ARTICLES IN SERI

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O. The noun phrase in Seri is modified by numerous articles of three basic types: definite, indefinite, and general. The choice of definite article depends on the perceived position and the number of the noun which it modifies. The indefinite article also agrees in number with the noun. The role of the noun phrase in the sentence is marked by word order; the article does not function to mark case.

1. The articles are listed below and then discussed in the following sections.

Definite articles:
- Non-specified position: k? (sg.), koi (pl.)
- Seated position: kix (sg.), koi (pl.)
- Prone position: kom (sg.), koi (pl.)
- Erect position: kop/kap (sg.), koi (pl.)
- Moving: toward, close: ?ipmoka (sg.), ?išmokat (pl.)
- Moving: toward, distant: timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
- Moving: away, close: ?ipintika (sg.), ?išintikat (pl.)
- Moving: away, distant: ?imintika (sg.), ?imintikat (pl.)
- Moving: away, distant: tintika (sg.), tantikat (pl.)

Indefinite articles:
- Singular: Šo
- Plural and mass: pak

General articles:
- ?ak; ka?

2. Nouns generally require an article, and the article occurs at the end of the entire noun phrase. Thus the article may be separated from the head noun by a noun, an adjective, or a relative clause (the main verb of which is always reduced to a nominalized form, although the relative
clause may still contain a subordinate clause as in (5) below), or a series of such.

(1) ásas // ?a-xë ?šekkee k-öppool ągo sure abs-pet small nom-[be black] a
?
yóo-??o //
[1 sub]-past-see
'Sure, I saw a small black dog.'

(2) šix ?a-p-á??iit ?-óo-??iit ki?
thing nom-pass-eat [1 poss]-nom-eat the
k-šippee?-a //
nom-[be good]-decl
'The thing that is eaten that I ate was good, i.e., The food that I ate was good.'

(3) tóm me ?1-?-á-ìppoot koi money [2 ref] [1 poss]-nom-ca-[be exchanged] the
me n-y-ši //
[2 ref] [2 sub]-past-take
'You took the money that I paid you.'

(4) šix kʷi-ke káii ktam lemóoyan ki? tok
thing person elder man Lemoyan the there
kʷ-íix //
[3 ref]-[perf=(be [seated])]}
'The deceased Old Man Lemoyan was there.'

(5) me ągo Xà? in-t-óokta
ktám psaak [2 ref] how just [2 sub]-inter-[look at] man hunger
in-t-óokXXii ma šix ągo me k-á-a??iit kix //
[2 sub]-DP-die SCP thing a [2 ref] nom-ca-eat the
'Just how do you look at the man who caused you to eat something when you were dying of hunger?, i.e., Just what do you think of the man who fed you when you were hungry?'

(6) ąx t-pa-kta ma / šix ?a-pé-ššii ġáa?
thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP thing nom-pass-beat sun
ki? k-yáal tintika t-óo-??iit-in yoke //
the nom-[go to] the asser-intr-eat-rep [it is said]
'When it was seen like that, the thing that was beaten that was going to the sun ate them, it is said, i.e.,
Then the one who had been beaten and was going to the
sun ate them, it is said.

3. There are several definite articles and the choice of
the article to be used seems to depend on the actual or
perceived position of the noun, as well as the number of
the noun. Some nouns use only one of the positional
articles since the position never changes. Some nouns use
any of the positional articles, depending on the position
at the moment. Some nouns use one or another depending on
the meaning of the word in the particular context. In some
cases there seems to be some degree of speaker discretion
involved in the decision as to the position of an object.

3.1. The definite article for non-specified position k? is
used when the position of the noun is not evident
physically or from the context of the narrative. The
singular article has three allomorphs, k?, k?, and k
which are derived most easily from the underlying form k?
by the following rules: ? - 0/ / and 0 - 1/ /

(The latter is a simplified version of a much broader and
very widely used epenthesis rule.) The plural article
is koi. The following examples illustrate the use of the
definite article of non-specified position.

(7) Mařfa ki? sîmmeet ki? k-áa1-?a //
Mary the bread the nom-make-decl

'Mary is making bread.'

(8) y-ase-sîmmeet Mařfa k //
past-ca-bread Mary the

'She made bread--Mary.'

(9) Xêppe k? iti t-on ma/ òX ?anso ?á1 k?
sea the on DP-lie SCP thus just wind the
1-m-ak-áttax //
trans-perf-ca-go

'When it was on the water, then just the wind made
it go.'

(10) ʃ1Xkám k ?-ʃXă //
fish the imp-take

'Take the fish.'

(11) koukaak i?máa koi ?ant ʂ iki
people other the place a [(3 poss)=side]
m-1itôix //
perf-[go toward]
'The other people went to another place.'

(12) xʷáán k ˀʔ-o-ŋíppaa-tim //
John the [1 sub]-emph-hit-rep
'I am hitting John.'

(13) kwíkke ʃ-itom ki? míŋx in-t-áq //
person [3 poss]-talk the well [2 sub]-inter-know
'Do you know the Seri language well?'

(14) sařáapi k ṭe k-ámxk //
blanket the [1 ref] imp-bring
'Bring me the blanket.'

(15) tátí k? ití m-póć-ttáax / ǧáa? k? ití
land the on [2 sub]-DF-go sun the on
m-p-1?-X /
ksál kom mi-ït ki?
[2 sub]-DF-be-cond brush the [2 poss]-hair the
ko-n-s-áai-aʔa //
[3 ref]-[2 sub]-fut-do-TM

'You should always brush your hair in the daytime.'

The word for 'yesterday' usually takes the definite article.

(16) moXìmmaa ki? xʷáán k ṭá-Xš k? ឥ-t-ak-ataX
yesterday the John the abs-pet the trans-DP-ca-go
šíX k-a-náao ki? mos 1-y-ak-áttaax //
thing nom-ca-meow the also trans-past-ca-go

'Yesterday, when John took away the dog, he also took the cat.'

The definite article can be used when referring to something generically.

(17) šíXkám k-kiʔW kiʔ s-om-p-šXš ?áa-yা //
fish nom-[be red] the fut-neg-pass-buy be-Q

'Won't red snapper be bought?'

(18) móosni kiʔ Xo-mfíʔ //
turtle the emph-[not exist]
'Turtles are scarce.'

(19) ṭe kʷšáX šíXkám kiʔ kʷ-s-a-táxpan kaʔa //
[1 ref] now fish the [3 ref]-fut-ca-work TM

'Now I will work with fish... i.e., I'm going fishing now.
3.2. When the object is viewed as being seated, the definite article kix denoting this position is used. An allomorph kx often occurs when the following word begins with a vowel. The following examples illustrate the use of this article.

(20) simmeet kix k-óatw-i?a //
    bread the nom-[be sweet]-decl

    'The bread is sweet.'

(21) ?ant kx iti yo-m-áttaaX //
    land the on past-neg-go

    'He didn't go on the land, i.e., He didn't walk around.'

(22) ŋāa? kix k-ámxk //
    watch the imp-bring

    'Bring the watch.'

(23) töotwkʷ kix kʷškʰi //
    cholla the [imp-neg-take]

    'Don't grab the cholla.'

(24) taʔówkʷ kix
    [Tiburon Island] the

    ko-nt-ʔa-sa-yaʔ-aʔa //
    [3 ref]-dir-[2 sub]-fut-[move=pl]-TM

    'We'll go to Tiburon Island.'

(25) t-ʔámook ma / ?a-noiʔa kix
    DP-[be night] SCP abs-finger nom-put the

    1-t-ámxk / ŋāa? kix
    trans-DP-bring sun the

    kʷ-1-t-ak-ó-o-ʔo-o-t //
    [3 ref]-trans-asser-ca-intr-see-ben

    'At night he brought the ring and showed it to the sun.'

3.3. When the object is viewed as being in a lying or extended position, the definite article kom denoting this position is used. The allomorphs kon and kou occur due to an m assimilation process in the language.

(26) kanóaa kom m-a-šíim //
    boat the perf-ca-enjoy

    'The boat is pretty.'
(27) ḥepee kon ściXkám ƙi? k-átXo-ʔa //
sea the fish the nom-[be many]-decl
'There are many fish in the sea.'

(28) 1-náli kon t-mátx //
[3 poss]-skin the inter-[be hot]
'Is his skin hot?'

(29) ṭást kɔŋ ko-nt-ʃtaat yoke //
stone the [3 ref]-dir-[move=pl] [it is said]
'They went to the mountains, it is said.'

(30) ṭáXxoox kon kw-t-åškam ma //
shore the [3 ref]-DP-[arrive=pl] SCP
'When they arrived at the shore....'

(31) 1-k-åspox kɔŋ k-åmxk //
with-nom-write the imp-bring
'Bring the pencil!'

3.4. When the object is viewed as being in an erect position, the definite article kop/kap denoting this position is used. The two allomorphs occur in free variation. The following examples illustrate the use of this article.

(32) ktám kop ḥ-ɐŋ kɔŋ ściXkám ƙi? kw-ɐ-ʔi?iit //
man the abs-pet the fish the [3 ref]-past-ca-eat
'The man fed the dog the fish.'

(33) kw-ikkee ktám kix ʔ-åkkoo kɔŋ k-ɪixx-1ʔi //
person man the nom-[make house] the in nom-sit-decl
'The man is (seated) in the house.'

This article occurs with some nouns which cannot be described as being erect, as examples (34)-(36) illustrate.

(34) ṭái kop ʔapX t-áp-x //
air the outside DP-stand-cond perf-[be hot]
'When the air comes out, it is hot.'

(35) óX po-pa-kta ta-X ʃəmmee kɔŋ
thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP-cond sunset the
in-skw ettäk[y]-ʔa //
[2 sub]-[fut=neg=(look at)]-TM
Whenever it is like that, you shouldn't look at the sunset.'

(36) psáak ık-ócXXi1 kop i?-tkw1XXi1m-i?o // hunger inf-die the [1 sub]-[asser-neg-fear]-decl

'I'm not afraid of being hungry.'

3.5. When the object is viewed as moving or when the idea of "along" the object is intended, a definite article denoting movement is used. There are several of these articles and the choice depends on the location of the object and the relative direction of the movement. These articles, which have been listed in Section 1 above, are repeated below for convenience.

- moving toward, close: ʔíʔmoka (sg.), ʔíʔsmokat (pl.)
- moving toward, distant: timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
- moving away, close: ʔíʔpintika (sg.), ʔíʔšíntikat (pl.)
- moving away, distant: ʔíʔmintika (sg.), ʔíʔšíntikat (pl.)
- moving away, distant: tintika (sg.), tantikat (pl.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the definite articles denoting movement.

(37) kanoa kwássoco1 tintika kanoa k-ʔéel boat [nom=(be yellow)] the boat nom-[be red]

tintika iki kw-i-ʔ-fin the [(3 poss)-side] [3 ref]-[3 poss]-nom-[be near]
ak kanoa kwássoco1 tintika gen boat [nom=(be yellow)] the

ya-X1 t-ap k-áttax-1?a// [(3 poss)=nom=intr]-finish DP-stand nom-go-decl

'The yellow boat--compared to the red boat, the yellow boat standing last--goes., i.e., The yellow boat followed the red boat.'

(38) Xéppe an ?ant t-oit / Xéppee timoka an ?ant sea into down DP-touch sea the into down

t-oit /
DP-touch

'Falling into the sea, falling into the incoming sea....'

(39) ?ant ʔ iti t-fin yoke place a on asser-[go toward] [it is said]

ktám tintika //
man the

'The man went away, it is said.'
The soldiers arrived, it is said.'

'When the land regains, I am already travelling in the land., i.e., In the (early) morning, I'm already up and around.'

'Is it like that all along the shore?'

'Every day is different.'

'When the priest--who was going to pass through another camp, a place with other name--arrived there....'

'When it was seen like that, the thing that was beaten that was going to the sun ate them, it is said., i.e., Then the one who had been beaten and was going to the sun ate them, it is said.'

'the nom-[be all] down
'All of the birds came down to him.'

(47) táax iti kw-t-pa-kta ma / göt that on [3 ref]-DP-pass-[look at] 3CP coyote

?ipintika -??-oom ?ída ak kó-tt-oon the [3 poss]-nom-lie here the [3 ref]-DP-lie

yoke //

[it is said]

'On its being seen like that, the coyote lay down in his resting place; i.e. So then the coyote lay down in his resting place.'

4. The indefinite articles are ꝧ for singular nouns and Ꝩ for plural nouns and nouns of mass or liquid. The singular indefinite article has the allomorph ꝧ preceding a vowel and often before a glottal stop, especially in fast speech. The following examples illustrate the use of these articles.

(48) kanóaa ꝧ ti 4-Xó-aa //

boat a there dir-emph-move

'There comes a boat!'

(49) kanóaa-tax pak ta 4-Xó-aat //

boat-pl some there dir-emph-[move=pl]

'There come some boats!'

(50) ptkámn pak ?a-yóo-?t //

lobsters some [1 pl subj-past-[see=pl]

'We found some lobsters.'

(51) ?áx pak ?e ?-áas //

water some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]

'Give me some water to drink!' 

(52) ?e əšxkám ꝧ sìmmet ꝧ ıkí [1 ref] fish a bread a [(3 poss)=side]

k-ʔ-ʔill-ʔʔa //

nom-trans-eat-decl

'I am eating a fish with (a piece of) bread.'

These forms are also used as pronouns as in examples (53) and (54).
(53) pak ?áXXox 1-m-áškam-1a Xo pak some shore nom-neg-[arrive=pl]-decl but some

?áXXox k-áškam-1a //
shore nom-[arrive=pl]-decl

'Some don't arrive at shore, but some do arrive at shore.'

(54) moxímmaa ęo ?-yóo-??o //
yesterday a [1 sub]-past-see

'I saw one yesterday.'

When used as pronouns, these forms may follow a definite noun phrase to indicate one or some of the total as illustrated below.

(55) šíxxám koi pak ?a-t-onek/ ?ap 1-pxássii fish the some [1 pl sub]-DP-carry deer [3 poss]-meat
tá koi táax mos pak ?a-t-onek/ tok there the those also some [1 pl sub]-DP-carry there

kʷ-?a-m-įii //
[3 ref]-[1 pl sub]-perf-[be=pl]

'Carrying some of the fish, also carrying some of that deer meat, there we were.'

(56) táax pak 1m-póo-mxk /
that some [2 sub]-DP-bring

'If you bring some of that....'

(57) óX t-pa-kta ma / i?más tantikat ę ?áa thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP other the one there

ntí-t-a-X //
dir-DP-move-cond [that one] trans-perf-see

'It being seen thus, one of the others going along there, he saw it., i.e., Then one of the others, as he was going along there, saw it.'

The word ęo is used in noun phrases with negative verbs as illustrated in examples (58)-(50) below. These noun phrases are singular and are equivalent to the English expressions "none", "anybody", "any", etc.

(58) ą ?ákX t-om-mfi? yoke
one somewhere asser-neg-[not exist] [it is said]

Xíkkaa tá koi //
things there the
'None of those people died, it is said.'

(59) k'ík'kee ʔ i-s-kwaʔʔʔəq t-a person a trans-fut-[neg=see] DP-be
    k-fiy-aʔa // nom-trans-know-decl

'He knew that he wasn't going to see anybody.'

(60) po-m-afp ta-X / kík'kee ʔ ik-əʔ-ʔit
    DF-neg-arrive SCF-cond person a inf-ca-eat
    i-s-kwaʔʔʔəq // trans-fut-[neg=know]-TM

'If it doesn't arrive, no one will be able to fish.'

(61) ʔimmeet ʔ ano t-m-fiʔ // Xíkkaa k-ʕatW
    bread a in asser-neg-be things now-[be sweet]
    ʔ ano t-m-ʔil // kafé ʔ an i-m-fiʔʔʔ-ʔa //
    a in asser-neg-[be=pl] coffee a in nom-neg-be-decl

'There isn't any bread (in my house)--there isn't any sugar (in my house)--there isn't any coffee.'

(62) tóm ʔo ?-yo-n-yáa //
    money a [l sub]-past-neg-have

'I don't have any money.'

A definite noun phrase occurs with the indefinite article ʔo in an interrogative sentence when the speaker denies a previous statement of another person. The verb is marked for future, and the denial particle téée occurs sentence final instead of a tense-mode marker. This is illustrated in (63).

(63) ʔo po-pa-ktə ta / kík'kee xwaʔʔʔoʔant
    how DF-pass-[look at] SCF person John a land
    arišoʔona ?a-p-ʔa? ʔ ano mó-ss-aa téée //
    Arizona nom-pass-call a from dir-fut-move denial

'How would it be seen, a Seri John will come from a land called Arizona?--Ha', i.e., How on earth would Seri John come from Arizona?--Of course he wouldn't!'

When an indefinite noun phrase occurs in an interrogative sentence and the answer to the question is implied by the speaker to be obviously negative, the noun phrase is singular and contains the article ʔo, as illustrated below.
(64) tīixa tōm ęgo k-yāa-ya //
[that one] money a nom-have-Q

'He has money? -- Ha!'

Compare example (64) with the following example in which a plural indefinite noun phrase occurs in a declarative sentence.

(65) tīixa tōm pak i-yō-yāa //
[that one] money some trans-past-have

'He has (some) money.'

When the verb is negative, a definite noun phrase is often singular and contains the article ęgo, thus adding emphasis to the negative statement. This is illustrated below.

(66) 2-o-yākx ęgo ękant
[1 poss]-nom-[have brother] a [1 ref] place
kʷ-1-m-áiga-iʔa ęx i-m-ľl //
[3 ref]-nom-neg-[watch over]-decl thus trans-perf-say

'I don't take care of my brother!', he said to him.'

The article ęgo is also used with nominalized verb forms which function as direct objects of negative verbs as illustrated below.

(67) i-pā-ktā
[3 poss]-[nom=pass]-[look at] ā

1-t-kʷēk-ʔo //
trans-asser-[neg=know]-decl

'He didn't know its appearance., i.e., He didn't know about it.'

(68) kʷ-1-ʔ-āai ęgo -xo-m-sa //
[3 ref]-[3 poss]-nom-do a [1 sub]-emph-neg-know

'I don't know its doing., i.e., I don't know about it.'

When the verb is not negative, the indefinite article ęgo is replaced by the definite article kʔ. Compare example (59) below with (67) above.

(69) i-pā-ktā kʔ i-mǐi-yya //
[3 poss]-[nom=pass]-[look at] the trans-[perf=know]

'He knows its appearance., i.e., He knows about it.'
5. The two general articles are ?ak and ka?.

5.1. The article ?ak has several uses. It is used in a more definite sense with objects whose perimeters are ill-defined, e.g., the face, the back of a basket, the mouth, the stomach, the bottom of something, the back of the head, and with some locative expressions. The allomorph ak occurs when this article is preceded by a consonant. The following examples illustrate the use of ?ak as a definite article.

(70) in-yéen ak k-i?išk-i?a // [2 poss]-face gen nom-[be dirty]-decl
   'Your face is dirty.'

   'I am going outside.'

(72) táax fikp ak that [(3 poss)=side] gen
   'the side of that'

(73) ?fík ak ití m-fix // here gen on perf-sit
   'There he is (seated).'

(74) ?-áakhoo k? án ak m-1-kóoppocí // nom-[build house] the inside gen perf-with-black
   'The house is dark inside.'

(75) ?áX ak kw-t-áškam // water gen [3 ref]-DP-arrive
   'When they arrived at the water....'

(76) ?íš ak ko-?p-X-fix // here gen [3 ref]-[1 sub]-emph-sit
   'I am (sitting) here.'

(77) ?ak sun the [(3 poss)=(dwelling place)] gen

   'Going to the sun's dwelling place....'
(78) kwâx ?émmee ?ak
next [Camp ?émmee] gen
ko-n-t-á-mm-aat //
[3 ref]-dir-[1 pl sub]-perf-[move=pl]

'Next we went to Camp ?émmee.'

(79) ?ákkii ?ak míâx ?ant k-áap-ya //
where gen well land nom-stand-Q

'Which is correct?'

The article ?ak occurs with words which are used as labels for ideas or concepts.

(80) elefãante ?ak táax šiX k-kámm-i?a //
elefant gen that thing nom-live-decl

'"Elephant"--that's an animal.'

(81) pëso ?ak táax kôksær j-îtom-i?a //
peso gen that outsider [3 poss]-talk-decl

'"Peso"--that's a Mexican word.'

?ak also occurs with nominalized verb forms referring to the idea of the action expressed by that particular verb.

(82) xpeêsšoox kou kw-i-î-fik ak tâax
swordfish the [3 ref]-[3 poss]-nom-kill gen that
mos šiX i-m-fippee-i?a //
also thing nom-neg-[be good]-decl

'The killing of swordfish is also not a good thing.'

(83) ko-n-yâ-fmox
[3 ref]-[2 poss]-nom-[gather firewood] gen

i?-yo-kéeppe //
[1 sub]-past-like

'I like it that you are gathering firewood., or, I like the manner in which you are gathering firewood.'

(84) peš k-îtom i?-n-yâa sa?mës pak
peso nom-[be five] [1 sub]-perf-have oranges some
1-s-p-âxa //
[3 poss]-fut-pass-buy gen

'I have five pesos with which oranges are to be bought.'
(85)  koukáak koi kʷ-1-ʔóoktam  ak people the [3 ref]-[3 poss]-nom-[look at]=pl gen
táax šíx  miŋx ʔant k-ʕap  ŋ 1-ʔm̥aʔa ʔa //
that thing well land nom-stand a nom-[neg=be]=decl

'As the people saw it, that wasn't a good thing.'

(86)  xēppēe kom m-fippe // ŋśaʔa kôk ʔakx
sea the perf-[be good] day the somewhere
kʷ-1-yá-it  ak 1-m-fippe
[3 ref]-[3 poss]-nom-touch gen nom-neg-[be good]

XaʔXáiʔ-a //
rather-decl

'The sea is good—the day's falling somewhere would
not be a very good thing, i.e., The sea is calm—it
would be a shame to waste the day.'

5.2. The article kaʔ occurs with singular nouns and
nominalized verb forms and denotes the idea of totality,
generality, and customariness.

(87)  tâl  kaʔ 1-mf-itox //
charcoal gen trans-perf-[eat=pl]

'They eat charcoal.'

(88)  ʔást  kaʔ iti m-ōokp //
mountain gen on perf-grow

'It grows on mountains.'

(89)  ?1-ʔ-fXʔiŋ  ka ʔp-1ŋ-Xáʔw //
[1 poss]-nom-fear gen [1 sub]-perf-tremble

'Whenever I am afraid, I tremble.'

(90)  ŋśaʔa  kix ʔant 1-fî
sun the land [3 poss]-regain nom-[be all] gen
k-ōox  kaʔ

ʔapX  kʷ-k-ʕapp-1ʔa //
outside [3 ref]-nom-stand-decl

'Every morning the sun comes up.'

(91)  Xʷáan k? en ʔâxʷ1 kaʔ kʷ-ʔóʔ-ʔʔit //
John the metal clam gen [3 ref]-[perf=intr]=eat

'John eats with a spoon.'
(92) peš k-śökx ka? ŋaa? k? iti peśo nom-[be two] gen day the on
ko-ʔ-m-făši // [3 ref]-[1 sub]-perf-earn
'I earn two pesos a day.'

(93) xtfp ka? iti yo-p-ákkiim // [clam (sp.)] gen in past-pass-put
This article also occurs following the article ?ak when the latter is used with a nominalized verb.

(94) kʷ-1-fp ak ka? ŋix ŋ [3 ref]-[(3 poss)=nom]-arrive gen gen thing a
i-t-kʷamxk-iʔa // trans-asser-[neg=bring]-decl
'He never brings anything when he comes.'

6. Certain noun phrases are not accompanied by articles. These are described below.

6.1. In a simple sentence of identification consisting of a noun phrase followed by a tense-mode marker, the noun phrase occurs without an article as example (95) illustrates.

(95) ŋix k-ak-átťcoi-iʔa // thing nom-ca-[be timid]-decl
'It is a dangerous thing.'

The article occurs in the first sentence of (96) but not in the second.

(96) xepe-án kom ʔa-ya /// III xepe-án-n-1ʔa // sea-area the [nom=be]-decl agreement sea-area-decl
'Is it the sea bottom? Yeah, it's the sea bottom.'

In (97) no article occurs in the first sentence but one does occur in the second.

(97) ximme-ya /// ximme ʔ iʔmā-aʔa // sardine-Q sardine a nom-[neg=be]-decl
'Is it a sardine? It's not a sardine.'

6.2. The use of the article distinguishes constructions in which a noun is modified by a possessor (possessive noun phrases) from constructions in which a noun is modified by a relative clause containing a possessive noun phrase coreferent to the noun which is modified by that relative clause. The
article does not occur in the possessive noun phrase in the latter type of construction. These constructions are illustrated below.

(98) k'waam xop i-pnäi k-dii ki?
woman the [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the
x-a-ŋ fim //
emph-ca-enjoy
'The woman's blue skirt is pretty.'

(99) k'waam i-pnäi k-dii kop x-a-ŋ fim //
woman [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the emph-ca-enjoy
'The woman whose skirt is blue is pretty.'

(100) yooŋ kix ŋk kix ?alkx
god the [(3 poss)=daughter] the somewhere
t-o-m mi? yoke //
asser-neg-[not exist] [it is said]
'God's daughter (the sun) didn't die, it is said.'

In noun phrases modified by a relative clause or clauses, the article does not generally occur after each coreferent noun or nominalized form (see examples (2) and (4) above), though it will be pointed out later that this generalization does not always hold true.

The forms iyáa, inyáa, and yáa are either irregularly derived forms of the verb /-yaː/ 'own, have' and mean 'that which I/you/he own(s)', or are possessed forms using the stem /-yaː/ in the sense of 'possession' and mean 'my/your/his possession'. They contrast with the plural forms which are regularly derived from the verb /-yaː/: i-o-yaː-t, m-o-yaː-t, o-yaː-t meaning 'that which we/you/they own'. Regardless of the actual analysis, these phrases function as relative clauses and so do not take the article if they modify a noun. These forms indicate possession and are used with nouns that cannot take the possessive prefixes. See examples (101) and (102) below.

(101) simalóon ki? třóoki iyáa k ?akfi
Cimalon the truck [(3 poss)=possession] the where
\[t-fi? // \]
inter-be
'Where is Cimalon's truck?'

(102) ?apaŋspox ?-anókkaax simalóon ki? iyáa
paper nom-carry Cimalon the [(3 poss)=possession]
k ?ámt kom ano X-fi? //
the ground the in emph-be

'Cimalon's book is in the sand.'

Relative clauses as above and as in (103) below are
apparently non-restrictive and function as adjectives.

(103) k̥?k̥̂k̥̂̂k̥ee ktám 1-kanôag k-táppoĉ̥k̥-im k? 3 poss 1-boat nom-[be broken]-rep the
[3 poss]-heart emph-[be sad]

'The man whose boat is broken is sad.'

Sometimes the article occurs after the noun which is modified
by a relative clause and, though it is not entirely clear
that the analysis of these constructions is this simple, in
these cases the relative clauses seem to be restrictive. This
is illustrated by the following examples.

(104) s³xk̥ám k? k-ípppee koi táax ?áa t̥̂mmee //
fish the nom-[be good] the those [nom=be] [perf=say]

'He said that the fish that are good—those are the
ones (that will be bought).'  

(105) k̥ŵ̥s=ákkoox k? ŝ̥a? kix óx t̥̂éê
old man] the sun the thus asser-[intr=say]
ŷ̥k̥̂̂ //
[it is said]

'Father Sun said thus, it is said.'

(106) s³x k? k-óoxp ka ?-yo-k̥̂k̥̂̇̂ep̥̂pe //
thing the nom-[be white] gen [l sub]-past-like

'I like the thing that is white., i.e., I like white.'

5.3. The article does not occur after the first noun phrase
of a complex noun phrase consisting of two noun phrases, the
first of which indicates the material of which the object
described in the second noun phrase is made.

(107) ?-a-š̥̂ám ?-ákkoo k? in-t-á??o //
nom-ca-adobe nom-[make house] the [2 sub]-inter-see

'Did you see the adobe house?'

(108) s³x k-óii ?a-pnáii in-yáa ki?
thing nom-[be blue] abs-skirt [2 poss]-possession the
x-a-šl1m //
emph-ca-enjoy

'Your blue denim skirt is pretty.'

6.4. The article does not occur with non-specific nouns, as illustrated below.

(109) xʷáan k ?áX 1-t-asi kafé mos pak
John the water trans-DR-drink coffee also some
1-míi-asi //
trans-perf-drink

'When John drank water, he also drank some coffee.'

(110) ?e ąńx ?ap k-í-kʷ ///
[1 ref] thing deer nom-trans-kill [past=decl]

'I was a killer of deer, i.e., I used to kill deer.'

(111) ?ant ıp ano ʔ-s-áą-aʔa //
land [ʔ] in [1 sub]-fut-đo-TM

'I will put salt in it.'

6.5. Some noun phrases have become compound nouns whose meanings are either somewhat different or drastically different from the strict meaning of the words. The article does not occur with the individual nouns of these noun phrases.

(112) ńot ąnąńák ak táńx ąńxkámm-1ʔa //
coyote [(3 poss)=son] gen that fish-DECL

'Coyote's son—that's a fish.'

(113) ?e?e 1-nái? ?ıp kix k-áškan-1ʔa //
plant [3 poss]-skin here the nom-[be hard]-DECL

'This bark is hard.'

(114) ąńx ąńkkeet
thing [(3 poss)=child]

'pearl'

(115) șíńkśa ąńxóxp
things nom-[be white]

'olivella shells, sparkplugs'

Likewise, there are numerous idioms that are composed of a verb and a noun phrase. The article does not occur with the nouns of these noun phrases. Example (116) illustrates this
type of idiom.

(116) kʷikk'ee kwám i-kánšaq k-táppoo+k-im k? person man [3 poss]-boat nom-[be broken]-rep the
i-mmooŋ Xo-méet //
[3 poss]-heart emph-[be sad]
'The man whose boat is broken is sad.'

6.6. The article does not occur with nouns which are used to describe the manner in which the action is done.

(117) kóksař kʷ-k-a-tíkpan-i?a //
Mexican [3 ref]-nom-ca-work-decl
'He is working like a Mexican.'

(118) ʔé?ee åX kʷ-t-apXʷi ma-X /
stick just [3 ref]-DP-[be broken]-rep SCP-cond
'Whenever it just breaks like a stick....'

(119) ʔóóʔa kóo-ttgaX //
mule [3 ref]-go
'Go like a mule!'

This contrasts with the common use of the definite article with a noun, not necessarily definite, which indicates the instrument used, or the person or object associated with the action.

(120) éenniim kop ko-kʷákw //
knife the [3 ref]-[imp=neg=kill]
'Don't kill it with a knife!'

(121) kóksař ki? kʷ-k-a-tíkpan-i?a //
Mexican the [3 ref]-nom-ca-work-decl
'He is working with a Mexican.'

6.7. The article is not used with nouns joined by the particle Xa? 'and'. Compare the following sentences.

(122) péedřo ki? yöó-fp //
Peter the past-arrive
'Peter arrived.'

(123) péedřo Xa? mařfa Xa? ʔešitm fissoox ak ano
Peter and Mary and camp huge gen in
míi-ŋkam //
perf-[arrive=pl]

'Peter and Mary arrived at the big camp (Hermosillo).'

7. The article is used with certain locatives in expressions that receive a special stress. These expressions are used in demonstrative adjectives and take the place of the article. The articles denoting movement already contain a locative morpheme, as will be pointed out in Section 8, and so these receive only the stress. The following sentences illustrate these constructions.

(124) ?á-Xsí k-óoppool ?fu kop
abs-pet nom-[be black] there the

'that black dog'

(125) ?ást ?fp kix
stone here the

'this stone'

(126) koqkáak ?fíí koi ?a-s-éaaŋgx-a?á //
people here the [1 pl sub]-fut-leave-TM

'We should go away from these people.'

(127) óX i-t-áíl yoke Xíkkäa tá koi
thus-transasser-say [it is said] things there the

'She told those people thus, it is said.'

(128) ?ánt tá ?ak ?áa?-?á //
place there gen [nom=be]-decl

'It was in that place.'

(129) ?fpíx tok kw-ó-t-a / ?ánt t-oit /
[that one] there [3 ref]-dir-DP-move down DP-touch

?ánt ?ípmoka kw-t-áp ma /
place this [3 ref]-DP-arrive SCP

'He (a bird) came there, landed, arrived at this place....'

(130) ?-áakkoo ?fíí ak ano yóo-p //
nom-[build house] here gen in past-[be (standing)]

'He was in this house.'

These expressions are also used as demonstrative pronouns and are used like the demonstrative pronouns ?ípíx 'this
one’, ʔišáax ‘these’, tfix ‘that one’, and táax ‘those’.

(131) ʔipintika koí i-m-arítto-ipiʔo //
[this one] still nom-neg-pull-still-decl

'This one (a boat) still isn't pulling it (a net).'

(132) ʔiš koíʔaʔi //
here the [nom=be]-decl

'These are they.'

8. There is a close phonological and semantical relationship between the definite articles and certain verbs. The following chart illustrates these relationships. The verbs are cited in the absolutive "subject" nominalized form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>GLOSS OF VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiʔ</td>
<td>k-ffíʔ</td>
<td>be (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kói</td>
<td>k-óii</td>
<td>be (pl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop/kap</td>
<td>k-áap</td>
<td>be (standing, sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kix</td>
<td>k-fíx</td>
<td>be (seated, sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kom</td>
<td>k-óom</td>
<td>be (lying, sing.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The articles denoting movement also correspond directly to two certain irregular verbs. The verb mó-kk-a (toward-nom-move) may or may not be used with a locative. The plural form is mó-kk-aa-t. The verb ntí-kk-a (away-nom-move) is used with one of several locative morphemes; a common form is tok ko-ntí-kk-a (there [3 ref]-away-nom-move). The plural form is ntí-kk-aa-t.

Since the nominalized form above is the form always used in lieu of a relative clause when the subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the noun that the relative clause is modifying, it seems probable that the definite article is historically related to the corresponding verb. This thesis is also supported by the fact that the position of the article in respect to the noun also corresponds to the position of a relative clause (the nominalized verb form) in respect to the noun; they both occur after the noun. The rule governing the choice of article would be similar and historically identical to that governing the choice of verb of position or movement, whether the verb serves as a main predicate or in a relative clause.
The data for this paper were gathered by my husband Edward W. Moser and me during the past twenty-five years of residence in the Seri area under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I have worked with many Seri and extensively with Maria Thompson, Lorenzo Thompson, Armando Torres and Roberto Herrera T. I am grateful for their help. A concordance of Seri texts, produced at the University of Oklahoma under National Science Foundation grant GS-1605, Project for Computer Support of Linguistic Fieldwork, was used in the analysis. I am especially grateful to Steve Marlett for his insights and assistance in organizing this paper.

The Seri data is presented in a form that is quite close to the surface form. Square brackets are used to enclose a gloss containing more than one word. = joins a gloss of more than one word when the Seri form is complex. / marks division between clauses. // marks division between sentences. Hyphens mark morpheme boundaries. The following abbreviations are used:

- abs, absolutive
- aser, assertive
- ben, benefactive
- ca, causative
- cond, conditional
- decl, declarative
- dir, directional
- DF, dependent future
- DP, dependent past
- emph, emphatic
- fut, future
- gen, general article
- imp, imperative
- inf, infinitive
- inter, interrogative
- intr, intransitive
- neg, negative
- nom, nominalizer
- pass, passive
- perf, perfect
- pl, plural
- poss, possessive
- Q, question
- ref, referent
- rep, repetitive
- SCF, subject change future
- SCP, subject change past
- sg., singular
- sub, subject
- TM, tense-mode marker
- trans, transitive
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The first meeting of linguists working on Hokan and Yuman languages was held at the University of California, San Diego, in 1970 at the invitation of Margaret Langdon, who established the Yuman Languages Archives with the aid of a National Science Foundation grant. This meeting made it possible for various specialists working on these languages to get to know each other and to benefit from technical discussions of many problem points. Those attending this first meeting felt that the papers and discussions contributed so much to the advancement of the understanding of these languages that participants soon began asking when we would meet again. In 1975 Margaret Langdon again invited the Yumanists to meet at San Diego. It was felt that this and the previous meeting had contributed so much to the collective understanding of Hokan and Yuman that it was decided to meet every year if it could be arranged. In 1976 another workshop was held at UCSD, to which both Hokanists and Yumanists were invited. In 1977 Hokanists and Yumanists met at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. In 1978 the meeting will again be at UCSD.

The participants of the 1977 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Mauricio Mixco and his assistants, which made the workshop run smoothly and enjoyably.

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1976 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1977 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop. The Yuman papers were given first, and papers from the other branches of Hokan followed.


The proceedings of the 1975 and 1976 workshops are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound copies from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent Street, Arlington, VA 22209.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1978
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