

## 5. Verb phrase

The verb phrase discussed here is the phrase (dominated by a verb) that follows the nominal phrases in the clause, whether those nominal phrases are adjuncts or arguments. Part of the goal of this chapter is to present details about this constituent. Evidence that the direct object phrase combines with the verb to form a phrase has not been found.

The verb phrase may consist of a simple inflected verb, as in the following examples.

- (1)      Subject                      Verb Phrase  
**lifa**            **quih** **tacösxaj**, ...  
 3P-pensinsula the.FL RL-tall/long  
 ‘La península es larga, ...’  
*The peninsula is long, ...* (Muerte\_Cöquimaxp\_32.1)

- (2)                                      Direct Object      Verb Phrase  
 °**Ox tpaçta ma**°, **xepe timoca** **imaait**.  
 then                      sea MD-TWD 3:3-PX-pass.by.PL  
 ‘Entonces estaban cruzando el mar.’  
*Then they were crossing the sea.* (Muerte\_Cöquimaxp\_19)

But in many cases one, two or a few words may precede the verb *after* the last nominal phrase of the clause. These words include adverbs, a few simple nouns, the reflexive pronouns, the reciprocal marker, and all of the so-called postpositions. One simple example of a verb phrase is given in (3).

- (3)                                      Adverb      Verb  
**Xapoo coi** **anxö itacötoj**, **itahasjoj**, ...  
 sea.lion the.PL INTNS 3:3-RL-kill-PL 3:3-RL-transport.in.vehicle-PL  
 ‘Mataron muchos lobos marinos, los transportaban (en sus balsas), ...’  
*They had killed lots of sea lions, they transported them (in their reed boats), ...*  
 (Muerte\_Cöquimaxp\_20.1-2)

A more complicated verb phrase appears in (4).

- (4)      ..., **hoox anxö toiï** \_\_\_\_\_° **hant cöhascomjcooil**° **aha**.  
 INTNS INTNS elsewhere land 1PLS-IR.ID-N-fall-PL AUX-DCL  
 ‘..., no vamos a exagerar.’  
 ..., *we will not exaggerate (overdo it).* (2 Co 10:13) RMH\_08-04-07\_209

In the following sections, each type of word that may occur in the verb phrase before the verb is discussed separately, and then the interaction between them is presented. The most complicated issues center around the words preceding the verb. A few words may also follow the verb. Some of these words are adverbs; they are discussed in §24.4. In independent clauses

Table 5.1: Adverbs in VP-initial position

<b>anxö</b>	INTENSIFIER	§24.3.1.6
<b>cooc</b>	<i>almost</i>	§24.3.4
<b>halx</b>	<i>just</i> , ATTENUATOR	§24.3.1.3
<b>hax</b>	INTENSIFIER	§24.3.1.1
<b>miizj</b>	<i>well</i>	§24.3.4
<b>mos áno</b>	<i>extremely, even more</i>	§24.3.1.5
<b>ox</b>	<i>thus</i>	§24.3.4
<b>zó</b>	<i>how?</i>	§6.2.1.6

auxiliary and modal elements (chapter 20) follow the verb and are presumably part of the verb phrase. In dependent clauses the extremely important Different Subject markers (§3.6.1) and the ubiquitous **x** (§3.6.3) also follow the verb (in that order), at the very end of the clause. As these elements cliticize to whatever precedes them, which is commonly the verb, it is assumed that they are also part of the verb phrase. They are not separated from the verb when something is right-dislocated (§3.12).

## 5.1 Adverbs

The first optional position in the verb phrase is occupied by an adverb phrase, which most commonly consists of a simple adverb (see §24.3). The adverbs listed in Table 5.1 are typical of this position; that list is not exhaustive. Any other position for them in the verb phrase is either not possible or highly marked. Some adverbs (not listed in Table 5.1) easily occur in other places as well as in this position; these include **cói** *still*, **haptco** *already*, **mos** *also* (see chapter 24). These adverbs all carry a moderate degree of stress and some may in fact be emphasized with stronger stress.

The intensifying adverb **anxö** is a benchmark word in that it only occurs at the *beginning* of the VP (perhaps modified by an intensifier itself, as in (4) above).<sup>1</sup> The position of this adverb and other adverbs of its class is important for much of the argumentation that follows in this chapter.

- (5) a. |—— DP ——| |—— DP ——| |—— VP ——|  
**Cmaam tiquij cocazni<sup>o</sup> quih anxö iyixim.**  
 woman MD-CM rattlesnake the.FL INTNS 3:3-DT-fear  
 ‘Esa mujer teme mucho a las víboras de cascabel.’  
*That woman is really afraid of rattlesnakes.* RMH\_11-27-07\_03

<sup>1</sup> The adverb **anxö** precedes **miizj** *well* in the idiom **miizj** **√aai** (well make) *take care of*. It follows the adverb **mos** *also* since **mos** is not in the VP.

- b. \* **Anxö** cmaam tiquij cocazni quih iyixim.  
 c. \* **Cmaam** tiquij **anxö** cocazni quih iyixim.  
 d. \* **Cmaam** tiquij cocazni quih iyixim **anxö**.
- (6) a. **Cmoqueept com anxö itahiipet ma, ...**  
 SN-sick-PL the.HZ INTNS 3:3-RL-repair SR  
 ‘Porque había sanado a tantos enfermos, ...’  
*Because he had healed so many sick people, ...* (Mk 3:10) OP\_2-07-07\_43
- b. \* **Anxö** cmoqueept com itahiipet ma, ...<sup>2</sup>  
 c. \* **Cmoqueept com itahiipet anxö** ma, ...
- (7) a. **Hast quij anxö imaafc.**  
 stone the.CM INTNS 3:3-PX-pound  
 ‘Lo golpeó fuertemente con la piedra.’ o ‘Golpeó fuertemente a la piedra con él/ella’.  
*S/he hit it hard with the stone. or S/he hit the stone hard with it.* RMH\_08-04-07\_211a
- b. \* **Anxö** hast quij imaafc.  
 c. \* **Hast quij imaafc anxö**.

The following examples demonstrate that the other adverbs in Table 5.1 are similarly restricted in their position in the clause although in one case the adverb **cooc** may have a different location and a different scope.

- (8) a. **Hap ticap cooc cohtatni hi.**  
 mule.deer MD-VT almost 3IO-1SGS.TR-RL-make.contact DCL  
 ‘CASI le pegué al venado bura con mi tiro.’  
*I ALMOST got that mule deer with my shot.* (DS2005, cooc) RMH\_08-04-07\_211b
- b. **Cooc hap ticap cohtatni hi.**  
 ‘Casi al VENADO BURA pegué con mi tiro.’  
*I almost shot the MULE DEER.* [contrastive focus on the animal] RMH\_11-27-07\_04
- c. \* **Hap ticap cohtatni hi cooc.**  
 d. \* **Hap ticap cohtatni cooc ihi.**
- (9) a. **..., xiica tacoi halx imiix; ...**  
 thing-PL MD-PL ATTEN 3:3-PX-go.away.from  
 ‘..., se apartó de ellos un poco de tiempo; ...’  
*..., he went away from them a little while; ...* (Lk 22:41) RMH\_08-04-07\_211c
- b. \* **..., halx xiica tacoi imiix.**  
 c. \* **..., xiica tacoi imiix halx.**

<sup>2</sup> This is grammatical on the reading *He had healed people who were so sick....*

- (10) a. °**Iisax iize**° **com** **hax** **mooxp oo**.<sup>3</sup>  
 its.breast the.HZ INTNS PX-white DL  
 ‘Su pechuga es muy blanca.’  
*Its breast is very white.* (ES2007, acaam\_ccaa 03)
- b. \* **Hax** **iisax iize com mooxp oo**.  
 c. \* **Iisax iize com mooxp oo hax**.  
 d. \* **Iisax iize com mooxp hax oo**.
- (11) a. **..., cocsar quih miiji hin yaaipot**.  
 Mexican the.FL well 1SGDO DT-pay  
 ‘..., el mexicano no indígena me pagó bien.’  
*..., the non-Indian Mexican paid me well.* (DS2005, caapo) RMH\_08-13-07\_49
- b. \* **Cocsar quih hin yaaipot miiji**.  
 c. \* **Miiji cocsar quih hin yaaipot**.
- (12) a. **..., °xiica quih quiistox° coi mos áno teenzil, ...**  
 people the.PL even more RL-UO-yell.at-PL  
 ‘..., las personas gritaban aún más, ...’  
*... the people shouted even more, ...* (Mk 15:14) RMH\_08-04-07\_212
- b. \* **..., mos áno xiica quih quiistox coi teenzil, ...**  
 c. \* **..., xiica quih quiistox coi teenzil mos áno, ...**
- (13) a. **Comcaac coi ox mooza**.  
 person/Seri-PL the.PL thus PX-speak-PL  
 ‘Así dicen los seris.’  
*Thus say the Seris.* (Overheard) RMH\_08-04-07\_213
- b. \* **Ox comcaac coi mooza**.  
 c. \* **Comcaac coi mooza ox**.

## 5.2 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns (§11.2.1), unlike the ordinary nominal phrases including other pronouns, occur in the verb phrase. This fact is not immediately obvious since they occur between the subject and the verb where one would expect them to appear if their syntax were determined in the same way as arguments.

<sup>3</sup> The adverb **hax**, like some other adverbs, co-occurs with the postverbal adverb **oo** which is not translatable (but glossed here and elsewhere as DL ‘delimiter’; see §24.2.8).



prefixes since the latter always merge morphologically with the indirect/oblique object inflection (see §17.1.2.5).

- (19) **¿Zixcám ticom misoj consaahal? haa -ya?**  
 fish MD-HZ 2P-self 3IO-2SGS-IR.ID-bring/take AUX QM  
 ‘¿Llevarás ese pescado contigo?’  
*Are you going to take that fish with you?* RMH\_11-27-07\_05

The reflexive pronouns thus do not occupy any known “slot” in the verb word per se. The examples in §5.8 show they display a somewhat *variable* order with the preverbal postpositions, and this is perhaps the strongest evidence both that they are not part of the verb morphology and that they are separate words in the VP.

### 5.3 Reciprocal marker

The reciprocal marker **pti** (§11.5) also occurs in the verb phrase. As with the reflexive pronouns, it cannot occur postverbally.

- (20) a. **Comcaac tacoi pti cnooptoj iha.**  
 person/Seri-PL MD-PL RCP SN-TR-hit-PL DCL  
 ‘Esos seris estaban pegándose (de vez en cuando).’  
*Those Seris were hitting each other (once in a while).* LHC\_2-8-07\_74b
- b. \* **Comcaac tacoi cnooptoj iha, pti.**  
 c. \* **Comcaac tacoi cnooptoj pti ha.**

One might wonder if the morpheme **pti** is simply a prefix on the verb since it does not co-occur with the object inflection prefixes (§17.1.2.3), and this seems plausible when pairs like the following are considered.<sup>4</sup>

- (21) **Ctamcö tacoi hizi yonooptolca.** [ʔiʃijo'nooptoʔka]  
 man-PL MD-PL 1PLDO DT-hit-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Esos hombres nos golpeaban.’  
*Those men were hitting us.* RMH\_08-04-07\_223a
- (22) **Ctamcö tacoi pti iyonooptolca.** [ptijo'nooptoʔka]  
 man-PL MD-PL RCP 3:3-DT-hit-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Esos hombres estaban boxeando.’  
*Those men were boxing.* RMH\_08-04-07\_223b

The fact that **pti** merges with the third person indirect object prefix **co-** (3IO) to form the

<sup>4</sup> The direct object prefixes are written as separate words in the practical writing system (in a way analogous to the pronominal clitics of Spanish), but this practice must not be allowed to obscure the fact that in Seri they are simple prefixes in the verb word.

portmanteau **pte** (see §11.5.1) makes this hypothesis somewhat more attractive.

One fact makes it clear that **pti** is a separate word, however: the variability in word order that **pti** displays with the preverbal postpositions, as discussed in §5.8 below.

## 5.4 Location nouns

A limited set of nouns appears inside of the verb phrase; they are presented in Table 5.2.<sup>5</sup> These nouns occur in nominal phrases with determiners elsewhere in the language. One example of each in such a phrase — outside of the verb phrase — is given in (23)-(26).<sup>6</sup>

- (23) ... **hant com iti toom, ...**  
 land the.Hz 3P-on RL-lie  
 ‘..., estaba en la tierra, ...’  
 ..., *it was on the earth, ...* (Conejo\_Puma\_1.3) RMH\_08-04-07\_215a
- (24) **Hapx hac ano miij.**  
 outside the.LC 3P.in PX-sit  
 ‘Está sentado afuera.’  
*She is sitting outside.* (DS2005, hapx) RMH\_08-04-07\_215b
- (25) ... **haxoj com cömiizcam.**  
 shore the.Hz 3IO-PX-arrive-PL  
 ‘..., llegaron a la playa.’  
 ..., *they arrived to the shore.* (dos\_hermanos\_23)
- (26) ... **heme<sup>o</sup> hac an itamjc, ...**  
 camp the.LC 3P.in 3:3-RL-bring  
 ‘..., lo trajo al campamento, ...’  
 ..., *s/he brought it to the camp, ...* RMH\_08-04-07\_215c
- (27) **Hoopatj timoca xepe ano zaaj hac ano**  
 wave MD-TWD sea 3P.in cave the.LC 3P.in  
**cöitjeaatim ma, ...**  
 3IO-3:3-RL-make.fall-IMPF DS  
 ‘Cuando la ola pegó en la cueva del mar, ...’  
*When the wave hit the sea cave, ...* (DS2005 quiipcö) RMH\_08-21-07\_84

<sup>5</sup> Other nouns like this include **heecot** *desert area* (most commonly found in the idioms **heecot** **√iih** (desert.area be) *go hunting* and **heecot** **√aamx** (desert.area say+IO) *promise secretly*). This noun also occurs without an article as an oblique object (§2.4) in other contexts. See also the word **hanténo** (*on the ground*). While this word may be an adverb (as listed in the 2005 dictionary), it might also be categorized as a location noun. Both **heecot** and **hanténo** may be etymologically derived from N plus postposition sources.

<sup>6</sup> It is shown below that the so-called postposition occurs inside the VP.

Table 5.2: Location nouns in the VP

<b>hant</b>	<i>land, ground, earth</i>
<b>hapx</b>	<i>place outside</i>
<b>haxoj</b>	<i>shore (as seen from the sea)</i>
<b>heme</b>	<i>home</i>
<b>zaaj</b>	<i>cave [in idioms meaning ‘descend’]</i>

When these nouns occur in the VP, they do not have determiners, they are not cross-referenced on the verb, and they do not affect the transitivity of the clause (for relevant tests, see Appendix C). Some of the combinations with verbs are transparent and productive; others are very idiomatic (see chapter 7). The noun **hant** is the most commonly used of these nouns, and it can be thought of as meaning *down* in many contexts. However one wishes to categorize these words (whether as nouns or as cognate adverbs), they are fixed in their position before the verb.

- (28) a. **Cmaam tintica hant yahjiit.**  
 woman MD-AW land DT-fall  
 ‘Se cayó.’  
*S/he/it fell down.* RMH\_08-04-07\_216a
- b. \* **Hant cmaam tintica yahjiit.**
- c. \* **Cmaam tintica yahjiit hant.**

The nouns **hapx** *place outside*, **haxoj** *shore*, **heme**<sup>o</sup> *camp*, and **zaaj** (as part of the idiom for *enter into a gulch or dry lake bed*) are used in combination with fewer verbs than **hant**, but they are relatively transparent in their meaning (with the exception of **zaaj**). They also must occur pre-verbally.

- (29) a. **Zixcám coi anxö hapx imiicmolca, ...**  
 fish the.PL INTNS outside 3:3-PX-put.items-PL-IMPF  
 ‘Habían sacado muchos peces, ...’  
*They had pulled out many fish, ...* (Lk 5:9) RMH\_08-04-07\_216b
- b. \* **Hapx zixcám coi anxö imiicmolca, ...**
- c. \* **Zixcám coi anxö imiicmolca hapx, ...**
- (30) a. **..., canoaataj coi haxoj itácmolca, ...**  
 boat-PL the.PL shore 3:3-RL-put.HZ-PL-IMPF  
 ‘..., llevaron las barcas a tierra, ...’  
*..., they pulled the boats up on the beach, ...* (Lk 5:11) RMH\_08-04-07\_216c
- b. \* **..., haxoj canoaataj coi itácmolca, ...**
- c. \* **..., canoaataj coi itácmolca haxoj, ...**

- (31) a. **Comcaac coi heme<sup>°</sup> miizcam.**  
 person/Seri.PL the.PL camp PX-arrive.PL  
 ‘Los seris llegaron a campamento.’  
*The Seris arrived at camp.* RMH\_08-04-07\_216d
- b. \* **Comcaac coi miizcam heme.**  
 c. \* **Heme comcaac coi miizcam.**
- (32) a. **Comcaac coi iiqui <sup>°</sup>zaaj yopaailx<sup>°</sup>.**  
 person/Seri.PL the.PL 3P-toward they.entered.it.[gulch]  
 ‘Las personas entraron (al arroyo o playa).’  
*The people went in (to the gulch or dry lake bed).* RMH\_11-27-07\_06
- b. \* **Comcaac coi iiqui yopaailx zaaj.**  
 c. \* **Zaaj comcaac coi iiqui yopaailx.**

## 5.5 Various other VP-internal nouns

Various other nouns are evidently in the VP since, when tested, they follow a VP adverb.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.5.1 Cross-referenced nouns

Some VP-internal nouns are cross-referenced on the verb with indirect object morphology, and in some cases these are part of [Noun Verb] idioms (see chapter 7). Note that in the following examples the nouns **hitoj** and **misxeen** follow the adverb **miizj** and do not have determiners. The use of **misxeen** in (34) is related to an idiom meaning something like *consider* or *ponder*.

- (33) **He [hoox miizj hitoj cohmiiho, ]<sub>VP</sub> ...**  
 1PRO INTNS well 1P-eye-PL 3IO-1SGS.TR-PX-see  
 ‘Lo vi con mis propios ojos, ...’  
*I saw it with my own eyes, ... (1Pe 5:1)* RMH\_08-04-07\_217a
- (34) **¡Miizj <sup>°</sup>misxeen cohcaa<sup>°</sup>!**  
 well 2P-abdomen 3IO-IM-look.for  
 ‘¡Piénsalo bien!’  
*Think about it well!* RMH\_08-04-07\_217b

### 5.5.2 Possessed nouns of idiomatic expressions

The possessed nouns (without determiners) of other idiomatic expressions are also evidently in the VP although they may function semantically as the subject of the construction. (For details on the multiple issues presented by these idioms, see chapter 7.) For example, in (35), the subject would appear to be **hiistox** (the root has no truly literal translation, although probably

<sup>7</sup> Not all of the possibilities have been explored. This class of nouns could continue to grow as additional evidence accumulates.

historically it meant *breath* or *spirit*) since it is a plural noun and the verb is inflected for third person plural subject, but this noun *follows* the VP-initial adverb **anxö**. The same is true of the nouns **imoz** *his/her heart* and **himoz** *my heart* in (36) and (37), respectively, and **hihjoj** *my limbs* in (38). The use of **hant oozitoj** in (39) is different in that it is not the subject although it appears to be a possessed noun that does not determine indirect object inflection on the verb, unlike those in §5.5.1.

- (35) a. (He) **anxö** °**hiistox** **hant yopaailx**°.  
 I<sub>PRO</sub> INTNS 1P-?-PL land DT-arrive.PL  
 ‘Estamos muy felices.’  
*We are very happy.* RMH\_08-04-07\_217c
- b. \* **Hiistox** **anxö** **hant yopaailx**.
- (36) ..., **quihehe**° **caacoj quij** [ **anxö** °**imoz** **yomeet**°. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 ruler SN-big the.CM INTNS 3P-heart DT-?  
 ‘..., el rey se puso muy triste.’  
*... the king became very sad.* (Mk 6:26) RMH\_08-04-07\_217d
- (37) ..., **taax iti** [ **anxö** °**himoz** **smeet**° **aha**. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 DDP 3P-on INTNS 1P-heart IR.ID-? AUX-DCL  
 ‘..., yo hubiera estado muy triste.’  
*..., I would have been very sad.* (Php 2:27) RRR
- (38) [ **Anxö** °**hihjoj** **xöaxyat**°. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 INTNS 1P-limb-PL EM-die-PL  
 ‘Me cansé mucho.’  
*I got very tired.* RMH\_08-04-07\_218b
- (39) ;**Ctam Pablo hapáh hipquij** °**xiica quiistox**° **com pac**  
 man SN-PV-say PX-CM people the.Hz some  
 [ **anxö** °**hant oozitoj**<sup>8</sup> **caitim**° **iha**. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 INTNS SN-do DCL  
 ‘Este hombre llamado Pablo está molestando mucho a algunas de las personas.’  
*This man named Paul is really bothering some of the people.* (Ac 24:5) RMH\_08-04-07\_219a

### 5.5.3 Other special nouns

The VP-internal words shown in this section are not cross-referenced on the verb (unlike those in §5.5.1) and they are not possessed nouns in idioms (unlike those in §5.5.2). One might wonder whether some of them are nouns at all. Regardless of how they are categorized or

<sup>8</sup> The source of this phrase is not known, nor its meaning in isolation. There is a related phrase **hant haazitoj** that means *bothersome*. It looks like a possessed deverbial verb form and for that reason it is included in this section.

glossed, however, they are in the VP and need to be accounted for.

- (40) **Esaó quij** [ **anxö** °**psaac** **tooxi**°, ]<sub>VP</sub> **toc** **cöttij**, ...  
 the.CM INTNS hunger RL-die there 3IO-RL-sit  
 ‘Esaú tenía mucho hambre, estaba allí, ...’  
*Esau was very hungry, he was there, ...* (Hb 12:16) RMH\_08-04-07\_219b
- (41) ¡ [ **Anxö** °**hamatj** **ihpxöaxi**°! ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 INTNS thirst (?) 1SGS.IN-EM-die  
 ‘¡Tengo mucha sed!’  
*I’m really thirsty!* RMH\_08-04-07\_219c
- (42) **Pedro quih** [ **anxö** **Yooz** **imatolec**. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 the.FL INTNS God 3:3-PX-ask.for.help  
 ‘Pedro oró por largo tiempo.’  
*Peter prayed a long time.*<sup>9</sup> RMH\_08-04-07\_220a

The examples with the expression for *pray* are interesting because they include a transitive verb and an indisputable noun, **Yooz** *God*. Furthermore, this noun (without a determiner in this usage) is functioning as the direct object of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{atolec}}$  *ask for help*. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that the first person subject inflection prefix (§17.1.2.1) used in this expression must be the transitive one (**h-**); attempts to use the intransitive allomorph (**hp-**) were categorically rejected.

- (43) a. **He anxö Yooz** **ihyatólejquim**.  
 1PRO INTNS God 1SGS.TR-DT-ask.for.help-IMPF  
 ‘Oro muchas veces.’  
*I pray many times.* RMH\_08-04-07\_220c
- b. \* **He anxö Yooz** **ihpyatólejquim**.  
 1SGS.IN-DT-ask.for.help-IMPF  
 (‘Oro muchas veces.’) (*I pray many times.*)

In the expressions for *teach* and *lack*, the phrase **ziix quih** (thing the.FL) is not referential and sometimes occurs in the VP since it follows **anxö**.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The sentence means *pray many times* if it has the imperfective verb stem (§17.1.8); the verb would be **imatólejquim** in that case.

<sup>10</sup> There is some variability on this. The following is acceptable to at least some consultants: **Ziix quih anxö imacóaat**. *S/he taught them many things*. (For at least some speakers this example is not ambiguous; it only means *many things* and not *many people*.) The phrase **ziix quih** is grammatically the oblique object that is cross-referenced on the verb. When no addressee is present, the clause is intransitive (as indicated by lack of 3:3 marking (§17.1.2.1) in the following example): **Pedro quij ziix quih anxö cōmacóaat**. *Pedro taught many things*. which for some speakers has a grammatical variant **Pedro quij anxö ziix quih cōmacóaat**.

- (44) **Jesús qui** <sup>°</sup>**xiica quih quiistox° com**  
 the.CM people the.Hz  
**anxö** **ziix quih** **cöimacoaat.**  
 INTNS thing the.FL 3IO-3:3-PX-cause.know  
 ‘Jesús enseñó mucho a la gente.’ o ‘Jesús enseñó a mucha gente.’  
*Jesus taught the people many things.* or *Jesus taught many people.* RMH\_08-21-07\_85a
- (45) **Anxö** **ziix quih** **iicp** **me sahcaail** **aha.**  
 INTNS thing the.FL toward 2IO-IR.ID-remain/lacking AUX-DCL  
 ‘Faltarás mucho.’  
*You will lack a lot.* RMH\_08-21-07\_85b

The noun **hamác** *fire* in the transitive expression **hamác** <sup>√</sup>**itlim** *kindle fire* is another noun of this type when it is used without a determiner.<sup>11</sup> In the following example it is relevant that it follows the postposition **ano**. (The importance of this fact is made clear in §5.8).

- (46) **Haxoj hatazcam** **ma, hast ancoj** **z**  
 shore 1PLS-RL-arrive.PL DS stone 3P-area-PL a  
 [ **ano hamác ihtitlim** **ma,** ]<sub>VP</sub> ...  
 3P.in fire 1SGS.TR-RL-ignite DS  
 ‘Fuimos a la playa, prendí una lumbre en las rocas, ...’  
*We went to the beach and made a fire on the rocks...* (DS2005, csip/csiptj) RMH\_08-13-07\_52a

Some combinations of noun (without a determiner), postposition, and verb have idiomatic meanings. These expressions keep these words together in the verb phrase (except that the delimiting adverb **oo** may follow the noun); an adverb like **anxö** precedes the combination; neither the noun nor the postposition can be moved to another position.

- (47) a. **Anxö hax ano hmiiquim.**  
 INTNS water 3P.in 1SGS.TR-PX-put.items  
 ‘Lavé mucha ropa.’  
*I washed lots of items.* RMH\_09-28-07\_148e
- b. \* **Hax anxö ano hmiiquim.**  
 c. \* **Hax ano anxö hmiiquim.**  
 d. \* **Anxö ano hmiiquim, hax.**

<sup>11</sup> The construction is transitive by the tests shown in Appendix C. Note that in (46) the allomorph **h-** and not **hp-** (see §17.1.2.1) is used for first person singular subject.

Table 5.3: Locative pronouns and adverbs in the VP

<b>colx</b>	<i>high, far out (on sea)</i>
<b>haa</b>	<i>there</i>
<b>hacx</b>	<i>apart</i>
<b>haquix</b>	<i>somewhere</i>
<b>himo</b>	<i>elsewhere</i>
<b>hiz</b>	<i>here</i>
<b>toc</b>	<i>there</i>

- (48) a. ¿Me cói **hax** oo **ano** coaah -ya?  
 2PRO still water DL 3P.in SN-UO-put.FL QM  
 ‘Estás todavía lavando ropa?’  
*Are you still washing clothes?* RMH\_09-28-07\_148f
- b. \* ¿Me **hax** cói **ano** coaah oo -ya?  
 c. \* ¿Me **hax** **ano** cói coaah oo -ya?  
 d. \* ¿Me cói **ano** coaah oo -ya, **hax**?

## 5.6 Locative pronouns and adverbs

Several locative words appear in the VP; these are listed in Table 5.3. Two of these — **toc** *there* and **hiz** *here* — determine oblique/indirect object inflection on the verb (see §2.4) — but all are fixed in their position in the VP. Others of these locative words are perhaps adverbs; at least there is no evidence that they are nouns.

- (49) a. **Moxima ctam hiyal quih** [**colx** **maahit.**] VP  
 yesterday man 1P-spouse the.FL high PX-fish  
 ‘Ayer mi esposo fue a pescar lejos en el mar.’  
*Yesterday my husband went fishing far out on the sea.* RMH\_08-04-07\_221a
- b. \* **Moxima colx** ctam hiyal quih maahit.  
 c. \* **Moxima ctam hiyal quih maahit colx.**
- (50) a. **Canoaa zo** [**haa** **moca** **ha.**] VP  
 boat a there TWD-SN-move DCL  
 ‘Allí viene una panga.’  
*There comes a boat.* (DS2005, haa) RMH\_08-04-07\_221b
- b. \* **Haa** canoaa zo moca ha.  
 c. \* **Canoaa zo moca haa** ha.  
 d. \* **Canoaa zo moca ha haa.**

- (51) a. **¡Hapaspoj° hipquih [ miizj hacx cah! ]**<sub>VP</sub>  
 paper PX-FL well apart IM-say/put.FL  
 ‘¡Guarda este libro!’  
*Put this book away (in a safe place)! RMH\_08-04-07\_221c*
- b. \* **¡Hacx hapaspoj hipquih miizj cah!**  
 c. \* **¡Hapaspoj hipquih miizj cah hacx!**
- (52) a. **..., °xiica quih quiistox° com [ anxö haquix poom, ]**<sub>VP...</sub>  
 people the.HZ INTNS somewhere IR.DP-lie  
 ‘..., habrá mucha gente, ...’  
*..., there will be many people, ... (Lk 21:8) RMH\_08-04-07\_222a*
- b. \* **..., haquix xiica quih quiistox com anxö poom, ...**  
 c. \* **..., xiica quih quiistox com anxö poom haquix, ...**  
 d. \* **..., xiica quih quiistox com haquix anxö poom, ...**
- (53) a. **..., hasaaiti áno caap cop [ anxö °himo tpazjc° ma. ]**<sub>VP</sub>  
 gasoline 3P.in SN-stand the.VT INTNS it.spilled.out DS  
 ‘..., se había tirado mucha gasolina.’  
*..., a lot of gasoline had spilled out. (DS2005, cacáapis) RMH\_09-28-07\_131*
- b. \* **..., himo hasaaiti áno caap cop anxö tpazjc ma.**  
 c. \* **..., hasaaiti áno caap cop anxö tpazjc ma himo.**  
 d. \* **..., hasaaiti áno caap cop himo anxö tpazjc ma.**
- (54) a. **Cyaa quih hiz cõtmiij iho.**  
 SN-TR-own the.FL here 3IO-RL-N-sit DCL  
 ‘El dueño no está aquí.’  
*The owner isn’t here. (DS2005, quij) RMH\_08-04-07\_222b*
- b. \* **Hiz cyaa quih cõtmiij iho.**  
 c. \* **Cyaa quih cõtmiij iho hiz.**  
 d. \* **Cyaa quih cõtmiij hiz iho.**
- (55) a. **..., °xiica canaaotaj° pac toc contitat, ...**  
 thing.PL SN-meow-PL some there 3IO-AW-RL-move-PL  
 ‘...unos gatos iban allí, ...’  
*... some cats were going there, ... (DS2005, cnaaj) RMH\_08-04-07\_222c*
- b. \* **..., toc xiica canaaotaj pac contitat, ...**  
 c. \* **..., xiica canaaotaj pac contitat toc, ...**
- (56) **[ Anxö colx yiisax. ]**<sub>VP</sub>  
 INTNS high DT-have.life  
 ‘Respiró profundamente.’  
*S/he breathed deeply. RMH\_08-04-07\_227b*

The word **hacx** in the following example is part of an idiom for *kill* (see §7.4).

- (57) [ **Anxö** °**hacx** **ixamiihitim**°. ]<sub>VP</sub>  
 INTNS apart 3:3-EM-not.be.FL-IMPF  
 ‘Mató muchos.’  
*S/he killed many.* RMH\_11-27-07\_07

## 5.7 Postpositions

The postpositions necessarily occur in the VP in almost all situations (see chapter 22). They may *appear* to be part of a postpositional phrase, as in (58).

- (58) ..., **heme**° **hac** **an** **itamjc**, ...  
 camp the.LC 3P.in 3:3-RL-bring  
 ‘..., lo trajo al campamento, ...’  
 ..., *s/he brought it to the camp*, ... (DS2005, cayénot) RMH\_08-04-07\_223c

But the fact that the complement of the postposition may easily occur earlier in the clause, separated from the postposition, as in (59), and the fact that the postposition *cannot* occur outside of the VP, as shown in (59), make one fact clear: the postposition is a constituent of the VP at least in the cases in which it is separated from its complement.

- (59) |—— DP ——| |—— DP ——|  
 a. **Hitrooqui quij** °**hasaaiti coozlil**° **quih**  
 1P-vehicle the.CM lubricating.oil the.FL  
 |—— VP ——|  
**ano** **hsahaama** **ha.**  
 3P.in 1SGS.Tr-IR.ID-cause.trickle AUX-DCL  
 ‘Voy a poner aceite en mi carro.’  
*I am going to put oil in my car.* (DS2005, caháama) RMH\_08-04-07\_224a  
 b. \* **Hitrooqui quij ano hasaaiti coozlil quih hsahaama ha.**

Furthermore it is shown in §5.8 that the postpositions must *follow* adverbs like **anxö**.<sup>12</sup> Therefore we come to the conclusion that the postposition is in the VP, regardless of the position of its complement.<sup>13</sup> This analysis is consistent with the claim made in chapter 2 that basic clause structure is a series of nominal phrases followed by a verb phrase, as depicted in Figure 2.1.

<sup>12</sup> The syntax of postpositions is discussed in more detail in chapter 22.

<sup>13</sup> The only exceptions to this are the PPs occurring at the beginning of a sentence and providing a general context (see §3.9).

## 5.8 Relative order

Now that the various types of words that occur in the VP have been presented, it is possible to consider how they co-occur. One finds a very limited amount of variability, and that variability is almost entirely restricted to the order of postpositions with respect to the reflexive pronouns and the reciprocal marker.<sup>14</sup> Therefore the combinations with postpositions are grouped together for discussion in §5.8.4. The facts are depicted in Figure 5.1.

### 5.8.1 Adverbs with respect to other words in the VP

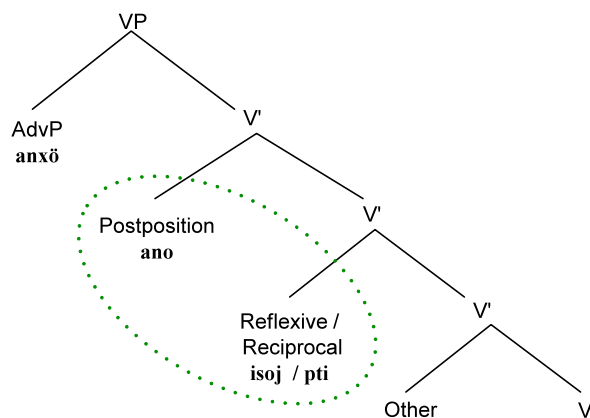
The intensifying adverb **anxö** occurs before all other words in the VP (except an adverb that modifies it) and no alternative orders are possible *except* very occasionally in the case of the postpositions (see §5.8.4). The fact that **anxö** follows direct object nominals (see §5.1) but precedes reflexive pronouns, as shown below, sharply distinguishes the syntax of ordinary nominal phrases and reflexive pronouns.

#### 5.8.1.1 Before reflexive pronouns

- (60) a. **Hax anxö hisoj hihaactim cah, ...**  
INTNS INTNS 1P-self 1P-AON-cause.be.cut the.FL-FOC  
 ‘Cuando me corté demasiado, ...’  
*When I cut myself severely, ...* (DS2005, haait xap) OP\_2-07-07\_42
- b. \* **Hisoj hax anxö hihaactim cah, ...**

<sup>14</sup> See footnote 10 where the phrase **ziix quih** (thing the.FL) has some special variability as well.

Figure 5.1: Order of preverbal elements in the VP



- (61) a. **¿Anxö misoj intaactim?**  
 INTNS 2P-self 2SGS-RL-cause.be.cut  
 ‘¿Te cortaste mucho?’  
*Did you cut yourself a lot?* LHC\_2-05-07\_135

- b. \* **¿Misoj anxö intaactim?**

#### 5.8.1.2 Before reciprocal pronouns

- (62) a. **Anxö pti camsisiijc iha.**  
 INTNS RCP SN-love-PL DCL  
 ‘Se aman mucho.’  
*They love each other a lot.* OP\_2-07-07\_63

- b. \* **Pti anxö camsisiijc iha.**

#### 5.8.1.3 Before location nouns

- (63) a. **..., anxö hant sahjiit haa hi.**  
 INTNS land IR.ID-fall AUX DCL  
 ‘..., se caerá con fuerza.’  
*..., it will fall hard.* (DS2005, anxö) RMH\_08-04-07\_224b

- b. \* **..., hant anxö sahjiit haa hi.**

## 5.8.1.4 Before other VP-internal nouns

- (64) a. **He (xiica hizcoi) anxö hitoj cohmiiho.**  
 1PRO thing.PL PX-PL INTNS 1P-eye-PL 3IO-1SGS.TR-PX-see  
 ‘He visto (estas cosas) mucho con mis propios ojos.’  
*I have seen (these things) a lot with my own eyes.* RMH\_08-04-07\_225b
- b. \* **He xiica hizcoi hitoj anxö cohmiiho.**
- c. \* **He anxö xiica hizcoi hitoj cohmiiho.**
- (65) a. **;Anxö °hamatj ihpxöaxi°!**  
 INTNS thirst 1SGS.IN-EM-die  
 ‘¡Tengo mucha sed!’  
*I’m really thirsty!* RMH\_08-04-07\_219c
- b. \* **;Hamatj anxö ihpxöaxi!**
- (66) a. **He anxö Yooz ihyatólejquim.**  
 1PRO INTNS God 1SGS.TR-DT-ask.for.help-IMPF  
 ‘Oro muchas veces.’  
*I pray many times.* RMH\_08-13-07\_53
- b. \* **He Yooz anxö ihyatólejquim.**
- (67) a. **Anxö °iistox hant tpaailx°, ...**  
 INTNS 3P-?-PL land RL-arrive.PL  
 ‘Estaban muy felices, ...’  
*They were very happy, ...* (Lk 24:52) RMH\_08-04-07\_218c
- b. \* **iistox anxö hant tpaailx, ...**
- (68) a. **Me hipi anxö °miisax hant paait° x,**  
 2PRO INTNS INTNS 2P-? land IR.DP-arrive UT  
  
**toc consiij aha.**  
 there 3IO-2SGS-IR.ID-sit AUX-DCL  
 ‘Estarás muy contento.’  
*You will be very happy.* (Lk 1:14) RMH\_08-04-07\_218a
- b. \* **Me hipi miisax anxö hant paait x, ...**

## 5.8.1.5 Before locative pronouns and adverbs

- (69) a. °**Xiica quih quiistox° quih anxö toc cöcoii ha.**  
 people the.FL INTNS there 3IO-SN-be.FL.PL DCL  
 ‘Hay mucha gente allí.’  
*There are many people there.* RMH\_08-04-07\_224c
- b. \* **Xiica quih quiistox quih toc anxö cöcoii ha.**

- (70) a. ..., °**xiica quih quiistox**° **com** **anxö** **haquix** **poom**, ...  
           people                           the.HZ INTNS somewhere IR.DP-lie  
           ‘..., habrá mucha gente, ...’  
           ..., *there will be many people*, ... (Lk 21:8) RMH\_08-04-07\_222a
- b. \* ..., **xiica quih quiistox com haquix anxö poom**, ...

The reflexive pronoun is distinguished from ordinary possessed nouns in another way that is now possible to demonstrate. If one wishes to intensify the person of the reflexive pronoun, which is the same as the subject, one may use the intensifier **hapi** (see §24.2.1). But since **hapi** follows a nominal phrase or pronoun, or fuses with a null head (§4.3.5), and since the nominal phrase must be outside of the VP, the word **hapi** must *precede* **anxö**; it cannot occur between **anxö** and the reflexive pronoun.

- (71) a. [ **Hapi** ] **anxö hisoj ihyactim**.  
           INTNS INTNS 1P-self 1SGS.TR-DT-cause.be.cut  
           ‘Me corté mucho.’  
           *I cut myself a lot.* RMH\_08-04-07\_226
- b. \* **Anxö [ hapi ] isoj ihyactim**.

These facts demonstrate that one or both of the following analyses is correct. First, it is possible that the intensifier **hapi** is in fact modifying the (null) subject nominal, and not the possessor at all. For that reason it must be external to the VP. Second, it is possible that the intensifier is modifying the possessor of the reflexive pronoun, but this nominal must be expressed outside of the VP.

### 5.8.2 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns with respect to other words in the VP

It has been established in the preceding section that the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns follow the general adverbs in the VP. This section presents data regarding the relative positions of the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns with respect to other elements in the VP except postpositions (which are discussed in §5.8.4).

With respect to the location nouns and location adverbs (in those cases where it is possible to find combinations) the order is flexible. The expression for *save, rescue* is **hapx hant** √**acatx**, and a reflexive situation appears in (72a), with the reflexive pronoun to the far left of the VP. Nevertheless, two alternate word orders were presented (see (72b-c) and these were readily judged as acceptable and synonymous.

- (72) a. °**Misoi hapx hant cacatx**°, ...  
 yourself outside land IM-release  
 ‘Sálvate a ti mismo, ...’  
*Save yourself, ...* (Lk 23:39) RMH\_08-13-07\_54
- b. **Hapx misoi hant cacatx**, ...
- c. **Hapx hant misoi cacatx**, ...

### 5.8.3 Locative nouns, pronouns and adverbs with respect to other words in the VP

Most of the location nouns, locative pronouns and adverbs do not co-occur, probably for semantic reasons. The location noun **hant** *land*, however, does co-occur with others, and some of the productive combinations are illustrated here. Generally, the location adverbs occur *before* **hant**.

- (73) °**Hapx hant ihpsoca**° **ha.**  
 outside land 1SGS.IN-IR.ID-UO-put.LQ AUX-DCL  
 ‘Voy a sacar (como para mudar).’  
*I’m going to take out (like to move).* RMH\_08-13-07\_55a
- (74) a. °**Hapx hant tooit**°, ...  
 outside land RL-arrive  
 ‘Salió, ...’ o ‘Escapó, ...’  
*S/he went outside, ... or S/he escaped, ...* RMH\_08-13-07\_56a
- b. \* **Hant hapx tooit**, ...
- (75) a. **Hacx hant yahjiit oo.**  
 apart land DT-fall DL  
 ‘Se cayó, se levantó, y se cayó varias veces.’  
*S/he fell down, got up, and fell down various times.* (Offered) RMH\_08-13-07\_55b
- b. \* **Hant hacx yahjiit oo.**
- (76) a. **Pyeest caacoj zo haquix hant tij ma**, ...  
 party SN-big a somewhere land RL-sit DS  
 ‘Había una gran fiesta, ...’  
*There was a big party, ...* RMH\_08-13-07\_55c
- b. \* **... hant haquix tij ...**

The possessed noun **iisax** (plural **iistox**) also precedes the noun **hant** in the expression for *happy* which is √VV**sax hant** √**ooit** (? land arrive) (see chapter §7.2).

- (77) a. °Iistox hant spaaix° caha.  
 3P-?-PL land IR.ID-arrive.PL AUX.SN-DCL  
 ‘Estarán felices.’  
*They will be happy.* RMH\_08-13-07\_56b
- b. \* Hant iistox spaaix caha.

Two location adverbs co-occur in the following example; the adverb **himo** *elsewhere* is regularly used with the verb √**pazjc** to mean *spill out*. Perhaps it is not surprising that the order of these two adverbs is fixed.

- (78) a. Hacx °himo yopazjc° oo.  
 apart elsewhere DT-dispersed DL  
 ‘Se derrama en diferentes direcciones.’  
*It flows over in different directions.* (Offered) RMH\_08-13-07\_55d
- b. \* Himo hacx yopazjc oo.

#### 5.8.4 Postpositions with respect to other words in the VP

While most of the items in the verb phrase occur in fixed positions relative to each other, the postpositions in the verb phrase display some flexibility of position while at the same time remaining in the verb phrase.

##### 5.8.4.1 With respect to adverbs

The adverb **anxö** precedes a postposition in the VP; it is ungrammatical for it to follow the postposition.

- (79) a. Moxima hant quij anxö iti hpyootax xo ...  
 yesterday land the.CM INTNS 3P-on 1SGS.IN-DT-go but  
 ‘Ayer yo anduve mucho, ...’  
*I walked a lot yesterday, ...* (DS2005, cooxi) RMH\_08-04-07\_228
- b. \* Moxima hant quij iti anxö ihpyootax xo, ...
- (80) a. Anxö iti yazám.  
 INTNS 3P-on DT-UO-put.VT  
 ‘Pisó fuertemente (o mucho) en él/ella.’  
*S/he stepped on it hard (or a lot).* RMH\_11-19-07\_101
- b. \* Iti anxö yazám.
- (81) a. ..., haso quih zixcám com anxö ano toii ma x, ...  
 net the.FL fish the.HZ INTNS 3P.in RL-be.FL-PL DS UT  
 ‘..., había muchos peces en la red, ...’  
*..., there were many fish in the net, ...* (Mt 13:48) RMH\_08-13-07\_57a

- b. \* ... **ano anxö toi** ...
- (82) a. ... **taax anxö °iiqui catni°**.  
 DDP INTNS 3P-toward IM-make.contact  
 ‘Anímales mucho con respecto a eso...’  
*Urge them much about that...* (Tit 2:6) RMH\_08-13-07\_57b
- b. \* ... **taax iiqui anxö catni**.

There is one major exception to this order — perhaps the only exception of this type — and that is when the idiom **anxö** √**haa** (INTNS be<sub>Irreg</sub>) *injured* or its related expression **anxö** √**aa**i (INTNS make) *injure* is involved. In expressions with these idioms the adverb **anxö** must be in immediate preverbal position.

- (83) a. ..., **ilít quij it °anxö itaaizilca°**, ...  
 3P-head the.CM 3P-on INTNS 3:3-RL-make-PL-IMPF  
 ‘..., le hirieron en la cabeza, ...’  
*... they injured him on the head, ...* (Mk 12:4) RMH\_08-04-07\_229b
- b. \* ..., **ilít quij anxö iti itaaizilca**, ...

#### 5.8.4.2 With respect to reflexive pronouns and the reciprocal pronoun

Reflexive pronouns and postpositions are easily reversed in word order with no change in meaning. There seems to be a slight preference of the order in which the postposition appears first.

- (84) a. **Zaaj z an(o) hisoj ihyisxö**.  
 cave a 3P.in 1P-self 1SGS.TR-DT-hide
- b. **Zaaj zo hisoj ano hyisxö**.  
 ‘Me escondí en una cueva.’  
*I hid in a cave.* (DS2005, isoj, quiisxö) (a) OP\_2-07-07\_46, LHC\_2-8-07\_77 (b) LHC\_2-8-07\_78
- (85) a. ... **yahipxat quih an isoj itisxö, hant z iiqui yiin**.  
 3P-ink the.FL 3P.in 3P-self 3:3-RL-hide land a 3P-toward DT-go
- b. ... **yahipxat quih isoj an itisxö, hant z iiqui yiin**.  
 ‘..., se escondió en su tinta y escapó.’  
*..., it hid itself in its ink and escaped.* (DS2005, yahipxat) (a) OP\_2-07-07\_47 (b) OP\_2-07-07\_49
- (86) a. **He penisilina quih ano hisoj cohsih aha**.  
 1PRO penicillin the 3P.in 1P-self 3IO-1SGS.TR-IR.ID-put.FL AUX-DCL
- b. **He penisilina quih hisoj ano cohsih aha**.

‘Me inyectaré con penicilina.’ (a) OP\_2-07-07\_34 (b) OP\_2-07-07\_33  
*I will inject myself with penicillin. (Lit., I will put the penicillin into myself.)*

- (87) a. **Hapi ano pti hayooyolca.**  
 INTNS 3P.in RCP 1PLS-DT-put.FL-PL-IMPF
- b. **Hapi pti ano hayooyolca.**

‘Nos inyectamos uno al otro.’  
*We injected each other. (a) OP\_2-07-07\_64a (b) OP\_2-07-07\_64b*

### 5.8.4.3 With respect to location nouns, locational adverbs and other VP-internal nouns

The location nouns presented in §5.4 obligatorily follow the postpositions.

- (88) a. **An**<sup>15</sup> **hant iyooxquim.**  
 3P.in land 3:3-DT-put.Hz  
 ‘Lo metió con cuidado.’  
*S/he put it down carefully.*<sup>16</sup> RMH\_08-04-07\_230
- b. \* **Hant an iyooxquim.**
- (89) a. **¡Satoj hipcom hax cmatj hizcap an hant caxquim!**  
 mussel PX.HZ water SN-hot PX-VT 3P.in land IM-put.Hz  
 ‘¡Mete este mejillón en esta agua caliente con cuidado!’  
*Put this mussel into this hot water carefully!* RMH\_08-13-07\_58a
- b. \* **¡Satoj hipcom hax cmatj hizcap hant an caxquim!**
- (90) a. **An hant mahjiit.**  
 3P.in land PX-fall  
 ‘Se cayó adentro.’  
*It fell down into it.* RMH\_08-13-07\_58b
- b. \* **Hant an mahjiit.**
- (91) **... , °xiica coaafp° pac ano °hant cōhatpamlcam° ma, ...**  
 mullets some 3P.in land 3IO-1PLS-RL-connected-PL-IMPF DS  
 ‘..., nos topamos con un banco de lisa, ...’  
*..., we came across a school of mullet, ... (DS2005, hant \*cocpám, improved)* RMH\_08-13-07\_51a

<sup>15</sup> The postposition **ano** is obligatorily truncated to **an** when it precedes a vowel (see §22.2.1). When it precedes a glottal stop followed by a vowel, this truncation is common but usually optional. In this particular example, however, the consultants preferred **an**.

<sup>16</sup> The expression for *put (long item) inside* is **ano** √*axquim*, and for *put (long item) down* is **hant** √*axquim*. The combination of **ano** and **hant** is what gives the idea of doing it carefully, and it is not relevant whether the putting is onto a hard surface (like the land) or into water, as example (89) shows.

- (92) ... **it** **hant** **yaait**, ...  
 3P.on land DT-arrive  
 ‘..., se cayó en él, ...’  
*..., it landed on it ...* (DS2005, cqueejc) RMH\_11-27-07\_08
- (93) a. **Hant tahac iti haxoj hayoozcam.**  
 land MD-LC 3P.on shore 1PLS-DT-arrive.PL  
 ‘Atracamos en ese lugar.’  
*We beached at that place.* RMH\_08-13-07\_59a
- b. \* **Hant tahac haxoj iti hayoozcam.**
- (94) a. ..., **iiqui** °**zaaj hampaailx**°.  
 3P-toward cave 1PLS-PX-arrive.PL  
 ‘..., lo entramos [en el arroyo].’  
*..., we entered it [gulch].* (Topete\_126) RMH\_08-13-07\_59b
- b. \* ..., **zaaj iiqui hampaailx.**
- (95) **Comcaac coi iiqui °zaaj yopaailx**°.  
 person/Seri.PL the.PL 3P-toward cave DT-arrive.PL  
 ‘Las personas entraron (al arroyo o playa).’  
*The people went in (to the gulch or dry lake bed).* RMH\_11-27-07\_06
- The location adverbs presented in §5.6 also follow the postpositions. The following examples are *not* grammatical with the order of the postposition and adverb reversed.
- (96) **He °hehe án° com ano °hacx cpaailx° iha.**  
 1PRO countryside the.HZ 3P.in apart SN-arrive.PL DCL  
 ‘Nos perdimos en el monte.’  
*We got lost in the countryside.* (DS2005, hacx cooit) RMH\_08-13-07\_51c  
 (\* **He hehe án com hacx ano cpaailx iha.**)
- (97) °**Hasaaiti coozlil° quih hicaamiz quih iti °himo tpazjc°**, ...  
 lubricating.oil the.FL 1P-shirt the.FL 3P-on elsewhere RL-dispersed  
 ‘Aceite para motor fue tirado en mi camisa, ...’  
*Motor oil got spilled on my shirt, ...* (DS2005, himo °cpazjc) RMH\_08-13-07\_51d  
 (\* **Hasaaiti coozlil quih hicaamiz quih himo iti tpazjc, ...**)
- (98) ... **hapx hac an himo hyoocatx.**  
 outside the.LC 3P.in elsewhere 1SGS.TR-DT-release  
 ‘..., lo tiré para afuera.’  
*..., I threw it outside.* (DS2005, iti °cojást) RMH\_08-13-07\_51e  
 (\* ... **hapx hac himo ano hyoocatx.**)
- (99) ; °**Hasaaiti coozlil° quitaj hizcop °hant xnoois° tiquij**  
 lubricating.oil SN-burn PX-VT garbage MD-CM

**ano himo cazjc!**  
 3P.in elsewhere IM-pile.up

‘¡Tira este aceite para motor usado en la basura!’

*Throw this used motor oil into the garbage!* (DS2005, himo \*quizjc) RMH\_08-13-07\_51f

(\*¡Hasaaiti coozlil quitaj hizcop hant xnoois tiquij **himo ano cazjc!**)

The nouns presented in §5.5.3, so far as evidence can be found, also follow the postpositions and cannot precede them.

- (100) a. **..., hast ancoj z ano hamác ihtitlim ma, ...**  
 stone 3P.area-PL a 3P.in fire 1SGS.TR-RL-kindle DS  
 ‘..., prendí una lumbre en las rocas, ...’  
*..., I made a fire on the rocks, ...* (DS2005, csipt/csiptj) RMH\_08-13-07\_52a
- b. \* **..., hast ancoj zo hamác ano htitlim ma, ...**<sup>17</sup>
- (101) a. **Mahyaai himcac iti °hamác cōmootni°.**  
 opposite.coast DT-LC 3P-on fire 3IO-PX-UO-make.contact  
 ‘En la costa opuesta hizo una señal de humo.’  
*On the opposite coast s/he made a smoke signal.* (DS2005, mahyáai) RMH\_08-13-07\_52b
- b. \* **Mahyaai himcac hamác iti cōmootni.**

<sup>17</sup> This example is crucially different from the grammatical one which has an indefinite article after **hamác**, which as a DP must occur before the VP:

- (i) **... hast ancoj zo hamác z ano htitlim ma, ...**  
 stone 3P-area-PL a/one fire a 3P-in 1SGS.TR-RL-kindle DS  
 ‘... prendí una lumbre en las rocas, ...’  
*...I made a fire on the rocks, ...* RRR