

## 14. Deverbal nouns

The only productive morphology for deriving nouns from another class of words is that which derives nouns from verbs. Such derivation is extremely important in the language.

The deverbal nouns have traits of both nouns and verbs. The subcategorization frames which characterize the verbs also characterize the corresponding deverbal nouns. In addition, the deverbal nouns inflect for direct object, indirect object, negation, and passive in the same way as verbs. Examples of these facts are given in numerous places in this grammar where deverbal nouns are presented. In addition, an adverb such as **miizj** *well* or **anxö** *INTNS* (see §5.1) may occur before the deverbal noun just as before a verb, as in the following examples with a headless (or fused-head) relative clause.

- (1) **Miizj cqueecöl quih haa piij, ...**  
 well SN-TR-listen the.FL there IR.DP-sit  
 ‘El que escuche estando allí, ...’  
*The one who listens well being there, ...* (Rv 22:17) RMH\_08-21-07\_103a
- (2) **Anxö cooit quih °iihjoj sooxyat° aha.**  
 INTNS SN-dance the.FL s/he.will.get.tired AUX-DCL  
 ‘El/la que baila mucho se cansará.’  
*The one who dances a lot will get tired.* RMH\_08-21-07\_103b

As shown below, deverbal nouns differ from finite verbs in that subject inflection is either absent (in the subject-oriented deverbal nouns) or is expressed morphologically through the possessor set (in the object and action/oblique-oriented deverbal nouns).<sup>1</sup> They inflect for normal direct object and indirect object morphology.<sup>2</sup>

The deverbal nouns distinguish between realis and irrealis by their morphology. The realis forms are the most complicated morphologically; they are presented in §§14.1-4. The irrealis forms are simple but usually co-occur with an auxiliary of some sort, as is explained in §14.5.

Other ways in which the deverbal nouns tend to look like nouns is a result of the context in which they are used. When used in simple headless relative clauses, they may be presented with only a determiner and thus look like any simple noun followed by a determiner. This is certainly the etymology of a number of nouns — some quite transparently and others less so. Five

<sup>1</sup> The irrealis object-oriented form is exceptional in this regard. See §14.5.

<sup>2</sup> The object-oriented form does not inflect for object agreement for the same reason that the subject-oriented form does not inflect for subject agreement.

examples are given here; numerous others could be provided.<sup>3</sup>

- |     |    |  |    |   |
|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (3) | a. | [ Ø <b>cocázni</b> ] <b>com</b><br>SN-UO-bite the.HZ<br>'el/la que muerde'<br><i>the one that bites</i>                          | b. | <b>cocázni com</b><br>'la víbora de cascabel'<br><i>the rattlesnake</i>         |
| (4) | a. | [ Ø <b>coopol</b> ] <b>quij</b><br>SN-black the.CM<br>'el/la que es/era negro/a'<br><i>the one that is/was black</i>             | b. | <b>coopol quij</b><br>'la viuda negra'<br><i>the black widow spider</i>         |
| (5) | a. | [ Ø <b>caail</b> ] <b>com</b><br>SN-wide the.HZ<br>'el/la que es ancho/a'<br><i>the one that is wide</i>                         | b. | <b>caail com</b><br>'la playa seca'<br><i>the dry lake bed</i>                  |
| (6) | a. | [ Ø <b>cöcoquéetx</b> ] <b>quij</b><br>3IO-SN-UO-? the.CM<br>'el/la que regresa a él/ella'<br><i>the one returning to it</i>     | b. | <b>cöcoquéetx quij</b><br><i>girl celebrating the second<br/>puberty fiesta</i> |
| (7) | a. | [ Ø <b>hatáai</b> ] <b>quih</b><br>SN-PV-wear.kilt the.FL<br>'lo que se llevó (como tonelete)'<br><i>what was worn as a kilt</i> | b. | <b>hatáai quih</b><br><i>the cloth</i>  |

This fact does not, however, indicate that the form **cocázni** in (3a) or the form **coopol** in (4a) is a noun. It is assumed here that generally the head (whether overt or not) determines the category of the phrase. The deverbal form modifies the head (regardless of how it is glossed) and for that reason the deverbal noun in (3a) might be reasonably glossed 'biter' in this particular context. But it is the context that is most important.

The classification of deverbal nouns make reference to the grammatical relation that the deverbal noun has to the predicate — the verbal base — on which it is formed. Three basic types of deverbal nouns exist, all of which are completely productive in their formation and semantics. (This productivity does not bar them from taking on lexicalized meanings in addition to the compositional semantics, as the examples in (3) and (4) illustrate.)

A subject-oriented deverbal noun refers to (or modifies) the person or thing which is the grammatical subject of the verbal base. A few simple examples are:

<sup>3</sup> In the 2005 dictionary, these are generally listed separately from the verb.

- (8) From the intransitive root  $\sqrt{\text{ooos}}$  *sing*
- |    |                 |                     |  |
|----|-----------------|---------------------|--|
| a. | <b>coos</b>     | SN-sing             | <i>who sings/sang</i>                    |
| b. | <b>imóos</b>    | SN-N-sing           | <i>who is not singing / did not sing</i> |
| c. | <b>soos ca</b>  | IR.ID-sing AUX.SN   | <i>who will sing</i>                     |
| d. | <b>sмоos ca</b> | IR.ID-N-sing AUX.SN | <i>who will not sing</i>                 |
- (9) From the transitive root  $\sqrt{\text{azix}}$  *saw*
- |    |                    |                       |  |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------|--|
| a. | <b>quizix</b>      | SN-TR-saw             | <i>who saws / sawed (it)</i>           |
| b. | <b>imázix</b>      | SN-TR-N-saw           | <i>who does/did not saw (it)</i>       |
| c. | <b>hapázix</b>     | SN-PV-saw             | <i>which is being or has been sawn</i> |
| d. | <b>impázix</b>     | SN-N-PV-saw           | <i>which is/was not sawn</i>           |
| e. | <b>siizix ca</b>   | IR.ID-saw AUX.SN      | <i>who will saw (it)</i>               |
| f. | <b>smazix ca</b>   | IR.ID-N-saw AUX.SN    | <i>who will not saw (it)</i>           |
| g. | <b>spazix ca</b>   | IR.ID-PV-saw AUX.SN   | <i>which will be sawn</i>              |
| h. | <b>sompázix ca</b> | IR.ID-N-PV-saw AUX.SN | <i>which will not be sawn</i>          |
- (10) From the derived intransitive stem  $\sqrt{\text{oozix}}$  *saw* (< {-o<sub>Abl</sub>-azix} -UO-saw)
- |    |                   |                       |                          |
|----|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | <b>coozix</b>     | SN-UO-saw             | <i>who is sawing</i>     |
| b. | <b>imóozix</b>    | SN-N-UO-saw           | <i>who is not sawing</i> |
| c. | <b>soozix ca</b>  | IR.ID-UO-saw AUX.SN   | <i>who will saw</i>      |
| d. | <b>smoozix ca</b> | IR.ID-N-UO-saw AUX.SN | <i>who will not saw</i>  |

An object-oriented deverbal noun refers to (or modifies) the person or thing which is the grammatical direct object of the (necessarily transitive) verbal base.

- (11) From the transitive root  $\sqrt{\text{azix}}$  *saw, cut with sawing motion*
- |    |                     |                  |                            |
|----|---------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <b>hoozix</b>       | 1P-ON-saw        | <i>what I sawed</i>        |
| b. | <b>moozix</b>       | 2P-ON-saw        | <i>what you sawed</i>      |
| c. | <b>oozix</b>        | 3P-ON-saw        | <i>what s/he sawed</i>     |
| d. | <b>himázix</b>      | 1P-ON-N-saw      | <i>what I didn't saw</i>   |
| e. | <b>ihsiizix ha</b>  | 1SS.TR-IR.ID-saw | <i>what I will saw</i>     |
| f. | <b>ihscmázix ha</b> | 1SS.TR-IR.ID-saw | <i>what I will not saw</i> |

An action/oblique deverbal noun has more varied usage. It may refer to the action or state which is described by the verb. It may also refer to (or modify) a person or thing which is related to the verbal base in some way other than as subject or direct object.

- (12) From the transitive root  $\sqrt{\text{azix}}$  *saw*
- |    |               |            |  |
|----|---------------|------------|--|
| a. | <b>hiizix</b> | 1P-AON-saw | <i>my act of sawing it, what I sawed it with, etc.</i>         |
| b. | <b>miizix</b> | 2P-AON-saw | <i>your act of sawing it, what you sawed it with, etc.</i>     |
| c. | <b>iizix</b>  | 3P-AON-saw | <i>his/her act of sawing it, what s/he sawed it with, etc.</i> |

Table 14.1: Realis deverbal noun structure			
Type of Deverbal noun		Nominalizer	
Subject-oriented	—	<b>c-/qu-</b> , <b>ha-</b> , <b>i-</b>	Verbal base
Object-oriented	Possessor	<b>o-</b> , <b>h-</b> , <b>y-</b> , nul.	(can be negative, passive, etc.)
Action/Oblique-oriented	Possessor	<b>h-</b> , <b>y-</b> , null	

  

d.	<b>himázix</b> 1P-AON-N-saw	<i>my act of not sawing it, etc.</i> <sup>4</sup>
e.	<b>impázix</b> 3P-AON-N-PV-saw	<i>its not being sawn, etc.</i>
f.	<b>hisízix ha</b> 1P-IR.ID-saw AUX	<i>my future act of sawing it, what I will saw it with, etc.</i>
g.	<b>hiscmázix ha</b> 1P-IR.ID-N-saw AUX	<i>my future act of not sawing, what I will not saw it with, etc.</i>
h.	<b>ispázix ha</b> 3P-IR.ID-PV-saw AUX	<i>its future act of being sawn, with what it will be sawn, etc.</i>
i.	<b>iscompázix ha</b> 3P-IR.ID-N-PV-saw AUX	<i>its future act of not being sawn, with which it will not be sawn, etc.</i>
(13)	From the derived intransitive stem $\sqrt{\text{oozix}}$ <i>saw</i> (< {-o <sub>Abl</sub> -azix} -UO-saw)	
a.	<b>ihyázix</b> 1P-AON-UO-saw	<i>my act of sawing, what I saw with, etc.</i>
b.	<b>himóozix</b> 1P-AON-N-UO-saw	<i>my act of not sawing, what I don't saw with, etc.</i>
c.	<b>hisóozix</b> 1P-IR.ID-UO-saw	<i>my future act of sawing. what I will saw with, etc.</i>
d.	<b>hiscmóozix</b> 1P-IR.ID-N-UO-saw	<i>my future act of not sawing. what I won't saw with, etc.</i>

The formation of realis deverbal nouns is illustrated simply by the slightly oversimplified chart in Table 14.1.

In the following sections a very brief overview is given of how each type of deverbal noun is used, with cross-references to the appropriate sections where the facts are discussed in detail. Details of the morphology are given in this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> The negative object-oriented and action/oblique-oriented realis forms are always identical in form.

### 14.1 Details about realis subject-oriented deverbal nouns

The subject-oriented deverbal noun is so common that the singular perfective non-negative active realis form is used as the citation form for verbs in the 2005 dictionary. If one asks “How does one say ‘sing’ (or Spanish ‘cantar’) in Seri?”, the form invariably given in reply is the (singular perfective non-negative active realis) subject-oriented deverbal noun **coos**. In this grammar this form of the verbs has been informally glossed using a participle or adjective because such glosses fit the two primary contexts in which this form is used.

This form is used in relative clauses when the clause modifies a noun that is the subject of the verbal base (see §8.4.1 and also §8.4.6 for uses in headless constructions).

- (14) **cmaam coostim quih**  
 woman SN-sing-IMPF the.FL  
 ‘la mujer que canta, la mujer que cantó, la cantante’ RMH\_08-21-07\_103c  
*the singing woman, the woman who sings, the woman who sang, the woman singer*
- (15) **ctam imácösxaj quih**  
 man SN-N-tall/long the.FL  
 ‘el hombre que no es alto, el hombre que no era alto’  
*the man who is not tall, the man who was not tall* RMH\_08-21-07\_104a

This form is also used in main clauses with a modal (see §10.4).

- (16) **Cmaam quij coos iha.** (17) **Hiip cop cacösxaj iha.**  
 woman the.CM SN-sing DCL 1P-tail the.VT SN-tall/long DCL  
 ‘La mujer está/estaba cantando.’ ‘Mi cola es larga.’  
*The woman is/was singing.* RMH\_08-21-07\_104b *My tail is long.* (Lagartijas 25)

This form inflects for direct and indirect objects in the same way as finite verbs (§17.1.2.3-3):

- (18) a. **cmaam ipca° quiho quih**  
 woman rain SN-TR-see the.FL  
 ‘la mujer que ve la lluvia’  
*the woman who sees/saw the rain* (see ES2007, cmaam ipca) RMH\_08-21-07\_104d
- b. **cmaam him quiho quih**  
 woman 1SDO SN-TR-see the.FL  
 ‘la mujer que me ve’  
*the woman who sees/saw me* RMH\_08-21-07\_104e
- c. **cmaam ma quiho quih**  
 woman 2SDO SN-TR-see the.FL  
 ‘la mujer que te ve’  
*the woman who sees/saw you (sg.)* RMH\_08-21-07\_104f

- (19) a. **haxz he cocáai<sup>5</sup> quih**  
 dog 1IO SN-? the.FL  
 ‘el perro que me/nos sigue/seguía’  
*the dog that follows/followed me/us* RMH\_08-21-07\_104g
- b. **haxz me cocáai quih**  
 dog 2IO SN-? the.FL  
 ‘el perro que te/os sigue/seguía’  
*the dog that follows/followed you (sg. or pl.)* RMH\_08-21-07\_104h
- c. **haxz cöcocáai quih**  
 dog 3IO-SN-? the.FL  
 ‘el perro que le/les sigue/seguía’  
*the dog that follows/followed him/her/it/them* RMH\_08-21-07\_104i

#### 14.1.1 The morphology of the form

The subject-oriented realis deverbal noun has the following structure:

- (20) I.O. & D.O. Inflection – Directional – Nominalizer – (Transitive) – Stem

The word “stem” in this particular formula refers to the root and any infixes, suffixes or other modifications which indicate number of the subject and aspect (perfective or imperfective) (see §17.1.3). It also includes morphology which precedes the root, including negation (§17.1.4), passive marking (§17.1.5), unspecified object (§19.1.1), unspecified subject (§17.1.5), causative morphology (§19.10), and denominalization morphology (§19.3.3).

The simplest deverbal nouns would be those which are basic intransitives since they would have just the nominalizer and the stem. Some simple examples are given in (21). The prefix in these cases is always **c-** (or its orthographic variant before front vowels, **qu-**). The data in the second column show underlying forms *except for* anything that relates to suffixes. In (21) the underlying forms are identical to the surface forms except for the epenthesis of the word-initial **i** in (21j).

- |      |                 |                      |                |                        |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (21) |                 | SN-stem              |                |                        |
| a.   | <b>cooxp</b>    | { <b>c-ooxp</b> }    | ‘blanco’       | <i>white</i>           |
| b.   | <b>cooxapoj</b> | { <b>c-ooxapoj</b> } | ‘blancos’      | <i>white (pl.)</i>     |
| c.   | <b>cacösxaj</b> | { <b>c-acösxaj</b> } | ‘alto/largo’   | <i>tall/long</i>       |
| d.   | <b>cacöla</b>   | { <b>c-acöla</b> }   | ‘altos/largos’ | <i>tall/long (pl.)</i> |
| e.   | <b>cpanzx</b>   | { <b>c-panzx</b> }   | ‘que corre’    | <i>running</i>         |
| f.   | <b>cpancojc</b> | { <b>c-pancojc</b> } | ‘que corren’   | <i>running (pl.)</i>   |

<sup>5</sup> The root itself does not have a simple gloss, but when it is used in this configuration, the sense of *follow* is conveyed.

g.	<b>ctapjö</b>	{ <b>c-tapjö</b> }	‘desintegrado’	<i>disintegrated</i>
h.	<b>quis</b>	{ <b>qu-is</b> }	‘crudo(s)’	<i>raw (sg. or pl.)</i>
i.	<b>moca</b>	{ <b>mo-c-a</b> } <sup>6</sup>	‘que viene’	<i>coming</i>
j.	<b>intica</b>	{ <b>nt-c-a</b> } <sup>7</sup>	‘que se aleja’	<i>going</i>

If the verb is transitive, the “Transitive” prefix **i-** appears *when possible phonologically* between the nominalizer and the stem. This prefix is obviously akin to, and perhaps the same etymologically as, the 3:3 prefix which appears before mood prefixes when subject and direct object are both third person (see §17.1.2.1). In the deverbal noun, however, the presence of Transitive **i** is not affected by variation in person; it only relates to transitivity. Note that **i** appears in the form **quiho** in all of the examples in (18) although the person of the object changes. The prefix appears overtly only in two situations: (a) when the root begins with a stressed short low vowel — **a** or **e** — (and this vowel is elided); see (22a-d); and (b) when the root begins with a stressed short **i**, with the result that in this form a long **i** appears; see (22e-j).<sup>8</sup> In all other cases the Transitive prefix **i-** is elided. It is assumed here that it actually does not occur with derived stems before which it would delete anyway. The examples in (22) are all transitive stems and are used only in appropriately transitive contexts. The glosses include ‘it’ in parentheses to emphasize the transitivity, although the object could be any third person in most cases (depending on the meaning of the verb and in some cases the form of the stem) and this form can also be inflected with any person of direct object and not change at all except for the indirect and direct object inflection in front of the form, as shown above.

(22)		SN-TR-stem	<i>who is/was ...</i>
a.	<b>quizix</b>	{ <b>qu-i-azix</b> }	<i>sawing (it)</i>
b.	<b>quizyajc</b>	{ <b>qu-i-azyajc</b> }	<i>sawing (it) (pl.)</i>
c.	<b>quim</b>	{ <b>qu-i-am</b> }	<i>swallowing (it) (it)</i>
d.	<b>quimyoj</b>	{ <b>qu-i-amyoj</b> }	<i>swallowing (it) (pl.)</i>
e.	<b>quizi</b>	{ <b>qu-i-izi</b> }	<i>defeating him/her</i>
f.	<b>quiic</b>	{ <b>qu-i-ic</b> }	<i>cultivating it</i>
g.	<b>quitóoc</b>	{ <b>qu-i-itóoc</b> }	<i>cultivating it (pl.)</i>
h.	<b>quiimt</b>	{ <b>qu-i-imt</b> }	<i>rubbing (it)</i>
i.	<b>quip</b>	{ <b>qu-i-ip</b> }	<i>straightening (it)</i>
j.	<b>quip</b>	{ <b>qu-i-iip</b> }	<i>carrying (it) on head</i>

<sup>6</sup> This is an irregular verb (see §27.7) and also has the prefix **mo-** TWD (§17.1.6).

<sup>7</sup> This is an irregular verb based on the same root as the verb above it; it has the prefix **nt-** AW (§17.1.6). The first **i** is epenthetic for reasons of syllabification (see §27.1.1); the second **i** is epenthetic because of properties of this verb. See §27.7.

<sup>8</sup> The prefix before a long **i** does not produce a triple-long vowel, however, although syllables with such vowels exist.

k.	<b>catáaxa</b>	{ <b>qu-i-ataaxa</b> }	<i>wetting (it) (limberbush)</i>
l.	<b>catáaxajam</b>	{ <b>qu -i-ataaxajam</b> }	<i>wetting (it) (pl.)</i>
m.	<b>caapo</b>	{ <b>qu-i-aapo</b> }	<i>harvesting (it)</i>
n.	<b>catóopjoj</b>	{ <b>qu-i-atoopjoj</b> }	<i>harvesting (it) (pl.)</i>
o.	<b>coocta</b>	{ <b>qu-i-oocta</b> }	<i>watching (it)</i>
p.	<b>cooctam</b>	{ <b>qu-i-ooctam</b> }	<i>watching (it) (pl.)</i>
q.	<b>cpii</b>	{ <b>qu-i-pii</b> }	<i>tasting (it)</i>
r.	<b>cpcooyo</b>	{ <b>qu-i-pcooyo</b> }	<i>tasting (it) (pl.)</i>
s.	<b>ctis</b>	{ <b>qu-i-tis</b> }	<i>pointing at (it)</i>
t.	<b>ctis</b>	{ <b>qu-i-tisxam</b> }	<i>pointing at (it) (pl.)</i>

The subject-oriented (non-negative) deverbal forms of a few verbs are irregular in the allomorph of the prefix used. (These cases are discussed more below.)

(23)	a.	<b>co-h-a</b>	3IO-SN-be <sub>Irreg</sub>	<i>who/that experiences</i> (see §27.7)
	b.	<b>haa</b>	SN.be <sub>Irreg</sub>	(used in certain idioms) <sup>9</sup> (see §27.7)
	c.	<b>haa</b>	SN.EQ	<i>who/that is</i> (see §10.3)
	d.	<b>ha-pacta</b>	SN-be.in.appearance	<i>that/that is</i>
	e.	<b>aaha</b>	SN-be <sub>Irreg</sub>	<i>that happens</i>

The deverbal noun may be based on a passive verb stem. In the case that the passive verb is not negative (see below for discussion of negative verbs) the nominalizer in the subject-oriented deverbal noun is **ha-**. As there are two major allomorphs of the passive prefix (see §17.1.5 for discussion of passive morphology) and one of these is **ah-**, some phonological interaction results which is not discussed here (see §17.1.5) except to mention that the underlying sequence {**ha-ah-...**} appears on the surface as simply **ha-....**

(24)			SN-PV-stem	<i>what is/was ...</i>
	a.	<b>hapázix</b>	{ <b>ha-p<sub>Abj</sub>-azix</b> }	<i>sawn</i>
	b.	<b>hapám</b>	{ <b>ha-p<sub>Abj</sub>-am</b> }	<i>swallowed</i>
	c.	<b>hataáaxa</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-ataaxa</b> }	<i>wetted (limberbush)</i>
	d.	<b>hapápo</b>	{ <b>ha-p<sub>Abj</sub>-aapo</b> }	<i>harvested</i>
	e.	<b>hapácta</b>	{ <b>ha-p<sub>Abj</sub>-oocta</b> }	<i>looked at</i>
	f.	<b>hapíi</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-pii</b> }	<i>tasted</i>
	g.	<b>hatís</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-tis</b> }	<i>pointed at</i>
	h.	<b>hacáa</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-caa</b> }	<i>looked for</i>

The deverbal noun may also be based on a negative verb stem. In the case that it is negative, the prefix is **i-** instead of **c-/qu-** or **ha-**; the feature [negative] on the verb thus takes precedence over other factors in the choice of allomorphy.

<sup>9</sup> This is the same root as that in (23a).

The examples in (25) show different intransitive stems that are inflected for negation.

(25)		SN-N-Stem	<i>who/what is/was ...</i>
a.	<b>imóoxp</b>	{ <b>i-m-ooxp</b> }	<i>not white</i>
b.	<b>imácösxaj</b>	{ <b>i-m-acösxaj</b> }	<i>not tall/long</i>
c.	<b>imáfp</b>	{ <b>i-m-afp</b> }	<i>not arriving</i>
d.	<b>impánzx</b>	{ <b>i-m-panzx</b> }	<i>not running</i>
e.	<b>intápjö</b>	{ <b>i-m-tapjö</b> }	<i>not disintegrated</i>
f.	<b>imís</b>	{ <b>i-m-is</b> }	<i>not raw</i>
g.	<b>mima</b>	{ <b>mo-i-m-a</b> }	<i>not coming</i> (TWD-SN-N-move)
h.	<b>cöima</b>	{ <b>co-i-m-a</b> }	<i>not happening</i> (3IO-SN-N-move)

The passive verb has a negative deverbal form that is entirely regular, illustrated in (26).

(26)		SN-N-Pv-Stem	<i>what is/was ...</i>
a.	<b>impázix</b>	{ <b>i-m-p<sub>Abl</sub>-azix</b> }	<i>not sawn</i>
b.	<b>impám</b>	{ <b>i-m-p<sub>Abl</sub>-am</b> }	<i>not swallowed</i>
c.	<b>imahtáaxa</b> <sup>10</sup>	{ <b>i-m-ah-ataaxa</b> }	<i>not wetted</i>
d.	<b>impápo</b>	{ <b>i-m-p<sub>Abl</sub>-aapo</b> }	<i>not harvested</i>
e.	<b>impácta</b>	{ <b>i-m-p<sub>Abl</sub>-oocta</b> }	<i>not looked at</i>
f.	<b>impíi</b>	{ <b>i-m-ah-pii</b> }	<i>not tasted</i>
g.	<b>imahtís</b>	{ <b>i-m-ah-tis</b> }	<i>not pointed at</i>

The negative deverbal form of a transitive stem is also not complicated unless one assumes (as is assumed here) that these forms, like their non-negative counterparts, are inflected with the Transitive prefix **i-** that indicates transitivity mentioned above. If that is the case, it is also true that the “expected” sequence **i+i** always shows up as the single vowel **i**.<sup>11</sup>

(27)		SN-TR-N-Stem	<i>who is/was ...</i>
a.	<b>imázix</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-azix</b> }	<i>not sawing (it)</i>
b.	<b>imám</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-am</b> }	<i>not swallowing (it)</i>
c.	<b>imatáaxa</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-ataaxa</b> }	<i>not wetting (it)</i>
d.	<b>imáapo</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-aapo</b> }	<i>not harvesting (it)</i>
e.	<b>imóocta</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-oocta</b> }	<i>not watching (it)</i>
f.	<b>impíi</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-pii</b> }	<i>not tasting (it)</i>
g.	<b>intís</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-tis</b> }	<i>not pointing at (it)</i>
h.	<b>imcáa</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-caa</b> }	<i>not looking for (it)</i>

<sup>10</sup> The loss of the root-initial **a** is typical of the passive forms of such verbs; see §17.1.5.

<sup>11</sup> The idiosyncratic rule deleting the transitive marker prefix **i-** before consonants would account for the loss of one vowel. It is also true that the standard rule of elision (§27.2.1) would delete the other **i** before this morpheme. Therefore if one assumes that the transitive marker **i-** is present underlyingly, there is no problem in accounting for its absence on the surface.

These facts about the allomorphy of the nominalizer are not affected by other differences in the stem. Some examples of subject-oriented deverbal nouns formed on causative stems are given here:

(28)	a.	<b>cacáatax</b>	{ <b>c-i-acaatax</b> } <sup>12</sup> SN-i-drive	‘manejándolo’ <i>driving (it)</i>
	b.	<b>imacáatax</b>	{ <b>i-i-m-acaatax</b> } SN-TR-N-drive	‘no manejándolo’ <i>not driving (it)</i>
	c.	<b>hacáatax</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-acaatax</b> } SN-PV-drive	‘manejado’ <i>driven</i>
	d.	<b>imahcáatax</b>	{ <b>i-m-ah-acaatax</b> } SN-N-PV-drive	‘no manejado’ <i>not driven</i>
	e.	<b>coop</b>	{ <b>c-o<sub>Abi</sub>-ap</b> } SN-UO-sew.basket	‘cosiendo (canasta)’ <i>sewing (basket)</i>
	f.	<b>imóop</b>	{ <b>i-m-o<sub>Abi</sub>-ap</b> } SN-N-UO-sew.basket	‘no cosiendo (canasta)’ <i>not sewing (basket)</i>
	g.	<b>hahítaj</b>	{ <b>ha-ah-ahítaj</b> } SN-PV-cause.ignite	‘encendido’ <i>ignited</i>

Examples with inflection for direct or indirect object are given in (18)-(19) above.

In the case of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{pacta}}$  *be in appearance*, the allomorph **ha-** occurs instead of the expected **c-**: **hapácta**. This allomorphy reflects the etymology of this form which is a reanalysis of the passive deverbal noun of the root  $\sqrt{\text{oocta}}$  *look at*.<sup>13</sup> The form **hapácta** is ambiguous between {**ha-pácta**} (SN-be.in.appearance) and {**ha-p<sub>Abi</sub>-oocta**} (SN-PV-look.at).

The verb for *happen* is an irregular verb that is apparently a verb meaning *be* inflected for third person indirect object; it also has irregular allomorphy for the subject nominalizer: **coha** {**co-h-a**} (3IO-SN-be<sub>Irreg</sub>).

The regular subject nominalizer allomorphy is summarized as follows, where the order of presentation is crucial since each “clause” takes precedence over the subsequent one(s).

<sup>12</sup> The causative forms are often used intransitively, but the deverbal nouns of subject-oriented transitive causative verbs are indistinguishable from those of intransitive ones.

<sup>13</sup> See Marlett (2002) for more discussion.

- (29) Subject Nominalizer:  
**i** when negative,  
**ha** when passive, (by implication, “and not negative”)  
**c (qu)** (elsewhere) (by implication, “not negative and not passive”)

## 14.2 The inflected subject-oriented deverbal nouns

In some special complement clauses, and only in those contexts, the subject-oriented deverbal nouns occur with subject person inflection. Any prefix of the subject inflection set (including 3:3 **i-**) occurs before the subject nominalizer.<sup>14</sup>

- (30)
- |    |                  |                          |                           |
|----|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | <b>iquíhit</b>   | { <b>i-qu-i-ahit</b> }   | 3:3-SN-TR-eat             |
| b. | <b>ihpcóoca</b>  | { <b>hp-c-oooca</b> }    | 1sS.IN-SN-rest            |
| c. | <b>imcoféaa</b>  | { <b>m-c-oféaa</b> }     | 2sS-SN-have.good.eyesight |
| d. | <b>macóii</b>    | { <b>ma-c-oii</b> }      | 2pS-SN-be.FL.PL           |
| e. | <b>icmís</b>     | { <b>i-c-i-mis</b> }     | 3:3-SN-TR-resemble        |
| f. | <b>iquíht</b>    | { <b>i-qu-i-aht</b> }    | 3:3-SN-TR-see-PL          |
| g. | <b>cohacáoix</b> | { <b>co-h-c-acóoix</b> } | 3IO-1sS.TR-SN-remove      |

See §12.2.1 (complements of **hax** √**oocta** *think (opine)* and **hax** √**Cimoz** *think (opine)*, **hax** √**ahíi** *seem*, and **hax** √**vsoj** √**Cii** *think*).

## 14.3 Details about realis object-oriented deverbal nouns

The object-oriented deverbal noun is used in relative clauses when the clause modifies a noun that is the direct object of the verbal base. (See §8.4.1 and also §8.4.6 for uses in headless constructions.) The form always indicates the person of the subject person by means of a possessor prefix. (The glosses do not always reflect the fact that the form is ambiguous between present and past tense; as a realis form it does not indicate future, however.)

- (31)
- a. °Azlc canl° **hozáxö** **hizcoi** ...  
 stars 1P-ON-discuss PX-PL  
 ‘Estas estrellas de que hablo ...’  
*These stars that I am talking about ...* (ES2007, Hapj\_14) RMH\_08-21-07\_105a
- b. **haaco** **mooxi** **cap**  
 ABS.house 2P-ON-finish the.VT  
 ‘la casa que hiciste’  
*the house that you built* RMH\_08-21-07\_105b

<sup>14</sup> When the verb is intransitive and the subject is third person, there is no overt subject inflection, exactly as expected by this analysis. The homophony of 3:3 and 3P (both **i-**) makes this fact important to note.

- c. **ctam canóaa quih hiive quij**  
 man boat the.FL 1P-ON-give.gift the.CM  
 ‘el hombre a quien le di la panga’  
*the man whom I gave the boat* RMH\_08-21-07\_105c

This form is also used in (what might be thought of as) main clauses with a modal (§20.5). These are sometimes most felicitously translated as passive clauses in English and Spanish because this use gives thematic prominence to the patient-object; they are not passive clauses in Seri.

- (32) a. **Azoj Cmiique hapáh cop cöotni ha.**  
 SN-PV-say the.VT 3IO-3P-ON-injure DCL  
 ‘[El venado bura] fue herido por el Azoj Cmiique.’  
*[The mule deer] was injured by Azoj Cmiique.* (ES2007, Hapi\_XX) RMH\_08-21-07\_105d
- b. **Xoop cap comcáac coi °iisax quihíh cah°**  
 elephant.tree the.VT person/Seri.PL the.PL great.degree  
cöivanzáaitj **iha.**  
 3IO-3P-ON-respect DCL  
 ‘Los seris tratan al torote colorado con mucho respeto.’ RMH\_08-21-07\_105e  
*The Seri people are very respectful of the elephant tree.* (ES2007, xoop)
- c. **Haptco mocóht iha, me.**  
 already 2P-ON-see-PL DCL 2PRO  
 ‘Ya lo han visto.’  
*You have already seen him.* (Jn 14:7) RMH\_07-11-07\_51a RMH\_08-21-07\_105f
- (33) **Ipánzx hoomzo ha.**  
 3P-AON-run 1P-ON-want DCL  
 ‘Quiero que corra.’  
*I want him/her/it to run.* RMH\_10-15-07\_60
- (34) **..., heme° itámlajc x, oiitoj iha.**  
 camp 3:3-RL-bring-PL UT 3P-ON-eat.PL DCL  
 ‘..., los llevaron al campamento, los comieron.’  
*... they took them to camp, they ate them.* (Gigante\_Comelon\_200-201)

### 14.3.1 The morphology of the form

There are several regular suppletive allomorphs of the realis object nominalizer. Examples below are all cited in the third person form; the person of the possessor never affects the form of the nominalizer.

The object-oriented realis deverbal noun has the following structure:

## (35) I.O. Inflection — Possessor — Nominalizer — Stem

The nominalizer is null in all negative clauses. These third person forms turn out to be homophonous with the negative subject-oriented deverbal forms (§14.1). But unlike the subject-oriented forms, these belong to a set that is variable by person. For example: **mimázix** (2P-ON-N-saw) *what you didn't saw*, **himázix** *what I didn't saw* (1P-ON-N-saw).

- (36)
- |    |                  |                            |   |
|----|------------------|----------------------------|---|
|    |                  | 3P-ON-N-Stem <sup>15</sup> |   |
| a. | <b>imázix</b>    | {i-Ø-m-azix}               | ‘lo que no cortó’<br><i>what s/he didn't saw</i>    |
| b. | <b>imámzo</b>    | {i-Ø-m-amzo}               | ‘lo que no quiso’<br><i>what s/he didn't want</i>   |
| c. | <b>imóocta</b>   | {i-Ø-m-oocta}              | ‘lo que no miró’<br><i>what s/he didn't look at</i> |
| d. | <b>imitalháa</b> | {i-Ø-m-italháa}            | ‘lo que no compró’<br><i>what s/he didn't buy</i>   |
| e. | <b>imáa</b>      | {i-Ø-m-aCa}                | ‘lo que no supo’<br><i>what s/he didn't know</i>    |

The nominalizer is **h-** when it precedes the unstressed **i** that is the denominalizing prefix HAVE (§19.3.3), such as is often found with the denominal verbs meaning *have X* (see §13.4) and kinship verbs (§19.3.4).<sup>16</sup> (All cases of stressed **i**, including the denominalizing prefix, and the verbs that have an unstressed **i** in root-initial position take the next allomorph.)

- (37)
- |    |                  |                 |   |
|----|------------------|-----------------|---|
|    |                  | 3P-ON-HAVE-Root |   |
| a. | <b>ihiháxöl</b>  | {i-h-i-haxöl}   | ‘lo que usó como cuchara’<br><i>what s/he had for a spoon</i>                   |
| b. | <b>ihicáamiz</b> | {i-h-i-caamiz}  | ‘lo que usó como camisa’ <sup>17</sup><br><i>what s/he had for a shirt</i>      |
| c. | <b>ihitáamt</b>  | {i-h-i-taamt}   | ‘lo que llevó como huaraches’ <sup>18</sup><br><i>what s/he wore as sandals</i> |

<sup>15</sup> Here the word “stem” refers to everything else that follows the negative prefix in the verb word.

<sup>16</sup> The examples with stressed prefix **i** may be a complication. If **ihípon** *his/her/its voice* is derived from the verb  $\sqrt{\text{ipon}}$  *have voice*, which is in turn derived from the older root  $\sqrt{\text{Vpon}}$  *voice* (which shows up as **ipon** in some contexts, then some stressed **i** verbs do indeed take the allomorph **h-**. The crucial example in the next set is the form derived from  $\sqrt{\text{ita}}$  *have as mother*. This verb does not take **h-** for the nominalizer.

<sup>17</sup> One consultant did not like this form. He would simply use the form **icáamiz** (3P-shirt) instead, regardless of the circumstances.

<sup>18</sup> One consultant did not like this form. He would simply use the form **itáamt** (3P-sandal) instead, regardless of the circumstances.

The nominalizer is null when it precedes other instances of **i**:<sup>19</sup> all cases of stressed **i** and also unstressed **i** that are not prefixes (except for the verb  $\sqrt{\text{italhaa}}$  mentioned above). This allomorph therefore occurs before denominal verbs meaning *have X* (see §13.4) if the stem has an initial stressed vowel, as in (38g).

(38)		3P-ON-Stem	
a.	<b>icséenpx</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-icséenpx</b> }	‘lo que llevó debajo de su brazo’ <i>what s/he carried under her/his arm</i>
b.	<b>ihíicx</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-ihíicx</b> }	‘él/la con que tuvo relaciones sexuales’ <i>whom s/he had intercourse with</i> <sup>20</sup>
c.	<b>ii</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-ii</b> }	‘lo que oyó’ <i>what s/he heard</i>
d.	<b>iic</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-iic</b> }	‘lo que sembró’ <i>what s/he planted</i>
e.	<b>iiha</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-iiha</b> }	‘lo que posee’ <i>what s/he owns</i>
f.	<b>iip</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-iip</b> }	‘lo que llevó en su cabeza’ <i>what s/he carried on her/his head</i>
g.	<b>iiquet</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-iiquet</b> }	‘el/la con que estaba encinta’ <i>whom she was pregnant with</i>
h.	<b>iixim</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-iixim</b> }	‘lo que temió’ <i>what s/he feared</i>
i.	<b>ip</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-ip</b> }	‘lo que enderezó’ <i>what s/he straightened</i>
j.	<b>ita</b> <sup>21</sup>	{ <b>i-Ø-i-Vta</b> }	‘la que tiene como madre’ <i>whom s/he has as mother</i>
k.	<b>itái</b> <sup>22</sup>	{ <b>i-Ø-itai</b> }	‘lo que aguantó’ <i>what s/he resisted</i>
l.	<b>italháa</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-italháa</b> }	‘el que compró’ <i>what s/he bought</i>
m.	<b>iitlim</b> <sup>23</sup>	{ <b>i-Ø-itlim</b> }	‘lo que atizó’ <i>what s/he kindled</i>

<sup>19</sup> It is possible that one might propose one of the other allomorphs of this prefix, such as **o-**, to underly the forms here as well. And it is possible that one might account for the deletion of this vowel by other general rules of the language.

<sup>20</sup> This is a polite term.

<sup>21</sup> One consultant did not like this form. He would simply use the form **ata** (3P-mother) instead, regardless of the circumstances.

<sup>22</sup> This is used in the expression **miizj**  $\sqrt{\text{itai}}$  which refers to holding out against an opponent.

<sup>23</sup> The long vowel here is unexplained.

The nominalizer is *y-* before long low vowels and also before the prefixes (**ah-**, **ac-**, **a-**) that occur in augmented forms such as causatives.<sup>24</sup> The vowel of the possessor prefix deletes before this approximant (see §13.2.3.2) *except* when it is inflected for an indirect object as in **cöiyáafc** *what s/he pounded with it*.

(39)		3P-ON-Stem	
a.	<b>yaazi</b>	{ <b>i-y-aazi</b> }	‘lo que llevó’ <i>what s/he carried</i>
b.	<b>yaafc</b>	{ <b>i-y-aafc</b> }	‘lo que golpeó’ <i>what s/he pounded</i>
c.	<b>yao</b>	{ <b>i-y-aao</b> }	‘donde pasó’ <i>where s/he passed</i>
d.	<b>yaactim</b>	{ <b>i-y-aa-actim</b> }	‘lo que cortó’ <i>what s/he cut (caused to be cut)</i>
e.	<b>yacáalim</b>	{ <b>i-y-ac-aalim</b> }	‘con que jugó’ <i>what s/he played with</i> <sup>25</sup>
f.	<b>yaháapl</b>	{ <b>i-y-ah-aapl</b> }	‘lo que enfrió’ <i>what s/he cooled (caused to be cold)</i>
g.	<b>yatáamatot</b>	{ <b>i-y-aa-taamatot</b> }	‘el/la en que puso huaraches’ <i>the one on whom s/he put sandals</i>

The nominalizer is **oco-** when it immediately precedes the verbs  $\sqrt{\text{aCa}}$  *know* and  $\sqrt{\text{aho}}$  *see*.

(40)		Possessor-ON-stem	
a.	<b>ocóaa</b>	{ <b>i-oco-aCa</b> }	‘lo que sabía/conocía’ <i>what s/he knew</i>
b.	<b>mocóaa</b>	{ <b>mi-oco-aCa</b> }	‘lo que sabías/conocías’ <i>what you knew</i>
c.	<b>ocóho</b>	{ <b>i-oco-aho</b> }	‘lo que vio’ <i>what s/he saw</i>
d.	<b>hocóho</b>	{ <b>hi-oco-aho</b> }	‘lo que vi’ <i>what I saw</i>
e.	<b>hocóht</b>	{ <b>hi-oco-aht</b> }	‘lo que vimos’ <i>what we saw</i> RMH_08-21-07_106

The nominalizer is **o-**<sub>Abi</sub> otherwise. This allomorph in effect occurs before consonants

<sup>24</sup> The augment prefix occurs as long whenever it is stressed, but short whenever it is not stressed. The disjunction in the generalization given here is avoided if one proposes that all allomorphs of the augment are underlyingly long.

This allomorph is not used before the phonetically long low vowels which are part of diphthongs. See the discussion of the diphthong effect on length in §28.3.4.

<sup>25</sup> The verb  $\sqrt{\text{acáalim}}$  means *play with (something)*, and the toy or game is the direct object.

(except for negative forms, see above), before root-initial short low vowels, and before **o**-initial roots (of which there may be only one). In the cases of its occurrence before short low vowels, the same processes of elision and coalescence apply as in the inflection of mood on verbs (see chapter 27).<sup>26</sup> In the case of its occurrence before an **o**-initial root, see the discussion of Ablaut in §14.4.2.

(41)		3P-ON-Stem		
	a.	<b>opíi</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>pii</b> }	‘lo que probó’ <i>what s/he tasted</i>
	b.	<b>ocáa</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>caa</b> }	‘lo que buscó’ <i>what s/he looked for</i>
	c.	<b>oozix</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>azix</b> }	‘lo que cortó’ <i>what s/he sawed</i>
	d.	<b>oom</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>am</b> }	‘lo que tragó’ <i>what s/he swallowed</i>
	e.	<b>oohit</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>ahit</b> }	‘lo que comió’ <i>what s/he ate</i>
	f.	<b>oosi</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>asi</b> }	‘lo que tomó’ <i>what s/he drank</i>
	g.	<b>oomen</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>emen</b> }	‘lo que tiró para acá y allá’ <i>what sh/e shook back and forth</i>
	h.	<b>oáacta</b>	{ <b>i-o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>oocta</b> }	‘lo que miró’ <i>what s/he looked at</i>

This allomorph occurs as expected before the root  $\sqrt{\text{ah}}$  *do, say, put*, but unexpectedly this verb does not undergo the usual rule of Short Low Vowel Assimilation (§27.3.1), which would have yielded \***ooh**; the object-oriented deverbal form is **oáh** *what s/he did* (with somewhat unexpected lengthening of the **a** in this form).

This allomorph also occurs as expected before the root  $\sqrt{\text{acö}}$  *kill*, but unexpectedly an **i** appears in the object-oriented deverbal noun. Instead of the expected \***oocö**, the form **oöicö** is used.

The regular object nominalizer allomorphy is summarized as follows (excluding the allomorph **oco-**), where the order of presentation of the “clauses” is again crucial:

(42)	Object Nominalizer:
	null      when negative,
	<b>h</b> before unstressed <b>i</b>
	null      before stressed <b>i</b>
	<b>y</b> before long low vowel and prefixal <b>a</b>
	<b>o</b> <sub>Abl</sub> elsewhere.

#### 14.4 Details about realis action/oblique nominalizations

The action/oblique-oriented deverbal verb form is used in several ways. It is used in relative clauses in which the head noun (which may be non-overt) is neither the subject nor the direct

<sup>26</sup> In simple terms, **o+a** becomes **oo**.

object. Three simple examples are given here, but more are found in §8.4.3 .

- (43) **comcáac quih hant iti yaii hac**  
 person/Seri.PL the.FL land 3P-on 3P-AON-be.FL.PL the.LC  
 ‘donde están los seris — el territorio seri’  
*where the Seris are — the Seri land* RMH\_08-21-07\_107
- (44) **Iháapl cop cōyaxyat.**  
 3P-AON-cold the.VT 3IO-DT-die.PL  
 ‘Murieron por causa del frío.’ RMH\_07-11-07\_17b  
*They died from the cold (weather).* (the time when the weather is cold) (Offered)
- (45) **¡lhyacázni xooixaj!**  
 1P-AON-UO-bite EM-strong  
 ‘¡Mi mordida es fuerte!’  
*My bite is hard!* (the way in which a certain lizard bites) (Lagartijas 51)

This deverbal noun is commonly inflected for third person indirect object, using **co-/cō-** (§17.1.2.4) when it is being used as the head of a clause in a stage-setting situation or the fact of the action or state, as in the following examples, respectively.

- (46) °Azlc canl° **Hapj hapáh coi hamíime com iti**  
 stars SN-PV-say the.PL sky the.HZ 3P.in  
**cōiyáii hac ...**  
 3IO-3P-AON-be.FL.PL the.LC  
 ‘Cuando las estrellas llamadas Hapj están en el cielo ...’  
*When the stars called Hapj are in the sky ...* (ES 2007, Hapj\_11) RMH\_08-21-07\_108b
- (47) **Zixcám ticom cōipáhit hac seehe cohyomáa.**  
 fish MD-HZ 3IO-3P-AON-PV-eat the.LC to.do.(it) 3IO-1SS.TR-DT-N-know  
 ‘No puedo/pude con respecto al comer de ese pescado.’  
*I can’t/couldn’t with respect to the eating of that fish.* (offered) RMH\_10-15-07\_50

This form is also required in the complement clauses of the prototypical type (see §12.2.1).

- (48) **Micázni hmiimzo.**  
 2P-AON-bite 1SS.TR-PX-want  
 ‘Quiero que lo/la muerdas.’  
*I want you to bite it.* RMH\_08-21-07\_109a

This deverbal form is used in exclamations such as that in (49).

- (49) **Trooqui tintica, ¡cöihazíim tax!**  
 vehicle MD-AW 3IO-3P-AON-beautiful SBRD  
 ‘¡Qué bonito ese carro!’  
*How nice that car!* RMH\_08-24-07\_89

Other contexts use this form, including the concessive auxiliary **isax** (see §25.4.2.1).

- (50) **Miica mpoomzo x, immísa ha**  
 TWD-INF.IN-move 2sS-IR.DP-want UT TWD-2sS-IR.ID-move AUX-DCL  
**xo miixaj quih ihínej isax,**  
 but 2P-AON-strong the.FL 3P-AON-empty CNCSV  
**cmiique zo ma sconsácj aha.**  
 person a 2sDO IR.ID-N-carry.on.hip AUX-DCL

‘Puedes venir si quieres, pero si te cansas, nadie te va a llevar.’ RMH\_08-21-07\_109b  
*You can come if you want, but if you get tired, no one is going to carry you.* (DS2005, isax)

Due to the wide variety of usages, it is not possible to give a single adequate translation for any given form; the translation must be adapted to the context. For example, the form **hiizix** in a relative clause might refer to the instrument used and the best translation would be *with which I sawed it* (§13.5). In another context it might refer to the place in which the action took place, and so it would be translated *where I sawed it*. One might use it to refer to the manner in which one cuts, and so it would be translated *how I sawed it*. In a complement clause it would be translated *that I saw it* or *for me to saw it*.

#### 14.4.1 The morphology of the form

The action or oblique-oriented realis deverbal noun has the following structure:

- (51) I.O. & D.O. Inflection – Directional – Possessor – Nominalizer – Stem

The action/oblique nominalizer has four regular suppletive allomorphs and two idiosyncratic ones. The idiosyncratic allomorph **hi-** occurs with the verb  $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$  *stand* as in **ihíip** (3P-AON-stand) *where it stands* (see (14b) in chapter 15). The allomorph **h-** (which is also a regular allomorph in another context) occurs with the verbs for *come* and *go* which are based on the same root: **miíha** *his/her/its coming* (from {**mo-i-h-a**} TWD-3P-AON-move) and **intíiha** *his/her/its going* (from {**nt-i-h-a**} Aw-3P-AON-move).<sup>27</sup> It likewise occurs in the irregular verb for means *be with, happen*: **cöiíha** (from {**co-i-h-a**} 3IO-3P-AON-be).

<sup>27</sup> The length of the stressed vowel is not explained by a regular rule.

Before root-initial (stressed) short low vowels<sup>28</sup> and before consonants (which may be the **m** of the negative prefix or the **p** of the passive prefix or another prefix, as shown below), the nominalizer is null. Examples of this allomorph in these two contexts are given in (52) and (53). (On the length of the prefix vowel in the surface form, see §27.3.1.)

(52)		3P-AON-stem		
a.	<b>iizix</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-azix</b> }	‘su cortarlo’ <i>her/his sawing it</i>	
b.	<b>iimen</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-emen</b> }	‘su tirarlo por aquí y allá’ <i>her/his shaking it</i>	
c.	<b>iihit</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-ahit</b> }	‘su comerlo’ <i>her/his eating it</i>	
d.	<b>iiho</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-aho</b> }	‘su verlo’ <i>her/his seeing it</i>	
(53)	a.	<b>imázix</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-m-azix</b> }	‘su no cortarlo’ <i>her/his not sawing it</i>
	b.	<b>icáa</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-cáa</b> }	‘su buscarlo’ <i>her/his looking for it</i>
	c.	<b>ipáhit</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-p<sub>Abl</sub>-ahit</b> }	‘su ser comido’ <i>its being eaten</i>
	d.	<b>ipánzx</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-panzx</b> }	‘su correr’ <i>her/his/its running</i>
	e.	<b>icám</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-cam</b> }	‘su vivir’ — ‘su vida’ <i>his/her living — his/her life</i>
	f.	<b>imoquéepe</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-moqueepe</b> }	‘su estar enfermo’ — ‘su enfermedad’ <i>his/her being sick — his/her sickness</i>
	g.	<b>icózim</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-cozim</b> }	‘su hacer calor’ — ‘calor’ <i>its being hot (weather) — heat, summer</i>
	h.	<b>ihámoc</b>	{ <b>i-Ø-hamoc</b> }	‘su ser noche’ — ‘noche’ <i>its being night — night</i>

The consonant that determines this allomorph may be from the unspecified subject prefix **ca-**.

<sup>28</sup> The superficially long diphthongs such as **âai** conjugate as if they began with a short vowel **a** rather than a long vowel. See §28.3.4.

- (54)
- |    |                   |                                  |  |
|----|-------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| a. | <b>icamátj</b>    | {i-Ø-ca-matj}                    | ‘el ser caliente de uno’ — ‘fiebre de uno’<br><i>one’s being hot — one’s fever</i>             |
| b. | <b>icamoquépe</b> | {i-Ø-ca-moquépe}                 | ‘el estar enfermo de uno’ — enfermedad de uno’<br><i>one’s being sick — one’s sickness</i>     |
| c. | <b>icáaitom</b>   | {i-Ø-ca-âaitom}                  | ‘el hablar de uno’ — ‘palabra de uno’<br><i>one’s speaking — one’s word</i>                    |
| d. | <b>icáaixaj</b>   | {i-Ø-ca-âaixaj}                  | ‘el ser fuerte de uno’ — ‘fuerza de uno’<br><i>one’s being strong — one’s strength</i>         |
| e. | <b>icapítol</b>   | {i-Ø-ca-pitol}                   | ‘el hincharse de uno’ — ‘indigestión de uno’<br><i>one’s being bloated — one’s indigestion</i> |
| f. | <b>icáapl</b>     | {i-Ø-ca-matj}                    | ‘el tener frío de uno’ — ‘el frío’<br><i>one’s being cold — the cold</i>                       |
| g. | <b>icocóoxa</b>   | {i-Ø-ca-o <sub>Abi</sub> -cooxa} | ‘el cantar (a bebé) de uno’ — ‘arrullo’<br><i>one’s singing (to baby) — lullaby</i>            |
| h. | <b>icóos</b>      | {i-Ø-ca-oos}                     | ‘el cantar de uno’ — ‘canción de uno’<br><i>one’s singing — one’s song</i>                     |
| i. | <b>icáaspoj</b>   | {i-Ø-ca-aaspoj}                  | ‘lápiz’<br><i>pencil — what one writes with</i>  |

Before the allomorph of the passive morpheme which is not consonant-initial, the nominalizer is **h-**.<sup>29</sup> The presence of the glottal stop causes the deletion of the glottal stop in the passive prefix just as in glottal stop of the subject-oriented deverbal noun prefix **ha-** does; see §14.1.<sup>30</sup>

- (55)
- |    |                 |                                  |  |
|----|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|
| a. | <b>ihacázni</b> | 3P-AON-Pv-Stem<br>{i-h-ah-cazni} | ‘su ser mordido’<br><i>her/his being bitten</i>                            |
| b. | <b>ihatís</b>   | {i-h-ah-tis}                     | ‘su ser señalado’<br><i>her/his being pointed at</i>                       |
| c. | <b>ihasánj</b>  | {i-h-ah-sanj}                    | ‘su ser llevado en la espalda’<br><i>her/his being carried on the back</i> |

Before a long low vowel or a back vowel of an *intransitive* verb form other than the passive,

<sup>29</sup> These form are homophonous with the infinitive in many cases, which can be a point of confusion.

<sup>30</sup> This is described in Yip (1988) as an effect of the Obligatory Contour Principle.

the nominalizer is **y**-<sub>Abl</sub>. The back vowel may be the Unspecified Object prefix or it may be the part of a causative verb that is being used intransitively. This allomorph also causes the next vowel to change quality. The ablaut process changes **o** or **oo** to **a** (see §14.4.2). The vowel of the possessor prefix elides before the **y** as it does in the object-oriented deverbal nouns (see §14.3) and common possessed nouns (§13.2.3.2), except when the form is inflected for an indirect object; thus **cöiyátj** corresponds to **yatj** in (56a).

(56)		3P-AON-Stem	
a.	<b>yatj</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>otj</b> }	‘su ponerse de pie’ <i>her/his arising</i>
b.	<b>yazix</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>oAbl</b> - <b>azix</b> }	‘su cortar (UO)’ <i>her/his sawing (UO)</i>
c.	<b>yaahzx</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>aahzx</b> }	‘su estornudar’ <i>her/his sneezing</i>
d.	<b>yaaspoj</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>aaspoj</b> }	‘su escribir’ <i>her/his writing</i>
e.	<b>yaalim</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>aalim</b> }	‘su jugar’ <i>her/his playing</i>
f.	<b>yaticpan</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>aticpan</b> }	‘su trabajar’ <i>her/his working</i>
g.	<b>yanáao</b>	{ <b>i-y</b> - <sub>Abl</sub> - <b>anaao</b> }	‘su maullar’ <i>its meowing</i>

The nominalizer is **h**- elsewhere. Specifically, this means before high front vowels, before long low vowels of transitive verb forms (including transitive causatives and assistives), and before back vowels of transitive verb forms (including transitive causatives and assistives).<sup>31</sup>

(57)		3P-AON-stem	
a.	<b>ihíp</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>ip</b> }	‘su enderezarlo’ / <i>her/his straightening it</i>
b.	<b>ihísil</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>isil</b> }	‘su ser pequeño’ — ‘su niñez’ <i>his/her being small — his/her childhood</i>
c.	<b>ihihíicx</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>ihíicx</b> }	‘su tener relaciones sexuales’ <i>his/her having sexual relations</i>
d.	<b>iháafc</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>aafc</b> }	‘su golpearlo’ / <i>her/his pounding it</i>
e.	<b>iháacsx</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>aaacsx</b> }	‘su despertarlo/la’ (causar despertarse) <i>her/his waking him/her (cause awaken)</i>
f.	<b>iháactim</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>aaactim</b> }	‘su cortarlo/la’ (causar estar cortado) <i>her/his cutting it/him/her (cause be cut)</i>
g.	<b>iháaspoj</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>aaspoj</b> }	‘su escribirlo’ (causar ser manchado) <i>her/his writing it (cause be spotted)</i>
h.	<b>ihóocta</b>	{ <b>i-h</b> - <b>oocta</b> }	‘su mirarlo’ <i>her/his looking at it</i>

<sup>31</sup> The form **iháat** in chapter 15 example (16), based on the obsolete root  $\sqrt{\text{iháat}}$ , is irregular.

- |    |                                    |                       |                                   |  |
|----|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| i. | <b>ihatólec</b>                    | { <b>i-h-atolec</b> } |                                   | ‘su pedirle ayuda’<br><i>his/her asking him/her for help</i>                             |
| j. | <b>hasaj ctam ticop mihitalháa</b> |                       | basket man MD-VT 2P-AON-buy/sell  | ‘canasta que vendiste a ese hombre’<br><i>basket that you sold to that man</i>           |
| k. | <b>hasaj ihitalháa cop</b>         |                       | basket 3P-AON-buy/sell the.VT     | ‘la canasta que (le) vendió’<br><i>the basket that s/he sold (him/her)</i> <sup>32</sup> |
| l. | <b>hasaj me ihitalháa cop</b>      |                       | basket 2IO 3P-AON-buy/sell the.VT | ‘la canasta que te vendió’<br><i>the basket that s/he sold you</i>                       |

The regular action/oblique nominalizer allomorphy is summarized as follows (excluding the idiosyncratic instances of the allomorphs **hi-**, **h-**, and  $\emptyset$ ), where the order of the “clauses” is again crucial:

- (58) Action/Oblique Nominalizer:
- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| $\emptyset$            | before stressed short low vowels and before consonants  |
| <b>h</b>               | before passive prefix (by implication, vowel-initial)   |
| <b>y<sub>Abl</sub></b> | a long low vowel or a back vowel of an intransitive verb (by implication, not passive and not stressed) |
| <b>h</b>               | elsewhere.  |

#### 14.4.2 Ablaut

A morphological operation that is quite common in the language is one that ablauts **i** to **e**, and **o** to **a**. The input vowel may be long, but the output is short in some cases and long in others (for reasons that are not understood). This may be conceived of as a rule that changes a non-low

<sup>32</sup> I am puzzled by the lack of the 3IO prefix **cō-** on this verb, but repeated checking made it clear that it was not there. Compare the following examples:

- |       |  |  |   |   |
|-------|--|--|---|---|
| (i)   | <b>Juan quih hasaj he ihitalhaa quih</b>         |  | the.FL flat.basket 1IO 3P-AN-sell the.FL    | ‘la canasta que Juan me vendió’<br><i>the basket that Juan sold me</i> RRR            |
| (ii)  | <b>Juan quih hasaj me ihitalhaa quih</b>         |  | the.FL flat.basket 2IO 3P-AN-sell the.FL    | ‘la canasta que Juan te vendió’<br><i>the basket that John sold you</i> RRR           |
| (iii) | <b>hasaj Juan quih María quih ihitalhaa quih</b> |  | flat.basket the.FL the.FL 3P-AN-sell the.FL | ‘la canasta que Juan le vendió a María’<br><i>the basket that John sold María</i> RRR |

Table 14.2: Irrealis deverbal noun structure

Type of Deverbal noun		Nominalizer	Stem	Auxiliary
Subject-oriented: stripped irrealis	—	<b>si-</b>		<b>ca</b>
Object-oriented: finite irrealis	Subject inflection	<b>si-</b>		<b>ha</b>
Action/Oblique-oriented: irrealis with Possessor/subject	Possessor	<b>si-</b>		<b>ha</b>

vowel to a low vowel. Various morphemes are triggers for this rule; there does not seem to be any phonological motivation.

The preceding section presented one allomorph of the action/oblique Nominalizer which triggers the ablaut rule. It just happens in that case that the allomorph  $y_{-AbI}$  occurs only before back vowels. The ablaut rule therefore only affects the verbs with **o**, such as underlying  $\{i-y_{-AbI}-otj\}$  which becomes **yatj** by Ablaut as well as the deletion of possessor **i** before **y**.

Other morphemes which trigger Ablaut include: one allomorph of the object nominalizer (§14.3), one allomorph of the first person emphatic subject prefix (§17.1.2.1), the transitive allomorph of the infinitive prefix (§17.2.1), one allomorph of the imperative prefix (§17.2.2), and one allomorph of the passive prefix (§17.1.5). See the relevant sections for the data.

### 14.5 Details about irrealis deverbal nouns

Irrealis deverbal nouns are used in fewer contexts than realis deverbal nouns. They are used in relative clauses (see §8.4) and also in main clauses (see §10.4.5).

The irrealis deverbal nouns are always formed with the prefix **si-** (see Table 14.2) which is the same prefix for the finite irrealis forms. Irrealis deverbal nouns are used with an auxiliary verb, **ca** or **ha**, as explained below, while finite irrealis forms use **ha** (§20.2.1).

The subject-oriented irrealis deverbal nouns occurs with the auxiliary **ca** (§20.2.2). The deverbal noun does not bear inflection for person of the subject: it is what has been called elsewhere in this grammar a “stripped” irrealis. Example (59) shows a subject-oriented irrealis form modifying a noun, and (60) shows the usage as a main verb.

- (59) **cmaam mazi siiho ca quih**  
 woman 2PDO IR.ID-see AUX.SN the.FL  
 ‘la mujer que les verá a ustedes’  
*the woman who will see you (pl.)* RMH\_10-15-07\_61d

- (60) **He soos caha.**  
 1PRO IR.ID-sing AUX.SN-DCL  
 ‘Cantaré.’  
*I will sing.* RMH\_10-15-07\_61e

Examples of the irrealis subject-oriented deverbal nouns are given in (61).

- |      |    |                                     |   |   |
|------|----|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| (61) | a. | <b>siitax ca</b>                    | { <b>si-atax</b> }<br>IR.ID-go                                | ‘que irá’<br><i>who will go</i>                       |
|      | b. | <b>smatax ca</b>                    | { <b>si-m-atax</b> }<br>IR.ID-N-go                            | ‘que no irá’<br><i>who will not go</i>                |
|      | c. | <b>siisi ca</b>                     | { <b>si-asi</b> }<br>IR.ID-drink                              | ‘que (lo) tomará’<br><i>who will drink (it)</i>       |
|      | d. | <b>smasi ca</b>                     | { <b>si-m-asi</b> }<br>IR.ID-N-drink                          | ‘que no (lo) tomará’<br><i>who will not drink it</i>  |
|      | e. | <b>soohitim ca</b>                  | { <b>si-o<sub>Abl</sub>-ahitim</b> }<br>IR.ID-UO-eat-IMPF     | ‘que comerá’<br><i>who will eat</i>                   |
|      | f. | <b>smoohitim ca</b>                 | { <b>si-m-o<sub>Abl</sub>-ahitim</b> }<br>IR.ID-N-UO-eat-IMPF | ‘que no comerá’<br><i>who will not eat</i>            |
|      | g. | <b>spahit ca</b>                    | { <b>si-p<sub>Abl</sub>-ahit</b> }<br>IR.ID-PV-eat            | ‘que será comido’<br><i>that will be eaten</i>        |
|      | h. | <b>sompáhit ca</b>                  | { <b>si-m-p<sub>Abl</sub>-ahit</b> }<br>IR.ID-N-PV-eat        | ‘que no será comido’<br><i>that will not be eaten</i> |
|      | i. | <b>mosa ca</b>                      | { <b>mo-si-a</b> }<br>TWD-IR.ID-move                          | ‘que vendrá’<br><i>who/that will come</i>             |
|      | j. | <b>insáma ca</b><br>RMH_10-15-07_62 | { <b>mo-si-m-a</b> }<br>TWD-IR.ID-N-move                      | ‘que no vendrá’<br><i>who/that will not come</i>      |

In one sense there is no irrealis direct object-oriented deverbal noun. A finite form is used with the auxiliary **ha** (§20.2.1).

- |      |    |                    |   |   |
|------|----|--------------------|---|---|
| (62) | a. | <b>ihsemási ha</b> | { <b>h-si-m-asi</b> }<br>1S.Tr-IR.ID-N-drink  | ‘lo que no tomaré’<br><i>what I will not drink</i>      |
|      | b. | <b>hasísyoj ha</b> | { <b>ha-si-asyoj</b> }<br>1P.S-IR.ID-drink.PL | ‘lo que tomaremos’<br><i>what we will drink</i>         |
|      | c. | <b>iscátxla ha</b> | { <b>i-si-catxla</b> }<br>3:3-IR.ID-bite      | ‘a quien/que morderá’<br><i>whom/which it will bite</i> |

- d. **masóonec ha** {**ma-si-oonec**} ‘que ustedes llevarán’  
 RMH\_10-15-07\_63 2P-IR.ID-carry.PL *which you (pl.) will carry*

Irrealis action/oblique deverbal forms also use the auxiliary **ha**, but the lexical verb is a possessed form, the possessor indicating the subject of the verb.

- (63) a. **hisácötím ha** {**hi-si-ācötím**} ‘con que me cubriré’  
 1P-IR.ID-cover.up *what I will cover up with*
- b. **misfízcam ha** {**mi-si-azcam**} ‘que llegarán Uds.’  
 2P-IR.ID-arrive.PL *that you (pl.) will be arriving*
- c. **an hisíhca ha** {**hi-si-ahca**} ‘en que viajaremos’  
 1P-IR.ID-sit.PL *that we will travel in*
- d. **ispácotim ha** {**i-si-p<sub>Abi</sub>-acotim**} ‘con que será cortado (rep.)’  
 3P-IR.ID-PV-kill-IMPF *what it will be chopped with*
- e. **an isahahóopol ha** {**i-si-ah-ah-oopol**} ‘en que será hecho negro’  
 3P-IR.ID-PV-AUG-black *what it will be made black in*
- f. **iscamóij ha** {**i-si-ca-a-moiij**} ‘con que uno remendará’  
 RMH\_10-15-07\_64 3P-IR.ID-US-AUG-circular *that one will mend with*