

## 6. Questions

Questions typically require either a verb inflected in interrogative mood, or the question modal –**ya**<sup>1</sup> after the nominal predicate (which may be a deverbal noun, see chapter 14). In realis clauses with finite verbs, interrogative mood is indicated with the Realis prefix **t-** (§17.1.1.5). In irrealis clauses, interrogative mood is indicated by the choice of modal (§20.2.1.1 and §20.2.2.1).

In this chapter, yes-no questions are presented first (§6.1), followed by content questions (§6.2) and rhetorical questions (§6.3). The section on content questions is divided into two main parts (realis and irrealis) which then take up the question words in specific subsections.

### 6.1 Yes-no questions

A yes-no question of a typical sentence is never well-formed solely using intonation, as the follow unacceptable examples illustrate by combining question intonation with non-interrogative forms.

- (1) \* **¿Hax quih iiqui mpam / yopám / xopám?**  
 water the.FL 3P-toward/with Px-PV-swallow / DT-PV-swallow / EM-PV-swallow  
 (‘¿Se toma con agua?’) (*It is swallowed with water?*)
- (2) \* **¿Haxz cop zixcám -ya imíihit / iyóohit / ixóohit?**  
 dog the.VT fish QM 3:3-PX-eat / 3:3-DT-eat / 3:3-EM-eat  
 (‘¿Está comiendo pescado el perro?’) (*The dog is/was eating fish?*)
- (3) \* **¿María quih Hezitmísoj quij contíya?**  
 the.FL Hermosillo the.CM 3IO-AW-DT-move  
 (‘¿María fue a Hermosillo?’) (*María went to Hermosillo?*)
- (4) \* **¿María quih siitax caha?**  
 the.FL IR.ID-go AUX.SN-DCL  
 (‘¿María va a ir?’) (*María is going to go?*)
- (5) \* **¿Hast iha?** (6) \* **¿He?** (7) \* **¿Siitax caha?**  
 stone DCL 1PRO IR.ID-go AUX.SN-DCL  
 (¿Es una piedra?) (¿Yo?) (¿Ira?)  
 (*It's a stone?*) (*Me?*) (*S/he will go?*)

A yes-no question that is typically formed with the question modal –**ya** (see below and §10.2) cannot be expressed without the that modal.

<sup>1</sup> This modal is written as a suffix in the practical orthography. See §20.5.

(8) a. **¿Me catícpan -ya?**  
 2PRO SN-work QM

b. \* **¿Me catícpan?**

‘¿Estás trabajando?’

*Are you working?* RMH\_05-17-08\_102

(9) a. **¿Tiix hast -ya?**  
 DDS stone QM

b. \* **¿Tiix hast?**

‘¿Es eso piedra?’

*Is that stone?* RMH\_05-17-08\_103

It is possible, however, for a name or other nominal (without determiner) to be used — and in this case obligatorily *without* a question modal — with question intonation in order to inquire in a minimal way whether a certain person is present or not, or inquire regarding other information about him or her.

(10) **¿María Carmen?** [Is she here?, etc.]

RMH\_05-17-08\_104a

(11) **¿Mata?** [Is she here?, etc.]

2P- mother

‘Tu madre?’

*Your mother?* RMH\_05-17-08\_104b

(12) **¿Trooqui cheel?** [Is it here?, etc.]

car SN-red

‘¿El carro rojo?’

*The red car?* RMH\_05-17-08\_104c

Apart from having the morphological characteristics of questions mentioned above, normal yes-no (or polar) questions based on finite verbs are characterized by a fall on the last stressed word of the predicate, which may be an auxiliary (which is present for reasons that have nothing to do with the fact that the sentence is a question).<sup>2</sup> Yes-no questions are otherwise not distinguished syntactically from statements; no changes in word order are involved.

The following examples show finite clauses with verbs in the realis mood interrogative (prefix **t-**, §17.1.1.5).

<sup>2</sup> This section expands on the material presented in Marlett & M. Moser (2000). Since Seri uses interrogative mood for finite verbs and a question modal for yes-no questions when there is no verb, it falls into a small group of languages in the typology presented in Dryer (2008b).

- (13) ¿**Hax quih haa -ya iiqui tpam?**  
 water the.FL AUX QM 3P-toward/with RL-PV-swallow  
 ‘¿Se toma con agua?’  
*Is it swallowed with water?* (DS2005, iiqui, improved) RMH\_08-21-07\_78
- (14) ¿**Haxz cop zixcám -ya itáhit?**  
 dog the.VT fish QM 3:3-RL-eat  
 ‘¿Está comiendo pescado el perro?’  
*Is/was the dog eating fish?* RMH\_09-28-07\_132
- (15) ¿**Juan quih zixcám quih itáhit x, itcmáhit x?**  
 the.FL fish the.FL 3:3-RL-eat or 3:3-RL-N-eat or  
 ‘¿Comió Juan el pescado o no lo comió?’  
*Did Juan eat the fish or didn't he eat it?* (the fish isn't present) RMH\_11-19-07\_26
- (16) **Moxíma Juan quih zixcám -ya itáhit?**  
 yesterday the.FL fish QM 3:3-RL-eat  
 ‘¿Comió Juan pescado ayer?’  
*Did Juan eat fish yesterday?* RMH\_11-19-07\_27

If the predicate is a predicate nominal rather than a verb, the question modal **-ya** is used rather than a declarative or other modal (§10.2).

- (17) ¿**Hast -ya?**  
 stone QM  
 ‘¿Es/era una piedra?’  
*Is/was it a stone?* RMH\_08-21-07\_79b

Likewise, yes-no questions of sentences headed by deverbal nouns simply use the question modal after the deverbal noun.<sup>3</sup>

- (18) ¿**Ctam, tiix hatéictim° zo ctaai -ya?**  
 man DDS piece.of.cloth a SN-TR-wear.kilt QM  
 ‘¿Lleva un tonelete ese hombre?’  
*Does that man wear a kilt?* (DS2005, ctaai) RMH\_08-21-07\_79c
- (19) ¿**María quih casímet -ya?**  
 the.FL SN-make.bread QM  
 ‘¿Está haciendo pan María?’  
*Is María making bread?* RMH\_09-28-07\_133a

<sup>3</sup> More accurately, the question modal follows the verb phrase (including whatever postverbal adverbs that may also be present) that is headed by the deverbal noun.

- (20) **¿Juan quih zixcám quih quihit -ya?**  
 the.FL fish the.FL SN-TR-eat QM  
 ‘¿Está comiendo pescado Juan?’  
*Is Juan eating fish?* RMH\_09-28-07\_133c
- (21) **Juan quih zixcám com oohit -ya x? imáhit -ya x?**  
 the.FL fish the.Hz 3P-ON-eat QM or 3P-ON-N-eat QM or  
 ‘¿Comió Juan el pescado o no lo comió?’  
*Did Juan eat the fish or didn't he eat it? (a covered fish is there)* RMH\_11-19-07\_28

Pronouns cannot be questioned directly as they are not predicates (§10.1.1). For a question they must be presented with a copula (see §10.3.2).

- (22) \* **¿Me -ya?**  
 2PRO QM  
 (‘¿Eres tú?’)  
*(Is it you?)*
- (23) **¿Me haa -ya?**  
 2PRO SN.EQ QM  
 ‘Eres tú?’  
*Is it you? (Overheard) LHC\_2-06-07\_191c*
- (24) \* **¿Tii -ya?**  
 DDS QM  
 (‘¿Es aquella/aqué?’)  
*(Is it that one?)*
- (25) **¿Tii haa -ya?**  
 DDS SN.EQ QM  
 ‘¿Es aquella/aqué?’  
*Is it that one? RMH\_05-17-08\_105*

The following examples show that such questions may have a right-dislocated subject nominal (as may declarative sentences, see §3.12), but otherwise word order follows the preferred word order (Subject-Object-Verb) shown in chapter 2.

- (26) a. **¿Juan quih zixcám com quihit -ya?**  
 the.FL fish the.Hz SN-TR-eat QM
- b. **¿Zixcám com quihit -ya? Juan quih.**
- c. \* **Zixcám com Juan quih quihit -ya?** (on intended reading)
- d. \* **¿Juan quih quihit -ya? zixcám com.**
- ‘¿Está comiendo el PESCADO Juan?’  
*Is Juan eating the FISH? (contrastive)* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_133b (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_133d

When the predicate is irrealis, an auxiliary is always required in the question, whether the irrealis is inflected for subject (§17.1.1.3) or is of the deverbal noun type (§14.5). That auxiliary is always stressed and it is always followed by the question modal *-ya* (§10.2).

- (27) **¿Hocö hizcoi nsaaco haa -ya?**  
 wood PX-PL 2sS-IR.ID-build.house AUX QM  
 ‘¿Vas a construir una casa con esta madera?’  
*Are you going to build a house with this wood?* (DS2005, caaco) RMH\_09-28-07\_134a

- (28) **¿Ihpsóos haa -ya?**  
 1sS.IN-IR.ID-sing AUX QM  
 ‘¿Canto?’  
*Shall I sing?* (DS2005, catmehi) RMH\_09-28-07\_134b
- (29) **¿Me siitax quee -ya?**  
 2PRO IR.ID-go AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Vas a ir?’ RMH\_08-21-07\_79a  
*Are you going to go?* (DS2005, me)

## 6.2 Content questions

The question words used in content questions are: **quíih** *who(m)?, whose?*, **áz** *what?*, **háqui** (**hac**) *what place? (where?)*, **háqui** (**com, quij, cop**) *which one?*, **zó** *which?*, **zó** *how?*,<sup>4</sup> and **zímjök** *when?*<sup>5</sup> These are also listed in Table 6.1. As indicated, the question word **háqui** usually occurs with a definite article. Sentences with these words are discussed in groups, first in finite clauses (§6.2.1) and then in non-finite clauses (§6.2.2).

The question marker **-ya** sometimes occurs after the question words **quíih** *who?* (or *whom?* or *whose?*), **áz** *what?*, **zímjök** *when?* and the nominal phrase containing **zó** *which?* as well, although only if the predicate is *not* marked with **-ya**; it is ungrammatical for more than one instance of **-ya** to appear in a single sentence.

- (30) a. **¿Quíih Pedro quih siizt quee -ya?**  
 who? the.FL IR.ID-tattoo AUX.SN QM
- b. \* **Quíih -ya Pedro quih siizt quee -ya?**  
 ‘¿Quién tatuará a Pedro?’  
*Who will tattoo Pedro?* RMH\_11-19-07\_69

The variation in the presence of the interrogative marker is usually meaningful, as shown by the examples in the following sections. When **-ya** occurs directly on **quíih** it is implied that the

**Table 6.1: Question words**

<b>quíih</b>	<i>who?, whom? whose?</i>
<b>áz</b>	<i>what?</i>
<b>háquic hac</b>	<i>what place? where?</i>
<b>háqui com/quij/cop</b>	<i>which one?</i>
<b>zó</b>	<i>which?</i>
<b>zó</b>	<i>how?</i>
<b>zímjök</b>	<i>when?</i>

<sup>4</sup> The word **zó** is also used in more complicated expressions to ask *why?* and *how much?*. See §6.2.2.4.

<sup>5</sup> In addition, the word **háahcö** is an archaic word for *who?*

person or thing in question is not present or is not from a particular known group; a question with **–ya** on **quíih** is therefore a more open kind of question.<sup>6</sup> The absence of **–ya** in finite clauses typically indicates that the question is focusing on the selection of a person from a known group, such as the group of people in the presence of the speaker. Thus if one were addressing a group of people and were asking ‘Which one of you did that?’, one would use **quíih** *without* **–ya**. No personal pronoun is used. These facts are illustrated by various pairs of sentences in the following sections. In other cases the presence or absence of **–ya** has other interesting effects as shown below.

The interrogative pronoun, noun, or adverb may vary in its position in the clause. Examples are presented below.

The intonation of a content question generally includes a higher pitch on the question word, a drop in pitch that begins after that word, and a continuing drop in pitch through the end of the clause.

## 6.2.1 Content questions in finite realis clauses

The following examples are simple illustrations using interrogative realis mood forms.

### 6.2.1.1 Questions with **quíih** *who?*

The first set of examples below present the question word **quíih** *who?* with intransitive verbs and without **–ya**, the construction that indicates that the question is directed toward a known set of people that is commonly in the presence of the speaker.

- (31) **¿Quíih** toos? (pyeest quij ano cōmiizcam hac)  
 who? RL-sing fiesta the.CM 3P.in 3IO-PX-arrive.PL the.LC  
 ‘¿Quién (de ustedes) cantó (habiendo llegado a la fiesta)?’  
*Who (of you) sang (having gone to the fiesta)?* RMH\_09-28-07\_134c, RMH\_09-28-07\_134cc
- (32) **¿Quíih** haquix intíta, tatax?  
 who? somewhere AW-RL-move RL-go  
 ‘¿Quién (de ustedes) se fue?’  
*Who (of you) went?* RMH\_09-28-07\_134e
- (33) **¿Quíih** Cabórca hac ano mota?  
 who? the.LC 3P.in TWD-RL-move  
 ‘¿Quién (de ustedes) vino de Caborca?’  
*Who (of you) came from Caborca?* RMH\_08-21-07\_88

The question word **quíih** may be followed directly by the question modal **–ya** to make the

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to René Montaña Herrera for pointing this out.

question pertinent to an open set and indicate that the person in question is not present.

- (34) **¿Quiih -ya tazcam?**  
 who? QM RL-arrive.PL  
 ‘¿Quiénes llegaron?’  
*Who arrived (pl.)?* RMH\_11-19-07\_152
- (35) **¿Quiih -ya haquix intíta, tatax?**  
 who? QM somewhere AW-RL-move RL-go  
 ‘¿Quién se fue?’  
*Who went?* (more open question) RMH\_09-28-07\_134f
- (36) **¿Quiih -ya toos? (Rosa xah Julia xah)**  
 who? QM RL-sing CRD CRD  
 ‘¿Quién canta/cantó? (¿Rosa o Julia?)’  
*Who sang/is singing? (Rosa or Julia?)* (not present) RMH\_09-28-07\_134d, RMH\_09-28-07\_134dd
- (37) **¿Quiih -ya miicp cõtáp?**  
 who? QM 2P-place.next.to 3IO-RL-stand  
 ‘¿Quién está a tu lado?’  
*Who is standing next to you?* RMH\_11-27-07\_09
- (38) **¿Quiih -ya °miicp tap°?**  
 who? QM 2P-place.next.to RL-stand  
 ‘¿Quién está a tu favor?’  
*Who is supporting (rooting for) you?* RMH\_11-27-07\_10
- (39) a. **¿Quiih -ya Cabórca hac ano mota?**  
 who? QM the.LC 3P.in TWD-RL-move  
 ‘¿Quién vino de Caborca?’  
*Who came from Caborca?* (more open question) RMH\_11-19-07\_30
- b. \* **¿Cabórca hac quiih -ya ano mota?**  
 c. \* **¿Cabórca hac ano quiih -ya mota?**  
 d. \* **¿Quiih -ya ano mota, Cabórca hac?**

The examples in (39) demonstrate the relative rigidity of word order in questions, a fact that is seen various places in this chapter. The question word in these intransitive clause examples must be in initial position. With transitive verbs it is possible to see that the facts are a bit more complicated. The question word is not always in initial position, and some examples exhibit ambiguity.

- (40) **¿Quiih -ya ntaho?**  
 who? QM 2SS-RL-see  
 ‘¿A quién viste?’  
*Whom did you see?* (typical open question) RMH\_09-28-07\_134g

- (41) **¿Quíih** **intáho?**  
 who? 2sS-RL-see  
 ‘A cuál (de un grupo conocido) viste?’  
*Who (of a known group) did you see?* RMH\_09-28-07\_134h
- (42) **¿Quíih** **-ya itáho?**  
 who? QM 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿Quién lo(s)/la(s) vio?’ / ‘¿A quién vio?’ RMH\_09-28-07\_135a, RMH\_10-15-07\_11c  
*Whom did s/he see? or Who saw him/her/it/them? (open question)*
- (43) **¿Quíih** **-ya ntacóxl?**  
 who? QM 2sS-RL-tend  
 ‘¿Con quién estás?’  
*Who are you with?* RMH\_08-13-07\_60e

When the clause contains a nominal phrase argument as well as the question word **quíih**, the use of **-ya** requires strict SOV word order (allowing for right-dislocated items, however). Since **quíih** may be questioning a non-subject as well as a subject, the word order is significant.

Subject questioned

- (44) **¿Quíih** **-ya Pedro quih itáho?**  
 who? QM the.FL 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿Quién vio a Pedro?’ (\*¿A quién vio Pedro?)  
*Who saw Pedro? (open question) (\*Whom did Pedro see?)* RMH\_10-15-07\_13a
- (45) **¿Quíih** **-ya Pedro quih itázt?**  
 who? QM the.FL 3:3-RL-tattoo  
 ‘¿Quién tatuó a Pedro?’ (\*¿A quién tatuó Pedro?) RMH\_09-28-07\_137d, RMH\_11-19-07\_32  
*Who tattooed Pedro? (open question) (\*Whom did Pedro tattoo?)*
- (46) **¿Quíih** **-ya °ziix cxatlc° miti itáaom?**  
 who? QM thing SN-thin-PL 2P-on 3:3-RL-beg  
 ‘¿Quién te pidió tortillas?’  
*Who asked you for tortillas?* RMH\_05-17-08\_106
- (47) **¿Quíih** **-ya sahmées coi z itáhit?**  
 who? QM orange(s) the.PL a/one 3:3-RL-eat  
 ‘¿Quién comió una de las naranjas?’  
*Who ate one of the oranges?* RMH\_11-19-07\_37
- (48) **¿Quíih** **-ya quíih áz cöitacóhot?**  
 who? QM who? what? 3IO-3:3-RL-cause.see  
 ‘¿Quién le mostró qué a quién?’  
*Who showed what to whom?* RMH\_11-19-07\_77

- (49) **¿Quíih -ya eenim caacoj quih itacóxl?**  
 who? QM knife SN-big the.FL 3:3-RL-tend  
 ‘¿Quién tiene el machete?’  
*Who has the machete?* (normal question) RMH\_08-13-07\_60f
- (50) a. **¿Quíih -ya canóaa com itáai?**  
 who QM boat the.Hz 3:3-RL-make  
 b. \* **¿Canóaa com quíih -ya itáai?**  
 ‘¿Quién está haciendo la panga?’  
*Who is making the boat?* (open question) RMH\_09-28-07\_137\*
- (51) **¿Mai quih quíih itacóxaj haa coii -ya?**  
 2P-father.ME the.FL who? 3:3-RL-tend-PL there SN-be.FL.PL QM  
 ‘¿Quiénes están allí visitando a tu padre?’  
*Who are there visiting your father?* RMH\_05-17-08\_107

Direct object questioned

- (52) **¿Juan quih quíih -ya itacóxl?**  
 the.FL who? QM 3:3-RL-tend  
 ‘Con quién estaba Juan?’ (\*¿Quién estaba con Juan?)  
*Who was Juan tending? (\*Who was tending Juan?)* RMH\_08-13-07\_60d
- (53) **¿Pedro quih quíih -ya itáho?**  
 the.FL who? QM 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿A quién vio Pedro?’ (\*¿Quién vio a Pedro?)  
*Whom did Pedro see?* (open question) (\**Who saw Pedro?*) RMH\_10-15-07\_13b, RMH\_09-28-07\_137c
- (54) **¿Pedro quih quíih -ya itázt?**  
 the.FL who? QM 3:3-RL-tattoo  
 ‘A quién tatuó Pedro?’ (\*¿Quién tatuó a Pedro?)  
*Whom did Pedro tattoo?* (open question) (\**Who tattooed Pedro?*) RMH\_08-13-07\_62n, RMH\_11-19-07\_33
- (55) # **Eenim caacoj quih ¿quíih -ya itacóxl?**  
 knife SN-big the.FL who? QM 3:3-RL-tend  
 Significaría: ‘¿A quién cuida el machete?’ (\*¿Quién cuida el machete?)  
 Would mean: *Who is the machete tending?* (\**Who is tending the machete?*)
- (56) **¿Mai quih quíih itacóxl, haa quiiij -ya?**  
 2P-father.ME the.FL who? 3:3-RL-tend there SN-sit QM  
 ‘Con quién está tu padre?’ (\*¿Quién está con tu padre?)  
*Who is your father with?* (\**Who is with your father?*) RMH\_05-17-08\_108

Indirect object questioned

- (57) **¿Juan quih quíih -ya cöitacóhot, zixcám com?** RMH\_11-19-07\_38  
 the.FL who? QM 3IO-3:3-RL-cause.see fish the.HZ  
 ‘¿A quién Juan mostró el pescado?’ (\*¿Quién mostró el pescado a Juan?)  
*To whom did Juan show the fish? (open question) (\*Who showed the fish to Juan?)*
- (58) **¿Quíih -ya cöitacóhot, zixcám com?**  
 who? QM 3IO-3:3-RL-cause.see fish the.HZ  
 ‘¿A quién se lo mostró el pescado?’  
*To whom did s/he show the fish? or Who showed the fish to him/her? (open question)* RMH\_09-28-07\_136cc
- (59) **¿Thamoc ma, quíih -ya ma tacóxaj?**  
 RL-be.night DS who? QM 2sDO RL-tend-PL  
 ‘¿Quiénes te visitaron anoche?’  
*Who (pl.) visited you last night?* RMH\_05-17-08\_109
- (60) **¿Ihá moc quih quíih -ya ntacóxl?**  
 3P-AON-be.night the.FL who? QM 2sS-RL-tend  
 ‘¿A quién visitabas anoche?’  
*Who were you visiting last night?* RMH\_05-17-08\_110
- (61) **¿Ihá moc quih quíih -ya ma tacóxl?**  
 3P-AON-be.night the.FL who? QM 2sS RL-tend  
 ‘¿Quién te visitaba anoche?’  
*Who was visiting you last night?* RMH\_05-17-08\_111

The interpretation of **quíih** — as subject, direct object or indirect object — may vary depending on the available readings from the context and morphology when word order is not a factor. Of course, overt inflection on the verb for a non-third person restricts the set of interpretations.

- (62) **¿Quíih cöitacóhot, zixcám com?**  
 who? 3IO-3:3-RL-cause.see fish the.HZ  
 ‘¿A quién se lo mostró el pescado?’ RMH\_09-28-07\_136c  
*To which did s/he show the fish? or Which showed the fish to him/her?*
- (63) **¿Quíih itáho?**  
 who? 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿A cuál (de un grupo conocido) vio?’ o ‘¿Cuál lo vio?’ RMH\_11-19-07\_31  
*Which (of a known group) did s/he see? or Which one saw him/her/it/them?*

A nominal may appear early in the sentence as the possessor/subject of a nominalized clause that sets the stage for the question. This stage-setting does not reduce the ambiguity of the question that may follow.

- (64) °**Ziix hapx coom° com hapx cöiïhom hac**  
 thing outside SN-lie the.Hz outside 3IO-3P-AON-lie the.Lc  
**¿quíih (-ya) itáho?**  
 who? QM 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿Quién vio la ballena salir? o ‘¿A quién vio la ballena cuando salió?’  
*Who saw the whale surface? or Whom did the whale see when it surfaced?*  
 (open question with **-ya** RMH\_10-15-07\_11b, (restricted set without **-ya**) RMH\_10-15-07\_11a)
- (65) **Pedro quih Hezitmísoj quij ano cöiïfp hac**  
 the.FL Hermosillo the.CM 3P.in 3IO-3P-AON-arrive the.Lc  
**quíih (-ya) itáho?**  
 who? QM 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿A quién vio Pedro cuando estaba en Hermosillo?’ o ‘¿Quién vio a Pedro cuando estaba en Hermosillo?’  
*Whom did Pedro see when he was in Hermosillo? or Who saw Pedro when he was in Hermosillo?*  
 (open question with **-ya** RMH\_10-15-07\_12b (restricted set without **-ya**) RMH\_10-15-07\_12a)

In sentence-initial position preceding a nominal phrase, **quíih** is interpreted as the subject.

- (66) **¿Quíih Rosa quih itáho?**  
 who? the.FL 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿Cuál (de un grupo conocido) vio a Rosa?’ (\*‘¿A cuál vio Rosa?’)  
*Which (of a known group) saw Rosa? (\*Which did Rosa see?)* RMH\_11-19-07\_151
- (67) **¿Quíih Pedro quih itázt?**  
 who? the.FL 3:3-RL-tattoo  
 ‘¿Quién tatuó a Pedro?’ (\*‘A quién tatuó Pedro?’) RMH\_09-28-07\_137e, RMH\_11-19-07\_34  
*Which (of a known group) tattooed Pedro? (\*Which did Pedro tattoo?)*
- (68) **¿Quíih eenim caacoj quih itacóxl?**  
 who? knife SN-big the.FL 3:3-RL-tend  
 ‘¿Quién (de un grupo conocido) tiene el machete?’  
*Who (of a known group) has the machete?* RMH\_08-13-07\_60f
- (69) **¿Quíih canóaa com itáai?**  
 who? boat the.Hz 3:3-RL-make  
 ‘¿Quién (de grupo conocido) está haciendo la panga?’  
*Who (of known group) is making the boat?* RMH\_09-28-07\_137b

When the word **quíih** (without **-ya**) follows a DP, there are actually two options that correlate with the intonation. If the intonation is simple sentence intonation, the **quíih** is taken as referring to the object, as expected by the word order.

- (70) **¿Rosa quih quíih itáho?**  
 the.FL who? 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿A cuál vio Rosa?’ (\*‘Cuál (de un grupo conocido) vio a Rosa?’)  
*Which one did Rosa see? (\*Which one (of a known group) saw Rosa?)* RMH\_11-19-07\_75
- (71) **¿Pedro quih quíih itáho?**  
 the.FL who? 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿A cuál vio Pedro?’ (\*¿Cuál (de un grupo conocido) vio a Pedro?’)  
*Which one did Pedro see? (\*Which one saw Pedro?)* RMH\_09-28-07\_136b

If the DP preceding **quíih** (without **-ya**) is set off with a slight pause, resulting in a higher intonation on **quíih** than in the preceding examples, **quíih** is interpretation as the *subject*. This construction is appropriate for non-agentive verbs like  $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$  *see* and  $\sqrt{\text{acóxl}}$  *tend*. With a more agentive verb such as the one for *tattoo* a more “insistent” rising intonation on the verb is required.<sup>7</sup>

- (72) **¿Rosa quih, quíih itáho?**  
 the.FL who? 3:3-RL-see  
 ‘¿Cuál (de un grupo conocido) vio a Rosa?’  
*Which one (of a known group) saw Rosa?* RMH\_11-19-07\_74
- (73) **Eenim caacoj quih, ¿quíih itacóxl?**  
 knife SN-big the.FL who? 3:3-RL-tend  
 ‘¿Cuál tiene el machete?’  
*Which one has the machete?* (ALIM 90) RMH\_08-13-07\_60a
- (74) **¿Pedro quih, quíih itázt?**  
 the.FL who? 3:3-RL-tattoo  
 ‘¿Cuál tatuó a Pedro?’ (\*¿A cuál tatuó Pedro?’)  
*Which one tattooed Pedro? (\*Which one did Pedro tattoo?)*  
 (rising intonation on **itázt**) RMH\_11-19-07\_35

The word **quíih** may also question the possessor of a nominal in a finite clause; the use of **-ya** in these examples is a bit different than in the examples discussed so far.

- (75) a. (normal)  
**¿Quiih ata **-ya** tmoquéepe?**  
 who? 3P-mother QM RL-sick
- b. (more direct, with more “intensity”)  
**¿Quiih **-ya** ata **quih** tmoquéepe?**  
 who? QM 3P-mother the.FL RL-sick

<sup>7</sup> The most common way to question an ergative subject is with a deverbal noun construction (see §6.2.2.2).

‘¿La madre de quién está enferma?’

*Whose mother is sick?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_138a (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_138b

The word **quíih** may be supported by the auxiliary **haa** or the intensifier **haxéhe** in a cleft-like construction.

- (76) ¿**Quíih** **haa** -ya **tmoquéepe**?  
 who? AUX QM RL-sick  
 ‘¿Quién es que está enfermo?’  
*Who is it that is sick?* RMH\_11-19-07\_40
- (77) ¿**Quíih** **haxéhe** -ya **xepe itéel tintica itáao**?  
 who? INTNS QM sea 3P-edge MD-AW 3:3-RL-pass.by  
 ‘¿Quién será que está caminando por la orilla del mar?’  
*Who on earth is that who is walking along the shore?* RMH\_11-19-07\_81
- (78) ¿**Ihá moc** **quih quíih haa** -ya **ma tacóxl**?  
 3P-AON-be.night the.FL who? AUX QM 2sDO RL-tend  
 ‘¿Quién te visitó anoche?’  
*Last night who visited you?* RMH\_05-17-08\_112
- (79) ¿**Ihá moc** **quih quíih haa** -ya **ntacóxl**?  
 3P-AON-be.night the.FL who? AUX QM 2sSS-RL-tend  
 ‘¿A quién visitaste anoche?’  
*Last night who did you visit?* RMH\_05-17-08\_113
- (80) ¿**Ihá moc** **quih quíih haa** -ya **itacóxl**?  
 3P-AON-be.night the.FL who? AUX QM 3:3-RL-tend  
 ‘A quién visitó anoche?’ o ‘¿Quién le visitó anoche?’  
*Whom did s/he visit last night? or Who visited him/her last night?* RMH\_05-17-08\_114

### 6.2.1.2 Questions with **áz** *what?*

The question modal is typically used with the question word **áz** *what?* Its absence adds a special rhetorical effect that is different than that found with **quíih** *who?* as the following translations show.

- (81) ¿**Áz** -ya **haa hant tahjít**? (82) ¿**Áz** -ya **ma tap**?  
 what? QM there land RL-fall what? QM 2sDO RL-bite  
 ‘¿Qué cayó?’ ‘¿Qué te picó?’ RMH\_11-19-07\_153  
*What fell?* RMH\_11-19-07\_50 *What (e.g. insect) bit you?*
- (83) ¿**Luis quih áz** -ya **itácö**?  
 the.FL what? QM 3:3-RL-kill  
 ‘¿Qué mató Luis? (\*¿Qué mató a Luis?)’  
*What did Luis kill? (\*What killed Luis?)* (typical question) RMH\_09-28-07\_138c

- (84) a. **¿Áz -ya Luis quih itácö?**<sup>8</sup>  
 what? QM the.FL 3:3-RL-kill
- b. \* **¿Áz Luis quih itácö?**  
 ‘¿Qué mató a Luis? (\*‘Qué mató Luis?’)  
*What killed Luis? (\*What did Luis kill?)* RMH\_05-17-08\_115
- (85) **¿Luis quih áz itácö?**  
 the.FL what? 3:3-RL-kill  
 ‘¿Qué mató Luis?’  
*What did Luis kill? (presumed that the answer is ‘nothing’)* RMH\_09-28-07\_138d
- (86) **¿Luis quih áz -ya itámjc?**  
 the.FL what? QM 3:3-RL-bring  
 ‘¿Qué trajo Luis?’  
*What did Luis bring? (typical question)* RMH\_09-28-07\_138e
- \* **¿Áz -ya Luis quih itámjc?**  
 (\* ‘¿Qué trajo Luis?’) (\**What did Luis bring?*)
- (87) **¿Luis quih áz itámjc?**  
 the what? 3:3-RL-bring  
 ‘¿Qué trajo Luis?’  
*What did Luis bring? (presumed that the answer is ‘nothing’)* RMH\_09-28-07\_138f
- (88) **¿Áz -ya án cötazquim?** (89) **¿Áz -ya ntahit?**  
 what? QM 3P.interior 3IO-RL-enter what? QM 2sS-RL-eat  
 ‘¿En qué entró?’ ‘¿Qué comiste?’  
*What did s/he/it enter?* RMH\_09-28-07\_139 *What did you eat?* RMH\_10-15-07\_17

The word order in sentences with this question word is preferentially Subject-Object-Verb word order, but variation is acceptable, as the following examples illustrate.

- (90) a. **¿Pedro quih María quih áz -ya cöitacóhot?**  
 the.FL the.FL what QM 3IO-3:3-RL-cause.see
- b. **¿Pedro quih áz -ya María quih cöitacóhot?**

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps more natural:

- (i) **¿Zó °ziix ccam° -ya toc cöfiih, Luis quih itácö?**  
 what? animal QM there 3IO-RL-be.FL the.FL 3:3-RL-kill  
 ‘¿Qué animal mató a Luis?’ (\* ‘¿Qué animal mató Luis?’)  
*What animal killed Luis? (\*What animal did Luis kill?)* RRR

c. ¿Áz -ya Pedro quih María quih cöitacóhot?

‘¿Qué mostró Pedro a María?’

*What did Pedro show María?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_136d (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_136e (c) RMH\_09-28-07\_136f

The word **áz** may be supported by the auxiliary **haa**<sup>9</sup> or the intensifier **haxéhe** in a cleft-like construction.

(91) **Intfísil, haquix immíih tax,**  
2sS-RL-small somewhere 2sS-PX-be.FL SBRD

¿áz quih haa -ya ntahit?  
what? the.FL AUX QM 2sS-RL-eat

‘¿Cuándo eras niño, ¿qué era que comiste?’

*When you were a kid, what was it that you ate?* RMH\_11-27-07\_11

(92) ¿Áz haxéhe -ya itáho?  
what? INTNS QM 3:3-RL-see

‘¿Qué encontró? (con sorpresa)

*What on earth did she find?* (indicates some surprise) RMH\_11-19-07\_41

(93) ¿Áz haxéhe -ya haa hant tahjíit?  
what? INTNS QM there land RL-fall

‘¿Qué rayos cayó?’

*What on earth fell?* RMH\_11-19-07\_51

### 6.2.1.3 Questions with **háqui** *which one?*

The question word **háqui** varies in its potential referent depending on the article that occurs with it. With the locative article **hac** (§21.2.5) or with no article (in a clause with a positional verb), it refers to a place. Despite being a location adjunct, it is not typically cross-referenced on the verb with oblique/indirect object inflection (§2.7).<sup>10</sup>

(94) a. ¿**Cmaax** **Juan** quih **háqui** **tiih?**  
now the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL

<sup>9</sup> Note that it also occurs with an article in this context. This construction is appropriate when the event is farther in the past. It may also be noted that the sequence **quih haa** here is pronounced very quickly, essentially as if it were **chaa** [kʔa], but it is not the subject nominalized form **chaa** of the equative root  $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$ . That word is used in a question such as ¿**Áz chaa -ya ntasi?** *What was it made of that you drank?* RRR

<sup>10</sup> The following rhetorical question was provided which has **háqui hac** cross-referenced on the verb:

(ii) ¿**Cmaax** **Juan** quih **háqui** **hac** cötiih, **ziix** **zo** thaa?!  
now the.FL which? the.LC 3IO-RL-be.FL thing a RL-EQ

‘¿Juan no será oficial otra vez!

*Juan will never be an official again!* RRR

- b. \* ¿Cmaax Juan quih háqui hac tiih?  
the.LC
- c. \* ¿Cmaax Juan quih háqui hac cōtiih?  
3IO-RL-be.FL
- d. \* ¿Cmaax háqui Juan quih tiih?
- e. \* ¿Cmaax háqui hac Juan quih tiih?
- f. \* ¿Cmaax háqui hac Juan quih cōtiih?
- g. ¿Juan quih cmaax háqui xah tiih?  
'¿Dónde está Juan ahora?'  
*Where is Juan now?* RMH\_11-27-07\_13
- (95) a. ¿Me háqui ntiih?  
2PRO which.one? 2SS-RL-be.FL
- b. \* ¿Me háqui contíih?  
3IO-2SS-RL-be.FL
- c. \* ¿Háqui me ntiih?  
'¿Dónde estabas/estás?'  
*Where were/are you?* RMH\_\_116
- (96) a. ¿Zaah quij háqui hac ano tiij?  
sun the.CM which.one? the.LC 3P.in RL-sit
- b. ¿Háqui hac zaah quij ano tiij?
- c. \* ¿Háqui hac zaah quij ano cōtiij?  
3IO-RL-sit
- d. \* ¿Háqui zaah quij ano tiij?
- e. \* Zaah quij háqui ano tiij?  
'¿Dónde está el sol?'  
*Where is the sun?* (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_62k, RMH\_08-21-07\_87a (b) RMH\_08-21-07\_87b
- (97) ¿Háqui tiih?  
which.one? RL-be.FL  
'¿Dónde está?'  
*Where is it?* RMH\_05-17-08\_117
- (98) ¿Háqui hac ano tiih?  
which.one? the.LC 3P.in RL-be.FL  
'¿Dónde está?'  
*Where is it?* RMH\_05-17-08\_118

The presence or absence of the article **hac** is governed by a couple of principles. While the article **hac** is commonly omitted, it is required when the expression is the complement of a post-position (chapter 22), as in example (96), or when the verb in the expression is one of movement (perhaps only particular ones), as in examples (99-100).

- (99) ¿**Mai** **háqui** **hac** **contíta**, **án** **cöcázquim** **-ya?**  
 2P-father.ME which.one? the.LC 3IO-AW-RL-move 3P.interior 3IO-SN-enter QM  
 ‘¿Por dónde entró tu padre?’  
*Where did your father come in?* RMH\_05-17-08\_119
- (100) ¿**Mai** **háqui** **hac** **contíta**, **hapx** **cöcaap** **-ya?**  
 2P-father.ME which.one? the.LC 3IO-AW-RL-move outside 3IO-SN-stand QM  
 ‘Por dónde salió tu padre?’  
*Where did your father come out?* RMH\_05-17-08\_120
- (101) ¿**Me** **háqui** **hac** **ano** **ntafp?**  
 2PRO which.one? the.LC 3P.in 2SS-RL-arrive  
 ‘¿A qué lugar llegaste?’  
*Where did you go to?* RMH\_05-17-08\_123
- (102) ¿**Me** **háqui** **hac** **ano** **mmita**, **ntafp?**<sup>11</sup>  
 2PRO which.one? the.LC 3P.in/from TWD-2SS-RL-move 2SS-RL-arrive  
 ‘¿De donde llegaste?’  
*Where did you come from?* RMH\_05-17-08\_121
- (103) ¿**Me** **háqui** **hac** **an** **icáafp** **intámzo?**  
 2PRO which.one? the.LC 3P.in INF.IN-arrive 2SS-RL-want  
 ‘¿A dónde quieres ir?’  
*Where do you want to go?* RMH\_05-17-08\_122

The postposition, in turn, is required if the predicate is anything other than a positional verb or a placement verb.<sup>12</sup> Therefore an example such as (104a) is ungrammatical but (104b) and (105) are grammatical.<sup>13</sup>

- (104) a. \* ¿**Me** **háqui** **soos** **quee** **-ya?**  
 2PRO which.one? IR.ID-sing AUX.SN QM  
 (¿Dónde cantarás?) (*Where will you sing?*)

<sup>11</sup> Another grammatical sentence with this same translation is the following using a deverbal noun in the main clause which therefore requires a third person form in the dependent clause (see §10.4.2): RRR

- (iii) ¿**Me** **zó** **hant** **ano** **mota** **hant hizac** **iti** **caafp** **-ya?**  
 2PRO which land 3P-in/from TWD-RL-move land PX-LC 3P-on SN-arrive QM

<sup>12</sup> A postposition may be used for other reasons — such as to indicate the location more specifically — in which case the article **hac** is used as well. See example (109).

<sup>13</sup> The sense of (104a) can be expressed if the question word is part of a dependent clause that takes a verb which allows for an oblique locative.

- (iv) ¿**Me** **háqui** **hac** **contipa** **soos** **quee** **-ya?**  
 2PRO where? the.LC 3IO-AW-IR.DP-move IR.ID-sing AUX.SN QM  
 ¿Dónde cantarás?  
*Where will you sing?* RRR

- b. **¿Me háqui hac ano soos quee -ya?**  
 2PRO which.one? the.LC 3P.in IR.ID-sing AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Dónde cantarás?’  
*Where will you sing?* RMH\_05-17-08\_124
- (105) **¿Me háqui hac ano saahit quee -ya?**  
 2PRO which.one? the.LC 3P.in IR.ID-fish AUX QM  
 ‘¿Dónde vas a pescar?’  
*Where are you going to go fishing?* RMH\_05-17-08\_125
- The question phrase with **háqui** most commonly occurs just before the VP (see chapter 5 for the explanation of the VP), but if the article is present, it may also appear at the beginning of the clause; see examples (96a-b). Other examples with **háqui**:
- (106) **Hast zo toc cōtiih, ¿háqui tiih?**  
 rock a there 3IO-RL-be.FL which.one? RL-be.FL  
 ‘¿Dónde está la piedra que estaba allí?’  
*Where is the rock that was there?* RMH\_05-17-08\_126
- (107) **¿Moxíma Juan quih háqui tiih?**  
 yesterday the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL  
 ‘¿Dónde estaba Juan ayer?’  
*Where was Juan yesterday?* RMH\_05-17-08\_127
- (108) **¿Háqui htah?**  
 which.one? 1SS.TR-RL-put.FL  
 ‘¿Dónde lo/la puse?’  
*Where did I put it?* RMH\_05-17-08\_128
- (109) **¿Ziix hapámasoj caacöl<sup>o</sup> quih Juan quih háqui hac**  
 rope the.FL the.FL which.one? the.LC  
**an itáh?**  
 3P.in 3:3-RL-put.FL  
 ‘¿Dónde puso la sogá Juan?’  
*Where did Juan put the rope?* RMH\_05-17-08\_129
- (110) a. **¿Hamcanoín quih háqui tiih?**  
 pan the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL  
 b. \* **¿Háqui hamcanoín quih tiih?**  
 ¿Dónde está la olla?  
*Where is the cooking pot?* RMH\_05-17-08\_130
- (111) a. **¿Iime hac háqui hac ano tahca?**  
 3P-home the.LC which.one? the.LC 3P.in RL-be.located

b. \* ¿**Háqui hac** iime hac ano tahca?

‘¿Dónde está su hogar?’

*Where is his/her/its home?* RMH\_05-17-08\_131

- (112) ¿**Zixquisñil° ctam quih háqui hac** ano tiij, hant tiij?  
 child male the.FL which.one? the.LC 3P.in RL-sit land RL-sit  
 ‘¿Dónde está sentado el muchacho?’  
*Where is the boy sitting?* RMH\_05-17-08\_132

This question word with **hac** may be used in a cleft-like construction.

- (113) ¿**Háqui hac haa -ya, Juan quih hap z an itácö?**  
 which.one? the.LC AUX QM the.FL mule.deer a 3P.in 3:3-RL-kill  
 ‘¿Dónde era que Juan mató a un venado bura?’  
*Where was it that Juan killed a mule deer?* RMH\_08-13-07\_62j
- (114) ¿**Háqui hac haa -ya ano hptap ma, hin ntaho?**  
 which.one? the.LC AUX QM 3P.in 1sS.IN-RL-stand DS 1sDO 2sS-RL-see  
 ‘¿Dónde era que yo estaba y me viste?’  
*Where was it that I was and you saw me?* RMH\_11-27-07\_14

The word **háqui** is also used to refer to people and things rather than a location when it occurs with one of the various positional articles (§21.2).

- (115) ¿**Háqui cop tooha?**  
 which.one? the.VT RL-cry  
 ‘¿Cuál está llorando?’  
*Which one is crying?* RMH\_11-19-07\_154
- (116) ¿**Háqui cop haa -ya tooha?**  
 which.one? the.VT AUX QM RL-cry  
 ‘¿Cuál está llorando?’  
*Which one is crying?* RMH\_05-17-08\_133
- (117) ¿**Háqui quij °hant xnoois° coi scaaix quee -ya?**  
 which.one? the.CM trash the.PL IR.ID-put.CM AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Cuál va a llevar la basura?’  
*Which (person) is going to take the trash?* RMH\_05-17-08\_134

- (118) ¿**Háqui** **com** **saazi** **quee** **-ya?**<sup>14</sup>  
 which.one? the.Hz IR.ID-carry AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Cuál (p.ej., de los rifles) va a llevar?’  
*Which one (e.g. of the rifles) is s/he going to take?* RMH\_05-17-08\_135
- (119) ¿**Háqui** **tintica** **cohsítni** **haa** **-ya?**  
 which.one? MD-AW 3IO-1sS.TR-IR.ID-make.contact AUX QM  
 ‘¿Cuál (p.ej. de los caballos) debo tirar?’  
*Which one (e.g. of the horses) shall I shoot?* RMH\_05-17-08\_136

#### 6.2.1.4 Questions with **zimjōc** *when?*

The question word **zimjōc** *when?* sometimes occurs with interrogative marker **-ya** and sometimes without, with no obvious difference in meaning.

- (120) ¿**Zimjōc** **(-ya)** **mizáah** **cōtafp?**  
 when? QM 2P-sun/day 3IO-RL-arrive  
 ‘¿Cuándo era tu cumpleaños?’  
*When was your birthday?* (DS2005, izáah) RMH\_05-17-08\_137
- (121) ¿**Zimjōc** **-ya** **cosi** **z iti** **tij?**  
 when? QM thorn a 3P-on RL-sit  
 ‘¿Cuándo se sentó en una espina?’  
*When did s/he sit on a thorn?* RMH\_08-13-07\_61f
- (122) ¿**Zimjōc** **(-ya)** **cosi** **z iti** **hant tij** **ma, ntaho?**  
 when? QM thorn a 3P-on land RL-sit DS 2sS-RL-see  
 ‘Cuándo lo/la viste sentar en una espina?’  
*When did you see him/her sit on a thorn?* RMH\_05-17-08\_138

This question word, which generally occurs clause-initially, may be preceded by a sentence-initial fronted nominal (§3.10).

- (123) a. ¿**Zimjōc** **-ya** **Juan quih** **zixcám** **z itácō?**  
 when? QM the.FL fish a 3:3-RL-kill
- b. ¿**Juan quih,** **zimjōc** **-ya** **zixcám** **z itácō?**
- c. \* ¿**Juan quih** **zixcám** **zo** **zimjōc** **-ya** **itácō?**

<sup>14</sup> If one were asking this question as if with contemplation or doubt, it would use the finite verb with a different modal.

- (v) ¿**Háqui** **com** **isáazi** **haa** **-ya?**  
 which.one? the.Hz 3:3-IR.ID-carry AUX QM  
 ‘¿Cuál (p.ej., de los rifles) va a llevar?’  
*Which one (e.g. of the rifles) is s/he going to take?* RRR

‘¿Cuándo fue que pescó un pescado Juan?’

*When did Juan catch a fish?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_140a (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_140b

- (124) a. **¿Zímjöc -ya Juan quih zixcám hipcom itácö?**  
 when? QM the.FL fish PX.HZ 3:3-RL-kill
- b. **¿Juan quih, zímjöc -ya zixcám hipcom itácö?**
- c. \* **¿Juan quih zixcám hipcom zímjöc -ya itácö?**

‘¿Cuándo mató Juan este pescado?’

*When did Juan catch this fish?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_140c (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_140d

- (125) a. **¿Zímjöc -ya Juan quih inol cop itáafe?**  
 when? QM the.FL 3P-finger the.VT 3:3-RL-pound
- b. **¿Juan quih, zímjöc -ya inol cop itáafe?**
- c. \* **¿Juan quih inol cop zímjöc -ya itáafe?**<sup>15</sup>

‘¿Cuándo golpeó Juan su dedo?’

*When did Juan hit his finger?* (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_62h RMH\_08-21-07\_89a (b) RMH\_08-13-07\_62g

- (126) a. **¿Zímjöc -ya °ziix paaij ano coom° com iti tiij?**  
 when? QM scorpion the.HZ 3P-on RL-sit
- b. **°Ziix paaij ano coom° com, ¿zímjöc -ya iti tiij?**

‘¿Cuándo se sentó en el alacrán?’

*When did s/he sit on the scorpion?* (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_61e (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_78

- (127) **¿Zímjöc -ya íti tiij?**  
 when? QM 3P-on RL-sit

‘¿Cuándo se sentó en él/ella?’

*When did s/he sit on it?* RMH\_09-28-07\_140e

### 6.2.1.5 Questions with **zó** *which?*

The interrogative determiner **zó** *which?* heads a determiner phrase with a lexical head that is being questioned. It is unusual syntactically in that it occurs phrase-initially rather than finally like other determiners (chapter 21).

- (128) a. **¿Zó trooqui -ya ano tiij, tafp, Juan quih?**  
 which? vehicle QM 3P.in RL-sit RL-arrive the.FL
- b. **¿Juan quih zó trooqui -ya ano tiij, tafp?**
- c. **¿Zó trooqui -ya Juan quih ano tiij, tafp?**

<sup>15</sup> This example is considered unacceptable although reportedly some young people might say it this way.

‘¿En qué vehículo llegó Juan?’

*What vehicle did Juan arrive in?* (a) RMH\_11-19-07\_43 (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_44 (c) RMH\_11-19-07\_45

- (129) **¿Zó cmiique –ya toos?** (130) **¿Zó Pedro –ya toos?**  
 which? person QM RL-sing which? QM RL-sing  
 ‘¿Qué persona está cantando?’ ‘¿Qué Pedro está cantando?’  
*What person is singing?* RMH\_11-19-07\_46 *Which Peter is singing?* RMH\_11-
- (131) a. **¿Zó hant matquéept?** b. \* **Hant zó matquéept?**<sup>16</sup>  
 which? place 2PS-RL-like-PL  
 ‘¿Qué lugar prefieren ustedes?’  
*What place do you prefer?* RMH\_10-15-07\_20a

Such questions may be abbreviated and presented without a verb.

- (132) **¿Zó ctam –ya?** (133) **¿Zó comcáac –ya?**  
 which? man QM which? person.PL QM  
 ‘¿Cuál hombre?’ ‘¿Qué personas?’  
*Which man?* RMH\_09-28-07\_143j *Which people?* RMH\_11-27-07\_18

#### 6.2.1.6 Questions with **zó how?**

The question word **zó how?** has a rather wide usage since it is the expression that is most commonly used to question the adjunct of an intransitive clause containing a verb of speaking, thinking, costing, etc., whether that clause is inherently intransitive (as with certain speech and thought verbs) or whether it is passive. It occurs immediately before the VP (see chapter 5 for discussion of the VP).

- (134) **¿Zó tpai?** (135) **¿Zó tyaai?**  
 how? RL-PV-tell how? RL-cost  
 ‘¿Cómo se llama?’ ‘¿Cuánto vale/cuesta?’  
*What is it called?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141a *How much does it cost?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141b
- (136) **¿Zó ntee?** (137) **¿Zó ntimoz?**  
 how? 2SS-RL-say how? 2SS-RL-think  
 ‘¿Qué dijiste?’ ‘¿Qué piensas?’  
*What did you say?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141c *What do you think?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141d
- (138) a. **¿Me zó matóoza?**  
 2PRO how? 2PS-RL-speak.PL

<sup>16</sup> A grammatical example which could be confused with this is:

- (vii) **¿Hant zo matquéept?**  
 place a 2PS-RL-like-PL  
 ‘¿Prefieren ustedes algún lugar en particular?’  
*Do you (pl.) prefer any particular place?* RMH\_10-15-07\_20b

- b. \* **¿Zó me matóoza?**  
 ‘¿Qué están diciendo Uds.?’  
*What are you (pl.) saying?* (Mt. 16:15) OP\_2-2-07\_065 LHC\_2-05-07\_140
- (139) a. **¿Ctamcö himcoi zó tooza?**  
 man-PL DT-PL how? RL-speak.PL
- b. \* **¿Zó ctamcö himcoi tooza?**  
 ‘¿Qué están diciendo esos hombres?’  
*What are those men saying?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141e
- (140) a. **¿Caamiz himquih zó tyaai?**  
 shirt DT-FL how? RL-cost
- b. \* **¿Zó caamiz himquih tyaai?**  
 ‘¿Cuánto cuesta esa camisa?’  
*How much does that shirt cost?* RMH\_05-17-08\_139

This adverb (unlike the interrogative determiner) has the form **zá** when it precedes any word that begins with **i** (but not with a word that begins with **y**), regardless of its meaning.<sup>17</sup>

- (141) **¿Rosa quih xiica ipxási coi zá itapácta?**  
 the.FL thing-PL 3P-flesh the.PL how? 3:3-RL-cause.be.in.appearance  
 ‘¿En que manera hizo (p.ej. cortó) Rosa la carne?’  
*How did Rosa do (e.g. cut) the meat?* RMH\_11-19-07\_48
- (142) **¿Zá ipácta ntamzo?**  
 how? 3P-AON-be.in.appearance 2sS-RL-want  
 ‘¿Cómo quieres que sea?’  
*How do you want it to be?* RMH\_05-17-08\_140
- (143) **¿Zá icóos intámzo?**  
 how? INF.IN-sing 2sS-RL-want  
 ‘¿Cómo quieres cantar?’  
*How do you want to sing?* RMH\_05-17-08\_141
- (144) **¿Zó yas intámzo?**  
 how? 3P-AON-sing 2sS-RL-want  
 ‘¿Cómo quieres que cante?’  
*How do you want him/her to sing? (e.g. high or low)* RMH\_05-17-08\_142

### 6.2.2 Content questions in non-finite realis clauses

Content questions are commonly made with deverbal nouns as the head of the clause. In some

<sup>17</sup> To the best of my knowledge, this variant was not recorded before 2007, and it is unclear why not.

cases these are not only possible, but preferred or required. The following examples present a range of facts. Since the question modal marker is required with the deverbal noun, it is not possible for it to occur directly following the question word. Word order strictly follows the default order mentioned in chapter 2, where Simple Adjunct > Subject > Indirect/Oblique Object > Direct Object > Other Adjuncts except for the possibility of fronting (§3.10) and right dislocation (§3.12).

### 6.2.2.1 Questions with subject-oriented deverbal nouns

Questions made with subject-oriented deverbal nouns may inquire about the absolutive (subject of intransitive or direct object) argument or obliques, but not the ergative (subject of transitive).

Subject (of intransitive) is questioned

- (145) **¿Áz cahcáail -ya?**  
 what? SN-remain/lacking QM  
 ‘Qué hace falta?’  
*What is lacking?* RMH\_11-19-07\_155
- (146) **¿Quíih coos -ya?**  
 who? SN-sing QM  
 ‘¿Cuál está cantando?’  
*Which is singing?*<sup>18</sup> RMH\_11-27-07\_15

Direct object is questioned

- (147) a. **¿Me áz casíijim -ya?**  
 2PRO what? SN-TR-do QM
- b. \* **Áz me casíijim -ya?**<sup>19</sup>  
 ‘¿Qué estás haciendo?’  
*What are you doing?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141f

Ergative cannot be questioned

- (148) a. \* **¿Quíih siimet quih quihit -ya?**  
 who? bread the.FL SN-TR-eat QM
- b. \* **¿Siimet quih quíih quihit -ya?**  
 (‘¿Quién come/comió el pan?’) (*Who is eating / ate the bread?*)
- (149) \* **¿Áz him quip -ya?**  
 what? 1sDO SN-TR-bite QM  
 (‘¿Qué me está picando?’) (*What (e.g. insect) is biting me?*)

Other questions

<sup>18</sup> The general question must use a finite verb: **¿Quíih -ya toos?** *Who is singing?*

<sup>19</sup> This is grammatical if the **me** is analyzed as the oblique/indirect object prefix (§17.1.2.4) rather than the independent pronoun. It would mean *What is s/he doing to you?*

- (150) a. ¿(Canóaa com) zímjōc xepe iti coom -ya?  
boat the.HZ when? sea 3P-on SN-lie QM  
b. \* (Canóaa com) xepe zímjōc iti coom -ya?  
'¿Cuándo fue puesta en el mar esa panga?'  
*When was that boat launched?* RMH\_09-28-07\_141g
- (151) Ctam, tiix ¿zímjōc isoj caafc -ya?  
man DDS when? 3P-self SN-TR-pound QM  
'¿Cuándo se golpeó ese hombre?' (como con martillo)  
*When did that man hit himself? (as with hammer)* RMH\_08-13-07\_62a
- (152) a. ¿Ctam, tiix zímjōc inol cop caafc -ya?  
man DDS when? 3P-finger the.VT SN-TR-pound QM  
b. \* Zímjōc ctam, tiix inol cop caafc -ya?  
'¿Cuándo se golpeó el dedo ese hombre?'  
*When did that man hit his finger?* RMH\_08-13-07\_62b
- (153) a. ¿Zímjōc Juan quih inol cop caafc -ya?  
when? the.FL 3P-finger the.VT SN-TR-pound QM  
b. ¿Juan quih zímjōc inol cop caafc -ya?  
c. \* ¿Juan quih inol cop zímjōc caafc -ya?  
'¿Cuándo se golpeó Juan el dedo?'  
*When did Juan hit his finger?* (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_62d (b) RMH\_08-13-07\_62e
- (154) °Ziix quih cōcacóaat°, ¿me zímjōc hant hizac iti caafp -ya?  
teacher 2PRO when? land PX-LC 3P-on SN-arrive QM  
'Maestro, ¿cuándo llegaste a este lugar?'  
*Teacher, when did you arrive to this place?* (Jn 6:25) RMH\_05-17-08\_143
- (155) a. ¿Me zō hant cayáxi<sup>20</sup> -ya?  
2PRO how? year SN-measure QM  
b. ¿Me hant zō cayáxi -ya?  
'¿Cuántos años tienes?'  
*How old are you?* RMH\_10-15-07\_19
- (156) Isolca quih ¿zō cyaxi -ya?  
3P-body-PL the.FL how? SN-? QM  
'¿Cuántas personas estaban allí?'  
*How many people were there?* (DS2005, isolca) RMH\_08-21-07\_79e

<sup>20</sup> The intransitive causative form **cayáxi** is used with the expressions for age, among others.

- (157) **Haxaca quih ¿zó cyaxi -ya ntyaa?**  
 ABS-pet-PL the.FL how? SN-? QM 2sS-RL-own  
 ‘¿Cuántos perros tienes?’  
*How many dogs do you own?* RMH\_11-27-07\_16
- (158) **¿Zó hant ano quih -ya?**  
 which? land/place 3P.in SN-be.FL QM  
 ‘¿Dónde vive?’  
*Where does s/he live?* RMH\_09-28-07\_143k

### 6.2.2.2 Questions with direct object-oriented deverbal nouns

With direct object-oriented deverbal nouns the question word **quih** must directly precede the deverbal noun (if not presented in an earlier clause, as in (172), because it always interpreted as the subject/possessor of the deverbal noun. This construction is a common way to question an ergative subject. The direct object is not questioned with this construction, and of course the absolutive subject cannot be questioned with this construction since the object-oriented deverbal noun is possible only with transitive verbs.

- (159) a. **Canóaa com ¿quih yaai -ya?**  
 boat the.Hz who? 3P-ON-make QM  
 b. **¿Quih yaai -ya?, canóaa com.**  
 c. \* **Quih canóaa com yaai -ya?**  
 ‘¿Quién está haciendo la panga?’  
*Who is making the boat?* (a) (DS2005, caai/etc)
- (160) **¿Quih ocóho -ya?**  
 who? 3P-ON-see QM  
 ‘¿Quién lo vio/encontró?’ (\*¿A quién encontró?)  
*Who saw/found it/him/her? (\*Whom did s/he find?)* RMH\_11-19-07\_53a
- (161) **¿Áz oop -ya?**  
 what? 3P-ON-bite QM  
 ‘¿Qué le picó?’  
*What bit him/her?* RMH\_11-19-07\_156
- (162) **Juan quih quih ocóho -ya?**  
 the.FL who? 3P-ON-see QM  
 ‘¿Quién encontró a Juan?’ (\*¿A quién encontró Juan?)  
*Who found Juan? (\*Whom did Juan find?)* RMH\_11-19-07\_53b
- (163) a. **Canóaa com ¿quih ocóho -ya?**  
 boat the.Hz who? 3P-ON-see QM

- b. **¿Quíih** ocóho -ya?, canóaa com.  
 c. \* **¿Quíih** canóaa com ocóho -ya?
- ‘¿Quién vio/encontró la panga?’  
*Who saw/found the boat?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_142a, (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_142b
- (164) a. °**Ziix** hacácj° **hipquij**, **¿quíih** ooxi -ya?  
 carving Px-CM who? 3P-ON-finish QM
- b. **¿Quíih** ooxi -ya?, **ziix** hacácj hipquij.  
 ‘¿Quién hizo esta figura?’  
*Who made this carving?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_142c, (b) RMH\_08-13-07\_61d
- (165) a. **Siimet** coáatjō, **tiix** **¿quíih** oohit -ya?  
 bread SN-sweet DDS who? 3P-ON-eat QM
- b. **¿Quíih** oohit -ya?, **siimet** coáatjō, **tiix**.  
 ‘¿Quién comió ese pan dulce?’  
*Who ate that sweet bread?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_142d, (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_142e
- (166) **¿Quíih** oáah -ya?  
 who? 3P-ON-do/say QM  
 ‘¿Quién lo hizo?’  
*Who did it?* RMH\_11-27-07\_17
- (167) **Pedro** quih **¿quíih** oozt -ya?  
 the.FL who? 3P-ON-tattoo QM  
 ‘¿Quién tatuó a Pedro?’ (\*¿A quién tatuó pedro?)  
*Who tattooed Pedro? (\*Whom did Pedro tattoo?)* RMH\_09-28-07\_143a
- (168) **Zixcám** com, **¿quíih** cōiyacóhot -ya?  
 fish the.Hz who? 3IO-3P-ON-cause.see QM  
 ‘¿Quién le mostró el pescado?’  
*Who showed him/her the fish?* RMH\_09-28-07\_143d
- (169) **¿Pedro** quih **quíih** ocóho -ya?  
 the.FL who? 3P-ON-see QM  
 (Estamos buscando a Pedro.) ‘¿Quién vio a Pedro?’  
*(We are looking for Pedro.) Who saw Pedro?* RMH\_09-28-07\_144b
- (170) **¿Siimet** quih **quíih** oohit -ya?  
 bread the.FL who? 3P-ON-eat QM  
 ‘¿Quién comió el pan?’  
*Who ate the bread?* RMH\_09-28-07\_144c

- (171) ¿Eenim caacoj quih quíih yacóxl -ya?  
knife SN-big the.FL who? 3P-ON-tend QM  
'¿Quién tiene el machete?'  
*Who has the machete?* RMH\_11-19-07\_54
- (172) ¿Quíih toc cōtiih, yaai -ya?  
who? there 3IO-RL-be.FL 3P-ON-make QM  
'¿Quién lo/la está haciendo?'  
*Who is making it?* (more doubt). RMH\_11-19-07\_52
- (173) ¿Áz / Quíih toc cōtiih, ocóho -ya?  
what? who? there 3IO-RL-be.FL 3P-ON-see QM  
'¿Quién lo/la encontró?'  
*Who found it/him/her?* (more doubt) RMH\_11-19-07\_59
- (174) ¿Áz toc cōtiih, hoox tomemíquet, oáah -ya?  
what? there 3IO-RL-be.FL INTNS RL-N-be.person 3P-ON-do/say QM  
'¿Quién hizo esa cosa terrible?'  
*Who did that terrible thing?* RMH\_11-19-07\_60

This construction may also be used to question adjuncts.

- (175) a. ¿Juan quih inol cop zímjōc yaafc -ya?  
the.FL 3P-finger the.VT when? 3P-ON-pound QM  
b. ¿Zímjōc Juan quih inol cop yaafc -ya?  
'¿Cuándo se golpeó Juan el dedo?'  
*When did Juan hit his finger?* (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_62f (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_61
- (176) a. ¿Juan quih zímjōc ooicō -ya? zixcám hipcom.  
the.FL when 3P-ON-kill QM fish Px-Hz  
b. ¿Juan quih zixcám hipcom zímjōc ooicō -ya?  
'¿Cuándo mató este pescado Juan?'  
*When did Juan catch this fish?* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_143b (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_143c
- (177) ¿Luis quih mosnípol quij zímjōc ooicō -ya?  
the.FL leatherback the.CM when? 3P-ON-kill QM  
'¿Cuándo mató Luis la caguama de siete filos?'  
*When did Luis kill the leatherback turtle?* RMH\_09-28-07\_143g
- (178) a. “°Azoj canoj° tiquij, ¿zímjōc hamíime com iti tiij ma,  
star MD-CM when? sky the.Hz 3P-on RL-sit DS  
mocoht -ya?” ox imíi.  
2P-ON-see-PL QM thus 3:3-Px-tell

- b. \* “Azoj canoj tiquij, ¿hamíime com zímjōc iti tiij ma, mocohtya?”  
ox imii.
- c. \* “Azoj canoj tiquij, ¿ hamíime com iti zímjōc tiij ma, mocohtya?”  
ox imii.

‘¿Cuándo vieron la estrella en el cielo?— les preguntó.’

“When did they see the star in the sky,” he asked them. (Mt 2:7) RMH\_08-13-07\_62c

- (179) a. ¿Juan quih hap quih háqui hac an ooicö -ya?  
the.FL mule.deer the.FL which.one? the.Lc 3P.in 3P-ON-kill QM
- b. \* Háqui hac Juan quih hap quih an ooicö -ya?

‘¿Dónde mató el venado bura Juan?’

Where did John kill the deer? RMH\_08-13-07\_62i

### 6.2.2.3 Questions formed with action/oblique oriented-oriented deverbial nouns

- (180) °Ziix paaij ano coom° com, ¿zímjōc iti ihíij -ya?  
scorpion the.Hz when? 3P-on 3P-AON-sit QM  
‘¿Cuándo se sentó en el alacrán?’  
When did s/he sit on the scorpion? RMH\_08-13-07\_61h
- (181) ¿Zímjōc it ihíij -ya?  
when? 3P-on 3P-AON-sit QM  
‘¿Cuándo se sentó en él/ella?’  
When did s/he sit on it? RMH\_08-13-07\_61g

### 6.2.2.4 Other realis content questions

The word **quíih** *who?* may question a possessor. When it precedes the possessive pronoun **yaa**, it is following the pattern expected for questioning ergative subjects using an object-oriented deverbial noun, the etymological source of **yaa**.

- (182) ¿Trooqui tiquij quíih yaa° -ya?  
vehicle MD-CM who? his/hers QM  
‘¿De quién es ese carro?’  
Whose car is that? RMH\_11-19-07\_55
- (183) ¿Trooqui ziix quih iso<sup>j</sup> cocjít quih quíih yaa° -ya?  
vehicle thing the.FL 3P-self 3IO-SN-TR-hit the.FL who? his/hers QM  
‘De quién es el carro que se chocó?’  
Whose car was it that crashed? (Whose was the car that crashed?) RMH\_11-19-07\_56
- (184) a. °Haat hanóohcö°, tiix ¿quíih yaa° -ya?  
concave.basket DDS who? his/hers QM
- b. \* ¿Quíih haat hanóohcö yaa -ya?

c. \* ¿**Quíih** haat hanóohcö, tiix yaa -ya?

d. ¿**Quíih** yaa -ya, haat hanóohcö, tiix?

‘Esa canasta [no presente], ¿de quién es?’

*That basket [not present], whose is it?* (a) (ALIM) RMH\_08-13-07\_60b, (d) RMH\_08-13-07\_60c

(185) ¿**Quíih** icáamiz -ya?

who? 3P-shirt QM

‘¿De quién es la camisa?’

*Whose shirt is it?* RMH\_11-19-07\_57

(186) ¿**Quíih** inol -ya contiin?

who? 3P-hand QM 3IO-2SS-RL-touch

‘¿Cuya mano tocaste?’

*Whose hand did you touch?* RMH\_11-19-07\_58

The meaning *why?* is expressed by the clause **zó tpacta ma** (how? RL-be.in.appearance DS) or something similar adjusted for mood and person for other contexts. The meaning *how?* (*in what manner?*) is expressed by the clause **zó √apácta** literally, *how did s/he do it?* (conjugated for the appropriate person and mood).

(187) ¿**Zó tpacta \_\_\_\_\_ ma<sup>o</sup> zixcám com intáhit?**

how? RL.be.in.appearance DS fish the.Hz 2SS-RL-eat

‘¿Porqué comiste el pescado?’

*Why did you eat the fish?* RMH\_11-19-07\_62

(188) ¿**Zixcám com zó ntapácta ntahit?**

fish the.Hz how? 2SS-RL-cause.be.in.appearance 2SS-RL-eat

‘¿Cómo preparaste el pescado que comiste?’

*How did you prepare the fish that you ate?* RMH\_11-19-07\_65

(189) ¿**Zixcám com zó mpapácta nsiihit haa -ya?**

fish the.Hz how? 2SS-IR.DP-cause.be.in.appearance 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX QM

‘¿Cómo prepararás el pescado que comerás?’

*How will you prepare the fish that you will eat?* RMH\_11-19-07\_64

The equivalent of the expressions *how many?* and *how much?* — **¿zó cyaxi -ya?** — is embedded in the noun phrase. It can be modified with the attenuator **xah** (§24.6.1).

- (190) ¿Comcáac quih zó cyaxi -va pyeest quij ano tazcam?  
 person/Seri-PL the.FL how? SN-? QM fiesta the.CM 3P.in RL-arrive-PL  
 ‘¿Cuántas personas llegaron a la fiesta?’  
*How many people went to the fiesta?* RMH\_11-19-07\_79 [exact number expected]<sup>21</sup>
- (191) Comcáac quih zó xah cyaxi -va pyeest quij  
 person/Seri-PL the.FL how? ATTN SN-? QM fiesta the.CM  
 ano tazcam?  
 3P.in RL-arrive-PL  
 ‘¿Más o menos cuántas personas llegaron a la fiesta?’  
*Approximately how many people went to the fiesta?* RMH\_11-19-07\_80

### 6.2.3 Content questions in irrealis clauses

Irrealis clauses distinguish between finite and deverbal forms (see §17.1.1 and §14.5 for details of the morphology). A major correlation — and the significant one for intransitive examples with third person subjects — is the choice of auxiliary in these questions: **haa** for finite verbs and **quee** for deverbal nouns.

#### Finite examples

- (192) Absolutive subject  
 ¿Quiih satícpan haa -ya?  
 who? IR.ID-work AUX QM  
 ‘¿Quién va a trabajar?’  
*Who is going to work?* RMH\_11-27-07\_19
- (193) Ergative  
 a. ¿Pedro quih quiih isíizt haa -ya?  
 the.FL who? 3:3-IR.ID-tattoo AUX QM  
 b. ¿Quiih Pedro quih isíizt haa -ya?  
 ‘¿Quién tatuará a Pedro?’ (\*‘¿A quién tatuará Pedro?’)  
*Who will tattoo Pedro? (\*Whom will Pedro tattoo?)* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_143h (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_68
- (194) Ergative  
 Hap hipcom ¿quiih ináail quih cöisacópoxot haa -ya?  
 mule.deer Px.Hz who? 3P-skin the.FL 3IO-3:3-IR.ID-remove.skin AUX QM  
 ‘¿Quién va a quitarle la piel a ese venado bura?’  
*This mule deer, who is going to remove its skin?* RMH\_11-27-07\_20

<sup>21</sup> To make it absolutely specific about requesting exact information, the word **isoj** (3P-self) can be inserted after **cyaxi**.

(195) Ergative

a. ¿**Siimet** **hipquij** **quíih** **isíihit** **haa -ya?**  
 bread PX-CM who? 3:3-IR.ID-eat AUX QM

b. ¿**Quíih** **siimet** **hipquij** **isíihit** **haa -ya?**

‘¿Quién comerá este pan?’

*Who will eat this bread?* (a) RMH\_11-19-07\_73a (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_73b

(196) Direct Object

¿**Áz** **insíihit** **haa -ya?**  
 what? 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX QM

‘¿Qué vas a comer?’

*What will you eat?* RMH\_05-17-08\_144

(197) Determiner of Direct Object

**Me** **zó** **ziix** **hapáhit** **síihit** **quee -ya?**  
 2PRO what? thing SN-PV-eat IR.ID-eat AUX.SN QM

‘¿Qué comida vas a comer?’

*What food are you going to eat?* RMH\_05-17-08\_145

(198) Determiner of Direct Object

¿**Zó** **zixcám** **insíihit** **haa -ya?**  
 which? fish 2SS-IR.ID-eat AUX QM

‘¿Qué pescado comerás?’

*Which fish will you eat?* RMH\_11-19-07\_71

(199) Determiner of Direct Object

¿**Me** **zó** **zixcám** **síihit** **quee -ya?**  
 2PRO what? fish IR.ID-eat AUX.SN QM

‘¿Qué pescado comerás?’

*Which fish will you eat?* RMH\_05-17-08\_146

(200) Time

a. ¿**Hasaj** **quih** **zímjōc** **insahíti** **haa -ya?**  
 basket the.FL when? 2SS-IR.ID-begin AUX QM

b. ¿**Zímjōc** **hasaj** **quih** **insahíti** **haa -ya?**

‘¿Cuándo vas a empezar a hacer la canasta?’

*When are you going to begin the basket?* (DS2005, cahiti) (a) RMH\_08-13-07\_62l (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_65

(201) Time

¿**Zímjōc** **impanáaaj,** **insíifp** **haa -ya?**  
 when? 2SS-IR.DP-return 2SS-IR.ID-arrive AUX QM

‘¿Cuándo vas a regresar?’

*When are you going to come back?* RMH\_11-27-07\_21

(202) a. ¿Zímjōc me siifp quee -ya?<sup>22</sup>  
 when? 2PRO IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN QM

b. ¿Me zímjōc siifp quee -ya?

‘¿Cuándo vas a llegar?’

*When will you arrive?* (a) RMH\_05-17-08\_147a (b) RMH\_05-17-08\_147b

#### Non-finite (deverbal noun) examples

(203) Direct object

¿Pedro quih quih siizt quee -ya?  
 the.FL who? IR.ID-tattoo AUX.SN QM

‘¿A quién tatuará Pedro?’ (\*‘Quién tatuará a Pedro?’)

*Whom will Pedro tattoo? (\*Who will tattoo Pedro?)* RMH\_09-28-07\_143i

(204) Ergative

¿Quiih Pedro quih siizt quee -ya?  
 who? the.FL IR.ID-tattoo AUX.SN QM

‘¿Quién tatuará a Pedro?’ (\*‘A quién tatuará Pedro?’) RMH\_11-19-07\_70 (more insistent)

*Who will tattoo Pedro? (\*Whom will Pedro tattoo?)* RMH\_11-19-07\_69

(205) Determiner of Direct Object

¿Me zó zixcám siihit quee -ya?  
 2PRO which? fish IR.ID-eat AUX.SN QM

‘¿Qué pescado comerás?’

*What fish will you eat?* RMH\_11-19-07\_66

(206) Quantity of Absolutive Subject

¿Comcáac quih °zó cyaxi° saaitoj quee -ya?  
 person/Seri-PL the.FL how many? IR.ID-fish.PL AUX.SN QM

‘¿Cuántas personas van a ir a pescar?’

*How many people will go fishing?* RMH\_09-28-07\_144a

(207) Time

a. ¿Me zímjōc hasaj quih sahíti quee -ya?  
 2PRO when? basket the.FL IR.ID-begin AUX.SN QM

b. ¿Zímjōc me hasaj quih sahíti quee -ya?

c. \* ¿Me hasaj quih zímjōc sahíti quee -ya?

‘¿Cuándo vas a empezar a hacer una canasta?’

*When are you going to begin to make a basket?* (a) RMH\_11-19-07\_72a (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_72b

<sup>22</sup> If the **me** is taken as the 2IO prefix, in this example, the meaning is *When will s/he/it arrive to you?*

- (208) Time  
 ¿Cmaacoj quih zímjōc siifp quee -ya?  
 old.man the.FL when? IR.ID-arrive AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Cuándo va a venir mi viejo (padre o esposo)?’  
*When is my old man (father or husband) going to come?* (DS2005, cmaacoj) RMH\_08-13-07\_62m
- (209) Time  
 ¿Me zímjōc seeten quih cōsatēpan quee -ya?  
 you when? pen.shell the.FL 3IO-IR.ID-work AUX.SN QM  
 ‘¿Cuándo vas a trabajar con callo de hacha?’  
*When will you go to get pen shells?* RMH\_09-28-07\_143f

### 6.3 Rhetorical questions

A variety of rhetorical questions are possible. They do not have the normal intonation of questions although question words or the question modal is present. Typically there is a sharp drop in intonation on the auxiliary. They are transcribed here with either ?! punctuation or simple full-stop punctuation.

One kind of rhetorical question is used to express sarcasm. The translations, of course, could vary considerably.

- (210) Pedro quih soos caha. ¿Zó soos quee -ya?!  
 the.FL IR.ID-sing AUX.SN-DCL how? IR.ID-sing AUX.SN QM  
 ‘Pedro va a cantar, pero ¿quién sabe cómo!’  
*Pedro is going to sing, but who knows how!* RMH\_11-19-07\_49
- (211) ¿Tiix hehe zo haa -ya?!  
 DDS plant a SN.EQ QM  
 ‘¿Se cree que es una planta?!’  
*You call that a plant?!* RMH\_09-28-07\_163d
- (212) ¿Tiix ziix hapáhit zo haa -ya?!  
 DDS thing SN-Pv-eat a SN.EQ QM  
 ‘¿Se cree que es comida?!’  
*You call that food?!* RMH\_09-28-07\_163e
- (213) ¿Xiica hizcoi haa -ya °ziix hapáhit° zo thaa?!  
 things PX-PL AUX QM food a RL-EQ  
 ‘¿Estas cosas son comida?!’  
*These are supposed to be food?!* RMH\_05-17-08\_148

The rhetorical word **a** may occur with a nominal and the question marker to indicate a contradictory assertion on a specific nominal. The following example follows up with a rhetorical question that indicates the context for this contradictory assertion, and then a statement that

makes a positive assertion.<sup>23</sup>

- (214) **¡;Haxz a -ya?! ¡;Hoox icocóoz itáa?!**  
 dog RHE T QM INTNS INF.IN-UO-steal 3:3-RL-know  
**°Ziix canáao° cah icocóoz imiya.**  
 cat the.FL-FOC INF.IN-UO-steal 3:3-PX-know

‘No es el perro que se acostumbra a robar sino el gato.’

*Dogs aren't the ones that typically steal but rather cats.* RMH\_05-20-08\_02 listen to rob

#### 6.4 A special kind of indirect question

While there do not appear to be any ordinary indirect questions of the type *I asked who would sing*, a special type of sentence appears to be in essence a kind of indirect question embedded under an unexpressed verb of wondering.

These indirect questions use a question word, but the intonation is that of an incomplete sentence. Oddly enough, the morphology of the verb in these indirect questions is of a *realis* verb (using *t-* §17.1.1.5), rather than an irrealis verb, although the sentences indicate a kind of musing about what will happen in the very near *future*. The intonation therefore is crucial for interpreting these sentences correctly and in *not* mistaking them as simple realis questions. For that reason, the following examples are punctuated as statements with a missing main verb (indicated by the em-dash).

- (215) **Quíih sahmées coi z itáhit, —.**  
 who? orange(s) the.PL a/one 3:3-RL-eat  
 ‘A ver quién (de los presentes) se anima a comer una de las naranjas.’  
*I wonder who (of those present) is going to eat one of the oranges.* RMH\_11-19-07\_36
- (216) **Pedro quih quíih itázt, —.**  
 the.FL who? 3:3-RL-tattoo  
 ‘A ver cuál va a tatuar a Pedro.’  
*I wonder who (present) will tattoo Pedro.* RMH\_10-15-07\_15
- (217) a. **Canóaa com quíih itáai, —.**  
 boat the.HZ who? 3:3-RL-make  
 b. **Quíih canóaa com itáai, —.**  
 ‘A ver cuál se anima a hacer la panga.’  
*I wonder who will make the boat.* (a) RMH\_11-19-07\_39 (b) RMH\_11-19-07\_157

<sup>23</sup> Note that the infix *-a-* does not occur in this context; see §26.10.

- (218) **Quíih** -ya canóaa com itáai, —.  
 who? QM boat the.Hz 3:3-RL-make  
 ‘A ver quién va a terminar de hacer la panga.’  
*I wonder who is going to finish making the boat.* RMH\_08-13-07\_61c
- (219) **Quíih** hant itásaquim, —.  
 who? land 3:3-RL-brush  
 ‘A ver quién va a barrer.’  
*I wonder who will sweep.* RMH\_11-19-07\_158
- (220) **Siimet** quih **quíih** itáhit, —.  
 bread the.FL who? 3:3-RL-eat  
 ‘A ver cuál se anima a comer el pan.’  
*I wonder who will be the one who will the bread.* RMH\_09-28-07\_144d