

## 23. Adjectives

Notions that correspond to prototypical adjectives in other languages are most commonly expressed in Seri with intransitive stative predicates. These are not distinguishable morphologically from other intransitive predicates (see §18.2) and no significant motivation internal to Seri has been found to distinguish them from other verbs as a word class. The vast majority of adjectival notions are therefore represented in Seri consistently as relative clauses using deverbals nouns when used attributively and as verbs or deverbals nouns (see §10.4.1) when used predicatively.

An example using the predicate meaning *small* is presented here to contrast with the adjectives discussed later in this chapter. The root  $\sqrt{\text{isil}}$  (for singular subjects) cannot stand alone as a word. When it modifies a noun, using a deverbals form, it may be either positive (**qu-isil** SN-small) or negative (**i-m-isil** SN-N-small). (See chapter 14 for discussion of deverbals noun morphology.) These forms are illustrated in examples (1) and (2).

- (1) **Canóaa quih quisil com, tiix ihséxl aha.**  
 boat the.FL SN-small the.Hz DDS 1sS.TR-IR.ID-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘Compraré la PEQUEÑA panga.’  
*I will buy the SMALL boat.*
- (2) **Canóaa quih imísil com, tiix ihséxl aha.**  
 boat the.FL SN-N-small the.Hz DDS 1sS.TR-IR.ID-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘Compraré la panga que NO es pequeña.’  
*I will buy the boat that is NOT small.*

Such deverbals nouns may occur as fused-heads in the nominal phrase (see §4.3.4), as in (3).

- (3) [ **Quisil com ] ihséxl aha.**  
 SN-small the.Hz 1sS.TR-IR.ID-buy AUX-DCL  
 ‘Compraré el/la pequeño/a.’  
*I will buy the small one.*

And such words may be used predicatively in the verbless construction (§10.4) with some modal element.

- (4) **Canóaa com quisil iha.** (5) **Canóaa com imísil iha.**  
 boat the.Hz SN-small DCL boat the.Hz SN-N-small DCL  
 ‘La panga es pequeña.’ ‘La panga no es pequeña.’  
*The boat is small. The boat is not small.*

Such predicates may also be inflected in any of the ways that one expects for intransitive verbs. Some examples with the root  $\sqrt{\text{isil}}$  are: **yisil** *it was small*, **xisil** *it is small!*, **misil** *it is small*,

**yomísil** *it was not small*, **pisil** *(if) it is small*, **pomísil** *(if) it isn't small*, **tisil** *is it small?*, *(when) it was small*, **tmisil** *isn't it small?*, etc.

Nevertheless, apart from the very large class of stative predicates of which  $\sqrt{\text{isil}}$  *small* is an example, there is a very small class of adjectives in the language (other than the demonstrative adjectives (§21.3) and the interrogative adjective **zó** *which?* (§6.2.1.5)).<sup>1</sup> They are a rather unusual and heterogeneous set of words; see the presumably complete list in Table 23.1. For some of them, if one asks a speaker about the word, one just gets a puzzled look in return since the words are just that unusual or restricted in usage. And some of them may be confused with cognate adverbs.

Adjectives differ from the stative verbs illustrated above using  $\sqrt{\text{isil}}$  *small*. First, while all of the adjectives can be used attributively, as documented below, these words never occur with any prefix or suffix. They thus cannot be inflected with verbal morphology of any type, including negation. Only a few ungrammatical examples are presented here to illustrate.

- |     |    |                                  |                   |                                |
|-----|----|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | * <b>imcóox</b> / * <b>imóox</b> | (‘no todos’)      | <i>(not all)</i>               |
|     | b. | * <b>yotázo</b>                  | (‘había uno’)     | <i>(there was one)</i>         |
|     | c. | * <b>sihmáa</b>                  | (‘habrá otro’)    | <i>(there will be another)</i> |
|     | d. | * <b>pozáac</b>                  | (‘si es pequeño’) | <i>(if it is small)</i>        |

Second, most of the adjectives cannot function as fused heads of the nominal phrase (see Table 23.1). Only three of them may do this: **cöhaix** *injured (by hunting weapon)*, **ihmáa** *other(s)*, and **tazo** *one*. These three adjectives may be followed by a determiner, which is a crucial fact here to show their place in the nominal phrase.

- (7) ¡[ **Cöhaix tintica** ] **iiqui hpancojc!**  
 injured MD-AW 3P-toward IM-run-PL  
 ‘¡Corre tras el que está herido!’  
*Run after the injured one!* (Offered)
- (8) ..., **mos** [ **ihmáa pac** ] **isiimlajc aha.**  
 also other(s) some 3:3-IR.ID-bring-PL AUX-DCL  
 ‘..., traerán otras.’  
*..., they will bring others.* (DS2005, caazj)
- (9) ¿ [ **Ihmáa zo** ] **ntconyáa?**  
 other a 2sS-RL-N-own  
 ‘¿No tienes más (otro)?’  
*Don't you have any more (another one)?* (DS2005, queeme)

<sup>1</sup> See also the adjectival roots that appear in compounds discussed in §13.5.

Table 23.1: Simple adjectives

		may function as	may be used
		fused head	predicatively
<b>côhaisx</b>	<i>injured (by hunting weapon)</i>	yes	yes
<b>ihmáa</b>	<i>other</i>	yes	?
<b>tazo</b>	<i>one, single</i>	yes	?
<b>áa</b>	<i>true</i>	no	no
<b>aapa</b>	<i>strong, sturdy</i>	no	rarely
<b>coox</b>	<i>all (entirety)</i>	(pronoun)	no
<b>ii</b>	<i>first</i>	no	no
<b>xahxáii</b>	<i>kind of like, somewhat resembling</i>	no	no
<b>xapi</b>	<i>none</i>	no	no
<b>zaac</b>	<i>small</i>	no	no

- (10) [ **Tazo cah** ] **siitom aha.**  
 one the.FL-FOC IR.ID-speak AUX-DCL  
 ‘UNO debe hablar.’  
*ONE should talk.* (1 Co 14:27)

- (11) [ **Tazo ipi** ] **tmahcáail, yoque.**  
 one INTNS RL-N-remain DT-US-say  
 ‘Ni UNO quedó, se dice.’  
*There wasn't even ONE left over, it is said.* (DS2005, ccaail)

Only a few ungrammatical examples with the other adjectives are presented here to demonstrate their inability to function as fused heads.

- (12) a. \*[ **zaac quiq** ]<sub>DP</sub> (‘el pequeño’) *(the small one)*  
 b. \*[ **aapa quiq** ]<sub>DP</sub> (‘el enorme’) *(the strong one)*  
 c. \*[ **xapi** ]<sub>DP</sub> (‘ninguno’) *(none)*  
 d. \*[ **coox coi** ]<sub>DP</sub> (‘todos’) *(all)*

The example in (12d) is meant to demonstrate that **coox** cannot occur *with a determiner* following it. However, **coox all** may be used pronominally and in that way appears at first glance to be functioning as a fused head. See §16.3 for reasons that motivate the categorization of **coox** as a true pronoun in those contexts.

Third, most of the adjectives cannot be used predicatively in the verbless construction

(§10.1). Two ungrammatical examples are given below.<sup>2</sup>

- (13) \* **Minol cop zaac iha.**  
 2P-finger the.VT small DCL  
 ('Tu dedo es pequeño.) (*Your finger is small.*)
- (14) \* **¿Taax coox -ya?**  
 DDP all QM  
 ('¿Son todos?' / '¿Es todo?') (*Is that all of them? Is that all?*)

### 23.1 Discussion of specific adjectives

The adjectives in Table 23.1 are discussed individually in the following sections.

#### 23.1.1 **Áa true, real, authentic**

The adjective **áa** *true, real, authentic* is homophonous with the adverb **áa** *truly, really* which most typically follows verbs (§24.4.1). The adjective is more commonly found in compounds and lexicalized expressions which also tend to be quite transparent semantically: **haapis áa** (tobacco real) *factory-made cigarette*, **siml áa** (barrel.cactus real) *a variety of barrel cactus*, **xcoomoj áa** (fly real) *common housefly*, **moosni áa** (black.sea.turtle real) (*a variety of?*) *black sea turtle*, **ziix hapáhit áa** (thing SN-PV-eat real) *solid meal, real food (not junk food)*, **cocsar áa** (non-Indian.Mexican real) *non-Indian Mexican* (used in special situations), and **cmiique áa** (person/Seri real) *clean-living person*. Simple non-lexicalized examples are not very common. Two examples are given here.

- (15) ... **xo cmiique áa z imháa ha.**  
 but person/Seri real a SN-N-EQ DCL  
 '... pero no era una verdadera persona.'  
 ... *but s/he wasn't a real person.* (Hipocampo\_24) RMH\_05-29-07\_116a
- (16) **¡Hamt áa com an hant hij!**  
 soil real the.Hz 3P.in land IM-sit  
 '¡Siéntate en el mero suelo!'  
*Sit on the ground itself!*<sup>3</sup> (Offered) RMH\_05-29-07\_116b

#### 23.1.2 **Aapa strong, sturdy**

The adjective **aapa** *strong, sturdy* and sometimes *enormous* is also more commonly found in compounds and lexicalized expressions. Two with the first sense are **inol aapa** *right hand* and

<sup>2</sup> Adjectives are not used in constructions comparable to the English examples *I sat there hungry*, *You found me naked*, *I think him uninformed*, *You strike me as cantankerous*.

<sup>3</sup> For some speakers this implies that one will sit on sand and not just on the ground.

**haitáapa** *northwest wind* (compare **hai** *wind*; the **t** is unexplained, however). Two with the sense of a very large size are **mosnáapa** *a variety of black sea turtle*<sup>4</sup> (compare **moosni** *black sea turtle*), and **Caail° Aapa** (a particular very large dry lake bed). Non-lexicalized uses of the word imply something that is bigger and/or stronger than the usual kind.

- (17) **Trooqui aapa z an hasíhca ha.**  
 vehicle strong a 3P.in 1P<sub>S</sub>-IR.ID-sit.PL AUX-DCL  
 ‘Iremos en un vehículo fuerte.’  
*We will go in a heavy vehicle.*<sup>5</sup> (Offered)
- (18) **Haaco aapa zo nsaai (a)ha.**  
 ABS.house strong a 2S<sub>S</sub>-IR.ID-make AUX-DCL  
 ‘Debes hacer una casa fuerte.’  
*You should make a sturdy house.*
- (19) **Canóaa aapa ha.**  
 boat enormous DCL  
 ‘Es una panga enorme.’  
*It is an enormous boat.*

This same adjective is used with the sense of *correctly identified* in the following examples.

- (20) ... **hax tiix aapa haa, teete ma, ...**  
 INTNS DDS SN.EQ RL-say DS  
 ‘... dijo que de veras era él, ...’  
*... he said that he really was he, ...* (Ac 9:20)
- (21) **Tiix aapa ha toc cōmoma.**  
 DDS FOC there 3IO-TWD-PX-move  
 ‘Es de veras él/ella que viene.’  
*That’s really him/her coming.* (Offered)

### 23.1.3 Coox all

Cases where the word **coox all** is unambiguously an adjective modifying a nominal are those in which it occurs before the determiner,<sup>6</sup> and these are surprisingly uncommon.<sup>7</sup> The adjective modifies a singular noun or a deverbal noun. In some cases, such as (22), the referent is

<sup>4</sup> According to Lorenzo Herrera, this variety of sea turtle doesn’t become thin and so was a preferred variety for eating.

<sup>5</sup> It was explained that the quintessential example of a **trooqui aapa** is a Hummer.

<sup>6</sup> **Coox** occurs in the NTT more than 1200 times, as does **ihmáa**. The word **tazo** occurs more than 400 times.

<sup>7</sup> The adjective **coox all, entire** has a cognate adverb which occurs preverbally and means *completely* (§24.3.1.7). The verb **√cooo** also figures in the picture; see §18.2. In many situations the preferred expression for *all* is a verbal form using this root.

obviously necessarily singular and so the combination of a singular noun with **coox** expresses the entirety of that item in some distributive sense — not all of the meat, in example (24), but all kinds of meat.

- (22) **Hant quih coox com iti tatax, ...**  
 earth the.FL all the.Hz 3P-on RL-go  
 ‘Viajó por toda la tierra (por todos lados), ...’  
*S/he went over the whole world (everywhere), ...*
- (23) **¡Ziix quih iti cöitom coox cah iti cöhaazi!**  
 thing the.FL 3P-on 3IO-3P-AON-speak all the.FL-FOC 3P-on 3IO-IM-make-PL  
 ‘¡Hagan todo lo que él les diga!’  
*Do everything that he says to do!* (Jn 2:5)
- (24) **Ziix ipxási quih coox cah iyóohit.**  
 thing 3P-flesh the.FL all the.FL-FOC 3:3-DT-eat  
 ‘Come toda clase de carne.’  
*S/he/it eats all kinds of meat.*<sup>8</sup>

In other cases, the combination implies the entire set of items implied by the singular noun. Such noun phrases determine singular number marking on the verb; see (26) and (27), for example.

- (25) **Zaah quih coox cah ...**  
 sun/day the.FL all the.FL-FOC  
 ‘Todos los días, ...’  
*Every day ...*<sup>9</sup>
- (26) **Ziix quih quisax coox cah isího (a)ha.**  
 thing the.FL SN-have.life all the.FL-FOC 3:3-IR.ID-see AUX-DCL  
 ‘Todo el mundo lo/la verá.’  
*Everyone will see him/her/it.*
- (27) **Haxz quih coox cah yaxi.**  
 dog the.FL all the.FL-FOC DT-die  
 ‘Todos los perros murieron.’  
*All of the dogs died.*

<sup>8</sup> The meaning *S/he/it eats all of the meat* can be expressed with the pronoun **coox** following the determiner phrase, as in **Ziix ipxási quih coox iyóohit**. On this construction, see §8.5.

<sup>9</sup> It is important to note that the meaning *all day* is not a possible interpretation of this phrase.

- (28) **Zaah, tiix thaa ma x, cmiique coox cah °iisax hant yaait°.**  
 sun/day DDS RL-EQ DS UT person/Seri all the.FL-FOC s/he.is.happy  
 ‘En ese día toda la gente es feliz.’  
*On that day everyone is happy.* (Offered)

The use of **coox** with a plural noun and a plural verb is not impossible, however, as illustrated by the following example.

- (29) **Haxaca coox cah yaxyat.**  
 ABS-pet-PL all the.FL-FOC DT-die-PL  
 ‘Todos los perros murieron.’  
*All of the dogs died.*

The following expressions, used as adjuncts with verbs to indicate *with gusto, energetically*, are common, however, and plural nouns also occur with **coox** in these: **iisax** (or **ihíisax**) **quih coox com** (3P-spirit the.FL all the.Hz) (*with*) *all his/her heart*, **iistox** (or **ihíistox**) **quih coox com** (3P-?-PL the.FL all the.Hz) (*with*) *all their hearts*, **miisax** (or **mihíisax**) **quih coox com** (*with*) *all your heart*. These adjuncts determine oblique/indirect object inflection in the following examples; when they are not present in these clauses, that inflection is not used.

- (30) **... iisax quih coox com cōitatólec, itzáxō, ox imíi: ...**  
 3IO-3:3-RL-ask.for.help 3:3-RL-discuss thus 3:3-PX-tell  
 ‘... le rogó, le habló, y le dijo: ...’  
*... he begged him for help, he spoke to him and said to him: ...* (Ac 16:9)
- (31) **Iistox quih coox com cōimquéept, comcáac coi,**  
 3IO-3:3-PX-like-PL person/Seri.PL the.PL  
**quino cōhiifp hac, hin taht.**  
 3P.PL-in 3IO-1P-AON-arrive the.Lc 1sDO RL-see-PL

‘Las personas me recibieron con mucha alegría cuando llegué y me vieron.’  
*The people received me very gladly when I arrived and they saw me.* (Offered)

### 23.1.4 Cōhaisx *injured (by hunting weapon)*

The word **cōhaisx** *injured (by hunting weapon)* is odd-looking in that it begins with a consonant (**cō**) which is common in verb-initial position as an allomorph of the third person oblique/indirect object prefix (§17.1.2.4) and it has the sequence **ha** which looks suspiciously like the beginning of a passive deverbal noun, although no other forms of it appear to exist. Other currently-used expressions for *injure* or *hunt* are not similar. The word occurs in the lexicalized expression **hamác cōhaisx** (fire injured) *smoke signal*.

- (32) **Hap ticom cōhaisx iha.** (33) **hap cōhaisx tintica**  
 mule.deer MD-HZ injured DCL mule.deer injured MD-AW  
 ‘Ese venado bura está herido.’ ‘el venado bura herido’  
*That mule deer is injured.* *the injured mule deer* (DS2005, cōhaisx)

### 23.1.5 ihmáa other

The adjective **ihmáa other** is presumably derived historically from the homophonous negative subject-oriented deverbal noun based on the equative verb  $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$ , namely **imháa** [iʔ<sup>1</sup>ma a] *what is not* {**i-m-haa** SN-N-EQ}.<sup>10</sup> The metathesis of **mh** is regular, as described in §28.5.10.

- (34) **icáaitom ihmáa zo** (35) **xicaquizíil° ihmáa coi**  
 3P-AON-US-speak other a children other the.PL  
 ‘otro tema’ ‘los otros niños’  
*another topic* (DS2005, ihmáa) *the other children* (DS2005, ihmáa)

This adjective can be modified by the intensifier **hax** and followed by the focused article **cah** (§24.2.2) to give the meaning *one after another*.

- (36) **°xiica quih quiistox° hax ihmáa cah**  
 people INTNS other the.FL-FOC  
 ‘una persona tras otra’  
*one person after another* (Lk 11:29)

Since this adjective can fuse with the head of the nominal phrase (see §4.3.3), it is not possible to give unambiguous examples of it being used predicatively. The following example, for instance, can be analyzed with **ihmáa** being used pronominally rather than predicatively.

- (37) **He hiionam quih ihmáa ha.**  
 1PRO 1P-hat the.FL other DCL  
 ‘Mi sombrero es otro.’  
*My hat is another one.*

### 23.1.6 íi first

The adjective **íi first** has a cognate adverb with a similar meaning which follows verbs. Therefore any discussion of the adjective needs to be careful to select examples without deverbal nouns in order to distinguish the adjective from the adverb. The adjective *per se* is very

<sup>10</sup> The deverbal noun **imháa** (SN-N-EQ) *what is not* is homophonous with the adjective since the metathesis of **mh** still occurs. The two words are written distinctly in current work, with the verbal form keeping the root  $\sqrt{\text{haa}}$  intact.

infrequent. Two examples of it used adnominally are given here.<sup>11</sup>

- (38) **aal**      **íi**      **quij**  
 3P-spouse first the.CM  
 ‘su primer esposo, su primera esposa’  
*his/her first spouse* (DS2005, aal)
- (39) **Hipiix tax hitróoqui cheel íi chaa ha.**  
 DPS — 1P-vehicle SN-red first SN-EQ DCL  
 ‘Éste es mi primer carro rojo.’  
*This is my first red vehicle.*<sup>12</sup>

This adjective also occurs in some lexicalized expressions such as **haamjö íi** (a plant, *Hechtia montana*) and **yaazi° íi** *his firstborn child* (3P-AON-carry first).<sup>13</sup>

### 23.1.7 Tazo one

The adjective **tazo one** is the only “number” word that is not a verb (see §18.2). It is undoubtedly related historically to the verb  $\sqrt{\text{azoj}}$  *alone, be one*, and it is also commonly used as a head (§4.3.3), as shown above in (11). Example (40) illustrates its attributive use. Example (41) looks like a predicative use, but it may also be an example of **tazo** used pronominally (see §4.3.3).

- (40) [ **Hanso ziix tazo** ] **cahcáail**      **iha.**  
 just thing one SN-remain/lacking DCL  
 ‘Falta sólo una cosa.’  
*Just one thing is lacking.* (Mk 10:21)
- (41) **¿Tazo -ya?**  
 one QM  
 ‘Hay uno/una?’  
*Is there one?*

### 23.1.8 Xahxáii kind of like

The commonly-used adjective **xahxáii** *kind of like, somewhat resembling* is presumably derived historically from a subject-oriented deverbal noun based on the verb  $\sqrt{\text{Cii}}$  *feel, sense*, namely

<sup>11</sup> Example (39) has the adverb **tax** in the DP, which is also common with the adverb **íi** *first*. See §24.2.9. This adjective is written with an accent in the practical orthography to ensure that a reader gives it primary phrasal stress.

<sup>12</sup> The construction with the copula was strongly preferred for this example.

<sup>13</sup> This adjective fuses tightly with the word preceding it. When it follows **hitróoqui** *my vehicle*, for example, the result (**hitróoqui íi**) is pronounced with three syllables and not four, as if it were **hitroquíi**, in unguarded speech. The primary stress occurs on the right, as expected.

**hax haii** (just SN-PV-feel), with some irregular changes in the consonants.<sup>14</sup> This adjective might be analyzed as one that requires an NP complement. If so, it most commonly modifies a null head (or fuses with the head, depending on the analysis). In some cases the entire phrase [Noun **xahxáii**] is translated well as *artificial N* or *pseudo N* and it is possible that in these cases, at least, the adjective means simply *artificial* and does not take a complement NP.

- (42) ... °zaxt quisil° **xahxáii**                      **tiquij hax ipac oo cõtayáxi, ...**  
 child                      somewhat.resembling MD-CM just 3P-back DL 3IO-RL-measure  
 ‘... , ese “niño” crecía más y más...’  
*... that to-all-appearances child grew more and more ...* [He was actually a giant.]  
 (Gigante\_Comelon\_91)
- (43) **itóaa**                      **xahxáii**                      **cap**  
 3P-foot/leg somewhat.resembling the.VT  
 ‘su pierna artificial (prótesis)’  
*his/her artificial leg (prosthesis)* (DS2005, xahxáii)
- (44) ... **iquíisax**°                      **tazo xahxáii**                      **ha.**  
 one’s.spirit one somewhat.resembling DCL  
 ‘... son como si fueran una persona.’  
*... they are as if they were one person.* (Mt 19:6)

### 23.1.9 Xapi any

The adjective **xapi any** is used only in a clause that is negative in some way, either the main verb or the deverbal noun that the adjective modifies.<sup>15</sup> The noun that it modifies is always singular. Most commonly, the clause in which it occurs is part of a response to something that another person has said. Generally unstressed (which is unusual for an adjective), and enclitic, **xapi** is not a common word.

- (45) **Canóaa xapi zo htcmahó ho.**  
 boat any a 1S.Tr-RL-N-see DCL  
 ‘No, no estoy mirando ninguna panga.’  
*No, I’m not watching any boat.* (DS2005, xapi)
- (46) **Sooda xapi zo himási ha.**  
 soda.pop any a 1P-ON-N-drink DCL  
 ‘No he tomado ningún refresco.’  
*I haven’t drunk any soda pop.* (Offered)

<sup>14</sup> This word occurs in the NTT more than 500 times.

<sup>15</sup> When it is used with a deverbal noun, one might think it is an adverb of some sort; but it is not used with finite verbs.

- (47) **Tiix imóopis** xapi **ha.** (48) **Himíim** xapi **ha.**  
 DDS SN-N-UO-smoke any DCL 1P-AON-N-sleep any DCL  
 ‘No, no ha fumado.’ ‘Ni siquiera he dormido.’  
*No, s/he has not smoked.* (DS2005, xapi) *I haven’t even slept.* (Offered)

### 23.1.10 **Zaac** *small*

The word **zaac** *small* is primarily (if not exclusively) found in compounds and lexicalized expressions such as **inol zaac** *little finger*, but see also **mojépe zaac** *young sahuaro cactus* (or, according to one consultant, a small but apparently full-grown sahuaro) and **xtiip zaac** *young giant cockle*.<sup>16</sup>

#### 23.1.10.1 **Obsolete adjectives**

Several adjectives listed in the 2005 dictionary are obsolete or archaic and therefore little is known about how they were really used other than the attributive use which was sometimes documented in the dictionary. These include **caaxöc** *belonging to someone else*, **cool** *small*, **mozaj** *dark-colored*, **poot** *medium-sized* (used only to describe a mesquite tree), **tepo** *in useless condition*, and **xcotcz** *old*.

## 23.2 **Adjectives as morphologically defective verbs**

Some adjectives might be best viewed as morphologically-defective stative verbs. These adjectives are listed in Table 23.2. The roots of these particular adjectives appear in verb paradigms where they are inflected for mood, negation, person, etc. Only one fact keeps them from being analyzed like the vast majority of stative predicates in the language: exactly where one expects a subject-oriented deverbal noun with the prefix **c-**, for attributive or predicate adjectival use, these adjectives appear. In this regard compare a partial paradigm with the stative verb  $\sqrt{\text{heel}}$  *red* with a partial paradigm with the stative verb  $\sqrt{\text{heeque}}$  *small, especially juvenile (and by extension, toy)* (plural,  $\sqrt{\text{heecto}}$ ).

(49)	Distal Realis	<b>yo-héel</b>	<b>yo-héeque</b>
	Dependent Irrealis	<b>po-héel</b>	<b>po-héeque</b>
	Independent Irrealis	<b>s-heel</b>	<b>s-heeque</b>
	Neutral Realis	<b>t-heel</b>	<b>t-heeque</b>
	Subject Deverbal	<b>c-heel</b>	<u><b>heeque</b></u>

<sup>16</sup> One consultant suggested that it means *solitary* and gave some examples where this would be true: **haxz zaac** *solitary dog* (out of its usual place), etc. Other consultants did not confirm this.

Table 23.2: Adjectives as morphologically defective verbs

		Verb root
<b>caii, queeej</b>	<i>mature</i>	√ <b>caii</b> , √ <b>queeej</b>
<b>cazojéecoj, cazojécö</b>	<i>unmarried and elderly</i>	√(C) <b>cazojéecoj</b> , √(C) <b>cazojécö</b>
<b>heeque, heecto</b>	<i>small (commonly juvenile)</i>	√ <b>heeque</b> , √ <b>heecto</b>
<b>hiitiscal</b>	<i>arrogant</i>	√ <b>hiitiscal</b>
<b>pootsi</b>	<i>stunted</i>	√ <b>pootsi</b>
<b>roocö</b>	<i>crazy</i>	√ <b>roocö</b>

For that reason, it is possible to suggest that a word like **heeque** *small, juvenile* (plural **heecto**) is actually the deverbal noun which corresponds to SN-juvenile and blocks the regular conjugated form \***c-heeque**.

- (50) √**Heeque** -ya? √**Caii** -ya?  
 juvenile QM mature QM  
 ‘¿Es juvenil? ¿Es grande?’  
*Is it young? Is it grown?* (Offered)
- (51) **trooquij heecto**  
 vehicle-PL juvenile-PL  
 ‘camioncitos (juguetes)’  
*toy trucks* (DS2005, heeque)

Three other adjectives behave in the same way in that they simply replace the regularly-conjugated subject-oriented deverbal forms of the related predicate: **hiitiscal** *proud, arrogant, haughty*, **pootsi** *stunted*,<sup>17</sup> and **roocö** *crazy*.<sup>18</sup>

- (52) **Ctam roocö zo yofp.**  
 man crazy a DT-arrive  
 ‘Un hombre loco llegó.’  
*A crazy man arrived.* (DS2005, roocö)
- (53) √**Me roocö -ya?**  
 2PRO crazy QM  
 ‘¿Estás loco?’  
*Are you crazy?* (DS2005, roocö)

The following example illustrates the verb with which this adjective is associated.

<sup>17</sup> This word is apparently a loanword from a Uto-Aztecan language, as documented in the 2005 dictionary. This fact suggests that in at least this case the process is one of verbalization of an adjective rather than a complication of the morphology.

<sup>18</sup> The root √**roocö** does have the **c-** prefix in the usage **iiqui croocö** *addicted to* as in (i).

- (i) **Hamáax° quih iiqui croocö iha.**  
 alcohol the.FL 3P-toward SN-crazy DCL  
 ‘Es un alcohólico.’ / *S/he is an alcoholic.* (Offered) RRRRecording

- (54) **¡Xoróocõxam!**  
 EM-crazy-PL  
 ‘¡Están locos!’  
*They are crazy!*

### 23.2.1 Details on specific adjectives

#### 23.2.1.1 **Caii** *mature, grown up*

The predicate  $\sqrt{\text{caii}}$  *mature, grown up* (used to describe people) and its suppletive plural root  $\sqrt{\text{queeej}}$  are very commonly attested in their inflected verb forms, as in (55).<sup>19</sup>

- |      |    |   |    |  |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| (55) | a. | <b>¡Xocáii!</b><br>EM-mature<br>‘¡Ha crecido!’<br><i>S/he has grown up!</i> | b. | <b>¡Xoqueeej!</b><br>EM-mature.PL<br>‘¡Han crecido!’<br><i>They have grown up!</i> |
|------|----|---|----|--|

The (morphologically defective) subject-oriented deverbal forms **caii** and **queeej** are used in some fairly fixed expressions such as **cmiique caii** (person mature) *adult* and **comcáac queeej** (people mature.PL *adults*). They are also used in less-fixed expressions and may function as fused heads.

- (56) [ **Caii** ] **quij yihíimet.**  
 mature the.CM DT-married  
 ‘El mayor se casó.’  
*The older one got married.*

The regularly-conjugated forms **ccaii** (SN-mature) and **cqueeej** (SN-mature.PL) are found in a few expressions also, however, such as **ctam cmaa ccaii** (male now SN-mature) *young man* (plural: **ctamcõ cmaa cqueeej**, man-PL now SN-mature.PL) and **zacáam cmaapa ccaii** (young.woman right.now SN-mature) *adolescent girl*.

#### 23.2.1.2 **Cazojéecoj** *unmarried and elderly*

The adjective **cazójéecoj** *unmarried and elderly* (plural: **cazójéecõl**) is a compound adjective presumably based historically on the regular verb  $\sqrt{\text{azoj}}$  *alone* and the compounding root  $\sqrt{\text{eeco}}$  which indicates large size (*cf.*  $\sqrt{\text{aaco}}$  *large*). The corresponding verbal root was documented in earlier work (including the 2005 dictionary) as being  $\sqrt{\text{Cazojéecoj}}$ , which means that it conjugates like the verb **ccazoj** which occurs in expressions like *full of holes*. (See §27.5 for the conjugation pattern of C — empty consonant — verbs.) At least some speakers, however, use

<sup>19</sup> The noun **comcáii** *old woman* (plural **comquéej**) is obviously etymologically derived from **cmaam caii** *woman mature*.

the expected stem √**azojécoj**.<sup>20</sup>

(57) **ctam cazojécoj**  
man unmarried.and.elderly  
'solterón'  
*elderly bachelor*

(58) **¿Ttazojécoj? / ¿Tazojécoj?**  
RL-unmarried.and.elderly  
'¿Es soltero/a de mayor edad?'  
*Is s/he unmarried and elderly?*

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<sup>20</sup> René Montaña Herrera uses the regular conjugation, for example.