

## 25. Coordinators and subordinators

Three coordinators exist: nominal coordinator **xah** *and, or* (§25.1)<sup>1,2</sup> and two clausal coordinators — adversative **xo** *but* (§25.2) and alternative **x** (~ **tx**) *or* (§25.3). A few clausal subordinators (§25.4) exist although, as demonstrated in chapter 3, most subordinate clauses are presented without any subordinator.

### 25.1 Nominal coordinator **xah**

The word **xah** (sometimes pronounced **xaha**) coordinates nominals, whether names, determiner phrases (including pronouns) or clauses headed by deverbal nouns. It is an unstressed word that is pronounced in the same intonational phrase with the word that precedes it. Four simple examples are given here; examples with common determiner phrases are presented later.

- (1) Names  
**Andrés xah, Pedro xah quih mos, taa ano coii ha.**  
CRD CRD the.FL also DDP 3P.in SN-be.FL.PL DCL  
 ‘Andrés y Pedro también vivían allí.’  
*Andrew and also Peter lived there.* (Jn 1:44)
- (2) Pronouns  
**Me xah, he xah, he smalx caha.**  
1PRO CRD 2PRO CRD 1PRO IR.ID-N-go-PL AUX.SN-DCL  
 ‘Tú y yo (o ustedes y yo, o tú y nosotros, o ustedes y nosotros) no iremos.’  
*You (sg. or plural) and I/we will not go.*

<sup>1</sup> The postposition **iiqui** *toward, with* might be translated as *and* in a free translation, as in (i) but the noun phrases in this example are not actually coordinated:

- (i) **Haaco zo canóaa z iiqui hnyaa.**  
ABS.house a boat a 3P-with 1S.Tr-PX-own  
 ‘Tengo una casa y una panga.’ / *I have a house and a boat.*

<sup>2</sup> The coordinator **xah** never joins clauses or verb phrases.

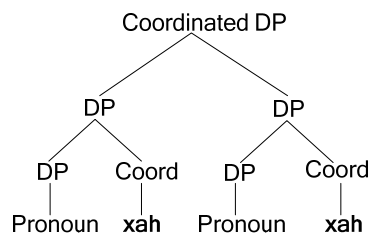
- (ii) \* **Yoofp xah yas.**  
DT-arrive CRD DT-sing  
 (‘Llegó y cantó.’) (*S/he arrived and sang.*)
- (iii) \* **Hiiqui miipca xah he cmaax hatáap coha ha.**  
1P-toward PX-rain CRD 1PRO now ABS-mucus 3IO-SN-be DCL  
 (‘Llovió en mí y ahora estoy resfriado.’) (*It rained on me and now I have a cold.*)

- (3) Pronouns  
**Tiix xah, he xah, he smalx caha.**  
 DDS CRD 2PRO CRD 1PRO IR.ID-N-go-PL AUX.SN-DCL  
 ‘Aquél(la) y yo (o nosotros) no iremos.’  
*S/he and I/we will not go.*
- (4) Clauses headed by deverbal nouns  
 °**Xiica quiistox° coi tcooo imíiht, hant com iti**  
 people the.PL RL-all 3:3-PX-see-PL land the.HZ 3P-on  
**cöihíhtim xaha, Yooz quij cöihacóoyam xaha.**  
 3IO-3P-AON-be.FL-IMPF CRD God the.CM 3IO-3P-AON-honor CRD  
 ‘Toda la gente lo vieron andar y alabar a Dios.’  
*All the people saw him walking and praising God.* (Ac 3:9)

The coordination is typically polysyndetic, with **xah** following each coordinated phrase, as depicted in Figure 25.1 for coordinated pronouns.<sup>3</sup> The coordinated phrases are quite often in initial position and followed by a focal demonstrative pronoun (§16.2.4), as shown in examples (5)–(8), or followed by the quantifying pronoun **coox** *all* (§16.3), as in (9).

- (5) **Comíftin xah, haas xah, taax ah iti hamom.**  
 ironwood CRD mesquite CRD DDP FOC 3P-on 1SS.IN-PX-lie  
 ‘Estoy en el PALO FIERRO y el MEZQUITE.’  
*I am on the IRONWOOD tree and the MESQUITE tree.* (Lagartijas\_28)
- (6) **Juana xah, Roberto xah, taax cö hacáailajc.**  
 CRD CRD DDP 3IO-IM-make.strong-PL  
 ‘¡Saluden a JUANA y ROBERTO!’  
*Greet (pl.) JUANA and ROBERTO!* (DS2005, xah)

Figure 25.1: Coordinated pronouns



<sup>3</sup> It is sometimes observed that the coordinator is not used after the last conjoined element. The consultants for this grammar invariably corrected such examples to include the final coordinator, however, when the meaning was *and*.

- (7) ... **hantíp xah**, **icáaisx° xah**, **taax mos tom cah cöhamáipt**.  
 salt CRD soap CRD DDP also money the.FL-FOC 3IO-1PS-PX-pay-PL  
 ‘... SAL y JABÓN — los compramos también con dinero.’  
*... we also pay for SALT and SOAP with money.* (HE\_167)
- (8) °**Zixcám cheel° xah**, °**zixcám coospoj° xah**, **caanj xah**,  
 red.snapper CRD spotted.cabrilla CRD Gulf.grouper CRD  
**taax immís iha**, ...  
 DDP SN-TR-N-resemble DCL  
 ‘... no se parece a la del HUACHINANGO, la CABRILLA o la BAYA.’  
*... does not resemble that of the RED SNAPPER, the SPOTTED CABRILLA or the GULF GROUPER.* (ES2007\_xpeezoj)
- (9) **Xaasj xah**, **ool xah**, **coox oo cmiique<sup>4</sup> ha**.  
 sahueso CRD pitaya CRD all DL person DCL  
 ‘El sahueso y la pitaya, eran todos personas.’  
*The sahueso and the pitaya, they were all people.* (Hipopampo\_22)

The coordinated nominal may be right-dislocated (§3.12).

- (10) **Ano siizcam aha**, °**zixcám cacöla° xah**, **caanlca xah**.  
 3P.in IR.ID-arrive-PL AUX-DCL totoabas CRD Gulf.grouper-PL CRD  
 ‘Las totoabas y las bayas llegarán entre ellos.’  
*Totoabas and Gulf groupers will arrive among them (other fish).* (Fishing\_26)

Examples like (5) above demonstrate that the coordinator must be interpreted pragmatically since the coordination is not necessarily universal. In this case, a particular lizard is not simultaneously in both kinds of trees but as a species it is found in both kinds.

Example (8) illustrates that the coordinated phrases may relate to a negative verb and then actually be a disjunctive set rather than a conjunctive set. This type of interpretation is developed a bit more later in this section.

When the coordinator occurs at the absolute end of a coordinated element, as discussed below, it often has the phonetic form **xaha** and some speakers prefer to write it that way in those cases.

- (11) °**Hehe hasítlca° xaha**, **haasman xaha**, **taax iti iyóocmolca**.  
 beds CRD mat(s) CRD DDP 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.HZ-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Los pusieron en CAMAS y CAMILLAS.’  
*They put them on BEDS and MATS.* (Ac 5:15)

<sup>4</sup> Consultants indicate that it is unusual or surprising that the form **cmiique** is used here. They would use have used the plural **comcáac** instead.

A coordinated phrase which is to be interpreted as a conjunction (the *and* meaning) requires plural agreement on the relevant predicate. Note that in (2-3), for example, the verb has a plural stem. The following example demonstrates the ungrammaticality of using a singular stem.

- (12) \* **Me xah he xah siitax caha.**  
 2PRO CRD 1PRO CRD IR.ID-go AUX.N-DCL  
 ('Tú y yo iremos.')(You and I will go.)

As is shown later in this section, the coordinator may be interpreted disjunctively, but special clues are typically given in the sentence to indicate that meaning.<sup>5</sup> For example, in the following examples the words **háqui qui** *which one?* and **zo one** are used. In these situations the verb is singular, agreeing with the singular subject.

- (13) **¿He xah me xah háqui qui siitax queeya?**  
 1PRO CRD 2PRO CRD which? the.CM IR.ID-go AUX.N-QM  
 '¿Cuál de tú y yo va a ir?'  
*Which of us (you or I) is going to go?* RRR
- (14) **He xah me xah zo haa pij, siitax caha.**  
 1PRO CRD 2PRO CRD a/one there IR.DP-sit IR.ID-go AUX.N-DCL  
 'Uno de nosotros (tú o yo) va a ir.'  
*One of us (you or I) will go.* RRR

Indefinite determiner phrases are not coordinated syntactically. To express *an X and a Y*, entirely different constructions are used that do not involve coordination. There are no acceptable sentences with the coordinator **xah** that contain ... **zo xah**, ... **pac xah**, ... **xah zo**, or ... **xah pac**.<sup>6</sup>

- (15) \* **Miist xah zo haxz xah zo toc cōtoi, ...**  
 cat CRD a dog CRD a there 3IO-RL-stand.PL  
 ('Había un gato y un perro, ...')(There was a cat and a dog, ...)

One construction that is used when indefinite DPs are involved, as well as in some other situations discussed below, is essentially *An X was with a Y, they ...*. This construction is illustrated by the following examples.

- (16) **Haxz heeque zo °ziix canaa° heeque zo cōtih** (\*ma),  
 dog juvenile a cat juvenile a 3IO-RL-be.FL DS

<sup>5</sup> In fact, one might argue here that the particular examples given immediately below are actually interpreted as conjunctions in a partitive expression: 'which one of the conjoined set *you and I?*' and 'one of the conjoined set *you and I.*'

<sup>6</sup> For the question of the alternate order, see below.

°hehe zamij° com án hac ano moii.  
 box the.Hz 3P.place.inside the.Lc 3P.in Px-be.FL.PL

‘Un perrito y un gatito están en la caja.’

*A puppy and a kitten are in the box.* More literally, *A puppy is with a cat, they are in the box.*

- (17) Moxíma ctam zo cmaam zo cōtīh (\*ma),  
 yesterday man a woman a 3IO-RL-be.FL DS

xepe an hant yahjcóoil.  
 sea 3P.in land DT-fall.PL

‘Ayer un hombre y una mujer se cayeron al mar.’

*Yesterday a man and a woman fell into the sea.*<sup>7</sup>

Example (18)-(19) show that this same construction may be used with definite nominals.

- (18) Juan quih haxz iixz quih cōtīh (\*ma), miilx.  
 the.FL dog 3P-pet the.FL 3IO-RL-be.FL DS Px-go.PL

‘Juan se fue con su perro.’

*Juan went with his dog.*

- (19) °Zixcám coospoj° quih, caanlca quih, °zixcám cáacöl° quih  
 spotted.cabrilla the.FL Gulf.grouper-PL the.FL giant.sea.basses the.FL

cōtīh, iti moii, xatj quij.  
 3IO-RL-be.FL 3P-on Px-be.FL.PL reef the.CM

‘Cabrilla pinta, bayas y pescadas estaban en el tepetate.’

*Spotted cabrillas, Gulf groupers and giant sea bass were in the fishing spot.*

The construction is interesting and a bit opaque. As becomes clear when other examples are examined, the subject of the dependent clause is the first nominal — X is with Y — although morphologically it could just as well be the opposite (Y is with X). Note that in (21) the dependent clause is inflected for first person singular subject. The dependent clause has a singular verb but the main clause has a plural verb. Nevertheless, and despite usual expectations about Different Subject marking (§3.6), DS marking does *not* occur on the dependent clause in these examples.

This biclausal construction is also sometimes used with the coordinator **xah**. The first nominal (and sometimes the second nominal as well — see (29) below) is presented with the coordinator **xah** as the subject of the dependent clause.

<sup>7</sup> This construction implies that the man and woman were together when they fell into the sea.

- (20) **Canóaa xah<sup>8</sup> com cyaa quih cōtiih, Xnapófc ano moii.**  
 boat CRD the.HZ SN-TR-own the.FL 3IO-RL-be.FL 3P.in PX-be.FL.PL  
 ‘La panga y su dueño están en Xnapófc.’  
*The boat and its owner are at Xnapófc.*
- (21) **He xah Pedro quij iiqui cohpiih,<sup>9</sup>**  
 1PRO CRD the.CM 3P-toward 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.DP-be.FL  
**hasáanipxat aha.**  
 1PS-IR.ID-return.home AUX-DCL  
 ‘Pedro y yo regresaremos a casa.’  
*Peter and I will return home.*
- (22) **Heecot hatiihtoj, toc conthámat, cmiique Roberto**  
 desert 1PS-RL-be.FL-PL.IMPF there 3IO-AW-1PS-PX-go-PL person/Seri  
**xah, Pedro xah, Juan xah, he xah cōhatiih.**  
 CRD CRD CRD 1PRO CRD 3IO-1PS-RL-be.FL  
 ‘Andábamos de cacería en el monte — Roberto, Pedro, Juan y yo.’  
*We hunting in the desert — Roberto, Pedro, Juan, and I.*

Another construction is used in other circumstances to express coordination. This construction simply puts each noun phrase in a separate clause.

- (23) **°Hant pofii ta°, °hehe it iicom° zo hpexl,**  
 tomorrow bed a 1SS.TR-IR.DP-buy  
**°ziix icácōtim° mos zo hsexl aha.**  
 blanket also a 1SS.TR-IR.ID-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘Mañana compraré una cama y una cobija.’  
*Tomorrow I will buy a bed and a blanket.*
- (24) **Canóaa com ihtcmáho, cyaa quij mos ihtcmáho ho.**  
 boat the.HZ 1SS.TR-RL-N-see SN-TR-own the.CM also 1SS.TR-RL-N-see DCL  
 ‘No encontré ni la panga ni el dueño.’  
*I didn’t find either the boat or its owner.*

### 25.1.1 Position of the coordinator

When the coordinator occurs with a determiner phrase, the conjunction obligatorily occurs to the *left* of the article, as illustrated in the following examples and depicted in Figure 25.2. Any other

<sup>8</sup> On the position of the coordinator here, see §25.1.1 below.

<sup>9</sup> The postposition **iiqui** *toward, with* also occurs in this example, unlike in the preceding ones. See also note 1 of this chapter.

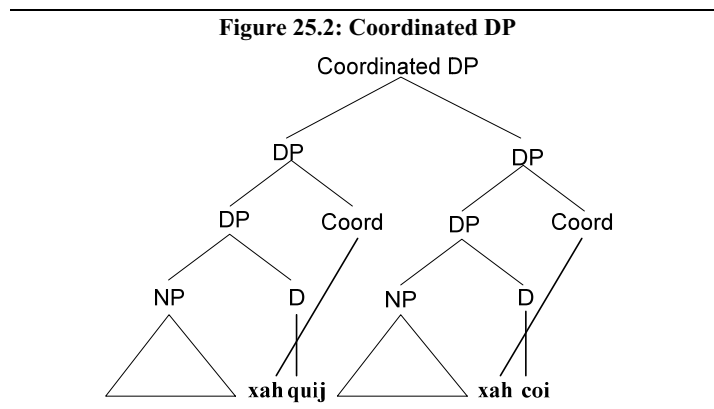
position for the coordinator is unacceptable.

- (25) °**Xiica quih quiistox° quih °hantx mocat° xah,**  
 people the.FL ancestors CRD  
 °**xiica quih quiistox° quih °cmaa quih° quih chaa xah com, ...**  
 people the.FL new the.FL SN-EQ CRD the.HZ  
 ‘Los ancestros y la gente de hoy en día ...’  
*The ancestors and the people of today ...* (ES 2007, xpeezoj\_11)

- (26) **Jesús xah quij,** °**xiica ziix quih cōiyacóaatim° xah coi cōtiñ,**  
 CRD the.CM her/his.disciples CRD the.PL 3IO-RL-be.FL  
**Matéo quih yaaco cop ano toii, ...**  
 the.FL 3P-house the.VT in RL-be.FL.PL  
 ‘Jesús y sus discípulos estaban en la casa de Mateo, ...’  
*Jesus and his disciples were in Matthew’s house, ...* (Mt 9:10)

When the conjunction follows a determiner phrase that ends in a demonstrative adjective which is structurally a combination of a locative plus article (see §21.3), the conjunction interposes between the locative and the article (the result written here as a single word). Any other position for the coordinator is unacceptable.

- (27) **Zaah hipxahcop, °hant ifii° xah cop, hant z iic hapitóoj, ...**  
 sun/day PX-CRD-VT tomorrow CRD the.VT place a 3P-toward 1PS-IR.DP-go.PL  
 ‘Hoy o mañana viajaremos a algún lugar, ...’  
*Today or tomorrow we will travel somewhere, ...* (Ja 4:13)
- (28) **Cmiique Roberto himxahquij, cmiique Martín xah quij**  
 person/Seri DT-CRD-CM person/Seri CRD the.CM  
**coox oo cōicáahit hac ...**  
 all DL 3IO-3P-AON-US-fish the.LC  
 ‘Tanto Roberto como Martín, con respecto a la pesca ...’  
*Both Roberto and Martín, with respect to fishing ...*



- (29) ... **zixquisil° tixahcom cmaam ata xah quij**  
 child MD-CRD-HZ woman 3P-mother CRD the.CM  
**iiqui cõtiih ma, ...**<sup>10</sup>  
 3P-toward 3IO-RL-be.FL DS

‘... ese niño y su madre’

... *that child and his mother* ... (adapted from Mt 2:14)

### 25.1.2 Existential interpretation

The coordinator may have an existential (*or*) interpretation rather than a universal interpretation when the situation would require it pragmatically, as in the following examples and also example (8) above.

- (30) ¿Háqui quij me siihit quee -ya? —  
 which.one? the.CM 2PRO IR.ID-eat AUX.SN QM  
 ¿Sahméés xah quij, °xonj itáast cmis° xah com?  
 orange CRD the.CM banana CRD the.HZ

‘¿Cuál vas a comer? — ¿La naranja o el plátano?’

*Which are you going to eat? — The orange or the banana?*

- (31) ... **ixáap° capxa xah, ixáap° czooxöc xah, taax** ...  
 days SN-three CRD days SN-four CRD DDP  
 ‘... por tres o cuatro días, ...’  
 ... *for three or four days or so, ...* (ES 2007, oot hant imáxquim\_1)

<sup>10</sup> This is another example that combines the use of **xah** and also the **iiqui** plus verb construction (see above).

- (32) °**Xiica quih quiistox° quih °hantx mocat° xah,**  
 people the.FL ancestors CRD  
 °**xiica quih quiistox° quih °cmaa quih° xah com**  
 people the.FL new CRD the.Hz  
**cöpatícpán, ipocötoj, cöimitalháajö iha.**  
 3IO-IR.DP-work 3:3-IR.DP-kill-PL 3IO-SN-TR-N-buy/sell.PL DCL

‘Ni los ancestros ni esta generación lo “trabaja”, ni lo mata, ni lo vende.’  
*Neither the ancestors nor the people of the present generation fish for it, kill it or sell it.* (ES2007, xpeezoj\_11)

- (33) ¡**Sahméés quih coocj xah capxa xah, camjc!**  
 orange(s) the.FL SN-two CRD SN-three CRD IM-bring  
 ‘¡Traiga dos o tres naranjas (más o menos)!’  
*Bring two or three (viz., a few) oranges!*

In some examples the final coordinated nominal is not followed by **xah** and in fact *cannot* be followed by **xah**. In these cases the lack of a final coordinator implies exactness. This is especially clear when numbers (in a denominal form) are involved and which are modifying a single noun. Compare the following example with the one immediately above.

- (34) ¡**Sahméés quih coocj xah capxa camjc!**  
 orange(s) the.FL SN-two CRD SN-three IM-bring  
 ‘¡Traiga (exactamente) dos o tres naranjas!’  
*Bring two or three (no more and no less) oranges!*
- (35) **Hasáamile° czooxöc xah cooitom xah °isnáap cazoj° quih**  
 limberbush.rolls SN-four CRD SN-five CRD six the.FL  
**tpazyax, ...**  
 RL-PV-saw-IMP

‘Cuando se han cortado cuatro, cinco o seis rollos (exactamente) de torote, ...’  
*When four, five, or six bundles (exactly) of limberbush have been cut, ...*

- (36) ... **hant tazo xah hant coocj itáao ma, ...**  
 year one CRD year SN-two 3:3-RL-pass.by DS  
 ‘... viajó por uno o dos años, ...’  
*...he traveled for one or two years, ...* (Apostador\_29, edited)
- (37) **Ziix quih hasáii hapáh quih, tiix**  
 thing the.FL SN-PV-remove.with.pole SN-PV-say the.FL DDS  
**hacáaiz xah, hehe quih cacösxaj quih**  
 ABS- fishing.spear CRD stick the.FL SN-tall/long the.FL

**áno cōtpaii ma, ...**  
 3P.in/from 3IO-RL-PV-make DS

‘Lo que se llama “hasaii” es lo que uno saca con un pollero o un palo largo, ...’  
*What is called “hasaii” is what the thing is called when one takes it out with a fishing spear or a long pole, ...* (ES2007, satoj\_hasaiitaj\_18)

In the following example the conjoined nominals with an *or* interpretation are followed by the indefinite pronoun **zo** which is the subject of the singular verb  $\sqrt{\text{yaa}}$ .

(38) **Xavier xah, Pedro xah, zo Hezitmísoj syaai caha.**  
           CRD                  CRD a/one Hermosillo IR.ID-travel.to AUX.SN-DCL

‘O Xavier o Pedro viajará a Hermosillo.’

*Either Xavier or Pedro will travel to Hermosillo.*

(39) **Zixcám xah, ziix ipxási xah, zo nsiihit poho.**  
       fish CRD thing 3P-flesh CRD a/one 2SS-IR.ID-eat DOUBT

‘Tal vez comerás pescado, o tal vez comerás carne.’

*Maybe you will eat fish, or maybe you will eat meat.*

Modifiers of a noun may be coordinated: simple noun phrases, as in (40), or deverbal noun phrases, as in (34) above. See Figure 25.3.

(40) **Icáaitom° quih imiipe quih °iti miiha° cmaam xah ctam xah quij**  
       word the.FL SN-N-good the.FL his/her.parent female and male CRD the.CM

**coczáxō zo haquix piih x, ...**  
       3IO-SN-TR-discuss a somewhere IR.DP-be.FL UT

‘Si hay alguien que maldiga a su madre o a su padre, ...’

*If there is someone who curses his mother or father, ...* (MK 7:10)

In the following example the coordination is inside the possessor phrase.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Compare coordination outside of the possessor phrase:

(iv) **Tosni ina xah, honc ina xah quih °ano cōtahníp° ma x, ...**  
       pelican 3P-feather CRD gull 3P-feather CRD the.FL 3P.in 3IO-RL-PV-hit DS UT

‘La pluma de un alcatraz o la pluma de una gaviota se le fue insertado, ...’

*A pelican feather or a gull feather was put into it, ...* RRR

- (41) [ **Tosni xah honc (\*xah)** ] **ina** **quih °ano cõtahníp°** **ma x, ...**  
 pelican CRD gull CRD 3P-feather the.FL 3P.in 3IO-RL-PV-hit DS UT  
 ‘La pluma de un alcatraz o de una gaviota se le fue insertado, ...’  
*A pelican or gull feather was put into it, ...* (ES2007, haxóinaailc\_8b)

If the situation requires an absolutely clear and unambiguous *or* interpretation, the sentence is usually cast in a different way, as in (42) and (43).

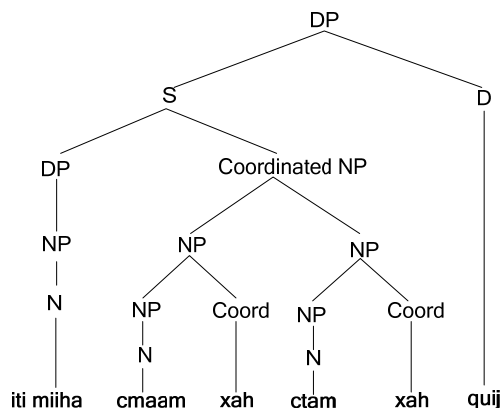
- (42) **Hant tintica cõmiháait hac,**  
 land MD-AW 3IO-2P-AON-pass.by.PL the.LC  
**tom cooxp zo mapomóneec,**  
 money SN-white a 2PS-IR.DP-N-carry.items-PL  
**hooro zo mapomóneec,**  
 gold a 2PS-IR.DP-N-carry.items-PL  
**tom cheel zo mascmóneec aha.**  
 money SN-red a 2PS-IR.ID-N-carry.items-PL AUX-DCL

‘Cuando viajan, no lleven plata ni oro ni cobre.’

*When you (pl.) travel, don't carry any silver or gold or copper.* (Mt 10:9)

- (43) **Miist zo toc cõtiiij (\*ma), haxz mos zo toc cõtiiij, yoque.**  
 cat a there 3IO-RL-sit DS dog also a there 3IO-RL-sit DT-US-say  
 ‘Había un gato y un perro.’  
*There once was a cat and a dog.*

Figure 25.3: Coordinated NP modifier in (40)



## 25.2 Clausal coordinator **xo**

The only common clausal coordinator is the adversative **xo** *but*. It occurs between two structures, each of which could be an independent sentence and could contain multiple clauses by the principles outlined in chapter 3.

- (44) **Misil xo mazíim.**  
 PX-small but PX-pleasant  
 ‘Es pequeño/a pero es bonito/a.’  
*It is small but it is pretty.* (DS2005, xo)
- (45) **Cmaacoj iha xo hoox oo misil.**  
 old.man DCL but INTNS DL PX-small  
 ‘Era un adulto pero era muy pequeño.’  
*He was an adult man but he was very small.* (Edited version of Muerte\_Cóquimexp\_56)
- (46) **..., eenim ih ititáamt, yoque xo tascax, yoque.**  
 metal FOC 3:3-RL-HAVE-sandal(s) DT-US-say but RL-tear.PL DT-US-say  
 ‘..., llevaba huaraches de metal, se dice, pero se desintegraron, se dice.’  
*..., he wore metal sandals, it is said, but they ripped, it is said.* (Apostador\_31-32)
- (47) **Xapóo quih imiitoj xo**  
 sea.lion the.FL 3:3-PX-eat-PL but
- xapóo quih iti coom com mos itéemet ma,**  
 sea.lion the.FL 3P-on SN-lie the.HZ also 3:3-RL-cause.depleted-PL DS
- tojocam, hast ihmáa himcap iiqui mitóoj.**  
 RL-flee-PL mountain other DT-VT 3P-toward PX-RL-go.PL
- ‘Comían lobo marino, pero acabaron con los lobos marinos que había, huyeron [los lobos marinos que quedaban] y fueron hacia ese otro cerro.’  
*They were eating sea lions, but they depleted the sea lions that were there, they [the remaining sea lions] fled and went toward that other mountain.* (Muerte\_Cóquimexp\_5)

This coordinator has been observed being pronounced more closely with the first sentence (with a slight pause after **xo**) in some cases,<sup>12</sup> and with the second sentence (with a slight pause before **xo**) in others. This phonetic evidence, plus the lack of clear syntactic evidence that the coordinator actually forms a syntactic structure with either the first sentence or the second, may indicate that a structure such as in Figure 25.4 is appropriate.

While examples with **xo** at the beginning of a sentence have not been seen or overheard, an

<sup>12</sup> In the common phrase **ox oo mpacta xo** (thus DL PX-be.in.appearance but), which might be easily rendered *nevertheless* in many cases, the **xo** is clearly part of the same intonational phrase as **ox oo mpacta**.

elicited example such as the following was judged a grammatical response to a statement such as *Your car is little*. However, as a consultant explained, this utterance is given as if one were completing the utterance that another person has started.

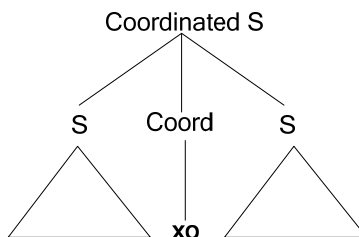
- (48) **Xo miixaj.**  
 but PX-strong  
 ‘Pero es fuerte.’  
*But it’s strong.*

### 25.3 Clausal coordinator x (tx)

Two independent clauses may be coordinated by the relatively uncommon word **x** which always has the meaning *or*.<sup>13</sup> This word is the modern version of what was **tx** in the speech of a previous generation (still recognized but generally considered old-fashioned).<sup>14</sup> The coordinator may appear after both coordinated clauses or it may appear only after the first one. It is pronounced as an enclitic to the preceding word which is always the last part of an independent clause. The syntax of coordination with this coordinator is presumed to be as shown in Figure 25.5.

- (49) °Hai xepe imac quijj° xah quih immóoit x;  
 west.wind — the.FL TWD-PX-arrive or  
 haapa xah quih immóoit x.  
 northwest.wind — the.FL TWD-PX-arrive or

Figure 25.4: Adversative coordination with **xo**



<sup>13</sup> It is important to not confuse this coordinator with the homophonous but distributionally distinct word **x** that very commonly occurs at the end of dependent clauses; see §3.6.3.

<sup>14</sup> The form **tx** is found in the speech of Roberto Herrera M., for example, as recorded by E. Moser and found in the NTT (for which Herrera was the primary consultant).

‘El viento del oeste llega o el viento del norte llega.’

*The west wind comes or the northwest wind comes.* (ES2007, hant\_quixoaa\_07)

- (50) **Cmiique caii quij isíihit ta x,**  
 person/Seri mature the.CM 3:3-IR.ID-eat AUX.RL UT

**imamáai x, imíiznij x.**  
 3:3-PX-roast or 3:3-PX-stew or

‘Para comerlo, el adulto lo cocina con lumbre encima o lo guisa.’

*To eat it, an adult cooks it with a brush fire on top of it or stews it.* (ES2007, satoj\_hasaaitaj\_08)

- (51) **Ihpsíitax poho tx, ihpscátax poho.**  
 1SS.IN-IR.ID-go DOUBT or 1SS.IN-IR.ID-N-go DOUBT

‘Tal vez iré, o tal vez no iré.’

*Maybe I'll go or maybe I won't go.*

- (52) **¿Me nsiitax haa -ya tx? ¿Juan quih siitax haa -ya?**  
 2PRO 2SS-IR.ID-go AUX QM or the.FL IR.ID-go AUX QM

‘¿Vas a ir tú o va a ir Juan?’

*Are you going or is Juan going?*

- (53) **¿Hipcom haa -ya tx? ¿Himcom haa -ya?**  
 PX-HZ AUX QM or DT-HZ AUX QM

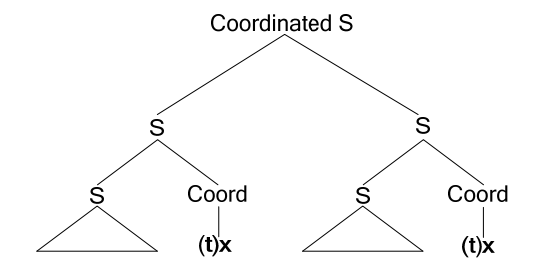
‘¿Es éste o es ése?’

*Is it this one or is it that one?*

## 25.4 Subordinators

While adverbial clauses commonly do not have any overt subordinator (see §3.8), some clauses occur with overt subordinators. The clauses with subordinators may be headed by finite verbs (§25.4.1) or by deverbal nouns (§25.4.2).

Figure 25.5: Alternative coordination with (t)x



### 25.4.1 Subordination of independent or finite clauses

Three subordinators are commonly used with clauses headed by finite verbs: **yax** *because, since*, **tax** (no good translation — glossed here with **SBRD**), and **xox** *although*.

The subordinators **yax** and **tax** subordinate *independent* clauses to the main clause. (Actually, since the independent clauses may have one or more dependent clauses associated with them, these subordinators potentially relate one complex set of clauses to another set.)

A clause subordinated by **yax** generally gives the circumstances that are a reason for the situation described in the independent clause.

- (54) **Cmiiq** **cmaam** **quij** **haptco** **moos** **yax**, **hant** **z** **iiqui** **miin**.  
 person/Seri woman the.CM already PX-sing because place a 3P-toward PX-go  
 ‘Porque la mujer seri ya había cantado, se fue.’  
*Because the Seri woman had already sung, she left.*
- (55) **Hipi** **hya**<sup>o</sup> **ha** **yax**, **ihméxl**.  
 INTNS mine DCL because 1S.TR-PX-take  
 ‘Como era mío, lo tomé.’  
*Since it was mine, I took it.* (DS2005, yax)
- (56) **Caay** **cop** **catol** **iha** **yax**, **hehe** **iiqui** **yahahíjz**.  
 horse the.VT SN-wild DCL because plant/post 3P-toward DT-PV-cause.tied.up  
 ‘El caballo fue amarrado al poste porque es bronco.’  
*The horse was tied to the post because it is wild.* (DS2005, cahizj)
- (57) **Roberto** **quih** **siifp** **caha** **yax**,  
 the.FL IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN-DCL because  
**comcáac** **coi** **hax** **caaha** **iyóaa**<sup>o</sup>.  
 person.Seri.PL the.PL INTNS they.get.ready  
 ‘Desde que Roberto llegará, la gente se está preparando.’  
*Since Roberto will arrive, the people are getting ready.*

The subordinate clause is occasionally postposed to sentence-final position.

- (58) **Tiix iiquet<sup>o</sup> quih itáho, °iisax cōxooptxō,**  
 DDS her.child the.FL 3:3-RL-see s/he.is.gleeful

**cooc imáho ha yax.**  
 almost SN-TR-N-see DCL because

‘Cuando vio a su hija/hijo, estuvo muy contenta porque hacía mucho que no la/lo había visto.’

*When she saw her child, she was very happy because it had been a long time since she had seen her/him.* (DS2005, captxō)

The syntactic properties of the subordinator **tax** are similar to those of **yax**, but it does not indicate any clear semantic relationship between the two clauses. The two clauses are in fact not tightly bound phonetically when the clause with **tax** follows the other.

- (59) **¡Xcoomoj quij ihsáp! xomiípla tax.**  
 fly the.CM IM-shoo EM-bad SBRD

‘Quita la mosca! ¡Es tan fea!’

*Shoo away the fly! It’s so ugly!*

- (60) **Hamaticpan tax, tom coi he quiizitoj iha.**  
 IPS-PX-work SBRD money the.PL 1PRO SN-TR-defeat/earn-PL DCL

‘Trabajamos y ganamos dinero.’

*We work and earn money.*

- (61) **Hai quih taaixaj, halx xah xajoéene tax,**  
 wind the.FL RL-strong INTENS ATTEN EM-raise.dust SBRD

**haaco cop ano scoii.**  
 ABS.house the.VT 3P.in IR.ID-1EM.S.IN-be.FL.PL

‘El viento está fuerte y levanta mucho polvo; quedémonos en la casa.’

*The wind is strong and is raising lots of dust; let’s stay in the house.*

- (62) **Hacalca quih anxō imxanóocaj tax,**  
 ABS.clothing the.FL INTNS 2SS-EM-carry.in.arms SBRD

**pac ma hsacónxot.**  
 some 2SDO 1SS.TR-IR.ID-help.carry

‘Estás llevando mucha ropa; te ayudaré a llevarla.’

*You are carrying lots of clothing; I will help you carry it.* (DS2005, cacónxot, modified)

- (63) **Zixquisfil<sup>o</sup> quij hizac iti hcaaix, saalim,**  
 child the.CM PX.LC 3P.on IM-put.CM IR.ID-play

**him xomasnáapitim tax.**

1sDO EM-N-bother-IMPF SBRD

‘Pon el niño aquí para jugar, no me molesta.’

*Put the child here to play since s/he doesn't bother me.* (DS2005, casnáapit)

- (64) **Xazoj ilit zo toc cöyij tax, hapx ihcáaitajc.**  
 puma 3P-head a there 3IO-DT-sit SBRD outside IM-put.CM-PL  
 ‘Hay una cabeza de puma allí, ¡sáquenla!’  
*There is a puma's head there, take it out!* (Conejo\_Puma\_12)
- (65) **Intísil, haquix immíh tax, ¿áz haxéhe chaa -ya**  
 2sS-RL-small somewhere 2sS-PX-be.FL SBRD what? INTNS SN-EQ QM

**ntahit?**

2sS-RL-eat

‘Cuando eras niño/a, ¿qué comías?’

*When you were a child, what did you eat?*

The subordinator **xox** *although* generally follows clauses that are in the *dependent* realis mood rather than independent verb forms, unlike the other subordinators and coordinators discussed in this chapter.<sup>15</sup> The clause that is subordinated with **xox** expresses circumstances for unexpected results that are expressed in the main clause.

- (66) **Anxö toohit xox, mitéejóc.**  
 INTNS RL-UO-eat although PX-thin  
 ‘Aunque come mucho, es flaco/a.’  
*Although s/he eats a lot, s/he is thin.*
- (67) **Tisil xox, yiipe.**  
 RL-small although DT-good  
 ‘Aunque es pequeño/a, es bueno/a.’  
*Although it was small, it was good.*
- (68) **Quiho cop itcméque xox, hipi caaitom ii quih**  
 SN-TR-see the.VT 3:3-RL-N-give.gift although INTNS SN-speak first the.FL  
**haa ntita x, tiix oo yaa° ha.**  
 there AW-RL-move UT DDS DL his/hers DCL  
 ‘Aunque el que lo halla no se lo dé, el primero en hablar — es suyo.’  
*Although the finder doesn't give it to him/her, the first to speak (claiming it) — it is his/hers.*

<sup>15</sup> Future situations require a clause with a deverbal noun and **isax** (§25.4.2.1).

- (69) **Intíim xox, iquíim miimzo quih ma tmacatx iho.**  
 2sS-RL-sleep although INF.IN-sleep 2P-AON-want the.FL 2sDO RL-N-release DCL  
 ‘Aunque ya habías/has dormido, todavía tenías/tienes sueño.’  
*Although you had/have already slept, you were/are still sleepy.*
- (70) **Hatásjoj xox, hatcmásjoj, °hacx miih°.**  
 1pS-RL-paddle.PL although 1pS-RL-N-paddle.PL it.was.occasionally  
 ‘A veces remamos; a veces no remamos.’  
*Sometimes we paddled; sometimes we didn’t paddle.*

The following example illustrates the less common situation in which this subordinator follows a clause headed by a deverbal noun.

- (71) **Ox cöiha hizac xox, ...**  
 thus 3IO-3P-AON-be PX-LC although  
 ‘Aunque es así hoy día, ...’  
*Although that’s the way it is nowadays, ... (Mosca\_Humo\_5.1)*

Examples with the **xox**-marked subordinate clause postposed to sentence-final position were all judged ungrammatical.

## 25.4.2 Subordinate clauses with deverbal nouns

The subordinators **isax** and **piquix** occur primarily with clauses headed by deverbal nouns.<sup>16</sup>

### 25.4.2.1 Concessive **isax**

A concessive clause is presented with **isax**; the clause typically has a realis action/oblique-oriented deverbal noun as head even when the action is unrealized.

- (72) **Itápolquim isax, ¡camjc!**  
 3P-AON-broken CNCSV IM-bring  
 ‘Aunque sea que esté quebrado, ¡tráelo!’  
*Although it may be broken, bring it! (DS2005, isax)*
- (73) **Poosj quih xepe an hant inscmácatx aha,**  
 line the.FL sea 3P.in land 2sS-IR.ID-N-release AUX-DCL  
**inyáahit isax.**  
 2P-AON-fish CNCSV  
 ‘No debes dejar la piola en el mar aunque estés pescando.’  
*You shouldn’t leave the line in the sea, even if you are fishing.*

<sup>16</sup> They are classified as “aux” (auxiliary) or “v aux” (verbo auxiliar) in the 2005 dictionary. See other words of this category in chapter 20. The exact classification is debatable.

- (74) **Mihacáacat** **isax,** **insíisi** **(a)ha.**  
 2P-AON-find.salty CNCSV 2SS-IR.ID-drink AUX-DCL  
 ‘Aunque te parezca salado, lo deberá tomar.’  
*Although you may find it salty, you should drink it.*
- (75) **Miica** **mpoomzo** **x,** **immísa** **ha** **xo**  
 TWD-INF.IN-move 2sS-IR.DP-want UT TWD-2sS-IR.ID-move AUX-DCL but  
**miixaj** **quih** **ihínej** **isax,**  
 2P-ON-strong the.FL 3P-AON-empty CNCSV  
**cmiique zo ma sconsácj aha.**  
 person a 2sDO IR.ID-N-carry AUX-DCL  
 ‘Puedes venir si quieres, pero aunque sea que te canses, nadie te va a llevar.’  
*You can come if you want, but even if you get tired, no one is going to carry you.*

In some sentences, such as (76), the meaning is less strongly concessive and seems to be more simply temporal.

- (76) **Xepe ano nyaalim isax, mazcz ano nscontíis aha.**  
 sea 3P.in 2P-AON-play CNCSV 2P-ygr.brother.ME 3P.in 2sS-IR.ID-N-push AUX-DCL  
 ‘Cuando juegues en el mar, no empujes a tu hermanito abajo del agua.’  
*When you play in the sea, don’t push your little brother under the water.*

**Isax** also takes irrealis complements with a verb in the dependent irrealis followed by **h** or **ih** (about which little is known). This construction is far less common, and reportedly connotes much more emotion than the construction using deverbals nouns.

- (77) **Impomóos ih isax, ...**  
 2sS-IR.DP-N-sing ? CNCSV  
 ‘Aun si no cantas, ...’  
*Even if you don’t sing, ...*
- (78) **Juan quih canóaa z ipóoxi h isax, he hpscmaahit aha.**  
 the.FL boat a 3:3-IR.DP-finish ? CNCSV 1PRO 1sS.IN-IR.ID-N-fish AUX-DCL  
 ‘Aun si Juan hace una panga, NO IRÉ a la pesca.’  
*Even if Juan makes a boat, I WILL NOT go fishing.*

The following examples are considered near paraphrases, although (as just pointed out), the construction with the finite verb, (79a), is much more emotive — in this case, for example, it would imply that it is a question of life or death and that the person will go despite the rain for that reason. (79c) is unusual in that it has an irrealis deverbals noun.

- (79) a. **Poopca h isax, cói hpsitax oo (a)ha.**  
 IR.DP-rain ? CNCSV still 1sS.IN-IR.ID-go DL AUX-DCL

- b. **lipca** isax, **cói hpsiitax oo (a)ha.**  
3P-AON-rain
- c. **Isíipca** isax, **cói hpsiitax oo (a)ha.**  
3P-IR.ID-rain

‘Aunque llueva, iré.’

*Although it may be raining, I will go.*

#### 25.4.2.2 Hypothetical or contrafactual piquix

The word **piquix** subordinates a clause that is highly hypothetical and usually (but not necessarily) contrafactual. That clause is typically headed by a realis action/oblique-oriented deverbal noun (§14.4) but it may also be headed by a subject-oriented deverbal noun (§14.1) if the time is more remote.

- (80) [ **Siimet zo hiyáa** ] piquix, **ma hsiye** (a)ha.  
bread a 1P-AON-own HYPOTH 2SDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-give.food AUX-DCL  
‘Si tuviera pan, te daría algo.’  
*If I had any bread, I would give you some.* (DS2005, piquix)
- (81) [ **He siimet zo cyaa** ] piquix, ...  
1PRO bread a SN-TR-own HYPOTH  
‘Si hubiera tenido pan, ...’  
*If I had had any bread, ...*
- (82) [ **Icatícpan zo hiz cöihca** ] piquix,  
3P-AON-US-work a here 3IO-3P-AON-be.located HYPOTH  
**ihpsaticpan aha.**  
1sS.IN-IR.ID-work AUX-DCL  
‘Si hubiera trabajo, yo trabajaría.’  
*If there were work, I would work.*
- (83) [ **Icatícpan zo hiz cöcahca** ] piquix, **ihpsaticpan aha.**  
3P-AON-US-work a here 3IO-SN-located HYPOTH 1sS.IN-IR.ID-work AUX-DCL  
‘Si hubiera habido trabajo, hubiera trabajado.’  
*If there had been work, I would have worked.*
- (84) [ **Hiiho** ] piquix, **eenim caacoj cop cohsmíit aha.**  
1P-AON-see HYPOTH knife SN-big the.VT 3IO-1sS.TR-ask AUX-DCL  
‘Si lo viera le pediría el machete.’  
*If I were to see him/her, I would ask him/her for the machete.* (ALIM\_176)
- (85) [ **Pedro quih iifp** ] piquix,  
the.FL 3P-AON-arrive HYPOTH

**sahméés coi anxö isíimjc aha.**  
 orange(s) the.PL INTNS 3:3-IR.ID-bring AUX-DCL

‘Si Pedro viene, traerá muchas naranjas.’

*If Pedro comes, he will bring lots of oranges.* (but we don’t know he is coming)

(86) [ **Pedro quih iifp** ] **piquix, sahméés coi**  
 the.FL 3P-AON-arrive HYPOTH orange(s) the.PL

**anxö isíimjc aha xo yomáfp.**  
 INTNS 3:3-IR.ID-bring AUX-DCL but DT-N-arrive

‘Si Pedro hubiera venido, hubiera traído muchas naranjas, pero no vino.’

*If Pedro had come, he would have brought many oranges, but he didn’t come.* (adapted

from DS2005, piquix)