... haapa cap iixaj quih ipac cöimáai.**
 northwest.wind the.Vt 3P-AON-strong the.FL 3P-back 3IO-3:3-PX-make
 ‘... el Viento Norte lo hizo con toda su fuerza’
... the North Wind did it with all of his strength. (Viento_Norte_6)

The adverbs are discussed in several major groups (although there is some overlap): DP-initial and NP-initial adverbs (§24.1), DP-final and NP-final adverbs (§24.2), VP-initial adverbs (§24.3), VP-final adverbs (§24.4), sentence adverbs (§24.5), and adverbs that modify adverbs (§24.6).

24.1 DP-initial and NP-initial adverbs

An adverb may precede and modify a nominal phrase. It appears, however, that one adverb actually modifies the DP while two adverbs modify the NP. The reason for claiming a difference is that these adverbs typically co-occur with a delimiting (closing) adverb that indicates the scope of the adverb. The differences are illustrated in Figures 24.1-2. It is also possible that the structure of these phrases is flatter than shown in these figures. Clear evidence to decide this matter has not been found.

24.1.1 Delimiting modifier **hanso** (DP)

The adverb **hanso** *just* (sometimes **hans** before a vowel), which most commonly occurs before a verb (see §24.3), may occur at the beginning of a DP to indicate *just*, *nothing more than*. The delimiting adverb **oo** (see §24.2.8) often follows the DP when the adverb **hanso** is used.

- (9) [**Hanso** **hehe** **z** **oo**] **cohpooh,** **ihsíicö** **aha.**
 just stick a DL 3IO-1SS.TR-IR.DP-do 1sS.TR-IR.ID-kill AUX-DCL
 ‘Lo mataré CON NADA MÁS QUE UN PALO.’
I will kill it with JUST A CLUB. (DS2005, hanso) RMH_08-24-07_12
- (10) [**Hanso** **hizáax** **oo**] **cöhapácta.**
 just DPP DL 3IO-IM-cause.be.in.appearance
 ‘Haz SÓLO ESTO.’
Do JUST THIS. (Mt 5:39) RMH_08-24-07_13
- (11) [**Hanso** **ziix** **tazo**] **cahcáail** **iha,** ...
 just thing one SN-remain/lacking DCL
 ‘Sólo falta UNA COSA, ...’
ONLY ONE THING is lacking, ... (Mk 10:21) RMH_08-24-07_14
- (12) ¡ [**Hanso** **tom** **me** **iháaipot** **quih**] **hexl!**
 just money 2IO 3P-AON-pay the.FL IM-take
 ‘Toma SÓLO TU PAGO.’
Take JUST YOUR PAY! (Mt 20:14) RMH_08-24-07_18
- (13) ... [**hanso** °**ziix** **ccam**° **quij** **itáasi** **hac** **oo**] **itáaj** **iiha,** ...
 just animal the.CM 3P-name the.LC DL 3:3-RL-know-PL only
 ‘... la saben solamente como el nombre del animal, ...’
... they only know it as the animal’s name, ... (siete_filos11b)
- (14) [**Hans** **itáasi** **hac** **oo**] **cöimíih.**
 just 3P-name the.LC DL 3IO-3:3-PX-say
 ‘Le llama por su propio nombre.’
S/he calls it by its own name. (Enciclo_xpacaafc.007) RMH_11-28p-07_198

24.1.2 Despecifying modifier **hax** (NP)

The word **hax** is an intensifier before verbs (see §24.3.1.1) and it may have that meaning in a few cases when it precedes a DP such as the demonstrative pronoun in (15).

- (15) ... **hax** **tiix** **áa** **haa** **ha.**
 INTNS DDS real SN.EQ DCL
 ‘... sin duda es él.’
... that’s him without a doubt. (Jn 6:14) RMH_08-24-07_16

Most commonly, however, when it occurs with a nominal (generally indefinite), it is best

understood as a despecifying adverb, translated here as *just any*. The adverb makes it clear that no specific referent is intended. Evidently this adverb modifies the NP complement of the DP in that it very commonly cooccurs with either the delimiting adverb **xah** (§24.2.12) or the delimiting adverb **oo** (§24.2.8) appearing before the indefinite article.¹ A proposal for the structure of the DP in (18) is given in Figure 24.3.²

- (16) ¡ [[**Hax hamcanofin xah**] zo] camjc!
 just pan DL a IM-bring
 ‘¡Trae cualquier olla!’
Bring just any pan! RMH_08-24-07_19
- (17) ¡ [[**Hax haxölináail° cooxp xah**] zo] camjc!
 just mollusk SN-white DL a IM-bring
 ‘¡Trae cualquier molusca blanca!’
Bring just any white mollusk! RMH_08-24-07_20
- (18) ¡ [[**Hax Juan quih itáamt xah**] zo] camjc!
 just the.FL 3P-sandal(s) DL a IM-bring
 ‘¡Trae cualquier zapato de Juan!’
Bring just any of John’s shoes! RMH_08-24-07_21
- (19) [[**Hax hant xah**] zo] hasozíit aha.
 just place DL a 1PS-IR.ID-go.to.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Vamos a cualquiera de esos lugares.’
We are going to any one of those places. (DS2005, hax) RMH_08-24-07_22

Figure 24.1: DP-initial adverb

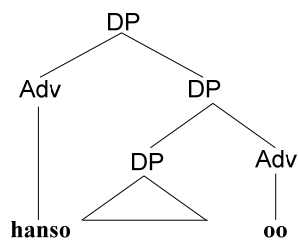
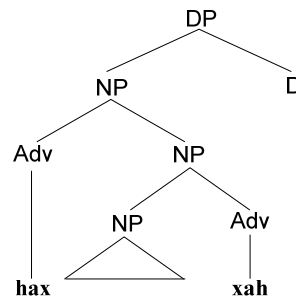


Figure 24.2: NP-initial adverb



¹ The word **xah** is homophonous with the coordinator *and* (§25.1). It has unusual syntactic characteristics and these make it unsuitable for deciding its true position. Examples like (20) with **oo** are therefore very important.

² The structure shown there proposes that the adverb is adjoined to the DP, although arguments in favor of this structure over a flatter structure have not been found.

- (20) [[**Hax** **cmiique** **ctam oo**] **zo**] **haquix** **piih** **ta**, ...
 just person/Seri man DL a somewhere IR.DP-be.FL DS
 ‘Si cualquier hombre seri está en algún lugar, ...’
If any Seri man is somewhere, ... RMH_08-24-07_23
- (21) [[**Hax** **ziic xah**] **zo**] **miiho** **isax**,³ ...
 just bird DL a 2P-AON-see CNCSV
 ‘Cualquier ave que ves, ...’
Whatever bird you see, ... RMH_11-28p-07_199
- (22) [[**Hax** **trooqui oo**] **zo** **miiho** **isax**, **áno** **hiij**.
 just vehicle DL a 2P-AON-see CNCSV 3P.in IM-sit
 ‘Cualquier carro que ves, súbete en él.’
Just get in whatever car you see. RMH_11-28p-07_200

The example in (23) is unusual in that there is no indefinite article, and the example in (24) is unusual in that the noun phrase is definite although nonspecific in interpretation.

- (23) ; [[**Hax** **zo** **haa xah**]] **piih** **ta**, **camjc!**
 just a/one SN.EQ DL IR.DP-be.FL DS IM-bring
 ‘¡Trae cualquiera de ellos!’
Bring whichever one of them (cloth-like articles)! RMH_08-24-07_24
- (24) [[**Hax** **ctam xah cah(a)**]] **seehe** **cöocóaa** **ha**.
 just man DL the.FL-FOC to.be/do.(it) 3IO-3P-ON-know DCL
 ‘Cualquier hombre lo puede ser/hacer.’
Any man can do/be it. RMH_08-24-07_25

24.1.3 Hipimax *even* (NP)

The adverb **hipimax** (or its dialectal variant **hapimax**) occurs at the beginning of an NP that is morphologically indefinite and singular; the DP has the article **zo**. But this morphological indefiniteness may be due to the presence of the negative verb rather than semantic indefiniteness (see §21.1.7).⁴ This adverb also simultaneously requires the NP-final intensifying adverb **ipi** before the indefinite determiner (see §24.2.11).

- (25) **litxo** **cah** [[**hipimax** **hant iti** **isóii** **ipi**] **zo**]
 3P-AON-many the.FL-FOC even place 3P-on 3P-IR.ID-stand.PL INTNS a

³ The concessive meaning of the subordinator here is not salient. The person may be going out with the explicit purpose of finding a bird.

⁴ This is especially evident in the case of (28) below where the adverb **hipimax** occurs at the beginning of the DP, and the adverb **ipi** follows the focal pronoun and is in turn followed by the indefinite article because of the negation.

toc cöyomáhca.
 there 3IO-DT-N-located

‘Había tantos de ellos que no había donde podrían estar parados.’ RMH_08-24-07_26
There were so many of them that there wasn’t even a place for them to stand. (Mk 2:2)

(26) [[**Hipimax** **ziix** **mozáxö** **xah** **ipi**] **zo**] **htcmaa** **ho.**
 even thing 2P-ON-discuss DL INTNS a 1sS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No say de qué estás hablando.’
I don’t know what you’re talking about. (Lk 22:60) RMH_08-24-07_27

(27) [[**Hipimax** **isoj** **isáai** **ipi**] **z**] **itcmáa** **ho.**
 even 3P-self 3:3-IR.ID-make INTNS a 3:3-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sabía qué hacer.’
S/he just didn’t know what to do. RMH_08-24-07_28

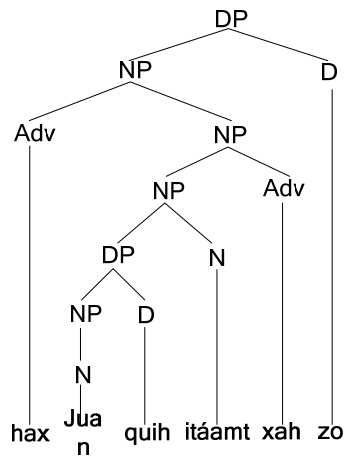
(28) ... **ctam** **Jesús** **hapáh** **quij** [[**hipimax** **iicp**
 man SN-PV-say the.CM even 3P-place.next.to
miiha, **taax** **ipi**] **zo**] **himáaj** **iha.**
 TWD-3P-AON-come DDP INTNS a 1P-AON-N-know-PL DCL

‘... el hombre llamado Jesús — de donde viene, hasta eso no sabemos.’ RMH_08-24-07_29
...the man named Jesus — where he comes from, even that we don’t know. (Jn 9:29)

24.2 DP-final and NP-final adverbs

Some adverbs follow the DP and some follow the NP, as shown in Figure 24.1-2. Evidently

Figure 24.3: Diagram of the DP in example (18)



more than one such adverb of the same category may occur. Some of the combinations attested include:

(29)	Combination	Example	Combination	Example
	hapi/hipi oo	(30)	ah oo	(87)
	hapi/hipi mos	(31)	max fiqui	(97)
	hapi/hipi xah	(42)	oo xox mos	(130)

24.2.1 Intensifier **hapi** (DP)

The intensifier **hapi** (or its somewhat less common dialectal variant **hipi**)⁵ commonly modifies a DP, including an overt pronoun or a non-overt pronoun. Many of the examples show it with an agentive subject although some examples show it with non-agentive subjects.

- (30) [**He** **hipi** **oo**] **ma htah** **ma**, ...
 1PRO INTNS DL 2SDO 1sS.Tr-RL-do DS
 ‘YO MISMO te hice, ...’
I MYSELF caused you, ... (Ac 13:47) RMH_08-24-07_32b
- (31) [**He** **hapi** **mos**] **siitax caha**.
 1PRO INTNS also IR.ID-go AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘YO iré también.’
I MYSELF will go also. RMH_08-24-07_32c
- (32) [**He** **hapi**] **hpanáaaj**, ... (33) [**He** **hapi**] **hpteejim** ...
 1PRO INTNS 1sS.IN-IR.DP-return 1PRO INTNS 1sS.IN-RL-old
 ‘YO regresaré, ...’ ‘YO soy viejo, ...’
I MYSELF will return RMH_08-24-07_33c *I am old ...* RMH_08-24-07_35a
- (34) [**Me** **hipi**] **ziix zo cōhaaitoj**.
 2PRO INTNS thing a 3IO-IM-cause.eat-PL
 ‘Denles USTEDES de comer.’
YOU give them something to eat! (Mt 14:16) RMH_08-24-07_32a
- (35) [**Me** **hapi**] **pycest quij contmísat** **aha**.
 2PRO INTNS fiesta the.CM 3IO-AW-2sS-IR.ID-move-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘USTEDES deben ir a la fiesta.’
YOU (pl.) should go to the fiesta. RMH_08-24-07_32e
- (36) [**Tiix** **hapi**] **siitax caha**.
 DDS INTNS IR.ID-go AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘ÉSE irá.’
THAT ONE will go. RMH_08-24-07_32d

⁵ The distribution of the variants has not been studied. It is not clear whether it is a generational difference or perhaps a carry-over from previous geodialectal differences.

- (37) [**Taax** **hipi**] **he cocáaaxoj** **iha.**
 DDP INTNS IIO SN-follow-PL DCL
 ‘ELLOS me siguen.’
THEY follow me. (Jn 10:27) RMH_08-24-07_30
- (38) [**María quij** **hipi**] **taaitom,** ...
 the.CM INTNS RL-speak
 ‘MARÍA habló, ...’
MARÍA spoke, RMH_08-24-07_33a
- (39) [**Santáar coi** **hipi**] **itíyala,** **yoque.**
 soldier the.PL INTNS 3:3-RL-defend-PL DT-US-say
 ‘Los soldados MISMOS la defendieron.’
The soldiers THEMSELVES defended her. (Apostador_403) RMH_08-24-07_31
- (40) [°**Xiica quiti cooyaj**° **tacoi** **hipi**] **poozcam,** ...
 authorities MD-PL INTNS IR.DP-arrive.PL
 ‘Las AUTORIDADES vendrán, ...’
The AUTHORITIES will come, ... (Ac 16:37) RMH_08-24-07_33b
- (41) [**Hatéeya com** **hipi**] **hant cahjíit iha.**
 bottle the.HZ INTNS land SN-fall DCL
 ‘La botella se cayó (sin que nadie le empujara).’
The bottle fell (without anyone pushing it). RMH_08-24-07_35b
- (42) [**Cmaam hipcop** **hipi** **xah**] **ziix comsisiín iha xo**
 woman PX-VT INTNS DL thing SN-pitiable DCL but
 ‘Esta mujer es pobre pero,’
This woman is poor but (Mk 12:44) RMH_08-24-07_35e

A nominal phrase may consist solely of **hipi**; it is assumed here that this is a case of a fused head (see §4.3). As a result of the common word order with the verb in clause-final position), this means that very often the word **hipi** ends up in preverbal position, which in turn makes it look like a preverbal adverb although of course it is not always in that position.⁶

- (43) [**Santaar coi** **hipi**] **itíyala,** **cmaax** [**hipi**] **itóonec,** ...
 soldier the.PL INTNS 3:3-RL-defend-PL now INTNS 3:3-RL-carry.items-PL
 ‘Los SOLDADOS MISMOS los defendieron, entonces ELLOS MISMOS los llevaron, ...’
The SOLDIERS THEMSELVES defended them, then THEY THEMSELVES took them, ...
 (Apostador_403-404) RMH_08-24-07_34a

⁶ In fact, M. Moser & Marlett (2005) mistakenly list it as such.

- (44) ... [**hax** **hipi**] **itáhit**, ...
 INTNS INTNS 3:3-RL-eat
 ‘... , ÉL MISMO lo comió, ...’
... , he ate it HIMSELF, ... (Hombre_Barril_30) RMH_08-24-07_34b
- (45) **Hizcoi**, **taax** [**hipi**] **hsiihit** **aha**.
 PX-PL DDP INTNS 1S.Tr-IR.ID-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘Comeré ESTOS YO MISMO.’
I will eat THESE MYSELF. (Gigante_Comelon_167) RMH_05-20-08_63
- (46) ... [**hipi**] **hant com iti tiij**, **tsiijim x**, ...
 INTNS land the.Hz 3P-on RL-sit RL-move UT
 ‘... , podía moverse en el suelo por sí, ...’
... , s/he could move about on the ground by himself, ... (Gigante_Comelon_100) RMH_08-24-07_34c
- (47) [**Hapi**] °**hacx cmiih**° **iha**.
 INTNS dead DCL
 ‘Se murió (sin enfermedad, sin violencia).’
S/he died (without sickness, without violence). RMH_08-24-07_35c
- (48) [**Hapi**] **sooxp ta cooxp iha**.
 INTNS IR.ID-white AUX.RL SN-white DCL
 ‘Desde que ha existido ha sido blanco.’
It’s always been white. RMH_08-24-07_35d

Attempts to obtain examples with passive subjects modified with **hapi** were unsuccessful.

- (49) * ¿ [**Hapi**] **ntpazt**? (50) * ¿ [**Hapi**] **ntahnip**?
 INTNS 2SS-RL-PV-tattoo INTNS 2SS-RL-PV-hit
 (‘¿Fuiste tatuado?’) (‘¿Fuiste pegado?’)
(Were you tattooed?) (Were you hit?)

The intensifier may modify a direct object (overt or non-overt) as in the following examples.

- (51) ... [**he** **hipi**] **hizi cmis** **iha**.
 1PRO INTNS 1PDO SN-Tr-resemble DCL
 ‘... nos parecen A NOSOTROS.’
...they resemble US. (Ac 10:47) RMH_08-24-07_36
- (52) ... [**he** **hipi**] **him payóozxam** **x**, ...
 1PRO INTNS 1SDO IR.DP-worship.PL UT
 ‘... me tendrán A MÍ como su Dios...’
... they will have ME as their god... (He 8:10) RMH_08-24-07_38

The adverb **hipi** easily occurs with DPs which are possessors.

- (53) [**Juan hipi**] **yaazi° quih yoofp.**
 INTNS his.child the.FL DT-arrive
 ‘La hija / El hijo de Juan llegó.’
John’s own child has arrived. RMH_08-24-07_39
- (54) [**hapi**] **mito quiq** (55) [**hapi**] **ito quiq**
 INTNS 2P-eye the.CM INTNS 3P-eye the.CM
 ‘TU ojo’ ‘SU ojo’
YOUR own eye RMH_08-24-07_40b *HIS/HER own eye* RMH_08-24-07_40c
- (56) [**hapi**] **hyaazi° quiq** (57) ¿[**Me hapi**] **mata -ya?**
 INTNS my.child the.CM 2PRO INTNS 2P-mother QM
 ‘MI hijo’ RMH_08-24-07_40d ‘¿Es TU madre?’
MY OWN child (man speaking) *Is it YOUR mother?* RMH_08-24-07_40a
- (58) **Juan quih °hiza tacsx°, [hipi] yaazi° cop iyóocta.**
 the.FL looked.to.one.side INTNS his.child the.VT 3:3-DT-look.at
 ‘Juan miró a su lado y miró a su propio hijo.’
Juan looked to his side and looked at his (own) child. (DS2005, cacsx) RMH_08-24-07_40e
- (59) [**Hipi**] **hya° ha yax ihméxl.**
 INTNS mine DCL since 1S.TR-PX-take
 ‘Como era MÍO, lo agarré.’
Since it was MINE, I took it. RMH_08-24-07_41a
- (60) [**he hipi**] **hiitom hac**
 IPRO INTNS 1P-AON-speak the.LC
 ‘lo que YO MISMO he dicho (mis propias palabras)’
what I MYSELF have said (my own words) RMH_08-24-07_41b

The construction with a pronoun, **hipi** and the noun for *body/self* is an important periphrastic expression to refer to a person (see §16.1.3 for more examples and discussion). See also the discussion of **hipi** in relation to the reflexive pronouns in §11.3.

- (61) [**he hipi**] **hisoj hipquij** (62) [**me hipi**] **misolca coi**
 IPRO INTNS 1P-body PX-CM 2PRO INTNS 2P-body-PL the.PL
 ‘yo mismo’ ‘ustedes mismos’
I myself RMH_08-24-07_42a *you yourselves* RMH_08-24-07_42b

The word **hipi** is quite commonly used in clauses with the compound postposition **ptiiqui** *toward each other*.

- (63) [**xiica tacoi hipi**] **ptiiqui titóoij / tiin, ...**
 thing.PL MD-PL INTNS RCP-toward RL-go.PL RL-go
 ‘esas personas se reunieron ...’
those people met together ... RMH_08-24-07_42c RMH_08-24-07_42d

24.2.2 Focus **ah** / **ha** (DP)

The focus adverb has two major allomorphs; it is **ha** after personal pronouns (§16.1).

- (64) [**Me** **ha**] **ntahtxíma, xah nyoomoz.**
 2PRO FOC 2SS-RL-rich — 2SS-DT-think
 ‘Tú te crees rico/a.’
YOU just think you’re rich. (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_42e
- (65) [**He** **ha**] **hpmahíti.**
 1PRO FOC 1SS.IN-PX=begin
 ‘Soy yo quien empezó.’
I was the one who began. (DS2005 cahíti) RMH_08-24-07_42f
- (66) [**Ee** **ha**] **°quipac cota° xah yoomoz.**
 3PRO FOC s/he.is.superior — DT-think
 ‘Él/ella se cree mejor que ellos.’
S/HE thinks s/he’s better than they. (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_43a
- (67) [**Me** **ha**] **ma hnzaxö.**
 2PRO FOC 2SDO 1SS.TR-PX-discuss
 ‘Estoy hablando A TI.’
I’m talking to YOU. RMH_11-28p-07_201

It has the allomorph **ah** elsewhere, including after the demonstrative pronouns (§16.2).⁷

- (68) **Hoocta, [tiix ah] ma macoéne.**
 IM-look.at DDS FOC 2sDO PX-curse
 ‘Mira, ÉSE/ÉSA te maldijo.’
Look, THAT ONE has put a curse on you. (DS2005, cacoéne) RMH_08-24-07_43b
- (69) ..., [**taax ah**] **pac toc cömomat, ...**
 DDP FOC some there 3IO-TWD-PX-move-PL
 ‘..., algunas de ÉSAS venían, ...’
..., some of THOSE [giant women] were coming, ... (Dos_Hermanos_36)
- (70) [**Taax ah**] **aa itáh ma, ...**
 DDP FOC — 3:3-RL-do DS
 ‘Por ESA RAZÓN, ...’
For THAT REASON, ... RMH_08-24-07_43d
- (71) [**Tiix ah**] **hap z imíicö.**
 DDS FOC mule.deer a 3:3-PX-kill
 ‘ÉSE/ÉSA mató un venado bura.’
S/HE killed a deer. RMH_08-24-07_44e

⁷ One consultant for this grammar generally uses **aha** instead of **ah**.

- (72) [°**Ziix coquéht hanípatim°**, **tiix ah**] **hamacáalam.**
 volleyball DDS FOC 1P-S-PX-play.with
 ‘Jugamos VÓLIBOL.’
We played VOLLEYBALL. RMH_08-24-07_44g
- (73) **Hap com tooxi ma x,**
 mule.deer the.Hz RL-die DS UT
ano caafajquim hapáh quij hant zo cōtiij x,
 SN-PV-say the.CM place a 3IO-RL-sit UT
[iset xah imoz xah, taax ah] iméxl.
 3P-lung CRD 3P-heart CRD DDP FOC 3:3-PX-take

‘Cuando se mata un venado bura, la persona llamada “ano caafajquim” toma los los pulmones y el corazón.’

When a mule deer is killed, the person who is called "ano caafajquim" takes the lungs and heart. (DS2005, caafc) RMH_08-24-07_43e

The focus adverb is **ah** after DPs which are always definite and have overt determiners — demonstrative adjectives or (more commonly) definite articles.

- (74) [**Hahóot hac ah**] **contíta, cōmiizquim.**
 ABS-entrance the.LC FOC 3IO-AW-RL-move 3IO-PX-enter
 ‘Entró POR LA PUERTA.’
S/he entered BY THE DOOR. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-24-07_43c
- (75) **He [hasalca coi ah] cohpmitalháa iiha.**
 1PRO flat.basket-PL the-PL FOC 3IO-1sS.IN-PX-buy/sell only
 ‘Vendí sólo LAS CORITAS.’
I sold only THE FLAT BASKETS. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-24-07_44a
- (76) [**Haat hacázlil coi ah**] **hatxíin quij**
 limberbush SN-PV-chew.flat the.PL FOC ABS-headring the.CM
ano moma.
 3P.in TWD-PX-move
 ‘Un CAYAHUAL se hace de torote que se ha machacado.’
A HEADRING is made from limberbush stems that have been flattened by chewing.
 (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-24-07_44b
- (77) **Comcáac xeele quih quisyoj quih [Tahéjōc quij ah]**
 person/Seri.PL fog the.FL SN-Tr-drink-PL the.FL Tiburon.Island the.CM FOC
iti moii.
 3P-on PX-be.FL.PL

‘Los seris que tomaban el agua que trae la niebla vivían en la ISLA TIBURÓN.’

The Seris who drank the dew water lived on TIBURON ISLAND. (DS2005, xeele) RMH_08-24-07_44c

- (78) **Juan quih [hap cop ah] imíicö.**
 the.FL mule.deer the.VT FOC 3:3-PX-kill
 ‘Juan mató el VENADO BURA.’
Juan killed the MULE DEER. RMH_08-24-07_44d (contrastive focus)
- (79) **[Haxöl lihom (hac) ah] ano miizcam.**
 Desemboque the.LC FOC 3P.in PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Llegaron a DESEMBOQUE.’
They arrived to DESEMBOQUE. RMH_08-24-07_44f (contrastive focus)
- (80) **[Xepe com itácl tintica ah] iti miihtolca.⁸**
 sea the.HZ 3P-surface MD-AW FOC 3P-on PX-be.FL-PL-IMPF
 ‘Se sientan en la SUPERFICIE del mar.’
They sit on the SURFACE of the sea. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-24-07_44h
- (81) **[Pablo cop ah] iitom hac toox itahíyat ma ...**
 Paul the.VT FOC 3P-AON-speak the.LC far 3:3-RL-make.extend DS
 ‘PABLO habló por largo tiempo, ...’
PAUL made his talk go on for a long time, ... (Ac 20:9) RMH_08-24-07_45a
- (82) **... [itáamalca tiquij ah] hehe cop °ano cöitquéetij° ma x, ...**
 3P-antler(s) MD-CM FOC plant the.VT it.pulled.it.aside DS UT
 ‘... el arbusto jaló a ESOS CUERNOS a un lado, ...’
... the bush pulled THOSE HORNS to one side, ... (Conejos_Cuernos 05)

The definite article **quih** (§21.2) fuses with **ah** to give the contracted form **cah**.

- (83) **Juan cah yoofp.**
 the.FL-FOC DT-arrive
 ‘Llegó JUAN.’
JUAN arrived. RMH_08-24-07_45d
- (84) **Xiica hizcoi — loomz cah tihíiha ma, imiimlajc.**
 thing.PL PX-PL baby.mussel the.FL-FOC RL-pure DS 3:3-PX-bring-PL
 ‘Estas personas han traído pura CRÍA DE MEJILLONES.’
These people have brought just BABY MUSSELS. (EZ2007, loomz 05)
- (85) **°Ziix quuisax° coox cah iitax isax, ...**
 person all the.FL-FOC 3P-AON-go CNCSV
 ‘Aunque cada persona vaya, ...’
Although every person may go, RMH_10-16-07_14

⁸ The sequence **tintica ah** in (239) comes out as only three syllables: [tintika?].

This adverb is sometimes followed by the adverb **oo** (§24.2.8).

- (86) [**Taax ah oo**] **cötpacta ma x, ...**
 DDP FOC DL 3IO-RL-be.in.appearance DS UT
 ‘Por ESO, ...’

THAT’S why, ... (ES2007, litro 05) RMH_08-24-07_45b

- (87) **Xazoj cop [inóosca coi ah oo] cöitáh x, ...**
 puma the.VT 3P-claw-PL the.PL FOC DL 3IO-3:3-RL-do UT
 ‘El puma lo hizo con SUS GARRAS, ...’

The puma did it with its CLAWS, ... (DS2005, inóosj) RMH_08-24-07_45c

The focus adverb **ha / ah** is most commonly found in realis clauses. In irrealis clauses, the independent pronoun may be used to indicate emphasis. Compare the following examples.

- (88) a. **Me ha Juan quih ma nzaxö.**
 2PRO FOC the.FL 2SDO PX-discuss
 b. **Juan quih me ha ma nzaxö.**
 the.FL 2PRO FOC 2SDO PX-discuss

‘Juan te está hablando A TI.’

Juan is talking TO YOU. (a) RMH_10-16-07_16a (b) RMH_10-16-07_16b

- (89) a. **He me ma szaxö caha.**
 1PRO 2PRO 2SDO IR.ID-discuss AUX.SN-DCL
 b. * **Me ha he ma sxaxö caha.**
 2PRO FOC 1PRO 2SDO IR.ID-discuss AUX.SN-DCL
 c. * **Me ha ma hsxaxö aha.**
 2PRO FOC 2SDO 1SS.TR-IR.ID-discuss AUX-DCL

‘Te hablaré A TI.’

I will talk to YOU. (a) RMH_10-16-07_15

- (90) a. * **Me ha Juan quih ma szaxö aha.** [finite irrealis]
 2PRO FOC the.FL 2SDO IR.ID-discuss AUX-DCL
 b. * **Me ha Juan quih ma szaxö caha.** [deverbal irrealis]
 2SDO IR.ID-discuss AUX.SN-DCL

(Juan te hablará a ti.) (*Juan will talk to you.*)

This focus adverb may have an etymological as well as functional relationship with the construction used to question a nominal in focus. The form **haa** (glossed **AUX**) which appears in finite interrogative irrealis clauses (§20.2.1) is identical to the equative verb *be* (§10.3).

- (91) ¿Caamiz quih haa -ya him miite?
 shirt the.FL AUX QM 1sDO 2sS-RL-give
 ‘¿Era LA CAMISA que me diste?’
Was it THE SHIRT that you gave me? (contrastive focus)⁹ RMH_10-16-07_17a
- (92) ¿Luis quih haa -ya toos?
 the.FL AUX QM RL-sing
 ‘Era LUIS que cantó?’
Was it LUIS who sang? (contrastive focus)¹⁰ RMH_10-16-07_17b
- (93) ¿Me haa -ya ntahcázni?
 2PRO AUX QM 2sS-RL-PV-bite
 ‘¿Fuiste TÚ que fue mordido?’
Was it YOU who was bitten? (contrastive focus)¹¹ RMH_10-16-07_17c

24.2.3 Simple focus h (DP)

A nominal that is interpreted as indefinite or nonspecific and which does *not* have an overt determiner may be followed by the adverb **h**. These nominals appear *in situ* in the clause. The adverb **h**, which has the allomorph **ih** after a consonant other than **h**, might be thought of as a portmanteau of an indefinite article (singular **zo** or plural **pac**) and the focus adverb **ah** (§24.2.2). Nevertheless, it is simply glossed FOC here.

- (20) [Cocázni° **h**] hin yocázni.
 rattlesnake FOC 1sDO DT-bite
 ‘Me mordió una VÍBORA DE CASCABEL.’
A RATTLESNAKE bit me. (simple focus) RRR

⁹ The answer includes the focus adverb **ah**.

- (i) Yoháa. Caamiz caha ma hiime.
 yes shirt the.FL-FOC 2sDO 1sS.TR-PX-give
 ‘Sí. Te di LA CAMISA.’ / *Yes, I gave you THE SHIRT.* RRR

¹⁰ The answer might be:

- (ii) Yoháa. Luis caha yas.
 yes the.FL-FOC DT-sing
 ‘Sí. Era Luis que cantó.’ / *Yes, it was Luis who sang.* RRR

¹¹ The answer might be:

- (iii) Yoháa. He ha hpmahcazni.
 yes 1PRO FOC 1sS.IN-PX-PV-bite
 ‘Sí, fui yo quien era mordido.’ / *Yes, I was the one who was bit.* RRR

- (21) [**Comcáac xahxáii hoox oo quizil ih**] **hamíht.**
 person.PL sort-of-like INTNS DL SN-small.PL FOC 1PS-PX-see-PL
 ‘Hemos encontrado algunas muy pequeñas pseudo-personas, ...’
We have found some very little people-like things ... (Dos_Hermanos_78)
- (22) [**Eenim ih**] **ititáamt, yoque.**
 metal FOC 3:3-RL-HAVE-sandal(s) DT-US-say
 ‘Se dice que llevaba sandalias de metal.’
It is said that he wore metal sandals. (Apostador_31) RMH_08-24-07_54a
- (23) **Zixquisíil° cmaam cop [hatépen ih] imáazi.**
 child female the.VT basket FOC 3:3-PX-carry
 ‘La muchacha está llevando una canasta.’
The girl has a (non-Indian-style) basket it in her hand. (HE 92) RMH_08-24-07_54b
- (24) [**Caaytaj quih coocj hax quitéxolcoj oo h**] **imíimlajc.**
 horse-PL the.FL SN-two INTNS SN-skinny-PL DL FOC 3:3-PX-bring-PL
 ‘Trajeron dos caballos flacos.’
They brought two skinny horses. RMH_05-20-08_64

24.2.4 Contrastive focus hi (DP)

The focus adverb **hi** (with allomorph **ihi** following a consonant other than **h**) indicates contrastive focus.

- (25) [**Caaytaj ihi**] **miizcam.**
 horse-PL FOC PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Llegaron CABALLOS.’
HORSES arrived. (contrastive focus)¹² RMH_08-24-07_55
- (26) [**Caay quih tazo hi**] **miifp.**
 horse the.FL one FOC PX-arrive
 ‘UN caballo llegó.’
ONE horse arrived. RMH_05-20-08_65
- (27) [**Cocázni° hi**] **hin yocázni.**
 rattlesnake FOC 1sDO DT-bite
 ‘Me mordió una VÍBORA DE CASCABEL.’ (‘Era una víbora de cascabel que me mordió.’) RMH_08-24-07_56
A RATTLESNAKE bit me. (It was a rattlesnake that bit me.) (To answer ¿Áz haxéhe – ya ma tcazni? *What bit you?*)

¹² An attempt to use this focus adverb in a question was rejected.

- (28) [**Caaytaj quih coocj ih**] **miizcam.**¹³
 horse-PL the.FL SN-two FOC PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Llegaron DOS CABALLOS.’
TWO HORSES arrived. RMH_08-24-07_57a

24.2.5 Specifier **iqui** (DP)

The stressed adverb **iqui** indicates the inclusion of the nominal in a particular set.

- (94) [**Zaah quih iqui**] **xoosim.** (95) [**Tiix iqui**] **z imíhit.**
 sun the.FL even EM-laugh DDS even a/one 3:3-PX-eat
 ‘Hasta el sol rió.’ ‘Hasta él comió uno.’
Even the sun laughed. RMH_08-24-07_46a *Even s/he ate one.* (Offered)
- (96) [**Haxz cap iqui**] **z imíhit.**
 dog the.VT even a/one 3:3-PX-eat
 ‘Hasta el perro comió uno.’
Even the dog ate one. (DS2005, iqui) RMH_08-24-07_46c

In the following example this adverb co-occurs with another DP-final adverb, **max** (§24.2.7).

- (97) **Maal quih taanpx ma,**
 2P-spouse the.FL RL-go.home DS
 [**iicto° coi max iqui**] **imíht.**
 her.children the.PL even even 3:3-PX-see-PL
 ‘Tu esposa regresó a su casa y hasta sus hijos la vieron.’
Your spouse went home, even her children saw her. XMH_04-11-07_10

24.2.6 Additive **mos** (DP)

The adverb **mos** *also* may indicate an additive factor, although in some cases its meaning is a bit less clear.

¹³ Compare example this with the following:

- (iv) **Caaytaj quih coocj miizcam.**
 horse-PL the.FL SN-two PX-arrive.PL
 ‘¡Llegaron dos caballos!’
Two horses arrived! (no emphasis on the number, but surprise at the arrival) RMH_08-24-07_57b
- (v) * **Caaytaj coocj miizcam.**
(Llegaron dos caballos.) (Two horses arrived.)

- (98) [**Tiix mos**] **temiiquet, toc cöquihitim iha.**
 DDS also RL-be.person there 3IO-SN-be.FL-IMPF DCL
 ‘Ése también era persona, allí estaba.’
That one was also a person, there s/he was. (Hipocampo_8)
- (99) [**Hehe is quih cacat quih mos**] **imíhit.**
 plant 3P-seed the.FL SN-bitter the.FL also 3:3-PX-eat
 ‘Come también semillas amargas.’
Another thing it eats is bitter seeds. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 06)
- (100) °**Ziix yacóso caaixaj° cmaam cop itóonec,** [**quisil cop mos**]
 donkey female the.VT 3:3-RL-carry.PL SN-small the.VT also
itóonec, Jesús quij cöimímlajc.
 3:3-RL-carry.PL the.CM 3IO-3:3-PX-bring-PL
 ‘Llevaron la burra, llevaron también su cría, las trajeron a Jesús.’ RMH_08-24-07_46d
They took the donkey, they took also its foal, they brought them to Jesus. (MK 21:7)
- (101) [**Hasahcápjö cop mos**] **iif com cöitníp x, imísi.**
 senita.cactus the.VT also 3P-nose the.HZ 3IO-3:3-RL-hit UT 3:3-PX-drink
 ‘Picotea el cacto senita con su pico y lo toma.’
It stabs the senita cactus with its beak and drinks it. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 08)

When there is no overt nominal to follow, the adverb **mos** appears alone.

- (102) a. [**Mos**] **toc cömoi.**
 also there 3IO-PX-be.FL.PL
 b. * **Toc mos cömoi.**
 ‘Ellos también estaban allí.’
They also were there. RMH_05-20-08_66
- (103) a. [**Mos**] °**hacx sooit° aha.**
 also it.will.be.wasted AUX-DCL
 b. * **Hacx mos sooit aha.**
 ‘También se va a perder.’
It is also going to be wasted. RRR
- (104) a. [**Mos**] **miizj °iti miistox°.**
 also well 3P-on PX-have.life-PL
 b. * **Miizj mos iti miistox.**
 ‘Ellos también los hicieron con ganas.’
They also did it with desire. RRR

- (105) [**Mos**] **yoopca.** [**Mos**] **imcózim.**
 also DT-rain also PX-hot.weather
 ‘También llovió. También hizo calor.’
It also rained. It was also hot. RMH_05-20-08_67

In addition, when **mos** occurs with an indefinite DP that has either the singular article **zo** or the plural article **pac**, it most commonly occurs *before* the word **zo** although examples obtained through direct elicitation of the order ... **zo mos** ... and ... **pac mos** ... were also judged grammatical.

- (106) a. [**Mojet** **mos** **zo**] **Tahéjoc** **quij** **iti** **tmiih** **iho.**
 bighorn.sheep also a/one Tiburon.Island the.CM 3P-on RL-N-be.FL DCL
 b. [**Mojet** **zo** **mos**] **Tahéjoc** **quij** **iti** **tmiih** **iho.**
 ‘Tampoco había borrego cimarrón en la isla Tiburón.’
There also weren't bighorn sheep on Tiburon Island. (a) (ES2007, Hapj_10) (b) RMH_11-28p-07_202

- (107) **Hant tintica** **cōmiháait** **hac** °**ziix an iquitóm**° **zo**
 land MD-Aw 3IO-2P-AON-pass.by.PL the.LC purse a
mapomóonec, ... [**tom** **mos** **zo**] **mapomóonec,**
 2SS-IR.DP-N-carry.items-PL money also a 2SS-IR.DP-N-carry.items-PL
 [**caamiz** °**hacx quiih**° **mos** **zo**] **mascmóonec** **aha.**
 shirt extra also a 2SS-IR.ID-N-carry.PL AUX-DCL

‘No lleven nada para el camino: ni bolsa, ... ni dinero, ni ropa de repuesto.’
Take nothing with you for the trip: no purse, ... no money, not even an extra shirt.
 (Lk 9:3) RMH_08-24-07_47

- (108) a. [**Zixám** **heecto** **mos** **pac**] **toc** **cōmooi.**
 fish small-PL also some there 3IO-PX-be.FL.PL
 b. [**Zixám** **heecto** **pac** **mos**] **toc** **cōmooi.**
 ‘Había también unos cuantos pescaditos.’
There were also some small fish. (a) (Mk 8:7) RMH_08-24-07_49a (b) RMH_08-24-07_49b
- (109) °**Ox tpacta ma**°, [**cmajjic** **mos** **pac**] **toc** **cōtooi,** ...
 then woman.PL also some there 3IO-RL-be.FL.PL
 ‘Entonces también algunas mujeres estaban allí, ...’
Then some women also were there, ... (Mk 14:40) RMH_08-24-07_49c

24.2.7 Intensifying modifiers **max** and **xox** (DP)

The adverb **max** *even* and its apparent but infrequent synonym **xox** may modify a DP.¹⁴ In

¹⁴ The 2005 dictionary missed including the adverb **xox**.

example (97) above, the word **max** co-occurs with the adverb **íiqui**.

- (110) ... [**taax max**] **imáaj** **iha.**
 DDP even SN-Tr-N-know-PL DCL
 ‘... hasta ELLOS no lo saben.’
... even THEY don’t know it. (Mt 24:36) RMH_08-24-07_49d
- (111) ... **xo** [**he max**] **himáa** **ha.**
 but 1PRO even 1P-AON-N-know DCL
 ‘... pero hasta YO no lo sé.’
... but even I don’t know it. (Mt 24:36) RMH_08-24-07_49e
- (112) ... [**hoox cöiiha hizac max**] ...
 exactly 3IO-3P-AON-be PX-LC even
 ‘... hasta el día de hoy...’
... to this very day... (Mt 27:8) RMH_08-24-07_49f
- (113) ... [**hai xah hax caacoj xah com max**] **itáaal?**
 wind CRD water SN-big CRD the.HZ even 3:3-RL-command
 ‘¿... manda a hasta EL VIENTO Y EL LAGO?’
... he commands even THE WIND AND THE LAKE? (Lk 8:25) RMH_08-24-07_50a
- (114) [°Azl canl° **com max**] **taa oo cöhapácta** **ha.**
 stars the.HZ even DDP DL 3IO-SN-be.in.appearance DCL
 ‘Hasta LAS ESTRELLAS son así.’
Even THE STARS are like that. (1 Co 15:41) RMH_08-24-07_50b
- (115) [**Haxz cap max**] **tootar coi iyóocotim, itámzo x.**
 dog the.VT even chicken the.PL 3:3-DT-kill-IMP 3:3-RL-want UT
 ‘Hasta EL PERRO mató las gallinas si lo quería hacer.’
Even THE DOG killed chickens if it wanted to. (DS2005, max) RMH_08-24-07_50c
- (116) [**hast hizcoi max**] (117) [**Ziicalc com xox**]
 stone PX-PL even bird-PL the.HZ even
 ‘hasta LAS PIEDRAS’ ‘hasta LOS PÁJAROS (en general)’
even THE STONES RMH_08-24-07_50d *even THE BIRDS (in general)* RMH_11-28p-07_203
- (118) [**Cocsar coi xox**] **cöpiih oo ta, masíyoj aha.**
 Mexican the.PL even 3IO-IR.DP-be.FL DL DS 2pS-IR.ID-give.food AUX-DCL
 ‘Deben repartir hasta A LOS MEXICANOS NO INDÍGENAS.’
You (pl.) should distribute even TO THE NON-INDIAN MEXICANS. (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_50e
- (119) [**Comcaii hipcop xox**] **soos caha.**
 woman PX-VT even IR.ID-sing AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Hasta ESTA MUJER cantará.’
Even THIS WOMAN will sing. RMH_08-24-07_50f

24.2.8 Delimiter **oo** (NP and DP)

The adverb **oo** may occur at the end of an NP or DP, often in conjunction with another, prenominal adverb (see §24.1.1 and §24.1.2), and seems to demarcate the DP or emphasize the DP a bit more strongly. The same adverb occurs after a verb (§24.4.4).

- (120) °**Alo quicös**° **com, tiix xepe quih exatlc quih cmeque com,**
 juvenile.mullet the.Hz DDS sea the.FL SN-thin-PL the.FL SN-warm the.Hz
 [**tiix oo**] **ano calx iha.**
 DDS DL 3P.in SN-go-PL DCL
 ‘Los “alo quicös” andan en el mar cálido y poco profundo.’
“Alo quicös” go in the warm shallow water. (ES2007, alo quicös) RMH_08-24-07_50g
- (121) ¿ [**Ihámoc tazo cap oo**] **haa -ya?**
 3P-AON-be.night one the.VT DL SN.EQ QM
 ‘¿Era por una noche?’
Was it for one night? (Multitopic_11) RMH_08-24-07_51a
- (122) ¿ [**Tiquij oo**] **haaya?** (123) ¿ [**Hant oo**] **tap?**
 MD-CM DL AUX-QM land DL RL-stand
 ‘¿Es aquél?’ ‘¿Viajó a pie?’
Is it that one? RMH_08-24-07_51b *Did s/he travel on foot?* RMH_08-24-07_51e
- (124) [**Zaah quih quipxa oo**] **iti toofin ma ...**
 sun/day the.FL SN-few DL 3P-on RL-? DS
 ‘Pocos días después, ...’
Just a few days later, ... RMH_08-24-07_51c
- (125) [**Hast oo**] **quih ...**
 stone DL SN-TR-do
 ‘El/la que trabaja con piedra, ...’
S/he who goes for (does) stone, ... RMH_08-24-07_51d
- (126) [**Hant com oo**] **iti moca ha.**
 land the.Hz DL 3P-on TWD-SN-move DCL
 ‘Viene de la tierra.’
It comes from the earth. RMH_08-24-07_51f
- (127) [**Haa oo**] **yij.** (128) [**He oo**] **ma hmiih.**
 there DL DT-sit 1PRO DL 1sDO 1sS.TR-PX-do
 ‘Está allí.’ ‘Te lo hice.’
S/he’s over there. RMH_08-24-07_51g *I did it to you.* RMH_08-24-07_51h

If the DP is right-dislocated, the adverb **oo** appears in sentence-final position, of course.

- (129) ... **icáaitom** **quih iháaipot xah tintica, coox oo.**
 3P-AON-US-speak the.FL 3P-AON-pay CRD MD-AW all DL
 ‘... y sus respuestas, todas.’
... and his replies, all of them. (Lk 2:47) RMH_11-28p-07_204

The following example documents the presence of three adverbs at the end of a DP.

- (130) [**Zixám heecto tacoí oo xox mos**] **ihsihit aha.**
 fish juvenile-PL MD-PL DL even also 1S.Tr-IR.DP-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘Voy a comer también hasta los
I am also going to eat even the little fish. RMH_08-24-07_51i

See also the end of §16.3 for the effect of this adverb following the pronoun **coox** *all*.

24.2.9 Adverb **tax** (DP)

The meaning and function of the adverb **tax** is unclear. It occurs only when the verb or deverbal noun is followed by the adverb **ii** *first* (see §23.1.6), although the adverb **ii** does not *require* a nominal to be so marked in the clause.

- (131) [**Ctam ticop tax**] **isihit ii aha.**
 man MD-VT — 3:3-IR.ID-eat first AUX-DCL
 ‘Ese hombre será el primero a comerlo.’
That man will be the first one to eat it. (DS2005, tax) RMH_08-24-07_52a
- (132) [**He tax**] **caafp ii ha.**
 1PRO — SN-arrive first DCL
 ‘Fui el primero en llegar.’
I was the first to arrive. (DS2005, tax) RMH_08-24-07_52b
- (133) [**Sahméés hipquij tax**] **ihpóohit ii,**
 orange PX-CM — 1S.Tr-IR.DP-eat first

cmaax mos °ziix is cooil° quij mos ihsihit aha.
 now also watermelon the.CM also 1S.Tr-IR.ID-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘Primero voy a comer esta naranja y luego voy a comer la sandía.’ RMH_08-24-07_52c
First I'm going to eat this orange and then I'll eat the watermelon. (DS2005, tax)
- (134) [**Tiix tax**] **iyóoho ii.**
 DDS — 3:3-DT-see first
 ‘Aquél fue el primero en verlo.’
That one was the first one to see it. RMH_08-24-07_52d
- (135) [**Iyas quih tax**] **hayóittoj ii.**
 3P-liver the.FL — 1PS-DT-eat-PL first
 ‘Primero comimos su hígado.’
We ate its liver first. (Topete_104) RMH_05-20-08_68

24.2.10 Adverb **haxéhe** (DP)

The intensifying adverb **haxéhe** commonly follows the interrogative pronouns **áz** *what?* and **quíih** *who?*.

- (136) **Intísil, haquix immíih tax,**
 2sS-RL-small somewhere 2SS-PX-be.FL —
¿áz haxéhe quih haa -ya, ntahit?
 what? INTNS the.FL SN.EQ QM 2SS-RL-eat
 ‘Cuando eras niño/a, ¿qué comiste?’
When you were little, what did you eat? RMH_08-24-07_52e
- (137) **¿Áz haxéhe me saai quee -ya?**
 what? INTNS 2PRO IR.ID-make AUX.SN QM
 ‘¿Qué vas a hacer?’
What are you going to make? (ALIM_122) RMH_11-28p-07_205
- (138) **..., tiix ¿quíih haxéhe chaa -ya?**
 DDS who? INTNS SN-EQ QM
 ‘..., ¿quién es?’
..., who is it? (Lk 9:9) RMH_08-24-07_52f

24.2.11 Intensifier **ipi** (NP)

The intensifier **ipi** is restricted to DPs in negative clauses.¹⁵ These particular DPs have no determiner; note that in none of the following examples is there a determiner before **ipi**. But the DP with **ipi** may be the complement of a partitive construction (§8.5) — see examples (141)-(142) for the most obvious illustrations — and they themselves may be the head of a partitive construction — see examples (142) and (143) with the pronoun **zo/z** after the DP with **ipi**.

- (139) [**Hap tazo ipi**] **hyomáho.**
 mule.deer one INTNS 1SS.TR-DT-N-see
 ‘No vi ni UN venado bura.’
I didn’t see even ONE mule deer. (DS2005, ipi) RMH_08-24-07_53a
- (140) [**Tom quisil ipi**] **hyonyáa.**
 money SN-small INTNS 1SS.TR-DT-N-own
 ‘No tengo NADA de dinero.’
I don’t have A BIT of money. (ALIM_89) RMH_08-24-07_53b

¹⁵ It is phonetically very similar to, if not indistinguishable from, the Intensifier **hipi** ~ **hapi** (§24.2.1) although it does not have a variant with the vowel **a**.

- (141) [[**Xicaquizfíl° coi**] **quisil ipi**]¹⁶ **immoquéepe ha.**
 children the.PL SN-small INTNS SN-N-sick DCL
 ‘Ni UNO de los niños está enfermo.’
Not even ONE of the children is sick. (ALIM_170) RMH_08-24-07_53c
- (142) ... **xicacazfíl° cmaa quiih° hizi quiinim hizcom [tazo ipi] zo ...**
 children new IPDO SN-Tr-mix.with PX-HZ one INTNS a/one
 ‘... ni uno de los niños de nuestra generación ...’
... not even one of the children of our generation ... (ES2007, lamz_12) RRR
- (143) ... **hax cpaaisx, [taax ipi] z imási ha.**
 water SN-clean DDP INTNS a SN-Tr-N-drink DCL
 ‘... no toma NADA de agua limpia.’
... it doesn't drink A BIT of clean water. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa_09b)

24.2.12 xah (NP and DP)

The adverb **xah**, which is an attenuator in other situations (§24.6.1), and which is homophonous with the coordinator **xah** (§25.1), occurs infrequently with a DP. Just like the coordinator **xah**, however, it has the unusual characteristic of occurring just to the left of the determiner. It does not have a clear translation.

- (144) [**Zaah xah zo**] **toc cõtáp, ...**
 sun/day — a there 3IO-RL-stand
 ‘Un día, ...’
One day, ... RMH_5-20-08_46
- (145) [**Hant xah zo**] **toc cõtáp ...**
 land/year — a there 3IO-RL-stand
 ‘Un año, ...’
One year, ... RMH_05-20-08_69
- (146) **Ziix hipxahcop haa, poho — ox tee, yoque.**
 thing PX—VT SN.EQ DOUBT thus RL-say DT-US-say
 ‘¿Tal vez es éste? —preguntó, se dice.’
“Might this be him/her/it?” s/he asked, it is said. (DS2005, poho) LHC_2-06-07_190
- (147) [**Hast caacoj xah zo**] **cfizo hi haa miip.**
 rock SN-big — a SN-lift FOC there PX-stand
 ‘Debe estar levantando una roca pesada.’
S/he must be lifting a heavy rock. (one hears him grunting) RMH_05-20-08_70

¹⁶ This is synonymous to [**xicacazfíl° coi tazo ipi**] (children the.PL one even).

- (148) [**Cxonala** **xah**] **haa moom.**
 SN-have.nightmare — there PX-lie
 ‘Debe estar soñando con una pesadilla.’
S/he must be having a nightmare. (one hears the sounds) RMH_05-20-08_71
- (149) [**Quiim** **xah**] **haa moom.**
 SN-sleep — there PX-lie
 ‘Debe estar durmiendo.’
S/he must be sleeping. RMH_05-20-08_72
- (150) [**Zixcám** **xah** **zo**] **quihit ih haa mij.**
 fish — a SN-TR-eat FOC there PX-sit
 ‘Debe estar comiendo un pescado.’
S/he must be eating a fish. RMH_05-20-08_73
- (151) [**Cmaam** **hipcop hipi** **xah**] **ziix comsisin iha xo ...**
 woman PX-VT INTNS — thing SN-pitiable DCL but
 ‘Esta mujer es pobre pero,’
This woman is poor but (Mk 12:44) RMH_08-24-07_35e
- (152) [**Hapi** **xah**] **ziix comsisin iha, cmaam hipcop.**
 INTNS — thing SN-pitiable DCL woman PX-VT
 ‘Es una pobrecita, esta mujer’
She’s just a poor thing, this woman (There are others who are poorer.) RMH_05-20-08_74
- (153) **Hapi** **xah** **ooque** **ha.**
 INTNS — SN-cause/say DCL
 ‘Está mintiendo.’
S/he’s lying — s/he’s just saying that. RMH_05-20-08_75
- (154) **Hapi** **xah** **htamzo,** **hpyootax.**
 INTNS — 1SS.TR-RL-want 1sS.IN-DT-go
 ‘Fui de mi propia voluntad.’
I just went on my own. RMH_05-20-08_76

24.3 VP-initial and general VP adverbs

The syntax of many VP-initial adverbs is discussed in §5.1. This section presents an overview of those adverbs and others without repeating information about the syntactic facts. The adverbs are divided into thematic groups.

24.3.1 Intensifying and attenuating adverbs

Several adverbs are used to intensify or attenuate the predicate.

24.3.1.1 Intensifier **hax**

The common adverb **hax** intensifies the verb which is in turn commonly followed by the adverb **oo** (§24.4.4).

- (155) ¡**Ctam hipcom islícot hac** [**hax xomásol oo**]!
 male PX-HZ 3P-back the.LC INTNS EM-yellow! DL
 ‘La espalda de este macho está muy amarilla!’
This male’s back is very yellow! (Conejo_Puma_6.2)
- (156) **Hináail com** [**hax toopol oo**], **mos coospoj iha.**
 1P-skin the.HZ INTNS RL-black DL also SN-spotted DCL
 ‘Mi piel es muy negra y manchada.’
My skin is very black and spotted. (lagartijas_04) QQQ check punctuation

When this adverb occurs with a non-stative verb, it indicates repetition or extension of time during which the action takes place.

- (157) **Hant cmatj com iti hatom x,** [**hax ihpmozácanim oo**].
 land SN-hot the.HZ 3P-on 1sS-RL-lie UT INTNS 1sS.IN-PX-do.push-ups DL
 ‘Cuando estoy en tierra caliente, hago lagartijas.’
When I am on hot ground, I do push-ups. (lagartijas_19)
- (158) **Haxz cop hax yamásij oo. ¡Ma scaxtla ha!**
 dog the.VT INTNS DT-display.teeth DL 2sDO IR.ID-bite AUX-DCL
 ‘El perro abrió la boca y está mostrando sus dientes. ¡Te va a morder!’
The dog is showing its teeth. It is going to bite you. RMH_08-24-07_59a
- (159) **Hax ihpyocáptim oo.**
 INTNS 1sS.IN-DT-jump-IMPF DL
 ‘Yo brincaba.’
I just jumped. (like in fright, one foot at a time) RMH_08-24-07_59b

24.3.1.2 Intensifier **hoox**

The adverb **hoox** also intensifies the verb. The adverb itself is often followed by the adverb **oo** (§24.4.4).

- (160) **Hisoj com hoox tsoop, hax cömiin oo.**
 1P-body the.HZ INTNS RL-thick INTNS 3IO-PX-short DL
 ‘Mi cuerpo es muy grueso y corto.’
My body is very thick and short. (lagartijas_27)
- (161) **..., hoox oo tizil, ...**
 INTNS DL RL-small.PL
 ‘... eran tan pequeños, ...’
... they were so little, ... (Dos_Hermanos_36.3)

- (162) **Caanj xah °zixcám coospoj° xah hoox miitxo.**
 grouper CRD spotted.cabrilla CRD INTNS PX-many
 ‘Las bayas y cabrillas son numerosas.’
Gulf groupers and spotted cabrillas are numerous. (ES2007, lamz_10) RRR
- (163) **..., hipi hoox oo tazoj, coox itáhit ma x, ...**
 INTNS INTNS DL RL-alone all 3:3-RL-eat DS UT
 ‘... comió todo POR SI MISMO ...’
... he ate all of it BY HIMSELF, ... (Hombre_Barril_44)
- (164) **Me hoox oo ntazoj ma, ma hxamsisín.**
 2PRO INTNS DL 2SS-RL-alone DS 2DO 1sS.TR-EM-love
 ‘Te amo SÓLO A TI.’
I love ONLY YOU. RMH_08-24-07_60b
- (165) **He hoox hitoj cohmiího.**
 1PRO INTNS 1P-eye-PL 3IO-1sS.TR-PX-see
 ‘Lo vi con mis PROPIOS ojos.’
I saw it with my OWN eyes. RMH_08-24-07_60a

The adverb **hoox** with a verb meaning *be* indicates quantity or identity.

- (166) **Comcáac hoox taa yoozcam.**
 person/Seri.PL INTNS RL-be DT-arrive.PL
 ‘MUCHAS personas llegaron.’
LOTS of people arrived. RMH_08-24-07_60c
- (167) **Taax ah oo cōtpacta ma,**
 DDP FOC DL 3IO-RL-be.in.appearance DS
hoox cōiíha hizac max, ...
 INTNS 3IO-3P-AON-be PX-LC even
 ‘Por eso, hasta el día de hoy ...’
For that reason, to this very day ... (Mt 27:8) RMH_08-24-07_60d

24.3.1.3 Halx

The adverb **halx** occurs in some contexts with the vague meaning that is translated here as *just*, as examples below show. Sometimes the adverb **halx** with this simple meaning does not collocate well — the examples are rejected by speakers and these examples are flagged with an asterisk to indicate their ungrammaticality.

In more contexts, however, this same adverb is accompanied by a morphological or phonological effect on the word that follows it (which may not be the verb itself); the meaning

of the combination is something like *more or less, somewhat*.¹⁷ In these contexts the adverb is glossed as ATTENUATOR. The phonological contexts are divided into four types (where V represents *either* a monomoraic or bimoraic nucleus: (a) ...¹VCC..., (b) ...¹VCVC..., (c) ...¹V(C)..., (d) elsewhere.

If a consonant cluster follows the stressed vowel of the word modified by **halx**, the vowel **a** is inserted, presumably as an infix. The consonant cluster may be entirely inside the root or it may span a root-suffix boundary as examples (172ff) show.

- (168) a. **¡Halx aanpx!**
 just IM-return.home
 ‘¡Pues vete a casa!’
Just go home! RMH_08-24-07_61a
- b. **¡Halx aanapx!**
 ATTEN IM-return.home+ATTEN
 ‘¡Vete a casa por un rato!’
Go home for a while! RMH_08-24-07_61b
- (169) a. * **Halx maapl.**
 just PX-cold
- b. **Halx maapal.**
 ATTEN PX-cold+ATTEN
 ‘Hace algo de frío.’
It’s kind of cold. RMH_08-24-07_61c
- (170) a. **¡Halx casyoj!**
 just IM-drink-PL
 ‘¡Tómenlo no más!’
Just drink (pl.) it! RMH_08-24-07_61d
- b. **¡Halx casayoj!**
 ATTEN IM-drink-PL+ATTEN
 ‘¡Tomen algo de ello!’
Drink (pl.) some of it! RMH_08-24-07_61e
- (171) a. * **Halx yootxo.**
 just DT-many
- b. **Halx yootaxo.**
 ATTEN DT-many+ATTEN
 ‘Había algunos.’
There were some. RMH_08-24-07_61h
- (172) a. **¡Halx icaticapan itáa?**
 just INF.IN-work 3:3-RL-know
 ‘¿Puede trabajar de vez en cuando?’
Can s/he work sometimes? RMH_08-24-07_61f
- b. **¡Halx icaticapan itáa?**
 ATTEN INF.IN-work+ATTEN 3:3-RL-know
 ‘¿Sabe algo de cómo trabajar?’
Does s/he know something of how to work? (DS2005, halx) RMH_08-24-07_61g

¹⁷ These same patterns (with **-a**, infix **-a-** and stress shift) are found with verbs in dependent clauses to show simultaneity of action. See §XX.

- (116) **Halx yaasatim.**
 ATTEN DT-deflate-IMPF+ATTEN
 ‘Cada rato se desinfla un poco.’
It deflates every little while. (< √*aa*s-tim)
- (117) **Halx yasatim xo mos iyóocatx.**
 ATTEN DT-sing-IMPF+ATTEN but also 3:3-DT-release
 ‘Cantaba cada rato pero luego dejó de cantar.’
S/he was singing every little while but then s/he stopped. RMH_05-20-08_77 (< √*oo*s-tim)
- (118) **Halx itáatatim, ...**
 ATTEN 3:3-RL-cook.in.coals-IMPF+ATTEN
 ‘Cocinaba debajo de las brasas’
*S/he was cooking it in the coals, ...*¹⁸ RMH_05-20-08_78 (< √*aa*t-tim)

If there is no consonant cluster but the verb has a trochee headed by the stressed vowel, the stress of the word is shifted to the syllable following the normally-stressed syllable and that vowel is lengthened.¹⁹

- | | | | |
|----------|--|----|---|
| (173) a. | ¡Halx catax!
just IM-go
‘¡Vete!’
<i>Go!</i> RMH_08-24-07_62a | b. | ¡Halx càtáax! ²⁰
ATTEN IM-go+ATTEN
‘¡Pues vete!’
<i>Just go!</i> RMH_08-24-07_62b |
| (174) a. | ¡Halx cahó!
just IM-see
‘¡Míralo no más!’
<i>Just look at it!</i> RMH_08-24-07_62c | b. | ¡Halx càhóo!
ATTEN IM-see+ATTEN
‘¡Pues míralo un poco!’
<i>Just take a look at it!</i> RMH_08-24-07_62d |
| (175) a. | *¡Halx ihyóosi!
just 1SS.TR-DT-drink | b. | ¡Halx ihyoosii!
ATTEN 1SS.TR-DT-drink+ATTEN
‘¡Casi lo tomé!’
<i>I almost drank it!</i> RMH_08-24-07_62e |

¹⁸ This example is especially interesting because it shows that the sequence **tt** that results from the juxtaposition of a root-final **t** and a suffix-initial **t** is functioning as a cluster, as one would expect from the morphological analysis. The pronunciation of the word **caattim** (SN-cook.in.coals-IMPF) is [!k a a t i m], which is indistinguishable from a word that might be analyzed as **caat-im**, since the lengthening of the **t** is induced by the stress on the first syllable (see §28.5.1).

¹⁹ The lengthening is written but it probably is a result of the intonational contour. The vowel written as **oo** in the word **ihyoosii** is slightly shortened phonetically, but it is written long to preserve some visual relationship with the word **ihyoosi** and avoid confusion with **ihyosii** *I smelled it* with which it contrasts phonetically.

²⁰ The grave-accented vowel, such as **à**, is meant to indicate that the vowel is slightly long as if it were somewhat stressed.

- (176) a. ***Halx** **yiipe.**
just DT-good
- b. **Halx** **yiipée.**
ATTEN DT-good+ATTEN
'Se mejoró un poco.'
S/he got a bit better. RMH_08-24-07_62f
- (177) a. * **Halx** **cacat** **iha.**
just SN-salty/bitter DCL
- b. **Halx** **càcáat** **iha.**
ATTEN SN-salty/bitter +ATTEN DCL
'Está un poco salado/amargo.'
It is kind of salty/bitter. RMH_08-24-07_62g
- (178) a. * **Halx** **imcòzim.**
just PX-hot.weather
- b. **Halx** **imcòzim.**
ATTEN PX-hot.weather+ATTEN
'Está haciendo un poco de calor.'
It is kind of hot (weather). RMH_08-24-07_65
- (119) a. **Mitróoqui** **quij** **halx** **ano** **hpsij** **aha.**
2P-vehicle the.CM just 3P.in 1SS.IN-IR.ID-sit AUX-DCL
'Me voy a sentar en tu carro por un rato.'
I am going to sit in your car for a while [like perhaps a half hour].
- b. **Mitróoqui** **quij** **halx** **ànóo** **hpsij** **aha.**
2P-vehicle the.CM ATTEN 3P.in 1SS.IN-IR.ID-sit AUX-DCL
'Me voy a sentar en tu carro por un ratito.'
I am going to sit in your car for a short while [shorter time than a half hour].
- (120) **Halx** °**hímóoz** **yoméet°.**
ATTEN 1P-heart DT-?
'Yo estaba un poco triste.'
I was a bit sad. RMH_05-20-08_79
- (121) **Halx** °**hisáax** **hant** **yaait°.**
ATTEN 3P-? land DT-arrive
'Estaba un poco feliz.'
S/he was a little bit happy. RMH_05-20-08_80

When neither of those conditions (consonant cluster or trochee) is found and the nucleus of the stressed syllable is one or two moras, the suffix **-a** is added to the verb.

- (179) a. **Halx** **hiim!**
just IM-sleep
'¡Duérmete!'
Just sleep! RMH_08-24-07_63a
- b. **Halx** **hiim-a!**
ATTEN IM-sleep-ATTEN
'Duérmete un poco, pues.'
Just sleep a while! RMH_08-24-07_63b
- (180) a. **Halx** **as!**
just IM-sing
'¡Canta!'
Just sing! RMH_08-24-07_63c
- b. **Halx** **as-a!**
ATTEN IM-sing-ATTEN
'¡Canta un rato!'
Sing a bit! RMH_08-24-07_63d
- (181) a. * **Halx** **yohéel.**
just DT-red
- b. **Halx** **yohéel.**
ATTEN DT-red.ATTEN
'Es un poco rojo.'
It's reddish. RMH_05-20-08_81

- (182) a. * **Halx yaxp.**
just DT-white
- b. **Halx yaxap.**
ATTEN DT-white-ATTEN
'Es un poco white.'
It's whitish. RMH_05-20-08_82
- (183) a. **¡Halx hii!**
just IM-hear
'¡Óyelo no más!'
Just hear it! RMH_05-20-08_83
- b. **¡Halx hiii!**
ATTEN IM-hear-ATTEN
'¡Oye un poco!'
Hear it a bit! RMH_05-20-08_84
- (184) a. **¡Halx ihquécö!**
just IM-listen
'¡Escúchalo no más!'
Just listen to it! RMH_05-20-08_85
- b. **¡Halx ihquécö!**
ATTEN IM-listen-ATTEN
'¡Escucha un poco!'
Listen a bit! RMH_05-20-08_86

When none of the preceding conditions holds — essentially only when there is a three mora nucleus in the stressed syllable — the difference between the two meanings contrasted above is detectable only by a slightly longer nucleus in the case of attenuation (indicated here with two acute accents on the relevant syllable).

- (185) a. **¡Halx ihpóoin!**
just IM-close
'¡Ciérralo!'
Just close it! RMH_08-24-07_64a
- b. **¡Halx ihpóóin!**
ATTEN IM-close+ATTEN
'¡Ciérralo por un momento!'
Close it for a moment! RMH_05-20-08_87
- (186) a. **¡Halx ihfáin!**
just IM-tie.up
'¡Átalo/la!'
Just tie him/her/it up! RMH_05-20-08_88
- b. **¡Halx ihfááin!**
ATTEN IM-tie.up
'¡Átalo/la por un rato!'
Tie it up for a bit! RMH_05-20-08_89

The adverb **halx** can be modified by the attenuating adverb **xah** (§24.6) and the result is an intensifying adverbial phrase that means (unexpectedly) something like *so (very)*.

- (187) **Halx xah maapl.**
just ATTEN PX-cold
'Hace tanto frío.'
It is so cold! (DS2005, halx xah < halx) RMH_08-24-07_64b
- (188) **Halx xah mcozim.**
just ATTEN PX-hot.(weather)
'¡Hace tanto calor!'
It is so hot (weather)! RMH_08-24-07_64c

24.3.1.4 **hanso just**

The adverb **hanso** limits the action in some way. It is glossed *just* here, as it is with its uses with nominals (§24.1.1), but it has the idea of *just anyway* (despite objections, despite negative consequences, etc.).

- (189) **¡Hanso cacatx!**
 just IM-release
 ‘¡Déjalo!’ RMH_10-16-07_18a
Just let him/her/it go anyway. (Don’t try to do anything to detain him/her/it).
- (190) **¡Hanso catax!**
 just IM-go
 ‘¡Vete!’
Just go anyway! (e.g. over my objections) RMH_10-16-07_18b
- (191) a. **Zixcám ixamátaj cop hanso nsiisi aha.**
 fish 3P-broth the.VT just 2SS-IR.ID-drink AUX-DCL
 b. **Hanso zixcám ixamátaj cop insiisi aha.**
 just fish 3P-broth the.VT 2SS-IR.ID-drink AUX-DCL
 ‘Debes tomar el caldo de pescado de todos modos.’
You should drink the fish broth anyway. RMH_10-16-07_18c
- (192) **Hanso moopol.** (193) **Hanso mitéejöc.**
 just PX-black just PX-thin
 ‘Es negro/a.’ ‘Está flaco/a.’ RMH_10-16-07_19b
It’s just black. RMH_10-16-07_19a *It/she/he’s just thin.*

This adverb combines with the intensifying adverbs **áa** (§24.4) and **hax** (§24.3.1.1) to give the intensified expression **hansáa hax**.

- (194) **Hehe cop hansáa hax maacoj áa yax, ...**
 tree the.VT just INTNS PX-big INTNS since
 ‘El árbol es MUY grande ...’
The tree is VERY big ... (DS2005, áa) RMH_10-16-07_19c

24.3.1.5 Intensifier **mos áno**

The expression **mos áno** indicates a superior degree and most felicitously collocates with less agentive predicates. The expression **mos áno anxö**, a phrase constructed on the intensifier **anxö** (see §24.3.1.6 for examples), is most easily used with more agentive predicates. Some of the examples below show specifically that the use of **mos áno anxö** is inappropriate.²¹

- (195) °**Mos áno**° (***anxö**) **siipe caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-good AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a ser excelente.’
It’s going to be excellent. (DS2005, áno) RMH_08-24-07_67b RMH_08-04-07_114a

²¹ It is unclear to me how or why this expression came to be written as two words. One consultant quite idiosyncratically pronounced this expression **monsáno**.

- (196) °**Mos áno**° (***anxö**) **sheel caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-red AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a ser muy rojo.’
It’s going to be extremely red. RMH_08-04-07_114b
- (197) **He** °**mos áno**° (***anxö**) **hpyocám.**
 IPRO superior.degree INTNS ISS.IN-DT-full
 ‘Soy el que está más lleno.’
I’m the fullest. RMH_08-04-07_114c
- (198) °**Mos áno**° **yohéemt.**
 superior.degree DT-stink
 ‘Olió muy mal.’
It really stank. RMH_08-04-07_114e
- (199) °**Mos áno**° **scozim caha.**
 superior.degree IR.ID-hot.(weather) AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a hacer mucho calor.’
It is going to be really hot (weather)! RMH_08-04-07_114f
- (200) ..., °**mos áno**° **hiicp hac °iti masfistox° aha.**
 superior.degree IP-place.next.to the.LC you.(pl.).will.believe.in AUX-DCL
 ‘..., me creerán en mí aún más.’
... you (pl.) will really believe in me. (Jn 11:15) RMH_05-20-08_92

Despite the tendency for the predicates to use one intensifying expression or the other, some predicates allow both, with slightly different interpretations, as shown below. The phrase **mos áno anxö** indicates a greater degree with respect to some (unexpressed) standard of comparison.

- (201) °**Mos áno**° **yoopca.** (202) °**Mos áno**° **anxö yoopca.**
 superior.degree DT-rain superior.degree INTNS DT-rain
 ‘Llovió fuertemente.’ ‘Llovió aún más fuertemente.’
It rained hard! RMH_08-04-07_114d RMH_11-28p-07_28→ *It rained even harder!*
- (203) °**Mos áno**° °**iisax yohéemt°.**
 superior.degree 3P-? DT-stink
 ‘Estaba muy enojado/a.’
S/he was very angry. RMH_08-04-07_115i
- (204) °**Mos áno**° **anxö °iisax sheemt° caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS 3P-? IR.ID-stink AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a estar muy enojado.’
S/he’s going to be very angry. RMH_08-04-07_115h

- (205) °**Mos áno**° **yeenj.**
 superior.degree DT-UO-yell.at
 ‘Gritó fuertemente.’
S/he yelled hard.
- (206) °**Mos áno**° **anxö seenj caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-UO-yell.at AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a gritar con más fuerza.’
S/he is going to shout more energetically. RMH_08-04-07_115f

The use of the expression **mos áno** with verbs such as √**apáaisx** *clean (trans.)* √**ahóoxp** *make white* (both morphological causatives) is grammatical but refers to the result and not to the action itself.

- (207) °**Mos áno**° **isapáaisx aha.**
 superior.degree 3:3-IR.ID-cause.be.clean AUX-DCL
 ‘Lo va a hacer muy limpio.’
S/he is going to make it really clean. RMH_08-04-07_114g
- (208) °**Mos áno**° **isahóoxp aha.**
 superior.degree 3:3-IR.ID-cause.white AUX-DCL
 ‘Lo va a hacer muy blanco.’
S/he is going to make it really white. RMH_08-04-07_114h

24.3.1.6 Intensifier **anxö**

The syntax of the adverb **anxö** *much, with force* is discussed in §5.1. It is established there that it is a VP adverb and not a quantifier in the nominal phrase. However, as the following examples illustrate, the interpretation commonly is relative to the quantity of the subject or direct object.

- (209) **Cpoot quih anxö popén, ...**
 mackerel the.FL INTNS IR.DP-PV-carry.items
 ‘Si muchas sierras se toman, ...’
If lots of mackerel are taken, ... RMH_08-24-07_66b
- (210) **Ziicalc quih anxö °hacx immiíhtoj°.**
 bird-PL the.FL INTNS they.have.died
 ‘Muchas aves han muerto.’
Many birds have died. RMH_08-24-07_66c
- (211) **Tiix tootar heecto quih anxö inyáa.**
 DDS chicken(s) juvenile-PL the.FL INTNS 3:3-PX-own
 ‘Ya posee muchos pollitos.’
S/he has lots of baby chicks. RMH_08-24-07_67a

- (212) **Zixcám quih anxö xohéemt.**
 fish the.FL INTNS EM-stink
 ‘La mayoría de los peces huelen mal.’
Most of the fish stink. RMH_05-20-08_91

It is not known why this adverb cannot modify an impersonal verb such as $\sqrt{\text{cozim}}$ (*be hot weather*).

- (213) * **Anxö scozim caha.**
 INTNS IR.ID-hot.(weather) AUX.SN-DCL
 (‘¡Hará mucho calor!’) (*It will be very hot weather!*)

Anxö can be modified by the intensifier **mos áno** *even more* (§24.3.1.5) to give the phrase **mos áno anxö**. In some situations that are not well understood, this phrase may modify a non-agentive expression.²² (See also other examples in §24.3.1.5 which are contrasted with **mos áno**.)

- (214) °**Ox tpaeta ma°**, **Juan quij** °**mos áno° anxö** °**imoz tmeet°**, **toc cömiij.**
 then the.CM even.more INTNS s/he.was.sad there 3IO-Px-sit
 ‘Entonces Juan estaba aún más triste.’
Then John was even sadder. RMH_05-20-08_93
- (215) °**Mos áno°** _____ **anxö siim caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-sleep AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a dormir even more.’
S/he is going to sleep even more. RMH_08-04-07_115b
- (216) °**Mos áno°** _____ **anxö ihyóaa.**
 superior.degree INTNS 1S.TR-DT-know
 ‘He aprendido más.’
I have learned more. RMH_08-04-07_115c
- (217) °**Mos áno°** _____ **anxö ihyoyáa.**
 superior.degree INTNS 1S.TR-DT-own
 ‘Tengo (poseo) más que tenía antes.’
I have (own) more (now than I had). RMH_08-04-07_115c

Most commonly, however, this expression collocates with kinetic, agentive predicates.

- (218) °**Mos áno°** _____ **anxö yopánzx.**
 superior.degree INTNS DT-run
 ‘Corrió muchísima intensidad.’
S/he/it ran really hard. RMH_08-04-07_115a (Unacceptable without **anxö**.)

²² It doesn’t collocate with a verb such as $\sqrt{\text{cozim}}$ *be hot weather*, for example, nor with $\sqrt{\text{aapl}}$ *cold*.

- (219) °**Mos áno**° _____ **anxö** **saticpan** **caha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-work AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a trabajar más.’
S/he is going to work more. RMH_08-04-07_115d (Unacceptable without **anxö**.)

The morphologically causative verbs meaning *clean* and *make white* have a different interpretation when used with this expression rather than **mos áno** (compare the following with examples (207) and (208) in §24.3.1.5).

- (220) °**Mos áno**° **anxö** **isapáaisx** **aha.**
 superior.degree INTNS 3:3-IR.ID-cause.be.clean AUX-DCL
 ‘Va a limpiar muchos.’
S/he is going to clean even more of them. RMH_08-04-07_115e
- (221) °**Mos áno**° **anxö** **isahóoxp** **aha.**
 superior.degree INTNS IR.ID-cause.white AUX-DCL
 ‘Va a blanquear a muchos más.’
S/he is going to make more of them white. RMH_08-04-07_115g

24.3.1.7 **coox** *completely, entirely*

The adverb **coox** indicates that the entirety of something is involved as a unit. This is seen most clearly by the following pairs, the (a) examples with **coox** and the (b) examples with the quantifying predicate √**cooo** *all*:

- (222) a. **Me coox masiilx aha.**
 2PRO entirely 2PS-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘UDS. deben irse como un grupo.’
YOU should go as a group. RMH_05-20-08_94
- b. **Me mapocóoo masiilx aha.**
 2PRO 2P-IR.DP-all 2PS-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘TODOS UDS. deben irse.’
ALL OF YOU should go. RMH_05-20-08_95
- (223) a. ¿**Coox intahóoxp?**
 entirely 2SS-RL-cause.white
 ‘¿Lo pintaste completamente blanco?’
Did you paint it all white? RMH_08-24-07_68f
- b. ¿**Tcooo ma, ntahóoxp?**
 RL-all DS 2SS-RL-cause.white
 ‘Lo(s) pintaste todo de blanco?’
Did you paint it/them all white? RMH_05-20-08_96

- (224) **Coox** **tiijc**, ...
 entirely RL-wet RMH_08-24-07_68a
 ‘Se mojó completamente, ...’
S/he/it got completely wet, ... (DS2005, coox)
- (225) **¿Coox** **itqués?** RMH_08-24-07_68b
 entirely 3:3-RL-cover
 ‘¿Lo cubrió completamente?’
Did it cover it completely?
- (226) **¿Coox** **cötaanim?**
 entirely 3IO-RL-cover
 ‘¿Lo cubrió completamente?’
Did it cover it completely? RMH_08-24-07_68c
- (227) **¿Coox** **intíxö?**
 entirely 2SS-RL-hide
 ‘¿Escondiste todos?’ RMH_08-24-07_68d
Did you hide all of them?
- (228) **¿°Xiica ccamotam° quih** **coox** **intáho?**
 animals the.FL entirely 2SS-RL-see
 ‘¿Viste a todos los animales?’
Did you see all of the animals? RMH_08-24-07_68e

24.3.2 Location adverbs

VP-initial adverbs that indicate location include: **aamo** *far* (see also §24.3.3 for its use as a time adverb; its antonym is **hantáxl**), **cola**²³ *high*, **colx** *way up high* (antonym of **hantx**), **haa** *there*, **hacx** *apart, alone*, **hantáxl** *near* (antonym of **aamo**), **hantx** *at the base* (antonym of **colx**), **hapx** *out*,²⁴ **haquix** *there*, **himo** *elsewhere*,²⁵ **hiza** *elsewhere, towards elsewhere*, **hizx** *aside*, **iicp** *towards*, **iicx** *near*, **iij** *elsewhere, differently*, **toii** *toward somewhere else*, **toox** *far*. These adverbs appear to be all of the class presented in Table 5.3. See also the ways in which they may be modified by the attenuating adverb **xah** (§24.6.1).

Other VP-initial adverbs are obviously confluents of an adverb and a postposition or a noun and a postposition: **coléequi**²⁶ *upwards*, **paquíiqui** *backwards*.

- (229) **Trooqui quij** **cói** **aamo** **oo** **miij**.
 vehicle the.CM still far DL PX-sit
 ‘Todavía está un poco lejos.’
It is still a bit in the distance. (DS2005, aamo) RMH_08-24-07_69a
- (230) **Ziic quij** **cola** **quiij** **iha**.
 bird the.CM high SN-sit DCL
 ‘El ave está sentada arriba.’
The bird is sitting up high. RMH_08-24-07_69b
- (231) **Cola** **nsiixquim** **aha**.
 high 2SS-IR.ID-put.Hz AUX-DCL
 ‘Debes ponerlo en alto.’
You should put it up high. RMH_08-24-07_69c

²³ The antonym is the expression **hant ihíipi** (land 3P-AON-stand).

²⁴ This word is also a location noun; see §5.4.

²⁵ This word has the form **him** before a vowel. It is presumably the etymological source of the distal element **him** in the distal demonstrative adjectives (§21.3). Furthermore, this adverb is presently limited to use with only a few verbs.

²⁶ The antonym is the expression **hant iiqui** (land 3P-toward).

- (232) °Hehe iti icóohitim° com coléequi hqueetx.
table the.Hz upwards IM-raise
'¡Levanta la mesa!'
Raise the table! RMH_08-24-07_69d
- (233) Ziic tintica colx xeectim.
bird MD-AW way.up.high EM-travel
'El ave está volando muy alto.'
The bird is flying way up high. RMH_08-24-07_70a
- (234) ... haa mota ma, ...
there TWD-RL-move DS
'... venía allí, ...'
... it was coming there (Conejo_Puma_15)
- (235) Caay cop hacx caap oo ha.
horse the.VT apart SN-stand DL DCL
'El caballo está suelto.'
The horse is loose. (DS2005, hacx) RMH_05-20-08_97
- (236) Haxz cop hahóot hac hantáxl cöcaap iha.
dog the.VT ABS-entrance the.LC near 3IO-SN-stand DCL
'El perro está cerca de la entrada.'
The dog is near the doorway. RMH_08-24-07_70b
- (237) Hantx xeectim.
at.base EM-travel
'Está pasando muy bajo.'
It's traveling very low to the ground. RMH_05-20-08_98
- (238) Hita quih café ooztoj quij hapx itáca,
IP-mother the.FL coffee 3P-ON-cook.in.water the.CM outside 3:3-RL-put.LQ
iyóozaj, isaháapl ta.
3:3-DT-do.back.and.forth 3:3-IR.ID-make.cold AUX.RL
'Mi madre vertió el café de un contenedor a otro para enfriarlo.'
My mother poured the coffee back and forth to cool it down. (DS2005, quizaj) RMH_07-11-07_40f
- (239) Haquix coom iha. (240) ... °himo hmiicatx°.
there SN-lie DCL elsewhere 1SS.TR-PX-abandon
'Está allí (acostado, tirado).' RMH_05-20-08_99 '... lo tiré.' RMH_05-20-08_100
It is there (lying, stretched out). (DS2005, haquix) ... *I threw it out.* (DS2005, ccanaj)

- (241) ... **hiza** **yopánzx.** (242) **¡Hizx caca!**
 elsewhere DT-run aside IM-put.LQ
 ‘... corrió en otra dirección.’ RMH_05-20-08_101
 ‘¡Retíralo/la!’
 ... *it ran in a different direction.* (DS2005, hiza) *Take it away!* RMH_05-20-08_102
- (243) **Hax hapási hizcap iicp me hsaaix aha.**
 water SN-PV-drink PX-VT towards 2IO 1SS.TR-IR.ID-carry AUX-DCL
 ‘Te llevaré esta agua para que la bebas.’
I will take this water to you to drink. (DS2005, iicp) RMH_05-20-08_103
- (244) **¡Hantx iicx hoom!** (245) **°Iij hant iyóoh°.**
 at.base near IM-lie differently land 3:3-DT-put.FL
 ‘¡Agáchate!’ ‘Lo/la volteó.’
Stoop down! (DS2006, iicx) RMH_05-20-08_104 *S/he turned it over.* RMH_08-24-07_70c
- (246) **Cmaacoj tintica paquíiqui yootax.**
 old.man MD.AW backwards DT-go
 ‘El viejo se retrocedió.’
The old man moved backwards. RMH_05-20-08_105
- (247) **Toii ntimat.** (248) **Toox miihca.**
 elsewhere AW-PX-move-PL far PX-be.located
 ‘Fueron hacia otro lugar.’ ‘Está lejos.’
They went away. RMH_05-20-08_106 *It is far away.* (DS2005, toox) RMH_05-20-08_107

24.3.3 Time adverbs

Adverbs and adverb phrases that indicate time include: **aamo** *long time* (see also its use as an adverb indicating distance), **cmaax** *now*, **cói** *still*,²⁷ **haptco** *already*, **haptco mos** *once again*,²⁸ **xaa** *soon*, and **zimjöc** *long time ago*. Some of these adverbs may co-occur. Some of them also easily occur before the DPs of a clause; when they do, an example is included here. The interrogative adverb **zímjöc** *when?* is presented in §24.7.

- (249) **Aamo cōmahíyat áa.** (250) **¿Me cmaax siitax quee -ya?**
 far 3:3-PX-last INTNS 2PRO now IR.ID-go AUX.SN QM
 ‘Duró mucho tiempo.’ RMH_08-24-07_70d ‘Vas a ir ahora?’ RMH_08-24-07_70f
It lasted a long time. (DS2005, aamo) *Are you going to go now?* (DS2005, cmaax)

²⁷ The adverb **cói** almost always occurs with the adverb **oo** (§24.4.4) or, when the clause is negative, the adverb **ipi** (§24.2.11).

²⁸ The expression **haptco mos itácl oo** (already also 3P-surface DL) for *once again* is also used.

- (251) **Cmaax eenim ihyáa° zo cohpscmáasot haa hi.**
 now knife mine a 3IO-1sS.IN-IR.ID-N-lend AUX DCL
 ‘Ahora no prestaré mi cuchillo.’
Now I won’t lend my knife. RMH_07-20-07_40e
- (252) **Trooqui quij cói aamo oo miij.**
 vehicle the.CM still far DL PX-sit
 ‘Todavía está un poco lejos.’
It is still a bit in the distance. (DS2005, aamo) RMH_08-24-07_69a
- (253) **Cói haaco cop toox oo tap ma, ...**
 still ABS.house the.VT far DL RL-stand DS
 ‘Mientras la casa estaba todavía lejos, ...’
While the house was still far away, ... (Lk 15:20) RMH_05-20-08_108
- (254) **Minl coi cói zixcám oo yasíi.**
 2P-finger-PL the.PL still fish DL DT-smell.like
 ‘Tus dedos todavía huelen a pescado.’
Your fingers still smell like fish. RMH_09-28-07_121b
- (255) **Juan xah Pedro xah cói pti iyonípatim oo. (* pti cói)**
 CRD CRD still RCPR 3:3-DT-hit-IMPF DL
 ‘Juan y Pedro están todavía pegando uno al otro.’
Juan and Pedro are still hitting each other. RMH_11-20-07_118
- (256) **Cói ziix chaa oo z ítemáa, teete, ...**
 still thing SN-EQ DL a/one 3:3-RL-N-know RL-say
 ‘Dijo que todavía no lo reconocía...’
He said that he still didn’t recognize him, ... (Apostador_235) RMH_05-20-08_109
- (257) **Cocázni° com ílft quij cactim iha xo**
 rattlesnake the.HZ 3P-head the.CM SN-be.cut DCL but

isoj com cói csijjim oo ha.
 3P-body the.HZ still SN-move DL DCL RMH_08-21-07_86
 ‘La cabeza de la víbora de cascabel se cortó, pero el cuerpo todavía se movía.’
The head of the rattlesnake was cut off, but its body was still moving. (DS2005, isoj)
- (258) **°Ziix is cooil° quij cói tooil oo ma x,**
 watermelon the.CM still RL-blue/green DL DS UT

ipáhit °iic cöimípe° ha.
 3P-AON-PV-eat not.beneficial DCL
 ‘Si la sandía está todavía verde, no es bueno comerla.’
If the watermelon is still green, it isn’t good to eat it. (DS2005, coi) RMH_05-20-08_110

- (259) **Cöitacózxot ma, haptco tataxim, ...**
 3IO-3:3-RL-give DS already RL-go-IMPF
 ‘Se lo entregó, ya estaba andando, ...’
He gave it to him, he was already walking, ... (Gigante_Comelon_118-119)
- (260) **Haptco cmiique caii quih chaa ha.**
 already person mature the.FL SN-EQ DCL
 ‘Ya es adulto.’
He is already an adult. (Jn 9:21) RMH_05-20-08_111
- (261) **Me haptco mos cmoquéepe -ya?**
 2PRO once.again SN-sick QM
 ‘¿Estás enfermo/a otra vez?’
Are you sick again? (DS2005, mos) RMH_05-20-08_112
- (262) **, ... haptco mos hast pac itéxaj, ...**
 once.again stone some 3:3-RL-take-PL
 ‘... otra vez tomaron piedras, ...’
...once again they took stones, ... (Jn 10:31) RMH_05-20-08_113
- (263) **Xaa xixónla.**
 soon EM-lose.liquid
 ‘Pronto perdió líquido [la jaiba].’
It [crab] quickly lost liquid. RMH_08-24-07_70e
- (264) **He zimjóc oo min icáafp quimzo ha xo ...**
 1PRO long time DL 2P-in INF.IN-arrive SN-TR-want DCL but
 ‘Desde hace mucho tiempo he querido llegar a ustedes pero ...’
For a long time I have wanted to arrive to you (pl.) but ... (Rm 1:10) RMH_05-20-08_114

24.3.4 Manner adverbs

VP-initial adverbs and expressions that indicate manner (broadly speaking): **cooc** *almost* (see §5.1), **iháamac** *alone (unaccompanied)*, **miizj** *well* (see §5.1) and **ox** *thus* (see §5.1).

The adverb **cooc** *almost* sometimes occurs in two distinct prosodic patterns with a difference in meaning, as illustrated by the following examples. one with a reduced stress (indicated by breve) and one with a more even stress (indicated by acute accent here).

- (265) **Cöoc áno ntama ho.**
 almost 3P.in AW-RL-N-move DCL
 ‘Tarda en salir de él/ella.’
It takes a long time to come out of it. RMH_08-13-07_22o

- (266) **Cóoc** **áno** **ntama** **ho.**
 almost 3P.in AW-RL-N-move DCL
 ‘Casi no sale.’
It almost doesn’t come out. RMH_08-13-07_22p
- (267) **¿Me** **hoox** **oo** **iháamac** **poop,** **siitax** **quee** **-ya?**
 2PRO INTNS DL alone IR.DP-stand IR.ID-go AUX.SN QM
 ‘¿Vas sin acompañante?’
Are you going unaccompanied? (DS2005, iháamac) RMH_05-20-08_115
- (268) **Miizj** **ihmíya.**
 well 1S.Tr-PX-know
 ‘Lo sé bien.’
I know it well. (DS2005, miizj) RMH_09-28-07_118d

The idiomatic phrase **hax hamáaco** *little by little* is also attested.

- (269) ... **°hax hahmáaco**²⁹ **hax** **com** **contima.**³⁰
 little.by.little water the.HZ 3IO-TWD-PX-move
 ‘... poco a poco se hundió.’
Little by little it sank. RMH_05-20-08_116

Many manner-like notions are expressed as independent clauses using a verb; see §24.8.

24.4 VP-final adverbs

Some adverbs are found in a position following the verb (before the Different Subject markers, §3.6.1) and also before emphatic **xo** (§20.4.3).

24.4.1 Intensifying adverbs **áa** and **aapa**

The adverbs **áa** *very, really* and **aapa** *very* intensify some aspect of the verb.

The adverb **áa** commonly occurs in conjunction with some other indicator of intensity in the sentence as well.

- (270) **Poyáai** **áa,** **hax** **yoma.**
 IR.DP-expensive INTNS INTNS DT-N-be
 ‘No fue muy caro.’
It wasn’t very expensive. (DS2005, áa) RMH_05-20-08_117

²⁹ Speakers vary on the pronunciation of this expression, some using **hax hamáaco** and some using **hax hahmáaco**.

³⁰ The word **hax** *fresh water* could be replaced by **xepe** *sea* in the case of a ship in the water, but it need not be; **hax** is still appropriately used there. If the article **com** the.HZ were replaced by **cap** (or **cop**) the.VT the situation described would be one in which the water is entering the container.

- (271) **Ziix chaa áa zo htcmaa ho.**
 thing SN-EQ INTNS a 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé quién es.’
I don’t know what/who it really is. RMH_05-20-08_118
- (272) **Hehe cop hansáa hax maacoj áa yax, ...**
 plant the.VT just INTNS PX-big INTNS since
 ‘Como el árbol es muy grande, ...’
Since the tree is very big, ... (DS2005, áa) RMH_05-20-08_119
- (273) **Hammotómanoj áa.** (274) **¡[Satícpan áa] xo!**
 1pS-PX-weak-PL very IR.ID-work INTNS EMPH
 ‘Estamos muy débiles.’ RMH_05-20-08_120 ‘¡Va a trabajar!’ RMH_05-20-08_121
We are very weak. (DS2005, áa) *S/he’s really going to work!*
- (275) **[Hax toox toom áa] ...**
 INTNS far RL-lie INTNS
 ‘Estaba muy lejos., ...’
It was very far away, ... RMH_05-20-08_122
- (276) **[Siifp ta teepe áa] siifp aha.**
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.RL IR.DP-say INTNS IR.ID-arrive AUX-DCL
 ‘Si de veras dijo que vendría, entonces vendrá.’
If s/he really said s/he was coming, s/he will come. RMH_05-20-08_123
- (277) **Soquéht áa que immís.**
 IR.ID-bouncy INTNS AUX.SN 3:3-PX-resemble
 ‘Parece que será flexible.’
It appears that it will be flexible. RMH_05-20-08_124

The intensifier **áapa** has two major conditions on its usage. First, the verb must be in the so-called proximal realis form (§17.1.1.7) and second, the verb must be an impersonal or stative verb (and most commonly a scalar predicate). If both conditions are not met, **aapa** is not appropriately used.

- (278) a. **Maziim áapa.**
 PX-pleasant INTNS
 ‘Es demasiado hermoso.’
It is absolutely beautiful. (DS2005, aapa) RMH_05-20-08_125
- b. * **Yaziim áapa.** (*It was absolutely beautiful.*)
 DT-pretty INTNS
- c. * **Saziim áapa ha.** (*It will be absolutely beautiful.*)
 IR.ID-pretty INTNS AUX-DECL

- d. * **Cazim** **áapa ha.** (*It is absolutely beautiful.*)
 SN-pleasant INTNS AUX-DECL
- (279) a. **Maapl** **áapa.** *It is really cold.*
 b. **Imcózim** **áapa.** *It is really hot (weather)!*
 c. **Imhéel** **áapa.** *It is really red!*
 d. **Miicat** **áapa.** *It is really salty!*
 e. **Moquéht** **áapa.** *It is really flexible!*
 f. **Moáatjö** **áapa.** *It is really sweet!*
 g. **Imcómca** **áapa.** *It is really noisy!* RMH_05-20-08_126
- (280) a. * **Mozt** **áapa.** (*It got completely loose!*)
 b. * **Miim** **áapa.** (*S/he is completely asleep!*)
 c. * **Miipxölim** **áapa.** (*It is completely broken!*)
 d. * **Imcón** **áapa.** (*It stinks a lot!*)
 e. * **Mipon** **áapa.** (*It's making a lot of vocal noise!*)
 f. * **Immáh** **áapa.** (*It is making a lot of sounds!*)

Other kinds of verbs or other moods require or allow other ways of indicating a high degree of intensity.

- (281) a. **Hansáa hax mozt** **áa.** *It got completely loose.*
 b. **Hansáa hax miim** **áa.** *S/he is fast asleep.*
 c. **Hansáa hax miipxölim** **áa.** *It broke completely apart.*
 d. **Hansáa hax imcón** **áa.** *It really stinks.*
 e. **Hansáa hax moaatjö** **áa.** *It is too sweet.*
 f. **Hansáa hax yaticpan** **áa.** *He has really worked!* RMH_05-20-08_127
- (282) a. **Ctoози ha xo cmaax hansáa hax moquéht áa.**
 SN-stiff DCL but now INTNS INTNS PX-bouncy INTNS
 b. **Ctoози ha xo cmaax moquéht áapa.**
 SN-stiff DCL but now PX-bouncy INTNS

'Estaba tieso pero ahora está flexible.'

It was stiff but now it is flexible. RMH_05-20-08_128

24.4.2 Other postverbal adverbs

Three other postverbal adverbs are: **iiqui** *even*; **is** (s following a vowel)³¹ *of course, sure*; and **ipi**

³¹ The conditions for the distribution if the allomorphs are not entirely clear. The allomorph **is** is the only one which occurs after consonants, but both allomorphs occur after some vowels. Perhaps **is** occurs after vowels which are stressed or which occur immediately after the stressed vowel. This adverb has not been adequately studied.

*yet.*³²

- (283) °**Iti cminol°** **iiqui ipi.**
 3P-on IM-N-HAVE-finger even yet
 ‘Ni lo/la toques.’
Don’t even touch it/her/him! RMH_05-20-08_129
- (284) **Moxíma cmaacoj quih isóoit** **iiqui haa ha xo ...**
 yesterday old.man the.FL 3P-IR.ID-dance even SN.EQ DCL but
 ‘Ayer el anciano debería de haber bailado, pero ...’
Yesterday the old man should have danced,³³ but ... (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_05-20-08_130
- (285) **Saato is.** (286) **Moteja s.**
 IR.ID-fight of.course PX-stagger of.course
 ‘Por supuesto peleará.’ ‘Por supuesto está tambaleando.’
Sure he’ll fight. RMH_05-20-08_131 *Of course s/he staggers!* RMH_05-20-08_132
- (287) **Hin ntcmapátjc is.** (288) **Ihsíihit is.**
 1SDO 2S-IR.SB-untie of.course 1SS.TR-IR.ID-eat of.course
 ‘Bien, suéltame.’ ‘Lo/la comeré.’ RMH_05-20-08_134
Okay, untie me! RMH_05-20-08_133 *I’ll just have to eat it.* (DS2005, is)
- (289) **¡Ihsíihit xo s!**
 1SS.TR-IR.ID-eat EMPH of.course
 ‘¡Por supuesto lo comeré!’
Of course I will eat it! RMH_05-20-08_135

The adverb **ipi** commonly follows negative verbs which also have the preverbal adverb **cói** *still* but it also occurs with a similar meaning of (*not*) *yet* when **cói** is not present.

- (290) °**Eenm haacni°** **com itcméxl ipi, ...**
 rifle the.Hz 3:3-RL-N-take yet
 ‘Antes de tomar el rifle, ...’
Before taking the rifle, ... (DS2005, ipi) RMH_05-20-08_136
- (291) **Ihtcmíim ipi ma, miizcam.**
 1SS.TR-RL-N-sleep yet DS PX-arrive-PL
 ‘Antes de que yo hubiera dormido, llegaron.’
Before I had slept, they arrived. RMH_05-20-08_138

³² Some examples of the adverb **ipi** following nominals are given in §24.2.11. It also follows an adverb, as in this example:

(vi) **lizax quij hapx ipi tmap ma, miilx.**
 moon the.CM outside INTNS RL-N-stand DS PX-go.PL
 ‘Antes de que saliera la luna, se fueron.’ / *Before the moon came up, they went.* RMH_05-20-08_137

³³ The meaning here is deontic.

- (292) **¿Cói cõtmitalháa ipi?** (293) **Cói tommám ipi ho.**
 still 3IO-RL-N-buy/sell yet still RL-N-cooked yet DCL
 ‘¿No lo ha vendido todavía?’ ‘Todavía no está cocido.’
Hasn't s/he sold it yet? RMH_05-20-08_139 *It's still not cooked.* RMH_05-20-08_140
- (294) **Cói hptcmiim ipi, hpmoohitim.**
 still 1sS.IN-RL-N-sleep yet 1sS.IN-PX-UO-eat-IMPF
 ‘Antes de dormir (lit., mientras todavía no había dormido), yo comía.’
Before sleeping (lit., while I still hadn't slept), I was eating. (DS2005, cói) RMH_08-13-07_63b
- (295) **Coqué coi cói imhéel ipi ha.**
 chili the.PL still SN-N-red INTNS DCL
 ‘Los chiles no están rojos todavía.’
The chilies aren't red yet. (ALIM 77) RMH_05-20-08_142
- (296) **°Eenm haacni° com itcméxl ipi, haaco cap imíiix.**
 rifle the.Hz 3:3-RL-N-take yet ABS.house the.VT 3:3-PX-go.away.from
 ‘Antes de agarrar el rifle, salió de la casa.’
Before taking the rifle, he left the house. (DS2005, ipi) RMH_08-13-07_63c
- (297) **Hax cap ihpomási ipi, he soos caha.**
 water the.VT 1sS.TR-IR.DP-N-drink yet 1PRO IR.ID-sing AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Antes de tomar el agua, voy a cantar.’
Before drinking the water, I am going to sing. (DS2005, ipi) RMH_08-13-07_63d
- (298) **He cói smaahit ipi caha.**
 1PRO still IR.ID-N-fish yet AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘No iré a la pesca todavía.’
I'm not going fishing yet. RMH_05-20-08_143

24.4.3 Time adverbs

Two small words that relate to time follow the verb. The adverb **íi** *first* is also found modifying deverbial nouns. It precedes the different subject marker (§3.6.1) when one is present.

- (299) **He siim íi caha** (300) **ihyáazi° íi**
 1PRO IR.ID-sleep first AUX.SN-DCL my.child.ME first
 ‘Seré el primero a dormir.’ ‘mi primer(a) hijo/hija’
I'm going to be the first to sleep. RMH_05-20-08_144 *my first child* RMH_05-20-08_145
- (301) **Xepe ntiin íi ma, ...**
 sea AW-RL-return first DS
 ‘Cuando el mar primero empezó a subir, ...’
When the tide first started to rise, ... RMH_05-20-08_146

- (302) **zixcám ihmáa hoicötoj íi, caanlca tacoi, ...**
 fish other 1P-ON-kill-PL first Gulf.grouper-PL MD-PL
 ‘los pescados que matamos primero, las bayas, ...’
the fish that we killed first, the Gulf groupers, ... RMH_05-20-08_148

- (303) **Meáacalca coi nsoon íi (a)ha.**
 2P-clothing the.PL 2SS-IR.ID-carry.items first AUX-DCL
 ‘Primero (antes de hacer otra cosa) debes llevar tu ropa.’ RMH_05-20-08_149
First (before doing something else) you should take your clothes. (DS2005, ii)

The adverb **x** occurs mainly on the verbs of dependent clauses and seems to indicate that the specificity of the time at which the event has taken or will take place is either not relevant or not known. In realis dependent clauses, the lack of **x** generally allows a translation *After ...*, or *When ...*, and the presence of **x** allows a translation *Whenever ...*. In irrealis dependent clauses, the lack of **x** generally allows a translation *When ...* and the presence of **x** allows a translation *If ...*. This adverb follows the different subject marker (§3.6.1) if one is present. No other element of a clause ever follows it.

- (304) a. **Txtamt ma x, pac ihyóomjc.**
 RL-abundant DS UT some 1S.TR-DT-bring
 ‘Cuando hay muchos. traigo algunos.’
When there are many, I bring some. RMH_05-20-08_150
- b. (example without **x**)
Txtamt ma, pac ihyóomjc.
 RL-abundant DS some 1S.TR-DT-bring
 ‘Porque había tantos, traje algunos.’
Because there were so many, I brought some. RMH_05-20-08_151
- (305) a. www Another pair of examples xxx
- b.

- (306) **Minl quih pozátx ta x, insóoha ha.**
 2P-finger-PL the.FL IR.DP-with.glochids DS UT 2SS-IR.ID-cry AUX-DECL
 ‘Si tus dedos se llenan de alguates, llorarás.’
If your fingers get glochids in them, you will cry. RMH_05-20-08_152

More examples of **x** at the end of dependent clauses are given in §3.6.3.

This enclitic may also occur following the postposition *iti* (cf. §22.2.5) or the focus article *cah* (cf. §24.2.2) when a clause is nominalized.

- (307) **Hihíim ití x̣, ihpátj ta x, hasíilx aha.**
 1P-AON-sleep 3P-on UT 1S.IN-IR.DP-arise DS UT 1P-S-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando he dormido, cuando me levanto, iremos.’
When I have slept, when I get up, we’ll go. RMH_05-20-08_153 RRR not clear
- (308) **Ox ipácta, ox ipácta cah x̣, ...**
 thus 3P-AON-be.in.appearance thus 3P-AON-be.in.appearance the.FL-FOC UT
 ‘Era así, era así (por mucho tiempo), ...’ RMH_05-20-08_154
It was like that, it was like that ...; i.e., It was like that for a long time, ...

24.4.4 Delimiter oo

The word *oo* occurs after verbs (and other words, §24.1.1), most commonly in conjunction with another adverb such as *hax* (§24.3.1.1), *cói* *still* (§24.3.3), and *mos* *also* (§24.2.6). See the referenced sections for examples. It does not have any obvious meaning and it is proposed that its primary purpose is to indicate the scope of another adverb.³⁴ In some cases it must occur after a word in the VP that precedes the verb (see (310), for example). It obligatorily occurs with the verb for *do continually* (see §12.3 for examples).

- (309) **Cói cpanzx oo ha.**
 still SN-run DL DCL
 ‘Todavía está corriendo.’
S/he is still running. RMH_05-20-08_155
- (310) **¿Cói toox oo tahca?**
 still far DL RL-be.located
 ‘¿Está todavía lejos?’
Is it still far away? RMH_05-20-08_156
- (311) **¡Mos camx oo!**
 also IM-say DL
 ‘¡Dilo otra vez!’
Say it again! RMH_05-20-08_157 RMH_05-20-08_158 →
- (312) **¡Hax hiim oo!**
 just IM-sleep DL
 ‘¡Ciérrate los ojos un poco!’
Just close your eyes a bit!
- (313) **¡Haxz ctam cop poozój oo ta, he camjc!**
 dog male the.VT IR.DP-alone DL DS HIO IM-bring
 ‘¡Tráeme solamente el perro macho!’
Bring me only the male dog! (DS2005, cazoj) RMH_08-13-07_63a

³⁴ This morpheme does not interact phonologically with the verb stem, which is some evidence that it is not a suffix. There is paradigmatic evidence that the final *i* of the stem $\sqrt{\text{neepni}}$ *stooped* is inserted because the deletion of the root vowel before *n* (the underlying form of the root is $\sqrt{\text{neepen}}$) resulted in a final consonant cluster that is disallowed syllable-finally. The epenthesis of *i* is not blocked by the presence of the adverb *oo*: **Cói cneepni oo ha.** (still SN-stooped DL DCL) *S/he is still stooped.* Similarly, **Cói cnexöni oo ha.** (still SN-hold.in.lap DL DCL) *S/he is still holding it/her/him in his/her lap.* (The underlying form of the root in this case is $\sqrt{\text{nexon}}$.)

- (314) **Ctam fariséo quih chaa cop tfit oo, toc cõtáp, ...**
 man Pharisee the.FL SN-EQ the.VT RL-stand DL there 3IO-RL-stand
 ‘El fariseo estaba de pie, ...’
The Pharisee stood there, ... (Lk 18:11) LHC_2-06-07_193
- (315) **Iisax iize° com hax mooxp oo.**
 3P-breast the.HZ INTNS PX-white DL
 ‘Su pechuga es muy blanca.’
Its breast is very white. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 03)

24.4.5 *liha only*

The adverb *liha only, just* has a semantic relationship to the direct object or indirect object rather than to the subject unless there is no object.

- (316) **Quisíil ctam z isíiho iiha ha.**
 child male a 3:3-IR.ID-see only DCL
 ‘Tendrá sólo un niño varón.’
S/he will have only a male child. RMH_05-20-08_159
- (317) **Ctam ih imíiho iiha.**
 male FOC 3:3-PX-see only
 ‘Tiene sólo un hijo varón.’
S/he has only a son. RMH_05-20-08_160
- (318) **Quisíil ctam zo hasíiht iiha ha.**
 child male a 1PS-IR.ID-see-PL only DCL
 ‘Tendremos (lit. Veremos) sólo un niño varón.’
We will only have a male child. RMH_05-20-08_161
- (319) **Hap yaaο tazo hamíiht iiha.**
 mule.deer 3P-AON-UO.pass.by one 1PS-PX-see-PL only
 ‘Vimos la huella de un venado bura y nada más.’
We saw a mule deer's tracks and nothing else. (DS2005, iiha) RMH_05-20-08_162
- (320) **Tii toc cõquij iiha ha.**
 DDS there 3IO-SN-sit only DCL
 ‘Es el único / la única.’
It's the only one. RMH_05-20-08_163

24.5 Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs, which are not numerous, are presented according to the category of meaning that they have. Their position in the clause sentence shows some flexibility.

24.5.1 Epistemic adverbs **matix** and **poho**

The (infrequently used) epistemic adverb **matix** *perhaps* occurs clause-initially in finite clauses with a verb inflected for emphatic realis but interpreted (very interestingly) as a supposition about the immediate future.

- (321) **Matix** °áno tooit° ma, hpxoofp.
 perhaps 3P.in RL-arrive DS 1SS.IN-EM-arrive
 ‘Posiblemente llegaré en la tarde.’
Maybe I’ll arrive in the afternoon. RMH_05-20-08_164
- (322) a. **Juan quih matix hap z ixóocö.**
 the.FL perhaps mule.deer a 3:3-EM-kill
 b. **Matix Juan quih hap z ixóocö.**
 c. * **Juan quih hap zo matix ixóocö.**
 ‘Posiblemente Juan matará un venado bura.’
Maybe Juan will kill a mule deer. (a) (modified from DS2005, matix) RMH_05-20-08_165 (b) RMH_05-20-08_166
- (323) **Juan quih Hezitmísoj quij iti siih caha.**
 the.FL Hermosillo the.CM 3P-on IR.ID-be.FL AUX.SN-DCL
Matix °ziix hapámálim° z ixóoho.
 perhaps clown a 3:3-EM-see
 ‘Juan estará en Hermosillo. Tal vez verá un payaso.’
Juan will be in Hermosillo. Perhaps he will see a clown. RMH_05-20-08_167
- (324) **Juan xah Pedro xah Hezitmísoj quij iti soii caha.**
 CRD CRD Hermosillo the.CM 3P-on IR.ID-be.FL.PL AUX.SN-DCL
Pedro quih matix °ziix hapámálim° z ixóoho.
 the.FL perhaps clown a 3:3-EM-see RMH_05-20-08_168
 ‘Juan y Pedro estarán en Hermosillo. Posiblemente Pedro verá un payaso.’
Juan and Pedro will be in Hermosillo. Perhaps Pedro will see a clown.

The counterpart to **matix** in irrealis clauses, which is **poho**, is very common; it occurs following the inflected irrealis form (see §20.5), commonly eliminating the need for a modal.

- (325) **Cofteecöl himcap cöhasitooij poho.**
 San.Esteban.Island DT-VT 3IO-1PS-IR.ID-go.to-PL DOUBT
 ‘Tal vez debemos regresar a la isla San Esteban.’
Maybe we should return to San Esteban Island. RMH_05-20-08_169

The word **poho** is also used in lieu of a simple affirmative modal on realis deverbal nouns.

- (326) **Zozni haa poho x, Coniic haa poho.**
 SN.EQ DOUBT or SN.EQ DOUBT
 ‘Tal vez era Zozni, o tal vez era Coniic.’
Maybe it was Zozni, or maybe it was Coniic. (Gigante_Comelon_181-182) RRRRecording
- (327) **Tiix taax czaxö poho. — ox yaza.**
 DDS DDP SN-TR-discuss DOUBT thus DT-speak.PL
 ‘Tal vez está hablando de eso — dijeron.’
“Maybe he’s talking about that,” they said. (Mt 16:7) RMH_05-20-08_170

24.5.2 Attitudinal adverbs **mos** and **hacöa**

The adverb **mos**, which usually has the meaning *also* (see §24.2.6), sometimes occurs sentence-finally with the meaning *so, then*.³⁵

- (328) **¿Zaah ihyáa° quih imháa -ya mos?**
 watch mine the.FL SN-N-EQ QM then
 ‘Pues no es mi reloj?’
So it’s not my watch? (DS2005, mos) RMH_05-20-08_171

The somewhat uncommon adverb **hacöa** indicates surprise or sadness. It occurs sentence-finally following a clause which has the main verb in the realis form with **t-** and a clause with the rare and otherwise undescribed adverb **a**.

- (329) **Tacóhot a, hacöa.**
 RL-marvelous ? (surprise/sadness)
 ‘¡Qué maravilloso!’
How wonderful! (Offered) RMH_05-20-08_172
- (330) **Taax oo cötquimjöc, ox tcooza a, hacöa,**
 DDP DL 3IO-RL-US-think thus RL-US-speak.PL ? (surprise/sadness)
ox xah yee, ...
 thus — DT-say
 ‘Dios mío, dicen que así están pensando, ...’
Oh my, they say they are making such plans, ... (Coyote_Pinacate_19_20a)

24.5.3 Exocomparative **matix xah**

The phrase (**hax**) **matix xah** (INTNS perhaps ATTEN) *occasionally* is an adverbial phrase that modifies the sentence.

³⁵ This is somewhat reminiscent of the colloquial Spanish *pues*; it is remotely possible that this use of **mos** has been influenced by Spanish.

- (331) a. °**Hax matix xah**° tootar quih hyoohit.
occasionally chicken the.FL 1SS.TR-DT-eat
b. **Tootar quih hax matix xah** hyoohit.
'De vez en cuando como pollo.'
I occasionally eat chicken. (a) (DS2005, matix) RMH_05-20-08_173 (b) RMH_05-20-08_174
- (332) °**Matix xah**° xepe quih iteel com iti siifp ta x, ...
occasionally sea the.FL 3P-edge the.Hz 3P-on IR.ID-arrive AUX.RL UT
'De vez en cuando llega a la orilla del mar, ...'
Once in a while it comes toward shore, ... (ES2007_caanj 3.1)

24.6 Adverb phrase adverbs

Some adverbs may be modified by other adverbs.

24.6.1 Attenuator xah

The unstressed word **xah** is used as an attenuating modifier with certain adverbs. The effects of its use with these adverbs — both semantically and also morphologically — are presented in Table 24.1. The first group in the table do not show any morphological change when used with **xah**, and **halx** is unusual in this respect both semantically and morphologically when one compares what happens with other adverbs which have a consonant cluster.

- (333) ¡**Xaa xah** he camjc! (334) **Toox xah** caahca ha.
soon ATTEN IIO IM-bring far ATTEN SN-be.located DCL
'¡Tráemelo bastante pronto!' RMH_05-20-08_176 'Está bastante lejos.'
Bring it to me fairly soon. (Offered) *It is fairly distant.* (Offered) RMH_05-20-08_177
- (335) **Toox xah** cayáxi ha. (336) ... **toox xah** tayáxi ma, ...
far ATTEN SN-measure DCL far ATTEN RL-measure DS
'No ha pasado mucho tiempo.' '... por no mucho tiempo, ...'
It wasn't a long time ago. *... not for a long time, ...*
(Offered) RMH_05-20-08_178 (Gigante_Comelon_127)
- (337) **Halx xah** maapl. (338) **Halx xah** mcozim.
just ATTEN PX-cold just ATTEN PX-hot.(weather)
'Hace tanto frío.' '¡Hace tanto calor!'
It is so cold! (DS2005, halx xah < halx) RMH_08-24-07_64b *It is so hot (weather)!* RMH_08-24-07_64c
- (339) **Aamóo xah** yoohca.
lejos+MOD ATTEN DT-be.located
'Está un poco lejos.'
It is fairly far away. (DS2005, aamo) RMH_05-20-08_179

Table 24.1: Adverbs modified with attenuating modifier *xah*

xaa	<i>soon</i>	xaa xah	<i>fairly soon</i>
toox	<i>far</i>	toox xah	<i>fairly far</i>
halx	<i>just</i>	halx xah	<i>so</i>
aamo	<i>far</i>	aamóo xah	<i>fairly far</i>
cola	<i>high</i>	coláa xah	<i>fairly high</i>
colx	<i>high</i>	colax xah	<i>fairly high</i>
zimjök	<i>long time ago</i>	zimjök xah	<i>fairly long time ago</i>
anxö	INTNS	anaxö xah	<i>fairly</i> INTNS
hantáxl	<i>near</i>	hantáxal xah	<i>fairly near</i>
miizj	<i>well, carefully</i>	miizaj xah	<i>fairly well, fairly carefully</i>

- (340) **Zimajök xah yoofp.**
 long.ago+MOD ATTEN DT-arrive
 ‘Llegó hace bastante mucho tiempo.’
S/he arrived quite a while ago. (Offered) RMH_05-20-08_180

This adverb sometimes follows other words in the clause.

- (341) a. **Juan quih hacx xah zo ntica ha.**
 the.FL apart ATTEN a AW-SN-move DCL
 b. **Juan quih hacx xah zo cazquim iha.**
 the.FL apart ATTEN a SN-enter DCL
 ‘Juan debe estar lejos ahora.’
Juan must be far away now. RMH_08-24-07_58

The phrase **cmaa iiquí xah** *recently* is a combination of the attenuator **xah** with the phrase **cmaa iiqui** (not easily translated nor clearly understood).

- (342) **Cmaa iiquí xah° Hant Ihíin ihyoyái.**
 recently Baja.California 1sS.TR-DT-go.to
 ‘Hace poco viajé a Baja California.’
I recently went to Baja California. (DS2005, cmaa) RMH_05-20-08_181

Other combinations of adverbs are given in (343). The modifying adverb precedes the head, consistent with the head-final structure of the language.

- (343)
- | Modifier | Base | Combination |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| a. hax INTNS | cmaa <i>now</i> | hax cmaa <i>right now</i> |
| b. halx <i>just</i> | cooc <i>almost</i> | halx cóoc <i>soon</i> |
| c. haptco <i>already</i> | mos <i>also</i> | haptco mos <i>again already</i> |

- d. **hoox** INTNS **miizj** *well* **hoox miizj** *precisely*
 e. **hoox** INTNS **anxö** INTNS **hoox anxö** *so much*³⁶
 f. **zöö** *how much!* **anxö** INTNS **zöö anxö** *(not) so much*
- (344) **¿Zó tpaçta ma° hoox anxö intóohit?**
 why? INTNS INTNS 2SS-RL-UO-eat
 ‘¿Por qué comes tanto?’
Why do you eat so much? RMH_05-20-08_182
- (345) **¿Zöö anxö casi! coox insfisi xo tax.**
 how.much! INTNS IM-drink all 2SS-IR.ID-drink EM SBRD
 ‘¿No bebas tanto! ¿Vas a tomar todo!’
Don’t drink so much! You’re going to drink all of it! RMH_05-20-08_183

The intensifying adverb **ipi**, however, *follows* the adverb that it modifies. This adverb is discussed in more detail in §24.2.11.

- (346) **Cói miizj ipi icáatax iyomáa.**
 still well INTNS INF.IN-go 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘Todavía no puede caminar muy bien.’
S/he still can’t walk very well. RMH_05-20-08_184

24.7 Interrogative adverbs

Two interrogative adverbs occur in questions: **zímjöc** *when?* and **zó** *how?*. These are discussed in §6.2.1.4 and §6.2.1.6.

24.8 Periphrastic adverbial expressions

Besides simple adverbs, there are common but complicated ways to modify verbs using clausal expressions.

- (347) *without permission*
Hans °isoj itcázit°, haaco cop án cöyoozquim.
 just 3P-self 3:3-RL-grab ABS.house the.VT 3P.interior 3IO-DT-enter
 ‘Entró la casa sin permiso.’
S/he entered the house without permission. RMH_05-20-08_185

³⁶ This gloss does not adequately describe the range of meanings that this expression has nor the restrictions on its usage.

- (348) *surreptitiously*
 °**Misoj itcóoz°**, **án** **conyóozquim.**
 2P-self 2sS-RL-rob 3P.interior 3IO-2sS-DT-enter
 ‘Entraste la casa sin ser detectado.’
You entered the house surreptitiously. RMH_05-20-08_186
- (349) *surreptitiously*
 °**Isoj itcóoz°**, **án** **cöyoozquim.**
 3P-self 3:3-RL-steal 3P.interior 3IO-DT-enter
 ‘Entró sin ser detectado.’
S/he entered the house surreptitiously. RMH_05-20-08_187
- (350) *quickly*
 °**Hax fiqii pajoz° ta x**, **spaxi** **caha.**
 INTNS 3P-toward IR.DP-flee DS UT IR.ID-Pv-finish AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Se terminará rápido.’
It will be finished quickly. RMH_05-20-08_188

Other expressions of this type include: **Tinzáait**, ... (RL-do.with.care) *Carefully...*; **Hax tmaai oo**, ... (INTNS RL-silent DL) *Silently, ...*; **Hax taafx oo**, ... (INTNS RL-fast DL) *Quickly / Suddenly....*

Expressions for *always* and *never* are more complicated.

- (351) *always*
He hax taticpan oo, hant zo cöquij iha.
 1PRO INTNS RL-work DL place a 3IO-SN-sit DCL
 ‘Siempre estoy trabajando.’
I am always working. RMH_05-20-08_189
- (352) *never*
He hicmiiquet cah °hant ihyomáamac°.
 1PRO 1P-AON-be.person the.FL-FOC I. have.not.cooked.century.plant
 ‘Nunca he cocido maguey.’
I have never cooked maguey. (DS2005, caamac) RMH_07-11-07_25e

Adverbial notions may also be expressed with postpositional phrases or main verbs, as the following examples illustrate.

- (353) *quickly*
Hai cop intóoit ma, cöiháafx hac iti
 air the.VT TWD-RL-arrive DS 3IO-3P-AON-fast the.LC 3P-on
hoocala cötaanim ma, hant com tcooo, yicópol.
 cloud 3IO-RL-covered DS land the.Hz RL-all DT-dark RMH_05-20-08_190

‘Cuando vino el viento, muy pronto se puso nublado y toda la tierra se oscureció.’

When the wind came, it quickly got cloudy and all the earth became dark. (DS2005, caafx)

- (354) **Hast quij cōiixquim hac imacáaixaj.**
 stone the.CM 3IO-3P-AON-throw the.LC 3:3-PX-make.strong
 ‘Arrojó la piedra con fuerza.’
S/he threw the stone hard. RMH_05-20-08_191

The idea of *seldom* is expressed with a negative main verb and dependent clause that has the verb **intípa** or **intíta** (each followed by the appropriate Different Subject marker, §3.6.1) and each usually with reduced stress. These are evidently forms of the verb meaning *go*, AW-IR.DP-move and AW-RL-move, respectively. The negation usually requires the irrealis form, but if it is not immediately adjacent, the realis form may appear, as in (355). These verb forms do not change for person in this construction.

- (355) **He °ziix ccam° intíta ma hapáho zo he imháa ha.**
 1PRO animal AW-RL-move DS SN-PV-see a 1PRO SN-N-EQ DCL
 ‘Soy un animal que raramente se ve.’
I am an animal that is seldom seen. (Lagartijas 02)
- (356) **Intípa ta nyompáho.**
 AW-IR.DP-move DS 2sS-DT-N-PV-see
 ‘Raras veces te ves.’
You are seldom seen. RMH_05-20-08_192
- (357) **Intípa ta ma hyomáho.**
 AW-IR.DP-move DS 2sDO 1sS.TR-DT-N-see
 ‘No te veo con frecuencia.’
I don’t see you very often. RMH_05-20-08_193
- (358) **Intípa ta hpyomíim.** (359) **Intípa ta nyomíim.**
 AW-IR.DP-move DS 1sS.IN-DT-N-sleep AW-IR.DP-move DS 2sS-DT-N-sleep
 ‘No duermo con frecuencia.’ ‘No duermes con frecuencia.’
I seldom sleep. RMH_05-20-08_194 *You seldom sleep.* RMH_05-20-08_195
- (360) **Intípa ta yomíim.** (361) **Intípa ta yomcózim.**
 AW-IR.DP-go DS DT-N-sleep AW-IR.DP-go DS DT-N-hot.weather
 ‘No duerme con frecuencia.’ ‘Casi nunca hace calor.’ RMH_05-20-08_197
S/he seldom sleeps. RMH_05-20-08_196 *It is hardly ever hot (weather).*
- (362) **He ziix intípa ta quiim z imháa ha.**
 1PRO thing AW-IR.DP-go DS SN-sleep a SN-N-EQ DCL
 ‘Soy uno que no duerme con poca frecuencia.’
I am one who seldom sleeps. RMH_05-20-08_198