

SOME RELATIVE CLAUSE TYPES IV

D. The Hopi Relative Clause and Pleonastic Structure

(Sources: Jeanne and Hale, 1976 class notes; Jeanne, "Hopi Relative Clauses", MIT ms., 1974; Jeanne "A Re-consideration of the Relative Clause in Hopi", MIT ms., 1975; Hale, Jeanne, and Platero, "Three cases of Overgeneration", 1976)

- (1) Mi' tiyo'ya pakmámiya.
(that boy cry)
'That boy is crying.'
- (2) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t hoona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL sent:home)
'I sent that boy home.'
- (3) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pakmímáy-qa-t hoona..
(I that-OBL boy-OBL cry-QA-OBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy who was crying.'
- (4) Mi' .tiyo'ya pam pakmámiya.
(that boy he cry)
'That boy, he is erylng.'
- (5) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pam pakmímáy-qa-t hoona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL he cry-QA-OBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy who was crying.'
- (6) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pam) pá-t maana-t wíva'ta-qa-t hoona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL (he) that-OBL girl-OBL struck-QA-OBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy who struck the girl.'
- (7) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t 'i-na (pá-t) wíva'ta-qa-t hoona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL my-father (him-OBL) struck-qa-OBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy whom my father struck.'
- (8) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pam maana (pá-t) 'amám támala'yta-qa-t hoona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL that girl (him-OBL) with work-QA-OBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy who the girl works with.'
- (9) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pá-t) po'ko-'at mok-qa-t tíwa.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL (him-OBL) dog-PCSS died-QA-OBL saw)
'I saw the boy whose dog died.'
- (10) Mi' tiyo'ya (pam) 'acata-qa pakmámiya.
(that boy (he) lied-QA cry)
'The boy who lied is crying.'
- (11) Mi' tiyo'ya (pam) pá-t maana-t wíva'ta-qa waaya.
(that boy (he) that-OBL girl-OBL struck-QA ran:away)
'The boy who struck the girl ran away.'

- (12) *Mi' tiyo'ya pam maana (pá-t) wiva'ta-qa waaya.
(that boy that girl (him-OBL) struck-QA ran:away)
'The boy whom the girl struck ran away.'
- (13) *Mi' tiyo'ya pam maana (pá-t) 'amin tímala'yta-qa nima.
(that boy that girl (him-OBL) with work-QA went:home)
'The boy with whom the girl works went home.'
- (14) *Mi' tiyo'ya ná' (pá-t) po'ko-y-at niina-qa pakmámiya.
(that boy I (him-OBL) dog-OBL-POSS killed-QA cry)
'The boy whose dog I killed is crying.'
- (15) Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t tíwi'yta-qa-t po'ko-'at mooki.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL know-QA-OBL dog-POSS died)
'The boy I know's dog died.'
'The dog of the boy I know died.'
- (16) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t ná' (pá-t) tíwi'ta-qa-t po'ko-'at mooki.
(that-OBL boy-OBL I (him-OBL) know-QA-OBL dog-POSS died)
(same as (15))
- (17) *Mi-t tiyo'ya-t ná' (pá-t) táwaa-qa nima.
(that-OBL boy-OBL I (him-OBL) saw-QA went:home)
'The boy I saw went home.'
- (18) *Mi-t tiyo'ya-t ná' (pá-t) táwaa-qa-t nima.
(that-OBL boy-OBL I (him-OBL) saw-QA-OBL went:home) (same as (17))
- (19) Mi' tiyo'ya, ná' pá-t táwaa-qa-t, pam pay nima.
(that boy, I him-OBL saw-QA-OBL, he already went:home)
'That boy whom I saw, he went home.'
- (20) Mi' maana, pam yaw pakmámiya.
'That girl, she is crying (reportedly).'
- (21) Mi' maana, ná' pát tíwi'yta.
'That girl, I know her.'
- (22) Mi' tiyo'ya, pam náy táwaa-qa, pam pay nima.
'That boy who knows me, he went home.'
- (23) Mi' tiyo'ya ná' pát tíwi'yta-qa-y, ná' pát 'amin tímala'yta.
'That boy I know, I work with him.'
- (24) Mi' tiyo'ya pam pakmámiy-qa-t, ná' pát tíwi'yta.
'The boy who is crying, I know him.'
- (25) Mi' tiyo'ya, pam maana pát wíva'ta-qa-t, pam pay nima.
'That boy that the girl hit, he went home.'

Nⁿ-Case Assignment

$$N^n \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-obl] / \text{---} S', \text{---} V^n \\ [+obl] \end{array} \right\}$$

Case Concord

Nⁿ is [+obl] if immediately dominated by a [+obl] Nⁿ node.

qa-Case Assignment

- (i) [-obl] (/ -qa/): shared subjects, and relative Nⁿ is subject;
 - (ii) 'proximate' [+obl] (/ -qa-y/): shared subjects, and relative Nⁿ is nonsubject;
 - (iii) 'obviative' [+obl] (/ -qa-t/): otherwise.
- (26) (i) mi' tiyo'ya (pam) 'acata-qa pakmimiya.
(that boy (he) lied-QA cry)
'The boy who lied is crying.'
- (ii) Na' taavo-t (na') (pa-t) niina-qa-y sisk^{wa}.
(I rabbit-OBL (I) it-OBL) killed-QA-proxOBL skinned)
'I skinned the rabbit that I killed.'
- (iii) Na' mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pam) 'acata-qa-t hooona.
(I that-OBL boy-OBL (he) lied-QA-obvOBL sent:home)
'I sent home the boy that lied.'
- (27) (i) 'ita-na mi-t tiyo'ya-t na' (pa-t) tiwaa-qa-t hooona.
'Our father sent home the boy whom I saw.'
- (ii) 'ita-na mi-t tiyo'ya-t hooona, na' (pa-t) tiwaa-qa-t.
(same as (i))
- (28) (i) *mi' tiyo'ya na' (pa-t) tiwaa-qa-t pay nima.
(that boy I (him-OBL) saw-QA-obvOBL already went:home)
'The boy I saw went home.' (But cf. (19) above)
- (ii) mi' tiyo'ya pay nima, na' (pa-t) tiwaa-qa-t.
(that boy already went:home, I (him-OBL) saw-QA-obvOBL)
'The boy went home, whom I saw.'

Filter (for some dialects)

$$* S \left[\begin{array}{c} N^n \\ [+obl] \end{array} V^n \right]_S$$

(29) Apparent raising:

- (a) mi' tiyo'ya na' pa-t tiwaa-qa-t, pam pay nima.
'That boy I saw, he went home.'
- (b) mi-t tiyo'ya-t na' pa-t tiwaa-qa-t, pam pay nima.
- (c) na' mi-t tiyo'ya-t tiwaa-qa-t, pam pay nima.
- (d) mi' tiyo'ya, pam pay nima, na' pa-t tiwaa-qa-t.
- (e) *mi-t tiyo'ya-t, pam pay nima, na' pa-t tiwaa-qa-t.

(30) The pleonastic structure:

S^h: Mi' tiyo'ya 'acata. 'That boy lied.'

Mi' tiyo'ya, pam 'acata. 'That boy, he lied.'

Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t táwi'yta. 'I know that boy.'

Mi' tiyo'ya, ná' pá-t táwi'yta. 'That boy, I know him.'

V^h: Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t táwi'yta. 'I know that boy.'

Ná' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pá-t táwi'yta. (")

P^h: Ná' 'i-t taaqa-t 'a-mám támala'yta. 'I work with this man.'

Ná' 'i-t taaqa-t pá-t 'a-mám támala'yta. (")

N^h: Mi-t tiyo'ya-t po'ko-'at mooki. 'That boy's dog died.'

Mi-t tiyo'ya-t pá-t po'ko-'at mooki. (")

'Ita-na ná' 'i-t taavo-t niina-qa-t sisk^wa-ni.
'Our father will skin this rabbit I killed.'

'Ita-na 'i-t taavo-t ná' 'i-t niina-qa-t sisk^wa-ni.

(31) The pseudo-head:

(a) *Ná' mi-t maana-t navoti'yta.
'I know that girl.'

(b) Ná' Hotvelpe tiikive-ni-qa-t navoti'yta.
'I know that there is going to be a dance at Hotevilla.'

(c) Ná' hi'ta navoti'yta.
'I know something.'

(d) Ná' (mi' maana) noova'yma-ni-qa-t navoti'yta.
'I know that that girl will take food (to groom's house).'

(e) Ná' mi-t maana-t (pam) noova'yma-ni-qa-t navoti'yta.
(")