

21. Determiners

This chapter examines the class of determiners which may head determiner phrases (see §8.1). Such determiners include indefinite articles (§21.1), definite articles (§21.2), and demonstrative adjectives (§21.3).¹ The indefinite articles are also used as pronouns; that is, they may occur without a complement at all (see §4.3.1) or may head a partitive expression (§8.5). Likewise, the demonstrative adjectives may also be used as pronouns (§4.3.2). A demonstrative pronoun may also occur in construction with a nominal phrase; this might be mistaken for a simple determiner phrase; see §16.2.4.

21.1 Indefinite articles

The indefinite articles are **zo** *a, an* and **pac** (*some*). The article **zo** generally occurs with singular count nouns (but see §21.1.7 below). The article **pac** is used with plural count nouns and also with mass nouns.²

While the etymology of the word **pac** is unknown, the word **zo** is undoubtedly a shortened form of the word **tazo** *one* (see §23.1), which is itself presumably etymologically related to the root √**azoj** *alone*.

The vowel of the article **zo** is obligatorily dropped when the following word begins with a vowel; the **z** syllabifies with that word. This (wrong-way) cliticization of the article is not represented in the current orthography.³ Both **zo** and **z** are written as separate words.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) ᵿZiix zo cahit!
thing a IM-eat
‘ᵿCome algo!’
<i>Eat something!</i> RMH_08-24-07_71a | (2) Ziix zo hyoohit.
thing a 1SS.TR-DT-eat
‘Comí algo.’
<i>I ate something.</i> RMH_05-20-08_30 |
|---|---|

¹ Pronouns may also be analyzed as determiners which typically do not take complements; see chapter 16.

² It is actually a bit imprecise to use the word “noun” here since in many cases there is no overt noun at all in the phrase. The nominal itself, and not the head word, is relevant.

³ The allomorphy is a helpful way to distinguish between epenthetic vowels (actually prothetic vowels) and underlying vowels (see §27.1.1). The **o** prescinds the insertion of an epenthetic vowel that may otherwise be necessary.

Some speakers also use the short form of the article before **h** (glottal stop) followed by vowel in some situations that have not been studied adequately. Indefinite nominal phrases are not pronounced in isolation nor do they occur clause- or sentence-finally. The dropping of the **o** of **zo** is obligatory, although in interrupted speech one might find it.

- (3) **Ziix z iyóohit.**
 thing a 3:3-DT-eat
 ‘Comió algo.’
S/he ate something. RMH_08-24-07_71b
- (4) **¿Ziix z iháahit intámzo?**
 thing a INF.TR-eat 2sS-RL-want
 ‘¿Quieres comer algo?’ RMH_05-20-08_31
Do you want to eat something?

A determiner phrase with an indefinite article may be one of three major types: (i) a referential nominal with a specific indefinite interpretation (that is, expressing quantitative indefiniteness) (§21.1.1); (ii) a nonreferential nominal with a nonspecific indefinite interpretation (that is, expressing non-quantitative indefiniteness) (§21.1.2); and (c) a nonreferential nominal used predicatively in the copular construction (§21.1.3).

21.1.1 Specific indefinite interpretation: quantitative indefiniteness

The singular indefinite article is used most commonly with singular count nouns (see §13.1.3) to indicate quantitative indefiniteness. The puma’s head mentioned in example (5) is a specific one in the story from which it is taken.

- (5) **Xazoj ilit zo toc cöyij tax, ...**
 puma 3P-head a there 3IO-DT-sit SBRD
 ‘Hay una cabeza de puma allí, ...’
There’s a puma’s head there ... (Conejo_Puma_11.3)
- (6) **Cmaam zo yoofp. María mpah.**
 woman a DT-arrive PX-PV-say/call
 ‘Llegó una mujer. Se llama María.’
A woman arrived. Her name is María. RMH_08-24-07_71f
- (7) **Cocsar ctam zo toc cötáp ma, hmiho.**
 non-Indian.Mexican male a there 3IO-RL-stand DS 1sS.TR-PX-see
Pedro González yopáh.
 DT-PV-say RMH_5-20-08_32
 ‘Un hombre hispanohablante estaba allí y lo vi. Se llamaba Pedro González.’
A Spanish-speaking man was there, I saw him. His name was Pedro González.
- (8) **... xazoj tintica hant z itáao, ...**
 puma MD-AW place a 3:3-RL-pass.by
 ‘... Puma estaba pasando un lugar, ...’
...Puma was passing a place ... (Conejo_Puma_2.2) RRRecording

While these phrases may also be taken non-referentially (as shown in the next section), and hence there is often ambiguity between the two readings, the specificity of the indefinite nominal may be signaled in some cases by other means. Compare the following two examples, the first one being referential and the second being ambiguous for referentiality.

- (9) **He °icáaspoj áa° hax cooil oo zo ccaa ha.**
 1PRO pencil INTNS SN-blue/green DL a SN-TR-look.for DCL
 ‘Estoy buscando un cierto lápiz azul.’
I’m looking for a specific blue pencil. RRR QQQ check again

- (10) **He °icáaspoj áa° cooil zo ccaa ha.**
 1PRO pencil SN-blue/green a SN-TR-look.for DCL
 ‘Estoy buscando un lápiz azul (puede se cualquier o uno en particular).’
I’m looking for a blue pencil (could be just any one or a particular one). RRR

The plural article is used with plural count nouns to indicate an indefinite number of entities, and with mass nouns to indicate an indefinite quantity.

- (11) **Comeáac pac yoozcam.**
 person/Seri.PL some DT-arrive.PL
 ‘Llegaron algunos seris.’
Some Seris arrived. RMH_08-24-07_71d
- (12) **..., hax pac toc cōtap ma, ...**
 water some there 3IO-RL-stand DS
 ‘... había agua allí, ...’
... there was some water there, ... (Mt 27:24) RMH_08-24-07_71e

21.1.2 Non-specific indefinite interpretation: non-quantitative indefiniteness

The nominal with the indefinite article in (13) is non-specific and non-referential in at least some situations.

- (13) **Caamiz z ihéxl ihmímzo.**
 shirt a INF.TR-buy 1SS.TR-PX-want
 ‘Quiero comprar una camisa.’
I want to buy a shirt. RMH_08-24-07_72a
- (14) **Pamtj zo htcmahó,**
 mule.deer.tendon a 1SS.TR-RL-N-see
haacni hyaa° com ihtcmahíj iho.
 ABS.bow mine the.Hz 1SS.TR-RL-N-string DCL
 ‘No puedo encordar mi arco ahora porque no pude encontrar un tendón de venado bura.’ RMH_08-24-07_72b
I can’t string my bow because I couldn’t find a mule deer tendon. (DS2005, pamtj)

- (15) **Xepe (zo) mpoosi ta x, ma samípala ha.**⁴
 seawater a 2sS-IR.DP-drink DS UT 2sDO IR.ID-cause.bad AUX-DCL
 ‘Si tomas agua del mar, te hará daño.’
If you drink seawater, it will make you sick. RMH_5-20-08_34 RMH_5-20-08_35
- (16) **Ziix ipxási cmiipla zo hpoohit ta x, °hiiqui saa° ha.**⁵
 thing 3P-flesh SN-bad a 1sS.TR-IR.DP-eat DS UT it.will.harm.me AUX-DCL
 ‘Si como carne podrida me hará daño.’
If I eat rotten meat, it will do me harm. (DS2005, caa) RMH_08-24-07_75b

21.1.3 Predicate nominal in copular construction

A nominal with an indefinite article may be the predicate nominal in a copular construction (see §10.3 for more details).

- (17) **Tiix cmiique ha xo cmiique áa z imháa ha.**
 DDS person/Seri DCL but person/Seri true a SN-N-EQ DCL
 ‘Era una persona, pero no era una verdadera persona.’
He was a person, but he wasn't a real person. (Hipocampo_24)
- (18) **María quij ziix zo shaa caha.**
 the.CM thing a IR.ID-EQ AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘María será una oficial.’
*María will be an official/officer.*⁶ RMH_09-28-07_162d

21.1.4 No generic sense

The singular indefinite article is *not* typically used in nominals with a generic sense. (The singular definite article **quih** with a singular nominal may have this interpretation, however; see §8.1.2.)

- (19) * **Xeecoꝑ zo °ziix ccam° cacáatol iha.**
 wolf a animal SN-dangerous DCL
 (‘Un lobo es un animal peligroso.’) (*A wolf is a dangerous animal.*)
- (264) * **Cmozíme zo ziix quih cöipátajquim hac,**
 SN-drunk a thing the.FL 3IO-3P-AON-Pv-insult the.LC

⁴ The expression without the determiner here is the more common way to say this. The indefinite plural article **pac some** may also be used here with a similar reading. If a definite article is used, however, only a specific reading is possible.

⁵ The indefinite plural article **pac some** may also be used here with a similar reading. If a definite article is used, however, only a specific reading is possible.

⁶ The expression for *officer/official, person of authority* is **ziix zo chaa** (thing a SN-EQ) *who is a thing*.

taax cacáatol iha.
DDP SN-dangerous DCL

(‘Es peligroso decir cosas ofensivas a un borracho.’)
(It is dangerous to say offensive things to a drunk man.)

21.1.5 Quantitative indefiniteness and count nouns

The singular article can be nearly paraphrased with **tazo** *one* when used with count nouns, and the plural article can be replaced by some expression of plural quantity.⁷ In both cases, however, the use of these alternative expressions are more explicit or emphatic about the number.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(20) Cmiique tazo yoofp.
person/Seri one DT-arrive
‘UN seri llegó.’
<i>ONE Seri person arrived.</i> RMH_08-24-07_73a</p> | <p>(21) Comcáac quipxa yoozcam.
person/Seri.PL SN-few DT-arrive.PL
‘Pocos seris llegaron’
<i>Few Seris arrived.</i> RMH_08-24-07_73b</p> |
|--|---|

The indefinite articles do not co-occur with the quantifier expressions in the *typical* situations.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(22) * moosni tazo zo
turtle one a
(‘una caguama’) (<i>one turtle</i>)</p> | <p>(23) * haxaca coocj pac
ABS-pet-PL SN-two some
(‘dos perros’) (<i>two dogs</i>)</p> |
|--|---|

The plural indefinite article co-occurs with a quantified nominal in the following examples, however, although these have not been systematically studied.

- (24) **Xiica ctamcö coocj °pti cyacj° _____ pac toc cõtiih, ...**
thing.PL male-PL SN-two brothers.to.each.other some there 3IO-RL-be.FL
‘Había dos hermanos, ...’
There were two brothers, ... (Dos_Hermanos_1a)
- (25) **... °xiica quiistox° catxo pac toc cōmotat ...**
people SN-many some there 3IO-TWD-move-PL
‘... muchas personas venían, ...’
*... lots of people were coming, ...*⁸ (Mk. 6:31) RMH_08-24-07_73c

Moreover, **tazo** *one* does cooccur with **zo** *a, an* in the some marked contexts described in §21.1.7 below.

The indefinite nominals may be the antecedents of a pronoun (even if phonetically null) in a

⁷ These expressions of quantity are not determiners, however. They co-occur with definite articles in many situations.

⁸ Grammatical variations on this phrase here include: **xiica quih quiistox quih catxo, taax** and **xiica quih quiistox catxo pac**.

following clause, as in (26) and (27).

- (26) **Moosni zo hatáht, seehe cōhatcmáaj ma,**
 sea.turtle a 1PS-RL-see-PL to.do.(it) 3IO-1PS-RL-N-know-PL DS

Pedro quih hizi yaaicot.
 the.FL 1PDO DT-help.kill RMH_08-24-07_73d

‘Vimos una caguama y no la pudimos matar, entonces Pedro nos ayudó a matarla.’
We saw a turtle and we couldn’t kill it, so Pedro helped us kill it. (DS2005, caaicot)

- (27) **... comcáii zo toc cotom, ox itái, ... : ...**
 old.woman a there 3IO-RL-lie thus 3:3-RL-tell

‘... una anciana estaba allí, y les dijo, ... : ...’
... an old woman was there, and she told them, ... : ... (Dos_Hermanos_64)

When **pac** occurs with a count noun, the noun is usually in an explicitly plural form, illustrated by most of the following examples, although it is very occasionally in the singular form, as in (33) below.⁹ In all these examples, a number expression such as **capxa** (SN-three) *three* could replace the plural indefinite article.

- (28) **°An icoáahtoj° _____ pac ihséxl ta**
 3P.in 3P-AON-US-UO-put.FL-PL some 1S.Tr-IR.ID-buy AUX.RL

itáasi zo htcmaa ma, ...
 3P-name a 1S.Tr-RL-N-know DS RMH_08-24-07_73e

‘Yo iba a comprar algunas inyecciones, pero no sabía el nombre de ella, ...’
I was going to buy some injections, but I didn’t know the name of it... (DS2005, an icoáah)

- (29) **°Eentz quiixlc coozalc° _____ °cmaa quiih° pac ihtéxl, ...**
 metal-PL SN-inflated-PL SN-square-PL new some 1S.Tr-RL-buy

‘Compré algunas latas cuadradas de veinte litros nuevas, ...’
I bought some new five-gallon cans, ... (DS2005, caaipj) RMH_08-24-07_73f

- (30) **Coméaac pac ihtáho, ...**
 person/Seri.PL some 1S.Tr-RL-see

‘Vi a algunas personas seris, ...’
I saw some (Seri) people, ... (DS2005, caplicjim) RMH_08-24-07_73g

⁹ Some examples of apparent lack of plural marking on the noun are apparently due to the fact that the plural form has fallen into disuse. Such is the probably the case for **hapxa** *cotton-tail rabbit* which has a plural form **hapxalc** listed in the dictionary.

- (i) **... hapxa pac áno toii, ...**
 rabbit some 3P.in RL-be.FL.PL
 ‘algunos conejos cola de algodón estaban en ella ...’
... some cotton-tail rabbits were in it ... (Conejo_Puma 04)

- (31) ... °**xiica comcáac cmis**° **pac ihtáho ma**,
 thing.PL person/Seri.PL SN-TR-resemble some 1sS.TR-RL-see DS
hin yaaomoj.
 1sDO DT-beg-PL
 ‘... vi algunos indígenas no seris, me mendigaron.’
 ... *I saw some (non-Seri) Indians, they begged from me.* (D2005, caaom) RMH_08-24-07_73h
- (32) ... °**xiica canáaotaj**° **heecto pac ...**
 thing-PL SN-meow-PL juvenile-PL some
 ‘algunos gatitos’
some kittens (DS2005, caatc) RMH_08-24-07_74a
- (33) ... **zaaj pac toc cõtahca ma, ...**
 cave some there 3IO-RL-be.located DS
 ‘... había algunas cuevas allí, ...’
 ...*there were some caves there, ...* (Conejo_Puma_04) (cf. *zaalca caves*)

Other examples of **pac** with a singular count noun for which exists an explicit plural form are: **caate pac** *some grasshoppers* (cf. **caatje** *grasshoppers*), **hast pac** *some stones* (cf. **hasatoj** *stones*), **ziix coáafp pac** *some mullets* (cf. **xiica coáafp** *mullets*), and **haaxat iyat pac** *some creosote branches* (cf. **iyataj** *its tips*). These cases may be limited to small items or items viewed in groups; the facts have not been systematically studied, however.

21.1.6 Quantitative indefiniteness and mass nouns

Both of the indefinite articles may also be used with mass nouns to indicate an indefinite quantity.¹⁰ The singular article may in such contexts indicate a portion, especially if the noun refers to something which is easily divided into units (hunks or pieces, for example). The nominal may either be specific and referential or non-specific.

- (34) **Hap ipxási zo htasni, ...**
 mule.deer 3P-flesh a 1sS.TR-RL-roast
 ‘Asé un pedazo de carne de venado bura’
I roasted a piece of mule deer meat, ... RMH_08-24-07_75a

¹⁰ Indefinite nominals may also occur without any article.

- (ii) **¡Hax cõhaas!**
 water 3IO-IM-cause.drink
 ‘¡Dale agua para tomar!’ / *Give her/him water to drink!* (DS2005, cõcaas) RMH_08-24-07_74b

- (35) **Zixquisíil° ctam quih panáal zo cōtaahjöim, ...**
 child male the.FL honey a 3IO-RL-choke
 ‘El niño se atragantó comiendo un panal, ...’
The boy was choking on a honeycomb, ... (DS2005, hanso) RMH_08-24-07_76a
- (36) **¡Hax pac he haas!**
 water some IIO IM-cause.drink
 ‘¡Dame agua para tomar!’
Give me some water to drink! RMH_08-24-07_75c
- (37) **¡Tom pac hino camjc!**
 money some 1P-in IM-bring
 ‘¡Traenos dinero!’
Bring us some money! (DS2005, ano) RMH_08-24-07_75d

Examples of the plural article **pac** with mass nouns include **xiica hapáhit pac** (thing-PL SN-Pv-eat some) *some food*, **°hocö ine° pac** (pine 3P-mucus some) *some tar*, **xapóo ipxási pac** (sea.lion 3P-flesh some) *some sea lion meat*, **hesen pac** *some ironwood*, **hantíp pac** *some salt*, **haquéjoc pac** *some firewood*, **xiica an icáai pac** (thing.PL 3P.in 3P-AON-US-make) *some sugar*, **panáal yamáax pac** (honeybee¹¹ 3P-ON-make.alcoholic.beverage) *some honey*, **hasáaiti pac** *some lubricating oil*, **csipx pac** *some glue*, **haat ix pac** (limberbush 3P-resin) *some limberbush sap*.

While the singular indefinite article is not typically used with mass nouns except to indicate a countable unit of that item, there are contexts in which it does occur with mass nouns with different semantics. See the following section.

21.1.7 Non-quantitative indefiniteness in marked contexts

The singular article may indicate non-quantitative indefiniteness with mass nouns and count nouns in some marked contexts, especially in negative clauses and rhetorical questions where this is quite common. The nominal is non-specific and non-referential in many of these cases.

- (38) **Tom zo hyonyáa.** **Tom z iyonyáa.**
 money a 1sS.Tr-Dt-N-own money a 3:3-Dt-N-own
 ‘No tengo dinero.’^{RRR} ‘No tiene dinero.’
I don’t have any money. *S/he doesn’t have any money.* RMH_08-24-07_76b
- (39) **Hax zo hxomáho.**
 water a 1sS.Tr-EM-N- see
 ‘No tengo agua.’
I don’t have any water. (DS2005, quiho) RMH_08-24-07_76c

¹¹ The loanword **panáal** is used both for honeybee and for honey as well as honeycomb.

- (40) ... **tom zo mapomóonec**, ...
 money a 2PS-IR.DP-N-carry.items-PL
 ‘... ni llesves dinero, ...’
... and don’t take money, ... (Lk 10:4) RMH_5-20-08_41
- (41) ¡**Zó mpooh, hax zo nsiisi tee!**
 how? 2SS-IR.DP-do water a 2SS-IR.ID-drink RHET
 ‘¡Cómo vas a conseguir agua para tomar!’
How on earth would you get any water to drink?! (DS2005, hamátj) RMH_08-24-07_76d

The following example shows that this use of the indefinite article in negative clauses even may extends to noun phrases that are understood as definite or even referential, although the expression is taken as “stronger” than the standard one with the definite article.

- (42) ¡**Pedro zo hxomáho!**
 a 1sS.TR-EM-N-see
 ‘¡No he visto a Pedro!’
I haven’t seen Pedro! RMH_5-20-08_42

The indefinite article may co-occur with the adjective **tazo one** under the same conditions of negation.

- (43) **Ziix tazo z imháa ha. Xiica quih anxö quinim iha.**
 thing one a SN-N-EQ DCL thing.PL the.FL INTNS SN-TR-mix.with DCL
 ‘No es una sola cosa. Tienes muchas cosas mezcladas con ella.’
It’s not just one thing. It has lots of things mixed in it. RMH_08-24-07_77

21.2 Definite articles

The definite articles are given in Table 21.1. All of the singular definite articles are generally used only with singular noun phrases; in some special situations, discussed below, they may be used with plural noun phrases. Similarly, the plural (or mass) article **coi** and the more rarely used forms like **coyolca** are primarily used with plural nouns and mass nouns. The use of these articles is described in more detail in the following sections; also see §13.3 for the development of noun classes that relates to them.¹²

In addition to these positional articles, the demonstrative **tintica** and its plural form **tanticat** which are based on locatives combined with motion verbs also seem to have a usage which is less deictic and more like that of an article (showing primarily definiteness); see §XX.

¹² This chapter draws on material presented in chapter 7 of Marlett (1981b) and also M. Moser & Marlett (1994a).

The article **quih** may occur internally to a determiner phrase by virtue of the structure of the posited for internally-headed relative clauses; see §8.4 and especially §XX. Other articles occur only at the end of the entire determiner phrase.

The definite articles are very obviously historically related to subject-oriented deverbal nouns of verbs with cognate meaning: **quih** from **qu-iih**¹³ SN-be.FL *be [flexible thing]*, **cap** (and its innovated form **cop**) from **c-aap** SN-stand *be standing*, **quij** from **qu-iiij** SN-sit *be sitting*, **com** from **c-oom** SN-lie *be lying down*, **hac** from **c-aahca** SN-be.located *be located*,¹⁴ and **coi** from **c-ooii** SN-be.FL.PL or SN-stand.PL *be [flexible things]* or *stand (plural)*. The variation on the ‘vertical’ article **cap** which some speakers prefer, **cop**, may be due to paradigmatic influence from the article **com**. These articles are all appropriate when the referent of the nominal is not in motion. When motion is involved, and in some other situations as well, a demonstrative adjective (perhaps used without deictic force) that indicates location and motion is almost always used; see §21.3.

Noun classes are beginning to emerge as a result of some specialized uses of the definite articles. See §13.3.

The definite article co-occurs with indicators of possession.

(44) **haso hyaa° quih**
net mine the.FL
‘mi red’
my net (DS2005, canéeej)

(45) **haacni hyaa° com**
ABS.bow mine the.HZ
‘mi arco’
my bow (DS2005, pamti)

Table 21.1: Definite articles

	Singular	Plural and mass
Horizontal	com	coi, coitoj (rare)
Compact	quij	coi, coxalca (rare)
Vertical	cop / cap	coi, coyolca (rare)
Soft, default, out of view	quih	coi, quihtoj (rare)
Location	hac	—

¹³ This verb has the extended meaning of *reside* now as well.

¹⁴ This etymological source was pointed out to me by Carolyn O’Meara. The subject-oriented deverbal noun **caahca** is irregular, however, in having a long vowel since the root and all other forms of this verb have a short vowel.

- (46) **hilít** **quij**
 1P-hair/head the.CM
 ‘mi cabeza’
my head
- (47) **mata** **quij**
 2P-mother the.CM
 ‘tu madre’
your mother

The definite articles also very commonly occur with names of all types (see chapter 15).

21.2.1 The article **com** (Hz)

The article **com** prototypically correlates with long, horizontally-positioned objects. This may be any animate or inanimate object which is in this position and which has this profile. Phrases describing sleeping, sick, or dead animals or people therefore usually occur with this article.

- (48) **Zixquisfil° com itoj coi °iiqui caanlam° iha. Quiim iha.**
 child the.Hz 3P-eye-PL the.PL closed DCL SN-sleep DCL
 ‘El niño tiene los ojos cerrados. Está durmiendo.’
The child has her/his eyes closed. S/he's sleeping. (DS2005, caanim) RMH_11-28p-07_169
- (49) **°Ziix canáao° com tacsx, ...**
 cat the.Hz RL-wake.up
 ‘El gato se despertó ...’
The cat woke up, ... (DS2005, cacsx) RMH_11-28p-07_170
- (50) **°Ox tpacta ma°, José com totj, ...**
 then the.Hz RL-get.up.from.lying.down
 ‘Entonces José se levantó, ...’
Then Joseph got up, ... (Mt 2:21) RMH_11-28p-07_171
- (51) **Hap com tooxi ma x, ...**
 mule.deer the.Hz RL-die DS UT
 ‘Cuando muere un venado bura, ...’
When a mule deer dies, ... (DS 2005, caafc) RMH_11-28p-07_172

This article is also used for certain objects or animals which typically have this profile, when they are not in some other orientation: lizards, snakes, fish, sticks, ropes, etc. Some particular items: **canóaa** *small boat*, **csaai** *hairbrush*, **°eenim cosi°** *needle*, **°hehe zamij°** *storage box*, **zixcám** *fish*, **hacáaiz** *spear (Abs.)*, **icáaspoj°** *pencil*, **°hehe iti icoohitim°** *table*, **cocázni°** *rattlesnake*, **haxoj** *shore*, **°ziix hapx coom°** *whale*, **heenj°** *guitar*, **haaho** *road*, **°hant hazáain°** *fence*, **ixáai** *its roots*, **haxáaza°** *arrow*, **itáamt** *his/her sandal*, **yaap** *his/her neck*, **°itj iixquim°** *his/her belt*, **hasoj** *river*, **ipl** *his/her tongue*, **°hehe icám°** *caterpillar*. Reference to a sleeping bat (in hanging position) uses the article **com**.

The article **com** is also used for objects which are perceived as occupying a greater plane-like area, regardless of its orientation, such as **xepé** *sea*, **hant** *land*, **°hehe án°** *countryside*,

caail^o *dry lake bed*, **hamiime** *sky*, **ináail** *his/her skin*, **haaco iizc** (Abs.house 3P-front) *wall of a house*.

When used with **hast** *stone, rock, mountain*, the article **com** may mean a group of mountains, a long low-profiled mountain, or a long rock.

- (52) **Hast com ano hptiitim, ...**
 mountain the.Hz 3P.in 1sS.IN-RL-be.FL-IMPF
 ‘Mientras andaba en los cerros, ...’
I was going in the mountains, ... (DS2005, caahca) RMH_11-28p-07_173

When used with **ziix is cquihjö** *bean* (in its singular form, thing 3P-fruit SN-red), the article **com** refers to a crop of beans.

- (53) ^o**ziix is cquihjö hapéc com**
 thing 3P-fruit SN-red SN-Pv-plant the.Hz
 ‘los frijoles que fueron sembrados’
the beans that were planted (DS2005, cyaxi) RMH_11-28p-07_174

When used with the article **com**, the noun **hehe** (basically *plant*) means a *branch, stick* or *board*.

A group of objects (animals, people, plants, etc) — as plural nouns — may also be presented with this article even though as singular items they are presented with other articles.

- (54) **... hehet com imócaj com ano tiitim x, ...**
 plant-PL the.Hz 3P-place.under-PL the.Hz 3P.in RL-be.FL-IMPF UT
 ‘... anda muy rápidamente debajo de los arbustos ...’
... it goes under the bushes ... (DS2005, acáam ccaa) RMH_11-28p-07_175
- (55) ^o**xiica ccamotam^o hehe án^o com ano coom com**
 animals countryside the.Hz 3P.in SN-lie the.Hz
 ‘los animales en el monte’
the animals in the desert (DS2005, catol) RMH_11-28p-07_176
- (56) ^o**xiica quih quiistox^o ihmáa com** (57) ^o**hantx mocat^o com, taax ...**
 people other the.Hz ancestors the.Hz DDP
 ‘otras personas’ RMH_11-28p-07_180→ ‘los antepasados, ellos ...’
other people (DS2005, cazlix) RMH_11-28p-07_177 *the ancestors, they ...* (DS2005, quipco)
- (58) **... xiica quih quiistox^o com ipóoht, ...**
 people the.Hz 3:3-IR.DP-see-PL
 ‘... la gente lo vio, ...’
... the people saw it ... (Matt. 5:16) RMH_11-28p-07_182

- (59) °azlc canl° **com**
 stars the.Hz
 ‘las estrellas’
the stars (DS2005, czaahox) RMH_11-28p-07_178
- (60) **hoocala com**
 cloud(s) the.Hz
 ‘las nubes’
the clouds (DS2005, cōcajōc) RMH_11-28p-07_179
- (61) ... **ziicalc ihmáa com °iiqui cōihín° hac**
 bird-PL other the.Hz compared.to.it/her/him/them the.LC
 ‘... comparado a las otras aves’
... compared to other birds (DS2005, captása) RMH_11-28p-07_181

Nouns which refer to soul, life or spirit all use the article **com**, even in idioms (see chapter 7).

- (62) a. **iisax com** (used in various idioms of emotion)
 b. **ihíisax com** *his/her/its breath, his/her soul*
 c. **iquíisax com** *one’s life, one’s spirit*

21.2.2 The article **quij** (Cm)

The article **quij** prototypically correlates with compact objects. The object may be any animate or inanimate object which has this profile. Phrases describing land mammals, including people, use this article when they are actually perceived or depicted as sitting.

Birds and insects (unless they are long, or depicted as flying, or dead) are usually presented with **quij**: **xcoomoj** *fly*, **contéetxyat** *stinkbug*, **caamjō°** *screech-owl*, **cset** *frigatebird*, etc.

It seems to be the case that if something can’t be knocked over, or made to fall (in which case it would take **cop**, §21.2.3), is not long (in which case it would take **com**, §21.2.1), is not flexible (in which case it would take **quih**, §21.2.4), and is stationary, then **quij** is the appropriate article. Round objects are therefore typically presented with **quij**. Nouns which typically occur with **quij** include: **zaah** *sun*, **iizax** *moon*, **ilít** *his/her/its head*, °**ziix an icóos°** *tape recorder*, **iionam** *his/her hat*, **hamázaj** *clay pot* (Abs.), °**ziix hapámyam°** *pill/tablet*, **trooqui** *vehicle*, °**hehe hascám°** *ship*. Established cities use this article: **Hezitmísoj** *Hermosillo*. Nouns and names referring to people and deities typically use this article almost by default. The noun for *party*, **pyeest**, uses this article.

21.2.3 The article **cop** (Vt)

The article **cop** prototypically correlates with objects in a vertical position. Some speakers prefer the form **cap**, which is closer to the etymological source. The object may be any animate or inanimate object which has this profile. Land mammals, including people, are described this way when they are actually perceived or depicted as standing.

- (63) **Xazoj cop ox tee, ...**
 puma the.VT thus RL-say
Puma said, ... (Conejo_Puma_6)

This article is also used typically for certain objects which typically have this profile when they are not in some other orientation. Some particular items: **haaco** *house*, $\sqrt{\text{Vnol}}$ *finger*, **haas** *mezquite tree*. When used with the article **cop**, the noun **hehe** (basically *plant*) means *tree*. The noun **hast** *stone, rock* with the article **quij**, means *mountain* (of a certain profile) when it is accompanied by **cop**.

The article **cop** is also used nouns describing liquids in containers and certain hanging items (such as curtains). At first this may seem odd, but like standing objects, they “fall” when they are not supported. Examples: **hasáaiti** *gasoline*, $^{\circ}\text{hasáaiti}$ **coozlil** $^{\circ}$ *lubricating oil*, $^{\circ}\text{ziix}$ **cooha** $^{\circ}$ **imt** *cow’s milk*, $^{\circ}\text{yahémej}$ **áa** $^{\circ}$ *sail*. This article is used with certain objects which contain liquids or food, such as **hasaj** *flat basket*, **hatéya** *bottle*, **xtiip** *giant Panamic cockle*, (**eenm**) **hanzajípj** *bowl, plate*, and **eenm** **hanzajípj** **quiipa** *frying pan*. (Some containers, including **taasa** *cup* (a loanword) and **hamcanoíin** *pan* used the article **quij**, however.) And the article **cop** is also used with gases, including **hai** *wind, air* (unless described explicitly as moving).

- (64) **Hax cop anxō spasi (a)ha.**
 water the.VT INTNS IR.ID-PV-drink AUX-DCL
 ‘Uno debe tomar mucha agua.’
One should drink lots of water. RMH_5-20-08_43

The article **cop** is also used with nouns when they are used in a more abstract sense, such as time of day.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| (65) | with other article | | with cop |
| | zaah quij | <i>the sun</i> | zaah cop <i>the day</i> |
| | iizax quij | <i>the moon</i> | iizax cop <i>the month</i> |
| | hant com | <i>the land</i> | hant cop <i>the year</i> |

This article is used with nominalizations of verbs which refer to meteorological events and also some other nominalizations.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| (66) | iháapl cop | <i>the cold weather</i> | <i>cf. $\sqrt{\text{aapl}}$</i> | <i>be cold</i> |
| | ihámoc cop | <i>the night</i> | <i>cf. $\sqrt{\text{hamoc}}$</i> | <i>be night</i> |
| | ihípon cop | <i>his/her/its voice</i> | <i>cf. $\sqrt{\text{ipon}}$</i> | <i>make vocal sound</i> |

The noun for *rain*, **ipca**, is an irregular formation (distinct from the nominalization **iipca**

(3P-AON-rain) *its raining*;¹⁵ it also uses the article **cop**.

A knife or knife-like object always uses the article **cop** for reasons that are not clear.

21.2.4 The article **quih** (FI)

The article **quih** has a wider distribution than the other articles. It is the appropriate article for things which are perceived as flexible: **hapáspoj**° *paper*, **hataái**° *cloth*, **poosj** *fishing line*, °**eenm hacoáazj**° *chain*, **ilit** *his/her hair*,¹⁶ **hacalca** *clothing, personal items* (Abs.). This usage fits most directly with its etymological source, the verb √**iih** *be [flexible item]*.

- (67) **Poosj quih cozáni ha.**
 fishing.line the.FL SN-tangled DCL
 ‘La piola está enredada.’
The fishing line is tangled up. (on the ground) RRR

If an item is in view or if one knows what position it is in, then usually one should use the appropriate positional article with the nominal referring to that item. But sometimes, of course, the item is not in sight and one cannot appropriately indicate its physical orientation. It is in this situation that the article **quih** is also typically used, although the conditions for its use are not as mechanical as it might sound. It is probably incorrect to say outright that **quih** is the “unspecified position” article, but it comes close to being that. It seems that if one knows the position of the item, it is stylistically preferred to use the appropriate article. **Quih** also seems to be the article appropriate for nominals which are less in focus in the sentence. For one of these reasons, therefore, the article **quih** occurs at the end of the nominal in the following example.

- (68) **Xazlc quih ctamcö quih caacöl quih htacotim, ...**
 puma-PL the.FL male-PL the.FL SN-big-PL the.FL 1SS.TR-RL- kill-IMPF
 ‘He matado pumas MACHOS GRANDES, ...’
I have killed BIG MALE PUMAS, ... (Conejo_Puma_9) RMH_08-21-07_77f

But obviously the article **quih** occurs three times in this nominal. This illustrates a third major usage of **quih**, which is related to the head-internal structure of relative clauses in the language. It is the only article which may appear in this context while the final determiner of the nominal must be chosen based on the criteria mentioned in the previous sections. See §8.4 for discussion.

See also the use of **quih** with certain clauses headed by deverbal nouns (§12.2.1).

The article **quih** has more phonetic variation than the other articles. When it is used phrase-medially, it is a very weakly articulated [k]; the use of the full written form **quih** for this

¹⁵ This is a correction from what is found in the 2005 dictionary.

¹⁶ See the article **quij** above for the meaning *head* with this noun.

situation is, in fact, a learned convention. When **quih** occurs utterance-finally, as is possible when a determiner phrase is right-dislocated, it is also pronounced quite weakly, as [k] or perhaps [kʔ]. When it precedes a vowel-initial word, or a word beginning with a glottal stop followed by a vowel, this article is pronounced [kʔ] and it is pronounced with that following word; it is a good example of “wrong-way” cliticization.¹⁷ Only if the following word begins with a consonant (even glottal stop if that glottal stop is followed by a consonant) does this article have its full pronunciation [kiʔ].¹⁸

21.2.5 The article **hac** (Lc)

The article **hac** is used with nominals that denote a location, which may be a named camp (but not an established settlement with permanent buildings).

- (69) **Ctam hipcom isliicot hac**
 male Px-Hz 3P-back the.LC
 ‘la espalda de este macho’
this male (rabbit) ’s back (Conejo_Puma_6.2)
- (70) **ipot iicp hac**
 3P-bottom 3P-place.next.to the.LC
 ‘un lugar muy por detrás’
way in the back (Conejo_Puma_17)
- (71) **Cyazim hapáh hac comcáac quih ano toii ma, ...**
 SN-PV-say the.LC person/Seri.PL the.FL 3P.in RL-be.FL.PL DS
 ‘La gente estaba en el campamento llamado Cyazim, ...’
The people were at the camp called Cyazim, (gigante comelon_323)

The article occurs with some abstract elements based on deverbals nouns.

- (72) **cocsar iitom hac**
 Mexican 3P-AON-speak the.LC
 ‘español (la lengua española)’
Spanish (language)
- (73) **Cöihípon hac ziix z immís iha.**
 3IO-3P-AON-HAVE-voice the.LC thing a SN-TR-N-resemble DCL
 ‘La manera en que usaba su voz era muy extraña.’
The way in which he used his voice was very strange. (Gigante_Comelon_341)

¹⁷ The writing convention that Edward Moser developed in the 1950’s wrote this article as **ch** and as a prefix to the word that followed it.

¹⁸ These facts, taken with the generalizations about the epenthesis of **i** (see §27.1.1) may indicate, as argued in Marlett 1981b (chapter 7) that the underlying form of the article is actually /kʔ/ in modern Seri and that the **i** is epenthetic in all instances of this word.

- (74) **Hantx cōmiiha hac, ...**
 at.base 3IO-TWD-3P-AON-move the.LC
 ‘En los tiempos antiguos, ...’
In the old days, ... (litro 7) RMH_5-20-08_44

This article is the one used when referring to a name.

- (75) **Pedro quij cmaam yaazi° ii zo toc cōtíij ma,**
 the.CM woman his.child first a there 3:3-RL-sit DS
Juana hac cōimatáasitot.
 the.LC 3IO-3:3-PX-give.name

‘Pedro dio el nombre Juana a su primera hija.’
Pedro named his first daughter Juana. RMH_07-11-07_17e

- (76) °**Ziix imiípla haa coom° itáasi hac ziix hapéexem iha.**
 deceased.person 3P-name the.LC thing SN-Pv-respect.by.not.saying DCL
 ‘El nombre de una persona difunta se respeta por no decirlo.’
The name of a dead person is honored by not saying it. (DS2005, queexem) RMH_09-28-07_146d

21.2.6 The plural articles

Of the plural articles shown in Table 21.1, only **coi** is commonly used. It occurs with plural count nouns and also with mass nouns that refer to fine particles (such as °**hapáha quis**° *flour*) and solids (such as **ipxási** 3P-flesh *meat*) when not viewed as a chunk (in which case **quij** would commonly be used). It does not occur with liquids (these take **cop**) or gases (these also take **cop**).

- (77) **Zaah quih coox cah caaytaj coi coccáa ha.**
 sun/day the.FL all the.FL-FOC horse-PL the.PL 3IO-SN-TR-look.for DCL
 ‘Viene todos los días a buscar los caballos.’
S/he comes every day to look for the horses. (ALIM 134) RMH_10-15-07_04
- (78) **María quih Juan quih tom coi cōiyéesxō.**
 the.FL the.FL money the.PL 3IO-3:3-DT-hide+IO
 ‘María le escondió el dinero a Juan.’
Mary hid the money from Juan. RMH_09-28-07_120
- (79) **Hintáac quih ool ipxási coi iyóocöim,**
 1P-aunt the.FL organ.pipe.cactus 3P-flesh the.PL 3:3-DT-grind.dry
hocö ine pac isáai ta.
 pine 3P-mucus some 3:3-IR.ID-make AUX.RL
 ‘Mi tía estaba moliendo la pulpa de pitaya para hacer chapopote.’
My aunt was grinding organ pipe cactus pulp to make tar. (DS2005, caacöim) RMH_07-11-07_40c

21.3 Demonstrative adjectives

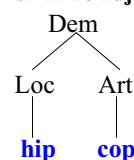
The demonstrative adjectives are complex forms. A (presumably) complete list is given in Table 21.2.¹⁹

The adjectives vary along four parameters: number (singular, plural as a group, and plural); profile or position (vertical, compact, horizontal, moving away, etc., like the definite articles with which some are related), relative location to the speaker (proximal, medial and distal), and sometimes the kind of item it is (especially liquids, for example).

While the demonstrative adjectives are written as single words in this grammar and in the dictionary, this is not necessarily the correct analysis. There is a bit of evidence for them being single words, and there is important evidence (presented below in this section) for them being two words that have lexicalized combinations. If these complex forms are two words, the non-motion ones have the structure shown in Figure 21.1, using **hipcop** PX-VT *this (standing)* to illustrate.

Consider first the forms which have the structure shown in Figure 21.1, an important subset of the group. The second part of these forms is identical to any one of the six standard definite (non-motion) articles discussed in §21.2.²⁰ The first part varies along the relative distance parameter. We expect eighteen possible articles, but in fact the distance parameter is slightly richer than expected because plurality figures into the system in a marginal and irregular way. The uses and meanings of these demonstratives are discussed in §§21.3.2ff. Most of them — but not all — have meanings which are derivable from a consideration of the meaning of the two parts.

Figure 21.1: Possible structure of demonstrative adjectives



¹⁹ The **m** in these adjectives assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant in these words (which happens to always be **c**) (see §28.5.2): **himcop** [ʔiŋkɔp]. These same forms are used as demonstrative pronouns; see §4.3.2. In addition, the simple demonstrative pronoun **tiix** (see §16.2) may be used for focal contrast after a determiner phrase, giving the appearance of being a demonstrative adjective (see §16.2.4). One regularly hears a slight contraction of the complex demonstratives in the speech of some people. The word **hipquij** is heard as either [ʔipkix] or [ʔik:ix], for example.

²⁰ The forms which use **quih**, such as **himquih**, do not have the phonetic variation that the word **quih** has, however.

Table 21.2: Demonstrative adjectives			
	<i>this (proximal)</i>	<i>that (medial)</i>	<i>that (distal)</i>
◆ vertical (sg.)	hipcop ~ hipcap	ticop ~ ticap	himcop ~ himcap
▫ liquid	hizcop	tacop ~ tacap	himcop ~ himcap
▫ vertical (pl.)	hizcoyolca	tacoyolca	himcoyolca
◆ compact (sg.)	hipquij	tiquij	himquij
▫ compact (pl.)	hizcoxalca	tacoxalca	himcoxalca
◆ horizontal (sg.)	hipcom	ticom	himcom
▫ horizontal (pl.)	hizcoitoj	tacoitoj	himcoitoj
▫ viewed as group	hizcom	tacom	?
◆ flexible (sg.)	hipquih	tiquih	himquih
▫ flexible (pl.)	hizquihtoj, hizquihtolca	taquihtoj, taquihtolca	himquihtoj, himquihtolca
◆ generic / unidentified	hizquih	taquih	himquih
◆ motion implied (sg.)	hipquihtim	tiquihtim	himquihtim
◆ departing (sg.)	hipintica	tintica	himintica
▫ departing (pl.)	hipinticat	tanticat	himinticat
◆ approaching (sg.)	hipmoca	timoca	himmoca
▫ approaching (pl.)	hizmocat	tamocat	himmocat
◆ area	hizac	tahac	himcac
▫ places	hizcahjoj	tacahjoj	himcahjoj
◆ general plural / mass	hizcoi	tacoi	himcoi

A number of the demonstratives in Table 21.2 — those in the shaded boxes — are very uncommon. Some of them were provided by language consultants only at a late stage in the preparation of the dictionary and are not often (if ever) found in texts or commonly heard. They are based more transparently on the etymological source of the articles, and the second part likewise very uncommonly used as a definite article. Because of their extreme rarity, they are not discussed further here. The plural forms are, for all practical purposes, neutralized to the “general” plural forms (**hizcoi** PX-PL, **tacoi** MD-PL, **himcoi** DT-PL). When the demonstratives are illustrated below, plural forms are given in each group to illustrate this.

One important set of demonstratives are those which are based, etymologically, on a subject-oriented form of the motion verbs **moca** (TWD-SN-move) *come* and **intica** (AW-SN-move) *go*. These words — **timoca**, **tintica**, **hizmocat**, etc. — unlike those based on the positional articles, are single words by the evidence discussed below. As mentioned in 21.2, certain ones

are evidently actually functioning as articles as well as demonstratives. Details are given below.

The locative elements in the demonstrative adjectives are, for the most part, not independently occurring forms that would be expected to combine with a definite article. They are compared in Table 21.3 to the simple demonstrative pronouns (§16.2) and certain adverbs with which they show some similarity. The simple demonstrative pronouns only distinguish between proximal and non-proximal (labeled distal), while the demonstrative adjectives distinguish between proximal, medial, and distal.

The words **tintica** (singular) and **tanticat** (plural) prototypically correlate with objects which are moving away from a point of reference at a moderate distance. But these words are also used for motion which is not necessarily away from the speaker and in some situations seem to be not clearly deictic at all.

- (80) ... **xazoj tintica hant z itáao,** ...
 puma MD-AW place a 3:3-RL-pass.by
 ‘... Puma pasaba un lugar, ...’
... Puma was passing by a place ... (Conejo_Puma_2.2)
- (81) **Zixquisiil° ctam tintica canóaa xepe quih itéel tintica caao**
 child male MD-AW boat sea the.FL 3P-edge MD-AW SN-TR-pass.by
tintica iiqui tpanzx, ...
 MD-AW 3P-toward RL-run
 ‘El muchacho estaba corriendo detrás de la panga que iba por la orilla del mar, ...’
The boy was running after after the boat that was going along the shore ... (DS2005, quitéel)

The article **tintica** may be used with time expressions when referring to the course of that time expression.

Table 21.3: Locative elements		
Locative element in the complex demonstrative	Demonstrative pronoun	Adverb or locative pronoun
Proximal	hip	hipíix (DPS)
Proximal	hiz	hizáax (DPP) . hiz <i>here</i> (see §16.5); also see hiza (§24.3.2)
Medial	ti	tiix (DDS)
Medial	ta	taax (DDP)
Distal	him	himo <i>elsewhere</i> (prevocalic form him , neither form used very much; §24.3.2)

- (82) a. **zaah tintica** *the day*
 b. **iizax tintica** *the month*
 c. **hant tintica** *the year*
- (83) **lizax tintica tcooo ma, iti cöhayaticpan.**
 3P-moon/month MD-AW RL-all DS 3P-on 3IO-1PS-DT-work
 ‘Trabajamos todo el mes.’
Trabajamos todo el mes. RMH_5-20-08_45

The use of **tintica** is common in situations where a trajectory is involved.

- (84) **Xepe com itácl tintica ah iti mihtolca.**
 sea the.Hz 3P-surface MD-AW FOC 3P-on PX-be.FL-PL-IMPF
 ‘Andan sobre la superficie del mar.’
They go on the surface of the sea. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-21-07_101b
- (85) **Ctam tintica °hehe án° tintica ano yeectim iti ...**
 man MD-AW countryside MD-AW 3P.in 3P-DT-cross 3P-on
 ‘Mientras el hombre estaba en el monte, ...’
While the man was in the desert, ... (DS2005, ccactim) RMH_11-28p-07_185
- (86) **Zixquisil° ctam tintica canóaa xepe quih itéel tintica caao**
 child male MD-AW boat sea the.FL 3P-edge MD-AW SN-TR-pass.by
tintica iiqui tpanzx, ...
 MD-AW 3P-toward RL-run
 ‘El muchacho estaba corriendo detrás de la panga que iba por la orilla del mar, ...’
The boy was running after after the boat that was going along the shore ... (DS2005, quitéel)
- (87) **Poosj tintica yazázni.**
 fishing.line MD-AW DT-tangled.up
 ‘La piola se enredó.’
The fishing line got tangled up. RRR

The demonstrative **tintica** is also used with physical objects which extend in a line of sight: **haxoj quih itéel seashore, xepe quih itéel seashore, haaho road.**

21.3.1 Evidence for the phrasal structure

The two parts of the demonstrative adjectives shown in Table 21.3 are obligatorily separated in two contexts.

The word **xah** intervenes between the two parts of the non-motion complex demonstratives listed in Table 21.3. This word has two meanings, which I take as polysemy although it is very likely that the words have a common source. The first word is a DP/NP adverb without a clear

meaning (see §24.2.12). If there is no determiner, the adverb occurs phrase-finally. If there is an article, the adverb precedes the article.

- (88) [**Zaah** **xah** **zo**] **toc** **cötäp**, **hax** **taa** **ma**,
 sun/day — a there 3IO-RL-stand just RL-be DS
 ‘Un día, ...’
One day, ... RMH_5-20-08_46
- (89) ... [**Tear** **xah** **quij**] **quicöt** **yaaitim** **poho**.
 Devil — the.CM 3P-with-PL 3P-AON-do-IMPF DOUBT
 ‘... posiblemente el diablo los está ayudando.’
... maybe the Devil is helping them. (Mt 12:27) RMH_5-20-08_47

When this word occurs with a non-motion demonstrative it occurs between the locative element and the article element.

- (90) **Ox** **cöiha** **hiz-xah-hac**, ...
 thus 3IO-3P-AON-be PX—LC
 ‘Hoy en día, ...’
Nowadays, ... (Mt 12:32) RMH_5-20-08_48

The word **xah** is also the coordinator which occurs with nominals (§25.1). The coordinator occurs at the end each coordinated element, but to the left of the article if there is a determiner, as shown in §25.1. The coordinator, like the adverb just mentioned, occurs between the two parts of a non-motion demonstrative.

- (91) °**xiica** **quih** **quixtox**° **hiz-xah-coi**
 people PX-CRD-PL
 ‘y estas personas’
and these people... RRR

Neither the adverb **xah** nor the coordinator **xah** ever divides the motion demonstratives such as **tintica**. They go before the entire demonstrative.

- (92) ... **icáaitom** **quih** **iháaipot** **xah** **tintica**
 3P-AON-US-speak the.FL 3P-AON-pay CRD MD-AW
 ‘... y todas sus respuestas.’
... and all his answers. Lk 2:47 RMH_5-20-08_49

21.3.2 Proximal demonstrative adjectives

The proximal demonstrative adjectives usually indicate that the object is physically present and close to the speaker. The item may be something which is not in the immediate presence of the speaker, but which is much closer to the speaker (like in the house) than to the addressee (who may be in another town). The choice of demonstrative is based on reasons analogous to those

used for choosing an article (see §21.2). These demonstratives may also be used cataphorically; see §21.3.5.

◆ Vertical orientation

Singular: **hipcop** (dialectal variant **hipcap**).

Examples: **haaco hipcop** *this house*, **hehe hipcop** *this tree, this stick (in vertical position)*, **cmaam hipcop** *this woman (standing)*. Also used with expressions of time: **zaah hipcop** *today*, **zaah quih ccooo hipcop** (sun the.FL SN-entire PX-VT) *the whole day today*, **ihámoc hipcop** *tonight*. Occasionally used with nominals referring to liquids: **cafee hipcop** *this coffee*.

Singular (liquid): **hizcop**.

Examples: **hax hizcop** *this water*, ^o**hasáaiti coozlil° hizcop** *this lubricating oil*, **panáal hizcap** *this honey*.

Plural: **hizcoylca** (uncommon — would give the idea of not together in some way).

Examples: **zaah hizcoylca (*hizcoi)** *these days*, **haacöt hizcoylca** *these houses*.

General plural: **hizcoi** (common).

Examples: **comcáac hizcoi** *these people*, **haacöt hizcoi** *these houses*. Also mass nouns: **hocö hizcoi** *this wood*, **xiica an icáai hizcoi** *this sugar*, **hapáha quis hizcoi** *this flour*.

◆ Compact

Singular: **hipquij**.

Examples: **trooqui hipquij** *this vehicle*, ^o**hant imáasij° hipquij** *this tire*, **hast hipquij** *this stone*, **sahmées hipquij** *this orange*, **haaonam hipquij** *this hat*, **cmaam hipquij** *this woman (seated)*. Also may be used with expressions for less tangible things: **hant hipquij** *this place*,²¹ **pyceest hipquij** *this fiesta*, **he hipi hisoj hipquij** (1^{PRO} INTNS 1^P-self/body PX-CM) *I, me*.

Plural: **hizcoxalca** (uncommon — would give the idea of not together in some way).

Examples: **sahmées hizcoxalca** *these oranges*.

²¹ The noun **hant** *land, place* occurs with a variety of demonstrative adjectives, with slightly different meanings resulting. **Hant hipquij** is a bit more specific than **hant hipcom**, and both of these are apparently more circumscribed than **hant hizac**.

General plural: **hizcoi** (very common).

Examples: **sahméés hizcoi** *these oranges*, **haaonatz hizcoi** *these hats*, **haxöl ináail hizcoi** *these clam shells*.

◆ Horizontal

Singular: **hipcom**.

Examples: **cmaam hipcom** *this woman (lying down)*, **°hehe iti icóohitim° hipcom** *this table*, **haxáaza hipcom** *this arrow*, **hocö hipcom** *this board*, **zixcám hipcom** *this fish*, **hap hipcom** *this (dead) mule deer*. Also may be used with expressions for less tangible things: **hant hipcom** *this place*.

Plural: **hizcoitoj** (uncommon — would give the idea of not together in some way).

Examples: **zixcám hizcoitoj** *these fish*.

Plural: **hizcoi** (common).

Examples: **hocö hizcoi** *these boards*, **hapxöl hizcoi** *these ears of corn*, **zixcám hizcoi** *these fish*.

Plural viewed as a group that is quite inclusive and not particular: **hizcom**.²²

Examples: **xiica hizcom** *these things*, **°xiica quih quiistox° hizcom** *these people*, **comcáac hizcom** *these Seris*, **hast hizcom** *these stones*,²³ **ziix quih hapáhit hizcom** (thing the SN-PV-eat Px.PL-Hz) *this food*, **xiica ílítój cmasl hizcom** *these yellow-headed gnats*.

◆ Flexible

Singular: **hipquih**.

Examples: **hapáspoj° hipquih** *this paper*, **°hapáspoj iiqui icáaca° hipquih** *this letter*, **°eenm hacoáazj° hipquih** *this chain*, **hatáai° hipquih** *this cloth*, **siimet hipquih** *this bread*. Also **eenim hipquih** *this metal* (as opposed to **eenim hipcap** *this knife*).

Plural: **hizcoi**.

Examples: **hapáspolca° hizcoi** *these papers*, **hacalca hizcoi** *these clothes*.

²² Such nominals as subjects determine plural inflection on the verb: **Comcáac hizcom miizj iyomáaj**. *These Seri people don't understand it*.

²³ The noun **hast** here is also in a singular form as is quite common for this noun, despite the plurality of the referent.

♦ Generic

(Used as singular) **hizquih**.

Examples: **oot hizquih** *the coyote* (speaking generically).

(93) **Hant com tahízoj ma x, oot hizquih itáho x,**
land the.Hz RL-be.mirage DS coyote PX.PL-FL 3:3-RL-see UT

hax xah tamož x, iiqui mpanzx.
water just 3L-think UT 3P-toward PX-run

‘Cuando hay un espejismo, el coyote piensa que es agua, y corre hacia él.’
When there is a mirage, the coyote thinks it is water and runs toward it. (DS2005, hizquih, improved) RMH_5-20-08_50

Conflated with Focus **ah**: **hizcah**.

Example: **ziix hizcah** *just anything*.

♦ Departing

Singular: **hipintica**.

Examples: **cmaam hipintica** *this woman (departing)*, **cocáznio hipintica** *this rattlesnake (departing)*. Also may be used with a noun which is the path of the moving object: **hant hipintica** *this place* (where someone or something is moving), **haaho hipintica** *this road (that is ahead of us)*..

Plural: **hipinticat**.

Examples: **cmajjic hipinticat** *these women (departing)*.

♦ Approaching

Singular: **hipmoca**.

Examples: **cmaam hipmoca** *this woman (approaching)*, **haxz hipmoca** *this dog (approaching)*. It may also be used with a noun which is the path of the moving object as in **hant hipmoca cōtafp...** (place PX-TWD 3IO-RL-arrive) *s/he was arriving here,*

Plural: **hizmocat**.

Example: **cmajjic hizmocat** *these women (approaching)*.

♦ Location (and items that have vaguely defined limits)

Always (?) used as singular: **hizac**.

Examples: **hayéen hizac** *this face*, **hant hizac** *this place*. Also used with less tangible items, especially including expressions of speech: **hiitom hizac** (1P-AON-speak PX-LC) *my words*, **ziix quih ití me hszaxö hizac** (thing the.FL 3P-on 2IO 1s.Tr-Ir.ID-discuss PX-LC) *this thing that I will tell you*, **ziix quih hoánloj hizac** (thing the.FL 1P-ON-do-PL PX-LC) *this work that we do*.

◆ General plural (and mass)

hizcoi: Typically used as the plural of the various non-motion demonstratives (see above). Also commonly used with nouns that may be viewed as non-liquid, non-gaseous masses: **ziix ipxási hizcoi** (thing 3P-flesh PX-PL) *this meat* or **xiica ipxási hizcoi** (thing.PL 3P-flesh PX-PL) *this meat*; **xiica hapáhit hizcoi** (thing.PL SN-PV-eat PX-PL) *this food*; **ziix hapáhit hizcoi** *this food*; **hap ipxási hizcoi** (mule.deer 3P-flesh PX-PL) *this mule deer meat*; **hant xnoois hizcoi** *this garbage*.

21.3.3 Medial demonstrative adjectives

The medial demonstrative adjectives usually indicate that the object is physically present and at a moderate distance from the speaker. The choice of demonstrative is based on reasons analogous to those used for choosing an article (see §21.2). These adjectives are also used anaphorically; see §21.3.6.

◆ Vertical orientation

Singular: **ticop** (dialectal variant **ticap**).

Examples: **cmaam ticop** *that woman (standing)*, **hehe ticop** *that tree, that stick (standing)*. Also used with expressions of time — **zaah ticop** *that day*, **zaah quih iitax ticop** (sun the.FL 3P-AON-go Mb-Vt) *that hour*, **ihámoc ticop** (3P-AON-be.night Md-Vt) *that night* — and to other things which are less tangible: **iquípon ticop** (3P-AON-US-HAVE-voice Md-Vt) *that voice*.

Singular (liquid): **tacop**.

Example: **ziix ccam iháaitloj tacop** (thing SN-alive 3P-blood-PL Md-Vt) *that blood of animals*.

Plural: **tacoyolca** (uncommon).

Example: **zaah tacoyolca** *those days*, **haacöt tacoyolca** *those houses*.

General plural: **tacoi** (common).

Example: **haacöt tacoi** *those houses*.

◆ Compact

Singular: **tiquij**.

Examples: **cmaam tiquij** *that woman (seated)*, **°azoj canoj° tiquij** *that star*, **heezitim tiquij** *that city*. Also may occur with a nominal that refers to something less tangible: **pyeest tiquij** *that fiesta*.

Plural: **tacoxalca** (uncommon).

Examples: **sahméés tacoxalca** *those oranges*.

General plural: **tacoi** (common).

Examples: **heezitim tacoi** *those cities*, **sahméés tacoi** *those oranges*.

◆ Horizontal

Singular: **ticom**.

Examples: **cmaam ticom** *that woman (lying down)*, **zixcám ticom** *that fish*. Also may be used with a nominal that refers to something less tangible: **hant ticom** *that place*.

Plural: **tacoitoj** (uncommon).

Examples: **zixcám tacoitoj** *those fish*.

General plural: **tacoi** (common).

Examples: **cmajjic tacoi** *those women*, **zixcám tacoi** *those fish*.

Plural viewed as group: **tacom**.

Examples: **xicaquizil° tacom** *those children*, **hehet tacom** (plant-PL MD-Hz) *those plants*, **haso caacöl tacom** (net(s) SN-big-PL MD-Hz) *those big nets*.

◆ Flexible

Singular: **tiquih**.

Examples: **hapáspoj° tiquih** *that paper*, **hatáai° tiquih** *that cloth*, **ziix ipxási tiquih** (thing 3P-flesh MD-FL) *that meat*, **ziix quih hoohit tiquih** (thing the.FL 1P-ON-eat MD-FL) *that food that I eat*, **siimet tiquih** *that bread*, **°ziix ihasí quiipe° tiquih** *that incense*.

Plural: **taquihtolca** (uncommon).

Examples: **hapáspolca taquihtolca** *those papers, those books*.

General plural: **tacoi** (common).

Examples: **hapápolca**^o **tacoi** *those papers, books*, **hacalca tacoi** *those clothes*.

◆ Unidentified

Used as singular: **taquih**. This is not a common demonstrative. An expression like **siimet taquih** means something like *that other bread*.

◆ Motion implied

Used as singular: **tiquihim** (not common).

Example: **ctam tiquihim** *that man (going or coming somewhere)*.

◆ Departing

Singular: **tintica**.

Example: **cmaam tintica** *that woman (departing)*. Also may be used with a noun which is the path of the moving object: **hant tintica** *that place*.

Plural: **tanticat**.

Example: **cmajic tanticat** *those women (departing)*.

◆ Approaching

Singular: **timoca**.

Examples: **cmaam timoca** *that woman (approaching)*. Also may be used with a noun which is the path of the approaching object as in **hant timoca** *that place*, **haaho timoca** *that road*.

Plural: **tamocat**.

Examples: **hoopatalca tamocat** *those waves*, **°xiica quih quiistox**^o **tamocat** *those people*.

◆ Location

Singular: **tahac**.

Example: **hant tahac** *that place*. Also used with expressions of speech: **iitom tahac** (3P-AON-speak Md-Lc) *his/her words/speech*, **yaza tahac** (3P-AON-speak.PL) *their speech*.

Plural: **tacahjoj**.²⁴

Example: **hant tacahjoj** *those places*. Also may be used with expressions for less tangible

²⁴ The form **tahajca** appears in the Apostador text: **hant tahajca** *that place*. xxx qqq

things: **haméencoj tacahjoj** *those families*.

◆ General plural (and mass)

tacoi: Typically used as the plural of the various non-motion demonstratives (see above). Also commonly used with nouns that may be viewed as non-liquid masses: **ziix / xiica ipxási tacoi** (thing / thing.PL 3P-flesh MD-PL) *that meat*; **xiica hapáhit tacoi** (thing.PL SN-PV-eat MD-PL) *that food*; **xnoois tacoi** *that garbage*.

21.3.4 Distal demonstrative adjectives

The distal demonstrative adjectives usually indicate that the object is physically present and visible, and at a significant distance from the speaker, although it may be close to the hearer. The choice of demonstrative is based on reasons analogous to those used for choosing an article (see §21.2). Since the distal demonstratives are not used anaphorically, they are much less common in narratives than the medial demonstratives.

◆ Vertical orientation

Singular: **himcop** (dialectal variant **himcap**). Also used for liquids.

Examples: **xaasj himcop** *that sahuero cactus*, **hast himcop** *that mountain*, **hehe hant quiti himcop** (plant land SN-connected) *that tree*, **haaco himcop** *that house*, **sooda coopol himcop** *that cola*.

Plural: **himcoyolca** (uncommon).

Examples: **haacöt himcoyola**.

Plural: **himcoi** (common).

Examples: °**xiica hacáapxom**° **himcoi** *those pigs*, **haacöt himcoi** *those houses*.

◆ Compact

Singular: **himquij**.

Examples: **tootar himquij** *that chicken*, **haat hanóohcö**° **himquij** (limberbush SN-PV-make.concave) *that pot-shaped basket*.

Plural: **himcoxalca** (uncommon).

Examples: **tootar himcoxalca** *those chickens*, **sahméés himcoxalca** *those oranges*.

Plural: **himcoi** (common).

Example: **cmajjic himcoi** *those women*.

◆ **Horizontal orientation**

Singular: **himcom**.

Example: **hatéeya himcom** *that bottle (lying down)*.

Plural: **himcoitoj** (uncommon).

Examples: **hatéeyaj himcoitoj** *those bottles (lying down)*, **canóataj himcoi** *those boats*.

Plural: **himcoi** (common).

Examples: **canóataj himcoi** *those boats*.

◆ **Flexible**

Singular: **himquih**.

Examples: **hapáspoj himquih** *that book, paper*, **eenm hacoáazj himquih** *that chain*.

Plural or mass: **himcoi**

Examples: **hacalca himcoi** *that clothing, those clothes*; **hapáspolca himcoi** *those books, papers*.

◆ **Motion implied**

Singular: **himquihtim**.

Example: **ctam himquihtim** *that man (moving around)*.

Singular: **himquihtolca**.

Example: **ctamcö himquihtolca** *those men (moving around)*.

◆ **Departing**

Singular: **himintica**. Also may be used with a noun which is the path of the moving object.

Examples: **cmaam himintica** *that woman*, **haaho himintica** *that road (that is before us)*.

Plural: **himinticat**.

Examples: **cmajjic himinticat** *those women*.

◆ **Approaching**

Singular: **himmoca** (not common).

Example: **cmaam himmoca** *that woman (approaching from distance)*.

Plural: **himmocat** (not common).

Example: **cmaam himmocat** *those women (approaching from distance)*.

◆ Location

Singular: **himcac**.

Examples: **hant himcac**, *that place*, **mahyáai himcac** *that opposite coast*.

Singular: **himcahjoj**.

Example: **hant himcahjoj**, *those places*.

21.3.5 Cataphoric use of proximal demonstrative adjectives

The proximal demonstrative adjectives are used to refer to something which is yet to be said in the discourse. Thus **icáaitom hizac** *this word/message* is followed shortly by the content of that message.

21.3.6 Anaphoric use of medial demonstrative adjectives

The medial demonstrative adjectives are used anaphorically to refer to something which has already been said in the discourse. For examples, the phrase **icáaitom tahac** *that word/message* refers back to some utterance already mentioned, and **cmaam ticop** *that woman* to some woman already introduced in the narrative. The distal demonstratives are not used this way.

The context of the following sentence is an essay about a particular species of fish.

(94) **Taax ah aa itáh ma,**
DDP Foc — 3:3-RL-do DS

zixcám ticom zixcám quiipe zo tomháa ho.
fish MD-Hz fish SN-good a RL-N-EQ DCL

‘Por esa razón, ese pez no es un buen pez.’

For that reason, that fish is not a good fish. (ES2007, oot_icaanj 06) RMH_5-20-08_51