

16. Pronouns

Five types of overt pronouns are presented in this chapter: personal (§16.1), demonstrative (§16.2), quantitative (§16.3), interrogative (§16.4), and locative (§16.5). The reflexive pronouns, which are a subtype of personal pronoun, are discussed in §11.2.¹ Personal pronouns are distinguished from the pronominal reference in the verb morphology (see §17.1.2). The pro-infinitival complement **seehe** is discussed in §12.1.2.1.

Pronouns may be analyzed as determiners that seldom take a complement.² It is shown in §10.1 that most pronouns pattern with common determiner phrases in that they do not occur as predicates in the verbless predicate nominal construction. (The exceptions are the interrogative pronouns.)

The use of a personal or demonstrative pronoun generally has a contrastive or focus function if the pronoun is coreferent with an person inflection on the finite verb or possessed noun.³ (Third person inflection is not necessarily overt, however; see §17.1.2.1.)

- (1) **He hiixz iha.**
 1PRO 1P-pet DCL
 ‘La mascota es MÍA.’
It is MY pet. RMH_08-24-07_90a
- (2) **Me nyaaco cop caacoj iha.**
 2PRO 2P-house the.VT SN-big DCL
 ‘TU casa es grande.’
YOUR house is big. (ALIM 76) RMH_08-24-07_90b
- (3) **Tiix smatax aha.**
 DDS IR.ID-N-go AUX-DCL
 ‘ÉSE no debe ir.’
THAT ONE shouldn’t go. RMH_08-24-07_90c

16.1 Personal pronouns

The basic set of personal pronouns is given in Table 16.1. While the table includes reflexive pro-

¹ The 2005 dictionary also includes indefinite pronouns and “complex” demonstrative pronouns. These are taken in this grammar as instances of the determiners functioning as fused heads; see §4.3.1 for the former and §4.3.2 for the latter.

² See Adger (2003:256). Huddleston and Pullum (2002:327) analyze pronouns as a subclass of nouns in English.

³ Other ways to indicate contrastive and emphatic focus are discussed in §24.2.2, §24.2.3, and §24.2.4. See also §16.2.4.

nouns as well as the simple pronouns and the possessive pronouns, this section deals only with the latter two types. Reflexive pronouns (etymologically related to the noun for *body*) are discussed in §11.2.

The simple personal pronouns do not display case although they occur in a variety of syntactic contexts. They do not display number; all may have either singular or plural referents. The number is almost always determinable from the verb or noun with which they are associated since number is an inflectional feature of verbs and nouns. The first person pronoun does not distinguish (nor does the grammar anywhere distinguish) between inclusive and exclusive first person.

A personal pronoun may be modified by a relative clause. Examples are given in the relevant sections, §16.1.1 and §16.1.2 as well as §8.4.1 on relative clauses. An analysis similar to this is proposed for the examples with the expletive phrases discussed in §16.1.3.

The (typically stressed) pronouns **he** and **me** should not be confused with the (unstressed) indirect object inflection on the verb which is nearly homophonous but entirely different in distribution (see §17.1.2.4).

16.1.1 First person **he**

The examples in this section illustrate the usage of the first person pronoun **he** with both singular and plural reference in a variety of constructions.⁴

Table 16.1: Personal Pronouns

	Simple		Reflexive	Possessive
First person	he	Sg.	hisoj	(i)hyaa*
		Pl.	hisolca	hoyáat
	Emphatic	Sg.		hatyáa†
Second person	me	Sg.	misoj	(i)nyaa
		Pl.	misolca	moyáat
Third person (human)	ee	Sg.	isoj	yaa
		Pl.	isolca	yaat
Unspecified		Sg.	quisoj	

* The parenthesized **i** occurs under certain phonological conditions; see §27.1.1

†The plural counterpart, **hatoyáat**, does not appear to exist.

⁴ The pronoun **he** contrasts, it seems, in vowel length with the noun **hee** *jackrabbit*. The difference is not very great..

As subject of a verbless predicative construction (see §10.1):

- (4) **He cmaam iha.** (5) **He cmajjic iha.**
 1PRO woman DCL 1PRO woman.PL DCL
 ‘Soy mujer.’ ‘Somos mujeres.’
I am a woman. (HE 1) RAB_5-20-08_20 *We are women.* RAB_5-20-08_21

As subject of a predicative construction using a deverbal noun (see §10.4):

- (6) **He Hezitmísoj quij ano moca ha.**
 1PRO Hermosillo the.CM 3P.in/from TWD-SN-move DCL
 ‘Vengo de Hermosillo.’
I have come from Hermosillo. (DS2005, ano) OP_2-2-07_035
- (7) **He imíipla caaitom iha.**
 1PRO 3P-AON-bad SN-speak DCL
 ‘Lo dije incorrectamente.’
*I misspoke.*⁵ (DS2005, caaitom) OP_2-2-07_036
- (8) **He cmaax °ziix coquéht° sacáalam caha.**
 1PRO now ball IR.ID-play.with.PL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Ahora vamos a jugar béisbol.’
*We’re going to play baseball now.*⁶ OP_2-2-07_037

As subject of a finite verb (cross-referenced by morphology on the verb, see §17.1.2.1, as shown by the underscored part of the verb):

- (9) **He hasalca coi ah(a), cohpyitalháa iiha.**
 1PRO basket-PL the.PL FOC 3IO-1sS.IN-DT-buy/sell only
 ‘YO vendí sólo las coritas.’
I sold only the flat baskets. (DS2005, ah) RMH_08-04-07_148
- (10) **He hptahahásaquim ma x, ihxoquéepe.**
 1PRO 1sS.IN-RL-PV-comb.hair.of DS UT 1sS.TR-EM-like
 ‘A MÍ me gusta cuando me peinan.’
I like/liked it when my hair is/was combed (when I am helped to comb my hair).
 (DS2005, ah-) OP_2-2-07_039
- (11) **He hesen hatatóomlcam ma x, ...**
 1PRO ironwood 1PS-RL-cause.be.cut-PL DS UT
 ‘NOSOTROS cortamos palo fierro ...’
WE cut ironwood, ... (DS2005, cheet) OP_2-2-07_040 RMH_08-04-07_149

⁵ This may also be said when one inadvertently says an obscenity.

⁶ This phrase, while seemingly very general, is taken as referring to baseball by default. If one were referring to soccer or volleyball, different verbs would be used.

The presence of the pronoun in such examples is typically taken as contrastive. Examples without the pronoun are numerous in this grammar and are not presented here.

As direct object of a finite or nominalized verb (cross-referenced by morphology on the verb, see §17.1.2.3, as shown by the underscored part of the verb), with different nuances indicated by the presence or absence of the pronouns:⁷

- (12) a. **He hin yomápx.**
 1PRO 1SDO DT-N-mad.at
 ‘No estaba enojado/a CONMIGO.’
S/he wasn’t mad at ME. (or S/he doesn’t scold me. or S/he didn’t scold ME.)
 (contrastive) (DS2005, caafin) OP_2-2-07_042
- b. **Hin yomápx.**
 1SDO DT-N-mad.at
 ‘No estaba enojado/a conmigo.’
She wasn’t mad at me. RMH_10-15-07_74a
- (13) a. **He taax hin satóosiploj aha.**
 1PRO DDP 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Me van a fotografiar AQUÉLLOS/AQUELLAS.’
THOSE will photograph me. RMH_10-15-07_74b (contrastive focus, I choose them)
- b. **Taax he hin satóosiploj aha.**
 DDP 1PRO 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Me fotografián A MÍ.’
They will photograph ME. (contrastive focus) RMH_10-15-07_74c
- c. **Taax hin satóosiploj aha.**
 DDP 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Me van a fotografiar AQUÉLLOS/AQUELLAS.’
THOSE will photograph me. RMH_10-15-07_74d
- d. **He hin satóosiploj aha.**
 1PRO 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Me van a fotografiar A MÍ.’
They will photograph ME. (contrastive focus) RMH_10-15-07_74e
- e. **Hin satóosiploj aha.**
 1SDO IR.ID-photograph-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Me van a fotografiar.’
They will photograph me. RMH_10-15-07_74f

⁷ Direct object inflection is written as a separate word in the practical orthography.

- (14) **He hizi yooho.**
 1PRO 1PDO DT-see
 ‘Nos vio/ve a NOSOTROS.’
S/he saw/sees US. (contrastive) OP_2-2-07_043

The pronoun may also emphasize an indirect object that is already marked on the verb through the indirect object morphology (§17.1.2.4).

- (15) He **pac he camjc.**
 1PRO some IIO IM-bring
 ‘Tráeme algunos A MÍ.’
Bring some TO ME! RMH_08-04-07_199

As possessor of a noun or action/oblique-oriented deverbal noun (cross-referenced by morphology on the noun):

- (16) **he hiime hac**
 1PRO 1P-home the .LC
 ‘MI hogar’
MY home OP_2-2-07_044
- (17) **he hiiquet^o quih**
 1PRO my.child the.FL
 ‘MI hijo/a’ (es mujer que habla)
MY child (woman speaking) (DS2005, caanim) OP_2-2-07_045
- (18) **He hihiimmet quih hant yohánl.**
 1PRO 1P-AON-be.married the.FL year DT-ten
 ‘YO tengo diez años de casado.’
I have been married for ten years. More literally, My being married has been for ten years. (DS2005, chani) OP_2-2-07_046
- (19) **he hayáza hac**
 1PRO 1PS-AON-speak.PL the.LC
 ‘NUESTRA lengua’
OUR language (Elicited; also in 1 Th 2:4) OP_2-2-07_047

The presence of the pronoun in such examples is typically taken as contrastive. Examples without the pronoun are found elsewhere in the grammar and are not presented here.

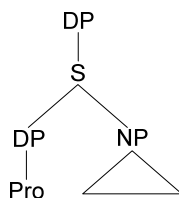
The pronoun may be modified by an NP. The analysis is presumed to be that shown in Figure 16.1 — an internally-headed relative clause with a predicate nominal (see §8.4.1). The following examples illustrate:

- (20) **He cmajfic, he soosi caha.**
 1PRO woman.PL 1PRO IR.ID-sing-PL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Vamos a cantar, nosotras las mujeres.’
We women will sing. OP_2-2-07_048
- (21) **He cmajfic hascámx aha.**⁸
 1PRO woman.PL 1PS-IR.ID-N-go.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘No vamos a ir, nosotras las mujeres.’
We women will not go. OP_2-2-07_049
- (22) **He comcáac hatcóoo, ox hamímjüc.**
 1PRO person/Seri.PL 1PS-RL-all thus 1PS-think-PL
 ‘Así pensamos todos los seris.’
That’s how all of us Seris think. OP_2-2-07_050

The pronoun may be modified by a relative clause (see §8.4.1).

- (23) **He [hiháaitloj quih coáatjö] ox hamóoctam.**
 1PRO 1P-blood-PL the.FL SN-sweet thus 1PS-PX-look.at-PL
 ‘Así lo vemos los de nosotros que somos diabéticos.’
That’s how those of us who are diabetics (more literally, we whose blood is sweet) look at it. OP_2-2-07_051
- (24) **He cacöla hant hac án cöicóizct**
 1PRO SN-tall/long.PL place the.LC 3P.interior 3IO-INF.IN-enter.PL

Figure 16.1: Pronoun as head of relative clause



⁸ The same sentence but without the overt pronoun **he** was judged ungrammatical.

hascmáaj aha.
 1PS-IR.ID-N-know-PL AUX-DCL

‘Los de nosotros que somos altos no podremos entrarlo.’
We who are tall won’t be able to enter it. RMH_08-24-07_91

The pronoun may also occur in construction with the quantifying pronoun **coox** *all* or the adjective **tazo** *one*. Two examples are given here. For the analysis of this type of example, see §8.5.

(25) **He coox oo siilx caha.**
 1PRO all DL IR.ID-go.PL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Todos iremos.’
We will all go. OP_2-2-07_054

(26) **He tazo ipi imátax iha.**
 1PRO one INTNS SN-N-go DCL
 ‘Ninguno de nosotros ha ido.’
Not one of us went. OP_2-2-07_055

The pronoun may be followed by a name, taken as coreferent. In such a situation, it is common for the pronoun to be repeated after the Pronoun-Name sequence.

(27) **He Pablo he ma hsaipot haa hi.**
 1PRO 1PRO 2SDO 1SS.TR-IR.ID-pay AUX DCL
 ‘Yo, Pablo, te pagaré.’
I, Paul, will pay you. (Phm 1:19) RMH_10-15-07_75

16.1.2 Second person me

The examples in this section illustrate the usage of the second person pronoun **me** with both singular and plural reference in a variety of constructions.

As subject of a verbless predicative construction (§10.1):

<p>(28) Me siip iha. 2PRO young.man DCL ‘Eres un joven.’ OP_2-2-07_057 <i>You are a young man.</i> (HE 2)</p>	<p>(29) Me siipile quih coocj iha. 2PRO young.man-PL the.FL SN-two DCL ‘Ustedes son dos jóvenes.’ <i>You are two young men.</i> (HE 6) OP_2-2-07_058</p>
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As subject of a deverbal noun in a predicative construction (§10.4):

- (30) **¿Me áz casijim -ya?**⁹
 2PRO what? SN-TR-do QM
 ‘Qué estás haciendo?’
What are you (sg.) doing? (DS 2005, casijim) OP_2-2-07_059
- (31) **¿Me áz caséaalam -ya?**
 2PRO what? SN-TR-do-PL QM
 ‘Qué estan haciendo Uds.?’
What are you (pl.) doing? OP_2-2-07_060
- (32) **Me he him ísal caha.**
 2PRO 1PRO 1sDO IR.ID-accompany AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Me acompañarás A Mí.’
You will accompany ME. OP_2-2-07_061
- (33) **Me cmotet iha.** (34) **¿Me °hant caacj° -ya?**
 2PRO SN-heavy DCL 2PRO have.two.years.of.age QM
 ‘Pesas mucho.’ OP_2-2-07_062 ‘¿Tienes dos años?’
You are heavy. (DS2005, cmotet) *Are you two years old?* (DS2005, caacj) OP_2-2-07_063

As subject of a finite verb (cross-referenced by morphology on the verb, see §17.1.2.1, indicated by the underscoring):

- (35) **¿Me maal quih intácatx?**
 2PRO 2P-spouse the.FL 2SS-RL-abandon
 ‘¿Abandonaste (divorciaste) TÚ a tu esposo/a?’
Did YOU (sg.) leave (divorce) your spouse? (DS2005, aal) OP_2-2-07_064
- (36) **¿Me zó matóoza?**
 2PRO how? 2PS-RL-speak.PL
 ‘Qué están diciendo UDS.?’
What are YOU (pl.) saying? (Mt. 16:15) OP_2-2-07_065 LHC_2-05-07_140

As with the other pronouns in situations with an inflected verb, this pronoun is grammatically omissible in this context and its presence is taken as contrastive.

As object of a finite or nominalized verb (cross-referenced by morphology on the verb, see §17.1.2.3):

- (37) **¿Me ma hxooh!**
 2PRO 2sDO 1sS.TR-EM-say
 ‘A TI te digo.’ OP_2-2-07_066
I’m speaking to YOU (sg.)! (Mt. 9:6)
- (38) **¿Me mazi hxooh!**
 2PRO 2PDO 1sS.TR-EM-say
 ‘A UDS. les digo.’ OP_2-2-07_067
I’m speaking to YOU (pl.)! (Ac. 19:13)

⁹ The expression **¿Áz me casijimya?** cannot mean *What are you doing?*, but it is grammatical on reading *What is s/he doing to you?*, where **me** is indirect object agreement and not the pronoun **me** discussed in this chapter.

- (39) **me ma cmistaj coi**
 2PRO 2sDO SN-Tr-resemble-PL the.PL
 ‘los que se parecen A TI’
(those) who resemble YOU (sg.) OP_2-2-07_068

As possessor of a noun or action/oblique deverbal noun (cross-referenced by morphology on the noun, §13.2.3):

- (40) **Me nyaaco cop caacoj iha.**
 2PRO 2P-house the.VT SN-big DCL
 ‘TU casa es grande.’
YOUR house is big. (ALIM 76) OP_2-2-07_069
- (41) **¿Me miixz -ya?**
 2PRO 2P-pet QM
 ‘¿Es TU mascota?’
Is it YOUR pet? OP_2-2-07_070a
- (42) **¿Me nyaa° -ya?**
 2PRO yours QM
 ‘¿Es TUYO/TUYA?’ OP_2-2-07_070b
Is it YOURS? (Overheard) LHC_2-5-07_143a
- (43) **¿Me moyáat -ya?**
 2PRO yours.PL QM
 ‘¿Es de UDS.?’
Is it YOURS (plural possessor)? OP_2-2-07_070c

This pronoun may head a relative clause that may be a predicate nominal construction (see Figure 16.1) or a normal relative clause (§8.4).

- (44) **Me ctamcö, me hizac oo iti masöii aha.**
 2PRO man-PL 2PRO PX.LC DL 3P-on 2pS-IR.ID-be.FL.PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Ustedes hombres deben quedarse aquí.’
You men should stay here. OP_2-2-07_071
- (45) **¿Me [°xiica quiistox° hiicot coii] coox oo hooctam!**
 2PRO people 1P-with.PL SN-stand.PL all DL IM-look.at-PL
 ‘Todos Uds. personas que están aquí con nosotros, ¿miren!’
All of you people here with us, look! (Ac 25:24) RMH_08-21-07_112
- (46) **Me [°xiica quiistox° (quih) imihíimtoj,] iij iiqui aii,**
 2PRO people the.FL SN-N-married apart 3P-toward IM-stand.PL
toc cöaii.
 there 3IO-IM-stand.PL
 ‘Ustedes que no son casados, pónganse a un lado’
You who aren’t married, stand to one side! RMH_08-04-07_153

- (47) **Me** [**satoj** **quih** **quiiitoj**] **masmoquépt** **aha.**
 2PRO mussel(s) the.FL SN-TR-eat-PL 2PS-IR.ID-N-sick-PL AUX-DCL
 ‘Ustedes que comieron los mejillones van a estar enfermos.’
You who ate the mussels are going to be sick. RMH_10-16-07_11d

16.1.3 Expletive phrase complement

A phrase that refers to one’s being may modify a simple personal pronoun. While the expletive complement may be used for emphasis in some situations, the function is not entirely clear. Such expressions are not at all uncommon.¹⁰

An example of a complete expression **he hapi hisoj hipquij** (1PRO INTNS 1P-self this) *I my being this*, or less literally *I myself*.¹¹ See others in Table 16.2. The personal pronoun at the beginning of the phrase is sometimes omitted (or replaced by a null pronoun). The most common determiner to use in them is the demonstrative **hipquij**, as shown, but **hipcop** and **hipcom** are also possible if the singular referent is standing or lying (respectively) rather than sitting. Occasionally (and especially with the forms **quisoj** and **quisolca**) the articles **quij** and **coi** are used.

The following examples illustrate the use of these expressions.

- (48) **He hapi hisoj hipquij** **ihyóoho.**
 I myself 1sS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Yo mismo lo ví.’
*I myself saw it.*¹² OP_2-2-07_025
- (49) **He hapi hisoj hipquij** **quihéhe° caacoj** **quij** **ihyóoho.**
 I myself ruler SN-big the.CM 1sS.TR-DT-see
 ‘Yo mismo ví al gobernador.’
I myself saw the governor. RMH_08-04-07_154
- (50) **He hapi hisoj hipquij,** **icatóomec** **quih** **tazo**
 I myself week the.FL one
hant **quih** **iti** **tap** **ma** **x,** **°ziix** **quih** **hapáhit°,** **taax**
 land the.FL 3P-on RL-stand DS UT food DDP

¹⁰ As this expression seems a bit ponderous, I inquired about it more in 2007. My consultant that day chuckled as he reflected on how commonly it is in fact used.

¹¹ The head noun is translated *being* here. The most basic meaning of the word is *body*, but the choice of article makes a difference; see the examples and discussion in §11.2.1. Many speakers prefer the dialectal variant **hapi** for the intensifier **hipi**.

¹² This is like saying that one was an eyewitness to the event. Another way of saying it is **Hapi hitoj hizcoi cohyóoho.** (INTNS 1P-eye-PL PX-PL 3IO-1sS.TR-DT-see) *I saw it with my own eyes.*

himáhit ihptáacj ma x, queme ha.
 1P-AON-N-eat 1sS.IN-RL-TIMES-two DS UT SN-end DCL

‘Yo ayuno dos veces a la semana.’

I fast twice a week. (Lk 18:12) OP_2-2-07_027

- (51) **He hipi hisoj hipquij Yooz quij oo hin tah ma,**
 I myself God the.CM DL 1sDO RL-do DS
he hiz cōmoca ha.
 1PRO here 3IO-TWD-SN-move DCL

‘He venido porque Dios me mandó.’

I have come here because God caused it. (Lk 11:30) OP_2-2-07_028

- (52) **He hipi hisolca hizcoi tazo ipi hiza pij, ...**
 we ourselves one INTNS here IR.DP-sit
 ‘Ni uno de de nosotros ...’
*Not even one of us here, ...*¹³ (He 4:11) OP_2-2-07_029

Table 16.2: Pronoun modified by expletive noun phrase

	Pronoun	Intensifier*	Noun	Determiner**
<i>I myself</i>	(he)	hapi	hisoj	hipquij
<i>you yourself</i>	(me)	hapi	misoj	hipquij
<i>she herself, he himself, it itself</i>		hapi	isoj	hipquij
<i>oneself (unspecified)</i>		hapi	quisoj	quij
<i>we ourselves</i>	(he)	hapi	hisolca	hizcoi
<i>you yourselves</i>	(me)	hapi	misolca	hizcoi
<i>they themselves</i>		hapi	isolca	hizcoi

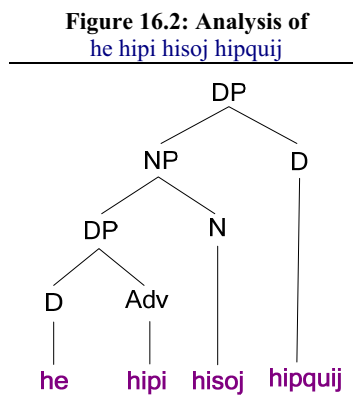
*The intensifier has two dialectal variants: **hipi** and **hapi**.

The singular determiner may vary to other forms such as **hipcop under appropriate conditions.

¹³ The negative part of *not even* comes from the negative verb which comes later in the sentence.

- (53) **¿Me hipi misolca hizcoi matáaitoj?**
 you yourselves 2P-RL-eat-PL
 ‘¿Uds. mismos lo/la comieron?’
Did you yourselves eat it? OP_2-2-07_030
- (54) **Hipi misoj iha xo hipimax ziix iti cōmiitom ipi zo**
 yourself DCL but not.even thing 3P-on 3IO-2P-AON-speak INTNS a
mimáa ha.
 2P-AON-N-know DCL LHC_2-05-07_133
 ‘Ni siquiera sabes lo que estás diciendo.’
*You have no idea what you are saying.*¹⁴
- (55) **Hipi quisoj cop °miiz spaii°**
 (a)ha.¹⁵
 oneself the well IR.ID-PV-make
 AUX-DCL
 ‘Uno debe cuidarse a si mismo.’ RMH_08-04-07_155
One should take care of oneself. (Offered)

It is suggested there that a phrase such as **he hipi hisoj hipquij** is built around the possessed noun **hisoj**, which has a pronoun in the *complement* position (§8.5), as depicted in Figure 16.2.



This analysis does not directly account for the common examples in which the subject inflection on the main verb of the clause varies between first, second and third person. One would expect, a priori, only third person inflection. However, as shown in §8.5, the same issue arises with partitive expressions generally.

The following example, although it does not appear to be the most common way to express the thought (compare with (48), for example), illustrates that this pronoun with expletive phrase may occur with third person inflection in at least some cases.¹⁶

¹⁴ This example was adapted from Mk 9:6 to show the person morphology more clearly (in second person). This utterance is considered very colorful speech and representative of Seri phraseology. An appropriate context is when someone because of fear or surprise begins saying things without thinking — just starts babbling.

¹⁵ This cannot be said in the plural: * **Hipi quisolca coi ...**

¹⁶ This particular example surprised me, but all of the consultants judged it completely acceptable. It is certainly more common to use the person agreement which agrees with the possessor of the head noun.

- (56) **He hipi hisoj hipquij iyóoho.**¹⁷
 I myself 3:3-DT-see
 ‘Yo mismo lo ví.’
I myself saw it. OP_2-2-07_031

The expletive phrase may be used with or without an overt pronoun. The pronoun is commonly, but not necessarily, omitted when the phrase is the complement in a partitive expression.

- (57) a. [[**Hipi misolca coi**] **pac**] **haa toii** **x,** ...
 you yourselves some there RL-be.FL.PL UT
 ‘Algunos de ustedes están allí, ...’
Some of you are there, ... (2 Co 12:16) RMH_08-04-07_158a
- b. Also permitted with the same meaning:
Hapi misolca coi pac haa matóii **x,** ... RMH_11-20-07_122
 2PS-RL-be.FL.PL
- (58) a. [[**Me hipi misolca coi**] **zo**] **haa piij,** ...
 you yourselves a/one there IR.DP-sit
 ‘Si uno de ustedes está allí, ...’
If one of you is there, ... (Mk 10:43) RMH_08-04-07_158b
- b. * **Me hipi misolca coi zo haa mpiij, ...**
- (59) a. [[**Hipi misolca hizcoi**] **coocj**] **haquix paii,** ...
 yourselves SN-two somewhere IR.DP-be.FL.PL
- b. **Hapi misolca hizcoi coocj haquix mapáii,** ...
 2PS-IR.DP-be.FL.PL
- ‘Si dos de ustedes están en algún lugar, ...’
If two of you are somewhere, ... (Mt 18:19) (a) RMH_08-04-07_158c (b) RMH_11-20-07_123

The expression for *each* is rather complex (see §8.5 for details). It may take a simple second person pronoun complement to express *each of you*, or it may take a complement with the expletive phrase. The entire phrase is third person as it determines third person inflection.

- (60) **Me iij càap tazó cah quiya ha.**
 2PRO each the.FL-FOC SN-TR-know DCL
 ‘Cada uno de Uds. lo sabe.’
Each of you knows it. RMH_08-04-07_158e

¹⁷ Also possible: **He hipi hisoj hipquij quiho ha.** (1PRO INTNS myself this seeing DCL) *I myself saw it.*

- (61) **¿Me iij càap tazò quih haa -ya tooit?**
 2PRO each the.FL-FOC AUX QM RL-dance
 ‘¿Bailaron cada uno de ustedes (aparte)?’
Did each of you dance (separately)? RMH_11-20-07_124
- (62) **Hipi misolca hizcoi iij càap tazò cah quiya ha.**
 yourselves each the.FL-FOC SN-Tr-know DCL
 ‘Cada uno de Uds. lo sabe.’
Each of you knows it. RMH_08-04-07_158f

16.1.4 Third person ee

The third person human pronoun **ee** is rarely used and generally has a derogatory connotation, although at least when used in combination with the intensifying adverb **hipi** (see §24.2.1) this connotation is overridden.¹⁸ A demonstrative pronoun is commonly used when one wants to make simple reference to a third person (see §16.2).

- (63) **Ee °ziix quih coox cah° seehe cõitáa camoz iha.**
 3PRO everything to.do.(it) 3IO-3:3-RL-know SN-think DCL
 ‘ÉL/ELLA piensa que puede hacer cualquier cosa.’
S/HE thinks that s/he can do anything. OP_2-2-07_074
- (64) **Ee ha tahtxíma xah yoomoz.**
 3PRO AUX RL-rich — DT-think
 ‘ÉL/ELLA se cree rico/a.’
S/HE_i thinks s/he_i's rich. (DS2005, ee) OP_2-2-07_076
- (65) **Ee ha tahtxímj xah yoomjõc.**
 3PRO AUX RL-rich — DT-think-PL
 ‘ELLOS/ELLAS se creen ricos/as.’
THEY think they're rich. (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_159
- (66) **Ee ha °áno yazalca°, ziix quih hant quih iti tahca ma x.**
 3PRO AUX they.meddle thing the.FL place the.FL 3P-on RL-be.located DS UT
 ‘ELLOS/ELLAS siempre se meten en cualquier asunto.’
THEY are always sticking their noses into things. (DS2005, ee) OP_2-2-07_077
- (67) **Juan quij, ee hipi mos mino ntica itámzo, ...**
 the.CM 3PRO INTNS also 2P-in AW-INMOVE 3:3-RL-want
 ‘Juan mismo quiere visitarles a Uds.’
Juan himself wants to visit you ... OP_2-2-07_078

¹⁸ This pronoun occurs less than 25 times in the NTT, whereas first person **he** and second person **me** are used thousands of times.

- (68) ... **ee mos isiihit ta siimoz aha,** ...
 3PRO also 3:3-IR.ID-eat AUX.RL IR.ID-think AUX-DCL
 ‘... posiblemente ÉL/ELLA decidirá a comerlo también ...’
 ... *S/HE might think to eat it* ... (1 Co 8:10) OP_2-2-07_079

16.1.5 First person emphatic *hatée*

The pronoun *hatée* is used emphatically (or perhaps, contrastively) by the speaker to refer to himself or herself. It most commonly (if not exclusively) co-occurs with special morphology on the verb (the first person emphatic subject inflection *a-/Ø-/ca-*, §17.1.2.1) or on the noun (the first person emphatic possessor *hati-*, §13.2.3).

- (69) **Hatée smaahit aha.**
 1EM.PRO IR.ID-N-1EM.S.TR-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘YO no lo comeré.’
I won’t eat it! (DS2005, aa-) OP_2-2-07_080
- (70) **Hatée somcáatax aha.**
 1EM.PRO IR.ID-N-1EM.S.IN-go AUX-DCL
 ‘¡YO no iré!’
I won’t go! (DS2005, caa-) OP_2-2-07_081
- (71) **Hatée squiim aha.** (72) **Hatée hatyáa ha.**
 1EM.PRO IR.ID-EM.S.IN-sleep AUX-DCL 1EM.PRO 1PEM.mine DCL
 ‘¡YO dormiré!’ ‘¡Es MÍO!’
I will sleep! (DS2005, caa-) OP_2-2-07_082 *It’s MINE!* OP_2-2-07_083
- (73) **Hatée hap zo quicö, hax maacta.**
 1EM.PRO mule.deer a SN-TR-kill just PX-1EM.S.TR-think
 ‘Mató un venado bura, creo.’
I think he killed a mule deer. (DS2005, hatée) OP_2-2-07_084

16.1.6 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns (see Table 16.1) are obviously derived from the verb $\sqrt{\text{yaa}}$ *own, possess*. The first and second person plural forms, in fact, are identical to what one would expect as the object-oriented deverbal nouns based on this verb.

(74)	Plural possessive pronouns	Possessor	Nominalizer	Root	Plural
	hoyáat <	hi-	o_{Abl}-	yaa	-t
	moyáat <	mi-	o_{Abl}-	yaa	-t

These forms are therefore not actually pronouns in any strict sense, but deverbal nouns meaning literally *what we/you possess*.

The singular and the third person plural forms, however, are a bit irregular in that the

The intensifier **hapi** that is used with possessors (see §11.3 and §24.2.1), even non-overt ones, may appear, as in (78).

- (78) **zaah hipi hyaa° quij**
 watch INTNS mine the.CM
 ‘MI reloj’
MY watch LHC_2-05-07_142c

The possessive pronoun may easily function as head of the construction, when there is no nominal head, although in this situation typically something overt in the possessor position or at least an adverb should be present for the example to be considered well-formed; compare the following grammatical examples with the generally unacceptable (85) and (86).²¹

- (79) **¿Hapi yaa° -ya?** (80) **¿Me nyaa° -ya?**
 INTNS his/hers QM 2PRO yours QM
 ‘¿Es SUYO/A?’ ‘¿Es TUYO/A?’
Is it HIS/HERS? RMH_08-04-07_160 *Is it YOURS?* (Overheard) LHC_2-5-07_143a
- (81) **¿Tiix yaa° -ya?**
 DDS his/hers QM
 ‘¿Es SUYO/A?’
Is it HIS/HERS? LHC_2-5-07_143b
- (82) **Juan quih yaa° quij ihxoquéepe.**
 Juan the.FL his/hers the.CM 1S.TR-EM-like
 ‘Me gusta mucho el (p.ej., reloj) de Juan.’
I really like Juan’s (e.g., watch) LHC_2-5-07_143c
- (83) **¿Cói nyaa° oo -ya?**
 still yours DL QM
 ‘Todavía lo estás poseyendo?’
Are you still owning it? (Offered) RMH_08-21-07_113
- (84) **¿Haptco yaa° -ya?**
 already his/hers QM
 ‘¿Ya es suyo/a?’
Is it already his/hers? (Offered) RMH_08-21-07_114a

²¹ Although in normal conversation such sentences are considered bizarre, consultants came up with different situations in which such sentences could be used easily. One was as an expression of amazement. Another is in coordination with an alternative, such as *¿Yaa -ya x? ¿Ipásot -ya x? Does s/he own it or has s/he borrowed it?* Or *¿Inyáa -ya x? ¿Minyáa -ya x? Is it yours or is it not yours?* The plural possessive pronouns **hoyáat**, **moyáat**, and **yaat** seem to have the same restriction on usage in that something overt should precede them if they are the head of the construction.

- (85) ? **¿Yaa° -ya?**
 his/hers QM
 ‘¿Es suyo?’
Is it his/hers? RMH_08-21-07_114b
- (86) ? **¿Inyáa° -ya?**
 yours QM
 ‘¿Es tuyo?’
Is it yours? RMH_08-21-07_114c

An expression like (80) may be used felicitously with reference to possessions which never occur syntactically with the possessive pronoun **yaa**, such as a scarf, a house, or shoes. Possession of these nouns is always indicated morphologically, and not with a possessive pronoun. But the fact that they are still possessions allows for the use of a question such as (80).

16.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Eight demonstrative pronouns (see Table 16.3) are distinguished by number, relative distance from the speaker (when used exophorically), and a factor of contrastive/non-contrastive emphasis (§16.2.5). The distal pronouns are also very commonly used anaphorically (§16.2.2) while the proximal pronouns may be used cataphorically (§16.2.3). The distal pronouns are commonly used following a nominal to show focus (§16.2.4). The referents of these pronouns may be human or non-human, animate or inanimate, but the referent must be specific.²²

16.2.1 Exophoric use

The following examples illustrate the use of these pronouns to make explicit reference to a physical object in the location of the speech act.

Proximal hipíix and hizáax:

- (87) **Hipíix hiif quij haa ha.** (88) **Hipíix zacáam iha.**
 DPS 1P-nose the.CM SN.EQ DCL DPS young.woman DCL
 ‘Ésta es mi nariz.’ ‘Es una muchacha.’
This is my nose. (HE 61, modified)²³ OP_2-2-07_085 *This is a girl.* (HE 59) OP_2-2-07_086
- (89) **Hizáax siip cop itóoit chaa ha.**
 DPP young.man the.VT 3P-leg-PL SN-EQ DCL
 ‘Éstas son las piernas del muchacho.’
These are the boy’s legs. (HE 58) OP_2-2-07_087

²² These pronouns are common, but the use of **taax** (more than 11,000 occurrences in the NTT) outstrips **tiix** (more than 1400) in part because of the varied meanings of the former.

²³ The source of this example had ... **chaa ha** instead of ... **quij haa ha**. Both are apparently correct, but the person recording this example preferred the version given here.

Table 16.3: Simple Demonstrative Pronouns

	Proximal	Proximal Certain	Distal	Distal Certain
Singular	hipíix	hipíi	tiix	tii
Plural / Mass / Abstract / Area	hizáax	hizáa	taax	taa

- (90) **Hizáax hitéen hac haa ha.**
 DPP 1P-mouth the.LC SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Ésta es mi boca.’
This (area) is my mouth. (HE 61, modified)²⁴ OP_2-2-07_088

Distal tiix and taax:

- (91) **Tiix xomíha.** (92) **Taax mos siilx caha.**
 DDS EM-N-fast DDP also IR.ID-go.PI AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Ése no va muy rápido.’ OP_2-2-07_089 ‘Aquéllos también van a ir.’ OP_2-2-07_090
That one’s not going fast. (DS2005, tiix) *Those will also go.* (DS2005, taax)
- (93) **Taax inscmáhit aha.**
 DDP 2sS-IR.ID-N-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘¡No comas eso (p.ej. atole)!’
Don’t eat that (e.g., porridge)! OP_2-2-07_091
- (94) **Taax ano piij ta x, masíht haa hi.**
 DDP 3P.in IR.DP-sit DS UT 2pS-IR.ID-see-PL AUX DCL
 ‘Estará allí, ustedes lo verán.’
He will be there, you will see him. (Mt 28:7) RMH_08-04-07_161

16.2.2 Anaphoric use

The demonstrative pronouns are a common way to refer to a third person, especially (but not exclusively) the distal pronouns. They thus have an anaphoric use in that they refer, in these contexts, to something previously mentioned in the discourse rather than to something situated physically in the location of the speech act.

- (95) **Taax toc cōmotat ma, ...**
 DDP there 3IO-TWD-RL-move-PL DS
 ‘Aquéllos venían allí, ...’
They were coming there, ... (Hipocampo_7.1)

²⁴ The source of this example had ... **chaa ha** instead of ... **hac haa ha**. Both are apparently correct, but the person recording this example preferred the version given here.

- (96) **Tiix hant haa cöiima° quih hoopatj quih caacoj quih**
 DDS worldwide.catastrophe the.FL wave the.FL SN-big the.FL
iti caap, tiix haa [ha].
 3P-on SN-stand DDS SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Era una persona seri, ...’
He was a person, ... (Hipocampo_27)
- (97) **Taax ah aa itáh ma, ...**
 DDP FOC — 3:3-RL-do DS
 ‘Por eso, ...’
Because of that, ... (Lit., *That causing it, ...*, a very common phrase.) OP_2-2-07_095
- (98) **Taax ihyomóozi.**
 DDP 1sS.TR-DT-dream
 ‘Eso soñé.’
I dreamed that. OP_2-2-07_097

As with the personal pronouns (see §8.5), the demonstrative pronoun **taax** may occur with the pronoun **coox** *all* or the adjective/pronoun **tazo** *one*.

- (99) **Taax coox oo cöitzáxö ma, ...**
 DDP all DL 3IO-3:3-RL-discuss DS
 ‘Cuando le habló de todo eso, ...’
After he had had told him about all that, ... (Ac 24:25) RMH_08-21-07_115
- (100) **Taax tazo ipi zo yomátax.**
 DDP one INTNS a DT-N-go
 ‘Ninguno de ellos fue.’
Not one of them went. OP_2-2-07_098

Unlike personal pronouns, however, the demonstrative pronouns do not occur as heads of relative clauses. Compare grammatical (101) with a headless relative clause as subject (*the ones hunting mule deer*), and ungrammatical (102) with a demonstrative pronoun as head of the relative clause (*those hunting mule deer*).

- (101) [**Hap quicötoj coi**] **ox mimjök.**
 mule.deer SN-TR-kill-PL the.PL thus PX-think-PL
 ‘Así piensan los cazadores expertos de venado bura.’
That’s how the expert mule deer hunters think. OP_2-2-07_099
- (102) * [**Taax hap quicötoj**] (coi) **ox mimjök.**
 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.)

16.2.3 Cataphoric use

When reference is being made to something that is coming up in the discourse, the proximal demonstrative pronouns are most commonly used, as shown in the following examples.

- (103) **Hizáax** **mos** **insíya** **ha,** **cói** **mpomátax** **ipi:** ...
 DPP also 2sS.IR.ID-know AUX-DCL yet 2sS-IR.DP-N-go DL
 ‘Debes saber esto antes de que te vayas: ...’
You should know this before you go: ... (OP_2-2-07_102)

- (104) **Hizaax** **oo** **cötpacta** **ma,** **mosnípol** **hapáh** **quij**
 DPP DL 3IO-RL-be.in.appearance DS leatherback SN-PV-say the.CM
 °**xepe án°** **com** **ano** **tiih** **x,** **toc** **cöquih** **iha.**
 sea.area the.HZ 3P.in RL.be.FL UT there 3IO-SN-be.FL DCL
 ‘Esto es porque la caguama de siete filos vive en el mar.’
This is why the leatherback turtle lives in the sea. (Mosnípol 01)

- (105) °**Ox oo mpacta xo°,** **hizáax** **oo** **me** **hsii** **xo:** ...
 however DPP DL 2IO 1sS.TR-tell EMPH
 ‘Pero esto es lo que les diré: ...’
But this is what I will say to you: ... (Mt. 5:22) (OP_2-2-07_100)

- (106) **Hizáax** **mos** **me** **hxomiit:** ...
 DPP also 2IO 1sS.TR-ask
 ‘También les pregunto esto a ustedes: ...’
I also ask you this: ... (Rom. 10:19) (OP_2-2-07_101)

16.2.4 Focal use for contrast

The demonstrative pronouns **tiix** *that one* and **taax** *those, that* (abstract) commonly appear following a noun phrase, either an NP or a DP (which may be a pronoun). The effect of this is use often is to give a contrastive emphasis to the nominal that precedes the pronoun. Sometimes there is a slight pause before the pronoun, and the pronoun begins at a slightly higher pitch than the preceding syllable because it is stressed.

- (107) **Ctam** **quij,** **tiix** °**ziix** **hast** **iix** **ano** **coom°** **com** **imháa.**
 male the.CM DDS northern chuckwalla the.HZ SN-N-EQ
 ‘EL HOMBRE se volvió la iguana de la piedra.’
THE MAN became the northern chuckwalla. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa_20)
- (108) **Hant Ihíin** **ticom,** **tiix** **contítat,** **yoque.**
 Baja California MD-HZ DDS 3IO-AW-RL-move-PL DT-US-say
 ‘Iban hacia BAJA CALIFORNIA, se dice.’
They were headed for BAJA CALIFORNIA, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_20)

- (109) **¿Ixáap° czooxöc coi, taax shaa quee-ya?**
 days SN-four the.PL DDP IR.ID-EQ AUX.SN-QM
 ‘¿Durará [la fiesta] CUATRO DÍAS?’
Will it [the party] be for FOUR DAYS? RMH_05-16-08_82

- (110) **°Xiica quih quiistox° quih ovácalcam quih ziix quih**
 people the.FL 3P-ON-call.sibling the.FL thing the.FL
cöicamsisín quih iti cöihj hac,
 3IO-3P-AON-US-pitiful the.FL 3P-on 3IO-3P-AON-be-PL the.LC
taax ah cöinzáxö.
 DDP FOC 3IO-3:3-PX-discuss

‘Las cosas tristes que habían pasado a sus "hermanos y hermanas" — les habló acerca de ellas.’

The sad things that had happened to their "brothers and sisters" — he talked to them about them. (ES2007, Azoj_Canoj_Imatax 05)

- (111) **Comcaii, tiix zaah quih coox cah aal quih**
 old.woman DDS sun/day the.FL all the.FL-FOC 3P-spouse the.FL
cöyacáai.
 3IO-DT-follow

‘ESA ANCIANA siempre acompaña a su esposo.’

THAT ELDERLY WOMAN always accompanies her husband. (DS2005, zaah) RMH_07-11-07_28b

- (112) **He quihéhe° isoj, tiix he haa ha.**
 1PRO ruler 3P-self DDS 1PRO SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Yo soy el JEFE.’
I am the CHIEF. RMH_07-11-07_28c

In some cases this might appear to be left dislocation, with the noun phrase in a clause-initial position and the demonstrative pronoun in the argument position; indeed, that may be the correct analysis for some examples. However, this cannot be the whole story as in some cases — (113) and (113), for example — the noun phrase is not in clause-initial position.

- (113) **Toc cöiyáii iti, quisil quij taa oo cötij ma,**
 there 3IO-3P-AON-be.FL.PL 3P-on SN-small the.CM DDP DL 3IO-RL-sit DS
ctam caii tintica, tiix taanpx, yoque.
 man mature MD-AW DDS RL-go.home DT-US-say

‘Mientras estaban allí, el menor se quedó, y EL MAYOR regresó a casa.’

While they were there, the younger brother remained there, and the OLDER BROTHER went home, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_49.1-3)

- (114) **Moxhámt cmiique, tiix °iquíisax z imacápat°.**
 last.year Seri DDS one's.spirit a 3:3-Px-cause.fly
 ‘El año pasado, ESA PERSONA SERI quitó una vida humana.’
Last year THAT SERI PERSON took someone's life. (DS2005, cacápat) RMH_07-11-07_29b
- (115) **Hapnáail, tiix ¿zó hapácta -ya?**
 skirt DDS how? SN-be.in.appearance QM
 ‘¿De qué color es ESA FALDA?’
What color is THAT SKIRT? (ALIM 78) RMH_07-11-07_29c
- (116) **Ziic tiquij, hast ancoj com, tiix an hant imóoit iha.**
 bird MD-CM stone 3P-area-PL the.Hz DDS 3P.in land SN-N-arrive DCL
 ‘Esa ave no aterriza en UN LUGAR DE PIEDRAS.’
*That bird doesn't land on A ROCKY PLACE.*²⁵ (ES2007, ac 08)
- (117) **He Pedro González, tii haa ha.**
 IPRO DDS SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Yo soy Pedro González.’
I am Pedro González. RMH_05-16-08_83
- (118) **Pedro González, tiix he haa ha.**
 DDS IPRO SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Yo soy Pedro González.’
I am Pedro González. RMH_05-16-08_84
- (119) **He tiix yaazi°, tiix he haa ha.**
 IPRO DDS his.child DDS IPRO SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Yo soy el HIJO DE ÉSE.’
I am THAT ONE'S SON. RMH_07-11-07_28d

The definite nominal may have a determiner or it may be without one, despite being definite; see examples (113) and (113).

The demonstrative pronoun in this construction is only used anaphorically. Therefore, in an example like (113) the person is probably not in view, and in (113) the skirt is not physically present with the speaker. The referenced people or things are known from the discourse context.

A place name may have the noun **hant land, place** after it, to indicate that one is speaking of the area of that place name. This phrase may in turn be followed by either **tiix** or **taax**, and there is a slight difference in meaning. The pronoun **tiix** suggests that the general area of the place name is being referred to whereas the pronoun **taax** indicates specifically the very place that is named.

²⁵ The author of this text verified that the pronoun **tiix** here is referring to the place and not to the bird.

- (120) ... Haaca Caacoj quih Inóohcö quij hant xah, tiix
 the.FL 3P-AON-concave the.CM place — DDS
ano ntita, ...
 3P.in/from AW-RL-move
 ‘... pasó por la zona de Bahía Haaca Caacoj, ...’
... he went through the area around “Haaca Caacoj” Bay, ... (Hipocampo_12.2)
- (121) ..., Hajháy hant, taax iti toii, ...
 Tecomate place DDP 3P-on RL-be.FL.PL
 ‘..., estaban viviendo en Tecomate, ...’
..., they were living at Tecomate, ... (Dos_Hermanos_1.2)

This construction is very commonly used following phrases headed by deverbal nouns or any kind of “heavier” nominal phrase, to restate them in an abbreviated fashion, it would seem, and thus .

- (122) Jesús quij hant com iti cöitax hac
 the.CM land the.Hz 3P-on 3IO-3P-AON-go the.LC
icáaitim° quih quiipe, taax imáai.
 3P-AON-US-make the.FL SN-good DDP 3:3-PX-make
 ‘Jesús anduvo haciendo BIEN.’
Jesus went around doing GOOD DEEDS. (Ac 10:38) RMH_07-11-07_30a
- (123) Heme cöiquín° hac, ziix quih hayáa quih hipi seehe cöhapá,
 one’s.engagement the.LC thing the.FL owned the INTNS possible
taax oo speque (a)ha.
 DDP DL IR.ID-PV-give AUX-DCL
 ‘Cuando uno está de novio, puede regalar cualquier cosa.’
When one is asking for someone in marriage, any kind of gift can be given. (DS2005, quique improved) RMH_07-11-07_30b
- (124) Hant com cmaa cöipáxi, taax ano cömota, ...
 earth the.Hz now 3IO-3P-AON-PV-finish DDP 3P.in/from 3IO-TWD-RL-move
 ‘Desde el principio del mundo, ...’
Ever since the beginning of the world, ... (Jn 9:32) RMH_08-13-07_36
- (125) Ziix hapáhit quih mos áno quiipe quih
 thing SN-PV-eat the.FL INTNS SN-good the.FL

cmiique²⁶ **quij** **oohit,** **taax** **iiqui** **hapásx** **iha.**
 person/Seri the.CM 3P-ON-eat DDP 3P-toward SN-PV-count DCL

‘Entre las mejores comidas que una persona come, ése [molusco] se incluye en ellas.’

Among the best foods that a person eats, that [mollusk] is included in them. (ES2007, satoj 03)

- (126) **Pedro quih,** **tiix** **inszáxö** **aha.**
 the.FL DDS 2sS-IR.ID-discuss AUX-DCL
 ‘¡Habla con PEDRO!’
Speak with PEDRO! OP_2-2-07_104
- (127) ... **xo** **hax** **cpaaix,** **taax** **ipi** **z** **imási** **ha.**
 but water SN-clean DDP even a SN-TR-N-drink DCL
 ‘...— ni siquiera toma AGUA LIMPIA.’
... it doesn't even drink CLEAN WATER. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 09b)
- (128) **Ctam quij,** **tiix** **°ziix hast iix ano coom°** **com** **imháa.**
 man the.CM DDS northern.chuckwalla the.Hz SN-N-EQ
 ‘ESE HOMBRE, él se volvió la iguana de la piedra.’
THAT MAN, he became the northern chuckwalla. (ES2007, acaam_ccaa 020)
- (129) **Hipiix,** **tiix** **ihyáazi°** **°himozi hiipe°** **chaax** **ha.**
 DDS DDS my.child.ME one.that.I.love SN-EQ DCL
 ‘ÉSTE es mi hijo amado.’
THIS is my beloved son. (Mk 9:7) RMH_08-21-07_116a
- (130) **Hizcoi,** **taax** **hipi** **hsiihit** **aha.**
 these DDP INTNS 1sS.TR-IR.ID-eat AUX-DCL
 ‘ÉSTOS, yo mismo los voy a comer.’
THESE, I'm going to eat them myself. (gigante comelón 167) RMH_08-21-07_116b

Most commonly the demonstrative pronoun immediately follows the DP or NP. Nevertheless, it may be separated from the nominal phrase by an adverb such as **mmaax** *now*, *then*, as in the following example.

- (131) ..., **mmaax** **oot** **ticop,** **mmaax** **tiix** **isíxö** **ta,**
 then coyote MD-VT then DDS 3:3-IR.ID-jump.over AUX.RL
itáh **ma** ...
 3:3-RL-tell DS

²⁶ The word **cmiique** here is reportedly not referring to a person of any particular ethnic group, but rather to any person in the world.

‘... entonces EL COYOTE dijo que la iba a brincar, ...’ RMH_08-21-07_117
 ..., then THE COYOTE said that he was going to jump over it, ... (Saltar_Luna_18)

The difference between an example like (132) — following an NP — and one like (133) — following a DP — is not entirely clear, but somehow the latter is more specific.

- (132) **Ctam, tiix inszáxö aha.**
 man DDS 2SS-IR.Id-discuss AUX-DCL
 ‘¡Habla a ESE HOMBRE!’
Speak to THAT MAN! (The person is not in sight.) OP_2-2-07_103
- (133) **Ctam ticop, tiix inszáxö aha.**
 man MD-VT DDS 2SS-IR.Id-discuss AUX-DCL
 ‘¡Habla a ESE HOMBRE!’
Speak to THAT MAN! LHC_2-5-07_144

While a sequence like **ctam, tiix** may be translated similarly to **ctam ticop that man** (using a demonstrative adjective, discussed in §4.3.2), they are not at all equivalent either in meaning or in syntax. The phrase **ctam ticop that man** is a simple DP, whereas **ctam, tiix** is an NP followed by a pronoun. The expression with the demonstrative adjective is primarily used exophorically (although not exclusively so, see §4.3.2), whereas the expression with **tiix** indicates that the referent is not physically present. See the following examples.

- (134) °**Xiica quiistox**°, **taax pti ixacomcáac.**
 people DDP RCP 3:3-EM-cause.people
 ‘ESAS PERSONAS se respetan.’
THOSE PEOPLE respect each other. (DS2005, cacmiiquet) RMH_05-16-08_85
- (135) **Cmaam iiquet**° **quih cahéetot cop tom coi, tiix**
 woman her.child the.FL SN-TR-lie.for the.VT money the.PL DDS
iméxl, teeme.
 SN-TR-N-take PX-say
 ‘La mujer que mintió por su hijo dijo que ÉL/ELLA no tomó el dinero.’ OP_2-2-07_106
The woman who lied for her child said that S/HE didn’t take the money. (DS2005, cahéetot)
- (136) **Ctam caii tintica, tiix taanpx, yoque.**
 man mature MD-AW DDS RL-go.home DT-US-say
 ‘EL HERMANO MAYOR regresó, se dice.’
THE OLDER BROTHER returned home, it is said. (Dos_Hermanos_112) OP_2-2-07_107

While some of the above examples (such as (131)) should perhaps be analyzed differently, evidence suggests that the DP plus pronoun sequence is a single constituent, as demonstrated in Figure 16.3 for example (136). Note that in examples (137) and (138), the combination DP plus

pronoun occurs in sentence-final position.

- (137) **Zacáam hapáh quih zo haa, yoque, ziix tiix.**
 young.woman SN-PV-say the.FL a SN.EQ DT-US-say thing DDS
 ‘Era una jovencita — ésa.’

She was a young woman — that one. (Gigante_Comelon_27)

- (138) **Zacaamal, yoque, xiica taax cōmocat, _____ taax.**
 young.woman-PL DT-US-say thing.PL DDP 3IO-TWD-SN-move-PL DDP
 ‘Eran jovencitas, se dice, esas personas que venían.’

They were young women, it is said, those persons that were coming toward them.

(Dos_Hermanos_15.1)

Other evidence for constituency comes from the adverb **hipimax** *even* (§24.1.3), which wraps an NP by including the intensifying adverb **ipi** after the relevant constituent. Note that in example (139) the adverb **hipimax** precedes the NP and the adverb **ipi** follows demonstrative pronoun **taax**.

- (139) ... **ctam Jesús hapáh quij [hipimax iicp miiha,
 man SN-PV-say the.CM even 3P-place.next.to TWD-3P-AON-move
taax ipi] zo himáaj iha.
 DDP INTNS a 1P-AON-N-know-PL DCL**

‘... el hombre llamado Jesús — de donde viene, hasta eso no sabemos.’ RMH_08-24-07_29
...the man named Jesus — where he comes from, even that we don’t know. (Jn 9:29)

16.2.5 Pronouns of non-contrastive identity

The pronouns **tii** and **taa** are much less frequently used than their counterparts **tiix** and **taax**, and **tii** much less frequently than **taa**. In some contexts **taax** and **taa** are interchangeable, as illustrated by the following pair of sentences.

- (140) **He taax zo haa ha.**
 1PRO DDP a/one SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Soy uno de ellos.’

I am one of them. (see Jn 21:24) RMH_08-21-07_118a

- (141) **He taa zo haa ha.**
 1PRO DDP a/one SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Soy uno de ellos.’

I am one of them. (see Ac 22:27) RMH_08-21-07_118b

Frequently, however, the pronouns are not interchangeable.²⁷ The clear examples to show

²⁷ The 2005 dictionary erroneously lists them as simple alternative forms.

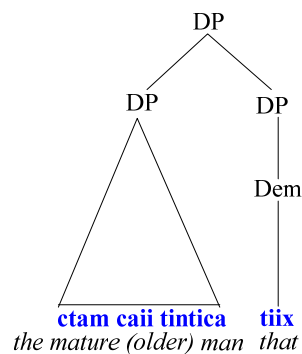
the difference between these pronouns are provided by examples such as the following, for which there are clear judgments and no variability. The pronoun **tiix** in (142) implies the choice of one out of a group and is appropriately — necessarily — translated with that one pronounced with contrastive stress. The pronoun **tii** in (143), on the other hand, is used when there is not a choice and so contrastive stress on the pronoun in the translation is inappropriate.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(142) Tiix inséxl aha.
 DDS 2sS-IR.ID-take AUX-DCL
 ‘Debes llevar ÉSE.’ RMH_08-21-07_118c
 <i>You should take THAT ONE.</i> (Offered)</p> | <p>(143) Tii nsexl aha.
 DDS 2sS-IR.ID-take AUX-DCL
 ‘Debes llevar ése.’ RMH_08-21-07_118d
 <i>You should take thàt òne.</i> (Offered)</p> |
|---|---|

Similar contrasts may be detected in the following pairs.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(144) ¿Hipíx haa -ya?
 DPS SN.EQ QM
 ‘¿Es ésta?’
 <i>Is it this one?</i> RMH_11-20-07_125</p> | <p>(145) ¿Hipíi haa -ya?
 DPS SN.EQ QM
 ‘¿Es ésta?’
 <i>Is this it?</i> RMH_11-20-07_126</p> |
| <p>(146) Tiix haa ha.
 DDS SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Es ÉL/ELLA.’
 <i>It’s HIM/HER.</i> RMH_11-20-07_127</p> | <p>(147) Tii haa ha.
 DDS SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Es él/ella.’
 <i>THAT’S him/her. THAT’S the one.</i>
 (Offered) RMH_08-21-07_118e RMH_08-21-07_118f</p> |

Figure 16.3: DP with focal pronoun (example 136)



- (148) **Taax haa ha.**
 DDP SN.EQ DCL
 ‘Son ELLOS/ELLAS.’
It’s THEM. RMH_11-20-07_128

- (149) **Taa haa ha.**
 DDP SN.EQ Dcl
 ‘Son ellos/ellas.’
*It’s them (exactly).*²⁸ RMH_08-21-07_118i

In response to a question such as ¿**Hehe iti icóohitim com iti tiij?** *Is it on the table?*, one can answer with:

- (150) **Tii iti yij.**
 DDPs 3P-on DT-sit
 ‘Está en ella.’
It is on it. RMH_11-20-07_129

And in response to a question such as ¿**Haméen hac ano tiij?** *Is it inside the house?*, one can answer with:

- (151) **Táa ano yij.**
 DDP 3P.in DT-sit
 ‘Está allí.’
It is there. RMH_11-20-07_130

But an answer with **tiix** or **taax** is not possible because contrast is not being made with another location.

16.3 Quantitative pronouns

Two quantitative pronouns have been identified. One of these is the relatively uncommon word **antá** *some*. Examples of this pronoun are given in §8.5 since it occurs only in a partitive construction.

The word **coox** *all* is a pronoun as well as an adjective (although rarely as the latter; see §23.1) and an adverb (§24.3.1.7).²⁹ As a pronoun, it may refer to the entirety of something that is viewed as a mass, and this most typically is a mass noun, such as a liquid, but it may also be a group of items that are expected to share characteristics. It may occur in construction with a DP which gives more information about the referent. If **coox** (or the more complex nominal) is the subject, the verb occurs in the form appropriate for a singular subject.

²⁸ This also means *It’s exactly there*.

²⁹ The rarity of the use of **coox** as an adjective induces the categorization of it as a pronoun here rather than as an adjective functioning as head of the construction. In addition, as a pronoun it occurs without any determiner.

- (152) (**Cafée quih**) **coox** °himo yopázje°.
 coffee the.FL all DT-spill.out
 ‘Todo (el café) se derramó.’
All of it (coffee) spilled out. RMH_11-20-07_131
- (153) **Sahméés quih coox yojízi.** (***yojíztaj**)
 orange(s).FL the.FL all DT-sour/rotten DT-sour/rotten-PL
 ‘La totalidad de las naranjas está podrida.’
The entirety of the oranges is rotten. RMH_11-20-07_132
- (154) ¡**Coox casi!**
 all IM-drink
 ‘¡Tómatelo todo!’
Drink all of it! (DS2005, coox) RMH_08-04-07_162a

The pronoun **coox** may also be used in construction with a plural count noun (that is not prototypically viewed as a homogeneous set, such as **sahméés** *orange(s)* above, but the meaning in these cases is a bit special in most cases, apparently. First, it should be pointed out, examples with a plural noun and a singular verb were rejected.³⁰

- (155) ***Ziicalc quih coox** °hant cōyaait°.
 bird-PL the.FL all land 3IO-DT-arrive
 (‘Todas las aves descendieron.’) (*All of the birds descended.*)

Examples with plural count nouns in construction with **coox** and plural verbs have interesting semantics, referring to the last one.

- (156) **Ziicalc quih coox hant cōyoome.**
 bird-PL the.FL all land 3IO-DT-arrive.PL
 ‘El último de las aves descendió.’
The last one of the birds descended. RRR
- (157) **Haxaca quih coox yaxyat.**³¹
 ABS-pet-PL the.FL all DT-die-PL
 ‘El último de los perros murió.’
The last one of the dogs died. RRR

³⁰ The natural expression for the intended reading here is one with the verb √**cooo** *all* and a plural verb for *descend*:

- (i) **Ziicalc quih tcooo** °hant cōyoome°.
 bird-PL the.FL RL-all land 3IO-DT-move.PL
 ‘Todas las aves descendieron.’
All of the birds descended.

The use of the adverb **hanso** (§24.1.1) before the verb **tcooo** in this sentence gives an emphatic reading on *all*.

³¹ To say *All of the dogs died*, one uses the verb (with the presence of **hanso** given the emphatic reading):

The preceding examples are apparently acceptable in the cases where, for example, the birds have been coming down one by one and then the last one came down; or the dogs were dying one by one from a disease and then the last one died. For some unknown reason, however, the following example was rejected.

- (158) * **Xicacaziil quih coox yoolx.**³²
 child-PL the.FL all DT-go.PL
 ‘Todos los niños fueron.’
All of the children went. QQQ check again xxx

The following example shows the ungrammaticality of **coox** with a singular noun to refer to a group of birds that might be viewed as arriving .

- (159) a. * **Ziic quih coox yoofp.**
 bird the.FL all DT-arrive
 b. * **Ziic quih coox yoozcam.**
 bird the.FL all DT-arrive.PL
 (‘Todas las aves llegaron.’) (*All of the birds arrived.*)

Coox may also have a plural referent and refer to the entire set. In this situation it determines plural inflection on the verb when it is subject. If the noun occurs, it is in the plural form.

- (160) **Coox hant cötoii ma, tahmüitim, yoque.**
 all land 3IO-RL-stand.PL DS RL-PV-ask-IMPF DT-US-say
 ‘Todos bajaron y fueron preguntados, se dice.’
All of them landed and were asked, it is said. (Apostador_116-117) RMH_08-04-07_162b

-
- (ii) **Haxaca quih hanso tcooo yaxyat.**
 dog-PL the.FL just RL-all DT-die-PL
 ‘TODOS los perros murieron.’
ALL of the dogs died. RRR

³² The singular verb **yootax** was also rejected here. The natural way to say this again involves the verb $\sqrt{\text{cooo}}$.

- (iii) **Xicacaziil quih tcooo yoolx.**
 child-PL the.FL RL-all DT-go.PL
 ‘Todos los niños salieron.’
All of the children left. (perhaps not every last one, but at least all of a particular subset) RRR
- (iv) **Xicacaziil quih hanso tcooo yoolx.**
 child-PL the.FL just RL-all DT-go.PL
 ‘TODOS los niños salieron.’
ALL of the children left. RRR

- (161) **Coox miizcam.** (*miifp)
 all PX-arrive.PL PX-arrive
 ‘Todos llegaron.’
All of them arrived. RMH_08-04-07_162d
- (162) a. **Ziicale quih coox yoozcam.**³³
 bird-PL the.FL all DT-arrive.PL
 ‘Todas las aves llegaron.’
- b. * **Ziicale quih coox yoofp.**
 bird-PL the.FL all DT-arrive

Of course, in certain contexts the interpretation is uncertain.

- (163) **¡Coox hexl!**
 all IM-take
 ‘¡Toma todo(s)!’
Take all of it/ them! RMH_08-04-07_162c

The pronoun **coox** may be used in a construction analogous to the partitive construction (§8.5) as the head of a nominal phrase which has a determiner phrase or pronoun as its complement.³⁴

- (164) **¡ [[Xiica hizcoi] coox] hexl!**
 thing.PL PX-PL all IM-take
 ‘¡Agarra todas estas cosas!’
Take all these things! RMH_08-04-07_163a
- (165) **... [[°xiica quih quiistox° coi] coox oo] ox yaza: ...**
 people the.PL all DL thus DT-speak.PL
 ‘... todas las personas dijeron: ...’
... all the people said: ... (MI 27:25) RMH_08-04-07_163b
- (166) **[[He] coox oo] siilx caha.**
 IPRO all DL IR.ID-go.PL AUX.SN-DCL
 ‘Todos nosotros iremos.’
We all (all of us) will go. OP_2-2-07_054

The effect of the adverb **oo** (§24.2.8) following **coox** in the preceding two examples is to indicate that the speaking and the deciding to go in these examples, respectively, were done individually and not as a group.

³³ Another way to say this is with the verb $\sqrt{\text{cooo}}$ as a dependent clause: **Ziicalc quih tcooo yoozcam.** *All of the birds arrived.*

³⁴ The dictionary entry for **coox** then is in error since it uses an example of the pronoun **coox** for the adjective. Examples of [DP **coox oo**] in postverbal position are found in the NTT, such as in Ac 16:32.

16.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are **quíih** *who?, whom?, whose?* and **áz** *what?*. Unlike other pronouns, the interrogative pronouns can be used as the predicate in the verbless predicative construction (§10.1).³⁵

- (167) **¿Me quíih -ya?**
 2PRO who? QM
 ‘¿Quién eres?’
Who are you? OP_2-2-07_122a
- (168) **¿Tiix quíih -ya?**
 DDS who? QM
 ‘¿Quién es ése?’
Who is s/he? OP_2-2-07_122b
- (169) **¿Ctam hipcop, quíih -ya?**
 man PX-VT who? QM
 ‘¿Quién es este hombre?’
Who is this man? OP_2-2-07_122c
- (170) **¿Ctam hipcop, quíih haxéhe -ya?**
 man PX-VT who? INTNS QM
 ‘¿Quién es este hombre?’
Who is this man? (Ac 21:33) OP_2-2-07_122d
- (171) **¿Me áz haxéhe -ya?**
 2PRO what? INTNS QM
 ‘¿Qué eres? (¿Cuál es tu profesión?)’
What are you? (What is your profession?) OP_2-2-07_123
- (172) **¿Me áz -ya?**
 2PRO what? QM
 ‘¿Qué eres? (¿Cuál es tu profesión?)’
What are you? (What is your profession?) OP_2-2-07_124a
- (173) **¿Tiix áz haxéhe -ya?**
 that what INTNS QM
 ‘¿Qué es eso? o ¿Qué es la profesión de esa persona?’
What is that? or What is that person’s profession? OP_2-2-07_124b

More general discussion of the use of these and other interrogative words is presented in §6.2.

³⁵ The word **háqui** *where?* is typically followed by the article **hac** and so is classified in this grammar as a noun rather than a pronoun. When it occurs without the article, as it sometimes does, the analysis is more uncertain. It may be best to consider it an interrogative adverb in those cases, like the word **zímjüc** *when?*.

16.5 Locative pronouns

Three words are classified here as locative pronouns: (rare) **hip** *here*,³⁶ (common) **hiz** *here*,³⁷ and (very common) **toc** *there*.³⁸ These locative pronouns occur most commonly (and perhaps exclusively) with the verbs $\sqrt{\text{ahca}}$ *be located*, $\text{nt}\sqrt{\text{a}}$ *go*, $\text{mo}\sqrt{\text{a}}$ *come*, $\sqrt{\text{oom}}$ *be lying*, $\sqrt{\text{iih}}$ *be (cloth-like item)*, $\sqrt{\text{iij}}$ *be seated*, and $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$ *be standing*.

Since they are pronouns, these words do not occur with determiners.³⁹ However, the presence of **hiz** or **toc** in a clause (like certain other oblique objects but unlike an adverb like **haa** *there*) usually requires indirect object inflection on the verb (see §2.4).⁴⁰ In the case of **toc**, there are no exceptions.

- (174) ... **xazoj tintica hant z itáao, toc contíca ha.**
 puma MD-AW place a 3:3-RL-pass.by there 3IO-AW-SN-move DCL
 ‘... esa puma estaba pasando un lugar, allí iba.’
... that puma was passing by a place, he was going there. (Conejo_Puma_2.2)
- (175) **Toc contíiha iti, ...**
 there 3IO-Aw-3P-AON-move 3P-on
 ‘Mientras iba allí ...’
While he was going there ... (Conejo_Puma_4.1)
- (176) ... **haaco z ano tiij, toc cõtíij ma, ...**
 ABS.house a 3P.in RL-sit there 3IO-RL-sit DS
 ‘... estaba allí en una casa, ...’
...he was there in a house, ... (MK 2:1) OP_2-2-07_131

In the case of **hiz**, the exceptions are extremely few; (177)-(178) are two such exceptions. This pronoun typically determines indirect object inflection.

³⁶ This word was missing in the 2005 dictionary.

³⁷ The 2005 dictionary erroneously listed **hiz** as a noun.

³⁸ The word **toc** occurs more than 3500 times in the NTT, whereas the word **hiz** occurs approximately 170 times and **hip** only 10 times. Two of these pronouns are the etymological sources of the locative part of many complex demonstrative pronouns (§4.3.2) such as **hipcop** PX-VT, **hipquij** PX-CM, **hizcoi** PX-PL, and **hizmocat** PX-TWD-PL.

³⁹ See, however, the demonstrative adjective and pronoun **hizac** PX-LC (§4.3.2) which obviously is composed etymologically of **hiz** and the determiner **hac**.

⁴⁰ The combination of the final consonant of **toc** just before **co-** or its allomorph **cö-**, especially when the latter precedes a sibilant, is hard to hear.

- (177) **¡Hiz haxöáii!**
 here 1PS-EM-be.FL.PL
 ‘¡Aquí estamos!’
Here we are! (Overheard) RMH_08-04-07_164a
- (178) **Coox oo hiz oo hamóii.**
 all DL here DL 1PS-PX-be.FL.PL
 ‘Estamos todos aquí.’
We are all here. (Ac 16:28) RMH_08-04-07_164b
- (179) **Hiz cöimíij iha.**
 here 3IO-SN-N-sit DCL
 ‘No está aquí.’
S/he’s not here. (DS2005, hiz) RMH_08-04-07_164c
- (180) **Hant com iti cöihca hac, hiz cötahca, ...**
 land the 3P-on 3IO-3P-be.located the.LC here 3IO-RL-be.located
 ‘Pasó aquí en la tierra hace mucho tiempo, ...’
It happened a long time ago here ... (Conejo_Puma_5.1)
- (181) **Hant hipcom iti toom, hiz comom, ...**
 land PX.HZ 3P-on RL-lie here 3IO-PX-lie
 ‘Estaban aquí en este mundo, ...’
They were here in this world, ... (Heb 11:13) OP_2-2-07_129

The word **hip** itself is quite uncommon, and is apparently used only when the subject is singular and the clause is not negative; it also appears to be replaced totally by **hiz** in the speech of some people. Unlike **hiz**, it does not determine indirect object inflection on the verb.

- (182) **¡Hip ihpxóop!**
 here 1SS.IN-EM-stand
 ‘¡Aquí estoy!’
Here I am! (Offered) RMH_08-04-07_164d