

SOME RELATIVE CLAUSE TYPES II

B. The Headless Relative Clause

Diegueño (Gorbet)

- (1) i:pac 'əwu:w
(man I-saw)
'I saw the man.'
- (2) i:pac(-pu-c) ciyaw
(man(DEF-SUBJ) sang)
'The man sang.'
- (3) i:pac 'əwu:w-pu-c ciyaw
(man I-saw-DEF-SUBJ sang)
'The man I saw sang.'
- (4) tənay 'əwa: 'əwu:w
(yesterday hous I-saw)
'I saw the house yesterday.'
- (5) 'əwa:-pu-L^y 'ciyawx
(house-DEF-INESSIVE I-sing-FUT)
- (6) tənay 'əwa: 'əwu:w-pu-L^y 'ciyawx
(yesterday house I-saw-DEF-INESSIVE I-sing-FUT)
'I'll sing in the house I saw yesterday.'
- (7) xatəkoek wi:-m 'tuc
(dog stone-INST I-hit)
'I hit the dog with a/the rock.'
- (8) xatəkoek-pu-c n^yil^y wi:-pu-c n^yil^y
(dog-DEF-SUBJ black) (stone-DEF-SUBJ black)
'The dog was black.' 'The stone was black.'
- (9) xatəkoek wi:-m 'tuc-pu-c n^yil^y
(dog stone-INST I-hit-DEF-SUBJ black)
'The rock I hit the dog with was black.'
'The dog I hit with the rock was black.'
- (10) Mesa Grande dialect:
'əxat 'əwil^y-m 'tu:
(dog stone-INST I-hit)
'I hit the dog with the rock.'
'əwil^y-pu-c n^yil^yci
(stone-DEF-SUBJ black-indeed)
'The rock was black.'
'əwil^y 'əxat n^yi-m 'tu:-pu-c n^yil^yci
(rock dog DET-INST I-hit-DEF-SUBJ black-indeed)
'The rock I hit the dog with was black.'

Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity)

- (1) sen 'u'-k'u'wa-'en-'i na-t'a-mu
 (man 3dat-sheep-be-PRO 3int-thin-be)
 'The sheep which the man has is skinny.'
- (2) k^wiyó sę-me'le mán-pa-'-i nán-o'éy 'í'í-dí na-pa-'-an
 (woman bowl 3tr-make-PRO earth-white from 3int-make-done)
 'The bowl which the woman made is made from white clay.'
- (3) k^wiyó pe'sani mán-pay-'i sa'be-yán na-mu.
 (woman blanket 3tr-make-PRO Navajo 3tr-be)
 'The woman who is making the blanket is Navajo.'
- (4) na° he'i ky'yo ni'li-n mán-ta'ha'na-'in dó-béy-mun
 (I that wolf chicken-pl 3tr-kill(pl)-PRO(pl) ltr-them-saw)
 'I saw the chickens which the wolf killed.'
- (5) na° he'i-n ky'yo ni'li dí-héy-'i-n dó-béy-mun.
 (I those-pl wolves chicken 333tr-kill-PRO-pl ltr-them-saw)
 'I saw those wolves that killed the chicken.'
- (6) na° he'i-n ky'yo ni'li-n dí-ta'ha'na-'i-n dó-béy-mun.
 (I those-pl wolves chicken-pl 333tr-kill(pl) ltr-them-saw)
 'I saw the wolves that killed the chickens.'
 'I saw the chickens that the wolves killed.'
- (7) 'i 'e'nu he'i c'i'yo-dí k'u'wa mán-po'wa-n-'i 'u'-bí-'e'nu na-mu.
 (the boy that knife-INST sheep 3tr-butcher-pres-PRO you-GEN
 boy 3int-be)
 'The boy who is butchering the sheep with the knife is your
 boy.'
- (8) 'i 'e'nu he'i c'i'yo-dí k'u'wa mán-po'wa-n-'i-n dó-me'gi
 (-INV ltr-gave)
 'I gave away that knife with which the boy is butchering
 the sheep.'
- (9) sen pę'ę-dí wa'k'a mán-k^wi'-kęno-t'ó-'i-n we-na-k^wę-dí.
 (man rope-INST cow 3tr-tie-throw-try-PRO-INV neg-3int-strong-neg)
 'The rope with which the man tried to catch the cow wasn't
 strong enough.'
- (10) sen ni'li ce'ó-dí 'ó'-héy-'i mán-mun.
 (man chicken dog-by 3pass-kill-PRO 3tr-saw)
 sen ce'ó-dí ni'li 'ó'-héy-'i mán-mun.
 (man dog-by chicken 3pass-kill-PRO 3tr-saw)
 'The man saw the chicken that was killed by the dog.'
 (unambiguous) (cf. (8), ambiguous)

Jemez (Hale)

- (1) 'wá elith^ho-š kq-l-k'á
(you hat-INV 2dat-INV-be)
'You have a hat.' 'The hat belongs to you.'
- (2) elith^ho-š óp'á e-k'á
(hat-INV there INV-be)
'The hat is over there.'
- (3) 'wá elith^ho-s kq-l-k'á-'e(-š) óp'á e-k'á.
(you hat-INV 2dat-INV-be-REL(-INV) there INV-be)
'The hat that belongs to you is over there.'
- (4) kí á-k'á
(child ldat-be)
'I have a child.'
- á-ká-k'a
(l-dat-child-be)
'I have a child.'
- (5) ówa ní' á-ká-k'a-'e to'-k'a
(here I ldat-child-be-REL picture-be)
'Here is a picture of the child I have, of my child.'
- (6) ní' wá'gése-š á-l-gó'
(I cow-INV ldat-INV-be(pl))
'I have cows.'
- (7) ní' wá'gése-š á-l-gó'-'e(-š) fa·fa e-maa
(I cow-INV ldat-INV-be-REL(-INV) alfalfa INV-give)
'Give the cows I have some alfalfa.'

Passamaquoddy (Knecht, LeSourd, Hale)

- (1) n-kotipsela otuhk
(I-skinned deer)
'I skinned the deer.'
- (2) n-mihtags nehpa-h-l otuhk-ol
(my-father killed-OBVo deer-OBV)
'My father killed the/a deer.'
- (3) n-kotipsela otuhk nehpahaci-l n-mihtags.
(I-skinned deer killed(conj:ch)-OBVo my-father)
'I skinned the deer that my father killed.'
- (4) n-kotipsela n-mihtags nehpahaci-l otuhk-ol.
(I-skinned my-father killed(conj:ch)-OBVo deer-OBV)
(same as (3))
- (5) kinkil otuhk n-mihtags nehpahaci-l
(big deer my-father killed(conj:ch)-OBVo)
'The deer my father shot is big.'

- (6) kinkil-ol otuhk-ol n-mihtaqs nehpahaci-1
(big-OBV deer-OBV my-father killed(conj:ch)-OBVo)
(same as (5))
- (7) nomiya otuhk nehpahantieihi ikolisoman-ck
((I-)see deer\$OBV killed(conj:ch:pls:OBVopl) anglo-pl)
'I see the deer(pl) that the anglos shot.'

Japanese (Kuroda)

- (1) Ringo ga sara no ue ni atta.
(apple SUBJ plate GEN top LOC was)
'There was/were an apple/apples on a plate.'
- (2) Taroo wa ringo ga sara no ue ni atta no o totte, poketto ni ireta.
(Taroo TOP apple SUBJ plate GEN top LOC was REL OBJ took:and, pocket LOC put)
'Taroo picked up an apple which was on a plate and put it in a pocket.'
- (3) Taroo wa Hanako ga ringo o sara no ue ni oita no o totte, ...
(Taroo TOP Hanako SUBJ apple OBJ plate GEN top LOC put REL OBJ took:and, ...)
'Taroo picked up an apple which Hanako had (just) put on a plate, and'
- (4) Taroo wa Hanako ga osoikakatte kita no o nezihuseta.
(Taroo TOP Hanako SUBJ to:attack approached REL OBJ floored)
'Taroo floored (and held down) Hanako, who had approached him to attack.'
- (5) #Taroo wa Hanako ga harubaru tazunete kita no o nezihuseta.
'Taroo floored (and held down) Hanako, who had come a long way to visit him.'
- (6) Taroo wa Hanako ga harubaru tazunete kita no o genkan de opparatta.
'Taroo turned Hanako, who had come along way to visit him, away at the entrance of his house.'
- (7) Sono omawari wa gakusei-tati ga CIA no supai o kumihuseta no o uti-korosita.
'The cop shot and killed the students who held down the CIA spy.'
'The cop shot and killed the CIA spy who the students held down.'
- (8) Taroo ga ringo o katte oita no ga teeburu no ue ni aru.
'On the table there are apples which Taroo bought for some purpose.' (unambiguous, because of /aru/)
- (9) Zyunsa ga doroboo o kawa no hoo e oitumete itta no ga iki oi amatte butaritomo kawa no naka e tobikonda.
'A policeman was tracking down a thief toward the river, who both, losing control, jumped into the river.'