D. The Hopi Relative Clause and Pleonastic Structure


(1) Mi' tiyo'ya pakmámía.
   (that boy cry)
   'That boy is crying.'

(2) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t hoona.
   (I that-OBL boy-OBL sent:home)
   'I sent that boy home.'

(3) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pakmámía-qá-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 pakmámía.
   (that boy he cry)
   'That boy, he is crying.'

(5) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pam pakmámía-qá-t hoona.
   (I that-OBL boy-OBL he cry-QA-OBL sent:home)
   'I sent home the boy who was crying.'

(6) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pam) pá-t msana-t wáksta-qá-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) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t 'i-na (pá-t) wáksta-qá-t hoona.
   (I that-OBL boy-OBL my-father (him-OBL) struck-qá-OBL sent:home)
   'I sent home the boy whom my father struck.'

(8) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t pam mánana (pá-t) 'kšm támala'ytka-qá-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) Má' mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pá-t) po'ko-Ást mok-qá-t tímá.
   (I that-OBL boy-OBL (him-OBL) dog-POSS died-QA-OBL saw)
   'I saw the boy whose dog died.'

(10) Mi' tiyo'ya (pam) 'acata-qá pakmámía.
    (that boy (he) lied-QA cry)
    'The boy who lied is crying.'

(11) Mi' tiyo'ya (pam) pá-t msana-t wáksta-qá-qá pam sáyan.
    (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 (pā-t) 'aiva'ta-qa waaya. (that boy that girl (him-OBL) struck-QA went:away) 'The boy whom the girl struck ran away.'

(13) 'Mi' tiyo'ya pam maana (pā-t) 'amām tāmala'ysa-qa nima. (that boy that girl (him-OBL) with work-QA went:home) 'The boy with whom the girl worked went home.'

(14) 'Mi' tiyo'ya nā' (pā-t) po'ko-r-āt nima-qa pakamāya. (that boy I (him-OBL) dog-FOSS killed-QA cry) 'The boy whose dog I killed is crying.'

(15) Nā' mi-t tiyo'ya-t ta'wi'tas-qa-at po'ko'-r-āt moki. (I that-OBL boy-OBL know-QA-OBL dog-FOSS died) 'The boy I know's dog died.'

(16) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nā' (pā-t) ta'wi'ta-qa-at po'ko'-r-āt moki. (that-OBL boy-OBL I (him-OBL) know-QA-OBL dog-FOSS died) (same as (15))

(17) 'Mi-t tiyo'ya-t nā' (pā-t) ta'wa-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 nā' (pā-t) ta'wa-qa-nima. (that-OBL boy-OBL I (him-OBL) saw:QA went:home) (same as (17))

(19) Mi' tiyo'ya, nā' pā-t ta'wa-qa-t, pam pēy 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 pakamāya, 'that girl, she is crying (reportedly)'!

(21) Mi' maana, nā' pāt ta'wi'ya. 'That girl, I know her.'

(22) Mi' tiyo'ya, pam nāy ta'wa-qa, pam pēy nima. 'That boy who knows me, he went home.'

(23) Mi' tiyo'ya nā' pāt ta'wi'ya-qa-y, nā' pāt 'amām tāmala'ysa. 'That boy I know, I work with him.'

(24) Mi' tiyo'ya pam pakamāya-qa-t, nā' pāt ta'wi'yta. 'The boy who is crying, I know him.'

(25) Mi' tiyo'ya, pam maana pāt 'aiva'ta-qa-t, pam pēy nima. 'That boy that the girl hit, he went home.'

N"-Case Assignment

\[ N' \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{[obl]} \rightarrow S', V \end{array} \right\} \]
Case Concord

N" is \[-obl\] if immediately dominated by a \[-obl\] N" node.

qa-Case Assignment

(1) \[-obl\] (/qa/): shared subjects, and relative N" is subject;

(2) 'proximate' \[-obl\] (/qa-y/): shared subjects, and relative N" is nonsubject;

(iii) 'obviative' \[-obl\] (/qa-t/): otherwise.

(26) (1) mi' tiyo'ya (pam) 'acata-QA pakmimaya.

(i) N\’a tawo-t (n\’a) (p\’a-t) niina-QA-y sisk\’a.

(ii) N\’a mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pam) 'acata-QA-t hoona.

(iii) N\’a mi-t tiyo'ya-t (pam) 'acata-QA-t hoona.

(27) (1) 'ita-na mi-t tiyo'ya-t n\’a (p\’a-t) tawaa-QA-t hoona.

(ii) 'ita-na mi-t tiyo'ya-t hoona, n\’a (p\’a-t) tawaa-QA-t.

(28) (1) \{Mi' tiyo'ya n\’a (p\’a-t) tawaa-QA-t pay nima.

(ii) Mi' tiyo'ya pay nima, n\’a (p\’a-t) tawaa-QA-t.

Filter (for some dialects)

* \[\{obl\} y\']

(29) Apparent raising:

(a) Mi' tiyo'ya n\’a, p\’a-t tawaa-QA-t, pam pay nima.

(b) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t n\’a, p\’a-t tawaa-QA-t, pam pay nima.

(c) Mi' mi-t tiyo'ya-t tawaa-QA-t, pam pay nima.

(d) Mi' tiyo'ya, pam pay nima, n\’a p\’a-t tawaa-QA-t.

(e) Mi-t tiyo'ya-t, pam pay nima, n\’a p\’a-t tawaa-QA-t.
(30) The pleonastic structure:

S"; Mi' tiyo'ya 'acata. 'That boy lied.'

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

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

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

V"; Ná mi-t tiyo'ya-t táwi'ыта. 'I know that boy.'

Ná mi-t tiyo'ya-t pá-t táwi'ыта. ('')

V"; Ná' 'i-t taavo-t 'a-má-m támala'ыта. 'I work with this man.'

Ná' 'i-t taavo-t pá-t 'a-má-m támala'ыта. ('')

W"; 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 sis'ká-ní. 'Our father will skin this rabbit I killed.'

"Ita-na 'i-t taavo-t ná' 'i-t niina-qa-t sis'ká-ní.

(31) The pseudo-head:

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

(b) Ná' Hotve1epa tii1ive-ni-qa-t navoti'ыта. 'I know that there is going to be a dance at Hotve1epa.'

(c) Ná' hi'la navoti'ыта. 'I know something.'

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

(e) Ná' mi-t maana-t (pam) noova'ya-mi-qa-t navoti'ыта. ('')