

8. Nominal phrase

This chapter examines the structure of what has traditionally been called the noun phrase. A distinction is made, however, between a simple noun phrase (NP) — typically a noun and various kinds of modifiers — and a determiner phrase (DP). The latter is an NP that is followed by a determiner in a particular configuration.¹ Perhaps the distinction between the two is not necessarily exactly as formalized here, but it is convenient in various places in this grammar to refer to the distinction between a nominal phrase without a determiner (whether definite or indefinite) and a nominal phrase with one. The labels NP and DP, and the analysis that incorporates them, serve well in this respect.

DPs have a wide distribution in the language, of course. They are the typical referring expressions and as such occur as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and adjuncts of various sorts, including complements of postpositions. As shown in chapter 10, however, they do not occur as predicate nominals unless there is a copula verb. DPs are not used in vocatives (see §15.7), and they are not used as complements of the verb that means *call* (see §15.1). A DP may not refer to anything at all, however, as the combination of certain DPs with a negative verb yields the interpretations of *nobody* and *nothing*.

- (1) **Cmiique zo** °hacx immiih° iha.
 person/Seri a apart SN-N-not.be.FL DCL
 ‘Nadie había muerto.’
Nobody had died. (Gigante_Comelon_363) RMH_05-17-08_203
- (2) ..., **ziix z** itcmáhit, ...
 thing a 3:3-RL-N-eat ...
 ‘..., no había comido nada, ...’
 ... *she hadn't eaten anything*, ... (Hombre_Barril_45) RMH_05-17-08_204

In other contexts these particular expressions **cmiique zo** and **ziix zo**² mean non-referential *someone* and *something*, respectively, as well as referential *someone* and *something* and specific *a (Seri) person* and *a thing*.

Replacing the head noun with **haxz dog** gives the non-referential expressions *a dog*, *any dog* (with a negative verb), and so on.

¹ Following Abney (1987) and much later work. See Bernstein (2001).

² The difference between **zo** and **z** as the singular indefinite article is trivially conditioned by the absence or presence of a vowel immediately following it in the utterance; see §21.1.

- (3) **Haxz zo hyonyáa.**
 dog a 1SS.TR-DT-N-own
 ‘No tengo perro.’
I don’t own a dog. (ALIM_21) RMH_05-17-08_205

A brief comparison of the uses of DPs and NPs is included here as they relate to referentiality.

- (4) DP using a definite article:
- A referential nominal with a specific definite interpretation.
 - A nonreferential nominal (typically singular) with a generic interpretation.
 - A nonreferential nominal with a non-specific interpretation.
 - A nonreferential nominal used predicatively.

The following examples illustrate these four uses, respectively. The first two uses are the most common. (See also §8.1.2 for more examples of generic interpretations, and §10.3 for more examples of predicative uses.)

- (5) °**Ziix coosyat**° **heeque quij ctam, yoque.**
 giant juvenile the.CM man/male DT-US-say
 ‘El gigante joven era un varón, se dice.’
The young giant was a male, it is said. (Gigante_huerfano_01) RMH_05-16-08_24
- (6) **Xapoo quih imíitoj. Cocazni quih imíitoj.**
 sea.lion the.FL 3:3-PX-eat-PL rattlesnake the.FL 3:3-PX-eat-PL
 ‘Comieron lobos marinos. Comieron víboras de cascabel.’
They ate sea lions. They ate rattlesnakes. (Hast_Quita 27-28) RMH_05-17-08_206
- (7) **... hascám com iti cöihca hac, Tahéjoc quij**
 ABS-reed.boat the.Hz 3P-on 3IO-3P-AON-sit.PL the.LC Tiburon.Island the.CM
itáaaxoj, ...
 3:3-RL-go.away.from-PL
 ‘... abandonaron la isla Tiburón en una balsa, ...’
... seated on a reed boat, they left Tiburon Island, ... (Dos_Hermanos_9.3)
- (8) **Alberto Suárez quih he °iti hmíiha° ctam quih cha ha.**
 the.FL 1PRO my.parent male the.FL SN-EQ DCL
 ‘Alberto Suárez es mi padre.’
Alberto Suárez es mi padre. LHC_2-06-07_188

- (9) DP using an indefinite article:
- (a) A referential nominal with a specific indefinite interpretation (that is, expressing quantitative indefiniteness).
 - (b) A nonreferential nominal with a nonspecific indefinite interpretation (that is, expressing non-quantitative indefiniteness).
 - (c) A nonreferential nominal used predicatively.

The following examples illustrate these three uses, respectively.

- (10) **Cmiique ctam zo toc cõtiih, ...**
 person/Seri man a there 3IO-RL-be.FL
 ‘Había un hombre seri, ...’
There was a Seri man, ... (Consejos_perro) RMH_05-16-08_73 (referring to a specific person)
- (11) **Caasquim zo popáho x, ...**
 flounder a IR.DP-PV-see UT
 ‘Si se encuentra un lenguado, ...’
If a flounder is found, ... (ES2007, caasquim) RRR
- (12) **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)
- (13) NP without an article:
- (a) A nonreferential nominal (typically when not a subject or direct object).
 - (c) A nonreferential nominal used predicatively.

The following examples illustrate these two uses, respectively. The predicative use of a nominal without a determiner is discussed in detail in §10.1.

- (14) **°Enm haacni° h oo cõtáh, imíicö.**
 rifle FOC DL 3IO-3:3-RL-do 3:3-PX-kill
 ‘Lo hizo con un rifle, lo mató.’
S/he did it with a rifle, s/he killed it. RMH_07-11-07_16g
- (15) **Hipüx staci iha.**
 DPS rock.oyster DCL
 ‘Éste es un ostión.’
This is a rock oyster. LHC_2-06-07_163c

Table 8.1: Miniguide to the common articles

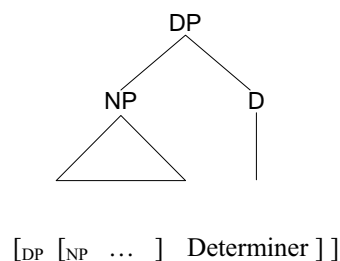
	Indefinite	Definite				
		Vertical	Horizontal	Compact	Soft / Out of Sight	Area
Singular	zo	cop	com	quij	quih	hac
Plural	pac	coi	coi	coi	coi	

Certain motion-based demonstratives (§21.3) are also used without stress as articles.

Nominal phrases may include an adverb and sometimes more than one. See §24.1-2 for discussion and examples of adverbs in the DP and NP. Coordinated phrases are discussed in chapter 25.

8.1 Determiner phrase

A determiner phrase may be a pronoun (see chapter 16) or it may be a determiner preceded by a noun phrase, as depicted in Figure 8.1. It is assumed here that the NP is the complement of the determiner.³

Figure 8.1: Structure of the DP

Nouns of all types very commonly occur with a determiner, whether they are common nouns, body part nouns, kinship terms, or personal items (all discussed in §13.1); locational nouns (§13.4), deverbal nouns (chapter 14), or names (chapter 15). Numerous examples are included in this chapter, but at least two examples of each is given in (16)-(31). The determiners are numerous; discussion of the choice of determiner is presented in §21.2. A miniguide for the most common articles is given in Table 8.1.

Common noun

- (16) **hast quij**
stone the.CM
'la piedra', *the stone*

- (17) **xepe com**
sea the.HZ
'el mar', *the sea*

Name

- (18) **Cöquimáxp quij**
3IO-SN-light.pink the.CM
(a person's nickname)

- (19) **Pedro quij**
the.CM
Pedro (a person's first name)

³ The interrogative determiner **zó** *which?* precedes its complement, however. See §6.2.1.5.

- (20) **Tahéjöc quij**
Tiburón.Island the.CM
'isla Tiburón', *Tiburón Island*

- (21) **Saps hac**
the.LC
(un topónimo), (a place name)

Body part noun

- (22) **minol com**
2P-arm the.Hz
'tu brazo', *your arm*

- (23) **istj com**
3P-leaf the.Hz
'su hoja', *its leaf*

Kinship term

- (24) **mata quij**
2P-mother the.CM
'tu madre'
your mother

- (25) **hiict quij**
1P-maternal.grandmother the.CM
'mi abuela materna'
my maternal grandmother

Other possessed noun

- (26) **miionam quij**
2P-hat the.CM
'tu sombrero', *your hat*

- (27) **mipazáatoj coi**
2P-shoe-PL the.PL
'tus zapatos', *your shoes*

Locational noun

- (28) **mitácl hac**
2P-place.above the.LC
'el lugar sobre ti',
the place above you

- (29) **hiicp hac**
1P-place.next.to the.LC
'el lugar a mi lado',
the place next to me

Deverbal noun

- (30) **cōhihúim hac**
3IO-1P-AON-sleep the.LC
'mi dormir, donde duermo, etc.',
my sleeping, where I sleep, etc.

- (31) **an ihítj quih**
3P.in 3P-AON-HAVE-trunk the.FL
'su pantalón'
his/her pants

The determiner may be one of the following classes of words: indefinite article (**zo** *a*, or **pac** *some*, see §21.1), definite article (several to choose from, see Table 8.1 and §21.2), or demonstrative adjective (several to choose from since they are etymologically related to the articles, see §21.3).

- (32) **cmaam quij**
woman the.CM
'la mujer', *the woman*

- (33) **ctam zo**
man a
'un hombre' *a man*

- (34) **hax pac**
water some
'agua', *some water*

- (35) **haxz ticop**
dog MD-VT
'ese perro', *that dog*

The examples of determiner phrases given in this section are taken from different contexts in complete sentences. None of these DPs may be used in response to a question such ‘What (or who?) did you see?’ as the attempted responses in (36)-(37) show. Appropriate responses must include a verb, or occasionally they may present an NP rather than a DP.

- (36) * **Moosni zo.**
 sea.turtle a
 (‘Una caguama.’) (*A sea turtle.*)
- (37) * **Haxaca pac.**
 ABS-pet-PL some
 (‘Algunos perros.’) (*Some dogs.*)
- (38) * **Quihéhe^o quij.**
 ruler the.CM
 (‘El gobernador.’) (*The governor.*)

Likewise, a DP cannot be a complete explanation for an exclamation such as appears in (39). (The exclamation itself is well-formed.)

- (39) ¡**Caméepit iha!** * **Ziic cooil zo.**
 SN-strange/marvelous DCL bird SN-blue/green a
 ¡Qué extraño! (Un pájaro azul.)
How strange! (A blue bird!)

These examples should not be taken to mean that a DP cannot occur sentence-finally, however. Examples of right-dislocated DPs, always definite, are given in §3.12.

8.1.1 Phrase-internal determiners

A definite DP often has more than one article. In some cases, the reason for this is simply because the DP has another DP embedded in it, as in the case of possession (see §8.3). Example (40) would be diagrammed as in Figure 8.2.⁴

- (40) **ziic tiquij iiselca quih itácl tintica⁵**
 bird MD-CM 3P-wing-PL the.FL 3P-surface MD-AW
 ‘la superficie de las alas de ese pájaro’
the top of that bird’s wings (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 2a)
- (41) **Pedro quih yaaco cop**
 Pedro the.FL 3P-house the.VT
 ‘la casa de Pedro’, *Pedro’s house* RMH_08-04-07_232

⁴ **Tosni ina** (pelican 3P-feather) is pronounced **tosni ina** in hypercorrect speech, but [**tos¹nina**] in normal speech. Similarly, **moosni ilít** (sea.turtle 3P-head) is pronounced [**mo¹sní¹lit**] in normal speech. This must be a case of elision of the **i**. Note that the **i** is present in the expression **tosni áa** (pelican true); the form is not ***tosnáa**.

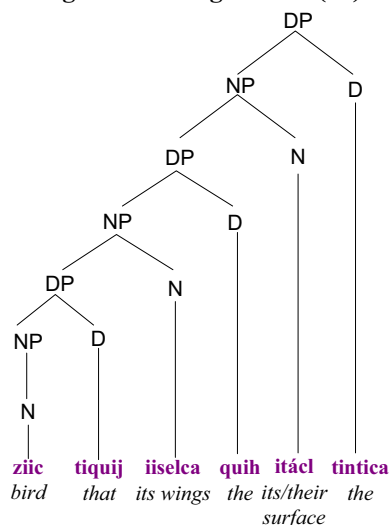
⁵ The essay author’s original version of the sentence did not have the determiner (**quih**) after the noun **iiselca**. Another person indicated that, while that was understandable, the phrase was very much improved by including **quih**.

- (42) **quihéhe°** quih **iitom** hac
 ruler the.FL 3P-AON-speak the.LC
 ‘el mensaje del gobernador’, *the governor’s message* RMH_08-13-07_64
- (43) **quisiil°** cop **ata** quih
 child the.VT 3P-mother the.FL
 ‘la madre del niño’, *the child’s mother* RMH_08-04-07_231

But there are many other cases of articles inside of DPs that are not due to embedded possessors. In these cases, a semantically robust determiner — definite article or demonstrative — occurs at the end of the DP. The phrase-internal determiner must be **quih** (often very weakly articulated and barely noticeable); **quih** is typically a more semantically bleached determiner. The following examples illustrate this with adjectival modifiers (which are few, see chapter 23) and the phrase-internal articles are underlined. See §8.4.5 for an analysis of these articles in the context of relative clauses.

- (44) **hant** quih **tazo** **cop**
 year the.FL one the.VT
 ‘un año’, *one year* RMH_08-04-07_233a
- (45) [**Zaah** quih **ihmáa** **quih**] **cōtafp** **ma x**, ...
 sun/day the.FL other the.FL 3IO-RL-arrive DS UT
 ‘Día tras día, ...’
Day after day, ... (Gigante_Comelon_89) RMH_11-27-07_23

Figure 8.2: Diagram for (40)



- (46) ... **zaah quih coox cah** ...
 sun/day the.FL all the.FL-FOC
 ‘... todos los días ...’
 ... *every day* ... (DS2005, cocáai) RMH_09-28-07_145c

8.1.2 Generic interpretation

Both plural DPs and singular DPs with definite articles permit a generic interpretation, although the use of the singular article seems far more common.

An example with a plural DP with generic interpretation:

- (47) **Xazlc coi, taax xiica ccamotam cacáatol iha.**
 puma-PL the.PL DDP thing.PL SN-alive-PL SN-dangerous DCL
 ‘LOS PUMAS son animales peligrosos.’
PUMAS are dangerous animals. RMH_08-14-07_65

Examples with singular DPs with generic interpretation:

- (48) **¿Xazoj cop ziix imípla caiitím -ya?**
 puma the.VT thing 3P-AON-bad SN-do QM
 ‘¿Es peligroso el puma?’
Are pumas dangerous? (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_236b
- (49) **°Ziix hapx coom° com yamác quih colx ixanáaij.**
 whale the.Hz 3P-blow the.FL high 3:3-EM-make.return
 ‘La ballena hace subir su soplo muy alto.’
A whale makes its spout go very high. (DS2005, yamác) RMH_09-28-07_145d
- (50) **Ctam cneeen quij haquéjoc coi cōisimjc hac,**
 man SN-hunchbacked the.CM ABS-firewood the.PL 3IO-3P-IR.ID-bring the.LC
taax °haai cmipi° ha.
 DDP difficult DCL
 ‘Es difícil para un hombre jorobado traer leña.’
It's difficult for a hunchbacked man to bring firewood. (DS2005, cmipi) RMH_09-28-07_145f
- (51) **Moosni quih cōhisicō hac °iiqui he ihín° hac**
 sea.turtle the.FL 3IO-3P-IR.ID-kill the.LC with.respect.to.me the.LC
°haai xommipi°.
 it.isn't.difficult
 ‘No me es difícil cazar caguamas.’
It is not hard for me to kill sea turtles. (DS2005, cmipi) RMH_09-28-07_145g RMH_10-15-07_22
- (52) **Cmozíme quij ziix quih cōipátajquim hac,**
 SN-drunk the.CM thing the.FL 3IO-3P-AON-PV-insult the.LC

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. (DS2005, cōcaatajqum) RMH_08-04-07_130b

A singular DP with a generic interpretation may be left-dislocated and followed by a coreferential demonstrative pronoun:

- (53) **Xazoj quih, tiix °ziix ccam° cacáatol iha.**
 puma the.FL DDS animal SN-dangerous DCL
 ‘EL PUMA es un animal peligroso.’
THE PUMA is a dangerous animal. RMH_08-04-07_236a
- (54) **Ac quij, tiix xiime cah imíhit.**
 canvasback the.CM DDS sardine the.FL-FOC 3:3-PX-eat
 ‘El pato coacoxtle come sardinas.’
The canvasback eats sardines. (ES2007, ac 05) RMH_10-15-07_21
- (55) **Tojqúitajc° quij, tiix ihípon° cop hoox yosóop.**
 great.horned.owl the.CM DDS her/his.voice the.VT INTNS DT-low.timbre/thick
 ‘La voz del tecolote cornudo es baja.’
The great horned owl's voice is quite low. (DS2005, csoop, improved) RMH_09-28-07_145e
- (56) **Cocázní° com, tiix cacáatol iha,**
 rattlesnake the.Hz DDS SN-dangerous DCL
haquímet com °iiqui cōihín° hac.
 lizard the.Hz compared.to.it the.LC
 ‘Una víbora de cascabel es más peligrosa que una lagartija.’
A rattlesnake is more dangerous than a lizard. (DS2005, iiqui cōihín hac) RMH_07-11-07_51c

The article of a possessor phrase (§8.3) with a generic interpretation is commonly omitted, however; compare examples (57)-(58) where an article occurs and examples (59)-(60) where it does not.

Examples with article in possessor phrase

- (57) **Hap quih casóopolca cap itáamalca quih hoox insóoploj, ...**
 mule.deer the.FL spike.horn the.VT 3P-antler(s) the.FL INTNS PX-thick-PL
 ‘Los cuernos de un venado bura con una punta en cada cuerno son muy gruesos, ...’
The antlers of a spike horn mule deer are very thick (DS2005, casóopolca) RMH_09-28-07_146a
- (58) **Zixquisíil° °cmaa hapx caap° quih ináail com xina.**
 child newborn the.FL 3P-skin the.Hz EM-HAVE-fur
 ‘La piel de un bebé recién nacido es velluda.’
A newborn baby's skin is fuzzy. (DS2005, quina) RMH_09-28-07_146b

Examples without article in possessor phrase

- (59) °**Ziix imiüpla 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
- (60) °**Ziix hapx coom**° ilít quiij caacoj iha.
 whale 3P-head the.CM SN-big DCL
 ‘La cabeza de una ballena es grande.’
A whale’s head is large. (DS2005, caacoj) RMH_09-28-07_146e

An indefinite article is not generally used in this context; more details are given in §8.2.

- (61) *°**ziix hapx coom**° z ilít quiij
 whale a 3P-head the.CM
 (‘la cabeza de una ballena’) (*a whale’s head, the head of a whale*)

The demonstrative **hizquih** (§21.3.2) is also used to explicitly indicate generic interpretation with a singular noun.

- (62) **Haxz hizquih tiifnij, titoj, miixax.**
 dog PX.PL-FL RL-HAVE-nostril RL HAVE-eye-PL PX- HAVE-snout
 ‘El perro tiene narices, tiene ojos, tiene hocico.’
A dog has a nose, eyes, and a snout. (HE 94, DS2005 quifnij) RMH_08-04-07_67
- (63) **Zixquisiil**° °**cmaa hapx caap**° **hizquih ináail com xina.**
 child newborn PX.PL-FL 3P-skin the.HZ EM- HAVE-fur
 ‘La piel de un bebé recién nacido es velluda.’
A newborn baby’s skin is fuzzy. (DS2005, quina, modified) RMH_09-28-07_146c RMH_10-15-07_23

A generic interpretation is also indicated by the use of a *plural* noun with a *singular* article.

- (64) **Yooz quiij ziicalc com** °hant cõquiiis° iha.
 God the.CM bird-PL the.HZ land 3IO-SN-TR-? DCL
 ‘Dios cuida a las aves.’
God takes care of the birds. (Mt 10:31) RMH_10-15-07_24
- (65) °**xiica ccamotam**° **com** (66) °**xiica quiistox**° **com**
 thing.PL SN-alive-PL the.HZ thing.PL SN-have.life-PL the.HZ
 ‘animales (en general)’ ‘personas (en general)’
animals (in general) RMH_10-15-07_25a *people (in general)* RMH_10-15-07_25b

8.2 Noun phrase

This section describes the internal structure of the noun phrase. First, however, a few comments are given on the distribution of noun phrases as opposed to determiner phrases.

Other situations in which a noun phrase rather than a determiner phrase occurs are less well understood but apparently they all involve non-specific reference.

- (71) **Coméac** °hantx mocat° coi **satoj** itáaizi, ...
 person/Seri.PL ancestors the.PL mussel(s) 3:3-RL-make-PL
 ‘Los ancestros seris hacían (preparaban, comían) mejillones, ...’
The Seri ancestors did (prepared, ate) mussels, ... (ES2007, loomz 02a)
- (72) ..., **satoj caacoj oo tompáho ma x,** ...
 mussel(s) SN-big DL RL-N-PV-see DS UT
 ‘Cuando no se encontraban mejillones grandes, ...’
When big mussels weren’t found, ... (ES2007, loomz 03a)

Some indefinite nouns appear without determiners and are part of the verb phrase (as defined in this grammar). See the discussion of these in §5.4. Two examples are given here.

- (73) **Hant hac iti haxoj tafp,** ...
 land the.LC 3P-on shore RL-arrive
 ‘Llegó a tierra firme, ...’
He arrived at shore, ... (Dos_Hermanos_61.3)
- (74) ..., **heme° miizcam.**
 camp PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Llegaron a campamento.’
They arrived at camp. (Dos_Hermanos_21.3)

Plural NPs (as opposed to DPs) are not used with a generic interpretation.

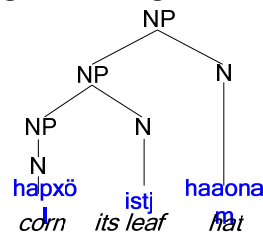
- (75) * **Xazlc cacáatol iha.**
 puma-PL SN-dangerous DCL
 (‘Los pumas son peligrosos.’) (*Pumas are dangerous.*)

8.2.1 Modifiers

The head noun in the noun phrase occurs in phrase-final position except when it is head-internal (see the discussion on relative clauses in §8.3). Possessor DPs precede the head noun (§8.3).

Some modifier NPs, usually but not necessarily simple nouns, indicate the material of which an item is made. These precede the head noun. See Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3: Diagram for (82)



- (76) **mooj poosj**
cotton cord
cotton string, cotton cord
- (77) **eenim haaonam**
metal ABS-hat
'yelmo', *helmet*
- (78) **hast hax**
stone arrow.point
'pedernal', *stone arrow point*
- (79) **haasman haaonam**
woven.mat ABS-hat
'sombrero de palma', *palm hat*
- (80) **imám hamáax°**
3P-fruit alcoholic.beverage
'vino de la fruta del cacto', *cactus fruit wine*
- (81) **xnoois haaztoj**
eelgrass.seed porridge
'atole de semilla de trigo de mar',
eelgrass seed porridge
- (82) **hapxöl isti haaonam**
corn 3P-leaf ABS-hat
'tipo de sombrero', *a kind of hat made of corn leaves*
- (83) **caztaz haaztoj**
wheat porridge
'atole de trigo', *wheat porridge*

An embellishment NP used with a name (§15.5) precedes the name.

- (84) **cmiique Roberto quih**
person/Seri the.FL
Seri Roberto

Place of origin is sometimes indicated by a place name (used without an article) directly preceding a noun.⁷

- (85) **Tahéjöc comcáac coi**
Tiburón.Island person/Seri.PL the.PL
'los seris de la isla Tiburón'
the Tiburón Island Seris
- (86) **Hant Ihíini⁸ comcáac coi**
Baja.California person/Seri.PL the.PL
'los seris de Baja California'
the Baja California Seris

A postpositional phrase may modify a noun (although this is not common).⁹ Such a PP

⁷ The adverb **heeno** *relating to the desert* precedes the noun in the phrase **heeno comcáac** *central Tiburón Island Seris*.

⁸ The noun for Baja California is typically **Hant Ihín**. It is not known why this noun — and no others, apparently — has a slightly different form in this construction.

⁹ A PP is usually associated with a verb; see the examples of relative clauses with PPs in §8.4.

precedes the head noun.¹⁰

- (87) [coáaxvat _____ quih iiqui] **haaho tintica**
 place.of.spirits.of.dead the.FL 3P-toward road MD-AW
 ‘el camino al lugar de los espíritus de los muertos’
the road to the place of the spirits of the dead (Consejos_sol_10) RMH_09-28-07_147a
- (88) [hant Ejipto hac ano] **ctam quih**
 land Egypt the.LC 3P.in man the.FL
 ‘egipcio’, *Egyptian (man)* (Ac 7:28) RMH_08-04-07_241a RMH_09-28-07_147b
- (89) [xepe ano] **zaaj hac**
 sea 3P.in cave the.LC
 ‘la cueva del mar’
the sea cave (DS2005, quiipcö) RMH_09-28-07_147c

8.3 Possessor phrases

Possessor phrases precede the noun that they modify, although this simple statement is clarified below. The noun must be a possessed noun — a body part noun, a kinship term, other personal item, or deverbal noun (object-oriented or action/oblique-oriented type). The possessor phrase therefore has a variety of semantic roles with respect to the possessed noun. With a body part noun, it represents the “whole”. With a kinship term, it represents the person who is the point of reference. With a personal item, it represents the owner. And with a deverbal noun, it represents whatever semantic role the subject of the corresponding clause has.

The possessor phrase may be either a DP (with a definite article, for definites and those with a generic interpretation, see §8.1.2) or an NP (for indefinites and also those with a generic interpretation).

Possessor of body part

- (90) [Cocázni^o com]_{DP} **ilít quij cactim iha xo ...**
 rattlesnake the.HZ 3P-head the.CM SN-be.cut DCL but
 ‘La cabeza de la víbora de cascabel estaba cortada pero ...’
The rattlesnake’s head was cut but ... (DS20005, cactim) RMH_09-28-07_147d
- (91) [Xazoi]_{NP} **ilít zo toc cöyij tax, ...**
 puma 3P-head a there 3IO-DT-sit SBRD
 ‘Hay una cabeza de puma allí, ...’
There is a puma’s head there, ... (Conejo_Puma_12) RMH_09-28-07_147e

¹⁰ The same pattern is found in a several lexicalized items. See §13.5.3.

Part-whole

- (92) [**hast** _____ **cop**] **iyat hac**
 stone/mountain the.VT 3P-tip the.LC
 ‘las cimas de las montañas’
mountain tops (DS2005 iyat) RMH_05-17-08_207
- (93) [**xepe com**] **ipot com**
 sea the.HZ 3P-bottom the.HZ
 ‘el fondo del mar’
the bottom of the sea (DS2005 ipot) RMH_05-17-08_208
- (94) [**Xepe com**] **itácl tintica ah iti miihtolca.**
 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.*¹¹ (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-21-07_101b

Possessor of kinship term

- (95) [**zacáam** _____ **cop**]_{DP} **ata cop**
 young.woman the.VT 3P-mother the.VT
 ‘la madre de la jovencita’
the young woman’s mother (Mk 6:28) RMH_09-28-07_147f
- (96) ..., [**Abraám quij**]_{DP} **ai quih °hacx immíih°.**
 the.CM 3P-father.ME the.FL s/he.died
 ‘..., el padre de Abraham murió.’
... Abraham’s father died. (Ac 7:4) RMH_10-15-07_25

Personal item

- (97) [**zixquisíil° ctam ticop**]_{DP} **yaaco cop**
 child male MD-VT 3P-house the.VT
 ‘la casa de ese niño’
that boy’s house RMH_09-28-07_148a
- (98) [**Ctam cahtxíma quij**]_{DP} **yaaco cop caacoj iha.**
 man SN-rich the.CM 3P-house the.VT SN-big DCL
 ‘La casa de un hombre rico siempre es grande.’
A rich man’s house is always large. RMH_09-28-07_148b

¹¹ If this is referring to fish, then they are at the surface. If it is referring to insects or birds, then they could be just above the surface.

Deverbal noun

- (99) [**cmaam tiquij**] °**an ihilítj**° **quih**
 woman MD-CM 3P.in 3P-AON-HAVE-hair the.FL
 ‘el pañuelo de esa mujer’
that woman’s scarf RMH_09-28-07_148c
- (100) [**Inyáazi**° **quih**] °**an ihítj**° **quih**
 your.child the.FL 3P.in 3P-AON-HAVE-trunk the.FL
 °**hax ano hmiih**°.
 water 3P.in 1SS.TR-PX-put.FL
 ‘Lavé el pantalón de tu hijo.’
I washed your child’s pants. RMH_09-28-07_148d

A simple noun or a noun in the absolutive form (§13.1.2) cannot be possessed directly.

- (101) a. * **Juan quih trooqui quij**
 the.FL vehicle the.CM
 (‘el vehículo de Juan’) (*Juan’s vehicle*)
- b. * **Juan quih haonam quij**
 the.FL ABS-hat the.CM
 (‘el sombrero de Juan’) (*Juan’s hat*)
- c. * **Juan quih haaco cop**
 the.FL ABS.house the.VT
 (‘la casa de Juan’) (*Juan’s house*)

The grammatical counterpart to (101a) may be either (102a) or (102b). (102a) uses a possessed form of **trooqui**; this is one of the few nouns that has both a simple form and a possessed form. (102b) uses the possessive pronoun **yaa**°; see §16.1.6. As (102c) shows, the two constructions cannot be combined.

- (102) a. [**Juan quih**] **itróoqui quij**
 the.FL 3P-vehicle the.CM
- b. **Juan quih trooqui yaa**° **quij**
 the.FL vehicle his/hers the.CM
- c. * **Juan quih itróoqui yaa quij**
 ‘el vehículo de Juan’ / *John’s vehicle* (a) RMH_09-28-07_149a; (b) RMH_09-28-07_149b

The typical grammatical counterpart to (101b) uses the possessed noun **iionam**, and that of (101c) uses the possessed noun **yaaco**. The existence of the nouns **iionam** and **yaaco** requires that they be used instead of the absolutive forms of the nouns with the possessive pronoun in the

most common situations.

- (103) a. [**Juan quih**] **ionam quij**
 the.FL 3P-hat the.CM
 ‘el sombrero de Juan’ / *John’s hat* RMH_09-28-07_149c
- b. [**Juan quih**] **yaaco cop**
 the.FL 3P-house the.VT
 ‘la casa de Juan’ / *John’s house* RRR

However, a noun for a personal item such as **haaonam** may be used with the possessive pronoun **yaa**^o in special contexts in which the item is separated from the person (such as on a table being entered in a contest, etc.).

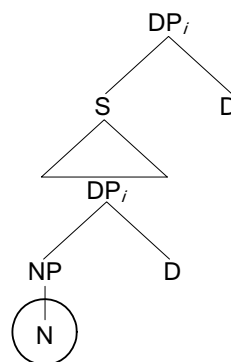
- (104) **Juan quih haaonam yaa**^o **quij**
 the.FL ABS-hat his/hers the.CM
 ‘el sombrero de Juan’
 John’s hat RMH_09-28-07_150

8.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are all formed with deverbal nouns. There are no relative pronouns or complementizers. Relative clauses in Seri may all be analyzed as head-internal and some *must* be so analyzed. The proposed structure is shown in Figure 8.4.¹² The relative clauses are primarily restrictive in their usage.¹³ And since most descriptions are expressed by means of verbs (adjectives are almost non-existent), relative clauses are very common although generally shallow in their structure. It is also important to note that, like other DPs with relative clauses, the Seri phrases translated with adjectives in English generally (if not always) are understood as restrictive adjectives.¹⁴

The head-internal nature of the relative clause is not

Figure 8.4: Relative clause with internal head



¹² This analysis follows, in part, that proposed in Williamson (1987) for Lakhota, and Basilica (1996).

¹³ Example (115) is a good, but uncommon, example with a nonrestrictive relative clause that modifies a nominal (which happens to contain a restrictive relative clause).

¹⁴ This means that the distribution of DPs with adjective-equivalents do not have the same distribution in Seri as they have in English. Note that in English we easily say “John looked up into the bright blue sky” without implying that the sky was any other color at any time.

usually obvious because of the lack of case marking, the fact that null pronouns are most commonly omitted, and the fact that word order is slightly free. One might think that the clause follows the head noun in many cases, but it is claimed and shown here that these are as easily and appropriately analyzed as having internal heads.

The head of the relative clause is most commonly a noun, but it may also be a personal pronoun, as illustrated by examples in this section such as (239), a name (see §15.1) or null (analyzed here as a fused-head construction — see §4.3.4). A demonstrative pronoun cannot be the head of a relative clause, however.

- (105) * [**Tiix coos**] (cop) **he hita chaa ha.**
 DDS SN-sing the.VT 1PRO 1P-mother SN-EQ DCL
 ('Esa que está cantando es mi madre.') (*That one that is singing is my mother.*)
- (106) * [**Taax hap quicōtoj**] (coi) **ox mimjōc.**
 DDP mule.deer SN-TR-kill-PL the.PL thus PX-think-PL
 ('Así piensan aquellos que son cazadores expertos de venado bura.')
- (*That's how those who are expert mule deer hunters think.*)

The head noun may sometimes be marked as definite, although in many examples it does not have a definite article, as discussed below (§8.4.5). It rarely has an indefinite article.¹⁵

The form of the predicate in a relative clause is always one of the three deverbal noun forms (see §10.4 and chapter 14): subject-oriented, direct object-oriented, or oblique/action-oriented.¹⁶ The form chosen depends on the grammatical relation that the head noun has in the relative clause except when the head noun is a possessor. In the case of the latter, it is the grammatical relation of the noun possessed by the relativized possessor that is relevant.

A relative clause may have a finite dependent clause (see chapter 3) embedded in it, as in the following examples where this finite clause is underscored.

- (107) ..., [**comcáac** [**Socáaix ano motat**]
 person/Seri-PL Punta.Chueca 3P.in/from TWD-RL-move-PL
he caazcam] **coi** ...
 1IO SN-arrive.PL the.PL

¹⁵ These facts are important to note since Williamson (1987) made the claim that those language that have internally headed relative clauses will universally follow a restriction that the head must be indefinite. This sweeping claim is contradicted by the facts of Seri as well as (at least) Haida (Enrico 2003:577-8).

¹⁶ This generalization is slightly complicated by what happens with the irrealis forms.

‘...las personas que vinieron de Punta Chueca y que llegaron a mí ...’ RMH_08-04-07_243a
... the people who came from Punta Chueca and arrived to me ... More literally: ...
the people who, after they came from Punta Chueca, arrived to me ... (DS2005, xiica caaitic)

- (108) [°**Ziix quisax**° [**pootax ta**] **quiho**] **zo haquix imih iha**,
 person IR.DP-go DS SN-TR-see a there SN-N-be.FL DCL
 °**hant quixóaa**° **quij**
 ghost.shrimp the.CM

‘La persona que ha visto un camarón fantasma andar [en la tierra] no existe.’
The person who has seen a ghost shrimp go on the land doesn’t exist. (No one has
ever seen a ghost shrimp travelling on the land.) (ES2007 hant_quixoaa 03) RMH_05-16-08_2

- (109) ... [**cmiique** [**ital**] **tahac contíca**] **tintica**
 person 3:3-RL-accompany MD-LC 3IO-AW-SN-move MD-AW
 °**hacx itamíhtaj**°, ...
 they.killed.him/her

‘..., habían matado a la persona que le había acompañado, ...’
... they had killed the person who had accompanied him, ... (Gigante_Comelon_264)

The properties of the noun are inherited by the entire DP. Therefore, if the noun is plural, it requires a plural verb in the relative clause if it is the subject of that verb and a plural determiner is expected, and if the DP is subject of the verb of the clause to which it belongs, that verb also is plural.^{17,18}

- (110) [**Caaytaj quih coopl**] **coi caacöl iha**.
 horse-PL the.FL SN-black-PL the.PL SN-big-PL DCL
 ‘Los caballos (que son) NEGROS son grandes.’
The BLACK horses are big. RMH_10-16-07_11c

In order to make clear the claim regarding structure in the previous example as well as others that follow, the relative clauses are bracketed and the head noun is double underscored while the deverbal noun of the clause is single underscored. Some examples are given with layered bracketing to reflect the fact that they appear to have a more complex internal structure.

8.4.1 Subject relatives

In the following examples the head noun is the subject of the deverbal noun of the relative

¹⁷ The morphology may be slightly skewed in some situations, where overt plural morphology is not used. It is very common, however, for the plural morphology to be overtly expressed in multiple locations as in this example.

¹⁸ The article following **caaytaj** in this example is explained in §8.4.5

clause, whether it is active or passive, affirmative or negative. (On the morphology of subject-oriented deverbal nouns, see §14.1 and §14.5. They distinguish between realis and irrealis but do not specify further.) The head noun occurs before the time adjunct **moxíma** in (117) and (118) just as a subject may in simple clauses although less commonly so (see §3.10).

Subject of a transitive clause

- (111) ¿[**Ctam** [**canóaa hoyáat** **quih / com**] **queexl**] **quih**
 man boat 1P-ON-own-PL the.FL / the.HZ SN-TR-buy the.FL
háqui tiih?
 which.one? RL-be.FL
 ‘¿Donde está el hombre que compró nuestra panga?’
Where is the man who bought our boat? RMH_08-04-07_242a
 [With the article **quih**, the boat is not present; with the article **com**, the boat is present.]
- (112) ¿[**Ctam** [**canóaa hoyáat** **quih**] **iméxl**] **quih**
 man boat 1P-ON-own-PL the.FL SN-TR-N-buy the.FL
háqui tiih?
 which.one? RL-be.FL
 ‘¿Donde está el hombre que no compró nuestra panga?’
Where is the man who didn't buy our boat? RMH_08-04-07_242b
- (113) [**Cmaam miisj** **quih** **sexl** **ca**] **quih hiz cõtmiij** **iho.**
 woman 2P-basket the.FL IR.ID-buy AUX.SN the.FL here 3IO-RL-N-sit DCL
 ‘La mujer que va comprar tu canasta no está aquí.’
The woman who will buy your basket isn't here. RMH_08-04-07_242f
- (114) [**Comcáac** **ctamcö** **quih** **sixóaj** **ca**] **coi**
 person/Seri-PL man-PL the.FL IR.ID-plan.to.fight.PL AUX.SN the.PL
 ‘Los hombres seris que pelearían ...’
The Seri men who would fight ... (EZ2007 Azoj_Canoj_lmatax 03a)
- (115) [[**Ziix xiica** **quih** **caai**] **tahac iti quiij**]¹⁹ **quij ...**
 thing thing.PL the.FL SN-TR-make MD-LC 3P-on SN-sit the.CM
 ‘El Creador, quien estaba allí, ...’
The Creator, who was there, ... (Conejo_Cuernos_1a)
- (116) [**Cmaam** ^o**zaxt quisíil** **cmoqueepe quih** **caazi / quiho**]
 woman child SN-sick the.FL SN-TR-carry / SN-TR-see

¹⁹ The second relative clause here has an intransitive predicate, obviously, and it is unusual in that it is non-restrictive.

quih / quij °**imoz caaj**° **iha.**
 the.FL the.CM worried DCL

‘La madre de un niño enfermo siempre está preocupada.’

The mother of a sick child is always worried. RMH_09-28-07_147g

(More literally, *The woman who is carrying/seeing a sick child, ...*)

[With the article **quih**, the woman is not present; with the article **quij**, the woman is present.]

Subject of a passive clause

- (117) ¿[**Canóaa** **moxíma** **hatalháa**] **quih háqui** **tiih?**
 boat yesterday SN-PV-buy/sell the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL
 ‘¿Dónde está la panga que fue comprada ayer?’
Where is the boat that was bought yesterday? RMH_08-04-07_242c
- (118) ¿[**Canóaa** **moxíma** **imahatalháa**] **quih háqui** **tiih?**
 boat yesterday SN-N-PV-buy/sell the.FL which.one? RL-be.FL
 ‘¿Dónde está la panga que no fue comprada ayer?’
Where is the boat that was not bought yesterday? RMH_08-04-07_242d
- (119) **Xiica tacoi** [[°**ziix ccam**°] **impáho**] **z itáht, ...**
 thing.PL MD-PL thing SN-alive SN-N-PV-see a 3:3-RL-see-PL
 ‘Vieron un animal desconocido, ...’
They saw an unrecognized animal (ziix ccam) ... (DS2005, caméepit) RMH_08-04-07_242e
- (120) [**ziix quih hapáhit quih cacáaixaj**]²⁰
 thing the.FL SN-PV-eat the.FL SN-cause.strong
 ‘algo de comer que da fuerza’
something to eat (lit., that is eaten) that gives strength (DS2005, cacáaixaj) RMH_08-21-07_77b
- (121) [**Ziix spahit ca quisil ipi**] **impáho ha.**
 thing IR.ID-PV-eat AUX.SN SN-small INTNS SN-N-PV-see DCL
 ‘No hay nada para comer.’
There isn’t anything to eat. (DS2005, ca) XMH_08-15-07_33e

Subject of an intransitive clause

- (122) [**haaco caacoj cazíim** °**cmaa quiih**°] **zo**
 ABS.house SN-big SN-pleasant now SN-be.FL a
 ‘una casa grande, linda y nueva’
a big new beautiful house (DS2005, caháacot) RMH_08-21-07_77c

²⁰ The word **quih** (the.FL) appears internal to the clause in this and other examples. This is discussed in §8.4.5.

- (123) [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
- (124) ... [°ziix quixax° xepe quih itéel com iti caap] cop ...
 person sea the.FL 3P-edge the.CM 3P-on SN-stand the.VT
 ‘... la persona que está en la orilla del mar ...’
...the person that is on the seashore ... (Siete_Filos 35)

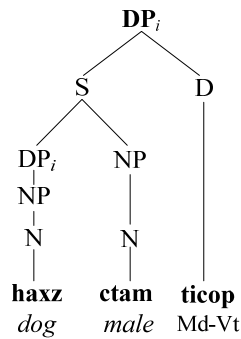
Subject of a predicate nominal

The relative clause may also be a verbless predicate nominal construction (see §10.1) without a modal. This analysis, illustrated by Figure 8.5, accounts for the word order facts: it is not Head-Modifier (which would be unexpected for a head-final language), but Subject-Predicate. The predicate nominals are single underscored below.

- (125) [Haxz ctam] ticop hin yocátxla.
 dog male MD-VT 1sDO DT-bite.[like.dog]
 ‘Ese perro macho me mordió.’
That male dog bit me. LHC_2-06-07_179a
- (126) [cmiique ctam] zo (127) [hap cmaam] zo
 person/Seri male/man a mule.deer female/woman a
 ‘un hombre seri’ ‘un venado bura hembra’
a Seri man a female mule deer RMH_08-04-07_239d
- (128) ... cmaam zo toc cötiij, [ziix cmiique caii ctam aal]
 woman a there 3IO-RL-sit thing person mature man 3P-spouse
quij, tiix ah Baril impáh.
 the.CM DDS FOC PX-PV-say
 ‘... había una mujer cuyo difunto esposo se llamaba Barril.’
... there was a woman whose [now deceased] spouse was called Barrel. (more literally, ... *the thing who was an adult who was male who was her spouse ...*)
 (Hombre_Barril_26-27)
- (129) [He cmajjic] hascmálx aha.
 1PRO woman.PL 1pS-IR.ID-N-go-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Nosotras las mujeres no vamos a ir.’
We women will not go. LHC_2-06-07_179b

The same analysis (with verbless head-internal relative clauses) may be used for the uncommon adjectives, as in (130), and the nouns used with special meaning when they modify nominals, as in (131)-(132).

Figure 8.5: Relative clause with predicate nominal (example (125))



- (130) [hap cöhaisx] tintica
 mule.deer injured MD-Aw
 ‘el venado bura herido’
the injured mule deer (DS2005, cöhaisx) RMH_08-04-07_239a
- (131) [°enm haacni° cmaacoj]
 rifle old.man
 ‘rifle viejo y fiel’, *trusty old rifle* (DS2005, cmaacoj) RMH_08-04-07_239b
- (132) [enim comcáii]
 knife old.woman
 ‘cuchillo favorito’, *favorite knife* (DS2005, comcáii) RMH_08-04-07_239c

The noun **isoj** means *his/her/its body* and is the historical source of the reflexive pronouns (§11.2.1); the plural form is **isolca**. As a noun it can be modified by **áa** (§23.1.1),²¹ as in example (133). This word **isoj** may occur in construction with another noun to indicate that the noun it modifies is the authentic type — the real thing.²²

- (133) [hant quih iti icmíquet isoj áa] hac
 land the.FL 3P-on 3P-AON-be.person 3P-self true the.LC
 ‘su lugar de origen’
his own home area (Mt 13:53) RMH_05-29-07_123a

²¹ This is despite the claim in the 2005 dictionary that it is also an adjective.

²² This kind of predication is not made in simple clauses, however; **isoj** cannot be the predicate nominal in a simple sentence.

- (134) **Hipiix** [**staci** **isoi** **áa**] **ha.**
 DPS rock.oyster 3P-self true DCL
 ‘Éste es el verdadero ostión *Saccostrea palmula*.’
This is the real rock oyster. RMH_05-29-07_123b
- (135) [**Ctam** **isoi**] **iha.**
 man 3P-self DCL
 ‘Es un verdadero hombre.’
*He is a real man.*²³ (Offered)
- (136) [**Ctamcö** **isolca**] **ha.**
 man-PL 3P-self-PL DCL
 ‘Son verdaderos hombres.’
They are real men. RMH_08-04-07_240

8.4.2 Primary and secondary object relatives

Relativized direct objects use object-oriented deverbal nouns (§14.3 and §14.5) whether they are the primary object or the secondary object.²⁴ The irrealis form is actually identical to the *finite* realis that is used in main clauses; when used in a relative clause, typically some auxiliary element such as **ha** in (139), occurs with it.

- (137) [**Icáapijõquii**^o **hoéneec**] **cah** **tapxölim** **ma, ...**
 sea-pounding.stick 1P-ON-carry.PL the.FL-FOC RL-broken.HZ DS
 ‘El palo que trajimos se quebró, ...’
The pole that we brought broke, ... (DS2005, icáapijõquii) RMH_08-04-07_243b
- (138) [**cafee** **moosi**] **cap**
 coffee 2P-ON-drink the.VT
 ‘el café que tomas’
the coffee that you drink (DS2005, cahoáatjõ) RMH_08-04-07_243d
- (139) [**Cafée** **nsiisi** **ha**] **cop** **coáatjõ** **iha.**
 coffee 2sS-IR.ID-drink AUX the.VT SN-sweet DCL
 ‘El café que tomarás es dulce.’
The coffee that you will drink is sweet. RMH_08-04-07_243c
- (140) [**imám** **quih** ^o**hant** **cohsahéectim**^o **ha**] **coi**
 3P-fruit the.FL land 1sS.TR-IR.ID-? AUX the.PL
 ‘la fruta que voy a transportar’
the fruit that I am going to transport (DS2005, cõcahéectim) RMH_10-16-07_06
- (141) ... **xo** [**ziix** **isiiitoj** **ha** **ihmáa**] **z** **itcmáht** **iho.**
 but thing 3:3-IR.ID-eat.PL AUX another a 3:3-RL-N-see-PL DCL
 ‘... pero no pueden encontrar algo para comer.’
...but they can't find anything to eat. (Mt 15:32) RMH_09-28-07_164e

²³ One person claimed that this could be paraphrased as **quictámo** *ferce*. Another consultant disagreed and said that it would mean that the person is someone who can do well whatever he does.

²⁴ This distinction applies only to a very few verbs. See §18.6.

- (142) [**María quih café oosi**] **cap cmatj iha.**
 the.FL coffee 3P-ON-drink the.VT SN-hot DCL
 ‘El café que María toma/tomó está/estaba caliente.’
The coffee that María is drinking/drank is/was hot. (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_243e
- (143) [**Canóaa ma hiive**] **com cooxp iha.**
 boat 2sDO IP-ON-give.gift the.Hz SN-white DCL
 ‘La panga que te regalé es/era blanca.’
The boat I gave you is/was white. RMH_08-04-07_244f
- (144) [**Moxíma quih canóaa ma hiive**] **quih cooxp iha.**
 yesterday the.FL boat 2sDO IP-ON-give.gift the.FL SN-white DCL
 ‘La panga que te regalé ayer es blanca.’
The boat that I gave you yesterday is white. RMH_11-20-07_115
- (145) [**Canóaa ma hiive**] **com quiha ha.**
 boat 2sDO IP-ON-give.gift the.Hz SN-fast DCL
 ‘La panga que te regalé es veloz.’
The boat that I gave you is fast. RMH_10-16-07_10
- (146) **Ziix icocóoz quiya ha,** [**ctam moxíma quih**
 thing INF.IN-UO-steal SN-TR-know DCL man yesterday the.FL
 canóaa quih miive] **quih.**
 boat the.FL 2P-ON-give.gift the.FL
 ‘El hombre a quien le diste la panga ayer es un ladrón.’
The man that you gave the boat to yesterday is a robber. RMH_11-20-07_116
- (147) a. [**Canóaa Juan quih ma iive**] **com quiha ha.**
 boat the.FL 2sDO 3P-ON-give.gift the.Hz SN-fast DCL
 b. [**Juan quih canóaa ma iive**] **com quiha ha.**
 ‘La panga que Juan te dio es muy veloz.’
The boat that John gave you is very fast. (a) RMH_09-28-07_152b (b) RMH_09-28-07_152c

An example like (142) can be reorganized with the head noun in clause-initial position just as objects may be fronted in finite clauses; see §3.10.

- (148) [**Café María quih oosi**] **cap cmatj iha.**
 coffee the.FL 3P-ON-drink the.VT SN-hot DCL
 ‘El café que María toma/tomó está/estaba caliente.’
The coffee that María is drinking/drank is/was hot. (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_244a

But the head cannot be separated from the relative clause.

- (149) a. * [**Café cap**] **cmatj iha,** [**María quih oosi**].

- b. * [**María quih oosi**] **cmatj iha**, [**café cap**].
- c. * [**Café cap**] [**María quih oosi**] **cmatj iha**.
- d. * [**María quih oosi**] [**café cap**] **cmatj iha**.
- (150) [**Cmaam miisj quih sexl ca**] **quih hiz cõtmiij iho**.
 woman 2P-basket the.FL IR.ID-buy AUX.SN the.FL here 3IO-RL-N-sit DCL
 ‘La mujer que va comprar tu canasta no está aquí.’
The woman who will buy your basket isn’t here. RMH_08-04-07_242f

The head noun of such a clause cannot have an article since there is another noun phrase in the clause.

- (151) * **Cmaam quih miisj quih sexl ca**] **quih hiz cõtmiij iho**.
 (‘La mujer que va comprar tu canasta no está aquí.’)
(The woman who will buy your basket isn’t here.)
- (152) [**Canóaa ctam cop hihacóhot**] **com quiha ha**.
 boat man the.VT 1P-ON-cause.see the.Hz SN-fast DCL
 ‘La panga que le mostré al hombre es veloz.’
The boat that I showed to the man is fast. RMH_10-16-07_09

8.4.3 Indirect objects, oblique objects and objects of postpositions

When a relativized nominal is not the subject or direct object of the relative clause, nor a possessor (§8.4.4), the relative clause is presented with an action/oblique deverbal noun (§14.4 and §14.5). This is the form that number predicates are presented in to express an ordinal number after *first* and *second*; see Table 8.2.

8.4.3.1 Indirect objects and oblique objects

- (153) a. **zaah it °hapx mihiip° cop**
 sun/day 3P-on outside 2P-AON-stand the.VT
- b. **zaah iti micmifiquet cop**
 sun/day 3P-on 2P-AON-be.person the.VT
- c. **zaah iti mihísil cop**
 sun/day 3P-on 2P-AON-small the.VT
- ‘el día en que naciste’
the day on which you were born RMH_08-04-07_244b
- (154) a. [**eenim ziix ipxási quih miizix**] **cop**
 knife thing 3P-flesh the.FL 2P-AON-saw the.VT
- b. [**ziix ipxási quih eenim miizix**] **cop**
 thing 3P-flesh the.FL knife 2P-AON-saw the.VT

‘el cuchillo con que lo cortabas/cortaste la carne’

the knife with which you cut the meat (a) RMH_08-04-07_244c, (b) RMH_09-28-07_152a

- (155) [**Ctam** **canóaa** **quih** **cohyacóhot**] **quih**
 man boat the.FL 3IO-1P-AON-cause.see the.FL

he hoyácj iha.
 1PRO 1P-ON-call.sibling DCL

‘El hombre a quien le mostré la panga es mi hermano.’

The man that I showed the boat to is my brother. RMH_11-27-07_24

- (156) [**eenim** **invázix**] **cop**
 knife 2P-AON-UO-saw the.VT

‘el cuchillo con que cortas/cortabas’

the knife that you are/were cutting with RMH_08-04-07_244d

- (157) [**eenim** **misfízix** **ha**] **cop**
 knife 2P-IR.ID-saw AUX the.VT

‘el cuchillo con que lo/la cortarás’

the knife that you will cut it with RMH_08-04-07_244e

Table 8.2: Expressions for ordinal numbers

yeen oo caap*	3P-face DL SN-stand	‘primero’	<i>first</i>
iic cōcaap	3P-toward 3IO-SN-stand	‘segundo’	<i>second</i>
iiqui iipxa	3P-toward 3P-AON-three	‘tercero’	<i>third</i>
iiqui izóoxöc	3P-toward 3P-AON-four	‘cuarto’	<i>fourth</i>
iiqui yaaitom	3P-toward 3P-AON-five	‘quinto’	<i>fifth</i>
iiqui isnáap iizoj	3P-toward 3P-chest 3P-AON-one	‘sexto’	<i>sixth</i>
iiqui tomcoj cōihíih	3P-toward ? 3P-AON-be.FL	‘séptimo’	<i>seventh</i>
iiqui izóoxolcam	3P-toward 3P-AON-eight	‘octavo’	<i>eighth</i>
iiqui csooi ihánl	3P-toward ? 3P-AON-ten	‘noveno’	<i>ninth</i>
iiqui ihánl	3P-toward 3P-AON-ten	‘décimo’	<i>tenth</i>

*There are many situations in which this expression is not appropriately used, but rather an expression using some contextually-appropriate verb with the adverb **fi** (see §23.1.6).

‘la panga en que estamos/estábamos’

the boat that we are/were in (understood as restrictive reading, contrasting this boat with others) RMH_08-04-07_245e

- (164) [**canóaa** ano **hiihca**] **com**
 boat 3P.in 1P-AON-sit.PL the.Hz
 ‘la panga en que estamos/estábamos’
the boat that we are/were in (understood as not restrictive reading) RMH_08-04-07_246a
- (165) [**he** **canóaa** ano **hisíihca** **ha**] **com**
 1PRO boat 3P.in 1P-IR.ID-sit.PL AUX the.Hz
 ‘la panga en que estaremos’
the boat that we will be in RMH_08-04-07_246b
- (166) [**cafee** °**xiica an icáai**° **ipi** an **impáii**] **quih**
 coffee sugar INTNS 3P.in 3P-AON-N-PV-make the.FL
 ‘café sin azúcar’
coffee without sugar in it (coffee in which sugar has not been put) RMH_08-04-07_246c
- (167) [**hant** an **isquíih** **ha**]
 place 3P.in 3P-IR.ID-US-be.FL AUX
 ‘lugar en que uno vivirá’
place where one will live (Jn 14:20) RMH_09-28-07_164f

8.4.4 Possessor relatives

Relative clauses with heads that are possessors have the expected structure of Possessor-Possessed. The deverbal noun that occurs in them has the form appropriate for the relation that the *possessed noun* has to the relative clause — whether subject, direct object, or other. Therefore in an example such as (170), illustrated by Figure 8.6, the object-oriented deverbal noun is used in the relative clause.

- (168) child died: subject-oriented deverbal noun
 [**cmaam** **iiquet**° **quih** °**hacx cmiih**°] **quih**
 woman her.child the.FL dead the.FL
 ‘la mujer cuyo/a hijo/a murió’
the woman whose child died RMH_08-04-07_246d
- (169) fist is withered: subject-oriented deverbal noun
Hant **tahac** [**ctam** **yanópi** **cneeej**] **z iti** **tíij**, **toc** **cömiij**.
 land MD-LC man 3P-fist SN-curled.up a 3P-on RL-sit there 3IO-PX-sit
 ‘Había en ese lugar un hombre que tenía la mano tullida.’
A man was there whose hand was paralyzed. (Lk 6:7) RMH_08-04-07_246e

- (170) we found the child: object-oriented deverbal noun
 [Cmaam iiquet^o quih hocóht] quih °iisax hant yaait^o.
 woman her.child the.FL 1P-ON-see-PL the.FL s/he.was.happy
 ‘La mujer cuyo/a hijo/a encontramos está feliz.’
The woman whose child we found is happy. RMH_08-04-07_246f
- (171) you were cutting with the knife: oblique-oriented deverbal noun
 [Cmaam eenim quih ziix ipxási quih miizix] quij
 woman 3P-knife the.FL thing 3P-flesh the.FL 2P-AON-saw the.CM
 °iisax hant yaait^o.
 s/he.was.happy
 ‘La mujer con el cuchillo de quien estabas cortando la carne está feliz.’
The woman whose knife you were cutting the meat with is happy. RMH_09-28-07_153a

Figure 8.6: Head is possessor of direct object = (170)

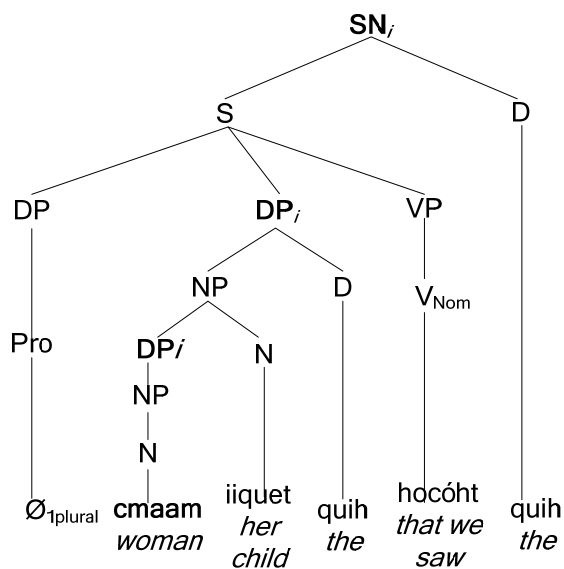
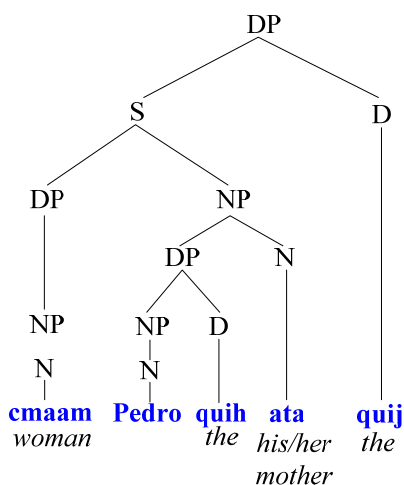


Figure 8.7: Diagram for (173a)



- (172) you put firewood into the car: oblique-oriented deverbal noun
 [**cmaam** itróoqui **quih** haquéjōc ano miiquim] **quij**
 woman 3P-vehicle the.FL ABS-firewood 3P.in 2P-AON-put.items the.CM
 ‘la mujer en cuyo carro metiste la leña’
the woman into whose car you put firewood RMH_09-28-07_153b

The possessor nominal phrase does not always directly precede the noun to which it relates. Consider the following examples:²⁶

- (173) a. [**cmaam** **Pedro quih** **ata**] **quij**
 woman the.FL 3P-mother the.CM
- b. [**Pedro quih** **cmaam** **ata**] **quij**
 the.FL woman 3P-mother the.CM

‘la madre de Pedro, la mujer que es la madre de Pedro’ (b) RMH_09-28-07_153d
Pedro’s mother, the woman who is Pedro’s mother (see Mt 8:14) (a) RMH_09-28-07_153c

Of these alternatives, the type of construction shown in (173b), with a preposed possessor, is apparently more common. An analysis for (173a) is given in Figure 8.7, and an analysis for (173b) in Figure 8.8.

8.4.5 The definite article in relative clauses

²⁶ Example (128) obviously has no overt possessor before the possessed noun **aal**; it is included here as a textual example that apparently illustrates the same structure that is more explicitly attested by example (173).

Definite complex noun phrases often have occurrences of the definite article **quih** in certain internal positions, especially when one wishes to emphasize the characteristics or descriptions provided. A very simple example is given in (174).

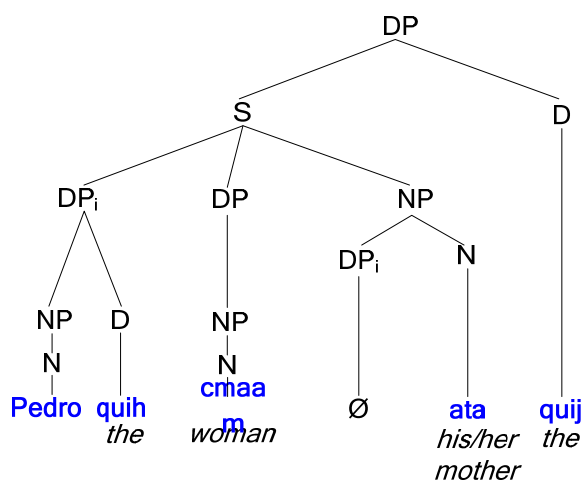
- (174) [**Canóaa quih quisil com**], **tiix ihséxl aha.**
 boat the.FL SN-small the.Hz DDS 1sS.Tr-Ir.Id-buy AUX-DCL
 ‘Compraré la panga PEQUEÑA.’
I will buy the SMALL boat. RMH_05-29-07_114a

The analysis of such an example, shown in Figure 8.9, falls out quite directly from the analysis of internally-headed relative clauses. The phrase **canóaa quih** is the DP subject; the word **quisil** corresponds to the predicate. The presence of the “internal” article is therefore a way to add contrastive focus. Another example is given in (175).

- (175) [**Caaytaj quih coopl**] **coi caacöl iha.**
 horse-PL the.FL SN-black-PL the.PL SN-big-PL DCL
 ‘Los caballos (que son) NEGROS son grandes.’
The BLACK horses are big. RMH_10-16-07_11c

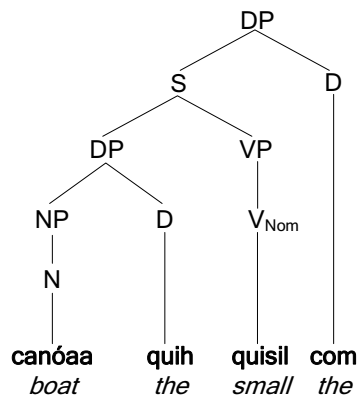
When the relative clauses are “stacked”, more instances of **quih** are possible, as shown in the following examples. An analysis of (177) is given in Figure 8.10.

Figure 8.8: Diagram for (173b)



- (176) [**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
- (177) [°**xiica** **quih** **quiistox**° **quih** **ihmáa**] **com**
 thing.PL the.FL SN-have.life-PL the.FL other the.HZ
 ‘la otra gente’
the other people RMH_08-04-07_233b
- (178) [**ziix** **quih** **imam** °**hehe án**° **com** **ano** **quih**
 thing the.FL 3P-fruit countryside the.HZ 3P.in SN-be.FL
quih **quihic** **quih** **caacöl** **quih** **catxo**] **coi**
 the.FL SN-HAVE.seed the.FL SN-big-PL the.FL SN-many the.PL
 ‘cosa cuya fruta en el desierto tiene semillas grandes’
thing whose fruit in the desert has big seeds (Hast_Quita) RMH_08-04-07_233c
- (179) ... [**xepe** **quih** **cxatlc** **quih** **cmeque**] **com**, ...
 sea the.FL SN-thin-PL the.FL SN-warm the.HZ
 ‘... el mar poco profundo y cálido ...’
... the shallow and warm sea... (alo_quicós 04) RMH_08-24-07_50g
- (180) [**Haxz** **quih** **quisil** **xah** **caacoj** **quih** **hant** **quih** **iti** **caap**] **cop**
 dog the.FL SN-small CRD SN-big the.FL land the.FL on SN-stand the.VT
ziix **z** **ij** **cöpomáitim** **ta** **x**, ...
 thing a differently 3IO-IR.DP-N-do DS UT

Figure 8.9: Diagram for (174)



‘Si hay un perro pequeño o grande en algún lugar que no hace nada de malo, ...’
 (Más literalmente: Si el perro — pequeño o grande — que está en un lugar — no está haciendo nada mal, ...’

If there is a small or big dog somewhere that isn't doing anything wrong, ...

(Consejos_perro_40.1)

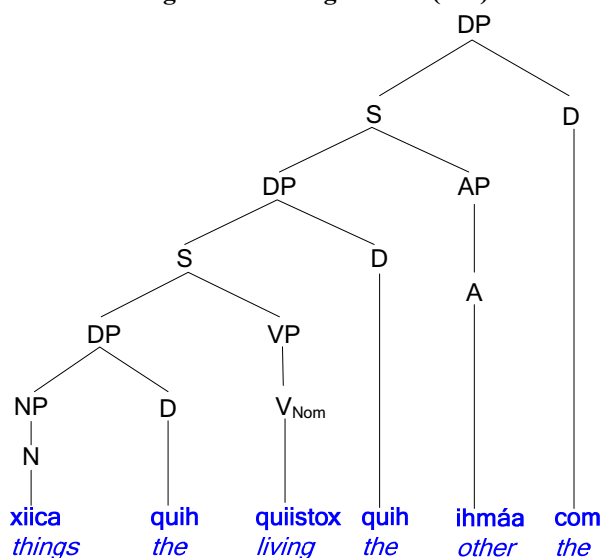
- (181) [[**Hap** quih caacöl] quih quiipe] **tacoi itámje** **xox**, ...
 mule.deer the.FL SN-big-PL the.FL SN-good MD-PL 3:3-RL-bring although
 ‘Aunque trajo aquellos venados bura grandes y buenos, ...’
Although he brought those big good mule deer, ... (Gigante_Comelon_187)

The following examples which are ungrammatical variations on (181) illustrate an important fact for all such cases. The robust determiner (whether an article other than **quih** or a demonstrative) is not permitted “internally” to the DP in the positions occupied by **quih** as shown in these examples.

- (182) a. * **Hap coi caacöl coi quiipe tacoi ...**
 b. * **Hap tacoi caacöl quih quiipe quih ...**
 c. * **Hap quih caacöl coi quiipe tacoi ...**
 d. * **Hap quih caacöl tacoi quiipe quih ...**
 e. etc.

The preceding examples have had intransitive verbs in the relative clauses. The situation

Figure 8.10: Diagram for (177)



with transitive clauses is more complicated and more interesting. When there are two nominals present (even if one is null), the head noun obligatorily *does not have* an article with it. This fact unambiguously signals it as the head of the relative clause. Furthermore, variability in word is completely acceptable. In the following examples the head noun is double underscored.

- (183) a. haxz ctam quih ocóho cop
 dog man the.FL 3P-ON-see the.VT
 b. ctam quih haxz ocóho cop
 man the.FL dog 3P-ON-see the.VT
 c. Ø haxz ocóho cop
 dog 3P-ON-see the.VT
 d. * haxz quih ctam quih ocóho cop
 e. * ctam quih haxz quih ocóho cop
 f. * Ø haxz quih ocóho cop

‘el perro que el hombre vio’ (a-b) / ‘el perro que vio’ (c) (b) RMH_10-16-07_08b (c) RMH_05-
the dog that the man saw (a-b) / the dog that he saw (c) (a) RMH_10-16-07_08a

- (184) a. ctam haxz quih ocóho cop
 man dog the.FL 3P-ON-see the.VT
 b. haxz quih ctam ocóho cop
 dog the.FL man 3P-ON-see the.VT
 c. Ø ctam ocóho cop
 man 3P-ON-see the.VT
 d. * haxz quih ctam quih ocóho cop
 e. * ctam quih haxz quih ocóho cop
 f. * ctam quih Ø ocóho cop

‘el hombre que el perro vio’ (a-b) / ‘el hombre que vio’ (c) (c) RMH_05-17-08_211
the man that the dog saw (a-b) / the man that it saw (c) (a) RMH_10-16-07_08c (b) RMH_10-16-07_08c

Stacked transitive subject relatives have not observed in texts but may be elicited without too much difficulty (albeit with patience since they are hard to process). Note the lack of articles following the heads.²⁷

²⁷ *Siiimet bread* is the direct object of *quihit* and not the head of a relative clause. It takes the article *quih* normally because of the type of item that it is; see §13.3.

- (185) [**Haxz** [**ziic** [**zixcám** **siimet quih quihit**] **quih quicö**] **quih**
 dog bird fish bread the.FL SN-TR-eat the.FL SN-TR-kill the.FL
cöcaaitim] **cop yaacö.**
 3IO-SN-chase the.VT DT-UO-bark

‘Ladró el perro que persiguió el ave que mató el pescado que comió el pan.’
The dog that chased the bird that killed the fish that ate the bread barked. RMH_10-

For reasons unknown, attempts to elicit stacked relatives that contained a non-subject relative with almost any other relative clause other than the simplest intransitive were completely unsuccessful, in sharp contrast to the situation with all subject relatives.

- (186) [**Zixcám com** [**siimet caaitic**] **oohit**] **quih mooxp.**
 fish the.HZ bread SN-soft 3P-ON-eat the.FL PX-white
 ‘El pan blando que el pescado comió era blanco.’
The soft bread that the fish ate was white. RMH_05-17-08_212

- (187) * [**Ziic quij** [**zixcam com siimet oohit**] **oöicö**]
 bird the.CM fish the.HZ bread 3P-ON-eat 3P-ON-kill
quih mooxp.
 the.FL PX-white

‘El pan que el pez comió que el ave mató era blanco.’
(The bread that the fish ate that the bird killed was white.)

- (188) * **Ziic quij** [**zixcam siimet quih quihit**] **oöicö**
 bird the.CM fish bread the.FL SN-TR-eat 3P-ON-kill
com mooxp.
 the.HZ PX-white

‘El pez que comió el pan que el ave mató era grande.’
(The fish that ate the bread that the bird killed was big.)

Under very unusual conditions relating to negation, the DP with a relative clause and also the head noun take the singular indefinite article.

- (189) ..., [**cmiique zo ziix z °imoz cöihca° z**] **imáa ha.**
 person a thing a who.hoards a SN-TR-N-know DCL
 ‘... , nunca había conocido a una persona tacaña.’
... he had never known a person who hoarded. (Gigante_Comelon_477)

- (190) ..., [**ziix zo cöiyasiyalam zo**] **haquix imiñ iha.**
 thing a 3IO-3P-ON-use-PL.IMPf a somewhere SN-N-be.FL DCL
 ‘... no había otra cosa [concha] que usaron tanto.’ /
... there was nothing else [no other shell] that they used as much. (xtiip 06)

8.4.6 Headless relatives

A relative clause commonly occurs without an overt nominal head.²⁸ Some of these have become quite conventionalized: **caamjö** (SN-UO.hunt) *hunter*, **quihéhe**^o (SN-rule, or more literally SN-HAVE-plant, in the sense of rod, presumably) *leader, governor, king*, **cooit** (SN-dance) *dancer*, **coos** (SN-sing) *singer*, **caazi** (SN-TR-carry) *father* (see **him caazi**, 1sDO SN-TR-carry, *my father*). Some are even more conventionalized and might be thought of as only etymologically related; see chapter 14. The examples below are ones which seem to be a bit more spontaneous.

- (191) ..., [**cyaa**] **zo toc cötiij**, ...
 SN-TR-own a there 3IO-RL-sit
 ‘..., un dueño estaba allí, ...’
... an owner was there, ... (Gigante_Comelon_493) RMH_05-17-08_213
- (192) **hipi** [**caaitom íi**]
 INTNS SN-speak first
 ‘el primero en hablar’
the first one to speak RMH_08-14-07_11d
- (193) [**Zixcám quih quihit**] **tiquij, tiix he hoyácj iha.**
 fish the.FL SN-TR-eat MD-CM DDS 1PRO 1P-ON-call.sibling DCL
 ‘LA/EL QUE ESTÁ COMIENDO EL PESCADO es mi hermana/o.’
THE ONE WHO IS EATING THE FISH is my sibling. RMH_09-28-07_154a
- (194) [**Cfit**] **cop he hoyácj iha.**
 SN-stand²⁹ the.VT 1PRO 1P-ON-call.sibling DCL
 ‘La/el que está parada/o es mi hermana/o.’
The one who is standing is my sister/brother. RMH_08-14-07_68a
- (195) [**Hant coom**] **com he hoyácj iha.**
 land SN-lie the.HZ 1PRO 1P-ON-call.sibling DCL
 ‘La/el que está parada/o es mi hermana/o.’
The one who is lying down is my sister/brother. RMH_08-14-07_68b
- (196) ... [**áno quuij quij**] °**hacx yomíih**°.
 3P.in SN-sit the.CM apart DT-not.be.FL
 ‘... el/la que estaba en él [carro] murió.’
... the one that was inside it [the car] died. (DS2005, capniic) RMH_05-17-08_214

²⁸ Following Huddleston and Pullum (2002), these are analyzed as having fused heads, where the deverbal noun is the head.

²⁹ The verb √fit means *stand up from a seated position*. This sentence could be translated as *the one who stood up* ... but it may also be used for a person who has never been seated.

- (197) [**Hant quii**] **quij quihéhe° quih haa ha.**
 land SN-sit the.CM ruler the.FL SN.EQ DCL
 ‘El que está sentado es el gobernador.’
The one who is sitting down is the governor. RMH_08-14-07_68c
- (198) [**Quisíil° ctam quih cacóxl**] **quij he hiyal iha.**
 child male the.FL SN-TR-tend the.CM 1PRO IP-spouse DCL
 ‘La/el que está cuidando el niño es mi esposa/o.’
The one who is taking care of the boy is my spouse. RMH_08-14-07_68e
- (199) [**Imitáamt**] **ticop, tiix he hyaazi° ha.**
 SN-N-HAVE.sandal(s) MD-VT DDS 1PRO my.child DCL
 ‘El/la que no está descalzo/a es mi hijo/a.’
The barefooted one is my child. RMH_08-21-07_92
- (200) ... **tiix [hantx moca isoj] iha.**
 DDS at.base TWD-SN-move 3P-self DCL
 ‘... es un verdadero ancestro.’
... s/he is a real ancestor. (Hipocampo_20) RMH_05-29-07_123c
- (201) [**Coos**] **quij toc cōtij x, [cooit] cop mos toc cōmiip.**
 SN-sing the.FL there 3IO-RL-sit UT SN-dance the.VT also there 3IO-PX-stand
 ‘Había un(a) cantante allí, también había un bailaror.’
There was a singer there, there also was a dancer. (siete_filos 41)
- (202) [[**Ziix cmiique caii cmaam ipca° cōcoos quij**]
 thing person mature woman rain 3IO-SN-sing the.CM
cōcaazcam] **tamocat ox tooza, yoque.**
 3IO-SN-arrive.PL MD-TWD-PL thus RL-speak.PL DT-US-say
 ‘Así dijeron los que fueron a visitar a la mujer con el poder de la lluvia.’
That's what those who went to the “rain seer” woman said. (ES2007 cmaam_ipca 06)
- (203) [**Icáatax quimzo**] **zo haa piij x,**
 INF.IN-go SN-TR-want a/one there IR.DP-sit UT
isoj isatáaho (a)ha.
 3P-self 3:3-IR.ID-make.ready AUX-DCL
 ‘El/la que quiere ir debe prepararse.’
Whoever wants to go should get ready. RMH_10-15-07_41a

8.5 Partitive construction

The partitive construction has a head word which indicates a subset of a group that, if overtly identified, is expressed by a preceding DP.

One word which may occur as the head of a partitive construction is the (relatively uncommon) word **antá** *some*,³⁰ referred to here as a quantificational pronoun, typically followed by the attenuating adverb **xah** (§24.6.1). If it is modified by the intensifying adverb **hax** (§24.1.2), it means *quite a few, many*.

- (204) [[**Haxöl quih**] **antá xah**] **hiime.**
 clam(s) the.FL some ATTEN 1SS.TR-PX-give
 ‘Yo le di unas cuantas almejas.’
I gave her/him some clams. (DS2005, antá) RMH_08-04-07_247d
- (205) [**Antá xah**] **miizcam.**
 some ATTEN PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Algunos llegaron.’
Some arrived. RMH_08-04-07_247e
- (206) [**Hax antá xah**] **miizcam.**
 INTNS some ATTEN PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Bastante muchos llegaron.’
Quite a few arrived. RMH_08-04-07_247f

Example (207) shows that the complement of **antá** may occur in a fronted position (see §3.10) preceding the adverb **haptco**.

- (207) **Comcáac ctamcö coi, haptco antá xah miizcam.**
 person/Seri.PL man-PL the.PL already some ATTEN PX-arrive.PL
 ‘Algunos hombres seris ya llegaron.’
Some Seri men already arrived. (DS2005, antá) RMH_08-04-07_248a

Another interesting word that may be the head of a partitive construction is the noun **àpa** *enormous quantity*. This word is phonologically unusual in that it is unstressed; as a reminder of this fact, it is written here with a grave accent. It is also unusual in that its complement must be singular.

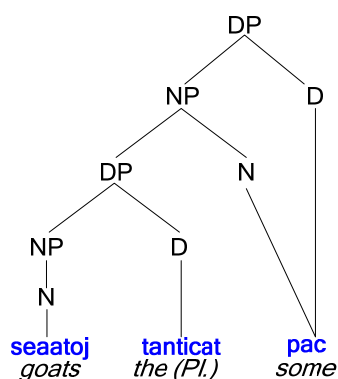
- (208) [[**Cmiiqac caacoj**] **àpa** **zo**] **nsiho (a)ha.**
 person SN-big enormous.quantity a 2SS-IR.ID-see AUX-DCL
 ‘Verás una enorme cantidad de personas grandes.’
You will see an enormous quantity of big people. (DS2005, apa) RMH_08-04-07_248b
- (209) [[**Haxz**] **àpa** **zo**] **hmiiho.**
 dog enormous.quantity a 1SS.TR-PX-see
 ‘Vi una enorme cantidad de perros.’
I saw an enormous quantity of dogs. RMH_08-04-07_248c

³⁰ This was called an adverb in the 2005 dictionary.

An indefinite article may occur as both determiner and head of the partitive DP, as illustrated in Figure 8.6 for example (210).³¹

- (210) [[**Seaatoj tanticat**] **pac**] **queelcam iha.**
 goat-PL MD-AW-PL some SN-old-PL DCL
 ‘Algunos de los chivos son viejos.’
Some of the goats are old. (DS2005, pac) RMH_08-04-07_248d
- (211) ... [[°**xiica coosyatoj° cmajjic coi**] **zo**] **haa, yoque.**
 giants female.PL the.PL a/one SN.EQ DT-US-say
 ‘... era una de las mujeres gigantes, se dice.’
... she was one of the female giants, it is said. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 11b)
- (212) [[**Xiica Hast ano coii Coftéecöl iti coii coi**] **zo**]
 thing.PL S.E.I. 3P.in SN-be.FL.PL S.E.I. 3P-on SN-be.FL.PL the.PL a/one
yoháa.
 DT-EQ
 ‘Era uno de la gente de la Isla San Esteban.’
He was one of the San Esteban people. (DS2005, Coftéecöl) RMH_08-04-07_250b
- (213) ... [[**xicacazíil° iicot ihyáalim coi**] **zo**] **toc cõtáp, ...**
 children 3P-with.PL 1P-AON-play the.PL a/one there 3IO-RL-stand
 ‘... uno de los niños con quienes yo estaba jugando, ...’
... one of the children with whom I was playing was there, ... (DS2005, caapxölim) OP_2-2-07_120

Figure 8.11: Diagram of (210)



³¹ An alternative analysis would posit a null head that is accompanied by the indefinite determiner.

- (214) [[°ziix ccam° ticom iháait cop] pac]
 animal MD-Hz 3P-blood the.VT some
 ‘algo de la sangre de ese animal’
some of that animal’s blood (Hb 13:11) RMH_08-04-07_251
- (215) ... [[sahméés yatóilcam tacoi] pac]
 orange(s) 3P-ON-distribute-PL MD-PL some
ma hsacóoomot aha.
 2sDO 1sS.TR-IR.ID-request.for AUX-DCL
 ‘... voy a pedir algunas de esas naranjas por tí.’
... I will ask for some of those oranges for you. (DS2005, cacóoomot) OP_2-2-07_121

Example (216) is interesting in that it uses a singular complement DP which refers to a class rather than a specific group.

- (216) [[Zacáam hapáh quih] zo] haa, yoque, ...
 young.woman SN-Pv-say the.FL a/one SN.EQ DT-US-say
 ‘Era una jovencita.’
She was a young woman. (Gigante_Comelon_27) RMH_08-04-07_250a

The complement of the indefinite pronoun may be a DP that is a demonstrative pronoun or a personal pronoun.

- (217) **He** [[taax] zo] haa ha.
 1PRO DDP a/one SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Soy uno de ellos.’
I am one of them. RMH_08-04-07_252a
- (218) [[Taax] pac] yoozcam.
 DDP some DT-arrive.PL
 ‘Algunos de ellos llegaron.’
Some of them arrived. RMH_08-04-07_252b

Note that in example (219)-(220) the inflection on the verb is second person plural, in agreement with the complement of the partitive construction. The same phenomenon is seen in (225) and (228).

- (219) ¿ [[Me] pac] matálx? (*talx)
 2PRO some 2PS-RL-go.PL (RL-go.PL)
 ‘¿Han ido algunos de ustedes?’
Did some of you go? RMH_08-04-07_252c RMH_08-04-07_152
- (220) [[Me] pac] matáainim x, Hezitmísoj quij
 2PRO some 2PS-RL-mix.in UT Hermosillo the.CM

hax ano/áno³² **mimázcam oo, cömayóoi.**
 just 3P.in 2P-AON-N-arrive.PL DL 3IO-2PS-DT-do.PL

‘Algunos de ustedes no llegaron a Hermosillo.’

Some of you didn't arrive to Hermosillo. (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_156 RMH_08-04-07_157

As heads we also find quantifying expressions such as the pronoun **coox** *all* (221-222), the adjective **tazo** *one* (223ff) — which may co-occur with the article **zo** in these constructions— and deverbal forms of number verbs (226-227).³³

- (221) [[**°xiica quih quiistox° coi**] **coox**]
 people the.PL all
 ‘toda la gente’
all of the people RMH_08-04-07_252d
- (222) [[**xiica oéen coi**] **coox oo**]
 thing.PL 3P-ON-carry.items the.PL all DL
 ‘todo lo que llevaba’
everything that s/he was carrying RMH_05-17-08_215
- (223) [[**xicaquizíil° com**] **tazo ipi**] **haquix piih, ...**
 children the.HZ one INTNS somewhere IR.DP-be.FL
 ‘... si hasta uno de estos niños ...’
if even one of these children ... (Mt 18:14) RMH_08-04-07_252e
- (224) [[**He**] **tazo ipi z**] **imátax iha.**
 IPRO one INTNS a SN-N-go DCL
 ‘Ninguno de nosotros fue.’
Not one of us went. RMH_09-28-07_154b
- (225) [[**Me**] **tazo ipi zo**] **mayomátax.**
 2PRO one INTNS a/one 2PS-DT-N-go
 ‘Ninguno de ustedes ha ido.’
Not one of you went. OP_2-2-07_073
- (226) [[**xiica tacoi**] **coocj**]
 thing.PL MD-PL SN-two
 ‘dos de ellos’
two of them (Mk 16:12) RMH_08-04-07_253b

³² The two different stress patterns here reportedly indicate slight differences in meaning. With less stress on **ano**, the meaning is that one goes to Hermosillo for a short while. With greater stress on **ano**, the meaning is that you go infrequently.

³³ Sometimes the determiner of the embedded DP is singular although the head noun of that phrase is plural; see chapter 21 for more discussion of the determiners with relationship to plurality.

- (227) [[**xiica cmajíc chanl tacoi**] **cooitom**]
 thing.PL female.PL SN-ten MD-PL SN-five
 ‘cinco de esas diez mujeres’
five of those ten women (Mt 25:2) RMH_08-04-07_253c

When a deverbal quantifier noun follows a personal pronoun, it occurs in a partitive construction and not in a relative clause. Thus in (228) the phrase **me coocj** (2PRO SN-two) means *two of you* and not *you two*.³⁴ (On the subject inflection for second person plural, see above.)

- (228) [[(**Me**)] **coocj**] **masiilx aha.**
 2PRO SN-two 2PS-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Dos de ustedes deberán ir.’ (*‘Uds. dos deberán ir.’)
*Two of you should go. (*You two should go.)* RMH_08-04-07_253d

Examples (229)-(230) likewise have finite verb forms which agree with a first person plural subject (note the prefix **ha-**), but the verb stem is singular in these cases, however ($\sqrt{\text{atax}}$ rather than $\sqrt{\text{alx}}$). (The pronoun itself is freely omissible in these examples with inflected finite verbs.)

- (229) [[(**He**)] **tazo ipi zo**] **hayomátax.** (***yomátax**, ***hayomálx**)
 1PRO one INTNS a/one 1PS-DT-N-go
 ‘Ninguno de nosotros ha ido.’
Not one of us went. OP_2-2-07_056
- (230) [[(**He**)] **zo**] **hayóotax.**
 1PRO a/one 1PS-DT-go
 ‘Uno de nosotros ha ido.’
One of us went. RMH_08-04-07_150a

Just as the person of the complement of the partitive expression is relevant for subject inflection in the preceding examples, it is also relevant for direct object inflection and person marking on the postposition in the following examples, respectively.

- (231) [[**He**] **coox oo**] **hizi quíh iha.**
 1PRO all DL 1PDO SN-TR-do DCL
 ‘Lo hizo a todos nosotros.’
He did it to all of us. (Ro 4:24) RMH_08-04-07_150b

³⁴ The equivalent of *You two should go* is the biclausal **Mapácj, masiilx aha** (2PS-IR.DP-two, 2PS-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL). Likewise, the equivalent of *We two went* is the biclausal (**He**) **hatóocj, hayóolx** (1PRO 1PS-RL-two, 1PS-DT-go.PL). RMH_08-14-07_67a MH_08-14-07_67b

- (232) ... **taax** [**he**] **coox oo**] °**hiicot** **cöiyáai**° **ha.**
 DDP 1PRO all DL 1P.with.PL 3IO-3P-AON-make DCL
 ‘... nos ha bendecido a todos con ellos.’
... he has blessed all of us with them. (Jn 1:16) RMH_08-04-07_151

The expression for *each* is a modified version of a partitive construction.³⁵ The head is **tazo one**, and it is preceded by one of the following phrases: **ij càap** (apart SN-stand), **ij còom** (apart SN-lie), **ij quij** (apart SN-sit).³⁶

- (233) [**xiica czooxöc tacoi**] **ij càap tazo cop**
 thing.PL SN-four MD-PL apart SN-stand one the.VT
 ‘cada uno de los cuatro seres’
each one of the four creatures (Rv. 4:8) RMH_09-28-07_154c
- (234) [**xiica ihic coi**] **ij quij tazo quij**
 thing.PL 3P-seed the.PL apart SN-sit one the.CM
 ‘cada una de las semillas’
each of the seeds (Mk 4:20) RMH_10-15-07_27a
- (235) [**Zixcám coi**] **ij còom tazo °hacx cmiih° iha.**
 fish the.PL apart SN-lie one dead DCL
 ‘Uno de los peces murió.’
One of the fish died. RMH_10-15-07_28a
- (236) [**Zixcám coi**] **ij còom tazo com cmoquéepe ha.**
 fish the.PL apart SN-lie one the.Hz SN-sick DCL
 ‘Cada uno de los peces está enfermo.’
Each one of the fish is sick. RMH_10-15-07_27b

³⁵ The same expression also means *one by one*, and this is presumably the origin of the other.

- (ii) **Me ij càap tazo cah masítax aha.**
 2PRO apart SN-stand one the.FL-FOC 2PS-IR.ID-go AUX-DCL
 ‘Ustedes deben irse uno por uno.’
You (pl.) should go one by one. RMH_09-28-07_154e
- (iii) **Me ij còoyolca coocj cah masiix aha.**
 2PRO apart SN-stand.PL.IMPV SN-two the.FL-FOC 2PS-IR.ID-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Ustedes deben irse en grupos de dos.’
You (pl.) should go two by two. RMH_09-28-07_154f

³⁶ The stress is so much weaker on each of these forms (in natural speech) that the orthography previously has written the vowels as short. However, the fact that **càap** [k a a p] occurs even for speakers who use the **cop** variant of the definite article (see §21.2) makes it clear that the words in these expressions are not the articles, but rather reduced forms of the deverbal nouns from which the articles have derived historically.

- (237) [**Zixcám coi**] **ijj còom tazo cah** °**hacx cmiih° iha.**
 fish the.PL apart SN-lie one the.FL-FOC dead DCL

‘Cada uno de los peces murió (uno por uno).’

Each one of the fish died (one by one). RMH_10-15-07_28b

- (238) a. **ijj coom cah cmoquéepe ha.**
 apart SN-lie the.FL-FOC SN-sick DCL

b. **ijj còom tazo cah cmoquéepe ha.**
 one

c. * **ijj còom cah cmoquéept iha.**
 SN-sick-PL DCL

‘Cada uno está enfermo.’

Each one is sick. RMH_10-15-07_27c

- (239) a. **Tcooo cmoquéept iha.**
 RL-all SN-sick-PL DCL

b. * **Tcooo cmoqueepe ha.**
 RL-all SN-sick DCL

‘Todos están enfermos.’

All are sick. RMH_10-15-07_27d