

Chapter 12: Questions

There are three types of questions in MIG Zoque that will be discussed in this chapter: yes-no questions (section 12.1), question-word or information questions (section 12.2), and indirect questions (section 12.3). There is also a small set of modals that apply only to questions, which are discussed in section 12.4.

12.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are marked by rising intonation, with no special markers or changes in word order. The first example in (12.1 i) is a common morning greeting amongst intimates¹. In texts, yes-no questions usually occur within bits of dialog, and are introduced with a word that means 'to ask' (example ii). Example (iii) illustrates the syntactic identity between a yes-no question and a declarative statement. The line spoken by Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales has rising question intonation, while the answer spoken by Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel (the curandero) has falling declarative intonation: otherwise, the two expressions are identical.

¹ A common greeting in public is 'hum nəkpa?' ('Where are you going?'). Conventional responses are (in Spanish) '*a un mandado*' ('on an errand') or '*gahanaŋ*' ('over there').

(12.1)

(i) ʔəm ciŋŋám

ʔəm+ ciŋ-wə+ʔam

2E+ bathe-COM+NOW

'Have you bathed?'

(ii) "yakti yam sencəkə rromán?"

yakti ya ʔəm+ sentir=cək-A rromán

nothing NEG 2E+ feel=do-nINC román

yakʔonʔceʔkkoba ʔəy haton. "ŋəʔtti, yakti."

0 yak.ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ haton **nəʔtti yakti**

3A CAUS.DOWN.MOUTH.ask.ANTIP-INC 3E+ father no nothing

"Don't you feel anything Roma*n", his father asked him.

"No, nothing."

(ZOH1R18 278-80)

(iii) Don Germán asks: ʔəm nihiʔtpam win?

ʔəm+ ni.hiʔt-pa ʔəm+ win

2E+ PSE.smear-INC 2E+ REFL

'Do you smear it on yourself?'

Don Omobono answers: ʔəm nihiʔtpam win

ʔəm+ ni.hiʔt-pa ʔəm+ win

2E+ PSE.smear-INC 2E+ REFL

'You smear it on yourself.'

(ZOH1R36 359-360)

(iv) "ʔən huppa?" ʔən nəmhayyə

ʔən+ hup-pa ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə

1E+ pull-INC 1E+ say.APPL-COM

"Should I pull it?", I said to him.'

"hə, hupə?!" nəmmə bi pən

həʔ hup-Aʔ 0 nəm-wə bi pən

yes pull-IMPV 3A say-COM DEF man

"Yes, pull!", said the man.'

(ZOH1R25 153-4)

12.2. Question-word questions

There are eleven question words in MIG Zoque, shown in table 12.1. These always appear at the beginning of the question. This type of question also has rising intonation.

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔiwəʔ	who	quien
tiʔ	what	que
hutiʔ	which	cual
hucəŋ	how many	cuantos
tigoʔ	why	porque
hutiyaʔ	when	cuando
hunaŋ	how	como
huʔ	where	donde
hutíŋ	from where	de adonde
hutéŋ	in what direction	en cual dirección
hutóŋ	from where	por donde

Table 12.1: MIG Zoque question words

Spanish question words appear occasionally in the corpus, but are not nearly as commonly used as the MIG Zoque words. One example of such usages will be given at the end of each of the example sets in this section.

ʔiwə 'who' can be used to question any argument that references a human being. In texts, it typically refers to the actor, as shown in examples (12.2 i-ii). Example (iii) can be interpreted two ways: **ʔiwə** can refer to either the giver or the recipient. In example (iv) it refers to the patient argument. Examples (v-vi) show that the question word can refer to an argument in a subordinate clause. In (v), **ʔiwə** refers to the recipient of 'tell' and in (vi) to the agent of 'close'.

(12.2)

- (i) **ʔiwə** də təpa
ʔiwə də+ təʔ-pa
 who 1A+ want-INC
 'Who loves me?' (ZOH1R56 014)

- (ii) **ʔiwə** ʔəy manak ciʔoba para yədə pən
ʔiwə ʔəy+ manak 0 ciʔ.ʔoy-pa para yədə pən
 who 3E+ child 3A give.ANTIP-INC for this man
 'Who will give his daughter for this man?'² (ZOH1R18 221)

- (iii) **ʔiwəy** ciwə bi pən bi toto?
ʔiwə ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə bi pən bi toto?
 who 3E+ give-COM DEF man DEF paper
 'Who gave the letter to the man?' or
 'Who did the man give the letter to?' (elicited)

- (iv) **ʔiwəm** meʔcpa
ʔiwə ʔəm+ meʔc-pa
 who 2E+ look_for-INC
 'Who are you looking for?' (ZOH1R10 199)

² This looks like an antipassive form with an expressed object (the daughter), but the stem ciʔ.oy- seems to be a lexicalized form meaning 'to give as a gift'. It thus does not obey the normal rules for antipassive constructions.

- (v) **ʔiwə** **ceʔkhayyə** **rrosa** **bi** **yomʔune**
ʔiwə **ʔəy+** **ceʔk.hay-wə** **rrosa** **bi** **yomə=ʔuneʔ**
 who 3E+ ask.APPL-COM rosa DEF female=child
- ke** **yakkəy** **nəmhayə** **ke** **ʔəy** **cetannə** **bi** **yote**
ke **yakkə** **ʔəy+** **nəm.hay-wə** **ke** **ʔəy+** **ceʔ=tan-wə** **bi** **yoteʔ**
 that VOL 3E+ say.APPL-COM that 3E+ wash=finish-COM DEF clothes
 'Who did Rosa ask the girl to tell that she finished washing the clothes?'
 (elicited)
- (vi) **ʔiwə** **nəmmə** **rrosa** **key** **mušpa** **bi** **ʔaṇmayyobáʔ**
ʔiwə **0** **nəm-wə** **rrosa** **ke** **ʔəy+** **muš-pa** **bi** **ʔaṇmayyobáʔ**
 who 3A say-COM rosa that 3E+ know-INC DEF teacher
- ke** **bi** **ʔaṇmaykuytək** **ʔəy** **yaṇkampa** **hohi**
ke **bi** **ʔaṇmaykuytək** **ʔəy+** **yak.ʔaṇ.kam-pa** **hohi**
 that DEF school-house 3E+ CAUS.MOUTH.get_stuck-INC tomorrow
 'Who did Rosa say that the teacher knows will close the school tomorrow?'
 (elicited)
- (vii) **kyen** **sab** **syen** **huptukə** **nəmmə**
kyen **sabe** **si** **ya** **ʔən+** **hup=tuk-A** **0** **nəm-wə**
 who(*quien*) knows if NEG 1E+ pull=cut-nINC 3A say-COM
 "'Who knows if I might not break it?', he said.' (ZOH1R25 155)

ti 'what' is also general in reference. As might be expected, in the texts it most commonly refers to a patient (12.3 i-iii), but it can also refer to an actor, if the actor is thought not to be human (iv). It can refer to abstractions, such as the potential events implied in examples (vi). **ti** is also used with postpositions to reference non-core arguments (vii). It can be used to specify a noun phrase, as shown in example (viii). It can be pluralized with the clitic **+háʔ** (NPL2) (ix).

Finally, it can refer to arguments in subordinate clauses, as in example (x), where it references the patient of 'buy'.

(12.3)

- (i) tim tɔdampa
ti ʔəm+ tɔʔ-tam-pa
 what 2E+ want-1/2PL-INC
 'What do y'all want?' (ZOH1R25 072)
- (ii) ti satom wehpa
ti sato ʔəm+ weh-pa
 what sato 2E+ shout-INC
 'What are you shouting at Sato?' (ZOH1R25 084)
- (iii) ti bi pəʔthayyɔ
ti bi 0 pəʔt.hay-wə
 what DEF 3A pass.APPL-COM
 'What is it that happened to him?' (ZOH1R18 348)
- (iv) ti bi yaknukkoyyɔ bi hayaʔa:nmál
ti bi 0 yak.nuk.ʔoy-wə bi haya=ʔa:nmál
 what DEF 3A CAUS.grab.ANTIP-COM DEF male=animal
 'What is it that grabbed (got into) that bull?' (ZOH1R25 110)
- (v) tin yaknəmpa tuhkuyʔ
ti ʔən+ yak.nəm-pa tuhkuyʔ
 what 1E+ CAUS.DO-INC gun
 'What do I want with a gun?'
 (lit. 'What would I make a gun do?') (ZOH1R25 231)
- (vi) tim ʔofrecəkpa ʔamigo
ti ʔəm+ ʔofrecer=cək-pa ʔamigo
 what 2E+ offer=do-INC friend
 'What can we do for you, friend?' (ZOH1R12 195)

- (vii) **ti**hənaŋ ʔəm preparəcəkpa
ti+hənaŋ ʔəm+ preparar=cək-pa
 what+ACC 2E+ prepare=do-INC
 'With what do you prepare that?' (ZOH1R36 250)
- (viii) **ti** coy ʔəm cəkhaba
 ti coyʔ ʔəm+ cək.hay-pa
 what medicine 2E+ do.APPL-INC
 'What remedy do you make for that?' (ZOH1R36 214)
- (ix) tiyaŋhám ʔoku:pcəkpa gahi
ti.ʔaŋ+haaʔ ʔəm+ ʔokupar=cək-pa gahiʔ
 what.X+NPL2 2E+ use=do-INC there
 'What all do you use there?' (ZOH1R36 190)
- (x) ti ʔəy mušpa rrosa ke nəmmə bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
ti ʔəy+ muš-pa rrosa ke 0 nəm-wə bi ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk
 what 3E+ know-INC rosa that 3A say-COM DEF teacher

 ke nəkpa ʔəy huyyə bi huštiša hohi
 ke nək-pa ʔəy+ huy-wə bi huštiša hohi
 that go-INC 3E+ buy-COM DEF mayor tomorrow
 'What does Rosa know that the teacher said that the mayor is going to buy tomorrow?' (elicited)

huti? 'which' selects from a set of possible alternatives. It appears alone (example 12.4 i), but also appears with the clitic **+hate?** (ii). This is a relative of the pluralizing clitic **+há?** that was discussed in section 9.5, which also has a set-selection connotation³. This clitic only appears attached to the question word **huti?** in MIG Zoque.

(12.4)

- (i) huti šoh naka - yəkšoh ʔo po:pšoh
 huti? šoh naka - yəkyaək=šoh ʔo popo=šoh
 which encino bark - black=encino or white=encino
 'The bark of which encino - black encino or white encino?' (ZOH1R36 564)
- (ii) "hu:thate ʔəm təpa?" "ga mecaŋpəʔ."
 huti?+hate? ʔəm+ təʔ-pa gaʔ mecaŋ+pəʔk
 which+NPL2 2E+ want-INC that two+REL
 '"Which ones do you want?" "Those two."' (elicited)

³ In MAR Zoque, **+hate?** means 'each'.

(12.5)

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The adverbial question words - **tigó?** 'why' (12.6 i-ii), **hutiya?** 'when' (iii), and **hunaŋ** 'how' (iv-v) - behave as one might expect, referring to adverbial phrases in the usual fashion. **tigó?** is actually the question word **ti** with the benefactive clitic **+gó?** attached: 'for what'. **hunaŋ** admits the pluralizing clitic **+há?** to elicit a set of means or methods (vi). **hutiya?** rarely appears in the corpus; it seems to have been replaced almost entirely by the Spanish interrogative *cuando* (**kwando** in the MIG Zoque orthography).

(12.6)

- (i) **də nəmpa tigó yakki ya pətə**
də+ nəm-pa ti+goo? yak=?iwə ya 0 pəʔt-A
 1A+ say-INC what+BNF nobody NEG 3A pass-nINC
 'I say, "Why doesn't anyone pass?"' (ZOH1R18 033)
- (ii) **senyor tigó yam ʔoknukə**
senyor ti+goo? ya ʔəm ʔok.nuk-A
 señor what+BNF NEG 2E+ DOWN.grab-nINC
 'Señor, why don't you let him go?' (ZOH1R36 185)
- (iii) **hutiya nəkpam ʔaŋwitcoŋŋə ʔəm ma:mʔoko**
hutiya? nək-pa ʔəm+ ʔaŋ.wit=coŋ-wə ʔəm+ mama=ʔoko
 when go-INC 2E+ MOUTH.walk=join-COM 2E+ mother=old_woman
 'When are you going to visit your grandmother?' (elicited)
- (iv) **ʔəy nəmhaʃukkə ha:ymanak hunaŋ ʔəm pəʔttə**
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə haya=manak hunaŋ ʔəm+ pəʔt-wə
 3E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM male=child how 2E+ pass-COM
 'They said to him, "Son, how did you get by?"' (ZOH1R18 108)

- (v) nəmpa miš hunəŋ ʔəm tihhə
 0 nəm-pa miš **hunəŋ** ʔəm+ tih-wə
 3A say-INC 2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM
 kwandum tihhə ha:yʔune?
 kwandu ʔəm+ tih-wə haya=ʔune?
 when 2A+ go&return-COM male=child
 'He says, "You, what were you like when you were a boy?"'(ZOH1R25 058-9)
- (vi) hunəŋháʔ ʔəm prepa:rcəkpaŋ coy
hunəŋ=haaʔ ʔəm+ preparar=cək-pa ʔəm+ coy
 how=NPL2 2E+ prepare=do-INC 2E+ medicine
 'How all do you prepare your medicines?' (ZOH1R36 648)

huʔ 'where' appears by itself to ask about a location (examples 12.7 i-ii).

It also takes a small set of directional suffixes. These are similar but not identical to the suffixes used with the ZOH1R58 bases (Appendix D). **-təəŋ** can indicate either motion towards (iii) or motion away from (iv), whereas the ZOH1R58 forms distinguish the two directions. **-hutənaŋ** indicates a general or vague direction, 'whereabouts' (v).

(12.7)

- (i) ʔi hum kəššoba miš yəhiʔ
 ʔi **huʔ** ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-pa miš yəhiʔ
 and where 2E+ eat.ANTIP-INC 2Prn here
 'And where do you eat here?' (ZOH1R10 294)
- (ii) ʔəy nəmhayyə hum nəkpa miš
 ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə **huʔ** ʔəm+ nək-pa miš
 3E+ say.APPL-COM where 2E+ go-INC 2Prn
 'He said to him, "Where are you going?"' (ZOH1R18 050)

- (iii) də nəmhaʃukkə hutəŋ ʔəm nəkpa
də+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə **hutəŋ** ʔəm+ nək-pa
1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM to_where 2A+ go-INC
ʔi ʔən nəmhaʃukkə də nəkpa təkho?
ʔi ʔən+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə də+ nək-pa tək+ho?
and 1E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM 1A+ go-INC house+LOC2
'They asked me "Where are you going to?" and I said to them
"I'm going to my house."
(ZOH1R58 001)
- (iv) də ʔonʃeʔkkə hutəŋ ʔəm minnə
də+ ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk-wə **hutəŋ** ʔəm+ min-wə
1A+ DOWN.MOUTH.ask-COM from_where 2E+ come-COM
ʔi də nəmhaʃukkə wahakahonaŋ
ʔi də+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə wahaka+honaŋ
and 1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM oaxaca+DIR3
'They asked me, "Where are you coming from?" and
I said to them, "From Oaxaca."
(ZOH1R58 008)
- (v) də ʔonʃekʃukkə hutənaŋ nəkpam yoʃʃə
də+ ʔok.ʔaŋ.cek-ʃuk-wə **hutənaŋ** nək-pa ʔəm+ yoʃ-wə
1A+ DOWN.MOUTH.ask-3PL-COM whereabouts go-INC 2E+ work-dINC
ʔi ʔən nəmhaʃukkə dəʃ gaha tuŋho?
ʔi ʔən+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə dəʃ gaha tuŋ+ho?
and 1E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM 1Prn there road+LOC2
'They asked me "Where are you going to work?", and
I said to them, "There in the road."
(ZOH1R58 006)

12.3. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are essentially the same as direct ones, except that they are usually introduced by verbs that can take clauses as arguments, like 'to know' and 'to remember'.

(12.8)

- (i) **saber ?iwə de pə?oyyə**
saber ?iwə de? 0 pə?.?oy-wə
know who that 3A put.ANTIP-COM
'Who knows who put it there?' (ZOH1R12 125)
- (ii) **hamcəktamə tin cəkmintammə**
ham(V)=cək-tam-A? ti ?ən+ cək=min-tam-wə
*mind=do-1/2PL-IMPV what 1E+ do=come-1/2PL-COM
'Remember what we came to do.' (ZOH1R18 003)
- (iii) **dey yan muštamə hutiya də nəktampa**
dey ya ?ən+ muš-tam-A hutiya? də+ nək-tam-pa
now NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC when 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC
'Now we don't know when we're going.' (ZOH1R10 622)
- (iv) **yan ?iššám huy pəwə**
ya ?ən+ ?iš-wə+?am hu? ?əy+ pə?-wə
NEG 1E+ see-COM+NOW where 3E+ put-COM
'Now I haven't seen where they put him.' (ZOH1R26 143)

- (v) *təntin kopakhoʔ ʔən ʔaɲnitpa*
 tənti ʔən+ kopak+hoʔ ʔən+ ʔaɲnit-pa
 1PSN 1E+ head+LOC2 1E+ have-INC
- hunaɲ ʔən cək-tampa bi rremedyo*
 hunaɲ ʔən+ cək-tam-pa bi rremedyo
 how 1E+ do-1/2PL-INC DEF remedy
 'I have it in my head, how we will make the medicine.' (ZOH1R36 119-20)

12.4. Question modals

There are three MIG Zoque modals that apply only to questions, ***bəʔ*** (DUBIT), ***geta*** (DIS), and ***moʔ*** (IRR). The Spanish loan word ***ʔaber*** (*aver*, 'let's see') is also used with question words.

12.4.1. Dubitative *bəʔ*

bəʔ expresses doubt about the thing being questioned; that is, the questioner thinks they know what the answer is, but aren't perfectly certain. It most commonly appears with ***haʔ***, 'yes', where it essentially has the same communicative effect as a tag question. In the first example (12.9 i), the son-in-law has been eavesdropping during a tall-tale-swapping session between two old rascals. Some of the tales are wildly implausible, but others are almost possible, so he isn't sure they're really just kidding. In example (ii), the devil is offering Román his secret weapon, but Román isn't sure that it might not be a trick of some kind. In example (iii), ***bəʔ*** is used to bring a discourse entity (the baby) back into the foreground, since the prior conversation had digressed somewhat.

(12.9)

- (i) me:r nəmmən ʔaŋmekkəytammə həbəʔ
meru nəmmə ʔən+ ʔaŋ.mek.ʔəy-tam-wə **həʔ+bəʔ**
exactly PROG 1E+ MOUTH.deceive.SUF-1/2PL-dINC yes+DUBIT

nəmpa bi muʔt
0 nəm-pa bi muʔt
3A say-INC DEF son_in_law
"You're just fooling, aren't you?", said the son-in-law.' (ZOH1R25 256)
- (ii) nəmpa rromán tim pəkwiŋpa bəʔ
0 nəm-pa rromán ti ʔəm+ pək=wit-pa **bəʔ**
3A say-INC román what 2E+ get=come-INC DUBIT
'Román says, "So what are you carrying, then?"' (ZOH1R18 101)
- (iii) bi ʔune həbəʔ winnomwakpa
bi ʔuneʔ **həʔ+bəʔ** (ʔəm+) win.ʔom=wak-pa
DEF child yes+DUBIT (2E+) FACE.smoke=*empty-INC
'The baby, right? You cense⁴ it.' (ZOH1R36 137)

12.4.2. Disbelief geta

When used in questions, as it most usually is, **geta** expresses unequivocal disbelief - even outrage. It could be perfectly translated in English as 'the hell' or 'on earth', as in "Why the hell are you leaving now?" or "Where on earth did you get that hat?" The questions it marks are thus a little confrontational, as shown in examples (12.10 i-ii). It also appears in indirect questions or occasionally in declarative clauses, where it expresses simple doubt (iii-iv).

⁴ You pass the baby through the smoke from an herbal preparation to cure it of ghost sickness.

(12.10)

- (i) tigo geta yam ?okcəkkəy
tigo? geta ya ?əm+ ?ok.cək.?əy-A
why DIS NEG 2E+ DOWN.do.SUF-nINC
'Why in heaven's name don't you have time?' (ZOH1R10 333)
- (ii) hutigetam hepke?tpa si miš mas ?əm wəhə
huti? geta ?əm+ hep.ke?t-pa si miš mas ?əm+ wəhə
which DIS 2E+ strip_maguey.REPET-INC if 2Pm more 2A+ good

pam tukši?apa
para ?əm tukši?.?a-pa
for 2E+ fight.VERS1-INC
'Surely you're not going to strip rope fibers, when you're the best
at fighting!' (ZOH1R39 091)
- (iii) ?amintəhi saber ?iwə geta ya yeca ?o desfaydcəkkə
?amintəhi saber **?iwə geta** ya 0 ye?c-A ?o 0 desfadar=cək-pa
next_year know who DIS NEG 3A arrive-nINC or 3A die=do-INC
'Next year who knows who won't arrive or is going to die.' (ZOH1R18 374)
- (iv) gahín hayke?ttə ?otro šepe tum šepe geta
gahín 0 hay.ke?t-wə ?otro šepe? tum šepe? **geta**
from_there 3A tarry.REPET-COM another month one month DIS
'Then another month went by, it might have been a month.' (ZOH1R32 011-2)

12.4.3. Irrealis mo?

This modal suggests that the thing or event in question might not exist or transpire; hence its designation as an irrealis. It is often translated with the Spanish future tense, which can be used for conjectures. **mo?** is also used as a softener to make a question more polite, as shown in examples (12.11 iii-iv)⁵.

(12.11)

- (i) **nəmpa bwenó tigó mo? ?ən haton**
 0 nəm-pa bwenó **ti+goo?** **mo?** ?ən+ haton
 3A say-INC good what+BNF IRR 1E+ father
 ya də yak?anmayyə
 ya də+ yak.?an.may-wə
 NEG 1A+ CAUS.MOUTH.count-COM
 'He says, "All right, I wonder why, my father, didn't you send me
 to school?"' (ZOH1R56 009)
- (ii) **tigó mo? de?še ?əy cəkšukpa**
ti+goo? **mo?** de?še ?əy+ cək-šuk-pa
 what+BNF IRR thus 3E+ do-3PL-INC
 'I wonder why would they act that way?' (ZOH1R56 029)
- (iii) **ti poh mo?**
ti poh mo?
 what vine IRR
 'What vine might that be?' (ZOH1R36 524)

⁵ In this text, Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales is interviewing Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel about traditional medicine. They have known each other since childhood, of course, but are here acting in their professional roles: linguistic consultant and healer. Sr. Sánchez Morales often played the interviewer, as a way of getting people to talk more and to flesh out their stories or explanations; if I did it, they would politely accommodate to my language problems by switching to Spanish.

- (iv) ti ʔa:nmál moʔ də waštampa paran cəktampa
ti ʔa:nmál **moʔ** də+ waš-tam-pa para ʔən+ cək-tam-pa
 what animal IRR 1A+ bite-1/2PL-INC so_that 1E+ do-1/2PL-INC
- de waykay toya
 deʔ waykay toy.A
 that malaria be_sick.NOM2
 'What animal might it be that bites us so we get that malaria disease?'
 (ZOH1R36 633)

12.4.4. Generalizing ʔaber

The Spanish loan word *aver* is used to generalize a question word, similarly to the use of the English suffix -ever.

(12.12)

- (i) de yəhama pa winhonaŋ ʔaber ʔiwə ʔəy wə:hcəkpa
 de yə.hama para winhonaŋ **ʔaber ʔiwə** ʔəy+ wəhə=cək-pa
 from DCT1.day toward in_front let's_see who 3E+ good=do-INC
 'From this day on, whoever she cures...' (ZOH1R32 198)
- (ii) ʔaber ti də nəmhaba
ʔaber ti də+ nəm.hay-pa
 let's_see what 1A+ say.APPL-INC
 'Whatever he says to me...' (ZOH1R18 135)
- (iii) ʔitihoʔ ʔu ʔaber hu nəkpam yoššə
 ʔitiʔ+hoʔ ʔu **ʔaber huʔ** nək-pa ʔəm+ yoš-wə
 town+LOC2 or let's_see where go-INC 2E+ work-dINC
 'In the town or wherever you go to work.' (ZOH1R36 550)