

## 11. Coreference and disjoint reference in simple clauses

Coreference between the subject (agent/experiencer) and direct object (patient/theme) of a clause is the hallmark of the canonical reflexive construction (§11.2.1). The reflexive construction is syntactically and morphologically transitive in the typical situation. In all cases it depends on coreference with an agent/experiencer which is also the surface subject except in the passive clause. The target of the reflexive may also be an indirect object.

Coreference between the subject and a possessor merits specific discussion (§11.3). No reflexive pronoun is used in this situation, but coreference may be unambiguous. Complements of postpositions show a similar pattern (§11.4).

A few verbs are semantically reflexive (§18.4.6); the action is one that a person commonly does to herself/himself. No reflexive pronoun occurs with these intransitive verbs.

Situations in which two entities are performing a reciprocal action utilize a transitive construction and a word (**pti**) that is distinct from the reflexive pronoun (§11.5). This same word is used when the action is performed on two or more items, one to another, by a distinct agent.

Before reflexive and reciprocal clauses are presented, however, the referential properties of simple determiner phrases are discussed since these properties relate to the topic of coreference within a clause.

### 11.1 Determiner phrases

A determiner phrase typically refers to an entity other than the speaker or hearer, although specific phrases such as **he hapi hisoj hipquij** *I myself*, more literally *this my very own being* (1PRO INTNS 1P-self PX-CM), and **me hapi misoj hipquij** *you yourself* (2PRO INTNS 2P-self PX-CM) are obvious exceptions (see §16.1.3).

The use of a phrase such as **comcáac coi** (person/Seri.PL the.PL) may refer to a group of people to which the speaker and hearer do not belong. The use of a nominal phrase such as this, however, does not imply that the speaker is excluding himself or herself from that group. The person who utters or hears either of sentences (1)-(2) may or may not be a Seri person.

- (1) **Comcáac coi Sonora quij iti coii ha.**  
 person/Seri.PL the.PL                      the.CM 3P-on SN-be.FL.PL DCL  
 ‘Los seris viven en Sonora.’

*The Seris live in Sonora.* OP\_2-07-07\_03

- (2) °Xiica quixáazjoj° coi, comcáac coi °hehe án° com  
 soldiers the.PL person/Seri.PL the.PL countryside the.HZ  
 ano toom ma x, cōmocáaxoj.  
 3P.in RL-lie DS UT 3IO-PX-follow-PL

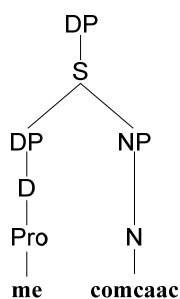
‘Los soldados<sub>i</sub> perseguían a los seris<sub>i,\*j</sub> mientras estaban<sub>i</sub> en el monte.’  
*The soldiers<sub>i</sub> chased the Seris<sub>i,\*j</sub> while they<sub>i,\*j</sub> were in the desert.*<sup>1</sup> OP\_2-07-07\_04

Nevertheless, the speaker may explicitly include himself or herself in the group by using the first person pronoun **he** (§16.1.1) modified by the nominal **comcáac**, as in (3). (This usage does not have any implication about the hearer.)

- (3) He comcáac, he Sonora quij iti coii ha.  
 1PRO person/Seri.PL 1PRO the.CM 3P.on SN-be.FL.PL DCL  
 ‘Nosotros los seris vivimos en Sonora.’  
*We Seris live in Sonora.*<sup>2</sup> OP\_2-07-07\_05

In the same way, the hearer may be included by using the second person pronoun **me** (§16.1.2) followed by such a nominal. Note that in (4) the verb **matóoctam** carries second person plural subject inflection (**ma-**), and that in (5) the (irregular) verb **hatom** is inflected for first person. These examples, then, actually begin with pronouns modified by a relative clause containing a predicate nominal, as diagrammed in Figure 11.1 for (4) (see §8.4.1).

**Figure 11.1: Pronoun with predicate nominal**



<sup>1</sup> The referential options are limited by the presence of the Different Subject marker at the end of the dependent clause. See §3.6.

<sup>2</sup> One consultant repeatedly and unconsciously read this sentence with the pronoun **he** just before the word **iti** (OP\_2-07-07\_06), sometimes omitting it before **Sonora**. This is important for the analysis of the configuration of sentences with preverbal postpositions. See §5.7.

- (4) **Me comcáac ¿zó matóoctam?**  
 2PRO person/Seri.PL how? 2PS-RL-look.at-PL  
 ‘¿Cómo lo ven Uds. los seris?’  
*How do you Seri people view it?* OP\_2-07-07\_08
- (5) **He comcáac °hehe án° com ano hatom ma x,**  
 1PRO person/Seri.PL countryside the.Hz 3P.in 1SS-RL-lie<sup>3</sup> DS UT  
**°xiica quixáazjoj° coi he mocáaxoj.**  
 soldiers the.PL 1IO PX-follow-PL  
 ‘Cuando nosotros los seris estábamos en el monte, los soldados nos perseguían.’  
*When we Seris were in the desert, the soldiers chased after us.* OP\_2-07-07\_09

This determiner phrase may be postposed as a constituent (§3.12), as in (6).

- (6) **... ox hayóomxoj, he comcáac.**  
 thus 1PS-DT-say-PL 1PRO person/Seri.PL  
 ‘... así lo llamamos, nosotros los seris.’  
*... that’s what we call it, we Seris.* (DS2007, xpeezoj 1) RMH\_08-04-07\_165

Two DPs or pronouns (including null) in the same clause are usually interpreted as *not* being coreferential (but see §11.3 for coreferential possessors and, of course, §11.2.1 about reflexive pronouns). Some of these interpretations are quite marked in the absence of an appropriate context; these interpretations are marked with %. (On the use of focal demonstrative pronouns after a nominal, as seen in (9), see §16.2.4.)

- (7) **Cmajfic coi imíiht.**  
 woman.PL the.PL 3:3-PX-see-PL  
 ‘Vieron a las mujeres. / Las mujeres lo(s)/la(s) vieron. (\*Las mujeres se vieron.)’  
*They saw the women. / The women saw it/her/him/them. (\*The women saw themselves.)* OP\_2-07-07\_10
- (8) **Taax, cmajfic coi imíiht.**  
 DDP woman.PL the.PL 3:3-PX-see-PL  
 ‘Aquéllos encontraron a las mujeres. (\*Las mujeres se vieron.)’  
*They found the women. (\*The women saw themselves.)* RMH\_11-27-07\_43a

<sup>3</sup> This is the singular form, and is literally *I was lying*. The explicitly plural form is **hatóoiti**. With this irregular verb the audible prefix for first person is ambiguous between singular and plural. The singular form is not uncommon.

- (9) **Cmajjic coi, taax imiíht.**  
 woman.PL the.PL DDP 3:3-PX-see-PL OP\_2-07-07\_11  
 ‘Las mujeres lo(s)/la(s) vieron. / % Vieron a las mujeres.’ (\*Las mujeres se vieron.)  
*The women saw them. / % They saw the women.*<sup>4</sup> (\*The women saw themselves.)
- (10) **Taax cmajjic coi imiíht.**  
 DDP woman.PL the.PL 3:3-PX-see-PL  
 ‘Las mujeres los/las encontraron. (\*Las mujeres se vieron.)  
*The women saw them. (\*The women saw themselves.)* RMH\_11-27-07\_43b
- (11) **Cmajjic coi cmajjic coi imiíht.**  
 woman.PL the.PL woman.PL the.PL 3:3-PX-see-PL  
 ‘Las mujeres, vieron a las mujeres.’ (\*Las mujeres se vieron.)  
*The women<sub>i</sub> saw the women<sub>j</sub>. (\*The women saw themselves.)* OP\_2-07-07\_13a

The finite verbs commonly stand alone without pronouns or nominal phrases. Unless the reflexive pronoun is present, the subject and object cannot be interpreted as coreferential in examples like the following:

- (12) **Imiího.**  
 3:3-PX-see  
 ‘Lo/la/los/las vio.’ (\*‘Se vio.’)  
*S/he/it saw her/him/it/them. (\*S/he/it saw himself/herself/itself.)* OP\_2-07-07\_13b
- (13) **Imiíht.**  
 3:3-PX-see-PL  
 ‘Lo/la/los/las vieron.’ (\*‘Se vieron.’)  
*They saw it/her/him/them. (\*They saw themselves.)* OP\_2-07-07\_16

## 11.2 Reflexives

Coreference between two nominals in a simple clause is expressed in different ways. Canonical reflexives utilize reflexive pronouns (§11.2.1) as do reflexives in which the target is an indirect object (§11.2.2). Coreference between a subject and a possessor (§11.3) or the complement of a postposition (§11.4) does not make use of the reflexive pronoun; it may be either unmarked or optionally indicated by an intensifying adverb. Some verbs are inherently reflexive in their semantics but are not reflexive morphologically or syntactically (see §18.4.6).

In all cases, the antecedent of the reflexive is the agent/experiencer of the clause, which is usually also the surface subject of the clause. When the reflexive clause is passive, as in (33), the antecedent is the unexpressed agent/experiencer.

<sup>4</sup> There is no problem with a sentence constructed like this but with a singular subject (reflected in the form of the verb stem): **Cmajjic coi, taax imiího** (3:3-PX-see) *S/he saw the women.* (OP\_2-07-07\_15)

### 11.2.1 Simple analytic reflexives

Coreference between subject and object is usually expressed using a reflexive pronoun. A few simple examples are given here.

- (14) **¿Isoj itamsisiin?**  
 3P-self 3:3-RL-love  
 ‘¿Se ama a si mismo?’  
*Does he love himself? / Does she love herself?* OP\_2-07-07\_24
- (15) **¿Isolca itamsisiijc?**  
 3P-self-PL 3:3-RL-love-PL  
 ‘¿Se aman a si mismos?’  
*Do they love themselves?* RMH\_09-28-07\_165a
- (16) **Hisoj ihyamsisiin.**  
 1P-self 1sS.TR-DT-love  
 ‘Me amo.’  
*I love myself.* RMH\_09-28-07\_165b

Examples with reflexive pronouns where coreference is not possible (because the features of the subject are not the same as the reflexive pronoun) are ungrammatical.<sup>5</sup>

- (17) \* **¿Isoj itamsisiin?**  
 3P-self 2sS-RL-love  
 (¿Te amas?) (*Do you love yourself?*)

The reflexive pronouns are listed in Table 11.1.<sup>6</sup> The reflexive pronoun is a possessed form of the bound noun stem for *body* (which also has an extended sense of *being* in some contexts; see below). This lexeme **isoj** (*his/her/its*) *body* occurs in non-reflexive examples such as:

- (18) **Cocáznio com ilít quij cactim iha xo**  
 rattlesnake the.CM 3P-head the.CM SN-be.cut DCL but

<sup>5</sup> See §10.4.2 for a special situation in which the reflexive is always third person despite the semantics of the clause.

<sup>6</sup> See Table 16.2 for the complete set of personal pronouns.

In addition, see the use of the Intensifier **hapi** (§24.2.1) without a reflexive pronoun.

Furthermore, the words **isoj áa** (3P-body/self real) are sometimes used to communicate the idea of the “true” or the “real” item. One example is given below. For more examples, see those on page 265ff.

- (i) **hant quih iti icmíquet isoj áa hac**  
 place the.FL 3P-on 3P-AON-be.person 3P-self real the.LC  
 ‘su lugar de origen’  
*his hometown area* (Mt 13:53) RMH\_09-28-07\_165c

**isoj com cói csijjim oo ha.**  
 3P-body the.Hz still SN-move DL DCL

‘La cabeza de la víbora de cascabel estaba cortada, pero el cuerpo todavía se movía.’ OP\_2-07-07\_17

*The head of the rattlesnake was cut off, but its body was still moving.* (DS2005, isoj)

The plural stem is sometimes used for the plural reflexives, as etymologically suggested, but often the singular form is used there as well, as the examples below illustrate.<sup>7</sup>

The reflexive pronoun occurs in a special place in the verb phrase (as the term is used in this grammar). It is not a simple direct object since it does not have the syntactic properties of direct objects. See the discussion in §5.2 where, most importantly, it is shown that the reflexive pronoun *follows* verb phrase adverbs, a fact that distinguishes it from typical direct objects. As shown below, the reflexive use of **isoj** (and its other forms) does not include a determiner. While a simple transitive has the structure shown in (19a), the reflexive has that shown in (19b).<sup>8</sup>

- (19) a. Simple transitive  
 DP DP VP  
 Subject Direct Object Verb [with Subject inflection and Direct Object inflection]
- b. Simple reflexive  
 DP VP  
 Subject **isoj** Verb [with Subject inflection, third person Direct Object]

### 11.2.1.1 Reflexive pronoun and object inflection

The following examples show the construction in which there is coreference between a singular subject and the direct object. A reflexive pronoun appears before the verb in lieu of the direct

**Table 11.1: Reflexive pronouns**

	Singular	Plural
First person	<b>hisoj</b>	<b>isolca</b>
Second person	<b>misoj</b>	<b>misolca</b>
Third person	<b>isoj</b>	<b>isolca</b>
Third person unspecified	<b>quisoj</b>	—

<sup>7</sup> Some reflexives are part of idioms, including those mentioned in §7.5.

<sup>8</sup> A complete analysis of these clauses must be able to account for the transitivity of the construction and the fact that the usual agreement morphology for direct object is not used, although that for indirect object is used (see below).

object inflection prefix.<sup>9</sup> The reflexive pronoun and the object inflection prefix cannot co-occur (20b). If the reflexive pronoun is not used, the sentence is also ungrammatical (except for third person on third person and a non-reflexive reading, of course), as shown in (20c).

The verb itself, taken out of context without the reflexive pronoun, is in each case a well-formed *transitive* verb in the form that would appear with a third person direct object (morphologically unmarked except when third person acts on third person); hence the word-by-word translation renders these words with third person direct objects.

- (20) a. **Hisoj ihtáactim ma, ...**  
 1P-self 1S.TR-RL-cause.be.cut DS  
 ‘Me corté, ...’  
*I cut myself, ...* (DS2005, cpajim) OP\_2-07-07\_18
- b. \* **Hisoj him ihtáactim ma, ...**  
 1P-self 1S.DO 1S.TR-RL-cause.be.cut DS  
 (‘Me corté.) (*I cut myself.*)
- c. \* **Him ihtáactim ma, ...**  
 1S.DO 1S.TR-RL-cause.be.cut DS  
 (‘Me corté.) (*I cut myself.*)
- (21) **Tzih com haso quih ano toom, isoj itahiix,**  
 pufferfish the.HZ net the.FL 3P.in RL-lie 3P-self 3:3-RL-cause.be.inflated  
**hapx icom iyomáa.**  
 outside INF.IN-lie 3:3-DT-N-know  
 ‘El pez infla que estaba en la red se infló y no pudo salir.’ OP\_2-07-07\_20  
*The pufferfish was caught in a net, it inflated itself and couldn’t get out.* (DS2005, cahix)
- (22) **Ox popacta ta, hipi hisoj ihsíih haa hi: ...**  
 thus IR.DP-be.in.appearance DS INTNS 1P-self 1S.TR-IR.ID-say AUX DCL  
 ‘Entonces me diré: ...’  
*Then I will tell myself: ...* (Lk 12:19) OP\_2-07-07\_21
- (23) **Hacat com isoj itaháa, yoque.**  
 shark the.HZ 3P-self 3:3-RL-cause.EQ DT-US-say  
 ‘Se hizo tiburón, se dice.’  
*He changed himself into a shark, it is said.* (DS2005, caháa, improved) OP\_2-07-07\_23

<sup>9</sup> The 3:3 prefix (§17.1.2.1), which is part of the subject inflection paradigm, appears in the third person reflexive constructions, as in (14). The **i** which sometimes occurs before first and second person subject markers is simply epenthetic for phonological reasons; see §27.1.1.

- (24) **¿Isoj itáactim?**  
 3P-self 3:3-RL-cause.be.cut  
 ‘¿Se cortó a si mismo?’  
*Did he cut himself? / Did she cut herself?*<sup>10</sup> OP\_2-07-07\_25a
- (25) **Isoj iyóoho.**  
 3P-self 3:3-DT-see  
 ‘Se vio a si mismo.’  
*She saw herself. / He saw himself. / It saw itself.*<sup>11</sup> OP\_2-07-07\_25b

### 11.2.1.2 Plural subjects

The form of a reflexive construction with a plural subject is somewhat variable.<sup>12</sup> The judgments in (26) are representative. The words used in these examples are **he** (first person pronoun, unmarked for number, §16.1.1), the reflexive pronouns **hisoj** and **hisolca**, and different forms of the lexeme  $\sqrt{\text{nip}}$  *hit* (*especially with hand*):  $\sqrt{\text{nip}}$  (singular subject, perfective),  $\sqrt{\text{nipatim}}$  (singular subject, imperfective),  $\sqrt{\text{nooptoj}}$  (plural subject, perfective),  $\sqrt{\text{nooptolca}}$  (plural subject, imperfective). The deverbal noun requires a modal in a simple sentence (§10.1; the declarative (**i**)**ha** (§20.5) is used in the examples here.

It is apparently most appropriate to use a verb inflected for *plural* subject and a *plural* reflexive pronoun. Examples (26g,h) are very well-formed. But examples in which a verb inflected for *plural* subject is used with a *singular* reflexive pronoun are also very acceptable; see (26e,f). Examples combining a verb inflected for singular subject and a singular reflexive pronoun were judged ungrammatical; see (26c,d). Those where both the verb and the pronoun are singular require an interpretation in which a single person is acting reflexively.

<sup>10</sup> This expression indicates a voluntary cutting; a different expression is used for an accidental cutting.

<sup>11</sup> This example is a bit unnatural since, as was explained, one usually looks in a mirror and sees one’s face, and therefore would say just that.

<sup>12</sup> Examples with plural subjects are also a bit more complicated in their interpretation. The primary interpretation of the plural examples is strict reflexive (each one to himself or herself), but some speakers, at least, a reciprocal reading may be accepted. For most consultants the reciprocal reading is expressed only with the word **pti** (§11.5). Part of the problem of these examples is choosing an appropriate transitive verb which has well-known and well-accepted plural forms. The verb  $\sqrt{\text{azt}}$  *tattoo* which appears in some examples in Marlett (1981b) is now somewhat unused and therefore problematic for certain consultants since they feel unsure about the plural forms.

- (26) a. (He) hisoj ihyoníp. (one person acting, reflexive)  
 b. (He) hisoj ihyonípatim. (one person acting, reflexive)  
 c. \* He hisolca ihyoníp. [ungrammatical]  
 d. \* He hisolca ihyonípatim. [ungrammatical]  
 e. (He) hisoj hayonóoptoj. (plural persons, reflexive)  
 f. (He) hisoj hayonóoptolca. (plural persons, reflexive)  
 g. (He) hisolca hayonóoptoj. (plural persons, reflexive)  
 h. (He) hisolca hayonóoptolca. (plural persons, reflexive)

RMH\_10-15-07\_33

- (27) Hax cop ah hisoj (~ hisolca) cöhamatóasxaj.  
 water the.VT FOC 1P-self 1P-self-PL 3IO-1pS-PX-clean-PL  
 ‘Nos lavamos con agua.’

*We wash ourselves with water.* (DS2005, caaisx, improved) LHC\_2-8-07\_76

### 11.2.1.3 Transitive clauses

In the canonical reflexive construction, the verb is inflected as if it had a third person direct object. In the simplest cases with first and second person subjects, no overt morphology occurs, but in cases with third person subjects, the 3:3 prefix *i-* appears, as in (14). The transitivity tests (see Appendix C) are unambiguous: the clauses are transitive. Note that the transitive allomorph of the first person singular subject inflection (*h-* rather than *hp-*) appears in (20) and (22), that the transitive allomorph *iha-* of the infinitive prefix appears in (28), and that the transitive allomorph of the action nominalization *h-* is used in (29). Alternatives, such as an attempt to use the intransitive infinitive prefix *ica-* in (28) instead of the transitive *iha-*, which would yield \**icáactim*, are ungrammatical.

- (28) Hisoj iháactim ihmíimzo.  
 1P-self INF.TR-cause.be.cut 1SS.TR-PX-want  
 ‘Quiero cortarme.’

*I want to cut myself.* OP\_2-07-07\_35

- (29) Cmaam ticop misoj miháactim imíimzo.  
 woman MD-VT 2P-self 2P-AON-cause.be.cut 3:3-PX-want  
 ‘Esa mujer quiere que te cortes.’

*That woman wants you to cut yourself.* OP\_2-07-07\_36

### 11.2.1.4 Reflexives in multiclausal situations

The reflexive pronoun may occur in an infinitival clause, as in (28), with its antecedent being the subject that is the controller of the subject of the infinitive. Only three verbs allow infinitival complements; see §12.1. Infinitives do not occur in any other construction. An example with  $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$  *know* (in the sense of *be able*, see §12.1.2) is given in (30).

- (30) **Miizj isoj iháacta iyomáa.**  
 well 3P-self INF.TR-look.at 3:3-DT-N-know  
 ‘No puede protegerse.’  
*S/he isn’t able to protect himself/herself.* RMH\_08-04-07\_169

The reflexive pronoun occurs in other clauses, including complement clauses headed by deverbal nouns, as in (29), only under the conditions that hold for simple clauses (with the understanding that the possessor of the deverbal noun is the subject of the clause).

Examples (31) and (32), with derived causatives, show that the antecedent of the reflexive can only be the agent/subject of the derived verb, not the nominal which would be the agent of the verb on which the causative verb is based.

- (31) **Juan cop Pedro qui (hipi) isoj cöiyacóhot.**  
 the.VT the.CM INTNS 3P-self 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.see  
 ‘Juan se mostró a Pedro.’ (\*‘Juan mostró Pedro<sub>i</sub> a si<sub>i</sub> mismo.’)  
*Juan showed himself to Pedro. (\*Juan showed Pedro<sub>i</sub> to himself<sub>i</sub>.)* RMH\_08-04-07\_166a
- (32) **Juan cop Pedro qui (hipi) isoj cöiyaquéecotol.**  
 the.VT the.CM INTNS 3P-self 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan hizo que Pedro le escuchara.’ (\*‘Juan hizo que Pedro se escuchara.’)  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> made Peter<sub>j</sub> hear himself<sub>i,\*j</sub>.* RMH\_08-04-07\_168

### 11.2.1.5 Reflexive and passive

A reflexive clause may be passive. Passive clauses are possible only if the agent/experiencer is unspecified. If this unspecified agent/experiencer is also coreferential with the patient, the conditions are met for reflexivization, and the reflexive pronoun **quisoj** *oneself* is used.<sup>13</sup> Example (33) was given as a question that one might ask if one was supposed to do some kind of ritual before entering a room.

- (33) **¿Quisoj sahníp haa -ya?**  
 US-3P-self IR.ID-PV-hit AUX QM  
 ‘¿Debe uno pegarse?’  
*Is one supposed to hit oneself?* (Offered) LHC\_2-23-07\_148
- (34) **Hoox miizj quisoj tompáho ho.**  
 INTNS well US-3P-self RL-N-PV-see DCL  
 ‘Uno no se cuida sólo de si mismo.’  
*One doesn’t only take care of oneself.* (Offered) RMH\_08-21-07\_94

<sup>13</sup> See also the analogous examples of **quisoj** in §7.5.

### 11.2.1.6 Lack of determiner with reflexive pronoun

Despite being a noun etymologically, the reflexive pronoun does not occur with a definite article or demonstrative in the reflexive construction. Since the word **isoj** means *his/her/its body/being*, there may be situations where the difference between *myself* and *my body* or *my being* is minimal. Thus one may sometimes find **hisoj com** (1P-body the.Hz) or **hisoj cop** (1P-body the.VT) *my body* or **hisoj quij** (1P-body the.CM) *my being* (in some slightly less corporeal sense) in near synonymy with **hisoj** (without an article) *myself*, but the latter is quite different from the others in more ways than semantics, as shown below. Examples (35)-(37) are not the reflexive construction. Note that in (37) the subject and the person to whom the body may or may not be coreferent and that the sentence specifically means that a body *per se* is being discussed.

- (35) **¿Isoj quij itamsisiin?**  
 3P-body the.CM 3:3-RL-love  
 ‘¿Ama a su propia vida?’ (su ser y su cuerpo)  
*Does he love his own life? / Does she love her own life?* (Offered) OP\_2-07-07\_37
- (36) **¿Isoj com itáactim?**  
 3P-body the.Hz 3:3-RL-cause.be.cut  
 ‘¿Cortó<sub>i</sub> su<sub>ij</sub> cuerpo?’  
*Did s/he<sub>i</sub> cut his/her/its<sub>ij</sub> body?* (Coreference possible.) OP\_2-07-07\_38
- (37) **Isoj com iyóoho.**  
 3P-body the.Hz 3:3-DT-see  
 ‘Vio<sub>i</sub> su<sub>ij</sub> cuerpo.’  
*S/he<sub>i</sub> saw his/her/its<sub>ij</sub> body.*<sup>14</sup> (Coreference possible.) OP\_2-07-07\_40

The reflexive construction is more sharply distinguished from the non-reflexive construction when the verb is not construable as denoting an action to or towards one’s body. The following examples are ungrammatical with any determiner present since the determiner would require a corporeal interpretation (compare them with (22) and (23) above).

- (38) \* **Hapi hisoj com / quij ihsiih haa hi: ...**  
 INTNS 1P-body the.Hz/ the.CM 1SS.TR-IR.ID-say AUX DCL  
 (‘Me diré: ...’) (*Then I will tell myself: ...*)<sup>15</sup>
- (39) \* **Hacat com isoj com / quij iyaháa.**  
 shark the.Hz 3P-body the.Hz/ the.CM 3:3-DT-cause.EQ  
 (‘Se hizo tiburón, se dice.’) (*He changed himself into a shark.*)

<sup>14</sup> The article would be **cop** (the.VT) if one were standing in front of a mirror.

<sup>15</sup> This phrase with **quij** is grammatical on the reading of telling *about* oneself (to others).

### 11.2.1.7 Inexact coreference

In the canonical reflexive construction, the controller is exactly coreferential with the reflexive pronoun. Example (40) was one result of attempts to elicit examples with partial coreference between subject and direct object. Note that the word **hisolca** is followed by a demonstrative adjective; this indicates that the sentence is not a true reflexive construction. The direct object is an emphatic pronominal phrase of the type discussed in §16.1.3. The lack of the article in (41) makes that example ungrammatical.

- (40) **Hipi hisolca hizcoi hyooho.**  
 INTNS 1P-self-PL PX-PL 1SS.TR-DT-see  
 ‘Vi a nosotros.’  
*I saw us.* OP\_2-07-07\_41
- (41) \* **Hipi hisolca hyooho.**  
 INTNS 1P-self-PL 1SS.TR-DT-see  
 (‘Vi a nosotros.’) (*I saw us.*)

### 11.2.2 Reflexive pronoun and indirect object

The target of reflexivization is most commonly the direct object of the construction, but it may also be the indirect object (§2.3) or an oblique object (§2.4).<sup>16</sup> The indirect object examples are interesting in that regardless of the presence of the reflexive pronoun, the third person indirect object prefix obligatorily occurs on the verb (indicated by **co-/cö-**). That is, unlike the situation with the suspension of direct object inflection, in these cases indirect object inflection is not suspended.

- (42) ... **isoj cöitámjc,** ...  
 3P-self 3IO-3:3-RL-bring  
 ‘... los trajo a si mismo ...’  
 ... *he brought them to himself,* ... (Mt 2:4) OP\_2-07-07\_28a

<sup>16</sup> The generalization can be made that the reflexive pronoun as such is only possible when there is coreference between an agent/experiencer and an object (direct or indirect, regardless of the semantic role it may have).

The examples below have uncertain syntax, but the reflexive pronoun is not obviously related to a patient/direct object. Both of them have indirect object agreement on the verb.

- (ii) **Hipi hisoj iic cöhmquéepe.**  
 INTNS 1P-self 3P-toward 3IO-1SS.TR-PX-like  
 ‘Lo quiero para mí.’ / *I want it for myself.* OP\_2-07-07\_30a
- (iii) **He hisoj cöhyomacóoyam.**  
 1PRO 1P-self 3IO-1SS.TR-DT-N-honor  
 ‘No soy orgulloso.’ / *I’m not proud.* OP\_2-07-07\_30b

- (43) **Misoj contámje?**  
 2P-self 3IO-2sS-RL-bring  
 ‘¿Los trajiste a ti mismo?’  
*Did you bring them to yourself?* LHC\_2-05-07\_148, OP\_2-07-07\_28b
- (44) **Jesús cop °xiica quih quiistox° quih ptiti coii tacoi**  
 the.VT people the.FL together SN-be.FL.PL MD-PL  
**isoi cöiyacóoix.**  
 3P-self 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.go.away.from  
 ‘Jesús despidió a la gente.’  
*Jesus sent the crowd of people away (from himself).* (Mt 15:39) OP\_2-07-07\_29

The verb √**aahal** means *bring/take with*, and of course one always bring the item with oneself. Therefore this verb prototypically occurs with a reflexive pronoun as well as a *third person* indirect object prefix, as noted above.

- (45) **¿Zixcám ticom misoj consáahal? haa -ya?**  
 fish that.HZ 2P-self 3IO-2sS-IR.ID-bring/take AUX QM  
 ‘¿Llevarás ese pescado contigo?’  
*Are you going to take that fish with you?* RMH\_11-27-07\_05
- (46) **°Ox tpacta ma°, iquístox° quih imípe quih °tomcoj cöquih°**  
 then spirits the.FL SN-N-good the.FL seven  
**coi isoi cöitáahal, ...**  
 the.PL 3P-self 3IO-3:3-RL-bring/take  
 ‘Entonces trae consigo siete espíritus malos ...’  
*Then it brings seven evil spirits with it, ...* (Lk 12:26) RMH\_08-21-07\_95

Other verbs which subcategorize for indirect objects or oblique objects that are people or animals (see §2.3 and §2.4) also allow these to be reflexive pronouns, with the presence of the third person indirect object inflection required as well. Note that it cannot be omitted, as shown in example (48). The verb √**eti** *fetch for*, as in example (51), is only used in intransitive clauses; the item fetched must be deduced from the context or expressed in another clause with another verb.

- (47) **Eenim cop hisoj cöhyacóoix**  
 knife the.VT 1P-self 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-remove  
 ‘Me quité el cuchillo de mi mismo.’  
*I grabbed the knife away from myself.* RMH\_11-27-07\_44

- (48) \* **Eenim cop hisoj ihyacóiox.**  
 knife the.VT 1P-self 1SS.TR-DT-remove  
 ‘Me quité el cuchillo de mi mismo.’ (*I grabbed the knife away from myself.*)
- (49) **Haxz cap isoj cöyaaitim.**  
 dog the.VT 3P-self 3IO-DT-chase  
 ‘El perro se está persiguiendo.’  
*The dog is chasing itself.*<sup>17</sup> LHC\_2-05-07\_150
- (50) °**Ziix ihpáatim°, hisoj cohásaha ha.**  
 thing 1SS.TR-IR.DP-?-IMPF 1P-self 3IO-1SS.TR-IR.ID-keep AUX-DCL  
 ‘Haré la comida, y lo guardaré para mi mismo.’  
*I will make the food, I will keep it for myself.* (Offered) LHC\_2-05-07\_151a
- (51) **Ihpóoj, hipi hisoj cohpséeti aha.**  
 1SS.IN-IR.DP-UO.fetch.water INTNS 1P-self 3IO-1SS.IN-IR.ID-fetch.for AUX-DCL  
 ‘Acarrearé agua para mí mismo.’  
*I will go for water and fetch it for myself.* LHC\_2-05-07\_151b

The verbs  $\sqrt{\text{acóhot}}$  *show, cause to see* and  $\sqrt{\text{aquécotol}}$  *make listen* provide more interesting contexts since one can use mirrors, pictures, and tape recorders to create more complicated situations.<sup>18</sup> Examples like (52) and (53) — with or without the intensifier **hipi** — show that only the subject can be the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun. These examples are not ambiguous.

- (52) **Juan cop Pedro quij (hipi) isoj cöiyacóhot.**  
 the.VT the.CM INTNS 3P-self 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.see  
 ‘Juan se mostró a Pedro.’ (\*‘Juan mostró Pedro<sub>i</sub> a sí<sub>i</sub> mismo.’)  
*Juan showed himself to Pedro. (\*Juan showed Pedro<sub>i</sub> to himself<sub>i</sub>.)* RMH\_08-04-07\_166a
- (53) **Juan cop Pedro quij (hipi) isoj cöiyaquécotol.**  
 the.VT the.CM INTNS 3P-self 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan hizo que Pedro le escuchara.’ (\*‘Juan hizo que Pedro se escuchara.’)  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> made Peter<sub>j</sub> hear himself<sub>i,\*j</sub>.* RMH\_08-04-07\_168

More examples with these verbs are discussed in §11.3.

<sup>17</sup> The chased item is always an indirect object with this verb, which is morphologically intransitive.

<sup>18</sup> The expression **isoj**  $\sqrt{\text{acóhot}}$  *self show* has developed, however, a somewhat lexicalized meaning of *present self* that needs to be recognized.

- (iv) **Misoj cöháacóhot.**  
 2P-self 3IO-IM-cause.see  
 ‘Preséntate a él/ella.’ / *Present yourself to him/her.* (Mt 8:4) RMH\_08-04-07\_167

### 11.3 Coreference between subject and possessor

No special possessor morphology indicates coreference between a subject and the possessor of a noun. Nevertheless, in many situations there is an strong implication that the two are coreferential. This may be because of the pragmatics of the situation or it may be because of the juxtaposition of one DP before another DP headed by a possessed noun. Thus, while one might think that examples such as (54)-(56) should be construable differently than the readings shown, it was not possible to obtain other interpretations. Alternative readings require, so far as could be determined, the inclusion some other explicit nominal before the possessed noun.

- (54) **María quih ata quij hapáspoj° quih anxö iiqui**  
 the.FL 3P-mother the.CM paper the.FL INTNS 3P-toward

**iyáacatim.**

3:3-DT-send-IMPF

‘María<sub>i</sub> mandó muchas cartas a su<sub>i,\*j</sub> mamá.’

*María<sub>i</sub> sent many letters to her<sub>i,\*j</sub> mother.* (DS2005, caaca, improved) RMH\_08-04-07\_170

- (55) **Ctam tiquij itáamt coi iyoquéepe.**  
 man MD-CM 3P-sandal(s) the.PL 3:3-DT-like

‘A ese hombre<sub>i</sub> le gusta sus<sub>i,\*j</sub> zapatos.’

*That man<sub>i</sub> likes his<sub>i,\*j</sub> shoes.* RMH\_08-04-07\_171

- (56) **Comcáii cop iicto° coi iyahácotim.**  
 old.woman the.VT her.children the.PL 3:3-DT-cause.be.covered

‘La anciana<sub>i</sub> tapó a sus<sub>i,\*j</sub> hijos (como con una cobija).’ RMH\_08-04-07\_172

*The old woman<sub>i</sub> covered up her<sub>i,\*j</sub> children (as with a blanket).* (DS2005, cahácotim)

However, as if there were any doubt about the coreference, one may also indicate coreference between the subject and possessor by the use of the intensifying adverb **hapi** (or its dialectal variant **hipi**) before the possessed noun (see §24.2.1). See example (57) and Figure 11.2. Actually, as shown in §24.2.1, the intensifier *follows* the nominal that it intensifies, in this case a non-overt pronoun. This adverb in essence converts the simple possessor into a reflexive possessor, requiring coreference with the subject (but see the special cases discussed below).

- (57) **Juan quih °hiza tacsx°, hipi yaazi° cop iyóocta.**  
 the.FL looked.to.one.side INTNS his.child the.VT 3:3-DT-look.at

‘Juan<sub>i</sub> miró a su lado y miró a su<sub>i,\*j</sub> hijo/a.’

*Juan<sub>i</sub> looked to his side and looked at his<sub>i,\*j</sub> child.*<sup>19</sup> (DS2005, cacsx) OP\_2-07-07\_50

<sup>19</sup> This example is unambiguous even without the presence of **hipi**.

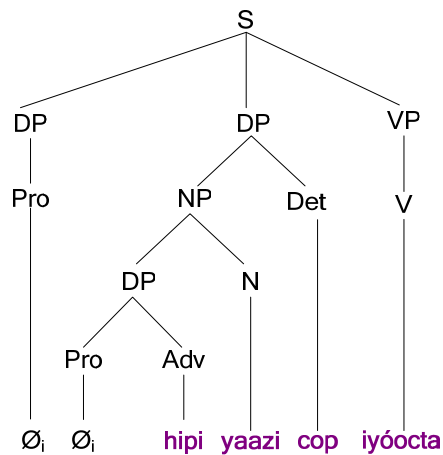
The following examples show that when this intensifier is present, there is no ambiguity, despite the presence of another potential antecedent. In (58) the possessor of the blanket could be either the mother or the child; the example is ambiguous. In (59), however, the presence of **hipi** requires the interpretation given, that it is the mother's blanket.

- (58) **Cmaam cop iiquet° com itéxl, isaráapi quih an imfáin.**  
 woman the.VT her.child the.HZ 3:3-RL-take 3P-blanket the.FL 3P.in 3:3-PX-tie.up  
 'La mujer tomó su hijo/a y lo/la envolvió en su cobija.'  
*The woman took her child and wrapped him/her in his/her blanket.*  
 (ambiguous) LHC\_2-05-07\_138

- (59) **Cmaam cap iiquet° com itéxl,**  
 woman the.VT her.child the.HZ 3:3-RL-take  
**hipi isaráapi quih an imfáin.**  
 INTNS 3P-blanket the.FL 3P.in 3:3-PX-tie.up  
 'La mujer<sub>i</sub> tomó su hijo/a<sub>j</sub> y lo/la envolvió en su<sub>i,\*j</sub> cobija.'  
*The woman<sub>i</sub> took her child<sub>j</sub> and wrapped him/her in her<sub>i,\*j</sub> blanket.* LHC\_2-05-07\_139

The situation is slightly more complex, however, when the potential antecedent is in the same clause. In the following situations, Juan is causing Pedro to see the body of someone, perhaps in a mirror or in a picture, and causing him to hear someone's voice, perhaps using a tape recorder. The nouns **isoj** *his/her body* and **ihípon°** *his/her voice* are used. In examples (60) and (61), there is ambiguity with respect to the antecedent of the possessor of **isoj** and **ihípon**. This is

**Figure 11.2: Diagram for final clause of (57)**



at least one situation where the antecedent of a third person possessor is not necessarily the nominal phrase immediately preceding it.

- (60) **Juan cop Pedro quij isoj cop cöiyacóhot.**  
 the.VT the.CM 3P-body the.VT 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.see  
 ‘Juan<sub>i</sub> mostró su<sub>i,j</sub> cuerpo a Pedro<sub>j</sub>.’  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> showed Pedro<sub>j</sub> his<sub>i,j</sub> body.* (ambiguous) RMH\_08-04-07\_173a
- (61) **Juan cop Pedro quij ihípon° cop cöiyaquécotol.**  
 the.VT the.CM his/her.voice the.VT 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan<sub>i</sub> hizo que Pedro<sub>j</sub> escuchara su<sub>i,j</sub> voz.’  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> made Pedro<sub>j</sub> hear his<sub>i,j</sub> voice.* (ambiguous) RMH\_08-04-07\_173b

The ambiguity can be removed. The intensifier **hapi** after **Pedro quij** makes it unambiguous that it is Pedro’s voice.<sup>20,21</sup>

- (62) **Juan cop Pedro quij hapi ihípon° cop cöiyaquécotol.**  
 the.VT the.CM INTNS his/her.voice the.VT 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan<sub>i</sub> hizo que Pedro<sub>j</sub> escuchara su<sub>\*i,j</sub> voz.’  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> made Pedro<sub>j</sub> hear his<sub>\*i,j</sub> voice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_173c

But the ambiguity is removed differently if the phrase **ihípon° cop** (with or without **hapi**) is moved to follow the subject DP.

- (63) **Juan cop (hapi) ihípon° cop Pedro cop cöiyaquécotol.**  
 the.VT INTNS his/her.voice the.VT the.VT 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan<sub>i</sub> hizo que Pedro<sub>j</sub> escuchara su<sub>i,\*j</sub> voz.’  
*Juan<sub>i</sub> made Pedro<sub>j</sub> hear his<sub>i,\*j</sub> voice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_174

#### 11.4 Coreference with complement of postposition

When the complement of a postposition or locational noun is coreferential with the subject, the situation is treated like the cases of possessed nouns shown in the previous section. Postpositions

<sup>20</sup> It is not entirely clear whether **hapi** actually modifies **Pedro quij** (the experiencer DP) or a null pronoun in the possessor position of the Patient DP.

<sup>21</sup> The following example is also grammatical, but the placement of **hapi** in this case does not resolve the ambiguity, apparently. (**Hapi** is grouped prosodically with **Pedro quij**.)

- (v) **Juan cop hapi Pedro quij ihípon° cop cöiyaquécotol.**  
 the.VT INTNS the.CM his/her.voice the.VT 3IO-3:3-DT-cause.listen  
 ‘Juan hizo que Pedro escuchara su voz.’ (ambiguous)  
*Juan made Pedro hear his voice.* (ambiguous) RMH\_10-15-07\_34

and locational nouns are inflected for possessor; see §13.4 and chapter 22. The presence of **hapi** in (64b) makes it unambiguous that the person under whom the stones were placed is the one subject of the clause.

- (64) a. **Hasatoj coi imócaj hac an iyocáaitaxlca.**  
 stone-PL the.PL 3P-place.under-PL the.LC 3P.in 3:3-DT-put.CM-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Pusieron las piedras debajo de ellos / debajo de si mismos.’  
*They put the stones under them / themselves.* (Ambiguous) RMH\_11-27-07\_45a
- b. **Hasatoj coi hapi imócaj hac an iyocáaitaxlca.**  
 stone-PL the.PL INTNS 3P-place.under-PL the.LC 3P.in 3:3-DT-put.CM-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Pusieron las piedras debajo de si mismos.’  
*They put the stones under themselves.* RMH\_11-27-07\_45b

A reflexive pronoun is not used in cases where the subject is coreferential with the possessor of a body part, unlike in English and Spanish.

- (65) **..., hínzéet quiij iti httaxz, ...**  
 1P-heel the.CM 3P-on 1S.TR-RL-hit.HZ  
 ‘... me pegué en el talón, ...’  
*... I hit myself in the heel, ...* (DS2005, cactim) RMH\_08-21-07\_96
- (66) \* **Hínzéet quiij iti hisoj ihyoáxz.**  
 1P-heel the.CM 3P-on 1P-self 1SS.TR-DT-hit.HZ  
 (‘Me pegué en el talón.’) *(I hit myself in the heel.)*
- (67) \* **Hanzéet quiij iti hisoj ihyoáxz.**  
 ABS-heel the.CM 3P-on 1P-self 1SS.TR-DT-hit.HZ  
 (‘Me pegué en el talón.’) *(I hit myself in the heel.)*

## 11.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocity is expressed using the word **pti**. In the most common cases, where agent/subjects are acting reciprocally on each other as patient/objects, the word **pti** displaces both the direct object nominal and the verb morphology associated with it. This word was classified as an adverb in the 2005 dictionary, but it could be viewed (in these examples, at least) as an invariant pronoun; unlike the reflexive pronoun **isoj** (§11.2), it does not vary for person or number. The word **pti** is part of the verb phrase, for which arguments are presented in §5.3. Therefore, instead of a construction like (68a), the construction in (68b) is used.

- (68) a. Simple transitive  
 DP DP VP  
 Subject Direct Object Verb [with Subject Inflection and Direct Object Inflection]

- b. Simple reciprocal  
 DP VP  
 Subject **pti** Verb [with Subject Inflection, third person Direct Object]

The subject person inflection prefix (§17.1.2.1) is plural in the reciprocal construction, as shown in example (69) in which the prefix **ha-**, first person plural subject inflection, is required rather than **h-**, first person singular subject inflection.

- (69) a. **Hipi pti hasamsisíjce aha.**  
 INTNS RCP 1PS-IR.ID-love-PL AUX-DCL  
 ‘Amémonos uno al otro.’  
*We should love one another.* OP\_2-07-07\_57 RMH\_08-04-07\_177a
- b. \* **Hipi pti hsamsisíjce aha.**  
 1SS.TR-IR.ID-love-PL
- c. **Hipi pti hasamsisífin aha.** RMH\_08-04-07\_177b  
 1PS-IR.ID-love
- d. \* **Hipi pti hsamsisífin aha.**

Verb stems indicate number of the subject (§17.1.3). Yet in the case of reciprocals, some variability in the verb stem is commonly observed, as indicated by the examples in (69). Either the singular stem may be used or the plural stem. In addition, sometimes an imperfective stem is used, which denotes a difference in meaning. Compare the verb forms in (70) and (71) with the corresponding translations.

- (70) **Coméác tacoí pti cnooptoj iha.**  
 person/Seri.PL MD-PL RCP SN-TR-hit-PL DCL  
 ‘Esos seris estaban pegándose (de vez en cuando).’  
*Those Seris were hitting each other (once in a while).* LHC\_2-8-07\_74b
- (71) **Coméác tacoí pti cnooptolca ha.**  
 person/Seri.PL MD-PL RCP SN-TR-hit-PL-IMPF DCL  
 ‘Esos seris estaban boxeando.’  
*Those Seris were boxing each other.* LHC\_2-8-07\_74a

Despite the lack of object inflection marking on the verb, the canonical reciprocal construction is transitive and, if the subject is third person, the verb carries the 3:3 prefix (§17.1.2.1) which is part of the subject inflectional apparatus. Neither of these points is immediately obvious, however, since the vowel of **pti** merges phonetically with the prefix **i-** (3:3). The fact that the **i-** is present is made clear by the epenthetic **c** ([k]) which appears under

the conditions discussed in §27.1.4.<sup>22,23</sup>

- (72) **¿Pti itconnóoptolca?**  
 RCP 3:3-RL-N-hit-PL-IMPF  
 ‘No se pegaron uno al otro?’  
*Didn’t they hit each other?* RMH\_08-04-07\_178

The transitivity of the construction is also made evident by the choice of the transitive infinitive prefix **iha-** (§17.2.1).

- (73) **Comcáac tacoi pti iházitim quimcajc iha.**  
 person/Seri.PL MD-PL RCP INF.TR-tattoo-IMPF SN-TR-want-PL DCL  
 ‘Esas personas querían tatuarse uno al otro.’  
*Those people wanted to tattoo each other.* LHC\_2-05-07\_154

Other examples of reciprocal clauses with simple transitive verbs, including the common transitive verb  $\sqrt{\text{mis}}$  *resemble* which has a non-agentive subject, of course:

- (74) **Pti smis caha.**  
 RCP IR.ID-resemble AUX.SN-DCL  
 ‘Se van a parecer.’  
*They are going to resemble each other.* (DS2005, cmis) OP\_2-07-07\_66
- (75) **Pti hayomahínej.**  
 RCP 1PS-DT-N-cause.empty  
 ‘Éramos compañeros.’  
*We stayed together. (We were companions.)* (DS2005, cahínej) OP\_2-07-07\_67
- (76) **Pti iyasácajam.**  
 RCP 3:3-DT-use.arms.to.support  
 ‘Se abrazaron.’  
*They hugged each other.* RMH\_05-16-08\_36

<sup>22</sup> For this reason, the examples are transcribed here with **pti i...** despite the lack of direct phonetic evidence for both vowels.

<sup>23</sup> But the argument here is not quite that easily made. If the morpheme **pti** is actually part of the verb morphology, then one might claim that the conditions for epenthesis are met without the prefix **i-**. This alternative does not work, however, since it can be shown that **pti** itself does not provide the context for epenthesis, just as the indirect object agreement prefix **co-/cö-** does not. The necessary example is one which the portmanteau **pte**; no epenthesis is induced. The idiom for *get along, be friends*, **iicp pte viipe**, provides the evidence.

- (vi) ... **iicp pte tmiipe ho.** (\* **pte tmiipe**)  
 3P-toward RCP+3IO-RL-N-good DCL  
 ‘... no se llevan bien.’  
*... they don’t get along with each other.* (Jd 1:19) RMH\_11-20-07\_148

- (77) **Cmaacöl cmozímtoj coi pti iyasáacalcam.**  
 old.man-PL SN-drunk-PL the.PL RCP 3:3-DT-use.arms.to.support-PL  
 ‘Los viejos borrachos apoyaron uno al otro.’<sup>OP\_2-07-07\_68</sup>  
*The drunk old men were walking around with their arms around each other.*  
 (DS2005, casáacajam)

When the reciprocal action holds between something other than subject and direct object, the word **pti** is still used, but the morphology becomes a bit more complicated, as explained below.<sup>24</sup>

If the reciprocity is with the complement of a postposition or a locational noun, the morpheme **pti** precedes the postposition or locational noun (which also occurs in the VP; see §5.8). In fact, the Seri consultants for the 2005 Seri dictionary decided that when the postposition begins with **i**, the fusion is more than incidental and asked for the sequence of morphemes to be written as one word in each case. Therefore **pti iti** (RCP 3P-on) *on each other* is written **ptíti**, **pti iiqui** (RCP 3P-toward) *toward each other* is written **ptiiqui**, and **pti iihax** (RCP 3P-with.SG) *with each other* is written **ptiihax**.<sup>25</sup>

- (78) ... **hipi ptíti mozám.**  
 INTNS RCP-3P-on PX-UO-put.VT  
 ‘... se pisaban uno al otro.’  
*...they were stepping on each other.* (Lk 12:1) RMH\_08-04-07\_179a
- (79) ... **hipi ptiiqui titóoj, ...**  
 INTNS RCP-3P-toward RL-go.PL  
 ‘... se preguntaban uno al otro, ...’  
*... they asked each other, ...* (Mk 4:41) RMH\_08-04-07\_179b
- (80) ... **ziix quih hapáhit quih ptiihax itáaitoj, ...**  
 thing the.FL SN-PV-eat the.FL RCP-3P-with.SG 3:3-RL-eat-PL  
 ‘... comían uno con el otro, ...’  
*... they ate food with each other, ...* (Ac 2:47) RMH\_08-04-07\_180a
- (81) **Hasatoj coi ptimócaj hac an iyocáaitax.**  
 stone-PL the.PL RCP-3P-place.under the.LC 3P.in 3:3-DT-put.CM-PL  
 ‘Pusieron las piedras, cada uno debajo del otro.’  
*They put the stones under each other.* RMH\_08-04-07\_180b

<sup>24</sup> My attempt to obtain examples like *They ate each other's bread* were not wildly successful. Somewhat belatedly I was able to get **Siimet yaat<sup>c</sup> quih pti iyóoitoj** (bread theirs the.FL RCP 3:3-DT-eat-PL).

<sup>25</sup> The word **ptimócaj** does not appear in the 2005 dictionary. The word **pti** and **ano** (3P.in) also contract, to **ptino**, but this is only found in a couple of idiomatic expressions: **ptino** **√ojoz** (flee) *mill around* and **ptino** **√oofin** (pass) *be similar*.



conditions for the portmanteau **pte** are present.

- (83) **Icáaitim° quih cmiipla tintica, tiix hipi °misolca oo**  
 action the.FL SN-bad MD-AW DDS INTNS 2P-self-PL DL  
**pte mascmáai° aha.**  
 RCP+3IO-2PS-IR.ID-N-put/do.PL AUX-DCL

‘No deben hacer cosas malas uno al otro.’

*You shouldn't do bad things to each other.* LHC\_2-8-07\_73

In (84) the intransitive verb  $\sqrt{\text{aaaitim}}$  subcategorizes for the object of the chasing which is an oblique object. Therefore, since the dogs are chasing each other in the situation described in (84), one expects Reciprocal and also the third person indirect object prefix. And as a result, the portmanteau **pte** occurs.

- (84) **Haxaca coi hapi pte caaitim iha.**  
 ABS-pet-PL the.PL INTNS RCP+3IO-SN-chase DCL  
 ‘Los perros están persiguiendo uno al otro.’  
*The dogs are chasing each other.* OP\_2-07-07\_65

Other examples with similar explanations are:

- (85) ... **cmaax iihax °pte miistox°, ...**  
 now 3P-with.SG RCP+3IO-PX-have.life-PL  
 ‘... entonces se pusieron de acuerdo, ...’  
*... then they made an agreement, ...* (Viento\_Norte\_4)
- (86) ... **miistox quih coox com pte masamsisín aha.**  
 2P-?-PL the.FL all the.HZ RCP+3IO-2PS-IR.ID-love AUX-DCL  
 ‘... ámense mucho.’  
*... love one another earnestly.* (1 Pt4:8) RMH\_08-04-07\_181
- (87) ... **ox tooza, hipi pte immúitim.**  
 thus RL-speak.PL INTNS RCP+3IO-3:3-PX-ask-IMPF  
 ‘... así dijeron, se preguntaban.’  
*... thus they said, they asked each other about it.* (Mk 1:27) RMH\_08-04-07\_182a

The word **pte** occurs in the following examples because the direct object and the instrument (a cross-referenced oblique object, see §2.4) are being hit against each other.

- (88) **Hast cahmác quih pte htaafc ma, ...**  
 stone SN-emit.spark the.FL RCP+3IO-1sS.TR-RL-pound DS  
 ‘Golpeé las piedras una contra otra, ...’  
*When I struck the rocks together, ...* (DS2005, hast) RMH\_08-04-07\_182b

- (89) ¿Juan quih pte itcmáafc?  
 the.FL RCP+3IO-3:3-RL-N-pound  
 ‘No las golpeó Juan una contra otra?’  
*Didn’t Juan strike them together?* RMH\_08-04-07\_182c

The difference between these two forms is significant in the following expressions which are presumably formed on the root **tazo** *one*.

- (90) a. **pti** √**atázo** *be on the level* (intransitive verb)  
 b. **pte** √**atázo** *make level* (transitive verb)