

12. Complement clauses

Complement clauses occur in different forms. The clause may be headed by an infinitive, a deverbal noun, or a finite verb. Complement clauses with infinitives (§12.1) and deverbal nouns as heads (§12.2 and §9.1.2) function clearly as subjects and direct objects of other verbs; they are common types. Complement clauses with finite verbs (§12.3) usually have quite different structures, however, and typically are not true subjects or direct objects. The remaining sections of this chapter present specific verbs, by group, and demonstrate the kinds of complements that occur with them.

Two of the verbs discussed in this chapter, $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* and $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ with the sense *be able* (etymologically *know*) essentially require complement clauses. The verb $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* cannot occur grammatically with a simple object complement noun phrase.¹

- (1) * $\sqrt{\text{Siimet}}$ **quih** **intámzo?**
 bread the.FL 2SS-RL-want
 ('¿Quieres el pan?') (*Do you want the bread?*)²

On the other hand, the verb $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like* easily takes noun phrases as direct objects.

- (2) **Satoj** **ixoquéepe.**
 mussel(s) 3:3-EM-like
 'Le gustan los mejillones.'
S/he likes mussels. XMH_08-15-07_40a
- (3) **Hap** **ipxási** **quih** **hxoquéepe.**
 mule.deer 3P-flesh the.FL 1SS.TR-EM-like
 'Me gusta la carne de venado bura.'
I like mule deer meat. (DS2005, cqueepe) RMH_05-16-08_37

¹ The verb $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* rarely occurs without an overt complement, but the following examples are such cases.

- (i) **Haxz cap max tootar coi iyócotim, itámzo x.**
 dog the.VT even chicken the.PL 3:3-DT-kill-IMPF 3:3-RL-want UT
 'Hasta el perro mató las gallinas si lo quiso hacer.'
Even the dog killed chickens if it wanted to. (DS2005, max) XMH_08-15-07_38a
- (ii) **Impóomzo x, hin nsahípet aha.**
 2SS-IR.DP-want UT 1SDO 2SS-IR.ID-heal AUX-DCL
 'Si quieres, puedes sanarme.'
If you wanted to, you could heal me. (MI 8.2) XMH_08-15-07_38b

² The grammatical version of this sentence would be something equivalent to *Do you want to eat the bread?* with the transitive infinitive **iháahit** *to eat it* before the verb **intámzo**.

12.1 Infinitival complements

Only three verbs (or four, depending on how one counts them) allow infinitival complements. Furthermore, infinitives (§17.2.1) occur in the language only in complement clauses with these verbs. Three of these verbs use a control structure (§12.1.1) and one occurs in a so-called raising structure (§12.1.2).

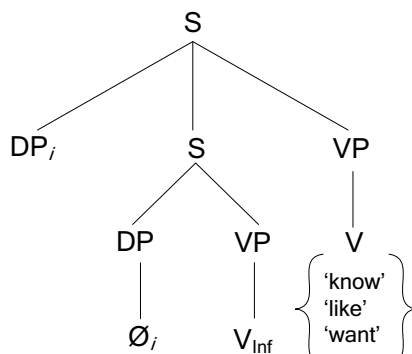
12.1.1 Control structure

The three verbs which occur in a control structure are $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want*; $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know how* (to do something) and, by extension in some cases, *to be an expert* (at something); and $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like*, which allows only *intransitive* infinitival complements (in addition to deverbal noun complements).³ Some very simple examples with three different main verbs are given below and an analysis (for an example with an intransitive complement) is illustrated in Figure 12.1.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----|--|
| (4) | a. | Icóos imiimzo.
INF.IN-sing 3:3-PX-want
'Quiere cantar.'
<i>S/he wants to sing.</i> RMH_10-15-07_36a | b. | Icóos ihmimzo.
INF.IN-sing 1S.TR-PX-want
'Quiero cantar.'
<i>I want to sing.</i> RMH_10-15-07_36b |
| | c. | ¿Icóos intámzo?
INF.IN-sing 2S-RL-want
'¿Quieres cantar?'
<i>Do you want to sing?</i> RMH_05-16-08_38 | d. | Icóosi hamimcajc.
INF.IN-sing.PL 1P-S-PX-want-PL
'Queremos cantar.'
<i>We want to sing.</i> RMH_05-16-08_39 |
| (5) | a. | Icóos imiya.
INF.IN-sing 3:3-PX-know
'Sabe cantar.'
<i>S/he knows how to sing.</i> RMH_10-15-07_36c | b. | Icóos ihmiya.
INF.IN-sing 1S.TR-PX-know
'Sé cantar.'
<i>I know how to sing.</i> RMH_10-15-07_36d |
| | c. | ¿Icóos intáj?
INF.IN-sing 2S-RL-know
'¿Sabes cantar?'
<i>Do you know how to sing?</i> RMH_05-16-08_40 | d. | Icóosi hamiyaj.
INF.IN-sing.PL 1P-S-PX-know.PL
'Sabemos cantar.'
<i>We know how to sing.</i> RMH_05-16-08_41 |

³ This is obviously a quirky fact which requires some discussion. See below.

Figure 12.1: Control structure



- (6) a. **Icóos imquéepe.**
 INF.IN-sing 3:3-PX-like
 ‘Le gusta cantar.’
S/he likes to sing. RMH_10-15-07_36e
- b. **Icóos ihmquéepe.**
 INF.IN-sing 1SS.TR-PX-like
 ‘Me gusta cantar.’
I like to sing. RMH_10-15-07_36f
- c. **¿Icóos intquéepe?**
 INF.IN-sing 2SS.RL-like
 ‘¿Te gusta cantar?’
Do you like to sing? RMH_05-16-08_42
- d. **Icóosi hamquéept.**
 INF.IN-sing.PL 1PS-PX-like
 ‘Nos gusta cantar.’
We like to sing. RMH_05-16-08_43

The infinitival complement clause may have a verb with various kinds of verbs, including verbs in the passive voice, but always with coreference between the grammatical subject of that verb and the agent/experiencer of the controlling verb. No negative infinitives exist, however. The next group of examples all have intransitive complements (the infinitives are underscored).⁴

Intransitive complements of $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* of various types:

- (7) **Hant icahjít ihyomámzo.** (8) **¡Icapázt ihxóomzo!**
 land INF.IN-fall 1SS.TR-DT-N-want INF.IN-PV-tattoo 1SS.TR-EM-want
 ‘No quiero caerme.’ ‘¡Quiero ser tatuado!’
I don’t want to fall. RMH_10-15-07_37a *I want to be tattooed!* XMH_08-15-07_35a
- (9) **°Hacx icamíih° ihyomámzo.**
 apart INF.IN-not.be.FL 1SS.TR-DT-N-want
 ‘No quiero morir.’
I don’t want to die. RMH_10-15-07_37b

⁴ Attempts with nominalizations or other structures — all ungrammatical — to show that the infinitive is the only way to say these things are not presented here.

- (10) **Icaháapl** **ihyomámzo.**
 INF.IN-feel.cold 1sS.TR-DT-N-want
 ‘No quiero tener frío.’
I don't want to feel cold. RMH_10-15-07_37c
- (11) **Icacózim** **ihyomámzo.**
 INF.IN-feel.hot 1sS.TR-DT-N-want
 ‘No quiero tener calor.’
I don't want to be hot. RMH_10-15-07_37d
- (12) **Socáaix** **an** **iquíih** **ihyóomzo.**
 Punta.Chueca 3P.in INF.IN-be.FL 1sS.TR-DT-want
 ‘Quiero vivir en Punta Chueca.’
I want to live in Punta Chueca. RMH_10-15-07_38

Intransitive complements of $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know*:

- (13) **Zixquisfil°** **quih** **icácat** **itcmáa,** ...
 child the.FL INF.IN-swim 3:3-RL-N-know
 ‘El niño no sabía nadar, ...’
The child didn't know how to swim, ... (DS2005, ctam) XMH_08-15-07_39e
- (14) **Icóoit** **quiya** **ha.**
 INF.IN-dance SN-Tr-know DCL
 ‘Sabe bailar bien.’
She knows how to dance well. XMH_08-15-07_39d

Intransitive complements of $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like* of various types:

- (15) **¿Icácat** **intquéepe?**
 INF.IN-swim 2sS-RL-like
 ‘¿Te gusta nadar?’
Do you like to swim? XMH_08-15-07_39g
- (16) **Icóop** **ixoquéepe.** (17) **Icapázt** **ihxoquéepe.**
 INF.IN-UO-sew.basket 3:3-EM-like INF.IN-PV-tattoo 1sS.TR-EM-like
 ‘Le gusta hacer canastas.’ XMH_08-15-07_37b ‘Me gusta ser tatuado.’
She likes to make baskets. *I like to be tattooed.* RMH_10-15-07_40a
- (18) **Icaháásaquim** **ihxoquéepe.**
 INF.IN-PV-comb.hair.of 1sS.TR-EM-like
 ‘Me gusta que me peinen el cabello.’
I like to have my hair combed. RMH_10-15-07_40c

Transitive complements are possible with the verbs $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want*.

- (19) **Zixquisíil° ctam tintica** [**zixcám z ihanáaij**] **quimzo ha.**
 child male MD-AW fish a INF.TR-catch SN-TR-want DCL
 ‘El niño quiere atrapar un pez.’
The boy wants to catch a fish. (HE 21) XMH_08-15-07_39a
- (20) **¿ [Ziix z iháahit] intámzo?**
 thing a INF.TR-eat 2SS-RL-want
 ‘¿Quieres comer algo?’
Do you want to eat something? XMH_08-15-07_39b
- (21) [**Hant ihamíhzx**] **ihyomámzo.**
 land INF.TR-slip.on 1SS.TR-DT-N-want
 ‘No quiero resbalar.’
*I don’t want to slip.*⁵ RMH_10-15-07_39
- (22) **Comcáii quih** [**him iházt**] **ixóomzo, ...**
 old.woman the.FL 1SDO INF.TR-tattoo 3:3-EM-want
 ‘La anciana quiso tatuarme, ...’
The old woman wanted to tattoo me, ... (DS2005, quizt) XMH_08-15-07_39c

When the controlling subject is plural, the infinitive also uses a plural verb stem, just as it would in a simple clause (§17.1.3). (A singular stem in the infinitive is always ungrammatical under these conditions.)

- (23) a. ..., [**iíhax icóoza**] **hamíimcajc.**
 3P-with.SG INF.IN-speak.PL 1PS-PX-want-PL
- b. * ..., [**iíhax icáaitom**] **hamíimcajc.**
 INF.IN-speak
- ‘..., queremos conversar con él.’
..., we want to talk with him. (Jn 12:21) XMH_08-15-07_39i

The agent that controls the subject of the infinitive may be the unexpressed agent of the passive verb (see §9.2.2).

- (24) ..., [**cōicahtxíma hac °iti cōica°**] **cōipámzo xaha, ...**
 3IO-3P-AON-US-rich the.LC to.be.with 3IO-3P-AON-PV-want CRD
 ‘... y el deseo de tener riquezas, ...’
... and the desire to have wealth, ... (Mt 13:22) RMH_08-21-07_97

⁵ This verb is morphologically transitive although it does not have an obvious direct object. If an object is mentioned (such as a rock), the verb is inflected for an oblique/indirect object.

- (25) [**Icáatax**] **popámzo** **x**, **quisoj** **sahtáaho** (a)ha.
 INF.IN-go IR.DP-PV-want UT US-3P-self IR.ID-PV-make.ready AUX-DCL
 ‘Si uno quiere ir, uno debe prepararse.’
If one wants to go, one should get ready. RMH_10-15-07_41b

As mentioned above, the verb $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like* may take an intransitive infinitival complement (illustrated by examples (4) and (15) above), but not a transitive one.

- (26) * [**Satoj** (quih) **iháahit**] **ixoquéepe**.
 mussel(s) the.FL INF.TR-eat 3:3-EM-like
 (‘Le gusta comer mejillones.’) (*She likes to eat mussels.*)
- (27) * [**Sooda coopol** **ihási**] **ixoquéepe**.
 soda SN-black INF.TR-drink 3:3-EM-like
 (‘Le gusta tomar cola.’) (*She likes to drink cola.*)

Attempts at eliciting a transitive complement always produced either a simple transitive clause with a noun phrase as direct object (as shown in (2) above), or a chained clause construction as shown by the following examples.

- (28) **Satoj quih itáhit x, ixoquéepe**.
 mussel(s) the.FL 3:3-RL-eat UT 3:3-EM-like
 ‘Le gusta comer mejillones.’
She likes to eat mussels. XMH_08-15-07_40b
- (29) **Sooda coopol quih itási x, ixoquéepe**.
 soda SN-black the.FL 3:3-RL-drink UT 3:3-EM-like
 ‘Le gusta tomar cola.’
She likes to drink cola. XMH_08-15-07_40c

The same chained clause structure may be used with an intransitive verb in lieu of the infinitival complement.

- (30) **Toop x, ixoquéepe**.
 RL-UO-sew.basket UT 3:3-EM-like
 ‘Le gusta hacer canastas.’
S/he likes to make baskets. XMH_08-15-07_37a

12.1.2 Raising structure with infinitival complement

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$, which means *know how* in control structures, as described in §12.1.1, means *be able* in other contexts — a very slight change semantically. The latter situations are morphologically identical to the control structures. That is, as it is very important to note, the verb is morphologically transitive just as its historical source is transitive. The understood subject of the infinitive and the explicit subject of the verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ are coreferential.

Intransitive complements of \sqrt{aCa} in the sense of *be able*:

- (31) **Miizj iquím ihyomá.**
 well INF.IN-sleep 1SS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No pude dormir bien.’
I couldn’t sleep well. RMH_09-28-07_116f
- (32) **Iquihéhe himáa ha.**
 INF.IN-rule 1P-AON-N-know DCL
 ‘No puedo ser gobernador.’
I can’t be governor. RMH_09-28-07_116h
- (33) **Iquihéhe hscmaa ha**
 INF.IN-rule 1SS.TR-IR.ID-N-know DCL
 ‘No podré ser gobernador.’
I won’t be able to be governor. RMH_09-28-07_116i
- (34) **Icaticpan iyomáa.**
 INF.IN-work 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘No puede/pudo trabajar.’
She can’t/couldn’t work. (lacked time, or had a physical impediment) RMH_10-15-07_42
- (35) **Icaticpan imáa ha.**
 INF.IN-work SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No puede trabajar.’
She can’t work. RMH_10-15-07_45d RMH_09-28-07_116b
- (36) **Tcooo, icáalx itcmáaj, ...**
 RL-all INF.IN-go-PL 3:3-DT-N-know-PL
 ‘Ninguno de ellos pudo caminar, ...’
None of them could walk, ... (Viaje_Tiburón_46) XMH_08-15-07_39h

Transitive complements of \sqrt{aCa} in the sense of *be able*:

- (37) **Miizj iháaho hyomáa.**
 well INF.TR-see 1SS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No pude verlo bien.’
I couldn’t see it well. RMH_09-28-07_116c
- (38) **Miizj isoj iháacta iyomáa.**
 well 3P-self INF.TR-look.at 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘No puede protegerse.’
She isn’t able to protect himself/herself. RMH_08-04-07_169

Unlike the examples with the verbs discussed in the preceding section, however, the subject of \sqrt{aCa} (as well as the complement clause) is not necessarily an agentive, sentient or even a living being, as the following examples show. These suggest that the verb \sqrt{aCa} is functioning as

a raising verb.

- (39) **Trooqui quiq iquísaxim iyomáa.**
 vehicle the.CM INF.IN-have.life-IMPF 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘El carro no pudo arrancar.’
The car couldn’t start. RMH_10-15-07_43a
- (40) **Zaah quiq icazáahox iyomáa.**
 sun the.CM INF.IN-shine 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘El sol no pudo brillar.’
The sun couldn’t shine. RMH_10-15-07_43b
- (41) **Haaco ticop icóoxp siya caha.**
 ABS.house MD-VT INF.IN-white IR.ID-know AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Esa casa puede ser blanca.’
That house can be white. (it’s physically possible, says a painter) RMH_10-15-07_43c
- (42) **Trooqui quiq iquípe iyomáa.**
 vehicle the.CM INF.IN-good 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘No se pudo reparar el carro.’
The car couldn’t be fixed. RMH_10-15-07_44a
- (43) **¿Trooqui quiq iquípe quiya -ya?**
 vehicle the.CM INF.IN-good SN-TR-know QM
 ‘¿Se puede reparar el carro?’
Can the car be fixed? (Lit., Can the car be good?) RMH_10-15-07_44a
- (44) **°Hapáha quis° coi icáatxo iyomáa,**
 flour the.PL INF.IN-much 3:3-DT-N-know

ziix an isóii ha zo tompáho ma.
 thing 3P.in 3P-IR.ID-be.FL.PL AUX a RL-N-PV-see DS
 ‘No era posible que hubiera mucha harina.’ RMH_09-28-07_116j
It wasn’t possible for there to be much flour. (because the recipient was small)
- (45) **Hamíime com icóoil smaa caha,**
 sky the.HZ INF.IN-blue IR.ID-N-know AUX.SN-DCL

hamcáaxat quih pootxo ta x.
 smoke the.FL IR.DP-much DS UT
 ‘El cielo no puede ser azul si hay mucho humo.’
The sky can’t be blue if there is a lot of smoke. RMH_09-28-07_116k

- (46) **Quisíil° etam quih icám icáacösxaj iyomáa.**
 child male the.FL 3P-AON-alive INF.IN-long/tall 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘La vida del muchacho no pudo ser larga.’
The life of the boy couldn't be long. RMH_09-28-07_116i

The embedded clause may be passive.

- (47) **¿Cafée pac icapási quiya -ya?**
 coffee some INF.IN-PV-drink SN-TR-know QM
 ‘¿Hay café para tomar?’
Is there any coffee that can be drunk? XMH_08-15-07_35d (Also: *Can coffee be drunk?*)
- (48) **Zixám com icapáhit iyomáa.**
 fish the.HZ INF.IN-PV-eat 3:3-DT-N-know
 ‘No se pudo comer el pescado.’
The fish couldn't be eaten. (bad flavor, too many bones, etc.) RMH_10-15-07_44c
- (49) **Imxomótet. Icahsánj intcmáa ho.**
 2sS-EM-heavy INF.IN-PV-carry.on.back 2sS-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘Pesas mucho. No puedes ser llevado en la espalda.’
You're heavy. You can't be carried. RMH_11-27-07_46

A schematic analysis for (42) is given in Figure 12.2 although it does not clearly show that the verb *know* in this case does not subcategorize for the surface DP subject that it shows syntactically.

When the grammatical subject of the complement clause is unspecified, the passive form of $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know* must be used since transitive verbs cannot have an unspecified grammatical subject (see §17.1.5). But this change also prompts the use of a deverbal noun in the complement clause rather than an infinitive in this particular construction. (The difference between the deverbal noun and the infinitive is non-existent phonetically in some cases, but very clear in others. The deverbal noun **ipási** in (51) contrasts clearly with the corresponding passive infinitive **icapási**, whereas the deverbal noun **icóopis** in (50) is coincidentally phonetically identical to the corresponding infinitive **icóopis**.)

- (50) a. **¿Icóopis hapáa -ya?**
 3P-AON-US-UO-smoke SN-PV-know QM
 b. * **¿Icóopis quiya -ya?**
 (ungrammatical on this reading)⁶
 ‘¿Se puede fumar?’
Can one smoke? XMH_08-15-07_35c

⁶ The (b) example here is grammatical on the readings *Does s/he know how to smoke?* and *Can s/he smoke?*

- (51) **¿Cafée pac ipási hapáa -ya?**
 coffee some 3P-AON-PV-drink SN-PV-know QM
 ‘¿Se permite tomar café?’
Is it possible (permitted) to drink coffee? XMH_08-15-07_35e

In at least some cases with an embedded idiom, the subject of the higher verb is the person of the possessor in the idiom.

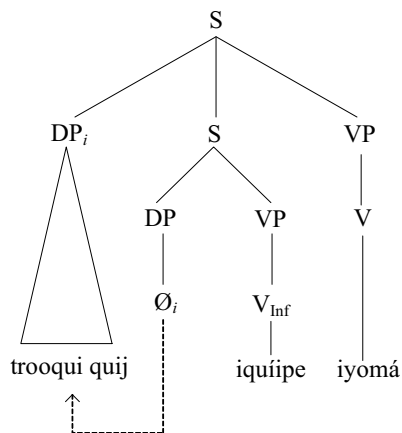
- (52) **°Hiisax hant icóoit° ihyomá.**
 1P-? land INF.IN-descend 1sS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No puedo estar feliz.’
I can't be happy. RMH_10-15-07_45a
- (53) **°Mimoz icaméet° inscmáa ha.**
 2P-heart INF.IN-? 2sS-IR.ID-N-know AUX-DCL
 ‘No puedes estar triste.’
You can't be sad. RMH_10-15-07_45b

Other cases of raising are discussed in §9.1.2 and §12.3.

12.1.2.1 Pro-complement

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know* in the sense of *be able* is the only verb which can take a complement consisting of the word **seehe**. The word **seehe**, glossed *to do (it)* here, perhaps may be best analyzed as a pro-complement. It has no other usage in the language. When **seehe** is the complement, the verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ is almost always inflected for third person indirect/oblique object for no obvious reason. Some simple examples with the complement clause **seehe** are given below. The

Figure 12.2: Analysis of the raising structure in (42)



antecedent of **seehe** is inferred from the linguistic or situational context.

- (54) **Seehe cohyomáa.**
 to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No puedo/pude.’ / ‘No puedo/pude hacerlo.’
I can’t/couldn’t. / I can’t/couldn’t do it. RMH_10-15-07_46a
- (55) **¿Seehe contáa?**
 to.do.(it) 3IO-2sS-RL-know
 ‘¿Puedes/pudiste?’ / ‘¿Puedes/pudiste hacerlo?’
Can/could you? / Can/could you do it? RMH_10-15-07_46b
- (56) **Seehe cösiva caha.**
 to.do.(it) 3IO-IR.ID-know AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Podrá.’ / ‘Podrá hacerlo’
S/he will be able. / S/he will be able to do it. RMH_10-15-07_46c
- (57) **Hitóaa cop tapxölim ma, seehe cohyomáa.**
 IP-foot/leg the.VT RL-broken.HZ DS to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know
Porque está quebrada mi pierna, no puedo/pude.
 (Because my leg is broken, I can’t/couldn’t.) (offered) RMH_10-15-07_46d
- (58) **Seehe xah itcmáa, iyóocatx.**
 to.do.(it) — 3:3-RL-N-know 3:3-DT-release
 ‘No pudo y lo dejó.’
He couldn’t and just gave up. (offered) RMH_10-15-07_46e
- (59) **°Xiica quih quiistox° quih xepe com iti caticpan quih**
 people the.FL sea the.HZ 3P-on SN-work the.FL
°haai cahípt° isolca com, taax oo
 experts 3P-body.PL the.HZ DDP DL
seehe cöocóaaaj iha, cöisóoxi hac.
 to.do.(it) 3IO-3P-ON-know-PL DCL 3IO-3P-IR.ID-die the.LC
 ‘Las personas que son pescadores expertos pueden hacerlo, con respecto a su ser matado.’
People who are expert fishermen can do it, with respect to their (flounders) being caught. (ES2007, caasquim 9)
- (60) **Moosni zo hatáht, seehe cöhatcmáaj ma,**
 sea.turtle a 1pS-RL-see-PL to.do.(it) 3IO-1pS-RL-N-know-PL DS
Pedro quih hizi yaaicot.
 the.FL 1pDO DT-help.kill RMH_10-15-07_47

‘Vimos una caguama y no la pudimos matar, entonces Pedro nos ayudó a matarla.’
We saw a turtle and we couldn't kill it, so Pedro helped us kill it. (DS2005, caaicot)

- (61) **Seehe compomáa ta x, sahmées yatóilcam tacoi**
 to.do.(it) 3IO-2sS-IR.DP-N-know DS UT orange(s) 3P-ON-distribute-PL MD-PL
pac ma hsacóoomot aha.
 some 2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-request.for AUX-DCL

‘Si tú no puedes, voy a pedir algunas de esas naranjas por tí.’ RMH_10-15-07_48
If you aren't able, I will ask for some of those oranges for you. (DS2005, cacóoomot)

The word **seehe** typically substitutes for a complement headed by a verb that is active and volitional, but the complement need not be of that type. If someone were to suggest that one should be governor, for example, one might answer with:

- (62) **Seehe cohtcmáa ho.**
 to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No puedo.’
I can't. (perhaps because I'm sick or I have a lot of work, etc.) RMH_10-15-07_49

As a pro-complement, the word **seehe** is typically not accompanied by a nominal complement. It does not easily occur with a direct object complement at all. If it were a pro-infinitive rather than a pro-clause, this is an unexpected fact. In response to the question *You should eat that fish*, one might answer with (54), or one might answer with the more elaborated, and less common, (63).⁷

- (63) **Zixcám ticom cöipáhit hac seehe cohyomáa.**
 fish MD-Hz 3IO-3P-AON-PV-eat the.LC to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No puedo/pude con respecto al comer de ese pescado.’
I can't/couldn't with respect to the eating of that fish. (offered) RMH_10-15-07_50

Attempts to recast the preceding sentence without the words **cöipáhit hac** in them were not successful. This would support the proposal that **seehe** is a pro-complement and not a pro-infinitive.

Nevertheless, a few examples are observed or elicited in which **seehe** is preceded by a simple nominal phrase with is a the topic. These are perhaps best analyzed as slightly stripped back versions of the examples with deverbal nominal oblique objects just seen; they are translated in this way in some cases.

⁷ It is possible that the type of topic as oblique object shown here, with a deverbal noun as head, is implicit in all examples with **seehe**. This would account for the use of the indirect/oblique object inflection (see §2.4 on oblique objects).

- (64) **Ziix ihmáa zo seehe cõimáa ha.**
 thing other a to.do.(it) 3IO-SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No puede/pudo hacer otra cosa.’
S/he can't/couldn't do anything else. (DS2005, cõiquiya) RMH_10-15-07_51a
- (65) **Ihmáa zo seehe cohyomáa.**
 other a to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No puedo/pude con respecto a otro.’
I can't/couldn't with respect to another. RMH_10-15-07_51b
- (66) **Siimet ihmáa zo seehe cohyomáa.**
 bread other a to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know
 ‘No puedo/pude con respecto a otro pan.’
I can't/couldn't with respect to another roll / piece of bread. RMH_10-15-07_51c
- (67) **Zixcám ticom seehe cohyomáa. Xomótet.**
 fish MD-HZ to.do.(it) 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-N-know EM-heavy
 ‘No puedo/pude con respecto a ESE pescado. Es pesado.’
I can't/couldn't with respect to THAT fish. It is heavy. RMH_10-15-07_51d
- (68) **Ee °ziix quih coox cah° seehe cõitáa camoz iha.**
 3PRO everything to.do.(it) 3IO-3:3-RL-know SN-think DCL
 ‘ÉL/ELLA Piensa que puede hacer cualquier cosa.’
S/HE thinks that s/he can do anything. OP_2-2-07_074
- (69) **Taax seehe cõhimá ha.**
 DDP to.do.(it) 3IO-1P-AON-N-know DCL
 ‘No puedo hacer ESO.’
I can't do THAT. (Ac 10:14) RMH_10-15-07_51e
- (70) **¿Taax seehe contáa?**
 DDP to.do.(it) 3IO-2sS-RL-know
 ‘¿Puedes hacer ESO?’
Can you do THAT? (contrastive focus) RMH_10-15-07_51f

The following example shows that a clause headed by the deverbal noun **cõhapá** can be used as a relative clause in the sense of *possible*.

- (71) **°Heme cõiquín° hac, ziix quih hayáa quih hipi**
 one's.engagement the.LC thing the.FL SN-PV-own the.FL INTNS
seehe cõhapá, taax oo speque (a)ha.
 to.do.(it) 3IO-SN-PV-know DDP DL IR.ID-PV-give.gift AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando uno está de novio, puede regalar cualquier cosa que está a su alcance.’
When one is asking for someone in marriage, any kind of gift can be given that is available. (DS2005, quique improved) RMH_07-11-07_30b

12.2 Deverbal noun complements

A few verbs take complement clauses in which the main verb is a deverbal noun (§14.4). Object complements are presented in §12.2.1 and subject complements in §12.2.2. Some complements of verbs which appear to be functioning as raising verbs are presented in §12.2.3. Others are discussed in §9.1.2.

12.2.1 Object complements

Different verbs have different conditions for when the object complement must appear as with a deverbal noun as head.

12.2.1.1 √*amzo want*

The verb √*amzo want* requires deverbal noun-headed complement clauses when its subject does *not* control that of the complement clause agent/experiencer-subject. (See §12.1.1 for the use of infinitival complements when control is involved.)

- (72) [**Ana quih iitax**] **hoomzo ha.**
 the.FL 3P-AON-go 1P-ON-want DCL
 ‘Quiero que Ana vaya.’
I want Ana to go. XMH_08-15-07_41
- (73) [**Yas**] **oomzo ha.**
 3P-AON-sing 3P-ON-want DCL
 ‘Quiere que cante.’
S/he wants him/her to sing. RMH_08-24-07_94c
- (74) [**Hilít quih iicöla**] **hyoomzo.**
 1P-hair/head the.FL 3P-AON-long/tall 1sS.TR-DT-want
 ‘Quiero tener pelo largo.’
I want to have long hair. RMH_10-15-07_52a
- (75) [**Cöipánzx hac ihíha**] **hyoomzo.**
 3IO-3P-AON-run the.LC 3P-AON-fast 1sS.TR-DT-want
 ‘Quise que corriera rápido.’ XMH_08-15-07_42a
I wanted him/her to run fast. (literally, I wanted his/her running to be fast.)
- (76) [**Hant miisaquim**] **ihmíimzo.**
 land 2P-AON-brush 1sS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero que barras el piso/suelo.’
I want you to sweep the floor/ground. (DS2005, quisaquim) XMH_08-15-07_42b

- (77) [**iifp**] **impóomzo**, ...
 3P-AON-arrive 2SS-IR.DP-want
 ‘Si quieres que llegue, ...’
If you want him/her/it to arrive, ... XMH_08-15-07_42c

The following example has a passive infinitive and a passive form of $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$ *want* since this is required when the subject is unspecified. The example is literally *If coffee’s being drunk is wanted, ...*

- (78) [**Cafée pac ipási**] **popámzo ta x**, ...
 coffee some 3P-AON-PV-drink IR.DP-PV-want DS UT
 ‘Si se quiere tomar café, ...’
*If one wants to drink coffee, ...*⁸ (Overheard) XMH_08-15-07_35b

12.2.1.2 $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know*

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know* (with the literal meaning *know* and *not* with the meaning *be able* or *know how*) always takes a deverbal noun-headed complement when the complement is clausal. Ambiguity is routine in such examples with third person subject since coreference or disjoint reference is not signaled in any way. The complements of this verb tend to be marked with the (locative) definite article **hac** (§21.2.5), unlike the complements of *want*, shown above, which have no articles.⁹ Furthermore, realis complements are inflected (for no obvious reason) with

⁸ This unfinished sentence (a rhetorical device) is a polite way to ask the question.

⁹ Action/oblique deverbal nouns with **quih** *the* or **zo** *a* refer to a specific aspect of the clause (time or location, for example) but not to the proposition itself.

- (iii) **Hant iiqui ihíin quih hocóaa ha.**
 land 3P-toward 3P-AON-go the.FL 1P-ON-know DCL
 ‘Sé a donde fue.’
I know where s/he was going. RMH_08-24-07_94a
- (iv) **Contíta ma iifp zo htcmaa ho.**
 3IO-AW-RL-move DS 3P-AON-arrive a 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé cuando llegó.’
I don’t know when s/he arrived. RRRR
- (v) **Contíta ma miifp zo htcmaa ho.**
 3IO-AW-RL-move DS 2P-AON-arrive a 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé cuando llegaste.’
I don’t know when you arrived. RRRR
- (vi) **Contíta ma iizcam zo htcmaa ho.**
 3IO-AW-RL-move DS 3P-AON-arrive-PL a 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé cuando llegaron.’
I don’t know when they arrived. RRRR

The preceding examples illustrate the invariant phrase **contíta ma** as an indicator of unspecified time.

third person indirect/oblique object inflection (**co-**, **cö-**, see §17.1.2.4). As documented below, some complements may also be presented without the indirect/oblique object inflection and with the (flexible) definite article **quih** (§21.2.4) instead; the difference in meaning is apparently very slight.

- (79) [**Cöhimoqueepe hac**], **tiix imáa ha**.
 3IO-1P-AON-sick the.LC DDS SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No sabía que yo estaba enfermo.’
S/he didn’t know that I was sick. XMH_08-15-07_42e
- (80) [**He hapi cöhimoqueepe hac**] **hocóaa ha**.
 1PRO INTNS 3IO-1P-AON-sick the.LC 1P-ON-know DCL
 ‘Sé que estoy enfermo.’
I know that I am sick. XMH_08-15-07_42f
- (81) [**Cömihiim hac**] **ihyóaa**.
 3IO-2P-AON-sleep the.LC 1S.TR-DT-know
 ‘Sé/sabía que estabas durmiendo.’
I know/knew that you were sleeping. XMH_08-15-07_42h
- (82) a. **Ihmiya**, [**eenim quih me cömicóoz hac**],
 1S.TR-PX-know knife the.FL 2PRO 3IO-2P-AON-steal the.LC
 b. [**Eenim quih me cömicóoz hac**] **ihmiya**.
 knife the.FL 2PRO 3IO-2P-AON-steal the.LC 1S.TR-PX-know
 ‘Yo sé que le robaste el cuchillo.’
I know that you stole the knife from him/her. RMH_08-24-07_96
- (83) a. [**Cöimoqueepe hac**] **quiya ha**.
 3IO-3P-AON-sick the.LC SN-TR-know DCL
 b. [**Imoqueepe quih**] **quiya ha**.
 3P-AON-sick the.FL SN-TR-know DCL
 ‘Sabía que estaba enfermo/a.’
S/he knew that s/he was sick. [ambiguous] (a) RMH_11-27-07_47 (b) RMH_08-24-07_95
- (84) a. [**Cömiróocö hac**] **ihmiya**.
 3IO-2P-AON-crazy the.LC 1S.TR-PX-know
 b. [**Miróocö quih**] **hmiya**.
 2P-AON-crazy the.FL 1S.TR-PX-know
 ‘Sé que estás/eres loco.’
I know you’re crazy. (a) RMH_11-27-07_48 (b) RMH_08-24-07_97b

The complement may be in the irrealis mood, in which case an auxiliary instead of an article

may be used. (The full range of facts here has not been studied.)

- (85) a. [**Misiitax** **ha**], **taax** **ihtcmáa** **ho.**
 2P-IR.ID-go AUX DDP 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
- b. [**Misiitax** **ha**] **htcmaa** **ho.**
 2P-IR.ID-go AUX 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
- c. * [**Misiitax** **ta**] **htcmaa** **ho.**
 2P-IR.ID-go AUX.RL 1SS.TR-RL-N-know DCL
- ‘Yo no sabía que tú ibas a ir.’
I didn’t know that you were going. (a) XMH_08-15-07_42g (b) RMH_10-15-07_52b
- (86) [**Cmiique** **zo** **ismamáho** **hac**] **ihmiya.**
 person/Seri a 2P-IR.ID-N-see the.LC 1SS.TR-PX-know
 ‘Yo sabía que no verías a nadie.’
I knew that you wouldn’t see anyone. XMH_08-15-07_43d
- (87) °**Hant pofii ta**°, [**isiifp** **hac**] **hocóaa** **ha.**
 tomorrow 3P-IR.ID-arrive the.LC 1P-ON-know DCL
 ‘Sé que vendrá mañana.’
I know that he will come tomorrow. XMH_08-15-07_43e
- (88) [**Hapiistox** **oo**, **hant hac** **hiséaaxoj** **ha**],
 1PS-IR.DP-have.life-PL DL place the.LC 1PS-IR.ID-go.away.from AUX
taax **himáaj** **iha.**
 DDP 1P-AON-N-know-PL DCL
 ‘No pensábamos que saldríamos con vida.’
We didn’t think that we would leave the place alive. XMH_08-15-07_43f
- (89) ¿ [°**Hiihax** **isáai**° **ha**] **taax** **intcmáa?**
 1P-with.SG 3P-IR.ID-make AUX DDP 2SS-RL-N-know
 ‘¿No sabes que me ayudará?’
Don’t you know that he will help me? XMH_08-15-07_43g
- (90) a. [**Cmiique** **z** **ismamáho** **hac**] **quiya** **ha.**
 person/Seri a 3P-IR.ID-N-see the.LC SN-Tr-know DCL
- b. [**Cmiique** **z** **ismamáho** **ta**] **quiya** **ha.**
 3:3-IR.ID-N-see AUX.RL
 ‘Sabía que no vería/encontraría a nadie.’
S/he_i knew that s/he_{i,j} wouldn’t see/find anyone. (a) XMH_08-15-07_43b (b) XMH_08-15-07_43c¹⁰

¹⁰ There is reportedly a slight difference between these two examples. With the auxiliary **ta** the person in question went anyway, but with **ha** perhaps the trip was canceled.

- (91) [**Cmiique** z **iscmáho** **ha** **quih**] **quiya** **ha**.
 person/Seri a 3P-IR.ID-N-see AUX the.FL SN-TR-know DCL
 ‘Sabía que nadie lo iba a ir/encontrar.’
S/he knew that no one would see/find him/her/it. RMH_11-27-07_49
- (92) [**Juan** **quih** **miháa** **quih**] **hmiya**.
 the.FL 2P-AON-EQ the.FL 1SS.TR-PX-know
 ‘Sé que tú eres Juan.’
I know you are John. RMH_11-28p-07_40

The preceding examples with deverbal complements contrast with the following examples which have finite (dependent) irrealis clauses or an irrealis auxiliary preceding the verb $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *know*. These, presumably, are not complement clauses in a strict sense at all.

- (93) **Patícpan** **imáa** **ha**.
 IR.DP-work SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘No trabaja.’
S/he doesn’t work. (for whatever reason — s/he has never worked, s/he doesn’t know how to work, s/he doesn’t have experience working) RMH_10-15-07_45c RMH_09-28-07_116a
- (94) **Ihpóoho** **htcmaa** **ho**.
 1S.S.TR-IR.DP-see 1S.S.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘Nunca lo/la he visto. (No lo reconozco.)’ RMH_10-15-07_57a RMH_09-28-07_116d
I’ve never seen him/her before. (I don’t recognize him/her.)
- (95) **Zo** **hpooho** **htcmaa** **ho**.
 a/one 1S.S.TR-IR.DP-see 1S.S.TR-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘Nunca he visto uno.’
I’ve never seen one. RMH_09-28-07_116e
- (96) ¿ **María** **quih** **hiihax** **isáaj**° **pi** **ta** **ntcmaa**?
 the.FL 1P-with.SG 3:3-IR.ID-make AUX.IR DS 2sS-RL-N-know
 ‘¿No sabes si María me ayudará?’
Don’t you know if María will help me? RMH_08-24-07_97a

12.2.1.3 $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like*

The verb $\sqrt{\text{queepe}}$ *like* requires deverbal noun-headed complement clauses when the higher subject does not control that of the complement clause’s agent/experiencer-subject or when the complement clause has a transitive verb. (See §12.1.1 for the cases of control.) The realis deverbal nouns, like those of $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$ *want*, are inflected for third person indirect/oblique objects and take the article **hac**.

- (97) [**Convéeni** _____ **hac**] **ihtcomquéepe ho.**
 3IO-2P-AON-UO-yell.at the.LC 1sS.TR-RL-N-like DCL
 ‘No me gusta que grites.’
I don’t like you to yell. RMH_08-24-07_99
- (98) [**Anxö convahámoc** _____ **hac**] **ihtcomquéepe ho.**
 INTNS 3IO-2P-AON-stay.late the.LC 1sS.TR-RL-N-like DCL
 ‘No me gusta que regreses muy noche.’
I don’t like you to come home late at night. RMH_08-24-07_100a
- (99) [**Cöicóopis** _____ **hac**] **ihyomquéepe.**
 3IO-3P-AON-US-UO-smoke the.LC 1sS.TR-DT-N-like
 ‘No me gusta que uno fume.’
I don’t like people to smoke. XMH_08-15-07_44c
- (100) [**Ziix ipxási quih cöipáhít** _____ **hac**] **ihyomquéepe.**
 meat 3P-flesh the.FL 3IO-3P-AON-PV-eat the.LC 1sS.TR-DT-N-like
 ‘No me gusta que se coma carne.’
I don’t like the eating of meat. XMH_08-15-07_44d
- (101) [**Ziix ipxási quih cöhihit** _____ **hac**] **ihyomquéepe.**
 meat 3P-flesh the.FL 3IO-1P-AON-eat the.LC 1sS.TR-DT-N-like
 ‘No tengo ganas de comer carne.’
I don’t feel like eating meat. (e.g. I’m tired of it) RMH_08-24-07_98

12.2.1.4 $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$ *see*¹¹

Sentential complements of the verb $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$ *see* are of two types although both have deverbal noun heads: (1) those with article **hac** and third person indirect object inflection **co-/cö-** (as seen above with other verbs), and (2) those with the simple deverbal noun form. When the complement has the latter form, the meaning is somehow “more direct”.¹²

- (102) [**Cöipánzx** _____ **hac**] **ihyóoho.**
 3IO-3P-AON-run the.LC 1sS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Lo/la vi cuando corrió.’
I saw when s/he/it ran. XMH_08-15-07_44b
- (103) [**Ipánzx**] **ihyóoho.**
 3P-AON-run 1sS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Lo/la vi correr.’
I saw him/her/it run. RMH_08-24-07_100e
- (104) [**Miitax**] **ihyóoho.**
 2P-AON-go 1sS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Te vi ir.’
I saw you go. RMH_08-24-07_101a

¹¹ The most common way to express perception of an event seems to be a chained clause structure of the type *x happened, y saw it*. The seeing or hearing is of the event; therefore the expression is *you were talking, I heard it* and not *you were talking, I heard you*.

¹² This topic has not been explored to any depth.

- (105) [**Eenim cop icóoz**] **ihmíiho.**
 knife the.VT 3P-AON-steal 1sS.TR-PX-see
 ‘Lo vi robar el cuchillo.’
I saw him/her steal the knife. RMH_08-24-07_101b

- (106) [**Hihízi**] **intáho.**
 1P-AON-small.PL 2sS-RL-see
 ‘¿Nos viste cuando éramos niños?’
Did you see us when we were little? RMH_08-24-07_101c

12.2.1.5 **hax** √**oocta** and **hax** √**Cimoz** *think (opine)*

The verbs √**oocta** *look at* and √**Cimoz** *think* are used with special complement clauses and the adverb **hax** *just* to express opinion or belief. The form of the complement is special in more than one way. First of all, when the complement is realis and transitive, the verb of the complement occurs in the special (and odd) subject-inflected subject-oriented deverbal noun form (§14.2).

- (107) [**Juan quih sahmées quih iquihit**] **hax ihmóocta.**
 the.FL orange(s) the.FL 3:3-SN-TR-eat just 1sS.TR-PX-look.at
 ‘Creo que Juan comió la naranja.’
I think that Juan ate the orange. (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_102c

Realis intransitive complements have deverbal nouns that look just like subject-oriented deverbal nouns although these are arguably the same special form illustrated in the previous example but without **i-** at the beginning because third person subject of intransitive verbs is not overtly marked.

- (108) [**Cafée cop cmati,**] **hax ihmóocta.**
 coffee the.VT SN-hot just 1sS.TR-PX-look.at
 ‘Creo que el café está caliente.’
I think the coffee is hot. RMH_08-24-07_101e

The complement may also have a simple predicate nominal construction (§10.1) without a modal.

- (109) [**Hipiix staci,**] **hax maaimoz.**
 DPS rock.oyster just PX-1EM.S.TR-think
 ‘Éste es un ostión, creo.’
This is a rock oyster, I think. LHC_2-06-07_163d

Irrealis complements use the article **quih** after them but the verb form is morphologically the finite irrealis. (Note the lack of possessor morphology and, when appropriate, the presence of overt subject person inflection morphology.)

- (110) [**Cösihímat** **quih**] **hax ihmóocta.**
 3IO-IR.ID-be.lie the.FL just 1S.Tr-PX-look.at
 ‘Siento que va a ser mentira.’
I think it will be a lie. XMH_08-15-07_45a
- (111) **Hatée** [**siitax** **quih**] **hax maacta.**
 1EM.PRO IR.ID-go the.FL just PX-1EM.S.Tr-look.at
 ‘A MÍ me parece que se va a ir.’
I think that she’s going. RMH_08-24-07_101d
- (112) [**Hatée seehe** **conscmáa** **quih**] **hax maacta.**
 1EM.PRO to.do.(it) 3IO-2S-IR.ID-N-know the.FL just PX-1EM.S.Tr-look.at
 ‘Me parece que no podrás.’
I don’t think you will be able. XMH_08-15-07_45b
- (113) [**Ihpsítax** **quih**] **hax imóocta.**
 1S.IN-IR.ID-go the.FL just 3:3-PX-look.at
 ‘Piensa que voy a ir.’
She thinks that I’m going. RMH_08-24-07_101f
- (114) [**Insítax** **quih**] **hax imóocta.**
 2S-IR.ID-go the.FL just 3:3-PX-look.at
 ‘Piensa que vas a ir.’
S/he thinks that you’re going. RMH_08-24-07_101g
- (115) [**Sahméés hipquij** **ihsíhit** **quih**] **hax ihmóocta.**
 orange(s) PX-CM 1S.Tr-IR.ID-eat the.FL just 1S.Tr-PX-look.at
 ‘Creo que comeré esta naranja.’
I think I will eat this orange. (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_102b

The complement may also be a clause with a predicate nominal (without a modal, see §10.1).

- (116) [**Me roocö**] **hax ihmóocta.**
 2PRO crazy just 1S.Tr-PX-look.at
 ‘Creo que estás loco.’
I think you’re crazy. RMH_08-24-07_102a

12.2.1.6 **hax** √**Vsoj** √**Cii** *think*

The transitive verb √**Cii** *feel* occurs in an expression with the adverb **hax** *just* and the (inflected) reflexive pronoun to mean *think*. Apparently a statement with this expression indicates the harboring of some considerable doubt about the veracity of the proposition. (The complement clause might not, in fact, strictly be a complement of this verb if the reflexive pronoun corresponds to its direct object.) The forms of the verb for the complement of this expression exactly parallel those of the expression for **hax** √**oocta** *think* discussed in the preceding section.

- (117) ¿ [**Iquíhit**] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 3:3-SN-TR-eat just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘¿Crees que lo comió?’
Do you think that s/he ate it? RMH_08-24-07_103a
- (118) [**Iquíhit**] **hax** **hisoj** **ihyóii.**
 3:3-SN-TR-eat just 1P-self 1sS.TR-DT-feel
 ‘Creo que lo comió.’
I think that she ate it. RMH_08-24-07_103b
- (119) [**Cmatj**] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 SN-hot just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘Crees que está caliente?’
Do you think that it’s hot? RMH_08-24-07_102d
- (120) [**Tiix** °**hacx cmiih**°] **hax** **hisoj** **ihmmíi.**
 DDS apart SN-not.be.FL just 1P-self 1sS.TR-PX-feel
 ‘Creo que falleció.’
I think that s/he died. RMH_08-24-07_110d
- (121) ¿ [**Tiix** °**hacx cmiih**°] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 DDS apart SN-not.be.FL just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘¿Crees que falleció?’
Did you think that s/he died? RMH_11-27-07_59
- (122) ... ¿ [**cói pac** **ihśáamlquim** **oo quih**] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 still some 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cut.HZ-IMPF DL the.FL just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘... ¿crees tú que debo cortar más?’
... but do you think I should cut more? XMH_08-15-07_45c
- (123) [**Isíhit** **quih**] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 3:3-IR.ID-eat the.FL just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘¿Crees que lo comerá?’
Do you think that s/he will eat it? RMH_08-24-07_102f
- (124) [**Roocö**] **hax** **misoj** **inttíi?**
 crazy just 2P-self 2sS-RL-feel
 ‘Crees que está loco/a?’
Do you think that s/he is crazy? RMH_08-24-07_102e

12.2.1.7 **hax** √**ahíi** *seem*

The expression **hax** √**ahíi** *it seems*, a passive form based on the verb √**Cii** *sense, feel*, takes the same kind of complements as the transitive verb. It is often followed by a phrase such as **hax taama** (just **RL-be DS**). Since the expression is at least morphologically passive, the construction is then typically one in which the complement clause is a subject complement.

- (125) [... **halx** **iquixíim**] °**hax tahíi°** **hax taa ma**, ...
 ATTEN 3:3-SN-TR-fear it.seems just RL-be DS
 ‘... parece que le tuvo algo de miedo, ...’
... it seems that he was a bit scared of him, ... (Conejo_Coyote_32)
- (126) **Cói matíiima oo**, [**hiza macóii**] °**hax mahíi°** s.
 still 2PS-RL-sleep-PL DL here 2PS-SN-be.FL.PL it.seemed CERT
 ‘Parece que están aquí todavía durmiendo.’
It seems like you are here still sleeping. (Mt 14:41) XMH_08-15-07_46a
- (127) ... [**taax icmís**] °**hax pahíi°** **hax paa ta x**, ...
 DDP 3:3-SN-TR-resemble it.will.seem just IR.DP-be DS UT
 ‘... será como eso, ...’
... it will be like that, ... (Mt 3:12) XMH_08-15-07_46b
- (128) ... [°**ziix quih canoj° quih caaixaj timoca iquíht**]
 light the.FL SN-strong MD-TWD 3:3-SN-TR-see-PL
 °**hax pahíi°** **hax saa ha**.
 it.will.seem INTNS IR.ID-be AUX-DCL
 ‘... será como han visto una luz fuerte.’
... it will be like they have seen a strong light. (Mt 4:16) XMH_08-15-07_46c
- (129) ... [**cohacóoix xah**] °**hax pahíi°** **hax paa ta x**, ...
 3IO-1sS.TR-SN-remove — it.will.seem just IR.DP-be DS UT
 ‘... será como les quitaré [las cargas pesadas] ...’
... it will be like I will remove [the heavy loads]... (Mt 11:28) XMH_08-15-07_47a
- (130) ... [°**hant ihpcóoca°**] °**hax pahíi°** **hax paa ta**,
 I.will.rest it.will.seem just IR.DP-be DS
 ‘... parece que descansaré, ...’
... it seems that I will rest, ... (Lk 12:19) XMH_08-15-07_47b
- (131) ... [**mimoféaa**] °**hax tahíi°** **hax taa**, ...
 2sS-SN-N-have.good.eyesight it.seemed just RL-be
 ‘... es como tienes ceguera...’
... it is like you are blind, ... (Rv 3:17) XMH_08-15-07_47c
- (132) ... [**imcoféaa**] °**hax pahíi°** **hax paa ta x**, ...
 2sS-SN-have.good.eyesight it.will.seem just IR.DP-be DS UT
 ‘... (y) será como tienes buena vista, ...’
... (and) it will be like you will have good eyesight, ... (Rv 3:18) XMH_08-15-07_47d

12.2.1.8 √iixim fear

When the verb √iixim *fear* takes a clausal complement, that complement is headed by a deverbal noun and is followed by an article. A realis form uses the article is **cop** (erect, typical of

abstractions (see §21.2.3)), and irrealis complements use the article **hac**.

- (133) [°**Psaac icóoxi**° _____ **cop**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 hunger 3P-AON-US-die the.VT 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de hambre.’
I am not afraid of hunger. XMH_08-15-07_45d
- (134) [°**Hacx icamíh**° _____ **cop**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 apart 3P-AON-US-not.be.FL the.VT 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de morir.’
I’m not afraid to die. / I’m not afraid of dying/death. RMH_08-24-07_103c
- (135) [**Ziix quih cjizi** _____ **cop**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 thing the.FL SN-painful the.VT 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de dolor.’
I’m not afraid of pain. RMH_10-15-07_53a
- (136) [**Xepe com iiqui cōhisín** _____ **hac**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 sea the.HZ 3P-toward 3IO-1P-IR.ID-go the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de ir en el mar.’
I’m not afraid to go out on the sea. RMH_10-15-07_53b
- (137) [**Cōhisóos** _____ **hac**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 3IO-1P-IR.ID-sing the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de cantar [p.ej., en este evento].’
I’m not afraid to sing [e.g., in this event]. RMH_10-15-07_53c
- (138) [**Cōiscóos** _____ **hac**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 3IO-3P-IR.ID-US-sing the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de cantar [en general].’
I’m not afraid of singing [in general]. RMH_10-15-07_53d RMH_10-15-07_54
- (139) [**Ziix ccap quij ano cōhisíj** _____ **hac**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 thing SN-fly the.CM 3P.in 3IO-1P-IR.ID-sit the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de viajar en avión.’
I’m not afraid to fly in a plane. RMH_10-15-07_53e

A striking fact about these complements is that they are all intransitive. Attempts to elicit transitive complements were rejected in favor of passive versions of the same, as the following examples illustrate.

- (140) [**Cōispáhit** _____ **hac**] **ihctmíxim** **iho.**
 3IO-3P-AON-PV-eat the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de comerlo.’
I’m not afraid to eat it. (literally, ... of its being eaten.) RMH_08-24-07_103d

- (141) [°Ziix ccap° qui cöisahcáatax hac] ihcemíxim iho.
 airplane the.CM 3IO-3P-IR.ID-PV-cause.go the.LC 1SS.TR-RL-N-fear DCL
 ‘No tengo miedo de pilotear un avión.’
I’m not afraid to fly a plane. (literally, of its being flown.) RMH_10-15-07_53f

12.2.2 Subject complements

In one sense, subject complements are very common. The clause headed by the deverbal noun **cöipánxz** *his/her/its running* in (75), repeated as (142), is the subject complement of the deverbal noun **ihíha** *its being fast*.

- (142) [[Cöipánxz hac] ihíha]] hyoomzo.
 3IO-3P-AON-run the.LC 3P-AON-fast 1SS.TR-DT-want
 ‘Quise que corriera rápido.’ XMH_08-15-07_42a
I wanted him/her to run fast. (literally, I wanted his/her running to be fast.)

Verbs which routinely subcategorize for subject complement clauses are very uncommon, however.¹³ The expressions for *necessary* are the most salient and they all take deverbal noun-headed complements.

12.2.2.1 iic co- √iipe necessary

This expression is an idiom: **iic co- √iipe** (3P-toward 3IO- good). The examples that illustrate its usage all have realis complements presented without any article.

- (143) [Miisi] °iicp cöquiipe° ha.
 2P-AON-drink necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario que lo tomes.’
It is necessary for you to drink it. RMH_08-24-07_104a
- (144) [Iti nyaaspoj] °iicp cöquiipe° ha.
 3P-on 2P-AON-write necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario que lo escribas.’
You have to write it. RMH_08-24-07_104b

¹³ As mentioned in §2.7, one way to express the length of time of an event, or how long ago it took place, is with a clause that has a deverbal noun followed by an expression of time. While these might be subject complements, the fact that the verb agrees in number with the unit of time, these are taken here as adjunct clauses which are not cross-referenced on the verb.

- (vii) Juan quih hacx imíh° quih hant moocj.
 the.FL 3P-AON-die the.FL year PX-two
 ‘Juan falleció hace dos años.’
Juan died two years ago. XMH_08-15-07_45e

- (145) [**Hezitmísoj quij contmíha**] °iicp cōquiipe° ha.
 Hermosillo the.CM 3IO-AW-2P-AON-move necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario que vayas a Hermosillo.’
You have to go to Hermosillo. RMH_08-24-07_104c
- (146) [**Imcáatax**] °iicp cōquiipe° ha.
 3P-AON-N-US-go necessary DCL
 ‘No es necesario que uno vaya.’ RMH_08-24-07_104d
It isn’t necessary that one go. (More literally, *It is necessary that one not go.*)

12.2.2.2 haa √ahca necessary

This expression is an idiom: **haa √ahca** (there be.located). The example here has an irrealis deverbial complement and the article **quih**.

- (147) [**Hisítax xah quih**] °haa caahca° ha.
 1P-IR.ID-go — the.FL necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario que yo vaya, me parece.’
I will have to go, I guess. RMH_08-24-07_104e

12.2.2.3 toc co-√ahca necessary

This expression is an idiom: **toc co-√ahca** (there 3IO- be.located). The complements in the following examples are with irrealis deverbial complements and the article **hac**.

- (148) [**Cmiique quih °haait quizp° quij °ziix hapsx caaitim°quij**
 person the.FL dysentery the.CM doctor the.CM
cöisaháaix _____ hac] oo °toc cōcahca° ha.
 3IO-3P-IR.ID-PV-take the.LC DL necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario llevar a un médico a la persona con disentería.’
It is necessary to take a person who has dysentery to a doctor. RMH_08-24-07_104f
- (149) [**Isiitax hac ih**] °toc cōcahca° ha.
 3P-IR.ID-go the.LC FOC necessary DCL
 ‘Es necesario que vaya.’
It is necessary for him/her to go. RMH_10-15-07_55

12.2.3 Deverbial noun complements of phasal verbs

The phasal verbs which are discussed in detail in §12.3 below may also occur with complements headed by realis deverbial nouns. They are more complicated than the examples discussed in the preceding sections in that they are raising constructions just like the examples with finite complements discussed in §12.3. Evidence for the raising analysis is presented in §12.3.

- (150) ..., [**hai cop cói iixaj**] **oo cõtajöc** **ma, ...**
 wind the.VT still 3P-AON-strong DL 3IO-RL-continually DS
 ‘... el viento seguía siendo fuerte, ...’
... the wind continued to be strong ... (Ac 27:18) RMH_05-16-08_44
- (151) ¿ [**Inváhitim**] **intáxi?**
 2P-AON-UO-eat-IMPF 2SS-RL-finish
 ‘¿Has terminado de comer?’
Have you finished eating? RMH_05-16-08_45

12.3 Finite complements of phasal verbs

Three verbs are used as phasal verbs: $\sqrt{\text{axi}}$ *finish* (elsewhere used to mean *make, create (an object)*); $\sqrt{\text{acatx}}$ *stop* (elsewhere used to mean *release, set free, let go, let loose, abandon*; and $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ *continually be or do* (not used outside of this phasal construction).¹⁴ These verbs are unusual in that the complement that they take is identical to a dependent clause, either with irrealis **po-** (§17.1.1.1) or realis **t-** (§17.1.1.5).¹⁵ And, oversimplifying a bit for the moment, the subject of the phasal verb is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. The complement clause is bracketed in the following examples and the overt indicators (if any) of subject person inflection are underscored.

With the verb $\sqrt{\text{axi}}$ **finish**

- (152) ... [**tiix ihtíp**] **ihotáxi,** ...
 DDS 1SS.TR-RL-straighten 1SS.TR-RL-finish
 ‘... cuando terminé de enderezarla, ...’
... when I finished straightening that one, ... (DS2005, quijp) RMH_07-11-07_105
- (153) [**Ox tee**] **itáxi,** ...
 thus RL-say 3:3-RL-finish
 ‘Cuando terminó de decir así, ...’
When he finished saying thus, ... (Conejo_Puma_11.1) RMH_05-17-08_233
- (154) [**Zo hpoohit**] **ihpóoxi,** ...
 a/one 1SS.TR-IR.DP-eat 1SS.TR-IR.DP- finish
 ‘Cuando termino de comer una [cabeza], ...’
When I finish eating one [head], ... (Conejo_Puma_13.1)

¹⁴ It seems reasonable to propose that this construction has resulted from the reanalysis of a chained clause construction. The dependent clause is now a finite clause embedded under raising verbs that indicate phasal aspect. The newly formed phasal verbs are identical in form to the verbs that gave origin to them. However, the syntax of these phasal verbs no longer matches their morphology in that the two that are etymologically and morphologically *transitive* are functioning as *intransitive* phasal verbs

¹⁵ This section reprises an analysis that was first presented in Marlett (2008d).

- (155) [**Taax hapafitlam**] **hapóox,**
 DDP 1PS-IR.DP-pull-PL 1PS-IR.DP-finish-PL
cmaax hasáaitoj aha.
 now 1PS-IR.ID-fish-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando terminamos de jalarlos, iremos de pesca.’
When we finish pulling them in, then we will go fishing. (Fishing_Conversation_4) RMH_07-11-07_107
- (156) [**Xiica quipxa hoéenec tacoi hatáaitoj**] **hatáx,** ...
 thing.PL SN-few 1P-ON-carry.PL MD-PL 1PS-RL-eat-PL 1PS-RL-finish-PL
 ‘Cuando terminamos de comer las pocas cosas que habíamos llevado, ...’ RMH_05-
When we had finished eating the few things that we had taken along, ... (Future_Fishing_56)
- (157) [**Ihpásaquim**] **ihpóoxi,** ...
 1SS.IN-IR.DP-comb.hair 1SS.TR-IR.DP-finish
 ‘Cuando termine de cepillarme el cabello, ...’
When I finish combing my hair, ... (DS2005, casaquim) RMH_07-11-07_108
- (158) [**Iscám com itáacöim**] **itáxi,** ...
 3P-reed.boat the.HZ 3:3-RL-make.balsa.ready 3:3-RL-finish
 ‘Terminó de preparar su balsa, ...’
S/he finished readying his/her reed boat, ... (DS2005, caacöim) XMH_08-08-07_279
- (159) [**Mooiin quiij impóom**] **impóoxi,** ...
 2P-ON-have.in.cheek.of.mouth the.CM 2SS-IR.DP-swallow 2SS-IR.DP-finish
 ‘Cuando terminas de tragar ese bocado, ...’
When you finish swallowing that mouthful, ... (DS2005, quiin) RMH_07-11-07_109
- (160) [**Haptco toos**] **iyóoxi.**
 already RL-sing 3:3-DT-finish
 ‘Ya ha terminado de cantar.’
S/he has already finished singing. RMH_07-27-07_15c
- (161) [**Ihtáhit**] **ihyóoxi.**
 1SS.TR-RL-eat 1SS.TR-DT-finished
 ‘Terminé de comerlo.’
I finished eating it. RMH_07-27-07_15d

With the verb $\sqrt{\text{acatx}}$ release/stop

- (162) [**Tapca**] **itácatx ma x, xepe com xiimj.**
 RL-rain 3:3-RL-release DS UT sea the.HZ EM-clear
 ‘Cuando deja de llover, el mar está claro.’
When the rain stops, the sea is clear. (DS2005, quiimj) (RMH_07-27-07-13a)

- (163) ..., [**quihéhe° caacoj quij itzáxö**] **itácatx ma, ...**
 ruler SN-big the.CM 3:3-RL-discuss 3:3-RL-release DS
 ‘... cuando dejó de hablarle el rey, ...’
... when the king stopped speaking to him, ... (Mt 2:9, NTT) RMH_07-27-07-14c
- (164) ¿ **°Zó tpaeta ma° [taaitom x] itcmácatx, ctam tiquij?**
 why? RL-speak UT 3:3-RL-N-release man MD-CM
 ‘¿Por qué no deja de hablar ese hombre?’
Why doesn't that man stop talking? XMH_08-08-07_281
- (165) [**Haptco toos**] **iyóocatx.**
 already RL-sing 3:3-DT-release
 ‘Ya ha dejado de cantar.’
S/he has already stopped singing. RMH_07-27-07_15e

With the verb $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ continually be or do

- (166) [**Hax ihpóoitom**] **cohpoójöc oo, ...**
 just 1SS.IN-IR.DP-talk 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.DP-continually DL
 ‘Aunque yo platique continuamente ...’
Even if I talk continually, ... (DS2005, cöcajöc) RMH_07-11-07_106
- (167) [**Taax taa oo cöpopácta**] **cöpoójöc oo x,**
 DDP DDP DL 3IO-IR.DP-be.in.appearance 3IO-IR.DP-continually DL UT
toc cösoii caha.
 there 3IO-IR.ID-be.FL.PL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Así serán siempre.’
They will forever be like that. (He 10:14, NTT) RMH_07-27-07-14d
- (168) [**He hptiim**] **cohptájöc oo toc cöhamom.**
 1PRO 1SS.IN-RL-sleep 3IO-1SS.IN-RL-continually DL there 3IO-1SS.IN-PX-lie
 ‘Yo estaba allí durmiendo todo el tiempo.’
I was there sleeping all the time. RMH_07-27-07-14e
- (169) [**Tooha**] **cötajöc oo x, hant com iti quiihtim iha.**
 RL-cry 3IO-RL-continually DL UT land the.HZ 3P-on SN-be.FL-IMPF DCL
 ‘Siempre anda llorando.’
She is continually going around crying. (ES2007, acaam ccaa 10)
- (170) [**Hant hizac tcomca**] **cöcajöc oo ha.**
 place this.LOC RL-noisy 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘Este lugar siempre está ruidoso.’
This place is always noisy. XMH_08-08-07_280

- (171) [**Hamíime com tooil**] **cöcajöc** **oo ha.**
 sky the.HZ RL-blue 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘El cielo siempre es azul.’
The sky is always blue. RMH_07-27-07_15a
- (172) [**Tiix toos**] **cöyoojöc** **oo.**
 DDS RL-sing 3IO-DT-continually DL
 ‘Siempre estaba cantando.’
S/he was always singing. RMH_07-11-07_113b
- (173) [**Miicot oo pij**] **cösiijöc** **oo caha.**
 2P-with.PL DL IR.DP-sit 3IO-IR.ID-continually DL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Estará con ustedes siempre.’
He will always be with you (pl.). (Jn 14:17, NTT) RMH_07-27-07_15g

The material preceding the phasal verb is analyzed here as a subject complement of the phasal verb. It is proposed, furthermore, that the subject of the complement raises to be the subject of the phasal verb. The resulting structure is diagrammed in Figure 12.3.

It is a general fact about chained clauses that the mood of the series of clauses is harmonized except in very special situations. This is true in the preceding examples with the phasal verb complements as well; the complement mood is realis if the phasal verb is realis and it is irrealis if the phasal verb is irrealis.

One of the situations in which a “disharmony” occurs is when the irrealis is required in the complement clause because the phasal verb $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ is negated.

- (174) a. [**Cmaam tiquij paha**] **cöyomájöc** **oo.**
 woman MD-CM IR.DP-cry 3IO-DT-N-continually DL
 b. * [**Cmaam tiquij tooha**] **cöyomájöc** **oo.**
 RL-cry
 ‘Esa mujer no está siempre llorando.’
That woman isn’t always crying. RMH_07-11-07_110
- (175) a. [**Adolfo quih pas**] **cöyomájöc** **oo.**
 the.FL IR.DP-sing 3IO-DT-N-continually DL
 b. * [**Adolfo quih toos**] **cöyomájöc** **oo.**
 RL-sing
 ‘Adolfo no siempre cantaba.’
Adolfo wasn’t always singing. XMH_08-08-07_275

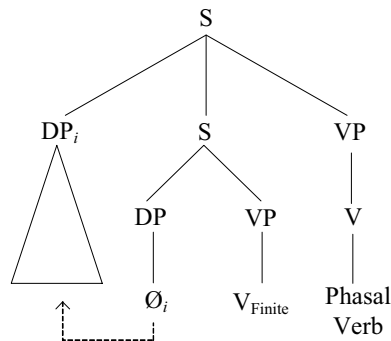
Irrealis morphology is not used if the other phasal verbs are negated.

- (176) [**Ihptásaquim**] **ihcmáxi** **ipi ma.**
 1sS.IN-RL-comb.hair 1sS.TR-RL-N-finish still DS
zaah quij áno yoozquim.
 sun the.CM 3P.in DT-enter
 ‘No terminé de peinarme antes de que se pusiera el sol.’
I didn’t finish combing my hair before the sun set. XMH_08-08-07_274
- (177) a. [**Adolfo quih toos x**] **iyomácatx.**
 the.FL RL-sing UT 3:3-DT-N-release
 b. * [**Adolfo quih pas x**, **iyomácatx.**
 ‘Adolfo no deja de cantar.’¹⁶
Adolfo doesn’t stop singing. XMH_08-08-07_276

The analysis of these finite clauses as complements predicts that it should be difficult to interpose robust material between the (complement) clause and the phasal verb. This is true, as the following examples illustrate.

- (178) * **Toos tiix cöyoojüc oo.**
 RL-sing DDS 3IO-DT-continually DL
 (‘Siempre estaba cantando.’) (*S/he was always singing.*)
- (179) * **Toos Pedro quij cöyoojüc oo.**
 RL-sing the.CM 3IO-DT-continually DL
 (‘Pedro siempre estaba cantando.’) (*Pedro was always singing.*)

Figure 12.3: Raising analysis for phasal verbs (cf. (172))



¹⁶ According to René Montaña Herrera, this sentence has only a habitual reading. If one is referring to a specific situation, the deverbal noun complement is used: **Adolfo quih yas iyomácatx.**

- (180) * **Haptco toos** **María quij** **iyóoxi.**
 already RL-sing the.CM 3:3-DT-finish
 ('Ya María ha terminado de cantar.') (*María has already finished singing.*)

This fact distinguishes these clauses from the general chained clause construction. While the usual situation in Seri discourse is for a nominal to be introduced as early as possible in the sentence (see §4.4.2), the violation of this stylistic principle (only found in purposefully elicited material) renders the examples as awkward or unnatural but not sharply ungrammatical as the preceding examples with phasal verbs.

- (181) %/* **Ø Inol cop itíjje,** **Pedro cop** **imafítot.**
 3P-hand the.VT 3:3-RL-grab the.VT 3:3-PX-help.stand
 Highly problematic or impossible reading: 'Tomándole la mano, Pedro le ayudó ponerse de pie.' *Taking his/her_i hand, Pedro helped him/her_i stand up.*
 More possible reading (except for incongruity with the article **cop** which indicates that Pedro is already standing): 'Tomándole la mano, le ayudó a Pedro ponerse de pie.' *Taking his hand, s/he helped Pedro stand up.*
- (182) % **Toos,** **cmaam quij** **toc cōquij** **iha.**
 RL-sing woman the.CM there 3IO-SN-sit DCL
 'La mujer estaba allí cantando.'
The woman was there singing. XMH_08-08-07_271
- (183) % °**Istox theemloj°,** **ctamcō coi** **toc cōcoii** **ha.**
 3P-?-PL RL-stink-PL man-PL the.PL there 3IO-SN-be.FL.PL DCL
 'Los hombres estaban enojados.'
The men were angry. XMH_08-08-07_272

Nevertheless, apparently at least some adverbs may appear before the phasal verb in the phasal verb construction, and the enclitic **x** (UT, §3.6.3) may appear at the end of the complement (perhaps completely unsurprisingly). The following examples are all elicited; the examples from texts of this construction do not have adverbs in them. Some consultants found the presence of certain adverbs odd enough to give less-than-acceptable judgments.

- (184) **Ihptóos** **haptco** **htaxi,** **hizac hihíj** **iha.**
 1S.IN-RL-sing already 1S.TR-RL-finish here 1P-AON-sit DCL
 'Yo ya he terminado de cantar, aquí estoy.'
I've already finished singing, here I am. XMH_08-08-07_273
- (185) % **¿Impás** **x** **xaa** **nsiixi** **haa -ya?**
 2SS-IR.DP-sing UT soon 2SS-IR.ID-finish AUX QM
 '¿Vas a terminar de cantar pronto?'
Are you going to finish singing soon? RMH_07-27-07_16a

- (186) % ¿**Impás** **x** **zímjöc** **insíxi** **haa -ya?**
 2sS-IR.DP-sing UT when? 2sS-IR.ID-finish AUX QM
 ‘¿Cuándo vas a terminar de cantar?’
When are you going to finish singing? RMH_07-27-07_16b
- (187) **Toos** **x** **cöyoojöc** **oo,** **hant quih iti tij x.**
 RL-sing UT 3IO-DT-continually DL land the.FL 3P-on RL-sit UT
 ‘Siempre estaba allí cantando.’
S/he was always there singing. RMH_07-27-07_16c
- (188) **Ihptóos** **hax** **ihotáxi** **hax ta hpyaanpx.**
 1sS.IN-RL-sing INTNS 1sS.Tr-RL-finish INTNS AUX.RL 1sS.IN-DT-go.home
 ‘En cuanto terminé de cantar, regresé a casa.’
Right as soon as I finished singing, I went home. RMH_07-27-07_16d
- (189) **Ihptatícpán** **hax** **ihátacx,** **hax ta ma, hin yaaipot.**
 1sS.IN-RL-work INTNS 1sS.Tr-RL-release INTNS AUX.RL DS 1sDO DT-pay
 ‘En cuanto terminé de trabajar, me pagó.’
As soon as I finished working, s/he paid me. RMH_07-27-07_16e

With regard to the prosodic aspects of this construction, it is important to consider examples that occur in spontaneous discourse since marked differences can be observed between such examples and those which are read, even by very competent readers. There may in fact be structural ambiguity for at least some examples — as common chained clauses and as the phasal verb construction per se. The phasal verb construction is more likely than typical chained clauses to be pronounced with no pause between the clauses in question, and the words of the complement clause are spoken at a slightly faster rate in the phasal verb construction than comparable clauses in the common chained clause construction. Speakers are demonstrably aware of these timing differences.¹⁷

A sentence with clause chaining allows a clause to be postposed to final position, as shown in §3.7. While such sentences are only occasionally found in texts, they are not considered at all deviant. On the other hand, sentences with a postposed complement clause are decidedly ungrammatical even if the nominals are kept in initial position.

- (190) a. [**Tiix toos**] **cöyoojöc** **oo.**
 DDS RL-sing 3IO-DT-continually DL
- b. * **Cöyoojöc oo,** **tiix toos.**
- c. * **Tiix cöyoojöc oo,** **toos.**

¹⁷ The difference between a chained clause construction and this construction is made orthographically by using a comma between clauses in the latter but not in the former.

‘Siempre estaba cantando.’

S/he was always singing. RMH_07-11-07_113b

It has been mentioned that the subject of the phasal verb construction may be non-agentive. This is an important fact to understand since the transitive verbs $\sqrt{\text{axi}}$ *finish* and $\sqrt{\text{acatx}}$ *release/stop* must have agentive subjects when they are not used as phasal verbs.¹⁸ Some examples with non-agentive subjects:

- (191) **Hant hizac tcomca cōcajōc oo ha.**
 place this.LOC RL-noisy 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘Este lugar siempre es ruidoso.’
This place is always noisy. = (170)
- (192) **Intmoquéepe cōmijōc oo.**¹⁹
 2sS-RL-sick 3IO-Px-continually DL
 ‘Siempre estabas enfermo/a.’
You were always sick. RMH_05-16-08_47
- (193) a. **Hast quij ipáainj iyooctx.**
 stone the.CM 3P-AON-tumble 3:3-DT-release
 ‘La roca dejó de rodarse.’
The rock stopped tumbling. RMH_05-16-08_48a
- b. **Hast quij tpaainj itácatx, ...**
 stone the.CM RL-tumble 3:3-DT-release
 ‘La roca dejó de rodarse, ...’
When the rock stopped tumbling, ... RMH_05-16-08_48b
- (194) **Áno tooit ma tapca itácatx ma, ...**
 3P.in RL-arrive DS RL-rain 3:3-RL-release DS
 ‘Dejó de llover en la tarde.’
It stopped raining in the afternoon. RMH_05-16-08_49
- (195) **Hamíime com toil cōcajōc oo ha.**
 sky the.HZ RL-blue 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘El cielo siempre es azul.’
The sky is always blue. = (171)

¹⁸ Recall that $\sqrt{\text{ajōc}}$ *be/do continually* is only used as a phasal verb.

¹⁹ This example is unusual in that the phasal verb inexplicably does not have the same subject as the complement clauses, unlike virtually all of the other examples found or elicited.

- (196) **Xepe com ití toom x cōcajōc oo ha.**
 sea the.Hz 3P-on RL-lie UT 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘El mar siempre está encima de él.’
The sea is always over [covering] it. (ES2007, satoj_hasaitaj 15)
- (197) ... **hoocala com cōtaanim cōtajōc oo ma,**
 cloud(s) the.Hz 3IO-RL-cause.covered 3IO-RL-continually DL DS
toc cōmiihca.
 there 3IO-PX-be.located
 ‘... siempre estaba nublado.’
... it was always cloudy. (Ac 27:20) RMH_05-16-08_50
- (198) **He hptooxnij cohptájōc oo, toc cōhamom.**
 IPRO 1sS.IN-RL-snore 3IO-1sS.IN-RL-continually DL there 3IO-1sS.IN-PX-lie
 ‘Yo estaba allí roncando todo el tiempo.’
I was there snoring the whole time. RMH_05-16-08_51
- Moreover, the subject of the phasal verb construction may be non-referential.
- (199) **Tapca itácatx ma x, xepe com xiimj.**
 RL.rain 3:3-RL-release DS UT sea the.Hz EM-clear
 ‘Cuando deja de llover, el mar está muy claro.’
When the rain stops, the sea is clear. (DS2005, quiimj) (= 162)
- (200) **Tapca x, iyomácatx.**
 RL.rain UT 3:3-DT-N-release
 ‘No deja de llover.’
*It doesn't stop raining.*²⁰ XMH_08-08-07_277
- (201) **Tanloj cōcajōc oo ha.**
 RL-thunder-IMPF 3IO-SN-continually DL DCL
 ‘Siempre está tronando.’
It's always thundering. XMH_08-08-07_282
- (202) **Ttamjō itácatx ma x, yoonloj.**
 RL-lightning 3:3-RL-release DS UT DT-thunder-IMPF
 ‘Cuando dejó de relampaguear, tronó.’
When it stopped lightning, it thundered. (Offered) RMH_11-20-07_149

²⁰ According to René Montaña Herrera, this sentence has only a habitual reading. If one is referring to a specific situation, the deverbal noun complement is used: **lipca iyomácatx.**

- (203) **Hant hizac teozim cöyoojöc oo.**
 place this.LOC RL-hot.(weather) 3IO-DT-continually DL
 ‘Siempre hace calor aquí.’
It is always hot here. XMH_08-08-07_283

These facts provide the motivation for analyzing these structures as raising rather than simple control structures.

A few more details regarding the question of the subject of the phasal verb should be pointed out, however. The following examples show the interaction of the phasal verb construction with idioms; the “literal” subject is relevant for the inflection of the phasal verb. These are not problematic for the raising analysis.

- (204) **¿Miisax hant tooit° cötajöc oo?**
 2P-? land RL-arrive 3IO-RL-continually DL
 ‘¿Estás siempre feliz?’
Are you always happy? RMH_10-16-07_01a
- (205) **¿Miisax theemt° cötajöc oo?**
 2P-? RL-stink 3IO-RL-continually DL
 ‘¿Estás siempre enojado/a?’
Are you always angry? RMH_10-16-07_01b

Other facts, however, show that the analysis is more complicated than imagined by the examples presented so far. These facts are reminiscent of the types of complication presented by passive clauses for the Different Subject marking (see §9.1.1). Consider the following three variations on a sentence in which “your” hair is being combed by someone else. The free translations give fairly literal renditions of these three sentences. In all three the complement clause is passive “you are having your hair combed”. In (206a) the surface subject (“you”) of the complement clause is the subject of $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ *continually*. Such a sentence follows the pattern of what has been shown above. In (206b) the subject of $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ is “unspecified subject”, which indicates that the “deep” subject of $\sqrt{\text{ahásaquim}}$ has raised. Since all of the examples previously seen have had active complement clauses, such facts as seen here have not been presented. Finally, in (206c) the subject of $\sqrt{\text{ajöc}}$ is third person, as if no raising at all had taken place.

- (206) a. **Intahahásaquim contájöc oo,...**
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair 3IO-2SS-RL-continually DL
 ‘Estás siempre siendo peinado/a, ...’
You are always having your hair combed, ... RMH_10-16-07_12c

- b. **Intahahásaquim** **cötcaajöc** **oo,** ...
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair 3IO-RL-US-Continually DL
 ‘Alguien siempre está peinándote, ...’
Someone is always combing your hair, ... RMH_10-16-07_12b
- c. **Intahahásaquim** **cötajöc** **oo,** ...
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair 3IO-RL-continually DL
 ‘Estás siempre siendo peinado/a ...’
You are always having your hair combed, ... RMH_10-16-07_12a

In the following example, the unspecified agent/subject raises and provokes passive voice on the (morphologically transitive) phasal verb $\sqrt{\text{axi}}$ *finish* (since unspecified subject cannot be the grammatical subject of a transitive verb, see §17.1.5).

- (207) °Zaxt quisil° cmaam quiq tahahásaquim tpaxi ma,
 child female the.CM RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair RL-PV-finish SD
 zaah quiq áno yoozquim.
 sun the.CM 3P.in DT-enter

‘Cuando la muchacha terminó de ser peinada, se puso el sol.’
When the girl finished having her hair combed, the sun set. RMH_10-16-07_03b

Finally, the following three examples show variations on a sentence with a passive complement; one is of questionable grammaticality, one is robustly acceptable, and one is ungrammatical. These facts indicate the need for more research in this area, both descriptive and analytical.

- (208) a. ? **Intahahásaquim** **intpáxi** **ma,**
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair 2SS-RL-PV-finish SD
 zaah quiq áno yoozquim.
 sun the.CM 3P.in DT-enter
- b. **Intahahásaquim** **tpaxi** **ma,**
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair RL-PV-finish SD
 zaah quiq áno yoozquim.
- c. * **Intahahásaquim** **intáxi** **ma,**
 2SS-RL-PV-AUG-comb.hair 2SS-RL-finish SD
 zaah quiq áno yoozquim.

‘Cuando terminaste de ser peinado/a, se puso el sol.’ (b) RMH_10-16-07_03c
When you finished having your hair combed, the sun set. (a) RMH_10-16-07_04

12.4 Indirect speech

Indirect speech is presented in a sentence which ends with a verb of saying. The verb of saying is either the morphologically intransitive irregular (stress-retracting) verb \sqrt{e} _{irreg} *say* or the transitive verb (with addressee as direct object) \sqrt{ah} *tell* (plural stem \sqrt{aii}). Three simple examples:

- (209) [**Ináail quih itácl tintica íiqui tjizi,**] **teeme.**
 3P-skin the.FL 3P-surface Md-Aw even RL-painful Px-say
 ‘Dijo que hasta le duele la piel.’
S/he said that even his/her skin hurt. RMH_08-24-07_108b
- (210) [**Tmoquéepe,**] **imíii.**
 RL-sick 3:3-PX-say-PL
 ‘Le(s) dijeron que estaba enfermo/a.’
They told him/her/them that s/he was sick. RMH_07-11-07_104a
- (211) [**Pedro quih tmoquéepe,**] **imíih.**
 the.FL RL.sick 3:3-PX-say
 ‘Le(s) dijo que Pedro estaba enfermo.’
S/he told him/her/them that Pedro was sick. RMH_07-11-07_111a

It is assumed that these clauses have a structure something like that shown in Figure 12.4. The emedded clause is not the grammatical direct object of the verb of saying, however, since the verb \sqrt{e} _{irreg} *say* is morphologically intransitive and the direct object of the verb \sqrt{ah} *tell* is a person who hears the message.²¹

12.4.1 Morphology of the embedded clause

If the last clause of the indirect speech is finite and realis, it must be in the *dependent* realis form (§17.1.1.2).

- (212) a. [**Ziix zo ntizi,**] **meye.**
 thing a 2sS-RL-defeat 2sS-DT-say
- b. * [**Ziix zo nyizi,**] **meye.**
 thing a 2sS-DT-defeat 2sS-DT-say
- c. * [**Ziix zo nxizi,**] **meye.**
 thing a 2sS-EM-defeat 2sS-DT-say
- d. * [**Ziix zo mmizi,**] **meye.**
 thing a 2sS-PX-defeat 2sS-DT-say

²¹ The verb \sqrt{ah} *say* is not listed with this usage clearly in the 2005 dictionary. In common sentences, the direct object of this verb is third person and therefore unmarked. It is not until more complicated examples were elicited that the true picture about this verb in this usage came into view.

‘Dijiste que habías vencido a alguien o que habías ganado algo.’
You said that you defeated someone or that you had won something. (DS2005, teeque;
 Apostador_203) XMH_08-15-07_49a

Different Subject marking (§3.6) does not occur between the embedded indirect speech and the verb of saying.

- (213) [**Icóos itáa (*ma),] teete, ...**
 INF.IN-sing 3:3-RL-know DS RL-say
 ‘Dice que sabe cantar, ...’
S/he says that s/he knows how to sing ... (DS2005, cazáac) XMH_08-15-07_39f
- (214) [**Intmoquéepe (*ma),] ma miih.**
 2sS-RL-sick DS 2sDO Px-say
 ‘Te dije que estabas enfermo/a.’
S/he told you that you were sick. RMH_07-11-07_104b
- (215) [**Intmoquéepe (*ma),] him miih.**
 2sS-RL-sick DS 1sDO Px-say
 ‘Me dije que estabas enfermo/a.’
S/he told me that you were sick. RMH_07-11-07_104b
- (216) [**Tmoquéepe (*ma),] imíi.**
 RL-sick DS 3:3-Px-say-PL
 ‘Le(s) dijeron que estaba enfermo/a.’
They told him/her/them that s/he was sick. RMH_07-11-07_104a
- (217) [**Ihptmoquéepe (*ma),] him miii.**
 1sS.IN-RL-sick DS 1sDO Px-say.PL
 ‘Me dijeron que yo estaba enfermo/a.’
They told me that I was sick. RMH_07-11-07_104c

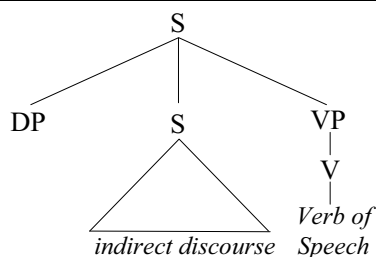
If the case of a predicate nominal (§10.1), the modal that is required in simple sentences is omitted when embedded as indirect speech.

- (218) [**Ctam cacösxaj (*iha),] yoque.**
 man SN-tall/long DCL DT-US-say
 ‘Era un hombre alto, se dice.’
He was a tall man, it is said. LHC_2-06-07_160d, XMH_08-15-07_50b

A finite irrealis complement appears with a verb in the finite independent irrealis form followed by the auxiliary **ha** (but no modal) or by the realis auxiliary **ta**. Both types of complements generally (but not always) indicate a sense of obligation.

- (219) [**Insaticpan** **ha**] **teeme.**
 2sS-IR.ID-work AUX PX-say
 ‘Dijo que trabajarás.’
S/he said that you should work. RMH_11-28p-07_02
- (220) **Hita** **quij** [**somcapjoée** **ha,**] **teeme.**
 1P-mother the.CM IR.ID-N-US-gossip AUX PX-say
 ‘Mi madre dijo que no chismeará.’
My mother said that one should not gossip. (DS2005, capjoée) XMH_08-15-07_49c
- (221) **Ihyáaco** **cop** **ano** **tafp,** **hin** **yatólec,**
 1P-house the.VT 3P.in RL-arrive 1sDO Dt-ask.for.help
 [**ihpsij** **ha,**] **teete.**
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-UO.fetch.water AUX RL-say
 ‘Llegó a mi casa y me pidió que le ayudara y que acarreará agua.’
S/he arrived at my house and asked me to help him/her by fetching water (said that I should help fetch water). (DS2005, teequé) XMH_08-15-07_49d
- (222) **Him** **caazi** **quij** [**ihpsaticpan** **ta**] **him** **miih.**
 1sDO SN-TR-carry the.CM 1sS.IN-IR.ID-work AUX.IR 1sDO PX-say
 ‘Mi padre me dijo que trabajara.’
My father told me to work (told me that I should work). XMH_08-15-07_49e, RMH_08-24-07_106d
- (223) [**Poyáam** **ta,** **iséxl** **ha**] **teeme.**
 IR.DP-later DS 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX PX-say
 ‘Dijo que lo(s) comprará más tarde.’ o ‘Dijo que lo(s) comprara más tarde.’
S/he said that s/he will buy it/them later. or S/he said that s/he should buy it/them later. RMH_08-24-07_107b

Figure 12.4: Analysis of simple indirect speech examples



- (224) [**Ox somquéé ha**] **teeme.**
 thus IR.ID-N-US-say AUX PX-say
 ‘Dijo que uno no debería hablar así.’
S/he said that one should not talk like that. RMH_08-24-07_108a
- (225) [**Hasocóozx xah ta**] **hemyo.**
 1PS-IR.ID-UO-steal-PL — AUX.RL 1PS-PX-say-PL
 ‘Dijimos que robáramos.’
We said that we should rob. RMH_08-24-07_108d
- (226) [**Siifp (quih) ha**] **teepe x, siifp aha**
 IR.ID-arrive the.FL AUX IR.DP-say UT IR.ID-arrive AUX-DCL
 ‘Si dijo que iba a llegar, llegará.’
If s/he said s/he was coming, she will come. RMH_08-24-07_108c RMH_05-16-08_52
- (227) [**Zixcám com insímjc ha**] **teeme.**
 fish the.HZ 2SS-IR.ID-bring AUX PX-say
 ‘Dijo que trajeras el pescado.’
S/he said for you to bring the fish. RMH_11-28p-07_04

If the irrealis complement occurs in a stripped irrealis form (§14.5) followed by the auxiliary **ca** (§20.2.2), the sense is simple reported speech and not obligation.

- (228) [**Pac siifp ca**] **teeme.**
 some IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN PX-say
 ‘Dijo que algunos vienen.’
S/he said that some are coming. RMH_08-24-07_107a
- (229) [**Me satícpan ca**] **teeme.**
 2PRO IR.ID-work AUX.SN PX-say
 ‘Dijo que vas a trabajar.’
S/he said that you are going to work. RMH_11-28p-07_01
- (230) [**Me zixcám zo siimjc ca**] **teeme.**
 2PRO fish the.HZ IR.ID-bring AUX.SN PX-say
 ‘Dijo que vas a traer un pescado.’
S/he said that you are going to bring a fish. RMH_11-28p-07_03
- (231) [**Me zixcám zo siiho ca**] **teeme.**
 2PRO fish a IR.ID-see AUX.SN PX-say
 ‘Dijo que verás un pescado.’
S/he said that you will see a fish. RMH_11-28p-07_05

12.4.2 Position of the subject phrases

If the verb of speech has an explicit phrasal subject, that subject appears either before the embedded indirect quote, as in (232)-(235), or it is postposed to follow the verb of speech, as in

(236)-(237). The analysis depicted in Figure 12.4, with the possibility of postposing discussed in §3.12, account for these facts.

- (232) **Pedro quih**, [**cmaam, tiix tmoquéepe**,] **imíih**.
 the.FL woman DDS RL.sick 3:3-PX-say
 ‘Pedro le(s) dijo que ESA MUJER está/estaba enferma.’
Pedro told him/her/them that THAT WOMAN is/was sick. RMH_07-11-07_112a
- (233) **Pedro quih** [**Juana quih tmoquéepe**,] **imíih**.
 the.FL the.FL RL.sick 3:3-PX-say
 ‘Pedro le(s) dijo que Juana estaba enferma.’
Pedro told him/her/them that Juana was sick.
 (no ambiguity: **Juana told him/her/them that Pedro was sick.*) RMH_07-11-07_111a
- (234) **Coméaac himcoi** [**trooqui zo htcooz**,] **him miii**.
 person/Seri.PL DT-PL vehicle a 1S.Tr-RL-steal 1sDO PX-say.PL
 ‘Esas personas me acusaron de haber robado un carro.’
Those people accused me of having stolen a car. RMH_07-27-07_10
- (235) **Cmaam, tiix** [**Pedro quih tmoquéepe**,] **imíih**.
 woman DDS the.FL RL.sick 3:3-PX-say
 ‘ESA MUJER le(s) dijo que Pedro está/estaba enfermo.’
THAT WOMAN told him/her/them that Pedro is/was sick. RMH_07-11-07_112b
- (236) [**Tmoquéepe**,] **imíih**, **Pedro quih**.
 RL.sick 3:3-PX-say the.FL
 ‘Pedro le(s) dijo que estaba enfermo/a.’
Pedro told him/her/them that s/he was sick. RMH_07-11-07_111b
- (237) [**Cmaam, tiix tmoquéepe**,] **imíih**, **Pedro quih**.
 woman DDS RL.sick 3:3-PX-say the.FL
 ‘Pedro le(s) dijo que ESA MUJER está/estaba enferma.’
Pedro told him/her/them that THAT WOMAN is/was sick. RMH_07-11-07_112c
- (238) [**Trooqui zo htcooz**,] **him miii**, **coméaac himcoi**.
 vehicle a 1S.Tr-RL-steal 1sDO PX-say.PL person/Seri.PL DT-PL
 ‘Esas personas me acusaron de haber robado un carro.’
Those people accused me of having stolen a car. RMH_10-16-07_02

As suggested by the analysis shown in Figure 12.4, the subject of the verb of saying cannot appear between the complement and the verb of speech.

- (239) * [**Tmoquéepe**,] **Pedro quih imíih**.
 RL.sick the.FL 3:3-PX-say
 (‘Pedro le(s) dijo que estaba enfermo/a.’)
 (*Pedro told him/her/them that s/he was sick.*)

- (240) * [**Cmaam, tiix tmoquéepe,**] **Pedro quih** **imíih.**
 woman DDS RL.sick the.FL 3:3-PX-say
 ('Pedro le(s) dijo que ESA MUJER estaba enferma.')
- (241) * [**Trooqui zo htcooz,**] **comcáac himcoi** **him miii.**
 vehicle a 1sS.TR-RL-steal person/Seri.PL DT-PL 1sDO PX-say.PL
 ('Esas personas me acusaron de haber robado un carro.')

Nor can the embedded indirect speech be postposed.

- (242) * **Cmaam tiquij imíih,** [(**Pedro com**) **tmoquéepe**].
 woman MD-CM 3:3-PX-say the.HZ RL.sick
 ('Esa mujer le(s) dijo que (Pedro) estaba enfermo.')

The subject of the verb of the embedded indirect discourse (at least in a simple example) may also be postposed following the verb of saying. In the following case, the postposed DP is likely to be taken as the subject of the verb **tmoquéepe** *s/he was sick* because of the demonstrative **ticom** which denotes that the referent of **cmaam** *woman* is in a horizontal position.

- (243) [**Tmoquéepe,**] **imíih,** **cmaam ticom.**
 RL.sick 3:3-PX-say woman the.Hz
 'Le(s) dijo que esa mujer estaba enferma.'
S/he told him/her/them that that woman was sick. [Some other readings also possible here.] RMH_05-16-08_53

12.4.3 The use of **yoque**

The unspecified subject form of the irregular verb \sqrt{e}_{Irreg} *say* — **yoque** (DT-US-say) — is commonly used as the verb of saying to indicate that the information expressed in the complement is not based on direct observation or personal knowledge. Therefore traditional stories are liberally peppered with the word **yoque**. In such texts the word is typically unstressed and often reduced phonologically to the point of being practically inaudible, and in fact may be omitted entirely in fast speech. In cases of the latter, one is clued to the elision of **yoque** by the fact that the sentence ends prosodically with a dependent clause and the absence of an independent clause anywhere.

- (244) **...** **hant** °**iiqui** **itásnan**° **ma,** **toc** **cotom,** **yoque.**
 land 3P-toward 3:3-RL-? DS there 3IO-RL-lie DT-US-say
 ‘... lo apretó hacia la tierra, allí estaba, se dice.’
..., he (Puma) held him (Rabbit) against the ground, he (Rabbit) was there, it is said. (Conejo_Puma_5.3)
- (245) **Iscmáhitim** **ta,** **itáh,** **yoque.**
 3:3-IR.ID-N-eat-IMPF AUX.RL 3:3-RL-tell DT-US-say
 ‘Le dijo que no lo comiera, se dice.’
She told him that he should not be eating it, it is said. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 014)
- (246) **Tal** **cah** **itáaitoj,** **yoque.**
 embers the.FL-FOC 3:3-RL-eat.PL DT-US-say
 ‘Comieron brasas, se dice.’
They ate embers, it is said. (Apostador_48) RMH_08-24-07_106a
- (247) **Hant Xnit,** **taax** **contíta,** **yoque.**
 place DDP 3IO-AW-RL-move DT-US-say
 ‘Fue a Xnit, se dice.’
He went to Xnit, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_65.1) RMH_08-24-07_106b

12.5 Indirect thought

The intransitive verb √**amoz** *think* is used to present indirect thoughts and to express beliefs, intentions, and pretentions. The word **xah** appears after or near the end of the complement clause, with the appearance of demarcating the complement.²²

- (248) [**Tiim** **haa** **toom** **xah**] **hpmiimoz.**
 RL-sleep there RL-lie — 1S.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
- (249) [**Tiim** **haa** **toom** **xah**] **miimoz.**
 RL-sleep there RL-lie — PX-think
 ‘Pensó que estaba durmiendo / dormido/a.’
S/he thought that s/he was asleep ... XMH_08-15-07_51b
- (250) **Hita** [**he** °**hacx smiih**° **ca** **xah**] **yoomoz.**
 1P-mother 1PRO will.die AUX.SN — DT-think
 ‘Mi madre pensó que yo iba a morir.’
My mother thought that I was going to die. (DS2005, cqueemj) XMH_08-15-07_51e

²² This word is elsewhere an attenuating adverb (§24.6.1) and a coordinator (§25.1).

- (251) [**Ee yaa° xah**] **yoomoz.**
 3_{PRO} his/hers — DT-think
 ‘Él/ella pensó (incorrectamente) que era el dueño.’
S/he (incorrectly) thought that s/he was the owner of it. (Offered) RMH_05-16-08_54
- (252) [**Isyáa xah ta**] **yoomoz.**
 3:3-IR.ID-own — AUX.RL DT-think
 ‘Tuvo la intención de ser dueño de ello.’
S/he intended to take possession of it. XMH_08-15-07_51f
- (253) [**Ihpsúifp xah ta**] **camoz iha.**
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-arrive — AUX.RL SN-think DCL
 ‘Pensó que yo iba a llegar.’
He thought that I was going to arrive. XMH_08-15-07_51g

Verbless predicate nominals are presented without a modal (chapter 10) when embedded.

- (254) [**Oot cop haxz xah**] **hpyoomoz.**
 coyote the.VT dog — 1sS.IN-DT-think
 ‘Creí que el coyote era un perro.’
I thought that the coyote was a dog. (DS2005, camoz) XMH_08-15-07_50c
- (255) [**Ctam ticop ziix icocóoz quiya xah**] **hpyoomoz.**
 man MD-VT thing INF.IN-UO-steal SN-Tr-know — 1sS.IN-DT-think
 ‘Creí que ese hombre era un ladrón.’
I thought that man was a robber. XMH_08-15-07_50d

The same restriction against using a name as a predicate nominal in verbless construction (§10.1.1) holds in these cases as well.

- (256) * [**Ctam ticop Juan xah**] **hpyoomoz.**
 man MD-VT — 1sS.IN-DT-think
 (‘Creí que ese hombre era Juan.’) (*I thought that man was Juan.*)

Setences with this verb tend toward the meaning of intention in some cases.

- (257) [**Ihpsúitax xah ta**] **hpyoomoz.**
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-go — AUX.RL 1sS.IN-DT-think
 ‘Estaba pensando en ir.’
I was thinking about going / intending to go. (DS2005, camoz) XMH_08-15-07_51c
- (258) [**Ihsihit xah ta**] **hpyoomoz.**
 1sS.TR-IR.ID-eat — AUX.RL 1sS.IN-DT-think
 ‘Pensé que yo lo/la comería.’
I thought I would eat it. RMH_11-27-07_55

- (259) ¿ **Me** [**áz** **saai** **ta**] **camoz** **-ya?**²³
 2PRO what? IR.ID-make AUX.RL SN-think QM
 ‘¿Qué piensas hacer?’
What are you planning to make? XMH_08-15-07_51h

It also has the idea of pretending in some cases.

- (260) [**Icmajíz** **xah**] **yoomoz.**
 3:3-RL-N-feel.pain — DT-think
 ‘Está fingiendo que no le duele.’
S/he is pretending that it doesn't hurt her/him. (DS2005, camoz) XMH_08-15-07_51d
- (261) [**Icmáa** **xah**] **yoomoz.**
 3:3-RL-N-know — DT-think
 ‘Fingió que no lo sabía.’
S/he pretended that s/he didn't know it. RMH_11-27-07_50
- (262) [**Ihtcmí** **xah**] **hpyoomoz.**
 1sS.TR-RL-N-hear — 1sS.IN-DT-think
 ‘Fingí que no lo/la oía.’
I pretended not to hear it/him/her. RMH_11-27-07_51

12.6 Expectation and intention

Several other verbs and idioms are used to express thoughts and intentions.

12.6.1.1 **ox** **√imoz** *expect*

The verb **√imoz** (generally conjugated as a morphological intransitive, derived from *have heart*) used with the adverb **ox** *thus*, can be used to express expectations.

- (263) [**Inscmáai** **ta / pi**] **ox** **inscmímoz** **aha.**
 2sS-IR.ID-N-make AUX.RL / AUX.IR thus 2sS-IR.ID-N-think AUX-DCL
 ‘No pienses que no lo vayas a hacer.’
Don't expect that you will not do it. XMH_08-15-07_52a
- (264) [**Insiihit** **ta / pi**] **ox** **inscmímoz** **aha.**
 2sS-IR.ID-eat AUX.RL / AUX.IR thus 2sS-IR.ID-N-think AUX-DCL
 ‘No pienses que lo vayas a comer.’
Don't expect to eat it. RMH_08-24-07_109a

²³ This kind of question can have the word **xah** just before **ta**, and the meaning in that case is a bit different. The sentence without **xah** is a more open question (which might even be rhetorical) while the sentence with **xah** implies that the range of answer is pragmatically restricted by something in the context (items on the table, for example); the second sentence could not be rhetorical.

- (265) [**Insíitax pi**] **ox insemímoz aha.**
 2SS-IR.ID-go AUX.IR thus 2SS-IR.ID-N-think AUX-DCL
 ‘No pienses que vayas a ir.’
Don’t expect to go. RMH_08-24-07_109b
- (266) **Tiix [oyácj quih isíihit ta] ox yimoz.**
 DDS 3P-ON-call.sibling the.FL 3:3-IR.ID-eat AUX.RL thus DT-think
 ‘Pensaba que su hermano/a lo comería.’
S/he expected that her brother would eat it. RMH_11-27-07_52
- (267) [**Hapi isíihit (xah) ta**] **ox yimoz.**
 INTNS 3:3-IR.ID-eat — AUX.RL thus DT-think
 ‘Tenía la esperanza de comerlo él/ella mismo/a.’
S/he expected to eat it her/himself. RMH_11-27-07_53 RMH_11-27-07_54

12.6.1.2 $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *try, expect*

The intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think* has the meanings *try*, *intend* and even *want* and *expect* with clausal complements. The complements may have a range of morphological forms, but they include the complementizer-like word **xah**.

- (268) [**Ptcamn com hayocáat / hatcáat xah**] **hayóomjök.**
 lobster the.HZ 1PS-DT-look.for-PL 1PS-RL-look.for-PL — 1PS-DT-think-PL
 ‘Intentamos buscar langostas del mar.’
We tried to hunt for lobsters. RMH_05-16-08_55
- (269) [**Ptcamn com hamcáat xah**] **hamúimjök.**
 lobster the.HZ 1PS-PX-look.for-PL — 1PS-PX-think-PL
 ‘Intentamos buscar langostas del mar.’
We tried to hunt for lobsters. RMH_05-16-08_56
- (270) [**Ptcamn com hapocáat xah**] **hasíimjök aha.**
 lobster the.HZ 1PS-IR.DP-look.for-PL — 1PS-IR.ID- think-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Intentaremos buscar langostas del mar.’
We will try to hunt for lobsters. RMH_08-24-07_110a
- (271) [**Ptcamn com he scaat xah ta**] **camjök iha.**
 lobster the.HZ 1PRO IR.ID-look.for-PL — AUX.RL SN-think-PL DCL
 ‘Decidimos intentar buscar langostas del mar.’
We decided to try to hunt for lobsters RMH_08-24-07_110b
- (272) [**Insíihit xah ta**] **ntamoz?**
 2SS-IR.ID-eat — AUX.RL 2SS-RL-think
 ‘¿Pensabas que lo/la ibas a comer?’
Did you expect to eat it? RMH_11-27-07_58

12.6.1.3 √Cimoz *think, try*

The transitive verb √Cimoz can take a realis complement clause and mean *think* in some situations.

- (273) [**Taalim xah**] **oímjōc** **iha.**
 RL-play — 3P-ON-think-PL DCL
 ‘Pensaban que estaba jugando.’
They thought he was just playing. (Gigante_Comelon_123)

The same verb means *try* with complements that have a subject that is coreferential with the subject of √Cimoz.

- (274) [**Isíptajc xah ta**] **immímjōc.**
 3:3-IR-ID-pull.out — AUX.RL 3:3-PX-think-PL
 ‘Intentaron sacarlo/la.’
They tried to pull it out. RMH_08-24-07_110c
- (275) [**Ihsíhit xah ta**] **hyóimoz.**
 1sS.TR-IR-ID-eat — AUX.RL 1sS.TR-DT-think
 ‘Intenté comerlo/la.’
I tried to eat it. RMH_11-27-07_56
- (276) [**Insíhit xah ta**] **nttimoz?**
 2sS-IR-ID-eat — AUX.RL 2sS-RL-think
 ‘¿Intentaste comerlo/la?’
Did you try to eat it? RMH_11-27-07_57

12.7 Direct quotations

Direct quotations are typically expressed with a verb of saying before or after the quotation. These verbs of saying are either the morphologically-intransitive verb √ee (plural √ooza) *say* or the transitive verb √ai (plural √aaam)²⁴ *tell (someone)* (which is not used with indirect quotations). The adverb **ox** *thus* or the word **xah** occurs directly before these verbs when it is used to report direct speech. Examples of direct quotations with other verbs such as ones meaning *whisper* or *shout* have not been found.

- (277) **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) XMH_08-15-07_53a

²⁴ The plural stem begins with the same short low vowel as the singular stem (important to know for conjugation purposes) followed by a long vowel (as the result of the ablaut that indicates plural).

- (278) **Ziix hipxahcop haa, poho — ox tee, yoque.**
 thing PX—VT SN.EQ DOUBT thus RL-say DT-US-say
 ‘¿Tal vez es éste? —preguntó, se dice.’
“Might this be him/her/it?” s/he asked, it is said. (DS2005, poho) LHC_2-06-07_190
- (279) **Cocázni° hi. Cocázni° hi— ox mee.**
 rattlesnake FOC rattlesnake FOC thus PX-say
 ‘¡Víbora de cascabel! ¡Víbora de cascabel!— gritó.’
“Rattlesnake! Rattlesnake!”, she yelled. RMH_05-16-08_57
- (280) **Xazoj cop ox tee, yoque: [...] ox itái, yoque.**
 puma the.VT thus RL-say DT-US-say thus 3:3-RL-tell DT-US-say
 ‘Puma dijo— [...] —le dijo, se dice.’
Puma said, “...”, he told him, it is said. (Puma_Conejo 6.1.2-7.1)
- (281) **... quisil quij etam oyacj quij ox itái, yoque:**
 SN-small the.CM man 3P-ON-call.sibling the.CM thus 3:3-RL-tell DT-US-say
 [...] **ox tee, yoque.**
 thus RL-say DT-US-say
 ‘... el menor le dijo a su hermano— [...] —dijo, se dice.’
The younger one said to his brother: “...”, he said, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_2.2-3.2)

Most of the preceding examples show that the quoted material is exactly as it would appear as spoken by the original speaker, including with final modals. The following examples also have direct quotations followed by **xah** and an intransitive verb of saying.

- (282) [**Cmaa scaatax ha] xah teemvo.**
 now IR.ID-1EM.S.IN-go AUX — PX-say-PL
 ‘Dijeron— ¡Vamos de una vez!’
They said, “Let’s go right away!” RMH_08-24-07_105a
- (283) [°Hant pofii ta°, hatcámáx] **xah hemvo.**
 tomorrow 1PS-RL-N-go.PL — 1PS-PX-say-PL
 ‘Dijimos— Podemos ir MAÑANA.’
We said, “We can go TOMORROW.” RMH_08-24-07_105b
- (284) [**Xaa haa hapóozcam x, ziix zo hasiitoj aha]**
 soon there 1PS-IR.DP-arrive.PL UT thing a 1PS-IR.ID-eat-PL AUX-DCL
xah mee.
 — PX-say
 ‘Llegaremos pronto, y comeremos algo — dijo.’
“We will arrive soon, we will eat something,” she said. (Topete_111) RMH_05-20-08_06

Direct expressions of thought are identical in structure except that they use the intransitive

verb $\sqrt{\text{amoz}}$ *think*: **Ox miimoz:**

- (285) **..., cmaax ox miimoz: [...], ox miimoz, ctam tiquij.**
 now thus PX-think [...], thus PX-think man MD-CM
 ‘..., entonces así pensó: ..., así pensó ese hombre.’
..., then he thought: ..., thus the man thought. (Lk 18:5) RMH_05-16-08_59

12.8 Non-complements

In some cases the Seri equivalents of what are expressed as complement clauses in other languages are not complement clauses at all in Seri. The structure of the sentence is simply chained chaining (see chapter 3). This is true for the biclausal periphrastic causative construction, which is much less commonly used than the morphological causative constructions described in §19.5. The morphological causative and the periphrastic causative are contrasted in the following two examples.

- (286) Direct causative (morphological)
¿Cafée cop intahoátjō?
 coffee the.VT 2sS-RL-cause.sweet
 ‘¿Endulzaste el café?’
Did you sweeten the coffee? RMH_05-16-08_60
- (287) Indirect causative (periphrastic construction with chained clauses)
¿Cafée cop me oo ntah ma, coátjō -ya?
 coffee the.VT 2PRO — 2sS-RL-do DS SN-sweet QM
 ‘¿Endulzaste el café?’ (o ‘¿Endulzaste TÚ el café?’ o ‘¿Hiciste que el café se
 endulzara?’
*Did you sweeten the coffee? (or Did YOU sweeten the coffee?, or Did you have the
 coffee sweetened?)* RMH_05-20-08_07

As shown by the glosses, there is a bit more flexibility in the interpretation of the periphrastic causative (also caused by the presence of the overt pronoun in this example). The action may be indirectly effected.

More examples of the periphrastic causative are given below. In some cases the periphrastic causative is necessary because the event caused is expressed with a negative — a situation which is unexpressable with the morphological causative.

- (288) **He hipi oo ma htah ma, ntcompézi ho.**
 IPRO INTNS DL 2sDO 1sS.TR-RL-do DS 2sS-RL-N-PV-defeat DCL
 ‘YO te hice invencible.’
I MYSELF made you be invincible. RMH_10-15-07_56

- (289) **Me oo hin ntah ma, ma htcmaho ho.**
 2PRO DL 1sDO 2sS-RL-do DS 2sDO 1sS.Tr-RL-N-see DCL
 ‘Tú lo hizo para que no te viera.’
You caused it such that I could not see you. (Apostador_324-325) RMH_05-16-08_61
- (290) **¿Juan quih me oo ntah ma, coos -ya?**
 the.FL 2PRO DL 2sS-RL-do DS SN-sing QM
 ‘¿Hiciste que Juan cantara?’
Did you have Juan sing? RMH_05-16-08_62
- (291) **He hipi hisoj hipquij Yooz quij oo hin tah ma,**
 1PRO INTNS 1P-self PX-CM God the.CM DL 1sDO RL-do DS
he hiz cōmoca ha.
 1PRO here 3IO-TWD-SN-move DCL
 ‘He venido porque Dios me mandó.’
I have come here because God caused it. (Lk 11:30) OP_2-2-07_028

The same kind of chained clause structure is used for some other sentences that may be expressed with complements in English. A few examples are given here to illustrate.

- (292) **Oot zo hantáxl cōtihtim ma, ittix, ...**
 coyote a near 3IO-RL-be.FL-IMPF DS 3:3-RL-feel-PL
 ‘Sintieron que un coyote estaba cerca, ...’
They sensed that a coyote was nearby, ... (More literally, A coyote was nearby, they sensed it, ...) XMH_08-15-07_53b
- (293) **Tiix poháa ta htcmaa ho.**
 DDS IR.DP-EQ DS 1sS.Tr-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé si es él/ella.’
I don’t know whether it’s him or not. (More literally, If that will be him/her, I don’t know it.) XMH_08-15-07_53c
- (294) **Ihpóoho htcmaa ho.**
 1sS.Tr-IR.DP-see 1sS.Tr-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘Lo dezconozco.’ RMH_10-15-07_57a
I don’t know him/her. (More literally, If I see him/her, I don’t know him/her/it.)
- (295) **Zaah zo haquix piij ta htcmaa ho.**
 sun a there IR.DP-sit DS 1sS.Tr-RL-N-know DCL
 ‘No sé si hay un sol.’
I don’t know whether there is a sun or not. (More literally, If there is a sun, I don’t know it.) XMH_08-15-07_54