



Type: Book Chapter

Pronouns of Uto-Aztecan

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Source: *Exploring the Explanatory Power of Semitic and Egyptian in Uto-Aztecan*

Published: Provo, UT; Grover Publications, 2015

Pages: 84-86

is causing s.th. to get on top of, and a hole getting covered is as a spring bubbling out, its hole being covered by water' or 'surfacing to the top'. SNum -p- instead of -v- means a cluster, and these are a palatalization of the above *tī'pu > ciCpu. CN tlakpa-k 'above, on top' fits the Semitic f sg verb rakbaa or a mecial vowel loss; CN -ikpa-k 'on or at the head of, above'. [SNum -p- vs. -v-; redtn] UACV-2032d *tīko / *tīku: CL.Azt131 *tāhko 'raise, ascend'; M88-tī45; KH/M06- tī45: ST tī'kov 'alto, arriba'; CN tle'koo 'ascend'; HN tle'ko 'climb, ascend'; Pl tehku; PYp teik 'upriver, above'; Wc téiki 'allá arriba' (Wc i < *u). These perhaps with loss of -p- (tVkp > tVku), since the three branches it appears in (Azt, CrC, and Tep) all lose -p- readily. Differing PYp teik 'upriver, above' vs. PYp tuuk 'uphill', and differing Nahuatl forms may mean recycled loans. [1r,2k,3b] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, TrC, CrC, Azt]

100 Hebrew *ra'oot(-aa) 'seeing (it), to see (it), infinitive/ verbal noun':

UACV-1912 *ta'uta 'find': TSh utaa 'find'; TSh ta'ota 'find'; Sh ta'uta 'find'; Cm urarī 'find';

Cm to'urarī 'meet someone, find something being looked for'. [*-t- > -c-, *uta > uci; *hu > wV?] [NUA: CNum]

3 Pronouns of Uto-Aztecan

In comparative work, pronouns are always an important consideration. Most UA pronouns align with Semitic, and two 3rd person singular pronouns align with Egyptian. All basic pronominal slots (sg: 1st, 2nd, 3rd; pl: 1st, 2nd and 3rd) are well represented in this tie; and a good 1st pl (we/us) possibility is last at 1528.

101 Hebrew -i 'my' is a possessive suffix pronoun, and like other Semitic suffix pronouns came to serve as prefix pronouns in UA, and so Hopi i- 'my' is identical to the Semitic 1st sg possessive, with adjusted syntax.

	1 st sg: independent pronouns (I)	suffix (object and possessive: me, my)
	Aramaic 'anáá' Hebrew 'anii, 'anoki	-nii, -iy
Ch	nīī	
SP	nī	
WMU	nīī'	
Tb		nik
Hp	nī	i-
Ca	ne'	
Tr	ne	
TO	a-ni	-ni
CN	ne'	

102 Hebrew 'anii 'I'; Arabic 'anaa 'I'; Aramaic 'anaa' 'I'; Syriac 'inaa' / naa' 'I':

Uto-Aztecan *nī' 'I' does not align with Hebrew (except possibly TO aañi), because final -i is Uto-Aztecan's favorite final vowel, so if Hebrew 'anii 'I' were the source, there would not be a change in the final vowel. However, Uto-Aztecan *nī' 'I' aligns well with Arabic / Aramaic / Syriac 'anáá, and the 2nd vowel, long and stressed, was retained. Relaxation of the vowel a > ī is common in the Semitic-to-UA data and loss of an unstressed vowel is also common; thus, 'anáá > nīī is expectable, doing like Syriac 'inaa' / naa' 'I' in its schwa-like behavior of 1st vowel (a > i) or complete loss of it (as in UA) for lack of stress:

UACV-2658 *nī' 'I, me, my': Sapir; B.Tep 295 *á:nī'i'á:nī; BH.Cup *nā; I.Num 118 *nī; CL.Azt 89 *nāh' CL.Azt 247 *nī'; M88-pr1; KH/M06-pr1: WSh nī (acc. nīī); TSh nī (acc. nīā); Hp nī' (acc. nīy); Sr nī:' (acc. nī:i); Ktn nī' (acc. nīy); Ca ne'; Cp nā' (acc. nā'iy); Ls no: (acc. ney); Gb nóma'; TO aañi('i); NT aáni; ST aañi'; Nv ani; Eu nee (pospuesto ne, gen. no, acc. neēt); Tr nihé (Ht); My ne (clítico) (acc. ne:); Wc né; CN ne' / ne'wa(tl), acc v pref: neeč; Pl naha. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: TrC, Tep, CrC, Azt]

103 While Hebrew -i is the 1st sg suffix possessive pronoun 'my' as in Hopi (101) but changed to a prefix, Hebrew -ni is the object 1st sg pronoun 'me' and UA *-ni 'me' is also in several UA languages and remains a suffix: Tb -ni 'me' (Voegelin 1935a, 37); Ch -ni 'me (1 sg pronoun postfix)' (Press 1979, 48); -ni 'me' (Langacker 1977a, 37); Tr -ni 'I'; Sh -nia 'me' has the -a 'accusative suffix' added to -ni 'me'.

Second person pronouns, Semitic *-ka 'you/your, masc sg' and Semitic *-ki 'you/your, fem sg' and Hebrew *-kem 'you/your, pl' (Arabic -kum) parallel UA *-i 'you, your, sg' and UA *-im 'you, your, pl' respectively (also Egyptian -k 'you/your'). These Semitic pronouns were originally suffixed, so -k was usually in a cluster, thus loss of k, or *-k > -' or ø in a cluster, as in English: him > -əm when suffixed (feed-im, love-im). Then they changed from suffix to independent and subject pronouns, for even in Hebrew the possessive pronoun can be subject of a verb: ra'ot-ka 'seeing-you (obj)' or 'your seeing (as subj)'. Yet given *-k > -'/ø, some UA languages show a similar sg and pl distinction as in Semitic/Hebrew.

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Semitic -kV ‘you sg’

	<u>you sg</u>
Cp	e / e’e
Ca	’e
Hp	’i
Cr	mu’e
Yq	-a’e
My	-’e

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-kVm ‘you masc pl’ (suffix/possessive/object pronouns)

	<u>you pl</u>
	eme / emem
	’em
	’imi- (possessive pronouns)
	mu’en
	-a’em (enclitic pronouns)
	-’em (enclitic pronouns)

UACV-2659a *’i ‘you sg’ (sometimes *’im(i) ‘you pl’ > ‘you sg’ as happened with English ‘you’ (pl) replacing ‘thou’ (sg): Sapir; BH.Cup *’ə; I.Num 22 *’ih; M88-pr4; KH/M06-pr4: Mn i: NP i; TSh i; Kw imi; CU imi; Hp im (acc. iḡ; dl./pl. ima, acc. imiy); Sr imi’ (pl. im, acc.sg./pl.imi); Ca ét/’e (pl ’em); Cp ə’ə ‘sg’ (pl əmə / imi / əm’əm); Ls óm; Gb ó; Tb imbi; Yq -a’e (pl -a’em); My -’e (pl -’em); Tr eme / muhé; Cr mú’ee. Sapir (1930, 183) says, “the (SP) -’ of the 2nd sg is entirely peculiar” but it matches the Semitic well.

UACV-2659b *’im(i) ‘you pl’: Sapir; Kaufman 1981 *’imV ‘ye’: Ca, Cp, Yq, and My (see above) show *’im in contrast to *’i ‘you sg’. Hp shows the distinction in its possessive pronouns: Hp ’i- ‘your, sg’ vs. Hp ’imi- ‘your, pl’, but not in its independent pronouns. Op emo / eme ‘you, sg and pl’ (Shaul 1990, 568).

Though SNum generally shows s.th. like *’imm(w)i ‘you sg’, Sapir (1930, 183-5) called SP -’- ‘you sg’ (2nd person sg suffix flanked by echo vowels) “entirely peculiar to the enclitic series” yet it is the expected 2nd sg reflex of Semitic 2nd sg suffix pronoun, without the -m of the other UA forms above.

The other UA languages that have ’im for the 2nd person singular pronoun, underwent a change like in English. English used to distinguish *thou* (sg) and *you* (pl). However, later, the plural *you* replaced singular *thou*, such that now both sg and pl 2nd person pronouns are *you / your*.

Many languages—English you, Spanish vos, French vous, German Sie—have changed 2nd pl > 2nd sg in an honorific or polite pl coming to be used for sg. Likewise, the UA languages below appear to derive both their sg and pl forms from the Semitic pl, as seen by an abundance of -m, which signifies plural in Hebrew (and in UA).

	<u>sg</u>	<u>pl</u>
Tb	imbi	imbuumu
Ch	imi	mimi
Hp	’im	’ima
Yq	’empe	’eme’e
SP	immi	mwimmwi

106 Most UA languages use their variant of the Hebrew suffix/possessive/object pronouns (-kV, -kVm) as subject pronouns also, but Tarahumara has 2nd person plural *subject tumu* ‘you’ like Semitic -tem / -tum ‘2nd pl *subject* pronoun; and Tr emi is the dative/object 2nd pl as in Hebrew. Note Tr **tumuhe** (subject pronoun):

	<u>subject pronouns ‘you, plural’</u>	<u>object pronouns ‘you, plural’</u>
Arabic/Sem	’antum (independent pronoun)	-kum (obj/suffix pronoun)
Hebrew	’attem (independent pronoun)	-kem (obj/suffix pronoun)
Arabic/Sem	-tum (subject pronoun on a perfect verb)	
Hebrew	-tem (subject pronoun on a perfect verb)	
Tr	tumu / tumuhe (ustedes, vosotros, subj)	emi (dative/object pronoun)
SP		ḡumi ‘you, your, pl obj pronoun’

So Tarahumara has both the 2nd person pl *subject* pronoun matching the Semitic 2nd pl *subject* pronoun, and the 2nd person pl *object* pronoun matching Semitic’s 2nd pl *object* pronoun. Note also Southern Paiute **ḡumi** ‘you, your, pl obj pronoun’ with a velar ḡ aligning with the Semitic velar -k-. The Aramaic vowels are -kum and -tum, so SP ḡumi and Tr tumu are likely from the Semitic-p and -’em from Semitic-kw.

Third person UA pronouns also contain numerous reflections of Semitic 3rd person pronouns:

107/108	Sg: <u>he/she, him, his</u>	109/110	Pl: <u>they/them/their</u>
Hebrew/Semitic	hu/huwa 'he'; hi/hiya 'she'; -o 'him/his'		hem, hum, -am
SP	huṅwa		humwi
Yq	hu 'that'		hume 'those'; 'am, -ame
Ca	he-, hi-		hem
Tr	hu / u	Hopi	- 'am

107 Hebrew/Semitic hu'/huu/huwa 'he'

UACV-2668 ***hu** 'that': I.Num018 *u(sí(N)) 'that'; KH/M06-dm2: My hu'; SP uṅwa 'he, that one'; first u- of NP usu; Cm usī 'that, that one (removed, definite)'; CU u/uru 'that, those, it'; Tb undugal 'that, that one'; Pl uni (vowel is wrong, notes Hill). Add Op hu (ju in Spanish orthography) 'that one' (Shaul 2007).

108 Hebrew huu 'he' is also used as a copula verb in a position to make it seem like 'is' of English: e.g., Hebrew ha-'adam huu 'ab-i (literally: the-man he father-my) or 'the man is my father'. Tr and other UA languages have this *hu* doing both roles: 'he/that' and 'is' between nouns. Tr **hu / u** 'is' is thought to be a participle of ni-ma 'be' but between nouns it was reinterpreted from 'John he the man' to 'John is the man'.

109 Hebrew hum / hem 'they, subject pronoun':

UACV-2666a *(**h**)imī 'they': M88-pr8; KH/M06-pr8: NP imī; Kw imī; CU umīs; Pl yehemet. Two forms exist—hum and hem—but -am (below) has a distinct vowel, no h, and must be a suffixed object or possessing pron.

110 Hebrew -am 'them/their, object suffix, or possessive suffix':

Hopi -'am 'their' is analyzed as -'a-m the -m being a pl suffix; My -am 'them'; Yq 'am- 'direct obj [them], de la 3rd pl [their]'; Yq -'ame-u 'a ellos [to them]; Yq -'ame-mak 'con ellos [with them]'.

Note also that CN pronouns align well with Semitic pronominal impfv verb prefixes, of the verb 'be' no less:

	Hebrew/Semitic sg	Hebrew/Semitic pl	maghrib Arabic	Classical Nahuatl
1 st	'e-/ 'a- 'I (verb)'	ni-/na- 'we (verb)'	n- 'I verb'	ne'wa / nehwa 'I'
2 nd	ti-/ta- 'you sg (verb)'	ti-/ta- 'you pl (verb)'	t- 'you verb'	te'wa / tehwa 'you, sg'
3 rd	yi-/ya- 'he (verbs)'	yi-/ya- 'they (verb)'	y- he verbs'	ye'wa / yehwa 'he'

The Classical Nahuatl (CN) singular pronoun series—nehwa (I), tehwa (you), yehwa (he)—parallels the imperfective of the Aramaic 'be' verb—'ehwe, tehwe, yehwe. Though the Nahuatl 1st person (nehwa 'I') differs from Semitic 'e-, the n- of the CN form is analogically like the fundamental n- of most Semitic 'I/me' forms. In fact, the maghrib Arabic dialect did the same thing, that is, analogized the impfv verb prefixes to be n-, t-, y- (Goldenberg 2001, 86), like the Classical Nahuatl singular series did also—nehwa, tehwa, yehwa.

111 Aramaic **tehwe** 'you are': UACV-2661 ***tī** / ***tihwa** 'you sg': KH/M06-pr2: CN te' / te'wa(tl) / tehwa(tl); Pl taha. Add Sr t 'you sg' (Ken Hill, Serrano Sketch, 2001). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

112 Aramaic **yehwe** 'he is': UACV-2663 ***yihwa** 'that, he, she': CN (y)e' / (y)e'waa / yehwaa / (y)e'waatl (pl. (y)e'waan / (y)e'waantin 'that one, he, she, they'); Pl ya, yah 'he, she, it'; Pl ye(e)met 'they'. [SUA: Azt]

113 Semitic/Aramaic **lik** 'to you, for you': Tb liṅ 'I (subject) + you (sg, object)'

114 One UA 3rd person sg pronoun appears similar to the Egyptian demonstrative Egyptian **p'y** 'this, that' (Allen 2000, 54): UACV-2669 ***pa** / ***pī**/**pī**/**pī**' 'he/she/it, that, 3rd person sg': BH.Cup *pə 'that'; KH/M06-dm3: NP pī 'him, her, it'; Cm pī 'him, her, it'; Ca pe' 'he/she/it'; Cp pə/pə'/pə'ə 'he/she/it' (pointing to s.th. remote from the speaker); Sr vī' '3rd person sg subject element in compound subj-obj pronouns'; Sr pat; pī- '3P prefix on postpositions' (e.g., pīhpa' 'on him/her/it'; pīmia' 'with him/her/it'); pīi-/pīi'f-/puu- 'their' (possessive prefix); pana' 'like that, that way'; Ls póó' (acc. póy, pl. pumóm) 'that; he, she, it' (Ls o < *i; thus Ls po' < *pi'); Gb paráma' (acc. pára, pl. pámo) 'aque!'; Tb -p '3rd person pl possessive pronoun'; Tb also has other 3rd person hints of initial p- pronominal elements, like Tb paaim 'some, others' (Voegelin 1935, 180); Hp pan 'like that, that way' and also

Hopi:	subj	obj
Sg	pam 'he/she/it'	pīt 'him/her/it'
Pl	pīma 'they'	pīmīy 'them'

Add Wc p- 'it, obj, e.g., p-áine 'lo dice' vs. (h)áine 'dice'. It is common, by the way, for demonstratives to become 3rd person pronouns and vice versa, as happened in Latin, etcetera. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]