

18. Basic verb subcategorization

In this chapter a large sampling of different kinds of non-derived verbs is laid out according to the various subcategorization frames with which they operate. (Derived verbs are discussed in chapter 19.) Semantic subcategorization and syntactic subcategorization are distinguished;¹ this is especially helpful in the discussion of direct and indirect objects.

Syntactic subcategorization generally is restricted to three items: subjects, direct objects and indirect objects (although there are some special cases, as is shown).² These three notions correspond to relatively clear morphological and syntactic criteria. The most directly indicative criteria are the morphological markings described as subject person inflection, direct object inflection, and indirect object inflection (see §17.1.2). Subject and direct objects have additional tests that are associated with them (see §9.1 and §9.2, respectively).

Semantic subcategorization is presented here using some fairly standard names for semantic roles, but no claims are made for the adequacy of these labels cross-linguistically. It is also possible that some macro-roles could properly unify some of the more specific semantic roles used here.

On the basis of these semantic and syntactic criteria, various types of verbs may occur, and these are divided into a few major groups, some of which have minor subgroups.

Impersonal verbs are considered in §18.1; these do not subcategorize for any referential nominal although some of them are also used as stative intransitive verbs (§18.2). The clauses in which impersonal verbs occur are intransitive by the available tests (see Appendix C).

Personal intransitive verbs are presented in three sections: §18.2 — stative verbs, many of which correspond to adjectives in other languages; §18.3 — verbs expressing involuntary action; and §18.4 — verbs expressing voluntary action. The distinction between these types of intransitive predicates does not appear to have any major morphological or syntactic relevance in Seri,³ but the verbs are presented separately for the sake of explicitness.⁴ The basic groups of intransitives also have some minor subgroups that reflect some uncommon morphological,

¹ This presentation follows Jackendoff (2002) and Jackendoff and Culicover (2005).

² See Jackendoff (2002:132ff).

³ One morphological fact correlates with whether or not the action can be done with permission, and hence with volition. See §18.4 and §17.1.1.4.

⁴ It has been important in linguistics to consider two types of intransitive verbs, which have been given the names ‘unaccusative’ and ‘unergative’, corresponding largely to the matter of volition. See Perlmutter (1978) and Rosen (1984) and many other later works.

syntactic or semantic properties that merit some discussion.

Transitive verbs are presented in §18.5. Ditransitive verbs are presented in §18.6.

The difference between non-agentive/non-volitional verbs and agentive/volitional verbs is imperfectly reflected in the choice of expression for indicating a greater degree. The common expression **mos áno** (§24.3.1.5) is used most typically with the former, and the expression **mos áno anxö** (a modification of the intensifier **anxö**, §24.3.1.6) is used typically with the latter. See the examples presented in the relevant sections.

18.1 Impersonal verbs

Impersonal verbs do not subcategorize for any referential nominal semantically or any overt nominal syntactically, as the schema in (1) attempts to convey. These are all used to describe atmospheric conditions or time of the day.⁵

(1)	IMPERSONAL VERB	Semantics:	—	
		Syntax:	(null)	
(2)	a. $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$	<i>rain</i>	f. $\sqrt{\text{Camla}}$	<i>lightning</i>
	b. $\sqrt{\text{cozim}}$	<i>be hot (weather)</i>	g. $\sqrt{\text{hamoc}}$	<i>be night</i>
	c. $\sqrt{\text{meque}}$	<i>be warm</i>	h. $\sqrt{\text{iiziloj}}$	<i>drizzle</i>
	d. $\sqrt{\text{aapl}}$	<i>be cold</i>	i. $\sqrt{\text{taaple}}$	<i>be early in the morning</i>
	e. $\sqrt{\text{anj}}$	<i>thunder</i>		

These verbs, when used as impersonals, do not occur with an overt nominal subject, although the verb is always inflected for third person subject.⁶ Third person subject inflection is

⁵ The verbs $\sqrt{\text{meque}}$ *warm* and $\sqrt{\text{aapl}}$ *cold* are also used as stative predicates; see §18.2 below. The verb $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain* may be used as an unaccusative verb with the nominal **xat** *hail*, arguably the subject, to mean (*precipitate*) *hail*. The verb $\sqrt{\text{Camla}}$ is an imperfective aspect stem of the unaccusative verb $\sqrt{\text{Camjö}}$ *shiny*; the perfective stem occurs in the deverbal noun, while the imperfective stem is the preferred verbal form. Some of the idioms are also impersonal, including **áno** $\sqrt{\text{vooit}}$ *be afternoon* (§7.3), **hánt** $\sqrt{\text{fii}}$ *be next morning* (§7.1).

The verb $\sqrt{\text{cozim}}$ is normally used as an impersonal verb, but it is used as a non-agentive verb in jocular speech to ask for one's personal space.

(i) **Halx xah mxocózim tax, ;halx toox iicx he hiij!**
 just ATTEN 2SS-EM-hot.weather because just far near IIO IM-sit
 'Porque estás haciendo calor, siéntate más lejos de mí.'
Because you're hot, sit farther away from me. (Offered) RMH_07-20-07_26

⁶ This is attributed within the framework of Relational Grammar to the presence of a dummy subject which is also predicted to be phonetically null for a language like Seri since Seri is a pro-drop language. This subject participates in the raising construction, as described in §12.1.2.

formally unmarked in finite clauses (see §17.1.2.1), but it is overtly marked in deverbal nouns based on these impersonal verbs (§14.4), such as **ihámoc** ({i-Ø-hamoc}, 3P-AON-be.night) *night*, **icózim** ({i-Ø-cozim}, 3P-AON-hot.(weather)) *hot weather, summer*, **iháapl** ({i-h-aapl}, 3P-AON-cold) *cold weather, winter*, **eámjö** ({i-Ø-Camjö, 3P-AON-lightning}) (*sheet*) *lightning*.

- (3) ... **ttamla**, **tanloj**, **tapca**, ...
 RL-lightning RL-thunder-IMPF RL-rain
 ‘... relampagueaba, tronaba, llovía, ...’
 ... *there was lightning, it thundered, it rained, ...* (ES2007, zix cmaam ipca 10b)
- (4) ... **tcozim**, **hoocala zo tompáho**, ...
 RL-hot.(weather) cloud a RL-N-PV-see
 ‘... hacía calor, no había ninguna nube, ...’
 ... *it was hot, not a cloud was seen, ...* (ES2007, zix cmaam ipca 02b)
- (5) **Quiiziloj iha xo hayomíjajoj**.
 SN-drizzle DCL but 1P-S-DT-N-get.wet
 ‘Llovizó pero no nos mojamos.’
It drizzled but we didn’t get wet. (DS2005, quiziloj) RMH_07-20-07_28

These verbs act as if they have third person syntactic subjects in that they may participate in the raising construction described in §9.1.2.

- (6) **Moxíma quih hiiqui iipca maapxa**.
 yesterday the.FL 1P-toward 3P-AON-rain PX-TIMES-three
 ‘Ayer nos llovió tres veces.’
It rained on us three times. RMH_08-04-07_117

Verbs derived from impersonal predicates are *intransitive*. See §19.4 for the experiencer verbs based on them and §19.5.1 for the causatives based on them.

See §18.3 for the use of $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain* with the explicit subject **xat hail**.

18.2 Stative verbs

Intransitive stative verbs, which are very numerous, describe a referent in some way. They may indicate the state in which the item is or (without any additional morphology or phrasing) the state in which the item has been, will be, or is becoming. They are therefore often ambiguous between a stative and an inchoative reading. They may indicate intrinsic or temporary characteristics. As indicated in the schema in (7), the subject of these clauses is the nominal which is described by the verb. Examples of stative verbs are given in (8).

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (7) | STATIC VERB | Semantics: Patient | |
| | | Syntax: Subject | |
- (8) a. Color and *pattern*: √heel red, √Cihjō red, √masol yellow, √ooil blue/green, √oopol black, √ooscl speckled without much color, √oospoj spotted, √Camjō shiny, √icopol dark,⁷ √iimapxjij iridescent with dark colors, √imaaxat gray brown, √ineehj shiny, √inziitxi unattractive gray/brown (vulgar), √oaaan murky, etc.
- b. Shape and size: √aacni curved, √apxeezc wedge-shaped, √amootj forked, √ipcō thick, √acōsxaj long, tall √iteejōc skinny, √jip flat, √neeej curled up, gnarled, √noftj bent, jagged, √noocon bowed, √noohōc concave and deep, √noosc rough, √nopin convex, √oiij tubular, √ooipj oval, √peehzx concave and shallow, √ahmazaj extra large and globular, √aptj wide, √oosot narrow, √oojoj short, √aacoj big, √aail spacious and open, √isil small, √opisica unusually small (opening), √eaam spacious, etc.
- c. Weight: √afzx light, √motet heavy.
- d. Temperature: √aapl cold, √matj hot, √meque warm.
- e. Flavor: √acat bitter/salty, √capxl sour, √oaaatjō sweet, √cotp tart, √jizi picante/painful.
- f. Smell: √con stink like onions, √cotxta have smell like body odor, √cozl smell like rancid oil, √icotj musty, rotten-smelling, √heemt stink, etc.
- g. Quantity:⁸ √azoj one, √oocj two, √apxa three, √zooxōc four, √ooitom five, √hanl ten, √cooo all, √atxo much, many, √ipxa few, √miih scarce, etc.
- h. Physical condition: √âaiscan hard, √iipe good, well, √moqueepe ill, √monlc curly, wrinkled, √ahmaaco unobvious, √ahtxima rich, √ahzinz immature [mesquite pod], √ajōazp mushy (fruit), √ancl rusty, √axaaza drippy and thick, √axax raspy, √axt delicate, tender, √ayáx in poor physical condition, √azaplc paralyzed in the legs, √cam full, √haasax open and spread out, √haanzx twisted and unraveled, √hac blind, √hesen⁹ rigid and strong, √is raw, √maaitx soft, tender, √mam cooked, ripe, √matis burned, √maxquij taut, stiff, √meesom unused, intact, √miipala broken, ruined, √miipla bad, ruined, √moqueepe sick,¹⁰ √ocaaait be in disarray, √oozil sticky, √oqueepe

⁷ This verb has the root for *black* in it (unexplicably with a short vowel, however) but there is no regular morphological derivation happening here.

⁸ See §19.11.

⁹ This root is homophonous with the noun for dry ironwood.

¹⁰ This root contains the root for comfortable and also a reanalyzed negative prefix (see Marlett 2002).

comfortable, √**paaisx** *clean*,¹¹ etc.

- i. Mental or emotional state: √**atla** *fearful of the authorities for having committed a crime*, √**haxz** *irritable*,¹² √**matisca** *have a negative attitude, be a braggart, -atol afraid*, etc.¹³
- j. Characterized by being or having something else: √**ahpizl** *have an overhang*, √**ahsnaailc** *have rough bark*, √**ahtaap** *have pus*, √**ahtaasim** *foamy, have foam*, √**aptxö** *full of holes*, √**atoopep** *have whooping cough*, √**cosyat** *thorny*,¹⁴ √**haait** *bloody*,¹⁵ √**hast** *rocky, stiff*,¹⁶ √**hoopatj** *be rough sea with breaking waves*,¹⁷ √**oaaanj** *poisonous, bearing plant poison*, √**matsj** *be a liar*, etc.

¹¹ This root is etymologically a passive form of a now disused transitive root √**aaaisx** *clean* (Marlett 2002).

¹² This root is homophonous with the absolutive form of *pet*, typically used for *dog*. The plural verb stem, √**haxaca**, is homophonous with the plural absolutive form of *pet*.

¹³ Many of the expressions for mental and emotional states are idiomatic; see chapter 7.

¹⁴ This root is similar to, or contains, the root for *thorn*, **cosi**.

¹⁵ This root is homophonous with the absolutive form of the noun for *blood*. The plural verb stem and the plural noun stem are not identical.

¹⁶ This root is homophonous with the noun for *stone, rock*. The plural verb stem, √**hasatoj**, is identical to the plural noun form.

¹⁷ This root is homophonous with the noun for *wave*. The plural verb stem, √**hoopatalca**, is identical to the plural noun form.

Table 18.1: The number system

The numbering system is a base-ten system. The primary terms are:

1	√ azoj	(although tazo is used as the simple word for <i>one</i>)
2	√ oocj	4 √ zooxōc
3	√ apxa	5 √ ooitom 10 √ hanl

Each of these predicates is inflected in the same way as any intransitive verb: **chanl** (SN-ten) *ten*, **pohánl** (IR.DP-ten) *if there are ten*, **yohánl** (DT-ten) *there were ten*, **¿Thanl?** (RL-ten) *Are/were there ten?*

The expression for *six* is an addition of *one* to something: **isnáap** √**azoj** (3P-breast one). *Seven* is etymologically *five with two*: **tomcoj co-** √**iiah** (five-two 3IO be.FL), where **tom** is the last syllable of √**ooitom** *five* and **coj** is a contraction of **coocj** (SN-two). *Eight* is evidently (at least etymologically) a “multiple” form (see §17.1.8) of *four*: √**zooxolcam**. *Nine* is related to the verb for *ten*: **csooi** √**hanl** (? ten); the word **csooi** only appears in this expression and its derivatives.

The multiples of ten are expressed as **ihánl** √**oocj** (3P-AON-ten two) *twenty*, **ihánl** √**apxa** *thirty*, **ihánl csooi** √**hanl** *ninety*, **ihánl ihánl** √**oocj** *two hundred*, etc. When the XXX word is a multiple of ten, the “plural” stem √**hanaløj** is used: **ihánl ihánl chanaløj quih** √**oocj** (3P-AON-ten 3P-AON-ten SN-ten.PL the.FL two) *two thousand*.

Other numbers between the multiples of ten are expressed with additions to the previous multiple of ten (which is expressed as a dependent clause):

11	thanl tazo co- √ iiah	(RL-ten one 3IO be.FL)
12	thanl toocj co- √ iiah	(RL-ten RL-two 3IO be.FL)
16	thanl tomcoj cōtiiah co- √ iiah	(RL-ten ? 3IO-RL-be.FL 3IO be.FL)
22	ihánl toocj tazo co- √ iiah	(3P-AON-ten RL-two one 3IO be.FL)

- k. Other: √**ahntaxl** *close*, √**haamx** *widely known*, √**hapx** *made public, uncovered*, √**ahizoj** *be mirage*, √**catoomec**¹⁸ *be Sunday*, √**eme** *depleted*, √**aptasa** *unlucky*, √**comca** *noisy*, √**pacta** *be in appearance*, etc.

¹⁸ This word eventually traces its origin back to Spanish *domingo*. See Appendix B.

Stative verbs may co-occur with the intensifying adverbs **aapa** (§24.4.1) and **mos áno** (§24.3.1.5).

The following examples illustrate the fact that the predicates indicating quantity are easily and naturally used as main predicates in the clause.

- (9) **Haaonatz quih coocj iha.**
 hat-PL the.FL SN-two DCL
 ‘Hay/había dos sombreros.’
There are/were two hats. RMH_05-17-08_255
- (10) **Iiztox toocj x, iiztox tapxa ma x,**
 3P-moon/month-PL RL-two UT moon/month-PL RL-three DS UT
yaanipxat.
 DT-return.home
 ‘Después de dos o tres meses, regresaron a casa.’
After two or three months, they returned home. RMH_05-17-08_256
- (11) **°Eenm haaczoj° quih tcooo ma, itóon, tatax, yoque.**
 rifles the.FL RL-all DS 3:3-RL-take.items RL-go DT-US-say
 ‘Llevando todos los rifles, se fue, se dice.’
He took all of the rifles, he went, it is said. RMH_05-17-08_257
- (12) **Hai cop intóoit ma, cōiháafx hac iti**
 air the.VT 2sS-RL-arrive DS 3IO-3P-AON-fast the.LC 3P-on
hocala cōtaanim ma, hant com tcooo, yicópol.
 cloud 3IO-RL-covered DS land the.HZ RL-all DT-dark
 ‘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)
 RMH_05-20-08_190

Many stative typically have third person subjects. Some examples of those which may have human subjects are given here. In some cases, described in §19.4, a stative predicate with an experiencer requires a special derived verb.

- (13) **Ihpimhác.**
 1sS.IN-PX-blind
 ‘Soy ciego.’ RMH_07-20-07_29a
I am blind. (DS2005, chac)
- (14) **¿Ihptháxz?**
 1sS.IN-RL-irritable
 ‘¿Soy irascible?’ RMH_07-20-07_29b
Am I irritable? (DS2005, chaxz)

- (15) **Ziix zo hyoohit yax, ihpxocám.**
 thing a 1SS.TR-DT-eat because 1SS.IN-EM-full
 ‘Comí algo y estoy lleno.’
I ate something and I'm full. RMH_07-20-07_29c
- (16) **Ihpxaptása.**
 1SS.IN-EM-have.bad.luck
 ‘Tengo mala suerte.’
I have bad luck. RMH_11-28p-07_29
- (17) **Taax hapocóoo x, cōhasmípla¹⁹ ha.**
 DDP 1PS-IR.DP-all UT 3IO-1PS-IR.ID-bad AUX-DCL
 ‘Eso sería malo para todos nosotros.’
That would be bad for all of us. RMH_05-17-08_258
- (18) **°Hamátj ihptóoxi°, siml ix quih anxö ihtási,**
 thirst 1SS.IN-RL-die barrel.cactus 3P-liquid the.FL INTNS 1SS.TR-RL-drink
ihpvazáplc.
 1SS.IN-DT-paralyzed.in.legs
 ‘Cuando tenía mucha sed, tomé mucho jugo de una biznaga, y me paralicé de las piernas.’
When I was very thirsty, I drank lots of barrel cactus liquid and became paralyzed in the legs. (DS2005, cazaplc, ix) RRR

The common verb $\sqrt{\text{pacta}}$ ²⁰ *be in appearance* requires a special kind of complement that indicates the point of comparison, and this adjunct is almost always the pronoun **taax** DDP *that*, the pronoun **hizáax** DPP *this*, the adverb **ox** *thus*, or the interrogative adverb **zó** *how*.

- (19) **Taax / Hizáax oo cōhapácta ha.**
 DDP DPP DL 3IO-SN-be.in.appearance DCL
 ‘Es como eso / esto.’
That / This is what it is like. RMH_05-17-08_259
- (20) **Ox hapácta ha.** (21) **¿Zó hapácta -ya?**
 thus SN-be.in.appearance DCL how? SN-be.in.appearance QM
 ‘Así es.’ ‘¿Cómo es?’
That's what it is like. RMH_05-17-08_260 *What is it like?* RMH_05-17-08_261

¹⁹ Some people could or would use the plural stem $\sqrt{\text{miiploj}}$ here, but the preferred form appears to be with the singular verb.

²⁰ See Marlett (2002) for more discussion of this stem which is a reanalysis of the passive stem of $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$ *look at*.

- (22) **Pooixaj ta, ox impácta ha.**
 IR.DP-strong DS thus SN-N-be.in.appearance DCL
 ‘No era porque él era fuerte.’
It wasn’t because he was strong. [It was supernatural power.] (Muerte Còquimxp 30)

See also the use of this verb in the expressions for *then* (**ox tpacta ma, ...** thus RL-be.in.appearance DS), *why?* (**zó tpacta ma, ...** how RL-be.in.appearance DS), *that’s why* (**taax (ah) oo cötpacta ma, ...** DDP FOC DL 3IO-RL-be.in.appearance DS), and *however* (**ox oo mpacta xo** thus DL PX-be.in.appearance but).

18.2.1 Equative verb $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$

The verb $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$ equates a subject and a predicate nominal. The clauses in which it occurs are intransitive by all tests. (For more details on the usage of this verb, see §10.3.)

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| (23) | EQUATIVE VERB | Semantics: | Patient | Predicate nominal |
| | $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$ EQUATIVE | Syntax: | Subject | DP |
- (24) |-----Patient/Subject -----| | Predicate Nominal |
 ..., °**ziix hast iix ano coom° com mos cmiique quih thaa x,** ...
 northern.chuckwalla the.Hz also person the.FL RL-EQ UT
 ‘... la iguana también era una persona, ...’
... the chuckwalla was also a person, ... (DS2007, acaam ccaa 13b)
- (25) ... **ziix tiquij °ziix quisax° áa z imháa ha.**
 thing MD-CM person INTNS a SN-N-EQ DCL
 ‘... esa cosa no era una verdadera persona.’
... that thing was not a real person. (Gigante_Comelon_49) RMH_11-28p-07_30
- (26) **Ihyáaco cop ihapóoin cop eenim quih chaa ha.**
 IP-house the.VT 3P-AON-PV-cause.closed the.VT metal the.FL SN-EQ DCL
 ‘La puerta de mi casa es de metal.’
The door of my house is metal. RMH_08-14-14_81
- (27) °**Ziix hacácj° hipquij hast quih chaa ha.**
 carving PX-CM stone the.FL SN-EQ DCL
 ‘Esta figura es de piedra.’
This carving is made of stone. RMH_08-14-07_82a RMH_08-14-07_88

18.2.2 Motion verb

One verb root (at least) that indicates involuntary motion of an entity subcategorizes for a range of locations: a location adverb (§24.3.2), a postpositional phrase (chapter 22), or an oblique object with indirect/oblique object cross-reference morphology (§2.4). (See also §18.4.1. for its

use with an agentive subject.)

(28)	MOTION VERB	Semantics:	Agent/Patient	Location
		Syntax:	Subject	Oblique Object ~ Adverb ~ PP

- (29) a. √**a** (requires a directional prefix as well), to mean *come* or *go*
 b. √**ahjiit** *fall*

- (30) **Itéen hac haait quih ano moma.**
 3P-mouth the.LC ABS.blood the.FL 3P.in/from TWD-PX-move
 ‘Salió sangre de su boca.’
Blood came from his/her/its mouth. RMH_07-11-07_27b

- (31) **Canóaa zo haa moca ha.**
 boat a there TWD-SN-move DCL
 ‘Allí viene una panga.’
There comes a boat. (DS2005, haa) RMH_08-04-07_221b

The verb √**ahjiit** *fall* is similar in that it also requires some kind of location expressed in the clause.

- (32) **Toc cōihūhtolca iti x, zo hant sahjiit haa hi.**
 there 3IO-3P-AON-be.FL-PL-IMPF 3P-on UT a/one land IR.ID-fall AUX DCL
 ‘Estando allí, uno de ellos va a caerse.’
They are there, one is going to fall. RMH_07-11-07_41c

18.2.3 Locational and existential verbs

A few verbs are very commonly used to indicate the location of an item (and by extension, in some contexts, existence). Some of these verbs may also be used as verbs of motion and they may have agentive subjects; see §18.4.2. They are glossed in the examples using the shorter glosses *sit*, *stand*, etc., but they are interpreted differently by their contexts. They are also used in the more complex situational construction (§3.12.1). These verbs always occur with some word or phrase that specifies a location: a location adverb (§24.3.2), a postpositional phrase (chapter 22), or an oblique object with indirect/oblique object cross-reference morphology (§2.4).

(33)	LOCATIONAL VERB	Semantics:	Patient	Location
		Syntax:	Subject	Adverb ~ PP ~ Oblique Object

- (34) a. $\sqrt{\text{ahca}}$ *be located*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *be seated*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ *be standing*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ *be lying*
 e. $\sqrt{\text{iih}}$ *be* (flexible item)

These verbs essentially divide the world up into different types of physical objects, depending on their shape and orientation. Items that are compact in form are presented with the verb $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *be seated*; those that are extended and not vertical are presented with $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *be lying*, etc. See also the noun classes that have developed with respect to the definite articles that are etymologically related to these same verbs (§13.3).

Examples with an adverb before the locational verb:

- (35) **Ihmáa zo haa tii ma, ...**
 other a there RL-sit DS
 ‘Otro estaba allí, ...’
Another one was there, ... (Mt 25:15) RMH_08-04-07_200b
- (36) **Tiim haa toom xah hpmiimoz.**
 RL-sleep there RL-lie — 1sS.IN-PX-think
 ‘Pensé que estaba allí durmiendo / dormido/a.’
I thought that s/he was there sleeping. (DS2005, camoz) XMH_08-15-07_51a

Examples with a PP before the locational verb:

- (37) **Ox tpacta ma, cmaax taax iti tii, ...**
 thus RL-be.in.appearance DS now DDP 3P-on RL-sit
 ‘Entonces, sentada allí, ...’
Then, sitting there, ... (ES2007, cmaam ipca quiho 8w)
- (38) **Tzih com haso quih ano toom, isoj itahiix, ...**
 pufferfish the.Hz net the.FL 3P.in RL-lie 3P-self 3:3-RL-cause.be.inflated
 ‘El pez infla que estaba en la red se infló ...’
The pufferfish was caught in a net, it inflated itself ... (DS2005, cahix) OP_2-07-07_20

Examples with a cross-referenced oblique object before the locational predicate:

- (39) **Coos] quij toc cötiij x, cooit cop mos toc cömiip.**
 SN-sing the.FL there 3IO-RL-sit UT SN-dance the.VT also there 3IO-PX-stand
 ‘Había un(a) cantante allí, también había un bailaror.’
There was a singer there, there also was a dancer. (siete_filos 41)

- (40) **¿Quiñh -ya miicp _____ cötap?**
 who? QM 2P-place.next.to 3IO-RL-stand
 ‘¿Quién está a tu lado?’
Who is standing next to you? RMH_11-27-07_09

When these verbs are used with the word **toc** *there* (a noun which requires oblique-object cross-referencing on the verb), they are interpreted as existential predicates; they are in fact the common way to present new characters in a story.

18.2.4 Stative verb with additional nominal

The verb $\sqrt{\text{poc}}$ *full* commonly occurs both with and without a nominal phrase (Patient₂ below) which is not cross-referenced on the verb at all. This nominal indicates the contents of the subject.²¹

(41)	Semantics:	Patient₁	(Patient₂)
	Syntax:	Subject	(DP)

In (42) the verb occurs without the additional nominal (Patient₂), and in (43-44) it occurs with it.

- (42) °Hehe an icáaij° **quij cpoct iha.**
 water.drum the.CM SN-full DCL
 ‘El tambo está lleno.’
The water drum is full. RMH_07-20-07_30a
- (43) °Hehe an icáaij° **quij hax quih cpoct iha.**
 water.drum the.CM water the.FL SN-full DCL
 ‘El tambo está lleno de agua.’
The water drum is full of water. RMH_07-20-07_30b
- (44) ... **panáal quih tpoct ma, ...**
 honey the.FL RL-full DS
 ‘... estaba llena de miel, ...’
 ... *it was full of honey, ...*²² (DS2005, cahízat) RMH_07-20-07_30c

18.2.5 Dative stative verbs

At least a couple of stative verbs subcategorize for an oblique object that is cross-referenced as

²¹ As evidence of the intransitivity of this verb, note that in (43b) the 3:3 prefix **i-** does not occur on the finite verb as it would if the clause had a direct object. The verb is not marked with **co-** 3IO, a fact which distinguishes this from cases of simple adjuncts.

²² This could also be understood as referring to honeybees rather than honey.

an oblique/indirect object (§17.1.2.4), indicated by the prefix **co-** in example (47). The clauses in which these verbs occur are intransitive by all available tests.

(45)	DATIVE STATIVE VERB	Semantics:	Patient₁	Patient₂
		Syntax:	Subject	Oblique Object

- (46) a. √**pam** *be connected*
 b. √**anim** *be covering*

- (47) **Zixquisiil° °cmaa hapx caap° com**
 child newborn the.Hz

itóozj quih cói cocpám oo ha.
 3P-intestine the.FL still 3IO-SN-be.connected DL DCL

‘El niño recién nacido todavía tiene el cordón umbilical conectado.’

A newborn baby’s umbilical cord is still connected to it. (DS2005, cocpám) RMH_08-04-07_119

- (48) **Soáano quih he smaanim aha.**
 sheet the.FL 1IO IR.ID-N-be.covering AUX-DCL

‘La sábana no me cubrirá.’

The sheet will not cover me. RMH_11-28p-07_31

18.2.6 Morphologically dative statives

A few stative verbs do not subcategorize for an oblique or indirect object but they nevertheless inflect for third person oblique/indirect object in all uses, as illustrated in (50)-(51).²³ (Their derived causatives also inflect for third person indirect object. See §19.5.2.)

- (49) √**naafij** *slightly arched*, √**patyax** *striped*, √**ootij** *dry*, √**iin** *short and pudgy*, √**ihmeel** *bright pink*, √**imahjö** *light pink*, √**imasol** *orange*, √**imaxp** *very light pink*, √**oomlax** *stuck together, stiff (in limbs)*, √**ipóotizx** *inside out*.

- (50) **¿Cötootij?** (* **¿Tootij?**)
 3IO-RL-dry RL-dry

‘¿Está seco?’

Is it dry? RMH_07-20-07_31

- (51) **°Ziix is ccaxl° imám pac hatáht ma, hax cövimásol oo.**
 pitaya.agria 3P-fruit some 1PS-RL-see-PL DS INTNS 3IO-DT-orange DL

‘Encontramos algunas frutas de pitaya agria, y eran anaranjadas.’ RMH_08-04-07_120

We found some pitaya agria fruit, they were orange-colored. (DS2005, cövimásol, improved)

The verb √**tootij** may, however, also occur with an oblique object which indicates the liquid

²³ In the 2005 dictionary they are all listed with this morphology in their entry forms.

of which the subject is lacking, in the pattern described in §18.2.5.

- (52) **Hax iihom com hax quih cōtootij ma x, ...**
 water 3P-AON-lie the.HZ water the.FL 3IO-RL-dry DS UT
 ‘Cuando un lugar donde hay agua está seco, ...’
When a place that holds water dries up ... (DS2005, quititlc) RMH_08-04-07_121

18.3 Involuntary action verbs

Some verbs typically describe a motion or other action that a nominal is involuntarily undergoing. Examples of these are listed in below. Some of these are also used to express a voluntary action (see §18.4).²⁴

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| (53) | INVOLUNTARY ACTION VERB | Semantics: | Patient |
| | | Syntax: | Subject |
- (54) a. Change toward a final condition: √**aactoj** *dry up (fruit) on plant*, √**apxölim** *break [long item]*, √**Camopxa** *get lost*, √**heme** *form into a group larger than expected*, √**mapcö** *burst open, float up*, √**masij** *open up [fruit, wound]*, √**oxt** *come loose*, √**ooxi** *die*,²⁵ etc.
- b. Action and/or motion: √**aahnij** *tremble*, √**ahmác** *throw off sparks*, √**ahxoomjoj** *shimmer*, √**ās** *make mistake*, √**oaafp** *bounce*, √**oáľali** *flap*, √**ooseta** *jiggle, twitch*, √**ooxot** *fall (as group)*, √**paainj** *tumble over*, √**pamiz** *rock*, √**ahtoopj** *fall from plant*, √**aanapoj** *stagger*, √**ahjiit** *fall*,²⁶ √**apniicl** *flip end to end*, √**oopjij** *vibrate gently*, √**ooxot** *fall [mass or group of things]*, √**oqueht** *bounce*, etc.
- c. Sound: √**afiix** *make mysterious sound*, √**oaap** *whinny*, √**ooha** *cry*, √**oosit** *rattle*, √**oots** *sizzle*, √**iifz** *make snapping noise*, etc.
- d. Bodily function or action: √**aahzx** *sneeze*, √**aajc** *yawn*, √**aapj** *choke on solid*, √**aazxl** *cough*, √**āii** *wake up part way*, √**amós** *grimace, squint*, √**anoozic** *frown*, √**apazpx** *soil one’s pants because of fear or surprise*, √**oaaxalim** *blink rapidly*, etc.

Some examples with human subjects are given here.

²⁴ If the action is done to another item, a causative verb is required; see §19.5.

²⁵ This verb is generally used only for animals; it is used with a human subject only pejoratively.

²⁶ This verb is etymologically a passive form of √**jiit** *throw* (Marlett 2002). It is generally used with the noun/adverb **hant** *land, down*.

- (55) **Ihpváajc.**
1sS.IN-DT-yawn
'Bostecé.'
I yawned. RMH_07-20-07_32a
- (56) **Zixquisiil° tintica hanso yaanapolca, ...**
child MD-AW just DT-stagger
'Este niño se está tambaleando, ...'
That child is staggering, ... (DS2005, caanapolca) RMH_07-20-07_32b
- (57) **Moxíma quih xaa hpvaii.**
yesterday the.FL soon 1sS.IN-DT-wake.up.partially
'Ayer desperté temprano.'
Yesterday I woke up early. (DS2005, caii) RMH_07-20-07_32c

The impersonal verb $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain* (see §18.1) is used with the noun **xat** *hail* as its subject to mean *to hail*.²⁷

- (58) **Xat yoopca.**
hail DT-rain
'Cayeron granizos.'
It hailed. RMH_08-04-07_122a

18.3.1 Dative involuntary action verbs

Some involuntary action verbs subcategorize for an oblique object, cross-referenced as an oblique/indirect object, which is some very relevant nominal. These are not treated as simple intransitive verbs with an oblique object like those presented in §2.4 since these verbs require the oblique nominal.

- | | DATIVE INVOLUNTARY ACTION VERB | Semantics: | Patient₁ | Patient₂ |
|------|---|------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | Syntax: | Subject | Oblique Object |
| (60) | a. $\sqrt{\text{coiimaj}}$ ²⁸ <i>wind oneself around</i>
b. $\sqrt{\text{aahjöim}}$ <i>choke on</i> | | | |
| (61) | Hehe hapéc quih °hehe hant haníp° cop
plant SN-PV-plant the.FL post the.VT | | | |

²⁷ The subjecthood of the noun **xat** is made evident when the causative of the impersonal verb $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain* (§19.5.1) is compared with the causative of the expression for *hail* (§19.5.4). The former is morphologically intransitive and the latter is morphologically transitive.

²⁸ This verb, the root of which is the same as a general term for non-venomous snake, is also a voluntary action verb when the subject is something like a snake.

ipxási coi imíitoj.
3P-flesh the.PL 3:3-PX-eat-PL

‘Cuando un venado bura se mata, es traído al campamento, y comen la carne.’
When a mule deer is killed, it is brought to camp and they eat the meat. (DS2005, quiiic) RRR

- (67) **Heecot poquíih x, °ziix ccam° zo popáho x,**
desert.area IR.DP-US-be.FL UT animal a IR.DP-PV-see UT
- siic aha.**
IR.ID-be.killed AUX-DCL

‘Un animal se mata si alguno lo ve cuando uno está en el monte.’
An animal is killed if someone sees it while one is in the desert. (DS2005, quiiic) RRR

18.4 Voluntary action verbs

Some intransitive verbs typically occur with an agentive subject.³¹

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| (68) | VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB | Semantics: | Agent |
| | | Syntax: | Subject |

- (69) a. Motion: $\sqrt{\text{aanpx}}$ *return home*, $\sqrt{\text{aapxtim}}$ *change place of residence*, $\sqrt{\text{aatotim}}$ *crawl*, $\sqrt{\text{ācat}}$ *swim*, $\sqrt{\text{ahehtim}}$ *wander around*, $\sqrt{\text{apoti}}$ *duck to avoid a blow*, $\sqrt{\text{argüeyotim}}$ *wander around*,³² $\sqrt{\text{atax}}$ *go*, $\sqrt{\text{cojp}}$ *jump (like toad)*, $\sqrt{\text{cap}}$ *fly*, $\sqrt{\text{fit}}$ *stand up from seated position*, $\sqrt{\text{haasx}}$ *stand in line side by side*, $\sqrt{\text{meetosa}}$ *stretch*, $\sqrt{\text{miha}}$ *go slowly*, $\sqrt{\text{neejim}}$ *dodge to one side*, $\sqrt{\text{ocasjc}}$ *walk with high steps*, $\sqrt{\text{ojoz}}$ *flee*, $\sqrt{\text{oocöz}}$ *trot*, $\sqrt{\text{otj}}$ *stand up from lying down*, $\sqrt{\text{ozaca}}$ *move a boat by poling*, $\sqrt{\text{atóm}}$ *make noisy strikes in water*, $\sqrt{\text{panzx}}$ *run*, $\sqrt{\text{afp}}$ *arrive*, etc.
- b. Speech and vocalizations: $\sqrt{\text{āaitom}}$ *speak*, $\sqrt{\text{Col}}$ *argue*, $\sqrt{\text{Cah}}$ *make musical sound*, $\sqrt{\text{oaap}}$ *give war whoop*, $\sqrt{\text{oos}}$ *sing*, etc.
- c. Other action: $\sqrt{\text{āsquim}}$ *paddle*, $\sqrt{\text{ocalim}}$ *pack (to travel)*, $\sqrt{\text{aalim}}$ *play*, etc.

Some examples of the verbs in context are given here. Some of them may occur with an optional oblique object (see §2.4), of course, such as the verb for *arrive* in (70).

³¹ Some of them are also used for involuntary action. For example, $\sqrt{\text{aanpx}}$ *return home* is also used to mean *shrink*, and $\sqrt{\text{ojoz}}$ *flee* is also used to mean *squirt out* (intransitive).

³² This word, presumably based on the root ‘vagar’ from Spanish, is unusual because of the sound [g^w] in it. See Appendix B.

- (70) **Xicaquizíil° coi pacataj x, canóaa com cösiizcam aha.**
 children the.PL IR.DP-swim-PL UT boat the.HZ 3IO-IR.ID-arrive.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Los niños llegarán a la panga nadando.’
The children will get to the boat by swimming. (DS2005, cacat, improved) RMH_05-17-08_263
- (71) **°Ziix coquéht° zo hit °hant sooit° ta ma,**
 ball a 1P-on land IR.ID-arrive AUX.RL DS
hptapóti ma, ...
 1sS.IN-RL-duck.a.blow DS
 ‘Una pelota me iba a pegar y la eludí al agacharme, ...’
A ball was going to hit me and I ducked, ... (DS2005, capóti) RMH_07-20-07_34b
- (72) **Haxz tintica tacat, hax yatómtim oo.**
 dog MD-AW RL-swim INTNS DT-make.sound.in.water DL
 ‘El perro nadaba y golpeaba el agua (haciendo sonido).’ RMH_07-20-07_34c
The dog was swimming and was hitting the water (making sound.) (DS2005, catóm)

Motion events do not conflate the manner in the verb, so activity verbs do not describe bound events.

- (73) a. **Haxz tintica xepe ano cacatim iha.**
 dog DT-AW sea 3P.in SN-swim-IMPF DCL
 ‘El perro está nadando en el mar.’
The dog is swimming in the sea. QQQR
- b. * **Haxz tintica canóaa com iti/ano/... yacat(im).**
 dog DT-AW boat the.HZ 3P-on/3P.in/from DT-swim(-IMPF)
 (‘El perro nadó a/de ... la panga.’) (*The dog swam to/from... the boat.*) QQ
- (74) a. **Cmaam tintica °hehe án° com ano cpanozxim iha.**
 woman DT-AW countryside the.HZ 3P.in/from SN-run-IMPF DCL
 ‘La mujer está corriendo por el monte.’
The woman is running in the countryside. QQQR
- b. * **Cmaam tintica haaco cop ano yopánzx.**
 woman DT-AW ABS.house the.VT 3P.in/from DT-run QQQxxx
 (‘La mujer salió de la casa corriendo.’) (*The woman ran out of the house.*)

18.4.1 Motion verbs

Some verbs that indicate motion subcategorize for a locative oblique object, a location adverb, or a locative PP (except for $\sqrt{\text{ooit}}$). The irregular verb root $\sqrt{\text{a}}$ also requires either the venitive prefix **mo-** (TWD) or the andative prefix **nt-** (AW). (The two verbs that are formed from this root are extremely common.)

hascmáaj **aha.**
 1PS-IR.ID-N-know-PL AUX-DCL

‘Los de nosotros que somos altos no podremos entrarlo.’
We who are tall won't be able to enter it. RMH_08-24-07_91

In an imperative, the verb meaning *come* can be used without the overt expression of a location.

- (83) **¡Mohat!** **¡Hizac iti cazcam!**
 TWD-IM-move-PL PX-LC 3P-on IM-arrive.PL
 ‘¡Vengan! ¡Vengan aquí!’
Come (pl.)! Come (pl.) here! RMH_07-11-07_35b

The root $\sqrt{\text{ooit}}$ may occur with a directional prefix (perhaps only when the subject is *the wind*) and in that case not have a separate location expressed.

- (84) **Hai cap taapl, intóoit, ...**
 wind the.VT RL-cold TWD-RL-arrive
 ‘El viento está frío, llega, ...’
The wind is cold, it arrives, ... Hast_Cacóla_28

The root $\sqrt{\text{iin}}$ may also occur with a directional prefix; see §17.1.6. When it occurs with an oblique object, it often has the sense of *return*.

18.4.2 Locational verbs as motion verbs

Some of the same verbs described in §18.2.2 that indicate the location of the argument are also used to indicate motion of a volitional being. Like their stative counterparts, they require the expression of a location in the clause. But in addition to the ones possible when used as a statives (except for the oblique object, it seems), they may also occur with an locative noun (§5.4) when used as verbs of motion.

(85)	LOCATIONAL VERB	Semantics:	Agent	Location
	AS VERB OF MOTION	Syntax:	Subject	Adverb ~ PP ~ Location Noun

Example with an adverb before the motion verb:

- (86) a. $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *sit*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ *stand*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ *lie*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{iih}}$ *walk* (in imperfective aspect), *reside*

- (87) **Ziic quij cola quij iha.**
 bird the.CM high SN-sit DCL
 ‘El ave está sentada arriba.’
The bird is sitting up high. RMH_08-24-07_69b

Examples with a PP before the motion verb:

- (88) **¡Hant czaahox com iti hijj!**
 place/land SN-sunny the.HZ 3P-on IM-sit
 ‘¡Siéntate aquí a la luz del sol!’
Sit down in the sunny place! (DS2005, czaahox) RRR
- (89) **¡Hahóot z iti camom!**
 ABS-entrance a 3P-on IMP-N-lie
 ‘¡No te acuestes en la puerta!’
Don’t lie down in the doorway!
- (90) **Xiica coi imac hac ano cap, ...**
 thing.PL the.PL 3P-midst the.LC 3P.in IM-stand
 ‘Ponte de pie en medio de esas personas, ...’
Stand up in the midst of them, ... (Lk 6:8) RMH_08-21-07_99e

Example with a location noun before the motion verb:

- (91) **¡Hant hijj!**
 land IM-sit
 ‘¡Siéntate!’
Sit down! RRR

18.4.3 Limited dative voluntary action

One verb, *veeti* *fetch*, subcategorizes for an obligatory beneficiary.³³ But this verb presents a morphosyntactic twist that is found in several verbs (discussed in other sections of this chapter, including the following). If the beneficiary is singular, it is an indirect object. If the beneficiary is plural, it occurs in a postpositional phrase headed by **ano** (literally *in*).³⁴

³³ Beneficiary is a semantic role that is virtually absent from the language except in the cases of the derived assistive verbs (§19.6) where the beneficiary is the direct object. Beneficative constructions of the sort *I will sing for you* or *John will build a house for you* do not exist.

³⁴ It is proposed that **ano** is the default marking for plural human arguments that are not given syntactic subcategorization status (see §22.3.3).

(92)	LIMITED DATIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB		
	Semantics:	Agent	Beneficiary
	√ <i>veeti</i> <i>fetch</i>	Syntax: Subject	Indirect Object _{sg} / PP _{ano}

The example in (93a) shows a plural beneficiary of the fetching; the clause is morphologically intransitive; note that the intransitive **hp-** allomorph of first person singular subject inflection as opposed to the transitive **h-** allomorph (see §17.1.2.1 and Appendix C). The plural beneficiary cannot occur as an indirect object, as shown in (93b).

- (93) a. **Comcáac tacoi ano hpveeti.**
 person.PL MD-PL 3P.in 1sS.IN-DT-fetch
 b. * **Comcáac tacoi cohpyéeti.**
 ‘Recogí para esas personas.’
I fetched for those people. RMH_07-20-07_38a
- (94) **Ihpóoiij, me hpseeti haa hi.**
 1sS.IN-IR.DP-UO.fetch.water 2IO 1sS.IN-IR.ID-fetch AUX DCL
 ‘Acarrearé agua para ti.’ (*‘Acarrearé para ustedes.’)
*I will go fetch water for you (sg.) (*pl.).* (DS2005, queeti) RMH_07-20-07_38b
- (95) **Cohpyéeti.**
 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-fetch
 ‘Recogí para él/ella.’ (*‘Recogí para ellos.’)
*I fetched for him/her. (*I fetched for them.)* RMH_07-20-07_38c

The inclusion of the item fetched renders the sentence ungrammatical whether the verb is conjugated as an intransitive verb or as a transitive one, and regardless of the word order of the noun phrases in question, as the following examples illustrate.³⁵

- (96) a. * **Ziix zo comcáac tacoi ano hpyeeti.**
 thing a person.PL MD-PL 1sS.IN-DT-fetch
 b. * **Ziix zo comcáac tacoi ano hyeeti.**
 c. * **Comcáac tacoi ziix z ano hpyeeti.**
 d. * **Comcáac tacoi ziix z ano hyeeti.**
 (‘Recogí algo para esas personas.’) (*I fetched for those people.*)

And the same is true even if the verb is inflected for an indirect object; this verb simply does not subcategorize for a patient (the item fetched).

³⁵ The postposition would always need to stay in preverbal position; see chapter 22.

- (97) a. * **Comcáac tacoi ziix zo cohyéeti.**
 b. * **Comcáac tacoi ziix zo cohpyéeti.**
 c. * **Ziix zo comcáac tacoi cohyéeti.**
 d. * **Ziix zo comcáac tacoi cohpyéeti.**

(‘Recogí algo para esas personas.’) (*I fetched for those people.*)

As shown above and also in (98), a singular indirect object is grammatical, but even with a singular indirect object, no patient/direct object is allowed.

- (98) **Me hpyeeti.**
 2IO 1SS.IN-DT-fetch
 ‘Recogí para ti.’ (*‘Recogí para ustedes.’)
*I fetched for you (sg.). (*I fetched for you (pl.).)* RMH_08-14-07_71c

- (99) a. * **Ziix zo me hpyeeti.**
 thing a 2IO 1SS.IN-DT-fetch
 b. * **Ziix zo me hyeeti.**
 thing a 2IO 1SS.TR-DT-fetch

(‘Recogí algo para ti.’)
(I fetched something for you (sg.).)

18.4.4 Dative voluntary action verbs

A few voluntary action verbs never occur without an oblique object; notice the prefix **co-/cö-** (§17.1.2.4) in the examples that follow. The semantic role of the oblique object is a location in one case and a patient in several.³⁶

With the verb $\sqrt{\text{zeemj\ddot{o}}}$, the oblique/indirect object is the location in which the diving is done. A clause in which it occurs is intransitive by all available tests.

(100)	DATIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB	Semantics:	Agent	Location
	(LOCATION)			
	$\sqrt{\text{zeemj\ddot{o}}}$ <i>dive</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Oblique Object

³⁶ The point is made in Marlett 2008 that this is not quirky case (where a real direct object simply looks like an indirect object). The quirky case analysis would not explain the intransitivity of the clause that is indicated by various other facts (see Appendix C).

- (101) ... **xepe cyaail com cõtzeemjõ**, ...
 sea SN-deep the.Hz 3IO-RL-dive
 ‘... se clavó en el mar profundo, ...’
 ... *he dove into the deep sea*, ... (DS2005, coczéemjõ)³⁷ RMH_07-20-07_36

For some verbs the oblique object is a semantically a patient. These clauses are morphologically intransitive by all tests (see Appendix C).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (102) | DATIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB | Semantics: | Agent | Patient |
| | | Syntax: | Subject | Oblique Object |
- (103) a. √**anaafin**³⁸ *surround*
 b. √**eesyat** *pay as bride price*
 c. √**ocosot**³⁹ *lend*
 d. √**aaitim** *chase after*
 e. √**eexetim** *refuse to give up*
 f. √**eejit** *bet with*
- (104) **Cmaam cop cõvanáafin.**
 woman the.VT 3IO-DT-surround
 ‘Rodearon a la mujer.’
They surrounded the woman. RMH_05-17-08_264
- (105) °**Eenm haacni° zo cohpyéesyat** ...
 rifle a 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-pay.as.bride.price
 ‘Doté un rifle ...’
I paid a rifle as bride price ... (DS2005, cõqueesyat) RMH_07-20-07_37b
- (106) **Hitróoqui quij cohpyomocósot.**
 1P-vehicle the.CM 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-N-lend
 ‘No he prestado mi carro.’
I haven’t lent my car. RMH_07-20-07_37c

³⁷ This verb appeared in the 2005 dictionary as **coczéemj**, but will be changed (corrected) to **coczéemjõ** in the second edition. There may be idiolectal variation on this point.

³⁸ This verb typically is understood as having a plural subject. The stem √**anaafin** indicates that one person or thing is being surrounded; the stem √**anaafilocj** indicates that more than one person or thing is being surrounded.

³⁹ This verb is included here for the sake of presentation, but it is obviously related etymologically to the verb √**aaasot** *lend* (see below in this section) with which it is synonymous as long as no recipient determines inflection on the verb. The material at the beginning of the stem looks like one of the allomorphs for Unspecified Object (§19.1.1).

- (107) **¿Itróoqui quij cōtocósot?**
 3P-vehicle the.CM 3IO-RL-lend
 ‘¿Prestó su carro?’
Did s/he lend his/her car? RMH_07-20-07_37d
- (108) **Ctam zo toc contíta ma, cohpyáaitim, ...**
 man a there 3IO-AW-RL-move DS 3IO-1SS.IN-DT-chase
 ‘Un hombre iba hacia allá, y lo perseguí, ...’
A man was going there, and I chased after him, ... (DS2005, cōcaaitim) RMH_05-17-08_265
- (109) **... cōteexetim ma, ...**
 3IO-RL-refuse.give.up DS
 ‘... negó soltarlo ...’
... [the traveler] refused to let go of it [his overcoat] ... (Viento_Norte_7)
- (110) **Himoz quij cohpséepit aha — ox mee, °ziix coosyat° quih.**
 1P-heart the.CM 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.ID-? AUX-DCL thus PX-say giant the.FL
 ‘Apostaré mi corazón —dijo el gigante.’
“I will bet my heart,” said the giant. (DS2005, queepit) RMH_07-11-07_51b

Two verbs have the schema shown in (111) which is similar to that in (102) except that it allows for an optional recipient.⁴⁰ The recipient must be a direct object if it is singular but the complement of **ano** (literally, *in*) if it is plural.

- (111) **DATIVE VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB WITH OPTIONAL RECIPIENT**
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------|-----------------------|---|
| Semantics: | Agent | Patient | (Recipient) |
| Syntax: | Subject | Oblique Object | (Direct Object_{sg/} PP_{ano}) |
- (112) a. $\sqrt{\text{italháa}}$ ⁴¹ *sell*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{aasot}}$ *lend*

First, consider examples in which the recipient does not occur. Such clauses are intransitive by all available tests (see Appendix C). In (113) the intransitive allomorph **hp-** of first person singular subject inflection occurs (§17.1.2.1), in (115) the 3:3 prefix **i-** does not occur (§17.1.2.1), and in (117) the intransitive allomorph of the infinitive prefix (17.2.1) occurs.

⁴⁰ The topic of subcategorization of ditransitives is discussed in detail in Marlett (to appear). The presentation here differs in an important way in that it distinguishes more sharply between optional indirect objects and obligatory ones.

⁴¹ This verb means *buy* when it is in a different syntactic configuration; see §18.5.

- (113) **Hasaj hoop quih cohpsitalháa ha.**
 basket 1P-ON-sew the.FL 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.ID-buy/sell AUX-DCL
 ‘Voy a vender la canasta que hice.’
I am going to sell the basket that I made. (DS2005, quitalháa) RMH_07-20-07_39^a
- (114) **Zixám hipcom cohptcmitalháa ho.**
 fish PX-HZ 3IO-1SS.IN-RL-N-buy/sell DECL
 ‘No vendí este pescado.’
I didn’t sell this fish. RMH_08-14-07_71h
- (115) **Cõtmitalháa ho.**
 3IO-RL-N-buy/sell DCL
 ‘No lo/la vendió.’
S/he didn’t sell it. RMH_07-20-07_39b RMH_08-14-07_71g
- (116) **Zixám hipcom cohptcmitalháa ho.**
 fish PX-HZ 3IO-1SS.IN-RL-N-buy/sell DCL
 ‘No vendí este pescado.’
I didn’t sell this fish. RMH_07-20-07_39c
- (117) **Hasaj cap cöiquitalháa hmiimzo.**
 basket the.VT 3IO-INF.IN-buy/sell 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero vender la canasta.’
I want to sell the basket. RMH_07-20-07_39d RMH_08-14-07_71i
- (118) **Cmaax eenim ihyáa° zo cohpscmaásot haa hi.**
 now knife mine a 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.ID-lend AUX DCL
 ‘Ahora no prestaré ningún cuchillo mío.’
Now I won’t lend any knife of mine. RMH_07-20-07_40e RMH_08-14-07_71e

These verbs also, however, allow for the inclusion of an optional recipient in the clause, A singular recipient is direct object in the following examples (for which there are no paraphrases); it determines direct object inflection and the clause is transitive by all tests. In (119), therefore, the indirect object inflection **co-** cross-references the phrase **hasaj cap**, as in (113), and the clause is transitive because of the presence of a recipient as direct object. The transitivity of the clause is indicated by the allomorph **h-** for first person singular subject.

- (119) **Hasaj cop cohyitalháa.** (120) **Cöiyitalháa.**
 basket the.VT 3IO-1SS.TR-DT-buy/sell 3IO-3:3-DT-sell
 ‘Le vendí la canasta.’ RMH_07-20-07_40b ‘Se lo/la vendió.’ RMH_05-17-08_266
I sold the basket to him/her. *S/he sold it to him/her.*

In other examples below where there is a first or second person direct object, there is some morphological conflation that obscures the syntactic facts a bit — the situation called object

blending in §17.1.2.5.⁴²

- (121) **Tiix** me ihatalháa **imáa** **ha.**
 DDS 3IO+2SDO INF.TR-buy/sell SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No te lo/la puede vender.’
S/he can’t sell it to you (sg.). RMH_07-20-07_40c
- (122) **¡Icocózyax^o zo he haasot!**
 scissors a 3IO+1SDO IM-lend
 ‘¡Préstame las tijeras.’
Lend me some scissors! (DS2005, cōcaasot) RMH_07-20-07_40d
- (123) ^o**Eenm haacni^o zo me tompásot,** ...⁴³
 rifle a 3IO+2SDO RL-N-PV-lend
 ‘No fuiste prestado un rifle.’
You (sg.) weren’t lent a rifle. RMH_07-20-07_40a RMH_08-14-07_71n
- (124) **¡He haasot!**
 3IO+1DO IM-lend
 ‘¡Préstamelo/la!’
Lend me it! RMH_08-14-07_71k
- (125) **Tiix** me ihatalháa **imáa** **ha.**
 DDS 3IO+2SDO INF.TR-buy/sell SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No te lo puede vender.’
S/he can’t sell it to you (sg.). RMH_08-14-07_71m

A plural recipient with these verbs is the complement of the postposition **ano** (literally *in*) and is not the direct object. The result is that a clause with these verbs has an overt patient (which is the oblique/indirect object) and an explicit plural recipient (which is the complement of **ano**); the verb in such a clause is morphologically *intransitive*, as all available tests indicate.

- (126) **Mino cōiquitalháa hmiimzo.**
 2P-in 3IO-INF.IN-buy/sell 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero venderse/lo/la a ustedes.’
I want to sell it to you (pl.). RMH_07-20-07_41a RMH_08-14-07_71j
- (127) **Hitróoqui quih áno cohpyitalháa.**
 1P-vehicle the.FL 3P.in 3IO-1SS.IN-DT-buy/sell
 ‘Les vendí mi carro.’
I sold them my car. RMH_07-20-07_41b

⁴² Unless one sees these examples in their place within the complete arrangement of facts, one can easily misanalyze them by misunderstanding what seems to be simple indirect/oblique inflection.

⁴³ An impersonal passive is required here although this is not transparent; see §9.2.2.

- (128) **Hino cövitalháa.**
 1P-in 3IO-DT-buy/sell
 ‘Nos lo/la vendió.’
S/he sold it to us. RMH_07-20-07_41c
- (129) **Eenim zo hino cövaasotim.**⁴⁴
 knife a 1P-in 3IO-DT-lend
 ‘Nos prestó un cuchillo.’
S/he lent a knife to us. RMH_07-20-07_42b
- (130) **°Eenm haaczoj° quih coocj ih hino comcáasot(im).**
 rifles the.FL SN-two FOC 1P-in 3IO-PX-US-lend
 ‘Alguien nos prestó dos rifles.’
One (unspecified) lent two rifles to us. RMH_07-20-07_42a RMH_08-14-07_71f

18.4.5 Morphologically dative voluntary action

At least two verbs of voluntary action, $\sqrt{\text{monjc}}$ *go in zigzag fashion* and $\sqrt{\text{aaihalx}}$ *protect one’s eyes against the sun*, always carry third person oblique/indirect object inflection although no oblique/indirect object occurs with them.

- (131) **Ctaamjij zo htaho, ihyoím xo cötmonjc ma, ...**
 sidwinder a 1sS.TR-RL-see 1sS.TR-DT-throw.at but 3IO-RL-go.zigzag DS
 ‘Vi una víbora cornuda, tiré a ella, pero andaba en zigzag ...’ RMH_08-04-07_123
I saw a sidwinder and threw something at it, but since it was going zigzag ...
- (132) **... emiique cmaam zo toc cötap, cötaaihalx, hizi yoocia.**
 person woman a there 3IO-RL-stand 3IO-RL-protect.eyes 1PDO DT-look.at
 ‘... una mujer seri que estaba allí nos miraba, protegiéndose los ojos.’ RMH_05-17-08_267
... a Seri woman there was looking at us while protecting her eyes. (DS2005, cöcaaihalx)

18.4.6 Intransitive lexical reflexives

Several voluntary action intransitive verbs are distinguishable, perhaps, from other voluntary action intransitive verbs because the action is always implicitly done toward the agent subject — they are inherently reflexive.⁴⁵ Furthermore, these verbs never take a reflexive pronoun. The schema for these verbs might be given as in (133).

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------|--|
| (133) | LEXICAL REFLEXIVE VERB | Semantics: | Agent_i+Patient_i |
| | | Syntax: | Subject |

⁴⁴ There are three ways to say this according to my consultants. First, the form given in the text. Second, **Eenim zo hino he yaasotim**, with the person of the Addressee actually appearing twice in the sentence. Third, **Eenim z ano he yaasotim**, where the person of the Addressee appears as Indirect Object and the postposition **ano** just sits there. This third option, which is preferred by some people, may represent a complication. The Addressee is Indirect Object; the Theme is not Direct Object (since the clause is intransitive). If the Theme is a Chômeur, what is the reason for **ano**? If the Theme is the complement of a postposition, this is the one situation where that option arises.

⁴⁵ If the action is done toward someone else, a derived verb must be used; see §19.5.6.

- (134) a. $\sqrt{\text{acötím}}$ *cover one's body (as with blanket)*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{oneaax}}$ *wash one's hands*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{ásaquim}}$ ⁴⁶ *comb one's hair*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{panim}}$ *wash one's hair*

Some examples of these lexical reflexives are given below; these demonstrate the intransitivity of these clauses. Note that in (135) and (136) the intransitive first person singular inflection allomorph **hp-** occurs, and that in (138) the 3:3 prefix **i-** (§17.1.2.1) does not occur on the relevant verb.⁴⁷

- (135) **Hicáamiz quih htapox, cohpmácötím.**
 IP-shirt the,SF 1sS.TR-RL-remove 3IO-1sS.IN-PX-cover.oneself
 ‘Me quité la camisa y me cubrí con ella.’
I took off my shirt and covered myself up with it. (DS2005, cacötím) OP_2-07-07_51
- (136) **Haptco hpmónéaax.** (137) **Ihpyopánim.**
 already 1sS.IN-PX-wash.hands 1sS.IN-DT-wash.hair
 ‘Ya me lavé las manos.’ ‘Me lavé el pelo.’
I already washed my hands. I washed my hair. (DS2005, cpanim)
 (DS2005, conéaax) OP_2-07-07_52 RMH_07-20-07_43a
- (138) **Ilít quij ittánala x, tasaquim x, hant quih iti miij.**
 3P-head/hair the.CM 3:3-RL-do UT RL-comb.hair UT land the.FL 3P-on PX-sit
 ‘Ahí estaba peinándose y arreglándose el cabello.’
She was there combing and fixing her hair. (DS2005, casaquim) OP_2-07-07_53

Two of the lexical reflexives (if they should be called that) are slightly different from the others in that they require an oblique/indirect object which is the object on which the action is done.⁴⁸

(139)	DATIVE LEXICAL REFLEXIVE VERB		
	Semantics:	Agent+Patient₁	Patient₂
	Syntax:	Subject	Oblique Object

⁴⁶ The verb $\sqrt{\text{ásaquim}}$ *comb one's hair* has a root similar to $\sqrt{\text{asaquim}}$ *brush (something)*. The verb $\sqrt{\text{ásaquim}}$ has a short vowel but conjugates as if it were a long vowel, however; see §27.6.

⁴⁷ If one wishes to perform these actions to another person, then a causative form must be used. See §19.5.6.

⁴⁸ The verb $\sqrt{\text{coimaj}}$ also appears in §18.3.1 as a verb of involuntary action since a plant as well as a snake can do this action.

- (140) a. $\sqrt{\text{coiimaj}}$ *wind oneself around Patient₂*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{atiitix}}$ ⁴⁹ *support oneself on Patient₂*
- (141) **Cocázní° tintica hehe cop cöyocoíimaj.**
 rattlesnake MD-AW tree/plant the.VT 3IO-DT-wind.around
 ‘La víbora de cascabel se enredó en el árbol.’
The rattlesnake wrapped itself around the tree. RMH_08-04-07_124
- (142) ..., **iti cohptatfiitx ma, ...**
 3P-on 3IO-1sS.IN-RL-lean DS
 ‘..., me recargué en ella ...’
 ..., *I leaned on it ...* (DS2005, cöcatfiitx) RMH_07-20-07_43b

18.4.7 Intransitive verbs introducing direct quotes or thoughts

The intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{ve}}$ *say* (plural stem: $\sqrt{\text{ooza}}$), used with the adverb **ox** *thus*, presents direct quotes; the discourse itself does not determine any inflection on the verb. The intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think*, used with the adverb **ox** *thus*, presents direct expressions of thought. These clauses are morphologically intransitive. (For more details, see the discussion of quotations in §12.7.)

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (143) | DIRECT QUOTE/THOUGHT VERB | | |
| | Semantics: | Agent | (Direct Discourse) |
| | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Quote/Thought |
- (144) a. $\sqrt{\text{ve}}$ *say*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think*
- (145) **Ox mee: “...”.**
 thus PX-say
 ‘Así dijo: “...”’
S/he said: “...” RMH_05-17-08_268
- (146) **Ox mooza: “...”.**
 thus PX-say.PL
 ‘Así dijeron: “...”’
They said: “...” RMH_05-17-08_269
- (147) **Ox miimoz: “...”.**
 thus PX-think
 ‘Así pensó: “...”’
He thought: “...” RMH_05-17-08_270

The questions that corresponds to these statements use the adverb **zó** *how?* for the question word: **¿Zó tee?** (how RL-say) *What did s/he say?*

A transitive verb which subcategorizes for an addressee and a direct quote is presented in

⁴⁹ As example (142) below shows, the postposition **iti** (3P-on) also occurs with this verb and the item on which one leans is presumably the complement of that postposition as well as the indirect object. Such double marking of nominals is not common in the language, but it is attested elsewhere (see §XX).

§18.5.9.

18.4.8 Intransitive verbs presenting indirect quotations and thoughts

The intransitive verb $\sqrt{e_{\text{Irreg}}}$ *say* follows indirect quotes and the intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think* follows indirect thoughts; the indirect quote or thought itself does not determine any inflection on the verb. These clauses are morphologically intransitive. (For more details on the form of the indirect quotes or thoughts, see the discussions in §12.4 and §12.5.)

(148)	INDIRECT QUOTE/THOUGHT VERB		
	Semantics:	Agent	(Indirect Discourse)
	Syntax:	Subject	Indirect Quote / Thought

- (149) a. $\sqrt{e_{\text{Irreg}}}$ *say*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think*

18.4.9 Phasal verbs

Three verbs function as phasal verbs with raising of the complement's subject even though two of them are etymologically and morphologically transitive verbs. The simplified schema shown in (151) is meant to indicate that the phasal verb has a surface subject which has no semantic relationship to the phasal verb (hence the lack of role for that nominal on the semantics line). That subject must be coreferential with the subject of the event clause. These verbs are discussed in detail in §12.3 where it is argued that these are raising predicates and not control predicates.

- (150) a. $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ *be/do continuously*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{acatx}}$ *stop*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{axi}}$ *finish*

(151)	PHASAL VERB	Semantics:	Event
		Syntax:	[[Subject_i ...] Subject_i]

18.4.10 The verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know as be able*

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know* can be used to mean *be able*. The complement in that case is an infinitival clause. It is shown in §12.1.2 that the construction is one of raising and not control.

(152)		Semantics:	Event
	[aCa] <i>be able</i>	Syntax:	[[\emptyset - Subject_i ...] _{Infinitival} Subject_i]

18.5 Simple transitive verbs

The lexicon includes many simple transitive verbs with agent or experiencer subjects. Some examples are agent subjects are: $\sqrt{\text{aafc}}$ *pound*, $\sqrt{\text{acö}}$ *kill*, $\sqrt{\text{ahit}}$ *eat*, $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ *sew basket*, $\sqrt{\text{apis}}$ *smoke*, $\sqrt{\text{azix}}$ *cut with sawing motion*, $\sqrt{\text{azt}}$ *tattoo*, $\sqrt{\text{isxö}}$ *hide*, $\sqrt{\text{Caxz}}$ *pound [with long object]*, and $\sqrt{\text{nip}}$ *hit (especially with the hand)*. Some of these predicates typically indicate activities and others indicate accomplishments.⁵⁰

Some examples with experiencer subjects are: $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know*, $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$ *see*, $\sqrt{\text{ii}}$ *hear*, $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$ *look at*, $\sqrt{\text{pii}}$ *taste*, and $\sqrt{\text{Cii}}$ *feel*. Most of these are stative verbs, although $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$ *look at* appears to be an activity.

(153)	SIMPLE TRANSITIVE VERB	Semantics:	Agent/Experiencer	Patient
		Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object
(154)	¡Hisxö! IM-hide '¡Escóndelo/la!' <i>Hide it!</i> RMH_08-14-07_71ff	(155)	¿He hsixö haaya? 1PRO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-hide AUX-QM '¿Lo/la debo esconder?' <i>Shall I hide it?</i> RMH_08-14-07_71gg	

These verbs do not generally allow an instrument as subject, so far as is known.

(156)	* Eenim cop ziix ipxási iyoozix. knife the thing 3P-flesh 3:3-DT-saw (‘El cuchillo cortó la carne.’) (<i>The knife cut the meat.</i>) QQQ check this carefully
-------	---

Some transitive verbs are verbs of giving, saying, or exchanging but do not allow under any circumstances a recipient or addressee. The verbs $\sqrt{\text{eque}}$ *give (as a gift)* and $\sqrt{\text{italháa}}$ *buy*⁵¹ are in this class of simple transitives. Some examples are given below.

(157)	¿Itróoqui quih itéque? 3P-vehicle the.FL 3:3-RL-give.as.gift '¿Obsequió su carro?' <i>Did s/he give his/her car (as a gift)?</i> RMH_07-20-07_44a
(158)	¿Zixcám catxo pac sitalháa queeya? fish SN-much some 3:3-IR.ID-buy/sell AUX.SN-QM '¿Comprará mucho pescado?' <i>Will s/he buy a lot of fish?</i> RMH_05-17-08_271 RMH_05-17-08_272

⁵⁰ The different classes of situations types is due to Vendler (1967). See Dowty (1979) and others

⁵¹ This verb is identical to *sell* (see §18.4.4) in the form of its root. The two meanings are distinguished by the syntactic frames in which they occur.

- (159) **Hasaj cap ihatalháa hmiimzo.**
 basket the.VT INF.TR-buy/sell 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero comprar la canasta.’
I want to buy the basket. RMH_07-20-07_44e

The ungrammatical sentences in (160) are all attempts to try to include mention of the person from whom the basket would be bought. None is successful because the verb meaning *buy* simply does not subcategorize for one semantically. The same is true for the verb *√eque give as gift* in that it cannot mention the recipient.

- (160) a. * **Hasaj cap me ihatalháa hmiimzo.**
 basket the.VT 2IO INF.TR-buy/sell 1SS.TR-PX-want
 b. * **Hasaj cap miti ihatalháa hmiimzo.**
 2P-on INF.TR-buy/sell
 c. * **Hasaj cap ma ihatalháa hmiimzo.**
 2SDO INF.TR-buy/sell

(‘Quiero comprar la canasta de ti.’) (*I want to buy the basket from you.*)

The verb *√aCa know* may occur with a simple nominal object complement in the sense of *know a fact* (‘saber’) but not in the sense of *know a person* (‘conocer’) unless some elaboration is given. The examples immediately below illustrate the first sense.⁵²

- (161) ¿ [**Itáasi zo**] **ntá?**
 3P-name a 2SS-RL-know
 ‘¿Sabes su nombre?’
Do you know his/her/its name? RMH_11-28p-07_32
- (162) ¿ **Me [°hant ihíp° zo]** **ntá?**
 2PRO its.meaning a 2SS-RL-know
 ‘¿Lo entiendes?’
Do you understand it? (DS2005, quiya) RMH_11-28p-07_33
- (163) [**Hipimax iiqui ihíih ipi z**] **impá ha xo ...**
 even 3P-toward 3P-AON-be.FL even a SN-N-PV-know DCL but
 ‘Ni se sabe dónde estaba pero ...’
It isn’t even known where he was but ... (Lk 15:32) RMH_11-28p-07_34
- (164) ¿ [**Quihéhe° quij zix chaa zo**] **ntá?**
 ruler the.CM thing SN-EQ a 2SS-RL-know
 ‘¿Sabes quién qué tipo de persona es el gobernador?’
Do you know what kind of person the governor is? XMH-08-08-07_286

⁵² It also has the meaning *be able*; this is discussed in §18.4.10.

- (165) ¿[**Quihéhe°** **quij** **ziix** **chaa** **quih**] **ntá?**
 ruler the.CM thing SN-EQ the.FL 2sS-RL-know
 ‘¿Sabes quién es el gobernador?’
Do you know who the governor is? RMH_05-17-08_273
- (166) **He** **miizj ihmíya,** [**me** **cōmiháa** **hac**].
 1PRO well 1sS.TR-PX-know 2PRO 3IO-2P-AON-EQ the.LC
 ‘Yo sé bien quien eres.’
I know very well who you are. XMH-08-08-07_288

The following example represents the unsuccessful attempts to use this verb in a simple sentence with the sense of *be acquainted with*.

- (167) ¿**Ma tá?**⁵³
 2sDO RL-know
 (¿Te conoce?) (*Does s/he know you?*)

The typical way to express the idea of *be acquainted with* is with a biclausal structure using an adverbial clause with the verb √**aho** *see* followed by the verb √**aCa** *know* which has the person known as its direct object, as evident by examples (168ff).

- (168) ¿**Ma taho** **ma tá?**
 2sDO RL-see 2sDO RL-know
 ‘¿Te conoce?’
Does s/he know you? RMH_11-28p-07_35
- (169) ¿**Juan quih** **intáho** **ntá?**
 the.FL 2sS-RL-see 2sS-RL-know
 ‘¿Conoces a Juan?’
Do you know Juan? XMH-08-08-07_285
- (170) ¿**Quihéhe°** **quij** **intáho** **ntá?**
 ruler the.CM 2sS-RL-see 2sS-RL-know
 ‘¿Conoces el gobernador?’
Are you acquainted with the governor? XMH-08-08-07_287

Not all transitive verbs have agent/experiencer subjects. Some transitive verbs take subjects that are patients.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the syntax of these types of clauses is not different from the

⁵³ This phrase can be used to mean *Does it (e.g. a pet) recognize you?* If it is a person (such as a recovering patient in the hospital) who is recognizing another, the phrasing is ¿**Ziix chaa quih ma tá?** (thing SN-EQ the.FL 2sDO RL-know).

⁵⁴ The verb √**mis** in addition may take a complement clause with an inflected deverbal noun (§14.2).

standard transitives.⁵⁵

- (171) **TRANSITIVE VERB WITH PATIENT SUBJECT**
- | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Semantics: | Patient₁ | Patient₂ |
| Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object |
-
- (172) a. $\sqrt{\text{mis}}$ *resemble*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{âainim}}$ *mix with*
- (173) ..., **hap** **itáamalca** **itmís,** ...
 mule.deer 3P-antler(s) 3:3-RL-resemble
 ‘..., se parecía a los cuernos del venado bura, ...’
 ..., *they resembled mule deer antlers, ...* (Conejo_Cuernos_2b)
- (174) **Hax cop** °**hasáaiti coozlil**° **cop** **iyóoinim.**
 water the.VT lubricating.oil the.VT 3:3-DT-mix.with
 ‘El agua se mezcló con el aceite.’
The water mixed with the oil. (DS2005, quininim) RMH_08-04-07_127a

18.5.1 Simple transitives with location

A few transitive verbs (at least) subcategorize to have a location expressed in the clause, usually as a PP but sometimes as a location adverb, location noun, or a cross-referenced oblique object. These are all verbs that translate as *put*.

- (175) **TRANSITIVE VERB WITH LOCATION**
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Semantics: | Agent | Patient | Location |
| Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object | PP ~ Adverb ~
Noun |

-
- (ii) [**Halx xah** **icóohit** **imquímzo**] **ixomís** **tax.**
 just ATTEN INF.IN-UO-eat 2SS-SN-TR-want 3:3-EM-resemble —
 ‘Supongo que todavía tienes hambre.’
I bet you are still hungry. (DS2005, siimet) RRR

⁵⁵ Nevertheless, while passive forms of most transitive verbs are readily produced, passive forms of these verbs are not attested. **QQQ CHECK CAREFULLY**

- (176) a. $\sqrt{\text{aquim}}$ *put (items)*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{aca}}$ *put (liquid or basket)*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{ah}}$ *put (flexible item)*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{axquim}}$ *put (horizontal item)*
 e. $\sqrt{\text{zam}}$ *put (vertical item)*
 f. $\sqrt{\text{caaix}}$ *put (compact item)*
- (177) **Cmiique cmaam quij ziix hapi oáactim quih an imíquim;**
 person/Seri woman the.CM thing INTNS 3P-ON-use the.FL 3P.in 3:3-PX-put.items
ziix quih ihmáa quih mos cöimasíjim.
 thing the.FL other the.FL also 3IO-3:3-PX-do
 ‘La mujer seri le metió sus cosas e hizo otras cosas con él.’
The Seri woman put her things in it and also did other things with it (a certain kind of basket). (ES2007, liitro) RMH_11-19-07_102
- (178) **Hita quih cafée ooztoj quij hapx itáca,**
 1P-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, quiza) RMH_07-11-07_40f
- (179) **Comcáii quij oop quih zaah cop iti iyóoca.**
 old.woman the.CM 3P-ON-sew.basket the.FL sun the.VT 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.LQ
 ‘La anciana puso su canasta en el sol.’
The old woman put her basket into the sunlight. RMH_08-13-07_34a
- (180) **Cötafp, itéxl, hant itáh,**
 3IO-RL-arrive 3:3-RL-take land 3:3-RL-put.FL
hehe zo toc cotom ma, itáai, heete cöitáh, ...
 stick a there 3IO-RL-lie DS 3:3-RL-make tip 3IO-3:3-RL-put.FL
 ‘Le llegó [a la carne que estaba en una percha], la agarró, la bajó, la puso en la punta de un palo que estaba allí, ...’
He arrived to it [the meat that was on a drying rack], he grabbed it, he took it down, he put it on the end of a stick that was there ... (Gigante_Comelon 485-490)
- (181) **Hasatoj coi ptimócaj hac an ivocáaitax.**
 stone-PL the.PL RCP-3P-place.under the.LC 3P.in 3:3-DT-put.CM-PL
 ‘Pusieron las piedras, cada uno debajo del otro.’
They put the stones under each other. RMH_08-04-07_180b

The verbs $\sqrt{\text{yaai}}$ go to (the plural stem is $\sqrt{\text{ozít}}$) and $\sqrt{\text{áaix}}$ go away from, abandon

subcategorize for a locational direct object (which may be a place or an individual). Note that the verb in the following example is inflected for 3:3. It also passes all other tests for a transitive verb.

- (182) ... **mos zaah tiquij ityáai, yoque**
 also sun MD-CM 3:3-RL-go.to DT-US-say
 ‘... estaba viajando al sol, ...’
 ... *he was traveling to the sun, ...* (Apostador 98) RRR

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aao}}$ *pass by* (the plural stem is $\sqrt{\text{aaít}}$) also subcategorizes for a locational direct object.

18.5.2 Simple transitives with recipient/addressee as direct object

At least three simple transitive verbs have fairly simple usage with direct objects that are recipients or addressees. It is obvious that, while this pattern exists in the language, this is not dominant pattern for expressing recipients/addressees.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|----------------|--|
| (183) | TRANSITIVE VERB WITH RECIPIENT/ADDRESSEE AS DIRECT OBJECT | | |
| | Semantics: | Agent | Recipient/Addressee (Other) |
| | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object (Indirect Object) |
- (184) a. $\sqrt{\text{aaipot}}$ *pay Recipient*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{miit}}$ *ask Addressee*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{atolec}}$ *ask Addressee for help*
- (185) ..., **cocsar quij miizj hin xaaipot.**
 Mexican the.CM well 1SDO EM-pay
 ‘..., el mexicano no indígena me pagó bien.’
 ..., *the non-Indian Mexican paid me well.* (DS2005, caapo, improved) RMH_08-04-07_126
- (186) **Tiix iihax ihtáai ma, hin yaaipot.**
 DDS 3P-with.SG 1SS.TR-RL-make DS 1SDO DT-pay
 ‘Le ayudé y él/ella me pagó.’
I helped him/her and s/he paid me. RMH_07-20-07_45g
- (187) **¿Mazi tmaaipotim?**
 2PDO RL-N-pay-IMPF
 ‘¿No les pagó a Uds.?’
Didn’t s/he pay you (pl.)? RMH_07-20-07_46a

- (188) **¿Hizi tmiitim?**
 1PDO RL-ask-IMPF
 ‘¿Nos preguntó?’
Did s/he ask us? RMH_08-04-07_127b
- (189) **¿Hin tmiit?**
 1sDO RL-ask
 ‘¿Me preguntó?’
Did s/he ask me? RMH_08-14-07_73a
- (190) **Ctam quij taaitom, cmaam cop itmíit, ...**
 man the.CM RL-speak woman the.VT 3:3-RL-ask
 ‘El hombre habló, preguntó a la mujer, ...’
The man spoke, he asked the woman, ... RMH_08-14-07_73b
- (191) **... hin vatólec, ...**
 1sDO DT-ask.for.help
 ‘... me pidió ayuda, ...’
...s/he asked me for help, ... (DS2005, católec) RMH_08-04-07_100a

If the payment (in the case of $\sqrt{\text{aaipot}}$ *pay*) or the topic or item (in the case of $\sqrt{\text{miit}}$ *ask*) is mentioned, it occurs as an oblique object that is cross-referenced with indirect object morphology. The combination of two objects results in object blending (see §17.1.2.5).

- (192) **Peez capxajö me hsaaiipotim haa hi.**
 peso(s) three/IMPF 3IO+2DO-1sS.Tr-Ir.Id-pay-IMPF AUX DCL
 ‘Les pagaré tres pesos a cada uno de Uds.’
I am going to pay three pesos to each one of you. RMH_07-20-07_46b
- (193) **¿Ziix zo he tmiit?**
 thing a 3IO+1DO-RL-ask
 ‘¿Me preguntó acerca de algo?’ o ‘¿Me pidió algo?’
Did s/he ask me (about) something? or Did s/he ask me for something?
 RMH_07-20-07_46c RMH_08-14-07_73c
- (194) **Ziix zo he yahmíit.**⁵⁶
 thing a 3IO+1DO-DT-ask
 ‘Fui preguntado acerca de algo.’ o ‘Se me pidió algo.’
I was asked about something, or I was asked for something. RMH_08-14-07_73d

The verb $\sqrt{\text{zaxö}}$ *discuss, talk* is somewhat unusual in that the direct object of a simple transitive sentence may be either the topic or it may be the addressee.

(195)	Semantics:	Agent	Topic or Addressee
	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object

⁵⁶This is an impersonal passive; see §9.2.2.

- (196) **Icáaitom^o ihmáa mos zo hvozáxö.**
 word another also a 1SS.TR-DT-discuss
 ‘Hablé de otro tema.’
I discussed another topic. RMH_07-20-07_45a
- (197) **He cmaax mos icáaitom^o hmáa zo he szaxö caha.**
 1PRO now also word other a 1PRO IR.ID-discuss AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Ahora hablaré de otro tema.’
I will now discuss another topic. RMH_08-14-07_71s
- (198) **Ma hnzaxö.** (199) **Mazi hnzaxö.** RMH_08-14-07_71p
 2sDO 1sS.TR-PX-discuss 2pDO 1sS.TR-PX-discuss
 ‘Estoy hablándote.’ ‘Estoy hablándoles a ustedes.’
I’m talking to you. RMH_08-04-07_128 *I am talking to you (pl.).*
- (200) **Ma ihazáxö ihxóomzo.**
 2sDO INF.TR-discuss 1sS.TR-EM-want
 ‘¡Quiero hablar contigo!’
I want to talk with you (sg.)! RMH_08-14-07_71o
- (201) **Ivozáxö.** (202) **Ihpyahzáxö.**
 3:3-DT-discuss 1sS.IN-DT-PV-discuss
 ‘Le habló.’ RMH_08-14-07_71q ‘Alguien me habló.’
S/he talked with him/her. *I was talked to.* RMH_08-14-07_71r

This verb also allows for the topic and addressee to co-occur. When they do, one of them — apparently the topic, but it is perhaps impossible to decide which — is cross-referenced as an oblique/indirect object.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (203) | Semantics: | Agent | Addressee | Topic |
| | √zaxö discuss | Subject | Direct Object | Oblique Object |
- (204) **Icáaitom^o ihmáa mos zo cohyozáxö.**
 word another also a 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-discuss
 ‘Le hablé de otro tema.’
I discussed another topic with him/her. RMH_07-20-07_45b
- (205) **Ziix zo cöiyozáxö.**
 thing a 3IO-3:3-DT-discuss
 ‘Conversó acerca de algo con él/ella/ellos.’
S/he discussed something with him/her/them. RMH_07-20-07_46d RMH_08-14-07_71u

- (206) **Taax me hnzaxö.**
 DDP 2IO 1SS.TR-PX-discuss
 ‘Te estoy conversando acerca de eso.’ / ‘Les estoy ... a ustedes ...’
I am discussing that with you (sg./pl.). RMH_07-20-07_46e RMH_08-14-07_71v
- (207) **Ziix zo me hnzaxö.**
 thing a 2IO 1SS.TR-PX.-discuss
 ‘Te/os estoy conversando acerca de algo.’
I am discussing something with you (sg./pl.). RMH_08-14-07_71t
- (208) **Taax cöicahzaxö ihmüimzo.**
 DDP 3IO-INF.IN-PV-discuss 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero ser hablado acerca de eso.’
I want that to be talked to about that. RMH_08-14-07_71w

18.5.3 Transitive verbs with optional oblique/indirect object

A few verbs may be used as simple transitives or they may be used with an oblique/indirect object that is the person from whom or to whom the action is done.⁵⁷

- | (209) | TRANSITIVE VERB WITH OPTIONAL RECIPIENT/ADDRESSEE | | | |
|-------|--|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| | Semantics: | Agent | Theme/Patient | (Recipient/Addressee) |
| | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object | (Indirect Object) |
| (210) | a. | √ cazit | <i>snatch, grab</i> | |
| | b. | √ cooz | <i>steal</i> | |
| | c. | √ queetx | <i>take back</i> | |
| | d. | mo- √ queetx | <i>bring back</i> | |

The following examples illustrate these verbs without an oblique/indirect object.

- (211) **Ziix z iyocázit / iyocóoz / miyoquéetx.**
 thing a 3:3-DT-s snatch 3:3-DT-steal TWD-3:3-DT-return
 ‘Arrebató / robó / devolvió algo.’
S/he grabbed / stole / returned something. RMH_11-28p-07_36

⁵⁷ The use of √**queetx** without an oblique/indirect object is special and not common, however. The verb √**mihjzx** *slip* is similar to these verbs syntactically. It may occur with the noun **hant** *land* and be a simple transitive. But most commonly it occurs without **hant** and with an indirect/oblique object that is the specific object on which one slips.

- (iii) **Hast quij iti hptozám, cohtmihzx, hant ihptahjüt ma, ...**
 stone the.CM 3P-on 1SS.IN-RL-UO-put.VT 3IO-1SS-RL-slip down 1SS.IN-RL-fall DS
 ‘Pisé en una piedra, me resbalé en ella, me caí ...’
I stepped on a rock, slipped on it, fell down, ... (DS2005, cmihzx) RMH_08-04-07_125

When the person from whom the grabbing or stealing is expressed, it appears as the indirect/oblique object.⁵⁸

- (212) a. **Tom quih he iyocázit.**
 money the.FL 1sIO 3:3-DT-snatch
 ‘Me quitó del dinero.’
S/he snatched the money away from me. RMH_07-20-07_49a
- b. **Tom quih he iyocážitim.**
 money the.FL 1sIO 3:3-DT-snatch-IMPF
 ‘Nos quitó el dinero.’
S/he snatched the money away from us. RMH_07-20-07_49b
- (213) **Tiix ziix itac quih haxz cop cöimcážit.**
 DDS thing 3P-bone the.FL dog the.VT 3IO-3:3-PX-snatch
 ‘ÉL/ELLA le quitó el hueso al perro.’
S/HE snatched the bone away from the dog. RMH_07-20-07_49c
- (214) **Eenim hipcap ah he imcóoz xo mos ihméxl.**
 knife PX-VT FOC 1IO 3:3-RL-rob but also 1sS.Tr-PX-take
 ‘Me robó este cuchillo pero lo recuperé.’
He robbed this knife from me but I took it back. (DS2005, ccooz) RMH_07-20-07_50a
- (215) **¿Meenim quih me tahcóoz?**
 2P-knife the.FL 2IO RL-PV-rob
 ‘¿Te fue robado el cuchillo?’
Was the knife robbed from you? (DS2005, ccooz) RMH_07-20-07_50b
- (216) **Ihyáazi°, ¿hanzajípj quiipa° hipcop mamaz cohquétx!**
 my.child.ME frying pan PX-VT 2P-father’s.mother 3IO-IM-return
 ‘Hijo/hija, devuelve este sartén a tu abuela.’ RMH_07-20-07_50c
Son/daughter, take this frying pan back to your grandmother. (DS2005, cqueetx)

The verb $\sqrt{\text{amjc}}$ *bring* is like the verbs discussed above in that it may occur with an optional recipient (the person to whom the item is brought) but it has the singular/plural twist added to it. A singular recipient is expressed as an oblique object, but a plural recipient is expressed in a postpositional phrase headed by **ano** (see §22.3.3).

(217)	$\sqrt{\text{amjc}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	(Recipient)
	<i>bring</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	(Indirect Object_{sg} / PP_{ano})

⁵⁸ The prefix **i-** is written following the indirect object inflection in active clauses, although in normal speech it is usually not clearly heard.

- (218) ¿**Áz** **intámjɛ?**
 what? 2sS-RL-bring
 ‘¿Qué traes?’ RMH_08-04-07_129
What did you bring? (DS2005, quimjc)
- (219) ¿**Ziix** **zo** **he camjɛ!**
 thing a IIO IM-bring
 ‘¿Tráeme algo!’ RMH_07-20-07_51a
Bring something to me!
- (220) ¿**Tootjóc** **pac** **he camjɛ!**
 cholla.fruit some IIO IM-bring
 ‘¿Tráeme fruta de choya!’
Bring some cholla cactus fruit to me! RMH_08-14-07_71a
- (221) ¿**Ziix** **zo** **hino camjɛ!**
 thing a 1P-in IM-bring
 ‘¿Tráenos algo!’
Bring something to us! RMH_07-20-07_51b
- (222) ¿**Tom** **quih** **hino camjɛ!**
 money the.FL 1P-in IM-bring
 ‘¿Tráenos el dinero!’
Bring the money to us! RMH_08-14-07_71b

18.5.4 Morphologically dative simple transitive

Some simple transitive verbs, including √**pooin** *close* and √**acóoyam** *honor, praise* are different from typical transitive verbs in that they are always inflected as if they had a third person indirect or oblique object although none is ever present.⁵⁹ Notice the prefix **co-** (allomorph **cö-**) in the following examples.

- (223) ¿**Hahóot** **hac** **cöitpóoin?**
 ABS-entrance the.LC 3IO-3:3-RL-close
 ‘¿Cerró la puerta?’
Did she close the door? RMH_07-20-07_45c
- (224) **Quihéhe°** **quih** **cöimacóoyam.**
 ruler the.FL 3IO-3:3-PX-honor
 ‘Honró al jefe.’
S/he honored the chief. RRR

The verb √**aaositim** *deceive* is similar in that it is also inflected for a third person indirect/oblique object whether or not one actually mentions an item which is used in the deception.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Some speakers, apparently a minority, do sometimes use the verb √**pooin** without the third person indirect object inflection.

⁶⁰ This verb may omit mention of the person deceived, which makes the clause intransitive; even in that situation the indirect object inflection occurs on the verb.

- (232) a. **Mino** hvoomx.
 2P-in 1sS.TR-DT-say
 ‘Se lo dije a ustedes.’ RMH_08-14-07_71ee
I said it to you (pl). RMH_07-20-07_51d
- b. **¡Quino**⁶¹ camx!
 3P.PL-in IM-say
 ‘¡Díselo a ellos!’ RMH_08-14-07_71dd
Tell it to them! RMH_07-20-07_51e
- c. **Ano / Quino** hvoomx.
 3P.in / 3P.PL-in 1sS.TR-DT-say
 ‘Se lo dije a ellos/ellas.’
I said it to them. RMH_08-13-07_30d

18.5.6 Morphologically transitive involuntary action verbs

The verbs $\sqrt{\text{imt}}$ *open up (involuntarily)*, *be open* and $\sqrt{\text{ixoj}}$ *dry up [columnar cactus fruit]* are morphologically transitive (and not reflexive). Note that in (234-236) the verbs carry the 3:3 prefix **i-** (§17.1.2.1). But the only argument which is allowed in the clauses is the patient.⁶² The schema in (233) is an attempt to display the situation with these verbs.

(233)	MORPHOLOGICALLY TRANSITIVE INVOLUNTARY ACTION VERB
Semantics:	Patient —
Syntax:	Subject Direct Object

- (234) **Minl** itímla ...
 2P-finger/hand-PL 3:3-RL-open-PL
 ‘Cuando se te abrió la mano, ...’
When your hand opened (involuntarily), (DS2005, quiimt) LHC_2-8-07_70 RMH_07-20-07_47
- (235) ... **hahóotj** **com** **tcooo** itímla, ...
 ABS-entrance-PL the.HZ RL-all 3:3-RL-open-PL
 ‘... se abrieron todas las puertas...’
...all the doors opened ... (Ac 16:26) RMH_07-20-07_48a
- (236) **Ool** **imám** **quih** itíxoj **x**, **xöaatjö**.
 organpipe.cactus 3P-fruit the.FL 3:3-RL-dry.up UT EM-sweet
 ‘Cuando la fruta de la pitaya se seca, está muy dulce.’
When the organ pipe cactus fruit dries, it is very sweet. (DS2005, quixoj) RMH_05-17-08_274

18.5.7 The verb $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want*

The verb $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* subcategorizes for a complement clause which is headed by either a

⁶¹ **Ano** is also possible here.

⁶² The causative form of the verb $\sqrt{\text{imt}}$ is used when an agent performs the action: $\sqrt{\text{eemt}}$ *open (trans.)*. This causative verb is morphologically ditransitive (inflecting for indirect object) even though it is a simple transitive syntactically.

deverbal noun or an infinitive, depending on the matter of coreference with the agent/subject of *want*. See §12.1 for examples and discussion.

18.5.8 Special use of \sqrt{aCa} *know*

The verb \sqrt{aCa} *know* may occur with a special kind of complement configuration in which the direct object is pronominal and the predicate complement includes the predicate nominal and the deverbal noun *chaa* (SN-EQ).

- (237) **Ziix chaa zo hin yomá.**
 thing SN-EQ a 1sDO DT-N-know
 ‘No sabe/sabía quien soy.’
S/he doesn’t/didn’t know who I am/was. (S/he doesn’t/didn’t recognize me.) (DS2005, quiya) XMH-08-08-07_289
- (238) **He ziix chaa quih ma quiya ha.**
 1PRO thing SN-EQ the.FL 2sDO SN-Tr-know DCL
 ‘Sé quien eres.’
I know who you are. RMH_11-28p-07_38
- (239) **Jesús quih ziix quisax^o chaa quih hmiya;**
 the.FL person SN-EQ the.FL 1sS.Tr-PX-know
Pablo quij mos cmiique chaa quih hmiya.
 the.CM also person SN-EQ the.FL 1sS.Tr-PX-know
 ‘Conozco a Jesús; también conozco a Pablo.’
I know who Jesus is and I also know who Paul is. (Ac 19:15) RMH_11-28p-07_39

An appropriate representation of such clauses should indicate not only that first person singular in (237) is the grammatically the direct object of *know* but also the referent of the predicate nominal *ziix*.⁶³ The schema in (240) is an attempt to show this using bracketing.

- (240) \sqrt{aCa} Semantics: **Experiencer** [**Patient** **Predicate nominal**]
know Syntax: **Subject** **Direct Object** || NP *chaa* D ||

18.5.9 Transitive verb introducing direct quotes

The transitive verb \sqrt{ai} *say* (plural $\sqrt{a\tilde{a}am}$), used with the adverb *ox thus*, presents direct quotes. The direct object is the addressee; the discourse itself does not determine any inflection on the verb.

⁶³ Using other terminology, his appears to be an example of “raising to object”.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (241) | $\sqrt{\text{ai}}$
<i>tell</i> | Semantics:
Syntax: | Agent
Subject | (Discourse)
(Quote) | Addressee
Direct Object |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
- (242) °Ox **tpacta ma°**, ox **imii**, **ctam czaxō**⁶⁴ **cop: “...”**
 then thus 3:3-PX-tell man SN-TR-discuss the.VT
 ‘Entonces dijo el capitán: “...”’.
Then the captain said: “...” (ES2007, Azoj_Canoj_lmatax 7a)
- | | |
|--|--|
| (243) Ox hizi mii .
thus 1PDO PX-tell
‘Así nos dijo.’
<i>Thus s/he told us.</i> RMH_07-20-07_48b | (244) Ox iyóaaam .
thus 3:3-DT-tell.PL
‘Así le(s) dijeron.’ RMH_08-14-07_80c
<i>Thus they told him/her/them.</i> |
|--|--|

Reference to the content of the discourse may also be made using the interrogative adverb **zó** *how?* whereas it cannot be done with the interrogative pronoun **áz** *what?*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (245) a. ¿Zó ma htai?
how? 2sDO 1SS.TR-tell
‘¿Qué te dije?’
<i>What did I tell you?</i> RMH_07-20-07_48c | b. * ¿Áz ma htai?
what?
(‘¿Qué te dije?’)
<i>(What did I tell you?)</i> |
|--|---|

18.6 Ditransitives

The preceding sections have presented fairly simple arrays of facts which have only occasionally, and optionally, included two objects (one direct and one indirect). This section, however, looks at verbs that are *obligatorily* subcategorized for two objects. It turns out that there are two major patterns.

The first pattern is reminiscent of some of those presented in the section under simple transitives but in this case, as mentioned, both objects are obligatory. In each case the item or person most affected is the direct object: the person or item splashed in the case of $\sqrt{\text{inim}}$, the item transported in the case of $\sqrt{\text{aaix}}$, and the person to whom insulting or defamatory words (extremely strong insults) are spoken in the case of $\sqrt{\text{aatajqum}}$. In both cases this direct object must be *singular*.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| (246) | $\sqrt{\text{inim}}$
<i>splash</i> | Semantics:
Syntax: | Agent
Subject | Patient
Direct Object_{sg} | Instrument
Oblique Object |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|

⁶⁴ The phrase **ctam czaxō** is lexicalized to mean the leader of the group of warriors.

(247)	√ aaix	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Goal
	<i>carry</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Oblique Object
					(person or place)
(248)	√ aatajqum	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Topic
	<i>tell</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object_{sg}	Oblique Object

These verbs are illustrated by the examples below.

- (249) **¡Hax me hsinim⁶⁵ xo!**
 water 2IO 1sS.TR-IR-splash EM
 ‘¡Te voy a echar agua!’
I am going to splash water on you (sg.)! (DS2005, cõquiniim) RMH_08-04-07_130a
- (250) **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
- (251) **Hant quih iti isaticpan ha tahac cõimáaix.**
 land the.FL 3P.on 3P-IR-work AUX that.LOC 3IO-3:3-PX-carry
 ‘Los llevó al lugar donde trabajarían.’
He took them to the place where they would work. RRR
- (252) **Cmozíme quij ziix quih cõipátajquim hac,**
 SN-drank the.CM thing the.FL 3IO-3P-AON-PV-insult the.LC
taax cacáatol iha.
 DDP SN-dangerous DCL
 ‘Es peligroso decir cosas ofensivas a un borracho.’
It is dangerous to say offensive things to a drunk man. (DS2005, cõcaatajqum) RMH_08-04-07_130b

When the patient is plural, a derived verb form is required; the patient in those clauses is expressed as a postpositional phrase. These examples are discussed in §19.1.5.

Another pattern for ditransitives is found with only two verbs. Unlike the verbs just mentioned, however, these verbs are very commonly used.⁶⁶ The recipient is the direct object; it

⁶⁵ This verb evidences object blending (§17.1.2.5).

⁶⁶ They are the only examples of what might be thought to be clearly a pattern that is dominant in other languages, described by Dryer (1986) as primary object languages. This might be an old pattern in the language that has been superseded elsewhere by an innovative pattern (Haspelmath 2007).

determines direct object inflection. The patient (the object given) appears syntactically but is unmarked in any way.⁶⁷

(253)		Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Recipient
		Syntax:	Subject	 DP 	Direct Object
(254)	a.	√eCe	<i>give Patient (food) to Recipient</i> [the food must be nonspecific]		
	b.	√eIrreg	<i>give Patient (gift) to Recipient</i>		

The examples below illustrate the use of these verbs.

- (255) **¿Zixcám quih ma tee?**
 fish the.FL 2sDO RL-give.food
 ‘¿Te ha dado pescado?’
Did s/he give you fish? RMH_07-20-07_52b
- (256) **Zixcám quih him miye.**
 fish the.FL 1sDO PX-give.food
 ‘Me dio pescado.’
S/he gave me fish. RMH_07-20-07_52c
- (257) **¿Tom quih ma hiite?**
 money the.FL 2sDO 1sS.TR-RL-give.gift
 ‘¿Te he dado el dinero?’
Did I give you the money? RMH_07-20-07_52a
- (258) **Canóaa zo him iijoj.**
 boat a 1sDO DT-give.gift-PL
 ‘Me regalaron una panga.’
The gave me a boat. (DS2005, iique) RMH_05-17-08_275

In the following examples the clauses are passive; the recipient is the subject. It is important to notice that each of these clauses is clearly intransitive, as evidenced by the intransitive allomorph **hp-** of the first person singular subject inflection prefix and of the infinitival prefix, **ica-** (see Appendix C).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The grammatical relation of this nominal would be 2-Chômeur (direct object chômeur) in the framework of Relational Grammar. In another language, of course, a chômeur may in fact be marked morphologically. The assistive construction (§19.6) arguably has a chômeur when the base verb is transitive.

⁶⁸ These facts were discussed in Marlett (1981b:288ff), Marlett (1984:221ff), and Marlett (1990:523ff). It was noted that analogous clauses in English were labeled *transitive passives* in Hockett (1958:205). The Seri facts clearly show that these passive clauses do not have a (surface) direct object.

- (259) **Tom quih hpvopéhe.**
 money the.FL 1SS.IN-DT-PV-give.gift
 ‘Fui regalado el dinero.’
I was given the money. RMH_07-20-07_52d
- (260) **¿Zixcám quih hptpee?**
 fish the.FL 1SS.IN-RL-PV-give.food
 ‘¿Fui dado pescado?’
Was I given fish? RMH_07-20-07_52e
- (261) **Zixcám com icapéhe hmiimzo.**
 fish the.Hz INF.IN-PV-give.gift 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero ser regalado el pescado.’
*I want to be given the fish.*⁶⁹ RMH_07-20-07_52f
- (262) **Zixcám quih icapéé hmiimzo**
 fish the.FL INF.IN-PV-give.food 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero ser dado pescado.’
I want to be given fish. RMH_07-20-07_53

While demonstrably intransitive clauses, the passive clauses demonstrate one more interesting fact: the prefix **i-** 3:3 (§17.1.2.1) occurs when the subject and direct object are third person. This is the only situation in finite verbs where this prefix appears in an intransitive clause.⁷⁰ The secondary object **canóaa zo** in (263) (and similar examples) does not affect the transitivity of the clause (see the multiple tests described in Appendix C), but it is pertinent to the presentation of the prefix **i-**.

- (263) **Canóaa z iyopéhe. (*yopéhe)**
 boat a 3:3-DT-PV-give.gift
 ‘Fue regalado la panga.’
S/he was gifted a boat. RMH_05-17-08_276

18.7 Other types of subcategorization

A few words are considered to be auxiliary verbs, although they are not prototypical cases of such: they do not inflect for person or number, and display very limited “tense” distinctions. These are discussed in chapter 20.

⁶⁹ According to René Montaña Herrera, the noun phrase **zixcám com** would refer to a whole fish, but the noun phrase **zixcám quih** would refer to a filleted fish.

⁷⁰ This usage of **i-** is described in Marlett (1981b) and Marlett (1984b:234ff) within the framework of Relational Grammar as having to do with the presence of a direct object chômeur, which correlates in part to what is referred to as a secondary object in this book. In the passive clause XXX

18.8 Selectional restrictions

Some predicates have selectional restrictions that are worthy of note, and a few of these are mentioned here. Discussion here is primarily limited to basic verbs.

Verbs that mean roughly *give (something as a gift)* include the following: $\sqrt{e_{\text{Irreg}}}$ *give (a gift, not food)* (see §18.6 for subcategorization facts), $\sqrt{e_{\text{que}}}$ *give as a gift* (a simple transitive verb; see §18.5); and $\sqrt{e_{\text{Ce}}}$ *give (a gift that is food)* (and the food must be non-specific; see §18.6). These verbs are not used for simple acts of giving such as in contexts of handing over an object.

Verbs that mean roughly *put (something in a location)* include the following: \sqrt{ah} for flexible things; $\sqrt{a_{\text{quim}}}$ for small loose things; \sqrt{caaix} for compact items; $\sqrt{ax_{\text{quim}}}$ for long items; \sqrt{aca} for liquids and knives; and \sqrt{zam} for tall items (see §13.3.3).

Verbs that mean *grind* include the following: \sqrt{Cizj} *grind*; \sqrt{sic} *grind (seeds, grain)*; $\sqrt{a_{\text{Irreg}}}$ *grind (seeds, grain)*; $\sqrt{acöim}$ *grind dry organ pipe cactus (to obtain a powder used for making tar)*. See also the derived verb $\sqrt{apám}$ *grind dry mesquite pods*. See also the different words for *mash*, which include \sqrt{neezj} *mash* and $\sqrt{apámjöc}$ *pound mesquite pods with water to make a mash*.

Verbs that mean *cut* include the following vary primarily on the kind of motion that is involved, but one verb selects objects that have a certain form: \sqrt{aam} *cut (something tall or long)*.

Two intransitive verbs for *choke* differ in the kind of object (which is presented as an oblique/indirect object) that is causing the problem: \sqrt{aapj} *choked (on solid)*, $\sqrt{aahjöim}$ *choke (on liquid)*.

Verbs for *hit* and *pound* typically vary by the kind of action that it is, by the prototypical instrument used, or by the kind of result expected. These include: \sqrt{aafc} *hit hard*, \sqrt{Caxz} *hit (with long item)*, \sqrt{nip} *hit (especially with hand)*, \sqrt{aatj} *pound flat*.

Verbs for *carry* include: \sqrt{aazi} and $\sqrt{aheectim}$, \sqrt{iip} *(on one's head)*, \sqrt{iztim} *(on one's hip)*, $\sqrt{icseenpx}$ and $\sqrt{asoompx}$ *(long thing under arm)*, \sqrt{cooi} *(in many trips)*, \sqrt{sanj} *(on one's back)*, $\sqrt{ahasquim}$ *(in boat or car)*, \sqrt{axop} *(on pole over shoulder)*, \sqrt{acaaix} *(with pole)*, \sqrt{azni} *(using a handle)*, and $\sqrt{izcapxla}$ *(under arm)*.

Intransitive verbs for intransitive *break* include $\sqrt{apxölim}$ *break (long item)*, $\sqrt{tapolquim}$ *break (XXX)*, \sqrt{tixl} *break (into small pieces)*.

Expressions for *die* have important selectional restrictions on the subject. The expressions \sqrt{hacx} \sqrt{miih} (§XX) and $\sqrt{imípla}$ \sqrt{haa} (§XX) are only used with people, the latter being very

respectful. The predicate $\sqrt{\text{ooxi}}$ is typically used for animals. For a plant, the predicate meaning *dry* is used (see §XX).

The predicate $\sqrt{\text{iteejöc}}$ *thin* is used for people and XXX, while $\sqrt{\text{xatcaj}}$ *thin* is used for items.