

#1

(20)

24.951
PROBLEM SET ON SELECTION

There are two types of “clausal” complements in Navajo. One of these, illustrated in (1) below, involves the use of so-called *direct discourse* complementation. Direct discourse complements are selected by just a few verbs—just three, depending on how you count:

- (1) a. Shizhé'é [Na'nízhoozhí-góó deeshááł] ní.
my-father [Gallup-to I-go:FUT] he-said
'My father said he will/would go to Gallup.'

- b. Shizhé'é [Na'nízhoozhí-góó deeshááł] nízin.
he-wants/thinks
'My father wants to go/thinks he'll go to Gallup.'

- c. Shizhé'é [Na'nízhoozhí-góó jidoogááł] shó'ní.
one-go:FUT me-consider
'My father thinks that I will go to Gallup (lit. thinks of me [that (s)he/one (= 4th person) will go to Gallup]).

Direct discourse complements are transparent for extraction and LF raising (hence, they are *not* so-called “direct quotes”, which are opaque for these processes). Furthermore, the clausal complement is not “registered” in the verb word (by agreement morphology)—in that respect, they are akin to direct quotes.

This problem set will not be concerned with direct discourse complements, except to the extent you yourselves might wish to bring them into the discussion in some way. Rather, our principal concern here will be the other type of complementation, which involves a “nominalized” clause. The nominalizing element is basically -í, which can be further modified through suffixation—and generally, where no suffix appears on this element, it is augmented by -gíí, giving -ígíí. The “nominalizing” morphology just introduced belongs, we believe, to the category D(determiner)—hence, it “creates” a DP. It may combine with nouns as well as clauses—in either case it forms a semantically definite expression. This is also the morphology involved in the internally headed relative clause of Navajo (and, a further point of morphology, where the event depicted in a relative clause is understood as being in the past, the D morphology is modified to -éę, in place of the basic -í(gíí); for our purposes, this is an irrelevant detail). Let us refer to these constructions generally as “D-clauses”. The “discourse pattern” they exhibit is indirect, and they are registered in the verb word or associated postposition by agreement morphology, as any nominal argument must be. Some examples of this type, and of the relative clause, follow in (2):

- (2) a. Shizhé'é [Na'nízhoozhí-góó nisíníyá(h)-ígíí] yiyíinii'.
 my-father [Gallup-to 2s-go:PF-D] 3o-3s-heard
 'My father heard that you went to Gallup.'
 (Cf. Na'nízhoozhí-góó nisíníyá. 'You went to Gallup.')
- b. [Łíí' nahíníńmii'-ígíí] baa shił hózhó.
 [horse 3o-2s-bought-D] 3o-about 1o-with env-beautiful
 'It's great with me (I'm happy) that you bought the/a horse.'
 (Cf. Łíí' nahíníńmii'. 'You bought the/a horse.')
- c. [Dííjí k'í' naniyé(h)-ígíí] nizhóní.
 [today horse around-2o-3s-carry-D] 3s-is:beautiful
 'The horse you're riding today is beautiful.'
 (Cf. Łíí' naniyé. 'You are riding the/a horse (lit. it carries you around).')
- d. [Adáá'dáá' k'í' naniyé(h)-éé] nizhóní.
 [yesterday horse around-2o-3s-carry-D] 3s-is:beautiful
 'The horse you were riding yesterday is beautiful.'

In (2a) the D-clause is a direct object of the verb, and is so registered, by the (3-on-3) agreement prefix y(i)-. In (2b), the clause appears as an object of the postposition -aa 'about', and it is registered there by the object prefix b(i)-, not y(i)-, as the subject is the "environmental" argument ho-, rather than a third person. In (2c,d), the relative clause, formally a D-clause, happens to bear the subject relation, and is registered in the verb word in the expected way—i.e., zero, for third person. Details of agreement are complicated and not particularly relevant to the problem set; the glosses will be sufficient for our purposes—in the latter, the person categories will be glossed 1, 2, 3, with an attached o or s for subject and object. The *fact* of agreement, however, is an essential aspect of the grammar of D-clauses, since it reflects their essentially nominal character.

The data of this problem set consist of (a) grammatical and ungrammatical sentences (indicated in the usual way on the Navajo sentences) and (b) possible and impossible meanings (here an asterisk on an English translation will mean "not possible as a meaning for the Navajo"). Your task is to give the best possible brief characterization of the (s- and c-)selectional facts of the Navajo predicators illustrated. The briefer the better, one or two pages should be sufficient.

- (3) a. [Bííh náníł'ah-ígíí] yish'í.
 [deer 3o-2s-dress-D] 3o-1s-see
 'I see the deer that you are dressing (i.e., skinning, etc.)'
 *'I see that you are dressing the/a deer.'
- b. Bííh yish'í 'I see the/a deer.'

- (4) a. [Shiye' dibé neiniikaad-ígíí] yínii'.
 [my-son sheep 3o-3s-herd-D] 3o-1s-heard
 'I heard (got wind of fact) that my son is herding sheep.'
 *'I heard the sheep that my son is herding.'
- b. *Dibé yínii'. 'I heard the sheep.'
- Cf. c. [Shiye' dibé neiniikaad-ígíí] yísists'áá'.
 'I heard/listened to the sheep my son is herding.'
- (5) a. [Kwii diné ndaalnish-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 [here people 3s-work-D] me-with i3o-about-is:known
 'I know that (the) people are working here.'
 *'I know the people who are working here.'
- b. *Diné shił bééhózin. 'I know (the) people.'
- Cf. c. [Kwii diné ndaalnish-ígíí] bééhasin.
 3o-about-1s-know
 'I know the people who work here.'
 *'I know that (the) people are working here.'
- d. [Shiye' Kintání-góó deeyá(h)-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 [my-son Flagstaff-to 3s-go:PF-D] 1o-with 3o-about-is:known
 'I know that my son has gone to Flagstaff.'
- e. [Shiye' t deeyá(h)-í-góó] shił bééhózin.
 [my-son t 3s-go:PF-D-to] 1o-with 3o-about-is:known
 'I know where my son has gone.'
- f. [Shiye' Naakaii bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 [my-son Mexican's language 3o-3s-learn-D] ...
 'I know (the fact that) my son is learning Spanish.'
- g. [Shiye' t yíhooł'aah-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 'I know what my son is learning.'
- h. [Kii Naakaii Bich'ah-déé' naaghá(h)-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 [Kee Mexican Hat-from 3s-hail-D] ...
 'I know that Kee comes from Mexican Hat.'

- i. [Kii *t* naaghá(h)-í-déé'] shił bééhózin.
 [Kee *t* 3s-hail-D-from] ...
 'I know where Kee comes from.'
- (6) a. [Ashkii Diné bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] bééhasin.
 [boy Navajo's language 3o-3s-learn-D] 3o-about-1s-know
 'I know the boy who is learning Navajo.'
- b. *[Ashkii *t* yíhooł'aah-ígíí] bééhasin.
 *'I know what the boy is learning.'
- c. [*pro* Diné bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] bééhasin.
 'I know the one (the person) who is learning Navajo.'
- Cf. d. [*pro* Diné bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 'I know he/she is learning Navajo.'
 *'I know the one (the person) who is learning Navajo.'
- e. [*t* Diné bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] shił bééhózin.
 'I know who is learning Navajo.'
 *[*t* Diné bizaad yíhooł'aah-ígíí] bééhasin.
 *'I know who is learning Navajo.'
- f. Kii bééhasin. 'I know Kee.'
 Éí bééhasin. 'I know that; I know that one.'
- Cf. g. *Kii shił bééhózin.
 Éí shił bééhózin. 'I know that (fact).'
- (7) a. [At'ééd dibé neiłkaad-ígíí] baa áhonissin.
 [girl sheep 3o-3s-herd-D] 3o-about 1s-aware
 'I am aware of the fact that the girl is herding sheep.'
 'I am aware of the girl who is herding sheep.'
 'I am aware of the sheep that the girl is herding.'
- b. [*pro* dibé neiłkaad-ígíí] baa áhonissin.
 'I am aware that he/she is herding sheep.'
 'I am aware of the one (the person) who is herding sheep.'
- c. [*t* dibé neiłkaad-ígíí] baa áhonissin.
 'I am aware who is herding sheep.'

- d. [At'éeéd hootso-gi na'niłkaad-ígíí] baa áhonissin.
[girl meadow-in 3indef-3s-herd-D] ...
'I am aware that the girl is herding in the meadow.'
- e. [At'éeéd t na'niłkaad-í-gi] baa áhonissin.
[girl t 3indef-3s-herd-D-in] ...
'I am aware where the girl is herding.'
- (8) a. [Kii Kinkáni-góó íiyá(h)-ígíí] bee bił hólne'.
[Kee Flagstaff-to 3s-go-D] 3o-about 3o-with 2s-tell
'Tell her (the fact) that Kii went to Flagstaff.'
- b. [Kii t íiyá(h)-í-góó] bee bił hólne'.
[Kee t 3s-go-D-to] ...
'Tell her where Kii went.'
- c. [Bijh násh'ah-ígíí] bee bił hólne'.
[deer 3o-1s-dress-D] ...
'Tell her (the fact that) I'm skinning a deer.'
'Tell her about the deer I'm skinning.'
- (9) a. [Kii Kinkáni-góó íiyá(h)-ígíí] shił yá'át'éeéh.
[Kee Flagstaff-to 3s-go-D] 1o-with is:good
'I like it that Kee went to Flagstaff.'
- b. *[Kii t íiyá(h)-í-góó] shił yá'át'éeéh.
[Kee t 3s-go-D-to] ...
'*I like where Kee went.'
- c. [Kii hǫ́' nabiyé(h)-ígíí] shił yá'át'éeéh.
[Kee horse around-3o-3s-carry-D] ...
'I like it that Kee is riding a horse.'
'I like the horse that Kee is riding.'
- (10) a. [Kii hǫ́' nayiimiih-ígíí] ch'íini'á.
[Kee horse 3o-3s-buy-D] out-3o-1s-handle
'I brought out the fact that Kee is buying a horse.'
'*I brought out (mentioned) the horse that Kee is buying.'
- b. [Kii hǫ́' Kinkáni-di nayiisnii'-ígíí] ch'íini'á.
[Kee horse Flagstaff-in 3o-3s-buy-D] ...
'I brought out the fact that Kee bought the horse in Flagstaff.'
'*I brought out the horse that Kee bought in Flagstaff.'

- c. *[Kii k̄i' t nanyiisnii'-í-di] ch'ííni'á.
 [Kee horse t 3o-3s-buy-D-in] ...
 *'I brought out where Kee bought the horse.'

If you wish, you may use the following (upper case) glosses for the verbal expressions of this problem set. In the Navajo "parsing" and in the free English translation, X stands for the argument which is *selected* in the sense which is relevant here:

HEAR₁ = X-í-subj-nii' "to hear X"

HEAR₂ = X-sí-subj-ts' áá' "to hear X"

SEE = X-ghi-subj'í "to see X"

KNOW₁ = X Y-ł bééhózin "Y has knowledge of X, X is known to Y"

KNOW₂ = X béé-ho-subj-zin "to know X"

AWARE = X baa á-ho-ni-subj-zin "to be aware of X"

TELL = X bee Y-ł ho-l-subj-ne' "to tell Y (about) X"

LIKE = X Y-ł yá'át'ééh "to like X, X is pleasant for Y"

BRING:OUT = X ch'í-ni-subj'á "to bring X out (in conversation or debate)."

Essentially, the task is to formulate the selection properties of these expressions and to explain the distribution of asterisks.