

22. Postpositions

A few words are labeled postpositions in the 2005 dictionary; see Table 22.1.¹ These seven lexemes, five of which are in common use, represent the class of words most similar to postpositions in other languages, but they have some special characteristics, including the fact that when the PP is not modifying an NP, the P must appear in the VP.

The postpositions are like body part nouns (§13.1), kinship nouns (§13.2.3.1) and locational nouns (§13.4) in that they obligatorily inflect for the person of their complement. One of them also reflects the number of the complement by the form that the possessed noun stem has. All of the forms are therefore appropriately always glossed with the person of the complement although under certain conditions the third person may be superfluous. For example, **iti** means *on him/her/it/them* since it contrasts with **hiti** (with first person possessor) and **miti** (with second person possessor).

The following simple examples illustrate the most common facts:

First	Second	Third	Unspecified	
hino	mino	ano* , quino**		<i>in, to, on, from</i>
		iica†		<i>next to, beside</i>
hiicx	miicx	iiicx		<i>near</i>
hiihax	miihax	iihax , quiihax		<i>with (sg.)</i>
hiicot	miicot	iiicot ~ quiiicot		<i>with (pl.)</i>
hiiqui	miiqui	iiiqui	quiiiqui	<i>toward, against</i>
		itáai‡		<i>to (meet)</i>
hiti	miti	iti	quiti	<i>on</i>

* Only for inanimates (singular or plural). ** Only for plurals.
† Not used much and not easy to elicit examples of. ‡ Not used much.

¹ The label “relational noun” was used for these words in Marlett (1981b) and later work preceding the 2005 dictionary.

In addition to the basic postpositions discussed in this chapter, a few adverbs have developed which have merged a postposition with a complement (now reduced). For example, **paquiiiqui** *backward* is a blending of **ipac** 3P-back and **iiiqui** 3P-toward. See the example **...paquiiiqui tjip, ...** *he fell backward* (Conejo_cuernos 04).

- (1) a. **Hant com iti iyóoquim.** b. **Iti iyóoquim.**
 land the.Hz 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.items 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.items
 ‘Los puso en la tierra.’ RMH_08-13-07_07b → ‘Los puso en él/ella.’
S/he put them on the ground. RMH_08-13-07_07a *S/he put them on it.*
- c. **Miti iyóoquim.**
 2P-on 3:3-DT-put.items
 ‘Los puso en ti.’
S/he put them on you. RMH_08-13-07_08a
- (2) a. **Ctam, tiix xepe com ano yihitim.**
 man DDS sea the.Hz 3P.in DT-be.FL-MULT
 ‘ESE HOMBRE estaba caminando en el mar.’
THAT MAN was walking out in the sea. RMH_08-13-07_08b
- b. **Ctam, tiix áno yihitim.**
 man DDS 3P.in DT-be.FL-MULT
 ‘ESE HOMBRE estaba caminando en él.’
THAT MAN was walking out in it. RMH_08-13-07_08c

In (1a) and (2a) the postpositions have overt complements and in (1b) and (2b) the complement is not overt but nonetheless determines third person inflection on the postposition. (The postposition **ano** is morphologically anomalous but the inflection is still unambiguous.) In (1c) the complement is not overt as a separate phrase but it determines second person inflection on the postposition. The fact that the complement of the postposition may be non-overt is, of course, reflective a more general characteristic of the language (see chapter 4).

In some very special cases these words are undoubtedly true postpositions. They are sometimes (but infrequently) used in nominal phrases of the form [[DP P] DP]; an example is **caail° iti siml** (drylake.bed 3P-on barrel.cactus) *Emory’s barrel cactus*. See §8.2.1 for more examples, some of which are not lexicalized.

Some clear postpositional phrases also exist as introductory expressions. Three examples from §3.5 and §3.10 are repeated here to illustrate.

- (3) **Zaah ipac hac cōcaap cop iti, ...**
 sun/day 3P-back the.LC 3IO-SN-stand the.VT 3P-on
 ‘El próximo día, ...’
On the next day, ... RMH_08-21-07_75
- (4) **Taax iti, María quih cōyoofp.**
 DDP 3P-on the.FL 3IO-DT-arrive
 ‘En ese momento / en esa circunstancia, María llegó.’
At that moment / under those circumstances María arrived. RMH_08-21-07_76b

- (6) **¿Quiiqui hapácatx° -ya?** (7) **ziix quiti quiih**
 US-3P-toward SN-PV-abandon QM thing US-3P-on SN-be.FL
 ‘¿Es permitido?’ ‘ropa’
Is it permitted? RMH_08-13-07_09a *clothing* RMH_08-13-07_09b

The postpositions are unstressed in many positions (as in (1a)), but stressed in others (as in (1b)). This important and interesting topic is taken up in §22.3.2. Other details — some quite idiosyncratic — about these postpositions are presented in the subsections below.

22.2 Semantics

Some of the postpositions are quite restricted in their semantics, while a couple of them (**ano** and **iti**) occur as part of a complicated network of semantic relationships.

22.2.1 **ano** *in, from, etc.*

The postposition **ano** has several different related meanings and usages. These are briefly illustrated below.

- (8) The sense of *in, inside*
- a. ... **°hehe án° com ano moom.**
 countryside the.HZ 3P.in Px-lie
 ‘... está en el monte.’
...it is in the countryside. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 19b) RMH_08-13-07_09c
- b. **Haxz cop haméen hac ano caap iha.**
 dog the.VT interior.of.house the.LC 3P.in SN-stand DCL
 ‘El perro está adentro de la casa.’
The dog is inside the house. RMH_05-20-08_52
- c. **Coopa quij án hac an iyóoxquim.**
 glass the.CM 3P.place.inside the.LC 3P.interior 3:3-DT-.put.HZ
 ‘Lo/la metió en el vaso.’
S/he put it into the glass. RMH_05-20-08_53
- (9) The sense of *into*
- a. **Hoopatalca tanticat canóaa com ano tapxotim ...**
 wave-PL MD-AW-PL boat the.HZ 3P.in RL-break-IMPF
 ‘Las olas se caían en la barca, ...’
The waves were spilling over into the boat, ... (Mk 4:37) RMH_08-13-07_10a
- b. **Ctam quih canóaa com ano siij ta ityáai, ...**
 man the.FL boat the.HZ 3P.in IR.ID-sit AUX.RL 3:3-RL-go.to
 ‘Mientras el hombre estaba por subir al barco, ...’
As the man went to get into the boat ... (DS2005, cahjiti) RMH_08-13-07_10b

- (10) The sense of *to* (physical location)
... Jesús cop heezitim Capernáom hac ano miifp.
 the.VT settlement the.LC 3P.in PX-arrive
 ‘... Jesús llegó al pueblo de Capernáum.’
...Jesus arrived to the town of Capernaum. (Lk 4:31) RMH_08-13-07_10c
- (11) The sense of *to* (plural animate)⁴
Hino miifp.
 1P.in PX-arrive
 ‘Llegó a nosotros.’
S/he arrived to us. (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_10d
- (12) The sense of *to*, *about* *regarding* (something inanimate)
 a. **Café quih ano roocö iha.**
 coffee the.FL 3P.in crazy DCL
 ‘Es adicto/a al café.’
*S/he is addicted to coffee.*⁵ (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_10e
- b. **Oohit quih ano caaatim iha.**
 3P-ON-eat the.FL 3P.in SN-speak-IMPF DCL
 ‘Se quejó acerca de su comida.’
S/he complained about her/his food. (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_10f
- (13) The sense of *from* (physical location)
°Hehe án° z ano mota, ...
 countryside a 3P.in/from TWD-RL-move
 ‘Venía del monte, ...’
S/he was coming from the desert, ... (Hipocampo_9) RMH_08-13-07_10g
- (14) The sense of *from* (abstract idea)
Hapáspoj° quih hocö quih ano moca ha.
 paper the.FL wood the.FL 3P.in/from TWD-SN-move DCL
 ‘El papel se saca de la madera.’
Paper is made from wood. (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_11a

⁴ A singular person is expressed using Oblique/Indirect Object inflection. See §2.4.

⁵ Another way to say this is:

- (i) **Café quih an isoj íi z imáa ha.**
 coffee the.FL 3P-in 3P-self first a SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘Es adicto/a al café.’ / *S/he is addicted to coffee.*

- (15) The sense of *to* or *from* (a plural Addressee)⁶
- a. °**Ziix exatl°** **quih** **hin** **itáaom**, ...
 tortilla the.FL 1P-in/from 3:3-RL-beg
 ‘Estaba pidiendo tortillas de nosotros ...’
She was asking us for tortillas ... (DS2005, ano) RMH_07-20-07_45e RMH_08-13-07_11b
- b. **Comcáac** **himcoi** **ano** **hoomx**.
 person/Seri.PL DT-PL 3P.in 1SS.TR-DT-say
 ‘Se lo dije a esas personas.’
I said it to those people. RMH_08-13-07_11c
- (16) The sense of *onto* (plural animates or inanimates)⁷
- a. **Hast** **quij** **mino** **spaainj** **aha**.
 rock the.CM 2P-in IR.ID-roll AUX-DCL
 ‘Rodando, la piedra se caerá encima de ustedes.’
The rock will roll over onto you. (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_11d
- b. **Haaco** **quih** **isxáp** **hac** **hin** **hant** **yahjít**.
 ABS.house the.FL 3P-roof the.LC 1P-in land DT-fall
 ‘El techo de la casa se cayó encima de nosotros.’
The roof of the house fell onto us. (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-13-07_11e

This postposition also has a grammatical usage, linked to plural nominals, which is discussed in §22.3.3.

The postposition **ano** is irregular in its morphology since it does not use the common prefix **i-** for third person possessor in the form **ano**.⁸ It also obligatorily loses its final vowel when it precedes another vowel such as the 3:3 prefix **i-** in (19).⁹ A difference in stress is also possible in cases like those that follow where no overt complement is expressed.

- (17) **Áno** **hyooquim**. (18) **Àno** **hyooquim**
 3P.in 1sS.TR-DT-put.items 3P.in 1sS.TR-DT-put.items
 ‘Los/las metí.’ ‘Los/las metí en él/ella/ellos/ellas.’
I put them in. RMH_08-13-07_13a *I put them in it/them.* RMH_08-13-07_13a

⁶ See the complications in this regard that are explained in detail in §22.3.3. This is a grammaticalization of the postposition.

⁷ A singular complement takes the postposition **iqui** or **iti** in these cases, respectively.

⁸ In this respect, however, it reflects its presumed etymological source, the noun **án** which means (*its*) *area*, (*its*) *zone*.

⁹ It also commonly, but less regularly, loses that vowel when it precedes **h** (glottal stop) followed by a vowel. This seems to be a matter of speech style if not idiolect.

- (19) **Án** **iyóoquim.** (20) **Àn** **iyóoquim.**
 3P.interior 3:3-DT-put.items 3P.interior 3:3-DT-put.items
 ‘Los/las metió.’ ‘Los/las metió en él/ella.’
S/he put them in. RMH_08-13-07_13b *S/he put them in it/them.* RMH_08-13-07_13b

Moreover, the postposition **ano** is irregular, and unique, in that all forms in the paradigm other than **ano** must have *plural* complements. The postposition **ano** and the postposition **iti on** form an interesting and somewhat complicated trio with the indirect object inflection. See §22.3.3 for details. Moreover it has an additional third person form **quino**; while **ano** may occur with singular or plural complements, **quino** only occurs with plural complements and is limited to clauses with certain verbs (such as $\sqrt{\text{afp}}$ *arrive*), in which situations it freely alternates with **ano**. The following examples show **quino** with the permitted plural complements.

- (21) **..., comcáac coi quino (~ ano) tafp, ...**
 person/Seri.PL the.PL 3P.PL-in 3P.in RL-arrive
 ‘..., llegó a las personas seris, ...’
..., he arrived to the Seri people, ... (Dos_Hermanos_61.4) RMH_08-13-07_13c
- (22) **..., cocsar coi ano (~ quino) tafp, ...**
 non-Indian.Mexican the.PL 3P.in 3P.PL-in RL-arrive
 ‘..., llegó a los mexicanos no indígenas, ...’
..., s/he/it arrived to/among the non-Indian Mexicans, ... (Hombre_Barril_39) RMH_08-13-07_13d
- (23) **Haxaca coi quino (~ ano) miifp.**
 ABS-pet-PL the.PL 3P.PL-in 3P.in PX-arrive
 ‘Llegó a los perros.’
S/he/it arrived to/among the dogs. RMH_08-13-07_13e
- (24) **Zaalca / hehet coi quino (~ ano) yoofp.**
 cave-PL / plant-PL the.PL 3P.PL-in 3P.in DT-arrive
 ‘Llegó a las cuevas / árboles.’
S/he arrived to the caves / trees. RMH_08-13-07_14c

The following examples demonstrate that **quino** cannot take a singular complement.

- (25) * **María tintica cmaam quij quino yoofp.**
 MD-AW woman the.CM 3P.PL-in DT-arrive
 (‘María llegó a la mujer.’) (*María arrived to the woman.*)
- (26) **Quino (~ ano) miifp.**
 3P.PL-in 3P.in PX-arrive
 ‘Les llegó.’ (*‘Le llegó.’)
*S/he/it arrived to/among them. (*S/he arrived to him/her.)*¹⁰ RMH_08-13-07_13f

¹⁰ The singular goal is expressed with Indirect Object inflection; see §XX.

- (27) ..., **icahéme ihmáa hac ano** (***quino**) **miifp.**
 camp other the.LC 3P.-in Px-arrive
 ‘..., llegó a otro campamento.’
... s/he arrived to another camp. (DS2005, coféaa) RMH_08-13-07_14a
- (28) **Ano** (***quino**) **yoofp.**
 3P.-in DT-arrive
 ‘Llegó a él (campamento)’
S/he arrived to it (camp). RMH_08-13-07_14b
 (**Quino** is grammatical if the complement is understood to be plural.)
- (29) **Zaaj hac ano** (***quino**) **yoofp.**
 cave the.LC 3P.in DT-arrive
 ‘Llegó a la cueva.’
S/he arrived to the cave. RMH_08-13-07_14d

See §24.3.1.3 for discussion of the effect of the attenuating adverb **halx** on the word **ano**.

22.2.2 **iicx near**

The postposition **iicx near** is homophonous with an adverb which has the same meaning, and in fact the postposition **iicx** (which inflects for person, as shown in Table 22.1) is generally used in combination *with* the adverb **iicx** (which is invariant, see §24.3.2). Three examples are given here to display common usage:

- (30) **Hiiex iicx hiij.** (31) **Miiex iicx ihpsíj aha.**
 1P-near near IM-sit RMH_08-13-07_15a 2P-near near 1sS.IN-IR.ID-sit AUX-DCL
 ‘Siéntate más cerca de mi.’ RMH_08-13-07_15b→ ‘Voy a sentarme más cerca de ti.’
Sit nearer to me. (DS2005, iicx) *I am going to sit closer to you.* (DS2005, iicx)
- (32) ..., **santáar coi ziix ticop iicx iicx toii,** ...
 soldier the.PL thing MD-VT 3P-near near RL-stand.PL
 ‘..., los soldados se acercaron a él, ...’
..., the soldiers got closer to him, ... (Jn 19:3) RMH_11-28p-07_186

22.2.3 **iihax and iicot**

The postposition **iihax** has a plural form **iicot** which has a variant — perhaps preferred — of **quicot**.¹¹ It has two major senses, one of which is *with* (comitative, animate complement).

¹¹ Both words are frequent in the NTT and yet **quicot** seems to be about three times as common, with no obvious distributional difference. The word **iicot** is also a possessed noun that means *a place between (plural items)*.

- (33) **Iihax** yaticpan.
 3P-with.SG DT-work
 ‘Trabajó con él/ella.’
S/he worked with him/her. (DS2005, iihax) RMH_08-13-07_15c
- (34) **He** **quiiicot** (~ **iicot**) **siij** **caha**.
 1PRO 3P-with.PL IR.ID-sit AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Iré con ellos/ellas (como en un vehículo).’
I am going to go with them (as in a vehicle). RMH_08-13-07_15d
- (35) **Xiica** **tacoi** **quiiicot** (~ **iicot**) **quiij** **iha**.
 thing-PL MD-PL 3P-with.PL SN-sit DCL
 ‘Está con esas personas.’
S/he is with those people. RMH_08-13-07_15e
- (36) **Quiiicot** (~ **iicot**) **quiij** **iha**.
 3P-with.PL SN-sit DCL
 ‘Está con ellos/ellas.’
S/he is with them. RMH_08-13-07_15f
- (37) **Hiicot** **itóonec**, ...
 1P-with.PL 3:3-RL-carry.items-PL RMH_05-20-08_54
 ‘Nos acompañaron en llevarlos ...’ (es decir, Nos ayudaron a llevarlos, ...)
They accompanied us in carrying them ... (i.e., They helped us carry them ...)
- (14) **Taax** **iicot** **tap** ...
 DDP 3P-with.PL RL-stand
 ‘Estaba con ellos/ellas, ...’
S/he was with them, ... RMH_05-20-08_55
- (15) °**Xiica** **quiziil**° **ctamcö** **coi** (**qu**)**iicot** **hamáalam**.
 children male-PL the.PL 3P-with.PL 1PS-PX-play-PL
 ‘Jugamos con los niños.’
We played with the boys. RMH_05-20-08_56

The other meaning of this postposition is *the same as*.

- (38) **Miihax** **cösimoz** **caha**.
 2P-with.SG 3IO-IR.ID-think AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Va a pensar lo mismo que tú.’
S/he is going to think the same as you. (DS2005, iihax) RMH_08-13-07_16a

The word **quiihax** is *not* a simple variant of **iihax** in the way that **quiiicot** is of **iicot**. It also does not mean *with unspecified person*. It is very common as part of the expression meaning *be similar to*.

- (39) **Juan quij Pedro quij iháa quihax coha ha.**
 the.CM the.CM 3P-AON-EQ 3IO-SN-beIrreg DCL
 ‘Juan es similar a Pedro (p.ej., con respecto a su carácter).’
Juan is like Pedro (e.g., with respect to his character). RMH_08-13-07_16b

22.2.4 **iiqui** *toward*, etc.

The postposition **iiqui** has several distinguishable senses.¹²

- (40) The sense of *toward*
 a. ... **hant ihmáa z iiqui iquín ihyomámzo.**
 place other a 3P-toward INF.IN-go 1SS.TR-DT-N-want
 ‘..., no quiero ir a otro lugar.’
..., I don’t want to go anywhere else. (DS2005, caahzx) RMH_08-13-07_16c
 b. **;Hiiqui hsicxö!**
 1P.toward 1M-push
 ‘¡Empújalo hacia mí!’
Push it toward me. RRR
- (41) The sense of *onto* (singular)¹³
Hast quij miiqui spaainj haa hi.
 rock the.CM 2P-toward IR.ID-roll AUX DCL
 ‘Rodando, la piedra puede caerse encima de ti.’
The rock may roll over on you. RMH_08-13-07_16d
- (42) The sense of *for* (a purpose)
Taax iiqui impáxi ha.
 DDP 3P-toward SN-N-PV-finish DCL
 ‘No se hace para eso.’
It isn’t made for that use. (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_16e
- (43) The sense of *about*
Yaticpan quih iiqui croocö iha.
 3P-AON-work the.FL 3P-toward SN-crazy DCL
 ‘Está adicto/a a su trabajo.’
S/he really enjoys work. (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_16f

¹² It also occurs in the common phrase **iiqui cöihfin^o hac** *with respect to, in comparison to* where it precedes a nonverbal head.

¹³ The plural counterpart uses the postposition **ano**.

- (44) The sense of *with* (not comitative)
- a. **¡Hax quih iiqui tpam?**
 water the.FL 3P-toward/with RL-PV-swallow
 ‘¿Se toma con agua?’
Is it swallowed with water? (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_17a
- b. **¡Hataái° iictim quih iiqui hipjc!**
 cloth 3P-AON-be.cut the.FL 3P-toward IM-grab
 ‘¡Agárralo con el pedazo de tela!’
Grab it with the piece of cloth! (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_17b
- c. **¡iiqui caaitom!**
 3P-toward IM-speak
 ‘¡Habla con ella/él!’
Speak with him/her! (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_17c

- (45) The sense of *and*
Haaco zo canóaa z iiqui hnyaa.
 ABS.house a boat a 3P-toward 1SS.TR-PX-own
 ‘Tengo una casa y una panga.’
I own a house and a boat. (DS2005, iiqui) RMH_08-13-07_17d

22.2.5 *iti on*, etc.

Several senses of *iti* are distinguishable: *on*, *on top of*, *in*, *during*, *while*, and *from*. The sense *while* was illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, and the sense *from* is discussed in §22.3.3.

- (46) The sense of *on*
¡Miizj hoecta! miti hpsozám xo tax.
 well IM-look.at 2P-on 1SS.IN-IR.ID-UO-put.VT EMPH SBRD
 ‘¡Cuidado! Te puedo pisar.’
Be careful! I might step on you. (DS2005, coozám) RMH_11-19-07_92
- (47) The sense of *on top of*
Icáaspoj° com °hehe iti icóohitim° com iti coom iha.
 pencil the.Hz table the.Hz 3P-on SN-lie DCL
 ‘El lápiz está en la mesa.’
The pencil is on top of the table. (DS2005, iti) RMH_08-13-07_17e
- (48) The sense of *in* (with certain complements perceived as two-dimensional)¹⁴
Zaah quij hamíime com iti quiij iha.
 sun the.CM sky the.Hz 3P-on SN-sit DCL
 ‘El sol está en el cielo.’
The sun is in the sky. (DS2005, iti) RMH_08-13-07_17f

¹⁴ The word *hamíime* can mean *heaven* — a three-dimensional place — and the postposition used is *ano*:

- (49) The sense of *during*
Ihámoc ccooo tintica iti cohpmiim.
 3P-AON-be.night SN-entire MD-Aw 3P-on 3IO-1sS.IN-PX-sleep
 ‘Dormí toda la noche anoche.’
I slept all night last night. RMH_08-13-07_18a

This postposition is also used with expressions such as **zaah hipcop** (sun/day PX-VT) *today*, **moxhámt last year** and (borrowed) names of the days of the week, to be able to include that information in the clause. (The word **moxíma yesterday** does not use the postposition.)

- (16) **Miércoles cop iti cösiifp caha.**
 Wednesday the.VT 3P-on 3IO-IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Llegará el miércoles.’
S/he/it will arrive on Wednesday. RMH_05-20-08_57
- (17) **Jueves cop iti cösoos caha.**
 Thursday the.VT 3P-on 3IO-IR.ID-sing AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Cantará el jueves.’
S/he will sing on Thursday. RMH_05-20-08_59
- (18) **Hant haa moca cop iti cösihímet caha.**
 land/year there TWD-SN-move the.VT 3P-on 3IO-IR.ID-married AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Se casará el año próximo.’
S/he will get married next year. RMH_05-20-08_60
- (19) **Moxhámt quih iti °imiipla coha° ha.**
 last.year the.FL 3P-on 3P-AON-bad 3IO-SN-be_{irreg} DCL
 ‘Falleció el año pasado.’
S/he died last year. RMH_05-20-08_61

22.2.6 itáai to (special)

The postposition **itáai** was only recently added to the list of postpositions because it is not common and seems to be highly restricted in its usage. The dictionary lists it as occurring with three verbs, specifically in the expressions **itáai √afp meet (someone or some thing that is arriving)**, **itáai √ap travel by land parallel to a boat with respect to (someone)**, and **itáai √yaai meet (someone or some thing that is arriving)**. The verbs in these expressions are **√afp arrive** (intransitive), **√ap stand** (intransitive), and **√yaai travel to (a place)** (transitive). The inflection of the postposition reflects the person of the object or person who is being met.

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- (ii) **Yooz quij hamíime com ano quíij iha.**
 God the.CM sky the.HZ 3P.in SN-sit DCL
 ‘Dios está en los cielos.’ / *God is in heaven.* RRR

- (50) **¡Canóaa quih itáai cafp!**
 boat the.FL 3P-to IM-arrive
 ‘¡Vete a encontrar la panga!’
Go meet the boat! (DS2005, itáai *caafp) RMH_08-13-07_18b
- (51) **°Hant poffii ta°, he socáitim caha.**
 tomorrow 1PRO IR.ID-spearfish AUX.SN-DCL
Hitáai masóii aha.
 1P-to 2PS-IR.ID-stand.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Mañana voy a pescar más cerca de la orilla. Ustedes pueden estar paralelo a mí en la orilla.’
Tomorrow I am going spearfishing close to shore. You can follow me (along the shore) (DS2005, itáai *caap) RMH_08-13-07_18c
- (52) **¿Itáai nsyaai haa -ya?**
 3P-to 2SS-IR.ID-travel.to AUX QM
 ‘¿Vas a ir a encontrarlo?’ RMH_08-13-07_18d
Are you going to go out and meet him/her/it? (Could be a boat, a car, or a person.)

This is the extent of the information that has been collected about **itáai**.

22.2.7 **iica next to**

The postposition **iica** is not common. It may in fact be an archaic form of **iiqui** (§22.2.4). The 2005 dictionary lists examples with three positional verbs ($\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *sit*, $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ *stand*, and $\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ *lie*) as well as with the verb $\sqrt{\text{jiit}}$ *make fall*).

- (53) **¿Me hamác iica siij quee -ya?**
 2PRO fire 3P-next.to IR.ID-sit AUX.SN QM
 ‘¿Vas a sentarte al lado de la lumbre?’
Are you going to sit beside the fire? (DS2005, iica) RMH_08-13-07_19a
- (54) **¿Hast com miica itjít?**
 stone the.Hz 2P-next.to 3:3-RL-make.fall
 ‘¿Te pegó con la piedra?’
Did s/he slam the rock down on you? (DS2005, iica *cjit) RMH_08-13-07_19b
 (the action involves throwing down, releasing the item with force)

Iica also occurs with $\sqrt{\text{iih}}$, as example (62) in the following section illustrates.¹⁵

¹⁵ In addition, the expressions **iica** $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ (next.to sit), **iica** $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ (next.to stand) and **iica** $\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ (next.to lie) are listed as meaning *belong*.

22.3 Syntax

A fact which may have escaped the reader's notice despite all of the examples which have been given is that the postpositions are virtually obligated to appear in preverbal position. This becomes more apparent when a large corpus examined and one finds that this to be true. The postposition always appears in a preverbal position when the PP is an adjunct of the verb. It is claimed in chapter 5, especially §5.7, that the postposition is in the VP, that it may be separated from the verb by certain other VP constituents, and that there is some very limited variability in word order. These details are not reviewed here.

22.3.1 Discontinuity

The complement may be separated from the postposition and appear earlier, or later, in the clause. This is an extremely common situation; in fact, one has to look quite assiduously to find good examples of where this is *not* the case. A simple example of discontinuity is given here:

- (55) [Haas cop imócl hac] **haasax** **z ano** **yijj.**
 mesquite the.VT 3P-place.under the.LC pack.rat's.nest a 3P.in DT-sit
 'Hay un nido de rata nopalera bajo el mezquite.'
There is a pack rat's nest under the mesquite tree. (DS2005, caasax) RMH_08-21-07_72

Such examples illustrate the same structure proposed in chapter 2 (see Figure 2.1): a string of DPs followed by the VP.

There is no evidence for — and there is evidence against — any further reanalysis of the [P V] sequence as a verb that subcategorizes for an additional argument. Example (55) is still an intransitive clause by all available tests.

One such example in which the complement is clearly *not* separated from its complement is given in (56).

- (56) **Ctam quih canóaa com ano siij ta ityáai, hant yahjíit.**
 man the.FL boat the.Hz 3P.in IR.ID-sit AUX.RL 3:3-RL-go.to land DT-fall
 'Cuando el hombre iba a la panga en que iba a estar, se cayó.'
When the man went to the boat that he was going to sit in, he fell down. (DS2005, cahjiit)

Other examples with “discontinuous” complements are given immediately below.

- (57) ..., Tahéjoc himquij comcáac quih iti toii, ...
 Tiburon.Island DT-CM person/Seri.PL the.CM 3P-on RL-be.FL.PL
 '..., la gente seri estaba en la isla Tiburón, ...'
... the Seri people were on Tiburon Island, ... (Gigante_Comelon_2) RMH_08-13-07_20a

- (58) Haso quih moosni quih ano tiij xox, ...
 net the.FL turtle the.FL 3P.in RL-sit although
 ‘Aunque había una caguama en la red, ...’
Although there was a turtle in the net, ... (DS2005, cyeen0) RMH_08-13-07_20b
- (59) Haat hacázlil coi ah hatxíin quij ano moma.
 limberbush SN-PV-chew.flat the.PL FOC ABS-headring the.CM 3P.in TWD-PX-move
 ‘Un cayahual se hace de torote que se ha machado.’
A headring is made from limberbush that has been chewed flat. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-13-07_20c
- (60) Hant iti hihíih zo ziix hapáhit z iti tmiih, ...
 place 3P-on 1P-AON-be.FL a thing SN-PV-eat a 3P-on RL-N-be.FL
 ‘No hay comida en donde vivo, ...’
There isn’t any food at my place, ... (Burgos_41) RMH_08-13-07_20d
- (61) María quih comcáac quih iiqui yaanim.
 the.FL person/Seri.PL the.FL 3P-toward DT-be.closed
 ‘La gente se amontonó alrededor de María.’
The people crowded around María. (DS2005, caanim) RMH_08-13-07_20e
- (62) ¿Trooqui nyaa° hipquij hapáspoj° z iica tiih?
 vehicle yours PX-CM paper a 3P-beside RL-be.FL
 ‘¿Trae papeles tu carro?’
Does your car have (registration) papers? (DS2005, iica) RMH_08-13-07_21a
- (63) Hitróoqui quij °hasáaiti coozlil° quih
 1P-vehicle the.CM lubricating.oil the.FL
ano hsaháama ha.
 3P.in 1SS.TR-IR.ID-cause.trickle AUX-DCL
 ‘Voy a poner aceite en mi carro.’
I am going to put oil in my car. (DS2005, caháama) RMH_08-13-07_21b
- (64) Xicaquizíil° tacoi hamt pac ano cohyéenim.
 child.PL MD-PL dirt some 3P.in 3IO-1SS.IN-DT-splash
 ‘Salpiqué tierra en esos niños.’
I threw dirt on those children. (DS2005, cóqueenim) RMH_08-13-07_21c
- (65) Siimet ihvía° quih panáal quih iiqui cohyonéezj.
 bread mine the.FL honey the.FL 3P-toward 3IO-1SS.TR-DT-spread
 ‘Puse la miel en mi pan.’
I spread the honey on my bread. (DS2005, cneezi) RMH_08-13-07_21d
- (66) Hast hax cooscl oo ticom, hant taax
 hill INTNS SN-mottled DL MD-Hz place DDP

panáal z ano tiij ma, hyai.
honey a 3P.in RL-sit DS 1SS.TR-DT-make

‘Ese cerro moteado — recolecté miel en ese lugar.’
That speckled hill — I collected honey in that place. RMH_08-13-07_21g

The complement may also be right dislocated (§3.12) to follow the verb.

- (67) °Hasáaiti coozlil° quih áno hsaháama ha, trooqui quij.
lubricating.oil the.FL 3P.in 1SS.TR-IR.ID-cause.trickle AUX-DCL vehicle the.CM
‘Voy a poner aceite en mi carro.’
I will put oil in it — the vehicle. RMH_08-13-07_21e

- (68) Ctam ticop áno yiihtim, xepe com.
man MD-VT 3P.in DT-be.FL-IMPF sea the.HZ
‘El hombre fue en ella — el mar.’
That man went on it — the sea. RMH_08-13-07_21f

The examples with a “discontinuous”, “fronted” complement are very common and there is no pause or other intonational division between the complement and the rest of the sentence. This suggests that these are not Topic-Comment structures.

22.3.2 Phonological properties

The postpositions sometime have a greater degree of prosodic prominence than at other times. Thus the word **ano** is sometimes pronounced [ano] (unstressed) and sometimes pronounced [ˈan:o:], with stress and with the consonant and vowel lengthening that are conditioned by the stress (see §28.5.1).

There are three common patterns, illustrated by the following schema:

- (69) a. Pòstposition Vèrb (both with reduced stress)
b. Pòstposition Vèrb (only postposition has reduced stress)
c. Póstposition Vèrb (only verb has reduced stress)

In addition, as shown below, one can construct examples in which stress is distinctive and meaningful, where the same lexical items appear in the examples which have different meanings, as illustrated schematically here.

- (70) a. DP DP Pòstposition Vèrb (meaning A)
b. DP DP Póstposition Vèrb (meaning B)

The first situation, (69a), where both are unstressed, is found in adverbial clauses in which everything in the adverbial clause is spoken without stress. These examples are therefore not as interesting as contexts where some variation is found, as depicted in (69b) and (69c). It is important to be aware of this case, however, when looking at examples extracted from long

sentences.

One general principle seems to be that the postposition is *stressed* when there is intended focus on a non-overt complement. As a result, the postposition is *unstressed*, as shown in (69b), when its overt complement immediately precedes it in the sentence. This is true of all of the examples above in which this configuration is found. Example (1a) is repeated below with the reduced stress on the postposition explicitly shown.

- (71) Complement P
Hant com **iti** **iyóoquim.**
 land the.Hz 3P-on 3:3-DT-put.items
 ‘Los puso en la tierra.’
S/he put them on the ground. RMH_08-13-07_07a

The overt complement may be separated from the postposition and marked with a focus adverb; the postposition in this situation is *unstressed* even though it is separated from its complement.

- (72) **Haat** **hacázlil** **coi ah** **hatxíin** **quij** **àno** **moma.**
 limberbush SN-PV-chew.flat the.PL FOC ABS-headring the.CM 3P.in TWD-PX-move
 ‘Un cayahual se hace de torote que se ha machado.’ RMH_08-13-07_20c RMH_11-28p-07_189
A headring is made from limberbush that has been chewed flat. (DS2005, ah)

The presence of other phrases which are in focus mean that the complement of the postposition is not in focus; therefore the postposition is *unstressed* in these cases as well.¹⁶

- (73) **¿Hamt -ya** **àno** (***áno**) **contéenim?**
 dirt QM 3P.in 3IO-2sS-RL-splash
 ‘¿Les tiraste TIERRA?’
Did you throw DIRT on them? RMH_08-13-07_26f
- (74) **Comcáii** **quij** **inol** **com** **itajíz,**
 old.woman the.CM 3P-hand the.Hz 3:3-RL-feel.pain.from
hast **quij** **ìiqui** **yasinan.**
 stone the.CM 3P-toward DT-press.IMPF RMH_08-13-07_26c

¹⁶ Focus on the complement of the postposition is indicated in other ways. For example, to put contrastive focus on the first person plural complement of the postposition in (76) one includes the pronoun **he** at the beginning of the sentence:

- (ii) **¡He** **ziix** **zo hino** **camjc!**
 IPRO thing a 1P-in IM-bring
 ‘¡Tráenos algo a NOSOTROS!’ / *Bring US something!*

‘Le dolía su brazo a la anciana y apretaba una piedra en él (en varios lugares).’
The old woman's arm hurt, and she repeatedly pressed a stone against it. (DS2005, coosnan)

- (75) **Hast quij iqui yasinan.**
 stone the.CM 3P-toward DT-press.IMPF
 ‘Apretaba una piedra contra él/ella.’
S/he repeatedly pressed a stone against it. RMH_08-13-07_26b

- (76) **¡Ziix zo hino camjc!**
 thing a 1P-in IM-bring
 ‘¿Tráenos algo!’
Bring something to us! RMH_08-13-07_26a

In some situations the postposition is obligatorily stressed. In the following examples, each with the subject (rather than the complement) immediately preceding the postposition, the postposition must be stressed.

Complement is explicit in the clause in question but separated from the postposition

- (77) **Xepe ticom ctam ticop áno yihtim.**
 sea MD-HZ man MD-VT 3P.in DT-be.FL-IMPF
 ‘Ese hombre andaba en el mar.’
That man was walking in the sea. RMH_08-13-07_25d
- (78) **Ctam ticop áno yihtim, xepe com.**
 man MD-VT 3P.in DT-be.FL-IMPF sea the.HZ
 ‘Ese hombre andaba en él — el mar.’
That man was walking in it — the sea. RMH_08-13-07_25e

Complement is implicit in the clause in question

- (79) **Hacat timoca áno yoofp.**
 shark MD-TWD 3P.in DT-arrive
 ‘El tiburón llegó entre ellos.’
The shark arrived among them. RMH_08-13-07_25f
- (80) **Quisíl quih tipon, hax itacáaixaj oo ma,**
 child the.FL RL-HAVE-voice INTNS 3:3-RL-cause.hard DL DS
quiquet quih iqui yopánzx.
 SN-pregnant.with the.FL 3P-toward DT-run
 ‘El niño dio un grito fuerte y su madre corrió hacia ella/él.’ RMH_08-13-07_25g
The child yelled loudly and her/his mother ran toward her/him. (DS2005, cacáaixaj)

- (81) **Cafée cop** °xiica an icáai° ano hyaai.
 coffee the.VT sugar 3P.in 1sS.TR-DT-make
 ‘Metí azúcar en el café.’
I put sugar in the coffee. RMH_08-13-07_34a

As a result of this situation, “minimal pairs” for stress on the postposition are easily constructed. In the following examples the words and the word order are identical. The different meanings are signalled unambiguously by the difference in the stress on the postposition.

- (82) a. **Cootaj tintica zixquisil° cop ití** yajást.
 ant MD-AW child the 3P-on DT-step
 ‘El niño / La niña pisó en la hormiga.’
The child stepped on the ant. RMH_08-13-07_27c
- b. **Cootaj tintica zixquisil° cop ití** yajást.
 ant MD-AW child the 3P-on DT-step
 ‘La hormiga pisó en la niña / el niño.’
The ant stepped on the child. RMH_08-13-07_27d
- (83) a. **Cootaj tintica ití** yajást.
 ant MD-AW 3P-on DT-step
 ‘La hormiga pisó en él/ella.’
The ant stepped on him/her. RMH_08-13-07_27e
- b. **Cootaj tintica ití** yajást.
 ant MD-AW 3P-on DT-step
 ‘Pisó en la hormiga.’
S/he stepped on the ant. RMH_08-13-07_27f
- (84) a. **Quiiquet quih iiqui** yopánzx.
 SN-pregnant.with the.FL 3P-toward DT-run
 ‘Su madre corrió hacia él/ella.’
Her/his mother ran toward her/him. RMH_08-13-07_27a
- b. **Quiiquet quih iiqui** yopánzx.
 SN-pregnant.with the.FL 3P-toward DT-run
 ‘Corrió hacia su madre.’
S/he ran toward her/his mother. RMH_08-13-07_27b

In other situations, when the postposition has a non-overt complement in the clause, the postposition may or may not be stressed, as there may or may not be focus on the complement. This is illustrated by the following pairs of examples.

- (85) a. **¿ Hamt pac áno contéenim?**
 dirt some 3P.on 3IO-2sS-RL-splash
 ‘¿Les tiraste tierra?’
Did you throw dirt at them? RMH_08-13-07_26e
- b. **¿ Hamt quih pac áno contéenim?**
 dirt the some 3P.on 3IO-2sS-RL-splash
 ‘¿Les tiraste tierra a ELLOS?’
Did you throw dirt on THEM? (contrastive focus) RMH_08-13-07_26d

This option, however, seems to be mitigated in its use by another principle, which is for a VP-initial postposition to be stressed even though its complement may not be especially in focus. Therefore some of the examples below with unstressed initial postposition require very specific contexts to be acceptable; these are marked with #.

- (86) °**Hant pofii ta°**, **¿áno** (*áno) **cmiihtim!**
 tomorrow 3P.in IM-N-be.FL-IMPF
 ‘Mañana no vayas en él.’
Tomorrow don’t walk in it! RMH_08-13-07_22b
- (87) **Haxaca pac toc cōtoi**, **zixcám z itáaitoj**,
 ABS-pet-PL some there 3IO-RL-stand.PL fish a 3:3-RL-eat-PL
toc cōtoi ma, ihmáa zo toc cōmota,
 there 3IO-RL-stand.PL DS other a there 3IO-TWD-RL-move
áno (*áno) **yaato**.
 3P.in DT-fight
 ‘Había unos perros allí comiendo un pescado cuando vino otro y peleó con ellos.’
There were dogs there eating a fish, another one came along and fought with them.
 (DS2005, caato) RMH_08-13-07_22j
- (88) °**Hax cactim° quij miiho isax, áno cmaalim. Áno cmaalim.**
 puddle the.CM 2P-AON-see CNCSV 3P.in IM-N-play 3P.in IM-N-play
 ‘Si ves un charco, no jugues en él. No jugues en él.’
If you see a puddle, don’t play in it. Don’t play in it. RMH_11-28p-07_192
- (89) a. **Áno hsaháama ha.**
 3P.in 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.trickle AUX-DCL
 ‘Se lo meteré.’
I will put it in it. RMH_08-13-07_22ia
- b. **Áno hsaháama ha.**
 3P.in 1sS.TR-IR.ID-cause.trickle AUX-DCL
 ‘Sí. Se lo meteré.’
I will put it IN IT. RMH_08-13-07_22ib

- (90) a. # **Àno cmihtim!**
3P.in IM-N-be.FL-IMPF
'No vayas en él.' RMH_08-13-07_22aa
Don't walk in it! (such as the sea)
- b. **Áno cmihtim!**
3P.in IM-N-be.FL-IMPF
'No vayas EN ÉL.' RMH_08-13-07_22ab
Don't walk IN IT! (such as the sea)
- (91) a. # **¿Àno contéenim?**
3P.in 3IO-2SS-RL-splash
'¿Se lo echaste en ellos?' RMH_08-13-07_22cb->
Did you throw it on them? RMH_08-13-07_22ca
- b. **¿Áno contèenim?**
3P.in 3IO-2SS-RL-splash
'¿Se lo echaste EN ELLOS?'
Did you throw it ON THEM?
- (92) a. # **Ìti yomíih.**
3P-on DT-N-be.FL
- b. **Íti yomíih.**
3P-on DT-N-be.FL
'No está en él/ella.'
It isn't on it. RMH_08-13-07_22e
- (93) a. **Ìiqui yopánzx.**
3P-toward DT-run
'Corrió hacia él/ella.' RMH_08-13-07_22fa
S/he ran toward him/her/it.
- b. **Íiqui yopánzx.**
3P-toward DT-run
'Corrió hacia él/ella.' RMH_08-13-07_22fb
S/he ran toward him/her/it.
- (94) a. # **¿Àno móta?**
3P.in TWD-RL-move
RMH_08-13-07_22ga
- b. **¿Áno móta?**
3P.in TWD-RL-move
'Viene de él/ella?' (¿Está saliendo?)
Is it coming (out) from it? RMH_08-13-07_22gb
- (95) a. # **Ìti nscámom aha.**
3P-on 2SS-IR.ID-N-lie AUX-DCL
RMH_08-13-07_22ha
RMH_08-13-07_22hb →
- b. **Íti nscámom aha.**
3P-on 2SS-IR.ID-N-lie AUX-DCL
'No debes acostarte en él/ella.'
You shouldn't lie down on it.
- (96) a. # **Ìti yíih.**
3P-on DT-be.FL
RMH_08-13-07_22da
- b. **Íti yíih.**
3P-on DT-be.FL
'Está en él/ella.'
It is on it. RMH_08-13-07_22db

It is possible, although less common, for the postposition to be stressed to show contrastive focus on the postposition itself.

- (97) **Xepe com áno cmihtim.**
sea the.HZ 3P.in IM-N-be.FL-IMPF
'No te metas EN el mar.' (Puedes andar cerca de él.)
Don't go IN the ocean. (You can go near it.) RMH_11-28p-07_191

The postposition may be initial in the VP and yet not be in absolute clause-initial position. The difference is significant for the accentual properties of the postposition. In the following examples the sentence begins with a time adverb or time adjunct. Since the postposition is in

VP-initial position, it is stressed.

- (98) **¿Cmaax áno mota?**
 now 3P.in TWD-RL-move
 ‘¿Ahora está saliendo de él/ella?’
Now is it coming from it? RMH_08-13-07_22m
- (99) **¿Cói áno mota?**
 still 3P.in TWD-RL-move
 ‘¿Todavía está saliendo de él/ella?’
Is it still coming from it? RMH_08-13-07_22n
- (100) **Moxíma áno cohpyénim.**
 yesterday 3P.in 3IO-1sS.Tr-RL-splash
 ‘Ayer se lo tiré en ellos.’
Yesterday I threw it on them. RMH_08-13-07_25a
- (101) **Haptco áno cohpyénim.**
 already 3P.in 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-splash
 ‘Ya se lo he tirado en ellos.’
I already threw it on them. RMH_08-13-07_25b
- (102) **¿Zaah hipcop cmaax áno cmiihtim!**
 sun/day PX-VT now 3P.in IM-N-be.FL-IMPF
 ‘No andes en él hoy.’
Don’t walk in it today! RMH_08-13-07_25c

In the following examples, however, the postposition is preceded by a VP-initial adverb (see §5.1) and has reduced stress. This may be an example of a domain-specific avoidance of stress clash.¹⁷

- (103) **Anxö iti yiih.**
 INTNS 3P-on DT-be.FL
 ‘Está en él/ella mucho.’
She is on it a lot. RMH_08-13-07_22k
- (104) **¿Miizj áno mota?**
 well 3P.in TWD-RL-move
 ‘¿Está saliendo bien?’
Is it coming out from it well?
(i.e., quickly, easily) RMH_08-13-07_22l

22.3.3 Grammaticalization

Two of the postpositions enter into the subcategorization of verbs; they have become grammaticalized as markers for nominals that are recipients, addressees, etc. These facts are more interesting than they may first appear to be, and show the degree of grammaticalization that has taken place.

First, there may be a recipient/addressee which is not linked to a syntactic relation, as shown in (105) for the verb $\sqrt{\text{áaom}}$ *beg* (see §18.5.5). When this is the case, the recipient/addressee — whether singular or plural — appears as the complement of a particular postposition: **iti on** for

¹⁷ These facts regarding the interplay between adverbs and stress on the postposition are very clear. The intonational pattern of the clause depends very importantly on them.

singular nominals, **ano** *in* for plural ones.

(105)	√ âaom	Semantics:	Agent	Patient	(Addressee)
	<i>beg for Patient</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	(PP _{iti/ano})
	<i>(from Addressee)</i>				

- (106) a. **Sîimet quih míti itáaom, ...**
 bread the.FL 2P-on 3:3-RL-beg
 ‘Estaba mendigando pan de ti, ...’
S/he was begging for bread from you (sg.), ... RMH_08-13-07_28a
- b. **Sîimet quih mín itáaom ...**
 bread the.FL 2P-in 3:3-RL-beg
 ‘Estaba mendigando pan de ustedes, ...’
S/he was begging for bread from you (pl.), ... RMH_08-13-07_28b

Some verbs subcategorize to for an oblique object that, whether singular or plural, is cross-referenced on the verb with indirect object inflection. One verb that uses this pattern is √**cazit** *snatch, grab* (see §18.5.3).

(107)	√ cazit	Semantics:	Agent	Theme/Patient	(Recipient/Addressee)
	<i>snatch, grab</i>	Syntax:	Subject	Direct Object	(Oblique Object)

- (108) a. **Tom quih he iyocázit.**
 money the.FL IIO 3:3-DT-grab
 ‘Me arrebató el dinero.’
S/he took the money away from me by force. RMH_08-13-07_29a
- b. **Tom quih he iyocážitim.**
 money the.FL IIO 3:3-DT-grab-IMPF
 ‘Nos arrebató el dinero.’
S/he took the money away from me by force. RMH_08-13-07_29b

A third pattern is typical of several verbs, and is illustrated by the the verb √**amjc** *bring* (see §18.5.3). In this pattern, *singular* addressees/recipients are encoded obligatorily as oblique objects (cross-referenced by indirect object morphology), illustrated by (110a), while plural addressees/recipients are encoded by postpositional phrases with **ano**, illustrated by (110b) and (111).

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| (109) | $\sqrt{\text{amjc}}$ | Semantics: | Agent | Patient | (Recipient) |
| | <i>bring</i> | Syntax: | Subject | Direct Object | (Oblique Object_{sg} / PP_{ano}) |
- (110) a. **¡He cámcj!**
 IIO IM-bring
 ‘¡Tráemelo!’
Bring it to me! RMH_08-13-07_30a
- b. **¡Hino cámcj!**
 IP-in IM-bring
 ‘¡Tráenoslo!’
Bring it to us! RMH_08-13-07_30b
- (111) **¡Ziix zo hino cámcj!**
 thing a IP-in IM-bring
 ‘Tráenos algo.’
Bring something to us! RMH_08-13-07_26a

See also the verbs $\sqrt{\text{amx}}$ *say* (no addressee or only plural addressee as complement of **ano**) and $\sqrt{\text{aamx}}$ *say* (singular addressee as oblique object) discussed in §18.5.5 and §19.12 respectively.

22.3.4 Idiomatic expressions

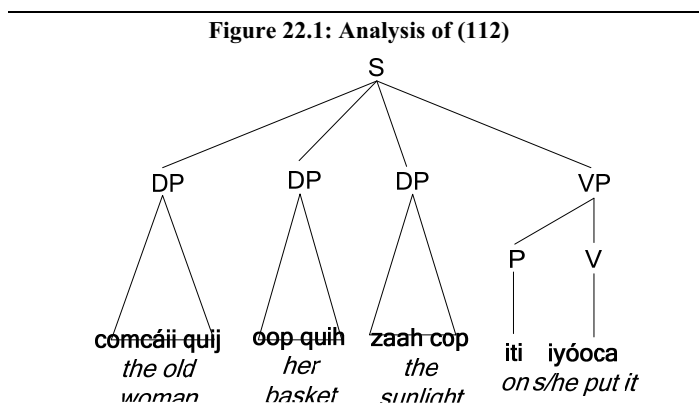
Three of the postpositions (**ano** *in*, **iti** *on* and **iiqui** *toward*) commonly enter into combinations with verbs to produce idiomatic expressions of varying degrees of semantic opacity, as shown below. Such expressions are as common in Seri as are expressions with so-called particles in English. The postposition in these examples is normally stressed. See the discussion in §7.3.

22.3.5 Analysis

It seems clear that the category of postposition has a place in Seri grammar at least because of their limited use in noun phrases and with certain sentence-initial phrases (see the beginning of this chapter). However, the more important question is what is the status of these words when they occur in standard clauses where they always occur in preverbal position. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, they should presumably be analyzed as being of the same category as other instances of those words of the same form.¹⁸

¹⁸ Craig and Hale (1988) suggest a historical development for this kind of situation, of which Seri represents a type that is slightly different from the ones that they describe. They essentially propose that a sequence [[NP P]_{PP} V] is reanalyzed as [NP [P-V]_V] by the adjunction or incorporation of the postposition to the verb. However, they write about these morphemes as verb prefixes; but in Seri the data do not indicate that the P is prefixed to the verb *qua* prefix. The term “adjunction” is used here to refer to the preverbal positioning of the P without implying any particular morphological analysis.

The structure which presumably would be the historical (if not synchronic) analysis of (112) is given as Figure 22.1. (This diagram assumes that the direct object and postpositional phrase are not in the VP, but this is probably not important.)



Evidence has been presented that the postpositions are part of the verb phrase; see §5.7 and the end of §22.3.2. There is no evidence that they are actually prefixed to the verb or in any way affect the transitivity of the clause. The semantic complements of the postpositions do not determine indirect/oblique inflection on the verb (§2.4); there is no evidence that they are oblique arguments of the verb. No evidence of any syntactic constituency between the postposition and its semantic complement has been found. An example such as (112) therefore seems to be most appropriately analyzed without any structural PP, and with the P in the VP, as shown in Figure 22.2. As the facts in §5.7 have shown, the P follows VP-initial adverbs and so is not simply adjoined to the VP.

- (112) **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
 ‘La anciana puso su canasta en el sol.’
The old woman put her basket into the sunlight. RMH_08-13-07_34a

Two patterns are commonly attested with respect to the order of phrases in the examples with intransitive verbs that we have seen (looking only at those where the nominals precede the verb):

Under Craig and Hale’s analysis, the complement of the P is superficially an object of the verb. There is evidence for this analysis in some languages, as Craig and Hale show. In Seri, however, there is no evidence that the DP left by the presumed adjunction of the P to the V has any properties of a direct object; in fact, the evidence is clearly in the other direction since the transitivity of the clause is unaffected. There is no difference in the morphological transitivity of an intransitive verb (for example) which occurs in a sentence without an adjoined postposition and one with such a postposition. (See Appendix D for the several tests of transitivity which are available.)

