

## 9. Relational clause structure

The order of nominal phrases in the clause depends in part on their relationship to the clause. This chapter focuses on those relationships which are more basic than the ways in which they are represented linearly and morphologically. This chapter therefore also sets the stage for the morphological properties of verbs which are explained in chapter 17.

### 9.1 Syntax relating to subjects

The traditional notion of subject of the clause is important. It is relevant not only to the order of phrases in the clause (chapter 2), but also to Different Subject marking (§3.6), to subject inflection (§17.1.2.1), to control phenomena (§12.1), to certain adverb relationships (see §24.4.5, for example), to raising with phasal verbs (§12.3), with the verb meaning *be able* (§12.1.2), and to the form of deverbal nouns in various contexts (§14.3). In the next section, the topic of Different Subject marking that was introduced in §3.6 is taken up in more detail to show that the traditional notion of subject is not adequate.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, in §9.1.2 a particular raising construction is presented in detail that requires something other than that notion.

#### 9.1.1 Different Subject marking

Basic structural aspects of the matter of Different Subject (DS) marking are presented in §3.6 and they are not repeated here. In that section the fact that the subject of the clause is relevant for DS marking was illustrated but other important details were not given. This section examines the question of coreference as it relates to the subjects.

The simple examples of DS marking have illustrated that one must compare the subjects of two clauses and determine whether they are coreferential or not. In active clauses, the subjects may be agents, or experiencers, themes, or patients; to use other semantic labels, they may be actors or undergoers. None of the examples observed shows any distinction between the subjects with these various roles. Some very simple examples of coreferential subjects with different roles are given here to show that fact.

- (1) Coreference: Agent – Agent  
**Ziix z itáhit, hant z iiqui yiin.**  
 thing a 3:3-RL-eat place a 3P-toward DT-go  
 ‘Comió algo y salió.’  
*S/he ate something and left.* RMH\_08-04-07\_254a

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<sup>1</sup> Some of these facts have been discussed in detail in Marlett (1981b), Marlett (1984b), Farrell, Marlett & Perlmutter (1991).

- (2) Lack of coreference: Agent – Agent  
**..., xazoj cop itíi,                    ziix ticom itácatx,**  
 puma the.VT 3:3-RL-hear thing MD-HZ 3:3-RL-release  
**hapx iiqui                    tpanzx, ...**  
 outside 3P-toward RL-run  
 ‘... Puma<sub>i</sub> lo oyó, soltó<sub>i,\*j</sub> a esa cosa (Conejo), huyó<sub>i,\*j</sub>, ...’  
*... Puma<sub>i</sub> heard it, he released<sub>i,\*j</sub> that thing (Rabbit), he ran<sub>i,\*j</sub> away ...* (Conejo\_Puma\_15.4-5)
- (3) Coreference: Agent – Patient  
**Ziix z itáhit,                    °hacx yomíih°.**  
 thing a 3:3-RL-eat s/he.died  
 ‘Comió algo y murió.’  
*S/he ate something and died.* RMH\_08-04-07\_254b
- (4) Lack of coreference: Agent – Patient  
**Cöitátñi°                    ma, yaxi.**  
 3IO-3:3-RL-make.contact DS DT-die  
 ‘Lo tiró, y (el animal) murió.’  
*S/he shot it and it died.* RMH\_11-27-07\_25
- (5) Coreference: Experiencer – Agent  
**Comcáac coi                    itáht,                    mojocam.**  
 Seris the.PL 3:3-RL-see-PL PX-flee-PL  
 ‘Cuando los seris<sub>i</sub> los vieron, huyeron<sub>i,\*j</sub>.’ (también, ‘Cuando vieron<sub>i</sub> a los seris, ellos<sub>i,\*j</sub> huyeron.’) RMH\_10-15-07\_29  
*When the Seris<sub>i</sub> saw them, they<sub>i,\*j</sub> fled.* (also *When they<sub>i</sub> saw the Seris, they<sub>i,\*j</sub> fled.*)
- (6) Lack of coreference: Experiencer – Agent  
**Comcáac coi                    itáht                    ma,                    mojocam.**  
 Seris the.PL 3:3-RL-see-PL DS PX-flee.PL  
 ‘Cuando los seris<sub>i</sub> los vieron, huyeron<sub>\*i,j</sub>.’ (también ‘Cuando vieron<sub>i</sub> a los seris, huyeron<sub>\*i,j</sub>.’) RMH\_09-28-07\_155a  
*When the Seris<sub>i</sub> saw them, they<sub>\*i,j</sub> fled.* (also *When they<sub>i</sub> saw the Seris, they<sub>\*i,j</sub> fled.*)
- (7) Coreference: Patient – Agent  
**°Hacx ipi tommíih°,                    ziix z iyozáxö.**  
 s/he.hadn’t.died.yet thing a 3:3-DT-discuss  
 ‘Antes de morir, dijo algo.’  
*Before s/he<sub>i</sub> died, s/he<sub>i</sub> said something.* RMH\_08-04-07\_255a

- (8) Lack of coreference: Patient – Agent  
**Tmooxi ipi ma, ilít quij iyáactim.**  
 RL-N-die still DS 3P-head the.CM 3:3-DT-cause.be.cut  
 ‘Antes de que muriera [el animal], le cortó la cabeza.’  
*Before it died, s/he cut off its head.* RMH\_11-27-07\_26
- (9) Coreference: Patient – Patient  
**Tmoquéepe, °hacx yomíh°.**  
 RL-sick s/he.died  
 ‘Estaba enfermo/a y murió.’  
*S/he was sick and died.* RMH\_08-04-07\_255b
- (10) Lack of coreference: Patient – Patient  
**Hai quih taaixaj ma, xepe com xohóopatj.**  
 viento the.FL RL-strong DS sea the.HZ EM-wavy  
 ‘El viento era fuerte y el mar estaba con muchas olas.’  
*The wind was strong and the sea was rough.* RMH\_09-28-07\_155b

### 9.1.1.1 Non-referential subjects

When the subject of a clause is non-referential, as is the case with meteorological verbs, then the transition between the clause with the meteorological verb and a clause without one is always marked with DS.

- (11) **Pomápca ta x, xepe com iiqui hpsiin aha.**  
 IR.DP-N-rain DS UT sea the.HZ 3P-toward 1sS.IN-IR.ID-go AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si no llueve, iré al mar para pescar.’  
*If it doesn’t rain, I will go out on the sea (to go fishing).* RMH\_08-21-07\_93a
- (12) **Tcozim ma, María quih xepe ano yaalim.<sup>2</sup>**  
 RL-hot.(weather) DS the.FL sea 3P.in DT-play  
 ‘Como hacía calor, María fue al mar para nadar.’  
*Since it was hot, María went swimming in the sea.* RMH\_08-21-07\_93d
- (13) **Tapca ma, cmaam quij yijje.**  
 RL-rain DS woman the.CM DT-wet  
 ‘Llovió y la mujer se mojó.’  
*It rained and the woman got wet.* RMH\_09-28-07\_156a
- (14) **°Hehe án° com ano poquíhtim ta x,**  
 countryside the.HZ 3P.in IR.DP-US-be.FL-IMPF DS UT

<sup>2</sup> The subject of the second clause may also be in sentence-initial position (see §3.11):

(i) **María quih — tcozim ma, xepe ano yaalim.** RMH\_08-21-07\_93b

**poopca ta x, squiijc aha.**  
 IR.DP-rain DS UT IR.ID-US-wet AUX-DCL

‘Si uno está en el monte cuando llueve, se mojará.’

*If one is out in the desert when it rains, one will get wet.* RMH\_09-28-07\_156b

Contiguous clauses with meteorological verbs sometimes have DS marking and sometimes do not.<sup>3</sup> Consider the following pairs.

(15) a. **Poopca ta x, saapl caha.**  
 IR.DP-rain DS UT IR.ID-cold AUX.SN-DCL

b. **Poopca x, saapl caha.**

‘Si llueve, hará frío.’

*If it rains, it will be cold.* (a) RMH\_09-28-07\_156c (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_156d

(16) a. **Pomápca ta x, scozim caha.**  
 IR.DP-N-rain DS UT IR.ID-hot.(weather) AUX.SN-DCL

b. **Pomápca x, scozim caha.**

‘Si no llueve, hará calor.’

*If it doesn't rain, it will be hot (weather).* (a) RMH\_10-15-07\_30 (b) RMH\_09-28-07\_156f

The difference was explained as follows: in the (a) examples, a short time frame is involved — a more immediate situation is being described such as the effect of an imminent rain or lack of rain. The (b) examples imply a longer time frame — relating to the weather more generally, or the entire season.

### 9.1.1.2 Possessors

When one subject is coreferential with the possessor of the other subject, this still counts as disjoint reference.

(17) **Hast quij iti hptozám, cohtmíhzx,**  
 stone the.CM 3P-on 1sS.IN-RL-UO-put.VT 3IO-1sS.TR-RL-slip  
**hant ihptahjít ma, hitóaa cop miictim.**  
 land 1sS.IN-RL-fall DS 1P-foot/leg the.VT PX-be.cut

<sup>3</sup> Disjoint reference is not marked on sentences such as the following, however, which has a meteorological predicate followed by a descriptive verb.

(ii) **Poopca x, siixaj caha.**  
 IR.DP-rain UT IR.ID-strong AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si llueve, va a ser fuerte.’  
*If it rains, it will rain hard.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62a

‘Pisé en una piedra, me resbalé en ella, me caí y me corté el pie.’  
*I stepped on a rock, slipped on it, fell down, and cut my foot* (more literally, *and my foot was cut*). (DS2005, cmihzx) RMH\_07-11-07\_37c

A clause that is formed with an object-oriented deverbal noun calculates DS marking using the possessor/agent as the relevant nominal. In the following example, the coreference is implied (by the obligatory omission of **ma**) between the first person singular subject of the second clause and the first person possessor of the third clause.

- (18) **Oot zo toc cōtih ma, he hapi htaai** (\*ma),  
 coyote a there 3IO-RL-be.FL DS 1PRO INTNS 1SS.Tr-RL-make DS  
**hoicō ihi.**  
 1P-ON-kill PAST

‘Maté un coyote.’  
*I killed a coyote myself.* XMH\_08-15-07\_31c

Similarly, note the lack of DS marking **ma** between the penultimate and final clauses in the following examples.

- (19) **..., itáaizi x, heme° itámlajc x, oiitoj iha.**  
 3:3-RL-make-PL UT camp 3:3-RL-bring-PL UT 3P-ON-eat-PL DCL  
 ‘... lo hicieron, los trajeron a campamento, los comieron.’  
*... they did it, they brought them to camp, they ate them.* (Gigante\_Comelon\_199-201)
- (20) **Hipi itacáp, oéen iha.**  
 INTNS 3:3-RL-lift.heavy.item 3P-ON-carry.items DCL  
 ‘Él mismo lo levantaba, (y) los trajo.’  
*He himself picked it up, (and) he brought them.* (Gigante\_Comelon\_303=304)

### 9.1.1.3 Overlapping reference

When coreferentiality between the two subjects overlaps but is not exact, DS marking is generally required.

- (21) **He ha cohptáasitim ma, °toii nthamat°, ...**  
 1PRO AUX 3IO-1sS.IN-RL-UO.deceive DS elsewhere AW-1PS-PX-move-PL  
 ‘Yo hice el engaño y escapamos, ...’  
*I pulled off the deception and we got away, ...*, (Conejo\_Puma\_18.1-2)

One situation with overlapping coreference in which DS marking is actually not possible is a kind of presentational construction for indefinite nominals (see §25.1) that is functionally a coordinate structure. This kind of construction is one of those discussed in §3.6.2 where the clauses under consideration are taken as parallel events.

- (22) **Haxz heeque zo °ziix canaa° heeque zo cōtih** (\*ma),  
 dog juvenile a cat juvenile a 3IO-RL-be.FL DS  
**°hehe zamij° com án hac ano moii.**  
 box the.Hz 3P.place.inside the.Lc 3P.interior Px-be.FL.PL  
 ‘Un perrito y un gatito están en la caja.’  
*A puppy and a kitten are in the box.* More literally, *A puppy is with a cat, they are in the box.* RMH\_08-14-07\_105b

#### 9.1.1.4 Idioms

DS marking for sentences with some idioms (but not all) is *not* determined based on grammatical subject but on some semantic notion. Note the lack of DS marking in the following examples.

- (23) x’s ? descends = x is happy  
**Ihptóop** (\*ma) x, °hiisax hant mooit°.  
 1sS.IN-RL-UO-sew.basket DS UT 1P-? land Px-arrive  
 ‘Cuando estoy haciendo canastas, estoy feliz.’  
*When I am basket-sewing, I am happy.* RMH\_09-28-07\_157a
- (24) x’s limbs die = x is tired (from physical activity)  
**Impopánzx** (\*ma) x, °mihjoj sooxyat° aha.  
 2sS-IR.DP-run DS UT 2P-limb.PL IR.ID-die.PL AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si corres, te cansarás.’  
*If you run, you will get tired.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62e
- (25) x’s limbs go away = x is upset  
**Pancho quih ziix z itemácö** (\*ma), hans °iihjoj intíyatoj°.  
 the.FL thing a 3:3-RL-N-kill DS just 3P-limb.PL AW-DT-move-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Pancho no mató nada, y se enfadó.’  
*Pancho didn’t catch anything and he was upset.* RMH\_05-17-08\_216
- (26) x’s heart ? to y = x remembers y  
**Hasáaiti cap °himoz cōtooit°** (\*ma), ihyéxl.  
 gasoline the.VT 1P-heart 3IO-RL-arrive DS 1sS.TR-DT-take  
 ‘Me acordé de la gasolina y la llevé.’  
*I remembered the gas and took it.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62g
- (27) x’s strength is gone = x is tired out  
**°lixaj quih tinej°** (\*ma), hanso cooxi ha.  
 3P-AON-strong the.FL RL-empty DS just SN-die DCL  
 ‘Cuando se ha cansado, muere.’  
*When it’s tired out, it just dies.* RMH\_09-28-07\_157b

The following example with different idioms shows DS marking despite being, in some

cases, parallel to the expressions above.

- (28) x's ? goes = have desire (to do something)  
 °**Hiisax com tatax° ma, xaa hpmotj.**  
 1P-? the.HZ RL-go DS soon 1sS.IN-PX-arise  
 'Tuve ganas y pronto me levanté.'  
*I wanted to and soon I got up.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62b
- (29) blackness covers x = x faints or x feels faint  
**Hehe htacotim, hinzéet quij iti httaxz ma,**  
 plant 1sS.TR-RL-kill-IMPF 1P-heel the.FL 3P-on 1sS.TR-RL-hit.HZ DS  
**tactim ma, htaho ma, °yapol hin yaanim°.**  
 RL-be.cut DS 1sS.TR-RL-see DS 3P-AON-black 1sDO DT-cause.covered  
 'Estaba cortando leña, me pegué en el talón, estaba cortado, lo ví, y casi me desmayé.'  
*I was cutting firewood when I hit myself in the heel, it was cut, and when I saw it, I almost fainted.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62c
- (30) °**Yapol hin taanim° ma, hant hayom.**  
 3P-AON-black 1sDO RL-cause.covered DS land 1sS-DT-lie  
 'Me iba a desmayar y me acosté.'  
*I felt faint and lay down.* XMH\_08-15-07\_62d

### 9.1.1.5 Passive clauses

The most serious complication for the simple view of DS marking (that it relates to the surface subject) is found when one of the clauses in question is passive. In passive clauses (see §17.1.5) the grammatical subject (as commonly conceived) is *not* the nominal which is relevant for the purpose of DS marking; instead it is the unexpressed *agent/experiencer* — whatever would be the subject in the non-passive clause — that is relevant for the question of coreference.

The surface grammatical subjects (whether expressed overtly or not) in the following examples are coreferential and yet DS marking *obligatorily* occurs. The subjects and subject inflection (when overt) are double underscored in these examples. (Such examples are quite easy to find in texts as this situation is a common one.)

- (31) Hap com<sup>4</sup> tooxi ma x, yopáhit.  
 deer the.HZ RL-die DS UT DT-PV-eat  
 'Cuando murió un venado bura, se comió.' / 'Cuando muere un venado bura, se come.'  
 RMH\_09-28-07\_157c  
*Whenever a mule deer<sub>i</sub> died, it<sub>i</sub> was eaten. / 'When a mule deer dies, it is eaten.'*

<sup>4</sup> Some speakers allow the article **quih** (the.FL) here.

- (32) **He hptahahásaquim ma x, ihxoquéepe.**  
 I<sub>PRO</sub> 1<sub>SS</sub>.IN-RL-PV-comb.hair.of DS UT 1<sub>SS</sub>.TR-EM-like  
 ‘Me gusta cuando me peinan.’  
*I like it when my hair is combed.* (DS2005, ah-) RMH\_08-04-07\_255c
- (33) **Zixám zo poxtámt ta, tompáho ho.**  
 fish a IR.DP-abundant DS RL-N-PV-see DCL  
 ‘No se vieron/ven muchos peces.’  
*Not many fish were/are seen.* RMH\_09-28-07\_157d
- (34) **Hasítj° iti tpaxquim ma x, toc comom.**  
 cradleboard 3P-on RL-PV-put.Hz DS UT there 3IO-Px-lie  
 ‘Estaba puesto en la cuna, allí estaba.’  
*He was put on the cradleboard, there he was.* (Gigante\_Comelon\_77-78)
- (35) **..., tacsx ma x, hahótitol iha.**  
 RL-wake.up DS UT SN-PV-make.arise DCL  
 ‘..., cuando se despierta, se alza.’  
*... when s/he wakes up, s/he is picked up.* RRR
- (36) **... cmaax mos isoj quij tpaho ma,**  
 then also 3P-body the.CM RL-PV-see DS  
**°ziix ina cooxp° z itácö, ...**  
 antelope.jackrabbit a 3:3-RL-kill  
 ‘... entonces cuando se vio otra vez, había matado un liebre antílope, ...’  
*... then when he was seen again, he had killed an antelope jackrabbit, ...’*  
 (Gigante\_Comelon\_128-129)
- (37) **Tpezi ma, tatax, yoque.**  
 RL-PV-defeat DS RL-go DT-US-say  
 ‘Fuei vencido y se fue, se dice.’  
*He was defeated and he went, it is said.* (Apostador\_22-23) RMH\_08-04-07\_264b

When a passive clause is presented with an intransitive clause that has an unspecified subject which is construed as coreferential with the agent of the passive clause, DS marking does *not* occur.

- (38) **Taax popási (\*ta) x, °hacx scamíh° aha.**  
 DDP IR.DP-PV-drink DS UT somewhere IR.ID-US-not.be.FL AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si uno toma eso, morira.’ RMH\_09-28-07\_158a  
*If one drinks that, one will die.* (more literally, *If that is drunk, one will die.*)

- (39) °Psaac pocóoxi° (\*ta) x, ziix hapáhit zo sahcáa ha.  
 hunger IR.DP-US-die UT thing SN-PV-eat a IR.ID-PV-look.for AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si uno tiene hambre, debe buscar comida.’  
*If one is hungry, one should look for food.* (more literally, *If one is hungry, food should be looked for.*) RMH\_11-27-07\_27
- (40) Heecot poquíih (\*ta) x, °ziix ccam° zo popáho x,  
 desert.area IR.DP-US-be.FL UT animal a IR.DP-PV-see UT  
 siic aha.  
 IR.ID-be.killed AUX-DCL  
 ‘Un animal se mata si alguno lo ve cuando uno está en el monte.’  
*An animal is killed if someone sees it while one is in the desert.* (DS2005, quíic) RRR

Examples can be found and constructed in which the agent of the passive clause is understood as coreferential with the overt subject of the other clause; DS marking does not occur in these examples.

- (41) ..., tpaatim, ziix zo toc cōtap, ...  
 RL-PV-call.IMPF thing a there 3IO-RL-stand  
 ‘... (las aves) fueron llamados, alguien estaba allí, ...’  
*... (the birds) were summoned, someone was standing there, ...* (Apostador 105-106) RRR  
 (The man standing there was using a bull-roarer to call the birds.)

(42)

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Examples can also be found in which the implied agent of the passive clause cannot be assumed to be exactly coreferent with the implicit or expressed agent of another clause; in such situations DS marking occurs.

- (43) Taax °hehe án° com ano calx quih itáht x,  
 DDP countryside the.HZ 3P.in SN-go.PL the.FL 3:3-RL-see-PL UT  
 anxö itáaizi, itámlajc ma x, yopáhit.<sup>5</sup>  
 INTNS 3:3-RL-make.PL 3:3-RL-bring.PL DS UT DT-PV-eat

<sup>5</sup> This example provides a good illustration of pause “markers”. After the two instances of the enclitic *x* there is a vowel *i* in the recording which is nothing more than a hesitation word.

‘Cuando los que estaban en el monte las vieron, recolectaban muchas, las trajeron, y se comieron.’  
*When those who were in the inland area saw them, they collected a lot of them, they brought them, and they were eaten.* (ES2007, joeene 09)

When *both* clauses are passive and when the implied agents are understood as being coreferential, DS marking does not occur even though the grammatical subjects (those relevant for subject inflection) are obviously different. The grammatical subjects are doubly underscored in the following examples; note that no DS marking occurs.

- (44) Icozáplim \_\_\_\_\_ quih cói tompáii ipi x,  
 3P-AON-US-UO-sew the.FL still RL-N-PV-make yet UT  
ihic \_\_\_\_\_ coi cōhacóoix iha.  
 3P-seed the.PL 3IO-SN-PV-remove DCL

‘Antes de hacer hilo, se quitan las semillas [del algodón].’  
*Before thread is made, the seeds are removed [from the cotton].* (HE 100) RMH\_08-04-07\_255d

- (45) Haat \_\_\_\_\_ quih pahcáa x,  
 limberbush the.FL IR.DP-PV-look.for UT  
heepol quih mos sahcáa ha.  
 ratany the.FL also IR.ID-PV-look.for AUX-DCL

‘Cuando se busca torote, también se deberá buscar cósahui.’ RMH\_09-28-07\_158b  
*When limberbush is looked for, white ratany should also be looked for.*

The conditions for Different Subject marking therefore cannot be described precisely in terms of (traditional) grammatical subject (at surface structure) nor in terms of semantic roles (such as agent/experiencer/agent). The notion which seems relevant to most of the facts so far (the exceptions being the examples with idiomatic expressions) is that of logical/deep subject — the subject of the clause if there were no passivization.

Nevertheless, the notion of deep subject does not fit well with some linguistic theories since it is claimed by them that many verbs do not subcategorize for subjects at all.<sup>6</sup> The facts presented by the times construction described in the following section also point to the need of an appropriate notion of subject other than deep subject.

<sup>6</sup> See the various ways in which the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) has been adopted by various theories.

### 9.1.2 Times construction

Sentences expressing the number of occurrences of an event are biclausal in structure;<sup>7</sup> the number of times the event happened is the main verb and the event clause — which is evidently the subject of the number verb — is headed by an action/oblique-oriented deverbal noun. The following simple example illustrates:

- (46)    Event                      Number  
          [ **Hipázt** ]                      **moocj.**  
          1P-AON-Pv-tattoo    PX-two  
          ‘Fui tatuado dos veces.’  
          *I was tattooed twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_256a

The example in (46) is typical in the biclausal structure, but very atypical in its simplicity.<sup>8</sup> (Some speakers allow it in this case because of the passive verb, but it is not the preference of all.) Usually the number verb is inflected for the same person as the (possessor) subject of the event clause, as shown in the following example.

- (47)    Event                      Number  
          [ **Ma hijzt** ]                      **ihpmáacj.**  
          2sDO 1P-AON-tattoo    1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-two  
          ‘Te tatué dos veces.’  
          *I tattooed you twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_256b

Example (47) also shows one other important difference between it and the atypically simple (46): the number verb has extra morphology (see §19.11 for details). There is no obvious gloss for this morpheme and no good literal translation of a verb like **ihpmáacj** because it is not used in isolation; nevertheless, the gloss **TIMES** is used here although the construction itself gives that meaning.<sup>9</sup> As is made clear below, it is an intransitive verb in an intransitive construction — it cannot be translated ‘I caused it to be two’.

The following examples further illustrate this construction and show a bit of the range of predicates in the event clause — agentive, non-agentive, meteorological, active, and passive. The deverbal noun of the event clause and the “number” verb are underscored. When the higher verb is based on the root  $\sqrt{\text{atxo}}$  *many, much*, the article **quih** is typically used with the event clause.

<sup>7</sup> Various examples and some of the discussion in this section were presented in chapter 11 of Marlett (1981b) and in Marlett (1984b).

<sup>8</sup> René Montaña Herrera prefers this example to have the verb **maacj** (PX-TIMES-two).

<sup>9</sup> “Number” verbs have up to five distinct uses and at least two of them are always different. These five uses and forms are contrasted explicitly in §19.11.

- (48) [°**Xiica hapámyam**° **quih** **ij** **cooxalca** **coocj** **miimyam** ]  
 pills the.FL differently SN-sit.PL SN-two 2P-AON-swallow-IMPF  
**impáapxa** **ta,** **zaah** **cop** **siime** **(a)ha.**  
 2SS-IR.DP-TIMES-three DS day the.VT IR.ID-depleted AUX-DCL  
 ‘Toma dos pastillas tres veces al día.’  
*Take two pills three times a day.* (DS2005, aa-) RMH\_08-04-07\_256c
- (49) [ **Hant** **oo** **hptap,** **Xpanoháx** **ano** **hiifp** **quih** ]  
 land DL 1sS.IN-RL-stand Puerto.Libertad 3P.in 1P-AON-arrive the.FL  
**hpmaháatxo.**  
 1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-many  
 ‘He ido muchas veces a pie a Puerto Libertad.’  
*I have often gone to Puerto Libertad on foot.* (DS2005, ah-) RMH\_08-04-07\_256d
- (50) [ **Luisa** **quih** **haat** **quih** **icázni** **quih** ] **maháatxo.**  
 the.FL limberbush the.FL 3P-AON-bite the.FL PX-TIMES-many  
 ‘Luisa ha mordido torote muchas veces.’  
*Luisa has bitten limberbush (basket material) many times.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258g
- (51) [ **Zeeme** **cop** **hihóocta** ] **hpmaaci.**  
 sunset the.VT 1P-AON-look.at 1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-two  
 ‘Miré la puesta del sol dos veces.’  
*I looked at the sunset twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_256f
- (52) [ **Hipázt** **quih** ] **hpmaháatxo.**  
 1P-AON-PV-tattoo the.FL 1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-many  
 ‘Fui tatuado muchas veces.’  
*I was tattooed many times.* RMH\_08-04-07\_256h
- (53) ..., [ °**hacx** **imíih**° **quih** ] **taháatxo** **ma,** ...  
 elsewhere 3P-AON-not.be.FL the.FL RL-TIMES-many DS  
 ‘... murió muchas veces, ...’  
*... he died many times, ...* (Apostador 176)
- (54) ¿ [ °**Hacx** **mimíih**° ] **intazóoxöc?**  
 elsewhere 2P-AON-not.be.FL 2sS-RL-TIMES-four  
 ‘¿Te desmayaste cuatro veces?’  
*Did you faint four times?* RMH\_08-04-07\_258d
- (55) **Moxíma** **quih** [ **hiiqui** **iipca** ] **maapxa.**  
 yesterday the.FL 1P-toward 3P-AON-rain PX-TIMES-three  
 ‘Llovío tres veces ayer.’  
*It rained three times yesterday.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258h

The construction described above, which tells how many times an event happened, contrasts with the simpler construction, illustrated by the examples in (56)-(57), which only indicates amount of time (and the resulting product) described by the deverbal noun — but not the number of times that the event occurred. The main verb in these examples is the simple verb.

- (56) **Ihyáaspoj quih yootxo.**  
 IP-AON-write the.FL DT-much  
 ‘Escribí mucho.’  
*I wrote a great deal.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258b
- (57) **Hayatósiploj quih yootxo.**  
 IP-AON-write.PL the.FL DT-much  
 ‘Escribimos mucho.’  
*We wrote a great deal.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258c

### 9.1.2.1 The subject of the number verb

In the ‘times’ construction, except under specific conditions discussed below, the subject of the event clause is also the subject of the number verb.<sup>10</sup> This claim is supported by several facts.

First, the verb is obviously inflected for the same person as the subject of the embedded clause; this is seen most easily when the subject is first or second person since the morphology for these persons is explicit. The subject person of the number verb is also explicit when this construction is embedded as the complement of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$  *want*; the number predicate appears as a deverbal noun (see §12.2) as expected.

- (58) [ **Miháactim** ] **inyáazoj oo hmiimzo.**  
 2P-AON-cause.be.cut 2P-AON-TIMES-alone DL 1sS.Tr-PX-want  
 ‘Quiero que lo/la cortes una vez.’  
*I want you to cut it once.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258a

Second, the number verb agrees in number with the subject (see §17.1.3). In (59) the verb has the stem  $\sqrt{\text{aháatxoj}}$  (for plural subjects) rather than  $\sqrt{\text{aháatxo}}$  (for singular subjects). In (60) the stem is  $\sqrt{\text{aacalcam}}$  (for plural subjects) rather than  $\sqrt{\text{aacj}}$  (for singular subjects).

- (59) [ **°Psaac hayáxyat° quih** ] **hamaháatxoj.**  
 hunger 1P-AON-die.PL the.FL 1pS-PX-TIMES-many.PL  
 ‘Muchas veces teníamos hambre.’  
*We were often hungry.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258e

<sup>10</sup> This is a type of copy raising, in fact. I use the term “raising” here in a descriptive sense since one need not propose nor accept a derivational account of these facts.

- (60) [ **Hant hihajcóoil** ] **hamáacalcam.**  
 land 1P-AON-fall.PL 1PS-PX-TIMES-two-PL  
 ‘Nos caímos dos veces.’  
*We fell down twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_258f

Third, the number verb is an infinitive when it is controlled by the subject of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$  *want* (see §12.1).<sup>11</sup>

- (61) [ [ **Ma hiizt** ] **icáacj** ] **ihmíimzo.**  
 2sDO 1P-AON-tattoo INF.IN-TIMES-two 1sS.Tr-PX-want  
 ‘Quiero tatuarte dos veces.’  
*I want to tattoo you twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_259a

Fourth, imperatives and hortatives can be formed on the number verb, as with other verbs that have second person and first person plural subjects.

- (62) ¡ [ **Mihéxl** ] **aacj!**  
 1P-AON-take IM-TIMES-two  
 ‘¡Agarra dos veces!’  
*Grab twice!* RMH\_08-04-07\_259b
- (63) ¡ [ **Hihéxaj** ] **scaacalcam!**  
 1P-AON-take.PL IR.ID-1EM.S.IN-TIMES-two.PL  
 ‘¡Agarremos dos veces!’  
*Let's grab twice!* RMH\_08-04-07\_259c

Except in the atypical example (46) (which has not been discussed in detail yet), the number predicate and the event clause have the same subject. The number predicate cannot have a subject that is distinct from the event clause subject, such as being coreferent with the direct object or the possessor of some argument in the event clause.

- (64) \* **Ma hiizt** **inyáacj.**  
 2sDO 1P-AON-tattoo 2sS-PX-TIMES-two  
 (‘Te tatué dos veces.’) (*I tattooed you twice.*)

<sup>11</sup> An “extent” construction similarly embedded does not result in an infinitive. The appropriate deverbal noun must be used instead of the infinitive because the subject of the verb indicating the length of time is the embedded clause and is therefore not coreferential with the subject of  $\sqrt{\text{amzo}}$  *want*.

- (iii) ¿**Hant himcac iti mihíh quih ixáap° izóoxöc intámzo?**  
 place DT.LC 3P-on 2P-AON-be.FL the.FL days 3P-AON-four 2SS-RL-want  
 ‘Quieres quedarte allí por cuatro días?’  
*Do you want to stay there for four days?* RMH\_08-04-07\_258i

- (65) a. **Hii quih yaazxl quih yaháatxo.**  
 1P-father.ME the.FL 3P-AON-cough the.FL DT-TIMES-many  
 ‘Mi padre ha tosido muchas veces.’  
*My father has coughed many times.* RMH\_09-28-07\_158c
- b. \* **Hii quih yaazxl quih hpyaháatxo.**  
 1sS.IN-DT-TIMES-many
- (66) a. **Hitróoqui quij imípala yaapxa.**  
 1P-vehicle the.CM 3P-AON-bad-IMPF DT-TIMES-three  
 ‘Mi vehículo se ha descompuesto tres veces.’  
*My car has broken down three times.* RMH\_09-28-07\_158d
- b. \* **Hitróoqui quih imípala hpyaapxa.**  
 1sS.IN-DT-TIMES-three

The same is true if the event clause contains an idiom of the type discussed in §9.1.1, such as *x’s ? lands* for *happy*. The literal subject of the idiom is the nominal which is coreferenced on the main clause verb.

- (67) a. **¿°Miisax hant yaait° quih taháatxo?**  
 2P-? land 3P-AON-arrive the.FL RL-TIMES-many  
 ‘¿Has estado feliz muchas veces?’  
*Have you been happy many times?* RMH\_09-28-07\_159a
- b. **°Miisax hant yaait° quih taháatxo ma, ma hmiho.**  
 2P-? land 3P-AON-arrive the.FL RL-TIMES-many DS 2sDO 1sS.TR-PX-see  
 ‘Te he visto feliz muchas veces.’  
*I have seen you happy many times.* RMH\_09-28-07\_159b

But examples such as the following show that raising is not limited to the common grammatical subject. The unspecified agent of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{asi}}$  *drink*, though unexpressed and unexpressible in the embedded passive clause, is the subject of the number verb. The morphology **ca-** (here with its allomorph **c-**) indicates this fact (see §17.1.5). The final independent clause has this same subject.

- (68) **Sooda coopol quih ipási quih pocaháatxo x,**  
 soda SN-black the.FL 3P-AON-PV-drink the.FL IR.DP-US-TIMES-many UT  
**°hacx scamíh° aha.**  
 elsewhere IR.ID-US-not.be.FL AUX-DCL  
 ‘Si se toma Coca Cola muchas veces, uno morirá.’  
*If Coke is drunk often, one will die.* RMH\_08-04-07\_259d

### 9.1.2.2 An intransitive construction

The event clause is not superficially the direct object of the number verb. Thus the construction in (47), repeated as (69) below, cannot be analyzed something like *I twiced my tattooing of you*.<sup>12</sup> By all of the available tests (see Appendix C), the main clause is intransitive. Notice, for example, the intransitive allomorph of the first person singular subject prefix occurs in (69), the intransitive allomorph of the infinitive prefix in (61), the intransitive allomorph of the second person imperative prefix in (62), an intransitive allomorph of the action/oblique nominalizer in (70), the intransitive allomorph of the first person singular restrictive prefix in (71), the presence of the unspecified subject prefix in (72) instead of passive morphology, and the lack of the 3:3 marker in (50).

- (69) [ **Ma híizt** ]                    **ihpmáacj.**  
 2sDO 1P-AON-tattoo 1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-two  
 ‘Te tatué dos veces.’  
*I tattooed you twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_260a
- (70) [ [ **Mihéxl** ]    **inyáacj** ]                    **ihmíimzo.**  
 2P-AON-take 2P-AON-TIMES-two 1sS.TR-PX-want  
 ‘Quiero que agarres dos veces.’  
*I want you to grab twice.* RMH\_08-04-07\_260b
- (71) [ **Méjico hac ano hatíifp** ]                    **quih imçaháatxo.**  
 the.LC 3P.in 1EM.P-AON-arrive the.FL PX-1EM.S.IN-TIMES-many  
 ‘En cuanto a mí, he estado en México muchas veces.’  
*As for me, I have been to Mexico City many times.* RMH\_08-04-07\_260c RMH\_05-17-08\_217
- (72) [ **An icáafp**                    **quih** ] **poçaháatxo**                    ...  
 3P.in 3P-AON-US-arrive the.FL IR.DP-US-TIMES-many  
 ‘Si uno llegá allí muchas veces, ...’  
*If one arrives there often, ...* RMH\_08-04-07\_260d

### 9.1.2.3 Passive complements

Some speakers disprefer the use of this construction (with the **TIMES** morphology and the subject copying) when the event clause is passive. The atypically simple construction presented in (46), repeated as (73a), is preferred over (73b). In fact, (73b) is simply unacceptable to some speakers.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The intransitivity of the construction is predicted by the interaction of certain “laws” of Relational Grammar, as argued in Marlett (1981b), chapter 11.

<sup>13</sup> Raising does occur in the following sentence which has a nominalized clause with the focal demonstrative pronoun.

- (73) a. [ **Hipázt** ]                    **moocj.**  
           IP-AON-PV-tattoo    PX-two
- b. \* / OK [ **Hipázt** ]                    **ihpmáacj.**  
           IP-AON-PV-tattoo    1sS.IN-PX-TIMES-two

‘Fui tatuado dos veces.’

*I was tattooed twice.* (a) RMH\_08-04-07\_256a (b) RMH\_08-04-07\_261

In fact, for some speakers it is ungrammatical to have a passive event clause in the times construction unless the number predicate is  $\sqrt{\text{atxo}}$  *many*, as in (52) and (68).

Examples such as (73a) show that the meaning of “times” is not wrapped up in the morphology of the number verb, but rather in the construction itself. Rather, there is a close relationship between that morphology and the subject raising that is observed.

#### 9.1.2.4 The Times construction and Different Subject marking

In the Times construction the “raised” subject is the subject relevant for Different Subject marking. In the following example, the phrase **haxz himcop** is the subject of **paháatxo** as well as **sooxi**; as a result, DS marking is not possible.

- (74) **Haxz himcop him icátxla                    quih    paháatxo                    (\*ta) x,**  
       dog    DT-VT    1sDO 3P-AON-bite    the.FL    IR.DP-TIMES-many    DS    UT
- sooxi    (a)ha.**  
       IR.ID-die    AUX-DCL

‘Si ese perro me muerde muchas veces, morirá.’

*If that dog bites me often, it will die.* RMH\_11-27-07\_29

## 9.2 Syntax relating to direct objects

Some constructions in the language relate specifically to direct objects or to both direct and indirect objects but not subjects.

### 9.2.1 Adverbs

The postverbal adverb **iiha** may have a semantic relationship with the direct or indirect object of a clause but not the subject.

- 
- (iv) **Ziix zo cöhimáhit,                    taax tatxo    x,    haa caahca                    ha.**  
       thing a    3IO-1P-AON-N-eating    DDP    RL-many    UT    there    SN-be.located    DCL
- ‘Había muchas veces en que no comí nada.’  
       *There were many times that I didn’t eat anything.* RRR

- (75) **Ziix** °hacx cmiih° **zo** **hayóoht** **xo** **itajc** **coi** **oo**  
 thing dead a 1PS-DT-see-PL but 3P-bone-PL the.PL DL  
**hayóoht** **iiha.**  
 1PS-DT-see-PL only

‘Encontramos un muerto, pero solamente vimos LOS HUESOS.’

*We found a dead person, but only THE BONES.* (DS2005, iiha, improved) RMH\_11-27-07\_31  
*(impossible reading: \*Only WE saw the bones.)*

- (76) **Itajc** **coi** **oo** **hascmáht** **iiha** **ha.**  
 3P-bone-PL the.PL DL 1PS-IR.ID-N-see-PL only AUX-DECL  
**Ipxási** **coi** **mos** **hasíiht** **aha.**  
 3P-flesh the.PL also 1PS-IR.ID-see-PL AUX-DECL

‘No veremos sólo huesos; veremos CARNE también.’

*We won't just see bones; we'll see FLESH also.* (DS2005, iiha, improved) RMH\_11-27-07\_32

- (77) **Hap** **yao** **tazo** **hamíiht** **iiha.**  
 mule.deer 3P-AON-UO.pass.by one 1PS-PX-see-PL only  
 ‘Vimos una HUELLA DE VENADO BURA, no más.’  
*We saw a MULE DEER'S TRACK and nothing else.* (DS2005, iiha) RMH\_11-27-07\_33

- (78) °**Ziix hapx coom°** **com** **hamíiht** **iiha.**  
 whale the.Hz 1PS-PX-see-PL only  
 ‘Vimos sólo la ballena.’ (\*‘Sólo NOSOTROS vimos la ballena.’)  
*We saw only the whale.* RMH\_11-27-07\_34  
*(Impossible reading: \*Only WE saw the whale.)*

### 9.2.2 Personal and impersonal passives

Two kinds of passive construction exist: a short personal passive and a short impersonal passive. Both passive constructions are “short” in the sense that a nominal which expresses the agent/experiencer/actor role in the clause is never overtly present.

In both kinds of passive construction, the verb occurs in the passive voice (§17.1.5). All passive clauses are based on transitive verbs; no passives formed on intransitive verb stems are possible. The subject of a passive verb always corresponds to the direct object of the same verb in the active voice. Indirect objects and oblique objects are never the subject of the corresponding passive verb.

All passive clauses are superficially intransitive. This includes passives of ditransitive verbs (see §18.6).<sup>14</sup>

One of the passives is “personal” in that the verb is inflected for the person of the subject, and that subject corresponds to the nominal which would be the direct object in a clause in the active voice with that verb. Some very simple examples include the following:

- (79) a. **Ihpyopázt.**  
1SS.IN-DT-PV-tattoo  
‘Fui tatuado.’  
*I was tattooed.* RMH\_08-04-07\_262a
- b. **¿Ihptahcázni?**  
1SS.IN-RL-PV-bite  
‘¿Fui mordido?’  
*Was I bitten?* RMH\_08-04-07\_262b
- c. **Inyompézi.**  
2SS-DT-N-PV-defeat  
‘No fuiste vencido.’  
*You weren’t defeated.* RMH\_08-04-07\_263a
- d. **¿Ctam quih tahcázni?**  
man the.FL RL-PV-bite  
‘¿Fue mordido el hombre?’  
*Was the man bitten?* RMH\_08-04-07\_263b

The other passive construction is impersonal in that the verb is always inflected for a third person singular subject.<sup>15</sup> The verb is morphologically passive, but it *looks* like it is inflected for a direct object. With respect to the verb stem, it appears to be inflecting for a third person singular subject; it uses the imperfective stem (see §17.1.8).<sup>16</sup> These facts are most obvious when the patient is not third person, but it is reasonably assumed that the same analysis is true when the patient is third person.

- (80) **Hizi yahcázza.**  
1PDO DT-PV-bite-IMPF  
‘Fuimos mordidos.’  
*We were bitten.* RMH\_08-04-07\_263c (More literally, *It was bitten us.*)
- (81) **Hazi yahfáilquim.**  
1PDO DT-PV-tie.up-IMPF  
‘Fuimos amarrados.’  
*We were tied up.* (More literally, *It was tied us up.*) RMH\_05-17-08\_218

<sup>14</sup> The intransitivity of these clauses is also predicted by the interaction of certain laws within Relational Grammar and motivates a particular conceptualization of passivization that was proposed within that theory. See Marlett (1984b).

<sup>15</sup> This is taken here as being a non-referential “dummy” subject.

<sup>16</sup> In the case of the verb *√fain tie up*, there are two stems for imperfective aspect with a singular subject (only one of which was recorded in the 2005 dictionary, unfortunately): *√failquim* (IMPF) used for tying up multiple objects once, *√fáilquim* (IMPF+IMPF) used for tying up one or more items multiple times. The stem used in the impersonal passive described here is the first of these two stems unless, of course, multiple events are envisioned.

- (82) **Hazi yopáho.**  
 1PDO DT-PV-see  
 ‘Fuimos vistos.’  
*We were seen.* (More literally, *It was seen us.*) RMH\_05-17-08\_219
- (83) **¿Zó tpa<sup>o</sup> ma mazi tpazitim?**  
 why? 2PDO RL-PV-tattoo-IMPF  
 ‘¿Por qué fueron tatuados ustedes?’  
*Why were you tattooed?* RMH\_11-27-07\_35 (More literally, *Why was it tattooed us?*)
- (84) **Itóoit coi tahfáilquim, ...**  
 3P-foot.PL the.PL RL-PV-tie.up-IMPF  
 ‘Sus pies habían sido atados, ...’  
*His/her/its feet had been tied up, ...* RMH\_08-04-07\_263d

The arguments for the subjecthood of the patient nominal in personal passive clauses are quite straightforward. They are based, for example, on the presence of the subject person inflection (§17.1.2.1), the lack of direct object person inflection (§17.1.2.3), and control facts in infinitival clauses (§12.1).

While all of the passive clauses are short in that the agent/experiencer/actor nominal cannot appear overtly, the switch-reference system of the language clearly motivates a non-trivial conceptualization of passive clauses in which the non-overt agent nominal plays a role. In examples (85-XX), different subject marking occurs between clauses that have coreferential surface subjects. In each case a passive clause is present.

- (85) **Hap com tooxi ma x, yopáhit.**  
 mule.deer the.HZ RL-die DS UT DT-PV-eat  
 ‘Cuando se muriera un venado, se comió (el venado).’  
*Whenever a deer died, it (the deer) was eaten.* Unpublished text, Marlett (1984b: 237) RMH\_08-04-07\_264a
- (86) **Tpezi ma, tatax, yoque.**  
 RL-PV-defeat DS RL-go DT-US-say  
 ‘Fuei vencido y se fue, se dice.’  
*He was defeated and he went, it is said.* (Apostador\_22-23) RMH\_08-04-07\_264b
- (87) another example www xxx

(88) another example www xxx

Examples such as (89-XX), some repeated from earlier in this chapter, are also relevant since different subject marking does *not* occur even though the surface subjects are different. Again, passive clauses are involved.

(89) **Haat quih pahcáa x,**  
 limberbush the.FL IR.DP-PV-look.for UT  
**heepol quih mos sahcáa ha.**  
 ratany the.FL also IR.ID-PV-look.for AUX-DCL

‘Cuando se busca torote, “heepol” también se debe buscar.’ RMH\_08-04-07\_264c  
*Whenever limberbush is looked for, white ratany should also be looked for.*  
Marlett (1984b: 237)

(90) **Icozáplim quih cói tompáii ipi x,**  
 3P-AON-US-UO-sew the.FL still RL-N-PV-make yet UT  
**ihic coi cōhacóix iha.**  
 3P-seed the.PL 3IO-SN-PV-remove DCL

‘Antes de hacer hilo, se quitan las semillas [del algodón].’  
*Before thread is made, the seeds are removed [from the cotton].* (HE 100) RMH\_08-04-07\_255d

(91) www another example xxx

(92) www another example xxx

These facts motivate an analysis of passives in which the actor nominal has a role in the syntax of the clause even though it is not present phonetically. The fact that this nominal may also be “active” in the raising construction is also relevant; see §9.1.2.

Personal and impersonal passives are in complementary distribution. A personal passive with a *plural* subject is ungrammatical; an impersonal passive is required if the patient nominal

is plural and the clause is passive (except in special situations, as discussed below). A personal passive with an indirect object or oblique object present in the clause is ungrammatical; an impersonal passive is also required in these cases. These seem to be the only situations in which an impersonal passive occurs.

The following examples illustrate the ungrammaticality of personal passives with plural subjects, and the corresponding grammatical impersonal passives. They also show that the verb stem used with the impersonal passives is the singular imperfective stem (which is sometimes not distinct from the perfective stem, see §17.1.8), and not the plural stem.

- |      |    |   |    |   |                   |
|------|----|---|----|---|-------------------|
| (93) | a. | <b>Ihpyahmíit.</b><br>1sS.IN-DT-PV-ask<br><i>I was asked.</i>               | b. | <b>Hizi yahmíitim.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-ask-IMPF<br><i>We were asked.</i>        | RMH_11-27-07_37ab |
| (94) | a. | <b>Ihpyahzáxö.</b><br>1sS.IN-DT-PV-discuss<br><i>I was talked to.</i>       | b. | <b>Hizi yahzáxö.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-discuss<br><i>We were talked to.</i>       | RMH_11-27-07_38ab |
| (95) | a. | <b>Ihpyahamsisiin.</b><br>1sS.IN-DT-PV-love<br><i>I was loved.</i>          | b. | <b>Hizi yahamsisiin.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-love<br><i>We were loved.</i>          | RMH_11-27-07_39ab |
| (96) | a. | <b>Ihpyahnífz.</b><br>1sS.IN-DT-PV-kick<br><i>I was kicked.</i>             | b. | <b>Hizi yahnífajquim.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-kick-IMPF<br><i>We were kicked.</i>   | RMH_11-27-07_40ab |
| (97) | a. | <b>Ihpyahfáin.</b><br>1sS.IN-DT-PV-tie.up<br><i>I was tied up.</i>          | b. | <b>Hizi yahfáilquim.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-tie.up-IMPF<br><i>We were tied up.</i> | RMH_11-27-07_41ab |
| (98) | a. | <b>Hizi yahcázja.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-bite-IMPF                               |    |   |                   |
|      | b. | <b>* Hayahcázjoj.</b><br>1pS-DT-PV-bite-PL                                  | c. | <b>* Hizi yahcázjoj.</b><br>1PDO DT-PV-bite-PL                                |                   |
|      |    | ‘Fuimos mordidos.’ <sup>17</sup><br><i>We were bitten.</i> RMH_11-27-07_42a |    |   |                   |
| (99) | a. | <b>Mazi yahcázja.</b><br>2PDO DT-PV-bite-IMPF                               |    |   |                   |
|      | b. | <b>* Mayahcázjoj.</b><br>2pS-DT-PV-bite-PL                                  | c. | <b>* Mazi yahcázjoj.</b><br>2PDO DT-PV-bite-PL                                |                   |

<sup>17</sup> The use of literal (and highly unnatural) Spanish here is meant to explicate the structure of the Seri examples.

‘Ustedes fueron mordidos. (Fuisteis mordidos.)’

*You (pl.) were bitten.* RMH\_11-27-07\_42b

- (100) a. **Yahcázja.** DT-PV-bite-IMPF  
 ‘Fueron mordidos.’  
*They were bitten.* RMH\_08-04-07\_265
- b. \* **Yahcázjoj.** DT-PV-bite-PL

Plural stems are sometimes allowed in passive constructions but only if the passive verb is an infinitive, as in (101), or in a relative clause, as in (102).

- (101) **Icahcázja / icahcázjoj**<sup>18</sup> **hayóomcajc.**  
 INF.IN-PV-bite-IMPF / INF.IN-PV-bite-PL 1PS-DT-want-PL  
 ‘Quisimos ser mordidos.’  
*We wanted to be bitten.* RMH\_08-04-07\_266a

- (102) **ctamcö hacázja / hacázjoj** **coi**  
 man-PL SN-PV-bite-IMPF / SN-PV-bite-PL the.PL  
 ‘los hombres mordidos’  
*the men who were bitten* RMH\_08-04-07\_266b

Usually, however, singular stems are preferred even in these kind of structures.

- (103) a. **hasatoj hapéxö coi** b. \* **hasatoj hapéslajc coi**  
 stone-PL SN-PV-hide the.PL SN-PV-hide.PL the.PL  
 ‘las piedras escondidas’  
*stones that were hidden* RMH\_08-04-07\_266c

- (104) a. **Icahfáilquim** **hayomámcajc.**  
 INF.IN-PV-tie.up-IMPF 1PS-DT-N-want-PL
- b. \* **Icahfáilcam** **hayomámcajc.**  
 INF.IN-PV-tie.up-PL

‘No queremos estar atados.’

*We don’t want to be tied up.* RMH\_09-28-07\_160a

- (105) **Icahfáilquim** **hayomáaj.**  
 INF.IN-PV-tie.up-IMPF 1PS-DT-N-know-PL  
 ‘No podemos estar atados.’  
*We can’t be tied up.* RMH\_09-28-07\_160b

<sup>18</sup> The verb stem of the infinitive in these cases has been recorded as either singular imperfective or plural stem. For some speaker(s) the simple singular stem (**√cazni**) was even judged as the preferred rendering.

- (106) **ctamcö hafáilquim coi**  
 man-PL SN-PV-tie.up-IMPF the.PL  
 ‘los hombres que están/estaban atados’  
*the men who are/were tied up* RMH\_09-28-07\_160c

Personal passives with a cross-referenced oblique object present (see §2.4), such as the following, are also ungrammatical. An impersonal passive is required, as shown by the (b) examples. Note the following in the grammatical examples: passive morphology occurs on the verb, the verb is inflected for third person singular subject, and direct object inflection is determined by the patient/theme. The last characteristic is obscured somewhat by the morphological blending of direct and indirect/oblique object inflectional morphology; see §17.1.2.5.

- (107) a. \* **¿Hehe himcom contaháxz?**  
 stick DT-Hz 3IO-2sS-RL-Pv-hit.(with.long)  
 b. **¿Hehe himcom me taháxz?**  
 3IO+2DO-RL-Pv-hit.Hz

‘¿Fuiste pegado con ese palo?’  
*Were you hit with that stick?* RMH\_08-04-07\_267a

- (108) a. \* **¿Áz -ya cohptpázt?**  
 what? QM 3IO-1sS.IN-RL-Pv-tattoo  
 b. **¿Áz -ya he tpázt?**  
 3IO+1DO-RL-Pv-tattoo

‘¿Con qué fui tatuado?’  
*What was I tattooed with?* RMH\_08-04-07\_267b

- (109) a. \* **¿Tal quih haa -ya contpázt?**  
 coal the.FL AUX QM 3IO-2sS-RL-Pv-tattoo  
 b. **¿Tal quih haa -ya me tpázt?**  
 3IO+2DO-RL-Pv-tattoo

‘¿Fuiste tatuado con carbón?’  
*Were you tattooed with charcoal?* RMH\_08-04-07\_268

- (110) a. \* **Xepe com contihpyaháazi.**  
 sea the.Hz 3IO-AW-1pS.IN-DT-Pv-carry  
 b. **Xepe com intheyaháazi.**  
 AW-3IO+1DO-DT-Pv-carry

- c. **Xepe com contheyaháazi.**<sup>19</sup>  
3IO-AW-1DO-DT-PV-carry

‘Fui llevado al mar.’  
*I was taken to the sea.* RMH\_08-04-07\_267d

The analysis proposed for these impersonal passives includes the following claims:<sup>20</sup>

- (111) a. the grammatical subject is a non-overt non-referential dummy pronoun.  
b. the patient/theme is not a direct object but has some of the characteristics of a direct object.

The 3:3 marker **i-** occurs in both personal and impersonal passives of *ditransitive* verbs. It never occurs in passives of *simple* transitives (§17.1.2.1). Thus, while passive clauses of ditransitives are intransitive by all other tests (Appendix C), they have this connection with transitive clauses that is not shared by the passives of simple transitive verbs.

- (112) **Iyopéhe.** (113) **Ctamcö coi iyopéhetim.**  
3:3-DT-PV-give.gift man-PL the.PL 3:3-DT-PV-give.gift-IMPF  
‘Le fue dado.’<sup>21</sup> ‘Se les dio a los hombres.’  
*S/he was given it.* RMH\_08-04-07\_269a *The men were given it.* RMH\_08-04-07\_269b

The following examples show that object prefixes in impersonal passives, unlike those in simple transitives, do not provide the environment for the application of **c-Epenthesis** (see §27.1.4). This provides a striking and unexpected piece of evidence for a distinction between the nominals that determine phonologically-identical material.

- (114) a. **Hizi smahmüitim aha.**  
1PDO IR.ID-N-PV-ask-IMPF AUX-DECL  
b. \* **Hizi scmahmüitim aha.**

‘No seremos preguntados.’  
*We will not be asked.* RMH\_08-04-07\_269c

<sup>19</sup> This example has the optional “double” marking of oblique object inflection as mentioned in §17.1.2.4.

<sup>20</sup> See Marlett (1984b). In Relational Grammar terms, direct object inflection relates to *acting* direct objects. Only one object prefix may occur on a verb. If there are two non-third person acting direct objects in the same clause, the patient direct object occurs as the phrase that literally refers to one’s body (see §16.1.3), and the non-patient direct object determines the object prefix, as in the following example.

- (v) **¿Hipi hisoj hipcop hita ma iite?**  
INTNS 1P-body PX-VT 1P-mother 2SDO RL-give  
‘¿Me obsequió mi madre a ti?’  
*Did my mother give me to you?* (Marlett 1981:176, note 4)

<sup>21</sup> The Spanish translations here are not literal due to the constraints of Spanish syntax.

(115) a. **Mazi smahcázja ha.**  
 2PDO IR.ID-N-PV-bite-IMPF AUX-DECL

b. \* **Mazi scmahcázja ha.**

‘No seréis mordidos.’

*You will not be bitten.* RMH\_08-04-07\_269d

Likewise, the blended object prefixes in impersonal passives do not provide the environment for c-Epenthesis, unlike the blended object prefixes in active clauses (see §27.1.4).

(116) a. **Eenim hipcop me smahníp aha.**  
 knife PX-VT 3IO+2DO IR.ID-N-PV-hit AUX-DCL

b. ... \* **me scmahníp ...**

‘No serás apuñalado con este cuchillo.’

*You will not be stabbed with this knife.* XMH\_08-08-07\_284

(117) a. **Tal zo he sompázt aha.**  
 coal a 3IO+1DO IR.ID-N-PV-tattoo AUX-DCL

b. ... \* **he scompázt ...**

‘No seré tatuado con carbón.’

*I will not be tattooed with charcoal.* RMH\_05-17-08\_220

Impersonal passives, having a dummy subject, enter into the raising construction (§12.1.2) with an extra subject nominal that could potentially be raised. Compare the following sentences, which are all paraphrases and considered acceptable. In (118a) raising has not occurred (the preferred case, for some speakers, when the embedded clause is passive); note that the verb  $\sqrt{\text{atxo}}$  *many* is not inflected for first person plural subject and has the simple verb stem. In (118b) the dummy has raised; the evidence for this is the use of the “raising” stem  $\sqrt{\text{aháatxo}}$  *many*.<sup>22</sup> In (118c) the first person plural pronoun has raised to be the subject of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{aháatxo}}$ .<sup>23</sup>

(118) a. **Hizi ipáspoj quih cōpootxo ta x,**  
 1PDO 3P-AON-PV-write the.FL 3IO-IR.DP-many DS UT

**hasahxímj aha.**  
 1PS-IR.ID-rich-PL AUX-DCL

<sup>22</sup> The *brother-in-law relation* of Relational Grammar was invoked to account for these facts in the analysis given in Marlett (1984c). xxx move this footnote

<sup>23</sup> The lack of Different Subject marking in this example is additional evidence of the raising; this is a topic that is discussed in §9.1.2.4.



- (120) **Taax yaacöt coi caacöl iha.** (\* **caacoj**)  
 DDP 3P-house-PL the.PL SN-big-PL DCL SN-big  
 ‘Las casas de ellos/ellas son grandes.’  
*Their houses are big.* (ALIM 77) RMH\_05-17-08\_221
- (121) **Haxaca coi quiipcoj iha.** (\* **quiip**)  
 ABS-pet-PL the.PL SN-HAVE-tail-PL DCL SN-HAVE-tail  
 ‘Los perros tienen colas.’  
*Dogs have tails.* (ALIM 90) RMH\_05-17-08\_222
- (122) **Haxaca coi cpancoj iha.** (\* **cpanzx**)  
 ABS-pet-PL the.PL SN-run-PL DCL SN-run  
 ‘Los perros están corriendo.’  
*The dogs are running.* RMH\_05-17-08\_223
- (123) **Cmajjic himcoi cacöla ha.** (\* **cacösxaj**)  
 woman.PL DT-PL SN-tall/long.PL DCL SN-tall/long  
 ‘Aquellas mujeres son altas.’  
*Those women are tall.* RMH\_05-17-08\_224

As shown in §13.1.3, some nouns do not have a distinct plural form and, as shown in §17.1.3, some verbs do not have a distinct plural form (although this is rare). In such situations, the plural determiner thus has a more important role in indicating number. In the following example, plurality is shown only in the determiner.

- (124) **Coqué coi cmaax cheel iha.**  
 chile(s) the.PL now SN-red DCL  
 ‘Los chiles ya están rojos.’  
*The chiles are already red.* (ALIM 77) RMH\_05-17-08\_225

In some examples (not well-studied), perhaps always involving an inanimate group viewed as a group, the verb is normally singular even though the subject is explicitly plural. However, the plural form is possible if a selection is being made and certain items are being contrasted with others.

- (125) **Sahméés hizcoi xöaatjö (/ xöaatzil).**  
 orange(s) PX-PL EM-sweet EM-sweet-PL  
 ‘Estas naranjas están dulces.’  
*These oranges are sweet.* RMH\_05-17-08\_225
- (126) **Siimet hizcoi xiipe (/ xiipt).**  
 bread PX-PL EM-good EM-good-PL  
 ‘Estos panes están buenos.’  
*These rolls are good.* RMH\_05-17-08\_226

- (127) **Ool imám hizcoi quicös iha.**  
 organpipe 3P-fruit PX-PL SN-HAVE-thorn DCL  
 ‘Estas frutas de pitaya tienen muchas espinas.’  
*These organpipe cactus fruits are thorny.* RMH\_05-17-08\_228

These examples contrast with very similar ones in which a plural inanimate noun co-occurs with a plural verb.

- (128) **Hiisilca coi tacöla, hiipajö cop iyataj coi**  
 1P-wing-PL the.PL RL-long.PL 1P-tail the.VT 3P-tip-PL the.PL  
**hax iiqui oo mitajij.**  
 INTNS 3P-toward DL PX-sharp.PL  
 ‘Mis alas son largas, y las puntas de mi cola son puntiagudas.’  
*My wings are long, and the tips of my tail are pointed.* (Aves\_7)

Some words (also not well-studied) — perhaps only a few loanwords that refer to people, such as **santáar** *soldier* and **paar** *priest* — allow a three-way contrast: singular noun with singular determiner, singular noun with plural determiner, and plural noun with plural determiner.

- (129) a. **santáar cop** soldier the.VT *the soldier*  
 b. **santáar coi** soldier the.PL *the soldiers* (a dozen or fewer)  
 c. **santáaroj coi** soldier-PL the.PL *the soldiers* (numerous)  
 d. \* **santáaroj cop** soldier-PL the.VT
- (130) a. **Santáar hizcoi cmaacöl quih quihíha hi hiz cömoii.**  
 soldier PX-PL old.man-PL the.FL SN-pure FOC here 3IO-PX-be.FL.PL  
 ‘Estos soldados son todos ANCIANOS.’  
*These soldiers are all OLD MEN.* RMH\_05-17-08\_229
- b. **Santáaroj hizcoi cmaacöl quihíha hiz cömoii.**  
 soldier-PL PX-PL old.man-PL SN-pure here 3IO-PX-be.FL.PL  
 ‘Estos soldados son TODOS ancianos.’  
*These soldiers are ALL old men.* RMH\_05-17-08\_230

Accordingly, the common situation when a small number is explicitly indicated is for the singular form of these nouns to occur in those sentences.

- (131) **Santáar (\*Santáaroj) quih capxa coi hant z iiqui yitóoij.**  
 soldier soldier-PL the.FL SN-three the.PL land a 3P-toward DT-go.PL  
 ‘Los tres soldados salieron a otro lugar.’  
*The three soldiers went somewhere.* RMH\_05-17-08\_231

Loanword nouns which do not have this three-way contrast include **yequim** *Yaqui* (plural,

yectz) and *caamiz shirt* (plural, *caamijoj*).<sup>26</sup>

The following examples show different types of ungrammatical combinations for normal nouns:

- (132) ('Los perros están corriendo.')
- (The dogs are running.)*
- Plural noun, singular determiner, singular verb  
\* **Haxaca quih cpanzx iha.**  
ABS-pet-PL the. FL SN-run DCL
  - Singular noun, plural determiner, plural verb  
\* **Haxz coi cpancojc iha.**  
dog the.PL SN-run-PL DCL
  - Singular noun, plural determiner, singular verb  
\* **Haxz coi cpanzx iha.**  
dog the.PL SN-run DCL
  - Plural noun, plural determiner, singular verb  
\* **Haxaca coi cpanzx iha.**  
ABS-pet-PL the.PL SN-run DCL

Plural nouns may be used with the singular determiner **com** (the.Hz) to indicate a generic interpretation (§8.1.2) or another non-referential interpretation. In these situations a plural verb is used if the nominal in question is the subject.

- (133) **Yooz quij ziicalc com °hant cōquiiis° iha.**  
God the.CM bird-PL the.Hz land 3IO-SN-TR-? DCL  
'Dios cuida a las aves.'  
*God takes care of the birds.* (Mt 10:31) RMH\_10-15-07\_24
- (134) ... °**xiica quih quiistox° com °ano sozámlcam° aha.**  
people the.Hz they.will.step.in.it AUX-DCL  
'... las personas se pisarán en ella.'  
*... people will step on it.* (Mt 5:13) RRR

<sup>26</sup> The noun *tootar chicken* has a plural form listed in the 2005 dictionary. One consultant indicated that he did not use an explicitly plural form for this noun despite the context.