

7. Idioms

Idiomatic expressions are very numerous and varied in type. An assortment of them is presented here by structural type. It is not claimed that this inventory is complete, but it gives a good idea of the kind of structures that are very commonly found.

7.1 Noun in the VP

Some idioms are formed by including a noun in the VP. This noun is invariant in its form although it may be morphologically complex (e.g. **imíipla** in (12), **imoz** in (14) and **ixtám** in (15)). The noun usually does not obviously correlate with any inflection on the verb and does not appear to be an argument of the verb. The verb may be transitive or intransitive.

In a subset of these idioms (see examples (8) and (9)) invariant third person oblique/indirect object marking (which may be related to the presence of the noun in the VP) occurs on the verb. At the end of this subsection a slightly more complicated case is discussed.

- (1) **hamátj** √**ooxi**
 thirst (?) die
 = *be thirsty*
- ¡**Anxö** °**hamátj ihpxóaxi**°!
 INTNS thirst¹ 1SS.IN-EM-die
 ‘¡Tengo mucha sed!’
I’m really thirsty! RMH_08-04-07_219c
- (2) **hant** √**aacatx**
 land cause.release
 = *have a baby* (intransitive)
- María quih** °**hant yaacatx**°.
 the.FL land DT-cause.release
 ‘María dio a luz.’
Mary had a baby. RMH_05-17-08_152
- (3) **hant** √**aféaa**
 land ?
 = *spend the night until dawn, be day-old (leftover, like food)*
- ¿**Pyeest quij ano coii coi cmaax** °**hant saféaacol**° **quee -ya?**
 fiesta the.CM 3P.in SN-stand.PL the.PL now land IR.ID-?-PL AUX.SN QM
 ‘¿La gente que está en la fiesta va a quedarse toda la noche, hasta el amanecer?’
Are the people who are at the fiesta going to stay the whole night, until dawn?
- (4) **hant** √**atox**
 land extend
 = *drag, tow*
- Trooqui quij** °**hant iyóotyaic**°, ...
 vehicle the.CM land 3:3-DT-stretch.out.IMPF
 ‘Arrastraron el camión, ...’
They towed the truck, ... (DS2005, quitox) RMH_05-17-08_153

¹ The word **hamátj** rarely occurs outside of this idiom and another; its gloss is only speculative here. The 2005 dictionary suggests something relating to aridness.

- (5) **hánt** √fi²
land ?
= *next morning*
- °**Hánt pofii**° ta, ...
land IR.DP-? DS
'Mañana por la mañana, ...'
Tomorrow morning, ... RMH_05-17-08_154
- (6) **hant co-** √aheectim
land 3IO ?
= *transport*
- Imám coi** °**hant cohsahéectim**° **aha.**
3P-fruit the.PL land 3IO-1sS.TR-IR.ID-? AUX-DCL
'Voy a transportar las frutas del cacto.'
I'm going to transport the cactus fruit. RMH_05-17-08_155
- (7) **hant co-** √aiis
land 3IO ?
= *watch over*
- ¿**Miizj** °**hant cöitáiis**°?
well land 3IO-3:3-RL-?
'¿Lo/a está vigilando?'
Is s/he watching over it/him/her? RMH_05-17-08_156
- (8) **hant co-** √iij / √oom / √ap
land 3IO sit lie stand
= *have form of* (choice of verb depends on profile of item)
- Zixcám caanj** **hapáh com** °**hant cocom**° **iha.**
fish Gulf.grouper SN-PV-say the.Hz land 3IO-SN-lie DCL
'Tiene la forma del pez llamado "caanj" (baya).' RMH_08-04-07_184e
It has the shape of the fish called "caanj" (Gulf grouper). (ES2007 oot_icaanj 02)
- (9) **hant co-** √pam
land 3IO connected
= *come across*
- ... °**ziix coáafp**° **pac ano** °**hant cöhatpámcam**° **ma ...**
mullet some 3P.in land 3IO-1PS-RL-connected-PL-IMPF DS
'... llegamos a algunas lisas, ...'
... we came across a school of mullet, ... RMH_07-11-07_44a
- (10) **ihít** √actim
3P-place.behind be.cut
= *be all gone; end*
- ... °**ihít** **tactim**°, **yoque.**
3P-place.behind RL-be.cut DT-US-say
'..., terminó, se dice.'
... it was all gone, it is said. (Hombre_Barril_32-33)
- (11) **iiha**³ √apfi
? have. flavor.of
= *be fat*
- ¿**Me zímjöc** °**iha capfi**° **-ya?**
2PRO when? ? SN-have.flavor.of QM
'¿Cuándo te pusiste gordo/a?'
When did you get fat? RMH_05-17-08_157

² The word **hant** carries the primary stress in this idiom.

³ Since the word **iiha** does not change at all, it is not clearly identified with either of the homophonous possessed nouns that are **iiha** (*his/her/its possession* and *his/her/its body member/extremity*). The plural form of (11) is **iiha**

- (12) **imíipla** $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$ ⁴
 3P-AON-bad be_{Irreg}
 = *deceased*
- Tiix** °**imíipla** **haa**° **ha.**
 DDS 3P-AON-bad SN be_{Irreg} DCL
 ‘Ha fallecido.’ RMH_08-21-07_91a
S/he has passed away (deceased).
- (13) ¿**Tiix** **áz** °**imíipla** **coha**° **-ya?**
 DDS what? 3P-AON-bad 3IO-SN-be_{Irreg} QM
 ‘¿De qué falleció?’
What did s/he die from? RMH_05-17-08_158
- (14) **imoz** **he / me / co-** $\sqrt{\text{aaítot}}$
 3P-heart 1IO/2IO/3IO- cause.arrive
 = *remind*
- Tiix** °**imoz** **he yaaitot**°, **cöhihíxt** **hac.**
 DDS 3P-heart 1IO DT-cause.arrive 3IO-1P-AON-small.PL the.LC
 ‘Me hizo recordar sobre nuestra niñez.’
S/he reminded me about our childhood. (DS2005 caaitot) RMH_05-20-08_3
- (15) **ixtámt** $\sqrt{\text{aai}}$
 3P-AON-abundant make
 = *do easily, do when opportunity arises*
- Méjico** **hac** °**ixtámt** **hiháaj**° **coox** **cah** **x** **ihpmútax.**
 the.LC ? 1P-AON-make all the.FL-FOC UT 1SS.IN-PX-go
 ‘Yo iba a la ciudad de México cuando tenía una buena oportunidad.’
I went to Mexico City whenever I had an opportunity. (DS2005, ixtámt *caai) RMH_05-17-08_159
- (16) **psaac** $\sqrt{\text{ooxi}}$
 hunger (?) die
 = *hungry*
- Esaó** **quij** **anxö** °**psaac** **tooxi**° **toc** **cötiij,** ...
 the.CM INTNS hunger RL-die there 3IO-RL-sit
 ‘Esaú tenía mucha hambre, estaba allí, ...’
Esau was there and very hungry, ... (Hb 12:16) RMH_08-04-07_219b

Various expressions of learning and teaching (in a formal schooling sense) are also built on this model, with the derived noun **hapáspoj** *paper* (SN-PV-write) and the verb meaning *teach*. These expressions contain three nominals in the active voice: the teacher as subject, the learner as direct object (which may be omitted, making the construction intransitive), and the word

matapíitaj *are you (pl.) fat?*; note the invariance of **iíha**. The position of the word in the clause does not make it identifiable with the postverbal adverb **iíha** *only* (see §24.4.5).

⁴ This is the irregular verb that retracts stress, not the equative verb $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$.

hapáspoj as cross-referenced oblique object. This situation results in the type of object morphology conflict that is discussed in detail in §17.1.2.5.

- (17) **hapáspoj**^o **co-** **√acóaat**
 paper 3IO cause.know
 = *teach (as in formal schooling)*
¿°Hapáspoj me tacóaat°?
 paper 3IO+2sDO RL-cause.know
 ‘¿Te está enseñando (p.ej., en la escuela)?’
Is s/he teaching you (e.g., in school)? RMH_05-17-08_160
- (18) **¿°Hapáspoj cōtacóaat°?**
 paper 3IO-RL-cause.know
 ‘¿Está enseñando (p.ej., en la escuela)?’
Is s/he teaching (e.g., in school)? RMH_05-20-08_4
- (19) **¿°Hapáspoj cōtahcóaat°?**
 paper 3IO-RL-PV-cause.know
 ‘¿Está estudiando (siendo enseñado) en la escuela?’
Is s/he studying (lit., being taught) in school? RMH_05-17-08_161

7.2 Possessed noun in the VP

Some idioms have a possessed noun in the VP (see §5.5.2). The subject of the possessor in these idioms is often the relevant nominal for the Different Subject marking (see §3.6.1), but not for raising (see §9.1.2) or subject person inflection on the verb (§17.1.2.1), although the plurality of the possessor of the possessed noun determines (or agrees with) the number inflection on the verb.

- (20) **√sxéen** **√aCa** **Tiix** **°isxéen** **itcmáa°** **ho.**
 abdomen know DDS 3P-abdomen 3:3-RL-N-know DCL
 = *be intelligent, wise* ‘No era sabio.’
He wasn’t wise. (Hombre_Barril_6) RMH_05-17-08_163
- (21) **√VVcp** **√ap** **¿Quíih** **-ya** **°miicp** **tap°?**
 place.next.to stand who? QM 2P-place.next.to RL-stand
 = *support, root for* ‘¿Quién está a tu favor?’
Who is supporting (rooting for) you? RMH_11-27-07_10
- (22) **√VVhjoj** **√ooxyat** **... xo** **°híihjoj** **yomóoxvat°.**
 limb-PL die-PL but 1P.limb-PL DT-N-die-PL
 = *get tired from walking* ‘... pero no me cansé.’
... but I didn’t get tired. (DS2005, cooxi) RMH_05-17-08_164

- (23) \sqrt{VV} sax hant \sqrt{ooit} (plural \sqrt{paailx})
 ? land arrive
 = *be happy*
 (He) $^{\circ}$ hiistox hant yopáailx $^{\circ}$. (*hayopáailx)
 1PRO 1P-?-PL land DT-arrive.PL 1PS-DT-arrive.PL
 ‘Estamos muy felices.’
We are very happy. RMH_08-21-07_90
- (24) \sqrt{VV} sax \sqrt{heemt} $^{\circ}$ listox theemloj $^{\circ}$ toc cōtoi, ...
 ? stink 3P-?-PL RL-stink-PL there 3IO-RL-be.FL.PL
 = *be angry*
 ‘Estaban allí enojados, ...’
They were there angry, ... (Dos_Hermanos_4.1)
- (25) \sqrt{Vmoz} co- \sqrt{ooit} ... $^{\circ}$ mimoz cōyomóoit $^{\circ}$.
 heart 3IO- arrive 2P-heart 3IO-DT-N-arrive
 = *remember*
 ‘... no te acuerdas.’ RMH_05-17-08_165
 ...you don’t remember. (DS2005, cooit)
- (26) \sqrt{Vmoz} \sqrt{aa} $^{\circ}$ Mimoz smaaj $^{\circ}$ aha.
 heart ? 2P-heart IR.ID-N-? AUX-DCL
 = *worry*
 ‘No desesperes.’
Don’t worry. (DS2005, caaj) RMH_05-17-08_166
- (27) \sqrt{Vmoz} \sqrt{meet} $^{\circ}$ Mimoz tmeet $^{\circ}$?
 heart ? 2P-heart RL-?
 = *be sad*
 ‘¿Estás triste?’
Are you sad? (DS2005, cmeet) RMH_05-17-08_167
- (28) \sqrt{Vmoz} \sqrt{teepit} $^{\circ}$ Mimoz teepit $^{\circ}$?
 heart ? 2P-heart RL-?
 = *be stingy*
 ‘¿Eres tacaño?’
Are you stingy? RMH_05-17-08_168
- (29) \sqrt{Vpos} co- pazlax
 throat 3IO ?-IMPF
 = *choke on (something liquid or powdery)*
 Café hoosi cop $^{\circ}$ hipos cōyopázlax $^{\circ}$.
 coffee 1P-ON-drink the.VT 1P-throat 3IO-DT-?-IMPF
 ‘Me atraganté con el café que había tomado.’
I choked on the coffee that that I had drunk. RMH_05-17-08_169

- (30) $\sqrt{\text{Vsoj}}$ **co-** $\sqrt{\text{apxázl}}$ body 3IO- put.on.top.of
= *embrace, hug*
- °Misoj **me yapxázl** ° .
2P-body 3IO+2sDO DT-put.on.top.of
'Te abrazó.'
S/he hugged you. (DS2005, capxázl) RMH_05-17-08_170

7.3 Postposition in the VP

Postpositions commonly figure in idioms and they are relatively fixed in their position in the VP (see §5.7). Some of the idioms are quite transparent and others are not.

Some of the idioms formed with postpositions in the VP have invariant postpositions; the postposition is always inflected in the third person and does not have a complement.

- (31) **áno** $\sqrt{\text{atápolquim}}$
3P.in break.up
= *interrupt*
- Ctam, tiix** $\text{°áno hizi matápolquim$ ° , ...
man DDS 3P.in 1PDO Px-break.up
'Ese hombre nos interrumpió.'
That man interrupted us. RMH_08-13-07_31
- (32) **áno** $\sqrt{\text{loopox}}$
3P.in UO-remove
= *shed skin [snake, crab, etc.]*
- Cocázni** ° **com** $\text{°áno moopox$ ° .
rattlesnake the.HZ 3P.in Px-UO-remove
'Una víbora de cascabel pelecha.'
A rattlesnake sheds. RMH_08-13-07_32a
- (33) **áno** $\sqrt{\text{vimoz}}$
3P.in HAVE-heart
= *turn upside down*
- Trooqui tintica** $\text{°áno vimoz$ ° .
vehicle MD-AW 3P.in DT-HAVE-heart
'El carro se volteó.'
The car turned over. RMH_05-17-08_171
- (34) X **ano** $\sqrt{\text{itaai}}$
3P.in ?
= *happen simultaneously as X*
- Cōhihíim** **hac** $\text{°ano cōipitáai$ ° **ta, ...**
3IO-1P-AON-sleep the.LC 3P.in 3IO-3:3-IR.DP-? DS
'Mientras yo duermo, ...'
While I sleep, ... (DS2005, quitáai) RMH_07-11-07_38d
- (35) **áno** $\sqrt{\text{veemoz}}$
3P.in ? (transitive verb)
= *peel*
- Sahméés quiij** °án $\text{°ivéemoz$ ° .
orange the.CM 3P.interior 3:3-DT-?
'Peló la naranja.'
He peeled the orange. RMH_05-17-08_172
- (36) **íti** $\sqrt{\text{ahca}}$
3P-on be.located
= *be possible*

- Ctam ticop °íti imáhca° ha, haa cöisífp hac.**
 man MD-VT 3P-on SN-N-be.located DCL there 3IO-3P-IR.ID-arrive the.LC
 ‘No hay ninguna posibilidad de que ese hombre llegará allá.’
There’s not a chance that that man will arrive there. RMH_08-13-07_32b
- (37) **áno √ooit °Áno paait° ta, ...**
 3P.in arrive 3P.in IR.DP- arrive DS
 = *be afternoon* ‘En la tarde, ...’
In the afternoon, ... RMH_05-17-08_173
- (38) **áno √azquim Zaah quij °áno siizquim° ta, ...**
 3P.in enter sun the.CM 3P.in IR.ID-enter AUX.RL
 = *set [sun]* ‘Estaba por ponerse el sol, ...’ RMH_08-13-07_33a
The sun was about to set, ... (DS2005, hamác cöhaix)
- (39) **íiqui √aaitom ¡ °íiqui caaitom°!**
 3P-toward speak 3P-toward IM-speak
 = *go to the authorities* ‘¡Ve a las autoridades!’
Go to the authorities! RMH_05-17-08_174
- (40) **íiqui √ojoz ... °íiqui tojoz° itéxl, ...**
 3P-toward flee 3P-toward RL-flee 3:3-RL-take
 = *suddenly* ‘... de repente lo agarró, ...’
... suddenly he grabbed him, ... (Dos_Hermanos_66)
- (41) **íti he / me / co- √acócamot**
 3P-on 1IO/2IO/3IO- help.put.things
 = *dress (someone)*
- Eáacalca cpaaix coi °íti cöiyacócamot°.**
 3P-clothing SN-clean.the.PL 3P-on 3IO-3:3-DT-help.put.things
 ‘Le vistió con ropa limpia.’
S/he dressed him/her with clean clothes. RMH_08-13-07_33b
- (42) **Meáacalca cpaaix coi °íti me iyacócamot°**
 2P-clothing SN-clean the.PL 3P-on 2IO 3:3-DT-help.put.things
 ‘Te vistió con ropa limpia.’
S/he dressed you with clean clothes. RMH_08-13-07_33c

Other PP-VP idioms have inflected postpositions that vary in person according to the person of the complement of the construction.

- (43) **√VVhax √a_{Irreg}**
 with.SG be
 = *be like*

- Cosi quih °ihax coha° ha, cöiizquim hac.**
 thorn the.FL 3P.with.SG 3IO-SN-be_{irreg} DCL 3IO-3P-AON-enter the.LC
 ‘Era como una espina, en la manera en que entró.’
It was like a thorn, in the way in which it entered. (DS2005, coha) RMH_11-19-07_112
- (44) √VV**hax** / √VV**cot** √**aai** ;°**Hiihax haai°!**
 with.SG with.PL make 1P-with.SG IM-make
 = *help* ‘¡Ayúdame!’
Help me! RMH_05-17-08_175a
- (45) ;°**Hiicot haai°!**
 1P-with.PL IM-make
 ‘¡Ayúdanos!’
Help us! RMH_05-17-08_175b
- (46) √VV**qui** √**aa** ..., °**hiiqui saa° ha.**
 toward ? 1P-toward IR.ID-? AUX-DCL
 = *harm (food, to a person)* ‘..., me hará daño.’
..., it will harm me. (DS2005, caa) RMH_07-11-07_45d
- (47) √VV**qui** √**aai**
 3P-toward make
 = *sprinkle*
- Hantíp quih ziix ipxási quih °iiqui iyáai°.**
 salt the.FL thing 3P-flesh the.FL 3P-toward 3:3-DT-make
 ‘Eché sal en la carne.’
S/he sprinkled salt on the meat. (DS2005, caai) RMH_05-17-08_176
- (48) √VV**qui** √**atólec** °**Miiqui vatólec°.**
 toward ask.for.help 2P-toward DT-ask.for.help
 (construction is intransitive) ‘Te maldijo.’
S/he cursed you. RMH_08-13-07_32d
- (49) °**iiqui** hpsatólec° **aha.**
 3P-toward 1S.IN-IR.ID-ask.for.help AUX-DCL
 ‘Le maldeciré.’
I will curse him/her. RMH_08-13-07_32e
- (50) √V**ti** **co-** √**ahójoz**
 3P-on 3IO- cause.flee
 = *do excessively with respect to*
- Hamázaj zo htaai, ihtamíh_j, ihyatápolquim,**
 ABS-clay.pot a 1S.Tr-RL-make 1S.Tr-RL-cause.smooth 1S.Tr-DT-cause.broken

cöixátcaj **hac** °**fti** **cohtahójoz**°.
 3IO-3P-AON-thin the.LC 3P-on 3IO-1SS.Tr-cause.flee

‘Estaba puliendo la olla que hice y la quebré porque le hice demasiado delgada.’

I was polishing the pot that I made and broke it, because I overdid it in making it thin. RMH_08-13-07_32c

(51) **Cömiihit** **hac** °**fti** **convahójoz**°.
 3IO-2P-AON-eat the.LC 3P-on 3IO-2SS-DT-cause.flee

‘Has comido demasiado.’

You have eaten too much. RMH_05-17-08_177

7.4 Adverb in the VP

Some idioms are formed using an adverb in the VP (see chapter 5) plus a verb. Some of these are more transparent than others.

(52) **anxö** √**haa**⁵
 INTNS be_{Irreg}
 = *be injured*

Juan quih °**anxö haa**° **ha**.
 the.FL INTNS SN.be_{Irreg} DCL

‘Juan está herido.’

Juan is injured. RMH_09-28-07_145a

(53) **anxö** √**aa**
 INTNS make
 = *injure*

Caay cop Juan quih °**anxö iyáai**°.
 horse the.VT the.FL INTNS 3:3-DT-make

‘El caballo hirió a Juan.’

The horse injured Juan. RMH_09-28-07_145b

(54) **cmaa**⁶ √**i**
 now be.FL
 = *new*

°**Xiica coquéhelam**° **hizcoi** °**cmaa quih**° **iha**.
 balls PX-PL now SN-be.FL DCL

‘Estos balones son nuevos.’

These balls are new. RMH_05-17-08_178

(55) **haa** √**ahca**⁷
 there be.located
 = *be (apparently) the case that*

[**Isíha** **xah quih**] °**haa voocha**°,
 3P-IR.ID-fast — the.FL there DT-be.located

canóaa com

boat the.Hz RMH_08-24-07_112b

‘Aparentemente la panga va a ser rápida.’

Apparently the boat is going to be fast.

⁵ This is the irregular verb that retracts stress, not the equative verb √**haa**.

⁶ Although this is homophonous with a short form of the word for *now* (typically **cmaax**), it does not occupy an adjunct position in the clause, unlike the common time adverb (see §24.3.3). In the idiom, **cmaa** is invariant in its immediate preverbal position.

⁷ Part of the meaning of *apparently* is expressed by the word **xah** in the complement.

- (56) **haai** √**ipi**⁸
? ?
= *easy*
- (57) **haai** √**mipi**⁹
? ?
= *difficult*
- (58) **haai** √**ahípi**
? cause.?
= *do easily*
- (59) **hacx** √**míih**
apart not.be.FL
= *die*
- (60) **hacx** √**amíihit**
apart cause.not.be.FL
= *kill*
- (61) **hantx** **mo-** √**a**
at.base TWD move
= *be from the ancestral past*
- (62) **hapx** √**aaílx**
outside release.IMPF
= *demonstrate magical powers*
- (63) **hapx** √**ap**
outside stand
= *be born; defecate*
- Moosni quih cōhisíicō hac**
sea.turtle the.FL 3IO-1P-IR.ID-kill the.LC
°**íiqui he ihín hac**° °**haai quipi**° **ha.**
with.respect.to.me ? SN-? DCL
'Me es fácil matar caguamas (soy experto).'
It is easy for me to kill turtles (I'm an expert).
(DS2005 quipi) RMH_05-17-08_179
- Taax °haai cmipi° ha.**
DDP ? SN-? DCL
'Eso es difícil.'
That is difficult. RMH_05-17-08_180
- ¿°**Haai ntahípi**°?
? 2SS-RL-cause.?
'¿Puedes hacerlo?' o '¿Sabes hacerlo?'
Can you do it? or RMH_05-17-08_181
Do you know how to do it? (DS2005 cahipi)
- °**Hacx vomíih**°.
apart DT-not.be.FL
'Murió.'
S/he died. RMH_05-17-08_182
- Anxö °hacx ixafíhitim**°.
INTNS apart 3:3-EM-not.be.FL-IMPF
'Mató muchos.'
S/he killed many. RMH_11-27-07_07
- °**hantx cōmíiha**° **hac**
at base 3IO-TWD-3P-AON-move the.LC
'en tiempos antiguos'
in the old days RMH_05-17-08_183
- (see example (31) in chapter 3)
- zixquisíil cmaa °hapx caap**°
child now outside SN-stand
'niño recién nacido'
newborn baby RMH_05-17-08_184

⁸ This expression seems to be falling into disuse.

⁹ The **m**, etymologically negative, is lexicalized as part of the stem. The most obvious evidence for this is the fact that the subject-oriented deverbal form uses the **c-** allomorph rather than the **i-** allomorph. See §14.1.

- (64) **himo** √pazjc¹⁰
elsewhere dispersed
= *spill out*
- Hasáaiti cop** °**himo** **vopázjc**°.
gasoline the.VT elsewhere DT-dispersed
'La gasolina se tiró.'
The gasoline spilled out. RMH_05-17-08_185
- (65) **hoo xah** √eme
? ATTEN depleted
= *suddenly*
- °**Hoo xah teme**° (ma), °**hant yahjíit**°.
? ATTEN RL-depleted DS land DT-fall
'De repente cayó.'
All of a sudden s/he/it fell down. RMH_07-11-07_45a
- (66) **iicp co-** √iipe
toward 3IO good
= *useful*
- Eenim hipcop** °**iicp cōquiipe**° **ha.**
knife PX-VT toward 3IO-SN-good DCL
'Este cuchillo es útil.'
This knife is useful. R RMH_05-17-08_186
- (67) **iicp he / me / co-** √aaitom
toward 1IO / 2IO / 3IO- speak
= *defend (verbally)*
- He** °**iicp me hpvooitom**°.
1PRO toward 2IO 1sS.IN-DT-speak
'YO te defendí.'
I defended you. RMH_05-20-08_5
- (68) **iicp** √aanim
toward cause.covered
= *forget*
- ¿°**iicp intáanim**°?
toward 2SS-RL-cause.covered
'¿Se te olvidó?'
Did you forget? RMH_05-17-08_188
- (69) **miizj** √aai
well make
= *take care of*
- °**Miizj insáai**° (a)**ha.**
well 2sS-IR.ID-make AUX-DCL
'Debes cuidarlo.'
You should take care of it. RMH_05-17-08_189
- (70) **miizj** √oocta
well look.at
= *be careful, pay attention*
- ¿°**Miizj hoocta**°!
well IM-look.at
'¡Cuidado!' o '¡Presta atención!'
Be careful! or Pay attention! RMH_05-17-08_190

7.5 Reflexive pronoun in the VP

Some idioms utilize a reflexive pronoun.

¹⁰ The root √azjc means *piled up*; it seems obvious that that verb stem in this idiom is derived from a lexicalized passive form of that verb. The **p**, etymologically the passive prefix, is lexicalized as part of the stem. The most obvious evidence for this is the fact that the subject-oriented deverbal form uses the **c-** allomorph rather than the **ha-** allomorph. See §14.1. The stem √pazjc is used in a few idiomatic expressions.

- (71) \sqrt{Vsoj} \sqrt{axi}
 self finish
 = *get oneself ready*
- °**Hisolca havóox**°.
 1P-self-PL 1PS-DT-finish-PL
 ‘Nos preparamos.’
We got ready. OP_2-07-07_19a
- (72) \sqrt{Vsoj} $\sqrt{anzáait}$
 self careful.with
 = *be patient, calm, not impulsive*
- °**Hisolca havanzáaitj**°.
 1P-self-PL 1PS-DT-careful.with-PL
 ‘Éramos pacientes.’
We were patient. OP_2-07-07_19b
- (73) °**Misoj insanzáait**° **aha.**
 2P-self 2SS-IR.ID-careful.with AUX-DCL
 ‘Ten paciencia.’
Be patient. RMH_09-28-07_165h
- (74) °**Quisoi sahnzáait**° **aha.**
 US-3P-self IR.ID-PV-take.care.of AUX-DCL
 ‘Uno debe tener paciencia.’
One should be patient. RMH_09-28-07_165i
- (75) **ox** \sqrt{Vsoj} \sqrt{ah}
 thus self put.FL
 = *have custom*
- °**Ox hisolca hamíj**°.
 thus 1P-self-PL 1PS-PX-put.FL.PL
 ‘Teníamos esa costumbre.’
We had that custom. OP_2-07-07_19c
- (76) \sqrt{Vsoj} \sqrt{queepe}
 self like
 = *be proud of oneself*
- °**Hisolca hatquéept**°, **hamílx.**
 1P-self-PL 1PS-RL-like.PL 1PS-PX-go.PL
 ‘Éramos orgullosos y fuimos.’
We were proud and went. (Offered) LHC_2-8-07_74a
- (77) **miizj** \sqrt{Vsoj} \sqrt{oocata}
 well self look.at
 ~ \sqrt{Vsoj} **miizj** \sqrt{oocata}
 self well look.at
 = *behave*
- a. °**Miizj misoj insóocata**° **ha.**
 well 2P-self 2SS-IR.ID-look.at AUX-DCL
- b. °**Misoj miizj insóocata**° **ha.**
 2P-self well 2SS-IR.ID-look.at AUX-DCL
 ‘Compórtate bien.’ (b) RMH_09-28-07_165e
You should behave. (a) RMH_09-28-07_165d
- (78) a. °**Quisoi miizj spacta**° **ha.**
 US-3P-self well IR.ID-PV-look.at AUX-DCL
- b. °**Miizj quisoi spacta**° **ha.**
 well US-3P-self IR.ID-PV-look.at AUX-DCL
 ‘Uno debe comportarse.’
One should behave. (a) RMH_09-28-07_165f (b) RMH_09-28-07_165g

- (79) √Vsoj hacx co- √aaitim
 self outside 3IO make-IMPF
 = *challenge with a brag*

Ctam ticop taaxaj, teete, °isoi hacx cöiváaitim°.
 man MD-VT RL-strong RL-say 3P-self outside 3IO-3:3-DT-make-IMPF
 ‘Ese hombre se jactaba de que era fuerte (y de esa manera retaba).’
That man bragged that he was strong (and so was inviting a fight).

Other idioms of this type, which are numerous, include:

- (80) a. √Vsoj √aazj self string.up/tow *buy on time, buy on credit;*
 b. √Vsoj √amíjz self clean.by.removing *have too much pride in oneself*
 c. √Vsoj √cooz self rob *do secretly*
 d. √Vsoj √Cimoz self think *pretend*
 e. √Vsoj co- √iixim self 3IO- fear *avoid (contact with someone)*

7.6 Idioms with pleonastic co- 3IO

Some lexicalized meanings are indicated by the inclusion of the third person oblique/indirect object prefix on the verb without any obvious link between this prefix and any particular nominal in the clause. That is, the presence of **co- 3IO** in these expressions does not appear to be simple inflection as agreement with an oblique or indirect object that the clause expresses directly. The expression without the prefix **co-** means something quite different or slightly different than the expression with it. In some cases, the verb without the pleonastic **co-** does not have a clear meaning since it may always occur in construction with other words to form idioms.¹¹ These expressions with pleonastic **co-** are listed as subentries in the 2005 dictionary unlike the plethora of examples that have compositional semantics using the same morphology. (All subentries with **co-** are not of this type, however.)

- (81) **co- √atni**
 3IO make.pointed.contact.with
 = *shoot, spear, sting (as stingray)*

Tosni zo cöitátni, ...
 pelican a 3IO-3:3-RL-make.contact
 ‘Tiró y mató un pelicano, ...’
S/he shot and killed a pelican, ... (DS2005, cö|quitni) RMH_05-17-08_191

¹¹ See also the use of **co-** in morphologically dative statives (§18.2.6) in which it is also pleonastic.

- (82) **co-** √**iij**
 3IO sit
 = *shrivel up, shrink, be lame*
- Inol cap cöquij iha.**
 3P-arm/hand/finger the.VT 3IO-SN-sit DCL
 ‘Su brazo está encogido.’ RMH_05-17-08_192
His/her/its arm is shriveled up. (DS2005, cö|quij)
- (83) **co-** √**ooxalca**
 3IO sit.PL.[things]
 = *have the bends (from diving)* (see DS2005, cö|cooxalca under quij)
- (84) **co-** √**iimj**
 3IO translucent
 = *have an abrupt termination (like cliff at sea)*
- Ctooml com °yeen iicp° quij hax cöyijm oo.**
 roosterfish the.HZ its.front.end the.CM INTNS 3IO-DT-translucent DL
 ‘La parte delantera del pez gallo tiene un ángulo agudo.’
The front end of the roosterfish ends in a sharp angle. RMH_05-17-08_193
- (85) **co-** √**actim**
 3IO be.cut
 = *come to an end (wind, rain, activity)*
- Hai quih cösiictim caha.**
 wind the.FL 3IO-IR.ID-be.cut AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a pararse el viento.’
The wind is going to stop. (DS2005, cö|cactim) RMH_05-17-08_194
- (86) **co-** √**aactim**
 3IO cause.be.cut
 = (a) *shut off (faucet, electricity, electronic device)*
 (b) *calculate or guess in game of chance*
- °Ziix an icóos° quij cohsáactim haa hi.**
 tape.recorder the.CM 3IO-1SS.TR-IR.ID-cause.be.cut AUX DCL
 ‘Voy a apagar la grabadora.’
I am going to turn off the tape recorder. (DS2005, cö|caactim) RMH_05-17-08_195
- (87) **°Hapáspoj iquíimot° quih cohsáactim aha.**
 playing.card the.FL 3IO-1SS.TR-IR.ID-cause.be.cut AUX-DCL
 ‘Voy a adivinar el naípe.’
I am going to guess the card. (DS2005, cö|caactim) RMH_05-17-08_196
- (88) **co-** √**-oohcö**
 3IO vertical.and.right.side.up
 = *go to sea, ascend*

Moxíma cōhatóohjoj, °ziix hapx coom° zo hayóoh.
 yesterday 3IO-1pS-RL-vertical whale a 1pS-DT-see-PL

‘Ayer fuimos al mar y vimos una ballena.’

Yesterday we went out on the sea and saw a whale. (DS2005, cō|coohcō) RMH_05-17-08_197

7.7 Other idioms

The preceding sections have not given a complete survey of idiomatic expressions in the language. Some others that are simply listed here to round out the picture are:

- (89) X √VV_{sax} √acápat
 ? make.fly
 = *kill X* [uncommonly used now]

Moxhámt emiique, tiix °iquíisax z imacápat°.
 last.year person/Seri DDS one’s.spirit a 3:3-PX-cause.fly
 ‘El año pasado esa persona mató a otra.’

Last year that person killed someone. (DS2005, cacácapat) RMH_05-17-08_198

- (90) **hant com co- √inej**
 land the.Hz 3IO empty
 = *wiped out, destroyed, exterminated*

°Zixcám cacōla° caacōl quih °hant com cōminej°.
 totoaba(s) SN-big-PL the.FL land the.Hz 3IO-PX-empty
 ‘Las totoabas grandes han desaparecido.’

*The large totoabas (fish, *Totoaba macdonaldi*) have disappeared.* RMH_05-17-08_199

- (91) X **hant com co- √ahínej**
 land the.Hz 3IO cause.be.empty
 = *wipe out (destroy) X, exterminate X*

- (92) **oot cola X √caai**
 coyote high hang.up
 = *X be detained* [archaic]

°Oot cola hin tcaai° ma, hant z iiqui hptemiin iho.
 coyote high 1sDO RL-hang.up DS land a 3P-toward 1pS.IN-RL-N-go DCL
 ‘Debido a que fui detenido, no me fui.’

Since I was detained, I didn’t go. RMH_05-17-08_200

- (93) X **hax ano √ah**
 water 3P.in put.FL
 = *wash X*, where X = clothing

