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Articles in Seri

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ARTICLES IN SERI¹

Mary B. Moser

0. Introduction
1. The articles
2. Position of the article
3. Use of the definite article
 - 3.1. Non-specified position
 - 3.2. Seated position
 - 3.3. Lying or extended position
 - 3.4. Erect position
 - 3.5. Moving
 - 3.6. Undefined
4. Use of the indefinite article
5. Use of the general article
6. Notable omissions of the article
 - 6.1. In relation to the tense-mode marker
 - 6.2. In relation to the relative clause
 - 6.3. In certain complex noun phrases
 - 6.4. In relation to non-specific nouns
 - 6.5. In relation to certain compound nouns
 - 6.6. In certain construction indicating manner
 - 6.7. In relation to the conjunction xa?
7. Use of the article with locative as demonstrative adjectives and pronouns
8. Relation between definite articles and similar verbs

0. Numerous articles of three basic types are used in Seri to modify the noun phrase. The three types are: definite, indefinite, and general. The choice of definite article depends on the perceived position and on 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	ʔipmoka (sg.), ʔiʂmokat (pl.)
toward, distant	timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
away, close	ʔipintika (sg.), ʔiʂintikat (pl.)
away, distant	ʔimintika (sg.), ʔimintikat (pl.)
away, distant	tintika (sg.), tantikat (pl.)
Indefinite articles:	
Singular	ʂo
Plural and mass	pak
General articles:	ʔak; kaʔ

2. Nouns generally require an article, and the article follows 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) ássa // ʔa-χʂ ʔéekkee k-óoppoot ʂo ʔ-yóo-ʔʔo //
- sure abs-pet small nom-[be black] a [1 sub]-past-see

Sure, I saw a small black dog.

- (2) ʂix ʔap-áʔʔiit ʔ-óo-ʔʔiit kiʔ k-íippee-ʔa //
- thing nom-eat [1 poss]-nom-eat the 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 ʔi-ʔ-á-ippoot koi
- money [2 ref] [1 poss]-nom-ca-[be exchanged] the

me n-y-éχ+ //

[2 ref] [2 sub]-past-take

You took the money that I paid you.

- (4) ʂix k^wi ke kálii ktam lemóoyan kiʔ tok kw
- thing person elder man Lemoyan the there [3 ref]

íix //

[perf=(be [seated])]

The deceased Old Man Lemoyan was there.

- (5) me ʂó χaʔ in-t-óokta ktám psaak
- [2 ref] how just [2 sub]-inter-[look at] man hunger

in-t-óoχχii ma ʂix ʂo me k-á-aʔʔiit 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) óχ t-pa-kta ma / šix ʔapé-ššii šáaʔ kiʔ
 thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP thing nom-beat sun the
- k-yáai tintika t-óo-ʔʔiit-in yoke //
 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 may use only one of the positional articles since the position never changes. Some nouns may use any of the positional articles, depending on the position at the moment. Some nouns may 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 kʔ is used when the position of the noun is not evident physically or from the context of the story. The singular article has three allomorphs, kʔ, kiʔ and k which are derived most easily from the underlying form kʔ by the following rules: $\text{ʔ} \rightarrow \emptyset / _\{ \& \}$ and $\emptyset \rightarrow i / _\text{ʔC}$. (The latter is a simplified version of a much broader and very widely used i epenthesis rule.) The plural article is koi. The following examples illustrate the use of the definite article of non-specified position.

- (7) Mařía kiʔ símmeet kiʔ k-áai-ʔa //
 Mary the bread the nom-make-decl

Mary is making bread.

- (8) y-a-símmeet Mařía k //
 past-ca-bread Mary the

She made bread--Mary.

- (9) xéppée kʔ itit-om ma / óχ ʔanso ʔái kʔ i-m-ak-áttaax //
 sea the on DP-lie SCP thus just wind the trans-perf-ca-go

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

- (10) šixkám k ʔ-éχ+ //
 fish the imp-take

Take the fish!

- (11) koŋkaak i?máa koi ?ant š iki m-itóix //
 people other the place a [(3 poss)=side] perf-[go toward]

The other people went to another place., i.e., The other people went elsewhere.

- (12) χ^wáan k i?-χo-níppaa-tim //
 John the [1 sub]-emph-hit-rep

I am hitting John.

- (13) kwíkke í-itom ki? míšx in-t-áa //
 person [3 poss]-talk the well [2 sub]-inter-know

Do you know the Seri language well?

- (14) sařáapi k ?e k-ám^xk //
 blanket the [1 ref] imp-bring

Bring me the blanket!

- (15) ?ánt k? itim-póo-ttaax / šáa? k? iti m-p-i?-χ /
 land the on [2 sub]-DF-go sun the on [2 sub]-DF-be-cond

ksái kom mi-tít ki? ko n-s-áii-a?a //
 brush the [2 poss]-hair the [3 ref] [2 sub]-fut-do-TM

You should brush your hair in the daytime.

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

- (16) moχímmaa ki? χ^wáan k ?áχš k? i-t-ak-atax šix
 yesterday the John the dog the trans-DP-ca-go thing

k-a-náao ki? mos i-y-ak-áttaax //
 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) šixkám k-kí?W ki? s-om-péχ+ ?áa-ya //
 fish nom-[be red] the fut-neg-pass-buy be-Q

Won't red snapper be bought?

- (18) móosni ki? χo-míi? //
 turtle the emph-[not exist]

Turtles are scarce!

- (19) ?e kwəəχ šixkám ki? kW s-a-tíkpan ka?a //
 [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 must be used. An allomorph kx often occurs when the following word begins with a vowel. The following examples illustrate the use of this article.

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

The bread is sweet.

- (21) ?ešitm íssoox kix ?ant k-áakkoox kix iti k-áa?ka-?a //
 camp huge the land nom-[be large] the on nom-be-decl

Hermosillo is in Mexico.

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

Bring the watch!

- (23) tóotWkW kix kwéχ+ //
 cholla the [imp=neg=take]

Don't grab the cholla!

- (24) ta?éWkW kix ko nt-?á-ss-aat-a?a //
 [Tiburon Island] the [3 ref] dir-[2 sub]-fut-[move=pl]-TM

We'll go to Tiburon Island.

- (25) t-?ámmook ma / ?a-no+ ?a-káaiχ kix i-t-ámxk //
 DP-[be night] SCP abs-finger abs-put the trans-DP-bring

šáa? kix kW i-t-ak-óo-??oo-t //
 sun the [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 must be used. The allomorphs kon and kon occur due to an m assimilation process in the language.

- (26) kanóaa kom m-a-šfim //
 boat the perf-ca-pleasure

The boat is pretty.

- (27) χέππee kon šixkám ki? k-átχo-?a //
 sea the fish the nom-[be many]-decl

There are many fish in the sea.

- (28) i-náit+ kon t-mátχ //
 [3 poss]-skin the inter-[be hot]

Is his skin hot?

- (29) ?ást kon ko nt-íttaat yoke //
 stone the [3 ref] dir-[move=pl] [it is said]

They went to the mountains, it is said.

- (30) ?áχχoox kon kW t-aškam ma //
 shore the [3 ref] DP-[arrive=pl] SCP

When they arrived at the shore....

- (31) i-k-áaspox kon k-ámχk //
 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 must be used. The two allomorphs occur in free variation. The following examples illustrate the use of this article.

- (32) ktám kop ?áχš kop šixkám ki? kW y-á-a??iit //
 man the dog the fish the [3 ref] past-ca-eat

The man fed the dog the fish.

- (33) kw[kkee ktám kix ?-áakkoo kop ano k-íixx-i?i //
 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) ?ái kop ?apχ t-áp-χ / im-mátχ //
 air the outside DP-stand-cond perf-[be hot]

When the air comes out, it is hot.

- (35) óχ po-pa-hta ta-χ / šémme kop
 thus DF-pass-[look at] SCP-cond sunset the

in-skʷóokta-ʔa //
[2 sub]-[fut=neg=(look at)]-TM

Whenever it is like that, you shouldn't look at the sunset.

- (36) psáak ik-óoxxi kop iʔ-tkʷíixxiim-iʔo //
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 must be 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 0 above, are repeated below.

moving toward, close	ʔipmoka (sg.), ʔiʂmokat (pl.)
moving toward, distant	timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
moving away, close	ʔipintika (sg.), ʔiʂintikat (pl.)
moving away, distant	ʔimintika (sg.), ʔimintikat (pl.)
moving away, distant	tintika (sg.), tantikat (pl.)

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

- (37) kanoa kʷássoo+ tintika kanoa k-ʔéet+ tintika
boat [nom=(be yellow)] the boat nom-[be red] the

iki kw i-ʔ-íin ak
[(3 poss)-side] [3 ref] [3 poss]-nom-[be near] gen

kanoa kʷássoo+ tintika ya-χi
boat [nom=(be yellow)] the [(3 poss)=nom=intr]-finish

t-ap k-áttaax-iʔa //
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) χéppe an ʔant t-oit / χéppée timoka an ʔant t-oit /
sea into down DP-touch sea the into down DP-touch

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

- (39) ʔant š iti t-íin yoke ktám tintika //
place a [3 poss]-side asser-[go toward] [it is said] man the

The man went away, it is said.

- (40) χíkkaa k-i-χáašxox tamokat kW t-áškan
 things nom-with-[bullet=pl] the [3 ref] asser-[arrive=pl]
 yoke //
 [it is said]
The soldiers arrived, it is said.
- (41) ?ant t-fi ma-χ / ?áptko ?ant timoka an i?-m-áao /
 land DP-regain SCP-cond already land the in [1 sub]-perf-travel
*When the land regains, I am already travelling in the land., i.e.,
 By dawn I'm already up and around.*
- (42) ?ánt tintika t-kóoo ?apá-kta-ya //
 land the DP-[be whole] nom-[look at]-Q
Is it like that all along the shore?
- (43) šáa? tantikat pt i-m-míss-i?a //
 days the together nom-neg-resemble-decl
Every day is different.
- (44) páař timoka ?éššitit i?máa šo ?ant k? i-táassiit i?máa
 priest the camp other a land the [3 poss]-name other
 š iki s-éektin t-a tok kWQ-t-a /
 a [3 poss]=side fut-[pass through] DP-be there dir-DP-move
*When the priest--who was going to pass through another camp,
 a place with another name--arrived there....*
- (45) óχ t-pa-kta ma / šiχ ?apé-ššii šáa? ki? k-yáai
 thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP thing nom-beat sun the nom-[go to]
 tintika t-óo-??iit-in yoke //
 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.*
- (46) šíikkaa+k ?išmokat k-óoy ?ant kW t-óii //
 [bird=pl] the nom-[be all] down [3 ref] asser-[be=pl]
All of the birds came down to him.
- (47) táaχ iti kW t-pa-kta ma / óot ?ipintika
 that on [3 ref] DP-pass-[look at] SCP coyote the
 í-??-oom ?iš ak kó-tt-oon yoke //
 [3 poss]-nom-lie here the [3 ref]-DP-lie [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.

3.6. The article *ʔak* seems to be used 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 this article.

- (48) in-yéen ak k-iʔíʃt-k-iʔa //
- [2 poss]-face gen nom-[be dirty]-decl

Your face is dirty.

- (49) ʔe ʔápχ ak ko ntí-ss-aa kaʔa //
- [1 ref] outside gen [3 ref] dir-fut-move TM

I am going outside.

- (50) táax íikp ak
- that [(3 poss)=side] gen

the side of that

- (51) ʔíŋk ak iti m-íix //
- here gen on perf-sit

There he is (seated).

- (52) ʔ-áakkoo kʔ án ak m-i-k-óoppooʔ //
- nom-[build house] the inside gen perf-with-nom-[be black]

The house is dark inside.

- (53) ʔáχ ak kW t-aškam /
- water gen [3 ref] DP-arrive

When they arrived at the water....

- (54) ʔíʃ ak ko ʔp-χ-íix //
- here gen [3 ref] [1 sub]-emph-sit

I am (sitting) here.

- (55) šáaʔ kʔ íimnee ʔak i-t-yai //
- sun the [(3 poss)=(dwelling place)] gen trans-DP-[go to]

Going to the sun's dwelling place....

- (56) kWax ʔémnee ʔak ko nt-ʔa-mm-aat //
- next [Camp ʔémnee] gen [3 ref] dir-[1 pl sub]-perf-[move=pl]

Next we went to Camp ʔémnee.

- (57) ʔákkii ʔak mǐšx ʔant k-áap-ya //
 where the well land nom-stand-Q

Which is correct?

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

- (58) kanóaa šo ti ɳ-χó-aa //
 boat a there dir-emph-move

There comes a boat!

- (59) kanóaa-tax pak ta ɳ-χó-aat //
 boat-pl some there dir-emph-[move=pl]

There come some boats!

- (60) ptkámn pak ʔa-yóo-ʔt //
 lobsters some [1 pl sub]-past-[see=pl]

We found some lobsters.

- (61) ʔáχ pak ʔe ʔ-áas //
 water some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]

Give me some water to drink!

- (62) ʔe šixkám šo sǐmmeet š iki k-í-ʔʔiit-iʔa //
 [1 ref] fish a bread a [(3 poss)=side] nom-trans-eat-decl

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

These forms are also used as pronouns as seen in examples (63) and (64).

- (63) pak ʔáχχoox i-m-áškam-iʔa χo pak ʔáχχoox
 some shore nom-neg-[arrive=pl]-decl but some shore

k-áškam-iʔa //
 nom-[arrive=pl]-decl

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

- (64) moχǐmmaa šo ʔ-yóo-ʔʔo //
 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.

- (65) šixkám koi pak ?a-t-onek / ?ap i-pxássi
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

k^w ?a-m-óii //
[3 ref] [1 pl sub]-perf-[be=pl]

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

- (66) táax pak im-póo-mxk /
that some [2 sub]-DF-bring

If you bring some of that....

- (67) óx t-pa-kta ma / i?máa tantikat š ?áa
thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP other the one there

nti-t-a-χ / tíχ i-míi-??o //
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 šo is used in noun phrases with negative verbs as illustrated in examples (68) through (70) below. These noun phrases are singular and are equivalent to the English expressions "none", "anybody", "any", etc.

- (68) š ?ákχ t-om-míi? yoke χíkkaa
one somewhere asser-neg-[not exist] [it is said] things

tá koi //
there the

None of those people died, it is said.

- (69) k^wíkkee š i-s-k^wá??oo t-a k-íyy-aa-?a //
person a trans-fut-[neg=see] DP-be nom-trans-know-decl

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

- (70) po-máfp ta-χ / k^wíkkee š ik-á-a??iit
DF-neg-arrive SCF-cond person a inf-ca-eat

i-s-k^wáá-?a //
trans-fut-[neg=know]-TM

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

- (71) símmeet š ano t-m-íi? // χíkkaa k-óatW š ano
bread a in asser-neg-be things nom-[be sweet] a in

t-m-óli // kafé š an i-m-íi??-i?a //
 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 (in my house).*

- (72) tóm šo ?-yo-n-yáa //
 money a [1 sub]-past-neg-have

I don't have any money.

A definite noun phrase occurs with the indefinite article šo in an interrogative sentence when the speaker denies a previous statement of another person. The verb is marked for future, and the denial particle tée occurs sentence final instead of a tense-mode marker. This is illustrated in (73).

- (73) šó po-pa-kta ta / kwíkkee xwáan šo ?ánt ařisóona
 how DF-pass-[look at] SCF person John a land Arizona

?apá? š ano mó-ss-aa téé //
 nom-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 šo, as illustrated below.

- (74) tíx tóm šo k-yáa-ya //
 [that one] money a nom-have-Q

He has money?--Ha!

Compare example (74) with the following example in which a plural indefinite noun phrase occurs in a declarative sentence.

- (75) tíx tóm pak i-yo-yáa //
 [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 šo, thus adding emphasis to the negative statement. This is illustrated below.

- (76) ?-oyáx šo ?é ?ant kw i-m-áiis-i?a
 [1 poss]-brother a [1 ref] place [3 ref] nom-neg- [watch over]-decl

óx i-m-íi //
 thus trans-perf-say

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

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

- (77) i-pá-ktá š i-tkwáq-a-?o //
- [3 poss]-[nom=pass]-[look at] a trans-[asser=neg=know]-decl

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

- (78) kw i-ʔ-áa i šo ʔ-χo-m-áa //
[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 šo is replaced by the definite article k?. Compare example (79) below with (77) above.

- (79) i-pá-³ kta k? i-míi-yyaa //
 [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 ʔak occurs with words which are used as labels for ideas or concepts. — The allomorph ak occurs following vowels.

- (80) elefáante ʔak táax šix k-kámm-iʔa //
elephant gen that thing nom-live-decl

"Elephant"--that's an animal.

- (81) píso ʔak táax kóksař í-itom-iʔa //
peso gen that outsider [3 poss]-talk-decl

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

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

- (82) xpéeššoox kon kw i-?-íik ak táax mos šix
 swordfish the [3 ref] [3 poss]-nom-kill gen that also thing

i-m-íippee-ʔa //
nom-neg-[be good]-dec1

The killing of swordfish is also not a good thing.

- (83) ko n-yá-fmox ak i?-yo-kéeppe //
[3 ref] [2 poss]-nom-[gather firewood] gen [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-óitom i?-n-yáa sa?méés pak
peso nom-[be five] [1 sub]-perf-have oranges some

i-s-p-éχ+ ak //
[3 poss]-fut-pass-buy gen

I have five pesos with which oranges are to be bought.

- (85) koŋkáak koi k^w i-?-óoktam ak
people the [3 ref] [3 poss]-nom-[(look at)=pl] gen

táaχ šix míšx ?ant k-áap š i-?máa-?a //
that thing well land nom-stand a nom-[neg=be]-decl

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

- (86) χéppée kom m-íippe // šáa? kop ?akχ k^w
sea the perf-[be good] day the somewhere [3 ref]

i-yá-it ak i-m-íippe χa?χáii-?a //
[3 poss]-nom-touch gen nom-neg-[be good] 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 ka? occurs with singular nouns and nominalized verb forms and denotes the idea of totality, generality, and customariness.

- (87) ta+ ka? i-mí-itox //
charcoal gen trans-perf-[eat=pl]

They eat charcoal.

- (88) ?ást ka? iti m-óokp //
mountain gen on perf-grow

It grows on mountains.

- (89) ?i-?-íχχiiŋ ka? i?p-iŋ-χápW //
[1 poss]-nom-fear gen [1 sub]-perf-tremble

Whenever I am afraid, I tremble.

- (90) šáa? kix ?ant i-fi k-óox ka? ?apχ
sun the land [3 poss]-regain nom-[be all] gen outside

k^w k-áapp-i?a //
[3 ref] nom-stand-decl

Every morning the sun comes up.

- (91) χ^wáan k? en ?áχW+ ka? k^w óq-??iit //
 John the metal clam gen [3 ref] [perf=intr]-eat

John eats with a spoon.

- (92) peš k-óokx ka? šáa? k? iti ko ?-m-íšši //
 peso nom-[be two] gen day the on [3 ref] [1 sub]-perf-earn

I earn two pesos a day.

- (93) χtíip ka? iti yo-p-ákkiim //
 [clam (sp.)] gen in past-pass-put

It is (always) put in a clam shell.

This article also occurs following the article ?ak when the latter is used with a nominalized verb.

- (94) k^w íi-fp ak ka? šiχ š
 [3 ref] ([3 poss]=nom)-arrive gen gen thing a
 i-t-kwámxk-i?o //
 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. The article does occur in other types of simple construction, also illustrated in (95) and (97) below.

- (95) χepe-án kom ?áa-ya // ííí χépe-ánn-i?a //
 sea-area the [nom=be]-decl agreement sea-area-decl

Is it the sea bottom? Yeah, it's the sea bottom.

- (96) šiχ k-ak-áttoot-i?a //
 thing nom-ca-[be timid]-decl

It is a dangerous thing.

- (97) χímme-ya // χímme š i-?máa-?a //
 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) kwáam kop i-pnáit k-óit ki? χ-a-šíim //
 woman the [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the emph-ca-enjoy

The woman's blue skirt is pretty.

- (99) kwáam i-pnáit k-óit kop χ-a-šíim //
 woman [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the emph-ca-enjoy

The woman whose skirt is blue is pretty.

- (100) yóoš kix ék kix ?ákχ //
 God the [(3 poss)=daughter] the somewhere

t-om-míi? 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 i?yáa, inyáa, and yáa are either irregularly derived forms of the verb /-yaa/ 'own, have' and mean 'that which I/you/he own(s)', or are possessed forms using the stem /-yaa/ in the sense of 'possession' and mean 'my/your/his possession'. They contrast with the plural forms which are regularly derived from the verb /-yaa/: ?-o-yáat, m-o-yáat, o-yáat 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 yáa k ?akíi t-íi? //
 Cimalon the truck [(3 poss)=possession] the where inter-be

Where is Cimalon's truck?

- (102) ?apáspos ?-anókkaax simalóon ki? yáa k ?ánt
 paper nom-carry Cimalon the [(3 poss)=possession] the ground

kom ano χ-íi? //
 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) kwíkkee ktám i-kanóaa k-táppoo+kin k? í-mmooš
 person man [3 poss]-boat nom-[be broken] the [3 poss]-heart
 xo-méet //
 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) šixkám ki? k-íippee koi táax ?áa témme //
 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) kwáakkoox ki? šáa? kix óx t-ée yoke //
 [old man] the sun the thus asser-[intr=say] [it is said]

Father Sun said thus, it is said.

- (106) šíx ki? k-óoxp ka? ?-yo-kéeppe //
 thing the nom-[be white] gen [1 sub]-past-like

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

6.3. 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-šámt ?-áakkoo k? in-t-á??o //
 nom-ca-adobe nom-[make house] the [2 sub]-inter-see

Did you see the adobe house?

- (108) šix k-óit ?a-pnáit in-yáa ki?
 thing nom-[be blue] abs-skirt [2 poss]-possession the

x-a-šíim //
 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 i-t-asi kafé mos pak i-míi-ssi //
 John the water trans-DP-drink coffee also some trans-perf-drink

When John drank water, he also drank some coffee.

- (110) ʔe šíχ ʔap k-í-kw íʔʔi //
 [1 ref] thing deer nom-trans-kill [past=decl]

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

- (111) ʔant íp ano ʔ-s-áai-aʔa //
 land [ʔ] in [1 sub]-fut-do-TM

I will put salt on 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. A few of these are given below.

- (112) óot asáak ak táax šíχkám-iʔa //
 coyote [(3 poss)=son] gen that fish-decl

Coyote's son--that's a fish.

- (113) ʔeʔe i-nái+ ʔíp kix k-áiskan-iʔa //
 plant [3 poss]-skin here the nom-[be hard]-decl

This bark is hard.

- (114) šíχ íikkeet
 thing [(3 poss)=child]

pearl

- (115) χíkkaa k-óoxp
 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) kwíkkee ktám i-kanóaa k-táppoo+kiŋ kʔ í-mmooš
 person man [3 poss]-boat nom-[be broken] the [3 poss]-heart
 xo-méet //
 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 works like a Mexican.

- (118) ?é?ʔee ?ax kw t-apxW+im ma-x //
 stick just [3 ref] DP-[be broken] SCP-cond

Whenever it just breaks like a stick....

- (119) ?óo?řa kóo-ttaax //
 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? yóo-fp //
 Peter the past-arrive

Peter arrived.

- (123) péedřo xa? mařía xa? ?ešitm íssoox ak ano míi-škam //
 Peter and Mary and camp huge gen in 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 as demonstrative adjectives and take the place of the article. The definite article of non-specified position may not be used in this way. 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-xš k-óoppoo+ ?íŋ kop
 abs-dog nom-[be black] there the

that black dog

- (125) ʔást ʔíp kix
stone here the
this stone
- (126) kónkáak ʔíš koi ʔa-s-éaaxox-aʔa //
people here the [1 pl sub]-fut-leave-TM
We should go away from these people.
- (127) óχ i-t-áii yoke χíkkaa tá koi
thus trans-asser-say [it is said] things there the
She told those people thus, it is said.
- (128) ʔant tá ʔak ʔáa-ʔa //
place there gen [nom=be]-decl
It was in that place.
- (129) tíiχ tok kW ó-t-a / ʔánt t-oit /
[that one] there [3 ref] dir-DP-move down DP-touch
ʔant ʔípmoka kW t-áfp ma /
place this [3 ref] DP-arrive SCP
He (a bird) came there, landed, arrived at this place....
- (130) ʔ-áakkoo ʔíš 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 ʔipíiχ 'this one', ʔiśáaχ 'these', tíiχ 'that one', and táaχ 'those'.

- (131) ʔípintika koi i-m-afítto-ipi-ʔo //
[this one] still nom-neg-pull-still-decl
This one (a boat) still isn't pulling it (a net).
- (132) ʔíš koi ʔáa-ʔi //
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.

ARTICLE	VERB	GLOSS OF VERB
ki?	k-íi?	be (sing.)
koi	k-óii	be (pl.)
kop/kap	k-áap	be (standing, sing.)
kix	k-íix	be (seated, sing.)
kom	k-óom	be (lying, sing.)

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-k-a (away-nom-move) must be used with one of several locative morphemes; a common form is to ko ntí-kk-a (there [3 ref] away-nom-move). The plural form is ntí-kk-aat.

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.

FOOTNOTES

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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	neg, negative
asser, assertive	nom, nominalizer
ben, benefactive	pass, passive
ca, causative	perf, perfect
cond, conditional	pl, plural
decl, declarative	poss, possessive
dir, directional	Q, question
DF, dependent future	ref, referent
DP, dependent past	rep, repetitive
emph, emphatic	SCF, subject change future
fut, future	SCP, subject change past
gen, general article	sg, singular
imp, imperative	sub, subject
inf, infinitive	TM, tense-mode marker
inter, interrogative	trans, transitive
intr, intransitive	