



*Typologie aréale et stratégies de relativisation*

*Session: "Relative clauses and areal typology in American Indian languages"*

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# Relative clauses in Upper Necaxa Totonac

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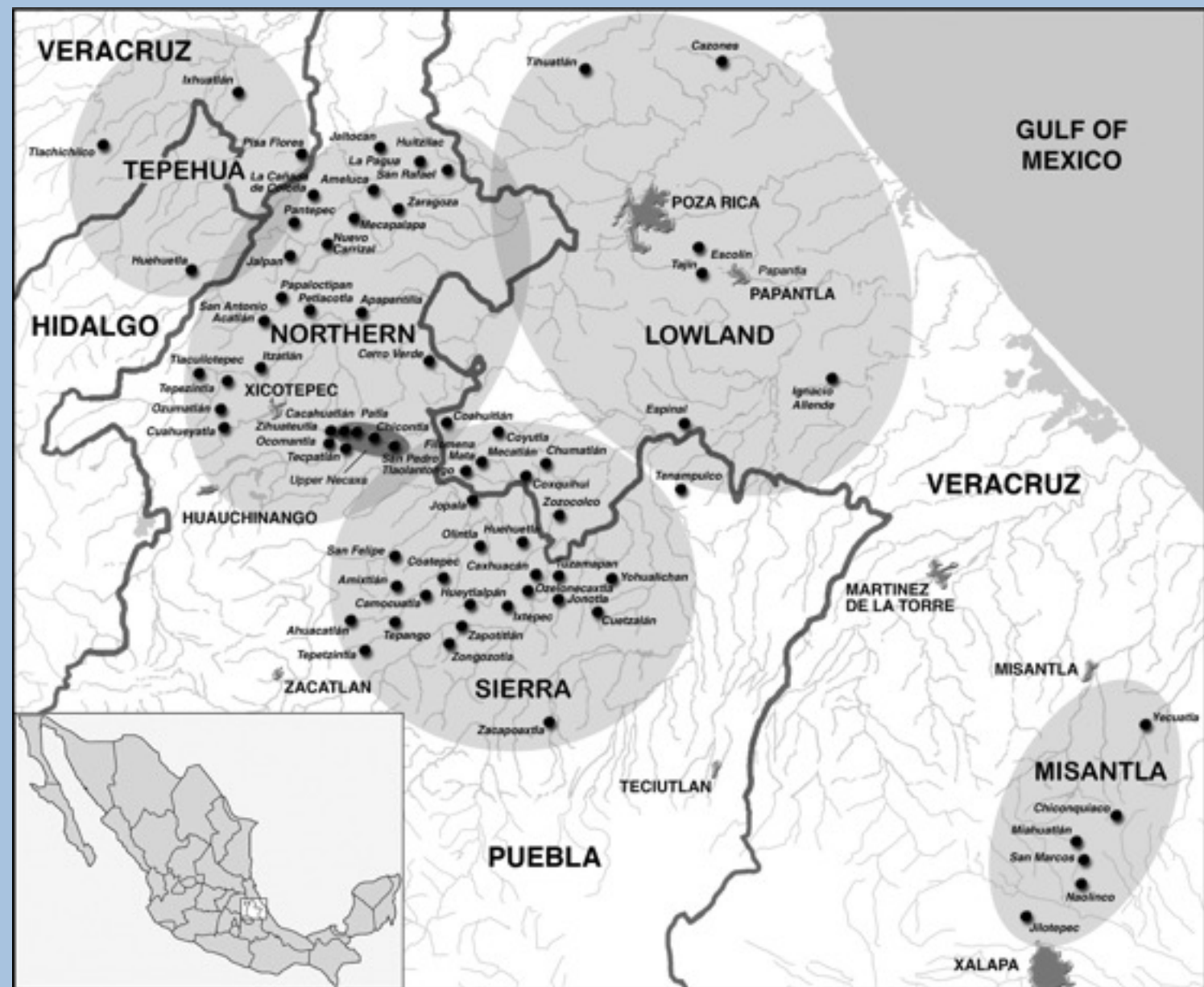


# Totonacan relative clauses

- ❖ Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT) RCs as described in Beck (2004) look pretty dull
  - ❖ externally-headed or headless, gapped argument inside the clause
  - ❖ possible for all ranks on the Accessibility Hierarchy
  - ❖ introduced by a relativizer that distinguishes animacy (human/non-human)
    - ❖ relativizer has some properties of relative pronouns, but behaves more like a complementizer
- ❖ but, an expanded corpus and a little elicitation work shows that UNT
  - ❖ has rigid predicate-initial ordering (rigid anything is interesting in Totonacan)
  - ❖ allows both internally- and externally-headed RCs
- ❖ the comparative Totonacan data is incomplete, but it seems that
  - ❖ only Central Totonacan languages have the animacy distinction
  - ❖ Central Totonacan relativizers are related to pan-Totonacan interrogative pronouns
- ❖ this suggests some things about the Upper Necaxa relativizers
  - ❖ pronoun-like properties reflect diachrony, but
  - ❖ the presence of internally-headed constructions means synchronically they are complementizers

# Totonacan languages

- ❖ approx. 253,000 speakers
- ❖ divided into two branches: Totonac and Tepehua
- ❖ 3 Tepehua languages: Pisaflores, Tlachichilco, Huehuetla
- ❖ Totonac has 2 main divisions: Misantla and Central
- ❖ Central consists of Northern, Sierra, and Lowland
- ❖ attention has been previously focused on morphology
- ❖ little work on sentence-level syntax



# RCs in UNT: Inanimate heads

- ❖ Upper Necaxa Totonac (UNT) RCs are described in Beck (2004)
  - ❖ externally-headed or headless
  - ❖ gapped argument inside the clause
  - ❖ introduced by a relativizer that distinguishes animacy (human/non-human) of head

- ❖ a typical RC with an inanimate nominal head is shown in (1):

(1)    yuxa tsamá *škan* [*tu* wanikán “čá:wə”]  
         yux-a            tsamá        *škan*        [*tu*        wan-ni-kan        Ø        čá:wə]  
         go.down-IMPF    that        water        NREL        say-BEN-IDF        —        sooty.water  
         ‘the water that they call “čá:wə” comes down’

- ❖ the head of the RC is *škan* ‘water’
- ❖ *škan* corresponds to a gap in the embedded clause
- ❖ RC is introduced by *tu* ‘non-human relativizer’
  - ❖ *tu* agrees in animacy (non-human) with the head of the RC
  - ❖ the relativizer is always on the left edge of the embedded clause



# RCs in UNT: Animate heads

- ❖ an RC with an animate head is shown in (2)

(2) tačínʔóʔ naščikán tsamá *kristiány* [*ti* xa: *ka:le:ní* iščikán]  
ta-čin-ʔóʔ-ǀ                      nak=iščik-kán                      tsamá                      *kristiány*  
3PL.SUB-arrive-TOT-PFV      LOC=3PO-house-PL.PO      that                      person

[*ti*              xa:              *ka:le:n-ni*                      Ø              iščik-kán]  
HREL              NEG              PL.OBJ-take.away-BEN              —              3PO-house-PL.PO

‘all the people<sub>i</sub> who didn’t lose their<sub>i</sub> houses (in the flood) came to their<sub>j</sub> houses’

- ❖ the head of the RC is *kristiány* ‘person, people’
- ❖ *kristiány* corresponds to a gap in the embedded clause
- ❖ RC is introduced by *ti* ‘human relativizer’
  - ❖ *ti* agrees in animacy (human) with the head of the RC
  - ❖ *ti* does not agree in number
    - ❖ number is not a nominal inflectional category (all nouns have general number)

# RCs in UNT: Headless

- ❖ headless RCs are shown in (3) and (4)

(3) wi:ʔ [ti: kili:ʔʃpa:wakáʔ]  
wi:ʔ [ti: kin-li:-ʔʃpa:-wakáʔ Ø]  
sit HREL 1OBJ-INST-back.of.head-be.high  
‘there is someone resting their head on me’

- ❖ referent of the RC corresponds to a gap in the embedded clause
- ❖ the RC is introduced by *ti:* ‘human relativizer’

(4) a: wi:ʔ [tu: pu:tsa:pá:ʔ]  
a: wi:ʔ [tu: pu:tsá-pa: Ø]  
there sit NREL look.for-PROG:2SG.SUB  
‘there is what you are looking for’

- ❖ referent corresponds to a gap in the embedded clause
- ❖ the RC is introduced by *tu:* ‘non-human relativizer’

# RCs in UNT: Accessibility

## ❖ subject-centred RC:

- (5)  $\text{ik}^{\text{h}}\text{o:palá} \text{ i}^{\text{h}}\text{čoxkán} \text{ lakstín} [\text{ti:} \text{ ta}^{\text{h}}\text{án} \text{ nakskwéla}]$   
 $\text{ik}^{\text{h}}\text{-ławá-palá} \quad \text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{-čox-kán} \quad \text{lakstín} \quad [\text{ti:} \quad \text{ta-án} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{nak=skwela}]$   
1SG.SUB-make-RPT 3PO-tortilla-PL.PO children HREL 3PL.SUB-go — LOC=school  
'I make food again for the children that go to school'

## ❖ primary-object centred RC:

- (6)  $\text{wi}^{\text{h}}\text{š} \text{ kalaksákti} [\text{ti:} \text{ tsex} \text{ la}^{\text{h}}\text{?atí:ya}]$   
 $\text{wi}^{\text{h}}\text{š} \quad \text{ka-laksák-ti} \quad [\text{ti:} \quad \text{tsex} \quad \text{la}^{\text{h}}\text{?atí:-ya} \quad \emptyset]$   
you OPT-choose-2SG.SUB:PFV HREL well like-IMPF:2SG.SUB —  
'pick the one (girl) that you like best!'

## ❖ secondary-object centred RC:

- (7)  $\text{ya:wai:nikán} \text{ a}^{\text{h}}\text{?tín} [\text{tu:} \text{ li:lakałtan}^{\text{h}}\text{te:kán}]$   
 $\text{ya:wá:-ni-kan} \text{ a}^{\text{h}}\text{?-tín} \quad [\text{tu:} \quad \text{li:-laka-łtan-taya-kan} \quad \emptyset]$   
stand-BEN-IDFCLF-one NREL INST-face-pull.taut-take-IDF —  
'they stood up against it one (thing) that they could use to pull it tight'

# RCs in UNT: Accessibility

## ❖ adjunct-centred RC

- (8) aʔtín čik [xə: natato:lá]  
 aʔ-tin čik [xə: na-ta-tawilá Ø]  
 CLF-one house where FUT-3PL.SUB-sit —  
 ‘a house where they will live’

this structure is a little different:

- different relativizers (*xə:* ‘where’, *əkšni* ‘when’)
- *in situ* locative NP would have clitic *nak=*

## ❖ predicate-centred RC

- (9) tsamá puská:t [ti: tanʔá:n šwaní:]  
 tsamá puská:t [ti: tan-ʔa:n iš-wan-ní: Ø]  
 that woman HREL buttocks-indigenous.skirt PAST-be-PF —  
 ‘that woman who was an indigenous woman’

## ❖ possessor-centred RC

- (10) kašławáka čik [tu: laʔapáʔla išventana]  
 kaš-ławá-ka čik [tu: laʔa-paʔa iš-ventana Ø]  
 fixed-make-IDF:PFV house NREL face-break-IMPF 3PO=window —  
 ‘they fixed up the house whose windows are broken’

## ❖ comparative-centred RC

- (11) ikputsá ča:tín tsumaxá:t [ti: a:čulá: tserwaní či wiš]  
 ik-putsá ča-tin tsumaxá:t [ti: a:čulá: tserwaní Ø či wiš]  
 1SG.SUB-look.for CLF-one girl HREL more pretty — like you  
 ‘I’m looking for a girl who is prettier than you’



# RCs in UNT: Constituent order

- ❖ 10 years later, we can add some more observations from texts and new elicitation
- ❖ matrix clauses allow all possible constituent orders

(12)	<i>ĩščikán</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	SO V S PO
	ĩš-čik-kən	ka:-maški:-ʔ	gobierno	laʔ-škamaní:n-ní:n	
	3PO-house-PL.PO	PL.PO-give-PFV	government	APL-pauper-PL	
	‘the government gave the poor people their houses’				
	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	<i>ĩščikán</i>	V S PO SO
	<i>gobierno</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	<i>ĩščikán</i>	S V PO SO
	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>ĩščikán</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	PO V SO S, etc.

- ❖ in RCs, arguments can not intervene between relativizer and embedded verb

(13)	<i>ĩščikán</i>	[ <i>tu:</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	Ø]
	ĩš-čik-kən	[ <i>tu:</i>	ka:-maški:-ʔ	gobierno	laʔ-škamaní:n-ní:n	—
	3PO-house-PL.PO	NREL	PL.PO-give-PFV	government	APL-pauper-PL	
	‘their houses that the government gave the poor people’					
	* <i>ĩščikán</i>	[ <i>tu:</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	
	* <i>ĩščikán</i>	[ <i>tu:</i>	<i>laʔškamaní:n-ní:n</i>	<i>ka:maški:ʔ</i>	<i>gobierno</i>	

# RCs in UNT: Constituent order

- ❖ most kinds of adverbials precede the verb in matrix clauses

(14) *li:škamani:ntunká išwíł naiščík tsamá puská:t*  
*li-škamanín=tunká iš-wił nak=iš-čík tsamá puská:t*  
 INST-pauper=very PAST-sit LOC=3PO-house that woman  
 ‘the woman lived in great poverty in her house’

*li:škamani:ntunká naiščík išwíł tsamá puská:t*

*li:škamani:ntunká išwíł tsamá puská:t naiščík*

*li:škamani:ntunká tsamá puská:t išwíł naiščík*

*\*išwíł li:škamani:ntunká naiščík tsamá puská:t*

- ❖ locative adverbials like *naiščík* ‘in her house’ may be pre-verbal but “prefer” not to be
- ❖ adverbials intervene between verb and relativizer in RCs

(15) *čartín puská:t [ti li:škamanín išwíł naiščík]*  
*ča-tin puská:t [ti li-škamanín iš-wił nak=iš-čík]*  
 CLF-one woman HREL INST-pauper PAST-sit LOC=3PO-house  
 ‘a woman who lived in poverty in her house’

*čartín puská:t [ti li:škamani:ntunká naiščík išwíł]*

*\*čartín puská:t [ti išwíł li:škamani:ntunká naiščík]*

other types of subordinate  
and complement clauses  
also show the same predicate-  
initial pattern

# RCs in UNT: Internally-headed RCs

- ❖ a search through the corpus finds what appear to be internally-headed RCs

(16) ɬú:wa [ti: tas'oʔanán tsumaxán]  
ɬú:wa Ø [ti: ta-s'oʔá-nan tsumaxát-n]  
many — HREL 3PL.SUB-hug-DTRNS girl-PL  
'there are a lot of girls who hug'

- ❖ there are other possible interpretations of most of these
- ❖ here, we could be looking at a head-final RC ([ti: tas'oʔanán Ø] tsumaxán)
  - ❖ NP has rigid ADJ-N order

- ❖ ... and a little probing shows us that these are, indeed, internally-headed

(17) pɔʔɬ kintamaʔalakawán [ti: tsax xma:n talixatséʔa tsamá ʔawačán iʃtsi:kán]  
pɔʔɬ kin-ta-maʔa-laka-wan Ø [ti: tsax šma:n ta-li-ta-tseʔ-a  
fed.up 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-STM-face-say — HREL just only 3PL.SUB-INST-DCS-hide-IMPF  
tsamá ʔawačá-n iʃ-tsɿ-kán]  
that boy-PL 3PO-mother-PL.PO  
'those boys that hide behind their mother's skirts really bother me'

- ❖ here, the internal head is not on the right edge of the RC

# RCs in UNT: Internally-headed RCs

- ❖ the internally-headed RCs show the same syntactic properties as externally-headed RCs
  - ❖ adverbs continue to intervene between relativizer and predicate (17), (18)
  - ❖ constituent order is flexible ...

(18) *pqʔt kintamʔalakawán [ti tsax xma:n talitatséʔa istsikán tsamá ʔawačán]*  
 pqʔt kin-ta-mʔa-laka-wan Ø [ti tsax šma:n ta-li-ta-tseʔ-a  
 fed.up 1OBJ-3PL.SUB-STM-face-say — HREL just only 3PL.SUB-INST-DCS-hide-IMPF  
  
 iš-tsi-kán tsamá ʔawačá-n]  
 3PO-mother-PL.PO that boy-PL  
 ‘those boys that hide behind their mother’s skirts really bother me’

- ❖ but arguments can not precede the embedded verb

- (19) a. *\*pqʔt kintamʔalakawán ti tsamá ʔawačán tsax xma:n talitatséʔa istsikán*  
 b. *\*pqʔt kintamʔalakawán ti tsax xma:n tsamá ʔawačán talitatséʔa istsikán*  
 c. *\*pqʔt kintamʔalakawán ti tsamá ʔawačán talitatséʔa istsikán*  
 d. *\*pqʔt kintamʔalakawán ti istsikán talitatséʔa tsamá ʔawačán ... etc.*



# RCs in UNT: Internally-headed RCs

- ❖ internally-headed RCs show the same general accessibility
  - ❖ all of the following examples are “found” items in the corpus (in case anyone was wondering)

- ❖ subject-centred

(20) kaláʔtsi, [ti: natawilá is'áta], nakšá: nama:ša:ʔani:kán  
ka-láʔtsi                      Ø                      [ti:                      na-tawilá                      iš-s'áta]  
OPT-see:2SG.SUB:PFV                      —                      HREL                      FUT-be.born                      3PO-child  
  
nak=šá:                      na-ma:-ša:-ʔan-ni:-kan  
LOC=sweatlodge                      FUT-CAUS-sweatlodge-go-CAUS-IDF  
‘look, a child that will be born, they will bathe it in the sweatlodge’

- ❖ primary-object centred

(21) xa: kʰo:kutún [tu: kʰo:máʔ kintaskuxút]  
xa:                      ʔk-ʔawá-kutún                      Ø                      [tu:                      ʔk-ʔawá-maʔ                      kin-taskuxút]  
NEG                      1SG.SUB-make-DSD                      —                      NREL                      1SG.SUB-make-PROG                      1PO-job  
‘I don’t want to do this job that I’m doing’



# RCs in UNT: Internally-headed RCs

## ❖ secondary-object centred

(22) ču:ntsá: č̣i wamá li:tawilaní: [tu: waníkán šli:č̣iki:tawí:† Patla]  
ču:ntsá: č̣i wamá li:-tawilá-ni: Ø [tu: wan-ni-kan  
thus how this INST-sit-PF — NREL make-BEN-IDF

iš-li:č̣iki:tawí:† Patla]  
1PO-town Patla

‘that is the way their town that they named Patla was founded’

- ❖ the head of the RC, *šli:č̣iki:tawí:†* ‘their town’, is the applied (secondary) object of the verb *waní* ‘X names Y as Z’

## ❖ predicate-centred

(23) iklá?apása [ti: šantí:† šwaní: puská:t]  
ik-lá?apás-a Ø [ti: šantí:† iš-wan-ni: puská:t]  
1SG.SUB-recognize-IMPF — HREL shaman PAST-be-PF woman  
‘I know a woman who was a shaman’

# RCs in Totonacan

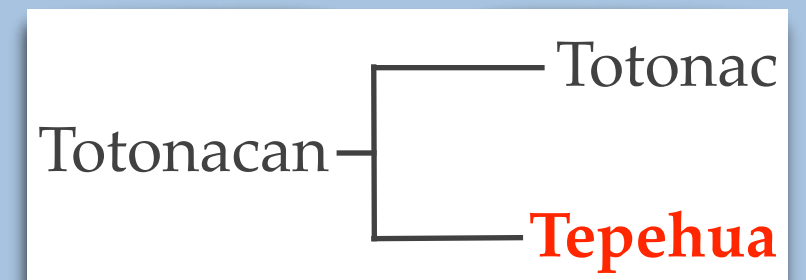
- ❖ given what we know about RCs in UNT, it might be worth comparing with other Totonacan
- ❖ family-tree still uncertain, but probably something like this:

Totonac	Tepehua			Tlachichilco
				Pisaflores
				Huehuetla
	Central	Northern		Misantla
				Apapantilla
				Upper Necaxa
		Lowland-Sierra		Cerro Xinolatépetl
				Filomeno Mata
			Lowland	Papantla
			Sierra	Coyutla
				Coatepec
				Olintla
				Huehuetla
				Ozelonacaxtla
				Zapotitlán

- ❖ we can use this to see how UNT compares to other languages and groupings in Totonacan:
  - ❖ animacy distinction?
  - ❖ headless relatives?
  - ❖ general accessibility?
  - ❖ fixed linear order?
  - ❖ internally-headed RCs?

# RCs in Totonacan: Tepehua

- ❖ the only discussion of RCs in Tepehua is Smythe-Kung's (2007) description of Huehuetla

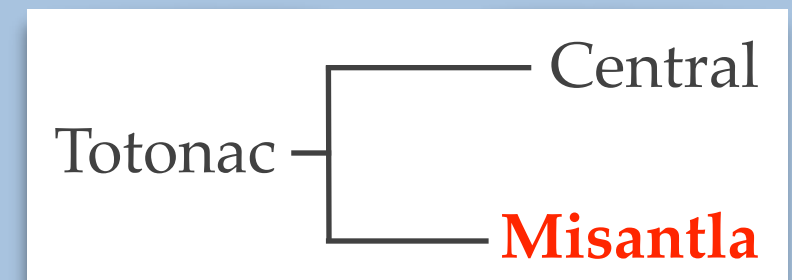


(24) štaʔamaqpanan hu: **papa:nin** [**hu:** ka: wa: **lakak'iwin** **štat'ahun**]  
 š-ta-ʔamaqpanan hu: **papaʔ-nin** [**hu:** ka: wa: **laka-k'iwin** **š-ta-t'ahun** **Ø**]  
 PAST-3PL.SUB-wash.clothes ART man-PL REL BLV FOC PREP-woods PAST-3PL.SUB-live  
 'the men that were living in the woods would wash their clothes' (Smythe-Kung 2007: 590)

- ❖ the relativizer *hu:* is homophonous with the article *hu:*
  - ❖ there is no animacy distinction
  - ❖ subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and obliques are accessible to relativization
  - ❖ Huehuetla also allows headless RCs
- (25) [**hu:** **šʔula:ta** tam p'aqlati tu:mi:n]  
 [**hu:** **š-ʔula:ta** **Ø** tam p'aqlati tu:mi:n]  
 REL PAST-put-PF — one chest money  
 'the one who had a chest (full) of money' (Smythe-Kung 2007: 597)
- ❖ headless RCs can *only* be subject-centred
  - ❖ judging from texts in Levy & Beck (2012), the facts seem the same in other Tepehua languages

# RCs in Totonacan: Misantla

- ❖ RCs are not described in Misantla
- ❖ MacKay & Trechsel (2005) contains translations of some Spanish sentences containing RCs



(26) táštuł hun číškú? [hun ikmaqñí:nił iščičí?]  
 ta-štu-lał hun číškú? [hun ik-maq-ní:-ni-ł išč-čičí? Ø]  
 INCH-out-PFV DET man DET 1SG.SUB-CAUS-die-DAT-PFV 3PO-dog —  
 ‘the man whose dog I killed came out’ (MacKay & Trechsel 2005: 225)

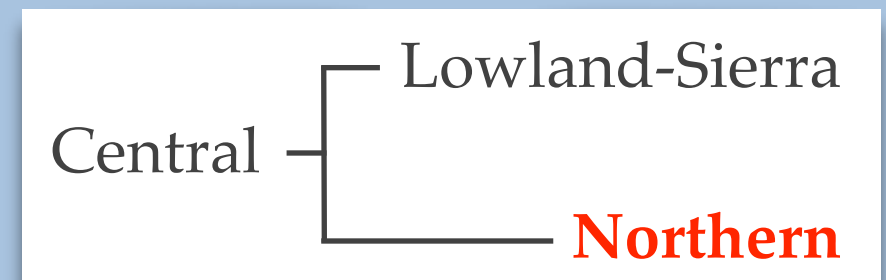
- ❖ (26) is a secondary-object centered RC
- ❖ also attested are subject- and primary-object centred RCs
- ❖ like Tepehua, Misantla uses a determiner as a relativizer

(27) iklá:min hun číškú? [taqapí:štán]  
 ik-la:-min-na hun číškú? [taqapí:-štán Ø]  
 1SG.SUB-CMT-come-CMT DET man drunk-PAST —  
 ‘I come with the man who was drunk’ (MacKay & Trechsel 2005: 152)

- ❖ (27) and one other example (of a primary-object centred RC) suggest that the relativizer may be optional in some cases
- ❖ there are no unequivocal examples of headless RCs

# RCs in Totonacan: Northern

- ❖ for the Northern group (which includes UNT), we have three examples from Apapantilla (Reid 1991: 58)



(28) čĩłtsá wan čĩškú [anti: tama:wakutun kuši]  
 čin-ł=tsá wan čĩškú [anti: tama:wa-kutun kuši Ø]  
 arrive-PFV=now DET man HREL buy-DSD corn —  
 ‘the man who wants to buy corn arrived’

(29) čĩłtsá wan čĩškú [anti: šaiqałi:mə:]  
 čin-ł=tsá wan čĩškú [anti: ša-ik-qałi-mə: Ø]  
 arrive-PFV=now DET man HREL PAST-1SG.SUB-wait-PROG —  
 ‘the man who I am waiting for arrived’

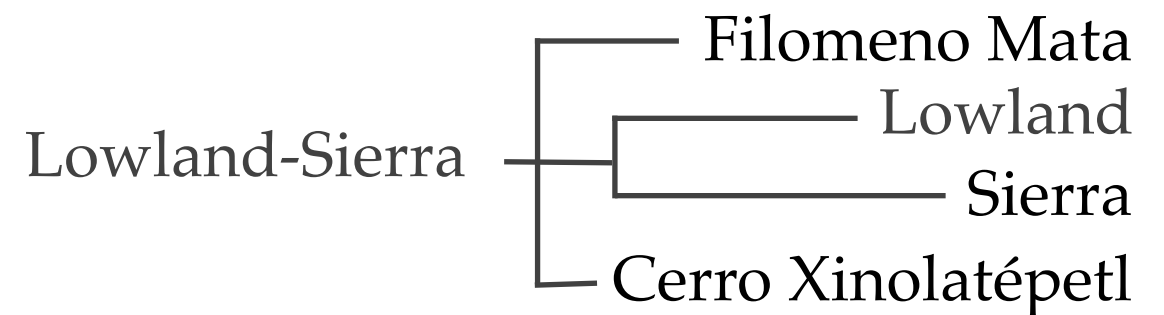
(30) ĩkpa:tsanqa:ł [antu: kiwani]  
 ĩk-pa:tsanqa:ł [antu: kin-wan-ni Ø]  
 1SG.SUB-forget-PFV NREL 1OBJ-say-BEN —  
 ‘I forgot what he told me’

- ❖ here we see subject and primary-object centred RCs
- ❖ (30) is headless
- ❖ the relativizer makes an animacy distinction
- ❖ resembles UNT (the *qn* part is probably from demonstrative paradigm, related to M *hun*)



# RCs in Totonacan: Lowland-Sierra

- ❖ Zapotitlán (Sierra) RCs are introduced by relative pronouns, *ti* and *tu*



(31) šqałi:ya: [<sup>n</sup>ti: šta:tapu:čuway]  
 š-qāli:-ya: [ti š-ta:tapu:čuwa-y Ø]  
 PAST-have-IMPF HREL PAST-marry-IMPF  
 ‘she had a fiancé’ (Aschmann 1984: 3)

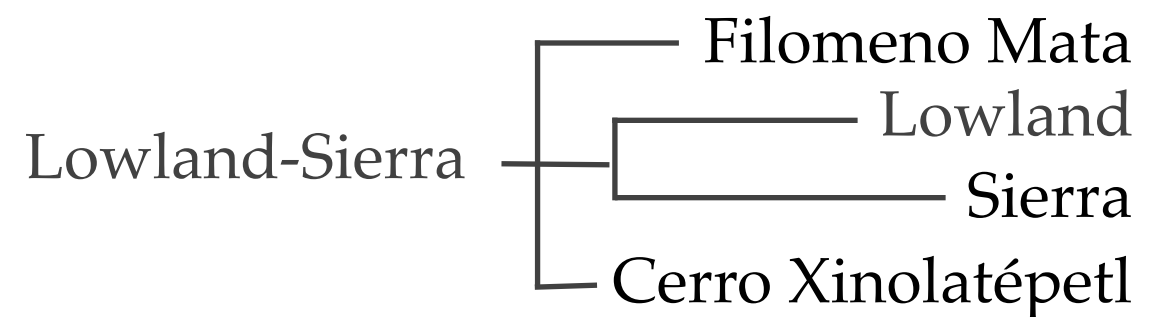
- ❖ (41) is headless and ambiguous as to centricity (could be S or SO-centred)

(32) liyaŋqo:y šmura:łkan wq: [<sup>n</sup>tu: mpu:muhu:qo:y šli:šqatna:kan]  
 liyaŋ-qo:-y š-mura:ł-kan wq: [tu pu:muhu:-qo:-y š-li:šqatna-kan Ø]  
 take-3PL-IMPF 3PO-bag-PL.PO that.one NREL put.into-3PL-IMPF 3PO-stake-PL.PO  
 ‘they take their shoulder bags in which they put their stakes’ (Aschmann 1984: 20)

- ❖ note the presence of *wq:* ‘that one’ (described as a “focus particle” in Aschmann 1984)
  - ❖ *wq:* is cognate with members of the demonstrative paradigms in other Totonacs (cf. the *an-* prefix in Apapantilla)
  - ❖ very frequent preceding RCs, including RCs without NP heads

# RCs in Totonacan: Lowland-Sierra

- ❖ information on RCs in other Lowland-Sierra languages is hard to come by
- ❖ all the group seems to use relativizers based on *ti*: ‘human’ and *tu*: ‘non-human’



Language	Relativizers	Animacy	Accessibility	Headless	Source
Filomeno Mata	<i>ti:/tu:</i>	yes	S, PO, SO	yes	McFarland (2012)
Cerro Xinolatépetl	<i>ti:/tu:</i>	yes	S, SO	yes	Andersen (2012)
Papantla (Lowland)	<i>ti:/tu:</i>	yes	S, PO, SO	yes	Levy (2012)
Coyulta	<i>ti:/tu:</i>	yes	?	?	Aschmann (n.d.)
Coatepec	<i>ti:/tu:</i>	yes	?	?	McQuown (1990)
Olintla	<i>ti/tu</i>	yes	S, PO, SO	yes	Tino (2014)
Huehuetla Totonac	<i>ti/tu</i>	yes	?	?	Troiani (2004)
Ozelonacaxtla	<i>tiku/tuku</i>	yes	PO	yes	Román Lobato

# RCs in Totonacan: Summary

- ❖ the information is rather sketchy, but on the whole ...
- ❖ Totonacan seems generally to allow headless RCs
- ❖ there is general accessibility for objects (as far as we can tell)
- ❖ it is not possible to reach any conclusions about fixed ordering
  - ❖ it is true that the examples are nearly always predicate-initial
  - ❖ there is one exception in Ozelonacaxtla and one in Cerro Xinolatépetl
    - ❖ but these structures are not as clear as one might like
- ❖ there is no evidence for internally-headed RCs outside UNT
  - ❖ not terribly surprising, given that they are infrequent in discourse
- ❖ there is significant variation in the relativizer
  - ❖ Tepehua and Misantla use a determiner
  - ❖ Central Totonac uses a relativizer that is sensitive to animacy

# Relativizers in Central Totonacan

- ❖ so where do these Central Totonacan relativizers come from?
- ❖ it turns out that they are homophonous with or similar to interrogative pronouns
  - ❖ pTn \*ti:(-) ‘who?’, \*tu:(-) ‘what?’
  - ❖ Tepehua seems to have lost the *ti/tu* animacy distinction for interrogatives
  - ❖ Misantla has not co-opted the *ti/tu* interrogatives as relativizers
  - ❖ in UNT, Filomeno Mata, Coatepec, Zapotitlán, and Olintla relativizers are homophonous with interrogatives
  - ❖ in Coyutla and Papantla, the relativizers are *ti/tu* but the interrogatives are *tíku/túku*
  - ❖ Apapantilla adds what look to be deictic elements to *ti/tu* bases
  - ❖ Zapotitlán frequently precedes RCs with a demonstrative element

Tepehua	Tlachichilco	<i>tis</i> ‘what?’	DET
	Huehuetla	<i>ti:s</i> ‘what?’ <i>ti:či</i> ‘who?’	
	Pisaflores	<i>ti:su</i> ‘what?, who?’	
Totonac	Misantla	<i>ti:yu</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu:</i> ‘what?’	
	Apapantilla	<i>ti:</i> ‘who?’ <i>tuču:</i> ‘what?’	<i>qnti:</i> <i>qntu:</i>
	UNT	<i>ti:</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu:</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>
	Filomeno Mata	<i>ti:</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu:</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>
	Papantla	<i>tíku</i> ‘who?’ <i>túku</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>
	Coyutla	<i>tíku</i> ‘who?’ <i>túku</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>
	Coatepec	<i>ti:</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu:</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>
	Olintla, Huehuetla	<i>ti</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti</i> <i>tu</i>
	Zapotitlán	<i>ti:</i> ‘who?’ <i>tu:</i> ‘what?’	<i>ti:</i> <i>tu:</i>

# Diachronic developments

- ❖ Central languages have adapted the pTn interrogative elements as relativizers
- ❖ there seem to be (at least) two possible scenarios for this:
  1. pTn *ti:/tu:* were exclusively interrogatives and pTn RCs were introduced by DET;
    - ❖ Central languages adopted the interrogatives as relativizers in place of DET
  2. *ti:/tu:* were interrogative / relative pronouns, and co-occurred with determiners
    - ❖ the Tepehua languages and Misantla dropped the relative pronoun, kept DET
    - ❖ the Central languages dropped DET and kept the relative pronoun
- ❖ #2 seems more likely, as some Central languages have RCs with traces of DET
  - ❖ Apapantilla *qnti:/qntu:* contain elements from pTn deictic system (Brown et al. 2014)
  - ❖ Zapotitlán *wq:* is (at least diachronically) also a demonstrative pronominal element
- ❖ so pTn may have had both *light-headed* and *appositive light-headed* RCs



# Light-headed and appositive light-headed RCs

## ❖ light-headed RC (Polish)

- (33) Jan czyta **to** [**co** Maria **czyta**]  
Jan read this what Maria read  
'Jan reads what Maria reads' (Citko 2004: 96)

## ❖ light-headed RC (Zapotitlán)

- (34) ču: <sup>m</sup>puska:t, na: šputsay **wə:** [<sup>n</sup>**tu:** **šwəqo:y**]  
ču: puska:t na: šputsay **wə:** [**tu** **š-wə-qo:-y**]  
then woman also PAST-look.for-IMPF that.one NREL PAST-eat-3PL.SUB-IMPF  
'then the woman, she also looks for that which they'd eat' (Aschmann 1984: 15)

## ❖ appositive light-headed RC (Zapotitlán)

- (35) liyaŋqo:y **šmura:t-kan** **wə:** [<sup>n</sup>**tu:** <sup>m</sup>**pu:muhu:qo:y** šli:šqatna:kan]  
liyaŋ-qo:-y **š-mura:t-kan** **wə:** [**tu** **pu:muhu:-qo:-y** š-li:šqatna-kan]  
take-3PL-IMPF 3PO-bag-PL.PO that.one NREL put.into-3PL-IMPF 3PO-stake-PL.PO  
'they take along their bags in which they put their stakes' (Aschmann 1984 2012: 20)

- ❖ pre-nominal head co-occurs with **wə:**
- ❖ might have a literal reading like '... shoulder bags, those in which they put their stakes'

# Complementizer or relative pronoun?

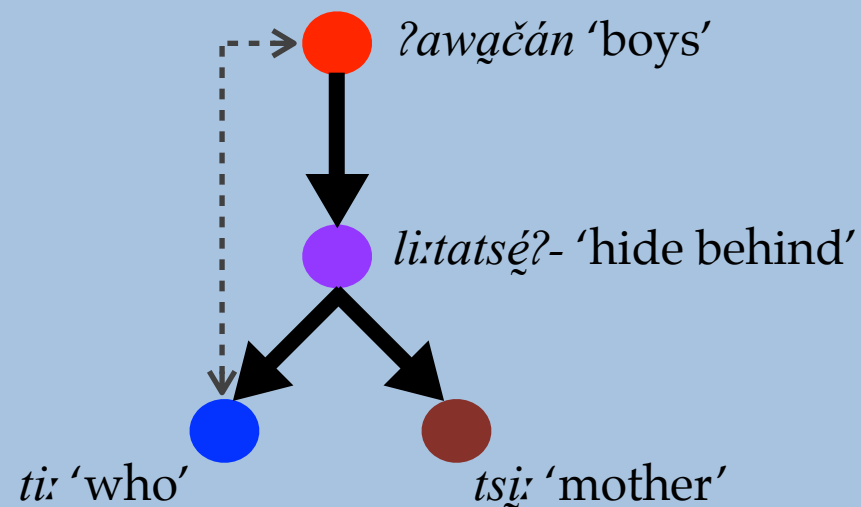
- ❖ connection to relative pronouns highlights an earlier uncertainty
- ❖ Aschmann (1984) treats Zapotitlán *ti:/tu:* as relative pronouns
- ❖ Beck (2004) treats *ti:/tu:* as complementizers in UNT
  - ❖ they are invariantly on the left-edge of the clause, never *in situ*
  - ❖ they do not indicate grammatical number
- ❖ but they do have some properties associated with relative pronouns
  - ❖ animacy agreement
  - ❖ homophonous and cognate with interrogatives
  - ❖ form a part of negative pronouns—*xa: ti:* ‘nobody’, *xa: tu:* ‘nothing’
- ❖ the diachronic story seems to explain this nicely
- ❖ but does that mean that *synchronically* they are still relative pronouns?

# Complementizer or relative pronoun?

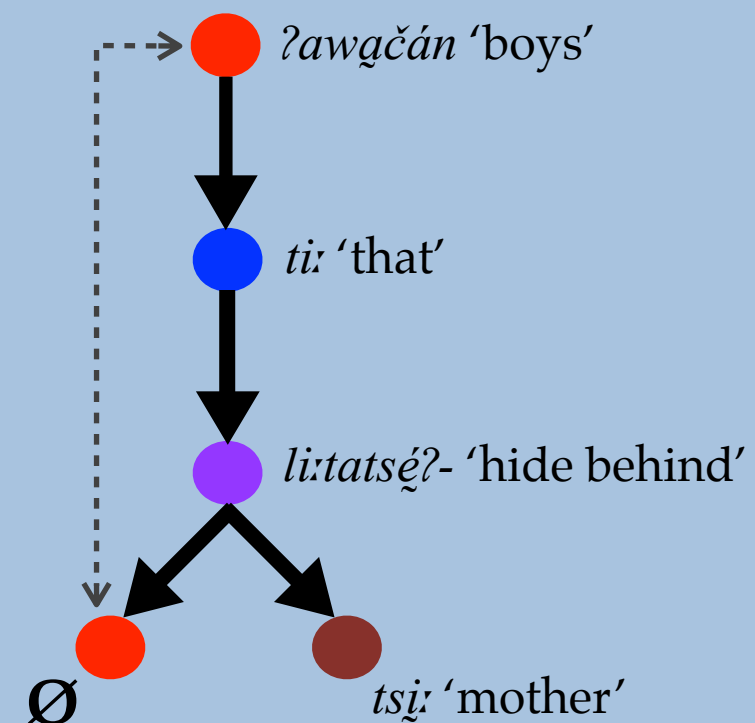
- ❖ to answer this, we need to think a little about syntax ...

(36) *ʔawačán* [*ti: talɪtatséʔa* ɪtsɪ:kán]  
*ʔawačá-n* [*ti: ta-li-tá-tseʔ-a* ɪš-tsɪ:kán]  
boy-PL HREL 3PL.SUB-INST-DCS-hide-IMPF 3PO-mother-PL.PO  
'those boys that hide behind their mother's skirts'

Difference between a relative pronoun and a complementizer



a relative pronoun lives "inside" the embedded clause, occupying an argument slot

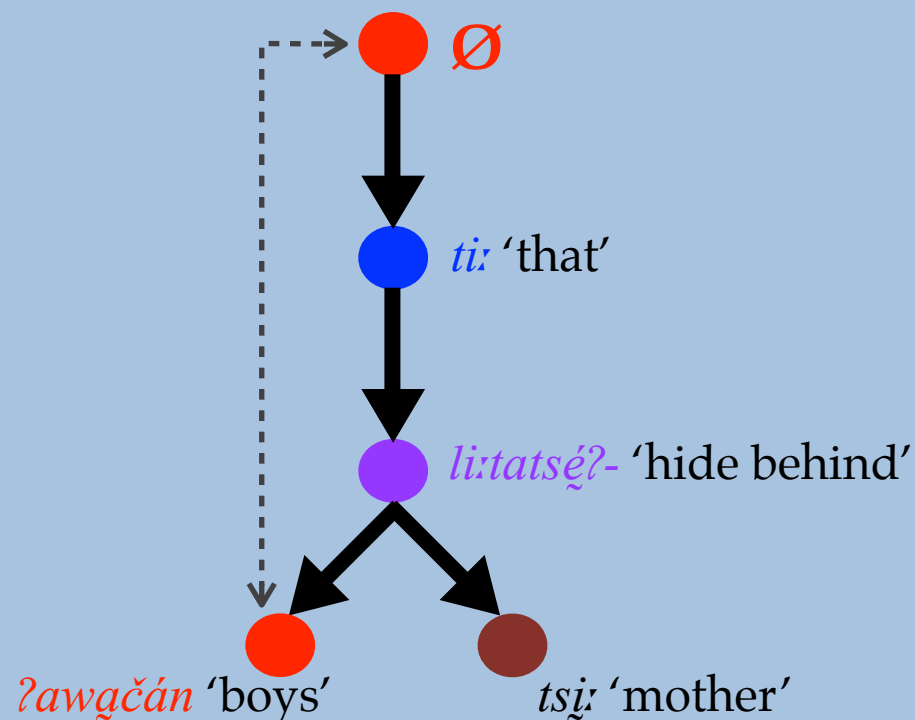


a complementizer is a "bridge" subordinating the embedded clause to the head noun

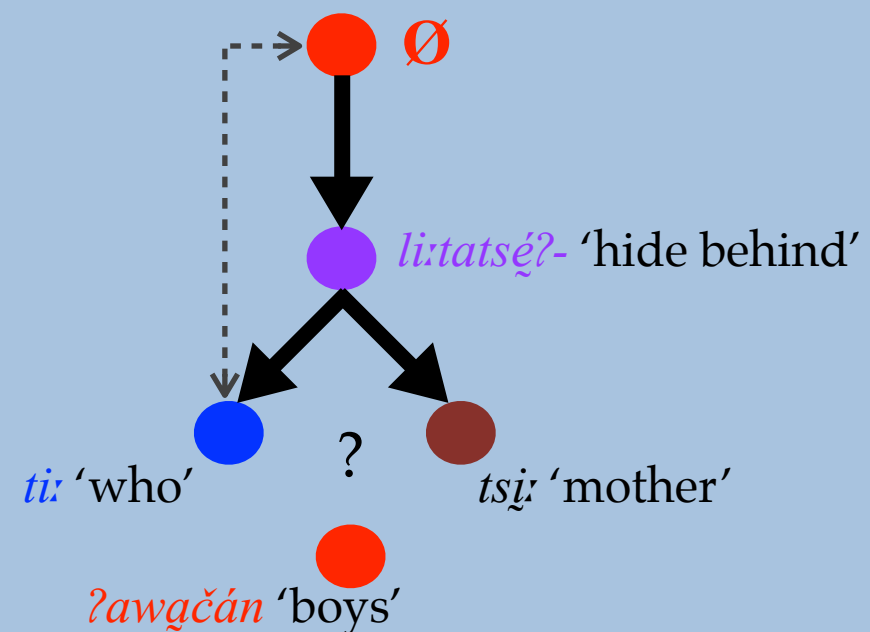
# Complementizer or relative pronoun?

- the existence of internally-headed RCs like (37) suggests the latter structure is preferable

(37) [ti: talixatsé?a ?awačán ištšikán]  
 Ø [ti: ta-li-ta-tse?-a ?awačá-n ištš-ksj-kán]  
 HREL 3PL.SUB-INST-DCS-hide-IMPF boy-PL 3PO-mother-PL.PO  
 ‘those boys that hide behind their mother’s skirts’



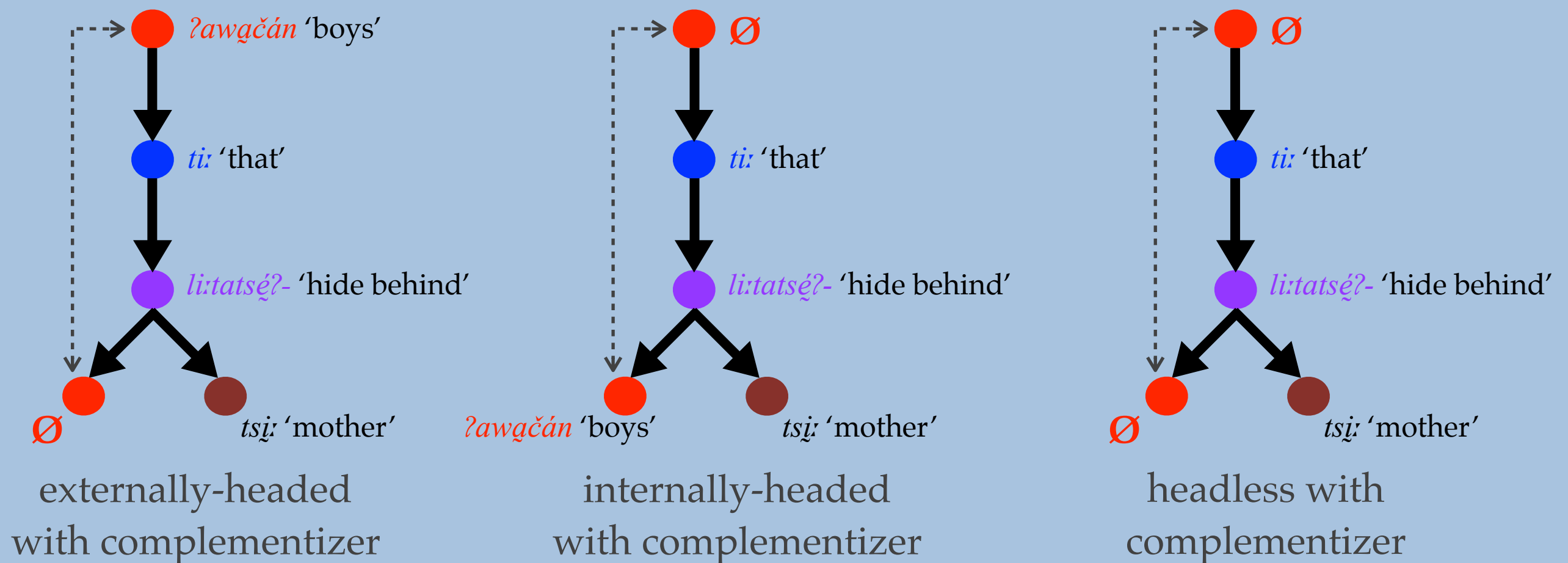
internally-headed  
with complementizer



internally-headed  
with relative pronoun

# Types of relative clauses

- ❖ this reduces the differences between the three types of RCs to differences in what is elided in “surface” form





# Conclusions

- ❖ thus, the UNT relativizer seems best analyzed as a complementizer
  - ❖ a relative pronoun would compete for an argument slot with the head in an internally-headed RC
- ❖ the pronoun-like properties of the relativizer come from its diachronic relationship to interrogatives
- ❖ whether this argumentation can be extended to other Central languages awaits further investigation
  - ❖ it is unknown if other languages have the internally-headed construction
  - ❖ many of the other basic facts remain to be discovered
- ❖ so maybe relative clauses in Totonacan aren't so dull after all ...

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