

19. Derived verb subcategorization

Verb stems that are related to morphologically simpler stems are considered in this chapter.¹ §19.1 discusses intransitive verbs that are built on transitive roots; the derived verbs omit the direct object. §19.2 mentions a few verbs that are formed on nominal bases. §19.3 discusses verbs built on nominal bases where the derived verb indicates having or putting on item referred to by the noun. §19.3.4 looks at the rare kinship verbs. §19.4 presents verbs which include an experiencer-subject in their argument structure. §19.5 examines causative verbs, §19.6 assistive verbs, and §19.7 the less common so-called benefactive verbs. Some miscellaneous derived verbs are presented in §19.8. The allomorphy of the prefixes for causatives and assistives is presented in §19.10, and the morphology for the times/raising verbs in §19.11. Finally, some unusual examples of dative and antidative morphology are presented in §19.12.

19.1 Unspecified object verbs

The great majority of transitive predicates may appear, in some way, in two intransitive constructions. The first is a passive clause (see §9.2.2), in which case the verb is inflected with passive morphology (§17.1.5). The second construction is one in which the expected patient/direct object does not appear, and in this case the verb is generally inflected with unspecified object morphology (described in §19.1.1).

When an unspecified object stem is used, the patient/direct object cannot be expressed syntactically (although it is implied, of course); the verb is inflected as an intransitive verb. Compare the simple transitive clause in (1a) with the simple — but entirely typical — unspecified object clause in (1b).

- (1) a. **Zixcám hipcom ihstíin** **aha.** stem = √**tiin**
 fish PX-HZ 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-cut.in.strips AUX-DCL
 ‘Cortaré este pescado en tiras.’
I will cut this fish into strips. RMH_05-17-08_277
- b. **Poyáam ta, hpsotíin** **aha.** stem = √**otíin**
 IR.DP-later DS 1SS.IN-IR.ID-UO-cut.in.strips AUX-DCL
 ‘Más tarde cortaré en tiras.’
Later I will cut into strips. RMH_05-17-08_278

The absolute unacceptability of the presence of a patient/direct object with these unspecified

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all of the verbs presented here are included as main entries in the 2005 dictionary. Passive verbs, which do not have main entry status in the dictionary, are treated in the chapter on inflection, §17.1.5.

object verbs is illustrated by the sentences in (2)-(3) which contrast the transitive basic verb in the (a) examples with the intransitive unspecified object verb in the (b) examples.

- (2) a. **¿Áz -ya itáhitim?**
 what? QM 3:3-RL-eat-IMPf
 ‘¿Qué está comiendo?’
What is s/he/it eating? RMH_08-24-07_78
- b. * **¿Áz -ya toohitim?**
 what? QM RL-UO-eat-IMPf
 (‘¿Qué está comiendo?’)
(What is s/he/it eating?)
- (3) a. **Haas quih cöootij quih insíifmoj aha.**
 mesquite the.FL 3IO-SN-dry the.FL 2sS-IR.ID-gather.firewood AUX-DCL
 ‘Debes recoger leña de mezquite seco.’
You should collect dry mesquite firewood. RMH_08-04-07_54
- b. * **Haas quih cöootij quih insóofmoj aha.**
 mesquite the.FL 3IO-SN-dry the.FL 2sS-IR.ID-UO-gather.firewood AUX-DCL
 (‘Debes recoger leña de mezquite seco.’)
(You should collect dry mesquite firewood.)

There is no way to include the patient nominal in these unspecified object clauses.

By all known tests (Appendix C), the unspecified object clauses are morphologically intransitive. These facts are briefly reviewed here. First, the intransitive allomorph **hp-** of the first person singular subject prefix (§17.1.2.1) occurs, as in (4a). Second, the intransitive allomorph **ica-** of the infinitive prefix (§17.2.1) occurs, as in (4b).

- (4) a. **Ihpmóohitim.**
 1sS.IN-PX-UO-eat-IMPf
 ‘Estoy comiendo.’
I am eating. RMH_08-04-07_55a
- b. **Icóohit ihmíimzo.**
 INF.IN-UO-eat 1sS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero comer.’
I want to eat. RMH_08-04-07_55b

Third, the intransitive allomorph \emptyset -_{Abl} of the second person imperative prefix (§17.2.2) occurs, as in (5a). Fourth, the intransitive allomorph **y-**_{Abl} of the action/oblique nominalizer (§14.4) occurs, as in (5b).

- (5) a. **¡Afmoj!**
 IM-UO-gather.firewood
 ‘¡Recoge leña!’ RMH_08-04-07_56a
Gather firewood!
- b. **Inyáfmoj ihmíimzo.**
 2P-AON-UO-gather.firewood 1sS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero que recojas leña.’
I want you to gather firewood. RMH_08-04-07_56b

Fifth, the rule coalescing **o**’s in finally intransitive clauses (§27.2.2) applies, as in (6a). Sixth, the intransitive allomorph **ca-** of the first person singular emphatic prefix (§17.1.2.1) occurs, as in (6b).

- (6) a. **¡Xöahitim!** b. **Hatéé somçóop aha.**
 EM-UO-eat-IMPF 1RESTR IR.ID-N-1EM.X-sew.basket AUX-DCL
 ‘¡Está comiendo!’ ‘YO no voy a hacer canasta.’ RMH_08-04-07_57b
S/he’s eating! RMH_08-04-07_57a *As for me, I’m not going to sew basket.*

Seventh, these clauses may have an unspecified final subject (§17.1.5), as in (7).

- (7) **Pomçóohit x, somcáaixaj aha.**
 IR.DP-N-US-UO-eat UT IR.ID-N-US-strong AUX-DCL
 ‘Si uno no come, ...’
If one does not eat, one will not be strong. RMH_08-04-07_58

Eighth, the 3:3 morpheme *i-* (§17.1.2.1) does *not* occur in these clauses, as shown in (8a-b).

- (8) a. **¡Toohitim?** b. * **¡Itóohitim?**
 RL-UO-eat-IMPF 3:3-RL-UO-eat-IMPF
 ‘¡Está comiendo?’ (‘¡Está comiendo?’)
Is s/he eating? RMH_08-04-07_59 (*Is s/he eating?*)

19.1.1 Unspecified object morphology

Unspecified object morphology only appears on underived stems. Therefore other kinds of verbs described in this chapter (denominal verbs and causative verbs, for example) do not have any *overt* unspecified object morphology although they may be used in clauses with an unspecified direct object. The prototypical schema is the one shown in (9).

(9)	Transitive verb stem	Unspecified object verb stem
	[X]	[_{Abl} [X]]
	Agent/Experiencer Patient	Agent/Experiencer
	Subject Direct Object	Subject

Some simple pairs of verbs are given in (10), giving only the uninflected singular stems.

- (10) Transitive stem Unspecified object stem
- a. **a-initial roots**
- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| √ ahit | √ oohit | <i>eat</i> |
| √ afmoj | √ oofmoj | <i>gather firewood</i> |
| √ am | √ oom | <i>swallow</i> |
| √ ap | √ oop | <i>sew basket</i> |
- b. **e-initial roots**
- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| √ emen | √ oomen | <i>shake from side to side</i> |
| √ epeza | √ oopeza | <i>lick lips</i> |

d.	i-initial roots		
	√ic	√eec	<i>plant, cultivate</i>
	√imox	√eemox	<i>butcher</i>
	√imt	√eemt	<i>rub</i>
	√inj	√eenj	<i>yell at</i>
	√ip	√eep	<i>straighten</i>
	√ipjc	√eepjc	<i>grab</i>
	√iptim	√eeptim	<i>pick (plants)</i>
	√is	√ees	<i>miss (like a shot)</i>
	√isxö	√eesxö	<i>hide</i>
	√izi	√eezi	<i>defeat</i>
e.	ii-initial roots		
	√iip	√eep	<i>carry on head</i>
f.	oo-initial roots		
	√oocta	√oaacta	<i>watch</i>
	√ooi	√oaai	<i>delouse</i>
g.	Consonant-initial roots		
	√caa	√ocaa	<i>look for</i>
	√cazni	√ocazni	<i>bite [like snake]</i>
	√moozi	√omoozi	<i>dream</i>
	√nip	√oníp	<i>hit (with hand)</i>
	√sanj	√osanj	<i>carry on back</i>
	√tam	√otám	<i>harvest eelgrass</i>
	√tis	√otís	<i>point at</i>

Apparently all verbs with roots beginning with **aa** and **ee** have unspecified object stems that are identical to the transitive stems.

(11)	a.	√aa	√aa	<i>hold</i>
	b.	√aai	√aai	<i>make</i>
	c.	√aaa	√aaa	<i>call (by voice or by signalling)</i>
	d.	√aaco	√aaco	<i>build house</i>
	e.	√aaisx	√aaisx	<i>wash</i>
	f.	√aao	√aao	<i>pass by (a place)</i>
	g.	√eet	√eet	<i>contradict, argue</i>

A few other basic verbs exceptionally have unspecified object stems that also are identical to the transitive stems.

(12)	a.	√âaij	√âaij	<i>fetch water</i>
	b.	√amjö	√amjö	<i>hunt</i>
	c.	√atajc	√atajc	<i>vomit</i>

d.	√ <i>eque</i>	√ <i>eque</i>	<i>give as a gift</i>
e.	√ <i>iimosim</i>	√ <i>iimosim</i>	<i>ask for (food)</i>
f.	√ <i>iiquet</i>	√ <i>iiquet</i>	<i>be pregnant with</i>
g.	√ <i>itat</i>	√ <i>itat</i>	<i>collect limberbush</i>

A few verbs have unspecified object stems that do not match any of the patterns shown above. Some of these have an **o** or **oco** in the derived stem.²

(13)	a.	√ <i>âaom</i>	√ <i>aaom</i>	<i>beg for</i>
	b.	(irregular)	√ <i>aa</i>	<i>grind</i>
	c.	√ <i>ah</i>	√ <i>oaah</i>	<i>put, cause, say</i>
	d.	√ <i>acö</i>	√ <i>oicö</i>	<i>kill</i>
	e.	√ <i>Cim</i>	√ <i>oiimtim</i> ³	<i>throw stones at</i>
	f.	√ <i>aaal</i> ⁴	√ <i>ocooal</i>	<i>order to do</i>
	g.	√ <i>aho</i>	√ <i>ocoho</i>	<i>see</i>
	h.	√ <i>ap</i>	√ <i>ocóp</i>	<i>sting</i>
	i.	√ <i>âaix</i>	√ <i>ocooix</i>	<i>win (a race)</i>

19.1.2 Unspecified object verb with addressee as direct object

The verb √*âaom*⁵ *beg, ask for (a gift)* is a simple transitive verb that subcategorizes for a direct object that is the item being requested; see §18.5.5 for more details. This transitive verb has its expected unspecified object counterpart that is √*aaom* — different from the transitive stem in that the unspecified-object stem has a simple long vowel **aa** and thus conjugates differently (see §27.4). With the unspecified object stem, the gift that is being requested cannot be mentioned. It is intransitive in its simplest usage.

(14)	Moxíma quih hpyaaom.
	yesterday the.FL 1SS.IN-DT-UO.beg
	‘Ayer yo mendigaba.’
	<i>I was begging yesterday.</i> (DS2008, caaom) RMH_08-04-07_60a

This derived verb is unusual in that it allows for the expression of the addressee, but the

² The intransitive stem √*ocösi* *bite and suck* (like mosquitos) is apparently derived at least historically from the root √*asi* *drink* on the same pattern.

³ This stem is unusual in that it (apparently) has a long **i** whereas the transitive root has a short one, and in its (apparent) obligatory use of the IMPF suffix **-tim**. Otherwise the form is what is expected for a verb root that begins with the empty consonant (see §27.5).

⁴ This root is unusual in that the first vowel is a short **a**, as evidenced by its conjugation pattern: *iyóaal s/he ordered him/her*.

⁵ The circumflex with √*âaom* is meant to indicate that this diphthong-initial verb conjugates like it begins with a short vowel (see §27.4 for details on the diphthong issue); the lack of circumflex on the stem √*aaom* is meant to indicate that this verb conjugates like it begins with a long vowel.

addressee is always presented as direct object in this situation.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (15) | $\sqrt{\text{aaom}}$ | Semantics: | Agent | (Addressee) |
| | <i>ask for gift</i> | Syntax: | Subject | (Direct Object) |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----------------|----|---|----------------|
| (16) | a. | Hin | yaaomj. | b. | Hizi | yaaomj. |
| | | 1sDO | DT-UO.beg-PL | | 1pDO | DT-UO.beg-PL |
| | | ‘Me mendigaban.’ <small>RMH_08-04-07_60b</small> | | | ‘Nos mendigaban.’ <small>RMH_08-04-07_60c</small> | |
| | | <i>They were begging from me.</i> | | | <i>They were begging from us.</i> | |

The examples in (17) are meant to illustrate that alternative morphology (indirect object inflection in (17a), postpositional marking in (17b)) are not possible with the unspecified object verb $\sqrt{\text{aaom}}$ *beg*.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----------------|----|---------------|----------------|
| (17) | a. | * He | yaaomj. | b. | * Hiti | yaaomj. |
| | | 1sIO | DT-UO.beg-PL | | 1P-on | DT-UO.beg-PL |
| | | ‘(Me/nos mendigaban.)’ <i>(They were begging from me/us.)</i> | | | | |

19.1.3 Unspecified object verb with goal as direct object

The verb $\sqrt{\text{isxö}}$ is a transitive verb that means *hide* (see §18.5); the direct object is the item that is hidden. The unspecified object version of this verb, $\sqrt{\text{eesxö}}$ used with the adverb **hacx** *apart, alone*, is like the lexical reflexives discussed in §18.4.6 — no reflexive pronoun is used with it but the meaning is always that one is hiding oneself.⁶ The intransitive allomorph of the first person singular subject inflection prefix appears in (18) as expected.

- | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------|-------------|
| (18) | Hacx | ihpséesxö | aha. |
| | apart | 1sS.IN-IR.ID-UO.hide | AUX-DCL |
| | ‘Me esconderé.’ | | |
| | <i>I will hide myself.</i> <small>RMH_08-04-07_176a RMH_08-04-07_61a</small> | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| (19) | ¿Me | hacx | queesxö | -ya? |
| | 2PRO | apart | SN-UO.hide | QM |
| | ‘¿Te estás escondiendo?’ | | | |
| | <i>Are you hiding (yourself)?</i> ⁷ <small>RMH_08-04-07_61b</small> | | | |

This same verb may occur with mention of the person from whom the hiding is done, expressed as a direct object. Note in (20) the 2sDO prefix **ma** and the transitive prefix for first person singular subject **h-**.

⁶ See §19.12 for another use of the verb $\sqrt{\text{eesxö}}$.

⁷ This example also has the reading *Are you hiding yourself from him/her?*, as the discussion below explains.

- (20) **Hacx ma hseesxö aha.**
 apart 2sDO 1sS.Tr-IR.ID-UO.hide AUX-DCL
 ‘Me esconderé de ti.’
I will hide (myself) from you. (DS2005, queesxö) OP_2-07-07_54 RMH_08-04-07_62a
- (21) **¡Hacx heesxö!**
 apart IM-UO.hide
 ‘Escóndete de él/ella.’
Hide (yourself) from him/her! RMH_08-04-07_62b RMH_08-14-07_72e
- (22) **¿Hacx ihéesxö intámzo?**
 apart INF.Tr-UO.hide 2SS-RL-want
 ‘¿Quieres esconderte de él/ella?’
Do you want to hide (yourself) from him/her? RMH_08-04-07_62c RMH_08-14-07_72f
- (23) **¡Hacx ihpéesxö!**
 apart 1sDO-IM-UO.hide
 ‘¡Escóndete de mí.’
Hide (yourself) from me! RMH_08-04-07_62d RMH_08-14-07_72g

The argument which is the person from whom the hiding is done is labeled a goal in the subcategorization frame below.

(24)	hacx √ eesxö	Semantics:	Agent+Patient	(Goal)
	<i>hide oneself (from someone)</i>	Syntax:	Subject	(Direct Object)

19.1.4 Unspecified object verb with recipient as PP

The transitive verb √**izi** *defeat* also has the meaning of *earn (money)*, and its unspecified object form √**eezi** also has the meaning of *earn*.

- (25) a. Transitive
Pedro quih moxíma peez ihánl capxa iyízi.
 the.FL yesterday peso(s) 3P-AON-ten SN-three 3:3-DT-defeat/earn
 ‘Pedro ganó treinta pesos ayer.’
Pedro earned thirty pesos yesterday. RMH_08-04-07_63a
- b. Unspecified Object
Pedro quih anxö xeezi.
 the.FL INTNS 3EM-UO.defeat/earn
 ‘Pedro gana mucho.’
Pedro earns a lot. RMH_08-04-07_63b

This usage of √**eezi** is extended to mean *rent*, in which case the verb subcategorizes for a

recipient (the person to whom the item will be rented), but not for a patient.⁸ The recipient appears only with the default marking for recipient/addressees, namely the postpositions √**Vti** (on) and √**ano** (in) (see §22.3.3). (In example (27) the word for *house* appears in a separate clause and is only conceptually implied in the clause with *rent*.) The clauses are intransitive.

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------------|--|
| (26) | √ eezi
<i>rent</i> | Semantics: | Agent | Recipient | |
| | | Syntax: | Subject | PP | |
- (27) **Haaco hyaa° cop cmiique ihmáa z ano piih ta x,**
 ABS.house mine the.VT person/Seri another a 3P.in IR.DP-be.FL DS UT
iti hpseezi aha.
 3P-on 1sS.IN-IR.ID-UO.defeat/earn AUX-DCL
- ‘Voy a alquilar mi casa a otra persona.’
I am going to rent my house to someone. (More literally, Another person will live in my house, I will rent to him/her.) (DS2005, queezi) RMH_08-04-07_63c
- (28) **Mino hpscmeezi aha.**
 2P-in 1sS.IN-IR.ID-N-UO.defeat/earn AUX-DCL
 ‘No alquilaré a ustedes.’
I won’t rent to you (pl.) RMH_08-04-07_64

19.1.5 Special cases

The (transitive) verbs √**inim splash** and √**aatajqum insult** subcategorize for a patient (see §18.6), where the patient in question is the person or item receiving the splash or hearing the insult. If the patient is plural, these verbs cannot be used. In the situation that a plural patient is to be expressed, unspecified object versions of these verb stems are used — √**eenim** and √**ocótajquim**, respectively, and the plural patient appears with the postposition √**ano** (in), the default marking in such cases. The clauses are intransitive, as evidenced by the first person singular prefix **hp-** in (31) and the lack of 3:3 **i-** in (32).

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (29) | √ eenim
<i>splash</i> | Semantics: | Agent | Patient_{pl} | Instrument |
| | | Syntax: | Subject | PP | Indirect Object |
- | | | | | | |
|------|---|------------|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (30) | √ ocótajquim
<i>utter insults</i> | Semantics: | Agent | (Patient_{pl}) | Topic |
| | | Syntax: | Subject | (PP) | Indirect Object |

⁸ One might think of this verb as meaning *earn* (from someone, especially by renting).

- (31) **Xicaquizíl° tacoi hamt pac ano cohpyéenim.**
 children MD-PL soil some 3P.in 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-UO.splash
 ‘Salpiqué tierra en esos niños.’
I threw dirt on those children. RMH_08-04-07_65a
- (32) **¿Ziix imiípla haa° cōtocótajquim?**
 deceased.person 3IO-RL-UO.insult
 ‘¿Dijo cosas difamatorias acerca de la difunta?’
Did s/he say defamatory things about the deceased? (DS2005, cōcocótajquim) RMH_08-04-07_65b
- (33) **Hino cōyacótajquim.⁹**
 1P-in 3IO-DT-UO.insult
 ‘Nos dijo cosas difamatorias acerca de él/ella.’
S/he told us defamatory things about him/her. RMH_08-04-07_65c

19.2 Simple denominal verbs

Simple intransitive verbs may be formed on simple noun roots by inflecting them for mood (§17.1.1). Few of these verbs are listed in the 2005 dictionary because they are so transparent and the process is so productive although not widely used. The general schema is given in (34).

- (34) $[[X]_N]_V$
be X
 where X is a simple (unpossessed, uninflected) noun

The noun must be a simple noun; apparently a synthetic compound (§13.5) such as **mosnípol** *leatherback sea turtle* cannot be the base in this schema. The noun **eenim** *metal* has a glottal stop before it in the derived verb: $\sqrt{\text{heenim}}$. A few examples are given here.

- (35) **¡Pomójet, hax tama!** noun = **mojet**
 IR.DP-big.horn.sheep INTNS PX-be_{Irreg}
 ‘Ojalá sea borrego cimarrón.’
I hope it's a borrego cimarrón. RMH_05-17-08_279
- (36) **Pohást x, siiscan aha.** noun = **hast**
 IR.DP-stone UT IR.ID-hard AUX-DCL
 ‘Si es una piedra, será duro.’
If it is a rock, it will be hard. RMH_05-17-08_280

⁹ A variant on this sentence is also acceptable: **Hino he yacótajquim**. This variant seems to have a double marking of the first person.

- (37) **Pohéhe x, smaaiscan aha.** noun = **hehe**
 IR.DP-plant UT IR.ID-N-hard AUX-DCL
 ‘Si es una planta / un palo, no será duro.’
If it is a plant / a stick, it won't be hard. RMH_05-17-08_281
- (38) **Yohénim.**
 DT-metal
 ‘Era metal.’
*It was metal. (*It was a knife)* RMH_05-17-08_282

A few intransitive verbs are listed in the dictionary which have this general pattern but have additional morphology and often divergent meanings. They are unusual as verbs in that they do not have non-negative subject-oriented deverbal nouns. That is, the otherwise expected forms with the **c-** prefix (SN, §14.1) of these predicates do not exist.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (39) | Noun | | Verb stem | |
| a. | cmaam | <i>woman, female</i> | $\sqrt{\text{cmaamat}}$ | <i>be short and wide</i> |
| | cmajjic | (plural) | $\sqrt{\text{cmajjic}}$ | (plural) |
| b. | ctam | <i>man, male</i> | $\sqrt{\text{ctamot}}$ | <i>be male; long and narrow</i> |
| | ctamcö | (plural) | $\sqrt{\text{ctamcö}}$ | (plural) |
| c. | cmiique | <i>person</i> | $\sqrt{\text{cmiiquet}}$ | <i>be person</i> (and other meanings) |
| | comcáac | (plural) | $\sqrt{\text{comcaac}}$ | (plural) |
| d. | comcáii | <i>old.woman</i> | $\sqrt{\text{comcaiit}}$ | <i>be old [woman]</i> |
| | comquéej | (plural) | $\sqrt{\text{comqueej}}$ | (plural) |

19.3 Denominal verbs

The lexicon includes some verbs which are composed around a noun root: denominal verbs.¹⁰ The number of such verbs in the 2005 dictionary is between 100 and 200; the exact number depends on the definition which one uses for “denominal verb”. The higher count includes the denominal verbs formed from kinship terms, such as $\sqrt{\text{icaacat}}$ *have as grandchild (her daughter's child)* which is based on the root $\sqrt{\text{caac}}$ *(her) daughter's child*. These kinship verbs are discussed separately in §19.3.4 below although they are simply a subset of the verbs discussed in this section. The higher count would also include those presented above in §19.2.

The lower count is primarily composed of verbs formed from inherently possessed nouns other than kinship terms, such as $\sqrt{\text{iteems}}$ *have beard*, which is based on the root $\sqrt{\text{teems}}$ *beard*. Many of the noun roots are body part terms, like $\sqrt{\text{teems}}$ *beard*, but others are possessed nouns that include loanwords. The common factor in all of the productive cases of denominal verb

¹⁰ See the general discussion of this topic in Gerdts & Marlett (2008). This chapter reprises Marlett (2008f).

stems appears to be a possessed noun root, regardless of its origin.

Therefore, alongside such simple nouns as **caamiz** *shirt* (see Appendix A) and **caamijoj** *shirts*, one also finds possessed nouns like **hicáamiz** *my shirt*, **hicáamijoj** *my/our shirts*, **micáamiz** *your shirt*, and **icáamijoj** *their shirts*; see §13.1.1. And besides these nouns, a verb $\sqrt{\text{icaamiz}}$ also exists, which means *have a shirt*, or *wear a shirt*, or *put on a shirt*. Two simple examples with this verb are given in (40).

- (40) a. **¿Iticáamiz?**
 3:3-RL-HAVE-shirt RMH_07-11-07_3a
 ‘¿Se la puso (una camisa)?’
 Did s/he put it (a shirt) on?
- b. **Yicáamiz.**
 DT-HAVE-shirt
 ‘Llevaba camisa.’ RMH_07-11-07_3b
 S/he was wearing a shirt.

The denominal verb is the most common way to express the relevant concept and most generally means *have X*. There may be alternative ways to express similar ideas using standard verbs and direct objects in some cases, but they are not synonymous as there is no generic kind of ‘have’ verb. An explicit verb such as $\sqrt{\text{yaa}}$ *own* indicates a more permanent possession than that expressed by the denominal verb. Also, since the verb $\sqrt{\text{yaa}}$ means *own* it does not collocate with many of the nouns on which denominal verbs are formed (namely the body part terms). The verbal expression **iti** $\sqrt{\text{ah}}$ (on put.FL) *put on (clothes)* means just that and does not mean *wear*, and thus is not synonymous with the denominal verbs based on nouns for articles of clothing.

The basic facts about the denominal verbs are quite simple. (Morphological details are presented in §19.3.3.) The prefix **i-** occurs with noun stems — mostly bound noun stems, and for the most part inherently possessed nouns. The result is a verb form that means ambiguously or vaguely *have X*, *be with X*, *wear X* (stative meanings) or *put on X*, *get X*, *use X*, *acquire X (as by making)* (active meanings). The abstract gloss HAVE is used in the examples below for the prefix **i-**. The basic schema is shown in (41), and a simple example is shown in (42). The label “possessed noun root” here is meant to identify the class of noun stems of the inherently-possessed type (primarily kinship terms and body part nouns, see §13.1.1).

- (41) $\overline{\text{Verb stem} = [[\text{i}] [\text{Possessed Noun Root}]]}$

- (42) $\sqrt{\text{iteems}}$ *have beard* = [[**i**] [**teems**]]

The denominal verb may be transitive (with an explicit or implicit direct object), or intransitive (with an unspecified direct object). The stem is identical whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, unlike what is true for most basic verbs (see §19.1); the difference in transitivity is obvious from the way the verbs conjugate.

The following examples illustrate these verbs; two have stative meanings and two have

active meanings:

- (43) Stative meaning (transitive):
Ziix cmeque zo quicápota zo toc cöimij iha.
 thing SN-warm a SN-TR-HAVE-jacket a there 3IO-SN-N-sit DCL
 ‘Nadie tenía una chaqueta cálida.’
No one was wearing (or had) a warm jacket. (More literally, There wasn’t anyone who was wearing-as-jacket a warm thing.) (Viaje_Tiburón_3) RMH_07-11-07_4a
- (44) Stative meaning (intransitive):
Comcáac xahxáii hoox oo quizil ih hamíht.
 person/Seri-PL somewhat.resembling INTNS DL SN-small-PL FOC 1PS-PX-see-PL
Mizil xo mitéemosoj, teeyo, [yoque].
 PX-small-PL but PX-HAVE-beard-PL RL-say-PL DT-US-say
 ‘‘Hemos encontrado algunas personas pequeñas. Son pequeñas pero tienen barbas,’’ dijeron, se dice.’
‘‘We have found some little people. They are little but they have beards,’’ they said, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_34-35)
- (45) Active meaning (intransitive):
Ihptaháapl, ihpmicápota.
 1S.IN-RL-feel.cold 1SSINTR-PX-HAVE.jacket
 ‘Tenía frío y me puse una chaqueta.’
I felt cold and put on a jacket. RMH_07-11-07_4c
- (46) Active meaning (ambiguous transitivity):
Haxz heeque quisil com cói imítoj ipi ha.
 dog juvenile SN-small the.HZ still SN-N-HAVE.eye-PL yet DCL
 ‘El perrito recién nacido todavía no ha abierto los ojos.’
The newborn puppy hasn’t opened its eyes yet. (DS2005, quitoj, improved) RMH_05-17-08_283
- When the verb is morphologically transitive (see below), the meaning is typically *have, use as, put on* (item). For example, $\sqrt{i-táamt}$ (HAVE-sandal(s)) would mean *use (something) as sandals* when it occurs in a transitive clause. In an intransitive clause, it typically means *have sandals on, wear sandals*, but it can also mean *put on sandals*.
- (47) Transitive
Tiix hatáamt °cmaa quiih° pac imitáamt.
 DDS ABS-sandal new some 3:3-PX-HAVE.sandal(s)
 ‘Está llevando huaraches nuevos.’
S/he is wearing new sandals. RMH_07-11-07_5b

- (48) **Ihsitáamt** **aha.**
 1SS.TR-IR.ID-HAVE-sandal(s) AUX-DCL
 ‘Me lo/los pondré (huaraches).’
I will put it/them (sandals) on. RMH_07-11-07_14d
- (49) Intransitive
Yoméésjö. **Yitáamt.**
 DT-N-barefoot DT-HAVE-sandal(s)
 ‘No estaba descalzo/a. Llevaba huaraches.’
S/he wasn’t barefoot. S/he was wearing sandals. RMH_05-17-08_284
- (50) **Hant ihtamátj,** **ihpvitáamt.**
 land 1SS.TR-RL-feel.heat 1SS.IN-DT-HAVE-sandal(s)
 ‘Porque sentí el calor de la tierra, me puse huaraches.’
Because I felt the heat of the earth, I put on sandals. RMH_07-11-07_14b
- (51) **Ihpsitáamt** **aha.**
 1SS.IN-IR.ID-HAVE-sandal(s) AUX-DCL
 ‘Me pondré huaraches.’
I will put on sandals. RMH_07-11-07_14c

19.3.1 Syntactic facts

A denominal verb in an intransitive clause usually is not making reference to a particular item. In the intransitive clauses no nominal corresponding to the item that is had or worn may appear in the clause with the verb.

- (52) **Canóaa com ano siij ta, yicápota, taháapl.**
 boat the.HZ 3P.in IR.ID-sit AUX.RL DT-HAVE-jacket RL-feel.cold
 ‘Cuando estaba por entrar en la panga, se puso la chaqueta porque tenía frío.’
When s/he was about to get in the boat, s/he put on a jacket, because s/he felt cold.
 (DS2005, quicápota) RMH_07-11-07_6a
- (53) * **Ziix zo yicápota.**
 thing a DT-HAVE-jacket
 (‘Tenía algo puesto como chaqueta.’) (*S/he was wearing something as a jacket.*)
- (54) **Siip tintica tiihi, xepe iyoyáai.**
 young.man MD-AW RL-HAVE-harpoon sea 3:3-DT-go.to
 ‘El joven tenía arpón y fue al mar.’
The young man had a harpoon and went out to sea. (DS2005, quiihi) RMH_07-11-07_7a
- (55) * **Siip tintica ticom yiihi.**
 young.man MD-AW MD-HZ DT-HAVE-harpoon
 (‘El joven tenía ése como arpón.’) (*The young man had that one as a harpoon.*)

- (56) **Haxz hizquih tiifnij, títoj, miixax.**
 dog PX.PL-FL RL-HAVE-nostril RL-HAVE-eye-PL PX-HAVE-snout
 ‘El perro tiene narices, tiene ojos, tiene hocico.’
A dog has a nose, eyes, and a snout. (HE 94, DS2005 quiiifnij) RMH_08-04-07_67

When the denominal verb is in a transitive clause (active or passive), it may have either an indefinite direct object (subject in the passive) or a definite one. If the direct object of a denominal verb is overt, it may be of a variety of forms, most of which are possible with ordinary verbs.

The direct object may be a nominal phrase with a head noun that has the same root as that which appears in the verb. This nominal may be indefinite or definite.

- (57) **Haat impóozyax,**
 limberbush 2SS-IR.DP-saw-IMPF
 [**hacalca queejim pac**] **inseáacalca aha.**
 ABS.clothing SN-old some 2SS-IR-HAVE-clothing AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando cortas torote, debes llevar ropa vieja.’ RMH_07-11-07_8a
When you are going to cut limberbush, you should wear old clothes. (DS2005, queéacalca)
- (58) **Ctam ticop [caamiz °cmaa quiih° z] itéxl, iyicáamiz.**
 man MD-VT shirt new a 3:3-RL-take 3:3-DT-HAVE-shirt
 ‘El hombre compró una camisa nueva y se la puso.’
That man bought a new shirt and put it on. (DS2005, quicáamiz) RMH_07-11-07_8b
- (59) [**Caamiz hipquih**] **insicáamiz aha.**
 shirt PX-FL 2SS-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX-DCL
 ‘Debe llevar esta camisa.’
You should wear this shirt. RMH_07-11-07_8c
- (60) **Hant impamátj x, [mitáamt quih] hitáamt.**
 land 2SS-IR.DP-feel.heat UT 2P-sandal(s) the.FL IM-HAVE.sandal(s)
 ‘Si el suelo te parece caliente, ponte los huaraches.’
If the ground seems hot to you, put on your sandals. (DS2005, quitáamt) RMH_07-11-07_8d
- (61) **Tiix Socáaix quihúzitim iha.**
 DDS Punta Chueca SN-HAVE-birthplace DCL
 ‘Nació en Punta Chueca.’
S/he was born in Punta Chueca. RMH_08-04-07_68a
- (62) **¿Zó hant -ya htiñúzitim?**
 which? place QM 1SS.TR-RL-HAVE-birthplace
 ‘¿Dónde nació?’
Where was I born? RMH_08-04-07_68b

The direct object may be a nominal phrase that has a head noun which is not cognate with the root of the denominal verb.

- (63) [**Hatáamt** **coopol** **pac**] **intipazáatoj?**¹¹
 ABS-sandal(s) SN-black some 2SS-RL-HAVE-shoe-PL
 ‘¿Tienes zapatos negros?’
Do you have black sandals? (DS2005, quipazáatoj) RMH_08-24-07_79
- (64) [**Saaco** **quih**] **imeáacalca.**
 long-sleeved.blouse the.FL 3:3-PX-HAVE-clothing
 ‘Está llevando/poniéndose una blusa con mangas largas.’
She is wearing/putting on a long-sleeved blouse. RMH_07-11-07_9b
- (65) [**Ziic** **hipquij**] **ihsíixz** **aha.**
 bird PX-CM 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-HAVE-pet AUX-DCL
 ‘Tendré este pájaro como mascota.’
I will have this bird as a pet. RMH_07-11-07_9c
- (66) ... [**hanaj** **haonam** **xah** °**hehe** **hamásij**° **xah**], **taax** **itfionatz,** ...
 raven ABS-hat CRD ceremonial.crown CRD DDP 3:3-RL-HAVE-hat-PL
 ‘... llevaban adorno de plumas y coronas ceremoniales, ...’
... they were wearing feather headdresses and wooden ceremonial headpieces, ...
 (unpublished text) RMH_08-24-07_80

The direct object of the transitive denominal verbs, like those of other verbs, may be a nominal with one of the modifiers as fused head (see §4.3). An indefinite article (§4.3.1), demonstrative (§4.3.2), adjective (§4.3.3) or deverbal noun (§4.3.4) (including those based on the number predicates) may be fused with the head in these nominals. (The ungrammatical examples which are included here demonstrate that these overt nominals cannot combine with intransitive versions of these predicates.)

- (67) [**Zo**] **hsicáamiz** **aha.**
 a/one 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX-DCL
 ‘Llevaré una (camisa).’ o ‘Me pondré una (camisa).’
I will wear one (shirt). or I will put one (shirt) on. RMH_07-11-07_11d
- (68) [**Pac**] **ihsicáamijoj** **aha.**
 some 1SS.Tr-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Llevaré algunas (camisas).’ o ‘Me pondré algunas (camisas).’
I will wear some (shirts). or I will put some (shirts) on. RMH_07-11-07_11e

¹¹ The clash between the root of the the denominal verb and the root of the direct object noun in this example that makes it less acceptable for some speakers. The singular form **coopol** is entirely appropriate, however.

- (69) a. [**Hipquih**] **hsicáamiz** **aha.**
 PX-FL 1sS.TR-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX-DCL
- b. * [**Hipquih**] **hpsicáamiz** **aha.**
 PX.FL 1sS.IN-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX-DCL
- ‘Llevaré ésta (camisa).’ o ‘Me pondré esta (camisa).’
I will wear this one (shirt). or I will put this one (shirt) on. RMH_07-11-07_11c
- (70) [**Tazo**] **hvicáamiz.** (71) [**Tazo**] **iyitáamt.**
 one 1sS.TR-DT-HAVE-shirt one 3:3-DT-HAVE-sandal(s)
 ‘Yo estaba llevando UNA camisa.’ ‘Se puso UN huarache.’ RMH_07-11-07_14f
I was wearing ONE shirt. RMH_07-11-07_10b *I was wearing ONE sandal.*
- (72) a. [**Coocj quih**] **hyomicáamijoj.**
 SN-two the.FL 1sS.TR-DT-N-HAVE-shirt-PL
- b. * [**Coocj quih**] **hpyomicáamijoj.**
 SN-two the.FL 1sS.IN-DT-N-HAVE-shirt-PL
- ‘No estaba llevando dos camisas.’
I was not wearing two shirts. RMH_07-11-07_10a
- (73) [**Coocj**] **-ya ntitróoquij?**
 SN-two QM 2sS-RL-HAVE-vehicle-PL
 ‘¿Tienes dos vehículos?’
Do you own two vehicles? RMH_07-11-07_10c
- (74) **Me [coocj] sitróoquij quee -ya?**
 2PRO SN-two IR.ID-HAVE-vehicle-PL AUX.SN QM
 ‘¿Tendrás dos vehículos?’
Will you own two vehicles? RMH_07-11-07_10d
- (75) [**Cheel zo**] **hyomicáamiz.**
 SN-red a 1sS.TR-DT-N-HAVE-shirt
 ‘No estoy llevando una camisa roja.’
I’m not wearing a red shirt. RMH_07-11-07_11a
- (76) **Ziix [cmeque zo]¹² quicápota zo toc cöimíj iha.**
 thing SN-warm a SN-TR-HAVE-jacket a there 3IO-SN-N-sit DCL
 ‘Nadie llevaba una chaqueta cálida.’
No one was wearing a warm jacket. (Viaje_Tiburón_3) XMH_07-11-07-7b

¹² The word **ziix** in this example could potentially be taken as the head of the object DP rather than the subject DP.

- (77) [**Hizcoi**] **hsitáamt** **aha.**
 PX-PL 1SS.TR-IR.ID-HAVE- sandal(s) AUX-DCL
 ‘Me pondré éstos (huaraches). o Llevaré éstos (huaraches).’
I will put these (sandals) on. or I will wear these (sandals). RMH_07-11-07_14e

A definite article does *not* fuse with the empty head to form a DP (§4.3) and therefore there are no cases of direct objects of denominal verbs that consist of solely a definite article.

- (78) a. * [**Quih**] **hyomicámiz.** b. * [**Quih**] **hpyomicámiz.**
 the.FL 1SS.TR-DT-N-HAVE-shirt the.FL 1SS.IN-DT-N-HAVE-shirt
 (‘No estoy llevando la camisa.’) (*I’m not wearing the shirt.*)

The intensifying adverb **anxö** easily modifies an intransitive denominal verb, although the translation may require a direct object. The intransitivity of the construction is overtly indicated in (80) by the allomorph **hp-** of the first person singular subject inflection.

- (79) **Anxö quitáast** **iha.** (80) **He anxö ihptitáast?**
 INTNS SN-HAVE-tooth DCL 1PRO INTNS 1SS.IN-RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘Tiene muchos dientes.’ ‘¿Tengo muchos dientes?’
S/he/it has a lot of teeth. RMH_07-11-07_13q *Do I have a lot of teeth?* RMH_07-11-07_13r

19.3.1.1 Direct object with material noun

One kind of direct object is apparently unique with the denominal verb. Recall that a noun may be modified by a preceding noun phrase that indicates the material of which the second noun (the head noun) consists (§8.2.1). So **mooj poosj** (*cotton rope*) means *cotton rope*. The direct object of a denominal verb can be a noun that is understood as modifying the noun root of a transitive denominal verb. This kind of object cannot be used with intransitive versions of the denominal verbs.

- (81) [**Hooro**] **quitáast** **iha.**
 gold SN-HAVE-tooth DCL
 ‘Tiene diente(s) de oro.’
S/he has a gold tooth/teeth. RMH_07-11-07_12a
- (82) a. ¿[**Hooro**] **htitáast?** b. * ¿**Hooro hptitáast?**
 gold 1SS.TR-RL-HAVE-tooth gold 1SS.IN-RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘¿Tengo diente(s) de oro?’
Do I have a gold tooth/teeth? RMH_07-11-07_12b
- (83) a. [**Hooro**] **ititáast?** b. * ¿**Hooro titáast?**
 gold 3:3-RL-HAVE-tooth gold RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘¿Tiene diente(s) de oro?’
Does s/he have a gold tooth/teeth? RMH_07-11-07_12c

- (84) [**Eenim ih**] **ititáamt,** **yoque.**
 metal FOC 3:3-RL-HAVE-sandal(s) DT-US-say
 ‘Llevaba huaraches de metal, se dice.’
He wore metal sandals, it is said. (Apostador_31) RMH_07-11-07_12d
- (85) ¿ [**Ziic ina ih**] **iticáamiz?**
 bird 3P-feather FOC 3:3-RL-HAVE-shirt
 ‘¿Se puso (o, llevaba) una camisa de plumas?’
Did s/he put on (or, was s/he wearing) a feather shirt? RMH_07-11-07_14g

Such direct objects cannot be used with typical verbs for the intended readings, as shown in (86)-(89). A suitable substitution requires a nominal that includes a copular verb, as shown in (90).

- (86) * [**Hatéeya**] **ano hpsoosi aha.**
 glass 3P.in 1SS.IN-IR.ID-UO-drink AUX-DCL
 (‘Tomaré de el de vidrio.’) (*I will drink from the glass one.*)
- (87) [**Hooro quih**] **hyooho.**
 gold the.FL 1SS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Vi el oro.’ (No significa ‘Vi el de oro.’)
I saw the gold. (Doesn’t mean *I saw the gold one.*) RMH_07-11-07_14i
- (88) [**Eenim ih**] **itéxl ...**
 metal FOC 3:3-RL-take
 ‘Llevó el metal/cuchillo.’ (No significa ‘Llevó el de metal.’)
S/he took the metal/knife. (Does not mean *S/he took the metal one.*) RMH_07-11-07_14h
- (89) ?* [**Ziic ina ih**] **iti hsiih aha.**
 bird 3P-feather FOC 3P-on 1SS.TR-IR.ID-put.FL AUX-DCL
 (‘Me pondré una de plumas.’) (*I will put on a feather one.*)
- (90) [**Hatéeya quih chaa quij**] **ano hpsoosi aha.**
 glass the.FL SN-EQ the.CM 3P.in 1SS.IN-IR.ID-UO-drink AUX-DCL
 ‘Tomaré de el de vidrio.’
I will drink from the glass one. RMH_07-11-07_13a

In working to verify this, consultants offered and confirmed the following as grammatical examples. These require careful explanation. (The free translations do not necessarily represent the structure of the sentence, of course.) First, they are clearly intransitive (note the allomorph **hp-** of the first person subject inflection). Second, they have NPs that are not the subject. It is crucial to notice the third person indirect object inflection **co-** on the verb in (91) and the second person indirect object inflection **me** on the verb in (92).

- (91) **Juan quih cohpxitróoqui.**
 Juan the.FL 3IO-1SS.IN-EM-HAVE-vehicle
 ‘Tengo un vehículo como el de Juan.’
I have a vehicle like John’s! RMH_07-11-07_13b

- (92) **¿Me hptitróoqui?**
 2IO 1SS.IN-RL-HAVE-vehicle
 ‘¿Tengo un vehículo como el tuyo?’
Do I have a vehicle like yours? RMH_07-11-07_13c

These sentences are similar to those found with simple verbs where an oblique object of comparison is included (§2.4). They may even be a bit more complicated: an oblique object of comparison is present as well as a NP of material.

- (93) **Ctam, tiix hooro cohptitáast?**
 man DDS gold 3IO-1SS.IN-RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘¿Tengo un diente de oro como ese hombre tiene?’
Do I have a gold tooth like that man has? RMH_07-11-07_13d

The translation of the preceding example is important: the speaker is comparing the fact that s/he has gold dental work like the man in question has some kind of gold dental work. Nevertheless, transitive examples such as the following are also possible. As these examples were explained, the comparison here is much more explicit and direct: the gold dental work of the speaker and the man are being compared.

- (94) **Ctam, tiix hooro cohtitáast?**
 man DDS gold 3IO-1SS.TR-RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘¿Tengo diente de oro como el de ese hombre.’
Do I have a gold tooth like that man’s? RMH_07-11-07_13e
- (95) **Ctam, tiix hooro cöixitáast.**
 man DDS gold 3IO-OM-RL-HAVE-tooth
 ‘Tiene un diente de oro como el de ese hombre.’
S/he has a gold tooth like that man’s. RMH_07-11-07_13f

19.3.2 Anaphora

19.3.2.1 Clauses with denominal verbs referring to an established referent

Not surprisingly, the transitive denominal verb may have a pronominalized (and hence non-overt) direct object that refers to a previously introduced nominal.

- (96) **Xaláa heecto pac haa yaii tax,**
 cactus.wren juvenile-PL some there DT-be.FL.PL SBRD

[z]_i **itámje,** Ø_i **iyíixz,** **zixquisíil°** **ticap.**
 a/one 3:3-RL-bring 3:3-DT-HAVE-pet child MD-VT

‘Esa niña trajo una de las matracas chiquitas que estaban allí y la domesticó.’
Some little cactus wrens were there (and) that child brought one and had it as a pet.

(DS2005, quixz) RMH_07-11-07_13g

- (97) [**Caamiz** °**cmaa quiih°** **hipquih**]_i **me hmacóxetol,**
 shirt new PX-FL 2IO 1SS.TR-PX-buy.for
 Ø_i **insicáamiz** **ta** **ma.**
 2SS-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX.RL DS

‘Compré esta camisa nueva para ti para que la lleves.’

I bought this new shirt for you to wear. RMH_07-11-07_13h

The denominal verb in example (97) is ambiguous in its transitivity, but apparently the denominal verb may be either transitive or intransitive in similar contexts (although the translations offered are not identical), as the following unambiguous examples show.

- (98) a. Transitive
 Ø_i **He yacóxetol,** Ø_i **ihsicáamiz** **ta** **ma.**
 1IO DT-buy.for 1SS.TR-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX.RL DS
 ‘Me la compró para que la llevara.’
S/he bought it for me, so that I would wear it. RMH_07-11-07_13i
- b. Intransitive
 Ø **He yacóxetol,** **ihpsicáamiz** **ta** **ma.**
 1IO DT-buy.for 1SS.IN-IR.ID-HAVE-shirt AUX.RL DS
 ‘Me la compró para que yo tuviera una camisa.’
S/he bought it for me, so that I would have a shirt. RMH_07-11-07_13j

In (99) the denominal verb is passivized.

- (99) [**Hatáamt** **quiifazim**]_i **quih hyomquéepe;**
 ABS-sandal(s) SN-make.snapping.sound.IMPF the.FL 1SS.TR-DT-N-like
 Ø_i **tahtáamt** **ma x,**
 RL-PV-HAVE.sandal(s)DS UT
hanso tiifazim **ma x, xomiipla.**
 just RL-make.snapping.sound-IMPF DS UT EM-bad

‘No me gustan las hawaianas; cuando se llevan, hacen un sonido desagradable.’

I don't like flip flops; when they are worn, they make an unpleasant snapping

sound. (DS2005, hatáamt) RMH_07-11-07-7c

Piixa **ta x, pac iti caaom. Sasyoj.**
 IR.DP-HAVE-water DS UT some 3P-on IM-beg IR.ID-1EM.S.TR-drink-PL

‘Vete a ese mexicano no indígena para ver si tiene agua. Si tiene agua, pídesela. Bebámosla.’

Go over to that non-Indian Mexican to see if s/he has any water. If s/he has water, ask her/him for some. Let’s drink it. RMH_07-11-07_13p

- (106) **liztox** **quipxa poome ta x, sitáast aha.**
 3P-moon/month-PL SN-few IR.DP-end DS UT IR.ID-HAVE-tooth AUX-DCL
 ‘Dentro de pocos meses tendrá dientes.’
In a few months she will have teeth. RMH_08-24-07_81

- (107) **lhptemicsáa,** **ma htemahásaquim ma,**
 1SS.IN-RL-N-HAVE-brush 2SDO 1SS.TR-RL-N-brush.someone DS

milít **quij mozázni.**
 2P-hair/head the.CM PX-tangled

‘No tengo cepillo y no puedo cepillarte, tu cabello está desarreglado.’

I don’t have a brush, I can’t brush your hair, your hair is messed up. RMH_07-11-07_13q

- (108) **He ziix z imíime** **ha. ¿Ziix zo ntemiime?**
 1PRO thing a SN-N-HAVE-home DCL thing a 2SS-RL-N-HAVE-home
 ‘No tengo casa. ¿No tienes tú?’
I don’t have a house. Don’t you have one? RMH_08-04-07_69

- (109) **Zixquisíil° quih hax imít** **oo cõquih iha.**
 child the.FL INTNS SN-N-HAVE-head.louse-PL DL 3IO-SN-be.FL DCL
 ‘El niño/ La niña tiene pocos piojos.’
The child has very few head lice. (DS2005, hax) RMH_08-04-07_70

19.3.3 Morphology of denominal verbs

A denominal verb stem consists of a root preceded by a verbalizer **i-**, as shown in (41) above. In a few cases, the denominal verb (unpredictably, so far as is known) also requires a suffix such as **-t** (unknown meaning, perhaps an allomorph of **-ot**, see note 66 in §19.7), or has irregular stem changes (change in vowel, inclusion of a vowel). These facts would indicate, it seems, that this word formation rule is quite old. Some of these irregular stems are presented in (110).

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (110) | Noun root | Verb stem | |
| a. | √ taasi | √ itaasit | <i>have name</i> |
| b. | √ csaai | √ icsaa | <i>have brush</i> |
| c. | √ lit | √ iliti | <i>have long hair</i> |
| d. | √ scam | √ iscama | <i>have reed boat</i> |
| e. | √ sxap | √ isxapa | <i>have crown of head</i> |
| f. | √ sliic | √ isliiqui | <i>be left-handed</i> |

g.	√ xaai ¹³	√ ixaa	<i>have roots</i>
h.	√ yeen	√ yeeno	<i>have face</i>
i.	√ VVf	√ iifa	<i>have nose</i>
j.	√ Vx	√ iixa	<i>have water</i>
k.	√ Vstalca ¹⁴	√ ihístalca	<i>have leaves, ruffles</i>

While the formation of denominal verbs seems to be productive, it is limited by the fact that the eligible roots must be bound nominal roots — such as body part noun roots, personal items, and kinship terms. A few verbs appear to have free noun stems, but such derivation is not productive and is semantically unpredictable. None of the examples of denominal verbs that have been recorded or elicited is a complex noun stem (compound or derived noun), and none is a name.

Denominal verb stems indicate subject number inflection as do common verbs. But they may commonly indicate the number of the items “had”, and the same kind of ambiguity may arise with them as does with possessed nouns (§13.2.2). See the stems in (111).

(111)	Singular subject, singular item	Singular subject, plural item	Plural subject typically plural item	
a.	√ eenim	√ eenitzoj	√ eenitzoj	<i>have knife</i>
b.	√ icáamiz	√ icáamijoj	√ icáamijoj	<i>have shirt</i>
c.	√ itaast	√ itaast	√ itaasatj	<i>have tooth</i>
d.	√ itaamt	√ itaamt	√ itaamatj	<i>have sandal</i>
e.	√ iionam	√ iionatz ¹⁵	√ iionatz	<i>have hat</i>
f.		√ iit	√ eaatj	<i>have head lice</i> ¹⁶

19.3.3.1 Allomorphy

The morpheme that derives denominal verb stems from noun roots with the meaning HAVE is quite evidently **i-**. This is seen most clearly with consonant-initial roots, as in (112).

(112)	Examples of denominal verb formation on consonant-initial roots		
	Noun root	Verb stem	
a.	√ caamiz	√ icaamiz	<i>wear shirt</i>
b.	√ cápota	√ icápota	<i>wear jacket</i>
c.	√ hmiiha	√ ihmiiha	<i>leave footprints</i>
d.	√ mazaj	√ imazaj	<i>have clay pot</i>
e.	√ mcanoín	√ imcanoín	<i>have pot (especially of metal)</i>

¹³ The plural noun stem is √**xaaiçoj**; note that the derived verb has a distinct shape.

¹⁴ This is a plural noun stem.

¹⁵ The stem √**iionam** may also be used here.

¹⁶ The singular root for *louse* is √**vi**.

f.	√naail	√inaail ¹⁷	<i>have skin</i>
g.	√neezj	√ineezj	<i>have scales</i>
h.	√nlaz	√inláz	<i>have fingers</i>
i.	√nooslca	√inooslca	<i>have fingernails, claws</i>
j.	√pazaatoj	√ipazaatoj	<i>have shoes</i>
k.	√pnaail	√ipnaail	<i>have skirt</i>
l.	√quejöc	√iquejöc	<i>have firewood</i>
m.	√sllaazil	√isllaazil	<i>have shoulders</i>
n.	√sxap	√isxáp	<i>have crown of head</i>
o.	√taamt	√ítaamt	<i>have sandals</i>
p.	√taast	√ítaast	<i>have tooth, teeth</i>
q.	√táamalca	√ítáamalca	<i>have horns</i>
r.	√teel	√íteel	<i>have edge</i>
s.	√teen	√íteen	<i>have mouth</i>
t.	√teems	√íteems	<i>have beard</i>
u.	√toaa	√ítóaa	<i>have skin</i>
v.	√tom	√ítóm	<i>have money</i>
w.	√yaacni	√yaacni	<i>have weapon (bow or gun)</i>
x.	√yanopj	√yanopj	<i>have hoof, fist</i>

This prefix, unlike the 3:3 prefix that occurs in subject-oriented deverbal nouns (§17.1.2.1), does not delete before an ordinary consonant, obviously. But like that morpheme and also like the final or only *i* of the possessive prefixes, it deletes (or is absent) before *y* and before the (rare) explicit vowel-initial roots (such as √*eenim* *have knife* from the root √*eenim* *knife*).

The prefix is either short or long when used in combination with V and VV-initial roots, respectively; see the examples in (113) and (114). It has the allomorph *e* when it occurs before *a*, as it does in have/wear clothing: √*eáacalca*.

(113) Examples of denominal verb formation on short vowel-initial roots

	Noun root	Verb stem	
a.	√Vcalca	√eáacalca	<i>clothing</i>
b.	√Vhic	√ihic	<i>seed</i>
c.	√Vleca	√ileca	<i>drool</i>
d.	√Vmas	√imas	<i>pubic hair</i>
e.	√Vmjö	√imjö	<i>anus</i>
f.	√Vms	√ims	<i>gill(s)</i>
g.	√Vmt	√imt	<i>breast</i>
h.	√Vna	√ina	<i>fur</i>
i.	√Vnl	√inl	<i>hands</i>
j.	√Vnol	√inol	<i>hand and arm</i>

¹⁷ This verb stem also means *be empty*.

k.	√V pij	√ ipij	<i>lower leg</i>
l.	√V sc	√ isc	<i>body lice</i>
m.	√V selca	√ iselca	<i>wings</i>
n.	√V sloj	√ isloj	<i>outer ears</i>
o.	√V tac	√ itac	<i>bone</i>
p.	√V tj	√ itj	<i>trunk of body</i>
q.	√V tc	√ itc	<i>scrotum and testicles</i>
r.	√V toj	√ itoj	<i>eyes</i>
s.	√V tox	√ itox	<i>tears</i>
t.	√V ts	√ its	<i>umbilical cord</i>

(114) Examples of denominal verb formation on long vowel-initial roots

	Noun root	Verb stem	
a.	√VV sj	√ iisj	<i>basket</i>
b.	√V xz	√ iixz	<i>pet</i>
c.	√V txi	√ itxi	<i>intestinal gas</i>
d.	√VV hi	√ iihi	<i>harpoon for turtles</i>
e.	√VV fnij	√ iifnij	<i>nostril</i>
f.	√VV me	√ iime	<i>home</i>
g.	√VV onam	√ iionam	<i>hat</i>
h.	√VV p	√ iipa	<i>tail</i>
i.	√VV t	√ iit	<i>lice</i>
j.	√VV xax	√ iixax	<i>snout</i>

In a transitive infinitive, the **i** is replaced by or changed to **a**; thus **ihacáamiz** (INF.TR-HAVE-shirt) *to wear it (shirt)*, as in (101). The presumed underlying form is {**iha**_{AbI}-**i-caamiz**}, where the typical pattern is for that particular infinitive prefix to change the quality of the following vowel and for the first vowel (the **a**) to delete; see §17.2.1. The intransitive infinitive does not have this ablauting characteristic and the infinitive is as expected: **iquicáamiz** from underlying {**ica-i-caamiz**} (INF.IN-HAVE-shirt).

The prefix **i-** (HAVE) is also phonetically absent when the denominal verb is passivized.¹⁸

¹⁸ It might be argued that the prefix **i-** does occur underlyingly, however, since the passive prefix has two completely regular suppletive allomorphs: **p-** before vowel-initial roots, and **ah-** elsewhere, including before consonant-initial roots and vowel-initial prefixes (Marlett 1981b). The fact that the allomorph **ah-** occurs in the passive form of **-itáamt** *have sandals* is uninteresting perhaps, as we expect **ah-** before vowel-initial prefixes as well as consonants; it's just matter of accounting for the absence of the **i-**. The passive form of **-eenim** *have knife* is more interesting: the fact that the same allomorph **ah-** occurs in the passive form of this verb follows directly if the verb stem is **-[i [eenim]]**. If the base to which passive is applied were **[eenim]**, one would incorrectly expect **p-**. Alternatively, one might claim that the denominal stem is **v[_N [eenim]]** and that the correct generalization is that **p-** occurs before vowel-initial *verb roots*, and **ah-** elsewhere. The allomorph **ah-** occurs at the beginning of a verb *stem* and at the beginning of a *noun* root, but not at the beginning of a verb root.

(115)	Active stem	Passive stem	
a.	√ itaamt	√ ahtaamt	<i>have sandal(s)</i>
b.	√ eenim	√ aheenim	<i>have knife</i>

The denominal verbs may have causative forms. For example, √**itaasi** *have name* has a causative counterpart √**atáasitot** *give name to*. These forms are discussed in §19.5.7.

A few verbs are similar to the denominal verbs based on possessed nouns in that they have the vowel **i** before a noun root, but the noun base of these is an independent noun. Some of these have fairly predictable meanings based on the productive pattern above, but they are generally used intransitively.¹⁹

(116)	a.	xeele	<i>fog</i>	√ ixeele	<i>foggy</i>
	b.	heexoj	<i>torch</i>	√ iheexoj	<i>have torch</i>
	c.	hapoj	<i>digging stick</i>	√ ihapoj	<i>have digging stick</i>

Others show a much less direct relationship between the two lexical items; it may even be in some cases that the relationship is spurious.

(117)	a.	ctam	<i>man</i>	√ ictamo	<i>fierce</i>
	b.	hehe	<i>plant</i>	√ ihehe	<i>be leader</i>
	c.	caay	<i>horse</i>	√ icaayot	<i>go on four feet</i>
	d.	csipx	<i>certain resin</i>	√ icsipx	<i>have reddish birthmark</i>
	e.	haxöl	<i>clam</i>	√ ihaxöl	<i>have spoon, use as spoon</i>

The process has gone a further step in a couple of cases, resulting in some near synonyms. The possessed nouns √**moz** (see **imoz** *her/his heart*) and √**VVsax** (see **iisax**) are the obvious bases of the verbs √**imoz** *think, expect* and √**iisax** *have life*, respectively, which also occur in various other expressions. Nouns derived from these verbs, √**ihimoz** *thought* and √**ihiiisax** *breath, spirit, life* now stand alongside the original base nouns and sometimes are freely interchanged in some idiomatic expressions. (The noun **iisax** does not have a strong lexical status outside of these idiomatic expressions, however, and therefore is not translated here.)

One special piece of evidence favors the claim that the verbalization is based on the possessed noun. The verb stem √**yaacni** *have a bow* stands alongside the possessed noun stem √**yaacni** *bow* and the unpossessed form **haacni** *bow*. The form of the denominal verb is obviously more similar to, and straightforwardly derivable from, the possessed noun stem but not from the unpossessed form.

¹⁹ The expression √**ihaxöl** *have spoon* is one that can easily be used transitively.

19.3.4 Kinship verbs

In a way completely analogous to the denominal verbs discussed above, and using the same morphology, the obligatorily possessed kinship noun roots may appear in denominal verb forms.²⁰ As an example, consider the root $\sqrt{\text{Vtcz}}$ *younger sister (of female)*, which has the overt forms **atcz** *her younger sister*, **matcz** *your younger sister*, **hitcz** *my younger sister* (woman speaking), and **hapétcz**, among others; see §13.2.3.1. Alongside these exist the verb $\sqrt{\text{itcaz}}$ *have as younger sister*. A set of examples is listed in (118).²¹

(118) Some examples of kinship verbs derived from kinship noun bases

	Nominal root	Derived stem = <i>have as or call ...</i>	
a.	$\sqrt{\text{Vi}}$	$\sqrt{\text{eaa}}$	<i>father (of male)</i>
b.	$\sqrt{\text{Vaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{eaaz}}$	<i>maternal grandfather</i>
c.	$\sqrt{\text{Vac}}$	$\sqrt{\text{eac}}$	<i>child of sister (of male)</i>
d.	$\sqrt{\text{Vlxcmaam}}$	$\sqrt{\text{ilxcmaam}}$	<i>husband's brother's wife</i>
e.	$\sqrt{\text{Vm}}$	$\sqrt{\text{ima}}$	<i>father (of female)</i>
f.	$\sqrt{\text{Vmaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{imaz}}$	<i>paternal grandmother</i>
g.	$\sqrt{\text{Vpaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{ipaz}}$	<i>paternal grandfather</i>
h.	$\sqrt{\text{Vpxaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{ipxaz}}$	<i>child of older sister (of female)</i>
i.	$\sqrt{\text{Vta}}$	$\sqrt{\text{ita}}$	<i>mother</i>
j.	$\sqrt{\text{Vtcz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{itcaz}}$	<i>younger sister (of female)</i>
k.	$\sqrt{\text{Vzcz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{izcaz}}$	<i>younger brother (of male)</i>
l.	$\sqrt{\text{VVct}}$	$\sqrt{\text{iict}}$	<i>have a as maternal grandmother</i>
m.	$\sqrt{\text{VVitz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{iitz}}$	<i>younger paternal uncle</i>
n.	$\sqrt{\text{VVcaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{eequez}}$	<i>younger brother (of female)</i>
o.	$\sqrt{\text{caac}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icaacat}}$	<i>child of daughter (of female)</i>
p.	$\sqrt{\text{caaitz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icaaitz}}$	<i>older sister's husband</i>
q.	$\sqrt{\text{caasac}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icaasac}}$	<i>child of son (of female)</i>
r.	$\sqrt{\text{cacám}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icacama}}$	<i>son-in-law</i>
s.	$\sqrt{\text{camaz}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icamaz}}$	<i>daughter-in-law</i>
t.	$\sqrt{\text{catazata}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icatazata}}$	<i>wife of older brother (of male)</i>
u.	$\sqrt{\text{cmaahaj}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icmaahaj}}$	<i>child of younger brother (of male)</i>
v.	$\sqrt{\text{coaac}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icoaacat}}$	<i>wife of brother (of female)</i>
w.	$\sqrt{\text{comiiique}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icomiiiquet}}$	<i>son-in-law or daughter-in-law</i>
x.	$\sqrt{\text{coome}}$	$\sqrt{\text{icóomet}}$	<i>younger sister (of male)</i>
y.	$\sqrt{\text{maac}}$	$\sqrt{\text{imaacat}}$	<i>older brother (of female)</i>

²⁰ See Evans (2000).

²¹ The 2005 dictionary lists these verbs and cross-references to them from the kinship terms. In addition, it gives the plural stems which are another level of complexity. The subject-oriented nominal form of a stem beginning with a stressed **i** followed by consonant has a long **i** because of non-elision of the transitive marker (see §14.1). Thus the citation form of $\sqrt{\text{ima}}$ *have as father (of female)* is **quíima**.

z.	√mahaj	√imahaj	older paternal uncle
aa.	√maquete	√imaquete	wife's younger sister
bb.	√ntaac	√intaacat	younger maternal aunt
cc.	√nyaac	√inyaacat	older brother (of male)
dd.	√paac	√ipaacat	older sister (of male)
ee.	√queemez	√iqueemez	mother-in-law (of female)
ff.	√queemot	√iqueemot	wife's brother
gg.	√queepez	√iqueepez	father-in-law (of female)
hh.	√queec	√iqueequet	husband's sister
ii.	√queetz	√iqueetz	husband's younger brother
jj.	√queezi	√iqueezi	(male's) daughter's child
kk.	√quiipaz	√iquiipaz	(male's) son's child
ll.	√quiitaz	√iquiitaz	(male's) older brother's child
mm.	√saac	√isaacat	son (of male)
nn.	√talxiicom	√italxiicom	wife's sister's husband
oo.	√tcamahaj	√itcamahaj	(female's) younger sister's child
pp.	√tcmajeem	√itcmajeem	(female's) younger sister's husband
qq.	√tmahaj	√itmahaj	older maternal aunt
rr.	√xaac	√ixaacat	maternal uncle
ss.	√xiiha	√ixiihat	older brother
tt.	√zaac	√izaacat	older sister (of female)
uu.	√zmii	√izmiit	maternal uncle
vv.	√zooc	√izoocat	(female's) brother's child

These verbs, which are used with decreasing frequency today since the kinship terms themselves are also used with decreasing frequency, sometimes compete with the kinship term itself. The verb √**ea** *have as father, call father (man)* is related to the kinship noun √**Vi**. (Obviously the derivation is not a simple morphological operation in this case unlike others.) An expression with the kinship verb may substitute for an expression using the kinship term.

(119) √**Ma teaa?**

2sDO RL-HAVE-father.of.male

‘¿Te llama padre?’ = ‘¿Eres su padre?’

Does he call you father? = Are you his father? RMH_08-04-07_71

Another example is the kinship verb √**ita** *have as mother, call mother*, based on the same root as √**Vta** *mother*.²²

²² The English gloss in the 2005 dictionary was in error here: it should have been *be mother of* (rather than *to*) and even better (although more literal) would have been *call mother, have as mother*.

- (120) **Himita** **ha.**
 IPOS-ON-N-HAVE-mother DCL
 ‘No es la que llamo madre.’ = ‘No es mi madre.’
She is not whom I call mother. = She’s not my mother. RMH_08-04-07_72a
- (121) **Him imita** **ha.**
 ISDO SN-N-HAVE-mother DCL
 ‘No es la que me llama madre.’ = ‘No soy su madre.’
She does not who calls me mother. = I’m not her mother. RMH_08-04-07_72b

19.4 Experiencer verbs

A few stative predicates have transitive counterparts to them which include an experiencer as subject. Some examples of these verbs are listed in (122).²³

- (122) Experiencer verbs based on stative verb roots
- | | Stative verb | | Experiencer verb |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------|--|
| a. | √ âaiscan | <i>hard</i> | √ acaaiscan <i>find hard</i> |
| b. | √ aapl | <i>cold</i> | √ ahaapl <i>find cold</i> |
| c. | √ acat | <i>salty, bitter</i> | √ acaacat <i>find salty, bitter</i> |
| d. | √ comca | <i>noisy</i> | √ acomca <i>find noisy</i> |
| e. | √ iipe | <i>good</i> | √ queepe <i>like</i> |
| f. | √ jizi | <i>painful</i> | √ ajíz <i>experience pain from</i> |
| g. | haa √ maco | <i>unobvious</i> | haa √ amacot <i>find unobvious</i> |
| h. | √ matj | <i>hot</i> | √ amatj <i>find hot</i> |
| i. | √ miipla | <i>bad</i> | √ amiipla <i>dislike</i> |
| j. | haai √ mipi | <i>easy</i> | haai √ amipit <i>find easy</i> |
| k. | √ msisiin | <i>pitiful, cute</i> | √ amsisiin <i>have pity on, love</i> |
| l. | √ oáatjö | <i>sweet</i> | √ aatjö <i>find sweet</i> |
| m. | √ simta | <i>itchy</i> | √ asimta <i>find itchy</i> |
| m. | √ toozi | <i>tough</i> | √ atoozi <i>find tough</i> |

The verbs pass all of the tests for transitivity (see Appendix C); note that in (123) the 3:3 prefix (§17.1.2.1) occurs on the verb and that in (126) the transitive allomorph of the prefix for first person singular subject (§17.1.2.1) occurs. The direct object of the experiencer verb is the item which one finds to have the characteristic indicated by the root of the verb. The derived verbs have quite regular meanings with respect to their bases but there is some flexibility, as the translation of √**aatjö** *find sweet* in the following example illustrates.

²³ Not all of these verbs were recorded in the 2005 dictionary. Two intransitive predicates which do *not* have experiencer counterparts include √**isil** *small* and √**aacoj** *big*.

- (123) **Hiictojo° coi pajóocsim quih ixahoáatzil.**
 our.children the.PL saltwort the.FL 3:3-EM-find.sweet-PL
 ‘A nuestros niños les gusta mucho la dulzura de “dedito”.’ RMH_08-04-07_73a
Our children [women speaking] really like the sweetness of saltwort. (DS2005, caatjō)
- (124) with Experiencer verb²⁴
- a. **¡Xojízi!**
 EM-painful
 ‘¡Duele!’
It is painful! RMH_08-04-07_73b
- b. **Hilít ihyajíz.**
 1P-head 1SS.TR-DT-exp.pain.from
 ‘Me duele la cabeza.’
My head hurts me. RMH_08-04-07_73c
- (125) a. **¡Xomiípla!**
 EM-bad
 ‘¡Es malo/feo (etc.)!’
It is bad/ugly (etc.)! RMH_08-24-07_82a
- b. **¿Itamíípla?**
 3:3-RL-find.bad
 ‘¿Le parece malo/feo?’
Does s/he dislike it? RMH_08-24-07_82b
- (126) a. **¿Quiipe -ya?**
 SN-good QM
 ‘¿Es bueno/a?’
Is it good? RMH_08-24-07_82c
- b. **Ihyoquéepe.**
 1SS.TR-DT-find.good
 ‘Me gusta/gustó.’
I like/liked it. RMH_08-24-07_82d
- (127) a. **¿Tacat?**
 RL-bitter/salty
 ‘¿Es amargo/salado?’
Is it bitter/salty? RMH_08-04-07_73h
- b. **¿Intacáacat?** RMH_08-04-07_73i
 2SS-RL-find.bitter/salty
 ‘¿Te parece amargo/salado?’
Do you find it bitter/salty?
- (128) a. **¿Tsimta?**
 RL-itchy
 ‘¿Es hormigoso?’
Is it itchy? RMH_08-04-07_73j
- b. **¿Intasímta?**
 2SS-RL-find.itchy
 ‘¿Te parece hormigoso?’
Do you find it itchy? RMH_08-04-07_73k
- (129) a. **¡Xocómca!**
 EM-noisy
 ‘¡Es ruidoso!’
It’s noisy! RMH_08-04-07_73l
- b. **Ihmacómca.**
 1SS.TR-PX-find.noisy
 ‘Me parece ruidoso.’
I find it noisy. RMH_08-04-07_73m

²⁴ The occasional example where a body part is involved as direct object may cause one to think of possessor ascension analyses. However, the direct objects are commonly not body parts or possessed nouns of any sort and yet the syntactic and morphological facts are the same.

- (130) a. **He tazoj²⁵ oo, comsisín iha.**
 1PRO RL-alone DL SN-pitiable DCL
 ‘Soy el único pobre.’
I am the only pitiful/poor one. RMH_08-04-07_73n
- b. with Experiencer verb
- ¡Him xamsisíjic!**
 1sDO EM-love-PL
 ‘¡Me aman!’
They love me. RMH_08-04-07_73o

The following additional examples show the fact that the derived verb may be passivized if the experiencer is unspecified. (Passive examples are only possible on transitive verbs.)

- (131) a. **Pahcáacat x, ...**
 IR.DP-PV-find.bitter/salty UT
 ‘Si uno lo ve amargo/salado, ...’
If it is found to be bitter/salty, ... RMH_08-04-07_73p
- b. **Quilít pomahjíz x, ...**
 US-3P-head IR.ID-N-find.painful UT
 ‘Si la cabeza de uno no duele, ...’
If one’s head does not hurt ... RMH_08-04-07_73q

Impersonal verbs that describe meteorological conditions also have experiential verb counterparts as shown in (132). In this case, the experiential verbs are intransitive; the experiencer is the subject.

- (132) Experiencer verbs based on impersonal verbs
- | | Stative verb | Experiencer verb |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| a. | √ aapl <i>be cold</i> | √ ahaapl <i>be cold (because of weather)</i> |
| b. | √ cozim <i>hot (weather)</i> | √ acozim <i>be hot (because of weather)</i> |
| c. | √ meque <i>warm</i> | √ ameque <i>be warm (because of weather)</i> |
- (133)
- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| a. | ¡hpyacózim.
1sS.IN-DT-feel.hot.weather
‘Tengo calor.’
<i>I’m hot.</i> RMH_08-04-07_74a | b. | ¿Tacózim?
RL-feel.hot.weather
‘¿Tiene calor?’
<i>Is she hot?</i> RMH_08-04-07_74b |
|----|--|----|---|

²⁵ The dependent verb is not inflected for first person singular subject because the main predicate is expressed with a denominal verb. See §10.4.2.

- (134) a. **ihpmaháapl.**
 1SS.IN-DT-feel.cold
 ‘Tengo frío.’
I’m cold. RMH_08-04-07_74c
- b. **¿Taháapl?**
 RL-feel.cold
 ‘¿Tiene frío?’
Is she cold? RMH_08-04-07_74d

The morphology and the allomorphy of the prefix that derives experiencer verbs is similar to that which is found in causative verbs (§19.5). In fact, in some cases (but not all), the experiencer verbs are homophonous with the causative verbs. The verb $\sqrt{\text{ahaapl}}$ as a causative verb is typically transitive and means *to cause something to be cold*; as an experiencer verb based on the meteorological sense, it is intransitive and means *to feel cold*.

19.4.1 Sensory verbs without experiencers

Transitive sensory verbs such as **cpii** *taste* which commonly occur with an experiencer as subject, pair up with derived intransitive verbs in which no experiencer is mentioned and in which the patient is the grammatical subject. The very small inventory of verbs which display this pattern is given in (135).²⁶

- (135)
- | | Sensory verb | | Sensory verb without experiencer |
|----|--|--|--|
| a. | $\sqrt{\text{pii}}$ <i>taste</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{apii}}$ <i>taste (like)</i> |
| b. | $\sqrt{\text{sii}}$ <i>smell</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{asii}}$ <i>smell (like)</i> |
| c. | $\sqrt{\text{ziim}}$ <i>appreciate</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{aziim}}$ <i>pretty</i> |

The intransitivity of the experiencer-less verb is evidenced in (137b) by the lack of the 3:3 prefix **i-** (§17.1.2.1).

- (136) a. Sensory verb with experiencer
Xomcahiift zo hxompii.
 oregano a 1SS.TR-EM-N-taste
 ‘No he probado el orégano.’
I haven’t tasted oregano. RMH_08-04-07_75a
- b. Sensory verb without experiencer
¡Hax hizcop halx xah xepe xapii!
 water PX-VT INTNS ATTEN sea EM-taste.of
 ‘¡Esta agua sabe a agua salada!’
This water tastes like seawater! RMH_08-04-07_75b

²⁶ See also §2.3 for discussion of these verbs with indirect/oblique objects.

- c. Sensory verb without experiencer
Xapóo ipxási quih hap ipxási quih imapíi ha.
 sea.lion 3P-flesh the.FL mule.deer 3P-flesh the.FL SN-N-taste.of DCL
 ‘La carne de lobo del mar no tiene el mismo sabor que la carne de venado bura.’ RMH_08-04-07_75c
Sea lion meat does not have the same flavor as mule deer meat. (DS2005, capii)
- (137) a. Sensory verb with experiencer
¿Zixcám cooxi hipcom intsíi?
 fish SN-die PX-HZ 2sS-RL-smell
 ‘¿Hueles este pescado muerto?’
Do you smell this dead fish? RMH_08-04-07_75d
- b. Sensory verb without experiencer
¡Micámiz quih halx xah zixcám xasíi!
 2P-shirt the.FL INTNS ATTEN fish EM-smell.of
 ‘¡Tu camisa huele a pescado!’
Your shirt smells like fish! RMH_08-04-07_75e
- c. Sensory verb without experiencer
¡Minl coi zixcám xasíi!
 2P-finger-PL the.PL fish EM-smell.of
 ‘¡Tus manos huelen a pescado!’
Your hands smell like fish! (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_76a
- (138) a. Sensory verb with experiencer
^o**Hehe án^o com ano hptiihtim, ^ohant oosinaj^o pac**
 countryside the.HZ 3P.in 1SS.IN-RL-be.FL-IMPF evening.primrose some
ihháho, anxö ihvozíim.
 1SS.Tr-RL-see INTNS 1SS.Tr-Dt-find.pleasant
 ‘Andaba en el monte y vi algunas flores “hant oosinaj” que me gustaron mucho.’ (DS2005, cziim) RMH_08-04-07_76b
I was in the desert and saw some evening primrose flowers that I liked a lot.
- b. Sensory verb without experiencer
¡Mipnáail quih xazíim!
 2P-skirt the.FL EM-pleasant
Your skirt is pretty! RMH_08-04-07_76c
- c. Sensory verb without experiencer
Hehe yapxöt coi xazíim.
 plant 3P-AON-bloom the.PL EM-pleasant
 ‘Las flores son muy bonitas.’
The flowers are very pretty. (DS2005, cziim, improved) RMH_05-17-08_285

19.5 Causative verbs

Morphological causative verbs are numerous and commonly used.²⁷ (On the morphology, see §19.10.) In the 2005 dictionary they are listed separately from the verbs and nouns on which they are based. Obviously they are separate lexical items and it is necessary to record the meanings and the stem forms (for plurals) of each verb.

Causative clauses contain a morphologically complex verb (see §19.10) and a subject that is the one who causes the action (generally) or sometimes permits the action.²⁸ The causative clause (with a few systematic exceptions noted below) always entails a particular event which may be expressed as a simple clause with a non-causative verb. The latter is called the entailed event clause here. Sentence (135a) is a causative clause that is related to the entailed event clause (135b).

- (135) a. **Hax hizcop ihmaméque.** stem: $\sqrt{\text{améque}}$
 water PX.PL-VT 1sS.TR-PX-cause.warm
 ‘Estoy calentando esta agua.’
I warmed / am warming this water. RMH_08-14-07_73e
- b. **Hax hizcop imméque.** stem: $\sqrt{\text{meque}}$
 water PX.PL-VT PX-warm
 ‘Esta agua está caliente.’
This water is warm. RMH_08-14-07_73f

A number of general statements can be made about causative clauses. First, the entailed event clause is never passive. There are no causative clauses based on passive clauses.²⁹

Second, the entailed event clause is never reflexive (unless the verb is a lexical reflexive — see §18.4.6). There are no causative clauses based on reflexive clauses.³⁰

²⁷ Possible lexical causatives that one might propose (such as linking $\sqrt{\text{acö}}$ *kill* with an expression for *die*) are not discussed here as there does not seem to be any particular purpose in doing so. However, see the verbs meaning *put* which pair up with etymologically unrelated verbs indicating a position discussed at the end of §13.3.

²⁸ Of course, if the causative clause is passive, the causer-subject is not overtly expressed.

²⁹ To express something like that, a biclausal construction (not common) is used.

- (iv) **Ihpáai ta, insahcázni aha.**
 1sS.TR-IR.DP-make DS 2sS-IR.ID-PV-bite AUX-DCL
 ‘Lo causaré, serás mordido (como por una víbora).’
I will cause it, you will be bitten (as by a snake). RMH_08-14-07_75a

³⁰ To express something like that, a biclausal construction (not common) is used. The causation may be direct or indirect and it may be physical or non-physical.

The causative of an impersonal entailed event clause is intransitive. Example (136), for instance, has no 3:3 prefix **i-** (§17.1.2.1) and (137) has the intransitive allomorph **hp-** of the first person singular subject prefix. (For tests on transitivity, see Appendix C.)

- (136) **¿Tacózim?**
 RL-cause.hot.weather
 ‘¿Causó que hiciera calor?’ RMH_08-14-07_74a
Did s/he (e.g. God) make it hot (weather)?
- (137) **Ihpyacózim.** RMH_08-24-07_83
 1SS.IN-DT-cause.hot.weather
 ‘Causé que hiciera calor.’
I made it be hot (weather).

The subject of other intransitive entailed event clauses always corresponds to the direct object of the causative clause. In (135a) the nominal **hax hizcop** *this water* is the direct object of the causative clause just as it is the subject of the entailed event clause in (135b). The entailed event clause may be of any time of intransitive type — stative (§18.2), involuntary action (§18.3), bodily function (§18.3), voluntary action (18.4), action with unspecified object (§19.1).

- (138) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{ahóoil}}$ *make blue/green*) of stative ($\sqrt{\text{ooil}}$ *blue/green*)
¿Itahóoil?
 3:3-RL-cause.blue/green
 ‘¿Lo hizo azul/verde?’
Did s/he make it blue/green? RMH_08-24-07_84b
- (139) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{apóct}}$ *fill, cause to be full*) of stative ($\sqrt{\text{póct}}$ *full*)
¿Itapóct?
 3:3-RL-cause.full
 ‘¿Lo/la llenó?’
Did s/he fill it? RMH_08-24-07_84c
- (140) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{acáanoj}}$ *burn, cause to burn*) of involuntary action ($\sqrt{\text{anoj}}$ *burn (intr.)*)
¿Itacáanoj?
 3:3-RL-cause.burn
 ‘¿Lo/la quemó?’
Did s/he burn it? RMH_08-24-07_84a
- (141) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{aháazalxot}}$ *make cough*) of bodily function ($\sqrt{\text{aazx}}$ *cough*)

-
- (v) **Tiix ah oo hin tah ma, hapi hisoj ihmízt.**
 DDS FOC DL 1S DO RL-do DS INTNS 1P-self 1SS.TR-PX-tattoo
 ‘Hizo que me tatuara.’
S/he made me tattoo myself. RMH_08-14-07_75b

He Juan quih caháazaxot iha.

1PRO Juan the.FL SN-cause.cough DCL

‘Estoy haciendo que Juan tosa.’

I am making Juan cough. RMH_08-24-07_84d

- (142) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{apánozxtot}}$ *make run*) of voluntary action ($\sqrt{\text{panzx}}$ *run*)

Ma hsapánozxtot aha.

2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.run AUX-DCL

‘Te haré correr.’

I will make you run. RMH_08-24-07_84e

- (143) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{amóozitot}}$ *make dream*) of verb with unspecified object ($\sqrt{\text{omóozi}}$ *dream*)

Ma hsamoozitot aha.

2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.dream AUX-DCL

‘Te haré soñar.’

I will make you dream. RMH_08-24-07_84f

- (144) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{acómitot}}$ *make swallow*) of verb with unspecified object ($\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ *swallow*)

Ma hsacómitot aha.

2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.swallow AUX-DCL

‘Te haré tragar.’

I will make you swallow. RMH_08-24-07_84g

- (145) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{acópótót}}$) of unspecified object ($\sqrt{\text{oop}}$ ‘make basket’)

Ma hsacópótót aha.

2IO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.make.basket AUX-DCL

‘Te haré hacer una canasta.’

I will make you make a basket. RMH_05-17-08_286

The subject of a transitive entailed event clause always corresponds to the indirect object of the causative clause; as indirect object it determines indirect object inflection (§17.1.2.4).

- (146) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{aatni}}$ *make touch*) of transitive ($\sqrt{\text{atni}}$ *make contact with*)

a. **¿Hast quih hehe com contáatni?**³¹

stone the.FL stick the.HZ 3IO-2SS-RL-cause.touch

‘¿Hiciste que la piedra tocara el palo?’

Did you make the stone touch the stick? RMH_08-24-07_85a

³¹ The interpretation here is clear and unambiguous, but it is not entirely clear why. The choice of article is apparently important as comparison of the examples indicates.

- b. **¿Hast com hehe quih contáatni?**
 stone the.HZ stick the.FL 3IO-2SS-RL-cause.touch
 ‘¿Hiciste que el palo tocara la piedra?’
Did you make the stick touch the stone? RMH_08-24-07_85a

(147) Causative ($\sqrt{\text{acómitot}}$ *make swallow*) of transitive ($\sqrt{\text{am}}$ *swallow*)

- Siimet quih Pedro quih cohsacómitot aha.**³²
 bread the.FL the.FL 3IO-1SS.TR-cause.swallow AUX-DCL
 ‘Haré que Pedro tragara el pan.’
I will make Pedro swallow the bread. RMH_11-28p-07_41

A primary component of the meaning of a causative verb is that some agent (typically a sentient being, but not necessarily) is causing an action, most commonly by some direct physical means.³³ It is not common for the causation to be less than directly physical.

The physical causation may be speech-related, as may be the case with the causative idiom $^{\circ}\text{imoz cō-}\sqrt{\text{aaaitot}}^{\circ}$ *remind* of the intransitive idiom $^{\circ}\text{imoz cō-}\sqrt{\text{ooit}}^{\circ}$ *remember*.³⁴

- (139) **Me peez tazo me hyaazj. Taax imoz me hyaaitot^o.**
 2PRO peso one 2IO 1SS.TR-DT-lend DDP 3P-heart 2IO 1SS.TR-DT-cause.?
 ‘Te presté un peso y te lo recuerdo.’
I lent you a peso and I am reminding you about it. (DS2005, imoz cō[caaitot] RMH_08-04-07_77a

Certainly in some uncommon cases the causation is more a matter of obligation rather than direct physical coercion.

- (140) **Me icóos zo me hsacóit aha.**
 2PRO 3P-AON-US-sing a 2IO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.do AUX-DCL
 ‘Te obligaré a cantar una canción.’
I will obligate you to sing a song. RMH_08-04-07_77b

A few causative verbs are typically interpreted with a sense of allowing rather than causing, although that sense apparently is not possible with most of the causative verbs.

- (141) **Moosni caacoj zo hsiicö ta, hyacám.**
 sea.turtle SN-big a 1sS.TR-IR.ID-kill AUX.RL 1sS.TR-DT-let.live
 ‘Iba a matar una caguama pero la dejé con vida.’
I was going to kill a turtle, but I let it live. (DS2005, cacám) RMH_08-04-07_78a

³² The nominals **siimet** and **Pedro** can be expressed in reverse order with the same meaning. If the article **quih** in either case is replaced with **cah**, a contrastive focus is indicated. But the nominal with **cah** must appear first.

³³ This discussion distinguishes between the causatives, the assistives (see §19.6), and other derived verb forms that use similar morphology.

³⁴ In the causative form the noun **imoz** is invariant; see §7.1.

- (142) **Honc zo hyonáaaij xo hscmahit quih hax tahí xah,**
 sea.gull a 1sS.TR-DT-catch but 1sS.TR-IR.ID-N-eat the.FL just RL-PV-feel —
hin taii ma, hyacápat.
 1sDO RL-tell.PL DS, 1sS.TR-DT-let.fly

‘Capturé una gaviota pero me dijeron que no la comiera, entonces la dejé volar.’
I captured a sea gull but they told me that I shouldn’t eat it, so I let it fly away.

(DS2005, cacápat) RMH_08-04-07_78b

- (143) **Cmíique zo cöiscmaquéexot ha, teeye.**
 person a 3IO-3:3-IR.ID-N-let.hear AUX DT-say
 ‘Dijo que no dejaría a otra persona escucharlo.’
He said that he wouldn’t let someone else listen. (DS2005, cöcaquéexot) RMH_08-04-07_79

Some causative verbs based on denominal verbs have the meaning of *remove* the item indicated in the nominal root. More of these are discussed in §19.5.7 below.³⁵

- (144) a. $\sqrt{\text{alít}}$ *remove head from*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{ahíhic}}$ *remove seeds from*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{apxásit}}$ *remove the meat from, fillet*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{acósejc}}$ *remove thorn from*

Most of the causatives typically occur with an agentive subject, but in some cases, at least, the subject may be an inanimate object. For example, as might be expected, the subject of $\sqrt{\text{aháahazot}}$ *make sneeze* (see (163f) below) can be something like black pepper.

Each causative verb occurs in one basic construction, and this is what is shown in the schemas presented with each group below.

Causative constructions using morphological causative verbs imply a caused event that is expressible using a separate and morphologically-related predicate. The relationships between the syntax of the clauses describing those events and the clauses describing the causative event are summarized in Table 19.1.³⁶

Table 19.1: Syntactic relationships between base and causative constructions

<i>Base</i>		<i>Causative</i>
intransitive subject	↔	direct object
direct object	↔	direct object
transitive subject	↔	indirect object

³⁵ Some denominal verbs have assistive forms (see §19.6) which mean *help to put on*.

³⁶ This pattern is described in Relational Grammar work (see Aissen 1983:288), where ‘intransitive subject’ and ‘direct object’ are unified under the concept ‘absolutive’. The absolutive of the “embedded” clause is the direct object of the causative construction and the ergative of the “embedded” clause is the indirect object of the causative.

Although most causative verbs subcategorize for a direct object, it is also generally possible for a causative verb to be used intransitively, without a specified direct object, with no change in morphology (unlike most simple verbs), as described in §19.1.

Causative verbs based on denominal verb bases are simple transitives with the human patient as direct object despite the presence of an explicit non-human nominal; see §19.5.7 for details.

Causatives of verbs other than simple roots or denominal verbs are virtually nonexistent, although there are some interesting effects with transitive bases (see §19.5.8). No causatives of passives exist, although a few verbs look like this because of the reanalysis of a passive prefix as part of the root.³⁷ No causatives of unspecified object forms exist, despite appearances to the contrary; see §19.5.8. One example has been elicited of what should be interpreted as the causative of an experiencer verb (§19.4). This example shows that the morphology is non-cumulative: the verb form is not different from the experiencer verb itself.³⁸

- (145) **Cmii** **que** **himintica**, **zaah** **quij** **ipáai** **x**,
 person DT-AW sun the.CM 3:3-IR.DP-make UT
isacózim **aha**.
 3:3-IR.ID-cause.feel.hot.weather AUX-DCL

‘El sol va a hacer sentir calor a esa persona.’
The sun is going to make that person feel hot. RMH_08-24-07_86

Causative verbs may be passivized; see §17.1.5 for details about the morphology of the passive forms of causatives.

19.5.1 Causatives with impersonal verb base

Impersonal verbs are those which have no referential nominal associated with them in a core semantic relation (see §18.1). One well-established causative verb formed on an impersonal base

³⁷ Marlett (2002) presents evidence for the reanalysis.

³⁸ A version of this sentence without the words **ipáai x** was reported as grammatical in Marlett (1981b). In 2007 one consultant rejected the same sentence and another accepted it. The one who accepted it proposed that it would be improved — made more understandable — by the inclusion of the clause **ipáai x** in it. This inclusion prompts the question as to whether or not the verb **isacózim** here is a simple experiencer verb or the causative of the experiencer verb. Two facts point to the latter analysis. The lack of Different Subject marking between the two clauses indicates that the subjects are coreferential. The 3:3 prefix **i-** (§17.1.2.1) occurs on the verb **isacózim** which indicates that it must be a *transitive* causative verb and not an experiencer verb or a simple intransitive causative verb based on the impersonal root.

is $\sqrt{\text{acáapca}}$ *make rain*, based on the verb $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain*.³⁹ This verb is used felicitously in the context of a divine being, shaman (**ziix haaco cama**, including the **comcáii cacáapca**, old.woman SN-cause.rain, *rainmaker woman*), or other agent who is able to affect such things. The verb $\sqrt{\text{acáanloj}}$ *cause to thunder*, based on the imperfective stem $\sqrt{\text{anloj}}$ of the verb $\sqrt{\text{anj}}$ *thunder* does not appear in the 2005 dictionary but it was easily elicited.

- (146) a. $\sqrt{\text{acaapca}}$ *cause to rain*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{acaanloj}}$ *cause to thunder*

These causative verbs are intransitive. Note that in examples (147) and (148) the intransitive allomorph of the first person singular subject inflection **hp-** occurs (§17.1.2.1 and Appendix C).

- (147) **Ihptacáapca** **ma, matáht** **mos,**
 1sS.IN-RL-cause.rain DS 2pS-RL-see-PL also

hisacáapca **hac** °**haa matatóohajoj**° **aha.**
 1P-IR.ID-cause.rain the.LC you.(pl.).imagine RHET

‘¿Cuándo me han visto hacer llover tal que imaginan que puedo hacer llover?’
When have you seen me make it rain to make you imagine that I can make it rain?
(Implication: You haven’t seen me make it rain.) (Offered) RMH_08-24-07_87

- (148) **Zaah hipcop ihpsacáanloj** **aha.**
 day PX-VT 1sS.IN-IR.ID-cause.thunder AUX-DCL
 ‘Hoy haré que haya truenos.’
Today I will make it thunder. RMH_08-04-07_80a

These verbs are obviously instantiations of a more general schema of causative formation which is found with other verbs, as this section continues to demonstrate below. The specific schema for the causatives formed on impersonal verbs is given here, where “A” represents the causative prefix morphology, disregarding allomorphs.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-------------------------|
| (149) | CAUSATIVE OF IMPERSONAL VERB | Semantics: Agent |
| | [A [X] _v] _v | Syntax: Subject |
| | <i>cause X</i> | |
| | where X is an impersonal verb | |

A quite different kind of derived (augmented) form based on the impersonal root $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ also

³⁹ The lengthening of the root vowel here is for real but unexpected. Attempts to elicit other causatives based on impersonal roots have not been particularly successful. Sometimes this seemed to be due to interference from the experiencer verbs which have similar morphology (see §19.4).

exists. This verb, $\sqrt{\text{aapca}}$ is also intransitive but it means *cover up oneself from the rain*. It may occur with an oblique/indirect object.

- (150) **Hap ináail zo toc cõtiih ma, itámjc,**
mule.deer 3P-skin a there 3IO-RL-be.FL DS 3:3-RL-bring

cövaapca.

3IO-DT-cover.up.from.rain.with RMH_08-04-07_80b

‘Trajo una piel de venado bura y se cubrió de la lluvia con ella.’ (DS2005, caapca)

S/he brought a mule deer hide and used it to cover herself/himself from the rain.

And a semantically irregular form is also derived from the impersonal root $\sqrt{\text{hamoc}}$ *become night*; $\sqrt{\text{ahamoc}}$ means *stay out late*.⁴⁰

- (151) **Anxö inscmahámoc aha.**
INTNS 2SS-IR.ID-N-stay.out.late AUX-DCL
‘No regreses muy noche.’
Don’t stay out late at night. RMH_08-24-07_100b

- (152) **Moxíma anxö ihpyahámoc.**
yesterday INTNS 1sS.IN-DT-stay.out.late
‘Anoche regresé muy noche.’
I stayed out late last night. RMH_08-24-07_100c

- (153) **Cooza coi quiicot cõhihij hac**
SN-speak.PL the.PL 3P-with.PL 3IO-1P-AON-sit the.LC

anxö ihpmahámoc.

INTNS 1sS.IN-PX-stay.out.late

‘Estuve en la reunión muy noche.’

I was at the meeting until very late at night. RMH_08-24-07_100d

19.5.2 Causatives with stative verb base

The largest group of causative verbs includes those formed on stative verb bases (§18.2) of a variety of semantic types.⁴¹ The schema is given in (154); some representative examples of these verbs are given in (155).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (154) | CAUSATIVE OF STATIVE VERB | Semantics: | Agent | Patient |
| | [A [X] _v] _v | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object |

⁴⁰ This meaning doesn’t appear in the 2005 dictionary.

⁴¹ These as well as those in the following section are classic unaccusative predicates (see Perlmutter (1978) and the large amount of literature that followed).

cause Patient to be or become X

where X is a stative verb

(155)	Causative		Base
a.	√ ahooxp , ⁴² <i>make white</i>	Color	√ ooxp , <i>white</i>
b.	√ ahaacoj , <i>enlarge</i>	Size	√ aacoj , <i>large</i>
c.	√ ahooitom , <i>put five</i>	Quantity	√ ooitom , <i>five</i>
d.	√ acaacat , <i>make bitter or salty</i>	Taste	√ acat , <i>bitter, salty</i>
e.	√ anopin , <i>make convex</i>	Form	√ nopin , <i>convex</i>
f.	√ apaaisx , <i>clean (tr.)</i>	Condition	√ paaisx , <i>be clean</i>
g.	√ ahacat , <i>make blind</i>	Condition	√ hac , <i>(be) blind</i>
h.	√ ahiipet , <i>fix</i>	Condition	√ iipe , <i>good</i>
i.	√ aahca , <i>put</i>	Position ⁴³	√ ahca , <i>be situated</i>

The following examples illustrate this type of causative verb. As explained earlier, they are simple transitives syntactically.

- (156) ... **hiionam quih hax ihtanópin oo, ...**
 1P-hat the.FL INTNS 1S.TR-RL-make.convex DL
 ‘... hice que mi sombrero tuviera la copa para afuera, ...’
...I made my hat have the crown be pushed out, ... (DS2005, canópin) RMH_08-04-07_81b

- (157) ¡**Siimet tacoí hahóitom! ¡Himcac cooquim!**
 bread MD-PL IM-cause.five DT-LC 3IO-IM-put.items
 ‘¡Pon cinco panes allí!’
Put five bread rolls over there! (DS2005, cahóitom) RMH_08-04-07_82

The causative forms of morphologically dative stative verbs (§18.2.6) also inflect for third person oblique/indirect object in all uses.

- (158) **Comcáii quij oop quih zaah cop iti iyóoca,**
 old.woman the.CM 3P-ON-sew.basket the.FL sun the.VT 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.LQ
cöisahóotij ta.
 3IO-3:3-IR.ID-cause.dry AUX.RL
 ‘La mujer puso su canasta en el sol para secarla.’
The woman put her basket in the sun to dry it. (DS2005, cöcahóotij) RRR

⁴² If one is not making the item completely white (either the white doesn’t cover well or there are blotches), then the verb takes the third person indirect object prefix: **cöcahóoxp**.

⁴³ Most of the positional verbs have etymologically unrelated transitive counterparts. See the last part of §13.3.

19.5.3 Causative of equative verb

The equative verb $\sqrt{\text{aa}}$ *be* (§18.2.1) has a causative counterpart $\sqrt{\text{aháa}}$ *cause to be*, which has the subcategorization frame shown in (159).

(159)	CAUSATIVE OF EQUATIVE VERB				
	[aháa] _v	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Predicate nominal
	<i>cause Patient</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	DP
	<i>to be Nominal</i>				

(160)	Pedro	quih	hapxa	quih	hsaháa	ha.
	the.FL	cotton-tail	the.FL	1SS.TR-IR.ID-cause.be	AUX-DCL	
	‘Haré que Pedro sea conejo cola de algodón.’					
	<i>I will turn Pedro into a cotton-tail rabbit.</i> RMH_08-04-07_83a					

(161)	...	hast	quih	isoj	itaháa,	...
		stone	the.FL	3P-self	3:3-RL-cause.EQ	
	‘..., se convirtió en una piedra, ...’					
	<i>..., he turned himself into a stone, ...</i> (Gigante_Comelon_474) RMH_08-04-07_83b					

19.5.4 Causatives with non-agentive intransitive verb base

Another large group of causative verbs is based on intransitive verbs of involuntary action (§18.3). In some cases, the base is ambiguous between a state and change of state. For example, the verb $\sqrt{\text{aas}}$ in (163b) below is ambiguous between *be deflated* and *deflate (intr.)* and the causative verb may be similarly ambiguous. The list of types in (163) should not be taken as an exhaustive typology.

As the subcategorization frame shows, these causatives are simple transitives.

(162)	CAUSATIVE OF INVOLUNTARY ACTION VERB			
	[A [X] _v] _v	Semantics:	Agent	Patient
	<i>cause Patient to X</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object
	where X is an verb indicating involuntary action			

(163)	Causative	Base
		Accomplishment verbs
a.	√ aacsx , <i>awaken (tr.)</i>	√ acsx , <i>awaken (intr.)</i>
b.	√ aahas , <i>deflate (tr.)</i>	√ aas , <i>deflate (intr.)</i>
c.	√ aahama , <i>put in liquid</i>	√ aama , <i>fill up with liquid</i> ⁴⁴
d.	√ afitot , <i>cause or help stand</i>	√ fit , <i>stand up, be standing</i>
		Activity verbs
e.	√ ahitaj , <i>burn (tr.)</i>	√ itaj , <i>burn (intr.)</i>
f.	√ ahiimot , <i>put to sleep</i>	√ iim , <i>sleep</i>
		Verbs of involuntary motion
g.	√ acniix , <i>make flow</i>	√ ahcniix , <i>flow strongly</i>
		Involuntary bodily action
h.	√ aahahnij , <i>make tremble</i>	√ aahnij , <i>tremble</i>
i.	√ aahahazxot , <i>make sneeze</i>	√ aahzx , <i>sneeze</i>
j.	√ aahazaxot , <i>make cough</i>	√ aazxl , <i>cough</i>

The following examples illustrate this type of causative verb.

- (164) **Hin yafitot.**
 1sDO DT-make.stand
 ‘Me hizo parar.’
S/he had me stand up. RMH_08-04-07_84a
- (165) **María quih quisil° com iyahfimot.**
 the.FL child the.HZ 3:3-DT-cause.sleep
 ‘Hizo dormir al bebé.’
She put the baby to sleep. RMH_08-04-07_84b
- (166) **¿Coqué coopol coi ma taháahazxot?**
 pepper SN-black the.PL 2sDO RL-cause.sneeze
 ‘¿Te hace estornudar pimienta negra?’
Does pepper make you sneeze? RMH_08-04-07_85a

The impersonal verb √**apca** *rain* (see §18.1) is used with the noun **xat** *hail* as subject for the expression *to hail* (see §18.3). This expression may be causativized like any simple intransitive; the resulting construction is transitive.

- (167) **Zaah hipcop xat ihsacáapca ha.**
 sun/day PX-VT hail 1sS.TR-IR.ID-make.precipitate AUX-DCL
 ‘Hoy voy a hacer caer granizos.’
Today I’m going to make it hail. RMH_08-04-07_85b

⁴⁴ The 2005 dictionary says this is specifically by percolation.

19.5.5 Causatives with voluntary action verb base

The base of a causative verb may also be an intransitive verb that usually indicates voluntary action (§18.4). (In some cases the base is actually ambiguous between an voluntary and involuntary reading and even between agentive and non-agentive.) These verbs are less common than the preceding types of causatives although they are not different from them syntactically.⁴⁵

(168)	CAUSATIVE OF VOLUNTARY ACTION VERB		
	[A [X] _v] _v	Semantics:	Agent Patient
	<i>cause Patient to X</i>	Syntax:	Subject Direct Object
	where X is an verb indicating involuntary action		

(169)	Causative	Base
a.	√ apánozxot , <i>make run</i>	√ panzx , <i>run</i>
b.	√ ahaato , <i>make fight</i>	√ aato , <i>fight</i>
c.	√ ahácatot , <i>make swim</i>	√ acat , <i>swim</i>
d.	√ ahóositot , <i>make sing</i> ⁴⁶	√ oos , <i>sing</i>
e.	√ anaaij , <i>make or persuade return</i>	√ onaaij , <i>return</i>
f.	√ acaatax , <i>send, take, drive</i>	√ atax , <i>go</i>

- (170) **Ctam ticop xicaquizil° coi iyaháato.**
 man MD-VT children the.PL 3:3-DT-cause.fight
 ‘Ese hombre hizo pelear a los niños.’
That man made the children fight. (DS2005, caháato) RMH_08-04-07_86a

19.5.6 Causatives with morphologically transitive involuntary action verb base

The morphologically transitive involuntary action verb √**imt** *open* (§18.5.6) has a causative counterpart as well. Active clauses with this causative are ditransitive although only two nominals typically occur in them, as illustrated by the following example. Note the presence of the third person indirect object prefix **cō-** and the 3:3 prefix **i-**.

⁴⁵ These are the classic unergative verbs; see Perlmutter (1978) and much later work.

⁴⁶ This verb is not in the 2005 dictionary. However, another causative verb based on the root √**oos** *sing* is listed: √**ahoosit** *sing to receive the power of (something, like a cave)* and also *turn on (something like a radio)*.

(171)	CAUSATIVE OF TRANSITIVE INVOLUNTARY ACTION VERB			
$\sqrt{\text{veemt}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	—
<i>cause Patient</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
<i>to open</i>				

(172)	Zixquisil^o	quih	^oxiica an icáai^o	ano	yaii	quij
	child	the.FL	sugar	3P.in	3P-AON-stand.PL	the.CM
	cöitéemt,		iyóohit.			
	3IO-3:3-RL-cause.open		3:3-DT-eat			

‘El niño abrió el azucarero y comió el azúcar.’

The child opened the sugar bowl and ate the sugar. (DS2005, cöqueemt) RMH_08-04-07_86b

19.5.7 Causatives with denominal verb base

A denominal verb (§19.3) may also be the base of a causative verb.⁴⁷ Superficially it appears that the prefix *i-* used in forming a denominal verb is just being replaced by the causative prefix, but some evidence points to it being a bit more complicated. The construction is not entirely productive, apparently. An attempt to generate the causative of $\sqrt{\text{ipazaatoj}}$ *wear shoes*, which ought to be something like $\sqrt{\text{apazaatoj}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{apazaatojot}}$, only produced amusement for the consultant.

(173)	Causative	Base
		Wear clothing
a.	$\sqrt{\text{acápota}}$, <i>put jacket on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{icápota}}$, <i>have/wear jacket</i>
b.	$\sqrt{\text{atáamatot}}$, <i>put sandals on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{itaamt}}$, <i>have/wear sandals</i>
c.	$\sqrt{\text{áacalcot}}$, <i>put clothes on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{éacalca}}$, <i>wear clothing</i>
d.	$\sqrt{\text{acáamizot}}$, ⁴⁸ <i>put shirt on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{icaamiz}}$, <i>have/wear shirt</i>
e.	$\sqrt{\text{apnaaatol}}$, <i>put skirt on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{ipnaail}}$, <i>have/wear skirt</i>
f.	$\sqrt{\text{áacalcot}}$, $\sqrt{\text{aacalca}}$, ⁴⁹ <i>put clothes on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{éacalca}}$, <i>have/wear clothing</i>
g.	$\sqrt{\text{áaonamot}}$, <i>put hat on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{iionam}}$, <i>have/wear hat</i>
		Have body part
h.	$\sqrt{\text{aliti}}$, <i>put hair/head on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{iliti}}$, <i>have hair/head</i>
i.	$\sqrt{\text{ayeenot}}$, <i>put face on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{yeeno}}$, <i>have face</i>
j.	$\sqrt{\text{atáamalca}}$, <i>put antlers on</i>	$\sqrt{\text{itaamalca}}$, <i>have antlers</i>
k.	$\sqrt{\text{ayáacanot}}$, <i>give weapon</i>	$\sqrt{\text{yaacni}}$, <i>have weapon</i>

⁴⁷ It is possible that these should be taken as assistive verbs (§19.6) rather than causatives.

⁴⁸ This verb is not in the 2005 dictionary.

⁴⁹ These are considered to be completely interchangeable verbs.

- (179) **Haptco cheel quih cohyacáamizot.**
 already SN-red the.FL 3IO-1SS.TR-DT-cause.HAVE.shirt
 ‘Ya le puse la camisa roja.’
I already put the red shirt on him/her. RMH_08-04-07_88a
- (180) **Hatáamt hizcoi me hsatáamatot aha.**
 ABS-sandal(s) PX.PL 3IO+2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.HAVE-shoes AUX-DCL
 ‘Te voy a poner estos huaraches.’
I am going to put these sandals on you. RMH_08-04-07_88d
- (181) **Hipcom me hsayáacanot aha.**
 PX.HZ 2IO+2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.have.weapon AUX-DCL
 ‘Te daré éste como arma.’
I am going to give you this pistol as a weapon. RMH_08-04-07_88c

Some causative verbs based on noun roots mean to remove the noun.

- | (182) | Removal verb | Noun Root | Related denominal verb |
|-------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | √ apxasit , <i>fillet</i> | √ pxasi , <i>flesh</i> | √ ipxasi , <i>have flesh</i> |
| b. | √ ayaaicoj , <i>fillet (fish)</i> | √ yaaicoj , <i>side-PL</i> | — |
| c. | √ ahihic , <i>remove seeds</i> | √ Vhic , <i>seed</i> | √ ihic , <i>have seed</i> |
| d. | √ ahisjc , <i>remove body lice</i> | √ Vsjc , <i>body lice</i> | √ isjc , <i>have body lice</i> |
| e. | √ apocj , <i>remove carapace</i> | √ pocj , <i>carapace</i> | √ ipocj , <i>have carapace</i> |
| f. | √ alít , <i>remove head</i> | √ lit , <i>head</i> | √ ilít , <i>have head</i> |
| g. | √ acósejc , <i>remove thorn</i> | √ cosi , <i>thorn</i> | — |

- (183) **Zixcám quih insapxásit aha.**
 fish the.FL 2sS-IR.ID-fillet AUX-DCL
 ‘¡Filetee el pescado!’
Fillet the fish! (DS2005, capxásit) RMH_08-04-07_88f
- (184) **Zixcám hipcom ihsaváaicoj aha.**
 fish PX-HZ 1sS.TR-IR.ID-fillet AUX-DCL
 ‘Voy a filetear este pescado.’
I am going to fillet this fish. (DS2005, cayáaicoj) RMH_08-04-07_88e
- (185) **Xnoois pac haa toii ma, itahihioj ma,**
 eelgrass.seed some there RL-be.FL.PL DS 3:3-RL-remove.seeds-PL DS
zaah cop hanso miime.
 day the.VT just PX-end
 ‘Sacaban semillas de trigo de mar todo el día.’
All day they removed the seeds from the eelgrass. (DS2005, cahihic) RMH_08-04-07_89

The intransitive causative verb √**ajoene** based on the noun **joéene** *dust*, however, means *raise dust* rather than *remove dust*.

19.5.8 Causatives with simple transitive verb base

Causative verbs formed on transitive bases are less common than those formed on intransitive bases. Morphologically they are a bit more complicated than those as well, as they commonly have the sequence **acó-** (or something similar) which looks suspiciously like the **ac-** allomorph (see §19.10) followed by the unspecified object prefix **o_{abl}-** (§19.1.1), and it might be just that etymologically. This “extra” morphology is obligatory, however, and there is no evidence that the patient of the transitive base is omitted from the syntactic configuration of the causative verb, nor is there evidence that the patient is anything other than the direct object of the causative verb. Regardless of how this sequence is analyzed, these verbs are morphologically less transparent to the casual observer.

Causative verbs formed on transitive bases are typically ditransitives.

(186)	CAUSATIVE OF TRANSITIVE VERB			
	[A [X] _v] _v	Semantics:	Agent	Patient₁ Patient₂
	<i>cause Patient₁ to</i> <i>X Patient₂</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Indirect Object Direct Object
	where X is a transitive verb			
(187)	Causative	Base:	Motion of one item with respect to another	
a.	√acooix <i>remove x from y, take x from y (person),</i> <i>make x (person) go away from y (place)</i>	√aiix , <i>x go away from y</i>		
b.	√acoxot , <i>make x jump over y</i>	√ixö , <i>x jump over y</i>		
		Action		
c.	√acozot <i>give y to x, cause x to have y</i>	√aazi , <i>x carry y</i>		
d.	√acohot <i>show y to x, cause x to see y</i>	√aho , <i>see</i>		
e.	√acocta <i>show y to x, cause x to look at y</i>	√oocta , <i>look at</i>		
f.	√acozixot <i>cause y to saw (cut) x</i>	√azix , <i>saw (cut)</i>		

- (188) **Ctam himcap eenim z itcóoz ma, itáht, cöivacóaxoj.**
 man DT-VT knife a 3:3-RL-steal DS 3:3-RL-see-PL 3IO-3:3-DT-remove
 ‘Ese hombre robó un cuchillo. Ellos lo vieron y se lo quitaron.’ RMH_08-04-07_90
That man stole a knife. They saw him and took it away from him. (DS2005, cöcacóix)
- (189) **Zixquisíil° quih haxöl ináail cazíim ocóho quih**
 child the.FL clam 3P-shell/skin SN-pleasant 3IO-ON-see the.FL
cöimacócta.
 3IO-3:3-cause.look.at
 ‘El niño le mostró la concha bonita que había encontrado.’
The child showed her/him the pretty shell that s/he had found. (DS2005, cacócta) RMH_08-24-07_88
- (190) **¡Micanóaa com he hacóhotim!**
 2P-boat the.HZ 1IO IM-cause.see-IMPF
 ‘¡Muéstranos tu panga!’
Show us your boat! RMH_08-14-07_71d

19.5.9 Causatives with ditransitive or other verb base

No causatives based on ditransitive verbs have been found or elicited.

19.5.10 Causatives with highly irregular semantics

A number of causative verbs are highly irregular in their semantics. These also demonstrate the greatest diversity of bases on which they are formed and in some cases (not detailed below, but illustrated) more irregular allomorphy of the causative prefix.

The first group presented below has a base that is similar or identical to a common noun.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (191) | Verb | Noun |
| a. | √ acmiiquet , <i>love, respect, honor</i> | cmiique , <i>(Seri) person</i> |
| b. | √ acoene , <i>harm someone through sorcery</i> | Coén
<i>spirit that harms a child</i> |
| c. | isoj √ acolejelo , <i>proud of one's looks</i> | coléjelo
<i>an unidentified small owl</i> |
| d. | √ acsipxa , <i>solder, glue</i> | csipx , <i>resin</i> |
| e. | √ ajoeene , <i>raise dust</i> | joéene , <i>dust</i> |
| f. | √ asénelim , <i>sleep face-up with legs separated</i> | seenel , <i>butterfly</i> |
| g. | √ ayóoz , <i>worship</i> | Yooz , <i>God</i> |
| h. | √ aziix , <i>appreciate, respect, esteem</i> | ziix , <i>thing</i> |

At least two semantically irregular causative verbs appear to have a closer relationship to the absolutive form of a possessed noun than to the simple root.

- (192) a. $\sqrt{\text{ahajc}}$, *ask for liquid nourishment* **hax**, *water* (cf. $\sqrt{\text{Vx}}$, *liquid*)
 b. $\sqrt{\text{ahemet}}$, *have neighbor* **heme**^o, *camp* (cf. $\sqrt{\text{VVme}}$ *home*)

Some irregular causatives have an etymological but unclear relationship to a body part noun.

- (193) a. $\sqrt{\text{acaapxom}}$, *fatten* $\sqrt{\text{Vpxom}}$, *firm fat*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{asleepec}}$, *remove head lice* $\sqrt{\text{sleepec}}$, *place behind ear*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{asxeenot}}$, *respect* $\sqrt{\text{sxeen}}$, *abdomen*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{ateenot}}$, *close (something cylindrical)* $\sqrt{\text{teen}}$, *mouth*
 e. $\sqrt{\text{axaa}}$, *collect roots* $\sqrt{\text{xaai}}$, *root*
 f. $\sqrt{\text{ahitix}}$, *use the best and leave sediment* $\sqrt{\text{Vtix}}$, *sediment, remains, leftovers*

One verb appears to be based on the unusual adverb **ijáaptoj** which has the idea of something strange and unfavorable, especially relating to sex: $\sqrt{\text{ajaaptoj}}$ *rape*.

A few verbs are based on morphemes which are loans from other languages (see Appendices A and B) and which only appear in these verb forms and forms obviously derived from them. (See also the verb $\sqrt{\text{atascar}}$ in (200) below.) These are fairly few in number.⁵¹

- (194) a. $\sqrt{\text{apreent}}$, *pawn*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{argüéyotim}}$, *wander*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{aticpan}}$, *work*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{apásiroj}}$, *go for a stroll / ride*

Some causative verbs with irregular semantics are based on other verbs.

- (195) a. $\sqrt{\text{aahit}}$, *go fishing* $\sqrt{\text{ahit}}$, *eat*
 b. $\sqrt{\text{acóohitim}}$, *rob food from* $\sqrt{\text{ahit}}$, *eat*
 c. $\sqrt{\text{aapca}}$, *protect oneself from rain* $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$, *rain*
 d. $\sqrt{\text{ahicös}}$, *bring in (thorny fruit)* $\sqrt{\text{icös}}$, *thorny*
 e. $\sqrt{\text{aahal}}$, *take with oneself* $\sqrt{\text{al}}$ _{Irreg}, *accompany*
 f. $\sqrt{\text{acozit}}$, *pay x (with y)* $\sqrt{\text{izi}}$, *defeat, earn*⁵²
 g. $\sqrt{\text{acóxemot}}$, *fear for security of* $\sqrt{\text{iixim}}$, *fear*

19.5.11 Causatives with nominal base

A regularly formed causative verb based on a nominal base is relatively (and surprisingly) very uncommon. The meaning of some of these is rather straightforward, however: *make X (from Y)*, as shown in (196), and *not make X into Y*.⁵³ The nominal base of these verb forms is a common

⁵¹ There does not seem to be any propensity to incorporate Spanish infinitives this way, unlike in other languages.

⁵² These two glosses go with this root when used in different syntactic configurations.

⁵³ If one wants to say *make X into Y*, one can use the causative verb $\sqrt{\text{ahaa}}$ *cause to be*.

noun.

(196)	CAUSATIVE VERB WITH NOMINAL BASE		
	[A [X] _N] _V	Semantics:	Agent (Patient)
	<i>make X (from Patient)</i>	Syntax:	Subject (Direct Object)
	where X is a common noun (not inherently possessed)		

(197)	Verb	Noun base
a.	√ ahaaho , ⁵⁴ <i>make road</i>	haaho , <i>road</i>
b.	√ asiimet , <i>make bread</i>	siimet , <i>bread</i>
c.	√ azeee , <i>make strips of limberbush (for basket-making)</i>	zeee , <i>limberbush fiber that forms the base roll of a basket and is covered with finer strips of limberbush</i>

These verbs are probably most commonly used intransitively, as illustrated by the simple example shown in (198) with the intransitive allomorph (**hp-**) of the first person singular subject prefix (§17.1.2.1).

- (198) **Moxíma hpyasiimet.**
 yesterday 1SS.IN-DT-make.bread
 ‘Ayer hice pan.’
Yesterday I made bread. RMH_08-04-07_92a

The simple example in (199) with the transitive allomorph (**h-**) demonstrates that, given the proper context, these verbs may be used transitively (the “from Patient” option in the schema shown in (196)).

- (199) **Moxíma haas copxöt coi pac ihvasiimet.**
 yesterday mesquite SN-loose the.PL some 1SS.TR-DT-make.bread
 ‘Ayer hice pan de harina de mezquite.’
Yesterday I made bread from mesquite flour. RMH_08-04-07_93

See §19.5.12 for deponent causatives that are similar to these in that some have noun bases, although they are different in a crucial way.

19.5.12 Deponent causatives

Deponent causatives are verbs which seem to clearly include the idea of causation and also appear to have causative morphology (namely, an unstressed **a** in stem-initial position) but which do *not* have corresponding verbs or nouns from which they are synchronically derived.

⁵⁴ The word **yaháaho** (3P-AON-make.road) *its path* is a deverbal noun based on this verb.

The verbs in (194) are all examples of deponent causatives. The intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{anaao}}$ *meow* is an unusual one that appears to be based on an onomatopoeic bound root $\sqrt{\text{naao}}$ (which only occurs in the causative verb).

The examples shown in (200) have a corresponding noun which has the morphology of a passive subject-oriented deverbal noun (see §14.1). For example, **hatáscar** *tortilla* is {**ha-ah-atascar**} SN-PV-**atascar**.⁵⁵ This is why all of the corresponding nouns begin with the sequence **ha**.

(200)	Verb stem	Derived noun
a.	$\sqrt{\text{amaax}}$, <i>make alcoholic beverage</i>	hamáax , <i>alcoholic beverage</i>
b.	$\sqrt{\text{apát}}$, <i>make meat-drying rack</i>	hapát , <i>meat-drying rack</i>
c.	$\sqrt{\text{aquéposlc}}$, <i>make cat's cradle</i>	haquéposlc , <i>cat's cradle</i>
d.	$\sqrt{\text{asooma}}$, <i>make frame for shade shelter</i>	hasóoma , <i>frame for shade shelter</i>
e.	$\sqrt{\text{atascar}}$, <i>make tortillas</i>	hatáscar , <i>tortilla</i>
f.	$\sqrt{\text{azaamt}}$, <i>make adobes</i>	hazáamt , <i>adobe</i>

19.5.12.1 Verbs and cognate nouns

The verbs in (201) are simple transitives and not deponent causatives. This group is interesting, however, in that there is a corresponding cognate noun. The verbs are not obviously derived from the nouns; the verbs do not have any morphology to indicate this and cannot even be analyzed as zero derivations because the nouns are not identical to the verb roots. The nouns are not obviously derived from the verbs because the noun does not show evidence of being a synchronic derivation as a passive subject-oriented deverbal noun (§14.1). If they are derived from the verbs, their derivation is irregular. For example: the productive passive subject-oriented deverbal noun based on $\sqrt{\text{aztoj}}$ is **hapáztoj** (< {**ha-p_{Abi}-aztoj**} SN-PV-cook.with.water); this form is actually attested.

(201)	Verb	Cognate noun
a.	$\sqrt{\text{aaco}}$, <i>build house</i>	haaco , <i>house</i> (ABS.house) ⁵⁶
b.	$\sqrt{\text{aztoj}}$, <i>cook in water</i>	haaztoj , <i>porridge</i>
c.	$\sqrt{\text{apis}}$, <i>smoke</i>	haapis , <i>cigarette</i>
d.	$\sqrt{\text{atxi}}$, <i>fart</i>	hatxi , <i>fart</i>

19.6 Assistive verbs

The 2005 dictionary lists a few verbs — less than twenty, but the list is clearly not complete — which look similar to causative verbs but have special semantics; these are called assistive verbs

⁵⁵ In this case we also know that the part **tascar** comes from another language. See Appendix A.

⁵⁶ The possessed stem is $\sqrt{\text{yaaco}}$.

here.⁵⁷ The idea expressed is not that of causing someone to do something, but of *helping* someone to do it, usually (but not always) by assisting that person to perform the action through cooperative action.⁵⁸ The morphology of assistive verbs is discussed in §19.10; it is similar if not identical to causative morphology.

The syntax of assistive verbs is different from that of causative verbs, as the contrast between the assistive verb √**acócta** *help see/find* and the morphologically identical causative verb √**acócta** *cause to see/find* shows. (The fact that the difference is found in the syntax and not in the morphology makes the glossing of words somewhat misleading.) The patient of the assistive verb √**acócta** is a direct object and the patient of the causative verb √**acócta** is an indirect object. More examples are presented below.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|---|
| (202) | Assistive verb
Hin yacócta.
1sDO DT-cause.look.at
'Me ayudó a verlo.'
<i>S/he helped me see it.</i> RMH_08-04-07_94a | (203) | Causative verb
He yacócta.
1sIO DT-cause.look.at
'Me hizo verlo.'
<i>S/he made me see it.</i> RMH_08-04-07_94b |
|-------|---|-------|---|

Two assistive verbs have (active) intransitive verb bases. Their syntax is similar to that of simple transitives.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| (204) | <p style="text-align: center; color: red; margin: 0;">ASSISTIVE VERB ON INTRANSITIVE BASE</p> <p style="margin: 0;">[A [X]_v]_v Semantics: Agent Patient</p> <p style="margin: 0;"><i>help Patient X</i> Syntax: Subject Direct Object</p> <p style="margin: 0;"><i>(usually by doing X with Patient)</i></p> <p style="margin: 0;">where X is an intransitive verb</p> |
|-------|---|

⁵⁷ In Marlett (1981b) they were discussed under the topic of the 'help' construction. The term 'assistive' is adopted from Haspelmath *et al.* (2001:892), where it is reported that similar forms are also found in Georgian, Quechua, Guarani, Cashibo, and some other Amerindian languages.

⁵⁸ A periphrastic expression is also available, illustrated by the following example.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (v) | Hax tacop cōmihaméque hac ihsáai haahi.
water MD-VT 3IO-2P-AON-make.warm the.LC 1SS.TR-IR.ID-make AUX-DCL
'Te ayudaré a calentar esa agua.'
<i>I will help you warm that water.</i> RRR |
|-----|--|

- (205) Assistive Base
- a. $\sqrt{\text{acaaitom}}$,⁵⁹ *act as interpreter for, ask on behalf of* $\sqrt{\text{âaitom}}$, *speak (intr.)*
- b. $\sqrt{\text{aaicot}}$, *help kill* $\sqrt{\text{oicö}}$, *kill (intr.)*
- c. $\sqrt{\text{aháanipxot}}$, *help return home* $\sqrt{\text{aanpx}}$, *return home*
- (206) **María quih iihax itáai, itacáaitom ma,**
 the.FL 3P-with.SG 3:3-RL-make 3:3-RL-help.speak DS
cmaax °hayáa cacóxl° cap ziix iséxl ha quih imíya.
 now storekeeper the.VT thing 3:3-IR.ID-buy AUX the.FL 3:3-PX-know
 ‘Cuando María le ayudó e interpretó por él/ella, el tendero entendió.’
When María helped him/her and interpreted for him/her, the storekeeper understood. RMH_08-04-07_95a
- (207) **Hin yacáaitom.**
 1sDO DT-help.speak
 ‘Lo pidió por mí.’
*S/he asked on my behalf.*⁶⁰ (DS2005, cacáaitom) RMH_08-04-07_95c
- (208) **Moosni zo hatáht, seehe cōhatcmáaj 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_08-04-07_95b
 ‘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.*⁶¹ (DS2005, caaicot)
- (209) **Hamatónipxoj.**
 1pS-PX-help.return.home
 ‘Lo/la ayudamos a regresar a su casa.’
We helped him/her return home. (DS2005, caháanipxot) RMH_08-04-07_96
- (210) **Ma hsacópótót aha.**
 2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.make.basket
 ‘Te ayudaré a hacer una canasta.’
I will help you make the basket. RMH_08-24-07_84i

Assistives formed on lexical reflexives (§18.4.6) express that one is helping the person

⁵⁹ This verb also has the meaning *read* as a causative verb.

⁶⁰ The desired object cannot be mentioned in the clause. ***Sahméés hin yacáaitom.**

⁶¹ The free translation includes reference to the animal that was killed, but the Seri clause cannot contain such a reference.

(expressed as direct object) by doing that action to him or her.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| (211) | Assistive verb | | Base verb |
| | a. $\sqrt{\text{ahásaquim}}$ <i>comb hair of</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{ásaquim}}$ <i>comb one's hair</i> |
| | b. $\sqrt{\text{apánomot}}$ <i>wash hair of</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{panim}}$ <i>wash one's hair</i> |
| | c. $\sqrt{\text{anéaaxot}}$ <i>wash hands of</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{onéaax}}$ <i>wash one's hands</i> |
| | d. $\sqrt{\text{ahácotim}}$ <i>cover up (with blanket)</i> | | $\sqrt{\text{ácōtim}}$ <i>cover oneself up</i> |

- (148) **Ma hsahásaquim** **aha.**
 2SDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-comb.hair.of AUX-DCL
 'Te ayudaré a peinar.' = 'Te peinaré.'
I will help you comb your hair. = I will comb your hair. RMH_05-17-08_287

Assistives formed on transitive bases are more numerous. The syntax of these clauses is also different from that of causatives of transitives. While causatives of transitives are typically ditransitives (§19.5.8), the assistives are transitives plus a bare nominal.⁶² The direct object is the person who is being helped to do the action.

-
- (212) **ASSISTIVE VERB ON TRANSITIVE BASE**
- | | | | | |
|---|------------|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| [A [X] _v] _v | Semantics: | Agent | Patient₁ | (Patient₂) |
| <i>help Patient₁ X (Patient₂)</i> | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object | DP |
- where X is a transitive verb
-

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (213) | Assistive verb | Base verb |
| | a. $\sqrt{\text{acocta}}$, <i>help see</i> | $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$, <i>look at</i> |
| | b. $\sqrt{\text{acoiit}}$, <i>help do</i> | $\sqrt{\text{aaait}}$, <i>do</i> ⁶³ |
| | c. $\sqrt{\text{acómosim}}$, <i>beg on behalf of</i> | $\sqrt{\text{iimosim}}$, <i>beg</i> |
| | d. $\sqrt{\text{aconxot}}$, <i>help carry</i> | $\sqrt{\text{oon}}$, <i>carry (plural items)</i> |
| | e. † $\sqrt{\text{acooi}}$, <i>help carry</i> | $\sqrt{\text{cói}}$, <i>carry on many trips</i> |
| | f. $\sqrt{\text{acómenot}}$, <i>help winnow</i> | $\sqrt{\text{emen}}$, <i>shake back and forth</i> |
| | g. $\sqrt{\text{acoonec}}$, <i>help carry (plural items)</i> ⁶⁴ | $\sqrt{\text{oon}}$, <i>carry (plural items)</i> |
| | h. $\sqrt{\text{acoomot}}$, <i>beg on behalf of</i> | $\sqrt{\text{âaom}}$, <i>beg</i> |
| | i. $\sqrt{\text{acooxat}}$, <i>help take care of baby of</i> | $\sqrt{\text{cooxa}}$, <i>sing to (baby)</i> |

⁶² This nominal is a good candidate for the label Direct Object Chômeur in the framework of Relational Grammar. See Perlmutter and Postal 1983.

⁶³ The base of the assistive verb is given here as $\sqrt{\text{aaai do (tr.)}}$ rather than $\sqrt{\text{aiitim do (intr.)}}$ although it is not entirely clear from the forms themselves. The assistive form easily allows for a bare nominal (corresponding to the patient of the base verb) which seems to imply clearly that the base verb is transitive.

⁶⁴ This verb does not appear in the 2005 dictionary.

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| j. | √ acospoj , ⁶⁵ <i>help write</i> | √ aaspoj , <i>write</i> |
| k. | √ acozixot , <i>help saw (cut)</i> | √ azix , <i>saw(cut)</i> |
| l. | √ aheezit(ot) , <i>help earn, pay</i> | √ izi , <i>earn</i> |
| m. | √ azápatol , <i>sew for</i> | √ zaplim , <i>sew</i> |
| n. | hamác √ acotlim , <i>kindle fire for</i> | hamác √ itlim , <i>kindle fire</i> |
| o. | hant √ acócamot , <i>help lower</i> | √ aquim , <i>put</i> |
| p. | hax ano √ aa hit , <i>wash clothes for</i> | hax ano √ ah , <i>wash clothes</i> |
- (214) ... **¡Ihpacócta**, **zixquisíil° ctam**, **imxöaféaa** **tax**.
 1sDO-IM-help.see child male 2sS-EM-have.good.eyesight SBRD
 ‘... ¡Ayúdame verla [la aguja], niño, porque tienes buena vista.’ RMH_08-04-07_97c
 ... *Help me see it (the needle), boy, because you have good eyesight.* (DS2005, cacócta)
- (215) **María quih isacómenot** **aha**.
 the.FL 3:3-IR.ID-help.winnow AUX-DCL
 ‘Va a ayudar a María a limpiar las semillas.’
She is going to help María clean the seeds. (DS2005, cacómenot) RMH_08-04-07_97b
- (216) **Hacalca quih anxö 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.’ RMH_08-04-07_97a
You are carrying lots of clothing; I will help you carry it. (DS2005, cacónxot, modified)
- (217) **Quisíil° quih amaz** **quih cafée iyacóoomot**.
 child the.FL 3P-father’s.mother the.FL coffee 3:3-DT-beg.on.behalf.of
 ‘El/la niño/a mendigó café (en paquete) para su abuela.’ RMH_08-04-07_98a
The child begged coffee (in packet) for his/her grandmother. (DS2005, cacóoomot)
- (218) **Seehe compomáa ta x, sahmées yatóoilcam** **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_08-04-07_98b
If you aren’t able, I will ask for some of those oranges for you. (DS2005, cacóoomot)

⁶⁵ This form is highly unusual in that it is ostensibly a derived verb formed on a derived verb, since √**aaspoj** is presumably a causative form of √**oospoj** *spotted*.

- (219) **Caztaz hizcoi ma hyacóomenot.**
 wheat PX-PL 2sDO 1sS.TR-DT-help.winnow
 ‘Te ayudé a limpiar este trigo.’
I helped you winnow this wheat. RMH_05-17-08_288
- (220) **Cmaam tiquij iiquet° quih isipnáail ha zo cazápatol iha.**
 woman MD-CM her.child the.FL 3:3-IR.ID-HAVE-skirt AUX a SN-sew.for DCL
 ‘Esa mujer está cosiendo una falda para su hija.’
That woman is sewing a skirt for her daughter. RMH_08-04-07_99b
- (221) **Hiiquet°, insipnáail ha zo ma hyazápatol.**
 my.child 2sS-IR.ID-HAVE-skirt AUX a 2sDO 1sS.TR-DT-sew.for
 ‘Mi hija, estoy cosiendo una falda para ti.’
My daughter, I am sewing a skirt for you. RMH_08-04-07_99c
- (222) **°Haaco ano hapáspoj cöicacóaat° cop ano tiij, itáasi quih**
 school the.VT 3P.in RL-sit 3P-name the.FL
itáaspoj itemáxi ma, Pedro quih iyacóspoj.
 3:3-RL-write 3:3-RL-N-finish DS the.FL 3:3-DT-help.write
 ‘Estaba en la escuela y no pudo escribir su nombre, entonces Pedro le ayudó a escribirlo.’
S/he was in school and couldn’t write her/his name, so Pedro helped her/him write it. (DS2005, ac-) RMH_07-11-07_38a RMH_08-04-07_98c
- (223) **Miizj ma hsháéezitot aha.**
 well 2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-help.earn AUX-DCL
 ‘Te voy a pagar bien.’
I am going to pay you well. (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_99a
- (224) **Zacáam ticop cmaacoj am quih hamác iyacótlim.**
 young.woman MD-VT old.man 3P-father.FE the.FL fire 3:3-DT-help.kindle
 ‘Esa muchacha atizaba lumbre para su padre.’
That girl kindled fire for her father. (DS2005, hamác cacótlim) RMH_08-04-07_99d
- (225) **... hacalca yahásquim coi**
 ABS.personal.items 3P-ON-transport.in.vehicle the.PL
hant ihvacócamot.
 land 1sS.TR-DT-help.lower
 ‘Le ayudé a bajar sus cosas ...’
I helped him get his things down ... (DS2005, hant cacócamot) RMH_08-04-07_99e

- (226) **Hizáac quih hax an hizi maahtoj.**
 1P-older.sister the.FL water 3P.in 1PDO PX-put.FL.for-PL
 ‘Mi hermana mayor nos lava la ropa.’
My older sister washes clothes for us. (DS2005, hax ano caahit) RMH_08-04-07_99f

19.7 Benefactive verbs

Benefactive clauses contain a morphologically complex verb that subcategorizes for a beneficiary. Such verbs are few in number — the ones listed in this section may be all that exist — and they are not productively formed.

One verb stem, $\sqrt{\text{atolecot}}$ *ask (someone) for help for (someone)* is different only from its simple transitive counterpart $\sqrt{\text{atolec}}$ *ask (someone) for help* (§18.5.2) by the inclusion of the suffix *-ot*.⁶⁶

(227)	$\sqrt{\text{atolecot}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Addressee	Beneficiary
	<i>ask Addressee for</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
	<i>help for Beneficiary</i>				

- (228) **María quih Tomás quih haaco isáai ha cop**
 the.FL the.FL ABS.house 3:3-IR.ID-make AUX the.VT
Juan quih cöiyatolecot.
 the.FL 3IO-3:3-DT-ask.for.help.for

‘María le pidió ayuda a Tomás para Juan con respecto a su construcción de una casa.’

María asked Tomás for help for Juan in his house-building. RMH_08-04-07_100b

Another benefactive verb is $\sqrt{\text{acóxetol}}$ *buy (something) on behalf of (someone)*, which is related to the verb $\sqrt{\text{exl}}$ *buy*.

(229)	$\sqrt{\text{acóxetol}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Beneficiary
	<i>buy Patient for</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
	<i>Beneficiary</i>				

- (230) **Hoyáçj quih caamiz zo cohyacóxetol.**
 1P-ON-call.sibling the.FL shirt a 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-buy.for
 ‘Compré la camisa para mi hermano/a.’
I bought the shirt for my brother/sister. RMH_08-04-07_101

⁶⁶ This suffix also appears on some causative (§19.5) and assistive (§19.6) verbs.

The verb $\sqrt{\text{acóquetot}}$ *give (a gift) to (someone) on behalf of (someone)* is at least functionally related to the irregular ditransitive verb $\sqrt{e_{\text{Irregular}}}$ *give (gift)* (§18.6).

(231)	$\sqrt{\text{acóquetot}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Recipient	Beneficiary
	<i>give Patient to</i>	Syntax:	Subject	DP	Direct	Indirect
	<i>Recipient for</i>				Object	Object
	<i>Beneficiary</i>					

(232)	$\circ\text{Eenm haacni}^\circ$	hipcom	Pedro	quih	cohsacóquetot	aha.
	rifle	PX-HZ	the.FL	3IO-1SS.TR-IR.ID-give.for	AUX-DCL	
	‘Daré un rifle a ellos por Pedro.’					
	<i>I will give a rifle to them for Pedro.</i> RMH_08-04-07_91					

The verb $\sqrt{\text{aapacot}}$ *cover (someone) to protect from the rain* is another benefactive verb.⁶⁷ It is related to the verb root $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain*.

(233)	$\sqrt{\text{aapacot}}$	Semantics:	Agent	?	Patient
	<i>cover Patient to</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
	<i>protect from rain</i>				

(234) **Cöiyáapacot.**

(qqq needs to be checked)

(qqq — example needed to expose the syntax)

19.8 Miscellaneous

The intransitive verb $\sqrt{\text{aalim}}$ *play* is the base for a derived transitive verb $\sqrt{\text{acaalim}}$ which means *play with (an item, not a person)*.

(235)	$\sqrt{\text{acaalim}}$	Semantics:	Agent	Patient
	<i>play with Patient</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object
	(where Patient is being used as a toy)			

(236)	$\circ\text{Zaxt quisil}^\circ$	quih	xepe	itéel	cōquih	quij,
	child	the.FL	sea	3P-edge	3IO-SN-be.FL	the.CM

⁶⁷ This verb does not appear in the 2005 dictionary.

tiix	canóaa	heeque	quih	imacáalim;
DDS	boat	juvenile	the.FL	3:3-PX-play.with
hacáaiz	heeque	quih	mos	imacáalim;
ABS-fishing.spear	juvenile	the.FL	also	3:3-PX-play.with
tist	heecto	coi	mos	imacáalim.
harpoon.point-PL	juvenile-PL	the.FL	also	3:3-PX-play.with

‘El niño de la orilla del mar jugaba con una pequeña panga, jugaba con un pequeño pollero, y jugaba con pequeños arpones.’

The seaside child played with a toy boat, played with a toy fishing spear, and played with toy harpoons. (ES2007 ool_itac 03) RMH_08-04-07_185

19.9 The age construction

Expressions of age take a transitive verb that looks, for all intents and purposes, as a causative of the number verb (see §18.2). A noun that expresses a unit of time (e.g., **hant** *year(s)/land*, **iizax** *month/moon* / **iiztox** *months/moons*, **zaah** *day/sun* / **ixáap°** *days*) is (presumably) the direct object. The construction is transitive by all available tests.⁶⁸

- (237) **Quisfil quih hant saazoj caha.**
 child the.FL year IR.ID-AUG-one AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘El niño va a cumplir un año.’
The child is going to be one year old. RMH_08-14-07_78a
- (238) **Hant ihmazóoxöc.** (239) **Iiztox imáaitom.**
 land/year 1sS.TR-AUG-four 3P-moon/month-PL 3:3-PX-AUG-five
 ‘Tengo cuatro años.’ ‘Tiene cinco meses.’
I am four years old. RMH_08-14-07_78b *S/he is five months old.* RMH_08-14-07_78d
- (240) **Hant pahahánl, icáahit spá ha.**
 land/year IR.DP-PV-AUG-ten INF.IN-fish IR.ID-PV-know AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando uno tiene diez años, puede ir a la pesca.’
When one is ten years old, one can go fishing. RMH_08-14-07_78e
- (241) **Hoox oo ixáap° caapxa ha.**
 INTNS DL days SN-AUG-three DCL
 ‘Tiene sólo tres días.’
S/he is only three days old. (DS2005, quitáasit) RMH_08-14-07_78f

⁶⁸ Note, for example, the first person singular subject transitive allomorph **h-**, the 3:3 prefix **i-**, and the ability to passivize when the subject is unspecified.

19.10 Allomorphy of the augment prefix

The prefix used in forming causatives, assistives and benefactives — referred to here as the augment prefix — has several very obvious allomorphs: **a-**, **ac-**, **c-**, **aco-**, and **ah-**, besides an allomorph that changes **i** to **a**, and another process-type allomorph that produces **aa**. Some of these have predictable variants: **a-** becomes **aa-** when stressed, and **aco-** has an allomorph **acóo-**.⁶⁹ The allomorph **a-** becomes **e-** by Vowel Harmony XXX. None of the variation seems to be correlated directly with the difference between causative and benefactive. Some causatives, assistives and benefactives also carry the suffix **-ot** (or its presumed allomorph **-t**).

The distribution of the six major allomorphs is not entirely predictable, although there are three strong generalizations that can be made plus a few tendencies.

First, when the base begins with a consonant, the prefix **a-** is the only one possible. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{anopin}}$ *make convex* based on $\sqrt{\text{nopin}}$ *convex*; $\sqrt{\text{ameque}}$ *heat* and $\sqrt{\text{amequet}}$ *barbecue on a stick* based on $\sqrt{\text{meque}}$ *warm*.

Second, when the base is a denominal verb, the only allomorph possible is the one that simply changes **i** to **a**. The vowel **i** is changed to **a**. Example: $\sqrt{\text{azáamatot}}$ *put sandals on* based on $\sqrt{\text{izáamt}}$ *have sandals, wear sandals*. The same kind of ablaut happens when the verb begins with an unstressed **i**. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{ataaho}}$ *make ready* based on $\sqrt{\text{itaaho}}$ *ready*; $\sqrt{\text{axonj}}$ *loosen* based on $\sqrt{\text{ixonj}}$ *loose*.

Third, when the base is a transitive root, the causative prefix is most commonly **aco-**.⁷⁰ Examples: $\sqrt{\text{acooix}}$ *remove x from y* based on $\sqrt{\text{aiix}}$ *x go away from y*; $\sqrt{\text{acoxot}}$ *make x jump over y* based on $\sqrt{\text{ixö}}$ *x jump over y*; $\sqrt{\text{acóomenot}}$ *help winnow* based on $\sqrt{\text{emen}}$ *winnow*; $\sqrt{\text{acohot}}$ *show* (with short **o**) based on $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$ *see*. Two transitive roots have causatives formed using the prefix **a-**: $\sqrt{\text{aahit}}$ *feed, go fishing* based on $\sqrt{\text{ahit}}$ *eat*, and $\sqrt{\text{aas}}$ *give to drink* based on $\sqrt{\text{asi}}$ *drink* (note the loss of the vowel **i** in the causative form).

Before other types of bases, only tendencies may be observed. One of these is that when an intransitive base begins with a short low vowel (**e** or **a**), the likelihood is very great that the prefix **ac-** is the correct one. The root-initial vowel in the causative form also lengthens (for unknown reasons), making this a bit difficult to see. In addition, the diphthong effect comes into

⁶⁹ Alternatively, and just as plausibly, the underlying form is **aa-** and the vowel shortens when it is not stressed. Furthermore, the allomorph **acóo-** inexplicably keeps its short vowel in situations where a long one is expected.

⁷⁰ One might consider proposing that the morphology is actually causative plus unspecified object marking. But there is no syntactic evidence that the verb base is intransitive. The nominal which would be the direct object of the base verb may be expressed in the causative construction; see §19.5.7. Furthermore, no other transitive verb (such as those beginning with a consonant) requires this allomorph **aco-** when it is made into a causative.

play; see §28.3.4. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{acáapca}}$ *make rain* based on $\sqrt{\text{apca}}$ *rain (v.)*, $\sqrt{\text{acaacat}}$ *make salty* based on $\sqrt{\text{acat}}$ *salty*, $\sqrt{\text{acaaitic}}$ *make soft* based on $\sqrt{\text{aaitic}}$ *soft*. A few transitive verb roots also have augmented forms using this allomorph: $\sqrt{\text{acáatajc}}$ *make vomit (something)*; $\sqrt{\text{aconxot}}$ *help carry (plural items)* based on $\sqrt{\text{oon}}$ *carry (plural items)* (note the shortening of the vowel in the augmented form); $\sqrt{\text{acocta}}$ *help see, show* based on $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$ *look at* (note the shortening of the vowel in the augmented form).⁷¹

Some causative verbs based on roots beginning with **a** take the allomorph **a-** (which presumably lengthens by a regular rule; see §27.3.1). Examples: $\sqrt{\text{aacsx}}$ *awaken (tr.)* based on $\sqrt{\text{acsx}}$ *awaken (intr.)*, $\sqrt{\text{aactim}}$ *cut* based on $\sqrt{\text{actim}}$ *be cut*. Before a root beginning with **e**, the vowel harmonizes: $\sqrt{\text{eeme}}$ *deplete* based on $\sqrt{\text{eme}}$ *depleted*.

A few causative verbs based on roots beginning with **a** take the allomorph **c_{AbI-}**. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{cazx}}$ *tear* based on $\sqrt{\text{azx}}$ *torn*, $\sqrt{\text{capzx}}$ *tear out* based on $\sqrt{\text{apzx}}$ *torn out*. This allomorph causes the following vowel to change quality in some examples: $\sqrt{\text{queetc}}$ *drip (trans.)* based on $\sqrt{\text{iite}}$ *drip (intr.)*, $\sqrt{\text{queefz}}$ *cause make snapping noise* based on $\sqrt{\text{iifz}}$ *make snapping noise*, $\sqrt{\text{queejc}}$ *make wet, explode (tr.)* based on $\sqrt{\text{iijc}}$ *wet, explode (intr.)*, $\sqrt{\text{queemj}}$ *clarify (liquid)* based on $\sqrt{\text{iimj}}$ *clear (liquid)*.

As mentioned above, some causatives are formed by changing the vowel of the root to a different quality. The common change is from **o** or **oo** to **aa**. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{aaijp}}$ *put in tranverse position* based on $\sqrt{\text{ooipj}}$ *be in tranverse position*; $\sqrt{\text{aaspoj}}$ *mark, write, draw, record* based on $\sqrt{\text{oospoj}}$ *spotted*; $\sqrt{\text{aalali}}$ *make flap* based on $\sqrt{\text{oalali}}$ *flap*; $\sqrt{\text{aanj}}$ *put poison (on arrow points)* based on $\sqrt{\text{ooanj}}$ *be poisonous*; $\sqrt{\text{aaipot}}$ *pay* based on $\sqrt{\text{oopot}}$ *paid* (note the addition of **i** to the augmented stem as well); $\sqrt{\text{aaxit}}$ based on $\sqrt{\text{ooxi}}$ *die*.⁷²

A few verbs are identical in form in the simple form and the causative. One example is causative $\sqrt{\text{aanim}}$ *cover* and also *be covered*.

When an intransitive verb begins with an unstressed **ah** sequence (not a common situation), the causative form is made by deleting the **h**. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{acniiij}}$ *cause to flow* based on $\sqrt{\text{ahcniiij}}$ *flow strongly*; $\sqrt{\text{ataasim}}$ *make foamy* based on $\sqrt{\text{ahtaasim}}$ *be foamy*.

All other augmented forms, namely intransitive roots beginning with a vowel that is not a regular **a** or **e** take the prefix **ah-**. Examples: $\sqrt{\text{ahooil}}$ *make blue/green* based on $\sqrt{\text{ooil}}$

⁷¹ Two of these might be thought to belong to the preceding group with **aco-**, but the causative of the transitive verb for *vomit (something)* does not have the expected **o**.

⁷² The augmented form $\sqrt{\text{aaxit}}$ is apparently used only in the idioms $^{\circ}\text{hamátj } \sqrt{\text{aaxit}}^{\circ}$ *cause to be thirsty* (cf. $^{\circ}\text{hamátj } \sqrt{\text{ooxi}}^{\circ}$ *be thirsty*) and $^{\circ}\text{psaac } \sqrt{\text{aaxit}}^{\circ}$ *cause to be hungry* (cf. $^{\circ}\text{psaac } \sqrt{\text{ooxi}}^{\circ}$ *be hungry*).

blue/green; √**ahooxp** *make white* based on √**ooxp** *white*; √**ahaanpx** *return something* based on √**aanpx** *return home*; √**ahaas** *deflate* based on √**aas** *be deflated*; √**ahácatot** *make swim* based on √**ācat** *swim*; √**ahiipet** *fix* based on √**iipe** *good*; √**ahaacot** *help make house* based on √**aaco** *make house*.

The augment prefixes **a-**, **ac-** and **aco-** lose their vowels when they follow the passive prefix (§17.1.5) and if the prefix vowel is *not* carrying stress.

- (242) a. **tahméque** {**t-ah-a-meque**}
 ‘fue calentado’ RL-PV-AUG-warm
it was heated
- b. **tahcáaitic** {**t-ah-ac-âaitic**}
 ‘fue ablandado’ RL-PV-AUG-soft
it was softened
- c. **tahcóomenot** {**t-ah-aco-emen-ot**}
 ‘fue ayudado a limpiar’ RL-PV-AUG-winnow-?
s/he was helped winnow

The causative prefix **ah-** and the stressed version of **a-** do not lose their vowels.

- (243) a. **tahahítaj** {**t-ah-ah-itaj**}
 ‘fue quemado’ RL-PV-AUG-burn
it was burned
- b. **tahaháas** {**t-ah-ah-aas**}
 ‘fue desinflado’ RL-PV-AUG-deflate
it was deflated
- c. **taháactim** {**t-ah-a-actim**}
 ‘fue cortado’ RL-PV-AUG-be.cut
s/he/it was cut

19.11 Times morphology

The intransitive verbs which appear in the times construction described in §9.1.2 are based on verb roots which are predicates of number or quantity (see Table 19.2). The list of known predicates is given in Table 19.2. The morphology is similar to that which is used for causatives and assistives, but some of these forms are different from the causative forms which mean *put*. On the other hand, the stems are identical with those used in the (transitive) age construction (see §19.9), except in the case of *seven* (see below). The *put* forms, typically transitive, are included here for comparison.

The expressions for *six* and *nine* are composite expressions, as shown in Table 18.1. Other

than in the basic expressions, derived verbs with the Augment prefix are used.

- (244) a. **isnáap** √**azoj** *six*
 b. **isnáap** √**aazoj** (Times/Raising)
 c. **isnáap** √**aazoj** *put six* (causative)
 d. **hant isnáap** √**aazoj** *six years of age*
- (245) a. **csoi** √**hanl** *nine*
 b. **csoi** √**ahánl** (Times/Raising)
 c. **csoi** √**ahánl** *put nine*
 d. **hant csoi** √**ahánl** *nine years of age*

Seven uses the invariant expression **tomcoj** plus either the verb √**iih** *be* or the intransitive verb √**aah** (not used elsewhere), or the transitive verb √**ah** *put*._{FL} (all inflected for a third person oblique/indirect object).

- (246) a. **tomcoj cō-** √**iih** *seven*
 b. **tomcoj cō-** √**aah** (Times/Raising)
 c. **tomcoj cō-** √**ah** *put seven*
 d. **hant tomcoj cō-** √**ah** *seven (years of age)*

19.12 Dative and Antidative

When the verb meaning *tell* has no addressee or a plural addressee, the basic verb √**amx** is used (see §18.5.5), but if it has a singular addressee, the derived verb √**aamx** is used and the

Table 19.2: Derived number predicates					
	Root	Times/Raising (intransitive)	'age' forms (transitive)	'put' forms (transitive)	
a.	√ azoj	√ aazoj			<i>one</i>
b.	√ oocj	√ aacj		√ ahóocj	<i>two</i>
c.	√ apxa	√ aapxa			<i>three</i>
d.	√ zooxöc	√ azóoxöc			<i>four</i>
e.	√ ooitom	√ aaitom		√ ahóoitom	<i>five</i>
f.	√ zooxolcam	√ azóoxolcam			<i>eight</i>
g.	√ hanl	√ ahánl			<i>ten</i>
h.	√ ipxa	√ ahípxa			<i>few</i>
i.	√ atxo	√ aháatxo			<i>many</i>

addressee is encoded as an indirect object.

(247)	√ aamx	Semantics:	Agent	Topic	Addressee
	<i>tell, promise</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object

- (248) **Cohyáamx.**
 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-say+IO
 ‘Se lo dije.’
I said it to him/her. RMH_07-20-07_51c RMH_08-13-07_30c

- (249) **Ziix zo me spaamx aha.**
 thing a 2IO IR.ID-PV=say+IO AUX-DCL
 ‘Algo será dicho a ti.’
Something will be said to you (sg.). RMH_08-14-07_72a

The verb √**isxö** *hide* is a simple transitive verb that takes a patient as direct object (see §18.5).⁷³ But any idea of hiding which mentions the person from whom one is hiding the object must use the verb √**eesxö**, syntactically a simple ditransitive verb.

(250)	√ eesxö	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	Goal
	<i>hide Patient</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
	<i>from Goal</i>				

- (251) **¡He heesxö!**
 1IO IM-hide+IO
 ‘Escóndelo/la de mí/nosotros.’
Hide it from me/us! RMH_08-14-07_72b

- (252) **Icáaspoj° quih me iscméesxö aha.**
 3P-AON-US-write the.FL 2IO 3:3-IR.ID-N-hide+IO AUX-DCL
 ‘No esconderá el lápiz de ti/Uds.’
S/he will not hide the pencil from you (sg./pl.). RMH_08-04-07_102a RMH_08-14-07_72c

- (253) **Icáaspoj° quih he ipéxö ihmímzo.**
 3P-AON-US-write the.FL 1IO 3P-AON-PV-hide+IO 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero que el lápiz se esconda de mi.’
I want the pencil to be hidden from me. RMH_08-04-07_102b RMH_08-14-07_72d

The verb for *ask* is √**miit** when an addressee is expressed as indirect object (§18.5.2); that addressee must be singular. But when an addressee is *not* present, or if a plural addressee is expressed (necessarily as a postpositional phrase) the stem √**amiit** is used, as shown in (254)

⁷³ See §19.1.3 for another use of the verb √**eesxö**.

and the examples that follow. These examples are all demonstrably intransitive by the tests in Appendix C.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (254) | $\sqrt{\text{amiit}}$ | Semantics: | Agent | Patient | (Addressee_{pl}) |
| | <i>ask regarding</i> | Syntax: | Subject | Indirect Object | (PP) |
| | <i>Patient (to</i> | | | | |
| | <i>Addressee)</i> | | | | |
- (255) a. **¿Cötamiit?**
 3IO-RL-ask RMH_08-04-07_102c
 ‘¿Preguntó acerca de él/ella/ello?’
Did s/he ask about him/her/it?
- b. **¿He tamíit?**
 1IO RL-ask RMH_08-04-07_103a
 ‘¿Preguntó acerca de mí?’
Did s/he ask about me?
- (256) **Juan quih cohpyamiit.**
 the.FL 3IO-1SSI-DT-ask
 ‘Pregunté acerca de Juan.’
I asked about John. (DS2005, cöcamíit) RMH_08-04-07_103b
- (257) **¿Ziix zo mino cötamiit?**
 thing a 2P.in 3IO-RL-ask
 ‘¿Os preguntó acerca de algo?’
Did s/he ask you (pl.) about something? RMH_08-04-07_103c
- (258) **¿Ziix z ano cötamiit?**
 thing a 3P.in 3IO-RL-ask
 ‘¿Les preguntó acerca de algo?’
Did s/he ask them about something? RMH_08-04-07_103d