

Seri Kinship Terminology

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Contents

[Abstract](#)

1 [Introduction](#)

2 [Nonkinship terms](#)

2.1 [Terms derived from verbs](#)

2.2 [Unpossessed nouns](#)

3 [Kinship terminology](#)

3.1 [Grandkinsman terms](#)

3.2 [Parent and child terms](#)

3.3 [Sibling terms](#)

3.4 [Collateral parent and child terms](#)

3.5 [Affinal terms](#)

4 [Reference to deceased persons](#)

[Appendix: Kinship Terms](#)

[References](#)

¹The Seri people live along the mainland coast of the Gulf of California in Sonora, Mexico. For more information on the people and culture, see [Felger and Moser 1985](#) and the references cited there. This paper is based on data collected primarily by the first author and her husband since 1952. A primary source of information has been Roberto Herrera Marcos, for whose invaluable help we are greatly indebted, but many other people were also consulted and data were gathered during periods of residence in the village of Desemboque. We thank Ruth Brend, Jane Hill, and William Merrifield for comments and help on earlier drafts of this paper and absolve them of responsibility for the remaining deficiencies.

The Seri terms are written in the orthography currently in use by the Seri people with the exception that stress marks have been added to aid in pronunciation. Stress is marked when it does not occur on the first syllable of the word. (Stress generally falls on the first syllable of the root, although there are numerous exceptions.) The orthographic symbols which do not roughly correspond to their counterparts in Spanish include: *e* for a low front vowel (like the vowel of *cat*), double vowels for length, *h* for glottal stop, *z* for a voiceless retroflex sibilant (similar to the *sh* of *ship*), *x* for a back velar fricative, *l* for a voiceless lateral fricative, and *cö* for the labialized velar stop. The phoneme *m* is sometimes pronounced as a velar nasal, as in *comcáac* [koŋkáak] ‘people, Seri’, and sometimes as a nasalized labiovelar glide, as in *cmique* [kwĩkæ] ‘person, Seri’. For further information on the Seri language, see Marlett [1981](#), [1988](#), [Marlett and Stemberger 1983](#).

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Abstract

A discussion of Seri kinship terminology, specifically, various kinds of terms which, although used to refer to kinsmen, are special in that they are either unpossessed nouns or nouns derived from verbs; basic kinship terms and their extended meanings; and terminology used for deceased persons.

1 Introduction

The Seri language contains over fifty kinship terms, and as such represents one of the most highly elaborated kinship systems described to date.² A list of these terms was given in [Kroeber 1931](#), although Kroeber's list was (understandably) incorrect in certain ways. Our discussion of the Seri kinship terminology centers around, but is not limited to, the set of obligatorily possessed noun stems which are inflected with the following possessive prefixes.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------|
| (1) | First person | <i>hi-</i> |
| | Second person | <i>ma-</i> |
| | Third person | <i>a-</i> |

Only kinship terms carry the prefix set in (1), which contrasts in the second and third person with the person prefix set used with other possessed nouns and nominalized verbs. The nonkinship possessive prefixes are given in (2).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------|
| (2) | First person | <i>hi-</i> |
| | Second person | <i>mi-</i> |
| | Third person | <i>i-</i> |

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we discuss various kinds of terms which, although used to refer to kinsmen, are special in that they are either unpossessed nouns or nouns derived from verbs. They are not kinship terms insofar as word class is concerned. In Section 3 we present the basic kinship terms and their extended meanings; no detailed analysis is given. In Section 4 we present the terminology used for deceased persons.

2 Nonkinship terms

2.1 Terms derived from verbs

Some commonly used Seri expressions for kinsmen are derived from verbs. The expressions *iha hocóa* 'my adult blood kinsmen', *iha mocóa* 'your adult blood kinsmen', and *iha ocóa* 'his/her adult blood kinsmen' are composed of the word *iha* (of uncertain meaning) and the object nominalized form of the verb *quiya* 'know' (root: {-aa}). The passive subject nominalized form occurs in *iha hapáa* 'adult blood kinsmen'. Related expressions are *iha pti quiya* 'kinsmen', which includes the word *pti* 'together' and the

²The Seri people have an intricate system of speaking and giving relationships. This system does not appear to be closely tied to the kinship system, however.

active subject nominalized form of 'know'; and *xica quih hocóa* 'my nonadult blood kinsmen', which includes the word *xica* 'things' and *quih* 'the (sg.)'. If one doesn't know who his kinsmen are because he doesn't know who his father is, he might say *Hihíha zo htcamáaho* 'I don't know my *iha*.' Yet another way to refer to kinsmen is by the expression *comcáac quihúin cayáxi* 'people who are close', i.e. 'people who surround'.

The expressions *hiiquet*, *hiicto* 'my child, my children' are used by a woman to refer to her children. These terms are object nominalizations derived from the verb *quiiquet* 'to be pregnant (with)'. Compare also: *miiquet* 'your child' and *iiquet* 'her child'. There is no kinship term otherwise used by women to refer to their children.

The verbs *caazi* 'carry' (sg. object) and *coon* 'carry (pl. object)' are used in various ways to refer to one's father. The subject nominalized forms of these verbs (the citation form used above) with a direct object prefix (written in the orthography as a separate word and distinct from the possessive prefixes in most cases) yields such words as *him cáazi* 'my father' ('the one who carried me'), *ma cáazi* 'your father' ('the one who carried you'), *hazi cóon* 'our father' ('the one who carried us'), and *mazi cóon* 'your (pl.) father' ('the one who carried you (pl.)'). The object nominalized forms are also commonly used: *ihyáazi* 'my child (man speaking)' ('the one that I carried'), *hoén* 'my children (man speaking)' ('the ones that I carried').

The verb *ical* 'accompany' yields the most commonly used expressions for spouse. This verb is unique in Seri in that it has two possible object nominalization paradigms, one with prefix set (1) and one with prefix set (2). Only the former has the meaning of spouse: *hiyal* 'my spouse', *maal* 'your spouse', *aal* 'his/her spouse'. The latter has the productive meaning: *hiyal* 'the one I accompany', *miyal* 'the one you accompany', *iyal* 'the one s/he accompanies'. Another expression for husband is *ctam ihyacóxl* 'the man that I watch over'.

The verb *moca* 'come' is nominalized in an expression for parent(s): *iti hmiha ctam* 'my father' ('the male one that I come from'), *iti hmiha cmaam* 'my mother' ('the female one that I come from'), *iti mmihat* 'your parents', *iti mihat* 'his/her parent'. (The words *ctam* 'male' and *cmaam* 'female' are often used here and in a few other expressions discussed below.) This verb also figures into the expression *¿Zo mmihaya?* 'How is s/he related to you?' (literally, 'How is your coming?').

The verb *cyacj* 'call sibling/cousin' has the following object nominalizations which are commonly used: *hoyácj* 'my sibling/cousin' ('the one I call sibling/cousin'), *moyácj* 'your sibling/cousin', *oyácj* 'his/her sibling/cousin', *hoyácalcam* 'my siblings/cousins', etc. In order to clarify whether someone referred to in this way is a sibling or a cousin, the following forms are used (obscurely based on *caazi* 'carry' and *quiiquet* 'be pregnant (with)' mentioned above): *hiquipáazi* 'with the same father as me', *hiqui impáazi* 'with a different father than mine', *hiqui ipéquet* 'with the same mother as me', *hiqui impéquet* 'with a different mother than mine'. Also, one may use the modifier *aamo* 'far': *aamo hoyácj* 'my cousin'.

The term for step-parent is based on the verb *quicomüquet* 'have someone as stepchild', which is in turn based on the kinship term *acomüque* 'stepchild': *him quicomüquet* 'my step-parent' ('the one who has me as a stepchild'), *ma quicomüquet* 'your step-parent' ('the one who has you as a stepchild'), *quicomüquet* 'his/her step-parent' ('the one who has him/her as a stepchild').

2.2 Unpossessed nouns

There are a few words which are not possessed nouns which may be used to refer to kinsmen. The words *comcáii* ‘old woman’ and *cmacoj* ‘old man’ are sometimes used in reference to or when addressing one’s mother or wife and father or husband, respectively. Similarly, *comcáac queej* ‘old people’ may be used to refer to the parents. The noun *haméen* refers to a family (and also to the interior of a house). The term *hantx mocat* ‘who come from the base’ (since the Seris think of their ancestors as being on the bottom of the pile) refers to ancestors in general.

Finally, the term *hamác* is used for the person who has certain responsibilities, including sponsoring puberty fiestas and burial. One’s *hamác* may or may not be a relative. For more details, see [Felger and Moser 1985](#):6–8.

3 Kinship terminology

Fifty-four kinship terms occur in Seri. (See the [Appendix](#); the numbers in parentheses following a term cited below refer to this appendix.) We believe that all of these are elementary terms synchronically in that they cannot be analyzed into smaller parts. Some of the kinship terms were probably compounds historically, but irregular phonological changes have caused them to be considered as separate terms here. Nineteen of these terms are used only if ego is male and nineteen are used only if ego is female. For sixteen terms the sex of ego is not relevant. The sex of the referent is relevant for all of the terms except for nieces and nephews, grandchildren, stepchildren, and (for male ego) parents-in-law. Many terms make reference to whether a person is older or younger than ego or than ego’s parent; Seri has bifurcate collateral terminology. Two kinship terms are not included in the appendix since they are currently considered vulgar: *hicám* ‘my husband’ and *hicom* ‘my wife’. These terms probably figure into the derivation of two of the other kinship terms, however, as we show below.

The terms are given in three forms in the appendix, and unless otherwise stated the forms cited below in discussions are the first person possessed forms. The second person possessed form may be formed by adding an *m* to the beginning of the third person possessed form. The absolute forms listed are used only rarely, in expressions such as “it is necessary to wash one’s father’s shirts.” The dictionary ([Moser et al](#), in preparation) also lists the plural forms of each of these nouns since plural nouns in Seri are highly irregular. Various suffixes and stem modifications are used to indicate plurality. The dictionary also lists some verbs which are derived from these kinship terms by means of the prefix *i-*. The derived verbs mean ‘have someone as (kin)’; for example: *quisáacat* ‘have someone for a son’, based on the root {-*saac*} of the term *hisáac* ‘son’.

3.1 Grandkinsman terms

There are eight grandkinsman terms. These distinguish the sex of senior kinsman, bifurcation, and seniority. The analysis given in the second column is based on [Merrifield \(1980\)](#).² Sex, m(ale) or f(emale), is indicated following an abbreviation for the relationship, P(arent), or C(hild), where the first implicit term is ego. Therefore mCmC refers to a male ego’s male child’s child and PmPm refers to ego’s male parent’s male parent. Merrifield

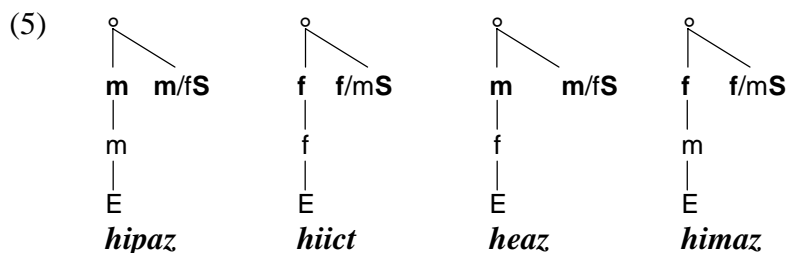
²Also see discussion, explication, and illustration of this approach in [Merrifield 1981](#).

also develops rules for deriving the extended meanings of kinship terms; we do not present these here.

(3)	<i>hipaz</i> (31)	PmPm	parallel grandfather
	<i>hiict</i> (20)	PfPf	parallel grandmother
	<i>heaz</i> (2)	PfPm	cross grandfather
	<i>himaz</i> (27)	PmPf	cross grandmother
	<i>hiquípaz</i> ³ (40)	mCmC	man's parallel grandchild
	<i>hicáac</i> (5)	fCfC	woman's parallel grandchild
	<i>hiquézi</i> (38)	mCfC	man's cross grandchild
	<i>hicáasac</i> (6)	fCmC	woman's cross grandchild

The terms for grandparents extend to certain great aunts and uncles as well, as shown in (4–5). The diagram in (5) shows this, where ‘S’ stands for ‘spouse’ and ‘E’ for ‘ego’.⁴ For example, the term for ego’s paternal grandmother (PmPf), *himaz*, also applies to ego’s father’s mother’s sister (PmPfPCf) and ego’s father’s mother’s brother’s wife (PmPfPCmS).

(4)	Primary	Extended	Extended
	<i>hipaz</i>	PmPmPCm	PmPmPCfS
	<i>hiict</i>	PfPfPCf	PfPfPCmS
	<i>heaz</i>	PfPmPCm	PfPmPCfS
	<i>himaz</i>	PmPfPCf	PmPfPCmS



Certain great aunts and uncles by marriage (PmPmPCmS, PmPfPCfS, PfPfPCfS, PfPmPCmS) are not included in these extensions, and there is no term for them since they are not considered to be kin. We have elicited, but not observed, the fact that one’s grandmothers and grandfathers can be distinguished from great aunts and uncles by the use of the modifiers *isoj* ‘true’ and *heeque* ‘young’ (regardless of whether the great aunt or uncle is older or younger than the grandparent).

We have observed a woman use the absolutive form of ‘grandfather’ (‘father’s father’) with the subject nominalized form of ‘dead’ (typically used for animals) in a curse: *hapaz coxi*.

The terms for grandchildren extend to grandnephews and grandnieces, and also to the grandchildren of cousins, as shown in (6–7). The abbreviations ‘e’ (for ‘elder’) and ‘y’ (for

³The term *hiquípaz* may be derived from **him quípaz* (literally ‘the one who has me for a grandfather’), a form based on a verb derived from *apaz* (31) ‘his/her grandfather’.

⁴The latter is an innovation we introduce to Merrifield’s abbreviations for the purpose of exposition.

There is one step-relation term: *hicomîque* ‘stepchild’.⁷

3.3 Sibling terms

There are nine sibling terms, distinguishing priority, sex of ego, and sex of alter.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| (9) | <i>hixîha</i> (49) | ePCm | older brother |
| | <i>hinyáac</i> (29) | emPCm | man’s older brother |
| | <i>himáac</i> (24) | efPCm | woman’s older brother |
| | <i>hipáac</i> (30) | emPCf | man’s older sister |
| | <i>hizáac</i> (50) | efPCf | woman’s older sister |
| | <i>hizcz</i> (51) | ymPCm | man’s younger brother |
| | <i>hicz</i> (11) | yfPCm | woman’s younger brother |
| | <i>hicóome</i> (17) | ymPCf | man’s younger sister |
| | <i>hitcz</i> (45) | yfPCf | woman’s younger sister |

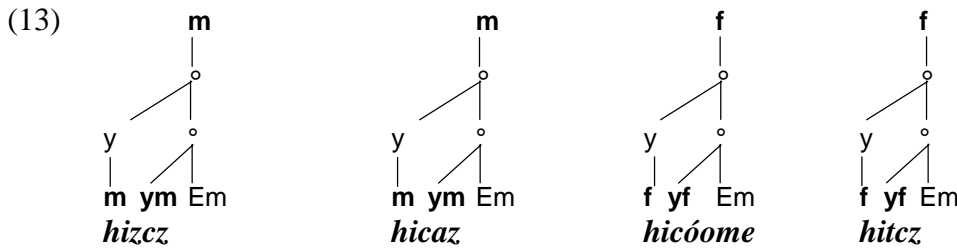
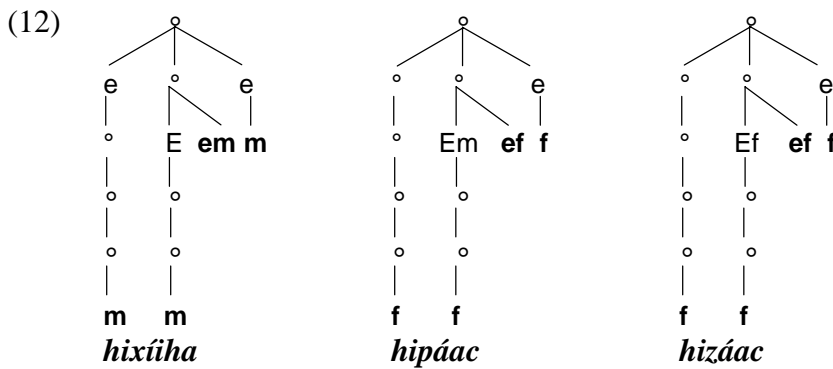
Terms may be modified to indicate different persons, in the cases where more than one is possible. One way commonly used for siblings is illustrated below with the term *hizcz* ‘younger brother’.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---|
| (10) | a. <i>hizcz caii</i> | ‘the oldest of my younger brothers’ |
| | b. <i>hizcz quisil</i> | ‘the youngest of my younger brothers’ |
| | c. <i>hizcz imac caap</i> | ‘the middle one of my younger brothers’ |

Some of these terms extend to all members of ego’s generation and to all members of the third generation from ego—older sibling terms to great-grandchildren and younger sibling terms to great-grandparents. Two of the terms for older brother, *hinyáac* and *himáac*, do not. The modifier *aamo* ‘far’ may precede a term to indicate that the cousin is intended rather than the sibling. In the Seri kinship system, cross and parallel cousins are called by the same terms as those used for siblings.

(11)	Primary	Extended	Extended	Extended
	<i>hixîha</i>	ePCm	CCCM	ePPCCm
	<i>hipáac</i>	emPCf	mCCCCf	emPPCCf
	<i>hizáac</i>	efPCf	fCCCCf	efPPCCf
	<i>hizcz</i>	ymPCm	mPPPM	ymPPCCm
	<i>hicz</i>	yfPCm	fPPPM	yfPPCCm
	<i>hicóome</i>	ymPCf	mPPPF	ymPPCCf
	<i>hitcz</i>	yfPCf	fPPPF	yfPPCCf

⁷The term *hicomîque* is probably derived from *hicom* ‘wife’ (discussed in the first paragraph of [section 2](#)) followed by a shortened form of *îquet* ‘her child’ (see [section 1](#)).



3.4 Collateral parent and child terms

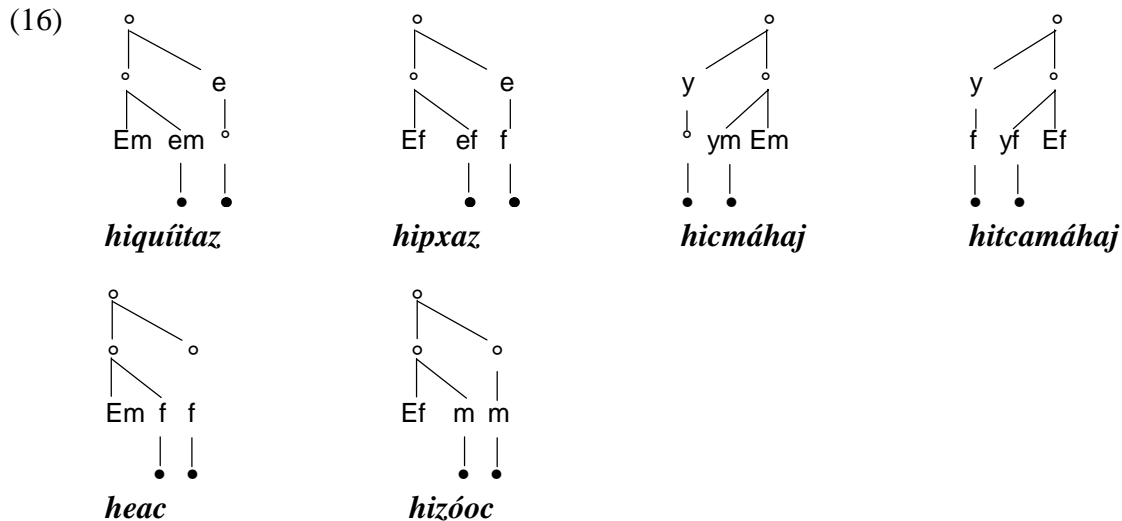
Thirteen terms are used for collateral parents and children, distinguishing bifurcation, priority of linking kinsman, priority of kinsman, and sex of senior kinsman. The Merrifield notation for parallel kinsman is '=' and for cross kinsman is 'x'.

(14)	<i>himáhaj</i> (25)	e=PPCm	father's older brother
	<i>hiitz</i> (22)	y=PPCm	father's younger brother
	<i>hixáac</i> (48)	xPPCm	mother's brother
	<i>hizmû</i> (52)	xPPCm	mother's brother
	<i>ihyáac</i> (54)	xPPCf	father's sister
	<i>hitmáhaj</i> ⁸ (47)	e=PPCf	mother's older sister
	<i>hintáac</i> (28)	y=PPCf	mother's younger sister
	<i>hiquítaz</i> (39)	e=mPCC	man's elder brother's child
	<i>hipxaz</i> (32)	e=fPCC	woman's elder sister's child
	<i>hicismáhaj</i> (12)	y=mPCC	man's younger brother's child
	<i>hitcamáhaj</i> (46)	y=fPCC	woman's younger sister's child
	<i>heac</i> (1)	xmPCC	man's sister's child
	<i>hizóoc</i> (53)	xfPCC	woman's brother's child

The term *hixáac* (48) 'mother's brother' is considered archaic. Term (52) *hizmû* in its plural form *hizmûyat* is used for kinsmen in general. Otherwise, the terms for aunts and uncles do not have extended meanings. The terms for nieces and nephews are extended as shown below.

⁸The forms *hitmáhaj* (47) 'mother's older sister' and *himáhaj* (25) 'father's older brother' may be related to *hita* (42) 'mother' and *hii* (19) 'father', respectively. The morph *mahaj* also appears in *hicismáhaj* (12) and *hitcamáhaj* (46), although the significance of this is not clear.

(15)	Primary	Extended
<i>hiquítaz</i>	e=mPCC	emPPCCC
<i>hipxaz</i>	e=fPCC	efPPCCfC
<i>hicmáhaj</i>	y=mPCC	ymPPCCC
<i>hitcamáhaj</i>	y=fPCC	yfPPCCfC
<i>heac</i>	xmPCC	mPPCCfC
<i>hizóoc</i>	xfPCC	fPPCCmC



3.5 Affinal terms

There are seventeen affinal terms, distinguishing priority and sex of alter, priority and sex of linking kinsman, and sex of ego. One term, *hicmajéete* (13), is used in two ways and so is listed twice. The affinal terms are described in the Merrifield notation with the symbol S (for spouse) in the appropriate position.

(17)	<i>heequéect</i> (4)	mSP	man's parents-in-law
	<i>hiquémez</i> (36)	fSPf	woman's mother-in-law
	<i>hiquépez</i> ⁹ (37)	fSPm	woman's father-in-law
	<i>hicacám</i> ¹⁰ (7)	CfS	son-in-law
	<i>hicámaz</i> (9)	CmS	daughter-in-law
	<i>hicmajéete</i> (13)	emSPCf	wife's older sister
	<i>himaquéte</i> (26)	ymSPCf	wife's younger sister
	<i>hiquémot</i> (34)	mSPCm	wife's brother
	<i>hicméhej</i> (15)	efSPCm	husband's older brother
	<i>hiquéetz</i> (35)	yfSPCm	husband's younger brother
	<i>hiquéec</i> (33)	fSPCf	husband's sister

⁹It is probable that the forms *hiquépez* and *hiquémez* are related historically to the forms *hipaz* (31) 'father's father' and *himaz* (27) 'father's mother'.

¹⁰The term *hicacám* may be derived originally from *heec* (3) 'daughter' followed by *acám* 'her husband' (see the first paragraph of [section 3](#)).

<i>hicáitz</i> (8)	efPCfS	woman's older sister's husband
<i>hitcmajéem</i> (44)	yfPCfS	woman's younger sister's husband
<i>hictám cöcaiï</i> ¹¹ (18)	mPCfS	man's sister's husband
<i>hicatazáta</i> ¹² (10)	emPCmS	man's older brother's wife
<i>hicmajéete</i> (13)	ymPCmS	man's younger brother's wife
<i>hicóaac</i> (15)	fPCmS	woman's brother's wife
<i>hilxcmaam</i> (21)	fSPCmS	husband's brother's wife
<i>hitalxícom</i> (43)	mSPCfS	wife's sister's husband

The term *heequéect* (4) 'parent-in-law' is used with either *ctam* 'male' or *emaam* 'female' following it.¹³ (*Cmaam* also always appears in the compound expression *hilxcmaam* (21) 'husband's brother's wife'; the etymology of the first part is not known.)

The extended meanings of these terms are shown below, although the graphic displays are not as exact as the Merrifield notation in a few cases.

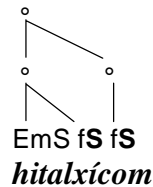
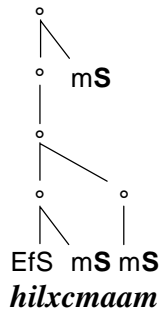
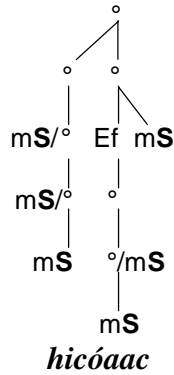
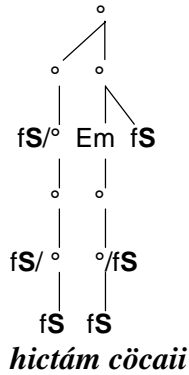
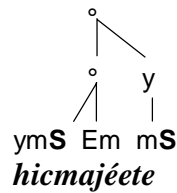
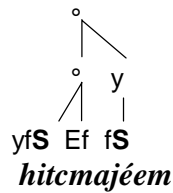
(18)	Primary	Extended
<i>heequéect</i>	mSP	mSPPC
<i>hiquémez</i>	fSPf	fSPPCf
<i>hiquépez</i>	fSPm	fSPPCm
<i>hicacám</i>	CfS	PCCfS, PCCCCfS
<i>hicámaz</i>	CmS	PCCmS, PCCCCmS
<i>hicmajéete</i> ¹⁴	emSPCf	
<i>hicmajéete</i>	ymPCmS	ymPPCCmS
<i>hicméhej</i>	efSPCm	efSPPCCm
<i>hiquéetz</i>	yfSPCm	fS(P)PPm, fSPPPCm, yfSPPCCm
<i>himaquéte</i>	ymSPCf	mS(P)PPf, mSPPPCf, ymSPPCCf
<i>hiquéec</i>	fSPCf	fS(P)PPf, fSPPPCf, fSPPCCf
<i>hiquémot</i>	mSPCm	mS(P)PPm, mSPPPCm, mSPPCCm
<i>hicáitz</i>	efPCfS	fCC(C)fS, efPPCCfS, fPPCCCC(C)fS
<i>hicatazáta</i>	emPCmS	mCC(C)mS, emPPCCmS, mPPCCCC(C)mS
<i>hitcmajéem</i>	yfPCfS	yfPPCCfS
<i>hicmajéete</i>	ymPCmS	ymPPCCmS
<i>hictám cöcaiï</i>	mPCfS	mCC(C)fS, mPPCCfS, mPPCCCC(C)fS
<i>hicóaac</i>	fPCmS	fCC(C)mS, fPPCCmS, fPPCCCC(C)mS
<i>hilxcmaam</i>	fSPCmS	fSPPPPCmS, fSPPCCmS
<i>hitalxícom</i>	mSPCfS	mSPPCCfS

¹¹The second part of the term *hictám cöcaiï* is related to the adjective *caii* 'mature', as indicated by their plurals: *hictám cöqueej*, *queej*.

¹²This term *hicatazáta* may be derived from *hiquúitaz* (39) 'older brother's child' followed by *ata* (42) 'his/her mother'.

¹³ This word *heequéect* is highly unusual phonologically in Seri since it has a noticeably long vowel in a syllable preceding the stressed syllable.

¹⁴ Recall that this term is used in two ways.



4 Reference to deceased persons

Special expressions are used to refer to deceased persons. The expressions begin with *ziix* ‘thing’ or *xica* ‘things’, and may include the modifier *caixaj* ‘who is strong’ (pl. *cailajc*) if the deceased person was an older person than the speaker, or *cmotómn* ‘who is weak’ if the deceased was younger. One therefore would say *ziix caixaj Juan* to refer to a deceased man named Juan who was older than one. (An alternative would be *ziix cmique caii ctam Juan* ‘thing Seri mature man Juan’. The exception to this generalization is that if the deceased was a brother, the modifier *cmotómn* ‘who is weak’ is used, and if a sister, the modifier *caixaj* ‘who is strong’ is used, regardless of the relative age of the sibling.

Some expressions are composed of the normal kinship or nonkinship term preceded by *ziix* ‘thing’. (These are generally used only after some period of time has elapsed after the death.) The kinship term may use the special emphatic first person prefix *hati-* rather than *hi-*.

- (23) a. *ziix iti hmiha (caixaj) ctam*
 ‘my deceased father’
 b. *ziix iti hmiha (caixaj) cmaam*
 ‘my deceased mother’
 c. *ziix iti miha mos toii ziix iti miha*
 ‘his/her deceased parent’s deceased parent’

- (24) a. *ziix hateequéect* ‘my deceased parent-in-law’
 b. *ziix hoyácj / hatoyácj* ‘my deceased sibling/cousin’
 c. *ziix hinyáac / hatinyáac* ‘my deceased older brother’
 d. *ziix himáac* ‘my deceased older brother’
 e. *ziix hiquémez* ‘my husband’s deceased mother’

There are also several special circumlocutions to refer to deceased kinsmen, including those below. The following expressions are used to refer to one’s deceased spouse,

- (25) a. *ziix ihyacái quipnáil*
 ‘thing that I followed who wore a skirt’
 b. *ziix caixaj Francisca quih yacái*
 ‘deceased Francisca’s husband’
 c. *ziix ihax icx hihüh*
 ‘thing that I was with’
 d. (grandchild’s name) *quih ata quih ziix iti miha*
 ‘(grandchild’s name)’s mother’s father’

to one’s deceased child(ren),

- (26) a. *ziix cmotómn hicot quih*
 ‘weak thing that was with us’
 b. *ziix itlén [an]o hoah*
 ‘thing I held in (my) palm’
 c. *xica itlén [an]o hooquim*
 ‘things I held in (my) palm’

to one’s deceased mother,

- (27) *ziix itlén [an]o him quih quipnáil*
 ‘thing who wore a skirt that held me in (her) palm’

to one’s deceased grandparent,

- (28) a. *ziix (caixaj) ihyacái*
 ‘strong (mature) thing that I brought up’¹⁵
 b. *xica (cailajc) ihyaquéej*
 ‘strong (mature) things that I brought up’

and to one’s son-in-law and daughter-in-law.

- (29) *ziix cmotómn (quipnáil) hicot quih*
 ‘weak thing (who wore a skirt) that was at our side’

¹⁵ The word *ihyacái* is presumably the object nominalization of the verb *cacái* ‘to raise, bring up’, although the meaning doesn’t seem to fit here since the expression refers to grandparents rather than children.

Appendix: Kinship Terms

	'my ...'	'his/her ...'	Absolute	
1	<i>heac</i>	<i>aac</i>	<i>haacat</i>	xmPCC
2	<i>heaz</i>	<i>aaz</i>	<i>hapéez</i>	PfPm
3	<i>heec</i>	<i>eec</i>	<i>heequet</i>	mCf
4	<i>heequéect</i>	<i>aaquéect</i>	<i>haaquéect</i>	mSP
5	<i>hicáac</i>	<i>acáac</i>	<i>hacáac</i>	fCfC
6	<i>hicáasac</i>	<i>acáasac</i>	<i>hacáasac</i>	fCmC
7	<i>hicacám</i>	<i>acacám</i>	<i>hacacáma</i>	CfS
8	<i>hicáitz</i>	<i>acáitz</i>	<i>hacáitz</i>	efPCfS
9	<i>hicámaz</i>	<i>acámaz</i>	<i>hacámaz</i>	CmS
10	<i>hicatazáta</i>	<i>acatazáta</i>	<i>hacatazáta</i>	emPCmS
11	<i>hicaz</i>	<i>acaz</i>	<i>hapéquez</i>	yfPCm
12	<i>hicmáhaj</i>	<i>acmáhaj</i>	<i>hacmáhaj</i>	y=mPCC
13	<i>hicmajéete</i>	<i>acmajéete</i>	<i>hacmajéete</i>	emSPCf; ymPCmS
14	<i>hicméhej</i>	<i>acméhej</i>	<i>hacméhej</i>	efSPCm
15	<i>hicóaac</i>	<i>acóaac</i>	<i>hacóaacat</i>	fPCfS
16	<i>hicomúique</i>	<i>acomúique</i>	<i>hacomúiquet</i>	stepchild
17	<i>hicóome</i>	<i>acóome</i>	<i>hacóome</i>	ymPCf
18	<i>hictám cöcaii</i>	<i>actám cöcaii</i>	<i>hactám cöcaii</i>	mPCfS
19	<i>hii</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>hapée</i>	mPm
20	<i>hüict</i>	<i>act</i>	<i>hapéct</i>	PfPf
21	<i>hilxcmaam</i>	<i>alxcmaam</i>	<i>halxcmaam</i>	fSPCmS
22	<i>hiitz</i>	<i>aitz</i>	<i>hapéetz</i>	y=PPCm
23	<i>him</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>hapéme</i>	fPm
24	<i>himáac</i>	<i>amáac</i>	<i>hamáacat</i>	efPCm
25	<i>himáhaj</i>	<i>amáhaj</i>	<i>hamáhaj</i>	e=PPCm
26	<i>himaquéete</i>	<i>amaquéete</i>	<i>hamaquéete</i>	ymSPCf
27	<i>himaz</i>	<i>amaz</i>	<i>hapémez</i>	PmPf
28	<i>hintáac</i>	<i>antáac</i>	<i>hantáacat</i>	y=PPCf
29	<i>hinyáac</i>	<i>anyáac</i>	<i>hanyáacat</i>	emPCm
30	<i>hipáac</i>	<i>apáac</i>	<i>hapáacat</i>	emPCf
31	<i>hipaz</i>	<i>apaz</i>	<i>hapépez</i>	PmPm
32	<i>hipxaz</i>	<i>apxaz</i>	<i>hapépxez</i>	e=fPCC
33	<i>hiquéec</i>	<i>aquéec</i>	<i>haquéec</i>	fSPCf
34	<i>hiquémot</i>	<i>aquémot</i>	<i>haquémot</i>	mSPCm
35	<i>hiquéetz</i>	<i>aquéetz</i>	<i>haquéetz</i>	yfSPCm
36	<i>hiquémez</i>	<i>aquémez</i>	<i>haquémez</i>	fSPf
37	<i>hiquépez</i>	<i>aquépez</i>	<i>haquépez</i>	fSPm
38	<i>hiquézi</i>	<i>aquézi</i>	<i>haquézi</i>	mCfC
39	<i>hiquúitaz</i>	<i>aquúitaz</i>	<i>haquúitaz</i>	e=mPCC
40	<i>hiquípaz</i>	<i>aquípaz</i>	<i>haquépez</i>	mCmC
41	<i>hisáac</i>	<i>asáac</i>	<i>hasáacat</i>	mCm
42	<i>hita</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>hapéte</i>	Pf
43	<i>hitalxícom</i>	<i>atalxícom</i>	<i>hatalxícom</i>	mSPCfS
44	<i>hitcmajém</i>	<i>atcmajém</i>	<i>hatcmajém</i>	yfPCfS

45	<i>hitcz</i>	<i>atcz</i>	<i>hapétcaz</i>	yfPCf
46	<i>hitcamáhaj</i>	<i>atcamáhaj</i>	<i>hatcamáhaj</i>	y=fPCC
47	<i>hitmáhaj</i>	<i>atmáhaj</i>	<i>hatáhaj</i>	e=PPCf
48	<i>hixáac</i>	<i>axáac</i>	<i>haxáacat</i>	xPPCm
49	<i>hixúha</i>	<i>axúha</i>	<i>haxúhat</i>	ePCm
50	<i>hizáac</i>	<i>azáac</i>	<i>hazáacat</i>	efPCf
51	<i>hizcz</i>	<i>azcz</i>	<i>hapézcac</i>	ymPCm
52	<i>hizmű</i>	<i>azmű</i>	<i>hazmű</i>	xPPCm
53	<i>hizóoc</i>	<i>azóoc</i>	<i>hazóocat</i>	xfPCC
54	<i>ihyáac</i>	<i>ayáac</i>	<i>hayáacat</i>	xPPCf

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