ARTICLES IN SERI

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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.), ʔišmokat (pl.)
toward, distant timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
away, close ʔipintika (sg.), ʔišintikat (pl.)
away, distant ʔimintika (sg.), ʔimintikat (pl.)

Indefinite articles:
Singular ŝo
Plural and mass pak

General articles: ʔak; ka?

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 // ?a-χš ?éekkee k-ōoppoo + ŝo ?-yōo-ʔʔo //
sure abs-pet small nom-[be black]a [1 sub]-past-see

Sure, I saw a small black dog.

(2) ŝix ?ap-á??iit ?-ño-ʔʔiit ki? k-fippee-ʔʔ //
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 ?i?-ʔʔ-ippoot koi
money [2 ref] [1 poss]-nom-ca-[be exchanged] the

me n-γ-ɛχt //
[2 ref] [2 sub]-past-take

You took the money that I paid you.

(4) ŝix kWike kái löm Lemóoyan ki? tok kW
thing person elder man Lemoyan the there [3 ref]

ικ //
[perf={be [seated]}]

The deceased Old Man Lemoyan was there.

(5) me šo χa? in-t-ōokta ktám psaak
[2 ref] how just [2 sub]-inter-[look at] man hunger

in-t-ōokxii ma šix šo 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?

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 \( k? \) 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, \( k? \), \( ki\?) and \( k \) which are derived most easily from the underlying form \( k? \) by the following rules: \( ?-\phi/\) and \( \phi-i/\) (The latter is a simplified version of a much broader and very widely used \( i \) epenthesis rule.) The plural article is \( ko\). The following examples illustrate the use of the definite article of non-specified position.

(7) Mařía ki? sîmmeet ki? k-áai-?a //
Mary the bread the nom-make-decl
Mary is making bread.

(8) y-a-sîmmeet Mařía k //
past-ca-bread Mary the
She made bread--Mary.

(9) xéppee k? iti t-om ma / óx? anso ?ái k? 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) šiykám k ?-éx+ //
fish the imp-take
Take the fish!
(11) konkaak i?máa koi ?ant šiki 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) xwáán k i?-xo-níppaa-tim //
    John the [1 sub]-emph-hit-rep

    I am hitting John.

(13) kw[ke [-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-ámxk //
    blanket the [1 ref] imp-bring

    Bring me the blanket!

(15) ?ant k? iti m-póo- ttkáx / šáa? k? iti m-p-i?-x /
    land the on [2 sub]-DF-go sun the on [2 sub]-DF-be-cond

    ksái kom mi+-ít ki? ko n-s-áil-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) moxímmaa ki? xwáán k ?áxš k? i-t-ak-atax šíx
    yesterday the John the dog the trans-DP-cá-go thing

    k-a-náao ki? mos i-y-ak-áttáax //
    nom-ca-meow the also trans-past-cá-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-kí?W ki? s-om-péx+ ?áa-ya //
    fish nom-[be red] the fut-neg-pass-buy be-Q

    Won't red snapper be bought?

(18) móosni kí? xo-míi? //
    turtle the emph-[not exist]

    Turtles are scarce!
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) sîmmeet kix k-ôatW-i?a //
    bread the nom-[be sweet]-decl

    The bread is sweet.

(21) ?ešitm īssoox 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) tōótWkW kix kψX+ //
    cholla the [imp=neg=take]

    Don't grab the cholla!

(24) taʔèWkW kix ko nt-ʔá-ss-aat-aʔa //
    [Tiburon Island] the [3 ref] dir-[2 sub]-fut-[move=pl]-TM

    We'll go to Tiburon Island.

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

    šáa? kix kW i-t-ak-óo-ʔoo-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-ʔíím //
    boat the perf-ca-pleasure

    The boat is pretty.
(27) χέππεε κον šiŋkám kí? k-átχo-ʔa //
sea the fish the nom-[be many]-decl
There are many fish in the sea.

(28) i-nái+ κον t-mátx //
[3 poss]-skin the inter-[be hot]
Is his skin hot?

(29) ʔástä κον κο nt-íťtáat yoke //
stone the [3 ref] dir-[move=pl] [it is said]
They went to the mountains, it is said.

(30) ?áxoxox κοŋ kW t-aškam ma / 
shore the [3 ref] DP-[arrive=pl] SCP
When they arrived at the shore....

(31) i-k-áaspox κοŋ 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 šiŋkám kí? kW y-á-aʔiiit //
man the dog the fish the [3 ref] past-ca-eat
The man fed the dog the fish.

(33) kWkkee ktám kíx ?-áakkoo kop ano k-íixx-ʔiʔi //
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 ?ápx t-áp-χ / im-mátx //
air the outside DP-stand-cond perf-[be hot]
When the air comes out, it is hot.

(35) óχ po-pa-kta ta-χ / šémme kop
thus DF-pass-[look at] SCP-cond sunset the
Whenever it is like that, you shouldn't look at the sunset.

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: ?ipmoka (sg.), ?ipmokat (pl.)
- moving toward, distant: timoka (sg.), tamokat (pl.)
- moving away, close: ?ipintika (sg.), ?imintikat (pl.)
- moving away, distant: ?imintika (sg.), ?imintikat (pl.)

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

(37) kanoa kwássoo+ tintika kanoa k-yé+s tintika
    boat [nom=(be yellow)] the boat nom-[be red] the
    iki ḵw i-?-în ak
    [(3 poss)-side] [3 ref] [3 poss]-nom-[be near] gen

(38) ?ant t-oit / ?ant t-oit /
    sea into down DP-touch sea the into down DP-touch

Falling into the sea, falling into the incoming sea....
The soldiers arrived, it is said.

When the land regains, I am already travelling in the land, i.e., By dawn I'm already up and around.

Is it like that all along the shore?

Every day is different.

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.

All of the birds came down to him.

That on [3 ref] DP-pass-[look at] SCP coyote the [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 ak 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-1?fš+k-i?a // [2 poss]-face gen nom-[be dirty]-decl

Your face is dirty.


I am going outside.

(50) tápx líkp ak that [(3 poss)=side] gen

the side of that

(51) ?fpk ak iti m-íx // here gen on perf-sit

There he is (seated).

(52) ?-áakkoo k? án ak m-i-k-óoppoo+ // nom-[build house] the inside gen perf-with-nom-[be black]

The house is dark inside.

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

When they arrived at the water....

(54) ?íš ak ko ?p-χ-íx // here gen [3 ref] [1 sub]-emph-sit

I am (sitting) here.

(55) šáa? k? fímmee ak ?ak i-t-yai // sun the [(3 poss)=(dwelling place)] gen trans-DP-[go to]

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

(56) kWq+ëmmee ak ko nt-?a-mm-aat // next [Camp ?émmee] gen [3 ref] dir-[1 pl sub]-perf-[move=pl]

Next we went to Camp ?émmee.
Where is the well land nom-stand-Q?

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.

(57) ?ákkíi ?ak míšx ?ant k-áap-ya //
where the well land nom-stand-Q

Which is correct?

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

There comes a boat!

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

There come some boats!

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

We found some lobsters.

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

Give me some water to drink!

(62) ʔe ʂíkkám šo sínmeet š iki ʔá-ʔiit-iʔa //
[l 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 ʔáχxoox i-m-áškam-iʔa ʔo pak ʔáχxoox
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) moχímmaa šo ʔ-yóo-ʔʔo //
yesterday a [l 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) ściłłám koi pak ?a-t-onex / ?ap i-pcíašii
dfish the some [1 pl sub]-DP-carry deer [3 poss]-meat
tá koi táax mos pak ?a-t-onex / tok
there there also some [1 pl sub]-DP-carry there
kw ?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 / iémáa tantikat š ?áa
thus DP-pass-[look at] SCP other the one there
nti-t-a-χ / tfi i-mffo-??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 ?áiχ t-om-mí? 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) kw[keiš i-s-k¿á??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 / kw[keiš ik-á-??iit
DF-neg-arrive SCF-cond person a inf-ca-eat
i-s-k¿á-??a //
trans-fut-[neg=know]-TM

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

(71) šímméet š ano t-m-íi? // χíkkaa k-óatW š ano
bread a in asser-neg-be things nom-[be sweet] a in
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 ŝo ?-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 ŝo in an interrogative sentence when the speaker denies a previous statement of another person. The verb is marked for future, and the denial particle ţe occurs sentence final instead of a tense-mode marker. This is illustrated in (73).

(73) ŝo po-pa-kta ta / kw [kkee wáan ŝo ?ánt ařisóona
    how DF-pass-[look at] SCF person John a land Arizona

?apá? ŝ ano mó-ss-aa ţe //
    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 ŝo, as illustrated below.

(74) tfx tóm ŝo 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) tfx 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 ŝo, thus adding emphasis to the negative statement. This is illustrated below.

(76) ?-oyákx ŝo ?é ?ant kw i-m-áis-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 so is also used with nominalized verb forms which function as direct objects of negative verbs as illustrated below.

(77) *i-pá-kta* so *i-tkWáa-*?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-?áai so ?-xó-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 so is replaced by the definite article k?. Compare example (79) below with (77) above.

(79) *i-pá-kta* k? i-mí-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 ?ak occurs with words which are used as labels for ideas or concepts. The allomorph ak occurs following vowels.

(80) *elefaante* ?ak táax šiX k-kámm-í?a // elephant gen that thing nom-live-decl

"Elephant"--that's an animal.

(81) *peso* ?ak táax kóksáa ?-itom-í?a // 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-í?a // nom-neg-[be good]-decl

The killing of swordfish is also not a good thing.

(83) ko n-yá-fmox ak i?-yo-kéepe // [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.
I have five pesos with which oranges are to be bought.

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

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.

They eat charcoal.

It grows on mountains.

Whenever I am afraid, I tremble.

Every morning the sun comes up.
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) χέπε-άν kom ?áa-ya // [i] χέπε-άnn-i?a // sea-area the [nom=be]-decl agreement sea-area-decl

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

(96) šíχ k-ak-áttoo+i?a // thing nom-ca-[be timid]-decl

It is a dangerous thing.

(97) χμmee-ya // χ[mmee 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) kwâgm kop i-pnâi+ k-óî+ ki? χ-a-šîm //
woman the [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the emph-ca-enjoy

The woman's blue skirt is pretty.

(99) kwâgm i-pnâi+ k-óî+ kop χ-a-šîm //
woman [3 poss]-skirt nom-[be blue] the emph-ca-enjoy

The woman whose skirt is blue is pretty.

(100) yòo's kix ék kix ?âkχ //
God the [(3 poss)=daughter] the somewhere

t-om-mí? 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?yâa, inyâa, and yâa 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-yâat, m-o-yâat, o-o-yâat 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) simâlôon ki? têôoki yâa k ?akì t-fî? //
Cimalon the truck [(3 poss)=possession] the where inter-be

Where is Cimalon's truck?

(102) ?apâspox ?-anôkkaax simâlôon ki? yâa k ?ânt
paper nom-carry Cimalon the [(3 poss)=possession] the ground

kom ano χ-iî? //
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.
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) šiχkám ki? k-ǐpppee koī tāχʔ ?āa tēmme //
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) kʷákkooχ ki? šāa? kix ṧχ t-ēe yoke //
[old man] the sun the thus asser-[intr=say] [it is said]

Father Sun said thus, it is said.

(106) šiχ ki? k-ōχp ka? ᵃ-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) ṣ-a-šámt ṣ-áakkoo kʔ in-t-áʔʔo //
nom-ca-adobe nom-[make house] the [2 sub]-inter-see

Did you see the adobe house?

(108) šiχ k-ōi+ ᵃ-pnái+ in-yāa ki?
thing nom-[be blue] abs-skirt [2 poss]-possession the

χ-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) χʷáan k ᵃχ 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) ?e sfx ?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 íp ano ?-s-áai-a? //
land [?] 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 šíxkámm-i? //
coyote [(3 poss)=son] gen that fish-decl

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

(113) ?e?e i-nált ?íp kix k-áískan-i? //
plant [3 poss]-skin here the nom-[be hard]-decl

This bark is hard.

(114) šíx íkkeet thing [(3 poss)=child]

pearl

(115) šíkkaa 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) kw[kkée ktám i-kanóaa k-táppoo+kiŋ k? í-mmooš person man [3 poss]-boat nom-[be broken] the [3 poss]-heart

χo-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 kɔw k-a-tíkpan-iʔa //
Mexican [3 ref] nom-ca-work-decl

He works like a Mexican.

(118) ?éʔʔee ʔax kw t-apχW+im ma-χ /
stick just [3 ref] DP-[be broken] SCP-cond

Whenever it just breaks like a stick....

(119) ?óoʔfa 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 kw_LAkw //
knife the [3 ref] [imp=neg=kill]

Don't kill it with a knife!

(121) kóksař kiʔ kɔw k-a-tíkpan-iʔa //
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 χaʔ 'and'. Compare the following sentences.

(122) péedřo kiʔ yóo-fp //
Peter the past-arrive

Peter arrived.

(123) péedřo χaʔ mařfá χaʔ ʔešitm íssox 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-χš k-óoppoo+ ?iŋ kɔp
abs-dog nom-[be black] there the

that black dog
(125) ?ást ?íp kix
stone here the
this stone

(126) kóŋkáak ?íš koi ?a-s-éaayox-aʔa //
people here the [1 pl sub]-fut-leave-TM

We should go away from these people.

(127) óx 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) ?ant tá ?ak ?áa-ʔa //
place there gen [nom=be]-decl

It was in that place.

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

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

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

(130) ?-áakkoo ?íš 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', ?išáax 'these',
títíx 'that one', and táax 'those'.

(131) ?ípintika koi i-m-afítto-ipiʔo //
[this one] still nom-neg-pull-still-decl

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

(132) ?íš koi ?áa-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>GLOSS OF VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki?</td>
<td>k-íí?</td>
<td>be (sing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koi</td>
<td>k-óíí</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-ííx</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 nti-k-a (away-nom-move) must be used with one of several locative morphemes; a common form is to ko nti-kk-a (there [3 ref] away-nom-move). The plural form is nti-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

1 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.

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           |                             |