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.'
(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 hingga-wu.  
(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)

(17) (a) Pam puw-to. '(S)he went to sleep.'  
(b) Puma puw-to. 'They (dual) went to sleep.'  
(c) Puma tok-wisa. 'They (plural) went to sleep.'

(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 yu'tu-ya-ni.  
(you run:PL-INCH-OBV then we too:PL-FUT)  
'You run and then we will too.'

(22) (a) 'Um paasa-t 'aw-ni-q, puu' nu' tiimayo-to-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' tiimayo-to-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-y-a-ni-kya'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-kya'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-INC-OBV then blow-USIT)
'It seems that when it's 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.'
Relative Clauses:

    (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-qat] pakmumuy-a.
    (That boy he lie-NC: NOM cry: IMPERF)
    'The boy who lied is crying.'

(34) Nu' [taavo-t (nu') (pu-t) niina-qat] 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-qat] 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-qat] pakmumuy-a.
    (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-qat] pakmumuy-a.
    (that-ACC boy-ACC I him-ACC know-NC: ACC: OBV)
    'I know that boy is crying.'
    (c) *[Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nu' (pu-t) wuva.ta.qat] pakmumuy-a.
    (that-ACC boy-ACC I him-ACC know-NC: ACC: OBV)
    'I know that boy is crying.'

(37) (a) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nu' pu-t tuwi.yta.qat po'ko'at mooki.
    (that-ACC boy-ACC I him-ACC know-NC: ACC: OBV dog-fBV die)
    'That boy I know's dog died.'
    (b) * [Nu' mit tiyo'ya-t tuwi.ytaqat] po'ko'at mooki.

(38) Haw [hak mok-qat] 'um tuwi.yta?
    (Q who: NOM die-NC: ACC: OBV you know)
    'Who do you know that died?'
    (Of. Nu' mit tiyo'ya t 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 tuwa-a-qat], 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 tuwaa qa, pam pay nima. 'That boy who saw me, he has already gone home.' And also:
        Mi' tiyo'ya, nu' put tuwi.ytaqay, nu' put 'anum tumala.yta.
        'That boy, who I know, I work with him.')

(40) Extraposition:
    Mi' tiyo'ya waaya, nu' pu-t tuwa-qat.
    (that boy flee, I him-ACC see-NC: ACC: OBV)
'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'uuyi.
     (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'uuyi.
     (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'uuyi.
     (that boy my-dog-ACC steal)
     'The boy stole my dog.'
     (*Mi' tiyo'ya nuy 'ipokoy 'uu'uuyi.)

(49) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t pok-m-at yu'tukiwyungwa.
     (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.
     'Those boys' dogs are running.' (NB: not *pokmam)
'I kicked that dog of the girls'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM (sg N)</th>
<th>ACC (sg N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 'i-N</td>
<td>'i-N-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 'u'-N</td>
<td>'u'-N-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 NP N-‘at</td>
<td>NP N-‘am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 'i-N-PL</td>
<td>'i-N-PL-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 'u'-N-PL</td>
<td>'u'-N-PL-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 NP N-m-at</td>
<td>NP N-m-at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOM (pl anim N) | ACC (pl anim N)
1 'i-N-PL     | 'i-N-PL-y |
2 'u'-N-PL    | 'u'-N-PL-y|
3 NP N-m-at   | NP N-m-y-atu-y | NP N-m-y-atu-y|

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