

HOPI SUBJECT OBLVIATION CONSTRUCTIONS

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Clause Sequencing:

- (1) Mi' taaqa noes-t (puu') (pam) puwto.
(that man eat-PROX (then) (he) sleep)
'The man ate and went to sleep.'
- (2) Pam wu'ti noes-q (puu') mi' taaqa pitu.
(that woman eat-OBV (then) that man arrive)
'The woman ate and (then) the man arrived.'
- (3) Mi' maana noes-t puu' pam puwto.
'The girl<i> ate and she<i> went to sleep.'
- (4) Mi' maana noes-q puu' pam puwto.
'The girl<i> ate and (s)he<j> went to sleep.'
- (5) Pam taavo-t niina-t, puu' (pam) (pu-t) siskwa-ni.
(he rabbit-ACC kill-PROX, then (he) (it-ACC) skin-FUT)
'When he kills the rabbit, he will skin it.'
- (6) Pam taavo-t niin-e', puu' (pam) (pu-t) siskwa-ni.
'If he kills the rabbit, he will skin it.'
- (7) 'Ita-na mo'ti paasa-y 'ep pasta-t, puu' pam 'ep 'uy-ngwu.
(our-fa first field-PROX at clear-PROX, then he there plant-USIT)
'My father first clears his field and then plants it.'
- (8) Pam warik-t, puu' pam munu.
(he run:PERF-PROX, then he fall)
'He ran and fell down.'
- (9) Pam warik-kyang puu' pam munu.
'As he started to run he fell down.'
- (10) Pam warikiwta-kyang puu' pam munu.
(he run:IMPERF-PROXCONT then he fall)
'As he was running, he fell.'
- (11) Pam warikiwt-e' munuk-ni.
(he run:IMPERF-PROXCOND fall-FUT)
'If he is running, he will fall.'
- (12) Pam tumala'yt-e' song-qa naa-tuhota-ngu.
(he work:IMPERF-PROXCOND NEG-NEG REFL-hurt-USIT)
'Whenever he works he inevitably hurts himself.'

-t also used in sequence
of tenses as perfective

-e' - conditional
circumstances (if main clause)

OBV has future or
gnomic)

-q

TNS

-∅
-ni -fut

-ngwu homic,
usitative

COMP and INFL:

- when C+V separated*
- (13) Pam 'uy-ni(-ni)-t mo'ti pasta-ngwu.
(he plant-FUT(-INCH)-PROX first till-USIT)
'When he is going to plant he first tills the field.'
- (14) Pam nu'tum warik-ni-(-ni)-q 'oovi nu' 'e-ngam too-ci-t tu'ito.
(he also run-FUT(INCH)-OBV so I him-for shoe-ACC buy:go)
'He's going to run with the others so I went and bought shoes for him.'
- (15) Pam teevep puw-ngwu-ni'-kyang, pas:piw 'inu-miq hingqawu.
(he all:day sleep-USIT-INCH-PROXCONT, yet me-against say:things)
'Though he sleeps all day long, he nonetheless says things against me.'

Hopi realizations of AGR (pl):

- (16) (a) Pam wari. '(S)he ran.'
(b) Puma wari. 'They (dual) ran.'
(c) Puma yu'tu. 'They (plural) ran.' (alt. yu'tu-k-ya)
** Pam yu'tu (old Navajo - comitative)*
- (17) (a) Pam puw-to. '(S)he went to sleep.' *sleep*
(b) Puma puw-to. 'They (dual) went to sleep.' *puuwi -pl*
(c) Puma tok-wisa. 'They (plural) went to sleep.' *tookya +pl* *go-to-sleep*
puw-wi -to
tookya-misc
- (18) (a) Pam momori. '(S)he swam.'
(b) Puma momori. 'They (dual) swam.'
(c) Puma momor-ya. 'They (plural) swam.'
- (19) Pam munu-k-q mooki.
(he fall-INCH-OBV die)
'He fell down and died.'
- (20) Puma munu-k-ya-q so'a.
(they fall-INCH-PL-OBV die:PL)
'They (plural) fell down and died.'
- (21) (a) 'Uma yu'tu-k-q puu' 'itam tuwat yu'tu-k-ni.
(you run:PL-INCH-OBV then we too run:PL-INCH-FUT)
'You run and then we'll run too.'
- (b) 'Uma yu'tu-k-q puu' 'itam tuwat-ya-ni.
(you run:PL-INCH-OBV then we too PL-FUT)
'You run and then we will too.'
- d. VP - deletion*
standing with
- (22) (a) 'Um paasa-t 'aw-ni-q, puu' nu' tiimayto-ni.
(you field-ACC to-INCH-OBV, then I go:to:dance-FUT)
'When you go to the field, I'll go to the dance.'
- (b) 'Uma paasa-t 'aw-ya-q, puu' nu' tiimayto-ni.
(you field-ACC to-PL-OBV, then I go:to:dance-FUT)
'When you (plural) go to the field, I'll go to the dance.'
- (23) (a) Pam paasay 'aw-n-e', pay nawus qa tiimaytoni.

'If he goes to his field, he probably won't go to the dance.'

(b) Puma paasay 'aw-y-e', pay nawus qa tiimaywisni.
'If they go to their field, they probably won't go to the dance.'

(24) (a) Pam 'as paasay 'aw-ni-kyang, sooewu tiimayto.
'He should be going to his field, so he's wasting time going to the dance.'

(b) Puma 'as paasay ('aw-ya-ni-kyang) sooewu tiimaywisa.
'They should be going to their field, and/so they are wasting time going to the dance.'

(25) (a) Pam paasay 'aw-nii-kyang, cuu'at 'aw wu'ku.
'As he was going to his field, he stepped on a rattler.'

(b) Puma paasay 'aw-ya-kyang, cuu'at 'aw wu'kukya.
'As they were going to their field they stepped on a rattler.'

(26) Inclusion and obviation:
'Itam yung-q puu' nu' qatuptu.
(we enter:PL-OBV then I sit:down)
'When we came in, I sat down.'

(27) Weather:
Su'pan pavan 'utuhu'-ni-q puu' hukva-ngwu.
(COG CER hot-INCH-OBV then blow-USIT)
'It seems that when its hot the wind blows.'

Complementation:

(28) Nu' 'as [ec kweewa-t tu'i-ni-qa-y] naawakna.
(I UI belt-ACC buy-FUT-NC-ACC:PROX want)
'I want to buy a belt.'

(29) Nu' [i-pava] 'inu-ngam kweewa-t yuku-ni-qa-t] naawakna.
(I my-bro me-for belt-ACC make-FUT-NC-ACC:OBV] want)
'I want my brother to make me a belt.'

(30) Nu' su'taq'ewta [ec 'i-pava-y 'e-ngam pay kii-law-ni-qa-y].
(I avow my-bro-ACC him-for now house-make-FUT-NC-ACC:PROX)
'I avow that I will now build a house for my brother.'

(31) Nu' su'taq'ewta ['itam pay kii-law-ni-qa-t].
(I avow we now house-make-FUT-NC-ACC:OBV)
'I avow that we will now build a house.'

Case marker goes obviative:

ACC: y - prox

{ e - obviative (for underranked)

Nominal complementizer

apam mat nu' } Taga-t NP

po'ko - at N D

po'ko(y) - at 3 - obviative det

pu-t Taga-t

Case po'ko - y - at

my dog
?i-poko
your dog
?u? - poko

I see my dog:
nu? ?i-poko-y
nu? ?u? - poko-y
*pam nu-y ?i-uoko tuwa
he me my dog

became N in modified

Relative Clauses:

- (32) Nu' [tiyo'ya-t pam pakmumuy-qa-t] hoona.
 (I boy-ACC he cry:IMPERF-NC-ACC:OBV send:home)
 'I sent the boy who was crying home.'
- (33) [Mi' tiyo'ya pam 'acata-qa] pakmumuya.
 (That boy he lie-NC:NOM cry:IMPERF)
 'The boy who lied is crying.'
- (34) Nu' [taavo-t (nu') (pu-t) niina-qa-y] siskwa.
 (I rabbit-ACC (I) (it-ACC) kill-NC-ACC:PROX skin)
 'I skinned the rabbit I killed.'
- (35) Nu' [taavo-t 'i-pava (pu-t) niina-qa-t] siskwa.
 (I rabbit-ACC my-bro (it-ACC) kill-NC-ACC:OBV skin)
 'I skinned the rabbit my brother killed.'
- (36) (a) *[Mi' tiyo'ya nu' (pu-t) wuva'ta-qa] pakmumuya.
 (that boy I (him-ACC) strike-NC:NOM cry:IMPERF)
 'The boy I struck is crying.'
 (b) *[Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nu' (pu-t) wuva'ta-qa] pakmumuya.
 (c) *[Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nu' (pu-t) wuva'ta-qa-t] pakmumuya.
 (-ACC -ACC -ACC:OBV)
- (37) (a) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nu' pu-t tuwi'yta-qa-t po'ko-'at mooki.
 (that-ACC boy-ACC I him-ACC know-NC-ACC:OBV dog-OBV die)
 'That boy I know's dog died.'
 (b) [[Nu' mit tiyo'yat tuwi'ytaqat] po'ko'at] mooki.
- (38) Haw [hak mok-qa-t] 'um tuwi'yta?
 (Q who:NOM die-NC-ACC:OBV you know)
 'Who do you know that died?'
 (Cf. Nu' mit tiyo'yat mokqat tuwi'yta. 'I know that boy who died.')
- (39) Dislocation:
 (a) Mi' maana, nu' pu-t tuwa.
 (that girl, I her-ACC see)
 (b) Mi' tiyo'ya, [nu' pu-t tuwaa-qa-t], pam pay nima.
 (that boy:NOM, [I him-ACC see-NC-ACC:OBV], he now go:home)
 'That boy, who I saw, he has already gone home.'
 (Contrast: Mi' tiyo'ya, pam nuy tuwaaqa, pam pay nima. 'That boy who saw me, he has already gone home.' And also:
 Mi' tiyo'ya, nu' put tuwi'ytaqay, nu' put 'amum tumala'yta.
 'That boy, who I know, I work with him.')
- (40) Extraposition:
 Mi' tiyo'ya waaya, nu' pu-t tuwaa-qa-t.
 (that boy flee, I him-ACC see-NC-ACC:OBV)

up stairs → S O

down stairs ↓

S	✓-qa	✓-qa-t
O	✗-qa-t	✓-t

↓

- needs to be marked for obvi
 - but NOM can't be so marked

'The boy ran away, whom I saw.'

The Noun Phrase (DP, KP):

- (41) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t po'ko-'at warikiwta.
(that-ACC boy-ACC dog-OBV:SG run:IMPERF)
'The boy's dog is running.'
- (42) Nu' mi-t tiyo'ya-t po'ko-y-at 'uu'uyi.
(I that-ACC boy-ACC dog-ACC-OBV:SG steal)
'I stole the boy's dog.'
- (43) Mi' tiyo'ya po'ko-y mu'a.
(that boy dog-ACC:PROX shoot)
'The boy shot his (own) dog.'
- (44) Mi' tiyo'ya pu-t po'ko-y mu'a.
(that boy that-ACC dog-ACC:PROX shoot)
'The boy shot that dog of his (own).'
- (45) Mi-mu-y toti-m-hoy-mu-y po'ko-'am warikiwta.
(that-PL-ACC boys-PL-DIM-PL-ACC dog-OBV:PL run)
'The boys' dog is running.'
- (46) Nu' mimuy totimhoymuy po'ko-y-amu-y 'uu'uyi.
(dog-ACC-OBV:PL-ACC steal)
'I stole the boys' dog.'
- (47) Mi-ma toti-m-ho'ya-m po'ko-y mu'a-ya.
(that-PL boys-PL-DIM-PL dog-ACC:PROX shoot-PL)
'The boys shot their (own) dog.'
- (48) Mi' tiyo'ya 'i-poko-y 'uu'uyi.
(that boy my-dog-ACC steal)
'The boy stole my dog.'
(*Mi' tiyo'ya nuy 'ipokoy 'uu'uyi.)
- (49) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t pok-m-at yu'tukiyungwa.
(that-ACC boy-ACC dog-PL-OBV:SG run:PL:IMPERF)
'The boy's dogs are running.'
- (50) Nu' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pok-mu-y-atu-y qoeya.
(I that-ACC boy-ACC dog-PL-ACC-OBV:SG-ACC kill:PLOBJ)
'I killed that boy's dogs.'
- (51) Mi' tiyo'ya pok-mu-y qoeya.
(that boy dog-PL-ACC:PROX kill:PLOBJ)
'That boy killed his (own) dogs.'
- (52) Mi-mu-y toti-m-hoy-mu-y pok-m-at yu'tukiwyungwa.
(that-PL-ACC boys-PL-DIM-PL-ACC dog-PL-OBV:PL run:PL:IMPERF)
'Those boys' dogs are running.' (NB: not *pokmam)

(53) Nu' [pu-t maman-tu-y po'ko-y-amu-y] kun'tuva.
 (I that-ACC girl:PL-PL-ACC dog-ACC-OBV:PL-ACC] kick)
 'I kicked that dog of the girls'.'

(54) Possessive Paradigms (drop OBV /-atu-, -amu-/ for 3 PROX):

NOM (sg N)		ACC (sg N)	
1	'i-N 'ita'-N	'i-N-y 'ita'-N-y	
2	'u'-N 'umu'-N	'u'-N-y 'umu'-N-y	
3	NP N-'at NP N-'am	NP N-y-at NP N-y-amu-y	
NOM (pl anim N)		ACC (pl anim N)	
1	'i-N-PL 'ita'-N-PL	'i-N-PL-y 'ita'-N-PL-y	
2	'u'-N-PL 'umu'-N-PL	'u'-N-PL-y 'umu'-N-PL	
3	NP N-m-at NP N-m-at	NP N-mu-y-atu-y NP N-mu-y-atu-y	