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Corrections to and clarifications of the Seri data in Greenberg & Ruhlen's *An Amerind Etymological Dictionary*

Stephen A. Marlett

*Seri data have been included in comparative studies of Native American languages of North America, especially those that relate to the putative Hokan family and the putative Amerind family. Since the publication in recent years of much more analyzed Seri data, including those found in the 2005 dictionary, it is important to reassess the data that has been used in earlier comparative studies. This paper examines the data included in Greenberg & Ruhlen's (2007) An Amerind Etymological Dictionary, corrects mistakes and clarifies the data generally.**

The first comprehensive presentation of Greenberg's view of Amerind (Greenberg 1987) appeared more than twenty years ago. This work generated a great deal of discussion that I do not review here (but see Campbell 1997, especially chapters 3, 7, and 8, for example). Other people have pointed out factual problems with data from specific languages, both before and after Campbell's critique.

Greenberg (1987) had access to a limited amount of Seri data, including Moser & Moser (1961) and much poorer data from previous decades. But obviously Greenberg did not review all of the literature on the language that existed by that time. The scope of his project made that difficult for one person or even a small team of people to do.

A revised version of the data presented in Greenberg (1987) has now appeared as Greenberg & Ruhlen (version 12: September 4, 2007), *An Amerind Etymological Dictionary* (henceforth *AED*). The *AED* includes some new sets, including some Seri data, when compared to Greenberg (1987). The publication of the *AED* gives me the opportunity to do what I neglected to do for the earlier publication, which is to review the Seri data presented and to indicate where corrections need to be made. Publication of these corrections is intended to help avoid repetition of these errors in the future by other researchers and also help linguists evaluate the proposals of the *AED*.

Table 1 lists the information according to the *AED* in the first three columns (using the numbering and the order of the *AED*), including the proposed forms for Proto-Amerind and Proto-Hokan (both controversial), and the Seri data that they include (in the third column). In the last two columns I provide corrected data and commentary.

The data presented here are primarily from M. Moser & Marlett (2005, *Diccionario*), indicated in Table 1 as MMD plus a page number. When the data are also available from E. Moser & M. Moser (1961, *Vocabulario*), I have also included a reference to that work, indicated as MMV. Differences in detail between these two sources are not presented. Obviously progress was made in documenting and understanding the language during the forty-some years that separated these two publications. The same data are found in M. Moser & Marlett (2010) but the pagination is different. Morphological or other information is available from various sources, primarily Marlett (1981), the grammar sections of M. Moser & Marlett (2005, 2010), and Marlett (in preparation).

* I thank Lyle Campbell and Merrit Ruhlen for comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper. All remaining deficiencies and errors are my own responsibility.

I have converted the transcriptions found in M. Moser & Marlett (2005) to IPA conventions for this paper. As it turns out, Ruhlen converted the IPA-style transcriptions of Greenberg (1987) to (generally) Americanist conventions for the *AED*. I do not try to harmonize the two transcriptions, but see the explanation of important differences at the beginning of Table 1.

I do not take a position here on the reasonableness of the broad hypotheses that are advanced in either Greenberg (1987) or *AED*, although I have been generally critical of the claims about genetic relationships that have not been supported by solid evidence (Marlett 2007, 2008a) and like many others am especially skeptical about Amerind. However, I use shading in some rows in Table 1 to indicate where I think the Seri data definitely do not support the particular reconstruction for which they were listed in *AED*. If these are excluded, (at best) 33 forms for Seri are found in support of the proposals. In many of these cases, as it might also be pointed out, no data from Yuman languages are included either. It remains to be seen whether additional data from M. Moser & Marlett (2005, 2010) could be or will be added to the comparative database. The lack of serious work on the much more basic (and reasonable, but still undemonstrated) proposal of a Seri-Yuman grouping would suggest that it is premature to be attempting the demonstration of Amerind. (Crawford 1976 was an important attempt to seriously demonstrate the evidence.)

Table 1: Data

Explanation of transcriptions: The *AED*, like Greenberg (1987), uses particular conventions for representing sounds that must be explained and their differences from those in my data.

transcription of Seri data in <i>AED</i>	transcription of Seri data in this paper	Explanation
e	ɛ	slightly more open than open-mid front vowel (functioning as low vowel in the phonology, in which the system contrasts high vs. low despite the skewed phonetics)
f	ɸ	voiceless labial fricative (typically bilabial)
ɣ	k	The <i>AED</i> data represent an unconfirmed impressionistic transcription of what must be /k/.
h	x	voiceless velar fricative
k'	kʔ	a sequence of two consonants (voiceless velar stop followed by glottal stop) that occurs at morpheme boundaries
š	ʃ	voiceless slightly retroflex postalveolar sibilant
x	χ	voiceless uvular fricative
y	j	palatal approximant

For the sake of explicitness, I indicate stress in the data I present (using a superior vertical stroke preceding the primary stressed syllable and an inferior vertical stroke preceding a secondary stressed syllable). Discussion of Seri stress patterns is presented in Marlett (2008b).

Other non-IPA conventions in the proto-Amerind or proto-Hokan data for sounds that do *not* occur in Seri include <c> for [t^s] (*AED*, p. 8), superscript y to indicate a palatalized consonant, and <t^{l'}> for (apparently) an ejective lateral affricate. The symbol H is unexplained.

Geminate consonants in my data represent false geminates (which occur at morpheme boundaries).

A <V> in the last column indicates a vowel position of indeterminate quality since it always receives its features from a prefix, as described in Marlett (in preparation), while <VV> indicates that the vowel of indeterminate quality is long. I do not know what the implications of this information may be for historical and comparative studies.

Morpheme gloss abbreviations used include: ABS absolute, AUG augment, IRR.ID independent irrealis, PL plural, PON proposition/oblique nominalizer, SN subject nominalizer, TR transitive, 1P first person possessor, 3P third person possessor. The abbreviations K and L in the *AED*, copied in the present article, are not explained in the source. Other abbreviations: MMD (M. Moser & Marlett, *Diccionario*, 2005) and MMV (E. Moser & M. Moser, *Vocabulario*, 1961). The symbol √ indicates a root boundary.

<i>AED</i> Proto-Amerind	<i>AED</i> Proto-Hokan	<i>AED</i> Seri data	Corrected or clarified Seri data	Additional Notes
4 ABOVE ₄ *q'al	—	koła 'upward'	'koła 'up high' (MMD 207, MMV 31)	
6 ADJECTIVAL/ PARTICIPIAL FORMANT *ki	*k ^y -	ki- (adjective formant)	k- (subject nominalizer, non- negative, non-passive allomorph)	A morpheme i- follows the k- when the verb is transitive, visible only in a limited context.
12 ALLATIVE (MOTION TOWARD) *-k	—	(?)ak (locative)	?ak (definite article for locations, etc.) (MMD 311)	This is believed to be derived from the verb √a?ka 'be located' just as other definite articles are derived from positional verbs.
32 ASHES *pok(us) ~ *pul	—	emay (Kroeber), anti-mak (Moser)	√ant 'imak (earth 3P-middle) = 'ashes' (MMD 331, MMV 57)	The root for 'middle' is √Vmak.
54 BEHIND ₁ *(a)pi	—	?i:p 'tail'	'i:p (3P-tail) (MMD 407, MMV 79)	The root for 'tail' is √Vpa. The final vowel shows up only in the derived verb.
70 BLACK ₁ *pol	—	ko-opoł	'ko:poł (SN-black) (MMD 225, MMV 35)	The root for '(be) black' is √o:poł.
88 BONE ₃ *cak	—	itak	'itak (3P-bone) (MMD 430, MMV 83)	The root for 'bone' is √Vtak.
93 BREAK (v.) *k'at'i	—	k-kašx	'kkaʃx (SN-AUG- torn (MMD 169, MMV 20)	The root for '(be) torn' is √aʃx.
100 BROAD *pat'	—	k-apt-h (sing. subject), k-apt-ałka (pl. subject)	'kaptx (SN-wide), 'kaptałka (SN-wide- PL) (MMD 134, MMV 14)	The root for 'wide' is √aptx. Changes are made to this through infixation and suffixation to form the plural.

<i>AED</i> Proto-Amerind	<i>AED</i> Proto-Hokan	<i>AED</i> Seri data	Corrected or clarified Seri data	Additional Notes
154 COME ₅ *pi	—	ifp	'kaaɸp (SN-arrive) (MMD 50, MMV 4); 'iiɸp (3P-PON-arrive)	The singular root for 'arrive' is √aɸap (sg.), with the second vowel appearing in the imperfective aspect. The first vowel is irregularly long in the citation form.
155 COOK ₁ *maki	*muHt'	ka-motni	ka'motni (SN-AUG-deformed.by.heat) 'make cracklings' (MMD 123, MMV 13)	The root for 'deformed by heat' is √moton. The second vowel is lost in the perfective, and an epenthetic i inserted.
178 DIE ₁ *maki	*(i/a)ma 'kill', *ma 'die', *(i/a)mi(:) 'sleep'	-i:m 'sleep'	'ki:m (SN-sleep) (MMD 502, MMV 96)	The root for 'sleep' is √i:m.
223 EARTH ₃ *ama(k) ~ *ama(t)	—	amt	'ʔamt 'soil' (MMD 323, MMV 54)	This word also seems to be an archaic form of the modern 'ʔant 'earth'. The form ʔamat for 'earth' appears in songs.
240 EXCRE- MENT ₁ *pa	—	ʔapxika:p	ʔapx 'kaap (outside SN-stand) is a modern euphemism for 'defecate'. (MMD 68, MMV 60)	
242 EYE ₁ *(i)to(ʔ)	*ʔat'u 'eye, head'	ʔa:to (Kroeber ito)	'ʔato (ABS-eye), 'ito (3P-eye) (MMD 358, 434; MMV 64)	The root for 'eye' is √Vto.
299 FLY ₁ (n.) *k'ampa	—	x-komo-h, x-komo-ɬk (pl.)	'χko:mox (MMD 583, MMV 111)	There is no reason to segment the χ at the beginning; any reason to segment the x at the end would be rather esoteric. The plural form is a common pattern.

<i>AED</i> Proto-Amerind	<i>AED</i> Proto-Hokan	<i>AED</i> Seri data	Corrected or clarified Seri data	Additional Notes
382 HEAVEN *ema	—	ʔamime	ʔa'mi:me (MMD 322, MMV 54)	This may be an old compound, from something like ʔam i:me (? 3P-home). Compare ʔa'mak 'fire' (perhaps from ʔam ʔak (? Locative.Article)).
393 HOT *k'ec ~ k'ac	—	kkošij	'kkoʃim (SN-be.hot.weather) (MMD 172, MMV 21)	The root for 'be hot weather' is √kkoʃim.
398 I ₂ *ʔi	i 'I', *l'e 'I, we'	ʔe 'I', ʔi 'my'	'ʔe (first person pronoun, both singular and plural); ʔi- (1P) (MMD 366, 378; MMV 66)	
406 INTERROGATIVE ₂ *ki ~ *ka ~ *ku	*(a)č ^h i 'what'	kiʔ 'who'	'ki:ʔ (MMD 497, MMV 94)	
427 LARGE ₁ *ta(k)	—	-atxo 'many'	'katxo (SN-many/much) (MMD 151, MMV 17)	The root for 'many/much' is √atxo.
445 LIVE ₂ (v.) *ya	—	-iʔ	'ki:ʔ (SN-be.(flexible.item) (MMD 497, MMV 96)	The root for 'be.(flexible.item)' is √i:ʔ.
459 LOUSE ₃ *ik'wa	*ač'i, *aHk ^w i	ʔaixak 'nit'	ʔait 'iχak (ABS-louse-PL 3P-nit) (MMD 437, MMV 52)	The root for 'nit' is √Vχak.
483 MEAT ₃ *mati	—	ipxasi, ipxaš (pl.)	ip'χasi (3P-flesh), ip'χaš (3P-flesh-PL) (MMD 423, MMV 81)	The root for 'flesh' is √pχasi.
498 MOTHER *tati	—	ʔita	'ʔita (1P-mother), 'ata (3P-mother) (MMD 42, MMV 74)	The root for 'mother' is √Vta.
519 NECK ₄ *pak	—	k-iphk 'hang on neck'	'kipxk (SN-TR-wear.around.neck) (MMD 525, MMV 99)	The root for 'wear around neck' is √apxk.
525 NIGHT ₂ *mok	—	iʔamok	i'ʔamok (3P-PON-be.night), 'kʔamok (SN-be.night) (MMD 395, 175; MMV 77, 25)	The root for 'be night' is √ʔamok.

<i>AED</i> Proto-Amerind	<i>AED</i> Proto-Hokan	<i>AED</i> Seri data	Corrected or clarified Seri data	Additional Notes
620 SAY ₃ *koʔe	—	ke:, kaʔ	'kɛ: (SN-say), 'kaʔ (IMP-do/say/put), 'kiʔ (SN-TR-do/say/put) (MMD 472, 488; MMV 91, 10, 94)	The root for 'say' (sg.) is √ɛ:. The root for 'do/say/put' (sg.) is √aʔ.
635 SEED ₂ *icu	*iso	is 'fruit'	'is (3P-immature.fruit) (MMD 424, MMV 82)	The root for 'immature fruit' is √Vs.
648 SING *siya	—	k-o:s	'ko:s (SN-sing) (MMD 226, MMV 35)	The root for 'sing' is √o:si. The second vowel is dropped in the singular forms.
653 SIT ₅ *iku	—	-ix-	'ki:x (SN-sit) (MMD 500, MMV 96)	The root for 'sit' (sg.) is √i:x.
655 SKIN ₅ *pakti	—	-biɬ'	'na:iɬ (3P-skin) (MMD 416, MMV 54)	The root for 'skin' is √na:iɬ. <i>AED</i> data for Seri must be an error; perhaps they are from another language. There is no b in Seri, and no glottalized consonants.
666 SLEEP ₁ *cima	(K) *(a/i)sima, (L) *sema	sim	'si:m (IRR.ID-sleep), 'ki:m (SN-sleep) (MMD 502, MMV 96)	The root for 'sleep' is √i:m. It is not clear why there is an s in the <i>AED</i> since in item 178, the same lexeme, it does not appear.
673 SMALL ₃ *k'uti	—	kosot	'ko:sot (SN-narrow) (MMD 227, MMV 35)	The root for 'narrow' is √o:sot.
675 SMELL ₃ *k'uk ^w i	—	k'e: 'stink'	'kʔɛ:mt (SN-stink) (MMD 176, MMV 25)	It is not clear what happened in the data in the <i>AED</i> . Perhaps data from another language happened to be included here by mistake.
699 SPIDER ₁ *ʔako	*qɔk ^h e	-xox	Various terms exist, nothing like what appears in <i>AED</i> .	

AED Proto-Amerind	AED Proto-Hokan	AED Seri data	Corrected or clarified Seri data	Additional Notes
711 STAR ₁ *(a)sin	—	šax	'ʃa:ʔ 'sun, day' (MMD 611, MMV 117)	
778 THOU ₁ *mi ~ *ma	*mi ~ *ma	me 'thou, you'	'me (second person pronoun, both singular and plural) (MMD 444, MMV 85)	
794 TONGUE ₃ *paɬ	(i/a-)palʸ ~ *ipawa (K), *pelʸ ~ *penʸ (K) 'lick' (ʔe)baHle: (L)	ʔapɬ	'ʔapɬ (ABS-tongue), 'ipɬ (3P-tongue) (MMD 421, MMV 59)	The root for 'tongue' is √Vpaɬ. The second vowel is dropped in the singular form.
843 VAGINA ₂ *ʔaci	*si ~ ši 'penis	ʔasit	'ʔasit (ABS-vulva) (MMV 61)	The root for 'vulva' is √Vsit. The Seri form is the only Hokan data given for this set of proposed cognates in the AED.
852 WATER/ DRINK *aq'ʷa/*uq'ʷa	*ʔa:čʰw a ~ *a:-xʷa: 'water', *(a/i)kʰwey 'rain, cloud', *ʔikʰw i 'rain (n.)'	ʔax	'ʔax (ABS-liquid) 'fresh water' (MMD 359, MMV 65)	The root for 'liquid' is √Vχa. The vowel a appears in the plural form (followed by a suffix) 'ʔaxaxam.
856 WATER ₄ *si	*i/a-si 'drink'	isi 'drink'	'kisi (SN-TR-drink) (MMD 530, MMV 101)	The root for 'drink' is √asi.
885 WING *kampi	—	kap (implied to mean 'wing')	'kkap (SN-fly) (MMD 166, MMV 19)	The root for 'fly' is √kap. The root for 'wing, branch' is √VVsex a.

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