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# Pronouns and postpositions in Hiaki

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we describe Hiaki pronominals with postpositional suffixes. We focus on: (a) full vs. clitic pronominal bases, (b) the clitic-like behavior of one pronoun+postposition combination, *a-u*, ‘3sg-to’, and (c) postpositions which govern the accusative.

## 2. BACKGROUND

Hiaki (also known as Yaqui, Yoeme or Jiaki in many published sources) is a Uto-Aztec language spoken in Sonora, Mexico and in Southern Arizona. Although it is still being acquired by some children in Sonora, where there are a few thousand speakers, in the US there are fewer than sixty native speakers, all of whom are older adults.

This work, undertaken in collaboration with Maria Florez Leyva, from Barrio Libre, Tucson, and Santos Leyva, from Potam Pueblo, Sonora, is part of a larger project<sup>1</sup>, which has three goals: (a) to develop a teaching grammar of Hiaki, (b) to provide access to a database of web-based resources, and (c) to investigate the pronominal and clitic systems of the language.

Hiaki is an agglutinating language with SOV word order. Subject and object pronouns have both full and clitic forms, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
Pronouns of Hiaki (freeform/=clitic)

	Nom		Acc		Gen	
1s	<i>inepo/nee</i>	= <i>ne</i>	<i>nee</i>		<i>in</i>	
2s	<i>empo</i>	= <i>ee</i>	<i>enchi</i>		<i>em</i>	
3s	<i>aapo</i> <sub>+Anim</sub>	∅	<i>aapoik</i>	<i>aa=</i>	<i>aapoik</i>	<i>aa= -wa</i>
1pl	<i>itepo</i>	= <i>te</i>	<i>itom</i>		<i>itom</i>	
2pl	<i>eme'e</i>	= <i>em</i>	<i>enchim</i>		<i>enchim</i>	
3pl	<i>vempo</i>	= <i>im</i>	<i>vempo'im</i>	<i>am=</i>	<i>vempoim</i>	<i>vem</i>

<sup>1</sup> The project was funded by a National Science Foundation Linguistics grant with stimulus funds (American Recovery and Reinvestment Act), project BCS-0843898.

Full form pronouns are XPs and may be dislocated, focused and coordinated, whilst clitic pronouns behave like X°s and may not. Examples (1)–(2) show the coordination of full forms in the nominative and accusative respectively.

(1) *Heewi, Karmen intok inepo ofisina-po nau aane-n.*  
 Yes, Carmen and 1sgNOM office-in together do-P.IMPF  
 ‘Yes, Carmen and I were at the office together.’

(2) *Heewi, ofisina-po=ne Peo-ta intok apo'ik vicha-k*  
 Yes, office-at=1sgNOM Pete-ACC and 3sgACC see-PRF  
 ‘Yes, I saw Pete and her at the office.’

In contrast, examples (3)–(4), show the failure of coordination with the corresponding clitic forms.

(3) \**Heewi, Karmen into=ne ofisina-po nau aane-n.*  
 Yes, Carmen and=1sgNOM office-at together do-P.IMPF  
 ‘Yes, Carmen and I were at the office together.’

(4) \**Heewi, ofisina-po=ne Peo-ta intok aa= vicha-k.*  
 Yes, office-in=1sgNOM Pete-ACC and 3sgACC=see-PRF  
 ‘Yes, I saw Pete and her at the office.’

These paradigms exhibit some interesting gaps — for example, no full pronoun can refer to an inanimate entity, as shown in examples (5)–(6), and the object clitic paradigm lacks first and second person forms (cf. Escalante 1990, Jelinek et al. 1997, and Dedrick and Casad 1999).

(5) (a) *Mesa-po=im mane-k.*  
 table-on=3plNOM sit.container-PRF  
 ‘They were standing on the table.’ (bottles)

(b) \**Vempo mesa-po mane-k.*  
 3plS table-on sit.container-prf

(6) (a) *Nee mesa-po aa= mana-k*  
 1sgNOM table-on 3sgACC= put.container-PRF  
 ‘I put it on the table.’

(b) \**Nee mesa-po aapoik mana-k.*  
 1sgNOM table-on 3sgACC put.container-PRF

## 3. PRONOUNS WITH POSTPOSITIONS

Similar patterns arise with pronominal oblique arguments and adjuncts. Hiaki marks oblique DPs with affixal postpositions (7):

- (7) *Heidi Tucson-po woi mamni wasuktia-po ho'a-k*  
 Heidi Tucson-**at** two five year-**at** live-PRF  
 ‘Heidi has lived in Tucson for ten years.’

A special set of bound pronominal bases are used with postpositions in all persons. Most postpositions can also occur with free pronouns, but in the third person only.

**Table 2**  
 Complement of affixal postposition

	All postpositions	Most postpositions
1sg	<i>ne-</i>	
1pl	<i>ito-</i>	
2sg	<i>e-</i>	
2pl	<i>emo-</i>	
3sg	<i>a(e)-</i>	<i>apoi(k)-</i>
3pl	<i>ame-</i>	<i>vempoim(e)-</i>

There are, however, some postpositions which do not occur with free pronouns but require the use of the bound forms. These include: *-pat* (before, in front of), *-wah* (before), and *-wit* (before, in front of).

- (8) *Inepo, ame-pat =ne yepsa-k?*  
 1sgNOM 3pl-before =1sgNOM arrive-PRF  
 ‘As for me, I arrived before them.’
- (9) *\*Inepo, vempoim-pat =ne yepsa-k?*  
 1sgNOM 3pl-before =1sgNOM arrive-PRF  
 ‘As for me, I arrived before them.’

We hypothesize that these forms are generally restricted from attaching to full DPs, and we have confirmed this for *-pat*:

- (10) *Uu moto a-pat vuite.*  
 The motorbike 3sg-before run.sg  
 ‘The motorbike is running along in front of it.’
- (11) *\*Uu moto makina-pat vuite.*  
 The motorbike car-before run.sg  
 ‘The motorbike is running along in front of the car.’

To use *-pat* with a DP, the variant *-vepat* is employed; the forms *-vewit* and *-veah* are also available as alternants for *-wit* and *-wah*. The postpositional stem-formant *ve-* appears in several other postpositions as well, including *-vetchi'ivo* 'for', *vetana* 'along, from', and *vetuku*, 'under'; these latter postpositions, however, do not have alternates without the *ve-*.

Other postpositions attach to both the bound and the free pronominal stems, as well as to DPs. Examples include *-naat* 'near', *-u* 'to', *-t* 'on, about', and *-mak* 'with':

- (12) *Uu makina apoik-naat yehte-k.*  
 The car 3sgACC-near stop.sg-PRF  
 'The car stopped next to him.'
- (13) *Uu makina wiki-ta-naat weye-k.*  
 The car bird-ACC-near sit.sg-PRF  
 'The car is sitting near the plane.'
- (14) *Hunua-naat aa=echa.*  
 That-near 3sg=put  
 'Put it next to that.'
- (15) *Vempoim-naat yehte-k<sup>2</sup>.*  
 3pl.acc-near sit-PRF  
 'He sat down beside them.'

The full vs. bound pronominal bases exhibit the same contrast with respect to animacy as the full vs. clitic nominative and accusative pronominals without postpositions attached, i.e., full forms cannot refer to inanimates:

- (16) *Ame-naat/\*Vempoime-naat aa=mana!*  
 3pl-near/3pl-near 3sg=place  
 'Put it next to them!' ('Them' = bottles or other group of inanimates)

3.1. *Outliers: -met 'on' and -po 'at'*

The postposition *-met* 'on' has a somewhat restricted distribution, in that it exhibits gaps in which bound bases it may attach to:

**Table 3**  
 Distribution of *-met* with pronominals

1s	<i>*ne-met</i>	1pl	<i>ito-met</i>
2s	<i>*e-met</i>	2pl	<i>emo-met</i>
3s	<i>*ae-met</i>	3pl	<i>*ame-met / vempoim-met</i>

<sup>2</sup>Our consultants found *vempoimnaat* to be less felicitous than the reduced *amenaat* in this context, but did not reject it.

Instead of *-met* here, the postposition *-t* ‘on’ is used here, with the same meaning (i.e. *ne-t*, *e-t*, *ae-t*, *ame-t*). We hypothesize that *-met* is a plural allomorph of *-t*, perhaps (redundantly) incorporating the plural *-m*. In 38,000 words of transcribed Hiaki conversation, the *-met* suffix is only found on plural nouns (e.g. *kawi-m-met*, ‘mountain-pl-on’).

The final outlier requiring additional mention is the postposition *-po*, ‘at/on’. It can only attach to DPs, not to any pronominal base:

- (17) *Uu sotoi mesa-po mana-'i.*  
 The pot table-on set-ADJ.PPL  
 ‘The pot was set on the table.’

To use a pronominal in this context, the postposition *-t* is substituted:

- (18) *Uu sotoi ae-t / \*ae-po mana-'i.*  
 The pot 3sg-on set-ADJ.PPL  
 ‘The pot was set on it.’

The *-po* suffix has several other functions in the language, including attaching to certain verbal forms. It also appears to be the augment which produced some of the free nominative pronominal forms (*inepo*, ‘I’, *empō*, ‘you’, *aapo* ‘he’, *itepo* ‘we’, *vempo*, ‘they’).

### 3.2. Anaphoric uses of bound pronominal bases

There is no special series of reflexive bound pronominal bases (in contrast to the accusative clitics, which do have reflexive variants).

Bound forms allow anaphoric interpretations within a clause. Free forms, however, do not:

- (19) *Vempo<sub>i</sub> kafe-ta vempoime<sub>\*i/k-t</sub> woota-k.*  
 3plNOM<sub>i</sub> coffee-ACC 3plACC<sub>\*i/k</sub>-on spill-PRF  
 ‘They spilled coffee on them/\*themselves’

- (20) *Vempo<sub>i</sub> kafe-ta ame<sub>i/k-t</sub> woota-k.*  
 3plNOM<sub>i</sub> coffee-ACC 3plACC<sub>i/k</sub>-on spill-PRF  
 ‘They spilled coffee on them/themselves’

## 4. THE DISTRIBUTIONAL PROPERTIES OF PRONOMINALS WITH POSTPOSITIONS

### 4.1. Pronoun+postposition behaves like a phrase

Recall that clitic pronouns cannot behave as full DPs; they cannot be coordinated or focused. Despite the existence of a full/clitic contrast in 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal bases,

however, the same is not true of pronominals in combination with postpositions; all except one postposition+clitic combination can be coordinated and focused:

- (21) (a) *Nee Jose-ta-mak into apoi-mak eteho-k.*  
 1sgNOM Joe-ACC-with and 3sgACC-with speak-PRF
- (b) *Nee Jose-ta-mak into aa-mak eteho-k.*  
 1sgNOM Joe-ACC-with and 3sg-with speak-PRF  
 ‘I spoke with Joe and her.’

- (22) *Nee chea kia vato’i, taa ne-mak huni’i eteho-k!*  
 1sg more just baptized.one but 1sg-with even speak-PRF  
 ‘I’m just an ordinary person, but he even spoke with me’  
 (In a context where the emphasis is that a celebrity spoke to all.)

We take this as confirmation of the XP (rather than X°) status of the clitic+P combination.

The only exception to this, that we know of, is the combination of *-u*, ‘to’, with the third singular pronominal base; it behaves like an object clitic, appearing immediately before the verbal stem:

- (23) (a) *Tuuka =ne aman a-u= nooka-k.*  
 yesterday =1sgNOM there 3sg-to= talk-PRF  
 ‘I talked to her there yesterday.’
- (b) *\*Tuuka =ne a-u aman nooka-k.*  
 yesterday =1sgNOM 3sg-to there speak-PRF

Most other combinations of pronominals with *-u* also seem to behave this way distributionally; their ungrammaticality when placed away from the preverbal position remains to be confirmed by elicitation. The exception is *ame-u* ‘3pl-to’ which appears in (24), separated from the verb by *ket* ‘also’.

- (24) *...taa aapo ame-u ket noite-k.*  
 ...but 3sgNOM 3pl-to also visit-PRF  
 ‘...but she also visited them.’

As expected, *a-u* also resists coordination:<sup>3</sup>

- (25) (a) *Nee Hose-ta-u into apoik-u eteho-k.*  
 1sgNOM Joe-ACC-to and 3sgACC-to speak-PRF
- (b) \**Nee Hose-ta-u into a-u eteho-k.*  
 1sgNOM Joe-ACC-to and 3sg-to speak-PRF  
 ‘I spoke to Joe and him/her.’

#### 4.2. Pronoun+postposition behaves like a clitic

In narrative discourse contexts, Hiaki makes extensive use of DP-postposing. DPs which appear in the postverbal field are always doubled by a clitic pronoun in the preverbal field. (In (26a), the postposed subject is 3sg, for which the clitic pronominal form is null, so no clitic is visible in this case.)

- (26) (a) *Hunuma vaha cho'o-la kikte-k uu Wo'i Wakila...*  
 Then then high-PST.PPL stand-PRF the Coyote Skinny  
 ‘He then stood up on his hind legs, the Skinny Coyote...’
- (b) *Ume vaha wate vaha yeu aa=weiya'a-ne,*  
 ThoseNOM then others then out 3sg=take.out-FUT
- uka ko'okosi au-la-ta.*  
 theACC painfully do-PPL-ACC  
 ‘The others would take him out, the wounded one.’

Interestingly, the same phenomenon occurs with PPs: They may appear in the postverbal field, but are doubled with a bound pronominal+P combination in the preverbal field:

- (27) *Ti a-u hia tea uu Wo'i Wakila Tavu-ta-wi<sup>4</sup>.*  
 Quoth 3sg-to speak it.is.said the Coyote Skinny Bunny-ACC-to  
 ‘Thus they say he spoke to him, the Skinny Coyote to Bunny.’
- (28) *Vuuru intok ae-t vo'ote-k kowi-ta-chi*  
 Burro and him-on lay.down.sg-prf pig-acc-on  
 ‘And the burro lay down upon the pig.’

<sup>3</sup> One case of *au*=coordination that we tested was initially judged as acceptable; however, this remains to be confirmed, as other examples from that session were later deemed unacceptable:

Tuuka =ne Jose-ta-u into a-u aapa-ta toha-k  
 Yesterday=1sgNOM Jose-ACC-to and 3sg-to harp-ACC take-PRF  
 ‘I took Joe and him the harp yesterday’

<sup>4</sup> Certain postpositions, including *-u*, ‘to’ and *-t*, ‘on’, have longer forms which are used in emphatic contexts such as these; *-wi* and *-chi*, respectively.



5. CASE

Finally, we document the case properties of the complements to postpositions. The postposition *-po*, ‘on, at’, e.g., affixes only to nominative DPs. Most others take DPs suffixed with the accusative marker *-ta*:

- (29) *Haisa empo tuka ofisina-po Mercedes-ta-mak eteho-k?*  
 Q 2sgNOM yesterday office-at Mercedes-ACC-with speak-PRF  
 ‘Did you talk with Mercedes at the office yesterday?’

However, although most Ps will combine with *-ta*-marked DPs, the accusative marker can be omitted in many cases:

- (30) *Uu hamut uka ili uusi-ta tenelor-mak hi'ibwa-mahta.*  
 The woman theACC little child-ACC fork-with eat-teach  
 ‘The woman taught the child to eat with a fork.’

- (31) *Uuchi Aasu mesa-t/ mesa-ta-t nooka.*  
 Again maternal.grandmother table-on/table-ACC-on speak  
 ‘Grandmother is talking about the table again.’

In some instances, however, the case marker cannot be omitted:

- (32) *Heidi usi-ta-t /\*usi-t nooka.*  
 Heidi child-ACC-on /child-on speak  
 ‘Heidi is talking about the child’

The contrast may have to do with the animacy of the DP in question; however, the conditions governing accusative drop require further investigation; it is prevalent, for example, with possessed DPs in object position.

In clitic+P combinations, there is no accusative/non-accusative distinction. However, in free pronoun+P combinations, we see some variability in the pronoun. The full accusative 3sg pronominal is *apoik*, composed of stem *aapo-* supplemented with accusative suffix *-ik* (possibly related to the adjectival accusative suffix *-k*). However, with some accusative-governing postpositions, the *-k* is omitted (33a) whilst with others the *-k* is retained (33b).<sup>5</sup>

- (33) (a) *Nee apoik-mak eteho-k*  
 1sgNOM 3sgACC-with speak-PRF  
 ‘I spoke with her.’
- (b) *Nee apoik-u eteho-k*  
 1sgNOM 3sgACC-to speak-PRF  
 ‘I spoke to her.’

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<sup>5</sup> Note that word-internal /km/ consonant clusters are acceptable in Hiaki, at least at morpheme boundaries; consider *Aapo nok-machi*, ‘He should speak.’

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Many areas remain to be fully explored with respect to the morphosyntax of Hiaki postpositions. For example:

1. What is the behavior of *-u* ('to') when attached to pronominal bases other than 3sg? Do they behave as clitic forms as well?
2. The behavior of postpositions in *ve-*: Is this alternation synchronically active? Do postpositions headed by *ve-* behave as suffixes to the noun? The postposition *vetchi'ivo*, 'for', can attach to a bound pronominal base, *ae vetchi'ivo*, but they are usually written as separate words.
3. Accusative drop with postpositions and generally.
4. The variable behavior of *-po* with verbs and nouns.

In addition, the respective semantic domains of the various postpositions need to be more fully investigated. Ultimately, we hope that this investigation will help us to understand the internal structure of adpositions cross-linguistically, and the differences between case markers and adpositions.

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