

## 20. Auxiliaries and modals

A number of small words — some stressed and some not stressed — occur in various constructions with very important uses that are nonetheless not always easily described or classified. In this grammar some of them are referred to as auxiliaries and some are referred to as modals. In some constructions these two categories of words co-occur, in the order Auxiliary – Modal (§20.5 for some examples).

The words called auxiliaries do not form a homogeneous class. They are for the most part short words — some would call them particles — that subcategorize for special verb forms and are used in a limited number of constructions. These constructions are important to understand, in part because they are so very common.

The words called modals tend to indicate declarative mood vs. interrogative mood, but they also sometimes conflate tense.

The auxiliaries and modals always follow the words to which they relate which in some cases may be thought of as their complements.

There are two types of auxiliaries: those which give a nominal output and those which give a verbal output. These are taken up in that order below.

### 20.1 Auxiliaries as verbs

The words **paa** and **taa** are presumably dependent irrealis and dependent realis forms of the same verb (glossed ‘be’ here) in the following examples. They typically are unstressed, however, and the vowel is subsequently shortened phonetically. They are followed by Different Subject markers (§3.6.1) like verbs of other clauses.

- (1) ... **taax icmís** °**hax pahíi°** **hax paa** **ta x,** ...  
 DDP 3:3-SN-TR-resemble it.will.seem just IR.DP-be DS UT  
 ‘... será como eso, ...’  
*... it will be like that, ...* (Mt 3:12) XMH\_08-15-07\_46b
- (2) ... — **cōpamiit** **hax pàa** **ta,** ...  
 3:3-IR.DP-ask.about just IR.DP-be DS  
*... — perhaps he asked about her, ...* (Dos\_Hermanos\_66 excerpt)
- (3) [ **Zaah yah zo** ] **toc cōtap,** **hax taa ma,**  
 sun/day — a there 3IO-RL-stand just RL-be DS  
 ‘Un día, ...’  
*One day, ...* RMH\_5-20-08\_46

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**Table 20.1: Nominal-forming auxiliaries**

	Subcategorizes for ...
<b>ha</b> (with variants <b>haa</b> and <b>a</b> )	inflected irrealis
<b>ca</b> (with variants <b>que</b> and <b>quee</b> )	stripped irrealis

- (4) **Miizj taa ma, he iyáamx.**  
 well/correctly RL-be DS IIO 3:3-DT-tell  
 ‘Me lo dijo correctamente.’  
*S/he told me correctly.* RRR

## 20.2 Nominal-forming auxiliaries

The nominal-forming auxiliaries **ha** and **ca** (Table 20.1) subcategorize for a verbal form and give a nominal output. The main reason for saying that there is a nominal output is that the form may then occur with the Declarative modal **ha** or the Question modal **-ya**, modals which otherwise only occur following nominals (see §20.5).

These auxiliaries subcategorize for independent irrealis forms (formed with **si-**, §17.1.1.3), but two types of forms are used. The auxiliary **ha** takes an ordinary inflected independent irrealis form. The auxiliary **ca** takes a “stripped” irrealis form which omits the subject inflection (§10.4.5).

### 20.2.1 Auxiliary **ha** (and variants **haa** and **a**)

The auxiliary **ha** has a fairly wide distribution, which makes it a bit complicated to explain. In addition, it has three common allomorphs: **ha**, **haa**, and **a**; these are described below. This auxiliary does not have any obvious semantic content.

Besides its nominal-forming function, the auxiliary **ha** also simply occurs with irrealis deverbal nouns in relative clauses; these are described in §20.2.1.3.

#### 20.2.1.1 Irrealis verbs in irrealis independent clauses

The auxiliary **ha** is commonly used to form a normal independent irrealis clause. The irrealis form that occurs with it is fully inflected for person. A modal must follow the auxiliary in order to complete the clause when it is not embedded (see §20.2.1.2). The choice of modal affects the exact form of the auxiliary: either unstressed **a** or **ha**, or stressed **haa**.

- (5) Auxiliary with basic modals (§20.5)  
 a. AUX-DCL        **a-ha**<sup>1</sup>        (Declarative mood)  
 b. AUX-QM        **haa-ya**        (Interrogative mood)
- Auxiliary with special declarative modal (§20.7)  
 c. AUX DCL        **haa hi**        (Declarative mood)
- Auxiliary with past tense modal (§20.6)  
 d. AUX PAST        **ha fihi**        (Declarative mood)

The examples below underscore the subject inflection on the irrealis form, to make clear that the form is the fully-inflected type; the auxiliary is also underscored in each example.<sup>2</sup>

*Examples with basic declarative modal*

- (6) Insiitax    aha.  
 2sS-IR.ID-go AUX-DCL  
 ‘Debes ir.’  
*You should go.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_42
- (7) Hipiix    ihsiihit        aha.        (8) Sheel    aha.  
 DPS    1sS.TR-IR.ID-eat AUX-DCL        IR.ID-red AUX-DCL RMH\_11-28p-07\_46  
 ‘Comeré éste/a.’        ‘Debe hacerse rojo/roja’  
*I will eat this one.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_43        *It should be/become red.*
- (9) Minl        quih    pozátx        ta x,    insóoha    ha.  
 2P-finger-PL the.FL IR.DP-have.glochids DS UT 2sS-IR.ID-cry AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si tus dedos se llenan de alguates, vas a llorar.’ RMH\_08-13-07\_40b RMH\_11-28p-07\_44  
*If your fingers get glochids in them, you will cry.* (Consejos\_choya\_03)
- (10) Inscméxl    aha.        (11) Inscméxl    aha.  
 2sS-IR.ID-N-take AUX-DCL        2sS-IR.ID-N-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘¡No lo debes agarrar!’        ‘¡No lo debes comprar!’  
*You shouldn’t grab it!* RMH\_11-28p-07\_45        *You shouldn’t buy it!* RMH\_05-20-08\_18

<sup>1</sup> After a verb ending in an unstressed **a**, the allomorph **a** of the auxiliary is not distinctly perceived. As a result, the dictionary committee decided to not even write that vowel. See the verb in (9), for example. Some speakers actually drop the auxiliary vowel (phonetically) when it is preceded by other vowels, and prefer to write the examples with the truncated form. These examples are nevertheless still glossed with AUX in this grammar in order to make the facts clear.

<sup>2</sup> Intransitive verbs with third person subject have inflected irrealis forms that are homophonous with stripped irrealis forms since subject inflection for third person is null.

*Examples with basic question modal*

- (12) **¿Insíitax haa -ya?**  
 2SS-IR.ID-go AUX QM  
 ‘¿Piensas ir?’  
*Are you (thinking about, planning on) going?* RMH\_05-20-08\_19
- (13) **¿Ihpsíitax haa -ya?**  
 1SS.IN-IR.ID-go AUX QM  
 ‘¿Debo ir?’  
*Shall I go?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_47
- (14) **Impáacat x, ¿toox insíizquim haa -ya?**  
 2SS-IR.DP-swim UT far 2SS-IR.ID-enter AUX QM  
 ‘¿Vas a nadar lejos?’  
*Are you going to swim out far?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_48
- (15) **¿Áz insíihit haa -ya?**  
 what? 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX QM  
 ‘¿Qué vas a comer?’  
*What are you going to eat?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_49

*Examples with special declarative modal*

- (16) **Másiht haa hi.**  
 2pS-IR.ID-see-PL AUX DCL  
 ‘Ustedes lo/la van a ver.’ (pequeña duda)  
*You (pl.) will see him/her/it. (some doubt)* RMH\_11-28p-07\_50
- (17) **Ihpsánim haa hi.**  
 1SS.IN-IR.ID-wash.hair AUX DCL  
 ‘Me voy a lavar el cabello.’ (pequeña duda)  
*I will wash my hair. (some doubt)* RMH\_11-28p-07\_51
- (18) **Hin satóosiploj haa hi.**  
 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX DCL RMH\_11-28p-07\_52  
 ‘Posiblemente tienen la intención de fotografiarme (sin permiso).’  
*They might have the intention of taking pictures me (without permission).*
- (19) **He hin satóosiploj haa hi.**  
 1PRO 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX DCL RMH\_11-28p-07\_53  
 ‘Posiblemente tienen la intención de fotografiarme A Mí (sin permiso).’  
*They might have the intention of taking pictures ME (without permission).*

**Examples with past tense modal**

- (20) **İhsüicatx ha fihi, ihyatıçpan hac.**  
 1S.Tr-IR.ID-abandon AUX PAST 1P-AON-work the.LC  
 ‘He pensado en dejar mi trabajo.’  
*I have thought about quitting my job.* (Offered) RMH\_11-28p-07\_54

An irrealis form with the auxiliary **ha** always indicates some matter of the will, as the translations of the preceding examples illustrate. If such a reading cannot be obtained, the phrase is nonsensical.

- (21) %\* **Scozim aha.**  
 IR.ID-hot.(weather) AUX-DCL

Independent clauses with an inflected future may use other words instead of the auxiliary plus modal combinations described here. These are described in §17.1.1.3.

**20.2.1.2 Embedded irrealis clauses**

When an inflected independent future clause is presented as an indirect quotation, the auxiliary **ha** appears without any modal.<sup>3</sup>

- (22) a. **Poyáam ta, iséxl ha, teeme.**  
 IR.DP-later DS 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX PX-say  
 b. \* **Poyáam ta sexl ca teeme.**  
 IR.ID-buy AUX.SN

‘Dijo que lo/los comprará más tarde.’  
*S/he<sub>i</sub> said that s/he<sub>i</sub> will buy it/them later.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_55

- (23) a. **María quih poyáam ta iséxl ha, teeme.**  
 the.FL IR.DP-later DS 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX PX-say  
 b. **Poyáam ta María quih iséxl ha, teeme.**  
 c. **Poyáam ta iséxl ha, teeme, María quih.**  
 d. \* **Poyáam ta iséxl ha, María quih teeme.**

‘María dijo que lo/los comprará más tarde.’  
*Maria said that she will buy it/them later.* (a) RMH\_11-28p-07\_56 (b) RMH\_11-28p-07\_57 (c) RMH\_11-28p-07\_59

<sup>3</sup> When it follows a consonant, it is phonetically **a** although it is still written as **ha**.

- (24) **Poyáam ta, iséxl ha, teete, teeme.**  
 IR.DP-later DS 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX RL-say PX-say  
 ‘Dijo que dijo que lo/los comprará más tarde.’  
*S/he said that s/he said that s/he will buy it/them later.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_58
- (25) a. **Poyáam ta, Juan quih iséxl ha, teeme, María quih.**  
 IR.DP-later DS the.FL 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX PX-say the.FL  
 b. \* **María quih poyáam ta Juan quih iséxl ha, teeme.**  
 ‘María dijo que Juan lo/los comprará más tarde.’  
*Maria said that John will buy it/them later.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_60
- (26) **Hita quih somcapjoée ha, teeme.**  
 IP-mother the.FL IR.ID-N-US-gossip AUX PX-say  
 ‘Mi madre dijo que uno no debe chismear.’  
*My mother said that one should not gossip.* (DS2005, capjoée, improved) RMH\_11-28p-07\_62
- (27) **Consacáaixaj ha, teemyo.**  
 3IO-2sS-IR.ID-cause.hard AUX PX-say-PL  
 ‘Dicen que recibas sus saludos.’  
*They say that you should receive their greetings.* (DS2005, cacáaixaj) RMH\_11-28p-07\_63 long ee fix
- (28) ... **ihpsíij ha, tete.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-UO-fetch.water AUX RL-say  
 ‘..., dijo que le deba ... conseguir agua.’  
*..., he said that I should ... fetch water.* (DS2005, católec) RMH\_11-28p-07\_64
- (29) **Cmíique zo cöjscmaquéexot ha, teeye.**  
 person a 3IO-3:3-IR.ID-N-cause.listen AUX DT-say  
 ‘Dijo que no dejaría a otra persona escucharlo.’  
*He said that he wouldn't let an other person listen.* (DS2005, cöcqueexot, improved) RMH\_11-28p-07\_65
- (30) **Ihpsíifp ha, heye.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-arrive AUX 1sS-DT-say  
 ‘Dije que voy a llegar.’  
*I said that I would arrive.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_66

### 20.2.1.3 Deverbal nouns

The irrealis deverbal nouns (§14.5) also require an auxiliary, and the auxiliary **ha** is used in many situations with these.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It may be the presence of **xah** in the following examples which causes **ha** to not appear.

- (i) [ **Isíha xah quih** ] **haa yoohca.**  
 3P-IR.ID-fast — the.FL there DT-be.located  
 ‘Aparentemente va a ser rápido.’ / *Apparently it is going to be very fast.* RMH\_08-24-07\_112b

*Irrealis complement clauses*

The action/oblique-oriented deverbal noun in the irrealis mood occurs in a determiner phrase which is the argument of another verb. These deverbal nouns all show person of subject via possessor prefixes. These irrealis mood phrases are bracketed in the examples below.

- (31) [ **He** **ziix** **iti** **hoyácj** **zo** **cöhsjéaatim** **ha** **z** ]  
 1PRO thing 3P-on 1P-ON-call.sibling a 3IO-1P-IR.ID-hit-IMPF AUX a  
**iti** **cöima** **ha.**  
 3P-on 3IO-SN-N-be DCL  
 ‘Nunca pegaré a mi hermano.’  
*I will never hit my brother.* (DS2005, coha) RMH\_11-28p-07\_67
- (32) [ **Isaziim** **ha** **quih** ] **cöiyáazquim.**  
 3P-IR.ID-pleasant AUX the.FL 3IO-3:3-DT-surpass  
 ‘Va a ser muy hermoso/a.’  
*It will be prettier.* (DS2005, caazquim) RMH\_08-24-07\_112a
- (33) **Ipca°** **quih** **miixaj** **yax**, [ **issámlla** **ha** **quih** ] **cöimáazquim.**  
 rain the.FL PX-strong because 3P-IR.ID-lightning AUX the.FL 3IO-3:3-PX-surpass  
 ‘A causa de la lluvia fuerte, va a haber mucho relámpago.’ (DS2005, caazquim, improved translation)  
*Because of the heavy rainstorm, it looks like there is going to be lots of lightning.*
- (34) **Pedro** **quih** **contipa** **ta**, [ **canóaa** **zo** **cöjsáai** **ha** **zo** ]  
 the.FL 3IO-AW-IR.DP-move DS boat a 3IO-3P-IR.ID-make AUX a  
**htcmaa** **ho.**  
 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL  
 ‘No sé cuando Pedro va a hacer una panga.’  
*I don’t know when Pedro’s going to make a boat.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_69
- (35) **Contipa** **ta**, [ **hisiifp** **ha** **zo** ] **htcmaa** **ho.**  
 3IO-AW-IR.DP-move DS 1P-IR.ID-arrive AUX a 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL  
 ‘No sé cuando voy a llegar.’  
*I don’t know when I’m going to come.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_70
- (36) ... [ **°hacx** **cöjsahmíihit°** **ha** **z** ] **iti** **imáhca** **ha**, ...  
 apart 3IO-3P-IR.ID-PV-cause.die AUX a 3P-on SN-N-be.located DCL  
 ‘... no había razón para que sea matado, ...’  
*... there was no reason for him to be killed, ...* (DS2005, hapácta) RMH\_11-28p-07\_71

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- (ii) [ **Ihmáa** **xah** **pac** **isízcám** **xah** **quih** ] **haa** **yooorca.**  
 other — some 3P-IR.ID-arrive.PL — the.FL there DT-be.located  
 ‘Aparentemente otros más van a llegar.’ / *Apparently others are going to arrive.* RMH\_08-24-07\_112c

**Relative clauses**

A subject relative clause headed by a (subject-oriented) irrealis deverbal noun (§14.5) — a stripped irrealis in that it does not bear subject inflection (§17.1.2.1) — requires the auxiliary **ca** (see §20.2.2).

- (37) **Zixcám spahit ca com, ¿zó hant ano coom -ya?**  
 fish IR.ID-PV-eat AUX.SN the.HZ which? place 3P.in SN-lie QM  
 ‘¿Dónde está el pescado que se va a comer?’  
*Where is the fish that will be eaten?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_72
- (38) **Ctam soos ca quih, ¿háqui tiih?**  
 man IR.ID-sing AUX.SN the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL  
 ‘¿Dónde está el hombre que va a cantar?’  
*Where is the man who is going to sing?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_73
- (39) **Ziix cöspoin ca zo haquix imíih iha.**  
 thing 3IO-IR.ID-close AUX.SN a there SN-N-be.FL DCL  
 ‘No hay nadie que lo/la cerrará.’  
*There isn’t anyone who will close it.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_111
- (40) **Ziix ma ssacj ca zo haquix imíih iha.**  
 thing 2SDO IR.ID-carry.on.back AUX.SN a there SN-N-be.FL DCL  
 ‘No hay nadie que te llevará.’  
*There isn’t anyone who will carry you.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_118
- (41) **..., °ziix quii sax° sexl ca zo htcmaa ho.**  
 person IR.ID-buy AUX.SN a 1S.TR-RL-N-know DCL  
 ‘..., no conozco a nadie que lo compre.’  
*..., I don’t know anyone who will buy it.* (DS2005, quitalháa) RRR again
- (42) **..., cmaam quisil° quih cössaxazim ca ticop hin yooxpx.**  
 woman child the.FL 3IO-IR.ID-hit-IMPF AUX.SN MD-VT 1SDO DT-be.mad.at  
 ‘..., la mujer que iba a pegar el niño se enojó conmigo’ RMH\_11-28p-07\_114  
*..., the woman who was going to hit the child got mad at me.* (DS2005, cahójoz)
- (43) **Ma sacóoxat ca quih yoofp.**  
 2SDO IR.ID-help.care.for.baby AUX.SN the.FL DT-arrive  
 ‘El/la que te ayudará a cuidar el bebé ha llegado.’  
*The one who will help you care for the baby has arrived.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_115
- (44) **Cmaam soos ca cop he hoyácj iha.**  
 woman IR.ID-sing AUX.SN the.VT 1PRO 1P-ON-call.sibling DCL  
 ‘La mujer que cantará es mi hermana.’  
*The woman who will sing is my sister.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_116

- (45) **Canóaa siifp i ca com he hyaa° ha.**  
 boat IR.ID-arrive first AUX.SN the.HZ 1PRO mine DCL  
 ‘La panga que llegará primero es mía.’  
*The boat that will arrive first is mine.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_117

A direct object relative clause headed by an inflected irrealis form (§14.5) requires the auxiliary **ha**.

- (46) **imám quih °hant coh̄sahéectim° ha coi**  
 3P-fruit the.FL land 3IO-1sS.TR-IR.ID-? AUX the.PL  
 ‘la fruta que voy a transportar’  
*the fruit that I am going to transport.* (DS2005, cōcah̄éectim) RMH\_10-16-07\_06
- (47) **°ziix ccam°quih is̄icō ha com**  
 animal the.FL 3:3-IR.ID-kill AUX the.HZ  
 ‘el animal que iba a matar’  
*the animal that he was going to kill* (DS2005, inóosj) RMH\_11-28p-07\_74
- (48) **eenim ihséxl ha cop**  
 knife 1sS.TR-IR.ID-buy AUX the.VT  
 ‘el cuchillo que yo iba a comprar’  
*the knife that I was going to buy* (DS2005, catéelot) RMH\_11-28p-07\_75
- (49) **hant hasáait ha tintica**  
 land 1PS-IR.ID-travel.PL AUX MD-AW  
 ‘el camino en que viajaremos’  
*the road that we are going to travel on* (DS2005, ha) RMH\_11-28p-07\_76

Other irrealis relative clauses take an action/oblique-oriented irrealis deverbal noun (§14.5) which has the subject expressed as possessor.

- (50) **ziix misoquéepe ha zo**  
 thing 2P-IR.ID-comfortable AUX a  
 ‘algo con que estarás cómodo/a.’  
*something with which you will be comfortable!* (DS2005, coquéepe) RMH\_11-28p-07\_77
- (51) **zixquisiil° quij hasítj° iti isom ha zo**  
 child the.CM cradleboard 3P-on 3P-IR.ID-lie AUX a  
 ‘una cuna en que el/la bebé puede estar’  
*a cradleboard for the baby to lie on.* (DS2005, cstij) RMH\_11-28p-07\_78
- (52) **hant quih iti isaticpan ha tahac**  
 land the.FL 3P-on 3P-IR.ID-work AUX MD-LC  
 ‘el lugar donde trabajaría(n)’  
*the place where s/he/they would work.* (DS2005, cōcaaix) RMH\_11-28p-07\_79

## 20.2.2 Auxiliary **ca** (and variants **quee** and **que**)

### 20.2.2.1 Irrealis verbs in independent clauses

The auxiliary **ca** subcategorizes for a stripped irrealis complement — an irrealis form without subject person inflection. A modal must follow the auxiliary in order to complete the clause when it is not embedded (see §20.5). The choice of modal affects the exact form of the auxiliary: either unstressed **ca** or stressed **quee**.

- (53) Auxiliary with basic modals (§20.5)
- |    |            |                            |                      |
|----|------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | AUX.SN-DCL | <b>ca-ha</b>               | (Declarative mood)   |
| b. | AUX.SN-QM  | <b>quee<sup>5</sup>-ya</b> | (Interrogative mood) |
- Auxiliary with special declarative modal (§20.7)
- |    |            |                |                    |
|----|------------|----------------|--------------------|
| c. | AUX.SN DCL | <b>quee hi</b> | (Declarative mood) |
|----|------------|----------------|--------------------|
- Auxiliary followed by other elements (§20.4.1, §20.6)
- |    |                       |                          |                    |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| d. | AUX.SN <i>perhaps</i> | <b>ca poho</b>           | (Declarative mood) |
| e. | AUX.SN PAST/FUTURE    | <b>ca iihī, ca siihi</b> | (Declarative mood) |

Unlike the irrealis clauses formed with the auxiliary **ha** (§20.2.1.1), those with **ca** do not indicate anything relating to one's will. They are just “matter-of-fact” irrealis clauses.

#### *Examples with basic declarative modal*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(54) <b>Siifp</b> <b>caha.</b><br/>         IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN-DCL<br/>         ‘Llegará.’<br/> <i>S/he/it will arrive.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_80</p>                            | <p>(55) <b>He siifp</b> <b>caha.</b><br/>         1PRO IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN -DCL<br/>         ‘Llegaré.’<br/> <i>I will arrive.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_81</p>      |
| <p>(56) <b>He siizcam</b> <b>caha.</b><br/>         1PRO IR.ID-arrive-PL AUX.SN -DCL<br/>         ‘Llegaremos.’<br/> <i>We will arrive.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_82</p>                | <p>(57) <b>He ma siiho</b> <b>caha.</b><br/>         1PRO 2sDO IR.ID-see AUX.SN-DCL<br/>         ‘Te verá.’<br/> <i>I will see you.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_83</p> |
| <p>(58) <b>Tiix siiho</b> <b>caha.</b><br/>         DDS IR.ID-see AUX.SN -DCL<br/>         ‘Ése/a lo(s)/la(s) verá.’<br/> <i>S/he will see him/her/it.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_84</p> |  |

<sup>5</sup> Because of its similarity to the intransitive verb *say* (the subject-oriented deverbal noun form of which is **quee**), and because verbs of saying are used as auxiliaries in some Yuman languages (see Langdon 1970:167), M. Moser (1978:XX) suggests that this auxiliary in Seri may also have this etymology. The account given in this grammar sees it as more closely related to **ca**.

*Examples with basic question modal*

- (59) ¿Me siifp quee-ya?  
 2PRO IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN-QM  
 ‘Was a llegar?’  
*Will you arrive?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_85
- (60) ¿Juan quih zímjōc siifp quee-ya?  
 the.FL when? IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN-QM  
 ‘¿Cuándo llegará Juan?’  
*When is Juan coming?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_86
- (61) ¿Cmaax me moosni quih oo smaai quee-ya?  
 now 2PRO turtle the.FL DL IR.ID-N-make AUX.SN-QM  
 ‘¿No vas a cazar caguama ahora?’  
*Aren't you going turtle hunting now?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_87

*Examples with special declarative modal*

- (62) He hap ináail he siiox quee hi.  
 1PRO mule.deer 3P-skin 1PRO IR.ID-scrape AUX.SN DCL  
 ‘Voy a raspar una piel de venado.’  
*I am going to scrape a deer skin.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_88
- (63) He saanpx quee hi.  
 1PRO IR.ID-return.home AUX.SN DCL  
 ‘Regresaré a casa.’  
*I'm going home.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_89

*Examples with poho*

- (64) Siitax ca poho.  
 IR.ID-go AUX.SN DOUBT  
 ‘Tal vez irá.’  
*Maybe s/he/it will go.* (DS2005, poho) RMH\_11-28p-07\_90

*Examples with siihi and iih*

- (65) Soos ca iih.  
 IR.ID-sing AUX.SN PAST  
 ‘Iba a cantar.’ RMH\_11-28p-07\_91  
*S/he was going to sing.*
- (66) Soos ca siihi.  
 IR.ID-sing AUX.SN FUTURE  
 ‘A ver si va a cantar.’ RMH\_11-28p-07\_92  
*I wonder if s/he's going to sing.*
- (67) ¿Zímjōc siifp ca siihi?  
 when? IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN FUTURE  
 ‘¿Cuándo será que va a llegar?’  
*When will s/he/it arrive?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_93

### 20.2.2.2 Embedded irrealis clauses

A stripped irrealis future clause can appear as an indirect quotation with the auxiliary **ca** without any modal.

- (68) **Siifp ca, teeme.**  
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN PX-say  
 ‘Dijo/dice que llegará.’  
*S/he said/says that s/he/it will arrive.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_94
- (69) **Tiix sahóocj ca, teeme.**  
 DDS IR.ID-make.two AUX.SN PX-say  
 ‘Dice que va a tener gemelos.’  
*She says that she is going to have twins.* (DS2005, cahóocj) RMH\_11-28p-07\_95
- (70) **... hizi saaipotim ca, teeme.**  
 1PDO IR.ID-pay AUX.SN PX-say  
 ‘Dice que nos pagará.’  
*S/he said/says that she will pay us.* (DS2005, cyaxi) RMH\_11-28p-07\_96
- (71) **Siifp ca, heye xo yomáfp.**  
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN 1sS-DT-say but DT-N-arrive  
 ‘Dije que ella llegaría pero no llegó.’  
*I said that s/he would arrive.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_97
- (72) **Smaapxalcoj ca, teeyo.**  
 IR.ID-N-move-PL AUX.SN DT-say-PL  
 ‘Dicen que no se van a mudar.’  
*They said that they are not going to move away.* (DS2005, caapxtim) RMH\_11-28p-07\_98
- (73) **He °ziix hamoz hamquéet° z iti cöspacta ca,**  
 1PRO sadness a 3P-on 3IO-IR.ID-be.in.appearance AUX.SN  
**mecyo.**  
 PX-US-say-PL  
 ‘Dicen que voy a tener mucha tristeza.’  
*They say that I am going to have a lot of sadness.* (DS2005, zix hamoz hamquéet) RMH\_11-28p-07\_99
- (74) **... °hacx smiih° ca, xah tamoz x.**  
 apart IR.ID-not.be.FL AUX.SN — RL-think UT  
 ‘... pensó que iba a morir.’  
*... s/he thought s/he was going to die.* (DS2005, ccapzx) RMH\_11-28p-07\_100
- (75) **He °hacx smiih° ca, xah hpyoomoz.**  
 1PRO apart IR.ID-not.be.FL AUX.SN — 1sS.IN-DT-think  
 ‘Pensé que yo iba a morir.’  
*I thought I was going to die.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_101

- (76) °**Hacx smiih°**      **ca**      **xah hpyoomoz.**  
 apart IR.ID- not.be.FL AUX.SN — 1SS.IN-DT-think  
 ‘Pensé que ella/él iba a morir.’  
*I thought that s/he was going to die.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_102
- (77) **Hita he** °**hacx smiih°**      **ca**      **xah yoomoz.**  
 1P-mother 1PRO apart IR.ID- not.be.FL AUX.SN — DT-think  
 ‘Mi madre pensó que yo iba a morir.’  
*My mother thought I was going to die.* (DS2005, cqueemj) RMH\_11-28p-07\_103

### 20.2.2.3 Irrealis complement clauses

The subject-oriented irrealis form followed by **ca** may be a subject complement or adjunct of another verb. In this usage, there is no article present — perhaps to distinguish these clearly from subject relative clauses.

- (78) **Cmaax** [ **imám smam ca** ]      **toc cōyooorca.**  
 now 3P-fruit IR.ID-ripe AUX.SN there 3IO-DT-be.located  
 ‘Pronto su fruta estará madura.’  
*Its fruit will be ripe soon.* (DS2005, quiyoz) RMH\_11-28p-07\_104
- (79) ..., [ **he cmaax socácj ca** ]      **hiz cohpmíj.**  
 1PRO now IR.ID-UO-chip AUX.SN here 3IO-1SS.IN-PX-sit  
 ‘..., ahora voy a hacer una figura.’  
*..., now I am going to carve (an ironwood figure).* (DS2005, cocácj) RMH\_11-28p-07\_105
- (80) [ **Xepe com siixi ca** ]      **toc comom.**  
 sea the.HZ IR.ID-end AUX.SN there 3IO-PX-lie  
 ‘La marea estará baja.’  
*The tide will be low.* (DS2005, quixi) RMH\_11-28p-07\_106
- (81) **Poofp x,** [ **saticpan ca** ]      **haquix miih.**  
 IR.DP-arrive UT IR.ID-work AUX.SN there PX-be.FL  
 ‘Cuando viene, trabajará.’  
*When she comes, she is going to work.* (DS2005, caticpan) RMH\_11-28p-07\_107
- (82) [ **He ox mazi seaam ca** ]      **hiz cohmat.**  
 1PRO thus 2PDO IR.ID-tell-PL AUX.SN here 3IO-1PS-TWD-PX-move-PL  
 ‘Hemos venido para decirles eso.’  
*We have come to tell you that.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_108

This auxiliary has the allomorph **que** when it occurs before any form of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{mis}}$  *resemble*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This variant was not well documented until fairly recently.

- (83) [ **Saapl que** ] **ipomís ta x, insicápota ha.**  
 IR.ID-cold AUX.SN 3:3-IR.DP-resemble DS UT 2SS-IR.ID-HAVE-jacket AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si parece que va a hacer frío, debes ponerte una chaqueta.’ RMH\_11-28p-07\_109  
*If it seems like it is going to be cold weather, you should put on a jacket.* (DS2005, que)
- (84) **Haxz heeque [ saacoj que ] cmis cap**  
 dog juvenile IR.ID-big AUX.SN SN-Tr-resemble the.VT  
**ihséxl aha.**  
 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘Compraré el perrito que parece que va a crecer.’  
*I will buy the puppy that looks like it is going to grow big.* (DS2005, que) RMH\_11-28p-07\_110

### 20.3 Auxiliaries with verbal output

The auxiliaries discussed in this section affect the interpretation but not the category of the word that they follow.

#### 20.3.1 Auxiliaries **pi** and **ta**

The (unstressed) auxiliaries **pi** (AUX.IR) and **ta** (AUX.RL) subcategorize for inflected independent irrealis complements; they do not affect the argument structure of the clause. Compare the following examples.

- (85) a. **Poofp (ta), ...** ‘Cuando llega, ...’  
 IR.DP-arrive DS *When s/he arrives, ...*
- b. **Poofp (ta) x, ...** ‘Si llega, ...’  
 IR.DP-arrive DS UT *If s/he/it arrives, ...*
- c. **Siifp pi (ta) x, ...** ‘Si va a llegar’  
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.IR DS UT *If s/he is going to arrive, ...*  
 (tomorrow or later)
- d. **Siifp ta (ma) x, ...** ‘Cuando iba a llegar, ...’  
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.RL DS UT *When s/he was going to arrive, ...’*

The forms of these auxiliaries parallel the medial irrealis (**po-**, §17.1.1.1) and medial realis (**t-**, §17.1.1.5) forms in the language, and they are analogous in their function. A clause with them is a dependent clause and is marked for Different Subject (§3.6) or not, as appropriate.

In some cases a clause embedded under **pi** might be translated *if it will be the case that ...*, and one embedded under **ta** *if it was the case that ...*, although such literal translations are not

usually the most appropriate.<sup>7</sup> Also see the use of these auxiliaries in purpose clauses (§3.4.2).

*Examples with pi*

- (86) **Hascáma scaap pi x, ...**  
 in.balsa IR.ID-US-stand AUX.IR UT  
 ‘Si uno va a cazar caguama, ...’  
*If one goes hunting for sea turtle, ...* RMH\_11-28p-07\_119
- (87) **Ziix zo nsiihit pi x, insonéaax aha.**<sup>8</sup>  
 thing a 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX.IR UT 2SS-IR.ID-wash.hands AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si va a comer algo, lávate las manos (antes de comer).’  
*If you are going to eat something, wash your hands (first).* RMH\_05-20-08\_27
- (88) **Juan quih siifp pi ta x, he mos siifp caha.**  
 the.FL IR.ID-arrive AUX.IR DS UT 1PRO also IR.ID-arrive AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si llegará Juan, yo también llegaré.’  
*If Juan will be arriving, I will also arrive.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_120
- (89) **Ziix zo nsiihit pi ta x, ma hsiix aha.**  
 thing a 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX.IR DS UT 2SDO 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-go.away.from AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si vas a comer algo, me apartaré de ti.’  
*If you are going to eat something, I’ll leave you.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_121
- (90) **Insahípot pi ta x, xaa nsiiifp aha.**  
 2SS-IR.ID-PV-pay AUX.IR DS UT soon 2SS-IR.ID-arrive AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si te van a pagar, debes llegar pronto.’  
*If you are going to be paid, you should arrive early.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_122

<sup>7</sup> The word **peetx** is recorded in the 2005 dictionary as a variant of **pix**. This word conflates the auxiliary **pi** and the archaic conjunction **tx**. Both the word **tx** and **peetx** (or **pee tx**, as it might be written) are not used today. The word **pee** also appears as a variant of **pi** in the following example, apparently. This has not been studied in detail.

- (iii) **¡Ziix zonsiihit pi/pee ta oo sahii tee!**  
 thing a 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX.IR AUX.RL DL IR.ID-PV-feel RHET  
 ¡No vas a comer nada! / *You’re not going to eat anything!* RMH\_11-28p-07\_131b

<sup>8</sup> Compare this with the following example that has the simple dependent irrealis in the protasis.

- (iv) **Ziix zo mpoohit x, insonéaax aha.**  
 thing a 2SS-IR.DP-eat UT 2SS-IR.ID-wash.hands AUX-DCL RMH\_05-20-08\_26  
 ‘Si comes algo, lávate las manos (después). / *If you eat something, wash your hands (afterwards).*

*Examples with ta*

- (91) **Soohitim ta ma, ctam ihmáa quih yoofp.**  
 IR.ID-UO-eat-IMPF AUX.RL DS man other the.FL DT-arrive  
 ‘Cuando estaba por comer, el otro hombre llegó.’  
*When s/he was going to eat, the other man arrived.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_123
- (92) **Ihpsóos ta ma, naapxa zo hant mooit.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-sing AUX.RL DS turkey.vulture a land PX-arrive  
 ‘Cuando yo estaba por cantar, un zopilote aterrizó.’  
*When I was about to sing, a turkey vulture landed.* RMH\_05-20-08\_23

The clause with the auxiliary may be embedded as an indirect quote.

- (93) a. **María quih siifp xah ta, hemyo.**  
 the.FL IR.ID-arrive — AUX.RL 1pS-PX-say-PL  
 b. **Siifp xah ta, hemyo, María quih.**  
 ‘Dijimos que María vendrá.’  
*We said that Maria will/would come.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_125
- (94) **Siifp ta, teepe áa, siifp aha.**  
 IR.ID-arrive AUX.RL IR.ID-say really IR.ID-arrive AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si de veras dice que vendrá, vendrá.’  
*If s/he really says s/he will come, s/he will come.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_124
- (95) **Hasocóozx xah ta, hetyo, ...**  
 1pS-IR.ID-UO-steal-PL — AUX.RL 1pS-RL-say-PL  
 ‘Dijimos que robaríamos, ...’  
*We said that we would rob, ...* RMH\_11-28p-07\_126
- (96) **Him caazi° quij ihpsaticpan ta him miih.**  
 1sDO SN-Tr-carry the.CM 1sS.IN-IR.ID-work AUX.RL 1sDO PX-say  
 ‘Mi padre me dijo que trabajara.’  
*My father told me to work.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_127
- (97) a. **Juan quih °hant poffi ta° hasóosi ha, teeme.**  
 the.FL tomorrow 1pS-IR.ID-sing.PL AUX PX-say  
 b. **Hant poffi ta hasóosi ha, teeme, Juan quih.**  
 ‘Juan dice que cantaremos mañana.’  
*Juan is saying that we will sing tomorrow.* (a) RMH\_11-28p-07\_128 (b) RMH\_11-28p-07\_129

- (98) °**Hant poffi ta° hasóosi ta him miih, Juan quih.**  
 tomorrow 1PS-IR.ID-sing,PL AUX,RL 1sDO Px-say the,FL  
 ‘Juan me dijo que cantaremos mañana.’  
*Juan told me that we will sing tomorrow.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_130

### 20.3.2 Auxiliary ma

The unstressed word **ma** is apparently an auxiliary verb in examples such as the following. (It could easily be confused with DS marking.)

- (99) Viento\_Norte

qqq check

## 20.4 Words that replace auxiliary ha and modal after irrealis forms

Four words appear after irrealis forms in lieu of the auxiliary **ha**.

### 20.4.1 Uncertainty poho

The unstressed auxiliary **poho** indicates doubt on the part of the speaker.

- (100) **Hacataj quih anxö isíicötoj poho s.**  
 shark-PL the,FL INTNS 3:3-IR.ID-kill-PL DOUBT of.course  
 ‘Probablemente matarán muchos tiburones.’  
*Probably they will kill many sharks.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_133
- (101) **Ihpsíij poho tx, ihpscmáaij poho.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-UO.fetch.water DOUBT or 1sS.IN-IR.ID-N-UO.fetch.water DOUBT  
 ‘Tal vez traerá agua. Tal vez no.’  
*Maybe I will fetch water. Maybe I won’t fetch water.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_134

### 20.4.2 Certainty i

The unstressed auxiliary **i** emphasizes the certainty of the event.

- (102) **Ihpsíim i.** (103) **Ihsíhit i s.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-sleep CRT 1sS.TR-IR.ID-eat CRT of.course  
 ‘Voy a dormir.’ ‘Tendré que comerlo.’  
*I’m going to sleep.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_135 *I’ll just have to eat it.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_137
- (104) **Imáahit iha yax, tom z isconyáa i.**  
 SN-N-fish DCL because money a 3:3-IR.ID-N-own CRT  
 ‘Como no va a la pesca, no tendrá dinero.’  
*Since he doesn’t go fishing, he won’t have any money.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_136

### 20.4.3 Emphatic **xo**

The auxiliary **xo** gives a sense of emphasis.<sup>9</sup>

- (105) ¡**Minl**        **quih**    **szatx**                    **xo!**  
 2P-finger-PL    the.FL   IR.ID-have.glochids   EMPH  
 ‘¡Tus dedos estarán llenos de alquates!’  
*Your fingers will get tiny thorns in them!* RMH\_11-28p-07\_138
- (106) ¡**lhpscmáapxtim**    **xo!**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-N-move   EMPH  
 ‘¡No me voy a mudar!’  
*I'm not going to move away!* RMH\_11-28p-07\_139

### 20.4.4 Rhetorical modal **tee**

Independent irrealis clauses formed with **si-** (§17.1.1.3) may be followed by the word **tee** to express sarcasm or disbelief. While this word perhaps may have an etymology relating it to a verb of saying (as suggested by its form), it is taken here simply as a rhetorical modal. The construction has a fairly distinctive intonation contour with low tone on the word **tee**. This intonation is indicated with the punctuation marks **?!** but this is not meant to claim that there is interrogative morphology associated with this construction.

- (107) ¡¿**Tiix**    **àpa**    **shaa**        **tee?!?**  
 DDS   ?    IR.ID-EQ   RHET  
 ‘¡No puede ser él/ella!’  
*It can't be him/her!* RMH\_08-04-07\_249a
- (108) ¡¿**Taax**    **àpa**    **shaa**        **tee?!?**  
 DDP   ?    IR.ID-EQ   RHET  
 ‘¡No pueden ser ellos/ellas!’  
*It can't be them!* RMH\_08-04-07\_249b

Like what happens in some negative clauses (see §XX), a verb in this construction induces the use of the indefinite article **zo** with a noun in the clause even if non-referential, as in the following example.

- (109) ¡¿**Zó**    **mpooh,**        **hax**    **zo**    **nsiisi**                    **tee?!?**  
 how?   2sS-IR.DP-do   water   a   2sS-IR.ID-drink   RHET  
 ‘¡Cómo vas a conseguir agua para tomar!’  
*How on earth would you get water to drink?!?* (DS2005, hamátj) RMH\_08-24-07\_76d

<sup>9</sup> This morpheme is obviously phonetically similar to the Emphatic Realis verbal prefix **xo-** (§17.1.1.8).

## 20.5 Basic declarative and interrogative modals

Two enclitic modals are extremely common: **ha** Declarative and **-ya** Interrogative.<sup>10</sup> The enclitic **ha** has the allomorph **iha** after a consonant.<sup>11</sup> The vowel **i** is appropriately taken as being epenthetic.<sup>12</sup> In both cases the final **a** is sometimes omitted in the speech of some people, even in rather careful speech; this is apparently a relatively recent innovation. When the final **a** is omitted from the allomorph **iha**, the glottal stop may be quite attenuated and so one hears primarily the (epenthetic) vowel **i**. The discussion below uses only the conservative or careful forms **ha** and **iha**.

Both of these modals may follow a nominal to form a simple sentence (see §10.1).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(110) <b>Hast caacoj iha.</b><br/>stone SN-big DCL<br/>'Es una piedra grande.'<br/><i>It's a big stone.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_140</p> | <p>(111) <b>Haso ha.</b><br/>net DCL<br/>'Es una red.'<br/><i>It is a net.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_141</p>   |
| <p>(112) <b>Tzih iha.</b><br/>puffer DCL<br/>'Es un botete tamborín.'<br/><i>It's a bullseye puffer.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_142</p>       | <p>(113) <b>Hai ha.</b><br/>air DCL<br/>'Es aire.'<br/><i>It is wind/air.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_143</p>    |
| <p>(114) <b>¿Hast -ya?</b><br/>stone QM<br/>'¿Es una piedra?'<br/><i>Is it a stone?</i> RMH_11-28p-07_144</p>                        | <p>(115) <b>¿Haso -ya?</b><br/>net QM<br/>'¿Es una red?'<br/><i>Is it a net?</i> RMH_11-28p-07_145</p> |

Each of them may also follow a deverbal noun (see §10.4) or a couple of adjectives that arguably are verbs with defective paradigms (see §23.2).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(116) <b>Cpanzx iha.</b><br/>SN-run DCL<br/>'Está corriendo.'<br/><i>S/he/it is running.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_146</p> | <p>(117) <b>Tiix caai ha.</b><br/>DDS SN-TR-make DCL<br/>'Está haciéndolo/a.'<br/><i>S/he is making it.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_147</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>10</sup> The latter is written as a suffix in the practical orthography, as decided by the committee for the 2005 dictionary. The distribution of **-ya** is not entirely parallel with that of the declarative modal **ha** since **-ya** is also used after question words (see chapter 6).

<sup>11</sup> The consonant may be a true consonant, an approximant (**y**) or a glottal stop (**h**).

<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, the **i** could be underlying and that it is deleted following a preceding vowel. Or it could be that neither **ha** or **iha** is derived from the other, of course. Regardless of the analysis, this modal is different from the auxiliary **ha** (§20.2.1) that occurs in irrealis constructions, which does not take an epenthetic vowel at all.

- (118) **Tazo ha.**  
one DCL  
'Es uno.'  
*It is one.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_148
- (119) **Heeque ha.**  
juvenile DCL  
'Es joven / pequeño/a.'  
*It is small/young.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_149
- (120) **¿Cpanzx -ya?**  
SN-run QM  
'¿Está corriendo?'  
*Is s/he/it running?* RMH\_05-20-08\_28
- (121) **¿Tiix caai -ya?**  
DDS SN-TR-make QM  
'¿Está haciéndolo/a?'  
*Is s/he making it?* RMH\_05-20-08\_29
- (122) **¿Tazo -ya?**  
one QM  
'¿Es uno?'  
*Is it one?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_150
- (123) **¿Heeque -ya?**  
juvenile QM  
'¿Es joven / pequeño/a?'  
*Is it small/young?* RMH\_11-28p-07\_151

The modals are also used after the auxiliaries which occur with independent irrealis verbs; see §20.2.1.1 for details of usage. These combinations, which have been written as single words in the orthography, are given here with forms of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{atax}}$  *go* to illustrate them. (The words **caha** and **aha** are unstressed but the words **queeya** and **haaya** are stressed.)

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| (124)    | Declarative   | Interrogative   |
| Deverbal | <b>He siitax caha.</b><br>1PRO IR.ID-go AUX.SN-DCL<br>'Iré.'<br><i>I will go.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_153 | <b>¿Me siitax quee -ya?</b><br>2PRO IR.ID-go AUX.SN QM<br>'¿Irás?'<br><i>Will you go?</i> RMH_11-28p-07_154 |
| Finite   | <b>lhpsiiitax aha.</b><br>1sS.IN-IR.ID-go AUX-DCL<br>'Iré.'<br><i>I will go.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_155  | <b>¿Insiiitax haa -ya?</b><br>2sS-IR.ID-go AUX QM<br>'¿Irás?'<br><i>Will you go?</i> RMH_11-28p-07_156      |

## 20.6 Tensed modals **ihi** and **siihi**

The declarative modal **ihi** generally indicates past time, while **siihi** indicates future. These modals follow nominals, including deverbal nouns. They are glossed PAST and FUTURE, respectively.<sup>13</sup> (For more examples see §10.2.)

- (125) **He “jefe” ihi xo ziix chaa zo hin tcmaaj iho.**  
1PRO chief PAST but thing SN-EQ a 1sDO RL-N-know-PL DCL  
'Aunque era jefe, ahora no me reconocen.'  
*Although I was chief, they don't know who I am.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_157

<sup>13</sup> The use of **ihi** is a bit more complex. One consultant pointed out that it may be used in the first time introduction of a person to someone; this is not past tense. (After the first introduction it would not be used.) And another consultant indicated that it indicated real certainty and in that usage did not indicate past time.

- (126) **He imóohitim ihi.**  
 IPRO SN-N-UO-eat PAST  
 ‘No he comido.’  
*I haven’t eaten.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_158
- (127) **He °ziix quisax° hap quicotim isoj ihi.**  
 IPRO person mule.deer SN-kill-IMPF 3P-self PAST  
 ‘Yo era un experto cazador de venado bura.’  
*I used to be a expert mule deer hunter.* (Adapted from an overheard claim) LHC\_2-06-07\_166b
- (128) **Lauro quih mos hizac oo iti °hapx caap° ihi.**  
 the.FL also PX-LC DL 3P-on born PAST  
 ‘Lauro también nació aquí.’  
*Lauro also was born here.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_160
- (129) **Haxz ticom quictámo sihi.**  
 dog MD-HZ SN-ferocious FUTURE  
 ‘Me pregunto si ese perro es bravo.’  
*I wonder if that dog is ferocious.* (DS2005, sihi) LHC\_2-06-07\_206
- (130) **Hast coopol ticom, ¿zó hapái sihi?**  
 mountain SN-black MD-HZ how SN-PV-tell FUTURE  
 ‘¿Cómo se llama ese cerro negro? me pregunto.’  
*What could that black mountain be called, I wonder.* (DS2005, sihi) XMH\_08-15-07\_30b

For the use of these modals with irrealis deverbal nouns, see §20.2.1.1.

## 20.7 Special declarative modals hi and ho

The declarative modal **hi** (with the allomorph **ihi** after a consonant) has a very different distribution from the basic declarative modal **ha**. It does not occur with nouns or deverbal nouns.

- (1) \* **Hast ihi.**  
 (‘Es una piedra.’)  
*(It is a rock.)*
- (2) \* **Cpanzx ihi.**  
 (‘Está corriendo.’)  
*(S/he/it is running.)*

This modal is used after the (stressed) auxiliary that occurs with irrealis verbs; the forms are given below.

- (3) a. Deverbal **He siitax quee hi.**  
 IPRO IR.ID-go AUX.SN DCL  
 ‘Iré.’  
*I will go.* (with some doubt) RMH\_11-28p-07\_161

- b. Finite      **Ihpsítax      haa hi.**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-go AUX DCL  
 ‘Iré.’  
*I will go.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_162

This modal is also used after a verb in the neutral realis (t-) form (§17.1.1.5) to make the verb function as the head of an independent clause.

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|---|---|
| <p>(4) <b>Tmaaiscan ihi.</b><br/>         RL-N-hard DCL<br/>         ‘No es duro/a.’<br/> <i>It's not hard.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_163</p>                         | <p>(5) <b>Tisj ihi.</b><br/>         RL-timid DCL<br/>         ‘Es tímido/a.’<br/> <i>S/he's timid.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_164</p> |
| <p>(6) <b>Icóohit ihtámzo hi.</b><br/>         INF.IN-UO-eat 1sS.TR-RL-want DCL<br/>         ‘Quiero comer.’<br/> <i>I want to eat.</i> RMH_11-28p-07_165</p> |   |

Likewise, the modal **ho** (with allomorph **iho** after consonants) does not occur with nouns.

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|---|--|
| <p>(7) * <b>Hast iho.</b><br/>         (‘Es una piedra.’)<br/> <i>(It is a rock.)</i></p> | <p>(8) * <b>Cpanzx iho.</b><br/>         (‘Está corriendo.’)<br/> <i>(S/he/it is running.)</i></p> |
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Nor does it occur with irrealis forms of any sort.

- (9) \* **Smatax caho.** / \* **Smatax aho.**  
 (‘No irá.’) *(S/he will not go.)*

This modal is used in two contexts. First, it is used with *negative* neutral realis verbs (§17.1.1.5) used in non-interrogative independent clauses.

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|---|---|
| <p>(10) <b>Zixcám zo poxtámt ta, tompáho ho.</b><br/>         fish a IR.DP-abundant DS RL-N-PV-see DCL<br/>         ‘No se vieron muchos peces.’<br/> <i>Not many fish were seen.</i> RMH_09-28-07_157d</p> | <p>(11) <b>Icóohit ihtcmámzo ho.</b><br/>         INF.IN-UO-eat 1sS.TR-RL-N-want DCL<br/>         ‘No quiero comerlo.’<br/> <i>I don't want to eat it.</i> (DS2005, ho) RMH_11-28p-07_166</p> |
|---|---|

Second, it is used with dependent irrealis verbs, whether negative or affirmative, in main clauses to express doubt about whether something happened.

- (12) **Juan quih paahit iho x, pomáahit iho x.**  
 the.FL IR.DP-fish DCL or IR.DP-N-fish DCL or  
 ‘Tal vez Juan fue a la pesca, o tal vez no fue a la pesca.’  
*Maybe Juan went fishing, or maybe he didn’t go fishing.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_167
- (13) **Poopca ho x, pomápca ho x.**  
 IR.DP-rain DCL or IR.DP-N-rain DCL or  
 ‘Tal vez llovió o tal vez no llovió.’  
*Maybe it rained, or maybe it didn’t rain.* RMH\_11-28p-07\_168